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Contents

Part III Turkish language contacts

Preface and acknowledgements

Most of the papers in this Volume are based on the 14th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics held at Rouen University, France. We thank all the contributors for their diligent work and also for their patience. The book contains three sections. In the first section titled 'Turkic structures', current linguistic issues in Turkic languages are discussed. In the second section, titled 'Turkish linguistic issues', researchers of Turkish linguistics present their findings on a rich variety of topics where linguistic analysis is the overarching element in all the contributions. In the third part, titled 'Turkish language contacts', research findings of the studies on Turkish language contacts in the immigration context are presented.

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PART I

Turkic structures

On the syntax of Mishar Tatar

1. Introduction

Mishar Tatar, which has developed under the strong influence of the Russian language, exhibits deviations from the canonical word order of Turkic languages. However, Mishar Tatar is not homogeneous: there are approx. 15 sub-dialects of Mishar Tatar. The range of the linguistic norms of the Mishar Tatar covers the norms of the standard Tatar language, where the speaker of Mishar Tatar can be recognized only by his specific accent, as well as more peculiar linguistic norms, which exhibit the impact of other languages, especially of Russian. The sub-dialects which are situated most distant from the Republic Tatarstan often demonstrate syntactic characteristics, which deviate from the standard Tatar language and consequently from other Turkic languages. The syntax irregularities are especially conspicuous in the western sub-dialects of Mishar Tatar: Kuznetsk (MKuzn.), Temnikov (MTmn.), Lämbir (MLmb.) sub-dialects spoken in Mordovia and Penza Oblast of Russian Federation. These sub-dialects are the closest geographically to the origin area of Mishar Tatar.

Drawing comparisons between constituent order strategies in Mishar Tatar, other Turkic languages, and Russian, this study investigates the integration and functionality of copied structures on different levels.

In the following, we will limit our scope to those sub-dialects which expose deviations.

Figure 1: The distribution of the Mishar Tatar sub-dialects

2. Noun phrase: the adnominal genitive, compounds

Besides its predicative function, the suffix *+nIkI* (< *+nIŋ-kI*) can also serve as a genitive or take part in the forming of compounds. The modifier mainly appears after its head. The systematic character of this phenomenon should be clearly indicated. The modified noun carries the possessive suffix only if the modifier is a definite noun:

(1) *sästrä-sĭ   kiyäw-nĭkĭ*   (MTmn.)
    sister-POSS3   bridegroom-GEN
    'the sister of the bridegroom'

In case of nominal compounds, the modifier is marked by the suffix *+nIkI*, whereas the modified noun doesn't carry the possessive suffix:

(2) *pritstavitĭl   sud-nïkï*   (MKuzn.)
    representative   court-GEN
    'court's officer'

The strategy of placement of the genitive after the modified noun is not new in Turkic languages which have contact with European languages, but only the Mishar Tatar use the suffix *+nIkI*, probably because this suffix has a normally predicative meaning and as a predicate appears after the noun it describes.
        In some sub-dialects, e.g. Sergač (MSrg.), Čüpräle (MČpr.), the adnominal genitive appears generally in a prenominal position. However, the prenominal use in the sub-dialects MKuzn., MTmn., MLmb. is limited mainly to possessive pronouns:

(3) *bĭz-nĭkĭ atakay big ïstĭrugï kĭšĭ   idĭ*   (MLmb.)
    we-GEN father   very strict   person PST.COP
    'Our father was a very strict person'

The postnominal placement of the genitive is typical of Slavic languages. The same strategy is also observed in Trakai Karaim, Halič Karaim, and Gagauz:

(4) *baš-ï   at-nïn*   (Trakai Karaim)
    head-POSS3   horse-GEN
    'The horse's head'

The modifier marked with the suffix *+nIkI* directly follows the modified entity or can be separated by clitics as *dA* 'also', *gInA* 'only' or by words, which can be described as short predicates, *bar*, *yuk(tïr)*, *bula*, *küp*, etc.

(5) *ul   bïrnï-gan   čïbïk tal-nïkï* (MKuzn.)
    DEM   germinate-PART   wand willow-GEN
    'That's a germinated willow wand' (i.e., branch with blossoms)

(6) *atxot-lar   gïna kĭšĭ-nĭkĭ   kal-ïr* (MKuzn.)
    waste-PL   only person-GEN   remain-AOR
    'Only the waste among human being will remain'

(7) *ĭš-ĭ   küp   mŭškŭ-nŭkŭ* (MTmn.)
work-POSS3   many   hemp-GEN
'There is a lot to do with hemp'

(8) *kamaz-lar-ï   bar   xalïk-nïkï* (MKuzn.)
truck-PL-POSS3 EXIST   people-GEN
'The people have trucks'

The frame 'NP *X* NP+*nIkI*' helps to present the most important information before the less important, to emphasize it. Such a rhema-thema structuring is a characteristic of East Slavic languages. This strategy serves for evaluating the information as unexpected, surprising, remarkable, and conspicuous.

The use of +*nIkI* as a genitive marker does not implicate a full abandonment of +*nIŋ*. Both suffixes are used in parallel.
   The cases, where the +*nIŋ* ~ +*nIn* suffix is preferred:
   1) in set expressions (9),
   2) as the part of a correlative construction (10),
   3) in the presence of other modifiers along with the genitive (11), and
   4) when the modified noun is used in an oblique case (12)–(13).

(9) *axirät   kŭn-ŭ-nŭn   alämät-lär-ĭ* (MKuzn.)
afterlife   day-POSS3-GEN   omen-PL-POSS3
'The omens of the apocalypse'

(10) *šul   tabïšmak-nï   kĭm   dĭrĭs   tutïr-a,*
DEM   riddle-ACC   who   correct   implement-PRS
šunïŋ   bul-ïr   tay-ï (MTmn.)
DEM.GEN   be-AOR   foal-POSS3
'Who solves this riddle, to that person the foal will belong'

(11) *bŭtŭn xabar-lar-nï,   ves   dŭnya-nïn   ikĭnčĭ   yŭz-ŭn-dä*
all   news-PL-ACC   whole   world-GEN   second surface-POSS3-LOC
bul-gan   xabar-lar-nï   süli-y (MKuzn.)
occur-PART   news-PL-ACC   tell-PRS
'It tells all the news, the news which occur in the other part of the whole world'

(12) *allahu täalä   anïn   gŭnʲax-ï-n   kičĭr-ĭr* (MKuzn.)
Allah Ta'ala   his   sin-POSS3-ACC   forgive-AOR
'Allah Ta'ala will forgive his sin'

(13) *xatïn-nar gïna sŭri-y-lar   xäl-äxväl-ĭ-n   yäš   kilĭn-nïŋ* (MKuzn.)
woman-PL only ask-PRS-3PL conditions-POSS3-ACC young   bride-GEN
'Only women ask for the conditions of young bride'

The modifier with +*nIkI* appears very rarely in an oblique case, also here often as an afterthought.

(14) *kul-lar-ïn-da   ak   pirčätkä   malay-lar-nïkïn-da* (MLmb.)
hand-PL-POSS3-LOC white   glove   boy-PL-GEN-LOC
'In their hands are white gloves, in the boys' hands'

(15) *kiyäw   al-a   šäl-nĭ   katnï-sï-nïkï-n*   (MKuzn.)
    brother-in-law take-PRS   shawl-ACC   wife-POSS3-GEN-ACC
    'The brother-in-law takes the shawl of his wife'

3. Verb arguments

Whereas the position of a noun object depends on the discourse structure of the sentence, there is a strong tendency to place the infinitive, which has the suffix *+(A/I)rgA*, after its head:

(16) *šundïy   waxït   tiyĭš   yĭt-ärgä*   (MKuzn.)
    such   time   MOD   achieve-INF
    'Such times should come'

(17) *anï   bul-a   ĭšlä-rgä   ačïliy   kamïr-dan*   (MTmn.)
    DEM.AKK   MOD-PRS   make-INF   leavened   dough-ABL
    'It can be made from leavened dough'

4. Subordinate clauses

4.1   Right branching

Mishar Tatar can apply the right-branching subordination methods of clauses with finite verbs by using the relative pronoun *kasʲï* 'which' (< *kaysï*), relative adverbs *kaya* 'where', and *kačan* 'when' in relative and temporal clauses. In a nominal relative clause, the nominal relative pronoun refers to something known and concrete, which can be specified.

4.1.1 The relative pronoun kasʲï

The relative pronoun *kasʲï* 'which' (sometimes *kaysï*) is very common in the most Mishar sub-dialects. The relative clauses introduced with the relative pronoun *kasʲï* are obligatorily postnominal and follow the noun phrase which they modify. The antecedent demands the agreement of the relative pronoun in number. It is not compulsory that the relative clauses directly follow the noun phrase that they modify. A relative clause can be represented by a nominal sentence and be positioned between the subject and the predicate of the matrix clause.

(18) *patpisaťʲ it-t-ĭ   imam   [kasʲï   kit-t-ĭ]*   (MLmb.)
    sign   do-PST-3SG imam   REL.which   go-PST-3SG
    'Those imam has signed, who has gone'

(19) *minĭm malay-ïm šul [kaysï fïrunt-ta ül-d-ĭ]* (MKrsn.)
    my boy-POSS1SG DEM REL.which front-LOC die-PST-3SG
    'My boy is those, who died at the front'

(20) *nuriya   apa   [kaysï   kifĭn-när-nĭ   pĭč-üčĭ]*
    Nuriya   older-sister   REL.which   body's.robe-PL-ACC cut-PART
    zvaniťʲ it-ä   üz-ĭm-ä (MLmb.)
    call   do-PRS P-POSS-1SG-DAT
    'Nuriya *apa*, who cuts dead body's robes, phones me'

The relative pronoun is governed by its role in the subordinated clause, not in the main clause. In other words, the case of the relative pronoun is determined by its function in the clause.

(21) *kargan-a-m,*   *di-y,*   *allahu   täälä   bĭlän*
      swear-PRS-1SG   say-PRS   Allah   Ta'ala   POST.with
      [kasʲĭ-nĭn   kul-ĭn-da   minim   zanĭm] (MKuzn.)
      REL.which-GEN hand-POSS3-LOC   my   soul-POSS1SG
      'I swear, he says, with Allah Ta'ala, in Whose hands is my soul'

The antecedent demands the agreement of the relative pronoun in number. The plural form is used with and without a possessive suffix:

(22) *ä   üzgä kĭšĭ-lär   [kasʲĭ-lar   čĭn   tĭt-ärgä   bar-ĭr-lar],*
      and   other person-PL REL.which-PL   really   destroy-INF   go-AOR-3PL
      alar   indĭ dinsĭz   gĭnä (MKuzn.)
      they   well godless only
      'And the other people who really go to destroy (it), well, those are just godless'

(23) *bar   šĭndiy   kĭšĭ-lär*
      EXIST   such   person-PL
      [kasʲĭ-lar-ĭ   ĭš-kä   zawapsĭz   kari-y-lar] (MČst.)
      REL.which-PL-POSS3   work-DAT   irresponsible regard-PRS-3PL
      'There are such people who irresponsibly regard the job'

The relative pronoun *kaysĭ* is also actively used in Trakai Karaim and Halič Karaim in the same function (cp. Musaev 1964: 223, 325f.). There, the use of the possessive suffix in the plural form is obligatory.

4.1.2 Relative adverbs

4.1.2.1 The relative adverb *kaya* 'where'
The word *kaya* 'where' can also be used to introduce a relative clause expressing a place:

(24) *bar   mäkkä-dä   xaram   mäčĭt-ĭ,*
      EXIST   Mecca-LOC   Haram   mosque-POSS3
      xaram   mäčĭt-ĭ   [kabätulla   kaya] (MKuzn.)
      Haram   mosque-POSS3 Kabatullah   REL.where
      'There is a Haram mosque in Mecca, the Haram mosque, where Kabatullah is'

Again, besides Russian, the similarity can be found in Trakai Karaim and Halič Karaim:

(25) *men   tanĭ-d-ĭm   bu   övčük-nü*
      I   regognize-PST-1SG   DEM   small.house-ACC
      [kayda   ös-t-üm]   (Trakai Karaim)
      REL.where grow-PST-1SG
      'I have recognized this small house where I grew up'

4.1.2.2 Temporal sentences introduced by the conjunction *kačan* 'when'
Adverbial sentences with temporal meaning are introduced with the adverb *kačan* 'when'.
In such sentences, predicates are normally finite verb forms (26). However, they can be also
infinite (27):

(26) *[kačan   süli-y-lär]   angar-mi-y-m*   (MKrsn.)
    when   talk-PRS-3PL   understand-NEG-PRS-1SG
    'When they talk, I don't understand'

(27) *[kačan   yir   yŭtkač],   bälki,*
    when   earth   swallow-CV maybe
    ara-lar-ïn-da   šundïy kĭšĭ-lär   bul-ïr (MKuzn.)
    among-PL-POSS3-LOC   such   person-PL be-AOR
    'When the earth swallows (them) up, maybe such people will be among them'

The conjuction *kačan* 'when' introducing subordinated clauses with temporal meaning can
be found in Trakai Karaim and Halič Karaim in two forms: *kačan* (Trakai Karaim) and
kacan (Halič Karaim) (cp. Musaev 1964: 224):

(28) *[kacan   hodza   yarlï-nï   kïsta-y-d]*
    when   rich   poor-ACC oppress-PRS-3SG
    bulut kuyas-nï   kapla-y-d (Halič Karaim, proverb)
    cloud sun-ACC   cover-PRS-3SG
    'When the rich oppresses the poor, the cloud covers the sun'

4.1.3 Borrowed subordinating conjunctions
There are also subordinating conjunctions borrowed from Russian without replacing them
with their Tatar counterparts: *što* 'that' and *patamuštï* 'because'.

(29) *min   indĭ at'-t'-ïm   uže   diy-ä   [što bĭznĭn imam   kit-t-ĭ]* (MKuzn.)
    I   well tell-PST-1SG already say-PRS   that our   imam   go-PST-3SG
    'He says "Well, I told already, that our imam has gone"'

(30) *[bigĭräk   tä   uŋay mŭškŭ-nï   maruz   artï   bälä-rgä],*
    extremely   CONJ   easy hemp-ACC   frost   POST.after bind-INF
    patamuštï   [mŭškŭ yŭmšar-a] (MLmb.)
    because   hemp   soften-PRS
    'It's extremely easy to bind hemp after frost, because the hemp softens'

4.1.4 Direct speech
The placement of a direct speech follows the same pattern – the direct speech is placed after
the reporting verb:

(31) *yarlï at'-a   [bar-ïyk   pažaluy   patča-ga]* (MTmn.)
    poor   tell-PRS   go-VOL1PL I.suppose czar-DAT
    'The poor says: "I suppose, let's go to the czar"'

(32) *at'   [üz-ĭm   bĭl-d-ĭm]* (MTmn.)
    tell.IMP2SG   self-POSS1SG   realize-PST-1SG
    'Tell (him): "I realized it by myself"'

The dominant strategy in Turkic languages is the placement of the reporting verb after the direct speech connected with an infinite form of the verb *de-* 'say' (e.g., *dep* or *diye*, cp. Kyrgyz *süyömün dep ayt* "Tell that you love").

5   Correlative clauses

Mishar Tatar can produce correlative clauses alongside with Trakai Karaim and Halič Karaim, but also Turkish. Here, there must be a demonstrative phrase in the main clause associated with the correlative clause.

(33) *kayan$_i$ al-d-ïŋ,   [šul   urïn-ga]$_i$ kuy* (MCna.)
     where.ABL   take-PST-2SG   DEM   place-DAT   put.IMP.2SG
     'Put it in the place you took it'

(34) *kĭm   närsä$_i$ tĭli-y,   šunï$_i$ kitĭr-ä-lär* (MSrg.)
     who   what   wish-PRS DEM.ACC   bring-PRS-3PL
     'They bring that, what one wants'

(35) *yul-ïn-da   kĭm$_i$ pirut ŭčrï-y, šunarga$_i$ bir-ä* (MMäl.)
     way-POSS3-LOC   who first meet   DEM.DAT   give-PRS
     'Whom he meets on his way first, to that person he gives (it)'

6   Dependent interrogative clauses

The implied questions formed with interrogatives or with an interrogative particle can be embedded as a complement clause in a complex sentence. The interrogative clauses play the role of a subject or of an object and appear in their positions. The verbs of thinking and reporting verbs are used.

(36) *kŭda   üz-ĭ   ät-ä*
     affiancer self-POSS3   tell-PRS
     [kasʲï at-nï   kĭm ĭv-ĭn-ä   yĭbär-ĭrgä] (MTmn.)
     which horse-ACC   who house-POSS3-DAT   send-INF
     'The affiancer tells himself which horse to send to whose house'

(37) *[sin   närsä ät-ä-sĭŋ   rinat-ka]   ul aŋna-mï-y* (MLmb.)
     you   what   tell-PRS-2SG   Rinat-DAT   he understand-NEG-PRS
     '(That,) What you tell to Rinat, he doesn't understand'

(38) aŋna-mï-y-m   [nästä   süli-y-sĭŋ] (MSrg.)
     understand-NEG-PRS-1SG   what   talk-PRS-2SG
     'I don't understand what you are talking'

7   Discourse-Pragmatic Structures

As in Russian, the preferable placement of the constituent expressing new information in the discourse is clause-final, after the finite verb:

(39) *bïrïn bïrïn zaman-da, bĭr   awïl-da,*
     past   past time-LOC INDEF   village-LOC
     tïr-gan [bĭr   bay,   bĭr   säwdägär, män   bĭr   yarlï]$_{new}$.
     live-PRF INDEF reach   INDEF merchant POST.with   INDEF poor

[alar ikäw]_{presupposed}   *čïk-kan-nar*   [säwdä-gä]_{new}.
they   both   go.out-PRF-3PL trade-DAT
[yarlï-nïn]_{presupposed}   *bul-a*   [at-ï]_{new},
poor-GEN   be-PRS horse-POSS3
[säwdägär-nĭn]_{presupposed}   [arba-sï]_{new}   (MTmn.)
merchant-GEN   cart-POSS3
'In very old times, in a village lived a reach (person), a merchant, and a poor (person). They both went out for trade. The poor has a horse, the merchant has a cart'

(40) *kiyäw   bir-ä   kïz-ga   [yĭzĭk]_{new}*   (MTmn.)
bridegroom give-PRS girl-DAT ring
'The bridegroom gives the girl a ring'

(41) *wä läkin kĭm anï sülä-t-ä?*
but   who him talk-CAUS-PRS
anï   sülä-t-ä   [allahu täalä]_{new}   (MKuzn.)
him   talk-CAUS-PRS Allah Ta'ala
'But who lets him talk?   It's Allah Ta'ala Who lets him talk!'

(42) *mïnan   kit-t-ĭ   [tuy]_{new} . ...   anan   kil-d-ĭ [tukïz mašina]_{new},*
DEM.ABL go-PST-3SG wedding   DEM.ABL   come-PST-3SG nine car
[tuy]_{presupposed} bäk zur idï (MTmn.)
wedding very big PST.COP
'From here started the wedding (celebrations). (…) Then came nine cars. The wedding celebration was great'

However, the position of the identificational focus remains preverbal.

(43) *tilivizïr-ga   [sväz^j]_{i-focus} kiräk-mi-y,   [iliktričistvï]_{i-focus} kiräk* (MKuzn.)
television.set   connection be.necessary-NEG-PRS   electricity   necessary
'A TV doesn't need a connection, what it needs is electricity'

8 Questions
As in Slavic languages, question words (wh-words in English) are typically clause-initial.

(44) *ničĭk   ul   tabïšmak-nï bĭz bĭl-iyĭk?* (MTmn.)
how   DEM   riddle-ACC we guess-VOL1PL
'How are we supposed to guess that riddle?'

(45) *kĭm   sĭz-gä   bu   mäsälä-nĭ tiš-t-ĭ?* (MTmn.)
who   you-DAT DEM   task-ACC solve-PST-3SG
'Who has solved this task for you?'

(46) *kĭm-nĭkĭ   bu   yĭzĭk? kĭm mŭnŭ   ĭšlä-d-ĭ?* (MXvl.)
who-GEN   DEM   ring   who DEM.ACC   do-PST-3SG
'To whom does this ring belong? Who did this?'

An adverb precedes the interrogatives:

(47) *tŭnä   kĭm-nĭ   yäšĭn   suk-t-ĭ?* (MKuzn.)
yesterday   who-ACC lightning   strike-PST-3SG
'Whom did lightning strike yesterday?'

9 The position of the particles *imĭš* and *ikän*
The placement of the particles *imĭš* and *ikän,* which express indirectivity and mirativity, corresponds with the placement of their Russian counterparts (e.g., the word *okazyvaetsʲa* 'It has emerged that'):

(48) *bak-sa-m,   ikän pauza-da   tĭr-a* (MLmb.)
     look-COND-1SG MIR pause-LOC   stand-PRS
     'I look – it's on pause!'

(49) *ĭv-ĭgĭz   ikän zur* (Maxmutova 1978: 254)
     house-POSS2PL MIR big
     'Your house is big!'

(50) *sin   imĭš süli-y-äl-ä-sĭn   mĭ?* (MKuzn.)
     you   MIR speak-CV-be.able-PRS-2SG   Q
     'You can speak?'

(51) *ul   ikän bĭr   padša-nïn   kïz-ï* (Kakuk 1996: 97)
     DEM MIR INDEF padishah-GEN   daughter-POSS3
     'Turns out, she is a daughter of a padishah!'

10 Conclusion

Mishar Tatar demonstrates many syntactic features which are not typical of Turkic languages and can only be explained by the contact phenomenon.

At the noun phrase level, there is a genitive modifier which is placed after the modified noun. In contrast to other contact influenced languages as Trakai Karaim, Halič Karaim or Gagauz, in which the modifier can also appear after the modified noun, the possessive suffix of the modified noun is omitted in the formation of compounds, whereas the modifier always carries the genitive suffix.

In a verb phrase, the tendency to place the infinitive after its head is observed.

Right branching in the clause subordination is also possible by use of the relative pronouns and relative adverbs. The native junctors are based on Russian ones. Although relative and correlative structures can also be found in other Turkic languages characterized by contact with Indo-European languages, their presence in Mishar Tatar is strengthened by the impact of Russian. The placement of direct speech after the reporting verb and the use of the dependent interrogative clauses with finite verb forms can be regarded as a copy of subordinative structures in Russian.

On the discourse-pragmatic level, the position of new information is at the end of a clause, as in Russian. While the position of the identificational focus remains immediately in front of the predicate core, the interrogatives appears as a clause-initial. The particles *imĭš* and *ikän*, which are normally clause-final in Turkic languages, occur in the same positions as their Russian counterparts.

All of these features described above correspond to the features of Slavic languages, especially of Russian. Due to this fact, the syntactic developments in Mishar Tatar should be of concern as a result of the strong impact of Russian.

Abbreviations

ABL – Ablative
ACC – Accusative
AOR – Aorist
CAUS – Causative
COND – Conditional
CONJ – Conjunction
COP – Copula
CV – Converb
DAT – Dative
DEM – Demonstrative pronoun
EXIST – Existence copula
GEN – Genitive
IMP – Imperative
INF – Infinitive
LOC – Locative
MIR – Mirative

MOD – Modal
NEG – Negation
NP – Noun phrase
P – Pronoun
PART – Participle
PL – Plural
POSS – Possessive
POST – Postposition
PRF – Perfect
PRS – Present tense form
PST – Past tense form
Q – Question particle
REL – Relative pronoun
SG – Singular
VOL – Volitative

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