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DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH AND MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

THE GURBETTIES OF CYPRUS AND THEIR LANGUAGE GURBETCHA

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DISSERTATION

CHRYSO PELEKANI

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CHRYSO PELEKANI

A dissertation submitted to the University of Cyprus in Partial Fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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The present doctoral dissertation was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus. It is a product of original work of my own unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or any other statements.

CHRYSSO PELEKANIS

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Περίληψη

Το πρώτο κεφάλαιο αυτής της διατριβής παρουσιάζει την ταυτότητα και η προέλευση των Ρομά-Κουρμπετών της Κύπρου, το κοινωνικοπολιτισμικό και πολιτικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο ζουν σήμερα και η επίδρασή του στη διατήρηση του γλωσσικού τους ρεπερτορίου. Το δεύτερο κεφάλαιο παρουσιάζει τους Ρομά ανά το παγκόσμιο και επικεντρώνεται στους Κουρμπέτες στο Ιράν, το Αφγανιστάν, τη Συρία και τη Γιουγκοσλαβία. Πέρα από την κουρμπέτικη γλωσσική ποικιλία, παρουσιάζονται και οι λοιπές μειονοτικές γλώσσες της Κύπρου, συγκεκριμένα η κυπριακή αραβική και η δυτική αρμενική. Επιπρόσθετα, αυτό το κεφάλαιο επεξηγεί τους λόγους για τους οποίους έχει διεξαχθεί αυτή η έρευνα. Στη συνέχεια, αναλύει την σημερινή κοινωνιογλωσσολογική κατάσταση των Κουρμπετών και παρουσιάζει επίσης την εξέλιξη της γλώσσας που χρησιμοποιείται από τους Κουρμπέτες σε σχέση με διάφορους παράγοντες (π.χ. το κοινωνιογλωσσικό περιβάλλον και την επικοινωνία με τις τοπικές γλώσσες).

Το τρίτο κεφάλαιο αφορά την ερευνητική μεθοδολογία την οποία ακολούθησα για τη συλλογή των δεδομένων. Το τέταρτο κεφάλαιο παρουσιάζει τα δεδομένων που προέκυψαν από τις συνεντεύξεις καθώς και την ανάλυσή τους σε όλα τα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης. Γίνεται λοιπόν μια εκτενής γλωσσολογική περιγραφή της κουρμπέτικης γλωσσικής ποικιλίας εντοπίζοντας τις επιδράσεις της από την πρότυπη τουρκική, κουρδική, αραβική, ρομανί και κυρίως από την κυπριακή τουρκική.

Η ανάλυση της κουρμπέτικης γλωσσικής ποικιλίας οργανώνεται σε τρία επίπεδα: φωνολογικό επίπεδο, σημασιολογικό-λεξικό επίπεδο και γραμματικό επίπεδο. Στο φωνολογικό επίπεδο γίνεται προσπάθεια καταγραφής του φωνητικού και φωνολογικού συστήματος της κουρμπέτικης γλωσσικής ποικιλίας. Παρουσιάζονται λεπτομερώς όλα τα φωνήματα μαζί με τα αλλόφωνα τους και όλες οι φωνολογικές διεργασίες που απαντούν στα κείμενα που έχουν συλλεγεί. Στο σημασιολογικό επίπεδο αναλύονται σημασιολογικά οι δάνειες λέξεις και φράσεις ως προς το εάν διατηρούν τη στενή ή ευρεία σημασία που είχαν στη γλώσσα-πηγή. Στο κεφάλαιο αυτό παρουσιάζεται υπό μορφή πινάκων και διαγραμμάτων η συχνότητα των δανείων λέξεων (ρημάτων και ουσιαστικών) από τη ρομανί κι από άλλες γλώσσες όπως η κουρδική, η περσική, η αρμενική και η ελληνική που προέκυψε από το σώμα κειμένων καθώς επίσης η συχνότητα της γλώσσας-πηγής. Με βάση τα στατιστικά στοιχεία γίνεται πιο εκτενής παρουσίαση των φωνολογικών, μορφολογικών, συντακτικών και σημασιολογικών

ομοιοτήτων/διαφορών των δάνειων λέξεων σε σχέση με τις γλώσσες προέλευσης Το γραμματικό επίπεδο συνδέει τα δύο προηγούμενα και εμπεριέχει δύο τομείς: τον μορφολογικό τομέα και τον συντακτικό τομέα. Στον μορφολογικό τομέα αναλύονται μορφολογικά παραδείγματα που προκύπτουν από το σώμα κειμένων δείχνοντας τις ομοιότητες και τις διαφορές τους. Στον συντακτικό τομέα παρουσιάζονται οι συντακτικές δομές της τουρκικής σε αντιπαραβολή με την κουρμπέτικη, καθώς επίσης τα συντακτικά φαινόμενα από ινδοευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες, τα οποία έχουν περάσει στην τουρκοκυπριακή διάλεκτο και στην κουρμπέτικη γλωσσική ποικιλία. Τέλος, παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα και τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας και προτείνονται θεματικές περιοχές για περαιτέρω έρευνα. Στο παράρτημα παρουσιάζονται όλα τα κείμενα μεταγραμμένα στο ΔΦΑ καθώς και οι μεταφράσεις τους στα τουρκικά και στα αγγλικά. Παρουσιάζονται επίσης πίνακες κλίσης ρημάτων και καθώς και μέρος του λεξιλογίου της κουρμπέτικης γλωσσικής ποικιλίας, συγκεκριμένα τα εντοπισθέντα ουσιαστικά, επίθετα και ρήματα. Στους πίνακες αυτούς δίνεται και η κατά προσέγγιση ετυμολογία τους.

Abstract

The first chapter of this thesis presents the identity and origin of the Gurbetties of Cyprus, the social, cultural and political context in which Gurbetties live today, and the effect this has on preserving their language repertoire. The second chapter presents the Roma across the world and then focuses on the Gurbetties in Iran, Afghanistan, Syria and Yugoslavia. Besides Gurbetcha, the other minority languages of Cyprus are presented, namely Cypriot Arabic and Western Armenian. Moreover, this chapter provides the reasons for undertaking this research. It analyses the current sociolinguistic situation of the Gurbetties and presents the development of the vernacular used by Gurbetties in relation to a number of factors (e.g. their sociolinguistic environment and language contact with local languages). The third chapter presents the research methodology I followed for my data collection. The fourth chapter presents data gathered through interviews and analyses the language at various levels of linguistic analysis. The research thus comprises an extensive linguistic description of the Gurbetcha linguistic variety, and explores the influences from Standard Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, Romani, and especially from Cypriot Turkish Dialect.

This analysis of the Gurbetcha language is organised linguistically into four levels: the phonological level, the morphological level, the syntactic level and the semantic-lexical level. At the phonological level, an attempt to describe the phonetic and phonological system of the Gurbetcha linguistic variety is made. I analyse and present in detail the phonemes of the Gurbetcha linguistic variety, with their allophones. At the morphological level, examples taken from the text corpus are analysed in terms of their morphemic structure. At the syntactic level, the syntactic structures of Turkish in comparison with Gurbetcha are presented, as well as syntactic phenomena of Indo-European languages, which have been borrowed into Cypriot Turkish Dialect and Gurbetcha. At the semantic level, words and phrases borrowed into Gurbetcha are analysed against the background of the source languages. The presentation is supported by tables and examples detailing loanwords from Romani and other languages, such as Kurdish, Persian, Armenian and Greek. Finally, the findings and conclusions of the study are presented along with suggestions of areas for further research. All texts in the appendices are presented in IPA transcription, and accompanied by translations into Turkish and English. Furthermore, the appendices provide paradigms of verb conjugation and a glossary of nouns,

adjectives and verbs of the Gurbetcha language that are found in the corpus of texts. In those tables the approximate etymology of these words is also provided.

CHRYSO PELEKANI

To my beloved parents, my lovely husband and little daughter

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Abbreviations

LANGUAGES

Ar.:	Arabic
Arm.:	Armenian
Az.:	Azeri
Bšk.:	Bashkurt
CTD:	Cypriot Turkish Dialect
CGD:	Cypriot Greek Dialect
Çuk.:	Çukurova
Dom.:	Domari
Dzç.:	Duziçi
Gk.:	Greek
Gur.:	Gurbetcha
H.:	Hindī
Kır.:	Kırgız
Krş.:	Kırşehir
Kurd.:	Kurdish (Iranian)
S. Kur.:	Sorani Kurdish
Kzk.:	Kazakh
Nep.:	Nepal
O.:	Old
Osm.:	Ottoman
Punj.:	Panjābī
Pers.:	Persian (Iranian)
Prakr.:	Prakrit
Skr.:	Sanskrit
R.:	Romanes
Rr. R.:	Proto Romanes
ST:	Standard Turkish
Tat.:	Tatar language
Tkm.:	Turkmen

Tr.:	Turkish
Urd.:	Urdu
Uzb.:	Uzbek
Zaz.:	Zaza language

ABBREVIATION FOR MORPHEME ANALYSIS

1SG/PL	first person singular/plural
2SG/PL	second person singular/plural
3SG/PL	third person singular/plural
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
AOR	aorist (Simple present)
AOR-PST	aorist past
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
COND-PST	conditional past
CONJ	conjunction/conjunctive
COP	copula
DL	Donor language
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DER	derivational suffix
DVV	deverbal verb
Es	elicitations
EZ	ezafe (morpheme)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
NEC	necessitative

NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
OCEs	Observed communicative events
OPT	optative
PART	participle
PL	plural
POSP	postposition
POSS	possessive
POSSIB	possibility
RS	Recipient language
PRS	present
PST	past
SBJV	subjunctive
SCEs	staged communicative events
SG	singular
VN	verbal noun
VOL	voluntative

GENERAL

AC	Adverbial clause
C	Consonant
CC	Complementary Clause
CEFR	Common European Framework of References
CGD	Cypriot Greek Dialect
CMA	Cypriot Maronite Arabic
CTD	Cypriot Turkish Dialect
Es	Elicitations
Ex.	Example
F	Feminine
GC	Greek Cypriots

IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
NP	Noun Phrase
M	Masculine
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
No.	Number
OCEs	OCEs Observed communicative events
OVS	Object, Verb, Subject
OSV	Object, Subject, Verb
PC	Purpose Clause
RoC	Republic of Cyprus
SCEs	SCEs Staged communicative events
ST	Standard Turkish
SOV	Subject, object, verb
SVO	Subject, verb, object
TC	Turkish Cypriot
V	Vowel
VOS	Verb, Object, Subject
VS.	Versus

SYMBOLS

*	hypothetical
<	(is) derived from
>	(has) become
()	adds extra information
...	indicates that a part of the conversation has been left out and considered irrelevant
+	compound marker
-	suffix marker
:	lengthening
∅	the suffix is not uttered/zero
#T	transcription number

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1. Introduction

This dissertation examines Gurbetcha,¹ the language spoken by the Gurbetties.² It presents the history of Cyprus with reference to the minorities of Cyprus (Maronites, Latins, and Armenians), referring to the history of Gurbetties and their sociolinguistic situation on the island. The introduction also provides information on the research questions, the aim and objectives of the thesis, and a brief outline of its structure.

During its long history, Cyprus has been home to many communities, with Greek-speaking Cypriots (henceforth GCs) forming the majority of the population for most of the past three millennia. Turkish Cypriots (henceforth TCs) who are currently the second-largest group in Cyprus, arrived for the most part after the sixteenth century, during Ottoman rule. Overall, the island has been accommodating to outsiders, perhaps because it is accessible by ship, not far from the surrounding continents (Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Western Asia) and was historically a place where merchants would trade goods from all over the region, using its harbours or ports for millennia. Undoubtedly, a variety of languages were used to conduct business.

The history of Cyprus goes well beyond the scope of this study, but sociolinguistically, there are several interesting points to note. Firstly, there was a long period when a syllabic writing system was used, known as the Cypriot syllabary (from about the eleventh century to fourth century B.C., when the Greek alphabet replaced it), and in the ninth century B.C., when Phoenicians (whose writing system was used from the twelfth to the fifth century B.C. and from which many written scripts are derived) came to cut timber for their ships and set up their own settlement in Kition, near Larnaca. There were hundreds of years when the inhabitants of Cyprus worshipped multiple gods and goddesses, though for the past two millennia, the vast majority of Cypriots have been monotheistic. Another important period is the 300 years known as the times of the Arab Raids, followed in the last millennium by the crusades and Ottoman rule. These glimpses of history serve to contextualise life in contemporary Cyprus, in the sense that the coming and going of groups is not a new phenomenon for the island. These same human activities, be they related to commerce or tradition, war or peaceful coexistence, can explain how some communities who came to Cyprus as medieval immigrants settled and remained there for centuries, slowly becoming part of the fabric of Cypriot society. Among these are the Maronites, who first arrived in the seventh century A.D.,³ Latins, whose establishment on the island dates back to the twelfth century A.D.,⁴ and Armenians, whose relationship with Cyprus dates

¹ For the purpose of this study, the language spoken by Gurbetties in Cyprus is referred to as 'Gurbetcha'.

² For the purpose of this study, the Roma group of Cyprus is referred to as 'Gurbetties'.

³ The Maronites of Cyprus, Available from: <https://www.scribd.com/document/132190786/The-Maronites-of-Cyprus-PIO-booklet-English> (Accessed: 10 March 2018)

⁴ The Latin of Cyprus, Available from: <https://www.scribd.com/document/156811627/The-Latins-of-Cyprus-PIO-booklet> (Accessed: 10 March 2018); Emilianides (2009).

to the fifth century B.C., but who more firmly established themselves in Cyprus from the sixth century A.D., joined more recently by thousands of refugees fleeing Asia Minor in the 1920s (Baider & Karyolemou 2015). These three clearly identifiable groups have settled permanently on the island where they still live today; hence, they identify themselves as Cypriots. Recent advances in genetic mapping will no doubt cast more light on the origins and migration patterns of Cypriots.

Although there is relatively little research on the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the Turkish (Jennings 1993, Saracoğlu 1992), Armenian⁵ and Arabic communities of Cyprus (Borg 2004, Mavridis & Micael 1999, Roth 2004, Varnavas 2002), there are some studies of the cultural identity of the inhabitants of Cyprus and of the people of the region (Karyolemou 2009, Grivaud 2000). However, there is one particular group, that has never been the object of any (socio)linguistic study, namely, the Gurbetties, a population that presumably migrated to Cyprus during different historical periods. Although there is evidence that Gurbetties migrated to Cyprus as long ago as the 15th-16th century (during Venetian rule; Konnaris in press), this group remains, for the most part, unknown to the rest of the Cypriot people; they live somewhat on the margins of Cypriot society.

While a limited number of articles has been written on the history of the Gurbetties, much fewer can be found on their language (Kyrris 1969, Trimikliniotis 2009). Because of the scarcity of scientific sources available, much of the literature reviewed for this study has been taken from official government papers and formal reports, such as those published by the Committee of Experts of the Council of Europe in the framework of the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (2006, 2009, 2014, 2017). In this research, therefore, I draw heavily on empirical data relating to the lifestyle, habits, customs, attitudes and education of Gurbetties, which were collected during preliminary fieldwork with children attending the Agios Antonios Primary School in Limassol, Cyprus.

According to my observations, Gurbetties still maintain certain characteristics that differentiate them from other minorities living in Cyprus. They tend to live in groups and prefer to reside in specially-designated areas. Interaction with other Cypriot groups is limited: the Gurbetties tend to adhere to their own ethics and lifestyle (Williams 2000).

Although Gurbetties represent a small indigenous cultural group within Cyprus, with distinct cultural and religious traditions, they are entitled to the same rights as all other citizens. In terms of classifying this group within the larger population, the Gurbetties of Cyprus are generally considered to be members of the TC community, due to their religion (most of them being Muslims) and their assumed common language

⁵ E.g. http://www.cypusarmenians.com/media/files/cyprus-armenians/the_armenians_of_cyprus_en.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2018)

(Trimikliniotis 2012). According to Williams (2000),⁶ Gurbetties accept ethnonyms used by outsiders, such as *Cigani*, *Tsigani*, *Killigiri*, or *Gyfti*; however, they identify themselves as *Gurbet* and their language as *Gurbetcha*.

According to Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2009: 1) the Constitution of Cyprus:

“... recognises three ‘religious groups’ (Maronites, Armenians and Latins), which were obliged to opt to belong to either of the two ‘communities’ in order to exercise their civil duties and enjoy their political rights and thus opted to belong to the ‘Greek community’. The Roma were not considered at all; the uncertainty about their numbers, their lifestyle and the fact that most were Turkish-speaking (and Muslim), and only a few were Greek-speaking (and Christian) who were gradually ‘assimilated’, presumably made matters complicated in granting a ‘religious group’ status.”

Following the independence of Cyprus from the United Kingdom in 1960, Gurbetties were considered part of the TC community. One of the main reasons, as previously stated, was a common religion (Islam). Another factor was that the Gurbetties themselves preferred to identify with the TC community, because they would rather live under the umbrella of a socially, politically and even linguistically more dominant group, rather than be under a separate umbrella of their own. Only a small group of Christian Roma, known as Mandides, lived among GCs; Mandides differ from Gurbetties not only in terms of religion, but also in terms of origin (the Balkans) and language. Identification with the TC community has obviously influenced the language of the Gurbetties. Their language has been constantly and noticeably in flux; firstly because of linguistic contact with the Cypriot Turkish Dialect (henceforth CTD), and secondly due to contact with the Cypriot Greek Dialect (henceforth CGD). In 1974, after Turkish troops invaded and occupied the northern third of Cyprus and the *de facto* partition led to geographical separation, Gurbetties relocated to the northern part of Cyprus along with the TC population. Only a few hundred Gurbetties remained in the southern part of Cyprus. More recently, particularly since 2001, Gurbetties have increasingly returned to the southern part of Cyprus, settling in areas previously associated with TC populations in Larnaca, Limassol and Paphos.

According to the First Periodic Report on the application of the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages of the Council of Europe (2006: 7#32), “the Roma refer to their language as Kurbetcha.” However, the Ad hoc Committee of Experts on Roma and Traveller was unable to obtain any substantial information concerning the use of Gurbetcha. Consequently, the committee welcomed any further information to be included in Cyprus’ next periodical report (Council of Europe 2006: 7). This request was reiterated by the Committee of Experts of the Council of Europe in all subsequent periodical reports. Some scholars have observed that while these people call themselves ‘Gurbet’ and their language ‘Gurbetcha’,

⁶ Dom research center. <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/12/index.html> (accessed: 10 May 2018)

the majority of them speak CTD (Phillips 2001: 254). Varnava *et al.* (2009: 331) also mention a study by Williams (2000), who observed that “an advanced stage of assimilation to the Cypriot Turkish dialect with an almost complete loss of Gurbetcha in the younger generations of Roma [has] occurred”. However, Constantinou (2007: 264) states that Gurbetcha is still spoken by Gurbetties: “The vast majority of elder people and some of the younger generation continue to speak and understand Gurbetcha”.

1.1. The present research

This dissertation aims to answer the following two main research questions:

1. What is the sociolinguistic context of the Gurbetcha language?
2. Which linguistic items and subsystems (lexical items and their semantics, phonetic variants and so forth) differentiate Gurbetcha from other languages?

Since the Gurbetties of Cyprus are characterised by internal migration and contact with other cultures, languages, and dialects, the study of linguistic contact promises to provide sociolinguistic insights.

As this thesis will demonstrate through primary data, the Gurbetcha linguistic variety, although threatened with extinction, is still spoken today by the Gurbetties of Cyprus. A specific objective of the present research is to provide more information on Gurbetcha through language documentation. Language documentation consists in the collection, processing, storing and preserving of primary data. Data collection involves making recordings of members of the speech community and collating images, written documents and so forth. Processing data involves analysing, systematising, transcribing and translating the data. The final component of language documentation, namely storing and preserving data, involves archiving data in a form that preserves it for future use.

Language documentation carries additional significance, in that it may help to revive the endangered language spoken by the Gurbetties of Cyprus, for example, through the preparation of dictionaries and teaching materials. It should be noted that language documentation, as a separate subfield of linguistics, is not confined to the above, but has a broader scope: linguists do not just collect words and sentences, but also document existing linguistic practices and traditions that they observe within a community.

Linguists can observe and document the linguistic behaviour of research participants in everyday conversations. They can also observe the linguistic customs and traditions, as well as how the language is used during social exchanges between community members (Himmelman 1998: 161-195). The researcher can observe the speakers’ knowledge about their language: what speakers know and can explain about the rules and structures of their language (Himmelman 1998: 161-195). Another source of data is to explore

the speakers' ideologies, their attitudes to their language, such as whether they are convinced that it is worth preserving, and what they actually do in order to maintain it (Himmelmann 1998: 161-195).

On the basis of the research aims and objectives outlined above, this thesis is organised as follows.

Chapter 1

This chapter reviews the origin and history of the minorities of Cyprus, paying particular attention to the Gurbetties. Little research has been conducted on this group, despite their long presence on the island. Chapter 1 explores the questions that are central to this thesis and presents its main objectives.

Chapter 2

In Chapter 2, I discuss and analyse the various ethnonyms of the Roma people worldwide, along with the development of the Romani dialects. Accompanying this is an overview of the Gurbetties in Iran, Afghanistan, Syria, Yugoslavia and Cyprus. In addition, Chapter 2 introduces the Gurbetcha language and the other minority languages spoken in Cyprus. I also present the reasons why I decided to undertake this research.

I then analyse the current sociolinguistic situation of the Gurbetties. I present the development of the vernacular used by Gurbetties in relation to a number of factors, such as their sociolinguistic environment and contact with local languages. Furthermore, this chapter discusses issues relating to social inclusion and integration of Gurbetties as well as the policy measures of the Republic of Cyprus regarding the social inclusion of vulnerable groups (including the Roma). Finally, this chapter introduces the first NGO of Roma in Cyprus, CYPROM, explaining the reasons for its establishment and describing the activities and events organised by CYPROM in order to empower the Gurbetties of Cyprus.

Chapter 3

This chapter describes the methods used to investigate Gurbetties and their language. Here, I describe the documentation process and the rationale behind the methods used in collecting, processing and analysing the data. The methodology discussion focuses on two main questions, namely how the data were collected or generated and how they were analysed. Cataloguing and coding procedures, as well as the transcription system used in the analysis of Gurbetcha, are explained in detail. Lastly, I discuss some important ethical issues that arise when conducting any sort of research.

Chapter 4

Section 4.1

The first part of this chapter provides a description of the phonetic and phonological inventory of Gurbetcha. Through analysis of a phonetically-transcribed corpus, I establish an inventory of the phonemes of Gurbetcha, as well as describing their allophonic variation.

The chapter first presents the symbols and diacritics of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) used in the corpus and provides a basic description for each one. It then proceeds to a presentation of the phonetic and phonological inventories of Gurbetcha consonants, followed by a detailed exposition of allophonic variation observed for each consonant. Finally, the vowel system is presented both phonetically and phonologically, along with a description of allophonic variation.

Section 4.2

This section presents the morphology of the language. It begins by introducing some key morphological notions and providing an overview of inflectional and derivational morphology and compounding. Following this, the section presents the morphological analysis of Gurbetcha nouns and verbs.

Section 4.3

In this section, I focus on the analysis of larger structural units of the language, namely phrases and sentences. Through examination of the structure of Gurbetcha sentences and their component units, I proceed to a deep analysis of Gurbetcha, Standard Turkish and CTD, revealing linguistic connections and influences. Specifically, in the syntactic domain, comparisons between the syntactic structures of Turkish and Gurbetcha are presented, as well as relevant syntactic phenomena of Indo-European languages which have been borrowed into Cypriot Turkish and Gurbetcha.

Section 4.4

This section examines the lexicon of Gurbetcha, starting with definitions of some key notions for the analysis. Due to language contact, numerous lexical items in Gurbetcha originate from other languages, namely Kurdish, Iranian, Arabic, Romanes, or Greek, as is evident from the analysis of lexical elements. In this section, I analyse word frequency and donor language frequency statistically and present results graphically in the form of charts and tables. In the final part of this section, I examine the phonological and morphological integration of loanwords in Gurbetcha.

Chapter 5

In the concluding chapter of this thesis, I summarise and discuss the findings of my research. I provide answers to the questions formulated in the introductory chapters. Finally, on the basis of the findings, I suggest possible directions for further research on the Gurbetties of Cyprus and their language.

CHRYSSO PELEKANI

2. The target group

Roma people worldwide identify with, and are identified by, a number of ethnonyms. Therefore, this section begins by contextualising the Gurbetties of Cyprus in terms of nomenclature. Next, the chapter describes the origin, history and sociolinguistic environment of this group. Following this, I provide a description of the languages of Cyprus before proceeding to focus on the language of the Gurbetties, known as Gurbetcha.

2.1. Names of the Roma people worldwide

There are Roma populations all around the world, including in China, Singapore, Australia and Africa; however, the majority live in Europe and in North and South America. Roma do not form a single homogeneous population and differ considerably in outward characteristics from place to place.

Roma people are known by a variety of ethnonyms. In English, they are known as *Gypsies/Gipsies* and *Roma*, in Greek as *γύφτοι* [*gifti*] or *τσιγγάνοι* [*tsingánoi*], in Central and Eastern Europe as *Tsingani* (and variants of this term), in France as *Gitans* (besides the dated *Bohémiens*, *Manouches*), in Italy as *Zingari* and *Gitani* and in Spain as *Gitanos* (Hancock 2010). All these names of Gypsy tribes (Roma-in Central Europe, Lom-in Armenia, and Dom-Syrian and Iran) are still used today.

Self-designation also varies. In Central and Eastern Europe, the name *Roma* is common. The Roma of England call themselves *Romanichal* (an Angloromani term), those of Scandinavia identify as *Romanisæl* (in Scandinavian Romani dialect). In German-speaking parts of Europe, the self-designation is *Sinti*, in France it is *Manush*, while the Roma communities of Spain, Wales and Finland use the term *Kalo/Kale* (from *kalo*, meaning ‘black’) to refer to themselves. There are numerous sub-groups and clans with their own self-designations, such as the Kalderash, the Machvaya, the Boyash, the Lovari, the Modyar, the Xoraxai and the Lăutari. These groups share some common cultural and linguistic traits.

According to Kenrick (1976), Middle Eastern Roma groups have also been given numerous names. For example, in Turkey they are known as *Çingene*, in Arabic they are known as *عجر* [*ghájar*], while in Persian they are known as *کولی* [*koli*]. Some additional ethnonyms are *Alimah*, *Aptal*, *Bosha*, *Dom*, *Dummi*, *Gurbat/Kurbat*, *Jat*, *Kouli*, *Lom*, *Nawar*, *Qarabana*, *Qorbati/Ghorbati*, *Zotta* and *Motribiyya*. Some of these names are clearly geographically derived, e.g. *Helebi* < Aleppo or *Kabuli* < Kabul, whereas others are occupational, e.g. *Motribiyya* > Arabic ‘musician’ (cited in Ulrich 2006).

It is important to note that there are Roma people in other locations with similar names to the Gurbetties of Cyprus; however, although they share some common traits, they have different origins and different historical backgrounds. In the following section, I outline the various groups that share this ethnonym.

2.2. Gurbetties

There are Roma populations all around the world, including in China, Singapore, Australia and Africa; however, the majority live in Europe and in North and South America. Roma do not form a single homogeneous population and differ considerably in outward characteristics from place to place.

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According to Kenrick (1976), groups of travellers in the Middle East have also been given numerous names. For example, in Turkey they are known as *Çingene*, in Arabic they are known as *عجرب* [*ghájar*], while in Persian they are known as *کولی* [*koli*]. Some additional ethnonyms are *Alimah*, *Aptal*, *Bosha*, *Dom*, *Dummi*, *Gurbat/Kurbat*, *Jat*, *Kouli*, *Lom*, *Nawar*, *Qarabana*, *Qorbati/Ghorbati*, *Zotta* and *Motribiyya*. Some of these names are clearly geographically derived, e.g. *Helebi* < Aleppo or *Kabuli* < Kabul, whereas others are occupational, e.g. *Motribiyya* > Arabic ‘musician’ (cited in Ulrich 2006).

2.2.1. Ghorbati in Iran, Afghanistan and Syria

Ghorbati, also known as *Ghorbat*, *Gurbat* and *Qurbati*, is an ethnic group, a nomadic or peripatetic community in Afghanistan (Middleton 1995), widespread also in Iran⁷ (Barth 1961). In 1976–77, the Ghorbati in Afghanistan numbered 1,000 families (approximately 5,000 people). They are connected to the

⁷ *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, Oxford University Press 2003, p. 29.

Basseri tribe, but their mother tongue is not Persian. Their language, known as Ghorbati, is a dialect of the Domari language⁸. They are distinct from the Koli, despite sharing the same language. Members of this group have also migrated to Maharashtra, India (Rao & Casimir 2003: 61). The endonym *Ghorbati* is widely found among Roma communities of this region (Barth 1961: 91). The term *Ghorbat* may be rendered as ‘wanderers’ (Adamec 1991: 127), a word that seems to be derived from the Arabic word غريب [*gharib*] ‘beggar, poor man, stranger, foreigner’. A group called *Kurbat* is also known in Northern Syria (Fraser 2001: 39).

2.2.2. Gurbeti in Yugoslavia

The Gurbeti are a predominantly Muslim sub-group of Romani people living in former Yugoslavia. The first mentions of nomadic Roma (mostly Roma escaping slavery in Wallachia), who could be considered ancestors of the present-day Gurbeti, date back to the seventeenth century. These ancestors left Wallachia and Moldavia in the nineteenth century after the abolition of slavery. By 1941, most of the Yugoslav Roma, with the exception of the Gurbeti of Montenegro, (Ramet & Vjeran Pavlaković 2005:383; Guy 2001:52) had settled permanently.

The Gurbeti share some cultural features with the Kalderaš, another a subgroup of Roma. The name Kalderash derives from the Romanian word *căldărar*, which means ‘tanners’. They were traditionally smiths and metal workers and speak a number of Romani dialects grouped together under the term Kalderash Romani, a sub-group of Vlax Romani.⁹ The Gurbeti also share features with other Roma, such as the Xoraxane (the Muslim Roma from the Balkans, including Turkish and Albanian Roma). The first arrival of the Xoraxane is connected to the Ottoman invasion and the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the region during the 14th-15th centuries.¹⁰

The Gurbeti are partly assimilated into mainstream society and do not fully follow the Romani Law. They speak Gurbeti, which is regarded by some as a sub-dialect of the Vlax Romani language, and by others as a separate dialect. The Gurbeti dialect spoken in Kosovo speaks Serbian and Albanian. Another group, known as Džambazi, are Gurbet who speak dialects belonging to the Vlax dialect group, more specifically

⁸ Domari is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken by older Dom people scattered across the Middle East and North Africa. The language is reported to be spoken as far north as Azerbaijan and as far south as central Sudan, and also in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Syria and Lebanon. Domari is also known as Middle Eastern Romani, Tsigene, Luti, or Mehtar. There is no standard written form. In the Arab world, it is occasionally written with the Arabic script and has many Arabic and Persian loanwords. Descriptive work was done by Yaron Matras (2012) who published a comprehensive grammar of the language along with a historical and dialectological evaluation of secondary sources.

Matras, Yaron (2000). “Two Domari Legends about the origins of the Doms”, *Romani Studies*, 5th Series, 10, pp. 53-79, Available from: http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/downloads/2/Matras_legends.pdf

⁹ For more information <https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/language/names.shtml> (accessed: 20 May 2018)

¹⁰ Muslims in the Balkans, https://www.academia.edu/2844614/Roma_Muslims_in_the_Balkans (accessed: 20 May 2018)

the Southern Vlax group.¹¹ There are a number of Romani loanwords in Croatian which were most likely borrowed from the Gurbeti, who arrived to settle there predominantly from Bosnia and Herzegovina. There is also a Gurbeti diaspora, in Austria for example, where recent migrants (mostly unskilled workers) have integrated into Austrian society (Ramet & Pavlaković 2005)

2.2.3. Gurbetties in Cyprus

According to the Constitution of Cyprus, the Gurbetties of Cyprus officially became members of the TC community after 1960 (Article 2:3).¹² Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (henceforth RoC) in 1960, and throughout that decade, there were increasing tensions between the two larger communities of the island, namely TCs and GCs. In the summer of 1974, after an abortive coup against the legitimate government of Cyprus by the fascist military junta in Greece, which provoked fears for safety among the TC minority, Turkish troops invaded Cyprus. Massive population displacement ensued: GCs living in the north were forced to move to the south, while TCs living in the south were forced to move to the north. At that time, as Marsh and Strand (2003) note, the Orthodox Christian Roma living in the north of the island were also forcibly relocated to the south (Symeou *et al.*, 2009: 512).

After this displacement, Gurbetties settled in houses that had been abandoned by their owners (Greeks or Turks) and created new community groupings on both sides of the separation line (commonly called the Green Line). Since 2000, small groups of Gurbetties have moved to the south (mainly to Limassol and Paphos) and have settled in the more socio-economically deprived areas of the two cities. Since 2003, when Turkish occupation authorities eased travel restrictions across the Green Line, allowing Cypriots to cross from one side of the divided island to the other side for the first time in 30 years, the influx of Gurbetties from the north to the south increased.

2.3. The origin, identity and culture of Cypriot Gurbetties

In this section, I focus on the origin and culture of Gurbetties living in Cyprus. The term *Gurbetties*, along with *Gypsies*, *Roma*, *Atsiggani* and other ethnonyms, refers to a group of nomads, travellers and settlers who have been living in Cyprus for centuries, and who, according to the Constitution of Cyprus (1960), are classified as part of the TC population (Kyrris 1969).

Following raids by Seljuk Turks in Armenia in the mid-eleventh century, Roma fled to Asia Minor, part of the then Byzantine Empire, from there crossing into Thrace and then dispersing in numerous directions.

¹¹ For more information <http://romani.uni-graz.at/romlex/dialects.xml> ((accessed: 20 May 2018))

¹² Το Σύνταγμα της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας (ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ) <http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/enop/non-ind/syntagma/full.html> (accessed: 13 August 2018).

Some of them settled in southern Greece, particularly on the Peloponnese peninsula. According to Harff (1947, cited in Kyrris 1969), the “Atsigani” left the Peloponnese peninsula due to oppression of their Christian beliefs by Ottoman rulers. They then moved to several Greek-speaking islands under Venetian rule, such as Corfu and Cyprus. A number of “Atsigani” also arrived with the Ottomans after 1571 and settled on the island. It seems that their social status was low: the Ottomans treated them as slaves (Marushiakova 2015) and many of them were probably forced to join the Ottoman Army as auxiliary personnel. During that time, they maintained their traditional nomadic lifestyle.

After 1974, the majority of the Gurbetties settled in the northern part of the island in the towns of Morphou/Güzelyurt and some in Famagusta and Trikomo/Yeni İskele. In the southern part of Cyprus, most Gurbetties settled in the formerly Turkish-Cypriot areas of Limassol and Paphos in 2001 and 2002.

Öztürk (2007) states that the Gurbetties of Cyprus are associated with a number of different names, such as *Gurbet*, *Ole*, *Fellah*, *Gori*, *Fello*, *Gullufi-çilinciri*, and *Cingane*. Pelekani (2003) reports claims by the Gurbetties that their language Gurbetcha also has other names, such as *Teberca*¹³ and *Gorica*. The word *Gurbetcha*, which is the most commonly used name for the language, derives from the Arabic word غريب [*gharib*] which means ‘stranger, foreigner, people away from home; the poor and destitute’ (Redhouse Sözlüğü 1999: 416) and a Turkish derivational suffix {-ÇA} which is used to designate a language.

In Greek, too, many names have been used to refer to these people, including *Tsiganos*, *Yiftos*, *Athiganoi*, *Koulloufos* and *Kilinjiros*. According to Kyrris (1969), the word *Atsiganos* derives from the Greek word τσίγγος [*tsingos*], ‘zinc’, and means ‘the person who carries pots made of zinc’. Kyrris (1969) also provides another explanation for the origin of the name *Atsiganos/Athiganos*, as being related to the religious Christian group of untouchables. According to Messing (1981) and Kyrris (1985), the name *Tsiganos* rather refers to those who are urbanised, whereas the name *Gyftos* refers to those who are nomadic.

According to Kyrris (1969), the name κιλίντζιροι [*kilinjiroi*] derives from the Turkish word *çilingir*, meaning locksmith, and, by extension, a dirty man or an untidy person (Hatzioannou 1936, 1996). Chloros (Λεξικόν Τουρκοελληνικόν Istanbul, 1899, vol. I: 631b, 662a; Vol. II: 1377b, 1382a; cited in Kyrris, *op. cit.*) states that *çilingir* is another word for *dhzevelager*, meaning ‘nomad’ (Kyratzi & Konnari, in press).

¹³ The word *Teberce* derives from the noun *teber* which means ‘drum’ < Ar. طبل ‘tabbal’ (Devellioğlu 1984: 1210 cited in Yıldırım 2011: 217). This expression and self designation is also used by Abdal in Middle and South Turkey: ‘Gendimize Teber derik’ = ‘We call ourselves Teber’ (Yıldırım 2011: 217).

Anastasiou (1999) refers to a group of Christians, mostly Roma, living in Asia Minor under Byzantine rule, who avoided being touched, especially during meals. The group was known as *Athigganoi*; they were a specific sect known for their distinctive adherence to purity laws, particularly the act of not touching bowls and objects that had been touched by people outside the sect.

The Cypriot Gurbetties have their own culture and way of life, as well as their own occupations. Traditionally, they would travel from village to village. As Kenrick and Taylor (1986: 36) describe:

“The typical Gypsy was [sic: way] of life on Cyprus is characterised by a general communal philosophy. The normal social unit is the extended family where one 'company' contains some twenty persons. Most of these companies moved around the island stopping in villages and the outskirts of towns for an average of a month. This pattern has been interrupted since the partition of the island in 1974 since when the majority of the Gypsies have been living in the Turkish sector.”

They also refer to the occupations of the Gurbetties:

“Traditionally the Gypsies survive by selling donkeys and mules, making jewellery and kebab skewers to sell and fortune telling (the latter always for food, never for money). A few families had the custom of going to the harvest fields during the grape and carob nut seasons and begging. There is no tradition of casual agricultural labour.”

In other countries, a common vocation of the Roma people was training, trading and caring for animals. Some also worked as blacksmiths, repairing utensils and selling household goods. Many worked as travelling entertainers, using their rich musical background to earn money. For this reason, many European Roma tribal names are derived from Roma occupations, for example, Kalderash meaning ‘coppersmith’ and Lovara meaning ‘horse dealer’.

Kyrris (1985) refers to the name Mantis, meaning fortune-teller. The word Mantis derives from the Greek noun *μαντεία* [manteia], ‘sortilege’. This name refers to the Christian Roma who settled in Cyprus, spoke Greek and were known as Mantides. They have been included in the GC community since Cyprus gained independence in 1960. Most of them have abandoned the nomadic lifestyle. Previously, they lived in their own settlements in Larnaca, known as Ta Mantika or Mantomahallas. Nowadays, they are largely assimilated and their descendants can be recognised only by surnames, such as Laoutaris (Trimikliniotis & Demetriou 2009). Kyrris and Konnari (in press) state that:

“in the town of Larnaca, the Christian Gypsy ghetto was called Mantika/Μάντικα and the toponym still survives (Kyrris, 1969, p.3; Kyrris, 1985, pp.55, 108). Similarly, a neighbourhood in the village of Ayios Elias in the Karpasia peninsula was called Mantides and a church in Kythrea is named Ayios Georgios ton Mantoudon (Kyrris, 1985, pp. 108-110). Moreover, the toponym Sindi/Σίντης in Paphos is attested in sources from the middle of the sixteenth century, the village abandoned before 1825 (Grivaud, 1998, pp. 105, 130, note 7, pp. 242, 446). Nevertheless, it probably bears no

connection with the group Sinti, a Romani people who migrated to central Europe in the late sixteenth century...”

2.4. The development of Romani dialects

The historical development of Romani can be divided into three phases:¹⁴ Proto-Romani (pre-European), Early Romani (Byzantine period), and Modern Romani dialects (from the 14th-15th century onwards). Proto-Romani began its history as a Central Indian language. In the Early Romani period the Romani language changed dramatically as a result of contact with Byzantine Greek. Following the decline of the Byzantine period in the late fourteenth century, Romani-speaking populations began to emigrate from the Balkans, settling in central and Western Europe during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries¹⁵. Thus, the third stage of the Romani Period coincides with the split to individual dialects and dialect branches.

After centuries of being known only as a language that was different from the languages of the people of Europe, in the second half of the 18th century a new discovery was made concerning the similarity between the spoken language of the Roma and Sanskrit. On the basis of this discovery, the German scholar H. M. G. Grellmann, in the first modern work dedicated to the Roma, concluded that the Roma population was of Indian origin. In later studies, it was rigorously demonstrated that the language spoken by the Roma was indeed related to Sanskrit. Nowadays, the term Romani is widely used to designate the dialects spoken by Roma in different areas of the world. The Romani language, also known as *Romanes*, belongs to the Indo-European language family. It is a member of the Neo-Indian group of languages, making it a relative of a number of languages spoken in the Indian subcontinent.

Romani is the adjective (feminine singular) derived from Rom, the historical self-designation of speakers of the language. It is by far the most widespread term for the language in the modern field of linguistics. The adjective Romani modifies the noun *chib*, ‘language’, with the term *Romani Chib* meaning ‘language of the Rom’. Speakers can be heard referring to their language as *Romani Chib*, or *Amari Chib* ‘our language’, *Romanes* ‘in a Rom way’, or by any one of several dozen group-specific names (Miklosich 1873).

According to Adamou (2010), contact between the languages spoken by the Roma and the population living in Byzantine areas began mainly after the raids of the Seljuk Turks, who forced the Roma to move towards Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, East Thrace and Southern Greece. As a result of this population movement, the Romani lexicon has been influenced by Persian, Urdu and Byzantine Greek (Matras 2005). According to Matras (2005), the core of the vocabulary and grammar resembles modern Indian languages like Urdu,

¹⁴ The history of the Romani language; Early Romani, Manchester, for more information :

<https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/language/earlyromani.shtml> (accessed: 20 May 2018)

¹⁵ Romani <http://languagecontact.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/ELA/languages/Romani.html> (accessed: 20 May 2018)

Kashmiri or Punjabi, in line with the Indian roots of the language. When Roma settled in Asia Minor, the Romani language absorbed many Greek influences, especially at the level of grammar and vocabulary. When the Roma population spread throughout Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, the language diverged into several dialects.

Research indicates that the Roma people started moving towards Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, first reaching the Byzantine Empire, 900 to 1100 years ago (Fraser 1992). During the move of Roma from the areas of the Byzantine Empire to Cyprus, Romani speakers adapted to their new conditions by adopting several linguistic characteristics (morphological, syntactic and phonological) from the various languages they came into contact with.

The name *Gypsies* is recorded in various chronicles in different regions. According to Miklosich (1874-8, cited in Matras 2002:1):

“Romani-speaking populations are assumed to have settled in Byzantium, sometime before the eleventh century. References to ‘Gypsies’ or ‘Egyptians’ from the eleventh century are believed to relate to them, though we have no definitive evidence that those referred to were indeed Romani speakers.”

According to Matras (2002) documentation of the Romani language first appears in the form of wordlists in the early sixteenth century. This includes a list of thirteen sentences published by Andrew Borde in 1542, under the heading ‘Egipt Speche’. Another document that testifies to the presence of Romani is a manuscript of 53 entries of Romani words and phrases, accompanied by a Low German translation, under the heading *Clene Gijpta Sprake* (Kluyver 1910) kept at the State Archives in Groningen. In 1597, Bonaventura Vulcanius printed a list of 53 Romani words with a Latin translation with the title *De nubians erronibus, quos Itali Cingaros appellant, eorumque lingua* (Miklosich 1874-8, cited in Matras 2002). The Ottoman traveller and linguist Evliya Çelebi (17th century) published a brief wordlist and 21 short sentences in the language of the people living in Thrace known as *Cinganeler* or *Qiptiler*, with a translation in Ottoman Turkish (Friedman & Dankoff, 1991).

In addition, there are a number of studies on the Romani language spoken by the Roma of Greece, especially the Muslims of Komotini (Matras *et al.*, 1997). On the basis of a comparative study of Indo-Aryan languages, Miklosich (1874-8, cited in Matras 2002.) has concluded that Roma had emigrated from India in the tenth century, following the transition from Middle to New Indo-Aryan and the collapse of the ancient case inflection system. Miklosich (1874-8, cited in Matras 2002) also identified various lexical borrowings, which he considered to be evidence of the migration route of the Roma.

One of the most interesting findings of Miklosich is the fact that there is a strong Greek component in all dialects of Romani. This leads to the conclusion that a Greek-speaking area must have been the homeland of all Roma before their migration to other parts of Europe. According to Matras (2002: 22), “the transition from a thematic (Indo-Aryan) period to an athematic (mainly Greek-derived) inflection productivity took place during the Byzantine period”. He suggest that there was a long period of linguistic contact between Roma and Greeks. The existence of so many Greek words in the Romani vocabulary provides more evidence of this contact: as Matras notes, “...there are between 200 and 250 shared lexical roots of Greek origin” (Matras 2002: 21). Therefore, Matras (2000) has proposed a “Greek Model” of the development of the Romani language. In the Early Romani period, Greek morphemes became the principal productive morphological feature of the language. This involved the borrowing of nominative endings, for example: *foros* <Gr. φόρος [*foros*] ‘tax’, *foroi* <Gr. Φόροι [*foroi*] ‘taxes’; *kokkalo* <Gr. κόκκαλο [*kokkalo*], ‘bone’, *kokkala* <Gr. κόκκαλα [*kokkala*] ‘bones’.¹⁶ Thenceforth, the Greek nominative endings (and the oblique analogies that are based on them) are taken over and assigned to all subsequent loans, including later European borrowings, in the individual dialects.

Athematic morphology, whether of Greek or other origin, remains productive for other loans. In addition, a comparative study of Romani wordlists from different countries indicates that, despite the successive layers of lexical borrowings, the Indo-Aryan core remains significant (Matras 2002: 21). It is important to trace the correlation of various lexical borrowings with the migration route of the Roma. The Romani dialects spoken in various European countries include words that were not brought with the Roma from India, but have been borrowed from the different languages with which the Roma came into contact (Matras *et al.* 1997). These linguistic borrowings are indicative of the migration route of the Roma. Greek, Iranian and Armenian lexical items are strong indicators of this migration history. The vast number of European Romani words derived from Medieval Greek indicates that the Roma spent an extended period of time in Greek-speaking territories, i.e. the Byzantine Empire (Cyprus was part of the Byzantine Empire from 331 to 1191, when the island was conquered by the crusaders).

2.5. The languages of Cyprus

The official languages of the RoC are Greek and Turkish. The everyday spoken language (vernacular) of the GCs is Cypriot Greek Dialect (CGD), and that of the TCs is Cypriot Turkish Dialect (CTD). For official purposes, the standard languages used are Standard Greek (henceforth SG) and Standard Turkish (henceforth ST).

¹⁶ The history of the Romani language; Early Romani, Manchester, for more information : <https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/language/earlyromani.shtml> (accessed: 20 May 2018)

The Constitution recognises three minority religious groups: Maronite Catholics, Armenian Orthodox, and "Latins" (Roman Catholics). Two of these groups have their own languages: Western Armenian (the language of Armenian Cypriots) and Cypriot Arabic (the language of Maronite Cypriots). Sometimes, Gurbetcha is referred to alongside Western Armenian and Cypriot Arabic in the literature, but it is not officially recognised in any capacity.

2.5.1. Cypriot Arabic / Cypriot Maronite Arabic (CMA) / Sanna

Cypriot Arabic, also known as Cypriot Maronite Arabic or Sanna, is a moribund variety of Arabic spoken by the Cypriot Maronites of the Kormakitis village. Native speakers were originally largely situated in Kormakitis, but following the Turkish invasion, the majority relocated to various locations in the south; this led to a decline of the language. According to official demographic data, in 2011 there were 5,000 Maronites in Cyprus: 15% in Limassol, 5% in Larnaka and 5% in Kochatis, Marki and Paphos, as well as in the occupied villages of Asomatos, Karpasha and Kormakitis.¹⁷

In May 2009, the Committee of Experts for the Codification of Cypriot Maronite Arabic submitted a proposal for the codification and revival of Cypriot Arabic to the Cypriot government. A Cypriot Arabic–Greek translation dictionary exists, where the Greek alphabet is used to transcribe Cypriot Arabic lexemes (Fragkiskou 2000). At present, there exists a writing system for the language based on a proposal made by Prof. Alexander Borg (1997), and an Orthographic Guide prepared by the research team of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus at the request of the speakers. CMA is now taught in adult education courses and to the children of the community every summer. Lessons are usually held in Kormakitis in the first or second week of August. These have been running since 2007; they were initially organised by the NGO Xki Fi Sanna and then by the Maronite representative office, with the financial support of the MoEC and under the supervision of members of the Committee of Experts (Karyolemou forthcoming).

2.5.2. Western Armenian

Armenians inhabited Cyprus from around the sixth century A.D., however about 9,000 more arrived from Turkey in the early 20th century. Of those, the majority moved on to other countries. Today, Western Armenian is taught in Armenian schools in Cyprus (Nareg Armenian School) and is a first language for about 3,000 people of Armenian descent in the RoC. Armenian Cypriots are largely bilingual in Cypriot Greek and Western Armenian. In 2014, it was reported that there were 668 Western Armenian first-language speakers.

¹⁷ The Maronites of Cyprus, [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcom_pretoria.nsf/all/3AF861EE6C2042E0C2257A4D0037CD2B/\\$file/MARONITE%20eng%202013%20for%20web%20low.pdf?openelement](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcom_pretoria.nsf/all/3AF861EE6C2042E0C2257A4D0037CD2B/$file/MARONITE%20eng%202013%20for%20web%20low.pdf?openelement) (accessed: 8 July 2018)

2.5.3. Kurbetcha / Gurbetcha

With the exception of Öztürk's (2007) research on Gurbetties and their language, there is no previous research regarding the language spoken by Gurbetties of Cyprus, namely Gurbetcha.

As previously stated, the Gurbetties are not considered an ethnic minority or a religious group; they are classified as part of the TC community. Since 1974, neither the north nor the south of Cyprus has attempted to maintain the language spoken by the Gurbetties. It is also worth mentioning that Gurbetcha is not protected by the Charter for Regional and Minority Language of the Council of Europe and has been very little studied.

In the recent years, one official body which has initiated specific actions aiming to improve the situation of Gurbetties (i.e. Cypriot Roma) is the Ministry of Education and Culture (henceforth MoEC). Following the work of linguists and local activists, the MoEC has initiated efforts to support and maintain the endangered languages on the island. More specifically, the MoEC has implemented an extra-curricular course for Cypriot Roma named *The language, culture and tradition of Roma*. The course has been taught at Agios Antonios Primary School in Limassol since 2013, comprising 90 minutes per week for 24 weeks. The aim of the course is to increase students' awareness of their mother tongue, as well as their history and culture. Students are expected to read, speak and understand the language, and are stimulated to improve their critical thinking and reflect on their cultural and linguistic identity. This may have an empowering effect on Cypriot Roma children, strengthening their ability to defend their basic human rights regarding their identity, culture and tradition. In accordance with the Common European Framework (CEFR) guidelines for language competence at A1 level, they are encouraged to write about their family members, home activities, clothing, food, family and community rules, major celebrations and commemorations, songs, dances, fairy tales and other leisure or sporting activities.

Another initiative of the MoEC relates to the observation that learning the official language of education, i.e. Greek, carries great importance for Cypriot Roma in order to overcome literacy barriers. The MoEC has promoted the implementation of fully-funded Greek lessons for Roma (and other vulnerable groups, such as immigrants), based on the belief that learning Greek will provide them with more opportunities in the future to integrate successfully into the labour market.

2.6. Current sociolinguistic situation of the Gurbetties

2.6.1. Sociological aims of the current research

The idea for this research took shape following a fight between two schoolchildren, a Gurbet and a non-Gurbet (in Gurbetcha, a *Gaco*). The Gurbet child had called the non-Gurbet child a *lafta*; the latter perceived it as an insult and thus fighting ensued. The misunderstanding was cleared up when the Gurbet child's mother was asked to explain the term. The mother laughed when she heard the word and said:

“But the word *lafta* – *laftacık* is not an insult! In Gurbetcha, our mother tongue it means ‘child, toddler’”.
(Şenay A., 45 years)

As a researcher witnessing this incident, I was struck by the lack of understanding of the Gurbetties and particularly their language, Gurbetcha, in mainstream Cypriot society. This moment was the starting point for the present research. With great curiosity, I sought to understand the Gurbet people, their origins and history with its backdrop of centuries of migration; their distinguishing characteristics as a Roma sub-group; their customs, habits and traditions; and lastly, their linguistic practices, in particular the nature of the language known as Gurbetcha. Through a sociological–cultural approach to acquiring and analysing primary data, I have aimed to address these points concerning the nature of the Gurbetcha language and its speakers.

The scarcity of sources has proven to be a major challenge in researching the Gurbetties and Gurbetcha. The lack of academic references means that all research questions must be investigated through the acquisition of primary data. It is particularly noteworthy that even though, according to both the national and the international bibliography, a number of studies have been conducted in Roma settlements, there has never been an in-situ research study in all the settlements where Gurbetties live in Cyprus, that investigates all the aspects listed above.

In light of this, the present study intends to fill the gap concerning knowledge about the Gurbetties and Gurbetcha. Moreover, by means of this research, I aim to record and preserve Gurbet cultural memories. In doing so, I hope to bring attention to the life of this community and to record and protect their language. An additional goal is to examine the state policy towards the Gurbetties.

This project is based on information resulting from analysis of recorded texts. This means that the accuracy of the facts and statements provided by the consultants plays a very important role. The collection of information was a challenging task, as the Gurbetties are not quick to open up to outsiders and are very

reluctant to speak openly in Gurbetcha or indeed, about Gurbetcha, about themselves, their customs and habits, their everyday life or their cultural attitudes and beliefs.

One of the key techniques I employed was observation of the community members. Observation made it possible for me to acquire a first impression of the Gurbetties during the initial phase of the research (2011 - 2013). Through an in-situ study, I was able to collect data concerning day-to-day life in the settlements. My interaction with the Gurbetties enabled me over time to begin approaching the consultants, overcoming their initial distrust. I was able to visit the Gurbetties' settlements all over Cyprus, in Limassol, Paphos, Famagusta, Trikomo and Morphou. I frequently interacted with the Gurbetties by meeting them at coffee shops or for lunch, or by attending engagements and weddings. The assistance of the interviewers, Ahmet Salih and Mehmet Rayıf, was of great importance; they proved to be useful network links in approaching the consultants, particularly in the areas under occupation, where information on the Gurbetties' whereabouts was harder to come by.

In summary, this project is based largely on primary data: open interviews, documents and notes from in-situ observation. The informal feedback by the interviewers proved very useful and constructive in achieving the goals of the present research.

The Gurbetties do not possess a written language and there is thus great difficulty in recording, preserving and studying their spoken language. Despite the huge challenges in documenting Gurbetcha, the work of collecting and analysing linguistic data was greatly facilitated by the strong ties of trust and respect that I was able to develop with the community. This provided a context in which consultants were willing to participate in the current research and contribute linguistic data.

2.6.2. Cultural identity

As mentioned above, according to the 1960 Constitution of Cyprus, the Gurbetties of Cyprus belong to the TC community. They do not have separate status as an ethnic minority or religious group. The total number of Gurbetties is hard to accurately calculate, as there are no census figures concerning this group, from either side of the island. Additionally, the precise number is hard to determine due to their continual migration from the north to the south and back again. The Council of Europe estimates that there are approximately 1,250 Roma living in Cyprus (0.16% of the population).¹⁸ On the other hand, Marsh and Strand (2003) argue that their number reaches 2,000-3,000 people, resulting from the annual influx of Anatolian Roma.

¹⁸ Justice and Fundamental rights –Roma https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/justice-and-fundamental-rights/discrimination/roma-and-eu/roma-integration-eu-country/roma-integration-cyprus_en (Accessed: 7 February 2018)

During the observation phase, I recorded testimonials of the daily life of the Gurbetties, their lifestyle and attitudes. Some of these themes can be also found in studies of Roma in other places, such as in the Balkans. Many of their cultural characteristics also resemble those of Roma populations living in Eastern Anatolia. These themes carry importance for the current work in that they serve to characterise the group.

Many among the Gurbetties are in an unfavourable financial, social and political condition due to their lack of access to opportunities and their exclusion from the labour market. Moreover, they face social segregation on both sides of the island. Gurbetties among themselves are very interconnected, however. For example, if an accident occurs, the whole community will typically run to the scene to provide help. This interconnectedness is also evident at weddings, funerals and circumcisions, which are social events that are much enjoyed by the community.

Although their way of life is distinct, they follow the customs of the TC community (Özilmen 2016). Arranged marriages, in which parents and other family members choose their children's spouses, were widespread in the past. Couples are not expected, nor are they encouraged, to see each other and have a relationship before the wedding. Recently, young people have increasingly taken a larger role in choosing their own spouses.

In the past, the Gurbetties were associated with tinning. Nowadays they mainly engage in free trade, junk dealing, or selling fruits and vegetables. There are also some Gurbetties who find work as musicians, forming their own bands and performing at wedding receptions (such musicians, known as *Kurşiniler*, are very famous in the northern part of the island). Gurbetties are also known for their love of buying cars, especially convertibles. The younger generation takes a pleasure in continually changing cars, some of them even making a living by trading cars.

Gurbetties did not become accustomed to the new settled life imposed on them after 1974. Despite the fact that they were given a home as part of the resettlement, some of them sold their houses and went back to their previous life, living in tents and barracks again (Keser and Özdemir 2017). Nowadays, most of the Gurbetties live in the southern part of the island, because as Cypriot citizens they receive the minimum guaranteed income even if they do not work. Only very few young boys work as engineers, barbers, smiths and so forth.

When in the presence of outsiders, Gurbetties identify themselves as Turkish Cypriots, whereas when with friends they designate themselves as Gurbetties. In case of a fight, they insult each other using the name

Çingene as a swear word. A very important cultural feature, due to the fact that many Gurbetties share the same names and surnames, is their use of nicknames to identify each other. Among the most common nicknames are Cumali, Mitto, Akbas, Mindo, Hamude, Shamma, Fatturi, Fatmaya (Özilmen 2016).

The Gurbetties are easy to distinguish from the rest of the population due to certain distinctive aspects of their lifestyle and social conduct. These characteristics are common with other Roma in other countries. The first of these distinctive aspects of their lifestyle is their love of music, which is often played openly and loudly. Dance (*tsifteteli*) is a medium used by Gurbetties for expressing familiarity, knowledge and love for the body. It is an absolute dance involving the entire body, where the eyes, shoulders, breasts, belly and fingers have particular importance. The second distinctive aspect of the Gurbetties' lifestyle concerns coffee and fortune telling. Coffee is commonly offered and drunk in the homes of Gurbetties. News of the community will be told and discussed over coffee, and women will make important decisions over coffee. The well-known image of a woman holding a coffee demitasse cup which has been drunk, then turned upside down on the saucer for some minutes in order to interpret the shape of the coffee residue is not simply a legend: it occurs regularly. Other rituals include throwing a handful of broad beans to reveal one's destiny, and casting away the evil eye (*xematiasma*) using a glass of water and charcoal taken from a burning fire.

A third distinctive aspect concerns the treatment of death. Roma consider death to be a journey, in the same way life may be viewed as a journey. When someone falls seriously ill, all relatives are obliged to visit the patient. The closest relatives should be present at the time of death. The presence of the partner or spouse at the time of death is imperative. All quarrels and hostilities stop. At the funeral, people typically wears dark colour, notably black. The reputation of the deceased depends on how many people attend the funeral.

As far as family is concerned, the Gurbetties have quite a distinct system of values and rules. This arises to some degree out of necessity, due rejection or expulsion from the surrounding society. Families are strictly patriarchal and adhere to values such as family cohesion, proligacy (i.e. bearing many children) and marriage at a young age. In the lives of the Gurbetties, everything centres on family, as the main unit of social, cultural and financial organisation: the 'breeding cell'. Therefore, marriage is the most important event in the lives of Gurbetties. Young women commonly marry between the ages of 13 and 16, and men commonly marry around the ages of 15 to 18. Young women demonstrate that they have reached the age for marriage through the garments they wear to attend wedding ceremonies and other celebrations. A wedding lasts for about three days.

The old tradition of the henna night (*kına gecesi*) is still practised. On the eve of the wedding, women gather at the bride's home. They start the celebrations with happy songs and then switch to sad songs, with the aim of emotionally moving the bride. At some point during the evening, they put henna on a plate and mix it with water. The women light candles and place them around the plate. Then, they apply the henna to the bride's hands and press a coin on top for good luck and stability in the wedding, wishing *başı bütün* 'Good luck in marriage'.

On the day of the wedding, there is a big celebration with drums and other musical instruments. After the wedding, the bride follows her new husband's family. That is the night she loses her virginity. The next morning, there are more celebrations. The couple promise each other eternal and unique love.

In the case that the families are opposed to the wedding, or if the wedding is delayed, then the couple commonly runs away to spend a night together. Most of the time, the families will then accept the situation, and a normal wedding will follow, with all the community in attendance. Running away together is an action that breaks with tradition, an act of disobedience of the young lovers towards the elders. However, the fact that the community accepts the young lovers' act does not weaken the strict tradition. In contrast, the 'accepted disobedience' reveals a society with strong humanity that allows space for strong feelings to manifest.

In these cases, the groom traditionally offers a large sum of money to the bride's family. When this occurs, it shows the groom's acceptance that there is a price to pay to get the bride: it is a symbolic action on behalf of the groom who broke with tradition, who is now asking to be reintegrated in the community. There follows the triumphant return of the bride, now redeemed in the eyes of her family, who takes the role of an honoured and dominant matriarch. Her brave decision to take control of the direction of her life marks her transition from a girl to a woman.

Note that, based on the above accounts, Gurbetties appear to have adopted or assimilated Anatolian Eastern rites and customs. An example of this is the wedding tradition. Each and every society, based on their culture and certain rules, has developed its own particular customs surrounding the rite of marriage. Wedding ceremonies have great importance in the Eastern Anatolia region and incorporate a number of traditional preparations and phases. Gurbetties celebrate weddings with davuls and other musical instruments. Also important to these events is dancing. The oriental 'belly dance' (*göbek dansı*) is very popular in Turkey; this dance is also much loved by Gurbet women who always dance it during the wedding ceremony.

2.6.3. The language of communication of Cypriot Gurbetties

There are some older studies on the language of Gurbetties of Cyprus such as Öztürk (2000) and Demetriou and Trimikliniotis (2007) which provide general information about the Gurbetcha language. The researchers note that the Roma (or Gypsies, Atsiggani) of Cyprus use the term *Kurbetça/Gurbetçe* to designate their own language:

“The Roma accept these designations from outsiders, but when asked what they call themselves they responded, Kurbet/Gurbet and their language Kurbetcha/Gurbetcha. Turkish [as a language] has basically displaced Kurbetcha (...). Some of them said they understood a few words of Gurbetcha, but they did not speak it. In fact, their knowledge of the language was so limited that they did not realise there is a distinct numeric system. Only one older woman who was approximately forty-five years of age knew some of the numbers -- at least the first three numbers. (...) They generally agreed that only the older people who are still in the occupied area know the language [of Gurbetcha] well. Everyone else has adopted Turkish.” (Demetriou and Trimikliniotis 2007:5).

According to Öztürk (2000), Cypriot Gypsies (Kıbrıs Çingeneri) identify themselves not only as Turkish Cypriot but also as Gurbetties and their language as Gurbetcha. In his article *Kıbrıs'taki Gurbetlerin gizli dili* ('The secret language of Cypriot Gurbetties'), refers to some lexical similarities between Gurbetcha, Teberce and some other secret languages spoken in Turkey. He notes that 22 words in the Abdal language are common with Gurbetcha, including the following:

aşınla-/ Gur. aşınna- “to take”,
cükel/ Gur. çükkel “dog”,
cerle-/Gur. çelle- “to say”,
düke/Gur. dükke “home/house”,
genle-/ Gur.genna- “to come”,
halan-/Gur. hallan- “to go”,
urşla-/Gur. ornuşla- “to sit” etc.

These Abdal are a socio-cultural group found mainly in central and western Anatolia, who follow an itinerant lifestyle. This lifestyle is closely connected with the activity of music making at weddings. Other occupations associated with the Abdal include tinning, basket making and sieve manufacturing. They do not seem to be related to the Abdal of South Asia. More information regarding the Abdal/Aptal can be found in Yıldırım (2011). The Abdal language consists of borrowings from Persian and other Iranian sources, from Kurdish and Romani with an essentially Turkish grammar (Andrews 1989: 435-438). There might be a possible connection with the Romani people since two of their subdivisions are the Gurbet and Kara Domen, possibly linked to the Gurbati of Iran and the Dom of the Arab Middle East. According to the

Abdal themselves, they originally came from Khorasan in Iran, and are a tribe of Turkmen (Andrews 1989: 435-438).

In Turkey, researchers have conducted several studies on secret languages. Ahmet Caferoğlu has worked on secret languages and argot since 1943 (cited in Yıldırım 2011:16); Andreas Tietze worked on Yozgat Abdal in 1980, and Turgut Akpınar (1989) studied the secret language of Çepni. In his work on special languages in Turkey and on special languages in Cyprus, Nurettin Demir (2002) refers to the language of Cypriot Gurbetties and gives examples which demonstrate the connection between their language and the language of the Abdals in Turkey. Other distinguished researchers who have worked on secret languages in Turkey are Tooru Hayasi and Faruk Yıldırım, who studied the secret language of Düziçi Abdal, providing a list of 137 words. Ali Akar (2008) also worked on the Kalayci language.

The language of the Cypriot Gurbetties displays certain influences from earlier contact with languages such as Kurdish, Persian, Arabic, Armenian, Anatolian Turkish, and Greek. Chadjipieris and Kapataş (2015) indicate that there is lexical borrowing from CGD to CTD and vice versa. The origins of lexical borrowings from CGD to CTD can be traced back to the Ancient, Hellenistic and Medieval Byzantine periods. For example, the word φορτηγόν [fortigon], ‘truck, van’ which traces its roots back to the Hellenistic period, is borrowed into CTD as *fortigo*. According to Chadjipieris and Kapataş (2015), these Greek words do not appear in any Ottoman or Standard Turkish dictionaries. These lexical items were borrowed by CTD via other Anatolian Turkish dialects. In addition, lexical borrowing from CTD to CGD dates back to the Ottoman period. Chadjipieris and Kapataş (2015) located and presented 3425 common words of CGD and CTD, indicating that linguistic interaction and transfer of semantic and lexical characteristics has taken place between these two main linguistic varieties of Cyprus.

Through the years, the Gurbetties of Cyprus had linguistic contact with both the GC and TC community, which resulted in the influence of CGD and CTD on Gurbetcha. The coexistence of Gurbetcha with these linguistic varieties gave rise to diglossia. Diglossia is found in many multilingual speech communities and refers to a sociolinguistic situation where there is a differentiation in function between two languages or language varieties used by a community.¹⁹

Normally, «the most prestigious and economically powerful social groups are the ones to set the guidelines in speech communities, which means that their linguistic variety is the most positively valued» (Ryan, E.B. and Giles, H, 1982; Edwards 2009). Conversely, the linguistic variety of those groups with a weak social status is usually stigmatised. In the case of Cyprus, as SG and ST are the official languages of the island,

¹⁹ Sociolinguistics-diglossia <http://www.ello.uos.de/field.php/Sociolinguistics/Diglossia> (accessed: 21 July 2018)

they have a dominant position in society. Both languages are more prestigious and have higher formal status than Gurbetcha, or other languages spoken in the island (i.e. Western Armenian, Cypriot Maronite Arabic). For GCs, the high linguistic variety (H-variety) is SG whereas CGD is the low variety (L-variety). The same phenomenon occurs within the TC community, where ST is the H-variety and CTD is the L-variety. The H-varieties, ST and SG, are typically used for official functions in more formal situations in the public sphere (e.g. in government, in written education, for religious services, or in the media²⁰). CGD and CTD are used in everyday life. For Gurbetties, however, the prestige linguistic varieties are CGD and CTD, while Gurbetcha is the less prestigious variety. Gurbetties speak Gurbetcha in informal situations in the private sphere. There are a variety of factors that influence the Gurbetties' choice to speak their own language, Gurbetcha, instead of other language(s) in any given situation. Firstly, they do not want to be understood by outsiders (the *Gaco*); they want to keep their discussions within their community. On the other hand, they do not want to stand out as different, due to a fear of losing their identity as Turkish Cypriots, thereby losing the rights they have as members of the TC community.

Not only the Gurbetties but also their language are negatively evaluated by both the GC and TC communities, leading to a situation where the Gurbetties' identity is discredited. The Gurbetties themselves, however, being legally members of the TC community, have a sense of community and a sense of belonging. McMillan and Chavis (1986) define 'sense of community' as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together".

Pehlivan and Atamturk (2009) conducted ethnological research in the northern part of Cyprus on the Gurbetties' attitudes towards Turkish and Gurbetcha. They found that the Gurbetties believe that they communicate better in Turkish than in Gurbetcha. Moreover, Gurbetcha is used less by younger generations and is consequently in danger of extinction.

Young Gurbetties use the standard languages of Cyprus more than those of the older generations. Also, due to intermarriage with TCs and GCs, they are more exposed to those languages and, hence, have increasingly abandoned Gurbetcha. Overall, the Gurbetties' attitude towards Gurbetcha is gradually changing: Gurbetties tend to have negative feelings about Gurbetcha (Pelekani 2013). In this light, it becomes obvious that the social attitudes of the majority group can also have an impact on the minority group's attitudes towards their own language.

In summary, Gurbetcha is increasingly stigmatised not only by the other communities but also by the Gurbetties themselves. Today, Gurbetcha is at risk of becoming extinct more than ever before. For a variety

²⁰ Sociolinguistics-diglossia <http://www.ello.uos.de/field.php/Sociolinguistics/Diglossia> (accessed: 21 July 2018)

of economic, social and educational reasons, the number of speakers has declined drastically. With the growing influence of mass media and the collateral effects of globalisation, Gurbetcha is confined to a small and closed community under the continuous pressure of the official languages of the island. The lack of recognition of this language at an official level also contributes to abandonment. It thus becomes apparent that in order to avoid language extinction, there is dire need for improvements to policy, for example, by increasing the visibility of the language, and through campaigns aiming to foster appreciation for the multilingualism and multiculturalism inherent to Cyprus, both of which would elevate the status of Gurbetcha and its speakers.

2.6.4. Social inclusion and integration of the Gurbetties

The inclusion of the Gurbetties in mainstream community and their acceptance by Cypriot society as a whole has been touched upon already above, but is important to explore further. According to Pelekani (2013) the integration of Gurbetties is gradual and rather slow. The local society is somewhat cautious; over the years, however, willingness to accept and include the Gurbetties into the community has become evident.

Following the opening of the crossing points in 2003, housing arose as a basic, if not the most fundamental, issue. Most Gurbetties wished for their own private residence, as did the rest of the society. A number of Gurbetties were granted a TC home in either Limassol or Paphos. In order to resolve the issue of accommodation in Limassol (Agios Antonios and Polemidia) and Paphos (Makounta, Stavrokonnou, Polis Chrysochous), the Ministry of Interior approved the building of small settlements in these towns.

The main problems that Cypriot Gurbetties face today are as follows: (a) the fact that the great majority of them live in makeshift accommodation, mainly in Famagusta, which impedes their ability to lead a dignified life and gain social inclusion; (b) a low income (below the poverty line) and their exclusion from the steadily accelerating developments in the labour market; (c) the high percentage of illiteracy, particularly among the older generations, and a high rate of school drop-outs; and finally, (d) a poor state of health, with low life expectancy (eight to ten years lower than non-Roma populations) and a high rate of infant mortality.

2.6.4.1. Policy Measures of the RoC regarding the Social Inclusion of Roma

Because of their small number, there is no distinct state policy for the integration of the Roma populations and, therefore, no distinct status for the National Roma Integration Strategy. The Roma population rather benefits from a set of measures within existing structures of support for vulnerable groups, which also apply to other vulnerable populations. For this reason, the official policy regarding the Roma (for example, referring to the document *Policy Measures of the RoC for the Social Inclusion of Roma*) is that the implementation of separate monitoring mechanisms is not necessary. However, policy documents point

towards access to education, employment, healthcare, housing and essential services as areas where action is needed for the successful social inclusion of the Gurbetties (Pelekani & Symeou 2018)

Axis 1 - Access to Education

Axis 1 pertains to issues such as multicultural education, efforts to overcome linguistic difficulties, in-service teacher training, bilingual teachers to facilitate communication, support for Gurbet students from the Educational Psychology Service and Social Welfare Services. However, Gurbetties in Cyprus still appear to be educationally marginalised (Symeou, Karagiorgi, Roussounidou, & Kaloyirou 2009). Despite a ten-year compulsory education system and social service incentives aiming at keeping Gurbet children in school, school enrolment and attendance among Gurbetties are low, and the drop-out rate, especially in the transition between primary and secondary school, is extremely high (Trimikliniotis 2007; Symeou, Karagiorgi, Roussounidou, & Kaloyirou 2009). Data on Gurbet student enrolment, attainment, and drop-out rates suggest that most Gurbet children end up almost illiterate (Demetriou & Trimikliniotis 2007). Although the last ten years have seen various efforts by the MoEC, as well as by other governmental and non-governmental agencies, entities and institutions to integrate Roma in community and education (Pelekani 2013), Gurbet families appear to have negative attitudes towards the education system. Gurbetties appear to view formal education as an unnecessary burden, since their children understand little of what is taught in school, get into fights, feel excluded and face racial prejudice (Demetriou & Trimikliniotis 2007; Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou & Symeou 2007; Zembylas 2010). Moreover, Gurbet children tend to drop out of school, partly because their parents do not trust the system but also because they do not find meaning for their future lives in the education system. This is also observed in the minimal participation of Gurbet parents in parents' associations, as well as school celebrations and events (Pelekani 2013). Theodorou and Symeou (2013) claim that Gurbet children's negative relationship with their schools and teachers has a deeper significance, with children speaking of teachers' insufficient understanding of the Gurbetties' cultural practices, beliefs and attitudes towards schooling, due to the fact that these diverge considerably from the mainstream. It appears that teachers reflect societal perceptions and stereotypes of Gurbetties. This relates to a lack of intercultural education training among pre-service teachers and the absence of a tradition of intercultural education within the Greek-Cypriot educational system in general (Pelekani and Symeou 2018)

State efforts to promote intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot state education system have been linked to an increasing adoption of a Europeanised discourse on interculturalism (Theodorou & Symeou, 2013). This infusion appears to have been taking place largely at a symbolic level (Hadjisoteriou 2010). In 2004, the Educational Reform Committee that was assigned the responsibility of proposing a reform manifest of the Greek-Cypriot state education system criticised the system's monoculturalism and

ethnocentrism and claimed that it lacks a comprehensive policy for aiding the educational and social integration of culturally diverse students. Efforts to integrate culturally diverse students are made mainly at the primary school level and consist of remedial teaching in Greek as a Second Language to pupils who are speakers of other languages (*αλλόγλωσσοι* [*alloglossoi* (Pelekani & Symeou 2018)]) The MoEC also provides a number of other supportive actions for Gurbet students and families, such as free Greek language courses for Gurbet adults and children, as well as provision for tuition and registration fees if Gurbet parents wish to enrol their children in a private school (Pelekani 2013).

In Cyprus, schools with a comparatively large number of Roma pupils were included initially within the Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP), an initiative implemented between 2007-2014. The ZEP initiative continued until the school year 2013-2014; in 2015, a new ESF-funded follow-up project called *Actions for Social and School Inclusion* (DRA.S.E)²¹ was launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture.²²

ZEP constituted a small deviation from the mainstream education model, a programme implemented only at a small number of schools across the country, in areas deemed socially disadvantaged based on several criteria. One of these criteria was the presence of *alloglossoi* pupils. A ZEP was comprised of a cluster of schools receiving extra assistance from the MoEC, enabling smaller class sizes, more hours of remedial teaching and free lunch for all students, but not permitting them to deviate from the national curriculum. DRA.S.E today extends the ZEP provision to a larger number of schools (Pelekani & Symeou 2018).

In schools, Roma children are grouped with *alloglossoi* pupils and specifically with *tourkoglossi* (Turkish-speaking) pupils. Trimikliniotis (2012:12) maintains that although “Greek language support classes are offered to the non-Greek speakers, the state is unable to avoid school segregation of the Turkish-speaking pupils, most of whom are Roma”. Reporting on discrimination in education in Cyprus, Trimiklionitis (2012: 31) summarises the main complaints submitted to the equality body over the years as follows: “religious confessions [i.e. indoctrination], exemption from the religious class, school segregation and the content and method of education of Roma pupils.” (Pelekani & Symeou 2018).

Axis 2 - Access to employment and vocational training

As far as employment is concerned, the majority of Gurbetties are unemployed. This can be attributed to their almost universal illiteracy.²³ The intercultural education policy of the Ministry of Education and

²¹ MOEC, Newsletter 11 March 2016. Available at: <http://enimerosi.moec.gov.cy/archeia/1/ypp3831a> (Accessed: 15 July 2018).

²² EACEA National Policies Platform, 4.4 Inclusive programmes for young people, <https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/en/content/youthwiki/44-inclusive-programmes-young-people-cyprus> (Accessed: 15 July 2018).

²³ ECRI Report on Cyprus (2011), <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Cyprus/CYP-CbC-IV-2011-020-GRC.pdf> (Accessed: 3 July 2016)

Culture promotes Greek language programmes for speakers of other languages (cf. Hajisoteriou & Angelides 2013) such as the Gurbetties, including adults who do not speak Greek, as a precondition for developing professional skills. Language courses are provided in multi-purpose, multicultural centres run by the municipalities of Limassol and Nicosia. There are no other specific measures to promote the employment of Gurbetties.

Axis 3 - Access to Healthcare

Healthcare provision in the RoC is limited to national programmes for the detection and treatment of infectious diseases, vaccination services, body tomography, medical examinations, anti-smoking programmes and information on reproductive health, and psychological support. There are no specific measures targeting Gurbetties.

Axis 4 - Access to housing and basic public services

Regarding access to housing, policy documents ²⁴ refer to measures already taken to close the gap between the Roma and the rest of the society in two areas, the first of which is repairs and improvements to 20 Gurbetti-inhabited Turkish-Cypriot residences in Limassol and 25 such residences in Paphos. Following the 1974 Turkish military invasion in Cyprus, most Gurbetties moved from the south to the north. Only during the last two decades have Gurbet groups from the north moved to the south and settled in socio-economically deprived urban areas (UNOPS 2004). Starting in October 1999 (and more specifically from 2001 onwards), for reasons that have not been identified, several Gurbet groups from the north moved to the south (mainly to Limassol and Paphos) and settled in socio-economically deprived areas. Since April 2003, when travel restrictions across the demarcation line were eased, the influx of Gurbetties to the south has increased. Today, housing programmes for the Gurbetties include the construction of 16 prefabricated residential units outside Limassol and 24 outside Paphos, equipped with basic facilities such as running water (including drinking water), electricity, solar water heaters, telephone lines and drainage systems.²⁵

2.6.4.2. Empowering Gurbetties

Gurbetties' participation in political and public life is a key component of their social inclusion. Until recently, there was no collective effort on the part of the Gurbetties to assert their rights. The first

²⁴ Roma Cyprus strategy https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/roma_cyprus_strategy_en.pdf (Accessed: 3 July 2018)

²⁵ ECRI Report on Cyprus (2016), <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Cyprus/CYP-CbC-V-2016-018-GRC.pdf> (Accessed: 3 July 2018)

coordinated effort was made when the Gurbetties of Cyprus were invited to participate in the National Platform for Roma Inclusion.

On 2nd December 2011, the Social Welfare Services (henceforth SWS) were designated by the Council of Ministers as the National Roma Contact Point (No. 72.892) and are the body representing Cyprus in the meetings of the National Points at the European Commission. During 2016-2017, the SWS coordinated the Cypriot National Platform for Roma. The aim of establishing the Platform was to create a framework for strengthening dialogue on Cypriot Roma issues through the involvement of governmental agencies, independent, non-governmental agencies of the Roma themselves. It was the first time that real and meaningful dialogue between the authorities and the Gurbetties had taken place. The Gurbetties living in Limassol and Paphos participated in these meetings. During the debates that took place in the five meetings that the Platform held, it was revealed that the Roma face many problems in accessing housing, health, and social services, raising questions for the public authorities on these particular issues and the various programmes provided within the areas where Gurbetties live.²⁶ As part of these meetings, Roma had the chance to consult directly with the authorities and could thus express their concerns and interests. At the same time, the public authorities were able to inform Roma about relevant regulations. As far as access to employment is concerned, the welfare officers informed Roma participants about a call for participation in a training programme in the hotel and food industries.²⁷ The aim of this programme is to train unemployed Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI) beneficiaries. Beneficiaries are expected to acquire, enrich and improve knowledge and skills in the above specialisations, aiming towards (re)integration into the labour market. Additionally, the programme aims to certify the competences and professional qualifications of unemployed GMI beneficiaries based on the relevant National Professional Qualifications Standards.²⁸

After these meetings, and given general disillusionment within the community, Cypriot Roma - with the support of Greek Cypriots - decided to establish their own NGO called CYPROM (Cypriot Roma Association), which is currently the only NGO focused on Cypriot Roma issues in the country. CYPROM was established on 14th July 2017 with the aim of raising awareness, fostering empathy and contributing to managing and resolving Roma social problems, all while respecting the Roma's social and cultural identity. Both Roma and non-Roma have been involved in the establishment of CYPROM. This Cypriot Roma NGO, along with other Cypriot alliances, supports the empowerment of Cypriot Roma and provides them

²⁶ Social Welfare Services, Newspaper number 2. Available from

<http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/sws/sws.nsf/All/C1AFABBCD79188BEC2257FEF003BC41D?OpenDocument>

²⁷ Αρχή Ανάπτυξης Ανθρώπινου Δυναμικού Κύπρου (ΑΝΑΔ). Available from

http://www.hrdauth.org.cy/easyconsole.cfm/page/project/p_id/334 (Accessed: 10 March 2018)

²⁸ Αρχή Ανάπτυξης Ανθρώπινου Δυναμικού Κύπρου (ΑΝΑΔ). Available from:

http://www.hrdauth.org.cy/easyconsole.cfm/page/project/p_id/334 (Accessed:10 March 2018)

with more opportunities to officially contact the National Roma Contact Point and other ministries and public and official authorities at the local and national level. Young Cypriot Roma and non-Roma Cypriots with dreams of a better life and the desire for full Roma integration are involved in the association too.

Although recently established, the association has already organised public events with the aim of increasing the visibility of Cypriot Roma and their cultural heritage. Activities undertaken by CYPROM have included the screening of the documentary *Buçuk* ('The Half'), which took place in Limassol and Nicosia in November 2017, as well as celebrations of the International Roma Day on 8th April, in which both Roma and non-Roma participated, and where Roma were able to showcase their traditions and customs. These activities were regarded as significant by Cypriot Roma, as they managed to bridge the gap between themselves and the local community. Through the organisation of such events, the Cypriot Roma are empowered and rallied. In addition, the participation of Cypriot Roma in CYPROM may facilitate their involvement in mainstream decision-making processes that will ultimately contribute to shaping social inclusion measures and combating discrimination and antigypsyism.

In sum, it is generally acknowledged that the Gurbetties of Cyprus, with their distinctive cultural features, have been discriminated against in a variety of ways. As a group, they still suffer social exclusion. The state, with its efforts to improve the living conditions of the Gurbetties, has made clear its intentions to deal with the numerous problems they face; these efforts have however not managed to address the problems to the extent that is necessary. Social integration, co-existence on equal terms, and improvement of living conditions still remain as issues that the Cypriot state is called upon to address.

2.7. Summary

The current thesis constitutes original research on the language spoken by the Gurbetties of Cyprus, namely Gurbetcha. Gurbetcha is a language with a predominantly oral tradition, that is severely endangered and on the verge of extinction. No systematic research has yet been done on this indigenous linguistic variety of Cyprus; therefore we lack information about the structure of the language and the influences it has undergone. The lack of scholarly resources forces us to draw parallels from research on other Romani varieties. For instance, previous research on Romani dialects indicates that Romani has incorporated many borrowings from languages they came in contact with on migration routes, such as Kurdish, Armenian, Persian and Arabic, which affected all linguistic levels: phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. We therefore assume this is true for Gurbetcha as well. In addition, Greek Cypriots had linguistic contact with Turkish Cypriots, resulting in mutual contact-induced change. The fact that Gurbetties have had contact with both of these communities, due to their nomadic lifestyle, is likely to have also influenced the Gurbetcha language.

The political situation prevailing on the island after 1974 had a dramatic impact on the development of Gurbetcha, due to the violent separation of the GC and the TC communities. This resulted in the loss of Greek linguistic borrowings in the north of Cyprus and the loss of Turkish linguistic borrowings in the south of Cyprus. Finally, new developments, namely the relocation of Gurbetties to the south of the island between 2000 and 2004 where CGD is the dominant language, may have led to new linguistic influences on the language. This research aims to provide more information regarding such influences at various linguistic levels.

Linguistic Analysis of Gurbetcha

CHRYSO PELEKANI

3. Methodology

Well-planned research methodology is vital to the success of any research project. A well-structured research programme aims at a “better knowledge of the issue in question” (Bell 1997: 11). This chapter introduces the methodology used in this research, including the methods of data collection and analysis. Firstly, this chapter presents the main research questions, on the basis of which the aims and objectives of this research are formulated. The various phases of data collection are described and explained, followed by the approaches to processing and analysing oral data. This chapter also touches upon ethical considerations that are relevant for this kind of research as well as on the logistics of collecting the oral data upon which the structural analysis of the language relies.

3.1. Research questions, aims and objectives

As mentioned in the first chapter, there are two main research questions:

1. What is the sociolinguistic context of the Gurbetcha language?
2. Which linguistic items and subsystems (lexical items and their semantics, phonetic variants and so forth) differentiate Gurbetcha from other languages?

An overall aim of this research is to answer the following questions: has Gurbetcha been completely abandoned in favour of Turkish, or do Gurbetties still retain some use of their language? If they do, what are the specifics of their use of the language? These questions can be answered through language documentation and language description, which are two major objectives of this research.

The minor objectives, that is, the intermediate research goals that will lead to the major objectives, are as follows.

Regarding data collection:

- to make audio recordings of interviews with members of the speech community;
- to take photographs related to the interviews;
- to take field notes.

Regarding data processing:

- to transcribe the collected data;
- to analyse the recorded materials linguistically;
- to translate the data into ST and English;
- to identify the origin of lexical items;

- to compare these lexical items with their respective source words in Source Languages (SL) and with the local prestige variety, namely CTD, by investigating the similarities or differences between the source and borrowed words at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

Regarding data storage:

- to archive data.²⁹

In order to answer the research questions, I observed and documented the linguistic behaviour of Gurbetties towards their language, Gurbetcha. I investigated the speakers' knowledge about their language, namely what they know and can explain regarding the structure of their language. I also identified the ideologies that speakers have regarding Gurbetcha and investigated whether they actively try to preserve their language. Lastly, I also observed the language use in social interactions between community members, as well as their linguistic customs and traditions (Himmelman 1998: 161-195).

3.2. Language documentation

According to Himmelman (2006), language documentation is multifunctional and the primary data that is compiled and preserved must be useable in all fields of theoretical and applied linguistic study. In addition, language documentation is expected to have an enduring nature, as it is not only meant to provide data for immediate use, but also to preserve the language for future generations.

Language documentation aims to preserve culture and knowledge that is important to the local communities, families and individuals, while also facilitating better illustration of linguistic theories through authentic linguistic data and providing relevant data for the study of language contact.³⁰

Himmelman (1998: 15) states that the process of language documentation involves at least the following four steps:

- • Deciding which data to collect and include in the documentation
- • Recording the data
- • Transcribing, translating, and annotating the data
- • Archiving the data in open access or publicly accessible repositories

For the purposes of this study, I was interested in not only collecting primary data but also in conducting a descriptive analysis of the data. These two activities are closely interrelated, but differ with respect to the methods employed as well as to their results. The procedure for the collection of primary data includes observation and recording of natural speech, followed by transcription and translation of the oral texts. The

²⁹ Archive data consists of older data that is still important to the organisation and may be needed for future reference.

³⁰ Language documentation, <http://languagesindanger.eu/book-of-knowledge/language-documentation/> (accessed 18 July 2018)

procedure for linguistic description of the variety under investigation includes analysis at phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels. One result of this language documentation process is the creation of a corpus of recorded oral speech. Another product will be field notes on issues such as the linguistic behaviour of Gurbetties, observed in everyday interaction among members of their speech community, as well as commentary on the speakers' metalinguistic knowledge, manifested in their ability to provide translation and explanation of words and structures. During this process, care must be taken to ensure the reliability, naturalness, and representativeness of the data.

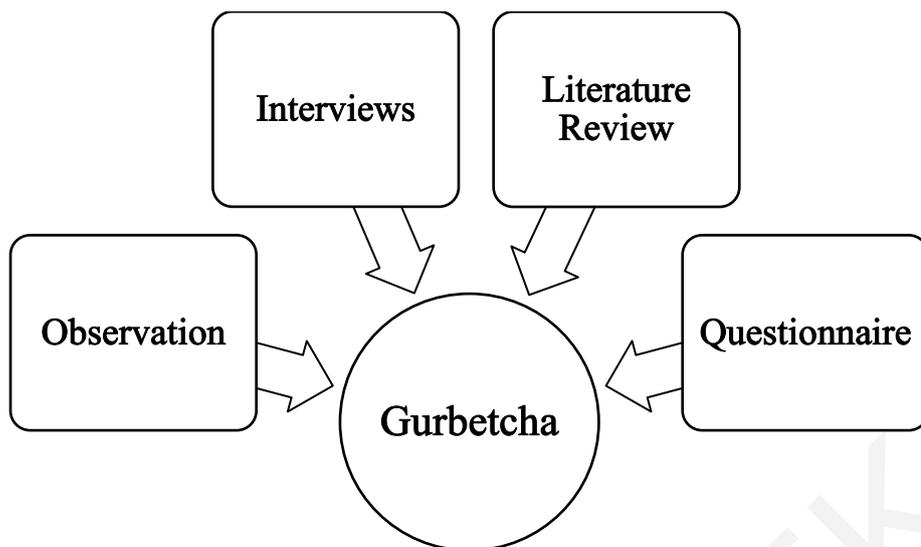
Himmelman (1998: 27) presents three types of communicative events which are included in a field-based documentary corpus. According to Himmelman (1998: 12), the term "communicative event" is intended to cover the whole range of linguistic behaviour from a single cry of surprise to an elaborate and lengthy ritual. The following event types are included in this fieldwork:

- a. *Observed communicative events* (OCEs), which are events that normally take place within the community and where the researcher is (ideally) only an observer.
- b. *Elicitations* (Es), which are communicative events heavily influenced by the researcher and only created for the sake of the research, such as word lists, paradigms or acceptability judgments.
- c. *Staged communicative events* (SCEs), which are communicative events performed at the request of the researcher, such as description of traditional ceremonies, designation of traditional activities or objects, narratives of the past, or the use of non-linguistic materials such as pictures or video clips to prompt descriptions about the speaker's past, daily routine and so forth.

3.3. Data collection methods

Elicitation was an important data collection method for this study. Elicitation entails obtaining linguistic data from native speakers by asking questions of various kinds. I elicited oral material using two different methods, namely interviews and questionnaires. Alongside this, I collected data through observation (see Figure 1: Data collection techniques). Finally, I conducted a literature review, analysing books and journal papers (including Pehlivan et al. 2010, Pehlivan 2009, Öztürk 2007, Kabataş 2006, Demir et al. 2006, Marsh 2003, Hayasi 2003, Marsh & Strand 2003, Williams 2000, Demir 2002, Kenrick et al., 1986) and thereby compiling a Gurbetcha lexicon.

Figure 1: Data collection techniques



Two distinct types of material form the corpus of oral data: (a) spontaneous speech recorded during meetings and (b) targeted interviews for the collection of specific linguistic information. In oral interviews I employed both open-ended and closed questions (see Appendices, Table 7: Ethnographic research with Gurbetties for the purposes of documentation). These were prepared in advance and aimed to encourage interviewees to use Gurbetcha in order to express themselves freely and without feeling inhibited or ashamed in doing so.

3.3.1. Observation

The initial collection of linguistic material was done through observation. In the early stages of the research, visits were organised in the area of Agios Antonios and in the settlement of Pano Polemidia in Limassol, but subsequently all known areas where the Gurbetties of Cyprus reside were included in the study, i.e. Famagusta, Trikomo, Morphou, Paphos and Larnaca.

The main objective was to observe the use of Gurbetcha in different settings and under different conditions. At first, and as long as the residents perceived me as an observer, they tended not to speak Gurbetcha; instead, they spoke CTD. Through observation, I managed to gather information about the life of the Roma, their daily habits, their behaviour, attitude and culture. While some observed behaviour could be considered general to or characteristic of all of Cypriot society, others stood out as unique to the Gurbetties. For example, there is a regular practice of gathering together to pluck and roast chickens over a wood fire in the fields: this practice is not characteristic of any other group living in Cyprus.

3.3.2. Interviews

Another method used to collect speech data was interview. Creating effective questions is one of the most crucial components for successful interview design. McNamara (2009) highlights the significance of the preparation phase, maintaining a clear focus on how the interviews will be conducted, in order to deliver maximum benefits to the study. With this in mind, the design adhered to eight specific principles (McNamara 2009). These principles were: selecting an environment with minimum disruptions; elucidating the interview rationale; addressing terms of confidentiality and explaining the interview format; indicating the typical duration of an interview; informing the participants about ways to get in touch later if desired; and finally, enquiring whether the interviewee would like to ask any questions prior to the interview. Creswell (2007) also suggests the importance of recording participants' views, where they are keen to share information (or 'their story') with the researcher.

The interviews took place once trust was established with the community and once the speakers understood the purpose of the research. At the beginning, the main goal was to collect information about lifestyle, language and traditions, and then to record and transcribe the lexicon in order to examine linguistic phenomena. Apart from general questions on the social profile of interviewees, such as their names, surnames, place and date of birth and occupation, I asked a number of questions regarding life habits and customs, such as the following:

- What is your daily routine?
- Do you believe in God?
- What was the reason you came to the southern part of Cyprus?
- Describe to me how the situation was before moving to the south. What were your living conditions?
- Describe a traditional wedding.
- Tell me a few things about the custom of 'abduction of a girl'.
- Tell me a few things about a funeral.

Later, I employed a more open-ended interview technique, still with the general aim of understanding and collecting information about the Roma lifestyle. Due to the scarcity of previous research on Gurbetcha, it is, unfortunately, rare to find any narratives – oral or written – of past situations and events relevant to speakers' lives. Therefore a deliberate attempt was made to collect contemporary personal stories and particularly stories from older generations, not only in order to collect linguistic information, but also in order to collect cultural information that would help preserve Gurbetties' cultural heritage.

3.3.3. Questionnaire

In the very first sessions of fieldwork, I compiled a wordlist in the form of a questionnaire in order to investigate the phonological system and create a working orthography of Gurbetcha. A sample wordlist was prepared based on a questionnaire used in another study by researchers at the University of Manchester.³¹ The list contained 160 words in Turkish, divided into nine semantic fields:

- a. food
- b. faces/people/relatives
- c. animals
- d. body
- e. nature
- f. nouns
- g. adjectives
- h. various words
- i. verbs

In terms of rationale, I explained that I needed the wordlist in order to elicit aspects of the phonology of the language, before asking the participant to translate it into Gurbetcha. After explaining my role as a researcher and the reason for asking these words, I decided to start with easy semantic fields such as food. This kind of traditional method has also been suggested by a number of linguists, including Kibrik (1977).

3.4. Practicalities of data collection

Throughout the years of conducting this study, I have gained contacts and built a network of social relations with the Gurbetties. This network includes the language consultants as well as intermediaries who were present during the research (i.e. members of the local community and acquaintances of the consultants). Despite occasional difficulties, the research was ultimately fruitful because the speakers of Gurbetcha eventually opened up emotionally, felt comfortable and were able to express themselves freely, speaking their own language and even forgetting that they were participating in research. Indeed, the intention was to make participants feel as if they were simply taking part in an everyday conversation. From the perspective of methodology, this approach yields important insights into oral history and typical language use, while significantly increasing the chances of collecting spontaneous and naturalistic speech data.

³¹ More information about the Romani Project conducted by the University of Manchester is available from: <http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/> (Accessed: 30 June 2011)

3.4.1. Phases of data collection

The first phase of data collection lasted for approximately three years, from 2011 to 2013. The collection of data was performed by means of 50 individual interviews. I interviewed Gurbetties residing in the areas of Limassol, Paphos, Nicosia and Larnaca in the non-occupied part of Cyprus, as well as in the areas of Morfou, Famagusta and Trikomo in the occupied area. In total, the interviewees numbered 15 men, 20 women and 15 children, with ages ranging from seven to sixty years old. The interviews were conducted in a quiet environment, in groups of two or three people.

Access to young Gurbetties was straightforward and relatively regular, as most of them were attending school. Initially, observation took place during break times. The initial goal was to see what language the young Gurbetties spoke among themselves, and if they were using Gurbetcha, to what extent and under what circumstances they did so. Later, they were interviewed using the questionnaire.

During visits to coffee shops, I was able to have conversations with Gurbet men about general aspects of their life, including their occupations or hobbies. I also visited the homes of Gurbet families. These visits mostly took place in the late morning; therefore, on these visits I mainly interacted with Gurbet women who I observed were cordial, warmly welcoming and hospitable.

I also observed neighbourhoods where there were scuffles between Gurbetties and non-Gurbetties (*Gaco/Gadjo*) or even between Gurbetties themselves. In these contexts, I noticed more frequent use of Gurbetcha and more notably the use of numerous stereotypical expressions different from CTD. An observation also worth mentioning is that it seemed that the use of offensive vocabulary and insulting forms of address in my presence was more common among boys.

After processing the linguistic material gathered from this initial, or pilot, research phase (May 2011 to September 2013) I reached the conclusion that, for this particular study, using the questionnaire and collecting vocabulary would not generate enough material for an analysis of the language and, therefore, the main aim of the research would not be achieved using these methods alone. Furthermore, the Roma in the unoccupied areas indicated that the use of Gurbetcha was even more widespread and frequent in the occupied areas; therefore, I decided that it was vital to conduct in-situ research in the occupied areas, mainly in Morfou and Famagusta.

The decision to conduct interviews in-situ in all the areas where Gurbetties resided had as a result that the second phase of collecting oral linguistic material became lengthy and logistically complex, ultimately lasting three years, from 2013 to 2016. One challenge I encountered during the fieldwork was the fact that that, because Gurbetties as a small minority group rarely open up to outsiders, it was necessary to invest time in socialising with the group; time which did not yield much data for the purposes of the research. This

slowed the progress of the project significantly. In addition, due to the fact that the interviews were mostly conducted in open spaces (very often in the street or neighbourhood areas), sound quality was quite poor; this hampered the process of phonetic transcription and made phonological analysis a difficult and time-consuming task.

During the second phase, the collection of oral material consisted of spontaneous speech with a multitude of narratives. This open interview method was designed in such a way as to elicit elements of daily oral communication. Open interviews, comprised of spontaneous speech, did not last more than one or two minutes. The subjects covered during these interviews spanned the full range of typical activities of the Gurbetties, including their customs and traditions, habits, local stories (such as girls running away with their lovers), fortune telling, funerals and wedding ceremonies.

3.4.2. Recordings

Documentation of a language should include varied recordings of natural spoken language. In the current study, this included audio recordings and some video recordings (as well as photographs). At the beginning, the recordings were difficult to transcribe and analyse, due to the fact that speakers were not close enough to the microphone and because external noises affected the quality of the recordings. Note that, as Gurbetties do not have a tradition of telling stories to children, the procedure of eliciting narratives was initially very difficult. Furthermore, the Gurbetties initially felt uncomfortable in the presence of the digital recorder and with a ‘foreign’ visitor.

The collection of data was performed with digital recording equipment (Sony ICD-UX200). Across all data collection, a total of 80 Gurbetties were recorded, ranging in age from seven to seventy years. There is a considerable difference between the number of women and men recorded; often, men were hesitant to speak and would let their spouses do the talking. The following tables provide a comprehensive picture of both phases of the research.

Table 1: Overall statistics of the database

<i>Dialect area</i>	<i>Recording time</i>	<i>Minute/Hour</i>	<i>Research phase</i>	<i>Number of Speakers</i>
Limassol	2011-2013	2 hours	Phase 1	21 Speakers
Limassol	2013-2015	4 hours	Phase 2	16 Speakers
Paphos	2013-2015	2 hours	Phase 1	7 Speakers
Morphou	2011-2013	1 hours	Phase 1	7 Speakers
Morphou	2011-2013	2 hours	Phase 2	5 Speakers
Nicosia	2013-2015	1 hours	Phase 1	3 Speakers
Famagusta	2011-2013	2 hours	Phase 1	6 Speakers
Famagusta	2013-2015	3 hours	Phase 2	8 Speakers
Larnaca	2012-2013	1 hours	Phase 1	3 Speakers

Trikomo	2014-2015	2 hours	Phase 1	4 Speakers
Total		20 Hours		80 Speakers

Table 2: Dates of the recordings

<i>Recording year</i>	<i>Number</i>
2011	2
2012	4
2013	4
2014	2
2015	17
Total	29

Table 3: Distribution of ages of the speakers

<i>Speakers</i>	<i>Number of interviewees</i>
Age: up to 20 years old	17
20-30	10
30-40	12
40-50	15
50-60	7
60-70	6
70-80	3
80-90	2
Unknown	8
Total	80

The process of digitising, transcribing and analysing Gurbetcha – the first ever systematic attempt to do so – was completed with the help of the Praat software for acoustic phonetics. Praat is a program that was first developed approximately 20 years ago by Paul Boersma and David Weenink at the University of Amsterdam. The data recorded during field research were intended to comprise natural and spontaneous speech so as to form a representative picture of the language in use by Cypriot Gurbetties in various contexts of daily life.

3.4.3. Metadata

Metadata refers to structured information describing characteristics of events and recordings and properties of data files: in essence, metadata is data about data. Usually metadata is embedded in the data files themselves. This study makes use of metadata. The following information is included in each transcribed text:

- Speaker's name and surname
- Speaker's age
- Time and place of recording

- People present at the time of the recording
- An indication of the quality of the data according to various parameters (e.g. recording environment, recording equipment, speaker fluency)
- Topic of discussion
- The kind of communicative event being documented (e.g. narrative, conversation, song)

I saved the above information in a separate file (e.g. as a text file), and subsequently integrated the information into the relevant data file itself during the process of transcription.

3.4.4. Ethical considerations

When conducting this sort of (socio)linguistic research, consideration of ethical issues is important to ensure the reliability of data. Creswell (2007) has noted that such ethical issues may be either practical or deontological (i.e. with regard to notions of morality). Actions that may provoke a clash of views should therefore be avoided. For the purpose of this research, the following ethical principles apply:

- The students and parents were informed in advance of the aims of the research.
- Names of the students and their parents were collected with their consent.
- Elements that could offend individuals or groups were excluded. For example, the nature of the political situation in Cyprus was considered a potentially sensitive topic. As a result, questions were very carefully selected in order to avoid any political discussion.
- The participants were informed about the data collection techniques and were reassured that their participation would not put them in a situation wherein they might be at risk of experiencing physical or psychological harm.

The participants were assured that they would have access to the information gathered and would have the opportunity to read the findings and suggestions of the study.

3.5. Processing and analysis of oral data

As mentioned above, for the purposes of data transcription and analysis I used the Praat speech processing software. It is a powerful, efficient tool at the cutting edge of speech processing technology that enables analysis, synthesis, processing and manipulation of speech sounds, as well as the creation of high-resolution visualisations of the audio signal. Although Praat was originally designed as a tool for phonetic research, it serves equally well as a tool for phonological research, as well as transcription. The software allows the researcher to align the speech with the transcribed text directly, enabling the fast and convenient

identification of sound samples as required. In addition, an important advantage of Praat is the fact that it allows the user to divide the transcription into different tiers, which could represent different speakers in the recording, or different types of linguistic information within one speaker (e.g. a tier could be added to indicate intonation).

3.5.1. Transcription system

Transcriptions may be considered part of primary data, in that they are intended to be representations of distinct speech events, rather generalisations over speech events (Himmelman 2006). The creation of transcriptions entails extensive linguistic analysis.

In order to describe the sounds of any language, phoneticians utilise a common system of symbols created for this purpose by the International Phonetic Association, known as the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). There are two types of phonetic transcriptions: broad phonetic transcription and narrow phonetic transcription. With the first type, one transcribes the sounds that have a distinctive value in the linguistic system one describes, the so-called phonemes, and for this reason this type is often termed “phonemic transcription”. Broad or phonemic transcription is indicated by the use of forward slashes: / ... /. However, phonemes have different phonetic realisations according to the environment they are in. In other words, a phoneme may have various phonetic realisations, known as allophones. The phoneme is an abstract unit, a generalisation for a group of allophones. For this reason, the broad or phonemic transcription is mainly used for the description of phonological phenomena (in which one is mostly interested which phoneme is being used and not in the exact phonetic realisation). Conversely, with detailed phonetic (narrow) transcription, we transcribe the exact realisation of each phoneme. Narrow transcription is indicated with square brackets: [...].

In the sections dealing with the sounds of Gurbetcha, broad and narrow IPA transcription methods are used as appropriate. Note that, given that this is the first time that Gurbetcha is being systematically described, the narrow phonetic transcription represents important primary data for the language, by providing as much acoustic information as possible. In the sections relating to the other aspects of the Gurbetcha language, I make use of a practical transcription method, namely transliteration using the Turkish alphabet. In these sections, interlinear glossing is used to convey lexical, morphological and syntactic information.

3.5.2. Translation

Alongside transcription and glossing, English translation of the data is crucial to maximise the usefulness of the collected data. In this thesis, two types of translation are provided: free translation and literal (word-

for-word) translation. In the case of literal translation, I aim to provide, as closely as possible, a word-for-word correspondence between Gurbetcha and English. Word-for-word translation helps the reader to have a better understanding not only of the content, but also of the structure of Gurbetcha.

Whenever I was not able to understand the meaning of a sentence or a word, I asked the speaker to translate. Some of the speakers felt confident enough to translate their own speech. In such cases, the translation and accompanying explanations provide useful indications of the semantics of the sentence or word in question. Where the speakers were not able to find an appropriate equivalent, I made a free translation.

The following example illustrates the use of IPA transcription, practical transcription, free translation and word-for-word translation:

ba'ran aʃina'dʒakʰ se'ni (Tr.3#11)

Baran aʃınacak seni.

Rain take:FUT3SG you:ACC

'You will be caught in the rain (the rain will take you).'

In the above example, a Gurbetcha speaker uses the verb *aʃınacak* 'to take' to express 'you will be caught in the rain'; literally, the expression translates as 'the rain will take you' (note that the same expression is also used in CTD, in CGD and SG, although not in ST). The free translation here therefore provides the equivalent English idiom, because a word-for-word English translation would not be natural or interpretable in English. Nonetheless, in order to fully illustrate the linguistic structure of the Gurbetcha idiom, the word-for-word translation is provided, in parentheses.

3.6. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the research questions, aims and objectives of this study. This research utilises different data collection techniques such as interviews, questionnaires and observations, which have also been presented in detail. The purpose of using different kinds of techniques is to collect the maximum amount of valid data for analysis. This chapter has also provided a description of the research methodology, in particular the approaches to language documentation employed in this study, from ethical and practical considerations to specifics of transcription and translation. Overall, the language documentation element of this research aims to empower the community so as to promote extensive and proactive use of their language. It is my hope that through empowerment, Gurbetties may also come to value to their vernacular more highly, in turn boosting the self-esteem of speakers and ultimately improving the rate of transmission of the language and culture to younger generations.

4. Linguistic subsystems

This chapter, which comprises the linguistic analysis of the Gurbetcha language, is divided into four sections, which are:

4.1 – The Phonetics and Phonology of Gurbetcha

4.2 – The Morphology of Gurbetcha

4.3 – The Syntax of Gurbetcha

4.4 – The Lexicon of Gurbetcha

The aim of this chapter is to systematically describe the Gurbetcha language as used by the members of this particular speaker community. This chapter, which focuses on the basic linguistic components of the analysis, begins with the phonetics and phonology of the language, followed by the morphology, the syntax and the lexicon of Gurbetcha. In doing so, Gurbetcha is viewed in comparison with ST and CTD.

Note that this study in no way formulates or endorses prescriptive judgments about how ‘well’ Gurbetties speak, nor how they should or should not be using their own language. In Chapter 2, I examined the sociolinguistic context of the Gurbetties and their language. From here on, I focus on documenting and describing the language. This documentation and description may provide a basis for conducting a systematic sociolinguistic analysis of language attitudes of Gurbetties as part of further research and fieldwork; however, to do so is beyond the scope of the current study.

4.1. Phonetics and Phonology

This section provides a first description of the phonetic inventory of Gurbetcha on the basis of the phonetic transcription of the corpus, presenting a thorough account of all sounds encountered in the corpus. Moreover, in this section I establish the phonemic inventory of the language and present all allophonic variations encountered in the corpus for each phoneme. This section thus navigates through the phonemic contrasts of Gurbetcha and establishes the extent of allophonic variation. In the case of allophones in complementary distribution, the phonological environments that condition the variation are identified through detailed comparisons of observed data.

In this section I firstly present the various symbols and diacritics of the International Phonetic Alphabet used in the corpus and provide a basic description of each. I then proceed to a presentation of the consonants of Gurbetcha, followed by a detailed exposition of allophonic variation observed for each consonantal phoneme. Finally, I present the vowel system, both phonetically (i.e. all vowel sounds observed in the

corpus) and phonologically (abstracting to eight vowel phonemes). The allophonic variation of each vowel phoneme is presented separately.

4.1.1. IPA symbols used

The phonetic symbols used in the description of Gurbetcha are presented below:

Consonants:

1. [p] voiceless bilabial plosive
2. [b] voiced bilabial plosive
3. [t] voiceless alveolar plosive
4. [d] voiced alveolar plosive
5. [c] voiceless palatal plosive
6. [ɟ] voiced palatal plosive
7. [k] voiceless velar plosive
8. [g] voiced velar plosive
9. [ʔ] voiceless glottal plosive
10. [t͡s] voiceless alveolar affricate
11. [t͡ʃ] voiceless palatoalveolar affricate
12. [d͡ʒ] voiced palatoalveolar affricate
13. [ɸ] voiceless bilabial fricative
14. [β] voiced bilabial fricative
15. [ɸ] voiceless labiodental fricative
16. [v] voiced labiodental fricative
17. [ð] voiced labiodental fricative
18. [s] voiceless alveolar fricative
19. [z] voiced alveolar fricative
20. [ʃ] voiceless palatoalveolar fricative
21. [ʒ] voiced palatoalveolar fricative
22. [ʒ] voiced alveolopalatal fricative
23. [j] voiced palatal fricative
24. [x] voiceless velar fricative
25. [ɣ] voiced velar fricative
26. [h] voiceless glottal fricative
27. [ɦ] voiced glottal fricative
28. [ʋ] voiced labiodental approximant

29. [ɹ] voiced alveolar approximant
30. [j] voiced palatal approximant
31. [w] voiced labiovelar approximant
32. [l] voiced alveolar lateral approximant
33. [ɫ] voiced velarised alveolar lateral approximant
34. [ʎ] voiced palatal lateral approximant
35. [ɾ] voiced alveolar tap
36. [r] voiced alveolar trill
37. [m] voiced bilabial nasal
38. [n] voiced alveolar nasal
39. [ɲ] voiced palatal nasal
40. [ŋ] voiced palatal nasal

Vowels:

41. [i] close front unrounded
42. [y] close front rounded
43. [ɪ] near-close near-front unrounded
44. [ʏ] near-close near-front rounded
45. [e] close-mid front unrounded
46. [ø] close-mid front rounded
47. [ɛ] open-mid front unrounded
48. [œ] open-mid front rounded
49. [æ] near-open front unrounded
50. [a] open front unrounded
51. [ɑ] open back unrounded
52. [ɔ] open-mid back rounded
53. [o] close-mid back rounded
54. [ʊ] near-close near-back rounded
55. [u] close back rounded
56. [ɨ] close central unrounded
57. [ɯ] close central rounded
58. [ə] mid central rounded

The diacritics used are as follows:

1. [ˈ] (primary stress) the following syllable is stressed: e.g. [isˈtɜrm].

2. [ˌ] (secondary stress) the following syllable receives secondary stress: e.g. [ˌbaziɦaˈri].
3. [ː] (long) the preceding vowel or consonant is long: e.g. [bː], [d͡ʒː], [iː].
4. [ˑ] (half-long) the preceding vowel or consonant is half-long: e.g. [tˑ], [iˑ], [aˑ].
5. [̣] (extra short) the vowel (or consonant) is very short: e.g. [ɲ̣], [ị], [ạ̃].
6. (superscript) the vowel in superscript is extremely short: e.g. [i̥], [u̥], [i̥].
7. [ʰ] (aspiration) the preceding non-continuant consonant is aspirated: e.g. [pʰ], [tʰ], [kʰ].
8. [̚] (no aspiration) the preceding non-continuant consonant is unaspirated: e.g. [p̚], [t̚], [k̚].
9. [̚̚] (no release) the preceding non-continuant consonant is produced with no audible release: e.g. [p̚̚], [t̚̚], [k̚̚].
10. [ˑ̚] (lowered) lowering of:
 - i. vowels (i.e. more open pronunciation): e.g. [ɯ̑];
 - ii. fricative consonants (i.e. approximant pronunciation): e.g. [ɣ̑], [t̑̚̚], [k̑̚̚].
11. [ˑ̚̚] (raised) raising of:
 - i. vowels (i.e. more close pronunciation): e.g. [ɛ̑];
 - ii. consonants: e.g. [t̑̚̚].
12. [̚̚̚] (devoiced) the voiced consonant or vowel is produced with (almost) no voicing: e.g. [b̚̚̚], [g̚̚̚], [d͡ʒ̚̚̚], [ɦ̚̚̚], [ɥ̚̚̚].
13. [̚̚̚̚] (voiced) the voiceless consonant is produced with voicing: e.g. [t̚̚̚̚], [s̚̚̚̚], [f̚̚̚̚].
14. [̚̚̚̚̚] (advanced) produced with more front articulation: e.g. [t̚̚̚̚̚], [t̚̚̚̚̚].
15. [̚̚̚̚̚̚] (retracted) produced with more back articulation: e.g. [ɲ̚̚̚̚̚̚] (palatoalveolar nasal).
16. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (tie bar) signifies either
 - i. affricate consonant: [t̚̚̚̚̚̚̚], [ts̚̚̚̚̚̚̚], [d͡ʒ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚];
 - ii. or double articulation: [k̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚], [m̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
17. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (palatalisation) the preceding consonant is produced with a secondary articulation at the hard palate: e.g. [l̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
18. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (velarisation) the preceding consonant is produced with a secondary articulation at the soft palate: e.g. [n̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
19. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (syllabic) the consonant serves as the nucleus of a syllable: e.g. [ʂ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚], [ɣ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
20. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (non-syllabic) the vowel does not serve as the nucleus of a syllable (but rather as the second part of a diphthong): e.g. [i̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚], [ɪ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
21. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (centralised) the vowel obtains a more central articulation: e.g. [ɛ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].
22. [̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚] (mid-centralised) the vowel obtains a more mid and central articulation: e.g. [ɨ̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚̚].

4.1.2. Consonants

ST has 33 consonants. They differ from each other in terms of whether they are voiced (/b/, /d/ /g/, / / 'g', /dʒ/ 'c', /v/, /z/, /ʒ/ 'j', /ɣ/ 'ǧ', /m/, /n/, /l/ 'l', /j/ 'y', /l/, /r/.) or voiceless (/p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ 'k', /tʃ/ 'ç', /f/, /s/, /ʃ/ 'ş', /h/) their point of articulation and their manner of articulation (Göksel & Kerslake 2005; 28-34). The Gurbetcha language has 33 main consonantal phones,³² as shown in the following table.

Table 4: The consonantal phones of Gurbetcha

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Postalveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p ^h	B			t ^h	d			c ^h	ɟ	k ^h	g		
Aspirated Plosive	p ^h				t ^h				c ^h		k ^h			
Affricate							tʃ ^h	dʒ						
Aspirated Affricate							tʃ ^h							
Fricative			f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ				ɣ	h	
Nasal		m				n		ɳ		ɲ		ŋ		
Tap						ɾ								
Trill						r								
Approximant										j				
Lateral Approximant						l					ɭ			

[Note: The velarized alveolar [ɭ] is a complex articulation; nevertheless, it is placed in the velar cell, even though its main place of articulation is not velar.]

Apart from the 33 phones illustrated in Table 4, there are more phones that are clearly the result of articulatory undershooting at the phonetic level due to fast or casual speech: e.g. [βe'nim] instead of

³² The terms 'phone' and 'sound' will be used interchangeably.

[be'nim]. This kind of variation is presented in the following sections as part of the allophonic variation of each of the phonemes of Gurbetcha. Phonemically, Gurbetcha exhibits 22 consonantal phonemes, as shown in the following table.

Table 5: The consonantal phonemes of Gurbetcha

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Postalveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b			t	D					k	g		
Affricate							tʃ	dʒ						
Fricative			f	V	s	z	ʃ	(ʒ)				ɣ	h	
Nasal		m				n						ŋ		
Tap						r								
Approximant										j				
Lateral Approximant						l								

In the ensuing sections, the various realisations of the consonantal phonemes will be presented according to their manner of articulation.

4.1.2.1. Plosives and affricates

Plosives and affricates share the distinctive feature [-continuant], which differentiates them from other consonants and vowels. These consonants will be presented according to their place of articulation. I present each phoneme in turn, describing its allophonic variants along with their contexts.

4.1.2.1.1. The bilabial plosives

The voiceless bilabial plosive /p/

The main allophone of the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ is the aspirated [p^h]. It usually occurs before vowels, regardless of stress: e.g. [jap^ha'ri:z], [ja'p^har]. It is found only once at the end of the word: [hep^h]. It occurs before the lateral approximant [l] in only two cases: [t^hop^ha'ɫ:ar] (the second instance was in a repetition of this word).

The other main allophone of /p/ is the unaspirated [p[̄]]. This is the allophone customarily used before other consonants and in word-final position: e.g. [jap[̄]si'n:ar], [t^hop[̄]'ɬujorɫaɾ], [hep[̄]], [t^hɔ'rap[̄]]. Sometimes, word-final /p/ may not produce an audible release, especially if the following word begins with a consonant: e.g. [#βu'ɬup[̄]#da#].

The unaspirated variant [p̄] also occurs pre-vocally in the place of the aspirated variant [p^h] in specific lexical items: [jap̄^a'dʒak̄], [jap̄^ala'si:n], [jap̄^alasɪ'n:ar], [na'p̄^aim], [p̄ⁱfɛɪ'l:ɛr]. However, these were the productions of a single speaker, who did also use the aspirated variant [p^h]: e.g. [jap^ha'dʒaɪk̄]. The rest of the speakers invariably produced an aspirated [p^h] in these words.

The voiced bilabial plosive /b/

The main allophone of the /b/ phoneme is the [b] variant with modal voicing. This allophone occurs word-initially and word-medially (the phoneme /b/ in general is never found in word-final position in the corpus). When occurring word-medially, [b] is usually found before vowels and sonorants: e.g. [ji'bi], [t^hɛ'brɪk], [doble'ji]; only once does it appear before a voiceless obstruent [s]: ['hebsɪ]. The environment before word-medial [b] is most often a vowel or a rhotic consonant. The only lexeme with a rhotic consonant before word-medial [b], occurring eight times in the corpus, is the name of the language: [gur'betʃ^hadɪ:r]. Word-medial [b] is also found four times after the voiceless obstruent [s]: e.g. [ɪs'bɪk].

The other main allophone of /b/ is the devoiced [b̥], occurring in free variation with the voiced allophone [b] especially in word-initial position: e.g. [b̥i'zim] (but also [bi'zim]). It is also found word-medially both intervocally (e.g. [ziɸi'lɛ:]), after [s] (e.g. [ɪs'b̥ɪ]), and before other consonants (e.g. [həɸlarɪ'mɪ]). Finally, it occurs twice in geminate form: [həɸ:e'ɸ:i] and [hɛɸ:arɛ'βɛr]; note that there were another two instances of geminated [b:] produced with modal voicing: [hab:ɛdɛ'lɛŋ] and [hab:ɛdɛ'lɛr].

Two other allophones of /b/ are the fricative [β] and the approximant [β̥] both occurring in free variation with the main allophone [b] in word-initial and word-medial position: e.g. [βu'nu] and [β̥u'nu] (but also [bu'nu]). Even though the allophones [b], [β], and [β̥] are in free variation, the latter two occur only in the environment before vowels and after sonorants, even in word-initial position: e.g. [sa'βah], ['nasɪɸ βa'k^har], [hɛɸsi'ni βare'ber] etc. The [β] and [β̥] variants appear to be the result of lenition at the phonetic level, i.e. occurring because of articulatory undershooting in casual or fast speech.

4.1.2.1.2. The alveolar plosives

The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/

The main allophone of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ is the aspirated [t^h]. It usually occurs before vowels, regardless of stress: e.g. [sat^hardɪ'lar], [a't^harsɪnɪz]. It is found often at the end of the word, regardless of whether it is followed by a vowel, consonant, or pause: e.g. [sa'at^h], ['ɛvɛt^h]. It is not found before other consonants, with the only exception being in the word [ɛlɛct^hri:m]. Lastly, it often occurs as the second

member of biconsonantal clusters: e.g. [məzarhik'tʰan], [katʰtʰa], [tʰo'dʒuktʰuɾ], [hastʰana'dɛ], [baʃ'tʰan], [sabah'tʰan], [ortʰa'ja], [aʃ'tʰi].

The unaspirated [t̥] allophone occurs only once, in the word ['jok't̥ur]. The unreleased allophone [t̚] is found only when followed by a consonant: e.g. [ha'jat' 'jokt̚ur], [pet'ca'dʒik̚]. As a geminate, it occurs intervocalically: e.g. [intʰɛrne'tʰ:en], [ʃitʰ:iimiz'dɛ]. Lastly, it is realised in one case as a glottal plosive: /evlatla'r̥im/ → [evlaʔla'r̥im].

The voiced alveolar plosive /d/

The main allophone of the /d/ phoneme is the [d] variant with modal voicing. This allophone occurs in all word positions. When occurring word-medially, [d] is found usually before vowels and after voiced consonants: e.g. ['hadɛ], [aʃm:ardi'lar], [ɛv'dɛ] etc. It also appears after a vowel and before the lateral [l]: [ned'ler] (three instances). Another allophone of /d/ is the devoiced [d̥], which appears to be in free variation with the voiced allophone [d]: e.g. [ɖa'ha], [o'ħurɖuk], [do'maɖɛs]. It occurs twice in geminate form: [ħaɖ:e'ɖ:i] and [unu'ɖ:um]; note that geminate [d:] appears once with modal voicing: [ʃi'd:i].

Two other allophones of /d/, namely the fricative [ð] and the approximant [ɖ̥], both occur in free variation with the main allophone [d] in word-initial and word-medial position: e.g. [ðɛ'di], ['ɖ̥ijor], [ħir:e'lerði]. Even though the allophones [d], [ð], and [ɖ̥] are in free variation, the latter two occur only in an environment before vowels: e.g. [ɖ̥a'ða], [zani'mazði], [ɛder'ɖ̥i] etc. The [ð] and [ɖ̥] variants appear to be the result of lenition at phonetic level, i.e. occurring because of articulatory undershooting in casual or fast speech. Lastly, this phoneme is realised in one case as a voiceless glottalised plosive [tʰʔ], in the clitic word /da/ → [tʰa].

4.1.2.1.3. The dorsal plosives

The dorsal plosives /k/ and /g/ participate in the [±front] harmony, also (less accurately) known as 'vowel harmony'. When occurring in words containing [+front] vowels, the dorsal plosives /k/ and /g/ are realised as palatal [c^h] and [ɟ] respectively: e.g. [i'c^hi], [ɟel]. When occurring in words containing [-front] vowels, the dorsal plosives /k/ and /g/ are realised as velar [k^h] and [g] respectively: e.g. [o'k^huʃ], [giz].

The voiceless dorsal plosive /k/

Of the velar allophones of /k/, the main one is the aspirated [k^h]. It is usually found before non-front vowels, regardless of stress: e.g. [ok^huʃ'da], [ba'k^har]. It is also found often at the end of the word, regardless of whether it is followed by a vowel, consonant, or pause: e.g. [is'bi^hk^h], [fark^h]. The only cases where aspirated

[k^h] occurs before another consonant are in the word [ˈk^hriso] (rendition of [ˈxriso], the researcher's first name; five instances) and in the words [jak^hlarɪ'ni], [jy^hlɛde'he], and [aldik^h'tan]. Lastly, it is sometimes found as the second member of biconsonantal clusters: e.g. [haɫ'k^ha], [ark^hadaɟ'lara].

The unaspirated [k[̄]] allophone occurs only once, in the word [k[̄]aɫaɫa'di:]. It is also found in two cases of code-switching to Cypriot Greek: [k[̄]a'ni] and [ˈk[̄]ats^hɛdɛ]. The unreleased allophone [k̚] is found frequently at the end of the word, mainly when the following word begins with a consonant: e.g. [ilk̚ zaman:arɪn'da], [jɛ'mɛk̚ bo'sun]. It also occurs word-medially when followed by a consonant: e.g. [jak̚'t^hi], [dʒɪvanɪk̚'lar].

In pre-consonantal position, /k/ may be realised as a glottal plosive: e.g. /sɪdʒakla'rɪn/ → [tsɪdʒaɫa'rɪn], /ɟaptɪklarɪn'da/ → [jap̚t^hiɫarɪn'da], /tɪraklarɪ'ni/ → [t^hiraɫarɪ'ni]. An unstressed /k/ can also be lenited to [ɥ] intervocally or between a vowel and a sonorant consonant: e.g. [t^hɔdʒuɥa'na:], [aɫa'dʒaɥ aɟɪn:ai'dʒak̚].

Of the palatal allophones of /k/, the main one is the aspirated [c^h]. It predominantly occurs before or after front vowels, regardless of stress: e.g. [i'c^hi], [dœc^hɛle'dim]. It is the main allophone word-initially when followed by a front vowel: e.g. [c^hɛ'nan], [c^hɔv'den]. It is found often at the end of the word (and after a front vowel) regardless of whether it is followed by a vowel, consonant, or pause: e.g. [jy'zyc^h], [bi'deric^h]. The only case where aspirated [c^h] occurs before another consonant is once in the word [birlic^h'tɛ]. It also occurs as the second member of biconsonantal clusters when followed by a front vowel: e.g. [ˈt^hyɲc^hy], [bizimc^hi'lɛɟ̚], [iɟc^hɛftɪɟ̚].

The unaspirated [c[̄]] allophone occurs frequently in word-final position, regardless of whether it is followed by a consonant, vowel, or pause: e.g. [ɛvli'lic[̄]], [de'mɛc[̄]], [by'jyc[̄]]. It also often occurs between a front vowel and a consonant: e.g. [bɛc[̄]'lɛ], [k^haɟni'dʒic[̄]ɟir], [ˈsal:ic[̄]t^hir]. It is also found between a consonant and a front vowel: e.g. [ˈherc[̄]ɛs], [iɟ̚c[̄]ɛf], [mahc[̄]ɛmɛ'jɛ], [ˈbɛlc[̄]i], [bizimc[̄]i'lɛɟ̚], [ɛsc[̄]i'dɛn]. Only once in the corpus does it occur between consonants in a [+front] word: [ɟɛnc[̄]'lɛɟ̚].

The unreleased allophone [c̚] is found at the end of a [+front] word only when the following word begins with a plosive or affricate: e.g. [er'c^hɛc̚ ɟɔr'mezdi:], [by'jyc̚ ˈt^hɛndʒɛrɛ], [ilc̚ ɟ^hɔɟasɪn'da:]. Lastly, in pre-consonantal position, this phoneme may be realised as a glottal plosive: e.g. [it̚^hiɟlerɪ'ni] (= [it̚^hic[̄]leri'ni]), [ɟit̚^h:iɟlerɪn'dɛ] (= [ɟit̚^h:ic[̄]lerin'dɛ]).

The voiced dorsal plosive /g/

Of the velar allophones of /g/, the main allophone is the one with modal voicing, namely [g], found in word-initial and word-medial position in [-front] words: e.g. [gadʒo'ju], [jedigo'du]. Word-medially, it is occasionally found after certain consonants: e.g. [ba'raŋgama], [k̄'av'ga]. It is found only once in pre-consonantal position, namely in the word [oraḍʒig'da]; in this instance, the whole consonantal sequence /kt/ has been voiced, resulting in [gd].

The second-most frequent allophone of /g/ is the devoiced variant [g̊], found mainly in word-initial position: e.g. [g̊nd mainly in word-initial position: [oonce also occurs a few times in intervocalic position: e.g. [ba'tervocalic position: ial position: [oonce in pre-consonantal position, [ba'tervocalic position: ial position: [oonce in pre-consonantal variant being the prevailing allophone.

Of the palatal allophones of /g/, the main allophone is the one with modal voicing, namely [ɟ], found in word-initial and word-medial position in [-front] words: e.g. [ɟadʒo'ju], [ɟedigo'du]. Word-medially, it is occasionally found after certain consonants: e.g. [ba'raŋɟama], [k̄'av'ɟa]. It is found only once in pre-consonantal position, namely in the word [oraḍʒig'da]; in this instance, the whole consonantal sequence /kt/ has been voiced, resulting in [gd].

The devoiced variant [ɟ̊] is found a handful of times, mainly in word-initial position: e.g. [ɟ̊eli'l:ɛ̊], [ɟ̊endi'ni], [ɟ̊ide'd̄zeic^h]. It appears that the voiceless allophone [ɟ̊] is in free variation with the voiced allophone [ɟ], the latter being the prevailing allophone. The geminate devoiced variant [ɟ̊:] occurs twelve times in the corpus, all in different variants of a single lexeme: e.g. [dẙ̊:e'de], [dẙ̊:e'ji], [dẙ̊:esi'ni].

In addition, /g/ occurs in lenited form as the fricative [ɣ]; however, this appears to be a rare phonetic process: e.g. [ɣi'zim], [gavya'si], [ɣonu'surɫar]. It also appears lenited to an approximant [j] in one instance: [jɛ'ɾə] (= [je'ri]). Lastly, the palatal allophone [ɟ] is lenited to the fricative [j] four times: three times as a voiced singleton in the words [ji'thim] and [jɛt̪^hinir'lerdi] (two instances) and once as a devoiced geminate in [di̊̊:e'nɛ].

The velar vs. palatal alternation

Regarding the alternation between the velar and palatal allophones of the dorsal plosive phonemes /k/ and /g/, it appears that this is determined primarily by the vowel that immediately follows it, and secondarily by the preceding vowel or the general characterisation of the word as [+front] or [-front]. More specifically:

1. If the vowel following it is [+front], the realisation of the consonant cannot be velar:
e.g. ['hɛrc^hɛs] (not *['hɛrk^hɛs]), [jy'zɛl] (not *[gy'zɛl]), ['buɟyn] (not *['bugyn]).

2. If the following vowel is [-front], then 98% of the time, the dorsal consonant is realised as velar: e.g. [k^hot^ho'rum] (not *[c^hot^ho'rum]), [gɪz] (not *[jɪz]), [nik^ha'hi]³³ (not *[nic^ha'hi]). The 2% of palatal realisations before [-front] vowels involve loanwords from Cypriot Greek and two other words. The Cypriot Greek loanwords are (i) [p[̄]et[̄]c[̄]a'dʒik[̄]] / [p[̄]et[̄]c[̄]adʒik[̄]'lar] / [p[̄]et[̄]c[̄]adʒik[̄]'la'ra] (< CG [p[̄]ɛ't̪c̄ɛ] 'children') and (ii) ['c^haʔoŋk^han] (< CG ['c^h:ɛʔŋkɛn] / ['θc̄ɛʔŋkɛn] 'damn it'). The other two cases are (i) the word [jichajala'jamadim]³⁴ and (ii) the word [jaɫ:ani'ɫ:ardi].
3. When the dorsal consonant is not followed by a vowel (i.e. in word-final or pre-consonantal position) then the immediately preceding vowel usually determines the realisation of the consonant.
 - i. If the preceding vowel is [-front], then the dorsal consonant is always realised as velar: e.g. [tʰo'dʒuk[̄]t^huŋ] (not *[tʰo'dʒuc[̄]t^huŋ]), [saagla'ri] (not *[saajla'ri]), [otur'majk[̄]] (not *[otur'majc[̄]]).³⁵
 - ii. If the preceding vowel is [+front], then
 - a. 73% of the time the dorsal consonant is realised as palatal: e.g. [bɛc[̄]'lɛ], [jide'dʒeic^h], [dic[̄]t^hiɾɛbi'lɛric[̄]].
 - b. 27% of the time the dorsal consonant is realised as velar (especially word-finally): e.g. [tʰɛ'c^hɛrik[̄]], [jyk^hlɛde'he], [jide'rik[̄]].
4. When the dorsal consonant is neither followed nor preceded immediately by a vowel, then the [±front] specification of the word determines the realisation of the consonant:
 - a. in [+front] words, the dorsal consonant is realised as palatal: [ɾɛnc[̄]'lɛɾɪ], ['bɛlc[̄]], [ɾɛnc[̄]], [ɾɛnc^h], [ilk[̄]] (with the only exception being [ilk[̄]], occurring once).
 - b. in [-front] words, the dorsal consonant is realised as velar: [ʃafk[̄]], [fark[̄]].
 - c. in loanwords from Cypriot Greek, the velar allophone is used regardless of whether the word could be analysed as having a [+front] or [-front] specification: ['k^hriso], ['k[̄]lei].

4.1.2.1.4. The glottal plosive

The glottal plosive [ʔ] is not a phoneme in Gurbetcha, but rather an allophone of several different phonemes, especially /k/ but occasionally also of /t/ and /ɣ/. In some cases, the glottal plosive [ʔ] is epenthesised between vowels: e.g. [vɛ ʔu'la:z], ['c^haʔoŋk^han].

³³ The /a/ vowel is not always realised acoustically as a [+back] vowel [ɑ], but rather as more central vowel transcribed as [a] (more precisely [æ̠]), which may not be [+back], but rather [-front], which is the feature that determines harmony in this variety (and arguably in Turkish also).

³⁴ Arguably, [(j)ic^ha'mak^h] is an alternative form of the verb [jik^ha'mak^h] 'to wash'.

³⁵ The non-syllabic semivowel [j] does not participate in the [±front] harmony, but rather acts as a glide in the [-front] diphthong [aj].

4.1.2.1.5. The palatoalveolar affricates

The voiceless palatoalveolar affricate /tʃ/

The main allophone of the /tʃ/ phoneme is the aspirated variant [tʃ^h]. This variant mostly occurs word-initially (70% of its occurrences were in word-initial position): e.g. [tʃ^haɪ̯], [tʃ^hel:ɛ'di]. It never occurs word-finally. Word-medially it is found only before vowels: e.g. [itʃ^heri'jɛ], [bahtʃ^hɛ'ja]. Word-finally, the /tʃ/ phoneme is realised as unaspirated [tʃ^{h̄}]: e.g. [hitʃ^{h̄}], [ytʃ^{h̄}], [bortʃ^{h̄}]. The unaspirated allophone is also found before other consonants: e.g. [satʃ^{h̄}la'ri], [k^hatʃ^{h̄}t^hik^{h̄}larin'da], [k^{h̄}atʃ^{h̄}t^ha].

Another allophone of /tʃ/ is the fronted variant [tʃ^{h̄}] (i.e. with an intermediate articulation between palatoalveolar and alveolar) which is in free variation with the [tʃ^h] variant, even though it occurs only ten times: e.g. [tʃ^{h̄}aɪ̯r'lar], [tʃ^{h̄}ɛvi'rirdilɛɾ], [ne'tʃ^{h̄}im], [tʃ^{h̄}odʒu'u]. A final allophone is the lenited variant [tʃ^{h̄̌}] (i.e. pronounced like an approximant), which occurs only five times: e.g. [tʃ^{h̄̌}ɛl:ɛ'jɛmɛm], ['tʃ^{h̄̌}uɣɔla], [k^hatʃ^{h̄̌}].

The voiced palatoalveolar affricate /dʒ/

The main allophone of /dʒ/ is the one with modal voicing, namely [dʒ], of which the most frequent occurrence is in word-medial position (86%) and the second-most frequent occurrence is in word-initial position (14%). It never occurs in word-final position. Word-medially, it occurs in intervocalic position 83% of the time: e.g. [gadʒa'ji], [t^hut^huʃa'dʒɛɾ], [bɪrak^halaɪ̯'dʒak^{h̄}]; it is also found after voiced consonants (mainly [n]³⁶) 17% of the time: e.g. [ʒe'lindʒa], [jardim'dʒi], [t^he'berdʒa], [p^hat'dʒi]. It is never found in pre-consonantal position. The only geminate occurrence of this allophone is in different forms of a single lexeme (14 instances), namely [ga'dʒ:i].

The devoiced allophone [dʒ^{h̄}] occurs only once, in the word [biraz'dʒ^{h̄}ik]. A lenited allophone [dʒ^{h̄̌}] is found only once, in the word [tsidʒaʔlar'in]. An alternative allophone resulting from lenition is the fricative [ʒ], which occurs six times: [ʒe'zɛ], [aʃini'zɪk^{h̄}], [ʃa'z:im], [t^he'berʒa], [piinej'zim].

4.1.2.1.6. The alveolar affricate

The voiceless alveolar affricate [ts] occurs three times in the corpus:

1. As a mispronunciation of the alveolar fricative /s/ in the word [tsidʒaʔlar'in] — a rendition of the word [sidʒak^{h̄}la'rin]. Arguably, the affrication of the /s/ is the result of long-distance anticipatory manner assimilation to the following affricate [dʒ].
2. In the Cypriot Greek word ['ets^{h̄}:(i)] 'thus'.

³⁶ A more precise transcription of this nasal allophone before a palatoalveolar [dʒ] would be [ɲ], which is a retracted (i.e. palatoalveolar) nasal consonant.

3. In the Cypriot Greek word [ˈkʰatsʰɛdɛ] ‘sit-2PL.IMP’ (in Cypriot Greek phonology: [ˈkʰɛtsʰ:ɛtʰɛ]).

These occurrences in Cypriot Greek words are not loanwords, but are more correctly analysed as instances of code-switching. In addition, the occurrence of [tʰs] in the native word [tsidʒaʔlaˈriŋ] is a case of mispronunciation. Therefore, the [tʰs^(h)(:)] phone does not form part of the Gurbetcha phonemic inventory. It should also be noted that although the sequence [ts] is found once in the word [gʰɛˈn:atsɪn], this is not an affricate [tʰs], but rather a heterosyllabic consonant sequence more narrowly transcribed as [gʰɛˈn:atʰsɪn].

4.1.2.2. Fricatives

4.1.2.2.1. The labiodental fricatives

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/

The main allophone of /f/ is the voiceless labiodental fricative [f], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [faˈlan]), word-medially (e.g. [tʰɛleˈfon]), and word-finally (e.g. [iˈtʰɛf]). It occurs in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [ʃafk], [hɛfˈsɛ], [lafˈta]) but never in post-consonantal position. The only allophones of /f/ are the voiced [f] and the approximant [ɸ]: the former occurs once in the word [dʰəfasiˈn:da:], while the latter occurs once in the word [jaɸaˈla].

The voiced labiodental fricative /v/

The main allophone of /v/ is the voiced labiodental fricative [v] which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [verˈmɛz]), word-medially (e.g. [leˈva]), and word-finally (e.g. [kʰav]). It occurs in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [ɛvˈlɛn], [gavɣaˈsi], [tʰəvˈden]) and in post-consonantal position (e.g. [jaɸvarɪrˈdɪ], [aˌtʰivɛˈri], [tʰirvɛˈfi]). The voiced fricative /v/ may undergo lenition, resulting in an approximant [ɸ], [v], or [w]: e.g. [ˈɛɸɛt], [gaˈva], [tʰawukˈlaˈri].

4.1.2.2.2. The alveolar fricatives

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

The main allophone of the sibilant /s/ is the voiceless alveolar fricative [s], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [ˈsonra]), word-medially (e.g. [ˈnasɪ]), and word-finally (e.g. [ˈhɛrɔs]). It occurs in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [ʃɔsˈtɛr], [nɪmɪsˈlɑrɛn], [isp]) and in post-consonantal position (e.g. [dɑns], [oɫˈsa], [aˈtʰarsinɪz]). It occurs twice as a geminate, both times resulting from assimilation of another consonant to a following or preceding /s/: /ystyˈnɛ/ → [ysːyˈnɛ] and /sunˈlar saˈŋa/ → [suˈnːaːsːaˈŋa].

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/

The main allophone of the sibilant /z/ is the voiced alveolar fricative [z], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [ˈzatʰɛn]), word-medially (e.g. [aziˈzɛ]), and word-finally (e.g. [biˈraz]). It occurs once as a geminate, in the word [pʰerezːeˈriː], as the result of full assimilation of /z/ → [zː]. Another common allophone of /z/ is the devoiced [z̥], found usually in word-final position (regardless of whether the following sound is voiced or voiceless): e.g. [biˈraz̥], [ˈhɛrcʰɛz̥].

The phoneme /z/ is occasionally lenited into a lowered [z̠], e.g. [siˈz̠ɛ]. It also occurs three times dentalised as a fricative [ð̪] or an approximant [ð̪̞]; all these occurrences are found in one word, namely /babaˈmiz̪/: [b̞abaˈmið̪], [b̞abaˈmið̪̞], [babaˈmið̪], all produced by the same speaker.

An allophone occurring only once in the corpus is the alveolopalatal [z̠] in the word [zuˈma]. This phone is encountered in one additional instance, but in this case it is the result of a /ʃl/ cluster reduction: /ornuʃˈlarik/ → [ornuˈzari].

4.1.2.2.3. The palatoalveolar fricatives

The voiceless palatoalveolar fricative /ʃ/

The main allophone of the sibilant /ʃ/ is the voiceless palatoalveolar fricative [ʃ], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [ʃayʃaˈrim]), word-medially (e.g. [jaˈʃar]), and word-finally (e.g. [boʃ]). It never occurs as a geminate in the corpus, even though it is known to occur in words such as [eˈʃːecʰ]. It occurs as a lenited [ʃ̠] in just two instances: [iʃ̠ˈtɛ], [ˈʃ̠indi]. Lastly, it is found as an aspirated [ʃʰ] once, in the word [ʃʰaˈa].

The voiced palatoalveolar fricative /ʒ/

The sibilant /ʒ/ is not encountered in the corpus as a phoneme, however it may arguably be found in learned words of French origin. When the [ʒ] phone occurs, it is an allophone of /d̪ʒ/ resulting from lenition: e.g. /geˈd̪ʒe/ → [ʒɛˈʒɛ], /aʃ̪iniˈd̪ʒik/ → [aʃ̪iniˈʒik]. It also occurs once as a long [ʒː] resulting from a /y̞d̪ʒ/ cluster reduction: /ʃay̞ˈd̪ʒiy̞im/ → [ʃaˈʒːim].

4.1.2.2.4. The velar fricatives

The voiceless velar fricative /x/

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ does not form part of the phonetic inventory of Gurbetcha. It occurs only twice in the corpus, in the Cypriot Greek proper name ['xriso], uttered by a single speaker. However, that same speaker pronounced the same name six times as ['k^hriso]. One other speaker pronounced it once with a glottal [h] (i.e. ['hriso]) and three times with a voiced [ɣ] (either ['ɣriso] or ['ɣrisəm]).

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/

The main allophone of the velar /ɣ/ is the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], which often occurs word-medially between a vowel and another consonant: e.g. [aɣlada'him], [faɣla'mi], [oɣ'nu], [aɣ'rir]. It occurs before vowels only three times: [sa'ɣa], [ɣi'la:] (arguably a /g/ → [ɣ] lenition³⁷), and [ajaɣi'na] (possibly an epenthesis of [ɣ] between the two vowels). It is found also in the Cypriot Greek name ['ɣriso], as mentioned above.

The approximant allophone [ɣ̞] occurs 11 times: sometimes in intervocalic position (e.g. [faɣimi'zi]), but most of the time before a consonant (e.g. [faɣla'rim], [oɣ'lan]). It occurs once as a devoiced [ɣ̞̥]: [oɣ̞̥'lum]. It is also realised once as a glottal plosive: /faɣ ikaŋ/ → ['faʔ ik^haŋ] (and arguably in /sa'ɣa/ → [sa'ʔa]³⁸).

Sometimes, the velar /ɣ/ phoneme may not be phonetically realised as a consonant, but rather, it makes the preceding vowel long: e.g. /aɣ'lar/ → [a:'lar], /de'ɣil/ → [de:'il], /doɣ'ru/ → [do:'ru]. When it occurs between identical vowels, it is deleted: e.g. /beyenir'di/ → [bɛɛnir'di], /bitelediɣin'de/ → [bit^hɛlɛdiin'dɛ], /dyɣynler'de/ → [dyynlɛr'dɛ].

Lastly, the velar /ɣ/ phoneme may occasionally be realised as a glide: between [+front] vowels, it may be realised as a palatal [j], e.g. /de'ɣil/ → [de'jil]; between [-front] vowels, it may be realised as a labiovelar approximant [w], e.g. /doɣa'lar/ → [do:'wa'læ] (with concomitant lengthening of the preceding vowel). Arguably, in these cases the glides are not direct allophones of the velar /ɣ/, but rather epenthetic consonants following the deletion of the fricative.

³⁷ As mentioned previously, [ɣ] is sometimes the result of the lenition of [g].

³⁸ The word *sana* is realised four times as [sa'na], six times as [sa'ŋa], three times as [sa'ɣa], and four times as [sa'a]. The glottal plosive in [sa'ʔa] may be an allophone of /n/, /ŋ/, or /ɣ/ —or, if the intended realisation was [sa'a], then the glottal [ʔ] is epenthetic.

4.1.2.2.5. The glottal fricatives

The main allophone of the glottal /h/ is the voiceless glottal fricative [h], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. ['hadε]), word-medially (e.g. [da'ha]), and word-finally (e.g. [si'jah]). It is found in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [mah'sus], [t^hahte'di], [baht^ha'ja]) and just once in post-consonantal position in the word [derha'n:ε̃]. The amount of frication of [h] varies; when there is not much frication produced, the consonant is transcribed as [ħ]: e.g. [da'ħa], [ħaħ'k^ha], [ħε̃ε̃'idi].

A lenited allophone of /h/, namely the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ], occurs usually in word-initial position (almost always preceded by a word-final vowel): e.g. [ḍzuma:ɬa'ri fiεr'sε], [ba'ɦi fia:'t:an]. Less often, it occurs word-medially in an intervocalic position: e.g. [da'ɦa], [aɬ:a'ɦim]. Lastly, in two cases, the fricative /h/ is realised as a glottal plosive: /'evet halla'niri/ → ['ε̃vεt ʔaɬ:a'nirik^ʔ], /sa'bah/ → [sa'baʔ].

4.1.2.3. Nasal consonants

4.1.2.3.1. The bilabial nasal

The labial nasal phoneme /m/ has a predominant allophone, namely the voiced bilabial nasal [m], occurring in all word positions: word-initial (e.g. ['modaʃ]), word-medial (e.g. [jara'maʒ]), and word-final (e.g. [bak^ha'ɦim]). Word-medially, it can be found in pre-consonantal position: e.g. ['ɦimdi], [jardim'ḍʒi], [bizime^hi'leʃ]; it also occurs in post-consonantal position: e.g. ['aɦmadi], [aɦ'man], [ε̃^ʔmεc].

The geminate variant [m:] is found intervocalically in the words ['am:a] and [ṣin:am:a'ð:ɪ]. It also surfaces once post-lexically due to regressive full assimilation, in the case of [ʃec^he'rim: 'ar] resulting from [ʃec^he'rim 'var].

One other allophone that occurs twice is the lenited variant [ṃ], e.g. in the words [me'ri:ṃ] and [i'f'teṃ]. In a single case, a word-final /m/ is realised as a glottal plosive before a word-initial /m/, possibly as an alternative to concatenating it into a long [m:]: /e'ɦim merim'den/ → [ε̃'ɦiʔ mεrim'dæn]. Lastly, a variant [ṃ̃] appears just once, in the word [bil'meṃ̃], which appears to be due to mispronunciation.

4.1.2.3.2. The coronal nasal

The main allophone of the coronal nasal phoneme /n/ is the voiced alveolar nasal [n], which occurs in all word positions: word-initial (e.g. ['nasɦ]), word-medial (e.g. ['g̣izinaɦ]), and word-final (e.g. [ʒɔr'dyn]). Word-medially, it can be found in pre-consonantal position: e.g. [haɬ:andi'ɬaɦ], [dynja'ji], [on'ɬaɦ], ['sonra], [in'san]; it also occurs in post-consonantal position: e.g. [ṭ^hik^ʔnaɦa'rin], [ʒede:'l:εman], [oʃ'nu].

The geminate variant [n:] occurs intervocalically in words such as [a'n:em] in which it is a lexical geminate, i.e. it has underlying specification as a geminate (in this case: /an'ne+m/). In other cases, the geminate [n:] results from regressive full assimilation of an underlying /l/ to a preceding /n/ in a /nl/ sequence across morpheme boundaries: e.g. [insa'n:ar] (from underlying /[nsan+'lar/).

One other allophone that occurs a couple of times is the lenited variant [ɲ], e.g. in the words ['jaɲ] and [ʒedijer'lernaɲ]. Before palatoalveolar consonants, the coronal nasal is realised as a retracted (i.e. palatoalveolar) [ɲ]: e.g. ['tʰendʒere].

The coronal nasal phoneme /n/ is occasionally realised as a voiced palatal nasal [ɲ] before palatal plosives: e.g. ['tʰyncʰy], [zeɲ'ʒin], [veɲ'ʒin]. Sometimes, this place assimilation occurs across word boundaries: e.g. [buzni'lɛʃnaɲ ʒedɛ:l'ɛman], [gɑdʒ:i'inaɲ ʒidɛle'dicʰ]. However, the alveolar allophone [n] may also be used before palatal plosives, both word-medially (43%), e.g. [ʃɛncʰ'lɛʃ], and across word boundaries (93%), e.g. [cʰɔv'den cʰɔ've].

Lastly, the coronal nasal phoneme /n/ is occasionally realised as a voiced velar nasal [ŋ] before velar plosives across word boundaries: e.g. [gav'daŋ ga'va], [ʒyŋ kʰavɛdɛ'lɛr], [gɑdʒile'riŋ gɑdʒɔla'riŋ]. However, 79% of the time, the alveolar allophone [n] is used before velar plosives: e.g. [gav'dan ga'va], [sabah'tʰan kʰakʰala'dim].

4.1.2.3.3. The dorsal nasal

The dorsal nasal phoneme /ŋ/ has one main allophone, namely the voiced velar nasal [ŋ], occurring mainly in word-final position (without necessarily any velar consonant following it): e.g. [ja'pʰaŋ], [bi'liŋ], [is'tʰɛŋ]. Word-medially, it is found in intervocalic position: e.g. [ba'ŋa], [sa'ŋa]. There is one other allophone of /ŋ/, namely a lenited variant [ɲ] occurring once in the word [bi'liɲ]. The /ŋ/ phoneme never occurs as geminate consonant.

4.1.2.4. The rhotic consonant

The main allophone of the rhotic phoneme /r/ is the voiced alveolar tap [ɾ], which occurs in all word positions: word-initial (e.g. [ra'hatʰim]), word-medial (e.g. [tʰaraf'tʰa]), and word-final (e.g. [bir]). Word-medially, it can be found not only in intervocalic position, but also in pre-consonantal position (e.g. [gʉr'betʃada], ['hɛrcɛs], [ja'pardikʰ], [tʰe'berdʒa], [tʰɛrlɛʃɛ'dʒɛ]) and in post-consonantal position (e.g. ['sonra], [tɛb'ric], [akʰrabala'ri]).

When the rhotic consonant is geminated, it is realised as a voiced alveolar trill [rː]: e.g. [hĩːrːɛ], [hĩrːeːlɛrðĩ]. In some cases, the phoneme /r/ undergoes lenition, which results in an approximant [ɾ] or [ɹ]: e.g. [jɛːɾɛː], [chɛsɛːlːɛɾ], [doktʰoːɹa], [mɛ.ɹimiːzɛ].

Another allophone is the devoiced [ɾ̥] variant, which mainly occurs word-finally: e.g. [vaɾ̥], [jaːpʰaɾ̥], [oɫˈuɾ̥], [hɛɾ̥]. It is occasionally found before voiceless consonants: e.g. [buˈluɾ̥san], [ˈɛɾ̥kʰana]. In word-final position, the phoneme /r/ is often realised as a devoiced and fricated variant [ɾ̥ʰ]: e.g. [ˈsypʰɛɾ̥ʰ], [hɛɾ̥ʰ], [aʃiːnːaɾ̥ʰ], [haːziɾ̥ʰ].

4.1.2.5. The palatal approximant consonant

The palatal approximant phoneme /j/ has one predominant allophone, namely the voiced palatal approximant [j], which occurs word-initially (e.g. [ˈjani]), word-medially (e.g. [haftaːja]), and word-finally (e.g. [tʰaj]). When found in syllable onset position, /j/ functions phonemically as a consonant: e.g. [ja.baɲ.ˈdʒi], [laf.ta.ˈja]. When not in syllable-onset position, it is equivalent to a non-syllabic vowel, namely [j̥], forming a diphthong with a following vowel: e.g. [ʃɛj] = [ʃɛj̥], [oɫ.ˈsaj.d̥i] = [oɫ.ˈsaj̥.d̥i], [a.taj.ˈdʒak] = [a.taj̥.ˈdʒak]. A rare allophone of /j/ is the fricative [j̥], which occurs just once, in the word [jeːniː].

4.1.2.6. The lateral approximant consonant

The [+front] variant

The main [+front] allophone of the lateral approximant consonant /l/ is the voiced alveolar lateral approximant variant [l], which occurs in all word-positions: word-initially (e.g. [leːva]), word-medially (e.g. [iʃmeːlɛr]), and word-finally (e.g. [jyːzɛl]). It is normally found in words with [+front] harmony: e.g. [iːlcˀ], [ɛliːnɛ], [tʰypʰyːly], [œːleɪdi]. It is occasionally found in [-front] words when code-switching into Cypriot Greek (e.g. [miːalo] ‘big’). It also occurs in Gurbetcha [-front] words which are not of Turkish origin, namely, [ʃuːul] (once found as [ʃuːuɫ]), [lafˈta] (always with an alveolar [l]: e.g. [laftaːja], [laftaːji], [laftaːniɲ]) and [lo].

The geminate [lː] is found in intervocalic position: e.g. [tʰelːɛʃiːlːɛr], [jɔreːlːi]. The /l/ phoneme is occasionally articulated with lenition as a [l̥]: e.g. [dɛːiːl̥], [jyːzɛl̥dʒɛː]. The [+front] realisations of the alveolar phoneme /l/ may vary regarding the degree of palatalisation, ranging from clearly alveolar [l] to a palatalised [lʲ]. It is clearly palatalised in the words [gaɟʒoiːʎa], [jezɛrˈlɛrdi], [jidɛrˈlɛr], and [iʃlɛrinĩ]. It also occurs twice in palatalised form in the word [ʃuːulʲ], arguably due to post-lexical assimilation to a

Table 6: The eight vowel phonemes of Gurbetcha

	[+front]		[-front]	
	[-round]	[+round]	[-round]	[+round]
[+high]	/i/	/y/	/i̥/	/u/
[-high][-low]	/e/	/ø/		/o/
[+low]			/a/	

4.1.3.1. The [+low], [-front] vowel /a/

The [+low], [-front] vowel /a/ is mainly realised as an (near-)open central unrounded vowel [ɐ] or [ä], transcribed in the corpus broadly as [a]. It is found in all word positions, both in stressed and unstressed syllables: word-initially (e.g. ['abɪ], [alɛm'li]), word-medially (e.g. [si'jah], [oɫma'di]) and word-finally (e.g. [or'da], ['mesela]). Sometimes, when unstressed, it is realised as a short [ä], e.g. [ä'nam], [gajnä'nam]. It is also found as a long (occasionally semi-long) vowel: e.g. [tʰa'ɫgi'lar], [ayɫaja'la:], [baɫʰa'ɫa:ɫ]. This lengthening takes place at the phonetic level due to prosodic factors; in other words, vowel length is not phonemic (i.e. it is not contrastive). In some cases, vowel length is a reflex of an underlying /ɣ/ which has been deleted, leading to compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel: e.g. /ʃaɫla'min/ → [ʃa:la'min].

One other allophone of /a/ is the open back unrounded vowel [ɑ], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially (e.g. [a'ɫ:ah], [aradʒi'ja:]), word-medially (e.g. [ha'ɫ:an], [gɪila'dʒam]) and word-finally (e.g. [aɫi'n:a], [tʰija'la]). It also occurs in a phonetically long realisation (always in word-final position), e.g. [sa'ɲa:], [ɣi'la:].

A rarer allophone of /a/ is the near-open front unrounded [æ]: e.g. [do:w'a'ɫæ], [dæ], [kodʒæ'ja], ['æni], [za'namaidʒæɲ]. In one specific case, it is the result of [e#ja] coalition: [ne ja'psa] → [næ'psa]. A lenited version of /a/ is the mid central vowel [ə], which occurs only in the following words (always in unstressed syllables): /da/ → [də] (three instances), /na/ → [nə], /ja/ → [ɣə], /godʒa'ja/ → [godʒə'ja].

4.1.3.2. The [-low], [-high], [-front], [+round] vowel /o/

The [-low], [-high], [-front], [+round] vowel /o/ is mainly realised as a mid back rounded vowel [ɔ], transcribed in the corpus broadly as [o]. It occurs in all word positions: word-initially in unstressed syllables (e.g. [oɣ'lan]) and stressed syllables (e.g. ['oraɫta]); word-medially in unstressed syllables (e.g. [jedigo'du])

and stressed syllables (e.g. [tʰa'ɣordu]); and word-finally in unstressed syllables (e.g. [ˈgɑd͡zco]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [cʰirli'jo]).

The second most frequent realisation of the vowel /o/ is the mid-open back rounded vowel [ɔ]. It occurs in all word positions: word-initially (only in unstressed syllables) (e.g. [ɔn'dan], [ɔɣ'ʈu]), word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [kʰilɔsto'lum]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ˈɟrom]) and word-finally in unstressed (e.g. [lɔ]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [kʰai'mɔ]).

The allophones [o] and [ɔ] appear to be in free variation, as no factor can predict their distribution: they alternate in all word positions, i.e. in word-initial position (e.g. [o'le] vs [ɔ'le]), word-medial position (e.g. [ˈhrisom] vs [ˈhrisɔm]) and word-final position (e.g. [ˈgɑd͡zco] vs [kʰai'mɔ]). Stress does not play a role, as they alternate in both unstressed (e.g. [on'dan] vs [ɔn'dan]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [cʰirli'jo] vs [le'ɔ]). Furthermore, they alternate in both closed (e.g. [ˈhrisom] vs [ˈhrisɔm]) and open syllables (e.g. [tʰɔd͡zu'u] vs [tʰɔd͡zu'u]). When in closed syllables, they occur both followed by a sonorant (e.g. [on'dan] vs [ɔn'dan]) and an obstruent consonant (e.g. [oɣu'mu] vs [ɔɣ'ʈu]).

The only other variant of /o/ is the lengthened variant [o:], resulting either from phonetic lengthening (e.g. [jo:k], [kʰo'tʰo:ɰ]) or from compensatory lengthening after deletion of a following /ɣ/ (e.g. [do:du'ʈar]).

4.1.3.3. The [-low], [-high], [+front], [-round] vowel /e/

The [-low], [-high], [+front], [-round] vowel /e/ is mainly realised as an open-mid front unrounded vowel [ɛ]. It occurs in all word positions: word-initially in unstressed (e.g. [ɛd'im]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ˈɛkʰana]), word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [bidɛ'dim]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [bi'lɛm]) and word-finally in unstressed (e.g. [ˈhadɛ]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ɔ'le]).

The second most frequent realisation of the vowel /e/ is the mid front unrounded vowel [e], transcribed in the corpus broadly as [e]. It occurs in all word positions: word-initially (only in unstressed syllables) (e.g. [e'ji], [es'ci]); word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [istedikleri'ni]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ɟɔr'mezdi:]); and word-finally in unstressed (e.g. [ˈɔnd͡ze]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [bi'ze]).

The allophones [e] and [ɛ] appear to be in free variation, as no factor can predict their distribution: they alternate in all word positions, i.e. in word-initial (e.g. [e'ji] vs [ɛ'ji]), word-medial (e.g. [ɟɔr'hyrele'di] vs [ɟɔr'hyrele'di]) and word-final position (e.g. [ˈɔnd͡ze] vs [ˈɔnd͡zɛ]). Stress does not play a role, as they alternate in both unstressed (e.g. [de'mectiɰ] vs [de'mectiɰ]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [de'mectiɰ] vs [de'mectiɰ]). Furthermore, they alternate in both closed (e.g. [ver'mez] vs [ver'mɛz]) and open syllables

(e.g. [jɛ'ne] vs [jɛ'nɛ]). In closed syllables, they occur both followed by a sonorant (e.g. [iʃ'cef] vs [iʃ'cɛf]) and an obstruent consonant (e.g. [jy'zel] vs [jy'zɛl]).

Rarely does the /e/ phoneme appear shortened, but when this occurs, it is always in word-final position: e.g. [syrme'jɛ], [bi'zɛ], [kʰa,kʰavilɛr'nɛ], [idɛ'rɛ], [dyjɛ'e'dɛ]. It is often lengthened either phonetically (e.g. [bi'ze:], [jɛ'dʒɛ:]) or as the result of compensatory lengthening after deletion of a following /y/ (e.g. [bɛ:nir'di]).

A rare allophone of /e/ is the raised [ɛ̝] variant, which is found only in two words: [istɛjɛ'lim] and [tʰɛ'l:ɛ:r]. One other rare realisation of /e/ is near-open front unrounded [æ], encountered only in the following five words: [ɣɛn:ɛdindæ], [hæb], [bæn], [mɛrim'dæn], [jɛ'n:æɾ]. A centralised variant [ɛ̞] is occurs once, in the word [dɛrha'n:ɛ̞]. Lastly, /e/ is realised as a schwa [ə] in just three words: ['mesəla], [dʰəfasɪn'da:], [pʰəra'bɛɾ].

4.1.3.4. The [-low], [-high], [+front], [+rounded] vowel /ø/

The [-low], [-high], [+front], [+round] vowel /ø/ is mainly realised as a mid front rounded vowel [ø̞], transcribed in the corpus broadly as [ø]. It occurs in most word positions: word-initially in unstressed (e.g. [ø̞i'le]) and stressed syllables (e.g. ['ɔndʒe]); word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [jɔrø'sy]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [dʒɛna'tʰɔr]). It is not found in word-final position. The only other realisation of the vowel /ø/ is the mid-open front rounded vowel [œ]. It occurs in the same word positions as [ø], but always in unstressed syllables: word-initially (e.g. [œ'leidi], [œlɛ'i:n]) and word-medially (e.g. [dœrt]).

The allophones [ø] and [œ] appear to be in free variation, as no factor can predict their distribution, aside from stress. They alternate in all word positions, i.e. in word-initial (e.g. [ø̞i'leidi] vs [œ'leidi]) and word-medial position (e.g. [dœrt] vs [dœrt]). Furthermore, they alternate in both closed (e.g. [dœrt] vs [dœrt]) and open syllables (e.g. [jɔtʰyrelɛ'di] vs [jœtʰyrelɛ'di]). When in closed syllables, the mid-open variant [œ] is found just once preceding a sonorant, in the word [dœrt] (in free variation with [dœrt]). It never occurs preceding an obstruent consonant. Lastly, in the word /bø̞i'le/, the /ø/ phoneme was realised twice by a single speaker as a back [o] vowel: [bo̞i'le], [bo̞i'le].

4.1.3.5. The [+high], [+front], [-round] vowel /i/

The main phonetic realisation of the /i/ phoneme is the close front unrounded vowel [i], which occurs in all word positions: word-initially in unstressed (e.g. [in'san]) and stressed syllables (e.g. ['inʃal:a]); word-

medially in unstressed (e.g. [ɛsci'de:n]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [hɛjɛ'ridir]); and word-finally in unstressed (e.g. [ɛdɛr'lɛrdi]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ɛ'vi]).

A less frequent allophone of /i/ is the centralised [ɪ], which is found in word-medial (e.g. [beeni'lɛr]) and word-final position (e.g. [jɛl'dɪ]). In word-initial position, the centralised allophone [ɪ] is found only in three words, namely in [ɪtʃ^hi'nɛ], [ɪf'ʧɛ] and [ɪ'vɛ]. The allophones [i] and [ɪ] are in free variation (cf. [ɪtʃ^hi'nɛ] ~ [ɪtʃ^hi'nɛ], [ɣa'dʒ:i] ~ [ɣa'dʒ:ɪ]). When shortened, the /i/ phoneme is mainly realised as a peripheral [ɪ̯] variant (e.g. [jɛn'dɪ̯], [gɑdʒɪ'dɛn]); 19% of the time it is realised as a centralised [ɪ] variant (e.g. [jɛtʃ^hi'nirdɪ̯], [binɪ̯'ʃɪn]).

One other realisation of /i/ is the lengthened variant [i:], due to phonetic lengthening: e.g. [je'ni:], [de'ji:l]. The /i/ vowel is realised as a devoiced [i̥] only in the words [ɛdɛɛ'lɛrdɪ̥] and [ɪ̥'dɪ̥]. An additional variant of /i/ is the mid central [ə] variant, appearing only in the words [jɛ'fə] and [se'nə].

4.1.3.6. The [+high], [+front], [+round] vowel /y/

The main phonetic realisation of the /y/ phoneme is the close front rounded vowel [y], which occurs in all word positions. Word-initially it only occurs in unstressed syllables (e.g. [yst^hyn'de]); word-medially it occurs in unstressed (e.g. [dy:nly'jy]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [dø'c^hyjoɫ:ar]); word-finally it only occurs in stressed syllables (e.g. [dʒɛnat^hø'ry]). A rare allophone of /y/ is the centralised [ɻ], found in word-medial (e.g. [jɔry'dʒyɻ]) and word-initial position (e.g. [ɻj]). The allophones [y] and [ɻ] are in free variation (cf. [by't^hyn] ~ [bɻ't^hyn]).

The /y/ phoneme occurs in shortened form only once, in the word [jyn'ɹ̥]. The long variant [y:] occurs only when two /y/ vowels are merged following the deletion of an intermediate /y/: e.g. /dyɻyn'de/ → [dyɻyn'dɛ] → [dy:n'dɛ]. Lastly, the /y/ phoneme appears once as a central [ʊ] variant, in the phrase /tʃok gy'zel/ → [tʃ^hok:ʊ'ze:].

4.1.3.7. The [+high], [-front], [+round] vowel /u/

The [+high], [-front], [+round] vowel /u/ is mainly realised as a close back rounded vowel [u]. It occurs in all word positions. Word-initially it only occurs in unstressed syllables (e.g. [ufa'dʒɪk], [ufat'ma]); word-medially it occurs in unstressed (e.g. [boɪnʊdʒukɫa'na]), and stressed syllables (e.g. [o'ɫujor]); word-finally it occurs in unstressed (e.g. [t^ha'ɸordu]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [o'nu]).

The lengthened variant [u:] occurs often due to concatenation of two /u/ phonemes following the deletion of an intermediate /y/: e.g. /tʃodʒuɣumu'zu/ → [tʃ^hodʒuumu'zu] → [tʃ^hodʒu:mu'zu]. In other cases, the [u:] variant occurs as a result of phonetic lengthening: e.g. [oɫ'su:n].

This vowel appears four times as a shortened [ũ]: [oɫũ'ɫar], ['vũradʒam], [bũ], [o'ɫurdũ]. It occurs only once as a shortened centralised vowel [õ], in the word ['jo:udõ]. The centralised variant [ʊ] appears only three times: [o'noʊ], [ɔɣ'ɫoʊ], [ʃoʊ]. One other variant is the lowered [ʊ] variant, which occurs only twice: [bʊ'nu], [sʊ'n:ajm]. Lastly, a devoiced variant [ʊ̥] is found in one instance: ['vorsʊ̥].

4.1.3.8. The [+high], [-front], [-round] vowel /i/

The [+high], [-front], [-round] vowel /i/ is mainly realised as a close central unrounded vowel [i]. It occurs in all word positions: word-initially only in unstressed syllables (e.g. [i'nam], [irda'ʃim]); word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [ʃaɣɫarimi'zi]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [ʃa:'idi]); word-finally in unstressed (e.g. [k^haja'ɫardi]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [avaɫa'di]).

The second most frequent realisation of /i/ is the retracted variant [ɨ] (equivalent to a close back unrounded [ɯ]), which occurs in all word positions: word-initially only in unstressed syllables (e.g. [irda'ʃɨ], [ɨsbɨkɫarɨ'mi]); word-medially in unstressed (e.g. [aɣɨja'ɫar]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [afa'sidir]); word-finally in unstressed (e.g. ['vardɨ]) and stressed syllables (e.g. [aɫ'tɨ]). The two allophones [i] and [ɨ] are in free variation: cf. for example [afaɫarɨ'ni] ~ [afaɫarɨ'ni], [aɫɨn'da] ~ [aɫɨn'da]. The central allophone [i] occurs 72% of the time, while the back allophone occurs 28% of the time.

When phonetically shortened, the vowel /i/ is realised 75% of the time as a central [i] (e.g. [imi], [zanɨ'mam], [bun:a'rɨ]) and 25% of the time as a retracted [ɨ] or a very short [i̥] (e.g. [ɨsbɨkɫarɨ'ni], [aɫɨ'ɫar], [ʃaa'miz]). When lengthened, it is mainly realised as a central variant [i:] and only three times as a retracted [ɨ:] variant: [jap^ha'ɨ:m], [insan:arɨ'mi:z], [abi'si:]. The lengthening is either phonetic (e.g. [gur'betʃ^hadi:r]) or due to concatenation of two /i/ phonemes after the deletion of an intermediate /y/: e.g. /tʃi^hktiɣi'na/ → [tʃ^hikti'na] → [tʃ^hikti:'na] (even though there were cases of simplification: e.g. /kaladi'ɣi/ → [k^hɫadi'i] → [k^hɫa'di]). In one case, the long variant [i:] occurs as the result of compensatory lengthening due to the deletion of a following /y/: /mezarɨɣ'a/ → [mezarɨ:'a].

An additional allophone of /i/ is a centralised variant [ɨ̠], which usually occurs preceding a sonorant consonant (e.g. [haɫ:anɨ'ɫardi], [aɫ:a'hɨ̠m], [bi^hak^hɨ̠r'di]); only twice is it found following a sonorant consonant: [zɔanɨ'sin], [ʃik^hɨ̠]. This is in free variation with the other variants of /i/: cf. for example [aɫ:a'hɨ̠m] ~ [aɫ:a'him], [zɔanɨ'sin] ~ [zanɨ'sin].

4.1.4. Comparison with ST and CTD

ST has 33 consonants. They differ from each other in terms of whether they are voiced (/b/, /d/ /g/, 'g', /dʒ/ 'c', /v/, /z/, /z/ 'j', /ɣ/ 'ğ', /m/, /n/, /l/ 'l', /j/ 'y', /l/, /r/) or voiceless (/p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ 'k', /tʃ/ 'ç', /f/, /s/, /ʃ/ 'ş', /h/), their point of articulation and their manner of articulation (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 28-34). The Turkish vowel system is characterised by the oppositions front vs. back, high vs. low and unrounded vs. rounded. ST has eight vowels, written as: a ı o u e i ö ü. The vowel /e/ is realised as /ɛ/ or as the more closed variant /e/. There is a strong prevalence of low rounded vowels /o/ and /ö/, not occurring in non-first syllables. Exceptions include the verbal suffix -(Ø)Iyor, diminutive forms of personal names, e.g. *Fatma*>*Fatoş*, and borrowed lexical items, e.g. *lodos* 'south wind' (Csato and Johanson 1998: 203). ST also has eight corresponding long vowels. In native words they result from the loss of a voiced velar fricative, which is still indicated in the orthography by the letter /ğ/ (known as *yumuşak ge*) e.g. *dağ* [da:] 'mountain', etc., (ibid: 204). Many lexical items copied from Arabic and Persian contain long vowels, e.g. *hal* [ha:l] 'state'.

Since there are no diphthongs in ST, original diphthongs in copied lexical elements are rendered by a sequence of a vowel+consonant+vowel, e.g., *tuvalet* 'lavatory' <Fr. *toilette* (ibid: 204). High-unrounded vowels in non-accented syllables may be reduced or totally dropped, e.g. *traş* [traş]. This is also often observed in the pronunciation of TCs and Gurbetties.

Gurbetcha differs from ST in the same ways as CTD does. For instance, the word /da/ and the suffix /tʃa/ do not follow the [±front] harmony: e.g. [ben da], [gur'betʃa:di:r]. Regarding the participation of the dorsal plosives in the [±front] harmony, it can be observed that in 27% of cases, when in syllable-final position, the dorsals do not follow [+front] harmony: e.g. [tʃhε'cʰεrik], [jykʰlɛde'he], [jide'rik]. In addition, in ST, the /e/ vowel is realised as a lowered [æ] before tautosyllabic sonorants (e.g. [bæn], [jy'zæ], etc.), a process that exists neither in CTD, nor in Gurbetcha: e.g. [ben], [jy'zel]. One other characteristic of CTD phonology, found also in Gurbetcha, is the use of voiced /b d g dʒ/ where Standard Turkish would have voiceless /p t k tʃ/: e.g. [giz] (as opposed to ST [kʰiz]).

Phonologically, Gurbetcha exhibits as many phonemes as CTD does: for instance, it retains the /ŋ/ and /ɣ/ phonemes, e.g. in [sa'ŋa], [oy'nu]. Furthermore, it also lacks a native /z/ phoneme: it is found in learned words (usually of French origin), but no such words appear in the corpus. Gurbetcha also exhibits characteristic phonological processes of CTD, such as the /nl/ → [n:] full regressive assimilation process: e.g. /zamanlarɨn'da/ → [zaman:arɨn'da].

In summary, the phonetic transcription and phonological analysis of the consonant and vowel systems of Gurbetcha reveal that the Gurbetcha language does not differ in its phonetics and phonology from that of CTD.

4.1.5. Summary

The phonetic transcription of the corpus and phonological analysis of the consonant and vowel systems of Gurbetcha, revealed that it does not differ from the phonetics and phonology of CTD. Phonologically, Gurbetcha exhibits as many phonemes as CTD does: for instance, it retains the /ŋ/ and /ɣ/ phonemes, e.g., in [sa'ŋa], [oɣ'nu]. Furthermore, it also lacks the /ʒ/ phoneme: as is found in learned words (usually of French origin), no such words appear in the corpus.

Moreover, Gurbetcha differs from ST in the same ways as CTD does. For instance, the word /da/ and the suffix /tʃa/ do not follow the [±front] harmony: e.g., [ben da], [gur'betʃh:adi:r]. Regarding the participation of the dorsal plosives in the [±front] harmony, it was observed that sometimes (27%), when in syllable-final position, the dorsals did not follow [+front] harmony: e.g., [tʃhε'chεrikʰ], [jykʰlede'he], [ʃide'rikʰ].

In addition, in ST, the /e/ vowel is realized as a lowered [æ] before tautosyllabic sonorants (e.g., [bæn], [ʃy'zæɫ], etc.), a process that exists neither in CTD, nor in Gurbetcha: e.g., [ben], [ʃy'zel].

One other characteristic of CTD phonology, found also in Gurbetcha, was the use of voiced /b d g dʒ/ where Standard Turkish would have voiceless /p t k tʃ/: e.g., [giz] (as opposed to ST [kʰiz]). It also exhibits characteristic phonological processes of CTD, such as the /nl/ → [n:] full regressive assimilation process: e.g., /zamanlarɪn'da/ → [zaman:arɪn'da].

Consequently, it becomes evident that Gurbetcha coincides phonologically with CTD.

4.2. Morphology

This section begins with an introduction to some basic notions in morphology along with examples, mainly from the Turkish language. The next part introduces inflectional and derivational morphology and compounding. Following this, the focus turns to a morphological analysis of nouns and verbs in the Gurbetcha language.

4.2.1. The structure of words: Syllable structure versus morpheme structure

There are different ways of analysing a word's structure. One way is to analyse syllable structure. In this kind of analysis, the focus is on the sounds that form a particular word. Another is the analysis of morpheme structure. A morphemic analysis focuses on the sub-elements that make up a word. The two ways of analysing word structure are presented for Turkish in the tables below. Comparison of the tables reveals that the verbs *hazırlanmak* 'to be prepared' and *zorlanmak* 'to be strained' are analysed differently regarding syllable structure and morpheme structure.

Table 7: Syllable Structure in ST

	1 st syllable	2 nd syllable	3 rd syllable	4 th syllable
hastalandım	has	-ta	-lan	-dım
	CVC ³⁹	CV	CVC	CVC
zorlandım	zor	-lan	-dım	-
	CVC	CVC	CVC	-

Table 8: Morpheme Structure in ST

	1 st morpheme	2 nd morpheme	3 rd morpheme	4 th morpheme
hastalandım	hasta	-lan	-dı	-m
zorlandım	zor	-lan	-dı	-m

As we can see from the above tables, even when the word has matching numbers of morphemes and syllables, there is not necessarily a correspondence between their boundaries (cf. the word *hastalandım*).

³⁹ The *C* stands for consonant and *V* for vowel.

4.2.1.1. Morphemes

Morphemes are the minimal units of word-building in a language: they cannot be broken down any further into recognisable or meaningful parts. Morphemes may have semantic and grammatical functions. Morphemes are categorised into two classes: free morphemes and bound morphemes.

A free morpheme can stand alone as an independent element in a phrase, such as the Turkish word *ağaç*, ‘tree’. In this category, we can also find two other sub-categories: content words (open word classes) and function words (closed word classes). Open-class, content words are those such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, whereas the closed-class, function words include conjunctions, articles, demonstratives and prepositions.

A bound morpheme, by contrast, cannot stand alone. It must be attached to another morpheme. An example of a bound morpheme is the Turkish plural morpheme {-lar}, which can be attached to nouns, e.g. *ağaç* ‘tree’ > *ağaç+lar* ‘trees’, but cannot exist as an independent element of a phrase. Bound morphemes may also have affixes attached to them.

Some bound morphemes have different pronunciation variants that represent a single morpheme. For instance, in English, when the plural [S] morpheme is attached to the noun *book* to form *books*, it is pronounced as /s/; in *boys* as /z/; and in *boxes* as /ɪz/. The different pronunciation variants of the same morpheme are termed allomorphs: therefore, these three forms are allomorphs of [S] (Göknel 2015)

Turkish is an agglutinative language. It has many morphemes with different functions, which have clear-cut boundaries when combined together. There are some restrictions on the way that morphemes can be combined. In particular, the order of sentence elements is fixed and each morpheme must appear in its specified position. Inflectional morphemes (section 4.2.1.3) are always used in word-final position. This means that derivational suffixes precede inflectional suffixes. However, there may be cases in which more than one inflectional or derivational suffix can be used in a given word. In this case, too, there is a predictable order. A switch in the order of these morphemes yields ungrammatical forms or differences in meaning (Yavuz, Balci & Turan 2006).

4.2.1.2. Allomorph

There are many more allomorphs in Turkish than there are in English. This is because, according to the vowel and consonant rules of the Turkish language, bound morphemes go through vowel and consonant changes when they are attached to roots or stems and to one another. This process gives rise to different

allomorphs. All of the allomorphs of a certain morpheme carry the same meaning, despite their different pronunciations; the sound changes described do not relate to a change in meaning of the morphemes. In this way, the Turkish sound system functions independently of the Turkish morphemic system (Göknel 2015)

To take an example, the morpheme marking reported past {-mİş} applies to verbs and has four allomorphs: *-miş*, *-muş*, *-müş*, *-müştü*. Vowel rounding harmony occurs in this case: the high suffix vowel -I agrees (harmonises) with the stem vowel in backness and rounding. Below is a list of four verbs with the reported past morpheme {-mİş}, following the vowel harmony:

gel-miş-im
yap-mış-ım
dön-müş-üm
uyu-muş-um

4.2.1.3. Inflectional and derivational morphology

Inflectional and derivational word-formation mechanisms are subject to phonological, morphological and syntactic constraints (Aronoff 1976, Katamba 1993). Therefore, they can be considered rule-based operations (Özer 2010). Inflectional morphemes vary (or ‘inflect’) the form of words in order to express the grammatical features relevant for a given language, such as singular/plural or past/present tense, or relations between different words in the sentence (Özer 2010). For example, in the sentence *Lee loves Kim*, the *-s* suffix on *love* marks the 3rd person singular present form of the verb. Inflectional morphemes occur outside any derivational morphemes. English has few affixes of this type and all are suffixes. Note that inflectional morphemes do not change the basic syntactic category of a word. For example, the adjective *big* does not change its word class when suffixed to form *bigger* and *biggest*.

Turkish has only suffixes; these are attached to stems. Suffixes in Turkish are distinguished into two categories: constructive suffixes (*yapım ekleri*) and inflectional suffixes (*çekim ekleri*). A constructive suffix makes a new word from an old one, otherwise known as a derivational suffix. An inflectional suffix indicates how a word is used in a sentence. Only nouns, pronouns and verbs are inflected in Turkish (in the case of a verb this is termed ‘conjugation’). The affixes may express tense, mood, voice, or aspect. The vowels of suffixes undergo vowel harmony, as described above.

An adjective in ST can usually be treated as a noun or pronoun, in which case it can also be inflected. Inflection can also be used to give a noun features of a verb, such as person and tense. Inflection can be used to create a verbal noun (*isim-fiil*), a verbal adjective (*sıfat-fiil*) or participle (*ortaç*) or a verbal adverb (called a gerund by Lewis, 1967; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 53-67).

The table below shows examples of inflectional suffixes both in English and Turkish.

Table 9: Examples of Inflectional suffixes in English and ST

Type of Inflection	English	Inflectional suffixes	Turkish	Inflectional suffixes
Noun inflectional suffixes	girl-girls	Plural marker -s	kız-kızlar	-lAr (-ler/ -lar) ⁴⁰
Noun inflectional suffixes	Mary– Mary’s	Possessive marker’s	Ahmet–Ahmet’in	Genitive case -(n)In
Verb inflectional suffixes	bake–bakes	Third person present singular marker –s	pişirmek–pişiriyor	Present tense marker –İ-yor
Verb inflectional suffixes	wait–waited	Past tense marker –ed	yapmak–yaptı	Past tense marker -DI
Verb inflectional suffixes	sing–singing	Progressive marker –ing	şarkı söylemek – şarkı söyler	Simple present tense marker -r/ -Ar/ -İr
Adjective inflectional suffixes	fast–faster	Comparative marker –er	-	-
Adjective inflectional suffixes	fast–fastest	Superlative marker –est	-	-

The process of forming new words by using bound morphemes is called derivation, and the morphemes which add to or change the meaning of a stem word and/or the syntactic class of it are called derivational morphemes. As seen above, inflection does not change the syntactic category or semantic value of a word; meanwhile, derivation does change the category or the basic meaning of a word. Derivational morphemes may be selective about what they combine with. Typically, they occur closer to the stem than inflectional affixes. For example, in the word *governments*, the derivational suffix *–ment* precedes the inflectional suffix *-s*. Derivational morphemes in English may appear either as prefixes or suffixes: *pre-arrange*, *arrangement*. Some examples of English and Turkish derivational morphemes are listed in Table 10 and Table 11 below, respectively.

⁴⁰ The plural suffix (çoğul eki) can be used with nouns and with third-person verbs.

Table 10: English Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes	English Base word	English Sample Word	Explanation
-ation	imagine	imagination	is added to a verb to give a noun
un-	tie	untie	is added to a verb to give a verb with different meaning
un-	happy	unhappy	is added to an adjective to give an adjective with different meaning
-al	institution	institutional	is added to a noun to give an adjective
-ise	final	finalise	is added to an adjective to give a verb

Table 11: Turkish Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes	Turkish Base word	Turkish Sample Word	Explanation
{-CI} ⁴¹	<i>peynir</i> 'cheese'	<i>peynirci</i> 'maker/seller of cheese'	is added to a noun to give a noun with different meaning
{-IİK}	<i>meyve</i> 'fruit'	<i>meyvelik</i> 'fruit bowl'	is added to a noun to give a noun
{-CIL}	<i>ev</i> 'house'	<i>evcil</i> 'domestic'	is added to a noun to give an adjective
{-II}	<i>ev</i> 'house'	<i>evli</i> 'married'	is added to a noun to give an adjective
{-IİK}	<i>iyi</i> 'good'	<i>iyilik</i> 'goodness'	is added to an adjective to a give noun

⁴¹ Consonant voicing: capital C and D at the beginning of suffixes indicates that these phonemes are realised as their voiceless surface counterparts after voiceless consonants, and as their voiced surface counterparts after vowels. For example, the derivational suffix {-CI} becomes *-ci* after *seker* 'sugar', but becomes *-çı* after *sarap* 'wine', forming surface forms *seker-ci* 'sugar maker/seller' and *şarap-çı* 'wine maker/seller'.

{-I}	<i>yap-</i> ‘to do’	<i>yapı</i> ‘construction’	is added to a verb to give a noun
{-Im}	<i>seç-</i> ‘to select’	<i>seçim</i> ‘election’	is added to a verb to give a noun
{-ICI}	<i>kal-</i> ‘to stay’	<i>kalıcı</i> ‘lasting’	is added to a verb to give an adjective
{-Ik}	<i>kır-</i> ‘to break’	<i>kırık</i> ‘broken’	is added to a verb to give an adjective
{-IE}	<i>el</i> ‘hand’	<i>elle</i> ‘to touch’	is added to a noun to give a verb
{-Ir}	<i>sarı</i> ‘yellow’	<i>sarar-</i> ‘to turn yellow’	is added to an adjective to give a verb
{-IEş}	<i>güzel</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>güzelleş-</i> ‘to become beautiful’	is added to an adjective to give a verb

There are four types of stem forms involved in derivation. Denominal nominal stems are nouns that are formed by attaching a derivational suffix to a noun. Deverbal nominal stems are nouns that are formed by attaching a derivational suffix to a verb. Denominal verbal stems are verbs formed from nouns and deverbal verbal stems are verbs formed from verbs (Yavuz 2006).

4.2.1.4. Compounds and compounding

Another way to create new words is by compounding. Compounding is a process whereby two or more individual words are combined to form one, such as *towel rack*. Compounds are not limited to two words, for example: *bathroom towel rack*. Compound words may be written as a single word (that is, a long word with no spaces between the individual words), as hyphenated words, or as sequences of words separated by spaces (Akmajian *et al*, 1990: 25).

There are several types of compounds in ST. Among these are nominal compounds, which include the compounding of noun+noun. Another type of compounding is possessive compounding, which differs structurally from regular nominal compounding in that the head of the compound must be marked with the possessive case, for example:

kadın doktor-u
 Woman doctor:POSS3SG
 ‘a gynecologist’

okul çanta-sı
School bag:POSS3SG
'school bag'

fizik ders-i
physics lesson:POSS3SG
'physics lesson'

Nominal compounds can also be formed by adjective+noun combinations, as in *karaağaç* (*kara* 'black'+*ağaç* 'tree'), 'elm' and *ilkokul* (*ilk* 'first'+*oku* 'school'), 'primary school'. Another type of adjectival compound includes nouns with the third person singular possessive marking followed by an adjective, as in *gözü pek* 'plucky', *bahtı açık* 'lucky', *alını açık* 'honest', *karnı tok* 'full'. Another type includes bare adjectives followed by denominal adjectives, as in *kısa boylu* 'low' or bare nouns followed by deverbal adjectives, as in *vatansever* 'patriot'. Verb-adjective compounds as in *vurdumduymaz* 'stolid', can also be used to derive new meanings (Yavuz 2006).

There are compounds that involve combining morphologically complex words, in particular, verbal compounds: the first word is a noun, adjective or adverb and the second word derives from a verb. An example of a deverbal noun in English is *good-looker* (Yavuz 2006). Examples from Turkish can be found not only with the combination of noun+verb, such as *imambayıldı* (*imam* 'sect leader'+*bayıldı* 'passed out') 'stuffed eggplant cooked in olive oil', but also with the combination of two verbs, for instance: *yapboz* (*yap* 'do'+*boz* 'break') 'jigsaw puzzle', *çekyat* (*çek* 'suffer' +*yat* 'lie down') 'bed settee', *gelgit* 'tides', etc (Yavuz 2006)

Another type of compounding is where a noun is compounded with other auxiliary verbs (such as *etmek* 'to do', *olmak* 'to be', *yapmak* 'to do', *gelmek* 'to come', *kalmak* 'to remain/stay', *bulunmak* 'to be found/to be', *eylemek* 'to carry out'). These verbs are mostly used in combination with Arabic or Persian words or loanwords. For example: *tamir etmek* (*tamir* 'repair' + *etmek* 'to do') 'to repair', *memnun olmak* (*memnun* 'satisfied' + *olmak* 'to become') 'I am pleased'.

Verbal compounds consisting of two verbs (verb+verb) are also possible. These are called double-verb constructions and are composed of a lexical verb and a postverb or preverb, forming a single unit (Csato 2003: 105-109). They comprise two types: subordinative and coordinative. Subordinative constructions can be made up of a converb of the lexical verb, followed by a postverb. The verbs *kalmak* 'to remain' and *durmak* 'to stop/to stand' are called continuative verbs, and they are used in combination with a main verb

to express a continuing action of the main verb (i.e. to keep on doing, or to remain in a condition of). For example, *yüzekalmak* (*yüz+ekalmak*) ‘to keep on swimming’, *alakalmak* (*al+akalmak*) ‘to keep on taking’.⁴² Another case of verbal compounding is with the lexical verb *sormak* ‘to ask’. For instance, *tutup sormak* means ‘to ask unexpectedly’ (Csato 2003: 107). In this case, the preverb *tutup* ‘to hold’ is the modifier of the lexical verb *sormak* ‘so ask’.

4.2.2. Morphology of Gurbetcha

I now turn to the morphology of Gurbetcha. Inflectional suffixes such as plural suffixes, possessive suffixes, case suffixes and derivational suffixes will be presented and analysed in detail, along with examples from Gurbetcha texts.

4.2.2.1. Inflectional suffixes

4.2.2.1.1. Plural suffix

The suffixes that attach to nominals are those marking number, possession and case. The only number suffix is the plural suffix {-lAr} (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 68). The plural suffix {-lAr} has the narrowest scope among other noun-related suffixes and is used for multiple functions, although its primary function is to indicate plurality. This suffix appears also in the 3rd person plural marker {-lAr} and indicates subject agreement. The suffix follows the vowel harmony rule found in ST.

- (1) **İsbıklarımı** yıkayalamadım
 cloth:PL.POSS.1SG.ACC wash:DVV.NEG.PST.1SG
 ‘I didn’t wash my clothes.’ (#T5:4)

- (2) **Şağları** bir gaciye bırakalarız zanısın
 child:PL.ACC one woman:DAT leave:DVV.AOR1PL look after:IMP.3SG
 ‘We leave the children with a woman to look after them.’ (#T7:5)

- (3) **Şağlar** dükkede oynayamazlar
 child:PL home:LOC play:DVV.NEG.AOR3PL
 ‘The children cannot play at home.’ (#T9:2)

- (4) **Çıknaların** altında nımışlaldı

⁴² *My Turkish course* website, Available from: <http://easyturkishlearning.blogspot.com.cy/2012/09/lesson-48-auxiliary-verbs-in-turkish.html> (Accessed: 28 August 2017)

olive tree:PL.GEN under:LOC sleep:AOR-PST3PL

‘They were sleeping under the olive trees.’ (#T12:2)

In some cases, the plural suffix {-lAr} changes into {-nAr}. There is assimilation of consonant clusters containing the liquids /r/ and /l/, e.g. /-nl-/ > /-nn-/, as in the case of the demonstrative pronoun which changes from *onlar* > *onnar*. The same phenomenon occurs in other Turkic languages, in CTD and in the secret language of the Abdal (Yıldırım 2011:279).

4.2.2.1.2. Possessive suffixes

These suffixes indicate the possession of the noun they attach to, indicating a possessive relationship with other nouns. Note that these suffixes are used in Gurbetcha in the same way that they are in ST. Phonological differentiation only appears in the 2nd person singular and plural, and in the 3rd plural marker of CTD and Gurbetcha. The forms of the possessive suffix are indicated in the table below.

Table 12: Possessive suffixes in Gurbetcha

Person	Inflectional Suffix	Gurbetcha example	CTD and English gloss
1SG	-(I)m	şağım	çocuğum ‘my child’
2SG	-(I)ñ	şağıñ	çocuğuñ ‘your child’
3SG	-(s)I	şağı	çocuğu ‘his/her/its child’
1PL	-(I)mIz	şağımız	çocuğumuz ‘our child’
2PL	-(İ)ñİz	şağıñız	çocuğuñuz ‘your child’
3PL	-lArI/nArI	şağları	çocukları ‘their child’

The following sentences demonstrate the use of the possessive suffix in Gurbetcha.

- (5) İlk gene ilk defasında heilerin altında
 First again first time:POSS.LOC thing:PL.GE under:POSS.3SG.LOC
 nımışlardı.
 sleep:AOR-PST3PL
 ‘First, at the beginning they used to sleep under these (olive trees)’ (#T12:1)

- (6) Biliñ sen bizim durumlarımızı.
 know:AOR2SG you our case:PL.POSS1PL.ACC
 ‘You know our situation.’ (#T13:3)

(7) E giderdik sunardık anama buma anam kayma var
 eh go:AOR-PST1PL say:AOR-PST1PL parents:DAT mother food exist
 ‘We went to our parents and asked them: “Is there any food?”’ (#T13:11)

(8) Saliktir lo kotorum nanaidir
 little:COP3SG PARTICLE money:POSS1PL nothing:COP3SG
 ‘My money is so little, no money is left, my friend.’ (#T3:7)

(9) Sunadi bana sen merininañ kıl gün kav
 say:PST3SG me:DAT you husband:POSS.2SG.POSP every day fight
 edeleñ çünkü sen başka gacoyu habedeleñ
 make/do:AOR2SG because you other man.ACC love:AOR2SG
 ‘She told me “You fight with your husband every day because you love another man”.’ (#T8:10)

From the above examples, one can see that possessive suffixes can be followed by case markers (6), (7), (8) and the marker {-ynan} ‘with’ (9).

The suffix {-(s)I} has a number of functions in addition to those that it shares with the other possessive suffixes (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 67):

- it marks the head of a noun compound: *düğün pastası* ‘wedding cake’
- it marks the head of a partitive construction: *kitaplardan üç tanesi* ‘three of the books’
- it forms (pro)nominals from a variety of word classes: *burası* ‘here’, *içerisi* ‘inside’, *eskisi* ‘the old one’, *hiçbiri(si)* ‘none of them’
- it appears on (impersonal) verbal nouns which contain {-mA}: *okuması zor* ‘[it] is difficult to read’
- it occurs in some composite suffixes: *anlamazmışçasına* ‘as if uncomprehending’

4.2.2.1.3. Case suffixes

The function of case marking (or its absence) is to indicate the relationship between the noun phrase to which it is attached and other sentence constituents (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 67). Turkish has five case suffixes, which mark respectively the accusative, dative, locative, ablative and genitive cases, and this is reflected in Gurbetcha. Another nominal inflectional suffix is the instrumental marker {-(y)lA}, which shares some properties with case suffixes; this is discussed here as well.

4.2.2.1.3.1. Nominative case

With regard to the nominative case, Gurbetcha's morphological features are not different from ST and CTD and the nominative case has similar functions.

- (10) ben de bidedim destimi
I also give:PST1SG hand:POSS1SG.ACC
'I also gave my hand.' (#T8:9)
- (11) kız ağlamazsaydı kocaya vermezdik
girl cry:NEG.COND-PST3SG husband:DAT give:NEG.AOR-PST1PL
'If the girl couldn't cry we could not give her to the man.' (#T14:18)
- (12) kotor bidedim sana nanaidir
money give:NEG.AOR1SG you:DAT nothing:COP3SG
'I cannot give you money, I do not have any (there is none).' (#T3:5)
- (13) baran aşınacak seni
rain take:FUT1SG you:ACC
'You will be caught in the rain (the rain will take you).' (#T3:11)
- (14) kayma yapalajalamadım
food do:DVV.IMPOSS.PST1SG
'I couldn't prepare the dinner.' (#T4:5)

4.2.2.1.3.2. Genitive case

The basic function of the genitive case marker is to mark a noun phrase as indicating the possessor of some item denoted by another constituent. Another function is to mark the subject of certain kinds of non-finite subordinate clause (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 181). As the expression of a possessor, a genitive-marked noun phrase can take the following functions (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 181):

- a. The modifier in a genitive-possessive construction:

Bu arabanın sahibi kim? 'Who is the owner of this car?'

- b. A subject complement in nominal sentences:

Bu çanta benim değil annemin. 'This bag is not mine, it's my mother's.'

c. A subject complement in small clauses:

Bu araba Salih Beyin sayıyorum. ‘This car belongs to Mr Salih.’

The types of non-finite subordinate clause in which an overt subject in genitive marked are (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 182):

a. Most non-finite noun clauses marked with {-mA}, {-DİK}, {AcAk}:

Senin gelmeni istiyorum. ‘I want you to come’.

b. Relative clauses whose verb is suffixed with {-DİK} or {(y)AcAk} plus a possessive suffix:

Yemek istemediğini söyledi. ‘He said that he doesn’t want food.’

The genitive-possessive construction is a composite noun phrase constructed of two noun phrases marked as noun phrase+genitive and noun phrase+possessive respectively. The noun phrase which carries possessive marking is the head of the composite noun phrase and indicates the entity which is possessed (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 182). The suffixes follow the rules of vowel harmony. In Gurbetcha, the two noun phrases are used, similar to ST and the CTD.

(15) Çayın ailesi vermez laftaya
girl:GEN family:POSS3SG give:NEG.AOR3SG boy:DAT
çayı
girl:ACC
‘The girl’s family did not allow the girl to marry the boy.’ (#T6:17)

(16) Bazılarının abılarının pır dıravı
Some:GEN father:POSS3PL.GEN many money:POSS3SG
var
exist
‘Fathers of some have lots of money.’ (#T9:9)

(17) Bir gün gacinin merisi şugula
One day woman:GEN husband:POSS3SG work:DAT
gideler.
go:DVV.AOR3SG
‘One day, the woman’s husband leave for work’. (#T10:12)

A relation formation is possible without this suffix. In such cases, the first noun has no suffix, and the second noun has only a third person possessive suffix: the two noun phrases are marked as noun phrase+Ø and noun phrase+possessive. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (18) Hem ayrıca bir pasta aşınayabilir yapabilir da aşınayalasıñ
 and also one cake take: POT.AOR1SG do:POT.1SG also take:OPT3SG
Pazartesi günü
 Monday
 ‘Also, he/she will (take and do) make and take a cake on Monday.’ (#T25:28)

A noun with the possessive suffix can be subject to further suffixes. Epenthetical *-n-* is used when adding second suffixes to possessed items for 3rd Person Singular (his, her, its) and 3rd Person Plural (their). An example of this from the corpus is the following:

- (19) Başkasının evinde garavlıdırlar
 other:POSS3SG.GEN home:POSS3SG.LOC hide:COP.3PL
 ‘They hide in someone else’s house.’ (#T6:26)

4.2.2.1.3.3. Accusative case

The accusative case marker indicates the direct object of a transitive verb.⁴³ In Gurbetcha, the use of this suffix is entirely similar to ST and CTD. This is indicated with the suffix $\{- (y)I\}$. There are uses with and without this suffix. In the corpus, this suffix is encountered in the following functions. Firstly, when the direct object is definite:

- (20) İsbıklarımı yıkayalamadım
 cloth:PL.POSS1SG.ACC wash:DVV.IMPOSS.PST1SG
 ‘I couldn’t wash my clothes.’ (#T5:4)

Secondly, when a non-definite direct object precedes the verb, but does not occupy the immediately pre-verbal position:

- (21) Sonra yuvaladım hepsini mazın kabın içine dökemedim
 later wash:PST1SG all:ACC big pot:GEN inside:DAT put:PST1SG
 ‘After that, I washed everything and I put them – in a big pot.’ (#T7:13)

⁴³ However, some direct objects are left in the non-case marked form (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 175).

Lastly, when the direct object is marked with a possessive suffix:

- (22) Biliñ sen bizim durumlarımızı da
know:AOR2SG you our:POSS1SG case:PL.POSS.ACC also
'You know our situation.' (#T13:3)

The only exception to this rule is where a 3rd person possessive suffix functions as the marker of a {-s)I} compound. In this case, the indefinite direct object is non-case-marked:

- (23) Her yemekten sonra bir Türk kahve-si
Every food:ABL after one Turkish coffee:POSS.3SG
içer
drink:AOR3SG
'After every meal s/he has a (cup of) Turkish coffee.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 176)

4.2.2.1.3.4. Dative case

The dative case has a number of different functions and is indicated with the suffix {-y)A}. This suffix is used in Gurbetcha as it is used in CTD and ST. Some of the functions of the dative case are illustrated by the following Gurbetcha examples. Firstly, indicating the recipient or beneficiary of an action:

- (24) Şağları bir gaciye bırakarız zanısın
child:PL.ACC one woman:DAT leave:DVV.AOR1PL look after:IMP.3SG
'We leave our children with a woman to look after them.' (#T7:5)

Secondly, to indicate the destination or target of an action:

- (25) Akşam dükkeye gennarım
evening home:DAT come:AOR1SG
'I come home at night.' (#T7:6)

Thirdly, to indicate purpose; this kind of dative-marked noun phrase is almost always a {-mAK} clause (cf. Göksel and Kerslake 2005:177):

- (26) Gideller insannarımız işte dilenmeye
go:AOR3PL people:PL.POSS1PL here beg:VN.DAT
'Our people used to go (they go) begging.' (#T15:6)

With certain bare postpositions, e.g. *doğru* ‘towards’, *göre* ‘according to’, *kadar* ‘until’:

- (27) Bize çıktığına göre başkasına
we:DAT came.out:PART.DAT according other:POSS3SG.DAT
daha da çıkabilir
more also came.out:POT.AOR.3SG
‘What happened to us, can happen to others as well’ (#T25:22)

- (28) Bir haftaya kadar istediğı şeyi aşınmayabilir
one week:DAT until want:PART.3SG thing:ACC take:POT.3SG
‘She can take for one week whatever she wants’ (#T25:26)

4.2.2.1.3.5. Locative case

The locative suffix expresses physical or abstract location (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 178). Locative is generally reflected with prepositions in English (e.g. *in*, *on*, *at*) rather than by affixation. The locative case in Gurbetcha is formed with the suffix {-DA}. The suffix is used in Gurbetcha as it is used in ST and CTD. Some examples of the functions of this suffix in Gurbetcha are as follows. Firstly, as a time or place adverbial:

- (29) Gece on ikide biter
Night twelve:LOC finish:AOR3SG
‘It finishes at 12 o’clock at night’ (#T27:78)

Secondly, indicating the locational constituent of an existential sentence:

- (30) Hrisom mahellede pır şağlar var
Chryso:POSS1SG neighbourhood:LOC many children:PL exist
‘Chryso, there are a lot of children in the neighborhood.’ (#T9:1)

In some cases in the corpus, the suffix {-DA} does not follow consonant voicing harmony, i.e. where the first consonant in the suffix is voiced or voiceless depending on the voicing of the sound that comes before it. According to this harmony, if the sound before the suffix is voiceless, the suffix starts with /t/; meanwhile, if the sound before the suffix is voiced, then the suffix starts with /d/. However, in Gurbetcha, when the sound before the suffix is voiceless, the suffix may start with the consonant /d/, instead of the consonant /t/, for example: *çöpde* (#T16:2). This phenomenon also occurs in CTD.

4.2.2.1.3.6. Ablative case

The ablative case is formed with the suffix {-DAn} and has many functions (cf. Göksel & Kerslake 2005:179), some of which are illustrated below. Firstly, the ablative may express concepts such as departure, separation, source or cause:

- (31) Gavdan gava hallanıladı
village:ABL village:DAT go:AOR-PST3PL
'They used to travel (were travelling) from one village to another.' (#T12:6)

Secondly, it is used with certain bare postpositions, e.g. *önce* 'before', *sonra* 'after', *başka* 'apart from', *dolayı* 'because of':

- (32) Ondan kervi gelir günü hallanıırıq ısbık
This:ABL after come:AOR1SG day:POSS go:AOR1PL cloth
alıırıq ağır bir şey aşınırıq
take:AOR1PL expensive (heavy) something take:AOR1PL
'Then the day comes and we go and buy clothes; we buy something expensive.' (#T21:26)

Additionally it is used in adjectival or adverbial structures expressing comparison, as a modifier that indicates the object of comparison:

- (33) Ama inan gaynanam daha çok
But believe:IMP.2SG mother in law:POSS.1SG much more
çekeledi merisinden
suffer:DVV.PST3SG husband:POSS.3SG.ABL
'But believe me, my mother in law suffered more from her husband.' (#T4:26)

As with the locative case, the ablative case suffix {-DAN} exhibits the phenomenon of not obeying the consonant harmony rule all the time.

4.2.2.1.3.7. Instrumental case

The instrumental case indicates that the object or person denoted by the noun is used as a means for the action or process. In Proto-Turkic, the instrumental case was once indicated with the {+In/+Un} suffix, which is less commonly used today. In time, it was replaced with the preposition/conjunction *ile* 'with', which is found in ST as an instrumental marker {-(y)lA}. It appears predominantly in the suffixal form {-(y)lA}, and only rarely as the separate form *ile*. Like the dative, locative and ablative case markers, it

attaches to noun phrases, enabling them to function as oblique objects or adverbials. However, unlike the case suffixes, it cannot take stress (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 71). In ST, {-(y)la} attaches to the genitive-marked forms of the following pronouns (i.e., genitive-attracting pronouns), except when the plural suffix {-lAr} is also present (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 71):

- a. simple personal pronouns: *benimle* ‘with me’
- b. demonstrative pronouns: *şununla* ‘with this/that one’
- c. *kim* ‘who’: *kiminle* ‘with whom’

The free-standing form *ile* is not used with genitive-attracting pronouns. In everyday speech, {-(y)lA} may be attached directly to pronouns without an intervening genitive case marker:

- a. *benle* ‘with me’
- b. *şunla* ‘with this/that one’
- c. *kimle* ‘who with’

In very informal speech contexts, ‘I’ may be pronounced as [n] and the marker itself may be followed by [n], resulting in forms such as *şunnan*, *kimnen*, and *Fatma’ynan*.

The instrumental case suffix form {-(n)An} occurs in Anatolian dialects and in CTD. According to Yıldırım (2011: 281) this suffix is used by Abdal living in Adana, Osmaniye, Hatay and in Kahramanmaraş. This is also a commonly used form in Gurbetcha, illustrated by the following examples from the corpus:

(34) Çay da laftayı sever kaçtı
 girl also boy:ACC love:AOR3SG escape:PST3SG
 laftaynan beraber
 boy:POSP together
 ‘The girl loved the boy too, so they escaped together!’ (#T6:25)

(35) Şuğula ben ve meriminan beraber
 work:DAT me and husband:POSS1SG.POSP together
 gideleriz.
 go:AOR1PL
 ‘I go to work with my husband.’ (#T7:4)

(36) Merisiynan kıl gün kav edeler
 husband:POSS3SG.POSP every day fight make/do:AOR3SG

‘She argues with her husband every day.’ (#T8:2)

- (37) Bir gün beraber gacıynan gideledik
one day together woman:POSP go:DVV.PST1PL
‘One day, we went there with the woman.’ (#T8:6)

4.2.2.2. Interrogatives

In Turkish, yes/no questions (including tag questions) and alternative questions (i.e. involving a choice between alternatives) are formed by the insertion of the question particle {-mI}. Wh-questions are formed using a question phrase such as *nerede* ‘where’, *ne zaman* ‘when’, *kim* ‘who’, or *hangi* ‘which’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 287). Wh-phrases are normally stressed, whether they are in the main clause or a subordinate clause.

The particle {-mI} is an unstressable clitic. Sentence stress usually occurs immediately before {-mI} unless there are other factors affecting stress in the sentence (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 287-288). In direct yes/no questions, the clitic {-mI} attaches to the predicate when the entirety of a proposition is questioned. It can be also attached to a phrase within the sentence generally just before the predicate. Tag questions may be formed with *değil mi* and *öyle mi* (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 289); both forms can be tagged to affirmative or negative predicates which are verbal or nominal. In the case of alternative questions, the particle {-mI} is placed after each of the alternatives presented, which can optionally be connected by *yoksa* ‘or’. Where they are predicates, the second may simply be the negation of the first. The examples below illustrate the use of this morpheme in ST:

Köpeklerden mi korkuyorsun? ‘Are you afraid of dogs, then?’

Mustafa Ahmet’in kardeşiymiş, öyle mi? ‘Mustafa is Ahmet’s brother, is that right?’

Gittin mi gitmedin mi? ‘Did you go or not?’

Sana mektup mu yazdı? ‘Did he/she write the letter?’ (*also yazdı mı*)

Ahmet’in arabası mı çalınmış? ‘Has Ahmet’s car been stolen?’

Ahmet’in mi arabası çalınmış? ‘Is it Ahmet’s car that has been stolen?’

Çok mu yoruldu bugün? ‘Have you got really tired today?’

The particle {-mI} is hardly used at all in Gurbetcha, compared to ST (the same situation is true of CTD). The absence of the particle {-mI} is one of the most salient features of Gurbetcha (and CTD). Instead, emphasis is used. The last syllable of the word to be emphasised is spoken with far more force of breath. Below are examples of yes/no questions from the corpus.

- (38) Giderdik sunardık anama buma anam
 go:AOR-PST1PL say:AOR-PST1PL parents:DAT mother:POSS1SG
 kayma var
 food exist
 ‘We used to go and say to our parents, “Mother, is there any food?”’ (#T13:11)
- (39) Şimdi böyle hey vardır
 Now like this thing exist:COP.3SG
 ‘Is there anything like this now/nowadays?’ (#T14:44)
- (40) Teberca bilmiyön Gurbetça’dır
 Teberca know:PRS2SG Gurbetcha:COP.3SG
 ‘Don’t you know that Terberca is Gurbetcha?’ (#T13:9)
- (41) Anam da derdi ya anam abi
 mother:POSS1SG also say:AOR-PST3SG mother:POSS1SG father
 işledi da getirsin sana kayma
 work:PST3SG also bring:IMP3SG you:DAT food
 ‘My mother used to say, “My dear, did your father work enough to bring you food?”’ (#T13:12)

4.2.2.3. Negation

Verbals are negated with {-mA}, nominals with *değil* ‘not’, and existential predications with *yok* ‘not-existent’ (cf. Csato & Johanson, 1988: 227). The last two elements can be followed by copulas. Contrasted constituents are also negated with *değil* (42). The use of the particle *hiç* ‘nothing, no..., at all’ gives more emphasis to negations (49). To create the negative form of infinite verbs in Gurbetcha, the {-mA} negative suffix is added between verb stems and conjugation suffixes, similar to ST. Again, similar to ST, the suffix {-mAz} is used to create the negative form of the aorist (49).

- (42) Gideller bahçeyə seņin deęil ...
 go:AOR.3PL field:DAT you:GEN not
 ‘They go to the field; not yours, ...’ (#T16:22)

- (43) Şuęul yapalamadım dükede
 work do:DVV.NEG.PST1SG home:LOC
 ‘I did not do anything at home.’ (#T5:2)

- (44) Dükede huzurumuz yok

- home:LOC peace:POSS.1PL not
‘There is no peace in our home.’ (#T11:19)
- (45) Kocamızınan merimizinan
husband:POSS.1PL.POSP husband:POSS.1PL.POSP
huzurumuz yok
problem:POSS.1PL not exist
‘My husband and I do not get along.’ (#T11:20)
- (46) Çelleşme lo hallasın
talk:NEG.IMP.2SG PARTICLE go:IMP.3SG
‘Don’t talk to him – let him go.’ (#T3:9)
- (47) Isbıklarımı yıkayamadım
cloth:PL.POSS.1SG.ACC wash:DVV.NEG.PST1SG
‘I couldn’t wash my clothes.’ (#T5:4)
- (48) Çayın ailesi vermez laftaya
girl:GEN family:POSS.3SG give:NEG.AOR.3SG boy:DAT
çayı
girl:ACC
‘The girl’s parents did not let her marry him.’ (#T6:17)
- (49) Bazı sağlar kav edelerler hiç
some child:PL fight make/do:DVV.AOR3PL nothing
duramazlar Hrisom
stop:IMP.NEG.AOR3PL Chryso:POSS1SG
‘Some children never stop, they fight all the time, Chryso.’ (#T9:4)

In the case of negative interrogative sentences, {mI} and the appropriate form of the verb ‘to be’ are placed after *değil*.

4.2.2.4. Pronouns

In this section, I present personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and locative pronouns in Gurbetcha.

4.2.2.4.1. Personal pronouns

Pronouns, like other noun phrases, can be inflected for case, e.g *beni* ‘me’, *onları* ‘them’, *size* ‘to you’ *sende* ‘on you’. The dative form of the 1st and 2nd persons singular is irregular, the stem vowel becoming ‘a’ (see table 14). Also, the 3rd person singular after the pronoun O a mediation of the consonant ‘n’ is attached: *ondan*. (Gölsel & Kerslake 2005:263):

The personal pronouns in Gurbetcha are the same as in the CTD. The forms of personal pronouns in these two languages are presented in Table 13. Note that these are highly similar to the forms found in ST. One key difference is in the 3rd person plural, due to assimilation of /l/ > /n/: instead of *onlar*, the form in Gurbetcha and CTD is *onnar*. There are also different forms for the 1st, and 2nd person singular dative. The pronouns in ST are presented in Table 14 for comparison.

Table 13: Personal pronouns with cases in Gurbetcha and CTD

	Genitive	Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
1st SG	benim	beni	bana /bağa	bende	benden
2nd SG	senin	seni	sana /sağa	sende	senden
3rd SG	onun	onu	bana	onda	ondan
1st PL	bizim	bizi	size	bizde	bizden
2nd PL	sizin	size	size	sizde	sizden
3rd PL	onnarın	onnarı	onnara	onnarda	onnardan

Table 14: Personal pronouns with cases in ST

	Genitive	Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
1st SG	benim	beni	bana	bende	benden
2nd SG	senin	seni	sana	sende	senden
3rd SG	onun	onu	ona	onda	ondan
1st PL	bizim	bizi	bize	bizde	bizden
2nd PL	sizin	size	size	sizde	sizden
3rd PL	onların	onları	onlara	onlarda	onlardan

4.2.2.4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Gurbetcha are the same as in CTD, and again are almost the same as in ST. They are presented in Table 15 below. The demonstrative pronouns *bu*, and *o* are differentiated in meaning

by the proximity expressed: *bu* refers to closer objects and *o* refers to ones that are furthest away. Meanwhile, *şu* is usually accompanied by an ostensive gesture, either a look in the direction of the item in question or pointing to it (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 278). For comparison, the demonstrative pronouns in ST are provided in Table 16.

Table 15: Demonstrative pronouns with cases in Gurbetcha and CTD.

Case	Singular			Plural		
Nominative	bu	şu	o	bunlar	şunlar	onlar
Genitive	bunun	şunun	onun	bunların	şunların	onların
Accusative	bunu	şunu	onu	bunları	şunları	onları
Dative	buna	şuna	ona	bunnara	şunnara	onnara
Locative	bunda	şunda	onda	bunnarda	şunnarda	onnarda
Ablative	bundan	şundan	ondan	bunnardan	şunnardan	onnardan

Table 16: Demonstrative pronouns with cases in ST.

Case	Singular			Plural		
Nominative	bu	şu	o	bunlar	şunlar	onlar
Genitive	bunun	şunun	onun	bunların	şunların	onların
Accusative	bunu	şunu	onu	bunları	şunları	onları
Dative	buna	şuna	ona	bunlara	şunlara	onlara
Locative	bunda	şunda	onda	bunlarda	şunlarda	onlarda
Ablative	bundan	şundan	ondan	bunlardan	şunlardan	onlardan

The demonstrative pronouns are derived from the demonstrative determiners. The plural forms contain /n/ before the plural suffix. Similarly, when singular demonstrative pronouns are inflected for case, the case markers are preceded by /n/, as in *bunda* ‘on/in this one’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 278). Examples with the use of the demonstrative pronoun in Gurbetcha are below:

- (50) Ne sunayım sana çay?
 What tell:OPT1SG you:DAT girl
 ‘What should I tell you girl?’ (#T13:5)

- (51) Ama bu memlekette sen benim için yabancısın
 But this country you mine for foreigner:POSS1SG.COP2SG
 ‘But in this country (this side), for me, you are a foreigner.’ (#T23:8)

4.2.2.4.3. Locative pronouns

The locative pronouns in Turkish are derived by combining the demonstrative pronouns *bu*, *şu*, *o* with the additional suffix {-ra}: *bura-*, *şura-* *ora-*. The following table shows the locative pronouns, which are the same in Gurbetcha, CTD and ST.

Table 17: Locative pronouns with cases

Case	Singular			Plural		
Nominative	bura	şura	ora	buralar	şuralar	oralar
Genitive	buranın	şuranın	oranın	buraların	şuraların	oraların
Accusative	burayı	şurayı	orayı	buraları	şuraları	oraları
Dative	buraya	şuraya	oraya	buralara	şuralara	oralara
Locative	burada	şurada	orada	buralarda	şuralarda	oralarda
Ablative	buradan	şuradan	oradan	buralardan	şuralardan	oralardan

Demir (2018) has noted that there is a specific feature in CTD with the locative suffix of demonstrative pronouns. A specific feature is the use of an element {ş} (i.e. [ʃ]) preceding the locative suffix of demonstrative pronouns as in the following examples (from CTD): *burašta* ‘here’, *orašta* ‘there’, *şurašta* ‘over there’.

In Gurbetcha, speakers sometimes use the loanword *afa* ‘this, that’ to form locative pronouns. In some instances, the diminutive suffix {-Cik}⁴⁴ can be attached to the locative stem *afara-*, e.g. *afaracık* ‘this small place’. The diminutive suffix {-Cik} is used more frequently in CTD and Gurbetcha than in ST. According to Yıldırım (2011:49), the pronoun *afa* is also frequently used in the Abdal language. This pronoun can be used to refer to things, people or places.

4.2.2.4.4. The demonstrative pronoun *kendi/gendi*

The word *kendi* has five functions, one adjectival and the rest pronominal. It usually refers to human beings, but in its adjectival function and in its emphatic function it may refer to inanimates (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 263). In ST, the word *kendi* functions as a reflexive pronoun and is marked with a possessive marker depending on the person of the verb. It bears case markers in accordance with the position where it appears. The reflexive pronoun is used with non-reflexive verbs, i.e. verbs that do not have reflexive morphology (Ketrez 2012). According to Demir (2018) the reflexive pronoun *kendi* in CTD does not work as a reflexive

⁴⁴ The diminutive suffixes in Turkish are used to express small size (‘my little...’ / ‘my baby...’) or affection (‘my dear...’).

pronoun but as a personal pronoun. This use is also reflected in Gurbetcha. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

- (52) Tıraklarını yıkacam gendine
 shoes:POSS3PL:ACC wash:FUT1SG them:DAT
 ‘I will wash their shoes.’ (#T5:6)

- (53) Bir gün kayma kayarkana çay dedi gendine
 one day food eat:GER.AOR girl say:PST3SG her:DAT
 biraz perez ver bana
 some bread give:IMP.2SG me:DAT
 ‘One day, while they were eating, she told the boy, “Give me some bread”.’ (#T6:9)

4.2.2.5. Derivational suffixes and word formation in Gurbetcha

Word derivation is a means of creating new words by using bound morphemes. As explained above, the morphemes which alter the meaning of a stem word and/or change the syntactic class are called derivational morphemes. The vast majority of word derivation in both ST and in Gurbetcha is achieved through suffixation of bound morphemes. Prefixation is used to a very limited extent, mostly in loanwords, not only in ST but also in the CTD and in Gurbetcha. Thus, in Gurbetcha, a dialect which follows Turkish morphological rules, there is no reproductive prefixation; however, since Gurbetcha has borrowed many words from foreign languages that have prefixes, there are some examples of prefix usage found in the corpus.

- (54) Merin işkef gaco ama senin merin inhoş
 Husband:POSS.2SG handsome man but yours husband:POSS.2SG unhappy
 ‘Your husband is a handsome man but he is unhappy.’ (#T8:12)

Most of the derivational suffixes employed in Gurbetcha are the same as in ST and other Turkic languages, attached either to verbs or nouns (see section 4.2.1.3). The examples in the following subsections are all taken from the Gurbetcha corpus and illustrate the derivational suffixes that attach to Gurbetcha verbs and nouns. The examples are presented and analysed according to the following categories:

- (a) Denominal nouns (*Gurbetça* ‘Gurbetcha’, *gaftilik* ‘stealing’, *cavsız* ‘without eyes’, *beyazafa* ‘this white’, etc.)
- (b) Denominal verbs (*nımsılamak* ‘to sleep’, *çelleşmek* ‘to talk/speak’, etc.)
- (c) Deverbals nouns (*kayma* ‘food’, *ezgi* ‘pain’, etc.)

(d) Deverbal verbs (*kaydırmak* ‘to feed someone’, *kurutmak* ‘to dry’)

4.2.2.5.1. Verb derivation in Gurbetcha

As mentioned above, the order of elements in Gurbetcha is similar to that of ST and other Turkic languages. Word formation suffixes stand closest to the primary stem, and the following slots are filled by voice markers, negation markers and thematic markers of aspect, mood and tense. If the verb form is finite, it ends with personal markers with pronominal or possessive functions.

One method of verb formation in Gurbetcha is by using the suffix {-AIA}. In ST, the suffix {-AIA} is a derivational suffix, which adds the meaning of iterativity/repeatedly (Kormaz 2003: 125, cited in Yıldırım 2011: 277), for example, *eş-mek* > *eş-ele-mek* ‘to scratch, scabble repeatedly’, *it-mek* > *it-ele-mek* ‘to push repeatedly’, *ov-mak* > *ov-ala-mak* ‘to scrub repeatedly’. In Gurbetcha, the suffix {-AIA} forms verbs on the basis of verbal stems, and in most cases, is added to Turkish verb stems. This suffix forms new verbs from existing stems but does not change the meaning of the basic verb, for example: *yapmak* > *yap-ala-mak* ‘to do’, *gitmek* > *gid-ele-mek* ‘to go’. These examples do not have the same meaning of iterativity or repeated action as in ST. This suffix also occurs in the Abdal secret language (Yıldırım 2011: 277). The suffix {-AIA} may derive from the gerund {-(y)A} plus the addition of the denominal suffix {-IA}, having the meaning of ‘be able to do’. Another explanation for this form could be that after the root of an infinitive, the auxiliary verb **eylemek* ‘to make, to do’ is added.

The examples below show the involvement of this suffix in Gurbetcha verb formation. Morphologically, the verb follows the ST and Turkic basic rules. Following the stem and the derivational suffix {-AIA}, inflectional suffixes can be added to indicate negation, tense, and person/number endings.

(55) Ama inan gaynanam daha çok
but believe:IMP.2SG mother in law:POSS.1SG more a lot
çekeledi merisinden
suffer:DVV.PST3SG husband:POSS3SG.ABL
‘Believe me, my mother-in-law suffered a lot with her husband.’ (#T4:26)

(56) Kayma yapalayamadım
food do:DVV.IMPOS.1SG
‘I couldn’t prepare any food.’ (#T5:5)

(57) Ondan sonra laftanın edisi dedi
then:ABL boy:GEN father:POSS3SG say:PST3SG

‘If you find (food) bring (it) as well to eat.’ (#T13:13)

Example (63) provides another illustration of the derivation of a Gurbetcha verb based on a loanword stem. The verb used here, *metlenmek* ‘to die’, is derived using the loaned Arabic verbal noun *meyt* ‘death’, from the root *maut* م و ت (m-w-t) (see Appendices, Table 5)⁴⁵. After the stem, the denominal verb suffix {-IAn} is added to the noun to form the Gurbetcha verb.

- (63) Şimdi mesela biri metleneledi
now for example one die:DVV.PST3SG
‘Now let’s say that (for example) someone died.’ (#T28:1)

Another example of this category is the verb *bidemek* ‘to give’. This verb stem derives from the imperative form of the Kurdish verb *dan*, which in the imperative form is *bide* ‘give!’ (see Appendix, Table 5).

- (64) Kotor bidemem sana nanaydir
money give:NEG.AOR1SG you:DAT nothing:COP3SG
‘I cannot give you any money.’ (#T3:5)

Similarly, the Kurdish imperative form *zan*, with the original meaning ‘to know/understand’ is used to form new verbs in Gurbetcha. However, in Gurbetcha, this verb has a different range of meanings: ‘to see’, ‘to watch’, ‘to look after’, ‘to know’, to ‘to think’.

- (65) falcı sunadı bize destini zaniyorum
fortuneteller say:PST3SG we:DAT hand:POSS.2SG.ACC look:DVV.PRS1SG
‘The fortune teller told us, “I can read your hand”.’ (#T8:8)

- (66) ne zanacak şağlar karanlıkta
what watch/see:FUT3SG child:PL dark:LOC
‘What will the children watch in the dark?’ (#T19:38)

- (67) zanımam ya (Teberca)
know:AOR1SG eh (Teberca)
‘I don’t know (Teberca/Gurbetcha).’ (#T20:1)

- (68) kirvesi zanı ne demektir

⁴⁵ This verb is found in Hebrew as [מָת] *mét* and Aramaic as [מִיַּת] *mīt*.

godfather:POSS3SG look/see:AOR2SG what meaning:COP.3SG
'His/her godfather sees her/him. What does it mean?' (#T21:4)

- (69) Onu hastaneye birakalallar ondan sonra
he:ACC hospital:DAT leave:AOR3PL that after
akrabaları ailesi gidiyor onu
relative:PL.POSS3SG family:POSS3SG go:PRS3SG he:ACC
zaniyalıyor
see:PRS3SG
'They leave him at the hospital, and then his relatives and family come to see him.' (#T28:2)

- (70) ... şorum olsaydı ben evlenmeyi
... head:POSS.1SG have:COND-PST me marry:VN.ACC
bile zanımadım
even think:AOR-PST.NEG1SG
'... if I was clever (if I had my mind) I wouldn't be thinking of marriage.' (#T24:5)

Another example is the verb 'to drink', which derives from the infinitive form of a foreign verb, rather than the imperative. In Hindi the verb 'to drink' *peenaa* is an irregular verb which in the imperative form becomes *peeje*. Instead of borrowing the imperative form of this verb as it is, Gurbetcha instead borrows the infinitive form directly.

- (71) benim şekeri hapım var piyinedim
mine sugar pill:POSS.1SG exist drink:FUT1SG
'I also have a pill for diabetes; I took it.' (#T5:15)

Light verbs

Light verbs consist of a combination of a nominal element plus an auxiliary. The verb itself does not contribute much meaning to the sentence; instead, we know what it means by the word it is paired with.⁴⁶ Many verbs that serve as light verbs can also serve as auxiliary verbs and/or full verbs depending on the context in which they appear. Light verbs, however, are not auxiliary verbs, nor are they full verbs.

In Gurbetcha, only one such verb was found in the corpus. The verb *habetmek* 'to love' derives from the Arabic verbal noun [حبّ] *hob*, combined with the Turkish auxiliary verb *etmek* 'to do'. This specific

⁴⁶ The Free Dictionary 'Light Verbs' Available from: <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Light-Verbs.htm> (Accessed: 28 January 2018)

example shows that the loan verbal noun [حبّ] *hob* cannot function alone as a verb or as a noun. It needs the auxiliary verb in order to carry the meaning of the verb, ‘to love’.

- (72) Gacı başka gacoyu habedeler
 Woman other man:ACC love:AOR3S
 ‘(The) woman loves the other man.’ (#T8:3)

4.2.2.5.2. Denominal nouns

Denominal nouns are nouns that are formed by attaching a derivational suffix to a noun. There are a number of such suffixes in Gurbetcha, listed below with examples.

- {-II}: This suffix creates a noun and an adjective from nouns and has multiple functions, as in ST: indicating a property, e.g. *akıllı* ‘clever’ or a place of origin, e.g. *ankaralı* ‘from Ankara’; to talk about groups, e.g. *üçlü* ‘triplet’; to form adjectival phrases from noun phrases, e.g. *uzun saçlı* ‘with long hair’ and in the formation of adverbial phrases, e.g. *yarım akıllı* ‘half-wit’.

- (73) Başkasının evinde garavlıdırlar⁴⁷
 other:POSS.3SG.GEN home:POSS.3SG.LOC hide:COP.3PL
 ‘They are hiding in someone else’s house.’ (#T6:26)

- {-IIk}: The abstract suffix forms nouns from nouns and adjectives and it is a very productive and common suffix. It is similar to the English derivational suffixes *-ness*, *-tion*, *-ity*.

- (74) Şağları gaftilik⁴⁸ yapallar. (#T10:5)
 child:POSS.3PL stealing do:AOR3PL
 ‘Her children are stealing.’

- {-CI}: forms *nomens agentis*. This is one of the most productive suffixes in ST and is used in the same context in Gurbetcha. It has many functions and derives nouns from nouns. It has a similar function to the *-er* suffix in English, in that it creates nouns that describe people, based on some association with the stem noun (from ST: *güreşçi* ‘wrestler’, *yolcu* ‘traveller’, *devrimci* ‘revolutionary’, *tatlıcı* ‘someone with a sweet tooth’, *palavracı* ‘liar’; see (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 58-59).

⁴⁷ The verb *garavlamak* derives from the Hindi word *gurh rakhna* ‘hidden’ and it is also used in Romanes language (see Appendices, Table 5). The infix {-av} is used to derive transitives from a number of obsolete roots (*gar-av-* ‘to hide something’, *xox-av-* ‘to lie’, *sikh-av-* ‘to teach’, etc).

⁴⁸ See Appendices, Table 5.

beautiful:DIM.COP.3SG this woman:DIM say:AOR-PST3SG
 ‘She was saying, “This woman is beautiful”.’ (#T14:29)

(79) ... şimdi da karıcık kabıncıktır
 ... now also woman:DIM pregnant:DIM.COP.3SG
 ‘Now the woman is pregnant.’ (#T29:11)

- {-afa}: This suffix is found in Gurbetcha and in the Abdal language (Yıldırım 2011: 274). The suffix {+afa} is related to /or a copy of the Kurdish 'definite article' {+aka} and it occurs in other Turkic varieties such as in Iraq-Turkic varieties, Sonqor Turkic and the Abivardi-variety of Shiraz (Bulut 2014:39). In both secret languages, it has a range of meanings referring to things, people and places. Also, it has the meaning of the aforesaid -the one already mentioned in the context (Bulut 2014: 39). Morphologically, the suffix {+aka} behaves exactly like the suffix {-afa} found in Gurbetcha. This copied element is integrated into Turkic noun morphology. It is attached to the noun stems, precedes the case suffixes and adopts palatal harmony (Bulut 2014:39).

(80) Çorapafalarımı yıkacam gene ısbıklarımı
 Sock:SPEC:3PL.ACC wash:FUT1.SG again cloth:3.PL.ACC
 evde
 home:LOC
 ‘I will wash the socks (aforesaid) and clothes again at home.’ (#T5:7)

(81) Panayırafalarına hallanıladı
 Street fair:SPEC:3PL.DAT go:AOR-PST3PL
 buznilerinan gedelerinan
 goat:POSS.3PL.POSP donkey:POSS.3PL.POSP
 ‘They were going to the street fair (aforesaid) with their goats, with their donkeys.’ (#T12:25)

4.2.2.5.3. Denominal verbs

Denominal verbs are verbs formed from nouns. Aside from the derivational suffix {-AIA} which was described above, the following derivational suffixes occur in the Gurbetcha verbal system:

- {-IA}/{-nA}: This suffix has two forms {-IA} and {-nA}. The suffix {-IA} is the more frequent variant according to the corpus. The same is true of the Abdal language (Yıldırım 2011: 275).

(82) Nımslarken gacının merisi gennadı
 sleep:GER woman:GEN husband:POSS.3SG come:PST3SG

‘While they were sleeping, (the) woman’s husband came.’ (#T10:15)

- (83) İçine hoyladım tuz yağ biber piyaz domates
in:DAT put:PST1SG salt oil pepper onion tomato
karıştırdım tepsine dökeledim
mix:CAUS.PST1SG tray:DAT pour:DVV.PST1SG
‘I added salt, oil, pepper, onion, tomato, I mixed them and I poured them in the tray.’ (#T7:14)

- {-lAş}: This is a compound suffix. It compounds with reflective and reciprocal suffixes and creates a verb from a noun (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 57):

- (84) Çelleşirik⁴⁹ dedikodu yaparık
talk:DVV.AOR1PL gossip do:DVV.AOR1PL
‘We are talking and gossiping.’ (#T11:4)

- {-lAn}: Some transitive and non-transitive verbs with the suffix {-lA} have been expanded with an *-n-* transition suffix, thereby creating a new compound suffix (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 56):

- (85) ... şimdi mesela biri metleneledi
... now for example one die:DVV.PST3SG
‘... let’s say (for example) someone died.’ (#T28:1)

4.2.2.5.4. Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns are nouns that are formed by attaching a derivational suffix to a verb.

- {-mA}: This is a suffix for verbal noun formation (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 58-59.). The noun fulfils the action denoted by the verb:

- (86) Kayma kaydırısın
Food feed:IMP.3SG
‘Feed us’ (#T4:21)

⁴⁹ cf. Appendices, Table 5.

4.2.2.5.5. Deverbal verbs

Deverbal verbs are verbs formed from verbs. These verbs can be passive, causative/factitive, reflexive or reciprocal.

- {-Dİr} is used to form transitive and causative verbs:

(87) Kayma kaydırısın
Food feed:IMP.3SG
'Feed us' (#T4:21)

- {-t} is used to form transitive and causative verbs

(88) Kurudurdu anam bize eskiden
dry:CAU.PST3SG mother:POSS.1SG we:DAT old time:ABL
perezleri
bread:PL.ACC
'In the olden days (old times), my mother dried some bread for us.' (#T13:18)

(89) Çuriyi genadala.
knife:ACC bring:CAU.IMP.2SG
'Bring (me) the knife.' (#T3:1)

4.2.2.6. The verbal system of Gurbetcha

The verb complex is composed of the verb stem, tense, aspect, modality and the person markers. Gurbetcha, like ST, marks the subject on the verb with person markers. The negative marker {-mA} is attached directly to a verb stem, preceding most other suffixes. Only the voiced suffixes and the potential mood marker {-(y)Abil-} may precede negation. The yes/no question particle, if there is one, appears either before or after the tense markers, depending on the person marker paradigm (Ketres 2012: 80)

In this chapter, each tense marker encountered in the Gurbetcha texts is discussed in terms of its meaning, use, formation, inflectional markers, negation, and the person markers that it co-occurs with. Preceding this, I present an overview of the verbal system of Turkish, for comparison.

4.2.2.6.1. Verb tenses

There are five basic tenses in Turkish:

1. Aorist: *Gelirim* “I come”
2. Focal present: *Geliyorum* “I am coming”
3. Future tense: *Geleceğim* “I will come”
4. Past tense with {-DI}: *Geldim* “I came”
5. Perfect with {-mİŞ}: *Gelmişim* “I had come”

There are three groups of compound verbs in Turkish (cf. Lewis 1953: 21). These are the compound past tenses (witnessed past, *hikaye* ‘story’), the forms combined with the inferential marker (*rivayet* ‘rumour’), and conditional wish forms (*koşul*; the conditional form of the first five basic tenses). Below I outline the first two of these groups.

Past tenses:

1. Continuous past: *Geliyordum* “I was coming”
2. Aorist past: *Gelirdim* “I used to come”
3. Future past: *Gelecektim* “I was going to come”
4. Pluperfect: *Gelmiştim* “I had come”
5. Pluperfect: *Geldiydim* “I had come”
6. Necessitative past: *Gelmeliydim* “I had to come”
7. Conditional past: *Gelseydim* “If only I had come”

Forms combined with the inferential marker {imiş}:

1. Inferential + present: *Geliyormuşum* “It seems (they say) I am coming”
2. Future + inferential: *Gelecekmışim* “It seems I shall come”
3. Aorist +inferential: *Gelirmişim* “It seems I come”
4. Necessitative+ inferential: *Gelmeliymişim* “They say I must come.”
5. Conditional +inferential: *gelseymişim* “If I had come”
6. Optative+inferential: *Geleymişim* “I wish I had come”

The following sections present the tenses and moods of Gurbetcha. Out of the tenses above, the most frequently used in daily speech are the five basic tenses. In what follows, similarities and differences between ST, CTD and Gurbetcha will be illustrated through the use of tables.

4.2.2.6.1.1. Aorist

As presented above, ST has two present tenses: focal present and aorist. In its habitual aspect sense, the aorist expresses a different kind of generalisation from the focal tense {-(I)yor}. According to Göksel and

Kerslake (2005: 339), “Focal tense refers to a state of affairs which has been directly observed or experienced by the speaker, without implying that it has the status of a rule or principle.” These authors outline four main types of generalisation expressed by the aorist in Turkish, namely scientific and moral axioms, normative or prescriptive statements, generic statements about the characteristic qualities or behaviour of a class and statements about the characteristic qualities or behavior of an individual. Aorist is also used for requests and offers, as in *Çay içer misin?* ‘Would you like some tea?’ Furthermore, aorist can be used to express a commitment or promise, in contrast to the future tense which is used to express firm plans or strong predictions (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 363).

In both CTD and in Gurbetcha, the aorist is more frequently used than the focal present, as it was in early periods of Turkic. The aorist in CTD has two meanings: things which are happening at the moment of speaking and habitual or regular actions. The suffix for the aorist in the positive form is $\{-(A)r\}$; in the negative form it is $\{-mA\}$ for the 1st person singular and plural, and $\{-mAz\}$ for the 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural.

Table 18: Aorist – Positive form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yaparım</i> ‘I do’	yaparım	yapalarım
<i>yaparsın</i> ‘You do’	yaparsıñ / yapañ	yapalarsıñ
<i>yapar</i> ‘He/she does’	yapar	yapalar
<i>yaparız</i> ‘We do’	yaparık/yaparıg	yapalarık / yapalarıg
<i>yaparsınız</i> ‘You do’	yaparsıñız	yapalarsıñız
<i>yaparlar</i> ‘They do’	yaparlar/ yapallar	yapalarlar / yapalallar

Table 19: Aorist – Positive form Interrogative

ST/English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapar mıyım?</i> ‘Do I do?’	yaparım?	yapalarım?
<i>yapar mısın?</i> ‘Do you do?’	yapar mısıñ? / yapañ?	yapalarsıñ?
<i>yapar mı?</i> ‘Does he/she do?’	yapar?	yapalar?
<i>yapar mıyız?</i> ‘Do we do?’	yaparık?/ yaparıg?	yapalarık? / yapalarıg?
<i>yapar mısınız?</i> ‘Do you do?’	yaparsıñız?	yapalarsıñız?
<i>yaparlar mı?</i> ‘Do they do?’	yaparlar?/ yapallar?	yapalarlar? / yapalallar?

Table 20: Aorist – Negative form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapmam</i> ‘I don’t do’	yapmam/yabmam	yapalamam
<i>yapmazsın</i> ‘You don’t do’	yapmazsıñ/yapmañ/ yabmazsıñ/yabmañ	yapalamazsıñ
<i>yapmaz</i> ‘He/she doesn’t do’	yapmaz/yabmaz	yapalamaz
<i>yapmayız</i> ‘We don’t do’	yapmayık/yabmayıg	yapalamayık/yapalamayıg
<i>yapmazsınız</i> ‘You don’t do’	yapmazsıñız	yapalmazsıñız
<i>yapmazlar</i> ‘They don’t do’	yapmazlar	yapalamazlar

Table 21: Aorist – Negative form Interrogative

Standard Turkish	Cypriot Turkish Dialect	Gurbetcha
yapmaz mıyım? ‘Do I not do?’	yapmam? / yabmam?	yapalamam?
yapmaz mısın? ‘Do you not do?’	yapmazsıñ/yapmañ? yabmazsıñ/yabmañ?	yapalamazsıñ?
yapmaz mı? ‘Does he/she not do?’	yapmaz? /yabmaz?	yapalamaz?
yapmaz mıyız? ‘Do we not do?’	yapmayık? /yapmayıg?	yapalamayık? / yapalamayıg?
yapmaz mısınız? ‘Do you not do?’	yapmazsıñız? / yabmazsıñız?	yapalmazsıñız?
yapmazlar mı? ‘Do they not do?’	yapmazlar? / yabmazlar?	yapalamazlar?

The following examples from the Gurbetcha corpus illustrate the use of the aorist.

- (90) Kotor bide**mem** sana nanaidir
 money give:NEG.AOR1SG you:DAT nothing:COP.3SG
 ‘I cannot give you any money.’ (#T3:5)

- (91) Ha bu şağ**ı** gennarım okula
 Ha this child:ACC come:AOR1SG school:DAT
 ‘I bring this child to school.’ (#T5:11)

- (92) Çayın ailesi vermez laftaya
 girl:GEN family:POSS.3SG give:AOR.NEG3SG boy:DAT
 çayı
 girl:ACC
 ‘The family of the girl does not allow the girl to marry him.’ (#T6:17)

- (93) Ondan sonra beraber çelleşirler tıyarlar
 that:ABL after together talk:AOR3PL run away:AOR3PL
 ‘Then, they talk and run away.’ (#T6:20)
- (94) Benim de şorom ağrıyalar
 mine also head:POSS.1SG pain:DVV.AOR3SG
 ‘I have a headache.’ (#T5:21)
- (95) İşte sağlarnız büyüktür kaçtı severler
 here you are child:PL.POSS.2PL big:COP:3SG go:PST3PL love:AOR3PL
 birbirlerini
 each other:POSS.3PL.ACC
 ‘Your children are old, they ran away (because) they love each other.’ (#T6:33)
- (96) İlk gene ilk defasında heilerin
 First again first time:POSS.3SG.LOC thing:PL:GEN
 altında nımışlardı
 under:POSS.3SG.LOC sleep:AOR-PST3PL
 ‘First again, they were sleeping under the things at first’. (#T12:1)
- (97) Çiknaların altında nımışlardı
 Olive tree:PL:GEN under:LOC sleep:AOR-PST:3PL
 ‘They were sleeping under the olive trees.’ (#T12:2)
- (98) Gederlerinan bütün ratı hallanıllardı
 donkey:PL:POSP all night go:AOR-PST3PL
 ‘They were travelling all night with the donkeys.’ (#T12: 3)

4.2.2.6.1.2. Focal present

In ST focal present occurs with both progressive and habitual meaning. For example, *Sen Ahmet’i çok seviyorsun* ‘You love Ahmet’ (progressive); *Ben genellikle okula arabamla gidiyorum* ‘I usually go to school in my car’ (habitual). In CTD, the focal present forms in {-I(yor)} occur sporadically. Johanson (2009)⁵⁰ states that:

⁵⁰ Turkic Focal Present Tense Markers and Their Absence in Cypriot Turkish. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291918135_Turkic_Focal_Present_Tense_Markers_and_Their_Absence_in_Cypriot_Turkish (Accessed: 27 February 2018).

“CTD is one of the few varieties that have not undergone a focal present renewal. The reason is that the -(I)yor type in Turkish as spoken in Turkey emerged after the period of Turkish emigration to the island. This is also indicated by the fact that this type did not become widespread in Standard Ottoman until the 18th century.”

Demir (2002) also states that the maintenance of one present tense might have been influenced by the fact that Greek has one present tense. This important feature of the early period of Turkic, that is seen in CTD, can be also observed in Gurbetcha. The focal present is used in the CTD only with a highly-focused meaning, without slight differences of mode such as probability (Demir 2002). The tables below provide a comparison of the form of the focal present in ST, CTD and Gurbetcha.

Table 22: Focal Present – Positive Form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapıyorum</i> ‘I am doing’	yapıyorum / yaparım	yapalayorum
<i>yapıyorsun</i> ‘You are doing’	yapıyorsuñ/yapıyoñ /yapañ	yapalayorsuñ/yapıyoñ
<i>yapıyor</i> ‘He/she is doing’	yapıyor / yapar	yapalıyor
<i>yapıyoruz</i> ‘We are doing’	yapıyoruz/ yapıyoruz / yaparık	yapalayorug /yapalayorug
<i>yapıyorsunuz</i> ‘You are doing’	yapıyorsunuz / yaparsıñız	yapalayorsuñuz
<i>yapıyorlar</i> ‘They are doing’	yapıyorlar/ yapıyollar / yapallar	yapalayorlar/yapalayollar

Table 23: Focal Present – Negative Form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapmıyorum</i> ‘I am not doing’	yapmıyorum/ yabmıyorum / yapmam	yapalamıyorum
<i>yapmıyorsun</i> ‘You are not doing’	yapmıyorsuñ/yapmıyoñ/ yabmıyorsuñ/yabmıyoñ / yapmañ	yapalamıyorsuñ/yapalamıyoñ
<i>yapmıyor</i> ‘He/she is not doing’	yapmıyor/ yabmıyor / yapmaz	yapalamıyor
<i>yapmıyoruz</i> ‘We are not doing’	yapmıyoruz/ yapmıyoruz/ yabmıyoruz/ yapmıyoruz /yapmayık	yapalamıyoruz/ yapalamıyoruz
<i>yapmıyorsunuz</i> ‘You are not doing’	yapmıyorsunuz/ yabmıyorsunuz / yapmazsıñız	yapalamıyorsunuz

yapmıyorlar ‘They are not doing’	yapmıyorlar/ yapmıyollar/ yabmıyorlar/ yabmıyollar / yapmazlar/yabmazlar	yapalamıyorlar/yapalamıyollar
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The examples below illustrate the use of the focal present in Gurbetcha.

- (99) Falcı sunadı bize destini
Fortuneteller say:PST3PL us:DAT hand:POSS.2SL
zaniyorum
look:PRS1SL
‘The fortune teller told us, “I can read your hand”.’ (#T8:8)

- (100) Gacilerin gacoların şorolarını ağrıyorlar
woman:PL:GEN man:PL:GEN head:POSS.3PL.ACC cry:PRS3PL
‘The women and men have a headache.’ (#T9:6)

In Gurbetcha the negative particle in the present simple tense, especially for the 1st person singular, is used as the negative version of the continuous tense. While such negation is formed in the 1st person singular as in ST, in the 2nd person singular this is not formed with the {-mAz} suffix, but instead with {-mA} and adding the personal suffix {-ñ} (see above). This also occurs in CTD.

- (101) Merini da isteyelemeñ
husband:POSS2SG.ACC also want:DVV.NEG.AOR2SG
‘You do not want your husband either.’ (#T8:11)

4.2.2.6.1.3. Future tense

Among the Turkish verbal suffixes, the only explicit marker of future tense is {-(y)AcAk} (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 328). This tense is used to express not only what is going to happen, but what the speaker wants to happen (Lewis 1967: 112). According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005: 329), in nominal sentences the auxiliary *ol-* serves as the bearer of {-(y)AcAk}, e.g. *Ahmetler yarın bize gelecekler* ‘Ahmet and his family they will come tomorrow to (us) our house’; *Yarın saat 4’te İstanbul’da olacağım* ‘Tomorrow at 4 o’clock I will be in Istanbul’.

The suffix {-(y)AcAk} expresses tense in relative rather than absolute terms. “When combined with the past copula, it locates an event or state at a time subsequent to some past reference point established by the discourse context” (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 329). The future past expresses past intention, e.g. *Zaten bunu*

yapacaktım ‘I was going to do it anyway’. Note that in ST, the imperfect aspect marker {-(I)yor} is regularly used with future reference when talking about events that are scheduled or fixed, as in *Yarın Londra’ya gidiyoruz* ‘We are going to London tomorrow’ (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 330).

In CTD, the future tense suffix is different in the 1st and 2nd person singular and in the 2nd person plural. This tense paradigm has the same structure and functions in Gurbetcha as in CTD.

Table 24: Future Tense – Positive Form

ST /English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapacağım</i> ‘I will do’	yapacağım/ yapacayım /yapacam	yapalaycam
<i>yapacaksın</i> ‘You will do’	yapacaksın/ yapacagsın /yapacañ	yapalayacaksın/yapalayacagsın /yapalayacañ
<i>yapacak</i> ‘He/she will do’	yapacag /yapacag	yapalayacak/yapalayacag
<i>yapacayız</i> ‘We will do’	yapacayık/yapacayıg	yapalayacayıg/yapalayacayıg
<i>yapacaksınız</i> ‘You will do’	yapacaksınız /yapacagsınız	yapalayacaksınız/yapalayacagsınız
<i>yapacaklar</i> ‘They will do’	yapacaklar/ yapacaglar	yapalayacaklar/yapalayacaglar

The following examples illustrate the use of the future tense in Gurbetcha.

- (102) baran aşınacak seni
rain take:FUT1SG you:ACC
‘You will be caught in the rain (the rain will take you).’ (#T3:11)

- (103) Çorap afalarını yıkacam gene
sock this:POSS.3PL.ACC wash:FUT1SG again
ısbıklarımı evde
cloth:POSS.3PL.ACC home:LOC
‘I will wash their socks (so and so) and clothes again at home.’ (#T5:7)

- (104) Ben dükkeye gennadım ısbıklarımı
me home:DAT come:PST1SG cloth:PL.POSS.1SG.ACC
çıkarladım çünkü kayma yapalaycam
take off:DVV.PST1SG because food do:DVV.FUT1SG
‘I came home, took off my clothes, because I will cook.’ (#T7:9)

- (105) Sen bir gacoyla gav edeleyeceñ
 you one man:POSP fight do/make:DVV.FUT2SG
 ‘You will fight with one man (non-Roma).’ (#T8:16)

4.2.2.6.1.4. Simple past

Tenses and moods in Gurbetcha are essentially structured in the same way as in CTD. The simple past is used when there is certainty about something that has happened, and it is formed with the suffix {-DI}. Furthermore, resulting from the vowel-consonant harmony in the suffixed stem verb, the simple past suffix may be realised in different forms. In CTD, the simple past is used more than the perfect in {-mİş}. This scarcity of the perfect in {-mİş} and its inferential connotations in CTD has resulted in broadening of the range of functions of the simple past in {-DI}.

The tables below show the simple past in ST, in CTD and in Gurbetcha. The only difference between ST and CTD or Gurbetcha is that the latter two do not follow consonant harmony. In addition, the person marking in the 2nd person singular and plural in CTD and Gurbetcha end with the velar /ñ/.

Table 25: Simple Past in {-DI} – Positive form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
yaptım ‘I did it’	yaptım / yaptım/ yabdım/	yapaladım
yaptın ‘You did it’	yaptın / yaptınñ/ yabdınñ	yapaladıñ
yaptı ‘He/she did it’	yaptı / yaptı/ yabdı	yapaladı
yaptık ‘We did it’	yaptık / yaptık/ yabdık/yaptığ/ yaptığ	yapaladık/yapaladıg
yaptınız ‘You did it’	yaptınız / yaptınız/ yabdınız	yapaladıñız
yaptılar ‘They did it’	yaptım / yaptım/ yabdım/	yapaladım

The following examples illustrate the use of the simple past in Gurbetcha.

- (106) Benim halamı aşınadı
 mine aunt:POSS.1SG take:DVV.PST3SG
 ‘He got married to my aunt.’ (#T4:6)
- (107) Urum bir cıvır aşınadı
 Greek one woman take:PST3SG
 ‘He got married to a Greek Cypriot woman.’ (#T4:9)

- (108) Bir iş yapalayamadı dükkede
 one work do:DVV.IMPOSS.PST1SG home:LOC
 ‘I did not do any work at home.’ (#T5:3)
- (109) İsbıklarımı yıkayalamadım
 cloth:PL.POSS.1SG.ACC wash: DVV.IMPOSS.PST1SG
 ‘I could not wash my clothes.’ (#T5:4)
- (110) Edisi gitti laftanın edisiyan
 father:POSS.3SG go:PST1SG boy:GEN father:POSS.3SG.POSP
 gav ettiler
 fight make/do:PST3PL
 ‘Her father went and had a fight with the father of the man.’ (#T6:27)
- (111) Çok ezgi çekeledi gainanam da
 A lot pain suffer:DVV.PST3SG mother in law:POSS.1SG also
 ‘My mother-in-law also suffered a lot.’ (#T4:24)
- (112) Benim şekerim hapım var pıynedim.
 Mine diabetes:COP.1SG pill:POSS.1SG exist drink:DVV. PST1SG
 ‘I have diabetes; I have a pill and I took it.’ (#T5:25)

4.2.2.6.1.5. {-mİş} and -*imiş*/{(-y)mİş}

The verbal suffix in {-mİş} signals the perfect in ST and has evidential or inferential meanings; the evidential copula is *imiş*/{(y)mİş}. In CTD the verbal suffix {-mİş} is rarely used (Demir 2018). It has no indirect meaning (whether inferential or mediated). Instead, the past tense marker in {-DI} is used for all expressions of evidentiality. According to Demir (2018), “Similar situations in relation to expressing of evidentiality are observed in dialects of Trabzon and the island of Rhodes, both of which are in intensive contact with Greek.” The copula marker *imiş*/{(-y)mİş} has not only a dissociative function but also an evidential or quotative connotation (Kappler & Tsipaloku 2018). The CTD copula has become a free morpheme with the allomorphs {mİş} (with phonological restrictions) or *imiş* with a relatively free syntactic position (Kappler & Tsipaloku 2018). Kappler and Tsipaloku (2018) state that Greek Cypriots also use the form *mie fo* and its variants (*miits varian* and *misteti*). These variants can be found as sentence adverbs, which have a dissociative or dubitative function, and their syntactic position is free (Kappler & Tsipaloku 2018).

In the Gurbetcha corpus, there is no instance of the use of the verbal suffix {-mIş}, nor is there any sentence with the use of the copula marker *imiş/(-y)mIş*. Example (113) below however shows that Gurbetcha displays the use of *imiş* as a free morpheme as in CTD.

- (113) Avrupa'ya mış girdiler.
 Europe:DAT (possibility enter:PST3PL
 'They may have arrived in Europe.' (# T17:79)

4.2.2.6.2. Mood

In the following sections, a description of categories of mood (imperative, necessitative, optative, conditional and potential) are presented for ST, CTD and Gurbetcha, again pointing out similarities and differences between the languages. Examples from Gurbetcha texts are given to illustrate each mood.

4.2.2.6.2.1. Imperative mood

Imperative mood expresses straightforward commands. In ST, the imperative operates in the 2nd person (singular and plural) and 3rd person (singular and plural). The second person case corresponds to a direct command (e.g. *gel* 'come'), while the 2nd person plural is the standard polite imperative. The 3rd person imperative expresses instructions for something to be done by someone other than the hearer (e.g. *gelsin* 'let him come'; Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 360).

In both CTD and Gurbetcha, the imperative mood is similar to that of ST. The only exception is with the pronunciation of the second person plural form of the nasal alveolar consonant [n], which it is pronounced with the velar consonant [ŋ].

Table 26: Imperative Mood – Positive form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yap</i> 'do it'	yap	yapala
<i>yapsın</i> 'let him/her/it do it' ⁵¹	yapsıñ / yabsıñ	yapalasıñ
<i>yapın</i> 'you do it'	yapıñ	yapalayıñ
<i>yapsınlar</i> 'let them do it'	yapsınlar / yapsınnar / yabsınnar	yapalasıñlar / yapalasıñnar

⁵¹ Note that in English the imperative mood is used in the 2nd person only. Therefore the translation of the 3rd person requires the addition of verbal elements such as 'let' or 'may'.

To form a negative imperative, the negative suffix {-mA} is added after the verb stem, complying with the vowel harmony. The negative imperative is the same for ST, CTD and Gurbetcha. Note, however, that in Gurbetcha the negative form {-mA} follows the {-AIA} compound suffix.

Table 27: Imperative Mood – Negative Form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapma</i> ‘don’t do it’	yapma / yabma	yapalama
<i>yapmasin</i> ‘don’t let her/him/it do it’	yapmasiñ / yabmasiñ	yapalamasiñ
<i>yapmayin</i> ‘don’t do it’	yapmayiñ / yabmayiñ	yapalamayiñ
<i>yapmasınlar</i> ‘don’t let them do it’	yapmasınlar / yabmasınlar / yapmasınnar / yabmasınnar	yapalamasınlar / yapalamasınnar

The following examples illustrate the imperative in Gurbetcha.

- (114) Gel ole gidelim o yana
 come man go:SBJV1PL that side
 ‘Let’s go to that side.’ (#T1:1)

- (115) Anacın metlensin ole ölesin.
 mother:POSS.2SG die:IMP.3SG man die:IMP.3SG
 ‘May your mother die!’ (#T1:5)

- (116) Çuriyi genadala
 knife:ACC bring:IMP.2SG
 ‘Bring the knife’ (#T3: 1)

- (117) Hallan şuğul edele
 go:IMP.2SG work do:IMP.2SG
 ‘Go and work’ (#T3:6)

4.2.2.6.2.2. Necessitative mood

This mood can be expressed in two ways: grammatically and lexically. The grammatical marker of necessity is the suffix {-mAII} and its negative form {-mA+mAII}. It is conjugated with the present, past and inferential of the verb ‘to be’ but not with the conditional. In the 1st person, it expresses an action which the speaker feels obliged to perform. Where the subject is the 2nd or 3rd person,” the utterance is tantamount

to the speaker's imposing an obligation on the other(s)" (Goksel & Kerslake 2005: 352). Sometimes the 3rd person singular form is used with impersonal meaning (Goksel & Kerslake 2005: 352). Lexically, this mood can be expressed in three ways: with *gerek/lazım* 'necessary' or *şart* 'essential'; with the verb *gerek-* 'be necessary', or with *zorunda/mecburiyetinde* 'compulsion/obligation'.

All forms refer to an obligation that is presented as existing at the moment of speech but not yet fulfilled. The construction with *zorunda* expresses a stronger, more unavoidable obligation than those with *gerek*, *lazım* or *gerek-*. The construction with {-mAlI} expresses an obligation perceived or imposed by the speaker, while the lexicalised constructions present an objective obligation, that is, one arising from external factors operating independently of the speaker (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 352).

In ST, the necessitative mood is expressed either with the grammatical marker or with the lexical marker; however, in CTD and Gurbetcha, necessity or obligation is expressed with the structure "needed/necessary (*lazım*) + verb + optative". This is a very salient syntactic feature of CTD and Gurbetcha.

- (118) Lazım piyneyim hap
 must:NEC drink:SUBJV.1SG pill
 'I need to take my pills.' (#T5:26)

4.2.2.6.2.3. Optative mood

Optative mood expresses a hoped for or desired action. In ST, it is mostly used with {- (y)AyIm} for the 1st person singular and {- (y)Alım} for the 1st person plural. The 1st person singular expresses an action that the speaker proposes to perform. It often accompanies the actual performance of the action (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 361). The 1st person plural expresses action that the speaker proposes for performance jointly with the hearer(s) and/or other people (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 361). The 2nd persons are used in formal speech to relay requests and commands (Lewis 1967: 133). The 3rd person optative is typically replaced by the 3rd person singular of the imperative. Optatives are used colloquially to ask cautious questions like: *Evde mi olsun?* 'Might he/she be at home?' and in a few set expressions, e.g. *rasgele* 'may it turn out well, good luck', *kolay gelsin* 'may it come easily', as well as in a form of greeting when entering a place where someone is working, *geçmiş olsun* 'may it pass'. In questions, both of these forms become consultative, asking the hearer(s) whether or how they would like the proposed action to be performed (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 362). Questions in the optative have the meaning of 'shall I' or 'shall we', whereas statements have the meaning of 'let me' or 'let's'.

In the CTD, the verb *iste-* ‘want’, when used in the aorist and the imperative mood together, expresses that an action is desired. Demir (2018) states that, “in ST, wish clauses have the form of ‘-mA(k) (+personal suffix) + iste-’”. In CTD, on the other hand, wishing is expressed in a similar way to Indo-European languages, with the *-iste* suffix added to a verb, which is then followed by the clause indicating the desired action or process. In this sense, optative mood in CTD is expressed both with mood and syntax in terms of structure. This is also found in Gurbetcha. Furthermore, similar to ST, the $\{- (y)A\}$ suffix is also used as a form of optative mood.

- (119) İster daha çok zengin birine
 want:AOR3SG more a lot rich one of:GEN:DAT
 versin
 give:IMP.3SG
 ‘He wanted to give her to a richer man.’ (#T6:18)

4.2.2.6.2.4. Conditional mood

All conditional clauses in ST are marked in two ways:

- The attachment of the suffix $\{-sA\}$ to a verb;
- The use of the copular marker $\{- (y) sA\}$, or its free-standing alternative *ise*.

There are three main functional types of conditional sentence (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 487):

- a. Predictive conditionals, which express a predictable relation between two situations. There are two types: open conditional and generic and habitual.
- b. Knowable conditions, which usually serve as background for an inference, a question, or some kind of volitional utterance (e.g. a command or request).
- c. Universal conditional clauses, which contain a question phrase in addition to a condition marker.

This mood is quite rare in Gurbetcha, and especially the negative form. There is a frequent use of $\{-sA\}$ as subordinator. The combination of $\{-sA\}$ with the clitic $\{dA\}$ in a subordinate clause has the meaning of ‘even if’. The clitic *bile* is interchangeable with $\{dA\}$. The position of the clitics *da/bile* is not always after the word bearing the $\{-sA\}$ suffix. When there is a compound verb form, the clitic can be placed between the two components of this compound. Table 28 shows the conjugation of the Conditional Mood for ST, CTD and Gurbetcha.

Table 28: Conditional Mood – Positive Form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapsam</i> ‘If I do’	yapsam/yabsam	yapalagam
<i>yapsan</i> ‘If you do’	yapsañ/ yabsañ	yapalasañ
<i>yapsa</i> ‘If he/she/it does’	yapsa/yabsa	yapalasa
<i>yapsak</i> ‘If we do’	yapsak/yabsak /yabsak/yapsag	yapalagak/yapalagas
<i>yapsanız</i> ‘If you do’	yapsañız/ yabsañız	yapalasañız
<i>yapsalar</i> ‘If they do’	yapsalar/yabsalar	yapalagalar

Table 29: Conditional Mood – Negative Form

ST / English	CTD	Gurbetcha
<i>yapmasam</i> ‘If I don’t do it’	yapmasam/yabmasam	yapalamagam
<i>yapmasan</i> ‘If you don’t do it’	yapmasañ/yabmasañ	yapalamasañ
<i>yapmasa</i> ‘If he/she/it doesn’t do it’	yapmasa/yabmasa	yapalamasa
<i>yapmasak</i> ‘If we don’t do it’	yapmasak/yabmasak/ yapmasag/yabmasag	yapalamagak/yapalamagas
<i>yapmasanız</i> ‘If you don’t do it’	yapmasañız/ yabmasañız	yapalamasañız
<i>yapmasalar</i> ‘If they don’t do it’	yapmasalar/yabmasalar	yapalamagalar

The following examples illustrate the conditional mood in Gurbetcha.

- (120) Bilsem söylerim dedi
 know:COND.1SG tell:AOR1SG say:AOR3SG
 ‘He said “I would say it, if I knew it”.’ (#T6:30)

- (121) Yani aç bile kalsam omurları
 So hungry even stay:COND.1SG care:POSS.3PL
 değilmiş kimse
 nothing:AOR3SG nobody
 ‘Even if I starved, they would not care.’ (#T17:76)

4.2.2.6.2.5. Potential mood

In Gurbetcha, as in ST, ability is expressed with the morpheme {- (y)Abil} which appears before tense/aspect markers and person marking, and varies in accordance with the verb to which it is attached. The negative potential marker is {- (y)AmA}. Non-finite verb forms can also be marked for possibility and impossibility.

- (122) Şağım vardır çelleyemem
child:POSS.1SG exist:COP.3SG speak:IMPOSS.AOR1SG
'I have a child, I cannot sing (speak).' (#T21:55)

In ST, {- (y)Abil} can be added to the negative stem of a verb, to express the possibility that the action may not occur, or the freedom of the subject not to perform it. However, there are no examples of such a form in Gurbetcha texts.

4.2.2.6.3. Compound tense and mood

Only one compound tense was found in the Gurbetcha texts: the aorist past.

4.2.2.6.3.1. Aorist past

In both CTD and Gurbetcha verb morphology, one of the most frequently used compound tenses is the aorist past expressed with the suffix {- (A/I)rdI}. {- (A/I)rdI} usually refers to a long-term pattern of behaviour, which in the case of a human subject is viewed as an inherent characteristic of that person (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 334).

- (123) İlk gene ilk defasında
first again first again:POSS.3SG.LOC
heylerin altında nımislallardı
thing:PL.GEN under:LOC sleep:AOR-PST3PL
'The first year, for the first time, they were sleeping under these.' (#T12:1)
- (124) Sabahtan sabah afasından gena
morning:ABL morning that:POSS.3SG.ABL again
hallanıllardı
go:AOR-PST3PL
'In the morning, they hit the road again.' (#T12:21)

- (125) Eskiler gena aynısı kayma pişirirlerdi
old:PL again same:POSS.3SG food cook:AOR-PST3PL
'Old people were cooking the same food' (#T12:29)
- (126) Şuğul yaparlardı
work do:AOR-PST3PL
'They worked.' (#T19/3)
- (127) Gavdan gava hallanıladı
village:ABL village:DAT go:AOR-PST3PL
'They were going from one village to another.' (#T12:6)
- (128) E giderdik sunardık anama buma
Eh go:AOR-PST1PL say:AOR-PST1PL parents:DAT
anam kayma var
mother food exist
'We went to our parents and said, "is there (any) food?"' (#T13:11)
- (129) Giderdin ona anlandırdın
go:AOR-PST2SG she:DAT tell:AOR-PST2SG
derdini da
problem:POSS.2SG.ACC also
'You used to go to them and tell them your problems.' (#T13:25)

4.2.2.6.3.2. Compound tenses and moods not found in the corpus

The tables below present the remaining compound tenses and the mood in past tenses, along with the inferential tenses, both in ST and CTD. There are no examples of these compound tenses in the Gurbetcha texts.

Table 30: Past tenses in ST

Continuous past	Aorist past	Future past	Reported past	Necessitative past	Conditional past
geliyordum	gelirdim	gelecektim	gelmiştim	gelmeliydim	gelseydim
geliyordun	gelirdin	gelecektin	gelmiştin	gelmeliydin	gelseydin
geliyordu	gelirdi	gelecekti	gelmişti	gelmeliydi	gelseydi

geliyorduk	gelirdik	gelecektik	gelmiştik	gelmeliydik	gelseydik
geliyordunuz	gelirdiniz	gelecektiniz	gelmiştiniz	gelmeliydiniz	gelseydiniz
geliyorlardı/ geliyordular	gelirdiler/ gelirlerdi	gelecektiler/ geleceklerdi	gelmiştiler/ gelmişlerdi	gelmeliydiler	gelseydiler

Table 31: Past tenses in CTD

Continuous past	Aorist past	Future past	Reported past	Necessitative past	Conditional past
geliyordum	gelirdim	gelecekdım	gelmişdim	gelmeliydım	gelseydım
geliyordun	gelirdin	gelecekdin	gelmişdin	gelmeliydin	gelseydin
geliyordu	gelirdi	gelecekti	gelmişti	gelmeliydi	gelseydi
geliyorduk/ geliyordug	gelirdik/ gelirdig	gelecekdik/ gelecekdig	gelmişdik/ gelmişdig	gelmeliydik/ gelmeliydig	gelseydik/ gelseydig
geliyordunuz	gelirdiğiniz	gelecekdiniz	gelmişdiğiniz	gelmeliydiniz	gelseydiğiniz
geliyorlardı/ geliyordular	gelirdiler/ gelirlerdi	gelecekdiler /geleceklerdi	Gelmişdiler	gelmeliydiler	gelseydiler

Table 32: Inferential tenses in ST

Continuous inferential	Future inferential	Aorist inferential	Necessitative inferential	Reported Subjunctive	Reported Optative
geliyormuşum	gelecekmişim	gelirmişim	gelmeliymişim	gelseymişim	geleymişim
geliyormuşsun	gelecekmişsin	gelirmişsin	gelmeliymişsin	gelseymişsin	geleymişsin
geliyormuş	gelecekmiş	gelirmiş	gelmeliymiş	gelseymiş	geleymiş
geliyormuşuz	gelecekmişiz	gelirmişiz	gelmeliymişiz	gelseymişiz	geleymişiz
geliyormuşsunuz	gelecekmişsiniz	gelirmişsiniz	gelmeliymişsiniz	gelseymişsiniz	geleymişsiniz
geliyormuşlar/ geliyorlarmış	gelecekmişler/ geleceklermiş	gelirmişler/ gelirlermiş	Gelmeliymişler	gelseymişler	geleymişler

Table 33: Inferential tenses in CTD

Continuous inferential	Future inferential	Aorist inferential	Necessitative inferential	Reported Subjunctive	Reported Optative
geliyormuşum	gelecekmişim	gelirmişim	gelmeliymişim	gelseymişim	geleymişim
geliyormuşsun	gelecekmişsin	gelirmişsin	gelmeliymişsin	gelseymişsin	geleymişsin
geliyormuş	gelecekmiş	gelirmiş	gelmeliymiş	gelseymiş	geleymiş

geliyormuşuk	gelecekmişik/ gelecekmişig	gelirmişik/ gelirmişig	gelmeliymişik/ gelmeliymişig	gelseymişik/ gelseymişig	geleymişik/ geleymişig
geliyormuşsuñuz	gelecekmişsiñiz	gelirmişsiñiz	gelmeliymişsiniz	gelseymişsiñiz	geleymişsiñiz
geliyormuşlar/ geliyorlarmış	Gelecekmişler geleceklermiş	gelirmişler gelirlermiş	Gelmeliymişler	gelseymişler	geleymişler

Comparing these tenses between ST and CTD, some phonological changes can be observed. Notably, CTD preserves the earlier Turkic *ŋ. The nasal alveolar /n/, which is used in ST, is replaced in CTD by the nasal velar /ñ/. It also appears that in the future past and reported past, consonant harmony does not occur. In ST, if the very last letter of the verb root is ç, f, h, k, s, ş, t or p, then the suffix sound /d/ is replaced by the sound /t/. This assimilation of the sounds does not occur in CTD, leading for example to *gelecekdiñ* instead of *gelecektin*. Additionally, in all inferential tenses in the CTD, the personal ending of the 1st person plural is /k/ instead of the letter /-z/, as shown in the table below.⁵² These observations are true of Gurbetcha as well.

Table 34: Personal endings of 1st person plural – Inferential tenses in CTD

Continuous inferential	Future inferential	Aorist inferential	Necessitative inferential	Reported Subjunctive	Reported Optative
geliyormuşuk/ geliyormuşug	gelecekmişik/ gelecekmişig	gelirmişik/ gelirmişig	gelmeliymişik/ gelmeliymişig	gelseymişik/ gelseymişig	geleymişik/ geleymişig

The same phenomenon occurs in aorist: for example, the verb ‘to go’ in the 1st person plural occurs as *giderig/giderik* instead of *gideriz*.

Another point to note is that the present perfect tense with the suffix {-Diydî} is not used in ST (with the exception of Anatolian dialects). In ST, this is replaced by the Past Tense – Definite Tense or by the pluperfect tense in {-mîştî}. In CTD, by contrast, the present perfect tense is used frequently.

4.2.2.6.3.3. Verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to have’

In ST the verb ‘to be’ is defective. It lacks the infinitive and several tenses (see tables below). These missing forms may be replaced by corresponding forms of *olmak* ‘to become’.⁵³ According to Underhill (1976: 207), the existence adjectives *var* ‘existent, in existence’ and *yok* ‘non-existent, not in existence’ are used “most frequently ... with the third person”.

⁵² This tense may be used differently among Turkish Cypriots based on age, sex and areas/city/region. Further research should be done to investigate the exact variation of CTD, taking these social variables into consideration in the statistical analysis.

⁵³ Thomas, L. (1967), *Elementary Turkish*, Dover Publications, INC. New York.

The verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ in CTD and Gurbetcha are quite similar to ST. In ST unmarked nominal sentences, the predicate on the 3rd person singular or plural has a zero copula. By contrast, in CTD and Gurbetcha, even if the sentence is unmarked, the copula {-Dİr} is frequently attached to the noun. Also, the 3rd person plural may be indicated with the use of plural suffix {-lAr} and zero copula.

The Gurbetcha examples below illustrate the above points.

- (130) Teberca bilmiyon Gurbetça’dır
 Teberca know:NEG.PRS2SG Gurbetcha:COP.3SG
 ‘Don’t you know that Terberca is Gurbetcha?’ (#T13:9)
- (131) Eskiden böyle idi Hrisomu
 old:ABL like that:COP.PST3SG Chryso:POSS1SG
 ‘It was like this before, dear Chryso.’ (#T13:21)
- (132) Bunun abısı öyle güzel işkef
 this:GEN father:POSS.3SG like that handsome
 adam idi.
 man:COP.PST3SG
 ‘His father was so handsome.’ (#T3:7)
- (133) Gocası tımalidir.
 husband:POSS3SG policeman:COP.3SG
 ‘Her husband is a policeman.’ (#T4:12)
- (134) On altı tane şağım vardır
 sixteen piece child:POSS1SG exist:COP.3SG
 ‘I have sixteen children.’ (#T4:16)

Table 35: Verb ‘to be’ in ST – Present

Present positive	Present interrogative	Present negative	Present negative interrogative
öğrenciyim ‘I am a student’	öğrenci miyim	öğrenci değilim	öğrenci değil miyim
öğrencisin	öğrenci misin	öğrenci değilsin	öğrenci değil misin

'You are a student'			
öğrenci(dir) 'He/She is a student'	öğrenci mi(dir)	öğrenci değildir	öğrenci değil midir
öğrenciyiz 'We are students'	öğrenci miyiz	öğrenci değiliz	öğrenci değil miyiz
öğrencisiniz 'You are students'	öğrenci misiniz	öğrenci değilsiniz	öğrenci değil misiniz
öğrencidirler 'They are students'	öğrenci midirler	öğrenci değildirler	öğrenci değil midirler

Table 36: Verb 'to be' in CTD –Present

Present positive	Present interrogative	Present negative	Present negative interrogative
öğrenciyim	öğrenciyim?	öğrenci değilim	öğrenci değilim
öğrencisiñ	öğrencisiñ?	öğrenci değilsin	öğrenci değilsin
öğrenci (dir)	öğrencidir?	öğrenci değildir	öğrenci değildir
öğrenciyik/ öğrenciyik	öğrenciyik? / öğrenciyig?	öğrenci değilik? / öğrenci değilig?	öğrenci değilik? / öğrenci değilig?
öğrencisiñiz	öğrencisiñiz?	öğrenci değilsiniz	öğrenci değilsiniz
öğrencidirler / öğrencidiller	öğrencidirler?/ öğrencidiller?	öğrenci değildirler/ öğrenci değildiller değildiller	öğrenci değildirler/ değildiller

Table 37: Verb 'to be' in ST – Past

Past positive	Past interrogative	Past negative	Past negative interrogative
öğrenciydim 'I was a student'	öğrenci miydin	öğrenci değildim	öğrenci değil miydin
öğrenciydin 'You were a student'	öğrenci miydin	öğrenci değildin	öğrenci değil miydin
öğrenciydi 'He/She was a student'	öğrenci miydi	öğrenci değildi	öğrenci değil miydi
öğrenciydik 'We were students'	öğrenci miydik	öğrenci değildik	öğrenci değil miydik
öğrenciydiniz	öğrenci miydiniz	öğrenci değildiniz	öğrenci değil miydiniz

'You were students'			
öğrenciydiler 'They were students'	öğrenci miydiler	öğrenci değildiler	öğrenci değil miydiler

Table 38: Verb 'to be' in CTD – Past

Past positive	Past interrogative	Past negative	Past negative interrogative
öğrenciydim	öğrenciydim	öğrenci değilim	öğrenci değilim?
öğrenciydiñ	öğrenciyidiñ	öğrenci değilsin	öğrenci değilsin?
öğrenciydi	öğrenciydi	öğrenci değildir	öğrenci değildir?
öğrenciydik/ öğrenciydig	öğrenciydik? / öğrenciydig?	öğrenci değilik/ öğrenci değilig	öğrenci değilik/ öğrenci değilik?
öğrenciydiñiz	öğrenciydiñiz	öğrenci değilsiniz	öğrenci değilsiniz?
öğrenciydiler	öğrenciydiler	öğrenci değildirler/ öğrenci değildiller	öğrenci değildirler/ değildiller?

4.2.2.6.4. Participles and gerunds

4.2.2.6.4.1. Participles

Participles are verbal adjectives and verbal nouns formed from verbs. The most important function of participles is to form modifying phrases or adjectives. These are equivalent to the relative clauses formed with 'who, which, what, that' in English. Participles in ST are classified as personal or impersonal.⁵⁴ The 3rd person singular, positive and negative of the general verb forms, the past indefinite verb forms and the future verb forms, may be used as verbal adjectives (participles). The Gurbetcha texts show that participles are used as they are in CTD.

The following table shows the participles (personal and impersonal), in ST and in CTD. From the table, we can see that there are no differences between ST and CTD regarding the formation of participles. The only change is the articulation of the sound /k/, which is assimilated into /g/.

Table 39: Participles in ST and CTD

Participle	ST	CTD
{-(y)An}	giden 'one who goes'	giden 'one who goes'
{-Ar}	akar su	akar su

⁵⁴ Manisa Turkish website. Available from: <http://www.turkishlanguage.co.uk/subpart.htm> (Accessed: 18 September 2017)

	'running water'	'running water'
{-mAz}	bitmez iş 'endless work'	bitmez iş 'endless work'
-{mİş}	okumuş adam 'educated man'	okumuş adam 'educated man'
{-AcAk}	gelecek sene 'next year' gideceğim yer 'the place that I will go'	geleceğ sene 'next year' gideceğim yer 'the place that I will go'
{-DIK}	duyulmadık söz 'unheard word' gördüğüm yer 'the place that I went'	duyulmadıg söz 'unheard word' gördüğüm yer 'the place that I went'

4.2.2.6.4.2. Gerunds

Gerunds are derived from verbs, but are used as nouns in a sentence. In the Turkish language, gerunds are created by adding derivational suffixes to verbs. According to the derivational suffix, the gerunds can be used as nouns, adjectives or adverbs in the sentence. To make the (infinitival) noun, the suffixes {-mAk}, {-mA} or {-İş} are added to the verb stem, e.g. *öğrenmek* 'learning' as in *Türkçe öğrenmek istiyorum* 'I want to learn Turkish'. There are different suffixes that make adverbial gerunds. The table below shows the different categories of gerunds in ST.

Table 40: Gerunds in ST

Gerunds – Categories	Suffix
Linking Gerunds	{-(y)Ip}
Gerunds of State	{-(y)ArAk}, {(y)A -(y)A}
Time Gerunds	-{(y)AlI}, {-DIğİndAn beri}, {(y)IncA}, {-Ir, -mAz}, {-DIğİ zaman}, {-DIğİ sirada}, {-DIğİnda}, {-mAdAn önce}, {-DIktAn sonra}, {-AnA kadar}, {(y)IncAyA kadar}, {-AsIyA kadar}, {-DıkçA}, {-DIğİ sürece}, {-ken}
Gerunds that express reason	DIğİ için, {-DIğİndan}, {-AcAğI için}, {-mAk üzere}, {-DIğİnA göre}, {-AcAğİnA göre}
Gerunds of comparison	{-DIğİ kadar}, {-AcAk kadar}, {-DIğİ gibi}, {-cAsİnA}
Gerunds that express contrast	{-(y)AcAğİnA}, {-DIğİ halde},

In the CTD and in Gurbetcha, there are two gerunds that do not follow the vowel harmony. The gerund *ken* ‘while’ can be used either as *-ken* or *kan(a)*. Most of the time, in informal conversation in CTD and Gurbetcha, *-kan* is used.

The following illustrative examples are drawn from the Gurbetcha corpus.

- (135) Annemizden biz böyle gördük
 mother:POSS.1PL.ABL we like this see:PST1PL
 çocukkan
 children:PART
 ‘When we were children we used to see this from our mother.’ (#T17:72)

- (136) Bir gün kayma kayarkan çay dedi kendine
 one day food eat:PART girl say:AOR3SG him/her:DAT
 biraz perez ver bana
 Some bread give:IMP.2SG me:DAT
 ‘One day, while they were eating, she said to him/her, “Give me some bread”.’ (#T6:9)

The ST gerund {-Inca} ‘when’ follows the vowel harmony, whereas in CTD and in Gurbetcha, this is more often used in the form *-inca*. An example extracted from the Gurbetcha texts is below:

- (137) Dizi saati da gelinca saat yedide ...
 serial time:POSS3SG also come:PART time seven:LOC ...
 ‘When there is a TV series, from seven o’clock ...’ (#T16:16)

4.2.3. Summary

Morphology refers to the structure or formation of words. Morphemes are classified into bound and free morphemes. While free morphemes are independent phrase such as the Turkish word *ağaç*, ‘tree’, bound morphemes depend on others e.g. the morpheme *lar* in *ağaçlar* (*ağaç+lar*), ‘trees’. Allomorph involves The variants of a single morpheme are called its allomorphs. The Turkish language comprises more allomorphs than English. For instance, the perfect morpheme {-mİş} entails four allomorphs: *-miş*, *-muş*, *-muş*, *-müş*. Word structure can be explained with reference to the notions of derivational and inflectional morphology. Inflectional morphemes express the features of grammar, varying a word’s forms between e.g. singular and plural or past and present tense; usually they indicate the way a

word functions grammatically in a sentence. Derivational morphemes usually occur closer to the stem than inflectional morphemes, as in the English word *governments*, the derivational suffix *-ment* comes before the inflectional suffix *-s*. In Turkish, there are four categories of such morphemes, including deverbal verbal, denominal verbal, deverbal nominal and denominal nominal suffixes, which alter the meaning or the syntactic class of the stem word. Creation of new words can also be done through compounding, where two or more words are joined together. These words can either be nouns, adjectives or verbs.

The morphology of Gurbetcha includes inflectional suffixes such as case, possessive and plural suffixes, and derivational suffixes. There are some key differences between CTD, Gurbetcha and ST. While in ST the clitic {mI} occurs directly after the topic of the question, the question particle {mI} in yes/no questions does not exist in CTD or Gurbetcha. Instead of the particle {mI}, they stress the verb. Note that this phenomenon also occurs in CGD where there is no particle to form the question. Examples from these languages are below:

- a. *Gidelim mi?* ‘Shall we go?’ (ST)
- b. *Hallanalm?* (Gurbetcha)
- c. *Gidelim ?* (CTD)
- d. *Pame?* (CGD)

Meanwhile, the pronouns of Gurbetcha, such as demonstrative and personal pronouns, resemble those in CTD, while the locative pronouns’ structure is similar to ST. Denominal verbs, denominal nouns and deverbal nouns in Gurbetcha function the same as in ST and CTD. Some important characteristics, which differ from ST and CTD, are found in Gurbetcha verb formation. In Gurbetcha, the deverbal verb suffix {-AIA} is the main suffix found in the analysis, and in most cases, it is added to Turkish verb stems to form verbs, for example: *yapmak*>*yap-ala-mak* ‘to do’, *gitmek*>*gid-ele-mek* ‘to go’, etc. In addition, verbs may be formed with stems that derive from the imperative forms of foreign verbs, e.g. *bidemek* ‘to give’. This verb stem derives from the imperative form of the Kurdish verb ‘dan’, *bide!* ‘give!’ Verbs formed from foreign infinitival verb forms are also found. Lastly, light verb constructions also occur in Gurbetcha. An example found in the corpus is the verb *habetmek* ‘to love’ which derives from an Arabic verbal noun combined with a Turkish auxiliary verb.

The verb stem, along with markers for person, mood, aspect and tense make up the verb complex. Verb tenses include perfect, past, future, focal present, and aorist. These tenses are used most commonly and frequently in Gurbetcha communication. The aorist in Gurbetcha, like in CTD, tends to be used instead of the focal present. Various moods such as potential, conditional, optative, necessity and imperative are found

in Gurbetcha, CTD, and ST. In ST, participles which are formed from the verb as verbal pronouns and adjectives may be categorised as impersonal or personal. A gerund is a form that is derived from a verb and used as a noun in a sentence.

CHRYSSO PELEKANI

4.3. Syntax

In this section, I first focus on the Turkic structural properties of Gurbetcha. This is followed by a discussion of copied elements found in Gurbetcha. Some of these elements are copied from Iranian while some are from other languages with which Gurbetcha has been in contact. The aim of this section is to provide an overview of copied elements found in Gurbetcha, rather than providing exhaustive analysis of these. Although the cases presented below are just some examples among many found in the Gurbetcha corpus, the sample serves to demonstrate the existence of such copied elements and their origins, thus revealing a more complete story of Gurbetcha. An in-depth examination of all these phenomena would provide a good topic for future research.

4.3.1. Turkic structural properties

4.3.1.1. Simple sentences

Like many languages, Turkish has simple sentences that include only a main clause, and complex sentences that have a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 119-135). Compared with ST, most Turkic dialects show a tendency to use less complex sentences (Csato & Johanson 1998: 240). Hypotactic constructions are not very common. Turkic dialects also use direct speech more frequently than indirect speech, the latter requiring expression by means of using a subordinate nominal clause.

The corpus shows a preference in Gurbetcha for simple sentences rather than complex sentences. Examples from the corpus are provided below.

(138) Gerçekten güzel oynar
really well dance:AOR3SG
'She dances very well.' (#T18:14)

(139) Ama bu memlekette sen benim için yabancısın
But this country you mine for foreigner:POSS1SG.COP2SG
'But in this country (this side), for me, you are a foreigner.' (#T23:8)

(140) Fırına hallanaladım
bakery:DAT go:DVV.PST1SG
'I went to the bakery.' (#T25:2)

4.3.1.2. Complex sentences

In Turkish, subordinate clauses are based on a nominalised verbal form (VN) such as {-DIk}, {(y)AcAk}, {-mA}, {-mAk}, {(y)An} or {(y)Iş}. These suffixes combine with verb stems, and can be inflected with the plural suffix, possessive markers, or a case suffix to form non-finite verb forms. Subordinate clauses are of three types, according to their function in a sentence (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005: 135-138):

- a. Verbal nouns: These are the non-finite verb forms forming nominalised clauses, which may function as the subject or object of the finite verb.
- b. Nominalised clauses, which may function as the subject or object of the finite verb.

(141) Hayatında başarılı olacağı belli.
life:POSS.3SG.LOC successful be:VN.POSS.3SG obvious
'It is obvious that he/he will be successful in his/her life.'

- c. Participles: These are the non-finite verbs of relative clauses, which function as adjectival phrases.

(142) Gelen adam benim babam.
come:PART man me:POSS.1SG father:POSS.1SG
'The man who comes/is coming is my father.'

- b. Converbs: These are the non-finite verbs of adverbial clauses, which function as adverbials.

(143) Türkçe öğrenmek için Türkiye'ye gittim.
Turkish learn:PART-CNV for Turkey:DAT go:PST1SG
'I went to Turkey in order to learn Turkish.'

Most subordinated clauses in Turkic languages are structures based on non-finite verb forms, that is, verbal nouns, gerunds and participles. These clauses are also equivalent to the Indo-European dependent clauses. Participles as non-finite predicates are used for relative, complementary and adverbial clauses.

Complex sentences are formed through coordination of clauses with or without conjunctions. There are also clauses which are formed with participles and converbs. Participles may take possessive suffixes agreeing with the subject or case endings. Converbs are especially common in many non-European languages and they play central roles in their syntax.

Furthermore, Johanson (1995: 313) states that Turkic languages use elaborate converb systems, as other languages do, such as Mongolian, Tungusic, Korean, Japanese and Dravidian. Examples of such syntactic differences between Indo-European and non-European languages are given in (144) and (145).

(144) I am really happy when you succeed in your exams. (subordinating conjunction)

(145) Ahmet okula gelince derse girdi.
 Ahmet school:DAT come:PART lesson:DAT enter:PST3SG
 ‘When he came to school, Ahmet entered the class/lesson.’

Morphologically complex (compound) sentences have three exceptions regarding this rule: conditional, coordinated by ‘ki’, and direct speech. All of these exceptions exist in the Gurbetcha corpus.

4.3.1.3. Nominal phrases

As in other Turkic languages, adjectives in Gurbetcha mostly function as adverbials without any special marking, e.g. *Işkef oynarım* ‘I dance well’. Nominal compounds are created by means of the third-person singular possessive suffix, e.g. *Kına gecesi* ‘henna night’ (#T17:2).

Genitive constructions in Gurbetcha are formed according to normal Turkic rules, e.g. *abinin karısı* ‘the wife of his/her big brother’ (#T25:13). Another method of compounding is to combine two nouns of similar meaning, e.g. *alış* ‘taking/buying’ *veriş* ‘giving/selling’.

Plural agreement of subjects and predicates is observed often in Gurbetcha, and may be due to the formal difference between nominal and verbal plural suffixes.

(146) Gardaşlarım askere hallandı
 brother:POSS.1SG soldier:DAT go:PST3SG
 ‘My brothers went to the army.’ (#T19:17)

4.3.1.4. Verbal phrases

A verbal phrase may consist of a simple and/or compound lexical verb, e.g. *oku-* ‘to read’ or *dans et-* ‘to dance’. It may also combine with an auxiliary verb, e.g. *ol-* ‘to become’. Due to the fact that Gurbetcha has a limited vocabulary, the compound lexical verbs are similar to ST.

(147) Bir iş yapalayamadım dükede
 One work do:DVV.IMPOSS.PST1SG home:LOC

‘I could not do anything at home.’ (#T5:3)

4.3.1.5. Noun phrases

In ST, all modifiers are strictly prenominal, so adjectives always have to precede the noun they modify; however, in some examples, the modifier follows the noun it modifies. The same phenomenon occurs in Persian. Although Persian is verb-final at the sentential level, it behaves like head-initial languages in NPs. Thus, the head noun in a NP is often followed by the modifiers and possessors.⁵⁵ Examples (148) and (149) are from Persian, while (150) is from the Gurbetcha corpus.

(148) Khâne-ye bozorg
One house-Ez big
‘A big house’ (Persian)

(149) ketâb-e man
book-Ez my
‘my book’ (Persian)

(150) Bir gaci işkef.
a woman beautiful
‘This woman is beautiful.’ (Gurbetcha; #T7:1)

4.3.1.6. Reported speech

In Gurbetcha, direct speech is more common than the indirect reported speech form. The examples below show the differences between Gurbetcha and ST in this regard.

(151) Anam da derdi ya anam abi
mother:POSS1SG also say:AOR-PST3SG mother:POSS1SG father
işledi da getirsin sana kayma
work:PST3SG also bring:IMP3SG you:DAT food
‘My mother used to say, “My dear, did your father work enough to bring you food?”’ (#T13:12)

(152) Biraz önce geldim dedi
A little while ago come:PST1SG say:PST3SG
‘He/She said “I came a little while ago”.’

⁵⁵ Megerdoomian K., Persian Syntax, Available from: <http://www.zoorna.org/shiraz/syntax.html> (Accessed: 2 February 2018)

4.3.1.7. Constituent order

The unmarked word order in ST is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb); however, changes in the order of constituents are possible to put certain elements into focus. The word order of ancient Indo-European Languages (Sanskrit, Latin, etc.) was also mainly SOV. In modern Indo-European languages, however, word order differs. Some languages, such as Persian, follow the SOV order. Other languages, such as Greek or German, follow an SVO order. In SOV languages, genitives and attributive adjectives usually precede their nouns, relative clauses precede main ones, and postpositions are used, whereas SVO languages employ prepositions, and adjectives mostly follow nouns (Symeonides 1981).

In CTD, the word order of constituents may deviate from that of ST, perhaps due to the influence of CGD. The examples below show that the word order of constituents in ST differs from CTD and Gurbetcha. Further, the word order of CGD influences the word order of CTD and Gurbetcha as shown by examples (157), (158) and (159) compared to (156). Non predicate-final order patterns, traditionally called *devrik cümle* ‘inverted sentences’, are used in various communicative functions and may be motivated by different factors. The following examples show that in CTD and Gurbetcha, the use of inverted sentences is common. The sentence-final position of the Turkish verb has also had some impact on CGD; the verb is not at the end and the direct object has a postverbal order (this phenomenon also occurs in CTD).

(153) Ben de bidedim destimi.
me also give:PST1SG hand:POSS.1SG.ACC
‘I also laid my hand.’ (#T8:9)

(154) Gaci seveler başka gacoyu
Woman love:DVV.AOR.3.SG other man:ACC
‘The woman loves another man.’ (#T10:10)

(155) İş yaparım dükede
work do:DVV.AOR.1.SG home:LOC
‘I do housework.’ (#T12:2)

(156) Ekmek almak için bakkala gideceğim. (ST)
bread take:NMLZ for bakery:DAT get:FUT1SG
‘I will go to the bakery to buy bread.’

(157) Gidelecem fırına aşınayım perez (Gurbetcha)
Go:DVV.FUT1SG bakery:DAT take:IMP1SG bread

‘I will go to the bakery to buy bread.’

- (158) Gidecem bakkala alayım ekmek (CTD)
Go:DVV.FUT1SG bakery:DAT take:IMP1SG bread
‘I will go to the bakery to buy bread.’

- (159) Enna pao ston bakkali na piasw psomi. (CGD)
Go:DVV.FUT1SG bakery:DAT take:IMP1SG bread
‘I will go to the bakery to buy bread.’

A frequent type of construction in Gurbetcha, which may be used by the speaker as a strategy to gain time, puts the dummy element *hey* ‘thing’ (cf. Turkish *şey*) in a referent-introducing or focusing preverbal position, and the missing lexical expression in postverbal position. Examples showing these phenomena are below:

- (160) Baran aşınacak seni hallanmayacañ
rain take:FUT.3SG you:ACC go:NEG.FUT.2SG
heye dükeye
thing:DAT home:DAT
‘You will be caught by the rain (rain will take you). You will not (be able to) go home.’ (#T3:17)

- (161) Bizimkiler öyle bir hey yapallar
our:PART:PL like this one thing do:AOR.3PL
‘Our people are like this.’ (#T16:20)

- (162) ... heymiz yoğudu şorumuz
... thing:POSS1PL nothing:PST.3SG head:POSS3SG
‘... We didn’t have our mind.’ (#T24:15)

Another important phenomenon found in our corpus is the post-verbal position of the dative/directive case. This post-verbal position can be used for focused constituents. The same phenomenon also occurs in other Indo-European languages. According to Bulut (2007), “other Iranian languages such as Kurdish and colloquial modern Persian mark the object to which the action expressed in the verb is directed by word order properties”.

- (163) Bir gün kayma kayarkan çay dedi kendine
one day food eat:AOR.PART girl say:AOR3SG him:DAT

biraz perez ver bana
 some bread give:IMP.2SG me:DAT
 ‘One day, while they were eating, she said to him (to the boy) “Give me some bread”.’ (#Tr.6:9)

4.3.1.8. Conditional clauses

A conditional clause does not express any judgment itself, but rather completes another sentence by providing a condition. A conditional clause generally links the main verb with the role of the adverb. It may be found in the middle or at the beginning of the main sentence.

Conditional clauses in Turkish are usually based on suffixes of the type {-sA}, with personal markers of the possessive kind, and copula particles of the type *ise* ‘if...is’. In many Turkic dialects, conditional clauses may be introduced by the conjunction *eğer* ‘if’, which is a copy from the Persian *agar*. In CTD and Gurbetcha, the use of *eğer* ‘if’ is optional.

Conditional clauses in Gurbetcha function according to principles of Turkic languages. In the Gurbetcha corpus, there are four types of conditional sentences: clauses having temporal meaning, clauses expressing real conditions, clauses expressing unreal conditions and concessive clauses with the conditional suffix and the particle *bile* ‘even’.

(164) Hallansam çelleşirim.
 go:COND.1SG say:AOR.1SG
 ‘If /When I go, I will tell you.’ (extracted during observation)

(165) Bilsem söylerim dedi
 know:COND.1SG tell:AOR.1SG tell:AOR.3SG
 ‘He said, “I would say it if I knew it”.’ (#T6:30)

(166) E bulursan anacım
 eh find:COND.2SG mother:DIM.POSS1SG
 gennat bize de kayalım
 bring:DVV.IMP.2SG we:DAT also eat: SBJV1PL
 ‘If you find food, my dear, bring it to us to eat as well.’ (#T13:13)

(167) Şoromuzdaki evlilik yapmasaydım
 head:POSS.1PL.PART wedding do:NEG.COND-PST.1SG
 diyelim ... ben evlenmeyi bile zanımsaydım
 tell:IMP.1PL ... me wedding:ACC even look:AOR-PST.NEG.1SG
 ‘Let’s say if I didn’t get married, ... I wouldn’t be thinking of marriage.’ (#T24:5)

(168) Yani aç bile kalsam omurları
 so hungry even stay:COND.1SG care:POSS3PL
 değilmiş kimse
 not:AOR.3SG nothing
 ‘It seems they do not care even if I am hungry.’ (#T17:76)

4.3.1.9. Adverbial clauses

In ST, there are three types of adverbial clauses (ACs):⁵⁶

- Adverbial clauses based on converbs, such as *-(I)p, -Inca, -ArAk...*
- Complex gerunds based on nominalized verb forms, such as participles or verbal nouns marked with case or followed by postpositions: *-DIK+I + için, -AcAk+I + zaman, -DIk+I+n+dA; -AcAk+I+n+dAn*
- Subordination of finite clauses: *diye, ki, madem ki, -DI mI, clitic -dA...*

In the Gurbetcha corpus, all of the above types of ACs were found and will be analysed in this section with regard to word order.

Kornfilt (2000: 68) states that in an unmarked word order, all types of adverbial clauses are placed at the beginning of the main sentence; however, due to the general flexibility of word order in Turkish, the adverbial clause can surface in three different positions: initial position, medial position or final position. In the corpus of Gurbetcha, speakers did not use adverbial clauses in the final position, only in the initial and medial positions. Examples of these positions are given below.

(169) *medial position:*
 ... ceiranim **kirtildikten sonra** ben ne yaparım
 ... electricity:POSS1SG cut off:PART me what do:AOR1SG
 bu yerde.
 this place:LOC
 ‘When they cut off the electricity, why do I live in this place?’ (#T23:14)

⁵⁶ Demir, D. (2015). *Adverbial Clauses in Modern Turkish*, Excerpt from Proceedings of the First Conference on Central Asian Languages and Linguistics (ConCALL), Volume 1, p.74.

(170) *medial position:*

... Bir gün kayma **kayarkana** çay dedi
... one day food eat:AOR.PART girl say:PST3SG
kendine biraz perez ver bana
him/her:DAT little bread give:IMP.2SG me:DAT

‘One day, while they were eating, she asked the boy ‘Give me some bread’.’ (T6:9)

(171) *initial position:*

Nimislarken gacının merisi gennadı
sleep:AOR.PART woman:GEN husband:POSS.3SG come:PST3SG

‘While they were in the bed, her (the woman’s) husband came.’ (#T10:15)

4.3.1.10. Complement clauses

The term complement clause refers to clauses that function as a subject or object argument of matrix predicates (cf. Noonan 2007: 52), and may be introduced by a complementiser. Complement clauses (CCs) serve to complete the sentence. A CC is attached to a preceding noun, adjective or verb. The most common type is a CC following a verb. Examples of CCs (adjective, verb or noun) in English, are given below:⁵⁷

- i. I am sure that you love me. (adjective - CC)
- ii. You suggested to me that I should go to the doctor. (verb - CC)
- iii. The news that she was dead shocked us all. (noun - CC)

In Turkish, the complementisers are based on bound subjunctors. Most of the time, the predicate is based on a non-finite verbal form, such as a participle, an infinitive or another type of verbal noun. Bound morphemes such as {-DİK}, {-mA} function as subjunctors, and their functions are similar to the free subjunctors in English. These morphemes should be marked for a possessor agreement and case. Examples from ST are below:⁵⁸

(172) Yarın İstanbul’a gideceğini biliyorum
tomorrow Istanbul:DAT go:PART.2SG know:PRS1SG
‘I know that she/he/you will go to Istanbul tomorrow.’

⁵⁷ English grammar. Available from: <https://www.englishgrammar.org/complement-clause/> (Accessed: 2 February 2018)

⁵⁸ In some instances, ST has alternative means of expression. For instance, instead of using the bound suffixes {-mA} and {-DİK}, the free conjunction *ki* is used when the speaker wants to be more polite, e.g. *Umarım ki sen de başarılı olursun*. The verb *umarım* here has the meaning of *İnşallah*, ‘God willing’.

- (173) Senin Türkçe öğrenmeni isterim
 You:POSS2SG Turkish learn:VN.POSS2SG.ACC want:AOR1SG
 ‘I want you to learn Turkish.’

In Gurbetcha, CCs follow the Indo-European pattern. Copied elements such as the conjunctors *ki* and *çünkü* resemble ‘that’ and ‘because’ in English (Johanson 1990 cited in Csato, 2010: 109). Examples from Gurbetcha are given below:

- (174) ... Ondan sonra lafta ailesine
 ... after:ABL boy family:POSS3SG
 annesine babasına söyler ki gitsin
 parents:POSS3SG:DAT tell:AOR3SG CONJ go:IMP3SG
 çayı isteyelesin
 girl:ACC want:DVV.IMP3SG
 ‘Then the boy tells his parents to go and ask for the girl.’ (#T6:14)

- (175) Bilirim ki işkeftir
 know:AOR1SG CONJ beautiful:COP.3SG
 ‘I know that she is beautiful.’

4.3.2. Indo-European structural properties copied in Gurbetcha

When languages come into contact with each other, they may copy elements of all linguistic subsystems, such as phonology and morphology, and syntax. Johanson (1992, 2002b) introduced the Code-Copying Framework, according to which, elements inserted into a given contact-affected code are not taken to be identical with the originals, but just copies of them. Copies, even the most faithful ones, can be distinguished from their original. With regards to Gurbetcha syntax, what might be termed “borrowing” can be better analysed as instances of code-copying. Copied elements found in the Gurbetcha corpus are of particular interest to this research. These elements are copied from the donor languages – Indo-European languages such as Persian and Greek – and they follow the basic principles of Indo-European syntax. The Gurbetcha examples in this section are analysed and explained within Johanson’s Code-Copying Framework.

In addition, Poplack and colleagues (Poplack 1980; Poplack & Meechan 1995) maintain that borrowing and code-switching are different phenomena. In Gurbetcha syntax, there are elements which have been copied from the donor language (e.g., Persian, Greek) into the recipient language (i.e. Gurbetcha) and which have then been accommodated in the new system. An example of this is *metlenmek* ‘to die’ < Ar. VN *meyt* ‘death’ + Tr. derivational suffix {-IA}.

4.3.2.1. Gurbetcha sentence structure: Two main clauses based on finite verb forms

Gurbetcha has a structure based on two main clauses with two or more finite verbal forms.

(176) Onlara gideleycem, haplarımı piy necem
they:DAT go:DVV.FUT1SG pill:PL.POSS1SG.ACC drink:FUT1SG
'I will go to them and take (drink) my pills.' (#T5:20)

(177) Merim da şağları gideller gaciden
husband:POSS1SG also child:PL.ACC go:AOR1SG woman:ABL
aşın nasın
take:OPT.3SG
'My husband goes to pick up the children from the woman.' (#T7:7)

(178) Ben dükeye gennadım ısbıklarımı
me home:DAT come:PST1SG cloth:PL.POSS.1SG.ACC
çık araladım çünkü kayma yapalaycam.
take off:DVV.PST1SG because food do:DVV.FUT1SG
'I came home, I took off my clothes because I will prepare food.' (#T7:9)

4.3.2.2. The use of the particle *ki*

The particle *ki* plays an important role in the syntax of Turkic languages under Iranian influence. The conjunction *ki* is a Persian borrowing and is used frequently in a variety of constructions and with a variety of interpretations. As a complementiser, *ki* has a function that is very similar to the complementiser in English (Ketrez 2012: 254). In the Gurbetcha corpus, the use of the particle *ki* was not frequent. Other linking elements (such as the particle *ama* 'but') are preferred over the complementiser *ki*. Example (180) is one example found in the Gurbetcha corpus with the use of *ki*.

(179) Düğün isteller ama para da olacak **ki**
wedding want:AOR3.PL but money also be:FUT.3SG CONJ
düğün yafalasin
wedding do:DVV.IMP.3.PL
'They want to do a wedding ceremony, but do they have money to do such a wedding?' (#T17:17)

The preposition *ama* 'but' of Arabic origin has been described as a marker indicating relations of contrast, opposition or conflict between the segments that they connect (Atabay, Kutluk & Özel 1983: 172-174, Kerslake 1992).

- (180) Çay da onu ama daha çelleşmezler
 girl also he:ACC but still talk:NEG.AOR3SG
 ‘The girl as well but they still don’t talk to each other.’ (#T6:7)

4.3.2.3. Necessitative: *lazım*+V-optative

The modal functions of obligation/necessity and assumption in ST are marked with the suffix {-mAll}. The suffix {-mAll} is added after the verb stem and then personal endings of the verb are attached in two tenses: past tense {-DI} and {mIş} and present tense. In Gurbetcha, there is no necessitative mode in {-mAll}. This mode is replaced by impersonal modal expressions such as *gerek/lazım* ‘it is necessary’. After *gerek/lazım* a verb in optative mood, imperative or subjunctive form follows, in order to complete the sentence. This phenomenon also occurs in Turkic varieties under Iranian influence (Bulut 1999), and also in CTD (Demir 2002: 9), illustrated by example (182) below. This phenomenon is an influence from Indo-European languages such as Persian and Greek. The following examples illustrate this point.

- (181) Lazım piineyim hap
 Necessary drink:OPT1SG pill
 ‘I have to take my pills.’ (Gurbetcha; #T5:26)

- (182) Lazım gidelim eve da yemek yeylim.⁵⁹
 Must/should go:VOL.1PL home:DAT also food eat:VOL1PL
 ‘We should go home and eat.’ (CTD; from Demir 2002: 9)

4.3.2.4. Volition: *iste* + (*ki*) + optative

This structure follows Iranian patterns. The modal expression needs a separate clause to complete the whole sentence and to have meaning. There are two means to form this sentence: either with or without the conjunction *ki*. This sentence structure still exists in ST but is not so frequent. In ST, the pattern *iste* needs the infinitive form {-mAk}, the verbal noun {-mA}, or the relative object participle {-DIK} to complete the sentence. Examples (185), (186) and (187) show the structural similarities with the Indo-European languages.

- (183) Gitmek istiyorum.
 go:VN want:PRS1SG
 ‘I want to go’ (Standard Turkish)

⁵⁹ cf. ST: *Eve gidip yemek yemeliyiz.*

- (184) İster daha çok zengin birine versin.
 want:AOR3SG more a lot rich someone:DAT give:IMP.3SG
 ‘He/She wants to give her to a richer man.’ (Gurbetcha; #T5:18)
- (185) İsterim gideyim.
 want:AOR1SG go:VOL1SG
 ‘I want to go.’ (CTD)
- (186) Mixwaham beravam
 DUR.want:PRS1SG SUBJ1SG
 ‘I want to go.’ (Persian)⁶⁰
- (187) Thelo na figo.
 want:PST1SG SUBJ:1SG
 ‘I want to go’ (Greek)

4.3.2.5. Purpose clause + optative

In ST purpose clauses (PCs), where the subject of a non-finite clause expressing purpose is the same as that of the superordinate clause, the converbial marker *{-mAk} için* ‘in order to’ (or its more formal counterpart *{-mAk} üzere*) is used (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 413). In the Gurbetcha corpus, the converbial marker *{-mAk} için* does not exist in a dependent clause. Instead, the finite verb form of the dependent clause changes into a modal category (most of the time imperative and/or optative). This structure of purpose clauses also occurs in CTD. This structure arises through Persian influence and is frequently used in Gurbetcha. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

- (188) Şağları bir gaciye bırakalarız zanısın
 child:PL.ACC one woman:DAT leave:DVV.AOR1PL look after:IMP3SG
 ‘They leave their children with a woman to look after them.’ (#T7:5)
- (189) Merim da şağları gideller
 husband:POSS1SG also child:PL:ACC go:DVV.AOR3SG
 gaciden aşınnasın
 woman:ABL take:IMP.3SG
 ‘My husband goes to pick up the children from the woman.’ (#T7:7)

⁶⁰ Extracted from Bulut, C. in her presentation: ‘Contact-induced structural change in the syntax of spoken varieties of Turkic: Indo-European, Iranian, or Greek?’

4.3.3. Summary

A simple sentence that only involves the main clause is more preferred than complex sentences in the speech of Gurbetties. Although complex sentences are rarely used in Turkic dialects, they can be formed using conjunctions and coordinating various clauses. Most Turkish dialects use the SOV order but others use SVO constituent order, where adjectives go before their nouns.

This section has also discussed several phrasal types, including nominal, verbal and noun phrases. Whereas verbal phrases involve compound or simple lexical verbs, nominal compounds are formed through the singular possessive suffix of the third person. Gurbetcha more often uses direct speech rather than indirect reported speech.

Conditional clauses connect the main verb of a sentence with the role of the adverb, which can be classified into whether it has temporal meaning, or expresses a real or an unreal condition. Adverbial clauses are located at the start of the main sentence and may be categorised into finite, complex gerunds and converbs. In addition, complement clauses (CCs) function as matrix predicate arguments of either an object or subject. The CC in Gurbetcha follows the pattern of Indo-European contact languages. The contact with other languages can lead to copying linguistic subsystems elements including syntax, morphology, and phonology; in the case of Gurbetcha, the main donor languages are Greek and Persian. As such, Gurbetcha structure is based on the forms of the finite verb. The Persian language influences the usage of the particle *ki* in the syntax of Gurbetcha.

The suffix {-mAll} marks the modal functions of assumption and obligation in ST. In Gurbetcha, there is no necessitative mode, instead impersonal modal expressions are used. In Gurbetcha purpose clauses (PCs), the converbial marker usually does not occur in a clause that is dependent but instead, the finite verb form of the dependent clause changes into a modal category.

4.4. Lexicon

When two languages come in contact with each other over an extended period, that is, over decades or centuries, it is not unusual for speakers of one language to naturally begin using words from the other language and vice versa. Lexical borrowings, or loanwords, are by far the most commonly attested language contact phenomenon. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) stated that “[i]nvariably, in a borrowing situation the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words”.

In interviews and observations conducted for this study between 2011 and 2015, I gave special attention to the possible influence of other languages on Gurbetcha through linguistic contact. I devoted a significant amount of time and effort to recording, transcribing and searching for the etymology of loanwords encountered in the Gurbetcha lexicon. Extracts from interviews and observations conducted from 2011 to 2015, and in particular, the material found in this section, demonstrate that the Gurbetcha lexicon has indeed borrowed words from other languages. This is partially and likely due to the fact that, before 1974, Gurbetties lived a more nomadic lifestyle than today and conducted what could be described as ‘small trade’ to make a living. This way of life afforded contact with not only GCs and TCs, but also with other people from various ethnic backgrounds. According to Andre Theret (in *Les Egyptiens ou Bohemiens*, cited in Özde 2008) who visited Cyprus in 1579, the Roma “observed a simple life supported by the production of nails (fasteners) by the men and belts by the women, which were sold to the local population. Despite being marginalised in both the north and the south, the Gypsies survived by selling donkeys and mules, making jewellery and kebab skewers and offering fortune-telling to local communities”. According to Hock and Joseph (2009), “languages and dialects ... do not exist in a vacuum”: there is always linguistic contact between groups. This contact influences which loanwords are integrated into the lexicon and which words are chosen over others.

For purposes of this study, I collected and identified a total of 240 loanwords in Gurbetcha. For the analysis of the etymology of each word, I consulted a number of native-language dictionaries. Research also included bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, some contemporary and others historically significant. Lastly, but importantly, for words that could not be found in printed dictionaries nor on a website, I consulted native speakers (online contacts) for clarification.

For Romani words, I consulted the *Multilingual Romani Dictionary* of Rishi (1974). This Romani/Hindi/English/Russian/French dictionary contains useful etymologies of Romani words based on Sanskrit. The vocabulary predominantly originates from the southern dialects of the Romani language, but interestingly, Roma all over Europe and America understand much of the corpus.

For the Kurdish words (Kurmanci and Sorani dialects), I consulted the Kurdish-English Dictionary (*Ferhenga Kurmancî-Inglîzî*) dictionary of Chyet (2003). This dictionary focuses on the modern use of the Kurmanci dialect of Kurdish, which is spoken in Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq and parts of the former Soviet Union. It is the most comprehensive Kurmanci-English volume composed to date. Dictionary entries are extensive and include, whenever possible, detailed etymologies, multiple meanings, variant forms, sample sentences, synonyms and inflections. These materials proved to be an invaluable reference.

For the Persian words studied, I consulted the well-known nineteenth century English-Farsi Dictionary compiled by Francis Joseph Steingass in 1892, which remains an important reference for students of classical Persian literature. I also consulted Arthur Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary*, published in 1882.

For purposes of understanding Arabic words, I consulted another dictionary of Steingass, *An English-Arabic Dictionary for the Use of Both Travellers and Students*, published in 1882.

For Turkish/Ottoman words, I used *A Turkish and English Lexicon* by Redhouse (1890). For Turkic words, I consulted the multilingual *Dictionary of the Turkic Languages: Turkish, Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tatar, Turkish, Turkmen, Uighur, Uzbek*, compiled by Kurtuluş Öztopçu, Zhoumagaly Abuov, Nasir Kambarov and Youssef Azemoun.

For Turkish words, I used *Derleme Sözlüğü*. (1963-1979). For Cypriot-Turkish words, I consulted the dictionary of Kabataş (2007) entitled *Kıbrıs Türkçesinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*.

Following a close examination of these loanwords, I conducted a statistical analysis of their frequency (nouns and verbs) extracted from the text corpus, as well as a thorough analysis of the specific phonological, morphological and semantic features of Gurbetcha words, comparing them to their original form, in other words, comparing them to the forms in the donor languages.

Significantly contributing to this research was *Abdal Gizli Dili; inceleme-sözlük* by Faruk Yıldırım (2011), which provided further information regarding the Roma and the Abdal people living in different areas in Turkey. This study involved a thorough examination of the similarities and differences between Teberce (the language of Abdal in Turkey) and Gurbetcha (the language of Gurbetties in Cyprus).

4.4.1. Overview of the Gurbetcha lexicon

The lexicon or the vocabulary of Gurbetcha indeed exhibits a basic lexical stock which is likely to have existed in the common proto-language. Some words are common with the Romani language and other dialects of Romani (Domari, Mitrip; words like *pani* ‘water’, *buzno* ‘goat’, etc.). These words are the same in Hindi, Panjabi, Nepali, Bengali, Marathi, Sindhi, Gujarati and 50 other Indian languages.

Through observation, it is clear that numerous lexical items have been copied to Gurbetcha (the recipient language) not only from Romanes but from other languages as well, such as Kurdish, Iranian, Arabic, Hindi and Greek. The number of Armenian words in Gurbetcha is rather limited. In the case of Gurbetcha, it is almost impossible to identify which is the donor language for every single word that was collected.

The source words of loanwords often have phonological, orthographic, morphological and syntactic properties of the donor language that do not fit into the system of the recipient language. For example, the Greek language lacks a close back unrounded vowel /ɪ/, so that Turkish words like *halı* /haɫɯ/ ‘carpet’, or *kismet* /kɯsmet/ ‘destiny’ are problematic; and Greeks pronounce them as *χαλί* [*hali*] and *κισμέτιν* [*kismetin*]. In these situations, where there is a lack of a vowel or consonant, the loanwords often undergo changes to make them fit better into the recipient language (sometimes even morphological changes occur as well). These changes are generally called loanword adaptation (or loanword integration). Poplack and Sankoff (1984: 130) state that “once a term is accepted into the speech community, and adapted into a particular phonological form, it is that form which is transmitted across generations in much the same way as monolingual neologisms”.

Some phonological variations (which refers to differences in pronunciation), morphological and semantic changes have occurred among the borrowed words in Gurbetcha; I analyse and present these separately in the following sections. Before analysing the loanwords linguistically, I will proceed with the analysis of the frequency of words. The first statistical analysis will indicate the percentage frequency of the loanwords extracted from the 29 transcribed texts. Another table presents a statistical analysis of the frequency of the words in donor languages.

4.4.2. Loanword frequency analyses

4.4.2.1. Word frequency: Nouns

According to the Oxford dictionary, ‘word frequency’ is the frequency with which a word occurs in a given text or corpus. In computational linguistics, a frequency list is a sorted list of words (word types) together

with their frequency, where frequency here usually means the number of occurrences in a given corpus, from which the rank, less meaningful, can be derived.

In the chart below (Figure 2), the horizontal axis shows the loanwords extracted from the corpus texts (1-29), and the vertical axis shows the word frequency of the words extracted from the corpus. To further clarify the results, an accompanying table depicts the frequency of each word along with its percentage, organised with the most frequent first.

Figure 2: Percentage frequency of loanwords extracted from the text corpus

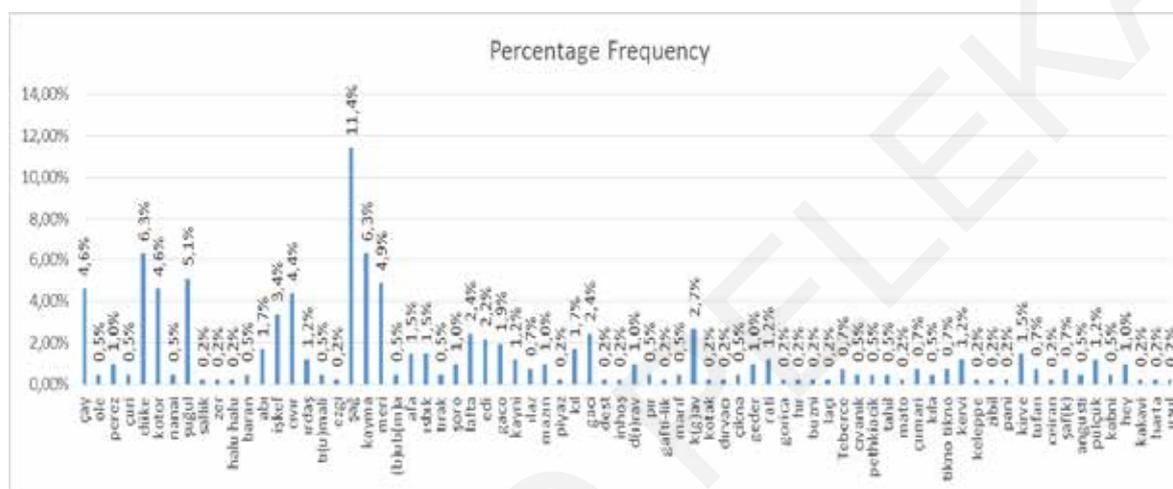


Table 41: Frequency of Gurbetcha Words (Texts 1-29)

Gurbetcha	Frequency (total: 409)	Percentage Frequency
şag ‘child’	47	11.44%
duke ‘shop’	26	6.33%
kayma ‘food’	26	6.33%
şuğul ‘work’	21	5.11%
meri ‘husband’	20	4.87%
çay ‘girl’	19	4.62%
kotor ‘money’	19	4.62%
cıvr ‘woman’	18	4.38%
işkef ‘beautiful’	14	3.41%
k(g)av ‘village’	11	2.68%
lafta ‘boy’	10	2.43%

gaci ‘non Roma woman’	10	2.43%
edi ‘mother’	9	2.19%
gaco ‘non Roma man’	8	1.95%
abı ‘father’	7	1.70%
kKıl ‘every’	7	1.70%
afa ‘this/that’	6	1.46%
ısbık ‘clothes’	6	1.46%
kirve ‘godfather’	6	1.46%
ırdaş ‘brother’	5	1.22%
kayni ‘chicken’	5	1.22%
rati ‘night’	5	1.22%
kervi ‘later’	5	1.22%
pülçük ‘hair’	5	1.22%
perez ‘bread’	4	0.97%
şoro ‘head’	4	0.97%
mazın ‘big/old’	4	0.97%
d(i)rav ‘money’	4	0.97%
geder ‘donkey’	4	0.97%
hey ‘thing’	4	0.97%
ılaz ‘potatoe’	3	0.73%
Teberce ‘Gurbetcha’	3	0.73%
çumari ‘chicken’	3	0.73%
tikno ‘small’	3	0.73%
tufan ‘smoke’	3	0.73%
şaf(k) ‘dawn’	3	0.73%
ole ‘hey’	2	0.49%
çuri ‘knife’	2	0.49%
nanai ‘not exist’	2	0.49%
baran ‘rain’	2	0.49%
tı(u)mali ‘police’	2	0.49%
(b)ub(m)a ‘father’	2	0.49%
pır ‘too much’	2	0.49%
marıf ‘police’	2	0.49%
çıkna ‘oil’	2	0.49%

cıvanık ‘beautiful’	2	0.49%
pethkiacik ‘children’	2	0.49%
tahil ‘coffee’	2	0.49%
kıla ‘calling a woman /girl’	2	0.49%
angusti ‘ring’	2	0.49%
kabni ‘pregnant’	2	0.49%
dallik ‘rope’	1	0.24%
zer ‘one pound’	1	0.24%
halu halu ‘quickly’	1	0.24%
ezgi ‘pain’	1	0.24%
piyaz ‘onion’	1	0.24%
dest ‘hand’	1	0.24%
inhoş ‘ill’	1	0.24%
gaftilik ‘robbery’	1	0.24%
kotak ‘whacking’	1	0.24%
dırvacı ‘liar’	1	0.24%
gorica ‘Gurbetcha’	1	0.24%
hır ‘far away’	1	0.24%
buzni ‘goat’	1	0.24%
laçi ‘beautiful’	1	0.24%
mato ‘drunk’	1	0.24%
keleppe ‘idiot’	1	0.24%
zibil ‘garbage’	1	0.24%
pani ‘water’	1	0.24%
ceiran ‘electricity’	1	0.24%
kakavi ‘pot’	1	0.24%
harta ‘let’s go’	1	0.24%
usul ‘quiet’	1	0.24%

The word list in Table 41 shows that Gurbetties use basic vocabulary, which covers important basic domains related to their existence. The vocabulary includes nouns such as *angusti* ‘ring’, *tufan* ‘smoke’, adjectives such as *keleppe* ‘idiot’, *laçi* ‘nice, beautiful’, *mazin* ‘big’ and adverbs such as *tikno tikno* ‘in small pieces’, *halu halu* ‘quickly’.

According to the results, the word with the highest percentage is the word *şağ* ‘child’ (11.44%). This word was used 47 times in the transcribed text corpus. The words *dükke* ‘house’ and *kayma* ‘food’ are both in second place with a percentage of 6.33%. The word *şuğul* ‘work’ is in third place with a percentage of 5.11%. These words give us an insight into the lifestyle, priorities and needs of the Gurbetties. Other important and high-frequency words are: *meri* ‘husband’ (4.87%), *çay* ‘girl’ (4.62%), *kotor* ‘money’ (4.62%) and *civir* ‘woman’ (4.38%).

The above wordlist suggests that family is paramount to Gurbetties. Although some Gurbetties live in different cities/towns in both the north and south of Cyprus, these distances are within a half-day’s drive of major cities and towns, and Gurbetties are in constant contact with one another. This is often because the extended family works together as one financial unit.

Designations for human beings function as kinship terms. Like in Romanes, in Gurbetcha there are words describing direct relatives like *phen* ‘brother’ and *edi* ‘mother’, which are essentially of Indo-Aryan origin. However, not all of the words related to kinship terms are loanwords from the Indo-Aryan language family. There are words from Persian and Kurdish (Indo-Iranian language family) and from Arabic languages (Afro-Asiatic language family) such as *abi* ‘father’, *meri* ‘husband’, *meriya* ‘wife,’ *mazın abi* ‘grandfather’.

The human body is another basic domain with a majority of terms of Indic origin: these terms comprise the body parts, functions, movements, physical and mental states, etc. For example, the word *şoro* ‘head’. There are also words borrowed from Persian, Kurdish and Arabic such as *pülçük* ‘hair’, *poze* ‘nose’, *cav* ‘eye’, etc.

The basic vocabulary of Gurbetcha includes numerous terms describing nature – the landscape, weather, plants or animals. Some terms relate to shelter, tools and basic sources of food; other terms describe professions and/or social functions. A number of words of the basic vocabulary are borrowings, not only from the Indo-Aryan language family like *mas* ‘meat’, *giv* ‘wheat’, *kayni* ‘chicken’, but from Indo-Iranian and Afro-Asiatic language families, for example *halep* ‘milk’, *hanzir* ‘pig’, *cabas* ‘watermelon’, *dah* ‘ten’, etc.

Table 42: Distribution of loan nouns across donor languages

Language	Frequency	% Frequency
Ar.	2	3.08%
Arm.	2	3.08%

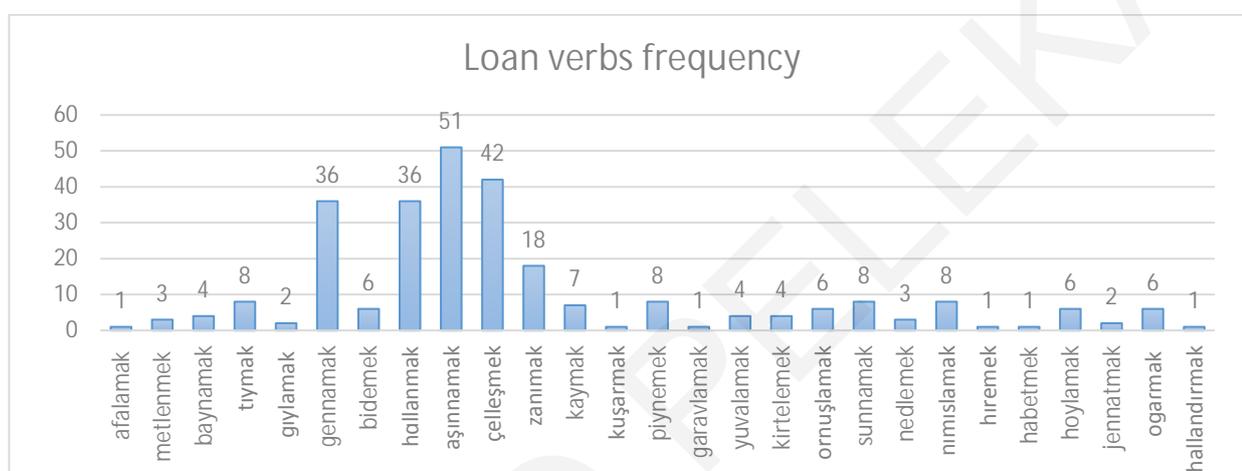
Az.	2	3.08%
Bşk.	2	3.08%
Çuk.	1	1.54%
D.	1	1.54%
Dzç.	1	1.54%
Gk.	2	3.08%
H.	12	18.46%
Kır.	1	1.54%
Krş.	1	1.54%
Kurd.	11	16.92%
Kzk.	2	3.08%
Nep.	1	1.54%
O. Pers.	1	1.54%
P.	1	1.54%
Pers.	2	3.08%
Pr. R.	1	1.54%
Prakr.	1	1.54%
Punj.	1	1.54%
R.	4	6.15%
S.Kurd.	2	3.08%
Sakr.	1	1.54%
Skr.	3	4.62%
Tat.	2	3.08%
Unknown	2	3.08%
Uzb.	3	4.62%
Grand Total	65	100%

As demonstrated above in Table 41, the majority of the nouns extracted from the text corpus have an Indo-Aryan origin. According to the results, Romanes is the language giving the highest percentage of loanwords (20.3%). Other languages with a high percentage are the following: Kurdish 17.29%, Hindi 15.04%, Arabic 9.77%, Sanskrit 9.02%, Persian 4.51% and Greek 5.26%.

4.4.2.2. Word frequency: Verbs

Regarding the frequency of loan verbs, these verbs occur most frequently: *aşınmak* ‘to give’, *çelleşmek* ‘to talk’, *gennamak* ‘to come’, *hallanmak* ‘to go’, *zanımak* ‘to know, to understand, to see’.

Figure 3: Percentage of loan verb frequency in Gurbetcha



Although Gurbetties have come into contact with a number of different languages in a variety of contact situations, they have had contacts mainly with Middle-Eastern languages, most likely due to geographic proximity and historical migration patterns. As previously stated, I consulted several publications and dictionaries in order to identify the etymology of the loan verbs into the Gurbetcha linguistic variety of Cyprus.

Table 43 below shows that most of the verbs are loanwords from the Hindi (17.19%) and Kurdish (17.19%) languages. For instance, the verb *nedlemek* ‘to hide’ derives from the metathesis of the Kurdish noun *lêdan* ‘hiding’. Furthermore, the verb *ornuşlamak* ‘to sit’ derives from the Kurdish verb *rûniştin* ‘to sit’. The verb *piynemek* ‘to drink’ derives from the Hindi verb *pīna* ‘to drink’ (also Gk, *πίνω* [pino] ‘to drink’).

Other source languages of some verbs with lower (yet arguably important) percentages of frequency are Romanes 6.25%, Arabic 4.69%, Persian 4.69% and Armenian 3.13%. For instance, the verb *habetmek* ‘to love’ derives from the Arabic verb *حب* [*hubun*] ‘to love’. The verb *hiretmek* ‘to go away’ derives from the Armenian verb Arm *հեռավոր* [*herravor*].

Table 43: Distribution of loan verbs across donor languages

Borrowings from other languages		
Language	Frequency	% Frequency
Ar.	13	9.35%
Arm.	1	0.72%
Az.	1	0.72%
Çkr.	1	0.72%
D.	1	0.72%
Gk.	7	5.04%
H.	23	16.55%
Kurd.	24	17.27%
Nep.	1	0.72%
O. Pers.	1	0.72%
Osm.	3	2.16%
Pers.	6	4.32%
Pr. R.	1	0.72%
Prakr.	6	4.32%
Punj.	3	2.16%
R.	27	19.42%
Sk.	6	4.32%
Skr.	8	5.76%
Skr.	1	0.72%

4.4.2.3. Percentages of loanwords by word class

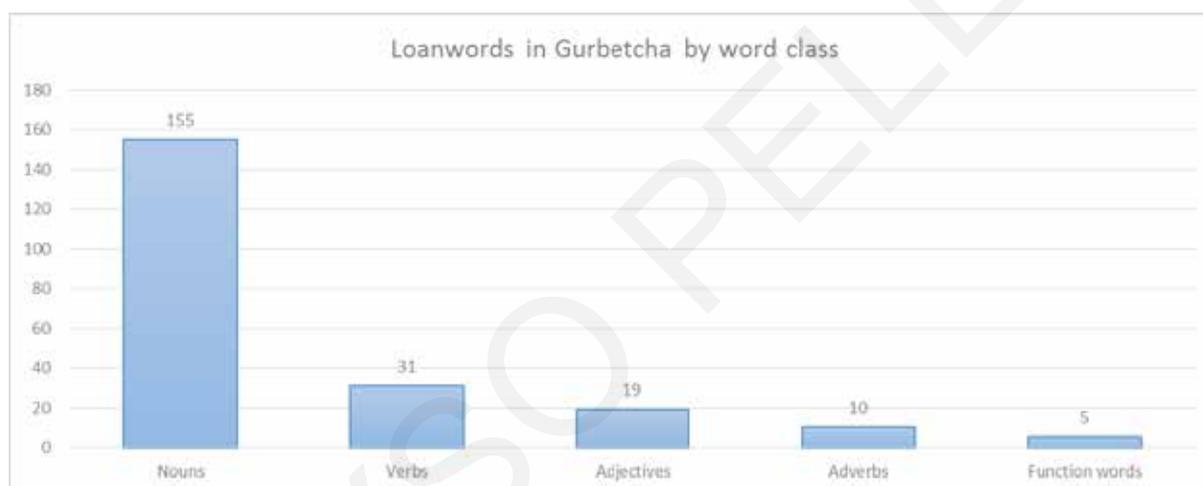
Table 44 and Figure 4 below show the percentages of loanwords by word class. The word classes have two categories: the open class of words (i.e., nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs) and the closed class of words (that is the function words). Of all word classes, nouns exhibit the highest proportion of loanwords. The other word classes are roughly similar to one another in regards to loanword proportions. The verbs come

second with a considerable difference between nouns and verb loanwords. However, this is not surprising if one bears in mind that “verbs do not transfer cross-linguistically so easily” (Myers-Scotton 2006: 229).

Table 44: Percentages of loanwords by word class

Loanwords in Gurbetcha by word class	Frequency	% frequency
Nouns	155	70.45%
Verbs	31	14.09%
Adjectives	19	8.64%
Adverbs	10	4.55%
Function words	5	2.27%
Total	220	100%

Figure 4: Percentages of loanwords by word class



Note that function words only added up to five items found in the corpus of Gurbetcha loanwords studied and therefore function words make up the lowest proportion of loanwords. Examples of function words found in Gurbetcha are loanwords from Romanes, such as *nanay* ‘not have’, *kervi* ‘afterwards’, and from Arabic/Kurdish/Old Persian, such as *haya* ‘to have’, *afa* ‘this/that’ and *kil* ‘every’.

4.4.2.4. Percentages of loanwords by semantic field

Loanwords classified by semantic field are shown in Table 45 and Figure 5 below.

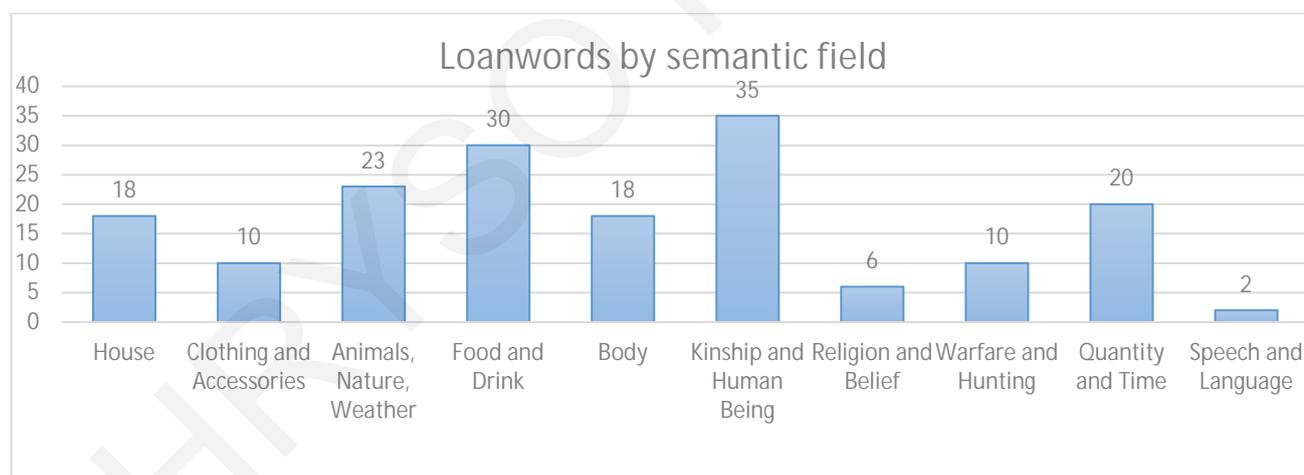
Table 45: Loanwords by semantic field

Loanwords by semantic field	Frequency	% frequency
House	18	10.47%
Clothing and Accessories	10	5.81%

Animals, Nature, Weather	23	13.37%
Food and Drink	30	17.44%
Body	18	10.47%
Kinship and Human Beings	35	20.35%
Religion and Belief	6	3.49%
Warfare and Hunting	10	5.81%
Quantity and Time	20	11.63%
Speech and Language	2	1.16%
Total	172	100%

The fields of Kinship and Human Beings and Food and Drink have the highest percentage of loanwords in the Gurbetcha lexicon. In the field of Kinship, not only words related to family were found, such as *ebe* ‘granmother’, *edi* ‘mother’, *abi* ‘father’, *pal/ırdaş* ‘brother’, *meri* ‘husband’, *civir* ‘wife/woman’, but also other loanwords related to human beings, such as *gaco* ‘non-Roma man’, *gaci* ‘non Roma woman’, *kila* ‘girl’, and *kirve* ‘godmother/godfather’.

Figure 5: Loanwords by semantic field



The second highest proportion of loanwords is in the field of Food and Drink, where I found loanwords derived from various languages: Romanes, Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, such as *mato* ‘drunk’, *pani* ‘water’, *halep* ‘milk’ and *kayma* ‘food’.

Moreover, fields that contain mostly very concrete meanings (e.g. House, Body, Clothing or Animals) possess a relatively high proportion of loanwords. Examples of these words are: *duke* ‘house’, *çuri* ‘knife’, *şoro* ‘head’, *cav* ‘eye’ and *dest* ‘hand’.

The Quantity field also has a relatively high proportion of loanwords. Aside from numbers (such as *yek* ‘one’, *duto* ‘two’, *dah* ‘ten’), this field contains adverbs of time, such as *rati* ‘night’, *timma* ‘morning’, quantity, such as *sallik* ‘little’, *pir* ‘much’, and frequency, such as *kil timma* ‘every day’. Most of these words were borrowed from Arabic, Kurdish and Persian.

The field that contains the fewest loanwords in this study are the field of Religion and Belief. This field contains words such as *huri* ‘priest’, *ıraş* ‘Arap’, *kütür* ‘Christians’ and others.

4.4.3. Phonological integration of loanwords

This section discusses the major phonological features found in this study that have characterised words loaned to Gurbetcha. Many loanwords are perceived and/or rendered differently by native speakers of the RL. The phoneme inventory of Gurbetcha is almost identical to that of the CTD because Gurbetties speak CTD as well. As mentioned in previous sections, Proto-Gurbetcha might have sounded differently, while Modern Gurbetcha has both acquired and lost a number of phonemic distinctions due to contact with the CTD. One of the main characteristics is the replacement of the sounds that are non-existent in the phonemic inventory of Gurbetcha by ones that are closer to them in terms of articulation. The majority of loanwords are fully or partially assimilated to the phonological patterns of Gurbetcha.

4.4.3.1. Words without any phonological changes

Some of the words extracted from the text corpus are borrowed from the donor languages into the recipient language, Gurbetcha, without any phonological changes. Examples are listed in the table below.

Table 46: Loanwords without any phonological changes

Original form	Donor language	Gurbetcha form	English translation
pani	Romanes	pani	water
giv	Hindi/ Romanes	giv	wheat
buzni	Hindi/Romanes	buzni	goat
mas	Romanes	mas	meat
kotor	Romanes/Armenian	kotor	money
[ديك] dik	Arabic	dik	cock
dest	Persian	dest	hand
čuri	Romanes/Hindi	çuri	knife

chaj	Romanes	çay	girl
mato	Romanes	mato	drunk
phuro	Romanes	puro	old
shoro	Romanes	şoro	head
σοίρος [shiros] χοίρος [xiros]	CGD/ Greek	şiro	pig
lachi	Romanes	laçi	beautiful, nice

4.4.3.2. Words with vowel changes

It is evident that, in some cases, vowel changes occur even if the recipient language has corresponding forms. Examples of this phenomenon are given below. Most of the examples given below derive from the Kurdish language.

Vowel	Gurbetcha vowel	Examples
/i/	/a/	Kurd. <i>xinzîr</i> > Gur. <i>hanzir</i> ‘pig’
/ū/	/i/	Kurd. <i>kundir</i> > Gur. <i>hundir</i> ‘zucchini’
		Ar. كل [kûl] > Gur. <i>kil</i> ‘all, every’

4.4.3.2.1. Vowel shortening

The native vocabulary of Old Turkish had a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels. However, most modern Turkic languages, as well as their dialects, have not preserved this kind of phonemic distinction. A typical feature of CTD is the complete absence of long vowels in its vowel system. Thus, long vowels in Arabic and Persian loanwords into CTD and Gurbetcha are adapted as short vowels.

Vowel	Gurbetcha vowel	Examples
/ī/	/i/	Ar. حلب [halīb] > Gur. <i>halip/halep</i> ‘milk’
/ā/	/a/	Pers. پیاز [pīyāz] > Gur. <i>piyaz</i> ‘onion’
		Ar. ثلاثة [thalātha] > Gur. <i>talatta</i> ‘eight’

4.4.3.2.2. Vowel epenthesis

The vowel epenthesis process inserts a vowel between pairs of consonants for example, Pers. شغل [ʃoġl] > Gur. *şoġul* ‘work’ and Pers. ظهر [zohr] > Gur. *dohur* ‘noon; and at the end of a syllable, if the syllable ends with a consonant, as in Kurd. *tirş* > Gur. *tırş* ‘fear’, Kurd. *poz* > Gur. *poze* ‘nose’ and Kurd. *derew* > Gur. *dırva* ‘lie’. Another kind of epenthesis for resolution of consonant clusters at the beginning of the word is

the addition of the vowel /i/ to the beginning of the words; for example Kurd. *xweşik* > Gur. *işkef* ‘beautiful’.

4.4.3.2.3. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is one of the most important aspects of Turkish phonology. Turkish words generally have two vowel harmony rules: front vs. back harmony and rounded vs. unrounded harmony. Words of foreign origin may deviate from the harmony rules, as, for instance, from Kurd. *xinzîr* > Gur. *hanzir* ‘pig’.⁶¹ But in general, many loanwords are pronounced in conformity with vowel harmony, such as Kurd. *kotek* > Gur. *kotak* ‘whacking’ and Kurd. *kûndir* > Gur. *hındır/kındır* ‘courgette’.⁶²

4.4.3.3. Words with consonantal changes

4.4.3.3.1. Substitution

Substitution is the adaption process that a language uses by substituting one phoneme (speech sound) with another more familiar phoneme. For example, the Arabic loanword for the number eight, ثلثة [thalātha], has the phoneme [θ], which does not exist in Turkish phonology. Therefore, when Gurbetcha speakers adapted the number eight they substituted the unfamiliar [θ] with the more familiar [t]. Thus, rather than pronouncing the number eight as *thalātha*, Gurbetties pronounce it as [talat^ha].

4.4.3.3.2. Gemination

Gemination, that is, consonant doubling, is another phonological process that I found occurring in such loanwords as Ar. ثلثة [thalātha] > Gur. *talatta* ‘eight’, Pers. *timar* > Gur. *tumalli*, Kurd. *benik* < Gur. *bannik* ‘rope’, R. *jukel* (m.) > Gur. *çükkel* ‘dog’.

4.4.3.3.3. Consonant assimilation

The phenomenon of assimilation occurs with consonants as well. The voiceless fricative labiodental /f/ is replaced with voiceless bilabial /p/, e.g. Ar. *kafş* > Gur. *şaps* ‘boot’. The voiceless fricative palato-alveolar /ʃ/ is replaced by the voiceless fricative alveolar /s/. In a few loanwords, /f/ is voiced as [v], e.g. Kurd. *diraf* > Gur. *dirav* ‘money’. The voiced fricative labiodental /v/ is replaced with the voiceless plosive bilabial

⁶¹ The word *hanzir* exists also in Arabic (خنزير *khanzîr*) so it might be a loanword from Arabic and Kurdish and in that situation a full phonetic adaptation occurs.

⁶² This phenomenon occurs in CTD as well. For instance, *çingane / çingene* < Pers. *chingāne* ‘gypsy’ or *hiyar / hıyar* < Pers. *khiyār* ‘cucumber’.

consonant /p/, e.g. Kurd. *kevçi* > Gur. *kapçi* ‘spoon’. The voiceless affricative alveolar /tʃ/ is replaced by the voiced affricative palatal /dʒ/, e.g. Kurd. *çav* > Gur. *cav* ‘eye’. The fricative voiced alveolar /z/ is replaced with the affricative voiced palatal /dʒ/, e.g. Kur. *zebeş* > Gur. *cabas*. The fricative voiceless glottal /h/ is replaced with the stop voiceless velar /k/, e.g. H. *muh* ‘mouth’ < Gur. *muk* + *alamak* ‘be quiet’.

4.4.3.3.4. Metathesis

Another process of loanword assimilation is metathesis. The nature of this process is not only phonological, but also morphological, and it affects the syllable structure of loanwords. Without access to the SL model, and only hearing loanwords infrequently and through ‘second-hand’ means, the loanwords are subject to further change through speakers who do not have anyone to help them ‘remember’ the standard pronunciation of the word. They fall back on similar words or patterns, if they have access to any.

Looking at Gurbetcha loanwords and effects on syllables, the following might occur: the order of the syllable changes, the syllables are replaced or the syllables are simply deleted. Examples are given below:

Kurd. *bizin* > Gur. *buzni* ‘goat’

Kurd. *derew* > Gur. *dirva* ‘lie’

Kurd. *xweşik* > Gurb. *işkef* ‘beautiful’

In general, consonant clusters are maintained in the Gurbetcha lexicon. However, occasionally these are simplified (this adaptation is typical in the older loanwords). Two types of simplification are:

§ with the insertion of a vowel between consonants.

Illustrative examples of this feature are:

Pers. *شغل* [ʃoɣl] > Gur. *şoğul* ‘work’

Pers. *ظهر* [zohr] > Gur. *dohur* ‘noon’

Ar. *زباله* [zibal] ⁶³ > Gur. *zibil* ‘rubbish’

Pers. *شرم* [sharm] or Kurd. *şerm* > Gur. *şarım* ‘shame’

R. *barvalo* > Gur. *baravol* ‘rich, wealth’

§ with the deletion of a consonant in the cluster, as in Kurd. *xinzîrk* > Gur. *hanzir* ‘pig’

⁶³ It is not clear if this word derived from Arabic or Kurdish. In Kurdish the word for rubbish is *zibil*. If it is adapted from Kurdish, then a full adaptation occurred.

4.4.4. Morphological integration of loanwords

4.4.4.1. Loan nouns

Some loan nouns in Gurbetcha adopt the SL's gender, number markers or singular or plural forms, however these affixes are unaffected in Gurbetcha. All loanwords (verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc.) in Gurbetcha are fitted into the morphological patterns of CTD.

4.4.4.1.1. Gender marking

It is worth mentioning that Turkish is a gender-neutral language except for a few gender-specific compound words (mostly naming professions). Thus, words borrowed from other SLs which have a gender (except from the Persian language), do not correspond to any grammatical gender class in Gurbetcha.

For example, in Romanes, there is a distinction between animate and inanimate nouns; animates can be masculine or feminine. Most masculine nouns end in *-o* and most feminine ones in *-i* or *-a*. Nouns ending in a consonant may be either masculine or feminine. Examples are listed in the table below:

Table 47: Gender in Romanes loanwords

Romanes	Gender	Gurbetcha	English Translation
angushtri	f.	angusti	ring
chang	f.	çang	knee
çuri, çhuri	f.	çuri	knife
vast	m.	dest	hand
jukel	m.	çukkel	dog
gav	m.	gav	village
gra/grai/ grast	m.	graj	mule
grasni	f.	graj	mule
giv	m.	giv	wheat
khaini/kahni/kaini/kani	f.	kayni	chicken, hen
kir(i)vo	m.	kirve	godfather
kir(i)vi	f.	kirve	godmother
mas	m.	mas	meat
mol	f.	mul	wine
pani	m.	pani	water

In Arabic, all nouns have a grammatical gender. For living things, the gender matches that of the living creatures. The *taa marbuuta* (ة)⁶⁴ signifies that the noun or adjective is feminine. Not all feminine nouns and adjectives have a *taa marbuuta*, however, so one must discern which words do not end in *taa marbuuta*, yet are still feminine.

Table 48: Gender in Arabic loanwords

Arabic	Gender	Gurbetcha	English Translation
إمرأة imraa'a	f.	meriya	wife
كوزسي kuursii	m.	kırsı	chair

All nouns in Kurmanci (Kurdish) have a gender, either masculine or feminine. It is important to know the gender of a noun because it affects the form of the case marker and the *ezafe* marker. Basic *ezafe* endings for singular nouns are for masculine =ê and for feminine =a.⁶⁵

Nouns that denote persons, or superior animals, have the gender corresponding to their meaning. For example, the nouns *ap* ‘uncle’, *bav* ‘father’ and *mêr* ‘man’ are all masculine because they denote male beings. *Xwişk* ‘sister’ and *bûk* ‘bride’, on the other hand, are feminine, because they refer to feminine beings. But for nouns denoting objects, one has to learn the gender with the noun. For example, *çav* ‘eye’ is masculine, but *mal* ‘house’ is feminine. There is not a general rule organising gender for these nouns; however, some rules can be formulated.⁶⁶

Table 49: Gender in Kurdish loanwords

Kurdish	Gender	Gurbetça	English Translation
benik	m. /f.	bannık	rope
baran	m. /f.	baran	rain
zebeş	m. /f.	cabas	watermelon
çav	m.	cav	eye
deh	m.	dah	ten
dest	m. /f.	dest	hand

⁶⁴ *Taa marbuuta* is a letter that generally indicates feminine gender for nouns and adjectives (though not always) and only ever appears at the end of the word.

⁶⁵ Kurbanji grammar, Available from: https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~iranian/Kurmanji/kurmanji_1_grammar.pdf (Accessed: 10 July 2017).

⁶⁶ See Dersa Kurdi, (English-Kurdi), <http://kurdi101.blogspot.com.cy/2011/12/dersa-kurdi-english-kurdi.html> (Accessed: 10 July 2017).

[دراو] dirâw ('dirhem', Sorani Kurdish dialect)	-	dırav	money
kûndir	m.	hındır	zucchini
xerz		herzik	wood
mirîşk	m.	ıbrîşik	chicken

Another important feature that occurs in Kurdish is the indefinite state (Thackston 2006:21). The sign of the indefinite singular ('a, any, some') is an unstressed enclitic *-ek* (*-yek* for words ending in vowels) added to the end of the absolute singular noun. Both masculine and feminine indefinite nouns have an oblique case, the endings of which echo the oblique demonstrative endings (*-î* for masc. and *-ê* for fem).

	NOMINATIVE	OBLIQUE
MASC.	´-(y)ek	´-(y)ekî
FEM.	´-(y)ek	´-(y)ekê

For example: *derî* > *derîyek* 'the door > a door' and *mirov* > *miróvek* 'the man > a man'.

In Gurbetcha, the suffix *-ik* is added next to the borrowed word. With the addition of this suffix, there is no difference in the meaning of the word. Illustrative examples of this phenomenon are given below:

- Kurd. *pirç* > Gur. *pülçük* 'hair'
- Kurd. *hek* > Gur. *hellik* 'egg'
- Kurd. *xerz* > Gur. *herzik* 'wood, tree'

All nouns in Hindi have a gender; every noun is either masculine or feminine. As a very rough and general rule, words that end with the vowel आ [aa] are usually masculine and words that end with ई [ee] are usually feminine.

Table 50: Gender in Hindi loanwords

Hindi	Gender	Gurbetça	English Translation
लड़का larkaa	m.	lafta	boy
प्याज pyaz	m.	pivaz	onion

कुरसी kursi	f.	kırsı	chair
छुरी chhoori	f.	çuri	kitchen knife
पानी paani	m.	pani	water
टांग taang	f.	çang	leg
सिर sar	m.	şoro	head

In the above tables, one can see that some words exist in one or two languages. For example, the word *kırsı* is used both in Arabic and in Hindi. However, regarding the gender form, in Arabic, this is masculine and in Hindi, it is feminine. In Gurbetcha, there are no gender markers.

4.4.4.1.2. Number marking

Within the collected loanwords there are no nouns in plural form loaned from the SL. In the instance that the Gurbetcha speakers wish to use the plural form of the loanwords, they add the plural suffix {-lAr}. For example, the plural form of the words *çuri* and *kayni* will be *çuriler* and *kayniler* respectively.

4.4.4.2. Loan verbs

As indicated in section 4.4.2.3, compared to loan nouns, the number of loan verbs is much lower; only a total of 31 loan verbs were collected and transcribed in Gurbetcha. These loan verbs have been borrowed from various SLs to Gurbetcha due to language contact either in the form of a noun or a verb stem.

Loan verbs are particularly prone to morpho-phonological changes. The integration of loan verbs in Gurbetcha involves the drop/deletion of inflectional endings. The resulting verbal root becomes either a noun or the base form to which ST and/or CTD verbal morphology is added. Once adapted to Gurbetcha morphology, loan verbs behave exactly as any other verbs. Examples are:

1. The Gurbetcha verb *kaymak* ‘to eat’ (also the noun *kayma* ‘food’) derives from the Hindi verb. *khānā*.
2. The Gurbetcha verb *piynemek* ‘to drink’ derives from the Hindi verbal noun *peena*
3. The Gurbetcha verb *mukalamak* ‘to be quiet, shut up’ derives from the Hindi noun मुँह [*munh*] ‘mouth’ + Tr. derivational suffix {-AIA}
4. The Gurbetcha verb *tirsamak* ‘to be afraid (of)’ derives from the Kurdish infinitive form of the verb *tirsa*

5. The Gurbetcha verb *bidemek* ‘to give’ derives from the imperative form of the Kurdish verb *dan*, i.e. *bide!* ‘give’
6. The Gurbetcha verb *kirtelemek* ‘to cut’ derives from the Soran Kurdish noun کێرە [*kirde*] ‘knife’ + Tr. derivational suffix {-AIA}.

4.4.4.3. Loan adjectives and adverbs

As noted in section 4.4.2.3, a total of 19 adjectives and 22 adverbs were analysed. As mentioned in the previous sections, some languages, such as Kurdish and Romanes, have two grammatical genders – masculine and feminine – as well as the plural form of the gender. In Romanes, the suffix of a masculine adjective (and noun) is *-o*, and the suffix of a feminine adjective is *-i*. The suffix of the plural form is *-e* for masculine and *-ya* for feminine. In Romanes, genders are differentiated by the suffix of the plural form. On the other hand, Kurdish has only one plural form for both genders. I am assuming that some adjectives and nouns are borrowed with gender markers from those languages, however, in Gurbetcha there is no gender attributed to nouns. Therefore, gender is expressed semantically and not grammatically.⁶⁷ Examples of borrowed words which are used in Gurbetcha for both female and male are listed below:

Table 51: Loan Adjectives in Gurbetcha

Adjective	Source Language	Gender	Gurbetcha	English Translation
Mezin	Kurdish	m. / f.	mazın	big
Mato	Romanes	m.	mato	drunk
Birçî	Kurdish	m. / f.	pırçı	hungry
Tikno	Romanes	m.	tikno	small
Lachi	Romanes	f.	laçi	beautiful, nice
Xweşik	Kurdish	f.	işkef	beautiful, nice
Phuro	Romanes	m.	puro	old

In Romanes, singular adverbs are formed by adding the ending *<es>* to the stem of thematic adjectives ending in a stressed *<o>*, e.g. *baxtalo* ‘fortunate’ – *baxtales* ‘fortunately’. In Gurbetcha, there are not different endings for adjectives, nouns and adverbs. However, in adverbs, the phenomenon of Reduplication is observed.⁶⁸ Reduplication is one morphological process which involves phrasal borrowing.

⁶⁷ Regarding the loan nouns in Gurbetcha, two exceptions were found. The words *Gadjo* and *Gadji* are used as in Romanes meaning non-Roma male and non-Roma feminine.

⁶⁸ This phenomenon also occurred in Proto-Turkic, with partial reduplication as in *kap kara* “very black” and full reduplication as in *adin adin* “very dissimilar”. See Johanson and Csato (2006: 72).

Reduplication in Gurbetcha is used to build adverbial phrases and to mark emphasis. For example, *sallik sallik çelleş* ‘speak slowly’ and *halu halu hallan* ‘go quickly’.

4.4.4.4. Semantics of loanwords

Semantic narrowing and semantic broadening “are the terms used to specify the nature of semantic shift” (Pavlou 1993: 4). In semantic narrowing, the meaning of the word is more or less the same in both languages (the recipient and the source).

At the semantic level, certain words loaned to Gurbetcha have undergone changes, the most common of which is the narrowing of their meanings. Two illustrative examples of this kind of narrowing are as follows. In Gurbetcha, the word for ‘smoke’ is *tufan* and ‘smoke a cigar’ *tufan piinemek*. The word *tufan* is a loanword from Arabic دخان [duḥān] and in Arabic it has more than one meaning. Likewise, the word for ‘pound’ in Gurbetcha is *zer* and it is a loanword from the Kurdish word *zêr* or from Persian word. زر [zer] and it means ‘gold’. Another case found in Gurbetcha is the word for old, *puro*; it is used to indicate both genders and only human beings. In Romanes however, the word for *old* is used to indicate not only animate things but also inanimate/human beings, and there are two words: *phuro* which it is used for masculine and *phuri* for feminine, respectively.

A different type of semantic change observed in the Gurbetcha lexicon is the widening or broadening of semantic content. Thus, the Romanes loanword *şoro* ‘head’, in Gurbetcha has two meanings:

the body part ‘head’ or pain

Şorom ağrıyala ‘I have a headache’ (#T5:21)

a metaphorical meaning of ‘mind’.

Ta zamanda heymiz yoğudu şorumuz ‘We didn’t have our minds (a brain) back then’ (#T24:15)

Furthermore, the Romanes/Hindi word *pani* ‘water’ in Gurbetcha is used to refer to both water and the sea.

4.4.5. Summary

When two languages are in contact for an extended time, they borrow words from each other (lexical borrowings), which are also known as the loanwords. Loanwords have been studied from many different perspectives and, in the realm of linguistics, loanwords can be analysed from the different subfields of linguistics, including phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics etc. In the current research, that was

conducted between the years 2011 and 2015 on Gurbetcha, many borrowed words were found, providing evidence that the lexicon of Gurbetcha was influenced by many languages. Some of the borrowed words originate from Indo-Aryan languages, while other words have been borrowed from Kurdish, Indo-Iranian languages. Lexical borrowing may be done for prestige (core borrowing) or for the purpose of creating new concepts and words (cultural borrowing). Historical migration patterns and geographic proximity for various languages are the main determining factor for the extent of lexical borrowings. Gurbetcha is spoken nearby various other language communities, such as Greek, Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian, and Arabic speaking communities. Many of the words have been borrowed from these communities.

Regarding the classes of the borrowed words, nouns constitute the highest percentage of loanwords. The other word classes including verbs, adverbs, and adjectives are almost equal in terms of the loanword proportions. Kinship (names like father, mother, brother, woman, and girl among others), Drinks and Foods constitute the highest proportion of loanwords found in the Gurbetcha lexicon. Additionally, some changes may be made to the loan words to make them fit into the recipient language, including substituting unfamiliar speech sounds with native ones or processes such as consonant elongation.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Culture and language are among the major elements that identify a group of people, and differentiate one group from other. Like other Cypriot inhabitants, Gurbetties were subjected to different rulers over the years and have thus encountered different cultures which undoubtedly influenced their lifestyle and language. Although the Gurbetties like to protect their culture and identity, they live with other communities and thus they assimilate the culture and lifestyle of these other communities. Consequently, their language is influenced by the languages of these other communities.

Nonetheless, Gurbetties have specific characteristics that set them apart from other communities on the island. Firstly, they self-identify as Gurbetties. They live in small groups and prefer to be in designated areas where they can be independent. Additionally, communication with other communities on the island is limited or intentionally inhibited since Gurbetties tend to be protective of their lifestyle as well as their customs and beliefs. As such, the Gurbetties could be described as a group of people in Cyprus with no strong links to the other communities at any substantive level.

For this reason, it may seem odd that Gurbetties took on the TC identity after Cyprus became independent in 1960. They were classified as part of the TC community for various reasons, the main reason being religious denomination: the majority of Gurbetties and TCs share the same religion (Islam). Another reason is the fact that Gurbetties prefer to live under the umbrella of one of the two 'stronger', or politically, socially and linguistically dominant, groups of the island. The TC community proved to be a community with the aforementioned characteristics, therefore this might explain why Gurbetties have not only been identified with TCs, and have come to identify themselves with TCs (though not necessarily *as* TCs) over the years. Even so, it is natural for communities that live together or border one another to assimilate with each other in terms of ways of life and culture. As such, the language of the Gurbetties is significantly influenced through the contacts they entertain with CTD as well as CGD.

Immediately following the invasion of Turkish troops in July and August 1974 (and the subsequent *de facto* geographic separation of Cyprus), Gurbetties found themselves swept up in the major population movements of that summer, when hundreds of thousands of Cypriots were forced to move north to south or vice versa. For the most part, Gurbetties were suddenly uprooted and so were forced by war to move away from wherever they were once residing in Cyprus. There were, however, a few members of the group who remained in their original respective homesteads, hence carrying on privately with the traditions of their people as well as continuing to commonly speak Gurbetcha among themselves.

The aim of this thesis was to research the language of Gurbetcha and its endangered oral tradition, motivated by the fact that there had been no previous systematic research. The research found that Gurbetties began resettling in small but significant numbers to Limassol, Larnaca, and Paphos after 2000. Furthermore, ‘ease of access’ to the north of the island from the south of the island and vice versa opened up in April 2003, after decades of virtually no contact between people on either side. Hence, the timing to conduct this research was optimal. I was able to interview Gurbetties with different life experiences based on whether they had stayed in their ancestral homes (despite massive relocations enforced in 1974), were driven to move somewhere else due to the war (or subsequent circumstances) and/or moved to Larnaca, Limassol or Paphos with their children after 2000.

Due to the fact that they frequently travelled all over the island, Gurbetties came into contact with different ethnic groups, and are affected by different cultural contexts. Clearly this had an impact on the language of the Gurbetties. This language became handy for speaking confidentially amongst themselves without ‘others’ being able to understand them. Other factors also played a part in the status of Gurbetcha today, such as the higher status of the more dominant languages of the island, along with the dominant cultures, religions, and lifestyles; in addition, the situation of conflict or relative peace between various rulers on the island. Gurbetties still have specific defining features differentiating them from other minorities in Cyprus. Gurbetties are a very social community and like assisting each other and attending social events like weddings and circumcision ceremonies as well as funerals. Although they have a distinctive lifestyle and social conduct, their characteristics are similar to those of the other Roma people in other countries. Traditionally, Cypriot Gurbetties survived by selling mules, donkeys, as well as making and selling jewellery. Other Roma people living in Iran, Syria, and Afghanistan practised similar economic activities including trade, repair of utensils, blacksmithing and serving as travelling entertainers. The interaction among these communities during trading and travelling made the borrowing of words more likely.

The European Report on minority languages (2009) makes reference to Gurbetcha as a language that is only used orally; there are no written texts in Gurbetcha. Due to the lack of written resources, researchers interested in this language would not be able to obtain even minimal information on the language, let alone a corpus of texts, which a language study would normally require. This, and the ‘secretive’ use of the language, are likely major factors which have discouraged researchers from delving into Gurbetcha.

This lack of existing knowledge about Gurbetcha motivated me to conduct this research. Working on spoken language requires establishing personal contacts with different representatives of the target group, with children, men and women, from different environments. Young Gurbetties were approached in school during break times with the aim of observing the language they use when speaking among themselves. Following this, they were interviewed using a questionnaire. Men were generally interviewed in coffee

shops, whilst women were visited at home. I gained an appreciation for the insights that observation in various settings can provide. For example, I observed disagreements between Gurbetties and non-Gurbetties (*gadjo*) or even among Gurbetties themselves, where the use of Gurbetcha was common, using expressions different from CTD, and revealing one linguistic phenomenon of note, the particular use of Gurbetcha to express aggression.

This is the first study that aims to analyse Gurbetcha in depth. As mentioned above, the reason why Gurbetcha has not been studied much previously might also be because there is limited written data available on this language. Therefore, the relatively small but significant collection of personal stories and narratives included in this thesis contributes to the availability of at least some linguistic data and, in a social context, a glimpse into the content of some everyday activities and concerns of Gurbetties in Cyprus.

Furthermore, over only the past few decades, technological advances have aided information collection, storage and retrieval, as well as analysis, and so linguists have at their disposal precise and efficient tools (including new software applications) to preserve languages, which in turn benefits and protects the cultural heritage of more and more people(s) globally. In this way, this research might be used as a springboard to assist the Gurbetties in gaining political recognition as a group: as a result of policies in the European Union, of which Cyprus is a member, being granted rights as a recognised minority can affect a person's opportunities, for example, in education or employment. Perhaps this research can also contribute to Gurbetties being better understood by the rest of society, both in Cyprus and abroad, thus contributing to the preservation of their culture. In addition, the results of the current research could be useful in identifying the ongoing developments in the language, since Gurbetties relocated to the south of the island, a change in circumstances which may have further influenced their language. Finally, researchers should be encouraged, indeed urged, to take notice of the languages at risk of extinction and be assured that they can utilise the tools available today to analyse their findings, even if the language is not written nor has much yet written about it, as was the case in carrying out this research on Gurbetcha.

Summary of the research

At first, I aimed to explore the language by posing basic questions, as if on a journey. Who are these people? Where do they originate from? What are the community's distinguishing characteristics in comparison with other Roma communities abroad? What are their customs and habits? Have they kept their traditional trades? What is the language spoken in the context of the family and between relatives? Finally, what is the language they call 'Gurbetcha'?

This research reveals that Gurbetcha stands out definitively as a mixed language with predominantly Romani vocabulary, structurally and morphologically influenced by CTD. There are some elements from Romani or Domari, especially in the lexicon, but it cannot be said that Gurbetcha is a Romani or Domari language. Given the characterisation of Cypriot Gurbetties as having a history of migration and contact with different cultures, languages and dialects, studying linguistic contact helps to provide deeper sociolinguistic insight into the Gurbetties of Cyprus. In the second chapter, various Roma groups from across the world were discussed and analysed in relation to Gurbetties, following which the origin, history and the sociolinguistic environment of the groups of people living in Cyprus were described. The Gurbetties and the Gurbetcha were introduced in the context of the languages of Cyprus.

Methodology

Throughout my research, I took heed of the fact that all research should be conducted with an ethical approach. Observing and addressing ethical concerns ultimately improves the reliability of the findings. Specifically, in conducting this research I provided prior information to potential respondents in order to be transparent about the research objectives, aims and methods. For example, I only collected personal details of the respondents after they had first had time to consider the aim of the research. For those who volunteered to participate, they were informed that results would be made available to them. Finally, the study avoided any offensive elements that could affect the quality of the responses, or that could discourage potential participants.

In the first phase of the research, linguistic material was processed and the conclusion drawn was that a questionnaire or vocabulary collection would not be quantitatively nor qualitatively sufficient to attain the goals of the study. Thus, the second phase of the research necessitated the collection of more linguistic data, including interviews. Since Gurbetties found it hard to open up (or disclose information) to people outside of their community, this entailed a significant time investment. During the second phase of the research, the data collected included spontaneous speech and a multitude of narratives. Personal interviews lasted several minutes each and covered topics such as daily life, concerns, customs and traditions.

Language description

Text bodies within the research were one of the main sources under analysis. As explained in the third chapter, these text bodies allowed the extraction of authentic empirical data needed for a systematic study of the language. The language description conducted as part of this research considered four levels of language structure: the phonological level, the morphological level, the syntactic and the semantic-lexical level. Although there is no previous research on the language spoken by Gurbetties in Cyprus, the available literature revealed that several factors were likely to have influenced the linguistic system. To begin with,

languages of the Roma have borrowed several elements from migration routes as well as from contact languages such as Armenian, Kurdish, Persian and Arabic. Likewise, borrowing has largely influenced the morphology, vocabulary, and phonology of Gurbetcha. Gurbetcha also bears similarities to Teberce, the language of the Abdal, spoken in Turkey. Available evidence from various sources (dictionaries, for example) provided a basis for the study of lexical borrowings of the Gurbetcha language, through which it was possible to demonstrate these influences of other languages on Gurbetcha.

Phonetics and phonology

The phonetic transcription of the corpus and phonological analysis of the consonant and vowel system of Gurbetcha revealed that it does not differ from the phonetics and phonology of CTD. Phonologically, Gurbetcha exhibits as many phonemes as CTD does: for instance, it retains the /ŋ/ and /ɣ/ phonemes, e.g. in [sa'ŋa], [oy'nu]. Furthermore, it also lacks the /ʒ/ phoneme, as found in learned words (usually of French origin). In addition, while in ST, the /e/ vowel is realised as a lowered [æ] before tautosyllabic sonorants (e.g. [bæn], [jy'zæ]), this process exists neither in CTD, nor in Gurbetcha: e.g. [ben], [jy'zel]. One other characteristic of CTD phonology, found also in Gurbetcha, was the use of voiced /b d g d̪/ where ST would have voiceless /p t k t̪/: e.g. [giz] (as opposed to Standard Turkish [kʰiz]). Overall, therefore, my research on the phonology of Gurbetcha concludes that the evidence shows that Gurbetcha coincides phonologically with CTD.

Morphology

The morphology of Gurbetcha was compared to ST, CTD and other languages. The fourth chapter explored word formation, i.e. processes by which a language creates new vocabulary. Examples were given of morphological integration of loanword forms, such as source language verbal stems and imperative forms, which are used as the stem for the formation of new verbs in Gurbetcha. I showed how one morpheme that is used as derivational suffix in ST is used to create verbs in Gurbetcha. Most of the derivational suffixes in Gurbetcha are the same as those found in ST and in Turkic languages, attaching to verbs or nouns.

The order of morphemes in Gurbetcha is similar to that of ST and Turkic languages. Word formation (derivational) suffixes stand closest to the primary stem, and the following slots are filled by inflectional suffixes including markers of voice, negation, aspect, mood and tense. The morphology of Gurbetcha presents some similarities and differences regarding the inflectional and derivational suffixes of nouns and verbs when compared with ST and CTD.

All of the case suffixes in Gurbetcha function the same as in ST and CTD, except for the instrumental case. Demonstrative pronouns in Gurbetcha are similar to those in ST and CTD, however, in many cases,

Gurbetcha replaces the demonstrative pronouns, *bu* ‘this’, *şu* ‘that’ and *o* ‘that’ with the word *afa*, ‘this, that’. The reflexive pronoun *kendi* in CTD is used as a personal pronoun and this use is also reflected in Gurbetcha. The lack of the ST question particle {mI} in yes/no questions is another characteristic of CTD, which also occurs in Gurbetcha. Instead of the particle {mI}, Gurbetcha stresses the verb. This form appears to echo the structure of CGD. An important characteristic, which differs from both ST and CTD, comes from verb formation. In Gurbetcha, the deverbal verb suffix {-AIA} is added to Turkish verb stems to form verbs. This suffix, as far as I know, occurs also in the Abdal language (Yıldırım 2011: 277).

Denominal verbs, denominal nouns and deverbal nouns in Gurbetcha function the same as in ST and CTD. With regard to the tenses in Gurbetcha, the five most basic tenses are used frequently. There are differences in the usage of the aorist and focal present: the aorist in Gurbetcha has both meanings, i.e. the present simple and present continuous. Differences also occur between the simple past in {-DI} and perfect in {-mIş}. The verbal suffix {-mIş} is rarely used in Gurbetcha and instead, the suffix {-DI} of the simple past is used. The copula marker *imiş*/{(-y) mIş} is rarely used in CTD or in Gurbetcha. Necessity or obligation is expressed with the structure “needed/necessary (*lazım*) + verb + optative”. This is also very common in CTD. The other moods (i.e., imperative, potential, etc.) have the same form and structure as ST and CTD.

In conclusion, Gurbetcha morphology is similar to the morphology of CTD, which indicates strong cultural and historical bonds with TCs, although Gurbetcha exhibits similarities to ST in many cases as well. The unique usage of some characteristic morphemes that only appear in Gurbetcha provides strong evidence for considering it as an independent language variety.

Syntax

With regard to syntax, the dialects spoken in Cyprus display some characteristics common to Turkic languages in general, with the addition of features copied from Indo-European languages, such as Persian or Greek. ST has an unmarked order or basic word order of SOV (Subject-Object-Verb). However, there exist various alternative order patterns. The word order is mostly changed to emphasise certain words, another important resemblance between ST and Gurbetcha. However, in CTD and in Gurbetcha, the order of constituents deviates from that of ST; this is likely due to the influence of CGD. Gurbetcha uses inverted sentences more than ST. The sentence-final position of the verb typical of Turkish has been affected by contact with CGD: the verb is not at the end and the direct object appears postverbally. Another important phenomenon found in the corpus is the postverbal position of the dative/directive case.

As Gurbetcha is a spoken language and not a written (or literary) language, speakers tend to use simple sentences instead of complex ones. Direct speech is much more frequently used than indirect speech.

Negative sentences in Gurbetcha and CTD do not differ from those in ST. By contrast, the structure of the subordinated clauses differs between ST and CTD or Gurbetcha. CTD and Gurbetcha follow the structure of Indo-European languages. In Gurbetcha, strategies of clause combining are similar to CTD. ST has complement clauses with bound subjunctors, while in Gurbetcha, complement clauses are similar to the way they are in the Indo-European pattern.

In adverbial clauses, all forms of converbs and participles appear. The position of adverbial clauses is not fixed in ST nor in CTD or Gurbetcha. They may appear in initial, medial or final positions relative to main clauses. In the Gurbetcha corpus, the converbial marker *mAk için* for purpose clauses does not form subordinated/dependent clause. Instead, the dependent clause contains a finite verb form in a modal category (most of the time imperative and/or optative). Thus, Gurbetcha displays some syntactic constructions that follow Indo-European principles of clause combining. Conditional clauses are rarely used in Gurbetcha. After impersonal modal expressions such as *gerek/lazım* 'it is necessary', the verb is in the optative, imperative or subjunctive. After modal verbs, such as *ister-* 'want', in Gurbetcha and CTD the complement clause is in the optative mood. Conjunctions *ki* and *çünkü*, which are the equivalent of 'that' and 'because' in English, are copied from Indo-European languages, especially from Persian.

Lexicon

With regard to semantics and the lexicon, the transcribed materials were analysed to examine the origins of borrowed lexical items. Lexical items were traced back to language sources, as well as the local CTD. I also analysed loanword adaptations, comparing and contrasting the linguistic subsystems of morphology, semantics, phonology and syntax.

According to the findings of this research, the lexicon of Gurbetcha largely stems from Romanes; it is the donor language with the highest percentage of loanwords (20.30%). Earlier Romani dialectal research indicates that Romani merged several borrowings from languages on Roma migration routes from a number of contact languages. This also is true for the Gurbetcha language. Other languages providing a relatively high proportion of the loanwords were Kurdish, Hindi, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian and Greek. Loan verbs were presented with origins from Hindi, Kurdish, Romanes, Arabic, Persian and Armenian. Note that, in some cases, semantic changes have occurred in borrowed words when compared with the donor language (narrowing or broadening).

Loanwords referring to semantic fields such as kinship, human beings, and food and drink were found to represent the highest percentage of loanwords in the Gurbetcha lexicon. Moreover, fields that contain mostly concrete concepts (e.g. house, body, clothing or animals) were seen to possess a relatively high

proportion of loanwords. The semantic field of quantity also had a relatively high proportion of loanwords. The fields that contained the fewest loanwords were religion and belief.

With regard to the phonological integration of loanwords, one of the main characteristics is the replacement of the sounds that are non-existent in the phonemic inventory of Gurbetcha by ones that are close to them in terms of articulation. The majority of loanwords are fully or partially assimilated to the phonological patterns of Gurbetcha. Words without any phonological changes originate mostly from Romanes and Hindi. With regard to morphology, words borrowed from SLs that have grammatical gender may retain SL gender markers, but not their grammatical gender class, as in Gurbetcha there is no grammatical gender. However, nouns are not borrowed with plural forms into Gurbetcha. Instead, Gurbetcha adds the plural suffix {-lAr} to borrowed nouns. The integration of loan verbs in Gurbetcha also involves the drop/deletion of inflectional endings. The resulting verbal root becomes either a noun or the base form to which ST and/or CTD verbal morphology is added.

Concluding remarks

Language can be a sensitive part of society. As such, language requires protection not only by the present generation but also by, and for, the generations to come. It is my hope that this study can assist those who might be interested in similar areas of research. Although this research provides detailed and varied information on the Gurbetcha language spoken in Cyprus, much more could be done. Studying languages and cultures, along with dialectal variation and linguistic contact phenomena, is significant in that it provides a profound sociolinguistic understanding of the group in question. In this case, the current research provides insight into the situation of the Cypriot Gurbetties, but also that of other Roma people in other countries. Moreover, this study may also facilitate the publication of glossaries, dictionaries and grammars of Gurbetcha. Future studies could refer to these materials to continually improve the level of available information about Gurbetcha. In general, future researchers should be encouraged to investigate issues that relate to minority languages, with the aim of improving the availability of information on the linguistic and cultural characteristics of such languages and their speakers. It was with this intention that I undertook to study Gurbetcha and I hope others find this work useful for future research.

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APPENDICES

A. Transcriptions

B. Tables

- a. **Table 1:** Verbs with Turkish stem +(y)AIA +TAM+personal ending
- b. **Table 2:** Verbs with Loandword stem +TAM+personal endings
- c. **Table 3:** Verbs with Turkish stem +TAM+personal endings
- d. **Table 4:** This table includes all the words; noun, adjectives, adverbs (except from the verbs) extracted from the corpus
- e. **Table 5:** This table includes all the words extracted from the first questionnaire and interviews
- f. **Table 6:** Language Comparison
- g. **Table 7:** Ethnographic research with Roma for the purposes of documentation

A. TRANSCRIPTIONS ⁶⁹

TRANSCRIPTIONS NO.	TIME
#1	0:38
#2	0:27
#3	5:30
#4	2:47
#5	0:48
#6	2:16
#7	1:02
#8	1:03
#9	0:34
#10	0:44
#11	1:52
#12	2:57
#13	1:20
#14	2:43
#15	1:30
#16	1:53
#17	4:44
#18	3:52
#19	2:59
#20	0:54
#21	5:00
#22	0:58
#23	2:05
#24	1:35
#25	1:57

⁶⁹ Each Transcription is provided with translation in 2 languages: Turkish and English. The translation in brackets is a literal translation provided for reference on how it is said in Gurbetcha word for word.

#26	1:22
#27	4:30
#28	2:25
#29	2:35
TOTAL /Hrs	56:01 minutes

Transcription 1

Name: Hüseyin Aşık

Age: 13

Subject: Expressions

Date: 4 October 2011

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0.38

- (1) 'jel o'le jide'lim o ja'n:i. 'jel o'le jide'lim o ja'n:i.
- (2) 'ha.de ʃ^ha'i k'atʃ^ha'ʃim.
- (3) a'f:ah www
- (4) 'nap^han o'le e'isin?
- (5) a?adʒi'ij 'metlensin o'le: , æle'i:n
- (6) t^hi: 'vorsu sa'na ʃi'la:
- (7) 'ha.de ɔ'le t^hija 'hi
- (8) ha yse'i: 'hade 'f:ɔ 'harta
- (9) p^he'reza p^he're.za ba'na 'ha.de

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

- 1) Gel ole gidelim o yani gel ole gidelim o yani
- 2) Hade çay kaçalım.
- 3) Allah www
- 4) N'apan ole eyisin?
- 5) Anacın metlensin ole olesin.
- 6) Ti vursun sana gıla
- 7) Hade ole tiyalım
- 8) Ha Huseyin hade lo harta
- 9) Perezi perezi bana hade

English translation:

- (1) Come on let's go on this side.
- (2) Come on girl, let's go.
- (3) Allah www
- (4) How are you, are you ok?
- (5) I wish your mother died!
- (6) I wish the truck hit you, fuck you.
- (7) Come on, let's go.
- (8) Huseyin, come on, let's go.
- (9) Come on, give me some bread.

Transcription 2

Name: Hüseyin Aşık

Age: 13

Subject: Expressions and bad words

Date: 4 October 2011

City: Limassol

Minunes: 0:27

1. p^hin:in' nan n::la' d̄zam se' ni o' le:.
2. hol:ε' η hoila' d̄zam sa' ηa:.
3. dumbe' le (...) dumbe' le dumbe' le.
4. ha Useyin kiila' d̄zam se' ni fiηdizih' da.
5. bad̄zi' nuum boinud̄zukla' na 'vūrad̄zāz se' ni:.
6. p^hezeven' jin oγ' lū
7. k^hailaj' d̄zam se' i dumbe' le o' le:
8. jide' d̄zeic^h 'o ja' n:i arad̄zi' a:

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1. pındığından gıylacam seni ole
2. holen hoylacam sana
3. dumbele (...) dumbele dumbele
4. ha Hüseyin kıylacam seni findızında
5. bacının boynuduklarına vuracam seni
6. pezevengin oğlu
7. kıylacam seni dumbele dumbele ole
8. gideceig o yani aracıya

English translation:

1. I will fuck you from the ass.
2. I'll fuck you up the ass.
3. I'll fuck you from behind.
4. I'll fuck your pussy.

5. I'll fuck you...
6. Son of a fucker.
7. I'll fuck you up the ass.
8. We are going in that corner.

CHRYSO PELEKANI

Transcription 3

Name: Gul Davulcular

Age: 67

Subject: Various Expressions

Date: 15 December 2012

City: Limassol

Minutes: 5:30

1. tʃuri'ji jɛn:aða'ʎa:
2. jɛ'n:at tʃuri'ji ha: hei ɛdɛ'lim ehe'i lo
3. atʃatʃaj'ʃim hei'ji dyj:e'ji
4. dyj:esi'ni atʃatʃaj'ʃim
5. kʰo'tʰor bide'mem sa'ɲa na'naidɪr
6. ha'ʎ:an ə fu'ul ɛde'le
7. 'sal:ictʰir lo kʰotʰo'rum na'naidɪr | na'naidɪr kʰotʰo'rum 'sal:ictʰir bir 'zerdir | bir 'zerdir lo
8. aʃi'n:a dɔdi'l:an www
9. www tʃhɛ'l:ɛʃme le'ɔ ɣat'a'si be ɔ
10. ha'lu ha'lu ba'ʃi fia:l:an da
11. ba'ran aʃina'dʒak' se'ni
12. aʃina'dʒak'lar se'ni ba'ran
13. a'ʎ:an ha'li ha'lu: dij:e'ne da
14. ba'ran a ha www ba'ran a ha ʃini'dʒik se'ni da halla'namajadʒaŋ
15. kaʃi'dʒi o: or'tʰa jer'dɛ haʎ:a'namajadʒaŋ
16. aʃini'zɪk' se'ni baran'lar
17. ba'ran ha aʃina'dʒak se'ni halla'namajadʒaŋ he'je: dyj:e'je
18. ha'ʎ:an a fia'lu fia'lu ha'ʎ:an
19. tʰa'mam?
20. sa'l:ik bir za'ni bir jœ'tʰɛ ja'ni bir bũ a'fa a'l:e 'tʃhɛj
21. Bir ø'tʰɛ ja'ni za'ni biø a'fa ja'ni za'ni da haʎ:atʃatʃaj'jasin

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1. Çuriyi genadala.
2. Genat çuriyi ha hei edelim hei lo.
3. Açalayım heiyi, dükeyi.
4. Dükesini açalayım.
5. Kotor bidemem sana nanaydır.
6. Hallan, şugul edele.
7. Salliktir lo korum nanaydır. Nanaydır korum, salliktir bir zerdir. Bir zerdir lo.
8. www aşına da hallan.
9. www Çeleşme lo hallansın be.
10. Halu halu bali hallan da.
11. Baran aşınacak seni.
12. Aşınacak seni baran.
13. Hallan halu halu dükene da.
14. Baran a ha www baran aşınacak seni da hallanmayacağ.
15. Kalacağ orta yerde hallanamayacağ.
16. Aşınacak seni baranlar.
17. Baran ha aşınacak seni hallanmayacağ heye dükeye.
18. Hallan ha halu halu hallan.
19. Tamam.
20. Sallık bir zanı bir öte yani bir bu afa ale çay.
21. Bir öte yanı zanı bir afa yanı zanı da hallanalsın.

English translation:

1. Bring the knife.
2. Bring the knife to do [something].
3. To open the house.
4. To open his house.
5. I am not giving you any money, I don't have any.
6. Go and work (get a job).
7. My money is little, there's no (money). There's no money. It's little. It's one lira/It's one lira, my friend.

8. Go and bring me [something].
9. Stop talking, let him/her go (my dear).
10. Go quickly.
11. The rain will 'find you'. (will take you)
12. The rain will 'find you'. (will take you)
13. Go quickly to your home.
14. The rain will www the rain will 'find you' (will take you). It will not let you go.
15. You will stay there (where you are) and you will not leave.
16. The rain will find you (you will take you).
17. The rain will find you (you will take you). You will not be able to go (you will not go) home.
18. Go quickly, go.
19. Ok?
20. Look slowly on the one side and then on the other, my girl.
21. Look first on the one side and then on the other, then go.

Transcription 4

Name: Hivsiye

Age: 38

Subject: Good man

Date: 11 January 2012

City: Famagusta

Minutes: 2:47

(1) bu'nun abii'si: 'øjle jy'zel ifc^hif a'dam i'di (2) øj'le if'cif a'dam i'di. (3) dynja'ji jak^haladı. (4) d̄zanı'nı jak^haladı dynja'ji ja:. (5) o ğa'ri birak^hir'di:. (6) be'nim hała'muu ağına'di:. (7) be'nim ha'lam da bi t̄h^od̄zuk jap^hala'di. (8) by't^hyn u'rum bir d̄zi'vuur ağına'di. (9) u'rum bir d̄zi'vuur ağına'di. (10) ırda'fı 'vardır bu jer'de. (11) urum'du ırda'fı:. (12) ğodza'si t^himalidi:r. (13) ğaj-'gainanam 'øjle o da ez'ji t̄h^ekele'di:. (14) ğainana'muon on al't^hi ta'ne t̄h^od̄zu'u 'vardır. (15) or'da bun'da ja'fajaladı. (16) on al't^hi t^a'je fa'd̄zu'u 'vardır. (17) on'dan bun'da o'n:a da k^aala'di:. (18) ğainanam e: o'n:ar e't^hek ağına'đi: (19) et^hed̄zi'nı ağına'di dile'nirdi:. (20) je'zisin t^he fa:d̄zi'larna 'p^herez jeit^hir'sin. (21) k^haj'ma k^hajdir'sin. (22) o'nu is'tesin bu'nu is'tesin. (23) d̄zi'virta'ra jarvarir'di k^haj'ma jeit^hir'sin d̄zyk^het^hije'me t̄h^od̄zu'yla'na: (24) t̄h^ok ε'i t̄h^ech^ele'di ğainanam 'da. (25) ağni'si ğajı'nam, a'n:em ji'bindi. (26) a'ma i'nan ğainā'nam da'a t̄h^o t̄h^ech^ele'di merisin'den. (27) e o da aj'nijdi. (28) e jo: ja'far an:ε'd̄zi:m a'nam. (29) a'n:em ja'fa var ja: (30) abimi'nan 'ġimdi' ma unda'dadıġı. (31) ja uldaġla'rin janin'da. (32) ak'jam bur'dauudum. (33) anne'min janin'da. (34) 'ġimdi beri'k^hat ver'sin u'bam ε'jidir. (35) ε'ji afa'sidir [afa'si ne de'mek] (36) ja'ni ε'idiġ, ε'i durum'da ε'idir.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Bunun abısı öyle güzel işkef adam idi. (2) Öyle işkef adam idi. (3) Dünyayı yakaladı. (4) Canının yakaladı, dünyayı ya. (5) O garı bırakırdı. (6) Benim halamı aşınadı. (7) Benim halam da bir çocuk yapaladı. (8) Bütün Urum bir cıvır aşınadı. (9) Urum bir cıvır aşınadı. (10) İrdaşı vardır bu yerde. (11) Urum da ırdaşı (12) Gocası tımalidir. (13) Gainanam, öyle, o da ezgi çekeledi. (14) Gainanamın on altı tane çocuğu vardır. (15) Orda bunda yaşayaladı. (16) On altı tane şağı vardır. (17) Ondan bunda ona da kalaladı. (18) Gainanam e, onnar etek aşınadı. (19) Eteğinin aşınadı dilenirdi. (20) Gezisin de şağlarına perez getirsin. (21) Kayma kaydırın.

(22) Onu istesin bunu istesin. (23) Cıvırlara yalvarırdı, kayma getirsin çocuklarına. (24) Çok ezgi çekeledi gainanam da. (25) Aynıısı gainanam, annem gibidir. (26) Ama inan gaynanam daha çok çekeledi merisinden. (27) E, o da aynıydı. +// Şimdi annen öldü mü? (28) E! yo, yaşar anneciğim anam. (29) Annem yaşar, var ya. (30) Abısıyanan şimdi Magunda'dadır. (31) Ya, ırdaşlarım yanında. (32) Akşam burdaydım. (33) Annemin yanında. (34) Şimdi berikat versin şimdi ubam eyidir. (35) Eyi afasıdır. +// Afası ne demek? (36) Yani eyidir. Eyi durumunda eyidir.

English translation:

(1) His father was so handsome; he was a handsome man. (2) He was such a handsome man. (3) He stole hearts (burn the world). (4) He stole hearts (burn the world). (5) He left his wife. (6) He got married (took) with my aunt. (7) My aunt had (have done) one child. (8) The Greek Cypriot (man) married ("took") a woman. (9) The Greek Cypriot (man) (took) a woman. (10) He has a sister in this place. (11) His sister is also Greek Cypriot. (12) Her husband is a policeman. (13) My mother in-law suffered a lot. (14) My mother in-law has sixteen children. (15) They got along with this (they stayed here and there). (16) She has sixteen children. (17) Everything was left on her (had to look after them). (18) My mother-in-law and others, they were begging (took a skirt). (19) She was begging. (she was taking her skirt and she was begging). (20) She was wandering in order to bring bread to her children. (21) To feet them (to feet them food). (22) She was asking everyone (she was asking this and that). (23) She was begging the women to give (bring) her food, for her children. (24) She was suffering a lot, my mother-in-law. (25) My mother in-law was the same as my mother. (26) Believe me, my mother-in-law suffered a lot from her husband. (27) She was the same (as my mother) +// Is your mother dead now? (28) No, she is alive, my mother. (29) My mother is alive. (30) She lives with her brother in Magounda. (31) She is with (near) my brothers. (32) I was there the evening. (33) I was with my mother (I was near my mother). (34) Now, thank God, my dad is fine. (35) He is fine. [What does it mean "afası"?] (36) It means he is good; he is in good health (situation).

Transcription 5

Name: Hıvsıye

Age: 38

Subject: Housework

Date: 11 January 2012

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0:48

(1) bir i'fe jok'. (2) fu'ul jap^ha'lamadım dyc:e'de. (3) bir iſ jap^ha'lamadım dyc:e'de. (4) isbıklarımı jic^haja'lamadım. (5) k^haj^h'ma jap^ha'lamadım. (6) t^hiraſları'ni jik^ha'dŷam jendi'ne:. (7) t^hɔ'rap afaları'ni jik^ha'dŷam je'ne ɯsbıkları'nı nũ ev'de. (8) bir iſ jap^ha'lamadım dyc:e'de. (9) ['neden?] (10) hiſ bi 'fej jap^ha'lamadım. (11) ha bu ſ^ha'a je'n:arum ok- ok^hu'la. (12) ee en:a 'klei ōo moro. (13) aŷlaja'la:. (14) e ben dē ben dā fu'ru a'lum. (15) be'i dē ſe'c^her ha'p^him ar; piinej'dŷım. (16) haŷları'mi piinej'zım e gaŷa'lamadım. (17) [ne'jin var 'jani?] (18) ſe^he- ſe^he'rim: 'ar 'vardır. (19) k^hə- k^hulosto'lum 'vardır. (20) on:a'a jidelej'dŷem haŷla'mi pi'neim. (21) be'nim dē 'ſorom aŷrıja'lar. (22) [ka'fam?] (23) ka'fam aŷrı'ır 'jani. (24) [søj'lermisin t^hyrkt^he' {de}?] (25) ſo'ro^u- ſo'rom 'aŷrı'ır be'nim da. (26) la'zım pii'neim hap.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Bir işi yok. (2) Şuğul yapalamadım dükede. (3) Bir iş yapalayamadım dükede. (4) Isbıklarımı yıkayalamadım. (5) Kayma yapalayalamadım. (6) Tıraklarını yıkacam gendine. (7) Çorap afalarını yıkacam gene isbıklarını evde. (8) Bir iş yapalayamadım bir iş dükede. (9) Neden? (10) Hiç bir şey yapalamadım. (11) Ha! bu şağı genarım okula. (12) E! enna klei to moro. (13) Ağlayala. (14) E! ben de ben da şurup aldım. (15) Benim şekerim hapım var; piyinedim. (16) Haplarını piyinecem galaladım. (17) +//Neyin yani? (18) Şekerim var, vardır. (19) Kolostorum vardır. (20) Onlara gideleycem haplarımı piyinecem. (21) Benim de şorom ağrıyalar. (22) +// Kafam? (23) Kafam ağrır yani. (24) +// Söyler misin türkçede? (25) Şoro, şorom ağrır benim da. (26) Lazım piyneyim hap.

English translation:

1) I don't have anything (work) to do. (2) I haven't done any work at home. (3) I haven't done any work at home. (4) I couldn't wash my clothes. (5) I couldn't prepare any food. (6) I will wash/clean their shoes. (7) I will wash the socks and their clothes at home. (8) I didn't manage to do any chores at home. (9) +// Why? (10) I couldn't do anything. (11) I bring the child to the school. (12) The child will cry. (13) She will cry (if she stays home) (14) And me, I've just taken my syrup. (15) I also have a pill for diabetes and I will take it. (16) I'll take my pills and I am still here. (17) +// What do you have? (18) I have diabetes. (19) I have cholesterol. (20) I will go and take (drink) my pill. (21) I have a headache (my head is pain). (22) [my head?] (23) I mean that I have a headache. (24) +// Could you please tell this in Turkish? (25) The head – I have a headache. (26) I have to take my pill.

Transcription 6

Name: Pembe Tahir

Age: 43

Subject: abduction of girl (running away with her lover)

Date: 20 December 2012

City: Limassol

Minutes: 2:16

(1) bir t̪ʰaj var, bir t̪ʰaj 'vardır. (2) iʃ'ceftir. (3) 'juuła ʒi'de. (4) icʰi da'ne ırda'fı 'vardır. (5) icʰi'si laf'ta. (6) bi t̪ʰaj ʒi'di: fu:ɫ'da bir laf'ta be:nr'ler ʒendi'ni. (7) t̪ʰaj da o'nu a'ma da'ha t̪ʰel:efmezler. (8) da'a je'ni fu'ul jap'ha'ɫ:ar. (9) bir ʒyn kʰaj'ma kʰajarkʰana t̪ʰaj de'di ʒendi'ne bi'raz 'p'herez ver ba'a. (10) laf'ta da bide'di. (11) on'dan 'sora be:neledi ʒen'di laf'ta. (12) 'sora t̪ʰel:efme'je baʃtadi'lar. (13) buɫuɫa'ɫ:ar. (14) edisi'nin 'abisinin abe'ri 'olmadan icʰisi'nin da on'dan 'sonra laf'ta ailesi'ne, an:esi'ne:, babasi'na soyler ci ʒit'sin t̪ʰa'ji istejele'sin. (15) t̪ʰaj da tʰa'mam der ʒendi'ne (16) ʒide'l:er. (17) t̪ʰa'in aile'si ver'mez lafta'ja t̪ʰaji. (18) is'te da'a t̪ʰok ʒep'jin biri'ne ver'sin. (19) t̪ʰaj da lafta'ji bee'nir. (20) on'dan 'sora bera'ber t̪ʰel:efi'l:er, tija'ɫ:ar. (21) ʒatʰu'rir ʒe'ni laf'ta. (22) t̪ʰa'ji ʒatʰa'ɫ:ar bera'ber. (23) edi'si abi'si: her ʒyn a:ɫ:ar. (24) t̪ʰaji'ni is'ter. (25) e! t̪ʰaj da lafta'ji se'ver ʒaf'ti laf'tajnan bera'ber. (26) baʃkasinin evinde qaravlidil:ar. (27) edisi git:i laftanın edisi:nan abisiinan qav et:iler. (28) ben t̪ʰajimi isterim. (29) ondan sonra laftanın edisi dedi bilelemem ben nerededirler. (30) bilsem soylerim dedi. (31) bilmem dedi. (32) ondan sonra byyk bir gadza e'i bir gadzo gider t̪ʰel:efir gendileriinan. (33) iste ʒa:ɫarinuz bøykyr, qatʰti, sevel:er biribirlerini. (34) aileji bulusturur, gonusturur qav edel:er gen:a. (35) ondan sonra barifil:ar. (36) ondan sonra haber ederler ʒizina o:ɫluna dy:ʒnyny japal:ar. (37) dy:ʒnyny japal:ar. (38) ondan sonra da barifil:ar.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Bir çay var, bir çay vardır. (2) İşkeftir. (3) Şuğula gider. (4) İki tane ırdaşı vardır. (5) İkişi lafta. (6) Bir çay gitti şuğulda bir lafta beğenirler kendini. (7) Çay da onu ama daha çelleşmezler. (8) Daha yeni şuğul yaparlar. (9) Bir gün kayma kayarkana çay dedi kendine 'biraz perez ver bana'. (10) Lafta da bidedi. (11) Ondan sonra beğeneledi kendi lafta. (12) Sonra çelleşmeye başladılar. (13) Buluşarlar. (14) Edisinin, abısının haberi olmadan ikisinin da ondan sonra lafta ailesine annesine babasına söyler ki gitsin çayı isteyelesin. (15) Çay da tamam der kendine.

(16) Giderler. (17) Çayın ailesi vermez laftaya çayı. (18) İşte daha çok zengin birine versin. (19) Çay da laftayı beğenir. (20) Ondan sonra beraber çelleşirler tıyarlar. (21) Kaçırır kendi lafta. (22) Çayı kaçarlar beraber. (23) Edisi, abısı her gün ağlar. (24) Çayını ister. (25) E! çay da laftayı sever kaçtı laftaynan beraber. (26) Başkasının evinde garavlıdırlar. (27) Edisi gitti laftanın edisiynan gav ettiler. (28) Ben çayımı isterim. (29) Ondan sonra laftanın edisi dedi bilelemem ben nerededirler. (30) Bilsem söylerim dedi. (31) Bilmem dedi. (32) Ondan sonra büyük bir gaca eyi bir gaco gider çelleşir kendileriynan. (33) İşte şağlarımız büyüktür kaçtı severler birbirlerini. (34) Aileyi buluşturur konuşTURUR gav ederler gena. (35) Ondan sonra barışirlar. (36) Ondan sonra haber ederler kızına oğluna düğünü yaparlar. (37) Düğünü yaparlar. (38) Ondan sonra da barışirlar.

English translation:

(1) There's a girl, there's a girl. (2) She is beautiful. (3) She goes to work. (4) She has two brothers. (5) They are both boys. (6) One girl went to work, and at work a boy liked her. (7) The girl also liked him, but they still haven't communicated (talk to each other). (8) They have just started working. (9) One day, while they were eating, she asks the boy "Give me some bread". (10) And the boy gave her (bread). (11) Afterwards the boy liked her. (12) Then they started talking to each other. (13) They were meeting up. (14) www and their mother and father didn't know about that. Then the boy tells his family; he tells his mother and his father to go and ask (her family) for the girl. (15) The girl said yes (to him). (16) They are going. (17) The family of the girl don't give the girl to the boy. (18) They wanted to give her to a richer man. (19) The girl likes the boy. (20) Then, they talk to each other and they escape. (21) The boy "kidnaps" her. (22) The girl goes with him. (23) Her mother and father cry every day. (24) They want their daughter back. (25) The girl loves the boy, so she left, and she is with him. (26) They are hiding in someone else's house. (27) Her father went to the boy's father and they had an argument. (28) "I want my daughter." (29) Then, the father of the boy said, "I don't know where they are". (30) "If I knew I would tell you" he said. (31) "I don't know" he said. (32) Then an older man goes and talks to them. (33) Our children are young, they left (their houses) because they love each other. (34) He brings the families together to talk but they have an argument again. (35) Then, they reconcile. (36) Then they inform the girl and the boy that they will let them have their wedding. (37) They get married/They have the wedding. (38) Then they reconcile.

Transcription 7

Name: Pembe Tahir

Age: 43

Subject: Recipe

Date: 08 February 2013

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:02

Part 1

(1) ben fu:l'da tʃʰaʃi'ʃam bir ga'dʒijim. (2) mɛ'rim da tʃʰaliʃa'lar. (3) i'cʰi ʃa:w'muuz var. (4) juu'la ben ve m:ɛrimi'nan bɛra'bɛr gidɛ'lɛriz. (5) ʃa:la'rɪ bir gadʒ:i'je bɪrakʰa'laruuz zani'sin. (6) ak'ʃam dyj:ɛ'je jɛn:a'rim. (7) mɛ'rim da ʃaak'a'ri jide'lɛr gadʒi'dɛn aʃɪn:a'sum. (8) dyj:ɛ'je ɔɛ'n:atsin. (9) ben dyj:ɛ'je gɛn:a'dim ɪʃbɪklari'mi tʃʰuukʰaraʃa'dim tʃʰyɪn'cʰy kʰaj'ma japʰalaʃi'dʒam. (10) kʰaj'ni ve ʔi'la:z

Part 2

(11) ɪʔaza'ri soʃala'dim 'sonra juvala'dim. (12) 'sonra cʰirtʰɛɛ'dim kʰajni'ji da cʰirtʰɛɛ'dim. (13) 'sonra juʷala'dum hɛʃsi'ni ma'zin ka'bin itʃʰi'nɛ dɔɛcʰɛɛ'dim. (14) itʃʰi'nɛ hojʃla'dim tʰu:z, ja:, bi'bɛr, pi'ja:z, do'maðɛs ɔariʃtir'dim tʰɛʃsi'je dɔɛcʰɛɛ'dim. (15) kʰoʃ'dum ʃiʃɛɛ'sin. (16) 'sonra mɛ'rim, ʃaʃla'rim jɛn:adi. (17) ornuʃla'dik'. (18) kʰaj'ma kʰajala'dik.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

Part 1

1) Ben ŝuĝulda alıŝan bir gaciyim. (2) Merim da alıŝarlar. (3) İki ŝaĝımız var. (4) ŝuĝula ben ve meriminan beraber gideleriz. (5) ŝaĝları bir gaciye bırakalarız zanısın. (6) Akŝam dükeye gennarım. (7) Merim da ŝaĝları gideller gaciden aŝınnasın. (8) Dükeye gennatsın. (9) Ben dükeye gennadım ısbıklarımı ıkaraladım ünkü kayma yapalaycam. (10) Kaynı ve ılaz.

Part 2:

(11) Ilazarı soyaladım sonra yuvaladım. (12) Sonra kirteledim kayniyi da kirteledim. (13) Sonra yuvaladım hebsini mazın kabın içine dōkeledim. (14) İçine hoyladım tuz, yağ, biber, piyaz, domates karıştırdım, tepsine dōkeledim. (15) Koydum bişelesin. (16) Sonra merim sağlarım gennadı. (17) Ornuşladık. (18) Kayma kayaladık.

English translation:**Part 1**

(1) I am a working woman (I am a woman who works at a work). (2) My husband is also working. (3) We have two children. (4) Me and my husband go to work together. (5) They leave their children to a woman who (to) looks after them. (6) I come home at night. (7) My husband goes to pick up (take) the children from the woman. (8) And bring them home. (9) I came home, I change/take off my clothes because I will prepare food. (10) Chicken and potatoes.

Part 2

(11) I peeled the potatoes and then I washed them. (12) Then I cut them, and I cut the chicken as well. (13) Then I washed everything in a big pot where I put everything. (14) I added salt, oil, paper, onion, tomato, I mixed them, and I poured them in the tray. (15) I put it (in the oven) to be cooked. (16) Then, my husband and my children come (home). (17) We sat down. (18) and we ate.

Transcription 8

Name: Pembe Tahir

Age: 43

Subject: Fortune teller

Date: 08 February 2013

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:03

(1) bir ga'dɔ̃:i var 'hrisom (2) meri'si'nan kʰɪɫ ʝɪŋ kʰavədə'leɾ. (3) ga'dɔ̃:i baʃ'ka gaɔ̃'ju hab:ədə'leɾ 'hrisom ve baʃ'ka ga'dɔ̃:i su'n:ar gaɔ̃:i'je bi'zim mahal:ɛ'de bir ga'dɔ̃:i var. (4) za'nir falɪ'ŋa. (5) je'n:a jidələj'lim zani'sin se'nin pʰaɫɪ'ŋa. (6) bir ʝɪm bəra'ber gaɔ̃:i'inaŋ jidələ'diçʰ. (7) balımı'za baktıraɫa'dik. (8) pʰaɫ'ɔ̃:i sun:a'di bi'ze “desti'ni za'nijorum”. (9) ben de bide'dim desti'mi. (10) sun:a'di ba'ŋa “sen merini'naŋ kʰɪɫ ʝɪn kʰavədə'leŋ 'tʃʰɪncʰy seŋ baʃ'ka gaɔ̃'ju hab:ədə'leŋ. (11) meri'ni da ištejələ'meŋ. (12) me'rin iʃ'çef'gʰaɔ̃'co a'ma se'niŋ me'riŋ iŋ'voʃ oɫaɫaja'dɔ̃'ak. (13) 'sonra sen 'ʃu:ɫa jidələj'dɔ̃'eŋ meri'nɛ [zanija'dɔ̃'aksin]. (14) 'sonra dıra'vin oɫaɔ̃- oɫaɫaja'dɔ̃'ak. (15) sen kʰɪɫ ʝɪn sorunɫa'rin oɫaɫaj'dɔ̃'ak. (16) o bir gaɔ̃'oɪ'lia kʰav edelej'dɔ̃'eŋ. (17) 'sonra se'ni birakʰaɫaj'dɔ̃'ak.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Bir gacı var Hrisom. (2) Merisiyanan kıl gün kav edeler. (3) Gacı başka gacıya habedeler Hrisom ve başka gacı sunnar gacıye “bizim mahalede bir gacı var”. (4) Zanır falıya. (5) Genna gidelim zanısın senin falına. (6) Bir gün beraber gacıyaŋ gideledik. (7) Falımıza baktıraladık. (8) Falcı sunnadı bize “destini zaniyorum”. (9) Ben de bidedim destimi. (10) Sunnadı bana “Sen meriniyaŋ kıl gün kav edeleŋ çünkü sen başka gacıya habedeleŋ”. (11) Merini da isteyelemeŋ. (12) Merin işkef gacı ama seniŋ merin inhoş sonra sen şuşula gideliceŋ olalayacak. (13) Sonra sen şuşula gideleyceŋ merine [zaniyalacaksın]. (14) Sonra dıravım olacak. (15) Sen kıl gün sorunların olalayacak. (16) O bir gacıyla kav edeleyeceŋ. (17) Sonra bırakalayacak.

English translation:

(1) There is a woman, Chryso. (2) Every day she argues with her husband. (3) The woman fell in love with another man, my dear Chryso, and another woman told the woman “In our neighborhood there is a woman.”. (4) She tells the fortune (look the fortune). (5) Let's go to tell

you your fortune. (6) One day we went together with this woman. (7) She told us our fortune (she looks at our fortune). (8) The fortune teller told us “Give me your hands” (9) And I gave her my hand. (10) She told me “You fight with your husband every day because you fell in love with another man. (11) And you don’t want your husband. (12) Your husband is a handsome man, but your husband will not make you happy. (13) Then you will go with your husband to work. (14) Then you will take (have) money. (15) You will have problems every day. (16) You will fight with the man. (17) and then she will leave you.”

Transcription 9

Name: Pembe Tahir

Age: 43

Subject: Children fight

Date: 08 February 2013

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0:34

(1) 'çrisom mahal:ε'de p^hir ja:'tar var. (2) faa't:ar dyj:e'de oınajalamaz'tar. (3) dıfar'da oınajala't:ar. (4) ba'zı fa:'t:ar k^hav edeler'ler hiç duramaz'tar 'çrisom. (5) k^hıt jyn k^hav edeler'ler. (6) ğadzile'riñ gadzola'rın şorolar'na arıjo't:ar. (7) fayla'ruun ba'zı da iř'cef is'bi c:ije'l:er. (8) bazıla'ru p^his jıjere- jıjini'r'ler. (9) bazıla'rı'nun abıla'rı'nı p^hir dıra'vı var. (10) o'nun i'tıñ k^hav eder'ler. (11) 'sonra i'c^hi jyn 'sora faa'tar tıñel:εfi'l:er 'çrisom.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Hrisom mahellede pır şağlar var. (2) Şağlar dükede oynayamazlar. (3) Dıřarda oynalarlar. (4) Bazı şağlar kav edelerler hiç duramazlar Hrisom. (5) Kıl gün kav ederler. (6) Gacilerin, gacoların şorolarına ağıyorlar. (7) Şağlarım bazı işkef ısbık giyerler. (8) Bazıları pis giyerler. (9) Bazılarının abılarının pır dıravı var. (10) Onun için kav edeller. (11) Sonra, iki gün sonra şağlar çelleşiller Hrisom.

English translation:

(1) Chryso, there are lots of children in the neighbourhood. (2) The children do not play at home. (3) They play outside. (4) Some children fight, and they don't stop, Chryso. (5) They fight every day. (6) The women's and men's "heads are in pain". (7) Some children wear clean (nice) clothes. (8) Some other they wear dirty. (9) Some of them, their fathers have lots of money. (10) That's why they fight. (11) After two days they talk to each other again, my dear Chryso.

Transcription 10

Name: Pembe Tahir

Age: 43

Subject: Fight

Date: 13 February 2013

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0:44

(1) bir gadz:i iɟ'cef. (2) k^hir k^hav ede'ler. (3) k^hıl jyn ɟaɟ:ari'na ned'ler (4) meri'si k^hıl gyn d̄zivi'ri'na ned'ler. (5) ɟaɟla'ri ɟaɟti'lic japh'a'lar. (6) ma'rif jen:a'du. (7) ɟaɟla'ra aɟin:a'di iɟ^heri'je jœt^hyrele'di. (8) ɟa'dz:i jide'lemedi. (9) ɟa'ɟları'ni zani'sin meri'si jidele'di. (10) ga'dz:i seve'l:er baj'ka gadza'ji. (11) ɟa'dza da sevir'ler gadz:i'ji. (12) bir jyn gadz:i'nin meri'si juu'la jide'ler. (13) ɟa'dz:i iɟ^hel:ε'di gadza'ja. (14) jen:a'di dyj:e'je. (15) nimis'larcen gadz:i'ni meri'si jen:a'di. (16) k^hav edeledi'ler 'sonra marif'lar jen:a'du. (17) heɟsi'ni iɟ^heri'je jœt^hyrele'di.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Bir gacı işkef. (2) Kıl kav edeler. (3) Kıl gün sağlarını nedler. (4) Merisi kıl gün cıvırına nedler. (5) Sağları gaftilik yapallar. (6) Marıf gennadı. (7) Sağları aşınadı içeriye götürüledi. (8) Gacı gidelemedi. (9) Sağlarını zanısın merisi gideledi. (10) Gacı seveller başka gacoyu. (11) Gaco da seveller gacıyı. (12) Bir gün gacinin merisi şuşula gideller. (13) Gacı çelledi gacoya. (14) Gennadı dükeye. (15) Nımıslarken gacının merisi gennadı. (16) Kav edelediler sonra marıflar gennadı. (17) Hebsini içeriye götürüledi.

English translation:

(1) There's a beautiful woman. (2) They fight a lot. (3) Every day he beats his children up. (4) His husband beats his wife (woman) up. (5) Her children are stealing. (6) The police arrived. (7) He took the children and he brought them to the police station (inside). (8) The woman couldn't go (9) The man went to see their children. (10) The woman loves another man. (11) The man loves also the woman. (12) One day the husband of the woman went to his job (to work). (13) The woman talked to the man (14) and he went to her house. (15) While they were in the

bed (they were sleeping), her husband (the husband of the woman) came. (16) They had a fight and then the policemen came. (17) They brought everyone to the police station (inside).

CHRYSO PELEKANI

Transcription 11

Name: Muşeref Ahmet

Age: 40

Subject: My daily life

Date: 02 March 2014

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:52

(1) dyj:edeji'jim. (2) if japha'a'a'rim dyj:ede:. (3) t̃h'od̃zukları'nan ojałani'ri:m. (4) t̃h'el:e'firi:, jedigo'du japhaları:k̃h. (5) if'te ornuş'la'rik ev'ne:. (6) mberi'miz bi'raz k̃ho'tak'ba'sar bi'ne:. (7) t̃h'od̃zukla'ruu k̃horkuda'la:r, ned'le:r. (8) birt̃ho'yu ja'lan t̃f̃e'l:e:r birt̃hou, do:ru t̃f̃elle:r. [d̃irva'd̃zi mi?] (9) d̃irvad̃zidi'la:. [c̃himdir d̃z̃e- d̃irva'd̃zi?]. (10) 'hepsi de'ji:l. 'hepsi de'ji:l. (11) birt̃ho'u var t̃h'e'l:er birt̃ho'u var t̃h'el:e'mez. (12) bař'ka ne (...) (13) sa'na j̃en:a'di:m; j̃ardim'd̃zi ołala'sin bi'ne:. (14) ğonuřala'rik dyj:e'de:. [ne ji'bi sorunla'rin var?] (15) ev, ř dyj:e sorun:u'muz ne var. (16) huzuru'muz ne jo:k. (17) t̃hek ařın:ama'ik'. (18) 'jani ev'de t̃hok sorun:u'muz ne va:r. (19) dyj:e'de huzuru'muz yok. (20) ğod̃zami'zan, merimizi'nan k̃huzuru'muz ne jo:k. (21) 'jani t̃huzuru'muz yok. (20) ğod̃zami'zan, merimizev i't̃hi:ŋ, 'jani t̃ha'mir is'te:r, k̃ha'p̃hi is'te:r. (23) t̃hok sorun:a'ri 'vardir.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Dükedeyim. (2) İş yaparım dükede. (3) Çocuklarıynan oyalanırım. (4) Çeleşirig, dedikodu yaparığ. (5) İşte ornuşlarık evde. (6) Merimiz biraz kotak basar bize. (7) Çocukları korkudalar nedler. (8) Birçoğu yalan çeller, birçoğu doğru çeller. +// Dırvacı mı? (9) Dırvacıdılar. +// kimdir dırvacı? (10) Hepsi değil, hepsi değil. (11) Bir çoğu var, çeller birçoğu var çellemez. (12) Başka ne (...) (13) Sana gennadım, yardımcı olalasıñ bize. (14) Konuşalarığ dükede [ne gibi sorunların var?] (15) Dükede sorunumuz var. (16) Huzurumuz yok. (17) Çek aşınnamayık. (18) yani evde çok sorunumuz var. (19) Dükede huzurumuz yok. (20) Kocamızınan, merimizınan huzurumuz yok. (21) Yani çok sorunumuz var. +//Ne gibi? (22) Ev için yani tamir ister kapı ister. (23) Çok sorunları vardır.

English translation:

(1) I am home. (2) I am doing some housework. (3) I spend my time with my children. (4) We are talking and gossiping. (5) You see, we sit home. (6) Our husband beats us up a little. (7) He is scaring and beats the children. (8) Some lie, some others tell the truth. +//Are they liars? (9) They are liars. +//Who is a liar? (10) Not all of them, but there are some who lie, there are others who don't. (12) What else (...) (13) I came to you; to help us. (14) We talk at home. +//What kind of problems do you have? (15) We have problems with our house. (16) We are not calm (we don't have peace). (17) We don't receive a cheque/help. (18) What I mean is that we have lots of problems at home. (19) We are not relaxed at home (we don't have peace at home). (20) We are not calm with my husband. (21) Well, we have lots of problems. +//What kind of problem do you have? (22) With our house, what I mean is that our house needs restoration, it needs doors. (23) There are lots of problems.

Transcription 12

Name: Adile Davulcular

Age: 50

Subject:

Date: 02 March 2014

City: Limassol

Minutes: 2:57

(1) il j:ε'ne ilc' d'ħəfasin'da: εjle'rin alt'ın'da nimisla't:ardı. (2) t̃h'iknała'rin alt'ın'da nimisla't:ardı. (3) jedijer'lemañ by'thyn ra'thi hał:aña't:ardı. (4) ra'thi durała't:ardı t̃h'iknała'run alt'ı'na e gałala't:ardı (5) saba? ε derha'n:ē jy'ne t̃h'ik'ba'tark'han 'jεne ha jyk'ħede'he ede'lerdi, t̃h'ija't:ardı hał:ana't:ardı. (6) gavdan ga'va jał:ani't:ardı. (7) 'neit̃h'in? (8) e hał:andikla'ri jer'de k'ħajmałar'na hojla't:ardı 'rat'ı k'ħa,k'ħaviler'nē hojla't:ardı k'ħajmałari'ni japhał:ar- ə japhała't:ardı, k'ħaja't:ardı, nimisa't:ardı. (9) 'hele 'jεle 'hele 'het'ħe hej a: da hej flo□la't:adılar 'jani jałanaładı'lar es'ci e-e- edilerimi'zin edi'si. (10) on:a'ri da biz da øj'le an- ałafaładik'ħ. (11) i on'dan o'ra bil'mem at'ni hi:ze {hi't̃h'ne?} anv:ađa'jim sa. (12) [ve 'ned̃ze k'ħonufujor'lardi?]. (13) o'n:a øj'leidi. (14) [ned̃ze?] (15) ø'leidi o'n:ar. (16) ilk' zaman:arin'da he'le ğo'rid̃za: ałıfaładı'lar t̃h'el:εfi'l:erdi (17) [nasıł?] (18) a ha! bu: 'jen:a, 'hał:a:, jide'lardi, hir'e'lerdi. (19) bytyn hi'r:ε ał:a'nirdi ğider'ler□nan nimis'la 'rat'ı ołun'd̃za nimisla't:ardı. (20) nimisł'la. (21) sanađı'đı'đı sa'bah afałan'dan 'jena hał:anar'lardi. (22) 'jani sa'ba by'thyn jε'ze jide'l:erdi jat'ha't:ardı jε'd̃ze: red̃zi'nen ał't'ı (...)'sa'bah sa'ba j:ε'na jide'l:er. (23) [t̃fałıfar'lar miydi? 'neler japhar'lardi?]. (24) jε'der a,ħıfve'rif edełe'lardi. (25) p'ħana'jir afał:ari'na hał:ani't:ardı. buzni'leñnañ. (26) p'ħa'hır panaji'ra fiał:ani't:ardı. (27) [ne jer'lardi? ne jer'lardi?]. (28) c'ħim? (29) [esci'le-...] esci'ler jε'na aınısı k'ħaj'ma bıfırir'lardi. (30) o'na sin:am:ađ:ı 'rat'ı bıfırir'ler k'ħajar'lar da'ħia jak'ħarını. (31) 'jani da'ħia la't̃h'i jet̃h'inir'lardi: (32) [ne'den] ε da'ha e'ji jet̃h'inir'lardi. (33) ['nit̃h'in es'ci za'man da'ha jy'zel da'ha la't̃h'i:di? 'deden 'send̃ze?] (34) jon:a'run {on:a'rin} đa'ha i'ji (je'lirdi jendine on:a'ra da...). (35) es'ci za'man in'san da'ha i'ji (bi'f đe'l:ε thon:a'ra). (36) [ne'den?] (37) jεzer'lardi ğav'dañ ga'va e c'ħov'den c'ħø've gide'l:erdi. (38) memle'c'ħet jøre'l:i ε'vi [ne'den 'ad̃zaba?]. (39) t̃h'e a,ħıfve'rif eder d o'n:ar (40) es'ci za'man ins- insa'n:ar ałıfve'rif. (41) haj'van alırdı'lar haj'van sathardi'lar. (42) he p'ħ:un:a'ri p'ħanajırla'ra jider'lardi eder'lardi.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) İlk gene ilk defasında heylerin altında nımışlaldı. (2) Çiknaların altında nımışlaldı. (3) Gederlerinan bütün ratı hallanıladı. (4) Ratı duralalardı, duralalardı çiknalarım altına galalalardı. (5) Sabah derhane güne çikalarken gene ha dükede hey edelerdi tıyalardı hallanıladı. (6) Gavdan gava hallanıladı. (7) +//Niçin? (8) Hey hallandıkları yerde kaymalarına hoylalardı, ratı kakavilerine hoylalardı kaymalarını yapallar yapalalardı, kayalardı, nımışlaldı. (9) Hele gele, hele hete hey ada hey holladılar yani yaşlanaladılar eski edilerimizin edisi. (10) Onnar da biz da öyle alışaladık. (11) Ondan oraya bilmem, bilmem artık hiç ne anlatayım sana. (12) +//Ve nece konuşuyorlardı? (13) Onnar öyleydi. (14) +//Nece? (15) Öyleydi onnar. (16) İlk zamanlarında doğdular doğalar hele gorica alışaladılar çelleşilerdi. (17) +//Nasıl? (18) A ha! Bu genna, hallan, gidelerdi, hirelerdi. (19) Bütün hire hallanırdı giderlerinan nımışla ratı. (20) Nımışlılardı. (21) Sabahtan sabah afasından gena hallanıladı. (22) Yani sabah bütün gece gidelerdi yatalardı gece recinen altında sabah sabah genna gideller. (23) +//Çalışarlar mıydı? (24) Gider alışveriş edelelerdi. (25) Panayır afalarına hallanıladı buznilerinan gedelerinan (26) Panayır panayıra hallanıladı. (27) +// Ne yerlerdi ne yelerdiler yerlerdi? (28) Kim? (29) +//Eskiler. Eskiler genna aynısı kayma bişirirlerdi. (30) Ona sunnamadı ratı bişirirler kayar daha yakılarını. (31) Yani daha laçi geçinirlerdi. (32) +// Neden? e daha eyi geçinirlerdi. (33) +//Niçin eski zaman daha güzel, daha laçidi? Neden sence? (34) Onnar daha iyi (gelirdi gendine onnara da...). (35) Eski zaman insan daha iyi (bişirirlerdi onnar). (36) +//Neden? (37) Gezerlerdi gavdan gava e kövden köve gidelerdi. (38) Memleket görelî evi memle'c^het +//Neden acaba? (39) Çe alışveriş eder onnar. (40) Eski zaman insannar alışveriş. (41) Hayvan alıştılar hayvan satardılar. (42) Hep panayır panayırlara gidellerdi edellerdi.

English translation:

(1) The first year, the first time they were sleeping under these things. (2) They were sleeping under the olive trees. (3) All night they were traveling/wandering. (4) When it was dark, they were staying under the olive trees. (5) When the morning was coming they were leaving. (6) They were going from one village to the other. (7) +// Why? (8) In the places that they were going they were eating, during the evening they were eating again they were taking out their bread and they were having their food/dinner and then they were sleeping. (9) In that way they got old the older people, the mother of my mother was getting older, our grandmothers. (10) And we also got used to this. (11) And so on. I don't know what else to tell you. (12) +// What was there language? (13) They were like that. (14) [What was their language?] (15) They were like

that. (16) When they were born they got used to this language and they were talking Goridza. (17) +// How? (18) Look like “genna” (gel), “hallan” (go), gidelerdi (They were leaving), they were going far away. (19) All day they were wandering with their donkeys, and then when it was getting dark they were sleeping. (20) They were sleeping. (21) Then with the morning they were gone, they were wandering and then again, they were sleeping. (22) They were wandering all day and then when it was getting dark they were sleeping under the olive trees in the morning again they were leaving. (23) +// Did they work? What were they doing? (24) They were doing their shopping with the donkey. (25) They were going on the street fairs with there goats, with their donkeys. (26) They were wandering from one street fair to another. (27) +//What were they eating? (28) Who? (29) +//The older people. The older people they were cooking the same food. (30) On the evening they were making barbecue and they were eating. (31) Well, they were getting on better. (32) +// why? They were getting on better. (33) +// Why was it better back then? Why was it better in your opinion? (34) Their life was much better. (35) In the old-time people were much better. (36) +// Why? (37) They were wandering from one village to another. (38) He hasn't seen his home for a long time. (39) They were buying and selling things. (40) In the old-time people, they were trade. (41) They were buying and selling animals. (42) All of these things they used to do it in the street fairs.

Transcription 13

Name: Shenay Aşık

Age: 38

Subject: Food

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:20

(1) ne su'n:ajm za'je: (2) su'n:ajm za'na na'p'hardıg na'p'arık? (3) bil'di sen bi'zim durumlarınizi da: (4) e'ji bi'liñ e: (5) ne su'n:ajm sa: tʃʰaj! (6) søi'le ba'na. (7) bilele'mem e tʃo:k' the'berdza. (8) an:a'man ja the'berza? (9) the'berdza 'bilmijon gur'betʃʰadi:r. (10) [e'vet] (11) e: ji'derdik' su'n:ardiñ ana'ma bu'ma: a'ni k'ajma var? (12) a'nam da der'di ja a'nam, 'abi işle'di da jet'ır'sn sa'na k'aj'ma:? (13) e bu'luřsan ana'dzim je'n:at' bi'ze da k'aja'ım. (14) e ur'danji'dersa da 'fu: ßu'rup' da iř'le:r. (15) jen:ada'dzak' si'ze. (16) r've jap'ha'dzak' k'aj'ma. (17) e 'joulsa ana'dziñ jap'a'dzak' 'sen:e tʃaj'le eyme'dzik aj'e'dersiniz. (18) ğurudurdö ä'nam bi'ze esci'de:n p'erez:e'ri: (19) ba'mun ys:y'ne yor'du:k ğor'duk' bir da uruba'dzi:k. (20) t'ha'yordu yuru'durdu bi'ze da bir haf'ta ide're ederdi. (20) 'suinan ba'thur da 'jerdic. (21) esci'den böi'leidi 'xriso mu. (22) 'ama 'jindi:c insan:arı'mi:z ne a'na var ne ba'ba. (23) onı'tʃin ha'jat' 'jokt'ur bi'ze:, 'maar yok't'ur. (24) a'n:em ba'bam o'dun'da des'teidi. (25) jidir'diñ o'na an:adi'riñ de:r'di'ni da (26) a'na tʃare'nı ßu'urdu sa'jim ba'bam, de'jil? (27) 'ama 'jindik' binı'jin da üs'te be'nim bařı'ma evla?la'rim jel'dı deñ, ben da evlada'ma is'terim jap'ha'jim. (28) 'jindik' 'hebsı be'nım bařım'da. (29) [e ja]. (30) na'p'aim 'k'riso mu:? (31) u! bař'ka señ seçile'jemem za ßil'mem ja (32) [t'ha'mam dza'nim.]

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Ne sunnayım sana? (2) Sunnayım saña n'apardıg n'aparıg? (3) Bildiñ sen bizim durumlarımızı da (4) Eyi biliñ e (5) Ne sunnayım sana çay? (6) Söyle bana. (7) Bilelemem çok Teberca. (8) Anlamam ya Teberca. (9) Teberca bilmijon Gurbetçadır. (10) +// Evet. (11) E giderdik sunnardık anama buma "Anam kayma var?" (12) Anam da derdi "Ya, anam abi işledi da getirsin saña kayma?" (13) E, bulursan anacım gennat bize da kayalım. (14) E, ordan gidorsa da şugul bulup da işler. (15) Gennadacak size. (16) Ve yapacak kayma. (17) E yoğusa anacın

yapacak sana çaylı ekmecek şey edersiniz. (18) Kurudurdu anam bize eskiden perezleri. (19) Bamuğun üstüne gördük gördük bir da urubacak. (20) Ta gördü kurudurdu bize bir hafta idare ederdik. (21) Suinañ batır da yerdik. (22) Eskiden böyle idi Hriso mu ama şindik insannarımız ne ana var ne baba. (23) Onun için hayat yoktur bize mal yoktur. (24) Annem babam olduğunda desteydi. (25) Giderdiñ ona anladırđın derdini da. (26) Ana çareni bulurdu sayın babam değıl? (27) Ama şindik benim için da işte benim başıma evlatlarım geldi de ben da evladıma isterim yapayım. (28) Şindik hebsi benim başımda. 29) +// E ya. (30) N’apayım Krizo mu? (31) U! Başka şey söyleyemem bilmem ya. (32) +// Tamam, canım.

English translation:

What should I say, my dear? (2) Should I tell you what we used to do and what are we doing? (3) You know our situation. (4) You know well. (5) What should I tell you, girl! (6) Tell me. (7) I don’t know a lot of Gurbetcha. (8) I don’t understand Gurbetcha. (9) Don’t you know Teberdza means Gurbetcha? (10) +//Yes (11) We were going to our mother and father and we were asking, “Is there any food?” (12) And my mother was saying “My mother (‘My dear’)” did your dad work in order to bring you food? (13) If you find food bring us as well to eat. (14) If he will go there he will find some work (15) He will bring us. (16) We will cook again. (17) If they will not bring us (if there’s no) my dear, you will eat bread with tea (18) In the old times my mother was drying some bread for us. (19) She was putting the bread on a cotton cloth and she was putting a piece of cloth on the top. (20) She was saving it for us and we were having this for one week. (21) We soaked the bread in water and we were eating the bread wet. (22) It was like this in the old time, my dear Chryso, but now our people they don’t have either father or mother. (23) That’s why we cannot live, we don’t have any future (property). (24) When my mother and father were alive they used to help us. (25) You were visiting (going) them and you were telling them about your problems. (26) My dear mother and my father were finding a solution for us. (27) But now I am responsible for my children and I want to do everything for them. (but now and for me my children came to my head and I want to do this to my children – to help them). (28) Now I am the responsible for everybody (now everybody is on my head). (29) +// Ah! yes! (30) What should I do, my dear Chryso. (31) I don’t know what else to say. (32) +// Ok, my dear.

Transcription 14

Name: Shenay Aşık

Age: 38

Subject: Our past part 1

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 2:43

(1) esci'den a'man ə: bu'urdu'lar 'hani k'havajlæ'rı: na 'kamnis 'eʃh: 'dʒinon mi'alo mi'alo.
(2) aʃi'n:ardılağ ka'lağ ka'va ka'va, ka'va jıderdi'le:ğ. (3) 'du:rmadan aʃi'nar da fu:lı japhardə'lağ. (4) jıth:i?lerin'de fu:l japthi?ların'da. (5) (jel ze''ra zen da aj'ri şaj da şøj'le an:ε'dʒi:m.) (6) [a'n:ijor musun sen?] (7) 'hadε ve ği'zim. (8) [tʰa'mam jel, je'n:a, søjle atʃi'kla]. (9) fu:l japhardi'lağ 'k'riso:. (10) kʰo'tʰor aʃin:ardi'lar, kʰo'tʰo:r. (11) faʃar'na bak'hardi'lar u jan'dan, o 'sar japhardi'lağ. (12) 'ne o'lursa itʃi?leri'ni tʃi'evi'ridileğ. (13) jεtʃi'nirdi esci'den iʃan:ari'mis. (14) iʃi'erinı bøjyt:yleğ gurdu'lar. (15) 'am:a dy:n:eri'miz o'lurdu: yʃ ce'dʒε yʃ cyn. (16) fierse'li hεrse'li:. (17) kʰi'na jedzeleri'miz o'lurdu. (18) ğiz aʃa'mazsajdi kodzæ'ja vermez'dicʰ. (19) [a! bøj'le mi? a'det mijdi?]. (20) a'detʰ i'đi. (21) otʰu'rurdu ğiz yə! ortʰa'ja, ε 'an:em 'u'n:ar an:a'dirdi bi'ze bu'nu 'esciden. (22) esci'de:n, ε: en:a 'ka-. (23) ['evet]. (24) esci'den 'meselak japhar'dılar dy:ne'ri ε: otʰu'rur da fieğ:are'ber da yonu'fur'lar boğ'le: jøry'dʒyu su'wejdu. (25) 'ste'mezdi: cʰi aʃ da jıt. (26) jo: biz'dej je'lirdi be:nird ajle'si a'dam jør'mez er'cʰec' jør'mezdi: ʃcen:ε'ri. (27) jo: cen'di aʃi'ari'nun ot'maz i'di:. (28) o, oğ'nu be:nir'di, o, o'nu be:li'r'di isee'lerdi je'ni: aʃin:aj'lim je'ni: đer'di. (29) 'jyzel'dʒictir bu dʒivir'dʒuk' der'di:. (30) 'val:a evlendire'lim jen:e'ri 'tʃi'aj der'di (dʒurva'nuuktur). (31) dʒurvanuk'la'ru 'đijor, dʒiva'nikʰ, dʒivanik''lar jyzel'idi dʒivanik?'lar 'tʃi'ok:u'ze:l. (32) aʃi'n:a je'ni 'dijor da jıde'lim isteje'lim o bi'zim o:y'landʒi'a je'ni:. (33) pet'cadʒikla'ra pet'cadʒikla'ra istejl'im je'ni. (34) pet'ca'dʒik' bil'in 'ja! (35) [jo:] (36) tʃi'o'dʒuktʰuğ (37) (A!). (38) pet'cadʒik'lar is'terdi'er jen:e'ri {jen:e'ri}. (39) 'yʃ 'cyn 'yʃ ce'dʒε ve 'xriso mu:, kʰina'si o'lurdu. (40) bil'memɨ ɛ fierse'sa zaman'i jyn'ý o'lurdü. (41) dʒuma:la'ri fier'se japhardi'la:r. (42) dy:n:er o'lurdu. (43) tʃi'a'ğı'lar jeme'ler iʃme'ler 'ama ʃtʃi'o:k' cy'zel esci'de' {esci'den}. (44) 'jındi var mi? 'jındi 'böjle 'hej 'vartir? (45) ʃjoktur 'hej 'böjle. (46) 'jındicʰ bosorosu'na bosorosu'na japa'la: 'yt se'ne 'sora, dœrt

'sona bara'ber ja'fa'la:. (47) esci'de:n, esci'den ʔjo: jør'mezdi bi'lem seni. (48) efi e'le tʰutʰufa'dʒeŋ da jide'siŋ bi je'çe:? (49) 'şindi 'moda ot'du. (50) 'modaş. (51) 'ama esci'den ʔjo:udö 'kʰriso mu 'ojle. (52) ne suna'jim sa' baʃ'ka 'tʃʰaj?

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) Eskiden aman bulurdular hani kalayları kalayları na kamnis etsi tzinon miyalo miyalo
(2) Aşınardılar kalayı kava kava kava giderdi. (3) Durmadan aşınar da şugul yapardılar.
(4) Gittiklerinde şugul yaptıklarında. (5) Gel Zera sen da ayrı şay da söyle annecim. (6) +//
Anlıyor musun sen? (7) Hade be gızım. (8) +// Tamam gel, genna söyle açıkla. (9) Şugul
yapardılar Krizo. (10) Kotor aşınardılar kotor. (11) Falarına bakardıklar o yandan o sar
yapardılar. (12) Ne olursa içiklerini çevirirdiler. (13) Geçinirdi eskiden insannarımız.
(14) İçlerini böyütüler kurdular (15) Ama duğunnerimiz olurdu; üç gece üç gün. (16) Herseli
herseli. (17) Kına gecelerimiz olurdu. (18) Gız alamazsıydı kocaya vermezdik. (19) [A! böyle
mi? Adet miydi?]. (20) Adet idi. (21) Otururdu gız ya ortaya e, annem bunlar annadırdı bize
bunu eskiden. (22) Eskiden e enna ka... (23) +// Evet. (24) Eskiden mesela yapardılar düğünneri
oturur da hep beraber da konuşurlar böyle görücü suluydu. (25) İstemezdi ki al da git. (26) Yok
bizde gelirdi beğenirdi ailesi adam görmez erkek görmez genneri. (27) Yok gendi (...) olmaz
idi. (28) O onu beğenirdi o onu beğinirdi isteyelerdi geni “Aşınayalım geni” derdi.
(29) ”Güzeltiktir bu cıvırcık” derdi. (30) Valla evlendirelim genneri çay derdi +/cıvanıktır.
(31) Cıvanıkları diyor cıvanık cıvanıklar güzel idi cıvanıklar çok güzel. (32) Aşınar geni diyor
da gidelim isteyelim o bizim oğlancıya geni. (33) Petkyacıklara petkyacıklara isteyelim geni.
(34) Petkiadik biliş ya! (35) +// Yok. (36) Çocuktur. (37) (A!). (38) Petkyacıklar isterdirler
genneri. (39) Üç gün üç gece ve Hriso mu kınası olurdu. (40) Bilmen herse zamanı zamanı günü
olurdu. (41) Cumaları herse yapardılar. (42) Düğünner olurdu. (43) Çalgılar yemeler içmeler
ama çok güzel eskiden. (44) Şindi var mı? şindi böyle hey vardır? (45) Yoktur hey böyle.
(46) Şimdik bosurusuna yapalar üç sene sonra dört sonra beraber yaparlar. (47) Eskiden eskiden
görmezdi bilmem seni. (48) El ele tutacaş da gidesiş bir yere? (49) Şindi moda oldu. (50) Modaş.
(51) Ama eskiden yoğudu Krizo mu öyle. (52) Ne sunnayım sana başka çay?

English translation:

1) In the old days they used to find pewter, to do this like this [sic] (2) They used to travel to various villages with their tins. (3) They used to work non-stop. (4) In every place they were going, they were working. (5) Come Zehra, you can tell as well about these things, my mother. (6) +// Do you understand Kurbetcha, Zehra? (7) Come on my girl! (8) +//Ok, come, talk, and explain. (9) They were doing some kind of work, Chryso. (10) They were making (taking) lots of money. (11) They were “reading” (looking) the cup (fortune) in this side. (12) Whatever it is they explain what they see. (13) In the past they were making a living. (14) They expanded their job, they set up their business. (15) But we had our weddings; 3 nights and 3 days. (16) With “herse”. (17) We also had Henna Night (18) If the girl didn’t cry, she wasn’t ready to be given to the groom (we didn’t give her to the husband). (19) +// A! That’s what you were doing? Was it a tradition? (20) It was a tradition. (21) The girl was sitting in the middle, my mother was explaining to us those things of the past. (22) In the past (I will do.) (23) Yes. (24) In the past, for example, they used to sit at wedding parties and they all talked together, that’s how they were arranging marriages. (25) They didn’t want to take (the girl) and leave. (26) No, for us the situation was different; the family comes (to see the bride) the man was not allowed to see the bride. (27) No, they were not allowed to see each other. (28) He likes her, he wanted her and he he was saying that he wanted to take her: (“Let’s take her”.) (29) She was saying: “This girl is very beautiful” (30) God’s sake let’s get her married, she is beautiful. (31) Her eyes, her eyes are beautiful, very beautiful. (32) “Take her,” he said and let’s go and ask for her for our son. (33) Let’s ask her for our children. (34) You know what “petkia” means. (35) +//No (36) Child (37) +//A! (38) They wanted each other. (39) The Henna night used to last three days and three nights my dear Chryso. (40) You know, they were doing a special day for herse. (41) The Fridays they were preparing the heresea. (42) And in that way, they were doing the weddings. (43) They were playing music, they were eating and drinking we had really very nice wedding ceremonies in the past. (44) Now, do we have? Now, do we have such a ceremony? (45) There isn’t such a think. (46) Now they do whatever they want: three years four years they live together: (47) In the past, he couldn’t (48) In the past, you would go anywhere hand in hand? (49) No, it became a fashion. (50) It is said that it’s a fashion. (51) But in the past, there wasn’t such a thing, my dear Chryso. (52) What else should I say, my girl?

Transcription 15

Name: Shenay Aşık

Age: 38

Subject: Our past part 2

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:30

(1) 'nap^hardı'lar? (2) p^he: dilen'me: jıder'ler ğa'va jıder'ler ğa'va:. (3) esci'den je'mek' bo'sun insa'n:ar da jije'sin, e^thⁱn:ε:ɣ. (4) chi'min gavya'si jap^ha'lar. (5) jo^ok^h:aj'ni aladza?'lar 'jok o'no^o aladza?'lar da jethisi'neɣ. (6) jıde'l:er insan:arı'mız i^th^e dilen'me: da esci'den 'ama 'jındi 'jok' 'bø^o seⁱler. (7) 'ama ,bazıla'rı jı'der 'jene. (8) ,bazıla'rı je'ler jıder'e'lı. (9) bur'da o'su 'o tharaf'ta o^t'sun jıde'l:er. (10) şıj jap^ha'lar. (11) şıjle'ri sat^ha'lar. (12) şıjle'ri:er j:et^hini'l:er. (13) jy'zeⁱdze: tahiına bak^ha'lar sa'na. (14) hiⁱdžani'na bak^ha'lar. (15) su'n:a^os:a'na e'jidır 'bu ,thafi'lar? (16) ğo'dža is'teɣ? 'guuz 'guuz, ğo'dža is'teɣ 'gız? (17) o'da dı'er 'ε ε:ji:sa ne't^hım iste'meⁱ. (18) phiri^hilerı'ne i^th^e mah'sus 'jene 'fa^t fa^t'na bak^ha'lar. (19) 'nası^t βa'k^har je'fə fa^t'na? (20) ko'thor a^fın:a'sin de^ti:ı? (21) ju:l jap^hala'sin biraz'đžik. (22) 'ıf jap^hala'si:n. (23) jeli'ler ba^fla'lar. (24) a 'o: 'bu se'nə hab:ed:i. (25) 't^hok seve'le:r se'ni: (26) be:nele'di 'yi se'ni. (27) iste'ler se'ni. (28) 'cha^oğk^han a:. (29) 'nap^hadžai^k? (30) a^t:a'fım! (31) ε 'jın-, ε 'jındi 'bu: is'ter a^t'sin 'ama jy'venmejor da, a^t:a'džay a^fın:ai'džak' 'jena a^fı'n:amaⁱdžak? (32) 'ne bi'leim 'k^hriso! (33) 'oⁱle boⁱle, 'oⁱle boⁱ'le: a^t'ır je'ni! (34) p^həra'ber olu'lar 'jani evleni'l:er. (35) falı'na da ba'k^har jı'ne tahi'na da, ju^utu'na da baka'lar jı'ne, i^th^e ne da jı'der. (36) evi'ne 'da jı'der fiaber'siz o'lar. (37) jı'der is'bidi 'k^hats^hede k^ha'ni.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) N'apardılar? (2) Pe dilenmeye gideller gava gideller gava. (3) Eskiden yemek bulsun insannar da yiyessin etsinner. (4) Kimi gavgası yapallar. (5) Yo kayni alacaklar yok onu alacaklar da getirsiner. (6) Gideller insannarımız işte dilenmeye da eskiden ama şimdi yok böyle şeyler. (7) Ama bazıları gider gene. (8) Bazıları gelir gider. (9) Burda olsun o tarafta olsun gideller. (10) Şiş yapallar. (11) Şişleri satallar. (12) Şişleri renk geçiniller. (13) Güzelce tahılına bakallar şağa. (14) Filcanına bakallar. (15) Sunnar sana bakayım beni eyidir bu tahıllar? (16) 'Goca isteɣ

gız gız goca isteņ gız?’ (17) O da der ‘E, eyiysa neçin istemeyig’. (18) Birbirlerine işte mahsus gene falına bakala. (19) Nasıl bakar geri falına? (20) Kotor aşınnasın deęil? (21) Şuęul yapalası birazcık. (22) İş yapallasın. (23) Gelirler başlalar (24) A bu seni habetdi. (25) Çok sevelleri seni. (26) Beęeneledi seni. (27) İsteller seni. (28) www (29) N’apacaıg. (30) Allahım! (31) E, şindi bunu ister alsın ama güvenmiyor da alacak alınacak gena alınamaycak? (32) Ne bileyim Krizo. (33) Öyle böyle öyle böyle alır geni. (34) Beraber olullar yani evleniller. (35) Falına da bakar yine tahilına da şuęuluna da bakallar yine işine da gider. (36) Evine da gider habersiz olur. (37) Gider isbidi katsede kani.

English translation:

(1) What did they do? (2) They used to go and beg from one village to another. (3) In the past they were eating whatever they could find. (4) Some others were starting (doing) fights to take chicken or other things. (5) They used to go for begging in the past but nowadays, they do not do (there aren’t) such a thing. (6) But some others they go. (7) Some others they go and come back. (8) In this side in the other side it doesn’t matter. (9) They were doing shish kebab. (10) They were selling their shish kebab. (11) They make iron skewers. (12) They were telling (looking) you the fortune. (13) They “read” (look) the cup for you. (14) They read (look) the coffee. (15) they tell you “let’s see, is it ok this coffee? (16) “Do you want a husband? Girl, do you want a husband, girl? (17) “If he is good, why not?” she says. (18) Only for themselves, they are telling you your fortune. (19) How do they tell your fortune? (20) By giving them money, isn’t it? (21) To work a little bit. (22) To do some work. (23) They come, and they start. (24) Oh! He loves you! (25) He loves you a lot! (26) He likes you, girl! (27) She wants you! (28) www (29) What are we going to do? (30) My God! (31) Now, he wants to take you but later he will not take you. (32) I don’t know Chryso! (33) In that way he takes her! (34) They will be together and then they will get married. (35) She tells you your fortune again, she goes to work again. (36) He goes to her house without letting her know. (37) She goes home and then then she finishes it.

Transcription 16

Name: Shenay Aşık

Age: 38

Subject: Food

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:53

(1) isa'n:ar sa'at' biŋ't 'eŋk'hana saba'hi t̪ʃø'p̪ɛ jid̪ɛd̪zɛk'ler. (2) t̪ʃø'p̪ɛ buɫduŋlar'ı iŋ'te, ju'wa'lar ede'l:er. be'cle sou'sun ne'ne:m. (3) bu'n:a'ı jya'lar jendin:e'ri. (4) p̪h̪la'stik o't'sun, ŋi'ŋe o't'su:n, e! ale: de'mir o't'sun, 'ne o'ursa o't'sun; bu'n:ar 'j̪lar. (5) 'fiɛɓsine barɛ'ber sa't̪h̪jo'ta: (6) jide'l:er marc'h'e't̪e aŋı'vɛrt̪h̪ic'leni jaŋa'la e've jide'ne:l:ɛ. (7) odund̪z̪uk'la'ri, sobad̪z̪ik'la'ri ja'khar bu'n:a: bizimk̪hi'ler 'bøjle aŋı'ŋindirlar seve'l:e:r ne.jy'ze:l! (8) ja! je'mec japsi'n:ar, ŋu'ulj japsi'n:ar, iŋ'jap'ala'si'n:ar; 'a:r! k'hajma'la'ri jø'ø'sy (9) japh'a't:a o't̪awuk'la'ri, o'k'hajni'le aŋı'lar 'k'hiso, japh'a't:a o'jemek'le'ri jø're'd̪zen, inan'amaŋ. (10) o'do'lma'ji japh'a't:ar sa'na p̪ɛ: bir or'du jer. (11) 'bır by'jyc' 't̪end̪zere. (12) bu'l:ar gaza'nun ysty'ne baŋti'lar 'art̪h̪ik her bi'ri yf-dø'ci'ŋi olu'lar sara'lar o'jemek'ler'den. (13) baŋlarla'ri er bi'ri, t̪h̪air'lar biribirleri'ne, japh'a't:ar t̪end̪zere'ji do'luru'lar yst̪'y'ne gaza'ni. (14) p̪'ıe'i'l:er t̪h̪airi'lar biribirleri'ni. (15) o' o'nun t̪h̪od̪zu'u o'nun t̪h̪od̪zu'u o't̪urur'lar je'l:e:ŋ (16) di'zi saa't̪h̪i da je'lind̪za sa'at jedi'de 'er'k'andan [ne'nem] sa'at' jelin'd̪ze da z̪- dizile'ri 'var; t̪ak'h'a'lar yst̪'y'ne d̪zenat̪h̪ø'ry. (17) bi'liŋ ja d̪zenat̪h̪ø'r'de e'leçti'ric' t̪h̪ej'dir be:'ynzin dø'k̪h̪jo'tar: dø'k̪h̪jo'tar}[ab'la] be'en'zin dœ'k̪h̪jo'ta; 'krizo mu bu'n:ar t̪aka'lar t̪elevi'zon yst̪'y'ne. (18) baht̪h̪a'ja jide'l:e:r, t̪op̪h̪a'lar; ne bu'lursalar 'ot'dur top̪h̪a'lar. (19) a'ba:n na de'jim sa'na? (20) bizimci'ler øj'le bir 'hej japa'lar. (21) 'æni jøzy'ne sa'ya syrme'j̪e aŋı'la. (22) jidel:e:r, baht̪h̪e'ja; seŋin de'il, be'nim de'il ch̪ese'l:er 'zava'la (...) ad'la - 'k̪ori p̪'e'rimene 'k̪ori.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

(1) İnsannar saat beşte erkana sabahı çöpe gidecekler. (2) Çöpte buldukları işte yuvallar edeller, bekle soğusun nenem. (3) Bunnarı yuvallar kendinleri. (4) Plastik olsun, şişe olsun e! ale demir olsun ne olursa olsun; bunnar yuvar. (5) Hebsini beraber satıyollar. (6) Gideller markete

alışverişçiklerini yapallar eve gideller. (7) Oducukları, sobacıkları yakar, bunnar bizimkiler böyle alışkandılar seveler ne güzel! (8) Ya! Yemek yabsınnar, şuşul yabsınnar, iş yapalasınnar; ay! kaymaları göresin. (9) Yapallar o tavukları, o kayniler alıllar Krizo, yapallar o yemekleri görecek inananmañ. (10) O dolmayı yapallar saña pe! Bir ordu yer. (11) Bir büyük tencere. (12) Bunnar gazanın üstüne baştılar artık her biri üç dört kişi olullar sarallar o yemeklerden. (13) Başlarları her biri, çağırlar birbirlerini, yapallar tencereyi doldurullar üstüne kazanı. (14) Bişirirler çağırullar birbirlerini. (15) O onun çocuğunu onun çocuğunu oturullar yeller. (16) Dizi saati da gelinca saat yedide erkandan [nenem] saat gelinca da dizileri var takallar üstüne jenatörü. (17) Biliñ ya jenatör de elektrik şeydir benziñ döküyollar Krizo mu, bunnar takallar televizyon üstüne. (18) Bahçaya gideller toplallar ne bulursalar otdur toplalar. (19) Aman ne deyim saña? (20) Bizimkiler öyle bir hey yapallar. (21) Yani gözüne saña sürmeye alıllar. (22) Gideller bahçeye señin değil, benim değil keseller zavallılar (...) atla- kori perimene kori.

English translation:

(1) People, early in the morning, at 5 o'clock will go to take the garbage out. (2) Whatever they find in the garbage, they wash it (yes my grandmother) (3) They wash them. (4) Whatever they find: plastic, bottles, iron, whatever it is, they wash them. (5) They sell everything (together). (6) They go to the market, they do their shopping and they go home. (7) They burn some wood logs and turn the heating up; they were used to this, they love this! Oh! How nice! (8) They make their food, they do some work, and they work. Oh! Don't you see their food (they cook very well)! (9) They make their chicken, they take the chicken, Chryso, and they make their food and when you will see them you will not believe in your eyes. (10) They make so many stuffed vegetables that you can feed an army. (11) They make the food in a very big saucepan. (12) The saucepan is on the top of the oven and now three four they start wrapping this food. (13) They call each other, and one by one they start to fill up the saucepan. (14) They cook, and they call each other. (15) (With) their children sit and eat. (16) When there is a movie time from 19:00 o'clock, early (grandma), when it's is a TV series time, they turn on the generator (17) You know what generator means, something electronic, they put gas inside (jump). My Chryso, they turn on the television. (18) They go to the fields and they pick up whatever they find: vegetables (herps). (19) What else should I say to you? (20) "My people" are like this. (21) They are stealing from you. (22) They go to the field; not yours, not mine, and they cut (the vegetables etc. What a pity!!! (Jump, wait, my girl!))

Transcription 17

Name: Shenay Aşık

Age: 38

Subject: Wedding

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 4:44

(1) bi:z na ka- e- dy'je- e: nə 'kʰatʃ se'ne unu' d:um al:a'him. (2) dyy'ne jith:iimiz'de oĵ'le bi feĵ viĵ'lan jʰideric' 'berberimi'ze satʃtarimi'zi gorala'ma, makjami'zi japʰa'hi:m, kʰi'na jedʒe's' 'ajridir biz'de. (3) kʰina'dʒi gi- kʰi'na jedʒesi- cʰe kina jedʒesin'de bir jyn eveli'si japʰa'ruuz. (4) on'dan son'ra otʰu'rur 'mesəla βoĵ'le; fieβsi'ni βare'ber je'lic kʰamaradʒi'lar fa'lan ne ot'sa jen'di aramiz'da tʃʰe'cʰerik ojna'riz. (5) on'dan 'sonra je'lin i'l:a aĵaj'dʒak; e'er a'lamasa gode-godʒə'ja 'vermeĵdʒeĵic' jε'ni. (6) on'dan baĵ'lar ar'tʰik aĵlada'him je'ni farkʰisi'ni sōj'lerik aĵla'dir jendi'ni an:ε'si a'tʃʰar oph̄er gε'nī an:in'dan kʰina'ji ĵor (...) kʰina'ji ĵor, ĵor ĵi altʰin'dʒik' ĵor boi'le bir ufa'dʒik aĵ'tin gor je'ne kʰapʰatʰir eli'ni. (7) ajā an da amısıni yapʰar ĵinasini jakti ĵendine. (8) 'ertesi jyn iĵ'te dyy'ne ji'deric fa'lan hazır'lık fa'lan 'jani hep ai'ledʒe. (9) 'ama tʃok jy'zel bi'zim dyʒynleri'miz 'bøile otur'maik, 'durmadan oi'narık 'jani alem'li. (10) tʃok jy'zel bir dy'ʒyn ja'pʰari. (11) ne bile'im 'artık za'manla dy'ʒyn da 'oĵmadı. (12) la'zim dyʒnly'ʒy baĵla'jaħim. (13) jide'lim jaza'sin da dyʒyn japʰa'him. (14) ot'anl'ar be'nim kiz katʃirdi'lar. (15) dy'ʒyn yaħmaz'lar. (16) ør'le mi?). (17) dy'ʒyn ister'ler ama pʰa'ra da oĵa'dʒak ki dy'ʒyn jafa'sin. (18) qo'tʰor? (19) qo'tʰor jok ot'madıktan 'sonra n'apʰa'dʒan? (20) qotʰo'run jok. (21) ε! qo'tʰor ot'madıktan 'sonra dy'ʒyn da ot'maz. (22) biz de aĵ'adʒaiz kizi tʰijaħ'im. (23) 'nere: tʰi'jaik. (24) ba'ran aja tʰran aja. 24) ze! ba'ran a da 'yoaja. (24) zi tʰijaħbir ja'na jidedʒecsiner. (27) siz de esci'den bø'ile idi. 28) a! 'jindi 'moda ot'du. (29) bi'lin ja! (30) arka'daĵ otu'lar 'boifrend otu'lar ve (....) ide'l:er. 31) anĵasamaz'lar 'ama 'hadi 'tʃai bi'rak onla'rı idele'sin! (32) ε! ja! bi'rak ĵendilerini haħ:eri'ni 'varsa ĵørsyn'ler jendile'rin hal:edel:er. (33) ε! bøi'le iĵ'te bi'zim ĵajatʰi'miz øi'ledir 'jani. 34) dy:ny'myz o'ħur fa'lan iĵ'te ai'le o'ħur byjycleri'miz iĵ'te takıħa'ra fa'lan tʰakʰar'lar 'varsa ot'mazsa pʰara tʰakʰar'lar. 35) kʰai'ma 'joktur biz de esci'den 'varıda 'ama 'jindi joktur! 36) esciden ytʃ jyn ytʃ je'dʒe dy:'yn ja'pʰardılar. (37) na 'ĵamnis 'hej ji'derdiler. 38) tʃa'lardıħar kainiji- kaini'je ne der'ler?

[tʰav'u:ʔ] jidɛ'l:erdi tʃala'f:ardı. 39) esci'den ne ja'pʰardılar? 40) hɛ'rse. 41) hɛrse'li ja'pʰardılar jemeclerimi'zi. 42) e! ja'fimdi. 43) 'findi bœi'le nor'mal bir dy:'yn japʰa'f:ar. 44) 'nasit 'jani? 45) tam 'nedir? 46) pʰa'ra tʰakʰar'lar. 47) 'joktur esci'den jok mese'la esci'den 'vardı jeme'li itʃme'li 'ama 'fimdi pʰara'hidir. 48) 'jani ji'den tʰoğ ed'en. 49) meseła hajir'li muđlutuk'lar di'leriz si'ze fa'lan zarfina tʰa'kʰarikh pʰarasi'ni. 50) bœi'le. 51) esci'den jok bœi'le. 52) 'findi 'hani 'meseła 'burada sizinki'ler ja'pʰar jeme'li itʃme'li bi'zim 'jokdur or'da. 53) 'findi. 54) ha o'nu da ja'pʰan insan'lar tʃok 'vardır da o'la'dzak jeme'li itʃme'li jab'sin. 55) es'ci ma'ddi durumla'ri i'ji de:'ildi jara'maz. 56) insan'lar dy:ynle'ri tʃok jaramaz'lar. 57) i'jde bir dy:yn'dzyk bir ja da dy:'yn japʰar'lar ja ni'qah japʰa'lar. 58) cen'di aradzıkla'ri o ka'dar. 59) 'jani esci'den jok! 60) esci'den bizimci'ler es'ci insan'lar 'hriso mu tʃok i'ji bir insani'dilar. 61) 'jani ne daejim sa'na dɛrneclɛ'ri fa'lan dyf'kyn ve birilidi'ler. 62) 'findiki insanlari'miz tʃok hava'hidir. 63) deifdir'ler. 64) bir'lic 'jokdur ja sa'na jar'dim etsin'ler. 65) sa'na da ya ba'na da. 66) 'joktur. 67) esci'den birbirileri'ne jar'dim des'tec e'derdiler. 68) ama 'findi 'joktur œi'le. 69) sen ye evin'de da ben jeme'i. 70) umuru'nda de'il. 71) 'ama esci'den am'an allah'im. 72) ben bifer'irdim ona da k'o'jum. 73) esci'den bir 'nasit japʰardı bizimciler bilin? 74) biz biferiğ evimizde o bize jolardı. 75) biz ona. 76) an:e'miz biz œi'le jœr'dyc tʃo'dzuk:an. 77) bi'zim an:e'miz baba'miz o'lsun neneleri'miz dedelerimi'zi bœi'le. 78) birbirleri'ne jo'f:a. 79) 'ama 'findi jok. 80) 'jani atʃ bi'le ka'f'sam umurla'ri de'ilmif 'cimse. 81) 'jani œi'le inan'lar o'f'du 'artik. 82) deif'çi insanlarimi'zi deif'çi. 83) av'rupaja miş jirdi'ler. 84) on'un i'tʃin je'ni 'moda 'tʃikti bunla'ra... 85) esci'den bœi'le mi:'di 'hriso mu? 86) jo! esci'den birbirleri'ne des'tec. 87) burnum bile kanarsa ya hasta o'ladzaj koftururduk n'apadzajik. 88) birbirilerine jardim edeler. 89) 'hani be 'hriso 'findi? 90) var mi: œi'le 'fɛi? 91) 'joktur. 92) a'f:ah jar'dim et'sin hɛrce'se da bi'ze da! 93) ba'fka ne daejim sa'na?

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Biz na (...) kaç sene unuttum Allahım. 2) Düğüne gittiğimizde öyle bir hey vişlan giderik beraberimize saçlarımızı goralama, makyajımızı yapalım, kına gecesi ayırdır bizde. 3) Kınacı, kına gecesinde bir gün evvelisi yaparız. 4) Ondan sonra oturur mesela öyle hebsi beraber gelir kameracılar falan ne olsa gendi çekerik oynarız. 5) Ondan sonra elin illa ağlıyacak; eğer ağlamazsa kocaya vermeyceyik gendi. 6) Ondan başlar artık ağlatalım şarkısını söylerig ağladır gendini annesi öper gendi alnından kınayı gor (...) kınayı gor altıncık gor bir ufacık altın gor kapatır elini. 7) Ayağına da aynısını da yapar kınasını yaktı gendine. 8) Ertesi gün işte düğüne

giderik falan hazırlık falan yani hep ailece. 9) Ama çok güzel bizim düğünlerimiz böyle oturmayık, durmadan oynarık yani alemlı. 10) Çok güzel bir düğün yaparık. 11) Ne bileyim artık zamanla düğün da olmadı. 12) Lazım düğünlüğü başlayalım. 13) Gidelim yazasın da düğün yapalım. 14) Oğlanlar benim kız kaçırdılar. 15) Düğün yabmazlar. 16) +// Öyle mi? 17) Düğün isteller ama para da olacak ki düğün yapasın 18) +// Kotor? 19) Kotor yok olmadıktan sonra n' apacañ? 20) Kotorun jok. (21) E! kotor olmadıktan sonra düğün da olmaz. 22) Biz de alacağız kızı tıyalım. 23) Nere tıyayık? 24) Barangaya tıyacayık. 25) E! Baran a da yoğusa yabacak. 26) Bir yana gideceksinler. 27) Siz de, eskiden böyle idi. 28) A! fındi moda oldu. 29) Biliñ ya! 30) Arkadaş ollular boyfriend ollular ve (...) ideller. 31) Anlaşamazlar ama hadi çay bırak onları idelesin! 32) E! Ya! Bırak iliñ ya! 33) E! böyle işte bizim hayatımız öyledir yani. 34) Düğünümüz olur falan işte aile olur büyüklerimiz, işte takallar falan takallar varsa olmazsa para takarlar. 35) Kayma yoktur biz de eskiden varı da ama şimdi yoktur! 36) Eskiden üç ün üç ece düğün yapardılar. 37) Na amnis hey (...) iderdiler. 38) Çalardılar ...kayniyi- kayniye ne derler? +//tavuğu? idellerdi çalallardı. 39) Eskiden ne yapardılar? 40) Herse. 41) Herseli yapardılar yemeklerimizi. 42) E! ya şimdi. 43) Şimdi böyle normal bir düğün yapallar. 44) +// Nasıl yani? 45) +// Tam nedir? 46) Para takallar. 47) Yoktur eskiden yok mesela eskiden vardı yemeli içmeli ama şimdi paralıdır. 48) Yani iden tok eden. 49) Mesela 'Hayırlı, Mutluluklar dileriz size' falan zarfına takarık parasını. 50) Böyle. 51) Eskiden yok böyle. 52) Şimdi hani mesela burada sizinkiler yapar yemeli içmeli bizim yoktur orda. 53) Şimdi. 54) Ha! onu da yapan insanlar çok vardır da olacak yemeli içmeli yabsın. 55) Eski maddi durumları eyi değildi. 56) Yaramaz. İnsannar düğünneri çok yaramazlar. 57) İşte bir düğüncük bir ya da düğün yapallar ya nikah yapallar. 58) Kendi aracıkları o kadar. 59) Yani eskiden yok! 60) Eskiden bizimkiler eski insanlar Hriso mu çok eyi bir insanıldılar. 61) Yani ne deyim sana dernekleri falan düşkün ve birilidiler. 62) Şindiki insannarımız çok havalıdır. 63) Değıştirler. 64) Birlik yoktur ya sana yardım etsinler. 65) Sana da ya bana da. 66) Yoktur. 67) Eskiden birbirilerine yardım, destek ederdiler. 68) Ama şimdi yoktur öyle. 69) Sen ye evinde da ben yemeği. 70) Umurunda değil. 71) Ama eskiden aman Allahım ben bişirdim. 72) Ona da koyayım. 73) Eskiden bir nasıl yapardı bizimkiler bilin. 74) Biz bişirik evimizde o bize yollardı. 75) Biz ona yollardık. 76) Annemiz biz öyle ördük çocukkan. 77) Bizim annemiz babamız olsun nenelerimiz dedelerimiz böyle. 78) Birbirlerine yolla. 79) Ama şimdi yok. 80) Yani aç bile kalsam omurları değilmiş kimse. 81) Yani öyle insanlar oldu artık. 82) Değışti insannarımız değışti. 83) Avrupa'ya mış irdiler. 84)

Onun için yeni moda çıktı bunlara. 85) Eskiden böyle miydi Hriso mu? 86) Yo! Eskiden birbirlerine destek. 87) Burnum bile kanarsa ya hasta olacağ koştururduk n'apacayık. 88) Birbilerine yardım edeller. 89) Hani be Hriso şimdi? 90) Var mı öyle şey? 91) Yoktur. 92) Allah yardım etsin herkese da bize da! 93) Başka ne deyim sana?

English translation:

(1) We (...) how many years my God, I forgot. (2) When we go to the weddings, we go and we do our hair, we do our make-up, the henna night it's another day (different) for us. (3) We do the henna night one day before. (4) Then, we come together, we sit like that, the cameraman comes and he takes some pictures and we dance. (5) Then the bride should cry; if she will not cry we don't give her to the groom (husband/man). (6) Then we start singing folk songs, we make her cry and her mother uncovers her and, we kiss her on the forehead and we apply the henna (on her hand), we apply the henna with the gold (coin), with a small gold (coin) and we close her hand. (7) We do the same; we apply the henna on her foot. (8) The next day we go to the wedding, everything is ready and all the family we are all together. (9) Our wedding ceremonies are really very nice; we do not sit like that, we dance non-stop and we have fun. (10) We organize (do) very nice ceremonies. (11) But what should I say (I don't know) we didn't have such a wedding. (12) We should do such a wedding. (13) We should go and find a day (write) and do the wedding. (14) My boys kidnaped their girlfriend. (15) They don't do ceremonies. (16) +// Really? (17) They want to do, but do they have money to do such a wedding? (18) +// Money? (19) When there's no money what you should do? (20) You don't have money. (21) So, when there's no money no wedding is being made. (22) So we take the girl and we run away. (23) Where do you go? (24) We go to our shanties. (25) Eh! If they don't have shanty they will make one. (26) They will go in a corner. (27) You used to "live" like this. (28) But, now it's a fashion. (29) You know! (30) They become friends, boyfriends and they go. (31) The family (they) don't agree but anyway at the end they say "let them go!" (32) E! Let them go and they can find the way themselves. (33) E! It's like that our way of life. (34) We make weddings (we have weddings) and our old people put jewellery, and if they don't have they put money (on the bride and groom). (35) We had food in the past, but now we don't have. (36) In the past, (the wedding) last for 3 days and 3 nights. (37) They were doing... they used to go. (38) They were stealing what we call the "kayni" [chicken?]. (39) What were they doing in the past? (40) 'Herse'. (41) They make food with 'Herse'. (42) Yeah! But now... (43) Now, they make a standard

wedding/ceremony. 44) +// What do you mean? 45) +//What do they do? 46) They put money. 47) Now, they have food with money. 48) They go there and they eat. 49) For example we go there we give them our Best wishes and we put the money in the envelope. 50) Like that. 51) In the past we didn't have such a thing. 52) For example now in your wedding ceremonies they have food and drinks but in the other side we don't have such a thing. 53) Now. 54) There are people that they do such a wedding with food and drink. 55) In the past the economical situation wasn't very good. 56) (naughty) People didn't make good weddings. 57) They just make a small wedding. 58) Only among themselves. 59) In the past it wasn't like that. 60) In the past, my dear Chryso, our people were very good. 61) Eh, how to say, they were very dedicated to their association and they were united. 62) Nowadays our people are very show off/swanky. 63) They changed. 64) They are not together any more, to help you. 65) (To help) you and me. 66) We don't have (such people anymore). 67) In the past they were helping and supporting each other. 68) But now there's not such a thing. 69) (You will eat at your house and I will eat my food) .Everybody would eat at his or her home. 70) They don't care. 71) But in the past, oh my God, I was cooking so much food. 72) I was offering to him/her. 73) Do you know what our people were doing in the past? 74) We were cooking food at our home but others used to send us food as well. 75) We also send them (food) back. 76) When we were children we used to see (this kind of actions) from our mother. 77) Our mother, father, grandmother and grandfather were like that. 78) They were sending (food) to each other. 79) But now, (such a thing) does not exist. 80) Even if we are starving, nobody cares about that. 81) So, we became this kind of people. 82) Our people changed. 83) They became "European". 84) That's why they have a different way of life. 85) In the past it was like this, my dear Chryso? 86) No! In the past they were supporting each other. 87) Even when my nose is bleeding or I become ill, we are coming to you, what to do! 88) We were helping each other. 89) Where are those days, Chryso? 90) Do we have such a thing? 91) We don't have it. 92) God help everybody and us. 93) What else should I say?

Transcription 18

Name: Irfan ve Gül

Age: 38

Subject: Eski hayat

Date: 02 February 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 3:52

(1) dy'yn o' lür jejinir qu'fariric. 2) ałhın'dađır p'hara'miz 'varsa ał'tin' a'lırik' ta'k'arık'. 3) 'jo:usa qo'thor ıaj'narık^h. 4) ta'k^h (...) t'ha'lan t'hi'vir t'ha'lar (...) 'hadε 'kałk re 't'ha'j bi'raz i'f'ε'mi jin' ojna'jalım. 5) t'ha'irı'iriğ 'bazen de t'ha'irı'ıa. 6) 'hadε ir'fan hanı'mı 'kałk (...) øile t'he'l:emez. 7) o'le ir'fan a'fın:a o'le jy'ly 'hadε. 8) kałk sen da oi'na! 9) kał'karım oi'narım. 10) p'hi:'nerik^h. 11) ara'da i'f'jø'bec at'ma'ji bi'lır ci! 12) i'f'cef oi'narım ha! 13) by'jyc ki'zim da bu'nun ji'bi. 14) 'jert'jektan i'f'cef oi'narım. 15) 'ama (...) d'zivi'ra ha'va at^h 'arım. 16) t'ha'mam. 17) ma'to je'n:arım dy'ce:. 18) ba'jka? 19) dy'ce: je'n:arım. 20) nimis'tarik dyce'dε. 21) p'hi:nerk^han d'zivi'rinan t'fel:ε'jirim dyce'dε. 22) n'ap'had'zaimi'zi ne k'hai'ma ja'ıa d'zai'k? 23) t'fod'zu'klar ne k'haja d'zak^h? 24) t'fod'zu'klar ne t'fel:ε'je d'zεc bi'ze ne k'haima ist'et k'haisınlar. 25) ønd'zedεn t'fel:ε'jirim d'zivira. 26) d'zivi'ra da t'fel:ε'jir ba'na anla'dim a'fı'n:arık k'hai'ma. 27) je'n:arım d'zi'virinan bεra'bεr dy'ce: a'farık^h. 28) t'ha'bi: d'zivi'ra jaidim d'zi da o'lurum. 29) ne ji'bi? 30) k'haima'ji ben ja'p'arsam fu:'lu d'zi'vir ja'p'ar. 31) fu:'lu ben ja'p'arsam kaimaji d'zi'vir japharsa sor:i fu:'la'rı ben japha'rim. 32) t'ha'bi: t'huvalet^hi silmem ben. 33) ko'd'zam da sil'mez, ben ja'p'arım. 34) 'ama jaidim d'zi. 35) øi'le mi? 36) ba'jka bir ad'am (...) 'jani jedi:'ni bırak'sın or'da 'jani hanımı'na jar'dim etme'si. 37) 'jenelde ben t'ha'vuk^h k'hojad'zaim'da- t'fuma'ri k'hu'la-bu balde'siz so'jar. 38) 'jani ba'ja jaidim d'zidir. 39) i'azla bεræber. 40) 'mesela dol'ma japhad'zain'da d'zi'vir t'fuma'ri a'fın:a k'he'serim t'hi'k'no t'hi'k'no. 41) d'zi'vir ø'the jan'dan soldur'sun japhrakla'ri 't'jai ben o janın'da k'irt'he'lerim t'fuma'ri: t'hi'k'no. 42) d'zi'vir je'n:ar bεræ'ber i'f'te d'zivi'ra jok jo't:ar be'ni su a'fala'im ma'd'zun a'ajim. 43) ji'derim a'fı'n:aim on'a'rı je'n:arım. 44) d'zi'vir k'hał'k'har hei a'fala'sin qaima'i hoila'sin yst'hy'ne. 45) ben k'hal'k'arım f'u:l ede'jim dyce'dε. 46) øi'le. 47) ba'ka t'fel:l:εf! 48) siz t'fel:l:εjin.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Düğün olur gelinliği quşarık. 2) Altın da paramız varsa altın alırık takarık. 3) Yoğusa kotor baynarık. 4) Takar (...) çalar cıvır çalar (...) hade kalk çay biraz işlemiz oynarız. 5) Çağırılılık bazen de çağırılırlar 6) Hade İrfan hanımı kalk (...) öyle çellemez. 7) Ole İrfan aşınna ole Gülü hade. 8) Kalk sen da oyna! 9) Kalkarım oynarım. 10) Piinerik. 11) Arada iş öbek atmayı bilirik! 12) İşkef oynarım ha! 13) Büyük kızım da bunun ibi. 14) Gerçekten işkef oynarım. 15) Ama (...) cıvıra hava atarım. 16) Tamam. 17) Mato ennarım dükeye. 18) Başka? 19) Dükeye ennarım. 20) Nımıslarık dükede. 21) Piinerkan cıvırınan çelleşirim dükede. 22) N'apacağımızı ne kayma yapacayık? 23) Çocuklar ne kayacak? 24) Çocuklar ne çelleşecek bize ne kayma ister kayısınlar. 25) Önceden çelleşirim cıvıra. 26) Cıvır da çelleşir bana anladım aşınarık kayma. 27) Gennarım cıvırınan beraber dükeye afarık. 28) Tabii cıvıra yardımcı da olurum. 29) Ne ibi? 30) Kaymayı ben yaparsam şugulu cıvır yapar. 31) Şugulu ben yaparsam kaymayı cıvır yaparsa sory şuguları ben yaparım. 32) Tabii tuvaleti silmem ben. 33) Kocam da silmez, ben yaparım. 34) Ama yardımcı. 35) +// Öyle mi? 36) Başka bir adam (...) yani yediğini bıraksın orda yani hanımına yardım etmesi. 37) Genelde ben tavuk koyacağım da- Çumari kıla- bu baldesiz soyar. 38) Yani baya yardımcıdır. 39) Ilazla beraber. 40) Mesela dolma yapacağında cıvır çumarı aşınna keserim tikno tikno. 41) Cıvır öte yandan soldursun yaprakları çay ben o yanında kirtelerim çumarıyı tikno. 42) Cıvır ennar beraber işte cıvıra yok yollar beni su alalayım macun alayım. 43) Giderim aşınnarım onnarı ennarım. 44) Cıvır kalkar hey afalasın kaymayı hoylasın üstüne. 45) Ben kalkarım şugul edeyim dükede. 46) Öyle. 47) Başka çelleş! 48) Siz çelleşin.

English translation:

1) When we have a wedding, we sew our wedding dress. 2) If we have money we buy gold and we put in (the brides and grooms' clothes). 3) When we don't have (gold) we give money. 4) We hung money on the wedding dress and the bride is dancing "Come on, stand up girl, get to work, dance for a while". 5) Some others are calling us. 6) Let's go, Irfan, take your wife and stand up (...) they don't say it like this. 7) Irfan, my boy, take Gul (come and dance). 8) Stand up and dance! 9) I stand up and I dance. 10) We drink. 11) Sometimes I do the belly dance. 12) I dance really well! 13) My big daughter likes that. 14) She also dances very well. 15) But (...) I show to my wife (?) 16) Ok 17) I come home drunk. 18) Anything else? 19) I come home. 20) We sleep at home. 21) When I am drinking I talk with my wife at home. 22) What are we going to do? What are we going to cook? 23) The children, what will they eat? 24) What the children

say they want to eat, they eat. 25) But first I talk with my wife. 26) And my wife talks to me, I understand we get (prepare) the food. (27) I come and with my wife (the woman) we go to the market. 28) Of course, I help my wife. 29) What kind of help (do you provide to your wife)? 30) If I make the food my wife (the wife) do the housework. 31) If I do the housework, sorry, if my wife do the food I do the housework. 32) Of course, I don't clean the toilet. 33) My husband does not clean the toilets, I do. 34) But he helps. 35) +/- Really? 36) Other men (...) he stop when he eats and he help his wife. 37) In general, when I put the chicken, the girl is cleaning it. 38) What I mean is that he is extremely helpful. 39) With the potatoes. 40) For example, when I make stuffed vegetables my wife brings the chicken and I cut it in small pieces. 41) On the other hand, my wife stuffs the leaves and me next to her I cut the chicken in small pieces. 42) My wife comes, and she sends me to take water and cream. 43) I go and take these, and I come (back). 44) My wife stands up to make this thing, to put this on the food. 45) I stand up to do some work as well at home. 46) That's is. 47) Say other things! 48) You (should) tell.

Transcription 19

Name: Melek Hüseyin

Age: 35

Subject: Food

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 2:59

1) biş t^hicno' d̄zuiduḡ t^hicno' d̄zuidu. 2) an:ε' miz baba' mið iʃ' d̄ε haʃ:anir' d̄zaḡ 't̄ʃuʋɔʃa. 3) t̄ʃu' ʋuʃ
jap^haʃ:ar' d̄iu. 4) ondan' c^her'vi: ʃeli' l:εḡ iʃ' d̄ε: ve. 5) biʃei' leḡ aʃin:a' d̄i k^hai' mɔ mai' maʃ. 6) biş
keʃe' b̄i o' lurd̄uk. 7) o z̄am' b̄aḡa' mið iʃ' iḡ b̄aḡa' mið iʃ' d̄ε d̄ε o z̄aman' ma' d̄t̄i duru' mu edi' miḡ
'nakaidi di' miḡ 'nakaidi. 8) t̄ʃoq e' j' i iʃ' cef de: 'ildileḡ. 9) 'sora iʃ' em bi' zim vu' a^hta j̄en:at' mak
i' t̄ʃi:ḡ bu ja'n:a haʃ:and̄i' laḡ j̄en:adi' laḡ. 10) bu jan' da qataʃadi' laḡ. 11) bi' zim' bu jan' da
buevd̄eʃedi' leḡ. 12) 'sonra iʃ' tem zana' d̄ik meʃimi' zi aʃin:a' d̄ik t^hei' dic^h. 13) 'jan̄i hæḡ
qardaʃlar' im hæʃe' idi. 14) kaʃ:anird̄ik^h t̄ʃøḡ' t̄y: zibi' le: haʃ:an' ird̄ik', 'jani' nasiḡ soje' m' art̄ik'
sa: 'tzibilde j̄et̄ʃi' mi ja' pard̄ik^h. 15) haʃ:and̄i' ir' di biz̄i edimiş. 16) ne bu' t̄uʃayd̄ik^h (...). 17)
qardeʃler' im aşqe' re haʃ:an' di: . 18) 'aj aja hæḡ aj 'mesela haʃ:an' ird̄ik 'mesela sat^ha' t̄:ardi ε' dim
sa' t^hardi j̄i' d̄erd̄i abileḡi' ne. 19) h̄aja' timiz 'jani' heleidi 20) en son tahte' di (?) bi' ze tij' dic'
j̄en:a' d̄ik bu ja'n:a. 21) bu jan' da ha' jat tzani' d̄ik^h. 22) o' nd' ke eʃialari' miz dovala' di. 23)
qaʃ' diḡ qaʃ' d̄ik^h; on ye' di se' neic' bur' da qataʃa' di {kaʃd̄ik^h}. 24) on' dan k^hε' r̄vi: iʃ' te m'a:ʃ
avaʃa' di bi' ze A' l:a {a' l:ah} eji' lic ver' sin h̄ykh'y' met^h. 25) aʃi' n:aḡ bi' raz d̄i' rav, cet̄ʃimnemi' zi
onumu' zu bunu' muz t̄ʃoh fu' huḡ oʃ' su. 26) 'ʃindi 'jani hajati' miz ε' ji 'jani j̄et̄ʃin' dejiḡ (...). 27)
'jani bu jan' da j̄en:adi' miz da' ha i' ji oʃ' duh. 28) ḡataʃa' d̄ik b̄arangaʃar' in it̄ʃin' d̄ε tsid̄za' ʃar' in
it̄ʃin' d̄ε ε ne b̄eḡ' lerdin, p^ha' ni 'joḡtu. 29) p^ha' ni jo, hit̄ʃ bir 'ʃej jo. 30) faʃ af' ka afa' si jo. 31)
layma' d̄zik' jaḡa' t̄ard̄ik^h. 32) evu' n:a kef t̄ʃod̄z̄uḡ' laḡi haʃ:and̄i' ir̄im i' c^hi cyn j̄ør 'jani' hoʃidej
edi' me ʃayʃaḡ qataʃamaş. ʃay' laḡ is' teḡ haʃ:an' sin bu ja' na j̄en:a' sin. 33) ben' im 'gizinaḡ oḡ' lan
istejili' mez qataʃa' sin o' t^hara' fta. 34) i' lch̄e j̄yn' l̄yk biḡ hi d̄e h̄:an numlar̄in: i iste' mez.
35) næ' psa ce' ndi hasta' liḡ bir ai' leḡ za' namaid̄z̄æḡ 'jani iḡc^hi j̄yn t^hatil. 36) kaʃ:a' nırım biḡ j̄yn
iste' l:ε zani' sin ʃay' ʃa. 37) E! ne televi' zyon afa' sı var, ne bir 'ʃei vaḡ. 38) 'nei zane' d̄z̄ec ʃay' ʃa
qaran' t̄ik^h. 39) oḡun 'it̄ʃin ha' jat 'jani bu 'heʃe. 40) 'infaʃ:a bu jan' da 'jani bir' az da ha' hejiḡc^h.
41) 'ʃindi bu jan' da infaʃ:a daḡa hejiḡc^h 42) (hejiḡic^h jani daha iʃkeʃtir bu janda. 43) hynky her
ʃe' jin eli' ḡin aʃt̄in' da. 44) haʃ:ani onu' ʃa! 45) ʃaḡlar' inḡ qai' ma iste' se televi' zyon za' nı on' dan

ke'ne bir 'jei iste'e'le d'zanla'rı 'hemen a'fi' narım. 46) dykan'da veresi'je a'fi'n:ar'ık^h. 47) 'ama o jan'da jok b'oi'le ha'jat. 48) o'nun i't'f'in je't'f'im hal:an'ı'ı' jid' erik. 49) t'f'ok j'y'zel.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Biz tiknocuyduk, tiknocuyduk. 2) Annemiz babamız işte hallanıllar şuşula. 3) Şuşul yapallardı. 4) Ondan kervi gelillerdi işte eve. 5) Bişeyler aşınnadı kayma mayma. 6) Biz keleppe olurduk. 7) O zaman babamız işlerdi, babamız işte de o zaman maddi durumu edimin nakaidi. 8) Çok iyi işkef değildiler. 9) Sonra (...)bizi bu yana genatmak için bu yana hallandıllar gennadıllar. 10) Bu yanda galaladıllar. 11) Biz da bu yanda evdedik. 12) Sonra işte zanıdık merimizi aşınnadık tıydık. 13) Yani heb qardaşlarım heleydi. 14) Hallanırdık çöp (...) zibile hallanırdık, yani nasıl söyleyim artık saña zibilde geçimi yapardık. 15) Hallandırdı bizi edimiz. 16) Ne bulursa (...) 17) Gardaşlarım askere hallandı. 18) Ay! her ay mesela hallanırdık mesela satalardı edim satardı giderdi abilerime. 19) Hayatımız yani heleydi en son (...) 20) (...) biz de tıydık ennadık bu yana. 21) Bu yanda hayat zanıdık. 22) Ondan sonra eşyalarımızı dovaladı. 23) Galdık galdık on yedi sene burda galaladı. 24) Ondan kervi işte maaş avaladı bize Allah eyilik versin hükümet. 25) Aşınnar biraz drav eçirmemizi onumuz bunumuz çok şükür olsun. 26) Şindi yani hayatımız eyi (...) eçin değil. 27) Yani bu yana ennadımız daha iyi oldu. 28) Kalaladık paran aların içinde sıcakların içinde e ne beklerdin (pani yoktu) 29) Pani yok hiç bir şey yok. 30) Şafk afası yok. 31) Lambacık yakalardık. 32) E! onnar el çocukları hallanırdık iki ün ör yani holiday edime şağlar galalamaz şağlar ister hallansın bu yana ennasın. 33) Benim ızınan oğlan isteemez galalasin o tarafta. 34) İki ünlük bir hallanları istemez. 35) (...) bir aile zanımayacağ yani iki gün tatil. 36) Hallanırdım bir ün isteemez zanısın şağlar. 37) E! Ne televizyon afası var ne bir şey var. 38) Ne zanacak şağlar karanlıkta. 39) Onun için hayat yani bu hele. 40) İnşallah bu yanda biraz daha heyik. 41) Şindi bu yanda heyik. 42) Yani daha işkeftir bu yanda (...). 43) Çünkü her şeyin eyiliğın altında. 44) Hallağ ornuşla! 45) Şağlarım kayma istese televizyon zanı, ondan kervi bir şey isteyele canları hemen aşınnarım. 46) Dükanda veresiye aşınnarık. 47) Ama o yanda yok böyle hayat. 48) Onun için eçip hallanırdı iderik. 49) Çok güzel.

English translation:

1) We were young. 2) Our father and mother were going to work. 3) They were working (do work) 4) Later on they were coming home. 5) They were bringing food and this kind of things. 6) We were getting crazy! 7) At that time my father used to work but his financial situation was inexistent. 8) It wasn't very good. 9) Then in order to make a living they left and came to this side. 10) They stayed in this side. 11) They raised us (stayed) in this side. 12) Then we found our husband, we got married and we left. 13) In other words my brothers were like that. 14) We were going to the garbage. How can I explain it to you? We were making a living from the garbage. 15) Our father used to bring us with him. 16) Whatever he found (...). 17) My brothers went to the army. 18) We were going every month, we were selling things and we were going to my brothers. 19) Our life it was like this (lately...). 20) We left and came to this side. 21) We thought that we would have a better life in this side. 22) Then we brought our things. 23) We live here for 17 years. 24) Then, God gives goodness; the government gave us a "salary". 25) They give us some money to get on with; thank God we have everything we need. 26) Now, our life is fine, everything is fine (...), we are getting on well. 27) What I mean is that we came in this side and it is much better. 28) In the crowded shanty is really hot, what do you expect (no water). 29) There's no water, there is nothing. 30) There is no light. 31) We were turning on a lamp. 32) We were going with our children to my father for holidays, for two days, you see, our children couldn't stay they wanted to go. Our children asked to go and come again in this side. 33) My daughter and my son don't want to stay on the other side. 34) They don't want more than 2 days (holidays). 35) My family goes on holiday for maximum 2 days. 36) I go for one day; anyway the children don't (to stay more). 37) They don't have anything, not even a television. 38) What will the children watch in the dark? 39) Can they live like that? 40) I hope in this side will be better. 41) Now on this side it is better. 42) What I mean is that on this side is much better. 43) Because everything is under control. 44) You go and you stay. 45) If my children want food, want to watch TV or whatever they want, I give everything to them. 46) We purchase on credit from the market. 47) But on the other side we don't have such a life. 48) That's why we go and come back. 49) Very nice.

Transcription 20

Name: Melek Hüseyin

Age: 35

Subject: Food/Yemek

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0:54

1) zani ' mam ja. 2) tʃel:ε ' ji ? 3) tʃel:εf. 4) ırdaş ' ĩmi askεç ' i'di. 5) tʃıkala 'di izin 'den ve ji't:im be'nı hał:andır'di lafta'ja tʃan'ırdi laft'jı arkada 'fıjdi, ji'thi ɓa'na bu'nyu internetʃ:en tʃıkar'di. 6) japʃala'dı bir ğu'ruş qo'tor 'almadı. 7) boşu'n:am gi'thi m vε bu'đaç jab'đım oğlum Ha'san ola'rak'. 8) εf'i? merim'dæn ajr'i'di. 9) şayla'mi {şayları'mi} da aşın:a'đi idō? me'ri:ɓ t'a hał:an'dim da ji'tim japʃa'lairim oğlu'mu o'lmaza dije. 10) ona kʃendi ğal'dim al'ti je'di se'ne 'vardır ɓu japʃa'la. 11) ε! 'soradan dı'rav aşı'n:amadi ben'den kʃo'tho:ç 12)øi'le mi? 13) ja! dı'rav aşı'n:amadi 'sora hał:an'dıjdi ırda'şım japʃala'di. 14) bvøi'le bvaf'ka ne tʃel:ε'jim?

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Zanimam ya 2) Çelleyim? 3) Çelleş. 4) İrdaşım asker idi. 5) Çıkaladı izinden ve gittim ve beni hallandırdı laftaya tanırđı laftayı arkadaşığıdı gittim bana bunu internetten çıkardı. 6) Yapaladı bir guruş kotor almadı. 7) Boşuna gittim ve bunu yabtım oğlum Hasan olarak. 8) Eşimden merimden ayrı idim. 9) Şağlarım da aşınnadım da merim da hallandım da gittim yapaladım oğlum olmasa diye. 10) O da kendi kaldı 6-7 sene vardır bunu yapala. 11) E! sonradan drav aşınnamadı benden kotor 12) +// Öyle mi 13) Drav aşınamadı sonra hallandı ırdaşım yapaladı. 14) Öyle başka ne çelleyim?

English translation:

1) I don't know. 2) Should I speak? 3) Yes, you can speak. 4) My brother was a soldier. 5) He had a leave and I went (to see him), he then took me to a boy and to meet him, he found him from the Internet. (he took out from his leave and I went and he brought me to the boy and he met us. The boy was a friend of him. I went and he took this from the internet.) 6) He have done this I didn't take any money. 7) I went there for nothing. I went and I have done my son, Hasan. 8) Then I divorced my husband. 9) I took my children and I left my husband. 10) He stayed

alone. It's been 6-7 years I have done this. 11) Eh, he didn't take money from me. he left, my brother gave us (money). 12) +// Really? 13) He didn't take money then he left and my brother gave him. 14) So, what else should I say?

CHRYSSO PELEKANI

Transcription 21

Name: Melek Hüseyin

Age: 35

Subject: Tradition/Gelenek

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 5.00

1) iʃ 'tɛ bʲɪz ʃaɣlarɪ 'miz ʃa'ikʰaŋ haːa'niɾikʰ doktʰo'ia ʃaɣimi'zi cir'tʰɛricʰ. 2) tʰa'mam mi? 3) cʰirvɛ'si ʒɛ'n:ah. 4) cʰirvɛ'si za'ni 'jani de'mectiɟ. 5) gur'betʃada? 6) 'cʰirvɛ. 7) jo. 'ʃindi 'mɛsɛla ʒɛ'n:aŋ sɛŋ jani'nda dur'un ʃodʒu:'un. 8) dok'toɟ cʰir'tʰɛɟ sɛn duraːaŋ 'orafta. 9) o da nɛ yapʰa'la. 10) sɛn cʰirvɛ'ʃi oː'u 'jani cʰirvɛ'si da'ha by'jyɟ biɟ bi'ʃɛi ol'uɟ. 11) cir've (...) ɟur'betʃada. 12) nɛ dɛ'mɛc cir've? 13) 'jani sɛn 'ʃɛi oː'uŋ ʃodʒu:'un jani'nda ana'si by'jyc ana'si oː'u {oː'un}. 14) A! tʰamam. 15) 'jani hɛdiʒɛ'ji, byjyc hɛdiʒɛ'ji sɛn ja'pʰaŋ. 16) a! cir've, cir've. 17) 'ɛvɛt ʔaːa'niɾi cir'tʰɛri ʃaɣlarimi'zi (...) ʃira'la davul zulma ʒɛ'n:aɟ kouk (...) ʃaɣ'imiz o sa'atʰ ci cir'tʰir'tʰɛri ɟov arabalara dizilɛri haːanirikʰ ʒɛzdirɛɛcʰ ʃa'w on'dan ci... 18) ara'baifa? 19) ara'baifa. 20) ʒɛ'derinyan dɛ'il? 21) ha? 22) ʒɛ'derinan. 23) ʒɛdɛ'ri 'sora. 24) o ʒyn da hal:ana'dʒai dy:'nɛ o'nu ʃɛ'l:ijom sa'ʔa. 25) ha! tʰa'mam, o'na ci ʃair'irdi ʒɛzdir'i ʃodʒu:mu'zu ba:i dirikʰ ɛ 'ʃɛi ʃlo'kum bi'derich by'tʰyn ʃaːkʰa ornu'zari ʒy'ny ʒɛn:'ar bide'ilim davetʰi ʒɛ da:idiːlaɪ lim. 26) ʒɛzdir'icʰ daveti'ʒɛ arkʰadaɟ'lara sevindilɛri nɛ da:ida'larɪ on'dan cʰɛr'vi ʒɛ'liɟ ʒy'ny haːa'niɾi is'bikʰ a'likʰ a:'iɾ bi'ʃɛi aɟi'n:arik'. 27) ʃa:iri bɔ'juɛcʰ nɛnɛsi'nɪ ʃa:ira'larikʰ dɛdɛsi'nɪ ʃa:ira'larikʰ oinajaɟi'laɟ ɔndʒɛ son'ra ʃɛl:ɛric hɛɟs birlich'tɛ ʒɛ'n:ajin or'nuf oinajaɟi'ma. 28) hɛ bɪr g'ojnajaɟaɪik 29) on'dan cʰɛ'li ufat'ma oːa'la dɛ'min 'dɛmɛ 30) ufat? ufat'ma. u... 31) 'hɛidi ci kʰo'tʰoɟ. 32) kʰo'toɟ dɛ'mectiɟ. 33) ɟur'betʃada nɛ dɛ'l:ɛ? 34) kʰo'toɟ. 35) jok di:ɛri'ni. 36) kuɟat'ma. 37) mu. 38) kuɟat'ma afa'si 39) kuɟat'ma? 40) A! ʒɛ'n:ɛɟ oraɟzi'a ʒɔnyl'dɛn nɛ ʒɛ'n:arsa katʃ kʰo'tʰoɟ kuɟa'dɪn ʒɛ'ni ʃa'i. 41) on'dan cɛɟ tɛ'bric ɛ'dɛn ʒɛn'dijnan aɟi'n:aŋ ɟurabiʒɛ'dʒicʰ tu'fan. 42) tu'fan bi'liɟ. 43) tu'fan aɟi'rim oraɟ'tan haːa'in ornuɟ'lan oraɟzi'ja ticʃɛ ev'len 'arti. 44) istelifeli'ni {istedicɛleri'ni} ʃɛr'liɟ 'artik ro'man ʔ ondan cʰɛ'rli "hap koɟ'dum ha ko'dum". 45) bu'n:aɟ h'ɛp ʃɛ'lɛɟ. 46) 'hɛɛɛs dɛ (...) oʒunu ojnaja'laɟ. 47) 'il:ɛdɛ ro'man ol'sun. 48) hɛp tʰɛ'pʰɛ bun:a'ri ʃɛl:ɛ'l:ɛɟ. 49) sa'at on i'cʰi bir'dɛ da bite'ler h'ɛji'miz 'h'ɛrcʰɛs dycɛsi'nɛ haːa'niɟ. 50) sɛ ʃar'ki syilyjor mu, ʃɛl:ɛ'ʃ, ʃɛl:ɛ'ʃiɟ misin? 51) ɛ! ʃɛl:ɛrim biraz ʃoh da dɛ:il. 52) hɛdɛ ʃɛ'l:ɛf ba'na. 53) ɛ 'ʃindi ʃɛl:ɛ'jɛmɛm ba:zim ariɟ. 54)

hadi bera'beğ. 55) fa:'im 'vardiğ rəfə'l:ə'jeməm. 56) hizli (...) Jindi bir sej t̃f̃el:ə'jeməm. 57) hap koi'dum hap koi'dum on'dan 'sonra ne 'dijor. 58) oğ'nu aḡınaj'd̃zam fa'i'mi be'nim (...) t̃f̃el:ə'j̃iḡ sa'na ta 'iḡit̃hasin j̃e'ni. 59) oji'nu {oju'nu} 'nasi? 60) t̃f̃ok j̃y'zel. 61) da'ha tam ε'ji dei'ldiğ da fa:'im. 62) hm 'Elena E'leni. 63) da'ha iste'di:n heile'ri oina'la sa:. 64) dy'blec řo'man aḡ bu'n:ağ j̃elmenei'leğ ojna'lağ. 65) t̃fa:irabil'iğ mi'sin o'nu j̃e'sin oku'la. 66) aḡti'nd̃zi sa'at̃h. 67) 'jani 'buḡyn. 68) kat̃f̃i't̃ha j̃en:a'sin? 69) bir biğ sa'a 'sonra. 70) 'prova ja'p̃hıyorus̃ j̃en:ajabil'iğ, j̃yster'sin t̃f̃od̃zuktur'a. j̃en:ajabil'iğ. 71) fa:d̃zi'mi hoila'din mı obiri'ni? 72) hoi'la øb'iğ fa:u'mu ba'kağ 'nasiḡ oju'nu j̃ø'ster 'yene. 73) A'lec̃hos. 74) hoi'la o'nu ojnajala'sin sa doble'ji bak̃ha'lim bir řou ojnajabil'irsa o'nu (...) 75) a oḡla j̃eni. 76) iḡc̃h̃eftiğ? 77) iḡc̃eftiğ maḡa'l:a! 78) t̃f̃ok iḡ'ceḡ ojna'la. 79) ic̃h̃isi da be'nim ic̃h̃i'si da iḡ'cev ojna'la. 80) sen? 81) ḡæn d̃zi'vir oju'nu e? d̃zi'vir oju'nu. 82) baḡ'ka zani'mam beḡ. 83) 'ama giḡ'im (...) hoi'la 'hej by'thyn goina'lağ (...) dyc̃h̃e'de. 84) o'na iḡle'ni de bitire'le řuḡar̃i'ñi j̃ap̃ha'la on'dan kerli' (...) hojtağ̃ hei by'thyn gon ojna'lağ. 85) ne p̃h̃abi'le {ne j̃ap̃h̃abile'd̃'ec 't̃f̃aj. 86) ε ja! iḡler b̃oḡle. 87) t̃f̃ena {f̃enai} j̃en:amadi? 88) ne za'man? 89) bil'mem ne sun gen:a'di. 90) j̃e'nai? j̃e'nai gen:a'di, i'c̃h̃i j̃yn 'ønd̃zejdi. 91) 'jarın j̃e'n:amaid̃zak? 92) 'bilmijorum.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) İşte biz sağlarımız sağ ıkağ hallanırıq doktora sağımızı kirteriq. 2) Tamam mı? 3) Kirvesi gennar. 4) Kirvesi zanı yani ne demektir. 5) Kurbetçada? 6) Kirve. 7) Yo. Şimdi mesela gennağ sen yanında duruğ çocuğun. 8) Doktor kirter sen duralağ oraşta. 9) O da ne yapala. 10) Sen kirvesi oluğ yani kirvesi daha büyük bir şey olur. 11) +//Kirve Kurbetça'da. 12) +// Ne demek kirve? 13)Yani sen şey oluğ çocuğun yanında anası büyük anası oluğ. 14) +// A! Tamam. 15)Yani hediyei, büyük hediyei sen yapağ. 16) +// A! kirve, Kirve. 17) Evet, hallanırıq kirterik sağlarımızı gennar, kiralat davul zurnalar gennar kov sağımız o saat ki kirteriq kov arabalara dizileri hallanırıq gezdirerek sağı ondan ki 18) +// Arabayla? 19) Arabayla. 20) Gederiyndan değıl? 21) Ha? 22) Gederinan. 23) Gederi sora. 24) O gün da hallanacayık düğüne onu çelliyom sağa. 25) Ha! Tamam. Ona çağırırdı, gezdirik çocuğumuzu dağıdırık e çay lokum biderik bütün halka ornuşlarık günü gennar bidelim davetiye dağıdıyalalım. 26) Gezdirik davetiyei arkadaşlara sevdiklerine dağıdalarık ondan kervi gelir günü hallanırıq ısık alırıq ağır bir şey aşınarık. 27) Çağırırık büyük nenesi çağıralarık dedesi çağıralarıq oynayalalar önce sonra çelleriq hebsi birlikte gennayın ornuşlayalım oynayalım. 28) Heb birlikte oynayarık 29) Ondan kervi olala demin deme. 30) Uşat uşatma (u...) 31) Heydir ki kotor. 32) Kotor demektir.

33) Kurbetça'da? Ne derler? 34) Kotor. 35) Yok diğeri. 36) Kuşatma. 37) Mu. 38) Kuşatma afası. 39) Kuşatma 40) A! gennar oracıya gönülden ne gennarsa kaç kotor kuşadın geni şağı. 41) Ondan kervi tebrik eden gendiynan aşınnağ gurabiyecik tufan. 42) Tufan biliğ. 43) Tufan aşınnağ oraştan hallanır ornuşlağ oracıya tikçe evlen artık? 44) İster çellen artık roman ondan kervi Hap Koydum Hap Koydum. 45) Bunlar hep çeller. 46) Herkez de tanıdığı oyunu oynayala. 47) İllede roman olsun. 48) Heb tabi bunnar çelleller. 49) Saat on iki bir de da biterler heyimiz herkez dükesine hallanır. 50) Sen şarkı söylüyor musun çeller misin? 51) Çellerim biraz çok da değıl. 52) Hadi çelle bana. 53) Şimdi çelleyemem boğazım ağrıyor. 54) Hadi beraber. 55) Şağım vardır çelleyemem. 56) Şimdi bir şey çelleyemem. 57) Hap Koydum Hap Koydum ondan sonra ne diyor ?58) Onu aşınaycam şağımı benim kızcazım çelleşir sana işitasın geni. 59) Oyunu nasıl? 60) +// Çok güzel. 61) Daha tam eji değıldir da şağım. 62) +// Hm Elena Eleni. 63) Da istediğın heyleri oynala sağa. 64) Döblek roman al bunnar gelmene oynalar. 65) +// Çağırabilir misin onu gelsin okula. 66) Altıncı saat. 67) Yani bugün. 68) Kaçta gennasın? 69) Bir saat sonra. 70) Prova yapıyoruz, gennayabilir göstereyim çocuklara gennayabilir. 71) Şağımı hoyladın mı öbirini? 72) Hoyla öbür şağımı bakalım nasıl oyun gösterecek geni. 73) +// Alekos. 74) Hoyla onu oynalasın sana döbleji bakalım bir şov oynajabilirsa onu. 75) A! hoyla geni. 76) İşkeftir? 77) İşkeftir maşallah! 78) Çok işkef oynayala. 79) İki da benim iki da işkeftir oynayala. 80) +// Sen? 81) Ben cıvır oyunu E? Cıvır oyunu. 82) Başka zanımam ben. 83) Ama gızım bütün hoyla hey bütün hoylar ispiti dükede. 84) Ona işleri de bitireler şuşul yapalar ondan kervi hojlur hey bütün gün oynayalar. 85) Ne yapabilecek çay. 86) +// E ya! İşte böyle. 87) Şenay gennamadı? 88) +// Ne zaman? 89) Bilmem ne gün gennadı. 90) Şenay gennadı iki gün önceydi. 91) Yarım gennamayacak. 92) +// Bilmiyorum.

English translation:

1) Our children while they are still young we go to the doctor and we make them a circumcision.
2) Ok? 3) The man who acts as some sort of a godfather to a boy when his circumcision is done.
4) You know what "kirve" is. 5) In Gurbetcha? 6) The godmother. 7) No, for example now you come, and you are standing next to the child. 8) The doctor performs the circumcision and you stay there. 9) And what he has to do (he is doing his work). 10) Then you become the godmother, which is very important. 11) +// What does "kirve" mean in Gurbetcha? 12) +// What does it mean, "kirve"? 13) What I mean is that you become a godmother of the child. 14) +// Ah! Ok!
15) So, you give him a present, the biggest present for him. 16) +// Ah! Godmother! Godmother!
17) Yes, we go and we have the circumcision, we go and we call/rent the drummers, they come,

we put the child on the car and we take the child for a drive. 18) +// With the car. 19) With the car? 20) Not with the donkey? 21) What? 22) With the donkey. 23) The donkey comes after. 24) On that day we will go to the party. We call him as well. 25) Ah! Ok. 26) They call him. 27) We walk around our child and we distribute to the public Turkish delights. 26) We sit, the days pass and we give, and we distribute the invitations. We walk around, and we distribute the invitations to our friends, to those we love; one of them, the godmother/godfather comes that day. We go and buy expensive clothes. 27) We call the grandmother and the grandfather, first of all, they dance then we talk, and everybody comes, sits and dance. 28) We dance all together, 29) then the godmother, she gives they money she wants (to the child). 30) What is “uşatma”? 31) It’s money. 32) It means money. 33) How do you call this in Gurbetcha? 34) Kotor. 35) No, the other (word you said). 36) Kuşatma. 37) Mu. 38) It’s Kuşatma... 39) Kushatma. 40) You come, and you give to the child the money you want. 41) Then you congratulate and take a delight. 42) You know what “tufan” means? 43) You take the delight and you go and you have a sit there [...]. 44) Then you sing Romani songs like “Hap Koydum Hap Koydum”. 45) They sing these songs a lot. 46) Everybody dances. 47) İlledede roman olsun. 48) Of course, they sing these songs all the time. 49) At 12 o’clock or 1 o’clock they finish, and everybody goes home. 50) Do you sing? 51) Yes, I sing a little bit, but not too much. 52) Come on, sing for me. 53) Now, I cannot sing, I’ve got sore throat. 54) Let’s (sing) together. 55) I have my child (here) I cannot sing. 56) Now, I cannot sing anything. 57) “Hap Koydum Hap Koydum” then what does it say... 58) I will take my child; my son and he will sing for you and you will hear him. 59) How are his dancing skills? 60) Very nice. 61) My child does not dance very well yet. 62) Hm, Elena, Eleni? 63) She can dance for you what you want. 64) They dance to the music of drums and the Romani music. 65) Can you call her to come at school? 66) The 6th period. 67) Well, today. 68) At what time she should come? 69) In one hour. 70) We have a rehearsal; she can come and show to the children. 71) Did you let my other child (to dance)? 72) Please let my other child, you can see how he dances; he will show (the dance). 73) +// Alekos. 74) Let him dance for you to the music of drums, and you can see if he can do a show for you. 75) Let him dance. 76) Is he good? 77) He is really good! 78) He dances very nicely. 79) Both of them dance very nicely. 80) +// You? 81) (Woman dance) I dance the way women dance. 82) I don’t know any other (dance). 83) But my daughter, she dances everything at home. 84) She finishes her work she works, then she dances the whole day. 85) What else should she do, my girl! 86) +// Yes, just like that. 87) Shenay didn’t come? 88) +// When? 89) I don’t know which day she will come. 90) Shenay came two days ago. 91) Tomorrow will she come. 92) +// I don’t know.

Transcription 22

Name: Melek Hüseyin

Age: 35

Subject: My children/çocuklarım

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 0:58

1) 'j̄indi be 'im ja'z:im 'hei de ɣalaɫa'di. 2) (...) isteje'ler c^{hi} gendi'ni zani'sin di'je ist^{he}'mez ma'zin haɫ:a'sin ma'zin da ne jap^had̄zai'ni t̄jung (...) zani'maz ja'im. 3) ben isteri fai'mu j̄eri'de bu 'hej af'man je'ni bu ok^hu'la. 4) o'nu ja'p^hamajik^h an:asi'tağ je'ni it̄j̄eri. 5) 'jani ja'im is'ter 'jani ok^hu'la d̄zam da j̄el'si 'ama ja'im j̄eri'de ɣalaɫa'di ɣal'di 6) kaɫa'di za'man iste'mez haɫ:an'sin maz'in ok^hu'la. 7) iste'le mu ok^hu'l'da ɣalaɫa'sin. 8) ve aɫdik^h'tan k^herli'ji 'hej fu:'lu j̄en:a'sin. 9) ben haɫ:anabil'irdim ok^hu'la; o za'man c^{hi} aɫi'n:a zanijabiliğ, bu bun:ari okujabilmem, bun:ari jap^halajabilirim t̄jok istejen jani jaim ok^huja'lasin. 10) ama jed' j̄elde kaɫadi: it̄j̄in hani istemez haɫ:an'sı. 11) ben iste'lerim bi jard'im et ba'a 'belci, 'belc'a'lır je'ni je'lır 'bura:.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Şimdi benim şağcığım heyde galaladı. 2) Şağım da isteyeler ki gendini zanısın diye istemez mazın hallansın mazın da ne yapacağını pek zanıamaz şağım. 3) Ben istelerim şağımı geride bu hey aşınna geni bu okula. 4) Onu yapamayık aşınnasınlar geni içeri? 5) Yani şağım ister yani okula da gelsin ama şağım geride galaladı, galdı. 6) Galadığı zaman istemez hallansız mazın okula. 7) İsteler bu okulda galalası. 8) Ve aldıktan kervi hey şuşulu gennasın. 9) Yani hallanabilirdi okula o zaman ki aşınna zaniyabilir bunları okuyabilirim bunları yapalabilirim çok ister yani şağım okuyalası. 10) Ama nedir geride galadığı için hani istemez hallansın. 11) Ben da istelerim bir yardım et bana belki alır geni gelir buraya.

English translation:

1) Now my little child stayed behind (in studying/didn't continue her studies). 2) My child wants to know things, she doesn't want to go to high school because she doesn't know lots of things, my child 3) Do I want my child to stay behind, take her to this school? 4) We cannot do this;

lets take her in (this school}. 5) My child wants to come to school, but she stayed behind (in her studies). 6) She stayed behind (in her studies) and she doesn't want to go to the another faraway school. 7) She wants to stay in this school. 8) And when (they will) take her she will come. 9) What I mean, is that she could go to school, she could come and see what she can read, what she can do, well, she really wants to come and study. 10) But (what is it) because she is behind (in her studies) now she doesn't want to go. 11) And I want some help, maybe you can take her and come here (to this school).

Transcription 23

Name: Melek Huseyin

Age: 35

Subject: Daily life /Günlük hayat

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 02:05

1) söi'le atfı' kła; ne far'ki vağ? 2) nesin nejin ne far'ki vağdı ? 3) barangatar ε burdan. 4) e farkh
tfok 'vağdıř. 5) fark 'nasıl ota' dżak? 6) bizim barangada (...) bizimci'leğ kep bir'lich bir ai'lejihc.
7) ne is'tersa l'sun (...) ai'leic bi 'fej ja'p'hamai. 8) 'ama bu memleke'the sen be'nim i'tfin
jaban'dżimsi. 9) jaban'dżi ev electri:m che'sic' ot'du: za'man ja su'jum che'sic' ot'du: za'man
be'nim tfo'dżu:m the'miz yen:edindæ ok'hu'la ne ot'ur? 10) ε! an:ε'si 'nasıl the'miz'li vu'nu. 11)
mi de bak'ha'him evi'ni 'nasıl dyk'h:e'si 'nasıldih? 12) qaimasi'ni 'nasıl ja'p'ar? 13) 'jani bu'nlar
hep'p'hi'firi' rec tferleε'dżε. 14) ama be 'şimdich bu memec'he'the gałata'rim be'nim bir s'fu'jum
k'bertil'di dżeirani k'irtildiğde k'erebe ben ne jafarim bu jerde. 15) ne ga'da bof je're. 16) daħa
eji ħat'a'nirim ba'rangama a ornuj'larim oradżi'gda tijaodaħa eji ħat'a'nirim ba'rangaene şafk
vař. 17) dżenator'lyk dżena'tor da jab'sam 'jene şaf'kim vař. 18) ni'je gałana'jim da bu ha'jat
da tfe'k'ele'jim. 19) 'ama bu'nda tfo'şy'ğyr ofi 'şimdi bir se'nediğ ko'thoř da ħei'l:εř da 'şindiq.
20) ař'i'n:ar 'jani ħiğ se'ne ot'du ař'i'n:arim ko'thoř. 21) o'un 'itfin anla'ma tfok şy'k'hyğ. 22) heř
şe'jim 'jani dyzen'lidiğ heřşe'jim, ra'hat'ım, şa:ta'mın 'jani jeidiğleri'ni biř da: ħi:dirole'mem.
23) be'nim şa:i'mın şyn ot'du ʔ th'i'ra jo:udu tşaignında şen:a'sin dæ ok'hu'la. 24) ja A:lar ne
jola'jim şa:i'mi, 'ama 'şidi tfo'şy'k'hyr ot'sun. 25) heř aj je'ni bir tşift a'lıri. 26) heř aj
evlatları'mi sen de 'zat'ın jory'l:εř şa:i'mın isdy'nde. 27) tşyn 'nitşin k'ho'thoř 'vardiğ. 28) 'ama
'ołmajindža neji ařin:ai'dżam şor şa:i'ma. 29) ne'ji ařin:ai'dżam. 30) 'ama şindi tfo'şy'hyr
ot'sun Ał'a: ař'i'n:ar 'jani furları'ni istedikleri'ni jap'halari. 31) electri'mi da ødeje'lerim
dyk:ani'mi da ødeje'lerim ko'toř tşec'he'cerim veresi'je ař'i'n:arim. 32) 'tşynk'hy bil'in şelin (...)
bir je'ren şelir'im 'vardiř. 33) da sen de je'n:ar ař'i'n:arsin bortş. 34) 'ama 'ołmadi'nda 'nasıl
şen:a'jim da le'va bortş afa'si. 35) 'jani hep bu'n:ar dyşene'rec tşel:εşedżε. 36) bu ka'da. 37) bu
kadağ dża'nim. 38) t'ha'mam.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Söyle, açıkla. Ne farkı var? 2) Ne için ne farkı var? 3) Baran alardan ve burdan. 4) Fark çok vardır. 5) Fark nasıl olacak? 6) Bizim baran ada bizimkiler heb birlik bir aileyik. 7) Ne istersan şu aileyik bir şey yapamayık. 8) Ama bu memlekette sen benim için yabancısın. 9) Yabancı elektrik kesik olduğu zaman ya suyum kesik olduğu zaman benim çocuğum temiz ennadir okula ne olur? 10) E annesi nasıl temizler bunu. 11) Bir de bakalım evi nasıl dükesi nasıldır? 12) Kaymasını nasıl yapar? 13) Yani bunnar heb bişirerek çerleşecek. 14) Ama ben şimdik bu memlekette galaladım, benim bir suyum kirtildi ceiranım kirtildikten sonra ben ne yaşarım bu yerde. 15) Ne kadar boş yere. 16) Ta hallanırım baran ama ornuşlarım oracı da jenatörcümü yakalarım galalan ene şafk var. 17) Jenatörlük jenatör da yabsam ene şafkim var. 18) Niye alanayım da bu hayat da çekeleyim. 19) Ama bunda çok şükür şimdi bir senedir kotor da verirler bana şindik. 20) Aşınnar yani bir sene oldu aşınnarım kotor. 21) Onun için anlamam çok şükür. 22) Her şeyim yani düzenlidir her şey rahatım sağlamı yani eydikleri bir daha idirelemem. 23) Benim sağımın ün oldu tırak yoğudu çay (...) ennasın okula. 24) Ağlardı yollayım sağımı ama şimdi çok şükür olsun. 25) Her ay ene bir çift alırım 26) Her ay evlatlarımı zaten görürler sağımın üstünde. 27) Çünkü niçin kotor vardır. 28) Ama olmayınca neyi aşınnaycam sağıma. 29) Neyi aşınnaycam. 30) Ama şimdi çok şükür olsun Allah, aşınnarım yani çocuklarımın istediklerini yapalarım. 31)Elektrimi de ödeyelerim dükkanımı da ödeyelerim kotor çekererim veresiye aşınnarım. 32) Çünkü bilin elir (...) bir yerden elirim vardır. 33) Da sen gennarsın aşınnarsın borç. 34) Ama olmadı da nasıl ver başa borç afası. 35) Hm yani hep bunnarı düşünerek çelleşecen. 36) Bu kadar. 37) Bu kadar canım. 38) Tamam.

English translation:

1) Tell me, explain to me. What is the difference? 2) The difference between what? 3) Here from the shanty houses. 4) There are lots of differences. 5) What kind of differences could they be? 6) In our shanties, our people, we are all together, a family. 7) Whatever you need/ask we are a family and we cannot do anything about it. 8) But in this country, for me, you are a foreigner. 9) The foreigners, if they cut the electricity or the water at my child's school (...) and what is happening? 10) Eh, his/her mother how should he/her "clean" (care for) him/her? 11) And let's see his house, in which situation it is. 12) How does he prepare/do food? 13) What I

mean is that they will say that they cook (they find the way to cook). 14) I stay in this country (this side), but when they cut off the water and the electricity, why do I live in this place. 15) For how long (we should stay) for nothing? 16) I go to my shanty, I sit there, I open the generator, and there I have again light. 17) If I open the generator I have light again. 18) Why should I stay (on this side) and suffer in my life? 19) But, thank God, it's been one year now that they give us money. 20) What I mean is that I have been taking money for about a year. 21) That's why I don't understand, thank God. 22) Everything is under control, my children and I feel cosy, what I mean is that what he wears he cannot wear again. 23) There were days when my child didn't have shoes to wear and go to school. 24) He was crying. He wanted me to send him shoes to school, but now thank God, every month he takes another pair of shoes. 25) Every month I buy new shoes for my children. 26) Anyway, they see my children, they wear it. 27) Because I have money. 28) But there (on the other side) what will I buy for my children? 29) What will I buy? 30) But now, thank God, I buy whatever my children need. 31) I pay the electricity; the market and I get money to pay my credit. 32) Because you know, I have income from one place. 33) You come, and you pay your debt. 34) But when it's impossible (there's no money) how can I pay you the debt? 35) Hm. What I mean is that you have to think this and then talk. 36) That's all. 37) That's all, my dear. 38) Tamam.

Transcription 24

Name: Melek Hüseyin

Age: 35

Subject: evlilik/marriage

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:35

1) ne it̃fel:ej̃e'jim sa:. 2) ne fa'rk^hu 'vardi? 3) fa'rk^hi 'vardi. 4) 't̃ŷynky biz zamanın 'dağ he'imiz 'jo:udu. 5) ŷoromuzda'ki evli'li: 'jaḡmasajdim benim 'ŷimdici^hi ŷoro'm o'ŷajdi ben evlenme'ji bi'le zani'mazd̃i. 6) ha'jat jaŷaja'lardim. 7) c^hy evli'l'i:n ne oldu:'nu ben bi'lirim. 8) zoğ. evli'lic bir jap^ha'la'jasin o jaŷ'ḡa. 9) 'jani dura'la'jim on a't^hi jaŷin'da meri'ji aŷin:a'jim. 10) ka'ç jaŷin'da on je'di jaŷin'da ŷa:i'mi do:ru'la'la'jim. 11) 'hani bu'n:ar zor bir 'ŷeidir. 12) onun it̃ŷin ŷa:imi da istemem ezeji. 13) ŷa:im olmazsa on sek^hiz jirmi jaŷında ben bidemem jert̃ŷi merije. 14) t̃ŷyngy deim ŷaimam be'nim ŷa:'lam ḡa'dlidiğ. 15) t^ham zaman'da he'imiz 'jo:udu ŷoro'muz. 16) jap^ha'la'dik bir deli'lik'teydi kur me'imiz'e 'ama bi'zi adaptir'mak istejele'mem. 17) istejele'n 'varsa o ver'sin k^hizi'ni. 18) ben jap^ha'mam bu'nu. 19) t̃ŷyngy be'nim ŷa:'im da'ḡa ḡa'dlidiğ. 20) t̃ŷy o'a'di yst^hy'nde ŷa:'idiğ. 21) ja'ni on d̃er {d̃ert} jaŷında'ki o'nu hoilajabi'liñ ma'zin ḡa'ri? 22) ŷa:'idiğ o. 23) ben onu ha'la ŷa: j̃oryjorum k^ha'rfimda. 24) ŷa:in olmadı: it̃ŷin bilemeñ. 25) bir ŷa:in o'sun baḡam da aḡlın naŷıl o'tur sana ŷa:in. 26) ben sana k^hat^hi'jorum.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Ne çelleyeyim sana. 2) Ne farkı vardı? 3) Farkı vardı. 4) Çünkü biz zamanında heymiz yoğudu. 5) Şoromuzdaki evlilik yapmasaydim diyelim şimdiki şorom olsaydi ben evlenmeyi bile zanimazdım. 6) Hayat yaşayalardım. 7) Ki evliliğin ne olduğunu ben bilirim. 8) Zor evlilik bir yapalayasın o yaşta. 9) Yani duralayım on altı yaşında meriyi aşınayım. 10) Kaç yaşında on yedi yaşında şağımı doğrulalayım. 11) Hele bunnar zor bir şeydir. 12) Onun için şağımı da istemem ezeyeyim. 13) Şağım olmazsa on sekiz yirmi yaşında ben bidemem meriye. 14) Çünkü ben şaymam benim şağlarım da haklıdır. 15) Ta zamanda heymiz yoğudu şoromuz. 16) Yapaladık bir delilik teydik kurduk merimizi ama adaptürmek isteylemem. 17) İsteyleyen varsa o versin gızını. 18) Ben yapamam onu. 19) Çünkü benim şağım var da haklıdır. 20) Çünkü o adı üstünde şağıdır. 21) Yani on dokuz yaşındaki onu hoyleyabiliñ mazın garı? 22) Şağıdır o. 23)

Ben onu hala şağ görüyorum karşımda. 24) Şağın olmadığı için bilemen. 25) Bir şağın olsun bakalım da aklın nasıl olursa şağın. 26) Ben sana katılıyorum...

English translation:

1) What should I tell you? 2) What's the difference? 3) There's a difference. 4) Because in our time we didn't have lots of things. 5) Let's say if I didn't get married, if I "had my mind", I wouldn't be thinking of marriage. 6) I could live my life. 7) Because I know what marriage means. 8) It's difficult to get married in that age. 9) What I mean is to be 16 and have a husband. 10) How old was I, when my child was born. (when I had a birth to my child) 11) It's still a very difficult thing (to give a birth at that age). 12) That's why I don't want to pressure them. 13) If my child is not at the age of 18/20 I cannot give her to someone/to a man. 14) Because (...) my children have rights. 15) Back then, we didn't "have our mind". 16) We have done crazy things, we found a husband, and I don't want them to do the same (my children). 17) Those who want to give their daughter (to a man), let him give her. 18) I can't do that. 19) Because my child also has rights. 20) Because (...). 21) What I mean is that she is 18 years old and you will give her as a wife to a man? 22) She is still a child. 23) I still see her as a child. 24) Those who do not have children cannot understand. 25) Have a child and you will see what it means to have one. (You cannot understand because you don't have a child) 26) Yes, I agree with you.

Transcription 25

Name: Çiğdem Hasan

Age: 32

Subject: Stare pie

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:57

1) sabah'than k^hak^hala'dim 'val:a. 2) firina ha^h:ana^hla'di {ha^h:ana^hla'di.}. 3) ja: istejele'di b^hore'd^hic a^hin:ajala'sin. 4) a^hin:ajaladim d^hort da'ne b^hore'd^hic^h. 5) b^hore b^hore'd^hic^h a^hin:ajala'di. 6) on'dan 'sonra jen:ada^hla'dim je'n:i ok^hu'la ja:i. 7) di^hfari'ja zil t^hja'kindza da di^hfari'ja ha^h:ana^hla'dim ja:'la^h. 8) ja: k^haja'lar^hdi^h. 9) e! zanijala'di? 10) midesi bulanala'di. 11) 'evet^h. 12) oku^hdan t^hele'fon je'le {gelele'di} jen:alaja'di. 13) c^he'nan abi'nin garisi'na soyledi'le^h. 14) o da jenalajadi azi'ze soyle'di. 15) aziz da ba'na soylejele'di ben da jenalajai'dim ok^hu'la. 16) on'dan sonra bak^hala'dim ja:, on'dan 'sonra tecrae^h ha^h:ana^hla'dim firina. 17) t^hel:efele'dim bu ka't^hi:nan. 18) ne t^hel:e, ne t^hel:ef'tin? 19) t^hel:ele'dim jen'dijnan i^hte bu'nu t^hevi'remem. 20) t^ha'mam t^ha'mam. 21) t^hel:efele'dim jen'dijnan i^ht^hileri'ni^hz da'ha dik:a'tli ola^hla'sin. 22) t^hynky bi'ze t^hikti:na jo're baskasi'na da'ha da t^hikabi'li^h. 23) t^ha'bii. 24) si'zin i't^hin so'run ola'lamasin. 25) boi'le ola t^hel:efele'di? 26) 'ena, bi^h hafta'ja ga'dar, bi^h hafta'ja ga'dar ist^he'di: je'ji a^hinajabi'li^h faim. 27) bu'nun i't^hin'den. 28) hem airedza bir p^ha'sta a^hinajabi'li^h jap^habi'li^h da a^hinajala'sin ba'zart^hesi jy'ny.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Sabahtan kakaladım valla. 2) Fırına hallanaladım. 3) Sağ isteyeledi börecik aşınnyalası. 4) Aşınnyaladım dört tane börecik. 5) Börek, börecik aşınnyaladım. 6) Ondan sonra ennaladım eni okula sağ. 7) Dışarıya zil çalınca da dışarıya hallanaladım/ 8) Sağlar kayalardır. 9) E zaniyaladın? 10) Midesi bulanaladı. 11) Evet. 12) Okuldan telefon eleledi, ennalayadı. 13) Kenan abinin karısına söylelediler. 14) O da enalayadı Aziz'e söyledi. 15) Aziz da başa söyleyeledi ben da ennalaydım okula. 16) Ondan sonra bakaladım sağa ondan sonra tekrar hallanaladım fırına. 17) Çelleşeledim bu gaciynan. 18) Ne çelleştin? 19) Çelleledim endinan işte bunu çeviremem. 20) Tamam tamam. 21) Çelleşeledim endiynan işçileriniz daha

dikkatli olalasin. 22) Çünkü bize çıktığına öre başkasına daha da çıkabilir. 23) Tabii. 24) Sizin için sorun olalamasın. 25) Böyle oldu çelleşeledim? 26) Ena, bir haftaya kadar istediği şeyi aşınmayabilir. 27) Bunu için de. 28) Hem ayrıca bir pasta aşınmayabilir, yapabilir da aşınmayalasin Pazartesi ünü.

English translation:

1) I woke up too early. 2) I went to the bakery. 3) The child wanted to have a pastry. 4) I took four pastries. 5) I took pastries. 6) Then I took the child to school. 7) When the bell rang I went out. 8) The children were eating. 9) Eh! did you understand (see) (what happened then) 10) She felt sick. 11) Yes. 12) I received a phone call from school. 13) They told this to the wife of Kenan. 14) And she came and told this to Aziz. 15) Aziz told me about this and then I came to school. 16) Then I checked my child, then I went again to the bakery. 17) I talked to the woman. 18) What did you tell her? 19) I told to the woman, you see I cannot translate this. 20) It's ok. 21) I told to her that your workers should be more careful. 22) Because what had happened to us, can happen to others too. 23) Of course. 24) For you it's not a problem. 25) That happened, and I told them. 26) She can take whatever she wants for one week. 27) Because of what happened. 28) Also, they will make and give us a cake on Monday.

Transcription 26

Name: Çiğdem Hasan

Age: 32

Subject: Housing problems / Evdeki sorunlar

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 1:22

Part 1:

1) iĴ' te heĴ Ĵyn ka'vga ε'derik^h. 2) ĝav ε'deriz. 3) ĝav ε'deriz ha, ĝav ε'deriz on'lar! 4) tĴodz^uuk'laĴ ornuĴajala'maz. 5) problem? 6) is'ter a'n:em or'dan katĴa'Ĵim. 7) katĴala'Ĵim or'da. 8) nereje Ĵitmec ist^hen? 9) (...) t^hijaĴajĴim ist^heĴ. 10) ne'den? 11) o'i'le is'teĴ. 12) ba'Ĵka ε've Ĵide'Ĵim is'teĴ. 13) evi'miz jara'maz. 14) ε'leni da ver'mez bi'ze. 15) diε Ĵ kahveĴim da Ĵi't^hi, Ĵen da Ĵi't^him, ver'mez bi'ze 'jani 'orda so'rundur. 16) elec'tric yok. 17) d^zei, su yok.

Part 2:

18) anat^h bak^ha'Ĵum dy:nlerde 'neler ja'p^harsiniz? 19) bir dy:n o'Ĵundza. 20) dy:nler'de. 21) dy:nler'de. 22) ne Ĵ'ibi hazirlik'laĴ ja'p^harsin? 23) an'lat bak^ha'Ĵim. 24) ama baĴ't^han akĴa'ma 'jani ne o'Ĵujor. 25) ne Ĵi'bi 26) baĴ't^han 'evet. 27) 'ondze Ĵi'dersin je'ri t^hu't^harsin dy:n je'ri ni. 28) 'ama bil'mem ben anla'dajim gur'betĴada.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

Part 1:

1) E iŴte her g^un kavga ederik. 2) Gav ederiz. 3) Gav ederiz ha onlar! 4) Çocuklar ornuŴlayamaz. 5) Problem. 6) İster annem ordan kaçalım. 7) Kaçalaylım ordan. 8) Nereye itmek isten? 9) (...) tiyalaylım ister. 10) Neden? 11) Öyle ister. 12) BaŴka eve ideyim ister. 13) Evimiz yaramaz. 14) Eleni de vermez bize. 15) Ben da ittim vermez bize yani orda sorun. 16) Elektrik yok. 17) Ceiran, su yok.

Part 2:

18) Anlat bakalım düğünlerde neler yaparsınız? 19) Bir düğün olunca. 20) Düğünlerde. 21) Düğünlerde. 22) Ne gibi hazırlıklar yaparsın? 23) Anlat bakalım. 24) Ama baştan akşama kadar yani ne oluyor. 25) +// Ne gibi 26) Baştan evet. 27) Önce idersin yeri tutarsın düğün yerini. 28) Ama bilmem ben anladayım Gurbetça'da.

English translation:**Part 1:**

1) Eh! We fight every day. 2) We fight. 3) Yes, we fight. 4) The children cannot sit. 5) This is a problem. 6) My mother wanted me to get away from there. 7) Let's get away from there. 8) Where do you want to go? 9) She wanted me to go away. 10) Why? 11) She just wanted, just like that. 12) She wanted me to go to another house. 13) Our house is not appropriate for us. 14) Helen does not give us (a house). 15) I went as well, she does not give us one and that's a problem. 16) We don't have electricity. 17) We don't have electricity or water.

Part 2:

18) Let's explain what are you doing in a wedding? 19) When there's a wedding ceremony. 20) During the wedding ceremony. 21) During the wedding ceremony 22) what kind of preparation do you make? 23) Could you tell me? 24) From the beginning until the end/the evening what is happening. 25) +// What kind of preparation? 26) Yes, from the beginning. 27) First you go and you reserve the place; the place for the wedding ceremony. 28) But I don't know how to tell these in Gurbetcha.

Transcription 27

Name: Çiğdem Hasan

Age: 32

Subject: Wedding preparation /Düğün hazırlıkları

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 04:30

1) bi'irim t̃erlefe'jim dy:n jap^halad̃za:imiz'da. 2) dy:n jap^halad̃za:imiz'da ønd̃ze'l:icle je'ri t^hu't^hujoruz. 3) jide'lelor je'ri t^hu't^hujoruz. 4) on'dan 'sonra is'bik aŃi'n:ajoruz. 5) on'dan 'sonra vid̃od̃zu'ju t^hut^hala'joruz. 6) da'ha 'ønd̃zed̃en. 7) ha, 'evet on:a'rı. 8) on'dan 'sonra t̃Ńat̃gi'dzi ajar'łajoruz. 9) ged̃ze'si dy:n o'lujo {o'lujo}. 10) 'nasıl o'lujo? 11) ne zaman'dan ne za'man baŃ'lıjor. ne'ji'bi ne'leŃ ja'p^harsiniz o'jyn'de, 12) berbe're jide'leriz berbe're jide'leriz. 13) 'evet^h. 14) pylt̃Ńyclerimi'zi ogari'riğ. 15) ne ja'p^harsiniz? 16) pylt̃Ńyclerimi'zi 17) 'evet^h 18) py'lt̃Ńyc 'jani sa't̃ŃaŃ py'lt̃Ńyc. 19) 'evet^h t^ha'mam. 20) pylt̃Ńyclerimi'zi ogari'riğ. 21) ogari'riğ ne de'mec? 22) 'jani ja'p^harsin sat̃Ńla'ri. 23) ogari'riğ ne der'ler? 24) ogari'riğ. 25) pylt̃Ńyclerimi'zi ogari'riğ. 26) jejine'leric^h. 27) on'dan 'sonra dy:'ne jide'leric^h, øile. 28) baŃ'ka? 29) ne'ji'bi kujaŃet'leŃ ji'jersiniz? 30) E bøi'le 31) ne řenc 'nasıl 'jani c^him ja'p^haŃ si'ze ne'ji'bi. 32) ha'ziŃ baŃına'larik dict^hirebi'leric da terzi'de. 33) ne řenc^h? 34) k^hirmi'zi ołabi'liŃ. 35) dy:n'de. 36) ha ne'den k^hurmu'zu? 37) si'jah da ołabi'liŃ. 38) c̃rem řen'gi ołabi'liŃ 'bøile řenc'leŃ. 39) be'jaz de:'il 'jani. 40) 'herc^hez ji'jer be'jaz da Ńeji'ne gø're hangisi'ni se'versa o'na gø're Ńe ja'p^har je'je {ji'jeŃ}. 41) 'evet^h da'ha 'sonra? 42) ε dy:'ne ji'deri. 43) 'evet. 44) dy:'n dy:'ne ji'deriz, jelininan damat^h, dans edeŃ. 45) dans 'et^hmeden 'ønd̃ze biri je'liyoŃ mu im'za a't^harsiniz fi'lan? 46) t^ha'mam ni'k^hah ja'p^hijorlar or'da 'evet^h. 47) 'evet^h, ni'k^hah 'bazisi da dy:'nde ja'bmaz nik^ha'hi. 48) A! 49) baŃ'ka jer'de ja'p^haŃ 50) 'evet^h. 51) dy:n'den 'sonra ja'p^haŃ nik^ha'hi baŃ'ka jer'de jap^ha'laŃ. 52) E! on'dan 'sonra dy:'ne jideledi:miz'de oinaja'lariz t^he'bric ede'leric^h øj'le. 53) ał't^hin t^ha'k^har mi'siniz? 54) ał't^hin t^hak^hala'laŃ, jy'zyc^h c^hy'p^he 55) angus'ti? 56) angus'ti đađa'laŃ bi'lez o'nu bil'mem. 57) t^ha'mam. 58) bile'zic đađa'lar, zen'đzir đađa'la, bu'ji'bi Ńe'leŃ đađa'la. 59) 'evet^h, da'ha 'sonra? 60) E! da'ha 'sonra dy:n on'ik^hi'de bi't^heŃ. 61) on'dan 'sonra jeli'ni aŃi'n:aŃ da'mat^h jøt^hy'ryŃ evi'ne 'art^hik^h. 62) ha ha! dyc^he'je? 63) dyc^he'je jøt^hy'ryŃ jeli'ni 'art^hik^h sabah't^han 'jene da'vuł zur'na t̃Ńala'laŃ. 64) sa'bah, ø'byŃ sa'bah! 65) ø'biŃ sa'bah! on'ic^hi'de dy:'n bit^heledi:n'de. 66) akŃ {ak'Ńam} je'đze 'ama 67) je'đze on'ic^hi'de bit^heledi:n'de

dy:'n dama'th aʃi'n:aʃ jeli'ni ε've jøty'ryʃ 'jani (...) 68) th'a'bi. 69) on'dan 'sonra sabah'than da da'vuʃ zuma (ʃaʃaʃ ʃjynkʰy 70) a! (ʃjynkʰy a. 71) anla'din? 72) atʃi'kla evetʰ. 73) jerdei'je {jerdε':} ji'rεr; da'madinan jε'lin jire'leʃ. 74) on'dan 'sonra dy:'n zu'rna (ʃaʃi'nirsa sabah'than. 75) 'jani katʃ jyn sy'reʃ bu dy:'n da. de'mec cʰi ytʃ jyn sy'reʃ? 76) i'cʰi jyn. 77) i'cʰi jyn. 78) je'dʒε on ichi'dε bi'thεʃ sa'bahlejin dokʰuz'da on'laʃ jεr'dε': jirer'leʃ jirele'l:ε {jirele'l:εʃ} sa'bahlejin da'vuʃ zu'rna (ʃaʃa'la {ʃaʃa'laʃ}. 78) on'dan s'onra 79) on'dan 'sonra evi'ne ji'dεʃ ar'thik jε'lin da da'matʰ. 80) bir jε'mecʰ japʰa'la {japʰa'laʃ} 81) biʃ kʰai'ma. 82) 'evetʰ, kʰai'ma japʰa'laʃ. 83) misafirle'ri ji'dεʃ onu jø'ryʃ. 84) ne ji'bi kai'ma japʰar'laʃ? 85) ne japʰa'laʃ? 86) he'fse japʰar'laʃ. 87) her'se japʰa'la, kʰε'bap, sa'latʰa japʰalar'laʃ. 88) bu ji'bi ʃei'leʃ jafa'laʃ. 89) 'evet. 90) 'kʰoʃa fa'van mei'va su'ju [pʰi:jiner'leʃ?] 91) pʰi:ner'leʃ. 92) pʰi:ner'leʃ. 93) anla'dim 'pʰεkʰi ʃjok jy [jy'zel], jø'r'dyn?

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Bilirim çerleşeyim düğün yapalacağımızda? 2) Düğün yapalacağımızda öncelikle yeri tutuyoruz. 3) Gidelleyor yeri tutuyoruz. 4) Ondan sonra ısık aşınayoruz. 5) Ondan sonra videocuyu turalayoruz. 6) +// Daha önceden. 7) Ha! evet onnarı. 8) Ondan sonra çalgıcıyı ayarlayoruz. 9) Gecesi düğün oluyor. 10) Nasıl oluyor? 11) Ne zamandan, ne zaman başlıyor. Ne gibi neler yaparsınız o günde. 12) Berbere gideleriz. Berbere gideleriz. 13) Evet. 14) Pülçüklerimizi ogkaririz. 15) +// Ne yaparsınız? 16) Pülçüklerimizi 17) +// Evet 18) Pülçük yani saçlar 19) Evet, tamam. 20) Pülçüklerimiz ogkarırığ. 21) +// Ogkaririk? Ne demek? 22) Yani yaparsın saçları. 23) +// Ogkaririz ne derler? 24) Ogkarırığ. 25) Pülçüklerimizi ogkarırığ. 26) Geyinelerik. 27) Ondan sonra düğüne gidelerig öyle. 28) Başka? 29) +// Ne gibi kıyafetler giyersiniz? 30) E, böyle. 31) Ne renk nasıl yani kim yapar size, ne gibi. 32) Hazır aşınmalarığ diktirebilerig da terzide. 33) +// Ne renk? 34) Kırmızı olabilir. 35) Düğünde. 36) +//Ha.. Neden kırmızı? 37) Siyah da olabilir. 38) Krem renk de olabilir. Böyle renkler. 39) Beyaz değil yani. 40) Herkez iyer beyaz da şeyine öre han isini seversa ona öre şey yapar iyer şeye. 41) +// Evet, daha sonra? 42) E, düğüne iderik. 43) Evet. 44) Düğün düğüne gideriz, gelininan damat, dans eder. 45) Dans etmeden önce biri eliyor mu imza atarsınız filan? 46) Tamam, nikah yapıyorlar orda evet. 47) Evet. Nikah bazısı da düğünde yapmaz nikahı. 48) A! 49) Başka yerde yaparlar. 50) Evet. 51) Düğünden sonra yapar nikahı başka yerde yapallar. 52) E! Ondan sonra düğüne idelediğimizde oynayalarız tebrik edelerig öyle. 53) +// Altın takar mısınız? 54) Altın takalallar, yüzük, küpe. 55) An usti? 56) An usti takalalar,

bilezik onu bilmem. 57) Tamam. 58) Bilezik takallar. Zenci 38) Krem renk de olaeyler takarlar. 59) +// Evet, daha sonra? 60) E! daha sonra düğün saat on ikide biter. 61) Ondan sonra elini aşınnar damat ötürür evine artık. 62) +// Haha! Dükkeye? 63) Dükkeye ötürür elini artık sabahtan ene davul zurna çalarlar. 64) Sabah? 65) Öbür sabah! Düğün bitelediğinde. 66) Akşam, ece ama 67) Düğün bitelediğinde damat aşınnar elini eve ötürür yani (...) 68) Tabii. 69) Ondan sonra sabahtan da davul zurna çalar çünkü .70) A! çünkü. 71) Anladın? 72) +// Açıkla evet. 73) Gerdeğe ider damadınan elin ireller. 74) Ondan sonra düğün zurna çalınırsa sabahtan. 75) +// Yani kaç ün sürer bu düğün da. Demek ki üç ün sürer? 76) İki ün. 77) İki ün. 78) Gece on ikide biter sabahleyin dokuzda onlar erdeğe idireller, ireleller sabahleyin davul zurna çalallar. 79) Ondan sonra evine ider artık elin da damat. 80) Bir yemek yapallar. 81) Bir kayma. 82) Evet, kayma yapalallar. 83) Misafirleri ider onları örür. 84) +// Ne ibi kayma yapallar? 85) +// Ne yapalallar? 86) Herse yapallar. 87) Herse yapalallar, kebab, salata yapalallar. 88) Bu ibi şeyler yapallar. 89) Evet. 90) Kola falan meyva suyu (piinerler?) 91) Piyineller? 92) Piyineller. 93) Anladım peki. Çok güzel, gördün?

English translation:

1) Do I know what I should tell you; about what do we do at the weddings. 2) When we have a wedding ceremony, first of all we reserve the place. 3) We go and we reserve the place. 4) Then we buy clothes. 5) Later on we reserve the cameraman. 6) +// Before that? 7) Ah! Yes, these also(...) 8) Then we make the arrangements for the musicians. 9) Then, at night is the wedding ceremony. 10) How is that taking place? 11) +// From where and when does it start? What do you actually do that day? 12) We go to the hairdresser. 13) Yes. 14) We have our hair dyed 15) +// What do you do? 16) (We have) our hair [dyed] 17) +// Yes. 18) “Pülçüklerimizi” means hair. 19) Yes, ok. 20) We have our hair dyed. 21) +// “Ogkaririk”? What does it mean? 22) It means that you do your hair. 23) +// How do you say it, “Ogkaririz”? 24) Ogkaririk. 25) We do our hair. 26) We are dressed up. 27) Then we go to the wedding, that’s it. 28) Anything else? 29) +// What kind of clothes do you wear? 30) That’s it. 31) What color? Who makes the dresses for you? 32) We can buy, or we can sew it in a tailor. 33) +// What colour? 34) It can be red 35) In the wedding ceremony. 36) +// Ok, why red? 37) It can be black. 38) It can be cream. These kinds of colours. 39) Not white? 40) Everybody wears but it depends on what you like you wear. 41) +// Ok, and what is next? 42) We go to the wedding ceremony. 43) Yes. 44) The

groom and the bride are dancing. 45) Before the wedding is there anybody who comes in order to sign something? 46) Ok, they get married there yes. 47) Yes. Some others they do not get married during the ceremony. 48) Ah! 49) They get married in another place. 50) Yes. 51) After the wedding ceremony they get married in another place. 52) Eh! Then when we go to the wedding ceremony, we dance, we congratulate. 53) +// Do you give (to the groom and the bride) gold? 54) Do they give gold, ring, earrings? 55) Rings? 56) They give rings; I don't know...they give bracelets. 57) Ok. 58) They give bracelets, chains; they give this kind of things. 59) +// Ok, and then? 60) Eh! Then the wedding ceremony finishes at 12, midnight. 61) Then at the end, they take the bride to the groom's house. 62) +// Haha! To his house? 63) They take the bride to his house and then again in the morning they play the drums. 64) In the morning? 65) Next morning! 66) After, when the wedding is finished. 67) In the night when the wedding is finished the groom takes the bride and he takes her to his house, of course. 68) Of course. 69) Then, the drummers play from early in the morning 70) Because. 71) Ok, I understood... 72) +// Ok, explain. 73) Because the groom and the bride have had their wedding night. 75) Then in the morning they play the drums, that's why the wedding last so many days... 75) +// It means that it lasts 3 days? 76) Two days. 77) Two days. 78) It finishes at 12am, midnight, and then they have their wedding night and the morning at 9am they play the drums. 79) Then, the groom and the bride go to the house. 80) [Do they make] any food? 81) Yes, they cook food. 82) They cook food. 83) The quests go and visit them. 84) +// What kind of food do they cook? 85) +// What do they do? 86) They make herse⁷⁰. 87) They make herse, kebab and salad. 88) They make these kinds of things. 89) Yes. 90) (They drink) Cola or orange juice. 91) They drink (these kinds of drinks)? 92) They drink. 93) Ok, I understand, very nice (...) you see?

⁷⁰ A dish made of pounded meat and wheat

Transcription 28

Name: Çiğdem Hasan

Age: 32

Subject: Funeral /Cenaze

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 02:25

1) bi'ri metleneledi:'nde 'şimdi be'nim 'mesela bi'ri metlenele'di. 2) o'nu hast'ana'de bırak'ala'la on'dan 'sora akrabala'ri aile'si ji'dejour onu zanija'fajor. 3) on'dan 'sonra jikajala'lağ o'nu on ic'hi'de bir'de veric'ler dıfari'ja d̄zami'je gøt'yrē'leñ. 4) selasi'ni ver. 5) on'dan 'sonra o'nu mezarlı:'a ha'andir'iğ jendi'ni, jøme'l:ēğ on'dan 'sora. 6) insa'n:ar t̄j̄t̄j̄eclē'ri'ni goi hurları'ni ja'k'har sufarı'ni dø'cer. 7) aile'si ay'lar. 8) on'dan 'sora thijala'lar. 9) 'herce's evi'ne t̄j̄ec'hire'le. 10) dyc'e'de 'neler jap'har'lağ? 11) 'jani top'ujorlağ mi 'aini ev'de 'joksa 'hercez k'hen'di dyc'e'je mi ji'd {ji'der} ji'der? 12) 'şimdi 'mesela mezarlık'than kat'ihiklarin'da, thijaladıkların'da 'bazi aile'ler d̄zenaze'jin akrabala'ridiğ, ja akrabala'ri de:'il. 13) hal:anir'lar evi'ne ot'uru'la. 14) o'na bi'raz sese'l:i veri'l:e. 15) on'dan 'sonra t̄j̄ek'hē'l:er jide'l:er. 16) 'zat'hen ra'thi da 'zat'hen ra'thi hejle'ridir bu mevlitle'ridir ra'thi. 17) me'vlit ed'l:ēğ. 18) ȳt̄ jyn. 19) ȳt̄ jyn bo'jun'd̄za mevlit edel'er. 20) ε bøi'le fei'ler. (21) si'mit da:idir'lağ ja fir'ından ha'ziğ biğ 'fei bøjle keidziğle'ri 'vardiğ. (...) bøj'le ahr'lağ. (22) mei'va su'ju ašm:alağ. (23) bøi'le fei'leğ da:idir'lağ ve fei døk'er'leğ. (24) ne døk'er'leğ? (25) thyp'hy'ly ji'bi biğ 'feidiğ. (26) 'nediğ on'lağ anla'mam 'ama. (27) bøj'le jyl su'ju ama jok su ji'bididğ. (28) 'nereje thak'har'lağ? (29) eli'ne døk'er'leğ mile'thin. (30) 'ønd̄zedēn 'joksa 'sonradan? (31) 'ønd̄zedēn da jap'har'lağ 'sonra on'lara da jab̄diğlarin'da. (32) ic'hi chēz jap'ala'lağ. (33) ne'den 'ad̄zaba? (34) bir anla'mi vağ mi? (35) seba'ba jirer'leğ. (36) 'neji? 37) se'bap 'jani jar'dim, se'bap de'mec jar'dim et'mec. (38) øi'le. (39) seba'ba jire'leğ (40) 'evet. (41) 'syp'hēğ.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) Biri metlenelediğinde şimdi benim mesela biri metleneledi. 2) Onu hastanaya bırakalılar ondan sonra akrabaları ailesi gidiyor onu zanyalıyor. 3) Ondan sonra yıkayalılar onu on ikide birde veriller dışarıya camiye götürülen. 4) Selasını verir. 5) Ondan sonra onu mezarlığa hallandırır gendini gömeller ondan sonra. 6) İnsannar çiçekleri goy bohurlarını yakar suları döker. 7) Ailesi ağlar. 8) Ondan sonra tıyalallar. 9) Herkez evine çekireller. 10) Dükkede neler yapallar? 11) +// Yani toplanıyorlar mı aynı evde yoksa kendi dükkeye mi gider? 12) Şimdi mesela mezarlıktan kaçtıklarında tıyaladıklarında bazı aileler cenazenin akrabalarıdır. 13) Ya akrabaları değil hallanırlar evine oturullar. 14) Ona biraz teselli veriller. 15) Ondan sonra çekeller gideller. 16) Zaten ratı da ratı heyleridir bu mevlitleridir ratı. 17) Mevlit edeller. 18) Üç gün. 19) Üç gün boyunca mevlit edeleller. 20) E böyle şeyler. 21) Simit dağıdırlar ya fırından hazır bir şey böyle heycikleri vardır, böyle alıllar. 22) Mejva suyu aşınnullar. 23) Böyle şeyler dağıdırlar ve şey dökeller. 24) +// Ne dökerler? 25) Tüpülü gibi bir şeydir. 26) Nedir onlar anlamam ama. 27) Böyle gül suyu ama su gibidir. 28) +// Nereye takarlar? 29) Eline dökeller milletin. 30) +// Önceden yoksa sonradan? 31) Önceden da yapallar sonra onlara da yaptıklarında. 32) İki kez yapalalar. 33) +// Neden acaba? 34) +// Bir anlamı var mı? 35) Sebaha gireller. 36) +// Neyi? 37) Sebap yani yardım, sebep demek yardım etmek. 38) Öyle. 39) Sebaba gireller. 40) Evet. 41) +//Süper.

English translation:

1) When someone dies, let's say that someone close to me died. 2) They leave him at the hospital, and then his relatives and family come to see him. 3) Then, they wash him, and at 12/1 pm they take him out to the mosque. 4) They pray for him. 5) Then, they take him to the cemetery, and they bury him 6) People will put flowers, they burn incense in thurible and throw water. 7) His family cries. 8) Then, they leave. 9) Everybody goes to his house. 10) What are they doing there? 11) +// What I mean is, do they gather together in a house or do they go to their houses? 12) For example, now, when they leave the cemetery some of them are family, and some others are relatives. 13) Not only the relatives, but also other people go to their houses. 14) They console them a little bit. 15) Then, they leave. 16) Anyway, it gets dark and it's the day of the ceremony. 17) They do the ceremony. 18) 3 days. 19) They have a ceremony for 3 days. 20) Eh, this kind of thing. 21) They give out bagels or cakes from the bakery, this kind of things they buy. 22) They bring orange juice. 23) They give these kinds of things and they offer a drink. 24) +//

What do they offer as a drink? 25) It is something that comes out of a small tube. 26) What is this? I don't understand. 27) It's a kind of rosewater, it's like water. 28) +// Where do they pour it? 29) They pour it on people's hands. 30) +// Before or after? 31) They do it before and after. 32) They do it two times. 33) +//Why do they do this? 34) +// Is there any meaning in this? 35) They do it for the good, because they did something good. 36) +// What? 37) I mean, they help them. 38) That's it. 39) They do it for the good, because they did something good. 40) Yes. 41) +// Perfect.

Transcription 29

Name: Çiğdem Hasan

Age: 32

Subject: Court

Date: 18 May 2015

City: Limassol

Minutes: 01.40

1) ilc ba'fım a:ridi be'nim. 2) biğ t^ha'ne o va'na a'fıg o'la'a'di. 3) g'onuſt^hu'lağ, etdi'leğ g'atſirtija'ladı bu jendi'ni. 3) on'dan 'sonra a'n:em o'n:ağ der'ne: ji'tdi. 4) 'orda kav'ga tſıkaratadi'lağ. 5) g'av. 6) k^haf tſıkaratadi'lağ or'da. 7) u ic^hisi g'atſatadi'di zat^hen. 8) ondan sonra ał:aniğ {hał:anıp} polise verelim an:em. 9) t^himali'je vainala'di jendi'ni. 10) on'dan 'sonra fo'lis veğ aſın:ajala'di o'nu itſe'ri jøt^hyrele'di. 11) on'dan 'sor anlaſaladi'lağ, evlene'e evlene'ledi'leğ, evlene'ledi'leğ 'ſimdi da, g'ari'dzi k^ha'ğni'dzicdir. 12) a! øi'le mi? 13) k^hağni'dzicdir g'a'ri, g'ari'dzik. 14) 'hadē. 15) ε ja! 16) kaſj ailik? 17) i'c^hi 'ai g'ala'a'di. 18) øi'le mi? 19) i'c^hi 'ai g'ala'a'di. 20) o'łan mi jap^ha'dzak? 21) oğ'łan japa'dzak. 22) jaba'dzakmiſ 23) oğ'łan japa'łai'dzak. 24) ε! on'dan sora an:em on:ağ jidele'di derne {derne:}. 25) g'urbetſe. 26) an:em on:ağ jideledi. 27) ed'im ed'im jidele'di derne'je. 28) bu hej'den he'je da tſıka'ladı:diłar mahceme'je. 29) mahceme'je tſıka'ladı:di'lar. 30) on'dan 'sonra barıſıladı'lar derneğ'de 'jani 'ſindi heile'ri jok 'jani ja sorunla'ri, barıſatardi'lağ.

Orthographic rendition using the Turkish alphabet:

1) İlk başım ağrıdı benim. 2) Bir tane o bana aşık olaladı. 3) konuştular, ettiler kaçtırtıyaladı bunu endini. 3) Ondan sonra annem onnar derneğe itti. 4) Orda kav a çıkaradılar. 5) Gav. 6) Gav çıkaradılar orda. 7) O ikisi kaçaladıydı zaten. 8) Ondan sonra hallanıp polise verelim annem. 9) Tumulı baynaladı endini. 10) Ondan sonra polis verdi aşınmayaladı onu içeri ötüreledi. 11) Ondan sonra anlaşaladılar evlenelediler, evlenelediler ſimdi da, garıcı gapniciktir. 12) +// A öyle mi? 13) Gapniciktir garıcık. 14) +// Hadi. 15) E ya! 16) +// Kaç aylık? 17) İki ay galaladı. 18) +// Öyle mi? 19) İki ay galaladı. 20) +// Oğlan mı yapacak? 21) Oğlan yabacak. 22) Yapacakmış. 23) Oğlan yapalayacak. 24) E, ondan sonra annem onnar ideledi derneğe. 25) +// Gurbetçe. 26) Annem onnar gideledi. 27) Edim edim ideledi derneğe. 28) Bu heyden

hey de ıkaladıydılar mahkemeye. 29) Mahkemeye ıkaladıydılar. 30) Ondan sonra barıřladılar dernekte yani řindi heyleri yok yani ya sorunların, barıřladılar.

English translation:

1) At the beginning I had a headache. 2) One fell in love with me. 3) They had a talk, they decided to “steal/kidnap” the girl. 3) Then my mam went to the association. 4) They had a fight. 5) Fight. 6) They had a fight there. 7) Both of them run away together anyway. 8) Then, they went to the police station and they caught my mother. 9) The policemen took her. 10) Later they took her in. 11) Afterwards they compromised, and the couple got married; now the wife is pregnant. 12) +// Oh, really? 13) The wife is pregnant. 14) +// All right! 15) Yes! 16) +// In which month is she? 17) She has another 2 months left. 18) Oh, really? 19) She has another 2 months. 20) +// Is it a boy? 21) A boy. 22) She will have one (a boy). 23) She will have a boy. 24) Then, my mother went to them, she went to their association. 25) Gurbeta. 26) +// My mother went to them. 27) My mother went to the association. 28) But they went to court. 29) They went to court. 30) Then, they reconciled at the association. That is to say they don't have problems, they solved them/they reconciled.

TABLES

Table 1: Verbs with Turkish stem +(y)AIA +TAM+personal endings

Verb Stem +(y)AIA	Exponents (Suffix/es)	Grammatical Category Tense (zaman) -Aspect (Tarz)-Mood (kip) (TAM) Person/ Number Voice	
at ^h -a ^h - 'to open'(#T3: 3,4)	-i' ^h tum	Mood	Imperative
ay ^h -ja' ^h ta: 'to cry'(#T5:13)	-deletion of --r	Tense	Aorist Tense Aorist Tense
ay ^h rija' ^h lar 'to pain'(#T5:21)	-r	Tense	Aorist Tense
ari-jo' ^h ta: 'to pain'(#T9:9)	-r		Aorist Tense
a ^h la ^h fa ^h la' -'to get used to' (#T12:10)	- dik ^h	Tense	Past Tense
a ^h la ^h fa ^h la- (#T12:116)	- di' ^h lar		
an ^h la ^h fa ^h la- (#T29:11)	- di' ^h lar	Tense	Past Tense
bak ^h la ^h 'to see'(#T25:16)	-dim	Tense	Past Tense
baktir-a ^h la' 'to have or let to see' (#T8:7)	-di-k	Tense	Past Tense
bari ^h la- (#T29:30)	-di' ^h lar	Tense	Past Tense
been-εε- 'to like' (#T6:11)	- di	Tense	Past Tense

ɸɛ:nɛɛ' (#T15:26)	-di		
bil-ɛɛ-'to know' (#T6:29, #T13:7)	- mɛ-m	Tense	Negative particle +Aorist tense
birak ^h aɫa'-'to allow' (#T28:2)	-ɫa {r}	Tense	Aorist Tense
ɸiɸ-ɛɛ'-'to cook'(#T7:15)	- sɪn	Mood	Imperative
buɫanaɫa' 'to feel sick at one's stomach' (#T25:10)	-di.	Tense	Past Tense
buɫuɟaɫa'-'to meet'(#T6:13)	-ɫ:ar	Tense	Aorist Tense
ɸ ^h ɛk-ɛɛ'-'to suffer'(#T4:13)	-di:		Past tense
ɸ ^h ɛc ^h -ɛɛ'(#T4:24)	-{r}	Tense	Aorist tense
ɸ ^h ɛc ^h iɛ'ɛ	-{r}		Aorist tense
ɸ ^h :ɛc ^h -ɛɛ'-(#T4: 26)	-{r}		Aorist tense
ɸ ^h ɛk ^h ɛɛ'	-jɪm	Mood	Optative
ɸ ^h :ik ^h -a'ɫa-'to go out' (#T12:5)	-r-k ^h an	Gerund	-
ɸ ^h ik ^h aɫa-(#T29:28,29)	di:diɫar	Tense	
ɸ ^h ikaraɫa-(#T29:4,6)	- di'ɫaɟ	Tense	Past Tense
do:ruɫaɫa'-(#T24:10)	-jɪm	Mood	Optative
dur-aɫa'-'to stop, to stay'(#T12:4)	-ɫ:ar-di	Tense	Past Tense
dura'ɫa-(#T21:8)	- ɲ		
duraɫa'-(#T24:9)	-jɪm	Mood	Optative

εd-e'le- 'to do' (#T3:6) εd-ε'le- (#T12:5) ed-εle' - (#T12:24) εδε'le-(#T12:24)	-deletion of –r	Tense	Aorist tense
	-r-di		Past tense
	-ler-di		Past Tense
	-ric ^h		Aorist Tense
εvlenεle-(#T29:11)	di'ler	Tense	Past Tense
ġatġala-'to go away' (#T 29:7)	-di:di	Tense	
kał-ala' - 'to stay' (#T4:17) ał-ala' - (#T5:16) ał-ala' (#T12:4) qałala (#T19:10) qałala' ġałala' (#T22:5, T29:17,19) ġałala' (#T23:14) ġałala' (#T22:7) qałana' (#T23:18)	-di:.	Tense	Past Tense
	-du-m		Past Tense
	-ł:ar-di	Mood	Simple Past
	-di'lar		
	-di:.		
	-di		
	-rim		
	- 'sin		
-jim		Aorist tense	
			Imperative
jejine'le-- (#T27:26)	-ric ^h	Tense	Aorist Tense

<p>jid-ele- 'to go' (#T5:20) jid-ε'l:ε- (#T6:16, #T7:7, (#T12:22) id-ε'lε- (#T7:4) jidεle- (#T8:5) jidεle' - (#T8:6) jidεle- (#T8:13) jid-e'lε- (#T10:8,#T12:18) jid-ele' - (#T10:9, #T29:24,26,27) jide'le- (#T10:12) jide'l:ε- (#T12:22) jide'lε- (#T27:12) jide'lε- (#T27:12) jidεle- (#T27:52)</p>	<p>-ḷ'dʒe-m -r -r-iz -ḷ'-lim -di-c^h -ḷ'-dʒeŋ -mε-di -di -r -r-di -riz -ric^h -di:miz'de</p>	Tense	Future tense
			Aorist tense
			Aorist tense
		Mood	Imperative
		Tense	Past tense
			Future tense
			Negative particle+Past tense
			Past tense
			Aorist tense
			Simple Past
			Aorist Tense Aorist Tense Past Tense
		Gerund	
jirεle' 'to enter in'-(#T27:52)	-l:ε {-r}	Tense	Aorist Tense
c:ij-e'l:e- 'to wear' (#T9:7)	-r		Aorist tense
ḷij-ere- (#T9:8)	-{r}	Tense	Aorist tense

jøthyr-ελε'- 'to bring'(#T10:7) jøthyrε'λε--(#T28:3) jøthyr-ele' - (#T10:17, T29:10)	-di -η -di	Tense	Past Tense Aorist Tense Past Tense
hojta' - 'to put'(#T7:14) hojta'f:ardi(#T12:8) hojta'f:ardi(#T12:4) fio□ta'f:adular (#T12:9)	-dim	Tense	Past tense
istejele'(#T24:16) istejele'-(#T24:17) istejele'-(#T25:3)	-mem -n -di	Tense	Aorist Tense Negative Form Aorist Tense Past Tense
khaved-ε'λε- 'to fight' (#T8:2, #T10:2) khaved-ε'λε- (#T8:10) khaved-ele- (#T8:16) khav ed-ele- (#T9:4) khav εd-ele- (#T9:5) khaved-ele- (#T10:16)	-r -η -i' dze-η -r'ler -r'ler -di'ler	Tense Tense	Aorist tense Aorist tense Future Tense Aorist tense Aorist tense Past Tense

k ^h ak ^h ała'-(#T25:1)	-dim	Tense	Past Tense
ǵonuǵ-ała'-'to talk' (#T11:14)	- r-ik	Tense	Aorist tense
k ^h orkud-a ʀ'ła:- 'to scare'(#T11:7)	- r	Tense	Aorist tense
ødeje'le-(#T23:17)	-rim	Tense	Aorist Tense
ok ^h uja'ła- to study(#T22:9)	sin	Mood	Imperative
oł-ała' 'to be'(#T8:12,14)	-j-adʒa-k	Tense Mood	Future tense
oł-ała- (#T8:15)	-i'-dʒa-k		Future tense
oł-ała' - (#T11:13)	-sunn		Imperative
oła'ła- (#T25:24)	-masin		Imperative NEG
ołała-'(#T29:2)	-di		Past Tense
oına-jala- 'to play'(#T9:2)	-maz'lar	Tense	Aorist tense -Negative form
oına-jala'-(#T9:3)	-l:ar		Aorist tense -Positive form
ojnajala'-(#T20:28)	.ik		
oinaja'ła-(#T27:52)	-riz		
ojnaja'ła-(#T20:46)	- ĩ		
ojnajala'-(#T20:74)	-sin	Mood	Imperative
søilejele' 'to say' (#T25:15)	-di	Tense	Past Tense

jap ^h -ała' - (#T27:8) japała-(#T29:23) jap ^h ala-(#T26:1,2)	-{r} -i' d̄zak d̄za:imiz' da	Gerund	Aorist Tense Future Tense Future Tense
ja'ʃ-ava- 'to live'(#T4:15)	-di	Tense	Past Tense
jič ^h aja'ła- 'to wash' (#T5:4) jikajała' - (#T28:3)	-ma-dim -lar	Tense	Negative Particle+Past tense Aorist Tense

Table 2: Verbs with Loandword stem +TAM+personal endings

Stem	Description / Reference	Exponents (Suffix/es)	Personal suffixes / Number	Grammatical Category	
				Tense (zaman) -Aspect (Tarz)-Mood (kip)	Voice
afa- (#T18:44)	Proto R. ava Kurd. ev, va O. Pers. ava 'that' D. aha/ihi/ehe Gk. αὐτός [aftos] Abdal secret language 'stole', 'to go away'	-la'	-sin	Mood	Imperative
met- 'to die' (#T1:5)	Ar موت [meyt] 'death' + {-lAn}	-len	-sin 2SG	Mood	Imperative/Optative
met (#T28:1)		ελεδι:'nde	-	Gerund	-
met- (#T28:1)		-ελε'di	-∅ 3SL	Tense	Past Tense

ɓai'na-'to give' (#T18:3) ɓei' l:ɛ- (#T23:19) ba'na- (#T1:7) vaina-(#T29:9)	Kurd. bînin & Imperative form vunê /vëynê 'to bring' H. لانا [laana]	-r- - r - -la'di	ik ^h 1PL -∅ 3SL -∅ 3SL -∅ 3SL	Tense Mood Tense	Aorist Tense Aorist Tense Imperative Past Tense
thij- 'to escape/run away' (#T1:7) tuuj- (#T6:20) thuj- (#T12:5) thei'- (#T19:12) tij'- (#T19:20) thij- (#T26:9)		- ' -a'ɫ -a'ɫ:ardi -di- -di- -aɫaj- -aɫa'ɫ:ar - aɫadikɫarin'da	{-lum} 1PL -:ar 3PL -:ar- 3PL -c ^h 1PL c' 1PL -ɫim ɫ:ar - -	Mood Tense Mood Tense -	Optative Aorist tense Simple Past Past Tense Past Tense Optative Aorist Tense -

t ^h ijala' - (#T28:8)					
t ^h ij- (#T28:12)					
giila' - 'to fuck' (#T2:1)	Kurd. Kîr 'penis'	-d̥ʒa-	-m 1SL	Tense	Future Tense
kiila' - (#T2:4)	H. लिंग[Ling] Punj. लिंग [Liga] Sakr. Kila 'stake, trellis'	-d̥ʒa	-m 1SL		
					Future Tense
ʒɛn:a- 'to come,to bring'(#T3:1)	H. आना [aana]	-ʔ-a'la:	-ø 3SL	Mood	Imperative
ʒɛ'n:a- (#T3:2)		-t -t-	-ø 3SL -sun 2SL		

g ε'n:a (#T7:8)		-t'	-∅ 3SG		Imperative
je'n:a- (#T13:13)		-r-	-uum 1SL		Imperative
je'n:a- (#T5:11)		-r-	-uum 1SL		Imperative
je'n:a- (#T7:6)		- duu-	-m 1SL		Imperative
je'n:a' - (#T7:6)		-di	-∅ 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
en:a' - (#T7:9)		- duu	-∅ 3SL		Aorist tense
je'n:a- (#T7:16,#T21:89)		-di:	-m 1SL		Past Tense
je'n:a' - (#T10:6,14,15,16)		-d-a'dza-	-ik' 1PL		Past Tense
je'n:a' (#T11:13,#T12:18)		-r-	-im 1SL		Past Tense
je'n:a' (#T11:13,#T12:18)		-di'	-lar 3PL		Past Tense
je'n:a' (#T11:13,#T12:18)		-di'	-miz-1PL		Past Tense
je'n:a- (#T13:15)		-	-∅ 3SL		Past Tense
je'n:a- (#T13:15)		-	-ŋ 2SL		Past Tense
je'n:a- (#T13:15)		-	-jin 2PL		Past Tense
je'n:a- (#Tr18:17,19,27)		-ɸ	-∅ 3SL	Gerund Tense	Future Tense
je'n:a- (#T19:9)		-rsa	-∅ 3SL		Aorist tense
je'n:a- (#T19:9)		-	-sin 2SL-		
je'n:a- (#T19:27)		- jabil' -	- iḡ 3SL	Mood	

ʝɛ'n:ah -(#T21:3)		-madi	-∅ 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
ʝɛ'n:a-(#T21:7)		-di	-∅ 3SL		-
ʝɛ'n:a-(#T21:27)		-maidʒak	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Aorist Tense
ʝɛ'n:æ -(#T21:40)		-r-	{sin} 2SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ʝɛ'n:a--(#T21:40)		-j-	-im 1SL		
ʝɛ'n:a' (#T21:68, #T22:8, #T23:23)		-łaja'di	-∅ 3SL		Aorist Tense
ʝɛ'n:a-(#T21:70)		-łajai'di-	-m 1SL		Wish and Desire
ʝɛ'n:a-(#T21:87)				Mood	Imperative
ɛn:a'-(#T21:90)				Tense	Potential Positive
ʝɛ'n:a -(#T21:91)					Past Tense NEG
ʝɛ'n:a- (#T21:87)					Past Tense
ʝɛ'n:a- (#T23:33)					Future Tense NEG
ʝɛ'n:a'-(#T23:34)					Aorist Tense
ʝɛ'n:a- (#Tr 25:12,14)					Optative Mood
					Past Tense
					Past Tense

ɟəna- (#Tr 25:15)					
bide'- 'to give/to bring'(#T3:3)	Kurd. Imperative form midē	-me-	-m 1SL	Tense	Aorist tense -Neg
bide'- (#T6:10)	Arm. բերել [berel]	-di	-∅ 3SL	Mood	
bide'- (#T8:9)		-di-			
bi'de- (#T21:25)		-r-			
bide'-(#T21:25)		i-	-ic ^h 1PL	Tense	Past Tense
bide'-(#T24:13)		-mε-	-lim 1PL		Past Tense
			m-1SL		Aorist Tense
					Optative
					Aorist-Impotential
ha'f:an- 'to go, to leave'	Kurd. herin	-	-∅ 3SL		Imperative
(#T3:6, #T3:18)					
		-	-∅ 3SL	Mood	
		-	-∅ 3SL		Imperative

ha'l:an (#T3:8,10)		-a-ma-	-n 2SL		Imperative
a'f:an (#T3:13)		jaḍʒa-	-ŋ 2SL		Potential Mood-Neg
hal:a'n- (#T3:14)		-a-ma-ı̇ḍʒa-	-ŋ 2SL		Potential Mood-Neg
hał:a'n- (#T3:15)		-a-ma-jaḍʒa-	-sin 2SL		Potential Mood-Neg
halla'n- (#T3:17)		-ar'łardi	:-ar- 3PL		Potential Mood-Neg
hał:a'at- (#T3:21)		-urdi	:-ar- 3PL		Optative mood
hał:a'ñ- (#T12:3)		- ũ'łardi	-∅ 3PL		Simple past
jał:an- (#T12:6)		-di' -	∅ - 3PL		Simple past
hał:an- (#T12:21)		-irdi-	-lar- 3PL		Simple past
ał:a'n- (#T12:19)		-dir'ir-	-k' 1PL		Simple past
hał:an- (#T12:25, 26)		-ir-	-im 1SL	Simple past	
hał:an--(#T19:17)		-	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Simple past
hał:an'-(#T19:14)		-dir'di	-sin 3SL		Simple past
		-di-		Mood	Simple past
		-dijdi	-∅ 3SL		Aorist Tense
		-ir-	-m 1SL	Tense	Imperative
		-a'ḍʒa-	-∅ 3SL		Past Tense
			-ik ^h 1PL		
		-ir	-i{k ^h } 1PL		

hał:an-(#T19:32)		-ø			Past Tense
hał:an'-(#T19:44,48, #T22:6)		-ø -abil'irdi- -ir- -ała'di -ała'di	-i{k ^h } 1PL -in 2PL -sin 3SL -m 1SL -im 1SL	Mood	Simple Past Aorist Tense Future Tense Aorist Tense Imperative
hał:an-(#T20:5)		-ir'-	-ø 3.SL	Tense	Imperative
hał:an'-(#T20:9)		-	-m 1SL		Potential
hał:an'-(#T20:9)			- lar 3PL Gerund		Aorist Tense
hał:a'n-(#T20:1)					Past Tense
hał:a'n-(#T21:26)					Past Tense
ha'ł:a-(#T21:43)					Aorist Tense
hał:a'(#T22:2)					-
hał:an-(#T22:9)					
ħał:a'n-(#T23:16)					
hał:an-(#T25:2)					
hał:an-(#T25:7,16)					

hal:an – (#T28:13)					
aḥ:aniḥ -(#T29:8)					
aḥī'n:a 'to take/bring'(#T3:8)	Pers. رسیدن [reshidan]	-	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Imperative
aḥūn:a' - (#T7:7)	South Iran Gypsies	-	- sun 2SL		
aḥīn:a- (#T14:28)	hāšnīdam 'to take'	j'-	-ḥim 1PL		
aḥī'n:a (#T14:32,T18:40)	Tr.aşır +{1A}	-	-∅ 3SL		
aḥūn:a' - (#T15:20)	Dzugi argo oşin- oşışt 'to take, to buy'	-	-sin 2SL		
aḥī'n:a- (#T18:43,T19:45)		-d̄zak'	-im 1SL		
aḥīna' - (#T3:11)		-d̄zak'-	-∅ 3SL		
aḥīna- (#T3:12)		-i' d̄zik	-∅ 3SL		
haḥīn- (#T3:14)		i' z̄ik'	-∅ 3.SL		
aḥīn- (#T3:16)		-d̄zak	-∅ 3SL		
		- di:	-lar 3PL	Tense	Imperative
		-di	-∅ 3SL		Optative mood
		- ði:	-∅ 3SL		Imperative
		-du	-∅ 3SL		Imperative
		-d̄i	-∅ 3SL		Future Tense
		-d̄i	-∅ 3SL		Future Tense

afīna' - (#T3:17)		- ma	-∅ 3SL		
afīna' - (#T4:6, T20:20)		- rdi-	-∅ 3SL		Future Tense
		-r	-∅ 3SL		Future Tense
afīna' - (#T4:8,9,19)		-rdi' -	-∅ 3SL		Future Tense
afūna' - (#T4:18)		-i' d̄zak' -	- 'i:k' 1PL		Past Tense
afūn:a' - (#T10:7)		-r-	- laḡ 3PL		Past Tense
		-d̄j	-∅ 3SL		Past Tense
afīn:a' (#T19:5)		maid̄za	-k 1PL		Past Tense
afīn:a- (#T11:17)		-r'	-k 1PL		Past Tense
afī'n:a- (#T14:2)			-ik ^h 1PL		Past Tense
afī'na (#T14:3)		-madi	-∅ 3SL		Aorist Tense -NEG
		-r-	-ik' 1PL		
afīn:a- (#T14:10)		-j' d̄za-	-m 1SL		
		-r	-∅ 3SL		Simple Past
afūn:a (#T15:31)		-r-	-im 1SL		Aorist Tense
afū'n:amaj̄d̄zak (#T15:31)		-i' d̄za-	-m 1SL		Simple Past
		-r-	- sin 2SL		
		-j-	-im 1SL		Future Tense

afī'n:a- (#T18:26, Tr 19:46)	-jała'	-sin 3SL			Aorist Tense
	-jaładi-	-m 1SL			Past Tense
afī'n:a- (#T20:11,13)	-jaładi-	-{m} 1SL			Future Tense NEG
	-jabi'lic	-∅ 3.SL			Aorist Tense
afī'n:a-(#T21:26)	-jała'	-sin 3SL			Past Tense NEG
afīna-(#T21:58)		- uz̄ 1PL			Aorist Tense
	- jor-	--∅ 3SL			Future Tense
afī'n:a- (#T23:20)	-r	-lar 3PL			Aorist Tense
	∅			Mood	Aorist Tense
afī'n:a- (#T23:20, #T23:31)		-∅ 3SL			
	jała'di			Tense	Future Tense
afīn:a- (#T23:28,29)					Aorist Tense
				Mood	Optative
afī'n:a- (#T23:33)					Imperative
				Tense	Past Tense
					Past Tense
afīn:a' (#T24:9)					Potential
					Optative
afīn:a- (#T25:3)					Simple Tense
afīn:a- (#T25:4)					Aorist Tense
afīn:a- (#T25:5)					

aġina- (#T25:26,28)					Past Tense
aġina- (#T25:28)					
aġi'n:a- (#T27:4)					
aġi'n:a- (#Tr27:61,67)					
aġin:a- (#T28:22)					
aġin:a- (#T29:10)					
tġ ^h ε'l:ε- 'to talk/to speak' (#T3:9)	Islahiye ġirne-to say	-f-me	-ø 3SL	Mood	Imperative-Neg
tġ ^h el:e- (#T6:7)	Yozgat <i>cerle</i>	-f-mεz-	-lεr 3PL		
tġ ^h el:e- (#T6:20)	Düziçi <i>cirle</i>	-f-i'l-	-:er 3PL		
tġ ^h el:e- (#T6:32)	Kırşehir <i>cerle</i>	-f-ir	-ø 3SL		
tġ ^h εllε- (#T6:32)	Hacıbektaş <i>cerle</i>	-di	-:er 3PL		
tġ ^h el:ε- (#Tr9:11)	Çukurova <i>cerne ,cirne, cerle .</i>	-fır-	-i: {-k} 1PL		
tġ ^h el:ε'- (#T10:13)	Doğu Anadolu	-r	-ø 3SL		
tġ ^h el:ε'- (#T11:4)	göçebeleri <i>cerle</i>	- r	-ø 3SL		
	Azerbaycan	-mεz	-ø 3SL		
	Sazandarlar argosu		-er 3PL		

ṭṭe 'l:ε: (#T11:8)	<i>cerremek</i> 'kötü	-fı'l:erdi			
ṭṭellε:- (#T11:8)	konuşmak'		-		
ṭṭhe'l:e- (#T11:11)	Azerbyacan aşıklar				
ṭṭhel:e'- (#T11:11)	argosu <i>cırramah</i>				
ṭṭhel:e'- (#T11:11)	'şarkı söylemek, ses	-f-me'-je			
ṭṭhel:ε- (#T12:16)	çıkarmak'				
		-mεz	-ø 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense -Neg
		-fır-	-im 1SL		Aorist tense
		-fε'džεc	-ø 3SL		Aorist tense
		-f	-in 2PL		Aorist tense
		-f	-jim1SL		Past Tense
		-ø	- m 1SL		Aorist tense
		- jo-	-ic 1PL		Aorist tense
		-r	-η 2SL		Aorist tense
		-ø -	- r 3SL		Aorist tense
		-ø	- l:εr 3PL		Aorist tense
ṭṭhe'l:ε- (#T18:6)		-iř	-ø 3SL	Aorist tense	
ṭṭel:ε' (#T18:21,25, #T21:58, #T23:35)		-ø	-im 1SL	Aorist tense -Neg	
ṭṭel:ε- (#T18:24)		-ø	-m 1SL		

ṭṣ̄ε' l:ε- (#T18:47)		-r-			Simple Past
ṭṣ̄ε' l:ε- (#T18:48, T20:3)		-jεmε-			verbal noun +Dative case
ṭṣ̄εl:ε'- (#T20:2, Tr. 20:14)		ṣ̄ε' d̄zε {c}	-∅ 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ṭṣ̄ε' l:i- (#Tr 21:24)		-fεlε' di-	-m 1SL		Aorist Tense
ṭṣ̄εl:ε- (#Tr 21:27)		-f' ti-	-n2SL		Aorist Tense
ṭṣ̄εr' li- (#Tr 21:44)		-fεlε' di-	-m1SL		Future Tense
ṭṣ̄ε' lε- (#Tr 21:45)		-fεlε' di	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Imperative
ṭṣ̄εl:ε'- (#Tr 21:48)		-fε'-	-jim 1SL		Imperative
ṭṣ̄εl:ε' f- (#Tr 21:50)					Optative
ṭṣ̄εl:ε' f (#Tr 21:50, 52)					Present Tense
ṭṣ̄εl:ε- (#T21:51)				Tense	Aorist Tense
ṭṣ̄εl:ε'- (#T21:53, 56)					Aorist Tense
					Aorist Tense
					Aorist Tense
				Mood	Imperative
				Tense	Aorist Tense
				Mood	Potential NEG

tʃɛrlɛ- (#T23:13) tʃɛl:ɛ- (#T25:17) tʃɛl:ɛ- (#T25:18) tʃɛl:ɛ-(#T25:19) tʃɛl:ɛ-(#T25:21) tʃɛl:ɛ- (#T25:25) tʃɛrlɛ-(#T27:1)				Tense Mood	Future Tense Past Tense Past Tense Past Tense Past Tense Past Tense Optative
za'ni 'to look, to know' (#T3:20) za'ni (#T3:21,T 19:45) zani (#T7:5) zani'- (#T8:5,#T10:9)	H. जानना [Jaanana] Kurd. zanîn	-∅ -∅ - -∅ -r -jor- di	-∅ 3SL -∅ 3SL -sun 2SL -sun 2SL -∅ 3SL -um 1SL -k 1PL -k ^h 1PL	Mood	Imperative Imperative Imperative

za'ni- (#T8:4)		di-	-ŋ 2SL		Imperative
za'ni- (#T8:8)		maidzæ-	∅ 3SL -m - 1SL	Tense	Aorist tense
zana' (#T19:12)		-dʒɛc			Present C
zani' (#T19:21)		-ma	-m 1SL		Past Tense
za'na (#T19:35)			-sin 2SL		Past Tense
zanɛ'-(#T19:38)		-ma			Future Tense NEG
			-∅ 3SL		Future Tense
		-∅	-∅ 3SL		Aorist Tense
		-maz			NEG
zani' - (#T21:82)		-jabilir	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Aorist Tense
zani' (#T22:2)			-∅ 3SL	Tense	NEG
zani' (#T22:2)		-mazði	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Imperative
zani- (#T22:9)		-jaɫa'di			Aorist Tense
zani- (#T22:9)		-ja'ɫajor̄			Potential
zani- (#T25:9)					Aorit Past
zani- (#T28:2)				Tense	Past Tense
					Present Tense

k ^h aj- 'to eat'(#T6:9)	R. xaben, xaviben	-ar-k ^h ana	-		Gerund
k ^h aj- (#T7:18)	(m.) xa+-ben				
k ^h aj- (#T12:8)	H. khana	--a ^h a'-du-	-k 1PL		
k ^h aj- (#T12:30)	Skr. khā'dati	a' ^h ardi	:-ar 3PL		
k ^h aj- (#T13:13)	Prakr. khāi, khāi	- ar'-	-lar 3PL		
k ^h aj- (#T18:24)		a'-	- ^h im 1PL		
k ^h aj- (#T25:8)		-sin	-lar 3PL	Tense	Past Tense
		- a' ^h a-rdī	-∅ 3SL		Simple Past
				Mood	Aorist tense
					Optative Optative Aorist Past
qu'jar- (#T18:1)		ir-	-ic 1PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
pi:ne- 'to drink'(#T5:15)	Skr. pa, (verbal root) pibati to drink	-i'd ^h zi-	-m 1.SL		Future Tense
pi:ne- (#T5:16)	H. pīnā	ī'zi-	-m 1SL	Tense	
	R. pi-	-r-	-ic ^h 1PL		
		-i-	- m 1SL		
		- ī-	- m 1SL		Future Tense

p ^{hi} : 'ne- (#T18:10)					Aorist Tense
pi: 'ne- (#T5:20)		-rk ^{han}	-	Mood	Optative Mood
pi: 'ne- (#T5:26)		- r' -	- lər 3PL		Optative Mood
p ^{hi} :ne- (#T18:21)				Gerund Tense	Aorist Tense
p ^{hi} :ne- (#T27:92,93)					
garavlu- (#T6:26)	R. garav- Skr. gūdhā 'hidden' past participle of guh 'to conceal'. H. gūrḥ rakhna, gupt rakhna	-duul (/r/)	-lar 3PL	Tense	Past Tense
juv' 'to wash' (#T7:11)	Az. <i>yumaq</i> Uzb. <i>yuvish</i> Kazak. <i>Yuvuv</i> Tatar <i>yuu</i>	-aʎadu- -aʎadu- -a'ʎ:ar -a'ʎ:ar	-m 1SL -m 1SL -∅ 3SL -∅ 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
ju ^w ' - (#T7:13)					Past Tense
ju ^w - (#T16:2)					Past Tense

jY- (#T16:3)					Aorist tense
					Aorist tense
c ^h ir th - 'to cut' (#T7:12) cir th - (#T21:1,17) c ^h ir th - c ^h ir th ε'le- (#T18:41)	Başturk tuktativ Sorani Kurdish noun kerd 'knife' +Tr. suffix – {AIA}- Kazak toktatuv Kırgız toktotu Uzbek tohtätmak Tatar tuktatu	-εle'-di- εr- εğ -r-	-m 1SL -ic ^h 1PL -ø 3SL -im 1SL	Tense	Past Tense Aorist Tense Aorist Tense Aorist Tense
ornuŋla' 'to sit' (#T7:17)	Kurd. rûniştin	-du-	-k' 1PL	Tense	Past Tense
ornuŋ'la' (#T11:5,T 19:44)		-r- -ø -ø	-ik1PL -ø 2SL -n 2SL	Mood Tense	Aorist tense Imperative
ornuŋ'-la		-jała'maz	--ø 3SL	Mood	Aorist tense
ornuŋ'la- (T21:43)					Potential NEG
ornuŋla- (#T264:4)					

sun:a' 'to tell' (#T8:8,10)	Kurd. nîşan 'to show'	-du- -r-di- -î- î- -j- -	- Ƴ 1PL - m 1SL - m 1SL -im 1SL -ø 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
su'n:a- (#T13:11)					Simple past
su'n:a- (#T13:1)				Mood	Optative Mood
su'n:aïm (#T13:2,5)					Optative Mood
suna' (#T14:52)					Optative Mood
su'n:a (#T15:15)					Imperative
ned'le- 'to hit' (#T10:3,4)	Kurd. lêdan 'dayak'	-r -r	-ø 3SL -ø 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
ned'le: (#T11:7)	Uzb. ,Türkmen mäydälämäk				Aorist tense
nimis'la- 'to sleep' (#T10:15)	H. नींद [neend]	-r-cen	-		Gerund
nimisla' (#T12:1)	Ar نوم [nawm]	-di -di:	-t:ar- 3PL -t:ar- 3PL		
nimisla' - (#T12:2)					

,nimisa' - (#T12:8) nimis'la(#T12:19) nimisla' (#T12:18) nimisli' - (#T12:20) nimis'-(#T18:20)		-di	-lar- 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
		{-lardı}	{-lar-} 3PL		Simple Past
		- lardı	-lar- 3PL		Simple Past
		-la{rdı}	-lar- 3PL		Simple Past
		-lar-	-ik 1PL		Simple Past
					Simple Past Aorist Tense
hîr:- (#T12:18)	Arm. հեռավոր [herravor] Kurd. dûr R. dur 'far, far away, distant	-e'lerdi	-ler 3PL	Tense	Simple Past

haḅ:ed:i 'to love' (#T15:24)	Ar. حب [hob]	- .i. {-t}	-∅ 3SL	Tense	Past tense
hoiḷa -'to put'(#T 18:44) hoi'ḷa-(#T21:72,83) hoiḷa-(#T21:71) hojḷa- (#T21: hoiḷa- (#T24:21)	H. रखना [Rakhana] Başkurt Halıv	-∅ -∅ - 'di- -r jabı'l-	- sin 3SL -∅ 2 SL -n 2SL -∅ 3SL -iḡ 2SL	Mood Tense Mood	Imperative Imperative Past Tense Aorist Tense Potential Positive
ʃen:at'- bring'(#T19:9) ʃen:ad-(#T25:6)	H. आना [aana] + {t}	-∅ -aḷa'di	mak -m 1SL	Infinitive Tense	- Past Tense
ogar-to paint, to make' (#T27:14,20,21,23,2 4,25)	Kurd. rengkirin Nepal रंग [raṅga] Az. rəngləmək H. रंग [rang]	- i' r-	- iḡ 1PL	Tense	Aorist Tense

	Pers. رنگ.				
haʔ.andiɾ'- 'to take' (#T28:5)	Ar. أخذ [ˈakhadh]	- iɾ	-ø 3 SL	Tense	Aorist Tense

Table 3: Verbs with Turkish stem +TAM+personal endings

Verb Stem	Exponents (Suffixes)	Exponents (Suffix/es)	Grammatical Category
aġ 'to take' (#T14:25)	-∅ 2SL	Mood	Imperative
aġ'sin (#T15:31)	- 'sin 3PL		Imperative
alırdı'lar (#T12:41)	-irdi'lar 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
aġadġa?'lar (#T15:5)	-adġa?'lar 3PL		Future Tense
aġa'dġay (#T15:31)	-a'dġay 3SL		Future Tense
aġi'ı:a (#T16:21)	-i'ı:a 3PL		Aorist tense
aġi'ı:ar (#T16: 9)	-ı:ar 3PL		Aorist tense
aġ'ır(#T15:33)	-ur 3SL		Aorist tense
an:adı'rı (#T13:25)	-i'rı 2SL		Tense
an:a'dırdı (#T14:21)	-irdi 3SL	Mood	Simple Past
an ^v :aġa'im (#T12:11)	-a'jim 1SL		Optative
an:a'man ' to understand' (#T13:8)	-man 2SL	Tense	Aorist tense -NEG
ağ'ır ' to be pain' (#T.5:23)	-ır 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
'ayrur (#T5:25)	-ır 3SL		Aorist tense
arijo'lar (#T9:6)	-jo-'lar 3PL		Present Continuous

a:'lar 'to cry' (#T6:23)	-r 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
bak ^h a'jim 'to see' (#T15:15)	-a'-jim 1SL	Mood	Optative
baka'l:ar (#T15: 13,35)	-a'l:ar 3PL	Tense	Aorist tense
bak ^h ardi'lar(#T14:11)	-ar-di-'lar 3PL		Simple Past
bak ^h a'l:a (#T15:14)	-a'l:a 3PL		Aorist tense
bak ^h a'la (#T15:18)	-a'la 3PL		Aorist tense
ba'k ^h ar (#T15:35)	-ar 3SL		Aorist tense
βa'k ^h ar (#T15:19)	-ar 3SL		Aorist tense
bari'fillar 'to get along with' (#T6:35,36)	-illar 3PL		Tense
βa'sar 'to press'(#T11:6)	-ar 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
bafti'lar 'to start' (#T16:12)	-ti'lar 3PL	Tense	Aorist tense
baftarla'r (#T16:13)	-r-la'r 3PL		Aorist tense
bafta'l:a:ř (#T15:23)	-l:a:ř 3PL		Aorist tense
bilmem'to know' (#T6:31, #T12:11)	- mem 1SL	Tense	Aorist tense
jil'mem (#T13:31)	-mem 1SL		Aorist tense
'bilmijon (#T13:9)	-mijon 2SL		Present Continuous

bil'di (#T13:3) bil'inj (#T14:34,#T16:17) bil'mem̃ (#T14:40) bi'li (#T13:4) bilsem (#T6:30) bi'leim (#T15:32)	-di 3SL -inj 2SL -mem̃ 1SL - i -sem 1SL -εim 1SL	Mood	Past tense
			Aorist tense
			Conditional mood
			Optative
			Imperative
bε'clε'to wait' (#T16:2)	-∅ 3SL	Mood	Imperative
bε:nir'dī 'to like'(#T14:28) bε:lir'di(#T14:28) bε:'nird_ (#T14:26)	-ir'dī 3SL - ir'di 3SL - ird_ 3SL	Tense	Aorist tense
			Aorist tense
			Aorist tense
bu'urdu'lar 'to find' (#T14:1) βu'urdu (#T13:26) bu'ursalar(#T16:18) βu'up' (#T13:14) bu'urşan (#T13:13)	-urdu'lar 3PL -urdu 3SL -ursalar 3PL -up' - uşan 2SL	Tense	Simple Past
			Simple Past
			Aorist Tense
			Gerund
		Mood	Conditional mood
buluřturur 'to meet'(#Tr6:34) Causative V	-uř-tur-ur 3SL	Tense	

bəjyt:yləf 'to get older'(#T14:14)	-t:y-ləf 3PL	Tense	Past Tense
bırak ^h ır'di: 'to leave'(#T4:5)	-ır'-di: 3SL	Tense	Simple Past
bişirir'lerdi 'to cook'(#T12:29)	-ır-ır'-ler-di 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
bişirir'lər (#T12:30)	-ır'lər 3PL		Aorist Tense
de'jim 'to say/tell' (#T16:19)	-j-im 1SL	Mood	Optative
der'di (#T13:12, #T14:30)	-r-di 3SL	Tense	Simple Past
der'di: (#T14:29)	-r-di: 3SL		Simple Past
de'l:ε (#T12:34)	-l:ε 3PL		Aorist Tense
dədi (#T6:29,#T6:30)	- di 3SL		Past Tense
deđi (#T6:31)	- di 3SL		Past Tense
'dişor (#T14:32)	-şor 3SL		Present Continuous
'dişor (#T14:31)	-şor 3SL		Present Continuous
dile'nirdi: (#T4:19)	- irdi: 3SL	Tense	Simple Past
dođduru'f:ar 'to beg' (#T16: 13)	-dur-u'f:ar 3PL	Tense	
do:du'f:ar (#T12:16)			
do:w'a'f:æ (#T12:16)			

duramaz'lar 'to stop' (#T9:4)	-a-maz-'lar 3PL	Mood	Potential Mood-NEG
dø'k ^h yjoł:ar 'to pour'(#T16:17)	-y-joł:ar 3PL	Tense	Present Continuous
dø'k ^h yjoł:ar (#T16:17)	-y-joł-lar 3PL		Present Continuous
dø'k ^h yjoł:a (#T16:17)	-y-joł:a 3PL		Present Continuous
ɛder 'to do'(#T12:39)	-ɛr 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ɛder'lərđi (#T12:42)	-ɛr'-lɛr-di 3PL		Simple Past
ɛdɛ'l:ɛr (#T16:2)	-ɛ'l:ɛr 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɛdɛrlɛr (#T6:36)	-ɛr-lɛr 3PL		Aorist Tense
e'deđsiniz (#T13:17)	-eđ-siniz 2SL		Aorist Tense
ɛdɛ'lim (#T3:2)	-ɛ-'lim 1PL	Mood	Optative
evleni'l:ɛr 'to get married' (#T15:34)	-i'l:ɛr 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
evlendire'lim 'to marry someone' (#T14:30)	-dĩr-ɛ'-lim 1PL	Mood	Optative
ğat ^h a'lar 'to escape'(#T6:22)	-a'lar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ğarıftir'dim 'to mix' (#T7:14)	-tir'-dim 1SL	Tense	Past Tense

jɛl 'to come' (#T14:5) jɛli'lɛr (#T15:23) jɛ'lirdi (#T12:34,#T14:26) jɛl'dɪ (#T13:27) jɛlin'dʒɛ (#T16:16) jɛ'lindʒa (#T16:16) jɛ'liɾ (#T17:4)	-ø 3SL	Mood	Imperative
	-i'lɛr 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
	-irdi 3SL		Aorist Tense
	-dɪ 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
	-in'dʒɛ		Gerund
	-indʒa		Gerund
-ir	Aorist Tense		
jɛtʰir'sin 'to bring' (#T4:20) jɛtʰɪr'sɨ (#T13:12) jɛtʰi'sin (#T4:20) jɛtʰisi'neɣ (#T15:5)	-sin 2SL	Mood	Imperative
	-sɨ 2SL		Imperative
	-sin 2SL		Imperative
	-si'neɣ 3SPL		Imperative
jɛtʰinir'lɛrdi: ' (#T12:31) jɛtʰi'nirdi (#T14:13) j:ɛtʰini'l:ɛr (#T15:12) ɛtʰi'n:ɛ:ɣ (#T15:3)	-ir'lɛrdi: 3SPL	Tense	Simple Past
	-irdi 3SL		Simple Past
	-i'l:ɛr 3PL		Aorist Tense
	-:ɛ:ɣ 3SL		Aorist Tense
jɛzɛr'lɛrdi (#T12:37) jɛ'zisin (#T4:20)	-ɛr'lɛrdi 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
	-isin 3SL	Mood	Imperative
	-ɛr 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense

idεr (#T6:32, #T15:37, #T15:35 #T15:36, #T15:7)	-ε'l:εrdi 3PL		Simple Past
idε'l:εrdi (#T12:37)	-er'-ði 3SL		Simple Past
ɟɟer'ði (#T14:28)	-el-:ε:r 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidel:ε:r (#T16:22)			Aorist Tense
ɟide'ler (#T10:12)	-e'-ler 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟide'l:εr (#T15:6)	-e'l-:εr 3PL		Past test
itti (#T6:27)	-ti 3SL		Simple Past
ɟidεrdi 'lε:ɟ (#T14:2)	-εr-di ʀ'-lε:ɟ 3PL		Future Tense
ɟide'dʒeicʰ (#T2:7)	-e'dʒe-icʰ 1PL		Future Tense
ɟʰidericʰ	-ericʰ		Aorist Tense
ɟidεdʒek'ler (#T16:1)	-εdʒek-'ler 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidεrε'lr (#T15:8)	-εr-'ler 3PL		Simple Past
ɟidεr'ler (#T15:2)	-εr-'ler-di 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidεr'lerdi (#T12:42)	-ε-'l:εr 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidε'l:εr (#T16: 6#T15:9)	-ε-'ler 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟide'ler (#T7:7)	-εʀ-'l:ε: 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidε 'l:ε: (#T16: 6)	ε -'l:ε:r 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidε 'l:ε:r (#T16:18)	-εr-'ler 3PL		Aorist Tense
ɟidεr'ler (#T15:2)	-εr-dɪkʰ 1PL	Mood	Simple Past

ji'dərdik' (#T13:11)			Optative Mood
jidə'lim (#T14:32)			Optative Mood
jidə'lim (#T1:1)			Optative Mood
jidə'siŋ (#T14:48)	-ε-'līm 1.PL		Imperative Mood
jit (#T14:25)	-ε-'lim 1PL		Conidional Mood
ji'dersa (#T13:14)	-ε-'siŋ 2SL		Gerund
jit ^h :i?lɛrin'də (#T14:4)	-∅ 3SL		
jit ^h :iimiz'də	-er-sa 3SL		
	-i?lɛr-i-n'də 3PL		
jit ^h :iimiz'də			
jjjere- (#T9:8)	-ere-3PL	Tense	Past Tense
c:ije'l:er (#T9:7)	-e'l:er 3PL		Aorist Tense
jidır'dıŋ (#T13:25)	-dır'dıŋ 2SL		Aorist Tense
jjjiniŋ'ler (#T9:8)	-in-ir'ler 3PL		Aorist Tense
g̃ila'd̃zam 'to f(#T2:1)	-a'd̃zam 1SL	Tense	Future Tense
ğor'duk' 'to	-duk' 1PL	Tense	Past Tense
see' (#T13:18)	-'du:k 1PL		Past tense
γor'du:k (#T13:18)	-mez-di: ↗ 3SL		Simple Past-Neg
jør'mezdi: ↗ (#T14:26)	-mez-di 3SL		Simple Past-Neg
	-ε'd̃zɛŋ 2SL		Future Tense
jør'mezdi (#T14:47)	-e'l:i		Gerund

jøre'dʒeŋ (#T16: 9) jøre'l:i (#T12:38) jøro'sy (#T16: 8)	ø'sy {n}2SL	Mood	Optative
jy'venmejor 'to trust'(#T15:31)	-me-jor 3SL	Tense	Present Continuous-Neg
gurdu'lar(#T14:14)	-du-'lar 3PL	Tense	Past Tense
g urudurdǎ (#T13:18)	- durdǎ 3SL	Tense	Simple Past
yuru'durdu (#T13:20)	-durdu 3SL		Simple Past
hojla'dim(#T7:14)	-dim 1SL	Tense	Past Tense
ide'rē edeŕǒi (#T13:20)	- eŕǒi 3SL	Tense	Simple Past
inan'amaŋ 'to believe' (#T16: 9)	-amaŋ 2SL	Mood	Potential Mood-Neg
iste:'ler 'to want,need'(#T15:27)	- ler 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
is'teŕ (#T6:24, #T15:31)	-r 3SL		Aorist Tense
is'ʔte:r(#T11:23)	-e:r 3SL		Aorist Tense
is'teŕim (#T13:27)	-rim 1SL		Aorist Tense
isterim (#T6:28)	-rim 1SL		Aorist Tense
isee'leŕǒi (#T14:28)	-leŕǒi 3PL		Aorist Tense
is'ŕeŕǒier (#T14:38)	-rǒie 3PL		Simple Past

'ste'mezdi: (#T14:25) iste'meḯ (#T15:17) is'teḯ? (#T15:16) isteḯ'lim (#T14:32) isteḯl'im (#T14:33) is'tesin (#T4:22)	-mezdi: 3SL -'meḯ-ḯ {z} 1PL -ḯ? 2SL -je-'lim 1PL -j-l'im 1PL -sin 3SL	Mood	Simple Past
			Simple Past-Neg
			Aorist Tense-Neg
			Aorist Tense-Question form
			Optative
			Optative
			Optative/Imperative
iḯle'di 'to work'(#T13:12) iḯle:r (#T13:14)	-di 3SL -r 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
			Aorist Tense
jak ^h aladi 'to catch'(#T4:3,4)	-di 3SL	Tense	Past Tense
ja ^h ar 'to burn/fire'(#T16:7)	-ar 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
japallar 'to do' (#T6:36,37) japa'ḯ:ar (#T16:20) japa'ḯ:a: (#T14:46) jap ^h a'ḯ:ar (#T10:5) jap ^h a'ḯ:a (#T16: 9)	-allar 3PL -a'ḯ:ar 3PL -a'ḯ:a: 3PL -a'ḯ:ar 3PL -a'ḯ:a 3PL -ḯa 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense

jaφa'ła (#T16: 6)	-a'ł:ar 3PL	Mood	Aorist Tense
jap ^h a'ł:ar (#T15: 4,10,#T16: 10,13)	-ardi'la:r 3PL		Simple Past
jap ^h ardi'la:r (#T14:41)	-ardi'łaɣ 3PL		Simple Past
jap ^h ardi'łaɣ (#T14:9)			Simple Past
jap ^h ar'dīlar (#T14:24)	-ar'dīlar 3PL		Simple Past
jap ^h ardi'łaɣ (#T14:11)	-ardi'łaɣ 3PL		Simple Past
jap ^h ardə'łaɣ (#T14:3)	-ardə'łaɣ 3PL		Simple Past
jap ^h a'd̄zaiκ' (#T13:16)	-a'd̄zaiκ' 1PL		Future Tense
jap ^h a'd̄zak' (#T13:17)	-a'd̄zak' 1PL		Future Tense
japsi'n:ar (#T16: 8)	-si'n:-ar 3PL		Optative/Imperative
jap ^h a'jim (#T13:27)	-a'jim 1SL		Optative
jap ^h i?larin'da (#T14:4)	-t ^h i?-lar-i-n'da 3PL		Gerund
jap ^h a'łu:m (#T17:2)	-a'łu:m 1PL		Optative
jap ^h a'ruuz (#T17:3)	-a'ruuz 1PL	Aorist Tense	
ja'jar 'to live' (#T4:28)	-r 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ja'ja (#T4:29)	-{r} 3SL		Aorist Tense
jaja'ł:a: (#T14:46)	-ł:a: 3PL		Aorist Tense
jer 'to eat' (#T16: 10)	-r 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
je'l:e:ɣ (#T16:15)	-l:-e:ɣ 3PL		Aorist Tense
'jerdic (#T13:20)	-r-dic 1PL		Simple Past

jijε'sin (#T15:3)	-jε-'sin 2SL	Mood	Optative
jik ^h a'džam 'to wash' (#T5:6,7)	-a'džam 1SL	Tense	Future Tense
kañi'dži 'to stay' (#T3:15) gała'mazsajdi (#T14:18)	-i'dži-{-n} 2SL a'-maz-sa-j-di 3SL	Tense	Future Tense
		Mood	Conditional mood-Neg
k'at ^h a'ħim 'to run away' (#T1:2)	-a'ħim 1PL	Mood	Optative
'kamnis 'to do' (#T14:1)	-is	Tense	Present Continuous/Aorist Tense
'k ^h ats ^h ede 'to sit' (#T15:37)	-ede	Mood	Imperative
chese'l:εɣ 'to cut' (#T16:22)	-ε'l:εɣ 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
'klei 'to cray' (#T5:12)	-i	Tense	Present Continuous/Aorist Tense
qav edeller 'to fight' (#T6:34) qav ettiler (#T6:27)	-eller 3PL -tiler 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
			Past Tense
yonu'jurlar 'to talk/speak' (#T14:24)	-ur ^h lar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense

gonuſturur(#T6:34)- Causative V	-turur 3SL		
oĵanı'ri:m 'to linger' (#T11:3)- Reflexive V	-n-i'ri:m 1SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
o'ħur 'to be/become'(#T15:36) olu'ħ:ar (#T16: 12) oħ'ħar (#T15:34) o'ħurdu (#T14: 17,39,42) o'ħurdu: (#T14:14) o'ħurdū (#T14:40) oħ'du (#T14:49) oħ'maz i'di: (#T14:27) oħdun'da (#T13:24) o'urſa (#T16: 4) o'ħurſa (#T14:12) oħ'sun (#T16:4) oħ'sun (#T15:9) o'su (#T15:9)	-ur 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
			Aorist Tense
	-u'ħ:ar 3PL		Aorist Tense
	-ũ'ħar 3PL		Simple Past
	-ur-du 3SL		Simple Past
	-ur-du: 3SL		Simple Past
	-urdū 3SL		Simple Past
	-du 3SL		Past Tense
	-maz - i'di: 3SL		Simple Past-Neg
	-du-n'da 3PL		Gerund
	-ur-sa 3SL	Mood	Condinional Mood
	-ur-sa 3SL		Condinional Mood
	-sun 3SL		Optative/Imperative
	-sun 3SL		Optative/Imperative
-su {n}3SL	Optative/Imperative		
	Optative/Imperative		

ot ^h u' rur 'to sit' (#T14:24)	- ur 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
ot ^h urur' ĩar (#T16:14)	-ur-' ĩar 3PL		Aorist Tense
ot ^h u' rurdu (#T14:21)	-ur-duu 3SL		Simple Past
ot ^h u' rur (#T17:4)	-ur 3SL		Aorist Tense
sat ^h ardu' ĩar 'to sell' (#T12:41)	-ar-duu' - ĩar 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
sat ^h a' ĩ:ar (#T15:11)	-a' ĩ:ar 3PL		Aorist Tense
sa' t ^h ijot'a: (#T16: 5)	-ijot'a: 3PL		Present Continuous
sara' ĩ:ar 'to wrap' (#T16:12)	- a' ĩ:ar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
sε' ver 'to love' (#T6:25)	- εr 3SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
seve' l:ε:r (#T16: 7)	-l:ε:r 3PL		Aorist Tense
seve' lεr (#T10:10)	- ε' lεr 3PL		Aorist Tense
seve' lε:r (#T15:25)	-e' lε:r 3PL		Aorist Tense
sevi' lεr (#T10:11)	-r -' lεr 3PL		Aorist Tense
sevellεr (#T6:33)	-εl-lεr 3PL		Aorist Tense
sojaĩa' dum (#T7:11)	- ĩa-' dum 1SL	Tense	Past Tense
sou' sun '(#T16:2)	-sun 3SL	Mood	Optative/Imperative
syrme' jε (#T16:21)	- me' jε		
søilerim (#T6:30)	-rim 1SL	Tense	Aorist Tense
şøj' le 'to tell' (#T14:5)	-ø 3SL	Mood	Imperative

sœjle'jemem(#T13:31)	-jemem 1SL		Potential Mood-Neg
t ^h aka'ɫ:ar 'to wear'(#T16:17)	-a'ɫ:ar 3.PL	Temse	Aorist Tense
t ^h ak ^h a'ɫ:ar (#T16:16)	-a'ɫ:ar 3.PL		Aorist Tense
t ^h op ^h ɫa'ɫ:ar 'to pick up' (#T16:18)	-ɫ:ar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
{elele} t ^h ut ^h uɟa'dʒɛŋ 'to catch fire, to clasp' (#T14:48)	-a'dʒɛŋ 2SL	Tense	Future Tense
t ^h aliɟa'ɫar 'to work'(#T7:2)	-a'ɫar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
t ^h ali'ɟam (#T7:1)	-m{/n/} 2SL	Participle	Relative Participles
t ^h airi'ɫ:ar 'to call' (#T16:14)	-i'ɫ:ar 3PL	Tense	Aorist Tense
t ^h air'ɫar (#T16:13)	-r'ɫar 3PL		Aorist Tense
t ^h evi'riɟileɟ 'to translate' (#T14:12)	-irdileɟ 3PL	Tense	Simple Past
unu'ɟ:um (#T18:1)	-ɟ:um 1SL	Tense	Past Tense
vermez'dic ^h (#T14:18)	-mez-'dic ^h 1PL	Tense	Simple Past
ver'sin (#T4:34)	-sin 3SL	Mood	Imperative/Optative

vorsy 'to hit' (#T1:10)	- su {n}3SL	Mood	Imperative/Optative
'vŭradzam (#T2:5)	adzam 1SL	Tense	Future Tense

CHRYSO PELEKANI

Table 4: This table includes all the words; noun, adjectives, adverbs (except from the verbs) extracted from the corpus

Gurbetcha-turkish-english lexicon

NO	Gurbetcha	Transcription	Reference	Turkish	English
1.	tʰai	#T1:1,2,5,7, #T2:1,7 #T6: 1,6,17,19,22,24,255,28, #T14:52 T17:31 #T18:4,41 #T21:85	R. chaj Hind. chāvī, chorī ‘daughter, (gypsy) young girl “unmarried romani female,” (as opposed to rakli, q.v.). a female is referred to chaj whatever her age if she is unmarried. a 25-year-old woman (in non-romani terms) is still a chaj, while a married girl of twelve has become a romni	kız	girl
2.	olɛ	#T1:4 #T18:7	Kurd. Law Kurd. lo! le!	oğlan/ be	son/ hey!man!.yo u!
3.	pʰɛ'rez	#T1:9,	Ar خبز [khabaz]	ekmek	bread

		#T4:20 #T6:9, #T13:18	Or bizur Hind. Pauroti / रोटी rotee		
4.	tʃu'ri	#T3:1,2	R.čuri, čhuri (f) Skr.kşuri H.churī	bıçak	Knife
5.	dy'ce	#T3:3,4, #T7:6,8,9 #T5:8, #T9:2, #T10:14, #T11:1,14,15,19 #T12:5, #T18:17,19,20,21,27,45	R. ker This word belongs to the Iraninan Gypsies and to devvish in the 16 th century) Maybe it comes from the Ar. tekiye 'guest' (Yıldırım 2011:91)	ev	house

		#T21:49,83 #T23:11 #T26:62,63 #T28:10,11			
6.	k ^h o' t ^h or	T3:5,7 #T14:10 #T15:20, #T17:18,19,20,21 #T18:3 #T20:6,11 #T21:31,32,34,40 #T23:19,20,27,31	R. kotor 'piece, piece of , portion Arm. Kotor	para	money
7.	na' nai	#T3:5,7	R. manai 'there is not, there are no' Kurd. nîne	yok	Not There isn't
8.	ju: 'l	#T3:6,	Ar. شغل [shaghal] 'busy, task, duty, work'	iş	work

		<p>#T5:2</p> <p>#T6:6,7 Tr.7:1,4</p> <p>#Tr.8:12,13</p> <p>#T10:12</p> <p>#T13:14,</p> <p>#T14: 3,4,9,</p> <p>#T15:21,35,</p> <p>#T18:30,31,45</p> <p>#T19:3</p> <p>#T21:84</p> <p>#T22:8</p>			
9.	sa'îk	#T3:7	<p>Ar. sâlik</p> <p>'Who follows a road'</p> <p>bir yola giren, bir yolda giden,</p>	<p>az</p> <p>yavaş</p>	<p>little</p> <p>slow</p>

10.	zər	#T3:7	Pers. zer ‘gold’	para	Money, coin of any kind
11.	ha'lu ha'lu (adv)	#T3:10	Propably from the verb hallan- <Ar. hāl durum+lan ‘to go, to move away’	çabuk çabuk	quickly
12.	ba'ran	#T3:11,12	Kurd. baran	yağmur	rain
13.	a'bi	#T4:1,30 #T6:14,23 #T9:9 #T13:12 #T19:18	Ar. أب [āb] It is also used in the secret language of Abdal (Yıldırım,2011:38)	baba	father
14.	iʃ'çʰɛf	#T4:1,2 #T8:12, #T 6:2, #T9:7 #T10:1	Kurd. xweşik	güzel/ yakışıklı	beautiful handsome

		#T18:12,14 #T19:8,42 #T21:76,77,78,79			
15.	d̄zi'vir	#T4:8,9,23 Tr.10:4 #Tr18:4,15,21,25,26,27, 28,30,31,40,41,42,44 #T21:81	R. zhuvli , juvel (f.) Skr. yuvati 'young woman' H. yuvati It is also used in Abdal language (Yıldırım 2011:64) Hint-Ari kokenli bir kelimedir...	kadın	woman, wife, female
16.	ir'daj	#T4:10,11,31 #T20:4,13	Probably the short of kardeş İrk+taş ?	kardeş	brother
17.	t̄h'i'mali/ t̄h'u'mali	#T4:12 #T29:9	Maybe from Pers. tuman/tīmār 1. Division of an army originally ten thousand strong . 2. Country or district	polis	police

			originally paying ten thousand sequins land tax. Anadolu Selçukluları ve Osmanlılarda, belirli görev ve hizmet karşılığında kişilere verilen, yıllık geliri 3.000-20.000 akçe olan toprak		
18.	ez' gi	#T4:13	Kurd. êş. jan	sıkıntı acı	pain
19.	jay	#T4:16, #T6:33, #T7:3,5,7,16 #T9:2,4,7,11 #T10:3,5,7,9 #T19:32,36,38,45 #T20:9 #T21:2,17,40,61,71,72 #T22:1,2,3,5,9 #T23:21,23,24,26,28	Easter Anatolian Turkish <uşağ 'child' Az. uşaq	çocuk	child

		#T24:10,14,19,20,22,23 ,24,25 #T25:3,7,8,16			
20.	qai'ma	#T4:21,23 #T5:5 Tr.6:9, Tr.7:9,18 #T12:8,29 #T13:11,12,16 #T16:8 #T17:35 #T18:22,24,26, 30,31,44 #T19:5,45 #T23:12 #T26:82,83,85	R. xaben, xaviben (m.) xa+-ben H. khana Skr. khā'dati Prakr. khāā, khāi (Cited in Yıldırım 2011:158)	yemek	food
21.	mē'ri	#T4:26, #T7:2,7, #T8:2,10,11, 12, 13	Kurd. mēr	koca	husband

		#T10:4,9,12,15, #T11:6,20 #T19:12 #T20:9 #T24:9,13,15,16			
22.	u'ba bu'ma	#T4:34 #T13:11	Anam buma <ana-m buba-m Deletion of –b	baba	dad
23.	a'fa	#T4:35 #T5:7 #T12:21 #T19:30,37 #T21:38 #T 23:34	Proto Romanes ava (Matras 2004:107-110) Kurd. ev, va Old Persian ava ‘that’ Domari Gk. αὐτός [aftos]	aha/ihi/ehe bu/ şu /o/ şey/kişi	this /that/this thing/this person

24.	is' bik ^h	#T5:4,7 #T7:9 Tr.9:7 #T21:26 #T26:4	H. पोशाक [poshaak] Skr. bhāvāṭa (m)	kıyafet	clothes
25.	tir' ak ^h	#T5:6 #T23:23	Gk. τσαρούχι [tsaruxi]	ayakkabı	shoes
26.	jo' ro	#T5:21 #T9:6 #T24:5,15	R.shoro /šero (m) Skr. siras H. sir Kurd. serî	kafa baş	head
27.	la' ft ^{ha}	#T6:5,6,10,11,14,17,19, 21,25,29	Kurd. law	oğlan/erkek	son/boy
28.	e' di	#T6:14,23,27,29, #T12:9,	R. dai, dei/dey (f.)	anne	mother

		#T19:7,18,32 #T29:27	Syncope of medium d from dadi feminine of dad Hind. dei, deiya (mata), Kurd. da, dê		
29.	ga' d̥ʒo	#T6:32 T8:10,12,16 #T9:6 #T10:10,11,13	R. gajo (m.) Pers. Ghazi H. Ghazji It is used in different secret languages such as in Abdal, in Domari, in Lomavren etc, in Yozgat, in Geygel Yuruk, (Yıldırım 2011:96)	Gurbet olmayan adam	Non Romani man, husband if non-Romani
30.	kai'ni	#T7:10,12 #T15:5, #T17:34, #T17:38	R. khaini/kahni/kaini/kani (f.) 'chicken,hen' Skr. kukkuṭī 'hen' (f.) H. kukkuṭī,	tavuk	chicken

			Punj.kukkarī		
31.	iḥ'az	#T7:10,11 #T18:39	H. আলু [aaloo]	patates	potato
32.	ma'zin	#T7:13 #T22:2,6 #T24:21	Kurd. mezin	büyük	big
33.	p ^h i'jaz	#T7:14	R. purum (m.), from Latin porrum via Slav languages, H. pyaz, palandu Kurd. pîvaz Pers. piyāz Yıldırım 2011:196)	soğan	onion
34.	k ^h il	#T8:2,10,15 #T9:5 #T10:2,3,4	Ar. كل [kûl] 'all, every'	her	every

35.	ga'd̂zi	#T8:6 #T9:6 #T10:1,8,10,11,12,13,15 #T25:17	R. gazhi It is used in different secret languages such as in Abdal, in Domari, in Lomavren etc, in Yozgat, in Geygel Yuruk, In ST in argo it has the meaning of “Kadin, metres” Yıldırım 2011:96	Yabancı-Gurbet olmayan kadın	Non-Romani woman, wife if non-Romani
36.	dest	#T8:8	R. vast (m.) Skr. hasta; Prakr. Hattha H. hath Kurd. dest Pers.dast	el	hand
37.	in'hof	#T8:12	Kurd. nexweş	hasta	ill
38.	d(1)r'av	#T8:14	Kurd. draf/dirav	para	money

		#T9: 9 #T19:25 #T20:13			
39.	pir	#T9:1,9	Kurd. pir	çok	very
40.	gafti'lic ^h	#T10:5	<gafte ' +Tü. Isimden isim yapma eki {-IXk} (Yıldırım 2011:98) Gk. Κλέφτης [kleftis]	hırsızlık malı	steal
41.	ma'rif	#T10:6,16	Ar. mar'ūf 'reputable,famous,well-know' It is used in Abdal secret dialect. In Yozgat it means : büyük adam- big guy 'director,chief' (Yıldırım 2011:165)	polis	polis

42.	kav /gav	#T6:27, 33, #T8:16, #T10:16 #T12:6,37 #T15:2 #T26:2,3 #T29:5,6	R. gav (m.) 'village, small town' Skr. Gram, Prakr. Gama H. गांव gav	köy/kavga	Village /fight
43.	ko'tʰakʰ	#T11:6	Kurd. kotek	dayak	beat
44.	dırva' d̄zi	#T11:9	Kurd. derew-în Skr. drogh 'lye' Avesta. druj It is used in Abdal secret language only in Chukurova. Also in Gurbetcha. (Demir 2002:427, Öztürk 2009:240)	yalancı	lyer
45.	' t̄ʰikna	#T12:2,4	Osm. Cığan prov. 'miser, stingy'	zeytin	olive
46.	je'der	#T12:3 #T21:20,22,23	Probably from Gk. Γαίδαρος [gaidaros]	eşek	donkey

			This word belongs to the Hindo-Arian languages. It is used in in Abdal secret language as well. (More details in Yildirim 2011:105)		
47.	ra'tʰi	#T12:4,4,8,19,30 #T28:16	R. ryat (f.)	gece	night
48.	go'ridʒa	#Tr12:16	Gk κόρη [kori] 'daughter,girl'	Gurbetça	Gurbetcha The language of Gori-Gurbetcha
49.	hîr	#T12:19	R. dur 'far,far away, distant Kurd. dûr	uzaklara gitmek	(Go) far away
50.	bu'zni	#T12:25	Kurd. bezin	keçi	
51.	la'tʃʰi	#T12:31	R. lachi Skr. laks, laksin, laksi 'having good marks. Parakr. Lacchi (f.)	iyi/ güzel/ yakışıklı	Good/beautiful/handsome, nice

			Hind. lacchi, acchi (manohar), Punj. Lacchi 'beautiful (girl) R. lasho/lacho (m.) 'good,excellent' (Them. Adj.) Hind. laccha, accha (manohar)		
52.	Tε'berdʒε	#T13:7,8,9	P. teber 'ax, hatchet, halberd, battle-ax Teber 'Abdal'+Tü isimden isim yapan eki {+CA} Ar. tabl 'kind of music'	Teberca	The language of Abdal/ Gurbet
53.	dʒiva'nik ^h	#T14:30,31	Kurd. çav 'eyes'	güzel	Beautiful
54.	petkia'dʒik	#T14:33,34	Gk. παιδιά [pedia]	küçük	dear child
55.	t ^h a'hił	#T15:13,15	Ar. daħl 'cereal' Buğday, arpa, mısır, yulaf, çavdar, pirinç vb. hasat edilen ürünler ile tohumlarının genel adı	kahve	coffee
56.	ma't ^h o	#T18:17	R.mato (adj)	sarhoş	drunk

			Skr. Matta ‘intoxicated’ from mad Hind. matt, mast		
57.	tʃ ^h uma'ri	#T18:37,40,41	It came from the secret language of Domari It is also used in the secret language of Abdal (Yildirim 2011:69) H. chiriā	pişmemiş tavuk	chicken
58.	k ^h i'la	#T1:6, #T18:37	Osm. Kele prov. ‘O you, hey!’	kız	girl
59.	t ^h ik ^h 'no t ^h ik ^h 'no (Adv)	#T18:40,41 #T19:1	R. tikno (adj.) Hind. thigna, chota ‘small’	küçük	in small - pieces
60.	k ^h εr'vi	#T19:4 #T21:26,29,41,84	Çkr. kerli	ondan dolayı, sonra	after
61.	k ^h εε'p ^h ε	#T19:6	Osm. kelepür ‘ Gk colloq. ‘κελεπούρι’ [kelepouri] 1. Chance baragin, golden opportunity; worth its price, very cheap. 2. stepchild	abdal/deli	idiot/crazy

62.	zib'il	#T19:14	Ar. zibl prov. '1. dung, manure. 2. rubbish, sweepings'	çöp	rubbish
63.	p ^h a'ni	#T19:29	R. pani (m.) , pai (m.) different variant of pani Skr. paniya, Prakr. paniya H. pani, nadi	su	Water/river/s ea
64.	k ^h ir've	#T21:3,4,6,10,11,16,	R. kir(i)vo (m.) H. dharm –pita R. kir(i)vi 'godmother'	Manevi baba	God father/ somebody helping a boy to be circumcised
65.	t ^h u'fan	T21:41,42,43	R. thuv (f.) 'smoke' Skr. & Prakr. dhūma 'smoke' H. dhūā	sigara	cigarette

			Urd. dhuwan Ar. duḥān Hung. Doany 'smoke'(Yıldırım 2011:223)		
66.	ḍ̣eir'an	#T23:14	Ar. cereyan '1. Currentl draught, electricity current. 2. Course of events. 3. Movement, tendency, trend	elektrik	electricity
67.	ʃaf(k)	#T30, T23:16,17	Kurd. şewq Ar. şafk '1. Morning twilight, dawn, 2. Evening twilight, dusk'	sabah/ışık	morning/ light
68.	angu'sti	T55,56	R. angushtri Kurd. gustîlk	yüzük	ring
69.	p ^h yl' ṭ ^h yc	#T26:14,16,18,20,25	Kurd. pirç	saç	hair
70.	kaḅ'ni	#T29:11,13	H. गर्भवती [garbhavatee] Skr. garbhavatī	hamile/gebe	pregnant

			R. khamni (Them. Adj.)		
71.	'hei	#T3:2 #T12:5 #T21:63 #T28:21	R. si (vb) =isi Skr. asti 'is' Hind. hai	Imek fiili -dir /şey	Is/thing
72.	qa'qavi	#T12:8	Hind. कुकर [kukar] Nep. कुकर Kukara Punj. ਕੁਕਰ Kūkara	tencere	saucepan
73.	'hart ^h a	#T1:8	Skr. ardha 'to give or leave to anybody an equal shene of Metathesis of the second syllable on the front...	yürü	Walk/go
74.	us'uḷ	#T14:25	Ar. [uṣūl] '1. Method, system;plan, 2. Procedure 3. Roots, origins, fundamentals, essentials	biçim adet	method

Table 5: This table includes all the words extracted from the first questionnaire and interviews

Gurbetcha-turkish-english lexicon

NO	Kurbetcha	Reference	Turkish	English
1.	(h)arba	Ar. أربعة [arba] 'four'	yedi	seven
2.	aba	Tr. abla	kızkardeş	sister
3.	abı	Ar. أب [āb] S. Kurd. bāb	baba	father
4.	afa	Pr. R. ava Kurd. ev, va S. Kurd. awa O. Pers. ava 'that' D.aha/ihi/ehe Gk. αυτός [aftos]	O	this
5.	afalamak	Pr. R. ava Kurd. ev, va O. Pers. ava 'that' D.aha/ihi/ehe Gk. αυτός [aftos]	yapmak	to make

		Abdal secret language 'stole', 'to go away'		
6.	afara	Pr. R. ava	bu-ra-	here
7.	amcaoğlu dayıoğlu teyzeoğlu	Tr. amca+oğlu	yeğen	niece/ nephew
8.	angoni	Gk. εγγόνι [eggoni]	torun	grandchild
9.	angusti	R. angushtri Kurd. gustîlk	yüzük	ring
10.	aşevi	Kurd. aşxane Pers. اشپزخانه	mutfak	kichen
11.	aşinna	Pers. رسیدن [reshidan] South Iran Gypsies hāšnīdam 'to take' Tr. aşır +{IA} Dzugi argo oşin- oşişt 'to take, to buy' K. anîn 'to bring	almak getir	To take to bring
12.	avis	Kurd. Tiving	tabanca	barker, gun, pistol
13.	avrili	-	Türkiyeli	Turk

14.	banatura	Arab dialect and SE Anatolida ‘banadura’ Ar. طماطم	domates	tomato
15.	bango	*	kör	blind
16.	bannik	Kurd. bën ‘rope’ Kurd. benik ‘small thin rope’	iplik	rope
17.	baran	Kurd. Baran	yağmur	rain
18.	baravol	R. barvalo	zengin	rich
19.	baynamak	Kurd. bînin & Imperative form vunë /vëynë ‘to bring’ H. लाना [laana]	vermek	to give
20.	beygir	Pers. bārgīr [بار bār ‘yük’+gīr tutan <giriften ‘tutmak’ Osm. بانگیر [bangir] ‘hourse, packhorse, cart horse, gelding	at	horse
21.	bicik	Kurd. çiçik Abdal dilinde <i>çiçi</i>	göğüs/meme	breast

22.	bidemek	Kurd. Imperative form of the verb dayîn >midë Arm. բերել [berel]	vermek	to give
23.	birdan	Ar. البرتقالي	portakal	orange
24.	botin	Pers. بوتین [putîn] <botte 'boot' + -ine diminutive suffix	çizme	boots
25.	brotsa	CGD μπρότσα	çatal	fork
26.	bupacık	H. बच्चा [baca] + Tr. suffix {-cXk}	bebek	baby
27.	buzni	Kurd. bezin S. Kurd. bizin R. buzno 'Male goat' Ar. ماعز	keçi	goat
28.	cabax/s	Kurd. zebeş	karbuz	watermelon
29.	cav	Kurd. Çav	göz	eyes
30.	cavlık	Kurd. çav+Tr. suffix {-lXk}	gözlük	eyeglasses
31.	cebere	-	ağız -dudak	mouth, lips

32.	ceyran	Ar. cereyan '1. Currentl draught, electricity current. 2. Course of events. 3. Movement, tendency, trend	elektrik	electricity
33.	cıra	Gk. κυρά [kira] CGD τζυρά [dzira]	Rum kadın	Greek woman
34.	cıvanık	-	güzel	beutiful
35.	cıvır	R. zhuvli, juvel (f.) Skr. yuvati H. yuvati D. juvar	kadın	woman
36.	cidiye	-	keçi	goat
37.	cilye	Gk. κοιλιά [kilya] CGD τζοιλιά [džilia]	karın	belly
38.	çamır	Tr. Çamur	toz-toprak- çamur	mud
39.	çang	R.chang (f.)	ayak	knee
40.	çaro/ caruk	R. çaroro Kurd. Firaq	tabak	plate
41.	çart	H. चार [chaar] Kurd. çar	dört	four

		Pers. چهار[chahar]		
42.	çay	R. chaj Hind. chāvī, chorī ‘daughter, (gypsy) young girl	kız	girl
43.	çellemek	Islahiye ğirne-to say Yozgat cerle Düziçi cirle Kırşehir cerle Hacıbektaş cerle Çukurova cerne ,cirne, cerle . Doğu Anadolu göçebeleri cerle Azerbaycan Sazandarlar argosu cerremek ‘kötü konuşmak’ Azerbyacan aşıklar argosu cırramah ‘şarkı söylemek, ses çıkarmak’ Also in Iraq-Turkic sele/söyle- ‘to sepak’ (Bulut 2007:178)	söylemek	to say to speak

44.	çelleşmek	see above also in Iraq-Turkic seleş- 'to speak together'	konuşmak	to talk
45.	çikna	Osm. Cığan prov. 'miser, stingy'	zeytin	olive
46.	çumari	H. chiriā	tavuk	chicken
47.	çuri	R. čuri, čhuri (f) Skr. kşuri H. chuṛī	bıçak	knife
48.	çükkel	R. jukel (m.) Skr. jakuta 'dog' H. kutti, kutia 'bitch'	köpek	dog
49.	çükkelcik	R. jukel (m.)+ Tr. Diminutive suffix {-cXk}	köpek yavrusu	puppy
50.	dah	Kurd. deh Pers. داه [dah]	on	ten
51.	dardan	Kurd. dar 'tree'+ Tr. Ablutive case {-DAn}	kalem	pencil
52.	dari	R. vudar (m.) metathesis of *duvar from Skr. dvar 'door'	kapı	door

		Hind. द्वार [dvaar] Arm. դուր [durr] Kurd. Derî		
53.	dariya	Kurd. dar ‘tree, wood’	ağaç	tree
54.	dervena	Kurd. kurkirinê ?	tıraş	shave
55.	dest	R. vast (m.) Skr. hasta; Prakr. hattha H. हाथ [haath] Kurd. dest S. Kurd. dast Pers. Dast	el	hand
56.	dırav	Kurd. Sorani dialect دراو dirâw ‘dirhem’	para/ pahalı	money/expensive
57.	dırva	Kurd. Derew	yalan	lie
58.	dırvacı	Kurd. derew +Tr. suffix {-CI}	yalancı	liar
59.	dik	Ar. ديك Zazaca <i>diyik</i>	horoz (eril)	cock
60.	dohur	Pers. ظهر	öğlen	midday

		Ar. ظهيرة [ḍahira] H. दोपहर [dobeher]		
61.	duto	H. दो [do] Pers دو Kurd. Dû	iki	two
62.	duke	R. kher H. घर [ghar] Ar. tekiye 'guest'	ev	house
63.	ebe	Kurd. dayîk, dê, dapîr	nine, anneanne, babanne	grandma
64.	edi	R. dai, dei/dey (f.) H. dei, deiya (mata), Kurd. dayîk, dê,	anne	mother
65.	elfep/ ilhaf hilev	Kurd. lihêv	battaniye	blanket
66.	ezgi	Kurd. êş 'pain'+Tr. suffix {- gI}	acı	pain
67.	falluk	Kurd. felte ? Ar. فتاة[fata]	kız	girl
68.	fanela	Gk. φανέλλα [fanela]	Fanila,atlet	flannel, jumper, jersey

69.	fis	Kurd. mîz ?	bok	shit
70.	fokya	Gk. φωτιά [fotkia]	ateş	fire
71.	gaci	R. gazhi	Çingene olmayan kadın	Non Roman woman
72.	gaco	H. ghazji R. gajo (m.) Pers. Ghazi	Çingene olmayan adam	Non Roma man
73.	gadef	Tr. Kadeh	bardak	glass
74.	gafgarıt	Ar. خرشوف [Kharshuf]	enginar	artichoke
75.	gaftilemek	Arm. գողանալ [goghanel]	çalmak	to stole
76.	gaftilik	<gafte ‘ +Tü. Isimden isim yapma eki {-IXk} Gk. κλέφτης [kleftis] Arm. գողութիւն [goghut’yun]	hırsızlık	steal, robbery
77.	garavlamak	R. garav- Skr. gūdhā ‘hidden’ past participle of guh ‘to conceal’.	saklamak	to hide

		H. gūrh rakhna, gupt rakhna		
78.	gav	R. gav (m.) ‘village,small town’ Skr. Gram, Prakr. Gama H. गांव [gav]	köy	village
79.	geder	H. गधा [gadha] Gk. γαίδαρος [gaidaros] Arm. Կենդանի [kentani]	eşek	donkey
80.	genabla	Tr. gelin abla	yenge	sister-in-law
81.	gennamak	H. आना [aana]	gelmek	to come
82.	gennatmak	H. आना [aana] + Tr. suffix - {t}	getirmek	to bring

83.	gırgıl	Kurd. Baqıl	bakla	broad bean
84.	gırgır	H. बैंगन [baingan]	patlıcan	eggplant
85.	gıylamak	Kurd. kîr 'penis' S. Kurd. gân گان ge- v.t. 'to fuck' H. लिंग[Ling] Punj. ਲਿੰਗ [Liga] Sakr. kila 'stake, trellis'	sikmek	to fuck
86.	giv	R. giv (m.) Skr. godhuma H. gehi	budağı	wheat
87.	gori	H. gora purush 'Non Gypsy married to a Gypsy woman' R. goro (m.) Skr. gaura 'fair complexioned'	Gurbet kız	Roma girl

		Gk κόρη [kōri] 'daughter, girl' Pers. کولی		
88.	gorica	Gori+ca H. gora purush 'Non Gypsy married to a Gypsy woman' R. goro (m.) Skr. gaura 'fair complexioned' Gk κόρη [kōri] 'daughter, girl'	Teberce	The language of the Roma girl
89.	ǧraz	R. gra/grai/ grast (m) grasni (f) Skr. ghota 'horse' H. ghorā (m) ghorī (f) H. खच्चर [khachchar] Arm. gra 'hourse'	katır	mule
90.	hındır/kinder	Kurd. Kûndir	kabak	zucchini
91.	habetmek	Ar. حب	sevmek	to love

		[hob]		
92.	halip/halep	Ar. حلب [halib]	süt	milk
93.	hallandırmak	Ar. أخذ [‘akhadh]	götürmek	to bring
94.	hallanmak	Kurd. herin	gitmek	to go
95.	halu halu	Propably from the verb hallan- <Ar. hāl durum+lan ‘to go, to move away’	çabuk çabuk	quickly
96.	hanzir	Kurd. xinzîr H. गधा [gadha] Ar. خنزير (khanzîr) ‘ham’	domuz	pig
97.	hardik	Gk. χαρτί [hardi]	kağıt	paper
98.	harta	Ar. هادي[hadaa] Skr. ardha ‘to give or leave to anybody an equal shene of Metathesis of the second syllable on the front.	hadi	come on

		Also in Iran-Turkic harda/harada 'where' (Bulut 2007:178)		
99.	haya	Ar. هيا ? [hayaa] 'come on' Kurd. Héye	var	to have
100.	hellik	Kurd. hêk S. Kurd. helka	yumurta	egg
101.	herzik	Kurd. Xerz	odun, ağaç; fidanlık dönemini aşmış	wood, tree
102.	hey	R. si (vb) =isi Skr. asti 'is' Hind. hai	şey	is
103.	hımmarmak	Arm. խելար [Khelarr] [hamar] 'donkey' حمار Ar.	Pis kokmak	stink
104.	hır	R. dur 'far, far away, distant' Kurd. dûr Kurd. v. hêr 'to go'	uzak	far away
105.	hırba	Az. herb 'herb'	domates	tomato
106.	hır etmek	Arm. Հեռավոր [herravor]	uzaklaşmak	to go far away

		Kurd. dūr R. dur 'far, far away, distant Kurd. v. hêr 'to go'		
107.	hilar	Kurd. diran ?	diş	tooth
108.	hoylamak	H. रखना [Rakhana] Başkurt <i>haliv</i>	koymak	to put
109.	huri	R. raşai Skr. rsi. 'saint'. Turner says that it is more probably by metathesis from teh Skr. arseya 'connected with or like a rishi, venerable, respectable' H. rishi/padri	Papaz	priest
110.	hurle	-	Göt	ass
111.	ılaz/s	H. आलू [aaloo]	patates	potato
112.	ıbrışık	Kurd. mirîşk	Tavuk	chicken
113.	ınhoş	Kurd. nexweş S. Kurd. nakhosh	Hasta	ill
114.	ıraş	Kurd. reş	siyah /	black/Arab

		S. Kurd. rash	Arap	
115.	ırdaş	irk+taş ?	kız/erkek kardeş	Brother/sister
116.	ısbık	H. पोशाक [poshaak] Skr. bhāvāṭa (m)	kıyafet, elbise	clothes
117.	ıtbısı	-	Kulak	ear
118.	işkef	Kurd. xweşik	Güzel	beautiful
119.	kaçoşiro	Gk. σκατζόχοιρος [skatzohiros] CGD κατσόσοιρος [katsoshiros]	Kirpi	hedgehog
120.	kahat	Tr. kağıt	Kağıt	paper
121.	kakavi	H. कुकर [kukar] Nep. कुकर [kukara] Punj. ਕੂਕਰ [Kūkara]	tencere	pot
122.	kannıs	Ar. مكسة [mukanasa]	süpürge	broom
123.	kapçı	Kurd. kevçî S. Kurd. kawchik H. चम्मच [chammach]	Kaşık	spoon

124.	kapni	H. गर्भवती [garbhavatee] Skr. garbhavatī R. khamni (Them. Adj.)	hamile	pregnant
125.	karkola	CGD καρκόλα [karkola]	Yatak	bed
126.	kaşkaval	Osm. قاشقوال [kaşkaval] It. caciocavallo < cacio 'cheese' + cavallo 'horse' Gk. κασκαβάλι	peynir	cheese
127.	katnamak	-	osurmak	to fart
128.	kav	-	Kavga	fight
129.	kayma	R. xaben, xaviben (m.) xa+-ben H. khana Skr. khā'dati Prakr. khāai, khāi	yemek	food
130.	kayni	R. khaini/kahni/kaini/kani (f.) 'chicken, hen' Skr. kukkuṭi 'hen' (f.) H. kukkuṭī, Punj.kukkarī	Tavuk	chicken
131.	keda/missi	Ar. keta	kedi	cat

		Kurd. kitik R. mindz		
132.	kefkir	Kurd. Kevçî Per. Kefkir	kaşık	spoon (with holes)
133.	keleppe	Osm. kelepîr ‘ Gk colloq. ‘κελεπούρι’ [kelepouri] 1. Chance baragin, golden opportunity; worth its price, very cheap. 2. stepchild	deli	crazy
134.	kergu	Pers. خرگوش Kurd. kevroşk H. खरगोश [kharagosh] Arm. ճագար [chagar]	tavşan	rabbit
135.	kervi	Çkr. kerli	ondan sonra	afterwards
136.	kıl (adv)	Ar. كل [kûl] ‘all, every’	her	every
137.	kıla	H. लड़की [ladakee] Skr. alakā अलका Definition: f.	kız	girl

		(gaRa kşipakādi- q.v) a girl from eight to ten years of age Osm. Kele prov. ‘O you, hey!’		
138.	kırsı	H. कुरसी kurse (f.) Az. kürsü Ar. كرسي [kursi] Pers. kûrsî	sandalye	chair
139.	kilar	Ar. ضرس [dursar]	diş	tooth
140.	kile	Skr. kīlāla	hellim	cheese
141.	kirtelemek	From the Kurdish Sorani noan kerd ‘knife’ + Tr. suffix –{AIA}- Başturk tuktatıv Kazak toktatuv Kırgız toktotu Uzbek tohtätmak Tatar tuktatu	kesmek	to cut
142.	kirve	R. kir(i)vo ‘godfather’ R. kir(i)vi ‘godmother’	kirve	Godmother/ godfather

		H. dharm –pita		
143.	kolan	Osm. كولان [kolan]	kemer	1. broad band or belt; girth, 2. Binding around the bottom of a tent 3. Rope of a swing.
144.	korni	Kurd. girtîgeh	hapis	prison
145.	kotak	Kurd. kotek S. Kurd. v. kute- to hit	dayak	whacking
146.	kotes	-	hapis	prison
147.	kotor	R. kotor ‘piece, piece of, portion Arm. kotor	para/ pahalı	Money/expensive
148.	konçek	Kurd. qeşa?	külot/ don/ pantolon	trousers
149.	kütür	D. ktîr ‘Christian’	Rum	Greek origin
150.	laçi	R. lachi R. lasho/lacho (m.) ‘good,excellent’ (Them. Adj.) Skr. laks, laksin, laksi ‘having good marks. Parakr. lacchi (f.) Punj. lacchi ‘beautiful (girl)	güzel	beautiful

		H. अच्छा [accha],laccha (manohar)		
151.	lafta	R. raklo (m.) Skr. *ladakka or napāt, Hind. लड़का [larkaa] R. rakli (f.) Cognate with Hindi and Punjabi: larki Hind. larki or larka ‘non gypsy/Roma girl’ Kurd. law lafte ‘child’<It is used in Mitrip (Batman dialect, Elmayaka dialect, and in Van dialect) Pers. nawāda ‘grandchild’, O.Pers. napāt, Kurd. law		Non-Roma boy
152.	lazımlık	CTD yüznumara ,ayakyolu Ar. lazım + lXk	tuvalet	toilet

153.	lenger	CTD lenger ‘yayvan, geniş kap’ <Pers. langari	kova	pot
154.	limetmek	Ar. جمع[jame]	toplamak	to pick up
155.	loki	Kurd. dêlik	orospu	prostitute
156.	marîf	Ar. mar’ûf ‘reputable,famous,well-know’ It is used in Mitrip (Batman dialect, Elmayaka dialect, and in Van dialect) <merif ‘man’ , mirov ‘people’	polis	police
157.	mas	R. mas (m.) Skr.mamsa, mas ‘meat’	et	meat, flesh
158.	mato	R.mato (adj) Skr. Matta ‘intoxicated’ from mad H. matt, mast	sarhoş	drunk
159.	mazın	Kurd. mezin	büyük-uzun	big

160.	mazın abı	Kurd. mezin + Ar. بآ [āb] 'baba'	dede	grandfather
161.	meri	Kurd. mēr Pers. مرد [merd]	koca	husband
162.	meriya	Ar. امرأة [imreja] H. महिला [mahila]	kadın	woman
163.	metlenmek	Ar موت [meyt] 'death' + {-lAn}	ölmek	to die
164.	mukalamak	Muk – R. mui (m) Skr. Mukha Hind. मुंह munh 'mouth' mukala>muk+ala-	susmak	to shut up
165.	mul	R. mol (f.) 'wine'	içki	drink
166.	murar	Kurd. gemarî	pis /yaramaz	dirty/naughty
167.	nanay	R. manai 'there is not, there are no' Kurd. nîne	yok/boş	nothing/empty
168.	natuha	Kurd. nerehet	yaramaz	naughty

169.	natuva	H. पुराना [puraana] ?	eski	old
170.	nedlemek	Kurd. lêdan 'dayak' Uzb. Türkmen mäydälämäk	dövmek	to hit
171.	nımıslamak	H. नींद [neend] S. Kurd. nu- 'to sleep, to go to sleep' Ar نوم [nawm] Arabic dialect <verbal stem namisa (= keep secret, to conceal yourself) and also from the <i>namasa</i> which means a place with mosquito net.	uyumak	to sleep
172.	ogarmak	Tr. ağar- 'white wash' P. वर [Kara] Kurd. rengkirin Nepal रंग [raᅅga]	boyamak	to paint

		Az. rəngləmək H. रंग [rang] Pers. رنگ		
173.	ole	Kurd. law Kurd. lo! le!	lan	baddy! Hey you!
174.	ornuşlamak	Kurd. rûniştin S. Kurd. nîsh- Zazaca ruş-	oturmek	to sit
175.	osar	Pers. ثروت	fal	fortune
176.	pal	R. phen H. भाई bhaee	kardeş	brother
177.	pañç	Pers. پنج [penj] Kurd. pênc H. पांच [paanch]	beş	five
178.	pani	R. pani (m.) , pai (m.) different variant of pani Skr. paniya, Prakr. paniya	su /deniz	water/sea

		H. pani, nadi		
179.	perez	Ar خبز [khabaz] or bizur H. pauroti / रोटी rotee	ekmek	bread
180.	pethiacık	Gk. παιδιά [pedia]	çocuklar	children
181.	pınt	Kurd. pınd	Kadın cinsel organı kıç	ass
182.	pır	Pers. pır 1. patron saint, spiritual teacher; sage; founder of an order of dervishes; chief of a convent of dervishew 2. Old man; old 3. Complete, full never used independently Kurd. pır CDT pür Zazaca pır 'full'	çok/ var/ dolu	many/full
183.	pırçı	Kurd. birçî	aç	hungry
184.	piron	Gk. πρῶνι [piruni]	çatal	fork

185.	pivaz	R. purum (m.), from Latin porrum via Slav languages, H. प्याज [pyaz] Kurd. pîvaz Pers. پیاز [pīyāz]	soğan	onion
186.	piynemek	Skr. paṭ (verbal root) pibati to drink H. पीना [peena] R. pi	içmek	to drink
187.	poze	Kurd. poz	burun	nose
188.	puro	R. phuro Skr. vrddha 'old' by metathesis of aspiration H. पुराना [puraana]	yaşlı	Elderly man, patriarch , old (Them. Adj.)
189.	pülçük	Kurd. pirç	saç	hair
190.	rat	R. rat (rata pl) (m.) Skr. rakta 'blood' Prakr. Ratta H. ratt, rakt R. rat (ratya pl.)	kan	blood/night

		Skr. ratri ‘night’ Prakr. ratti, rat R. rati (adv) Locative of rat H. rat ko Punj. Rati ‘at night’		
191.	rati	R. ryat (f.)	akşam	evening
192.	ratsa	Kurd.teyr Arm. թռչուն [t’rrch’un]	kuş	bird
193.	sallik sallik	Ar. sâlik ‘Who follows a road’	yavaş yavaş	slowly
194.	sıçan	Az. sıçan Tr. sıçan ‘rat’	fare	mouse
195.	sidir	-	çiş	pee
196.	sikti	Ar. [St] ستة	altı	six
197.	sise	Kurd. sê Pers. سه	üç	three
198.	sivit	-	un	flour
199.	sunnamak	Kurd. nîşan ‘to show’	söylemek, konuşmak	to tell, to say, to speak, to talk

		H. सुनना [sunna] ‘to hear, to listen’		
200.	şafk/şavk/ şavg	Kurd. şewq Ar. الشفق [şafaq] ‘1. Morning twilight, dawn, 2. Evening twilight, dusk’ Tr. şafak ‘dawn,first light’	ışık	light
201.	şağ/h	Azeri. uşaq	çocuk	child
202.	şaps	Pers. کفش [kafsh] ‘shoes’ S. Kurd. kawsh	ayakkabı	shoes
203.	şarım	Pers. شرم [sharm] Kurd. şerm S. Kurd. sharm	ayıp	shame
204.	şenik	Tr. şenlik ‘festival’	düğün	wedding
205.	şikar	CTD şikar şikarın important beautiful, magnificent	şeker	sugar
206.	şilif etmek	-	Atmak Vermek uzatmak	To throw To give
207.	şiro	CGD σοίρος [shiros] Gk. χοίρος [xiros]	domuz	pig

208.	şoro	R.shoro /šero (m) Skr. siras H. सिर [sir] Kurd. serî Aramaic réšā	baş/ kafa	head
209.	şuğul	Ar. شغل [shaghal] ‘busy, task, duty, work’	iş	work
210.	tahl /tahal	Ar. طحل [dah] / tohl/ tohel]	kahve	coffee
211.	talatta	Ar. ثلاثة [thalaatha] ‘three’	sekiz	eight
212.	teberce	P. teber ‘ax, hatchet, halberd, battle-ax Teber ‘Abdal’+Tü isimden isim yapan eki {+CA} Ar. tabl ‘ kind of music’	Teberce	The language of Abdal and Gurbetties of Cyprus
213.	tıkma	Az. mam Ar. عم [em]	dayı	uncle
214.	tımbala	Tr. lamba	lamba	lamp
215.	tımma	H. दिन [din]	gün	day
216.	tırak /tiryak	Gk. τσαρούχι [tsaruxi] Arm. t’irhaj ‘boot, high boot’	ayakkabı	Shoes

217.	tırsamak	traš- (vb. intr.) Skr. tras, trasati ‘to be afraid of’ H. trasna, darna K. tirsā ‘to fear’	korkmak	to afraid
218.	tırşi	Kurd. tirş S. Kurd. tirs Pers. ترش	ekşi	Sour
219.	tıymak	*	kaçmak	to live to go to escape
220.	tikno	R. tikno (adj.) H. thigna, छोटा [chota] ‘small’	ufak	Small
221.	time	Kurd. mam	amca	Uncle
222.	tomofil	Tr. otomobil	araba	Car
223.	traka	Kurd. rû	yüz	Face
224.	tufan	R. thuv (f.) ‘smoke’ Skr. & Prakr. dhūma ‘smoke’ H. धुआं [dhuaan]	sigara	cigarette

		Urd. dhuwan Hung. Doany ‘smoke’ Ar. duḥān Kurd. cixwafe		
225.	tumali	Pers. tuman/tīmār	polis	police
226.	usul	usul Ar. [uṣūl] ‘1. Method, system;plan, 2. Procedure 3. Roots, origins, fundamentals, essentials	adet	Method tradition
227.	vordo	CGD Βόρτος [vordos]< Gk. βόδι [void] ‘ox’	aptal	silly/stubid
228.	yalıke	-	eşarp	Scarf
229.	yek	H. एक [ek] Pers. یک [yek] Kurd. Yek	bir	one
230.	yımrık	Tr. yumruk	yumruk	Punch
231.	yusuf	CTD yusuf Anadolian dialects yusufcuk Ar. yusufi ‘devlet adamlarının giydiđi ve	mandalina	mandarin

		tepesinde yuvarlak turuncuya çalan kırmızı top bulunan başlık sözünden gelmektedir. Çünkü mandarin mandalina <Sans. Mantra sözü de eski Çin yönetici sınıfının giydiği turuncu renkte elbiseden kaynaklanmaktadır.		
232.	yuvmak	Az. yumaq Uzb. yuvish Kazak. Yuvuv Tatar yuu	yıkamak	to wash
233.	zada	-	şeker	Sugar
234.	zaha	-	yavru tavuk	small chicken
235.	zahır	Pers. zafr, zafar	ağız	mouth
236.	zambak	-	güneş	Sun
237.	zanımak	H. जानना [Jaanana] Kurd. zanîn 'to know'	görmek bakmak bilmek	to see to watch to look to know
238.	zelip	Ar. لا يزال ? [la yazal]	hala	Aunt

239.	zer	Kurd. zêr ‘gold’ zer ‘yellow’ Pers. زر [zer] ‘gold’	lira, altın	pound, gold
240.	zet	Ar. زيت [zeit] ‘oil’	yağ	Oil
241.	zırdamak	H. जाना [jaana]	gitmek	to go
242.	zibil	Ar. zibl prov. ‘1. dung, manure. 2. rubbish, sweepings’	çöp	rubbish
243.	zurda	-	dokuz	Nine

Table 6: Language comparison

N O	English	Arabic	Transcrip.	Tunisi an dialect	Transcr ip.	Armeni an	Transcrip .	Romanes	Persi an	Transcri p.	Kurdis h
1.	bread	خبز	khobz	خبز	khobz	հաց	hats	Maro/manr o	نان	nan	nan
2.	potatoes	بطاطا	batata	بطاطا	batata	զեւոնս Êնձոր	kednachnt sor	kolompiri	سیب زمینی	Sib-e zamini	Patat/ka rtol
3.	pigeon	حمام	hamem	حمامة	hmema	աղաւն ի	aghavni	gulubi	کبوتر	kebuter	kevok
4.	watermelon	بطيخ	batikh	دلاع	dellee	ձմերու կ	tsmeroug	Xerbuzo, herbuzo	هندوانه	hendevan e	zebeş
5.	clothes	ثياب	thiyeb	لبسة	libsa	հագուս տ	hakousd	Uraimata/h uraimata	لباس	lebas	Kinc/cil
6.	foot	قدم	kadam	أجر	Ejer	նոտք	vodk	Pro/prno	پا	pa	ling
7.	eye/s	ع/عين يون	ayn/ouyoun	عني/عين ن	In/Inin	աջք	achk	Jak(a)/jakh (a)	چشم ها چشم /	çeşm	çav
8.	coffee	قهوة	kahoua	قهوة	Kahoua	սուրժ	sourj	kafa	قهوه	kahve	kahwe
9.	chicken	دجاج	dajej	دجاج	Djej	հավ	hav	khani	جوجه	cuce	mirîşk

10.	food	أكل	akl	ماكلة	Makla	×աշ	jach	xaibe	غذا	geza	xwarbar
11.	police	?				նստիկ ան	vosdigan	Policia/kalj adre/singal e	پلیس	polis	polês
12.	small	صغير	saghir	صغير	Sghir	պզտիկ	bzdig	tikno	کوچک	kuçek	biçûk
13.	mens organ, big, far away,long, tall	طویل/ کبير	kabir/Taouil	طویل/ کبير	Kbir/To uil			kar Baro Dur Lungo ucho	عضو بدن بزرگ بلند	Ozv-e beden , bozorg, bolend	Zilam,l ebat,me zin,dûr, dûre,dir êj, bilind
14.	mother	أم	om	أم	Om	Մայր	mayr	daj	مادر	mader	dayik
15.	knife	سكين	sekkine	سكينة	Sekkina	դանակ	tanag	shuri	چاقو	çagu	kêr
16.	dog	كلب	kalb	كلب	Kalb	շուն	shoun	Dzukhel/ri kono	سگ	seg	Kûçik,s a, seg
17.	cat	قط	kitt	قطوص	kattous	կատու	gadou	muca	گربه	gorbe	pisîk
18.	donkey	حمار	himar	بهيم	bhim	էշ	esh	her	خر	Her	ker
19.	vagina/pussy	المهبل	mahbel					Mindz/vagi na	واژن	vajen	quz

20.	beautiful/handsome	جميلة	jamila	مزبانه	mizyana	զեղեղիկ	keghetsig	Suzo/i Lacho/lachi	زيبا	ziba	Rind/cindí, hoşeng
21.	mouth/lips	فم	Fam	فم	Fom	բերան-շրճունք	peran-shertounk	Muj/voshti	دهان لب	dehan, leb	dev/lêv
22.	weather	طقس	takes	طقس	takes	եղանակ	yeghanag	vrama	هوا	heva	hewa
23.	smoke	تدخين	tadkhine	تدخين	tadkhine	մոխր	mouch	thuv	سيگار كشيدن	Sigar keşiden	kişandin
24.	money	نقود	noukoud	فلوس	flous	դրամ	tram	love	پول	pul	Dirav/pere
25.	pain	ألم	alam	وجيعه	oujiaa	óաւ	tsav	dukh	درد	derd	jan
26.	shotgun/gun/musket	بندقية	boundoukiya	سلاح / فرد	Fared / sleh	կրակն ց	gragots	pistola/jagalo	تفنگ اصلحه	Tofeng, eslehe	Avêtin, berdan/ debançe/ tiving
27.	friend	صديق	sadik	صاحب	saheb	բարեկամ	paregam	amal	دوست	dust	Heval,hogir
28.	father	أب	ab	بو	bou	հայր	hayr	dad	پدر	peder	bav

29.	girl	بنت	bint	طفلة	tofla	աղջիկ	aghchig	shej	دختر	dohter	Qeç/qîz
30.	grandmother	جدة	jadda	جدة	jadda	մեծմայր	medsmayr	Mami/phuri nana/baba	مادر بزرگ	Mader-e bozorg	Dapîr/pîrik
31.	man	رجل	rajoul	راجل	rajel	մարդ	mart	mursh	مرد	merd	zilam
32.	woman	امراة	imraa	مرا	mra	կին	gin	dzuvli	زن	zen	jin
33.	child	طفل	tifl	صغير	sghir	զաւսկ	zavag	shavoro	بچه	beççe	zarok
34.	hedgehog	قنفذ	konfodh	قنفود	kanfoud	նզնի	vozni	borsano	جوجه تیغی	Cuce-tigi	Jîjo/jojî
35.	head	رأس	raes	راس	ras	գլուխ	klouch	shero	سر	ser	ser
36.	wife	زوجة	zaouja	مرا	mra	կին	gin	romni	همسر	hemser	hevjin
37.	brother/sister	أخ / أخت	akh/okht	أخت /خو	Khou/okht	եղբայր -քույր	yeghpayr-kouyr	Phral/phen	برادر خواهر	Berader, haher	Bira/xwîşk
38.	hen	دجاجة	dajeja	دجاجة	djeja	հաւ	hav	khajni	مرغ	morg	Mirîşk/mamir
39.	pig	خنزير	khinzir	حلوڤ	hallouf	խոզ	choz	balo	خوك	huk	beraz
40.	sheep	خروف	kharouf	علوش	allouch	գաւնուկ	karnoug	bakhro	گوسفند	gusfend	Mêşin/mî
41.	neck	عنق	onk	عنق	onk	վիզ	viz	men	گردن	gerden	Stû

42.	lips/mouth	شفاه	chifeh	شفايف	chfayef	բերան- շրճան ք	peran- shertounk	Voshta/mu j	لبها ، دهان	Lebha, dehan	Lêv/de v
43.	door	باب	beb	باب	beb	դուր	tour	vudar	در	der	derî
44.	He / she / it	هو / هي / هو	houa / hiya / houa	هي / هو / هو	Houa / hiya / houa	ան	an	Voj/voj	أن / او	an, u	Wî/wê/ ew
45.	jar	جرة	jarra	جرة	jarra			/	شيشه	şışe	qebano z
46.	home	منزل / بيت	beyt / menzal	دار	dar	տուն	doun	kher	خانه	hane	Mal/jûr
47.	glass	زجاج	zoujej	بلار	bellar	սպակի	abagi	staklo	ليونان	livan	Piyale/ îskan
48.	paper	ورقة	ouaraka	ورقة / كاغت	Ouarka / keghet	ձուղձ	tought	lil	كاغذ	kagez	qaxiz
49.	egg	بيضة	baydha	عضمة	adhma	հավի ձ	havgit	Jaro/anro	نخم مرغ	Tohm-e morg	hêk
50.	butter	زبدة	zidba	زبدة	zidba	կարագ	garak	buteri	كره	kere	Rûnê nivişk
51.	olive	زيتون	zaytoun	زيتون	zitoun	ձիւղ տուն	tsitabdoug h	oliva	زيتون	zeytun	zeytûn

52.	village	قرية	karya	قرية	Karya	qɦıŋ	kiough	gav	دهكده	dehkede	gund
53.	prison	سجن	sijn	حبس	habs	Ɔwɫun	pand	Phanlipe/te mnica	زندان	zندان	girtîgeh
54.	many	كثير	kethir	برشا	Barcha	ʒawun	shad	but	زياد	ziyad	Zaf/pir/ gelek
55.	breast	ثدى	thedy	صدر	sader	կուրծք	gourdk	cuci	پستان	pestan	memik
56.	ass	حمار	himar	بهيم	Behim	նր	vor	bul	الاغ	olag	ker
57.	body	جسم	jessem	بدن	bedane	մարմնի ն	marmin	Tešto/korp o	بدن	beden	laş
58.	animal donkey	/حيوان/ حمار	hayewene/hi mar	حيوان/ب هيم	Hayèwè ne/bhim	կենդա նի-է2	kentani- esh	Marha/esa	حيوان	heyvan	Ajal/le wir
59.	leg, foot	ساق ، قدم	sek,kadam	ساق،قدم	Sek,kada m	nunp	vodk	punro	پا	pa	Çîp/çîm / paq
60.	here	لها	leha	ليها هي	Liha heya	hnu	hos	Kate/katka	آنجا	anca	vira
61.	mature girl	فتاة ناضجة	fetetone nadheja	صبيبة كبيرة	Sbeya kbira	մեծ աղջիկ	meds aghchig	dzuvli	دختر بالغ	dohter-e baleg	Pîre jin
62.	beautiful	جميل	jemil	مزيان	mezyène	ախուշի կ	anoushig	shuzo	زيبا	ziba	rind

63.	sea	بحر	behar	بحر	behar	ծով	dsov	mara	دریا	derya	derya
64.	soil	تربة	torba	تراب	terab	հող	hogh	phuv	خاک	hak	Ax/xak
65.	rain	مطر	matar	شياء	chtè	անձրեւ	antsrev	brsind	باران	baran	baran
66.	table / wood	طاوله الخشب/ ب	khachab/Taw leh	لوح	louh	սեղան- ծայտ	seghan- payd	Meseli/ves	تخته / جدول / چوب	Tehte, cedvel, çub	Mase/ta xtîn
67.	fire	نار	nar	نار	nar	կրակ	grag	jag	آتش	ateş	agir
68.	tree	شجرة	chajra	شجرة	chajra	ծաւ	dsar	kast	درخت	dereht	dar
69.	gypsy	عجر	ghajar	عجر	ghajar			Rom	كولى	koli	qereçî
70.	slowly	ببطء	bibotée	بشوية	bechewa ya	կամայց	gamats	lokhores	به آرامى	Be-arami	hêdika
71.	quickly	بسرعة	bisoraa	فيسع	fisaa	արագ	arak	sigo	به سرعت	Be-sorat	Lez/zu
72.	table	مائدة/ طاوله	mèida/tawleh	طاوله	tawla	սեղան	seghan	meseli	ميز	miz	mase
73.	milk	حليب	halib	حليب	hlib	կաթ	gat	thud	شیر	şir	şîr
74.	sugar	سكر	sokar	سكر	sokar	շաքար	shakar	Sekeri/cukr o	شکر	şeker	şekir
75.	salt	ملح	meleh	ملح	meleh	աղ	agh	lon	نمک	nemek	xwê

76.	pencil	قلم رصاص	kalam rasase	قلم رصاص	Klam resase	մատիտ	madid	piso	خودکار	hodkar	pênûs
77.	shave	حلاقة	hileka	حجامة	hejema	ածիլել	adsilel	murajipe	تراشیدن	teraşiden	traş
78.	ear	إذن	edhene	إذن	edhene	ականջ	aganch	kan	گوش	guş	guh
79.	claw	مخالب	makheleb	مخالب	makhaleb	×անկ	jang	naj	پنجه	pence	pençe
80.	elbow	كوع	koua	مرفق	merfak	արմուկ	armoug	kuni	أرنج	arenc	enişk
81.	hand/finger	اليد/الإصبع	yed/ esbaa	يد / صواعب	Yed/swe baa	ձեռք- մատ	tserk-mad	Vast/naj	دست	dest	Dest/tilî
82.	flower	زهرة	zahra	وردة	warda	ծաղիկ	dsaghig	kandoj	گل	gol	çiçek
83.	rat	فأر	faér	فار	far	առնետ	arned	/	موش	muş	Mişkê cirboq
84.	hooker	عاهرة	aahera	فاسدة	fesida			kurva	فاحشه	fahşe	
85.	hungry	جائع		جيعان	jiaane	անօ՞հի	anoti	bokhalo	گرسنه	gorosne	birçî
86.	blind	ضربير	dherir	أعمى	aama	կոյր	glor	Koroko/i	نايينا	Na-bina	kor
87.	shit	براز	boraz	خامج	khamij			khul	مدفوع	Medfu'	gû

88.	bicker	تخاصم	tehasem	تعارك	teaarek			/	تخاصم ، ارتعاش	Tehasom , erte'aş	Devjenî kirin/ nîqaş kirin
89.	many/any/full	كثير/أى/كام ل	kethir/ey/kemel	بارشا/أى/كل	Barcha/ey/kol	շատ	shad	But/pherdo	زياد / فراوان	Ziyad, feravan	Hinek/h îç/ tije
90.	There isn't any/ empty	ليس هناك أى/فارغ	leisa houneka ey/feregh	مفما شئ وافى	Mafama chay wefi	չկայ	chega	Naj khanci	آنجا كسى نيست	Anca kesi nist	Nebûnî/ tunebûn / hîçatî
91.	job	وظيفة	ouadhifa	خدمة	khedma	գործ	kords	buki	شغل	şogl	pîşe
92.	granny	جدة	jeda	ممامات	memète	մեծմայր	medsmayr	/	مادر بزرگ	Mader bozorg	pîrik
93.	a little	قليل	kalilane	شوية	chewaya	քիչ	kich	xari	كمى	kemi	hindik
94.	chair	كرسى	korsi	كرسى	korsi	սեմե	Ator	skamin	صندلى	sendeli	sendelî
95.	meat	لحم	leham	لحم	laham	միս	Mis	mas	گوشت	guşt	goşt
96.	onion	بصل	besal	بصل	besal	սնձ	soch	purum	پیاز	piyaz	pîvaz
97.	mule	بغل	beghal	بغل	beghal	ջորի	chori	esa	لجباز	lecbaz	qatir

98.	halloumi cheese	جبنة حلوم	jebnate haloume	جين حلوم	Jben haloume	պանիր	banir	kiral	پنیر هالوویم	Penir-e haluvim	Penîrê helandî
99.	cock	صياح الديك	sayèh dik	يسردك	Yesarde k	արաղա ղ	akaghagh	kar	خروس	hurus	dik
100	ugly, bad	قبيحة, سيئة	kabiha,seiè	خايبة, شومة	Khayeba ,mchou ma:	տգեղ	dkegh	močkošno	زشت، بد	Zest, bed	Kirêt/ bed
101	wedding	زفاف	zefèf	عرس	eeres	հարսն իք	harsnik	Bijav/abav	عروسی	erusi	zewaç
102	orange	البرتق الي	elbouroukali	برتقالي	bourtouk ali	նարինջ	narinch	orandž	پرتقال	portegal	pirtoqal î
103	tangerine	يوسفي	yousfi	مدليينة	medelin a	տանժե րացի	danjeratsi	mandarina	نارنگی	narengi	mandalî na
104	pregnant	حامل	Hamel	حامل	Hamel	հղի	hghi	Phari/dovo gende	باردار	bardar	ducanî
105	lie	كذبة	kedheba	كذب	kedheb	տւտ	soud	xoxavipe	دروغ گفتن	Durug goften	derew
106	liar	كذاب	kedhebe	كذاب	kedhebe	սըտաÊ ou	sedachos	xoxavno	دروغ گو	duruggu	Virek/ derewk er
107	drunk	سكران	sokrane	سكران	sokrane	զինով	kinov	mato	مست	mest	sermest

108	drink	شراب	cherab	شراب	chrab	Êւել	chmel	pibe	نوشيدنى	nuşideni	alkol
109	elderly/old man	كبار السن جل مسن	Kibar sene/rajol mosen	عزائز/ جل عمرو	Eezeiez/ rajel oomrou	տարկի g	daregits	Phuroro.ph uro manush	سالمند ، پير	Salmend, pir	rîspî
110	ring	حلقة	helka	عقدة	Ookda	մատան ի	madani	zvono	حلقة	helge	Gungîl/ heleq
111	pants	بنطلون	bentaloune	سروال	serwèl	տաբա տ	dapad	sosten	شلوار	şelvar	Şel/şel war
112	crazy	مجنون	mejnoune	مهبول	mehboul e	խենÃ	chent	Dilo/dilino /i	ديوانه	divane	dîn
113	night	ليل	leyl	ليل	lil	գիՅեր	eghpayrkis her	rat	شب	şeb	şev
114	flour	طحين	taheen	فارينة	farine	ալիւր	aliour	Varo	أرد	ard	ard
115	aunt (mother)	عمة الأم	aamete ome	عمة أمي	Aamete omi	մորագ ոյր	morakouyr	bibi	خاله	hale	xaltî
116	aunt (father)	عمة الأب	aamete èbe	عمة بابا	Aamete baba	հորեղբ այր	horyepayr	bibi	عمه	amme	metik

117	uncle (mother)	خال الأم	khale ome	خال امي	Khale omi	հորազ ոյր	horakouyr	Ujce/kako			xal
118	rich	ثري	theriy	غني	ghaniy	հարուս տ	harousd	barvalo	ثروتمند	servetme nd	dewlem end
119	old	مسن	mousen	عزوز	aazouz	տարեկ ից	daregits	Phuro/i	پير	pir	Kevin/ kevnare
120	person	شخص	chekhas	عبد	aabed	անձ	Ants	persona	فرد	ferd	kes
121	Roma people –Gypsies	روما ناس العجر	Roma nes ghajar	العجر متاع روما	Ghajar mtee roma			Roma	مردم - روم كولى ها	Merdom- e rum, koliha	romanî
122	straw	قش	kach	تبين	tben	հարդ	Hart	Phus/ čupa	كاه	kah	ka
123	urine	بول	boule	بول	boule	մեզ	mez	muter	ادرار	edrar	mîz
124	day	يوم	youme	نهار	nehar	օր	Or	Ges/dive	روز	ruz	roj
125	shame	خجل	khajal	عار	aar	ամո՜հ	amot	ladzav	شرم	şerm	şerm
126	bag	حقيبة	hakiba	فأليجة	felija	պայուս ակ	bayousag	chanta	كيف	kif	çente
127	lamp	مصباح	mesbeh	فيوزة	feyouza	լամբ	lamp	lampa	چراغ	çerag	Berx/ berxik
128	ugly	قبيح	kabih	خايب	khayeb	տգեղ	dkegh	dzungalo	زشت	zešt	Kirêt

129	moron	المغفل	moughafel	بهلول	bahloul	անՇէկք	anchelk	morono	نادان	nadan	Xirpo/ gemjel
130	bed	فراش	ferash	فرش	farch	անկողի ն	angoghin	pato	تخت	teht	Nivîn
131	wallet	محفظة نقود	mehfadhet noukoud	ستوش	stouch	դրամսկ անսկ	trambanag	lojengeri taška	كيف پول	Kef-e pul	xelitk
132	flood	فيضان	feyedhan	فيضان	feyedhan	ջրհեղե ղ	chrhegheg h	baro paj	سيل	seyl	şêlav
133	shoes	حذاء	hedhè	صباطا	sabat	կօշիկ	goshig	Papuci/me nije	كفش ها	kefşha	pêlav
134	car	سيارة	seyera	كرهبة	karehba	ինքնաս արժ	inknasharj h	vurdon	ماشين	maşin	siware
135	horse / mule	حصان /بغل	hisan/beghal	حصان/ بغل	Hisan/be ghal	ձի- ջորի	tsi-chori	Grast/esa	اسب	esb	Hasp/ mehîn
136	fork	شوكة طعام	chewkite taam	فرشية	ferchita	պատսս ռաքսսկ	badarakag h	Fukrkulica/ vilica	چنگال	çengal	dugûlî
137	plate	صحن	sehan	صحن	sahan	ամսն	aman	Čaroro/kox eri	بشقاب	boşgab	plaka
138	nose	أنف	anef	خشم	khecham	քի՛	Kit	nak	بینی	bini	Bêvil/p oz

139	hair	شعر	chaeer	شعر	chaeer	մազ	maz	bal	مو	mu	Por/kej
140	tooth	سن	seen			ատամ	adam	dand	دندان	dendan	diran
141	punch	لكمة	lakma	بونية	bounia	դակիչ	tagich	Čalajipe/ punš	مشت زدن منگنه کردن	Most zeden, mengene zeden	Kulm/ kulmist
142	noon	منتصف ف النهار	montasaf nehar	نصف النهار	Nesf nehar	լուսիս	lousin	plane	ظهر	zohr	nîvro
143	afternoon	بعد الظهر	baeed dhoher	في القبلة	félkaila	կեսորէ եսք	kesoreyed k	paloplane	بعد از ظهر	Bed ez zohr	berêvar kî
144	my niece	ابنة أخي	ibnète akhi	بنت خويا	Bente khouya	իմ եղբոր աղջիկը	im yeghpor aghchige	Miri nepota	خواهر زاده من	Hahe zade-ye men	birazî
145	belly	بطن	baten	كرش	kerch	ծնր	Por	stomako	شکم	şkem	xavik
146	penis	قطيب	kadhib					kar	آلت تناسلی مرد	Alet-e tenasoli- ye merd	kîr
147	pussy	قطة	keta	قطوسة	katousa			Mindz	گربه	gorbe	pisîk

148	groom	عريس	eeris	عريس	eeris	÷եսայ	pesa	dzamutro	داماد	damad	Zava/ mehter
149	bride	عروس	aarous	عروسة	aarousa	հարս	hars	bori	عروس	erus	bûk
150	boy	صبي	sabey	طفل	tfol	տղայ	dgha	chavo	پسر	peser	kurik
151	guy	غلام	ghoulèm	شخص	chakhes	տղայ	dgha	raklo	پسر	peser	ciwan
152	brother	أخ	akh	خويا	khouya	եղբայր	yeghpayr	phral	برادر	berader	bira
153	grandchild	حفيد	hafid	ولد الولد	Weld welid	Մեծնիկ	tornig	nepoto	فرزند بزرگ	Ferzend- e bozorg	nevî
154	glasses	نظارات	nedharat	مريات	mreyèt	ակնոց	agnots	okularia	عينك	eynek	berçavk
155	the one who speaks nice	شخص لطيف	chekhes latif	سيس	seyes	քաղաք ավար Ênunղ	kaghakava r chosogh	Kodo so del дума sukares	كسى كه	Kesi ke	bêjekar
156	son	ابن	ibn	ولد	weld	որդի	vorti	shavo	پسر	peser	lavik
157	hand	يد	yed	يد	yid	ձեռք	tserk	vast	دست	dest	dest
158	manure	روث	routh	سماد	semèd			nojalo	كود	kud	zibil
159	spoon	ملعقة	melaaka	مغرفة	megharf a	դգալ	Tkal	roj	قاشق	gaşog	kevçî

160	long/long road	طويلة/ا لطريق طويلة	twila/trik twila	ياسر ثنية طويلة	Yeser thenia twila	Երկար Իսարայ	yergar jampa	Lungo/lun go drom	دراز	deraz	Dirêj/ riya dirêj
161	naughty/dirty	مشاك س/ القدرة	moshakes/ka dhira	مطيع/م سخ	Moutiee/ masakh	չար- աղտոտ	char- aghdod	Melalo/li	شیطان	şeytan	Şûm/ qirêj
162	zucchini	قرع	keraa	قرع	keraa	դդում	ttoum	zukina	كدو	kedu	dolmik
163	pee	بول	boule	بول	boule	մեզ	mez	muter	ادرار	edrar	Miz kirin
164	black	أسود	aswed	أكل	akhel	սեւ	Sev	kalo	سياه	siyah	reş
165	light	ضوء	dhwée	ضوء	dhawée	լոյս	Louis	lumina	روشن	roşen	ronî
166	baby	رضيع	radhiee	رضيع	radhiee	զաւսկ	zavag	bebe	نوزاد	nozad	pitik
167	bottle	زجاجة	zoujeja	بلار	belar	շիշ	shish	Sise/butilk a	بطرى	botri	şûşe
168	blood	دم	deme	دم	deme	արիւն	aghavni	rat	خون	hun	xwîn
169	pound	جنيه	jenia	جن	jene	զարնել	zarnel	?	واحد پول	Vahed-e pul	pound
170	ten	عشرة	aachera	عشرة	aachera	տասը	dase	desh	ده	deh	deh
171	one	واحد	wahed	واحد	wahed	մէկ	meg	jekh	يك	yek	yek
172	two	اثنان	hthenèn	زوز	zouz	երկու	yergou	duj	دو	do	do

173	dish	طبق	tebak	طبق	tebak	պխակ	bnag	tahtaj	بشقاب	boşgab	viraq
174	cheese	جبين	jben	جبين	jben	պանիր	banir	kiral	پنير	penir	penîr
175	blanket	بطانية	batania	فراشيه	ferachia	վերմա կ	vermag	kapa	پتو	petu	karpêt
176	oven	فرن	forne	فور	four	÷mélé	pour	furna	اجاق ، فر	Ocag, fer	firûn
177	toilet	مرحاض	merhadh	تواليت	twalète	լուսցա րան	lvatsaran	toaleto	تواليت	tuvalet	tualet
178	priest	كاهن	kehen	بياص	Bebas	տէր հայր	der hayr	rashaj	كشيش	keşiş	keşa
179	wood	خشب	khechab	لوح	louh	÷այտ	payd	kast	چوب	çub	taxtîn
180	wheat	قمح	kamah	قمح	kamah	ցորեն	tsoren	dživ	گندم	gendom	genim
181	zone	منطقة	mentaka	حومة	Houma			/	منطقه	mentege	herêm
182	trash	قمامة	koumema	زبلة	Zebła	աղբ	aghp	gono	زباله	zobale	Çop/zib il

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS / ΗΜΙΑΔΟΜΗΜΕΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΙΣ

Table 7: Ethnographic research with Roma for the purposes of documentation

Participant	P1	Name-Surname/ Όνομα Επίθετο	
Place of Birth/ Τόπος γέννησης		Date of Birth/Ημερομηνία γεννήσεως	
Age/ Ηλικία		Place of interview / Τόπος συνέντευξης	
Nationality/Εθνικότητα		Occupation/Επάγγελμα	
Date/Ημερομηνία		Time/ Ώρα:	

1. **What is your daily routine?** Ποια είναι η καθημερινότητά σου;
2. **Do you believe in God?** / Πιστεύεις στο Θεό;
3. **What was the reason you came to the South part of Cyprus?** /Ποιος ήταν ο λόγος/οι λόγοι που ήρθατε στις ελεύθερες περιοχές;
4. **Describe me what was the situation before moving to the South part of Cyprus? How was your living conditions?** / Μπορείς να μου περιγράψεις σε παρακαλώ ποια ήταν η κατάσταση στην οποία ζούσατε πριν να έρθετε στις ελεύθερες περιοχές της Κύπρου;
5. **Describe me a traditional wedding/** Μπορείς να μου περιγράψεις ένα παραδοσιακό γάμο;
6. **Tell me few things about the ‘abduction of girl’/** Μπορείς να μου πεις λίγα λόγια για το έθιμο της ‘Απαγωγής της κόρης’;
7. **Tell me few things about the funeral.** / Μπορείς να μου πεις λίγα λόγια για την κηδεία;