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A Tatar Idiom from Dobrudja (Roumania)

1. The present study is based on Tatar language texts we have collected in the small town Mahmudia (district of Tulcea, Roumania). The texts were published in the previous volume of this journal¹. We intend now to describe their phonologic, morphologic, syntactical and lexical features, pointing out their peculiarities. In the following lines we do not give a descriptive grammar of the Mahmudia idiom; we present, however, its characteristic features and peculiarities, taking into consideration the system of other Tatar idioms from Dobrudja, namely those of Medgidia and Constanța. It should be stated that the latter idioms are very close to each other and include the biggest number of speakers².

2. We previously explained the criteria we adopted in selecting and transcribing the texts of the idiom under discussion here; so we shall not repeat this³.

3. However, let us mention that in the footnotes to our previous article we kept specifying, every time it was necessary, particular phonetic notations, some of them peculiar to the Tatar speech of Mahmudia.

Phonology

Vowel System

4. Classification of the Vowels

The vowel phonemes of the Tatar idiom of Mahmudia can be classified as follows⁴:

¹ К. К э л и н, *Татарский говор села Махмудия (Добруджа)*, RO, XXXV, 2, 1973, pp. 69—94.

² Ibid., p. 70.

³ Ibid., pp. 69—70.

⁴ In some loan words borrowed from Roumanian appears also the vowel *ă*, which is not a part of the Tatar phonetic system.

- (a) According to the place of articulation:
 — Back (postpalatal) vowels: *a*, *ĩ*, *o*, *u*;
 — Front (antepalatal) vowels: *ă*, *e*, *i* (*ĩ* as the main variant), *ô*, *û*.
- (b) According to the shape of opening the lips:
 — Nonlabial (unrounded) vowels: *a*, *ĩ*, *ă*, *e*, *i* (*ĩ*);
 — Labial (rounded) vowels: *o*, *u*, *ô*, *û*.
- (c) According to the opening degree of the maxillae and according to the position of the tongue in the vertical plane:
 — Open vowels: *a*, *o*, *ă*, *e*, *ô*;
 — Close vowels: *ĩ*, *u*, *i* (*ĩ*), *û*.

From the physiological standpoint the vowels *o*, *ô*, *e* are medial, but if we consider their function they are open vowels, in contrast with the close vowels *ĩ*, *u*, *i* (*ĩ*) *û*.

All the vowels of our idiom can be represented in the following table:

Table 1

According to the place of articulation According to the opening degree	Back		Front	
	nonlabial (unrounded)	labial (rounded)	nonlabial (unrounded)	labial (rounded)
Open (Low)	<i>a</i>		<i>ă</i>	
Medial (Mid)		<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ô</i>
Close (High)	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i> (<i>ĩ</i>)	<i>û</i>

The Vocalism of the First Syllable

The Tatar idiom of Mahmudia uses in the word-initial syllable and in theme 9 vowel phonemes: 4 back — *a*, *ĩ*, *o*, *u* and 5 front vowel phonemes — *ă*, *e*, *i* (*ĩ*), *ô*, *û*.

5. *a*: back, open, nonlabial vowel: *arba* 'cart', *ana* 'mother', *arqadaş* 'friend', *bala* 'child', *qasaba* 'town', etc.

Usually, when following antepalatal consonants, *a* becomes palatalized: *ğăq*-⁵ 'to light', *şăî* 'tea', *şălîş*- 'to work'.

6. *ĩ*: back, close, nonlabial vowel: *iryat* 'servant', *bîzau* 'calf', *qîz* 'girl', *otîr*- 'to remain standing', *tanî*- 'to know'; *ĩ* can also proceed from *u* which is losing

⁵ We have noted in texts only these vowels which possess a very strong palatal timbre.

its labial nature (see par. 8) and in prothesis when the loan word begins with a consonant cluster: *ʿsfat* 'People's Council', *ʿstat* 'state'.

In the vicinity of labial sounds, *i* becomes labialized: *awiz* 'mouth', *otir* — ~ *otur* 'to stand', *tawiq* 'hen'.

After *š*, *ğ*, *y* it becomes palatalized: *šiq-* 'to go out', *ğaşım* 'my life', *ğımirta* 'egg', *sıyr* 'cow'.

Often in medial position, when part of an unaccented syllable, *i* tends to be dropped: *qozılar* 'lambs', *aldına* 'in front of', or to become open: *tıq-* 'to put in' *qırda* 'on the field'.

In the very end of a word, usually it becomes open: *altı* 'six', *anawı* 'someone', *onı* 'him'.

7. *o*: back, medial, labial vowel: *on* 'ten', *otir-* 'to stand', *qol* 'hand', *zor* 'heavy', *bo* 'this'.

Sometimes it tends to become close, especially by accommodation to a close vowel which follows, or when having an unstressed position: *onı* 'him', *unda* 'there', *ular* 'they', *bolayıq* ~ *bulayıq-* 'let us be', *sura* 'after, then', *son* ~ *sun* 'after'⁶.

Following antepalatal consonants, *o* becomes always palatalized: *şorba* 'a kind of soup', *şorap* 'sock, stocking' etc.

Children add to *o-* a prothetic *u*: *uot* 'grass'.

8. *u*: back, close, labial vowel: *un* 'flour', *tut-* 'to catch', *tuu-* 'to be born', etc.; *u* can also occur as a result of the closing of the medial back vowel *o* (see par. 7).

After *č*, *ğ*, *ž*, *y* it becomes palatalized: *ğuma* 'Friday', *ğuu-* 'to wash', *ğülq-* 'to pull up', *župon* 'petticoat', etc.

Sometimes, by nonlabial assimilation, *-u-* tends to lose its labial nature, partially: *tur-*⁷ 'to get up, to sit', *Tuna* 'the Danube', or completely: *sıra* (< *sura* < *sora*) 'afterwards', *sıpra* (< *sofra*) 'table', probably proceeding also from an intermediary form resulted by the closing of *-o-*, *sufra*.

Front Vowels

9. *ä*: front, open, nonlabial vowel: an etymological *ä* is preserved in very few words: *sät* 'hour', *bärlık* 'spring'; in other words it loses completely its palatal nature: *tane* 'piece', *aru^ü* 'well' (adv.).

10. *e*: front, medial, nonlabial vowel: *ep* 'all', *ekı* 'two', *endı* 'now', *ber-* 'to give', *men* 'I', *sene* 'year', etc.

In some cases *e* becomes close, especially by vocalic assimilation, sometimes less: *elim* 'my hand', *yedı* 'seven', sometimes more: *bik* 'very', *yidik* 'I have eaten'⁸.

⁶ See C. Călin, *Cîteva particularități fonetice ale graiului tătăresc din Mahmudia*, „Studii și cercetări lingvistice”, XIX, 4, 1968, p. 422.

⁷ We add a small circlet underneath a vowel in order to indicate that its labial nature is slightly altered.

⁸ Ibid.

Children almost always use to yodizate the *e*-, probably under the influence of the Roumanian language⁹: *iem* 'and', *iekî* 'two', *iep* 'all', *iet-* 'to do'.

11. *i*: front, close, nonlabial vowel. Occurs very rarely (in some verbal forms and common words) and particularly in the presence of antepalatal constrictive consonants: *it* 'dog', *iylik* 'kindness', *ġiber-* 'to send', *šiġ* 'thing', *šipġi* 'chicken'. More frequently occurs in loan words borrowed from Roumanian: *librăriye* 'book-shop', *mašina* 'motorcar', *batik* 'headkerchief', *va^liza* 'valise', *fabrika* 'factory', *magazin* 'shop'.

Frequently *i* is rendered by *ĩ*, which is a nonpalatal, slightly velarized *i*, having an intermediary timbre, between *i* and *ĩ*: *ĩš-* 'to drink', *ĩš* 'work', *ĩste-* 'to will', *yĩrim* 'twenty', *bĩz* 'we', *kĩši* 'man'.

Sometimes (especially when part of an unaccented syllable), *ĩ* tends to be dropped: *ĩšinde* 'inside', *ĩš^oin* 'for', *bĩr* 'one', or is dropped completely: *ste-* 'to will'.

In the presence of labial consonants becomes labialized: *mĩšĩr*¹⁰ 'maize'.

In case that the first syllable coincides with the root and *ĩ* is in final position, this vowel tends to become open: *kĩ* 'that' (conj.), or to be dropped: *ek* 'two'.

12. *o*: front, medial, labial vowel: *ol-* 'to die', *oksiz* 'orphan', *šol* 'field', *kôr-* 'to see', *kôp* 'many', *kôster-* 'to show', etc.

Sometimes it becomes close by regressive assimilation: *olĩr* 'he (or she) will die'.

13. *u*: front, close, labial vowel: *ušin* 'for', *ustime* 'over me', *ġun* 'day', *tuš-* 'to fall', *sūt* 'milk', *yüz* 'hundred', etc.

In word-initial position it tends to be dropped sometimes: *ušünġi* 'the third', *ušeu* 'all three'.

When followed by *i* it becomes a stronger palatal timbre: *üi* 'house', *üilen-* 'to get married', *üiren-* 'to learn'.

Sometimes *u* loses its labial nature: *uš* 'three', *pĩtin* 'all'.

The Vocalism of the Non-first Syllable — Vocalic Harmony

14. The vocalism of non-first syllables, especially that of suffixes is, from the phonologic point of view, less varied than that of the initial syllable, for it is limited to the archiphonemes /A/ and /I/, which are realized, respectively, as *a* and *e*, *i* and *ĩ* — both the former and the latter having different variants: antepalatal or postpalatal, labial or nonlabial, close or open, according to the rules of vocalic harmony.

15. The palatal harmony is very well preserved. There are very numerous examples we might quote; we shall bring but a few: *boqšalardan* 'from the boundless', *šiġlerden* 'from the things', *bolaġaqman* 'I shall be', *eteġekmen* 'I shall do', *torinnarimman* 'with my grandsons', *kĩyimlerimmen* 'with my clothes', *aqšamyasıq* 'until the evening', *mälġeşik* 'until that time', etc.

⁹ This phenomenon has been ascertained particularly among school children.

¹⁰ We add a small circlet over a vowel in order to indicate its labial timbre.

16. Exceptions to the rule of palatal harmony are very rare: *kólmeksa* 'shirt'; more frequently these are met in Roumanian loan words: *filmqa* 'at the film', *traktoristman* 'I am a tractor driver', *librăriyada* 'in the bookshop'.

17. Sometimes *ï*, *ĩ* are maintained: *bolđĩ* 'he (or she) has been', *pittĩ* 'it's finished', *qonıştĩm* 'I have spoken', *ıştĩm* 'I have drunk', *toyımıŹ* 'our wedding', *adetĩmiŹ* 'our custom'; occasionally they become labialized owing to the labial harmony: *turdum* ~ *turđĩm* 'I have arisen', *ğũudĩm* 'I washed myself', *otĩrdĩq* 'we have stood' and *ũyũm* 'my house', *ũstĩmđe* 'over me', *awurliq* 'weight'.

18. An isolated case with *ĩ* is the word *şĩmdĩlik* 'for the moment'.

From the above quoted examples we may conclude that the labial harmony is not limited to the stem only, but it exerts a rounding effect in following syllables as well; perhaps this fact is due to the influence of Turkish language, where the labial vocalic harmony is more strict.

Long Vowels

19. Long vowels result from contraction; *tā* ~ *tā* 'still' (adv.), *sāt* ~ *sāt* 'hour', proceed from a contraction (from *tayĩ* or *taha* and from *sa'at*).

ā < *aha* : *rātlan-* 'to rest' (< *rahatlan-*)

< *aya* : *mā* 'to me' (< *maya*), *tutmā* 'to keep, to have' (dative) (< *tutmaya*), *sĩprā* 'at the table' (< *sĩpraya*), *qonışmā* 'to speak' (dat.) (< *qonışmaya*), etc.

ĩ < *nĩ* : *onnarĩŋ* 'their' (< *onnarnĩŋ*), *babayĩŋ* 'father's' (< *babainĩŋ*).

ē < *ĩm* : *mēn* 'mine' (< *menĩm*)

< *gĩ* : *otmēm* 'my bread', (< *otmegĩm*).

20. Occasionally we have to deal only with the dropping of *γ*, without contraction of the two vowels in a single long one: *saa* 'to you' (< *saya*), *maa* 'to me' (< *maya*), *şĩyarmaan* 'without drawing it out' (< *şĩyarmayan*), *oĩnamaa* 'to play' (dat.) (< *oĩnamaya*), *almaa* 'to take' (dat.) (< *almaya*), etc.

21. A special case is presented by the contraction of a cluster of sounds to a normal-length vowel in the words: *sāt* 'hour' and *bārlik* 'spring'.

Consonant System

The Tatar idiom from Mahmudia has 21 consonant phonemes:

p, *t*, *k* (*q*), *f*, *s*, *ş* (*č*), *h* (*χ*), *c*

b, *d*, *g* (*γ*), *v*, *z*, *ž*, *ğ*, *l* (*l*), *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *r*, *y*.

In final position all voiced consonants become surd with the exception of *-z* in monosyllabic words. However, they become not completely surd, therefore we write the respective voiced consonants with capital letters which designate intermediary sounds between those consonants and their voiceless correlates.

22. *p*: occlusive, bilabial, voiceless: *pĩt-* 'to finish', *pĩqarelĩk* 'indigence', *apaqai* 'wife', *ep* 'all', *şorap* 'sock, stocking', etc. *p* is also met in the following situations:

— when the voiced occlusive *b* becomes surd: *pütin* 'all people' (< *biütin*), *pışpitin* 'we all' (< *bışbitin*);

— proceeding from the almost regularly conversion of *f* in *p*: *apta* 'week' (< *afta*), *sıpti* 'first time' (< *sefte*), *lap* 'word' (< *laf*), etc.

In intervocalic position *p* becomes voiced almost always; the voicing degree is high, therefore we mark *p* by capital letter *B*: *deB* *aıttım* 'I have said', *qartoBın* 'potato' (acc.), etc.

23. *b*: occlusive, bilabial, voiced: *bır* 'one', *bet* 'face', *baba* 'father', *aqraba* 'a relative', *qasaba* 'town', etc.

Occurs also by the voicing of *p* in intervocalic position (see par. 22). Sometimes, when in initial position, becomes unvoiced (see par. 22).

24. *t*: occlusive, dental, voiceless: *tüş-* 'to fall', *top* 'ball', *toi* 'wedding', *apta* 'week', *tut-* 'to catch', *at* 'horse', *ot* 'grass', etc.

In intervocalic position *t* becomes greatly voiced, but seldom: *n'edeğem?* 'what shall I do?'

25. *d*: occlusive, dental, voiced: *de-* 'to say', *kıyındık* 'clothes', *doqı̇z* 'nine', *onda* 'there', *qade* 'cup'. In medial position occurs also by dissimilation of the sound *-l-* (see par. 38).

In medial position *d* tends to be dissimilated: *on^dan* 'from there'.

26. *k*: occlusive, velar, voiceless. According to the rule of consonantal harmony, *k* has different allophones:

— in words of front vowels, when followed by nonpalatal vowels, it is not palatalized: *kır-* 'to go in', *ekı* 'two'; when followed by palatal vowels (*e*, *i*) becomes palatalized: *kel-* 'to come', *kes-* 'to cut', *asker* 'soldier', etc.;

— in words of back vowels *k* is greatly velarized: *qol* 'hand', *qamış* 'reed', *vaqıt* 'possibility, time', *başqa* 'other', *şıq-* 'to go out', *balıq* 'fish', etc.

Under certain conditions *k* is realized as *g*:

(a) in presence of vowels, particularly in intervocalic position: *ges-* 'to cut', *big* 'very', *beg* *arı^ı* 'very well', *eGı* 'two', *teG* *atlıq* 'one-horse cart', *tıyaman* 'I put in';

(b) by accommodation to a voiced consonant which follows: *yoy* *edı* 'it was not', *küzge* *yadar* 'until the autumn', etc.;

(c) by Turkish influence: *git-* 'to walk', *gün* 'day', *gel-* 'to come', etc.

27. *g*: occlusive, velar, voiced; on account of the rules of consonantal harmony it is realized as follows:

— in words of front vowels *g* remains nonpalatalized: *süigüli* 'sweetheart', or becomes palatalized particularly when followed by the palatal vowels *e*, *i*: *ges-* 'to walk, stroll', *get-* 'to walk', *bızge* 'to us', etc.

— in words of back vowels *g* becomes strongly velarized: *ayaş* 'firewood', *ıryat* 'servant', *zayıflayan* 'weakened', *ğaralayan* 'wounded', etc.

It occurs also as a result of the voicing of the consonant *k* in certain situations (see par. 26).

28. *f*: fricative, dentilabial, voiceless; occurs rarely: *zayıf-* 'to weaken'.

More frequently found in Roumanian loan words: *fīn* 'hay', *fabrika* 'factory', *februariye* 'February', *franklik* 'money worth', *'sfat* 'People's Council', *profesor* 'teacher'.

Usually, *f* is changed to *p* (see par. 22) or to *w*: *kawē* 'coffee', *pantou* 'shoe', etc.

29. *v*: fricative, dentilabial, voiced; in words belonging to the Turkic stock occurs mostly as a highly fricative *w* in the beginning of the syllable and as a less fricative *u* at the end of the syllable: *kawem* 'my coffee', *ekeumil* 'we both', *tuu-* 'to be born', *ariu* 'good, well', etc.

Most frequently occurs in loan words borrowed from Turkish or Roumanian: *evlen-* 'to dwell', *var-* 'to go', *valiza* 'valise', *serviš* 'duty, job', etc.

In some of these loan words *v* appears also as *u*: *kolektiu* 'collective farm', *eu* 'house', etc.

30. *s*: fricative, dental, voiceless: *sene* 'year', *sekiz* 'eight', *süi-* 'to love', *iste-* 'to will', *sora-* 'to ask', *yasa-* 'to make', *kes-* 'to cut', etc.

s appears also instead of the constrictive antepalatal *š*, probably under Nogay influence: *šimdi* 'now', *kisī* 'man', *tasu* 'cart'.

Sometimes *-s-* undergoes dissimilation: *epi* 'all, everybody' (< *epsī*).

31. *z*: fricative, dental, voiced: *zaman* 'time', *pazar* 'Sunday', *qiz* 'girl', *b'raz* 'a few', *yüz* 'hundred', *biz* 'we', etc.

In final position, especially in the (personal) predicative suffix of the first person plural and in the possessive suffix of the first person plural, *z* becomes surd: *köremil* 'we see', *ašaimil* 'we eat', *üyimil* 'our house', *toyimil* 'our wedding', etc.

The purest *z* is to be met in monosyllabic words: *biz* 'we', *qiz* 'girl', etc.

32. *š*: 'fricative, palatal, voiceless: *ši* 'thing', *beš* 'five', *šal-* 'to sing, to play', *aša-* 'to eat', *nišan* 'wedding', *qamiš* 'reed', etc.

š is variously realized:

(1) under Nogay influence it is converted into *s* (see par. 30);

(2) under the influence of the Turkish phonetism (by using certain hypercorrect forms) it is converted into *č*: *gonič-* 'to speak'.

The phoneme *č* occurs only in loan words: *Tulča* '(< Turk. *Tulça* or Roum. *Tulcea*), *čelulozā* (< Roum. *celulozā*), *končet* (< Roum. *concediu*), *pročent* (< Roum. *procent*), etc.

Sometimes *č* looses its occlusion and becomes converted into *š*: *šai* (< Turk. *çay*), *serviš* (< Roum. *serviciu*).

33. *ž*: fricative, palatal, voiced; it occurs only in words borrowed from Roumanian: *župon* 'petticoat', *aranžat* 'arranged', *kanotaž* 'rowing sport', *montaž* 'montage', etc.

34. For *č* see par. 32.

35. *ğ*: affricate, palatal, voiced: *ğiber-* 'to send', *ğür-* 'to go', *ğeğelik* 'night dress', *ğaz* 'summer', *oğā* 'mullah', *quwanağaqma* 'I shall be glad', etc. Under Nogay influence some forms with *y-* are pronounced with *ğ-*: *ğer* 'place', *ğas* 'age', *ğet-* 'to come, to reach', so that the field of the use of the sound *ğ* becomes enlarged without modification of the respective phonologic system¹¹.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 423.

36. *h*: fricative, velar, voiceless; is seldom met in the idiom. We dispose of two samples only:

— for words belonging to the front class: *hep* 'all, whole';

— for words belonging to the back class: *boχlīq* 'dirt', whose *χ* is a variant of *q*.

In word-initial position it is dropped usually: *erkez* 'each one', *epsī* 'all, everybody', *apta* 'week', *asta* 'ill', etc.

37. *c*: affricate, dental, voiceless; occurs only in loan words borrowed from Roumanian: *situ¹aciya* 'situation', *šedinca* 'meeting', *piyaca* 'market'.

38. *l*: lateral, alveolar, voiced; here also we can distinguish, according to the consonantal harmony, two kinds of articulation:

— alveolar *l* in words of front vowels: *ale ilā* 'but', *šöl* 'field', etc.;

— velar *l* in words of back vowels; *saṭlīq* 'health', *aqīl* 'mind', *bol-* 'to be', *qol* 'hand', etc.

Often, under Roumanian influence, *l* in words of back vowels is replaced by *l*: *lap* 'word', *balaban* 'big', *sal-* 'to put', etc. In medial position *l* is very unstable:

(1) undergoes dissimilation: *kīyīmdīk* 'clothing' (< *kīyīmlīk*), *baldar* 'children' (< *ballar*);

(2) undergoes assimilation: *kelīndīk* 'fabric for bride dress' (< *kelīnlīk*), especially in plural suffixes: *onnar* 'they' (< *onlar*), *pītīrgenner* 'they have finished' (< *pītīrgenler*);

(3) before a velar:

(a) tends to be dropped: *bo¹yan* '(having) been' (< *bolyan*), *šalyīğilar* 'minstrels' (< *šalyīğilar*);

(b) or is dropped actually: *keğen* '(having) come' (< *kelğen*), *sayan* '(having) put' (< *salyan*), etc.

39. *m*: nasal, bilabial, voiced: *men* 'I', *šīmdī* 'now', *kīm* 'who', *mīnda* 'here', *namaz* 'prayer', *adam* 'man', etc.

About *ben* instead of *men* (see par. 60).

40. *n*: nasal, dental, voiced: *nene* 'mother', *sene* 'year', *sen* 'thou', *namaz* 'prayer', *ana* 'mother', *un* 'flour', etc.

-*n*- occurs also as a result of assimilation: *šīndī* 'now' (< *šīmdī*) *nīšannī* 'fiancé, fiancée' (< *nīšanlī*), *torīnnar* 'grandsons' (< *torīnlar*), etc. (see also par. 38).

In medial position tends to be dropped: *kelğēⁿde* 'when he (she) came' (< *kelğende*), *mīngēⁿmen* '(having) got on' (< *mīngēnmen*) or is completely dropped: *sora* ~ *sura* 'afterwards'.

In final position, in the personal pronoun of the first person singular, in the personal-predicative suffix of the first person singular and in the sociative-instrumental postposition, it is always dropped, probably by syntactical phonetics¹².

41. *ŋ*: nasal, velar, voiced; occurs especially in the genitival suffix: *nīŋ* // *nīŋ*.

¹² Ibid., p. 422.

Sometimes, in contracted genitival suffixes, *ŋ* loses its velar quality: *mēn* 'mine' *qozin* 'of the lamb', etc.

42. *r*: liquid, dental, voiced; in word-initial position we find it in loan words either of Arab origin: *rāzī bol-* 'to be satisfied', *rekat* 'time', or of Roumanian origin: *republika* 'republic', *repeticiye* 'rehearsal', etc.

In words belonging to the Turkic stock *r* appears in medial and final position,

Table 2

According to the manner of articulation \ According to the place of articulation		Bilabial	Dentilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Antepalatal	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal	Uvular
Occlusive	voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>			<i>k̟</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>q</i>
	voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>			<i>g̟</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricative	voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>ʃ</i>		<i>χ</i>	<i>h</i>	
	voiced		<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>ʒ</i>		<i>γ</i>		
Affricate	voiceless			<i>c</i>		<i>č</i>				
	voiced					<i>ʤ</i>				
Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>ŋ</i>		
Lateral					<i>l</i>			<i>ɭ</i>		
Vibrant				<i>r</i>						
Semivowel		<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>			

particularly in verbal stems and plural suffixes: *ber-* 'to give', *kir-* 'to go in', *qara-* 'to see', *otur-* 'to stand', *kışiler* 'people', *qozlar* 'lambs', etc.

Sometimes, at the end of a syllable, it tends to be dropped; the preceding vowel remains unaltered: *bar-* 'to have'.

43. *y*: fricative, palatal, voiced; like the sound *v*, it has two allophones: *y* more fricative at the beginning of the syllable: *yemek* 'food', *toyım* 'my wedding'; and *ɣ* less fricative at the end of the syllable: *üi* 'house', *ai* 'moon', *apaqai* 'woman', etc.

In word-initial position it can also occur as a result of a yodization (see par. 10) or as an effect of the conversion of *ǵ* into *y*, probably under Nogay influence (see par. 35).

We give further a detailed synoptic classification of the consonant phonemes with their allophones:

Geminate Consonants

44. Geminate consonants in the stem of a word are rare; we can bring but a single example: *ellī* 'fifty'. In exchange, they are very frequent in suffixed words, where they proceed either from juxtaposition of the initial consonant of a suffix to the final consonant of the stem, or from consonantal assimilation: *nenemme* 'with my mother', *torinnarimman* 'with my grandsons', *kettī* 'he (she) has left', *attiq* 'we have thrown', *ǵulqqan* '(having) pulled up', *tīqqanda* 'having put in', *nīšanni* 'fiancé' 'fiancée', *onnar* 'they', *kelīnnik* 'fabric for bride dress', etc.

Phonetic Accidents

45. Prothesis

(a) vocalic prothesis: *īstat* 'state', *īsfat* 'People's Council';

(b) consonantal prothesis: *īekī* 'two', *īem* 'and', *īerten* 'in the morning', *ūot* 'grass', etc.

46. Epenthesis

Vocalic epenthesis occurs only in loan words borrowed from Roumanian, in order to avoid consonant-clusters: *adimistrator* 'administrator', *inītimplare* 'happening', *metīre* 'metre', etc.

47. Aphaeresis

(a) vocalic aphaeresis usually is yet but a tendency: *īšīn* 'for', *īste-* ~ *ste-* 'to wish', *īšinden* 'from inside', *ūšīngī* 'the third', *ūšeū* 'all three', etc. (or see par. 11 and 13);

(b) consonantal aphaeresis (see par. 36).

48. Syncope

1. The dropping of close vowels (usually unstressed):

(a) in the first syllable: *pītin* 'all, whole', *bīraz* 'a few', *bīlai* 'so';

(b) in the second syllable: *kīšīler* 'people', *kelīnim* 'my bride', *elīmme* 'with my hand', *toyīmīz* 'our wedding', *šaqīralar* 'they call', *aldīna* 'before', etc.

(c) in the third syllable: *adetīmīZ* 'our custom', *saulīyīmīZ* 'our health';

(d) in monosyllabic words: *bīr* 'one'.

2. The dropping of open vowels is rare: *arba* 'cart', *ballar* 'children'; other times it is but a tendency: *bal^aban* 'big'.

49. Apocope

Vocalic apocope occurs frequently, especially because of the rapid rhythm of the speech: *īekī* 'two', *n'e|teme?* 'what shall I do?', *n'ūšūn* 'what for?', etc.

50. Assimilation

(1) Vocalic assimilation:

(a) progressive:

$a - o > a - a$: *saksafon* 'saxophone' (< *saksofon*),

$\ddot{i} - e > \ddot{i} - \text{e}$: *köster¹diler* 'they have shown' (< *kösterdiler*),

$i - \ddot{u} > \ddot{i} - \ddot{i}$: *pışpıtın* 'we all' (< *bızbütün*),

$o - \ddot{i} > o - \ddot{i} \sim u$: *doqız² ~ doquz* 'nine' (< *doqız*), *otır* — $\sim$ *otur* — 'to stand';

(b) regressive:

$a - e > e - e$: *ğümertesı* 'Saturday' (< *ğümartesi*),

$e - \ddot{i} > \text{e} - \ddot{i}$: (see par. 10),

$\ddot{i} - a > \ddot{i} - a$: *qırdan* 'from the field' (< *qirdan*),

$o - \ddot{i} > \text{o} \sim u - \ddot{i}$: (see par. 7),

$\text{o} - \ddot{i} > \text{o} - \ddot{i}$: (see par. 12).

(2) Progressive consonantal assimilation:

$ml > mn$: *kıymnik* 'clothing' (< *kıymlik*),

$nd > nn$: *onnan* 'from there' (< *ondan*),

$nl > nd$: (see par. 38),

$nl > nn$: (see par. 38).

51. Dissimilation

(1) Vocalic dissimilation:

(a) progressive: $e - e > e - a$: *kölmeksa* 'shirt' (< *kölmekse*);

(b) regressive: $o - o > a - o$: *migrafon* 'microphone' (< *mikrafon*).

(2) Consonantal dissimilation:

(a) progressive: $ll > ld$: (see par. 38),

$ml > md$: (see par. 38);

(b) total:

— tendency to total dissimilation: (see par. 25),

— total dissimilation (see par. 30).

(3) Syllabic dissimilation *gez¹dirdiler* 'they took me for a walk' (< *gezdirdiler*), *yırım* 'twenty' (< *yığırım*).

52. The Stress

Roughly speaking the accentuation is made according to the general rules valid for all Turkic languages¹³.

(1) Initial and especially final syllables tend to be stressed, whereas median ones are atonic. Here are some exceptions:

(a) the stress is displaced from the last to a median syllable: *geğel¹gi* 'her night dress' instead of *geğeli¹gi*;

¹³ Several of these rules were stated by L. Bazin in *Structures et tendances communes des langues turques (Sprachbau)* in: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. I, 1959, p. 14.

(b) the stress is shifted from the last to the initial syllable: *ˈekʲ* 'two', instead of *eˈkʲ*; *ˈaldʲna* 'in front of' instead of *aldʲˈna*;

(c) the stress is transferred from the first to the last syllable: *buˈɡʲn* 'today' instead of *ˈbugʲn*.

(2) When suffixes are added to the words, the place of the stress is changed; in case that words receive desinences indicating the past tense of the VI person, the stress does not rest on the plural suffix, but it remains on the suffix of the perfect tense: *tašlaˈdʲlar* 'they have let', *oɲnaˈdʲlar* 'they have played', *aˈdʲlar* 'they have taken', *qaraˈdʲlar* 'they have looked', *deˈdʲler* 'they have said', *ɡiberˈdʲler* 'they have sent', *kösterˈdʲler* 'they have shown'.

(3) The accentuation of loan words borrowed from Roumanian (see par. 80).

Morphology

Word-Formation

53. Among diminutive forms we note two which are not met in other Tatar idioms from Dobrudja: *šipʲiʲ* 'chicken' instead of *šipʲše*, probably formed by means of a Nogay diminutive suffix, and *kışke* 'little, small', instead of *kışkene*.

54. The suffix *-lʲq/-lʲk* has the phonetic variants *-lʲq̇/-lʲk̇* (see par. 17, 18) and *-dʲq/-dʲk* (see par. 38).

The Noun

55. The plural is formed by means of the suffixes *-lar/-ler* (with their variants *-nar/-ner*, see par. 38).

The plural of *bala* 'child' is irregular: *ballar* and *baldar* 'children' instead of *balalar*.

56. The suffix indicating a belonging has a very singular application in the following case: *klasasi profesor* 'the class teacher', which does not correspond to any type of *izafet*. It is to be noted that this construction is met among children; the explanation is that children know insufficiently Tatar grammar.

57. Genitival suffix is often contracted (see par. 19).

58. Dative suffix is similar to all other Tatar idioms from Dobrudja. Sometimes the Turkish dative suffix is used: *mana* 'to me', *pazara* 'to the market', *ayalarımıza* 'to our brothers'.

59. Ablative suffix is also identical in all Tatar idioms from Dobrudja. It renders sometimes the normal construction: dative + *dayır*: *toyımdan* instead of *toiya dayır* 'about my wedding'.

The Pronoun

60. The personal pronoun of the 1st person sing. *men* occurs very frequently in colloquial language in the form *me*, resulted from the dropping of *-n* probably by syntactical phonetics (see par. 40).

Sometimes we meet it also in the Turkish form *ben*, especially among speakers between 20 and 30 with a bit of learning, who strive to speak as literarily as possible.

In the 1st and 2nd person of the singular, in genitive and dative, the personal pronoun is usually contracted (see par. 19, 20). The same phenomenon of contraction can be found in the sixth person in genitive (see par. 19).

The Adverb

61. Besides the usual forms *bo qadar* and *o qadar* 'so much' existing in all Tatar idioms from Dobrudja, we found the adverbs *o taqıl* (the same sense as above) and *atit*, the latter borrowed from Roumanian and used especially by children.

The Numeral

62. Cardinal numerals are identical with those of other Tatar idioms, save for *ekı* 'two' and *doqız* 'nine', which show a Turkish phonetic aspect: *eki*, *doquz*.

The Verb

63. In indicative present of the 3rd person singular is also used the suffix *-dī* ~ *-dī* of Nogay type: *şıyadī* 'he (she) comes out', *şaqıradī* 'he (she) calls', *keledī* 'he (she) comes', *tartadī* 'he (she) draws', etc.

64. The infinitive suffix *-maya* occurs very frequently in contracted form *-mā* (see par. 19) or in shorted form *-maa* (see par. 20).

Postpositions

65. Sociative-instrumental postposition *-man/-men* 'with' occurs very often in the language in the form *-ma/-me*, as a result of the dropping of *-n* probably by syntactical phonetics.

Syntax

66. The types of *izafet* II and III do not get mixed. Besides the cases of *izafet* III, as for example: *o otnı ğülqqan sora, onıñ mısır bar* 'having pulled up the grass, the maize is left to it (to the earth)', *şaitip qozını qaşqırnıñ awızından qutardım* 'so I rescued the lamb from the wolf's mouth', etc., we meet cases of *izafet* II: *bal-darım parasın a'lama* 'I take my children's money', *april ayında onbırinde qurban baıram boldı* 'on April 11th it was the Qurban Bayram', etc.

The appositive form of the type of *izafet* I is very rare: *meni bir tiliim ötmekme qarār* 'will look after me with a slice of bread'.

67. The agreement of the predicate with the subject is very seldom made. In addition to normal constructions of the type: *aqaiqlarman apaqaiqlar bir yerde otirdilar* 'the women stayed in the same place as the men', where the agreement between predicate and subject is obvious, we meet very frequently constructions where the subject is in plural whereas the predicate is in singular: *ballar školaa kete* 'the children go to school', *kışiler soraı* 'people ask', *şıiler de şıyadi* 'and the items get out', *keledi bizge türlü — türlü pıesalar* 'we are sent all sort of pieces', etc.

68. The relation of copulative coordination between two main clauses, realized in the speech usually by parataxis, is obtained, particularly in children's speech, by means of the conjunction *em* ~ *iem* 'and', probably under the influence of the Roumanian conjunction *și*: *tuttim babamın ğerın iem babai ketti aşamaya* 'I took the father's place and father went to eat', *aldim baltanı iem kestim bir-ekı tane ayaş* 'I took the axe and I split some wood', *şıyardım tawıqlarnı iem kettim almaa iekı qopqa suu* 'I took the fowls out and went to draw two pailfuls of water', etc.

69. Subordinate conclusive clauses are rendered very often by means of parataxis: *anam meni taşladi; bir özım qaldım* 'mother left me; I was left alone', *bir awurlıq yoq üstimde; beg aruı keşiremen* 'there is no difficulty upon me; I live very well', *situ aciyanı başqa boldı: traktorist kirdik* 'our condition changed: I joined the tractor drivers'.

70. Direct and explicative subordinate object clauses are introduced by means of the conjunction *kı* 'that'.

(1) Direct subordinate object clauses: *o maa dedi kı ne üiü bulayıq* 'he proposed to me to get married', *dediler kı keliyik şalt* 'they said us to come quickly', *aıtti bir bala kı şaqıradı meni kançe lariyaıya* 'a boy said I was called to the staff room', etc.

(2) Explicative subordinate clauses: *bıraz ken edı kı bik zayıflanyan edım* 'it was a little too loose-fitting for I had grown very thin', *ballarnı ne čertat ietti kı n'üşün kelmedi şalt* 'the children were reproved because they have not come quickly', etc.

71. The order of words in the sentence is often changed under the influence of the Roumanian language. We give further some cases of infringement of the specific sentence arrangement of the words peculiar to Turkic languages.

(1) Predicate set:

(a) before the subject: *sora kirdi Mörğel* 'then entered the (people from the village of) Murighiol', *aıtti bir bala* 'said a boy', etc.;

(b) before the direct object: *bız töbeledik a optanı* 'we have beaten the eighth form', *oınadı sırba* 'he danced sırba', *yasadıq repeticiı*, 'we have made rehearsals', etc.;

(c) before the adverb of place: *sāt bešte bardım gospodāriyā* 'at five o'clock I have been at the collective farm', *sora kirdik klasaya* 'then I entered the classroom', *sora putın ballar ketti üiğe* 'then all children went home', etc.;

(d) before the adverb of manner: *boldı beş ekiğe* '(the score) was 5 to 2'.

(2) The infinitive (dat.) (-*maa/-mee* ~ -*mā/-mē*) introducing a direct object clause, is sometimes set after the predicate of the governing clause: *olar kettī oınamaa aldīna* 'they left in order to play on'.

Vocabulary

In order to facilitate the emphasizing of lexical peculiarities of the Tatar idiom from Mahmudia, we classify the word material into the following four groups:

- Turkic words,
- Words borrowed from Roumanian,
- Words borrowed from Turkish,
- Words borrowed from Nogay.

Turkic Words

72. Words receiving a meaning which differs from the original one:

aldīna ~ *aldīna* 'from now on, henceforth': *aldīna (aldīna) saı bosam*.

bol- 'to be' is sometimes used instead of *bar-* 'to have', with the same construction: *onıñ altı nesı bola*.

kıyımnik ~ *kıyımdık* 'clothing, coat': *erkeǵe hırer kıyımnik (~ kıyımdık) ...*

et- synonymous with *yasa-* 'to make' is also used instead of *şalış-* 'to work': *bo yerlerin beg arıǵ etemıǵ*.

şade 'only' is synonymous with *ep* 'all' in the following construction: *şade o qamıştan şıyadı*.

şıǵ 'thing': *nışannı ma akettım şıǵların* can mean, when in dative and following motion verbs, 'there': *onı ketıremıǵ şıǵe*.

tıq- 'to put in' can also mean, in imitation of the Roumanian word *băga*, 'to engage, to put in a place, to give somebody an appointment': *adimistrator tıqtılar*.

tur- 'to get up' can also mean *otur-* 'to stand, to sit': *üıde turdı doquz gün*.

vaqıt 'time' is sometimes used with a new meaning 'possibility': *babamıǵ anamıǵ vaqıtı bolmadı, pıqarelıkten*.

73. Tatar formation:

bırlık 'Spring', proceeding from *bır* (< *bahar*) 'Summer' + denominative suffix *-lık*.

74. Synonyms:

ana baba and *nene baba* 'parents',

apaqai and *qoşaq* 'wife',

endır- and *tuı-* 'to give birth to, to bear',

ep and *sade* 'all',

o taqıl and *o qadar* 'so much',

tıle- and *ıste-* 'to demand',

zaman and *vaqıt* 'time'.

75. Phrases:

adam bol- 'to grow adult',

öksiz ber- 'to make an orphan',

özim başım özim üi 'me aldım 'I have moved to my house'; interesting is the formation *özim başım* proceeding from *öz başı* 'himself' + possessive suffix of the 1st person singular *-m*.

Words Borrowed from Roumanian

76. The penetration of a great number of Roumanian words in the Tatar idiom under discussion here can be easily understood if we reflect upon the ethnic structure of the town inhabitants and upon the reciprocal proportion of its ethnic component parts¹⁴.

Living together with Roumanians in the same place, the Tatars learn Roumanian language and use both, their own and the Roumanian language, dependent upon circumstances. As a result, many Roumanian lexical elements were adopted by the Tatars. Most of these elements are common to all the speakers, irrespective of age.

A considerable part of the loan words is found only among young people, while old people use Tatar correlates of those.

(a) Terms referring to agriculture or in connection with it: *fîn* 'hay' (< Roum. *fîn*); *gospodă^lriya* 'collective farm, co-operative farm' (< Roum. *gospodărie*); *gunoⁱ* 'dung' (< Roum. *gunoi*); *kolektiv ~ kolekti^u* 'collective farm, co-operative farm' (< Roum. *colectiv, colectivă*); *kolektivist ~ kolektiviz* 'co-operator farmer' (< Roum. *colectivist*); *kontraq* 'contract' (< Roum. *contract*); *traktorist* 'tractor driver' (< Roum. *tractorist*).

(b) Terms referring to clothing: *batik* 'head kerchief' (< Roum. *batic*); *dan^ltela* 'lace' (fabric) (< Roum. *dantelă*); *župon* 'petticoat' (< Roum. *jupon*); *kombinizon* 'chemise' (< Roum. *combinezon*); *na^lilon* 'nylon' (< Roum. *nailon*); *pantou* 'shoe' (< Roum. *pantof*); *vereğeta* 'wedding ring' (< Roum. *verighetă*).

(c) Terms designating objects of frequent use: *gaz* 'kerosene' (< Roum. *gaz*); *masa* 'table' (< Roum. *masă*); *metru* 'metre' (< Roum. *metru*); *va^liza* 'valise' (< Roum. *valiză*).

(d) Terms referring to nutriments: *bilion* 'tomato sauce' (< Roum. *bulion*); *kartof ~ kartop* 'potato' (< Roum. *cartof*); *malai* 'maize flour' (< Roum. *mălai*).

(e) Words designating means of conveyance: *mašina* 'motor car' (< Roum. *mașină*); *tren* 'train' (< Roum. *tren*).

(f) Words belonging to the social-administrative and political terminology: *adimistrator* 'administrator' (< Roum. *administrator*); *baraž* 'dam' (< Roum. *baraj*); *čentru* 'centre' (< Roum. *centru*); *kilometre* 'kilometre' (< Roum. *kilometru*); *ko^l-manda* 'command' (< Roum. *comandă*); *končen^ltrare* 'concentration' (< Roum. *concentrare*); *končet* 'leave' (< Roum. *concediu*); *konkurs* 'competition' (< Roum. *concurs*); *librăriyā* 'bookshop' (< Roum. *librărie*); *magazin* 'shop' (< Roum. *magazin*); *partit* 'party' (< Roum. *partid*); *piyaca* 'market' (< Roum. *piată*); *pre-*

¹⁴ К э л и н, *Татарский говор*, р. 69.

şe'dint ~ *preşe'dinte* 'president' (< Roum. *preşedinte*); *romîn* 'Roumanian' (< Roum. *român*); *serviş* 'job, duty' (< Roum. *serviciu*); *şfat* 'People's Council' (< Roum. *şfat*); *stat* 'state' (< Roum. *stat*).

(g) Terms referring to the work: *basqu* ~ *baskula* 'weighing machine' (< Roum. *basculă*); *čelu'loză* 'cellulose' (< Roum. *celuloză*); *doktor* 'physician' (< Roum. *doctor*); *fabrika* 'factory' (< Roum. *fabrică*); *gëstio'nară* 'woman manager' (< Roum. *gestionară*); *norma* 'work which has to be done in a certain time' (< Roum. *normă*); *p'iesa* 'component part of a machine' (< Roum. *piesă*); *pročent* 'percentage' (< Roum. *procent*).

(h) Loan words from school terminology: *a'tenciye* 'attention' (< Roum. *atenție*); *artmetika* 'arithmetic' (< Roum. *aritmetică*); *ekser'čiciü* 'exercise' (< Roum. *exercițiu*); *ğanta* 'portfolio' (< Roum. *geantă*); *gălă'ğiya* 'noise, tumult' (< Roum. *gălăgie*); *ıntrebăr* 'questions' (< Roum. *întrebări*); *kanče'lari'ya* 'staff room' (< Roum. *cancelarie*); *kămin* 'club' (< Roum. *cămin*); *klasa* 'form' (< Roum. *clasă*); *lekciya* 'lesson' (< Roum. *lecție*); *profe'soară* 'schoolmistress' (< Roum. *profesoară*); *profesor* 'schoolmaster' (< Roum. *profesor*); *škola* ~ *škoala* 'school' (< Roum. *școală*).

(i) Words referring to childrens' games and sport: *fotbal* 'football' (< Roum. *fotbal*); *fundaş* 'back' (< Roum. *fundaş*); *gol* 'goal' (< Roum. *gol*); *praštiya* 'sling' (< Roum. *praștie*); *set* 'game' (< Roum. *set*); *volü* 'volleyball' (< Roum. *volei*); *kanotaž* 'rowing' (< Roum. *canotaj*).

(j) Words referring to the cultural and artistic life: *akordeon* 'accordion' (< Roum. *acordeon*); *dans* 'dance' (< Roum. *dans*); *film* 'film' (< Roum. *film*); *difuzor* 'loudspeaker' (< Roum. *difuzor*); *kor* 'choir' (< Roum. *cor*); *saksafon* 'saxophone' (< Roum. *saxofon*); *sırba* 'sırba' (a kind of folk dance) (< Roum. *sırba*); *spek'takol* 'show' (< Roum. *spectacol*); *toba* 'drum' (< Roum. *tobă*), *migrafon* 'microphone' (< Roum. *microfon*).

(k) Terms which designate abstract notions: *in'timplare* 'happening' (< Roum. *întîmplare*); *situ'aciya* 'situation' (< Roum. *situație*); *şe'dinca* 'meeting' (< Roum. *ședință*).

(l) Other terms: *an* 'year' (< Roum. *an*); *a'pril* ~ *a'pril'e* 'April' (< Roum. *aprilie*); *febru'ariye* 'February' (< Roum. *februarie*); *naş* 'godfather' (< Roum. *naş*); *primda* 'first time, at first' (< Roum. pop. *prima*).

77. Besides some of these terms, occur also native Tatar words, used by the older generation; as a matter of fact, the resulting synonymous couples are due to the young generation which picks up very easily Roumanian words and adopts several of them in its vocabulary. So they got more or less exact synonyms, as for instance: *fîn* and *şot* 'hay', *gunoı* and *boçlıq* 'dung', *piyaca* and *pazar* 'market', etc.

78. We noticed also the fact that especially young people, though they may use as well Tatar synonyms, particularly in colloquial language they call for Roumanian words; when necessary, they may adopt whole lexical units in order to facilitate the communication: *loku_n'tiı* 'first place', *konkursul de ye'r* 'the yesterday competition', *masa'mare* 'wedding feast', *oınadım a optama* 'we played with the 8th form',

ține știye kıştigă 'who knows wins' (a form of competition), *imn de stat al Republicii Populare Române* 'anthem of the People's Republic of Roumania', *șkoala de șapte ani* 'from the seven years-school', etc.

79. As to phonetics, loan words are introduced under various phonetic forms:

(1) Most of them maintain their Roumanian phonetism; thus:

— they render possible the affirmation of sounds which have a rather unstable condition: *ž*: *župon* 'petticoat', *montaž* 'montage';

— they contribute to the enrichment of sound stock by new sounds: *c'piyaca* 'market', *se'dinca* 'meeting'.

(2) Some words are borrowed in their folk form, which may be dialectal or corrupt: *kombinizon* (< *combinizon*), *adimistrator* (< *adimistrador*), etc.; in some cases we got Tatar forms: *președint*, *-e* (< *președinte*), whereas in several others it is the form with article which is borrowed: *șkoala* (< *școala*), *konkursul* (< *concursul*), or the plural form: *an* (< *ani*), *repeticiî* (< *repetiții*), etc.

(3) Most of the loan words are adapted to the phonetic characteristics of the idiom; generally, they undergo a more or less deep transformation which makes them fit to Tatar phonetic rules: vocalic harmony, vocalic prothesis, epenthesis, etc.

(a) Vocalic harmony: *kolektivde* 'in the collective farm', *lekciyalarım* 'my lessons', *masaya* 'at table', *normadan* 'from the quota', *servișke* 'on duty', *ședincamîž* 'our meeting'. Very few loan words make an exception to this rule: *traktoristman* 'I am a tractor driver', *filmqa* 'at the film'.

(b) Vocalic prothesis: *stat* 'state', *șfat* 'People's Council house'.

(c) Epenthesis: *met're* 'metre'¹⁵.

80. As for the way words borrowed from Roumanian are stressed, one can distinguish between the following situations:

(1) Roumanian accent and Tatar accent coincide: *ba'tik* (< Roum. *ba'tic*); *bili'on* (< Roum. *buli'on*); *kolek'tiv* ~ *kolek'tiŋ* (< Roum. *colec'tiv*); *kolekti'vist* (< Roum. *colecti'vist*); *trakto'rist* (< Roum. *tracto'rist*); *žū'pon* (< Roum. *ju'pon*).

(2) Roumanian accent does not coincide with the Tatar one; most of Roumanian words get Tatar accent: *gan'ta* (< Roum. *geantă*); *piya'ca* (< Roum. *piață*); *repetici'ya* (< Roum. *repetiție*);

(3) Roumanian original accent is maintained: *dan'tela* (< Roum. *dan'telă*); *gir'lanta* (< Roum. *ghir'landă*); *na'ilon* (< Roum. *nailon*); *va'liza* (< Roum. *valiză*); *șe'dinca* (< Roum. *șe'dință*).

81. With respect to morphology, one can distinguish between the following aspects:

(1) Words borrowed from Roumanian are in general integrated in the Tatar morphological system: *kăminge* 'to the club', *șkoladan* 'from school', *batigî* (her (hand)kerchief', *gantam* 'my portfolio', *profesorlar* 'schoolmasters', etc.; there are, however, exceptions: *întrebăr* 'questions', *repeticiî* 'rehearsals'. Roumanian words in

¹⁵ For other modes of phonetic adaptation of Roumanian words, see the chapter on Phonology.

plural occur particularly in children's speech, for they render the words so as they hear them in Roumanian.

(2) Partial loan translations are featured by verbs formed with *et-* 'to do' and *bol-* 'to be': *čertat* ⁱ*et-* 'to reprove', *kontraktat et-* 'to contract for', *sunat et-* 'to ring', *invitat bol-* 'to be invited', *mirat bol-* 'to wonder', as well as by verbal locutions: *mirat qal-* 'to be left astonished', *ko^lmanda ber-* 'to give order', etc. Sometimes the phrases of this type receive a new sense, or a sense near to the original one: *povestit et-* 'to explain', *ko^lmanda ber-* 'to give order'¹⁶.

From the above-quoted facts we may infer that the process of the Roumanian influence on the Tatar idioms in Dobrudja is in full swing; loan words borrowed from Roumanian aid to the making up of a rich and manifold vocabulary answering the modern communication necessities of the Tatars.

Words Borrowed from Turkish

82. The relative great number of Turkish loan words in consideration to the complete absence of Turkish inhabitants in Mahmudia is due firstly to the proximity of the town of Tulcea, where a comparative great number of Turks live. One can distinguish between two classes of loan words:

(1) Terms of kinship: *aya* 'older brother' (< Turk. *ağa*, Tat. *aqa*); *qarī* 'wife' (< Turk. *karı*, Tat. *apaqai*); *uśaq* 'child' (< Turk. *uşak*, Tat. *bala*).

(2) Other terms: *el* 'hand' (< Turk. *el*, Tat. *qol*); *ye-* 'to eat' (< Turk. *ye-*, Tat. *aşa-*).

83. Usually, Turkish loan words are not adapted to phonetic characteristics of the Tatar speech; they maintained their own phonetism without getting contradictory to the Tatar one. There are, however, exceptions: *el* 'hand', *qarīlar* 'wives', etc.

84. With respect to vocabulary, the fact of borrowing words from Turkish has led to a considerable number of synonyms like: *el* and *qol*, 'hand', *qarī* and *apaqai* 'wife', *uśaq* and *bala* 'child', *ye-* and *aşa-* 'to eat', or to doublets like: *ben*, *men* 'I', *ġit-*, *k'et-* 'to walk', *var-*, *bar-* 'to go', *yeni*, *ġani* 'new'¹⁷.

85. Words borrowed from Nogay: *qośaq* 'wife' (< Nog. *qosaq*, Tat. *apaqai*); *quzat* 'pasture' (< Nog. *quzat*, Tat. *otlaq*).

¹⁶ It is possible that these meanings exist also among the Roumanian inhabitants of Mahmudia.

¹⁷ For other Turkish phonetisms, see the chapter on Phonology.