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Spoken Turkmen

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### Spoken Turkmen

#### Abstract

This study presents phonetic features of spoken Turkmen that are not represented in the written language. These features are observed in almost all registers, including formal settings, television broadcasts, educational settings, and other areas where standard spoken language is expected, and need to be specifically described. The most frequently observed phenomena are illustrated on the basis of a transcribed recording.

**Key words:** Turkmen, phonetic features, spoken Turkmen, Turkmen written language

### Türkmençe konuşma dili

#### Öz

Bu çalışmada, Türkmençe konuşma dilinde gerçekleşen ancak yazı dilinde temsil edilmeyen sesbilgisel özellikler tanıtılacaktır. Resmi ortamlar, televizyon dili, eğitim ortamları vb. de dahil standart konuşma dilinin beklendiği hemen bütün düzeylerde ortaya çıkan bu sesbilgisel olgular özellikle betimlenmeyi gerektirmektedir. Makalede, bu olguların en sık gözlemlenenleri çevriyazısı sunulan bir kayıt üzerinden örneklendirilerek betimlenmeye çalışılmıştır.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** Türkmençe, sesbilgisel özellikler, Türkmençe konuşma dili, Türkmençe yazı dili

#### Introduction

Turkmen belongs to the Oghuz branch of Turkic languages, along with Gagauz, Turkish, Azeri, Khorasan Turkic, and southern Oghuz dialects such as Kashkay, Äynallu, Songor, and Afshar. Following the independence of the Turkmenistan Republic in 1991, Turkmen became the official state language. Standard Turkmen, spoken by more than seven million people, is based on the Teke dialect. In this paper, I first give a brief overview of the Turkmen speaking area, including the Turkmen dialects in Turkmenistan and neighboring countries. Secondly, I describe the main phonetic features of spoken Turkmen that are not represented in the standard orthography.

#### Turkmen speaking area

Turkmen dialect isoglosses coincide with the geographic distribution of Turkmen tribes. The members of the Teke tribe live in the central districts of Turkmenistan, on the north foot of ‹Köpetdag›, and in the region between the ‹Murgap› and ‹Tejen› rivers. The ‹Teke› dialect isogloss extends from the southeast to the southwest of the country, including settlements such as ‹Gyzylarbat›, ‹Bäherden›, ‹Gökdepe›, ‹Aşgabat›, ‹Mary›, ‹Tejen›, ‹Murgap›, ‹Sakarçäge›, ‹Baýramaly›, and ‹Türkmençäla›. Within this area, two sub-varieties of the ‹Teke› dialect, the ‹Mary› and the ‹Ahal› dialects, are spoken (Berdiyew, Kürenow et al. 1970: 24, Amansaryýew 1970: 54). Meanwhile, the

«Yomut» dialect is spoken in a vast area stretching from «Gyzyletrek» in the southwest of the country to the northern «Köneürgenç» and «Tagta» districts in a broad line including the districts of «Nebitdag», «Gazanjyk», «Kum Dag», «Çeleken», and «Esenguly» (Berdiyew 1988: 11). In the south-eastern region, in the triangle beneath the crosscut of the «Yomut» and «Teke» isoglosses, the «Gökleň» and «Nohur» dialects are spoken. The speakers of the «Gökleň» live in the «Garrygala» district along the «Sumbar» and «Çendir» rivers. Nohurs, on the other hand, inhabit the central and western parts of Turkmenistan, where the Sumbar River flows, specifically in the cities of «Nohur», «Kürüjdey», «Tutlugala», and «Könekesir» (Berdiyew, Kürenow et al. 1970: 25, Amansaryýew 1970: 55).

Moving towards the southeast, the «Salyr» dialect is spoken in the «Seragt» district, whereas «Saryk» is spoken in «Tagtabazar» and «Yölöten». «Ersary» is spoken in the cities of «Garabekewül», «Hojambaz», and «Kerki». Speakers of the «Çowdur» dialect reside in the «Kalinin» region near Uzbekistan, as well as in the «Mangyşlak» peninsula in the northwest of the country. In addition to these dialects, Turkmen also has varieties such as «Garadaşly», «Alili», «Änew», «Sakar», «Eski», «Kyrac», «Arabaçy», «Çandyr», and «Olam». The linguistic materials related to these dialects are important resources for studies in Turkic languages (Nartyýew 1994: 50, Amansaryýew 1970: 55–57).

Turkmen is also spoken by ethnic Turkmen residents very close to Turkmenistan borders in neighboring countries, as well as by the Turkmen diaspora who have migrated to more distant regions. The most populous ethnic Turkmen communities are primarily found in the northeast of Iran, particularly in the provinces of Golestan and North Khorasan, referred to as Turkemensahra by Iranian Turkmen. The Turkemensahra region is the Turkmen settlement area that remained beneath the southeast border of Turkmenistan according to the Ahal Agreement made between Tsarist Russia and Iran in 1881 (Durdyýew & Kadyrow 1991: 48). The Turkmen varieties spoken in this area are a linguistic continuum of the «Yomut», «Gökleň», «Saryk», «Teke», and «Salyr» dialects. «Yomut» and «Gökleň» speakers form the majority of Iranian Turkmen. Yomuts live in the districts near the Caspian Sea, including Gomish Tepe, Hojanefes, Bandar-e Turkoman, Qarasu, Omchali, Sallah, and Ariq, as well as in the cities of Aq Qälä and Gonbad-e Kaviyeh. The second largest Turkmen group residing in Iran are the Göklen, living in the eastern part of the Yomut settlement. The city with the largest population in Göklen is Kalaleh (see Annaberdiyev 2006).

Another ethnic Turkmen group, the Truhmen, lives in Stavropol region and Astrakhan Oblast, in the southeast of the Russian Federation. They migrated from Mangyşlak peninsula from the 17th century and settled in the steppes of Stavropol and Astrakhan. They live in five different districts in Stavropol Krai and in three villages in the Astrakhan Oblast. The Turkmen tribes residing in these regions are «Çowdur», «Igdir», «Söýünjanjy». In the Caucasian region, Stavropol and Astrakhan Turkmen have been living together with Noghay, Tatar, Kalmyk, and Caucasian peoples for about three and a half centuries. Their variety has certain linguistic features due to their contact with Turkic languages of the Kipchak type (Aslan Demir 2013).

Turkmen also live in the Karakalpakstan Autonomous Republic. In Karakalpakstan, Turkmen live with Karakalpak, Kazakh, and Uzbek speakers in the districts of «Dörtgöl», «Beruny», «Ellikgala», and «Amyderya», and with Karakalpak speakers in the districts of «Hojaili», «Çomanaý», and «Tahýadaş». Turkmen in Karakalpakstan comprise tribes like «Ata», «Yomut», «Arabaçy», «Garadaşly», «Gökleň», «Igdir», and «Düýeji» (Amanepesow, Arazkuliev et al. 1994: 42, Arazkuliev 1987: 7). Within Uzbekistan, Turkmen-speaking groups live in Khorezm («Xorazm viloyati»), in and around the cities of Urgench («Urganch»), Khiva («Xiva»), and Hazārasp (Johanson 2021: 58), and in Zerevshan, Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhara, and Qashqadaryo (Arazkuliev 1987: 7).

Turkmen is also spoken in Kazakhstan in Almatı, as well as in the Atıraw, Şimkent, and Qarayandı regions (Johanson 2021: 58). According to 1989 data, 313 Turkmen people are found in Guryev (Atyrau) city, 553 in Shymkent, 1222 in Garagan, and 402 Turkmen in Almaty (see Durdyýew 1994: 49).

Ethnic Turkmen are also found in Tajikistan and Afghanistan. In Tajikistan, Turkmen live in villages along the Bahsh river in Gorgandepe Province, in an area of 15 kilometers between «Uzyn» and «Ýylyköl», and in Dushanbe Province. Some of the Turkmen living in this region migrated from the «Kerki» and «Kelif» districts of Turkmenistan, while others, the «Ersary», migrated from Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, Turkmen live in villages in Mazar-i-Sharif, Faryab, Kunduz, Kabul, and Jowzjan provinces. The Afghan Turkmen comprise the «Ersary», «Alili», «Saryk», «Salyr», and «Teke» tribes (Durdyýev & Kadyrov 1991: 22, 46). There are also Turkmen communities in Turkey, especially in Istanbul and Tokat, who migrated from Afghanistan.

In China, in addition to the Salar people, who are thought to be related to the «Salyr» Turkmen and live in various settlements within the borders of Qinghai and Gansu provinces, there is another Turkmen community about whom we have little information. These Turkmen reside at the base of the Pamir Mountains in the Xinjiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region. They are believed to be related to the «Chovdur» Turkmen, some of whom also migrated from Mangishlak to the Caucasus (Saparov & Durdyýev 1994: 57).

### Spoken and written norms of the Turkmen language

The written and spoken norms of standard Turkmen based on the Teke dialect differ from each other. The spoken form, which may be referred to as ‘Turkmen spoken norm’, exhibits vowel length, advanced labial harmony, consonant assimilation, and so on. These characteristics of the spoken norm are relevant in understanding Turkmen’s linguistic position among the Turkic languages. They are, however, not represented in the conventional orthography.

To describe the spoken norm of Turkmen, orthoepic dictionaries have been published, by Täçmyradow and Çaryýew (1967), and by Çaryýarow (1978). According to their prefaces, the target audience for these dictionaries is teachers, students in higher education, academics, television and radio announcers, and actors. The goal of the orthoepic dictionaries is to describe Turkmen pronunciation that is not represented in the orthography.

These dictionaries give some contradictory descriptions. For instance, in Täçmyradow & Çaryýew (1967), the long vowel /u:/ is defined as a semi-diphthong /uw/ in certain words such as «gury» *gũwri* ‘dry’, «gurt» *gũwrt* ‘wolf’, while it is rendered as /u:/ in Çaryýarow (1978), e.g. «gury» *gũ:ri*, «gurt» *gũ:rt*. Recent studies focusing on phonetic features of Turkmen are Töre (2017, 2019), Aslan Demir (2018), Kaya (2020), and Karakoç (2022). In this paper, I focus on the main phonetic features of the spoken norm of Turkmen and demonstrate the differences between written and spoken forms through a sample text. In the transcription, the symbols proposed in Johanson (2021) are used. The spelling of words is indicated in « » brackets, while the annotation is given in ( ) brackets.

### Annotated text with audio

LINK: [Turkmen Audio](#)

The following text illustrates the phonological features of Turkmen that are not represented in the orthography. It is an episode from a Turkmen folk tale named «Ýartygulak». The text is given both in conventional orthography and in transcription. The tale was read by Arzuw Esenowa, a speaker of Turkmen, recorded during fieldwork in Turkmenistan in 2015.

1. «Bir bar eken, bir ýok eken.»

<i>Bir</i>	<i>βa:r</i>	<i>eken</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>yo:γ</i>	<i>eken.</i>
one	existing	EVID.COP	one	non.existing	EVID.COP

‘Once upon a time’.

2. ‹Gadym eýýamda bir är-áyal bar eken.›

*Ġadiym eyya:m-da bîr ä:r-aya:l ßa:r eken.*

ancient time-LOC one couple existing EVID.COP

'In old times, there was a couple.'

3. ‹Bularyň çagalary hem ýok eken.›

*Buloň ça:ya-larem yo:γ eken.*

this.PL.GEN child-POSS3PL-PTCL non.existing EVID.COP

'They had no children too.'

4. ‹Günlerde bir gün bu adamyň aýaly hamyla bolýar.›

*Gün-nör-dö bîr gün bu a:dam-îň aya:l-î ha:mila ßol-ya:.*

day-PL-LOC one day this man-GEN wife-POSS3SG pregnant be(come)-INTRA3SG

'One day, this man's wife became pregnant.'

5. ‹Bir gün bu adam degirmene un çekmäge gidiptir weli, zyznda bir ogly bolupdyr.›

*Bîr gün bu a:dam deirmen-e u:n çek-mä: gid-îp-tîr*

one day this man mill-DAT flour grind-INF go-POST-3SG

*weli: iyð-îň-ne bîr oyl-u ßol-ıpdîr.*

however behind-POSS3SG-LOC one son-POSS3SG be(come)-POST-3SG

'One day, when the man went to the mill to grind flour, his son was born.'

6. ‹Bu bolan oglanjygyň ululygy ýarty gulak ýaly eken.›

*Bu bol-ön oylon-ýiγ-îň ululuy-î ya:rti ğuloğ ya:lî eken.*

this be(come)-PN boy-DIM-GEN size-POSS3SG half ear as EVID.COP

'This newborn boy was as tall as half an ear.'

7. ‹Şonun üçin onuň adyna ýartygulak diýipdirler.›

*Şoňçün oň a:d-îň-a ya:rtiğuloğ diy-îpdîr-ler.*

thus he.GEN name-POSS3SG-DAT half-ear say-POST-3PL

'That's why they called him Half-Ear.'

8. ‹Bu oglan bolan dessine "Eje, aý eje, kakam nirä gitdi? diýip sorapdyr."›

*Bu oylon bol-ön deθθine. Eje ay eje ka:ka:-m*

this boy be(come)-PN soon.after mom oh mom dad-POSS1SG

*ni:rä: git-dı? diy-ıp θo:ra:pdır.*  
 where.DAT go-TERM3SG say-CONV ask.POST3SG

'As soon as the boy was born, he asked his mother: 'Mother, oh mother, where did my father go?'

9. «Ejesi hem aljyrap "Kakaň degirmene bugdaý üwetmäge gitdi, şonuň yzyndan düýäni eltmek gerek." diýip aýdypdyr.»

*Eje-θi hem aljira:p ka:ka:-η degirmen-e buydoy*  
 mom-POSS3SG as.well get.anxious.CONV father-POSS2SG mill-DAT wheat  
*üwüt-mä: git-dı şoň iyδ-ın-nen düýä:-ni elt-mek*  
 grind-INF go-TERM3SG that-GEN behind-POSS3SG-ABL camel-ACC carry-INF  
*gerek diy-ıp ayd-ıpdır.*  
 necessary say-CONV talk-POST3SG

'His mother got anxious and said: "Your father has gone to the mill to grind flour, we must take the camel after him."'

10. «Ýartygulak düýäni gazykdan çözüp, üstüne böküp münüpdür-de towsup onuň gulagyna girdir.»

*Ya:rtigulok düýä:-ni ga:diik-dan çöδ-üp üθθ-ün-ö bök-üp*  
 half-ear camel-ACC stake-ABL untie-CONV top-POSS3SG-DAT jump-CONV  
*mün-üpdür-de towθ-ıp oň guloγ-nö çik-ıpdır*  
 get on-POST-and jump-CONV it.GEN ear-POSS3SG-DAT climb up-POST3SG

'Half-Ear untied the camel from the stake and jumped on its back, climbed on its ear.'

11. «Bu düýe ýol bilen barýarka, bir topar oňlan "Inha bir boş düýe" diýşip muny saklapdyrlar.»

*Bu düyö yo:l bilen bar-ya:-ka: bir topor oylon inha:*  
 this camel way with go-INTRA-CONV one group boy here  
*bir boş düyö diy-ş-ıp mu-ni θakla:pdır-lar.*  
 one stray camel say-COOP-CONV that-ACC stop.POST-3PL

'As the camel going on its way, a group of boys stopped it, saying: 'Look, a stray camel!'

12. «Ýartygulak hem 'Häý peläketler, goýberin düýäni, näme saklaýarsynyz? diýip gygyrypdyr.»

*Ya:rtiguloy-om hä: pelä:ket-ler goyβör-ün düýä:-ni*  
 half-ear-also hey naughty-PL free-IMP2PL camel-ACC  
*nä:me θakla-ya:-ηiδ diy-ıp giyyir-ıpdır.*  
 why stop-INTRA-2PL say-CONV shout-POST3SG

'Half-Ear shouted: 'Hey, you naughty boys, why are you stopping the camel?''

## Phonetic characteristics of spoken Turkmen

### Vowel length and labial harmony

Primary and secondary vowel length is among the typical phonetic features of Turkmen not represented in the orthography. Primary vowel length, occurring in the root syllable, has a phonemic value and causes meaning distinctions: <tut-> *tut-* 'to hold', <tut- *tut*- 'mulberry', <öç-> *öç-* 'to extinguish', <öç- *öç*- 'enmity', 'revenge'. In Turkmen, vowel length occurs as a longer duration or, in rare cases, as a semi-diphthong. The long vowels and semi-diphthongs are as follows: /a:/, /ä:/, /iy/ (< /i:/), /i:/ (sometimes /iy/), /o:/, /ö:/, /u:/, /üy/ (< /ü:/). Examples are <kaka> *ka:ka* 'father' (S8), <adam> *a:dam* 'man' (S4), <yarty> *ya:rti* 'half' (S6), <ad> *a:d* 'name' (S7), <gazyk> *ga:di:k* 'stake' (S10), <çal> *ča:l* 'gray', <aga> *a:ya* 'lord', <sary> *θa:ri* 'yellow', <bäş> *bä:ş* 'five', <yk> *iy:k* 'secluded', 'nook', <ys> *iy:θ* 'smell', <sir-> *θiyr-* 'to sweep', <yz> *iy:δ* 'trace' 'back' (S5), <giñel-> *gi:ñel-* 'extend', <giç> *gi:ç* 'late', <biz> *bi:δ* or *biy:δ* 'pin', <ör-> *ö:r-* 'to knit', <bozla-> *bo:δlo-* 'to sob', <yok> *yo:y* 'not existing' (S1), <göbek> *gö:βök* 'navel', <un> *u:n* 'flour' (S5), <gurt> *gu:rt* 'wolf', <süýt> *θüyt* 'milk', <güyz> *güyd* 'autumn', <üyn> *üyn* 'voice', <üyr-> *üyr-* 'bark', <çüyrük> *çüyrük* 'rot', etc.

Another phonetic feature of spoken Turkmen is morphologically-conditioned secondary vowel length, which usually results from the fusion of stem-final and suffix-initial vowels, i.e., <köçe> *köçe* 'street', <köçä> *köçä:* <street.DAT>, <kiçi> *kiçi* 'small', <kiçä> *kiçä:* <small.DAT>, <nire> *ni:re* 'where' <nirä> *ni:rä:* <where.DAT> (S8), <oka-> *o:ka-* 'to read', <okap> *o:ka:p* (read.CONV) <okan> *o:ka:n* (read.PN), <sora-> 'to ask', <θora:pdir> <ask.POST3SG> (S8). Some secondary vowel length also occurs without any fusion: <gapy> *ga:pi* 'door', <gapynyň> *ga:pi:ni:ň* (door-GEN), <öýde> *öy:dö* 'at home', <öydäki> *öy:dä:ki* (house-LOC-REL), <çekmek> *çekmek* 'to grind', <çekmä:ge> <grind-INF> (S5). In addition, the vowels of the following suffixes are always pronounced long {-yA:r}, {-yA:n}, {-A:y}, {+rA:K}, {+lA:p}, {-KA:} (see Weýisow & Babaýewa 2009: 35).

Another phonological feature occurring regularly in spoken Turkmen is advanced labial harmony. This type of labial harmony is found only in Turkmen in the Oghuz Turkic languages, i.e., <gulak> *gulo:k* 'ear' (S6), <bugdaý> *bu:dyoy* 'wheat' (S9), <topar> *topor* 'group' 'community' (11), <oglanlarymyzda> *o:ylonlormu:δdo/o:ylonlommu:δdo* 'at our boys', <çöreklü> *çö:röklü* 'breaded', <çölllerden> *çöllö:rdön* 'from the deserts', <gulaç> *gulo:ç* 'stroke' <küreç> *kürö:k* 'shovel', <börek> *bö:rök* 'pastry', 'pie', <togsan> *to:γθon* 'ninety', <ozal> *o:δol* 'before', <bükmek> *bü:kmök* 'twist', <kölege> *kö:lögö* 'shade', <bölek> *bö:lök* 'piece', <sogan> *θo:γon* 'onion' etc. Some researchers claim that the vowels in the second and subsequent syllables are pronounced not fully but semi-rounded (see Azmun 2021). In the sample text, *o* and *ö* denote semi-rounded vowels: <oglan> *o:ylon* 'boy' (S8), <düýe> *düy:ö* 'camel' (S11). The labial harmony is blocked in syllables with long low vowels: <gülle-> *güllö-* 'to bloom', <gülleýär> *güllöyä:r* 'it is blooming', <yollaýan> *yo:lloya:n* 'I'm sending', <oba> *o:βo* 'village', <obany> *o:βa:ni* 'the village', <obadaky> *o:βoda:ki* 'the one in the village' (see Täçmyradow & Çaryýew 1967: 42).

### Consonants

The pronunciation of the consonants /s/ and /z/ ([θ] and [δ]) as interdental fricatives is another distinctive phonetic feature of spoken Turkmen. This feature creates two separate isoglosses within the Turkmen dialect area: (1) <Teke>, <Ýomut>, <Gökleň>, <Salyr>, <Saryk>, <Ersary>, <Gardaşly>, <Alili>, and <Emreli> show the interdental sounds [θ] and [δ]: <yz> *iy:δ* 'trace' 'back' (S5), <öz> *ö:δ* 'self', <ozal> *o:δol* 'before', <az> *a:δ* 'few', <uzyn> *u:δiyn* 'long', <sora-> *θo:ro-* 'to ask' (S8), <sakla-> *θa:kla-* 'to stop' (S11), <siz> *θi:δ* 'you' (plural), <san> *θa:n* 'number', <ös-> *öθ-* 'growth of a plant or person', <seret-> *θeret-* 'to look', 'to watch', etc. (2) <Çowdur>, <Nohur>, <Änew>, <Eski>, <Mury>, <Kiraç>, <Arabaçy>, <Çandyr>, and <Baýat>, have the dental consonants [s] and [z] (Amansaryýew 1970: 60, Nartyýew 1994: 37).

In Turkmen, word-initial /b-/ becomes a fricative variant /β/ when the preceding word ends in a vowel or a liquid, or sometimes also with a weak fricative. For example, <gala bardy> becomes *ga:la:*

*βa:dī* ‘there was a castle’, *çagalar bardy* *çar:ýalar βa:dī* ‘there were children’ (Aslan Demir 2018), *bir bar eken bir βa:r eken* ‘once upon a time’ (S1), *hamyla bolýar hamila βol-ya*: ‘X became pregnant’ (S4), *ökde bolsa ökdö βolθo* ‘if he/she were skilled’, *ilki bilen ilki βilen* ‘at first’ *onuñ bilen oñ βilen* ‘with him/her’, *nahar bişirjek nahar βişiřjek* ‘X will cook’. Moreover, when the consonants /w/ and /b/ occur consecutively in succeeding words, assimilation of /wb/ into /ww/ takes place. For example, *suw bolup* becomes *θuwwolup*, ‘become water’, *aw bol-* *a:wwol-* ‘to be hunted’, *guw bar* *guwwa*: ‘there is a well’, *okuw başlady* *oquwwaşlady* ‘school started’, etc. (see Töre 2017).

In the spoken Turkmen, in medial position, /-b-/ is pronounced as /β/ between vowels or after the consonants other than /p/, /t/, and /k/. For instance, *goýber-* *goyβör-* ‘set free’ (S12), *oba* *o:βo* ‘village’, *gaba* *ga:βa* ‘coarse’, ‘large’, *daban* *da:βan* ‘sole’, *ýaba* *ya:βa* ‘wooden hanger’, *çebiş* *çebiş* ‘goat’ *çorba* *çorβo* ‘soup’, *ýolbaşçy* *yo:lbaşçī* ‘head’, ‘chairman’. This allophone of the /-b-/ phoneme is defined as a half-labial sound between /b/ and /w/ (Azmun 2021) or as a sound produced when the lips are partially closed and the air escapes through a gap between them (Hydyrow & Begenjow 1960: 30).

In Turkmen, consonant assimilation can occur: (i) between word-final consonant and suffix-initial consonant, (ii) between word-final consonant and subsequent word-initial consonant, or (iii) within words, regardless of the preceding word or subsequent suffix. For instance, *günler* *günnör* ‘days’ (S4), *zynda* *iydīnne* ‘behind X’ (S5), *mekdeplerimizde* *mekdeplerimiðde* / *mekdeplerimiðde* ‘in our schools’, *sende* *θenne* ‘at you’ *on dokuz* *onnoquð* ‘nineteen’, *nan duz* *na:nnu:ð* ‘bread and salt’, *ýoldaş* *yo:lloş* ‘husband’, ‘colleague’, *boldy* *bollī* ‘it became’, *syzdy* *θiðdi* ‘it leaked’, *göz degmesin* *göðdegmeθin* ‘may the evil eye not befall him/her’, *agaççy* *ayaşşı* ‘woodworker’, *işçi* *i:şşı* ‘worker’, *baldak* *ballak* ‘hulm’, *gandym* *gannim* ‘a type of long-rooted thorny tree’, *ýyldyz* *yillið* ‘star’, *üç çaga* *üşša:ya* ‘three children’, etc. For a detailed table of consonant assimilations and more examples, see Töre (2017).

## References and readings

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