

## ON NON-FINAL STRESS IN TURKISH\*

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### 0. Introduction

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

(1)	taní	‘know’
	tanı-dík	‘acquaintance’
	tanı-dık-lár	‘acquaintances’
	tanı-dık-lar-ím	‘my acquaintances’
	tanı-dık-lar-ım-íz	‘our acquaintances’
	koalisyon	‘coalition’
	koalisyon-um-úz	‘our coalition’
	koalisyon-um-uz-dá	‘in our coalition’

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

(2)	taní-mă-dık-lar-ım-ız	‘those we do not know’
	tanı-dık-lar-ım-íz-mí	‘our acquaintances?’
	gel-íyör	‘(s)he is coming’
	koalisyon-lă	‘with coalition’

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

(3)	gel-mé	‘coming’
	gél-mě	‘don’t come’
	sına-má	‘testing’
	síná-mă	‘don’t test’
	ben-dé	‘in/on me’
	bén dě	‘me too’

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

1. Enclitic suffixes will be indicated by a ‘˘’ over the vowel of the syllable. See Lees (1961) for a complete list of the enclitic suffixes in Turkish.

Lees (1961) observed that in case there are two or more enclitic suffixes in a word, the primary stress precedes the leftmost enclitic suffix. Observe the following.

- |     |                 |                    |
|-----|-----------------|--------------------|
| (4) | gél-mě-di-mi    | 'didn't he come'   |
|     | gel-iyör-lar-mĩ | 'are they coming?' |

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

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

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

- |     |          |              |
|-----|----------|--------------|
| (6) | lokántă  | 'restaurant' |
|     | mándıra  | 'dairy farm' |
|     | manivélă | 'lever'      |
|     | prásă    | 'leek'       |

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

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

### 1. The Adverbs with *-en*

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

- |     |             |         |              |                  |
|-----|-------------|---------|--------------|------------------|
| (7) | 'form'      | şekîl   | şék-len      | 'formwise'       |
|     | 'transfer'  | nakîl   | nák-len      | 'by transfer'    |
|     | 'cash'      | nakit   | nák-ten      | 'in cash'        |
|     | 'economics' | iktisât | ik-ti-sâ-den | 'economically'   |
|     | 'support'   | istinât | is-ti-nâ-den | 'based on . . .' |
|     | 'accident'  | kazâ    | ka-zâ-en     | 'accidentally'   |
|     | 'basic'     | eşâs    | e-sâ-sen     | 'basically'      |

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

3. Henceforth, '·' indicates syllable boundary, not morpheme boundary.

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

(8)	‘special to’	münhasír	mün-há-sı-ran	‘specially’
	‘mutual’	müşterék	müş-té-re-ken	‘mutually’
	‘becoming surety’	tekeffül	te-kéf-fü-len	‘by surety’
	‘temporary’	muvakkát	mu-vák-ka-ten	‘temporarily’
	‘ratio’	nisbét	nís-be-ten	‘proportionally’
	‘truth’	hakíkát	ha-kí-ka-ten	‘in truth’

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

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

- (9) In adverbials derived with *-en*, primary stress is on the penult if it is strong. If the penult is not strong, then primary stress is on the ante-penult.<sup>4</sup>

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

### 2. Word-Initial Stress: The Emphatic Adjectives

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

(10)	‘thin’	incé	ípince	‘very thin’
	‘ordure’	bók	bómbok	‘utterly useless’
	‘red’	kır mızı	kípkırmızı	‘bright red’
	‘round’	toparlák	tóstoparлак	‘perfectly round’

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

4. This rule holds somewhat trivially for the first three forms in (7), since these have only one non-final syllable which receives the primary stress.

- |         |           |                           |
|---------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (11) a. | incecik   | 'very thin'               |
|         | küçücük   | 'very small'              |
|         | alçacık   | 'very low'                |
|         | biricik   | 'one and only'            |
| b.      | Mehmetçik | 'Turkish private soldier' |
|         | Ayşecik   | 'poor little Ayşe'        |
|         | fıçıcık   | 'little barrel'           |
|         | köpecik   | 'poor little dog'         |

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

- (12) Derived emphatic adjectives have primary stress on their initial syllables.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Non-Final Stress in Borrowed Words

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

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

- |         |                        |                |
|---------|------------------------|----------------|
| (13) a. | <i>Source Language</i> | <i>Turkish</i> |
|         | Éisenhower             | Ayzínhóver     |
|         | Indianápolis           | Índianapólis   |
|         | Kénnedy                | Kenédi         |
|         | Méndelssohn            | Mendélson      |
|         | Papadóulos             | Papadopúlos    |
|         | Ptólemy                | Pitolémi       |

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

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

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(Paul) Sámuelson Wáshington	Samuélson Vaşington
b. jubilé visíte faculté ateliér	jübíle 'jubilee' visíte 'doctor's fee' fakúlte 'a college school' atólye 'workshop'

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

### 3.1. Primary Stress in Weak NFS Words

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

(14)	'Oedipus' 'Ptolemy' 'Kennedy' a man's name 'Indianapolis' a city in Turkey a county in Turkey 'brine' 'wagon' 'screw' 'mouthpiece on a cigarette' 'whitewash' 'couch' 'deceit' 'hide' 'napkin' 'prescription' 'movies' 'machine' 'lever' 'chocolate' 'screwdriver' 'newspaper' 'jubilee' 'doctor's fee'	O-dí-pus Pi-to-lé-mi Ke-né-di Pa-pa-do-pú-los In-di-ya-na-pó-lis A-dá-na A-ná-mur sa-la-mú-ra a-rá-ba ci-vâ-ta zı-vâ-na ba-dâ-na ka-ná-pe da-la-vé-re kö-sé-le pe-çé-te re-çé-te si-né-ma ma-kí-ne ma-ni-vé-la çi-ko-lá-ta tor-na-ví-da ga-zé-te jü-bí-le vi-sí-te
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Examples like (14) lead us to the following generalization.

- (15) *The Weak Penult Rule*  
In weak NFS words, primary stress is on the penult.

1.2. *Non-Final Stress in Strong Words*

Let us first observe the following strong NFS words.

- |         |                       |               |
|---------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (16) a. | (Paul) Samuelson      | sa-mu-él-son  |
|         | 'Washington'          | Va-şínk-ton   |
|         | 'Halicarnassus'       | Ha-li-kâr-nas |
|         | 'medal'               | ma-dál-ya     |
|         | 'restaurant'          | lo-kân-ta     |
|         | 'pistol'              | ta-bân-ca     |
|         | 'wooden sandal(s)'    | ta-kún-ya     |
|         | 'cheating'            | ka-ta-kúl-li  |
|         | 'handcuffs'           | ke-lép-çe     |
|         | 'workshop'            | a-tól-ye      |
|         | 'school in a college' | fa-kúl-te     |
| b.      | 'pot'                 | tén-ce-re     |
|         | 'window'              | pén-ce-re     |
|         | 'dairy farm'          | mán-dı-ra     |
|         | 'press'               | cén-de-re     |
|         | 'piggy bank'          | kúm-ba-ra     |
|         | 'Chevrolet'           | şév-ro-le     |
|         | 'buoy'                | şa-mán-dı-ra  |
|         | 'scenery'             | mán-za-ra     |
|         | 'bed frame'           | kâr-yo-la     |
|         | city in Turkey        | Án-ka-ra      |

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

- |      |                  |                       |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (17) | a city in Turkey | An-tál-ya             |
|      | a city in Turkey | An-ták-ya             |
|      | a city in Turkey | Is-tán-bul            |
|      | a city in Turkey | Hak-kâ-ri             |
|      | 'Mendelssohn'    | Men-dél-son           |
|      | 'Kamchatka'      | Kam-çát-ka            |
|      | 'Klimanjaró'     | Kli-man-yâ-ro         |
|      | 'Montezuma'      | Mon-ta-zú-ma          |
|      | 'Eisenhower'     | Ay-zın-hó-ver         |
|      | 'accidentally'   | ka-zá-ra <sup>7</sup> |

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7. Compare this with *ka-zá-en* 'accidentally' in (7). Notice that, according to our analysis, the same root, *kazā*, in these two words, is stressed on the same syllable by two different rules.

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‘gendarme’	jan-dár-ma
‘basketball’	bas-két-bol
‘chair’	is-kém-le
‘chair’	san-dál-ye
‘sardines’	sar-dál-ya
‘tripe’	iş-kém-be
‘reject’	ıs-kár-ta
‘lumbago’	lum-bá-go

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

- (18) *The Strong Syllable Rule*  
 In strong NFS words, the primary stress is on the penult if it is strong, and if the penult is not strong, then it is on the ante-penult.

### 3.3. Non-Final Stress in Native Place Names

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

(19)	sirkeci	‘vinegar seller’
	Sır-ke-ci	place name
	torbalı	‘one with bag(s)’
	Tór-ba-li	place name

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

(20)	a.	kavaklı	‘with poplars’
		Ka-vák-li	place name
		kulaksız	‘without ears’
		Ku-lák-sız	place name
		çınarcık	‘little maple’
		Çi-nár-cık	place name
		ayrancı	‘yogurt-drink seller’
		Ay-rán-cı	place name
	b.	ovacık	‘little valley’
		O-vá-cık	place name
		boyacı	‘painter’
		Bo-yâ-cı	place name

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

## NATIONAL COLOR AND BILINGUALISM IN THE WORK OF CHINGIZ AITMATOV

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### I. Introduction\*

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

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

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

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

2. *Dzhamilia*, roman traduit du Kirghiz par A. Dmitrieva et Aragon et présenté par Aragon. Paris, Éditeurs français réunis, 1959.

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



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