

Kansas Working Papers
in
Linguistics

edited by

In Lee
Scott Schiefelbein

Partial funding for this journal is provided by the
Graduate Student Council from the Student Activity Fee.

© Linguistics Graduate Student Association
University of Kansas, 1990

Volume 15
Number 1
1990

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics

Volume 15, No.1, 1990

Inferentials: The Story of a Forgotten Evidential Gerald Delahunty	1
Knowledge of Idiomaticity: Evidence from Idiom Calquing and Folk Literalization Zili He	29
A Cyclic Approach to Simple Cliticization Hunter Huckabay	42
On Japanese Causative: Review of Shibatani's Notion of Causative Misaki Shimada	56
NP Predication and Full Saturation Thomas Stroik	67
A Type of Reduplication in Turkish Mübeccel Taneri	91

A TYPE OF REDUPLICATION IN TURKISH

Mübeccel Taneri

Abstract: This is an attempt to describe one of several types of reduplication in Turkish, based on a piece of data elicited from 32 native speakers.* What was known as an *irregular case* revealed itself as a complicated pattern of dissimilation. Although some rules postulated can account for most of the data, some varying forms call for more research for a more unified explanation.

There is a reduplication phenomenon in Turkish in which intensity in semantic content of adjectives and adverbs is signaled. In the literature reduplication is characterized as "an affixation of a Consonant-Vowel skeleton, which is itself a morpheme, to a stem" (Marantz 1982:437). Turkish differs from many languages that exhibit various types of reduplication processes in that in Turkish an additional, linking phonological element besides the reduplicate is involved. Observe the following:

kara	'black'	kapkara	'jet black'
yassı	'flat'	yamyassı	'completely flat'
temiz	'clean'	tertemiz	'very clean'
yamuk	'uneven'	yasyamuk	'shapeless'
esk'i	'old'	epesk'i	'very old'

In the above forms the first vowel and any preceding consonant is reduplicated and prefixed to the full

*I gratefully acknowledge the generosity of those who contributed their time during the elicitation of the data. My deepest gratitude goes to my former Professors Orhan Şaik Gökyay and Ferhunde Gökyay as well as to some of my former colleagues and students. I would like also to express my indebtedness for the valuable comments of Professor R. Rankin and Professor K. Miner for the improvement of my paper.

form with one of the linking elements (henceforth LE), -p-, -s-, -m-, or -r-.

The choice of LE's is viewed as not having "any discernible phonological conditioning" (Swift 1961:123). The purpose of this paper is to try to identify the nature of the seemingly irregular formation and present a formal description of this type of reduplication in Turkish.¹

Reduplicated forms of about 300 adjectives and adverbs were obtained from a total of 32 native speakers (see Appendix A and Appendix B). Initially the author intended to consider possible different usages varying with the age and sex of her subjects, and for this reason the 32 speakers were selected to represent 4 different groups identified as 1. male-adults (from age 18 to 35), 2. other males (age 35 and above), 3. female adults (from age 18 to 35), and 4. other females (35 and above). It was observed, however, that differences in usage did not originate from the age or sex of the individual but, partly from regional differences and, most of all, from differing registers.

If a subject happened to be interested in language, good about visualizing a situation, and felt comfortable with the conductor of the elicitation, he or she would generously apply the reduplication to many items. Otherwise, most of them refrained from committing themselves to many kinds of usage. If, however, speakers were provided a possible context, they would either go along with a suggested reduplication or point out that they had heard the form but never used it. Such intolerance in the usage of some possible forms seems to be due to a covert concern about the possibility of being stigmatized socially or culturally. The layout of the data, therefore, does not disclose any age and sex differences in usage. Nor do the data reveal systematic regional differences at present since the elicitation was not originally designed to achieve this.

When the data given as Appendix A are examined, it may seem that the results of the elicitation are incredibly unpredictable. Though there is sometimes a significant difference in the functional load (indicated parenthetically as the number of subjects who used the intensified form), the speakers often displayed an array of different choices of the inserted linking elements. The following examples are illustrative:

-p-	-m-	-s-	-r-
čepčevik' (5)	čemčevik' (2)	česčevik' (2)	čerčevik' (2)
'very swift'			
čüpčürük' (17)	čümčürük' (2)	čüsčürük' (2)	
'completely rotten'			
g'epg'evšek' (8)	g'emg'evšek' (2)	g'esg'evšek' (2)	-
'very loose'			
kapkaté (7)	kaskaté (22)	-	-
'very thick; stiff'			
k'öp'k'ötü (8)	k'öm'k'ötü (1)	k'ös'k'ötü (9)	-
'extremely bad'			
yıpyırtık (10)	yımyırtık (4)	yısyırtık (3)	-
'completely torn; negatively bold'			

The above examples, though not entirely representative, show there is a great deal of variability in the choice of LE's. There is also a tendency toward a certain regularity of choice depending on several phonological features of consonants in a given stem. Speakers, however, are aware of the different competing forms, as most of the subjects pointed out that it does not bother them to hear *gepgevšek'*, *gemgevšek'* or *gesgevšek'* 'very loose'. Some go even further in their reasoning for the different augmented forms of the same stem saying that they have different contexts for certain different reduplicated forms. For example, they would never use *kapkaté* 'very thick; stiff' in a sentence like *çocuk kapkaté oldu* 'The child became stiff'. For them *kapkaté* and *kaskaté* have different colligations as it is illustrated below:

1. *ilajé alır almaz, çocuk kaskaté oldu*

'As soon as he took the medicine, the child became stiff.'

2. *kapkaté bir çorba olmuş*

'The soup has turned out to be very thick.'

So in at least some cases different augmented forms of the same stem have gained specialized meanings, but this does not account for the forms that are used interchangeably.²

In the strings of the segments within a stem, in spite of all the irregularities described above, the striking thing is that the subjects never used some certain forms. These have provided a considerable clue about the nature of the formation. For instance, while some had the form *dapdalgın* 'pensive' and others had *dāsdalgın*, nobody ever uttered **dardalgın* or **damdalgın*. With respect to the impossible strings of segments that came about with LE's attached, adjectives and adverbs fall into several subclasses according to what LE(s) is/are possible with them. Observe the following:

	-p-	-m-	-s-	-r-
1.	-	bembejerik'l'i (3)	besbejerik'l'i (7)	-
		'very adroit'		
2.	-	bemberek'etl'i (2)	besberek'etl'i (4)	-
		'very fertile'		
3.	-	bembeter (1)	besbeter (19)	-
		'extremely bad'		
4.	-	bombol (6)	bosbol (12)	-
		'extremely abundant'		
5.	-	bümbütün (1)	büsbütün (25)	-
		'very complete'		
6.	-	pamparлак (1)	pasparлак (18)	-
		'extremely shiny'		
7.	-	bomboş (29)	-	-
		'very empty'		
8.	-		pespembe (24)	-
			'very pink'	

9.	dopdoğru (6)	-	-	dosdoğru (26)	-
	'straight'				
10.	dopdolu (30)			dosdolu (1)	-
	'very full'				
11.	kapkaranlık (29)	-		kaskaranlık (1)	-
	'very dark'				
12.	yapyarım (5)	-		yasyarım (7)	-
	'half'				
13.	sapsağır (13)	-	-		-
	'deaf'				
14.	sapsağlam (27)	-	-		-
	'as healthy as it could be'				
15.	-	-	-	çarçabuk (29)	
	'very hastily'				
16.	-	-	-	tertemiz (22)	
	'very clean'				
17.	-	-	-	sersefil (23)	
	'very destitute'				
18.	đirđiplak (1)	-	-	đirđiplak (25)	
	'completely naked'				
19.	sıpsıjak (13)	sımsıjak (19)	-		-
	'warm'				
20.	yüpyük'sek' (7)	yümyük'sek' (5)	-		-
	'very high'				
21.	tepters (7)	temters (15)	-		-
	'extremely ill-tempered'				

22. čepčevik'(5) čemčevik'(2) česčevik'(2) čerčevik'(2)

'very swift'

It is crucial to notice that the choice of the LE is based solely on how dissimilar it is to the following consonants. Conditioning factors include primarily the first two consonants of the stem although all seem to have some bearing on the selected LE. Let us now look closely at the consonants in the stems which present the highest frequency load for a particular LE. Observe the following determining environments for the LE -p-:

<i>Augmented Form</i>	<i>Number of the Speakers</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>LE</i>	<i>Consonants in Stems</i>
čöpdöčök'	17	rotten	-p-	č-r-k'
čapdar	29	tight	-p-	d-r
čopdolu	30	full	-p-	d-l-
g'epg'end	24	young	-p-	g'-nd
g'epg'eniš	21	wide	-p-	g'-n-š
g'öpg'öl'önd	16	funny	-p-	g'-l'-nd
g'öpg'ür	17	thick	-p-	g'-r
čapčanlı:	26	lively	-p-	č-nl-
čapčansız	22	with no life	-p-	č-ns-z
kapkalın	25	thick	-p-	k-l-n
kapkara	27	black	-p-	k-r-
kapkaranlık	29	dark	-p-	k-r-nl-k
k'epk'esk'in	16	sharp	-p-	k'-sk'-n
k'epk'ermezé	23	red	-p-	k-rm-z-
k'epk'ézgin	19	angry	-p-	k-zg-n
k'epk'ézıl	22	crimson	-p-	k-z-l
konkoyu	24	dark	-p-	k-y-

sapsağlam	27	healthy	-p-	s-gl-m
sapsarı	23	yellow	-p-	s-r-
sipsivri	26	sharp	-p-	s-vr-
sopsolgun	18	faded	-p-	s-lg-n
supsulü	19	watery	-p-	s-l-
taptatlı	17	sweet	-p-	t-tl-
taptaze	30	fresh	-p-	t-z-
yapyalnız	25	lonely	-p-	y-ln-z
zapzayıf	19	skinny	-p-	z-y-f

As it is observed in the above list, the consonants in the stems exhibit an unnatural class. What is excluded among them, however, is any segment that shares the point of articulation with the LE -p-. The following rule accounts for the forms with -p- above:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow p / [-\text{syl}]_i [+ \text{syl}]_j + _ _ + [-\text{syl} \] [+ \text{syl}]_j$$

$$[-\text{bilab}]_i$$

$$[-\text{syl} \] [+ \text{syl}] [-\text{syl} \]$$

$$[-\text{bilab}] \quad [-\text{bilab}]$$

The above rule states that the LE -p- appears in a duplicated form if the consonants in stem have the feature [-lab].

In order to establish a phonetic environment for the LE -s-, the following reduplicated forms with the highest frequency load need to be examined:

<i>Augmented Form</i>	<i>Number of the Speakers</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>LE</i>	<i>Consonants in Stems</i>
besbeter	19	worst	-s-	b-t-r
büsbütün	25	completely	-s-	b-t-n
dosdoğru	26	straight	-s-	d-gr-
kaskatı	22	stiff	-s-	k-t-
koskoçaman	25	big	-s-	k-ç-m-n

yamyası	25	flat	-m- y-ss-
yamyas	29	wet	-m- y-s
yemyesil'	30	green	-m- y-s-l'

The above environments lead to the following rule:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow m / [-sylv]_i [+sylv]_j + _ _ + \begin{matrix} [-sylv] \\ [-nas] \\ [-trill] \\ [-lat] \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} [+sylv] \\ [-sylv] \\ [-nasal] \end{matrix}$$

$$\begin{matrix} [-sylv] \\ [-nasal] \\ [-trill] \\ [-lat] \\ [-lab] \end{matrix} \left(\begin{matrix} [+sylv] \end{matrix} \right) \left(\begin{matrix} [-sylv] \\ [-nasal] \end{matrix} \right)$$

These rules account for the LE of the majority of Turkish reduplications encountered so far. There are forms, however, which do not meet the structural descriptions of any of the rules formulated above. The consonants occurring in them preclude the appearance of the LE's, -p-, -s-, and -m-. These remaining cases, members of a very small class, accept -r- as the LE in their reduplicated forms given as the following:

Augmented Form	Number of the Speakers	Gloss	LE	Consonants in Stems
carcabuk	29	quickly	-r-	c-b-k
circipak	25	nude	-r-	c-pl-k
sersefil'	23	miserable	-r-	s-f-l
tertemiz	22	clean	-r-	t-m-z

The four stems above do not have other forms except *sefil'* 'miserable', which only one subject out of 32 used with the LE -p-. The rest were constructed with only -r- because the consonants in the stems are less similar to -r- than any of the rest of the three LE's. One might question why the stem *sifak* 'hot' does not take -r- but -p- or -m-. How does *sifak* differ from *sefil'*, with a frequency of 23? The segment *f* in *sifak* blocks -r- whereas -f- in *sefil'* favors it due to the point of articulation the former but not the latter shares with -r-. The rule for this small class is as follows:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow r / [-\text{syll}]_i [+ \text{syll}]_j + _ _ + \begin{matrix} [-\text{syll}] \\ [-\text{trill}]_i \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} [+ \text{syll}]_j \\ \end{matrix}$$

$$\begin{matrix} [-\text{syll}] & [+ \text{syll}] & [-\text{syll}] \\ [-\text{trill}] & & [-\text{trill}] \end{matrix}$$

Upon close examination of the data given in Appendix A, it becomes clear that forms with initial vowels permit only the LE -p- except for *ufak* 'small', which will be discussed later. Therefore, the LE -p- has the widest range of occurrence. This fact also strengthens the assumption of a dissimilarity condition on the choice of the LE, for the fact that only -p- among the four LE's seems to be the most dissimilar to vowels from both articulatory and acoustic points of view.

Concerning the range of the application of the rules for other LE's, the forms that permit -s- as the LE constitute the next largest class after the one with -p-. Then comes -m- followed by -r-, which seems to be the least preferable LE.

These facts suggest a possible hierarchy in the usage of the LE's, giving the unmarked status to -p- followed by -s-, -m-, and -r- in that order. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the consonants in *čevik'* must be viewed quite equally different to any of the four LE's since all four forms can be seen as possible forms although only one of the rules postulated above predicts the LE -r- to appear in this stem. In spite of this fact the functional load of *čepčevik'*, with -p- as the LE, illustrated as the following, is greater than the rest of the forms:

-p-	-s-	-m-	-r-
čep- 5	čes- 2	čem- 2	čer- 2

Items with varying forms like *čevik'* above seem to support the assumption of an unmarked status of the LE -p-.

In spite of the unmarked status of the LE -p- in usage, the less identical the inserted LE with respect to the following consonants the more preferable it is as the functional load in parenthesis indicate. For instance *besbeter* 'very bad', which 19 subjects preferred in their usage, established itself as the principle form over the form *bembeter* (used by only one person). A question may arise as to why some speakers chose the

less dissimilar LE while a more dissimilar alternative is available for them, for instance in the case of *pam-parlak* (1) instead of *pasparlak* (18).

The following list exemplifies the rather puzzling varying usage of the LE's:

-p-	-s-	-m-	-r-
čapčarpák (2)	časčarpák (4)		
'crooked'			
čepčevik (5)	česčevik (2)	čemčevik (2)	čerčevik (2)
'swift'			
dapdalgín (10)	dasdalgín (2)		
'pensive'			
depdeğersiz (4)	desdegersiz (1)		
'wothless'			
depderin (25)	desderin (1)		
'deep'			
dopdolu (30)	dosdolu (1)		
'full'			
dopdoğru (6)	dosdogru (26)		
'straight'			
gepgeč (6)	gesgeč (1)	gemgeč (4)	
'late'			
gepgevšek (8)	gesgeyšek (2)	gemgevšek (2)	
'loose'			
gipgiri (10)	gisgiri (1)		
'gray'			

- göpgöçük (9) gösgöçük (3)
'fallen down'
- göpgölgeli (1) gösgölgeli (2)
'shady'
- güpgülünç (16) güsgülünç (1)
'hilarious'
- güpgüneşli (9) güsgüneşli (2) gümgüneşli (1)
'sunny'
- güpgüzel (15) güsgüzel (4) gümgüzel (1)
'pretty'
- kapkızıl (1) kaskızıl (1)
'attractive'
- kapkaranlık (29) kaskaranlık (1)
'black'
- k'apk'arlık (13) k'ask'arlık (1)
'snowy'
- kapkatı (7) kaskatı (22)
'stiff'
- kapkavruk (4) kaskavruk (10)
'scorched'
- kipkinli (1) kiskinli (1)
'vindictive'
- kıpkırmızı (23) kiskırmızı (1)
'red'
- kıpkızıl (22) kiskızıl (1)
'red'

kopkojaman (2)	koskojaman (25)	
'big'		
kopkolay (13)	koskolay (10)	
'easy'		
kopkorkak (1)	koskorkak (3)	komkorkak (1)
'coward'		
kopkorkunč (14)	koskorkunč (1)	
'terrible'		
kopkoyu (24)	koskoyu (7)	
'dark'		
k'öp̄k'ötü (8)	k'ösk'ötü (9)	k'öm̄k'ötü (1)
'bad'		
kupkuduruk (6)	kuskuduruk (4)	kumkuduruk (1)
'wild'		
kupkuvvetli (2)	kuskuvvetli (3)	
'strong'		
k'öp̄k'üčük' (10)	k'üsk'üčük' (6)	k'üm̄k'üčük' (5)
'small'		
napnarin (11)	nasnarin (2)	
'delicate'		
napnazik' (6)	nasnazik' (1)	
'agreeable'		
nepnešel'i (3)	nesnešel'i (1)	
'cheerful'		

nupnurlu (7)	nusnurlu (1)	
'limunous'		
upufak (6)	usufak (2)	
'tiny'		
yapyakın (11)	yasyakın (6)	
'near'		
yapyamuk (2)	yasyamuk (11)	yamyamuk (2)
'flat'		
yapyarık (4)	yasyarık (1)	
'split'		
yapyarım (5)	yasyarım (7)	
'yarım'		
yapyaşlı (13)	yasyaşlı (1)	yamyaşlı (1)
'old'		
yıpyırtık (10)	yısyırtık (3)	yımyırtık (1)
'torn'		
yopyorgun (8)	yosyorgun (10)	
'tired'		
yupyumuşak (5)	yusyumuşak (7)	yumyumuşak (7)
'soft'		

In the case of some variations between a form with a high frequency load and the one with a very low frequency load, i.e., *dopdolu* (30) 'very full' and *dosdolu* (1), the exception may be regarded as a mistake. Related to this assumption, one of the subjects remarked that if a context were provided, the most common form would emerge. Otherwise, the way the subjects were providing a form would be in a mechanical fashion with no real usage overtones. In other cases, such as *kopkolay* (13), *koskolay* (10) and *k'üp'k'üçük* (10), *k'üsk'üçük* (6), *k'üm'k'üçük* (5), some admitted that they were not quite

sure which one they would use, pointing out that all would seem to be fine. Hesitations of this kind may be due to the fact that the LE's in question have almost the same dissimilative degree with respect to the consonants in the stem. For instance, in *k'ōpk'ōtū* (8), *k'ōsk'ōtū* (9), and *k'ōmk'ōtū* (1) the distinctive features of each LE as opposed to the consonants of the stem are as follows:

	LE's			Stem Cons	
	/p/	/s/	/m/	/k/	/t/
Syllabic	-	-	-	-	-
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+
Sonorant	-	-	+	-	-
Nasal	-	-	+	-	-
High	-	-	-	+	-
Back	-	-	-	+	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-
Anterior	+	+	+	-	+
Coronal	-	+	-	-	+
Voiced	-	-	+	-	-
Continuant	-	+	-	-	-
Lateral	-	-	-	-	-
Sibilant	-	+	-	-	-

As the above illustrates, -p- is more dissimilar to /t/ than is /s/ in terms of place of articulation whereas /s/ is more dissimilar to /t/ than -p- in terms of manner of articulation. When the /k/ in *k'ōtū* is taken into consideration, /s/ seems to be the best choice since manner of articulation makes /s/ more dissimilative to all consonants in the stem than /p/ would be. To a certain extent it is not clear which scales the speakers are employing for their dissimilative processes. It may be possible that when minute contrasts are involved, it does not make much difference which way they go. The lexical item *ufak* 'small' with the forms *upufak* (6) and *usufak* (2), for instance, supports this assumption since

it shows that although -p- is the most dissimilar segment among the LE's, if the item has an initial vowel, some speakers may still unconsciously consider other facts also to establish the most striking dissimilation. Therefore, for some speakers, apparently, -f- in *ufak* makes -p- a poor candidate for a LE, and their choice may become -s- in spite of a general tendency that -p- is the LE when the initial segment in a stem is a vowel. Given the indeterminate nature of the strings of consonants in stems in a lexicon, to formulate rules that can account the process in every word seems to be difficult.

The following are the variations on the usage of -p- and -m- where -s- is excluded:

-p-	-m-	gloss
dipdik (1)	dimdik (25)	straight
güpgüç (2)	gümgüç (4)	difficult
güpgür (17)	gümgür (2)	thick
sapsaf (1)	samsaf (1)	naive
sapsalak (6)	samsalak (1)	stupid
sapsarkık (7)	samsarkık (1)	hanging
sapsarp (1)	samsarp (3)	steep
sepsert (4)	semsert (16)	hard
sepsessiz (10)	semsessiz (4)	quiet
sıpsıkiçi (3)	sımsıkiçi (1)	dull
sopsolak (1)	somsolak (1)	left handed
sopsoğuk (16)	somsoguk (2)	cold
sopsyut (1)	somsoyut (1)	abstract
söpsök'ük' (3)	sömsök'ük' (4)	torn
supsusuz (11)	sumsusuz (1)	waterless
şapşaçi (3)	şamşaçi (1)	squint eyed
şepşek'erli (9)	şemşek'erli (1)	sweet

taptatsız (15)	tamtatsız (1)	tasteless
taptaze (30)	tamtaze (2)	fresh
tepters (2)	temters (15)	ill-tempered
tiptitiz (4)	timtitz (1)	peevish
tiptiz (1)	timtiz (5)	high pitched
tuptuzlu (15)	tumtuzlu (4)	salty
yapyağız (5)	yamyğız (1)	dark-skinned man
yapyassı (4)	yamyassı (24)	flat
yepyemişil' (2)	yemyemişil' (30)	green
yıpyıkık (2)	yımyıkık (5)	fallen down
yüpyük'sek' (7)	yümyük'sek' (5)	high
zıpızıt (5)	zımzıt (6)	opposite

The following are the variations between -s- and -m- where -p- is excluded:

besbeherik'l'i (7)	bembeherik'l'i (3)	skillful
besberek'etl'i (4)	bemberek'etl'i (2)	fertile
besbeter (19)	bembeter (1)	bad
bombol (12)	bosbol (6)	abundant
büsbütün (25)	bümbütün (1)	complete
časçarpık (4)	çamçarpık (2)	crooked
koskopuk (4)	komkopuk (1)	broken
paspak (3)	pampak (3)	clean
pasparlak (18)	pamparlak (4)	shinny
tastamam (28)	tamtamam (1)	complete
yasyamuk (11)	yamyamuk (2)	uneven
yusyuvarylak (29)	yumyuvarylak (1)	round

The following are the variations between -p- and -r- where -s- and -m- are excluded:

sepsefil (1)	sersefil (23)	miserable
sapsakat (1)	sarsakat (1)	disabled

For each variation above, arguments in favor of the LE with the highest frequency load can be presented.³ Yet some choices on a LE may beg questions about the dissimilative process. Concerning some variations that seem to weaken the assumption of a dissimilative process, it is quite possible to think that some different data could have been elicited had the subjects been provided with possible contexts for the augmented forms. There were about 300 items that the speakers were required to deal with, which took about 45 minutes to complete. Therefore, the occurrence of so many variations may be thought partly to be the result of a mechanistic manner employed in the production of the forms. The investigation, however, seems to have revealed that a certain reduplication in Turkish is a dissimilative process of a certain LE with respect to the consonant segments in the stem.

NOTES

1. There are several other types one of which is closely related to the case under investigation, which is considered to exhibit "more complex reduplicative patterns" (Swift 1961:124). A possible explanation for these irregular augmented forms with the insertion of the same extra phonemic segments, -p-, -m-, and -r-, will not be dealt within this paper.

2. It seems to be obvious that the augmented form *kaskatı* has assumed a different semantic content. Moreover, there are some augmented forms whose stems are obsolete. For instance, the form *tamtakır* 'nothing left' is the only one in use whereas the morpheme *takır* has no meaning, and is never used.

3. In spite of the general pattern of dissimilation that the data revealed, there are few items that appear to be inconsistent with this fact. For example

yumuşak 'soft' is one of them with a considerable frequency load. Seven speakers out of 32 preferred *yumuşak* with the LE -m- in the duplicated form of this item. Further research may reveal if there is an independent principle that sometimes seems to override the general pattern of duplication.

REFERENCES

- Marantz, Alec. 1982. *Re Reduplication*. Linguistic Inquiry. 13:435-82.
- Swift, Lloyd B. 1961. A Reference Grammar of Modern Turkish. Bloomington. Indiana University Publications.

APPENDIX A

-p-

<i>stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>number of respondents</i>	<i>varying forms</i>
abl'aksiz	immoral	1	
ahmak	stupid	5	
ağır	heavy	18	
ak	white	19	
akılsız	stupid	11	
aksi	disagreeable	12	
ajal'e	quick	10	
ajé	hot	13	

al'evl'i	flaming	1			
alék	stupid	6			
aléngan	sensitive	6			
aljak	low	11			
amačsíz	aimless	1			
ani	sudden	7			
aniden	suddenly	6			
anlamsíz	meaningless	10			
anlayışlı	understanding	4			
anormal'	abnormal	5			
antika	antique	1			
aptal	stupid	2			
arızalı	defective	3			
arzulu	willing	1			
aşık	in love	10			
ateşli'i	ardent	1			
aydınlık	bright	26			
aynı	same	21			
azgın	furious	17			
çalışkan	hard-working	4			
çarpık	crooked	2	čas- 4	çam- 2	
çek'imser	abstainer	2			
çevik'	swift	5	çes- 2	çem- 2	çer- 2
çevre	surrounding	8			
çiplak	nude	1			

çürük'	rotten	17	çüs- 2	çüm 2
şambaz	acrobat	1		
şanlı	alive	26		
şansız	lifeless	22		
şazip	attractive	1	şas- 1	
dalgın	pensive	10	das- 2	
dar	narrow	29		
değersiz	worthless	4	des- 1	
derin	deep	25	des- 1	
dik'	steep	1	dim- 25	
dil'siz	mute	1		
diri	alive	27		
doğru	straight	6	dos- 26	
dolu	full	30	dos- 1	
dostça	friendly	1		
dur	clear	7		
duygusuz	insensitive	1		
dürüst	honest	10		
düz	straight	5	düm- 26	
ek'il'i	planted	2		
ek'sik'	lacking	7		
ek'şi	sour	19		
el'verişli'i	useful	3		
ender	rare	1		
endişeli'i	worried	3		
erdemli'i	virtuous	1		

erg'in	mature	6		
esk'i	old	21		
evvel'	before	1		
eyik'	oblique	12		
eyl'endel'i	amusing	1		
eyri	crooked	29		
ezil'miş	smashed	3		
ezik'	smashed	26		
g'ed	late	6	g'es- 1	g'em- 4
g'end	young	24		
g'eniş	wide	21		
g'erg'in	taut	8		
g'evşek'	loose	8	g'es- 3	g'em- 4
g'iri	grey	10	g'is- 1	
g'öçük'	fallen down	9	g'ös- 3	
g'öl'g'el'i	shadowy	1	g'ös- 2	
g'ü	difficult	2	g'üm- 4	
g'üçl'ü	strong	14		
g'ül'ün	ridiculous	16	g'üs- 1	
g'ündüz	day time	8		
g'üneşli'i	sunny	9	g'üs- 2	g'üm- 1
g'ür	thick	17	g'üm- 2	
g'üzel'	nice	15	g'üs- 4	g'üm- 1
hassas	sensitive	6		
hasta	ill	2		

haşin	harsh	2	
haylaz	idle	5	
heyecanlı	excited	2	
hiddetli'i	angry	1	
hissiz	callous	8	
hoş	pleasant	6	
hudutsuz	limitless	1	
huysuz	ill-tempered	13	
hünerli'i	adroit	2	
ik'iz	twin	1	
inçe	thin	31	
insafsız	pitiless	2	
iri	big	29	
istek'li'i	willing	5	
iştahlı	having appetite	4	
iyi	fine	6	
ılık	lukewarm	25	
ıslak	wet	26	
kalın	thick	25	kas- 4
kahvereng'i	brown	2	
kara	black	27	kas- 3
karanlık	dark	29	kas- 1
karlı	snowy	6	
k'arlı	profitable	13	k'as- 1
karşı	opposite	7	
katı	hard	7	kas- 22

kavruk	scorcted	4	kas- 10	
kayıp	lost	1		
k'esik'	cut	4		
k'esk'in	sharp	16		
k'inl'i	vindictive	1	k'is- 1	
kırmızı	red	23	kıs- 1	
kızgın	angry	19		
kızıl	crimson	22	kıs- 1	
kojaman	big	2	kos- 25	
kolay	easy	13	kos- 10	
korkak	cowardly	1	kos- 3	kom- 1
korkulu	frightening	3		
korkunç	terrible	14	kos- 1	
koyu	dark	24	kos- 7	
k'ötü	bad	8	k'ös- 9	k'öm- 1
kuduruk	wild	6	kus- 4	kum- 1
kuralsız	irregular	1		
kuru	dry	22		
kurumuş	dried up	1		
kuşkulu	nervous	1		
kutsal	sacred'	1		
kuvvetli'i	strong	2	kus- 3	
k'üçük'	tiny	10	k'üs- 6	k'üm- 5
narın	delicate	11	nas- 2	
nazik'	agreeable	6	nas- 1	

nazlı	coquetish	8	
neşeli	cheerful	3	nes- 1
nurlu	limunous	7	nus- 1
olası	possible	1	
olumlu	possitive	4	
olumsuz	negative	1	
olgun	mature	2	
öfkeli	choleric	1	
ölgün	faded	11	
ölü	lifeless	11	
önde	ahead	7	
özgün	original	5	
özlü	sticky	8	
renkli	colorful	8	
sabırlı	patient	1	
sabunlu	soapy	1	
saf	naive	1	sam- 1
safir	deaf	13	
sağlam	healthy	27	
sakat	disabled	1	sar- 1
salak	stupid	6	sam- 1
sarı	yellow	23	
sarkık	hanging	7	
sarp	steep	1	sam- 3
sefil	miserable	1	ser- 23
sert	hard	4	sem- 16

sesl'i	having voice	5	
sessiz	quiet	10	sem- 4
sevejen	compassionate	2	
sevıml'i	appealing	5	
sevinçl'i	joyful	1	
sinırl'i	nervous	8	
siyah	black	1	
sıcak	hot	13	sım- 19
sıkı	tight	4	sım- 19
sıkıcı	boring	3	sım- 1
sıkıntılı	dull	4	
sivri	sharp-pointed	26	
soğuk	cold	16	som- 2
sokulgan	sociable	1	
solak	left-handed	1	som- 1
solgun	faded	18	
somut	concrete	1	
soyut	abstract	1	som- 1
sök'ük'	ripped open	3	söm- 4
sulu	watery	19	
susamış	thirsty	1	
susuz	waterless	11	sum- 1
süslü	ornamented	4	
sözg'ün	weak	11	
şakı	squint-eyed	3	şam- 1

şahane	magnificent	7	
şaşkın	confused	12	
şek'erli'i	sweet	9	şem- 1
şirin	affable	8	
şişman	fat	9	
şuh	coquetish	1	
taşlı	stony	5	tam- 1
tatlı	sweet	17	
tatsız	tasteless	15	tam- 1
taze	fresh	30	tam- 2
ters	ill-tempered	7	tem- 15
titiz	peevish	4	tim- 1
tiz	high-pitched	1	tim- 5
turunju	orange	1	
tuzlu	dusty	15	tum- 4
ufak	tiny	6	us- 2
ulu	great	14	
uslu	good-natured	25	
uğurlu	auspicious	7	
uğursuz	inauspicious	4	
uygun	suitable	14	
uygunsuz	inappropriate	6	
uyşal	conciliatory	7	
uyumlu	harmonious	1	
uyumsuz	discordant	6	
uzak	a long way	25	

uzun	long	28		
ünl'ü	well-known	10		
ütöl'ü	ironed	1		
üzg'ün	sad	17		
üzüntöl'ü	sad	2		
yağız	dark-skinned (man)	5	yam- 1	
yakın	near	11	yas- 6	
yaldızlı	gilt	6		
yalnız	alone	25		
yamuk	uneven	2	yas- 11	yam- 2
yarık	split	4	yas- 1	
yarım	half	5	yas- 7	
yassı	flat	4	yam- 25	
yaşlı	elderly	13	yas- 1	yam- 1
yeşil'	green	2	yem- 30	
yıkık	demolished	2	yım- 5	
yırtık	torn	10	yıs- 3	yım- 1
yolsuz	with no roads	4		
yorgun	tired	8	yos- 10	
yosunlu	mossy	3		
yumuşak	soft	5	yus- 7	yum- 7
yük'sek'	high	7	yüm- 5	
yünl'ü	woolen	1		
zayıf	thin	19		
zek'i	intelligent	5		

<i>stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>number of respondents</i>	<i>varying forms</i>		
zeng'in	wealthy	11			
zıt	opposite	5	zım-	6	
-s-					
babaJan	good-natured	3			
beJerik'l'i	skillfull	7	bem-	3	
bel'l'i	obvious	8			
benJil'	selfish	4			
berek'etl'i	fertile	4	bem-	2	
beter	worse	19	bem-	1	
bol	abundant	12	bom-	6	
boylu	tall	12			
böl'ük'	in bits	8			
bunak	imbecile	10			
bunamış	imbecile	2			
bütün	whole	25	büm-	1	
büyük'	big	8			
çabuk	quick	2	çar-	29	
çarpık	crooked	4	çap-	2	çam- 2
çevik'	swift	2	çep-	5	çem- 2 çer- 2
çürük'	rotten	2	çüp-	17	çüm- 3
jazip	attractive	1	jap-	1	
dalgın	pensive	2	dap-	10	
darılmış	offended	1			
değersiz	worhtless	1	dep-	4	

derin	deep	1	dep- 25
dipsiz	bottomless	1	
dođru	straight	26	dop- 6
dolu	full	1	dop- 30
döšk'ün	fallen on hard times	1	
fakir	poor	6	
gaddar	cruel	3	
g'eb	late	1	g'ep- 6 g'em- 4
g'evrek'	tender	5	
g'evšek'	loose	3	
giri	grey	1	gip- 10
g'öök'	caved in	3	g'öp- 9
g'öl'g'el'i	shadowy	2	g'öp- 1
g'öl'ünö	ridiculous	1	g'öp- 16
g'üneşli'i	sunny	2	g'öp- 9 g'öm- 1
g'özel'	nice	4	g'öp- 15 g'öm- 1
kaba	crude	8	
kalın	thick	4	kap- 25
kara	black	3	kap- 27
karanlık	dark	1	kap- 29
k'arlé	profitable	1	k'ap- 13
katé	stiff	22	kap- 7
kavruk	roasted	10	kap- 4
k'inli'i	vindictive	1	k'ip- 1
kırmızı	red	1	kıp- 23
kızıl	crimson	1	kıp- 22

kojaman	big	25	kop- 2	
kolay	easy	10	kop- 13	
kopuk	broken off	4	kom- 1	
korkak	cowardly	3	kop- 1	kom- 1
korkund	fearfull	1	kop- 14	
koyu	dark	7	kop- 24	
kötü	mean	9	k'öp- 8	k'öm- 1
kuduruk	furious	4	kup- 6	kum- 1
kumlu	sandy	2		
kuvvetli	strong	3	kup- 2	
küçük	small	6	küp- 10	küm- 5
masalsız	meaningless	2		
mavi	blue	23		
mor	purple	23		
ince	slim	2	nap- 11	
nazik	kind	1	nap- 6	
neşeli	cheerful	1	nep- 3	
parlak	luminous	1	nup- 7	
pek	pure	3	pam- 3	
parlak	shining	18	pam- 1	
sert	firm	1		
siyah	black	24		
pliseli	with pleats	1		
pratik	practical	1		
tamam	complete	28	tam- 1	

tombul	plump	8			
toparlak	round	29			
tuhaf	queer	4			
ufak	small	2	up-	6	
vahşi	wild	1			
yakın	near	6	yap-	11	
yamuk	uneven	11	yap-	2 yam-	2
yapışkan	adhesive	1			
yarık	cracked	1	yap-	4	
yarım	half	7	yap-	5	
yaşlı	elderly	1	yap-	13 yam-	1
yırtık	torn	3	yıp-	10 yım-	1
yobaz	bigot	2			
yorgun	tired	10	yop-	8	
yumuşak	soft	7	yup-	5 yum-	7
yuvarlak	round	29	yum-	1	

-m-

<i>stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>number of respondents</i>	<i>varying forms</i>	
başka	different	7		
beherik'l'i	skilful	3	bes-	7
bež	beige	3		
berek'etl'i	fertile	2	bes-	4
beter	worse	1	bes-	19
beyaz	white	24		
bitişik'	contiguous	4		

bok	excrement	25			
bol	abundant	6	bos-	12	
boş	empty	29			
bozuk	defective	19			
buruşuk	wrinkled	8			
bütün	whole	1	büs-	25	
çarpık	crosswise	2	çap-	2	ças- 4
çevik'	swift	2	çep-	5	çes- 2 çer- 2
çürük'	rotten	2	çüp-	17	çüs- 2
dik'	upright	25	dip-	1	
düz	straight	26	düp-	5	
g'eç	late	4	g'ep-	6	g'es- 1
g'evşek'	loose	4	g'ep-	8	g'es- 3
g'ök'	green/blue	10			
g'üç	hard	4	g'üp-	2	
g'üneşli'i	sunny	1	g'üp-	9	g'üs- 2
g'ür	abundant	2	g'üp-	17	
g'üzel'	nice	1	g'üp-	15	g'üs- 4
kopuk	broken off	1	kos-	4	
korkak	cowardly	1	kop-	1	kos- 3
k'ötü	mean	1	k'öp-	8	k'ös- 9
kuduruk	furious	1	kup-	6	kus- 9
k'üçük'	small	5	k'üp-	10	k'üs- 6
misk'in	poor-spirited	1			
pak	clean	3	pas-	3	
parlak	bright	1	pas-	18	

paslı	rusty	1	
puslu	misty	4	
pürüzsüz	smooth	2	
saf	naive	1	sap- 1
salak	stupid	1	sap- 6
sarkık	pendulous	1	
sarp	steep	3	sap-1
sert	hard	16	sep- 4
sessiz	quiet	4	sep- 10
sıcak	hot	19	sip- 13
sıkı	tight	19	sip- 4
sıkıcı	boring	1	sip- 3
sinirli	nervous	1	
siyah	black	27	
soğuk	cold	2	sop- 16
solak	left-handed	1	sop- 1
soyut	abstract	1	sop- 1
sök'ük'	unstitched	4	söp- 3
susuz	waterless	1	sup- 11
şaşı	cross-eyed	1	şap- 3
şekerli'i	sweet	1	şep- 9
tamam	complete	1	tas- 28
taşlı	stony	1	tap- 5
tatsız	tasteless	1	tap- 15
taze	fresh	2	tap- 30

ters	peevish	15	tep-	7	
titiz	fastidious	1	tip-	4	
tiz	sharp (of voice)	5	tip-	1	
tuzlu	salty	4	tup-	15	
yağız	dark skinned (man)	1	yap-	5	
yamuk	uneven	2	yap-	2	yas- 11
yassı	flat	25	yap-	4	
yaş	wet	29			
yaşlı	elderly	1	yap-	13	yas- 1
yeşil'	green	30	yep-	2	
yıkık	demolished	5	yıp-	2	
yırtık	torn	1	yıp-	10	yıs- 3
yumuşak	soft	7	yup-	5	yus- 7
yüvarlak	round	1	yus-	29	
yük'sek'	high	5	yüp-	7	
zıt	opposite	6	zıp-	5	

-r-

<i>stem</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>number of respondents</i>	<i>varying forms</i>		
çabuk	quick	29	ças-	2	
çapraz	crosswise	1			
çevik'	swift	2	çep-	5	çes- 2 çem- 2
çiplak	naked	25	çıp-	1	
sakat	disabled	1	sap-	1	
sefil'	miserable	23	sep-	1	
temiz	clean	22			

APPENDIX B

The following are the adjectives for which reduplicated forms were not generated in the elicitation conducted to obtain the data:

ahl'akdišî	immoral
anarşik'	anarchistic
antiseptik'	antiseptic
başsız	leaderless
besl'eyîji	nutritious
bil'imsel'	scientific
çapkîn	dissolute
dehşetl'i	dreadful
dostane	friendly
efl'atun	lilac-color
evvel'je	before
farksîz	indistinguishable
fedak'ar	self-sacrificing
fersîz	without radiant
hünerl'i	talented
il'k'	first
il'tihaplî	inflamed
mantîksîz	illogical
misk'in	wretched
muhteşem	magnificent
mukaddes	sacred
müstesna	extraordinary