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A FIRST GLIMPSE AT THE DIALECTOLOGIC CATEGORISATION
OF AXISKA TURKISH

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The Axiska people settled in the Mesxeti region of Georgia until 1944, when they were deported by the Soviets. Then, they were brought to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, where many of them still live until nowadays.

The Axiska themselves subdivide into "Yerli Axiska" and "Terekeme Axiska". The language of the latter is very similar to Azerbaijani, whereas the language of the Yerli Axiska is closer to the Turkish of Turkey [cf. 1]. The following investigation refers to the language variety of the Yerli Axiska, and it is based on the material collected in Kazakhstan within the frame of the project „Interaction of Turkic languages and cultures in post-soviet Kazakhstan“.¹

In this article, we will focus on Axiska lexemes that differ phonologically from Standard Turkish, and compare them with Turkish dialects. The dialectal Turkish lexemes collected in the twelve volumes of the *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü*[2] provide the basis for this comparison. Additionally, they are compared with Standard Azerbaijani.² The lexemes are assigned to the different sections according to their specific phonologic features by which they differ from the standard language.

1. Onset voiced vs. unvoiced

Some lexemes in the Axiska dialect have a voiced onset, whereas Turkish has an unvoiced onset:

1.1 Yerli Axiska: *durna* vs. Std.T: *turna* 'crane (bird)'

The voiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialects of Isparta, Kütahya, Bilecik, Eskişehir, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Çorum, Samsun, Amasya, Tokat, Artvin, Kars, Van, Gaziantep, Hatay, Sivas, Kırşehir, and Niğde [3]. It is also *durna* in Standard Azerbaijani.

1.2 Yerli Axiska: *geçi* vs. Std.T: *keçi* 'goat'

The voiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialects of Burdur, Samsun, Rize, Artvin, Van, Elazığ, Gaziantep, Hatay, Ankara, Niğde, İçel, and Muğla [4]. In Standard Azerbaijani, however, it is *keçi*.

1.3 Yerli Axiska: *bazar* vs. Std.T: *pazar* 'market; Sunday'

The voiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialects of Isparta, Denizli, Samsun, Amasya, Tokat, Ordu, Giresun, Kars, Gaziantep, Hatay, Ankara, and Niğde [5]. It is also *bazar* in Azerbaijani.

Some lexemes in the Yerli Axiska dialect have an unvoiced onset, whereas Turkish has a voiced onset:

1.4 Yerli Axiska: *tul* vs. Std.T: *dul* 'widow'

The unvoiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialect of Konya [6]. It is also *dul* in Standard Azerbaijani.

1.5 Yerli Axiskatayı vs. Std.T: *dayı* 'uncle (mother's brother)'

The unvoiced onset of this word is not attested in the *Derleme Sözlüğü* [2]. In Azerbaijani, this word starts with a voiced consonant: *dayı*.

1.6 Yerli Axiska: *toğrı*³ vs. Std.T: *doğru* 'right, correct'

The unvoiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialect of Mersin (formerly called İçel) [8]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *doğru*.

1.7 Yerli Axiska: *tut* vs. Std.T: *dut* 'mulberry'

The unvoiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialects of Samsun, Malatya, Gaziantep, Maraş, Sivas, Konya, and Mersin (formerly called İçel) [9]. It is also *tut* in Standard Azerbaijani.

1.8 Yerli Axiska: *tuy-* vs. Std.T: *duy-* 'hear'

The unvoiced onset of this word is not attested in the *Derleme Sözlüğü*[2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, *duy-* has a different meaning: "feel, forsee, divine".

1.9 Yerli Axiska: *kölge* vs. Std.T: *gölge* 'shadow, shade'

¹This project is carried out by the Institute for Turkology of the Free University Berlin, Germany. It is directed by Prof. Irina Nevskaya and Prof. Claus Schönig.

²Azerbaijani examples are given in the standard Azerbaijani orthography, whereas the Axiska examples follow

the standard Turkish orthography.

³For the ending *-i* instead of *-u*, see [7].



The unvoiced onset of this word has been attested for the dialect of Van [10]. It is also *koġe* in Azerbaijani.

1.10 Yerli Axiska: *palux* vs. Std.T: *balık* 'fish'
This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *balık*. The pronunciation of the second syllable *-lux* is to be considered a re-interpretation as the suffix *-lux*, which does not adhere to the vowel harmony in Yerli Axiska [cf. 7].

2. Maintenance of an earlier *-g-* / *-ğ-*
2.1 Yerli Axiska: *çigelek* vs. Std.T: *çilek* 'apple'
The maintenance of an the consonant *-g-* in this word is attested for the dialect of Artvin. The representation of this consonant as *-ğ-* is attested for Artvin as well, and for the dialect of Kars [11]. These forms are closer to Standard Azerbaijani *çiyelek*, where the underlying *-g-* is pronounced as, and orthographically represented by *-y-*.

3. Representaton of Old Turkic *ŋ* by *n* / *m* vs. *nğ* / *ng* / *nk*
In Standard Turkish, Old Turkic *ŋ* is regularly represented by either *n* or *m*. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is always represented by *n*. In Yerli Axiska, we can find *nğ*, *ng* and at the auslaut also *nk* in such instances.

3.1 Yerli Axiska: *donğuz* vs. Std.T: *domuz* 'pig'
The form *donğuz* is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2], but the very similar form *donguz* is attested for the dialects of Artvin, Kars and Hatay [12].

3.2 Yerli Axiska: *düngür* vs. Std.T: *dünür* 'parent of the daughter-in-law'
The form *düngür* has also been attested for the dialect of Tokat [13].

3.3 Yerli Axiska: *yünk* vs. Std.T: *yün* 'wool'

At the auslaut, Old Turkic *-ŋ* is represented by *-nk* here. This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2].⁴

4. Drop of an earlier *-g-* / *-ğ-*

4.1 Yerli Axiskastava vs. Std.T: *soğuk* 'cold'
As we can see, the *-ğ-* is labialised between two labial vowels, thus being pronounced as *-y-*. This leads to a delabialisation of the vowel before this sound. This word form is also attested for the dialect of Van [15]. In Standard Azerbaijani, *-ğ-* is represented by *-y-*, resulting in the form *soyuq*.

5. *y* vs. *v*

In some words, Standard Turkish *-y-* is represented by *-v-* in Yerli Axiska.

5.1 Yerli Axiska: *köy* vs. Std.T: *köy* 'village'

This word form is also attested in the dialect of Bolu [16]. In Standard Azerbaijani, 'village' means *kent*.

5.2 Axiska: *avi* vs. Std.T: *ayı* 'bear'

This word form is also attested in the dialects of Artvin and Kars [17]. In Standard Azerbaijani, a change *y>v* can generally not be attested so the form is *ayım* maintained.

5.3 Axiska: *öy* vs. Std.T: *ev* 'house'

Also the opposite case, i.e. Standard Turkish *v* being represented by *y* in Yerli Axiska, can be attested. Here we can see that the delabialisation of the auslaut consonant has resulted in a labialisation of the previous vowel. This word form has been attested for the dialects of Kars and Urfa [18]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *ev*.

6. Consonant drop

In some words, the Yerli Axiska variety shows a consonant drop:

6.1 Yerli Axiska: *kax-* vs. Std.T: *kalk-* 'get up, rise'

A similar word form *kahmak* is attested for the dialect of Niğde [19]; *kakmak* is attested for the dialects of Burdur and Sivas [20].

6.2 Yerli Axiska: *sora* vs. Std.T: *sonra* 'after'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *sonra*.

7. Metathesis

There are some instances of metathesis in the Yerli Axiska variety:

7.1 Yerli Axiska: *başça* vs. Std.T: *başka* 'other'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *başqa*.

7.2 Yerli Axiska: *kisme* vs. Std.T: *kimse* 'somebody'

This word form is attested for the dialect of Kars [21]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *kimse*.

7.3 Yerli Axiska: *eği* vs. Std.T: *eşki* 'sour (dough)'



This word form is attested for the dialects of Kars, Erzurum, Erzincan, Tunceli, and Gaziantep [22]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *eği* as well.

8. Consonant exchange

The following further consonant changes could be attested for the Yerli Axiska variety so far:

8.1 Yerli Axiska: *yızgar* vs. Std.T: *rüzgar* 'wind'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is usually *kulak*, whereas *rüzgar* is only used in poetry.

8.2 Yerli Axiska: *etmek* vs. Std.T: *ekmek* 'bread'

This word form has been attested for the dialects of Bolu, Artvin and Ankara. The similar forms *etmexandemeyh* have both been attested for the Kars dialect [23].

9. *o* / *ö* vs. *u* / *ü*

In some instances, Yerli Axiska *o* or *ö* appears where Standard Turkish has *u* or *ü*:

9.1 Yerli Axiska: *gözel* vs. Std.T: *güzel* 'beautiful'

This word form has also been attested for the dialects of Denizli, Bolu, Zonguldak, Ordu, Giresun,

Kars, Van, Maraş, Hatay, Muğla, Kırklareli, and Kerkük (Iraq) [24]. It is also *gözel* in Standard Azerbaijani.

9.2 Yerli Axiska: *böyük* vs. Std.T: *büyük* 'big'

The very similar forms *böyüx* and *böyüih* have both been attested for the dialect of Kars, and *böyyük* for Hatay [25]. It is also *böyük* in Standard Azerbaijani.

9.3 Yerli Axiska: *totax* vs. Std.T: *dudak* 'lip'

This word differs both in its unvoiced onset and in its vowel quality from the Standard Turkish form. The unvoiced onset is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. Forms with *-o-* in the first syllable are *dodax*, and Samsun [26]. It is *dodak* in Standard Azerbaijani.

10. *e* vs. *a*

In loan words that have entered the language from or via Persian, *a* is often represented by *a* in Standard Turkish, however by *e* in Yerli Axiska:

10.1 Yerli Axiska: *çerşembe* vs. Std.T: *çarşamba* 'Wednesday'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *çarşamba*.

10.2 Yerli Axiska: *teref* vs. Std.T: *taraf* 'side'

This word form has been attested for the dialect of Kars [27]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *taraf*.

10.3 Yerli Axiska: *kirez* vs. Std.T: *kiraz* 'sweet cherry'

This word form has been attested in the dialects of Isparta, Denizli, Zonguldak, Çorum, Giresun, Rize, Hatay, and Adana [28]. It does not go back to the Persian word *gilaz*, which is maintained in this form in Standard Azerbaijani, but to Greek *kerasus*.

10.4 Yerli Axiska: *meymun* vs. Std.T: *maymun* 'monkey'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *meymun*.

In some loan words, however, the Yerli Axiska variety adjusts the internal vowel harmony by turning *e* to *a*, as in the following example:

10.5 Yerli Axiska: *bayaz* vs. Std.T: *beyaz* 'white'

This word form has been attested in the dialects of Kars and Erzurum [29]. In Azerbaijani, the normal word for white is *ağ*; *beyaz* can only be found in poetry.

In Turkish words, the Yerli Axiska variety may keep an older form with *a*, whereas Turkish has *e*:

10.6 Yerli Axiska: *kardaş* 'brother' vs. Std.T: *kardeş* 'younger sibling'

This word form itself is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2], but derivations are shown for the Adana dialect: *kardaşlanmak* 'graft' and a form *kardaşlık* is attested for the dialect of Kırklareli [30]. Also in Standard Azerbaijani, the form is *qardaş*, and just like in the Yerli Axiska variety, the meaning differs from Standard Turkish, referring to a male sibling regardless of whether he is younger or older.

11. *i* vs. *e*

In some instances, the Yerli Axiska variety displays *e* where Standard Turkish has *i*:

11.1 Yerli Axiska: *en-* vs. Std.T: *in-* 'get off'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *en-* as well.

11.2 Yerli Axiska: *eşit-* vs. Std.T: *işit-* 'hear'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *eşit-* as well.

11.3 Yerli Axiska: *get-* vs. Std.T: *git-* 'go'

A very simialarword form *ged-* has been attested in the dialect of Muğla [31]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *get-*.

11.4 Yerli Axiska: *ey* vs. Std.T: *iyi* 'good'

⁴ Only forms that maintain the original *-ŋ* can be found in the dialects of Hatay and Ankara [14].



The word form *ey* itself is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. However, derivations of this adjective can be found that prove the existence of an *e-* onset. We can find *eylük* in the Artvin dialect and *eyliyh* in the Kars dialect [32]. In Yerli Axiska, this derivation would be *eylux*[cf. 7]. Standard Azerbaijani uses the word *yaxşı* instead of derivations of *iyi*.

12. *ü* vs. *u*/*ü*
12.1 Yerli Axiska: *sarmusax* vs. Std.T: *sarmısak* 'garlic'

This word form is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is metathesizes as *sarmısag*.

12.2 Yerli Axiska: *zeytun* vs. Std.T: *zeytin* 'olive'

The word form *zeytun* itself is not attested in the Derleme Sözlüğü [2]. A similar form *zeytün* is shown for the Hatay dialect [33]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *zeytun* as well.

12.3 Yerli Axiska: *balduzvs*. Std.T: *baldız* 'sister of the wife'

This word form is attested for the dialects of Ordu, Artvin, Erzurum, Elazığ, and Sivas [34]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *ibaldız*.

12.4 Yerli Axiska: *cevüzvs*. Std.T: *ceviz* 'walnut'

This word form has been attested for the dialects of Samsun, Tokat, and Ordu [35]. In Standard Azerbaijani, the word is not used at all; 'walnut' means *qoz*.

13. *öy* vs. *e*

13.1 Yerli Axiska: *ele* vs. Std.T: *öyle* 'so (far)'

This word form has been attested for the dialects of Kars, Erzurum, Van, Elazığ, and Hatay [36]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *elə* as well.

13.2 Yerli Axiska: *bele* vs. Std.T: *böyle* 'so (near)'

This word form has been attested for the dialect of Gaziantep [37]. In Standard Azerbaijani, it is *bela* as well.

At the present stage of research, a complete dialectologic assignment of the Yerli Axiska variety cannot yet be done. This article only covers a small amount words with certain subgroups of phonetic deviations. Morphologic comparisons have been set asides, as well as dialectal words that differ in etymology from Standard Turkish. However, we can already realize from the data that most correspondences are with the Kars dialect (15 correspondences,), second is Artvin and Hatay (both 8 correspondences), then Van and Gaziantep (both 6 correspondences,), then Samsun, Ordu, Erzurum und Tokat (4 correspondences each). These areas cover the very East of Turkey (Artvin, Erzurum, Kars, Van), but also the parts of central North (Samsun, Ordu, Tokat) and the central South (Hatay, Gaziantep). Obviously, the investigation of the Yerli Axiska lexicon must be carried on before we can get a clear picture of this variety's dialectologic affiliations.

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НАРОДНЫЕ ИГРУШКИ И АМУЛЕТЫ-ОБЕРЕГИ ШОРЦЕВ

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В настоящее время в Российской Федерации на территории Западной Сибири активно идут процессы этнокультурной ассимиляции, обусловленные процессами межнациональной интеграции и межэтнического взаимодействия народов. В результате происходит утрата целых пластов национальной культуры малочисленных народов. Это касается и национальной игрушки, которая уже практически отсутствует у шорцев. В этой связи особенно важно сохранить народную память о ней, пока это еще возможно по воспоминаниям людей старшего поколения, а также по материалам архивов и музеев.

Игрушки и амулеты сопровождали шорцев (один из малочисленных тюркоязычных коренных народов Южной Сибири) в течение всей жизни. Об этом свидетельствуют воспоминания людей старшего поколения и материалы музейных коллекций, в том числе Музея археологии, этнографии и экологии Сибири (КМАЭЭ) [Кимеева 2007], а также Музея археологии и этнографии Сибири им. В.М. Флоринского Томского государственного университета (МАЭС ТГУ) [Золотарева, Курьянова 2014]. Игрушки носили бытовой или религиозный характер. Первые – использовались для знакомства с окружающим миром и воспитания полноценного члена семьи и общества, вторые – для усвоения религиозных воззрений народа.

Согласно традиционному мировоззрению шорцев, мир разделен на три сферы: Верхний мир, Средний мир и Нижний мир. Верхним миром правит главное небесное божество *Кудай* (*Ульген*) и творцы-*чайачы*; Средним миром правит главными духами-хозяевами тайги (*чыи ээзи*), гор (*таг ээзи*), рек и озер (*суг-көл ээзи*); Нижний мир принадлежит подземному божеству Эрлику и его помощникам. Эти миры связаны между собой. Судьба человека во многом зависит от разных духов и божеств. В особо трудных жизненных ситуациях: утрате близких, болезни, потере домашнего скота или имущества – шорцы обращались за помощью к шаманам, призванным осуществлять связь со всеми Мирами и духами.