

TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YAYINLARI

TÜRK MOĞOL
ARAŞTIRMALARI
PROF. DR. TUNCER GÜLENSOY ARMAĞANI

Editör
Doç. Dr. Bülent GÜL

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TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YAYINLARI

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Sunuş

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Elinizdeki eser, yıllarını Türklük biliminin sorunlarına adanmış, emekli olmasına rağmen, tarihten Türkler birgün yurtlarına geri gelip kendilerine özgü cihan medeniyetini yeniden yaratır diye çarpınan değerli üyemiz Prof. Dr. Tuncer Gülensoy için hazırlanmıştır. Dileğinin gerçekleşmesi elbet ecdat ruhlarının baktıyarlık duyacağı bir gelecek olacaktır. Armağan eserde, bilim adamlarımızın, onun için kaleme aldığı bilimsel yazılar yer almaktadır.

Zamanımızda ilmi emeğin ne bir karşılığı var, ne de yapılanların ne anlama geldiğini söyleyecek dil var. 'Kapıldım gidiyorum baktımın rüzgârına' şarkısı bütün ruhlara sinmiş, günümüzü milyonların harcandığı şenliklerle, karpuz ve kiraz festivalleri ve milyon dolarların sebil edildiği futbolcu transferleri ile süsleyip mahalle dedikoduları ile zamanı tüketmeye alıştırdık.

Her birimiz dünyayı idare edecek donanımdaymıyız gibi hareket etmeyi, alemi güldürmeyi adam olmak sanırız ama, çok sevdiğimiz ecdatın yarattığı beşbin yıllık medeniyetten, bilinçten ve tarihten bibebriz, ne çıkar, varın öyle olsun, halimize alem gülsün bunda ne beis olur a canım, şimdi gemi yürüyor. Fikret bir süründe, 'Yıyın efendüler yiyin, bu hân-ı ıstihâ sizin' diyordu ya, öyle bir anlayışa girmişse devran, orada Türk kültürü için uğraşanlara yer olmaz. Bilgi mi, el oğlu veriyor, al ve kullan! Elin oğlundan bilgi ile yol alınsaydı, nice millet cibanın en mamur ülkesine sahip olurdu. Heybat, böyle bir gerçeklik yeryüzünde yok, bizde de.

Biliyorum, artık Türk kültürüne hizmet vermenin, onun ile ilgili bilimsel disiplinlerde eser vücuda getirmenin bir değer ve anlam ifade etmediği bir süreci yaşadığımızın bilincindeyiz. Öyle ya, otuz saat derse giren bilim adamı olmaz. Bilim üretmez. Diyeceksiniz ki arz/talep meselesi. Bilim istersen bilim adamına ihtiyaç olur. Çoban istersen bilim adamına niye ihtiyaç olsun. Üretse üretse, o bilim adamı müsveddesi olur, bozuk plak gibi kendini üretir, tüketir, çoban olur. Kitap hazırlama, kavun/karpuz şenliği hazırla, milyarlar harcanyor. Ama bizim değerli üyemiz, emekli öğretim üyesi Tuncer Gülensoy çarpınıyor. Emekli oldun güzel kardeşim, bari kendine bir kiraz veya bilmem ne festivali ayarla, zenginlerimiz, cömert kuruluşlarımız bonkörlük yarışına girer. Televizyonlar koşar, program yapar, adın dört bir yana yayıldı, diyeceğim, diyemiyorum. Neden mi? Ya dediği gerçek olur da, tarihten Türkler geri dönüp kendi medeniyetlerini yaratmaya, yurtlarına ve kurumlarına sahip çıkmaya kalkarsa ve sorarlarsa ruhlar aleminde ne cevap veririm diye endişe ediyorum. Biz şimdi bu armağanı değerli bilim adamımız adına çıkardık ama, okuyacaklar yine, sen/ben/o, biz/siz/onlar ve üç beş öğrenci, hepsi bu. Ne cömert zenginimiz var, ne de nice zamanlardan beri Türk kültürüne hizmet etmek ilgi ve alaka görüyor. Kendi yağı ile kavrulmaya mahkûm, kamu yararına çalışır TKAE'nin sadece Türk kültürüne gönüllü bilimsel hizmet erleriyiz.

Aziz kardeşim, bu onur bize yeter. Enstitü ve adıma sana nice sağlık ve esenlik dolu, dileğinin gerçek olacağı zamanlar idrak etmeni dilerim.

Değerli okuyucular, Enstitü, size yeni bir çalışmayı, bir armağan eseri saygıyla sunar.

Enstitü Başkanı
Prof. Dr. Dursun YILDIRIM

Ö n s ö z

TKAE, Prof. Dr. Tuncer Gülensoy için bir armağan kitap hazırlanmasını istediği zaman hem heyecanlanmış hem de korkmuştum. Prof. Dr. Gülensoy, emekli olduktan sonra da çalışan, Türkolojiye büyük hizmetleri olan bir bilim adamıdır. Ona yakıncak bir armağan çıkarmanın zorluğu korkutmuştu beni. Ancak, işe başladıktan sonra korkudan ziyade mutluluk duymaya başlamıştım. Çünkü, hazırladığımız armağan Hocanın yıllardır Türkiye’de yapmaya çalıştığı, Türk ve Moğol araştırmalarına uygun, belki de ilk defa özellikle Moğol araştırmacıların da büyük katkılarıyla hazırlanmış bir eser olmuştur. Türkiye’den katılan Türkologlar ile Moğolistan’dan katılan bilim adamlarına ve yine ricamızı kırmayan Prof. Dr. Marek Stachowski ile Kamil Stachowski’ye bu önemli esere katkı sağladıkları için teşekkürlerimi bildirmek isterim.

Sayın Şaban Doğan ile Dursun Kartal, Gülensoy Hocanın makalelerini kitaplaştırma işine girmişler ve Hocanın bibliyografyasının son halini de burada yayımlamak nezaketinde bulunmuşlardır. Kendilerine teşekkür ederim.

Armağanı hazırlarken yardım gördüğüm değerli arkadaşım Ankebayer Danuu ile Prof. Dursun Yıldırım, Doç. Dr. Ferruh Ağca ve Yard. Doç. Dr. Faruk Gökçe’ye teşekkür ederim.

Prof. Dr. Tuncer Gülensoy’a uzun ömür dileyerek bu armağanı sunmak isterim. Hocam, değerli büyüğümüz, bu armağanı kabul buyurunuz.

Saygılarımla.

Bülent GÜL
Ankara 2012

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WORD-FINAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN RUSSIAN LOANWORDS IN DOLGAN

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The paper analyzes the adaptation of word-final consonant clusters in Russian loanwords in Dolgan. Discussed are all 54 cases contained in a database of 1169 loans; thus, the data can be perhaps considered nearly complete. It is found that one cluster is valid, seven are invalid, and for thirteen there is not enough data to permit conclusions. Apocope of the word-final consonant of the cluster was found to be the preferred method of adaptation, while epenthesis and paragoge are rarer than could be expected.

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0. Rationale

The Turkic languages are well-known for their distaste for consonant clusters. Perhaps warped by Turkish relative leniency for final clusters, however, studies apparently tend to focus on those in anlaut. The present paper contributes to the understanding of the treatment of word-final clusters in the northernmost Turkic language, Dolgan – which, as will be shown, is quite different from the approach known from Turkish.

I will: 1. present the data, 2. analyse them in some detail, and 3. offer a more general characteristic of the process of adaptation.

1. Data

The data has been extracted from a base of 1169 loanwords presented in Stachowski K. 2010, plus *gārus* ‘scarf’, see 2.6. below. It is my belief that this set can be considered nearly complete: as the percentage of Dolgan-Russian bilinguals is constantly increasing, the number of Russian words used in a Dolgan context grows, while their degree of nativization drops. As a result, adaptation of word-final consonant clusters is becoming a thing of the past, and newly collected material is unlikely to broaden our word base significantly.

Only 47 Russian words turned out (graphically, see 2.11. below) to end in a consonant cluster; they gave 54 different reflexes in Dolgan.

Abbreviations are explained in 2.1. below. Numbers refer to subsections, where the forms are mentioned. The arrows mark particularly interesting cases, examined in greater detail.

aäroport ‘airport’ < *aèropórt* id. (Fre, 2.7.)

artist ‘artist’ < *artíst* id. (Fre, 2.9.)

binuok ‘binoculars’ < *binóklb* id. (InvApo, 2.3.)

boršč ‘borsht’ < *boršč* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

bylās ‘power, authority’ < *vlastb* id. (Unc, 2.9.)

byrysyan ‘canvas, tarpaulin’ < *brezént* id. (InvApo, 2.5.)

cirk ‘circus’ < *cirk* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

→ *diftong* ‘diphthong’ < *diftóng* id. (Fre, 2.4., 2.11.)

fašist ‘fascist’ < *fašíst* id. (Fre, 2.1., 2.9.)

→ *gārus* ‘scarf’ < *šarf* id. (Unc, 2.6.)

→ *gorna* ‘horn (instrument)’ < *gorn* ‘horn’ (Irr, 2.1., 2.11., 2.12.)

→ *hārt* ‘scarf’ < *šarf* id. (Unc, 2.6.)

Hilip ‘Philip’ < *Filipp* id. (Irr, 2.6., 2.11.)

ispirit ‘alcohol’ < *spirit* id. (Val, 2.7.)

kapitalist ‘capitalist’ < *kapitalíst* id. (Fre, 2.9.)

kedr ‘cedar’ < *kedr* id. (Unc, 2.1., 2.11.)

kilometr ‘kilometre’ < *kilométr* id. (Fre, 2.10.)

→ *kiriäs* ‘a cross-shaped ownership mark on reindeer’s ear’ < *krest* ‘cross’ (Unc, 2.9.)

klass ‘class’ < *klass* id. (Irr, 2.11.)

koncert ‘concert’ < *koncért* id. (Fre, 2.7.)

korabl̆ ‘ship’ < *korábl̆* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

kosmonavt ‘cosmonaut’ < *kosmonávt* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

kylās ‘class’ < *klass* id. (Irr, 2.11.)

→ *leming* ‘lemming’ < *lémming* id. (Val, 2.4.)

litr ‘litre’ < *litr* id. (Fre, 2.1, 2.10.)

lītyr ‘litre’ < *litr* id. (InvEpe, 2.1., 2.10.)

mart ‘March’ < *mart* id. (Unc, 2.7.)

miting ‘meeting’ < *mítting* id. (Unc, 2.4.)

→ *mosta* ‘floor’ < *most* ‘bridge’ (Irr, 2.9.)

→ *muosta* ‘floor’ < *most* ‘bridge’ (Irr, 2.9.)

naizustʲ ‘by heart’ < *naizústʲ* id. (Fre, 2.9.)

neftʲ ‘petroleum’ < *neftʲ* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

nojabrʲ ‘November’ < *nojábrʲ* id. (Fre, 2.2.)

obelisk ‘obelisk’ < *obelisk* id. (Fre, 2.8.)

oktjabrʲ ‘October (*the symbol of the October Revolution*)’ < *oktjábrʲ* ‘October’ (Fre, 2.1., 2.2.)

öktjöp ‘November’ < *oktjábrʲ* ‘October’ (InvApo, 2.1., 2.2.)

oruos ‘height, size’ < *rost* id. (Unc, 2.1., 2.9.)

park ‘park’ < *park* id. (Unc, 2.11.)

→ *pasȳs* ‘fascist’ < *fašíst* id. (Unc, 2.1., 2.9.)

Piätir ‘Peter’ < *Pëtr* id. (InvEpe, 2.6., 2.10.)

→ *poezd* ‘train’ < *póezd* id. (Unc, 2.9.)

polk ‘regiment’ < *polk* id. (Unc, 2.11.)

port ‘harbour’ < *port* id. (Unc, 2.7.)

post ‘post, guard’ < *post* id. (Unc, 2.9.)

→ *prospekt* ‘avenue’ < *prospékt* id. (Fre, 2.11.)

radist ‘radio operator’ < *radist* id. (Fre, 2.9., 2.11.)

remon ‘repair, renovation’ < *remónt* id. (InvApo, 2.1., 2.5.)

sántäbir ‘September’ < *sentjábrʲ* id. (InvEpe, 2.2., 2.6., 2.10.)

skatar ‘tablecloth’ < *skátertʲ* id. (InvApo, 2.7.)

skatär ‘tablecloth’ < *skátertʲ* id. (InvApo, 2.1., 2.7.)

sport ‘sport’ < *sport* id. (Fre, 2.7.)

sʲezd ‘congress’ < *sʲezd* id. (Fre, 2.9.)

→ *tekst* ‘text’ < *tekst* id. (Unc, 2.1., 2.11.)

uspūs ‘hauling rope’ < *spusk* ‘an unused rope’ (InvApo, 2.8.)

2. Analysis

2.1. Grouping

In order to simplify drawing conclusions from groups of examples, I have assigned each word to a category based on the status of the word-final consonant cluster. The grouping is necessarily arbitrary but proves to be useful nevertheless. All groups are named rather than numbered so as to lend the classification greater flexibility. The process is clarified and justified below.

Dolgan is abound with loans from Russian; at least 1170 are attested. The

degrees of nativization vary considerably; a single word can have as many as seven different renderings. The greatest problem is that writing does not always mirror the actual pronunciation. (See (Stachowski M. 1995) for more examples from Yakut.)

This is likely to be the case in 20 out of 51 forms analysed here. They contain clearly un-Dolgan features such as letters and sounds unknown to Dolgan (⟨e⟩, ⟨b⟩, ⟨ʙ⟩, *c, f* &c.), or violate Dolgan phonotactics in some way (initial consonant clusters, lack of vowel harmony &c.).

The discrepancy is perhaps best exemplified by loanwords with multiple reflexes. Frequently in these cases, one form follows accurately the original Russian spelling, while the other or others reveal the true realization, as in Russ. *oktjabrʹ* ‘October’ > Dolg. *oktjabrʹ* and *öktöp* id.

Some mystery remains, however, in examples such as Russ. *fašist* ‘fascist’ > Dolg. *fašist* and *pasys* id. as to whether the Russian-like form is or is not in real use. Contrary to the first impression, the existence of the nativized form does not suffice to clarify the matter, as many cases exist which sport a trace of adaptation and an un-Dolgan feature at the same time, e.g. Russ. *litr* ‘litre’ > Dolg. *lityr* id. or *remónt* ‘repair, renovation’ > *remon* id., both with an initial liquid consonant (as opposed to e.g. *léjka* ‘watering can’ > *äliäjka* id. or *rost* ‘height, size’ > *oruos* id.). See also *litr* in 2.10. below.

Clearly, various features of Russian phonotactics are beginning to set foot in Dolgan, but the scope of the process has not yet been thoroughly studied. In addition, the distinction between Fremd- and loanwords is a rather vague one. In this situation, it appears preferable to abstain from speculations and, in consequence, treat all cases of this sort as Fremdwörter, if they do not clearly display traces of adaptation.

In some examples, a flaw in the etymology might be suspected. Dolg. *gorna* ‘horn (*instrument*)’ has been derived from Russ. *gorn* ‘horn’, but it is perhaps the Gen.Sg. form in *-a* that was the prototype in this case; see 2.11. and 2.12. below for details.

Finally, some words reveal nothing about their degree of nativization whatsoever. The word-final cluster not being taken into account, examples such as *kedr* ‘cedar’ require strictly speaking no adaptation at all, and so it can be guessed that none has been made to them. In the case of *tekst* ‘text’, however, such a guess will already be a risky one.

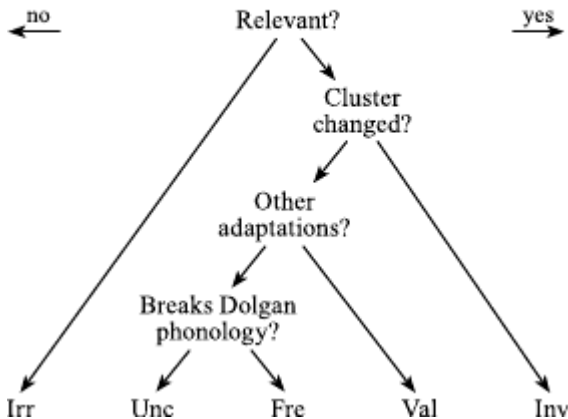
In order to possibly minimize the bias that the above difficulties might introduce, I decided here that the only cases to be considered witnessing the validity of a cluster in Dolgan phonotactics, can be those that preserve the cluster and, at the same time, bear traces of other adaptations.

With regard to all the above, the Dolgan forms examined here turned out to fall into the following six groups:

- ▲ Cluster invalid:
 - Adapted by apocope (InvApo).

- Adapted by epenthesis (InvEpe).
- △ Cluster valid (Val): when it remains unchanged but other adaptations have been applied to the word.
- △ Other:
 - Fremdwörter (Fre): when the spelling is the same as in Russian and the word contains an un-Dolgan feature (a Russian letter, lack of harmony, foreign phonemes &c.).
 - Unclear (Unc): all unclear cases, in particular those spelt the same as in Russian but containing no un-Dolgan features.
 - Irrelevant (Irr): when there is doubt about the existence of cluster in the etymon (it is purely orthographic or the etymology is faulty).

The sole raison d'être of this categorization is to make specific examples immediately meaningful by assigning a clear label to them. However, so defined groups are potentially overlapping. Sequential categorization, as diagrammed below, helps overcome this difficulty.



Similarly to the genealogical classifications of languages, the drawback here is that a word assigned to a 'higher' group is not any more examined with regard to the 'lower' criteria, e.g. Dolg. *skatār* 'tablecloth' (< Russ. *skáterty* id.) is tagged Inv, despite the consonant cluster in anlaut and the breaking of vowel harmony otherwise classifying it as Fre.

Therewith, an exception has been made for the group Unc, so as to permit any unclear word to be labeled as such, despite its word-final cluster having been altered or some other adaptation having been made to it.

Let us now examine the specific clusters in more detail.

2.2. *-br̥*

Four examples are available for *-br̥*: two are Fre (*nojabr̥* and *oktjabr̥*; see 2.1. above), one is InvApo (*öktöp̥*; see 2.1. above) and one is InvEpe (*säntäbir̥*). The obvious conclusion is that the cluster is invalid in Dolgan, can be adapted by both apocope and epenthesis, and the available data does not suffice to determine which method is preferred, if any. See *-tr* in 2.10. below.

2.3. *-kl̥*

Only one form with this ending is available. It is *binuok*, InvApo. The sole conclusion that can be made based on this, is that *-kl̥* is an invalid cluster in Dolgan and that it might be adapted by apocope of the final *-l̥*.

2.4. *-ng*

There are three words ending in *-ng*: one is Fre (*diftong*), one is Val (*leming*), and one is Unc (*miting*).

Dolgan has both words and suffixes ending in *-ŋ* but quite surprisingly, in all the three forms, *n* and *g* have been kept separate in writing. This might be no more than following the Russian orthography, but for one word, *diftong*, derivatives *diftonnar* Pl. and *diftonnāk* ‘containing a diphthong’ are attested, suggesting that the pronunciation must have indeed been several (otherwise an assimilation to **-ŋŋ-* would have been mandatory), and followed by a reduction to *-n*.

The limited data does not permit definite conclusions. *diftong* points to invalidity of the cluster and an apocope. *leming* would have indicated validity but in light of *diftong*, an assumption arises that the single ⟨m⟩ is in fact merely a spelling mistake resulting from the actual Russian pronunciation, and as a consequence, nothing can be said about the realization of the word-final cluster based on it.

2.5. *-nt*

Two words end in *-nt*, and both are InvApo (*byrɣsyan* and *remon*; see 2.1.). Thus, the cluster is to be viewed as invalid in Dolgan, and adapted by apocope of the final consonant.

2.6. *-rf*

Only one word ends in *-rf* (*šarf* ‘scarf’), but it has yielded two somewhat surprising reflexes: *gārus* and *hārt* id., both Unc.

The facts to start with are:

- △ In the 1170 loanwords at my disposal, no parallel is to be found for Russ. *f* > Dolg. *s* or *t*; expected would have been **-rp*, **-rVp* or **-rpa*.
- △ The closest is Russ. *Filipp* ‘Philip’ > Dolg. *Hilip*, imaginably via **Silip*.
- △ Word-initial *h-* and *g-* alternate in Dolgan; see (Stachowski M. 1994).
- △ *gārus* is Lower Dolgan, and *hārt* is Upper Dolgan.
- △ [f] and [s] are auditively similar to some extent, through [θ]; e.g.

both can be substituted for Engl. [θ] by native speakers of German, Polish, Russian &c. [t], however, is much more rarely used in this function.

▲ *s* and *t* alternate throughout Siberia; see (Tekin 1976) for a brief account for Yakut.

What the above points to, is that:

▲ *gārus* and *hārt* might be reflexes of one Proto-Dolgan form rather than two independent loans, or one (probably *hārt*) might derive from the other.

▲ *f* is more likely to have been rendered as *s* than *t*, but this does not exclude eventual *t*.

For *gārus* alone, one can then assume *-rf* > **-rs* > *-rus* or **-ruf* > *-rus*. Since no other examples in *-rs* are available, the only weak point is the epenthesis of a rounded vowel: in all three cases at hand (*lityr*, *Piätir* and *säntäbir*), the vowel is unrounded – which, however, might be inconsequential here, see 2.10. below. Alternate routes **-rp* and **-rt* have to be excluded because **-rp* > *-rus* is highly improbable, and because *-rt* is valid, and therefore requires no further adaptation (see 2.7. below).

For *hārt* alone, the scheme can be *-rf* > **-rs* > *-rt*, or perhaps > **-rp* > *-rt*. The former would have required *f* to be rendered as *s* twice, independently (both in *gārus* and in *hārt*); the latter would have assumed a change (*p* > *t*) for which apparently no parallel exists. Neither appears more likely than a direct *-rf* > *-rt*. In theory, a misspelling or misreading is also conceivable as handwritten Cyrillic ⟨п⟩ and ⟨т⟩ can look confusingly similar.

For *gārus* and *hārt* together, a simple combination of the above is believable: *-rf* > **-rs* > *-rus*, *-rt*. The shortcoming is that posited here are two different reflexes for one sound – but this conclusion can hardly be manoeuvred at all, if two different renderings of the same word actually exist. One additional argument in favour of this explanation is that in early 18th c., when Dolgans remained still in relatively close contact – for Siberian standards – the word has been attested in Russian in the meaning ‘officer silk belt woven with gold’ or ‘officer broad band with tassels, put on shoulder’ (Černyh 2001). Needless to say, soldiers were one of the first Europeans for Dolgans to make contact with.

To conclude, no final judgement can be made based on the two forms at present, other than that *-rf* is an invalid cluster in Dolgan – which, as a matter of fact, could also be actually deduced from the fact alone that it contains an *f*. The last proposition, which assumes a common descent, is preferable as relying on a smaller number of unusual changes, but until harder evidence appears, it, too, cannot be accepted without reservations.

It needs to be noted, however, that should it prove right, *gārus* would have to be labeled InvEpe, and for *hārt* a new and interesting group would have to be created, for adaptation to the closest valid cluster.

2.7. *-rt* and *-rtb*

Six Dolgan forms are derived from Russian words ending in *-rt*; three are Fre

(*aäroport*, *koncert* and *sport*), two are Unc (*mart* and *port*) but one (*ispirit*) is Val. This, combined with the actual existence of the cluster in native Dolgan words (e.g. in *tüört* ‘four’), gives enough support to state that *-rt* is a valid ending in Dolgan, and preserved in loanwords from Russian.

Surprisingly, the treatment of *-rtb* appears to differ from that of *-rt*. Only one Russian word (*skátertb* ‘tablecloth’) had this ending, and it gave two reflexes in Dolgan: *skatar* and *skatär* id., both clearly InvApo, even if Fre at the same time (vowel harmony in the latter and initial consonant cluster in both).

Unfortunately, all the the other pairs of endings which only differ in *-b*, do not permit definite conclusions, only a suggestion that they might be adapted by apocope (see *-st(b)* in 2.9. and *-ft(b)* in 2.11. below).

Possibly then, *-Ctb* is adapted to *-C* in Dolgan. This would be unlike *-Vtb*, rendered as *-Vt*, and unlike *tb* in other positions, rendered as *t*, *č* and others, e.g. Russ. *nítb* ‘thread’ > Dolg. *nīt* id., *pámjatyb* ‘memory’ > *pāmit*, *pāmīt* id., *Pétbka* ‘Pete’ > *Piäčikkä*, *Päkka*, *Pöččö* and others.

2.8. *-sk*

There are two examples for *-sk*: one Fre (*obelisk*) and one InvApo (*uspūs*). Hence, the cluster should be considered invalid in Dolgan, and adapted by apocope of the final consonant.

2.9. *-st* and *-stb*

-st is by far the most common ending. Out of twelve examples, five are Fre (*artist*, *fašist* (see 2.1. above), *kapitalist*, *radist* and *svezd*), also five are Unc (*kiriäs*, *oruos*, *pasȳs*, *poezd* and *post*), and two are Irr (*mosta* and *muosta*).

For *artist*, *fašist*, *kapitalist* and *radist*, the following oblique forms are attested: *artistar*, *fašistar*, *kapitalistar* Pl. and *radiska* Dat. (DW and DWS). Unfortunately, **-st.t-* and **-st.k-* would have most likely been reduced to [-st-] and [-sk-] at any rate, and thus these shapes cannot serve as evidence of the real pronunciation. See 2.11. below.

kiriäs, *oruos* and *pasȳs* appear at first to be cases of InvApo. However, reduction of *-st(b)* to *-s(b)*, quite common in European Russian (DARJa 1: map 80), is continued in some dialects of Siberia (Seliščev 1968: 351) and Taimyr pidgin Russian (Govorka; (Stern 2005: 209)). *krest*, *fašist* and *rost* are not mentioned among the examples by either source, but these two pieces of information suffice to conceive Russ. **kres*, **fašis* and **ros* – which renders all three Dolgan words Unc and inconclusive for the treatment of *-st* in Dolgan.

poezd is an analogous case, as is revealed by oblique forms *poeha* Px3Sg. (Stachowski M. 1999: 67) and *poehynan* Instr. (DW).

mosta and *muosta* ‘floor’ are both considered to be either borrowings from Russ. Nom.Sg. *most* id. or Gen.Sg. *mosta* (see (Anikin 2003) and (DW)); unfortunately missing from (Slepcev 1964)). The genitive form has both possible accentuations (see (Kuznecov 2000)), and even the variant with final stress can dialectally be pronounced [m^wöstá] (see (Kolesov 2006: 78)). In this light, paragoge seems unlikely. See 2.12. below for paragoge and Stachowski K. [in press] for *m(u)osta*.

To sum up, the available material does not determine finally whether *-st* is valid in Dolgan. Although, it needs to be admitted that considering the data as a whole, apocope would seem to be the simplest, and thus preferable, explanation.

As for *-stb*, only two examples are available; one is Fre (*naizustb*), and the other is Unc (*bylās*; *-stb* might > *-sb* in Siberia, see above). Thus, the case of *-stb* is equally indecisive as that of *-st*. See also *-rt(b)* in 2.7. above and *-ft(b)* in 2.11. below.

2.10. *-tr*

Four etymons end in *-tr*: two are Fre (*kilometr* and *litr*) and two are InvEpe (*lītyr* and *Piätir*). This shows clearly that the cluster is invalid in Dolgan and adapted by epenthesis, making it one of two cases where epenthesis is attested (the other is *-brb* in 2.2. above), and the only one where apocope is not. At the same time, *-brb* and *-tr* are also the only two clusters in our set, inside which a reduced vowel is sometimes heard already in the Russian pronunciation. Thus, *lītyr*, *Piätir* and *säntäbir* might (unprovably) be cases of phonological misinterpretation rather than epenthesis.

2.11. Other

Including *-ng* and *-st(b)* discussed above (2.4. and 2.9.), the available material was found insufficient to permit conclusions for thirteen clusters: *-blb* (*korabl*, Fre), *-dr* (*kedr*, Unc), *-ft* (*kosmonavt*, Fre, see below), *-ftb* (*neftb*, Fre, see below), *-kst* (*tekst*, Unc), *-kt* (*prospekt*, Fre), *-lk* (*polk*, Unc), *-rk* (*cirk*, Fre and *park*, Unc), *-rn* (*gorna*, Irr, see below) and *-ršč* (*boršč*, Fre).

Particularly unluckily, both words in *-ft(b)* are Fre. As a result, conclusions on the role of *-b* can only be drawn from one pair of clusters (*-rt(b)*, see 2.7. above), which does not suffice for a generalization. See also *-st(b)* in 2.9. above.

In the case of *cirk*, *kosmonavt*, *prospekt* and *tekst*, oblique forms are attested with the final consonant dropped: *cirka* Dat., *kosmonavtar* and *prospektar* Pl., *tekstan* Abl. and *teksty* Acc. (all (DW)). Such forms can sometimes betray the true pronunciation, see e.g. *diftong* in 2.4. above. Here, however, not much can be deduced as **-rk.k-*, **-vt.t-*, **-kt.t-* and **-kst.t-* would have been in all probability simplified anyway regardless of the ending in Nom. (see (Stachowski M. 1999: 66f)). What is more, back suffixes attached to *cirk*, *prospekt* and *tekst* strongly indicate that the spelling follows the original orthography against the actual realization – but what this realization is, no hint is given away. An even more transparent example of this is *klasstar* Pl. (see below), versus *klahygar* Px3Sg.Dat.

Analogously unrevealing are the cases of *artist*, *fašist*, *kapitalist* and *radist* in 2.9. above. This leaves *diftong* and *poezd* (see 2.4. and 2.9. above) as the only two words in our base whose derivate form is actually useful.

There are no other examples for *-rn* to determine whether the cluster is valid in Dolgan. Since, however, paragoge does not appear to be a likely explanation (see 2.12. below), an improvement might be suggested to the etymology of Dolg. *gorna* ‘horn (*instrument*)’, namely, the Gen.Sg. form *gorna* ‘horn’, can be proposed as its etymon rather than the Nom.Sg. *gorn*.

Finally, one more group of words requires to be mentioned. Two apparent InvApo (*Hilip* and *kylās*) and one apparent Fre (*klass*) only illusorily end in clusters, as in the standard Russian pronunciation their word-final consonants are actually short. Therefore, all are simply Irr here.

2.12. Paragoge

The treatment of paragoge in this paper might appear unfairly cursory in *m(u)osta* in 2.9. and *gorna* in 2.11. above. To these three, two more examples can be added where the genitive form had already been posited in the source – and so, which are ignored here – and also one where the genitive form had been offered along with paragoge: Dolg. *funta* ‘pound’ < Russ. *fūnta* id. (DW, Stachowski M. 1999 and Anikin 2003), *miätrā* ‘metre’ < *métrā* id. (DW, Stachowski M. 1999), and *frukta* ‘fruit’ < *frūkta* id. (DWS), respectively.

Let us now examine these words in a little more detail:

▲ *funta*: *-nt* actually tends quite clearly to be adapted by apocope, see 2.5. above. The initial *f-* suggests that either 1. the form has been recorded from a speaker relatively proficient in Russian, but in that case an adaptation of the word-final cluster would not have been expected, either, 2. the spelling follows the original orthography with regard to *f-* but not to *-a*, i.e. probably only where the substitution would have been obvious for the reader, or 3. that the spelling follows what the informer actually believed to be the original orthography.

The second option might be pointing to a paragoge. However, the last option appears to be more realistic as a word meaning ‘pound’ is in fact relatively rarely used on its own; more often, it will be heard preceded by a numeral, and therefore, very often in genitive.

▲ *miätrā*: *-tr* actually tends quite clearly to be adapted by epenthesis, see 2.10. above.

Similarly to ‘pound’, ‘metre’ will be more often heard preceded by a numeral than not. The initial *m-*, in addition, does not make the picture less clear as was the case with *funta*, because in all 79 loans at my disposal which begin with an *m-*, it has been retained unadapted.

▲ *frukta*: no other examples are available for this cluster.

The syntactic argument used above is weaker here as there is no reason to believe the genitive of ‘fruit’ to be considerably more frequent than the nominative. The plural, however, *is*, in Russian. For speakers of a language which does not essentially have any reduced vowels at all, the difference can likely be ignorable between Russian reduced /a/ and /y/, as in Gen.Sg. *frūkta* and Nom.Pl. *frūkty*. See also (Stachowski M. 1998b) on *-a ~ -y* alternation in Dolgan.

The initial consonant cluster, containing in addition an *f*, can be interpreted similarly to *funta* above. The second option is even less probable since there appears to be no fixed strategy of negotiating initial consonant clusters, and thus the spelling <fr-> can hardly be considered ‘obvious’ – which points to the third option, thus strengthening the

syntactic argument above.

In sum, the ‘external’ evidence is of limited use, but if anything, it tilts the odds against paragoge by effectively reducing the number of suspects from six to three (*gorna* and *m(u)osta*), versus eight cases of apocope and three of epenthesis.

The Dolgan status of *-rn* and *-st* is not clear (see 2.9. and 2.11. above). The syntactic argument (Gen.Sg. or Nom.Pl.) has no application. The remaining parts of these words are adapted as much as it is necessary (see (Stachowski K. 2010)), which implies that their spelling might indeed be mirroring the real pronunciation. There are essentially three ways to interpret the final *-a*: 1. paragoge, 2. lexicalization of Px3Sg. (see (Stachowski M. 1998b)), and 3. borrowing of the Gen.Sg.

The last option is the only one which does not assume an additional process during, or following the act of borrowing. It is the simplest, and therefore, preferable.

Interestingly, according to (Helimski 1992: 154), paragoge of *-a* is applied “нормально” to Russian loanwords in Khanty – which is nonetheless a question beyond the scope of the present paper as no influence can actually be suspected between Khanty and Dolgan, and especially one reaching as deep as manners of loanword adaptation.

3. Conclusion

In total, 54 Dolgan forms have been analyzed, deriving from 47 Russian words. They end in 21 different consonant clusters, plus two purely orthographic (*-pp* and *-ss*). Out of these, only one was found to be certainly valid (*-rt*) and seven to be invalid. Out of the latter, four are adapted by apocope of the final consonant (*-klb*, *-nt*, *-rtb* and *-sk*), one can be adapted both by apocope and epenthesis (*-brb*), one exclusively by epenthesis (*-tr*), and one is unclear (*-rf*). With regard to six forms, annotations have been offered to the existing etymology (*frukta* in 2.12., *gārus* and *hārt* in 2.6., *gorna* in 2.11., and *m(u)osta* in 2.9.).

It appears acceptably safe to conclude that:

- △ all final consonant clusters which do not occur in native Dolgan words are at least potentially subject to adaptation,
- △ the preferred method of adaptation is apocope of the final consonant, and
- △ (only) in clusters ending in *-r(b)*, epenthesis of a high vowel can be employed instead of apocope, due perhaps to phonological misinterpretation.

This result is clearly different from the behaviour of Turkish. Notably, unlike in Turkish, clusters made up of a sonorant or fricative followed by a stop are apparently invalid in Dolgan. Also, apocope appears to be much more readily used than in Turkish, at the expense of epenthesis and paragoge.

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- Dolg. = Dolgan.
- DW = Stachowski M. 1993.
- DWS = Stachowski M. 1998a.
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