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Exploring Cypriot Turkish: An overview and some reflexions

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List of abbreviations

∅	Empty element
1pl	First person plural
1sg	First person singular
Opt	Optative
Subj	Subjunctive
Imp	Imperative
2pl	Second person plural
2sg	Second person singular
3sg	Third person singular
Abil	Abilitative
Abl	Ablative
Acc	Accusative
Adv	Adverb
A.Nom	Action Nominal
Aor	Aorist
Caus	Causative
Cmp.M	Compound Marker
Com	Comitative
Compl	Complementizer
Cond	Conditional
Cop	Copula
Dat	Dative
Dim	Diminutive
Dis.P	Discourse Particle
Ep.Cop	Epistemic Copula
Exist	Existential predicate
Evid	Evidentiality
F.Nom	Factive Nominal
Fut	Future
Gen	Genitive
Ger	Gerundive
Imp	Imperative

Inf	Infinitive
Infer.Past	Inferential Past
Inst	Instrumental
Loc	Locative
Nec	Necessitative
Neg	Negation
Obj.P	Object Participle
Opt	Optative
Pass	Passive
Past	Past
Pl	Plural
Plupf	Pluperfect
P.Part	Past Participle
Pr.Prog	Present Progressive
Pro	Pronoun
Prog	Progressive
Q	Interrogative Particle
Rel	Relativizer
Recip	Reciprocal
Rep.Past	Reported Past
Sbj.P	Subject Participle
Sg	Singular
SOV	Subject – Object – Verb Order
Sub	Subordinator
Vbl.Conj	Verbal Conjunction

LANGUAGES

CT	Cypriot Turkish
CG	Cypriot Greek
ST	Standard Turkish
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
SMT	Standard Modern Turkish

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Languages change, adapt, and evolve, reflecting the complexities of human culture across geography and, most importantly, identities. In this regard, the notion of variation is a continuing concern within the field of linguistics. The variation in a language can be defined as the co-existence of two or more variants of a given form or construction. This definition obviously holds true for the current situation of both standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish. There is an ongoing debate regarding the origin and development of Cypriot Turkish. Some scholars (Eren, 1964; Duman, 2000) assert that Anatolian had an influence, while others (Kappler, 2008, 2015; Gulle, 2014) claim that long-lasting close contact with Cypriot Greek is the basis of the variation observed in contrast with standard Turkish.

Before delving into the analysis of the linguistic features of Cypriot Turkish, it is useful to focus on historical and sociolinguistic elements to gain a perspective on the development and current state of the language. As Rustem (1987) highlights, Cyprus has attracted many nations because of its strategic geographical position. It has been invaded by various people such as the Hittites, Egyptians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Arabs, Venetians, Genoese, Turks, and British. It is plausible to assert that each domination imprinted its distinct influence upon the island in various ways. The island came under Ottoman rule in 1571 and remained an Ottoman colony until 1878. As this time frame continued, the island was leased to the British in 1878, and Great Britain gained temporary administration over it. British rule lasted until 1960 when the two ethnic communities of Cyprus were given sovereignty over the island with the Treaty of Guarantee. Lastly, after the war in 1974, the island underwent a division into two *de facto* autonomous regions: the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus.

In light of these historical incidents, Turkish Cypriots maintained close and prolonged interactions with Greek Cypriots over several centuries (1571-1974). Comparably, in terms of language, Cypriot Turkish engaged in long-lasting linguistic contact with Cypriot Greek for approximately four centuries and English for nearly a century (1878-1960). As Savoğlu (2001) states, we have historical evidence that within the time frame from 1571 to 1974, the two

communities lived together on the island: some villages were mixed, some were Greek only, and some were Turkish only. Beckingham (1957: 170) points out that many Turkish Cypriots were bilingual (or even monolingual Cypriot Greek) or were using Cypriot Greek in their daily lives, whereas English was only used in administration and never became the ‘language of the masses’ (termed by Gulle, 2011: 91). This long-lasting language contact came to an end with the division of the island. Furthermore, Kızılyürek & Gautier-Kızılyürek (2004) emphasize that although the Roman alphabet was first used in Cyprus in 1931 following the Language Reform in Turkey in 1928, the actual influence of standard Turkish (through TV and radio broadcasts, printed media, and education) was not felt until the 1950s. These historical and sociolinguistic influences have played a crucial role in shaping the course of Cypriot Turkish, setting the stage and establishing the basis for its evolving structure and societal functions.

As already hinted above, there are different hypotheses about the formation of Cypriot Turkish. Cypriot Turkish is commonly taken to be an extension of Anatolian Turkish (Eren, 1964; Duman, 1999), which has developed its distinct characteristics in modern times. According to Duman (1999), it is neither a completely independent language nor a very old dialect; rather, it emerged through specific historical processes and is considered a relatively recent variation within Western Turkish.

Duman (1999: 128). Considering all these historical facts and the geological position of Cyprus, Demir & Johanson (2006) assert that the language has evolved independently, devoid of considerable influence from standard Turkish, and that we should consider Cypriot Turkish as a distinctive Turkish variant peculiar to Cyprus. Today, although the accepted official written language is based on standard Turkish, Cypriot Turkish is spoken by local Turkish Cypriots in their everyday life and on official occasions. Hadjioannou et al. (2011: 36) sheds light on this situation from a socio-linguistic point of view, as it is the desire of Cypriots to protect and preserve their language and identity against the coexistence of standard Turkish and other Turkish dialects on the island. These insights into the development of Cypriot Turkish and its role in society provide a context for understanding how studies have addressed its linguistic characteristics.

Cypriot Turkish displays specific phonology, morphology, lexicon, modality, and syntax features. An early study on Cypriot Turkish is attributed to Eren (1964), whose research provides a crucial point of origin for the broader exploration and understanding of the linguistic characteristics within Cypriot Turkish linguistics. Eren (1964) focused on the contrastive analysis

of Cypriot Turkish and Anatolian Turkish dialects, addressing lexical features and asserting that certain words used in Cypriot Turkish are also found in some specific parts of Anatolia, particularly in the West Anatolian dialects. He asserted that these findings were proof that Cypriot Turkish originated from Anatolian dialects.

The approach initiated by Eren (1964) was influential and productive. Most Turkish dialects of the regions of Cyprus, such as Paphos (Atılğan, 1966), Nicosia (Avkıran, 1970), Limassol (Samı, 1972), and Famagusta (Tuğlu, 1979), have been investigated. Further studies by (Vancı, 1990; Saraçoğlu, 1992; Scharlipp, 1998), and Duman (1999) addressed the phonological features of the language. Furthermore, Duman (1999) based his analysis on phonological, morphological, and lexical characteristics of Cypriot Turkish in comparison to standard Turkish. In his research, Duman (1999) observed that some clitics go against Vowel Harmony in Cypriot Turkish, namely the comitative *-(y)lA*, the time adverbial *-(y)kAn*, and the connective *DA*. Besides these clitics, the post-clitic copular morpheme *-(y)-sA* goes against vowel harmony in the same vein in Cypriot Turkish.

These early studies (Eren, 1964; Duman, 1999) in the field are mainly dedicated to the examination of the phonological, morphological, and lexical characteristics of Cypriot Turkish. In this sense, these studies make a remarkable contribution to creating fundamental knowledge of Cypriot Turkish, forming a basis for extensive linguistic investigation. While these earlier studies concentrated on the connection and comparison between Anatolian dialects and standard Turkish, more recent studies (Demir 2002a, 2007a; Kappler 2008, 2015; Gulle 2011, 2014) have undertaken peculiar features of Cypriot Turkish have shed light on contact-induced syntactic structures influenced by contact languages such as Cypriot Greek and partially English.

More specifically, Demir (2007a: 2) points out that in his previous studies (Demir, 2002a; Demir, 2002b; Demir, 2002c; Demir, 2002d; Demir, 2002e), Cypriot Turkish has been examined independently of Anatolian dialects norms. Demir (2002a, 2003 & 2007a) contends that there are linguistic features that are not observed in any part of the Turkish context. The most distinctive features can be outlined as the form and aspect differences in present and past tense, distinct usage of interrogative clitic and negation particle, which also affect word order, distinctive usage of optative-imperative paradigm in a context such as necessity, voluntative, and proximity and lastly the existence of relative pronouns along with their Indo-European clausal structure.

In this respect, Demir (2007a: 3) underlines that although Eren's (1964) observation is historically correct, it is insufficient to explain the current place of Cypriot Turkish. In other words, Cypriot Turkish cannot be considered simply as the extension of Anatolian Turkish. In this respect, Demir (2007a: 14) asserts that the developments in Cypriot Turkish may result from extreme processes whose reasons are not fully understood. Demir provides some possible reasons that led to these developments, as follows: 1) some of these developments likely arose due to the influence of other languages with which they coexisted. This is because it is difficult to explain certain features purely as internal developments within standard Turkish since such tendencies are not observed in Standard Turkish or other Turkish dialects that contributed to the formation of Cypriot language variation. However, attributing every deviation from standard Turkish or every distinctive element of Cypriot Turkish solely to alloglottal influences - especially Greek - would be a hasty conclusion without sufficient detailed research. 2) It should not be overlooked that Cypriot Turkish may have preserved certain features present when it separated from the rest of Turkish but subsequently changed in Anatolian dialects in later centuries.

The studies conducted by Demir (2002a, 2003, 2007a) marked an influential era in the studies on Cypriot Turkish. In his studies, Demir (2002a, 2007a, 2007b) suggested the possibility of the influence of contact languages on the development of Cypriot Turkish but refrained from making definitive claims. Notably, his work introduces the conceptual framework of 'contact-induced syntactic structures' into the research field. Demir's (2007a) scholarly contributions, as documented in his works, underscore the assertion that the main features distinguishing Cypriot Turkish varieties from mainland Turkish Anatolian dialects appear in the area of syntax. Most of these topics relate to verbal syntax, including subjunctives, relative clauses, negation constructions, and interrogative statements.

Kappler (2008: 205) conforms to this opinion and points out further, "...the most striking syntactic patterns copied from Greek (and perhaps partly also from English) occur in embedded clauses, especially in object clauses, relative clauses, and subjunctive clauses". Kappler (2008) underlines that Demir (2002a, 2007a, 2007b) made remarkable contributions and provided data for contact-induced syntactic features, making assumptions that behind these structures could be the role of Greek without providing in-depth analysis and Greek data. In this vein, Kappler (2008) argues that these previous studies are insufficient in supplying data from the contact language, namely Cypriot Greek, and the framework of language contact. This leads him to provide a

comparative approach to examine contact-induced phenomena in the syntax of Cypriot Turkish varieties. In this research, Kappler considered his naturalistically collected data within the theoretical framework of language contact, providing Cypriot Greek data. At the end of the research, he concludes that structures such as object and relative clauses, subjunctives, and placement of dissociative marker *-Imİş* are the main phenomena distinguishing Cypriot Turkish from other Turkic varieties. Most importantly, Kappler proposed that the object and relative clauses present overlapping structures, considering it “a product of contact-induced convergence between Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish”.

Gulle (2011, 2014) applied a cross-linguistic perspective in his studies of morphosyntactic structures in the languages of the island, focussing on the contact with Cypriot Greek (Gulle,2011) and Kormakiti Arabic (Gulle, 2014). Gulle also named Cypriot Armenian and Roma communities, of which quantitative data were too limited for the analysis. For this research, the data were collected from 21 native Cypriots, including Cypriot Turkish, Cypriot Greek, and Cypriot Arabic participants with different ages and levels of education. The participants were chosen from 10 different areas, out of which two (Pyle and Nicosia) still display contact between Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek. Moreover, the research data was drawn in the form of narrative and dialogue and was gathered in a time span from 2010 to 2014. At the end of the research, Gulle (2014: 203-206) noted that the findings provide evidence that intensive language contact has taken place in Cyprus. He concluded that the study successfully identified and documented many replications and analyzed many of them in detail, demonstrating the similarities and differences between the structures of languages of the island. On the other hand, Gulle (2014: 205) points out that the quantitative research was not successful enough since the resources were limited, and it was not possible to examine every linguistic feature. Besides these findings, the results were compared to other Mediterranean languages, and the findings demonstrate that the language structure in Cyprus displays limited overlapping in various structure types. A comparison with the languages in Balkan Sprachbund indicates that most of the structures in Cyprus can also be observed in other Balkan languages. Gulle explains this by stating that the primary source of contact is Cypriot Greek, which is also a Balkan language.

All these studies provide a foundational basis for expanding comprehension of the dynamic of human language, more specifically, Cypriot Turkish in this context, by examining language development over time, documenting the specific structural features, and highlighting patterns of

variation influenced by regional and social factors. Additionally, prior studies, primarily (Kappler, 2008; Gulle, 2014), provide insights into cross-linguistic phenomena, demonstrating how lexical and syntactic borrowings shape the development of the studied variety. The insights provided by these studies' findings can help bridge theoretical linguistics and sociolinguistic patterns as well as practical applications in education and language policy. Consequently, in light of these points, the implications of these studies deserve to be explored further.

The earlier bibliographical studies (Bozkurt, 2008; Osam & Kelepir, 2006; Akgur & Osam, 2024) laid the groundwork for documenting the existing literature on Cypriot Turkish. Moreover, they provide primary insight into preserving significant works and evaluating how Cypriot Turkish studies' focus has shifted over time. While these bibliographical attempts provide a general overview, they lack an in-depth analysis of findings. A reflective examination that evaluates the methodologies, gaps, and conclusions in these kinds of studies is indispensable to gaining a more holistic understanding of the linguistic features of a language.

Concerning this issue, this current study systematically reviews the existing research on Cypriot Turkish, aiming to provide an overview of previous research and offer a personal reflection. In this vein, the current study seeks to address the following research questions that emerge from the aforementioned background:

- 1) What are the main linguistic features and distinctive characteristics of Cypriot Turkish identified in the body of current literature?
- 2) How do these features differ from standard Turkish, and in which way do they show similarities with contact languages -namely, Greek and English?
- 3) To what extent do the instances of variation give rise to optionality Cypriot Turkish?

For this purpose, six works (Eren, 1964; Demir 2002a, 2007a; Kappler 2008, 2015; Gulle, 2014) are examined. In this vein, as a native Turkish Cypriot, drawing upon my regional native linguistic background and competence, I hypothesize that the findings of these studies may present differing perspectives or insights for me. I believe that Cypriot Turkish presents diatopic variation. I grew up and live on the island's North Side, more specifically, Morphou (*Guzelyurt*). Furthermore, I grew up with grandparents who witnessed the co-living with Cypriot Greeks and experienced bilingualism, which may have provided me second-hand exposure to linguistic contact and multilingual interactions. Given these facts lead me to think I can provide my native speaker

competence of this particular variety. Therefore, I intend to incorporate my observations and reflections. By integrating personal insights with existing research, my objective is to provide a more nuanced analysis and context-based interpretation that complements the scholarly discourse and highlights potential areas for further investigation.

The remaining part of this study is structured as follows. The second chapter presents the main morphological features that distinguish Cypriot Turkish from mainland Turkish. This section is split between nominal and verb inflection. In addition to this analysis, the following sections examine personal and reflexive pronouns. The following chapter is dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the syntactical structures of Cypriot Turkish in relation to standard Turkish and contact languages. The main structures are outlined as the constituent order, subjunctives, object, and relative clauses, along with some adverbial constructions, and concluded with negation and interrogative statements. To provide a comprehensive analysis, some personal insights reflecting on the studies' findings are provided in the abovementioned chapters. Since most syntactical constructions concern verbal syntax, the fourth chapter is directed toward nominal syntax, focusing on the plural marking system on noun phrases. This section includes the examination of plural agreement based on quantifiers, referentiality of noun phrases, and animacy of verb phrases. Finally, some critical comments are added, and the research is concluded with some general remarks and further indications in the conclusion part.

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES

Duman (1999) and Demir (2002a, 2007a) addressed morphological features that differ from standard Turkish. In this regard, Demir (2002a) underlines that in the Turkish language, morphological developments in verbs are much more complex than in nouns. This complex development of verbs is applicable to Cypriot Turkish as well. In Cypriot Turkish, certain morphological features are inherent to both noun and verb forms. These features are not particularly common in other variants of Turkish.

In this regard, morphological features concerning nouns are presented first, followed by the analysis of verb-related features in this chapter.

2.1. Diminutive (-*çik*) suffix

Besides agreement suffixes, the other addressed morphological feature is the diminutive (-*çik*) suffix by Duman (1999: 124 -125). The diminutive (-*çik*) suffix, which functions as a derivational suffix in standard Turkish, is very frequently used as an inflectional suffix in Cypriot Turkish to mention a small version or less of almost everything.

(1) a. İçine bir gaşı -**çik** şeker at -ıl -ır (CT)
inside bir spoon -Dim sugar add -Pass -Aor

b. İçine bir kaş**ık** şeker at -ıl -ır (ST)
inside bir spoon sugar add -Pass -Aor
'A (little) spoon of baking soda are added into (it)'

(2) a. Yeni bir araba -**çig** al -dı -lar (CT)
new a car -Dim buy -Past -3pl

b. Yeni bir araba al -dı -lar (ST)
new a car buy -Past -3pl
'They bought a car'

As seen in (1b) and (2b), this diminutive suffix is not commonly used in standard Turkish.

2.2. Derivational (-*lık*) suffix

Demir (2002a), in his comprehensive analysis outlining various features inherent to Cypriot Turkish, has made partial reference to a derivational plural suffix (-*lık*). This is an entity notably absent in standard Turkish. In detail, (-*lık*) suffix is one of the derivational suffixes which is attached to nouns to derive another type of noun e.g. (abstract nouns, place names, or tool names) in standard Turkish.¹ However, in Cypriot Turkish, it shows difference, and it can be also joined into plural construction and function as a plural suffix. Example (3) exemplifies this construction in Cypriot Turkish provided with its standard Turkish correspondence in (4). As can be observed from example (4), standard Turkish equivalent includes -(*lar*) for the nominal plural construction.

(3) a. Bak insan **-lık** da ne hal (CT)
look people -pl Dis.P what condition

b. Bak insan **-lar** ne hal -de (ST)
look people -pl what condition
'Look what is the situation of the people' / 'Look at the situation of the people'

(4) a. O kadar enginar **-lık** da ye -ye -me -di -k bu sene bir tane (CT)
that much artichoke-pl even eat -Abil -Neg -Past -1pl this year a item

b. O kadar çok enginar var, bir tane bile yi -ye -me -di -k (ST)
that much many artichoke there is, a item even eat -Abil -Neg -Past -1pl
'There are so many artichokes; we couldn't eat even one'

In Cypriot Turkish, the suffix (-*lık*) in sentence (4) is used to imply a bunch of artichokes, which does not have an equivalent in the standard form with the same suffix.

¹ According to Kornfilt (1997: 446), the suffix -*lık*, attached to nouns, derives nouns that essentially fall into two groups:

A. Abstract nouns, derived from nouns:

(1546) öğren	'(to) learn'	iş	'work'
öğren -ci	'student, pupil'	iş -çi	'worker'
öğren -ci -lık	'studenthood'	iş -çi -lık	'workmanship'

B. Nouns meaning 'intended for' or 'suitable for':

(1547) kitap	'book'	kitap -lık	'bookcase, bookshelf'
baş	'head'	baş -lık	'bonnet'
mezar	'grave'	mezar -lık	'graveyard, cemetery'

2.3. The Epistemic Copular Suffix *-Dir*

Another variation that arises in the field of nominal inflectional morphology is linked to the widespread usage of copular suffix *-(Dir)* compared to standard Turkish. In standard Turkish, this suffix can intensify the meaning of the word it attaches to or introduce doubt into the expression. Further, it is not mandatory to form a nominal sentence².

In Cypriot Turkish, (Duman 1999; Demir 2002a) points out this situation as that the suffix is used far more frequently than in standard Turkish. More precisely, the suffix appears much more frequently at the end of predicates in nominal sentences (Demir, 2002a: 6). For instance, it is common in Cyprus for individuals to introduce themselves in phone conversations using constructions like '*Alidir*' (ST: *Ben Mehmet* 'I am Ali') or '*Mehmetdir*' (ST: *Ben Mehmer* 'I am Mehmet'). Functionally, it could correspond to the verb 'to be' in Western languages, e.g., English.

(7) a. Git -di -k köy -e o gün da aklı -m -da **-dir** anne -m
 go -Past -1pl village -Dat that day also mind -Gen -Loc -Cop mother -Gen

bişir -di -ydi köfte, çok iyi hatırla -r -ım (CT)
 cook -Past -Past meatballs very well remember -Aor -1s

b. Köy -e git -ti -k o gün anne -m
 village -Dat go -Past -1pl that day mind -Loc

köfte pişir -miş -ti, çok iyi hatırl -ıyor -um (ST)
 meatballs cook -PPart -Past very well remember -Prog -1sg
 'We went to the village that day and my mother had cooked meatballs; I remember it very well'

2 Cf. Kornfilt (1997: 81-82, (331)) where a copular sentence is in the present tense and has a third person subject, the *-Dir* suffix takes on a third function, namely that of the copula:

(i) bölüm başkanı aynı zaman-da dekan-dir
 department head same time -Loc dean -Cop
 "The department head is, at the same time, a dean"

While the "emphatic, official certainty" reading and the "inference" reading are available here, too, the main reading is that of a simple declarative. In just the context of the present tense copular sentences with third person subjects, then, *-Dir* is a suppletive form of the copula. In just this usage, *-Dir* is optional. This is the only place where any form of the copula is optional; otherwise, the copula is obligatory. In other words, where the phonological conditions allow for the copula to show up, it must show up.

2.4. Verb Inflection

In his studies, Demir (2002a, 2007a) underlines that most of the significant features that distinguish Cypriot Turkish from other Turkish dialects appear in the field of inflectional morphology, specifically in the verb inflection. Demir (2002a: 6) points out that throughout the known history of the Turkish language, verb inflection morphology has undergone much more complex processes compared to noun inflection and the same situation is observed in Cypriot Turkish. In this vein, morphological variations in verb structure studied by Duman (1999) and Demir (2002a, 2007a) are presented in this part. The focus is mainly on the personal agreement markers and tense inflection.

2.4.1. Personal Agreement Markers

In his study, Duman (1999) framed the topic of personal agreement markers from the perspective of morpheme replacement. Accordingly, the first-person plural agreement suffix *-(I)z* demonstrates variation in Cypriot Turkish. The first-person plural suffix *-(I)z* which is found with the aorist, the present progressive, the reported past and the future apart from the definite past, is replaced with the first-person plural suffix *-(I)k* which is used with the definite past tense and conditional sentences in standard Turkish³. It appears that the first-person plural suffix *-(I)k* has expanded its usage area by being used as first-person indicative in different moods, beyond the conditional and definite past tense marker, in Cypriot Turkish.

- (8) a. bu gahve -yi cezve -ye gor -uk (CT)
 this coffee -Acc pot -Dat put -1pl
- b. bu kahve -yi cezve -ye kor -uz (ST)
 this coffee -Acc pot -Dat put -1pl
 ‘We put this coffee into the pot’
- (9) a. yarın -a gadar gel -ir -ig de -di (CT)
 tomorrow -Dat until come -Aor -1pl say -Past
- b. yarın -a kadar gel -ir -iz de -di (ST)
 tomorrow -Dat until come -Aor -1pl say -Past
 ‘S/he said, “we will return until the tomorrow’

3 This paradigm can be found in the following chapter (2.4.2.2.) in Figure 1 demonstrated by Kornfilt (1997: 338)

The variation the form of personal agreement in first person plural is evident in (8) and (9).

Similar to first-person plural agreement suffix variation, the first- and second-person singular differentiate in terms of the domain of usage in Cypriot Turkish. Duman (1999) asserts that the personal agreement suffixes used for second person singular in aorist tense (*-r-sIn*) in standard Turkish appear in the form of possessive-personal suffixes as (*-η*) in Cypriot Turkish. Further, first- and second-person singular in future tense (*-AcAK -Im*,) and (*-AcAK -sIn*) appear in the form of possessive-based personal suffixes as (*-η*) and (*-m*), respectively.

In other words, the first and second singular person genitive case markers (*-η*, *-m*) shift and function as personal agreement markers in Cypriot Turkish. In this vein, even though Duman (1999) suggests the Cypriot form (*-η*, *-m*) arises from possessive personal agreement suffixes, I think that (*-η*, *-m*) can be traced back to definite past agreements rather than genitive case marking or they are simply shortened version of given suffixes. I suggest that this correlates with the same phenomena found in first-person plural variation in the agreement system regarding Cypriot Turkish.

(10) a. Duy -aη ya. (CT)
hear -2sg Dis.P

b. Duy -uyor -sun ya (ST)
see -Pr.Prog -2sg Dis.P
'You hear (it), right?'

(11) a. Yarın -a ne bişir -ece -η? (CT)
tomorrow -Dat what cook -Fut -2sg

b. Yarın için ne pişir -ecek -sin (ST)
tomorrow -Dat for what cook -Fut -2sg
'What will you cook for tomorrow?'

Further, Demir (2007a: 7) underlines that the characteristics that are particular to Cypriot Turkish are evident in modality, more specifically, in the usage of indicative moods. In this vein, nearly all indicative mood suffixes exhibit differences in terms of form, but more significantly, they have a range of semantic differences.

Initially, Demir (2002a, 2007a) focusses on modality in terms of tenses. Conjugation for expressing present progressive, reported past and future are semantically different than standard Turkish. In the following part these characteristics are listed.

2.4.2. Tense

2.4.2.1. The Aorist and Present Progressive Tense

The variation in verb conjugation is evident in the aorist and present progressive tenses in terms of both in form and semantics. The expression of present progressive aspect using the aorist is one of the notable aspects of verb morphology system in Cypriot Turkish. In this vein, Kornfilt (1997: 336) defines the present tense as “so-called aorist (in Turkish: *geniş zaman* 'broad tense') is the general present tense and expresses habitual actions and general events”. In this respect, Demir (2007a: 7) explains the variation by stating that, in historical development of Turkish language, the present progressive emerged later, and Cypriot Turkish is devoid of this later-emerging present progressive suffix. Consequently, it is possible to think that when Cypriot Turkish separated from its roots in Anatolia, the renewal of the present tense did not result in the relevant language. Additionally, Demir (2007a: 7) explains a plausible reason of this phenomenon as the fact that the absence of such a distinction in present tense in Greek, with which Cypriot Turkish coexisted, may have also been effective in the lack of a need for a new present tense suffix.

Gulle (2014: 96) take this assertion further by suggesting that Cypriot Turkish has different TAM system. That is, the suffix *-(A)r* marks both habitual and progressive aspect in Cypriot Turkish whereas *-(I)yor* marks the progressive case in standard Turkish.

Within this framework, in sentence (12), *giderik* (we work) in Cypriot Turkish may correspond to *gidiyoruz* (we are going) or *gideriz* (we go) in standard Turkish as they are illustrated in sentences (13) - (14):

(12) Gid -er -ik
 Go -Aor -1pl
 ‘We go’

(13) Gid -iyor -uz
 Go -Pr.Prog -1pl
 ‘We are going’

(14) Gid -er -iz
 Go -Aor -1pl
 ‘We go’

The reason of (12) is different compared to (13) and (14) is the first-person plural agreement suffix *(-k)* are linked to the definite past tense and conditional mood in standard Turkish,⁴ while the usage of this suffix is expanded in Cypriot Turkish. More precisely, even if the context requires conjugation of present progressive, the same sentence is expressed with the first-person plural agreement suffix in aorist *(-k)* as in sentence (12).

In this regard, Table 1 is designed to present the differentiation of the Cypriot Turkish aorist with its standard Turkish equivalents. Within this framework, the first column which demonstrates the aorist conjugation pattern in, the other two columns are added to present their standard Turkish equivalents. In that respect, the conjugation pattern of the aorist tense suffixes in Cypriot Turkish variation, which still retain the function of the present progressive tense, is as follows:

	Present Simple in CT	Present Simple in ST	Present Progressive in ST
1sg	Gid -er -im	Gid -er -im	Gid -iyor -um
	Go -Aor -1sg	Go -Aor -1sg	Go -Pr.Prog -1sg
2sg	Gid -e -η	Gid -er -sin	Gid -iyor -sun
	Go -Aor -2sg	Go -Aor -2sg	Go -Pr.Prog -2sg
3sg	Gid -er	Gid -er	Gid -iyor
	Go -Aor (3sg)	Go -Aor (3sg)	Go -Pr.Prog (3sg)
1pl	Gid -er -ik	Gid -er -iz	Gid -iyor -uz
	Go -Aor -1pl	Go -Aor -1pl	Go -Pr.Prog -1pl
2pl	Gid -er -siniz	Gid -er -siniz	Gid -iyor -sunuz
	Go -Aor -2pl	Go -Aor -2pl	Go -Pr.Prog -2pl
3pl	Gid -el -ler	Gid -er -ler	Gid -iyor -lar
	Go -Aor -3pl	Go -Aor -3pl	Go -Pr.Prog -3pl

Table 1. *Conjugation of the verb “git” (go) in CT its equivalents in ST.*

The main differences in the form appear in the use of personal suffixes *-η* for the second person singular and *-(I)k* for the first-person plural. Beyond these structural differences, the features considered specific to Cypriot Turkish are revealed in its function. Accordingly, the present suffix

4 See Chapter 3 for the agreement suffix paradigms for past tense.

-(A)r, which is considered as the aorist suffix, still fulfils the present progressive function it used to have in the history of Turkish language.

In the first sentence (15a) below -(A)r, is used with both the aorist function and the form in the examples (*çıkarak, gelirim, yerik*). It is the same case in (15b) which corresponds to standard Turkish.

- (15) a. Her gün saat iki -de iş -den çık -ar -ık,
 every day hour two-Loc work -Abl exist -Aor -1pl
 üç buçuk -ta eve-e gel -ir -ik,
 three half -Loc. Home -Dat come -Aor -1pl
 sekiz -e çeyrek gal -a yemek ye -r -ik (CT)
 eight -Dat quarter remain -Ger food eat -Aor -1pl

- b. Her gün saat iki -de iş -den çık -ar -ız,
 every day hour two-Loc work -Abl exist -Aor -1pl
 üç buçuk -ta eve-e gel -ir -iz,
 three half -Loc home -Dat come -Aor -1pl
 sekiz -e çeyrek gal -a yemek ye -r -iz (ST)
 eight -Dat. quarter remain -Ger food eat -Aor -1pl
 ‘Every day, we leave the workplace at two o’clock, we arrive at home at half past three and we eat the dinner at quarter to eight’

In the following sentence (16a), (*yazar*) appearing in the aorist form, is used with the present progressive aspect in Cypriot Turkish. Additionally, the same verb indicates that the occurrence indicated by the verb is taking place at the point seen at that moment:

- (16) a. aha bak -ın, burda kağıd -ın
 interjection look -2pl.Imp here paper -Gen
 üsdü -n -de yaz -ar de -di -m (CT)
 top -3sg -Loc write -Aor say -Past -1sg
 b. işte bak -ın burda kağıd -ın
 interjection look -2pl.Imp here paper -Gen
 üstü -n -de yaz -ıyor de -di -m (ST)
 top -3sg -Loc write -Prog say -Past -1sg
 ‘I said ‘Look, (it) is written on the paper’

Furthermore, sentence (17a) is evident of progressive aspect of aorist in Cypriot Turkish. It can be compared with its standard Turkish equivalent in (17b) which includes *-(I)yor* suffix to provide the progressive aspect.

- (17) a. Otur -ur -um burda ben şimdi hic da gid -e -me -m
 sit -Aor -1sg here I now Dis.P go -Abil -Neg -1sg
- b. Ben şimdi burda otur -uyor -um gid -e -me -m
 I now here sit -Pr.Prog -1sg go -Abil -Neg -1sg
 ‘I sit here now; I cannot go (anywhere)’

2.4.2.2. Reported/ Inferential Past Tense

Another variation in verb inflection is evident in past tense markers. Kornfilt (1997: 337) outlines that there are 2 types of past tense as the definite past, expressed with the use of the suffix *-DI* and reported past, expressed by the suffix *-miş* in Turkish.

- (18) a. Arda dün konser -e git -ti
 Arda yesterday concert-Dat go -Past
 ‘Arda went to the concert yesterday’
- b. Arda dün konser -e git -miş
 Arda yesterday concert-Dat go -Rep.Past
 ‘Arda reportedly went to the concert yesterday’
 ‘It appears that Arda went to the concert’

Sentences (18a) and (18b) illustrate the two different past tenses in Turkish. In (18a), the speaker is committed to the truth of the statement. By employing the reported past, the speaker in (18b) makes it apparent that they are unsure whether the statement is true or not. The implication of sentence (18b) is that the speaker did not witness the action or event but rather reported this statement to the speaker.

Furthermore, there is a different agreement system between these past tenses. More precisely, Kornfilt (1997: 338) points out that the reported past takes the agreement suffixes that show up in the majority of tenses (e.g., future, present progressive, aorist), while the definite past takes a set of agreement suffixes that it shares with the conditional. These paradigms are outlined in Figure 1 below:

	<i>Reported past Paradigm I</i>	<i>Definite past Paradigm II</i>
<i>1sg</i>	<i>-Im</i>	<i>-m</i>
<i>2sg</i>	<i>-sIn</i>	<i>-n</i>
<i>3sg</i>	<i>-0</i>	<i>-0</i>
<i>1pl</i>	<i>-Iz</i>	<i>-k</i>
<i>2pl</i>	<i>-sInIz</i>	<i>-nIz</i>
<i>3pl</i>	<i>-IAr</i>	<i>-IAr</i>

Figure 1. *Personal Agreement Suffixes for Reported and Definite Past Tense (Paradigm I and Paradigm II, respectively)*. Source: Kornfilt (1997: 338)

At this point, the variation between Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish appears with the usage of *-mİş* as a reported past tense marker. The usage of *-mİş* suffix is rare, and its reported or inferential meaning is generally expressed with by the definite past suffix *-DI* in Cypriot Turkish. In parallel to the lack of the *-mİş* suffix in Cypriot Turkish, there is an expansion in the usage area of the definite past marker *-DI* suffix. Accordingly, the usage of *-DI* to express indirectness is not present in other dialects of Turkish including standard Turkish. This difference is illustrated in the following sentences (19a) corresponding to Cypriot Turkish and (19b) to standard Turkish:

- (19) a. Birisi de -di dün mahalle -den bir adam öl -dü
somebody say -Past yesterday neighbourhood -Abl a man die -Past
- b. Birisi dün mahalle -den bir adam öl -müş de -di
somebody yesterday neighbourhood -Abl a man die -Rep.Past say -Past
‘Somebody said: ‘A man from the neighbourhood died yesterday’’

As can be seen from the provided example (19a) in Cypriot Turkish, *-DI* suffix is used for reported speech. As expected in (19b), *-mİş* suffix is used in standard Turkish. This example exemplifies the way *-DI* is also used to express indirectness, that the transferred information is acquired indirectly through hearing, auditory, or inference based on general experience.

The exceptional placement of *-mİş* suffix within a sentence is also discussed further in syntax chapter (see 3.7)

2.4.2.3. Future Tense

Future tense is obtained by conjugating the suffix *-(y)AcAK* to the verb, which is valid in both standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish.

- (20) a. Herkes yarın proje -yi bitir -ecek (ST)
 Everybody tomorrow project -Acc finish -Fut
- b. Herkes yarın proje -yi bitir -eceg (CT)
 Everybody tomorrow project -Acc finish -Fut
 ‘Everybody will finish the project tomorrow’
- (21) a. Yarın sinema -ya gid -eceğ -iz (ST)
 tomorrow cinema -Dat go -Fut -1pl
- b. Yarın gid -ece -yik sinema -ya (CT)
 tomorrow go -Fut -1pl cinema -Dat
 ‘We will go to the cinema tomorrow’

As far as future tense is considered, morphology differs in form rather than function in Cypriot Turkish. For the conjugation, 1st and 2nd person singular as well as 1st person plural exhibits variation as it has been mentioned in chapter (2.4.2.1.). Table 2 outlines the future form regarding both Cypriot and standard Turkish forms.

	Future Tense in CT	Future Tense in ST
1sg	Gid -ece -yim or Go -Fut -1sg Gid -ece -yim or Go -Fut -1sg	Gid -eceğ im Go -Fut -1sg
2sg	Gid -ece -ņ or Go -Fut -2sg Gid -ece -n or Go -Fut -2sg	Gid -ecek -sin Go -Fut -2sg
3sg	Gid -ecek Go -Fut (3sg)	Gid -ecek Go -Fut (3sg)
1pl	Gid -ece -yik Go -Fut -1pl	Gid -eceğ iz Go -Fut -1pl
2pl	Gid -ecek -siniz Go -Fut -2pl	Gid -ecek -siniz Go -Fut -2pl
3pl	Gid -ecek -ler Go -Fut -3pl	Gid -ecek -ler Go -Fut -3pl

Table 2. Conjugation of the verb “git” (go) in future tense in CT

After outlining the morphological variations and before delving into the syntactical analysis, it is important to consider two notable developments with regards to lexemes: the first involves the reflexive pronoun, and the latter addresses on *Dativus Commodi et Incommodi* (termed by Gulle, 2014). They are explained in (2.5) and (2.6) in detail.

2.5. The reflexive pronoun *gendi* (self)

Demir (2007a: 13) points out that the function of *kendi* ‘self’, which appears as a reflexive pronoun in standard Turkish, shifted to a demonstrative pronoun in the Cypriot Turkish. Additionally, ‘*kendi*’ appears as ‘*gendi*’ in the spoken Cypriot Turkish. In this respect, this function shift is evident in (exemplified with the following examples.

- (22) a. Ev -e git -ti -m ama gör -me -di -m **gendi -i** bugün (CT)
 home -Dat go -Past -1sg but see -Neg -Past -1sg **s/he -Acc** today
- b. Bugün ev -e git -ti -m ama **on -u** gör -me -di -m (ST)
 today home -Dat go -Past -1sg but **s/he -Acc** see -Neg -Past -1sg
 ‘Today I went to home, but I didn’t see him / her’

At this point, I want to mention about the possibility of confusion between reflexivity and the demonstrative pronoun. The reflexivity is expressed through recurring phrases such as *gendi gendini* ‘himself, herself’ and *gendi gendine* ‘himself, herself’ in Cypriot Turkish. Additionally, the lexeme *gendi* alone is not used to indicate reflexivity.

2.6. *Dativus Commodi et Incommodi*

Cypriot Turkish seems to have *dativus commodi/incommodi* constructions, a feature clearly lacking in other Turkish mainland varieties (Gulle, 2014: 145). Example (26) presents a *dativus commode* construction.

- (23) Gır -dı **bağ -a** vazo -yu (CT)
 Break -Past I -Dat vase -Acc
 ‘S/he broke to me the vase’
 ‘S/he broke the vase’

The standard Turkish counterpart could be optionally (*benim*) ‘my’ in the genitive form instead of (*baña*) ‘to me’. The latter form with dative conjugation is not possible in contemporary Turkish. The possible standard Turkish equivalents of (23) are provided below in (24) and (25).

(24) Vazo -yu kır -dı (ST)
 vase -Acc break -Past
 ‘He/she broke the vase’

(25) Ben -im vazoz -m -u kır -dı (ST)
 I -Gen vase -1sg -Acc break -Past
 ‘S/he broke my vase’

An example from (Gulle, 2014: 145) corpus section titled ‘Memories of war.21’ is provided as follows.

(26) Ne vur-ma-dı-n de -di da at -asın bir köşe -ye
 why shoot -Neg -Past -2sg say -Past Conj throw -2sg.Opt one corner -Dat

de -di gendi -si -ne da dut -an **bañ -a** genn -i buraş -da
 say -Past self -3sg -Dat Conj hold -2sg I -Dat self -Acc here -Loc

‘He told him ‘Why did not you just shoot him and throw him away? Instead of that you are keeping him here [to my displeasure].’

Example (26) is an example of the real use of *dativus incommodi* in a narrative. Even though the examples of this feature were all with the first-person singular pronouns, it can be used in other persons and with nouns. According to Gulle (2014), extending the semantic map of the dative case in such a way is a clear example of grammaticalization. More precisely, the speakers of Cypriot Turkish grammaticalized the dative in their language in order to use it in the sense of *dativus commode*.

CHAPTER 3

CLAUSAL SYNTAX

The area where Cypriot Turkish diverges the most from standard Turkish is clausal syntax. The areas of clausal syntax study concerning Cypriot Turkish can be outlined as follows: constituent order, embedded clauses, conditionals, adverbial clauses, negation and interrogative statements.

Among the topics studied, the most striking syntactic pattern divergence occurs in embedded clauses, particularly in relative clauses, object clauses as well as subjunctive clauses. In this regard, the comparative analysis of subjunctive clauses in Cypriot Turkish takes place following section in (3.2) and object and relative clauses in (3.3).

In this respect, before proceeding to an in-depth analysis of clausal syntax, it would be more effective to first address constituent order.

3.1. Constituent order of Cypriot Turkish

Standard Turkish normally follows SOV (subject, object & verb) order. Other variations can occur, but the verb usually remains at the end. The word order of Cypriot Turkish possesses a unique structure that is not encountered in standard Turkish. Furthermore, Gulle (2014) reached some conclusions derived from his collected Cypriot Turkish corpus. In this respect, the data has been investigated under three categories: intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. Further, he investigated the position of several types of verbs in regard to subject, patient, and goal. The results are categorized in Figure 2.

	Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
Subject Verb - Verb Subject	48-9	NA	NA
Agent Verb – Verb Agent	NA	6-1	NA
Patient Verb – Verb Patient (Nouns)	NA	64-21	15-5
Patient Verb – Verb Patient (Pronouns)	NA	4-15	0-9
Gaol Verb – Verb Goal (Nouns)	NA	NA	12-20
Gaol Verb – Verb Goal (Pronouns)	NA	NA	2-19

Figure 2: *Overview of constituent order in different verb constructions.* Source: Gulle (2014: 119)

Firstly, it has been observed that intransitive clauses have a tendency for subject–verb (SV) order. Considering transitive clauses, Gulle (2014) points out that the results are not representative as far as the agent is considered. The reason is, in Turkish, the agent is not used overtly since it is mostly clear from the context of the discourse. On the other hand, noun-based constructions often follow patient-verb (PV) order, while pronoun constructions often follow verb-patient (VP). Last but most importantly, ditransitive clauses in Cypriot Turkish have a clear preference for the verb-goal pattern (VG) over the goal-verb (GV) pattern, which is found in standard Turkish, especially with pronouns.

This verb-goal pattern is also evident with nouns. Gulle (2014: 119-120) highlights that the [Verb Goal] with pronouns is more interesting since they are hints of language contact. In this way, the reason for this order is explained with similar construction in Cypriot Greek. Within this framework, some examples are illustrated regarding the constituent order of Cypriot Turkish. Sentence (1) exemplifies the ditransitive noun in [verb – goal] constituent order in Cypriot Turkish.

- (1) At -dı -lar hırsız -ı hücre -nin iç -i -ne
 throw -Past -3pl burglar -Acc jail cell -Gen inside -3sg -Dat
 ‘They put (literally threw) the burglar the jail cell’

The following example (2) serves as an example of the transitive noun in [patient -verb] constituent order.

- (2) ben o -nun dede -si -ni hatırla -r -ım
 I s/he -Gen grandfather -3sg -Acc remember -Aor -1sg
 ‘I remember his/her grandfather’

The ditransitive pronoun in [verb -goal] constituent order is evident in the following example.

- (3) ödev -in -i gör -ece -m de -di öğrenci-si -ne
 homework -2sg -Acc see -Fut -1sg say -Past self -3sg -Dat
 ““I will see (check) your homework” he told his student’

As far as these findings about constituent order are concerned, it can be suggested that they provide significant insights into certain patterns of Cypriot Turkish. However, this data is not representative enough to make certain assumptions about the word order of Cypriot Turkish.

At this point, I suggest that Cypriot Turkish has a different structure compared to standard Turkish. Further, I hypothesize that Cypriot Turkish can be the head initial language and possibly follow VSO order. This order is evident in the basic clauses as well as in complex clausal structures. Among these complex constructions, there are subjunctive, object, relative, and conditional clauses, as well as negation forms particular to Cypriot Turkish. All these aforementioned clausal structures are mentioned in detail in the following sections of this study. As further evidence, Vassiliou (1995) suggests that Cypriot Greek basic word order is VOS, as opposed to that of standard Greek, which is SVO. At the end of her study, it was found that the V-initial structure is the preferred structure of Greek Cypriots. In this regard, she provides some possible reasons of this structure. Initially, the geographical position of Cyprus allows linguists to relate its V-initial structure to other languages of the Eastern Mediterranean such as Arabic, which was predominantly verb-initial, and to Ancient Hebrew. The other possibility is concerned with the Eteocyprian, the language of Cypriots in prehistoric years. She claims that this language was most probably a semitic language, and most probably a verb-initial. According to Vassiliou (1995), the influence of Arabic is more plausible as far as the number of Arabic words in the Cypriot lexicon is concerned. Based on the findings of this research, I suggest that the origin of the word structure of Cypriot Turkish has complicated dimensions. Not only Cypriot Greek, but also Arabic language could have affected this structure. In this vein, this notion is worth to be explored further and calls for further investigation to reach more definitive conclusions.

3.2. Subjunctives

The subjunctive paradigm is mostly prevalent in modal constructions in Cypriot Turkish. Demir (2002a), Kappler (2008) and Gulle (2014) documented that the patterns of modal verbs in Cypriot Turkish differ from those in standard Turkish. In this regard, they focused on three constructions: optative/voluntative, necessitative, and possibility.

As observed by (Demir, 2002a; Kappler, 2008 & Gulle, 2014), Cypriot Turkish possesses unique modal constructions. Embedded modal clauses are named by Kappler (2008) as ‘subjunctive’ like other Turkic varieties that have been in contact with the Indo-European language, characterized by infinite loss and extensive use of subjunctive. These types of embedded clauses are generally right-branching and allow co-reference between the subject of matrix and embedded clauses, differing notably from the construction found in standard modern Turkish (Kappler, 2008). The subjunctive clauses have been investigated under optative, necessitative, and possibility. In this regard, this section is subcategorized as (3.2.1. Optative, 3.2.3. Necessitative, 3.2.4. Possibility).

3.2.1. Optative

Kornfilt (1997: 371) depicts the term “optative” as “expression of a wish for something to come about”. The optative has a distinct morphological paradigm as outlined in (3).

(3)	<i>1sg</i>	<i>-(y)AyIm</i>
	<i>2sg</i>	<i>-(y)AsIn</i>
	<i>3sg</i>	<i>-(y)A</i>
	<i>1pl</i>	<i>-(y)Allm</i>
	<i>2pl</i>	<i>-(y) AsInIz</i>
	<i>3pl</i>	<i>-(y)ALAr</i>

Furthermore, Kornfilt (1997: 371) highlights that this distinct paradigm is irregular in two respects: (i) The morphological relationship between the first-person plural and singular forms is not transparent. (ii) The forms for the third person singular as well as plural are hardly ever used and are replaced with the corresponding forms of the imperative paradigm.

In this vein, (4) embodies the actual usage of the optative paradigm:

(4)	Yap -ayım	"Let me do"
	Yap -asın	"You(sg.) should do"
	Yap -sın	"Let him / her / it read; he / she / it should do"
	Yap -alım	"Let us do"
	Yap -asınız	"You(pl.) should do"
	Yap -sınlar	"Let them do; they should do"

In Turkish, optative constructions can be found under three different forms: infinitival subordinate clause, nominalized subordinate clause, and finite optative form. Kornfilt (1997: 407) explains the first optative construction as “an infinitival subordinate clause which is an argument of the matrix verb *iste* 'want’”. An example of such infinitival complements is demonstrated in the following example:

(5)	Sena	[ödül -ü	kazan -mak]	isti -yor	(ST)
	Sena	reward -Acc	win -Inf	want -Pr.Prog	
	‘Sena wants to win the reward’				

Kornfilt (1997: 373) addresses the other two forms, clarifying them in the following terms: “in nominalized subordinate clauses, the action nominal *-mA* corresponds to the finite optative (subjunctive) suffix. In those rare instances where a subordinate clause can be fully finite, the finite optative form is used”:

(6)	a.	[bu	toplantı -ya	gid -esin]	isti -yor -um	(ST)
		this	meeting -Acc	go -2sg.Opt	want -Pr.Prog -lsg	
		‘I want you to go to this meeting’				
	b.	[bu	toplantı -ya	git -me -n -i]	isti -yor -um	(ST)
		this	meeting -Acc	go -ANom -2sg -Acc	want -Pr.Prog -lsg	
		‘I want you to go to this meeting’				

As stated, fully finite optative form as in sentence (6a) has limited usage in standard Turkish. On the other hand, this structure including optative paradigm (cf. (3)) is the main optative form in Cypriot Turkish. This argument is important for the following part, where a comparison between Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish is made.

In detail, the main optative form in standard Turkish can be found in infinitival or nominalized constructions. In Cypriot Turkish, the optative is formed entirely by bringing a dependent clause that shows the desired action after the conjugated verb *iste* 'want', like in Indo-European languages. Following that, the second verb takes the appropriate suffix from the optative paradigm. This

structure can be characterized as [VERB VERB-OPT] construction in Cypriot Turkish. Considering this Cypriot Turkish optative construction, the equivalents of (6a) and (6b) are represented in (7):

- (7) isde -r -im gid -esin bu toplantı -ya (CT)
want -Aor -1sg go -2sg.Opt this meeting -Acc
'I want you to go to this meeting'

This optative form is rare but still found in ST. However, the verb-initial right-branching structure is particular to Cypriot Turkish and cannot be found in standard Turkish.

3.2.2. Optative in Cypriot Turkish

The morphological paradigm demonstrated by Kornfilt (1997: 371) which is also mentioned in (30, above) is a complex morphological set of forms. Kappler (2015: 139) clarifies these complex forms noting that this paradigm consists of the old optative forms in the second person singular and plural and the voluntative in the first persons and imperative in the third persons.

Further, Kappler (2015: 140) underlines that some grammarians addressed on this paradigm differently. More precisely, (Kornfilt 1997; Göksel & Kerslake 2005) terms this mixed paradigm as 'optative', whereas Lewis (1967) calls the paradigm as 'subjunctive'. Further, (Kappler (2015) asserts that 'optative' is not an appropriate term to call this paradigm since the second person singular and the second person plural are genuine historical optative forms, which, additionally, are used in very restricted ways in standard Turkish and consequently, are becoming obsolete. In this regard, Kappler (2015) characterizes these structures as 'subjunctive' or 'optative-subjunctive' in Cypriot Turkish. (Kappler, 2015: 141) outlines the two primary factors behind the syntactic divergence of these Turkic varieties from standard Turkish as:

- (i) These varieties have right-branching structures without a conjunction and (ii) co-reference between the matrix and the embedded subject is possible.

In this regard, in his research, Kappler (2015) hypothesizes that Cypriot Turkish subjunctive structures are not only contact-induced copies but that these structures in Cypriot Turkish are the result of a local development through contact with Cypriot Greek. This is further demonstrated by

the availability of Cypriot-specific morphological variants of the optative-subjunctive that are non-existent in standard Turkish.

3.2.2.1. The optative-subjunctive paradigm in Cypriot Turkish

Cypriot Turkish is a Turkish variety that displays very regular use of this mixed paradigm to express various types of modalities. Regarding the optative-subjunctive structure, it can be observed that Cypriot Turkish is far more productive than standard Turkish. Furthermore, in Cypriot Turkish embedded clauses in the optative-subjunctive forms appear in all persons and numbers, as well as with all kinds of matrix verbs, in contrast to standard Turkish, where their occurrence is highly restricted (Kappler, 2015: 144).

Kappler (2015) classified this optative-subjunctive paradigm in Cypriot Turkish into 4 categories: (A) Complements of *iste-* with or without obligatory subject co-reference; (B) Clauses without subject co-reference; (C) Clauses with subject co-reference; (D) Clauses embedded in a nominal matrix.⁵ The following example conveys the complements of *iste-* with or without obligatory subject co-reference.

- (8) *Iste -di* *git-me -yelim* *eve -e*
 want -Past *git -Neg -1pl.Subj* home -Dat
 ‘(S)he wanted us not to go to home’

Moreover, the instances of (9), (10), and (11) illustrate the other clauses without subject co-reference.

- (9) *San -ma -m* *gabak* *sat-sınlar*
 think -Neg -1sg pumpkin sell -3pl.Subj
 ‘I don’t think they sell pumpkin’

- (10) *on* *dakika* *gal -dı* *yarış* *bit -sin*
 ten minute remain -Past race finish -3sg.Subj
 ‘There are five minutes left before the race finishes’

- (11) *Bırak -ma -dı -ğ* *ben -i* *gör -eyim* *genn -i*
 let -Neg -Past -2sg I -Acc see-1sg.Subj (s)he -Acc
 ‘You didn’t let me see her/him.’

⁵ Kappler (2008) has glossed the ‘optative’ as ‘subjunctive’ in his Cypriot Turkish corpus. In this regard, these examples are glossed in the same vein.

Other clauses with subject co-reference are provided in (12), (13) and (14).

(12) Unut -du -m fatura -y1 öde -yeyim
forget -Past -1sg bill-Acc pay -1sg.Subj
'I forgot to pay the bill'

(13) Dene -di -ler ekmek yap -sınlar
try -Past -1sg bread do -3pl.Subj
'They tried to make bread'

(14) Gork -ar izle -sin
fear -Aor (3sg) watch -3sg.Subj
'S/he is afraid to watch (it)'

Lastly, some clauses embedded in a nominal matrix are exemplified in (15) and (16).

(15) Yok söyle -me -sin daha iyi (yidi)
not do -Neg -3sg.Subj better (Past.Cop)
'It is (would be) better if s/he doesn't (didn't) say it.'

(16) Hakk -ıñ yok-(tu) gid -esiñ
right -2sg not -(Past.Cop) go -2sg.Subj
'You have (had) no right to go'

In example (17), it should be focused on how the inflected modal verb (*istemek-* 'want') is conjugated with negation and the predicate *git-* 'go' is marked for the third person optative. This indicates that the optative-subjunctive paradigm is also followed in negative forms in CT.

(17) iste -mez sürsün -sün araba -y1
want -Aor.Neg go -3sg.Opt car -Acc
'He/she doesn't want to drive the car'

3.2.2.2. Restrictions on aspect and tense

The interaction between aspect and tense in certain sentence structures highlights important syntactic and semantic constraints in Cypriot Turkish. In this respect, Kappler (2015: 146) underlines that tense and aspect in sentence structures play a crucial role in determining their grammatical acceptability, particularly through their impact on embedded clauses. The aspect and tense of the matrix verb govern the permissible forms in the subordinate clause. The imperfective aspect of the matrix verb, which indicates ongoing or habitual actions, allows greater flexibility, including the use of the past subjunctive in the embedded clause. Conversely, the perfective

aspect, associated with completed actions, imposes stricter constraints, rendering the past subjunctive in the embedded verb ungrammatical. Notably, the tense and aspect of the matrix verb do not restrict the use of the copula (*IdI/(y)dI*) within these constructions. Considering the sentence (18) [(11) above] is also grammatical with the matrix verb in the past imperfect (19); however, it is ungrammatical with the embedded verb in the past subjunctive (20):

- (18) Bırak -ma -dı -η ben -i gör -eyim -idi genn -i
 Let -Neg -Past -2sg I -Acc see -1sg.Subj -Cop (s)he -Acc
 ‘You didn’t let me see her/him.’
- (19) Bırak -maz -dı -η ben -i gör -eyim -idi genn -i
 Let -Neg.Impf -Past -2sg I -Acc see -1sg.Subj -Cop (s)he -Acc
- (20) * Bırak -ma -dı -η ben -i gör -ey -di -m genn -i
 Let -Neg -Past -2sg I -Acc see -1sg.Subj -Past -1sg (s)he -Acc

On the other hand, the sentence (20) becomes grammatical when the matrix verb has imperfective aspect:

- (21) Bırak **-maz** -dı -η ben -i gör -ey -di -m genn -i
 Let -**Neg.Impf** -Past -2sg I -Acc see -1sg.Subj **-Past** -1sg (s)he -Acc

It should be considered that imperfective aspect in the matrix verb allows for the use of past subjunctive, while the perfective past does not allow *(y)Aydl*. However, the aspect and tense of the matrix verb do not restrict the use of *IdI/(y)dI* copula. Copula *IdI/(y)dI* is discussed in detail in the following section (cf. 3.2.3).

3.2.3 The copula *IdI/(y)dI* as an intensifier

As just mentioned in the previous subsection (cf. 3.2.2.1.), the use of the optative-subjunctive paradigm in Cypriot Turkish is far more productive than in standard Turkish. In Cypriot Turkish embedded clauses, the optative-subjunctive forms appear in all persons and numbers, as well as with all kinds of matrix verbs, in contrast to standard Turkish, where their occurrence is much more restricted.

An additional finding identified by Kappler (2015) in his research provides further support for this claim. According to this study, subjunctives in Cypriot Turkish not only differ in terms of forms but also their semantics, more precisely in terms of epistemic modality expressing non-factivity or contra-factivity. In his contrastive analysis, Kappler (2015: 146) found out that Cypriot Turkish displays an interesting morphological option, namely the affixation of an undeclinable copula *IdI* or *(y)dI* to the subjunctive forms. In this vein, the hypothesis is that the copula *IdI* or *(y)dI* may be attached to any subjunctive form to emphasize the utterance. Thus, *IdI/(y)dI*, which is in principle marked for past tense, no longer has specific tense reference; rather, it has a broader communicative function in Cypriot Turkish, as an ‘intensifier’ or ‘a speaker attitude marker’ of some kind towards what is being said in subjunctive context.

To clarify this hypothesis, Kappler examined this notion with respect to tense, aspect, and modality. In this vein, some examples are provided as follows:

- (22) Bil -mez -di yüz -sün -dü
 know -Neg.Impf -Past drive -3sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘She didn’t know how to swim’
- (23) Hiç değ -mez bu şekilde konuş -asıñ -dı
 at all is worth -Neg like this talk -2sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘There is absolutely no point you talk like this’
- (24) Yok git -me -yesin -di daha iyi -yidi
 not go -Neg -3sg.Subj -Cop more good (better) -Past.Cop
 ‘It is (would be) better if you don’t (didn’t) go’
- (25) Hakk -ıñ yok al -asıñ -dı
 right -2sg not take -2sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘You have absolutely no right to take (it)’
- (26) Gork -ar -ım sür -eyim -idi
 fear -Aor -1sg drive -1sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘I am very much afraid to drive (it)’

Even though the *IdI/(y)dI* copula is originally marked as a typical past tense marker, it does not have any tense reference in these examples. For instance, if we look at sentence (25), it can mean either ‘you have no right to take (it) (in the past)’ or ‘you have no right to take (it) (now or in the future)’

Kappler (2015: 147) argues, further, that even though this paradigm does not exist in standard Turkish, a similar copula can be added to third-person singular imperative forms (which are identical to the third-person optative-subjunctive forms in Cypriot Turkish) and second-person plural forms (which indicates intensifying function similar to the Cypriot Turkish copula). However, they are obsolete or fossilized in contemporary standard Turkish, these standard forms are restricted morphologically and pragmatically compared to Cypriot Turkish copula which is remarkably productive. Kappler (2015: 147) provides few examples from Lewis (1967: 138). Sentence (27) embodies the third person imperative in standard Turkish:

- (27) on -un gizli fikir -ler -in -i halk ne bil -sin -di
 s/he -Gen secret thought -pl -3sg -Acc public what know -3sg.Subj -Past
 ‘How should the common people know his secret thoughts?’ (Lewis 1967: 138)

In the same vein, examples (28a) and (28b) show the second-person imperative with (‘intensifier’-*di*) standard Turkish:

- (28) a. *dúrundu*
 ‘Hey, stop!’
 b. *bákındı*
 ‘Hey, look here!’ [Lewis 1967: 138]

Kappler (2015) presents evidence that reinforces the hypothesis that *IdI/(y)dI* can occur regardless of tense and serves as an intensifier marker rather than a true tense marker. Initially, he suggests that *IdI/(y)dI* derives its function as an intensifier from examples such as (29). In these cases, the intensifying adverb *bir türlü* ‘somehow, in no way, never’ is perceived as redundant when *IdI/(y)dI* is applied:

- (29) **bir türlü dil -im var -ma -dı söyle -eyim -idi*
 somehow tongue -1sg reach -Neg -Past tell -1sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘Somehow, my tongue just couldn’t reach to tell (it)’⁶

Another instance of evidence is that the *IdI/(y)dI* copula is untensed proceeds from its use in matrix clauses. For expressing wish, Cypriot Turkish uses the full optative subjunctive paradigm in matrix clauses:

⁶ The meaning of (56) can be expressed as ‘I couldn’t tell it’

- (30) a. *Gid -esiñ!* (CT)
 go -2sg.Subj
- b. **Gid -esin!* (ST)
 go -2sg.Subj
 ‘May you go!’
- c. *Git -sin!* (ST)
 go -3sg.Imp
 ‘(She/he) Go!’

As can be seen from (30b), standard Turkish uses only the imperative forms in the third person singular and plural, whereas Cypriot Turkish can also include optative-subjunctive forms for the same clause.

Further, the equivalent structures in the past tense subjunctive which appear non-factive or contra-factive are provided in the following examples:

- (31) a. *(keşke) gideydiñ!* (CT)
- b. *(keşke) gideydin!* (ST)
 ‘If only you went!’

As would be expected, Cypriot Turkish also allows the *Idl/(y)dI* ‘copula’ in structures such as (32):

- (32) *gid -esiñ -di!* (CT)
 go -2sg.Subj -Cop
 ‘If only you went!’

Interestingly, though, the ‘copula’ can also occur after the past subjunctive (though not in embedded clauses):

- (33) *gid -ey -di -ñ -di!* (CT)
 go -Subj -Past -2sg -Cop
 ‘If only you went!’

The semantics of (32) and (33) are the same, meaning that the structures can be interpreted either as non-factive or as contra-factive. This kind of data further reinforces the notion that Cypriot Turkish *Idl/(y)dI* is something other than a tense marker.

As can be observed, the subjunctive morphology is different from the standard language: the subjunctive in can be combined with *Idl/(y)dI*, which morphologically serves as a past tense copula. Moreover, the semantics of the respective ‘copula’ diverge from the standard form: Cypriot Turkish *Idl/(y)dI* is an ‘intensifier’/a speaker attitude marker of some kind. Within this framework, the subjunctive mood encodes epistemic modality, specifically indicating non-factivity or contra-factivity, and is also used to convey certain types of deontic modality such as requests and wishes, aligning it with the subjunctive-optative function.

It can be concluded that Cypriot Turkish *Idl/(y)dI* is an intensifier marker that expresses a higher degree of speaker commitment to the proposition, especially in non-factive or contra-factive contexts.

3.2.4. Necessitative

One of the other peculiarities in clausal syntactic structure emerges in the expression of necessity. Kornfilt (1997: 373) identifies these types of constructions as ‘necessitative’ or ‘debitive’. In standard Turkish, there are two ways to express the necessitative form. As Kornfilt (1997: 373) mentioned, the first way involves the distinct morphological form of debitive as the suffix *-mAll*. According to Gulle (2014: 134), the second way is forming a predicate with words like *gerek* or *lazım*, meaning ‘necessary, needed’. More precisely, these words *gerek* or *lazım* ‘necessary’ form the predicate of the sentence, and the nominalized main verb becomes the subject in standard Turkish.

Considering this context, the use of the debitive suffix *-mAll* is considerably rare in Cypriot Turkish. Rather, the main debitive form in Cypriot Turkish is using the words *luzum* or *lazım* ‘necessary’ as a predicate, and sometimes with the copula marker (*-dır* or *-dur*), which becomes *lazımdır* or *luzumdur* meaning ‘it is necessary’. At this point, Gulle (2014: 134) highlights that Cypriot Turkish signifies divergence from standard Turkish as the verb is marked with the optative (subjunctive) marker instead of nominalizing it. The debitive structure in Cypriot Turkish can be symbolized as [(*lazım(dır)/ luzum(dur)* ‘necessary’) + (verb+ optative (subjunctive) suffix)].

The usage of the debitive form in Cypriot Turkish with its standard Turkish equivalent is reflected in the following sentences:

(34) Luzum bul-ayım (CT)
 Necessary find -1sg.Opt
 ‘I need to find (it)’

(35) Bul -ma -m lazım (ST)
 find -A.Nom -1sg necessary
 ‘I need to find (it)’

As can be seen, the predicate *bul* ‘find’ following *luzum* ‘necessary’ is marked with an optative suffix, whereas the same predicate is nominalized as the standard Turkish equivalent in (35).

(36) Lazım gid -elim ev -e da yemek yey -lim (CT)
 Necessary go -1pl.Subj home -Dat and food eat -1pl.Opt
 ‘We need to go home and eat’

(37) Ev -e gid -ip yemek ye -meli -yiz (ST)
 Home -Dat. go -Vbl.Conj food eat -Nec -1pl
 ‘We need to go home and eat’

In the same way, in sentence (37), the predicate *ye* ‘eat’ is suffixed with the debitive suffix—*mAll*, whereas example (36) is marked with optative in Cypriot Turkish. Further, these provided examples function as another example of productive use of the subjunctive form in Cypriot Turkish. It should be noted that another difference in Cypriot Turkish debitive construction is that it is right-branching like Indo-European languages which is not feasible to have such an order in standard Turkish.

Addressing the contribution of other studies, Gulle (2014: 134) points out that *lazım/luzum* can take copula—*dır/dur*.

(38) Lazım/luzum -(dır/dur) bul -ayım (CT)
 Necessary -(Cop) find -1sg.Subj
 ‘I must find (it)’

Gulle (2014: 135) further states that Cypriot Turkish exhibits syntactic flexibility.

(39) Bul -ayım lazım/luzum (CT)
 find -1sg.Subj necessary
 ‘I need to find (it)’

In this vein, both elements can move in the sentence without losing their semantic meaning. Another distinction lies in the marking of the past tense. Unlike the above-mentioned copular *-dır*, the past tense can be marked with both constituents.

(40) a. Luzum **(-du)** gör -sün (CT)
 Nec **-Past** see -3sg.Subj

b. Luzum gör -sün **-(dü)** (CT)
 Nec see -3sg.Subj **-Past**
 ‘He had to see (it)’

Considering examples in (40), I suggest that there can be a slight difference regarding the meaning of these sentences. Sentence (40a) can be interpreted as that he had to see it, but unfortunately, he could not find the chance, whereas (40b) gives the meaning as such that he had to see it, but he did not come to see it. In other words, in the first sentence, there is a meaning of a missed opportunity, whereas the second one is more about the willingness of someone.

Gulle (2014: 137) also observed the negation of this past construction with the negation particle *değil* in this research as he illustrated in (41a):

(41) a. bu hata -y1 lazım değil -di yap -yasın de -di ban -a
 this mistake -Acc Nec Neg -Past do -2sg.Subj say-Past I -Dat
 ‘He told me “You should not have made this mistake”’

b. bu hata -y1 lazım -dı yap -ma -yasın de -di ban -a
 this mistake -Acc Nec -Past do -Neg -2sg.Subj say-Past I -Dat
 ‘He told me “You should not have made this mistake”’

More precisely, one of the informants interestingly negated this necessitative construction with the negation particle *değil* instead of the usual negation with the suffix *-ma* in (41b). Gulle provides a possible reason for aligning with language contact since Cypriot Greek has a similar negation particle.

3.2.5. The expression of proximity/possibility with “*hazır*” (ready)

In standard Turkish, the expression "approaching," which indicates that something is about to happen, is formed by the combination of the auxiliary verb *yaz-* with a preceding verb that has taken the adverbial participle suffix, thereby retaining its primary meaning in standard Turkish. This construction can also be augmented by lexical entities such as *neredeyse* ‘almost’, *az kalsın* ‘nearly’, *az kaldı* ‘it’s almost’, and *az daha* ‘just a bit more’. Examples of this usage include expressions like *Düşeyazdım* ‘I was about to fall’ and variations such as *Neredeyse / Az kalsın / Az*

kaldı / Az daha düşüyordum ‘I was almost / nearly / just about to fall’. On the other hand, finding instances of such structures in Cypriot Turkish discourse is nearly impossible.

(42) Düş -e -yaz -dı -m
 fall -almost -nearly -Past -1sg
 ‘I was about to fall’

(43) (Neredeyse / Az kalsın / Az kaldı / Az daha) düş -üyor -du -m
 Almost fall -Prog -Past -1sg
 ‘I was almost / nearly / just about to fall’

Kappler (2008) suggests that the non-realization of an expected event can be constructed with the lexeme *hazır* (ready), which introduces a subjunctive clause. This structure can be illustrated in the form of [“modal marker” *hazır* (ready) + [verb + subjunctive suffix].

This proximity modal construction is conveyed in the subsequent examples, including each sentence’s standard Turkish equivalent.

(44) a. Hazır bayıl -ayım (CT)
 ready faint -1sg.Subj

b. Az kalsın bayıl -ıyor -du -m (ST)
 almost faint -Prog -Past -1sg
 ‘I almost faint’

(45) a. Bardak hazır yer -e düş -sün (CT)
 glass ready ground -Dat fall -3sg.Subj

b. Bardak az kalsın yere düş -üyor -du (ST)
 glass almost ground -Dat fall -Prog -Past
 ‘The glass was about to fall down’

Even though these examples include *az kalsın* ‘nearly, almost’, other phrases such as *neredeyse* ‘almost’, *az kaldı* ‘it’s almost’, and *az daha* ‘just a bit more’ can be used interchangeably without creating any semantic difference in standard Turkish.

Kappler (2008) points out further that the past copular verb is possible, even though it is not obligatory. An example is provided below in (46). This development in Cypriot Turkish is explained in the following chapter in detail (cf. 3.2.3.).

- (46) hazır –(*idim*) bayıl -ayım
 ready –(**was.1sg**) faint -1sg.Subj
 ‘I almost faint’ / ‘I was about to faint’

Furthermore, Kappler (2008: 215-216) points out that Demir (2002a: 9) confirms that this construction is unidentified to both standard Modern Turkish and other Turkish varieties, but he does not mention a possible reason for its development. In this vein, Kappler (2008: 215-216) asserts that this development can be associated with language contact, namely Cypriot Greek. From the grammatical point of view, it could be considered a case of grammaticalization with a reanalysed element transforming from a lexeme to a modality marker due to language contact.

In the same vein, Gulle (2014: 138) attested to Kappler's (2008) assertion and pointed out further that not only *hazır* ‘ready, almost’, which can be marked for past tense, but also the other half of the predicate, as in (47), can be marked. Moreover, mentioning that the latter is for descriptive purposes is important.

- (47) a. hazır -dı unud -ayım
 ready -Past forget -1sg.Subj
- b. hazır unud -ayım -dı
 ready forget-1sg.Subj -Past
 ‘I was about to forget’

Interestingly, as a native speaker of Cypriot Turkish, I noticed that the past conjugation of both *hazır* and the other predicate appears grammatical to me. This was not mentioned in either studies (Kappler, 2008; Gulle, 2014). This can be illustrated in sentence (48):

- (48) a. hazır -(dı) unud -ayım -(dı)
 ready -(Past) forget -1sg.Subj -(Past)
- b. hazır -(ıdı) unud -ayım -(ıdı)
 ready -(Past) forget -1sg.Subj -(Past)
 ‘I was about to forget’

Both sentences (48a) and (48b) are semantically identical. The same holds true for (*lazım/ lüzum*) ‘necessary’, which has been mentioned in section (3.2.4) above. If we consider the sentence (40) again, the representation would be the sentence (49) presented below:

- (49) a. Luzum (-du) gör -sün -(dü)
 Nec -Past see -3sg.Subj -Past
- b. Luzum (-du) gör -sün -(dü)
 Nec -Past see -3sg.Subj -Past
 ‘He had to see (it)’

Overall, this chapter examined the subjunctives in Cypriot Turkish and compares them with mainland Turkish. Initially, it analyzed how subjunctive forms differ from standard ones. Additionally, it was observed that tense and aspect can also affect the Cypriot Turkish subjunctive constructions. Lastly, the existence and function of *IdI*/(y)*dI* were analysed in the subjunctive context. These developments have evidenced the inner grammaticalization process of Cypriot Turkish. The common point of these subjunctive forms was the extended usage of optative-subjunctive paradigm, right-branching structure like Indo-European languages, and optional conjunction of *-(I)dI* copula. The paradigm was limited to the optative form in standard Turkish. The subjunctive structures were formed with mostly infinitival or nominalized verbs serving the object or subject of the predicate.

3.3. Object and Relative Clauses

The construction of subordinate clauses in Cypriot Turkish can be considered the most prominent variety in the field of syntax due to grammaticalization of an embedded structure peculiar to the contact languages. These subordinate clauses have already been attested by Demir (2002a, 2007a), Kappler (2008), and Gulle (2014), namely as relative clauses and object clauses. To provide a comprehensive analysis of this peculiarity, first, the object and relative clause structures in standard form (see 3.3.1. & 3.3.2) are outlined in this part of the paper following the explanation of the same structures in Cypriot Turkish (cf. 3.3.3).

3.3.1. Subordination and Object Clauses in Standard Modern Turkish

In general, subordination in standard Turkish is achieved through various nominalization markers attached to verbal stems and nominalize them. Beside this, there is also another borrowed subordination pattern from Persian. As stated by (Kornfilt 1997: 46), the subordinate clause is fully

finite and introduced by the complementizer *ki* ‘that’ which follows the verb of the main clause. Example (50) embodies subordinate structure with *ki* and (51) illustrates the nominalized structure:

(50) *isti -yor -um [ki yarın baba-n ile banka -ya gid -esin]*
 want -Pr.Prog -1sg Compl tomorrow father -3sg with bank -Dat go -2sg.Opt
 ‘I want you to go to the bank with your father tomorrow’
 (Literally: ‘I want that you go to the bank with your father tomorrow’)

(51) [*yarın baba-n ile banka -ya git -me -n -i] isti -yor -um*
 tomorrow father -3sg with bank -Dat go -A.Nom -2sg -Acc want -Pr.Prog -1sg
 ‘I want you to go to the bank with your father tomorrow’

After these general remarks, noun clauses as a specific subordination type refer to “clauses that have the same distribution as regular noun phrases, rather than as referring to any type of clause with a nominalized verb (e.g. modifier clause in relative clauses or adverbial clauses)” (Kornfilt, 1997: 49). In this vein, noun clauses occupy the positions according to their grammatical and thematic roles. Considering the word order is SOV in Turkish, a noun clause that has an initial position is a subject clause; in the same way, the noun clause that occupies the place between the main subject and the verb is the object clause. The following sentences demonstrate how subject, and object clauses are placed in examples (52) and (53) respectively:

(52) [**Arda -nın gösteri -ye yalnız git -me -si**] Ayça -yı çok üz -dü
 Arda -Gen show -Dat alone go -ANom -3sg Ayça -Acc very sadden -Past
 ‘That Arda went to the show by himself made Ayça very sad’

(53) Ayça [**Arda -nın gösteri -ye yalnız git -me -sin**] -e çok üz -ül -dü
 Ayça Arda -Gen show -Dat alone go -ANom -3sg -Dat very sad -Pass -Past
 ‘Ayça was very saddened by Arda's going to the show by himself’

As a last remark, it has been mentioned before that the subordinate clauses are marked by nominalization markers in examples (52) and (53). In this regard, there are two types of suffixes for marking noun clauses. More precisely, the predicate of the argument clause is marked as one of those suffixes named by Kornfilt (1997: 50) as ‘Action Nominal’ and ‘Factive Nominal’. The choice of ‘Factive’ versus ‘Action’ markers largely depends on semantics and the complement

type.⁷ Within this framework, the *-mA* suffix functions as ‘Action Nominal’, and *-DIK* functions as ‘Factive Nominal’.

(54) Biz [on -lar -ın taşın **-dığ** -ın] -1 duy -du -k
 we s/he -pl -Gen move **-FNom** -3pl -Acc hear -Past -1pl
 ‘We heard that they have moved’

(55) Biz [on -lar -ın taşın **-ma** -sın] -1 iste -me -z -di -k
 We s/he -pl -Gen move **-ANom** -3pl -Acc want -Neg -Aor -Past -1pl
 ‘We wouldn’t have wanted them to move’

3.3.2. Relative Clauses in Standard Turkish

In this vein, Kornfilt (1997: 57) states that the native relative clause construction in standard Turkish consists of a modifier clause that directly precedes the head noun. In this respect, Kornfilt points out that this modifier clause emerges in a participial form, which can be formed using one of the two basic participle-forming suffixes *-An* and *-DIK*. The first suffix (*-An*) is called the subject participle, and the latter is the object participle.⁸ The usage of these forming suffixes in modifier clauses is presented below:

(56) [Ø_i kitab -ı yaz **-an**] kız_i
 Ø book -Acc write **-SbjP** girl
 ‘The girl who writes/wrote the book’

(57) [kız -ın Ø_i yaz **-dığ** -ı] kitap_i
 girl -Gen Ø write **-ObjP** -3sg book
 ‘The book that the girl writes/wrote’⁹

⁷ The distinction between nominalization suffixes is not discussed here further since it is out of the scope of the study. For further detail see (Kornfilt (1997: 51).

⁸ Kornfilt (1997: 60) outlines the usage context of these suffixes as: the “-DIK strategy” is “the elsewhere case”. The “-An strategy” is chosen in the following instances: A. When the target of relativization is a subject or part of a larger subject; B. When the target of relativization is a non-subject in a construction where there is no surface subject bearing a thematic role; this situation is found with impersonal passives, with existentials, and whenever the subject is non-specific and must remain to the immediate left of the verb rather than in its regular, sentence-initial position.

⁹ Kornfilt (1997: 57-58) highlights that these kinds of suffixes are the rightmost element of the modifier clause since Turkish has SOV word order.

Apart from these suffixes, there is a second way, which is called the borrowed pattern for relative clauses by Kornfilt (1997: 60). Different from the first form, this borrowed structure carries the features of an Indo-European pattern of a relative clause. According to this structure, the head noun is followed by the modifying clause; that clause is initiated by *ki* ‘that’, and the verb of the clause is fully finite. In fact, Kornfilt (1997: 321) notes that the element *ki* borrowed from Persian is used both as a relative pronoun and as a complementizer. The usage of *ki* in the modifier clause is illustrated in the following manner.

(58) bir lider [**ki** halk -ın -ı dinle -me -z] ülke -yi
 a leader **that** public -3sg -Acc listen -Neg -Aor country -Acc
 yönet -me -meli -dir
 govern-Neg -Nec -Ep.Cop
 ‘A leader who does not listen to his people should not govern the country’

(59) bir anne **ki** hep çocuğ -u -nu düşün -ür
 a mother **that** always child -3sg -Acc think -Aor
 ‘A mother who always thinks of her child’

Kornfilt (1997: 321) clarifies the difference between Indo-European and native constructions for relative clauses.

In the Turkic construction, the head noun is preceded by the modifying clause; the modifying clause has no fully finite predicate, but rather a participle as a predicate. Furthermore, there is no complementizer introducing the clause, nor is there a relative pronoun. The position in the modifying clause corresponding to the head noun is simply elided.

It is also necessary to emphasize that this borrowed pattern with the complement marker and the fully finite subordinate clause is still used; however, this pattern became obsolete for relative clause usage roughly after the language reform. In other words, while this Indo-European pattern still has limited usage in subordinate clauses in general, it has fallen into disuse as far as relative clauses is concerned in standard modern Turkish.

Most importantly, Kornfilt (1997: 321) remarks that Turkish has no native relative pronouns. The only element which can be considered as a relative pronoun and as a complementizer is the above-mentioned *ki* ‘that’.

Having defined the object and relative clauses in Turkish, the following chapter compares these structures with Cypriot Turkish revealing the peculiarity of Cypriot variation.

3.3.3. Object and Relative Clauses in Cypriot Turkish

As mentioned previously (cf. (3.3.1) and (3.3.2.)), object and relative clauses are conveyed through ‘participle-based’ constructions in standard Turkish. Demir (2007b: 162, cit. in Kappler, 2008: 205) suggests that this participial form exists in Cypriot Turkish, though in some cases, these clauses may be postposed, occurring after the matrix verb. Furthermore, Cypriot Turkish differs from standard Turkish with the existence of right-branched embedded clauses as finite constructions introduced by the complementizers *ki* ‘that’, *şu* ‘who, which, that’, *hani* ‘which, where’ and the composite form *o şu* or *şu ki* ‘who, which, that’ (Demir, 2007a; Kappler, 2008 & Gulle, 2014).

SIMPLE		
	<i>şu</i>	Originally demonstrative
	<i>ki</i>	Complementizer/relativizer, Persian loan
	<i>hani</i>	Interrogative “where”
COMPOUND		
	<i>şu ki</i>	<i>şu + ki</i>
	<i>o şu</i>	Demonstrative/third person pronoun + <i>şu</i>
	<i>hani şu</i>	<i>hani + şu</i>
	<i>o ki</i>	Demonstrative/third person pronoun + <i>ki</i>

Table 3: List of complementizers & relativizers in Cypriot Turkish

Regarding the etymology of these complementizers, except Persian borrowed *ki* ‘that’, the other complementizers, namely *o* ‘this (here)’, *şu* ‘that (there)’, and *hani* ‘where’ derive from demonstrative and interrogative pronominal forms. Further, in his research, Kappler (2008) observed the presence of another subordinator marker *şu ki* ‘that’ from his naturalistically collected data, which has not been observed in previous studies.

These complementizers can function as relative and object clauses. Moreover, these clauses have the same structure as Indo-European languages. That is, both relative and object clauses in Cypriot Turkish are marked with the same pattern of subordinate marker with the finite verb.

Presented below are some of the instances of Cypriot Turkish object clauses, each paired underneath with its corresponding standard Turkish equivalent.

(60) a. Annat -dı **hani** git -di -n tatil -e (CT)
 say -Past **that** go -Past -2sg holiday -Dat

b. Tatil -e git **-tiğ** -i- ni anlat -tı (ST)
 holiday -Dat go **-F.Nom** -2sg -Acc say -Past
 'S/he said that you went to holiday'

(61) a. Söyle **şu** gör -me -di -m gendini (CT)
 tell **that** see -Neg -Past -1sg him/her

b. On -u gör -me **-diğ** -im -i söyle (ST)
 he -Acc see **-F.Nom** -1sg -Acc tell
 'Tell him/her that I didn't see him/her'

(62) a. Hatırla -nı **o şu** git -di -ydi -k? (CT)
 remember -2sg **that** go -PluPf -Past -1pl

b. Git **-tiğ** -imiz -i hatırl -ıyor mu -sun? (ST)
 Go **-F.Nom** -1pl -Acc remember -Prog Q -2sg
 'Do you remember that we had gone?'

As can be observed, object clauses in standard Turkish take the form of participial constructions, while Cypriot Turkish equivalents of these sentences appear in the finite form introduced with various complementizers. This variety can be observed in sentences (60a), (61a), and (62a), which introduce a full finite object argument with a complement marker, whereas their standard Turkish equivalents (60b), (61b), and (62b) are marked with *-DIK* (factive nominal marker).

The following examples illustrate instances of Cypriot Turkish relative clauses, each paired underneath with its corresponding standard Turkish equivalent.

(63) a. arkadaş -ım **şu** beraber -di -k git -ti iş -e
 friend -1sg **that** together -Past -1pl go -Past work -Dat

- b. beraber ol **-duğ** -um arkadaş -ım iş -i -ne git -ti
 together be **-Obj.P** -1sg friend -1sg work -3sg -Dat go -Past
 'My friend that we were together went (turned back) to his/her work '

(64) a. **O** adam -dır **şu** gör -dü -m konser -de gendin -i
this man -Cop **which** see -Past -1sg concert -Loc self -Acc

- b. Konser -de gör **-düğ** -üm adam -dır
 concert-Loc see **-Obj.P** -1sg child -Cop
 'He is the man that I saw him at the concert'

(65) a. **O** koltuk **ki** al -dı -n hiç yara -ma -z
that sofa **which** take -Past -2.sg. nothing be worth -Neg. -Neg.Aor

- b. Al **-dığ** -ın koltuk hiç yara -ma -z
 take **-Obj.P** -2sg koltuk nothing be worth -Neg -Neg.Aor
 'The sofa which you bought, is not worth anything.'

As can be seen, relative constructions in Cypriot Turkish share the same pattern with object clauses. That is, the embedded clause is introduced with the relativizer. Another notable difference is the order of relative construction. More precisely, in standard Turkish, relative clauses precede their antecedents through participle strategy; on the other hand, relative pronouns pursue the antecedent in a manner akin to Indo-European languages.

Considering that these words are already present in Turkish, Kappler (2008) takes the discussion further. He has investigated how these constructions developed in Cypriot Turkish and what aspect of the syntax of Indo-European bound clauses they resemble.

At this point there are some remarks to be made. The framework of object and relative clauses with a [subordinate marker + finite clause] is not new in Turkish. In the same vein, all aforementioned complementizers display the same pattern with borrowed *ki* construction. What can be considered new in Cypriot Turkish is 1) the grammaticalization process that shifts the function of words such as *şu* 'this, that' and 2) the splitability of the composite subordinate markers such as 'o *şu*' or '*şu ki*'

Kappler (2008) analyses these developments characteristic to Cypriot Turkish in terms of contact-induced effects. In this regard, relative and object clauses, marked by complementizers, are compared to similar structures in Greek Cypriot, with the argument that they are grounded in an underlying cleft strategy. Further, it has been proposed that the Greek cleft construction was

copied into Cypriot Turkish with the correlative pronoun *şu ki*. At this point, Kappler (2008: 212) summarizes the grammaticalization process in Cypriot Turkish as detailed below:

the correlative pronoun *şu ki*, which is composed of a pronominal *şu* and a relativizing *ki*; that *şu* took over the function of the relativizer, leaving vacant the place of the pronominal element, which was occupied by the pronoun *o*, thus merging it into *o şu*; and that, in a further development, *şu* was used alone assuming both pronominal and relativizing functions.

Further, Kappler (2008: 210) claims that composite elements *şu ki* and *o şu* functioning as complementizers indicate an underlying structure akin to that of a relative clause. Kappler examines this claim using the following examples (66) and (67), including their corresponding Cypriot Greek counterparts.

- (66) a. Bil -i -η { şu } ki yap -acak saη -a?
 know -Aor -2sg **that.Pro** **that.Rel** make -Fut you -Dat
- b. bil -iη {o} şu yap -acak saη -a?
 know -Aor -2sg **that.Pro** **that.Rel** make -Fut you -Dat
- c. kseris **inda mbu na** su kami
 know -Pres.2s **what is-thatFut** you -Dat make -3sg
 'Do you know what ('that which') (s)he will do to you?'
- (67) a. zanned -e -η anlay -acak -lar {şu} ki yaz -a -η?
 think -Aor -2sg understand -Fut -3pl. **Pro Rel** write -Aor -2sg
- b. zanned -e -η anlay -acak -lar {o} şu yaz -a -η?
 Think -Aor -2sg understand -Fut -3pl **Pro Rel** write -Aor -2sg
- c. efis tin entiposi oti enna ka'talavun **inda mbu** grafts
 reckon.Pres.2s that is -Fut understand.3pl **what is-that** write.Pres.2s
 'Do you think that they'll understand what ('that which') you are writing?'

As can be seen from the examples (66) and (67), the composed complementizers consists of a pronominal form (*şu / o*) and a relativizer (*ki / şu*). Consequently, *şu* underwent a shift in (66b) and (67b) which functions as a relativizer. This shifted function becomes more evident when it is considered that these sentences are still grammatical with the omission of the first part of the complementizer, that is, *şu* in (66a) and (67a) and *o* in (66b) and (67b). In this perspective, Kappler (2008) asserts that the composite elements *şu ki* and *o şu* indicate an underlying structure that is

akin to that of relative clauses. In other words, he proposes that the object clauses in Cypriot Turkish have underlying relative clauses. Further, this can be traced back to cleft constructions in Cypriot Greek, which can be translated into Cypriot Turkish with *şu ki*.

Having described the grammaticalization process, the other feature distinguishing Cypriot Turkish from other Turkic varieties is the splitability of these compound complement/relative markers. Gulle (2014: 130) notes that this feature has not been documented before. The following examples in (68) illustrate splittable complex relativizers in CT.

- (68) a. O koltuk **o şu** al -d1 -ŋ hiç yara -maz
 that sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg nothing be worth -Neg.Aor
- b. O koltuk **o** al -d1 -ŋ **şu** hiç yara -maz
 that sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg **Rel** nothing be worth -Neg.Aor
- c. O koltuk **hani şu** al -d1 -ŋ hiç yara -maz
 that sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg nothing be worth -Neg.Aor
- d. O koltuk **hani** al -d1 -ŋ **şu** hiç yara -maz
 that sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg **Rel** nothing be worth -Neg.Aor
 ‘The sofa you took/bought is not worth anything’

It should be mentioned that these four subsentences in (68) have no semantic difference or change in focus.

Moreover, it may seem that the splitting of these compound complement/relative markers is applied to mark the beginning and end of the complement or relative clause. However, this is not the case since the split part can be inserted in the middle of the clause as well as provided in (69).

- (69) O koltuk **hani** al -d1 -ŋ **şu** geçen sene hiç yara -maz
 that sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg **Rel** last year never be.worth -Neg.Aor
 ‘The sofa you took/bought last year is not worth anything’

On the other hand, Gulle (2014: 130-131) underlines that it would be grammatically wrong to split a phrase and insert the split part of the compound marker in it, as in (70a). Likewise, the flexibility of this part is apparently limited since it cannot be inserted anywhere outside of the clause as in (70b).

- (70) a. * O koltuk **o** al -d1 -ŋ geçen **şu** sene hiç yara -maz
 this sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg last **Rel** year nothing be worth - Neg.Aor
- b. * O koltuk **o** al -d1 -ŋ geçen sene hiç **şu** yara -maz
 this sofa **Rel** take -Past -2sg last year nothing **Rel** be worth -Neg.Aor
 ‘The sofa you took/bought last year is not worth anything’

3.4. Conditional clauses with *ama* ‘but’

In his paper, Gulle (2014) focuses on the contact between Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek and outlines structural convergence between the two languages. He provides interesting data regarding conditional structure in Cypriot Turkish. In this study, Gulle (2014) called *ama*, which originally means ‘but’ in standard Turkish, ‘conditional *ama*’ (‘if’) in Cypriot Turkish because he found out a conditional construction particular to Cypriot Turkish.

In order to show the difference more clearly, the native conditional structures in standard Turkish are also outlined. In this vein, Kornfilt (1997: 74) points out that conditional clauses can be obtained from two different forms. The first one is the basic conditional adverbial construction involving a nominalized subordinate clause as the following sentence illustrates:

- (71) Arda [[bu -nu san -a ver -diğ -im] takdir -de] çok üz -ül -ecek
Arda this -Acc you -Dat give -F.Nom -1sg case -Loc very sad -Pass-Fut
‘Arda will get very sad if (in case) I give you this’

Such a construction like (71) is nearly impossible in Cypriot Turkish. Another type of conditional is marked by the post-clitic copular morpheme sequence *-(y) -sA*, meaning ‘if’. Further, the suffix follows the tense suffix and precedes the subject agreement suffix:

- (72) a. Arda [bu -nu san -a ver -ir -se-m] çok üz -ül -ecek (ST)
Arda this -Acc you -Dat give -Aor -if -1sg very sad -Pass-Fut
‘Arda will get very sad if I give you this’
b. Arda çok üz -ül -ür [bu -nu san -a ver -ir -sa -(y)dl -m] (CT)
Arda very sad -Pass-Aor this -Acc you -Dat give -Aor -if -Past -1sg
‘Arda will get very sad if I give you this’

Cypriot Turkish equivalent (72) is slightly different compared to the standard instance. The *-(y)dl* copula stated in (3.2.3) can be optionally marked to the predicate of complement clauses. The copula does not hold any past aspect in that sentence. It is an intensifier of utterance. In addition to standard conditional forms, Gulle (2014: 121) introduced another form of conditional construction that is not present in standard Turkish. This form is exemplified in (73).

- (73) a. Ama biri biz -e misafirliğ -e gel-ecek, o -na
 if someone we -Dat visit -Dat, come Fut (s)he -Dat
 kahve yap -ma -dan bırak -ma -yık (CT)
 coffee do -Neg -Abl let -Neg -1pl
 ‘If someone comes to visit, we never let her/him go without making her/him coffee’

In this context, the conditional *ama* (meaning ‘if’) cannot be used in its original meaning (a coordinative conjunction ‘but’); instead, it is used in the conditional sense in a sentence (73a). Further, in the same verb clause, there should be a conditional suffix (-*sA*) according to standard Turkish, which is absent in the Cypriot Turkish conditional form. In this regard, I proposed that the sentence (73b) shows how the sentence (73a) would be represented in standard Turkish.

- (73) b. eğer biri biz -e gel -ir -se, o -na
 if someone we -Dat come -Aor -Cond, (s)he -Dat
 kahve yap -ma -dan bırak -ma -yız
 coffee do -Neg -Abl let -Neg -1pl (ST)
 ‘If someone comes to visit, we never let her/him go without making her/him coffee’

3.5. Clause Initial Particle *ma*

Gulle (2014: 122-123) asserts that the Turkish conjunction *ama* ‘but’ has been grammaticalized in Cypriot Turkish in a contact setting with Cypriot Greek. In detail, *ma* serves as a clause-initial discourse particle to express wonder and curiosity IN Cypriot Greek. This particle is also used in Cypriot Turkish, serving different functions depending on the context, namely, as a discourse marker or conjunction for ‘but’.

Gulle (2014: 122) claims that the particle can be analysed as “matter and pattern replication”, or “a replica grammaticalization” in Cypriot Turkish. Further, Gulle provided two sentences to analyse the usage of *ma* particle in Cypriot Turkish, which are represented in the following examples (74a) and (74b):¹⁰

- (74) a. **Ma** bu ara -da söyle -di -ler şu türk -ük
Dis.P this between -Loc say -Past -3pl Comp Turk -1pl
 ‘By the way, they told [them] that we are Turks.’

¹⁰ The examples are taken from Gulle (2014) corpus under the category of (We were the first ones to go to Larnaca.69) and (Dried meat.19).

- b. **Ma** haşl -al -lar -dı genn -i ?
Dis.P boil -Aor -3pl -Past (s)/he -Acc
 ‘Did they really boil it?’

The first example (74a) demonstrates the use of *ma* as a 'discourse marker,' which may result from a phonetic shift influenced by contact with Cypriot Greek. This is evident since the clause could also be expressed with the standard Turkish conjunction *ama*, as the two conjunctions share a nearly identical origin and usage.

On the other hand, Gulle (2014: 123) claims that example (96b) cannot be marked the standard Turkish *ama* since its construction directly mirrors the Greek pattern, which is a clear replication.

Interestingly, despite this claim, Gulle continues with the example of the same sentence with *ama*, e.g., *ama haşlallardı genni?* Further, he highlights that the interchangeability is understandable, considering the resemblance between the two markers. As a native speaker of Cypriot Turkish, the existence of *ama* in the provided sentence (74b) is not so feasible.

Gulle also addresses the interchangeability of two homophonous *ma* in Greek. The clause-initial discourse marker particle may have its roots in Ancient Greek, while the second *ma*, meaning 'but', is a loanword from Italian Andriotis (1990: 193). This provides a possible explanation for the interchangeability of Cypriot Turkish *ama* and *ma* due to their phonetic similarities or their homophonous nature in Greek.

As far as the second case considered, it could be plausible to hypothesize that the Cypriot Turkish speakers assumed that these morphemes were the same since they did not know the etymology behind these two lexical items. Eventually, they grammaticalized their own morpheme *ama* to a sentence initial discourse marker. However, Gulle (2014: 123) considers this possibility as unlikely since *ma* and *ama* have the same function in Cypriot Turkish. According to him, it is more convincing to suggest that this construction originated from 'a matter and pattern replication'.

Regarding this dilemma, I suggest that more quantitative data is needed to reach a more definitive conclusion. This indicates a need for further research.

3.6. Adverbial Clauses

In the same study, Gulle (2014) revealed a peculiarity that had not been attested before. That is, adverbial clauses with *nasıl* (meaning ‘how’) and *ne zaman* ‘when’ have different constructions from their standard Turkish counterparts. To convey the same meaning in Standard Turkish, the participle constructions with the postposition *gibi* (‘like, in that way’) and the clause with *nasıl* ‘how’ are employed. Notably, in this case the verb is marked for the conditional. The adverbial construction with *nasıl* ‘how’ is originally followed by the conditional (-sA) suffix in standard Turkish.

In Cypriot Turkish, the adverbial construction with *nasıl* ‘how’ functions differently and can be suffixed optionally. The main difference between standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish lies in the absence of conditional marking in Cypriot Turkish, as demonstrated in the examples (75a) and (75b) with a comparative construction. A further difference is due to the nominalization of the verbal stem in an adverbial clause with *gibi* (‘like, in that way’), as observed in object clauses in standard Turkish. This difference can be observed in (75c).

- (75) a. sen nasıl pişir -di -n tavuğ-u ben da öyle pişir -di -m (CT)
you how cook -Past-2sg chicken -Acc I too so cook -Past -1sg
- b. sen tavuğ-u nasıl pişir -di -yse -n ben de öyle pişir -di -m (ST)
you chicken -Acc how cook -Past -Cond -2sg I too so cook -Past -1sg
- c. sen -in tavuğ-u pişir -diğ -in gibi pişir -di -m (ST)
you -Gen chicken -Acc cook -FNom -2sg like cook -Past -1sg
‘I cooked the chicken just as the way you cooked it’

An interesting development is observed in example (76a), which is essentially the same as the previous example (75), except for the addition of the complementizer/relativizer, namely ‘*şu*’. Interestingly, complementizer/relativizer can be moved to different positions, as evidenced in examples (76a), (76b), and (76c). This reflects the flexible movement pattern noted earlier in the section (cf. 3.3.3). Gulle (2014) further asserts that this construction appears that it does not have a direct counterpart either in standard Turkish or in Cypriot Greek, suggesting it should be an inner development of Cypriot Turkish. The following examples demonstrate how these adverbial constructions are constructed in Cypriot Turkish.

- (76) a. sen **nasıl** **şu** bişir -di -η tavuğ-u ben da öyle bişir -di -m
 you **how** **Comp** cook -Past -2sg chicken -Acc I too so cook -Past -1sg
- b. sen **nasıl** bişir -di -η **şu** tavuğ-u ben da öyle bişir -di -m
 you **how** cook -Past -2sg **Comp** chicken -Acc I too so cook -Past -1sg
- c. sen **nasıl** bişir -di -η tavuğ-u **şu** ben da öyle bişir -di -m
 you **how** cook -Past -2sg chicken -Acc **Comp** I too so cook -Past -1sg
 ‘I cooked the chicken just as the way you cooked it’

Further investigation demonstrates that the structure observed in adverbial clauses with *nasıl* can be applied to the adverb of manner *ne zaman* ‘when’ as in (77a) in CT and (77b) in standard Turkish.

- (77) a. sen **ne zaman** uyu -yaca -η ben da o zaman uyu -yaca -m (CT)
 you **when** sleep -Fut -2sg I too then sleep -Fut -1sg
- b. sen **ne zaman** uyu-r -sa -n ben de o zaman uyu -yacağ -ım (ST)
 you **when** sleep -Aor -Cond -2sg I too then sleep -Fut -1sg
 ‘I will sleep when you sleep’

In this regard, I hypothesize that the same adverbial construction is feasible with other question words such as *neden* ‘why’, *kim* ‘who’, *nereye* ‘where’. These constructions are represented in (77c) – (77e).

- (77) c. sen **neden** git -ti -η ben da o yüzden git -ti -m (CT)
 you **why** go -Past -2sg I too therefore go -Past -1sg
 ‘I went (there) for the same reason you went’
- d. sen **kim -la** gid -ecen -η ben da o -nun -la gid -ede -m (CT)
 you **who -with** go -Fut -2sg I too s/he -Gen -Com go -Fut -1sg
 ‘I will go (there) with whomever you go with’
- e. sen **nereye** gid -ece -η ben da oraya gid -ece -m (CT)
 you **where** go -Fut -2sg I too there go -Fut -1sg
 ‘I will go wherever you go’

3.7. Various Temporal Constructions

Another construction that has not been documented before is associated with temporal constructions. While analysing the collected Cypriot Turkish corpus in his research, Gulle (2014: 146) encountered various temporal constructions from the speech of different informants. Gulle highlights that none of these constructions exist in standard Turkish, and possibly they developed due to language contact with Cypriot Greek. These constructions are outlined as temporal constructions 1, 2, and 3.

The first two constructions were collected from the speech of some informants from Paphos. In this regard, example (78) presents the first Cypriot Turkish temporal construction, which consists of the existential *var* ‘there is’, followed by the length of time, and the relativizer *şu*, proceeded by the main verb in the past tense.

- (78) a. **Var (bir)** yirmi sene **şu** çalış -dı -m tarla -da (CT)
exist one twenty year **Comp** work -Past -1sg field -Dat
- b. Tarla -da yaklaşık olarak yirmi sene çalış -tı -m (ST)
field -Dat almost twenty year work -Past -1sg
‘I worked for (approximately) twenty years in the field’

The second temporal construction in (79) consists of *ta*, meaning ‘until’ in Cypriot Turkish, and *ki*, a complementizer/relativizer, termed as ‘subordinator’.

- (79) a. **Ta ki** burda -ydı beraber gid -er -di -k iş -e (CT)
Sub here -Past together go -Aor -Past -1pl work -Dat
- b. Burada ol -duğ -u sürece iş -e beraber gid -er -di -k (ST)
here be -F.Nom -Acc duration work -Dat together go -Aor -Past -1pl
‘As long as s/he was here, we went to work together’

The last temporal construction can be presented as [*zaman* ‘time’ + verb (copula or ‘to happen’) + subordinate clause] with the specific semantics of ‘it has been a long time’.

- (80) a. **Zaman ol -duy -du** sinema -ya git -me -ye -li (CT)
time happen -Past -Past cinema -Dat go -Neg -Dat -Adv
- b. Sinema -ya git -me -ye -li uzun zaman ol -muş -tur (ST)
cinema -Dat go -Neg -Dat -Adv long time happen -PPart -Ep.Cop
‘It has been a long time since I last went to the cinema’

Besides these three-time constructions, I would like to add another type of adverbial time clause which has not been attested in previous studies. This kind of clause is obtained by using *haçan* ‘when’ or *haçana bir* ‘when’ referring to *ne zaman* ‘when’ in standard Turkish. Unlike standard Turkish, *haçan* ‘when’ is not used as a question word but as a conjunction in Cypriot Turkish. The structure of this clause is right-branching like in Indo-European languages. The following examples are provided to clarify this claim:

- (81) a. **Haçan** para -sı bit -er -di, gel -ir -di ev-e (CT)
 when money -3sg finish -Aor -Past come -Aor -Past home -Dat
- b. Ne zaman para -sı bit -se ev- e gel -ir -di (ST)
 when money -3sg finish -Cond home -Dat come -Aor -Past
 ‘When his money finished, he used to turn (back) to home’
- (82) a. **Haçan** da dön -dü -n; gör -me -di -ler sen -i (CT)
 when Dis.P turn -Past -2sg; see -Neg -Past -3sg you -Acc
- b. Ne zaman dön -dü -n; sen -i gör -me -miş -ler (ST)
 when turn -Past -2sg; you -Acc see -Neg -PPast -3sg
 ‘When did you turn back that they did not see you’
- (83) a. **Haçana bir** ara -yca -m sen -i da aç -asın o telefon -u
 when call -Fut -1sg you -Acc Dis.P open -Opt that phone -Acc
- b. Telefon -un -u aç -ma -n için sen -i kaç kez
 phone -2sg -Acc open -A.Nom -2sg for you -Acc how many time
 ara -yacağ -ım (ST)
 call -Fut -1sg
 ‘Until when I call you that you open that phone’ or ‘How many times do I need to call you to make you open your phone’

The construction of sentence (83a) is similar to similar to sentence (78) even though their semantics differ.

3.8. The Position Variability of the Dissociative Marker *-(I)mİş*

The variation in the usage of past tenses in Cypriot Turkish has been addressed earlier in section 2.4.2.2. Besides its aspectual dimension, the position and the meaning of *-(I)mİş* (reported/inferential past suffix) indicate differences. In this context, the *-(I)mİş* suffix that indicates inferentiality can be affixed to nouns in Cypriot Turkish and demonstrates positional flexibility within sentences, which contrasts with its usage in standard Turkish.

The only restriction in this context is that the noun element bearing the *-(I)mİş* suffix cannot appear at the end of the sentence. The same study by Demir (2007a: 12) has also established that there is a functional rationale behind this variability. Accordingly, the positional flexibility of the *-(I)mİş* suffix serves to emphasize significant or new information within the sentence. In this regard, when placed at the beginning of a sentence, it conveys meanings such as "supposedly," "according to what they say," or "they claim, but don't believe it". In this context, Kappler called this suffix a 'dissociative marker'.

In (84), the *-(I)mİş* suffix appears immediately following the word carrying the important or new information in Cypriot Turkish:

- (84) a. Mış Arda araba sür -me -yecek bu hafta
 Rep.Past Arda car drive -Neg -Fut this week
- b. Arda -mış araba sür -me -yecek bu hafta
 Arda -Rep.Past car drive -Neg -Fut this week
- c. Arda araba-mış sür -me -yecek bu hafta
 Arda car -Rep.Past drive -Neg -Fut this week
- d. Arda bu hafta -mış araba sür -me -yecek
 Arda this week -Rep.Past car drive -Neg -Fut
 'Arda isn't going to drive car this week'
 '([Supposedly / according to what they say] Arda isn't going to drive the car this week)'

-(I)mİş can appear in different syntactic positions without restriction while the standard Turkish equivalent of the same sentence has only one possible form, which is at the end of the sentence with the predicate.

- (85) Arda bu hafta araba sür -me -yecek **-miş** (ST)
 Arda this week car drive -Neg -Fut **-Rep.Past**
 ‘([Supposedly / according to what they say] Arda isn’t going to drive car this week)

A further example highlights the variable placement of the particle in Cypriot Turkish:

- (86) a. Asiye **-miş** tatil -de (CT)
 Asiye **-Evid** holiday -Loc
- b. Asiye tatil -de **imiş** (CT)
 Asiye holiday -Loc **Evid**
- c. **miş** Asiye tatil -de (CT)
Evid Asiye holiday -Loc
 ‘Asiye is on holiday’
 (‘Asiye pretends to be on holiday (but I doubt that she is really on holiday))

As can be observed, the syntactic position of the marker is free in Cypriot Turkish. Even though the suffix is marked as evidentiality, it reinforces the emphasis. Sentence (87) is the standard Turkish representation of example (86).

- (87) Asiye tatil -de **-ymiş** (ST)
 Asiye holiday -Loc **Evid**

3.9.Negation with *Yok* (no, none)

In standard Turkish, negation is formed with the suffix *-mA* and placed before the primary tense suffix on a verbal stem. This applies across all tenses and moods. However, (Kornfilt, 1997: 123) notes that within copular constructions with nominal or adjectival predicates, a negative copula is used, namely the free morpheme *değil* ‘not, is not’. A further detail about negation in Turkish is that for the negation of locative expressions, especially to express that something is not in a certain location, either *değil* ‘is not’ (formal and standard negation) or *yok* (a more colloquial term often used in casual speech) is used. For negation of possession, especially indicating that someone does not have something only *yok* is used; *değil* is not appropriate in this context. These negation norms are applicable to both standard and Cypriot Turkish.

(88) a. (Ben) o oda -da yok -tu -m (ST)
 I that room -Loc Neg.Exist -Past -lsg

b. (Ben) yoğ -udu -m oda -da (CT)
 I Neg.Exist -Past -lsg room -Loc
 ‘I was not in that room’ (I did not exist in that room)

(89) a. (Ben -im) ev -im yok -tu (ST)
 I -Gen house -lsg Neg.Exist -Past

b. Yoğ -udu (ben -im) ev -im (CT)
 Neg.Exist -Past I -Gen house -lsg
 ‘I had no house’

However, in the Cypriot variation, (Demir, 2002a: 11) observed that negation in verbs can also be expressed with a different construction, including *yok* ‘no, none’ proceed by optative-subjunctive paradigm. Nevertheless, there is a semantic limitation in this context. In detail, the use of *yok* ‘no, none’ for negation is constrained to the imperative-optative context. As with other verb conjugation suffixes (especially with declarative clauses), negation is generally expressed using the negation suffix *-mA* before these suffixes, as in standard Turkish. In this vein, imperative clauses in Cypriot Turkish are negated using the particle *yok*, which is morphologically and originally the negative existential expression (term used by Kornfilt (1997: 124). Some examples are included underneath their standard Turkish equivalents to contextualize these findings.

(89) a. Sil -in -di yer -ler yok gir -esin terlik -ler -nan (CT)
 mop -Pass -Past floor -pl no enter -2sg.Opt slipper -pl -Ins

b. Yer -ler sil -in -di, terlik -ler -le gir -me (ST)
 floor -pl mop -Pass -Past slipper -pl -Ins enter -Neg
 ‘The floor is mopped, do not enter with your slipper’

(90) a. Yok gel -esin ev -e da yalnız gork -asın (CT)
 no come -2sg.Opt home -Dat and alone scare -2sg.Opt

b. Ev -e gel -ip de yalnız kork -ma (ST)
 home -Dat go -Vbl.Conj and alone scare -Neg
 ‘Don’t come home alone and get scared’

As can be observed, the common point of these clauses is their occurrence in an imperative-optative context. The Cypriot Turkish clauses include *yok*, whereas the same clauses appear with

the prohibitive marker *-mA*. Further, the predicate is marked with the optative-subjunctive paradigm in Cypriot Turkish equivalents. In this vein, a declarative sentence is presented in three forms: declarative, declarative negation, and imperative, respectively, in Cypriot Turkish to clarify this negation form.

- (91) a. Unud -ur -um anahtar -lar -1
 Forget -Aor -1sg key -pl -Acc
 ‘I forget the keys’
- b. Unut -ma -m anahtar -lar -1
 Forget -Neg -1sg key -pl -Acc
 ‘I don’t forget the keys’
- c. Yok unud -asıñ anahtar -lar -1
 Neg forget -2sg.Opt key -pl -Acc
 ‘Don’t forget the keys’

It can be reached the conclusion that originally negative existential *yok* has been grammaticalized to a prohibitive marker, possibly under the influence of Cypriot Greek due to the existence of similar construction.

In this vein, I suggest that it may be beneficial to investigate this form of negation along with subjunctives since they share the same conjugation pattern. This negation only occurs exclusively in the imperative-optative context. Demir (2002a) investigated the aforementioned negation form and Kappler (2015) examined subjunctives separately. In this respect, a further study can be designed to examine them under the same category.

3.10. Interrogative Statements and Emphasis / (Polar Questions)

Standard Turkish employs the question marker clitic (*-mI*) to indicate polar questions, which, as expected, this clitic exhibits a difference in Cypriot Turkish. (Demir 2007a; Gulle, 2014) addressed on this difference in interrogative statements in their own studies, under the topic of intonation for marking the polar questions. In this regard, polar questions are provided with emphasis or intonation in Cypriot Turkish instead of the question marker particle (*-mI*). In other words, question markers are not used in the context of Cypriot Turkish.

More specifically, Kornfilt (1997: 5) points out that “Yes/No questions are formed by attaching the particle *mi*; this morpheme gets cliticized to the predicate of the sentence and then has the whole sentence in its scope” in standard Turkish. In this regard, the interrogative clitic is placed separately from the stem, considering the clitic as an independent word.

- (92) Mehmet müze -ye gel -di mi? (ST)
 Mehmet museum -Dat come -Past Q
 ‘Did Mehmet come to the museum?’

Considering this feature in standard Turkish, the variation arises from stress and intonation in Cypriot Turkish. Interrogative expressions can be conveyed without suffixes or particles. In this case, (93) is the Cypriot Turkish equivalent of the aforementioned interrogative statement in standard Turkish.

- (93) Mehmet müze -ye gel -di (CT)
 Mehmet museum -Dat come -Past
 ‘Did Mehmet come to the museum?’

The declarative/interrogative form of Cypriot Turkish is evident in (94-96). Each instance is compared with its standard Turkish counterparts underneath.

- (94) a. Duy -du -n (CT)
 hear -Past -2sg
 ‘You heard’ (with intonation: ‘Did you hear?’)

- b. Duy -du -n mu? (ST)
 hear -Past -2sg Q
 ‘Did you hear?’

- (95) a. GıZ der: 'Ben- im -la dans -ed -eñ? (CT)
 girl say I -Gen -with dans -do -2sg
 ‘She says, “Do you dance with me?”’

- b. Kız: 'Ben- im -la dans -eder misin? de -miş (ST)
 girl I -Gen -with dans -do -2sg Q say -Rep.Past
 ‘She said, “Do you dance with me?”’

As can be observed, none of the statements provided in Cypriot Turkish (94a -96a) include interrogative particles. Instead, they are conveyed through intonation. In summary, it can be said that Cypriot Turkish lacks the usage of the standard Turkish polar question marker (the clitic *-mI*), and the only way to differentiate declarative clauses from interrogatives is intonation.

Demir (2007a: 14) highlights that intonation for making the polar question is also found in Eastern Anatolian dialects of Turkish and Azeri. Cypriot Turkish, however, has a different intonation system. The stressed syllable is not lengthened in Cypriot Turkish compared to Azeri Turkish. On the other hand, Demir did not give further details on this topic, suggesting that it is outside the scope of his study.

Gulle (2014: 125) attested to this finding by Demir (2007a) and puts forward that this feature also can be replica grammaticalization from Cypriot Greek. He demonstrates this process with a schema in Figure 3 as follows:

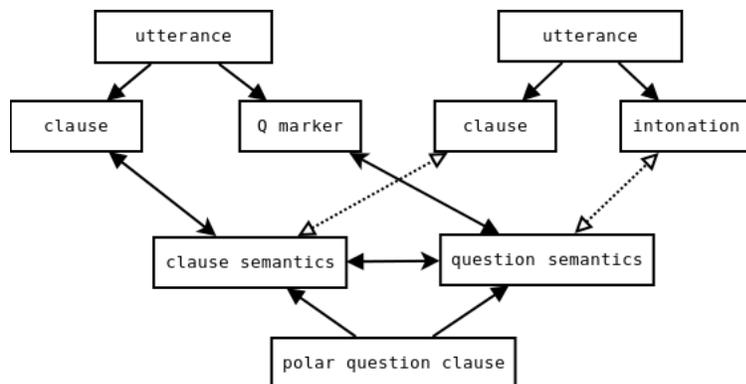


Figure 3: *Replication process in Cypriot Turkish polar questions*

In detail, Gulle notes that Cypriot Greek likewise uses intonation to mark polar questions. The Greek structure [clause + increasing intonation] serves the same pragmatic function as the native Turkish morphosyntactic construction [clause + question marker], connected to the semantic sense of being a question. Gulle (2014) asserts that this feature is still a replication even though it appears to be a loss from contact in theory. In this context, replication refers to transferring the semantic structure from one morphosyntactic structure to another. This is an example of replica grammaticalization, where a foreign pattern is replicated.

CHAPTER 4

NOMINAL SYNTAX

4.1. Number Marking in Noun Phrases

As Kornfilt (1997: 265) notes, number marking in Turkish is singular or plural. The plural is suffixed with the morpheme *-lar*; while the singular is not overtly marked. As an analytic language, Turkish exhibits no nominal classes concerning number marking; all nouns act similarly. Mass nouns rarely pluralize:

- (1) a. Single Noun: çocuk
child
'a child'
- b. Plural Noun: çocuk -lar
child -pl
'children'
- (2) a. Yaralı kan kaybet -ti.
wounded blood lose -Past
'The wounded lost blood'
- b. Yaralı kan -*lar kaybet -ti.
wounded blood -*pl lose -Past
'The wounded lost blood'

As can be seen in sentence (2), overt plural marking is not possible with mass nouns, with curious exceptions, namely with generic meaning or repeated events, as in (3). Example (4) refers to a specific instance of rain that occurred at that moment.

- (3) Yağmur -lar kesil -di
rain -pl stop -Past
'The rains stopped'
- (4) Yağmur kesil -di
rain stop -Past
'The rain has stopped'

Kornfilt (1997: 268-269) notes that Vowel Harmony dictates alterations in the plural suffix *-lar*. In other words, the morpheme can alternate based on the backness of the last vowel in the stem because its vowel is non-high and undergoes backness harmony.

- (5) a. *kasa -lar*
 box -pl
 ‘boxes’
- b. *çiçek -ler*
 flower -pl
 ‘flowers’

For standard Turkish, Kornfilt (1997: 265-266) shows that number marking is required to denote plural interpretation, with notable exceptions. This means that the head noun cannot be marked for plurality in specific syntactic settings even when the noun phrase has plural semantics. The plural suffix cannot appear when the noun phrase contains some quantifiers or numeral modifiers, such as *çok* ‘many, much’, *az* ‘few, little’, *birkaç* ‘a few or several’, *birçok* ‘many’, and *hiçbir* ‘none, no, not one’... etc. This holds true for both standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish:

- (6) a. *yedi öğrenci (*-ler)*
 seven students -pl
 ‘seven students’
- b. *doksan öğrenci (*-ler)*
 ninety student
 ‘ninety students’
- (7) a. *Çok şey (*-ler) bil -iyor*
 many thing -pl know -Pr.Prog
 ‘s/he knows many things’
- b. *Bugün sınıf -ta az öğrenci (*-ler) var*
 today class - Loc few student -pl exist
 ‘There are few students in the classroom today’

Likewise, the compound quantifiers *biraz* ‘a little’ and *birçok* ‘many’ formed with *bir* ‘one’ combined with *az* ‘little’, or *çok* ‘many, much’ do not select plural marking as demonstrated in (8)-(9): cf. Kornfilt (1997: 432):

- (8) a. bir -çok öğrenci -(*ler)
 one -many student - (*pl)
 ‘many students’
 b. bir -az havuç - (*lar)
 one -little carrot - (*pl)
 ‘a little carrots’

- (9) a. Bir -kaç çocuk sokak -ta, dondurma yi -yor
 one -how many child street -Loc, ice cream eat -P.Prog
 ‘A few children are eating ice cream in the street’
 b. İki-(*kaç) çocuk sokak -ta, dondurma yi -yor
 two-(*how many) child street -Loc, ice cream eat -P.Prog
 ‘A (two) children are eating ice cream in the street’

As can be observed from (9b), the combination of other numerals with *kaç* ‘how many,’ is considered ungrammatical.

Moreover, negative quantifiers such as *hiçbir* and *hiç* ‘none, no, not one’ do not select an overt plural suffix on the noun they combine with:

- (10) hiç -bir çocuk-(*lar) sokak -ta, dondurma ye -mi -yor
 no -one child-(pl) street -Loc, ice cream eat -Neg -P.Prog
 ‘No children/none of the children are eating ice cream in the street’

Other quantifiers such as *bazı* ‘some,’ a number of,’ *bütün/tüm* ‘all,’ ‘the whole,’ and *birtakım* ‘some’ (the latter also formed with *bir*) require the presence of the plural suffix.

- (11) Bazı çocuk -*(lar) elma sev -er, bazı çocuk-*(lar) sev -mez (ST)
 Some child- (pl) apple like -Aor, some child -(pl) like -Neg.Aor
 (12) Kimi çocuk -*(lar) elma sev -er, bazı çocuk -*(lar) sev -mez (ST)
 Some child -(pl) apple like -Aor, some child -(pl) like -Neg.Aor

In this case Cypriot Turkish allows for the plural marker but does not require it:

- (13) Bazı çocuk (-lar) elma sev -er, bazı çocuk(-lar) sev -mez (CT)
 Some child (-pl) apple like -Aor, some child (-pl) like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Some children like apples, some children don’t’
 (14) Kimi çocuk (-lar) elma sev -er, bazı çocuk(-lar) sev -mez (CT)
 Some child (-pl) apple like -Aor, some child (-pl) like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Some children like apples, some children don’t’

The optionality in Cypriot Turkish may at first sight suggest a different in interpretation, especially if we consider (17), which presents a specific context, in which the plural marker becomes mandatory:

- (17) İsim -ler -i Joseph, Peter ve Luca olan **bazı çocuk-*(lar)** tanı -yor -um
 Name -pl-3pl Joseph, Peter and Luca be-Sub.P some child -pl know -Pr.Prog- 1sg
 ‘I know some children whose names are Joseph, Peter, and Luca’

However, it should be noted that the participle construction in (17) is not common in Cypriot Turkish and the mandatory plural marker could be due to the fact that Cypriot speakers in producing (17) are using standard Turkish. This is suggested by the observation that the plural marking becomes optional again when (17) is rephrased in the relative clause construction unique to Cypriot Turkish as mentioned in section (3.3.3). In (18) even though the noun phrase “children” with *bazı* ‘some’ is specific, the plural marker is optional:

- (18) Bazı çocuk -(lar) tanı -r -im şu isim -ler -i Joseph, Peter ve Luca -dir
 some child -(pl) know -Aor -1sg that name -pl -3pl Joseph, Peter and Luca -Cop
 ‘I know some children whose names are Joseph, Peter and Luca’

As mentioned in Section 3.3.3, Cypriot Turkish has relative constructions that are not found in the standard form of the language. In this regard, the sentence (17) in the participial construction does not indicate any difference for Cypriot Turkish in terms of plural marking. On the other hand, sentence (18), which has a relative construction unique to Cypriot Turkish, displays optionality for plural marking.

Apart from the two quantifiers noted above, all remaining quantifiers hold the same characteristics in Cypriot and standard Turkish. In this sense, other quantifiers like *bütün* ‘all’, ‘the whole’, and *birtakım* ‘some’, require the overt plural marker on the noun phrase illustrated below:

- (19) Bütün çocuk-*(lar) okul -a geç gel -ir.
 all child -pl school -Dat late come -Aor
 ‘All children arrive at school late’

- (20) Bir -takım soru -lar -a cevap ver -il -me -di
 one -set question -pl -Dat answer give -Pass -Neg -Past
 ‘A number of questions were not answered’

- (21) Bir -takım işçi -ler park -ta şarkı söyl -üyor
 One -set worker -pl street -Loc song sing -Pr.Prog
 ‘Some workers are singing at the park’

In this section, we have seen how the nominal number marking slightly varies in Cypriot and standard Turkish. In the next section we focus on the role of referential interpretation, that was shown to be irrelevant in (17)-18).

4.2. The notion of referentiality in noun phrases concerning number marking

Kornfilt (1997: 266) notes that number marking is optional when a noun phrase is nonreferential. Kornfilt only considers the object position. As can be observed in (23), Kornfilt’s observation is also valid in subject position and applies to both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish:

- (22) Arda **resim** çiz -er
 Arda **picture** draw -Aor
 ‘Arda draws pictures’

- (23) **İşçi -(ler)** daha iyi maaş için protesto ed -er
worker -(pl) more good salary for protest do-Aor
 ‘Workers protest for better salaries’

The unmarked form of noun phrases without plural markers such as *resim* ‘picture(s)’ and *işçi* ‘worker(s)’ gives them non-referential meaning in the sentence. In (23), the noun phrase ‘workers’ gives the sense of workers in general; it does not refer to any specific worker. The noun phrase can be considered as kind-referring. Let us observe the same indefinite noun phrase in an episodic context. As section (2.4.2.1) states, the present progressive suffix *-(I)yor* is not commonly used in Cypriot Turkish. The progressive aspect in the present tense is actualized through the usage of the aorist. Since the progressive aspect forces an indefinite interpretation, we can safely claim that in CT the plural marker is genuinely optional and does not vary with different interpretations:

- (24) **işçi -(ler)** protesto ed -er müdür -ü (CT)
worker -(pl) protest do -Aor manager -Acc
 ‘Workers are protesting the manager (now)’

In (25)-(26), we observe reference to kind, which can again display optional number marking in both standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish:

- (25) a. Soğuk hava -da nehir (-ler) don -ar
 cold weather -Loc river -(pl) freeze -Aor
 ‘In the cold rivers freeze’
- b. Ağaç -(lar) büyü -mek için oksijen iste -r
 tree -(pl) grow -Inf for oxygen require -Aor
 ‘Trees require oxygen to grow’
- c. Biz -e her zaman misafir -(ler) gel -ir
 we -Dat always guest -(pl) come -Aor
 ‘Guests come to us’
- (26) a. Yılan -(lar) o -nu korku -t -ur
 Snake -(pl) 3sg -Acc scare -Caus -Aor
 ‘Snakes scare him’
- b. Hediye -(ler) o -nu mutlu ed -er
 Present -(pl) 3sg -Acc happy make -Aor
 ‘The gifts make him happy’
- c. Öğretmen -(ler) iş -i -ni sev -er
 teacher -(pl) job -3sg -Acc love -Aor
 ‘Teachers love their jobs’

Let us now contrast the object of verbs ‘love’ or ‘hate’ which can refer to kind with the objects of ‘draw’, which can only refer to indefinite individuals. The verb ‘like’ does not allow overt plural marking on its object in contrast to the verb ‘draw’ in (22b). This situation is consistent with Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish, as presented in (27a) in contrast to optional number marking in (22) above repeated here in (27b) for ease of exposition.

- (27) a. Arda **kedi-(*ler)** sev -er (ST/CT)
 Arda **cat -pl** like -Aor
 ‘Arda likes cats’
- b. Arda **resim -(ler)** çiz -er
 Arda **picture -(pl)** draw -Aor
 ‘Arda draws pictures’

Another different is found in the result of the overt accusative case. The presence of the number marker is mandatory if we have overt accusative marking in standard Turkish. In Cypriot Turkish,

the accusative can be interpreted as reference to kind both in the presence and in the absence of the number marking, as shown in (27c-d).

- (27) c. Arda kedi -ler -i sev -er (CT/ST)
 Arda cat -pl -Acc like -Aor
 ‘Arda likes cats’
- d. Arda kedi -yi sev -er (CT)
 Arda cat -Acc like -Aor
 ‘Arda likes cats’

The situation gets more complicated with the verb ‘hate’, which selects an ablative complement. In this case, exemplified in (28a) and (28b), the number marking is optional, while ablative marking is mandatory. This is valid in both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish.

- (28) a. Arda kedi -*(den) nefret ed -er (ST/CT)
 Arda cat -Abl hate -Aor
 ‘Arda hate cats’
- b. Arda kedi -ler -*(den) nefret ed -er (ST/CT)
 Arda cat -pl -Abl hate -Aor
 ‘Arda hates cats’

Note that in Cypriotic Turkish, ‘hate’ may also take an accusative object. In this case, Cypriot Turkish has optional number marking in the presence of the accusative marker referring to kind, cf. (28c) and (28d).

- (28) c. Arda kedi -yi nefret ed -er (CT)
 Arda cat -Acc hate -Aor
 ‘Arda hate cats’
- d. Arda kedi -ler -i nefret ed -er (CT)
 Arda cat -pl -Acc hate -Aor
 ‘Arda hate cats’

The phenomenon is examined with the negation. In the presence of negation, and in the absence of accusative, no plural marker is allowed both in the standard and in Cypriot Turkish.

(29) a. Arda kedi sev -mez (ST/CT)
 Arda cat like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Arda does not like cats’

b. Arda kedi -(*)ler sev -mez (ST/CT)
 Arda cat -pl like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Arda does not like cats’

Cypriot Turkish displays free variation in (29c). In this sentence, the accusative can be interpreted as reference to kind both in the presence and in the absence of the number marking. The insertion of number marking refers to kind in both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish as can be observed in (29d).

(29) c. Arda kedi -yi sev -mez (CT /*ST)
 Arda cat -Acc like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Arda does not like cats’

d. Arda kedi -ler -i sev -mez (CT /ST)
 Arda cat -pl -Acc like -Neg.Aor
 ‘Arda does not like cats’

Let us now examine the object of verbs like ‘eat’, which has an indefinite object. Lack of accusative in the standard implies lack of referential interpretation. As seen with ‘like’ above, this brings with it also lack of number marking. This holds true both in the standard and in Cypriot Turkish (30).

(30) Arda elma (*lar) ye -r (ST/CT)
 Arda apple pl eat -Aor
 ‘Arda eats apples’

The example in (31a) shows that unlike what we have observed for verb ‘like’ in (27c), the insertion of number marking with the accusative case refers to specificity / referentiality in both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish. The free variation of overt plural marking referring to indefinite is also valid with verb *ye* ‘eat’ in Cypriot Turkish. The interpretation of (31b) can be indefinite or definite depending on the context it appears. In this regard, (31b) can be interpreted either ‘Arda eats the apple’ or ‘Arda eats the apples’ depending on the discourse context.

- (31) a. Arda elma -lar -ı ye -r (ST/CT)
 Arda apple -pl -Acc eat -Aor
 ‘Arda eats the apples’
- b. Arda elma -yı ye -r (CT)
 Arda apple -Acc eat -Aor
 ‘Arda eats the apple’
 ‘Arda eats the apples’

Taken together examples (27) - (31), it has been observed that with verbs such as ‘like’ and ‘eat’ overt plural marking on nominals is not possible unless there is accusative case in both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish. The verb ‘hate’ displays difference because of its ablative case requirement. Moreover, Cypriot Turkish displays optionality with plural marker when this marker is followed by accusative case. The optional marking of number in this mentioned context is not feasible with standard Turkish since the presence of the number marker is mandatory if we have overt accusative marking. The observation of optional number marking with accusative with verbs ‘like/hate’ is also valid with the verb ‘eat’ with a slight difference in Cypriot Turkish. The noun phrase can be interpreted as indefinite or definite according to the context it appears.

Another optionality of the plural marker (*-lar*) in Cypriot Turkish is observed with the subject of existential sentences. That is when the existential verb *var* ‘there is’ is present, the noun phrase without a plural marker gives plural meaning in the sentence. If we consider these examples (36a), (36b), and (36c) in Cypriot Turkish, the plural marking on the noun phrases is optional in existential sentences.

- (36) a. Okul -da öğrenci *-(ler)* var
 school -Loc student *-(pl)* exist
 ‘There are students in the room’
- b. Buzluk -ta elma *-(lar)* var
 room -Loc apple *-(pl)* exist
 ‘There are apples in the fridge’
- c. Oda-da sinek *-(ler)* var
 room-Loc mosquito *-(pl)* exist
 ‘There are mosquitos in the room’

The example in (36a) is well-formed in Cypriot Turkish. However, in standard Turkish, if the head “student” of the nominal expression is not suffixed with plural marking, this denotes a singular interpretation. In detail, in this nominal expression, the head “student” presupposes that there can be more than one student even if it is not suffixed with an overt plural marker. In other words, it still connotes plural meaning, whereas in standard Turkish, it will cause a single reading for this noun phrase. It can be perceived that the plural marker is present in this example, but it is silent in Cypriot Turkish. The plural marker is in the sentence, but it is not realized in terms of the articulatory interface.

In other words, there is a syntactic context where, despite the same plural semantics of the noun phrase, the head noun may not be marked for plurality. That is, this optional marking does not make any semantic difference or interpretative difference in Cypriot Turkish. In this respect, the noun phrase *öğrenci -(ler)* ‘student *-(pl)*’ gives the same semantic interpretation even without overt plural *-(ler)* marking.

Another difference between Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish arises from referentiality due to the aspect of the present tense. Kornfilt (1997: 336) considers the present simple as aorist and she explained it as “aorist is the general present tense and expresses habitual actions and general events, thus coming close to a universal tense”. Considering this, the aspect of Cypriot Turkish shows a difference, as mentioned before in section (2.4.2.1). That is, the aorist holds the present progressive aspect in Cypriot Turkish, whereas this aspect is demonstrated by *-(I)yor* suffix in Standard Turkish. This aspect also affects the referentiality of the subject in the sentence in Cypriot Turkish. Before the delve analysis of the examples, Kornfilt’s (1997: 266) explanation of plural marking should be considered again. That is, the plural marking is optional when a noun phrase lacks a determiner, and it is also non-referential.

(37) Biz-e her zaman **misafir (-ler)** gel -ir (ST)
 we -Dat always **guest (-pl)** come -Aor (non- referential)
 ‘Guests always come to us’

(38) **Misafir(-ler)** şimdi yol -da gel -ir (CT)
Guest (-pl) now way -Loc come -Aor (referential)
 ‘Guests are arriving on the way now’

In this regard, as far as example (37) is considered, the noun phrase “guest” is non-referential, which holds true for both standard and Cypriot Turkish. On the other hand, sentence (38), unique to Cypriot Turkish, holds different referential interpretations. That is, *misafir- (ler)* ‘guest(s)’ is referential only in Cypriot Turkish, in both its singular and plural versions, since the aorist holds present progressive in (37). In this context, the guests are known by the speaker, so they are referential in Cypriot Turkish. This indicates that although ‘guest’ in (38) is referential and has no determiner, the plural marking is still optional. It presupposes that there can be more than one guest even if it is not suffixed with an overt plural marker, and it still connotes referential plural meaning.

In the first part, we considered the nominal marking system for noun phrases. The rest of the chapter focuses on how the nominal marking system combines in agreement with verb phrases.

4.3. The plural agreement suffixes on the predicate

In this part, I mainly discuss the optional marking on the predicate. Kornfilt (1997: 271) explains this optionality as human-related nouns may optionally co-occur with the third person plural agreement marker on the predicate when they are in the subject position and overtly marked for the plural, and the same plural agreement marker does not appear with nouns that relate to non-humans. In this regard, although standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish have the same rule for human-related nouns, Cypriot Turkish shows a difference concerning non-human noun phrases. Before observing this optionality, I represent the personal pronouns and the way they are suffixed on the predicate in detail. The simple personal pronouns of Turkish are:

<i>Ben</i> - ‘I’	1sg
<i>Sen</i> - ‘you’	2sg
<i>O</i> - ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’	3sg
<i>Biz</i> - ‘we’	1pl
<i>Siz</i> - ‘you’	2pl
<i>Onlar</i> - ‘they’	3pl

The optional marking of the third person plural marker on the predicate in standard Turkish is shown by the sentence (39):

- (39) müzisyen -ler Roma -ya gel -di -(ler) (ST)
 musician -pl Roma -Dat come -Past -(3pl)
 ‘The musicians came to Rome’

When this example is concerned, ‘musicians’ is a human-related noun phrase, and as it can be seen, the predicate is optionally suffixed with the third person plural agreement marker *-lar* – 3pl on the predicate.

Section (2.4.2.2) and Figure 1 present the paradigm for personal marker definite past, paradigm II. For this paradigm, example sentences are presented for each personal agreement on the predicate.

- (40) a. Ben Londra -ya git -ti -m
 I London -Dat go -Past -1sg
 ‘I went to London’
- b. Sen Londra -ya git -ti -n
 you London -Dat go -Past -2sg
 ‘You went to London’
- c. O Londra -ya git-ti- Ø
 (S)he London -Dat go -Past -Ø
 ‘S/he went to London’
- d. Biz Londra -ya git-ti-k
 we London -Dat go -Past -1pl
 ‘We went to London’
- e. Siz Londra -ya git-ti-niz
 you London -Dat go -Past -2pl
 ‘You went to London’
- f. Onlar Londra -ya git-ti-(ler)
 they London -Dat go -Past -(3pl)
 ‘They went to London’

As shown in the examples, (40f) is the only sentence in the plural agreement marking on the predicate is optional for both Cypriot Turkish and standard Turkish when it is third person plural. On the other hand, the case for non-human referent noun phrases is different from noun phrases with human referent noun phrases. In (41), the noun phrase ‘river’ is non-human, and the verb was not suffixed with the overt plural agreement marker accordingly. However, I have found out that Cypriot Turkish displays optionality in the marking of non-human noun phrases. That is, normally, the agreement marker (*-lar*) on the verb is optional for human reference but not possible for non-

humans in standard Turkish. If (41a) is reconsidered in Cypriot Turkish, it would be represented as (41b).

- (41) a. Nehir -(ler) okyanus -a doğru aktı (ST)
river -pl ocean -Dat towards flow -Past
'The rivers flew towards the ocean'
- b. Nehir -ler okyanus -a doğru aktı -(lar) (CT)
river -pl ocean -Dat towards flow -Past -(3pl)
'The rivers flowed towards the ocean'

In contrast to (41a), example (41b) can be suffixed with an optional third-person plural agreement marker in Cypriot Turkish. Additional examples are given below for Cypriot Turkish.

Considering the following examples, the agreement marker (*-lar*) is not expected to appear with the verb 'bite' in standard Turkish, where it appears in sentence (42b) in Cypriot Turkish.

- (42) a. Sinek -(ler) ısır -ır (ST)
mosquito-(pl) bite -Aor
- b. Sinek -ler ısır -ır -(lar) (CT)
mosquito-pl bite -Aor -(3pl)
'Mosquitos bite'

The sentence (42b) can be considered an ill-formed sentence in standard Turkish, while it can appear in Cypriot Turkish optionally. It should be noted that the personal agreement (*-lar*) can appear on the verb only when the plural marker (*-lar*) is overtly realized on the subject.

To sum up, the first part of the paper demonstrated the case for a number marking system on noun phrases. In the second part, the number marking system is on the predicate. Overall, there seems to be some evidence to indicate the existence of optionality for both noun phrases and predicates in Cypriot Turkish.

5. Conclusions

After having outlined existing studies, these concluding sections answer the theoretical research questions and address new questions to be left for future research.

5.1. Answers to the theoretical research questions

This section synthesizes the findings of this current study to address the theoretical research questions formulated in the initial stage of the research.

1) **What are the main linguistic features and distinctive characteristics of Cypriot Turkish identified in the body of the research?**

No considerable divergence has been attested in terms of morphological variation in Cypriot Turkish. The main difference in morphology appears in the form and semantics of personal and tense conjugation of the verbal stem. The main distinctive features were identified in clausal syntax. Among these clausal constructions, relative and object clauses stand out as the most distinctive feature compared to standard Turkish. In general, relative and object clauses are obtained by nominalization of the verbal stem in standard Turkish. Instead of nominalized participle constructions, the right-branch finite embedded clauses introduced by complementizers were identified in Cypriot Turkish. Another notable difference was observed in the subjunctive structures. In Cypriot Turkish, the usage of subjunctives is expanded to all persons and all kinds of matrix verbs, whereas its occurrence is highly restricted in standard Turkish. Besides that, the most particular forms appear in three embedded modal clauses regarding subjunctive structures: optative, necessity, and proximity.

Furthermore, some particles underwent a language contact process that resulted in a functional shift. Among these were conditional *ama*, discourse marker *ma*, and dissociative marker *–(I)mİş*. Some instances of structural change in adverbial clauses were also observed. Different forms of negation and interrogative statements were also subject to examination.

Throughout this analysis, a feature evident in all aforementioned clausal features is the word order of Cypriot Turkish. The body of research has pointed to variations in word structure; one study specifically examined constituent order. That the word structure is different, and a study examined the constituent order. I hypothesize that word order can be head initial, and this should be investigated further.

2) How do these features differ from the standard form of the language, and in which way do they show similarities with contact languages?

In general, it can be suggested that most of the clausal structure is obtained through nominalization of the predicate in Standard Turkish, while these structures are found in full finite embedded clauses in Cypriot Turkish. Some structures found in Cypriot Turkish are unidentified or obsolete in standard Turkish.

If delved into further, this observation is evident in relative and object clauses. The native relative clause includes the head noun preceding the modifying clause in standard Turkish. This modifier clause emerges in a participial form and has no fully finite predicate. Further, object clauses are obtained through the nominal transformation of the predicate.

Complementizer and relative pronouns are absent in standard Turkish. Persian borrowed *ki* is the only particle that functions as a complementizer and relative pronoun. At first, the initial distinction seems to be right-branching embedded clauses with complementizers and relative pronouns in Cypriot Turkish. However, the finite clause preceded by complementizer and relativizer is not new in standard Turkish. It is introduced by borrowed *ki* in standard Turkish. However, it became obsolete after the reform of the language in modern Turkish. What can be considered new in CT is, first, the grammaticalization process that shifts the function of words such as *şu* ‘this, that’. The second is the splitability of the composite subordinate markers such as ‘*o şu*’ or ‘*şu ki*’. It was proposed that the object clauses in Cypriot Turkish have underlying relative clauses that can be traced back to cleft constructions in Cypriot Greek. This is not a simple selective copying; it indicates a deeper syntactic reorganization in Cypriot Turkish. Such a structural transformation has not been observed in other Turkic varieties. This shift resulted in a functional change in certain constructions, such as *şu ki* and *o şu* ‘that, which’ structures. This transformation demonstrates how a structure can be reanalysed, shifting functions of specific words within the language. Another distinctive feature of these particles is their varying position within a sentence, which is again unidentified in other Turkic varieties.

Subjunctive structures are the other constructions analyzed as contact-induced phenomena. In standard Turkish, subjunctive is limited to optative constructions. The optative form is found in three forms: infinitival subordinate clause, nominalized subordinate clause, and full finite subordinate clause in standard Turkish. It should be noted that the finite optative form is obsolete in standard Modern Turkish. On the other hand, subjunctives in Cypriot Turkish, like other Turkic

varieties that have been in contact with the Indo-European language, were characterized by infinite loss and extensive use of the subjunctives. The identified distinctive features of these modal embedded clauses are the right-branching structure without conjunction and co-reference between the subject of the matrix and embedded clause, differing notably from the construction found in standard modern Turkish. The subjunctive clauses were investigated under three categories, namely optative, necessitative, and possibility. The analysis revealed Cypriot Turkish subjunctive structures are not only contact-induced copies, but they are the result of local development through contact with Cypriot Greek, which further demonstrates the availability of Cypriot-specific morphological variants of the optative-subjunctive which are non-existent in Standard Turkish.

Another distinctive feature of Cypriot Turkish is the functional shift of some particles. Among these, conjunctive *ama* ‘but’, and an evidential marker *-(I)mlş* in standard Turkish as a result of language contact, they turned into conditional *ama* ‘if’ and dissociative marker in Cypriot Turkish. Another particle, discourse marker *ma* was not found in standard Turkish. A possible explanation is that the particle, meaning ‘but’ and used as a clause-initial marker in Cypriot Greek, adapted to Cypriot Turkish due to a matter and pattern replication.

An additional feature that sets Cypriot Turkish apart from standard Turkish is the negation of imperative constructions. In this context, declarative clauses are negated with prohibitive marker *-mA*, as in standard Turkish. On the other hand, imperative clauses have special construction. They are negated using the particle *yok*, which is negative existential in standard Turkish. It is used to negate location or possession. It was observed that negative existential *yok* has been grammaticalized to a prohibitive marker. A possible reason is the existence of a similar imperative negation form in Cypriot Greek.

Besides negation, interrogative statements were another distinctive feature. The difference is particular to polar questions. That is, polar questions are formed with intonation rather than using question markers, as in standard Turkish. This was considered another instance of replica grammaticalization since Cypriot Greek has the same intonation pattern to obtain polar questions.

The last distinctive characteristic is related to the word order of Cypriot Turkish. Standard Turkish follows the SOV order in general. Some differences could be possible, but the verb stays at the end. After the analysis, it is more evident that Cypriot Turkish follows a more flexible structure. According to observations, Cypriot Turkish applied V-initial clause structures.

3) To what extent the instances of variation give rise to optionality Cypriot Turkish?

As noted earlier, previous studies mostly focused on verbal syntax, while this current study was directed toward nominal syntax, focusing on the plural marking system on noun phrases. The examination addressed the plural agreement based on quantifiers, referentiality of noun phrases, and animacy of verb phrases. Taken together, this examination identified some instances of variation that give rise to optionality in Cypriot Turkish. Firstly, some nominal constructions with quantifiers *bazı* and *kimi* ‘some’ allow optional plural marking. More precisely, these quantifiers require overt plural marking in standard Turkish, whereas it is not mandatory in Cypriot Turkish. At first, it was analyzed that referentiality does not allow optionality in Cypriot Turkish. However, when a relative clause particular to Cypriot Turkish was applied, the plural marking on the noun phrase became optional again. The main reason could be that the participle construction is not preferred in Cypriot Turkish.

Further observation was focused on the referentiality of noun phrases concerning number marking. The basis of this investigation was the notion that plural marking on noun phrases is optional when a noun phrase lacks a determiner and is non-referential in standard Turkish. The analysis revealed that the plural marking appears as optional when the noun phrase is not general (kind-referring) but indefinite in an episodic context. The reason stems from the difference in the aorist and progressive aspectual dimensions. Considering the findings found until that point, proposing that the clausal syntax influences the construction of nominal syntax in a way is plausible. In further analysis, the reference type is the other factor affecting optional marking. In this regard, there was no difference identified when the reference of noun phrases was kind-referring with unaccusative verbs and psychological verbs. The difference revealed itself in number marking for the objects of verbs ‘like/hate’ and ‘eat’. In standard Turkish, the presence of the number marker is mandatory if we have over accusative marking whereas is optional in Cypriot Turkish. The other difference was observed in replacement of ablative case with accusative case which is unidentified in standard Turkish. Lastly, there was evidence of an optional third-person plural agreement marker in Cypriot Turkish when the subject of the sentence was non-human.

5.2. Concluding remarks

This current study aimed to systematically investigate the existing research on Cypriot Turkish, provide an overview of previous research and offer a personal reflection. The findings of the study have provided insightful results regarding clausal syntax features. As a result of this study, it has been found out that the most distinctive features appear in relative and object clauses along with subjunctive structures. Taken together, these results suggest that Cypriot Turkish is not a simple extension of Anatolian dialects; rather, it came into existence through deeper language contact processes. Considering the existing literature, it can be suggested that the focus of the study shifted from the relation with Anatolian dialects to contact-induced features. In the same vein, there is a shift from phonological and morphological studies to clausal syntax. Taken together, this current study laid the groundwork for a systematic review of the existing research on Cypriot Turkish. Although there are a few doctoral dissertation studies providing insights into the peculiarities of Cypriot Turkish, they are published in Turkish. This indicates a gap that more international publications are needed to improve the scope of the research field of Cypriot Turkish language studies. This research has been limited to qualitative data since it was designed as a systematic review. Further extension of this work might expand its findings with quantitative data. Furthermore, the current results open a new area of research in nominal syntax and its dynamics with clausal syntactic structures. Based on my observations, I suggest that nominal syntax embodies optionality in Cypriot Turkish, and the features found in clausal syntax also affect the structure of nominal syntax. Further investigation is needed to examine their underlying dynamics. Another significant observation addresses the word structure of Cypriot Turkish. Considering all the given data, I propose that Cypriot Turkish can be verb initial compared to standard Turkish as a verb-final language. Vassiliou (1995) suggested that the basic order of Cypriot Greek words is VOS. At the end of her study, it was found that the V-initial structure is the preferred structure of Greek Cypriots, which I suggest that it is similar to Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, she pointed out that the geographical position of Cyprus allows linguists to relate its V-initial structure to other languages of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Arabic, which was predominantly verb-initial. At this point, an upcoming study can address the word structure of Cypriot Turkish, taking into consideration all languages of the island, including Kormakiti Arabic.

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