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THE CAUCASIAN URUMS AND THE URUM LANGUAGE

KAFKASYA URUMLARI VE URUM DİLİ

Abstract

Urum people identify themselves as Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks who left Anatolia at the beginning of the 19th century. A major group immigrated to the highlands of K'vemo K'art'li, where they are still living today. They conserved the variety of Turkish that their ancestors were speaking before emigration and enriched their language by influences from the languages in their new environment, in particular from Russian. The Urum language displays substantial similarities with the Turkish dialects of Anatolia; beyond these similarities, it displays some unique developments (e.g., in vowel harmony) as well as properties that are traced back to the influences from Russian (e.g., in the use of subordinate clauses).

Key Words

Urum, Anatolian dialects, phonology, morphology, lexicon

Özet

Urum halkı kendilerini 19. yüzyılın başlarında Anadolu'dan ayrılan Türkçe konuşan Pontus Rumları olarak tanımlar. Bu halkın büyük bir bölümü, bugün halen yaşamakta oldukları K'vemo K'art'li'nin dağlık bölgesine göç etmiştir. Bu grup, atalarının göç öncesinde konuştukları Türkçenin varyasyonunu, göç ettikleri yeni çevrede bulunan dillerin (özellikle Rusçanın) etkisiyle zenginleştirilmiş bir biçimde muhafaza ettiler. Urumca Anadolu'daki Türkiye Türkçesinin diyalektleriyle önemli benzerlikler gösterir. Bu benzerliklerin ötesinde, bu dil, Rusçanın etkisine kadar geri götürebilecek (bağımlı cümlelerin kullanımında olduğu gibi) bazı özelliklerin yanı sıra kendine özgü (ünlü uyumlarında görüldüğü gibi) gelişmeler de sergilemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Urum, Anadolu diyalektleri, Ses bilgisi, Biçim bilgisi, Söz Varlığı

1. Preliminaries

This chapter is devoted to Caucasian Urum, a language spoken in the highlands of K'vemo K'art'li in Georgia. The basic substrate of Caucasian Urum is Anatolian Turkish; Urum people are bilingual in Russian and the currently spoken language has a great amount of borrowings from Russian, which hinders the mutual intelligibility with Turkish as spoken in Turkey. The Urum language spoken in the Caucasus has to be distinguished from the Crimean Urum spoken in Ukraine. Both linguistic communities share the same ethnonym (see Section 2.1) but this does not mean that their languages are immediately related (see Section 0). The present article is devoted to Caucasian Urum and outlines the history and current situation of the language community (Section 2) as well as the basic properties of the language of these people (Section 3).

The data presented in the following were collected with native speakers in Tsalka and Tbilisi between 2009 and 2013. The cited examples are either elicited by translation (Verhoeven, Moisiđi & Yordanoglou 2011) or collected from texts (Skopeteas and Moisiđi 2011). Further intuition data and clarifications about data questions in corpora were elicited with Violeta Moisiđi, native speaker of Urum.¹

2. Caucasian Urums

2.1. Urum Ethnonyms

The ethnonym *Urum* comes from Turkish *Rum*. The term originates to the Greek stem *rom-* 'Roman' (referring to citizens of the Eastern Roman empire). *Rum-i-Millet* in the Ottoman empire was the *millet* of Christian Orthodox people in the Empire – referring to a religious and not to an ethnic community. The word *Urum* involves a prothetic *u-* that generally appears in loanwords with an initial *r-*, e.g., *u-rus* 'Russian', *u-ruset* 'Russia' (the same words are attested in Anatolian Turkish, see *urum*, *urus*, and *urusya* in dialects of Erzurum; Gemalmaz 1978[III]: 318).

Native speakers call their language *Urum dili* 'language of Urum' and identify themselves as Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks (see Höfler 2011 on ethnic identity issues). Georgians use either the ethnonym *Urum-eb-i* (Urum-PL-NOM) or the ethnonym for Greeks *berdzeni*, which is used for any ethnic Greek people including the Greeks living in Greece (Sideri 2006: 26). Pontic Greek speakers of Georgia call the Urum language *to turkikón* 'the Turkish (language)', but conceive the speakers of Urum as homoethnic.

2.2. Religion

Urum people are Christian Orthodox and practice their religion in Greek, Georgian and Russian churches (Karagyosov 2006; Höfler 2011:65f.). Although there are no liturgical practices in Urum, many native speakers report that they use Urum in praying (18 out of 30 Urum speakers in sociolinguistic interviews; see Sella-Mazi and Moisiđi 2011). The use of Urum in religious practices is reflected in the lexicon. Urum vocabulary displays 23% loanwords in the field of religion/belief, which is less than the average proportion of loanwords in the world's languages in religious terms –

¹ I am particularly grateful to Violeta Moisiđi (Tbilisi) for the Urum data collection that she compiled since 2009 and to Emrah Turan (Bielefeld) for his assistance in the comparison between Urum and Turkish. The findings about the Urum lexicon and the current language situation are the product of common research with Veronika Ries. The present article is part of the project 'The impact of current transformational processes on language and ethnic identity: Urum and Pontic Greeks in Georgia' funded by the VW-foundation.

estimated to 43% according to the data of the WOLD project (see Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009 for cross-linguistic facts; Ries et al. 2013 for a detailed account of the Urum vocabulary; see also 3.4 for further discussion on the lexicon). This is surprising for a Christian community but fits to the speakers' reports that they use Urum for religious practices. The majority of the concepts about religion and belief are expressed with words of Turkish origin, e.g., *allah* 'god' or *cänäm* 'hell' (compare Turkish *allah*, *cehennem*). Russian loanwords are restricted to narrow Christian terms, e.g., *gimn* 'hymn' from Russian *gimn* (Гимн), *episkop* 'bishop' from Russian *episkop* (Епископ) (Ries et al. 2013). Note that these words are of Greek origin but are transferred in Urum in the form used in Russian; compare Russian *gimn* and Greek *imnos*, Russian *episkop* and Greek *episkopos*. Very few terms in this field come directly from Greek, e.g., *hristugin* 'Christmas'; compare Greek *hristujena* (Χριστούγεννα) and Russian *raždjestva* (Рождество).

2.3. Geography and Population

The settlement areas of Urum speakers are located in the highlands of K'vemo K'art'li, in particular in the villages around the lake of Tsalka (Lat 41.6; Lng 44.1), as well as in Tetri Tsqaro (Lat 41.5 Lng 44.5) and Dmanisi (Lat 44.1 Lng 41.3). The villages around Tsalka were among the few places in the former Soviet Union in which ethnic Greek people made up more than 50% of the population (Kolossof, Galkina, and Krindatch 1998: 108). According to the 1979 census of the Georgian SSR, the ethnic Greek population in the district of Tsalka amounted to 30 811 people, whereby the vast majority of registered ethnic Greeks in this district are Urum speakers. The population shrank rapidly in the last decades as a result of the massive migration to the urban centres of Georgia (mainly Tbilisi), and from there to further destinations (Russia and Greece being the most popular targets). The majority of ethnic Greek people emigrated outside the country as documented in the counts of the National Statistic Office of Georgia, which reports a Greek population of 100 300 citizens in 1989 (1.9% of the population total) and 15 200 in 2002 (0.3% of the population total) (see National Statistics Office of Georgia 2011: 20). The ethnic Greek people of Tsalka totalled 30 811 people in 1979, 4 589 people in the 2002 census and were estimated to 1 500 people in 2005 (Wheatley 2006: 8). There are not more recent counts; the Federation of Greek communities in Tbilisi estimates that 1 000-1 500 Greeks are currently living in Tsalka and the surrounding villages.

2.4. Historical Background

Caucasian Urum speakers originate in the Turkish-speaking Greek populations of Northeastern Anatolia. The settlements of these people before their emigration to the Caucasus included several cities: Kars, Giresun, Erzurum, Trabzon, Kümbet, Bayburt, and Gümüşhane (see Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou 1991, Eloeva 1998, Kasapoğlu Çengel 2004: 59, Altınkaynak 2005: 39, Kalayci 2008: 144). Linguistic comparison to the dialects of Erzurum shows that the Turkish substrate of Urum displays the characteristic properties of this region (see Section 3.1).

Greek populations came to the Caucasus during several waves of emigration from the beginning of the 19th century onwards (the oldest reported migration took place at the end of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1928-1929, see Fonton 1840; further migration waves are reported in association with the Crimean War, 1853-1856, and the last Russo-Ottoman war 1877-1878, see Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou 1991, Kalayci 2008: 144). In Georgia, Urum people settled in several places in K'vemo K'art'li (see Section 0). Historical sources mention 6 000 families that arrived in Tsalka and Akhaltsikhe at the end of the first Russo-Ottoman war (see Sideri 2006: 56).

Urum people live in a multilingual community and are themselves competent in different languages. They were in contact with Russian after arriving in the Russian Caucasus, which was the language of administration, education and in many cases of liturgical practices both during the Tsarist regime as well as in Soviet period (see Höfler 2011: 144f.). The impact of Russian on the language use of the Urum people is already known from early documents (see Sideri 2006: 144f.). A recent questionnaire-based sociolinguistic study (30-person sample, residents of Tsalka and Tbilisi) revealed that 93% of the Urum speakers are also competent in Russian (28 persons), 83% (25 persons) are competent in Georgian, and 33% are competent in Greek, which they either acquired in language courses in Tbilisi or during their visits to Greece (see Sella-Mazi and Moisiidi 2011: 33). In the Tsalka district, Urum people were also in contact with the Armenian population, which was the second largest minority in this area (see demographic data in Wheatley 2006: 8). In the afore-mentioned sociolinguistic study, 6 out of 30 persons (20%) report that they also use Armenian in contact with friends.

2.5. Orthography

There is no writing tradition in Urum. The majority of the speakers are alphabetized in Russian (and less in Georgian) and they are not writing in Urum (Kock Kobaidze 2001: 155). Turkish translations of holy texts in the Greek alphabet (printed in Istanbul) are available in the community but they are not used in religious practices. Epitaph inscriptions in Tsalka cemetery dating back to the beginning of 20th century are written in Greek, which indicates that at least some members of the community had some knowledge of Greek and also acquired writing skills in this language; see example in (1).

(1) 1859-1918

<person name>

ENTAYΘA	ΑΝΑΠΑΒΕΤΕ		
entautha	anapavete		
here	rest:3.SG		
Ο	ΔΟΥΛΟΣ	ΤΟΥ	ΘΕΟΥ
o	doulos	tou	theou
DEF:NOM.SG.M	slave:NOM.SG.M	DEF:GEN.SG.M	god:GEN.SG.M

'1859-1918; <person name>; the slave of Lord rests here' (transcribed from the photographic collection of George Zosimidis)

3. Urum language

3.1. The Place of Urum among the Turkic Languages

The historical facts indicate that the ancestors of the Urum came from several places in Anatolia (see Section 0). The Urum people in Georgia share their ethnonym and probably their origin with a community living in Ukraine (settled originally in the Crimea, and later in the neighbouring Azovian region). Some sources assume that these communities speak the same language (see Podolsky 1986: 100, Uyanık 2010, see also ethnologue report for Urum, Lewis 2009, ed.), which is not supported by the available linguistic data. Caucasian Urum is a variety of Anatolian Turkish with substantial influence of Russian. Crimean Urum, as documented in the lexicon of Garkavets (2000) and the grammatical sketch by Podolsky (1986), is a Turkic language with different substrates – especially influenced by the Turkish spoken by the Crimean Tatars – and shows lexical and grammatical properties that substantially differ from the Urum language spoken in Georgia. For instance, the

contrast between front/back non-rounded vowels is neutralized in Caucasian Urum but not in Crimean Urum (see Verhoeven 2011), Crimean Urum displays local cases (inessive and elative) that are not available in Caucasian Urum or in Turkish, etc. The Turkish substrates of both languages shows some phonological similarities which indicates that both populations originally spoke at least close-related varieties of Turkish; see (2) below.

A small-size study on the lexicon reveals that Caucasian Urum is closely related to Turkish, as presented in Figure 1 (calculations were made in *SplitTree4*; version 4.13.1). The study is based on a sample of 137 words of the basic vocabulary (part of the Swadesh list) for which we examined cognates from five languages of interest: the aim is to estimate the relation of the two languages known as Urum (Caucasian and Crimean Urum) with Turkish (Standard variety) and with another related language that is very close to the Anatolian varieties of Turkish, namely Azerbaijani. The comparison to Azerbaijani is particularly relevant for the Caucasian Urum, because there are claims that Urum and Azeri people in Georgia speak one and the same language (Kock Kobaidze 2001: 154-157). Finally, Tatar was included as a control condition, in order to estimate the distances between the languages of interest in comparison to a remote Turkic language.² The figure shows the relations between these languages in terms of a network reflecting the frequency of words of common origin. The interesting finding is that Caucasian Urum is classified next to Standard Turkish, which means that cognates are more likely between Caucasian Urum and Standard Turkish than between Caucasian Urum and Azerbaijani.

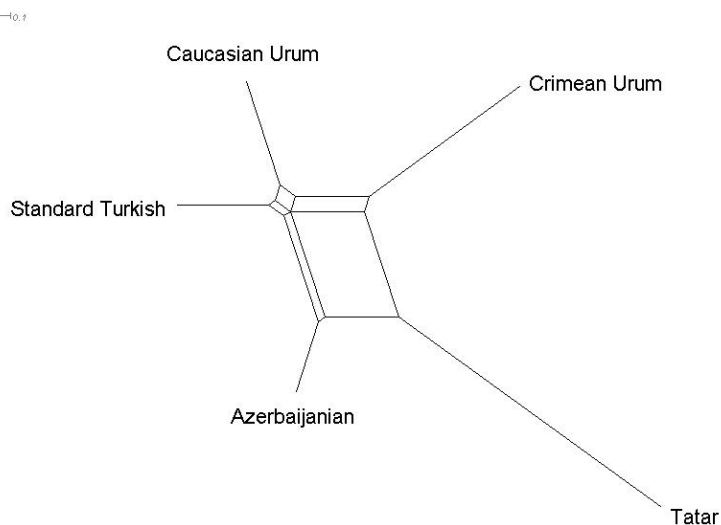


Figure 1. Urum and Turkic languages

Some properties of Caucasian Urum directly relate to the Anatolian Turkish dialects, in particular to the dialects spoken in Kars and Erzurum (see Kasapoğlu Çengel 2004, Uyanık 2010). The phonological properties illustrated in (2) are reported for the dialects of Erzurum (Karahan 1996; cited from Menz 2002:199f.) and are also found in the Urum vocabulary.

² Azerbaijani and Tatar words were collected from Öztöpcü et al. (1999), Crimean Urum words from Garkavets (2000), Caucasian Urum words from Skopeteas et al. (2011). Turkish words were provided by Emrah Turan.

(2) Common phonological properties between Caucasian Urum and Erzurum dialects

a. Caucasian Urum *h* ~ Standard Turkish *k*³

halh ‘people’ (Standard Turkish *halk*; Erzurum *halk/halh*); *bah-tı* ‘see-PST[3]’ (Standard Turkish *baktı*); *uzah* ‘near’ (Standard Turkish *uzak*); *gäldih* ‘we came’ (Standard Turkish *geldik*; Erzurum dialects:⁴ *geldih* in Yukari Karasu, *gelduh* in Çoruh Boyu); *harpuz* ‘watermelon’ (Standard Turkish *karpuz*)

b. Caucasian Urum *ğ* ~ Standard Turkish *k*

ğıssa ‘short’ (Standard Turkish *kısa*; Erzurum *ğıssa*); *ğız* ‘girl’ (Standard Turkish *kız*; Erzurum *ğız*); *ğuş* ‘bird’ (Standard Turkish *kuş*; Erzurum *ğuş*); *ğardaş* ‘brother’ (Standard Turkish *kardeş*; Erzurum *ğardaş*); *çoğ* ‘much’ (Standard Turkish *çok*); *ğırmızı* ‘red’ (Standard Turkish *kırmızı*); *ğoyün* ‘sheep’ (Standard Turkish *koyun*; Erzurum *ğoyun*); *piçah/biçağ* ‘knife’ (Standard Turkish *bıçak*; Erzurum *piçah*)

c. metathesis

yarpah ‘leaf’ (Standard Turkish *yaprak*; Erzurum *yarpah/yarpağ*; Azerbaijani *yarpaq*), *torpah* ‘soil’ (Standard Turkish *toprak*; Erzurum *torpah/toprah*; Azerbaijani *torpak*); *körpi* ‘bridge’ (Standard Turkish *köprü*; Erzurum *körpi/köprü/körpü*; Azerbaijani *köprü*); *äksi* ‘old’ (Standard Turkish *eski*), *soram* ‘then’ (Standard Turkish *sonra*; Erzurum *sona/sonam/soram*, etc.); *oğlu/oğul* ‘son’ (Standard Turkish *oğlu*)

d. development of velar nasals (out of nasals)

dängiz ‘sea’ (Standard Turkish *deniz*), *donguz* ‘pig’ (Standard Turkish *domuz*; Erzurum *donguz/donuz*), *ingil-* ‘groan’ (Standard Turkish *inle-*)

Only a part of these properties equally applies to Crimean Urum, which supports the view that these varieties developed independently of each other. Fricativization of velar stops, (2a), is attested both in syllable-final and syllable-initial contexts (similar facts are also found in Crimean Urum *halh/alh* ‘people’, *uzah* ‘near’, etc.; Garkavets 2000). In word-initial contexts and preceding back vowels, the velar fricative is frequently voiced in Caucasian Urum, (2b), but is consistently voiceless in Crimean Urum (e.g., Caucasian Urum *ğuş* vs. Crimean Urum *huş* ‘bird’). Words with metathesis in Caucasian Urum do not necessarily involve metathesis in Crimean Urum: Caucasian Urum *yarpah* ‘leaf’ vs. Crimean Urum *yapalah* ‘leaf’ (Garkavets 2000). The velar nasals found in Caucasian Urum do not occur in Crimean Urum: *deniz* ‘sea’, *domuz/donuz* ‘pig’ (Garkavets 2000).

Some further differences of Caucasian Urum to Standard Turkish do not relate to local properties of Anatolian dialects but occur in spoken Turkish varieties of several regions, e.g., voicing of voiceless consonants, e.g., *barmah* ‘finger’ (Standard Turkish *parmak*, Erzurum *barmah/barmak*); *biş-* ‘cook’ (Standard Turkish *pişir-*; Erzurum *biş-*); *daş* ‘stone’ (Standard Turkish *taş*; Erzurum *daş*), *dut-* ‘hold’ (Standard Turkish *tut-*), etc.

³ The replacement of velar stops with fricatives (*h* or *ğ*) distinguishes the dialects of inner Anatolia from the dialects of the Black Sea Coast, which generally preserve the velar stops (Brendemoen 1998: 237). This evidence is significant because the ethnic Greek populations of Black Sea Coast could be another potential historical source of the Urum people.

⁴ All cited examples from Erzurum dialects are found in Gemalmaz (1978[I]; 1978[III]).

At the morphological level, some suffixes in Caucasian Urum are similar to characteristic suffixes of the dialects of Erzurum, e.g., the second plural person in *-sis/siz* (see Table 5) and the imperfective suffix in *-(i)er* (see (16)), (see Menz 2002 referring to Karahan 1996). Syntactic properties that Urum shares in common with the Anatolian dialects is the use of converbs in *-AndA* (see (22)) as well as the frequent occurrence of the complementizer *ki* (see Section 0).

3.2. Phonology

3.2.1. Consonants

The consonant inventory is identical to Turkish; see Table 1. The palatal allophone [c] of the phoneme *k* occurs immediately adjacent to a front vowel (palatalization), either before or after it, e.g., *kök* ‘thick’ is realized as [cœc]. The palatal allophone [ɟ] of the phoneme *g* only occurs before front vowels (palatalization), e.g., *göl* [ɟœl] ‘lake’. The velar allophone [ŋ] of the phoneme *l* occurs after back vowels (velarization); compare *göl* [ɟœl] ‘lake’ vs. *yol* [jot] ‘road’.

The Urum transcription in this article generally follows the Turkish orthography. The main deviation is the use of *haček* for fricative and affricate postalveolar consonants (š for [ʃ], ž for [ʒ], č for [tʃ], ğ for [dʒ]), which follows a common practice in orthographies of Turkic languages spoken in Slavic environment (see Azerbaijani in Schöning 1998; Gagauz in Menz 1999). This practice is convenient due to the frequent Russian borrowings (Urum displays around 23% Russian words in narratives, following an estimation in Ries et al. 2013).

		Bilabial	Labiod.	Alveol.	Postalv.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	–voiced	[p] <i>p</i>		[t] <i>t</i>		[c] <i>k</i>	[k] <i>k</i>	
	+voiced	[b] <i>b</i>		[d] <i>d</i>		[ɟ] <i>g</i>	[g] <i>g</i>	
Fricative	–voiced		[f] <i>f</i>	[s] <i>s</i>	[ʃ] <i>š</i>		[x] <i>h</i>	[h] <i>h</i>
	+voiced		[v] <i>v</i>	[z] <i>z</i>	[ʒ] <i>ž</i>		[ɣ] <i>ğ</i>	
Affricate	–voiced				[tʃ] <i>č</i>			
	+voiced				[dʒ] <i>ğ</i>			
Nasal		[m] <i>m</i>		[n] <i>n</i>			[ŋ] <i>n</i>	
Tap				[r] <i>r</i>				
Lateral				[l] <i>l</i>			[ɭ] <i>l</i>	
approximant						[j] <i>y</i>		

Table 1. Consonant inventory (IPA values in brackets; orthography in italics)

3.2.2. Vowels

A general issue in Turkic languages is the phonological distinction between mid-front vowels. In Turkish, /e/ has a mid-closed allophone [e] and a mid-open allophone [ɛ] appearing in word-final open syllables, i.e., [kel] ‘bald’ vs. [ka'ɛ] ‘castle’ (see Zimmer & Orgun 1992: 44). However, in other Turkic languages the same sounds are separate phonemes, as evinced by minimal pairs, e.g., Old Turkic *älig* ‘hand’ vs. *elig* ‘king’ (Erdal 2004: 51). A minimal pair has been identified in Urum, i.e., *äl* ‘hand’ vs. *el* ‘stranger’ (the same contrast appears in Anatolian dialects, see Brendemoen 1998: 237). This minimal pair is evidence that /e/ and /ä/ contrast in Urum. However, there is substantial phonologically conditioned variation in the realization of the mid-front vowels (depending on syllable structure and stress), which is not yet studied in detail. For many tokens, it is not yet clear, whether they are instances of the phoneme /ä/ or the phoneme /e/. Illustrative examples of the vowel inventory are given in Table 2.

Vowel	Example		
	IPA	Orthography	Meaning
[a]	[ʃar]	<i>šar</i>	'city'
[æ]	[æɫ]	<i>äl</i>	'hand'
[œ]	[ʃœɫ]	<i>göl</i>	'lake'
[e]	[jel]	<i>yel</i>	'wind'
[o]	[joɫ]	<i>yol</i>	'road'
[i]	[it]	<i>it</i>	'dog'
[y]	[zyk]	<i>üzüg</i>	'ring'
[w]	[ɣwz]	<i>ğız</i>	'girl'
[u]	[yʉ]	<i>ğuş</i>	'bird'

Table 2. Vowel inventory (IPA values in brackets; orthography in italics)

3.2.3. Phonological processes

Assimilation processes are frequent at morpheme boundaries. The plural morpheme *-lar* 'PL' and the nominalizer *-lix* 'NR' assimilate to preceding nasals into *-nar* and *-nix*, respectively; see (6c) and Section 0. Assimilation in voicing is very frequent. The past suffix has a voiced and a voiceless allomorph, *-d(l)* or *-t(l)*, assimilating to the preceding segment; see (17a-b). Stem-final voiceless consonants are voiced before vowels, e.g., *ušah* 'child' vs. *ušağ-a* 'child-DAT'; *arih-sin* (slim-2.SG) 'you are slim' vs. *ariğ-im* (slim-1.SG) 'I am slim'.

Vowel harmony applies in Urum with two main differences to Standard Turkish (see experimental evidence in Verhoeven 2011): (a) some suffixes that are determined by vowel harmony in Turkish are not visible for the vowel harmony in Urum; (b) for the *i*-suffixes, the fronting harmony does not apply to non-rounded suffixes. The first difference is illustrated in (3) by means of the 3rd person possessive suffix. The form of this suffix is invariably *-i* in Urum, while it is determined by vowel harmony in Turkish.

- (3) a. stem vowel: front and non-rounded
it-i 'dog-POSS.3.SG', *äv-i* 'house-POSS.3.SG'
- b. stem vowel: front and rounded
üzüg-i 'ring-POSS.3.SG', *göl-i* 'lake-POSS.3.SG'
- c. stem vowel: back and non-rounded
ğız-i 'girl-POSS.3.SG', *at-i* 'horse-POSS.3.SG'
- d. stem vowel: back and rounded
donguz-i 'pig-3.SG.POSS', *yol-i* 'road-SG.POSS'

The suffixes that are determined by vowel harmony belong to two classes (similarly to Turkish, see Göksel and Kerlake 2005: 21-25): *A*-suffixes and *I*-suffixes. The *A*-suffixes assimilate in frontness with the last vowel of the stem, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) Vowel harmony: *A*-suffixes
- a. stem vowel: front
it-lär 'dog-PL', *üzüg-lär* 'ring-PL'
- b. stem vowel: back
ğız-lar 'girl-PL', *yol-lar* 'road-PL'

In Turkish, the *l*-suffixes assimilate in frontness and roundedness with the last vowel of the stem (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 22). Urum differs in that the non-rounded allomorph does not assimilate in frontness: the central vowel *ɪ* appears both with back and front unrounded stem vowels (see Verhoeven 2011). This difference is illustrated by means of the genitive suffix in (5). The crucial difference to Turkish is the form of the suffix in (5a): Urum *it-in* corresponds to Turkish *it-in*, Urum *äv-in* to Turkish *ev-in*. The forms of the *l*-suffixes in the context of different stem vowels are listed for both languages in

- (5) Vowel harmony: *l*-suffixes
- a. stem vowel: front and non-rounded
it-in ‘dog-GEN’, *äv-in* ‘house-GEN’, *äl-in* ‘hand-GEN’
 - b. stem vowel: back and non-rounded
ğiz-in ‘girl-GEN’, *at-in* ‘horse-GEN’
 - c. stem vowel: front and rounded
üzüg-ün ‘ring-GEN’, *göl-ün* ‘lake-GEN’
 - d. stem vowel: back and rounded
donguz-un ‘pig-GEN’, *yol-un* ‘road-GEN’

stem vowel			<i>l</i> -suffix	
			Urum	Standard Turkish
-round	front	<i>i, e/ä</i>	<i>ɪ</i>	<i>i</i>
	back	<i>ɪ, a</i>		<i>ɪ</i>
+round	front	<i>ü, ö</i>		<i>ü</i>
	back	<i>u, o</i>		<i>u</i>

Table 3. *l*-suffixes in Urum vs. Standard Turkish

3.3. Word Classes and Morphological Categories

3.3.1. Nouns

Nominal morphology includes three categories: number, possession, and case. All three categories are encoded through agglutinative suffixes that attach to the stem in exactly this order, e.g., *baba-lar-ım-dan* (father-PL-POSS.1.SG-ABL) ‘from my fathers’.

The category of number contains the plural suffix *-lar*, whereby the vowel is determined by the frontness harmony; compare (6a) and (6b). With a stem-final alveolar nasal *n*, the plural suffix assimilates to *-nar*; see (6c). Nasal assimilation of the plural suffix is also attested in the Turkish dialects of Erzurum, e.g., *on-nar* ‘3-PL’ (Standard Turkish *onlar*), *gan-nar* ‘blood-PL’ (Standard Turkish *kanlar*) (Gemalmaz 1978[III]: 178; see Johanson 1998: 34 for Turkic languages in general). However, the process is productive in Urum as evinced by the fact that it is not restricted in old formations but also apply to recent borrowings from Russian, e.g., *slon-nar* from Russian *slon* (Слон).

- (6)
- a. front vowel stems
göl-lär ‘lake-PL’, *it-lär* ‘dog-PL’, *äv-lär* ‘house-PL’, *üzüg-lär* ‘ring-PL’
 - b. back vowel stems
at-lar ‘horse-PL’, *ğiz-lar* ‘girl-PL’, *yol-lar* ‘road-PL’, *donguz-lar* ‘pig-PL’

c. nasal assimilation

on-nar '3-PL', *satan-nar* 'trader-PL', *slon-nar* 'elephant-PL', *sičan-nar* 'mouse-PL', *aslan-nar* 'lion-PL', *maimun-nar* 'monkey-PL'; *oğlan-nar* 'boy-PL'

The plural suffix contrasts to the use of the stem without any number suffix, which is transnumeral in nature and obtains a singular interpretation by pragmatic inference (if no cue for plural reference is available in the context). The plural suffix is not obligatorily realized with plural referents (Bittricher et al. 2011 for corpus observations; Schüler 2013 for a study including corpus and experimental data). Two classes of factors determine the occurrence of the suffix: (a) contextual properties, i.e., discriminability of number reference through the context: the plural suffix is less likely if the plural reference can be clearly inferred from the context; (b) inherent properties of the referent: highly individuated referents (e.g., animates) are more likely to be marked for number. Noun phrases with numerals or plural quantifiers occur in texts with or without a plural suffix. When judged out of context, speakers reject the use of plural in the context of numerals; see (7a). They accept the use of plural in the context of quantifiers such as *birğaç/čoğ/az* 'some/many/few', whereby they perceive a difference between animates and inanimates, such as the use of plural is less acceptable with animates. This intuition is in conflict with speech production data, which shows exactly the opposite pattern: the presence of the plural suffix is more likely with highly individuated referents, e.g., animates, and less likely with lower referents in the individuation scale, e.g., inanimates (Schüler 2013). The universal quantifier *äp* 'all' shows a different behaviour (see further discussion in 0): the plural suffix is almost always used with nouns determined by *äp* and speakers report that both versions (with or without suffix) are completely acceptable, see (7c) (see Schüler 2013 for quantitative results in speech production).

(7) a. numeral

<i>uč</i>	<i>ğiz(*-lar)</i>	/	<i>äv(*-lär)</i>
three	girl(-PL)		house(-PL)
'three	girls	/	houses'

b. quantifier

<i>birğaç/čoğ/az</i>	<i>ğiz²-lar)</i>	/	<i>äv(-lär)</i>
some/much/few	girl(-PL)		house(-PL)
'some/many/few	girls	/	houses'

c. universal quantifier

<i>äp</i>	<i>ğiz(-lar)</i>	/	<i>äv(-lär)</i>
all	girl(-PL)		house(-PL)
'all	girls	/	houses'

The possession suffixes are cross-reference markers referring to the possessor; see (8a). In complex noun phrases these suffixes are co-referent with the dependent noun phrase (the genitive) resulting to a double morphological marking of the dependency relation, by means of possessor agreement on the head noun and a genitive case on the dependent noun phrase; see (8b). The possessive suffixes are listed in Table 4. The allomorphs with an initial vowel *-im/-in* of the 1. and 2. person occur after consonants, *barmağ-in* 'finger-POSS.2.SG'. The nasal ending (*n*) of the 3. person singular occurs before vowels, e.g., *mama-lär-in-i* 'udder-PL-POSS.3-ACC'; the onset (*s*) appears after vowels, e.g., *baba-sın-a*

'father-POSS.3.SG-DAT'. Possessive suffixes in Urum are very similar to Turkish: the only difference is the 2. person plural, which is *-(l)z* in Urum, e.g., *baba-z-a* 'father-POSS.2.PL-DAT'.

- (8) a. possessor agreement

abä-m
grandmother-POSS.1.SG
'my grandmother'

- b. double marking of dependencies in complex noun phrases

baba-n-in *äv-i*
father-POSS.2.SG-GEN house-POSS.3.SG
'the house of your father' (lit. 'his house of your father')

Number	Person	Urum	Turkish
Singular	1.	<i>-(l)m</i>	<i>-(l)m</i>
	2.	<i>-(l)n</i>	<i>-(l)n</i>
	3.	<i>-(s)l(n)</i>	<i>-(s)l(n)</i>
Plural	1.	<i>-(l)mlz</i>	<i>-(l)mlz</i>
	2.	<i>-(l)z</i>	<i>-(l)nlz</i>
	3.	<i>-lArl(n)</i>	<i>-[lAr]l(n)</i>

Table 4. Possessive suffixes

Urum has seven case categories: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, and instrumental. Case suffixes are phrasal occurring at the right edge of noun phrases attached to the head noun. Nominative case (case of subjects) does not have any overt marking; see (9).

- (9) nominative case

biz-im *halh* *gäl-di* *kavkaz-a*
1.PL-GEN people come-PST[3] CAUCASUS-DAT
'Our people came to the Caucasus...'

The accusative case (case of objects) is marked with the suffix *-i*, which is not affected by the rules of vowel harmony; see (10a). Non-specific objects in Turkish are not case marked and appear in the immediately preverbal position (see Erguvanlı 1984: 44ff., Enç 1991, Kural 1992). Similar examples appear in Urum as illustrated in (10b). However, in contrast to Turkish, bare objects in Urum may occur in any position in the sentence (Böhm 2013); see (10c). The use of the accusative suffix depends on semantic properties of the noun phrase, presumably specificity (Böhm 2013).

- (10) a. accusative-marked object

baba-m *äv-i* *al-di.*
father-POSS.1.SG house-ACC buy-PST[3]
'My father bought the house.'

- b. preverbal bare object

küçük *yapı-lar* *ed-ier-di-lär.*
small building-PL make-IPFV-PST-3.PL
'They were making small buildings in the past.'

- c. non-preverbal bare object

soram o süd-ün iç-in-ä ğat-er-lär maya.
then that milk-GEN inside-POSS.3.SG-DAT add-IPFV-3.PL whey
'Then they put whey into that milk.'

The genitive case *-(n)in* 'GEN' marks dependents of nominal heads; see (11a). The dative occurs in three main functions: (a) with recipients of ditransitive verbs; see (11b); (b) with some verbs governing dative complements; see (11c); (c) with targets of motion, see (11d); see also genitive and dative complements of postpositions in (36).

- (11) a. genitive case

maria-nin oĝl-u-nin ad-in-i bul-ier-im.
Maria-GEN son-POSS.3.SG-GEN name-POSS.3.SG-ACC know-IPFV-1.SG
'I know the name of the son of Maria.'

- b. dative case: indirect object

ver-di o köv-lär-ä ad.
give-PST[3] that village-PL-DAT name
'They gave names to the villages.'

- c. dative case: verb complement

bah-ti on-a.
look-PST[3] 3.SG-DAT
'He looked at him.'

- d. dative case: target of motion

gäl-di-lär beštaš-a.
come-PST-3.PL Beshtasheni-DAT
'They came to Beshtasheni.'

Beyond the spatial use of dative in (11d), Urum has three purely thematic case suffixes: (a) the locative suffix *-dA* 'LOC' expressing static location, see (12a); (b) the ablative suffix *-dAn* 'ABL' expressing the origin of motion, see (12b), also used as a partitive, see (12c); see also ablative complements of postpositions in (36); and (c) the instrumental suffix *-(l)nIn/-(l)nAn* used for comitatives, see (12d), and instruments, see (12e).

- (12) a. locative case

biz-im halh baš-tan yaš-ier-di turcia-da.
1.PL-GEN people first live-IPFV-PST[3] Turkey-LOC
'First our people lived in Turkey.'

- b. ablative case (origin of motion)

sora bur-dan gurjü-lär get-ti-lär.
then this.place-ABL Georgian-PL go-PST-3.PL
'Then Georgians left from this place.'

c. ablative case (partitive)

bazi-si o uşah-lar-dan ağır-ier
some-POSS.3.SG that child-PL-ABL ill-IPFV[3]
'Some of these children are ill.'

d. instrumental case (instrument)

bičağ-ınan emeg-i kes-ier-im.
knife-INSTR bread-ACC cut-IPFV-1.SG
'I am cutting the bread with the knife.'

e. instrumental case (comitative)

baba-m-ınan işl-ier-im.
father-1.SG-INSTR work-IPFV-1.SG
'I am working with my father.'

The form of the case suffixes in Caucasian Urum is very similar to the corresponding suffixes in Turkish. The main differences are that the accusative suffix in Urum is not sensitive to vowel harmony and that the Urum instrumental suffix is *-(l)nIn/-(l)nAn* corresponding to Turkish *-(l)An/(b)ile(n)* (also occurring in Azerbaijani dialects as *-(l)nAn*; see Schöning 1998: 252). Crimean Urum displays further differences in the case suffixes: dative *-d'A*, instrumental *-len/-nen*, as well as two further local cases, namely inessive *-če* and relative *-čen/-činden* (Podolsky 1985).

3.3.2. Verbs

Urum has a rich inventory of suffixes attaching to the verb stem. The bare stem form is used in imperatives, as illustrated in (13).

- (13) a. *a!* 'Buy!
b. *e!* 'Eat!
c. *sat!* 'Sell!
d. *get!* 'Go!
e. *gäl!* 'Come!'

Passive is formed by the suffix *-ll* 'PASS' and occurs rarely in texts. If there is a passive agent, then it is realized in an instrumental phrase; see (14a). There is no evidence for reflexive and reciprocal suffixes (as attested in some Turkish stems, see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 72).

- (14) a. *o tarla ak-il-miş-i-di bän-im oğl-um-unan.*
that field sow-PASS-EV.PST-COP-PST 1.SG-GEN son-1.SG-INSTR
'It seems that that field was sown by my son.'
b. *o yol aç-il-di.*
this road open-PASS-PST[3]
'This road is opened.'

The Turkish modal suffixes are also attested in Urum, as illustrated with the suffix *-yA* 'POT' denoting possibility and preceding negation in (15a), and the conditional suffix *-sA* 'COND' frequently reinforced by the conjunction *agär* 'if' as in (15b) (however not always; see (52) in the illustrative text), or the suffix *-yAbll* 'ABIL' denoting possibility or ability. A further modal suffix is the optative suffix *-yA* 'OPT',

e.g., *yaşı-ya-h* (live-OPT-1.PL) ‘let’s live’ (the difference to the possibility suffix *-yA* is that the former always precedes negation).

- (15) a. *bän gänd-ım gid-ä-m-ier-ım*
1.SG own-POSS.1.SG go-POT-NEG-IPFV-1.SG
‘I would not be able to walk on my own.’
- b. *agär bän on-i gör-sä-i-di-m*
if 1.SG 3.SG-ACC see-COND-COP-PST-1.SG

bän on-dan isti-ajăĝ-i-di-m piçah
1.sg 3.SG-ABL want-FUT-COP-PST-1.SG knife
‘If I saw him, I would ask him for a knife.’
- c. *išli-yabül-ür-üm tez-dän*
work-ABIL-IPFV-1.SG new-ABL
‘I can work early (in the morning).’

The most frequent temporal/aspectual suffixes in narratives are the imperfective aspect and the past tense suffix. The imperfective suffix (Turkish *-iyor*) is realized as *-ier* or *-er*. This variation is pervasive and appears in the same phonological contexts. Some speakers show a tendency for the one or the other allomorph, but many speakers interchangeably use both versions.

- (16) *al-ier/al-er*
buy-IPFV[3]
‘s/he is buying’

The past suffix, *-d(l)* or *-t(l)*, assimilates to the preceding segment; see (17a-b). The vowel is dropped if the subsequent suffix starts with a vowel; see (17c). The past tense suffix can co-occur with the imperfective aspect suffix; see (17c-d). The evidential past is expressed with the suffix *-miš* ‘EV.PST’, see (17e).

- (17) a. *al-di-lar* (buy-PST-3.PL) ‘they bought’
b. *bah-ti-lar* (look-PST-3.PL) ‘they looked’
c. *ed-ier-d-iz* (buy-IPFV-PST-2.PL) ‘you (pl.) were buying’
d. *yaš-ier-di-lar* (live-IPFV-PST-3.PL) ‘they were living’
e. *gäl-miš-ti* (come-EV.PST-PST[3]) ‘it seems that he came’

The Turkish aorist, a tense with non-definite temporal reference, appears in Urum with the suffix *-lr* ‘AOR’. As in Turkish, the aorist may be interpreted with future time reference. After the negative suffix, the aorist is realized with the allomorph *-z* ‘AOR’, see (18d).

- (18) a. *al-ır* (buy-AOR[3]) ‘he will buy’
b. *bül-ür-üh* (know-AOR-1.PL) ‘we will know’
c. *dušün-ür* (think-AOR[3]) ‘he will think’
d. *dušün-ma-z-lar* (think-NEG-AOR-3.PL) ‘they would not think’

The future suffix is *-AġA(h)* (Turkish *-AcAk*), as illustrated in (19); the final consonant may be dropped before personal suffixes; see (38b) below. In combination with the past copula, the future suffix renders a conditional expression; see (15b) above.

- (19) *köç-aġah-lar*
move-FUT-3.PL
'they will move'

Negation is an important property for the distinction between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Only with verbs, negation is expressed with the suffix *-m(E)* 'NEG'; see (20a). While verbal predicates are negated with suffixation, non-verbal predicates are embedded in a negative predicate, as illustrated expressed either by the negative predicate *-däġil* 'NEG.COP' for properties and (see (20b) with an adjective and (20c) with a property-denoting noun) or by the negative existential *yoh-* 'NEG.EXIST' for individuals; see (20d)).

- (20) a. *de-me-di* *bül-m-er-im*
say-NEG-PST[3] know-NEG-IPFV-1.SG
's/he did not say' 'I am not knowing'
- b. *bu* *äv* *äksi-däġil.*
this house old-NEG.COP
'This house is not old.'
- c. *antonis* *uĉitel-däġil.*
Antonis teacher-NEG.COP
'Antonis is not a teacher.'
- d. *äv-dä* *kimsä* *yoh-u-di.*
home-LOC anyone NEG.EXIST-COP-PST
'There is nobody home.'

The person suffixes are listed in Table 5. The two set of suffixes are different in the first and second person. Set I suffixes appear after the present stem (*ġäl-sın* 'come-2.SG'), the imperfective suffix (*ġid-ier-sın* 'go-IPFV-2.SG'), the aorist (*bul-ur-sın* 'find-AOR-2.SG'), and the optative (*yap-a-sın* 'build-OPT-2.SG', *ġäl-ä-m-ä-sın* 'come-POT-NEG-OPT-2.SG'). Set II suffixes appear after the past suffix (*ġör-dü-n*, 'see-PST-2.SG') and the conditional (*ġet-sä-n* 'go-COND-2.SG'). A salient deviation from the Standard Turkish suffixes is the first person plural in *-lh* (in both sets), which also occur in several Anatolian dialects (Brendemoen 1998: 240; compare Erzurum *ġeldih* in Yukari Karasu, *ġelduh* in Çoruh Boyu, Gemalmaz 1978[1]: 22). The second person plural in *-sis/-siz* (set II *-z*) also differs from Standard Turkish (*-sınlz, -nız*): this suffix is mentioned by Karahan (1996) among the characteristic properties of the Anatolian dialects. The vowel of the suffix is determined by vowel harmony: the only deviation from the general rule is the form of the past suffix in the third person (i.e., when it is not followed by a person suffix): in this case the suffix appears in the indifferent form *-di* 'PST'.

		set I		set II	
		front/non-rounded	back/rounded	back/non-rounded	front/rounded
sg.	1	<i>gid-ier-ım</i> 'I am going'	<i>bul-ur-um</i> 'I will find'	<i>chal-dı-m</i> 'I stole'	<i>gör-dü-m</i> 'I saw'
	2	<i>gid-ier-sın</i>	<i>bul-ur-sun</i>	<i>chal-dı-n</i>	<i>gör-dü-n</i>
	3	<i>gid-ier</i>	<i>bul-ur</i>	<i>chal-dı</i>	<i>gör-di</i>
pl.	1	<i>gid-ier-ih</i>	<i>bul-ur-uh</i>	<i>chal-dı-h</i>	<i>gör-dü-h</i>
	2	<i>gid-ier-sıs</i>	<i>bul-ur-sus</i>	<i>chal-dı-z</i>	<i>gör-dü-z</i>
	3	<i>gid-ier-lär</i>	<i>bul-ur-lar</i>	<i>chal-dı-lar</i>	<i>gör-dü-lär</i>

Table 5. Verbal person suffixes

Urum has a rich inventory of non-finite verb forms. Many verbs, such as *ist-* 'want', *ol-* 'be', or static predicates such as *lazım* 'need' govern a bare infinitive; see (21a). Other predicates govern a dative-marked verbal noun. In the narrative texts we find examples with phase verbs, e.g., *toplamaya ğurtaldi* 'he finished gathering', *akmaya başladılar* 'they started sowing', and static predicates such as the deadjectival *azır-lan-* in (21b).

- (21) a. bare infinitive
ist-ier-ım *get-mah*
 want-IPFV-1.SG go-INF
 'I want to go.'
- b. dative-marked verbal noun
azır-lan-ier-ım *get-ma-y-a*
 ready-INGR-IPFV-1.SG go-INF-Ø-DAT
 'I am about to go.'

Converbs in *-AndAn* are characteristic of the Anatolian dialects (see discussion and observations in the dialects of Erzurum in Menz 2002: 203). These converbs are used for embedding events that take place contemporaneously with the event of matrix predicate; see (22a). The converbs in *-ıp*, illustrated in (22b), are not very frequently in the narratives (an observation already made for the dialects of Erzurum; see Menz 2002: 209, citing Gemalmaz 1978[I]: 376). This converb also occurs in some idiomaticized combinations, e.g., *gid-ıp ğäl-ier-ih* (go-GER come-IPFV-1.PL) 'we come and go'.

- (22) a. converbs in *-AndAn*
petros yat-ier-di, *siz ğäl-ändän*
 Petros sleep-IPFV-PST[3] 2.PL come-CONV₁
 'Petros was sleeping, when you came.'
- b. converbs in *-ıp*
čığard-ıp *ğo-ier-lär* *galib-a*
 take_out-GER put-IPFV-3.PL shape-DAT
 'Having taken it out, they put it into a shape.'

Participles with the adjectivalizer *-(y)An* 'ADJR' are followed by nominal inflectional suffixes and can be used as attributes, (23a), or also as headless relative clauses. They also can be governed by postpositions rendering adverbial constituents, e.g., *ğäl-än-ä açet* (come-ADJR-DAT until) 'until coming'. Participles with the suffix *-dığ* occur in both attributive and converbial functions; they can

also be governed by postpositions, e.g., *trasa-y-a çih-tih-tan soram* (roadway-Ø-DAT get-PTCP-ABL after) ‘after getting to the roadway’.

(23) a. participles in *-yAn*

köv-lär-dä yaş-yan-lar-da jayal-lar äp get-ti
village-PL-LOC live-ADJR-PL-CONN young-PL all leave-PST[3]
‘And the young people living in villages left all.’

b. participles in *-dlǧ*

siz gäl-dlǧ-i kimin petros yat-aǧah.
2.PL come-PTCP-POSS.3.SG as_soon_as Petros sleep-FUT[3]
‘Petros will be sleeping when you will come.’

3.3.3. Pronouns

Personal pronouns are noun phrases inflecting for person, number and case. The forms of personal pronouns frequently exhibit inflectional deviations from the nominal paradigm; therefore we are listing all forms in Table 6. As this table shows, the declination of personal pronouns is almost identical to the forms of nouns. The unusual dative forms, e.g., *bahan, baan, baa* etc. reported for the dialects of Erzurum (see Menz 2002 citing Karahan 1996) are not found in Urum. The case suffixes are identical to the adnominal suffixes (see Section 0), to the exception of the genitive of the 2. person (sing. *bän-ım*; pl. *biz-ım*), which displays an allomorph with a dissimilated nasal (a phenomenon also available in Standard Turkish: *benim, bizim*). In spontaneous texts, some (rare) instances of plural reinforcement are found, e.g., *biz-lär* ‘1.PL-PL’, *biz-lär-ä* ‘1.PL-PL-DAT’.

	singular			plural		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
nominative	<i>bän</i>	<i>sän</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>biz</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>on-nar</i>
accusative	<i>bän-i</i>	<i>sän-i</i>	<i>on-i</i>	<i>biz-i</i>	<i>siz-i</i>	<i>on-i</i>
dative	<i>bän-ä</i>	<i>sän-ä</i>	<i>on-a</i>	<i>biz-ä</i>	<i>siz-ä</i>	<i>on-nar-a</i>
genitive	<i>bän-ım</i>	<i>sän-in</i>	<i>on-un</i>	<i>biz-ım</i>	<i>siz-in</i>	<i>on-nar-in</i>
locative	<i>bän-dä</i>	<i>sän-dä</i>	<i>on-da</i>	<i>biz-dä</i>	<i>siz-dä</i>	<i>on-nar-da</i>
ablative	<i>bän-dän</i>	<i>sän-dän</i>	<i>on-dan</i>	<i>biz-dän</i>	<i>siz-dän</i>	<i>on-nar-dan</i>
instrumental	<i>bän-nän</i>	<i>sän-nän</i>	<i>on-nan</i>	<i>biz-inän</i>	<i>siz-inän</i>	<i>on-nar-inan</i>

Table 6. Personal pronouns

Interrogative pronouns include the pronoun *kim* ‘who’ for animates, (24a) (both human and non-human), and the pronoun *nä* ‘what’ for inanimates; see (24c). These pronouns combine with case suffixes; see (24b). Questions on adverbial constituents are expressed with the interrogative adverbs *nerdä* ‘where’, *niya* ‘why’, *näsıl* ‘how’, *nävädä* ‘when’. In general, the interrogative word appears left adjacent to the predicate, as shown in (24a-b, d), but deviations are possible, (24c).

(24) a. *kim-dir učitel?*
who-COP teacher?
‘Who is the teacher?’

b. *kim-inan-dir baba-n?*
who-INSTR-COP father-POSS.2.SG
‘With whom is your father?’

- c. *nä o sän-dän istä-dī?*
what 3.SG 2.SG-ABL want-PST[3]
'What did (s)he want from you?'
- d. *näsıl gid-en köv-ä?*
how go-2.SG village-DAT
'How do you go to the village?'

The interrogative pronouns also appear in embedded interrogatives; see (25a). In embedded questions, the interrogative pronoun occupies an argument position (depending on its syntactic function; see (25a-b)) and not the complementizer position (as in many European languages such as English or German). This is supported by the fact that it may co-occur with the complementizer as in (25b-c). It is important to notice that these pronouns can also be used as indefinite pronouns as illustrated in (25d), which implies that constituent questions are not typed neither through word order nor through pronoun type.

- (25) a. embedded clause with subject interrogative pronoun

bül-m-ier-im kim gäl-ier
know-NEG-IPFV-1.SG who come-IPFV[3]
'I do not know who is coming.'

- b. embedded complement clause with object interrogative pronoun

bül-m-ier-im ki petros nä sät-er
know-NEG-IPFV-1.SG COMP Petros what sell-IPFV[3]
'I do not know what is Peter selling.'

- c. embedded question

bül-ier ki kim gäl-m-ier?
know-IPFV[3] COMP who come-NEG-IPFV[3]
'Does (s)he know who is not coming?'

- d. *kimi-si get-ti ruset-a,*
who-POSS.3.SG go-PST[3] Russia-DAT
kimi-si get-ti gretsia-y-a.
who-POSS.3.SG go-PST[3] Greece-Ø-DAT

'Some of them went to Russia, some of went to Greece.'

Relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *angi* 'REL' which is case-marked according to their function within the relative clause; compare (26a) and (26b-c). Interrogative pronouns may be also used for introducing relative clauses, as illustrated in (26d). The relative pronoun is in most cases followed by the complementizer *ki* 'COMP'; see (26a, c).

- (26) a. relative pronoun: subject

arif angi-si ki get-ti kefli-i-di
man REL-POSS.3.SG COMP leave-PST[3] drunk-COP-PST
'The man who left was drunk.'

- b. relative pronoun: instrumental phrase

ver-in bän-ä biçäğ-i angi-si-inän käs-ier-sis at

give-2.SG 1.SG-DAT knife-ACC rel-POSS.3.SG-INSTR cut-IPFV-2.PL meat
'Give me the knife, with which you are cutting meat.'

c. relative pronoun: possessor phrase

adam, angi-sin-in ki it-in-i old-ür-d-um,
man REL-POSS.3.SG-GEN that dog-POSS.3.SG-ACC kill-IPFV-PST-1.SG
çih-ti.
go_out-PST[3]
'The man whose dog I killed went out.'

d. relative pronoun: possessor phrase

adam, kim-in it-in-i old-ür-d-um, çih-ti.
man who-GEN dog-POSS.3.SG-ACC kill-IPFV-PST-1.SG go_out-PST[3]
'The man whose dog I killed went out.'

3.3.4. Adjectives and adverbs

There is no lexically determined distinction between adjectival and adverbial roots, i.e., the same lexical elements can be used as attributes of nouns or as verbal adjuncts. These possibilities are illustrated by the quantifier *čoğ* in (27a-b).

(27) a. adnominal modifier

čoğ ğız
much girl
'many girls'

b. adverbial modifier

o ğuş čoğ uç-abul-ür
that bird much fly-ABIL-AOR[3]
'This bird can fly a lot.'

Adverbs and adjectives can also be used as predicates, in which case they combine with the person suffixes introduced for verbs in Table 5; see (28b). However, they contrast with verbs in that they cannot combine with the tense/aspect/mood suffixes and in that they may be used with the copula *-dir* 'cop'; see (28c). This copula is not exclusively used for adjectives but it occurs with any type of non-verbal predicate (e.g., adverbs and nouns).

(28) a. *bu äv äksi.*
this house old
'This house is old.'

b. *bän ğıssa-im.*
1.SG short-1.SG
'I am short.'

c. *bu äv äksi-dir.*
this house old-COP
'This house is old.'

With past-time reference, non-verbal predicates combine with the past suffix after the copula *-I* 'COP'. This is a copula occurring with non-verbal predicates of different types: (a) adjectives, (29a); (b)

adverbials, (29b); (c) stative predicates that behave like adjectives, e.g., the existentials *var* 'EXIST' and *yoh* 'NEG.EXIST' used in possessive constructions, (29c). Some verbal suffixes such as the conditional -*sA* and the evidential -*mš* may combine with this copula, which suggests that these suffixes change the category of the stem.

- (29) a. *o ağaç uzun-u-di*
that tree tall-COP-PST
'This tree was tall.'
- b. *nerdä-y-di Petro dunagin?*
where-COP-PST Petro yesterday
'Where was Petro yesterday?'
- c. *bän-ım bir-zaman var-ı-di at-ım*
1.SG-GEN one-time EXIST-COP-PST horse-1.SG
'I had once a horse (lit. there was once a horse of me)'

The contrast between verbal and non-verbal predicates at the stem level is supported by the fact that verbs can be derived from adjectival roots with suffixation, as illustrated in (30b). The derived stem is a verb and can combine with the tense/aspect/mood suffixes of the verbal inflection.

- (30) a. *alma ğırmızı-dir.*
apple red-COP
'The apple is red.'
- b. *bibär ğırmız-ı-lan-ier / ğırmız-ı-lan-a-ıh*
pepper red-INGR-IPFV[3] red-INGR-FUT[3]
'The apple is becoming/will become red.'

As attributes, adjectives precede the head noun; see (31a). Case and number are phrasal, i.e., there is no agreement-like copies of the inflectional categories on the adjective. In the absence of a nominal head, the noun phrase suffixes (number, case, possession) may attach to the adjective; see (31b). There are suffixes for the derivation of nouns out of adjectives, in particular the nominalizer -*lıh/nlh* 'NR', e.g. *sıhah-ı-lıh* (hot-NR) 'fever', *çatın-nıh* (difficult-NR) 'difficulty', which is evidence for a contrast between nouns and adjectives/adverbs.

- (31) a. prenominal adjectives
- yol-da gör-di birtänä çüçük güzäl ğız-i*
street-LOC saw-PST[3] one little beautiful girl-ACC
'He saw a little beautiful girl on the road.'
- b. noun phrase without nominal head
- ğođa-lar-a ver-di pensiya...*
old-PL-DAT give-PST[3] pension
'They gave a pension to the old people...'

There is no morphological expression of degree (comparative or superlative). Comparative constructions are formed with the adverb *daha* 'more' and the second term of comparison in an ablative phrase or in a phrase with the Russian conjunction *čem* 'than'; see (32a-b). Superlative constructions are formed in the same way, see (32c): the second term of comparison explicitly refers

to the totality of the referents that are contained by the set under comparison. Equative constructions are formed with the postposition *kimin* ‘such as’, see (32d).

- (32) a. comparative construction with ablative phrase

o bän-dän uzun-dur.
3.SG 1.SG-ABL tall-COP
‘(S)he is taller than me.’

- b. comparative construction with loan conjunction

kirpič duvar-i daha pärk-tir, čem gav-in duvar-i
brick wall-POSS.3.SG more hard-COP than adobe-GEN wall-POSS.3.SG
‘The brick wall is harder than the adobe wall.’

- c. superlative construction

bän äp-sın-dan čüčüg-im.
1.SG all-POSS.3.SG-ABL small-1.SG
‘I am the youngest.’

- d. equative construction

o siz-in oğl-uz-kimin uzun-dur.
3.SG 2.PL-GEN son-2.PL-such tall-COP
‘He is as tall as your son.’

3.3.5. Determiners and Quantifiers

Urum does not have a definite article. Bare noun phrases can have specific or generic reference. There are two demonstratives: (a) a proximal demonstrative *bu* ‘this’, e.g., *bu ğuš* ‘this bird’, and (b) the 3. person pronoun that is interpreted as distal (‘that’) in its use as determiner, e.g., *o ğuš* ‘that bird’. The numeral *bir* ‘one’ or may be used as indefinite determiner, e.g., *bir ğuš* ‘a bird’.

Quantifiers include elements like *är* ‘every’, *birğaç* ‘some’, *čoğ*, ‘much’, *az* ‘few’, see examples in (7), as well as numbers. The universal quantifier *äp* ‘all’ differs from the further elements in the behavior of plural (see (7)), as well as in its position at the left periphery of the noun phrase. Furthermore, this quantifier is frequently realized in the focus position (immediately preverbal) which is additional evidence of its particular status in the syntax of noun phrases, see (33).

- (33) *bun-nar-i äp käs-ier-ix*
this-PL-ACC all cut-IPFV-1.PL
‘We cut them all.’

The order of these elements in the noun phrase is illustrated in (34). The universal quantifier (U) precedes the determiner (D) which precedes quantifiers/numerals (Q), that are followed by adjectives (A) and nouns (N). Interestingly, the possibility to prepose the adjective before the determiner, which is the preferred option in Turkish is just as “not very natural” in Urum; see (35).

- (34)
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------------|
| | U | D | Q | A | N |
| a. | <i>gör-dü-m</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>bayaz</i> | <i>tayuh-lar-i</i> |
| | see-PST-1.SG | all | this | white | chicken-PL-ACC |
| b. | <i>gör-dü-m</i> | | <i>üç</i> | <i>bayaz</i> | <i>tayuğ-i</i> |
| | see-PST-1.SG | | three | white | chicken-ACC |
| c. | <i>gör-dü-m</i> | <i>ap</i> | <i>üç</i> | <i>bayaz</i> | <i>tayuğ-i</i> |
| | see-PST-1.SG | all | three | white | chicken-ACC |
- (35)
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| a. | [?] <i>gör-d-üm</i> | <i>bayaz</i> | <i>bir</i> | <i>tayuğ-i</i> |
| | see-PST-1.SG | white | one | chicken-ACC |
| b. | <i>gör-dü-m</i> | <i>bir</i> | <i>bayaz</i> | <i>tayuğ-i</i> |
| | see-PST-1.SG | one | white | chicken-ACC |
- ‘I see a white chicken.’

Number formation follows the patterns known from Turkish, as illustrated in Table 7.

1	<i>bir</i>	10	<i>on</i>	11	<i>on bir</i>
2	<i>iki</i>	20	<i>igirmi</i>	12	<i>on iki</i>
3	<i>üç</i>	30	<i>ottuz</i>	13	<i>on uç</i>
4	<i>dört</i>	40	<i>ğırh</i>	14	<i>on dört</i>
5	<i>beş</i>	50	<i>älli</i>	15	<i>on beş</i>
6	<i>altı</i>	60	<i>altmış</i>	100	<i>yuz</i>
7	<i>eddi</i>	70	<i>etmiş</i>	200	<i>iki yuz</i>
8	<i>säkkiz</i>	80	<i>säksän</i>	1000	<i>bin</i>
9	<i>dokkuz</i>	90	<i>dohsan</i>	2000	<i>iki bin</i>

Table 7. Numbers

3.3.6. Postpositions

Postpositions are distinguished in different subclasses depending on the case marking of the postpositional complement. Some postpositions (e.g., *iç-* ‘in’, *yan-* ‘beside/near’, *çih-* ‘out of’, *üst-* ‘above’, *dib-* ‘under’, *ög-* ‘in front of’, *geri-* ‘behind’)⁵ are relational nouns and inflect like nouns: they agree with their complement in person and they are case marked; (36a).⁶ The complement of these postpositions is marked for genitive case. Some postpositions (e.g., *oçuri/otturi* ‘for’) govern a dative complement; (36b). Adverbs may be modified by an ablative phrase as illustrated with a local adverb in (36c) (a further adverb frequently occurring with an ablative is *sora* ‘after’).

⁵ The lateral regions for ‘left’ and ‘right’ are expressed with complex expressions, e.g., *pisik stol-un sol/sağ taraf-ın-dä-dir* (cat table-GEN left/right sind-POSS.3-LOC-COP) ‘the cat is on the left/right side of the table’.

⁶ A particular postposition that we encountered several times in Urum narratives is the compound *dört-bir-yan-* (four-one-beside) ‘around’.

- (36) a. genitive complement
- kastrülka-nın iç-in-da*
stew_pot-GEN in-POSS.3.SG-LOC
'in the stew pot'
- b. dative complement
- sän-a očüri*
2. SG-DAT for
'for you'
- c. ablative adjunct
- stol-dan uzak-tır*
table-ABL far-COP
'far from the table'

3.3.7. Conjunctions

Clausal embedding is mainly expressed through the several types of converbs in Turkish; see Urum examples in (22). A characteristic property of Turkic languages spoken in several Slavic environments is the frequent use of complementizers preceding the clause and governing finite verbs (see data from Gagauz in Menz 2001). A characteristic property of the Anatolian dialects of Turkish is the frequent use of *ki* (Menz 2002: 207 with reference to Gemalmaz 1978). The complementizer *ki* may occur at the beginning of the subordinate clause as in (37a) or clause internally. It is frequently used as reinforcement to other complementizers, e.g., *näsıl ki* 'how', *onuçun ki* 'because', *näväh ki* 'when', etc. (see Johanson 1993 for the claim that the complex conjunctions of the type *onuçun ki* copy the structure of the corresponding Russian conjunction *potomu što* 'because'); see also the use of *ki* in interrogatives in (25b-c) above. A set of conjunctions is used to introduce several types of adverbial subordination; see (37b). Temporal clauses are introduced with the conjunctions *näväde* 'when', *nävä(h)* 'when', *alä* 'until', *kimin* 'such as', *näsıl* 'when', causal subordinate clauses with *onuçün* 'because' (< *on-un için* '3-GEN for'), conditional clauses with *agär* 'if'.

- (37) a. complement clause
- düşün-er-im ki o anton-nan get-ti.*
think-IPFV-1.SG COMP 3.SG Anton-INSTR go-PST[3]
'I think that he went with Antonis.'
- b. adverbial subordinate clause
- petros yat-ier-di nävädä siz gäl-d-iz*
Petros sleep-IPFV-PST[3] when 2.PL arrive-PST-2.PL
'Petros was sleeping, when you arrived.'

Coordinative conjunctions are the clitic =*dA* 'CONN' and the conjunction *ama* 'but'; see (38a-b). The Russian loans *i* 'and' and *ili* 'but' occur frequently in the spoken language; see (38c). The connective clitic =*dA* 'CONN' cliticizes to the first phonological word of the last conjunct; see (38a, c). It occurs as coordinative conjunction but also as inter-sentential connective.

- (38) a. conjunctive coordination
petros ak-äjäh bibär, bän=dä ak-äjä-m.
 petros sow-FUT[3] piper 1.SG=and sow-FUT-1.SG
 ‘Petros will sow chile, and so will I.’
- b. disjunctive coordination
petros ak-m-er, ama bän ak-äjä-m.
 Petros plant-NEG-IPFV[3] but 1.SG plant-FUT-1.SG
 ‘Petros is not planting, but I will plant.’
- c. native and loan conjunctions
gretsia-da=da krizis i sağ evropa-da=da.
 Greece-LOC=CONN crisis and whole Europe-LOC=CONN
 ‘And there is crisis in Greece as well as in whole Europe.’

3.3.8. Particles

The sentential particles ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are *hä* (corresponding to Turkish *evet*, borrowing from Georgian) and *yoh* (Standard Turkish *hayır*).

- (39) a. *o äv tüzä-dır?*
 3.SG house new-COP
 ‘Is this house new?’
- b. *hä, tüzä-dır.*
 yes new-COP
 ‘Yes, it is new.’
- c. *yoh, tüzä-dägil.*
 no new-NEG.COP
 ‘No, it is not new.’

Polar questions are formed without a question particle, i.e., the contrast between assertions and questions in (36a-b) relies on intonation. The corresponding utterance in Turkish contains a question particle, i.e., *o Tsalka’da mı?* (3.SG Tsalka-LOC Q) ‘is he in Tsalka?’, which is unknown in Urum.

- (40) a. *o Tsalka-da-dır.*
 3.SG Tsalka-LOC-COP
 ‘He is in Tsalka.’
- b. *o Tsalka-da-dır?*
 3.SG Tsalka-LOC-COP
 ‘Is he in Tsalka?’

3.4. Lexicon

Urum is spoken in a multiethnic and multilingual context and this is reflected on the frequent occurrence of borrowings from several related languages. All speakers are bilingual Russian. Apart from Russian, many speakers are competent in Georgian, which is the official language of the state. The community has strong contacts to the Pontic Greek population of Georgia that is conceived as homo-ethnic. Furthermore, there is an Armenian population in the district of Tsalka and it is reported that ethnic Greeks had already contact to Armenians in Anatolia. Although these contacts promise a

multitude of linguistic influences, an empirical study on the sources of the Urum vocabulary reveals that the major source of foreign elements (without distinguishing between borrowings and code-switching) in Urum is Russian (Ries et al. 2013). The study examined a total of 2550 lexical forms. Words of Greek origin (7 words; 0,3% of the examined vocabulary) are restricted to the field of religion (see some examples in Section 0). Georgian words (14 words; 0,5% of the vocabulary) are only present in some culturally specific fields such as ‘food/drink’. There are few elements for which an Armenian origin is hypothesized (6 words; 0,2%), but not a substantial amount of loanwords from this language. The majority of loanwords (514; 20,2%) comes from Russian, which is also reflected in the spontaneous speech production; see illustrative text in Section 0. Figure 2 shows the proportions of loanwords sorted in semantic fields, according to the inventory of the WOLD project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). The semantic fields on the left side of this figure, e.g., kinship terms, expressions of time, perception, and quantity or the body-part terms and the expressions of spatial relations are known to be cross-linguistically conservative. The majority of Urum words in these fields is of Turkish origin, which supports the view that Turkish is the substrate language. The fields on the right side, e.g., concepts relating to the modern world, warfare/hunting, law, house, clothing, agriculture, etc. represent semantic fields that are culture-specific and as such particularly prone to influences through language contact. In these fields we observe a strong influence of Russian, which has the role of the superstrate language in the contact situation of the Urum people.

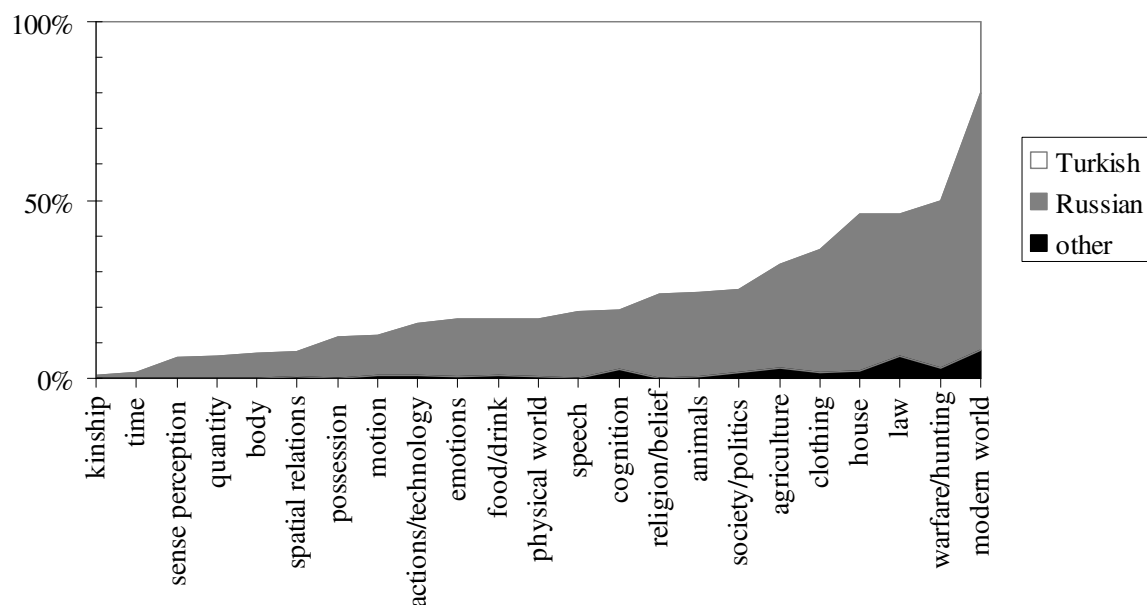


Figure 2. Proportions of lexical origin depending on semantic field

3.5. Current developments

The use of language is shrinking since the population is leaving the original settlements. As frequently observed in situations of migration to multi-ethnic environments, the use of Urum is restricted to the communication within the family, especially with the elder members. A sociolinguistic study about the choice of language carried out in January 2013 examined two crucial factors, namely age and social distance, which have a crucial role in the developments in language use (Ries and Skopeteas 2013). Sixteen native speakers were asked to judge the frequency of using Urum with several people in their environment. The questions used in these interviews had the general form: “How often do

you use Urum with X?"; speakers were instructed to judge the frequency of language choice in a scale from 1 to 7 (1=never; 7=always). The questions included four types of individuals (X): grandparents; own children; old neighbours; children of neighbours. These four types involve two factors: social distance (close vs. distant) and age (old vs. young). Speakers' judgments are averaged in Figure 3.

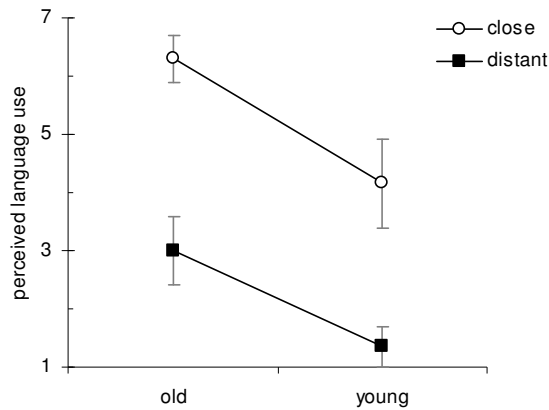


Figure 3. Speakers' intuition about language use
(average intuitions of 16 speakers; collected in Tbilisi, January 2013)

The findings in Figure 3 reflect the intuition of the speakers that they use the language more frequently with older addressees (horizontal axe) and more frequently with family members ("close"). The two factors combine cumulatively, i.e., their effects are additive. The resulting pattern shows that the use of language shrinks to restricted social spaces and suggests that inter-generational transmission is endangered, since the speakers abandon using the language with their children.

4. A Sample Text

The story of their ancestors was recorded and transcribed by Violeta Moisiđi in December 2010 (see Skopeteas and Moisiđi 2010 for a text collection). The third line contains a word-by-word Turkish translation provided by Emrah Turan (Bielefeld University).

(41) *biz-im halh gäl-di kavkaz-a vasesnadsati vektya.*
 1.PL-GEN people come-PST[3] Caucasus-DAT eighteenth century
bizim halk geldi Kafkasya'ya onsekizinci yüzyılda
 'Our people came to the Caucasus in the eighteenth century.'

(42) *gäl-d-ih, řindi onida di-ya-m-äm točnii*
 come-PST-1.PL now that say-POT-NEG-1.SG exactly
geldik řimdi onuda diyeyim tam olarak
soči-y-a ya-dä suhum-a,
 Sochi-Ø-DAT or-CONN Sukhumi-DAT
 Soçi'ye ya da Sukhumi'ye
 'We came, but I couldn't say where exactly we came to Sukhumi or Sochi,'

- (43) *pamoemu* *suhum-a* *gäl-d-ih.*
probably Sukhumi-DAT come-PST-1.PL
muxtemelen Sukhimi'ye geldik.
'probably we came to Sukhumi.'
- (44) *suhum-da,* *soram* *general* *passkeeviç* *gätir-di* *tzalga-y-a.*
Sukhumi-LOC then General Paskevich bring-PST[3] Tsalka-Ø-DAT
Sukhumi'de, sonra General Paskevich getirdi Tsalka'ya
'In Sukhumi, then General Paskevich brought them in Tsalka.'
- (45) *gäl-di-lär* *tsalka-da,* *bah-tı-lär* *bur-da* *var-ı-di* *çay,* *göl.*
come-PST-3.PL Tsalka-LOC look-PST-3.PL here-LOC EXIST-COP-PST river lake
Geldiler Tsalka'ya baktılar burda vardı çay, göl
'They came to Tsalka and saw that there is river and lake here.'
- (46) *de-di-lär* *ki* *bur-da* *uje* *yaşa-mah* *olur,*
say-PST-3.PL that here-LOC already live-INF can
dediler ki burda şimdiden yaşamak olur,

bur-da *äv-lär-i* *yap-a-h,*
here-LOC house-PL-ACC build-OPT-1.PL
burda evleri yapalım
They said that it's already possible to live here, (it is possible) to build houses,
- (47) *göl* *ora-dä,* *çay* *ora-dä,* *yap-a-h* *yapı-lär-i*
lake that.place-LOC river that.place-LOC build-OPT-1.PL house-PL-ACC
göl orada, çay orada, yapak(yapalım) yapıları

da *yaşı-ya-h*
and live-OPT-1.PL
da *yaşyalım*
'Lake is there, river is there, let's build houses and let's live.'
- (48) *elä-dän=dä* *iştem* *gäl-di-lär* *beštaş-a*
that-ABL=and so come-PST-3.PL Beshtasheni-DAT
Böyle işte geldiler Beštaş'a
'That's how they came to Beshtasheni.'
- (49) *beštaş-tan=dä* *sora* *air-län-di* *ol-di* *baiburt,*
Beshtasheni-ABL=CONN after other-INGR-PST[3] be-PST[3] baiburt
Beštaş' dan da sonra ayrıldı oldu Bayburt,

ol-di *gäräk,* *hadik-madik,* *uje* *o* *göl-un*
become-PST[3] Gäräk Hadiq-Madik already that lake-GEN
oldu Garak, Hadik-Madik, çoktan o gölün

dörtbiryın-in-da *ol-di* *o* *yapı-lar.*
around-POSS.3.SG-LOC be-PST[3] that house-PL
yanında oldu o yapılar
'After Beshtasheni, it developed, it became Baiburt, it became Garak, Hadik-Madik and already around that lake became those houses.'

- (50) *da anbeliyada iřtem göl-un dörtbiryan-ın-da eđıl-di*
and thus so lake-GEN around-POSS.3-LOC gather-PST[3]
ve böylece iřte gölün yanında eđildi
urum halh-i, iřtem çai var-ı-di, řei var-ı-di,
Urum people-ACC so river EXIST-COP-PST something EXIST-COP-PST
Urum Halkı, iřte çay vardı, řey vardı
halh=ta ğal-di
people=CONN stay-PST[3]
halkta kaldı

‘And thus Urum people were gathered around the lake, there was a river, there was something, and people stayed.’

- (51) *do, biz ğäl-yan-dä, ama bur-da yař-ier-di,*
before 1.PL come-ADJR-LOC but here-LOC live-PST[3]
önce, biz gelmeden, ama burda yaşıyordu,
bur-da var-ı-di el-lär, an řindi elä er-lär var,
here-LOC EXIST-COP-PST stranger-PL here now so place-PL EXIST
burda vardı eller, burda řimdi yerler var,
or-da gurĵi-lär yař-ier-di alä biz ğäl-m-öz-dän
there-LOC Georgian-PL live-IPFV-PST[3] yet 1.PL come-NEG-AOR-1.PL-ABL
orda Gürcüler yaşıyordu hala biz gelmezden
bur-ya, bur-da gurĵu-lär var-ı-di
here-DAT here-LOC Georgian-PL EXIST-COP-PST
buraya, burda Gürcüler vardı

‘In the old time, before our coming, they were living... there were strangers here, now there are such places, Georgians was living there before we came here, there were Georgians here.’

- (52) *er-lär-i=da alä, řindi get-sä-h gör-sä-h,*
place-PL-ACC=CONN yet now go-COND-1.PL see-COND-1.PL
yerleri ve hala řimdi gitsek görsek

‘If we go now and see those places,’

- (53) *ğäl-sın-när gör-sä-d-em o er-lär-i=da*
come-2.SG=3.PL show-COND-PST-1.SG this place-PL-ACC=CONN
gelsinler gösterecem o yerleri de
‘Let them come and I could show them those places.’

- (54) *yapı-lar-ın er-lär-i ğan-ı-ier*
house-PL-GEN place-PL-POSS.3.SG notice-PASS-IPFV[3]
Yapıların yerleri fark edilebilir

‘Places of houses are noticeable.’

- (55) *bur-da* *biz (mm)* *daš-ta* *bul-d-uh* *gürjüjä* *yazılı*
 here-LOC 1.PL (mm) stone-LOC find-PST-1.PL Georgian-DAT written
 Burda biz tašta bulduk Gürcüce yazılmış
šei *et-mä-y-a,* *bur-da* *gürji-lär* *yaš-ier-di-lär*
 something make-INF-Ø-DAT this.place-DAT Georgian-PL live-IPFV-PST-3.PL
 şeyi etmeye, burda Gürcüler yaşıyordular

‘Here we found something written on a stone in Georgian, here were living Georgians.’

- (56) *sora* *bur-dan* *gürjü-lär* *get-tı-lär,* *biz* *gäl-d-ih* *bur-da*
 then here-ABL Georgian-PL go-PST-3.PL 1.PL come-PST-1.PL here-LOC
 sonra burdan Gürcüler gittiler, biz geldik buraya

‘Then Georgians left from here, we stayed here.’

- (57) *an* *beläda* *gäl-d-ih* *čih-t-ih* *ištem* *beštaš-a,*
 _ böylece geldik çıktık işte Beštaš a
 thus so come-PST-1.PL exit-PST-1.PL so Beshtasheni-DAT
da *šindi-adä* *yaš-ier-ih*
 CONN now-until live-IPFV-1.PL
 da şimdi değin yaşıyoruz.

‘Thus we came to Beshtasheni and live till now.’

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Yayıma Hazırlayan: Edanur Sađlam