A Study of the Turkmen Dialects of Afghanistan

Phonology – Morphology – Lexicon – Sociolinguistic Aspects

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

doctor philosophiae
(Dr. phil.)

ingereicht an
der Kultur-, Sozial- und Bildungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

von
Muhammad Salih Rasekh

Präsident der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Prof. Dr. Jan-Hendrik Olbertz

Dekanin der Kultur-, Sozial- und Bildungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät
Prof. Dr. Julia von Blumenthal

Gutachter: 1. Prof. Dr. phil. Ingeborg Baldauf
2. Prof. Dr. Semih Tezcan

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 07.10.2016
The dissertation project whose final written product is submitted here was devoted to the study of the contemporary Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. At present the Turkmen speaking population of Afghanistan is estimated to make up close to two million. The Turkmen language, which belongs to the South Western or Oghuz group of the Turkic languages, has for centuries been present in the region which is today North Afghanistan but due to various historical reasons has not only not kept pace with the development of some of its neighboring languages, but has even been reduced to the condition of an illiterate idiom which includes a number of dialects but is not united by a shared standard language. The Teke dialect, which in the Republic of Turkmenistan forms the basis of today's standard state language, features among the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but speakers of the Ärsar dialect by far outnumber those of the Teke dialects in Afghanistan. Along with these two most prominent idioms, roughly half a dozen distinct Turkmen dialects are represented on Afghan soil today.

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

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

This scholarly work would not have been possible without the generous support of the Afghan Ministry of Higher Education and my home institution, Balkh University of Mazar i Sharif, in particular its honorable Rector Mr. Mukammal Alkuzyay and Dean of our Faculty of Languages and Literatures, Prof. Abduljabbar Shaychzada. My repeated long-term leaves for
field and desk work would not have been possible without my respected colleagues Mr. Haji Muhammad Qul, Mrs. Najiya Sadiq, Mrs. Kamila, Mrs. Jamila, Mr. Alla:hmurad and Mr. Penji who were ready to step in for many a replacement over all these years. Erasmus Mundus provided a generous three-year stipend, thus securing the financial basis for my project; I am grateful to the Consortium and to its representative at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Mr. Matthias Parske. Many distinguished colleagues and dear friends have been a continuous source of encouragement, scholarly advice and practical help during my time in Berlin: Mr. and Mrs. F. Ömer Akakça and Ayfer Durdu, Mansur Baloch, Ahmad Azizy, Dr. Thomas Loy, PD Dr. Lutz Rzehak, Mr. Gerhard Baldauf, Mr. Yusuf kōr and Mrs. Zacharias, as well as many master and PhD students of the Central Asia Department. To all of them and to those whom I may have failed to remember here I extend my sincere gratitude. Last but not least I should like to thank my friends back home in Afghanistan, who shared the joys and difficulties of this work over the years and without whose benevolence and help I could not possibly have undergone this dissertation project, and my dear close and extended family, who have mentally and technically supported my work at all times.

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

PREFACE ..............................................................................................................................I
CONTENTS ............................................................................................................................III

1. Introduction ........................................................................................................................1
   1.1. The aim of this study ...................................................................................................5
   1.2. State of research on the Turkmen dialects ..............................................................5

2. The Turkmens of Afghanistan and their dialects .............................................................10
   2.1. Turkmens and the regions inhabited by them ..........................................................10
       2.1.1. Ārsa:rī ........................................... 14
       2.1.2. Sa:rīq ........................................... 15
       2.1.3. Teke .......................................................... 16
       2.1.4. Yomut .......................................................... 17
       2.1.5. Sair .......................................................... 17
       2.1.6. Yemreli .......................................................... 18
       2.1.7. Qarqın .......................................................... 19
       2.1.8. Ča:yı .......................................................... 19
       2.1.9. Bayat .......................................................... 19
       2.1.10. Muqrī ....................................................... 20
       2.1.11. Xaṭab .......................................................... 20
       2.1.12. Surxı .......................................................... 21
       2.1.13. Xoja:mba:z ....................................................... 21
       2.2. The Turkmen dialects .........................................................................................23
           2.2.1. The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their neighboring languages ...... 24
           2.2.2. Some sociolinguistic phenomena .............................................................27
               2.2.2.1. Dialect difference: Politeness ............................................................28
               2.2.2.2. Dialect difference: Address .............................................................31
               2.2.2.3. Dialect difference: Incompatibility and misunderstanding ...............32
               2.2.2.4. The urban and the rural .................................................................33
               2.2.2.5. Muhājirīs and the others .................................................................34
               2.2.2.6. Literates and illiterates .................................................................35
               2.2.2.7. Social status ..................................................................................38
               2.2.2.8. Gender .........................................................................................39
               2.2.2.9. Diglossia and dialect shift ...............................................................40
               2.2.2.10. Other Turkic idioms .................................................................42
               2.2.2.11. The language of media ...............................................................44

3. Methodological and technical remarks ........................................................................47
   3.1. Fieldwork ...............................................................................................................47
   3.2. Sample and data processing ................................................................................48
   3.3. Technical remarks ...............................................................................................51
   3.4. Abbreviations ......................................................................................................51
   3.5. Symbols ...............................................................................................................51

4. Phonology ...................................................................................................................52
   4.1. The phonemic inventory ......................................................................................52
       4.1.1. Vowel phonemes .......................................................................................52
4.1.2. Consonant phonemes ................................................................. 54
4.2. Phonological processes: Vowels .................................................... 55
  4.2.1. Fronting and raising .......................................................... 55
  4.2.2. Rounding and unrounding ................................................... 58
  4.2.3. Complex vowel change ....................................................... 59
  4.2.4. Prothesis ................................................................. 59
  4.2.5. Epenthesis .................................................................... 60
  4.2.6. Epithea ........................................................................ 62
  4.2.7. Deletion ........................................................................ 62
  4.2.8. Vowel harmony .................................................................... 65
  4.2.9. Consonant-vowel synharmony ............................................. 59
  4.2.10. Disharmony ................................................................. 70
  4.2.11. Vocalism and vowel harmony in copied lexemes ................. 72
4.3. Phonological processes: Consonants ............................................. 75
  4.3.1. Voicing ........................................................................... 75
  4.3.2. Assimilation ..................................................................... 77
  4.3.3. Dissimilation .................................................................... 82
  4.3.4. Metathesis ................................................................. 83
  4.3.5. Prothesis ........................................................................ 85
  4.3.6. Epenthesis ........................................................................ 86
  4.3.7. Deletion ........................................................................... 87
  4.3.8. Consonant-vowel complex reduction ................................... 90
4.4. Vowels: Details of realization and processes ................................... 92
4.5. Phonetic realization, phonotactics, processes: Consonants ............. 108
  4.5.1. Stops / plosives ................................................................ 114
  4.5.2. Nasals ........................................................................... 125
  4.5.3. Liquids ........................................................................... 126
  4.5.4. Fricatives ........................................................................ 128
  4.5.5. Affricates ........................................................................ 132
4.6. Phonological difference among the dialects .................................... 135
5. Morphology .................................................................................... 144
  5.1. Nominal morphology .................................................................. 144
    5.1.1. Nouns ........................................................................... 144
    5.1.2. Pronouns ........................................................................ 165
    5.1.3. Adjectives ........................................................................ 180
    5.1.4. Numerals ........................................................................ 181
    5.1.5. Adverbs ........................................................................... 186
    5.1.6. Postpositions .................................................................... 189
    5.1.7. Relational nouns ............................................................ 201
    5.1.8. Conjunctions .................................................................... 205
    5.1.9. Modal words .................................................................... 214
    5.1.10. Existentials ..................................................................... 216
    5.1.11. Particles .......................................................................... 217
    5.1.12. Interjections ................................................................... 223
6. Lexicology ....................................................................................... 228
  6.1. Lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects ......................... 228
    6.1.1. Homonyms varying in lexical meaning .................................. 230
    6.1.2. Phonetic divergence in synonymic lexemes ......................... 231

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

Bibliography ..................................................................................................258
Appendix ...........................................................................................................261
1. Introduction

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

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

---

1 Khalifa Qızilayaq (1342): *Farzi Ayni Turki*. 
Turkmen prose and poetry started to appear in print, on the radio and on TV. The first Turkmen newspaper to be published in Afghanistan was the bi-weekly Göreş. From its first issue on this newspaper caused discussions and dissent with regard to the kind of language, alphabet and orthography to be employed. Some community members favored a simple adoption of the Turkmen language of Turkmenistan, arguing that there existed a ready-to-use standardized idiom equipped with an alphabet and orthography, which should therefore be employed on the pages of Göreş as well. Another group argued against this opinion, saying that the Turkmen language of Turkmenistan was alien to the speakers of Afghanistan since the language of the latter should be based on the Ā:rsa:ri dialect, which is the majority Turkmen dialect of the country. Since the political regime of Afghanistan was dependent on Soviet protection at that time, a decision was finally taken in favor of the standard language of Turkmenistan. However, the superior importance of the Persian language in the society of Afghanistan and consequently, its tremendous influence on the local Turkmen idiom (as opposed to the Russian/Soviet influence on the Turkmenistani idiom) led to the result that this standard was never really achieved. Instead, the Turkmen idiom that was actually employed in Afghanistan remained under heavy influence of the Persian language. This very idiom is still widely used in Turkmen-language publications of Afghanistan today.

At the same "democratic" period a Turkmen Department was opened in the Directorate of Literary Production and Translation (Riyāsati Ta'lif-u Tarjima) of the Ministry of Education, whose employees authored a Turkmen-language set of all schoolbooks up to the sixth grade of primary school. These books were written in much the same idiom as the newspaper Göreş. In the Afghan Academy of Sciences a special department existed that was responsible for Turkmen matters; this department issued a poetry book by Mullā Davlatgeldi Fidāyi (with a prologue by the honorable Nur Muhammad Qarqin). The language of that book diverged so far from the regular language as employed elsewhere that according to a widespread saying, no one but the author himself can fully understand it. Mr Qarqin in his turn attempted to conform to the standard language of Turkmenistan to such a degree that his text abounds with loanwords as progressiv, rekcion and others, which according to Afghan Turkmen understanding are very difficult. In other writings, which he later published in Pakistan, the author continued to use that kind of language. The schoolbooks published by the above-named Directorate, on the other hand, did not succeed in creating a sustainable standard either, although (or because) their authors made ample use of books printed in Ashgabat when preparing their texts.
In later years the Afghan Writers' Union (Anjumani Navisandagāni Afghānistān) published several volumes of lyrics by contemporary writers. The language employed in these works is again heavily influenced by Persian, which renders it heavy and difficult. Articles which were published in journals like Milliyathāyi Birādar\(^2\) and similar ones widely share these features as well.

Turkmen language broadcasting of Afghanistan's radio and television programs, on the other hand, did not follow a consistent language policy in the period of time under consideration. Afghanistan's new Constitution of 2004 grants Turkmen, along with a number of other languages, the status of a "third official language".\(^3\) However, due to the fact that no reliable standard language has been brought into being so far, the irregular and anarchical language usage continues to persist until today. A wide range of idioms that rely on different dialect bases and imaginations of standard and style is employed from schoolbooks to newspaper and journal articles, from volumes of lyrics and stories to all other writings that are currently being submitted to the public. Even the schoolbooks published by the Ministry of Education are linguistically inhomogenous due to the fact that each one of the six authors who form the authors' collective, in the absence of a reliable standard, uses more or less their own idiolect.

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

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

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

---

\(^2\) This journal was published under the auspices of the Ministry for Ethnic Groups and Tribes (Vizārati Aqvām-u Qabāyil) in seven languages: Dari, Pashto, Uzbek, Turkmen, Balochi, Nuristānī, and Pashai.

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

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

Language is an important feature of cultural group identity. Ethnic groups who strive for a cultural identity of their own within a given society or nation and on a given territory do so because they strive for their common good. A shared language is a decisive factor of community building and unification. Since more than one decade among the Turkmens of Afghanistan the awareness of language as a unifying factor and distinctive marker of ethnic identity has constantly increased. This awareness comes with a steadily rising desire to attain unity of language, and with the recognition of language-making as a major social duty. In order to build a unitary language which then can form the basis of standard and norm, much work needs to be done for the Turkmen language of Afghanistan. Language building is a complex and demanding process; painstaking work by linguists and other scholars will be part of it, and so will be benevolent support on the part of the state. In order to even meaningfully start this process, it appears indispensable to create a sound knowledge of the underlying dialectal basis. Taking all this into account, I have made up my mind to contribute to the language making effort through an investigation into the different ethnic dialects of the Turkmens of Afghanistan. So far, these dialects have not been in the focus of local or foreign scholarship at all. I hope to take a first important step by collecting first-hand dialect materials, analyzing it, and publishing my documentation and analysis.
1.1 The aim of this study
Undue and discriminatory policies pursued by states, together with radical changes in social, political, economic and cultural life, and an imbalanced availability of highly developed technologies have in recent years sported a trend away from local and minority idioms and towards the adaption of official and high-prestige languages. This trend, which has become apparent in Afghanistan as well, is putting pressure upon local and minority idioms and among these of course, the Afghan Turkmen language. Turkmen has over the last centuries actually not lost much importance in many domains of Turkmen social life. However, under the influence of all factors named above its position has been weakened. In particular, no attempts at standardization have so far been made.
This study aims at providing a documentation of, and investigation in the nature and quality of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their position and function within the social fabric of the area. Since so far neither local nor foreign scholars have carried out in-depth studies on Afghan Turkmen, the compilation and documentation of texts from a broad ethnic, geographical and social sample will provide a preliminary survey of the dialect landscape. The analytical part of the study cannot aim at a comprehensive investigation; yet it aims at documenting the linguistic features and social uses of the Turkmen idioms of Afghanistan, as thoroughly as the compiled material allows. It will hopefully not only bring fresh knowledge to Turkology and Central Asian Studies, by providing a comparative perspective on these idioms, but also create a basis for upcoming social initiatives in the field of language planning and language making for the benefit of the community.4

1.2 State of research on the Turkmen dialects
Turkmen dialects were first made the subject of scholarly research in the middle of the 19th century, when in 1845-1848 the Russian orientalist Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin published his studies on the Turkmen dialect of Astarabad.5 Nikolaj Il'minskij collected much information on the Yomut dialect, which Schiefner translated and published in German.6
After the Russian occupation of major parts of the Central Asian region scholarly interest in these areas increased and the Turkmen dialects also came into the focus of Turkological, linguistic and ethnographic research by specialists like S. Agabekov, I.A. Belyaev, F.Y. Korš, Mosel (2006).

See Nartiev (1994).

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

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

Another scholar to whom Turkmen dialectology and early linguistics in general owe major contributions was A.P. Poceluevskiy. From 1927 to 1932 he collected a wealth of materials on the Turkmen dialects and as early as in 1932 published Диалекты туркменского языка, which is still considered a major reference work8. In this study Poceluevskiy describes the important features that delineate the Turkmen dialects from each other, and attempts to establish the position of the Turkmen dialects among the Turkic languages. Poceluevskiy, in outlining the different idioms, does not relate them back to ethnic/tribal divisions but strives for a strictly areal delineation. Today it is difficult to understand if he did so because of ideological considerations – for example, so as not to "undermine the unity of the Turkmen nation" or to "rid society of noxious relics of the past" such as tribalism.9 After all, we may assume that in the early Soviet period most Turkmens on Soviet territory still lived in tribally determined communities so that areal distribution would more or less coincide with tribal affiliation anyway. Only mass emigration to Afghanistan in the 1920s and early 1930s led to massive uprooting, relocation and resettlement in, to some degree, ethnically more mixed communities. The contemporary Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan prove to be ethnically

9 Bregel (1981:12) explains that tribal division within a "socialist nation" was unwelcome in the early Soviet period to such a degree that even the materials of the census of 1926 did not lay tribal division open although the data had been collected. In the rich source materials on the Turkmens published in Materialy (1938), which among others include some historical information on the Ā:rsa:rı, Sarıq, Bayat and other Turkmens of what is today Afghanistan, however, such information was not suppressed.
determined, which most probably they were back on Soviet territory as well, although Poceluevskiy prefers to read language difference not in ethnic but in areal terms.

Map 1: Distribution of the Turkmen tribes in the early to mid-20th century.

Starting from the middle of the 20th century a lot of research on the Turkmen dialects has been done by scholars from Turkmenistan. A number of candidate dissertations were written on particular dialects or subgroups of a dialect. Among these are N. Durdımura dov (1950) on the dialect of the Ali Ili; J. Amansa rev (1954) on the northern variants of the Yomut dialect; in 1959 M. Atajanov graduated with a piece on the Salır, and X. Muxiyev, on the Noxur dialect; in 1960 N. Nartiev and G. Kulmanov followed suit with works on the Sarıq and the Gökle ng dialects, respectively. R. Berdiyev supplied a study on the northern Yomut

---

10 Bregel 2003:75.
11 Н. Дурдымуратов: Диалект алии туркменского языка. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1950.
12 Дж. Амансарышев: Северные говоры ёмудского диалекта туркменского языка. Автореферат, Ашхабад, 1954. Regrettably, most of the studies I am citing here have not been available to me for inclusion into my own work.
dialects. In the late Soviet period in-depth studies came to be published which referred to special issues of the Turkmen dialects. On the other hand, investigation in selected dialects continued. As can be seen, in all of these studies the ethnic principle of dialect classification was resumed again.

From the 1970s on the basis was broad enough for comprehensive studies that put the accumulated materials and informations into perspective. In the year 1970 Amansa:rıev and a collective of authors published general overviews over all Turkmen dialects and Annanurov’s dialect lexicon came out in 1977 as an endeavour supported by the Academy of Sciences.

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

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

---

17. R. Berdiev: Türkmen dilinin yomut şişesinin demirgazık gepleşikleri, Aşğabat 1970
22. A. Annanurow: Türkmen dilinin dialektologik sözlüğü, Aşğabat (Ilım neşriyatı) 1977
ends. Until Clark (1998) the most informative Western pieces on the Turkmen language were Dulling's\textsuperscript{29} and Oskar Hanser's\textsuperscript{30} introductions from 1960 and 1977, respectively, and Johannes Benzing's dissertation on the verb system\textsuperscript{31}; Claus Schönig's chapter on the Turkmen language (1999)\textsuperscript{32} is a brief but informative summary. Turkish scholars like Doğan Levent\textsuperscript{33}, Saadet Çağtay\textsuperscript{34}, Mehmet Kara\textsuperscript{35} and Talat Tekin\textsuperscript{36} have also engaged in the study of the Turkmen language, but they occupy themselves with the standard language or with general turkological issues rather than with the particularities of the Turkmen dialects. In the last decade the Turkmen standard language has repeatedly been in the focus of highly specialized linguistic studies of young Turkish scholars (e.g. Cahit Başdaş 2015, Özgür S. Berkil 2003, Erkan Salan 2011, Savaş Şahin 2012); the dialects are, however, not included in these studies.

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

\textsuperscript{29} Dulling, G.K.: \textit{An Introduction to the Turkmen Language}, Oxford 1960.
\textsuperscript{33} Levent Doğan 1996: "Türkmen Türkçesinin Fonetik ve Morfolojik Özellikleri Üzerine", \textit{Türk lehçeleri ve Edebiyat Dergisi}, Sayı 5, Şubat.
\textsuperscript{34} Saadet Çağatay: \textit{Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri}, Ankara 1977.
\textsuperscript{37} Gunnar Jarring: \textit{On The Distribution Of Turk Tribes In Afghanistan: An Attempt At A Preliminary Classification}, Lund 1939.
\textsuperscript{38} Erhard Franz: “Zur gegenwärtigen Verbreitung und Gruppierung der Turkmenen in Afghanistan”, \textit{Baessler-Archiv Neue Folge XX.1972}, 191-239; see also Franz (1972b).
2. The Turkmens of Afghanistan and their dialects

2.1 Turkmens and the regions inhabited by them

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

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

39 See Clark (1998:11) for further references.
According to Döwletgeldi Fida:yi (Fidayi, n.d.), the Turkmens first started to come to Afghanistan in a rather unsteady manner in the 1920s. In 1930, Turkmen tribes moved in significant number from the Lebāb, Dāšoğuz and Marw provinces to Afghanistan and settled in various locations like Andkhoy, Šibirghān, Aqča, Qataghan, the vicinities of Mazār-i Šarīf and even as far as Maymana and Herāt. Massive migration went on up to 1932, at which time the Afghan government began to relocate newcoming Turkmen tribes to Farāh, Ċaxānsūr and Hilmand in Southern Afghanistan. This policy soon caused the migration flow to stop and from that point onward no significant inflow of Turkmen groups to Afghanistan happened.  

Basing his work on Soviet archival materials, the Tajik historian Kamoludin Abdullaev in his comprehensive book on Central Asian migration in the 20th century gives an estimate of more than 225,000 Turkmen migrants as having arrived in North-Western Afghanistan by 1926. Among them were Junayd Khān's Yomut from the central Karakum who had left Turkmenistan for Iran in 1928 and went on to the Herāt region in 1929, as well as the Ġara clan from the region Jiliköl (East Bukhara, today Southern Tajikistan), whose total population had emigrated. The exodus of mainly Ärsa:rı Turkmens from the Southern Karakum to Andkhoy, Šibirghān and Aqča in 1922-25 reduced the district of Kerki to little more than half of its previous population. On Afghan territory the migrants did not mingle with the locals, but preferred to continue to live in communities of their own.

Until today the state authorities of Afghanistan have not published any reliable data and figures on the Turkmen population of the country. Informations given by foreign researchers are divergent and do not appear to conform to the contemporary reality of the Turkmen community of Afghanistan. According to the materials of I.I. Burgi between 1959 and 1987 the Turkmen population amounted to some 50,000, while according to the investigations of A. Davidov in late 1980 it was around 900,000. Larry Clark (1998:10) relates the number of Turkmen, according to different sources, as between 300,000 and 900,000 and later renders an own estimate of 400,000, out of which 350,000 would belong to the Ärsa:rı tribe. Clark gives the following numbers of Turkmen for the respective provinces of Afghanistan: Jowzjān

---

43 Döwletgeldi Fidāi belongs to the rare learned persons among the Ärsa:rı Turkmen of his time. During the first stages of the Russian revolution he served as the governor of the city of Bo:rdalıq in today’s Lebāb province of Turkmenistan. He eventually escaped Stalinist repression by fleeing to Afghanistan.
45 Abdullaev (2009:350) does not indicate how many of these migrants remained on Afghan territory. The figure of “around 200,000” at the time of the 1979 Soviet invasion which he renders p. 349 does not appear too plausible.
46 11,371 households left while appr. 13,000 remained there (Abdullaev 2009:349).
47 Abdullaev 2009:351.
48 Cf. Durdıyev & Kadirov 1379:73.
Since no reliable census of the population has ever been carried out by the government, all these figures must be considered as highly speculative. This fact has not changed for the better since Gunnar Jarring\(^{49}\) back in the 1930s called for more ethnographic and linguistic studies on the local Turkic peoples (Jarring 1939:10).

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

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


\(^{50}\) Behmen 1380:54.

\(^{51}\) Vámbéry (1865:250), quoted by Jarring 1939:49.
Babaeva\textsuperscript{52} and also Clark (1998:10) and Dupree\textsuperscript{53} indicate Ali-Eli as living in Afghanistan. Contrary to this information, today there is no more evidence of this ethnic group in Afghanistan. We may thus assume that Ali-Eli actually did live in Andkhoy at Vámbéry's time but later on emigrated from there to other places. Already Jarring in the 1930s suggested that there were none left in Afghanistan in his day (1939:49f.). The other authors seem to hand down Vámbéry's information without having checked for contemporary evidence.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{52} Babaeva 1992:22.
\textsuperscript{54} Franz (1972a:226) also quotes the concept as being widely used in the early 1970s.
\textsuperscript{55} Compare Franz (1972a:228f.) for details on the cohabitation of communities of different tribal affiliation, which is generally the exception rather than the rule.
mentions that while for members of the larger tribes (Ä:rsa:ri, Teke...), affiliation to the tribe is more important than their personal affiliation to a sub-entity, members of smaller tribes (Olam, Xoja:mba:z...) often consider the sub-entity as relevant. A detailed description of the Turkmen tribes and their subdivisions cannot be provided here; for the purpose of this study only a rough overview of the large Turkmen tribes of Afghanistan, together with some information concerning their most important places of settlement, can be given.

2.1.1 Ä:rsa:ri

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bekewil</th>
<th>Göneš</th>
<th>Uldepe</th>
<th>Ğara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuwačı</td>
<td>Ğa:basaqqal</td>
<td>Etbāš</td>
<td>Aranji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa:rılı</td>
<td>Čaqır</td>
<td>Ğaraja</td>
<td>Qurayš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yerli</td>
<td>Ārqa:ţur</td>
<td>Ğızılayaq</td>
<td>Ögem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğoša:ţoγoyun</td>
<td>Ğabırdı</td>
<td>Isla:m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamma</td>
<td>Ğızılaya</td>
<td>Esenmeţli</td>
<td>Yabnɨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğekir</td>
<td>Surx</td>
<td>Meňneţık</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sülüeymen</td>
<td>A:qderi</td>
<td>Ta:ţan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bağšılı</td>
<td>Ğıpbaş</td>
<td>Ğa:zan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

57 For the localization of the main Ä:rsa:ri communities and all other Turkmen tribes and subgroups, along with my own fieldwork findings I mainly rely on the unpublished manuscript Türkmen görniši ta’rīxde by the late ‘Abdulkarīm Behmən.

58 Jarring 1939:47.
59 Jarring 1939:47, relying on statistical information about the Ä:rsa:ri of the left bank of the Amū given by Komarov in 1887.
The geographical distribution of the Ä:rsa:rı in the provinces of Afghanistan, which I derive from my own recent fieldwork\(^2\), is as follows:

- **Kunduz:** Kunduz City; districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Ṣāḥib, Čār-Dara, Šerxān Bandar, Dašti Arči
- **Baghlān:** Čašmai Šīr (a village related to Pulixumri)
- **Balkh:** Bābāṣiddīq (a village in the district of Xulm / Tāšqorghān); the districts of Keldār, Šortepe, Dawlatābād, Čārbölək, Balx, Dehdādī, Čāyi, Nahrşāhlī; Mazāri Šarīf City
- **Jowzjān:** the districts of Aqča, Murdīyān, Meşejeik, Fayžābād, Xānqāh, Xojadūkūh, Qarqın, Xamyāb; Šibirγān City
- **Fāryāb:** the districts of Andkhoy, Xānčārbāγ, Qorghān, Qaramqol, Dawlatābād, Qaysār, Almār
- **Bādghīs:** Marūčāq (a village in the district of Bālā Murghāb)
- **Hilmand:** the village Nahri Sirāj

2.1.2 Sa:rıq\(^3\)

The Sa:rıq form the second largest Turkmen tribe of Afghanistan today. As a compact group they live in Marūčāq in the North Western province of Bādghīs. Some disparate lineages also reside in Herāt.\(^4\) The most prominent lineages of the Sa:rıq are the following:

---

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

\(^{62}\) I can, however, not give any figures concerning these settlements since that was not the aim of my work.

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

\(^{64}\) According to Jarring (quoting various sources, particularly the Border Commission) there were "hardly 30 families" of Sa:rıq left on Afghan territory, which seems to be a somewhat too low estimate (Jarring 1939:45).
Table 2: The Sa:rıq clans and their lineages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alıša 65</th>
<th>Pılatıša 66</th>
<th>Amaša</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alnıš</td>
<td>Beden</td>
<td>Barzaqı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xora:sa:nlı</td>
<td>Bayrač</td>
<td>Ğızılmıra:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğoyumği</td>
<td>Suxtı</td>
<td>Ğųjoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ja:mbeg</td>
<td>Ğa:nbaš</td>
<td>Sayxdemir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erkiseddix</td>
<td>Ğojašı</td>
<td>Doyašı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Momatay</td>
<td>Ğızıl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usta</td>
<td>Xerzeki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xojanazar</td>
<td>Süyenali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3 Teke

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

Table 3: The clans and lineages of the Teke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toxtamiş 67</th>
<th>Ğıtemiş</th>
<th>Yalqamiş</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beg</td>
<td>Weci:l</td>
<td>Sičmaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğoŋor</td>
<td>Ğara:keki:l</td>
<td>Meriš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğo:kče</td>
<td>Ha:ru:n</td>
<td>Peręŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha:r</td>
<td>Bükri</td>
<td>Ğaraaxmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğaršal</td>
<td>Topuz</td>
<td>Sulta:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ğanqıq</td>
<td>Xoja:pi</td>
<td>Ezi:z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Jarring 1939:37 has Alıša including Alnıš, Alına, Usta and Xoji Nazara (sic); the other lineages are not mentioned, while “Xorasanlı” figure among the Pılatıša tribe.

66 According to Jarring (1939:37) the Pulat-şah consist of Sapi, Bayrač, Xorasanlı, Gerzeki (sic), Arxaki and others (which he does not specify). There are no Amaša in Jarring’s survey.

67 Jarring (1939:38, 48f.) names the Taxtamiş ~ Toxtamiş (with sub-clans Weci and Bek) and Ota:miş ~ Ğıtemiş (with sub-clans Bašı and Sičmaz) and mentions an unspecified “great number of minor divisions”.

16
2.1.4 Yomut

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

\[\text{Table 5: The clans, sub-clans and lineages of the Yomut}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ġutlytemir (Ġaračuqa)</th>
<th>O:tłtemir (Bayramśa:li)(^{68})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Čoni – Ataba:ya</td>
<td>Šeri:p – Japarba:ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aːqaba:ya</td>
<td>Šeri:p Ya:räh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badraq</td>
<td>Šeri:p Nuːräh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Topčılar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eymir</td>
<td>Ġaraxoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Güjük</td>
<td>Mıralı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ġa:nıqıqumazı</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gojaq</td>
<td>Xajı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igdır</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Saliq</th>
<th>Öküz</th>
<th>Orsaqčı</th>
<th>Ušaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aːqaba:ya</td>
<td>Aːq Saliq</td>
<td>Aːq Öküz</td>
<td>Alńjașeytaːn</td>
<td>Baraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badraq</td>
<td>Garasałąq</td>
<td>Ġara Öküz</td>
<td>Jüneyt</td>
<td>Temeč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Topčılar</td>
<td>Ġırimsa</td>
<td>Ġarsaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eymir</td>
<td>Ġaraxoja</td>
<td>Ġaraboyun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Güjük</td>
<td>Mıralı</td>
<td>Tebele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ġa:nıqıqumazı</td>
<td></td>
<td>Xajı</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.5 Salır\(^{69}\)

The Salır make up only a small group in Afghanistan today, smaller than the Teke, Yomut and Saːrīq which had before the departure of the Salor from the Western Turkmen steppes been only their junior members.\(^{70}\) They mostly live in Herät.\(^{71}\) Many Salır have after 1979

\(^{68}\) According to Jarring (1939:38) Bayramčoli or Utlitemir; the Ušaq are in Jarring's systematization a sub-clan of their own.

\(^{69}\) Against existent scholarship, I do not indicate the contemporary tribal name as Salor but as Salır in accordance with the pronunciation in Afghanistan.


\(^{71}\) Franz (1972a:204) locates Salor in several villages in the Herat province and an "eastern group" in seven villages in the Balkh province. The latter are, according to Franz, Alam and Xojaːmaːz and are by many not acknowledged as Salor; the Āːrsaːrī with which they live together in the Balkh province are "not acknowledging them as xālis Turkmens" and some Alam (= Olam) and Xojaːmaːz are reported as counting themselves among
emigrated to Iran due to war and lack of security. Among their prominent lineages are the following:

Table 5: The Salır clans and lineages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kičia:ğa(^\text{72})</th>
<th>Ğaraman</th>
<th>Yalawač</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arslan</td>
<td>Ėjīm</td>
<td>Begsaqar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayat</td>
<td>Ku:šiboqa</td>
<td>Kese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokaş</td>
<td>Xalilčulum</td>
<td>Keri:ma:ğa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokğara</td>
<td>Gedek</td>
<td>Orduğoja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya:qu:p</td>
<td>Öküjkli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya:jı</td>
<td>Begbölke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oljuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.6 Yemreli

The Yemreli in Afghanistan also make up only a small number. Some of their families live in Herāt. The most prominent ones of their lineages are the following\(^\text{73}\):

Table 6: The lineages of the Yemreli

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Da:ğlı</th>
<th>Ğumlı</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ba:y</td>
<td>Garaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazaq</td>
<td>Garawı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiđır</td>
<td>Taqirdın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma:rip</td>
<td>Dâ:diš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berdixoja</td>
<td>Jüneyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėçaśan</td>
<td>Yarlı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^{73}\) Jarring does not indicate any subdivisions of the Yemreli (Yemrili in his text).
2.1.7 Qarqın

The Qarqın are one of the 24 ancient tribes of the Turkmen. According to the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1886 they numbered around 1,000 households on Afghan territory. Today they do not constitute a very big group either, nor does their dialect differ significantly from the Ā:rsa:ri dialect. A district bordering the Amū Daryā, i.e. Qarqın, bears the name of this ethnic group. Outside the Qarqın district, members of the tribe also live in Andkhoy, in the district of Imām Şāḥib (Kunduz province) and, in yet smaller numbers, in several other districts. The Qarqın tribe comprises the following lineages: Topbaq, Solqa, Dūgir, Ya:dam, Janči, Ešekli, Yerya:ğ, Jüyjik, Dikayaq, Hapbek, Srğinli, Hekge, Čo:ga, Paxta, Mälečä:kmen, Čaqqu, Tulum, Ğa:pla, Tusi, Öküz, Ğuзи, Kö:ne, Kömir, Mašša, Maxdum, Sütýte, Kä:di, Mele, Tor, Bišik, Düyve, Demir, Da:š, Çağşal, Togsa, Xanba:d, Gö:k, Jürde, Čerm, Biğrıl, Odudz, Ğa:ibaš, Čalšaq, Sanač, Kese, Pıçaqlı, Ğıjaq, A:lagöz, Ğa:wıncı, Dö:š, Maššaq, Pä:wler, Meleńler, Di:wa:na, Maymaq, Ğiwalt.75

2.1.8 Čayı

In a compact settlement, members of this group live mostly in the district of Čayı (Balkh province), while others live disparately in Aqča, Šibirghān and other towns. Their dialect does not differ from the Ā:rsa:ri dialect. The main lineages within the Čayı tribe are said to be as follows: Sa:ribaš, Pa:dalar, Yetdi, Salır, Ğaračomaq.

2.1.9 Bayat77

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

75 This list was kindly provided by our informant the esteemed Ha:ji Uwez Durdı, a 70 year-old resident of Qarqın. – Jarring (1939:39) mentions "some divisions" of the Qarqın but does not give names.
76 Franz (1972:219) in his findings of 1970 names the Čayı as a subgroup of the (Ā:rsa:ri) Qara-Baka'ul (= Qara? Bekewil?) along with Lamba/Lama, Qultaq, Sarlı and Tuvarai.
77 Information on the Bayat lineages was provided by Ha:ji Rahmatulla:h, age 48, a resident of Šibirghān.
78 Cf. Bregel 1981:23 fn. 44.
Along with the tribes enumerated above there exist another couple of tribes which live in much the same regions as the Ä:rsa:rı, but are not part of the basic structure of that tribe. Nartıyev characterizes their dialects as "of Qıpçaq origin",79 we count them among the nāxāliɵ dialects. They are subdivided into the following lineages: Kette, Tirmek, Šağal, Sayat, Qadam, A:rıqlı, Sa:biq, Gō:šti:mez, Qazaq, Maŋqa, Güneybaxterlı.

2.1.10 Muqrı80
Members of the Muqrı tribe81 live in compact groups in Aqča, Murdıyān, in the province of Jowzjān; in the district of Xančārbāgh (Fāryāb province); in the district of Davlatābād and in villages around Šaharak and Sıyāhgird (all in the Balkh province); in the Čārdara district of the province of Kunduz. Some more Muqrı live in disparate settlements elsewhere in the region. Their dialect differs significantly from the xālış Turkmen dialects. Their main subtribal division reads as follows: Alći, Köpek, Örgenji, Başığarğalı, Egrikelle, Çi:şdepeli, Yıgrımtö:rtatlı.

2.1.11 Xaṭap82
Members of this tribe live in the vicinity of Muqrı Turkmens in Aqča, Murdıyān, in the province of Jowzjān; in the district of Xančārbāgh (Fāryāb province); in the district of Davlatābād and in villages around Šaharak and Sıyāhgird (all in the Balkh province); furthermore in the districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Ṣāḥib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province, as well as in a disparate form in other places. The Xaṭap are mostly immigrants from the south-eastern regions of today's Turkmenistan who came to North Afghanistan as refugees in the 1920s, as did the Ä:rsa:rı, the Muqrı and Xoja:mba:z. According to their own traditions, in their places of origin they had also lived as neighbors of the Muqrı. Their dialects are similar. Their tribal subdivision is as follows: Dō:nmez, Telter, Joŋ, Ğaralar, Jü:jeler, Kö:seler, Yu:ha:, Gō:k, Ğartaŋ, La:flar, La:jerem, Ğekene, Yağmır, Nawa:yı, Abaytal, Ė:naqći, A:qeşekli, Tutan, Ğaraburuğçi.

80 Data was provided by Da:wu:d A:ğa:, 70, resident of Siyāgird, Balkh province.
81 Jarring (1939:39) mentions the Mukri as a group related to the Gögleŋ and gives no further details.
82 The data on the Xaṭap subtribal division was collected from Xuda:yberdi A:ğa:, a resident of the Aqča district.
2.1.12 Surxı

Members of this little tribe live in disparate settlements in the district of Xânčārbāgh; in Aqča, Murdiyān and Fayżābād (all Jowzjān province); in the districts of Qal'ai Zāl, Imām Şāhib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province. Their dialect depicts closeness to the dialects of the Bayat, Xuṭab, and Muqri. They are divided into Yu:lq, Muğul, Qarğalı, Qullar, Dü:pberdi, Sūple, Čumbegli, Čä:ğarıqlı.

2.1.13 Xoja:mba:z

Members of this tribe live along the river Amū Daryā in the districts of Qal’ai Zāl, Imām Şāhib and Čārdara of the Kunduz province; in the district of Šortepe (Balkh province) and in Aqča. Their dialect belongs to the nāxālıș group of Turkmen dialects. Xoja:mba:z divide into Kö:seler, Qazaq, Küyük, Laqqa, Čaqqa:n, Gürji, Girrik, Şanḩı, Dā:liajam, Yetdiuruğ, Tosal, Keltek, Araplar, Ziya:n. 85

Map 2: Residential places of Turkmen people in Afghanistan

---

83 Data was provided by Alla:berdi surxı 64, resident of Xa:nčā:rba:ğ, Fa:ɾiya:b province.
84 Compare Qiyāmuddin Rā’i (1358:45-46).
85 The list was gathered from Muxammad Amin Qa:ni’, 60, a resident of the city of Kunduz. – The informants of Franz (1972a:224) mentioned the Xoja:mba:z as a subgroup of the Salor and, in very limited overlapping with our own information, reported the lineages of Aćam, Arab, Beşleri, Ča:rek, Dā:lī, Herekli, Qireq, Şağır, Şanţ, Şı:x and Tat (the latter of which points to the "Uzbekness" ascribed to the group since Tat is among Turkmens of Afghanistan a familiar derogatory denomination for Uzbeks).
In addition to the aforementioned groups, members of the Qultaq, Burqaz, Čandır and Saltıq tribes are also to be found within Afghanistan's borders, particularly in the North of the country where they reside mostly among, or in close geographical proximity to the Ä:rsa:rı. As a consequence, their idioms present very few differences from that of the Ä:rsa:rı. This is even the case of the Qultaq who live among themselves in an eponym settlement in the district of Šortepe.

Gunnar Jarring (1939:50) mentions a tribe named Qarama (sic) which dwelt to the East of Andkhoy and amounted to 12,000 families. He hypothesizes that the British agent Burnes may have mixed them up with the Saqar who lived on the shore of the Amū Daryā and whose population he estimated as 2,000 individuals. We regard these considerations regarding the Qurama as being downright mistaken. The label Qurama does not refer properly speaking to a tribe, but to an agglomeration of small Turkmen tribes and lineages who dwelt in the vicinity of Andkhoy but are not considered by Turkmen tribes as being part of the Ä:rsa:rı. According
to Ä:rsa:rı authoritative elders (ya:šulı), the denomination appeared in the 1930s as an outcome of the process of taxpaying to the central government of Afghanistan. As the Ä:rsa:rı settled in Afghanistan after having fled from the Soviet Union, their tribal leaders agreed to collect taxes from each Turkmen tribal group within their boundary of authority. The Ä:rsa:rı split the task of tax collection between the Ğara, Bekawul, Göneš and Ulıdepe tribal divisions but did not take responsibility to collect taxes from the small non-Ä:rsa:rı tribes. The state grouped these small tribes under the pseudo-tribal name Qurama for the sake of tax collection. The label applied even to tribal groups like the Kiyikči (whom the Ä:rsa:rı do not consider as being Turkmens at all). The word indeed means “agglomeration, assemblage, grouping”. Besides Andkhoy, people called Qurama are also present in other places like in Šortepe, where small tribal divisions are grouped under this very label.86

2.2 The Turkmen dialects

Scholars from the Soviet and Turkmenistani school consider the Turkmen dialects to essentially fall into two groups, namely, the Oghuz and Qıpčaq dialects. The Oghuz group includes the Teke, Yomut, Ä:rsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Salır, Ali-Eli, Gögleŋ, Yemreli, Saqar and Burqaz; the Qıpčaq group includes the Noxur, Olam, Surxı, Xaṭab, Muqrı, Čawdur, Bayat, Eski, Qarač, Ānāw, Hisa:r, Saya:d, Bu:jaq, İğdir, Diyeji and others.87 This classification had first been introduced by the Russian linguist A.P. Poceluevskij and was refined by the Turkmenistani Turkmen scholars A. Annanurov and N. Nartyev. For classificatory purposes, they relied primarily – on phonological grounds – on the distribution of the interdentals /ŧ/ and /dı/ and on the formation of the present continuous with vörmek versus durmaq, respectively.88 Scholars who write in Persian also acknowledge the existence of two major dialect groups, but rather use the denominations "Turkmens proper (turkmanāni xālış)" and "non-proper Turkmens (turkmanāni nāxālış)"89, which I will also apply in my study. Jävad Häy'ät uses the terms lahjahā-ye xālış and lahjahā-ye maxlūṭ instead.90

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

---

86 The data regarding the Qurama was collected from Muxammadqul Ba:y, son of Ama:ngeldi Ba:tır, a ya:šulı of the Čaqr subdivision of the Ä:rsa:rı tribe.
87 Nartyev 1994:27.
89 Qiyāmuddin Rāay 1358:45-46.
91 Qiyāmuddin Rāay 1358:45-46.
this article introduces the Turkmen language of Afghanistan in very general terms but does not provide any detailed linguistic information.

2.2.1 The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and their neighboring languages

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

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

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

92 Franz 1972a: 203.
The most widely spoken Turkmen dialect of Afghanistan is the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, whose speakers, according to reasoned estimate, make up for approximately 80% of the total of Turkmen speakers of the country. Speakers of various Ä:rsa:rı idioms – which among themselves show little variation only – inhabit the whole region at all populated by Turkmens. In places and regions like Andxoy, Davlatābād and the Qaysar and Almār districts (all Fāryāb province) as well as in Šibirghān, Aqča, Xāngāh, Murdıyān, Fayzābād and Xoja Dūkūh (all Jowzjān province); Qal'āi Zāl, Bandari Šerxān, Čārdara and Kunduz City (all Kunduz province); and in Herāt City, Bandari Turghundū and the districts of Gulrān and Ghoriyān (all Herāt province) the Ä:rsa:rı live in close vicinity of Uzbeks, Tajiks and Paštuns, while some places like the districts of Xamyāb, Qarqin and Mengejik (all Jowzjān province), Šortepe and Kaldār (Balkh province) are exclusively populated by Ä:rsa:rı, and Turkmens constitute the overall majority of the inhabitants of regions like Qal'āi Zāl (Kunduz province) and Marūčāq (Bādghīs province). In the public sphere, Turkmen idioms find themselves under pressure by high-prestige varieties such as Fārsī-Dari or Uzbek in many places.

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

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

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

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

93 For details on the Turkmen settlements in the province of Kunduz I rely on the valuable help of Hajji: Ima:mqul and Xayruddi:n Šerza:d from Qal'ai Zāl.
The Turkmens of Afghanistan were for a long time not entitled to use their mother tongue in public because if they did so, they would face disapproval and contempt by members of the neighboring ethnic groups. People were even ashamed of using their own language in mixed assemblies. Modern media like the press, radio and TV, or modern means of education were not available in the Turkmen language. As has already been mentioned before, this situation only changed for the better when in the Constitution of 2004 (§ 16) the Turkmens were granted the right to use the Turkmen language as an official language (along with Darī and Paštu) of schooling, administration, court etc. in areas where they live.

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

2.2.2 Some sociolinguistic phenomena

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

---

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

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

2.2.2.1 Dialect difference: Politeness

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

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

---

\textsuperscript{95} Baskakov (1970:180f.) states that the pluralized pronoun \textit{sizler} in Turkmen would be a honorific form typical of the spoken language as such, which may occasionally occur in the written language as well, but does not give any indication of dialect differences in these matters.
conform to standards of polite expression. The details of this distinction demand for more in-depth investigation for there is even reason to assume that an overarching linguistic divide between xältiș and naxältiș runs through these dialects which might indeed, perhaps among other things, be marked particularly by the relevance or irrelevance of the functional criterion of politeness. Although I cannot go into sufficient detail here for lack of systematic enquiry on this topic, some preliminary observations may still be worth drawing the readers' attention to.

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

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

---

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

97 For the generalities of the notion see Austin (1962); more specifically: Penco&Vignolo (2005); Liu n.d.
demands for an indirect hint such as asking in a polite tone, "üyde du:z bar mı?" lit. 'Is there any salt in the home?' (which in its turn might by members of many a speech community be considered a sarcastic and rude saying!), Teke etc. guests would come up with a straightforward and, by measures of an Ä:rsa:rı recipient of the message, truly rude sačaqda du:z yo:q du:z getir! 'There is no salt at table, fetch salt!'.

Generally speaking, those Turkmen dialects which numerically dominate in Afghanistan observe a subtle and rather strictly-to-be-applied expression of social relations and hierarchies in verbal as well as non-verbal communication. In some cases there is even some additional internal differentiation between these dialects, as the following example will demonstrate.

What has been said about the impossibility to use 2.P.Sg. sen when addressing a person of higher social rank than ego, in the case of the Muqrı dialect also extends into the realm of the third person. When I attended an assembly of honored elderly men from the Muqrı ethnic community in the district of Aqča (Jowzjān province), one of the gentlemen introduced me to the others saying,

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

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

- **ö:z-ler-i sağ-mı-lar?** (Är.13)
  
  self-PL3POSS healthy-QPL
  
  'Is he healthy?'

- **tağsir! siz qačan biz-iŋ-k-ä: bar-ar=qa:-ņiz?** (Är.9)
  
  sirEXCL youPL when we-GENPARTDAT go-AORCLt2PLPOSS
  
  Sir, when are you intending to visit us (at home)?
Generally, dialect-speaking men with close ties to the religious sphere (in the local idioms denoted as *ahli madrasa* 'people of the madrasa') display a marked inclination towards overuse of pluralisation. Not only do they more or less regularly replace the PRON2SG *sen* with PRON2PL *siz* in whatever contexts, but they also attach a plural suffix to the regular IMPER2PL, e.g., *geliňler*! 'come!', *barıňlar*! 'go!', obviously inspired by the excessive politeness that prevails at madrasas.\(^98\)

### 2.2.2.2 Dialect difference: Address

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

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

---

\(^98\) Whether or not this pluralisation of IMPER2PL might be copied from neighboring Uzbek dialects, which also show this phenomenon, remains to be investigated.
whose social status the speakers are uncertain so that they do not know for sure which term of address would be appropriate, one does not employ any term of address but resorts to a simple siz 'you 2PPL/FRM'.

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

2.2.2.3 Dialect difference: Incompatibility and misunderstanding

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

As comes clear from these last examples, dialect difference is in quite a few cases fraught with mutual stereotypisation and prejudice in perception, which in its turn appears to result from actual or perceived social imbalance between communities of speech. Most probably these phenomena result from a historical group experience rather than from individual and
actual perception and interpretation. However, individuals today do make meaning of language difference as they perceive it. The following saying, which I have not only collected once again during my recent fieldwork but which had been familiar to me for a long time from serious as well as nonsense talk, is just one out of many points that are put forward as proof of the "superiority" or "inferiority" of one dialect or another: In the Teke dialect, the polite word to invite a guest into a room would be geč! 'go ahead!'; the same word in the Ā:rsa:rı dialect is employed for whipping on goats... (Ār. 9). If a given Ā:rsa:rı speaker who is not familiar with the Teke dialect were addressed by a Teke speaker this way, interdialectal misunderstanding would doubtlessly lead to feelings of insult.

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

2.2.2.4 The urban and the rural

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

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

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

2.2.2.5 Muhājirs and the others

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

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

Interestingly, in linguistic terms the difference between muhājirs and non-muhājirs is insignificant. Actually, the Turkmen population of Afghanistan as a whole has over time been mobile. Due to landlessness and inadequacy of the available lands for pastoral purposes people kept being on the move; along with this many were forcefully resettled from one area to another through cruel policies implemented by the governments of its day. However, muhājirs as well as internally displaced Turkmens have always aimed at settling down in the vicinity of co-ethnics and as a result of the tribalism that prevailed in Turkmen society, local
residents always attempted and managed to provide locations for their co-ethnics to make a home in their close neighborhood. This has led to relatively compact "ethnic" settlements, which is also reflected in many toponyms and denominations of villages and regions, such as Čaqır-Qişlag, Olam-Qişlag (villages where members of the respective tribes or sub-entities dwell), Ā:rsa:ri Ša:x (an irrigation canal along which Ā:rsa:ri population dwells) and similar ones. The fact that the majority of the Afghan Turkmens live in compact settlements of this kind has until this day prevented the internal cohesion of the dialects from breaking down. The muhājir-non-muhājir divide does not seem to be a decisive criterion for dialects, nor does the geographical one. Mobility has not significantly affected the dialectal structure of the Afghan Turkmen population. In fact, the dialect borders run along ethnic lines. The Turkmens are more conservative in keeping up the tribal organisation than any other ethnic group in the region, so that until today the ethnic differentiation really matters. On the other hand, the tribal groups are not linguistically differentiated: Regardless of the considerable geographical distance between their locations, Teke from the city of Herat in the far West would not depict any significant difference in dialect from Teke who live in the village of Barmazīd (Balkh province, central North). The dialect of the Ā:rsa:ri from the Kunduz province does not differ from the dialects spoken in the Jowzjān and Fāryāb provinces either. The idioms of the Ā:rsa:ri Qarqın and Xamya:b, who live along the Amū Daryā and are non-muhājirs with a long pre-history in the region, do in their turn not differ significantly from the idioms spoken by muhājir Ā:rsa:ri of Andkhoy, Davlatābād, Aqča and Šibirghān.

2.2.2.6 Literates and illiterates
The spoken language of people with formal education differs in significant ways from the idioms of illiterates. Illiterates do not copy items of other languages into their own speech; in popular local interpretation, their idioms are thus perceived as "purer" (pers. ṣāftar). The popular interpretation mostly relates to the lexicon – illiterate Turkmens use a higher percentage of "originally Turkmen" vocabulary (kalimahāyi aṣīli turkmanī). Along with that, literate intellectuals with a marked relation to urban cultural life (ravšanfikrān, farhangiyān) do not only copy or include a whole lot of Persian vocabulary into their language, but their speech is heavily influenced by Persian morphology and grammar, too, to the degree that it appears as if straightly copied or "translated" from Persian. Examples of this kind of speech are:
As has been stated earlier, in this context the idiom of people with close relations to the religious sphere (ahli madrasa) deserves special attention. Within this social group we again need to differentiate, since the language of those elderly men who are in popular expression named mullahāyi vaṭanī ('home-grown mullahs') is very different from the language of proselytization as employed by mullahs who have been educated in Pakistani madrasas of today. The language of the vaṭanī mullahs is heavily influenced by Arabic in lexicon as well as in grammatical structure. The speech of these mullahs sounds as if – not unlike what mutatis mutandis has been said about the speech of intellectuals influenced by Persian – they first phrased their sentences in Arabic and then translated them into "Turkmen" by way of calque as best they can. As my informants would put it, this language "does not resemble the language of today but sounds as if spoken five or six hundred years ago" (Är.50) and makes an "outdated", "old-fashioned" impression on them. The following example, which has been recorded from a sermon delivered by Mawlawī Mawliddīn Zahabī (Är.50), was actually directed upon a contemporary audience of non-experts in religious matters, that is to say, a general Turkmen public, but in structure, vocabulary and style it heavily resembles literary texts of the Qiṣaṣ ul-Anbiyā' kind:

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

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

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


Ali, the Lion of God, took a loan of one dirham, one single dirham, from one of his friends. He took it and went to the bazaar. (The seller) gave him one pomegranade for one dirham. Hazrat Ali was taking this (pomegranade) to his beloved friend and partner, his own wife, stuffing (it) into his armpit. When he passed along the street (he saw that) an ill person was lying on the roadside. Look, Muslims! Allah (j) was examining Hazrat Ali the Lion of God. Then Hazrat Ali the Lion of God was unable to
(just) pass by the side of the above-mentioned sick person. He asked the sick person «How is your condition? Why are you lying on the side of this road?».

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

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


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

2.2.2.7 Social status

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

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

The typical speech of members of elevated Turkmen social groups (a'yān, ašrāf) is characterized by a grave and solemn pronunciation of single words and a relatively slow pace of speaking and low pitch of intonation. Vowel reduction and consonant omission can hardly be observed at all. This mode of speaking has by many informants been characterized as "emphatic" (mu'akkad) and "bossy" (āmirāna). As for stylistics, members of these social groups display a remarkable favor of inserting proverbs and cliché phraseologisms, words of wisdom quoted from notables (suxanāni buzurgān), and so on. – Speakers from lower social strata ('avvām), however, generally prefer to speak at a quicker pace, with less concern for a careful pronunciation and a marked inclination to reduce vowels (especially /ı/ and /i/) and omit consonants (especially /r/). Elaborated stylistics does not seem to play a major role in the speech of these people, except for perhaps an occasionally inserted proverb. These features all occur, as has been said, in an absolute manner in non-mixed speaker constellations. However, they are – at least by members of the elevated groups – also consciously employed and taken to an even higher level of distinctiveness when speakers from different social strata participate in one given situation. Afghan Turkmen ašrāf do play out what they perceive as linguistic superiority. Their speech behavior clearly shows that they are well aware of language as an instrument of power, which they purposefully apply to make their conversation partners aware that they are facing a person of elevated status.

2.2.2.8 Gender

Difference in language and speech is not confined to the socio-economic and socio-cultural sphere, but can also be observed in the realm of gender, which is (along with age) the most obvious and important mode of social differentiation among Afghan Turkmens. Beyond verbal utterances that are necessitated by immediate demands of everyday life, typical male conversation is related to thematic fields like professional work, politics, societal matters and the like, while female conversation revolves around the concrete problems of life, social and economic hardship, and personal and family affairs. In mixed-gender situations it is the males who direct the conversation in the guise of intellectually superiors, setting thematic focusses and expecting the females to accord with them and abstain from alternative aspirations. While it is normal for men to allow themselves to interrupt female speech at will, the same hardly happens in the reverse direction. Females show a marked inclination towards asking questions. While men when asking questions do so in order to elicit answers, females rather apply the questioning mode as a communicative strategy to keep conversation going.
Conversation analysis would be a promising field of gender-related study. Men appear to be more versatile in control mechanisms that prevent conversation from going astray – they build up consistent lines of explicit and transparent argumentation, put forward or withdraw arguments in a strategic manner, and draw explicit verbal conclusions. Observing strict rules of seniority in bilateral and group conversation leads to what could be termed "orderly conversation" in the male sphere, which of course deprives and often silences persons low down on the hierarchical scales or enables them only of interfering with very brief and deficient sayings. – In the female realm, "orderly conversation" of the male kind is as such absent, since there seem to be no obvious rules of sequence, non-interruption, or general consistency in female group conversation. It regularly happens that two or three persons talk at the same time while nobody seriously cares to receive these verbal messages and adequately react on them, just as if communication were generally not the primary, or at least not the only important function of these verbal interactions. Arguments are mostly not elaborated in detail but come as compact, general, and often intransparent entities.

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

2.2.2.9 Diglossia and dialect shift

Speakers of the nāxālış dialects (Muqrı, Xaṭab, Bayat, Xoja:mba:z ...) in their everyday lives find themselves in a diglossic situation: On the bazaar, in public assemblies and more generally, whenever they communicate with Turkmen non-fellow-community members, their means of communication would be Ā:rsa:ri, the Turkmen franca variety of North Afghanistan, whereas in their private homes, with family and in their quarters and villages where they live along with community members only, they speak their own dialect. The
Afghan Teke and Sa:riq, on the other hand, are not subject to such a diglossy: they use their own dialect when interacting with other Turkmen speakers, even if those belong to the statistically dominant Ä:rsa:ri tribe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

101 Compare for example Brit Mæhlum's chapter on "Language and social spaces" (sub-chapter 2: "The linguistic market", in Language and Space 2010, 18-32).
such – but they face major difficulties, for example, with regard to phonology: Using long vowels appropriately seems to be a big challenge and in a desire to "do things right" these speakers even resort to hypercorrect vowel lengthening: a:t instead of (Ä:rsa:rı) at 'horse', a:ta instead of ata 'father', a:rpa instead of arpa 'barley' (all examples from Mu. 2). Hypercorrectness is just one phenomenon that comes with the desire to accommodate to the high-prestige variety. Another one would be the inability to correctly interpret phonetic specificities of lexemes unknown to their native dialects, which then results in pseudo-correct pronunciation (and in cases of coincidence even in pseudo-lexemes). An example of this kind I encountered with the same young Muqrı speaker (Mu. 2), who used to say doğrı at instead of do:rı at – when meaning to talk about a "grey horse" he in fact said "right horse".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The language of blogs and internet sites is even more anarchic than the language of more conventional media, and the proposed innovations in lexicon and other fields are not any more convincing; just the contrary, they are often simply unintelligible. The internet has developed into a field of competition where some people – often persons with little or no experience at all in the scripturality of their mother tongue – are putting forward individual proposals and others join the debate with approval, rejection or sometimes with suggestions for improvement. According to my unsystematical observations, out of the Afghan Turkmen dialects the Ä:rsa:ri idiom is the one predominantly used for internet purposes. The kind of content typically put on the Web are literary and folkloric exercises and contributions concerning cultural topics whereas political, judicial and social topics – obviously, for lack of terminology – are so far not discussed in Afghan Turkmen, let alone scientific or technical ones.
The language of schoolbooks, as has been said before, is not consistent either since the texts are being written by different people from different dialect backgrounds without sufficient coordination. Many a textbook is simply translated from a Persian book rather than being written creatively in the mother tongue, which makes the texts appear artificial and clumsy. On the other hand some authors rely on model texts from Turkmenistan, which for reasons already discussed above turn out to be widely unintelligible for Turkmen children from Afghanistan. Inconsistency in terminology and orthography render these books totally inadequate for use at primary educational institutions.
3. Methodological and technical remarks

3.1 Fieldwork

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

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

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

---

102 Behmen 1380:54.
Yet another methodological problem was caused by the fact that quite a few speakers of various dialects in conversation with me as a representative of the Ä:rsa:rl Turkmen tribe, whose dialect in North Afghanistan enjoys the highest prestige of all varieties and functions as a *franca* variety in interethnic communication, were trying to adapt and adjust to my own dialect. In some of these cases I left the stage after having explained my goals and having asked my informants to continue their conversation in my absence, so that recording would take place without me being present, and to just call me back in when they were done. This method of recording has proved quite efficient in avoiding echo effects and other interference phenomena.

### 3.2 Sample and data processing

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

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

As a result of this fieldwork, 162 persons have been included in the sample and from most of them recordings have also been taken. The total of the recordings comprises 30 hours 27
minutes,\textsuperscript{103} out of which 3 hrs. 38 min. proved technically inappropriate for further usage, including inadequate audibility or comprehensibility, and were thus ruled out. Since in Northern Afghanistan the majority of the Turkmen are \textit{Ä:rsa:rı} and their dialect functions as a \textit{franca} idiom understood by almost all and is used by many in interethnic communication, contributions from members of the \textit{Ä:rsa:rı} tribe have been included in the sample according to their proportional relevance. While this seeming imbalance in the sample correlates to social reality and has therefore been willingly accepted, another type of imbalance also prevails, however against my initial intentions and only out of lack of better options: the gender imbalance. As explained above, I have not been able to include as many female voices into the sample as I had intended to. Among my informants of smaller dialects, namely Sa:rq, Muqrı, Surxı and Xoja:mba:z, there is not a single female, and among the speakers of all other dialects which I have included in my study, women are also heavily underrepresented.

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

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

\textsuperscript{103} See Appendix 1.
full sentence examples from natural speech rather than extracting singular phenomena and presenting them out of context.

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

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

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

3.4 Abbreviations

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

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

3.5 Symbols

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

4.1 The phonemic inventory

4.1.1 Vowel phonemes

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

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

Table 4-1: Vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonemes</th>
<th>closed syllables</th>
<th>open syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at 'horse', ğal 'stand up!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a:t 'name', ğa:l 'stay!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ä:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ek 'grow up', pel 'yard'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ğł: 'seam', pā: 'intent'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ı/</td>
<td>/ı:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ğız 'warm up', ğır 'hill'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ğı:z 'girl', ğı:r 'gray'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ı/</td>
<td>/ı:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bíz 'our', pil 'elephant'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi:z 'awl', pi:l 'shovel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö/</td>
<td>/ö:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>řt 'grass', ğol 'branch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o:t 'fire', řo:l 'mountain edge'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö:/</td>
<td>/ö:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>řił 'die', řič 'be silent'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hō:l 'soggy', ři:č &quot;revenge&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/u:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bu:t 'leg', tu:t 'mulberry', u:č 'brim'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü/</td>
<td>/ü:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>düš 'come down', sü:ri 'herd'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dü:š 'dream', sü:ri: 'elliptical'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

104 Annanurov 1972:10; for a discussion of the nature of Turkic vowel length and especially the /ä/-/e/ issue see Johanson 1998:81-90.
105 Tekin 1995: 118.
107 The same opinion is held by Nartiev 2010:44.
The minimal pairs given in Table 4-1 prove the phonemic quality of vowel length (mind the opposition of short /e/ and long /ä:/, however, as explained above). As Table 4-1 demonstrates, the phonemic long vs. short distinction is thoroughly represented in one-syllable minimal pairs. In open syllables the opposition can be demonstrated only in a few minimal pairs. If the minimal pair consists of a verbal and nominal stem – which is the most frequent kind of minimal pairs –, the verbal stem normally has short vowel and the nominal one, long vowel. Minimal pairs consisting of nominal stems are not as frequent as verb-and-noun pairs; verb-only pairs are rare in the Turkmen dialects.

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

- Är. yo:labs ~ Te. yolbars 'lion' (yo:l Clauson 1972:917, bars (< ir. pars) p.368)
- Är. ĝo:n ~ Te. ĝon- 'landing' (Ko:n- Clauson 1972:632)
- Är. ĝo:ra- ~ Te. ĝora- 'definding' (Kori:- Clauson 1974:645-646)
- Är. jaha:n ~ Te. jahan 'world' (< pers. jaha:n)
- Är. dünья: ~ Yem. dүнья 'world', (< pers. dunya:)
- Är. a:xı:rqı ~ Yo. a:xırqı ' the latter' (< pers. a:xı)
- Är. yöri:ŋ ~ Sa. yöriŋ 'go!'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>ö</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i / i:</td>
<td>i / i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a / a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ü / ü:</td>
<td>o / o:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.2 Consonant phonemes

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>stop-plosive</th>
<th>fricative</th>
<th>affricate</th>
<th>trill</th>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>lateral</th>
<th>glide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>[b] (~ /b/)</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labio-dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[f] (~ /p/)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inter-dental</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>[o]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ž</td>
<td>Š</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[g] (~ /g/)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvular</td>
<td>[ģ] (~ ģ)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ľ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[x] (~ /h/)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The phoneme /b/ has two reflexes, [b] and [ḇ], occurring respectively in head and intervocalic positions, compare for instance the two realizations of /b/ in *baba* [baβa]. The fricative bilabial may also appear in non-intervocalic intrasyllabic position in the context of a voiced consonant, for instance, in [*tabdǐr*] ~ [*tadḇir*] (‘measure, precaution’) and [*Abdulla*] ~ [*Aḇdulla*].

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

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

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

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

The lateral phoneme /l/ exhibits two reflexes, the palatal [l] and the velar [ɫ], occurring respectively in front and back vowel contexts. For instance, we can contrast elek realized as [elek] with ala, realized as [ala] ; or [gö:l] with [ģol], and [ātlār] with [atɫar].

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

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

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

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

4.2 Phonological processes: Vowels

4.2.1 Fronting and raising

(a) Fronting of low vowels in native stems occurs in the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but its character is occasional rather than consistent and systematic; in most cases the low variants coexist with their raised correlates in either different dialects, or even within the same dialect.
(i) A few single native stems exist with low-back /a:/ in part of the dialects, and with raised /ä:/ in others, or both variants coexistent in the same dialect:

- **a:ŋ ~ ä:ŋ**: jıma:ba:yıŋ-am **a:ŋı** ğačıpdır. (Är. 3)
  Jıma:ba:y has lost his mind.
- **a:ŋ ~ ä:ŋ**: esa:si: **ä:ŋ** edip otrısq hıra:t wela:yatı turkmen kökenli şehir bolya:. (Te. 2)
  If we consider (the matter) principally, the province of Herat – (Herat) is a city with Turkmen roots.
- **a:(r)dım ~ ä:dim**: ğorğan biyerden ozaq yer dä:l, bir **a:rdım** yo:l. (Är. 13)
  Ğorğan is not a place far from here, it is (just) one footstep's way (to there).
- **a:(r)dım ~ ä:dim**: hä:zir türkmenler oğıl-ğıl-zlarmı mektebe berya:lar, şuna:m bir **ä:dim** ơne dijıp hasa:plamaq gerek. (Te. 5)
  Nowadays the Turkmens send their sons and daughters to school. This (we) need to consider a step forward.

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

(i) Raising of unrounded low back /a/ into [ı] occurs in a few dissyllabic native stems; mostly there coexist a variant that preserves the low back /a/, and a raised one with [ı], whether within one dialect or distributed along dialect boundaries. The analogous pairing has been observed with low front /e/ä:/ and /i/i:/.

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

(ii) Raising of first-syllable rounded low front /ö/ into /ü/ has been observed in a few dissyllabic native stems; the non-raised variants persist, mostly in the Teke dialect, while
raising is more typical of the Ärsa:rı dialect: Te. kökrek ~ Är. kükrek 'breast'; Te. öyle- ~ Är. öyle- 'to marry'; Te. döşek ~ Är. düşek 'mattrass'.

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

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

- siz bil i:šiŋ hötdesinnen gelip bilmejek bolsaŋız öŋnen aydıŋ. (Te. 3)
  If you can't carry this piece of work out as necessary, tell (me) from the start.
- her ha:lda men bil i:šiŋ hütdă:śinnen gelip bilerin. (Är. 19)
  I will in any case do this work as I am supposed to.

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

- alma čü:redi (Te. 5) ~ čü:ridi (Är. 32)
  The apple rotted.
- alma čü:rä:n (Te. 13) ~ mewä čüri:pdıır (Är. 53)
  The fruit is rotten.
- üśä:rsıŋ (Te.) 'you are going to catch a cold!'
- bä:-begin gıolajını yap üși:mesin! (Är. 28)
  Cover the baby's ears, it must not feel cold!
- gerdenine bir nerse döredi. (Te. 3)
  Something (i.e., a bump) appeared at his neck.
- oğlım yaman bolıp döri:p dir. (Är. 7)
  My son has taken a bad development.
- ders oqı:masa meniŋ ıla:jım nä:me (Är. 1)
  What can I do if he doesn't do his homework.
- namı xuda: qura:n oqı:șiŋ yağși eken. (Är. 17)
  By God, your Koran recitation is good!
- o yerde bir ya:rim yıl i:šlä:nen soŋ alma:ni dimukirati:ge gidip altı a:y oqadıım. (Sa. 2)
  After I had worked there for one and a half years I went to the GDR and studied six months.
- oğlımını yağși oqasin dib mazar uzatdim. (Mu.2)
  I sent my son to Mazar, saying he should study (something) good.
4.2.2 Rounding and unrounding

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

(i) In copied lexemes which have /w/ in juxtaposition with the low front vowel /e/, rounding can in rare cases result in [ö]: pers. sawdā: > Te. sōwda: (but Ār. sewda:); Te. ārkūč 'hump' > Ār. ārkūč, Te. āwey 'step' (relative) > Ār. āwey.

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

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

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

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

(iv) Rounding of low front vowel /e/ mostly occurs in connection with the demonstrative adjective/pronoun bu; it may result in a rounded low [ö] as well as rounded high [ü]. Unrounded and rounded variants coexist, with unrounded ones being typical of the Teke dialect and rounded ones, of the Ārsa:rı dialect. Examples: bu yerde (Te.) > bō:rdı (Ār.); o yerde (Te.) > ö:rde (Ār.), ö:rdı-bö:rdı (Ār.) ~ eydı-beydı (Te.); büylekı mı:xma:nlar 'the other guests' (Ār.) ~ be:yleki ihtıya:jıği ući:n 'for its other needs' (Te.).

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

- menä:m ičya:n ćaqdı. (Ār. 31)  
  A scorpion has stung me!
- meni čıya:n ćoqdı. (Ār. 26)  
  A scorpion has stung me.

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

(b) Unrounding is an unfrequent phenomenon in the Afghan Turkmen dialects, but it seems to occur in all dialects.
(i) Unrounding of /u/ in juxtaposition with the bilabials /m/ or /b/ occurs mostly in the Ärsa:ri dialect: Te. yumurta ~ Ār. yımırta 'egg'; Te. murut ~ Ār. mrût: 'moustaches'; munça ~ Ār. munça 'so many/much'; Te. juma: ~ Ār. jıma: 'Friday', bul ~ Ār. bil 'ADJ/PRONDEM'; bu ~ Ār. bu 'ADJ/PRONDEM'.

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

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

4.2.3 Complex vowel change

(a) A fairly common phenomenon in clusters of [a]/e+/w/ and /i/i:/+/w/ of copied lexemes is the rounding and raising, combined with contraction of the vowel with the consonant into [u:w] or [u:]. (The original [aw]/[ew] cluster can coexist with rounded-cum-raised variants and be realized like this by some speakers, but they do so only in careful and educated speech.) Examples: duwa:m ~ dawă:m 'continuation', duwa: ~ dawa: 'medicine', muwa:na: ~ mawla:na: 'religious title of honor'; yo:lbsıŋ gu:resi 'the body of the panther' (Ār. 17) < gewre; hu:lisı 'his house' (Ār. 12), hu:lıda 'in the house' (Te. 8) < pers. hawlī; uwalı 'first of all' (Te. 3) < pers. awwal; ku:ším 'my shoe' (Te. 3) < pers. kaws; šu:qun (Ār. 9) ~ šu:xın (Te. 5) 'noise' < pers. şawqın; duwın ustine 'onto the dēw' (Ār. 42); huwwa: (Ār. 11) ~ hawa: (Te. 16) 'air'; du:leda:ba:d (Te. 4) ~ dewleda:ba:d (Ār. 38) 'Dawlatābād'.

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

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

4.2.4 Prothesis

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

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

---

108 As a rule, short /a/ of copied (Persian and other) lexemes is in the Turkmen dialects interpreted as /e/; however, in singular cases it is nevertheless realized as [a], like e.g. awal (not ???ewel) 'first' < pers. awwal.
• ro:ža > oro:ža haydî bilen ƣorba:n haydîmun ƣaralığında toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)
  They don't celebrate weddings between the 'īd al-fitr and the 'īd al-qurbān.

• ro:ža > ara:ža ayinda bir yerä: gidišem ƣi:n bolya:r. (Yo. 1)
  Going places is difficult in the fasting month.

They don't celebrate weddings between the 'īd al-fitr and the 'īd al-qurbān.

Going places is difficult in the fasting month.

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

• la:y > aqpa:mq kulčä:niŋ gä:dilen yerine ila:y yab(185,279),(851,320)širsam bolar diyip şarta bir a:zajiq ila:y tafib kulčä:niŋ gä:dik yerine yapişdirip dir. (Är. 44)
  Aqpa:mq said (to himself), it is fine if I spread (some) clay on the spot where the breadloaf is shredded, and he quickly found a little bit of clay and spread it on the shredded spot of the loaf.

• šu:le > günerta:n üşüle biširen ekenler üyde. (Sa. 5) ¹⁰⁹
  Early in the morning they had prepared (the rice dish) šu:le.

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

• kita:p > ö:zi ölennen soŋ ikita:plara:m asta-asta tozişdir. (Är. 1)
  After he had died, his books also slowly-slowly got lost.

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

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

4.2.5 Epenthesis

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

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

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

¹⁰⁹ Sa. 5 is a speaker of what he calls the "subdialect Suqdı" of the Sa:rıq dialect; the existence of a distinct Suqdı subdialect cannot yet be confirmed on the basis of my materials.
Epenthesis of this kind is mostly retracted if the cluster under consideration is anyway broken by agglutination of a suffix with a vowel in the onset or by an initial vowel in the subsequent word; however, it can be sustained in such cases as well. Examples:

- biziŋ üyimiz šehiriŋ ičinne (Ār. 18)
  Our house is located in the city.

- xalqam zulıma çıdamaz a:xı:r turarlar bir gün (Ār. 19)
  The people don't tolerate oppression, in the end they will revolt one day.

- sadaqa qabır aza:bnan götarmış adami (Ār. 38)
  (Giving) alms is said to rescue man from the pains of the grave.

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

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

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

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

- čöregi sačlığa salıp ţoymasaŋ ġataya:r. (Te. 5)
  If you don't keep the bread in the tablecloth it will dry out.

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

A similar phenomenon can be observed with the comparative marker, which in the Afghan Turkmen dialects is generally -rA:Q:
bağıslaŋ men köprük kepleyn. (Te. 18)
Excuse (me), I talk too much (lit. more).

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

- doqma i:nče bolsa hayalraq doqalya: . (Yo. 2)
  If the carpet is delicate, it is woven more slowly.
- ulkämiziŋ köprük nupusini dıxnlar we čarwačîlar ğurşayo:r. (Är. 3)
  Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) (of the) population of our country.

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

4.2.6 Epithesis

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

- kepder > Mazārı:şeri:pde hemme kepderiler a:ğ eken, Hira:tda we kâ:bilde weli:n kepderiler her xi:1 bolya:r. (Te. 13)
  In Mazârı Şarîf all pigeons are white, but in Herat and Kabul the pigeons are (of) all sorts.
- xarj > her bir i:şi etmek ücî:n xarji gerek. (Är.7)
  To start a deal, funds are needed.

4.2.7 Deletion

(a) Deletion of initial vowels

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

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

(b) Deletion of unstable vowels

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

The lexeme 'moustaches' has two short stem vowels in the Teke dialect, the second one of which is unstable: Te. mutr 'moustaches' > mutrı 'his moustaches'; the correlate in the Ārsa:ri dialect has long vowel in the second stem syllable, which consequently is not unstable but appears before suffixes with a vowel in the onset: Ār. mutr:ı > mutr:di ~ mır:di. – Yet another interesting case is the lexeme 'brains', which in the Teke dialect is bi:ni and in the Ārsa:ri dialect is pi:ni (TRS beyni; Sevortyan 1978:106f. beyin etc.), with regular suffixation (pi:ni:m 'my brains' Ār.; bi:nisi 'his brains' Te.), which does no longer show an indication of a previously unstable second-syllable vowel.

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

- bā:ri-rā:k > bā:rrā:k sūyşip oṭıŋ! (Ār. 6)  
  Come sit closer!
- aŋırı-qı > alla:beren qaryada:rıŋ üyi aŋırqı o:bada bolmalı. (Ār. 3)  
  The house of village mayor Alla:beren is probably in the village over there.

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

- emi:ni: sa:yıḥı ni:ride gördiniz? (Ār. 13)  
  Where have you seen Emi:ni: Sa:hib?
- biz ni:rede bolsağam sizden xabar ajlaq bolars. (Ār. 6)  
  Wherever we are, we hope to get news about you.

(iii) The vowel in the onset of POSS1Pl, POSS2Pl and POSS3SG is unstable to a degree that renders the assumption plausible that it might even be at all missing; in any case it does not appear before a further suffix with a vowel in the onset or – in the case of POSS3SG – the pronominal n.

- ġišla:ğ-imuz- > ġišla:ğmuzda bā:ş-alti dükā:n bar. (Te. 9)  
  In our village there are five or six shops.
- aya:ğ-im- > bu ku:ş aya:ğma sığmadı. (Ār. 5)  
  The shoe is not the right size for my foot.
- ċeken-i-(ni-hem) > onıŋ neše ċekenni:ł hı:čkim görmedi. (Ār. 19)  
  Nobody has seen him smoke hashish, either.
- ġolajıɡ-i- > bā:biŋ ġolajıɡın yap. (Ār. 28)  
  Cover the little ears of the baby!

111 In my material there is also the variant mutr which lacks the unstable vowel from the beginning: da:yım (...) mutr ġoyberipdir (Te. 3) 'My uncle has grown moustaches'.

63
• yüreg-i- > kä:bi:rinî yüregni urya:r eken.
  It affects the heart of many a person. (Te. 10)
• yan-i- > her hepde yanna barp ğayyos. (Ār. 22)
  Every week we go to him (lit. to his side) and come back.

(c) Deletion in word boundaries

If in word boundaries the final vowel of the precedent and the initial vowel of the subsequent word get into a hiatus position, this unwelcome hiatus can be avoided through deletion of one of the vowels, generally the one in the coda position of the precedent. The phenomenon occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects.\(^{112}\)

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

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

• soŋ ča:ğa bir a:yla:p šu ta:yd-ekeni (Sa. 2)
  Then the child was (= remained) like that for one month.

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

• šolar ya:ni şn yağdayda ümsüm oترا:masaŋ nā:mi:š edibiler a:dam? (Ār. 7)
  In such a difficult situation, what (else) can one do than sit still?!

(iv) More generally, vowel deletion often occurs when words with a vowel in the final and initial positions follow on another; it appears as if it were always the word-final vowel that is deleted: kîči oğlım > kîčoğlım 'my little son'; ro:za a:y > ro:za:y 'the fasting month'; ğara atlı > ğaratlı 'a man riding a black horse'; jınla:a:dam > jınla:dam 'a crazy person'; kö:ne örgenč > kö:nörgenč 'Kö:ne Örgenč (n.pr.loc.)'.

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

\(^{112}\) The phenomenon has in detail been described for the Turfan dialect of modern Uyghur by Yakup 2005:88ff.
4.2.8 Vowel harmony

(a) Vowel harmony in native stems and in suffixes

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

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

(i) Vowel harmony in stems

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e – e/</td>
<td>jeren 'deer', wesket 'jacket', kesel 'sick', kebelek 'butterfly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ä/ – e/</td>
<td>dä:de Yo. 'father', Är. 'elder sister', mä:rek 'blessed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i – e/</td>
<td>yigrime 'twenty', siyek Te.'fly', iner Te. 'kamel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i: – e/</td>
<td>gije 'night', ki:se Är. XD 'pocket', i:ge 'file'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö – e/</td>
<td>göle Te. 'calf', öpge 'lung', döret- 'to create', cörke- 'hurt', töleg 'payment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö: – e/</td>
<td>ö:ke Är. 'grudge', ö:rödek 'duck', kö:ne 'obsolete'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i̯ – e/</td>
<td>ušе- 'to feel cold', tüpeŋ 'gun', siyeg 'backrest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ö̯ – e/</td>
<td>ušе Te. 'grudge', sü:se 'glass', sü:ke- 'pulverize', sü:bek 'oval-shaped',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e – i̯/</td>
<td>erkin 'independent', eriš 'warp', ekin 'farming', egrti 'crooked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e – ä/</td>
<td>tenekä:r 'brazing flux', dellä:k 'barber', zergä:r Te. 'goldsmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ä – ä/</td>
<td>dä:nä: 'wise', mä:tä:j Te.'needy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i – ä/</td>
<td>/i: – ä/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ü – ä/</td>
<td>hü:nä:r 'art', üzä:rlik Te.'wild rue', günä: Te. 'guilt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e – i/</td>
<td>erti:r 'morning', heniz 'as yet', eli:n 'genuine', enti:- Ár. 'to tramp'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4–6: Patterns of harmonic back syllables in native and copied lexemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Native Lexemes</th>
<th>Copied Lexemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a - a:/</td>
<td>honk 'when', tarap 'side', bağana 'lambskin', dašari 'out', ganraw 'urceolate', balaq 'trousers'</td>
<td>a:la 'beginning', da:lğa 'cold wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayi 'bear', yaziğ 'inscription', aqım 'double chin', dara 'millet'</td>
<td>ayi 'bear', yaziğ 'inscription', aqım 'double chin', dara 'millet'</td>
<td>yaqın 'near', paqi:r 'poor', tağsi:m 'distribution', daşarıq Te. 'out(side)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a: – a/</td>
<td>ayi 'bear', yaziğ 'inscription', aqım 'double chin', dara 'millet'</td>
<td>yaqın 'near', paqi:r 'poor', tağsi:m 'distribution', daşarıq Te. 'out(side)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67
(ii) Vowel harmony in stem + suffix

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

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

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

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

Rounded low vowels – as a feature of labial harmony – only very scarcely occur in derival suffixes. Examples: dök-öm (Ār.) 'fertilizer', dök-ön (Te.) 'id.', ḡoyon (~ ḡoyun) 'sheep' (Ār.).

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

(iii) Vowel harmony across word boundaries

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

- bügün ğa:rı:ŋ oğlanları da gelipdi. (Te. 5) < bu gün
  Today ğa:rı:ı's sons have also come.
- bu yere şgün gelenmiz ğowi bollı. (Te. 7) < şu gün
  It's turned out good that we have come here today.
• buwın yağmır çabğala:p yağyor. (Är. 13) < bu gün (also > buwın Är. 35)
  Today is raining heavily.
• şuwın geldinžimi? (Är.12) < šu gün (also > şuwın Är.)
  Have you come today?

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

• bil wesket maŋa kičjik geldi. (Är. 40) < bil << bul 'this'
  This jacket is (too) small for me.

4.2.9 Consonant-vowel synharmony

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

(a) Intrasyllabic synharmony

(i) The frontness or backness of a syllable is signalled by both vowels and consonants,113 with /q/, /ğ/, /x/ and [ğ] occurring in back syllables together with the vowels /a/ä:/, /i/i:/, /o/o:/ and /u/u:/; and /k/, /g/ and [ğ] occurring in front syllables together with /e/ä:/, /ı/i:/, /ö/ö:/ and /ü/ü:/.

The other consonants can be regarded as neutral and occur with all vowels. Examples: buq- 'take shelter', doğrı 'straight', maxta- 'to praise', ğo:n- 'to perch'; ki:k 'stag', göni 'straight', či:ġ 'raw'; ba:lıq 'fish' ~ bi:l 'waist', mọ:jek 'wolf' ~ müllıq 'silly', pu:qi 'hawk' ~ perek 'feather', dart- 'to pull' ~ düm:r- 'to roll up', siğır 'cow' ~ ses 'voice', etc.

(ii) Deviation from intrasyllabic synharmony is in native lexemes an infrequently observed phenomenon, which seems to generally affect the [ı] / [i] opposition only. Almost all examples in my material come from nāxāliṣ dialects: qiz 'girl' (Mu.), qaζıq 'peg' (Mu.), qir 'forty' (Mu.), čaqir- 'to call' (Xa.). The only example from a xāliṣ dialect is ğı:n 'difficult' (Ar.), as opposed to a regular ğı:n 'id.' (Te.).

(b) Intersyllabic synharmony

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

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

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

4.2.10 Disharmony

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

(a) Deviation or disharmony?

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

- da:ša:ry u:rtlerdä:ki ya:šoli:lar (Är. 10)
  influential elders abroad
- oni:ŋ bir he:pes-ä:m es:gre ye:temedi. (Är. 14)
  Not a (single) grain of it reached the soldiers.
- awad bolmaq:ŋ ustine baryo:-da (Mo. 2)
  It has to do with becoming well-bred.
- yu:saŋ a:t awad bolma:li. (Mo. 2)
  If you wash the horse, it will become well-bred.
  (The house) had eight chambers, they whitewashed them outside and inside.
- tilpo:ni yoqarda ča:ra: ǵoydi:ni:zmi? (Är. 11)
  Have you put the telephone on the charge upstairs?

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

The vicinity of the approximant /y/ also often causes a shift from back to front vocalism in stems and suffixes: da:ziyim 'my maternal uncle' (Är. 14, Te. 14); serp:ayimiz 'our garment of honor' (Xo. 1); ya:di:zi:da (Är. 9) and ya:di:ji:zda (Är. 7) 'in your memory'.

(b) Systemic disharmony in suffixes

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects most grammatical suffixes are harmonic along the principles defined above. However, there are also a few suffixes which represent an early stage of suffix
development; this can imply that they are systemically not (yet) harmonized, or that in some dialects they are already harmonized while in others they are not yet, or even that the situation is undecided, which is demonstrated by the coexistence of harmonized and non-harmonized variants in the same dialect.

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

- göreše gitjek bolip ağlıyo:rtum-am (Âr. 6)
  When I was to go to war I wept (a lot).
- xa:hiş etyo:š ki burs berilse (Âr. 36)
  We demand that stipends be given.
- ökizlere yim beryo:š, merdikä:r tütyo:š (Xat. 5)
  We give fodder to the oxen and employ daylaborers.
- ağšamna palaw keba:b beryo:tšlar. (Xo. 1)
  At night they would serve (us) pilav and kebab.
- a:t yaramas bolsa hem tepyo: hem tišliyo: (Mu. 2)
  If a horse is bad, it kicks and bites.
- yerkumme diyo:š türkmeni: diļde (Sa. 3)
  We call (these objects) dugouts in the Turkmen language.
- ha:li šu marčaqn ö:zinnen čıqo:r. (Sa. 2)
  The carpets emerge from this very (town of) Marčaq.

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

- şehr ičinne ya:ša:yalar. (Te. 6)
  They live in town.
- derrä:niŋ yoqarsının aylanıp su: gelýä:r eken. (Te. 3)
  The water comes from the upstream (part) of the valley.

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

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

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

- ašağında di:mä:n, teyinde diyon dir (Âr. 1)
  (They) don't say ašağında 'below', (but) they say teyinde.
- giyo:n dırışt:ızın müjberi qanča? (Âr. 22)
How much is the size of the suit you are wearing?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.11 Vocalism and vowel harmony in copied lexemes

(a) The vocalism of copied lexemes

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

(ii) For the interpretation of a copied lexeme as back or front, the consonants of the lexeme are of primary importance. The vocalism of copied lexemes that contain only consonants which are not marked as back or front (/d/, /m/, /z/, /l/, /r/ ...) can consequently be interpreted...
as either back or front, or mixed. The dialects often differ in realization, but there seems to be no definite rule according to which, for example, the Är. dialect would prefer front vocalism against predominantly back vocalism of the Teke dialect, or vice versa. My material is not rich enough to permit statements about frequencies; we can only state that no option seems to be generally excluded. Examples: Är. wä:de ~ Te. wa:da 'promise', but Är. da:na: ~ Te. dä:nä: 'wise' and Är. zinda:n ~ Te. zindä:n 'prison'; Te. hä:zir ~ ND ha:zir 'nowadays'.

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

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

The original quality of retroflex-alveolar, emphatic-alveolar or otherwise perceivedly "back" consonants115 whose original (Arabic, Pashto, ...) phonetic realization is not preserved in Persian (joy, sad, 'ayn, hā', ...), does in general not determine the Turkmen vocalism as back (which points to the fact that loans have generally entered the Turkmen dialects orally rather than through a written medium). Examples: rütbe 'rank' < pers. [rubā]; esger 'soldier' < pers. askar; šert 'condition' (Är.) < pers. šart; mehessil 'student' (Te.) < pers. muhassil; heltek 'wheel' (Är.) < pers. ġaltak; setil 'bucket' (Mu.) < pers. satil. – In the Teke dialect, however, a small number of lexemes with alveolar and other "Arabic back consonants" do have back vocalism. In some cases this phenomenon coincides with particularities observed in renderings of originally Arabic lexemes in the Tatar language, so that we may assume that these loans have come via Tatar rather than Persian, and have been "imported" into Afghanistan by muhājirs from the Soviet Union (on whose language for some time in the early 20th century Tatar intellectuals exerted a strong linguistic influence): Te. watan 'homeland' vs. weten in all other dialects.

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

---

115 The perceived "back" quality is actually not grounded in the consonants themselves, but in the articulation of their surrounding vowels. Neither in the immediate Persian originals, nor in their Turkmen copies this effect on the vowels is, however, preserved.
v) The vocalism of copied lexemes that contain consonants marked as front (mostly /k/ or /g/) is generally front: köče 'street, quarter' < pers. kāča, tā:kje 'shelf, board' < pers. tā:kē, gūl 'flower; carpet pattern' < pers. gul. Original short [u] of front-consonant copied lexemes is in the Turkmen dialects often retracted into a rounded high vowel [ụ] between [u] and [ü], neither clearly front nor back: [mụkemmel] 'perfect'; [ṣụkir] 'thank God'.

(vi) The stem vowels of copied lexemes can be harmonized. This is particularly the case with [i] and [i:] in syllables anteceding a long [a:] (or less frequently, short [a]), which are regressively harmonized (i.e., lowered) into back-middle [ı] and [ı:], respectively. Examples:

ı:ma:n 'faith' (Är. 2) < pers. ī:mān;
ıxtıya:r 'free will' (Är. 10) < pers. ixtiyār;
ı:da:m et 'to sentence to death' (Är. 17) < pers. īdām;
sı:lxa:na 'flooded area' (Te. 3) < pers. sīlxāna; xızmat 'service' < pers. xizmat.

Another harmonization phenomenon is the unrounding of [u] > [ı] in dis- or polysyllabic stems that also have an [a] or [a:]. Examples:
wuluswāl 'district mayor' (Är. 21) < paš. wuluswāl; mına:sıp 'adequate' (Är. 12) < pers. munāsib; jıma: güni 'Friday' (Är. 17) ~ juma: güni (Te. 14) < pers. [juma]; sıpa 'sofa' (Te. 13) < pers. suffā; taya:r 'ready' < pers. tayyār; šama:l 'wind' < pers. šamāl; xırman (Te. 4) ~ xırman (Är. 12) 'crop' < pers. xirmān; ala:j (Te.) ~ ila:j (Är.) 'medicine' < pers. ilāj; qa:ğaz (Te.) ~ qa:ğaz (Är.) 'paper' < pers. qāğaz; maha:jır 'migrant' (Är. 31) < pers. muhājir.

(vii) Along with the tendency towards harmonization of the stem vowels of copied lexemes, we can also observe an inclination towards assimilation of vowels in copied dissyllabic and polysyllabic stems. The phenomenon has been observed in XD dialects, without obvious preferences or rules; in quite a few cases the dialects show difference, or assimilated and non-assimilated variants exist even within one dialect. Examples:

hasa:plan- 'to count as sth.' (Är. 17) << pers. hisāb 'account'; derweze 'gate' (Är.) < pers. darwāza; taya:r (Te.) 'ready' < pers. tayyār; šama:l (Är.) ~ šema:l (Te.) 'wind' < pers. šamāl; xırman (Te. 4) ~ xırman (Är. 12) 'crop' < pers. xirmān; ala:j (Te.) ~ ila:j (Är.) 'medicine' < pers. ilāj; qa:ğaz (Te.) ~ qa:ğaz (Är.) 'paper' < pers. qāğaz; maha:jır 'migrant' (Är. 31) < pers. muhājir.

(b) Harmony of copied lexemes + suffix

(i) Derival suffixes agglutinated to the stems of copied lexemes in principle follow the same rules as suffixes agglutinated to native stems: The quality of the suffix vowel(s) and consonant(s) as back or front is determined by the quality of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Examples:

bi:guna:h-tuq 'innocence' (< pers. bēgunāh 'innocent'); ša:gird-lik 'apprenticeship' (< pers. šāgird 'friend'); do:st-luq 'friendship' (< pers. dost 'friend'); a:damča-jıq 'tiny little man' (< pers. ādamča 'little man'); depterče-jıq 'little notebook' (< pers. daftarča).

(ii) The back/front quality of grammatical suffixes agglutinated to copied stems is in principle determined by the quality of the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. Examples: sa:z-t 'his instrument' (Är. 9) < pers. sāz; ustaxan-t 'his bone' (Mu. 1) < pers. ustaxān; mo:tar-ıň čayn-t 'the chain of the car' (Te. 16) < pers. [čayn] << engl. [čäyn]; derya:-nüŋ o yaqıda 'on the other side of the river' (Mu. 1); tarap-lar-a 'to the directions' (Är. 12) < pers. taraf; bir jı:y-da 'in one place' (Mu. 2) < pers. jāy.

(iii) Although long [a:] in copied lexemes is generally interpreted as a back vowel, the quality of high vowel suffixes (e.g. GEN -(n)Įh, AKK -(n)Į, POSS1PL -(l)mlz etc.) depicts a marked
tendency to shift from back to front-high [i] when such suffixes are agglutinated to stems that have [a:]. Examples: mollā:-niŋ oğlı (Sa. 1) 'the son of the mullah' < pers. mollā; mīrza:-niŋ zama:nnda 'at the times of Mīrzā' (Te. 13) < pers. mīrzdā; ši:ri xudā:-niŋ dili (Är. 2) 'the tongue of the Lion of God' < pers. xudā; bir na:n-i suwa aqdiriq gid:o:r 'he has a (loaf of) bread float away with the water' (Sa. 7) < pers. nān; serpa:y-imiz 'our clothes of honor' < pers. [sarpāy]; pīša:r-iŋiz 'your blood pressure' (Är. 17) < pers. jīšā.

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

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

(iv) In the Sa:rıq and Teke dialects the shift from [ı] to [i], in many cases the back quality [ı] is also often realized in the high vowel suffixes. Examples: pa:y-ı (Är. 1) 'his share' < pers. pāy; za:d-ıng-ı beriŋ 'give your belongings' (Är. 6) < pers. zāt; qaryada:r-ıŋ üyi (Är. 3) 'the house of the village mayor' < pers. qaryadār.

4.3 Phonological processes: Consonants

4.3.1 Voicing

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

/p/ > [b] or [b]

\[ \text{ya:p 'canal'} > \text{ya:bi 'canal + ACC'}; \text{gā:p 'sack'} > \text{gā:bi 'sack + ACC'}; \text{eta:p 'around'} > \text{eta:bi 'its environs'}; \text{dī:p 'bottom'} > \text{dī:bi 'its bottom'}; \text{gazap 'wrath'} > \text{gazabi 'his wrath'}; \text{ayaqgā:p 'shoe'} > \text{ayaqgabi 'his shoe'}. \]

/t/ > [d]

\[ \text{a:t 'name'} > \text{a:dım 'my name'}; \text{a:t 'strange'} > \text{a:dirgā- 'to have stranger anxiety'}; \text{nēs:hat > nēs:hadı 'admonition + ACC'}; \text{o:t > o:di 'fire + ACC'}; \text{sū:t 'milk'} > \text{sū:di 'its milk'}; \text{paraxat 'peace'} > \text{paraxadı 'his peace of mind'}. \]

\[ 116 \text{ Johanson 1998:32 explains the phenomenon without reference to the long vowels in monosyllabic stems; he postulates two morphophonological variants of an originally weak (lenis) obstruent which is devoiced in syllable-final position.} \]
/k/ > [g]
gõ:k 'blue, green' > gõ:ger- 'to sprout'; ki:k 'stag' > ki:ging gö:sti 'the stag's meat'; i:k 'spindle' > i:gi 'her spindle'; mõ:jeğ 'wolf' > mõ:jegi 'wolf + Acc'; kičirä:k 'smaller' > kičirä:gi 'the smaller one of them'.

/q/ > [ğ]
a:q 'white' > a:ğar- 'to become white'; ği:q 'noise' > ği:ğir- 'to shout'; ğapaq 'lid' > ğapağı berk 'its lid is closed'.

/č/ > [j]
a:č 'hungry' > a:ji- 'to become hungry'; ağač 'tree' > ağaçi 'tree + ACC'.

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

- mä:kä:m yapišib otrdim (Är. 29)
  I sat and clung tightly (to ...)
- pes ališla:b aldım (Är. 13)
  then I exchanged (it)
- burs berilse köprä:ği onça:m šil billeŋ Türkmenlemmize kömek edilse (Te.2)
  If (only) stipends were given more and then our Turkmen were supported with that...

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

- küčük > *küçügimiz > küčügmiž daŋli. (Är. 30)
  Our dog is tethered.
- ğolaq > *ğolağına > ğolağna tamğa basyolar. (Är. 12)
  They put a mark on its ear.
- ğolaq > yoqarı čıqanımda ğolağma bir ses geldi. (Sa.3)
  When I went up, I heard something.
- ğšalaq > ğšlağmıza ya:zda su: barano:q. (Te.14)
  There is no irrigation water in our village during summer.
- yürek > *yüreğini > hemmä:niŋ yüreğni tapp du:r (Är. 8)
  He finds the heart of everybody.
- yürek > *yüreğini > piša:r kä:biri:niŋ yüreğni urya:r eken (Te.3)
  (High) blood pressure attacks the heart of many a person.

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

- iki xarman edipdik (Te. 4)
  we made a double harvest
- deli:linizı edip insim boldi. (Är. 10)
  When he heard your arguments, he fell silent.
- Kä: waxt diri:werler sä:girdleri pulsızam aligdiyo:r. (Xa.2)
Sometime, the drivers take the students to the destination without money.

- ana søndağ etip (Ba. 3)
  doing like this

4.3.2 Assimilation

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

(a) Progressive assimilation

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

- /pb/ > [pp] topbaq > toppaq 'together' (Är.5) (Clauson: tobik (<to:b)\(^{117}\)
- /td/ > [tt] gidi > kitti 'went' (Mu.2)
- /kg/ > [kk] sekgiz (Är.) 'eight', > sekiz (ND.), > sekiz (Te.) (Clauson: sekki)\(^{118}\)
- /q̱g̱/ > [qq] čaq̱gi > čaqqi 'knife' (Clauson: čaki, čakki)\(^{119}\)

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

- /ld/ > [ll]
  - balDIz > bu menin ballizım bolya: (Te.12)
  This is my sister-in-law.
  - galdI > doqmə satilmə weli:n čiten doqmələri ellərin şinste gallı. (Te. 6)
  The carpet was not sold, but (instead) the carpets they had made remained on their hands.
  - gelli > sini inqıla:bın dewra:nnda mana başğa yerlerdä:kilərüz -em gelli. (Te. 3)
  In this revolution period our (relatives) who were in other places have come (here).

- /zd/ > [zz]
  - aramızda > henizem a:ramızza edebiya:t dil türkmeni hiç bir şüyle üytgü:n za:di yo:q. (Te. 4)
  Among us so far there is nothing Turkmen that has changed (for the worse) – literature, language...
  - alamızda > ha:li:nıŋ erişişi satin alamızza (Yo. 2)
  when we purchase the warp for the carpet
  - gezdirIR > sizi bugün ča:rya:r gezzi:r. (Te. 13)
  Today it is Čäryär who guides you round.

---

\(^{117}\) Clauson. 1972: 437.

\(^{118}\) Clauson. 1972: 823.

\(^{119}\) Clauson. 1972: 613.
The /n+d/> [nn] assimilation in the Teke dialect occurs even across word boundaries:

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

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

- **men dä:łe** > ağšam ği:ǧaran **men-nā:ldim**. (Te. 6)
  (The person) who shouted (last) night was not me.
- **üstin-de** > bir da:ǧiŋ **üstinne** (Te. 7)
  on top of a mountain
- **ičin-de** > şehr **ičinne** ya:šaya:lar. (Te. 6)
  They live in the city.
- **kim-den** > bı atı **kimnen** aldıŋız? (Är. 25)
  Who bought that horse from?
- **yoqarsın-dan** > derrä:niŋ **yoqarsınnan** aylanıp su: gelyä:r eken. (Te. 3)
  Water comes from upstream.
- **milliyetin-den, wela:yatın-dan** > türkmen **milliyetinnen** bolyo:rm, ğunduz
  **wela:yatinnen** bolyo:rm. (Är. 21)
  I am from the Turkmen nation, (...) I am from Kunduz province.
- **özin-dan** > ha:li şu marčaqiŋ **özinnen** čıqo:r. (Sa. 2)
  The carpets come from this very Marčaq.
- **bolan-dan** > **bolannan** soŋ (Mu. 3, Yo. 1)
  after initially being from....

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

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

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

78
• **üstinden** > depeleriŋ üssinnen (Te. 21)
over the hills

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

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

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

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

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

• /ŋk/ > [ŋŋ] süŋki > etleri süŋŋi bilen göymalı eken. (Te. 19)
The meat was to be served together with its bones, as they say.
• /ŋk/ > [ŋŋ] i:šeŋqi:r > na:mu xuda: oğlanlarım hemmesi i:šeŋŋi:r bolıp çıqdı. (Te. 16)
By God, all your sons have come out as hard-working!

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

• /ŋb/ > [ŋm] müŋbaščılıq > buxara: pa:šşası müŋmaššılıq rütbe beren eken. (Är. 9)
The king of Bukhara used to award the rank of müŋbašı.

(b) Regressive assimilation

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

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

(ii) Clusters where /ş/ follows /č/- which mostly occurs across word boundaries – are assimilated: /čş/ > [şş].
I have three conditions for you (to fulfill).

Don't you run everywhere like a hungry jackal!

We are three partners, working together.

We cannot go for visits there, nor can they come (here).

If they gave visas and stuff, we could reach our relatives (there).

If in Afghanistan there were also peace, nothing else would be deficient.

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

(c) Dialect difference in progressive / regressive assimilation

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

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

günəltə 'workman' (Ar.) ~ gülləltə (Yo., Sa.) ~ gunnułə (Te.)
yəğəltə 'rainy' (Ar.) ~ yağəltə (Yo., Sa.) ~ yağnmə (Te.)
gelneje 'sister-in-law (BW)' (Ar.) ~ gelleje (Yo.) ~ genneje (Te.)
gelin alıjı '(relatives who go to fetch the bride from her father's home)' ~ genne:jı (Te. 2)
• **dalna-** > men **danna:p** duramo:q, næ:me bolsa i:yä:n! (Te. 13)
  For me, I am not picky, I eat everything. (see Clauson: tanjil-120 or: tinil- < tin-121)
• **dalna-** > men hemme za:di i:yä:n, hi:č **danna:mo:q** (Te. 18)
  I don't differentiate, I eat whatever is there.
• **dalnama:n** iyiberde! (Är. 8)
  Just eat without picking!

(c) Coalescence

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

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

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

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

/čd/ > [šd] ač-đi > ašđi 'he opened'

• **geč-dik** > sa:leŋđe ġar köp yağan eken, ağșam ġr:nlıq bilen **gešdik**. (Är. 10)
  Much snow had fallen on the Sālang Pass. Last night we crossed (it) with difficulties.

/čl/ > [šl] a:člıq > a:šlıq 'hunger'

• **ač-lıq** > ellinji yillarda meymene, ba:ği:s we ģo:r taraplarda örā:n yaman **ašlıq** bolipti. (Är. 7)
  In the 1350s over there in Maymana, Bādğīs and Ğōr there was a terrible famine.

/čs/ > [šs]

• **ač-sa-da** > kä:rmelij wuxtında hökū:met zinda:nları derwezelerni așsa-da xalqij ġaharını ġačirip bilmedi. (Är. 16)
  Although in the time of Kārmal the government opened the doors of the prisons, they could not fend off the anger of the populace.

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

/čj/ > [šš]

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

/čč/ > [šš]

• **ağač-či** > demir-pala:stik za:tlar čiqannan bā:ri indi oŋkiler ya:li ağaššı ussalar-am yo:q. (Sa. 2)

---

120 Clauson,1972:520.
121 Clauson, 1972:514.
Since iron and plastic objects have appeared, there are no (more) carpenters like previously, either.

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

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

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

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

- **bolıp-ğal-** > hezireti ali şı:ri xuda: köp peri:şan boliqğaldi. (Är. 2)
  Hazrat Ali the Lion of God fell into great confusion.
- **alıp-gel-** > şuni soŋ pes ı:zina şaytarıp alıqgeldiler. (Är. 1)
  Then they returned him back (lit. on his footprints).
- **gelip gör-, aqdıɾıp-git-** > soŋ bosa gelikgörse bir ya:šola dam bir na:ni suwa aqdıɾiqgido:r ekeni. (Sa. 7)
  Then, as he arrived and looked, an old man had a (loaf of) bread float away in the water.
- **alıp ğač-** > alıqğačar o:ğanlardan ekende ol. (Mu. 1)
  And he obviously was one of these thievish Pashtuns.

**4.3.3 Dissimilation**

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

(a) Dissimilation of geminates

The co-existence of analogous stems which occur with geminate plosives in some dialects, and with a cluster of analogous voiceless and voiced plosives in others, allows for two different interpretations: If the geminates /pp/, /tt/, /kk/, /qq/ and /čč/ are primary, the clusters [pb], [td], [kg], [qğ] and [čj] would be products of dissimilation. If the dissimilar clusters /pb/, /td/, /kg/, /qğ/ and /čj/ were primary, the simple geminates would be products of assimilation. Since the distribution does not support a consistent assumption, the problem is left open for the time being.
Table 4-7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Ārsa:rı</th>
<th>ND dialects</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pp ~ pb</td>
<td>tobpaq¹²²</td>
<td>toppaq, heppe</td>
<td>toppaq, heppe</td>
<td>'pill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tt ~ td</td>
<td>(yedi)</td>
<td>yetdi, kette</td>
<td>yetti (Mu.), kette (Xa.)</td>
<td>'seven' / 'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kk ~ kg</td>
<td>(sekiz)</td>
<td>sekkiz</td>
<td>sekkiz (Ba.)</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qq ~ qğ</td>
<td>(doquz)</td>
<td>toqḡız ~ toqḡız</td>
<td>toqquz (Mu.), čaqqı (Mu.)</td>
<td>'nine' / 'knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čč ~ čj</td>
<td>(kiči)</td>
<td>kičjik ~ kižžik</td>
<td>kičik</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Separation

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

/kt/ > [kd] mektep > mekdebe gityo:r 'he goes to school' (Ār. 28)
/šq/ > [šğ] bašqa > bašğa 'other' (Te. 3)
/pt/ > [pd] ġaptal > ġapdal 'side' (Ār), kepter > kepder 'pigeon' (Ār. 40)

4.3.4 Metathesis

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

(a) Simple metathesis

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

bğ ~ ğb
- buwın yağmır čağbala:p yağyo:r. (Ār. 13)
  Today it rains cats and dogs.
- bizem čağbada ğı:lip suwa düşen sıčan ya:ni boldıq. (Ār. 40)
  We were caught in a heavy shower and were soaked like mice fallen into the water.

mğ ~ ğm
- ğoyunların şolaşna tamğı basyo:rlar soň herkim ö:z ğoyını tamğasının taniyo:r. (Ār. 12)
  They print a mark on the ears of the sheep, then everybody recognizes his own sheep by its mark.
- derinij (...) tağması ba:r eken (Ār. 5)
  The sheepskin has a brand mark.

¹²² Clauson 1972:437 tobik (< to:b).
This year we have renewed all quilts and mattresses. (Är. 5)

Even if it (contains) little cotton only, in winter a quilt is better than a blanket. (Är. 41)

As migrants the Turkmens have understood that nothing but studying (brings) advantage. (Är. 31)

I already said so at that time: I said it is wrong what you are doing. (Är. 19)

I tell you (all) without mistake. (Är. 31)

If the horse neighs, there is some meaning to that. (Te. 2)

Since its soil is good, whatever you sow at these places here, will grow. (Mu. 1)

Although the Xurāsān Quarter is close to the city, its soil won't do, it is salty.

Examples: Är. tikiği-li ~ Te. dikilği 'sewn'.

Actually in tailoring the difficult thing is to cut the fabric. Sewing together a tailored shirt is easy.

I have started to sew together all the items (I) tailored (last) night.

Come in! Our dog is tethered.

Down the platform two horses were tethered.

They showed us coins on whose sides interesting inscriptions were drawn.
• belki olar ba:rada yazılğı mektu:b za:tlar elimizde yo:q.(Te.13)
  But we don't have letters or stuff with writings about them in our hands.

(b) Metathesis across a vowel

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

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

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

(c) Consonant-vowel metathesis

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

ŋrı > ŋır
• aŋrı > xataplar bile muqrılar aşırda-da türkmenistanda-da bir yerrä:kde ya:şiyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)
  The Xatap and Muqri used to live rather (close) together over there, in Turkmenistan.

jri > jir
• tejribe > biz özimiz şu i:şi tejirbe edip gördik. (Är. 37)
  We have tried out this work as an experience for ourselves.

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

4.3.5 Prothesis

(a) Prothesis is a rare phenomenon in the Afghan Turkmen dialects. My materials contain a few single examples of y- and h-prothesis in copied words, whose situational specifics indicate that the prothetic consonants might have been inserted in order to bridge the hiatus at word boundaries.
• 
  **esi:** > qadi:**m** zama:**nlarda** bir yerini başlıb alsalar merdirmi **yesi:** > alyo:**r** ekenler. (Är. 44)

  In ancient times, when they raided a place they would take the people as hostages.

•  
  **izzet** > ola: hürmet kıčä: šapaqqat mı:**xmana** hizzet gerek diyipdirler. (Te. 10)

  They say, one must (pay) respect to the elders, mercy to the little ones, and generosity to guests.

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

•  
  ol > haji resu:**ldanı h:ol** köçede yașaya:**rlar. (Te. 3)

  The Haji Resu: family live in *that* street over there!

•  
  ol > ba:**la:po:**şı:**nzı h:ol** yerde goyandır:**n. (Te. 14)

  I have left your overcoat over *there*!

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

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

4.3.6 Epenthesis

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

(b) Epenthesis of the approximant [r]

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

•  
  ba:**zar bilen bizi:**n işimizin ortası dört ä:**dim** yer. (Te. 6)

  The distance between the bazaar and our home is four steps.

•  
  bizi:**n işimiz bilen šehre:**ce birki a:**rdim** yo:**l. (Är. 11)

  From our home to town it's (only) one or two steps' way.

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

---

123 Clauson 1972:189.
occurrence of readily geminated consonants, so to speak. Some details about gemination processes are discussed in subchapter 4.5e on phonological difference between the dialects, and in the respective paragraphs on the phonemes that are affected.

4.3.7 Deletion

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

(a) Deletion of word-initial consonants

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

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

- *men hem* > *men-em* erte kä:bil gitjek, bile giders. (Är. 19)
  I am also going to Kabul tomorrow, we will go together.
  And nowadays out of those teachers (only) Xuda:yrahmxan has remained in that village.
  The more (languages) we know the better. It is good if we learn especially Persian, or even Pashto – that is also an official state language.

(b) Deletion of intervocalic consonants

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

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

- baːr+ti > tōːrt saːnaq ğiːzim baːti, tōːrt saːnaːm ogliːm baːti. (År. 2)
  I have four daughters and also four sons.
- baːr+dirs > yedi yuz nika: baːdirs (...). (Te. 7)
  Us are 700 married couples (...).

In all dialects, r-deletion often affects the intraterminal marker -yoːr ~ -yAːr ~ -yAr :

- tur-yoːrsiz > siz giː turyoːrsiz. (År. 45)
  You get up late.
- bol-yoːr > bizleŋ iːsimiz şı mːzaːnna soŋ köp bolyoː :. (År. 41)
  Our work is particularly much after this (month of) Mizān.
- yaːsa-yaːr > hraːtːiː kiːrlere saːnaːp geʃjek bolsaq yomutlar tekeler saːrqlar yaːsayaːs. (Te. 2)
  If we'd like to enumerate the tribes in Herat: (there) live Yomut, Teke and Saːrq.
- bol-yaːrs, yaːsa-yaːrs > wellːyati meymeneden bolyaːs (...) yedi yuz nikaː baːdirs kiː biz ʃo taːyda yaːsayaːs. (Te. 7)
  We are from the province of Maymana (...). Us are 700 married couples that live there.
- aln-yer > biːlar biː taːyda afɡaːnistanːda arzaːn alnye. (Yo. 2)
  These (carpets) are here in Afghanistan purchased at cheap price.
- ber-yer > iːr zamaːnlarda ğati haːla: uns beryetilar. jıdaː uns beryetilar. (Yo. 1)
  In former times they would consider carpets important. Very important.

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

- dāːl > elbetde pul alan dāː : dir (Te. 3)
  He has obviously not got (any) money.
- dāːl > hōkūː metimiz anṣaːtːčiːq döretse biz-em haːliːm pāːkistan üstinnen uzatmaːna xoːs dāː : . (År. 35)
  If our government made things easy (for us), we would not want to export the carpets via Pakistan!
- bol-sa > bizler tarapda bosa imkāːn yoːq. (År. 1)
  As for us here, there are no facilities.

Since the demonstrative pronouns are regularly ol, şol-şul and bil, the coexistence of the variants o, so and bi is by the speakers perceived as l-reduction.

- ol > enaːr alayın diːse puli yoːqtı, o yoːɡ o, kiːsede indi, soŋ yaːrtı enaːr alyoː :. (År. 2)
  As he wanted to buy a pomegranate he had no money, neither in his pocket, (so) then he purchases a half pomegranade.
- şol > soː görünüːn depeden aːssaq, qarqınŋ ğiʃlaːglari mːlim bolyoːr. (År. 7)
  If we cross that hill, the Qarqın villages will be visible over there .
- bil > bi but maŋa baraːbar gelmedi. (År. 45)
  This shoe is not fet in my feet.
(ii) Deletion of /h/ occurs in word- and syllable-final position of copied lexemes. This deletion can lead to the lengthening of the precedent vowel. Examples: isla: bolan 'corrected' (Är. 4) < pers. islāh; lejeleriŋ her haysisu 'each one of the dialects' (Te. 13) < pers. lahja.

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

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

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

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

- šu šekilli isla: bolan tu:qlariŋ gö:štiniŋ ya: yumurtaṃın maza:si yo:q. (Är. 4)
  The meat or eggs of chickens ameliorated that way have no (good) taste.
- iki derjen yumurta-da:m alıŋ! (Te. 5)
  You take please two dozen of eggs.

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

(d) Deletion from consonant clusters

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

- ayaq+jıq > şı jorra:p bā:begiŋ ayajiŋna bara:b belermikä:? (Är. 15)
  Will this stocking fit the tiny foot of the baby?
- küjük+jık > öten yıl-äm men îsa:qxa:na bir kūjükjik beripdim. (Te. 7)
  Last year I had presented a little puppy to I:sa:qxa:n.

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

- heniz waxt, da:ruqjaq bolmaŋ! (Är.24)
  There is still time, don’t hurry!
- biz indi bi:r-biri:mize birikjek bolip kö:şi:š etmeli. (Är.18)
  Now we have to try to support each other by uniting (with one another).
The suffixation of the diminutive -jIQ can lead to the above-named reduction effect with monosyllabic native words that have a consonant cluster containing a right-hand /t/, in the coda position. This type of reduction is, however, not as regularly realized as the one just mentioned before: ḡurtjıq 'little worm' (< ḡurt-ıq) is preserved in the Sa:rıq dialect, while in all other Afghan Turkmen dialects the word is realized as [ḡurjıq] – in which the original voiceless word-final consonant /t/ has left its traces insofar as the suffix consonant appears devoiced.

(ii) In word-boundary clusters of /p/+/b/ in converbial phrases with the postverb bil- 'to be able to...', deletion of [p] is a frequent, although not invariable phenomenon in the Ārsarı dialect125; in the other dialects it does not occur. The phenomenon can come with fricativization of the remaining bilabial into [b].

- biz birleşmeseň hiːč iːš-emiدبilmers (Ār. 1) If we don't unite we cannot achieve anything.
- ümsüm otrasaːmasaːniːš edibiler aːdam? (Ār. 7) What else can one do than (just) sit and shut up...
- yerinnen turibilen yoːqi. (Ār. 12) He was unable to stand up from his place.
- her haːlda men biːʃin hütdaːsinnen gelibilerin. (Ār. 19) In any case I can perform this piece of work as necessary.

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

(iv) Cluster reduction in singular lexemes is unevenly distributed among the Afghan Turkmen dialects. Its rules cannot be determined on the basis of my materials. Example: alaŋqa 'a little rodent, pers. müš-xurma' in the Saːrq dialect ~ alaŋqa in the Teke dialect ~ alaŋğa in the Ārsarı dialect. (Compare DTS 33 alapur with reference to Kāšḡarī, who indicates that "the Turkmens eat this animal").

4.3.8 Consonant-vowel complex reduction

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

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

125 Yakup 2005:76 (50a-c) mentions the same phenomenon for the Turfan Uyghur dialect; in his case, the postverbs qoy-, kät-, baq- and ber- are involved, but not bil-.
- *meniŋ > yö:ne dä:dem birinji gišiki meŋ zindegi:mde köp bir yaxti čira meŋ uči:n.* (Te. 5)
  But my father is the number one person in my life, (he is) a very bright lamp for me.

- *meniŋ > ata-ba:bamam-hem meŋ usta:dim bolo:.* (Sa. 1)
  My father and grandfather are also my masters.

- *seniŋki > i:šim na:doğrı bolsa yüzimi görmä:n senki bolano:q diyiŋ.* (Te. 5)
  If what I do is wrong, don't consider me (lit. without looking at my face), but say yours is not right – I will accept that.

- *-nüŋ > bügün ča:rı:'nj qabu:l etyä:n.* (Te. 5)
  Today Ča:rı:'s kids have also come.

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

- *olarıŋ > olaŋ aytya:nı doğrı dä:l.* (Te. 14)
  What they said is not right.

- *bizleriŋ > bu at bizleŋ atmüz ya:lı dä:l.* (Te. 7)
  This horse is not like ours, there is a difference.

- *-larıŋqı -leriŋki > o:ğa:nlaŋqi bilen türkmenleŋki ikisi bir.* (Är. 1)
  The [language] of the Afghans and that of the Turkmens, both are equal (in difficulty).

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

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

- *ya:mında:qi piya:la:ń apber! (Te. 16)*
  Give (me) the cup which is next to you!

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

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

- *berer > bize-de be:rmikä: di:yä:n.* (Te. 17)
  I say (to myself), will he also give us (something)?

- *bolar > marčaqda hemme za:tlar ekip bo:r.* (Sa. 2)
  In Marčaq everything can be cultivated.

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

- *axtaran bile tapamo:q.* (Te. 5)
  I didn't find (it), although (I) looked for it.

- *men hemme za:di i:yä:n, hi:č danna:mo:q (Te. 18)*
  I eat everything, I don't differentiate.
• biz o yerä: ğatna:p bilemmizo:q, olaram gelip bileenno:q. (Te. 2)
We cannot go there for a visit, nor can they come (here).

• mektebi ğotarannan soŋ yooqari oqu:lara bää:ri:k ornaşasi geleno:qdlar. (Sa. 4)
When they had finished primary school they did not even think of settling closer for higher learning.

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

• nää:(me) üči:n > siz nää:še mnya:ni boldıŋz? (Är. 5)
Why have you become like that?

• nää:(me) edeyin > oğlanlaram erti:rden bää:ri šo:xlıq ba:rını etdiler nää:di:n bıları? (Är. 15)
The kids have committed all sorts of nuisance since the early morning – what shall I do (with) them?

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

• mana šı za:dları özimiz ğorşayo:rs bö:rde. (Är. 37)
These things we construct here ourselves.

• šö:rde ya:šıyo:n nıpu:šıŋ ya:rmının ğo:rra:ğı türkmenler bolyo:. (Är. 18)
More than half of the population that live here are Turkmens.

• şö:di:n soŋ yuregne ğulğula duşdi (Är. 2) < šüyle diyen
After saying that, worries befell his/her heart.

4.4 Vowels: Details of realization and processes

A. /a/ and /a:/

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

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

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

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

126 Yakup 2005:88, (69a), describes an analogous reduction phenomenon for the Turfan Uyghur dialect, but without rounding of the vowel.
In forty days the horse will get ready. When (you) give barley, you need to bring a handful.

These days, raising the horse is not so easy

Quickly, outwit your horse and you can give it its barely at the buzkashi arena.

A good horse trainer timely gives water and grass (to) the horse, then it will be ready in two months.

In the past, my father used to raise six or seven horses, and Arsalan A:ğa used to give them barely three times a day.

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

Although narcotics are permitted in Afghanistan, there are (only) few people here who use opium.

After Turkmenistan got its independence, going there has become a bit easier.

Professor, one thing troubles me! Today not only Turkmen music gets lost, but so does Turkmenhood as well.

One must not torture animals either, that is sinful.

In ancient times there were no nástins but naspumpkins.

Mostly men don't take nass here, they now smoke cigarets or some (smoke) hashish.

If you remember: In our country for the first time in Turkmen language Xalı:pa Sa:yıp Ğızılayağ's Farzi 'Ayn was printed.

Mağtımğulı's book was in Afghanistan printed twice, I believe.

I was surprised how fast that Pashtun there was speaking.

Then that person didn't know what to do and remained stunned.
(d) Secondary vowel length\textsuperscript{127} occurs in all dialects. The conditions under which it occurs differ among the dialects in cases which are described below; unless otherwise stated, a lengthening rule applies to all dialects.\textsuperscript{128}

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

- \textit{ma:ma} > šıl za:tlla:m šol ğarrı \textit{ma:ma}: bermeli. (Är. 22)
  It is also necessary to give these things to that old woman.
- \textit{molla} > siz bu söziŋizi maça aytma:ŋ, qaysi bir \textit{molla}: aydıŋ! (Sa.1)
  You don’t tell me your mind, you have to say it to some mullah.
  If you tell a wise man one time it's okay, but to a stupid (one), even if you tell him ten times, (he's) not going to understand.

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

- \textit{ata} > \textit{ata:m} šo waxtlarda qaryada:rta ta:ğana:rqda. (Är. 6)
  At those times my father was village headman at Ta:ğana:rq.
- \textit{molla} > siz-em \textit{mollazniŋ} oglı bolaŋqiz üçi:n şerei: geplere yağlesai düśünyo:rṣuŋiz. (Sa. 1)
  You also, since you are the son of a mullah, understand sharia matters well.
- \textit{bala} > altı-yetdi \textit{bala:n} baqıp, olaldıp güzera:n etmek aŋsa:t dä:l. (Är. 5)
  Looking after six or seven children, raising and caring (for them), is not easy.

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

- \textit{ma:ma} > erti:r mektebe baryo:n, pi:ši: \textit{ma:ma} bilen baqşiyo:n. (Är. 36)
  In the morning I go to school, in the afternoon I help my grandmother.
- \textit{a:ğa} > šıl ğoyunlar-am \textit{a:ɡamq}:i. (Är. 12)
  These sheep are my brother's.
- \textit{dayza} > kelderde-hem meniŋ bir \textit{dayzam} bar. (Är. 3)
  I have an aunt in (the district of) Kelder.
- \textit{qa:qa} > meniŋ a:dim Jama:liddi:n bolyä:, \textit{qa:qa}miŋ a:di Bayram. (Te. 15)
  My name is Jama:liddi:n, my father's name is Bayram.
- \textit{ata} > şo pille iki muŋ ğoyunı ba:rtı \textit{ata:mziŋ}, hani indi ol ğoyunlar hani? (Är. 5)
  In those times our father had two thousand sheep, where are these sheep now?!

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

\textsuperscript{128} The materials collected for this study do not permit to give a full sample for all dialects under all conditions.
(iv) The original short vowel of the locative suffix -dA is lengthened if followed by the suffix -QI which makes locatives attributable to substantives.

- elinđä:ki xalta:nı maŋa berseŋä:! (Är. 32)
  Pass me the bag (you hold) in your hand!
- üyimiziŋ alnda:qi daraxtı anša:thq bilen ulaltma:q. (Sa. 3)
  We raised the tree in front of our house only with difficulties.

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

- yalma- > sala:m haqımı bermedik bolsaŋ seni iki üzüp bir yalma:r-tım, diyip, dew gözlerini a:lartdı. (Är. 42)
  The dew rolled his eyes saying, "If you had not granted me the salute I am entitled to, I would have swallowed you at two bites".
  Our former dog was very savage, we would always keep him tethered.
- ba:rla- > motarı yağšı ba:rla:ŋ! diyip hemme za:tlarmızı düşirtdi. (Är. 30)
  He said, "Search the car carefully!" and had all our belongings unloaded.
- dara- > şol darağı alıp ber, sačımı dara:yn. (Te. 5)
  Give me that comb, I want to brush my hair.
- alma- > indikillā: ba:ñkden qarz alma:yın, diyip ähd etdi. (Te.5)
  The (people) of today swear not to take a loan from the bank.

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

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

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

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

(e) Secondary vowel shortening a: > a

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

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

(f) For the systematic raising of final /a/ of verbal stems into /ı/, see the above paragraph 4.2.1.b(i) on vowel-raising.
(g) In copied lexemes which have long \( \ddot{a} \) in the Persian or Arabic prototype, the quality of this vowel is in the vicinity of front consonants /p/, /k/, /t/, /š/ etc. often raised from [a:] to [ä:]. Examples: \( \ddot{p}ä:ki \) 'razor' < pers. \( pākī \); Te., Yo. \( šä:li \sim ša:li \) 'rice' < pers. \( šālī \); \( kā:r \) 'job' < Pers. \( kār \); XD \( tā:rät \) 'ritual purity' ~ ND \( ta:rat \) 'id.' < arab. \( tāhārat \).

B. /e/ and /ä:/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   - kita:bi tā:kčede ğoyıptım, kim aldıqa:? (Är. 23) < pers. tākča
     I have put the book on the shelf, who has taken it away?

   - tā:kjä:ni gör! (Te. 5)
     Mind (lit. see) the shelf!

   - soŋ ča:ğa bir a:yla:p şu ta:ya ekeni, šol suwıŋ ičinde, tekjede ya:štı:du:r . (Sa. 7)
     Then the child stayed like that for a month, in that water, he lived on a shelf.
(c) Secondary length of [ä:] occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although with some
difference in detail. Unless otherwise stated, the phenomena described below apply to all
dialects.

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

- **kelle** > omar a:ğanıŋ šalğamnan bedi gelyo:ntı kellä: gelmä:n dir. (Ār. 11)
  It did not come to mind that Omar A:ğa might dislike turnips.
- **döre-** > muja:hidlar dörä:n soŋ ʒiː natiqlar tapıldı, ʒıŋ yo:qdı. (Te.16)
  After the mujāhidīn emerged, a lot of hardship was brought about; before (that, there)
  were none.
- **geple-** > sizem ümsüm ətirmä:ŋ, geplä:ŋ, di:di. (Sa.1)
  He said, "Please say something, do not be silent!"
- **kiči** > kičä:kiči bermeli ula: uli bermeli! (Ār. 1)
  One needs to give to the little one a little (gift) and to the big one, a big!
- **gä:di** > gä:dä:minip sä:wčilige gidenmišin, di:diler. (Ār. 5)
  They told (us) that they had taken a carriage and had gone to woo a girl.

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

- **tä:kje** > tä:kjä:ni gör! şo yerde ʒoyan dırın. (Te. 5)
  See the shelf! I have put (it) there.
- **yeke** > biz birleşmesek hiː ʃ-em edibilmers, yekä:niŋ çaŋı čıqmaz diyişdirler
  qadi:mnan. (Ār. 1)
  Unless we unite we cannot achieve anything, (as) in olden times they would say, "Dust
  won't rise from a single (horseman)".
- **mi:de** > tiːz-tiːz na:n iːmesem, mi:däːm aːğrı: duːr. (Sa. 5)
  If I don't eat regularly, my stomach aches.

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

- **yere** > sağlıq, imkä:naːt we emniyet. bu üc za:d bolmasa hiː yeräː:-de ɡoːrjanup
  bilmäːŋə aːdam. (Sa. 1)
  Health, opportunities and safety. If these three things are not (given), man, you cannot
  go anywhere.
- **jemil:le** > bi hepde jemiläː:-de pül bermedim. (Ār. 53)
  This week, I haven't given money to Jemi:le.

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

129 The meaning of hem is actually in many cases reduced; the particle then simply adds some semantic stress to
its antecedent or loses all of its primary meaning, becoming sort of an expletive.
• nemede hem > ol nemedä:m aslan ö:zi qawmlığına arab, yö:ne özbeki gepliyo:r. (Är. 1)
For some reason he again speaks Uzbek, although he is an Arab by ethnicity.

• yenede hem > yö:ne şo waxt köp bi kita:blarım yitdi, mujahıdlar we ta:ltba:n dewrlерinde, men yene-dä:m tä:zeden oları tapıḇ aldım. (Sa. 1)
At that time many a book of mine has been lost, at the time of the mujähıdīn and Taliban, but I have found them anew.

• geči häm > şu aydan sözleriŋi bir wağtlar bir gečä:m aydıpdı. (Te. 13)
These words which you have said, an(other) time a goat has also said.

• bir-ikisi häm > şu tatarlarıŋ şu ja:ya, tatar diyip yazılan da:šlara:m ba:r, bir-ikisini alıp ğaytdı höku:met, birikis-ä:m ba:r-dı. (Sa. 2)
These Tatars -, in that place there are stones with allegedly Tatar writings; the government has taken away one or two of them, but one or two were (still there).

• gi:mi häm > ğunduzda türkmenleriŋ gi:m-ä:m bä:ri maza:rišeri:pde ya:šayo:n türkmeniŋkiden parx etyo:r. (Är. 1)
In Qunduz, the garments of the Turkmens are all different from those of the Turkmens living in Mazārī Šarīf.

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

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

In order to found (lit. open) the Council we also consulted with elders in other countries than Pakistan.

• meymende > ma:llerin hemmesini diyen ya:lı satdıq, bir meymenedä:ki ma:ller ğa:ldı. (Te.3)
We sold almost all (our) belongings; only those in Maymana remained back.

• elinde > bit elindä:ki pulünü yo:ğadıp gelip dir. (Sa.5)
This (boy) squandered whatever money he had in hands.

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

• diŋle-> jıma:ba:y hi:čkimiŋ sözini qabu:l etmesede, meniŋ sözini diŋlä:r. (Är.17)
Although Jumabay doesn't accept anybody's words, he listens to my advice.

• menže -> na:mi xuda: buja:ga ma:masna menzä:p du:r. (Är. 5)
By God, this little (baby) does resemble her grandmother!

• gözle-> men geli:nčä:m şu ça:ga: gözlä:ŋ! (Te. 5)
Look after this baby until I come (back)!

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

• i:mek > mó:jek ata baqip seni i:mä:ge geldim diyä:r. (Te. 13)
The wolf looked at the horse and said, "I have come to eat you up".
The Ärsa:rı infinitive/necessitative following a front vowel, when taking on the directive, can be realized either as -megə (without lengthening of the vowel) or -mä:ne (with vowel lengthening).

- **dimək** > ketteleriŋ gepini ğaytaŋp, yo:q men mını qabu:l etjek dä:l, men moŋa ğarşı diməge-de jüret gerek. (Är. 19)

  Talking back on elders, saying no, I don't accept this, I am against that, also demands courage.

- **dilemek** > biː mennen naː dilemä:ne gelyoːr eken (Är. 2)

  This (person) seems to come in order to ask me for food.

(d) Secondary shortening of [äː] into [e]

In ND dialects, instead of long vowel [äː], a secondary short [e] occurs with some lexical copies, as for example Är. käːšir ~ ND kešir 'carrot'; Är. käːdi ~ ND kedi 'gourd'.

- ana qışlağımızda suːw kemraːg, künji ekemiz, qawun-tarbız, kedi ekemiz, yene terkeri boledı bu yerde. (Mu.2)

  In our village there is very little water; we (only) sow sesame, melons and gourds, and greens also grow there.

- palaw pişirgende awal piyaːznı kűːdирip, soŋ keširni taslamaɫ. (Xa.2)

  When we prepare pilaff, first we fry the onions and then the carrots need to be added.

C. /u/ and /uː/

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

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

- baːzırdan năːrse daʃidim. (Är. 8)

  I carried things (home) from the bazaar.

- büːtıːn yaːzdı čoldın oːdın daʃadim. (Te.21)

  The whole summer, I was busy carrying bushes (home) from the steppes.

- yoːldı čaːɾı hajılaŋqaːda daɾadıq. (Är. 5)

  On (our) way we stopped by at Čaːɾı Haji's place.

- Meymenäː gidende bir-iki gün Šaxa-daːm daɾadıq. (Te.16)

  When we travelled to the Maymana, for one or two days we visited Šax, too.

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

- kiči oğlım keted bolsa bil päːkülte oqːr inşaːallaː. (Är. 8)

  When my little son is big, he will hopefully study at the faculty.
Back from the wedding, we will start carpet weaving.

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

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

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

(ii) In many lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, original high [i] or [i:] is realized as low [ı] or [ı:], respectively: *a:lim* 'learned person' < *ālim*, *pa:lbı:n* 'diviner' < *fālbīn*.

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

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

(i) Final ı followed by suffixes with initial m (e.g. 1.PSGPOSS -(l)m, n (e.g. ACC -nl, GEN -nllı) or ı (e.g. 2.PPLIMPER -ılz). In the ND this lengthening does not occur regularly.

- *górgı* > *xiya:nat* etmedigim ücün meniň hi:čkimnen *górgı:m* yö:q. (Är. 16)
  Since I have not betrayed (anyone), I am not afraid of anybody.
- *güzi* > *sonq mö:jek* bu *güzi:ni* i:jek bolıp dir. (Te. 22)
- *quzi* > *quzıni* nıme qıldıŋız? (Xa.2)
  What have you done to the lamb?
- *yağıšı* > *yağıšını* görmeg-em soğa:p! diyip dirler. (Är. 10)
  They say, "It is merit(ious) to simply see a good (man)!"
- *yağıšı* > *yağıšını* gepiden-hem bilesiz. (Mu.2)
  You can recognize the good man from his speech.
  The fingers of modern women of today are similar to falcon claws.
- *güzi* > *ya:š šı:rba:zi* *güzi:ını* gö:sti onın băşga maza:și bar. (Är. 12)
  The meat of a young four-month-old lamb is especially delicious.
- *yılqı* > *yılqı:ını* nıme boldı? (Är. 31)
  What has happened to your mare?
- *yılqıni* nıme qıldıŋız? (Xa. 5)
  What have you done to the mare?

(ii) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the POSS1./2.PSG/PL suffixes have all short vowels. When following a "pronominal n" supplied to the demonstrative pronouns *bu, o* and *şo*, however, the first vowel of the suffix is lengthened (-ı:m, -ı:mlız etc.). Again, the ND often disregard this rule and have a short vowel instead.
• siz hemi:še gi:č turyo:siŋız, šon:ŋiz bolan yo:q. (Är. 10)
  You always get up late, that (habit) of yours won't do.
• kiči oğlım yağšı oqıyo:r, on:mı:z bir gün-em mekdepden ğa:lan yo:q. (Är. 33)
  My little son studies well, he has not cut school a single day.
• mun:mı:z köp aqıllı, a:ğası ya:lı tentek dä:l. (Te. 5)
  This one (lit. of ours) is very smart. He is not a troublemaker like his elder brother.
• aydılan waxtda geleŋo:q, şunı:ŋ yağšı dä:l. (Sa. 7)
  You're not coming at the agreed time, this (behavior) of yours is not good.
• şuniŋ bolmeydi-da! (Mu. 1)
  This (behavior) of yours won't go!

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

• qırq ğı:zlarıŋ hemmesi, biz qırqı:mı:z-am qala:dan tašla:lı diyip āhd edip dirler. (Är. 43)
  All forty girls made a pledge (saying), "All forty of us will jump down from the fortress".
• siz onı:ŋı:z birinji bolıp barıŋ, soŋ basğaları i:beryä:s. (Te. 18)
  First the ten of you should go there, then we'll dispatch the others.
• biz şonča ğa:lan palawı dö:rđi:mı:z bolıp i:dik. (Yo. 1)
  The four of us ate up this much (of the) remaining pilaff!

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

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

  Sa:ra's mother had the hen hatch (eggs), many chicks came out, but since she did not have a proper henhouse the chicken fell prey to the hawk.
• ba:hıqi > derya:niŋ boynında iki sa:ni ba:hıqcä: duwišdıq. (Te. 16)
  On the river bank we met two fishermen.
• ya:šu:lı > biziŋ gelenmizi ya:sula: xabar berdimizmi? (Sa. 3)
  Did you inform the chief about our arrival?

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

• onı hem ; ğarnı hem > ona:m aytma:m gerek, mana birki yıldan bår:ri mana xušksa:lıq gelip dä:ni ğoyunlarıŋ ğarna:m oldan doymadı. (Är. 12)
I also need to say that since one or two years this draught has come and the stomachs of the sheep did not get full with the grass (they ate).

- **yağdayı hem** > šupille hä:zirki waxtda marčaq xalqmınıt **yağdaya:m** ğawi dä:i, amma: šonda-da ya:ši:do:rlar. (Sa. 2)

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

- **resim-rava:jı hem** ; **dessu:rı hem** > önki bolıši ya:lı, čenna:n ü:tgä:nnoq, ğwı, **resim-rava:ja:m** ğawi, **dessu:ra:m** ğwı. (Te. 4)

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

In the nāxāliṣ dialects, on the other hand, contraction of words with final i and the enclitic particle hem results in the raising of the vowel to [i], and insertion of the approximant y, without shift of accent: **atasi hem** > **atasiyem**, **onı hem** > **oniyem**.

- **și hem** > özbek-em bolsa bizlerdek gepuredi ***ści-yem.*** (Ba. 3)

He, although he is an Uzbek, he talks like us.

- **ati hem** > jima:nazarni **ati-yem** oğłaqqa boladi. (Mu. 2)

Jima:nazar's horse will do for buzqashı.

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

- **oqa-** > kıči oğułma ketde bolsa, bil pä:külte **oqı:r** inša:alla:. (Ār. 8)

When my little son is big, he will hopefully study at the faculty.

- **și:ri yalŋıš** **oqı:**maŋ! (Ār. 9)

Don’t recite the poem incorrectly!

- **bi ha:lıča:nı bir ayda** **doqı:**rın inša:lla:. (Ār. 5)

I hope to weave this rug in one month.

The other dialects do not share this phenomenon.

**D. /i/ and /ı/:**

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

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

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

(c) Secondary length of i occurs under the specific conditions described below. Unless otherwise stated, the phenomenon relates to all dialects.
(i) In adverbial derivates in -n of lexemes with final [i], the final syllable vowel is lengthened into [iː]:
gizli 'secret (adj.)' > gizli:n 'secretly';
kindi 'prayer before dinner' > kindi:n 'at prayer time'.

(ii) In the xāliṣ dialects, final i followed by suffixes with initial m (e.g. 1.PSGPOSS -(I)m, n (e.g. ACC -nI, GEN -nIŋ) or η (e.g. 2.PPLIMPER -ηIz), is lengthened into [iː] while in the nāxāliṣ dialects such lengthening does not take place.

- **geči** > **geči:miz**
günde iki setil sü:t beryo:r. (Är. 41)
Our goat gives two buckets of milk every day.

- **geči** > **bir inek we iki gečimiz**
ba:r. (Ba. 2)
We have one cow and two goats.

- **öli** > **öli:ni**
depin etmä:ne-de köp xarji gerek. (Är. 1)
Large expenses are necessary for burying a deceased.

- **öli** > **bizde xu ölini**
liba:siilen kömmedyrdiler, hetmen kefen qıładilar. (Be. 5)
At ours they don't bury the dead with his garments, they absolutely wrap (lit. do) him (in) a shroud.

- **ğişi** > **gişi:ni**
kim esgeryo:r? (Är. 38)
Who cares for the poor these days?!

- **kişi** > **her kişini**
loyejirgeğa ğaşirmeydiler. (Xa. 3)
They do not invite (just) everybody to the Loya Jirga.

- **yöri-** > **yöri:n**
gideli! (Är. 32)
Come on, let's go!

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

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

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

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

- **xuda:ya: şükir xuda:ynŋ berenne yitdi axtığım ba:r, tö:rdisi oğlı üčisi ģri:z, bi:rejik**
oglim bar, bi:rejik oğlumnan üčen bılar. (Är. 28)
Thank God, (thanks) for God's gifts, I have seven grandchildren, four of them are boys and three are girls. I have one single son, they have (all) been begotten through him.

(iv) In the Ārsa:ri dialect, the lengthening of the 1.PSGPOSS suffix does not only occur with numerals as described above. So far the rules governing the occurrence of the phenomenon have not been discovered. Examples are:
• gün > bil meni pul beren güni:m yağşı görő:r, pul bermedik güni:m ya:nimada gelen yo:q. (Är. 6)
  On days when I give (him) money he likes me, (but) on days when I don't give (him) money, he does not even come to me.
• yer > ğu:rra:q boljaq yer:ı:m da:yımlaŋqı, mıra:dlaŋqa:-da:m kä:pille bararın. (Är. 32)
  The place where I am more often is my uncle's, and sometimes I go to Mıra:d's as well.

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

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

In the latter examples, the lengthening of the vowels in esı:dı:p and ı:ći:p also underlines the durative meaning of the action described in the clause.

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

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

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

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

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

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

• üše- > peži yaqayın! yene üşi:mä:ŋ. (Är. 11)
  I will fire the stove. You should not get cold.
• döre- > bolan i:š uwal čekkä:me bir si:m dürtıldi, soŋ šu yerden bir yara döri:di. (Är.47)
  What occured is: First a nail hurt my temple, then a wound came into being there.
• **derge-** > men sizi öten hepedə:m *dergi:dim.* (Är. 10)
  Last week I looked for you.

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

E. /o/ and /o:/

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

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

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

• **o:l** a:damı goryo:rsıŋmı? (Är. 18)
  Do you see thaaaat man (over there)?

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

• do:ğrı bariberiŋ! (Är.53)
  Walk on straaaaight!

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

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

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

• ğişlağınız a:dnı Ta:ğana:rıq *di:yo:rlar*. (Är. 6)
  They call our village (lit. our village's name) Ta:ğana:rıq.

• buğday *eko:rlar* ša:lı *eko:rlar*. (Sa. 2)
  They grow wheat, they grow rice.

• bermezi:dde su: bolma:n soñ paxta *ekmeyä:rlar*. (Te.4)
  Since in Bermezid there is no wather, they don’t plant cotton (there).

• hıra:tda-đa ğawı ha:lı *doqaya:rlar*. (Yo. 2)
  In Herat they weave carpets, too.

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

105
• bi:rinnen alp yene bi:rine satyo:n a:dama jella:p diyo:rlar. (Är. 12)
  A person who purchases from someone and retails to another is called jella:p.
• šu günlerde ha:lını alo:n a:dam yo:q. (Sa. 3)
  No one buys rugs these days.
• qa:zi bolya:n gişi a:dil bolmalı. (Te. 13)
  A person who wants to be a judge must be just.

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

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

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

F. /ö/ and /ö:/

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

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

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

(d) Length of [ö:]:

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

• mana ši za:dları özimiz ğoršayo:rs bö:rde. (Är. 37)
  These things we construct here ourselves.
• şö:rde ya:šiyo:n npu:şu yan:rmımnan şo:rra:ği türkmenler bolyo:. (Är. 18)
  More than half of the population that live here are Turkmens.
• ğoyan za:dim bu yerde yo:q. (Yo. 2)
  The thing which I put here is (now) gone.
• Siz šu yerde yatıŋ! (Te. 18)
  Please you can sleep here.

(ii) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, secondary length of [ö:] results from the reduction of the glottal voiceless fricative [h] which follows, in the original, mostly [u] or [i]. The phenomenon occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects, although there is some variation in
detail of occurrence. Examples: zö:re ~ zöhre XD 'Zuhra (n.pr.f.)' < pers. zuhra; tö:met ~ töhmet XD 'slander' < pers. tuhmat. In these cases, non-reduction of [h] would be typical of an elevated style as used by educated people.

(e) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, middle-front [ö] / [ö:] often renders original high-front [ü] (< [u]) following or preceding glottal or uvular consonants. Non-occurrence of this lowering is typical of elevated speech. Examples: höku:met (Sa. 2) 'government' < pers. hukūmat; mö:teber (Är. 38) 'prestigious' < pers. mu'tabar.

G. /u/ and /u:/

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

(b) The phonemic character of /u/ and /u:/ is preserved in all dialects, although in detail there is some variation in occurrence.

(i) Secondary length of [u:] occurs in the Ärsa:rı dialect as a result of contraction of [uwu].

- tuwuq < a:q tu:qların ya: ısla: bolan tu:qların gö:štiniŋ maza:sı yo:q. (Är. 4)
  The meat of white chickens and meliorated chickens has no taste.

- suwuq < öten yıl kőp suzq boldı. (Är.44)
  Last year was very cold.

(c) In the Ärsa:rı dialect [u] in singular copied lexemes can be the result of contraction of original [aw] : qu:s 'the month of Qaws' (Är. 12) < pers. qaws; guwi 'good (but ğawı in Te.).

(d) Unrounding of [u], which results in secondary [ı], is a frequent phenomenon in copied lexemes; the non-unrounded variants co-exist with the unrounded ones. Examples: supa ~ sipa: 'sitting plateau' < pers. suffa~sipa; muna:sıp ~ mına:sıp 'adequate' < pers. munāsib.

H. /ü/ and /ü: /

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /ü/ and /ü:/ are front-high rounded vowels.

(b) The phonemic character of /ü/ and /ü:/ is preserved in all dialects.

(i) The exact phonetic quality of /ü:/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects cannot yet be determined here. There is reason to assume that in fact, phonetically long ü is (always? only under specific circumstances?) realized as a semi-long vowel followed by the approximant y. In absence of apparative analyses, transcription in this book will keep to the rendering as ü: rather than üy. Only in examples where the [y]-element is very obvious in the pronunciation of our respondents, it will be included in the transcription.

(ii) Secondary length of [ü:] does not occur in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.
### 4.5 Phonetic realization, phonotactics, processes: Consonants

**Table 4-8: Consonants: position**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneeme</th>
<th>initial</th>
<th>intervocalic</th>
<th>in consonant clusters</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td><em>bal</em> 'honey', <em>ba:liq</em> 'fish', <em>ba:y</em> 'wealthy', <em>bedew</em> 'horse'; <em>baːʃ</em> 'five', <em>biː</em> 'one', <em>biː:l</em> Ār. 'this year', <em>bol</em> 'loose', <em>boğın</em> 'joint', <em>boːlekt</em> 'share', <em>boːlim</em> 'part', <em>bürenjek</em> 'shawl', <em>büːrgün</em> Ār. 'the day after tomorrow', <em>buqa</em> 'bull', <em>bula</em>- 'to stir', <em>buːğ</em> 'steam'</td>
<td><em>aːba</em> Ār. 'father', <em>aˌbaːr</em> 'favorable' <em>ğab</em> 'coat', *kebelek'</td>
<td><em>iːqbaːl</em> Ār. 'luck', <em>selbi</em> '(female name)', <em>göːkbœːri</em> Sa. <em>tepće</em> '(element of the wedding ceremonies)', <em>telbe</em> 'lunatic', <em>ekber</em> Ār. 'Ekber (n.pr.m.)', <em>baːboğni</em> 'a special female headgear', <em>ğerbala</em>- 'to grasp', *çepe' 'converse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td><em>palaw</em> 'pilaff', <em>paːyi</em> 'share', <em>perek</em> 'feather', <em>päːl</em> 'intent', <em>piːl</em> 'shovel', <em>piːça</em> 'bundle of bud sticks', <em>sibṣe</em> Te. 'broom', <em>sibek</em> 'rump'</td>
<td><em>ğapaq</em> 'cover', <em>kepek</em> 'bran', <em>yipek</em> 'silk', <em>köpek</em> 'blubber', <em>köpek</em> 'dog', <em>topr</em> 'soil', <em>tüpeŋ</em> 'gun', <em>tüːpilik</em> 'spittle'</td>
<td><em>kepder</em> 'pigeon', <em>köpri</em> 'birdge', <em>kirpi</em> 'hedgehog'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td><em>darı</em> 'millet', <em>daːg</em> 'mountain', <em>daːt-</em> 'to taste', <em>deri</em> 'skin', <em>daːri</em> 'medication', <em>diːl</em> 'tongue', <em>diːri</em> 'alive', <em>dim</em> 'silence', <em>diːg</em> 'dominance', <em>doːgi</em> 'right', <em>dolaq</em> 'feet cloth', <em>doːl</em> 'full', <em>döl</em> 'progeny', <em>döːnik</em> 'traitor', <em>dul</em> 'widow', <em>duːl</em> 'top home', <em>duːsēk</em> 'carpeting', <em>duːs</em> 'dream'</td>
<td><em>aːda</em> 'island', <em>aːdil</em> 'just', <em>edep</em> 'decorum', <em>aːdik</em> 'boot', <em>gödik</em> 'young child', <em>doːdaq</em> 'lip', <em>oːdan</em> 'firewood', <em>ğuduz</em> 'mad (dog)'</td>
<td><em>merdaːna</em> 'male', *gentelemanish', <em>kepder</em> 'pigeon', <em>öɾdekk</em> 'duck', <em>tüydiŋ</em> 'pipe', <em>ökde</em> 'adept', <em>perde</em> 'curtain', <em>hemdeːım</em> 'friend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td><em>tay</em> 'foal', <em>taːna</em> Yo. 'calf', <em>tegen</em> 'corral',</td>
<td><em>cataq</em> 'intricate', <em>gataq</em> 'yogurt',</td>
<td><em>aːt</em> Mu. 'horse', <em>Xd</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>jar 'announcements', jalbar 'pants', ja:m 'cup', jem 'total', jää: 'flower', jiger 'liver', jil 'dogged', jı:ga 'crown', jıa: 'waterwheel', j:ıq Te. 'to see', jörre: 'sock', jö:gi 'gipsy', jul 'saddle cloth', jü:ran- 'to worry', jübi Te. 'bag', ja:j 'scot', kej 'crooked', gašawj Mu. 'a handful'</td>
<td>bajı Te. 'sister', jää:jek Te. 'flower', jikjikke Är. 'sparrow', -beje '...o'clock', ġojir 'honor', gi:je 'night', jüp 'pair', -beje '...o'clock', jü:je 'chick'</td>
<td>janjal 'brawl', enjir 'figs', xorje: 'carpetbag', sü:ji 'sweet', beg 'thane', dileğ 'wish', dümeğ 'cold'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>gedä:y 'beggar', ġa:r 'dirty', gözel 'beautiful', göbek 'navel', gi:le 'glass', gi:le 'groan', gi:ze'n 'subsistence', gi:z 'autumn'</td>
<td>değer 'legacy', bä:ğül 'rosewater', değirmen 'mill', i:ğe 'rasp', ġi:ğe:- 'to cause nausea'</td>
<td>beğenc 'rejoicing', yiğde (a fruit)', etgel 'luck', mergen 'gunner', beg 'thane', dileğ 'wish', dümeğ 'cold'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kelle 'head', kä:di 'gourd ', kir 'impure', ki:ne 'hatred', köşk 'palace', kö:il 'lake', kün Mu. 'day', kündik 'ewer', kü:me- 'to burn', kü:ze 'amphora'</td>
<td>eke Ār. 'elder sister', ND. 'big brother', ekiz 'twins', pä:ki 'razor', ö:ke 'enmity', ńiğ 'two', kö:ne 'obsolete', tiğen 'thorn', üke Mu. 'younger brother', ü:ke Te. 'enmity'</td>
<td>ekle- 'to foster', ökde 'skilled', velken 'sail', tilki 'fox', čä:k 'crack', gerček 'apt', kiyik 'deer', kök 'stem', gö:k XD 'blue, green, grey', küčük Är. 'dog', köprük Mu. 'bridge', sünk 'bone'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ğ/</td>
<td>bağana 'lambskin', yağı 'enemy', yığın 'assembly', soğan Te. 'onions', boğın</td>
<td>yağşu Ār. ND 'good', yığın 'tamarisk', doğri 'right', doğduq 'birthplace'</td>
<td>yağ 'oil', gișlağ 'village', tariğ Xa. 'millet', dt:ğ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>gara 'black', ğalin 'thick', ğa:s 'eyebrows', ğonq 'guest', ğol Ār. 'hand', ğoz:ğalay 'rebellion', ğis 'winter', ğil 'body hair', ğun 'difficult', ģul 'bondsman', ģu:ri 'dry', ģu:zaq 'cottonseed'</td>
<td>saqɡal 'beard', saqɡız 'limy', toqɡız 'nine'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>maral 'deer', ma:l 'livestock', mele 'camel', mäkreke 'congregation', min- 'to ride', mi:n 'shame', mi:lis 'meet', müq 'flabby', mu:qlda- 'to walk softly', moqij Ār. 'bad', mo:ri 'chimney', möcher Te. 'size', möyle 'tarantula', möjek 'wolf', murt Te. 'moustache', mün- Te. 'to ride', müçber Ār. 'size', mü:n Te. 'shame'</td>
<td>damar 'vein', ma:ma 'grandmother', temek 'tobacco', demir 'iron', gömelek 'mushroom', ömir 'life', duma:n 'brume', omaça 'femur', düme Sa. 'kitchen garden'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 'joint', sièğr 'cow', suğun 'fawn', nu:ğa:nci 'harvester' | 'dominance', tawuğ Mu. 'hen', bu:ğ 'steam' |
| /tn/ | ār.cn 'guest', u:niq 'pony' | rū: 'dare', su:ghn 'stag', u:n 'flour', gün 'day', di:n 'yesterday' |
| /r/ | daŋatar 'daybreak', deŋe - 'to compare', diŋirgen- 'to attend', oŋırğa 'spine' |
| /l/ | lagqa 'catfish', la:y 'mud', legen 'tray', lä:bik 'muddy', liqrdi 'vibration', londa 'round', lödre 'silt', luwirdi 'sway', lükke 'major' |
| /w/ | watar Te. 'homeland', waxt 'time', well: 'guardian', wä:de 'promise', wi:ran 'dilapidated' |
| /r/ | ār.cn 'guest', u:niq 'pony' | rū: 'dare', su:ghn 'stag', u:n 'flour', gün 'day', di:n 'yesterday' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>düwil- 'to break', duwa:m 'continuation', jüwen 'white corn', tüwi Te. 'rice'</th>
<th>yafraq 'leaf', arfa 'barley', telfek 'hat', köfri 'bridge'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[f]</td>
<td>qa:f 'Caucasus', la:f 'vainglory'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z]</td>
<td>a:z 'few', biz 'we', ği:z 'girl', göz 'eye', kö:j 'embers', gü:z 'autumn', du:z 'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>na:s 'snuff', bars 'tiger', ters 'stout', mi:s 'copper', buses 'stipend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/צ/</td>
<td>aždar Te. 'dragon', hažžuq 'lizard', ežderha: Ar. 'dragon', mežnu:n 'lunatic', wīḍa:n 'conscience', müžıq Te. 'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya:l 'woman', ayi 'bear', iyer Te. 'saddle'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taylaq 'camel foal', ğaymaq 'cream', o:yluq 'shepherd's robe', uyluq 'thigh'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay 'colt', torğay 'lark', a:y 'month', tey Mu. 'basis, bottom', toy 'wedding party', o:y 'thought', üy 'home'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>xal 'spot', xa:n 'khan', xorjın 'carpetbag', xo:r Är. 'debased' Te. 'thin', xirš 'itching', xı:la 'stick used for animals', xum 'jar', xurma 'date'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paxal 'straw', saxi: 'generous', paxı:r 'needy', a:xı:r 'stable', a:xu:n 'mullah', u:xi Ār. 'sleep'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axla:q 'morality', axmı:r 'revenge', axtıq 'grandchild', axdar- 'to search'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğo:x 'jungle'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pačaq 'melon skin', ğacır 'mule', beče Mu. 'child', miçe 'meat', pičaq 'knife', geçi 'goat', köće 'alley', ğočaq Sa. 'big', nu:ça 'tall man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meçji:ıd'mosque', mücber'size', ni:çe .Ār'thin', zerçe 'sparrow', ğurçuq 'larva'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağaç Ār. 'wood' Te. 'tree', ariqmaç 'extra', ğöc 'migration', goç 'ram', gi:ç 'late', di:nç 'assured', pu:ç 'nil', gü:ç 'power'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lehej 'dialect', mehrem 'intimate', mehnet 'toil'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beh! (Te. Yo. Yem.) 'wow!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The distributional features shown on Table 2-5 generally relate to all Afghan Turkmen dialects. In the phonetic realization and allophonic rules, however, there is some variation in detail. These features will be discussed in the respective subchapters following below.

4.5.1 Stops / plosives

A. The voiced bilabial plosive /b/

(a) /b/ in initial position:

(i) The voiced bilabial /b/ most frequently occurs in the word-initial position, where it can precede all vowel phonemes (see Table 2-5). In some single lexemes, there is dialect difference in the occurrence of this initial /b/, against /m/ in the correlate: Te. büdre- vs. Ār. mǔ(i)re- 'to stumble'; Ār. onjuq-bunjjuq vs. Te. onjuq-munjjuq 'whim-wham'.

(ii) In the Teke dialect, initial [b] in some copied and native lexemes occurs as a result of the voicing of initial /p/, while the Ārsa:ri dialect preserves initial [p] in these lexemes:

- siziŋ ya:ɡdan berhi:ziŋiz barmır? (Te. 16) Are you on a fat diet?
- Tilla: araq içse derrew barıp bi:nisine yetya:rda soñ dâ:lerip başlaya:r. (Te. 3) If Tilla drinks alcohol, (the drink) immediately goes into his brains and he starts making bullshit.
- a:damış hemme paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bağılı, pi:ni göjransa soñ o a:dam sağalmıyo:r. (Ār. 18) All activities of a person depend on his brains, if the brains are shaken then a man will not recover.

(b) /b/ in intervocalic position:

(i) In the Ārsa:ri, Sa:riq, Teke and Yomut dialects the bilabial stop /b/ in intervocalic position may undergo affricativization > [b]. This happens in single dissylabic lexemes as well as in connected speech. [b] is a bilabial affricate with a tendency towards labio-dentalization, realized between [b] and [v]. The phenomenon, however, is to be regarded as spontaneous and occasional, depending on (quick) tempi of speech and (low) degree of formality, rather than being subject to general rule. There are many cases of non-affricativization in analogous positions.

- öten yil-am çölde ot bolmadı, qu:saça ö:diŋ-bö:diŋ çölde saqladıq, soŋ qoyunları o:ba: alq geldik. (Ār. 12) Last year in the steppe there was no grass. Somehow we kept the sheep in the steppe until the Sagittarius month, then we took the sheep (home) to the village.
- derya:nnu su:wi aşri gidende bā:ri tarapda kō:l kör bolyo:r, soŋ biz ba:liqları ġarba:p tutubhalyor:rs. (Ār. 39) When the river water retreats to over there, many puddles are on this side, then we catch the fish.
o zama:nlarda mektebelerde jeza: köpdi, oğlanlar sapağı bilmese čt:biqla:p urardılar. (Sa. 4)
In those times in school there was a lot of punishment; if the boys didn't know the lesson, they would beat them with whipping rods.
osoŋ gö:kbö:ri di:bi-em bir za:di ba:r ekeni. (Sa. 3)
And then they have a thing called gö:kbö:ri.
yabı indi erkek yorğa ata aydılya:, asila: bedew di:meli. (Te. 1)
Now yabı is said to a male pacesetter horse; actually one should call it bedew.
šükir xuda:ya: hä:zir şul göreš čıqıp gidib oṭi:r. (Te. 2)
Thank God now this wrestling has come up and is going on.
Indi gi:č bollı, gidibotirmaq! (Yo. 3)
It's become late now, don't leave!
köp ğar yağıberse ol ğoyunları i:qra:q yere eltmeli. (Är. 12)
If it snows a lot (we) need to take these sheep to an awning place.
apalaw ǧawı bolıp dır. (Yo. 1)
Help yourself! The pilaff is delicious.

(ii) Affricativization can also occur with /b/ in a syllable onset position following the liquid /r/ or /l/ in the coda of the preceding syllable, both in dissyllabic lexemes and in connected speech.

sonj biz ba:liqları garba:p tutuβalyo:rs. (Är. 39)
Then we catch the fish.
ba:r bol! (Är.)
(Standard response to ha:rma! 'don't get weary', which is used as a greeting and wish to people at work.)
köp aya:llar doqma:nıŋ üstinde sı:l kesel bollı. (Yo. 2)
Many women have become ill over the carpet.

(ii) In the Muqrı dialect, intervocalic /b/ may undergo fricativization > [w]. This happens in dissyllabic lexemes as well as in connected speech. The phenomenon is to be regarded as spontaneous rather than as being subject to general rule.

a:ba:d > hä:, awad bolmaqiŋ üstine baryo:da, yu:saŋ a:t awad bolmalı. (Mu. 2)
Yes, (this) has to do with becoming well-bred, if you wash it the horse becomes well-bred.
zeba:n, ba:ba > bolmasa payz qaryada:r bilen zewa:nımız bir, birzler a:ta-ba:walarmız bir yerde bola:n. (Mu. 1)
Otherwise our language is the same as (lit. with) Payz Qaryada:r's, our forefathers had been together.
öz tilinizde aytwerıŋ. (Mu. 1)
Say (it) in your own language!

(c) /b/ in final position:

(i) In the coda of native single lexemes voiced /b/ does not occur.
(ii) In the coda of copied lexemes /b/ may preserve its voicing but may also be devoiced > [p]. Preservation of voicing appears to be characteristic of "careful" or "educated" speech: sa:hib (Är. 2) ~ sa:yip (Är. 17) 'Sir'; ğari:b (Är. 38) ~ ğari:p 'poor'; hara:p (Te. Yo.) ~ xara:b (Är. Sa.) 'destroyed'; hasa:p (Är.) ~ hasa:b (Är.) 'account'.

(d) /b/ in consonant clusters:

(i) /b/ as first or subsequent element of a consonant cluster does not occur in word- or syllable-initial position.

(ii) As an element of consonant clusters in syllable or word boundaries, /b/ does not lose voice if following an unvoiced plosive (e.g. /q/, /k/, /p/).

  They call these white fish Amu Darya fish, but they come from Pakistan.

- yö:ne šipilleki hä:zir türkmençe kepleya:n xalq bazı bolsa inha, bolar türkmenısta:nın göçip baran. (Te. 2)
  But if today there are (at all) people who speak Turkmen, these (pers.), these have migrated from Turkmenistan.

- Ekber A:ğə da şırkətininıň depeṭerini kipa:yat markitde ǧorşadi. (Är. 22)
  Ekber A:ğə constructed the office of his company in the Kipa:yat market.

- oson gö:kbö:ri di:hem bir za:di ba:r ekeni. (Sa. 3)
  Then they have a thing called gö:kbö:ri.

- Bermezi:d de Tekeler bir topbaq oti:rlar, amma: şehərde bul ya:lı dā:l.(Te. 3)
  In Bermezi:d the Teke live (as) one compact group, but in town it is not like that.

- pa:l fa kepbe tıkdi. (Yo. 1)
  'We constructed a makeshift shelter in the gourd field.

- millel müttehiddın berilen bǔğdayını hem ketdeler özleri taqš:ı:m qıldılar, bir hepbesi-hem merdimge birilmedi. (Mu.1)
  The powerful ones distributed all of the wheat which was aided by United Nations among themselves; not one grain of it was given to the commoners.

(e) Assimilation of /b/ :

In dissyllabic lexemes, clusters of nasals /m/, /n/ + /b/ are assimilated into [mm] : qammar 'Qanbar (n.pr.)' < pers. qanbar; imisim boldı 'he became quiet' > imisimmoldı; ammar 'storehouse' < pers. anbar. This assimilation does not occur in connected speech.

(f) Dissimilation of /b/ :

(i) Dissimilation of geminated /b/ occurs in some copied lexemes only; the first [b] is devoiced into [p]. The phenomenon can be observed in all dialects.

- şo wəxtlar qomanda:nlar hayrata:nın köp bǔğday daşadılar, yö:ne oniň bir hepbes-ä:m esgere yetmedi. (Är. 14) < pers. hebbe
  In those times the commanders carried along much wheat from (the border station of) Hayrata:n, but not a single grain of it got available to the soldiers.
(ii) Dissimilation can follow a more complicated pattern. In some dissylabic lexemes [b] occurs as result of "secondary" dissimilation of an original /p+/+m/ cluster, which had first been assimilated into *[pp]: topmaq > *toppaq > topbaq (Är.) 'bunch' (compare Clauson 1972:137 tobik < tob).

B. The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/

(a) Occurrence

(i) The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ can occur in all positions: palçıq 'clay', ğapı 'door', kepder 'pigeon', sap 'handgrip'. However, it does not very frequently occur in the initial position of native lexemes.

(ii) /p/ often occurs in allophonic variation with [f], particularly in intervocalic position and in the vicinity of the liquid /r/. Examples: ğapı 'door' ~ ğafı, topraq 'soil' ~ tofraq, köpri 'bridge' ~ köfri, ğopar- 'to break (sth.) loose' ~ ğofar-

(b) /p/ in intervocalic position

If a suffix with vowel in the onset follows the final /p/ of a monosyllabic long-vowel lexeme or a dissylabic lexeme with long vowel in the second syllable, /p/ is regularly realized as [b] or [b]. Examples: ğa:p 'sack' + 3PPoss > ğa:bi ~ ğa:bi; ya:p 'canal' > ya:bi; yi:p 'thread' > yi:bi; di: p 'bottom' > di:bi ~ di:bi; hasa:p 'account' > hasa:bi.

(c) /p/ in consonant clusters

(i) Geminated /pp/ often has its second [p] dissimilated into voiced [b]: toppaq 'round' ~ topbaq, keppe 'dust cover' ~ kepbe.

(ii) In the postverbal construction -Ip gel- the [pg] cluster at the word boundary is in the Är. dialect mostly dissimilated into [qg]:

- ba:lıği hayrata:nnan alq geldik. (Är.25)
  We brought the fish from Hayratan.

(iii) In copied lexemes with original /f/, [p] can occur as part of consonant clusters in the coda position: sınp ~ sımp 'class, grade' < pers. sинф.

C. The voiced alveolar plosive /d/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced alveolar plosive /d/ occurs in all positions, but between the dialects there is quite some difference in the details of occurrence. In all dialects, final [d] occurs much less frequently than /d/ in initial or intervocalic position.

(b) /d/ ~ /t/ difference among the dialects

(i) In some lexemes that have initial /d/ in the Teke and Yomut dialects, the Ärsa:\ri dialect has voiceless /t/ instead: Te. dö:rt 'four', doqız 'nine', doğsan 'ninety', dart- 'to pull', dartsenli
'disaster', *du:ća* 'sour', *dik-* 'to sow' etc. as opposed to Ār. Sa. ND *tō:rt*, *toqţi*, *toqşan*, *tart-*, *tartği̞nlı*, *tu:ća*, *tik-*.

(ii) On the other hand, there are very few lexemes which in the Ārsa:rt dialect have word- or syllable-initial /d/ while having initial /t/ in the Teke dialect: Ār. *digir* 'wheel' vs. Te. *tigir* 'id.; Ār. *pındıq* 'bloom' vs. Te. *pıntıq* 'id.'.

(iii) In the nāxālij dialects voiced /d/ generally occurs much less frequently than in the xālij dialects: Mu. *tep-* 'to kick' (vs. *dep-*), *tišle-* 'to bite' (*di:šle-*), *til* 'tongue' (*dıl*), *tile:-* 'to summon' (*dilet-*), *tešik* 'hole; full of holes' (*dešik*); Ba. *ayt-* 'to say' (*ayd-*).

(iv) In consonant clusters in which /d/ precedes or follows the approximate /y/, the nāxālij dialects frequently have [t], while [d] is dominant in the xālij dialects. Examples: *git-* 'to go' (*gid-*), *ǧayt-* 'come back' (*ǧayd-*).

(c) Assimilation of /d/

(i) In the Ārsa:rt and ND dialects, in consonant clusters of a voiceless obstruent + /d/, the latter is generally devoiced.

- *aytberiŋ* haji ba:ba, bu kişi bizini lehjelermizi u:renyo:r eken. (Ba. 4)
  Tell (us), Haji Ba:ba, this person seems to be learning our dialect?
- *Siz so:raŋ! men aydibereyin.* (Ār.48)
  You ask! I will answer.
- *bizlerden pul almıyo:r, kâ:sişi şınya:nı alıgidyo:rlar.* (Xa. 2)
  (They) don't take money from us, some of them take (us) along just like that.
- *başqa yerlere-de ha:l:ni Aqčadan algidyo:rlar.* (Mu. 3)
  They also take the carpets from Aqča to other places.

(ii) In the XD dialects, consonant clusters /md/ and /nd/ (mostly as a result of suffixation of ABL -dAn, but not of LOC -dA) are often assimilated into [mn] and [nn], respectively.

- *men İstambu:lda bir köfri ba:r-dır diyiptim* (Ār. 17)
  I had said, in Istanbul there is one bridge.
- *iki künde ta:ğdan aštı.* (Mu. 4)
  He crossed the mountain in two days.
- *tonıma ya:g tökti.* (Ba. 2)
  She poured oil on my cloak.
- *sačtan tutma! (Ār. 41)*
  Do not pull (my) hair!

- *bil mennen bärä: andxoyda kücük oruš bolyo:r.* (Ār. 10)
  Ever since I remember (lit. know) there have been dogfights in Andxoy.
- *bil mennen na:n dilemä:ne gelyo:r-eken.* (Ār. 2)
  She is coming in order to demand bread from me.
- *mennen ayḇ etmä:ŋ! (Te. 10)*
  Do not blame me!
- *mennen, siz qaysı qawmnani bolyo:rmıŋ diyip so:radı.* (Ār. 7)
  He/she asked me, "From which qawm are you?".

118
Since these commanders have appeared, the elders have no agency any more.

Alms(-giving) is said to rescue man from the tortures of the grave.

In consonant clusters, [d] which follows the voiceless bilabial obstruent [p] occurs as a result of dissimilation from [t]: 

hepde 'week' < *hepte < pers. hafta, šepda:lı Ār. 'peach' > pers. šafıālı.  

Final /d/ in native monosyllabic lexemes in isolated pronunciation is mostly, though not necessarily, devoiced into [t]: 

a:t 'name' (∼ a:d), XD; but ő:d 'bile' (∼ ő:ı 'id.'); a:rt- 'to walk' (∼ a:rd 'id.').

Final /d/ in copied lexemes is in all dialects often devoiced into [t]; the original voiced quality is preserved only in hypercorrect pronunciation. (In that, the Turkmen dialects actually conform to the rules governing the languages from which these lexemes are copied.) Examples: 

mıra:d 'desire' (∼mıra:t), gerd 'dust' (∼ gert), dert 'pain' (∼ derd), mert 'gentleman' (∼ merd), Ār. jo:mart 'chivalrous' ~ Te joma:rt < pers. juwānmard.

The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /t/ occurs in all positions.

(i) If a native monosyllabic long-vowel stem is supplemented by a suffix with a vowel in the onset, /t/ is regularly voiced into [d]. This phenomenon pertains to all dialects.

- a:t > a:di(m) meniŋ a:dim ahmedša: bolyä:, qa:qa:muŋ a:di abdilleti:p. (Te. 14) 
  My name is Ahmedša:, my father's name is Abdilleti:p.

- yu:t- > yu:dar sâla:m haqımı bermedik bolsaŋ seni iki uzup bir ağızda yu:dartım. (Ar. 42) 
  If you had not given me the greetings I deserve, I would have torn you (into) two (pieces) and swallowed you in one mouthful.

- ğu:rt > ğu:rdı ağzasaŋ – ğu:rt geler» diyip dirler. (Sa. 4) 
  They say, "If you mention the wolf, the wolf will come".

D. The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, /t/ occurs in all positions.

(b) /t/ in intervocalic position

(i) If a native monosyllabic long-vowel stem is supplemented by a suffix with a vowel in the onset, /t/ is regularly voiced into [d]. This phenomenon pertains to all dialects.
This rule can also be extended to copied monosyllabic lexemes with long vowel and a /t/ in the coda:

- **zaːt** ( < pers. zāt) > **zaːdınız waxtında berin!** (Ār. 6)  
  Hand in your belongings at the right time!

The phenomenon can also occur with disyllabic native lexemes whose second vowel is long; the exact rules governing this phenomenon have not yet been established.

- **murut > murıt > saq(chalk)-murıt dimız sı:rip gitdi.** (Ār. 14)  
  He shaved our beards and moustaches.

(ii) The /t/ in the coda of the short-vowel verbal stems et- 'to do' and git- 'to go' is also regularly voiced into [d] when a suffix with initial vowel is agglutinated.

- **geda:yılq edere de xarjı gerek, onda-da šı zama:nda qı:mdı̇nası̇n pul gerek.** (Ār. 10)  
  Even in order to (live) as a beggar some expenses are necessary; if today you (only as much as) move, money is necessary.

- **men gi:jä: ğa:lma:n gideyin di:se, du: bolyo:r gel diyipdir.** (Ār. 42)  
  When (he) said, I won't stay (over) night but move on, the du: said, all right, come on!

(iii) If a suffix with initial vowel or approximate /y/ is added to a disyllabic verbal stem with /t/ in the coda, the consonant is voiced into [d]:

- **yarat- > bizi yaradan alla:taa:la: risğalmız-a:m be:r.** (Yo. 1)  
  God Almighty is (the one who) has created us; he will give us our daily bread, too.

(c) /t/ in consonant clusters

(i) If a suffix with initial vowel is added to a verbal stem with a coda consonant cluster of a liquid /l/ or /r/ + /t/, the latter /t/ is voiced into [d]: saqalt- 'to heal' + AOR > saqaldar; olalt- 'to make sth. big' + AOR > olaldar, sa:rart- 'to make sth. yellow' + Aor> sa:rardar.

- **šu dä:rileri i:seŋiz sizi ti:z saqaldar.** (Ār.35)  
  If you eat this medicine, it will quickly make you (feel) better.

- **hawwa iki gün ıssı bolsa gülleri sa:rardar.** (Ār.)  
  If the weather becomes hot, it will make the flowers wither in two days.

(ii) Voiceless /t/ in the coda of a disyllabic stem is voiced into [d] if followed by a suffix with a liquid or the approximate /y/ in the onset: go:rit- 'to dry' + PART > go:rya:n; erbet 'fine' + COMP > erbedrä:k.

(iii) Clusters of a sibilant + /t/ in word-final position, which occur in copied lexemes, often lose their [t] element in non-elevated speech. Examples: gō:št ~ gö:ş 'meat' < pers. gōšt; dürüst ~ dürüs 'correct' < pers. durust.

(d) Dissimilation of /t/  

130 du: < pers. de:w is a harmful spirit in the shape of an oversize human being.
In clusters of a voiceless obstruent + /t/, the latter can (but need not necessarily) be voiced into [d]: ketdelik ~ kettelik '(big) size', mektep ~ mekdep 'school', hepte ~ hepte 'week'.

E. The voiced velar plosive /g/

(a) Occurrence of /g/

(i) In all Afghan Turkmen dialects, in native stems the voiced velar plosive /g/ occurs almost exclusively in the word-initial position of front-vowel lexemes: gerek 'necessary', gü:r 'dirty', gila:s 'glass', gi:m Ār. 'clothing', göreč 'pupil', gö:k 'blue', gül 'flower', gü:č 'power'.

(ii) As a result of dissimilation of geminated /kk/ of some single lexemes, the coda element of the geminated cluster is realized as [g]: sekgiz 'eight' (Ār. Sa.) < sekkiz (which coexists in the ND dialects); čekge 'temple' (Ār.) < čekke (which coexists in the ND dialects).

• saat sekgiz ya:rım bolanda siz üyden čıqıŋ (Ār. 3)
  Leave home when it is eight o'clock!
• ol sekgiz diyende u:xıdan oyandı. (Sa. 1)
  At eight o'clock he woke up from sleep.
• toy sekkiz bajede bašlanadı. (Mu. 3)
  The wedding begins at eight o'clock.

(iii) In copied lexemes, /g/ can be preserved in all positions, especially in the speech of educated and/or urban speakers. There is, however, in all non-initial positions a tendency towards either devoicing or affricativization.

(b) /g/ ~ /k/ variation among the dialects

(i) In some single lexemes the Afghan Turkmen dialects are at variation in the voiced ~ voiceless quality of the initial /k/g/ consonant. There is, however, no simple rule governing this distribution.

(ii) In the nāxālis dialects, in single lexemes this initial consonant is represented as /k/ while in the xāliṣ dialects it is /g/: kel- 'to come' ND vs. gel- XD.

(iii) In some lexemes the Ārsa:rl dialect has initial /g/ while all others have /k/: giši (Ār.) vs. kiši (Te. and ND) 'person'.

(iv) In some lexemes the Teke dialect has initial /g/ while the Ārsa:rl and ND dialects have /k/: gù:jük (Te. Yo.) ~ küčük (Ār. ND) 'dog'.

(c) Affricativization of /g/

In the final position of native lexemes and in consonant clusters, /g/ is generally realized as [ɡ]; this affricativization can also occur in post-long-vowel position of /g/ : beğ 'lord', berği 'debt', eğlen- 'to linger'.

(d) Devoicing of /g/
In isolated lexemes of the Teke dialect, the devoicing of initial /g/ has been observed. The phenomenon might occur on an idiolectal basis only; further investigation is necessary.

-türkmenče kepleya:n xalq ba:r bolsa (Te. 2) < pers. gep 'word'
  if there are people who speak Turkmen

F. The voiceless velar plosive /k/

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ can in native lexemes occur in all positions of front-vowel words.

(a) /k/ in initial position

In some native lexemes, the ND dialects have initial voiceless /k/ whereas the XD dialects have voiced /g/. Examples: ND dialects: kel- 'to come' ~ XD gel- 'id.; ND: kiyin- 'to don' ~ giyin- XD; kir- 'to enter' ~ XD gi:r-.

(b) /k/ in intervocalic position

(i) /k/ in intervocalic position of nominal and verbal stems occurs in all Afghan Turkmen dialects.

(ii) In secondary intervocalic position, caused by the agglutination of a derival or morphological syllable with a vowel in the onset, stem-final /k/ of a long-vowel stem is replaced by [g]; with short-vowel stems, no changes occur. Examples: sö:k- 'to undo' > sö:gil- 'to be undone'; but dök- 'to spill' > dökil- 'to be spilled' > dökildi.

(c) /k/ in final position

(i) /k/ in the final position of long-vowel monosyllabic native nominal stems and in long-vowel monosyllabic copied lexemes is generally voiced into [g] when a suffix with initial vowel is added. Examples: gö:k 'sky' + DIR > gö:ği; i:k 'spindle' + 1PPOSS > i:gi; čä:k 'rift' (< pers. čäk) + 1PPOSS > čä:ği.

(ii) In the xâlis dialects, final /k/ of polysyllabic words (native or copied, long- or short-vowel) is regularly voiced into [g] when a suffix with initial vowel is added. Examples: Är. Te. Yo. Sa. tü:dik 'flute' + 1PPOSS > tü:diği, Är. Te. Yo. Sa. bi:rik- 'to gather' + PART + LOC > bi:riği 'when (they) gather', gö:bek 'navel' + 3PPOSS > göbiği; perek 'feather' (< pers. per) + 3PPOSS > pereği. In the ND dialects in all these cases [k] doesn’t change.

(d) /k/ in consonant clusters

(i) In clusters of /k/ + the comparative suffix -rä:k, the Teke, Yomut and Yemreli dialects have voicing into [g], while in the Ärsa:ri and Sa:riq dialects [k] is preserved under these circumstances. Examples: gö:k 'blue' + COMP -rA:Q > Te. gö:grä:k vs. Är. gö:krä:k 'somehow bluish'; biyik 'tall' > Te. biyîğrä:k vs. Är. biyikrä:k 'fairly tall'.

(ii) Voicing and affricativization /k/ > [g] in the onset of secondary clusters is in the Teke dialect generally a more frequent phenomenon. It has, along with what has been described
above in (i), been observed in the case of polysyllabic stems supplemented with the suffixes -yä:n (participle) and -yä:r (intraterminal), both of which have the approximant /y/ in the onset; with the future participle -jek and diminutive -jik, which both have the voiced affricate /j/ in the onset; and also with -di (simple past). The rules determining this change need as yet to be fully determined. The phenomenon does not occur in the other dialects. Examples: gi:jik- 'to be delayed' > Te. gi:jigyä:r 'he is delayed' vs. År. gi:jikyo:r 'id.'; bi:rik- 'to unite' > Te. bi:rigyä:n 'those who unite' vs. År. bi:riko:n; bi:rik- 'id.' > Te. bi:riğjek vs. År. bi:rikjek; berčik- 'to harden (intrans.)' > Te. berčigdi 'it stiffened' vs. År. berčikdi.

(iii) In single lexemes which include geminated /kk/ clusters, the second [k] is dissimilated into [g] in the XD dialects: sekkiz 'eight' > sekgiz (while the ND dialects preserve [kk]).

• sa:at sekgiz ya:rım bolanda (År. 3)
when it was half past eight

(iv) Clusters of /k/ + /j/ are regularly avoided: When a suffix with /j/ in the onset follows a stem with /k/ in the coda, the /k/ is regularly reduced: küçijik 'little puppy' < küçik 'puppy' + DIM -jIQ.

G. The voiced uvular plosive [g]

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced uvular plosive [g] is an allophone of /ğ/, whose phonetic realization is very similar to the latter. While [g] occurs in initial and intervocalic positions of back-vowel lexemes only, [g] occurs primarily in final position and in consonant clusters as specified below in the subchapter on ğ. This distribution is not evenly observed in all dialects, with År., Te., Yo., Sa. and Yem. observing it more regularly while the ND dialects depict a marked preference for [ğ] in all positions. The specifics of this distribution demand for closer investigation

(i) In the word-initial position of native back-vowel lexemes, [g] is the preferred realization of /ğ/. Examples: ga:wun 'melon', ga:rq 'crow', gi:z 'girl', gi:z- 'to warm up, to rage', go:riğma:l 'keeper', go:rgan 'fortress', gušaq 'belt', guraq 'quilt'.

(ii) [g] does not regularly occur in intervocalic or final position.

(b) As a result of dissimilation of geminate /qq/ in dissylabic native and copied lexemes, [g] occurs in the coda position of the cluster: saqḡal 'beard', doqḡız 'nine', duqḡat 'attention'. In the ND dialects /qq/ doesn’t change: ND saqqal, toqqız, duqqat.

H. The voiceless uvular plosive /q/

(a) Occurrence of /q/

(i) The voiceless uvular plosive /q/ occurs in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; however, there is some variation in details of occurrence. Generally speaking, /q/ in initial position occurs much less frequently than in all other positions.

(b) /q/ in initial position

(i) In the xāliṣ dialects, initial /q/ occurs only in singular native lexemes such as qaš 'eyebrow', qaq 'dry', qir- 'to make', qorči 'guardian', qu:- 'to drive away', qorq- År. 'to be afraid'.
(ii) In the nāxāliṣ dialects native initial /q/ occurs much more frequently.

(iii) Initial /q/ of copied lexemes is preserved in most Afghan Turkmen dialects. In the Teke dialect, however, initial /q/ of copied lexemes is almost always voiced into [ḡ]: qand > Te. ḡand 'candis sugar'; qadi:m > Te. ḡadi:m 'antique'; qala: > Te. ḡala: 'fortress'. The Teke and Yomut speakers of the Herat province – obviously under the influence of the local Persian dialects – realize initial /q/ as [ḡ]; the Teke of the Balx province and of Dara-i Šāx (Fāryāb province) do not share this phenomenon.

- Türkmenleriŋ za:dınna ḡadi:mkiler, bizleŋkiler üč gün toy tutılya:di. (Te. 2)
  At the core of the Turkmens, (in) ancient (times), our (people) would celebrate feasts for three days.
- qadı:mqı adamlar bizden dayaw ekeni. (Är.30)
  People of past time were stronger than us.
- bu bizniŋ qadimki üyimiz. (Mu. 3)
  This is our house of olden times.

(c) /q/ in intervocalic position

(i) Voiceless /q/ from the final position of long-vowel monosyllabic lexemes (native and copied) is regularly voiced and realized as intervocalic [ḡ] if a suffix with vowel in the onset is agglutinated: a:q 'white' + 3PPoss > a:ḡi; i:q 'haven' > i:ḡi; tu:q 'hen' + DIR > tu:ḡa; hu:q 'fool' > hu:ḡa.

(ii) Final voiceless /q/ of dissylabic lexemes (again, native and copied) is regularly voiced and realized as intervocalic [ḡ] if a suffix with vowel in the onset is agglutinated: daraq 'comb' + 3POSS > daraḡi; u:nıq 'grandchild' > u:ḡi; a:jiq- 'to get hungry' + PART > a:jiḡan 'hungry'; da:ruq- 'to be angry' + CONV > da:ruḡip.

(iii) In connected speech, if vowel + /q/ in the coda of the antecedent meets an initial vowel in the following word, /q/ is voiced into [ḡ] or [ḡ] just as described in (ii). In the ND dialects such voicing does not take place.

- yo:q + eken > bir ba:r eken bir yo:ḡ eken, qadi:m zama:nlarda bir a:damıŋ yetdı sa:mi oğlı ba:r eken. (Är. 42)
  Once upon a time there was a man who had seven sons.
- yo:q + ol ~ yo:q + o > her ḡ:zımı bir oğlıma nika: edip berdim. siziŋ şeriːatiŋzdə yo:ḡ ol diːdi. čunki yo:ḡ o bizde. (Är. 2)
  She said, I gave each one of my daughters to one of my sons in marriage. This does not exist in your sharia, she said. Because that does not exist at ours.
- daraq + al- > yañı elime daraḡ alup sačımı dara:yn diyenimde tilpuːn geldi. (Är.27)
  Just when I had taken a comb and was about to brush my hair, the phone rang.
- öten yıl a:xıːra sawıq bolıp baːdemları su:ḡ urupdi. (Te. 1)
  Last year it was utterly cold and all almond trees were frozen and damaged.
- reys saːyip depre rinse yoq eken. (Xa. 4)
  The boss was not in his office.
- qawunları derrewden sawuq urupdi. (Mu. 2)
  The melons were immediately frozen.
4.5.2 Nasals

A. The voiced bilabial nasal /m/

(a) Occurrence of /m/

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in all positions. However, in native lexemes it does not often occur in the initial position.

(b) /m/ in consonant clusters

(i) Geminated [mm] is mostly the result of assimilation of a cluster consisting of /m/ + /b/: qammar 'Qanbar (n.pr.)' < pers. qanbar; ammar 'storehouse' < ambar; nummura (Te. 15) 'number' < pers. nambar.

(ii) Regressive assimilation before m exists only in ND dialects. Example: Mu. bilip+men > bilimmen 'I understood'; Ba. körip+miz > körimmiz 'we saw'; Mu. Ba kelip+ mi? > kelimmi? 'Has he come?'.

(iv) Progressive assimilation of m is widespread in the ND dialects. Example: Är. a:limdan ~ ND a:limnan 'from the scholar'; elimden ~ elimnen 'from my hand'; gözimden ~ gözimnen 'from my eye'.

B. The voiced palatal nasal /n/

(a) Occurrence of /n/

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced palatal nasal /n/ occurs in all positions. However, aside from interrogative adjectives and pronouns derived from nä:, in native lexemes initial /n/ does not frequently occur.

(b) /n/ in consonant clusters

(i) Assimilation of n in lexemes that contain clusters has been reported from many dialects: sandiq 'chest' ~ sannığ (Te. 5).

(ii) If a word with /n/ in the coda position is followed by the ablative suffix -dAn, assimilation can lead to the realization of the [nd] cluster as [nn]. This assimilation phenomenon, which is fostered by quick speech tempi, can be observed in the XD dialects.

- bolar türkmenista:nnan göçip baran. (Te. 2)
  They have migrated from Turkmenistan.
- şo waxtlar qomanda:nlar hayrata:nnan kòp buğday daşi:dlar. (Är. 14)
  In those times the commanders carried much wheat (along) from Hayratan.

With the locative suffix -dA, assimilation into [nn] has mostly been observed in the Teke and Yomut dialects.

- üstinde < bir da:ğın üstinne (Te. 7)
  on top of a mountain
• **içinde** < şehr **için**e ya:şa:yalar (Te. 6)  
  They live in town.
• **mende** < aytyan za:duŋz **menne** yo:q. (Yo. 1)  
  The thing that you have mentioned I do not have.

C. **The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/**

(a) The voiced velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in all positions except initial.

(i) In lexemes copied from Persian, [ŋ] is often the realization of an original /ng/- or /nğ/- cluster. Examples: *ren* 'color' < pers. *rang*, čeŋel 'claw' < pers. *čangal*.

(b) ŋ + dAn > ŋnAn :

• daŋnan turıq gitdik. (Är. 40)  
  We got up at dawn and left.

4.5.3 **Liquids**

A. **The palatal trill /r/**

(a) Occurrence of /r/

The palatal trill /r/ does in native lexemes not occur in the initial position, while in copied lexemes, initial /l/ does occur.

(b) /r/ in initial position

In the Teke and Yomut dialects, initial /r/ of copied lexemes often causes vowel prothesis; the prothetic vowel may conform to the first syllable vowel of the lexeme, but does not necessarily do so. Examples: pers. *rādio* > Te. Yo. *iradiya*: 'radio', pers. *rōza* 'fast' > Te. Yo. *oro:za*. Another possibility to avoid initial [r] would be metathesis: pers. *rajab* '(the month of) Rajab > Te. Yo. *erjeb*.

(c) /r/ in final position

Final /r/ can be reduced, which leads to secondary lengthening of the preceding vowel. This reduction is most typical of the Yomut dialect, where the reduction of [r] concerns for example the plural suffix, which is -lA: < -lAr, the intraterminal -yA: (or even -yA) < -yAr, and many others.

• ba:r < ya:šol üyde ba:m? (Är. 23)  
  Is any olderman at home?
• diyo:r < size gelsin diyo:lar. (Är. 46)  
  somebody ask you.
• bolya:r < bolya men şolya:lı ederin. (Yo. 1)  
  Okay, I will do like that.
• gelya:r < da:dem günde saǧat bä:şde gelya. (Yo. 2)  
  My father comes at five o’clock every day.
B. The palatal liquid /l/

(a) Occurrence of /l/

The palatal liquid /l/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects does not occur in the initial position of native lexemes, while in copied lexemes initial /l/ occurs quite frequently. In all other positions /l/ occurs in native as well as copied lexemes.

(b) Phoneme /l/ or allophones /l ~ ɫ/

(i) The palatal liquid /l/ is in the Turkmen dialects generally said to occur in two allophones: the lateral alveolar [l] and alveolar [ɫ]. This allophonoc variation – in accordance with the rules of synharmony as described above – does in the Afghan Turkmen dialects not seem to be consistent. In the XD dialects the [l] allophone appears more regularly than in the ND dialects; however, the realization of [l] might even be interpreted as occurring on a more individual basis, with some individuals following it more regularly than others. Copied lexemes seem generally exempt from the allophonic variation rule. The exact rules governing allophonic alternation of [l ~ ɫ] have as yet to be determined. In this study the liquid is always transcribed as <l>.

(ii) In the Teke dialect, in clusters with the approximant /y/, the liquid is generally realized as lateral [l], regardless of back or front quality of the vowels. The other dialects do not share this phenomenon. Examples: Te. [alyä:r] 'he takes' vs. all others [aɫya:r] ~ [aɫyo:r].

(iii) In copied lexemes the allophone [l] is generally not realized, but in native lexemes the allophone can be realized. Examples: ɫaqba 'fool', baɫ 'honey', taɫ 'white poplar'.

(c) /l/ in consonant clusters

(i) In clusters of /l/ + obstruent /d/, progressive assimilation leads to the realization of [ll] in the Yomut and Teke dialects.

• boldı > köp aya:llar doqma:ñ üstinde sı:l kesel bolũ. (Yo. 2)
  Many women have become sick (with) tuberculosis over the carpet.

• geldi > qa:qam ağšam gelli. (Te.17)
  My father came at night.

(ii) In clusters of nasal /n/ + /l/, regressive assimilation can lead to the realization of [ll] in the Ársa:rı dialect: toqqıza čelli (Âr. 6) 'until nine' < čenli.

(d) /l/ in initial position

Initial /l/ of copied lexemes is in educated and careful speech realized without any adaption; in less careful speech, however, the prothesis of [i] can often be observed: la:y ~ ıla:y 'clay'.

(d) /l/ in final position
In the coda position of syllables, /l/ can be deleted. While this phenomenon occurs almost regularly in some grammatical forms of the verb bol- 'to be(come)' and (in the Teke dialect) in the negation particle dä:l, in other cases it seems to be rather situational or idiolectal.

- **bolsa** > bizler tarapda **bosa** imkä:nat yo:q. (Är. 1)
  In our region (on the other hand) there are no facilities.
- **dä:l** > elbetde pul alan dä: dir (Te. 3)
  He has obviously not got (any) money.

### 4.5.4 Fricatives

**A. The voiced bilabial fricative /w/**

(a) Occurrence of /w/

(i) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced bilabial fricative /w/ occurs in all positions. Examples: *weten* 'homeland', *wa:li*: 'governor', *uwadan* 'beautiful', *uwir*- 'to change', *ya:glaw* 'rolling pin', *ya:daw* 'tired'.

(ii) In native lexemes, initial /w/ occurs only in onomatopoetic words: *wağirda*- 'to yelp', *waqırda*- 'to guffaw', *wajırda*- 'to yell', *wızırdı* '(a gentle noise)'.

(b) Rounding of vowels in juxtaposition with /w/

(i) In the Ärsa:rı dialect, in clusters of /a+/w/, which occur primarily in copied lexemes, the vowel preceding /w/ is rounded into [u]. The original [aw] cluster is preserved only in careful educated speech. Examples: *duwa:m* ~ *dawa:m* 'continuation', *duwa: ~ dawa:* 'medicine', *muwla:na:* ~ *mawla:na:* '(religious title of honor)'.

(ii) In native lexemes the /a+/w/ cluster can be rounded into [u:] and reduced into [u] : *su:* ~ *saw*- 'to expel'; *qu:* ~ *qaw*- 'to fend off', Te. *ğawi* 'good, well' ~ Är. *ğuwi*.

(c) Unrounding of vowels

In the Yomut dialect, in native lexemes which have rounded vowels in a /w/ environment these vowels can undergo unrounding. Examples: Är. *uwren-* vs. Te. Yo. *ewren-* 'to learn'; Är. *du:w* ~ Te. Yo. *dew-* 'to break'; Är. *uwüt* ~ Yo. *ewit* 'advice'.

**B. The voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]**

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] does not have phonemic character, but is an allophone of the bilabial voiceless plosive /p/. In native lexemes it occurs only in intervocalic position. In initial or final position its occurrence is limited to lexemes copied from Persian or Arabic which are realized in consciously "correct" pronunciation (which is limited to speakers of a markedly educated background): *ğaflat* 'ignorance, carelessness' ~ *ğaplat*; *sap* 'pure(ly)' ~ *saf*; *parz* 'obligation' ~ *farz*; *hepde* 'week' ~ *hefte*; *tekli:p* 'trouble' ~ *tekli:f*; *pil* 'elephant' ~ *fi:f*; *nipu:s* ~ *nifu:s* 'inhabitants'; *piša:r* ~ *fiša:r* 'blood pressure'.
(b) In the Ársa:rı dialect, intervocalic [f], or [f] preceding the sonorant /r/ in consonant clusters, correlates to /p/ of the other dialects in these positions (which also occurs in the Ársa:rı dialect): ğafi 'door' ~ ğapi; ğofar 'it breaks loose' ~ ğopar; tofraq 'soil' ~ topraq.

- **tapıb** ~ šarta bir a:zajıq ilay **tafib** külčä:niŋ čä:k yerine yapıšdırıp dir. (Är. 42)
  He quickly found a small amount of clay and stuck it into the crack of the breadloaf.

- **köpri** ~ men istambu:lda bir köfri ba:rdir diyiptim, ola:r üč köfri ba:r eken. (Är. 17)
  I had believed (lit. said) in Istanbul there is one bridge, (but) they are three bridges

(c) In consonant clusters, [f] of copied lexemes – which is more often than not realized as [p] – can undergo assimilation and reduction; it is not easy to tell if these processes occur in the Turkmen realm, or the copies are taken over from already reduced or assimilated forms in local Persian dialects. Examples: Te. şetta:lı ~ Är. šepta:lı 'peach' < pers. šafīlū; Är. jüp 'pair' < pers. juft.

C. The voiced alveolar fricative /z/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ occurs in all positions. In the initial position of native lexemes, however, it seems to occur only infrequently: zi:ren- ‘to bewail’, zi:ğ- ‘to throw’.

(b) In the XD dialects /z/ can sometimes be realized as voiced interdental spirant [ð]. This spirantization occurs primarily in initial and intervowel position. Examples: za:lım ~ ða:lım ‘cruel’, ma mıza: ‘taste’, a:z ~ a:ð ‘little’, ğı:z ~ ğı:ð ‘girl’.

D. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in all positions, although /s/ is generally unfrequent in native lexemes.

(b) In the XD dialects /s/ can sometimes be realized as voiceless interdental spirant [ʃ], while the ND do not have this allophone.

E. The voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ occurs only in a few single native lexemes: haẓziq 'crocodile', miẓziq 'wettish', aẓder 'dragon' For the time being, its phonemic character must remain uncertain.

(b) In copied lexemes [ʒ] is generally preserved, but can on an idiolectal basis be realized as /j/ or /z/. Examples: müźde 'good news' ~ müjde; žanda 'rag, flag' ~ janda.

F. The voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ occurs in all positions. In native lexemes, however, it rarely occurs in the initial position. The main body
of native lexemes with initial /š/ is formed by onomatopoetic words like šaqırda- 'to talk a lot', šağla- 'to rustle'.

(b) In the Ārsari dialect, syllable-final /č/ can be converted into [š] ; the exact rules governing this phenomenon cannot yet be defined. Examples: gečsin ~ gešsin 'is needs to pass'; ġačdim ~ ġašdim 'I ran away'; ačdı ~ ašdı 'he opened'.

G. The voiced palatal approximant /y/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiced palatal approximant /y/ occurs in all positions.

(b) Complex reduction phenomena with /y/

In the Ārsa:rı dialect complex processes of contraction occur in colloquial speech; in many of these cases the phoneme /y/ is involved. As a result of these processes vowel quality is changed, vowels undergo lengthening or shortening, and consonants are reduced or removed.

- bü:l yağmır köp yağdı (Ār. 12) < bu yıl
  This year much rain has fallen.
- menem siz bile gidi:nmi? (Ār. 24) < gideyinmi
  Should I also go with you?
- nä:dı:n aydanım bolmasa! (Ār. 6) < nä: edäyin?
  What shall I do if (things) don't happen (as) I said!

H. The voiced uvular fricative /ğ/

(a) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects, the voiced uvular fricative /ğ/ occurs in allophonic variation with [ḡ], whose phonetic realization is very similar to [ğ]. Some dialects (Ārsa:rı, Teke, Yomut, and Sa:rıq) appear to observe this variation more systematically than the others.

(i) In native lexemes of the Afghan Turkmen dialects /ğ/ occurs in the final and intervocalic position in back-vowel words: da:ğ 'mountain', sağ 'healthy' ēoğ- 'ebullition' ćı:ğ 'moist', bu:ğ 'steam', tu:ğ 'flag', ağa 'elder brother', boğ- 'to choke'.

(ii) In native lexemes /ğ/ occurs in consonant clusters together with liquids (/t/ + /ğ/ ġarğa 'crow'; /l/ + /ğ/, duɾalğa 'station'; /ğ/ + /ɾ/ doğrama 'a kind of dish'; /ğ/ + /l/ dağlama 'roast') and nasals (/ğ/ + /m/ gö:rığma:l 'keeper'; /n/ + /ğ/ tamğa 'brand'; /n/ + /ğ/ manğit 'a tribe name'), /ğ/ + /n/ dağınq 'scattered', /y/ + /ğ/ anğal 'sickle').

(iii) In all Afghan Turkmen dialects /ğ/ occurs in the onset of back-vowel words and syllables: ġarğa 'crow', ğić 'bottom', ġoy- 'to leave', ġüzı 'lamb'. Some Teke and Yomut speakers from Herat – most probably under influence of the local Persian dialect – do not (or not generally) realize initial /ğ/ but devoiced /q/ instead:

  In the district of Ġo:rya:n there is a settlement called Qalayıba:ba, most of the Turkmens live there.
- ġa:zi < jaha:d da uršan a:dama qa:zi diyya:lar. (Te.18)
  Those men who fight in holy war are called ġa:zi.
This phenomenon does not occur with the Teke of Barmazid (Balx province), but seems to be confined to the Herat region.

(iv) In lexemes copied from Persian / Arabic, /ğ/ can occur in all positions in educated and careful speech. Example: ğalmağal 'noise', ba:ğ 'fruit garden', nağma 'melody', tı:ğ 'spear'.

(v) In the Teke and Yomut dialects, original āyn of Arabic lexemes – which is realized as a glottal stop or results in the lengthening of surrounding vowels in Persian – is in some cases realized as /ğ/. There is reason to assume that this development dates back to the pre-muhājir era and has taken place back in early Soviet Turkestan under the influence of Tatar intellectuals. Examples: Te. sa:ğat 'hour' < tat. sağat << arab. sā 'at; Te. tağl:m 'teaching ' < arab. ta:lim; ta:ğat 'observance' > arab. fā 'at; sunğat 'art' < arab. şan 'at.

I. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/

(a) /h/ in initial position

In the initial position of native lexemes the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is unevenly distributed in the dialects, with a higher frequency in the Teke dialect than in all others.

(i) The interrogative adjectives / pronouns derived from Old Turkic qa- have h- in the onset, where the Ār. and ND dialects have q-: Te. haysı 'which one?' (Clauson 1972:592 kačan), hačan 'when?' (DTS 400 qačan) etc. vs. Ar. and ND qaysi, qačan etc.

(ii) In some single native lexemes which have initial q in Old Turkic, the Afghan Turkmen dialects have either h- or x-; the Teke dialect mostly has h- while the Ārsarı and ND dialects have x-: OT qan 'lord' (DTS 417) ~ Te. han, Ar. xan. (compare Clauson 1972:611 xa:ğan).

(iii) In some single native lexemes which have initial vowel, the Ārsarı dialect has initial h-, while Teke doesn't. These are for example Ar. hö:lı vs. Te. Yo. ö:l 'moist' (compare Khalaj höl in Doerfer&Tezcan 1980; OT öl DTS 383, Clauson 1972:124 ö:l); Te. hamraq 'dear' vs. Ar. amraq (compare OT amraq DTS 42; Clauson 1972:163 amraq).

(iv) In copied lexemes initial [h] often results from the weakening of /x/ > [h]. This phenomenon occurs particularly frequently in the xāliṣ dialects: halı:l 'Halı:l (n.pr.)' < arab. xalīl; hara:p 'destroyed' < pers. xarāb; ha:lis 'genuine' < pers. xāliṣ. However, the original /x/ may also be realized as [x], probably depending on the degree of the speaker's familiarity with the Persian original: ha:s ~ xa:s 'specific' < pers. xāṣṣ; nā:hi:li düye 'what kind of a camel' ~ šu xi:li tapmadiq 'we didn't find this kind' < pers. xīl.

(v) [h] in copied lexemes can also be the result of the weakening of a secondary [x], which in its turn is the rendering of an original /q/: hatar bolip duran düyeler 'the camels standing in row' (Âr.) < pers. qatār. This phenomenon /q/ > [x] >> [h] occurs more frequently in the Teke dialect than in all others: Te. dayha:nčılıq and dayxa:nčılıq vs. all others dayxa:nčılıq 'farming' < pers. dehqān 'farmer'.

(b) /h/ in consonant clusters

33 Dihkhuda 1385:1390.
(i) \( h \) in the coda of a syllable which is followed by a syllable with a liquid or nasal in the onset is often reduced; this results in a lengthening of the first syllable vowel. Examples: \( zōhre > zō:re \) (n.pr.f.)’, \( šōhlāt > šō:lāt \) (a kind of Turkmen sausage), \( tōhmet > tō:met \) 'slander'.

In singular cases, \( h \) in syllable-final position followed by a derivative suffix with a consonant in the onset has been observed as being either assimilated, or deleted altogether: Ār. \( xalla- \) ~ Te. \( xala- \) ‘to wish’ < \( xahla- \) pers. *\( xwāh-; pā:lwa:n \) 'wrestler, strong man' < \( pehlewa:n \) pers. \( pahlawān \); \( sā:w \) 'mistake' < pers. \( sahw \).

(c) /h/ in final position

Final /h/ in copied lexemes is frequently reduced. Examples: \( ısla: bolan \) 'repaired' < pers. \( islāh \), \( sala: \) 'weapons' < pers. \( salāh \); \( barga: \) 'residence' < pers. \( bārgāh \).

4.5.5 Affricates

A. The palatal / postalveolar affricate /j/

The postalveolar affricate /j/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects occurs in all positions.

(a) /j/ in initial position

Initial /j/ occurs in many copied lexemes (jeza: 'punishment', jeŋŋel 'shrubs', jema:at 'prayer community', jennet 'paradise', ja:y 'spot', ja:dh 'witch', jin 'djin' etc.). In native lexemes, on the other hand, initial /j/ is very rare – my materials contain only a few lexemes (jeren 'gazelle', jirri 'body of a new-born karakul lamb', jir 'to flee').

(b) /j/ in intervocalic position

(i) In derivals of long-vowel nominal stems with /č/ in the coda, and if morphological suffixes with initial vowel are agglutinated to these, /č/ is regularly voiced and rendered as [j]; this does not happen with short-vowel stems. Examples: a:č 'hungry' > a:jı- 'grow hungry'; u:č 'tip' + 3PPOSS > u:jı, gü:č 'power'+ 3PPOSS > gü:jı.

(c) /j/ in consonant clusters

(i) In consonant clusters /j/ occurs only as second element following a nasal or liquid; most often these clusters are at syllable boundaries of dissyllabic nominal or verbal stems. Examples: bürünj (Ār.) 'rice'; künji (Ār.) 'sesame', damja XD 'drop', ğarjı: - (Ār.) 'to mix', aljıra- (Te.) 'to rush up', gorjan- XD 'to vary'.

(ii) In the xālis dialects, the ordinal suffix is regularly realized as -InjI (bā:šinji 'fifth', yigriminji 'twentieth' etc.). In the nāxālis dialects, voiceless -InčI can occur in variation with -InjI. Example: bešinči ~ bešinji 'fifth', ikinci 'second', yigriminči 'twentieth' etc.).

(iii) In copied lexemes /j/ can occur in consonant clusters of many kinds. However, in word-final position and when clustered with voiceless consonants there is a tendency towards
devoicing into [č]. Examples: *xarj ~ xärč* 'expenses' < pers. *xarj; xärčlā*- 'to spend' < pers. *xarj; fālji ~ falač* 'paralytic' < arab. *fālji; kūnji ~ kūnč* 'corner' < pers. *kunj*

(d) /j/ in final position

In native lexemes /j/ occurs only unfrequently in the final position. In the XD there are only singular lexemes with a *j* in the coda: *ğašawj* 'a handful', *ja:j* 'scot'.

Copied lexemes actually often have devoiced [č] rather than [j] in the final position even in the original; these two variants are copied into the Turkmen dialects: *kej ~ keč* 'slant' < pers. *kaj ~ [kač]; ta:j ~ ta:č* 'crown' < pers. *tāj ~ [tāč]*.

B. The voiceless palatal affricate /č/

The palatal voiceless affricate /č/ in the Afghan Turkmen dialects occurs in all positions.

(a) /č/ in intervocalic position:

(i) Intervocalic /č/ which is the result of agglutination of a vocalic suffix to a monosyllabic nominal stem with *č* in the coda, is preserved if the stem vowel is short: *sač + 1.PSGPOSS > sačım* 'my hair'; *göč > göčım* 'my household'; *burč + 3.PPOSS > burčı* 'his corner', *üč > üči* 'three of them'.

(ii) If on the conditions of (i), however, the stem vowel is long, /č/ becomes voiced [j]: *a:č + 3.PPOSS > a:jı* 'the hungry one of them'; *u:č > u:jı* 'its apex'; *ö:č + 1.PSGPOSS > ö:jım* 'my revenge'; *gü: č > gü:jım* 'my strength'; *gi:č* 'late' > *gi:jık* 'to come late'.

(iii) Voicing also occurs if the agglutinated suffix following a long-vocalic stem has a liquid /ɾ/ or /l/ in the onset: *a:č + COMP > a:jra:q* 'somehow hungry'; *gi:č > gi:jrä:k* 'later'; *a:č + PL > a:jlar* 'the hungry ones'.

(b) /č/ in consonant clusters

Final /č/ of native stems can undergo dissimilation into [š] if followed by a suffix with a plosive /d/ or /t/ in the onset. This reduction phenomenon occurs mainly in the Ärsa:rı dialect.

- *yamı ča:rbölekden ge#:dik*. (Är. 3)
  We have just passed (the town of) Ča:rbölek.
- *bu tilpu:n elimnen ga#:dı*. (Är. 16)
  This telephon had fallen from my hand.

(c) Secondary [č] can in the Teke dialect occur as a result of dissimilation in syllables that originally have a /š/ in the onset and in the coda position:

- *shaš-* > *čašıp aqrıqı köçeden gelip dirın*. (Te. 14)
  I have erroneously come here via the next street.
C. The voiced velar affricate [ġ]

(a) In the Teke and Ärsa:ri dialects, voiced velar affricate [ġ] is an allophone of /g/ which occurs in the following positions:

(i) In many native lexemes with an original /g/ in the coda position, this final consonant is occasionally realized as [ġ]. Examples: XD be冻 'lord', XD bezego 'embellishment', XD igle- 'to atrophy', Är. oğri:- 'to puke'.

(ii) In consonant clusters of sonorant (mostly liquid /r/ and /l/, or alveolar fricative /z/) + /g/ or vice versa, /g/ is generally realized as [ġ]. Examples: berği 'debt', i:ldirğiç 'peg', eglen- 'to tarry', süüzğiç 'strainer'.

E. The voiceless glottal fricative /x/

(a) Occurrence of /x/

(i) In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the voiceless glottal fricative /x/ occurs in all positions. However, it occurs in only a few native stems and can there be in allophonic variation with /q/ or /ğ/ at that. In the case of variation, it is the Ärsa:ri dialect which mostly realizes [x], while the Teke dialect prefers [ğ] or [q].

- gi:je u:xlama:n erti:reče motar haydadı. (Är. 16)  
  Without sleeping (last) night, he drove the car until the early morning.

- ağšam yaqsti u:qladu:žmu? (Te. 19)  
  Did you sleep well last night?

- haji xalmuxammediŋ yigrım bä:š axtği ba:rmış. (Är. 5)  
  Haji Xalmuxammed is said to have twenty-five grandchildren.

- xuda:ya sükür iki ağdžim ba:r meniŋ. (Te. 10)  
  Thank God, I have two grandchildren.

(ii) In some copied lexemes secondary [x] can in the XD replace original /h/ or /q/; both of these, however, are in careful and educated speech preserved in their original pronunciation. Examples: rahma:n ~ raxma:n 'merciful; n.pr.m.' < pers. rahmān; ahmed ~ axmed 'n.pr.m.' < pers. ahmad; farq ~ parx 'difference' < pers. farq; di:x:u:n 'farmer' (Är. 3) < pers. dehqān.

(iii) In the Teke dialect, /x/ – whether original or secondary – is often realized as a voiced uvular fricative [ğ]. In monosyllabic copied lexemes which in the coda have a consonant cluster containing [ğ], the cluster can be opened through insertion of [i]. Examples: pers. daraxt > Te. daraği 'tree'; pers. taxt > Te. taği 'throne'; pers. waği > waxt > Te. wağıt ~ wağıt 'time'; pers. paxta > Te. paga 'cotton'.

- ğadım wağıtarda da:ğın depesinde bir qala: ba:r eken. (Te. 3)  
  In ancient times there was a fortress on top of the mountain.

- ğadım wağıtlardan bā:ri (Te. 13)  
  since ancient times
In copied lexemes there is generally no clear differentiation between [x] and [h], which can both be the rendering of either original /x/ or /h/. The weakening of initial /x/ into [h] appears to be a regular phenomenon in the XD dialects: ha:s 'specific' < pers. xāss; hal:l 'n.pr.m.' < pers. xalī; hara:p 'destroyed' < pers. xarāb; ha:lis 'genuine' < pers. xālis. In other positions both realizations are possible: [x] ~ [h]. Examples: maslaxat etyä:rler (Te. 6) 'they give advice' ~ maslahat (Ār.) < pers. maṣlaḥat.

4.6. Phonological difference among the dialects

The Afghan Turkmen dialects do not depict difference of the phonemic inventory, but some phonemes significantly differ in occurrence. There is also difference – in some cases plain, in others ambiguous or blurred – in the effects of phonological processes. Many details are rendered in the discussion of the respective phonemes and also in the morphology chapter; here I will only discuss a few features of general relevance which are crucial for delineating the basic characteristics of the respective dialects.

(a) Initial *y and *h in native stems

The Afghan Turkmen dialects depict significant difference in the existence/non-existence and concretization of initial *y and *h in native stems. Due to the practicalities of my field research, I have not been able to collect full paradigms for all dialects. For the sake of documentation I have made up my mind to put down the following deficient observations all the same.

(i) The initial *y, whose existence is today accepted by most Turkologists\(^{132}\), is in some Afghan Turkmen dialects preserved while in others it is deleted. The nāxālis dialects depict a marked tendency towards deletion, although the picture is not totally regular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yigde(^{133})</td>
<td>yigde</td>
<td>jide</td>
<td>jide</td>
<td>yigde</td>
<td>oleaster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yigit(^{134})</td>
<td>yigit</td>
<td>yigit</td>
<td>yigit</td>
<td>yigit</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinčkä(^{135})</td>
<td>i:ncē</td>
<td>i:ncē</td>
<td>i:ncē</td>
<td>inčge</td>
<td>ničge</td>
<td>delicate, thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yip(^{136})</td>
<td>yip</td>
<td>yıp</td>
<td>yıp</td>
<td>yıp</td>
<td>öp(^{137})</td>
<td>string</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipek</td>
<td>yipek</td>
<td>yipek</td>
<td>yipek</td>
<td>yipek</td>
<td>ipek</td>
<td>ipek</td>
<td>ipek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiplik(^{138})</td>
<td>yiplik</td>
<td>yiplik</td>
<td>yiplik</td>
<td>yiplik</td>
<td>iplik</td>
<td>iplik</td>
<td>üplik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yıla:n(^{139})</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>yıla:n</td>
<td>蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>yıldam</td>
<td>fast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yit-(^{140})</td>
<td>yit-</td>
<td>yit-</td>
<td>yit-</td>
<td>yit-</td>
<td>it-</td>
<td>it-</td>
<td>yit-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{133}\) DTS 260 yigdā.
\(^{134}\) Clauson 1972: 911.
\(^{135}\) DTS 261 yinčkā, Clauson 1972:945 yinčge.
\(^{136}\) DTS 267 yip 'thread'; Clauson 1972:870 yip'thread'.
\(^{137}\) While yip is the general variant in the Ārsa:ri dialect, the people of the Qarqın subtribe have üp.
\(^{138}\) Clauson 1972:870.
\(^{139}\) Clauson 1972:830.
\(^{140}\) Clauson 1972:885.
(ii) Initial /h/ : My material does not contribute significantly to the ongoing debate about the initial /h/ in Turkic. The Afghan Turkmen dialects depict a complex situation: In some cases, all dialects have initial /h/; is is the case of hi:n 'den', where initial [h] is not confirmed by Clauson (1972:166 i:n) or DTS (209 in); however, TRS 698 has xi:n and Sevortyan (1974:352) refers to hi:n.

- stičan hu:nina gi:ren ya:nı (Ār. 14)
  as if a mouse went into its hole
- stičaniŋ hini ya:lı görinyä:r (Te. 16)
  it looks like the hole of a mouse

In other cases the dialects disagree: Te. and Yo. have hamraq 'dear' vs. Ār. amraq (compare OT amraq DTS 42; but TRS xamrak, Clauson 1972:163 amraq); Te. and Yo. have ö:l vs. Ār. hō:l 'moist' (compare Khalaj hȫl in Doerfer&Tezcan 1980, OT öl DTS 383, Clauson 1972:124 ö:l).

(b) Voiced versus voiceless plosives in the onset of native stems

(i) Initial /b/- that relates to OT b- is in some lexemes represented in the Teke dialect while in the Ārsa:rı dialect it is represented as /p/- : Te. bičaq ~ Ār. pičaq, ND biča:ğ 'knife' (compare DTS 98 bičaq); Te. bi:ni ~ Ār. pi:ni , ND pini 'brain'. For some more details of the /b/-/p/ opposition cf. the paragraph on the phoneme /b/.

(ii) With regard to initial /d/- versus /t/-, the Afghan Turkmen dialects render an ambiguous picture: There are lexemes in whose realization of the initial consonant as voiceless there is no difference among the dialects: tozan (Te. Yo. Yem.) ~ tozaŋ (Ār. Sa.), tuza:n (ND). There are lexemes where all dialects have initial /d/- . In again other cases, the dialects fall into groups that have voiced /d/-, and others that have voiceless /t/. As a general rule, the nāxāl iṣ dialects are mostly with the /d/- group while Teke is mostly with the /d/-group; there are, however, singular examples to the contrary effect as well. The Ārsa:rı dialect is most ambiguous of all.

Initial /d/- in native stems is a feature more typical of the Teke and Yomut dialects, while the Ārsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Muqrı, Xatap, Bayat, Surxı and Xojambāz dialects mostly have voiceless /t/-.

---

141 DTS 255 yem.
142 DTS 255f. yemis 'fruit'.
144 DTS 208 ilk ~ 261 yılık.
145 Clauson 1972:239; DTS 258 ierin ~ 178 erin.
146 Clauson 1972:233; DTS 263 iyirin ~ 212 irin.
in the respective stems. The nāxālis dialects mostly have /t/- even in such lexemes which have /d/- in the Ärsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects: ND tarıq 'millet', tešik 'hole', tiš 'tooth', tüš 'dream', tep- 'to kick' versus Ärsa:rı and all other xāliṣ dialects darı, dešik, diš, dü:š, dep-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ärsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Yomut</th>
<th>Sa:rıq</th>
<th>ND</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tö:rt</td>
<td>dö:rt</td>
<td>dö:rt</td>
<td>tö:rt</td>
<td>turt</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toqqiz</td>
<td>doquz</td>
<td>doquz</td>
<td>toquz</td>
<td>tuqqiz</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toğsan</td>
<td>doğsan</td>
<td>doğsan</td>
<td>toğsan</td>
<td>tuğsan</td>
<td>ninety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dı:ş</td>
<td>dı:ş</td>
<td>dı:ş</td>
<td>dı:ş</td>
<td>tiš</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dü:ş</td>
<td>dü:ş</td>
<td>dü:ş</td>
<td>dü:ş</td>
<td>tüš</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dešik</td>
<td>dešik</td>
<td>dešik</td>
<td>dešik</td>
<td>tišik</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darı</td>
<td>darı</td>
<td>darı</td>
<td>darı</td>
<td>tariq</td>
<td>millet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:r</td>
<td>da:r</td>
<td>da:r</td>
<td>da:r</td>
<td>ta:r</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep-</td>
<td>dep-</td>
<td>dep-</td>
<td>dep-</td>
<td>tep-</td>
<td>to kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dil</td>
<td>dil</td>
<td>dil</td>
<td>dil</td>
<td>til</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tart-</td>
<td>dart-</td>
<td>dart-</td>
<td>dart-</td>
<td>tart-</td>
<td>to pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tık-</td>
<td>dik-</td>
<td>dik-</td>
<td>dik-</td>
<td>tik-</td>
<td>to sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) The /k/- vs. /g/- opposition also shows an ambiguous picture: While the dialects agree in most of the cases – with initial voiced /g/ occurring much more frequently than voiceless /k/-, there are singular cases of variation, like Är. voiced giši vs. Te. and Mu. voiceless kiši 'person'; but variation to the opposite effect as well: Är. voiceless kücük vs. Te. voiced güjük 'puppy'.

(c) Voiced versus voiceless plosives in the onset of suffixes

My material contains only one example of this type of dialectal divergence, so that it is impossible to deduce general observations. However, for the sake of documentation I quote the example here:

- o pille men oynjaq oyına:p yören oğlantım. (Är. 5)
  At that time I was a child who played (with) toys.
- şo:ra: diyip enimjen diyip bi za:tlara:m oynıçaq etdiler kā: bir a:damlar. (Te. 4)
  Some people said council, union – (but) they made these things (into) toys.

(d) /q/ versus /h/ in the onset of interrogatives

The nāxālis dialects seem to have q-variants of the interrogative adjectives and pronouns: qam: 'where' (Ba. 3, Xa. 1, Mu. 4). The Teke dialect, according to my materials, has only h-variants: haysi 'which' (Te. 13); hačanda 'whenever' (Te. 6) etc. The Ärsa:rı dialect has hani 'where' (Är.), but at the same time qaysi 'which' (Är. 7), qačan 'when' (Är. 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ärsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Sa:rıq</th>
<th>ND dialects</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>ham</td>
<td>qam</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qačan</td>
<td>hačan</td>
<td>hačan</td>
<td>qača:n</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaysı</td>
<td>haysı</td>
<td>haysı</td>
<td>qaysı</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Afghan Turkmen dialects have lexicalized geminates which may be considered the product of historical gemination, and they know the phonological process of actual gemination. The dialects differ in both of them.

(i) The Ärsa:rı dialect is rich in lexicalized geminates in lexemes whose correlates in the Teke dialect (in accordance with OT) have non-geminate consonant instead. Some of these correlate pairs differ in more than one significant marker, which points quite clearly to the fact that the Ärsa:rı dialect shares more Qarluq features where the Teke dialect has Oğuz ones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ärsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Yomut</th>
<th>Sa:rıq</th>
<th>Muqri</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yassı</td>
<td>yasi</td>
<td>yasi</td>
<td>yasiq</td>
<td>yassı</td>
<td>yassı</td>
<td>yassı (DTS 245)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq</td>
<td>aşıq (DTS 64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğıša</td>
<td>ğışa</td>
<td>ğışa</td>
<td>ğıša</td>
<td>ğıša</td>
<td>ğıša</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekiz</td>
<td>sekiz</td>
<td>sekiz</td>
<td>sekgiz</td>
<td>sekkiz</td>
<td>sekkiz</td>
<td>sekkiz (DTS 494)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğurbaqa</td>
<td>ğurbağa</td>
<td>ğurbaqa</td>
<td>ğurbağa</td>
<td>ğurbaqa</td>
<td>ğurbaqa</td>
<td>baqa (DTS 82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeti</td>
<td>yedi</td>
<td>yedi</td>
<td>yedi</td>
<td>yetti</td>
<td>yetti</td>
<td>yetti (DTS 295)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toqquz</td>
<td>toqguž</td>
<td>doquz</td>
<td>doquz</td>
<td>toqquz</td>
<td>toqquz</td>
<td>toqquz (DTS 578)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few lexemes with a more complex phonological history, regardless of the complex background, the Ärsa:rı dialect's preference of geminates as opposed to preference of non-geminates on the part of the Teke dialect is discernible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ärsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>OT</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyye</td>
<td>iye</td>
<td>idi ~ iʔi (DTS 203)</td>
<td>owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyyer</td>
<td>iyer</td>
<td>edăr ~ eʔär (DTS 162, 164)</td>
<td>saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>düyye</td>
<td>düye</td>
<td>devā ~ tevā ~ tevi (DTS 160)</td>
<td>camel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet another analogous example might be the geminate in singular Ärsa:rı comparatives, as opposed to non-geminate correlates in the Teke dialect; possibly, from a shared precedent of lexeme + *ıra:q 'further, more...' the two dialects have taken different paths of development, with Ä. preferring vowel preservation + consonant gemination, but Te., vowel reduction and non-gemination: Är. köpirrä:k ~ Te. köprä:k 'more'.

- ulkä:miziq köpirrä:k nupu:śni di:xanlar we ćarwači:lar ğuršayo:r. (Är. 3) Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) population of our country.
- bağıšla:ŋ men köprä:k kepleyä:rn. (Te. 18) Excuse (me), I talk more (than would be polite).

(ii) Gemination as a spontaneous process is, as opposed to the occurrence of ready geminates, rather infrequent in native lexemes; where it occurs, it reflects again the Ärsa:rı (and to a
certain extent, Sa:rıq also) preference of geminates versus Teke, of non-geminates: Är. čiziq ~ Te. čiziq 'stripe, crack; striped'.

Some examples from my material – native as well as copied lexemes – suggest that this type of gemination comes with semantic emphasis and stress (comparable to gemination in prefixes of emphasis like appaq 'lily white').

- ağıšam huwwa: suːq eken. (Är. 22)
  Last nigh the weather was cold.
- bu gün huwa sawuq dăːl. (Te. 3)
  The weather is not cold to day.
- Ačılbağı atasi-babasaːm uððın aːdam eken. (Är. 12)
  Ačılba:y's father and grandfather were also tall men.
- meniŋ ataːm uððın boylı aːdam-di. (Te. 19)
  My father was a tall man.
- ol saqarlar ollaːqan oːba ä:rsaːri oːba-da. (Sa. 1)
  This Saqarlars is a huge village, (and) an Ärsaːrı village (at that).
- šu ollaːqan haːlːiːn-aːm gellejeniz giːje gündeːz giːzi bile yatmaːn doqadi. (Yo. 1)
  Your sister-in-law has woven this big carpet together with her daughter, not sleeping night or day.
- baːliːgɨ tāːze yaːːga ġuːrsaːq madaːliːja bolyoːr (Är. 23)
  if you grill the fish in oil it become tasty.
- yoːlda madaːliːja nahar tapmayaːṣiːõ. (Te. 11)
  You can not find better food along the way.

(iii) Interestingly, the Teke dialect's "aversion" of geminates manifests itself in (etymologically speaking) hypercorrect de-gemination, which can be observed in native as well as copied lexemes. The Ärsaːrı dialect in these examples preserves the original geminates: Är. sallančaq ~ Te. salančaq 'swing', Är. šülle 'rice' Te. šüle. For examples of degeminated copied lexemes, see table below.

(iv) The preference of geminates/gemination and non-geminates/reduction manifests itself also in copied lexemes. The underlying phonological processes which lead, in result, to the occurrence of geminate or singular consonants, may be different as the table below demonstrates, but the overall picture remains the same: The Ärsaːrı dialect prefers geminates (sometimes combined with lengthening of the adjacent vowel) while Teke favors non-geminates. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ärsaːrı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>melle</td>
<td>mele</td>
<td>&lt; pers. malla golden yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owwal</td>
<td>owal</td>
<td>&lt; pers. awwal first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kürre</td>
<td>kūre</td>
<td>&lt; kurra donkey foal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqqaːl</td>
<td>baqaːl</td>
<td>&lt; pers. baqqāl grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jorraːp</td>
<td>jorap</td>
<td>&lt; pers. jūrāb &lt;&lt; stocking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

147 Some of the examples Yakup renders in 2.3.5(a), especially [tazza] 'really' and [yuğğan] 'big' (Yakup 2005:79) also suggest this interpretation, although the author does not say so but keeps to a strictly phonological description of the phenomenon.
The Afghan Turkmen dialects share many phonological features, but they also differ quite significantly in some. What today by the speakers is understood as phonological difference, in fact often relates back to difference in the historical morphology of the dialects. Since my study is a synchronic rather than diachronic one, I treat truly phonologic and allophonic phenomena as well as – etymologically speaking – morphological ones together here in this paragraph with only occasional reference to historical developments.

(i) In some lexemes the dialects differ in the representation of final OT -ğ/-g. While the ND dialects depict an inclination towards representation as /q/, the XD dialects favor the deletion of the final consonant: ND yamaq ~ XD yama 'patch' (DTS 231 yamaq); ND issiq ~ XD issi 'hot' (DTS 213/220 isig~isği); ND tariq ~ XD dari 'millet' (compare DTS 537 tariği 'grain, bread'), ND türk ~ XD di:ri 'alive' (Clauson 1972:848 tiriği), ND sarq ~ XD sa:ri 'yellow' (Clauson 1972:848 sari/sarıq).

(ii) In lexemes that have the lexicalized directive suffix -rI the Teke, Yomut and Sa:rq dialects the suffix can be repleted with an additional -Q and the lengthening of the final vowel, which is missing in the other dialects (and according to my materials can be missing in the speech of Teke and others, too): dašarı ~ Te. Yo. Sa. đaşarı:q 'outside, in the open'; bä:ri ~ Te.Yo.Sa. bä:ri:k 'here, closer to ego; POSTPOS since'; ağrı ~ Te. Yo. Sa. ağrı:q 'beyond'; yoqarı (Te. Sa.) ~ yoqarı:q (Te.).

- men bir hepdeden ağrı:q aşğaba:d barıp gelişim gerek. (Te. 5)
  After one week I have to go to Aşğaba:d.
- derya:dan ağrı:da yerimiz bar. (Ār.7)
  On the other side of the river, we also have lands.
- men bilenimmen bä:ri andxoyda kücük oruš bolyor: (Ār. 10)
  Ever since I know, in Andxoy there are dogfights.
- bä:ri:k geleno:qdilar. (Sa. 4)
  They have not come here.
- iki yıldan bä:ri su: yetişen yoq. (Ār. 12)
  Since two years no water has reached (our place).
- ğadım wağıtlardan bä:ri:k Türkmenler göcüp-gönp yören soğ. (Te. 13)
  Since olden times the Turkmens have been leading a mobile life, after all.
- mektebi ğotarannan soğ yoqarı oqu:larab bä:ri:k ornaşsi geleno:q-dilar. (Sa. 4)
  After having completed primary school, they did not settle here for higher education.
- yoqarı: gelin, yoqarı:q gečiŋ! (Te. 4)
  Come up, come upstairs!

---

148 TRS 124 differentiates by interpreting bä:ri:k as the essential nomen loci and bä:ri primarily as postposition and only in a secondary meaning, as nomen loci; in the Afghan context this differentiation does not exist.

149 TRS 46 renders ağrı:q as a secondary variant of ağrı without indicating dialectal specificities.

150 TRS 313 renders yoqarı:q as a secondary variant without indication of dialectal or other difference.
(iii) Final /q/ in singular lexemes like *ya:naq*\(^{151}\) 'like' and *šo ta:q*\(^{152}\) 'there' (in variation with *ya:na* and *šo tayı*) also appears in the Ārsa:ŗi and Teke dialects, while it is missing in ND.

- hilmmende bir segsen üyli *ya:naq* türkmen bir waxtda maha:jir bolip baran. (Ār. 1) Some 80 households of Turkmens have once upon an time moved to Hilmand.
- ata-ba:balammız birinjiden du:leda:ba:d gelip, birki yıl otırip, soŋ *šo ta:q*dan šaxa göčip barıdurlar. (Te.1) Our grandfathers, first settled in Dawlatābād, they lived there for 2-3 years and then migrated to Šāx.
- owwal čöle barars, soŋ *šo tayı* barıp tesmi:m alars. (Ār.12) First, we have to go the countryside, then, we will decide (what to do next).

(iv) Final -(I)t versus Ø

Final -(I)t is in the Ārsa:ŗi dialect realized in singular lexemes which do not have this element in the other dialects: Ār. *görgit* ~ Te. *görgi* 'nuisance, trouble' (Clauson 1972:742 *görgi*; TRS 201 *görgi*); Ār. *i:mit* ~ Te. *i:m* 'fodder' (Clauson ; TRS 348 *i:m, i:mit*\(^{153}\)).

- bi næ: *görgit* boldı! hi:č waxt minya:nı gi:nanp görmä:ntim. (Ār. 6) What a nuisance! I have never been troubling so hard.
- bu gün ča:غا bilen *görgi:mi* gördim. (Te. 12) Today I have had full trouble with the baby.
- ineklerimize günde iki -üč gezek *i:m* berya:rs. (Te. 4) We feed our cows 2-3 times a day.
- oğlaqçı atlarını *i:mitini* yaşğı bermeli. (Ār.26) We have to give our buzkashi horses their fodder in a perfect manner.

(v) Final -(I)n versus Ø

Some adverbs which denote a point in time have in the Ārsa:ŗi and ND dialects final *(I)n*, which is not realized in the other dialects; however, the n-less variants coexist in the Ārsa:ŗi dialect as well.

- erte śi *pillen* men inşa:alla kā:bilde bolarin. (Ār. 10) Tomorrow the same time as now I will hopefully be in Kabul.
- şu *pille* elim boş dā:l. (Ār. 5) Right now I am not free.
- ba:zara *üylä:n* giders. (Ār. 12) In the afternoon we’ll go to the bazaar.
- širkete *üyle* bararsmi? (Te. 6) Are we going to the office in the afternoon?
- mä:lim sa:yipni *erteŋ* kuremiz. (Mu. 3) We’ll see the teacher tomorrow.
- čöle *erte* gitseg-em bolar. (Te. 8) We can go to the countryside tomorrow.

\(^{151}\) Missing in TRS.

\(^{152}\) TRS 612 renders *ta:y* 'side' but has no *ta:q*.

\(^{153}\) TRS interprets *i:m* as 'fodder', but *i:mit* as 'food, dish'; this differentiation in meaning does not exist in the Afghan Turkmen dialects.
(f) The representation of -oğ and *-ög

(i) In the lexemes 'child, youngster' and 'kid', the Afghan Turkmen dialects differ in the representation of syllable-final -oğ. The Ārsar dialect keeps to [oğ] while the Teke dialect has unrounding of the vowel and fronting-cum-labialization of the consonant, the process resulting in the realization of [aw].

- **oğlanlar-am** her qaysısı bir i:š bilden mesru:p (Ār. 28)
  The children (i.e., my adolescent sons) are each one busy with a (different kind of) work.
- **o:bada awlanlar köprü:k bi:kär, i:š tapilano:q** (Te. 10)
  In the village, the youngsters are mostly (lit. more) unemployed, there is not work to be found.
- **bi oğlıŋ geći:nin oglaŋı yā:ni ča:r tarapa bökvo:r** (Ār. 4)
  This son of yours bounces into all (lit. four) directions like a goat's kid.
- **bir semiz geći:nı iki awlaŋı bilen mubaylıŋ deregne berdi** (Te. 20)
  He gave a fat goat along with her two kids in exchange for a mobile phone.

Interestingly, there exists a hypercorrect realization of the copied lexeme *sawa:p* < pers. *sawāb* in line with this phenomenon, namely, [soğa:p] (Ār. 19) 'religious merit'.

(ii) In the lexeme 'surroundings; whirlwind', the dialects differ in the representation of *-oğ*, which is in the Teke dialect represented with an unrounded vowel and a fronted-cum-labialized consonant as [ew], and in the Ārsar dialect with a raised vowel and fronted-cum-labialized consonant as [üw]. (According to my materials, the latter realization occurs with Teke speakers as well.)

- **tüwerey** gelip xırmanıŋ sa:manlarna:m ča:šırıp gitdi (Ār. 34)
  A whirlwind came and scattered the straw of the stack.
- **mә:rı tewereginde** (Te. 3)
  in the surroundings of Marw
- **ol emri:kä:niŋ tüweleyi qanča erbet eken xuda: saqlasın onnan**. (Te. 3)
  How bad these whirlwinds of America are! May God save (everyone) from these.

(g) /ŋ/ versus /n/

(i) Opposition of /ŋ/ and /n/ appears in the suffix IMPEREMPH2PERS, which is realized as -sAŋA ~ -sAŋA: in Ār., but as -sAnA ~ -sAnA: in Te.

- **eliŋdä:ki xalta:mı maŋa berseŋä:**! (Ār. 32)
  Could you give me the bag in your hand!
- **ča:ɡa:mı maŋa bersene**! (Te. 5)
  Give me the baby!

The preference of Ār. /ŋ/ against Te. /n/ is also represented in a few single lexemes such as Ār. *tozan* ~ Te. *tozan* 'dust, duststorm'.

---

154 TRS has *oğlan* 'son' and *owlaq* 'kid', but neither *oğlaq* nor *awlan* or *awlaq.
155 Compare OT tegärä 'around (postpos.)', DTS 565.
(h) /ŋ/ versus /g/ğ/, /k/q/ and /n/

(i) The opposition of /ŋ/ and other phonemes renders an ambiguous picture. Whereas in some examples the Ārsa:rī dialect has /ŋ/ while the Teke dialect has /g/ğ/, in others the opposite distribution prevails. My materials do not contain enough examples to establish a consistent rule.

- derŋe- misteri:niŋ aydan purzesını derŋä:p tapmadıq. (Te. 14)
  We searched for the spare parts which the mechanic told us (to bring along), but we didn't find them.
- derge- sizi bi:ri dergä:p gelipdir. (Ār. 11)
  Someone has come and searched for you.
- zıŋ- bı a:dam su:çı gido:r suwa zıŋo:r ö:zini, tapıp šol oğlanı tapo:r. (Sa.7)
  A man – a swimmer – was passing by, he threw himself in the water and found-, he brought that child to the surface (again).
- zıŋ- důwın ustine zıŋıp bašını da:ģ ya:ni jesedinnen yolup alṑdrlar. (Ār. 42)
  They jumped on the dēw and snapped his head off his mountainlike body.
- yıŋna- toy etjek diyip köp pul yıŋnamalı boldıq. (Te. 16)
  Saying we want to make a wedding, we had to assemble a lot of money.
- yıŋna- мнěča a:damı iki gũnĩj ičinde yıũnamaq anša:i:i š dã:l-ti. (Ār. 7)
  It was not an easy task to assemble so many people within two days.
- eŋiš- ozal gi:ţek yerĩnde bir dešik bar onnan eŋiš bar onnan eŋil gi:rmeli. (Te. 7)
  In the place where you first enter there is a hole, (you) must bend down and go through (that).
- eŋil- kelinler ya:ňı eŋilıp sala:m berdi. (Ār. 8)
  He gave his greetings, bending like brides (do).

(ii) The opposition of /ŋ/ and /n/ is also a rare phenomenon in my materials: Te. iyne ~ Ār. inne 'sewing needle'.

(j) Consonant assimilation

The Afghan Turkmen dialects significantly differ in matters of consonant assimilation. Generally speaking, the Teke dialect depicts the most obvious inclination towards progressive assimilation, while regressive assimilation is most typical of the Ārsa:rī dialect. (Exceptions to this general rule, however, exist in both directions.) Details and examples are given above in 4.3.2.c.
5. Morphology

Morphological elements of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan are mostly suffixes; prefixes form only a very small part of the morphological inventory. Divergence between the dialects may not be as considerable in morphology as it is in phonology and lexicon, but the collected materials show that there is some divergence in morphology, too, which concerns the phonetic realization as well as the function of the affixes.

5.1 Nominal morphology

5.1.1 Nouns

A. Plural

Compared with other Turkic idioms, for example the neighboring Uzbek dialects of Afghanistan, in the Turkmen dialects plural markers are used rather liberally.

(a) Pluralisation with the suffix -lAr

(i) All Turkmen dialects have the plural suffix –lAr.

(ii) The suffix -lAr immediately follows the nominal basis and precedes all possessive and case suffixes. The only exception to this rule is the metaphorical pluralisation which actually denotes "a person and their household" (e.g. ha:jikeri:mler 'the family of Ha:jikeri:m'); in that case a potential possessive precedes the plural suffix:

• ši gelišime hā:zir enemlerden gelyo:n. (Är. 27)
  I am just coming from my mother's.

(iii) The plural suffix in the Turkmen dialects, along with the actual pluralisation, has several more semantic functions. It underlines quantity:

• möŋlerче a:dam muza:hira etibdirler (Är. 43)
  thousand+Pl of people demonstrated
• nā:če yıllar dan bä:ri (Är. 36)
  since how many year+Pl

It denotes internal differentiation:

• şolar ya:ni ĝi:n yağdayda (Är. 7)
  in a difficult situation like this+Pl
• etleri sünşi bilen ğoymaši eken (Te. 19)
  The meat+Pl had to be served together with its bones.
• bašga burinjler (Är. 11)
  other (types of) rice+Pl

It indicates the vague or approximate character of a denotate:

• darğanata:q taraplara baripdirler (Te. 19)
  They went into the direction+Pl of Darğanata:q.
I returned from the bazaar around two o'clock.

In the nāxālī dialects it is often used as an indicator of respect and politeness:

This person+Pl. draws a conclusion from each one of (the informations).

Temporal locatives which refer to bygone times are almost regularly pluralized:

Phrases denoting habitual temporal locatives can generally be marked with either Pl. + Loc or with a simple plural suffix only:

(v) The plural suffix -lAr functions as a substitute for substantive heads of the participle construction; there is not obligatory connotation of plural in these examples:

(b) Pluralisation with the collective particle daynī ~ dağı

(i) The particle daynī (Är.) ~ dağı (Te.) can function like the suffix -lAr as described in a.ii above: When postposed to an anthroponym, a kinship nomer or the like, it denotes "person X and their household/family/kin":

(ii) The particle daynī ~ dağı can also be used to form a generic term, which the plural suffix -lAr can also achieve in the Turkmen dialects, as the following example clearly shows:
• ḡı:z oğlan daŋı ulannan sonŋ erkek oğlanlar bile oynamaz. (Är. 53)
  Girls do not play with boys after having grown up.

(c) Copied plural forms

The lexicon of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan contains a few lexicalized plural forms which are copied from Arabic and Persian, like ulama: 'the learned men', ta:liba:n 'Taliban' etc.:

• ma:mu:n na:t tö:rdede i:šliyo:r. (Är. 22)
  State employees work until four o'clock.

Individuals who habitually use the Persian language (too), or who wish to display erudition and elevated style, may intersperse their speech with ad-hoc Persian plural suffixes. However, this is a rare phenomenon and remains limited to intellectuals, religious personnel and the like.

• men motarlara yukleseŋ köp tunha: munnan, muŋha tuni ba:r bizin wetenmizde, šüyle di:dim. (Är. 6)
  I said if you load many tons (of this product) on cars -, there are thousands of tons of that in our homeland, thus I said.

B. Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes immediately follow the nominal stem and derivative suffixes.

Table 5-1: Possessive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>possessor person</th>
<th>noun stem -C</th>
<th>noun stem -V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.SG</td>
<td>-Im (~ -im, -Im) ( ~ -Xm)</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.SG</td>
<td>-Iŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLSG</td>
<td>-IŋIz</td>
<td>-ŋIz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.SG</td>
<td>-I (~ -i, -I) ( ~ -X)</td>
<td>-sI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.PL</td>
<td>-Imlz (~ -mlz)</td>
<td>-mlz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.PL / POLPL</td>
<td>-IŋIz</td>
<td>-ŋIz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.PL</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>-sI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Morphonological effects

(i) The vowel of possessive suffixes 1.SG in general appears to be {I}, although deviation from the principle of twofold back/front harmony also occurs quite frequently, with {i} as well as {ı} being applied in disharmonic position: oğlm ~ oğlm (Är.Ba.Mu.Xa.). On the other hand there is also a certain tendency towards {X}, whose labial rounding after rounded vowel stems is supported by the [m] element of the possessive suffix; rounded and unrounded suffix vowel variants coexist in my materials: gözım 'my eye' ~ gözim; özım 'myself' ~ özüm; oğlm ~ oğlm ~ oğlm 'my son' (all Är.); gülm 'my rose'; do:lim ~ do:lim 'my cloak'; du:zım ~ du:zım 'my salt'; gu:sim 'my chest' (< gu:s, compare Tü. göğüs). – An
analogous phenomenon affects, although rather unfrequently, the vowel of the possessive suffix 3.Sg, which generally is {I} but shows a tendency towards {X} in cases where the possessive suffix is followed by the 'pronominal n’, which also seems to support labial rounding: üyünde ~ üinde 'in his house'.

(ii) The vowel(s) of possessive suffixes 2.Sg and 2.Pl is/are {I}: oğlıŋ 'your son', oğlanlırıŋ 'your children', üyindı 'your house'. Deviation from the front/back harmony principle occurs quite frequently, although not on a systematic basis: ya:dıңız ~ ya:dıŋı 'your memory'. If the suffix follows a noun with [l] in the coda position, however, the suffix vowel(s) can become {X}:

üyünde ~ üyinde 'in his house'.

(iii) The vowel of the possessive suffix 3.SgPL is generally {I}: ha:lısı 'her carpet' (Yo. Sa. Te.), li:sesi 'its lyceum', sü:đi 'her milk', ǧapağı 'its lid', toyi 'his feast'. Deviation from the back/front harmony principle has often been reported, with a marked tendency in favor of front vocalization of the suffix regardless of the quality of the preceding syllable: doqmalari 'their carpets' (Te.), saćaği 'his tablecloth' (Är.).

(iv) In the xâliṣ dialects the initial suffix vowel is almost regularly reduced or altogether deleted if the possessive suffix of 1.Pl and 2.Pl follows a noun with plural suffix -lAr; assimilation of the final [r] of the plural suffix is almost regular in the Teke dialect and does occur in the others: atalar(l)mız (Är. 53) ~ atalammız 'our fathers' (Är. 12) ~ atalammız 'our forefathers' (Te. 7); ǧylermız 'our houses' (Te. 4); ǧarindašlammız (< ǧarindašlarmız) 'our relatives' (Te. 14); kćečenńijz (< kćečenńsjı) 'your streets' (Är. 1).

The same reduction/deletion of the possessive suffix vowel can also occur if the noun is non-mono-syllabic with a [r], [ğ], [g], [w], [m], or [n] in the coda position: kepterńiz 'our pigeon', motaryńiz 'your car', ǧišlağmız 'our village', ǧiçüğmiz 'our dog' (Är. 30), oqlawńiz 'your rolling pin', ǧalamımız 'our pen', wetenmiz 'our homeland', ǧerenńız 'your antelope' (Är. 53), gelenmiz ǧawi bolh 'good that we have come' (Te. 7), görenmiz yo:q 'we’d not seen' (Är. 38).

Deletion of the suffix vowel – which in that case is tantamount to dropping the suffix altogether – can occur if the possessive suffix of 3.Sg follows a plural suffix and is in its turn followed by a (pronominal n plus) case suffix, the latter one preferably having a low vowel. Cases of deletion without a plural suffix preceding the possessive suffix have also been observed.

- elleriniŋ > čiten doqmalari ellersıŋ ustinne ǧallı. (Te. 6)
  The carpet they had woven remained in their hands.
- atlarınıŋ > türkmenista:ınıŋ atlarınıŋ soŋ boymi dik bı:li ni:çge bolyo:r. (Är. 25)
  The necks of the horses of Turkmenistan then are straight and their waist is slim.
- a:ġaların > öte barıŋ a:ɡalarınıŋ baqışar. (Är. 39)
  He’d go there and help his brothers out.
- ołar dünıya:ınıŋ köp yerlerne yayarı:pdılar. (Te. 13)
  They are scattered over many places of the world.
- derwezeleriniŋ > kâ:rmelisıŋ waxtında hökü:мет zinda:nlariniŋ derwezelernı نąşa da xalqın ǧaharını ǧaçırıp bilmedi. (Âr. 16)
  Although in Kârmal’s time the government opened the doors of the jails, it was unable to remove the anger of the people.
For supper they'd offer pilaff and kebap.

Cover the baby's little ears, she shall not feel cold!

Blood pressure is said to affect many a person's heart.

We split the revenues into two parts.

Have you gone to the wedding of Ha:jı Kerim's (family)?

Water comes running from further upstream.

A younger brother of mine studies at university.

Like mice withdraw in their hole, each one of us also withdrew into our place.

He likes me on days when I give (him) money, (but) on days when I don't give money he does not even come to me.

The place where I am more (often) is my uncle's.

My materials contain several Á:rsa:rı dialect examples of lengthening which does not affect a final stem vowel (since these lexemes finalize in a consonant), but the possessive 1.SG and 2.SG suffix vowel:

- Bil meni pul beren günü:m yağışı gûryo:r, pul bermedik günü:m ya:nıma-da gelen yo:q. (ăr. 7)
  He likes me on days when I give (him) money, (but) on days when I don't give money he does not even come to me.
- Gü:rra:q boljaq yerı:m da:yımlaŋqı. (ăr. 32)
  The place where I am more (often) is my uncle's.
In the xâliṣ dialects any possessive suffix which follows a numeral will have its first vowel lengthened: *iki:miz* 'the two of us', *üči:miz* 'the three of us', *o:ni:ŋyz* 'the ten of you'. If the numeral is 'one', not only the suffix vowel is lengthened but also the stem vowel: *bir > bi:ri:miz* 'one of us'; the indefinite pronoun *qaysı* 'which one; any one' has its final vowel lengthened when followed by a possessive suffix: *qaysı:ŋyz* 'any one of you guys'. (If followed by the possessive suffix of 3.SG, the numeral 'one' has its vowel lengthened: *bi:ri* 'one of them'; as far as other numerals are concerned, neither their stem vowel nor the possessive suffix is lengthened when a Poss3.SG follows.)

In the nâxâliṣ dialects, the possessive suffix does not cause vowel lengthening at all:

- *ini > bu beče hem meniŋ inim* boladi. (Ba. 3)
  And this young man is my brother.
- *mäde > murč ya: turši i:sem mädem ağraydı.* (Xa. 4)
  If I eat chilies or pickles my stomach aches.

(b) Possessor-possessed clauses

In the possessor-possessed relation the satellite (i.e., the possessor) comes in the genitive while the head (the possessed) is in its turn marked with the possessive suffix. If the possessor is a 1st or 2nd person, the pronoun – which then has the genitive suffix – needs to be employed as topic marker if there is thema change, or particular stress on the pronoun for some other reason:

- *meniŋ a:dim jama:liddi:n bolyä:, qa:qamıŋ a:du bayram.* (Te. 15)
  My name is Jama:liddi:n, my father's name is Bayram.

However, even if there is no particular topic marking involved in 1st or 2nd person possessor-possessed-clauses, all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan display a marked tendency to employ the pronoun with genitive all the same:

  Our forefathers have actually migrated to Afghanistan from the village of Beši:r, district of Xojamba:z, Leba:b province of Turkmenistan.

In colloquial language the genitive-bearing satellite often, without obvious change of meaning, follows after its head noun rather than preceding it. These postposed satellites are enclitic:

- *soŋ ata:m meniŋ şo waxtlarında qaryada:r edip dir gišla:ğın a:dam.* (Är. 6)
  Then my father-, the villagers made (him) headman of the village at that time.
• indi ozaq weli: ozaq-ğam bolsa şu sİ:xana:miz biziñ oğa barya: . (Te. 3)
  Our flooded area is now far away, but although it is far, (at least) it reaches out there
  (at all).
• şo pille iki műñ ğoyuni ba:rtı atamızıñ. (Är. 5)
  At that time our father had two thousand sheep.

(c) Unmarkedness of the possessive

In the Ärsarı, Teke, Yomut and Sa:rıq dialects the possessive suffix may be missing from the
head noun in possessor-possessed clauses with 1.PL or 2.PL possessors while the satellite is
marked with the genitive suffix. There seems to be no noticeable difference of meaning
between marked and unmarked clauses. The tendency to drop the possessive suffix is
strongest if the possessor-possessive clause is followed by dA or hem 'also'.

• (biziñ) o:ba:mıza barjaq dä:lmi? ~ biziñ o:ba: barjaq dä:lmi? (Är. 53)
  Aren't you going to our village?
• biziñ nazar de dü:n gitti. (Är. 12)
  Our (son) Nazar has also left yesterday.

The naxalsı dialects do not share this phenomenon.

(d) Reduplication of the possessive

Reduplication of the POSS3SG has been observed in lexemes like kâ:sisi < kâ:s+i+si
'some(one) of them' (Xa.), köpisi < köp+i+si 'many/most of them'156 (Te., Är.), bi:risi <
bi:r+i+si ~ bi:ri 'one of them' (both variants in all dialects). Reduplicated variants coexist with
non-reduplicated ones: kâ:bi:risi ~ kâ:bi:ri 'quite a few / many of them' (Te.).

• biziñkileriñ her qaysına bir a:zajıq yer berip dir. (Te. 1)
  He gave each one of us a little bit of land.
• lehjeleriñ her haysısiñiñ tapa:wıtları köp. (Te. 13)
  Each one of the dialects has many divergences (from the others).

(e) Composite nouns

The possessive suffix marks composite nouns in which qualifier and qualified are both
substantive nouns; the possessive suffix is taken on by the head while the satellite is
unmarked. The default option is the 3.Sg suffix: türkmen milliyeti 'the Turkmen nation' (Är.
21), sewda: merkezi 'commercial center' (Yo. 1), oro:za haydı 'the Id al-Fitr' (Te. 3), dert
yamamı 'the worst of illnesses' (Te. 7).

If the qualified noun takes on a grammatical possessive suffix, this suffix serves the
morphological and the grammatical functions in one: i:ş a:damlarmız (< i:ş a:damlarmız, for
the vowel reduction cf. 3.1.1.A.b above) 'our workers (lit. workmen)' (Är. 25).

156 In the case of köp, the "first possessive suffix" might otherwise be understood as a lexicalized part of the
lexeme, since the word is used with or without a final i when attributed to a noun. Example: köpı a:damlar messı
giyıa:-tılar 'many/most people used to wear gaiters' (Är. 31). The phenomenon may be interpreted as an
imitation of bá:zi: a:damlar 'some people' < pers. ba'zi.
C. Case suffixes

The case suffixes in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan take on the forms and variations depicted in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2: Case suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case</th>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem -V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM / VOC</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>-Xŋ ~ -Iŋ ~ -ŋ</td>
<td>-nIŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ŋQI ~ Iŋki</td>
<td>-ŋQI ~ -ŋkI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-I / -X</td>
<td>-nI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>-A (XD) ~ -A ~ -ge (ND.)</td>
<td>-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQT</td>
<td>-čA</td>
<td>-dA (~ -tA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIM</td>
<td>-AčA</td>
<td>-dA (~ -tAn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-dA ~ -tA</td>
<td>-dA (~ -tAn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case suffixes immediately follow the (derivate) nominal stem or, if applicable, the possessive suffix. The only exception to that rule is the so-called pronominal n. Case suffixes following a POSS3SG require the insertion of a pronominal n:

- teke lehjesinnen görä: ä:rsa:rı:ŋ lehjesi turk diline mençeštä:k diiyä:n. (Te. 13)
  I'd assume that the Ä:rsa:rı dialect is closer to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect.
- uğlanjıq teyya:ra:mm očušma hayra:mm ɣa:ldı. (Är. 40)
  The little boy admired the aeroplane's way of flying.
- erti:rine tawıq čo:rba beryo:tılar. (Xo. 1)
  They would offer chicken soup for breakfast (lit. for its morning).
- iki günın ičinde (Är. 7)
  within two days

In the Muqrı and Xatap dialects the pronominal n does not necessarily occur under the conditions explained above:

- xataplar bilen muqrılar derya:mm o yaqida-hem bir ja:yda ya:šıyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)
  The Xatap and Muqrı lived together on that (other) side of the river, too.

(a) Nominative / Vocative

(i) The nominative / vocative is in all dialects marked with the zero suffix.

(ii) The nominative combines with postpositions such as üçin (~ üči:n (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.) / učin (Mu.Xa.Ba.) 'for ...'; bilen ~ bile (Är.) 'with, and'; ya:ni ~ ya:ni ~ ya:naq (Är.) ~ ya:ni:q
(Ār.) / ya:li (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem) 'like ...; such as ...' ; kemi:n (Ār. Te.) 'like' ; sayın 'by the ...'. In NOM+POSTPOS clauses the syllable immediately preceding the postposition bears a distinct positional pitch. – In the case of pronouns, these postpositions can also take the genitive (see chapter pronouns).

(b) Genitive

In the Afghan Turkmen dialects the following basic types of the genitive suffix have been identified: (i) -Iŋ / -nIŋ ; (ii) -ŋ ; (iii) -ni ; (iv) -IŋQI / -ŋQI ; (v) -QI.

Table 5-3: Genitive suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>nominal basis -C</th>
<th>nominal basis -V / V:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Iŋ ~ -iŋ</td>
<td>-nIŋ ~ -niŋ ~ nI:ŋ (Te.)</td>
<td>-ŋ (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni (Sa.Mu.Xa.)</td>
<td>-IŋQI ~ -ŋQI / -ŋki</td>
<td>-ŋQI (Ār.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-QI (Ār.)</td>
<td>-QI (ND.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan the genitive suffix which follows a nominal stem with final consonant is in general {Iŋ}: čöliŋ < čöl 'steppe', ešegiŋ < ešek 'donkey', sanmıŋ (Te.) < sandıq 'chest', nıpu:sıŋ < nıpu:s 'population', toyıŋ < toy 'wedding'. My materials also abound (in native and even more so in copied lexemes) with examples of suffixation where the back/front harmony is not observed, which mostly results in the realization of the suffix as front-vowel {iŋ}; disharmonic realization as back-vowel {ıŋ}, on the other hand, occurs only unfrequently. Examples: da:ğıŋ ~ da:ğiŋ (Te.) < da:ğ 'mountain', ya:ziŋ ~ ya:ziŋ (Ār.) < ya:z 'summer'; tu:qlariŋ ~ tu:qlarıŋ (Ār.) < tu:q 'hen', inqıla:biŋ (Te. Ār.) < inqıla:bı 'revolution'; menıŋ (Te.) ~ meniŋ < men 'I'.

Nominal stems with final short vowel take on the genitive suffix {nIŋ} or, regardless of front or back quality of the preceding syllable, simply {niŋ}. In the xālıṣ dialects the suffixation of the genitive with initial [n] causes lengthening of the stem-final vowel: ġuzı:nıŋ gö:šti < ġuzı 'the meat of the lamb' (Ār.), derrä:niŋ < derrä 'valley' (Te.), doqma:nıŋ üstinde < doqma 'over the carpet' (Yo.), mağtımgülü:niŋ kita:bi < mağtımgülü 'Mağtımgülü's book' (Te.), jıma:ğulı:niŋ enesi < jıma:ğulı 'Jıma:ğulı's mother' (Ār.).

- yeke > yekämniŋ čaŋı čıqmaz diyip dirler qadı:man. (Ār. 1)
  Since olden times they say, dust won't be raised by a single (horseman).

The short vowel of the 3.Sg -I / -sI is not subject to this lengthening phenomenon: yumurtasınıŋ sa:rsı ~ yumurtasınıŋ sa:rsı 'the yolk of her egg'.

In the nāxālis dialects there is no lengthening of the noun-final vowel at all: teriniŋ baza:rtı 'market of the karakul hides' (Mu.).

- marčaq xalqınıŋ yağdagay-a:m ġawı dā:l. (Sa. 2)
  The situation of the people of Marčaq is not good either.
Nominal stems with final long vowel also take on the genitive suffix {nIŋ} ~ {niŋ}:

derya:nıŋ su:wı (Är.) 'the river's water', huuwa:nuỳ suwıqlığı (Är.) 'the air's coldness', molla:nuỳ oğlı (Sa.) 'the mullah's son'.

(ii) In the Teke and perhaps also the Yomut dialect, nominal stems / bases with a final short or long vowel can also take on the simple genitive suffix -ŋ:

- Ča:ri: > bü gün Ča:ri:ŋ oğlanları-da gelipdi. (Te. 5)
  Today Ča:ri:'s children have also come.
- ağışam hemsa:ya:ŋ iti u:la:p yatara ɡoymadı. (Te. 3)
  (Last) night the neighbor's dog was howling and didn't let (us) sleep.
  I'd say the Ä:rsa:ri dialect is more similar to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect, isn't it?
  The riverbanks of the Amudarya have in ancient times never been unpopulated.

The genitive of composite nouns, whose second element (the qualified) normally has a POSS3SG suffix, has in the Teke and Ä:rsa:ri dialects been reported as a simple -ŋ (rather than -l-nŋ):

- sereta:n keseli+niŋ > sereta:n keseliŋ hen:zeče ala:ji yoq diyä:ler. (Te. 16)
  There is as yet no medicine for the cancer disease, they say.
- soğa:b i:šleri+niŋ > olı:mi sı:lamaq we ona ihtira:m etmek soğa:b i:šleriŋ bi:ri. (Är. 19)
  It is one of the meritous works to honor the elder.

Here, as in the examples quoted above, we actually observe the dropping of a syllable {ni}. We may thus assume that there is a general tendency to drop this syllable when it precedes – for whatever reason – a {ŋ}.

(iii) The genitive suffix -ni has been observed in the Muqrı, Sa:rıq and Xatap dialects only, where it exists alongside with (i)-type -niŋ. My materials do not support a safe guess about the frequency of occurrence of the respective types.

- şuni učin bizlerni wılıswa:1 sa:yib tiletipdi. (Mu. 1)
  For that the head of district has summoned us.
- jima:nazarı a:ti-yem oğlaqqa boladı. (Mu. 2)
  Jima:nazar's horse will also do for buzkashi.
- bu kiši da:wud eke ni oğlı. (Xa. 5)
  This person is Mr. Dawud's son.

157 In the phonology part of this book (4.3.8.a) I am describing the complex reduction of consonant-vowel clusters, which affects among others clusters of [n]+[I]. This reduction seems at work in forms like menıŋ (< meniŋ) 'my' (Te.Är.), šoŋ (< šonıŋ) 'that one's' (Är.), senıŋki (< seniŋki) 'yours' (Te.Är.) and sarata:n keseliŋ ala:ji (< keselingıŋ) 'medicine for the cancer disease'. Although this reduction might be at work here as well, if we understand the -ŋ suffix as a product of [ni]-reduction affecting the regular genitive suffix -nIŋ, with regard to its regularity of occurrence I prefer to interpret -ŋ as a type of genitive suffix in its own right.

158 Yakup 2005 also mentions the coexistence of -nXŋ and -nX for the Turfan dialect of Uyghur; in his case the -nX variant is by far the most frequent one (96; 99ff.).
(iv) The genitive produced by the suffix -IŋQI / -ŋQI¹⁵⁹ is different from the other genitive types in that it can take on a non-attributive / non-adverbial function which is then marked by the respective case suffixes. There is no pronominal n in these cases.

- in yağšı čaqqı čeyrekä:ŋki bolyor. (Är. 37)
  The best knives are Čeyrekä:'s (i.e., Čārikä's).

- murtü nišigı̄ki ya:lı edip (Te. 16)
  making his whiskers like a cat's

- berdileriŋkä: hem bardinjimi? (Är. 53)
  Did you also go to the Berdis?

- oğqa: buwin barmali då:l (Är. 35)
  We shouldn't go to his (place) today.

- ğunduzda türkmenleriŋ gi:m-ä:m bär:ri maza:rleri:pde ya:şayo:n türkmeniŋkiden parx etyo:r. (Är. 1)
  In Qunduz even the garments of the Turkmens are different from those of the Turkmen living in Māzār Sharif.

- Ğundalıŋ zähäri yıla:nıŋqidan-am beteri-mišin diyo:rlar. (Är. 41)
  They say the poison of a tarantula is worse than a snake's.

If the genitive suffix follows a plural suffix, the cluster [lArIŋQI] is regularly reduced to [lAŋQI]:

- kä:bir ğandha:rlılarıŋam yüzi haza:ranaŋqı ya:nı yassı bolyor. (Är. 1)
  Many a Kandahari's face is flat like that of the Hazaras.

- ğu:rra:q boljaq yerı:m da:ymlaŋqı, mıra:laŋqı:-da:m kä:pille bararın. (Är. 32)
  The place where I most often am is my uncle's; sometimes I also go to the Mıra:ds'.

- yo:lda čarı hajılaŋqı:-da daːrı:dıq. (Är. 5)
  On (our) way we also dropped by at Čarı Hajı's.

- bizın ğoynimiz olaŋqi bilen deŋeşdirende köp semiz bolyor. (Är. 12)
  Our sheep, when compared with theirs, are very fat.

Reduction of [nl], which is a familiar phenomenon and has been described in 4.3.8.a, results in abbreviated forms like menkı (< menički), senki (< senički), šon (< šonu).¹⁶⁰

- sa:nap görsek xuda:ybereniŋ goynı sekkiz yüz ya:nı, menkı bosa iki yüz elli eken. (Är. 16)
  As we counted, Xuda:yberen's sheep were some eight hundred; mine were two hundred fifty.

- menŋ etya:n i:šim naːdoğrı bolsa yüzımı görmä:n seŋki bolano:q diynıq! (Te. 5)
  If what I am doing is not right, tell me «Yours isn't (right)» without regard of my face!

(v) The genitive suffix type -QI occurs only very infrequently in my materials, so that its existence as an independent type (rather than a result of some contraction or reduction) cannot yet be taken for granted. The examples are all from the Ā:rsa:rı dialect.

- šıl ğoynularam a:ɡamqı (Är. 12)
  These sheep are also my elder brother's.

¹⁵⁹ Schönig 1999:65 mentions the Salar genitive in -niği as an unusual form; compare also -nilki in the Turfan dialect of modern Uyghur (Yakup 2005:96f.).
• bul oğlanlar kim ki? (Är. 15)
  Whose are these kids?
• yoqarda duran hâ:îlarıñ hemmesi ol a:dam qı. (Är. 38)
  The carpets which are upstairs are all that man's.

(c) Accusative

Table 5-4: Accusative suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem -V / -V:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-I ~ -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ni (Mu.Xa.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-niI ~ -ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The accusative marker of indefinite nouns is the zero suffix, which is necessarily combined with the positioning of the zero-marked noun next to the verb that takes it as indefinite direct object.

• qomanda:nlar hayrata:nnan köp buğday daşadılar. (Är. 14)
  The commanders hauled much wheat across (the) Hayrata:n (checkpoint).
• olan gürgendey qorqdı. (Mu. 1)
  He was frightened as if (he) had seen a snake.

In case of impending misunderstanding, indefinite nouns which serve as direct objects can take the suffix -I / -ni, which otherwise marks the accusative of definite nouns only:

• yağšı > yağšı:nı görmekem soğap diyipdirler. (Är. 10)
  They say, even to (only) see a good (man) is (already a) merit(uous deed).

(ii) Definite nouns, all pronouns, and words and clauses which ad hoc or by definition count as definite, take on an accusative suffix as shown in table 5-4.

The accusative suffixes mostly follow the twofold high vowel harmony. Disharmonic variants of the suffixes occur unfrequently, maybe on an occasional or idiolectal basis only. The suffix variant -ni following nouns with final consonant, which is also mostly disharmonic, is used only in the ND dialects.

• oğlanlar sapağı bilmese či:biqla:p urardılar. (Sa. 4)
  If the kids didn't know the lesson, (the teachers) would cane (them).
• o:di tutašdırıp bilmä:n dir. (Är. 42)
  He was unable to light the fire.
• bu kişi bizin lehjelerimiz u:renyo:r-eken. (Ba. 4)
  This man investigates our dialects.
• soň xalq aytıma:n diGe bir giyyewiñ ö:zini çägiriq-ğoybero:r. (Sa. 3)
  Then without inviting the people they invite (only) the groom himself.
men ömrimsde ġulaːmdey yaman aːdam kürmedim. (Mu. 2)
I have never in my life seen such a bad man as ġulaːm.

(iii) In the xălis dialects, agglutination of the accusative suffix leads to the lengthening of a short final vowel; in the năxălis dialects this lengthening does not occur.

ayrı > asil arwana: šul ayriːni ģoysaŋ iner doğyä:. (Te. 1)
If you allow that two-humped camel to mate with an arwana-camel, an iner-camel will come into being.

ölü > ölini depin etmäːne-de köp xarjı gerek. (Är. 1)
In order to bury a dead person great expenses are necessary.

ölü > bizde xu ölini libaːsi bilen kömmeydiler. (Ba. 5)
At our (place) they don't bury the dead body with his clothes.

orta > tašqulıŋ eline oq tegip kičik ustaxanı mana šu ortani alıp kiten. (Mu. 1)
A bullet hit Tašqul's hand and removed the little bone, this part (I am pointing at).

The final vowel of the Poss3SG suffix (-I or -sI) is in all dialects mostly excluded from lengthening; my materials contain only rare examples with lengthening of a possessive suffix vowel preceding the accusative suffix.

depter+i+ni > ekber aː ga-da širketiniŋ depterini kipaːyat markitde ģoršadi. (Är. 22)
And Ekber Aː ga established the office of his company in the Kipaːyat Market.

dil+i+ni > hibzıŋ maraːmaːmasında her bir milletiŋ haqı baːr-ekeŋ öz ene diliŋi olanmaːga. (Te. 5)
According to the Party's statute every nation has the right to use their own language.

til+i+ni > her kim öz tilini keplemeli. (Te. 7)
Everybody must speak his own language.

yer+i+ni > bi yerini issi görseŋiz mıːmaːndiːwaːla baralı, şo yerde çəːy iːçiːp yatars. (Är. 6)
If you consider this place (of all places) too hot, let's go to the guestroom and drink tea over there!

(iv) The dropping of the accusative suffix vowel after Poss3SG, -InI > -In, which is a familiar phenomenon in the pre-modern Turkmen Turki of Afghanistan, has been observed in the contemporary Äːrsaːrı dialect as well:

jaːnini > bāːš yillaːp jaːnn ayamaːn ɨːraːnda ɨːslendi. (Är. 41)
He worked five years in Iran without sparing himself (lit. his body).

xudaːyberenıŋ täːze huːlın gördinizmi? (Är. 12)
Have you seen Xudaːyberen's new house?

baːdı pāːlwaːŋam aːxır şul oğlaq baːsın iyer. (Är. 10)
In the end this buzkashi will exhaust (lit. eat the head of) Baːdı Pāːlwaːn!

(v) The accusative of the PRON1SG has in the Muqrı dialect been reported as mini 'me':

mini kürip qorqdı (Mu. 1)
He was frightened when he saw me.

My materials do not contain enough examples to decide whether this is a regular form in that dialect, or just an occasional or idiolectal variant.
(d) Dative

**Table 5-5: Dative suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem –V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-A</td>
<td>-V+DAT &gt; -A:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ĞA (Ār.Mu.)</td>
<td>-I:Q (Te.)</td>
<td>-V+DAT &gt; -A:Q / -I:Q (Te. Yo.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The dative suffix in all Afghan Turkmen dialects is -A. Examples: bi:rini dä:kter gërkez- 'to show somebody to the doctor'; suwa git- 'to go to (fetch) water'; turk diline menjes (XD) 'similar to the Turkish language', denzę gólav 'close to the sea'; üič o:ğa:na: bir ğa:win 'one watermelon for three Afghani', sarayi bā:ş yila kirey al- 'to rent the businessplace for five years'.

- itimiz őrä:n paxiːr, hiːkime degen yoːq! (Ār. 5)
  Our dog is utterly gentle, he attacks nobody at all.
- düyyä:niːŋ döːrt yaːsaːrına buwırcı diːyäː. (Te. 1)
  They say buwırcı to the four-year-old (foal) of a camel.

(ii) If the dative suffix follows a stem with a final vowel, that vowel coalesces with the dative suffix vowel into -A: . Examples: alma > alma: 'to the apple', ara > ara: 'to the bee'; giši > gišä: 'to the person', ülke > ülkä: 'to the country', haːli > haːla: 'to the carpet'.

In the Ā:rsaːrı, Yomut and Teke dialects, the dative of the lexeme yer 'place' (and its plural form) is yerä: (yerleri:); with a long suffix vowel; as for the other dialects, examples are hitherto missing. My materials do not contain any other such exceptional forms.

- siz raːs aytəːŋiz, bir yeräː: gitmeg-em aŋsəːt dāːl. (Te. 10)
  You are saying right, it is not easy to go somewhere.
- araːza aːyinda bir yeräː: gidiː-em ĝiːn bolyaːr. (Yo. 1)
  In the month of Ramadan it is difficult to go some place.
- nesiːbe tartıma o yerleriː: gidip bolmaz. (Ār. 5)
  If it is not (one's) lot, one cannot go to these places.

(iii) In the Ā:rsaːrı, Xatap, Olam, and Muqrı dialects the dative suffix -ĞA also occurs, although unfrequently. In the Ā:rsaːrı dialect it might most probably occur under the influence of the pre-modern literary language – its occurrence seems to be confined to the speech of mullahs and literati. In the Muqrı dialect, on the other hand, it may be due to the close relation with neighboring Uzbek dialects.

- birinjiden köːne qalaːğ ərup soŋ aŋəɾi xaːnčaːrbaːğ barıːr. (Ār. 9)
  First we go to the ancient fortress and after that we go to Xaːnčaːrbaːğ over there.
- men mesjidi nebəːɣi haja bariptım. (Ār. 2)
  I had gone to the Prophet's Mosque for hajj.
• biltir a:ta bererge a:rpem qalmegen idi. (Mu. 2)
  Last year not even rye had remained (for us) to give to the horse.

(iv) In the Teke dialect, placenames and relational nouns can take -(I:)Q / -V:Q as dative suffix. My materials contain only a limited number of examples so that the conditions under which this suffix is preferred to the -A-suffix cannot be determined. Examples: bā:ri > bā:ri:k 'hither' (Te.Yo.Sa.), aprı > aprı:q 'beyond', (Te.Yo.Sa) o tayı > o tayı:q 'to that side', ileri > ileri:k 'forward', ğayra > ğayra:q 'backward / south', ičeri > ičeri:k 'into' (Te. Yo.Yem.Sa.).

• biziŋ ata-ba:balarmız inqıla:p yıllarında birinjiden darğanata:q taraplara barıpdırlar, soŋ o yerde durma:n bā:ri:k gelipdirler. (Te. 19)
  Our forefathers first went to Darğanata:q (and) those environs; then they didn't stay there (but) came here.

• biz hemme türk doğanlarmızı bi yeri:k ča:ğirya:s ki gelip görsinler we hemkärlik etsinler. (Te. 11)
  We invite all our Turkic brethren here so that they may come and see and cooperate.

(v) In the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects the dative of a placename need not take any of these suffixes if it immediately precedes a verb bearing the meaning of 'to go to...':

• öten hepde dewlada:ba:d barıp andxoy barıp şu xı:lı ha:lı tapmadıq. (Är. 38)
  Last week we went to Dawlatābād, we went to Andkhoy, (but) we didn't find this type of carpet.

• ye:tim sa:yibı ča:jejewde görmedim, so:rasam marı gidipdir di:iler. (Är. 10)
  I didn't see Ye:tim Sa:yib in Charjou. When I asked, they said he had gone to Marw.

• qawmlar marčaq gelende... (Sa. 3)
  When the tribes came to Marčaq...

(vi) The dative forms of the personal pronouns of 1.SG and 2.SG are in XD dialects maŋa and saŋa; the dative forms of the demonstrative pronouns are oŋa, ŝoŋa etc.

(vii) The dative case combines with postpositions like ġarap 'according to ...' ; čelli ~ čenli ~ čenli:k 'until ..., as far as ...'; deŋ ~ deŋi:č 'until ...'; meŋzeš 'similar to ...'; görä: 'according to ...'; ġara:nda 'compared with ...'; ĝolay 'close to ..., approximately ...'; tarap 'in the direction of ...'; ġaršı 'against ...' (for more details see the chapter on postpositions).

In postposition clauses of this type the dative suffix can be missing:

• iki:mizem andxoy ġara:p yo:la düšdik. (Är. 53)
  We both started our way towards Andkhoy.

(e) Equative / Limitative

Table 5-6: Equative / limitative suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem –V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-čA (~ -šA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

158
(i) All Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have the equative/limitative suffix -čA. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the suffix is occasionally realized as {šA}.

- ora:z, alla:berenče yağšı nimmira almadı. (Te. 15)
  Ora:z did not get as good marks as Alla:beren.
- bir daraxt-za:d-ama: yo:ğ-ekeni aydišlariča (Sa. 3)
  As they say (lit. according to their sayings), there is no tree (or any)thing (there).

The EQT/LIM of 1. and 2.PERSSG may be derived from the nominative as well as the genitive form of the respective pronoun\(^{160}\): menče ~ meniŋče 'like me, to the same degree as I, according to me', senče ~ seniŋče 'like you, to the same degree as you, according to you'.

EQT/LIM forms of the interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have been recorded in different variants: nä:če (Är., Te.) ~ näče (Är.) ~ nä:še (Är.) ~ niče (Mo.) 'how many'; qanča (all) ~ qanša ~ hanča (Är.) 'how much; how many'; onča (all) 'like that'; munča ~ munča (all) 'like this'; šonča (all) 'like this'.

- onča yagmır bolmadı. (Är. 38)
  There was not much rain (lit. rain like that).
- bul xatarlı i:šlere onča ḡošülma:mız am gerek dä:l. (Är. 3)
  We had better not so much mingle with these dangerous matters.

The EQT/LIM often occurs in a lexicalized form in adverbs: bašغاča 'special, particular(ly good)', tä:zeče 'recently', oğri:nča 'secretly'. Some lexicalized forms are derived from a functional or non-functional plural form: möjlerče a:dam 'thousands (of) men', qahrama:nlarča 'in a heroic manner'. The equative forms derived from tribal names have come to denote the linguistic "quality": türkmence geple- 'to speak Turkmen-like = in the Turkmen language' (also fa:rsča 'Persian', özbekče 'Uzbek' etc.). – In lexicalized forms the pronominal n may be missing, most probably under the influence of the premodern literary language or the neighboring Uzbek idioms: qa:nu:n boyunča ~ boyiča (Är.) 'in accordance with the law'.

(ii) The limitative suffixes -dey / -deyin, which do not follow vowel harmony, have been recorded from Muqrı speakers only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EQT/LIM</th>
<th>-dey / -deyin (Mu.Xa.Ba.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-deč / -dağ (Mu. Xa.Ba.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIM</th>
<th>- AčA</th>
<th>-V+LIM &gt; -A:čA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Adeŋ (Xa.Mu.)</td>
<td>deŋi:č</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{160}\) Erdal (2000:42) states that an element (in his particular case, the clitic (y)la 'with') which governs the genitive of (nouns and) pronouns is "unlike case suffixes". In this sense the Turkmen -čA is like and unlike case suffixes.
men ömrimde ğulamdey yaman a:damni kürmedim. (Mu. 2)
I have never in my life seen as bad a man as Ğulam.

biz-xo a:demdeyin birine söz bersek şo sözimidze dormalı. (Mu. 1)
If we give our word to somebody, we have to stand by that word of ours like a man.

(iii) The equative suffix -dek / -dağ has been reported from the Bayat dialect only: bizlerdek 'like us', şundağ 'like that'.

(iii) The combination of the dative in -A with the EQT/LIM suffix -čA is a limitative form which exists in all dialects: erti:reče (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.) 'till next morning', heni:zeče 'until now' (Te.).

From Mazāri Sharif as far as Siyāgird it's probably fifteen kilometers.

ma:mu:rin sa:at tö:rdi:deče i:šliyo:r. (Är. 22)
The clerks work until four o'clock.

gi:je na:waxtača yatasim gelmedi. (Är. 23)
I didn't want to go to bed until late at night.

men altunji sinpača tağana:rqda oqı:dim. (Är. 6)
Until sixth grade I attended school in Tağana:rq.

A long final vowel of the dative, which in its turn is caused by the suffixation of -A to a nominal basis with final vowel, is preserved in the combination:

ni:rä 'where' + DAT > ni:rä: + LIM > şunnan serek ni:rä:če qi:r bolan? (Är. 13)
As far as what place from here is the road paved?

meymene '(the city of) Maymana' + DAT > meymenä: + LIM > qadi:m munnan Meymenä:če-dä:m biz düye tartip bariqgördik. (Är. 39)
(In) olden times we even traveled from here as far as Maymana by camel.

(iv) In the Xatap dialect the combination of DAT in -A with the EQT/LIM suffix -deŋ, which then does not follow vowel harmony, is a limitative form. My materials do not contain examples from the other dialects.

• ta: m:za:nadeŋ şı raqam edip atı baqyo:s. (Xa. 4)
We keep the horse like this until the Libra month.

(v) Clauses containing combinations of verbal nouns and the EQT/LIM suffix -čA, like aydarča ba:r 'it is (important) enough to tell', gördikče 'the more one sees', geli:nčä 'until ... comes' are not discussed here any further.

(f) Locative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem -V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-dA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The locative suffix is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan -dA. Back-front vowel harmony is not thoroughly observed, especially in the nāxālis dialects. Assimilation of the
suffix-initial consonant happens frequently and follows the principles described in the phonology chapter.

Examples for the spatial and temporal meanings of the locative are: ni:rede (Te.) ‘where?’, anırda (Är.) ‘on the other side’, şeyr ičinne ‘in town’ (Te.), da:ğųn ýustinne (Te.) ‘on top of the mountain’; sa:at üçde ‘at 3 o’clock’, i:r zama:nlarda ‘in former times’ (Yo.), ama:nillah xa:nųn waxtinda ‘in the era of Amānullāh Khān’ (Är.); toy bolanda ‘when a feast happens’; günde ‘on (every) day’, aslinda ‘basically’.

- bi di:ričilik de:nç yeri yo:ğ eken! (Är. 1)
  In this life there seems to be no tranquil place.
- ya:zdα hawa: ıssı bolsa ışışda sawiq bolya: diyä:ler. (Te. 16)
  If the weather is hot in summer, it will be cold in winter, they say.
- mende o:n mŏŋ da:lar ba:r. (Är. 53)
  I have 10,000 Dollars on me.
- ġoyunįŋ etinne hatta: sütinne de ya:ğ köp bolmalı. (Te. 5)
  In the sheep's meat and even in its milk the fat is plenty.

(ii) Simple locatives can be used as attributes:

- o:ğanısta:n da:ğlılar qaysı yo:lı ı:zarıyo:rlar? (Är. 9)
  Which style do singers in Afghanistan follow?

More often, however, locative forms take the additional suffix -QI in order to be used as attributive nouns; on that occasion the vowel of the locative suffix is lengthened:

  If we want to enumerate the tribes in Herāt – Yomut, Teke and Sa:rq live (there).
- buwın asma:n da: nuancedilegime yerde duwisdı. (Är. 17)
  Today I have encountered on earth my desire in heaven.

(g) Ablative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>nominal stem -C</th>
<th>nominal stem –V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dAn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The ablative suffix is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan -dAn. Back-front vowel harmony is mostly observed. Assimilation of the suffix-initial consonant occurs under the conditions defined in the phonology chapter. Examples: uzaqdan ‘from afar’, kă:bilen ġayt- ‘to come (back) from Kabul’, a:lamınan öř- ‘to pass away (lit. from the world)’; demirden a:dam ‘a man (made) of iron’; suwıqdan öl- ‘to die from cold’; erti:r waxtdan tur- ‘to get up early’; birden (Är.) ‘all of a sudden’.

The following sample sentences demonstrate different functions of the ablative.

- o:balardan çıqip gelip şeyr ičinne ya:şaya:lar (Te. 6)
  They originated from the villages and have come (to) live down-town.
At that time they did what one (particular) man said and did not let the road pass through the town.

The driver drove 120 km/h on the way (here).

We purchased these sheep for five thousand Afghani each.

Every day (or) every other day one must take a bundle (of hay) (to the horse).

Since this year security is (good), 60% of the students have come (to school).

My head and that memory of mine, thank (God), are by (the help of) Allah sooo strong and sharp!

Animals (kept in the) steppes are tougher than those (bred) at home.

To their own brother (from the same mother), if he is elder than themselves, they say a:ğa.

(ii) Some postpositions take the ablative: di:meden baṣba 'aside from gourds and squashes', elli ya:dan soŋ 'after age 50', onnan soŋ 'after this'; köpden bā:ri 'since long ago (lit. much)'; teke lehjesinnen gôrî: 'compared with the Teke dialect'; bir hepeden ajûri:q 'after one week' (Te.).

In clauses of comparative ablative+soŋ the ablative suffix can be dropped. This happens particularly often with the participial construction -AndAn soŋ : alandan soŋ > alan soŋ 'after (sb.) had taken', gidenden soŋ > giden soŋ 'after (sb.) had left'; but also with singular lexemes such as onson < onnan soŋ 'after that'.

D. Derivative nouns

The line between semantic and grammatical derivation is blurred in the Turkic grammatical and so it is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; a case in point would be the aorist form –Ar which can be meaningfully interpreted as both. In this chapter only more or less positive cases of semantic derivation are discussed, while grammatical derivation is discussed in the respective subchapters on morphology. Most examples quoted below are to a certain degree lexicalized. Fully productive derivational suffixes have been marked with an X (e.g. X-da:A:QI).

(a) Denominal nouns

-čIl generates adjectives which render the basic meaning 'well provided with X', 'rich in X', 'particularly interested in X'. Examples: ġayği 'sorrow' > ġayğičil ene 'a caring mother', edeb 'manners' > edebčil šä:girt 'a disciple with good manners', gep 'word, conversation' > gepčil ġarrı 'a chatty old man', et 'meat' > etčil 'carnivore', etčil a:dam 'a man who is keen on eating meat'.

X-da:A:QI which is actually a composite of Loc+QI, turns locatives into attribuables. Examples: öy 'house' > öydä:ki yaxča:l 'the refrigerator at home', o:ba 'village' > o:bada:qi hu:li:mız 'our house in the village'.

162
X-jA generates diminutives of adjective nouns, often connoting intensity of the semantic property, and/or affection on the part of the speaker. Examples: kiči 'small' > kičije 'very small, fairly small', olı 'big' > olıjağlım 'my (dear) big boy'.

-jAQ like -jA; occurs only in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. Examples: ümsım 'silent, non-budging' > ümsümjek ağlan 'a silent boy', yılı 'lukewarm' > yılıjağ su: 'nice and warm water'.

-jAŋ generates adjectives which denote characteristics positively related to the meaning of the nominal basis. Examples: i:š 'labor, work' > i:šjeŋ i:šji 'a hard-working toiler', huwes 'enthusiasm' > huwesjeŋ a:dam 'an enthusiastic person'.

-X-I generates the meaning 'originating from X', which is generally attributable to human beings only. Examples: kä:billi mıxma:nlar 'the guests from Kabul', maza:rli 'from Mazârı Şarîf', o:balı gi:z 'a village girl', çölli xalq 'desert people'.

-X-İQ (following a noun that denotes a timespan) generates the meaning 'of/for such-and-such time'. Examples: gün 'day' > bä:š günlik ömir 'life (which lasts only) for five days', yıl 'year' > iki yıllıq zehmet 'the hard work of two years'.
-da:r : 'having X, equipped with X'. Examples: ilim 'knowledge, literacy' > ilimda:r 'literate' (which does not exist in the Afghan Persian lexicon), otrum 'settlement' > otrumda:r 'settled, equipped with settlements'.

Some copied affixes are productively used in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, while the Teke dialect employs other means to generate the respective meaning:

bed- : 'provided with a bad X'. Examples: axlaq 'morals' > bedaxlaq giši (Är.) ~ axlaqgisız giši (Te.) 'an immoral person', ğilq 'character' > bedğilq (Är.) ~ ğilqgisız (Te.) 'vicious'.

bi:- : 'X-less'. Examples: na:mis 'honor' > bi:na:mis (Är.) ~ na:missız (Te.) 'dishonorable, dishonored', gerek 'necessary' > bi:gerek (Är.) ~ gereg dä:l (Te.) 'unnecessary'.

na:- : 'un -X'. Examples: beled 'knowing the place' > na:beled (Är.) ~ belet dä:l (Te.) 'a stranger to the place', doğrı 'right' > na:doğrı (Är.) ~ doğrı dä:l (Te.) 'wrong'.

(b) Deverbal nouns

-AĞAn : generates adjectives which bear the meaning 'doing X frequently, intensely, habitually'. Examples: gül 'to laugh' > gülegen oğlan 'a child that laughs a lot, a well-tempered child', i:- 'to eat' > i:yegen ğoyun 'a sheep that eats a lot', ur- 'to hit' > urağan a:dam 'a man who uses to beat'.

-(A)Q : 'habitually doing X, inclined towards doing X'. Examples: u:laq 'to sleep' > u:laq ča:ğa 'a child that sleeps more than usual', orış- 'to hassle' > orışaq ğoyun 'a quarrelsome woman', qorq- 'to fear' > qorqaq oğlan 'a fearful child', ya:r- 'to tear to pieces' > ya:raq küjük 'a rapacious dog'.

-ArmAn : 'inclined to do X, ready to do X'. Examples: ğa:l- 'to remain' > ğa:lanman mi:xma:n 'a guest who is going to stay overnight', et- 'to do' > edermen sâ:girt 'a capable disciple', gî: 'to leave' > gidermen mi:sa:p 'a traveller who is about to leave'.

-ĞAQ : ' -ing, -y'. Examples: yapıš- 'to stick (to)' > yapıšğaq ıla:y 'sticky clay', bez- 'to shy away' > bezgek ğoyun 'a shy sheep'.

X-(I)ĞI : generates adjectives that convey the meanings 'which can X', 'which ought to be X' or 'which has already been X'; mind the inherently passive/reflexive character of the derivative. Examples: et- 'to do' > ediği (Är.) ~ edilğı (Te.) iš 'work that needs to be done', min- 'to ride' > miniği (Är.) ~ miniği (Te.) at 'a broken horse', yu:- 'to wash' > yuviği (Är.) ~ yuviği (Te.) ga:zan 'a cauldron that has been washed', pa:yıla:- 'to distribute' > pa:ylağlı (Är.) ~ pa:ylağı (Te.) yer 'lands that have been / need to be distributed'. (For details on metathesis and dialectal difference, cf. 4.3.4.a.i.)

-Ğın : generates adjectives whose meaning is the 'result of action X'. Examples: yapıš- 'to stick (to)' > yapıšğın ıla:y 'sticky clay', bez- 'to shy away' > bezgek ğoyun 'a shy sheep'.

161 Johanson 2005:154f. mentions a "deverbal adjective –EGEn" denoting "intensity, duration, iteration and habituality" for, among others, the Turkmen language. My materials would not support the element of duration, but does support all others.

162 The [n] is a result of haplology prevention.
-jaŋ : 'inclined to do X'. Examples: uyal- 'to be bashful' > uyaljaŋ oğlan 'a bashful child', başar- 'to succeed' > başarjaŋ mä:l 'a successful teacher', yalin- 'to flatter' > yalinjaŋ gişi 'a flatterer person'.
-msAQ (rare) : 'incessantly doing X'. Examples: geple- 'to talk' > geplemsek a:dam 'a talkative man', çöple- 'to pick' > çöplemsek a:dam 'a picky man'.

5.1.2 Pronouns

(a) Personal pronouns: First person

Table 5-7 : Personal pronouns (1.PERS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>1ST SINGULAR</th>
<th>1ST PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>meniŋ ~ meniŋ (XD.)</td>
<td>biziŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKK</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>bizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>maŋa ~ menge (Mu.Xa.Ba.)</td>
<td>bize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQT</td>
<td>menče ~ meniŋče (Te.Yo.Yem.)</td>
<td>bizče ~ biziŋče (Te. Yo.Yem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>mende ~ menne (Te.Yo. Yem.)</td>
<td>bizde (all) ~ bizze (Te.Yo.Yem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>menden ~ mennen (Är.Te.Sa.)</td>
<td>bizden (all) ~ bizzen (Te. Yo.Yem)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unless otherwise specified, the forms quoted in the table exist in all dialects. The dative, like in many Turkic languages, has the special back-vowel form maŋa. The EQT/LIM form may or may not take the genitive suffix, without obvious difference of meaning or function. The assimilated and reduced variants (menne, meŋ etc.) follow the principles discussed in the phonology chapter.

(i) The personal pronouns for first persons are men, biz and bizler. The usage of the 1.PERS personal pronouns is in the Turkmen dialects less restricted than in many other Turkic idioms, with the Teke and Yomut dialects applying the pronouns most liberally. Regardless of personal markers like possessive suffixes, personal suffixes or finite verbs which co-exist in a phrase/sentence, the pronouns are mostly used in unstressed as well as stressed (thema or
rhema) position. Kinship-related phrases appear to generally necessitate the mentioning of the personal pronoun to denote the possessor.

- oroz čopanda:z ya:ni gü:či čopanda:z henizeče biz görenmiz yo:q. (Är. 38)
  We have to date not seen (another) buzkashi player as powerful as Oroz čopanda:z.
- men hemme za:di i:ya:n, hi:č danna:mo:q! (Te. 18)
  I eat everything, I am not picky!
- yo:q, marıdan dä:lı, bızın ata:balarımız ta:šhawızdan gelen. (Yö. 1)
  No, not from Marı – our forefathers came from Ta:šhawız.
- meniŋ ata:m uzı:n boylı a:dam-di. (Te. 19)
  My father was a tall man.
- bızın ba:balarımız (...) beši:r ğıšlağınnan o:ğa:nısta:na hijret edip dirler. (Är. 7)
  Our forefathers have migrated from the village of Beši:r to Afghanistan.
- meniŋ oğlım her ha:lda tib oqı:šı gerek. (Är. 15)
  My son must in any case go for medical studies.
- Kelderde-hem meniŋ bir dayzam ba:r. (Är. 3)
  I have an aunt in Kelder.

(ii) The pronoun men denotes a single first person.

- men sekiz yıldan bâ:ri berhi:z etyä:n. (Te. 8)
  I have been keeping to a diet since eight years.
- men yetti ya:šımda:qı:m enem ölipti. (Är. 40)
  When I was seven years old my mother died.
- meniŋ pikrimä görä: watannan ayrılmaq iŋ yaman za:tlarıŋ bi:ri. (Te. 6)
  According to my opinion, being separated from one's homeland is one of the worst things.
- ağšam meni čiya:n čoqdı. (Är. 26)
  (Last) night a scorpion stung me.

(iii) Things are not as simple as that in the cases of biz and bizler. A group of (single) first persons is mostly denoted by biz (often with the extension (h)em).

- biz-em yığağa dö:rt bolip bardıq. (Te. 5)
  We went to the meeting as (a group of) four.
- biz-em çaghbada ğa:lp suwa düšen sıçaŋ ya:nu boldıq. (Är. 40)
  We got caught in the rain and were (drained) like mice fallen into the water.
- biz ol yerä: sa:ğat sekize barmalı. (Te. 6)
  We need to go there at 8 o'clock.
- biz-em ba:zar orta: ešek minnik. (Yö. 1)
  We rode on horseback as far as the bazaar.

A plurality of first persons understood as a collective is generally denoted by biz (hem). In the ND the usage of biz seems to be less liberal than in the XD.

- biz-em ğa:ša:qda kän ašıq oyna:rdıq. (Te. 3)
  In (our) childhood we [= the kids of our neighborhood] used to extensively play with knucklebones.
- biz mekteb oqasar-da pa:rsımı ğawi bilemmiz:q. (Te. 20)
Even if we [= the Teke people] study (in) school we don't know Persian well.

- **bizde** mele čä:kmen köprü:k ya:sohîlar giyä:. (Te. 19)
  At ours it is mostly the elders who put on gold-colored cloaks.

- **biz** tekereder sh xi:1 jorap doqaya:lar. (Te. 12)
  At us, the Teke's, they knit this type of stockings.

- **bizde-xu** ölini liba:si bilen kömmeydiler, hetmen kefen qıładlar. (Ba. 5)
  At ours they don't bury the dead body with garments; they definitely wrap him in a shroud.

- **bize** bir juma: günnen başğa rusğatı yo:q. (Te. 14)
  For us there are no days off aside from Friday.

In the Ä:rsa:rı, Muqri, Xatap and Bayat dialects a plurality of first persons understood as a collective can also be denoted by the pronoun **bizler**:

- **biller** nâ:mi:š edibilers. (Är. 4)
  What can we do... .

- köprü:g onda:m šil **billeq** türkmenlemmize kömek edilse. (Är. 36)
  And if then more (than anyone else) our Turkmens were supported!

- **bizler** a:ta-ba:walarmız bir yerde bolar:ı. (Mu. 1)
  Our forefathers have been (living) at the same place.

- özbek-em bolsa **bizlerdek** gepuredi şiyem. (Ba. 3)
  Although he is an Uzbek, he speaks like us.

- diiri:werleriŋ ö:zi bä:zi:si oqi:çilirmiza kömek etyo:, yä:ni: **bizlerden** pul almiyo:r. (Xa. 2)
  The drivers themselves, some of them, support our students, that is, they don't take money from us.

Explicit singularity of individuals within a group of first persons has in rare cases also been reported as expressed by **bizler**:

- soŋ šo gi:je birbeje gelip **billeriŋ** saqgal-mirı:dımızı sı:rip gitdi. (Är. 14)
  Then that night at one o'clock (they) came and shaved everybody's beard and moustaches.

In all dialects the pronoun **biz** is in modest speech used for a single first person:

- **biz** ni:rede bolsağ-am sizden xabar aljaq bolars. (Te. 6)
  Wherever I am [= 1SGMODEST] I [= I] try to keep track of you [= 2SGRESP].

In the Är.Sa.Mu.Ba.Xa. dialects the pronoun **bizler (hem)** expresses modesty:

- **biller-em** altnişi simpaça marçaqda mekdep oqadıq. (Sa. 3)
  I attended school in Marçaq up to sixth grade.

- şuni učin **bizlerıni** wlanwa:l sa:yib tiletipdi. (Mu. 1)
  Therefore the district chief summoned me.
(b) Personal pronouns: Second person

Table 5-8: Pronouns second person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN seniŋ sen (Te.Yo.Yem)</th>
<th>ACC seni</th>
<th>DAT saŋa (ND)</th>
<th>EQT/LIM senče seniŋče</th>
<th>LOC sende ~ senne (Te.Yo.Yem.)</th>
<th>ABL senden ~ sennen (Te.Yo.Yem.Är.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>sizi (XD) ~ sizni (ND)</td>
<td>sizi</td>
<td>sise</td>
<td>sizče</td>
<td>sizde</td>
<td>sizden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siz</td>
<td>sizleri (XD) ~ sizlerni (ND)</td>
<td>sizleri</td>
<td>sizlere ~ illere (Är.)</td>
<td>sizerde (Är.Sa.ND) ~ sillerde (Är.)</td>
<td>sizerde (ND)</td>
<td>sillerden (Är.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sizler</td>
<td>siller (Är.Sa.) ~ siller (Är.)</td>
<td>silleri</td>
<td>silleriŋče</td>
<td>sizerče</td>
<td>sizerde (ND)</td>
<td>sillerde (Är.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unless otherwise indicated, all forms are used in all dialects. The dative is the back-vowel word *saŋa*; the parallel form *siŋe* has been reported in the Är.Mu.Ba.Xa. dialects. The EQT/LIM may or may not take the genitive suffix (*senče ~ seniŋče, sizče ~ siziŋče*), without obvious difference in meaning or function. The assimilated forms (*senne* etc.) follow the principles described in the phonology chapter.

The postposed particle *-hem* or derivates of it (*-Am*), or (in rare cases) its equivalent *-dA*, can be added without any obvious change in meaning.

(i) The personal pronoun *sen* denotes single second persons who are addressed without particular respect, such as children and minors, subalterns, subordinates; irreverence or disrespect is not generally involved, but the social position of the addressed person equals that of the speaker at best. Unfamiliarity would in the Är. and ND dialects exclude a person from being addressed as *sen*.

When a third person's address to ego is quoted, the respective personal pronoun directed on ego is also often quoted as *sen* irrespective of the actual form that had been used in the address:

- bu yerdeadik:ği şä:girdlerimin hi:č haysi **sennen** ökde dä:1 di:di. (Te.)  
  He said (to me), none of my students here is more intelligent than you.
- tuja:rat etjek bolsaŋ **senne** şunča pul barmi di:di. (Te. 7)  
  He said (to me), if you want to go in for trade – do you have so much money (available)?!

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the pronoun *sen* has been reported as functioning as an impersonal pronoun:

- **sen** bir gitsen iki yılača gelesiŋ yo:q. (Är. 45)  
  If you go (to Iran for work), you won't come back for as much as two years.
(ii) The pronoun *siz* is directed on a plurality of persons without particular regard to their individual social positions towards the speaker:

- **siz** hemmä:ŋiz mehessilmi? (Te. 15)
  Are you all students?
- **siz** hemmelerŋiz aša:qı ta:mda yatıŋ. (Är. 1)
  All of you (guests), (please) retire to rest in the room downstairs!

The pronoun *siz* is also applied when addressing a single person with respect or deference, for example because of his superior social position. In the Teke dialect, the usage of *siz* (as opposed to *sen*) appears to be more restricted than, for example, in the Ä:rsa:ri dialect.

- **sizi** bi:ri derġä:p gelipdir. (Är. 11)
  Somebody has come in quest of you.
- **siziŋ** tö:rt sa:ni oğlıŋiz baːr, šüyle däːlmi? (Är. 19)
  You have four sons, isn't it?
- **siz** ikraːma nesiːhat beriʁ oturmaːŋ, yaqımı yoːq şoŋ. (Är. 1)
  Don't waste your time on giving advice to Ikraːm, he is no good.
- **siz** bil iːşin hōtdeسين gelip bilmejek bolsaŋiz öŋnen aydıŋ. (Te. 3)
  If you can't see this piece of work through, tell (me) from the beginning.

In the Ä:rsa:ri dialect, quotations containing an address to oneself can be rendered as *siz* (rather than *sen*) if that was the original address:

- **siz** qaysı qawmnan bolyoːsınüz diyip soːradı. (Är. 7)
  He asked me, which tribe are you from.
- **siz** piʃaːriŋiz bolsa yımırta hem köp iːmäːŋ. (Är. 17)
  If you have (high) blood pressure, don't eat (too) many eggs.
- **siz** bir sapar xalqi aldasaŋiz soŋ hemiːse **size** manmayaːlar. (Te. 16)
  If you deceive the people once, then they will never (again) trust you.
- **siz** bir rewʃen bir giʃi bosaŋiz mawlaːn qomandaːn **siz** bilen ḡatu geliʃyoːr-ʁ-ti derrew. (Är. 6)
  If you were an educated person Mawlaːn Qomandaːn would quickly come to terms with you.

(iii) The pronoun *sizler*, which is more commonly used in the Ä:rsa:ri dialect than in the others, is directed on a plurality of second persons whose social position is perceived as (slightly or distinctly) inferior of the speaker's position. Even a connotation of disrespect can be contained in this form of address.

- **sizler** näːçe giʃi bolıp bir huːlda yaːʃayaːsınüz? (Te. 14)
  How many persons are you living in this compound?
- **sizler** qačan marčaq barjaq? (Sa. 2)
  When are you guys going to Marčaq?

- hä:zir men **sizlere** ayiq-ayiq edip aydip bereyin. (Är. 42)
  Now I am going to tell you (everything) in detail.

- **silleriň** hemme ma:liňiz (...) bir motara degmiyo:r di:di. (Är. 12)
  All of your possessions, he said, does not equal one car.

- men şo pille-dä:m aytdim, **sizleriň** bul i:šiňiz yalňış di:dim. (Är. 19)
  I told (them immediately) at that time, what you are doing is wrong, I said.

(c) Personal pronouns: Inclusive

(i) In the Turkmen dialects there are two variants of a personal pronoun that includes first and second persons of which apparently at least one is imagined as an actual plurality: *siz-bizler* and *biz-sizler*.

* ya: bolmasa **siz-bizler** yip diyo:rs, olar bosa üp diyo:r. (Är. 1)
  Or other than that, you and us, we say *yip* ('thread'), while they say *üp*.

* hä: **biz-sizler** bul diyo:rs ya: şol diyo:rs. (Är. 12)
  Well, we say *bul* or *şol*.

(ii) An inclusive personal pronoun composed of *sen* and *men*, such as exists in some neighboring non-Turkmen dialects, has not been recorded in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan.

(d) Demonstrative pronouns / adjectives

In the Turkmen dialects there are three basic types of demonstrative pronouns with their respective phonetic variants and extended basic forms: *bu*, *o* and *šu*. The demonstrative pronouns also substitute the personal pronoun of the third person. The unmarked forms of the demonstrative pronouns, and the equative-limitative form of it, function as demonstrative adjectives.

The table shows only variants which are represented in my materials; most probably there exist even more variants than these, but they have not been recorded in actual speech. Unless otherwise indicated, the indicated forms exist in all dialects.

### Table 5-9: Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONSG</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>*bu</th>
<th>*o</th>
<th>*šu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bul ~ bil (Te.Är.Yo.) ~ bil (ND)</td>
<td>o ~ o: (Är.) ~ ho:1 (Te.Yo.)</td>
<td>Šul ~ şol (Te.Är.Sa.) ~ şl (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bı (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>šı (Är.Te.) ~ şo (Är.) ~ šu (Te.Sa.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bul-am (Är.) / bul-da (Är.Te.Yo.)</td>
<td>ol-am (Te.Yo.Är.)</td>
<td>šı-yem (Ba.Mu.Xa.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(i) The demonstrative pronoun 'this', which refers to an object which is locally or mentally close to the speaker, has been reported in its simple NOMSG form *bu only in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect (as bt) and is very rare there, too:

- **bı** nä: görgit boldı. (Är. 6)
  What a nuisance is this!

The extended variant *bul (all dialects) ~ *bil (Te.Är.Yo.) ~ *bil (Är.) is the standard demonstrative pronoun for near deixis in all dialects.

When used as a PRONPERS3, in the näxālis dialects the simple demonstrative pronoun *bu is in polite speech replaced by *bu kişi or *bu kişiler:

- türkmen tilden (...) bir netije alar eken-de *bu kişiler. (Mu. 1)
  He is drawing conclusions from the Turkmen language.

(ii) The pronoun o 'that', which refers to more distant objects and to objects previously mentioned, and its extended variant *ol, are in universal usage in the dialects.

- sizinin şeri:atınızda yo:ğ ol, di:di, čunki yo:ğ ö bizde. (Är. 2)
  This does not exist in your sharia law, he said, because it does not exist at ours.

The Ä:rsa:rı dialect has yet another variant with lengthened vowel (o:l), which bears a stronger stress; in the Teke dialect a similarly stressed variant is ho:l with h-prothesis.

(iii) The pronoun šu 'that' and its extended variant *šul (all dialects) ~ *šol (Te.) ~ *šıl (Är.), which refers to absent objects on one hand, and to objects that are immediately being pointed to, on the other, are used in all dialects.

- *šul zi:ğir ya:ğın palawı! (Är. 6)
  This (one here) is sesame oil pilaff!

(iv) The forms bitgi and šotğ have by informants from the town of Qarqın (which belongs to the Ä:rsa:rı complex) and by other Ä:rsa:rı dialect speakers been postulated as replacing *bil and *šıl respectively, in the (Ä:rsa:r) regiolect of Qarqın. However, I have not been able to record examples from natural speech which contain these variants.

- šotğ:ni aliqgel disek şonı aliqgel diyenmiz bolyo:r. (Qa. 1)
  If we say šotğ:ni aliqgel ('bring that one!'), (that is) our way of saying şonı aliqgel.
- bitgi diyo:rs bil dijegne. ana şol ya:naq ortasinda lehjeler parx etyo:r. (Qa. 1)
  We say bitgi instead of saying bil. Like that the dialects differ among themselves.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONPL</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>bitgi (Qa.)</th>
<th>šotğ (Qa.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bular</td>
<td>olar</td>
<td>šolar (Är.)</td>
<td>šılar (Yo.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yeah, we-and-you say bil or şol, they say bitti instead of saying bil. Instead of saying şol they say şotti-şotti. (That's) the way (how things are) among them.

(v) In all dialects, supplying the demonstrative pronoun with the enclitic particle da and/or its Persian-origin equivalent hem (which can follow vowel harmony and often loses its initial [h]), both of which are in these cases devoid of their original meaning ('also'), is a common phenomenon: bul-am, şolar-da, şi-yem etc. Actually, the variants containing the particle are in natural speech more frequently used than those without, so that one may consider these forms as "pronouns in statu nascendi".

(vi) The demonstrative/personal pronoun plural forms are bolar, olar and şolar in all dialects, with first syllable high vowel variants (bilar etc.) occurring in some of the dialects (see table above).

(vii) The declension of the demonstrative pronouns shows some differences between the dialects. The table below may be incomplete; it does not render an ideal full paradigm, but only those forms which have been recorded in my materials and can therefore be safely postulated.

The bases for declined demonstrative pronouns are mostly the simple variants *bu, o and şu; only the Teke form bulya:lı 'like this' is based on the extended variant bul. – The possessive and case suffixes follow the simple variants of the pronouns only after the pronominal n: onı:mız 'that one of ours', onı 'that much', şonı:ŋız 'that one of yours'.

**Table 5-10: Declension of the demonstrative pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>*bu</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>şu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>munıŋ</td>
<td>onıŋ</td>
<td>şunıŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. bilarıŋ (Är.)</td>
<td>onıŋ ~ onıŋ (Är.ND.)</td>
<td>şunıŋ ~ şonıŋ ~ şunıŋ (Sa.) ~ şonı (Te.Yo.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oŋqi (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>şuni (Mu.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. olaŋ (Te.Yo.)</td>
<td>Pl. olaŋqi (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>mını (Är.)</td>
<td>onı</td>
<td>şonı (Är.) ~ şonı (Är.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. biları (Är.)</td>
<td>Pl. olaŋı ~ olaŋı (Sa.)</td>
<td>şonı (Är.) ~ şuni (Är.)</td>
<td>şotti:ni (Qa.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>mıŋa ~ moŋa (Är.)</td>
<td>oŋa (Te.Är.Yo.)</td>
<td>şuŋa (Te.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EQT/LIM</td>
<td>monča (Är.) ~ munča (Är.Te.) ~ munča (Te.)</td>
<td>onča (Är.)</td>
<td>şunča (Te.) ~ şonča (Är.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mnya:ni ~ munya:ni (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>şonya:lı (Te.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bulya:lı (Te.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>şundağ (Ba.Mu.Xa.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>büyle (Är.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(viii) Almost all declined forms of the pronoun *bu have initial [m] : EQT/LIM monča ~ munča (Är.) 'so much, so many', LOC munda ~ munna 'here, at this point', ABL mundan ~ munnan ~ minnan (Är.).

(ix) The postpositions which follow the nominative of nouns can in all dialects follow either the nominative or the genitive of pronouns: o bilen ~ onųŋ-bilen 'with that, with him', šo bilen ~ šonųŋ-bilen 'with that one over there'; onya:ni ~ onųŋ-ya:ni 'like that, like him'; šunya:mi / šunųŋ-ya:mi.

(x) The phrase onnan soŋ (Är.) 'after that' is often used as a filler in the sentence-initial position. It exists in various contracted variants: onsonųŋ (Är. Sa.), osonųŋ (Yo. Sa.).

(xi) The EQT/LIM forms bear, along with their primary meaning 'this much etc.', also the meaning 'very much': onča rawa:j dä:l 'It is not very usual.'

(xii) Demonstrative pronouns are in sentence-final position used as emphasizers which underline the correctness, relevance etc. of the statement in total (rather than bearing an actual anaphoric function):163

- yağšı atadan dörä:n oğlan xo:y-xıslatınnan bildıryo:r ol. (Är. 1) The child procreated from a good father will be identified by his character and qualities!
- xalqı aldamaq onųŋ gözine topır ormaq hi:č bir mezhebde dürüş dä:l ol. (Är. 2) It is not okay according to any sect to deceive the people and throw dust in their eyes!
- piša:r yaramaz za:d eken bul. (Te. 10) (High) blood pressure is a nasty thing!

(xiii) A demonstrative pronoun separating thema and rhema exposes the thema; syntactically, it should resume the function of the thema element:

- ġurbaqqa sayrasa šol ya:ziŋ niša:nası bolyor. (Är. 12) When the frogs croak, that's the indicator of spring.

(xiv) When used as demonstrative adjectives, all extended variant types (bul, ol and šol) are represented in the dialects; out of the simple forms, the bu and šu types are as adjectives universally used in the dialects.

163 Erdal (2004:414) suggests that in some Old Turkic cases a pronoun ol in the end of both nominal and verbal predicates "seems to function like a copula" while in some cases its source may be a "topicalizing structure". The latter explanation is most plausible for our (Te. 10) example. Erdal's information (2004:234) that "in 3rd persons we often find the [postposed, I assume] pronoun ol, even when there is an explicit subject" is interesting for comparison with the phenomenon described here.
Table 5-11: Demonstrative adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM ADJ</th>
<th>bul (Är.ND.) ~ bıl (Är.Te.)</th>
<th>ol (XD) ~ o:l (Är.) ~ ho:l (Te.)</th>
<th>şol (Är.Te.Sa.) ~ şul (Är.Te.) ~ şıl (Är.)</th>
<th>şol-şu (Är.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu ~ bı (Är.Te.Yo.) ~ bı (Är.)</td>
<td>o (Te.)</td>
<td>şu (Är.Te.Sa.Xat.) ~ şo (Är.Te.Sa.) ~ şı (Är.Te.) ~ şı (Te.Yo.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(xv) A demonstrative adjective type o has in its simple form been reported only in the Teke and Yomut dialects. The extended variant ol, on the other hand, is present in all dialects and appears also as a lengthened variant o:l in the Ä:rsa:rı , and ho:l with vowel lengthening and h-prothesis, in the Teke dialect; the latter forms bear special stress:

- ba:la:po:šıŋızı ho:l yerde ḡoyandırn. (Te. 14)
  I have stored your overcoat away over theeeere.
- ol a:dami gördıŋmi? (Är. 24)
  Can you see that man over there?

(xvi) Contraction leads to spontaneous forms like b-a:dam 'this man' (Te.), ş-oğlan 'this boy' (Te.) and, primarily in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, to quasi-lexicalized forms like bül < bu yil 'this year', şü:l < şu yil 'this year', bö:rä: < *bu yere 'here (DAT)', şö:rde < *şu yerde 'here' (LOC), şüwin 'today' < *şu gün, etc.

(xvii) All demonstrative adjectives can have their deictic function stressed by a preposed presentative interjection mana or ana:

- Tašqulıŋ eline oq tegip kičik ustaxanı mana şu ortanı alıp kiten. (Mu. 1)
  A bullet has hit Tašqul's hand and has taken away the little bone, this place (which I am pointing at).
  These things here, we construct here ourselves; those over there on the other hand, they are fake, (they) come from Pakistan.

(xviii) As opposed to the demonstrative pronoun type şu, which operates for distant deixis, the demonstrative adjective şu and its variants refer to objects that are close to speaker and addressee, and can literally be pointed at:

- şı dayza:n-a:m motarımında alıp gitjekmi? (Är. 7)
  Are you taking this elderly woman (to which I am pointing) along, too?
- ş-oğlani göryo:miŋ? meniŋ yegenim bolya:r. (Te. 3)
  Do you see that boy over there? (He) is my nephew.

The demonstrative adjective type şu often serves as a simple affirmative, without bearing an actually demonstrative function (not unlike the word "that" in English):

- bizleŋ i:šimiz şı mu:zzannan soŋ köp bolyo:. (Är. 41)
  Our work is much after that Libra (month)!
• ba:di pà:lwa:nñ am a:xir šul oğlaq başın iyer. (Är. 10)
  That buzkashi is finally going to ruin Ba:di Pà:lwa:n!

(xix) The reduplicated demonstrative adjective šol-šu 'this very ...' has been reported in the Ä:rsa:rî dialect only.

• šol-šu wàxta:na ayağna bir ینxe gi:ren eken. (Är.1)
  At that very moment a needle got stuck in his foot.

(xx) Sequence of demonstrative pronouns / adjectives

If a sentence or a connected set of sentences contains more than one demonstrative elements – pronoun(s) or adjective(s) – a particular sequence appears to be observed. My material is not very rich in examples; the given examples contain the sequence types o >> šu and šu >> bu.

• o:l a:dami gördinmi? uzi:n a:dami, šol yağşi čopanda:z. (Är. 24)
  Have you seen that man? The tall man. He is the good buzkashi player.

• onì gö:zi gö:k hä:ki:m di:yo:tılar, šo wàxta:a:za:jıq šonì bilyo:r ekeni:m. (Är. 6)
  They call him "the blue-eyed officer". At that time I used to know that one a bit.

• onìŋ oğlı šul o:bada ya:šıyor, yö:ne ö:zi bö:rde yo:o. (Är. 34)
  His son lives in this village, but he himself is not here.

(e) Reflexive pronouns / adjectives

(i) The reflexive pronoun is in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan ö:z- 'self'.

(ii) The reflexive pronoun is supplied with the possessive suffixes to indicate the person and number. In the Ä:rsa:rî dialect POSS1PERSPL and POSS2PERSPL of the reflexive pronoun occur with and without plural suffix: ö:zimiz ~ ö:zlermiz 'ourselves', ö:ziŋiz ~ ö:zlerŋiz 'yourselves'. Although as a rule the vowel of the possessive suffix is high and unrounded, occasional cases of rounding have been found in the xalıṣ dialects:

• ö:zi ölennen soŋ ikita:plara:m asta:a:sta tozıpdı́r. (Är. 1)
  After he himself has died, his books are also bit by bit scattered.

• ö:rde özlerŋı̈z-em paxta eko:yı̈:xı̈m? (Är. 39)
  Do you also grow cotton there yourselves?

• suwa zı̈ŋo:r ö:zi:ni, tapıp šol oğlanı tapo:r. (Te. 13)
  He throws himself into the water and finds that boy.

• qırq künde a:t ö:zi:ni yetiryo:r. (Mu. 2)
  In fourty days the horse recovers (lit., itself).

• ö:züm doqadim ši ha:lı:ni. (Yo. 2)
  I myself have woven this carpet.

(iii) The declension of the reflexive pronoun regularly includes the pronominal n; assimilation phenomena (ö:zinnem etc.) occur as described in the phonology chapter.

(iv) In the nominative case the reflexive pronoun is often supplied with the respective personal pronoun without an obvious change in meaning:
meji:de yaz di:sem erinip etmedi, a:xir xati men özim yazdım. (Är. 13)
I said to Meji:d, "write!", but he was lazy and didn't do (it); in the end I wrote the letter myself.

biz özimiz şu i:şı tejirbe edip gördik. (Är. 37)
We have ourselves tried that work out.

siz özijiz aytmasanız hi:ckim gambarzda bolmaz. (Te. 2)
If you don't tell, nobody will care for you.

ol nemedä:m aslan öz: z qawmlığna arab, yö:ne özbeki gepliyö:r. (Är. 1)
He is himself (for) whatever (reason) actually an Arab by ethnicity, but he speaks Uzbek all the same.

(v) In order to draw special stress to a phrase, the respective simple clause can be extended into a possessor-possessed construction in which the reflexive pronoun is the head and bears the case marker of the respective satellite:

*men > meniq özim gaytadan yene bazara barmali boldim. (Är. 29)
I myself (then) had to go to the bazaar once over.

*marçaqdan > ha:lı şu Marçagız özinnen çıqo:r. (Sa. 2)
The (best) carpets emerge from that very Marçaq.

*rozgeldi > intejik sabır etseniz rozgeldinin özä:m bı meselä:ni çözer. (Är. 2)
If you are a little bit patient, Rozgeldi himself will solve this problem.

(vi) The reflexive adjective öz exists in all dialects but is only restrictively used.

ḡoyunlarıŋ ḡolağna tamğa basyo:rlar soŋ herkim öz ḡoynı 164 tamğasinnan taniyo:r. (Är. 12)
They print a mark on the ears of the sheep and then everyone identifies his own sheep by their earmarks.

öz tilinjizde aytweriŋ. (Mu. 1)
Talk in your own language!

(f) Interrogative pronouns / adjectives

In the interrogatives there is quite a bit of lexical and/or phonological variation among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan; for details on this, see the respective subchapters.

(i) Some interrogatives are in the Turkmen dialects used as pronouns as well as adjectives. However, the dialects may differ in usage to the effect that some interrogatives are preferrely used as a pronoun in one, and as an adjective in other dialects: nä: (Är.) 'What, which' and its extended variant nä:me (Är.Te.); qaysı (Är.Mu.Xa.Ba.) ~ haysı (Te.Yo.Sa.Yem.) 'Which'; nä:ce (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.Yem) ~ ni:ce (Mu.Xa.Ba.) 'how many, how much'; qanča (Är.Te.Yo.Sa.) ~ qanša (Är.); nä:hi:lı (Är.)165 ~ nä:hi:li (Te.Yo.Sa.) 'how, of what kind'. In the declined forms, phonotactic phenomena such as lengthening of vowels, contraction, and assimilation occur as described in the phonology chapter. The interrogatives are often used in rhetorical

164 In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the lexeme ḡoyun 'sheep', when a suffix with initial vowel is added, can indeed have its middle syllable vowel deleted (e.g. ḡoyunına ~ ḡoyına 'to his sheep'); this reduction does not occur in the other dialects.
165 For the Ä:rsa:rı dialect my materials establish the usage as an adjective only.
questions and, combined with *her* 'each', as generalizing indefinite pronoun/adjective.

Examples:

- **nä:di:n** aydanım bolmasa! (Är. 6) (< nä: edeyin)
  What shall I do if what I say is not (taken into account)?!
- **nä: xu:zmat?** (Är. 1)
  What service (can I do for you)?
- **bu çä:ğä: nä:čme** bollı, munča a:ğlaya:r. (Te. 16)
  What has happened to this child, (so that) she weeps so much?
- **saña nä:me-moldi?** (Är. 3) (< nä:me boldi)
  What has happened to you?
- **nä:me sebebe**ndendir oni maxtümğola: bermä:ndirler. (Te. 2)
  For some (lit. what) reason they did not give her to Maxtümğuli.
- **sičan h:нная gi:ren ya:ni bizem her qayısı: m mawza: gi:rdik.** (Är. 14)
  Like mice withdraw in their hole, each one of us also withdrew into our place.
- **her qaysı**ndan bir neti:je alar eken de bu kišiler (Mu. 1)
  This person takes a result from each one of (the materials he collects).
- **o:ğanista:nda bağšılar qaysı yo:lu:** zarhıyo:rlar? (Är. 9)
  Which style do singers in Afghanistan follow?
- **her haysı**snın tapa:wıtları köp. (Te. 13)
  Each one of them has many distinctions.
- **haysı** gün gelinüz? (Te. 5)
  which day did you come?
- **a:qpa:mq her nā:če** etse o:di tutaşdınp bilmä:ndir. (Är. 42)
  However much A:qpa:mq did (struggle), he was unable to light the fire.
- **nā:če deli:llere** görä: bu xi:l inek oğanista:nuŋ yağdayna bara:bar gelyo:r. (Är. 4)
  According to quite a few pieces of evidence (lit. how many arguments), this sort of cattle suits the conditions of Afghanistan.
- **sizler nā:če gişi** bolıp bir hu:lda ya:şaya:sınız? (Te. 14)
  As how many people are you living in this compound?
- **Haji ba:ba niče qoyıınız ba:r?** (Mu. 1)
  Grandfather, how many sheep do you have?
- **müjberi qanča?** (Är. 22)
  How much is his dress size?
- **qa:nča** erbet. (Te. 3)
  How bad!
- **uwalam men qa:nča mertebе aytdım, hi:čkim ğolağ asmadı.** (Är. 6)
  How many times I said (so) before, (but) nobody listened.
- **andxoya su:w gelmiyo:ni qa:nša yıl** boldi. (Är. 40)
  It's been so many years that the water (of the Fāryāb river) is not coming as far as Andxoy.
- **iner nā:hi:li düye?** (Te. 13)
  What kind of a camel is an *iner*?
- **ašğaba:t uzaqdan nā:hi:li** görünüya:r? (Te. 8)
  What does Ašğaba:t look like from afar?
- **indi nā:hi:li boldı, gu:ninize yaqdimu?** (Är. 10)
  How is it now, do you like it (lit. does it please your mind)?
(ii) Other interrogatives function as pronouns only: *kim* 'who', *ni:re ~ ni:ri* (Är.) 'where' (whose final vowel is in the suffixation process mostly reduced, e.g. *ni:rden* 'from where'), *hani* (XD) ~ *qani* (ND) 'where', *qalay* 'how' (Är.), *haçan ~ qaçan* (Är.Sa.) 'when'.

- bu alma *ni:ri:nį* alması? (Är. 23)
  Where is this apple from? (lit. this apple is an apple of where)
- kita:bi tā:kćede ǧоytptm, *kim* aldı-qa:? (Är. 23)
  I have put the book on the shelf, (I wonder) who has taken it away?
- sizler *qaçan* marćaq barjaq? (Sa. 2)
  When are you guys going to Marćaq?

(g) Indefinite pronouns / adjectives

(i) The preposed generalizing adjective *her* (lit. 'each') turns some of the above named interrogative pronouns into indefinite pronouns: *herkim* 'whoever, everyone', *hernâ:me ~ hernimerse* (Mu. 2) 'whatsoever', *herhaysı* 'which one ever', *hernâ:če* 'however much'.

- *hernimerse* di:șen (Mu. 1)
  whatever you say
- sıćan hı:nna gi:ren ya:ni bizem *her qaysı:m* mawza: gi:rdik. (Är. 14)
  Like mice take refuge in their holes, we also took refuge to (our) positions, each one of us.
- a:qpa:miq hernâ:če etse o:di tutâşdrıp bilmâ:ndir. (Är. 42)
  However much A:qpa:miq did (try), he was unable to light the fire.

The composites *herhaysı ~ herqaysı* (Är.) and *hernâ:če* are used as adjectives as well. The preposed element *hi:č ~ hi:ş* (Är.) replaces *her* in negative clauses:

- büwin mektebe *hi:škim* gelmedi. (Är. 36)
  Today nobody has come to school.
- biz šu mehpilde *hi:čqaysı:mız* geple me dik. (Är. 22)
  At that meeting none of us said a word.

(ii) Other indefinite pronouns are *bi:ri ~ birte* (Mu.Xa. Bâ) '(some)one' (which can be extended with *her-/hič*), *bā:zi* 'several, some', *kŏpi* 'many; most'\(^{166}\). *Hemme*, *bă:zi* and *kŏpi* are used as indefinite pronouns and as adjectives as well; *başğa ~ başqa* (Mu.Ba.Är.) 'another ...', *büyleki* (Är.) 'the other ...' and *kὰ*: (Te.) 'many a ...' are used as adjectives only. Examples: *bă:zi xa:nlarmız* (Är.) 'some (of) our governors', *kŏpi ja:ylarda* 'in many/most places', *kὰ*: *wağiṭlar* (Te.) 'at times'.

- sizi *bi:ri* dergä:p gelipdir. (Är. 11)
  Somebody has come in quest of you.
- men bö:rde bolmasam *hi:čbi:ri* hi:čačan doğrın nahtar biširmiyo:rlar. (Är. 1)
  If I am not here nobody will ever cook a real meal.
- bu setil tešik eken, *başqa birtek*ni a:l. (Mu. 5)

\(^{166}\) The adnominal form *kŏpi*, which might be perceived as coined along the Arabo-Persian copies *bă:zi* and *kŭlli*, on the other hand resembles *kükiš+i* in Erdal 2004:163, an adnomially used partitive POSS3PERS. However, this fails to explain the reduplication of the possessive suffix in *kŏpsi* 'many of them'.
This bucket has a hole, take another one!

• o yerde türkmeneriŋ köpisi ya:šaya:. (Te. 2)
Most of the Turkmens live there.

• büyleki mi:xa:nlar qačan geljek? (Är. 13)
When are the other guests coming?

(iii) The copied lexemes külli (Är.Sa.) and ehi (Te.) function as indefinite adjectives 'all ..., the total of ...'; while kä:bir (+ Pt.) 'many a ...' is present in all dialects, bira:n 'a ... of some sort' has been reported only from the ND dialects.

• bu sapar külli čaqır bir bolıp bir a:dama ra:y berdik. (Är. 5)
This time all Čaqır (people), we allied and voted for one man.

• ehi o:ba bolıp a:riq ġazma:ğa ġatnaśdıq. (Te.18)
We joined the digging of the canal as the total of the village.

• ata-ba:balarmızıŋ kä:bir resim-rawa;jları ajı:b. (Är. 9)
Many a custom of our forefathers is wonderful.

• her kišini loyeyirgege čaqirmeydiler bira:n ya:šolıp molla qumandan ya: qaryada:r bolmese. (Xa. 3)
They don't invite (just) everybody to the Loya Jirga – unless he is an elder, a mullah, commander or village chief of some sort.

(h) Collective pronouns / adjectives

(i) Collective pronouns can be generated by postposing hem 'each' to the partitive pronoun/numeral, which in its turn is generated from the cardinal number by suffixation of the possessive: ikisä:m (< ikisi+hem) 'both of them', bä:ši:mizä:m 'all five of us' etc.

(ii) The collective pronoun ba:ri 'all' has been recorded from the Teke dialect only: bulay ba:ri 'all of them'.

(iii) The copied lexeme hemme 'all' exists in all dialects and is used as as a pronoun and as an adjective. In pronominal usage it can be doubled up by a postposed hem.

• i:sa i:ša:n-da mari tewereginde hemme tanıya:r eken. (Te. 5)
In the environs of Mari all (people) used to know I:sa I:ša:n.

• saxi:ja:mıŋ kepderleri nä:dip hemmesi a:q bolyorqa? (Är. 40)
How come the pigeons of Saxija:n167 are all white?

• hemmesi:m mara: degişli. (Yo. 1)
They are all affiliated to Mari.

• biz hemme türk doğanlırmızı bi yeri:k ča:ğişya:s ki gelip görsiner we hemkä:rlik etsinler. (Te. 11)
We invite all our Turkic brethren here so that they may come and see and cooperate.

• marçaqda hemme za:tları ekip bo:r. (Sa. 2)
In Marçaq all plants (lit. things) can be grown.

• a:damıŋ hemme paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bağlı. (Är. 18)
All activities of man depend on his brain.

167 Term of endearment for (the mausoleum of) Hazrat Ali in Mazārī Šarīf, where myriads of white pigeons live.
5.1.3 Adjectives

(a) Simple adjectives

(i) There is no morphological distinction between adjective and substantive nouns; both categories are distinguished by function only.

(ii) In the Turkmen dialects the adjective qualifies the noun to which it is attributed; the qualifier immediately precedes the qualified: 

\[\text{yağşı sığırlar 'good cows'}\] (Ār. 4), 

\[\text{bir oñat nama:yısı 'a good spectacle'}\] (Sa. 3). Attributables can be grammatically derived from verbal stems (\[aqr su: 'running water' < aq- 'to flow'; i:riğen göz 'purulent eye' < i:rik- 'to tire' etc.\]). For details on derivational adjectives in general, see the subchapter on derivation.

(iii) There is no pluralisation, indication of possessive relation, or declension, of the adjective. If an adjective noun takes on plural, possessive or declension suffixes it loses its adjective character and functions as a substantive noun:

- \[\text{yağšıları görmek hem soğa:p dr. (Ār. 15)}\]
  To see good ones (\[yağšı-PL-ACC\]) is already a meritorious deed.

- \[\text{iki oğlıımız bar, ulı:mız mekteb oqıyo:r kiči:mız bosa heniz ya:š. (Ār. 34)}\]
  We have two sons, our big one (\[ulı-POSS1PL\]) studies (at) school, our small one (\[kiči-POSS1PL\]) is still young.

(b) Intensification, comparative/superlative, downgrading

(i) Reduplication is one way to highlight the meaning of an adverb; is not very frequently used though and it appears to "go" only with a small selection of adjectives: 

\[\text{sü:ji-sü:ji mi:weler 'very sweet fruits'}\], 

\[\text{ozı:n -ozın sačlar 'very long hair'}\].

(ii) Intensification by means of preposed qualifiers, on the other hand, is a very frequent phenomenon and there is a great choice of qualifiers available: 

\[\text{yaman (lit. 'bad')}, \text{čattı (Ār.Mu. Xa. Ba.) (lit. 'dirty' ~ 'very'), ğattı (Te.) (lit. 'hard'), ökde (Ār.), örā:n (XD), jida: (Yo.Te.Sa.Ār), mojiq (Ār.Mu.Xa.Ba.) (lit. 'bad'), köp (Ār.Mu.Ba.Xa.Qa.) (lit. 'much').}\]

Examples: 

\[\text{yaman yağşı yigit 'a very good young man', čattı issı ay (Ār. 12) 'a very hot month', ğattı širin su: (Te.Yo.) 'very sweet water', şehre ökde beled a:dam (Ār. 33) 'a man who knows the city very well', örā:n yaman aštuq (Ār. 7) 'a very bad famine', mojiq širi:n ġa:wun (Ār. 11) 'a very sweet honeymelon', köp semiz ġoyun (Ār. 12) 'a very fat sheep', köp bir yaxti ċira (Te. 5) 'a very bright candle'.}\]

(iii) The comparative suffix is \[-rA:Q\], and it can occur with some phonotactic adjustments which are in more detail described in the subchapter on phonological processes. There is one major difference between the Ā:rsa:rı and Teke dialects: In the Teke dialect suffixation of the comparative leads to the voicing of a final voiceless plosive of the lexeme, while in the Ā:rsa:rı dialect such a voicing does not occur.

- \[\text{biyik > (...) soñ o:ba: ser etjek bolip biyiğrä:ge čiqdq. (Te. 3)}\]
  Then we climbed the higher (hill) in order to look at the village.

- \[\text{biyik > o:ğamsta:nda sa:leñden biyikrä:ik da:ğlar-am bar. (Ār. 44)}\]
  In Afghanistan there are higher mountains than the Salang.
In the Ärsa dialect the variant –Ir-raQ with a suffix-initial high vowel has also occasionally been observed:

- ulkämiziŋ köpirrä:k nupusi ni d:xanlar we čarwaçılar ğuršayo:r. (Är. 3) Farmers and cattlebreeders make up most (lit. more) population of our country.

(iv) The comparative form is also used to denote the meaning "somehow ...", which can actually be understood as a downgrader pointing to deminuation rather than augmentation of a particular quality: gö:krä:k (Är.) ~ gö:ğrä:k (Te.) 'bluish, sort of blue', biyikrä:k (Är.) ~ biyigrä:k (Te.) 'rather tall'.

(v) The superlative of an adjective is determined by the preposed particle in : in kici ini:m 'my youngest brother', in gözel gi:z 'the most beautiful girl'.

- watannan ayrılmaq in yaman za:tların bi:ri. (Te. 6) Being separated from (one's) homeland is one of the worst things.

(vi) Adjectives can also be intensified through the prefixation of a syllable that echoes the initial consonant + vowel of the lexeme and terminates in -p, -m, -s or a lengthened -ppA or -ssA. Examples: ğara:ŋqi 'dark' > ğapğara:ŋqi ; gö:k 'blue' > gömgö:k ; ğu:ri 'dry' > ğusğu:ri; sağ 'healthy' > sappasağ; doğru 'correct' > doppadoğrı; mà:lim 'well-known' > messemà:lim. These forms, no matter how systematic and transparent their morphological qualities are, cannot be varied at will.

Along with the morphological intensifyers, in the dialects there occur a few completely lexicalized intensifying prefixes on an individual and unpredictable basis, e.g. ğara 'black' > dumğara (Te.Yo.) ~ dü:tğara ~ zuntğara (Är.); ğızıl 'red' > čımğızıl (Är.Sa.); a:q 'white' > čuwwa:q (Är.Sa.). In the Teke dialect the preposed particle la:p intensifies the meaning of an adjective: la:p ulı 'very very large'.168

(vii) The downtoning of adjectives results from the suffixation of elements such as -Iš, -ğılt, -čıq, -(I)mıll, -(I)mıtq and others; it occurs mostly with denominations of colors, which may undergo phonotactic changes as described in the phonology chapter. Examples: a:q 'white' > a:ğiš 'whitish' (XD), gö:k 'blue' > gö:ğiš (XD), a:çıq (Är.), a:ğımtıl (XD) 'whitish'; ğara 'black' > ğaramıtq; sa:ri 'yellow' > sa:rimıtl (Te.Yo.), sa:rimıtq (Är.Sa.); ğızıl 'red' > ğı gült (XD) etc.

5.1.4 Numerals

In the Turkmen dialects numerals can function the same way as substantive and adjective nouns. Pluralisation, declension etc. occur through suffixation of the respective suffixes.

(a) Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numbers display some difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and some intradialectal variation, too. In the following table, Muqrı can be regarded as representative of all nāxālis dialects.

**Table 5-12: Cardinal numbers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ā:rsa:rī</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>Sa:rq</th>
<th>Muqrī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>sıfır</td>
<td>sıfır</td>
<td>sıfır</td>
<td>sıfır</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>ya:rim ~ ya:ri ~ ya:rpi</td>
<td>yarım ~ ya:ri</td>
<td>yarım ~ ya:rpi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>bir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iki ~ iikki</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>iikki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>üč ~ üč</td>
<td>üč ~ üč</td>
<td>üč ~ üč</td>
<td>üč ~ üč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tö:rt</td>
<td>dö:rt ~ dört</td>
<td>dö:rt</td>
<td>tört</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bā:š ~ bā:š</td>
<td>bā:š</td>
<td>bā:š</td>
<td>biš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>alti ~ alti</td>
<td>altı</td>
<td>altı</td>
<td>a:ltı ~ altı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yedi ~ yetti</td>
<td>yedi</td>
<td>yedi</td>
<td>yetti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sekiz ~ sekkiz</td>
<td>sekiz</td>
<td>sekiz</td>
<td>sekkiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>toqqu</td>
<td>toqqu ~ toqqiz ~ toqquz</td>
<td>doqiz ~ doquz</td>
<td>toqqiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>o:n</td>
<td>o:n</td>
<td>o:n</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>onbi:r ~ onbi:r</td>
<td>onbi:r</td>
<td>onbi:r</td>
<td>onbir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>oniki ~ onki</td>
<td>oniki</td>
<td>oniki</td>
<td>onikki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>yiğr</td>
<td>yiğr ~ yiğrime</td>
<td>yiğrime</td>
<td>yiğrime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>otiz</td>
<td>otiz</td>
<td>otiz</td>
<td>ottiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>qırq ~ qırq</td>
<td>qırq</td>
<td>qırq</td>
<td>qırğ ~ qır</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>elli ~ elli</td>
<td>elli</td>
<td>elli</td>
<td>elli: ~ ellik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>alımıš</td>
<td>alımıš</td>
<td>alımıš</td>
<td>alımıš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>yetımıš</td>
<td>yetımıš</td>
<td>yetımıš</td>
<td>yetımıš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>şegsen</td>
<td>şegsen</td>
<td>şegsen</td>
<td>şegsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>toğsan</td>
<td>toğsan</td>
<td>toğsan</td>
<td>toqsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>yüz ~ yüz</td>
<td>yüz</td>
<td>yüz</td>
<td>yüz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>bir yüz bir ~ bir yüz u</td>
<td>bir yüz bir</td>
<td>bir yüz bir</td>
<td>bir yüz u bir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>bir yüz elli ~ yüz u elli</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bir yüz elli</td>
<td>bir yüz ellik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>mün ~ mün</td>
<td>mün</td>
<td>mün</td>
<td>mün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>bir mün iki yüz elli</td>
<td>bir mün iki yüz elli</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>mün iki yüz elli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>o:n mün ~ o:n mün</td>
<td>o:n mün</td>
<td>o:n mün</td>
<td>on mün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>lek ~ yüz mün</td>
<td>lek ~ yüz mün</td>
<td>lek ~ yüz mün</td>
<td>lek ~ leg ~ ley ~ yüz mün</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

169 The initial voiceless plosives of tö:rt, toqqu ~ toqqiz~toqquz and toqsan, which among the xālis dialects are typical only of the Ārsa:rī dialect, have been suggested as resulting either from extensive contact with neighboring Uzbek dialects or from a certain influence of the premodern literary Turki, cf. Annanurov 1972:120; Malov 1951:54.

170 According to Schönig's classification model (1999:74f.) the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and the Ā:rsa:rī dialect in particular are located at the interface of Eastern and Western Turkic; Schönig defines the word-final high-vowel variants of 'twenty' as typically Western, and the low-vowel variants as typically Eastern. For Turkmen he cites only yiğrime, which is, however, due to the strong influence of the Teke dialect on the modern Turkmenistani literary language.
(i) The numeral 'half' depicts some interesting variation in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. When used like a substantive noun, it occurs in the short form ya:rı as well as the long form ya:rim:

- nipu:suŋ ya:rınnan gö:rra:ği (Är. 34) more than half of the population
- şu müjelleriŋ ya:rısı (Är. 16) half of these journals
- gi:rdijisi ya:rim iki bölüm payla:šyo:rs.171 (Är. 12) We split the revenues in halves – in two.

An interesting variant comes from the Qarqın regiolect of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect:

- üč qarya:niŋ ya:rınnan ġurraqım hæ:zir-de derya: alip du:r (Qar. 1) The river has now again taken away more than half of all the three villages.

In clauses which denote the time, only the variant ya:rim has been recorded: sa:at sekgiz ya:rimbeje 'at half past eight'.

(ii) The numeral bir has in the xālis dialects its vowel lengthened whenever a suffix with initial vowel is added: bi:ri:miz NUM+POSS1PL 'one of us', 'someone'; bi:rejik NUM+DIM 'a single, only one'; bi:rik- 'to unite, to gather'. The same lengthening occurs when bir follows a decadic numeral: yigrimebi:r '21', yetmišbi:r '71'. In the nāxālis dialects the short vowel is always preserved.

(iii) The vowel of the numeral o:n is shortened when within the teens decade another numeral is added, e.g. onbi:r '11', oniki ~ onki '12', onbä:š '15' etc.; this shortening does, however, not occur if o:n is followed by another numeral as part of a five-digit number: o:n müŋ '10,000'.

(iv) The final vowel of the numeral yigrimi ~ yigrime can be deleted when a one-digit numeral follows:

- yigrimbä:š axtığım ba:rmıš (Är. 5) He is said to have 25 grandchildren.
- jima:ḡuli yigrimiki ya:šinda esgerlige gidipti (Är. 26) Jima:ḡuli went to military service at age 22.

(v) In standard phrases final or initial vowels of numerals in word boundaries are often deleted: biri < bir-i (Är.) 'one (or) two', onki < oniki 'twelve', alta:y < alti a:y (Xat.) 'six months'; altatar tüpeŋ < altı atar 'six shooter gun'.

(vi) There is a certain tendency of possessive suffixes to be doubled up when added to numerals:

- yitdi axtığım ba:r tö:rdisi oğıl üčisi ğı:z (Är. 28) I have seven grandchildren, four of them (four-Poss3Poss3) are boys, three of them (three-Poss3Poss3) are girls.

---

171 The sentence has been recorded like this. It is unclear whether ya:rim iki bölüm- is a specific phrase, or the speaker has just by error doubled the numeral instead of saying ya:rim bölüm- or ike: bölüm-, both of which would render the intended meaning.
(vii) While in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect numerals always combine with the possessive suffix plural, in the Teke dialect these can combine with the possessive singular as well:

- ulaq tapmadıq-da haji resu:ların toynă bir iki:m bardıq. (Te. 7)
  We didn't find a means of transportation, so (only) one-two of us went to Haji Resu:l's wedding feast.

(vii) Two-digit numbers which are one or two below the next higher decadic position are in colloquial speech, and especially in phrases indicating people's age, phrased as "one/two-less-than": bir kem otız '29' (lit. one less than 30) etc.

- men hä:zir ikkem qırq ya:šadım. (Är. 53)
  I am now 38 years old.

(b) Classifiers

The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan use classifiers that are inserted between the numeral and its noun of reference. Some of these classifiers are semantically neutral and can be applied to any noun: dä:ne (lit. 'piece'); others are semantically related to classes of nouns and can only be applied to categories of nouns which are semantically adequate (or are deemed suitable by convention): dü:p lit. 'root' = applicable to plants and similars only. The classifier sa:ni ~ sa:naq (Är.), although lit. 'piece', in my materials occurs almost exclusively as a classifier of human beings and animals, with the single exception of one phrase elli sa:ni si:rim '50 (bottles of) serum' (Är. 1). Examples:

- sıpa:nıŋ ašağında iki sa:ni at-am daŋılğı du:r-eken. (Te. 13)
  Down at the sitting platform two horses are tied.

- siziŋ tö:rt sa:ni oğlıŋız ba:r, šüyle dälmi? (Är. 19)
  You have four sons, isn't it?

- jela:la:ba:t wela:yatında şipillen köp bir, bir lek iki lek sa:naq tuwıq saqlamaq pa:brı:keler (...) ğoršalıp bašlanıp dır. (Är. 4)
  In the Jalālābād province nowadays many a factory is being started to construct, which houses 100,000 (or) 200,000 chicken.

(c) Ordinal numerals

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan ordinal numerals can be construed with the suffix - (I)njI ~ -(X)nj)I : birinji 'first'; ikinji 'second'; üčinji ~ üčinji ~ učinji 'third' etc.

  Xalı:pa Sa:yı:] yillarda a:lamnan ötdiler. (Är. 17)

(ii) In the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects the ordinal numerals can also be construed with the suffix -lAnjI : üčlenji 'third', o:nlanji 'tenth'.

(iii) In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exist also the ordinal suffixes -(I)njI and -lAnjI :

172 The most revered spiritual leader of the Turkmen muhājir who fled the early Soviet Union and were after a lengthy migration resettled in the Jowzjān province.
• My son has completed the ninth (grade) here.

• In those times in Qalayiza:1 there was no school after ninth grade.

(iv) In the Teke dialect the ordinal numeral 'first' (as opposed to "all others") exists in the variants ilki and ilkinji :

• The first Turkmens of Herat eighty-five years ago emigrated from the Tejen and Mari provinces of Turkmenistan, went to Afghanistan, and settled down (there).

• The first (Turkmens) to come to Derreyišax were not us; prior to us there have been Turkmens there, too.

(d) Distributive / partitive numerals

(i) In all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan distributive numerals are generated with the ablative suffix -dAn ; the distributive numbers also occur in variants like bä:šden ~ bä:š-bä:šden 'five (...) each', altıdan ~ altıdan-altıdan 'six (...) each'.

• count them in (entities of) five each

• We purchased (them for) five thousand Afghani each.

(ii) The distributive numerals in -dAn are also used in fraction numbers to designate the full number out of which the fraction is taken. The fraction numeral is included in a possessor-possessed construction:

• Since this year security is (good), 60% of the students have come (to school).

(iii) In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exists the partitive numeral bi:reği 'one out of (...)' . While in the premodern Turki literary language the suffix -egii would generate distributives from all numerals,173 today it appears to be preserved only in the single form bi:reği but is not derived from any other numeral.

• This year we planted three pomegranade (trees), one of them is this one here, another one is that one, and yet another one is behind the house.

---

173 Clauson 1959:28 defines the suffix –AĞU as collective marker (see also Erdal 2004:224, who for Old Turkic interprets bi:reği as 'a set of one’ . The collective marker function is until today preserved in Uzbek dialects neighboring the Afghan Turkmen dialects. However, in my materials it has only been found to function as indefinite marker.
In all other dialects – and in the Ār:sa:rı dialect as well – partitive numerals are generated with the possessive suffix, which can occur in doubled form (e.g. bir > bi:ri ~ bi:risi).

- uč toqrţa:ın bi:ri inha: šu yerde, bi:risi-de ol depä:ının yanında, yene bi:ri-de iki ki:lo:mitir apruada. (Te. 8)
  One of the three mud water pipes is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again one of them is two kilometers away.
- kita:plarıŋ bi:risini aldım, ikisini yerinde şaydım. (Te. 15)
  One of the books I have taken, two of them I have put (back) in their place.

5.1.5 Adverbs

In the Turkmen dialects, adverbs come in different forms – simple, derived, and combined. They modify the action denoted by verbs, or the manner or degree of a quality denoted by adjectives or adverbs, all of which they immediately precede in regular speech. Their position before verbs / verbal phrases, adjectives and adverbs makes them easily discernible from, for example, homonymous adjectives, which in their turn appear immediately before the substantives they modify:

- bul ɡa:lam yağıšı yazyo:r. (Ār. 53)
  This pen writes well.

as opposed to

- ol yağıšı şä:girt. (Ār. 53)
  He is a good pupil.

(a) Morphological features of adverbs

(i) Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs can be lexemes which are only applied as adverbs, for example čalt (Ār.) 'quickly', derrew 'immediately', hemi:še 'always'. Many others are lexemes which can be employed as either adverbs or something else (adjectives, substantives) and become recognizable as adverbs only through their function and position within a specific phrase are for example: ɡımmat 'expensive' (ɡımmat al- 'to purchase at an expensive price' vs. ɡımmat mŏtar 'an expensive car'), arza:n 'at a cheap price', ilki 'firstly', gi:č 'late, too late', ti:z 'fast', ağšam 'at night', erti:r 'in the morning', yasyaŋı 'very recently', yalğu:z 'only, simply'.

Most adverbs are used in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. However, there are some which are more typical of one dialect than of another – among them a few very frequently used ones, like basım (Te.) vs. ti:z ~ čalt (Ār.) 'fast'; doğrı (Ār.) vs. göni (Te.Yo.) 'right'.

- siziŋ üyiŋizde köpek saqlansa, ol basım ta:zi bolar. (Te. 5)
  If in your home a dog174 were raised, it would quickly become a racing dog.

174 Köpek bears the connotations of coarse and untrained animal, mongrel – all opposites of the characteristics of a tazı.
If you give the cow or sheep oilcakes it will quickly gain weight.

(ii) Derived adverbs

Many derived adverbs are fully lexicalized, that is, they exist only in their current form and are by the average speakers of Turkmen dialects not recognized as derivals any more, although etymologically they can be traced back to a nominal/verbal stem supplied with derivative suffixes or — in fewer cases — prefixes. As has been stated above with regard to simple adverbs, some of these derived lexemes are used as adverbs only, while others can also be used as adjectives. Among the affixes which have derived currently lexicalized adverbs there are a few which are copied from Persian, like bi:- 'without ...' and na:- 'un-...'; combinations with these are more frequent in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect and in the nāxālis dialects than in Teke and Yomut. - Examples for lexicalized combinations are the following:

- AQI: yüzeki 'superficially, on the surface', dileki 'orally, verbally'
- ARl: in deictic directives like dašarı 'out', ičeri 'in', ileri 'forward'
- (A)rI:Q: bārī:k 'closer, my way', ileri:k 'forward', aprīq 'that way, into that direction'
bi:-/be:-: bi:waste 'immediately', bi:guma:n 'without suspicion', bi:waqt 'prematurely', be:dalil 'for no reason, out of the blue'
-dAn: birden 'all of a sudden', i:rden 'very early', dü:den 'thoroughly, from scratch', tōtā:n 'suddenly', tī:zen 'very fast, immediately, on the spot', zo:rdan 'by force; with great difficulty, hardly'
-(y)I:n: yani:n 'at the side, sideways', yūzzi:n 'head-on, frontally', arqayın 'at rest, at ease, easy in one's mind'
-lAy: büti:ney 'totally', düpley 'profoundly', yūzley 'superficially, on the surface only'
-lAyI(:)n: bilgešleyi:n 'consciously, intentionally', yūzleyin 'superficial'
-ll: ġistağlı 'urgently', yarağlı 'armed', gerekli 'necessary'.
-llQ: yaşırı:nlıq 'secretly', gündi:zlik 'at daytime'
-lI: (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time) ġīšı:n 'in winter', yassi:n 'in the afternoon, at night', gi:jeler 'always/regularly at nighttime', öňler 'in former times'
-lI: (restricted to numerals) yūzley 'a hundred times', müňley 'a thousand times, by the thousand'

Adverbs derived by means of productive suffixes, whose scope is explicitly or implicitly known to the average speaker, also exist in the Turkmen dialects. Not all of them will be enumerated here, but a few examples are the following:

-beje(de): gi:je birbeje 'at 1 o'clock a.m.', üčbejede 'at 3 o'clock'
-dA: sa:at ikide 'at 2 o'clock', başda 'initially', her zama:nda 'at any time'
-dAn: tā:zeden 'anew', birden 'all of a sudden', a:q yürekden 'faithfully'
-l:n: (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time) ġišı:n 'in winter', yassi:n 'in the afternoon, at night'
-lAr: (restricted to lexemes that denote points in time) ol wağtlar 'at that time, then', gi:jeler 'always/regularly at nighttime', öňler 'in former times'
-lAy: (restricted to numerals) yūzley 'a hundred times', müňley 'a thousand times, by the thousand'

175 Also shorter as bilgešli:n 'id.'
(iii) Combined adverbs

Combined adverbs can come into being by different operations. The most simple one is the reduplication of an adjective or numeral: *bir-bir* 'one by one', *ti:z-ti:z* 'quickly, swiftly', *yuwaš-yuwaš* 'slowly', *çalt-çalt* (Te., Yo.) 'quickly', *şappa-şappa* 'in the blink of an eye'. Reduplication with an additional insertion of *-A-* results in only a few adverbs, such as *bašabaš* 'head-to-head', *badaba:t* 'immediate', while reduplication with insertion of *-mA-* can derive many adverbs from lexical items that denote time spans, but also other things: *günmegün* 'day by day', *heptemehepte* 'week by week', *a:ymaa:y* 'month by month', *sa:atmasa:at* 'by the hour'; *sötzmesöz* 'word-by-word; exactly', *birmebir* 'one by one'.

Adverbials also reduplicate into adverbs: *bara bara* 'more and more..., increasingly', *bile-bile* 'knowingly, on purpose'.

Yet another type of reduplicated adverbs comes into being by two onomatopoetic descriptives joined together; they may be phonetically identical, or differ in vocalism: *şap-şup* (swiftly, producing low noises), *pasır-pusır* (movements etc.: without delay, hastily and swiftly), *šıpır-şıpır* (making a noise on slobbery material).

Along with these single-lexeme combinations adverbs can be a combination of two or more different lexemes of many different categories with or without declension markers, which may or may not be joined together by a conjunction:

- **Substantive+Substantive**: *gi:je gündiz* 'at day and night; at all times', *ya:z-u-ğiš* 'in summer and winter; all year round', *bašdan ayaq* 'all over, completely'
- **Adjective+Substantive**: *ğara guwın* 'maliciously', *yaqnün günlerde* 'soon'
- **Pronoun/Numeral+Substantive**: *bir guni* 'one day; once upon a time', *her yılı* 'every year', *öz bašına* 'alone', *kä: piller ~ kä: waxtlar* 'time and again'
- **Substantive+Postposition**: *daŋ bilen* 'at daybreak', *gumi bi:ri:n* 'in one day', *gün sayın* 'by the day, day by day'
- **Substantive+Adverb/Verbal**: *baš büti:n* 'completely, fully', *baš a:ša* 'intermittently, every other...'
- **Adjective+Adjective**: *üzil kesil* 'tersely', *ğişlε şistağ* 'in a hurry', *bälli külli* 'totally, completely'
- **Verb+Verbal**: *barıb yatan* 'finally, at last'
- **Verb+Particle**: *ğınansaq-da* 'unfortunately, alas'

A special case of combined adverbs are phrases of the type '....times', which consist of a numeral or other lexeme denoting quantity, plus an adverbial multiplicative: *bir yo:la*: 'once', *yedi yo:la*: 'seven times', *qanča gezek ~ qanča mertebe* 'how many times'.
(b) Some remarks on the semantics of adverbs

Adverbs respond to questions like 'where?', 'when?', 'how?', 'to what degree?' – they specify and modify the action of verbs and the properties of adjectives with regard to place, time, manner, quantity and so on. The morphological features enumerated above occur in all of these functions. It may thus suffice to treat one example in some more detail, namely, adverbs of time. Adverbs of time respond to interrogatives such as hačan ~ qačan 'when?', nā:waxt 'at what time?).

Some adverbs of time are the same in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan from which we were able to record them: dū:n 'yesterday', öylä:n 'in the afternoon', hemi:še 'always'. Others depict some phonetic variation: 'today' has been recorded as ŝugün ~ šugun ~ bugün ~ būgün from the Teke dialect; as šūwin ~ šugün ~ buwin ~ buwin ~ būwin ~ būgün from Ā:rsa:rí; and būkün from the Muqrı dialect; 'just now' is in di in the Ārsarı and Sa:rıq dialects, but assimilated into inni in the Teke dialect. Again others depict lexical variation: 'sometimes' is kä: waxtlar in Te., but kä:pille in Ār. – In the Ā:rsa:rí dialect, ağšam stands for 'in the evening' and 'last night' (the latter one of which can also be öten ağšam); in the Teke dialect, ağšam is 'last night', 'at nighttime', and 'over night'; in Xo., 'in the evening' is either ağšama or ağšamna (the latter most probably connoting habituality or reiteration); in Ār. and Yo., 'last night' can also be gi:je, which otherwise in Ār. means 'by night' (the latter in Ār., if habitual, also gi:jeler).

Again other adverbs of time depict lexical as well as phonetic variation, which then amounts to a rather complex picture: 'tomorrow' is erte in Ār., but erte as well as erti:r in Te.; in Ār., on the other hand, erti:r means 'early) in the morning', which has been recorded as gūnerta:n from Sa., and erti:rine, from the Xojamba:z dialect. – The word for 'now, nowadays' is hā:zir in Te., Sa. and Ār., and ha:zir, in Mo.; Te. has šipillekī hā:zir along with it, while Ār. has šızpille ~ šızpillenen; in addition, šı zama:nda has been found in Ār., and šu waxt, in Sa.

5.1.6 Postpositions

Postpositions govern noun phrases in a way comparable to, for example, what prepositions do in the Persian language. The nouns, pronouns, numerals and participles or phrases – which are then the scope of the respective postposition – which precede the postpositions, bear additional stress while the postpositions themselves are enclitic and unstressed. Postpositions do typically not change according to the principles of vowel harmony, nor are their initial consonants assimilated to consonants in the final position of the nouns etc. to which they belong. The etymology of postpositions can be obvious, but the semantic relation to the etymological basis need not necessarily be so; postpositions can, however, be derived from nouns/nominals which are also used in the Turkmen dialects independently.

The postpositions require their antecedents to come in a specific case – nominative, dative, or ablative. Therefore they will be introduced here according to the case with which they combine.

(a) Postpositions with the nominative case

Some of the postpositions which in principle require the nominative case, although by far not all, can take either the nominative or the genitive when combined with personal pronouns (see
also ix. in the personal pronouns chapter). Whether or not the genitive applies seems to be somehow undecided, in many cases both the variant with, and that without, can be applied. Unless otherwise stated below, the respective postposition takes the nominative only.

(i) *arqalı*

This postposition can be translated as 'through, by means of, via'; it is used in all Turkmen dialects.

- **pä:kista:nıŋ yağşı yeri şında, biz o yerde terjima:n arqalı geplešmeli dä:l, dilini ö:zimiz bilyo:rs.** (Är. 35)
  The good thing about Pakistan is that there we need not communicate through a translator, (because) we know their language ourselves.

(ii) **ba:rada**

This postposition, which is copied from Persian *dar bāra-yi ğizi* means 'related to ...', connected to ...' and is rather frequently used in all dialects. If combined with a personal pronoun, this postposition is supplied with the respective possessive suffix.

  The worldview of our people, their thoughts, particularly about learning and education, are slowly changing.

- **men size ši matlap ba:rada hezreti mu:sa: alayhissala:mnan bir qıssa aydıp berreyin.** (Är. 2)
  Related to this topic, I will tell you a story about Moses.

- **dü:n jelsede meniŋ ba:ramda nä:me tesmi:m alındıı?**
  What was decided about me in the meeting, yesterday?

(iii) *bilen ~ bile ~ minen*

While in all *xālıṣ* dialects the postposition *bilen* occurs in the same form, and a shorter variant *bile* has been reported from the Teke dialect in addition to that, in the Bayat dialect the postposition has been recorded in an assimilated form comparable to the one in which it occurs in the neighboring Uzbek dialects: *minen*. – This postposition almost regularly takes the genitive case of personal and demonstrative pronouns: *meniŋ bilen 'with me', şunıŋ bilen 'with that'; however, *men bile, biz bile 'with us' etc. also exist.

- **aslında biz ha:li almaq niyyeti bile(n) çiqıptıq, toy barlıgni bò:rä: gelip eştdik.** (Är. 31)
  Actually we had set out with the intention to purchase carpets. (Only) when we came here we heard that there is a wedding (going on).

- **qaysi a:dam minen? omar minen qawm dä:lbiz.** (Ba. 1)
  With what man? We are not relatives of (lit.: with) Omar!

- **oğlım men bile geldi.** (Är. 53)
  My son has come along with me.

An important feature in all dialects is the combination of *bile(n)* with the *-An* participle, in causal as well as adversative construction:
• **aydınlan** bilen ki:giŋ gö:şti onča şirin bolan yo:ğ eken. (Är. 33) According to (lit. with) what they say, the meat of deer is not so very tasty.
• **axtaran bile** tapamo:q. (Te. 5) Regardless of (my) searching I didn't find (it).

The combination (-nİŋ) üsti bilen translates as 'via' in direct and transferred sense:

• biz şibirğana ğaytsaq hemi:še a:qja:nçü üsti bilen ğaytyo:rs. (Är. 20) If we travel to Shibirghān, we always travel via Aqcha.
• men bıl i:şi parilma:nçü üsti bilen ğaytyo:rs. (Är. 16) I will solve this matter via the Parliament.

(iv) **boyı**

The postposition is used in all dialects; it denotes 'all along...' and can be applied to spatial as well as temporal notions.

• **yo:lı boyı** şu ba:rada pikir edip geldim. (Är. 42) All along (my) way I was pondering about this.

(v) **boyıča ~ boyunča**

The postposition comes with and without the pronominal n and with rounded or unrounded mid-syllable vowel. It is used in all dialects, its meaning being 'according to..., in accordance with...'.

• qa:nun boyıča aslan ha:lı şı:rden o:ȉ:naːsta:nın saːdir bolmaː. (Är. 35) According to the law, the carpet needs to originate from here, (that is, from) Afghanistan.

(vi) **čemeli**

This postposition is typical of the Teke and Yomut dialects, while in the Ärsa:ri dialect the same meaning – 'as much as, approximately...' – is rendered by the postposition ğolay + DAT.

• oniŋ oğlı onaltı-onyedi yaːşlar čemeli bolaːmasa. (Te. 16) Seems as if his son is something like sixteen or seventeen years old...

(vii) **haqda**

The postposition, which translates as 'about ..., related to ...' is used in all dialects. If combined with personal pronouns, the respective possessive suffixes are inserted: meniŋ haqımda 'about me' etc.

• men size bügün hezreti ali haqda bir hikaːyat aydıp bereyin. (Är. 2) Today I will tell you a story about Hezreti Ali.
(viii) **hökminde**

This postposition is used in all dialects; it translates as 'as ..., in lieu of ...' and combines with substantive nouns only.

- men bu gepirizî **bir nesi:hat hökminde** qabu:l etyo:rin. (Är. 22)
  I accept this word of yours as a (piece of) advice.

(ix) **kemi:n**

This postposition, which translates as 'like ...', occurs in all dialects, but is not very frequently employed. The regular postposition in its place would be **ya:ni ~ ya:lı**.

- ağıšam di:šim yaman ğatı ağırdı, čıda:blınmä:n it **kemi:n** erti:reče u:la:p çıqdım. (Är. 34)
  (Yesterday) night my tooth hurt very badly; unable to bear up (against the pain), I howled like a dog until the morning.

(x) **mina:sibetli**

The postposition, which is copied after the Persian **ba-munāsabat-i** and means 'on the occasion of ...', occurs in all dialects.

- bil mehpili **maxtimqulı:ńa doğulan güni mina:sibetli** gečirers. (Är. 3)
  We celebrate this party on the occasion of Maxtimqulı's birthday.

(xi) **müčberi ~ mőjberi**

While **müčberi** has been reported from the Ärsa:ri dialect, the Teke variant is **mőjberi** 'around ..., approximately ...'.

- siddi:q ağıšam gi:č gellı, **sa:at iki mőjberi** gelen dir. (Te. 4)
  Siddi:q arrived late at night, he came around two o'clock.

(xii) **sayın ~ sayı**

This postposition exists in two variants, which are, however, not typical of one dialect or another, but can occur in all. The postposition is combined with notions of time and with participles.

- ata:m henı:zem šapaxa:nada, amma **gün sayın** yağšı bolyo:r. (Är. 20)
  My father is still in hospital, but he is getting better by the day.

- a:dam bir tä:ze yere **baran sayı** iči ğısyo:r. (Är. 32)
  When a man moves to a new place, he feels homesick.

(xiii) **sebä:blı**

This postposition, which exists in all dialects but is not very frequently used, seems to combine only with the nominative of verbals.
• wäxtniz bolmadığı sebä:blí biz sizleŋkä: barıbilmedik. (Är. 23)
Since we had no time we were unable to come to your place.

(xiv) tarapdan ~ tarapınnan

This postposition, which may or may not contain a possessive suffix to refer to its satellite, is used in all dialects – mostly to mark the actor of a passive verb:

• şil töhpe size enjimen tarapından berıldı. (Är. 3)
This prize has been given to you by the Organisation.
• kellä:m, ha:pıza:m şukir allah tarapdan şunya:naq gü:jli we i:ti meniŋ. (Är. 1)
My head, that memory of mine, thank (God), are by (the help of) Allah sooo strong and sharp!

(xv) tüweregi

This postposition is used in all dialects, denoting approximate numbers ('around..., approximatively ...').

• dü:nki yığnaqda a:dam köp dä:l-ti, köp bolsa altmış-yetmiș tüweregi a:dam ba:r-ti. (Är. 23)
At yesterday's meeting there were not many people; if it was many, there (may) have been around sixty or seventy people.

(xvi) üči:n

The postposition 'for..., on behalf of...' is frequently used in all dialects. In combination with personal and demonstrative pronouns it mostly requires the genitive case.

• yašığna ğaramazdan ikra:m ya:wer ö:z xalqı üči:n köp i:šler bejerdi. (Är. 8)
Irrespective of his (young) age Ikra:m Ya:wer achieved many things for his people.
• bil köp aŋsa:t i:š, münüŋ üči:n da:ŋıp durmalı dä:l. (Ol. 1)
This is a very easy matter, one should not worry about it.
• hä:zırki günde yüz u:ǧa:n-a:m meniŋ üči:n köp arzıšı ba:r. (Är. 53)
At the present time hundred Afghani also has a lot of value for me.

In final and causal clauses, which respond to the question nä:müčin 'what for' and 'why', it combines with the -mAQ infinitive and with the -An and -DIQ participles, respectively:

• jilgeler ma:l baqmaq üči:n mına:sup bolyo:r. (Är. 12)
The shrubs are suitable for livestock herding.
• bu xabar yu:j bolanı üči:n aytmaţça dä:l. (Är. 43)
One cannot but relate that news, because it is (so) interesting.
• mollä:niŋ oğlı bolanıŋz üči:n şerei: geplere yağşı düšünyo:rsıŋz. (Sa. 1)
Since you are the son of a mullah, you understand sharia matters well.
• xiya:nat etmediğim üči:n meniŋ hi:čkimnen ğorqı:m yo:q. (Är. 16)
Since I have not betrayed (anyone), I am not afraid of anybody.
(xvii) **ya:ni ~ ya:lı**

This postposition, which translates as 'like ...', comes as **ya:ni ~ ya:ni ~ ya:ni:q ~ ya:naq ~ ya:laq** in the Är:sa:ri dialect and as **ya:lı** in the Teke, Sa:riq and Yomut dialects. In combination with personal pronouns it mostly requires the genitive case.

- **ata:mıŋ şular ya:ni** gurriŋleri aydanmı bilyo:rın. (Är. 6)
  I know that my father used to tell stories (lit. conversations) like these.
- **olar hemi:še iki doğan ya:ni** bolıp ya:şadılar. (Är. 5)
  They always lived like two brothers.
- **a:dam ya:ni:q** edeblije otru! (Är. 28)
  Sit well-mannered like a human being!
- **šo:rdepelilier bile geplešenįz a:zd-a köp-de parq etyo: amma ol ĝarqinį dili ya:naq dä:l. (Är. 1)
  If you talk with people from Šo:rdepe, (their dialect) makes some difference, but not as much as the language of that Ğarqin.
- **šu ĝa:win-am sirke ya:lı** zat; mi:da: yaqano:q, zerd:ni čoğdıro:r. (Sa. 5)
  These melons are a thing like vinegar, they don't please the stomach, they raise the bail.
- **seniŋ-ya:lı** bir olı haywa:n öļennęi ą:lı olye:n, diyip dir. (Te. 13)
  He said, "Rather than (allowing) a big animal like you (to) die, come on, I will die myself."

When used with numerals or other words/phrases denoting measures, the postposition **ya:ni~ya:lı** indicates an approximate number/amount:

- **sa:nap görsek xuda:yberenį goynį sekkiz yüz ya:ni**, menįki bosa iki yüz elli-eken. (Är. 16)
  When we counted (we saw that) Xuda:yberen's sheep were about eight hundred while mine were two hundred fifty.
- **yılda bir a:y ya:ni** ruxsat beryo:r, bašga čaqı i:šlemeli. (Är. 40)
  He gives (the workers) around one month (of) leave per year, the other time they need to work.

The postposition is also employed with the -Iš infinitive or -An participle to form comparative verbal clauses:

- **o:ba:mızda şükir resm rawa:jımız öŋki bolıšı ya:lı**, čenna:n ü:tgä:ñoq. (Te. 4)
  Thank God in our village our customs are (still the same) as they were before, (they) have not changed much.
- **ona bul i:š eșekden palan alan ya:lı-eken**. (Te. 16)
  For him this (lit. this work) is said to be (as easy) as taking the saddlecloth off an ass.
- **inne bilen güyyi ğazan ya:ni i:š bil. (Är. 17)**
  This is a (piece of) work as (hopeless) as digging a well with a needle.

Together with positive or negative aorist forms the postposition produces final clauses:

- **do:ını čǎ:gingi yama:p bildirmede ya:ni etdim. (Är. 5)**
  I patched the tear of the cloak and made it invisible.
When combined with simple nouns, or even more so with pronouns, the postposition *ya:ni* is so closely connected that it seems to be morphologized: *šinya:*m, *munya:*n 'like that'. This is why it has been mentioned in the chapter of nominal morphology as a quasi-case suffix along with the equative *-dek*.

(b) Postpositions with the dative case

Unless otherwise specified, all postpositions enumerated below are used in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan.

(i) *baqa:* ~ *baqaːn*

This postposition, which translates as 'in the direction of ..., facing ...' and the like, is used in the *xālıṣ* dialects only.

- xuda:yberen *dewleda:*ba:da *baqaː* baryo:r-eken. (Är. 11) Xuda:yberen set out into the direction of Dewleda:ba:d.
- siz awwal toya barıŋ, ondan soŋ *bize baqaːn* geliberiŋ! (Är. 44) First go to the wedding and then come to us (lit. in our direction).

(ii) *baqmaːn* ~ *baqmazdan*

This postposition is used only in the Teke dialect, where it occurs interchangeably with *seretmezdən* (see below). It translates as 'irrespective of ...' and often combines with a phrase containing the nominalizer *-lIQ* (then to be translated as 'although... '). In the *Ä:rsaːr* dialect, *ḡaramaːn* ~ *ḡaramazdan* (see below) is used instead.

- yo:la hiːč yere *baqmaːn* doğru mektebe barıŋ! (Är. 5) Don’t look anywhere on the way, (just) go straight straight ahead to school.
- *huwwaːn* yağışlılığına *baqmazdan* yo:la düşdik. (Te. 14) We set out although the weather was rainy.

(ii) *čenli* ~ *čenliːk*

In the *Ä:rsaːr* dialect this postposition, which translates as 'as far as ...', 'until ...', comes as *čenli* ~ *čelli*, while in the Teke and Yomut dialects it has been recorded as *čenliːk*.

- şu yerden *pulxumraː* *čenli* qanča ki:lu:mitir bar-qaː? (Är. 41) How many kilometers is it from here to Pulixumri?
• hira:tdan tu:rgonda čenli:k iki-üč sa:atlq yo:l ba:rdır. (Te. 8)
It's presumably a two or three hours' drive from Herat to Tu:rgondı.

In the Ă:rsa:rl dialect the postposition can be used interchangeably with the limitative suffixes -čAn or -čA; in the nāxālīş dialects only the suffix -čA is being used, while the postposition is missing altogether.

(iii) deŋ ~ deŋi:č
This postposition translates as 'until ...', 'as far as ...'. Double-coding in combination with the preposition tā occurs, although not very frequently.

• qawsa deŋ ńoyunlar meyda:nda onyo:r, soň ńa:nda sa:man bermese bolmyo:r. (ăr. 12)
  Until (the month of) Sagittarius the sheep graze in the open steppe, afterwards in winter one cannot do but give them straw.
  On Monday we worked till night.
• ta: m:za:na deŋ ńt raqam edip ati baqyo:s. (Xa. 4)
  We keep the horse like this until the Libra (month).

(iv) ńaršı
The postposition ńaršı 'opposite ..., against ..., contrary to ...' occurs in all dialects.

• men moña ńaršı dimege-de jüret gerek. (ăr. 19)
  It takes courage to say, "I am against this".
• jelsede bir heki:m a:ğa moña ńaršı čıqdı, baʃqalar ma:wa:pıqdı. (Te. 2)
  At the meeting only Heki:m A:ğa stood against me, the others were in favour.

(v) ńara:nda ~ ńara:nıŋda
This postposition translates as 'compared with ...'. It occurs in all dialects; in the Ă:rsa:rl dialect, it is used instead of baqanda (see above). The postposition can be "personalized" by its respective possessive suffix.

• pā:kista:ni: bürünjin bişirmesi başga burinjlerę ńara:nda anša:t. (ăr. 11)
  Pakistani rice is easier to prepare than other (sorts of) rice.
• peʃtuwe ńara:nda turkmen-əm anša:tra:q bolsa gerek. (ăr. 17)
  Compared to Pashto, even Turkmen is obviously easier.
• qa:dırlarını hemsı:yasını ńara:nıŋda yenêdı:mi bizını hemsı:yalarmız kıp yăqıştı. (ăr. 32)
  Compared (lit. if you compare) to the neighbors of the Qa:dir (family), our own neighbors are still very nice.

(vi) ńolay
The postposition ńolay 'near ...', approximately, up to a limit of ...' is used in the Ă:rsa:rl dialect; in the Teke dialect, the latter meaning is rendered by the postposition cemeli (with nominative, see above) instead.
• ista:nbul şeheri deŋze ġolay. (Är. 32)
The city of Istanbul is (located) near the sea.
• her gün erti:r ya:rm sa:ata ġolay piya:da yörio:n. (Är. 7)
Every morning I take a walk for approximately half an hour.

(vii) görü:

This postposition is used in all dialects; it translates as 'compared with ...', which may express affirmative comparisons ('according to ...') as well as adversative ones ('different from ...', 'as opposed to ...'). In its adversative meaning, the postposition can also require the ablative case (see below).

• meniŋ pikrimä görä: watannan ayrılmaq iŋ yaman za:tlarn bi:ri. (Te. 6)
According to my opinion, being separated from one's homeland is one of the worst things.
• nä:če deli:llere görä: bu xi:l ineğ oğanista:nız yaqdayna bara:bar gelyor. (Är. 4)
According to quite a few pieces of evidence, this sort of cattle suits the conditions of Afghanistan.
• šuŋa görä:de mejlisge aytma:ga otanya:lar. (Te. 10)
And because of this / in accordance with that, they are ashamed of coming to a meeting and speaking up.
• yö:ne čigit ya:ğa ya:da naba:tı ya:ğa görä: kunji ya:ği ġummatraq. (Är. 6)
But compared with cotton oil or (other) vegetable oil, sesame oil is more expensive.

(viii) seredende ~ seredeynde

This postposition has been recorded from the Teke and Yomut dialects only; its meaning 'compared with ...' would in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect be rendered by the postposition ġara:nda (see above). The postposition seredende can be personalized by inserting the possessive suffix that relates to its (virtual) satellite; seredeniŋde, lit. 'if you consider...' (which is also used for impersonal satellites like "one"), is then often contracted into seredeynde.

• gečen zama:nlara seredeynde hâ:zir yağın hemme yerde a:z. (Te. 10)
Compared with former times, precipitation is less in all places today.
• zehmetine seredeynde ha:l:nız bahasi hi:č nä:rse dä:l. (Yo. 2)
Compared with the hard work (it takes), the price of carpets is nothing at all.

(ix) seretmezden

This postposition has been recorded from the Teke and Yomut dialects. Its meaning 'regardless of ...' is also rendered by baqmazdan and (also in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect) by ġaramazdan.

• olar hawwa:nız issi:gliŋa seretmezden yo:la düṣdiler. (Te. 16)
They set out without regarding the hot weather.

(x) tarap

The postposition translates as 'in the direction of ...', 'turned towards ...'.

197
• i:rden turıp čöle tarap u:radım, ortaşaxdan ötenimde hozarlar qı:ţi. (Är. 41)
  I got up early and went to the countryside. When I passed by Ortaşax, the roosters were crowing.

(xii) yaqı:n ~ yaqın

Together with a numeral, this postposition denotes an approximative number. The postposition is used in all dialects. The short-vowel variant is typical of the naxaliş dialects.

• mawlewi: sa:yıbıŋ üč yüze yaqı:n šä:girdi bar dr. (Är. 17)
  Mawlewi: Sa:yib has close to three hundred students.
• hu:telde bir miŋŋe yaqın a:dam bar edı. (Mu. 3)
  In the hotel there were almost one thousand people.

(c) Postpositions with the ablative case

(i) aŋrı ~ aŋrı:q

This postposition, which is aŋrı in the Ä:rsa:rı, and aŋrı:q in the Teke dialect, forms spatial, temporal and quantifying clauses denoting 'on the far side of ...', 'beyond ...', 'after ...', 'more than ...'.

• şil görinyo:n da:gdan aŋrı ma:rmul bolyo:r. (Är. 53)
  On the far side of that mountain which can be seen (here), there is (the area called) Ma:rmul.
• ata:miş ya:şi yüzden aŋrı:q geçipdi. (Te. 10)
  My father's age has transgressed hundred years.
• men bir hepdeden aŋrı:q a:şğaba:d barıp gelišim gerek. (Te. 5)
  After one week I have to go to Aşğaba:d.

(ii) artıq

The postposition artıq 'more than...' can be considered a synonym of the (more frequently used) ziya:d ~ ziya:da (see below).

• siz bizi münnaŋ artıq şː:namaŋ di:di. (Är. 5)
  He said, "Don't you torture us any more (lit. more than this)!"

(iii) bašğa

The postposition bašğa 'except..., besides..., other than ...' exists in all dialects.

• bize bir juma: günneŋ bašğa rusgati yo:q. (Te. 14)
  For us there are no days off other than Friday.
  In order to found (lit. open) the Council we also consulted with the elders in other countries than Pakistan.
• ol yerde menä: bir qanča esger bilen i:şčiden bašğa hi:čkimi görmedim. (Är. 18)
  There I saw nobody but a few soldiers and workers.
• марчакда sa:riqlardan başğa, ä:rsa:rlar өзбеклер we arablar ya:ши: du:r. (Sa. 1)
  In Marčaq other than Sa:riq there also live Ärsa:ri, Uzbeks and Arabs.

(iv) bä:ri

The postposition bä:ri 'since...' has been reported from all dialects. In the Ä:rsa:ri dialect, the rare variant bä:rä: has also been reported: men bilenimmen bä:rä: (Är. 10) 'since I am in my right mind'.

• ona:m aytma:m gerek, mana birki yildan bä:ri mana xušk sa:lıq gelip dä:ni:  
  I also need to say that since one or two years this draught has come and the stomachs of the sheep have not been satiated with grass.

• muxma:nlar erti:rden bä:ri gelip oti:rlar. (Är. 10)  
  The guests keep coming since the early morning.

• güdüm wağıltlardan bä:ri Türkmenler göçip -ğo:nıp yören soŋ olar dünyä:niŋ köp yerlerne yayra:pdırlar. (Te. 13)  
  Because the Turkmens have been migrating here and there since ancient times, they have spread out to many places of the world.

• demir-pala:stik za:tlar čıqannan bä:ri indi öŋkiler ya:li ağaššı ussalaram yo:q. (Sa. 2)  
  Since iron and plastic things have appeared, now there are no (more) woodworking masters like (in) former (times).

(v) beylä:k

The postposition beylä:k 'on the far side of..., beyond..., after...' has been reported from the Teke dialect only, and only in the crystallized phrase mundan beylä:k 'from now on'; another variant, namely beyle, was by informants said to exist, but has not been reported from actual speech.

• mundan beylä:k maña pul ber di:mä:n! qaqaŋızdan alıŋ. (Te. 5)  
  From now (lit. this) on don't say "Give me money!", take it from your father.

(v) buya:n ~ bya:n

This postposition, which renders the same meanings and is used the same way as beylä:k above, appears to be the Ä:rsa:ri correlate of the latter; it also seems to be confined to the phrase 'from now on':

• munnan buya:n pä:kültä: günde erti:r sekgizde barmalı boldıq. (Är. 27)  
  From now on we'll have to go to the faculty at eight o'clock in the morning.

(vi) dašari

The postposition dašari 'outside ..., other than ...' exists in all dialects.

• kõ:si:š ediŋ hi:čkim pro:gira:mnan daşari geplemesin. (Är. 7)  
  Please make an effort so that nobody should talk outside the schedule(d presentations).
The postposition 'other than...', which exists in all dialects but is only unfrequently used, is at semantic variation with the above-mentioned postposition bašğa.

- ğarı:p düüşən özənnen ğayrı hı:čkim saña ğamxo:r tapılmaz. (Ār. 5)
  If you become poor, nobody but yourself will be found to care about you!

The postposition 'compared with...', which has already been mentioned as requiring the dative, can also be used with the ablative case. There seems to be no evident semantic difference between the two options.

- yo:lbarsıŋ gu:resi ši:rden görə: splaŋ bolyo:r. (Ār. 17)
  The body of a tiger is longer than (the body of) a lion.
- teke lehjesinnen görə: ā:rsa:rı:ŋ lehjesi türk diline mənjeşrə:k mika: diyə:n. (Te. 13)
  I'd assume that the Ā:rsa:rı dialect is closer to the Turkish language than the Teke dialect.

The postposition which translates as 'before...' comes in two variants, namely, owwal and ozal. In verbal phrases the postposition combines with the negative aorist. In the nāxālts dialects the variant awwal also exists.

- siz ortalap gitseŋiz mennen owwal bararsız. (Ār. 11)
  If you take the way through the middle, you will arrive before me.
- yo:lıŋ onça u:rı yo:q, ğaraŋqı düşmezden ozal yo:ldan ötmeli bolars. (Ār. 23)
  The road is not in a good condition, we need to have passed that (piece of) road before dusk moves in.
- a:lı oğlaqdan awwal üč tört a:y baqmah. (Mu. 2)
  Before the buzkashi race one needs to build the horse up for three or four months.

The postposition 'before...' is used in all dialects. In verbal phrases it requires the negative aorist.

- banke barjaq bolșanız sa:at sekgizden öz barış. (Ār. 25)
  If you are planning to go to the bank, go (there) before eight o'clock!
- toqayda maha:ır gelmezden öz türkmen yo:ğ ekeni. (Ār. 35)
  Before the migrants arrived, there were no Turkmens in the lowland forest area.

This postposition, which has been recorded from the Teke dialect only, translates as 'before...'.

- qa:dir sizden özênçä: gelip gitdi. (Te. 16)
  Qa:dir had come and left (again) before you (did).
This postposition, which translates as 'due to...', has been recorded only from the Teke dialect.

- siz hemi:še bize kömek edip gelyo:rsıŋız, šonnan ötri biz sizi yağšı görya:s. (Te. 3)
  You always help us, therefore we like you.

This postposition can be considered a synonym of başğa and ğayrı 'other than ...' (both see above), but is less frequently used than these.

- sennen ö:zge bil i:şi hičkim bašarmaz. (Te. 10)
  Nobody else but you (can) accomplish this work.

This postposition's original meaning is 'after ...', and verbal clauses formed with it can be understood as either purely temporal or as temporal-and-causal.

- dö:rt yarım a:ydan soŋ bizler pes i:zimiza gečip geldik. (Sa. 5)
  After four and a half months we again returned back (lit. on our footprints).
- bizler aslan a:qjadan bolannan soŋ bu yere gelen soŋ şu lebze giden. (Mo. 3)
  After actually being from Aqča, we have shifted to this dialect after coming here.
- segsenbi:rinji yılı ma:للar ölenden soŋ men-em ma:lda:rlığı ğoydım. (Är. 12)
  After/because the animals had died away in the year (13)81, I also gave up livestock breeding.

Interestingly, the ablative suffix can be missing in combinations of a participle and the postposition soŋ: gelen soŋ (Te. 7) 'after having come', qaziq qaqaŋ soŋ (Mo. 2) 'after driving in the peg'.

The postposition yaŋa: translates as 'because of...'; it bears much the same meaning as ötri (see above), which, however, is used only in the Teke dialect while yaŋa: is known in all dialects.

- hanıpa:niŋ bosa ša:dliqdan yaŋa: yüreği ya:rljaq boldı. (Är. 5)
  And Hanıpa:’s heart was about to burst with happiness.

5.1.7 Relational nouns

Relational nouns are part of a possessive construction, in which they are the head that is marked with the possessive suffix; their satellite generally has the genitive suffix if the

---

176 This terminology follows Erdal 2004:332 and chapter 4.22. Erdal credits Clark 1998 with the term "relational nouns" (2004:332 fn. 533); however, Clark lists these nouns as "auxiliary nouns" (1998:427ff.), a term that appears less appropriate than Erdal's own.
relation is to be understood in a literal, spatial sense, but remains unmarked if the relation is understood in a transferred sense.

There is some overlapping between relational nouns and adverbs on one, and relational nouns and postpositions on the other side. These cases will be specified below.

Relational noun constructions can occur in the nominative, accusative, and all adverbial cases, with the case suffix marking the head of the construction, that is, the relational noun.

My materials do not contain all relational nouns which have elsewhere been identified as occurring in the Turkmen language (Clark 1998:427ff.). While some of those which have been reported here are frequently used, others occur only rarely. There is only little dialectal variation, which will be specified below.

(i) aŋrı

*aŋrı* is etymologically related with *aŋrı* (Te.) or *aŋır* (Mo.) 'the other side, the opposite shore':

- xataplar bile muqrılar aŋırda-da türkmenistanda-da bir yerre:kde ya:šyo:r ekenler. (Mu. 1)
  The Xatap and Muqrı are said to live more (or less) together on the other side (of the border), in Turkmenistan, too.

The deictic directive177 aŋrı operates as a spatial adverb in sentences like the following:

- derya:nıŋ su:wı aŋrı gidende bà:ri tarapda kö:l köp bolyo:r. (Är. 39)
  Whenever the water of the river retreats over there, on this (near) side many puddles come into being.
- birinjiden kö:ne qala:ğ aŋrı xa:nča:rba:ğ barars. (Är. 9)
  First we go to the ancient fortress and after that we cross over to Xa:nča:rba:ğ.

From the Teke dialect, *aŋrıda* 'further away', which bears the locative suffix, has also been reported.

- uč toqırtğa:nıŋ bi:ri inha: şu yerde, bi:risi-de ol depänıŋ yannda, yene bi:ri-de iki ki:lo:mitir aŋrıda. (Te. 8)
  One of the three mud water pipes is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again (another) one of them is two kilometers away.

Mostly, however, *aŋrı* is used in relational noun constructions; in this function it occurs in all dialects.

- şu depänıŋ aŋrısınna iki sa:nı o:läji:ğ-am otlı:p yö:r. (Te. 13)
  Across that hilltop two calves are grazing.
- üyi derya:nıŋ aŋrısında-tı. (Är. 53)
  His house was across the river.

(ii) *arqa*

*Arqa* 'back, reverse side' and the adverb *arqada* 'back, behind' are used in all dialects, and so is the relational noun:

- **bu yil üc sa:mi ena:r ekdik, bi:regi mana šul, yene bi:regi ol, yene bi:regä:m ta:miŋ arqasında.** (Är. 17)
  This year we planted three pomegranate (trees), one of them is this one here, another one is that one, and yet another one is behind the house.

(iii) *büyle*

*Büyle*, as a synonym of *bašğa*, means 'otherwise' and can by means of the suffix *-ki* be turned into an attributable adjective 'the other...':

- **büyleki mi:xma:lar qačan geljek?** (Är. 13)
  When are the other guests coming?

As a relational noun, *büyle* denotes the 'ulterior', 'what is beyond...':

- **šol či:lden büylesi meniŋ pi:ka:lım** (Är. 18)
  (The piece that) is beyond this path is my field.

(iv) *boy*

The substantive *boy* denotes 'body length, full length'. As a relational noun *boy* is part of phrases that mean 'all along...', 'along...':

- **a:muderya:ŋ boyı qadı:m zama:nlarda ha:č waxt i:la:tsız bolma:ndır.** (Yo. 1)
  (The area) along the Amūdaryā was in ancient times never devoid of population.

(v) *ič*

The relational noun *ič* translates as 'in ...', 'inside ...', 'within ...' in a spatial, temporal, or transferred understanding of the word.

- **sekgiz utağı ba:rti, šungkin dašini-ičini suwašdirip berdiler.** (Sa. 2)
  (The house) had eight chambers; they whitewashed their exterior and interior.
- **gelya:nıŋ sačağı alınıp šon ičine bašğa za:d salınıp pes berilip berdiler.** (Te. 2)
  The kerchiefs of the new-arrivals are taken, something else is put into them, (and) then they are handed back.
- **yö:ne šu marčaŋı ičinde tő:r tů:ylı owğa:n ba:rt.** (Sa. 2)
  And in this very Marčaq there exist four households (of) Pashtuns.
- **birden xal:ı:nu durmadığını gördüm-de, men-em ča:gi:niŋ ičinnen sürdim.** (Är. 1)
  All of a sudden I saw that Xal:ı had not stopped and (therefore) I also drove (my car) through inside the dune area.
- **iki güniŋ ičinde** (Är. 7)
  within two days
• türkmenler tä:zeden şehirniçi:ni:ye u:rensdiler, o:balardan čıqıp gelip şehr içinne ya:šaya:lar. (Te. 6)
  The Turkmens have (only) recently got used to urban life; they have left the villages
  and are (now) living in town.

(vi) tewereg

This relational noun translates as 'around ...' and can be considered a synonym of etra:f 'the
environs of ...'.

• i:sa i:ša:nda mart tewereginde hemme tanıyla:r-eken. (Te. 5)
  (At that time) everyone around Mary knew I:sa I:ša:n.

(vii) üst

The relational noun üst means 'top'; it can also be used in various transferred meanings.

• bı bala:rlar egreyšip du:r, ta:mmuq üstine bomaz bilar. (Är. 13)
  These beams are curved, they won't do for on top of the roof.

• yö:ne şunya:ni bir da:qın üstinne qadi:m bir sılta:n sanjar diyip bir pa:šše: otrıp giden diyyä: . (Te. 7)
  And (they) say on top of such a hill (in) ancient (times) a certain king named Sultan
  Sanjar was residing.

dä: . (Är. 35)
  If our government created easy conditions, we would not insist on (lit. be fond of)
  exporting the carpet(s) via Pakistan.

• şunıŋ üstinne derrä:nıŋ yoqarsının aylanıp su: gelyä:r-eken. (Te. 3)
  On top of this, water was (over and over again) coming from the upstream region.

(viii) ya:n

With its primary meaning 'side', the relational noun ya:n can also be used to denote 'near...',
'to...' and the like.

• Bil meni pul beren güni:m yağšı göryo:r, pul bermedik güni:m ya:nım-da gelen yo:q. (Är. 7)
  He likes me on day(s) when I give him money, (while) on days when I don't give
  (him) money he doesn't even come to me.

• bā:baum ğıšlağd bolyo:r, her hepde yə:nna barp ąaytyo:s. (Är. 22)
  My grandfather is in the village. Every week we go to him.

• yə:nına:qi piya:la:nı apber (Te. 16)
  Bring (me) the teacup next to you!

• sen-em qa:drın yə:nna bara:ğay! (Är. 6)
  (Now come on,) go to Qa:dir!

(ix) yoqari

The deicticdirective yoqari 'upward' can be used as an attribute: yoqari oqu:lar 'higher
education'. The relational noun derived from yoqari translates as 'upper region of...', 'higher
up the ...' and the like.
• ẽoyun derrä:niŋ yoqarsınnan aylanıp gelyä:r-ı. (Te. 3)
   The sheep were approaching from further up the valley.

5.1.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions connect words, phrases or sentences. Some of the conjunctions coordinate two or more such elements. Other conjunctions subordinate one element to another; only sentences can be subordinated to other sentences by means of conjunctions.

(a) Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions can signal connection, contradiction, correlation\textsuperscript{178} and specification.

(i) \textit{bilen} \textasciitilde \textit{bile}

The conjunction \textit{bilen} and its rare variant \textit{bile} (which has been reported only from the Muqrı dialect) can coordinate only pairs (or in rare cases, triples) of substantives or short noun phrases of analogous syntactic function. It translates as a simple 'and'.

- \textit{xataplar bile muqrılar} aŋirda da türkmenistanda da bir yerrä:kde ya:šıyo:r-ekenler. (Mu. 1)
  The Xatap and Muqrı lived more (or less) in the same place over there in Turkmenistan.
- \textit{enem bilen uyya:ma} pä:kista:n äkidip dä:ktere görkezdim. (Är. 11)
  I took my mother and my sister to Pakistan and showed them to the doctor.
- \textit{o:ga:nlaŋqi bilen türkmenleŋki} ikisi bir. (Är. 1)
  The [language] of the Afghans and that of the Turkmens, both are equal.

Some relational noun constructions (\textit{orta} 'middle, center', \textit{ara} 'in-between' and derivals of these) require a pair of nouns / noun phrases joined by the conjunction \textit{bilen} in their satellite:

- \textit{bizde-dä:m oro:za haydi bilen ğorba:n haydınıŋ aralığı}nda toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)
  At ours, they don't celebrate weddings between the \textit{id al-fitr} and the \textit{id al-qurbān}.
- \textit{ba:zar bilen biziŋ üyimiz ortasi} dört ä:dim yer. (Te. 6)
  The distance between the bazaar and our home is a space (of) four steps.

Note an interesting case of contamination of constructions – the speaker sets out with a construction of the type just mentioned above, but continues with one that would have required an ablative at the first element (\textit{biziŋ üyimizden şehrêče}).\textsuperscript{179}

- \textit{biziŋ üyimiz bilen şehrêče} birki a:rdım yo:l. (Är. 11)
  From our home to town it's (only) one or two steps' way.

\textsuperscript{178} This threefold classification follows Clark (1998:434); Clark does not list "specification", however.

\textsuperscript{179} I document this example here although I consider it to be a trivial slip of the tongue rather than a "mistake" in the understanding of Henri Frei's \textit{La grammaire des fautes}. 
While generally the conjunction *bilen* can join only analogous elements, this rule can be neglected for the sake of conciseness in the case of genitive-possessive constructions where one element of the analogous pair is a personal or reflexive pronoun; the "suppressed" subject is still reflected in its referent at the head:

- **bolmasa payz qaryada:r bilen zewa:nimiz**¹⁸⁰ bir, bizler a:ta-ba:walarmız bir yerde bola:n. (Mo. 1)
  On the other hand Payz Qaryada:r's language and ours is the same, our forefathers had been together.
- **a:ğam bilen ğoyunlarmız** ayra dä:l yö:ne oniŋ gi:rdijisni ya:rum iki bölüp paylašyo:rs. (Är. 12)
  Our sheep and my brother's are not separate, but the income from it we divide (by) half.

The same idea appears to be at the bottom of the coordination-like construction contained in the following example (where *bilen* is not used as a postposition!), in which the "suppressed pronoun" re-appears in the verbal predicate:

- **ahmed bilen ba:zar güni barars**¹⁸¹ diiyip qara:r ğoydıq. (Är. 34)
  Ahmed and (myself/ourselves) decided to go (there) on market day.

(ii) *dIr*

The conjunction *dIr* 'and', which connects substantives of analogous syntactic function, has been reported only from the Teke dialect.

- **Qa:dır ba:yıŋ doğanı-dir oglanları hi:č qaysısı üyde yo:ğ-eken.** (Te. 16)
  None of Qa:dır Ba:y's brothers or sons seems to be at home...

(iii) *u*

The conjunction *u* 'and' is not very widely used, although it is known in all dialects. It connects substantives or concise nominal phrases; some of these are lexicalized (e.g. *i:r u gi:č* 'in the morning and at night' = 'at all times').

- **çopanlar ya:z u giš di:mä:n zehmet tartyo:rlar, şoniŋ üčiŋ aylıği köprä:ğ bermeli.** (Är. 33)
  The shepherds work without minding summer or winter, therefore one needs to give (them) more salary.
- **asta:n a:ğä di:yo:n a:damnaŋ atam u uĉ gi:ž doğanı bra:r eken.** (Är. 6)
  Except a man named Asta:n A:ğä, there were only my father and his three sisters.

(iv) *we*

The conjunction *we* connects pairs or chains of simple substantives or verbs, and it can also connect phrases to sentences, or whole sentences to one another. Generally, however, the conjunction is not frequently used.

¹⁸⁰ Short for *payz qaryada:r bilen biziŋ/ö:zimiziŋ zewa:nimiz*.
¹⁸¹ Short for *ahmed bilen ö:zim(iz) ba:zar güni barars*. 

206
• sılta:n sanjar şu yere gelende wezi:rleri we qomanda:nları bilen maslaxatlaşb otrüpdir. (Sa. 4)
When Sultan Sanjar came to this place, he used to have consultations with his ministers and field commanders.
In Marçaq other than Sa:rq there also live Ā:rsa:ri, Uzbeks and Arabs, but they are all speaking in the Sa:rq language.
• at möjegiŋ yaqı:n gelenni gözi görmese -de bilbilyo:r- mıš we kïnšiyo:r- mıš. (Är. 12)
Although the horse – its eyes – cannot see the wolf coming closer, it is said to recognize it and to neigh.
• mnnan üye barars we ča:y içers. (Är. 24)
After this we'll go home and drink tea.

(v) dA

The conjunction dA 'and' connects sentences with verbal predicates. It exists in all dialects, but is used even less frequently than the conjunctions just mentioned; the regular means to join sentences with verbal predicates would be gerund constructions.

• xatı tı:z-tı:z yazdı-da maşa berdi. (Är. 6)
He hastily wrote the letter and gave it to me.

(vi) hem - hem

The conjunction hem – hem '... as well as ...', 'both ... and ...' can connect nominal as well as verbal phrases. It is used in all dialects, but it occurs only unfrequently. It can precede or follow the elements which it connects and it can undergo various shortening and assimilation.

• a:t yaramas bolsa hem tepyo: hem tišliyo:. (Mu. 2)
If a horse is bad, it both kicks and bites.
• resim-rava:j-a:m ġawı, eda:b-a:m ġuwı, dessu:r-a:m ġawı bir topar za:tlar. (Te. 4)
(These people) are a bunch of guys whose customs are good as well as their manners and their morals.
• şipille-ki yo:q, oğri-yem yo:q bašqa-yem yo:q, şipille pi:le:n-xo hi:č gep yo:q. (Mo. 1)
These days there is nothing – no thieves, no others. These days there is simply no nothing (lit. no word).

(vii) ya:

The conjunction ya: 'or' signals an alternative correlation between the words, phrases, or sentences which it connects. It can also connote an explanatory specification like the conjunction yä:ni: 'that is, ...'.

---

182 Clark's examples (1998:436) are with one exception (last example, and the example with hem-de) all misplaced, since in them hem is being used as a postposed assertive particle rather than as a conjunction.
• ba:zar bārsanîz gö:št ya: ba:miya aliq-geliŋ! (Ār. 30)
  If you go to the bazaar bring along some meat or ladyfingers!
• burê ya: turši i:sem mādem ağraydi. (Xa. 4)
  If I eat chilies or pickles my stomach aches.
• hā:zir ekin-tikinizm ya: zira:atîmîz öng dâ:l. (Ār. 8)
  For the time being our grain farming, that is, our agriculture, has not taken any progress.

(viii) ya: ... ya: ...

This conjunction precedes both of the words or phrases which it connects, signalling the alternative correlation 'either ... or ...'.

• ġawın bîsînde bir gørîšeli, ya: siz geliŋ ya: biz baralî. (Ār. 35)
  Let us meet when the melons are ripe – either you come, or we will go.

(ix) ya-da

The conjunction ya-da 'and also ..., or even ...' connects non-first elements of a series of syntactically analogous substantives or verbal predicates to the respective next element in the row.

• mana ba:zarlarâ ġara:b görsek hemi:še aq tuwiq-am pa:kista:n bilen i:ra:n ya-da hindusta:nnan gelyo:r. (Ār. 4)
  If we look at the markets, the white chickens always come from Pakistan or Iran or even from India.
• ağıšam geliŋ otralî, ča:y ičers, gürrîlešers, ya:-da qarta oyna:rs. (Ār. 1)
  Come tonight, let us sit (together), drink tea, chat, or even play cards.

(x) ne ... ne ...

This conjunction, which precedes both of the words or clauses which it connects, translates as 'neither ... nor ...'.

• ne men seni gören bolayın ne sen meni gören bol. (Ār. 34)
  Neither shall I (admit) having seen you, nor should you (admit) having seen me!

(xi) hatta:

The conjunction hatta: connects two words, phrases or sentences to the effect that the first is specified by the second in a way which can best be translated by 'and even...' :

• ġoyunîn etinne hatta: sü:dinne de ya:ğ köp bolmai. (Te. 5)
  In the sheep's meat and even in its milk the fat is plenty.
• qanča köp bilsek şonča ġawî, xusu:san pa:rsî hatta: peštû:na:m u:rensek ġawî, ol-am resmi: dewlet dîli. (Te. 14)
  The more (languages) we know the better; especially if we learn Persian and even Pashto it's good, they are the official state langages after all.
(xii) yä:ni:

The conjunction yä:ni: 'that is to say, that means' connects two sentences, the first one of which is in an explanatory way specified by the second. The first one of the connected elements may even be missing, or have been communicated outside an immediate sequence; the explanatory specification would still remain in place.

  The very drivers, some of them, support us students, that is, they don't take money from us.
- yä:ni: oğlanlar bilen boğşıðınız? (Är. 39)
  That is to say, you have wrestled with the (other) kids?!

(xiii) di:mek

The conjunction di:mek is a synonym of yä:ni: and is being used the same way.

- di:mek siz onda iki gün-em ğa:lp biljek gä:mi? bir-ki gün bolsanız ğawi bolardı. (Te. 11)
  That is to say, you won't be able to stay on for two days? Would have been good if you'd been (around) for one or two days...

(xiv) weli:n ~ weli:

The conjunction weli:n ~ weli:n 'but' signals contradiction between the two sentences which it connects. It is used in all dialects. The conjunction mostly precedes the sentence or phrase which contains the contradictory message, but it can also be postposed to it: inni göryä:s weli:n (Te. 6) 'but now we see'.

- onbä:š gün boldı weli:n yambašdan gelyä:mišin diiyip merdim bir ğorqya:r yö:ne merdim titrä:b du:r. (Te. 1)
  It's (already) been fifteen days (since the attack) but people are so afraid (the raiders) might come back – the people are still trembling.
- biz mehpile bardıq weli:n sen yo:q-tiŋ. (Är. 22)
  We went to the party but you weren't (there).
  Sa:ra:'s mother hatched chickens; the chickens were plenty, but since she had no good henhouse they were all eaten up by the rooster.
- doqma satilmadi weli:n čiten doqmalari ellerniŋ ustinne ğallı. (Te. 6)
  The carpet was not sold, but (instead) the carpets they had woven remained on their hands.
- maza:ršeri:pde hemme kepderiler a:ğ-eken, hira:tda we kä:bilde weli:n kepderiler her xi:l bolya:r. (Te. 13)
  In Mazārī Šarīf all pigeons are white, but in Herat and Kabul the pigeons are (of) all sorts.
(xv) **amma:**

The conjunction *amma*, which signals contradiction like *weli:n*, is only unfrequently used.

  In Marçaq other than Sa:rq there also live Ärsa:rl, Uzbeks and Arabs, but they are all speaking the Sa:rq language.
- biz boynümüza alan wezi:pä:mizi bejerdik amma: olariŋ heni:zeče eden i:şi yo:q. (Är. 8)
  We have fulfilled the duties which we had accepted, but (by) them, no work has been done as yet.

(xvi) **bolmasa**

As a conjunction, *bolmasa* (lit. 'if it is not') indicates that the second one of two sentences which it connects suggests an alternative to what is expressed in the first one. It can be translated as 'or ...', 'otherwise ...', 'however, ...', 'actually, ...' and the like.

- zehmet čekiš gerek, bira:z sarpajoɣi ediš gerek, bolmasa puluŋ yıgilması gi:n. (Är. 25)
  It is necessary to toil, it is necessary to economize a bit, or otherwise the accumulation of money will be difficult.
- qadı:m buxara: sewda: merkezi bolanann soŋ oŋa buxara:yı diyelar, bolmasa türkmen ha:lisı bil. (Yo. 1)
  Since in ancient times Bukhara was center of trade, they call this (type of carpet) Bukharan; however, it is a Turkmen carpet.
- siziziŋ deli:li:nizi ešdip abdıraxma:n imsim boldı, bolmasa hi:čkimiŋ gepini qabu:l etmä:n otı:r-tı. (Är. 10)
  Now that Abdıraxma:n has heard your arguments, he has shut up. Otherwise he never accepted anybody's words.

As can be seen from the following example, the conjunction *bolmasa* can even be applied if the phrase/sentence which it "contradicts" is not explicitly said.

  Give it one try to hand in your petition at the ministry. [Maybe you are successful.] If not, I will then solve the matter via the parliament.

(xvii) **onda-da**

The conjunction *onda-da* connects two sentences, the second one of which signals contradiction to the first; it can be translated as '....all the same', 'nevertheless ...’ and the like.

- buyerde xuda:ya: sükür biziŋ hemme nå:rsä:miz ba:r, onda-da türkmenista:n ata watanımız bolanı üči:n göresimiz gelä:r. (Te. 19)
  Here, thank God, we have everything. Nevertheless, since Turkmenistan is our forefathers' homeland we desire to see (it).
The conjunction yo:ğsa(m) (lit. 'if it is not') connects two sentences in similar ways as bolmasa (see above), in that the second element is at semantic contradiction to the first.

- di:šinjiz čü:ri:n bolsa yo:ğsa sizi helä:k eder. (Är. 20)
  If your tooth is rotten, have it extracted – otherwise it will kill you.
- yaŋqı yıgitlerin köpissin sewa:dı yo:q yo:ğsam olar mekdeb-em oqaːdilar. (Är. 11)
  Most of these youngsters are analphabets – although they go to school.

The conjunction ꞑaytaːm ~ ꞑaytadaːm sets the subsequent sentence in immediate contradiction to the precedent one; it can be translated as 'just the contrary, ...'. The preceding sentence may include the adverb bir ('for one thing'), which "cross-references" with the conjunction.

- behmen saːyıp ğariːmaːn dir ꞑaytadaːm öŋkiden yaːšarıp dir. (Är. 21)
  Behmen Saːyıp has not aged – just the contrary, he's gotten younger than before!
- bize wiːzäː bir bermedi ꞑaytaːm bir heptelːp sergerdaːn-am etdi. (Te. 16)
  He, for one thing, didn't give us a visa – just the contrary, he drove us nuts for a whole week.

The conjunction tersine is a synonym of ꞑaytaːm and functions in exactly the same way.

- aːqmıraːd bize pul-aː bir bermedi, tersine aldad-aːm. (Är. 29)
  Aːqmıraːd for one thing did not give us money – just the contrary, he betrayed us at that.

Subordination is in Turkmen grammar confined to conditional clauses. Consequently, most of the subordinating conjunctions occur at the initial position of a conditional clause and many of them also signal some kind of conditional connection between the clauses and sentences joined together by the conjunction. Other types signal causation, contingency and quotation.\(^{183}\)

The conjunction eger ~ eger-de 'if...', which takes the initial position of a conditional clause (or in rare cases, the position immediately following the verb marked by the conditional suffix), can be understood as a product of double-coding in imitation of the Persian conditional construction (in which, other than Turkmen, the conjunction is an indispensable supplement to the subjunctive).

- eger däːdem meṇa kömek etmedik bolsa, men-hem bul iːšlerin hemmesini yeke öːzim bejerip bilmeyaːdim. (Te. 5)

\(^{183}\) For these categories, see also Clark (1998:434).
If my father hadn't helped me, I wouldn't have been able to accomplish all this work.

- ol waxtarda ọt hemi:še öcmä:n kö:z bolip durar-miš, eger öçirse soŋ o:di yaqmaq ği:nniš. (Är. 44)
  In those times the fire always kept glowing without going out; if it went out, it was difficult to light (another) fire.
- egerde siz gi:jä: ğalar ya:naq bolsanız motarda gidin. (Är. 10)
  If it looks as if you were late, go (there) by car!

(ii) soŋ

While the protasis of a conditional construction can take the conjunction eger as an (additional) marker of its connectedness with the apodosis, the apodosis in its turn can be marked with the – equally superfluous, in a syntactic understanding – "consecutive" conjunction soŋ 'then ...' in its initial position.

- bir sapar xalqı aldasanız soŋ hemi:še size inan maya:lar. (Te. 16)
  If you deceive the people once, then they will never (again) trust you.
- a:damıŋ hemme paa:liyetleri pi:nisine bağlı, pi:ni ğorjansa soŋ ol a:dam sağalmı yo:r. (Är. 18)
  All of man's action depends on his brains; if the brain (suffers) concussion, then that man won't recover.
- tilla: araq içse (...) soŋ dä:lerip bašlaya:r. (Te. 3)
  If Tilla: drinks alcohol, then he starts fooling round.

(iii) mI

The element mI, which is primarily known as interrogative particle, can also function as a conjunction that signals that two phrases are connected by condition. While mostly conditional clauses form the protasis of a conditional construction, the combination of a verb with preterite suffix and the conjunction mI can do the same. The preterite suffix is in these cases to be understood as a non-tense element only signalling the perfective aspect; together with the conjunction it connotes repetitiveness or even "general fact". The supplementary conjunction soŋ can, as it does with regular conditional clauses, take the initial position of the apodosis.

- quma:rba:z bir yola: oğrılıq etdimi onsoŋ ol başğa za:dlar am edesi geler. (Är. 2)
  Once a gambler has committed theft, then he will feel like doing other (bad) things as well.
- hemsa:ya:naq: ötdimi munque:dan bir za:di oğirlamaqčı bolar bil. (Te. 5)
  Any time he walks over to the neighbor's, he tries to steal something from there.

(iv) bardı-geldi

This conjunction can be best compared to the Dari conjunction ihvān 'if...' which implies an undesirable case ('under the unwelcome condition that ...').

- awala: oğrılıq kā:miya:b bolar, bardı-geldi bolmasa soŋ bir cā:re eders. (Är. 3)
  First your son will be successful in school. If – unwantly – he is not, then we'll do something about it.
• **vardi-geldi** biz ö:zimiz toya gelip bilmeseg-em, oğlanları i:berers. (Är. 35)
  If – as we hope won't happen – we cannot come to (your) feast ourselves, we'll send the kids.

(v) **čunki**

The conjunction **čunki** 'because...' connects two finite clauses the second of which, whose initial position the conjunction holds, gives an explanation for the proposition put forward in the first clause. The construction with **čunki** is clearly understood as copied from Persian; it is not frequently used.

• şo:ra:nıŋ orta: geleninnen biz bi:xabar ğaldıq **čunki** biz o waxt daşarda-tiq. (Är. 10)
  We remained unaware of the Council's coming into being, because at that time we were abroad.

• siziŋ šeri:atıŋzda yo:ğ oł, di:di, **čunki** yo:ğ o bizde. (Är. 2)
  This does not exist in your sharia law, he said, because it does not exist at ours.

(vi) **diyip**

The conjunction **diyip**, which is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan the gerund of the verb **di-** 'to say', marks a piece of direct speech (to which it is postposed) and connects or inserts it to the main clause.184

• men ya:š haywa:nlari i:merin **diyip** şert edipdim. (Te. 13)
  I had made a bet, "I won't eat young animals".

• şo pille **sab** diyip bir ğı:ğırdim. (Är. 14)
  At that time I burst out shouting, "Sir!".

• qa:zi :da:m edin **diyip** höküm beripdir. (Är. 17)
  The judge passed sentence saying, "Put him to death!".

This type of construction is often interpreted as signalling a causal or final relation:

  Probably they didn't give me a book because (I am) illiterate; (but) why haven't they given (any) to you?!

• şo wağıtlar **čelpek gunı** **diyip** gelya:nlara sačaq za:d oŋarılya:r-eken. (Te. 2)
  In those times a kerchief (or) stuff would be prepared for those (visitors) who came because of the "day of the flat loaves"185.

• **toy etjek diyip** köp pul yıŋnamalı boldıq. (Te. 16)
  We had to save up much money because we were planning to make a wedding.

• **nä:me diyip** siz oğlanlar bilen bo güştinjz? (Är. 39)
  What for did you fight with the boys?

---

184 From the Teke dialect **diyip** has been recorded in two more functions: (1) as a synonyme of the participle **diyen**, which occurs in attributive phrases of the 'the ... called ...' type (**a:dam diyen haywa:n** 'the animal called human', also **sultan sanjar diyip** bir pa:sša: 'a king named Sultan Sanjar'), (2) as marking a non-resultative predicative adjunct (Hentschel 2008) (**sun-a:m bir ä:dim öŋe diyip** hasa:plamaq gerek 'this has to be judged as one step forward').

185 Rituals of the so-called **čelpek gunı** include gift exchange among relatives and friends.
(vi) hačan ~ qačan ~ qačan-da

This conjunction, which is hačan in all dialects and qačan(-da) in the Ārsa:ri and nāxāhs dialects, signals contingency: It comes at the initial position of a conditional clause, which expresses the precondition for the proposition contained in the main clause. It can be translated as 'in case ...', 'given the condition ...'; qačan-da also translates as 'whenever ...', 'as soon as ...'.

- hačan di:seŋ barars. (Ār. 54)
  We'll go whenever you want (lit. say).
- qačan-da biz i:šimizi ḡotarsaq size xabar berers. (Ār. 13)
  We'll let you know when we finish our work.

5.1.9 Modal words

Modal words express the attitude of the speaker towards what he/she is saying. They range from plain affirmation / negation to the expression of nuances like confirmation, supposition, doubt, hesitation, topicalization, demonstration and others. Some modal words are lexical and functional copies from Persian.

Modal words expressing affirmation are in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan huwwa ~ hawwa and hā: ; there seems to be no significant dialectal or regional difference in the use of the variants.

- huwwa, men-em ū xabarı .Companion ešdiptim. (Ār. 22)
  Yes, I had also heard this news before.
- hā:, awad bolmaqiŋ üstine baryo:da, yu:saŋ a:t awad bolmalı. (Mo. 2)
  Yes, (this) has to do with becoming well-bred, if you wash the horse it becomes well-bred.
- hā:, onda gitmeli bolsa biz-em teyya:r bolalı. (Ār. 10)
  Okay, if then (we all) need to leave let us get ready, too.

Affirmation by means of haqi:qatdan or doğrıdan, the literal meaning of both of which is 'in fact', 'truly', is even stronger.

- haqi:qatdan siz erte gelibiljek dä:mi? (Ār. 24)
  Really – you won't be able to come tomorrow?

Affirmation with special emphasis is expressed by hetmen 'absolutely', 'no doubt' (which is interestingly generally followed by an aorist or another non-tense dispositive verb form, as if to refrain from an all-too-certain proposition anyway):

- oglıŋız ders oqa:n bolsa hetmen kā:miya:b bolyo:r. (Ār. 3)
  If your son has learned (his) lesson he will no doubt be successful in the entrance competition.

Negation is expressed by yo:q – which is actually the negative existential – , yo: or yaa:

- yo:q! marčaqda teke we yomut qawmlar ya:ša:n yo:q. (Sa. 2)
  No! In Marčaq there live no Teke or Yomut tribes.

214
• yaa!: ol mekdebe baran yo:q. (Är. 28)
  No way! He has never gone to school.

Certainty – whether factual or pretended, hopeful etc. – is in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan expressed with *elbetde* (which then comes with predicates that indicate indirectivity or evidentiality, as if to abstain from too much certainty of prediction):

- **elbetde!** sava:dlı a:dam sava:dsız a:damnan tapa:wı, sızıŋ aydıŋyız doğrı. (Är. 12)
  Absolutely! Literate people are different from illiterates, your remark is correct.
- **elbetde** pul alan dä:l dir, alan bolsa bizede be:r. (Te. 3)
  He has certainly not received money; if he had received (any) he would give us (some).

Supposition, which may be inclined towards either affirmation or doubt, is expressed by *belki*:

- **belki** sızıŋ aydıŋyız doğrı dir, meniŋki yalıŋʃ bolmağı mümkin. (Är. 33)
  Maybe what you say is right, mine might be wrong.

Supposition or inference is expressed by *šekilli* ~ *šekilli:m* (Te.), lit. 'in the shape of ...', 'looking like ...', which is attached to the end of the clause or sentence which is its scope. It has been recorded also in double coding together with phraseologisms which render the same meaning.

- bügün-em i:šimiz boljaq dä:l *šekilli*. (Är. 8)
  Looks like our problem is not going to be (settled) today...
- paha!: axdiŋyız ketde bolo:n *šekilli*? (Är. 17)
  Oh! Looks like your grandson has grown up?!
- men bügün bi:kä:r boljaq dä:l *šekilli:m*, sızı bügün ča:rya:r gezzi:r. (Te. 13)
  Looks like I won't be free from work today..., (so) today Ča:rya:r will show you round.
- ey yene i:šimiz bitmedi, güma:nıma soŋqı hepdä: ğaljaq *šekilli*. (Är. 22)
  Alas, our work is not done once over – I guess it looks like it will remain (to be done) next week.

Much the same meaning can also be expressed by means of the modal word *ya:naq*, which is otherwise known as a postposition ('like ...'). Our materials do not contain many examples of this application of the word, though, and there is reason to assume that it is typical of female speech – as a downgrader for modesty and "non-insistence on one's own opinion in the face of others".

- halıma:nıŋ üč oğlı bir ğı:zi *ba:r ya:naq*. (Är. 5)
  Halıma has three sons and one daughter, it seems.

Inference186 can be expressed by *di:mek*, lit. 'that is to say':

- **di:mek** siz onda iki gün-em ğa:lip biljek gä:mi? bir-ki gün bolsızıŋ gawı bolardı. (Te. 11)

186 Clark (1998:378) names *di:mek* together with other modal words which imply "generalization", but actually his example (p. 398) points to inference rather than generalization.
So you won't be able to stay for two days then? Would have been good if you'd been about for one or two days...

A modal word designed to motivate the addressee is *ham*, which otherwise also means 'where?'

- **ham** ti:z bolŋ, gi:jä: ğaldıŋız! (Te. 4)
  Come on, speed up, you are being late!

The modal word *bosa* (Te.Yo.Är.Sa.) ~ *bosa:n* (Mu.) ~ *bosa:ni:nim* (Är.) ~ *bosa:ni:gidim* (Är.) immediately follows the word/phrase which is its scope. The general meaning of this element is to highlight or topicalize its referent, often as opposed to other parts of the phrase.

- **men bosa** bi yerde otź yıldan bä:ri deyha:nçlıq etyo:n. (Är. 10)
  As for me, I have been farming here for thirty years.

- **soŋ bosa** gelik-görse bir ya:şoli a:dam bir na:ni suwa aqdirıq-gido:r ekeni. (Sa. 7)
  And after that as he went and looked, (he saw that) an old man was throwing a loaf of bread into the water.

  If the horse's habits are bad it will kick and bite. If it comes out well, however, it will neither kick nor bite.

- **erti:r edilen xami:rlar bişiberende bosa** ol ya:ğ duşer. (Är. 5)
  And as soon as the dough which has been prepared in the morning is ripe, that grease will fall out.

- **ol ğızıl esgili bosa:ni:nim** maha:jırlar umu:man ğızıl esgili, uwwaldan otilın:rlar bosa:ni:nim sa:ri esgili. (Är. 1)
  As for these (women) wearing red headscarfs – the immigrants generally have red headscarfs (while) those who had been living here before have yellow headscarfs.

### 5.1.10 Existentials

All Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have the positive and negative existentials *bar* and *yo:q*. The occurrence of the short-vowel variant *bar* appears to be only occasional; voiced *yo:ğ* almost regularly occurs in word boundaries when followed by a vowel-initial word or clitic (e.g. *yo:ğ-ekeni* Är. 'there wasn't')

The negative existential also functions as a substitute for the non-existent lexeme 'no':

- **yo:q**, marıdan dä:l, biziŋ ata-ba:balarmız ta:šhawızdan gelen. (Yo. 1)
  No, not from Marı – our forefathers have come from Ta:šhawız.

- **yo:q**, bend dä:l-de ačılan inni. (Te. 3)
  No, it is not closed (but) open now.

Clauses with bare existentials occur rather unfrequently, with the sheer negation of something's existence even more scarcely occurring than its affirmation.

---

187 Clark (1998:378) lists the existentials *ba:r* and *yo:q* as modal words of affirmation and negation, respectively. Since this interpretation does not conform to our (and his) definition of modal words, we list them as a separate category of adjuncts here.
• yö:ne şu marçaqın ičinde tö:rt üyli owğa:n ba:r. (Sa. 2)
An in the center of Marçaq there exist four households (of) Pashtuns.

• wılswa:lı: qo:rya:nda bir o:ba ba:r qalayıba:ba diiyiya:, o yerde türkmenleriŋ köpisi ya:šaya: (Te. 2)
In the district of Qo:rya:n there is a village, (it) is called Qalayıba:ba, most of the Turkmens live there.

• bize bir juma: günben bašğa rusğatı yo:q. (Te. 14)
For us there exists no holiday except the one (and only) Friday.

• demir-pala:stik za:tlar čıqannan bä:ri indi öŋkiler ya:li ağaššı ussalaram yo:q. (Sa. 2)
Since iron and plastic things have appeared, now there exist no (more) woodworking masters like in former times.

The assertiveness of existential clauses can be downgraded (for politeness, reluctance to take high risk, etc.) by means of an adequate modal word (e.g., ya:mm 'as if ...'), suffix (e.g. the intensive-and-downgrader -rö:A.Q like in yo:ğra:q) or clitic (dı̈r).

• Halıma:nnı üç oğlı bir ġı:zi ba:r ya:naq. (Är. 5)
It seems that Halıma has three sons and one daughter.

Existentials combined with possessives render the meaning of 'to have'.

• saŋa üš šertim ba:r şolari bejerset seni ġoyberjek diiyipdir. (Är. 39)
He said, "I have three tasks for you. If you fulfill them, I will let you free."

• werzišden kä:ra:ta: gidyä:nlam mızm-am ba:r ya:šlardan. (Te. 18)
Among the young (men) we also have (some) who out of the (various) sport(s) are going for karate.

• sizio tü:rt sa:mm oğlıŋzı ba:r, şüyle dä:lmi? (Är. 19)
You have four sons, isn't it so?

• sekgiz otaği ba:r-ti, šüniŋ dašini-ičini suwašdirip berdiler. (Sa. 2)
(The house) had eight rooms. They painted their exterior and interior.

• xalq behriŋ dü:bi yo:q diyyo:lar amma: onınıŋ dü:bi bolmali. (Är. 17)
Folks say the ocean has no bottom, but it also does have a bottom.

• sereta:nn keseliŋ heni:zeče ala:jı yo:q diyyä:ler. (Te. 16)
The cancer illness as yet does not have medication, they say.

The existentials can combine with clitics for all the tense, evidentiality and modality marking of which the existentials themselves are not capable. These issues are not explicated here.

5.1.11 Particles

Particles are elements which cannot stand alone; they gain meaning only in combination with words or phrases, to which they are postposed. Particles are enclitic – while they do not receive stress themselves, more stress falls on their immediate antecedent. Particles may or may not be harmonized with the antecedent they are attached to (vowel and/or consonant harmony).

(a) Epistemical particles
Epistemical particles relate to the veracity of the proposition put forward in the word, phrase or sentence to which they are attached, and they do so in the interrogative or in some attitudinal mode.

(i) mi

The particle mi is in regular sentences mutually exclusive with interrogative adjectives and adverbs.

The interrogative particle per se, mi, has in unfrequent cases been reported as [mu] or [mü] as well, but generally it follows the twofold harmony model in all dialects.

In regular speech, the interrogative particle mi is attached to the comment rather than to the topic, even if the topic is what the particle is semantically bound to.

- göyunlarını özleriniz baqyorsunüz mı? (Är. 40)
  Do you herd your sheep yourself?

As a rule, the particle mi follows only independent parts of speech; attributes, satellites of possessive constructions and other dependent elements, including converbs, may be the actual scope of the interrogative particle, but the particle is nevertheless attached to the respective heads and postverbs, or to the comment (whether it is a nominal or a verbal predicate) altogether.

- hajağa köne pul-am alyo:n-durm? (Är. 11)
  I wonder if Haji Ağa also accepts old bills?
- size-hem pul birmey bolar mı? (Mo. 1)
  Would it be okay not to give you money?
- yaşolı o:xa:p yatırm? (Är. 53)
  Is the old man lying asleep?

The positioning of the particle mi in relation to person markers is not discussed here in detail. It may suffice to mention that there is some dialectal variation in this (e.g. sağmsınıy Är. as opposed to sağınıy Te. 'Are you well?'; bilyo:risılmÄr. as opposed to bilyadaşmliy Te. 'Do you know?'), and there may even be situational variation within one dialect.

(ii) da

The particle da can be used as an interrogative particle; questions containing this particle (rather than mi) bear a connotation supporting the veracity of the proposition that is expressed in the sentence, which makes the "question" appear to be a rhetorical one. Examples:

- gorišim ya:ni saña kömek beryo:n-am yo:q-da? (Är. 5)
  As far as I (can) see, nobody is helping you, isn't it?
- aliq-ğaçar o:ğa:nlardan-eken-de ol? (Mo. 1)

Clark 1998:458 includes in this category particles that are about speculation, confirmation, assertion and emphasis; the latter, to our understanding, is not well placed here, but according to Clark's table should come in the category he calls "emotional".

In this book I follow the Turkmenistani orthographical convention of not separating the interrogative particle by space or hyphen. All other particles are hyphenated.
Isn’t he one of these thievish Pashtuns?

- bil i:ši men etmeli-de? (Är. 34)
  Am I the one who has to do this work, then?!

(iii) $A \sim A$:

The interrogative particle $A \sim A$: always takes the final position of the sentence, which as a whole appears to be its scope. Compared with $dA$, and certainly with $mI$, $A \sim A$: is only unfrequently used. Again, similar to $dA$, this particle supports the veracity of the proposition, which gives the question a markedly rhetorical character.

- erte ba:zar bararsıŋ-a:? (Är. 53)
  Aren't you going to the bazaar tomorrow?
- şonča palaw mi:dä:sini a:ğirtjağnı öŋ-hem bilyä:rdi-ä:? (Te. 18)
  Wouldn't he have known from the start that this much pilaff would give him stomach pain?

(iv) $QA$:

The clitic $QA$: , which fulfills several different functions, can among others be used as an epistemical particle which expresses speculation. It is then hosted by the predicate of an interrogative sentence. While there seem to be no restrictions concerning the host – nominal or verbal predicate, affirmative or negative, etc. – , the propositions do seem to be restricted to the 3rd person.

- ol görinyo:n kim-kä:? (Är. 5)
  Who could this (person) be that can be seen (over there)?
- injinyer pru:žadan pul alıp bilse bize-de be:rimi-kä: di:yä:n. (Te. 17)
  I'd say, if the engineer can find money for the project, I wonder if he's going to give us (some), too.
- saxi:ja:ŋ kepderleri nä:dip hemmesi a:q bolyor-qä?:? (Är. 40)
  How come (lit. doing what) the pigeons of (the mausoleum of) Hazrat Ali are all white?!

(v) $dIr$

The clitic $dIr$, which otherwise adds evidentiality to many different verb forms, is also used as an epistemical particle which expresses supposition and confirmation. Although there seems to be no restriction on 1st and 2nd person propositions for $dIr$ to be attached, the particle occurs by far most frequently together with 3rd person propositions, obviously for semantic reasons.

- siziŋ xabarŋız bar-ðir. (Te. 2)
  No doubt you are informed.
- xuda:y ta:la:ŋ öz i dâ:nä:-ðir, bizıŋ da:r aqlınum bul i:šlere yetišmez. (Te. 10)
  God himself is all-wise, our narrow mind does not suffice for (the understanding of) these things.

• xuda:yberen a:ğā i ssı-suwwiğ gören qırıq yıllıq čopan-dir. (Är. 13)
Xuda:yberen A:ğā is a forty-years(-active) shepherd who has seen the hot and the cold (i.e., who is experienced in all difficult matters)!

• nesi:besi tartyän däl-dir, o yerlerä: nesi:be tartmasa gidip bolmaz. (Är. 5)
It has obviously not been his lot [to go for the Hajj]; if it is not one's lot, one cannot go those places.

• bil bir tejribe, ya: zi i ssi gelen yili ğişa:m suwiq bolyo:n-dir. (Är. 17)
This is an (insight from) experience: In years whose summer was (lit. came) hot the (lit. its) winter will also be cold.

• onda bul i:şi men etyo:n-dırn (Är. 10)
Then it's obviously me who is going to do this work

(b) Emphatic particles

(i) A ~ A:

The particle A ~ A:, which has above been mentioned as bearing interrogative function, is also used for adding emphasis to a sentence, in which it always holds the final position.

• peyğamber ya:şā bardığ-a:! (Är. 1)
I have reached the Prophet age!191

• yoqarı gıtmyō:m čin ekeni-ā:! (Är. 11)
It is true that he has gone up (there)!

• qawma:-m keliŋ di:di hawlı biremen-ā: diyedi leki:n (...). (Mo. 1)
He tells the people, "Come, I give (you) a home!", he says, but (...).

(ii) a:w

The particle a:w , which is typical of male speech, adds emphasis to a sentence or phrase and can connote (positive) surprise.

• örā:n yağšı palaw ekeni-a:w! (Är. 53)
What a good pilaff this is!

• baybay, sala:m ba:y sen zor-a:w! (Är. 11)
Wow, Sala:m Ba:y, you are awesome!

(iii) Ay

The particle Ay adds emphasis to the whole sentence to which it is attached. It can connote surprise, astonishment, and also joy and delight.

• ol gelyā:n kim-kā:-ēy?! (Är. 5)
Who is thiiis (lit. the one who is arriving)??

• waxtında geländ-ēy! (Är. 34)
You have come exactly on time!

191 Peyğamber ya:ş(t) is the age of 62.
(iv) *A:hA:*

This particle adds emphasis to the word or phrase which is its scope, and it connotes nuances like "anyway", "in the first place". If the antecedent has a vowel in the coda position, that vowel is integrated into the long vowel in the onset of the particle: \( \text{maŋa} + \text{a:ha:} \rightarrow \text{maŋa:ha:} \)

- \( \text{ši pillede hem yigitler mejlise gelmä:ne utany:lar, šuña görä:-de ği:z-} \text{-a:hä:} \) hemi:še-de weki:l tutułp nikä: edilya:. (Te. 10)
  
  Even today the young men are shy of coming to the (engagement) ceremony. Taking this into account, girls are anyway always being given in engagement by taking a custodian.

  
  While they may have given me no book, saying, I am anyway illiterate, why might they not have given you one?!

(v) *hem ~ Am ~ A:m*

The by far most frequently used emphatic particle is in all dialects *hem* and several variants of it, whose initial [h] can be dropped and whose vowel can be harmonized and/or lengthened. The particle is often combined with its synonymic particle *dA* 'also' (which in its simple form, however, occurs only unfrequently in the Turkmen dialects). In these cases *dA* is always immediately attached to the word/phrase which is its scope and *hem* is attached to *dA*; the reverse sequence has not been recorded. The combination is then often contracted into [dä:m] or [da:m].

The emphatic quality of *hem* and its variants ranges from very strong to hardly noticeable; in many cases it appears more like a filler word altogether. Its original meaning 'also', which is copied from Persian and exists independently in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, does not seem to be relevant here any more. Many speakers use the particle abundantly, even when a specific intention to emphasize one part of their speech or another is hardly discernable.

On the strong end of the application scale, the particle functions as an outright topicalizer192:

- \( \text{šu depä:niŋ aŋrısınna iki sa:ni o:laįğ-} \text{-am otla:p yö:r.} \) (Te. 13)
  
  It's two calves that are grazing over there across that hilltop!

- \( \text{ö:z sü:ıdeš doganna hem öz:innen kette bolsa a:ga diydëlerl.} \) (Xa. 3)
  
  To their *maternal* siblings – if they are older than themselves – they say *a:ga*.

- \( \text{bizde-dä:m oro:za haydi bilen ğorba:n haydıniŋ aralığında toy eden yo:qlar.} \) (Te. 3)
  
  At *ours* they don't make weddings between the *ʻīd al-fitr* and the *ʻīd al-qurbān*.

Next down the scale would be a pure and simple emphasizing effect that comes with the particle in its various shapes:

- \( \text{oğlanlarñ begra:ma gideni altı a:} \text{y boldi heni:z-em o yerde i:șlä:b otu:rlar.} \) (Ār. 8)
  
  It's been six months since the guys have left for Begra:m but they are *still* working there.

- \( \text{qadi:m waxtlarda ğudalara önjinde göyulyo:n etler-em belli eken.} \) (Te. 19)

192 In this function it can best be compared with Old Turkic *ymā* as characterized by Erdal (2004:347).
In ancient times the (pieces of) meat that had to be placed in front of the in-laws were clearly defined.

- o:larıŋ o:balar-a:zm da:g eteginde-keni. (Är. 43)
  Their village was/is on the hillside.
  In Zähirşäh’s time there used to be one or two six-shooting guns in the homes of the stockbreeders.
- men ata:mnıŋ gelmedigini ön-em size xabar beriptim. (Är. 7)
  I had already told you earlier that my father has not come.

Their village was/is on the hillside.

- za:yırşa:nnıŋ zama:nında-da:m ba:ylarıŋ üyünde bir-iki alttarih tıpęŋ bar-ti. (Är. 12)
  In Zähirşäh’s time there used to be one or two six-shooting guns in the homes of the stockbreeders.

The phenomenon that a feature can denote itself and, along with this, its own exact opposite is well-known in linguistics. (In the Turkmen dialects, for example, diminutives can be used to verbally increase their heads, etc.) The emphatic particle hem appears to be a case in point: When the particle comes with personal pronouns – of 1st person singular or plural –, it functions as the opposite of an upgrader for attention, namely, a downgrader for modesty.

- men-em güzera:na yetişšek bolıp altı ça: gå: ni olaltjaq bolıp sačım ti:z ağa:rdı. (Är. 5)
  While I struggled for the essentials of life and was intent to raise (my) six children, my hair has quickly turned white.
- biz-em yığnağa dö:rt bolıp bardıq. (Te. 5)
  We went to the meeting as (a group of) four.
- men-em oğlum köp yaman bolıp çıqdı (Är. 6)
  My son turned out to be very bad.

This assertive particle adds extra emphasis to the word or sentence to which it is attached. The particle often comes with conditionals in volitional function.

- bää! bil oğlan kıiči bolsa-da edyo:n i:şleri ketde a:damqı ya:ni-le. (Är. 30)
  Wow! Although this boy is (still) young, the things he does are really like an adult man's!
- bi gi:je yaman köp ičdi-le?! (Är. 5)
  But last night you had boozed a hell of a lot!
- göysaŋ-la! şuını özünü yazdırmı? (Te. 14)
  Now hang on! Have you really written this yourself?
- elim şel boldı, şu ça: gå: ni așan-la! (Te. 5)
  My hands are like paralyzed, now wouldn't you take that child?!

The particle ol – which is otherwise known as a demonstrative pronoun – can be employed to add emphasis. Other demonstrative pronouns (bil, šıl...) also occur in this function, although less frequently. Differently from all above-named emphatic particles, which emphasize either single words/phrases, or the topic of a sentence, or the sentence as a whole, ol emphasizes the comment part of the sentence.

- yağdı ça:po ya:ndaya düşünmeli ol, köp ga:r ya:ğiberse ol göyunları i:qrə:q yere eltmeli. (Är. 12)
  If it rains today you should think about it, then when you go out you should go to that place.
As for a good shepherd, he must understand the situation all by himself. If much snow falls, he must take the sheep to a more sheltered spot.

- yağış atadan dörä:n oğlan xo:y-xislatin nan bildiryo:r ol. (Är. 1)
  A child who has been procreated by a good father can be recognized from his character.
- pişä:r yaramaz za:d eken bil. (Te. 10)
  (High) blood pressure is a nasty thing!

(viii) xo ~ ki

The particle xo, which in the nāxālıṣ dialects also comes as ki, emphasises the word to which it is attached and connotes suggested consent on the part of the audience.

- onda aytti: men-xo bil a:dam-i tan-me-y-men. (Mu. 1)
  Then he said, but I don't know that man!
- şipille-ki yo:q, oğri-yem yo:q bašğa-yem yo:q, şipille pi:len-xo hi:č gep yo:q. (Mu. 2)
  Nowadays there is nothing (dangerous going on) – no thieves, no others, today there is literally nothing!

(ix) inha ~ inha:

The particle inha ~ inha: has been reported from the Teke and and Yomut dialects only. It adds emphasis to the word or phrase which is its scope and to whose final position it is attached.

- yö:ne şipilleki hä:zir türkmenče kepleya:n xalq ba:r bolsa-inha, bolar türkmenista:nnan göçip baran (Te. 2)
  And if today there are any folks at all who speak Turkmen, these are (the ones) who have immigrated from Turkmenistan.
- uč toqrtğa:nıŋ bi:ri-inha: şu yerde, bi:risi-de ol depä:niŋ yanında, yene bi:ri-de iki ki:lomıtir aŋrıda. (Te. 8)
  One of the three muddy water pipe is at this place here, again one is beside that hill over there and again one of them is two kilometers away.

5.1.12 Interjections

Interjections replace or complete verbal expressions which communicate emotions like joy, sadness, surprise, compassion, sorrow, discontent, despair and others, or highlight speech acts like order and command, admonition and alert and so on. In the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan there exist a number of lexicalized interjections; stress and pitch can modify the quasi-lexical meaning of these words according to the communicational needs and intentions of the speaker. We can differentiate two types of interjections – simple items which bear no literal meaning, and phrase-like items which have crystallized in a specific understanding beyond their literal meaning.

(a) Simple interjections

Simple interjections consist of one syllable or a group of syllables which are not necessarily syntactically related to the phrase or sentence which they precede or follow. Their phonetic
structure need not conform to the phonotactic rules that otherwise guide Turkmen speech. Some simple interjections are gendered, others are typical of one given dialect, again others occur without obvious restrictions.

(i) Interjections typical of female speech

axi: expresses grief, sorrow, compassion

- axi: ! hali:ma:n ji heniz yigrim: m ya: sana:nti, juwa: nmerg bolipdir bi: ca: re. (Är. 5)
  Axi: , Hali: ma: 's daughter had not even lived twenty (years), now she has died at young age, poor thing.

ayuw draws attention to the speaker

- ayuw! bâ: ri ğaraŋ! (Är. 52)
  Ayuw! Look my way!

hi: expresses regret, sorrow, despair

- qa: dr hajı: n i ki mertebе emelyа:t etdirdik, hi: ol yağši boljaq da: l şekilli. (Är. 18)
  We had Qa: dr Haji: unergo surgery twice, but hi:, it doesn't seem as if he were going to recover.

waxay ~ waxwaxey expresses deep concern, sorrow, compassion

- waxwaxey! büjağaza nă:m-boldi? (Är. 5)
  Waxwaxey! What has happened to this poor little (thing)?!

wi: expresses regret and compassion

- wi: oğulşa:d eke ölipdir!? (Är.)
  Oh, Oğulşa:d Eke has died!

(ii) Dialectal difference

ba:y ~ bayba:y ~ bay-bayaw ~ baybu: ~ baybo: expresses positive surprise, astonishment coupled with joy and enchantment. While the first, second and third variants are typical of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, baybu: would be the typical Teke, and baybo:, the Sa:riq variant.

- bay-bay sala:mba:y sen zor-aw! (Är. 53)
  Bay-bay! Sala:mba:y, you are great-aw!

bä: ~ beh : expresses surprise and astonishment; the bä: variant is typical of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect while beh, which is uttered with particular stress and raised voice is typical of the Teke dialect.

- bä: bil oğlan kiči bolsa-da edyo:n isleri ketde a: damq-yə: m-le. (Är. 30)
  Bä: ! Although this boy is small, his achievements are like a big man's!
- **beh** čın mı aytya:nıŋ? (Te. 1)
  *Beh!* Is (it) true what you are saying?!

übi: / übüy ~ wi: expresses grief and sorrow. übi: is typical of the Moqri, Xatap and Bayat dialects, while wi: is typically used in the Teke dialect.

- **übi:** mutar yıqılıp biš a:dam ölipdi. (Ba. 3)
  *Übi:* the car has been overturned and five men have died...

wa:y ~ wa:ywa:y expresses surprise about something undesirable.

- **wa:ywa:y** onıŋ salsa:l bolıp gelišin göriš! (Är.)
  *Wa:ywa:y*, look how draggingly he is coming!

wä: expresses surprise, mostly about matters unpleasant to the speaker. Children use this interjection to express malicious glee and spitefulness.

- **wä:** sende mnya:nı oynjaq yo:q. (Är. 4)
  *Wä:*, you don't have toys like this!

(iii) Universally applied interjections

a:y: is used to draw attention of a crowd to what is going to follow; it is frequently used by (professional) barkers on the bazaar or during sports events.

  *A:y* people, don't say I've heard or not heard (the message)! (For) the first lap there is a prize of one hundred dollars and a coat!

a:w ~ aw: follows the actual message; it draws attention and adds emphasis to what has been verbally expressed before. (Compare also the above example.)

- bay-bay sala:mba:y sen zor-aw! (Är. 53)
  *Bay-bay* Sala:mba:y, you are great-aw!

**ey** expresses disappointment and regret

- ey yene i:šimiz bitmedi, güma:nma sonqi hepdä: ġaljaq šekilli. (Är. 22)
  *Ey*, our matter has again not been completed. I guess it looks like it will remain for next week...

**ey-ho:** expresses surprise and astonishment, but is also used to alert people of dangerous situations.

- **ey-ho:** bi nä:hi:li a:dam-eken-ä:? (Är.)
  *Hey*, what a strange man indeed!

- **ey-ho:** mä:kä:m yapıšın! düşiň ġal:la:mmä:ŋ! (Är. 26)
  *Ey-ho:* hold on tight! Don't fall down!
hâ: confirms and underlines what another person has said or is doing.

- hâ: şâylâ diiñ-ä:, men-hem şûnya:n bolar diyip oylıyo:r-tım. (Är. 27)
- Hâ:, you are right, I was also thinking that (things are) this way.

ha-ha-ha expresses pride and joy

- ha-ha-ha biz utdiq! (Är. 12)
  Ha-ha-ha we've won (the game)!

ha:y is shouted in order to attract attention and avail oneself of somebody's help. It can precede or follow the actual message or both (as is the case in the example below):

- ha:y! oğrı ğașdı ha:y! ğoyma:ŋ! (Är.)
  Ha:y! The thief has escaped-ha:y! Don't let go of him!

he ~ hâ:-hâ: expresses disapproval and is applied in order to embarrass and/or intimidate somebody; it precedes the actual phrase.

- hâ:-hâ: yene biz bilen ji:l edersiŋmi? (Är.)
  Hâ:-hâ:, are you again having an argument with us?

hey: is an expression of regret and despair.

- hey saña nâ:me diiyeィn men?! indi ô:ziñ bilibermeli hemme za:tlart! (Är. 10)
  Hey what else shall I tell you?! Now it is for yourself to know/understand everything!

how expresses consent. It also serves as a response when one is being addressed, saying something like "yes, please".

hümmm expresses disapproval of, or disagreement with an action after it has been completed, or the same with regard to the person who has accomplished it.

- hümmm ey bolya:-da, ôğnen u:rna çişsanğ yağšra:q bolar-di. (Te.)
  Hümmm ey it's okay (but), it would have been better if you had cared for its good quality beforehand!

oho: expresses surprise about unpleasant, sad, embarrassing etc. news and can include the affirmation of one's compassion and/or sorrow. It is typical of male speech.

- oho!: men-ä: eşdenim yo:q, hajia:ğa qaçañ öldi? (Är. 3)
  Oho!: I had not heard (about it), when has the old man died?

päh ~ paha: expresses positive surprise and approval.

- paha: axdiñiz ketde bola:n šekilli? (Är. 17)
  Paha!: Your grandson has grown up, it seems?!

tüf is an expression of disgust and utter disapproval.
• **tüf ekrem a: dam də: l ol, msa: niyet diyen za: t onda hi: č yo: q. (Ār. 10)**
  
  Tüf! Ekrem is not a man. The thing called humaneness is totally absent in him.

(b) Interjection phrases

These phrases, whose literal meaning is often independent from their situational function, precede or follow the actual sentence; in some situations they can be used as self-sufficient speech acts of their own.

*al kerek bolsa* (Te.) ~ *al geregŋı* (Ār.): The literal meaning of this phrase is "Take what (you) want(ed)". It is employed when somebody has messed up a situation and the speaker reacts with a despiteful, mischievous remark.

**berekella**: is a phrase of applause, most often used by elders or superiors in order to encourage somebody.

• **berekella:, yağşı i: ş edipsiniz, sizden umi: d-am şüyle! (Ār. 6)**
  
  *Berekella:, you have performed well and this is what (we had) expected from you!*

**ey wella**: is an expression of despair, sorrow and grief, full of frustration.

• **ey wella!: nä: me bela: bolsa ğari: biŋ üstine gelyo:- da. (Ār. 41)**
  
  *Ey wella:, whatever disaster is (available) will come over the poor...*

**tuweleme**: is another phrase of applause directed on inferiors, particularly children for encouragement. It is accompanied with light spitting intended to avert the evil eye.

• **tuweleme, göz degmesin! bä:begiŋ öre:n uwadan! (Ār. 5)**
  
  *Tuweleme, may the evil eye not hit (the baby)! Your baby is very pretty!*

**ya: şa**: which literally means 'stay alive!' is an interjection of approval and support uttered for encouragement. It can be supplied with enforcing elements: *yüz ya: şa 'live a hundred (times)'*, *münj ya: şa 'a thousand (times) bravo!'*. 
6. Lexicology

Difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan is to a significant degree constituted by difference in the lexical stock. The basic lines along which the lexicon falls apart coincide roughly, as we have already observed when discussing phonology and morphology, with the delineations of the tribes.

Many reasons may have led to the variegated picture the dialects are depicting today. While part of the Turkmen tribes over time engaged primarily in livestock breeding and animal husbandry, others were preoccupied with agriculture and craftsmanship. Some groups lived in isolation while others lived in close vicinity of other Turkmen tribes or people belonging to altogether ethnically and linguistically different groups. Economic relations with neighboring groups were not evenly distributed – while some groups had intense economic and cultural relations with others, some hardly had any, or if they did, their coming and going was directed towards other neighbors so that possible influences came from very different directions. These factors have all contributed to the development of specific lexical features.

The Ä:rsa:rı tribe, for example, until the 16th century led a primarily mobile life like the other Turkmen tribes. Starting from that time, however, the Ä:rsa:rı began to settle down along both banks of the Amu Daryā river. Consequently, the Ä:rsa:rı lexicon bears significant traits of a sedentary mode of living – including agricultural and horticultural terminology but also terms related to arts and crafts. Much the same can be said about the Sa:rıq dialect, whose speakers shared a similar geographical and climatic environment and occupied themselves with similar professions as the Ä:rsa:rı speakers.

Another important historical factor of influence on the lexicon is cohabitation with non-members of the own language community, or a lack of such. Since the Ä:rsa:rı speakers have for a relatively long period of time lived in areas which they share with Uzbek and Persian-speaking peoples, they have adopted many lexical items from the idioms of these neighbors which in other Turkmen dialects were not accepted at all. Or even if the same lexemes (including secondary copies which had incursed the Uzbek and Persian dialects before from Arabic, Mongolian or other background languages) from other Turkic or from Iranian idioms were copied into the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, they were not copied the same way, with the degree of phonetic adaptation or non-adaptation and semantic transformation or non-transformation varying from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect to others to a significant extent: Lexical copies that were included in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect are generally closer to the prototypes than those included into the other xālış dialects, that is, Sa:rıq, Yomut and Teke. Only the lexemes copied into the nāxālış dialects – Moqri, Bayat, Xatap and Surxi - are even closer to the prototypes of the background languages. Within the xālış dialects the Teke dialect, whose speakers had for centuries been living in relative isolation from neighboring peoples, firstly contains a significantly smaller stock of copied lexemes and secondly, stands out with a high degree of phonetic and semantic adaptation of whatever copies exist at all.

6.1 Lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects

Difference in the lexicon is of two basic types: variation and distinction. While some lexemes exist in some, many, or all dialects (although they display variation in form and/or function), others are distinctive elements of one specific dialect or a limited number of dialects only.
Due to the obvious limitations of my material it is of course risky to claim reliability of my findings with regard to the latter: fresh research might bring variants to the fore which we cannot overlook today. However, my field research together with many previous years of observation has led to some certainty with which intermediary results can be put forward here, however with caution and some reserve.

Lexical items which are distinctive of a given dialect can mostly be related back to cultural difference grounded in a divergent historical experience. For example, among the Ä:rsa:rı Turkmens and small groups of speakers of other dialects, who have also dwelled along the Amu Daryā for a long time, an important item of female bodily self-improvement is the piercing of one nasal wing so that a piece of jewelry can be inserted. This type of jewelry is thus an areal feature. It is called *isirğa* in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect. In the Teke and Yomut dialects such a word does not exist – nor does the custom of piercing the nasal wings of women.

In a similar vein, economic and festive practices which are confined to a particular language community are denoted with specific terms in these communities while practise as well as denote are missing in the others. Such is the case, for example, with social practises like *geštek*¹⁹³, *deŋene*¹⁹⁴ and *hašar*¹⁹⁵ which are unknown among the Teke and Yomut of Afghanistan; consequently, the respective terms are missing in these dialects as well. The Ä:rsa:rı know a social institution named *gü:č giyew* which implies that a family who has no sons arranges a marriage of one of their daughters with a bridegroom who is ready for uxorilocal residence; in fact the bridegroom is by his in-law family considered an innate son. Again, both the social institution as well as the term is absent in the Teke and Yomut context.

Food terminology is another case in point: Some special dishes which the Ä:rsa:rı people are used to prepare are unknown in Teke and Yomut contexts, and so are the respective terms, like for example *šöhla:t*¹⁹⁶ or *yö:rme*. Some popular games are also endemic in one given dialect community, which consequently is the only one to have a term denoting that game; to name just one example, a customary competitive shooting game typical of the Ä:rsa:rı only is the so-called *altın ḡabaq*.¹⁹⁷

Lexical variation is a much more common type of dialect difference in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan and cannot be related back to simple reasons.¹⁹⁸ The lexeme ’calf’, for example, varies from *göle* (Te.) to *ta:na* (Yo.) and *höjek* (Âr.). In most cases such variants are

¹⁹³ *Geštek* (which has been described in the ethnographic literature on Tajik, Uzbek and Uyghur communities all over the region but is not so widely spread among the Turkmens of Afghanistan) is a type of socializing event which unites a given group of friends who belong to the same age cohort, often share affiliation to the same water distribution system, or have other socio-economic interests in common. The members of the circle meet on a regular basis circulating from one member’s home to the next, mostly over the winter months, to enjoy food and entertainment together.

¹⁹⁴ *Deŋene* is another type of rotating socializing event. It differs from *geštek* in that the expenses for each party are shared between all members of the group, although again, one group member hosts the party in his home.

¹⁹⁵ *Hašar* is a practise of mutual support of households in a given village in major endeavors of one particular household, such as construction or renovation of a house, or collaborative work of the village population in the realization of major community projects.

¹⁹⁶ A kind of sausage prepared from a mixture of meat, liver and onions and stuffed into the intestine fat or into guts of sheep.

¹⁹⁷ *Altın ḡabaq* is a shooting competition with either bow and arrow or with guns. The target consists of a bell-like object dangling from a 40-50 meter high pole.

¹⁹⁸ Lexical variation is not necessarily at the same time a feature of dialect difference, though, as can be seen from the lexeme ’wolf’, for which there exist three synonyms (*mö:jek, gu:rt, bô:ri*) and a taboo word (*ja:nda:r*), all of which, however, are present in all of the dialects.
intelligible across dialect borders; some can even be understood without context, others within an explanatory context only. Some variants, however, are unknown and unintelligible beyond the borders of a given dialect. The 'webfoot of animals' is in the Ä:rsa:ri dialect called nu:ri, while the Teke dialect has ders; none of these lexemes is known to speakers of the respective other dialect. As a matter of fact, among Teke speakers Nu:ri is a favorite male anthroponym, which causes surprise or even disapproval on the part of many an Ä:rsa:ri speaker. – In the Ä:rsa:ri dialect the homonym of Sa:riq ñagildaq 'apricot' would be understood as 'lump of dry dirt'; although one may speculate about a shared etymological background as 'dried-out object', the striking difference in contemporary meaning is more obvious for the average speaker. – The Sa:riq word samsiq 'plum' has a Teke homonym samsiq meaning 'silly, foolish'. – Needless to say that these examples, and quite a few more which are funny or embarrassing or both, are common currency in local knowledge and support mutual stereotyping of dialects – and along with them their speakers – as strange, funny, or stupid. On the other hand the average speaker of one given dialect does not have much knowledge of actual lexical specifics of the respective other dialects.

There is no full symmetry in the distribution of lexical materials among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. While two dialects may agree in one part of the lexicon they may disagree in other parts, in which, however, they agree with a third or fourth dialect. This fact can be illustrated with the phrase expressing 'one's bile being up':

- turši nä:rses i:sem zerdä:m küyyo: (Är. 45)  
  If I eat sour things my gall will be up.
- sebä:bini bilmedim, üç gün den bär:ri sa:riq: anışana: (Te. 16)  
  I don't know the reason (why, but) since three days my gall has been up.
- šu ğa:wın-sirke-ya:lı za:t, mi:dä: yaqano:q zerdä:ni čoğdır or. (Sa. 5)  
  Honey melons are a vinager-like thing: they don't cause the stomach acid to overflow but they make the gall go up.

In the following we will discuss four different sub-types of variation between the Ä:rsa:ri and Teke dialects, and after that examples of distinction between the Ä:rsa:ri and Teke and the Ä:rsa:ri and Sa:riq dialects. (Since my material is very rich with regard to the majority Ä:rsa:ri dialect and lesser substantial concerning all other dialects, I take the Ä:rsa:ri dialect as general reference.)

### 6.1.1 Homonyms varying in lexical meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsa:ri</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal and</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>či:ğ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

199 These small lumps are by some people used instead of toilet paper.
6.1.2 Phonetic divergence in synonymic lexemes

Some of the phonetic features in which divergence between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects can be observed highlight the Ä:rsa:rı dialect's relative closeness to the Qarluq end of the Oğuz group of the Türkic languages in contrast to the unequivocally Oğuz character of the Teke dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kelin</td>
<td>bride, daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelineke</td>
<td>sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni:kče</td>
<td>thin, slim, delicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čünnek</td>
<td>beak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other phonetical or morphological features seem to point to a more qypçaqoid character of the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as opposed to the Oğuz one of the Teke dialect: e.g. 'broom' = Är. süpürğič ~ Te. sübsę. Single examples seem to reflect more ancient divides among the Turkic languages: 'obvious; specific' = Är. ayiq ~ Te. aniq ; 'adequate' = Är. habay ~ Te. abay. Some lexemes whose phonetic realization varies broadly among all Türkic languages while clearly reflecting a single core pattern also depict a varying phonetic realization: 'butterfly' = Är. kebelek ~ Te. kemelek.

Finally, in quite a few lexemes dialectal variation is confined to simple phonotactic phenomena such as assimilation: 'peach' = Är. šepta:lı ~ Te. şetta:lı; (pers. šafta:lu:), As has been discussed in more detail in the phonology chapter, the Teke dialect generally shows a stronger inclination towards modification of lexical copies (which often contain phoneme combinations otherwise unusual or unacceptable in the Turkmen language).

6.1.3 Dominant versus recessive meanings

The Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects share a relatively large number of synonymic pairs or (only in single cases) triples which consist of one/two dominant and two/one recessive element(s) each. Interestingly, the dialects are almost always complementary in this respect: what is dominant in one dialect will be recessive in the respective other.

The "qarluqoid ~ oğuzoid" and "qypçaqoid ~ oğuzoid" divides which have been mentioned above, and "qarluqoid ~ qypçaqoid" ones in addition, can be traced in many synonyme couples of verb stems. In some of these cases the divide relates back to earlier processes of copying from non-Türkic languages which happened in one of the main groups of Türkic languages but did not likewise happen in the other(s), as can be readily seen from the examples below:

Table 6. 1: Dominant/recessive couples of verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dominant in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect</th>
<th>dominant in the Teke dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čap-</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğara-</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öt-</td>
<td>to pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinek et-</td>
<td>to take a nap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tart-</td>
<td>to pull</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some couples of dominant/recessive substantive and adjective nouns can also reflect these grand lines of Turkic language group devides.

However, there are many more examples where one member is a (more) ancient Turkic word while the respective other member belongs to an obviously more recent layer of lexical copies, mostly from the neighboring Persian dialects. Where the latter is the case, the Ā:rsa:rı dialect is generally (though not without exceptions) more favorable of recent loans than the Teke dialect – which does not come as a surprise, given the above-mentioned areal distribution of the tribes over the last couple of centuries.

Yet another type of synonymic couples are those (relatively few) where both members are obviously recent copies from (different?) neighboring Persian dialects.

Table 6.2: Dominant/recessive couples of substantives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dominant in the Ā:rsa:rı dialect</th>
<th>dominant in the Teke dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayıl</td>
<td>saddle girth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čeki</td>
<td>čeki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Dominant/recessive couples of adjectives/adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dominant in the Ā:rsa:rı dialect</th>
<th>dominant in the Teke dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>enrew</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ičiğara</td>
<td>envious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yağši</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaramaz</td>
<td>bad, evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaramaz</td>
<td>bad, evil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.1.4 Monosemy versus polysemy

Many word pairs in the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects appear as synonyms at first sight but when more closely scrutinized turn out to be incomplete synonyms only: While the dialect couples share one meaning of the lexeme, other possible meanings which have been reported in one dialect were not found in the respective other. (The fact that my materials from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect are more comprehensive and more differentiated may be at the ground of the observation that in almost all cases a given lexeme in this dialect bears more than one meaning while in the Teke dialect it is confined to one only.)

Table 6.4: Incomplete synonyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wood, timber</td>
<td>ağač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. favorable; 2. threatening / intimidating appearance</td>
<td>abay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. head; 2. bunch (of grapes etc.)</td>
<td>baš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. pit, pothole; 2. deep</td>
<td>čuqur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. lake; 2. stagnant river waters</td>
<td>kö:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. rib (anat.); 2. rib (boat)</td>
<td>ğapırğa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. reed; 2. mat</td>
<td>yeken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. to suffer; 2. to be (economically ...) deprived</td>
<td>ğı:nan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. to elongate; 2. to see off</td>
<td>uzat-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.5 Lexical distinction

Lexical distinction implies that in the dialects totally different lexemes are used to express the same meaning or, as has been shown in the introductory paragraphs (but is a relatively rare phenomenon), that one dialect has a lexeme for a notion for which no lexeme exists in the respective other dialect.

In a similar vein as has been said with regard to dominant/recessive pairs, some of the distinct word pairs relate back to different layers of lexical copies from neighboring languages, while a smaller number highlight the Oğuz-Qarluq or Oğuz-Qypçaq divide.
Table 6.5: Distinct word pairs from the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aba /ata</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:ğar</td>
<td>moisture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aıyı</td>
<td>Bactrian camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqrap</td>
<td>(halter for camels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammır</td>
<td>bull-nose pliers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asdar</td>
<td>lining (material)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atala</td>
<td>roux soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:şna:</td>
<td>friend, pal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:rıq</td>
<td>irrigation canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balaxa:na</td>
<td>second floor (of a two-storey building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekewil</td>
<td>master of ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bena:t</td>
<td>banāt (a kind of fabric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biya:ra</td>
<td>tendril</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>göle</td>
<td>calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setil</td>
<td>bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č:hrn</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gö:dek</td>
<td>younger, immature child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:n</td>
<td>bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čörek</td>
<td>(sweet flat cake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erre</td>
<td>saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:lbqar</td>
<td>bladebone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hişt</td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirmek</td>
<td>silk worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halı:li</td>
<td>xalîli (a kind of grape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nınıraq</td>
<td>donkey saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gundal</td>
<td>tarantula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâ:ldirik</td>
<td>wild rue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juwa:na</td>
<td>two-year old male bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piya:z</td>
<td>onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalampur</td>
<td>red chilies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira:ri</td>
<td>renegade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sünna:la:s</td>
<td>exchange of daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qabrista:n, u:lya:</td>
<td>cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:şqma: şiq</td>
<td>hinge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi:jirim</td>
<td>fearless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arqanla-</td>
<td>to tether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axtala-</td>
<td>to castrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqıś-</td>
<td>to help each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemme</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arna</td>
<td>drainage for flood water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

200 Not established in my materials.
Table 6.6: Distinct word pairs from the Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:riq dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Sa:riq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>erik</td>
<td>apricot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čä:ge</td>
<td>dune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čı:bin</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:baq</td>
<td>plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üček</td>
<td>observatory post made of wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Lexical difference in special semantic fields

After the general considerations on lexical difference I am now going to discuss lexical difference between the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan in a number of semantic fields.

6.2.1 Animal husbandry

The lexicon of animal husbandry does display some difference among the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, but not too much. All Turkmen tribes have a long history in mobile animal husbandry and although some, like for example the Ärsa:rı, have to a large extent settled down starting from the 16th century, this has until today not caused a significant break-off from the common stock of Turkmen lexicon of animal husbandry. However, there is difference in detail.

The lexicon of animal husbandry is not structured the same way in all dialects. While some dialects have specific lexemes to denote given items, others may use descriptive terms for these. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect there exists a term for 'five-year old sheep', namely merri, while in the Teke dialect it would be circumscribed as dišden ğalan ğarrı ğoyon (lit. 'old sheep that has no more teeth'). The Teke dialect in its turn is rich in descriptive terms for animals of a special age, which are missing in all other dialects: mä:lemez 'two-year old lamb' (lit. 'a lamb that does no longer bleat for its mother'), may 'four-year old sheep', maŋramaz 'seven-year old sheep'. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect female sheep are termed according to how often they have given birth to lambs: bâ:š / altı / yetti doğan ğoyun 'a sheep which has given birth five/six/seven times'. Another example of an asymmetric pair including a lexical and a descriptive term is 'Bactrian camel', which is ayri in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect as opposed to ikki ürküčli düye (lit. 'two-humped camel') in the Teke dialect.

Terminology for herds of animals of sorts, and of their guarding personnel, also varies among the dialects. While the Ä:rsa:rı dialect has pa:da 'herd of cows' and pa:daba:n / pa:duqa:n 'herdsman', the Teke dialect has sığır sürüsi and sığır čopan for these; Ä:rsa:rı gâ:le 'herd of horses / camels' and darğa for the respective herdsmen, Teke has yilqi (sürüsi) and düye sürüsi for horse and camel herds and čopan for both types of herdsmen.

The following table gives an overview of variants in animal husbandry terminology between the Ä:rsa:rı and Teke dialects.
Table 6.7: Variants in animal husbandry terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Å:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juwa:na</td>
<td>two-year old male bovine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁunajın</td>
<td>two-year old female bovine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>höjek</td>
<td>calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:da</td>
<td>cow herd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:daba:n ~ pa:dıqba:n</td>
<td>cowboy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga:le</td>
<td>herd of cattle or horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo:rtdeki</td>
<td>(sheep kept in the home for immediate consumption)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁi:ra:zi</td>
<td>lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁalja:yi ʁoyon</td>
<td>Ghilzay sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do:rgb:yi</td>
<td>Dostbăyi sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serke</td>
<td>billy-goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁetir</td>
<td>four-year old camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayri</td>
<td>Bactrian camel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʁarğa</td>
<td>camel herdsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čira:zi</td>
<td>grey karakul hide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.8: The following table shows asymmetrically distributed terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Å:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>öküz ~ boqa</td>
<td>bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taylaq ~ kő:šek</td>
<td>camel foal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siğır</td>
<td>cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inek</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2 Agriculture and horticulture

A lexeme which depicts a surprisingly broad variation between the dialects is the word for 'small irrigation canal': It is ša:x in the Årsa:rı, salma in the Teke, soqma in the Yomut, and ğoljuq in the Sa:rıq dialect. Unfortunately my materials are not equally rich in all dialects in the total of the vocabulary, so that further on I must confine myself to a comparison which includes only the Teke and Å:rsa:rı dialects.

Table 6.9: Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Å:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>almuri:t</td>
<td>pear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dayma</td>
<td>rainfield</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| düyyedi:ʃ           | (a large-grained type of wheat) | —
| kelekba:ʃ           | (motified seed of wheat) | —
| čalmakä:di          | (a yellow kind of pumpkin) | —

201 Not established in my materials.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:rsar</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tarpız</td>
<td>watermelon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bürünj</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:rq</td>
<td>irrigation canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şax</td>
<td>small irrigation canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arna</td>
<td>drainage for flood water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toqortğa</td>
<td>water pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priy:a</td>
<td>onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serdaba</td>
<td>cistern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo:lb</td>
<td>bean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.3 Household equipment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:rsar</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>là:li</td>
<td>tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tağara</td>
<td>large bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boğjama</td>
<td>Special fabric bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setil</td>
<td>bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gü:düş</td>
<td>milking bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asma ya:yıq</td>
<td>(Leather bag for making yoghurt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>güpi</td>
<td>big samowar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čiğil</td>
<td>(Traditional filter for cleaning seeds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>depgi</td>
<td>(wooden stepping piece of a spade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čirapa:ya</td>
<td>candlestick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jila:jn</td>
<td>(small bell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desšo:y</td>
<td>handwashing basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi:ne</td>
<td>staircase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arqan</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.4 Items of construction and architecture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:rsar</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beçge</td>
<td>muddy inforcement to keep wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mertxa:na</td>
<td>labour room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala:r</td>
<td>roofbeam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balaxa:na</td>
<td>two-storey building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yerdeşik</td>
<td>air vent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xišt</td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üçek</td>
<td>observatory post made of wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

202 Not established in my materials.
203 Not established in my materials.
6.2.5 Food items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ærsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atala</td>
<td>roux soup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>börek</td>
<td>(meat dish in layer pastry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čekı:de</td>
<td>curd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čerbi ya:ğ</td>
<td>intestine fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čökölık</td>
<td>(a kind of curd)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:nğa:rm̄a</td>
<td>(a dish of boiled meat, fat bread and, onion minced together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miče</td>
<td>(meat stewed in the pilaff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yö:rme ~ şöhla:t</td>
<td>(a dish from minced meat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.6 Garment items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ærsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asdar</td>
<td>lining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayxa</td>
<td>(a kind of headgear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğalpaq</td>
<td>(a kind of men's headgear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki:se</td>
<td>pocket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sümmen</td>
<td>fur cap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 Proper names

Name-giving has over the last 30-40 years for various reasons undergone significant change. In former times the custom of giving apotropaic names was in common currency among the Turkmens of Afghanistan. Preferred names of that kind would be taken from surrounding items of everyday life such as ģa:zan 'cauldron', ta:ğan 'tripod', čerkez 'a kind of a desert bush' and many others, or from natural phenomena, which led to names like Yağmur (lit. 'rain'), Gündoğdı (lit. 'sun has risen'), Ğa:ryağdı (lit. 'it was snowing'), Daŋatar (lit. 'dawn') and the like. Meanwhile these names have passed out of use and the only remaining bearers are persons of mid or old age. Customs have changed and one of the main reasons for that is the continuously growing interference of spiritual leaders in the name giving process. Most male names given today are Arabic-Islamic or Persian ones. Among the most popular contemporary women's names there are European and Hindi ones, which relates to the growing popularity of movies and serials.

Conventional anthroponyms were to a certain degree indicative of a person's ethnic affiliation. Although quite a few names occur in more than one or even in all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, it is in many cases possible to identify a person's tribal affiliation by their first names. In the Ærsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialects a familiar apotropaic name was Uwez, whose equivalent in the nâxâlis dialects would have been Orun. Bö:rı (lit. 'wolf'), Asta:n (lit. 'threshold of a saint person') and Nawru:z (lit. 'new year') were typically given to their offspring by members of the nâxâlis tribes while being almost unknown in the others. Typically Teke names, in their turn, would be Yo:lbs (‘tiger’), Bayram (‘religious holiday’),
Wepa: ('fidelity'), Jeren ('gazelle'), Ma:ya ('thoroughbred female camel') and Yalqa:p ('forgiven (by God)'). Names inspired by natural phenomena like those mentioned earlier were not frequently used among members of the nāxālış speaking communities.

Turkmen anthroponyms often consist of two elements, of which either the first or the second can be considered an auxiliary element in that it indicates the gender of its bearer: While Ğurba:n Mohemmed, Ğurba:n Ğolı, Ğurba:n Geldi and Ğurba:n Berdi are by their second (auxiliary) elements recognizable as men's names, Ğurba:n Silta:n, Ğurba:n Gözel, Ğurba:n Baxt and Ğurba:n Gül are marked as women's names.

The different dialects have different favorite name components. The Mıra:t element in names like Saparmıra:t, Xojamıra:t, Sā:tmıra:t, and Atamıra:t; the Durdi element of Mıra:tdurdi, Jıma:durdi and Annadurdi; and Mä:met in many composite names points to a bearer from a Teke dialect speaking group. Niya:z, Jıma:, Nazar and Beren in names like Ö:deniya:z, A:ğajıma:, A:mmajıma:, Jıma:nazar and Alla:beren are favorites of the Sa:rıq speaking groups, while Ğult and Berdi in Alla:ğult, I:şan:ğulti, Muxammedğultı, Annaberdi and Xıda:yberdi are typical names of Ä:rsa:rı speakers. In the nāxālış dialects the respective element would be Qul : Jıma:qul, I:şanqul, Xıda:ygul.

In a similar vein, elements like Gözel (lit. 'beautiful') and Jama:l (lit. 'beauty') occur in women's names primarily among Teke speakers (e.g. Bi:bigözel, Mayagözel, Bibijama:l), while Xa:n, Bi:ke and Be:q, all of which suggest a high rank of the female name's bearer, are widely used among Ä:rsa:rı speakers (e.g. Oğulxıa:n, Aqbi:ke, Ağabeq, Oğulbeq) and the element Silta:n occurs mostly in Sa:rıq names (e.g. A:qsıltıa:n, Beğsılta:n). The element Baxt (lit.'good luck') is a Yomut favorite and finally, Gül (lit. 'flower, rose') as either a pre- or post-element is very common with speakers of nāxālış dialects (e.g. Na:rgül, Xurmagül, Ro:zıgül, Gılsemen).

In the realm of non-composite anthroponyms we can also make out different preferences between members of the dialect groups.

While indicating the position of a given child in the row of siblings is an ubiquitous practise among Turkmens, the concretization differs: Ärsa:rı, Sa:rıq, Salır, Muqrı, Xatap, Olam and Surxı give names like Ča:rı and Penți to their fourth and fifths sons – both taken from Persian; in the Teke and Yomut dialects Dö:rtḡulı and Bä:šim, derived from tkm. 'four' and 'five' respectively, are preferred in these cases. In Ä:rsa:rı and nāxālış dialect speaking families second-born children would be named Hemra: or Jo:ra (both meaning 'companion') so that they may forever give true support to their elder siblings; in the Teke dialect the same goal is pursued by naming the second-born child Yo:ldaš.

Teke speakers observe the custom of including kinship terms into anthroponyms, which results in composite names like Ataja:n, Atamıra:t, Qa:qaja:n, A:ğamıra:t (all male names), Eneḡı:z and Ejeḡı:z.

Apotropaic names like seemingly "ugly" animal names (Köpek 'dog', Kürre 'ass foal', Eşek 'ass', Göjik 'dog'), which are given to babies by parents who had remained deprived of offspring for a long time, or whose newborn children had died so far, are particularly common among Teke dialect speakers. Composite names containing similar elements have been recorded from Ä:rsa:rı and Sa:rıq dialect speakers (e.g. Köpekıma:t, Ilalmaz lit. 'a dog wouldn't take (that baby away)'). Again as an apotropaic device, Sa:rıq families have been
found to name their babies Satlıq, while from a Yomut speaking context Satlıqğılıç, and from năxălış dialect speaking families, Satıbaldı has been reported, all of which are meant to cheat noxious spirits by pretending that this baby is not a human being but just a purchased object of sorts.

Among Teke speakers the additional element tuwaq can be added to the main component of the name if the baby is born together with its placenta: examples are Anmatuwaq, Oğiltuwaq. While this element seems to be unique among Teke speakers, the Persion-origin equivalent perde, which in that language denotes the placenta, has been found to be used in a Sa:rlq speaking context (although not as an element of a composite name but as a full name Perde or Perdek).

Naming male children after wild animals has been a familiar custom among Turkmens over time. Among the Turkmens of Afghanistan today, the choice of name is in these cases again indicative of tribal affiliation: While in the xălış dialects Ğu:rt ('wolf') and Yo:lbars ('tiger') are used, their equivalents Bö:ri and Arslan ~ Še:r are more familiar in the năxălış dialects.

In Turkmen communities people are often known by two different names – first, the so-called 'true name' (čın a:t) given to them right after birth by parents or elders, and second, the 'untrue name' (yalan a:t) which is given to them by age-mates and friends, sometimes out of teasing and fun, but also out of anger and with the desire to harm their personality. With advancing age some people cast these untrue names off again, others are called that way until their dying day. There seems to be no major dialectal variation in this type of names, with Jimm, Mašal, Šammi and the like occurring in all dialects. Secondary elements can also be joined to a person's 'true name', as can be seen in examples like Saparğuli Satta, Ha:mut Wağar, Ča:ri Qaqa:w and so on.

Abbreviation or distortion of anthroponyms, which result in a kind of nickname, are again features which display some dialect difference. Mustaq (< Mustafa:), Jimaq (< Jima:ğuli), Mä:mi ~ Mä:t (< Muxammed), A:qı (< A:q Muxammed), Hümmi (< Hümmet) and the like are more typical of the Teke dialect than of any other.

Additional elements which point to bodily particularities or character traits of a given person are on the other hand universal in the Turkmen dialects and have been reported from all dialects. Examples are Abdraxı:m nu:ča 'Abdraxı:m beanpole', Ačıl kö:r 'blind Ačıl', Xuda:yberen gottr 'pock-marked Xuda:yberen', Yüsüp kel 'balhead Yusuf', Raxı:m čolaq 'limping Raxı:m'. Ill-tempered persons have kücük ('dog') added to their true name, stupid ones, ešek 'donkey', persons of unbalanced temperament will be named dă:li 'mad', and double dealers, şeyta:n 'devil'. In many communities such elements are added to names for distinction, since aliases as well as family names are unusual in Turkmen contexts. If there are seven Ča:ri in a village, they may be distinguished by additional elements like Qaqa:w 'gang', Ğara 'dark', Geda:y 'the beggar', Kör r 'the blind', Kelte 'short', Janjal 'trouble-maker' or Bela: 'disaster' (of which the latter bears positive and approving connotations). – Elements added to a person's true name by members of the community can also bear a thoroughly positive meaning, like pā:lw:a (lit. 'wrestler', 'strong man'), jiğa 'crown', güda:mda:r 'store-keeper', serdar:r 'chief', ba:tr 'hero', mira:xr (a military title given by the late Bukharan Emir). This kind of honorary titles can even be handed down from father to son, so that it is not necessarily indicative of a given man's personal achievements.
As has been discussed in the phonology chapter, in the Teke and Yomut dialects – more than in all others – there is a marked tendency towards phonetic assimilation and simplification of copied lexemes. Anthroponyms copied from Arabic are particularly affected by this phenomenon. Moxammed also exists in a reduced form Mä:t; Huseyn becomes Süyen, Ǧiya:s is transformed into Qiya:s.204

6.4 Gender marking

In the Turkmen language there is no grammatical gender. If natural gender needs to be marked, lexemes denoting animals can be supplied with the attributes erkek 'male' and orqači 'female': erkek pišik 'tomcat', orqači pišik 'she-cat'.

Specific lexemes for male/female animals are not symmetrically distributed in all dialects: at 'stallion', baytal 'mare'; öküz (Te.Är.) ~ buqa (Är.) 'bull', inek (Är.) ~ siğır (Te.) 'cow'; yekeğapan 'boar', mekejin 'sow'; ner 'camel bull', arvana 'she-camel'; ǧoč 'ram', ǧoyun 'sheep'.

Unless otherwise specified, some human kinship terms in the Turkmen dialects denote the male: doğan 'sibling; brother', yegen 'nephew; offspring of ego's brother or sister', ǧı:z 'son; child'. The attributes erkek 'male' and aya:l 'female' can be applied to these lexemes in order to specify their gender: erkek doğanım 'my brother', ǧı:z yegenim 'my niece' (Är.), erkek oğlan 'son', ǧı:z oğlan 'daughter'.205 In the Teke dialect yegen is only used for 'nephew' while there is an extra lexeme yegenêci for 'niece'.

In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect the lexemes üyya is 'younger sister' and jo:ra (used only by females) means (female) 'friend'. In the Sa:rıq dialect, on the other hand, the correlates of these lexemes can be used by and for females as well as males, with iva meaning both 'younger sister' and 'younger brother', and jo:ra is 'male friend' among males and 'female friend' among females. The Teke dialect has specific lexemes for younger brother and sister, ini and üya; however, it is more common to use erkek doğan and aya:l doğan instead.

Lexemes for garments can in some dialects differ according to the gender of the persons who wear them, but coincide in others. In the Sariq dialect bö:rok denotes women's and men's headgear of one specific type; in the Teke dialect, on the other hand, bö:rok denotes female headgear while the male equivalent is taxya.

6.5 Animal calls

Calls which are uttered either to attract or to fend off domestic animals often resound the denotate for that very animal in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan: When shooing a dog (küčük) one says küč; a sheep (ġoyon), goş; a goat (geči), geč; chickens (tu:q), toq. A donkey (ešek) is halted by saying iš. In the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, where the regular word for 'calf' is höjek, the call for shooing a calf is höč-höč; in the Teke dialect, on the other hand, 'calf' is göle and consequently, the shooing word is göle-göle.

204 Some of these products of phonetic transformation resound funny, weird or embarrassing words in the same dialect or in another.

205 Oğul as part of female anthroponyms has been mentioned above; compare also Oğul bi:ke, Oğul ša:t, Oğul naba:t, Oğul durdi.
6.6 Synonyms

The Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan consist of complex layers of vocabulary which include Turkic elements that point to different areal or temporal cohabitation and community; along with these, they are rich in lexical copies which again relate back to various relations over time.

My materials do not allow to draw definite conclusions about what tribes may have lived in close connection with what other(s) and where; until now the picture is blurred in some cases and in many fields the material is simply not thick enough as yet. I will only point to a few single examples of synonyms – which in some cases exist in all dialects (with uneven distribution, as has been shown above) and in others don't – which show interesting features that would be worth investigating in more depth whenever the sociopolitical situation makes ample field research possible again.

6.6.1 Plain synonyms

We have already briefly mentioned lexical items which are plain synonyms, all of them time-honored in the Turkic languages without any obvious criterion by which they could be attributed to a specific subgroup of these. For the lexeme 'wolf', for example, all Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan have three synonyms available, namely, bö:ri, gü:rt and mő:jek. Etymologically speaking the latter two are apotropaic words serving to avoid the actual appellative bö:ri, but the contemporary speakers (regardless of dialect) are not aware of this fact and use them alternately like real synonyms. (The fourth item denoting 'wolf', ja:nda:r, is perhaps only a partial synonym since it is preferably used in taboo situations.) The triple altın ~ ḡızıl ~ tilla: 'gold' is another example for fully interchangeable lexemes, where variation can be made out neither along dialect borders nor between registers or styles. Again much the same can be said about the group of lexemes all denoting 'God': tayrı, xuda:, xuda:wend, perwerdiga:r, alla:h, bi:ruba:r. Although tayrı generally appears to hold a recessive position in all dialects today and there is some difference in frequency of use between the others, they are basically real synonyms and are being applied as such.

6.6.2 Asymmetric synonyms

The Turkmen dialects have a few synonym pairs which I call asymmetric. This is the case of ağšam and gi:je; both lexemes mean 'evening' in the first place, but gi:je can also denote 'night', that is, it denotes not only the onset of the dark daytime as ağšam also does, but then remains valid for the rest of the dark daytime until dawn, which ağšam does not. So the meaning of the pair overlaps in one part – where they are synonyms – but does not overlap in the other.

6.6.3 Synonyms and dialectal variation

While the above-named plain synonyms exist in all dialects and are likewise dominant or recessive in all, there are several cases of synonym pairs/triples where regardless of unity in existence there is diversity in frequency. As has been mentioned above in the subchapter on dialectal variation, there are pairs and triples of synonyms where dialectal variation plays out in dominance/recessivity, such as the triple basım ~ ti:z ~ terk whose first member is
dominant in the Teke dialect while \( ti:z \) and \( terk \) are dominant in all others; the respective other items are in all cases known in the other dialects as well, but they are less frequently used.

Some synonym pairs exist in one given dialect while in the others only one member of the pair is known. The pair \( yaz- / bit- \) ‘to write’ exists in the Å:rsa:rı dialect while for example in the Teke dialect only one member is known, namely, \( yaz- \). The following table points out several lexical items that in the Å:rsa:rı dialect exist as synonym pairs, triples or even quadruples, but are single items in the Teke dialect. Generally speaking, the Å:rsa:rı dialect seems to contain more synonyms than any of the other dialects.\(^{206}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Å:rsa:rı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ata ~ aba ~ dä:de</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġuwı ~ a:lin ~ oŋat ~ ġuraw ~ ya:ġšı</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artıq ~ sü:šik ~ ziya:d</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dä:ri ~ duwa: ~ derma:n</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mojiq ~ yaman ~ yaramaz ~ bed</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogrı ~ ra:st ~ düzëw</td>
<td>right, correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya:l ~ heley</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waxt ~ mewrit ~ ča:ġ ~ pille</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti:z ~ terk ~ bejit</td>
<td>quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köp ~ kä:n ~ ziya:d</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketde ~ i:ri ~ ulı ~ olaqan</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xišt ~ kerpić</td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tayxa ~ ġalpaq ~ bő:rik</td>
<td>(a type of men's headgear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.7 Copying

6.7.1 Lexical and phraseological copying

Etymological issues are not the topic of this book. It may suffice to point to the fact that the contemporary Turkmen dialectal lexicon is multi-layered and includes loans and copies from many idioms spoken or written by neighboring peoples with whom the Turkmens have been in contact and communication over time. The dialects contain lexical loans which are quite obviously primary copies immediately adapted from an idiom in which they may have originated, but most copies would be generally difficult to trace since they appear to have been handed down from an ancient original through several intermediate idioms, phonetically adapted to various target languages and re-adapted in again others, to end up in a given Turkmen dialect of today.

The analysis of the contemporary dialect lexicon could be a worthy endeavor but it cannot be achieved on the narrow basis of my material. I only want to draw attention to more or less

\(^{206}\) As has been repeatedly indicated, my material is very thick for the Å:rsa:rı dialect while less complete for all others, so that from the absence of a given lexeme here we can so far not draw any conclusions about its non-existence.
spontaneous copying phenomena which can today be observed in the process of evolving. This chapter only describes copies which could have happened spontaneously – since the "non-copy" way to express the same meaning is readily available and has in fact been realized during the period of my observation. I can in many cases not quote parallel examples of copied and non-copied items since my materials are mostly collected from natural speech; in order to establish the non-copied correlates, I would have had to resort to elicitation which I didn't do in a systematic way. The non-copied items thus come from additional observation. Non-copied correlates of single lexemes and phrases will be given wherever possible, but we cannot always be sure that the non-copied variant is equally often used in the respective register, whether it may or may not have been given up in the respective dialect, whether it would really be regarded as a fully synonymous word/phrase in the same community of speech, and so on.

The spontaneous insertion of single copied words, very often substantive nouns, into Turkmen speech is particularly common among people from all layers of society who regularly interact with speakers of the other language; this could be due to cohabitation in mixed-language neighborhoods or to life in mixed-ethnic families altogether, but also to regular and frequent visits of the bazaar and other ethnically diverse commercial and professional places, to temporary inclusion in a militia or the national army, to involvement in state schooling, and so on. The higher somebody's level of education, the more they are generally inclined to include lexical copies in their speech, be it by force of habit or by desire for distinction.

In the following a few concrete examples will be discussed.

- **ḡıšlağmda köprü:ktu:t zerda:lu:** alma we ba:dam diyen-ya:mi:weler boladı. (Ba.2)
  
  In our village there are mostly fruit (trees) like mulberry, apricot, apple and almond.

While **tu:t 'mulberry'** and **ba:dam 'almond'** are well-established lexical copies for which there exist no non-copy words in any one of the Turkmen dialects, the regular word for 'apricot' is **erik**, which does exist in the Bayat dialect as well. Is there a greater temptation to slip in one more Persian loanword in a row? Why then didn't the speaker use **se:b** instead of **alma** as well? Copying seems to be an irregular, inconsistent process where speakers have much agency for spontaneous choice-making.

- **üyde ö:z ičimizde ö:z zaba:nimiza geplešyo:rs.** (Xa. 2)

  At home, among ourselves, we speak our own language.

There is no doubt that **dil 'language'** rather than **zaba:n 'id.'** is the standard lexeme used in the Xatap dialect, regardless of Xatap being one of the **näxālis** dialects which are generally very open to influences from the neighboring languages. As can be seen from this sentence, not only has the speaker copied the Persian lexeme into his speech without any obvious need, but he also applies the dative rather than the locative, which the verb **gepleš-** otherwise governs in his dialect; this is also copied from Persian, whose **bū-zaba:ne xud** the speaker obviously interprets as a dative.

- **ata-babalarmız kerkiden öten sosu aqja:da zindege:** edip ġa:lan. (Mo. 1)

  Our forefathers ended up living in this (very city of) Aqja after crossing (the border) from Kerki (into Afghanistan).
The speaker might have used diriçilik rather than zindegi: 'life'; or he could have avoided the phraseological copy zindegi: et- 'to live' (after Pe. zindägi: kärärän) altogether by using one of the verbs usually applied in this kind of Turkmen sentences, like ya:ša- 'to live', otr- 'to dwell', dur- 'to stay' etc. The processes of code-copying apparent in this example and the one above go much deeper than just the use of single nouns.

6.7.2 Imitation of foreign language syntactical structures

There are a few types of syntactical copies in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan which have settled in over time and can today be considered part of the regular Turkmen dialect syntax or even of the lexicon, since they are normally employed in crystallized phrases only. The Persian izāfat construction is part and parcel of so many locutions and phrases in all Turkmen dialects that hardly a speaker would still acknowledge them as copies: bā:zi: xa:nlarmz (Âr. 1) 'some of our khans'. The Russian construction of infinitive+nel'zya, which functions as an impersonal negative imperative, appears to have bee successfully copied into the Teke dialect as a ready pattern ÎNF+bolano:q, and come to Afghanistan in that dialect:

- Turkmenista:nda umu:mi: ja:ylardâ çilim çekmek bolano:q. (Te. 2) Smoking is forbidden in public places in Turkmenistan.

On the other hand, the spontaneous imitation of Persian syntactic structures seems to go way beyond what can be meaningfully grasped with the term "copying": long phrases or even sentences in total are construed as though they were in the Persian language altogether. It may suffice here to give just a few examples from various dialects. The phenomenon as such occurs across dialect borders; it seems to be more directly tied to social borders, since all of these examples were collected from educated upper-class speakers.

  actually business two kind business Afghanistan-LOC EXIST
  bir raqam tujarat-i:-ki ata kesb-i bol-ip,
  one kind business-IZAFINDEF-REL father trade-POSS be-CONV
  bi raqam pi:š git-yo:r. (Âr. 25)
  one kind forward go-PARTPRS

Actually business is of two sorts in Afghanistan: One kind that was father's trade and one kind is in progress.

From the use of the existential ba:r as an equivalent of pe. ast in a phrase that certainly does not take an existential in non-copied Turkmen, to the yāv-i tankîr followed by the relative suffix -ki and a phrase-final finite verb (converted into a Turkmen-style converb so as to link the coordinated verb chain) rather than an attributive participle, and to the interesting calque pi:š git- after pe. pe:š-raft(an) 'to make progress', there is actually not much Turkmen substance left in this phrase, which can hardly pass for a sentence according to conventional Turkmen modes. However, this example is not untypical of the kind of speak which is common currency among members of a still Turkmen-speaking, but perhaps more adequately Persian-conceptualizing-and-thinking community of speech. This example shows how the

207 One may even consider the construction köpi ja:ylardâ 'in many places' (Âr. 12) a copy after this Persian pattern. (A different explanation is given by Erdal 2004: 163, who has put forward several examples of exactly that construction which he interprets as a partitive possessive.)
208 اصلا دو شکل تجارت در افغانستان است. یکی تجاری است که کسب پدیده و یک رقم به پیش می‌رود.
Ä:rsa:rı dialect can be transformed by massive copying and imitation of Persian items. Much the same features can be observed in speech that is based on another xâlıș dialect, and on a nâxâlıș dialect, too:

We have never gone to Turkmenistan, which is the land of our forefathers.

- ana šundağ etib ol nefer-i:-ki öz DEIC like.this ADJUN this person-(NOM).Uni-REL own ya:n-i-nda urgen-edi be hisa:b isti:da:d-i side-POSS3SG-LOC learn-PRS3SG quasi craft-IZAF xuda:yi dige xayya:ti-yem. (Ba. 3) God.given CONFIRM tailoring-(NOM)-CLT
Like this, that person who learns (tailoring) by himself – (to him) tailoring is a quasi-God-given craft!

In the first example the Persian relative construction is imitated; in the second one, the attributive participles are replaced by the Persian izāfat construction with, in the prior case, a yāy-i wahdat, and the result of all this is a "Turkmen" word cluster that hardly retains any non-copied structural elements.

In local discourse on "how language should be" this kind of massive copying and imitation of foreign features is vividly disapproved of, no matter how common it is in actual speech. As a preliminary conclusion I should like to say that until now these features are clearly judged as foreign and strange rather than being fully appropriated and naturalized in one's own language. This holds true even for such a relatively simple feature as the izāfat, which can actually be easily integrated without major impact on the syntactic structure of Turkmen speech. However, change seems to be under way since acceptance is growing with more and more speakers frequenting Persian-speaking milieus on a regular basis.

6.7.3 Double coding

Double coding implies that the same lexical or other feature is expressed by two different means, in our case a non-copied and a copied item.

Simple double coding occurs when a lexical item is doubled up by a synonymic one outside lexicalized standard phrases.209 It is not always easy to decide whether a given word pair is just a quickly corrected slip of the tongue or actually a spontaneous case of double coding:

- qışa yaqın qalən pillen ba gladlyamalı. qurq künde a:t özini yetiryo:r. (Mu.2) At the |:time:| when winter is near one needs to tie (the horse). Within 40 days the horse will recover.
- o yerde yuz pi:sed yuzdeyuz turkmener ya:šayo:r (Ār. 3) In that place there live [:one hundred percent:] Turkmens.

209 While the neighboring Uzbek dialects abound with hendiadyoins, this feature is not very common in the Turkmen dialects.
In one particular case, however, there can be no doubt about the nature of the phenomenon – the doubling-up of the clitic particles *dA* and *hem*, both of which bear the meaning 'also'; they are contracted into *dA:m*. This feature has particularly often been recorded from the Ärsa:rı and Teke dialects.210

- ǧũ:rra:q boljaq yerı:m da:yımlaŋqı, mıra:dlaŋqa:-da:m kä:pille bararın. (Är. 32)
  The place where I more often stay is my uncle's, (and) I also sometimes go to the (home of) Mıra:d (and his family).
  Although in Afghanistan there is not so much security, it is from an economic perspective favorable to live here.

Actually the double feature, just like the single items, does not add much to the verbal meaning of the phrase; it is more often than not used as a downgrader for politeness, or to the contrary, an element that highlights its antecedent, or often just as an expletive.

Interestingly, the feature comes especially often after locative suffixes (while with other case suffixes, for example, normally either *dA* or some derivate of *hem* are applied but not both), which results in a haplologic effect.

- Za:yırša:nıŋ zama:nında-da:m ba:yılarıŋ üyünde bir-iki alattar tüpıŋ ba:rtı. (Är. 12)
  In Za:hirša:'s time – well – there used to be one or two six-shooter guns in the homes of the cattlebreeders.
- turkmenler ya:šayo:n yerınde-dä:m asta-asta zama:nı gelipdır, ḡoršalıpdır. (Är. 3)
  In places where Turkmens live, too, slowly-slowly with the course of time schools have come into being, have been constructed.
- bizde-dä:m o:rpa haydı bilen ğorba:n haydıŋ aralığında toy eden yo:qlar. (Te. 3)
  In our (milieu) they don't actually make weddings between the Ramazan and Qurban feasts.

6.8 Euphemisms and vulgarisms

Euphemisms and vulgarisms are items of metaphorical speech designed to upgrade or downgrade referents against their primary lexical representations. Single lexemes as well as phrases can be subject to euphemistic and vulgarizing endeavors.

6.8.1 Euphemisms

The need to express unpleasant and negative content in pleasant and acceptable language has led to a number of euphemistic words and phrases.

Taboo words are not spontaneously created but have long ago been lexicalized. The Turkmen dialects do not contain many taboo words; the most famous ones from the realm of dangerous animals are probably *arqan* 'rope' (for 'snake'), ǧoyruğı čaytı 'crooked tail' (for 'scorpion') and *ja:nda:r* 'animal' (for 'wolf'). The clear words for these items (*yılan*, čıyan, bö:ri ~

210 Salan (2011) in his comparative study on *hem* in Turkish and Turkmen does not mention this phenomenon at all. Berkil (2003) does not mention it either, but differently from Salan lists at least the simple enclitic form -Am.
mö:jek~ḡu:rt) are also general knowledge and are used along with the taboo words. – Taboo also concerns objects which can be sexually connotated. Thus it is quite impossible for females to name their pantaloons by the actual lexeme išta:n 'bloomers'; instead they use balaq (lit. 'footlets').

Phrases around death and dying circumscribe the unspeakable in euphemistic terms: ja:ni haqa taḇšır- 'to entrust (one's) soul to God', dünva:dan göz yum- 'to close (one's) eyes from the world', rihlet et- 'to depart'. When talking about a deceased child, the lexeme 'to die' cannot be applied; instead, the adequate euphemistic phrase is pala:nı:nıŋ čağası sıčra:pdır 'someone's child has passed away' – the literal meaning of sıčra- being 'to be sprinkled (like water)'.

Formal and polite speech is another field where euphemisms are often used. In Turkmen it is virtually impossible to directly address a high-ranking person saying, your words are wrong or lies. Instead one uses euphemistic speech like for example siziŋ söziŋiz sä:w bolsa gerek 'seems as if what you said is erroneous' – whose message, however, because of its high degree of conventionalization is just as unequivocal as the respective clear text. – Bodily deficiencies of honorable persons cannot be directly addresses either. Thus one uses qa:ri: (lit. 'reader of the Koran') instead of kör 'blind' and ġolağı ağır 'heavy-eared' instead of ker 'deaf'.

6.8.2 Vulgarisms

Vulgarisms are metaphorical items considered as shameful, insulting, absurd, obscene or otherwise going against socially accepted modes. Many vulgarisms are conventionalized and can thus be decoded irrespective of semantic reference to their denotate; there is, however, more space for creativity in vulgar than in euphemistic speech.

The Turkmen dialects include vulgarisms which are despite their metaphorical quality by speakers characterized as "natural" and "logically consistent" no matter how contingent and arbitrary the subject-referent relation may be. Examples are tilki (lit. 'fox') or qırq emjek (lit. 'sb. who has forty breasts') for a cunning person; xamı:rxa:n (lit. 'dough-eater') and debeŋ (lit. giant) for a fat person; iskili:t (lit. 'skeleton') for a skinny person; berzeŋŋi (an epical hero historically related to East Africa) for a person of dark complexion; enesiniŋ emjegni kesen (lit. 'sb. who has cut the breasts of his mother') for an ignorant but tricky person. This type of vulgarisms can be employed for a variety of intentional purposes from ridiculing and derogation to insult but also mockery and joke.

Another type of vulgarisms can only be applied as swearword or offense; there seems to be no obvious semantic correlation between subject and referent beyond the desire on the part of the speaker, to insult the addressee or object of his speech. Examples: hara:ma:da and wellezzina: 'born out of wedlock'; hara:mxo:r 'consumer of illicit things'; lewde 'fool'; ešek 'ass'; ġüyruqsız ešek 'tailless ass'; it ~ küčük 'dog'; kör:rmüş 'bat'; doŋuz 'pig'; mekejin 'sow'; juwa:nmerg 'sb. who dies at young age'; yertartan 'sb. whom the ground/grave attracts'; yeryu:dan 'sb. whom the ground will swallow'; dejja:l 'devil'; ġu:riayaq 'ugly'; lo:li 'prostitute'.

Interestingly, some vulgarisms are undergoing a process of upgrading to the effect that while initially denoting something very contemptuous and disrespectful, they are actually used to express approval and appreciation. The vulgarisms beče ġar 'son of a bitch' and ene ġar 'sb.

248
whose mother is a whore' are applied to very active young men, or to extraordinary people and objects in general.

6.9 Phraseologisms

Phraseologisms are crystallized lexical units with a limited degree of variability. They differ from proverbs in their adaptability to syntactic needs; their lexical components, on the other hand, are widely or totally unchangeable. In the phraseologism bir čuqura tüykir- (lit. 'to spit in a (shared) pit'), that is, 'to cooperate closely', none of the elements can be exchanged for another – thus it would be impossible to say bir aːrıkä tüykir-. Only within a community of speech all of whose members are well aware of the form and function of a given phraseologism can an element possibly be replaced by another one. There is reason to assume that actually the above-mentioned phraseologism in fact contains a euphemism; instead of tüykir- 'to spit' the verb could have been an indecent word which denotes an optically similar action. Since all speakers share the awareness of the original phrase they can even draw additional pleasure from the euphemistic innovation and of course the shared knowledge makes sure that communication is not violated.

Much phraseologism is common in all or at least many of the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan. However, there is also variation in detail, or even difference all along the line between phraseologisms in different dialects. Some phraseologism has been reported from one given dialect only and do not seem to exist in others.

In the following a selection of phraseologisms will be presented. Once again due to the superior quality of my materials from the Ä:rsaːrı dialect I take this dialect as point of reference. (If in the Teke dialect a given semantic unit is not rendered by phraseologism but in plain speech, I indicate the respective word or phrase in paranthesis.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ä:rsaːrı</th>
<th>Teke</th>
<th>(explanation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ağızınıŋ parawızı yoːq</td>
<td>ağızınıŋ jeheği yoːq</td>
<td>'his mouth has no stitch' about a person who talks instead of shutting up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yüz gören</td>
<td>(dul ayaːl) ('widow')</td>
<td>'who has seen a face' about a woman who marries again after the death of her husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edep čöpri sıːrلان</td>
<td>yüzı ačılan</td>
<td>'whose stick of decency has been broken' 'whose face is opened' about a shameless person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burnı iːs alan 'whose nose has taken in smell'</td>
<td>(jahlı čıqan oğlan) (a youngster whose temper rises)</td>
<td>about a quick-tempered young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çäːy jöğaːp et- 'to respond to the tea'</td>
<td>bušuq- 'to relax'</td>
<td>to urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gepın gödaːyı 'a beggar of words'</td>
<td>(gepe čeper) (ready for words)</td>
<td>about a quick-witted person who can aptly express his/her thoughts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğapıɾğa et- 'to be boring'</td>
<td>(čekin-) 'to be shy, modest'</td>
<td>to behave in a modest manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olariŋ a:rasidan boğaz či:bin ġüşlip ötyo:r.</td>
<td>'A pregnant fly can (hardly) squeeze through between them.'</td>
<td>about people who are very close friends and cannot be played out against one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arpa:ni xa:m ordimi?</td>
<td>'Has he cut your barley (while it was still) unripe?'</td>
<td>did he do something wrong to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kešb ačıl-'cheer up'</td>
<td>güwin ačıl-'opening (heart)'</td>
<td>to become happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir yerä: ġarši ökje göter-</td>
<td>ğarši du:dek bol- 'to be running against a place'</td>
<td>to run away, to flee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ı:sa:nlardan ġačan ya:ni</td>
<td>'as if run-away from the shaykhs'</td>
<td>about someone dressed in rags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolamağa batğa, u:n aša yila:n diyyon waxtuŋ-am biz oni bilyo:r-tiq.</td>
<td>'When you called bolamaq a bog and noodles a snake, we were aware of (your talking nonsense).'</td>
<td>about someone who considers himself to be smarter and know better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tezegini aldran tomazaqqa ya:ni bolip ġa:l-</td>
<td>elinnen a:wını aldran ya:lı bolıp ġal- 'to be like a beetle who has lost its dung'</td>
<td>about sb. who is regretting what he did</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şepta:lı arza:n boldı 'peaches are cheap'</td>
<td>it is very cold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi zağara biširyo:r 'his breath fries corn'</td>
<td>demi da:ġ ya:rya:r 'his breath splits hills'</td>
<td>about an ill-tempered person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġu:ni qa:f da:ğunda 'His heart is at the Qāf Mountain.'</td>
<td>hekkesi ġoš dileyā:r 'His magpie wishes twofold.'</td>
<td>about sb. who cherishes idle wishes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My materials also contain a number of phraseologisms from the Ä:rsa:rı dialect for which no parallels at all have been found in the Teke or other dialects.
### Table 6.11: Ä:rsa:rı phraseologisms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burnınıŋ usti derlä:p du:r.</td>
<td>'He is sweating on his nose.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nó:ınıŋ içinnen gögerip čıqan</td>
<td>'sprouted from inside the breadloaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>künjiden zıya:n gören ya:nı</td>
<td>'as if he had suffered losses from sesame oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu:ını xa:m tarpız iyen ya:nı</td>
<td>'his mood is as if he had eaten unripe watermelons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ešekden palaŋa alan ya:nı</td>
<td>'like taking the saddlecloth off an ass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi:rine asdarlı gep ayt-</td>
<td>'to say lined words to sb.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağzınnan ma:l basan</td>
<td>'(sb.) whose mouth an animal has kicked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buxrar gidi</td>
<td>'He has gone to Bukhara.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yo:l ayrı:nıŋ üstinde bol-</td>
<td>'to be at a fork in the path'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ešegi köpriden öti:nčä: dost bol-</td>
<td>'to be friends until the ass has passed the bridge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si:dık siniren ğara: keče</td>
<td>'black felt moistened by urine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about a person who is enraged for no reason at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about sb. who has risen into a high position without merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about sb. who behaves sulky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he repents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about a very easy task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to speak vaguely, to make allusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about a very silly person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He has fallen asleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about a 15-20 years old boy who is extremely hot-tempered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to be unfaithful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>about sb. who has lived the longer part of his life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.10 Kinship terms

While in some languages kinship terminology depicts no dialectal variation at all, this is not the case in the Turkic languages.\(^{211}\) This holds true for the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan, too, as can be seen from the table below: A few terms depict no dialectal variation at all, but others vary between the xālıʃ and nāxālıʃ groups, and again others show some variation even within the groups. Many of the kinship terms of the nāxālıʃ dialects resemble the respective terms used in the neighboring Uzbek dialects more closely than the Turkmen terms from the xālıʃ dialects.

In the table we have marked those terms which cannot be applied as address terms with an asterisk *.  

---

\(^{211}\) Li (1999).
Table 6.12: Kinship terms in the Turkmen dialects of Afghanistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego's</th>
<th>Xāltṣ</th>
<th>nāxāltṣ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arsā:ṛt</td>
<td>Sa:ṛq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father (F)</td>
<td>ata ~ aba²¹²</td>
<td>aqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepfather (MH)</td>
<td>uwei ata*</td>
<td>uwei aqqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother (M)</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>eje ~ ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepmother (FW)</td>
<td>uwei ene*</td>
<td>uwei ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibling (Sb)²¹³</td>
<td>doğan*</td>
<td>doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister (Z)</td>
<td>ğı:ţ doğan*</td>
<td>ğı:ţ doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother (B)</td>
<td>erkek doğan*</td>
<td>erkek doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step-brother (FWCh, MHCh)</td>
<td>uwey doğan*</td>
<td>uwey doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother (eB)</td>
<td>a:ţa ~ erkek doğan*</td>
<td>aqqa ~ erkek doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger (yB)</td>
<td>ini ~ injik ~ erkek doğan*</td>
<td>ini ~ erkek doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder sister (eZ)</td>
<td>eke ~ aya:l doğan ~ dā:de</td>
<td>eje ~ aya:l doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister (yZ)</td>
<td>uyya ~ aya:l doğan*</td>
<td>uyya, ayal doğan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (C)</td>
<td>oğlan ~ erkek oğlan*</td>
<td>oğlan ~ erkek oğlan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²¹² The word aba is mostly used by young children, for address and reference alike.
²¹³ Siblings are referred to categorically speaking as doğan etc (as shown under the Sb entry) with no regard to gender and elderliness. The word is nevertheless used in address, too. Z and B terms are used analytically in reference to stress the sibling’s gender. yB, eB, yZ, eZ terms are common terms of address but, as can be seen in the table, usage may show no clear boundary between elders and youngers. Also, no Turkmen dialect displays separate terms for cross and parallel siblings, for instance between “younger sister male speaking” (yZm) and “younger sister female speaking” (yZf).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
<th>(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>oğil</td>
<td>oğil</td>
<td>oğil</td>
<td>oğil</td>
<td>oğil</td>
<td>oğil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder S</td>
<td>kette oğil*</td>
<td>ulti oğil</td>
<td>őçaq oğil</td>
<td>őçaq oğil</td>
<td>olaqan oğil</td>
<td>kette oğil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(middle S)</td>
<td>ortanji oğil*</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger S</td>
<td>kiči oğil ~ kičik oğil*</td>
<td>kiči oğil oğil ~ kičik oğil</td>
<td>ortanji oğil</td>
<td>kiči oğil</td>
<td>kičik oğil</td>
<td>kičik oğil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first born C</td>
<td>düwinji*</td>
<td>düwinji</td>
<td>düwinji</td>
<td>düwinji</td>
<td>düwinji ~ 214</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last born C</td>
<td>körpe</td>
<td>körpe</td>
<td>körpe</td>
<td>körpe</td>
<td>körpe</td>
<td>körpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stepson (HWS)</td>
<td>üwei oğil*</td>
<td>üwei oğil</td>
<td>üwei oğil</td>
<td>üwei oğil</td>
<td>ügey oğil</td>
<td>ügey oğil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter (D)</td>
<td>ġi:z ~ ġi:z oğlan*</td>
<td>ġi:z oğlan</td>
<td>ġi:z</td>
<td>ġi:z</td>
<td>qız</td>
<td>qız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder D</td>
<td>kette ġi:z*</td>
<td>ulti ġi:z</td>
<td>őçaq ġi:z</td>
<td>olaqan ġi:z</td>
<td>olaqan ġi:z</td>
<td>kette qız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger D</td>
<td>kiči ġi:z*</td>
<td>kiči ġi:z</td>
<td>kiči ġi:z</td>
<td>kiči ġi:z</td>
<td>kiči qız</td>
<td>kiči qız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stepdaug hter (HWD)</td>
<td>üwey ġi:z</td>
<td>üwey ġi:z</td>
<td>üwey ġi:z</td>
<td>üwey ġi:z</td>
<td>ügey qız</td>
<td>ügey qız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>next-born child</td>
<td>ergeš*</td>
<td>tirkeš</td>
<td>— 215</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ergaš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandchild (CC)</td>
<td>axdıq*</td>
<td>axdıq</td>
<td>axdıq</td>
<td>axdıq</td>
<td>axdıq</td>
<td>axdıq ~ nebire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CCCCCC)</td>
<td>ya:dlıq* ~ du:zluq 217*</td>
<td>— 218</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ġu:lıq artıq</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

214 Not established in my materials.
215 Not established in my materials.
216 du:lıq has been reported from the honourable Dä:kter Abdusatta:r, a member of the Ğa:basqğal qawm of the Ä:rsa:rı tribe, from Dawlatābād/Balkh.
217 du:zluq has also been reported from the same gentleman only.
218 Not established in my materials.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(CCCCC C)</th>
<th>Ø219</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>dolanan *</th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grandfather (FF)</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>atda</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather (MF)</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
<td>ba:ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother (FM)</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>bi:bi ~ mama</td>
<td>bi:bi ~ eje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother (MM)</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>ma:ma</td>
<td>bi:bi</td>
<td>bi:bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle (FB)</td>
<td>atadoğan*</td>
<td>aqqa ~ ata</td>
<td>gočaq qaqa</td>
<td>gočaq qaqa</td>
<td>qa:qa</td>
<td>ameki ~ atadoğan ağa</td>
<td>emeki ~ ağa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt (FZ)</td>
<td>eke ~ ata doğan eke*</td>
<td>eje</td>
<td>eje ~ gočaq eje</td>
<td>ejeke</td>
<td>ejekı</td>
<td>kette beče220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle (MB)</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>da:yi</td>
<td>dayı ~ tağa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt (MZ)</td>
<td>dayza</td>
<td>dayza</td>
<td>dayza</td>
<td>dayza</td>
<td>dayza</td>
<td>xala</td>
<td>xala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (FBS)</td>
<td>atadoğan oglanı*</td>
<td>a:ğamın órgão</td>
<td>doğan oglan</td>
<td>doğan oglan</td>
<td>doğan oglan</td>
<td>emeki beče</td>
<td>emeki beče</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (FBD)</td>
<td>a:ğamın ğı:zi*</td>
<td>a:ğamın ğı:zi</td>
<td>jigi</td>
<td>jigi</td>
<td>jigi</td>
<td>a:ğamın ğı:zi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (FZS)</td>
<td>ğemın órgão*</td>
<td>ğemın örgüt</td>
<td>ğemın örgüt</td>
<td>ğemın örgüt</td>
<td>ğemın örgüt</td>
<td>amma beče</td>
<td>amma beče</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (FZD)</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
<td>ğı:zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (MZS)</td>
<td>čıqan ~ dayza:miŋ örgüt*</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>xala beče čıqan</td>
<td>xala beče</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousin (MZD)</td>
<td>čıqan ~ dayza:miŋ ğı:zi*</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>čıqan</td>
<td>xalemın qızı ~ čıqan</td>
<td>xalemın qızı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband (H)</td>
<td>ā:r*</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
<td>ā:r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

219 There is no term for this in the dialect.
220 According to Xuda:yberdi Xatap : bi:bi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>role and relationship</th>
<th>affix</th>
<th>aya:1</th>
<th>heley</th>
<th>heley</th>
<th>aya:1</th>
<th>aya:1</th>
<th>Xatın</th>
<th>Xatın</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wife (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td>heley</td>
<td>aya:1</td>
<td>heley</td>
<td>aya:1</td>
<td>aya:1</td>
<td>heley</td>
<td>heley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religiously married woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bridegroom, son-in-law (DH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gi:yew</td>
<td>gi:yew</td>
<td>giywë</td>
<td>giywë</td>
<td>giywë</td>
<td>giywë</td>
<td>giywë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter-in-law, sister-in-law (SW, yBW)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kelin</td>
<td>gelin</td>
<td>gelin</td>
<td>gelin</td>
<td>gelin</td>
<td>kelin</td>
<td>kelin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister-in-law (eBW)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kelin eke</td>
<td>gelin eje</td>
<td>gelin eje</td>
<td>gelin eje</td>
<td>gelin eje</td>
<td>yenñe</td>
<td>yenñe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister-in-law (HZ, WZ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba:ldız</td>
<td>baldiz</td>
<td>baldiz</td>
<td>ba:ldız</td>
<td>ba:ldız</td>
<td>ba:ldız</td>
<td>ba:ldız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law (WB)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḡayın a:tiği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
<td>ḡayın a:ği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co-wife (HW)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gündeš*</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
<td>gündeš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZH</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
<td>ba:ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affins (SWF, SWM, DHF, DHM, WZH)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḡuda</td>
<td>ḡuda</td>
<td>ḡuda</td>
<td>ḡuda</td>
<td>ḡuda</td>
<td>quda</td>
<td>quda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

221 Not established in my materials.
According to Turkmen custom people who are not consanguineous can enter a kindred-like relationship if, for example, a man/woman "in place of his own father/mother" cares for a child as if he/she were his parent. This kind of relationship is denoted by adding the suffix -JIQ to the respective kinship term: atalıq 'surrogate father', 'accepted father'; enelik 'accepted mother'; oğollıq 'person in place of one's own son' and the like.

An interesting term is dolanan 'grandson of ego's brother', which has been recorded from the Yemreli dialect only. The term dolanan ğarindaš for 'distant relative' also exists in the Ä:rsa:rı dialect, but the Ä:rsa:rı speakers do not have the term dolanan as such.

The term čıqan for 'cousin' according to local knowledge is derived from čıq- 'to exit' and points to a specific historical custom. According to ancient Turkmen tribal law male relatives would be obliged to practise vendetta in case a relative were killed. The nephews of the murdered person, however, were exempted (literally, they "had quit") from this obligation which at the same time implies that they were not actually counted among "relatives" in an immediate sense.

Sophisticated items from kinship terminology are today widely unknown to members of the young generation and may disappear from the Turkmen dialect vocabulary in the near future.

We conclude this chapter with some terms which are not actually part of kinship terminology but belong to the wider semantic field of human conditions and interhuman relations.

Table 6.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xālıs(XD)</th>
<th>nāxālıs(ND)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ärsa:rı</td>
<td>Sarq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>erkek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ğarrı ~ ča:l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>ğarrı ma:ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young man</td>
<td>yiğit ~ ya:š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarried</td>
<td>öylenmedik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

222 Information by the honorable Ha:jı: Da:dmuhammed Yemreli from Herat.
223 Information by the honorable Ha:jı: Abdulkeri:m from the village of Ba:ğbusta:n / district of Andkhoy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>~ sallax</th>
<th>~ sallax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>yiğit ~ boy</td>
<td>yiğit</td>
<td>~ sallax</td>
<td>~ sallax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried girl/woman</td>
<td>kette ġi:z</td>
<td>ġi:z</td>
<td>ġočaq</td>
<td>ġočaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced woman</td>
<td>ayrılan</td>
<td>ayrılan</td>
<td>quwindi</td>
<td>bi:we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>dul</td>
<td>dul</td>
<td>dul ~ bašiboş</td>
<td>dul ~ bašiboş</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

224 Not established in my materials.
Bibliography


A. Annanurov (1962): *Türkmen dilinin Ärsari dialektinde uzun ve ğişğa çekilmilileriŋ olanlıš aytatnlaqlar*, Aşğabat (İlím).


N.A. Baskakov et al. (1968): *Turkmensko-russkiy slovar’,* Moskva (Sovetskaya Enciklopediya).


Gerd Jendraschek (2011): "A fresh look at the tense-aspect system of Turkish", Language Research 47.2.245-270.


Yon Söng Li (1999): Türk Dillerinde Akrabalık Adları, Istanbul (Simurg).


Aleksandr Petrovič Poceluevskii (1943): Osnovy sintaksisa turkmenskogo literaturnogo iazyka, Aşxabad (TurkmEdinGosIzdat).


# Appendix: List of conversation participants and informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Identifier</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Literacy</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Juma bay Xamyabi</td>
<td>Är.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>tribe elder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Xamiyab / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mawlewi Ubeydullah</td>
<td>Är.2</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>mullah, clergyman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mohemmed Nayzari</td>
<td>Är.3</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>professor</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>M. Emin Nazari</td>
<td>Är.4</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>professor</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bibi Jamal</td>
<td>Är.5</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Enjinyer M. Emin</td>
<td>Är.6</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Čayı / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rozigeldi Oyči</td>
<td>Är.7</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>politician</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Sardepe / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ismetullah</td>
<td>Är.8</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>M. Sadiq Bağshi</td>
<td>Är.9</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>musician, epic singer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Enjinyer Abdırahman</td>
<td>Är.10</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>manager</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Haji Abdıqadır</td>
<td>Är.11</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Carbölek / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Abdırahım Nuča</td>
<td>Är.12</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Xudaynazar</td>
<td>Är.13</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Abdılmeyid</td>
<td>Är.14</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>caretaker</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Čayı / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fatma Resuli</td>
<td>Är.15</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Sibirğan / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Allah Nazar Nazari Türkmen</td>
<td>Är.16</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>politician</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mawlewi Jora</td>
<td>Är.17</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>clergyman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Haji M. Ibrahim</td>
<td>Är.18</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>manager</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Imam Sahib / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>Är.19</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>tribe elder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Ärsa:ri</td>
<td>Murdiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jelil Joyan</td>
<td>År.20</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>officer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Xamiyab / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Abdulqadir Aşna</td>
<td>År.21</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>officer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>M. Ikram Yawer</td>
<td>År.22</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Esedullah Behrami</td>
<td>År.23</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Årsa:ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rahimqul</td>
<td>År.24</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>headmaster of school</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Salam Bay</td>
<td>År.25</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Årsa:ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nadr</td>
<td>År.26</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>laborer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Fawziye</td>
<td>År.27</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Oğulbaxt</td>
<td>År.28</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Qadir</td>
<td>År.29</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>laborer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mohemmed Kemal</td>
<td>År.30</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Keldar / Balx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Pırnazar</td>
<td>År.31</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>craftsman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ismayil</td>
<td>År.32</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>craftsman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Aqça / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Imamqul Xan</td>
<td>År.33</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>manager</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Gulam resul</td>
<td>År.34</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Imam Sahib / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Haji Qandil</td>
<td>År.35</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Siberğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Hanifa</td>
<td>År.36</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Wezir Mohemmed</td>
<td>År.37</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>goldsmith</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Aqça / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Haji Ekber</td>
<td>År.38</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Mazar-i Şarif / Balx</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Xudayberdi</td>
<td>År.39</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>laborer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Qalayi Zal / Qunduz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Mahmud</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>laborer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Abdīlqayyum</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>laborer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Meŋgejejk / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Abdīlahad Garajalı</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>M. Ibrahim Tewekkeli</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>intellectual</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>H. Abdīlwaḥha b Daniš</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>politician</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>M. Kemal Göneš</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>politician</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Abdīlqadr Maliya</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>arbitrator</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Qarqin / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>I:sa Haji</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xamiyab / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Haji M. İsmayıl</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Sandiqčılar</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>craftsman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xamiyab / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mulla Rehmetullah</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>mullah, clergyman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Sibirğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Halima</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Dewleta bad / Balx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>M. Salih Rasekh</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>professor</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Andxoy / Faryab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Yengejan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Sibirğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Haji Nazar a:ğa</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>tribe elder</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Teke Bermezi d / Balx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>M. Emin Ferheŋ</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Haji Abdillah</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Derre-i Şax / Faryab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Bayram Ağa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Bermezi d / Balx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Feride Emini</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Sibirğan / Jawzjan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>M. İsmayıl</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Haji Şageldi</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Paraxat</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Herat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td>City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Abdılqayyumu</td>
<td>Te.9</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Bermez / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Mawlewi Abdı̇lkerim</td>
<td>Te.10</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>mullah, clergyman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Qa:rı Sebu:r</td>
<td>Te.11</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Tä:zegül Ama:nı̇yı:r</td>
<td>Te.12</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Dawudşah Ferheŋ</td>
<td>Te.13</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Ahmedşah</td>
<td>Te.14</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Bermez / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Jama:lı́ddı́n</td>
<td>Te.15</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Bermez / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Haji Abdı̇resu:l</td>
<td>Te.16</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Bermez / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Mohammed Dawud</td>
<td>Te.17</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Ça:rya:r Mura:di</td>
<td>Te.18</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>sport teacher</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Turgundi / Herat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Haji Sa:bir</td>
<td>Te.19</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Turgundi / Herat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Abdı̇lxalı:l</td>
<td>Te.20</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Turgundi / Herat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Dawud</td>
<td>Te.21</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Teke</td>
<td>Turgundi / Herat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>M. Siddı́:q Emini</td>
<td>Sa.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>politician</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Maruçaq / Badg:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Haji Abdı̇lxalı:l</td>
<td>Sa.2</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>tribe elder</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Marçaq / Badg:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Aqmohemm ed A:ğa</td>
<td>Sa.3</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Marçaq / Badg:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Şir:rmoheμ med Yenjiš</td>
<td>Sa.4</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>poet</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Marçaq / Badg:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Anna Bağşı</td>
<td>Sa.5</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>musician, epic singer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Marçaq / Badg:s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Gül Ahmed</td>
<td>Sa.6</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Dawudşah</td>
<td>Sa.7</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Sa:rıq</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Haji Sa:gėldı</td>
<td>Yo.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Yomut</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>N.N.</td>
<td>Yo.2</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>carpet weaver</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Yomut</td>
<td>Herat city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Haji Rehmetılla: h</td>
<td>Mu.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Muqrı</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Da:wu̇d ağa</td>
<td>Mu.2</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Muqrı</td>
<td>Siyagird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Last Name</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Penji</td>
<td>Mu.3</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Muqrı</td>
<td>Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Seyis</td>
<td>Mu.4</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>horsebreeder</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Muqrı</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>Gaybullah</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Horse breeder</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Muqrı</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Amanullah</td>
<td>Xa.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>Šehrek / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Abdulheki:</td>
<td>m xatap</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>Šehrek / Balx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Xudayberdi</td>
<td>Xa.3</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>Aqča / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Hani:fa</td>
<td>Xa.4</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>A:qdepe / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Kema:l</td>
<td>Xa.5</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>A:qdepe / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Zi:ba:</td>
<td>Xa.6</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xatap</td>
<td>A:qdepe / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>M. Emin</td>
<td>Qa:ni</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Xojamba :z</td>
<td>Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Šükrrullah</td>
<td>Xoj.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Xojamba :z</td>
<td>Ča:rdere / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>M. Seddı:q</td>
<td>Ba.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>craftsman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
<td>Šibırğan city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Seyfullah</td>
<td>Ba.2</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>labourer</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
<td>Šibırğan city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Runa</td>
<td>Ba.3</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
<td>Mazar-i Šarif city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>M. Alm</td>
<td>Rahmanya:r</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>journalist</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
<td>Šibırğan city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>Yo:Ibars</td>
<td>Ata:yi</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>Rehmetulla</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>businessman</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Bayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>Xudayquл</td>
<td>Ol.1</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>shopkeeper</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Olam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Abdilleti:f</td>
<td>Ol.2</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Olam</td>
<td>Ča:rdere / Qunduz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Usta:d</td>
<td>Nayı:m</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>professor</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Qarqın</td>
<td>Qarqın / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Xadi:ja</td>
<td>Qar.2</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>literate</td>
<td>Qarqın</td>
<td>Qarqın / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Haji Uwez</td>
<td>Durdī</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>craftsman</td>
<td>illiterate</td>
<td>Qarqın</td>
<td>Qarqın / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>ġula:m Saxi Behra:mi</td>
<td>Qar.4</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>student</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Qarqın</td>
<td>Qarqın / Jawzjan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>