In this paper, I present an analysis of what Johanson (2002:59) terms 'compartmentalization' of Turkish and Perso-Arabic material in Middle Ottoman Turkish, where 'islands' of Perso-Arabic morphosyntax are embedded within and are impenetrable to a morphosyntactically Turkish clause. I argue that this structure is the result of a constraint on the percolation of a feature [+foreign] associated with all Perso-Arabic lexical and functional items. This correctly predicts that structures interweaving Turkish and Perso-Arabic material are impossible. Data corroborating this analysis is taken from the *Şehnâme-yi Hümâyûn* of Talikizade, composed in the late $16^{th}$ century.

Middle Ottoman Turkish was developed by an 'effectively trilingual elite' (Kerslake, (1998:180)) trained in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. It incorporated numerous lexical items alongside fully productive morpho-syntactic structures from both Persian and Arabic which were used alongside pre-existing Turkish equivalents. In spite of the trilingualism of Ottoman authors, the division of labour between Perso-Arabic and Turkish material is highly constrained.

The structure of a Middle Ottoman clause is shown in (1-a), where two fully Perso-Arabic NPs are embedded within a syntactically Turkish clause. Each NP productively uses Perso-Arabic morphosyntactic structures as well as borrowed lexical items. The first NP contains the noun *küffâr* 'unbelievers', derived via Arabic templatic morphology (singular *kâfir*), as well as the Persian adjective *hâksâr* 'base'. It uses the Persian nominal linker (glossed *iz*) to link the noun *küffâr* to its attributive adjective *hâksâr*. The otherwise Perso-Arabic NP then receives the *Turkish* accusative suffix *-ı*. The second NP has a similar structure. There are two borrowed lexical items, Persian *duzâh* 'hell' and Arabic *'anâ* 'pain'. This NP also uses the Persian nominal linker, this time to link the possessor *'anâ* with its possessum *duzâh*. This NP too receives Turkish case marking, here the dative *-(y)a*. The verb *virmişdi* 'had given' is fully Turkish. The structure of (1-a) thus consists of two fully Perso-Arabic NPs with Turkish case marking assigned by a Turkish verb.

(1)     An Ottoman Clause[1] (Woodhead, 1983:138)

   a.     ... [PRS *küffâr-ı*          *hâksâr*]-ı ... [PRS *duzâh-ı 'anâ*]-ya   vir-miş-di
          ... [PRS *unbeliever.pl.ar-iz base*]-ACC ... [PRS *hell-iz   pain*]-DAT give-PTCP-PST
          '... he had consigned the base unbelievers to a painful hell...'

Most Middle Ottoman clauses follow the general pattern of (1-a). When Perso-Arabic NPs occur, no Turkish morphology may appear within them. Turkish morphology only appears at the periphery, as with case suffixes. This is observable in the distribution of co-existing equivalent Turkish and Perso-Arabic constructions. While Turkish equivalents can be used freely with Perso-Arabic lexical items in the default case, they are avoided when these Perso-Arabic lexical items are embedded within a larger morphosyntactically Perso-Arabic NP, such as a nominal linker construction. This is shown in (2) and (3). Consider in (2) the choice of numeral type depending on the morpho-syntactic context of the noun that it quantifies, *iklîm* 'clime'. In (2-a), where *iklîm* occurs outside of a nominal linker construction, it is quantified with the Turkish numeral *yedi* 'seven'. In (2-b), however, it occurs within a nominal linker construction, here linked to the possessum *mâlikiyet* 'ownership'. When quantified in this context, the Persian numeral *heft* 'seven' is used in lieu of the Turkish equivalent. The same pattern is observed in (3) with plural marking. When the Perso-Arabic lexical item *pâdişâh* occurs without additional Perso-Arabic morphology, as in (3-a), it can be pluralized with the Turkish plural marker *-lar*. However, when embedded within a nominal linker construction as in (3-b), where *pâdişâh* is linked to an attributive adjective *kelân*

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[1]All Perso-Arabic lexical and functional items in examples are *italicized*.
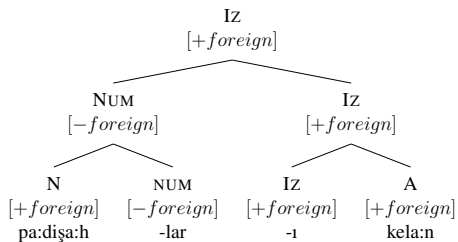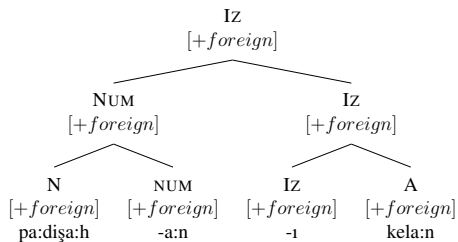
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'great', it is pluralized instead with the Persian suffix *-ân*. Forms such as *\*pâdişâh-lar-ı kelân* are so far unattested, as is (with very few lexical exceptions) the occurrence of Turkish lexical items with Perso-Arabic morphology such as the nominal linker.

(2)  More Ottoman Examples
     (Woodhead, 1983:120)

    a.  **yedi** *iklîm*-e    *hâkim*
       **seven** *clime*-DAT *dominant*
       '...ruling over the seven climes...'

    b.  *mâlikiyet-i* **heft** *iklîm...*
       *ownership-iz* **seven** *clime...*
       'ownership of the seven climes.'

(3)  More Ottoman Examples
     (Woodhead, 1983:117, 120)

    a.  *pâdişâh*-**lar**-dan
       *padishah*-**pl**-ABL
       'of the padishahs'

    b.  *pâdişâh*-**ân**-*ı* *kelân*-dan
       *padishah*-**pl**-*iz great*-ABL
       'From the great padishahs'

The pattern thus involves an asymmetry between Perso-Arabic and Turkish material: Turkish material can embed Perso-Arabic material, but not the opposite. Structures that interweave Perso-Arabic and Turkish material, such as *\*pâdişâh-lar-ı kelân*, where a Turkish plural embedding a Perso-Arabic noun is then embedded by a Persian nominal linker, are impossible. This can be accounted for with a constraint on a feature [+foreign], where Perso-Arabic morphemes are [+foreign] while all other morphemes are [-foreign]:

(4)  Embeddedness Constraint
     When a [+foreign] node merges with a [-foreign] node, [-foreign] percolates.

This constraint ensures that structures like *\*pâdişâh-lar-ı kelân* will be impossible, while allowing for *padişâh-lar* outside of a nominal linker construction. *\*pâdişâh-lar-ı kelân* is precluded because it would require the percolation of the [+foreign] feature of IZ upon its merger with the [-foreign] node from the Turkish plural *-lar* as in (5-a), labelled NUM. The use of the Persian plural *-ân* in *pâdişâh-ân-ı kelân* avoids this problem, since there is no [-foreign] feature and the constraint is not activated. This is shown in (5-b). The structure in *pâdişâh-lar* is, however, permissible in isolation because the [+foreign] feature of *pâdişâh* need not percolate upon merger with the [-foreign] feature of Turkish plural *-lar*.

(5)  a.



    b.



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