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Appendix. Transcriptions and Notations

Editorial note

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The first contribution to this issue is Henryk Jankowski's obituary of the famous Polish scholar Edward Tryjarski, who was born in on 31 March 1923 and passed away on 23 August 2021 at the age of 98. Many of Professor Tryjarski's publications were devoted to Armeno-Kipchak, one of the main domains of his research. Other important fields of his research were the East Old Turkic runiform scripts, and Rumelian Turkish dialects. He wrote numerous articles on many aspects of the culture of Turkic and other Altaic peoples. The Turcological community deeply regrets the loss of this great scholar.

The article written by Caifuding Yishake, Wang Manling and Mariya Maiyituohuo presents the phonetic features of the Southern Kirghiz dialect in China, bringing new insights into Kirghiz phonology on the basis of new dialect data. The dialect has distinguished itself from the literary language under the influence of external factors and formed unique characteristics. It has been influenced by Uyghur, Uzbek, and Tajik. Whereas literary Kirghiz is a written language with standardized orthography, the dialect is a spoken language without a writing system.

Mehmet Akkuş deals with lexical copies in Khalaj, an endangered Turkic language spoken in a compact language ecology in Central Iran. The paper provides a quantitative analysis of lexical copies in Khalaj, evaluating data the author obtained through elicitation from four Khalaj-speaking language consultants in Iran in the villages of Shānegh, and Telkhāb.

Atdhe Hykolli and Bardh Rugova consider Turkisms in Zadar Arbanasi as reflecting Turkisms in 18th-century Albanian in general. Their study aims to determine how much the copied lexical elements have been accommodated into the frame of Albanian. The dialect is spoken in peripheral areas of Northwestern Albanian, with speakers who were displaced from their homeland in the Ottoman Empire.

Elisabetta Ragagnin writes about ostensive markers. Her paper offers preliminary data on a neglected topic in Turcological studies, with special focus on northern Azeri, but also considering data from other Turkic languages.

Gerjan van Schaaiik's second contribution to this volume of the journal describes a further descriptive gap, the case of the Turkish transitive *et-*. The verb is usually analysed as the pre-eminent means to form a composite verb on the basis of a noun or adjective. Its status as a pure auxiliary is doubtful. It is often assumed that *ziyaret* 'visit' has fused with *et-* into the derivation *ziyaret et-* as an unbreakable unit. The data presented in the article contradicts this assumption. In connection with the partial replacement of *et-* by *yap-*, particularly among Turkish speakers in the diaspora, the question can be raised whether the popularity of *et-* as an independent transitive verb, especially in Turkish on the internet, can somehow be linked to this phenomenon.

Turken Çağlar, Çiğdem Sağın-Şimşek, and Elena Antonova-Ünlü deal with evidentiality in the language of Russian immigrants who are advanced L2 users of Turkish. The data was collected using a narrative, a discourse-completion, and a grammaticality judgement task. Quantitative and qualitative inter-group analyses were conducted. The findings reveal that even after many years of residence in Turkey and active use of the language, the advanced L2 speakers' use and perception of evidentiality differ from those of native speakers.

Aynur Abish describes how topic is marked at clause and discourse level in Kazakh as spoken in China and compares the result with the information structures in the contact languages Uyghur and Chinese.

Ruth Bartholomä reviews *Linguistic Minorities in Turkey and Turkic-Speaking Minorities of the Periphery* edited by Christiane Bulut. Victor Friedman deals with *A Historical-etymological Dictionary of Turkisms in Albanian (1555–1954)* by Gjorgji Buffli and Luciano Rocchi. Gabriel McGuire writes about Karl Reichl's *The Oral Epic: From Performance to Interpretation*.

Lars Johanson

Ostensive markers in Azeri and some other Turkic languages

Elisabetta Ragagnin

Ragagnin, Elisabetta 2022. Ostensive markers in Azeri and some other Turkic languages. *Turkic Languages* 26, 67–74.

This paper offers preliminary data on ostensive markers, a neglected topic in Turkic linguistics, with special focus on Northern Azeri, the official language of Azerbaijan. Data from other Turkic languages is also considered.

Keywords: ostension, ostensive marker, Azeri, Turkic languages

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Ostensive predicators cross-linguistically: an overview

Ostensive predicators, also referred to in the linguistic literature as ‘presentative particles’, are “grammatical expressions whose combination with a noun phrase constitutes the core of clauses aiming to draw the attention of the addressee to the presence of some entity within the situation of discourse” (Creissels 2017: 47). Examples include French *voici/voilà*, Italian *ecco*, Latin *ecce* and Russian *voť*. Across the languages of the world, various types of ostensive predicators can be recognized. Forms originating from imperatives of the verb ‘to see’ are rather widespread typologically as is the use of proximal and distal demonstratives; for more, see Kuteva et al. (2019), Khan (2011), Gzella (2013) and Petit (2010).

A crucial pragmatic specification of ostensive predicators is that they are referent-centered, i.e. are used explicitly to address a speech partner. Thus, being allocentric, they are concerned more with the interest of others than of the speakers. On the syntactic level, ostensive predicators occur in clauses that consist of just the ostensive predicator and a noun phrase, as well as in constructions including (small) clauses. They generally appear clause-initially and cannot be negated. Some illustrative examples:

- (1) French
Voici nos amis.
OST our friends
‘Here are our friends.’ (Creissels 2017: 47)

- (2) Italian
Ecco sta arrivando il treno.
 OST arrive-HFOC.INTRA-3SG the train
 ‘Behold, the train is arriving.’
- (3) Russian
Vot mama.
 OST mother
 ‘Here is mom.’
- (4) Hungarian
Íme a könyv.
 OST the book
 ‘Here is the book.’

Ostensive markers in Azeri

Azeri displays various strategies to express ostension. The most widespread form used in more formal registers is characterized by *bu-dur* (this-COP) + *baç*, the singular imperative form of the verb *baç-* ‘to look’; some examples:

- (5) Azeri
Bu-dur baç Lalä!
 this-COP see-IMP.SG Lala
 ‘Here is Lala!’
- (6) *Bu-dur baç Şäkï bal-ï.*
 this-COP see-IMP.SG Sheki honey-POSS3
 ‘Here is the honey from Sheki.’
- (7) *Bu-dur baç katar gel-ïr.*
 this-COP see-IMP.SG train come-HFOC.INTRA.3SG
 ‘Here is the train arriving.’

In the spoken language, however, the construction formed by the proximal demonstrative *bu* combined with *de:*, or simply *de:*, is preferred. Instead of *bu*, the distal demonstrative *o* may also occur, depending on the context. Some examples:

- (8) Azeri
Bu de: telefon-un.
 OST telephone-POSS2SG
 ‘Here is your phone.’

- (9) *O de: telefon-ın.*
 OST telephone-POSS2SG
 ‘There is your phone.’
- (10) *De: telefon-ın.*
 OST telephone-POSS2SG
 ‘Here is your phone.’
- (11) *De: tut mürəbbə-si.*
 OST mulberry jam-POSS3
 ‘Here is the mulberry jam.’

The item *de:* probably resulted from the merging of the additive particle *da* with the exclamation particle *ey*. Evidence of this is the occurrence of the form *dey* in the speech of some speakers and its sporadic attestation in the written language; see the examples below.

- (12) Azeri
Bu dey ana-m gel-ir.
 OST mother-POSS1SG come-HFOC.INTRA3.SG
 ‘Here, my mother is coming.’

Note the slight but crucial difference between the following two examples:

- (13) *Bu de: Şəki bal-ı.*
 OST Sheki honey-POSS3
 ‘Here is the honey from Sheki.’
- (14) *Bu da Şəki bal-ı.*
 This PTCL Sheki honey-POSS3
 ‘And this is the honey from Sheki.’

Example (14) is clearly ostensive.

In the following example, from a novel by the Azerbaijanian writer Anar, several ostensive markers occur:

- (15) Azeri
Dadaş bir qədər suçlu hərəkət-lə gəzət-i aç-dī.
 D. slightly guilty gesture-WITH newspaper-ACC open-PAST.3SG
Hanı? Nemət yer-in-i tap-dī: budey.
 where N. place-POSS3-ACC find- PAST.3SG OST
Aha, Kavazaşvili, Voronin... İri gövdə-li kişi
 INTJ K. V. huge body-DER man

kuş kimî yer-în-dâ at-îl-dî: Bu-dur baç,
 bird POSTP place-POSS3-LOC throw-PASS-PAST3SG this-COP see-IMP.SG
Xusaynov, hä, gör-dü-n, yaxşı baç, hä,
 X. PTCL see-PAST-2SG good see-IMP.SG PTCL
nä-dän mârj çäk-miş-dî-k?
 what-ABL bet pull-POST-COP.PAST-1PL
 ‘Dadash opened the newspaper with slightly guilty gesture. Where? Nemet has found that part: Here it is. Yes, Kavazashvili, Voronin ... The huge man jumped like a bird: Here look, Khusaynov, here, take a good look, yes, so what did we bet on?’
 (Anar 2004: 37)

Finally, in spoken Azeri, *bu de:* can also be followed by the emphatic particles *ha* or *naha*.

- (16) *Bu de: ha/naha Şäki bal-î.*
 OST PTCL Sheki honey-POSS3
 ‘Here IS the honey from Sheki.’

Ostensive markers in other Oghuz languages and beyond

Turkmen displays the following items to express ostension: *ine*, *inha*, *hana*, *hanha* and *budo*. The last item clearly structurally corresponds to the Azeri *bu da* mentioned above. Some Turkmen examples:

- (17) Turkmen
Ine biz-ij öy-ümiz.
 OST we-GEN house-POSS1PL
 ‘İşte bizim evimiz [Here is our house].’ (Ölmez & Tekin 1995: 379a)
- (18) *Hana ot-lî gel-yâr.*
 OST fire-DER come-INTRA
 ‘Here comes the train.’
- (19) *Ine bu men-ij gîz-îm.*
 OST this I-GEN girl-POSS1SG
 ‘This is my daughter.’
- (20) *İnha gör!*
 OST see-IMP2SG
 ‘Here, look!’

Markers can also be combined, as can be seen in the following example, where *inha* and *budo* occur side by side:

- (21) *İnha budo pul.*
 OST OST money.
 ‘Here is the money!’

Turkish, on the other hand, displays the form *işte* to express ostension. In Tietze’s etymological dictionary (2009: 428) it is explained as *ha bak*, exclamative particle + singular imperative of *bak-* ‘to look’, with further reference to Meninski’s *Thesaurus* (1680: 234), where, in turn, *işte* ~ *oşte* (ايشته ~ ايشته and اوشته) is translated as ‘ecce’.

- (22) Turkish
Işte kapu, buyruñuz!
 OST gate command-IMP.PL
 ‘Here is the gate, please!’ (Tietze 2009: 428)

- (23) *Işte bu defa dağî.*
 OST this time PTCL
 ‘Ecce adhuc hac vice / Ecco, che ancora questa volta.’ (Meninski 2000[1680]: 234)

Widely used modern Turkish expressions with <i>işte</i> include:

- (24) Turkish
 <İşte böyle.>
 OST this way
 ‘Behold, it is like this.’

<İşte burda-yım.>
 OST here-COP1SG
 ‘Here I am.’

- (25) <İşte bu çok güzel.>
 OST this very nice
 ‘Behold, this is very nice.’

As for Southeastern Turkic, Uzbek appears to use the forms *ana* and *mana* to express ostension; see the following example:

- (26) Uzbek
Mana/ana poyezd kel-yaptî.
 OST train come-HFOC.INTRA
 ‘Behold, the train is arriving.’

Corresponding forms are attested in Old Turkic sources. Erdal (2004: 354–355) classifies Old Turkic *muna* and *ona* or *una* as ‘presentative interjections’ like Turkish

⟨ište⟩, Russian *vot* and French *voilà*, and translates them roughly as ‘look at this’ and ‘look at that’.

The situation is similar in Kazakh; see the following examples:

- (27) Kazakh
Mine/mīna būrkīt.
 OST eagle
 ‘Behold, an eagle.’
- (28) *Minde/mīnda Suxba:tar talbay.*
 OST Sukhbaatar square.
 ‘Here is Sukhbaatar square.’
- (29) *Mine/mīna müʔalīm kel-dī.*
 OST teacher come-PAST.3SG
 ‘Look the teacher has arrived.’
- (30) *Mine sizge ayt-kan adam-īm.*
 OST you-DAT say-PN person-POSS1
 ⟨İşte size anlattığım adam.⟩
 ‘Here is the person I told you about.’ (Bayniyazov & Bayniyazova 2007: 421a)

Moreover, the imperatives of *baq-* and *kara-* can be used to express ostension in Kazakh.

- (31) Kazakh
Ƙara/baq sarlıq.
 look-IMP2SG yak
 ‘Look! A yak.’

Sayan Turkic display diverse strategies to express ostension, including demonstratives. See the following examples:

- (32) Tofan
Bis-tij iško:l-ivīs bo.
 we-GEN school-POSS1PL this
 ‘Vot naša škola’/‘Here is our school.’ (Rassadin 1995: 130).
- (33) Dukhan
Baru:n tayga bo.
 west tayga this
 ‘Here is the West tayga.’

- (34) Standard (colloquial) Tuvan
A mında surağža:n turaska:l bo-la-dur.
 CONJ here famous monument this-PTCL-COP
 ‘And here is the famous monument!’

See a more formal example:

- (35) Tuvan
A mında surağža:n turaska:l bo-dur.
 CONJ here famous monument this-COP
 ‘And here is the famous monument!’

Conclusion

The expression of ostension in Turkic appears to be aligned with typologically widespread strategies going back to imperatives of the verb ‘to see’ and/or demonstratives. Regarding spoken Azeri, it appears that *de:* has grammaticalized, or more cautiously, is in the process of grammaticalizing into a proper ostensive marker. More in-depth investigations are needed to assess the relative constraints of ostensive predicators in the individual Turkic varieties, as well as their interfaces both with copula markers and information structure, and particularly with mirativity.

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Transcription and abbreviations

This contribution follows the transcription conventions recommended by this journal; see Appendix to this issue. Abbreviations occurring in the grammatical glosses are: ABL: ablative, ACC: accusative, CONJ: conjunction, COP: copula, DER: derivation, GEN: genitive, HFOC: high focal, IMP: imperative, INTJ: interjection, INTRA: intraterminal viewpoint operator, LOC: locative, OST: ostensive, PASS: passive, PAST: past, PL: plural, POSS: possessive, POST: postterminal viewpoint operator, POSTP: postposition, PTCL: particle, SG: singular.

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