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Bayat, a variety of Iraq Turkic

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Bayat, a variety of Iraq Turkic

Abstract

In this paper, we present Bayat, a variety of Iraq Turkic spoken in villages around Kerkük, Iraq. For Iraq Turkic, we provide background information on the classification, dialects, number of speakers, and orthography. The article contains 22 sample sentences excerpted from three folk tales translated by us from Turkish into Bayat Iraq Turkic. These sentences are presented using the Arabic orthography formerly used for Iraq Turkic, as well as IPA and Turcological transcription. They are glossed, translated into English, and annotated with grammatical information. The total translated and recorded folk tale text amounts to about 1000 words. Characteristics of Bayat phonology, morphology, and syntax are outlined and illustrated with examples from the text. Notable linguistic features distinguishing Bayat from other Iraq Turkic varieties include the development of Old Turkic velar /ŋ/ into /y/ in certain suffixes and lack of fronting in stop articulation. Audio recordings, IPA transcriptions, and morphological analyses are presented to contribute primary data on this under-documented variety of Iraq Turkic.

Key words: Iraq Turkic, Bayat Turkic, language documentation, comparative Turkic linguistics

Irak Türkçesinin bir değişkesi olan Bayat ağzı

Öz

Bu makalede Irak Türkçesinin Kerkük çevresinde konuşulan bir değişkesi olan Bayat ağzı ele alınmaktadır. Irak'ta konuşulan Türkçenin sınıflandırılması, ağızları, konuşur sayısı ve yazı sistemi üzerine bir arka plan bilgisi sunulduktan sonra, üç halk masalının tarafımızca Türkiye Türkçesinden Irak Bayat Türkçesine yapılmış çevirisinden seçilen 22 örnek cümleye yer verilmektedir. Bu cümleler, önceden Irak Türkçesi için kullanılmış olan Arap alfabesiyle, uluslararası fonetik alfabeye (IPA) ve Türkolojik çevriyazı ile sunulmaktadır. Cümlelerin ayrıca satırasarı analizi ve İngilizce çevirisi sunulduktan sonra dilbilgisi üzerine bilgiler verilmiştir. Kaydedilip çevirisi de yapılmış olan halk masalı metni toplam 1000 sözcük içermektedir. Bayat Türkçesinin sesbilim, biçimbilim ve sözdizimi özellikleri ana hatlarıyla metinden alınan örnekler üzerinden gösterilmektedir. Bayat Türkçesini diğer Irak Türkçesi ağızlarından ayıran önemli dilbilimsel özellikler arasında Eski Türkçe velar /ŋ/'nin bazı eklerde /y/'ye dönüşmesi ve patlamalı ünsüzlerin telaffuzunda öndamaksillaşmanın olmaması yer almaktadır. Ses kayıtları, uluslararası fonetik alfabeye çevriyazı ve satırasarı morfolojik çözümleme Irak Türkçesinin bu az belgelenmiş değişkesi üzerine birincil verilere katkı sağlamak amacıyla sunulmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: Irak Türkçesi, Bayat Türkçesi, dil belgelenmesi, karşılaştırmalı Türk dilbilimi

Information about the language, the community

In this paper we present Bayat, a variety of Iraq Turkic spoken in villages around the city of Kerkük. The language that we refer to as Iraq Turkic is also called Iraq(i) Turkish, Iraq(i) Turkmen, and Turkmanja, the latter being the endonym. It should not be confused with the Turkmen language spoken primarily in Turkmenistan (see papers elsewhere in this volume).

Iraq Turkic is mainly spoken in an area known as Turkman belt, also *Türkmen eli* ‘Turkmanland’ (the Istanbul Turkish designation for the area), stretching approximately from Telafer in the northwest to Mendeli or as far as Badra in the southeast (Bulut 2018). Because no recent census data is available for Iraq, and for political reasons, the estimates for the number of speakers vary. According to Bulut (2018), the most recent estimate seems to be that of Saatçi (2018), claiming that there are at least 2.5 million speakers of Iraq Turkic.

Under one possible classification of all Turkic languages that attempts to combine the current geographic distribution with genealogical and typological features (Johanson 2022: 84), Iraq Turkic falls into the South Oghuz subbranch. An alternative name for the primary Oghuz branch of Turkic languages is Southwestern Turkic. Thus, if we use solely compass directions for the terms, Iraq Turkic is in the Southwestern southern group (SWS) according to Johanson (2022). At the same time, it should be noted that due to high linguistic similarity of Iraq Turkic to Azeri and Turkish, it is sometimes treated as part of the West Oghuz (SWW) continuum (Turkish-Azeri) instead of being placed into the South Oghuz group for a rather purely geographical reason (Bulut 1999: 9). Bulut refers to the words of Hassan (1979), a native speaker, who considers the Kerkük variety ‘a dialect of Azeri Turkish’. The word ‘continuum’ is ours. It might not be the right formulation here, because, as Bulut notes elsewhere (2018: 356–357), upon a close look the distribution of Iraq Turkic varieties resembles a patchwork rather than a continuum. Unlike classification criteria for primary branches of Turkic languages (Kipchak, Oghuz etc.), criteria for subbranches of the Oghuz branch seem to be less established. Native speakers of Iraq Turkic are likely to perceive Azeri as closer to their language than Istanbul Turkish, although this is a subjective measure.

As for classification of Iraq Turkic varieties, Bulut (2018) distinguishes four varieties based on two isoglosses, one roughly vertical (separating East and West) and another roughly horizontal (separating North and South). The vertical isogloss divides varieties into a so-called *w*-group and a *y*-group, based on the realization of the East Old Turkic velar /ŋ/ in the genitive forms of 2nd person personal pronouns, and in the 2nd person personal and possessive suffixes. In the *y*-group, the velar has developed into [j], whereas in the *w*-group it has developed into [w] or [ʊ]. Thus, the phrase ‘your daughter’ is *seniy kıziy* in the *y*-group, e.g. in the city Tuzhurmatı, and *senüw kızuw* in the *w*-group, e.g. in the city Erbil. The horizontal isogloss divides the varieties into two groups based on whether they are characterized by fronting/palatalization in the articulation of stops and affricates. An example would be pronunciation of the word *gözäl* ‘beautiful’ as *ğözäl* in the northern group, e.g. in Erbil, Altinköprü, and as *gözäl* in the southern group, e.g. in Tuzhurmatı.

A detailed map showing the distribution of the *w*- and *y*-groups can be found in Bulut (2007: 168). Here we can see that e.g. Erbil, Dakuk, Hanekin, and Mendeli are the regions included in the *w*-group, while e.g. Telafer, Beşir, Tuzhurmatı, Kifri, Karatepe, and Bayat area are included in the *y*-group. Kerkük demonstrates a mix of varieties (Bulut 2007: 170).

This variation may be due to any of three historical reasons: (1) separate Turkic states or tribal confederacies, such as the Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu, co-existed on the territory where Iraq Turkic is spoken today; (2) people from present-day Azerbaijan and Anatolia migrated and settled in this territory. This has happened in several waves throughout history; (3) different areas have seen varying amounts of influence from Kipchak Turkic, Arabic, Persian and Kurdish.

As Bulut (2018) notes, there are few narrative texts representing Iraq Turkic as it is spoken – even less so if we are talking about texts publicly available online – since the official written language

of the Turkmans is Standard Istanbul Turkish, and was Ottoman Turkish in the past. Earlier books, articles, and newspapers were written in Turkish with (Kurdish-) Arabic script, and some works of poetry and folklore were written in Iraq Turkic using the same script. Nowadays, Standard Turkish with Latin script is used for writing. As for audio/video resources, with the advent of <http://www.turkmenelitv.com/> – a satellite TV station also broadcast for free on the Internet – and the Internet itself, the situation is more fortunate. In some programs on this channel, Standard Turkish is spoken, especially by the hosts, but in others, such as *Serbest Mikrofon*, *Din ve Hayat*, *Türkmeneli Mutfağı* and *Mr. Mikrofon*, hosts and/or guests speak Iraq Turkic. These videos are valuable for someone studying the language, just as they might be for linguistic research and training natural language processing (NLP) models. We are working towards assembling an audio dataset from the mentioned programs, as well as convincing their authors to make those programs available online under a free/libre license.

Bulut (2018) mentions the following narrative texts: two collections of folklore texts, the doctoral theses of Choban Khıdır Haydar (Haydar 1979) and Hussin Shahbaz Hassan (Hassan 1979), both unpublished and thus not publicly available online; a small text from the Telafer region by Buluç (1974); a folklore novel *Arzı ile Qamber*, which, according to Bulut, has several versions and is also available as a recording. Besides these texts listed in Bulut (2018), we have found that the master's thesis by Ismael (2013: 78–124) contains transcriptions of 35 stories recorded from different people living in villages and towns of the *y*-group region of Iraq Turkic. They appear to be original texts not published before. This thesis is specifically on the Bayat variety of Iraq Turkic. There are a few other theses defended at Turkish universities on other varieties of Iraq Turkic or on this language in general. Searching for “Irak Türkmen” in the Thesis Center of Turkey's Council of Higher Education (<https://tez.yok.gov.tr>) as of 15th June 2023 returns 69 results. In particular, the following seem to contain materials in the language: Kasım (2020), Komsh (2022), Najm (2022), Othman (2021), and Şukur (2020).

Bayatlı (1996) contains 55 folk poems and 123 proverbs or idiomatic expressions in the Kerkük variety, excerpted from a folklore book compiled by Mustafa Gökkaya and Nasih Bezirgen, as well as 27 four-verse lullabies collected and recorded by Dr. Muzaffer Kervancı in Kifri (Bayatlı 1996: XV). Bayatlı (2009) contains 70 folk tales. The first 16 of them are tales collected by Bayatlı (2009) himself in the Hanekin district of Iraq. The remaining 54 are taken from Hassan (1979), Haydar (1979), Saatçi (1984), and Bayat (1984), as well as issues of the *Kardaşlık* magazine and the *Yurt* newspaper.

Iraq Turkic alphabet

In the years before 1997, Iraq Turkic was written using a variant of Arabic script, with Istanbul Turkish as standard language for writing prose such as history books, newspapers and magazines; however works of poetry and folklore were written in Iraq Turkic. As described in detail in Bayatlı (1996), this Arabic alphabet of Iraq Turkic consists of 41 letters – 32 representing consonants and nine representing vowels. 28 of these letters are common with the Arabic alphabet, four letters have been adopted from the Persian alphabet, and the remaining nine letters are Iraq Turkic-specific. For details, see Bayatlı (1996: 330–333). This orthography is used to present the language in this paper.

In 2003, education in Standard Turkish was introduced in the schools of some cities in Iraq where Turkmens are more strongly represented, mainly Kerkük, Musul, Erbil, Diyala, and Baghdad. In 2005, Iraq Turkic was recognized as an official minority language in Iraq's Constitution. Prior to that, in 1997, the Iraqi Turkman Congress declared Standard Turkish as the official written language of the Turkman people. Thus, the alphabet used for this official language is the same as the one used for Standard Turkish, however, it is not very suitable for representing spoken Iraq Turkic, because, on the one hand, it contains letters representing sounds which are not pronounced in spoken Iraq Turkic, and, on the other hand, it lacks letters for representing sounds of spoken Iraq

Turkic not found in Standard Turkish. In particular, Standard Turkish alphabet does not distinguish between /e/ and /ä/ and /â/, short and long vowels, front /k/ and back /k̡/ sounds, and it does not have any letter for /ɣ/, /w/, /ʕ/ and /ʔ/. To our knowledge, there have been no attempts to develop a Latin alphabet or a computer keyboard layout specifically for representing Iraq Turkic by members of the speaker community.

Circumstances of the recording. The speaker

The objective of this work is to add to the collection of spoken Iraq Turkic texts by providing a transcribed and morphologically annotated recording of a previously unpublished text in the Bayat variety.

The first three Anatolian Turkish folk tales from Demir (2017) served as the source of the texts. We translated them into the Bayat variety of Iraq Turkic and then recorded them to create a voice data set. The full text and the audio recordings are available online, <https://selimcan.org/tur/read/folklore/index.tki.html>. The total amount of text translated so far is about 1,000 words. A sample of 22 sentences is presented in the pre-1997, Arabic orthography, and also transcribed using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and Turcological transcription used by Johanson (2021), as well as glossed and translated into English.

Our decision to use a translated text for the recording may raise questions, especially if we accept that original speech is more valuable for research on a particular language. The reason for the use of translated texts is because we want them to serve a double purpose and be useful both for linguistic research and for teaching. Concretely, we plan to assemble a parallel corpus of Standard Turkish and Iraq Turkic. We hope that this corpus will be useful not only for Iraq Turkic speakers to learn Turkish, but also for Standard Turkish speakers or linguists learning/researching Iraq Turkic. There is a similar ongoing effort for Tatar <https://selimcan.org/tat/read/folklore/index.html>.

In both cases, folklore texts were chosen because the legislatures of many, if not most, countries declare folklore texts to be in the public domain, thus opening them up to a wide range of uses.

The first author, who is a native speaker of Iraq Turkic and produced the recordings described in this article, was born and raised in Bastamlı (also spelled Bustanlı or Bustamlı), a now destroyed town about 14 kilometres southwest of Tuzhurmati. Linguistically, this variant is distinguished by the realization of old Turkic velar /ŋ/ as y [j] (first isogloss) and is not characterized by fronting in the articulation of stops and affricates (second isogloss).

Annotated text with audio

As described in the previous section, presented here are excerpted sentences from three folk tales translated from Turkish into the Bayat variety of Iraq Turkic and read aloud by the first author of this article. The full parallel texts of these tales in Turkish and Iraq Turkic, along with audio recordings in Iraq Turkic, can be found online:

<https://selimcan.org/tur/read/folklore/index.tki.html>.

Direct URLs to the recordings are:

<https://audio.selimcan.org/tur/hungry-wolf.tki.wav>,

<https://audio.selimcan.org/tur/oh-girl-poor-you.tki.wav>

and <https://audio.selimcan.org/tur/ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav>.

In addition to these tales, a few more isolated phrases and sentences were recorded, also by the first author, in order to illustrate various phenomena discussed below. This recording is in a separate file, also online, <https://audio.selimcan.org/tki/miscellaneous.tki.wav>.

Below, sample sentences from the tales (S1–S16; S19–21) and miscellaneous phrases (S17–18, S22) are transcribed and morphologically annotated. Note that these sentences do not form cohesive or complete texts—they are merely excerpts. The first line, enclosed by < >, renders the text in the Arabic script discussed above in *Iraq Turkic alphabet*. The second line is a close transcription of the pronunciation using IPA, and the third line is the Turcological transcription suggested by Johanson (2021). After the translation into English on the fourth line, we indicate the title of the recording and the timestamp the example occurs.

Link to the audio: <https://audio.selimcan.org/tki/bayat-sample-sentences.wav>

1. <بیر گون وارمش، بیر گون یوخموش.>

byr	ɣʏn	'wɑrmɨʃ	bir	ɣʏn	'joχmɨʃ.
<i>bır</i>	<i>gũn</i>	<i>'war-miř</i>	<i>bır</i>	<i>gũn</i>	<i>'yoχ-miř</i>
one	day	existing-EVID.COP3SG	one	day	non.existing-EVID.COP3SG
'Once upon a time.'					
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:00:02]					

2. <اینگ، مەن بلا اجیم سەنی یریم، دەمیش.>

inɛk	'mæn	bɛ'la	'ʔɑ:dʒim	sæni	'jerim	de'miʃ.
<i>inäk</i>	<i>'män</i>	<i>bä'la</i>	<i>ʔɑ:ʃ-ïm</i>	<i>sän-i</i>	<i>'je-r-ïm</i>	<i>de-'miř.</i>
cow	I	so	hungry-1SG	you-ACC	eat-AOR-1SG	say-EVID3SG
'[The wolf] said: "Cow, I am so hungry, I will eat you"'						
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:00:29]						

3. <گل، سنی دەن بو تارافا دوغرو گیدهغین دا اوردا بیر اوینیاغن.>

gɛl	sænijdæn	bu	tarafa	dɔʁɪ	gidævɪn
<i>gäl</i>	<i>sän-iy-dän</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>taraf-a</i>	<i>doyrï</i>	<i>gid-äyïn</i>
come-IMP2SG	you-GEN-WITH.POSTP	this	side-DAT	towards	go-VOL1PL
dɛ	orda	bir	oɲnɒjɔvɪn.		
<i>dä</i>	<i>orda</i>	<i>bır</i>	<i>oyna-yayïn.</i>		
and	there	one	play-VOL1PL		
'Come, let's go over here and play there.'					
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:01:16]					

4. «مەنیم قارنیمدا اکی دانه بالام وار.»

mænim	qarnimda	iki	deneh	balam	war.
<i>män-İM</i>	<i>qarn-İM-da</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>deneh</i>	<i>bala-m</i>	<i>war.</i>
I-GEN	belly-POSS1SG-LOC	two	piece	child-POSS1SG	existing

‘There are two children in my belly.’
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:01:31]

5. «چاراسی یوخ.»

tʃarasɨ	joχ.
<i>čara-sɨ</i>	<i>yoχ.</i>
remedy-POSS3SG	non.existing

‘There is nothing that can be done.’
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:01:47]

6. «بیر گون قیز ئوزاغتاکی داغن باشندا پنارن دیبینده اوینایر مش.»

byr	gyn	quuz	uzaqtaki	davın	başında
<i>bir</i>	<i>gün</i>	<i>kız</i>	<i>uzay-ta-ki</i>	<i>day-İN</i>	<i>baş-İN-da</i>
one	day	girl	far-LOC-REL	mountain-GEN	head-POSS3SG-LOC
punarın	dibinde			ojnajırmıŋ.	
<i>pınar-İN</i>	<i>dib-İN-dä</i>			<i>oyna-yİR-mİŝ.</i>	
spring-GEN	bottom-POSS3SG-LOC			play-INTRA-EVID.COP3SG	

‘One day the girl was playing at the top of a distant mountain at the foot of the spring.’
[oh-girl-poor-you.tki.wav:00:33]

7. «بوتون اولارنی قاچردان قورت.»

bytn	awłarni	qatʃıurdan	qurt
<i>bütün</i>	<i>aw-lar-İN-İ</i>	<i>kaçırd-an</i>	<i>qurt.</i>
all	prey-PL-POSS3-ACC	miss-PN	wolf

‘The wolf that missed all its prey.’
[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:02:59]

8. «بو سفر دوشونمیه واً اوز اوزیدن قونوشماغا باشلامیش.»

bu	sefer	dyfynmeje	wε	øz	øziden	qonuŋmaɣa
<i>bu</i>	<i>säfar</i>	<i>düşün-mä-yä</i>	<i>wä</i>	<i>öz</i>	<i>öz-İ-dän</i>	<i>konuŝ-ma-ya</i>
this	time	think-AN-DAT	and	own	self-POSS3-WITH.POSTP	talk-AN-DAT

baflamıf.

bařla-miř.

start-EVID3SG

'This time he started to think and talk to himself.'

[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:02:03]

9. <قورت رازی اولموش و عینی زاماندا اینگ قاچمش. قورت بیر آخرن اوگونه گیتمیښ. آخردان بیر قهتیر چیخمیښ.>

qurt	razu	ořmuř	wε_řajnu	zamanda	ijnek	qatřmıř.
<i>qurt</i>	<i>razı</i>	<i>ol-muř</i>	<i>wä_řayni</i>	<i>zaman-da</i>	<i>ijnäk</i>	<i>qač-mıř</i>
wolf	content	be(come)-EVID3SG	and_same	time-LOC	cow	escape-EVID3SG
qurt	bir	ařırın	øwgyne			gıtmıř
<i>qurt</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>ařır-ın</i>	<i>öwg-ün-ä</i>			<i>git-mıř</i>
wolf	one	barn-GEN	front-POSS3SG-DAT			go-EVID3SG
ařırdan	bir	katır	řıxmıř.			
<i>ařır-dan</i>	<i>bır</i>	<i>katır</i>	<i>čıř-mıř.</i>			
barn-ABL	one	mule	come.out-EVID3SG			

'The wolf consented and at the same time the cow escaped. The wolf went to a barn. A mule came out of the barn.'

[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:00:42]

10. <آتا آت اجیمداد اولورم.>

ata	at	adzımnan	ølyræm.
<i>at-a</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ař-ım-nan</i>	<i>öl-ür-äm.</i>
horse-DAT	horse	hunger-POSS1SG-ABL	die-INTRA-1SG

'To the horse [he said]: "Horse, I am starving".'

[hungry-wolf.tki.wav:01:44]

11. <دهدیغله رینی دینله میښ.>

dedıwælæřni	dınnæmıř.
<i>de-dıy-lär-ın-ı</i>	<i>dınnä-mıř.</i>
say-PN-PL-POSS3-ACC	listen-EVID3SG

'He listened to what she [the girl] said.'

[oh-girl-poor-you.tki.wav:02:22]

12. «دیده بیزیم ادمزی قویون.»

dɪdæ	bızım	adımızı	qojun.
<i>didä</i>	<i>bizim</i>	<i>ad-ïmiz-ï</i>	<i>koj-un.</i>
daddy	we.GEN	name-POSS1PL-ACC	put-IMP2PL

'Father give us names.'

[ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav:02:36]

13. «نه ایدغین او زامان؟»

nε	edaxın	o	zɑmɑn?
<i>nä</i>	<i>ed-ayin</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>zamān?</i>
what	do-VOL1PL	that	time

'What do we do then?'

[ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav:04:01]

14. «او اداماكا المانی وردی بیزه.»

o	adamaka	almani	werdı	bızæh.
<i>o</i>	<i>adam-aka</i>	<i>alma-ni</i>	<i>wer-di</i>	<i>biz-äh.</i>
that	man	apple-ACC	give-TERM3SG	we-DAT

'That man gave us the apple.'

[miscellaneous.tki.wav:00:09]

15. «درویش المانی سولتانا وردیگی گون.»

dɛrwɨʃ	ałmani	sułtana	werdıwı	ɟyn
<i>därwiš</i>	<i>alma-ni</i>	<i>sultan-a</i>	<i>wer-di-y-i</i>	<i>gün</i>
dervish	apple-ACC	sultan-DAT	give-PN-POSS3	day

'The day the dervish gave the apple to the sultan.'

[ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav:02:38]

16. «زیفاتیی ایله، یمهغینی حازرلاه، اداملاریی یغیشتیر، اوشاغلارین ادلارنی قویاغن.»

zɨjafɑtsʃi	elæ,	ɟimæɟij	hazurɫɑ,
<i>ziyafats-iy-i</i>	<i>älä</i>	<i>yimäy-iy</i>	<i>hazirla</i>
feast-POSS2SG-ACC	do.IMP2SG	food-POSS2SG-ACC	prepare.IMP2SG

adamları	jıvıjfi	uſavtarın	adları	qojavın.
<i>adam-lar-ı</i>	<i>yıvıſſı</i>	<i>uſay-lar-ın</i>	<i>ad-lar-ın-ı</i>	<i>qoy-ayın.</i>
man-PL-ACC	collect.IMP2SG	child-PL-GEN	name-POSS3PL-ACC	put-VOL1PL

'Have your feast, prepare the food, gather the men, let's name the children.'

[ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav:04:03]

17. «کتابی الدار.»

kitabı	aɗdılar.
<i>kitab-ı</i>	<i>al-dı-lar.</i>
book-ACC	take-TERM-3PL

'They have taken [away] the book.' [miscellaneous.tki.wav:00:07]

18. «باخچانی سواردم.»

baxtjani	swa:rdım.
<i>baxça-nı</i>	<i>suwa:r-dı-m.</i>
garden-ACC	water-TERM-1SG

'I watered the garden.'

[miscellaneous.tki.wav:00:15]

19. «جیبین بیر الاما چخارتمش ایکه بولموش.»

đzıbinnæ	bir	ʔalma	tjχartmıſ	ikiε	bølmıſ.
<i>jib-ın-nâ</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>alma</i>	<i>çχart-mıſ</i>	<i>iki-ä</i>	<i>böl-müş.</i>
pocket-POSS3SG-ABL	one	apple	take.out-EVID3SG	two-DAT	divide-EVID3SG

'He took an apple from his pocket and cut it in half.'

[ahmet-and-mahmut.tki.wav:01:27]

20. «اونان سورا قاپی کیتلنسنین.»

onnan	sora	qapw	kıtlænşn.
<i>on-nan</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>qapı</i>	<i>kıtlân-sın.</i>
that-ABL	after	gate	lock-VOL3SG

'Let the gate lock after that.'

[oh-girl-pity-you.tki.wav:01:02]

21. «مەن سەئنی قیرغ گوندور باشنی بکلەیرم.»

mæn	sæni	kæxi	gyndyr	baʃji	bɛklæjræm.
mæn	sæn-i	kʲiχʲi	gün-dür	baš-iy-î	beklä-yr-äm.
I	you-GEN	forty	day-COP3SG	head-POSS2SG-ACC	wait-INTRA-1SG

'For forty days I've been waiting for your head.'

[oh-girl-pity-you.tki.wav:01:12]

22. «نینم یارن بازارا گیدر.»

ninæm	jarun	bazara	gedır.
ninä-m	yarin	bazar-a	ged-ır.
mother-POSS1SG	tomorrow	bazaar-DAT	go-INTRA

'My mother will go to the bazaar tomorrow.'

[miscellaneous.tki.wav:00:00]

For further samples of Iraq Turkic transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet, we refer the reader to Bulut (2007: 180-183) and Bulut (2018: 378–382).

In what follows is a short descriptive overview of the specific characteristics of the variety, illustrated, when applicable, by examples from the text.

Selected characteristics of the variety

Sound system

Vowels

There are nine vowel phonemes in both Bayat dialect and Iraq Turkic in general. These are: /ä/ [a], /ä/ ([æ], [ɛ]), closed /e/ [e], /i/ [u], /i/ [i]; /o/ [o], /ö/ [ø], /u/ [u], /ü/ [y] (Bayatlı 1996: 336, Bulut 2018: 362).

Consonants

24 consonants appear in the transcriptions, namely: *b, p, d, t, g, k, γ, k̄, χ, h, v, f, w, z, s, j, č, š, l, m, n, r, y*, and *ʔ*. Bayatlı (1996: 346) lists 32 letters representing consonant sounds in written Iraq Turkic. A phonemic analysis of consonants is yet to be done since phonemic status of some of them is not clear from the works referenced.

Further is a brief overview of phonological processes pertaining to consonants or simply examples contrasting Iraq Turkic with Turkish.

Voicing and devoicing: *gitçi* 'goat' (cf. Turkish *keçi*), *küräg* 'shovel' (cf. Turkish *kürek*). Another example of voicing are [tʃ] ~ [dʒ] pairs. For instance, *yorab* 'sock' (cf. Turkish *çorap*), *ɟanta* 'bag' (cf. Turkish *çanta*). An example of a voiced-unvoiced pair is *çopan* 'shepherd' (cf. Turkish *çoban*).

Consonant assimilation: in the Bayat variety, as in some other Turkic languages, [l] of the plural suffix {-lAr} is realized as {-nAr} if the stem ends in *n*, e.g. *Yä-sin-när* 'Let them eat', *ɟan-nar* 'souls', *tikän-när* 'thorns'.

Epenthesis: *su* > *usu* ‘water’, *imam* > *yumam* ‘imam’.

Morphology

Terminology used in this section follows Johanson (2021).

Verbal morphology

Two sets of personal agreement markers are as follows.

Table 1. Personal agreement markers of the pronominal type

1SG	{-(y)Im/-(y)Am}	1PL	{-İG}
2SG	{-sAn}	2PL	{-sİz}
3SG	∅/{-i}	3PL	{-lA(r)}

The vowel of the suffix {-İG} (1PL) is subject to four-fold vowel harmony, and /G/ is realised as /ɣ/ or /χ/, e.g. *Yaşayriy* ‘We are living’, *Gälliy* ‘We are coming’, *Qoymuruy* ‘We are not putting/accepting (something)’, *Sürrüy* ‘We are driving’ (examples from Ismael 2013: 45).

Whole paradigms of example verbs with agreement markers of the pronominal type are found in Tables 8, 9, 11 and 12.

Table 2. Personal agreement markers of the possessive type

1SG	{-m}	1PL	{-G}
2SG	{-y}	2PL	{-yİz}
3SG	∅	3PL	{-lA(r)}

Whole paradigms of example verbs with agreement markers of the possessive type are found in Tables 10 and 13.

The inventory of finite verb forms consists of the focal intraterminal suffix {-(y)İ(r)}, aorist {-Ar}, ‘old’ postterminal {-mİş}, ‘new’ postterminal {-(y)Üb} and terminal {-Dİ}. Focal intraterminal, aorist, postterminal, and ability forms pattern with the personal agreement markers of the pronominal type, while terminal and hypothetical forms pattern with the personal agreement markers of the possessive type. Besides these, Bayatlı (1996) lists the prospective form {-(y)AjAK} as a finite form. However, we think that it is not used as a finite form in the Bayat variety and follow the view of Bulut (2018), who lists it among participant nominals (PN) only. Instead, focal intraterminals/aorists are used to express prospective events, for instance *Ye-r-im* ‘I will eat’ in S2.

Sample paradigms for these finite markers are given in Tables 8–11. The forms given in the tables are found in the colloquial Bayat variety, sometimes followed by a hypothetical non-shortened variant after the < sign. A few observations about finite forms: positive forms of focal intraterminal and aorist in practice often overlap, especially in the first and second person, making it difficult to identify which form is used in a given utterance (Bulut 2018: 365). Postterminals demonstrate a mixed paradigm. Thus {-mİş} is used for 1SG and 1PL and {-(y)Üb} for the rest of the forms. The *r*

at the end of the plural suffix {-LAR} tends to drop in speech, and the *r* of the aorist or focal intra-terminal preceding it tends to assimilate to the *l* of the third person plural suffix.

The imperative of the second person singular is expressed by a bare stem, e.g. in *Hazirla!* ‘Prepare [it]!’ in S16. The imperative of the second person plural is formed by the suffix {-(y)In}, with /y/ after vowels, e.g. *Gid-ın!* ‘Go!’ and *Oyna-yın!* ‘Play!’. Both singular and plural forms can be followed by the suffix {-GInAn}, e.g. *Git-gınan!* or *Gid-ın-gınan!* ‘Please go!’, expressing a more polite request.

Voluntatives are expressed by the suffix {-(y)Im}, e.g. *Män gäd-ım* ‘Let me go’ or *Män oxı-yım* ‘Let me read’ in the first person singular and {-(y)Ayın} in the first person plural, e.g. *gid-äyın* in S3. Third person singular voluntative suffix is {-sIn}, e.g. *Yat-sın* ‘Let X go to sleep’, third person plural voluntative is expressed by {-sInnAr}, e.g. *Gör-sün-ner* ‘Let them see’.

Necessity can be expressed by adding *gäräg*, *gärägin* preceding verbs, for example, *Gäräg yäv-ä gid-ä-sän* ‘You must go home’, *Gäräg kal-a-san* ‘You must stay’. To our knowledge, there is no suffix analogous to Turkish {-mAlI}.

The potential construction {-(y)A} *bil-*, e.g. *Oxuya billem* ‘I can read’, is noteworthy for having the negated form {-(y)A} *bilmä-*, e.g. *Oxuya bilmäm* ‘I cannot read’. A sample paradigm is found in Table 12.

The hypothetical suffix is {-sA}. The whole paradigm of an example verb is given in Table 13.

A non-exhaustive inventory of non-finite verb forms consists of the intraterminal participant nominal (PN) in {-(y)An}, aorist PN in {-r/mAz}, appearing in lexicalized units only, postterminal PN in {-mİš}, prospective PN in {-(y)AĴAk}, the action nominals (AN) in {-DİK} and {-mAK}, converbs in {-(y)A}, {-(y)Uᵑp}, {-AnI}, {-(y)InĴA}, {-kAn} (only with aorist), and {-dIKÇA}. In addition, temporal clauses can be formed by combining the PN forms in {-(y)An}, as well as AN forms in {-DİK} and {-mAK} with case or case-like suffixes (Bulut 2018: 367, 372).

Nominal morphology

The genitive, accusative, dative, locative, and ablative suffixes are {-(n)In}, {-(n)I}, {-(y)A}, {-DA}, and {-DAn}, respectively. The accusative suffix after third person possessives is often just {-n}, e.g. *bala-sı-n* ‘child-POSS3-ACC’, *elma-lar-ı-n* ‘apple-PL-POSS3-ACC’ (Ismael 2013: 37). The equative suffix is {-ĴA}, and unlike Turkish it does not require the so-called “pronominal -n-” to precede it after the third person possessive suffix. The instrumental and comitative is formed with the form {-(y)DAn}, with /y/ after vowels, e.g. *Indı män-ım-çı bir ıgne-yden bir ipliĴ gätır-ın* ‘Now bring me a needle and thread’ (Bayatlı 2009: 221), *At-tan gälır-dı* ‘He used to come on horseback’ (Ismael 2013: 104), *Gidäy men-nen sen himmit oyna-yay* ‘Let’s me and you go play himmit (?)’ (Ismael 2013: 104).

Table 3. Case suffixes with *bala* ‘child’, *taraf* ‘side’, *yev* ‘house’, *gün* ‘day’

		<i>bala</i> ‘child’	<i>taraf</i> ‘side’	<i>yev</i> ‘house’	<i>gün</i> ‘day’
Nominative	∅	<i>bala</i>	<i>taraf</i>	<i>yev</i>	<i>gün</i>
Genitive	[-(n)In}	<i>bala-nın</i>	<i>taraf-ın</i>	<i>yev-ın</i>	<i>gün-ün</i>
Accusative	[-(n)I}	<i>bala-nı</i>	<i>taraf-ı</i>	<i>yev-i</i>	<i>gün-ü</i>
Dative	[-(y)A}	<i>bala-ya</i>	<i>taraf-a</i>	<i>yev-ä</i>	<i>gün-ä</i>
Locative	[-DA}	<i>bala-da</i>	<i>taraf-ta</i>	<i>yev-dä</i>	<i>gün-dä</i>
Ablative	[-DAn}	<i>bala-dan</i>	<i>taraf-tan</i>	<i>yev-dän</i>	<i>gün-nän</i>

The possessive markers are {-(!)m} (1SG), {-(!)y} (2SG), {-(!)s}!(n)} (3SG), {-(!)m(!)z} (1PL), {-(!)y!z} (2PL), {-LAR!} (3PL).

Table 4. Possessive suffixes

		<i>bala</i> 'child'	<i>taraf</i> 'side'	<i>yev</i> 'house'	<i>gün</i> 'day'
1SG	{-(!)m}	<i>bala-m</i>	<i>taraf-İM</i>	<i>yev-İM</i>	<i>gün-üm</i>
2SG	{-(!)y}	<i>bala-y</i>	<i>taraf-İY</i>	<i>yev-İY</i>	<i>gün-üy</i>
3SG	{-(s)! (n)}	<i>bala-sİ</i>	<i>taraf-İ</i>	<i>yev-İ</i>	<i>gün-ü</i>
1PL	{-(!)m(!)z}	<i>bala-mİZ</i>	<i>taraf-İMİZ</i>	<i>yev-İMİZ</i>	<i>gün-ümüz</i>
2PL	{-y!z}	<i>bala-yİZ</i>	<i>taraf-yİZ</i>	<i>yev-İYİZ</i>	<i>gün-üyüz</i>
3PL	{-LAR!}	<i>bala-larİ</i>	<i>taraf-larİ</i>	<i>yev-larİ</i>	<i>gün-narİ</i>

One of the most characteristic features of the Bayat variety is that Old Turkic nasal η in singular and plural second person possessives and personal suffixes of the possessive type has developed into y [j], for example *Git-tİ-y* 'You went', *yäv-y-ä* 'to your home', *Yat-tİ-y* 'You slept'.

The plural suffix is {-LAR}, assimilated to {-nAr} after stems ending in n .

The plural, possessive and case suffixes are attached to the stem in this order, e.g. *bala-lar-İM-nan* 'from my children'.

Table 5. Case suffixes after first, second and third person singular possessive suffixes in *bala* 'child'

	1SG	2SG	3SG
Nominative	<i>bala-m</i>	<i>bala-y</i>	<i>bala-sİ</i>
Genitive	<i>bala-m-İN</i>	<i>bala-y-İN</i>	<i>bala-sİN-İN</i>
Accusative	<i>bala-m-İ</i>	<i>bala-y-İ</i>	<i>bala-sİ-n</i>
Dative	<i>bala-m-a</i>	<i>bala-y-a</i>	<i>bala-sİN-a</i>
Locative	<i>bala-m-da</i>	<i>bala-y-da</i>	<i>bala-sİN-da</i>
Ablative	<i>bala-m-nan</i>	<i>bala-y-dan</i>	<i>bala-sİN-nan</i>

Other categories

The personal pronouns are *män* 'I', *sän* 'you', *o* 'he/she/it', *biz* 'we', *siz* 'you', *o-lar* 'they'. Full paradigms are given in Table 6.

Table 6. Paradigms of personal pronouns

	Nominative	Genitive	Accusative	Dative	Locative	Ablative
1SG	<i>män</i>	<i>män-ım</i>	<i>män-ı</i>	<i>män-ä</i>	<i>män-dä</i>	<i>män-nän</i>
2SG	<i>sän</i>	<i>sän-ıy</i>	<i>sän-ı</i>	<i>sän-ä</i>	<i>sän-dä</i>	<i>sän-nän</i>
3SG	<i>o</i>	<i>on-un</i>	<i>on-u</i>	<i>on-a</i>	<i>on-da</i>	<i>on-nan</i>
1PL	<i>biz</i>	<i>biz-ım</i>	<i>biz-ı</i>	<i>biz-ä</i>	<i>biz-dä</i>	<i>biz-dän</i>
2PL	<i>siz</i>	<i>siz-ıy</i>	<i>siz-ı</i>	<i>siz-ä</i>	<i>siz-dä</i>	<i>siz-dän</i>
3PL	<i>o-lar</i>	<i>o-lar-ın</i>	<i>o-lar-ı</i>	<i>o-lar-a</i>	<i>o-lar-da</i>	<i>o-lar-dan</i>

The demonstrative pronouns are *bu* ‘this’ and *o* ‘that’. The pronoun *şu* ‘this here, the following’, found in Turkish, is not used in Bayat.

Table 7. Paradigms of demonstrative pronouns

	<i>bu</i> ‘this’	<i>o</i> ‘that’
Nominative	<i>bu</i>	<i>o</i>
Genitive	<i>mun-un</i>	<i>on-un</i>
Accusative	<i>mun-u</i>	<i>on-u</i>
Dative	<i>mun-a</i>	<i>on-a</i>
Locative	<i>mun-da</i>	<i>on-da</i>
Ablative	<i>mun-nan</i>	<i>on-nan</i>

The reflexive pronouns are *öz*, e.g. *öz-üy* ‘yourself’, *öz-ü* ‘himself/herself/itself’, and, alternatively, *bilä*, e.g. *bilä-m*, both necessarily followed by possessive suffixes. Bayatlı (1996: 387) claims that the latter is a specific to Erbil and Altınköprü districts, but in our opinion, it is used in Bayat variety as well, but less frequently.

The suffix {-yAkA} is used on nouns to indicate a person or an object that has already been mentioned and recognized in the discourse, as e.g. in S14. See Dolatkhah et al. (2016) for the use of this enclitic in Kaskhay.

No question particles such as {-mI} exist in Iraq Turkic. Instead, questions or polite requests phrased as questions are expressed either by prosodic means or using special phrases such as *zaḫmät* (*olmasın*).

Syntactic features

The canonical order of sentences in all Iraq Turkic varieties is SOV as in Turkish, for instance, in S9: *Kurt bir aḫır-ın öwg-ün-ä git-mış* ‘The wolf went to a barn’.

Examples of correlative conjunctions are *yo ...yo ...*, *yo ... yan ...*, *ya ... yan ...*, *nä ... nä ...*, e.g. as seen in the following idioms: *nä iş-tän ne kar-dan* ‘(useful) neither work-wise nor profit-wise’, *yo ḳor-san yo kăçal* ‘You are either blind or bold’, *ya munu yan da munu* ‘either this or that’.

The Indo-European-style clause combining strategies in Iraq Turkic described by Bulut (2018: § 2.5.2) require further investigation in regard to the Bayat variety.

Lexicon

The dictionaries of Iraq Turkic that we are aware of are Hürmüzlü (2003) and Hürmüzlü (2013).

There is a Turkish-to-Iraq Turkic machine translator – including an Iraq Turkic morphological analyser and generator as one of its components – in development. It has not been published yet, and is still in an experimental phase. Its bilingual dictionary contains about 3000 stem pairs and is available online, <https://github.com/apertium/apertium-tur-tki/blob/master/apertium-tur-tki.tur-tki.dix>.

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Appendix

Table 8. The focal intraterminal forms of the verb 'to know'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>Bil-İR-äm</i>	<i>Bil-m-İR-äm</i>	<i>Bil-İR-İy</i>	<i>Bil-m-İR-İy</i>
P2	<i>Bil-İ-sän</i>	<i>Bil-m-İ-sän</i>	<i>Bil-İ-sİz</i>	<i>Bil-m-İ-sİz</i>
P3	<i>Bil-İR-(İ)</i>	<i>Bil-m-İR-(İ)</i>	<i>Bil-İL-le(r)</i>	<i>B il-m-İL-le(r)</i>

Table 9. The aorist forms of the verb 'to give'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>Wer-r-äm < Wer-är-äm</i>	<i>Wer-mä-m</i>	<i>Wer-r-iy < wär-är-iy</i>	<i>Wer-mä-r-iy</i>
P2	<i>Wer-ä-sän</i>	<i>Wer-mä-sän</i>	<i>Wer-ä-siz</i>	<i>Wer-mä-siz</i>
P3	<i>Werr(i)</i>	<i>Wer-mäz</i>	<i>Wer-äl-lä(r)</i>	<i>Wer-mäz-lä(r)</i>

Table 10. The terminal forms of the verb 'to say'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>De-dı-m</i>	<i>De-mä-dı-m</i>	<i>De-dı-y</i>	<i>De-mä-dı-y</i>
P2	<i>De-dı-y</i>	<i>De-mä-dı-y</i>	<i>De-dı-yız</i>	<i>De-mä-dı-yız</i>
P3	<i>De-dı</i>	<i>De-mä-dı</i>	<i>De-dı-lä(r)</i>	<i>De-mä-dı-lä(r)</i>

Table 11. The evidential forms of the verb 'to give'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>Wer-mış-äm</i>	<i>Wer-mä-mış-äm</i>	<i>Wer-mış-iy</i>	<i>Wer-mä-mış-iy</i>
P2	<i>Wer-üp-sän</i>	<i>Wer-mä-yüp-sän</i>	<i>Wer-üp-süz</i>	<i>Wer-mä-yüp-süz</i>
P3	<i>Wer-üp</i>	<i>Wer-mä-yüp</i>	<i>Wer-üp-lä(r)</i>	<i>Wer-mä-yüp-lä(r)</i>

Table 12. The ability forms of the verb 'to ask'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>Sor-abil-l-äm</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mä-m</i>	<i>Sor-abil-l-iy</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mi-r-iy</i>
P2	<i>Sor-abil-sän</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mä-sän</i>	<i>Sor-abil-siz</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mi-siz</i>
P3	<i>Sor-abil-ir</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mäz</i>	<i>Sor-abil-lä(r)</i>	<i>Sor-abil-mäz-lä(r)</i>

Table 13. The hypothetical forms of the verb 'to ask'

	Singular	Negative	Plural	Negative
P1	<i>Sor-sa-m</i>	<i>Sor-ma-sa-m</i>	<i>Sor-sa-y</i>	<i>Sor-ma-say</i>
P2	<i>Sor-sa-y</i>	<i>Sor-ma-sa-y</i>	<i>Sor-sa-yız</i>	<i>Sor-ma-sa-yız</i>
P3	<i>Sor-sa</i>	<i>Sor-maz-sa</i>	<i>Sor-sa-la(r)</i>	<i>Sor-maz-sa-la(r)</i>