Crimean Tatar

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Languages of the World/Materials

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Photographs by the author.
Front cover: two speakers of Crimean Tatar.
Back cover: picture of the Khan library in Bakhchisaray.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADJ	adjective-forming suffix
ADV	adverb-forming suffix
CAUS	causative
CLASS	classifier
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional mood
CONV	converb
DAT	dative case
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distributive
EMPH	emphatic particle
EV	evidential
FORM	formal
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
IMP	imperative mood
IMPF	imperfective
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative case
NEG	negative
NM	noun-forming suffix
OBLIG	obligative
ORD	ordinal
PART	particle
PASS	passive voice
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicate
PRES	present tense
PTCPL	participle
Q	interrogative particle
REFL	reflexive
RECIP	reciprocal
SF	stem formant
SG	singular
SUPER	superlative
VB	verb-forming suffix

0. Introduction

This book is intended as a short grammar of present-day Crimean Tatar. Crimean Tatar is an understudied language of the West Kipchak branch of the Northwestern subgroup of the Turkic language family (Johanson 1998).[1] Crimean Tatar is spoken mainly in Ukraine's Crimean peninsula and in Uzbekistan, as well as in small communities in Russia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey. According to traditional descriptions, Crimean Tatar is subdivided into three dialects: Southern (or Coastal), Central, and Northern (or Steppe) (Berta 1998a). The Central dialect is now used as the standard variety, while the number of speakers of the other two dialects is rapidly diminishing. The description presented in this book is based on the grammatical system of the Central dialect; however, dialectal differences are discussed where possible.

Although several descriptions of Crimean Tatar exist (Samoilovich 1916; Bogoroditskii 1933 specifically on the Southern dialect; Doerfer 1959, Sevortian 1966, Memetov 1993 on the Central dialect; Izidinova 1997; Berta 1998a; Useinov, Mireev, and Sahadzhiev 2005), some of them are quite old, and none of the sources presents a comprehensive picture of the language. The only English-language source (Berta 1998a) is a short comparative overview of four West Kipchak languages, including Crimean Tatar. A pedagogical grammar in Russian by Useinov, Mireyev, and Sahaciyev (2005) provides an excellent but incomplete description of the language. Sources in German include a glossary by Prokosch (2007), a diachronic grammar of literary Crimean Tatar (Prokosch 2006), and a description of Crimean Tatar suffixal allomorphy (Çeneli 1979). No transcribed and analyzed corpus is available for Crimean Tatar. Existing dictionaries include Crimean Tatar–Russian (Asanov et al. 1988, Useinov & Mireev 1992, Useinov 1994), Crimean Tatar–Ukrainian (Useinov & Mireev 2002), Russian–Crimean Tatar (Abdullaev & Umerov 1994), and Crimean Tatar–Russian/Russian–Crimean Tatar (Useinov 2007). There is no theoretical work on the grammatical system of the language, with the exception of one article on phonology, specifically, syncope (Kavitskaya 2004).

The unique sociolinguistic situation of Crimean Tatar must be taken into consideration by any study that concerns the language. In 1944, the entire Tatar population of Crimea was deported to Central Asia (mainly to Uzbekistan, but also to Kazakhstan and Tajikistan), and to several locations in Russia. As a result, speakers of the three Crimean Tatar dialects, which used to be linguistically homogenous, were separated, mixed, and immersed into radically different language environments.

In the early 1990s, the Crimean Tatars were allowed to return to their homeland. Currently, about 250,000 Crimean Tatars have returned to Crimea, and another 250,000

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[1] The West Kipchak group consists of Kumyk, Karachay, Balkar, Crimean Tatar and Karaim. Note that Kazan Tatar belongs to its sister North Kipchak group, and Turkish belongs to the West Oghuz branch of the Southwestern subgroup (Johanson 1998). Contacts between Crimean Ottoman and Crimean Tatar are responsible for the fact that the dialects of Crimean Tatar, especially its southern variety, have some Oghuz features in their phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon.

still live in exile.[2] Former inhabitants of certain areas of Crimea attempted to resettle in their native villages, so one can still find, for instance, speakers of the Southern dialect living on the Southern coast of Crimea, but they encountered great difficulties in doing so. On the other hand, many Crimean Tatars were forced to settle far from their original homes, as Russian and Ukrainian families had been resettled into them by the Soviet government.[3] This situation, along with years of exile, contributed to the dialect mixture.

In addition, although the Crimean peninsula had previously been a solely Russian- and Crimean Tatar-speaking territory, it is now part of an independent Ukraine, and the Ukrainian government's promotion of the Ukrainian language in education and local government has led to an ongoing switch from Russian to Ukrainian in the area. Thus, after centuries of close linguistic contact with Russian, Crimean Tatar finds itself interacting with a different Slavic language, Ukrainian, thus adding yet another dimension to the already very complicated set of lexical and grammatical changes that Crimean Tatar has undergone.

Understanding the sociolinguistic situation of Crimean Tatar is a prerequisite to generating any meaningful description of its grammatical system. On the level of variation in individual speech patterns, it is necessary to consider two factors: first, the original dialect of each speaker; and second, the location in which families spent their exile years. For instance, the "original" system of vowel alternations in the Southern dialect could have been influenced by Uzbek, a Turkic language that has lost its historical vowel harmony (Bodrogligeti 2003) but still has a great number of roots that give an impression of vowel harmony at least in the stem morphological domain, or by Russian, a language without vowel harmony but with pervasive and exceptionless vowel reduction.

Before the deportation of the Crimean Tatars from Crimea in 1944, the language could be clearly divided into three major dialects. As shown in Figure 2, the Southern dialect was spoken along the Southern coast and in the coastal mountains of the Crimean peninsula, approximately from Foros to Feodosia. Some researchers claim that the Southern dialect is not Kipchak like the other two, but that it belongs to the Oghuz subgroup (Radlov 1896, Samoilovich 1916, Sevortian 1966, Memetov 1993), while others (Berta 1998a, Johanson 1998) group all dialects together as West Kipchak. The southern border of the Northern (or Steppe) dialect area, according to Sevortian (1966),

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[2] This estimate is per SOTA, the Research Center for Turkestan and Azerbaijan, located in Haarlem, The Netherlands. The exact number of the deported differs depending on the source.

[3] For a discussion of issues connected with the Crimean Tatar exile and resettlement, see Allworth (1998), Bekirova (2004), Chervonnaia (1997), Fisher (1978), Fouse (2000), Gabrielian & Petrov (1997), Glyn Williams (2001), Sheehy (1971), Uehling (2000, 2004), Viatkin & Kul'pin (1997), among others.

was the line running roughly between the cities of Evpatoria, Feodosia, and Kerch.[4] The Central dialect was spoken in the area between the Southern and the Northern varieties.

After their return to Crimea, the Crimean Tatars resettled primarily in areas other than those in which they had lived before 1944. Currently, the main areas in Crimea inhabited by Crimean Tatars are around Simferopol, which is the largest city and the capital of Crimea, and also eastern and northeastern Crimea.

The data used in this book come from fieldwork conducted by the author in various parts of Crimea. The fieldwork undertaken in 2002 and 2003 was supported by grants from the Yale University Social Science Faculty Research Fund, and the fieldwork undertaken in 2009 was supported by a Faculty Research grant from the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies at Yale University.

The fieldwork conducted in Crimea in 2002 concentrated on the sociolinguistic differences between speakers of Crimean Tatar who were relocated to Russia, where they were surrounded by a genetically unrelated language (Russian), and speakers who were moved to Uzbekistan, where they were surrounded by a genetically related but nonetheless distinct Turkic language (Uzbek), as well as Russian. Apart from the desired sociolinguistic results, this study revealed the need for dialectological work in Crimea: the Southern and Northern dialects are rapidly disappearing, and their distinct characteristics are preserved only in the speech of the older generation. The fieldwork conducted in 2002 began to address this issue and the investigation was continued in 2003 and 2009: vocabulary lists, morphological paradigms, and narratives were collected from 37 speakers of all three dialects aged 22-90. The grammatical systems of these individuals were analyzed, and it has been determined that speakers older than (approximately) 60 have a high degree of coherence and systematicity, so their speech has basically been unaffected by contact and dialect mixture. This is consistent with earlier findings on language contact; for instance, Labov (1963, 1966) showed that the speech of older people tends to reflect the state of the language when they acquired it.[5] Younger speakers, on the other hand, tend to lose their dialectal affiliation, speaking a more or less "standard" dialect with various Uzbek and Russian influences.

The current work is thus based on an analysis of the grammatical systems of older speakers, who have clear dialectal affiliations. Among them are 10 speakers of the Central dialect, 7 speakers of the Southern dialect, and 3 speakers of the Northern dialect. The consultants whose speech was analyzed were born and spent their childhood before the deportation in the villages of Taşlı Yar and Mavlyuş (the Northern dialect); Otarçik, Qarıl, Urkusta, Topçikoy (the Central dialect); and Simeiz, Gaspra, Nikita, Taraq-Taş and Degirmenkoy (the Southern dialect) (see Figure 1 for the location of the villages). Of course, even in the speech of these speakers we can observe certain contact effects, but

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[4] Already in 1896, Radlov commented on the fact that the Northern dialects were under considerable influence from the more Southern dialects, especially with regards to their lexicon.

[5] See, however, the discussion in Sankoff and Blondeau (2007) of language change across a lifespan, which suggests a different possible pattern.

they will not be a confounding factor in this study. Such effects certainly merit documentation and analysis and are acknowledged in the book where possible, but the detailed investigation will be left to sociolinguists for future research, as it is possible to study different aspects of language contact, dialect mixture, and endangerment separately (see Stanford and Preston 2009 for a discussion of these issues).

The remainder of this book consists of the following chapters: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and three glossed and annotated texts representative of the three dialects. Since the boundary between morphology and syntax is not always clearly defined, some arbitrary choices have been made as to the order in which the material is presented.

1. Phonology

1.1. Orthography and the sound system

Before 1929, Crimean Tatar was written using the Arabic script. In 1929, at the 2nd Orthographic Conference held in Simferopol, the capital of Crimea, it was decided that the Arabic script was to be replaced with the Latin script (at that conference, it was also decided that the Central dialect would become the basis for literary Crimean Tatar). Later, in 1938, a modified Cyrillic script was adopted for Crimean Tatar (Memetov 1993). In 1997, the decision was made by the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea to use the Latin script. Now, the Cyrillic and Latin-based scripts are used interchangeably to write Crimean Tatar.

Table 1 shows the correspondences between the Latin script (Turkish-based), the Cyrillic script (Russian-based), and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The table is arranged according to the new Latin-based Crimean Tatar alphabet. Note that even though there is no one-to-one correspondence between the scripts used and the IPA, the new orthography for Crimean Tatar is quite close to phonetic writing. Several sounds that are only found in loans are written as follows: ts (IPA [ts], Russian ц), şç (IPA [ʃʲ], Russian щ), j (IPA [ʒ], Russian ж). There are a few discrepancies in the Cyrillic script, which is still widely used for Crimean Tatar writing. First, Cyrillic does not have letters for back consonants, so digraphs with the 'hardness' sign ъ are used to render the velar nasal ŋ (нъ), the voiced velar fricative ɣ (гъ), and the uvular stop q (къ). Second, a digraph дж is used to render dʒ, which is absent in Russian. Third, there are no front rounded vowels in Russian: signs for the Russian [ju] (ю) and [jo] (ё) are used to approximate them. These signs are ambiguous: they also denote the sequence [ju] and [jo] or the palatalization of the preceding consonant followed by [u] and [o] respectively. Both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts use the letters â and я, respectively, to refer to the palatalization of the preceding consonant or to the [ja] sequence. In the Cyrillic script, the softness sign is also used for this purpose: ль = lʲ.

Latin	Cyrillic	IPA
A a	A a	a
â	я (word-medially and word-finally)	a (with the palatalization of the preceding consonant)
B b	Б б	b
C c	Дж дж	dʒ
Ç ç	Ч ч	tʃ
D d	Д д	d
E e	Э э, е (word-medially)	e
F f	Ф ф	f
G g	Г г	g
Ğ ğ	Гъ гъ	ɣ
H h	X x	x
İ i	И и	i/ɪ
I ı	Ы ы	ɯ
K k	К к	k
L l	Л л	l
M m	М м	m
N n	Н н	n
Ñ ñ	нъ	ŋ
O o	O o	o
Ö ö	Ё ё	ø/jo
P p	П п	p
Q q	Къ къ	q
R r	Р р	r
S s	С с	s
Ş ş	Ш ш	ʃ
T t	Т т	t
U u	У у	u
Ü ü	Ю ю	y/ju
V v	В в	v/w
Y y	Й й	j
Z z	З з	z

Table 1. Correspondences between the Latin and Cyrillic Crimean Tatar alphabets and the IPA

The sentence in (1) provides an example of how the Cyrillic and Latin scripts used for writing Crimean Tatar match the IPA. The IPA will be used throughout this book.

(1)	bir	kün	Nasreddin	oca	eşegine	minip	yolğa	çıqa
	бир	кунь	Насреддин	оджа	эшегине	минип	йолгъа	чыкъа
	bir	kyn/kunʲ	nasredin	odʒa	eʃegine	minip	jolɣa	tʃɯqa
	one	day	Nasreddin	master his donkey		got on	to road	leaves

'One day, Nasreddin Hojja got on his donkey and set off.'

1.2. The vowel system

The vowel inventory of the Central and Southern dialects of Crimean Tatar is similar to that of its sister West Kipchak languages, such as Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar, and Karaim, and to that of other Turkic languages, such as Turkish. The Central and Southern dialects of Crimean Tatar have a fully symmetrical vowel system with eight vowel qualities, with oppositions in height, backness, and rounding, as shown in (2). These oppositions are highly relevant to the phonological feature of vowel harmony that Crimean Tatar shares with most other Turkic languages.

(2)   Crimean Tatar vowels

	-back		+back	
	-round	+round	-round	+round
+high	i	y	ɯ	u
-high	e	ø	a	o

The minimal and near-minimal pairs in (3) exemplify these vocalic contrasts in Crimean Tatar: that of height in (3)a, that of backness in (3)b, and that of rounding in (3)c.

(3)   Crimean Tatar vowels: minimal pairs

a.	bet	'face, page'	bit	'louse'
	dam	'taste, roof'	dɯm	'moisture, dampness'
	boz	'gray'	buz	'ice'
	søz	'word'	-syz	'without'
				(cf. søzsyz 'without words, silently')
b.	tʃin	'true, authentic'	tʃɯn	'tchin' (poetic genre)
	syrek	'length, duration'	suret	'appearance, picture'
	dem	'moment, instant'	dam	'taste, roof'
	søk-mek	'to unstitch, unbraid'	soq-maq	'to put in, stick in'
c.	siz	'you pl.'	-syz	'without'
	sek-sen	'eighty'	søk-mek	'to unstitch, unbraid'

sɯq-maq	'to press'	suq-lan-maq	'to envy'
saj	'shallow'	soj	'kin, type'

In addition to the vowels in (2), one more phonemic high vowel is present in the Northern dialect. This dialect has phonemicized the difference between [i] and reduced [ɪ], as supported by the (near-)minimal pairs in (4). The contrast between the two high front unrounded vowels is only found in monosyllabic words. In longer words, all high vowels reduce (or fully delete) in initial syllables, thus introducing shorter and more centralized allophones of [i y ɯ u] into the system.

(4)   kir   'mud'   kɪr   'come in'
        bit   'louse'   bɪz   'we'

The spectrograms in (5) and (6) show the differences between the two front unrounded vowels in the Northern dialect. The formant values are listed in (7).

(5)   A spectrogram of *bit* [bit] 'louse' in the Northern dialect
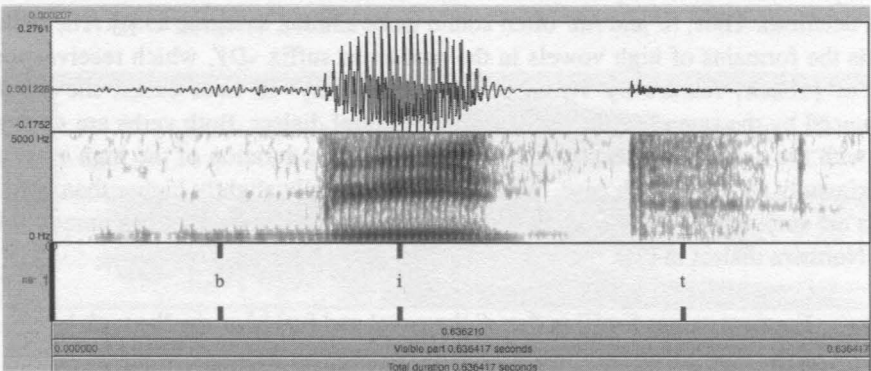
(6)   A spectrogram of *bɪz* [bɪs] 'we' in the Northern dialect
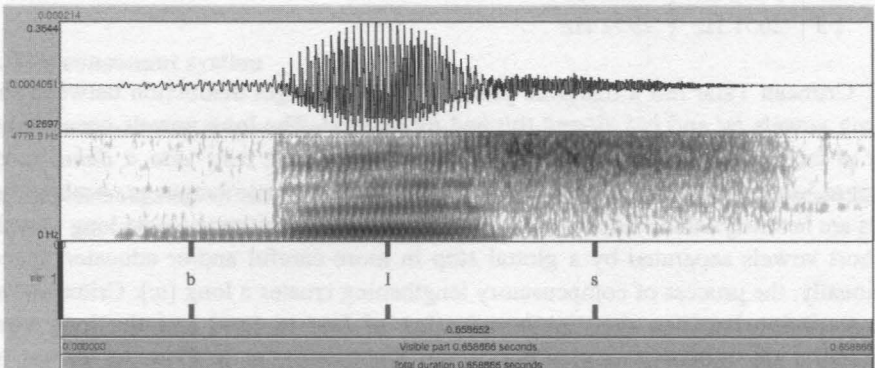
(7)   Formant values for [i] and [ɪ] in the Northern dialect

	[i]	[ɪ]
F1	342 Hz	467 Hz
F2	2331 Hz	1502 Hz
F3	2796 Hz	2549 Hz

While the duration of these two vowels is approximately the same (the vowel in *bız* 'we' is slightly but not significantly longer than the vowel in *bit* 'louse'), the quality of the vowels is clearly different. Phonetically, the reduced [ɪ] may not be different from the reduced [ɯ], but they are phonologically distinct.

The /i/-/ɪ/ contrast described for the Northern dialect is arguably present in the Central (standard) dialect as well (Useinov, Mireyev, & Sahaciyev 2005: 9). If present, this contrast is marginal and exists for only a few words.

The /i/-/ɯ/ contrast is clearly present in all dialects of Crimean Tatar. This is supported by phonological alternations, such as *siz-ler* 'you (pl.)' vs. *sun-lar* 'superstitions.' However, high vowels in Crimean Tatar are extremely short and reduced, even in positions where they never delete (see section 1.5.2 for the discussion of high vowel deletion). Thus, /i/ and /ɯ/ often sound quite similar, merging as [ɪ]. The table in (8) lists the formants of high vowels in the past tense suffix *-DY,* which receives the [-back] or [+back] feature by virtue of vowel harmony. In both cases, the word is pronounced by the same female speaker of the Central dialect. Both verbs are sentence-final, with the vowels in question thus under stress. The duration of the high vowels is approximately 65 ms in each case. While [i] is acoustically slightly higher than [ɯ], the vowels are very similar (cf. the dramatically different values of the F2 of an unreduced [i] in the Northern dialect in (7)).

(8)   Formant values for [i] in *ber-di* 'he gave' and [ɯ] in *al-du* 'he took.'

	berd[i]	ald[ɯ]
F1	562 Hz	466 Hz
F2	1656 Hz	1603 Hz
F3	2651 Hz	2952 Hz

Crimean Tatar has a marginal phonemic vowel length distinction between short and long vowels /a/ and /aː/, /i/ and /iː/, and /u/ and /uː/. The long vowels occur only in words of foreign origin, e.g., *dʒemaat* 'society,' *raat* 'peace, rest,' *daa < daha* 'more,' *ʃiir* 'poem,' *ʃuur* 'conscience,' *zuur* 'appearance' (in the source language, Arabic, these vowels are heterosyllabic). Such words are pronounced with either a single long vowel or two short vowels separated by a glottal stop in more careful and/or educated speech. Additionally, the process of compensatory lengthening creates a long [uː]: Crimean Tatar shows variation between the diphthongization of /uv/ to [uw] and the long vowel (historically, the monophthongization of the diphthong), as in (9)a. /v/ is not lost

following other vowels, as demonstrated in (9)b. The examples in (9)c show that [v] is sporadically lost intervocalically if followed by [u], without lengthening of either of the surrounding vowels. Word-initial and postconsonantal onset [v] is never lost, as in (9)d.

(9)   a. /suv/   suw ~ suː   'water'
              /juvmaq/   juwmaq ~ juːmaq   'wash'
      b. /avlanmaq/   awlanmaq   'hunt'
      c. /davuʃ/   dawuʃ ~ dauʃ   'voice'
              /suvuq/   suwuq ~ suuq   'cold'
      d. /viʃne/   viʃne   'cherry'
              /ajvan/   ajvan   'animal'

There are also a few examples of long [iː] that results from the monophthonginzation of the diphthong [ij], as in *kij-* ~ *kiː-* 'wear,' *papij* ~ *papiː* 'duck.'

An example with a long vowel (slightly diphthongized towards the end) is shown on the spectrogram in (10). Note that the length of the [u] in 'water' is 277 ms, which is about twice as long as the regular short vowel in Crimean Tatar.

(10)   A spectrogram of [suː] 'water'
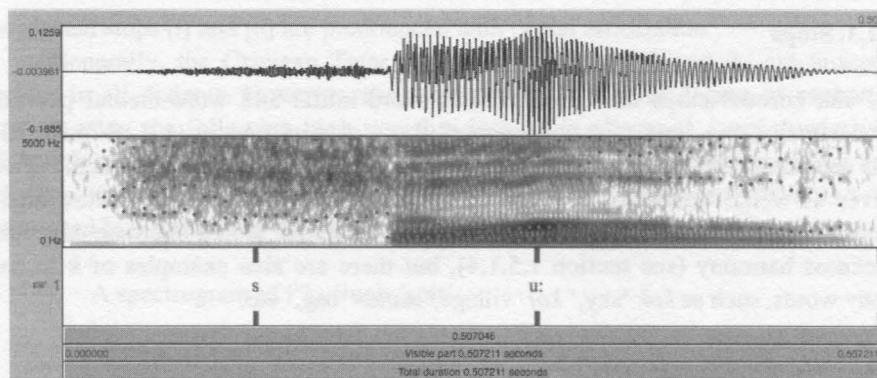
1.3. The consonant system

1.3.1. The consonantal inventory of the Central dialect

The consonant system of the Central dialect of Crimean Tatar has 27 regular members, as shown in the table in (11).

(11)   Crimean Tatar consonants

	labial	dental-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
stops	p b	t d		k kʲ g	q
nasals	m	n		ŋ	
fricatives	f v	s z	ʃ	x ɣ	
affricates			tʃ dʒ		
liquids		r l lʲ			
glides	w		j		

Most consonants (except *w*) listed in the inventory in (11) have phonemic status in Crimean Tatar. There is also a marginally phonemic glottal stop, as in a borrowed *anʲʔane* 'tradition' (the palatalized *nʲ* is quite rare and occurs only in words of foreign origin as well) and occasionally in words like *ʃuʔur* 'conscience,' discussed in the preceding section. The status of *q* will be discussed in section 1.3.1.1, the status of *w* in section 1.5.1.4, and issues connected with the palatalization of the velar stop *kʲ*, fricatives *sʲ* and *zʲ*, and liquids *lʲ* and *rʲ* will be addressed in section 1.3.1.4.

1.3.1.1. Obstruents

1.3.1.1.1. Stops

Labial and coronal stops are contrastive in word-initial and word-medial positions (intervocalically, pre- and post-consonantally), as exemplified in (12). Word-finally, there is neutralization through word-final devoicing of voiced stops (the devoicing affects fricatives as well). Velar stops are also contrastive in word-initial and word-medial positions. The voiceless velar stop *k* and the voiceless uvular stop *q* alternate depending on backness harmony (see section 1.5.1.4), but there are also examples of *k* in back harmony words, such as *kok* 'sky,' *koj* 'village,' *kanar* 'bag,' etc.

(12)   Crimean Tatar stops

	Word-initial		Word-medial		Word-final
p	parmaq 'finger'	intervocalic	apaj 'wife'		jip 'rope'
		preconsonantal	apte 'older sister'		
		postconsonantal	arpa 'barley'		
b	baʃ 'head'	intervocalic	taban 'foot'		arab 'arab'
		preconsonantal	abla 'older sister'		
		postconsonantal	tedbir 'event'		

t	tiʃ 'tooth'	intervocalic	tata 'sister'	et 'meat'
		preconsonantal	atmaq 'throw'	
		postconsonantal	altɯ 'six'	
d	deŋiz 'sea'	intervocalic	adam 'man'	ad 'name'
		preconsonantal	tedbir 'event'	
		postconsonantal	qajda 'where'	
k	kitap 'book'	intervocalic	eki 'two'	tirsek 'elbow'
		preconsonantal	tøkmek 'drop'	
		postconsonantal	keskin 'sharp'	
g	gedʒe 'night'	intervocalic	tegiz 'flat'	øg 'front part'
		preconsonantal	døgme 'button'	
		postconsonantal	ber-gen 'he gave'	
q	qan 'blood'	intervocalic	qoqumaq 'smell'	qursaq 'stomach'
		preconsonantal	qapaqlɯ 'unclear'	
		postconsonantal	arqa 'back'	

The coronal stops [t] and [d] are pronounced with dental articulation.

Generally, the Crimean Tatar voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ are unaspirated plosives in all dialects. However, they show some (variable) degree of aspiration or frication when the following high vowel is lost, as in *tʰkyrmek* 'spit' (underlyingly, /tykyrmek/), *pʰʃirmek* 'cook' /piʃirmek/, or *tʰʃʲemek* 'bite' /tiʃlemek/, resulting in two- and even three-consonantal onsets. A spectrogram of the word *tʰkyrmek* 'spit,' pronounced by a speaker of the Southern dialect, is shown in (13).

(13)   A spectrogram of tʰkyrmek 'spit'
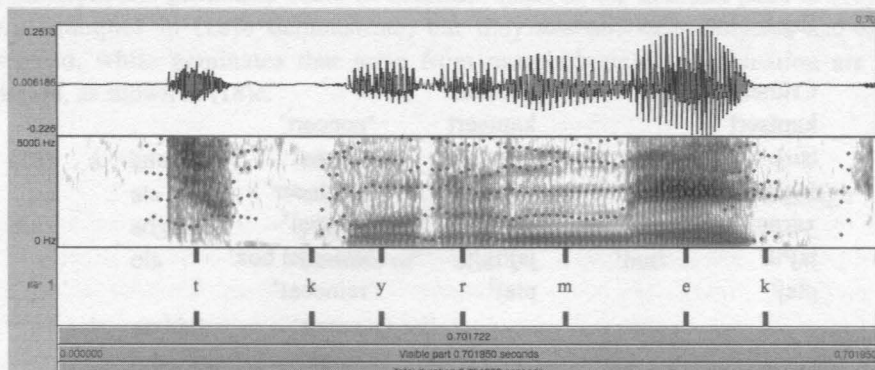
Note the complete absence of the underlying high vowel in the first syllable and the fricated nature of the first consonant. The conditions upon which high vowel deletion occurs will be described in section 1.5.2.

1.3.1.1.2. Fricatives and affricates

Crimean Tatar has two labial fricatives /f/ and /v/, two alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/, a palatal fricative /ʃ/, and two velar fricatives, /x/ and /ɣ/. /x/ is often pronounced more back, as a uvular /χ/. /v/ has an allophonic variant /w/, discussed in section 1.5.1.4. The velar fricative regularly alternates with the uvular stop, as in *qursaq* 'stomach' vs. *qursaɣum* 'my stomach.' Two affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, are also present in the inventory.

(14)   Examples of fricatives and affricates

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
f	farq 'difference'	ufaq 'small'	raf 'shelf'
v	ve 'and'	ajvan 'animal'	ev 'house'
s	sade 'simple'	nasɯl 'what kind'	ses 'voice'
z	zor 'difficult'	gyzel 'beautiful'	søz 'word'
ʃ	ʃej 'thing'	viʃne 'cherry'	tiʃ 'tooth'
x	xane 'room'	jaxʃɯ 'good'	nikʲax 'marriage'
tʃ	tʃabik 'fast'	sɯtʃan 'mouse'	atʃ 'hungry'
dʒ	dʒevap 'response'	gedʒe 'night'	tadʒ 'crown'

Additionally, several marginally phonemic fricatives and affricates, such as /ts/, /ʒ/, and /ʃʲ/, are used only in a relatively small class of recent (mostly 20th century) unassimilated Russian loans, exemplified in (15). Their phonemic status is established for younger speakers, but not in the speech of the older generation. In earlier assimilated loans these sounds changed to conform to the sound system of Crimean Tatar, as in (16).

(15)   Recent loans from Russian

Crimean Tatar	Russian	
kantsert	kantsert	'concert'
tsirk	tsirk	'circus'
inʒener	inʒener	'engineer'
ʒurnal	ʒurnal	'journal'
jaʃʲik	jaʃʲik	'wooden box'
plaʃʲ	plaʃʲ	'raincoat'

(16)   Older loans from Russian

Crimean Tatar	Russian	
afiser	afitser	'officer'
tʃotki	ʃʲotka	'brush'
vuuraʃ	vratʃ	'doctor'

1.3.1.2. Sonorants

Crimean Tatar has three nasals: bilabial /m/, dental /n/, and velar /ŋ/. The velar nasal does not occur word-initially. Speakers of the Southern dialect show fronting of /ŋ/ to [n], as in *deniz* 'sea' (cf. Central *deŋiz*), *ken* 'broad' (cf. Central *keŋ*).

(17)   Examples of nasals

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
m	mejdan 'square'	demir 'iron'	adam 'man'
n	nas 'people, nation'	bina 'building'	uzun 'long'
ŋ	–	deŋiz 'sea'	keŋ 'broad'

The inventory includes three liquids: /r/, non-palatalized /l/, and palatalized /lʲ/ (phonemic palatalization will be further discussed in section 1.3.1.4). The Crimean Tatar rhotic is a trill. The non-palatalized lateral is light and shows allophonic palatalization that will also be discussed in section 1.3.1.4. The palatal glide *j* is phonemic (cf. the minimal pair *jol* 'road,' *ol-* 'be'), and the labiovelar glide *w* is an allophone of /v/ (see section 1.5.1.4).

1.3.1.3. Geminates

Monomorphemic geminates occur in Crimean Tatar, as the minimal pairs in (18)a and more examples in (18)b demonstrate, but they are not very frequent and mostly borrowed, while geminates that arise from morphological concatenation are quite common, as shown in (18)c.

(18) a. ama   'such a'   amma   'but'
          ata   'ancestor'   atta   'already, even, though'
          adʒɯ   'pilgrim'   adʒdʒɯ   'bitter'
          ola   'because of'   olla   'but'

      b. ɣaddab   'fierce, cruel'
          murebbi   'mentor'
          millij   'national'
          ʃeffaf   'transparent'

    c.   at-ta   'on a horse'
          horse-LOC

          unut-tɯɯ-m   'I forgot'
          'forget-PAST-1SG'

          tut-tur-maq   'to cause to take'
          hold-CAUS-INF

          em-mek   'to suck'
          suck-INF

          jol-lar   'roads'
          road-PL

1.3.1.4. Palatalization

Palatalization of consonants is allophonic in all dialects of Crimean Tatar: palatalized variants occur in the environment of front vowels. The following consonants have palatalized counterparts in Crimean Tatar: [p b m s z l k g]. [t d n] do not palatalize even allophonically, except in recent borrowings (e.g., *lʲiftʲor* 'elevator operator,' *nʲurnbʲerg* 'Nurnberg' or sporadically, even in the speech of older speakers, as a contact phenomenon induced by Russian, a language with contrastive palatalization of almost all consonants). /l/, /lʲ/ and /z/, /zʲ/ are considered to be different phonemes in a number of sketches of Crimean Tatar grammar written in Russian (e.g., Samoilovich 1916, Memetov 1993).

In most lexical items, non-palatalized and palatalized variants of *l, r, s,* and *z* are in complementary distribution. For instance, [l] occurs in words with back vowels, as in (19)a, while /lʲ/ surfaces in words with front vowels, as in (19)b. The examples in (19)c illustrate that [l] in the plural suffix *-lAr* alternates with [lʲ] depending on the front or back harmony in the word.[6]

  (19) a. jol   'way'   altɯ   'six'
        b. kelʲ   'come'   kylʲ   'laugh'
        c. al-dɯ-lar   'they took'   kelʲ-di-lʲer 'they came'

There are, however, minimal and near-minimal pairs, as in (20), that appear to contrast plain *l, r,* and *z,* as in (20)a, and palatalized *lʲ, rʲ,* and *zʲ,* as in (20)b, in stems with phoneticaly back vowels. The contrast is present in the Central and Northern dialects (the vowel is significantly fronter in the Southern dialect). As shown in (20)c, the stems with phonetically back vowel in the Central dialect start the front harmony domain.

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[6] Allophonic palatalization will not be transcribed in the remainder of the book.

(20) a. Central/Southern
        toz   'dust'
        bol   'free'
        or   'harvest-IMP'

    b. Central   Southern
        koz^j køz^j 'eye'[7]
        bol^j bøl^j 'divide-IMP'
        or^j ør^j 'braid-IMP'

    c. Central   Southern
        koz^j-ler   køz^j-ler   'eyes'
        bol^j-mek   bøl^j-mek   'divide-IMP'
        or^j-mek   ør^j-mek   'to braid'

The spectrograms in (21) and (22) show a minimal pair, a word with final non-palatalized [s] and a word with final palatalized [s^j], as pronounced by a male speaker of the Central dialect.

(21) [tos]   'dust'

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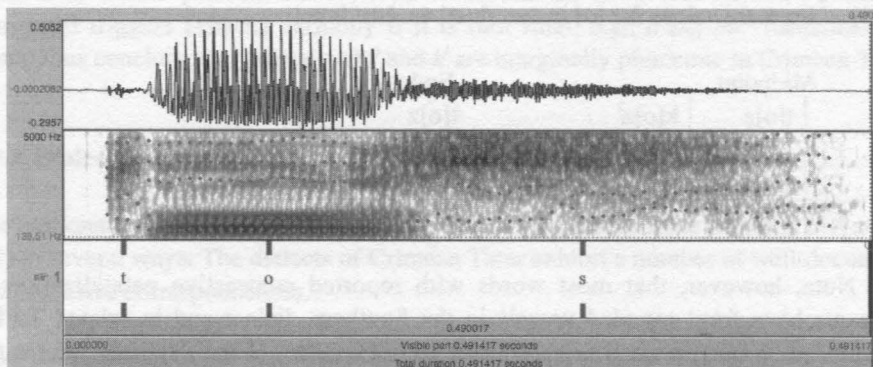
[7] The voiced fricative devoices word-finally, so phonetically the distinction in 'dust' vs. 'eye' is [s] vs. [s^j]. There are no minimal pairs with non-final *s* vs. *s^j*, but there is evidence that *s^j* also behaves like *l^j*, *r^j*, and *z^j* (cf. *os^j-mek* 'to grow,' *os^j-tyr-mek* 'to cause to grow').

(22)   [kosʲ]   'eye'
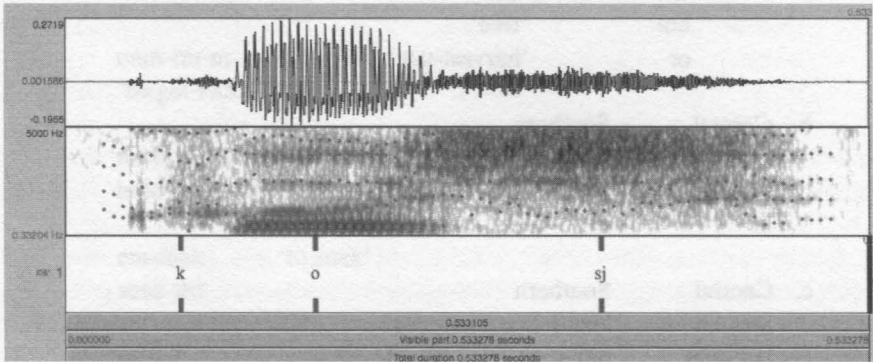
The table in (23) lists the formant values at the midpoint and endpoint of the vowels in 'dust' and 'eye.' The vowels appear to be quite similar at the midpoint. Both vowels raise towards the endpoint, presumably because of the following alveolar, but the raising of the second formant of the [o] in [kosʲ] is greater towards the endpoint of the vowel, suggesting a possible interpretation that the fricatives in question are distinguished by palatalization.

(23)   Formant values for [o] in *toz* 'dust' vs. *kozʲ* 'eye'

	Midpoint		Endpoint	
	t[o]z	k[o]zʲ	t[o]z	k[o]zʲ
F1	490 Hz	427 Hz	543 Hz	493 Hz
F2	1008 Hz	1015 Hz	1082 Hz	1337 Hz
F3	2709 Hz	2449 Hz	2956 Hz	2696 Hz

Note, however, that most words with reported contrastive palatalization of consonants have front rounded vowels in the Southern dialect and in related Turkic languages, as the comparison with Turkish in (24) shows (*baarʲ* 'spring,' where the palatalized *rʲ* begins a front harmony domain, cf. *baarʲ-de* 'in the spring,' *ilkbahar* in Turkish, *bahor* in Uzbek, appears to be an exception to this generalization). While the roots in (20)b have phonetically back vowels in them in the Central dialect (standard Crimean Tatar), they trigger harmony in the suffixes as if these were preceded by front vowels (25). Additionally, [g] and [k], which otherwise occur in words with front harmony, surface in Crimean Tatar words with the palatalized [lʲ], [rʲ] and [zʲ].

(24)   Crimean Tatar   Turkish
        gulʲ   gyl   'flower'
        kozʲ   gøz   'eye'
        kuzʲ   gyz   'fall'

(25) gulʲ-ler   'flower-PL'
  kozʲ-ler   'eye-PL'
  kuzʲ-ler   'fall-PL'

On the basis of the data presented, we can hypothesize that the phonemicization of the palatalized allophones of *l, r, s,* and *z* is under way in Crimean Tatar, but the contrast is not fully present yet. Note that Useinov, Mireev & Sahadzhiev (2005) analyze the vowels in words in (24) as front (and we will continue transcribing them as front throught the book).

There are also a number of words where palatalized consonants *lʲ* and *kʲ* are followed by a back vowel [a], as shown in (26).

(26) [lʲ]   [kʲ]
  lʲakin 'but'   kʲamil 'perfect'
  lʲazim 'necessary' kʲayɯt 'paper'
  lʲale 'tulip'   tukʲan 'store'
  ilʲadʒ 'medicine' nikʲax 'marriage'
  selʲam 'hello'   kʲa ... kʲa 'either ... or'

All these words are borrowings, and many of them are disharmonic roots, such as *lʲakin* 'but,' *kʲamil* 'perfect,' etc. Note, however, that the vowel that follows a palatalized consonant triggers [+back] harmony if it is root final, e.g., *ilʲadʒ-lar* 'medicines.' We would thus conclude that palatalized *lʲ* and *kʲ* are marginally phonemic in Crimean Tatar.

1.3.2. Dialectal variation and consonantal inventories

The consonant systems of the Southern and Northern dialects differ from the inventory in (11) in several ways. The dialects of Crimean Tatar exhibit a number of well-documented and pervasive correspondences.

The velar fricative *ɣ* surfaces as *w* in the Northern dialect, as exemplified in (27) (note the rounding of the high vowel after the labiovelar glide in 'mouth').

(27) Central Southern Northern
  daɣ   daɣ   taw   'mountain, forest'
  aɣɯz aɣɯz awuz 'mouth'
  jaɣa   jaɣa dʒawa 'rains'

Word-initial *j* in the Southern and Central dialects regularly corresponds to *dʒ* in the Northern dialect (28).[8]

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[8] There are exceptions to this generalization, such as *jaʃa-* 'live.' The absense of fricativization is possibly due to the presence of a fricative *ʃ* in the word.

(28)	Central	Southern	Northern	
	jol	jol	dʒol	'road'
	jer	jer	dʒer	'place, land'
	jat-	jat-	dʒat-	'lie'
	jip	jip	dʒip	'thread'

(29) shows the correspondences between back consonants in the three dialects. *q* and *x* have merged as *x* in the Southern dialect. The Northern dialect exhibits sporadic hardening of *x* to *q*, as in 'good,' and also sporadic spirantization of *q* to *x*, as in *bir xatʃ* 'several,' *axlumda* 'to my mind' (see the Northern dialect text in section 5).

(29)	Central	Southern	Northern	
	qulaq	xulax	qulaq	'ear'
	xalq	xalx	xalq	'people'
	qurmɯzɯ	xɯrmɯzɯ	qurmɯzɯ	'red'
	jaxʃɯ	jaxʃɯ	jaqʃɯ	'good'

The affricate *tʃ* regularly becomes a fricative *ʃ* in the Northern dialect, as illustrated in (30). The Northern dialect also exhibits some deaffrication of *dʒ*, as in *gedʒe* ~ *geʒe* 'night,' *dʒol* ~ *ʒol* 'road.' Note that *ʒ* is not a phoneme of Crimean Tatar and is otherwise found only in recent loans.

(30)	Central	Southern	Northern	
	tʃetʃek	tʃetʃek	ʃeʃek	'flower'
	tʃalɯʃmaq	tʃalɯʃmaq	ʃalɯʃmaq	'to work'
	utʃ	ytʃ	uʃ	'three'

Comparisons in (31) illustrate correspondences between labial consonants in the dialects. *v* before unrounded vowels is a Southern innovation, and *m* sporadically occurring before rounded vowels is a Northern innovation.

(31)	Central	Southern	Northern	
	burun	burun	burun/murun	'nose'
	bojun	bojun	mojun	'neck'
	bojnuz	bojnuz	mojnuz/mujnuz	'horn'
	bar	var	bar	'is, present'
	bermek	vermek	bermek	'to give'

The Central and Southern voiceless labio-dental fricative *f* corresponds to voiceless labial stop *p* in the Northern dialect, as shown in (32).

(32) Central   Southern   Northern
      musafir   musafir   musapir   'guest'
      mafuze   mafuze   mapuze   'Mafuze (name)'

Finally, some Southern word-initial voiced stops *b, d, g* have correspondent voiceless stops *p, t, k* in the Central dialect and, occasionally, in the Northern dialect, as the cognates in (33) demonstrate. The correspondences are determined on a lexical basis.

(33) Central   Southern   Northern
      parmaq   barmax   barmaq   'finger'
      bitmek   bitmek   pitmek   'finish'
      daɣ   daɣ   taw   'mountain, forest'
      tiʃ   diʃ   tiʃ   'tooth'
      terek   derek   terek   'tree'
      kozʲ   gøz   kozʲ   'eye'

1.4. The prosodic structure of Crimean Tatar

1.4.1. Syllable templates

In the native vocabulary, complex onsets are not allowed, and complex codas obey the sonority sequencing principle: only codas of falling sonority in which the innermost member of the coda is a sonorant (a nasal or a liquid) and the outermost member is an obstruent (a stop, a fricative, or an affricate) are permitted by the phonotactics of Crimean Tatar. The syllable inventory of Crimean Tatar is exemplified in (34). Any consonant can occur in a monoconsonantal coda (note, however, that voiced stops and fricatives undergo devoicing word-finally), and any consonant but *ŋ* can be an onset. The last syllable type, with the coda consisting of two obstruents, is rare in Crimean Tatar and occurs in borrowings only.

(34) V   o   'this'

      CV   bu   'this'
                 ʃu   'that'

      (C)VC   at   'horse'
                 iz   'footstep'
                 toq   'fed'
                 bal   'honey'
                 bir   'one'

(C)VSC	ant	'oath'
	ars.lan	'lion'
	art.qa	'back (about the way)'
	ajt	'tell'
	qart	'old man'
	dalv	'Aquarius'
	gentʃ	'young'
(C)VOO	baxs	'topic, conversation'
	baxt	'happiness'
	dost	'friend'

Some recent but nonetheless assimilated borrowings from Russian have complex onsets of rising sonority.

(35)	gramota	'reading and writing'
	drama	'drama'
	klassifikatsija	'classification'

While the lexical phonology of Crimean Tatar does not allow complex onsets of either falling or equal sonority, initial high vowels and high vowels in the first syllable may also delete postlexically, creating illicit complex onsets, as illustrated in (36). Vowel deletion will be discussed further in section 1.5.2.

(36)		Formal	Colloquial	
	a.	iʃte	ʃte	'behold'
		usta	sta	'master'
	b.	kitap	ktap	'book'
		tiʃim	tʃim	'my tooth'

1.4.2. Cluster simplification

Complex codas of non-falling sonority are not tolerated by the phonotactics of Crimean Tatar. The last consonant in such a cluster is usually deleted in syllable-final position, as in (37)a, but kept before a vowel-initial suffix, as in (37)b; or when a vowel-initial word follows without a pause, as in (37)c. Note that the examples in (37)c show resyllabification across word boundaries and constitute evidence that consonant deletion in Crimean Tatar is a postlexical process.

(37)	a.	/dost/	dos	'friend'
		/tʃift/	tʃif	'pair'
		/rastkelʲmek/	raskelʲmek	'to meet'

b. /dost-V$_{[+high]}$/ dos.tu 'his friend'
/tʃift-V$_{[+high]}$/ tʃif.ti 'his pair'

c. /dost olmaq/ dos.tol.maq 'become a friend'
/tʃift olmaq/ tʃif.tol.maq 'become a pair'

As with many other Turkic languages including Turkish and Uzbek, Crimean Tatar exhibits high vowel/zero alternations in the morphologically derived environment of the double-sided open syllable (such as VCVCV → VCCV). In earlier assimilated borrowings from Arabic and Persian, codas of non-falling sonority were not tolerated, but the repair strategy was epenthesis rather than deletion. The illicit clusters were broken by a harmonizing high vowel that deletes in the 3rd singular possessive.

(38) | NOMINATIVE | 3SG.POSS | Arabic/Persian | |
|---|---|---|---|
| devir | devri | davr | 'epoch' |
| fikir | fikri | fikr | 'thought' |
| nutuq | nutqu | nutq | 'speech' |
| baxɯt | baxtɯ | baxt | 'happiness' |

Such alternations are synchronically active and are found in words of Turkic origin as well. In the stems in (39)a, the alternating vowel is arguably epenthetic since there are other stems of the same prosodic structure in which the vowel does not delete, as exemplified in (39)b.

(39) a. burun 'nose' burn-um ~ burn-ɯm 'my nose'
bojun 'neck' bojn-um ~ bojn-ɯm 'my neck'
aɣɯz 'mouth' aɣz-ɯm 'my mouth'

b. deŋiz 'sea' deŋiz-im 'my sea'
doɣuʃ 'birth' doɣuʃ-ɯm 'my birth'
ketʃit 'passage' ketʃit-im 'my passage'

We have already mentioned in section 1.4.1 that complex onsets are not tolerated in Crimean Tatar. In assimilated loan words, the strategy of accommodating word-initial consonant clusters differs from that of coda clusters and appears to be dependent on the sonority profile of the illicit cluster. A high vowel epenthesizes before the illicit cluster if it is of falling or equal sonority, as illustrated in (40)a, and it breaks up the cluster if it is of of rising sonority, as in (40)b. A few words that are counterexamples to this generalization are shown in (40)c (however, the first word was borrowed into Crimean Tatar as such, and the second word is an earlier borrowing from Greek). In (40)a and (40)b, the epenthetic vowel harmonizes with the vowel in the following syllable, suggesting that vowel harmony in Crimean Tatar is root-driven and bidirectional.

(40)		Crimean Tatar	Russian	
	a.	uʃqaf	ʃkaf	'wardrobe'
		moskova	moskva	'Moscow'
	b.	quravat	krovat^j	'bed'

	b.	quravat	krovatʲ	'bed'
		vuuraʃ	vratʃ	'doctor'
		pirizident	prʲezʲidʲent	'president'
		pirsedatel	prʲedsʲedatʲelʲ	'chairman'
	c.	iklim (from Arabic)		'climate'
		skemle (from Greek)		'bench'

1.4.3. Stress

Each lexical word in Crimean Tatar has exactly one main stress. The default stress position is word-final, as illustrated in (41).

(41)	a.	arabá	'cart'
		araba-lár	'carts'
		cart-PL	
		araba-lar-dán	'from carts'
		cart-PL-ABL	
	b.	baʃla-dúɯ-m	'I began'
		begin-PAST-1SG	
		baʃ-lar-ɯmɯɯz-nú	'our heads'
		head-PL-1PL.POSS-ACC	
	c.	kel-dí-m	'I came'
		come-PAST-1SG	
		kel-me-gé	'for the coming'
		come-INF-DAT	

Final stress is overridden by lexical stress in both roots and prestressing suffixes. Crimean Tatar prestressing suffixes include verbal person/number inflection in the present tense, listed in (42), as well as other verbal and adverbial suffixes and postpositions, listed in (43), and particles listed in (44).

(42)   Verbal person/number inflection/Copula

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
1	-Im	1	-mIz
2	-sIn	2	-sInIz
3	-DIr	3	-lAr

(43)

Imperative 2nd person plural	-InIz
Verbal 3rd person plural	-lAr
Negative	-mA
Adverbial	-In, -lejin, -TʃA, -TʃAsInA, -dʒAk, -dʒAs
Reported speech	-ken
Reported speech (Southern)	-mIʃ
Postposition 'with'	-nen
Postposition 'for, because of'	-tʃyn

(44)

Question particle	-mY
Imperative particle	-tʃI

(45) lists some words with prestressing suffixes: examples of verbs with the 1st singular present suffix are in (45)a, and some examples with prestressing adverbial suffixes are in (45)b. The suffix meaning 'in an X-like manner' is in (45)c, and the prestressing verbal negation suffix is illustrated in (45)d.

(45) a. aʃár-ɯm   'I eat'
          itʃér-im   'I drink'
          γorúr-um   'I beat'

      b. gedʒé-lejin   'at nights'
          aʃɯq-tʃanlúɯq-nen 'in a hurry'
          baʃqá-dʒa   'differently'

      c. aná-dʒasɯna   'in a motherly manner'
          insán-dʒasɯna   'in a human-like manner'
          kopék-tʃesine   'in a dog-like manner'

      d. kél   'Come!'   kél-me   'Don't come'
          bar-dúí 'He went'   bár-ma-dɯɯ 'He didn't go'
          bil-mék 'to know'   bíl-me-mek 'to not know'

In recent borrowings from Russian, stress remains where it used to be in the source language, as shown in (46).

(46)	tránsport	'(means of) transportation'
	biológija	'biology'
	botánika	'botany'
	anténna	'antenna'
	antilópa	'antelope'

Some words that are not recent borrowings also have exceptional non-final stress, as examples in (47) show. Some of these words are older borrowings from Arabic, as in (47)a, and some are frozen expressions historically formed with the ablative suffix -DAn, as in (47)b. (47)c shows minimal pairs with respect to stress: in the first example in both cases, the stress is exceptionally on the first syllable; in the second example the stress is regular and word-final.

(47)	a. ámma	'but'		
		mítlaqa	'definitely'		
	b. óppadaqtan	'suddenly'		
		tézden	'quickly'		
	c. ána	'here'	aná	'mother'
		ílle	'certainly'	illé	'trick'
		jáɳɯ	'just, recently'	jaɳɯ́	'new'

In compounds, stress usually falls on the last syllable of the first member of the compound, as in (48)a. If the first member of the compound is an exceptionally stressed word, the exceptional stress is maintained in the compound, as in (48)b. Sometimes, the first syllable of the compound is exceptionally stressed, even though the first member of it is not exceptional in isolation, as in (48)c.

(48)	a. kulé-kule	'laughing'
		azár-azar	'little by little'
		amán-esen	'healthy, safe, whole'
		gizlí-qapaqlɯ	'secret, unclear, dark'
	b. jáɳɯ	'just, recently'
		jáɳɯ-jaɳɯ	'very recently'
	c. doɣrú	'straight'
		doɣrudán-doɣru	'absolutely straight'
		dóɣrudan-doɣru	'straightforwardly'

1.5. Phonological alternations

1.5.1. Vowel harmony

Crimean Tatar, as most Turkic languages, is a language with pervasive vowel harmony. Vowel harmony in Crimean Tatar is a combination of two kinds of assimilation processes: backness harmony and rounding harmony. We broadly define vowel harmony as the phenomenon whereby vowels in adjacent moras or syllables within a domain (e.g., the phonological word, the morphological word, or a smaller phonological or morphological domain) systematically agree with each other with regard to one or more features (for a discussion of vowel harmony, see Clements & Sezer 1982, van der Hulst & van de Weijer 1995, Krämer 2003, among many others). The domain of backness vowel harmony in Crimean Tatar is the phonological word, which consists of a root plus any number of suffixes. The domain of rounding harmony depends on the dialect; it can either span the phonological word or the first two syllables of the word (depending on the morphological structure of the word). Vowel harmony in roots is best expressed as a distributional generalization: only vowels that agree in a particular feature ([back] or [round]) are allowed in a specific root (although there are various exceptions to this generalization). Vowel harmony as a process is triggered by the initial vowel of the root and targets vowels in suffixes.

1.5.1.1. Backness harmony

Backness harmony is illustrated in (49) with the example of the infinitive suffix *-mAK*. The vowel in the suffix agrees in the feature [back] with the preceding vowel, high and non-high alike.

(49)	bil-mek	'know'	juv-maq	'wash'
	ket-mek	'go'	qorq-maq	'be afraid'
	tyʃyn-mek	'think'	quır-maq	'rub'
	tøk-mek	'pour'	ajlan-maq	'turn'

Backness harmony is usually consistent in native words. However, there are both stems and suffixes that are exceptions to backness harmony. Only a handful of suffixes, e.g, deverbal *-vuq*, as in *aɣlavuq* 'cry-baby,' and the adjectival *-ki*, as in *joldaki* 'road (adj.),' *evdeki* 'home (adj.),' have non-alternating vowels. Many borrowings, such as *taleke* 'cart,' *kitap* 'book,' *talil* 'analysis,' *xane* 'room,' *ebabil* 'mountain swallow,' *etc.*, have both front and back vowels in the root. When disharmonic roots are followed by suffixes, the suffixes harmonize with the last vowel in the root, as in *kitab-um* 'my book.'

There are also a few exceptions to backness harmony in suffixes, such as *tasdiq-la-maq* 'to confirm,' which has a back vowel in the suffixes while having a front vowel in the last syllable of the root, and *saat-dʒi* 'watch-maker,' which has a front vowel in the

suffix and a back vowel in the root (cf. also *saat-lar* 'watches' (standard pronunciation) vs. *saat-ler* 'watches' (colloquial pronunciation)).

1.5.1.2. Rounding harmony

As in most Turkic languages, rounding harmony in Crimean Tatar is triggered by all rounded vowels, high and non-high, and targets only high vowels, as shown in (50).

(50) /dost-I/ [dostu] 'his friend'
      friend-POSS.3SG

      /tʃift-I/ [tʃifti] 'his pair'
      pair-POSS.3SG

Certain suffixes with high vowels are exceptions to rounding harmony. Among them are suffixes that obey backness harmony while being exceptions to rounding harmony. The exceptional suffixes are either always [-round] (for instance, the past tense suffix *-DY*, as in *tyʃ-ti* 'he fell,' the accusative suffix *-nY*, as in *dost-nu* 'friend-ACC,' or the genitive suffix *-nYŋ*, as in *dost-nuŋ* 'friend-GEN') or always [+round] (e.g., the deverbal noun-forming suffix *-Uv*, as in *kel-yv* 'coming,' *okut-uv* 'teaching'). The deverbal noun-forming suffix *-vuq* is invariant with respect to both backness and rounding harmonies.

Although rounding harmony is preserved in the Southern dialect, the Central and Northern dialects of Crimean Tatar have, to varying degrees, undergone the loss of rounding harmony. In the Central dialect, vowels are unrounded everywhere except in the first two syllables of the word. For a discussion of dialectal variation with respect to vowel harmony, see section 1.5.1.3.

1.5.1.3. Dialectal variation and rounding harmony

In general, Crimean Tatar vowel harmony is highly reminiscent of harmony in other Turkic languages, most notably, Turkish. In some respects, however, Crimean Tatar rounding harmony is different from other Turkic languages and varies among the dialects of Crimean Tatar as well. Whereas in the Southern dialect the domain of the application of rounding harmony is the phonological word, in the Central dialect rounding harmony is more restricted: it is only active in the first two syllables of a word, as illustrated in (51). When a suffix with a high vowel is added to a monosyllabic stem, as in (51)a, its vowel agrees with the vowel of the stem in both backness in rounding. When such a suffix is added to a polysyllabic stem, rounding harmony does not target the vowel in the suffix, as illustrated in (51)b.

(51) a. dost-um   'friend-1SG.POSS'
        kyz-lyk   'autumn-ADJ.SUF'
        bul-un-maq   'find-PASS-INF'

     b. tuzluɣ-um   'salt shaker-1SG.POSS'
        syrgyn-lik   'deportation-ADJ.SUF'
        tykyr-in-mek   'spit-PASS-INF'

In the Northern dialect, rounding harmony is lost not only in suffixes, but even as a distributional generalization, as shown in (52): some stem vowels undergo unrounding, an extreme case of which is illustrated in the word 'beets.' However, there is variation with respect to such unrounding: a speaker of the Northern dialect born in 1935 pronounces the word 'neck' as *bojun*, while a speaker related to the first one but born in 1957 pronounces this word as *bojun*, with rounding harmony.[9]

(52) Southern   Central   Northern
     burun   burun   burɯn   'nose'
     bojun   bojun   bojɯn   'neck'
     xuruluʃ   qurulɯʃ   qurɯlɯʃ   'building, construction'
     tuzlux   tuzluq   tuzlɯq   'salt shaker'
     tʃykyndyr   tʃykyndir   ʃuŋgɯldɯr   'beets'

In addition, there is optional unrounding of the high vowel *u* in the first syllable in the Northern dialect, as shown in (53).

(53) bulamuɯq ~ bɯlamuɯq   'a type of cereal'
     tʃubaluɯq ~ tʃɯbaluɯq   'entangled'
     burɯn ~ bɯrɯn   'nose'

We have thus established that rounding harmony is most pervasive in the South and least pervasive in the North. In the Southern dialect, harmony applies across the board; no unrounding of high vowels is attested. In the Central dialect, rounding is licensed only in the first two syllables of the word (and colloquially often only in the first syllable, e.g., *doquz ~ doquz* 'nine' for many speakers born in Bakhchisaray, young and old. In the Northern dialect, the loss of rounding harmony in non-initial syllables is not optional, and rounding of high vowels is contrastive solely in the first syllable of the word.

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[9] This variation could be the result of education based on the Central dialect that led to the loss of Northern dialect features.

1.5.1.4. Consonants and vowel harmony

Some consonants in Crimean Tatar have preferential occurrence in stems with respect to vowel harmony. For instance, [v], [k], and [g] mostly occur in words with front harmony, and [w], [q], and [ɣ] mostly occur in words with back harmony, as exemplified in (54).

(54)		[-back]			[+back]	
	a.	sevintʃ	'joy'		suwarmaq	'to water'
		devlet	'country'		patʃawra	'rag'
	b.	bilmek	'to know'		juwmaq	'to wash'
	c.	bilegi	'his wrist'		qulaɣɯ	'his ear'

The examples in (54) show that [v] and [w] are in complementary distribution in the postvocalic environment, while (55) demonstrates that word-initially and post-consonantally, only [v] occurs.

(55)	viʃne	'cherry'	kervan	'caravan'
	vaqɯt	'time'	jalvarmaq	'to ask, to beg'
	ve	'and'		

Note that it is possible for *v* to surface between front and back vowels in words that do not obey backness harmony, as in (56). We can thus conclude that *w* occurs only postvocalically and in words with back harmony, and *v* is found elsewhere.

(56)	aves	'wish, interest'
	sevap	'retribution'
	divar	'wall'

1.5.2. Vowel deletion

All dialects of Crimean Tatar exhibit optional syncope both in suffixes, as in (57), and in stems, as in (58). Only high vowels undergo syncope; non-high vowels never delete. There is a clear phonetic reason for this asymmetry: high vowels are intrinsically shorter than non-high vowels. The syncope is gradual and depends on the rate of speech: in careful or read speech, the vowels in question get reduced (shortened and possibly centralized), but do not disappear completely, whereas they are fully deleted in colloquial or fast speech ([episi ~ epɪsi ~ epⁱsi ~ epsi] are all possible pronunciations of the word /ep-i-si/ 'all').

(57)	al-dɯ-lar	[ald.lar]	'they took'
	take-PAST-PL		

kel-di-ler	[keld.ler]	'they came'
come-PAST-PL		

tøk-ty-ler	[tøkt.ler]	'they dropped'
drop-PAST-PL		

ep-i-si	[ep.si]	'all of them'
all-3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS		

ep-i-miz	[ep.miz]	'all of us'
all-3SG.POSS-1PL.POSS		

(58)

ketir-ip	[ket.rip]	'having brought'
bring-CONV		

otur-a	[ot.ra]	's/he sits'
sit-3SG		

unut-tɯ-m	[unt.tɯm]	'I forgot'
forget-PAST-1SG		

The deletion of high vowels is most prominent in initial syllables. This kind of deletion is illustrated in (59). If there are two high vowels in a word that are eligible to delete, the vowel in the initial syllable will undergo deletion, as demonstrated by the word tyʃyrdik [tʃyrdik] 'we lowered (it). The deletion of high vowels in initial syllables does not respect the phonotactics of Crimean Tatar, creating complex onsets. Note that high vowels flanked by voiceless consonants (e.g. [i] in [kitap] 'book') are more prone to delete than high vowels flanked by voiced consonants.

(59)

bilemen	[blemen]	'I know (Northern)'
kitap	[ktap]	'book'
tiʃim	[tʃim]	'my tooth'
suvuq	[svuq]	'cold'
dʒyrek	[dʒrek]	'heart' (Northern)
tyʃyrdik	[tʃyrdik]	'we lowered (it)'

Vowels do not delete under stress (word-finally before a pause), either in the absolute word-final position, as in (60)a, or between non-identical consonants, as in (60)b.

(60) a.

ber-dí	[berdí]	'he/she gave'	*[berd]
give-PAST			

	ajt-túɪ	[ajttúɪ]	'he/she said'	*[ajtt]
	say-PAST			
b.	ket-tí-k	[kettík]	'they left'	*[kettk]
	leave-PAST-PL			

However, high vowels between two identical consonants in suffixes are regularly deleted, followed by the degemination of the resulting geminate, as can be seen in the comparison of (61)a and (61)b. This deletion affects word-final stressed vowels and causes stress shift, as in (61)c. The example in (61)d shows that high vowels do not delete under the same conditions if the flanking consonants are not identical.

(61) a. jan-ɯn-da   [janda]   'next to him'
          side-3SG.POSS-LOC

      b. jan-ɯm-da   [janɯmda]   'next to me'
          side-1SG.POSS-LOC   *[janmda]

      c. jap-ɯp   [jap]   'having done'
          do-CONV

      d. al-ɯp   [alɯp]   'having taken'
          take-CONV   *[alp]

The syncope of high vowels is a postlexical phenomenon: it depends on the rate of speech, native speakers are usually not aware of it, and it can apply across word boundaries, as shown in (62). Were the forms in (62) separate prosodic words, their last vowels would be phrase-final and thus would not syncopate.

(62) a. tʃaluʃ-ɯp   ol-ɣan   [tʃa.luʃ.pol.ɣan]   'able to work'
          work-CONV   be-PAST

      b. baq-ɯp   otur-a   [baq.pot.ra]   'looking at'
          see-CONV   sit-PRES

An important question is whether the high vowel/zero alternations described in this section are due to syncope rather than epenthesis. An argument for the former possibility is provided by the fact that at least some of the high vowels that delete in Crimean Tatar are etymological. For example, there is no reason to believe that high vowels in the second syllable in *otur-* 'sit' or *unut-* 'forget' are synchronically epenthetic. In *otur-*, the second vowel is present in the eight languages used for comparison by Öztopçu *at al.* (1996), so it is reconstructable to Proto-Turkic. In *unut-*, only Uighur lacks

the second vowel in the root, but since Uighur has innovated many vowel deletions, we can reconstruct this vowel as well.

(63)

	'sit'	'forget'
Azerbaijani	otur-	unut-
Kazakh	otuur-	umuut-
Kyrgyz	otur-	onut-
Kazan Tatar	utuur-	unut-
Turkish	otur-	unut-
Turkmen	otur-	unut-
Uighur	oltur-	untu-
Uzbek	øtir-	unut-

Vowels in CV suffixes are also etymological. For example, the past tense suffix -*DY* is a cognate with the Turkish definite past tense suffix -*DI* and the past copula *idi* 'was' (Johanson 1998:113), so the postconsonantal high vowel appears to be reconstructable to Old Turkic. Suffixes of the -VC type are more problematic. Underhill (1976) interprets vowel/zero alternations in such suffixes as epenthesis, but even if we were to treat the vowel that appears after a consonantal stem as an instance of lexical epenthesis, it can still be analyzed as epenthesis followed by deletion postlexically.

1.5.3. Consonantal alternations

1.5.3.1. Voicing alternations

The stops and fricatives of Crimean Tatar exhibit three types of behavior with respect to voicing alternations. The first type is illustrated in (64)a: these are non-alternating voiceless consonants that surface as such word-finally, as in the nominative case forms, intervocalically, as in the 3rd singular possessive forms, and pre-consonantally, triggering progressive voicing assimilation, as in the locative forms.

The forms in (64)b exemplify the second type of behavior: the consonants are voiceless word-finally and voiced intervocalically and pre-consonantally, triggering progressive voicing assimilation. Progressive voicing assimilation is illustrated with the example of the locative suffix -*DA*. The consonant in the suffix surfaces as voiceless after voiceless obstruents and as voiced after all other consonants and vowels. Among the suffixes that undergo progressive voicing assimilation are the dative case suffix -*KA*, the denominal noun-forming suffix -*TʃI*, the past tense suffix -*DY*, and many others. In the diminutive suffix -*tʃIq*, the adjectival suffix -*tʃAn*, the second singular -*sIŋ*, the privative -*sIz*, and many others, initial consonants are invariably voiceless and do not undergo voicing assimilation after preceding voiced consonants, as in *quztʃuq* 'little girl,' *søzsyz* 'wordless.'

The third type in (64)c shows obstruents that are voiceless word-finally and pre-consonantally, but voiced intervocalically. Examples in (64)d illustrate that after sonorant- and vowel-final stems, alternating consonants in suffixes are always voiced.

(64)   Voicing alternations

	NOMINATIVE	3SG.POSS	LOCATIVE	
a.	tys	tysy	tys-te	'color'
	baʃ	baʃɯ	baʃ-ta	'head'
	tiʃ	tiʃi	tiʃ-te	'tooth'
	at	atɯ	at-ta	'horse'
b.	qas	qazɯ	qaz-da	'goose'
	utʃ	udʒu	udʒ-da	'end'
	garaʃ	garaʒɯ	garaʒ-da	'garage'
	kys	kyzy	kyz-de	'fall'
	at	adɯ	ad-da	'name'
c.	typ	tyby	typ-te	'bottom'
	kitap	kitabɯ	kitap-ta	'book'
	bilek	bilegi	bilek-te	'wrist'
	qulaq	qulaɣɯ	qulaq-ta	'ear'
d.	koj	koju	koj-da	'village'
	araba	arabasɯ	araba-da	'cart'

Alternations similar to those in (64) are described for Turkish. A possible analysis of these would be either to specify the obstruents in (64)a as [-voice], the obstruents in (64)b as [+voice] (with word-final devoicing), and the obstruents in (64)c as underspecified for voicing with a feature-filling rule (or an analogous constraint) for intervocalic voicing, or to mark the forms in (64)c as exceptions (see Inkelas & Orgun 1995).

1.5.3.2. Progressive nasal assimilation

l in suffixes is the target of progressive nasal assimilation in fast (colloquial) speech, as illustrated in (65). All nasals (labials, coronals, and velars alike) trigger the assimilation.

(65)   ml → mn
         /adam-lar/   adamnar   'men'
         man-PL

nl → nn

| /tʃoban-lar/ | tʃobannar | 'shepherds' |
| shepherd-PL | | |

ŋl → ŋn

| /aŋ-lA-mAK/ | aŋnamaq | 'to understand' |
| mind-VB-INF | | |

2. Morphology

The inflectional morphology of Crimean Tatar is exclusively suffixing and agglutinating. Derivational morphology makes use of both suffixation and compounding. Crimean Tatar morphology bears strong similarities to that of related West Kipchak languages and, more distantly, to that of Turkish. Oghuz elements are pervasive in the morphology of the Southern dialect of Crimean Tatar.

In the following sections, we will refer to bases (either simple or complex) to which suffixes can attach as stems.

2.1. Morphophonology: suffixes

Many suffixes in Crimean Tatar have alternating vowels and consonants. Consonantal alternations involve the voicing and/or continuancy of suffix-initial consonants, and vocalic alternations depend on the harmonic status of the stem. The alternating status of consonants and vowels will be represented by capital letters, and consonants and vowels that alternate with zero will be indicated in parentheses.

2.1.1. Vowel harmony

Vowels in suffixes undergo backness and rounding harmony as described in sections 1.5.1.1 and 1.5.1.2, respectively. In the following sections, non-high vowels that undergo backness harmony only and alternate between [a] and [e] will be represented as A. High vowels that undergo both backness and rounding harmony and thus alternate between [i], [y], [ɯ], and [u] will be represented as I. Additionally, there are high vowels in suffixes that are always [-round], alternating between [i] and [ɯ], and, rarely, always [+round], alternating between [u] and [y]. The former will be represented as Y, and the latter as U.

2.1.2. Consonantal alternations

Some suffixes begin with alternating voiced/voiceless stops, such as *t/d* (e.g., the locative suffix *-DA*), and affricates, such as *tʃ/dʒ* (e.g., the occupational suffix *-TʃI*). There are also consonants in suffixes with a four-way alternation that involves voicing, continuancy, and place of articulation, such as *k-q/g-ɣ* (e.g., the dative suffix *-KA*). The voicing of the alternating initial consonant depends on the voicing of the preceding segment: it is voiceless after voiceless obstruents and voiced otherwise. Additionally, the consonant pairs *q/k* and *ɣ/g* alternate in suffixes according to the harmonic status of the stem: [q] and [ɣ] only occur in back harmony words, and [k] and [g] in front harmony words. There are suffixes in which the alternation if only limited to the voicing of velar stops, as in *k/g*. The alternating *q/k/ɣ/g* will be represented as K, the alternating *k/g* as G, the alternating *t/d* as D, and the alternating *tʃ/dʒ* as Tʃ.

2.1.3. Vowel-zero and consonant-zero alternations

In general, Crimean Tatar phonotactics does not favor vowel hiatus. Therefore, there are many suffixes that have two allomorphs: the allomorph that attaches to vowel-final stems begins with a consonant, and the allomorph that attaches to consonant-final stems begins with a vowel, as exemplified by the 1st person possessive suffix *-(I)m* in (66)a, the ordinal numeral-forming suffix *-(I)ndʒI* in (66)b, the reciprocal voice suffix *-(I)ʃ* in (66)c, and many others.

(66)   a.   ev-im   'my house'   bala-m   'my child'
       b.   bir-indʒi   'first'   eki-ndʒi   'second'
       c.   tap-ɯʃ-maq   'to find each other'   aɣla-ʃ-maq   'to cry together'

Suffixes that begin with a consonant attach to stems directly, as in *ev-ler* 'houses' and *bala-lar* 'children.' However, there are a few exceptions to this generalization. First, in the 3rd person possessive suffix *-(s)I* the initial *s* deletes after a consonant-final stem, as in (67)a. The distributive suffix *-(ʃ)Ar* begins with a deletable *ʃ*, as in (67)b, and the nominalizing suffix *-(j)Iʃ* contains a deletable initial *j*, as in (67)c.

(67)   a.   bala-sɯ   'his child'   ev-i   'his house'
       b.   eki-ʃer   'two each'   on-ar   'ten each'
       c.   jaʃa-juʃ   'the way of life'   kir-iʃ   'entrance'

2.2. Nominal morphology

Under nominal morphology, we discuss five word classes: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and adverbs. Crimean Tatar nouns and pronouns inflect for number,

possession, and case. Grammatical gender is absent from the languages of the Turkic family, including Crimean Tatar. The only number suffix is the plural marker -*lAr* (the singular is not expressed through an overt marker). Possessive suffixes mark the person and number of the possessor. As illustrated in (68), the suffixes appear in the order *number-possession-case*.

(68) køz-ler-im-den
      eye-PL-1SG.POSS-ABL
      'from my eyes'

Forms marked for number, possession, and case can also combine with the predicate markers (see section 2.3.1) to form predicates, as in (69).

(69) ev-ler-i-nde-ler
      house-PL-3SG.POSS-LOC-COP.3PL
      'They are in their houses.'

2.2.1. Nouns

2.2.1.1. Inflectional categories

2.2.1.1.1. Number

Most Crimean Tatar nouns distinguish singular from plural number morphologically. As shown in (70), the plural is formed by adding the suffix -*lAr* to the singular stem. The vowel in the plural suffix agrees in backness with the preceding vowel. The singular is not marked.

(70) Singular vs. plural

      araba-lar   'cart-PL'
      baʃ-lar   'head-PL'
      jip-ler   'string-PL'

Mass nouns used in the plural denote the abundance of types, e.g., *suv-lar* 'waters,' *mejva-lar* 'fruits,' *merekep-ler* 'types of ink,' *jay-lar* 'types of butter.' The plural suffix is not used if plurality is otherwise marked, when a noun is preceded by an adverb of quantity, e.g. *tʃoq alma* 'many apples,' when plurality is marked by a possessive suffix (see examples in the next subsection), and when a noun is preceded by a numeral (see section 2.2.3). In cases where the plural is used with an adverb of quantity, it denotes types of objects, as in *tʃoq alma-lar* 'many kinds of apples.' The plural suffix

can also denote respect rather than plurality, as in *osanov-lar kel-di-(ler)* 'Osanov came,' with the meaning that one person of the last name Osanov came by.

2.2.1.1.2. Possession

Possession is expressed by the suffixes in (71). Vowels in the possessive suffixes harmonize with preceding vowels in backness and rounding (see section 1.5.1.4 for a discussion of rounding harmony in different dialects). Examples of words with possessive suffixes are given in (72).

(71) Possessive suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1	-(I)m	-(I)mIz
2	-(I)ŋ	-(I)ŋIz
3	-(s)I	-(lar)-(s)I

(72) Possessive suffixes: examples

a. Singular possessed noun

	Singular	Plural
1	bala-m 'my child'	bala-mɯz 'our child'
	ev-im 'my house'	ev-imiz 'our house'
2	bala-ŋ 'your child'	bala-ŋɯz 'your child'
	ev-iŋ 'your house'	ev-iŋiz 'your house'
3	bala-sɯ 'his/her child'	bala-sɯ 'their child'
	ev-i 'his/her house'	ev-i 'their house'

b. Plural possessed noun

1	bala-lar-ɯm 'my children'	bala-lar-ɯmɯz 'our children'
	ev-ler-im 'my houses'	ev-ler-imiz 'our houses'
2	bala-lar-ɯŋ 'your children'	bala-lar-ɯŋɯz 'your children'
	ev-ler-iŋ 'your houses'	ev-ler-iŋiz 'your houses'
3	bala-lar-ɯ 'his/her children'	bala-lar-ɯ 'their children'
	ev-ler-i 'his/her houses'	ev-ler-i 'their houses'

A high vowel surfaces between consonant-final stems and possessive suffixes in the first and second person in both the singular and plural. In the third singular and plural, /s/ deletes when the preceding stem ends in a consonant. The plural suffix -*lAr* does not surface before the 3rd plural possessive if the possessed is in the singular, e.g., *bala-su* 'his/her child, their child.' If the possessed is in the plural, only one -*lAr*, denoting the plurality of either the possessor or the possessed, is overt, e.g., *bala-lar-u* means 'his children' and 'their children.' Both *bala-lar-u* and *bala-su* can mean 'their children' distributively, if the reference is to several people each having one child.

Nouns in the possessive form can be optionally preceded by possessive pronouns (see section 2.2.2), as in *siziŋ balaŋuz* or *balaŋuz* 'your child.'

Possessive suffixes are used either in possessive constructions N-GEN + N-POSS, such as *ʃeer-niŋ merkez-i* 'the center of town (town-GEN center-3SG.POSS),' or in attributive constructions N + N-POSS, such as *teri tʃanta-su* 'leather bag-3SG.POSS,' *alma ʃuras-u* 'apple juice-3SG.POSS.' The N + N-POSS constructions are often used for expressing geographical terms, such as *aqjar ʃeer-i* 'the city of Sevastopol,' *dʒurdʒur utʃansuv-u* 'the waterfall of Jurjur.'

2.2.1.1.3. Case

There are six cases in Crimean Tatar. The case suffixes are given in (73). The nominative case is always phonologically null. The nominative marks the subject of the sentence, and a form that is identical to the nominative is used for the vocative. The accusative marks the direct object, the genitive denotes possession, the dative denotes the indirect object and motion towards a destination, the locative denotes location, and the ablative denotes the place of origin or point of departure. The case suffixes follow the plural suffix -*lAr* and the possessive suffixes.

(73)   Case suffixes

Nominative	null
Accusative	-nY
Genitive	-nYŋ
Dative	-KA
Locative	-DA
Ablative	-DAn

The two types of declension in Crimean Tatar, non-possessive and possessive, are exemplified in (74) and (75), respectively, using the vowel-final [+back] harmony stem *bala* 'child,' and consonant-final stems *ev* 'house' for [-back] harmony and *dost* 'friend' for (the marginal) [+round] harmony. The differences between the non-possessive and possessive declensions are apparent in the dative singular, where the consonant of the case suffix drops out, and also in the 3rd person in the dative, locative, and ablative, where an epenthetic *n* appears.

(74)   Examples: Non-possessive declension

Singular	Nominative	bala 'child'	ev 'house'	dost 'friend'
	Accusative	bala-nɯ	ev-ni	dost-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-nɯŋ	ev-niŋ	dost-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-ɣa	ev-ge	dost-qa
	Locative	bala-da	ev-de	dost-ta
	Ablative	bala-dan	ev-den	dost-tan

Plural	Nominative	bala-lar	ev-ler	dost-lar
	Accusative	bala-lar-nɯ	ev-ler-ni	dost-lar-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-lar-nɯŋ	ev-ler-niŋ	dost-lar-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-lar-ɣa	ev-ler-ge	dost-lar-ɣa
	Locative	bala-lar-da	ev-ler-de	dost-lar-da
	Ablative	bala-lar-dan	ev-ler-den	dost-lar-dan

(75)   Examples: Possessive declension

a.   Singular possessed noun

1sg	Nominative	bala-m	ev-im	dost-um
		'my child'	'my house'	'my friend'
	Accusative	bala-m-nɯ	ev-im-ni	dost-um-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-m-nɯŋ	ev-im-niŋ	dost-um-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-m-a	ev-im-e	dost-um-a
	Locative	bala-m-da	ev-im-de	dost-um-da
	Ablative	bala-m-dan	ev-im-den	dost-um-dan

2sg	Nominative	bala-ŋ	ev-iŋ	dost-uŋ
		'your child'	'your house'	'your friend'
	Accusative	bala-ŋ-nɯ	ev-iŋ-ni	dost-uŋ-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-ŋ-nɯŋ	ev-iŋ-niŋ	dost-uŋ-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-ŋ-a	ev-iŋ-e	dost-uŋ-a
	Locative	bala-ŋ-da	ev-iŋ-de	dost-uŋ-da
	Ablative	bala-ŋ-dan	ev-iŋ-den	dost-uŋ-dan

3sg	Nominative	bala-sɯ	ev-i	dost-u
		'his child'	'his house'	'his friend'
	Accusative	bala-sɯ-nɯ	ev-i-ni	dost-u-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-sɯ-nɯŋ	ev-i-niŋ	dost-u-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-sɯ-na	ev-i-ne	dost-u-na
	Locative	bala-sɯ-nda	ev-i-nde	dost-u-nda
	Ablative	bala-sɯ-ndan	ev-i-nden	dost-u-ndan

b. Plural possessed noun

1sg	Nominative	bala-mɯz 'our child'	ev-miz 'our house'	dost-mɯz 'our friend'
	Accusative	bala-mɯz-nɯ	ev-imiz-ni	dost-umɯz-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-mɯz-nɯŋ	ev-imiz-niŋ	dost-umɯz-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-mɯz-ɣa	ev-imiz-ge	dost-umɯz-ɣa
	Locative	bala-mɯz-da	ev-imiz-de	dost-umɯz-da
	Ablative	bala-mɯz-dan	ev-imiz-den	dost-umɯz-dan

2sg	Nominative	bala-ŋɯz 'your child'	ev-iŋiz 'your house'	dost-uŋɯz 'your friend'
	Accusative	bala-ŋɯz-nɯ	ev-iŋiz-ni	dost-uŋɯz-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-ŋɯz-nɯŋ	ev-iŋiz-niŋ	dost-uŋɯz-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-ŋɯz-ɣa	ev-iŋiz-ge	dost-uŋɯz-ga
	Locative	bala-ŋɯz-da	ev-iŋiz-de	dost-uŋɯz-da
	Ablative	bala-ŋɯz-dan	ev-iŋiz-den	dost-uŋɯz-dan

3sg	Nominative	bala-sɯ 'their child'	ev-i 'their house'	dost-u 'their friend'
	Accusative	bala-sɯ-nɯ	ev-i-ni	dost-u-nɯ
	Genitive	bala-sɯ-nɯŋ	ev-i-niŋ	dost-u-nɯŋ
	Dative	bala-sɯ-na	ev-i-ne	dost-u-na
	Locative	bala-sɯ-nda	ev-i-nde	dost-u-nda
	Ablative	bala-sɯ-ndan	ev-i-nden	dost-u-ndan

2.2.1.2. Derivation of nouns

2.2.1.2.1. Denominal suffixes

The examples in (76) illustrate some of the most common denominal suffixes in Crimean Tatar. These suffixes attach to nominal bases to form other nominals.

(76) Denominal noun-forming suffixes

Suffix	Notes on meaning	Examples
-dAʃ	Indicates belonging to the group X, sharing an attribute with another possessor.	jaʃ-daʃ 'one of the same age' age-SUF koj-deʃ 'one from the same village' village-SUF

-kʲar, -kir	Forms nouns that indicate a person associated with the property X or inclined to the property X.	aves-kʲar 'fan, amateur' passion-SUF
		iʃ-kir 'hard worker' work-SUF
-lIK	Forms abstract nouns from nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals.	dost-luq 'friendship' friend-SUF
		bir-lik 'unity' one-SUF
		men-lik 'pride, personal dignity' I-SUF
		tʃoq-luq 'majority' many-SUF
		serbest-lik 'freedom' free-SUF
-ʃ(ɯ)nas	Indicates a person who does X, one who is a specialist in X.	til-ʃɯnas 'linguist' tongue-SUF
		edebijat-ʃɯnas 'philologist' literature-SUF
-TʃI	Indicates a person who does X, one who is a specialist in X.	kureʃ-tʃi 'wrestler' wrestle-SUF
		til-dʒi 'linguist' tongue-SUF
		araba-dʒɯ 'driver' cart-SUF
		jol-dʒu 'companion' road-SUF
-tʃYK	Forms diminutives.	buz-tʃɯq 'a piece of ice' ice-SUF

jemiʃ-tʃik 'little berry'
berry-SUF

If the root ends in *k* or *q,* the final consonant deletes before the diminutive suffix, as in *kope-tʃik* (cf. *kopek* 'dog'), *muʃɯ-tʃuq* (cf. *muʃuq* 'cat'), but not before other suffixes in the same phonological environment, as in *baluq* 'fish,' *baluq-tʃɯ* 'fisherman.'

2.2.1.2.2. Deverbal suffixes

Examples of deverbal suffixes that attach to verb bases to form nouns are in (77).

(77)   Deverbal noun-forming suffixes

Suffix	Notes on meaning	Examples
-mA	Indicates the result of doing X.	aʃɯq-ma 'hurry' hurry-SUF bur-ma 'a dish, a wrap' roll-SUF
-KI	Indicates the instrument with which the action X is done or the result of the action X.	sar-ɣɯ 'wrap, bandage' wrap-SUF bil-gi 'knowledge' know-SUF
-KItʃ	Denotes a utility for doing X.	otur-ɣutʃ 'bench' sit-SUF as-qutʃ 'coat-hanger, rack' hang-SUF tut-qutʃ 'holder, handle' hold-SUF
-(I)m	Forms nouns and adjectives.	tut-um 'handful' hold-SUF bitʃ-im 'cut, style' cut-SUF

		bøl-ym 'division' divide-SUF
-(I)ntY	Forms nouns.	kur-untɯ 'intention, aim' make a plan-SUF serp-inti 'splash, splutter' pulverize-SUF
-(j)Iʃ	Forms verbal nouns.	jaʃa-jɯʃ 'the way of life; living' live-SUF kir-iʃ 'entrance; entering' enter-SUF
-I	Forms nouns and adjectives.	tʃɯrp-ɯ 'brushwood' hook-SUF øl-y 'dead man' die-SUF
-tʃ	Forms abstract nouns.	sevin-tʃ 'joy' rejoice-SUF qazan-tʃ 'earnings' earn-SUF
-(a)vuq, -vutʃ	Forms nouns (agents that perform action X).	sɯzɣɯr-avuq 'whistler' whistle-SUF tɯrna-vutʃ 'rake' scratch-SUF
-(I)K	Forms nouns and adjectives.	tɯrna-q 'nail' scratch-SUF teʃ-ik 'hole' make hole-SUF kure-k 'shovel' scoop-SUF

-(I)n	Forms nouns.	dʒɯj-ɯn 'gathering; wedding' gather-SUF
		ek-in 'crop' plant-SUF
-(U)v	Forms nouns.	oqu-v 'reading, studies' read-SUF
		qur-uv 'building' build-SUF

The suffix *-tY/-dY*, which is added to onomatopoetic verbs to form nouns signifying sound, is illustrated in (78). The voicing of the first consonant of this suffix is determined by the preceding sonorant; it is [d] after *r*-final stems, as in *ɣudʒɯr-dɯ* 'rasp, gnash,' and [t] after *l*-final stems, as in *ʃuvul-tɯ* 'noise.'

(78)   Onomatopoetic noun-forming suffixes

Suffix	Meaning	Examples
-tY/-dY	'the sound of X'	ɣudʒɯr-dɯ 'rasp, gnash' gydyr-di 'rumble, thunder' gyryl-ti 'rumble, thunder' ʃatɯr-dɯ 'rumble, thunder' ʃuvul-tɯ 'noise' fɯsɯl-tɯ 'hiss' pɯsɯr-dɯ 'whisper' tʃivil-ti 'chirp, tweet'

2.2.1.2.3. Reduplication

M-reduplication, illustrated in (79), generalizes the concept that is denoted by a word to include other similar objects or events. The reduplication involves the repetition of a word where the onset of the reduplicant is replaced by *m*, as illustrated in (79)a. If the word begins with an *m*, the reduplicant surfaces with a fixed *p* instead, as in (79)b. If the word begins with a vowel, the modifying consonant *m* is prefixed to the reduplicant, as in (79)c (in the Northern dialect, *p* may also be the fixed consonant in the reduplicant if the base begins with a vowel, as in *it-pit* 'dogs and the like.')

(79)   a.   pavlin-mavlin   'peacock(s) and the like'
             qartop-martop   'potatoes and the like'
             kitap-mitap   'books and the like'

	derek-merek	'trees and the like'
b.	muʃuɯq-puʃuɯq	'cats and the like'
c.	afta-mafta	'weeks and the like'
	aʃ-maʃ	'food and the like'

2.2.1.2.4. Compounding

Finally, Crimean Tatar nouns can be derived by compounding. The examples in (80)a illustrate coordinative compounds, and the examples in (80)b are endocentric right-headed compounds.

(80)	a.	ana-baba	'parents'
		mother-father	
		baba-dede	'ancestors'
		father-great-grandfather	
		qarɯ-qodʒa	'married couple'
		wife-husband	
		gedʒe-kyndyz	'day and night'
		night-day	
	b.	demir jol	'railroad'
		iron road	
		jol qapɯ	'gates'
		street door	
		køz jaʃ	'tear'
		eye drop	
		bal qurt	'bee'
		honey insect	

2.2.2. Pronouns

Pronouns in Crimean Tatar are inflected for number, person, and case. There is no gender distinction in pronouns.

2.2.2.1. Personal pronouns

In personal pronouns, first, second, and third person combine with singular and plural to form six distinct verbal subjects. Because of the lack of grammatical gender in Crimean Tatar, the 3rd person singular means 'he,' 'she,' or 'it.' The contrast between the 2nd person singular *sen* and the 2nd person plural *siz* is analogous to such distinctions in, for instance, Russian: the former is informal and the latter denotes either plural or formal singular (with grammatically plural properties). The plural pronouns *biz* 'we' and *siz* 'you (pl.)' can surface with an additional optional plural suffix *-lAr*, as *biz-ler* and *siz-ler*.

Most pronouns take the same case suffixes as nouns in the accusative, locative and ablative (except *o* 'he/she/it,' which takes the possessive declension suffixes). The other cases – that is, dative and genitive – exhibit idiosyncrasies, as shown in the table in (81). In particular, the genitive shows a final labial nasal in the 1st singular and plural. The velar (or uvular) consonant of the dative disappears before the nasal in the singular, causing place assimilation: the nasal surfaces as velar, and the vowel lowers from [e] to [a], cf. *men* '1SG.NOM,' *maŋa* '1SG.DAT.'

(81)   Personal pronouns

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Nominative	men	sen	o	biz	siz	olar
Genitive	menim	seniŋ	onuuŋ	bizim	sizniŋ	olarnuuŋ
Dative	maŋa	saŋa	oŋa	bizge	sizge	olarya
Accusative	meni	seni	onuu	bizni	sizni	olarnuu
Locative	mende	sende	onda	bizde	sizde	olarda
Ablative	menden	senden	ondan	bizden	sizden	olardan

The dative singular forms of personal pronouns in (81) are reported on the basis of the Central dialect. In the Southern dialect, the forms are *mana ~ maa* '1SG.DAT,' *sana ~ saa* '2SG.DAT,' and *una ~ uya ~ uja* '3SG.DAT.' The Northern forms are as follows: *maya ~ maa* '1SG.DAT,' *saya ~ saa* '2SG.DAT,' *oya* '3SG.DAT.'

2.2.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are derived from the demonstrative determiners *bu* 'this,' *ʃu* 'this,' *o* 'that' and exhibit a three-way deictic opposition (82). There are three demonstrative stems, each denoting a different degree of proximity. The demonstrative pronoun *bu* is neutral, the pronoun *ʃu* conveys that the referent is in close proximity to the speaker, and the use of the pronoun *o* indicates that the referent is at a significant distance to the speaker (usually interpreted as 'far away').

(82)	bu	'this (one) (right here)'	bular	'these (ones)'
	ʃu	'this (one) (in close proximity)'	ʃular	'these (ones)'
	o	'that (one)'	olar	'those (ones)'

Demonstrative pronouns combine with the adverbs *muna* 'here,' as in (83)a, and *ana* 'there,' as in (83)b. The demonstratives in (83)c are formed on the basis of the three demonstrative stems and mean 'such,' as in *øjle jaxʃu* 'such a good (thing), so good.' These can be pluralized when they function as pronouns, as in *øjle-ler-i de bar* 'even such (things) exist (=such-PL-POSS EMPH exist).'

(83)	a.	muɯna bu	'this here'
		muɯna ʃu	'this here (in close proximity)'
		muɯna o	'that over there'
		muɯnavuɯ	'that over there' (Northern)
	b.	ana o	'that over there'
		anavuɯ	'that over there' (Northern)
	c.	bøjle	'such'
		ʃøjle	'such'
		øjle	'such'

When they function as pronouns (i.e., when they do not modify an overt noun), demonstratives combine with all case suffixes (possessive declension) used for nouns (cf. *bu-ndan soŋ* 'after this-ABL,' but *bu ev-den* 'from this house-ABL'). *bu* 'this' functions as a free-standing anaphor in the accusative case in (84) and in the ablative case in (85).

(84)	men bu-nuɯ	tynevin	kør-di-m
	I	this-ACC yesterday	see-PAST-1SG
	'I saw this yesterday.'		

(85)	men bu-ndan	qorq-a-m
	I	this-ABL	afraid-PRES-1SG
	'I am afraid of this.'		

Just like demonstratives, universal quantifiers, such as *ep, bytyn, dʒymle* 'all,' *er* 'every' also function as pronouns that carry one or two possessive suffixes, as in *ep-i-miz* 'all-3SG.POSS-1PL.POSS,' as illustrated in (86).

(86)	ep	bytyn	dʒymle	'all'
	ep-i-miz	bytyn-imiz	dʒymle-miz	'all of us'
	ep-i-ŋiz	bytyn-iŋiz	dʒymle-ŋiz	'all of you'
	ep-i-si	bytyn-i	dʒymle-si	'all of them'

The universal quantifiers can be declined; *episi* 'all of them' is in the accusative case in the sentence in (87).

(87) men episi-ni oqu-dɯ-m
      I   all-ACC   read-PAST-1SG
      'I read all of them (e.g., the books).'

2.2.2.3. Reflexive pronouns

The roots *øz* and *kendi,* both meaning 'self,' serve as the bases for expressing reflexive meaning. *øz* is a more neutral form and *kendi* is more Southern, but they are both used interchangeably in standard Crimean Tatar. When used as free-standing anaphors, reflexive pronouns are declined as nouns in the possessive declension. Both can also function adverbially, meaning 'own,' as in *øz/kendi istegi-nen* 'by his own wish.' The nominative case of the reflexive pronouns declined by person and number, as shown in (88).

(88) | | Singular | Plural |
      |---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
      | 1 | øz-ym, kendi-m | øz-ymiz, kendi-miz |
      | 2 | øz-yŋ, kendi-ŋ | øz-yŋiz, kendi-ŋiz |
      | 3 | øz-y, kendi/kendi-si | øz-ler-i, kendi-ler-i |

The sentence in (89) exemplifies the use of the reflexive pronoun *oz^j*.

(89) bu   adam-lar tek   øz-ler-i-ni   tyʃyn-e
      this man-PL   only self-PL-3SG.POSS-DAT   think-PRES
      'These people think only about themselves.'

The sentence in (90) shows the use of *øz* combined with *baʃ*, literally 'self-head,' which can also be used as a reflexive pronoun.

(90) o   suɯq   øz-baʃ-ɯ-na   laqɯrdɯ   et-e
      he   often self-head-3SG.POSS-DAT   conversation do-PRES
      'He often talks to himself.'

The reflexive pronoun is understood to refer to the subject of the clause, as shown in (91).

(91) o   bu   ev-ni   øz-y-ne   sat-ɯn   al-dɯ
      he   this house-ACC   self-3SG.POSS-DAT   sell-SUF take-PAST
      'He_i bought this house for himself_i.'

2.2.2.4. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed by suffixing -*DIr* to interrogatives (for a discussion of interrogatives, see sections 2.2.6 and 3.2.1.3) to express specific indefiniteness, as in (92), and by and preposing or postposing the particle *bir* to express non-specific indefiniteness, as in (93). The use of an indefinite pronoun is exemplified in (94).

(92)	kim-dir	'someone'	kim-ler-dir	'some people'
	ne-dir	'something'	ne-ler-dir	'some things'
	qajsɯ-dɯr	'some kind of'	qajsɯ-lar-dɯr	'some ones'
	nasɯl-dɯr	'somehow, some kind of'	nasɯl-lar-dɯr	'some kind of'
	qatʃ-tɯr	'several'		
	qatʃundʒɯ-dɯr	'some(one) in order'		
	qatʃar-dɯr	'by several'		
	ne itʃyn-dir	'for some reason'		
	bazɯ	'someone'	bazɯ-lar	'some ones'
	bazan	'sometimes'		

(93)	bir kim	'anyone, someone'
	birev	'anyone (dial.)'
	bir qatʃ	'several'
	bir ʃej	'anything, something'
	bazɯ bir	'some, certain'
	qajsɯ bir	'some kind of'

(94)	erkes	bir	ʃej-den	qorq-a
	every person	a	thing-ABL	be.afraid-PRES

'Everybody is afraid of something.'

bir also expresses indefiniteness when placed between a noun and its modifier, as in *qart bir adam* 'an old man,' as opposed *bir qart adam* 'one old man.'

2.2.2.5. Negative pronouns

Negative pronouns are built by preposing the negative particle *itʃ* to the forms expressing non-specific indefiniteness or to the particle *bir* 'one,' as illustrated in (95).

(95)	itʃ bir	'not a single one'
	itʃ kim se	'nobody'
	itʃ bir kim se	'nobody'
	itʃ bir ʃej	'nothing'
	itʃ biri	'none of them, no one'

Negated verbs are used with negative pronouns, as shown in (96). The example in (96) also demonstrates that negative pronouns decline regularly (in the possessive declension).

(96) men itʃ bir ʃej itʃ biri-ne   jaz-ma-dɯɯ-m
      I   nothing nobody-DAT   write-NEG-PAST-1SG
      'I didn't write anything to anybody.' (=I wrote nothing to nobody)

2.2.2.6. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns shown in (97) express a general meaning of possession or location at someone's home. They are built by adding the suffix *-ki* to the genitive case of the personal pronouns. The sentence in (98) exemplifies that possessive pronouns can be used with various cases. The same form of possessiveness exists for nouns as well, e.g. *dʒemaat-nuɳ-ki* 'belonging to the society.'

(97) Possessive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	men-im-ki	biz-im-ki
2	sen-iɳ-ki	siz-iɳ-ki
3	on-ɯɳ-ki	o-lar-nuɳ-ki

(98) bizimki-nuɳ boj-u   siziɳki-ne køre   altʃaq-tɯɯr
      our-GEN   height-3SG.POSS your-DAT   relative.to low-PRED
      'The height of ours (e.g., our house) is lower than yours.'

2.2.3. Numerals

2.2.3.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals of Crimean Tatar are listed in (99). Non-derived roots are used for cardinal numerals 0-10, 20-50, and 100. 60 and 70 are formed by adding the suffix *-mlʃ* to 6 and 7, and 80 and 90 are formed by adding the suffix *-sAn* to 8 and 9.

(99) | sɯfɯr | 'zero' | jigirmi | 'twenty' |
      |-------|--------|---------|----------|
      | bir | 'one' | otuz | 'thirty' |
      | eki | 'two' | qurq | 'forty' |
      | ytʃ | 'three'| elli | 'fifty' |
      | dørt | 'four' | altmɯɯʃ | 'sixty' |
      | beʃ | 'five' | jetmiʃ | 'seventy'|
      | altɯ | 'six' | seksen | 'eighty' |

jedi	'seven'	doqsan	'ninety'
sekiz	'eight'	jyz	'(one) hundred'
doquz	'nine'	biŋ	'(one) thousand'
on	'ten'	milion	'million'
		bilion	'billion'
		miliard	'trillion'

The numerals from one to nine follow higher numerals to form numbers from 11 to 99, and these follow other higher numerals, as exemplified in (100).

(100)	on beʃ	'fifteen'
	elli eki	'fifty two'
	jyz seksen jedi	'one hundred and eighty seven'
	biŋ jyz jetmiʃ sekiz	'one thousand one hundred and seventy eight'

When the simple numerals *jyz* 'hundred' and higher are in their multiple forms, they are preceded by lower numerals, as in (101).

(101)	jedi jyz	'seven hundred'
	qurq eki biŋ	'forty two thousand'

jyz 'hundred' and *biŋ* 'thousand' do not have to be preceded by *bir* 'one' when they mean 'one hundred' and 'one thousand,' but in higher simpler numerals *bir* is not optional, e.g., *bir milion* 'one million.'

Fractions are formed by attaching the locative suffix *-DA* or the ablative suffix *-DAn* to the first member of the fraction that is the denominator in Crimean Tatar, e.g., *ytʃ-te eki, ytʃ-ten eki* 'two thirds (three-LOC two, three-ABL two).' The concept of a half can be expressed in two ways. First, it can be formed by means of the locative or ablative construction, as in *eki-den bir, eki-de bir* 'one half (two-ABL one)'; second, it can be expressed using the free-standing words *butʃuq* and *jarum*. The concept of a number and a half is expressed by using the latter method, e.g., *on butʃuq, on jarum* 'ten and a half.'

Several classifiers used when a noun is modified by a cardinal numeral are shown in (102). In colloquial speech, *dane* can be used as a classifier for people, along with *nefer*.

(102)	dane	discrete, non-human entity	ytʃ dane oda 'three rooms'
	baʃ	animals	otuz baʃ qoj 'thirty sheep'
	typ	seedlings	dørt typ alma 'four apple trees'
	tilim	things that come in slices	bir tilim qavun 'one slice of melon'
	tʃift	things that come in pairs	bir tʃift ajaqqap 'one pair of shoes'
	taquɯm	things that come in a set	bir taquɯm tʃamaʃuɯr 'a set of linens'
	nefer	people	eki nefer adam 'two people'

2.2.3.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix -*(I)ndʒY* to the rightmost member of the cardinal numeral (103).

(103)	bir-indʒi	'first'
	on bir-indʒi	'eleventh'
	otuz-ɯndʒɯ	'thirtieth'
	biŋ jyz jetmiʃ sekiz-indʒi	'one thousand one hundred and seventy eighth'

The ordinal numerals can be used either attributively or as predicates, as in *bir-indʒi kitap* 'the first book' and *o bir-indʒi-dir* 'he is first (he one-ORD-PRED)' respectively. Ordinal numerals can take plural and possessive suffixes to indicate partitive meaning, as in *dørt-yndʒi-ler-i* 'the 4th ones of them (four-ORD-PL-3SG.POSS).'

2.2.3.3. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by adding the suffix -*(ʃ)Ar* to the last word of the numeral up to 'a hundred,' as in (104).

(104)	bir-er	'one each'
	eki-ʃer	'two each'
	beʃ-er	'five each'
	on-ar	'ten each'
	jigirmi-ʃer	'twenty each'

For numerals above 'a hundred', the distributive suffix is added to the first word of the numeral (105). The distributive numerals 'one hundred' and 'one thousand' can be formed by adding the distributive suffix either to the optional 'one,' as in *birer yyz* 'one hundred each,' *birer biŋ* 'one thousand each,' or to the non-optional part of the numeral, as in *jyzer, biŋer*.

(105)	beʃ-er jyz tonna	'five hundred tons each'
	sekiz-er biŋ kilo	'eight thousand kilos each'
	otuz-ar milion metr	'thirty million meters each'

2.2.3.4. Approximative numerals

Approximative numerals are formed by the addition of the plural suffix -*lAr*, as in (106)a, or by compounding, as in (106)b.

(106) a. on-lar   'tens'
       jyz-ler   'hundreds'
    b. bir-eki   'one or two'
       dørt-beʃ   'four or five'

2.2.4. Adjectives

Adjective and noun stems do not differ formally. Adjectives do not show agreement with either nouns or verbs, so adjective stems do not combine with number or case suffixes when used either attributively or predicatively, as illustrated in (107).

(107) køz-ler-i mavɯ   'his eyes are blue'   *køz-ler-i mavɯ-lar
                                             *køz mavɯ-lar
      mavɯ køz-ler   'blue eyes'   *mavɯ-lar køz-ler
                                             *mavɯ-lar køz

2.2.4.1. Comparative and superlative adjectives

The comparative form of adjectives is formed by the addition of the suffix *-TʃA*, as in *uzun-dʒa* 'longer,' *sɯdʒaq-tʃa* 'hotter.' The comparative can be used predicatively, as in (108).

(108) bu   kitap   digeri-si-nden   balaban-dʒa-dɯr
      this   book   other-3SG.POSS-ABL   big-COMP-3SG.PRED
      'This book is bigger than the other one.'

      In Crimean Tatar and in West Kipchak languages in general, the superlative form of adjectives is formed by means of the particle *eŋ,* used in attributive constructions, as in (109), and in predicative constructions, as in (110), or by means of the pronoun *episi* 'all' in the ablative case, as illustrated in (111).

(109) koj-niŋ   eŋ   balaban   ev-i   jan-dɯ
      village-GEN   SUPER   big   house-3SG.POSS   burn-PAST
      'The biggest house in the village burned down.'

(110) o-nuŋ   ev-i   koj-de   eŋ   balaban-dɯr
      he-GEN   house-3SG.POSS   village-LOC   SUPER   big-PRED
      'His house is the biggest in the village.'

(111) o   epi-si-nden   tatlɯ   paxlava   piʃ-ir-e
      she   all-POSS-ABL   sweet   baklava   boil-CAUS-PRES
      'She cooks the sweetest baklava.'

2.2.4.2. Approximative adjectives

Approximative adjectives of quality signify that there is enough or not enough of a certain quality denoted by the adjective. They are formed with the suffixes listed in (112)a and b, respectively.

(112)   Suffixes that form approximative adjectives

Suffix	Examples
a. -(l)tIm	jeʃil-tim 'greenish'
	sarɯ-ltɯm 'yellowish'
	quzɯl-tɯm 'reddish'
-ʃɯn	sarɯ-ʃɯn 'yellowish, red-haired'
b. -TʃArAK	qusqa-dʒaraq tajaq 'relatively shorter, shortish stick'
	uzaq-tʃaraq jol 'relatively longer, longish road'
	eski-dʒerek kijim 'relatively older, oldish clothes'

2.2.4.3. Intensive adjectives

Intensive adjectives are formed by reduplication, as shown in (113). The intensive reduplicant is a (C)VC syllable that consists of the initial (C)V sequence of the base followed by a fixed consonant that can be either *m, s, p,* or *r*. In some cases, such as *tem-tegiz ~ ter-tegiz* 'absolutely flat,' forms with different fixed consonants co-exist. Reduplication occurs mainly with underived adjectives and also with some adverbs (see section 2.2.5).

(113)   Intensive adjectives formed by CVC reduplication

CVm	bem-bejaz	'absolutely white'
	tem-tegiz	'absolutely flat'
	jem-jeʃil	'absolutely green'
	tim-tik	'absolutely steep'
CVs	bus-butyn	'absolutely whole'
	tøs-tøgerek	'absolutely round'
	mas-mavɯ	'absolutely blue'
	dos-doɣru	'absolutely straight'
	tos-tomalaq	'absolutely round'

CVp	qap-qara	'absolutely black'
	sap-sarɯɯ	'absolutely yellow'
	sap-saɣlam	'absolutely healthy'
	ap-aq	'absolutely white'

CVr	ter-temiz	'absolutely clean'
	ter-tegiz	'absolutely flat'
	tʃɯɯr-tʃɯɯplaq	'absolutely naked'

Intensive adjectives can also be formed by partitive constructions, where the first element in the construction bears the ablative suffix -*DAn*, as in (114).

(114) Intensive adjectives formed by full reduplication

balaban-dan balaban	'very big'
teren-den teren	'very deep'
gyzel-den gyzel	'very beautiful'
dylber-den dylber	'very beautiful'
jyksek-ten jyksek	'very tall'
ufaq-tan ufaq	'very small'

2.2.4.4. Derivation of adjectives

2.2.4.4.1. Adjective-forming suffixes

There are many suffixes that productively derive adjectives from nouns and verbs. The most commonly used affixes are listed in (115).

(115) Adjective-forming suffixes

Suffix	Examples
-KIn	ker-gin 'tense'
	stretch-SUF
	kes-kin 'sharp'
	cut-SUF
	tal-ɣɯn 'tired'
	be tired-SUF
-KIr	iʃ-kir 'hard-working'
	work-SUF

	al-ɣɯr 'grabbing'
	take-SUF
-DAki	saraj-daki 'belonging to a palace'
	palace-SUF
	kyn-deki 'daily'
	day-SUF
	quɯʃ-taki 'in winter'
	winter-SUF
-aq, -ɯq	qatʃ-aq 'running away'
	run-SUF
-vUq	aɣla-vuq 'cry-baby'
	cry-SUF
-Gi	quɯʃ-ki 'winter-like'
	winter-SUF
	kyndyz-gi 'daily'
	day-SUF
-lI	qɯrɯm-lɯ 'Crimean'
	Crimea-SUF
	boja-lɯ 'colorful'
	color-SUF
	tuz-lu 'salty'
	salt-SUF
-lIK	kyz-lyk 'autumnal'
	autumn-SUF
-mA	jaz-ma 'written'
	write-SUF
-sIz	iʃ-siz 'unemployed'
	work-SUF

	tuz-suz 'not salty' salt-SUF
	at-sɯz 'horseless' horse-SUF
	typ-syz 'bottomless' bottom-SUF
-tʃAK	utan-tʃaq 'shy' be.shy-SUF
	erin-tʃek 'lazy' be.lazy-SUF
-tʃAn	xalq-tʃan 'people-loving' people-SUF
-(v)ij (in Arabic and Persian borrowings)	mane-vij 'related to meaning' meaning-SUF
	sijas-ij 'political' politics-SUF

2.2.4.4.2. Compound adjectives

Some adjectives are formed as coordinative compounds, as illustrated in (116). The meaning of the members of the compound can be similar, as in (116)a, or they can be opposites, as in (116)b.

(116) Compound adjectives

    a.   qara-toru   'black-brown (referring to the color of a horse)'
                black-chestnut

                tʃevik-tʃabik   'deft'
                deft-fast

                gizli-qapaqlɯ 'secret, unclear, dark'
                secret-with.lid

    b.   qart-jaʃ   'old and young'
                old-new

jyksek-altʃaq   'high and low, uneven'
high-low

2.2.5. Adverbs

Adverbs in Crimean Tatar are not formally different from adjectives. Adverbs of quality are usually identical to the corresponding adjective in the attributive form, as in (117).

(117) jaxʃɯ   'good/well'
       jaramaj   'bad/badly'
       tez   'quick/quickly'
       javaʃ   'slow/slowly'

The forms in (118), (119), and (120) provide examples of adverbs of quantity, place, and time, respectively. Compound adverbs of quantity can be formed with *az* 'little,' as in *az butʃuq* 'not much' (literally, 'little half') and with the numeral *bir* 'one,' as in *bir tʃoq* 'enough' (literally, 'one many').

(118) Adverbs of quantity

       az   'little'
       tʃoq   'very, many, much'
       biraz   'few, only, a little bit
       az butʃuq   'not much'
       bir talaj   'several'
       bir tʃoq   'enough'

Adverbs of place are often formed with the locative suffix *-DA* to denote location, as in (119)a, and the ablative suffix *-DAn* to denote the place from which the action originates, as in (119)b.

(119) Adverbs of place

       a. mɯnda   'here'
           anda   'there'
           uzaqta   'far away'
           aʃaɣɯda   'below'
           juqarɯda   'above'

       b. mɯndan   'from here'
           andan   'from there'
           uzaqtan   'from afar'

aʃayɯdan 'from below'
juqarɯdan 'from above'

Adverbs of time are often formed with the ablative suffix *-DAn*.

(120) Adverbs of time

ʃimdi 'now'

tʃoq-tan 'a long time ago'
many-ABL

baʃ-tan 'at the beginning'
head-ABL

evel-den 'before'
before-ABL

tez-den 'soon'
fast-ABL

Comparative and superlative forms of adverbs are formed just as for adjectives, as shown in (121). The comparative form of an adverb is formed by the addition of the suffix *–TʃA*, as in (121)a, and the superlative form is formed by adding the particle *eŋ*, as in (121)b, or the pronoun *episi* 'all' in the ablative case before the adverb, as in (121)c.

(121) a. tʃoq-tʃa 'more'
         ketʃ-tʃe 'later'
         erte-dʒe 'earlier'
      b. eŋ erte 'earliest'
      c. episinden evel 'earliest, before everybody else'

The comparative form is not used in adverbial comparative constructions that are formed with the noun in the ablative case, as shown in (122).

(122) bu qadɯn men-im tata-m-dan   gyzel   jɯrla-j
      this woman I-GEN   sister-1SG.POSS-ABL beautiful sing-PRES
      'This woman sings better than my sister.'

Derivation of adverbs. Adverbs can be derived from nouns (e.g., *arqadaʃ* 'friend'), adjectives (e.g., *rus* 'Russian'), demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *mun* 'here'), and numerals (e.g., *bir* 'one'), as shown in (123).

(123) Adverb-forming suffixes

Suffix	Examples
-TʃA	rus-tʃa 'in Russian' Russian-ADV tyrk-tʃe 'in Turkish' Turkish-ADV
-TʃAsYA	arqadaʃ-tʃasɯna 'in a brotherly manner' friend-ADV tyrk-tʃesine ' in a Turkish way' Turkish-ADV insan-dʒasɯna 'in a humanly manner' man-ADV
-lAjYn, lAj	saba-lajɯn 'in the morning(s)' morning-ADV bytyn-lej 'fully' all-ADV
-(I)n	jaz-ɯn 'in summer' summer-ADV kyndyz-in 'during the day' day-ADV kyz-yn 'in the fall' fall-ADV
-DA (locative)	ujle-de 'at noon' noon-ADV baʃ-ta 'at the beginning' head-ADV
-DAn (ablative)	mɯn-dan 'from here' here-ADV

> bir-den 'suddenly, immediately'
> one-ADV

The suffix *-lAjIn ~ -lAj* selects stems in an idiosyncratic way: while both *bytyn-lejin* and *bytyn-lej* 'fully' are possible, *saba-lajuun* 'in the morning(s)' is the only existing form.

Adverbs can also be derived by reduplicating nouns, as in (124)a, or adverbs, as in (124)b.

(124) a. syry   'herd, flock'   syry-syry   'by the herd'
           top   'bundle'   top-top   'by the bundle'

       b. az   'little'   az-az   'little-by-little'
           tʃoq   'many'   tʃoq- tʃoq   'by a lot'

2.2.6. Interrogatives

Interrogatives can be nominal, as in (125)a, or adverbial, as in (125)b. Interrogative pronouns distinguish between animate and inanimate in 'who' and 'what,' but not in other instances.

(125) a. kim   'who'
           ne   'what'
           qajsuı (biri)   'which (one of them)'
           angi(si)   'which (one of them)'
           nasuıl   'what kind'
           qatʃ   'how many'
           qatʃuundʒuı   'which (one) in order'
           qatʃar   'by how many, how many to each'

       b. qajda   'where'
           ne jerde (nerede) 'where'
           qajerde   'where'
           ne vaquıt   'when'
           ne zaman   'when' (more abstract)
           qatʃan   'when'
           nedaj   'how' (Northern)
           nasuıl   'how'
           ne itʃyn   'why, what for'
           nitʃyn   'why'
           nege   'what for'

Multiple question words exist to express equivalent ideas (e.g. *qajsu* and *angi* 'which,' *qajerde* and *ne jerde* 'where'). These expressions have cognates in different Turkic branches (Kipchak and Oghuz, respectively) and are used interchangeably, even though speakers of the Southern dialect have a strong preference for the Oghuz variants.

On the syntax of interrogatives, see section 3.2.1.3.

2.3. Verbal morphology

As is the case with any Turkic language, verbal morphology is the most complex part of the Crimean Tatar morphological system. The verb is inflected for the grammatical categories of tense (past, present, future), mood (indicative, optative, obligative, conditional, and imperative), person and number, and voice. We include the category of voice under verbal inflection rather than derivation on the basis of the definition of inflection as "morphology that is accessible to and/or manipulated by rules of the syntax" (Anderson 1992: 83).

2.3.1. Copula

The copula verb *ol-* 'be, become, exist' is overtly realized in the past and future. In the present, the predicate suffixes illustrated in (126) are used, as in *men odʒa-m* 'I am a teacher.' The 3rd person suffix *-DIr* is optional and is considered to be high style. Present tense sentences with the predicate suffix are negated with the help of the negative particle *degil* (see section 3.3.2).

(126)		Singular	Plural
	1	-(I)m	-mIz
	2	-sIŋ	-sI(ŋI)z
	3	(-dɯr)	(-dɯr)

In the past, the suppletive *edi* is used, as in *men odʒa edim* 'I was a teacher,' conjugated as in (127). The stem *ol-* is used for negation, as in *men odʒa ol-ma-dɯ-m* 'I was not a teacher.'

(127)		Singular	Plural
	1	edi-m	edi-miz
	2	edi-ŋ	edi-ŋiz
	3	edi	edi-ler

In the affirmative, there is a semantic difference between the suppletive *edi*, as in *men odʒa edi-m* 'I was a teacher,' and the past tense of the verb *ol-*, as in *men odʒa ol-du-m* 'I became a teacher,' where the regular verb stem indicates a change of state.

In the future, the stem *ol-* is used with the categorical future suffix *-dʒAK* to indicate either a state or a change of state, as in *men odʒa ol-a-dʒaɣ-um* 'I will be/will become a teacher.'

Predicate (copular) suffixes are used in sentences with nominal predicates. Predicate markers are identical for nouns, personal pronouns, ordinal numerals, adjectives, adverbs, interrogatives, and the negative marker *degil*, which is used to negate sentences with all of the above-mentioned predicates (discussed in section 3.3.2). The predicate markers are identical to the person markers of pronominal origin (discussed in section 2.3.2). They are shown in (128) on an example of an animate noun *doxtur* 'doctor' and an adjective *jyksek* 'tall.' The suffix *-DIr* is optional in the 3ʳᵈ person, both in the singular and plural, and the 2ⁿᵈ person plural suffix can be either *-sIŋIz* or *-sIz*. All predicate markers are prestressing.

(128) Singular
1 men doxtur-ɯm, jykseg-im   'I am a doctor, I am tall.'
2 sen doxtur-suŋ, jyksek-siŋ   'You (sg.) are a doctor, you are tall.'
3 o doxtur(-dɯɯr), jyksek(-tir)   'He/she is a doctor, he/she is tall.'

Plural
1 biz doxtur-lar-mɯɯz, jyksek-miz   'We are doctors, we are tall.'
2 siz doxtur-lar-sɯ(ŋɯɯ)z,   'You (pl. or sg.polite) are doctors,
jyksek-si(ŋi)z   you are tall.'
3 olar doxtur-lar(-dɯɯr), jyksek(-tir)   'They are doctors, they are tall.'

Personal pronouns used as predicates are exemplified in (129), and an example of an interrogative pronoun used as a predicate is in (130).

(129) Singular   Plural
1 men-im   'it is I'   biz-miz   'it is us'
2 sen-siŋ   'it is you (SG)'   siz-si(ŋi)z   'it is you (PL; polite)'
3 o(-dɯɯr)   'it is he/she/it'   olar(-dɯɯr)   'it is them'

(130) Singular   Plural
1 kim-im   'Who am I?'   kim-miz   'Who are we?'
2 kim-siŋ   'Who are you?'   kim-si(ŋi)z   'Who are you?'
3 kim(-dir)   'Who is he/she?'   kim(-ler)(-dir)   'Who are they?'

2.3.2. Person markers

Finite verbs in Crimean Tatar are marked with person markers to agree with the grammatical subject. The person markers for finite verbs can be either of pronominal origin (131) or possessive origin (132), depending on the tense and mood. The suffix for

the 3rd person singular is zero, and the suffix for the 3rd person plural is optional in both sets of person markers.

(131)   Person markers of pronominal origin

	Singular	Plural
1	-(I)m	-mIz
2	-sIŋ	-sI(ŋI)z
3	Ø	(-lAr)

(132)   Person markers of possessive origin

	Singular	Plural
1	-m	-K
2	-ŋ	-ŋIz
3	Ø	(-lAr)

2.3.3. Tense/Aspect/Mood

2.3.3.1. Indicative

2.3.3.1.1. Simple tenses

The general present tense is formed by adding the suffix *-A/j* to a verbal root[10], followed by pronominal person markers, as illustrated by the paradigm in (133). The *-A* allomorph attaches to consonant-final roots, and the *-j* allomorph attaches to vowel-final roots, as in *al-a-m* 'I take,' *sorá-j-sɯ(ŋu)z* 'you ask.'

(133)   Person markers in the present; *al-* 'take,' *tyʃ-* 'go down; fall,' *sora-* 'ask,' *ele-* 'sift.'

	Singular	Plural
1	al-a-m, tyʃ-e-m	al-á-mɯz, tyʃ-é-miz
	sorá-j-ɯm, elé-j-im	sorá-j-mɯz, elé-j-miz
2	al-á-sɯŋ, tyʃ-é-siŋ	al-á-sɯ(ŋɯ)z, tyʃ-é-si(ŋi)z
	sorá-j-sɯŋ, elé-j-siŋ	sorá-j-sɯ(ŋɯ)z, elé-j-si(ŋi)z
3	al-a, tyʃ-e	al-á-(lar), tyʃ-é-(ler)
	sora-j, ele-j	sorá-j-(lar), elé-j-(ler)

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[10] When the -A/j suffix is used as a stem formant in constructions other than the general present tense, it will be glossed as SF.

Verbs in the general present can refer to events limited to the time of speech, as illustrated by the sentences in (134) and (135), or to those that have a habitual meaning, as illustrated in (136).

(134) men   ʃeer-ge   ket-e-m
       I   town-LOC   go-PRES-1SG
       'I go (am going) to town (now).'

(135) men-im   aɣa-m   bu   ev-de   jaʃa-j
       I-GEN   brother-1SG.POSS   this   house-LOC   live-PRES
       'My brother lives in this house.'

(136) men-im   aɣa-m   er   kyn   ʃeer-de   ol-a
       I-GEN   brother-1SG.POSS   every   day   town-LOC   be-PRES
       'My brother is in town every day.'

Negation in the general present is formed by placing the negative suffix *-mA* between the verb stem and the suffix *-j*, which is then followed by the person markers, as in *al-ma-j-um* 'I do not take,' *tyʃ-me-j-im* 'I do not fall,' *sora-ma-j-um* 'I do not ask,' *ele-me-j-im* 'I do not sift.' The negative suffix is prestressing, so stress always falls on the syllable that precedes it, as in *ál-ma-j-um* 'I do not take.'

The present progressive tense is formed with the suffix *-mAKtA* (infinitive *-mAK* + locative *-tA*), followed by the person markers of pronominal origin. It marks a prolonged, unfinished action, as in *jaz-maqta-muz* 'we are writing (we keep writing),' *ket-mekte-m* 'I am going (I keep going).'

Negation of the present progressive tense verb is formed by placing the negative suffix after the verb stem, as in *jaz-ma-maqta-muz* 'we are not writing (we do not keep writing),' *ket-me-mekte-m* 'I am not going (I do not keep going).'

The future/present tense is formed with the suffix *-Ar* or *-(I)r*, followed by the person markers of pronominal origin. Most commonly, the *-Ar* allomorph attaches to consonant-final monosyllabic stems, such as *boz-ar-suŋ* 'you will spoil,' and the *-(I)r* allomorph attaches to all other stems, such as *bayur-ur-um* 'I will cry, yell.' However, there are quite a few monosyllabic verbs that exceptionally form their future/present tense with the *-(I)r* allomorph, e.g., *ajt-ur* 'he/she will speak,' *al-ur* 'he/she will take,' *bar-ur* 'he/she will walk,' *ber-ir* 'he/she will give,' *kel-ir* 'he/she will come,' *qal-ur* 'he/she will stay,' *ol-ur* 'he/she will be.' The person markers in the future/present tense are shown in (137) with the examples of a regular verb *sev-* 'love' and an irregular verb *al-* 'take.'

(137)   Person markers in the future/present; *sev-* 'love,' *al-* 'take.'

	Singular	Plural
1	sev-ér-im, al-úr-ɯm	sev-ér-miz, al-úr-mɯz
2	sev-ér-siŋ, al-úr-sɯŋ	sev-ér-si(ŋi)z, al-úr-sɯ(ŋɯ)z
3	sev-ér, al-úr	sev-ér-(ler), al-úr-(lar)

The future/present tense expresses willingness or possibility and thus can be used to refer to possible future events, as in (138). It also regularly refers to the habitual present, as in (139).

(138)   sen   ʃimdi   bu-nɯ   al-ɯr-sɯŋ
      you   now   this-ACC   take-FUT/PRES-2SG
      'You will take this now.'

(139)   o   mektep-ke   ketʃ   qal-ɯp   kel-ir
      he   school-DAT   late   stay-CONV   come-FUT/PRES
      'He comes late to school (usually).'

The future/present tense is negated with the suffix *-mAz*, as illustrated in (140). The suffix of the affirmative future/present does not surface in the negative forms. In the 1st person forms, both singular and plural, the negative suffix surfaces as *-mA*, as in *al-ma-m* 'I will not take.' Note that when two prestressing suffixes, the negative and the person marker, occur in the same form, stress falls on the vowel that precedes the rightmost prestressing suffix.

(140)   Negated future/present; *al-* 'take,' *sev-* 'love.'

	Singular	Plural
1	al-má-m, sev-mé-m	al-má-mɯz, sev-mé-miz
2	al-máz-sɯŋ, sev-méz-siŋ	al-máz-sɯ(ŋɯ)z, sev-méz-si(ŋi)z
3	al-máz, sev-méz	al-máz-(lar), sev-méz-(ler)

The categorical future is formed by adding the suffix *-dʒAK* to a stem consisting of a verbal root followed by the stem formant *-A/j*. Pronominal person markers follow, as in *al-a-dʒaɣ-ɯm* 'I will take (this),' and as this example illustrates, person markers beginning with a vowel cause the final consonant of the suffix to become voiced.

(141)   Person markers in the future; *al-* 'take,' *ele-* 'sift.'

	Singular	Plural
1	al-a-dʒáɣ-ɯm	al-a-dʒáq-mɯz
	ele-j-dʒég-im	ele-j-dʒék-miz

2	al-a-dʒáq-suɯŋ	al-a-dʒáq-suɯ(ŋuɯ)z
	ele-j-dʒék-siŋ	ele-j-dʒék-si(ŋi)z
3	al-a-dʒaq	al-a-dʒáq-(lar)
	ele-j-dʒek	ele-j-dʒék-(ler)

In colloquial speech, the future suffix -dʒAK loses its final consonant and adds person markers of possessive origin, as in al-a-dʒa-m 'I will take,' ele-j-dʒe-ŋ 'you will sift.'

Unlike the future/present, the categorical future tense only refers to events that are expected to occur, as illustrated in (142).

(142) men mektyp jaz-sa-m   dost-lar-ɯm   maŋa kel-e-dʒek
I   letter write-COND-1SG friend-PL-1SG.POSS I.DAT come-SF-FUT
'If I write a letter, my friends will (definitely) come to me.'

Negation of the categorical future is formed by placing the suffix -mA before between the verb stem and the suffix -j, then followed by the future suffix, as in jap-ma-j-dʒay-ɯm 'I will not do (it).'

The general past tense is formed with the suffix -DY (note that the vowel in this suffix alternates with respect to backness but is never rounded), followed by person markers of possessive origin (143).

(143) Person markers in the neutral past; al- 'take,' tyʃ- 'fall.'

	Singular	Plural
1	al-dɯ-m, tyʃ-ti-m	al-dɯ-q, tyʃ-ti-k
2	al-dɯ-ŋ, tyʃ-ti-ŋ	al-dɯ-ŋuɯz, tyʃ-ti-ŋiz
3	al-dɯ, tyʃ-ti	al-dɯ-(lar), tyʃ-ti-(ler)

Usually, the general past tense refers to an event known to the speaker from personal experience, as in (144).

(144) qɯrɯm-ya   kel-di-k
Crimea-DAT   come-PAST-1PL
'We returned to Crimea.'

The general past tense is negated with the suffix -mA placed after the verb root, as in al-ma-du-m 'I did not take.'

The evidential past is formed with the suffix -KAn followed by pronominal person markers (145).

(145) Person markers in the evidential past; *al-* 'take,' *tyʃ-* 'fall.'

	Singular	Plural
1	al-ɣán-ɯm, tyʃ-kén-im	al-ɣán-mɯz, tyʃ-kén-miz
2	al-ɣán-sɯŋ, tyʃ-kén-siŋ	al-ɣán-sɯ(ŋɯ)z, tyʃ-kén-si(ŋi)z
3	al-ɣán, tyʃ-kén	al-ɣán-(lar), tyʃ-kén-(ler)

The evidential past is used to refer to actions in the remote past that may be known to the speaker from others, as in (146), or when it is necessary to emphasize the uncertainty or unreliability of the reported action (e.g., in fairy tales, riddles, etc), as in (147).

(146) bir-eki ʃej ber-gen-ler
       one-two thing give-EV.PAST-3PL
       'They (apparently) gave (him) a couple of things.'

(147) qomʃu-lar qajt-ɯp kel-gen-ler
       neighbor-PL return-CONV.PAST come-EV.PAST-3PL
       '(Possibly) the neighbors have (already) returned.'

The evidential past is negated with the suffix *-mA* after the verb root, as in *kel-me-gen-ler* 'they did not come.'

2.3.3.1.2. Compound tenses

The habitual past is formed with the future/present verb stem (verb root, and the suffix -*(V)r* (*Ar, -(I)r*)) followed by the copula *edi*, as in *iste-r edi-m* 'I would want.' This construction describes habitual events that are typical of a certain period in the past, without information about their beginning or end, e.g. *alur edim* 'I used to take.' This construction can also express a conditional meaning, as illustrated in (148).

(148) mymkyn ol-sa bu ʃej-ler-ni al-ɯr edi-m
       possible be-COND this thing-PL-ACC take-PTCPL.PRES COP.PAST-1SG
       'If possible, I would take these things.'

The habitual past is negated on the main verb with the negative suffix *-mAz* (used for negation in the simple future/present), as in *iste-mez edi-m* 'I would not want.'

The compound past is formed with a stem composed of the verb root and the suffix *-A/j* followed by the past copula, e.g., *al-a edi-k* 'we were taking,' *tyʃ-e edi-ŋ* 'you (sg.) were falling.' It indicates single or repeated events that happened at some point in the past and have no specified end-point, as illustrated in (149).

(149) qartbaba-m   biz-ge   tʃoq-tʃoq masal-lar ajt-a   edi
grandfather-1SG.POSS   we-DAT many   tale-PL   tell-CONV.PRES COP
'My grandfather told us many fairy tales (constantly, all the time).'

The negative suffix in the compound past is placed on the main verb, as in *al-ma-j edi-k* 'we were not taking,' *juqla-ma-j edi-k* 'we were not sleeping.'

A construction with a similar meaning is formed with the -*A/j* converb followed by the present/future stem of *jat-* 'lie' and the past copula, e.g., *ala jatur edim* 'I was (constantly) taking.'

The pluperfect is formed with the suffix -*KAn* followed by the past copula, e.g., *al-yan edi-m* 'I had taken,' *tyʃ-ken edi-m* 'I had fallen.' The use of the pluperfect is illustrated in (150).

(150) men bu   ʃeer-ge   1948   sene-si-nde
I   this town-DAT 1948 year-3SG.POSS-LOC

kel-gen   edi-m
come-PTCPL.PAST COP.PAST-1SG

'I came to this town in 1948 (a very long time ago).'

The pluperfect is negated on the main verb, as in *kel-me-gen edim* 'I had not come.'

The counterfactual past is formed with the categorical future stem (verb root, the stem formant -*A/j*, and the suffix -*dʒAK*) followed by the copula *edi*, as in *kel-e-dʒek edi-k* 'we would have come,' *jaz-a-dʒaq edi-m* 'I would have written.' This construction is negated on the main verb, as in *kel-me-j-dʒek edi* 'we would not have come,' *jaz-ma-j-dʒaq edi-m* 'I would not have written.' This construction has a counterfactual meaning, as illustrated in (151).

(151) men bu   kitap-nuı al-a-dʒaq   edi-m
I   this book-ACC take-SF-FUT   COP.PAST-1SG

amma   maŋa   ber-me-di-ler
but   I.DAT   give-NEG-PAST-3PL

'I would have taken this book, but they didn't give it to me.'

The progressive past tense is formed with the progressive suffix -*mAKtA* followed by the past tense copula, as in *jaz-maqta edi-m* 'I was (kept) writing,' *ket-mekte edi-m* 'I was going (I kept going).'

Negation of this construction is formed by placing the negative suffix on the main verb before the progressive suffix, as in *jaz-ma-maqta edi-m* 'I was not writing,' *ket-me-mekte edi-m* 'I was not going.'

Evidential tenses are formed by adding the evidential copula *eken* to tensed verbs discussed above. Evidential tenses convey the sense that the action was not observed by a speaker, is under doubt, or is not immediately apparent. The tense and aspect information is determined by the tense suffix on the main verb. The complex evidential past, as in *tyʃ-ken eken* 'he fell (a long time ago),' is illustrated in (152) and the evidential with the main verb in the categorical future, as in *unut-a-dʒaq eken-im* 'apparently, I have to forget,' is in (153).

(152) meger   terek-ten   tyʃ-ken   eken
       apparently tree-ABL   fall-PTCPL.PAST EV.COP
       'Apparently, he fell out of the tree (I am not sure if he actually did).'

(153) men bu   adise-ni   unut-a-dʒaq   eken-im
       I   this incident-ACC forget-SF-FUT EV.COP-1SG
       'I have to forget (about) this incident.'

Other evidential tenses include the evidential with the general present, as in *unut-a eken-siŋ* 'apparently, you are forgetting,' the evidential with the future/present, as in *unut-ar eken-siŋ* 'apparently, you will forget,' and the evidential with the present progressive, as in *unut-maqta eken-siŋ* 'apparently, you are forgetting.' Negation is expressed on the main verb, as in *unut-ma-yan eken-im* 'apparently, I have not forgotten,' *unut-ma-j-dʒaq eken-im* 'apparently, I will never forget,' *unut-maz eken-im* 'apparently, I will not be forgetting.'

The evidential copula *eken* (or less often *emiʃ*) is used to express counterfactuality or uncertainty in nominal sentences, as in *bu kitap eken/emiʃ* 'This appears to be a book,' or the reported nature of an utterance, as in *o xasta eken* 'They say he is sick' (cf. *o xasta edi* 'He was sick.').

2.3.3.2. Conditional

The conditional is expressed by the suffix *-sA* followed by possessive person markers, as in *al-sa-m* 'if I take, if I took.' The past conditional (usually counterfactual) is formed with *-sA* followed by the inflected past copula, e.g., *al-sa edi-m* 'if I had taken.' The use of the conditional is exemplified in (154).

(154) men-im   dost-um   ev-de   jaʃa-sa   o-nuŋ
       I-GEN   friend-1SG.POSS house-LOC live-COND he-GEN

qoranda-sɯ   tʃoq razɯ

family-3SG.POSS   very content

'If my friend lives at home, his family will be very happy.'

To negate a conditional, the negative suffix *-mA* is placed before the conditional suffix, as in *al-ma-sa-m* 'if I do not take, if I did not take.'

2.3.3.3. Imperative

The imperative is formed using the person markers in (155). There is no overt marker for the imperative in the 2ⁿᵈ singular, so the bare verb stem is used.

(155)		Singular	Plural
	1	-(A)jIm	-(A)jIK
	2	Ø	-(I)ŋIz
	3	-sIn	-sInlAr

Examples of the imperative are given in (156) with the stems *unut-* 'forget' and *et-* 'do.' In the 1ˢᵗ person, the imperative means 'I should X' or 'we should X,' as well as 'let me X' and 'let us X'), and in the 3ʳᵈ person the meaning is 'let him/her X.'

(156)		Singular	Plural
	1	unut-ajɯm, et-ejim	unut-ajɯq, et-ejik
	2	unut, et	unut-ɯŋɯz, et-iŋiz
	3	unut-sɯn, et-sin	unut-sɯn-lar, et-sin-ler

The imperative is negated by adding the negative suffix *-mA* before the imperative affixes, as in *et-me-jim* 'let me not do (it),' *unut-ma-sun* 'let him/her not forget (it),' *unut-ma* 'don't forget (it).'

In addition to the suffixes above, particles such as *-tʃY* and *-sA*, which express encouragement (and similar senses), can attach to stems to form imperatives, e.g., *ajt-tʃu* 'speak!', *ajt-ajum-tʃu* 'why don't I speak,' *baq-sa* 'look!', *baq-ajuq-tʃu* 'let us look.' The imperative without a particle is the most neutral form, *-sA* adds more emphasis, and the particle *-tʃu/tʃi* is the most emphatic.

2.3.3.4. Optative

The optative present is expressed by the suffixes *-KAj* or *-KAjdI* followed by pronominal person markers, as in *tynevin kel-gejdi-ŋ* 'I wish you had come yesterday.' The paradigm is illustrated in (157) with the example of the verb *ajt-* 'speak.'

(157)	Singular	Plural
1	ajt-qajdɯ-m	ajt-qajdɯ-q
2	ajt-qajdɯ-ŋ	ajt-qajdɯ-ŋɯz
3	ajt-qajdɯ	ajt-qajdɯ-lar

The negative suffix is placed before the optative suffix, as in *tynevin kel-me-gejdi-ŋ* 'I wish you hadn't come yesterday.'

2.3.3.5. Obligative

The obligative mood is formed with the suffix *-mAlY* followed by possessive personal markers. The paradigm is shown in (158) with the example of the verb *ajt-* 'speak.'

(158)	Singular	Plural
1	ajt-malɯ-m	ajt-malɯ-mɯz
2	ajt-malɯ-suŋ	ajt-malɯ-sɯz
3	ajt-malɯ	ajt-malɯ(-lar)

The use of the obligative is illustrated in (159).

(159) men bu iʃ-ni jap-malɯ-m
      I this work-ACC do-OBLIG-1SG
      'I should (have to) do this job.'

The obligative is negated before the suffix, as in *jap-ma-malɯ-m* 'I don't have to do it.' The past tense of the obligative mood is formed with the past copula, as in *oqu-malɯ edi-m* 'I had to read/study,' negated as *oqu-ma-malɯ edi-m* 'I did not have to read/study.'

      There are also syntactic ways to express obligation, with the use of words such as *bortʃlu* 'must,' *medʒbur* 'have to,' *kerek, ľazim* 'necessary,' etc. While *-mAlY* expresses a neutral obligation or even a wish, *medʒbur* is more categorical and expresses a stronger obligation (the requirement in (160) is stronger than that in (159)).

(160) men bu iʃ-ni jap-maɣ-a medʒbur-ɯm
      I this work-ACC do-INF-DAT must-COP.1SG
      'I am required to do this job.'

      As illustrated in the following examples, *bortʃlu* expresses the strongest obligation (which may be an absolute requirement), as in (161); *kerek* refers to a weaker obligation or general necessity, as in (162); and *ľazim* expresses the weakest obligation, as in (163).

(161) bala   oqu-maɣ-a   bortʃlu
   child study-INF-DAT must
   'A child must study (it's the law).' (=It is necessary for a child to study)

(162) bala   oqu-maq   kerek
   child study-INF necessary
   'A child must study (in general, in order to do well in school).'

(163) bu   kitap-nɯ   oqu-maq   lʲazim
   this book-ACC read-INF necessary
   'It is necessary to read this book (it might be useful).'

2.3.3.6. Ability and possibility

Objective ability and inability are expressed by an infinitive in the dative (see section 2.3.6.1) followed by the verb *bil-* 'know, be able to,' as in *jaz-maɣ-a bilem* 'I can write' in the sense of 'I know how to write, I am capable of writing.' This construction is negated on the main verb, as in *jaz-maɣ-a bil-me-m* 'I cannot (do not know how to) write.' The sense of possibility in terms of the absence of an impediment is expressed by a past converb followed by the verb *ol-* 'be,' as in *jaz-up ol-am* 'I can write' (for instance, I have a pencil). This construction is also negated on the finite verb, as in *jaz-up ol-ma-m* 'I cannot write (do not have the means to).' The present converb followed by the verb *bil-* 'be able to' expresses a slightly different sense of possibility, as in *jaz-a bilem* 'I can write (now that I have a pen).'

   Permissive possibility is expressed by a construction with *mymkyn* 'possible,' as in *maŋa jaz-maq mymkyn* 'I can (am allowed to) write.' This construction is negated with *degil*, as in *maŋa jaz-maq mymkyn degil* 'I am not allowed to write.'

2.3.4. Voice

2.3.4.1. Causative

The causative suffix is attached to transitive and intransitive verb stems. The form of the causative suffix is partially selected by the phonology of the verb stem and partially determined lexically.

(164) Causatives

  -t added to polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel, liquid, or j in archaic forms

      iʃle-t-   'force to work' (iʃle- 'work')
      besle-t-   'force to treat' (besle- 'feed, grow')

| | quısqar-t- | 'make shorter' (quısqar- 'shorten (intrans.)') |
| | saɣaj-t- | 'heal (make healthy)' (saɣaj- 'become healthy') |

-It   added to stems ending in rk, lk, k

	qorq-ut-	'to scare' (qorq- 'be scared')
	sarq-ɯt-	'lower' (sarq- 'hang from, be lowered')
	silk-it-	'shake up' (silk- 'shake')

-Ir   added to monosyllabic stems ending in t, tʃ, ʃ

	bit-ir-	'finish (smth.)' (bit- 'finish (intrans.)')
	bat-ɯr-	'sink (smth.), immerse' (bat- 'sink, sink in')
	utʃ-ur-	'allow to fly away' (utʃ- 'fly')
	piʃ-ir-	'cook, boil (smth.)' (piʃ- 'cook (intrans.)')

-Ar   added mostly to monosyllabic stems

| | qop-ar- | 'pick (flowers), break off' (qop- 'break off (intrans.)') |

-DIr   added to most other verb stems

	tut-tur-	'force to hold; give (to hold)' (tut- 'hold')
	at-tɯr-	'force to throw; shoot' (at- 'throw')
	qon-dur-	'force (a bird) to land' (qon- 'land')
	tøk-tyr-	'force to spill' (tøk- 'spill')

The suffixes *-t*, *-It*, *-Ir*, *-Ar*, and *-DIr* are productive. There are also a number of unproductive causative suffixes in Crimean Tatar, such as *-KIz*, *-DAr*, *-sAt*, *-sIt*, as in *tur-sat-* 'place upright,' *tur-ɣuz-* 'cause to get up' (cf. *tur-* 'stand'), *kir-set-* 'lead in, turn on' (cf. *kir-* 'enter'), *av-dar-* 'turn over' (cf. *av-* 'bend down').

It is possible for more than one causative suffix to appear on a verb stem, as shown in (165). The choice of the allomorph of the causative suffix is determined partially phonologically and partially lexically. Phonologically determined allomorphy is illustrated in (165)a and b. The stem *qorq-* 'to be afraid' ends in the sequence *rq* and thus selects a *-It* allomorph which is then followed by the most general *-DIr* suffix; the stem *bil-* 'know' is monosyllabic and thus selects the *-DIr* allomorph, which is then followed by the *-t* suffix as it makes the base polysyllabic and ending in a liquid. (165)c illustrates the lexically conditioned allomorphy of two causative suffixes: there is a difference in meaning between *-Ir* and *-DIr* used with the verb *itʃ-* 'drink.'

(165) a. qorq-maq   'to be afraid'
            qorq-ut-maq   'to scare'
            qorq-ut-tɯɯr-maq   'to force to scare'

       b. bil-mek   'to know'
            bil-dir-mek   'to let know, inform'
            bil-dir-t-mek   'to force to inform'

       c. itʃ-mek   'drink'
            itʃ-ir-mek   'to make drink, to give a drink'
            itʃ-tir-mek   'to force to drink'
            itʃ-tir-t-mek   'to force someone to force someone to drink'

The use of single and double causatives is further discussed in section 3.1.2.7.

2.3.4.2. Passive

The passive voice is formed with the suffixes *-(I)l* and *-(I)n*: the suffix *-(I)l* can combine with both transitive and intransitive verbs, as in *aʃa-l-* 'be eaten,' *et-il-* 'be done,' and the *-(I)n* allomorph is attached to stems that end in *l*, showing *l/n* dissimilation, as in *al-un-* 'be taken,' *bul-un-* 'be found.'

The passive is negated with the negative suffixes *-mA* or *-mAz* (depending on the tense), which attach after the passive suffix, as in *ketʃ-il-me-di* 'was not to be entered through,' *ketʃ-il-mez* 'not to be entered through,' *qoj-ul-ma-du* 'was not to be put,' *qoj-ul-maz* 'not to be put.' The same pattern of negation applies to reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

2.3.4.3. Reflexive

The reflexive voice is formed with the suffix *-(I)n*, as in *quva-n-* 'rejoice,' *juv-un-* 'wash oneself.' Sometimes, a passive form can have a reflexive meaning, as in *as-ul-* 'be hung; hang oneself,' *sil-in-* 'be wiped; wipe oneself,' *tøk-yl-* 'be scattered; scatter oneself,' *boy-ul-* 'be strangled, drowned; strangle, drown oneself.'

2.3.4.4. Reciprocal

The reciprocal voice is formed with the detransitivizing suffix *-(I)ʃ*, as in *tap-uʃ-* 'find each other,' *ayla-ʃ-* 'cry together,' *utʃ-uʃ-* 'fly together,' *kør-yʃ-* 'see each other, meet.' As with some passive verbs, some verbs with the reciprocal suffix can also belong to the active voice: *tʃek-iʃ-* 'suffer,' *bula-ʃ-* 'become dirty.'

2.3.5. Verbal suffixes: order of occurrence

When tense/aspect/modality suffixes co-occur, their order is fixed. The order of occurrence of the suffixes is as illustrated in the table in (166). Suffixes in the same column cannot co-occur in the same word. The order of the suffixes is illustrated in (167).

(166)   The order of occurrence of verbal suffixes

1	2	3	4	5	6
REFL RECIP	CAUS	PASS	NEG	TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD	PERSON/NUMBER

(167)   men   juv-un-dɯr-ɯl-ma-dɯ-m
        I   wash-REFL-CAUS-PASS-NEG-PAST-1SG
        'I was not forced to wash myself.'

In general, suffixes occur in a given word only once. However, as will be discussed in section 3.1.2.7, double causatives exist in Crimean Tatar.

2.3.6. Non-finite verbs

Non-finite verbs in Crimean Tatar belong to the three following types:

(i)   infinitives (or verbal nouns): non-finite verbs of nominal clauses (described in sections 2.3.6.1 and 3.2.2.2.2);

(ii)   participles: non-finite verbs of relative clauses (described in sections 2.3.6.2 and 3.2.2.2.3);

(iii)   converbs: non-finite verbs of adverbial clauses (described in sections 2.3.6.3 and 3.2.2.2.4).

2.3.6.1. Infinitives

Infinitives in Crimean Tatar are formed with the suffix *-mAK*. The infinitive is used as a citation form when the verb is mentioned as a lexical item, e.g., *oqu-maq* 'to read,' *et-mek* 'to do,' *jaſa-maq* 'to live, to exist.' The infinitive is negated by placing the negative suffix *-mA* between the verb stem and the infinitive suffix, as in *oqu-ma-maq* 'not to read,' *et-me-mek* 'not to do,' *jaſa-ma-maq* 'not to live.'

The infinitive is frequently used with nominal modal predicates, such as *kerek* 'necessary' and *mymkyn* 'possible,' as in *iſle-mek kerek* 'it is necessary to work.' If the infinitive is used in a construction where it is followed by a verb (either non-modal or modal), it is always followed by the dative suffix *-A* (possessive declension), as in *men iſle-mege istejim* 'I want to work,' *jaz-may-a bilem* 'I can (know how to) write.'

2.3.6.2. Participles

2.3.6.2.1. Past participles

Present/past participles in Crimean Tatar are formed with the suffix *-KAn*, (*-(j)An* in the Southern dialect), as exemplified in (168). Voice suffixes precede the participial suffix and case suffixes follow it.

(168) ketʃ-ken afta   'last (passed) week'
      pass-PTCPL.PAST week

      jaz-ɯl-gan mektyp   'written letter'
      write-PASS-PTCPL.PAST letter

      araba sɯn-ɣan-dan soŋ   'after the cart breaks/broke'
      cart   break-PTCPL.PAST-ABL after   (= after the cart's breaking)

      men kitʃkene bala ol-ɣan-da   '(when) I was a little kid'
      I   little   child be-PTCPL.PAST-LOC

Negation is formed by adding the negative suffix *-mA* to the verb stem followed by the participial suffix, as in *sɯn-ma-ɣan* 'not breaking,' *jaz-ul-ma-ɣan* 'not written.'

2.3.6.2.2. Future participles

Future participles characterize actions that will necessarily happen in the future. Future participles are formed with the suffix *-dʒAK*, which follows a verb stem consisting of the verb root and the *-A/j* suffix, exemplified in (169).

(169) oqu-l-a-dʒaq eser   'writing that will be read'
      read-PASS-SUF-PTCPL.FUT writing

      sɯn-a-dʒaq araba   'cart that will break'
      break-SUF-PTCPL.FUT cart

      eg-il-e-dʒek pɯtaq   'branch that will bend'
      bend- PASS-SUF-PTCPL.FUT branch

Negation is formed by adding the negative suffix to the verb stem, followed by the suffix *-j*, followed by the participial suffix, as in *al-ma-j-dʒaq* 'the one who will not take,' *ber-me-j-dʒek* 'the one who will not give.'

2.3.6.2.3. Present participles

Present participles in *-(V)r* (the distribution is identical to the present/future tense) express durative qualities, often projected onto the future, e.g., *aq-ar suv* 'running water,' *jan-ar day* 'burning forest,' *kel-ir afta* 'next (coming) week.' This particle often constitutes the first part of nominal compounds, such as *tʃal-ar saat* 'alarm clock' (=ringing time), *jan-ar day* 'volcano (=burning mountain).'

Present participles are negated by adding the negative suffix *-mAz* to the verb stem, as in *søn-mez atef* 'inextinguishable fire,' *sil-in-mez teessurat* 'inerasable impression.'

2.3.6.3. Converbs

2.3.6.3.1. Present converbs

Present converbs are formed with the suffix *-A* after consonants and *-j* after vowels, as in *kel-e* 'coming,' *oqu-j* 'writing.' This converb is used in combination with another verb, e.g., *kel-e jat-maq* 'to come closer,' *ol-a bil-ir* 'may be, may happen,' *ket-e ber-iŋiz* 'let (us) go,' etc. The negative suffix is placed on the converb, as in *afuq-ma-j kete* 'he/she goes without hurrying,' *quburda-ma-j tura* 'remains unmoving.'

A similar present converb is formed with the suffix *-(j)ArAK*, as in *ol-araq* 'being,' *bafla-jaraq* 'beginning.' The use of this construction is exemplified in (170).

(170) bu   if-ni   bafla-jaraq   bitir-meli
      this   work-ACC   begin-CONV.PRES   finish-OBLIG
      'This work needs to be finished fast.' (=One must begin and finish the work)

2.3.6.3.2. Past converbs

Past converbs are formed with the suffix *-(I)p*, as in *kel-ip* 'having come,' *jap-up* 'having done,' *de-p* 'having said.' An example of the use of the *-(I)p* converb is given in (171). In this case, the converb denotes the first (non-final) in a series of actions, with the last action of the clause represented by a finite verb.

(171) asan   ev-ge   kel-ip   ev-ni   temiz-le-di
      Asan   house-DAT   come-CONV.PAST   house-ACC   clean-VB-PAST
      'Asan came home and cleaned the house.'

2.3.7. Verbal derivation

2.3.7.1. Suffixation

The following are productive suffixes of verbal derivation in Crimean Tatar.

(172)   Denominal and deadjectival verb-forming suffixes

Suffix	Examples
-lA	temiz-le- 'clean' clean-VB aq-la- 'whiten' white-VB tiʃ-le- 'bite' tooth-VB baʃ-la- 'begin' head-VB
-lAn	ava-lan- 'air, refresh' ava-VB dʒan-lan- 'revive, come to life' life-VB
-sirA, -sɯrA	juqu-sɯra- 'doze' dream-VB aɣla-sɯra- 'cry' cry-VB
-(Il)dA	uv-ulda- 'howl (about the wind)' the sound of the wind-VB (onomatopoetic) gyr-ylde- 'thunder, hoot' thunder-VB (onomatopoetic)
-(A)r	qara-r- 'become black' black-VB

	køk-er- 'become green' green-VB
	deli-r- 'loose one's mind' crazy-VB
	baʃ-ar- 'manage' head-VB
	sar-ar- 'become yellow'[11] yellow-VB
-sA	suv-sa- 'be thirsty (wish for water)' water-VB
	tytyn-se- 'wish to smoke' tobacco-VB
-ik	ketʃ-ik- 'be late' late-VB

(173)   Deverbal verb-forming suffixes

Suffix	Examples
-KAlA	tʃek-kele- 'draw over, overhaul' pull/carry-VB
-mAlA	ʃaʃ-mala- 'be lost' be.surprised-VB

2.3.7.2. Compounding

Compound verbs are common in Crimean Tatar. They are made up of two parts, the first part being a bare nominal (most commonly a noun or an adjective, and more rarely a numeral or an adverb) or a converb, and the second part being a verb used as a free auxiliary, such as *et-* 'do,' *ol-* 'be,' *ber-* 'give,' and others. Examples of nominal + auxiliary compound verbs are given in (174), and examples of converb + auxiliary compound verbs are in (175).

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[11] This verb is formed exceptionally, with the loss of the final vowel of the stem (*saru* 'yellow').

(174)   Compound verbs (nominal + auxiliary)

    a. etmek

laf etmek	'to converse' (laf 'conversation')
iʃ etmek	'to get a job done' (iʃ 'work')
vaade etmek	'to promise' (vaade 'promise')
ant etmek	'to swear'(ant 'oath')
joq etmek	'to destroy, loose' (joq 'no')

    b. olmaq

razɯ olmaq	'to agree' (razɯ 'agreeable')

    c. bermek

dʒevap bermek	'to answer' (dʒevap 'answer')
razlɯɯq bermek	'to permit' (razlɯɯq 'permission')

    d. other verbs

xoʃ kelmek	'to be pleasant' (xoʃ 'pleasant,' kelmek 'to come')
tytyn ketʃmek	'to smoke' (tytyn 'tobacco,' ketʃmek 'to pull')

(175)   Compound verbs (past converb + auxiliary)

alɯp kelmek	'to bring'
	(alɯp 'having taken,' kelmek 'to come')
alɯp bermek	'to buy'
	(alɯp 'having taken,' bermek 'to give')
alɯp ketmek	'to take away'
	(alɯp 'having taken,' ketmek 'to leave')
jazɯp almaq	'to note, write down'
	(jazɯp 'having written,' almaq 'to take')
kijip baqmaq	'to try on (clothing)'
	(kijip 'having put on,' baqmaq 'to see')
tyʃynip tapmaq	'to invent, contrive'
	(tyʃynip 'having thought,' tapmaq 'find')

2.4. Postpositions

There are no prepositions in Crimean Tatar. Postpositions take noun phrase complements and govern one of the Crimean Tatar morphological cases (specifically, dative, genitive, and ablative). Most postpositions are not inflected; however, a number of postpositions are formed from nouns by the addition of possessive and case markers.

In what follows, we list some of the most commonly used postpositions along with the cases they govern and examples. The first group, illustrated in (176), includes postpositions that govern the dative case, most of which contain some semantics of destination (i.e., towards a place, a point in time, or a person).

(176)   Postpositions that govern the dative case

Postposition	Meaning	Examples
doɣru	'straight to'	ev-ge doɣru 'straight to the house'
kore	'according to'	ma-ŋa kore 'to my mind'
qadar	'until'	aqʃam-ɣa qadar 'until the evening'
taba	'towards'	ev-ge taba 'towards the house'
taraf	'towards'	ev-ge taraf 'towards the house'

The postpositions in (177) govern the genitive case, as illustrated by the examples with pronouns, such as *siz-iŋ kibi* 'like you,' *sen-iŋ ile* 'with you.' However, when these postpositions combine with nouns, the noun never has an overt genitive marker, as in *day kibi* 'like a mountain,' *muʃuq ile* 'with the cat.'

(177)   Postpositions that govern the genitive case

Postposition	Meaning	Examples
dajɯm (-daj)	'as, like'	sen-iŋ dajɯm 'like you' muʃuq dajɯm 'like a cat'
ile (-le)	'with'	sen-iŋ ile 'with you' muʃuq ile 'with a cat'
-nen[12]	'with'	sen-iŋ-nen 'with you' muʃuq-nen 'with a cat'

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[12] Dialectally, *-nen* has two allomorphs, *-nen* and *-nan*, whose vowels are determined by backness harmony.

sajuun[13]	'as far as'	juul sajuun 'with each year'
itʃyn (-tʃyn)	'for, in order to'	o-nuɯ itʃyn 'for him' vatan-uɯmuɯz itʃyn 'for our motherland'
kibi	'as, like'	siz-iŋ kibi 'like you' daɣ kibi 'like a mountain

The postposition *itʃyn* 'for, in order to' can also follow infinitives, as in *bil-mek itʃyn* 'in order to know,' *bar-maq itʃyn* 'in order to walk.'

The postposition *nen* 'with' often serves as a coordinating conjunction that links two nouns or noun phrases together, as the examples in (178) demonstrate. *nen* attaches to the first member of the compound and follows possessive suffixes.

(178)   bita-m-nen qartbaba   'grandmother and grandfather'
       ana-m-nuɯŋ baba-suɯ-nen ana-suɯ   'my mother's mother and father'

The postpositions in (179) are spatial and temporal deictics that also govern the genitive case, as they are constructed from nouns and thus exhibit the typical morphology that one would expect to see on the second component of a noun-noun construction. The nouns that they govern may exhibit overt case markers, but very often the case suffix can be omitted on the noun, as in *qaja tybynde* 'under the rock,' *suv yzerinde* 'on the water,' *ev itʃinde* 'inside the house.'

(179)   Postpositions (special and temporal deictics) that govern the genitive case

Postposition	Meaning	Examples
altuɯnda	'under'	sofra-nuɯŋ altuɯnda 'under the table'
alduɯnda	'in front of'	balalar-nuɯŋ alduɯnda 'in front of the children'
artuɯnda	'behind'	ev-niŋ artuɯnda 'behind the house'
baʃuɯnda	'at the beginning'	afta-nuɯŋ baʃuɯnda 'at the beginning of the week'
zarfuɯnda	'during'	afta-nuɯŋ zarfuɯnda 'during the week'

[13] The postposition *sajun* does not occur with pronouns.

itʃinde	'inside'	ev-niŋ itʃinde 'inside the house'
yzerinde	'on top of'	suv yzerinde 'on the water'
ystynde	'on top of'	jaʃʲik ystynde 'on top of the box'
tybynde	'under'	jaʃʲik tybynde 'under the box'
øgynde	'in front of, before'	ev øgynde 'in front of the house'
janɯnda	'next to'	mektep janɯnda 'next to a school'
ortasɯnda	'in the middle of'	ʃeer-niŋ ortasɯnda 'in the center (middle) of the city'
arasɯnda	'between'	olar arasɯnda 'between them'
tuʃarɯsɯnda	'outside of'	ev-niŋ tuʃarɯsɯnda 'outside of the house'
qarʃɯsɯnda	'across from'	ev-imiz-niŋ qarʃɯsɯnda 'across from our house'
aqqɯnda	'about'	qɯrɯm aqqɯnda 'about Crimea' o-nɯŋ aqqɯnda 'about him'

The locative case suffix *-da* that appears on the prepositions in (179) shows location in space or time. The dative and the ablative are used with the prepositions in (179) to show motion toward or away from the location, respectively. These cases are productive with most postpositions in this category (except *aqqɯnda* 'about'). An example with the spatial deictic in the dative case is in (180), and an example with the spatial deictic in the ablative case is in (181).

(180) men kitap-nɯ jaʃʲik-niŋ itʃ-i-ne qoj-dɯ-m
    I   book-ACC box-GEN in-3SG.POSS-DAT put-PAST-1SG
    'I put the book into the box.'

(181) men kitap-nɯ krovat tyb-y-nden al-dɯ-m
    I   book-ACC bed.GEN under-3SG.POSS-ABL take-PAST-1SG
    'I took the book out from under the bed.'

The postpositions in (179) can be declined by person and number. For instance, *aqqunda* 'about' (composed as *aqq-u-nda* 'truth-3SG.POSS-LOC'[14]) can decline as *menim aqqumda* 'about me,' *seniŋ aqquŋda* 'about you,' *bizim aqqumuzda* 'about us,' *siziŋ aqquŋuzda* 'about you (pl).'

Postpositions that govern the ablative case are shown in (182).

(182) Postpositions that govern the ablative case

Postposition	Meaning	Examples
baʃqa	'except'	sen-den baʃqa 'except you'
ɣajrɯ	'except'	evler-den ɣajrɯ 'except houses'
soŋ	'after'	jaɣmur-dan soŋ 'after the rain'
øgyne	'before'	dʒenk-ten øgyne 'before the war'
sebep	'because of'	ʃu-ndan sebep 'because of this'
berli	'from that time'	tʃoq-tan berli 'for a long time'
evel	'before'	iʃ-ten evel 'before work'
burun	'before, in advance'	o-ndan burun 'before him' (dial.)

3. Syntax

The basic constituent order in Crimean Tatar is subject – object – predicate (SOV). The general tendency is to place the verb at the absolute end of the sentence. Phrase-internally, modifiers precede heads. Both the NP and VP are strongly head-marking, with inflectional suffixes attaching to the head noun or verb. The basic word order is illustrated in (183).

(183) bala   kitap-nɯ   oqu-j
      child.NOM   book-ACC   read-PRES
      'The child is reading the book.'

All nouns in a sentence are inflected for case and number: in (183), the subject *bala* 'child' is in the nominative case, and the direct object *kitap-nɯ* 'the book' is in the accusative case. Pronouns are also inflected for case and number. Verbs are inflected for tense, person, number, mood, and voice; for instance, *oqu-j* in (183) is in the present tense, 3rd person singular, indicative mood, active voice.

The verbal predicate obligatorily agrees with the subject in person and number, as illustrated in (184).

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[14] The noun *aq* 'truth' is borrowed from Arabic, where it is a triconsonantal root *hqq*. In Crimean Tatar, the *q* surfaces as a geminate intervocalically, when it can be tautosyllabic, as in *aqqunda*.

(184)   siz   mektyp-ni   jaz-dɯ-ŋɯz
       you.PL letter-ACC write-PAST-2PL
       'You wrote the letter.'

The nominal predicate also agrees with the subject in person and number, in which case agreement is expressed through a predicate-forming suffix that attaches to the nominal predicate, as in (185). If the subject is in the 3rd person, the overt predicate-forming suffix is optional.

(185)   sen   qɯrɯmtatar-sɯŋ
       you   Crimean.Tatar-PRED.2PL
       'You are a Crimean Tatar.'

Typologically, Crimean Tatar is a strongly agglutinating language that has suffixal inflectional and derivational morphology, as is the case for most Turkic languages.

3.1. Phrase types

3.1.1. The noun phrase

In noun phrases, modifiers precede heads, as in *gyzel tʃetʃek* 'beautiful flower,' *bu tʃetʃek* 'this flower,' *bu gyzel tʃetʃek* 'this beautiful flower,' *bu ytʃ gyzel tʃetʃek* 'these three beautiful flowers.' Nouns and personal pronouns in nominal phrases are inflected for number and case, while adjectives are not inflected, as in *kytʃyk koj-den* 'from a small village (=small village-ABL).' When more than one adjective occurs in a nominal phrase, a particular order is required by the semantics of the adjectives. For instance, adjectives describing size precede adjectives describing color, as in *balaban mavu ev* 'big blue house' vs. **mavu balaban ev* 'blue big house', possible only under emphasis. Comparative adjectives and superlative adjective constructions precede nouns, as in *balaban-dʒa ev* 'bigger house,' *eŋ balaban ev* 'the biggest house.'

Pronouns are inflected for number and case, as illustrated in (186).

(186)   o-nɯŋ   balaban mavu ev-i-nde
       he.SG-GEN big   blue house-3SG.POSS-LOC
       'in his big blue house'

Numerals are not inflected and precede nouns in noun phrases, as in (187).

(187)   men jedi ev-ni   kør-e-m
       I   seven house-ACC see-PRES-1SG
       'I see seven houses.'

When a cardinal numeral precedes a noun, the plural on the noun is omitted, as in *jedi ev* 'seven houses' (*jedi ev-ler* with the overt plural suffix is possible in colloquial speech). Ordinal numbers can be inflected when function as nouns, as illustrated in (188).

(188) men ev-ler-niŋ   bir-indʒi-si-nde   jaʃa-j-ɯm
      I   house-PL-GEN one-ORD-3SG.POSS-LOC live-PRES-1SG
      'I live in the 7th house.' ('I live in the 7th of the houses.')

Possessive constructions in Crimean Tatar are formed like in most other Turkic languages. The possessive suffix indicates whether the possessor is 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person, singular or plural, as illustrated in (189). Possessive suffixes surface on the possessee, and the example in (189)b illustrates that both pronominal possessors and the genitive case on the possessor are optional (in colloquial speech).

(189) a. men-im   dost-um-nuŋ   odʒa-sɯ
         I-1SG.POSS   friend-1SG.POSS-GEN teacher-3SG.POSS

      b. dost-um   odʒa-sɯ
         friend-1SG.POSS.GEN teacher-3SG.POSS

         'my friend's teacher'

Demonstrative modifiers do not inflect for case if they modify an overt noun that is declined, as in *bu ev-de* 'in this house (=this house-LOC).' If there is no overt modified noun, they are inflected for case, as in *bu-ndan baʃqa* 'except this (=this-ABL except).'

NPs can be conjoined by coordinating conjunctions. *ve* 'and,' the most frequent coordinating conjunction, is illustrated in (190).

(190) asan ve   veli ev-ge   kel-di-ler
      Asan and Veli house-DAT come-PAST-3PL
      'Asan and Veli came home.'

There are several possible ways to conjoin nouns and pronouns, such as using the coordinating conjunction *ve*, as in *Asan ve men* 'Asan and I,' the postposition *-nen*, as in *Asan men-nen* 'Asan with me,' and the postposition *ile*, as in *Asan men ile* 'Asan and I together.'

Enumerating reduplicated conjunctions such as *dA ... dA, ve ... ve, em ... em*, emphasize the equal status and function of two or more persons or objects, such as *men de Asan da, ve men ve Asan, em men em Asan* 'both Asan and I.'

Disjunction markers are *amma, l'akin* 'but,' and *ise* 'and, but, whereas.' The overt disjunction marker is optional in Crimean Tatar, as illustrated in (191).

(191) bu   qarandaʃ degil (amma) qalem-dir
      this   pencil   not   but   pen-PRED
      'This is not a pencil, but a pen.'

The disjunction marker *ise* can never be the first word in a clause and generally follows the noun or noun phrase it contrasts, as in (192).

(192) Remzije juurla-j   Mafuze ise   ojna-j
      Remziye sing-PRES   Mafuze whereas   dance-PRES
      'Remziye is singing, and (whereas) Mafuze is dancing.'

3.1.2. The finite verb phrase

3.1.2.1. Intransitive verbs

As defined in Levin & Rappoport Hovav (1999), an unergative verb has an external argument but no direct internal argument: NP [$_{VP}$ V]. An unaccusative verb has a direct internal argument but no external argument: ___ [$_{VP}$ V NP/CP]. Crimean Tatar exhibits the same case marking for the subject and the same subject-verb word order for both unergative (193)a and unaccusative (193)b intransitive verbs.

(193) a. o   bala   ojna-j
          that child.NOM   dance-PRES
          'That child dances.'

      b. qajuuq   bat-tuu
          boat.NOM   sink-PAST
          'The boat sank.'

3.1.2.2. Transitive verbs

In a verb phrase with a transitive verb, the direct object precedes the verb. Adverbs are typically positioned before the direct object, as illustrated in (194), unless they are topicalized. The case marking is nominative for the subject and overt or null accusative for the direct object, unless case is lexically assigned by the verb.

(194) o   bala   tynevin   kitap-nuu   oqu-duu
      that child.NOM   yesterday   book-ACC   read-PAST
      'That child read the book yesterday.'

3.1.2.3. Coordination

VPs can occasionally be conjoined by means of the coordinating conjunction *ve*. However, in its function of conjoining two phrases, *ve* is almost always replaced by the converb suffix *-(I)p*, as demonstrated in (195). Note that there are three converbs in this example (*tur-up* 'getting up', *ajlan-up* 'turning around', and *baq-up* 'looking') that denote a series of actions, with only the last action mentioned in the sentence (*tʃuq-a-m* 'I go out') represented by a finite verb.

(195)   men   saba   erte   tur-up   baʃ-ta
        I   morning   early   get.up-CONV.PAST   head-LOC

            bir   azbar-lar-nɯ   ajlan-ɯp   baq-ɯp   tʃɯq-a-m
            a   yard-PL-3SG.POSS[15]   turn-CONV.PAST   look-CONV.PAST   go out-PRES-1SG

        'I get up early in the morning and go outside, looking around the yard.'

      The example in (196) illustrates an instance of coordination in the compound past construction with a copula verb. Two non-finite verbs denoting coordinated events, *jat-a* 'lying' and *juqla-j* 'sleeping', are followed by the past copula.

(196)   biz   bir   kesek   bala   jat-a   juqla-j   edi-k
        we   one   piece   child   lie-CONV   sleep-CONV.PAST   COP.PAST-1PL
        'We, the children, were asleep.'

3.1.2.4. The function of cases

3.1.2.4.1. Nominative

The nominative case can serve as a marker of the subject of the sentence, as in (197), or as a marker of the complement of the verb *ol-* 'to be, to become,' as in (198).

(197)   bala   kitap   oqu-j
        child.NOM   book.ACC   read-PRES
        'The child is reading a book.'

(198)   biz-ler   jaxʃɯ   qomʃu-lar   edi-k
        we.NOM-PL   good   neighbor-PL   COP.PAST-1PL
        'We were good neighbors.'

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[15] In this case, the plural signifies "all of the yard."

In addition to its argument-marking functions, the nominative case is used after numerals, as in *beʃ kitap* 'five books,' and in some temporal expressions, such as *ketʃken sene* 'last year.'

The form of the vocative is identical to the nominative, as in *odʒa-m!* '(My) teacher!'.

3.1.2.4.2. Accusative

The accusative case suffix marks the object of a verb when it is definite, e.g., *kitap-nɯ* 'the book' in (199).

(199) o bala tynevin kitap-nɯ qɯz-tʃɯq-qa ber-di
that boy yesterday book-ACC girl-DIM-DAT give-PAST
'Yesterday that boy gave the book to the girl.'

An indefinite object of a verb does not have an overt accusative case marker, so the form of the noun is identical to the nominative, as shown in (200) ('a book' is indefinite), (201) (this is the first time the direct object, 'dough,' is mentioned in a recipe), and (202) (this is the first time the child is mentioned in a fairy tale).

(200) bala kitap oqu-j
child book.ACC read-PRES
'The child reads a book.'

(201) men xamɯr bas-tɯ-m
I dough.ACC mix-PAST-1SG
'I mixed (some) dough.'

(202) o ket-ip tur-ɣan-da bir bala rastkelʲ-e.
he go-CONV stop-PTCPL-LOC one child.ACC meet-PRES
'On his way, he meets a child.'

The definiteness-marking accusative does not co-occur with adverbs of quantity, as in *tʃoq tʃetʃek* 'many flowers,' **tʃoq tʃetʃek-ni* 'the many flowers' (however, *tʃoq tʃetʃek-ler* 'many flowers' with the overt plural suffix and *tʃoq tʃetʃek-ler-ni* 'many flowers' with overt plural and accusative suffixes are both possible).

The accusative can be either overt or null if the object is modified by an adjective, as in the examples in (203) and (204).

(203) qɯz-tʃɯq dylber tʃetʃek-ni yz-di
girl-DIM beautiful flower-ACC pick-PAST
'The girl picked the beautiful flower.'

(204) quɯz-tʃɯq dylber   tʃetʃek   yz-di
girl-DIM beautiful flower.ACC pick-PAST
'The girl picked a beautiful flower.'

The accusative suffix is always overt in the following cases:

(a) If the direct object is known to the speaker and the addressee, as in (205) (cf. the example in (206) when the object is not known to the speaker and/or addressee):

(205) ev-ni   temiz-le-mek kerek
house-ACC clean-VB-INF necessary
'It is necessary to clean the house.'

(206) ev   temiz-le-mek kerek
house.ACC clean-VB-INF necessary
'It is necessary to clean one's house.'

(b) If the direct object is possessed, as shown by the presence of the possessive suffix and preceding genitive possessor in (207) and (208):

(207) men o-nuŋ ev-i-ni   kør-di-m
I he-GEN house-3SG.POSS-ACC see-PAST-1SG
'I saw his house.'

(208) quɯz-bala-nuŋ dost-u-nɯ   men jaxʃɯ bil-e-m
girl-child-GEN friend-3SG.POSS-ACC I well know-PRES-1SG
'I know the girl's friend well.'

(c) If the direct object is a proper noun, such as a place name or a personal name, as in (209), or if it is modified by a demonstrative, as in (210):

(209) qurɯm-nɯ al-dɯ-lar
Crimea-ACC take-PAST-PL
'They took Crimea.'

(210) quɯz-tʃɯq bu tʃetʃek-ni yz-di
girl-DIM this flower-ACC pick-PAST
'The girl picked this flower.'

(d) If the direct object is a demonstrative that does not modify a noun, as in (211):

(211) men bu-nuɯ   bil-e-m
      I   this-ACC   know-PRES-1SG
      'I know this.'

(e) If the direct object has been mentioned previously, as in the second sentence in (212).

(212) bita-suɯ   muɯsuɯrboɣdaj piʃ-ir-di
      grandmother-3PL.POSS   corn.ACC   cook-CAUS-PAST
      'Their grandmother cooked (some) corn.'

      muɯsuɯrboɣdaj-nuɯ   aʃa-duɯ-lar
      corn-ACC   eat-PAST-PL
      'They ate the corn.'

3.1.2.4.3. Genitive

The genitive case expresses a possessive or qualifying relation of one nominal to another, such as 'my brother' and 'brother's eyes' in (213).

(213) men-im   aɣa-m-nuɯŋ   køz-ler-i   kok
      I-GEN   brother-1SG.POSS-GEN   eye-PL-3SG.POSS   blue
      'My brother's eyes are blue.'

The genitive case is usually overt when the qualifying noun is possessed, as in (213), even though it can be omitted dialectally, as in *men aɣa-m-nuɯŋ køz-ler-i* or *men aɣa-m køz-ler-i* 'my brother's eyes.'

The genitive case is usually omitted when the qualifying noun is attributed, as in *kitap tyk'an-uɯ* 'book store-3SG.POSS,' *alma ʃuras-uɯ* 'apple juice-3SG.POSS,' *aqjar ʃeer-i* 'Sevastopol city-3SG.POSS (=the city of Sevastopol).'

Many postpositions take genitive complements, such as *sen-iŋ dajun* 'like you,' *sofra-nuɯŋ altuɯnda* 'under the table,' etc. (see section 2.4 for the discussion of postpositions).

3.1.2.4.4. Dative

The dative case has several uses: most commonly, it marks the indirect object of a verb, as in (214), where 'the girl' is the recipient of the action.

(214) o   bala tynevin kitab-ɯ-nuɯ   quɯz-tʃuɯq-qa ber-di
      that boy yesterday book-3SG.POSS-ACC   girl-DIM-DAT   give-PAST
      'Yesterday that boy gave his book to the girl.'

The dative case can also be used to denote the place to which an action is directed, as in (215) and (216).

(215) fildʒan   taban-ɣa   tyʃ-ti
      cup   floor-DAT fall-PAST
      'The cup fell on the floor.'

(216) suv-ɣa   tuz   qoʃ-maq   kerek
      water-DAT   salt   add-INF   necessary
      'It is necessary to add salt into the water.'

In Crimean Tatar, a number of verbs take nouns in lexical (inherent) dative case as complements. Among these verbs are *baq-* 'look at,' *inan-* 'believe,' *qajt-* 'return,' *sevin-* 'be happy (about),' *aʃuq-* 'hurry for,' *uj-* 'match, comply (with),' and many others. Some compound verbs, such as *jarduɯm et-* 'help' (help + make), exemplified in (217), also take complements in the dative case.

(217) ana   bala-sɯ-na   jarduɯm et-ti
      mother   child-3SG.POSS-DAT   help   make-PAST
      'The mother helped her child.'

Another use of the dative case is in verbal constructions denoting obligation or necessity, as in (218). This construction consists of a non-finite clause expressing the desired state followed by the dative case followed by the finite verb.

(218) iʃle-meg-e   iste-j-im
      work-INF-DAT   want-PRES-1SG
      'I want to work.'

Many postpositions take dative complements, such as *ev-ge taba* 'towards the house,' *aqʃam-ya qadar* 'until the evening,' etc. (see section 2.4 for the discussion of postpositions).

3.1.2.4.5. Locative

The locative case expresses location in place, as illustrated in (219) through (221) with an increasing degree of abstraction: in (219) the place is an actual physical location, (220) shows a locative construction, and the location in (221) is a concept. Locative denoting location in time is illustrated in (222).

(219) men-im   dost-um   bu   ev-de   jaʃa-j
      I-GEN   friend-1SG.POSS   this   house-LOC   live-PRES
      'My friend lives in this house.'

(220) ana-m-da   musafir   bar
      mother-1SG.POSS-LOC   guest   exist
      'At my mother's there is a guest.'

(221) okupatsija-da   ol-dɯ-q
      occupation-LOC   be-PAST-1PL
      'We were in occupation (occupied, invaded).'

(222) bala   ev-den   saat   beʃ-te   ket-ti
      child   house-ABL   time   five-LOC   leave-PAST
      'The boy left the house at 5.'

Additionally, verbs of location, such as *jaʃa-* 'live,' *jyr-* 'walk around,' *otur-* 'sit,' take complements in the locative case (223).

(223) bala   divan-da   otur-a
      boy   sofa-LOC   sit-PRES
      'The boy is sitting on the sofa.'

3.1.2.4.6. Ablative

The ablative case can have several meanings. Ablative denoting the point of departure is illustrated in (224); in the sentence in (225), the ablative is used to express "place through which."

(224) qɯrq   dørt-yndʒi sene-ler-i   biz-ler-ni   qɯrɯmtatar-lar-nɯ
      forty   four-NUM   year-PL-3PL.POSS   we-PL-3PL.POSS   Crimean.Tatar-PL-ACC

      qɯrɯm-dan tʃeʃit-tyrly jer-ler-ge   køtʃ-yr-di-ler.
      Crimea-ABL different   place-PL-DAT   move-CAUS-PAST-PL

      'In 1944 we Crimean Tatars were relocated from Crimea to different places.'

(225) aɣa-m   kim-ni   pendʒere-den kør-di
      brother-1SG who-ACC window-ABL   see-PAST
      'Whom did my brother see through the window?'

The ablative can also have a partitive meaning, as in (226).

(226) olar-dan   tʃoq-u-sɯ
      they-ABL   many-3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS
      'many of them'

A number of verbs such as *ayla-* 'cry' (as in *quvantʃ-ɯ-ndan ayla-maq* 'to cry from (one's) joy'), *bez-* 'to be fed up with' (as in *men bu-ndan bez-di-m* 'I am fed up with this'), *qorq-* 'be afraid' (as in *køpek-ten qorq-maq* 'to be afraid of the dog'), *tut-* 'take, grab' (as in *qol-u-ndan tut-maq* 'to grab by someone's hand') take complements in the ablative case.

Postpositions that govern the ablative case include *sebep* 'because of,' as in *ʃu-ndan sebep* 'because of this,' *evel* 'before,' as in *iʃ-ten evel* 'before work,' *soŋ* 'after,' as in *jaɣmur-dan soŋ* 'after the rain,' and many others (see section 2.4 for the discussion of postpositions).

3.1.2.5. Ditransitives

In ditransitives, the direct object can either precede or follow the indirect object. The order of the constituents depends on the definiteness of the direct object. If the direct object is definite, as in (227) and (228), it precedes the indirect object, and if the direct object is indefinite, it follows the indirect object, as in (229) and (230), regardless of the indirect object's definiteness status in both cases.

(227) DO – definite; IO – definite

o   bala   tynevin   kitab-ɯ-nɯ   bu   qɯz-tʃɯq-qa   ber-di
that boy   yesterday book-3SG.POSS-ACC this girl-DIM-DAT   give-PAST
'Yesterday that boy gave his book to this girl.'

(228) DO – definite; IO – indefinite

o   bala   tynevin   kitab-ɯ-nɯ   bir qɯz-tʃɯq-qa   ber-di
that boy   yesterday book-3SG.POSS-ACC a   girl-DIM-DAT   give-PAST
'Yesterday that boy gave his book to a girl.'

(229) DO – indefinite; IO – indefinite

o   bala   tynevin   bir   qɯz-tʃɯq-qa   alma   ber-di
that boy   yesterday a   girl-DIM-DAT   apple give-PAST
'Yesterday that boy gave an apple to a girl.'

(230) DO – indefinite; IO – definite

o   bala   tynevin   ʃu   qɯz-tʃɯq-qa   alma   ber-di
that boy   yesterday this   girl-DIM-DAT   apple give-PAST
'Yesterday that boy gave an apple to the girl.'

3.1.2.6. Adverbial modifiers

Adverbials can modify either a verb phrase, as in (231), or an adjective/adverb, as in *pek jaxʃu* 'very good,' where *jaxʃu* is either an adjective or an adverb. When an adverb modifies a verb, it normally surfaces directly before that verb, as in (231)a. Under

emphasis, it can also surface before the verb phrase, as in (231)b or sentence-initially, as in (231)c.

(231) a. bala   ev-den   tez   tʃɯq-tɯ
         child   house-ABL   quickly   leave-PAST
         'The child left the house quickly.'

     b. bala tez ev-den tʃɯq-tɯ

     c. tez bala ev-den tʃɯq-tɯ

3.1.2.7. Causatives

The causative suffixes discussed in section 2.3.4.1 can attach to both intransitive and transitive verbs. Causativization transitivizes an intransitive verb, as shown in examples (232), with the intransitive verb 'to sink,' and (233), where the verb is causativized.

(232) gemi   bat-tɯ
      boat   sink-PAST
      'The boat sank.'

(233) deŋizdʒi   gemi-ni   bat-ɯr-dɯ
      sailor   boat-ACC   sink-CAUS-PAST
      'The sailor sank the boat.'

The examples in (233) and (234) illustrate the difference between the two causative suffixes, -Ir and -DIr. The use of -DIr in (234) emphasizes that the beneficiary of the action is not the causer.

(234) deŋizdʒi   kapitan-nɯŋ   ridʒa-sɯ-na   kore
      sailor   captain-GEN   request-3SG.POSS-DAT   according

      gemi-ni   bat-tɯr-dɯ
      boat-ACC   sink-CAUS-PAST

      'The sailor sank the boat according to the captain's request (i.e., for the captain).'

When a causative suffix attaches to a transitive verb, it expresses the concepts of causing, making, letting, or forcing to. In causative constructions, the direct object remains in the accusative case, and the causee is expressed by a dative-marked noun phrase, as in (236) (the corresponding non-causative construction is in (235)).

(235) bala suv itʃ-e
   child.NOM water.ACC drink-PRES
   'The child drinks water.'

(236) ana   bala-sɯ-na   suv   itʃ-ir-di
   mother.NOM child-3SG.POSS-DAT water.ACC drink-CAUS-PAST
   'The mother gave her child water to drink.'

The sentence in (237) illustrates that the use of the causative suffix *-DIr* in this case results in "stronger" causation, i.e., the causer is forcing the causee to do the action. The use of a double causative is illustrated in (238), where it conveys a more abstract meaning.

(237) ana   bala-sɯ-na   suv   itʃ-tir-di
   mother.NOM child-3SG.POSS-DAT water.ACC drink-CAUS-PAST
   'The mother forced her child to drink water.'

(238) ana   bala-sɯ-na   suv   itʃ-tir-t-ti
   mother.NOM child-3SG.POSS-DAT water.ACC drink-CAUS-CAUS-PAST
   'The mother made her child drink water (= to quench his thirst)'

The example in (239) shows that in the case of a causativized ditransitive verb, such as *ber-* 'give,' the direct object 'toy' remains in the accusative, and both the causee and the beneficiary are in the dative case.

(239) ana   bala-sɯ-na   qɯz-tʃɯq-qa
   mother.NOM child-3SG.POSS-DAT girl-DIM-DAT

   ojundʒaɣ-ɯ-nɯ ber-dir-t-ti
   toy-3SG.POSS-ACC give-CAUS-CAUS-PAST

   'The mother forced her child to give his toy to the girl.'

3.1.2.8. Passives

The passive suffix *-(I)l/-(I)n*, discussed in section 2.3.4.2, can combine with transitive and intransitive verbs. A transitive verb is usually passivized in order to topicalize the direct object and to suppress the agent of the action, as shown in the example of an active sentence in (240) and its passive equivalent in (241). The direct object of a transitive verb becomes the subject under passivization. When the agent is overt in a passive sentence, it is expressed by an ablative noun phrase, as shown in (242).

(240) bu   ev-ni   alel-adʒele   sat-a-dʒaq-lar
      this house-ACC very.quickly   sell-SF-FUT-3PL
      'They will sell this house very quickly.'

(241) bu   ev   tezden   sat-ɯl-a-dʒaq
      this house   soon   sell-PASS-SF-FUT
      'This house will be sold soon.'

(242) qapɯ jel-den   atʃ-ɯl-dɯ
      door wind-ABL   open-PASS-PAST
      'The door opened from the wind.'

The passivization of an intransitive verb produces an impersonal passive construction, as in (243). Impersonal sentences cannot have agent phrases: no particular person or group of people is understood to be performing the action described by such verbs. The closest English equivalents of the sentence in (243) are active sentences with 'people,' 'one,' or the impersonal 'you' as subjects.

(243) bu   qapɯ-dan   kir-il-mez
      this door-ABL   enter-PASS-NEG
      'One does not enter through this door.'
      'This door is not to be entered through.'

3.1.2.9. Reflexives

Reflexive constructions, discussed in section 2.3.4.3, are formed with the suffix -(I)n. The reflexive suffix combines only with transitive verbs and has a detransitivizing function. In reflexive constructions, the agent performs the action on himself or herself, as in (244).

(244) men kør-yn-di-m
      I   see-REFL-PAST-1SG
      'I saw myself.'

3.1.2.10. Reciprocals

Reciprocal constructions are intransitive constructions that describe an action that (at least) two agents perform upon each other. The verb in such constructions is marked with the reciprocal suffix -Iʃ, as shown in (245) and (246). The first sentence contains a transitive verb with a noun complement in the accusative case. The reciprocal verb, however, cannot have a direct object, and so its subject must be either plural or compounded in order to represent both the subject and the direct object of the non-reciprocal sentence, such as ana-bala 'the mother and the child' in (246). An overt

expression of 'each other' with the postposition -*nen* 'with' is possible in a reciprocal clause, as in (247).

(245) bala ana-sɯ-nɯ   tap-tɯ
   child.NOM mother-3SG.POSS-ACC find-PAST
   'The child found his mother.'

(246) ana-bala   tap-ɯʃ-tɯ-lar
   mother-child.NOM find-RECIP-PAST-3PL
   'The mother and the child found each other.'

(247) olar   bir-bir-i-nen   ajt-ɯʃ-tɯ-lar
   they.NOM one-one-3SG.POSS -WITH talk-RECIP-PAST-3PL
   'They spoke with each other.'

3.2. Sentence types

3.2.1. Simple sentences

Simple sentences in Crimean Tatar can contain a finite verbal predicate (section 3.2.1.1) or a nominal/adjectival predicate (section 3.2.1.2).

3.2.1.1. Simple sentences with a verbal predicate

Simple verbal sentences have finite verb phrases as predicates, as illustrated in (248), (249), and (250) and exemplified by an intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verb, respectively. The subject always precedes the predicate.

(248) qajɯq bat-tɯ
   boat.NOM sink-PAST
   'The boat sank.'

(249) o bala   kitap   oqu-j
   that child.NOM book.ACC read-PRES
   'That child is reading a book.'

(250) men-im aɣa-m   quz-tʃuq-qa alma   ber-di
   I-GEN brother-1SG.POSS girl-DIM-DAT apple.ACC give-PAST
   'My brother gave an apple to the girl.'

   In addition to the obligatory direct object and oblique case-marked complements discussed in section 3.1.2, the verb phrase can include a variety of optional spatial or

temporal adjuncts. The adjuncts can be either true adverbs, as in (251) or they can be created from noun phrases with oblique case suffixes or postpositions, as in (252).

(251)　men　jalta-ɣa　　tynevin　　bar-dɯ-m
　　　　I　　Yalta-DAT　　yesterday　go-PAST-1SG
　　　　'Yesterday I went to Yalta.'

(252)　men-im　　dost-um　　　　bu　　ev-de　　　jaʃa-j
　　　　I-GEN　　friend-1SG.POSS　this　house-LOC　live-PRES
　　　　'My friend lives in this house.'

　　　Crimean Tatar is a pro-drop language: personal pronouns that act as subjects of sentences with verbal predicates can be omitted. Pro-drop is possible with all pronouns; (253)a shows the omission of the 3rd person singular pronoun, and (253)b shows the omission of the 1st person singular pronoun.

(253)　a.　jalta-ɣa　　bar-dɯ
　　　　　　Yalta-DAT　go-PAST
　　　　　　'(He) went to Yalta.'

　　　　b.　jalta-ɣa　　bar-dɯ-m
　　　　　　Yalta-DAT　go-PAST-1SG
　　　　　　'(I) went to Yalta.'

3.2.1.2. Simple sentences with a nominal or adjectival predicate

The sentences in (254) and (255) illustrate structures containing nominal predicates. Equative sentences with a nominal predicate use a predicate marker (optional in the 3rd person) in the present tense, as in (254), a full copula verb in the past tense (255), and the verb ol- 'be' with the categorical future suffix -dʒAK in the future tense, as in (256).

(254)　men-im　　odʒa-m　　　　　qart　adam(-dɯr)
　　　　I-GEN　　teacher-1SG.POSS　old　man-PRED
　　　　'My teacher is an old man.'

(255)　men-im　　odʒa-m　　　　　qart　adam　edi
　　　　I-GEN　　teacher-1SG.POSS　old　man　COP.PAST
　　　　'My teacher was an old man.'

(256)　men-im　　odʒa-m　　　　　qart　adam　ol-a-dʒaq
　　　　I-GEN　　teacher-1SG.POSS　old　man　be-SF-FUT
　　　　'My teacher will be/become an old man.'

In locative sentences, the theme comes first, followed by the location, which, in the example in (257), happens to be followed by the overtly realized verb *ol-* 'be' (although the copula (null or overt) is also possible).

(257) men-im aɣa-m er kyn ʃeer-de ol-a
     I-GEN brother-1SG.POSS every day town-LOC be-PRES
     'My brother is in town every day.'

The sentences in (258), (259), and (260) illustrate structures containing adjectival predicates in the present tense (with the optional predicate-forming suffix), past tense (with an overt copula), and the future tense, respectively.

(258) men-im odʒa-m semiz(-dir)
     I-GEN teacher-1SG.POSS fat-PRED
     'My teacher is fat.'

(259) men-im odʒa-m semiz edi soŋ az-dɯɯ
     I-GEN teacher-1SG.POSS fat COP.PAST then thin-PAST
     'My teacher was fat, and then became thin.'

(260) bu adam belli ol-a-dʒaq
     this man famous be-SF-FUT
     'This man will be (become) famous.'

Locative existential sentences are of the type *there is an x (in y)* or *y has x*. These sentences contain at least one adverbial of place or time, and one of the two expressions *bar* 'present/existent' (261)-(262), (264)-(265), or *joq* 'absent/non-existent' (263). A copular marker is overtly expressed in non-present sentences, as in (262)-(263).

(261) bu ev-de ytʃ dane oda bar
     this house-LOC three CLASS room existent
     'There are three rooms in this house.'

(262) terek-te alma-lar bar edi
     tree-LOC apple-PL existent COP.PAST
     'There were apples on the tree.'

(263) terek-te alma-lar joq edi
     tree-LOC apple-PL absent COP.PAST
     'There were no apples on the tree.'

(264) ∫imdi biz-de musafir bar
now we-LOC guest existent
'Now we have guests (now there are guests at us).'

(265) men-de kitap bar
I-LOC book existent
'I have a book.'

Possessive existential sentences are of the type *x has y*. They contain a genitive-possessive construction, *bar* 'present/existent' or *joq* 'absent/non-existent,' and a copular marker that is not overtly expressed in the case of present tense sentences, such as (266).

(266) baɣt∫asaraj-da remzije-niŋ eki dost-u bar
Bakhchisaray-LOC Remziye-GEN two friend-3SG.POSS existent
'Remziye has two friends in Bakhchisaray.'

The concept *x has y* can be expressed by both possessive existential sentences, as in (267), and locative existential sentences, as in (265). However, these sentences differ in their meaning: whereas the sentence in (267) expresses the fact that the book belongs to the speaker (for instance, it was bought by the speaker or given to him/her as a gift), (265) signifies that the book is merely in the speaker's possession (for instance, it was borrowed from a friend or a library).

(267) men-im kitab-ɯm bar
I-GEN book-1SG.POSS existent
'I have a book.'

3.2.1.3. Questions

3.2.1.3.1. Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions have the following structure: the interrogative particle *-mY* attaches to the last word in the sentence, which can be a noun, as in (268); a verb, as in (269); the locative existential expression *bar*, as in (270); the negative particle *joq*, as in (271); *etc*. The word order in statements and yes/no questions is always the same.

(268) o-nuŋ odʒa-sɯ qart adam-mɯ
he-GEN teacher-3SG.POSS old man-Q
'Is his teacher an old man?'

(269) o bala kitap oqu-j-mɯ
this child book read-PRES-Q
'Is that child reading a book?'

(270) ev-de birev bar-mɯ
house-LOC anybody present-Q
'Is there anyone in the house?'

(271) ev-de kimse joq-mɯ
house-LOC nobody NEG-Q
'Isn't there anyone in the house?'

3.2.1.3.2. Wh-questions

Wh-questions are formed with the help of *wh*-words, such as *kim* 'who,' *ne* 'what,' *qajsu* 'which,' *qajda* 'where,' *ne vaqut* 'when,' etc. For a list of *wh*-words, see section 2.2.6.

  Wh-words are inflected according to their syntactic function in the sentence, as illustrated in (272), where the *wh*-word is the direct object and is correspondingly inflected with the accusative case. In *wh*-questions, the *wh*-words remain *in situ*, as is the case for the direct object in (272), the subject and the direct object in (273) and (274), and the adverb in (275).

(272) aya-m   kim-ni   pendʒere-den kør-di
brother-1SG.POSS who-ACC window-ABL see-PAST
'Whom did my brother see in the window?'

(273) kim kim-ni pendʒere-den kør-di
who who-ACC window-ABL see-PAST
'Who saw whom in the window?'

(274) kim kim-ge jardɯm et-ti
who who-DAT help make-PAST
'Who helped whom?'

(275) aya-m   bu-nɯ   nerede jap-tɯ
brother-1SG.POSS this-ACC where do-PAST
'Where did my brother do this?'

3.2.2. Complex sentences

3.2.2.1. Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions in Crimean Tatar are *ve, em, da* 'and,' *ja, jaxut* 'or,' and *jani* 'that is.' *ve* is the most frequent coordinating conjunction, and it can be overt or omitted, as in (276).

(276) kuneʃ tʃɯq-tɯ (ve) ava qɯz-ɯp baʃla-dɯ
     sun rise-PAST (and) weather become.hot-CONV.PAST begin-PAST
     'The sun rose and the weather became nice.'

In colloquial speech, Crimean Tatar conjunctions are often replaced with the corresponding Russian ones, even in the speech of otherwise perfectly fluent older speakers. An example of the use of Russian *a* 'and' as a conjunction is illustrated in (277).

(277) mɯsɯrboɣdaj dʒɯj-ɯp kel-di-ler
     corn pick-CONV.PAST come-PAST-PL

     a bita-sɯ piʃ-ir-ip qoj-dɯ
     and grandmother-3PL.POSS cook-CAUS-CONV.PAST put-PAST

     'They brought corn (picked it and came), and grandmother cooked it (put it to cook).'

Disjunction is expressed by the markers *amma*, *ɫakin*, and *ise*. *amma* and *ɫakin*, roughly meaning 'but,' are interchangeable and are placed at the beginning of a clause, as demonstrated by (278) and (279), and *ise*, meaning 'whereas,' is placed after the subject of the sentence (280). The disjunction markers *amma* and *ɫakin* are optional in Crimean Tatar.

(278) o ajt-tɯ amma iʃ-ni jap-ma-dɯ
     he say-PAST but work-ACC do-NEG-PAST
     'He said (it) but he didn't do the job.'

(279) bu mesele murekkep degil ɫakin tʃez-il-mele
     this problem difficult not but solve-PASS-OBLIG
     'This problem isn't difficult, but it has to be solved.'

(280) mafuze jɯrla-j remzije ise ojna-j
     Mafuze sing-PRES Remziye but dance-PRES
     'Mafuze sings (is singing), whereas Remziye dances (is dancing).'

Reduplicated conjunctions *ja ... ja, kʲa ... kʲa* 'either ... or,' illustrated in (281) and (282), and *bazan ... bazan* 'sometimes ... sometimes,' illustrated in (283), conjoin clauses that denote alternative events or situations. *joqsa* 'or else' is a similar conjunction that is used to point to a contrast between two states of affairs, as demonstrated in (284).

(281) ja jaɣmur jaɣ-ar
     either rain precipitate-FUT/PRES

ja da   biz   juv-un-maɣ-a   ket-er-miz
or EMPH we   wash-REFL-INF-DAT go-FUT/PRES-1PL

'Either it will rain or we'll go swimming.'

(282) aɣa-m   kʲa   kel-er   kʲa   kel-mez
       brother-1SG.POSS either come-FUT/PRES either come-NEG.FUT
       'Either my brother will come or he won't.'

(283) bazan   men anda bar-a-m   bazan   bar-ma-j-ɯm
       sometimes I   there go-PRES-1SG sometimes go-NEG-PRES-1SG
       'Sometimes I go there, sometimes I don't.'

(284) o-ŋa   ajt-maq kerek joqsa o   kel-mez
       he-DAT say-INF must or else he   come-NEG.FUT
       'He has to be told, or else he won't come.'

3.2.2.2. Subordination

3.2.2.2.1. Finite subordinate clauses

The subordinate clause in a complex sentence can be finite, as in (285). In this case, complementizers such as *ki* 'that,' *tʃynki* 'because,' *sanki, guja* 'as if,' *bile* 'even,' *tuʃta* 'despite,' etc. can be used in the subordinate clause. The complementizer *ki* 'that' is optional in finite subordinate clauses.

(285) men tʃoq aʃ   al-a-dʒaɣ-ɯm
       I   much food buy-SF-FUT-1SG

       tʃynki   oɣl-um   kel-e-dʒek
       because son-1SG.POSS come-SF-FUT

       'I will buy a lot of food because my son is coming.'

As in other Turkic languages, finite subordinate clauses are not very common in Crimean Tatar, as their structures have been borrowed from Indo-European languages (predominantly from Persian). More often, subordinate clauses in Crimean Tatar are formed with non-finite verbs.

3.2.2.2.2. Non-finite subordinate clauses

Non-finite subordinate clauses in Crimean Tatar are formed by means of suffixation and contain one of the participle suffixes, such as *-KAn, -dʒAK,* and *-(V)r*. These suffixes

combine with the verb to form participles that can be inflected for number (the plural suffix), possession (indicating the subject of the subordinate clause), and case (according to the government patterns of the matrix verb), as illustrated in (286).

(286) o   kel-e-dʒeg-i-ni   men bil-e-m
      he   come-SF-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC   I   know-PRES-1SG
      'I know that he will come.'

The tendency toward pro-drop exhibited in main clauses applies to subordinate clauses as well, as illustrated in (287).

(287) kel-e-dʒeg-i-ni   men bil-e-m
      come-SF-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC   I   know-PRES-1SG
      'I know that he will come.'

Negation can be applied either to the non-finite verb in the subordinate clause, as in (288), or to the predicate of the main clause, as in (289), with a corresponding change in meaning.

(288) o   kel-me-dʒeg-i-ni   men bil-e-m
      he   come-NEG-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC   I   know-PRES-1SG
      'I know that he will not come.'

(289) o   kel-e-dʒeg-i-ni   men bil-me-m
      he   come-SF-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC   I   know-NEG-1SG
      'I do not know whether he will come.'

A non-finite nominal clause can function as the object of the matrix verb, as in (290) and (291), where the participle is in the accusative case, and as in (292), where the matrix verb takes its complement in the ablative case. Note that the overt accusative marker is obligatory for embedded clauses.

(290) men o-nuŋ   kel-gen-i-ni   iste-j-im
      I   he-GEN   come-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC   want-PRES-1SG
      'I want him to come.'

(291) jalta-da   suɯdʒaq ol-ɣan-ɯ-nɯ   eʃit-ti-m
      Yalta-LOC   hot   be-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC   hear-PAST-1SG
      'I heard that it is hot in Yalta.'

(292) men o-nuŋ   kel-gen-i-nden   qorq-a-m
      I   he-GEN   come-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ABL   be.afraid-PRES-1SG
      'I am afraid of his coming.'

In indirect speech, the content of the non-finite clause constitutes a statement, as in (293), while the sentence as a whole may be a statement or a question.

(293) o   remzije-ni   kør-gen-i-ni   ajt-tɯ
         he Remziye-ACC see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST
         'He said that he saw Remzije.'

(294) o   remzije-ni   kør-gen-i-ni   ajt-tɯ-mɯ
         he Remziye-ACC see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST-Q
         'Did he say that he saw Remzije?'

Indirect statements can be formed either with declined participles, as discussed above and repeated in (295), or by using a finite verb as the predicate of the embedded clause and modifying it with the converb *dep* 'having said,' which functions as a complementizer, as in (296). The meaning of the sentences in (295) and (296) is approximately the same. The pronoun *o* 'he' in (295) can be ambiguously interpreted as the subject of either the matrix or the embedded clause, with the subject of the other clause dropped.

(295) o   kel-e-dʒeg-i-ni   ajt-tɯ
         he come-SF-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST
         'He said that he is coming.'

(296) o   (men) kel-ir-im   de-p   ajt-tɯ
         he (I)   come-FUT/PRES-1SG say-CONV.PAST say-PAST
         'He said that he is coming.' (= 'He said, "I am coming."')

The word order in non-finite clauses is the same as in finite clauses: in (297)a, the matrix subject 'he' comes first, followed by the embedded subject 'Remziye,' followed by the embedded object 'Mafuze' in the accusative case, followed by the non-finite verb of the embedded clause, followed by the finite verb of the matrix clause. Note that none of the arguments of the embedded clause can be extracted out of the embedded clause and placed at the beginning of the sentence, as illustrated in (297)b. However, the word order can be changed within the embedded clause for pragmatic purposes (discussed in section 3.4).

(297) a. o remzije mafuze-ni   kør-gen-i-ni   ajt-tɯ
              he remziye mafuze-ACC see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST
             'He said that Remziye saw Mafuze.'

        b. *remzije o mafuze-ni kør-gen-i-ni ajt-tɯ
            *mafuze-ni o remzije kør-gen-i-ni ajt-tɯ
           * kør-gen-i-ni o remzije mafuze-ni ajt-tɯ

3.2.2.2.3. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are adjectival constructions that modify noun phrases. They are formed on the basis of verbs that contain one of the participial suffixes, such as *-KAn, -dʒAK*, and *-(V)r*. These suffixes correspond to relative pronouns, such as 'who,' 'which,' 'that,' 'where,' etc. in English. All relative clauses precede the noun they modify.

A noun phrase fulfilling any syntactic role within the matrix clause can be relativized: (298) shows a relativized subject, (299) shows a relativized direct object, and (300) shows a relativized oblique.

(298) qɯz-tʃɯq-nɯ   kør-gen   oɣlan-tʃɯq bu   ev-de   jaʃa-j
      girl-DIM-ACC   see-PTCPL.PAST   boy-DIM   this house-LOC live-PRES
      'The boy who saw the girl lives in this house.'

(299) men alma aʃa-ɣan   qɯz-tʃɯq-nɯ kør-e-m
      I   apple eat-PTCPL.PAST   girl-DIM-ACC see-PRES-1SG
      'I see the girl who ate an apple.'

(300) o otur-ɣan   oda-da   ava   sɯdʒaq edi
      he sit-PTCPL.PAST room-LOC   weather hot   COP.PAST
      'The room where he sat was hot.'

The above examples demonstrate that the relativized NP can fulfill any syntactic role in the matrix clause; however, the relativized NP can also fulfill any syntactic role in the subordinate clause. (298) shows a relativized subject in the subordinate clause, (301) shows a relativized indirect object in the subordinate clause, and (300) shows a relativized oblique in the subordinate clause.

(301) men   oɣlan-tʃɯq alma ber-gen   qɯz-tʃɯq-nɯ kør-e-m
      I   boy-DIM   apple give-PTCPL.PAST   girl-DIM-ACC see-PRES-1SG
      'I see the girl to whom the boy gave an apple.'

A sentence containing a relative clause can be ambiguous between the subject relative and the object relative if the accusative marking on the object of the relative clause is covert. The ambiguity is illustrated in (302).

(302) qɯz-tʃɯq kør-gen   oɣlan-tʃɯq bu   ev-de   jaʃa-j
      girl-DIM   see-PTCPL.PAST   boy-DIM   this house-LOC live-PRES
      'The boy who saw a girl lives in this house.'
      'The boy whom the girl saw lives in this house.'

Tense and aspect in relative clauses are expressed by means of relativizing suffixes and by means of the suffixes used on auxiliary verbs. A time adverbial can be used for time reference as well.

The suffix *-KAn* refers to non-future situations (both in the present and in the past), as in (303). In the sentence in (304), the progressive nature of the situation in the past is emphasized through the use of the past participle of the verb *otur-* 'sit' with the converb *jaz-* 'write.' The time of the situation described in the relative clause can coincide with the time of the situation of the main clause, precede it, or follow it. A situation in which the time of the relative clause precedes the time of the main clause is illustrated in (305).

(303) mektyp   jaz-ɣan   adam
      letter   write-PTCPL.PAST man
      'the man who is writing a letter/the man who wrote a letter'

(304) mektyp   jaz-ɯp   otur-ɣan   adam
      letter   write-CONV.PAST   sit-PTCPL.PAST   man
      'the man who was writing a letter'

(305) mektyp   jaz-ɯp   otur-ɣan   adam   qurɯm-da   jaʃa-j
      letter   write-CONV.PAST   sit-PTCPL.PAST   man   Crimea-LOC   live-PRES
      'The man who was writing a letter lives in Crimea.'

The suffix *-dʒAK* refers to a future action, as in (306). When the progressive nature of the situation is emphasized, the past participle of the auxiliary verb *ol-* follows the non-finite verb with the future suffix, as in (307).

(306) mektyp   jaz-a-dʒaq   adam
      letter   write-SF-PTCPL   man
      'the man who will write a letter'

(307) mektyp   jaz-a-dʒaq   ol-ɣan   adam
      letter   write-SF-PTCPL   be-PTCPL   man
      'the man who will be writing a letter'

The auxiliary verb *bitir-* 'finish' is used together with the past converb *jaz-* 'write' to emphasize the completed nature of action (i.e., perfective aspect), as in (308).

(308) mektyp-ni   jaz-ɯp   bitir-gen   adam
      letter-ACC   write-CONV.PAST   finish-PTCPL.PAST   man
      'the man who had written the letter'

Participle modifiers surface before their head noun. This is exemplified in (309), where the 'girl' is the direct object of the subordinate clause, and in (310), where the 'girl' is the subject of the subordinate clause.

(309) oɣlantʃɯq   kør-gen   quɯz-tʃɯq   ket-ken
        boy   see-PTCPL.PAST girl-DIM   leave-EV.PAST
        '(Apparently) the girl whom the boy saw left.'

(310) qoqla-sɯ-nɯ   dʒoj-yan   quɯz-tʃɯq   kederlen-di
        doll-3SG.POSS-ACC lose-PTCPL.PAST girl-DIM   become.upset-PAST
        'The girl who lost her doll became upset.'

3.2.2.2.4. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses perform adverb-like functions within the main clause, i.e., they refer to time, sequence of events, reason, purpose, etc. Complementizers, such as *soŋ* 'after,' *berli* 'since,' *evel* 'before,' can head an adverbial clause, as exemplified in (311)-(313). Non-finite verbs in adverbial clauses take participial suffixes, depending on the complementizer that governs them.

(311) bala-lar-ɯ   øs-ken   soŋ
        child-PL-3PL.POSS grow-PTCPL.PAST after

        olar   kitʃik   ev-ge   køtʃ-ti-ler
        they   smaller house-DAT move-PAST-3PL

        'After their children grew up, they moved to a smaller house.'

(312) mektyp-ni jaz-ɯp   bitir-gen-den
        letter-ACC write-CONV.PAST finish-PTCPL.PAST-ABL

        berli o itʃ bir ʃej ajt-ma-dɯ
        since he nothing   say-NEG-PAST

        'He hasn't said anything since he finished writing the letter.'

(313) raat-lan-maz-dan   evel   men itʃ-im-ni   bitir-mek kereg-im
        rest-VB-NEG-ABL   before I   work-1SG.POSS-ACC finish-INF must-1SG
        'Before resting, I must finish my work.'

Sometimes the adverbial quality of a non-finite verb is encoded in its case ending, and thus temporal adverbial complementizers are not needed, as illustrated in (314).

(314) men   kitʃkene   ol-ɣan-ɯm-da
       I   little   be-PTCPL.PAST-1SG-LOC

       bala   baɣtʃa-sɯ-na   bar-a   edi-m
       child garden-3SG.POSS-DAT   go-CONV.PRES   COP.PAST-1SG

       'When I was little, I used to go to kindergarten.'

3.2.2.2.5. Conditionals

In conditional clauses, the embedded verb is finite, in that it agrees with the subject of the subordinate clause in person and number. However, it is not inflected for tense, instead bearing the conditional marker *-sA*. For example, in the sentence in (315), the verb *ol-* 'be' bears a conditional suffix, followed by the 2nd person singular inflectional marker and agreeing with the subject of the conditional clause.

The conditional conjunction *eger* 'if' is optional but can be added for emphasis to a conditional clause.

(315) eger   jor-ul-ɣan   ol-sa-ŋ
       if   tire-PASS-PTCPL.PAST   be-COND-2SG

       jarɯn   devam   et-er-miz
       tomorrow   continuation   do-FUT/PRES-1PL

       'If you are tired, we will continue tomorrow.'

Conditionals can be counterfactual, as in (316); predictive or habitual, as in (317); They can also express requests or wishes, as in (318) (*cf.* the counterfactual situation in (319)).

(316) eger   sen   erte-dʒe   tur-sa   edi-ŋ
       if   you   early-COMP   get.up-COND   COP.PAST-2SG

       mektep-ke   ketʃ   qal-maz   edi-ŋ
       school-DAT late   stay-NEG   COP.PAST-2SG

       'If you had gotten up earlier, you wouldn't have been late to school.'

(317) eger   bala   aqʃam   ketʃ   jat-sa
       if   child   evening   late   lie-COND

       o   mektep-ke   ketʃ   qal-ɯp   kel-ir
       he   school-DAT late   stay-CONV.PAST   come-FUT/PRES

'If the child goes to bed late in the evening, he'll be late to school.'

(318) ekim-ge   evel-den   telefon atʃ-qan   ol-sa-ŋ
      doctor-DAT before-ABL   phone   open-PTCPL.PAST be-COND-2SG

      gyzel   ol-ur
      beautiful   be-FUT/PRES

      'It would be good if you called the doctor earlier (so call him now).'

(319) ekim-ge   evel-den   telefon atʃ-qan   ol-sa-ŋ
      doctor-DAT before-ABL   phone   open-PTCPL.PAST be-COND-2SG

      gyzel   ol-ur   edi
      beautiful   be-PTCPL.PRES   COP.PAST

      'It would have been good if you had called the doctor earlier (but you didn't call).'

A conditional clause can also refer to 'knowable' conditions, that is, situations that are either past or hold at present, as in (320), or are scheduled for the future, as in (321).

(320) eger   mafuze   aʃ   piʃir-se   o   tedavij-le-n-di
      if   Mafuze   food   cook-COMP   she   medicine-VB-PASS-PAST
      'If Mafuze is cooking, she got healthy.'

(321) eger   utʃaq   saat   ytʃ-te   utʃ-sa
      if   airplane   time   three-LOC   fly-COND

      biz   aeroport-ta   saat   bir-de   ol-maq   kerek-miz
      we   airport-LOC   time   one-LOC   be-INF   must-1PL

      'If the plane is taking off at 3, we have to be at the airport at 1.'

3.3. Negation

3.3.1. -mA

The negative suffix -mA can only attach to a verb and is used for negating clauses with finite and non-finite verbs alike, as in (322) and (323), respectively.

(322) men o-ŋa bu-nɯ ajt-ma-dɯ-m
I he-DAT this-ACC tell-NEG-PAST-1SG
'I did not tell him that.'

(323) o kel-me-dʒeg-i-ni ajt-tɯ
he come-NEG-PTCPL.FUT-3SG.POSS-ACC say-PAST
'He said that he is not coming.'

In sentences with small clauses, the negation marker can only occur on the main clause verb, as in (324).

(324) o-lar mafuze-nɯ jaxʃɯ aʃtʃɯ saj-ma-j-lar
he-PL Mafuze-ACC good cook consider-NEG-PRES-3PL
'They do not consider Mafuze a good cook.'

Compound verbs formed with auxiliaries take negation on the auxiliary, as shown in (325).

(325) o o-lar-ɣa jardɯm et-me-di
he he-PL-DAT help make-NEG-PAST
'He did not help them.'

Unlike compound verbs, compound tenses that are formed with the past copula *edi* (discussed in section 2.3.3.1.2) always take negation on the lexical verb, as in *al-ma-j-dʒaq edi-m* 'I would not have taken' or *al-maz edi-m* 'I would not take' (**al-a-dʒaq ol-ma-dɯm*).

3.3.2. degil

degil 'not' (*tuvul* in the Northern dialect) is used for negating nominal sentences, as in (326)-(327). It can combine with suffixes that occur in nominal predicates, namely, the predicate markers (see section 2.3.1), as in (327), where *degil* agrees with the subject in person and number.

(326) men-im aɣa-m doxtur degil
I-GEN brother-1SG.POSS doctor not
'My brother is not a doctor.'

(327) men tʃalɯʃ-maq kerek degil-im
I work-INF must not-1PL
'I must not work.'

   degil can be used for negating free-standing nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, as in *deŋiz degil* 'not a sea,' *qart degil* 'not old,' *mymkyn degil* 'not allowed,' *tynevin degil* 'not yesterday.'

   degil is also used for negating sentences with nominal modals that can also be negated on the infinitive with the help of the suffix *-mA*. However, the meaning of a the sentence with the infinitive negated with *degil*, shown in (329), is different from the meaning of the same sentence negated with *-mA*, shown in (328). The sentence negated with *-mA* asserts that the agent is not allowed or should not work ('He must [not work].'), while the negated verbal sentence with *degil* states that the agent is not required to work or nobody is forcing him to work ('He [must not] work.'). The agent of sentences negated with *degil* is marked with the dative case (329), although a nominative subject and predicate markers on degil are also possible (cf. (327)).

(328)   o   tʃaluʃ-ma-maq   kerek
        he   work-NEG-INF   must
        'He must not work.'

(329)   o-ŋa   tʃaluʃ-maq   kerek   degil
        he-DAT   work-INF   must   not
        'He must not work.'

3.3.3. joq

joq 'absent/non-existent' (pronounced as *jox* in the Southern dialect and as *dʒoq* in the Northern dialect) is used only in existential sentences. It is the negated form of *bar* 'existent.' In such sentences, the locative argument comes first, followed by the theme argument, followed by *joq,* which can bear an optional predicate-forming suffix, as in (330). The example in (331) shows that the past copula surfaces after *joq* to form the past tense.

(330)   terek-te   alma-lar   joq-tur
        tree-LOC   apple-PL   absent-PRED
        'There are no apples on the tree.'

(331)   terek-te   alma-lar joq   edi
        tree-LOC   apple-PL absent COP.PAST
        'There were no apples on the tree.'

   joq also means 'no,' used as a negative response to a question, as shown in (332).

(332) sen   men-im   tata-m-nɯ   kør-di-ŋ-mi
      you   I-GEN   sister-1SG.POSS-ACC   see-PAST-2SG-Q
      'Did you see my sister?'

      Joq.
      No (I didn't).

3.3.4. The negative connective

The negative connective *ne ... ne* can conjoin phrases of any type, such as noun phrases (333), verb phrases (334), and adjectival and adverbial phrases (335). Sentences containing *ne ... ne* can only have negative predicates, as in (333).

(333) ne   asan   ne   veli   ev-ge   kel-me-di-ler
      NEG   Asan   NEG   Veli   house-DAT   come-NEG-PAST-3PL
      'Neither Asan nor Veli came home.'

(334) bu adam   ne   aʃa-j   ne   juqla-j
      this man   NEG   eat-PRES   NEG   sleep-PRES
      'This person neither eats nor sleeps.'

(335) o   ne   zengin   ne   fuqare
      he   NEG   rich   NEG   poor
      'He is neither rich nor poor.'

3.3.5. Expressions interacting with negation

As was described in section 2.2.2.5, negative pronouns are formed by preposing the particle *itʃ* to indefinite pronouns or to *bir* 'one, a.' Negative pronouns are used in sentences with nominal predicates, as in (336), and verbal predicates, as in (337).

(336) bu   aran-da   itʃ   bir ʃej   joq
      this   shed-LOC   NEG   something   NEG
      'There is nothing in this shed.'

(337) o-lar   itʃ   bir   kimse-ni   jiber-me-j-ler
      he-PL   NEG   a   someone-ACC   let.go-NEG-PRES-3PL
      'They are not letting anyone in.'

If *itʃ* of the *itʃ kimse* 'no one' is omitted, the stress in the pronoun surfaces on the first syllable, as in *kímse,* and the negative meaning is conveyed only by the combination of the pronoun with some other marker of negation, as shown in (338)-(339).

(338) ev-de   kímse   joq
      house-LOC   no.one   NEG
      'There is nobody in the house/at home.'

(339) men-i   endi   kímse   sev-me-j
      I-ACC   now   no.one   love-NEG-PRES
      'No one loves me anymore.'

A number of expressions, such as *asulda* 'in general,' *endi* 'now,' 'just,' have negative meanings when they are used in negated sentences: *asulda* means 'at all' and *endi* means 'anymore,' as in *endi kerek-me-j* 'not necessary anymore,' or in the examples in (340) and (341).

(340) bu   tʃaj   asulda   qoju   degil
      this   tea   at all   strong   not
      'This tea isn't strong at all.'

(341) bu   tʃaj   endi   sɯdʒaq   degil
      this   tea   any more   hot   not
      'This tea isn't hot any more.'

3.4. Topicalization

In Crimean Tatar, the neutral word order places the subject first, followed by adverbs of time, followed by the direct object and the verb, as illustrated in (342). However, certain constituents can also be topicalized, i.e., their status as old information can be emphasized. For example, the topicalization of a temporal adverb is shown in (343), and the topicalization of a direct object is shown in (344). The verb and the verb phrase cannot be topicalized.

(342) remzije   tynevin   kitap   oqu-dɯ
      Remziye   yesterday   book   read-PAST
      'Remziye read a book yesterday.'

(343) tynevin   remzije   kitap   oqu-dɯ
      yesterday   Remziye   book   read-PAST
      'It was yesterday that Remzije read a book.'

(344) kitap remzije tynevin   oqu-dɯ
       book   Remziye yesterday read-PAST
       'It was a book that Remzije read yesterday.'

As was discussed in section 3.2.1.3.2, *wh*-words in questions remain *in situ*. However, under topicalization, the *wh*-word can be fronted out of a *wh*-sentence, as illustrated in (345).

(345) kim-ge   oɣlan jardɯm et-ti
       who-DAT   boy   help   make-PAST
       'Who was it the boy helped?'

As was discussed in section 3.2.2.2.2, the word order in non-finite clauses is the same as in finite clauses, as shown in (346)a. None of the arguments of the embedded clause can be extracted out of the embedded clause and placed at the beginning of the sentence, as shown by the ungrammatical judgments received for the sentences in (346)b. However, the word order can be changed within the embedded clause for pragmatic purposes, as shown in (346)c, where the direct object of the embedded clause is topicalized. Moreover, the embedded clause itself can be fronted for topicalization purposes, as in (346)d.

(346) a. o   remzije mafuze-ni   kør-gen-i-ni   ajt-tɯ
          he Remziye Mafuze-ACC   see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC   say-PAST
          'He said that Remzije saw Mafuze.'

      b. *remzije o mafuze-ni kør-gen-i-ni ajt-tɯ
         *mafuze-ni o remzije kør-gen-i-ni ajt-tɯ
         *kør-gen-i-ni o remzije mafuze-ni ajt-tɯ

      c. o   mafuze-ni   remzije kør-gen-i-ni   ajt-tɯ
          he Mafuze-ACC   Remziye see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC   say-PAST
          'He said that it was Remziye whom Mafuze saw.'

      d. remzije mafuze-ni   kør-gen-i-ni   o   ajt-tɯ
          Remziye Mafuze-ACC   see-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS-ACC   he say-PAST
          'Remziye saw Mafuze is what he said.'

3.5. Interjections and exclamatives

Crimean Tatar uses a variety of standalone interjections that can express pure emotions or convey the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. Among interjections that express feelings such as joy, pity, pain, disgust, etc. are *aj* 'ouch!', *vaj* (expressing surprise), *tyf* or

tyf-tyf 'what a pity!', and *uf* 'yuck!' Other interjections are used to initiate conversation and to express agreement, such as *e* 'yes,' *axa* 'yes! sure!', *ej* 'listen!', *seƚam* or *seƚam-alejkum* 'hello' (borrowed from Arabic).

Exclamatives contain a wh-word and express the fact that the situation described in a sentence is to its extreme. Examples of CT exclamatives include *nasul* or *ne (ne de)* 'what an X,' *ama* or *ama da* (expressing surprise or irony), etc. The use of exclamatives in sentences is exemplified in (347)-(348).

(347) bu   nasuul   ʃamata
       this   what   noise
       'What a noise!"

(348) ama da   rastkeliʃ
       what EMPH   meeting
       'What a meeting!'

4. Lexicon

As has been discussed throughout the book, the three major dialects of Crimean Tatar differ in various aspects of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and also in their lexicon. The major source on lexical borrowings into Crimean Tatar is Memetov (1988) (see also Samojlovich 1916).

The examples in (349) illustrate some of the main differences in the lexical stock of the Southern dialect and Northern dialects. Most of the lexemes in the left column are Oghuz, and most of the lexemes in the right column are of Kipchak origin (although some are borrowed from either Persian or Arabic).

(349)

Southern	Northern	
abla	tata	'older sister'
alun	maŋlaj	'forehead'
baba	ata	'father'
jemek	ʃorba	'soup'
kemik	sijek	'bone'
kopek	it	'dog'
kubani	minder	'mat'
el	qol	'arm, hand'
saɣ	oŋ	'right'
toz	tʃan	'dust'
qurmuuzuu	quzuul	'red'
bejaz	aq	'white'
ev	uj (ij)	'house'
tʃoq	kop	'much, a lot'

As for the Central dialect of Crimean Tatar, it uses some of the items from the right column (such as *qol* 'arm, hand,' *oŋ* 'right,' *ʃorba* 'soup') and some of the items from the left column (such as *toz* 'dust,' *bejaz* 'white,' *ev* 'house,' *tʃoq* 'much, a lot'). In some cases, both Oghuz and Kipchak words are used in the standard dialect, sometimes interchangeably, for instance, *qurmuʒuᵤ, quzul* 'red' (the former adjective more commonly used), or with a slightly different meaning within the same semantic domain, for instance *jaxʃu* 'good' vs. *gyzel* 'beautiful,' *jemek* 'food' vs. *ʃorba* 'soup.'

There are several sources of borrowings in Crimean Tatar. Most borrowings from Persian (and from Arabic through Persian) entered Middle Kipchak between the end of the 13th century and the middle of the 14th century, as is evidenced by the Codex Cumanicus, written approximately at that time (Berta 1998b, Drüll 1979, Gabain 1959, among others). Other borrowings of Slavic, Greek, and Middle Mongolian origin are also attested in Codex Cumanicus, as well as in several other sources written in Arabic in the 14th and 15th centuries and in Armenian in the 16th and 17th centuries (Berta 1998b).

The examples in (350) represent some early borrowings from Persian into Middle Kipchak.

(350)   Borrowings from Persian

baɣtʃa	'garden'
mejva	'fruit'
dʒenk	'war'
dylber	'beautiful'
dost	'friend'

A large part of Crimean Tatar vocabulary was borrowed from Arabic into Middle Kipchak. In the 13th-14th centuries, Islam became the predominant religion in Crimea. At this time, a large number of Arabic borrowings entered the language, including terms for political and social life (*memleket* 'country,' *medʒlis* 'assembly,' *ukymet* 'government'), religion (*din* 'religion,' *qoran* 'Quran,' *ezan* 'morning prayer'), teaching (*ders* 'lesson,' *mektep* 'school,' *kitap* 'book,' *dʒevap* 'response'), science (*arif* 'letter,' *isim* 'noun,' *edebijat* 'literature,' *ʃiir* 'poem,' *qutup* 'pole,' *ufuq* 'horizon,' *ilim* 'science'), war (*arbij* 'military man,' *asker* 'soldier,' *mudafaa* 'defense,' *udʒym* 'attack'), forces of nature (*ava* 'weather,' *zelzele* 'earthquake,' *nur* 'light'), building and home (*raf* 'shelf,' *bina* 'building,' *kursy* 'chair'), and food (*xamur* 'dough,' *ʃarap* 'wine'). Out of these borrowings, some items, such as *vaqut* 'time,' *raatlu* 'quiet,' *fajdalu* 'useful,' *aziz* 'expensive,' *ƚakin* 'but,' *amma* 'but,' etc., are very common and used in everyday life. Some other items, such as *zafer* 'victory,' *mefkure* 'thinking, thought,' are used predominantly in writing and are regarded as learned speech.

Crimea was incorporated into the Russian Empire in 1783, and since that time, the number of borrowings from Russian into Crimean Tatar has grown considerably. (351) lists examples of some early (19th century) borrowings from Russian. As was discussed in sections 1.3.1.1.2 and 1.4.2, these items were originally assimilated to conform to the

phonotactics of Crimean Tatar, but as a result of intense contact with Russian in the Soviet period, they have since reverted back to their original Russian pronunciations.

(351)	Crimean Tatar	Russian	
	afiser	afitser	'officer'
	tʃotki	ʃʲotka	'brush'
	duxopka	duxofka	'oven'
	potik	botʲinkʲi	'shoes'
	qapʉsta	kapusta	'cabbage'
	kapik	kopʲejka	'cent'
	ruble	rublʲ	'ruble'
	pilta	palʲto	'coat'
	tʃast	ʃʲastʲje	'happiness'

After the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, Crimea became an autonomous entity in the Russian Federation, and borrowing from Russian increased. Many nouns used in social and political life (*delegat* 'delegate,' *sjezd* 'convention'), as well as agriculture (*ferma* 'farm,' *brigada* 'brigade, team'), war (*avtomat* 'machine gun,' *granata* 'hand grenade,' *tank* 'tank,' *vzvod* 'platoon'), arts and culture (*klub* 'club,' *kino* 'cinema,' *balet* 'ballet,' *kontsert* 'concert,' *poema* 'poem,' *povestʲ* 'novella'), building (*beton* 'concrete,' *tsement* 'cement,' *fundament* 'foundation'), and various theoretical terminology (*atom* 'atom,' *teorema* 'theorem,' *volʲt* 'volt') were borrowed from Russian. A number of adjectives were borrowed into Crimean Tatar from Russian in a shortened form, losing the typical Russian adjectival endings, as illustrated in (352) (Memetov 1993: 45).

(352)	Crimean Tatar	Russian	
	progressiv	progrʲessʲivnɨj	'progressive'
	kolonialʲ	kolonʲialʲnɨj	'colonial'
	fantastik	fantastʲitʃeskʲij	'fantastic'

Finally, most Crimean Tatars spent their deportation years in Uzbekistan, surrounded not only by Russian, but also by Uzbek speakers. While the Uzbek influence is clearly present in the speech of the younger generation, it is difficult to isolate lexical items that are Uzbek, and not Crimean Tatar (as both languages are Turkic and thus contain many lexical similarities).

5. Texts with interlinear glosses and translation

Sarma recipe
[Central dialect]

1. sarma   p(i)ʃir-mek   itʃyn   baʃ-ta   de-mek
   sarma   cook-INF   for   head-LOC   say-INF

   o-ŋa   azuır-luıq   kør-mek   kerek
   he-DAT   prepared-NM   see-INF   necessary

   'So, in order to cook *sarma*, one must first consider the preparation.'

2. ʃu-nuıŋ   itʃyn   de-mek   azuır-luıq   kerek
   that-GEN   for   say-INF   prepared-NM   necessary

   sebzevat-nuı   kerek   ʃej-ler-ni   azuır-la-juıq
   vegetable-ACC   necessary   thing-PL-ACC   prepared-VB-IMP.1PL

   'So, therefore, preparation is necessary: one needs vegetables, and we should prepare
   (other) things.'

3. baʃ-ta   et-nı   quıjma-la-juıq
   head-LOC   meat-ACC   mincemeat-VB-IMP.1PL

   'First, we must mince the meat.'

4. soŋra de-mek pırnıtʃ juw-(u)l-a   et-nen
   then say-INF rice   wash-PASS-3SG.PRES   meat-WITH

   qaruıʃ-tuır-(uı)l-a   soɣan   doɣra-l-uıp   qoʃ-uıl-a
   mix-CAUS-PASS-3SG.PRES   onion   chop.up-PASS-CONV.PAST   add-PASS-3SG.PRES

   'So then the rice is washed, mixed with the meat, and the onion is chopped up and
   added (to the mixture).'

5. quɪjma-ɣa   da: qoʃ-ɯl-a   az-tʃɯq   jaɣ
    mince.meat-DAT   more   add-PASS-3SG.PRES   a.little-DIM   butter

'To the minced meat, a bit of butter is added as well.'

6. quɪjma   azɯr-la-n-ɣan   soŋ eger sarma jyzym
    mince.meat   ready-VB-PASS-PTCPL.PAST   after if   sarma grape

    japraɣ-ɯ-ndan   jap-ɯl-sa   de-mek japraq-lar   uwut-ɯl-a
    leaf-3SG.POSS-ABL   make-PASS-COND   say-INF   leaf-PL   boil-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Once the meat is ready and if the sarma will be made of grape leaves, then the leaves are boiled.'

7. qap(ɯ)sta-dan   jap-(ɯ)l-a-dʒaq   ol-sa   sarma
    cabbage-ABL   make-PASS-SF-PTCPL.FUT   be-COND   sarma

    qap(ɯ)sta   uwut-ɯl-a
    cabbage   boil-PASS-3SG.PRES

'If the sarma will be made out of cabbage, then the cabbage is boiled.'

8. suw   qajna-t-(ɯ)l-a   suw-ɣa   tuz   qoj-ul-a
    water   boil-CAUS-PASS-3SG.PRES   water-DAT salt   put-PASS-3SG.PRES

    tuz-lɯ   suw-da   japraq-lar   ve   qap(ɯ)sta   aʃla-n-a
    salt-ADJ   water-LOC   leaf-PL   and   cabbage   boil-PASS-3SG.PRES

'Water is boiled and salt is put into the water, (and) in the salted water the leaves and cabbage are parboiled.'

9. japraq-lar-nɯ aʃla-t-qan   soŋ er   bɪr japraq-qa quɪjma
    leaf-PL-ACC   boil-CAUS-PTCPL.PAST   after every one leaf-DAT minced.meat

    de-mek   bir   zere   quɪjma   qoj-(ul)-ɯp   sar-(ɯ)l-a
    say-INF   one little.bit minced.meat   put-PASS-CONV.PAST   wrap-PASS-3SG.PRES

'After (one) parboils the leaves, a bit of meat is wrapped up into each leaf.'

10. qazan-ɣa   deste-le-n-e
     pan-DAT   bunch-VB-PASS-3SG.PRES

'(The sarma) are arranged in a pan.'

11. deste-le-n-gen   soŋ   qajna-t-ɯl-ɣan   suw-nɯ
     bunch-VB-PASS-PTCPT.PAST   after boil-CAUS-PASS-PTCPL.PAST   water-ACC

     de-mek   tuz-nen   qarɯʃ-tɯr-ɯp   tuz-ɯ-nɯ
     say-INF   salt-WITH   mix-CAUS-CONV.PAST   salt-3SG.POSS-ACC

     baq-ɯp   de-mek   sarma-lar   yst-(y)-ne   tøk-(y)l-e
     look-CONV say-INF   sarma-PL   top-3SG.POSS-DAT pour-PASS-3SG.PRES

'After (they) are arranged, (one must) salt the boiled water (lit. mix the boiled water with salt), and after tasting the salt (water), then it is poured on top of the sarma.'

12. ve   qazan ateʃ-ke   as-(ɯ)l-a   sarma p(i)ʃ-e
     and   pan   flame-DAT hang-PASS-3SG.PRES   sarma cook-3SG.PRES

     azur   ol-a
     ready   be-3SG.PRES

'And the pan is placed onto the stove (lit. hung on the flame), the sarma boil, and (then) they are ready.'

Nasreddin (a fairy tale)
[Southern dialect]

1. bir   kun nasred(i)ni odʒa   eʃeg-(i)-ne   min-ip
    one   day Nasreddin master donkey-3SG.POSS-ACC get on-CONV.PAST

    jol-ɣa   tʃ(ɯ)x-a
    road-DAT   leave-3SG.PRES

'One day, Nasreddin Hojja got on his donkey and set off.'

2. ket-ip   tur-ɣan-da   bir bala   ras(t)kel-e
   go-CONV   stand-PTCPL.PAST-LOC one child meet-3SG.PRES

   'On the road (=while going), he met a child.'

3. e:j odʒa-m   de-j   jaxʃɯ sɯrlɯ tap(i)ʃxa-lar-ɯnɯz
   hey master-1SG.POSS say-3SG.PRES good   colorful slipper-PL-2PL.POSS

   bar   siz-de   de-j
   there.is you.FORM-LOC say-3SG.PRES

   'Hey, master! You have (such) nice, colorful slippers!' he said.

4. u-lar-ɯ   al-max-tʃyn   odʒa-jɯ   alda-t-a-dʒax   ol-up
   it-PL-ACC   take-INF-FOR   master-ACC deceive-CAUS-SF-FUT   be-CONV

   odʒa-jɯ   eʃek-ten   t(y)ʃ-yr-yp
   master-ACC donkey-ABL get off-CAUS-CONV.PAST

   derek-ke tʃ(ɯ)x-max kerek ol-a
   tree-DAT ascend-INF must   be-3SG.PRES

   'Trying to deceive the master, (the child) made him get off from his donkey (and said
   that he) had to climb the tree, so that (the child) could take them [the slippers].'

5. no odʒa eʃek-ten   t(y)ʃ-yp   oz^j-y-nyn
   but master donkey-ABL get off-CONV.PAST self-3SG.POSS-GEN

   sandal-lar-ɯ-nɯ   xuʃaɣ-(ɯ)-na   bel-(i)-ne   t(ɯ)x-a
   slipper-PL-3PL.POSS-ACC belt-3SG.POSS-DAT back-3SG.POSS-DAT shove-3SG.PRES

   i   derek-ke tʃ(ɯ)x-maj-a   baʃla-j
   and tree-DAT ascend-INF-DAT   begin-3SG.PRES

   'But the master got off from his donkey, stuffed his slippers between his belt and his
   back, and began to climb the tree.'

6. derek-ke tʃ(ɯ)x-a-dʒax-ta   u   bala sora-j
   tree-DAT climb-SUF-PTCPL.FUT-LOC this child ask-3SG.PRES

e:j odʒa-m de-j ja tapka-lar-ɯnɯz-ɯn
hey master-1SG.POSS say-3SG.PRES but slipper-PL-2PL.POSS-ACC

ne xal-dɯr-ma-dɯ-nɯz de-gen-de derek-ke
what leave-CAUS-NEG-PAST-2PL say-PTCPL.PAST-LOC tree-DAT

tʃ(ɯ)x-xan son anda da jol bar andan doɣru
ascend-PTCPL.PAST after there and road there.is there.from straight

kit-er-im xajt-(ɯ)p otur-ma-m de-j
leave-FUT-1SG return-CONV.PAST sit-NEG-1SG.PRES say-3SG.PRES

'While the master was climbing the tree, the child asked: "Hey master! Why did you not leave your slippers (down here)? (But the master answered) "At the top of the tree (lit. having climbed the tree) there is also a road, and I'll leave from there, so I don't need to come down again (lit. return).'

My family and childhood (excerpts from an oral history)
[Northern dialect]

1. men baba-m ʃu kerıʃ rajon-ɯ ojsul koj-ı-nden
   I-(GEN) father-1SG.POSS that Kerch raion-3SG.POSS Oysul village-3SG.POSS-ABL

   ojsul koj-ı kerıʃ-ke qɯrq kʲilametr edı
   Oysul village-3SG.POSS Kerch-DAT forty kilometer COP.PAST.3SG

   'My father was from the village of Oysul in the Kerch region, which is forty kilometers from Kerch.'

2. ojsul koj-ı ʃu kerıʃ rajon-ɯ sɯrt taraf-ɯ-ndan
   Oysul village-3SG.POSS that Kerch raion-3SG.POSS north side-3SG.POSS-ABL

   azow denɯz-ı-ne dørt kʲilametr
   Azov sea-3SG.POSS-DAT four kilometer

   'The village of Oysul is four kilometers from the Sea of Azov, on the northern side of the Kerch region.'

3. azow denɯz-ı-nıŋ jalɯ-sɯ boj-ɯ-nda o jer-de
   Azov sea-3SG.POSS-GEN coast-3SG.POSS length-3SG.POSS-LOC that place-LOC

de	ʃegerʃe	de-jen	tatar	koj-ler-ɯ		bar	edɯ
and	Chegerche	say-PTCPL	Tatar	village-PL-3SG.POSS		exist	COP.PAST.3SG

bɯr xatʃ	tane,	ep-(ɯ)-sɯ-nɯ		ad-lar	bɪlʲ-mi-j-men
several	CLASS	all-3POSS-3POSS-ACC		name-PL	know-NEG-PRES-1SG

'There, along the coast of the Sea of Azov, there were Tatar villages: one called Chegerche, several (others), (but) I don't know the names of all of them.'

4.
baba-m	ojsul	koj-ɯ-nden
father-1SG.POSS	Oysul	village-3SG.POSS-ABL

qartbaba-m	da	ʃu	ojsul	koj-ɯ-nden	doɣ-ɣan
grandfather-1SG.POSS	and	this	Oysul	village-3SG.POSS-ABL	be.born-PTCPL.PAST

qartbaba-m	bɪl-mi-j-men	aman
grandfather-1SG.POSS	know-NEG-PRES-1SG	but

'My father was born in Ojsul, grandfather was also born in Ojsul, but I don't know my grandfather.'

5.
koj-ler-de	axl-ɯm-da	xa(l-ɣ)an-ɯ	(ɯ)ʃte
village-PL-LOC	mind-1SG.POSS-LOC	remain-PTCPL.PAST-3SG.POSS	here

dʒɯɯjun-lar	bol-a-tan	edɯ
gathering-PL	be-CONV.PRES-ABL	COP.PAST.3SG

'I recall that in the villages, there were gatherings.'

6.
dʒaʃ-lar-qɯz-lar	topla-n-a-lar	edɯ
youth-PL-girl-PL	gather-PASS-PRES-PL	COP.PAST.3SG

dare	mutlaq	kemane	joq	edɯ
tambourine	absolute(ly)	violin	no	COP.PAST.3SG

ʃuɯjla-p	eglen-e	ed(ɯ)-ler
sing-CONV.PAST	be.entertained-CONV	COP.PAST-PL

'The young boys and girls would gather together – we had absolutely no tambourines or violins – and would sing and enjoy themselves.'

7. a   zenaat-ler-ɪ,   ʃu   koj   saban   ajda-p
     and   profession-PL-3SG.POSS   this village plough drive-CONV.PAST

     boɣdaj   saʃ-ɯp   ʃɯ   arpa-boɣdaj   i   mal-dʒɯ-lɯq,
     wheat   plant-CONV.PAST this   barley-wheat and   lamb-AGENT-NOM.SUFF

     qoj-mal   asra-j   edɪ-ler   uʒe   kolxoz   vaqt-ɯ-nda
     sheep-lamb breed-CONV.PAST COP.PAST-PL already kolkhoz time-3SG.POSS-LOC

     'And (among) the village professions, (people) ploughed (the fields), planted wheat –
     wheat, barley, and so on – and bred cattle; it was already the *kolkhoz* (=collective
     farm) era.'

8. men baba-m   aɣa-lar-ɯ   ekɪ   dane-sɪ
     I   father-1SG.POSS brother-PL-3POSS two CLASS-3SG.POSS

     al-lɯ   kɪʃɪ   bol-ɣan-nar   baj-dʒa
     well.being-ADJ person be-CONV-PL rich-COMP

     qoj-lar-ɯ   bol-ɣan,   dʒer=topraq-lar-ɯ atdelʲna bol-ɣan o-lar-(n)ɯŋ
     sheep-PL-3POSS be-CONV land=land-PL-3POSS separate be-CONV he-PL-GEN

     'My father's brothers – both well-to-do people, (relatively) wealthier – they had their
     own sheep and individual property.'

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