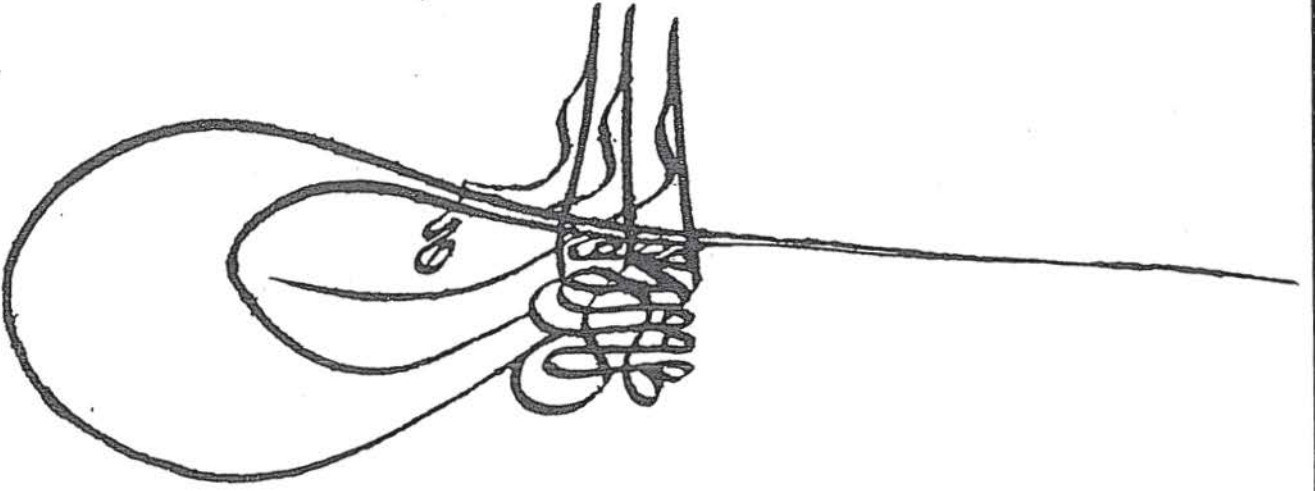




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ON NON-FINAL STRESS IN TURKISH*

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0. Introduction

As is well known by now, ordinarily, primary stress in Turkish is on the final syllable of a word. Such forms may be simple or derived, native or borrowed. Let us observe the following.

(1)	tanı	'know'
	tanı-dık	'acquaintance'
	tanı-dık-lar	'acquaintances'
	tanı-dık-lar-ım	'my acquaintances'
	tanı-dık-lar-ımız	'our acquaintances'
	koalisyon	'coalition'
	koalisyon-um-uz	'our coalition'
	koalisyon-um-uz-da	'in our coalition'

A well-defined set of exceptions to word-final stress involves complex (i.e. derived) forms that contain enclitic suffixes, which are, by definition, not stressable but require that the primary stress of a word be on the immediately preceding syllable.¹ Examples follow.

(2)	tanı-mā-dık-lar-ımız	'those we do not know'
	tanı-dık-lar-ımız-mı	'our acquaintances?'
	gel-iyōr	'(s)he is coming'
	koalisyon-lā	'with coalition'

All suffixes that are cliticized from particles (like, -yle < ile; -ymiş < imiş; -yken < iken) are enclitic, but then so are a group of suffixes which do not share any phonetic, morphological or semantic properties. Furthermore, encliticity is contrastive, as seen in the following examples.

(3)	gel-mé	'coming'
	gēl-mě	'don't come'
	sına-mā	'testing'
	sınā-mā	'don't test'
	ben-dé	'in/on me'
	bén dē	'me too'

*I am indebted to Harry Bochner, Nick Clements, Jaklin Kornfilt and Şinasi Tekin for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. Certainly, the remaining errors and shortcomings are all mine.

1. Enclitic suffixes will be indicated by a ' ~ ' over the vowel of the syllable. See Lees (1961) for a complete list of the enclitic suffixes in Turkish.

Lees (1961) observed that in case there are two or more enclitic suffixes in a word, the primary stress precedes the leftmost enclitic suffix. Observe the following.

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|
| (4) | gél-mě-di-mi
gel-iyör-lar-mĩ | ‘didn’t he come’
‘are they coming?’ |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|

Lees (1961) makes the following correct predictions for ordinary cases.

- (5) The primary stress in a word will appear on the syllable immediately preceding the leftmost enclitic suffix if there is one; if not it will be on the final syllable.²

Although this is in general true of non-final stress in Turkish, it is fairly well known that there are words that fall outside the prediction of (5) above. These are the words that do not contain enclitic suffixes, but nevertheless, bear non-final stress.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (6) | lokántā
māndīra
manivēlā
pirāsā | ‘restaurant’
‘dairy farm’
‘lever’
‘leek’ |
|-----|--|---|

Lees (1961) assumed, as did traditional grammars of Turkish, that the place of primary stress in forms like (6) is unpredictable.

In this paper, I will discuss three groups of words with non-final stress: the adverbials with *-en*, in § 1, the emphatic and diminutive adjectives, in § 2, and forms like the ones in (6), above, in § 3. I will argue that, within each group, the place of primary stress is highly predictable.

1. The Adverbs with *-en*

An interesting case of non-final stress in Turkish, which has so far escaped the attention of grammarians, involves the derived adverbs with *-en*. Let us observe the following examples.³

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | ‘form’
‘transfer’
‘cash’
‘economics’
‘support’
‘accident’
‘basic’ | şekīl
nakīl
nakit
iktisāt
istināt
kazā
esās | šek-len
nāk-len
nāk-ten
ik-ti-sā-den
is-ti-nā-den
ka-zā-en
e-sā-sen | ‘formwise’
‘by transfer’
‘in cash’
‘economically’
‘based on . . .’
‘accidentally’
‘basically’ |
|-----|---|---|---|---|

2. Lees (1961) achieves this effect by two rules: a primary stress rule that assigns primary stress to syllables immediately preceding word boundary and enclitic suffixes, and a stress reduction rule that reduces all but the leftmost primary stress in a word.

3. Henceforth, ‘.’ indicates syllable boundary, not morpheme boundary.

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The derived adverbials in (7) give the impression that *-en* is an ordinary enclitic suffix that causes the immediately preceding syllable to bear primary stress. The following examples show, however, that primary stress does not always immediately precede *-en*.

(8)	'special to'	münhasır	mün-há-sı-ran	'specially'
	'mutual'	müşterék	müş-tê-re-ken	'mutually'
	'becoming surety'	tekeffül	te-kêf-fü-len	'by surety'
	'temporary'	muvaakkát	mu-vák-ka-ten	'temporarily'
	'ratio'	nisbét	nís-be-ten	'proportionally'
	'truth'	hakikát	ha-kí-ka-ten	'in truth'

Now, before any discussion of the *-en* adverbials in (7) and (8), let us refer to the well-known distinction between *strong* and *weak* syllables. By definition, a strong syllable is one that either ends with a consonant or with a long vowel. Typically, a strong syllable has one of the following shapes in Turkish: (C)VC, (C)VCC, (C)V̄. A weak syllable, on the other hand, is one which ends with a short vowel, (C)V.

Now, going back to the adverbials with *-en*, we observe that when the primary stress is on the ante-penult, as in (8), the penult is weak. As is obvious from (8), a stressed ante-penult need not be strong. Let us formulate these observations in the form of a generalization.

- (9) In adverbials derived with *-en*, primary stress is on the penult if it is strong. If the penult is not strong, then primary stress is on the ante-penult.⁴

It would be interesting to check to see to what extent Rule (9), above, is borrowed wholesale from Arabic, and to what extent it is modified, if at all, in Turkish phonology. We will not consider this issue here, but observe, in this context, that an adverbial formed with *-en* on a native root, *ayrı-ye-ten* 'separately,' also conforms to (9).

2. Word-Initial Stress: The Emphatic Adjectives

Turkish has a process of limited productivity which forms emphatic adjectives by partial reduplication.

(10)	'thin'	incé	ípince	'very thin'
	'ordure'	bók	bómbok	'utterly useless'
	'red'	kır mızı	kípkırmızı	'bright red'
	'round'	toparlák	tóstoparlak	'perfectly round'

Reduplicated emphatic adjectives do not constitute the only set of words that bear initial primary stress. There is a diminutive suffix, which derives both nouns and adjectives. Observe in (11), below, that while the adjectival forms have initial stress, the nominal forms have final stress.

4. This rule holds somewhat trivially for the first three forms in (7), since these have only one non-final syllable which receives the primary stress.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (11) a. | incecik | 'very thin' |
| | küçücük | 'very small' |
| | âlçacık | 'very low' |
| | biricik | 'one and only' |
| b. | Mehmetçik | 'Turkish private soldier' |
| | Ayşecik | 'poor little Ayşe' |
| | fişicik | 'little barrel' |
| | köpecik | 'poor little dog' |

There is no doubt that in both (11a) and (11b) we have the very same diminutive suffix. Notice, incidentally, that the stem final *-k*'s are lost before this suffix whether the stem is nominal or adjectival, as in *küçük ~ küçücük*; *âlçak ~ âlçacık*; and *köpék ~ köpecik*. The question is, then: Why is it that we have initial stress in *adjectives* derived with *-CIG* but not in nouns? It is obvious that initial stress is not solely motivated by the diminutive suffix. We believe that (11a), like the examples in (10), are basically emphatic adjectives, and that this is the reason why they take word-initial stress. We will formulate this generalization as follows.

- (12) Derived emphatic adjectives have primary stress on their initial syllables.⁵

3. Non-Final Stress in Borrowed Words

Let us, tentatively, refer to an uninflected form with primary stress on a non-initial syllable, as a "Non-Final Stress (NFS) Word." The NFS category, then, excludes the *-en* adverbials and the emphatic adjectives since these contain affixes, but it *does* include cases like (6), above. We will argue in this section that primary stress in NFS words are highly predicatable.

There is a belief among traditional grammarians that the non-final stress of borrowed words (especially, of place and person's names of non-native origin) reflect the stress pattern of the source language. This claim, which no classical grammarian ever cared to verify, is nothing but a myth.⁶ Observe in the examples, below, how the place of the primary stress in loans may be markedly different from that of the source language.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------|--------------|
| (13) a. | Source Language | Turkish |
| | Éisenhower | Ayzínhóver |
| | Indianápolis | İndianapólis |
| | Kénnedy | Kenédi |
| | Méndelssohn | Mendélson |
| | Papadópułos | Papadopúlos |
| | Ptólemy | Pitolémi |

5. Initial stress in diminutive adjectives may have developed on the analogy with the emphatic, reduplicated adjectives. There are other forms that take initial stress, like some adverbs and conjunctions, which we will leave outside the scope of this paper.

6. To our knowledge, this contention is first challenged by Demircan (1975) with examples of loans from French and English.

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	(Paul) Sámuelson	Samuélson
	Wáshington	Vaşíngton
b.	jubilé	jübíle 'jubilee'
	visíte	visíte 'doctor's fee'
	faculté	fakúlte 'a college school'
	ateliér	atólye 'workshop'

We find examples of loans like those in (13b) particularly interesting. Notice that, although these words have final stress in the source language, they are stressed on a non-final syllable in Turkish. Examples like (13) can, in fact, be enumerated to show that NFS words do not retain the stress pattern of the source language, except accidentally. Therefore, we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

3.1. Primary Stress in Weak NFS Words

First, we will distinguish between *Weak* and *Strong* words, in the following manner. A strong word is one whose penult and/or ante-penult is a strong syllable, and a weak word is one whose penult and ante-penult are weak. Now, with these definitions in mind, let us consider the following weak NFS words.

(14)	'Oedipus'	O-dí-pus
	'Ptolemy'	Pi-to-lé-mi
	'Kennedy'	Ke-né-di
	a man's name	Pa-pa-do-pú-los
	'Indianapolis'	In-di-ya-na-pó-lis
	a city in Turkey	A-dá-na
	a county in Turkey	A-ná-mur
	'brine'	sa-la-mú-ra
	'wagon'	a-rá-ba
	'screw'	cı-vá-ta
	'mouthpiece on a cigarette'	zı-vá-na
	'whitewash'	ba-dá-na
	'couch'	ka-ná-pe
	'deceit'	da-la-vé-re
	'hide'	kö-sé-le
	'napkin'	pe-çé-te
	'prescription'	re-çé-te
	'movies'	si-né-ma
	'machine'	ma-kí-ne
	'lever'	ma-ni-vé-la
	'chocolate'	çi-ko-lá-ta
	'screwdriver'	tor-na-ví-da
	'newspaper'	ga-zé-te
	'jubilee'	jü-bí-le
	'doctor's fee'	vi-sí-te

Examples like (14) lead us to the following generalization.

- (15) *The Weak Penult Rule*
In weak NFS words, primary stress is on the penult.

1.2. Non-Final Stress in Strong Words

Let us first observe the following strong NFS words.

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (16) a. | (Paul) Samuelson | sa-mu-él-son |
| | 'Washington' | Va-şínk-ton |
| | 'Halicarnassus' | Ha-li-kár-nas |
| | 'medal' | ma-dál-ya |
| | 'restaurant' | lo-kán-ta |
| | 'pistol' | ta-bán-ca |
| | 'wooden sandal(s)' | ta-kún-ya |
| | 'cheating' | ka-ta-kúl-li |
| | 'handcuffs' | ke-lép-çe |
| | 'workshop' | a-tól-ye |
| | 'school in a college' | fa-kúl-te |
| b. | 'pot' | tén-ce-re |
| | 'window' | pén-ce-re |
| | 'dairy farm' | mán-dı-ra |
| | 'press' | cén-de-re |
| | 'piggy bank' | kúm-ba-ra |
| | 'Chevrolet' | şév-ro-le |
| | 'buoy' | şa-mán-dı-ra |
| | 'scenery' | mán-za-ra |
| | 'bed frame' | kár-yo-la |
| | city in Turkey | Án-ka-ra |

In (16a), primary stress is on the strong penult, and in (16b), it is on the strong ante-penult. It seems, then, that in strong NFS words the primary stress is either on the penult or on the ante-penult depending on whichever happens to be strong. In the following strong NFS words, however, both the penult and the ante-penult are strong and the primary stress is on the penult.

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (17) | a city in Turkey | An-tál-ya |
| | a city in Turkey | An-ták-ya |
| | a city in Turkey | Is-tán-bul |
| | a city in Turkey | Hak-ká-ri |
| | 'Mendelssohn' | Men-dél-son |
| | 'Kamchatka' | Kam-çát-ka |
| | 'Klimanjaro' | Kli-man-yá-ro |
| | 'Montezuma' | Mon-ta-zú-ma |
| | 'Eisenhower' | Ay-zin-hó-ver |
| | 'accidentally' | ka-zá-ra ⁷ |

7. Compare this with *ka-zá-en* 'accidentally' in (7). Notice that, according to our analysis, the same root, *kazā*, in these two words, is stressed on the same syllable by two different rules.

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'gendarme'	jan-dár-ma
'basketball'	bas-két-bol
'chair'	is-kém-le
'chair'	san-dál-ye
'sardines'	sar-dál-ya
'tripe'	iş-kém-be
'reject'	is-kâr-ta
'lumbago'	lum-bâ-go

The primary stress in the examples in (16) and (17) can be accounted for by the following generalization.

- (18) *The Strong Syllable Rule*
 In strong NFS words, the primary stress is on the penult if it is strong, and if the penult is not strong, then it is on the ante-penult.

3.3. Non-Final Stress in Native Place Names

It is fairly well known that, ordinarily, when a common noun becomes a place name, it gains non-final stress. This non-final stress may be initial, as in (13), below.

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------------|
| (19) | sirkeci | 'vinegar seller' |
| | Sir-ke-ci | place name |
| | torbalı | 'one with bag(s)' |
| | Tór-ba-li | place name |

Shifting primary stress to word-initial position is not as general as one might assume. Observe in (20), below, how non-final stress of native place names can be non-initial.

- | | | | |
|------|----|------------|-----------------------|
| (20) | a. | kavaklı | 'with poplars' |
| | | Ka-vák-lı | place name |
| | | kulaksız | 'without ears' |
| | | Ku-lák-sız | place name |
| | | çınarcık | 'little maple' |
| | | Çı-nâr-cık | place name |
| | | ayrancı | 'yogurt-drink seller' |
| | | Ay-rân-cı | place name |
| | b. | ovacık | 'little valley' |
| | | O-vá-cık | place name |
| | | boyacı | 'painter' |
| | | Bo-yâ-cı | place name |

It will be noticed that our generalizations on NFS words, namely, (15) and (18), will predict the place of primary stress in both (19) and (20), above, once we assume that these place names belong under the category of NFS words. Both (19) and (20a) are strong words according to our definition in § 3.1. In (19), the penult is weak, so the ante-penult bears the primary stress. In (20a), the strong penult attracts primary

stress. In (20b), we have weak words, with weak penults and ante-penults, and, as predicted by (15), the penult receives primary stress.

3.4. Some Counterexamples to NFS Rules

Exceptions to (15) are extremely rare,⁸ but there are some counterexamples to (18), which are of two general types. The first type involves NFS words with alternate pronunciations which violate (18).

(21)	Ban-dír-ma	Bán-dır-ma
	Er-zín-can	Ér-zın-can
	Çám-lı-ca	Çam-lı-ca
	Zon-gúl-dak	Zón-gul-dak

Our Rule (18) would predict the examples on the left hand column of (21) but not the ones on the right hand column. A curious fact is that, in the forms with alternate pronunciations in (21), the strong penult or the strong ante-penult or both end with a sonorant (l, m, n, r). I have, unfortunately, no explanation for this state of affairs.

The second type of exceptions involves words that have a single pronunciation that violates (18).

(22)	sul-fá-ta	'quinine' (dialectal)
	Kal-kú-ta	'Calcutta'
	fır-tı-na	'storm'
	kam-pá-na	'bell'
	dan-té-la	'lace'
	tam-bú-ra	'a stringed instrument'

Notice again the interesting fact that the strong penult, which, according to (18), should have attracted the primary stress, ends in a sonorant.

4. Summary and Discussion

So far, we have considered three different cases of non-final stress in Turkish and suggested three primary stress assignment rules to account for the displayed regularities. Rule (12), which is intended to predict word-initial stress in derived emphatic adjectives, is, so far as we know, exceptionless. We have already noted that word-initial stress in diminutive adjectives cannot solely be motivated by the presence of the suffix, *-Cik*, for the simple reason that the same suffix does not give rise to word-initial stress when it is noun-forming. The rule has to refer to the grammatical category, adjective. What is even more interesting is that it has to refer to the semantic property, emphatic.

The other three rules, (9), (15) and (18) have something in common: these are the only stress rules in Turkish that refer to syllable structure and, so far as we know, it is for the first time in literature that stress rules based on syllable structure are being suggested for Turkish. Secondly, none of (9), (15)

8. Consider *Kı-na-lı* and *Kaş-tá-mo-nu*. *A-ná-do-lu* 'Anatolia' may owe its stress pattern to compound interpretation as *ana* 'mother' and *dolu* 'full.'

and (18) refer to syllables other than the penult and/or the ante-penult. This implies, quite correctly, that, apart from initial-stress words and some compounds, non-final stress has to be either on the penult or the ante-penult; it cannot, for example, be on the fourth syllable from the end of a word. Rule (9), however, differs from (15) and (18) in that it refers only to the structure of the penult, and no property of the ante-penult is stated.

The adequacy of (15) and (18) is supported by the test results reported by Demircan (1975). Demircan conducted a test on 29 subjects, who were asked to vocalize 20 nonsensical words. It was observed that all 29 subjects stressed the penult in words with *CV-CVC-CV* structure, as it would be predicted by (18). In words that had *CV-CVC-CVC*, the strong penult is stressed 25 times out of 29. In the two types of nonsensical forms which would be characterized as weak words according to our definition in § 3.1., above, namely, *CV-CV-CV* and *CV-CV-CVC*, 27 and 16 subjects, respectively, stressed the penult, as (15) would predict.⁹

Finally, there remains the question, what is an NFS word? We cannot think of any significant phonological, morphological or semantic properties that would distinguish them from final-stress words. Although we have pointed to the fact that NFS words are generally simplex, this is hardly a sufficient condition, since there are so many final-stress words that are simplex. Furthermore, it will be recalled that we considered complex place names like *Ka-vâk-lî*, etc., as NFS words. This problem cannot easily be circumvented by considering derived place names as NFS forms, because the derived place names like *Yunan-istân* 'Greece,' *Bulgar-istân* 'Bulgaria,' *Ada-lâr*, *Bakır-cı-lâr* all have final stress.

It should be repeated for emphasis that the NFS category is not exclusively represented by place names, but that it contains loans which have become ordinary words from as diverse sources as Persian (*pên-ce-re* 'window'), Italian (*sa-lâ-ta* 'salad'), French (*vi-zî-te* 'doctor's fee'), English (*fây-rap* 'fire up') and Greek (*ki-lî-se* 'church'). There is no doubt that further research is needed to understand how native speakers of Turkish characterize the NFS words. Until then, we will simply assume that it is an *ad hoc* category within which primary stress is perfectly regular.

Demircan, Ö. (1975) Türk dilinde vurgu: sözcük vurgusu, Türk Dili, Cilt XXXI, Sayı 284. 333-339.

Lees, R. (1961) The Phonology of Modern Standard Turkish, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series. Vol. 6.

9. In the case of *CV-CVC-CVC*, 10 subjects stressed the final syllable, showing that they did not consider such forms as NFS. Furthermore, the reason why only 16 out of 29 subjects considered *CV-CV-CVC* forms as NFS words may have something to do with the fact that NFS words predominantly end in open syllables. Demircan (1975) interpreted his test results as indicative of a tendency towards stressing the middle syllable. Notice that in his nonsensical test forms the pattern *CVC-CV-CV(C)* is not represented.