

Karachay

Steve Seegmiller

Karachay-Balkar is a Turkic language spoken in the North Caucasus by approximately 200,000 speakers and by approximately 30,000 more speakers living in Turkey, Western Europe, and the United States.

This work provides a linguistic overview of the Karachay dialect of Karachay-Balkar. It consists of a detailed description of the phonological system and the inflectional morphology as well as a necessarily briefer description of the main syntactic features of the language. Also included are several short texts with interlinear translations and a glossary.

This is the first description of Karachay to appear in English. Steve Seegmiller is Associate Professor of Linguistics at Montclair State University in New Jersey. Trained as a syntactician, he began working on Karachay more than fifteen years ago with a Karachay community in New Jersey. Later he spent four months in Turkey gathering data from Karachay speakers in that country. More recently, his interests have broadened to include other Turkic languages of the former Soviet Union.

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Abbreviations

1	1st person	intrans	intransitive
2	2nd person	lit.	literally
3	3rd person	loc	locative
lsg	1st person singular	n	noun
etc.		neg	negative
abl	ablative	num	numeral
acc	accusative	p	position
adj	adjective	part	participle, participial
adv	adverb	pass	passive/reflexive
agr	agreement	past	past tense
caus	causative	pl	plural
comp	comparative	pos	possessive
cond	conditional	poss	possibility
dat	dative	pro	pronoun
demon	demonstrative	q	question
der	derivational	quant	quantifier
dim	diminutive	refl	reflexive
gen	genitive	sg, sing	singular
ger	gerund	trans	transitive
inf	infinitive	v	verb

In the interlinear translations, lexical items are translated in lower case letters while grammatical morphemes are in uppercase. No attempt has been made to indicate which of the various participles is indicated by PART, which of the possessive endings by POS, etc. The information will be found in the relevant part of Section 3: Morphology.

0. Introduction

This work represents the first description of Karachay published in English and one of the very few published in a language other than Russian or Karachay. My goal is to present to linguists and Turkologists a brief sketch of Karachay, as a partial remedy for the inaccessibility of other sources. In order to make the information contained here useful to the widest possible audience, I have presented it in a theory-neutral way: the emphasis is on the data and on significant grammatical generalizations rather than on any theoretical conclusions, although I have tried to touch on some of the questions that are of current interest in linguistics. The work is strictly descriptive; there is no historical information at all, and no systematic comparison with other Turkic or Altaic languages.

This work is based in part on my own research on Karachay, carried out in New Jersey and in Turkey over a period of several years, and in part on the published sources. In certain cases, conclusions and analyses presented are my own, and in other cases they are drawn from the literature. The publications I have relied upon most are Akbaev (1963), Aliev (1972), Bajramkullany and Orusbijlany (1965), Baskakov (1966), Pritsak (1959), Urusbiev (1963), and Xabičev (1966). The works by Baskakov, by Bajramkullany and Orusbijlany, and by Urusbiev have been particularly rich sources of data. I have also found the work of Jaklin Kornfilt and Robert Underhill on Turkish to be full of insights which helped to clarify my understanding of Karachay.

My deepest gratitude goes to Rabiye Demircan, who first introduced me to Karachay, who served as my first and most important informant, and who contributed many of the facts and the conclusions presented here. I would also like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided by Zulfıye Tuncel and Şamil Tabakçı. I would also like to thank several of my who I students participated in the data-gathering and analysis: Janet Castelpietra, Sandy Kenny, Sharon O'Brien, Bill Suggs, and Bonnie Zients. I also thank my wife Bonnie for her patience and encouragement.

1. Socio- and Geolinguistic Data

Karachay-Balkar is a member of the Kipchak group of the Turkic family of languages. The homeland of the Karachays and Balkars is in the North Caucasus. The hyphenated name of the language reflects the two major dialect communities, which have lived in separate political divisions since the early Soviet era: the Karachays in the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast and the Balkars in the Kabardino-Balkar A.S.S.R. The number of speakers of Karachay-Balkar in the Russian Federation is approximately 200,000, including 130,000 speakers of Karachay and 70,000 of Balkar. There are also an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 speakers outside of the Russian Federation, the majority in Turkey but smaller numbers in Europe and the United States.

The Karachays who left the Caucasus and migrated to Turkey tended to settle in villages in which Karachay was the only or the major language. There are approximately twenty villages, mostly in western Anatolia, which are considered to be Karachay villages, although in many of them Turkish is now the primary language. The Karachays living in Turkey are fluent and literate in Turkish, but there is no conventional writing system for Karachay presently in use in Turkey. When the need occasionally arises to write in Karachay (e.g. in personal correspondence), a makeshift adaptation of the Turkish writing system is used.

While there are marked dialectal differences between Karachay and Balkar, they unquestionably form a single language. However, my own field work has been exclusively with speakers of Karachay, and consequently I deal only with that variety (hence the title of this work). My informants, with isolated exceptions, have been native speakers of Karachay who were born in Turkey in Karachay-speaking villages. I have also consulted most of the published work on Karachay, the majority of which is in Russian or Karachay and which reflects the language of the Caucasian homeland. The differences between the two Karachay populations (Caucasian and Turkish) are largely lexical: Caucasian Karachay includes many loan words from Russian, whereas the Karachay of Turkey contains a similarly large number of loans from Turkish. Among younger-generation speakers in Turkey, phonological differences are also evident (and the same is probably true of those in the Russian Federation). In this work I have tried to abstract away from influences resulting from contact as much as possible.

Like all minority languages, Karachay is under threat from the politically dominant languages of the countries in which it is spoken. While some expatriate Karachays are actively committed to retaining their language and culture, many (perhaps even a majority) are undergoing assimilation. In Turkey, for example, many members of the younger generation have left the villages to attend the university or to get jobs in the cities. There is a significant amount of intermarriage with non-Karachays, and typically the children of such marriages learn very little Karachay. These assimilatory pressures are aided by the cultural and linguistic similarities of the Karachays to other Turkic groups in Turkey, as well as by policies of the Turkish government. Similar forces are at work in the Russian Federation, but since the communities are larger there, intermarriage and assimilation are less common than in Turkey. In spite of the pressures to assimilate, however, many of the Karachays that I have met retain a strong ethnic identity and try to preserve at least the most important traditions associated with marriage, the family, and religion.

2. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

2.1 Segmental Phonology

Since the speakers of Karachay have lived in contact with several other languages for centuries, including Russian, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Kabardian, Ossete, etc., Karachay phonology has inevitably been influenced by those languages. The main influences have been, first, the introduction of sounds that did not exist prior to the contact, notably consonants (Arabic, Russian and Turkish, the three main donors of vocabulary, contain no vowels that did not already exist in Karachay); and second, to introduce words that contain sequences of sounds that deviate from native phonological patterns. Overall, the influences on Karachay from other languages have been less drastic than is the case with some other Turkic languages. In what follows, mention will be made of some of these influences, but the focus will be on native Karachay phonology.

2.1.1. Vowels

Karachay has eight vowel phonemes, classified as in Table 1, where U means Unrounded and R means Rounded. Length is not distinctive.

TABLE 1: VOWELS

	FRONT		BACK	
	U	R	U	R
HIGH	i	ü	i	u
NON-HIGH	e	ö	a	o

Karachay vowels tend to be lower than the corresponding vowels in English and the other Western European languages, especially when stressed: stressed /i/ is phonetically close to [ɪ], stressed /e/ to [ɛ] and so forth.

Karachay also has a series of diphthongs, consisting of a vowel followed by one of the glides:

- (1) tay 'colt' taw 'mountain'
 bütwew 'all' kegey 'spoke (of a wheel)'
 süziw 'discussion' üy 'house'
 ariw 'beautiful' baliy 'cherry'

2.1.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Karachay are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Stops	p b	t d			k g	q ¹
Fricatives	f ²	s z	š ž ²		x	
Affricates		č ²	č j			
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Approximants	w	l		y		
Trill		r				

¹ On the phonological status of [q], see below.

² /f/, /ç/, and /ž/ occur only in borrowed words.

2.1.2.1. The Velars and Uvulars

The velar and uvular consonants present certain problems that merit special notice. In general, it seems that there are only two stop phonemes in this region, /k/ and /g/, each with a range of allophonic variation. /k/ is pronounced as a velar or postalveolar [k] when adjacent to front vowels and as uvular [q] when adjacent to back vowels. /g/ is pronounced as [g] initially and next to front vowels, as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] between back vowels or between an approximant and a back vowel, and variably as [x], [ç] (a voiced uvular stop), or [ɣ] after an obstruent. Thus *kirek* 'shovel' is phonetically [kürək]; *kara* 'black' is phonetically [qara]; *gite* 'small' and *baga* 'price' are pronounced [giteç] and [baya], respectively; and *kabgan*, the past participle of *kab-* 'to bite' has three pronunciations: [qapɣan], [qapɣan], and [qapɣan]. (The variability in the last example does not seem to be a matter of regional variation since all three pronunciations were observed in the same Karachay-speaking village in Turkey.)

These generalizations must be qualified, however, by noting that in a few words, a velar [k] or [g] can occur next to a back vowel. Examples include [kak] 'cornmeal mush', [kaska] 'dragonfly', and [gokka] 'toy'. The first of these even comprises half of a minimal pair for [k] and [q]: [kak] 'cornmeal mush' and [qaq] 'a kind of salted, pickled meat'. Interestingly, I have found a variety of different pronunciations for /kaska/, including all of the following: [kaska], [kasqa], [qasqa], [kasya]. This variability may reflect the unstable phonological nature of these sounds.

The distribution of the allophones of /k/ and /g/ is not symmetrical: [q], [ç], and [ɣ] can never occur next to front vowels.

Evidence supporting the assumption that these are matters of allophonic variation rather than phonemic differences is to be found in the variations in the consonants of a single suffix as vowel harmony introduces front and back variants. So, for example, *keldik* 'we came' has a front vowel and a front [k], whereas *aldik* 'we took' (phonetically [aldɪq]) has a back vowel and a uvular [q], even though the [k] and the [q] represent the same suffix (the first person plural) in both cases. Nevertheless, words of the [kak] and [gokka] type are problematic.

While the phonological status of [k], [q], [ç], [ɣ], and the other velars and uvulars present certain problems, for the remainder of this work I will ignore them unless they are relevant to the topic at hand. I will use a phonemic transcription system in which both [k] and [q] are transcribed as *k*, while [ç], [ç], and [ɣ] will be transcribed as *g*.

There is also a glottal fricative [h] which does not appear in the table of consonants because it occurs primarily as an allophone of /x/. While some Karachay speakers lack [x] completely and use [h] in all positions, I will treat /x/ as the basic form and [h] as the positional variant.

Finally, it should be pointed out that it is unclear whether or not [ɣ] is a phoneme. [ɣ] results so regularly from the sequence of /n/ + /g/ that one is tempted to treat all instances of [ɣ] as coming from an underlying /ng/-sequence. The difficulty with this approach is that /ng/ regularly results in a geminate [ɣɣ] – *kattin* 'woman' + *ga* dative = [katɪɣɣa] 'to the woman' – whereas some [ɪɣ]'s, like those in *toɣuz* 'pig' and *aɣɪ* 'mind, wits', occur singly and thus might not be from /n/ + /g/. For this reason, I will assume that /ɣ/ is a phoneme, even though many phonetic [ɪɣ]'s come from /n/ + /g/.

2.2. Phonological Processes

2.2.1. Vowel Harmony

Like virtually all of the Turkic languages, Karachay has a system of vowel harmony, in which the phonological features of one vowel are determined by those of the previous vowel in the word. This phenomenon is most evident when a suffix is added to a stem.

The system of vowel harmony in Karachay is very much like that of Turkish: a vowel agrees with the preceding vowel in backness, and a high vowel agrees in rounding as well. This system can be illustrated by means of Table 3, in which the non-high vowel of the plural suffix *-le(r)/-la(r)* agrees in backness with the previous vowel, and the first person singular possessive suffix *-im/-im/-im/-im/-um* in which the high vowel agrees with the preceding vowel in both rounding and backness.

TABLE 3: VOWEL HARMONY

Noun	Plural	1st Sg.	
		Possessive	
til 'tongue'	tille	tilim	
bet 'face'	betle	betim	
üy 'house'	üyle	üyüm	
köz 'eye'	közle	közüm	
kız 'daughter'	kızla	kızım	
at 'horse'	atla	atım	
but 'leg'	butla	butum	
koy 'sheep'	koyla	koyum	

The suffixes in the columns headed "Plural" and "1st Sg. Possessive" correspond respectively to what are called "twofold vowel harmony" and "fourfold vowel harmony" in Turkish grammars. Since these two patterns are found throughout the Karachay inflectional and derivational system, I will adopt the conventional notation for representing them: *E* will be used to represent a harmonizing vowel that appears as either [a] or [e], and *I* a vowel that appears as [i], [ü], [u], or [ı]. Thus the two suffixes illustrated in Table 3 can be represented abstractly as *-IE* and *-Im*.

An interesting feature of Karachay vowel harmony involves words containing a /w/, such as *taw* 'mountain', *law* 'oil', and *in/w* 'poverty'. In such words, the rounding of the suffix vowel is determined by the glide /w/, whereas its backness is determined by the vowel preceding the glide. Thus high-vowel suffixes added to words like these have rounded vowels: *tawum* 'my mountain', *lawum* 'my oil', and *in/wisiz* 'well-to-do' rather than the expected **tawim*, **lawim*, and *in/wisiz*. The other glide, /y/, has no effect at all on vowel harmony: *iy* 'house' and *tay* 'colt' have the expected first person singular possessive forms *iyim* 'my house' and *tayim* 'my colt'.³

³ One analysis that suggests itself here is that, on an underlying level, [w] is a vowel but that [y] is a glide, i.e. that the underlying representations of [aw] and [ay] are /au/ and /ay/, respectively. This would then account for their different behavior with respect to vowel harmony. Unfortunately this solution is inconsistent with other facts about stems ending in

Most suffixes in Karachay are harmonic and thus will contain vowels that agree with the final vowel of the stem to which they are added. The majority of the native stems of Karachay, and even some borrowings that have been assimilated, also conform to the rules of vowel harmony, but there are also some **disharmonic** stems, i.e. stems that do not conform to the rules of vowel harmony, such as *kitap* 'book', and there is at least a handful of non-harmonizing suffixes, e.g. *-ca* '-like' and *-al* 'possible'. Generally, compounds are not subject to vowel harmony, each member of the compound retaining its independent pronunciation. So *eméék ana* 'wet nurse' (= *eméék* 'breast' + *ana* 'mother'), for example, shows no signs of changing its pronunciation to conform to the rules of vowel harmony. However, in a few cases, compounds have become sufficiently lexicalized to be subject to vowel harmony: *bukün* 'today' (= *bu* 'this' + *kün* 'day') has a common variant *bükün* (and also *bügün*).

2.2.2. Devoicing

Voiced stops are devoiced finally and before another consonant. Thus *ayak* 'foot', *kitap* 'book' and *kap* 'bite' all have underlying voiced stops finally, as becomes evident when an ending is added: *ayagim* 'my foot', *kitabigiz* 'our book', and *kabarga* 'to bite'.⁴ Similarly, these three stems also have voiceless stops before consonants: *ayakla* 'feet', *kitapta* 'in the book', *kapgan* 'bitten'. Note that this is not a case of voicing assimilation, since the devoicing occurs before both voiced and voiceless consonants.

The trill /r/ is also devoiced in the same positions as stops: *kabar* 'bites' and *kelirme* 'I will come' are both pronounced with voiceless [r]'s.

Subject to considerable variation, a voiced stop becomes voiceless after another voiceless sound. This affects the three case suffixes which begin with voiced stops -- Dative *-ge*, Locative *-de*, and Ablative *-den* -- as well as many other suffixes. So *at* 'horse' + *da* 'Locative' becomes *atta* 'on the horse'. The third person singular copular ending *di* is another common suffix which shows this change: *ol ne zattı* (*zat* 'thing' + *di* 'is') 'what is that (thing)?'. It must be noted, however, that this devoicing is not present in the speech of all speakers. In particular, my own informants tend not to devoice in these circumstances, pronouncing [atda] rather than [atta] for 'on the horse'. On the other hand, the published descriptions of Karachay as spoken in the Caucasus generally present this devoicing as a regular process affecting all relevant words. For those speakers who do have this devoicing rule, two adjacent underlying voiced sounds will both become devoiced: *ag*- 'flow' + *di* '3 sg. past tense' is pronounced [aqtı] by some and [akdı] by others. Similar variability affects geminate voiced clusters: *tebbe* 'top' has two pronunciations, [tebbe] and [teppe].

vowels and those ending with consonants. For example, words ending in vowels trigger deletion of a suffix-initial vowel (*ata* + *im* 'my father' becomes *atam*, not **ataim*). In this respect, *taw* behaves like a word that ends in a consonant: *taw* + *im* becomes *tawum* 'my mountain'.

⁴ It is clear that this is a case of final devoicing -- of /kab-/ becoming [kap] -- rather than intervocalic voicing -- of /kap-/ becoming [kabgala] -- because there are many cases of intervocalic voiceless stops which do not become voiced, e.g. 'two' and *akıl* 'mind, intelligence' being just two of many examples.

2.2.3. Assimilation

Karachay phonology includes a number of assimilatory processes, of which the following are the most important:

1. A stem-final nasal becomes [l] before a suffix-initial [l]: *kişen* 'fetter, hobble' + *le* (a verb-forming suffix) + *rge* (the infinitive ending) = *kişllerge* 'to fetter, hobble'; *taban* 'heel' + derivational *la* + infinitive ending *rğa* = *taballarga* 'kick'. Most suffixes that begin with *-l-* trigger this change, but not the plural *lĕ*: in *kınle* 'days', *burunla* 'noses', etc., the *n* remains.
2. [n] + [g] becomes [ŋg], an interesting case of mutual assimilation: *kün* 'sun' + *ge* 'dative' + *kıgıge* 'to the sun'; *katın* 'woman' + *ga* 'dative' = *katıgıga* 'to the woman'; *bulĕun* + *gan* = *bulĕunĕgan* 'consoled'.
3. /b/ becomes [m] when the next consonant in the word is a nasal: *bu* 'this' + *nu* 'genitive' = *munu* 'of this one'.
4. *n* becomes *m* before *p, b, m* somewhat sporadically. *On bir* 'eleven' is usually pronounced [ombir], but other words do not show the results of the assimilation: in *mımmez* 'doesn't ride', the [n] does not become [m].

2.2.4. Final *r* in the Plural

The plural suffix has the form *-le/-la* in word-final position, but *-ler/-lar* when followed by another suffix that begins with a vowel: *bilek-le* 'arms' but *bilek-ler-im* 'my arms'; *at-la* 'horses' but *at-lar-im* 'my horses'.

The deletion of final */r/* is not a regular process in Karachay but is restricted to the plural ending: *kabar bites*, for example, retains its final *r*.

2.2.5. Vowel Elision

In polysyllabic words, especially those that are trisyllabic or longer, a high vowel may be elided: *kökürĕk* or *kökreĕ* 'breast'; *bılay* or *bıay* 'with' etc. In some suffixed words, this elision is obligatory: *burun* 'nose' but *burnum* 'my nose' (from *burun* + *um* 'my'). Compare section 3.1.2.5, Table 8: the demonstrative *bu* has the plural form *bla*, in addition to the expected *bula*. (There is also has an alternate *bıla*.)

2.2.6. Vowel Alternations

Among the personal pronouns, the /o/ of *ol* 'he, she, it' changes to /a/ in the oblique cases and in the plural: *ala* 'they', *arı* 'him/her/it' (accusative and genitive), etc. (See section 3.1.2.1). Also the /e/ of the first and second person pronouns *men* 'I' and *sen* 'you' changes to /a/ in the dative: *majga*, *sajga*.

Dissimilation variably leads to unrounding when a high rounded vowel in a polysyllabic word occurs next to a labial consonant: the plural of *bu* 'this' is pronounced either [bula] or [bila], the latter showing unrounding. *Bu* also has the alternate locative forms *munda* and *mında*, the alternate ablative forms *mundan* and *mından*, and so forth. Similarly, *aĕw* 'pain' has the alternate form *aĕw*.

2.2.7. Vowel Deletion

Karachay does not permit sequences of two vowels. When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to a stem ending in a vowel, the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted: *ata* 'father' + *Im* 'my' = *ata-m* 'my father'.

2.2.8. Miscellaneous Phonological Processes

1. /x/ is pronounced as [h] next to front vowels, with considerable variation from speaker to speaker, some of whom lack [x] entirely and have [h] in all positions.
2. Metathesis is quite sporadic: *aĕxi* 'good' has the alternative pronunciation [axsi]. Metathesis affects primarily those words which contain /x/ and a sibilant together.
3. Geminate clusters often arise morphologically: *katin-ni* 'of the woman'; *kol-la* 'hands'; *bar-rık-sa* 'you will go', and countless other examples. But geminate nasals that arise from the addition of case endings to personal pronouns are simplified: *men* 'I' + *ni* 'accusative/genitive' = *meni*, not **menni*.

2.2.9. Phonetic and Phonological Variation

There is a good deal of both individual and regional variation in the pronunciation of Karachay. Some instances have already been mentioned. I will not attempt a systematic discussion of this variation. In the examples and especially in the sample texts, I have for the most part retained the transcriptions of the source from which they came. Thus all of my own examples are transcribed as they were pronounced by my informants, while those taken from published sources retain the transcription of the original. This approach makes for a certain inconsistency, but it seems preferable to normalizing everything according to the traits of my own informants.

2.3. Orthography

Prior to the 1920's, Karachay was written, albeit rarely, in an Arabic script adapted from Turkish. In 1924, a Latin-based alphabet was created and was used in numerous publications and in the schools until approximately 1939, when it was replaced by a Cyrillic alphabet. Since the Karachays were one of the ethnic groups who were deported during World War II after being accused of collaborating with the Germans, publication in the language ceased not long after the new alphabet was introduced, resuming again only in the late 1950's.

In 1994, a Latin-based alphabet was introduced in the Karachay-language newspaper *Üyge İğitlik*

(Moscow, February 1994). This alphabet has no official status, and it is unclear whether it will ever be adopted by the Karachay-speaking community in Russia, but it clearly reflects an interest in changing to a more Western-looking orthography. This reflects a trend which began in 1990 in the Turkic-speaking regions of the former Soviet Union: the five new Turkic republics that arose after the collapse of the Soviet Union have all expressed their intention to replace their Cyrillic writing systems with orthographies based on the Latin alphabet. (See Seegmiller and Balim 1994 for discussion.) Among the Turkic-speaking groups that remain part of the Russian Federation, several -- including the Tatars and the Crimean Tatars -- have discussed the possibility of adopting a Latin-based alphabet. Whether the Karachays will follow suit remains to be seen.

None of the writing systems that have been used for Karachay -- including the systems of transcription that have been used in scholarly publications -- is an ideal representation of the phonology of the language. All make distinctions that are not important, and fail to make others that are important. To take just two examples from among many, the Cyrillic writing system that has been standard for Karachay since about 1939 writes [g] as r and [ɣ] as rʁ, even though these two sounds are allophones of the same phoneme. Conversely, the Cyrillic letter ʁ can represent both [ʉ] and [yʉ]. See Seegmiller (1988) for discussion of the origins of the over- and under-differentiations that are found in the Karachay writing systems.

3. MORPHOLOGY

Two difficulties arise when one attempts to describe Karachay morphology. The first has to do with the distinction between suffixes and postpositions. Since Karachay accomplishes practically all of its inflectional and derivational processes by means of elements that are placed after the stem, it is often difficult to determine whether a morpheme following a stem is an affix or whether it is a separate word. To cite one illustration of the confusion that can result, Pritsak (1959) lists *bila* 'with' on page 355 as the suffix for the Instrumental Case, but also includes it in the list of postpositions on page 358. Clearly, it could be one or the other, but not both.⁵ In this work, I will adopt the by now conventional view that Karachay has six cases and a set of postpositions; that tense/aspect morphemes, negators, and question markers are all verbal suffixes rather than postpositions; and so forth. I am not entirely convinced that these positions could be adequately defended on linguistic grounds, but they are widely assumed.

A second problem arises when one tries to distinguish between inflection and derivation. Since many processes that seem to be derivational are highly productive, and since what might appear to be an inflectional suffix can be followed by one or more other suffixes, there do not appear to be any unambiguous criteria for distinguishing the two processes. Again, I will make certain conventional divisions between inflection and derivation without attempting to provide full justification.

The major morphological characteristics of Karachay are that it is agglutinating and that it makes almost exclusive use of suffixes. In this section, the main features of Karachay inflectional and derivational morphology will be presented, organized by word category.

⁵ The evidence that *bila* is a postposition rather than a suffix is, first, that it does not undergo vowel harmony, and second, that the initial b- does not devoice after a voiceless consonant.

3.1. Nominal Morphology.

The term **Nominal** is used here to denote those paradigmatic sets that are inflected for number and case. The nominal morphology of Karachay is characterized by (1) the absence of morphological gender; (2) two numbers, singular and plural; (3) six cases; and (4) a set of possessive suffixes. To a large extent, the case, plural, and possessive endings that are used for the personal pronouns, the demonstratives, and the other nominal categories are the same as those used for nouns.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1. Inflection

As noted above, Karachay has no morphological gender, and only singular and plural numbers. It has six cases, conventionally labeled Nominative (or Basic), Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Locative and Ablative. As the names suggest, the cases have functions that are similar to those in languages like Latin and Russian. The case and plural suffixes are subject to vowel harmony. Using *E* to represent a harmonizing nonhigh vowel and *I* a harmonizing high vowel, the forms of the case suffixes may be represented as in (2).

(2) Nominative:	no ending
Accusative:	-nI
Genitive:	-nI
Dative:	-gE
Locative:	-dE
Ablative:	-dEn

Table 4 illustrates the case endings, in the singular and plural, for a sample of words with different stem vowels.

TABLE 4: CASE FORMS OF NOUNS

Sg. Nom.	üy 'house'	bet 'face'	ot 'fire'	at 'horse'	ata 'father'
Acc.	üynü	betni	otnu	atni	atani
Gen.	üynü	betni	otnu	atni	atani
Dat.	üyge	betge	otga	atga	ataga
Loc.	üyde	betde	otda	atda	atada
Abl.	üyden	betden	otdan	atdan	atadan
Pl. Nom.	üyle	betle	otla	atla	atala
Acc.	üyleni	betleni	otlani	atlani	atalani
Gen.	üyleni	betleni	otlani	atlani	atalani
Dat.	üylege	betlege	otlaga	atlaga	atalaga
Loc.	üylede	betlede	otlada	atlada	atalada
Abl.	üyleden	betleden	otladan	atladan	ataladan

The accusative and genitive endings are identical except after the 3rd person possessive suffix (see below), when the accusative suffix is reduced to *n*: *ana-si-n* 'his mother (acc)' but *ana-si-ni* 'his mother (gen)'.

In disharmonic stems – those that do not themselves follow the rules of vowel harmony – the final vowel of the stem determines the vowel of the suffix: *kitap* 'book', nominative plural *kitapla*, genitive singular *kitapni*, etc.

Karachay has a set of possessive suffixes, whose forms may be represented as in (3).

(3)	'my'	-Im
	'your (sg.)	-Ij
	'his, hers, its'	-I (after consonants), -sI (after vowels)
	'our'	-Iblz
	'your (pl.)	-Iglz
	'their'	-IErI

These suffixes are illustrated in Table 5 with the nouns *at* 'horse' and *ata* 'father'. Note that *ata* ends with a vowel and consequently triggers deletion of a suffix-initial vowel (see section 2.2.7) and takes the *-si* form of the genitive suffix; other suffixes are added in the expected way.

TABLE 5: POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

Sg.	1	atim 'my horse'	atam 'my father'
	2	atıj	ataj
	3	ati	ataSI
Pl.	1	atıbiz	atabız
	2	atıgız	atağız
	3	atları	ataları

Examples with other vowels: *ıyım* 'my house', *betij* 'your (sg.) face'; *otubuz* 'our fire'.

If a noun has more than one inflectional suffix, the plural comes first, followed by the possessive, and finally the case ending: *ata-lar-ıgız-ğa* 'to your fathers'.

3.1.1.2. Word Formation

Karachay makes use of three main processes of word formation: derivation, compounding, and "zero-derivation" or "shift", in which a word is changed from one category to another with no formal marker. Zero-derivation is common – *jerli* 'poor' is used as both an adjective and a noun – but compounding and derivation are more interesting as morphological processes.

Compounding is quite productive in Karachay. Compound nouns are usually formed by combining two bare noun stems, e.g. *ana karnas* 'maternal uncle' (literally 'mother brother'), *bal çibin* 'bee' (lit. 'honey fly'), *emček ana* 'wet nurse' (lit. 'breast mother'), *ayak barnak* 'toe' (lit. 'foot finger'). Some

noun compounds consist of an adjective plus a noun (*ak çac* 'white-haired person', lit. 'white hair') or a verb stem with a noun (*aş iy* 'kitchen', lit. 'food house').

The 'izafet' type of compound that is so common in Turkish, in which the second member of a noun + noun compound is marked with the suffix *I*, is rare in Karachay. A few compounds may occur either with or without the suffix *I* – both *ana tili* and *ana til* 'mother tongue' are found, as are *sütbaşı* and *sütbaş* 'cream' (lit. 'milk top') as well as *at jeri* and *at jer* 'saddle' (lit. 'horse seat') – but in general the izafet type is quite rare.

Derivation is often as productive as inflection. Among the more common noun-forming suffixes are the following:

1. *-I/k* forms abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives: *ölümsüz* 'immortal', *ölümsüzlük* 'immortality'; *sabıy* 'child', *sabıylık* 'childhood'.
2. *-çI* forms agentive nouns from nouns: *ötürük* 'lie', *ötürükçü* 'liar', *otun* 'firewood', *otunçu* 'woodcutter'.
3. *-nI/kI*, consisting of *-kI* added to the genitive suffix *-nI*, forms a possessive: *ana* 'mother', *ananıki* '(the) mother's'.
4. *-çI/k* forms diminutives: *senek* 'pitchfork', *senekçäk* '(table) fork'.
5. *-Iw* forms abstract nouns from verbs: *öltür-* 'kill, murder (v)', *öltürüw* 'murder (n)'; *tepse-* 'dance (v)', *tepsew* 'dance (n)'.

3.1.2. The Pronominal System

The pronominal system includes the personal pronouns, the interrogative pronouns, the reflexive pronoun, the numerals, the demonstratives, and the quantifiers. The features that unify this class are, first, that they share the property of taking case and possessive suffixes, and second, that they are closed classes.

3.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Karachay has the set of personal pronouns listed in Table 6. As noted earlier, there is no morphologically-marked gender; thus, *ol* corresponds to English 'he', 'she', and 'it'. The personal pronouns take the same case endings as the nouns, and the 3rd person pronoun forms its plural with the regular nominal plural suffix *I*: (The 3rd person pronouns in Table 6 are in fact demonstratives which are used pronominally. See Table 8.)

TABLE 6: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Sg. Nominative	men	sen	ol
Accusative	meni	seni	anı
Genitive	meni	seni	anı
Dative	manğa	sanğa	aŋğa
Locative	mende	sende	anda
Ablative	menden	senden	andan
Pl. Nominative	biz	siz	ala
Accusative	bizni	sizni	alanı
Genitive	bizni	sizni	alanı
Dative	bizge	sizge	alaga
Locative	bizde	sizde	alada
Ablative	bizden	sizden	aladan

Some of the derivational suffixes added to nouns are also added to pronouns, e.g. the possessive suffix *-ni-ki*: *men-i-ki* 'mine'; *meni kitabim* 'my book' but *kitab meningki* 'the book is mine'.

3.1.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

The basic interrogative pronouns are *kim* 'who', *ne* 'what', and *kaysı* 'which'. They take the same case and possessive endings as the nouns and the personal pronouns: *kimni* accusative and genitive; *neđe* locative; *kaysım* 1st person singular possessive; etc. The other interrogative pronouns are based on the same stems as these three. They are given in (4).

- (4) kaçan 'when' kallay 'which' nege, nek 'why'
 kalay 'how' kayda 'where (at)' nelley bir 'how much'
 kalayda 'where (at)' kaydan 'where (from)' nenča 'how much'
 kalayga 'where (to)' kayrı 'where (to)' nenčaşar 'how many'

3.1.2.3 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *kesi* takes the regular nominal possessive and case endings: *kesiŋ* 'yourself', *kesibizge* 'to ourselves'. *Kesi* is used as both the ordinary and the emphatic reflexive, as illustrated in (5)(a) and (b), respectively.

- (5) a. OI kesi-n-i kes-ti
 he self-3SG-ACC cut-PAST
 'He cut himself'
 b. A-nı men kesi-m kes-ti-m
 It-ACC I self-1SG cut-PAST-1SG
 'I myself cut it' or 'I cut it by myself'

3.1.2.4 Numerals

Karachay has two parallel systems of cardinal numbers: a decimal system and a base-twenty system. (According to Borovkov 1935, the latter is the principle system among Balkars.) From 'one' through 'twenty' the two are identical; from there on, they diverge.

TABLE 7
NUMERALS

	Decimal System	Both	Base-20 System
'1'		bir	
'2'		eki	
'3'		üç	
'4'		tört	
'5'		beş	
'6'		alrı	
'7'		jedi	
'8'		segiz	
'9'		toguz	
'10'		on	
'11'		on bir	
'12'		on eki	
'13'		on üç	
etc.			
'20'		jıyırma	
'21'	jıyırma bir		jıyırma bla bir
'22'	jıyırma eki		jıyırma bla eki
etc.			
'30'	otuz		jıyırma bla on
'31'	otuz bir		jıyırma bla on bir
'32'	otuz eki		jıyırma bla on eki
'40'	kırk		eki jıyırma
'50'	elli		eki jıyırma bla on
'60'	altrmıš		üç jıyırma
'70'	jetmıš		üç jıyırma bla on
'80'	seksen		tört jıyırma
'90'	toksan		tört jıyırma bla on
'100'		jüz	
'200'		eki jüz	
'300'		üç jüz	
'1000'		miñ	
'2000'		eki miñ	

The cardinal numerals have full inflectional paradigms for both case and possession. An An uninflected cardinal number accompanies a noun or other head: *üç kitap* 'three books'. The inflected forms are used when the numeral serves as the head of a noun phrase, as in (6).

- (6) Adam katiŋ-la-ni eki-si-n kōr-dū
 Man woman-PL-GEN two-POS-ACC see-PAST
 'The man saw two of the women'

From the basic set of cardinal numerals, three other sets are formed: the ordinals, the distributives (by ones' etc), and the collectives.

The ordinal numbers are derived by means of the suffix -Inčl, e.g. *birinčä* 'first', *iörtünčü* 'fourth', *onunčü* 'tenth', *jüzünčü* 'hundredth', and so forth.

The distributive numerals are formed from the cardinals by means of the suffix -ISer: *birisēr* 'by ones'; *üčüsēr* 'by threes'; *altışar* 'by sixes'; etc.

The collectives are formed by adding -Ew and -EwlEn: *ekewlen* 'two people'; a pair'.

3.1.2.5 Demonstratives and Quantifiers

Like the numerals, with which they share many properties, these two classes of words occur both as inflected heads of phrases and as uninflected modifiers in noun phrases with nominal heads. The syntax of these words will be described in 4.1.1.

There are no articles in Karachay (but see section 4.1.1 on the use of *bir* 'one' in a way that is partly analogous to English *a*). There are two demonstratives, *bu* 'this' and *ol* 'that'. Their inflected forms are given in Table 8.

TABLE 8: DEMONSTRATIVES

Sg.	Nominative	bu 'this'	ol 'that'
	Accusative	munu	anı
	Genitive	munu	anı
	Dative	müppa	appa
	Locative	mında	anda
Pl.	Ablative	mından	andan
	Nominative	bla 'these'	ala 'those'
	Accusative	blanı	alanı
	Genitive	blanı	alanı
	Dative	blağa	alağa
Locative	blada	alada	
	Ablative	bladan	aladan

The plural forms of *bu* have the alternate pronunciations *bula* and *bıla*, *buladan* and *biladan*, etc., and the singular Dative, Locative, and Ablative have variants with [u] as the first vowel: *munda* etc. The other phonological peculiarities of these forms have already been discussed in 2.2.

As noted previously, the demonstrative *ol* also serves the function of third person personal pronoun.

The most commonly used quantifiers (here defined rather broadly) are given in (7).

- (7) bar, bari 'all' köb 'many, much'
 başxa 'other' saw 'all, whole'
 bazı 'some' talay 'few'
 bitew 'all, every' xar 'each, every'

In addition to the quantifiers in (7), there are a number of common quantifying phrases. Some of these consist of *bir* 'a, one' plus a quantifier, others are formed with *xar* 'each', while still others are based on other stems.

- (8) biraz 'a few, a little' xar bari 'every'
 bir-eki '(a) few' (lit: 'one-two') xar bir 'each/every one'
 bir kač 'a few; several' xar biri 'every'
 bir kawum 'some' xar eki 'each of the two, both'
 bir talay 'a few' xar kaysı 'all'
 köb tül '(a) few' (lit: 'many not') xar kim 'everyone'
 ne da, ne zat da 'all' xar ne 'all'

Most descriptions of Karachay include a category of Indefinite Pronouns (e.g. Bayramkullani and Orusbylani 1965, pp. 97ff, Baskskov 1966, pp. 161ff, etc.). In reality, they are formed syntactically from a question word or one of the words meaning 'thing' (*žuk*, *neme*, *zat*) in a construction containing a conditional verb. A few examples of these are given in (9). (9d) *kim ese da*, for example, literally means 'who it might be' and is used in the sense of 'someone/or 'whoever'.

- (9) a. kallay ese da, kallay bir ese da 'whatever amount'
 b. kaysı ese da 'something'
 c. kim da bolsun 'whoever'
 d. kim ese da, kim ese da bir 'someone; whoever'
 e. ne ese da 'something'
 f. ne ese da bir 'something'
 g. ne da bolsun 'something; whatever'

3.2 Verbal Morphology

Verbs represent the most complex aspect of Karachay morphology. The verb in a Karachay clause tends to attract a great number of affixes, including derivational suffixes, a variety of tense and aspectual forms, suffixes expressing mood and voice, participial and gerundive suffixes, negative and interrogative suffixes, and personal suffixes that show subject agreement.

The morphological complexity of verbs results both from the large number of affixes and from the numerous ways in which the affixes can combine with each other. There are two distinct sets of personal endings, as well as a dozen or more participial, gerundive, and nominal affixes, many of which have multiple uses and which combine with each other and with the two sets of personal endings to create a complex array of verbal constructions. The sections that follow will give an overview of the morphology of this verbal system. Their syntax will be discussed in section 4.1.2.

3.2.1. The Verbal Base, the Infinitive, and the Citation Form

The base of an undervived Karachay verb is typically a monosyllable of the form CVC(C) (for example, *kab-* 'bite', *bar-* 'go', *čamč-* 'insert') or VC(C) (*aç-* 'open', *ayt-* 'say', rarely CV (*dä-* 'say'). The verb *e-* 'be' is exceptional in consisting only of a single vowel. There is a small number of undervived polysyllabic bases, as well as a large number of derived polysyllabic stems.

The citation form of a verb in this work will be the verbal stem without any suffix but with the voicing of a final consonant indicated: *kab-* 'bite', *jasz-* 'eat'. If infinitives are cited, the boundary between the stem and the suffix will be indicated by a dash whenever relevant: *kab-arga*, *jasz-irga*.

The infinitive ending is either *-ErgE* or *-IrgE*, usually analyzed as the future participle in *-Er/ir* plus the dative case ending *-gE*.⁶ Like Turkish and other Turkic languages, the occurrence of a non-high vowel (*-ErgE*) or a high vowel (*-IrgE*) initially in this suffix is only partially predictable. The general rule is that undervived monosyllabic stems take the non-high vowel suffix *-ErgE* (*ač-arga* 'open'; *jet-erge* 'get'), whereas polysyllabic stems and derived stems take the high-vowel form *-IrgE* (*ayt-irga* 'choose'; *bil-dir-irge* 'announce, inform', the latter from *bil-* 'know' + causative *dir-* + *irge*).

There are apparently no exceptions to the second part of this rule: all polysyllabic stems and all derived stems take the infinitival suffix *IrgE*. But there are a number of exceptions to the first part: approximately twenty-five undervived monosyllabic stems take a high-vowel infinitival suffix.

These exceptional forms are given in (10). Note that in the overwhelming majority of the cases (but unfortunately not every one) the high-vowel infinitival suffix follows /l/ or /r/.

(10)	al-irga 'take'	ker-irge 'extend'
	ayt-irga 'say'	kir-irge 'enter'
	bar-irga 'go'	kör-irge 'see'
	ber-irge 'give'	kül-irge 'laugh'
	bil-irge 'know'	öl-irge 'die'
	böl-irga 'be'	sal-irga 'put'
	böl-irge 'divide'	sor-irga 'ask'
	bur-irga 'twist; move'	sür-irge 'plow'
	čal-irga 'mow'	tal-irga 'become tired'
	el-irge 'take; carry'	tol-irga 'fill'
	jar-irga 'break'	tur-irga 'stand; live'
	kal-irga 'stay'	ururga 'hit'
	kel-irge 'come'	ürürge 'blow'

⁶ Few if any other Turkic languages use the ending *-ErgE/IrgE* as the infinitival ending, but almost all of them have a future participle in *Er/ir*. The remarks which follow apply to this latter form.

3.2.2 The Copula

The verb *e-* 'be' is defective, occurring as an independent verb only in the past categorial and the conditional. The suffix of the past categorial is *-di* and that of the conditional is *-se*. The paradigms for these two forms are as follows:

TABLE 9: THE FORMS OF *e-* 'BE'

		Past Categorial	Conditional
Sg.	1	edim 'I was'	esem 'if I was/were'
	2	ediŋ	eseŋ
	3	edi	ese
Pl.	1	edik	esek
	2	edigiz	esegiz
	3	edile	esele

Following a word that ends in a vowel, the forms of 'be' are preceded by *y-*: *yedim*, *yeseŋ* and so forth. Contracted forms of the past categorial also occur: *em* for *edim*, *egiz* for *edigiz*, etc.

In all cases other than the past categorial and the conditional, the copula is enclitic; that is, it is expressed by a suffix on the predicate, whether the predicate is nominal, adjectival, adverbial, or verbal. The copula is given in Table 10, with examples of the endings on nominal and verbal predicates.

TABLE 10: THE COPULA

Sg.	1 -mE	talebe-me 'I am a student'	bilayda-ma 'I am here'
	2 -sE	talebe-se	bilayda-sa
	3 -dI	talebe-di	bilayda-di
Pl.	1 -bIz	talebe-biz	bilayda-biz
	2 -sIz	talebe-siz	bilayda-siz
	3 -dIIE	talebe-dile	bilayda-dila

When the stem to which the copula is added is nominal, plurality may optionally be marked twice, once on the noun and again on the copula. Thus, one can say either (*biz*) *talebebiz* or *biz talebelebiz* (= *talebe* + plural *-le* + 1st person plural copula *-biz*) for 'we are students'; and both *talebe-le-di-le* and *talebe-di-le* for 'they are students.'

The copula is often omitted in the present tense: one could say *men talebe* for 'I am a student'.

3.2.3 Personal Endings

Karachay has two sets of personal endings which show subject agreement. In the literature, these two sets have gone by various names: pronominal and possessive, long and short, and so forth. In fact, the first set consists simply of the enclitic copular endings given above in Table 10 and is used in the largest number of verbal constructions. I will call these the **copular endings**. The second set occurs only in the past categorial, the conditional, and the optative and is identical to the endings given above in Table 9 for the past categorial and the conditional forms of e- 'be'. I will call these the **verbal endings**. The two sets of endings are given in Table 11.

TABLE 11: PERSONAL ENDINGS

	Copular Endings	Verbal Endings
Sg.		
1	-mE	-Im
2	-sE	-Ij
3	-dI	-Ø
Pl.		
1	-bIz	-Ik
2	-sIz	-Igz
3	-dIIE	-IE

For examples of the endings, see Tables 9 and 10 above.

3.2.4 Participles, Verbal Nouns, and Gerunds

A set of a dozen or more derived verbal forms play a key role in the Karachay verb system. These words are usually called participles, gerunds, and verbal nouns. For convenience, I will refer to them collectively as **participials**. There is considerable disagreement among writers on Karachay about how many participials there are and which ones belong to which categories. What follows in this section and the following two is an attempt at a synthesis of various views.

The most important of the participials are given in (11).

- (11) a. Past Participle -gEn: *alġan*, from *al-* 'take'
 b. Present Participle Iwci: *bariwču*, from *bar-* 'go'
 c. Future Participle I -Er/Ir: *bolur*, from *bol-* 'be, become'
 d. Future Participle II -rIk (with variants -Ik and -nIk): *sana-rık*, from *sana-* 'count';
al-lik, from *al-* 'take'; *javun-nuk*, from *javun-* 'bathe'.
 e. Gerund I -E (after consonants)/y (after vowels): *ačı*, from
ač- 'open'; *karay*, from *kara-* 'look'.
 f. Gerund II -Ib: *toġub*, from *toġ-* 'pour'.
 g. Gerunds in -gEn + IeY, II, dE, IlkE: *kör-ġenley*, from *kör-* 'see', etc.
 h. Gerund in -ġInci: *keġ-ġinči*, from *keġ-* 'come'.
 i. Verbal Noun -Iw: *sızıw* 'discussion', from *sız-* 'discuss'.

When these forms are used independently -- that is, not as part of a finite verbal form or construction -- the participles are most often used as nouns or adjectives, the gerunds as adverbials, and the verbal nouns as nouns. In spite of their nominal, attributive, or adverbial functions, however, they all retain some part of their verbal character: they take nominal or other complements and they assign case to their nominal complements. (For examples, see 4.1.2.)

3.2.5 Tense and Aspect

Given the large number of participials and the two sets of personal endings, a great many forms exist expressing many subtle differences of meaning. It is not surprising, then, that different authors have presented significantly different analyses of the Karachay verb system. There is little agreement even on the number of tenses that Karachay contains: Bayramkullıy and Orusbıylıy (1965) list 8, Baskakov (1966) gives 9, Urusbıev (1963) lists 10, Pritsak (1959) 12, and Xabičev (1966) 13. Part of the uncertainty arises from the fact that in many cases it is not clear whether a given verb with a derivational and a personal affix remains a verb or has become a nominal. For example, Urusbıev (1963) treats *bar-ıwču-ma* as a present tense form meaning 'I (habitually) go', whereas Pritsak (1959) at least implicitly treats it as a derived nominal *barıwču* 'one who goes (habitually)' followed by the 1st person singular copular ending. In Pritsak's view, *barıwču-ma* 'I am one who goes' or 'I am a goer' is parallel to *talebeme* 'I am a student'. We will return to this question in section 4.

There are six forms that express tense and aspect in a straightforward way. These are the verbs that can occur as the predicate of a finite main clause. All consist of a participial and either a verbal or a copular ending.

1. Past Indefinite -gEn + copular endings: *al-ġan-sız* 'you(pl.) took'
2. Past Categorial -dI + verbal endings: *kör-dı-m* 'I saw'
3. Present -E/y + copular endings: *ačı-y-sa* 'you are eating'
4. Present Iwci/Iwčan + copular endings: *bar-ıwču-dıla* 'they go'
5. Present/Future Er/Ir + copular endings: *kab-ar-bız* 'we (will) bite'
6. Future Categorial -rIk/Ik + copular endings: *bar-rık-ma* 'I will go'

In addition, there are several other commonly used verbal constructions consisting of a participle, a gerund, or a verbal noun plus an inflected auxiliary, usually e- 'be' or *tur-* 'stand, stay'. A sample of these verbal constructions is given below.

1. Pluperfect -gen e-: *äul-ġan e-di-le* 'they had mown'
2. Past Continuous -Ib e-: *jav-ıb e-di* '(s)he was lying down'
3. Past Continuous -E/y e-: *bar-a ye-di-m* 'I was going'
4. Past Iterative -Iwču e-: *al-ıwču ye-di* '(s)he took'
5. Past Habitual -Er/Ir e-: *keġ-ır e-di-ġ* 'you used to come'
6. Past Resultative -Ib e-: *keġ-ıb e-di-ġız* 'you left'
7. Present Continuous -E/y tur-: *jav-a tur-a-dı-k* 'we are writing'
8. Future -Ik e-: *barlık e-di-m* 'I must go'

Given the fact that most Karachay verbs and verbal constructions take the copular endings and that

all incorporate a participial stem, the majority of Karachay clauses contain what appear to be non-verbal forms: either a non-verb (e.g. a noun phrase or an adjectival phrase) or a non-finite verb form (e.g. a participial) plus an enclitic copula. This fact is the basis for the frequent observation that the verbal system of Karachay and the other Turkic languages is largely nominal in nature (see, e.g., Urusbiev 1963, pp. 5ff, for discussion and many references.)

3.2.6 Mood, Voice, Negation, and Other Verbal Affixes

In addition to the verbal affixes already mentioned above, there are other affixes and constructions which express the categories Mood, Voice, Negation, Interrogation, and a variety of others. These will simply be listed and illustrated, without extensive discussion.

1. **Imperative.** The singular imperative consists of the bare verb stem: *kap!* 'bite!', *ber!* 'give!'. The plural consists of the singular plus the suffix *ǰǰz*: *kabǰǰz*, *berǰǰz*.
2. **Conditional -sE.** As noted above, this is one of only three forms that take the verbal endings: *kör-se* 'if (s)he sees', *bar-sa-m* 'if I go'.

3. The **Optative** is formed with either *-Ey* or *-gIn* and takes the verbal endings: *bar-ay-ıǰ* 'may you go; would that you would go' *tile-y-im* 'let me ask; would that I could ask'; *tab-ma-gın* (a negative optative) 'may you not find'.

4. **Passive -Il** and **Reflexive -In.** Since the meanings of these two forms is so similar, Urusbiev (1963) and others treat them as two varieties of the same suffix. I will follow this practice here even though it may not be fully justified.

With the suffix *-Il*, examples include *kör-güz-ül-* 'be shown', formed from *kör-güz-* 'show' (which is itself a causative -- see below); *aşa-l-* 'be eaten', *koru-l-* 'be defended'.

The suffix *-In* forms such passives as *bil-in-* 'known', from *bil-* 'know'; *bile-n-* 'sharpened'; *iş-le-n-* 'be built, be completed', *ǰılın-n-* 'be shaved', and *sayla-n-* 'be chosen'.

5. The **Reciprocal/Cooperative -İş** expresses either joint or reciprocal action: *at-iş-* 'shoot at each other', from *at-* 'shoot'; *kara-ş-* 'look at each other', *kel-iş-* 'come together, gather', *kör-üş-* 'see each other, meet'.

6. The **Causative/Concessive** is formed by any of five suffixes:

a. *-dlr:* *al-dlr-* 'cause/allow to take'; *bil-dlr-* 'let (someone) know; announce, inform'; *ǰan-dlr-* 'set fire to', from *ǰan-* 'burn (intrans)'; *ǰawun-dur-* 'bathe (trans)', from *ǰawun-* 'bathe (intrans)'; *kırk-dlr-* 'cause or allow to cut'

b. *-tlr:* *kel-tlr-* 'cause to come'

c. *-It/t:* *aşa-t-* 'feed', from *aşa-* 'eat'; *ǰıǰı-r-t-* 'renew, restore', from *ǰıǰı* 'new'; *sark-ıt-* 'cause/allow to flow down'.

d. *-Er/ır:* *ket-er-* 'remove, get out (e.g. a spot)', from *kel-* 'leave, go'; *biş-ır-* 'cook (trans)', from *biş-* 'cook (intrans)'; *çığ-ar-* 'bring/get/lead out, from *çığ-* 'come out'; *iç-ır-* 'give to drink'.

e. *-(g)ız:* *kör-güz-* 'show', from *kör-* 'see'; *tam-ız-* 'drop, let fall', from *tam-* 'go'; *tur-güz-* 'cause to stand/stay'.

The causative affixes can be combined: *biş-ır-t-* 'make (someone) cook (trans)'; *kaz-dig'* yields *kaz-dır-* 'have (someone) dig', which in turn gives rise to *kaz-dır-t-* 'have (something) dug', i.e. 'have (someone) cause (someone else) to dig'; from the causative *kör-güz-* 'show', *kör-güz-t-* 'allow to show' is formed.

A causative suffix may be added to a non-verb to form a causative verb: the adjective *ǰıl* 'warm' gives the verb *ǰılı-t-* 'heat'.

7. **Negative -mE.** Negation may be expressed either morphologically or syntactically. Morphological negation is accomplished by appending the suffix *-mE* to a stem: the negative of *al-dı-k* 'we took' is *al-ma-dı-k* 'we did not take'.

After the negative suffix *-mE*, the *-r-* of the future participle ending *-Er/ır* becomes [z]: *kel-me-z-sız* 'you will not come' (from **kel-me-r-sız*). Since the infinitive ending incorporates the future participle, it also contains *-z-* for the usual *-r-*: *kel-me-z-ge* 'not to come'.

Syntactic negation makes use of the predictor *ııl/ıyıl* 'not'. This will be discussed in 4.2.4.

8. **Interrogative -mI.** The interrogative suffix *-mI* forms yes/no questions and is less fixed in its relative order than the other suffixes. Its usual position is just before the personal suffix or the copula, as in (12). But with the first person copula (13a and b), the past categorical (13c), and the conditional (13d) it follows the personal suffix or the copula.

- (12) a. *sen talebe-mi-se?* 'Are you (sg) a student?'
 b. *ol talebe-mi-di?* 'Is (s)he a student?'
 c. *al-ır-mı-sız* 'Will you (pl) go?'

- (13) a. *men talebe-me-mi?* 'Am I a student?'
 b. *biz talebe-biz-mi?* 'Are we students?'
 c. *bar-dı-ǰ-mı* 'Did you go?'
 d. *ǰoy-sa-m-mı* 'If I waste...?'

9. **Possibility** is expressed by an invariant (that is, non-harmonizing) *-al* added to the stem: *al-al-a-biz* 'w can take', *ber-al-ır-ma* 'I will be able to take', *ǰaz-al-ırǰa* 'be able to write', *kel-al-dı-(s)* 'he was able to come'.

10. **Impossibility** is expressed by combining the suffix of possibility *-al* with the negative suffix *ma*: *ber-al-ma-z-ma* 'I will not be able to take', *kel-al-ma-dı* 'she was unable to come'.

3.2.7 Word Formation

While the problems encountered in trying to separate inflection and derivation in Karachay have already been mentioned, and although it would be difficult to decide which of the suffixes discussed so far are inflectional and which, if any, are derivational, there are a few verbal prefixes which are clearly derivational in nature, since they form verbs from other categories. Some of these seem to be as productive as many of the prefixes already discussed. The most productive one is *-E-*: *eki-le-* 'cut in two', from *eki* 'two'; *apɨ-la-* 'understand', from *apɨ* 'mind, wits'; *baš-la-* 'begin', from *baš* 'head; beginning'; *bay-la-* 'lie', from *bay* 'bandage'; *ɨr-la-* 'sing', from *ɨr* 'song'; and numerous other examples.

3.2.8 Order of Affixes

The verbal suffixes can be freely combined: from the stem *ɨari-* 'be or become light' we can form the Causative/ *ɨari-t-* 'to make light', the Causative/Possible *ɨari-t-al-* 'to be able to make light', and the Causative/ Possible/Concessive *ɨari-t-dir-al-* 'to be able to cause someone to make light'. Similarly, *apɨ-* 'say' can take the suffixes *-al* 'possibility', *-ma* 'negation', *-di* 'past categorial', and *-m* 'first person singular' to yield *apɨtalmaɨm* 'I could not (i.e. was not able to) say'; *biš-* 'cook (intrans) + *-ir* 'causative' + *-il* 'passive' gives *biširil* 'be cooked'.

To a great extent, the order of suffixes on a Karachay verb is predictable. Urusbiev (1963, p. 17) gives the following schema:

Stem + Derivational +	Negative
	Possibility + Mood/Tense + Q + Agr
	Impossibility

3.3 Adjectives

This is a somewhat problematical category because the boundaries are not well defined: many adjectives (although not all) can also function as adverbs and vice versa. Furthermore, adjectives can be fairly freely used as nouns, and some nouns as adjectives.

The main morphological traits defining adjectives are (1) they have comparative and superlative forms and (2) in their use as adjectives (as opposed to their use as nouns) they are not marked for number or case.

3.3.1 Inflection

The comparative suffix is *-ItEk*: *kalin-irak* 'thicker', *igi-rek* 'better', *ultu-rak* 'bigger'.

The superlative is formed by placing *eɲ* or *em* before the adjective: *eɲ kalin* or *em kalin* 'thickest', *eɲ igi* 'best', *eɲ ultu* 'biggest'.

There are also syntactic means of forming the comparative. See 4.1.3.

Intensive forms of the adjectives are formed by reduplication, either full or partial. Any adjective can be fully reduplicated: *azar* 'little', *azar azar* 'little by little'; *sari-sari* 'completely yellow'; *kara-kara* 'completely black'.

A few adjectives also form their intensives by partial reduplication, a process in which the first consonant and vowel, or the first vowel if it is the initial sound of the word, is reduplicated and followed by an *m* or a *p* or by an additional syllable *pE* or *bE*. There are probably not more than 20 or 30 of these reduplicated intensives, of which the list in (14) is a sample.

(14) <i>appa-ak</i> 'completely white'	<i>kep-kerti</i> or <i>keppe-kerti</i> 'completely true'
<i>boppa-boš</i> 'completely empty'	<i>köm-kök</i> 'completely blue'
<i>jap-jašil</i> 'completely green'	<i>sap-sari</i> 'completely yellow'
<i>kap-kara</i> 'completely black'	<i>sabba-saw</i> 'completely healthy'
<i>kip-kizil</i> or <i>kippa kizil</i> 'completely red'	<i>tüppe-tüz</i> 'absolutely true'

When adjectives are used as nouns, they take the same plural, case, and possessive suffixes as other nouns: *kizil* 'red', *kizil-la* 'the red ones'; the Reds', *kizil-la-ga* 'to the Reds'.

3.3.2 Word Formation

There are several highly productive adjective-forming suffixes, of which the following are the most important.

1. *-Il* 'having, characterized by': *ogur* 'luck', *ogurlu* 'lucky', *öliim* 'death', *öliimliü* 'mortal'; *ɨy* 'house', *ɨyliü* 'married'.

2. *-sIz* 'without': *ogur* 'luck', *ogursuz* 'unlucky'; *öliim* 'death', *öliimsüz* 'immortal'; *san* 'number', *sansüz* 'innumerable'.

3. *-čä* (invariant) 'like': *öliü* 'dead', *öliüčä* 'dead-looking, withered'; *ak* 'white', *akčä* 'whitish'; *gummos* 'wart', *gummosčä* 'wart-like'.

4. *-gi* forms adjs from time nouns: *kečä* 'night' (n), adj. *kečägi*, *biğüm* 'today' (n), adj. *biğüggiü*, *tiüne* 'yesterday' (n), adj. *tiünegi*.

Participles are for the most part adjectival in nature, apart from their uses in the tense/aspect system. From the verb *al-in-* 'be taken, be possessed' (the passive of *al-* 'take'), the past participle *alıɨɨgan* (< *alım* + *gan*) is formed, whose basic meaning is 'mad, possessed'; *ičär*, the future participle of *ič-* 'drink', is used as an adjective in such cases as *ičär zat* 'drink' (n) (lit. 'drink thing')

Words migrate quite freely between the adjective and noun classes. The example *alıɨɨgan* in the preceding paragraph can also be used as a noun meaning 'madman'. Similarly *ačwlu* 'grieving' (from *ačw* 'grief') can also mean one who grieves'; and *ıynamsız* 'without (religious) faith' (from *ıynam* 'faith, religious belief') as a noun means 'atheist, nonbeliever'. *ɨariü* 'poor' is an adjective, but

is also used as the noun for 'poor person'.

Adjectives derived by compounding usually consist of two noun stems, or an adjective and a noun: *ak bet pale* (lit. 'white face'); *ǰei baš* 'unbalanced, eccentric' (lit. 'wind head'); *suwbaš* 'brainless' (lit. 'water head').

3.4 Adverbials

This group is labeled "adverbials" rather than "adverbs" because it is a functional grouping rather than a morphologically coherent class. In fact, it is unclear whether there are any true, undervived adverbs in Karachay, although there may be a few.

The words that are considered to be adjectives in most of the literature on Karachay fall into three groups: (1) adjectives which are also used as adverbs; (2) words derived from the demonstratives *bu* 'this' and *ol* 'that'; and (3) nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases, often in oblique cases, used adverbially.

Most adjectives can also be used as adverbs. In *ol igi iš-ley-di* 'he works well', for example, the adjective *igi* 'good' is used adverbially. Sometimes the reduplication of the adjective favors the adverbial meaning. *ǰepil-ǰepil* (lit. 'fast-fast') 'quickly'.

A large number of adverbs are derived by adding a suffix to a pronominal or a demonstrative stem: *bilay* 'here' (from *bu* 'this' + *-lay*), *alay* 'there' (from *ol* 'that' + *-lay*), *kalay* 'where' (from the interrogative stem *ka*). The resulting words are essentially nominal, since they take case endings: *alayda* 'there, in that place' (*alay* + locative); *bilayga* 'to here' (*bilay* + dative); *alaydan* 'from there' (*alay* + ablative); *kalayga* 'to where?' (*kalay* + dative).

The majority of adverbials are nominals (in the sense of 3.1) or noun phrases. A number of adverbials, for example, consist of the oblique case forms of nouns like *al* 'front' and *art* 'back': *alda* 'in front', the locative of *al*; *artga* 'back, backwards', the dative of *art*. Another group consists of the case forms of *bu* 'this' and *ol* 'that': *mindan* 'from here' (ablative of *bu*). Still another group consists of nouns or noun phrases that denote times or places: *tam(b)la* 'tomorrow', *tünene* 'yesterday', *bilir* 'last year', *bukün* (or *bigün*) 'today' (lit. 'this day'); *busagat* 'now' (lit. 'this hour'); *xar zamannda* 'always' (lit. 'every time + locative'). Finally, reduplicated nouns or pronouns can have adverbial meaning: *tama-tama* (lit. 'drop-drop') 'drop by drop'; *az-az* (lit. 'little-little') 'barely, scarcely'.

3.5 Uninflected categories.

Under this heading I include word classes which take no inflections, although some may contain derivational affixes. Only two will be discussed -- Postpositions and Conjunctions. The third category which is often included in traditional grammars -- Interjections -- will not be dealt with.

3.5.1. Postpositions

There are approximately 25 common postpositions in Karachay. The number that appears in previous works is often twice this number because most authors include a varying number of words that are nouns but which convey meanings similar to those of prepositions in German, Russian, or English. Pritsak (1959, p. 358), for example, lists about 40 postpositions, but among them are *ara* 'between' and others which clearly retain their status as nouns. Pritsak's example of *ara* is *arabizda* 'between us', which is simply the noun *ara* 'middle' with the first person plural possessive ending *biz* and the locative ending *da*. The literal meaning is something like 'in our midst'. Baskakov (1966, pp. 235ff) also includes nouns like *ara* in his list of more than 60 "postpositions", and Xabičev (1966, pp. 227-8) and Bayramkullany and Orusbiylany (1965, pp. 179ff) similarly include non-postpositions in their discussions. Xabičev notes (p. 227) that there are two kinds of postpositions, 'postpositions proper' and 'correlative postpositions' (sootnositel'nye poslelogi), which retain partial ties to their source words.

The nonexhaustive list in (15) includes a sampling of 'postpositions proper', with the cases that they assign indicated in parentheses. The information on case assignment in (15) is drawn mostly from Xabičev (1966).

(15) amalün 'because of (Nom and Gen)	kilü 'because of (Nom and Gen)
bla 'with' (Nom and Gen)	köre 'for' (Dat)
čakli 'near' (Nom, Gen, and Dat)	kurun 'to, toward' (Nom)
deri 'until' (Dat)	sartin 'because of (Nom and Gen)
juwuk 'near' (Dat)	soǰra, sora 'after, since' (Abl)
katış 'with' (Nom and Gen)	taba 'toward' (Nom, Gen, and Dat)
kibik 'like' (Nom, Gen, Dat, Loc, Abl)	üčün 'for' (Nom and Gen)

3.5.2. Conjunctions

The basic set of coordinating conjunctions, used to join both phrases and clauses, is given in (16).

(16) bla 'and	alay 'but'
da 'and'	amma 'but'
em, emda 'and'	ansi 'or, but'
a, ya 'but'	ne, neda, neya 'or'

da is the usual conjunction carrying the meaning 'and', but it is also used in simple (non-conjoined) structures where it is the equivalent of English 'also' or 'too':

(17) men da	ket-e-me
I	and go-PART-1SG
'I am going too/also'	

Karachay has no true subordinating conjunctions. Subordination is usually marked by a participial form serving as the verb of the subordinate clause, or by an adverb which expresses a logical, temporal, or other relationship between the two clauses. Subordination will be discussed in 4.2.8

4. SYNTAX

Karachay is a fairly typical head-final language, in which the verb usually occurs in sentence-final position, relative clauses and other modifiers precede the nouns they modify, there are postpositions rather than prepositions, the adjective comes at the end of the comparative construction, and so forth. However, Karachay is freer in word order than some other languages. For example, the requirement that the verb end a clause is much less rigidly enforced in Karachay than in Japanese. Nevertheless, the unmarked word order is clearly head-final.

Karachay is also a null-subject language, i.e. a pronominal subject may be omitted, although this omission seems to be less frequent than in some other null subject languages like Spanish and Japanese. As expected, Karachay lacks expletive subjects in sentences like *It is raining*. We will return to these topics below.

An important question about the syntax of Karachay, and of the Turkic languages in general, is to what extent the constructions that resemble embedded sentences in English are really sentential rather than nominal. The issue is whether sentences like those in (18) contain deverbal nominals with copular endings or verbs with personal endings.

- (18) bar-iwçu-dula
go-PART-3PL

That is to say, is the literal meaning of (18) 'they go' or 'they are goers'? A related question is whether sentences like the one in (19) contain subordinate clauses or deverbal nominals as complements to the main verb, i.e. is *kıydırib* a verb corresponding to English 'to put on' or a deverbal nominal equivalent to 'the putting on'?

- (19) a-ni c'ınday-çik-lar-i-n kiy-dir-ib baş-la-y-dı
he-POS stocking-DIM-PL-POS-ACC wear-CAUS-PART start-DER-PART-3SG
'(she) starts to put his stockings on (him)'

This question obviously has widespread consequences for the syntactic analysis of the language. The question remains an open one, with much research devoted to it especially by linguists studying Turkish. I suspect that the answer that emerges from the study of Turkish will also be applicable to Karachay, since in broad outlines the two languages are so similar. I will not address this question directly. Rather, I will make some very conservative assumptions, some of which will undoubtedly prove to be wrong. In particular, for expository purposes I will assume that constructions which resemble English subordinate clauses are also clauses in Karachay. In many cases, this does not seem to be the correct analysis, but a detailed discussion of the issues involved is beyond the scope of this work.

4.1. Phrase-level Syntax.

Since Karachay is a head-final language, the verb typically comes at the end of the verb phrase (and of the sentence), the noun at the end of a noun phrase, and so forth. The usual constituent order within a phrase is thus Modifier - Complement - Head. Nevertheless, there is considerable freedom

in word order, for purposes of stylistic variation, focus, etc.

Unlike many other highly inflected languages, in Karachay, adjectives, numerals, and demonstratives do not agree in number or case with the nouns that they modify, nor does a predicate nominal or adjective agree with the subject. The only agreement found in Karachay is number and person agreement between a subject and a verb or other predicator. Government (i.e. case assignment), on the other hand, is fairly common: verbs and postpositions assign case to their objects, and in the possessive construction the genitive ending occurs on the possessor noun phrase and a possessive suffix on the noun possessed.

4.1.1. Nominal Phrases

Included under this heading are those phrases with a noun, pronoun, demonstrative, numeral, or quantifier as head, that is, all of the categories discussed in section 3.1.

The typical word order in noun phrases places the demonstrative, numeral, or quantifier first, followed by the adjective, with the noun in phrase-final position. Some examples are given in (20).

- (20) a. bir kitap 'a book; one book'
b. bir kök kitap 'a/one blue book'
c. bazı kök kitapla 'some blue books'

However, this order is not mandatory: compare (21), in which the adjective *arıw* precedes the numeral *bir*.

- (21) ol arıw bir zat-mi-di?
that pretty one thing-Q-COP
'Is that a pretty thing?'

Like other modifiers, relative clauses precede the head noun. A relative clause consists of a participle with its accompanying complements and modifiers, as illustrated in (22). Note that there are no relative pronouns.

- (22) a. allah-a inyan-ma-gan adam
god-DAT believe-NEG-PART person
'a person who doesn't believe in God'
b. narat terek-le-den ak-gan çayır
pine tree-PL-ABL flow-PART pitch-GEN
'the pitch that flows from the pine trees'
c. bulut-dan çik-gan kün
cloud-ABL come-out-PART sun
'the sun which has come out from (behind) a cloud'

In addition to adjectives and relative clauses, other kinds of words and constructions can modify nouns, including unaccompanied participles (23a-c) and case-inflected nouns (23d).

4.1.2. Verb Phrases

Only verb phrases show agreement: the personal ending (27a-b) or copula (27c) agrees with its subject in person and number.

- (27) a. men kaŋn-ni kör-dü-m 'I saw the woman'
- b. siz çabak aša-r-siz 'you will eat fish'
- c. biz talebe-biz (or talebe-le-biz) 'we are students'

Contrary to the general rule that number is marked only once in a phrase, the verb may carry two instances of the plural suffix *-E*. Furthermore, with subject - verb agreement for number, plurality may be expressed as many as three times in a sentence, once on the subject and twice on the verb.

- (28) a-la talebe-le-di-le
- (s)he-PL student-PL-COP-PL
- 'they are students'

Verbs assign morphological case to their objects. Most transitive verbs assign accusative (see 27a.) and ditransitives assign accusative case to the direct object and dative case to the indirect object (see 29a). But some verbs assign dative to their direct objects, like *tizbe-* 'meet' in (29b).

- (30) a. men para-ni adam-ga ber-di-m
- I money-ACC man-DAT give-PAST-1SG
- 'I gave the money to the man'
- b. men aŋ-ŋa tizbe-rik-me
- I (s)he-DAT meet-PART-1SG
- 'I will meet her'

The three classes of participials -- the participles, the gerunds, and the verbal nouns -- have a variety of functions. As indicated in 3.2.5, they play a key role in tense/aspect formation. In some sense, however, their use in such verbal constructions might be considered as secondary, since each of the three classes has an inherent non-finite function: participles are adjectival (see 30a) and nominal (30b); gerunds are somewhat adverbial, expressing an action that accompanies that of the main verb (30c-d); and verbal nouns are nominal (30e). (In (30), the relevant word is in boldface.)

- (30) a. ašik-gan suw tejiz-ge jet-me-z
- hurry-PART water sea-DAT reach-NEG-3SG
- 'rushing water never reaches the sea'
- b. bir uru-ga eki jığıl-gan -- sokur...
- one hole-DAT two fall-PART blind
- 'one who falls into the same hole twice is blind...'
- c. beri ket-e axmat-ga tizbe-di-k
- here come-GER Ahmet-DAT meet-PAST-1PL
- 'Coming here, we met Ahmet'
- d. jıla-b bar-a-dıla
- sing-GER come-PART-3PL
- 'They are coming, singing'

- (23) a. bol-luk zaman 'future time/tense'
- b. iç-er zat 'something to drink' (lit. 'drink-PART thing')
- c. ašik-gan suw 'rushing water'
- d. kir-da buw
- steppe-LOC deer
- 'a deer on the steppe'

In accordance with the general principle of lack of agreement, number is usually marked just once in a phrase: a plural noun phrase may have the form *kitap-la* 'book-PL' or *iç kitap*. Constructions like *iç kitap-la* are possible but are generally avoided and are considered to be redundant.

A Karachay demonstrative, numeral, or adjective does not agree with the noun it accompanies. Even though these words have full inflectional paradigms for both case and possession, they are used only if no head noun is present. Thus we find *bu sagat-da*, (lit. this time-at) 'at this time', with the noun in the Locative case and the demonstrative uninflected; but *mu-nu al-di-m* 'I bought this one', with the accusative *mu-nu* as the direct object.

The only means of marking definiteness overtly is with the accusative case suffix on a direct object noun phrase: the presence of the ending marks the object as definite, while its absence marks it as indefinite. Compare the sentences in (24).

- (24) a. adam kaŋn-la kördü 'the man saw (some) women'
- b. adam kaŋniani kördü 'the man saw the women'

In all other cases, definiteness must be inferred from the context, since there are no true articles. The numeral *bir* 'one' may be used as a rough equivalent of the English article *a(n)*, but it is not a real indefinite article because it may be used in a direct object phrase with the accusative case ending, which marks the phrase as definite. Compare the examples in (25).

- (25) a. adam kaŋn kördü 'a/the man saw a woman'
- b. adam bir kaŋn kördü 'a/the man saw a woman'
- c. adam bir kaŋnı kördü 'a/the man saw one woman'

The so-called **possessive construction** consists of a noun phrase with the genitive marker followed by the head (i.e. possessed) noun marked with the appropriate possessive ending. This construction is used to express possession (as in (26a) and (b)) and pseudo-possession (26c-e), kinship relationships (26f), and a variety of part/whole or partitive relationships (26g-i).

- (26) a. men-i kitab-ım 'my book'
- b. siz-ni at-ıgız 'your horse'
- c. a-la-ni til-ler-i 'their languages'
- d. a-ni burn-u 'her nose'
- e. kün-nü tayak-lar-i 'the sun's rays'
- f. ana-ni egeç-i 'aunt' (lit. 'mother's sister')
- g. şindik-le-ni eki-si 'two of the chairs'
- h. kaŋn-la-ni baŋı-lar-i 'some of the women'
- i. adam-la-ni xar biri 'each man/every one of the men'

- e. A-nī ana-sī a-nī ač-ıw-un kör-me-di
 he-GEN mother-POS he-GEN suffer-GER-POS see-NEG-PAST
 'His mother did not feel his pain'

4.1.3. Adjectival Phrases

Adjectival modifiers generally precede the words that they modify: *kök kitap* 'blue book'. But when an adjective serves as the head of a phrase, it comes in final position. This situation is encountered most often in comparative constructions, where the two (or more) noun phrases being compared precede the adjective.

- (31) tam(b)la buw-dan bü-ğün koyan ašxı (or ašxi-rak)
 tomorrow deer-ABL today rabbit good -COMP
 'A rabbit today is better than a deer tomorrow'

There are two things to note about the comparative construction in (31). First, the standard of comparison (in this case, the deer) comes first and is marked with the ablative ending, while the thing being measured against the standard (the rabbit) is placed second and is in the nominative case. Second, the comparative ending *-ırEk* need not be present and in fact is frequently absent.

4.1.4 Postpositional Phrases

As the name suggests, and as the head-final nature of Karachay requires, postpositions follow their objects. See (32).

- (32) a. ana üçün 'for mother'
 b. arba bıla 'by car'

Postpositions can also take clausal complements, to which they assign case:

- (33) men üy-ge bar-gan-dan sora/sonjra
 I house-DAT go-PART-ABL after
 'after I got home...'

4.2. Clause-level Syntax

4.2.1 Null Subjects

It has already been pointed out that Karachay is a null-subject language, in which a pronominal subject may be omitted. Thus one can say either (34) (a) and (b) or their variants (c) and (d).

- (34) a. men talebe-me
 I student-COP
 'I am a student'

- b. men siz-ni kör-dü-m
 I you-ACC see-PAST-1SG
 'I saw you'
 c. talebe-me
 d. siz-ni kör-dü-m

Like most null-subject languages, Karachay lacks expletive subjects. Sentences referring to the climate, the weather, time, etc., which require the expletive *it* in English are either subjectless in Karachay, or they have a full lexical subject. Compare the Karachay sentences in (35) with their English counterparts.

- (35) a. jağur jawa-dı
 rain fall-3SG
 'It is raining'
 b. suwuk-du
 cold-COP
 'It is cold'

Similarly Karachay lacks the equivalent of English *there* in existential sentences. See 4.2.3.

4.2.2 Copular Sentences

Simple copular sentences with non-verbal predicates take the enclitic copula ending in the present tense. In the past, the preterite form of 'be' is used.

- (36) a. men talebe-me 'I am a student'
 b. öretmenme 'I am a teacher'
 c. talebe yedim (often contracted to talebeyem) 'I was a student'
 d. öretmen edim (often contracted to öretmenem) 'I was a teacher'
 e. men kart yedim/kartem 'I was old'
 f. ol kartedi: '(s)he was old'
 g. kalam jer-de-di
 pen floor-LOC-COP
 'the pen is on the floor'
 h. kalam bılaj-da-di
 pen here-LOC-COP
 'the pen is here'

4.2.3 Possessives and Existentials

Sentences expressing possession are copular in form and contain the predicate *bar*, which essentially means 'existent', and a subject marked with a possessive suffix. *bar* takes the third person copular endings in the present, and the past tense of 'be' to express possession in the past.

- (37) a. kitab-ıj bar-di
book-POS existent-COP
'you have a book' (lit. 'your book is existent')
b. men-i kalam-ım bar-e-di
I-GEN pen-POS existent-be-PAST
'I had a pen'

Existential sentences have the same form as possessives, except that the subject has no possessive suffix:

- (38) a. kitap bar 'there is a book' (lit. 'book is existent')
b. bılay-da kalam bar-di
here-LOC pen existent-COP
'there is a pen here'

The opposite of *bar* is *Ʒok*, which means 'not existent' and is used in constructions identical to those in (37) and (38):

- (39) a. kitab-ıj Ʒok-du 'you have no book'
b. men-i kitab-ım Ʒok-e-di 'I didn't have a pen'
c. kitap Ʒok 'there is no book'
d. bılay-da kalam Ʒok-du 'there is no pen here'

4.2.4 Negatives

Negation can be expressed in either of two ways. Verbal negation, in which the suffix *-mE* is added to a verbal form has already been described in section 3.2.6. The other method of negating a sentence makes use of the predictor *tıl*, which has the variant *tıyıl*, and which means 'not'. *tıl/tıyıl* takes the enclitic copula endings. Negation with *tıl/tıyıl* is called 'nominal negation' by some authors (e.g. Urusbiev 1963) because for the most part it is used with noun phrases, adjectives, and other non-verbal items (see (40)).

- (40) a. arıw arıw tıl-dü...
beautiful beautiful not-COP
'the beautiful one is not beautiful...'

But the term 'nominal negation' can be misleading because one of the common uses of *tıl/tıyıl* is in a construction with the participle in *-lIk*. The resulting construction carries verbal force. (41) gives two examples.

- (41) a. bar-lık tıyıl-me
go-PART not-COP
'I will not go' (lit. 'I am not the goer')
b. a-la bı-jıl boşa-y-al-lık tıl-düle
(s)he-PL this-year finish-PART-POSS-PART not-COP
'They will not be able to finish this year'

4.2.5 Interrogatives

Yes/no questions, formed with the suffix *mI*, have already been dealt with in section 3.2.6.

Wh-questions are formed by using one of the interrogative words in place of a sentential constituent. Interrogative pronouns take the relevant number and case endings. The usual site for the question word is immediately before the verb. Wh-questions do not require the negative suffix *mI*. Examples of several kinds of wh-questions are given in (42).

- (42) a. adam ne-ni kör-dü
man what-ACC see-PAST
'what did the man see?'
b. adam katıp-Ʒa ne(-ni) ber-di
man woman-DAT what(-ACC) give-PAST
'what did the man give to the woman?'
c. ne-ıj bar-di
what-2SG POS existent-COP
'what do you have?'
d. a-ni ne-si bar-di
(s)he-GEN what-POS existent-COP
'what does (s)he have?'
e. Moskva-ga ne(-zat) bıla bar-dı-ıj
Moscow-DAT what(-thing) by-means-of go-PAST-2SG
'how did you go to Moscow?'
f. talebe kim-di 'who is a student?'
g. katin-ni kim kör-dü 'who saw the woman?'
h. katin kim-ni kör-dü 'who did the woman see?'
i. katıp-Ʒa kitap-ni kim ber-di 'who gave the book to the woman?'
j. katin kitap-ni kim-ge ber-di 'who did the woman give the book to?'
k. kaysı adam katin-ni kör-dü 'which man saw the woman?'
l. ol kalay-da-dı 'where is (s)he?'
m. Moskva-ga kaçan bar-rik-sa 'when will you go to Moscow?'
o. Moskva-ga nek bar-dı-ıj 'why did you go to Moscow?'

4.2.6 Constituent Order

As already stated, the basic word order in Karachay clauses is Subject-Object-Verb, and if there are two objects the dative (indirect) usually precedes the accusative (direct) object, as in (43a). If a sentence contains a locative and an ablative noun phrase, they may be placed in either order, as in (43b), although the order with the ablative first is somewhat more natural. In spite of these generalizations about unmarked order, word order is fairly free: (43c) gives a set of sentences that differ in word order but that are syntactically and semantically equivalent, aside from differences of style and focus.

- (43) a. adam katıp-Ʒa kitap-ni ber-di
man woman-DAT book-ACC give-PAST

- 'a man gave the book to the woman'
 b. kavkaz-dan moskva-ga bar-di-m
 (or) moskva-ga kavkaz-dan bar-di-m
 'I went from the Caucasus to Moscow'
 c. men tam(b)la sen-i kör-rük-me
 (or) tam(b)la men sen-i kör-rük-me
 (or) men sen-i kör-rük-me tam(b)la
 (or) tam(b)la sen-i men kör-rük-me
 (etc.)
 'I will see you tomorrow'

4.2.7 Coordination

Coordination may be accomplished with or without a conjunction. This is true of both phrases (44a-c) and clauses (44d-e). Note that the conjunction may come between the two conjuncts, or it may come after the first element of the second conjunct, as in (44e).

- (44) a. but-suz, kol-suz ešik aç-a
 foot-less hand-less door open-PART
 'Without a foot and without a hand, it opens the door'
 b. börü-le bla koy-la 'wolves and sheep
 c. men katıj-ğa šoş bar-di-m da ayt-di-m
 I woman-DAT calm go-PAST-1SG and speak-PAST-1SG
 'I went up to the woman calmly and spoke'
 d. arıw arıw tül-dü, süy-ge-ıj-di arıw
 beautiful beautiful not-COP, love-PART-POS-3SG beautiful.
 'The beautiful one is not beautiful; the one you love is beautiful'
 e. Ol men-i kitab-ım-i al-di men da a-nıktı-n al-dı-m
 (s)he I-GEN book-POS-ACC take-PAST I and (s)he-POS-ACC take-PAST-1SG
 '(S)he took my book and I took his/hers'

4.2.8 Subordination

Relative clauses have already been discussed in 4.1.1 and clausal complements of postpositions in 4.1.4. In this section we will deal with complement clauses (those that occur in either subject or object position) and adjunct (conditional, adverbial, etc.) clauses.

4.2.8.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses typically have a non-finite verb which is accompanied by its complements and adjuncts and is often marked for case. An example taken from the Sample Texts (Proverb no. 1), in which the complement clause is the sentential subject of the main clause, is given in (45). There are several other examples of this sort in the sample texts, e.g. Proverbs 2, 4, and 8.

- (45) tay bak-ma-gan at-xa min-me-z
 colt feed-NEG-PART horse-DAT ride-NEG-3SG
 'One who does not feed the colt has no horse to ride.'

A variant of this pattern is found in sentences expressing necessity, where a non-finite clause (usually with an infinitival verb) is the subject:

- (46) kel-ırge kerek-se
 come-INF necessary-COP(2SG)
 'you must come, it is necessary for you to come'

kerek here essentially means 'necessary'; that is, it is an adjective not a verb. One can also say

- (47) sen kerek-se 'you are necessary'

4.2.8.2 Adjunct Clauses

Included under this heading are those subordinate clauses that are external to the subject and predicate, i.e. those that are constituents of the main clause but not of any of its parts. These include conditionals and adverbials of various sorts.

Conditionals consist of a clause in which the verb is a stem with the conditional suffix *-sE*. The conditional clause and the main clause may occur in either order, although it is more common for the conditional clause to precede the main clause. An example is given in (48).

- (48) a. Ol kel-se men saq-ğa kitap-nı bet-ir-me
 (s)he come-COND I you-DAT book-ACC give-PART-2SG
 'If (when) (s)he comes, I will give you the book'

Adverbial clauses of various types -- temporal, causal, resultative, and others -- typically contain a participial verb. They may contain an adverb which makes the relationship explicit, although this is not always the case -- note the sentence in (49e), in which the combination of a participle and its negative conveys the meaning 'as soon as...'. An adverbial clause usually precedes the main clause, but need not do so.

- (49) a. men üy-ge bar-gan-dan sogra saq-ğa tübe-di-m
 I house-DAT go-PART-ABL after you-DAT meet-PAST-1SG
 'After I got home, I met you'
 b. üy-ge bar-a-tur-gal-lay siz-ge tübe-di-m
 house-DAT go-PART-stay-PART-DER you-DAT meet-PAST-1SG
 'While I was going home, I met you'
 c. üy-ge bar-gan-ım-da saq-ğa tübe-di-m
 house-DAT go-PART-POS-LOC she-DAT meet-PAST-1SG
 'When I went home, I met her'

- d. beri kel-e ap-ŋa tübe-di-k
here come-PART she-DAT meet-PAST-1PL
'Arriving here, we met her'
- e. ol kel-ir kel-me-z men sap-ŋa kitap-nı ber-ir-me
(s)he come-PART come-NEG-PART I you-DAT book-ACC give-PART-1SG
'As soon as (s)he comes, I will give you the book'

It is evident from the types of endings that the non-finite verbs in these subordinate clauses take that they are more nominal than verbal. For example, in (49c), the participle *bar-gan* takes the first person singular possessive ending *im* and the locative *da*; the literal meaning is thus something like 'in my going'. It is examples like this that give rise to the question raised earlier: are these really embedded sentences, or are they deverbal nominals?

5. SAMPLE TEXTS.

These texts come from four different sources. *Amanat* is from Xabičev (1966), p. 232. The riddles and the proverbs are from Akbaev (1963), Borovkov (1932), and Pröhle (1909a). The phonological representation of the source has been retained, even when it disagrees with that used elsewhere in this work.

Amanat, by O. Hubiylani

- jarı-k kün-nü tayak-lar-i miyik taw-la-nı tebbe-ler-i-n
bright-DER sun-GEN ray-PL-POS high mountain-PL-GEN top-PL-POS-ACC
- jarı-ta-dı-la. Teberdi-ni keŋ özen-i endi keče-gi
bright-CAUS-PAST-PL Teberdi-GEN wide gorge-POS now night-DER
- juku-sun-dan uya-n-dı. Kün tik taw-la-dan bol-gan-ŋa
sleep-GEN-ABL awaken-REFL-PAST sun steep mountain-PL-ABL be -PART-DAT
- nür tög-üb, ašik-ma-y tüge-le-y-di. Ertdeŋ-ŋi
light pour-PART hurry-NEG-PART descend-PL-PART-PAST morning-DER
- hawa bilay-da narat terek-le-den ak-gan çayır-nı iyı-sı-n
air here-LOC pine tree-PL-ABL flow-PART pitch-GEN scent-POS-ACC
- burmuŋ-ŋa ur-a-dı. Teberdi koban kuw-guŋ-ŋa çab-han-ça
nose-DAT blow-PART-PAST Teberdi river drive-DER-DAT run-PART-LIKE
- šorka tawuš et-ib, özen-ni eniše taşay-a-dı.
current sound make-PART gorge-GEN downward run-through-PART-PAST
- jay bol-gan-lik-ga, ertdeŋ-ŋi suw ayaz har kim-ge
summer be-PART-DER-DAT morning-DAT water chill every who-DAT

jılı kiy-dir-e-di.
warmly dress-CAUS-PART-3SG

'The rays of the bright sun light up the heights of the tall mountains. The broad valley of the Teberdi awoke from its night's sleep. The sun, illuminating everything, slowly descends from the steep mountains. The morning air brings the scent of pitch from the pine forests. The River Teberdi, its currents ringing, rushes down through the gorge. Although it is summer, the morning coolness of the river forces people to dress warmly.'

Proverbs

1. tay bak-ma-gan at-xa min-me-z
colt feed-NEG-PART horse-DAT ride-NEG-3SG
'One who does not feed the colt has no horse to ride.'
2. bir unu-ga eki jıŋıl-gan -- sokur, bir adam-ga eki
one hole-DAT two fall-PART blind one man-DAT two
aldat-xan -- teli.
cheat-PART fool.

'The one who falls into the same hole twice is blind; the one who cheats the same person twice is a fool.'

3. tama-tama köl bol-ur.
drop drop lake become-PART
'Drop by drop a lake is formed.'
4. bir-lik bol-ma-gan jer-de nasib bol-ma-z.
one-DER be-NEG-PART place-LOC happiness be-NEG-3SG
'Where there is no unity, there is no happiness.'
5. bir-lik-de -- tiri-lik.
one-DER-LOC strong-DER
'In unity there is strength.'
6. tam(b)la buw-dan bü-gün koyan axşı.
tomorrow deer-ABL this-day rabbit good
'A rabbit today is better than a deer tomorrow.'
7. kir-da buw-dan, kol-da koyan axşı.
steppe-LOC deer-ABL hand-LOC rabbit good
'A rabbit in the hand is better than a deer on the steppe.'
8. köb jaşa-gan bil-me-y-di, köb kör-gem bil-e-di.
much live-PART know-NEG-part-3SG much see-PART know-PART-3SG

'The experienced one is not the one who has lived long, but the one who has seen much.'

9. ayt-ma, ayt-sa-ŋ -- kayt-ma.
say-NEG say-COND-2SG turn back-NEG
'Don't promise; but if you promise, don't turn back.'
10. ašik-gan suw tejiz-ge jet-me-z.
hurry-PART water sea-DAT reach-NEG-3SG
'Rushing water never reaches the sea.'
11. bulut-dan čik-gan kün bek kiz-dır-ir.
cloud-ABL come-out-PART sun very heat-CAUS-PART
'The sun emerging from the clouds heats strongly.'
12. ot-suz o'jak-dan tütün-e čik-ma-z.
fire-less chimney-ABL smoke-DAT send-out-NEG-3SG
'A fireless chimney emits no smoke'
13. jaš karın-da taš eri-r.
young stomach-LOC stone digest-PART
'In a young stomach, a stone is digested.'
14. ariw ariw tül-dü, süy-geñ-i-đi ariw.
beautiful beautiful not-COP, loved-PART-POS-3SG beautiful.
'The beautiful one is not beautiful; the one you love is beautiful.'
15. jarlı-ni cırag-i mutxuz jan-ar.
poor-GEN candle-POS gloomily burn-PART
'The candle of the poor burns gloomily.'

Riddles

1. er-i bar da -- kan-i jok,
meat-POS exist and blood-POS not-exist
teri-si bar da -- süveg-i jok. (gardoš)
skin-POS exist and bone-POS not-exist. (potato)
'It has meat but no blood; it has skin but no bones. (potato)'
2. üy baş-in-da ala küyüz. (kök-de juldüz-ia)
house head-POS-LOC many-colored blanket (sky-LOC star-PL)
'Over the top of the house, a colorful blanket. (starry sky)'
3. but-suz, kol-suz ešik ač-a. (jel)
(jel)

foot-less hand-less door open-PART (wind)
'Without a foot and without a hand, it opens the door. (wind)'

4. kalaw-kalaw tošek-le, a-ni bil-me-gen
pile -pile mattress-PL it-ACC know-NEG-PART
ešek-le. (kitap-la)
donkey-PL book-PL
'The mattresses lie in piles. Those who don't know them are donkeys.' (books)
5. karanjı baw-da kutur-gan küčük. (škok-da ok)
dark shed-LOC rage-PART puppy. (gun-LOC bullet)
'In a dark shed, a raging puppy.' (a bullet in a gun)
6. Tiš-i kara iç-i kızıł. (kazan)
outside-POS black inside-POS red.
'Its exterior is black, its interior is red.' (copper kettle)
7. Suw-da tuw-a-đi, jer-de jaša-y-đi,
water-LOC be-born-PART-3sg land-LOC live-PART-3SG
ana-si-n kör-se öl-e-đi. (uz)
mother-POS-ACC see-COND die-PART-3SG (ice)
'It is born in the water and lives on the land, when it sees its mother, it dies. (ice)
8. Baš-i tešik, tül-ü tešik, orta-sı ot bila suw. (samovar)
head-POS empty bottom-POS empty middle-POS fire and water. (samovar)
'Its head is empty; its bottom is empty; its middle is fire and water. (samovar)
9. Biz aŋ-ğa kara-y, ol kök-ke kara-y. (lampa)
we it-DAT look-PART it sky-DAT look-PART (lamp)
'We look at it; it looks at the sky. (lamp)'

GLOSSARY

This glossary includes all of the words used as examples in the body of text as well as all of the words in the sample texts, with the exception of transparent derived forms. Verbs are given in their infinitive form with a hyphen dividing the stem from the infinitival ending.

a, ya (conj) but	aǵı, aǵı, aǵı (adj) good	birkawum (det) some
ac-arga (v) open	aǵı-ırǵa (v) hurry	birlik (n) unity
ačık (adj) open	at ¹ (n) horse	bis-erge (v) cook
ačıw (ačıw) (n) grief, pain	at ² (n) name; noun	biz (pro) we
adam (n) man, person	at jer, at jeri (n) saddle	bijil (= bu jil) this year
agač (n) tree	ata (n) father	bıla (p, conj) with; and
ag-arga (v) flow	at-arga (v) throw; shoot	bılaj (p) with
agaz (n) weasel	axı- see aǵı	bılayda (adv) here
agıl (n) barn	awur (adj) heavy	bılır (n) last year
ak (adj) white	ay (n) moon; month	bıla see bıla
ak bet (adj) pale	ayak (n) foot	blay see bılaj
ak čač (n) white hair;	ayak barmak (n) toe	bol-ırǵa (v) be, become
white-haired person	ay-arga (v) fall (of snow,	boš (adj) empty
akıl (n) mind, intelligence	rain, etc.)	boš-arga (v) finish
al (n) front	ayaz (n) chill	bol-ırǵe (v) divide
ala (demon) those; (as pro)	ayır-ırǵa (v) choose	börü (n) wolf
they	ayt-ırǵa (v) say	bu (demon) this
ala (adj) many-colored	az, azar (n) little	bula see bıla
alay (conj) but	baga (n) price	buljuǵan (part) consoled
aldat-ırǵa (v) cheat	bag-arga (v) feed	bulut (n) cloud
al-ırǵa (v) buy, take	bal (n) honey	burun (n) nose
alftı (num) six	bal čibin (n) honey bee	bur-ırǵa (v) twist; move
altmıš (num) sixty	baliy (n) cherry	but (n) leg
amanat (n) something held	bar (adj) existent	buw (n) deer
in trust	bar-ırǵa (v) go	bügün, bukün (n) today
amma (conj) but	barmak (n) finger	bütew (quant) all
amalfın (p) because of	baš (n) head; top	čabak (n) fish
an- (pro) (see ol)	bašla-ırǵa (v) begin	čab-arga (v) run
ana (n) mother	baw (n) shed	čač (n) hair
ana karnas (n) maternal	bay (n) bandage	čakıl (p) near
uncle	bazı (pro) some	čal-ırǵa (v) mow
ansı (conj) or, but	bek (adv) very	čanč-arga (v) insert
apı (n) mind, wits	beri (adv) here	čayır (n) pitch
appa (pro, demon) dat of ol	ber-ırǵe (v) give	čibin (n) fly
ara (n) middle	beš (num) five	čınday (n) stocking
arba (n) car; cart	bet (n) face	čırak (n) candle
arwı (adj) beautiful	bilek (n) arm	da (conj) and
art (n) back	bile-ırǵe (v) sharpen	deri (p) until
aš üy (n) kitchen	bil-ırǵe (v) know	de-ırǵe (v) say
aša-ırǵa (v) eat	bir (num) one	

e- (v) be	jay (n) summer	katın (n) woman
egeč (n) sister	jaz-arga (v) write	katıs (p) with
eki (num) two	jel (n) wind	kayda (adv) where
el (n) village	jel baš (adj) unbalanced,	kaydan (adv) where (from)
elli (num) fifty	eccentric	kayrı (adv) where (to)
ek-ırǵe (v) take; carry	jeñil (adj) fast	kaysı (pro) which
em, emda (conj) and	jer (n) place; land, earth;	kayt-ırǵa (v) turn back
emček (n) breast	floor	kazan (n) (copper) kettle
emček ana (n) wet nurse;	jet-erge (v) reach, get	kaz-arga (v) dig
foster mother	jeti (num) seven	keče (n) night
endi (adv) now	jetmıs (num) seventy	kegey (n) spoke (of a
eniš (adv) downward	jıǵıl-ırǵa (v) fall	wheel)
eri-ırǵe (v) digest	jıl (adj, adv) warm(ly)	kel-ırǵe (v) come
ertden (n) morning	jır (n) song	keñ (adj) wide
ešek (n) donkey	jıyırma (num) twenty	ker-erge (adj) necessary
ešik (n) door	jök (adj) nonexistent	ker-ırǵe (v) extend
ešit-ırǵe (v) hear	jük (n) thing	kerti (adj) real, true
et (n) meat	juku (n) sleep	ket-erge (v) go, leave
et-erge (v) do, make	julduz (n) star	kibik (p) like
gakı (n) egg	juwuk (p) near	kim (pro) who
gardoš (n) potato	juwuk (n) relative	kir-ırǵe (v) enter
gitče (adj) small	juwun-ırǵa (v) bathe	kirpik (n) eyelash
gokka (n) toy	jülü-ırǵe (v) shave	kisen fetter, hobble
gummos (n) wart	jüreke (n) heart	kitap (n) book
ič (n) inside, interior	jüz (num) hundred	kiydir-ırǵe (v) dress (trans)
ič-erge (v) drink	kab-arga (v) bite	kiyün-ırǵe (v) get dressed
igi (adj) good	kacan (pro) when	kılı (p) because of
injıw (n) poverty	kak ¹ (n) cormeal mush	kır (n) steppe
išle-ırǵe (v) build; complete	kak ² (n) salted, pickled	kır-k (num) forty
ıyı (n) scent	meat	kır-k-arga (v) cut
ıynam (n) faith, (religious)	kalam (n) pen	kısxa (adv) soon
belief	kalaw (n) pile	kız (n) girl; daughter
jan-arga (v) burn	kalay (adv) how	kız-arga (v) get mad
janı (adj) new	kalin (adj) thick	kız-arga (v) heat
janur (n) rain	kal-ırǵa (v) stay	kızıl (adj) red
jarık (Adj) bright	kallay (adv) which	koban (n) river
jar-ırǵa (v) break	kan (n) blood	kol (n) hand
jarıt-ırǵa (v) brighten	kar (n) snow	kor-ırǵa (v) defend
jarıt (adj, n) poor	kara (adj) black	koy (n) sheep
jaš (adj) young	karañı (adj) dark	koyan (n) rabbit
jaša-ırǵa (v) live	kara-ırǵa (v) look	köb (quant) much
jašıl (adj) green	karakalam (n) pencil	kök (n) sky; blue
jat-arga (v) lie down	karın (n) stomach	köl (n) lake
jaw (n) oil	karnas (n) brother	kökürek, kökreke (n) breast
jawa-ırǵa (v) fall (of rain,	kart (adj) old	köre (p) for
snow, etc.)	kaska (n) dragonfly	körgüz-ırǵe (v) show

kör-ürge (v) see	sarı (adj) yellow	tejiz (n) ocean
köz (n) eye	sark-arga (v) flow down	tepe-rgе (v) dance
kulak (n) ear	sarfin (p) because of	terek (n) tree
kurum (p) to, toward	saw (adj) healthy; whole	teri (n) skin
kutur-urga (v) rage	saw bol thank you	teşik (adj) empty
kuw-arga (v) drive, chase	sawut (n) gun	tige-rgе (v) descend
küč (n) power	sayla-rgа (v) choose	tik (adj) steep
küčük (n) puppy	segiz (num) eight	til (n) tongue; language
kül-ürge (v) laugh	sekсен (num) eighty	tile-rgе (v) ask
kün (n) sun; day	sen (pro) you (sg)	tirilik (n) strength
küreк (n) shovel	senek (n) pitchfork	tış (n) outside, exterior
kürk (n) fur	siz (pro) you (pl)	toguz (num) nine
kürt (n) Kurd	sokur (adj) blind	toksan (num) ninety
küyüz (n) blanket	sora, songra (p) after	tol-urga (v) fill
lampa (n) lamp	sor-urga (v) ask	tonuz (v) pig
men (pro) I	saw (n) water; river	toprak (n) earth
men-erge (v) ride	saw baš (adj) brainless	tög-erge (v) pour
min (num) thousand	suwuk (adj) cold	tört (num) four
miyik (adj) high, tall	sür-ürge (v) plow	töšek (n) mattress
mutxuz (adv) gloomily	süt baš(ñ) (n) cream	tur-urga (v) stand, stay; live
narat (n) pine	süyek (n) bone	tuw-arga (v) be born
nasıb (n) happiness	süy-erge (v) love	tüb, tübü (n) bottom
ne (pro) what	süz-erge (v) discuss	tübe-rgе (v) meet, see
ne, neda, neya (conj) or	şindik (n) chair	tük (n) feather
nek, nege (adv) why	şkok (n) gun	tül/tüyül (adj) not
neme (n) thing	şorka (n) current	tünene (n) yesterday
nür (n) light	şoş (adj) calm	tütün (n) smoke
oğur (n) luck	taba (p) toward	tüz (adj) true
ojak (n) chimney	taballa-rgа (v) kick	uču-rgа (v) fly
ok (n) bullet	taban (n) heel	ullu (adj) big
ol (demon,pro) that; he, she, it	tab-arga (v) find	uru (n) hole
on (num) ten	talebe (n) student	ur-urga (v) hit; blow
orta (n) middle	tal-irga (v) become tired	uyan-irga (n) wake up
ot (n) fire	tama (n) drop (of water)	uz (n) ice
otun (n) firewood	tam-arga (v) go; flow	üč (num) three
otuz (num) thirty	tam(b)la (adv) tomorrow	üčün (p) for
öl-ürge (v) die	taš (n) stone	ür-ürge (v) blow
ötürük (n) lie	tasa-rgа (v) run through	üy (n) house
özen (n) gorge	taw (n) mountain	xar (pro) each, every, all
sabiy (n) child	tawuş (n) sound	xawa (n) air, breeze
sagat (n) hour; time	tay (n) colt	xuy (n) character
sal-irga (v) put	tayak (n) ray	zaman (n) time
samowar (n) samovar	tebbe (n) top	zat (n) thing
san (n) number	Teberdi (n) the Teberdi (River)	
san-arga (v) count	teli (adj) foolish	

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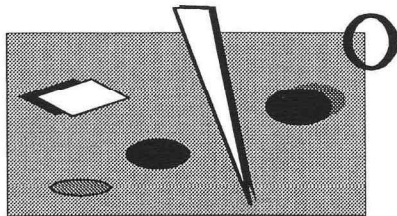
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