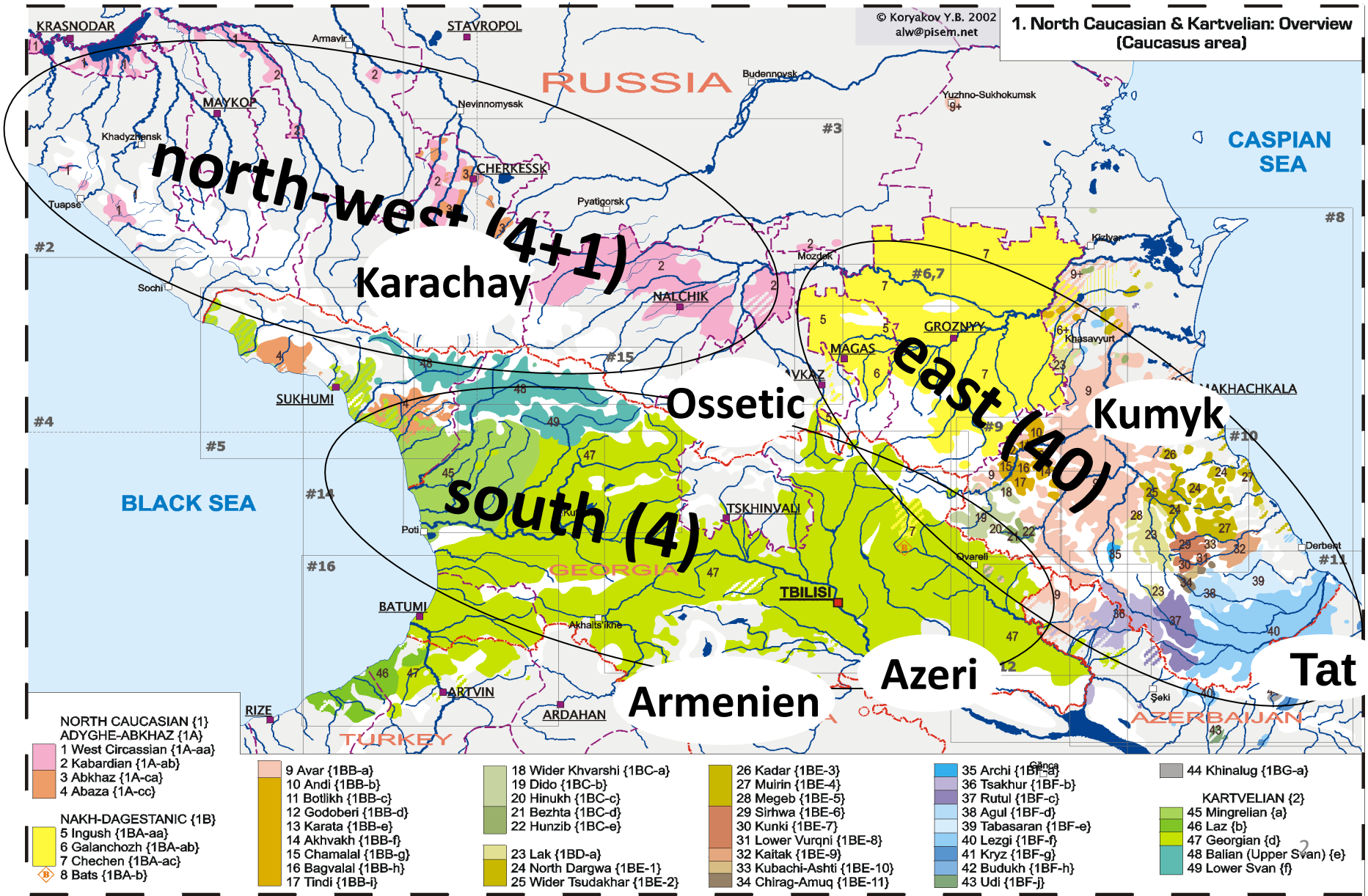
“Impact of contact: typological change in Tat languages”

University of Pavia,
September 10th, 2015

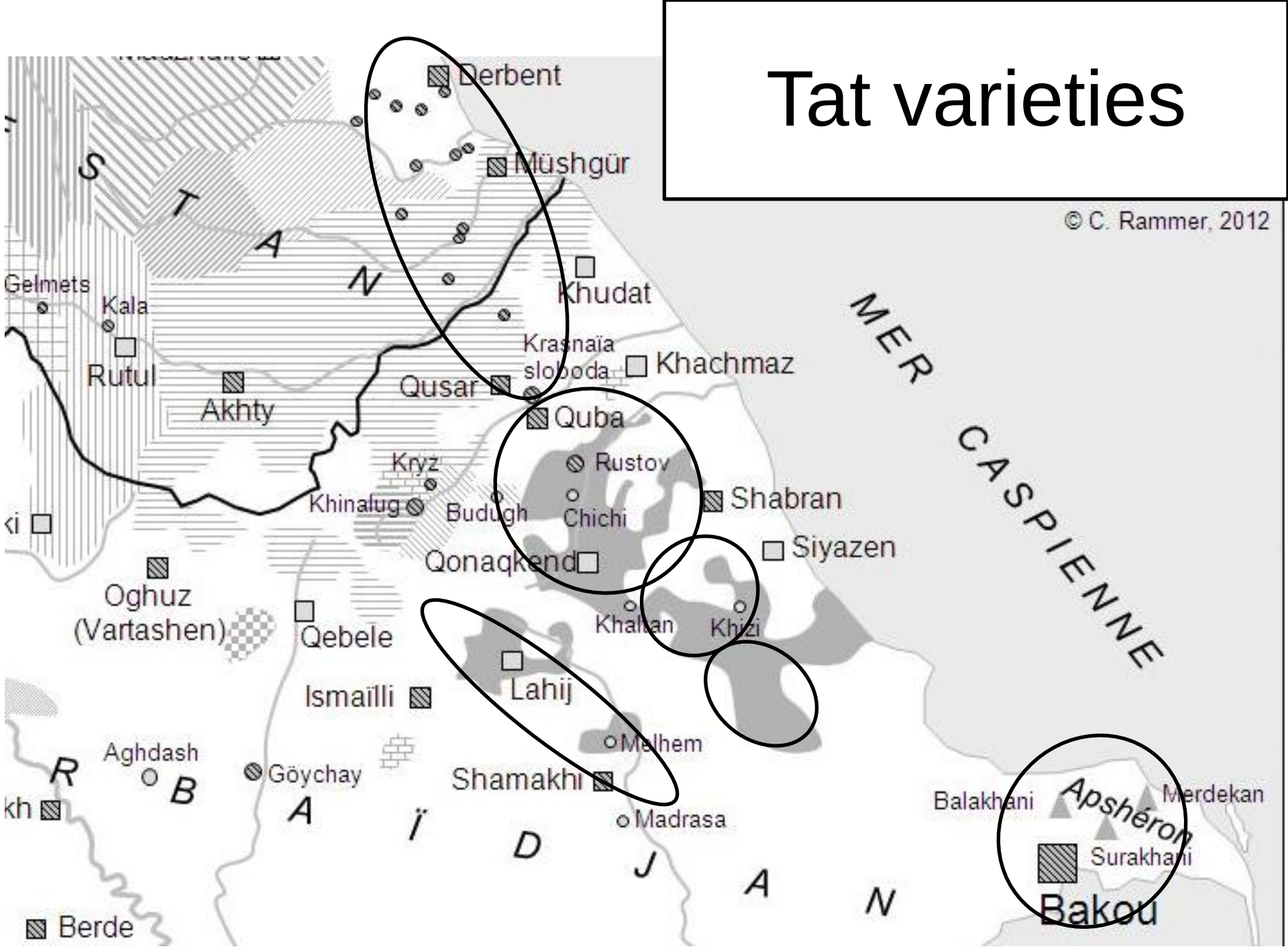
Gilles Authier

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris

About 50 languages in the Caucasus, of whichsome 40 are neither Indo-European nor Turkic



Derbent


Tat varieties
© C. Rammer, 2012
Derbent
Mïshgür
Khudat
Gelmets
Kala
Rutul
Akhty
Qusar
Krasnaïa sloboda
Khachmaz
Quba
Rustov
Chichi
Shabran
Siyazen
Kryz
Khinalug
Budugh
Qonaqkend
Oghuz (Vartashen)
Qebele
Khalkan
Khizi
Lahij
Ismaïlli
Melhem
Aghdash
Göychay
Shamakhi
Madrasa
Balakhani
Apshéron
Merdekan
Surakhani
Bakou
Berde
MER CASPIENNE

At least 2, maybe up to 5 languages

Southern (Muslim and Christian**)** Tat

// **Northern, Jewish Tat** in Daghestan (Derbent) = literary form

\+ Other North-Caucasian cities

South-West Iranian

All descended from a **Middle Persian** dialect.

ЭХЬМЕДУЬЛИРЕВОЗ ЭКИ ХЭЛГЪ

гуфдире омореннге, чендгъэдер эз дес туь веро-икилуье коргьо. Эз расдиш ижире гофгьо гуьнжо-и одоми, э товун комики мере имбуруз воисдени сохде эри хундегоргьой гозит иму «Ватан». И пушо-де э уревоз ме гировундуьм суьгьбет.

Хаимович Нисанов мори э 31-муьн май э сал э Гьирмизине э кифлет жофокеш. у Хаим Давидович ьо бири рэхьбер отдел ве пропаганди э рай-е. Э мегь июнь 1942- э оголзереи партия афдени э фронт. 17-арь э 1943-муьн сал аим э игидьетиревоз ерде э гъэршуй хунху-стгьо, норени жун хуь-и азади шегьер Про-лкей Ростов, гье унжо врегьой бирори норе и эну сенгъ еровурди. эн еки эз школегьой ск норе омори э гІуьзет

дошде ве келе сохде Мазалту хэгьер юре, умеки сохдени э Сара келедедей ве келебе-ьо Истир ве Довид бен омиреки э гІэрей хэлгъ гъэм Довид Илишо. Э лебебей эну Илишаев оисдени гуфдире, ки у ире омбар э дин бово-одоми, гьемчуьн неве-ьшдереш хуте сохдебу гьой Туроре ве боворин цин-догІотие гІэдотгьой му. Эзуш бэгъэй у бу до-пойвокудухдегор.

Исроил, Адиньяев Борис, комики зигьисдени э США ве гьей-могьоиш духдени модельни чекмегьо.

Неденишире э у кор, ки Исаак Хаимовиче бугеш хубе кор ве муьгьбетлуье сенигІэт, у э 1964-муьн сал дарафдени эри зиед сохде дананигьой соводи хуьшдере э Гьемсоюзни институт промышленность хуреки (ВЗИПП) э шегьер Москов э заочни тегьер хундеи. 1972-муьн сал э барасиревоз бегьем сохде госэкзамене ве дипломни кор хьуькуьмети, шев духдем пойвокугьо, биребу вэхд те себэхь не хисирем эри дуланмиш сохде келе кифлете. Воисдени гуфдире, ки келе кумеки эри тербиедореи э хэгьер-бироргьой хуьшде сохди духдер ме Римма, комики изму не дери э гІэрейму. Монухьо ю э генгІидим гердо. ферзендгьойме вероморе э овхьолет дусди ве шолуми хуб дануьсде гъэдуьр жофой бебе-дедей хуьшдере ве гирдет хьуьрмет дуь екире. Изму угьо расирет э метлебгьой дуьл ишу ве зигьисденуьт э кифлеттьошуревоз э Москов, Исроил, Китай. Ме омбар шоруьм, ки гІэилгьойме гьисдуьт сенигІэткоргьой эн е чендпишегьо, э гІэрей комигьоки деруьт долокк, бухгалтер, автомеханик, стоматологгьо, бизнесменгьо. Гьемчуьн е кук мере гьисди верзуьшлуье нум — доктор медицински гІилми.

Эз 1991-муьн салевоз Исаак Хаимович — ветеран жофои рафди э гІуьзетлуье форигъэти хуьшде. Омбар шор сохденуьт уре 36 невегьой эну, комигьоки гьисдуьт эри эну келе дуьлхоши. Оммо измуш у корсуьз нуьшде хьэз нисе оморе. У омбар мерэгъэлуьни э коргьой жэгІмиети. Ченд салгьо И.Нисанов гьисди бэхшвегир Миньяи (десятки), жигегир серНуьш эгІ жэгІмиет нумаз.

– Исаак Хаимович, ихди лот сохит, чуьжире везифе иге ишмуре э нумаз.

– Ме гировунденуьм жире бе-жире гъуллугъигьой дин


Мерак

Copying from Azeri (Turkic)

Outlines

Copying from Turkic (Azeri)

Copying from East Caucasian

East Caucasian semantics / Turkic loans

Code switching

sul eyoq=ä deno e=zongu, soq eyoq=ä

left foot=DAT put_in.AOR(3) LOC=stirrup right foot=DAT

gütermiş sox-d.

spurring do-AOR(3)

« He put his left foot in the stirrup, and spurred with his right foot. »

Old bilingualism: lexical borrowing

basic vocabulary :

biloq ‘spring’
bulut ‘cloud’
buqoz ‘troat’
dirnoq ‘hoof’
işüq ‘light’
peni ‘cheese’

cultural vocabulary :

delü ‘crazy’
ugut ‘praise’
ulke ‘country’
day ‘foal’
tülki ‘fox’
yeher ‘saddle’
ox ‘arrow’

Sometimes two lexemes occur, one Iranian, the other Turkic :

vor / kulok
velg / yeproq
xürs / oyu
par / qänet

Note the phoneme */ü/*

Yes/No questions with =***mi*** :

*xäber=i=**mi***	*tü=re*	*ez*	*u*	*kor?*
news=COP3=Q	2=DAT	ABL	that	affair

« Are you aware of that ? »

Also borrowed by East Caucasian nearby

DOM in Tat and Persian < Turkic

Indefinite

Azeri

Fidan *kitab* *oxu-yur*

F. book read-PRS.3SG

“Fidan reads **a** book.”

Tat

Fidan *kitob* *ba-xun-dan*

F. book LOC-read-FACT.3SG

“Fidan reads **a** book.”

DOM in Tat (and Persian) < Turkic

Definite

Azeri

Fidan	*kitab-**ə***	*oxu-yur*
F.	book-**ACCDEF**	read-PRS.3SG

“Fidan reads **the** book.”

Tat

Fidan	*kitob-**e***	*ba-xun-dan*
F.	book-**OBL**	LOC-read-FACT.3SG

“Fidan reads **the** book.”

The clitic =(r)e

indirect object:

di	*imu=re*	*tovuş-e*	*ruz-ho.*
(IMP)give	1PL=OBL	light-ATTR	day-PL

« Give us glorious days ! »

definite direct object:

vokur-deni	*[partal-ho=y*	*padşoh]*	*=e.*
dress-PRS3	clothes-PL=EZ	king	=OBL

« He puts the king’s clothes on. »

=> Accusative-dative(-genitive) syncretism

Possessive predicates and NPs

dative possessor + copula

*me**=re***	*se*	*kuk=i.*
1=OBL	three	son=COP3

« I have three sons. »

Genitive, (Southern Tat only):

Peleng**=e**	penje-ha**=yü**
Tiger=OBL	paw-PL=POS3

Participial RCs

divor	*<u>veçarüs-de</u>*	*ħomum*
wall	croll-PART	bath

« a hamam with a ruined wall »

« gerund », posterior converb + coreferent S/A

u=re	*düsdoq*	***sox-de***	*bi=yor-it*	*eki=me !*
3=OBL	prisoner	do-CV	IMP=bring-2P	APUD=1

« Take him ***and*** bring him to me. »

cf. Tadjik

Other adverbial uses of the gerund

“without” converb:

doɦori ***ne=veçarüs-de*** *çole-ho pur ni=bu.*

stone neg=roll-cv roadpit-pl full neg.evt=be.3

« One does not fill pits without carrying stones. »

simultaneous / manner converb:

xän-de xän-de *ixdilot sox-d eri en=u...*

laugh-cv laugh-cv story do-aor3 for gen=3

« He tells, laughing,... »

immediate converb:

çüşme batmiş ***bi-re ne=bi-re…***

sun sinking be-cv neg=be-cv

« As soon as the sun has set... »

Other converbs

Anterior (without coreference):

*ʕord=e e=kendu dekür-de=**bäqdo**...*

flour=obl loc=box pour-inf=**after**

« After he had poured the flour in the box… »

“since”:

diväʕ odomi ez dede bi-remun usol=i.

nature man abl mother be-**from** vile-cop3

« Human nature is vile from his birth. »

“when”:

*me **nüş-d-üm-ki** e=xori Ħäsen nüş-d e=me=revoz.*

1 sit**-aor-1-when** loc=ground H. sit-aor3 loc=1=with

« When I sat down, Hasan sat down with me. »

Quotations:

gufdi-rembir-üt=ki *u* *zihis-deni**=gufdire*** *e=vişe.*
say-ipf.pst-3pl=that 3 live-prs3=quote loc=forest
« They say she was living in the forest. »

Complement clauses:

danüs-den-üm *biror=me* *soq=i* ***=gufdire**.*
know-prs-1 brother=1 safe=cop3=quote
« I know my brother is alive. »

cf. Az. *diyə* ‘saying’

Quotative -> Adverbial subordinator

cause:

kuk=yu heçi läqär zäʕif=i ***=gufdire****.*

son=3 so lean sick=cop3=quote

« (The king was worried) **that** his son was so lean and sick. »

aim:

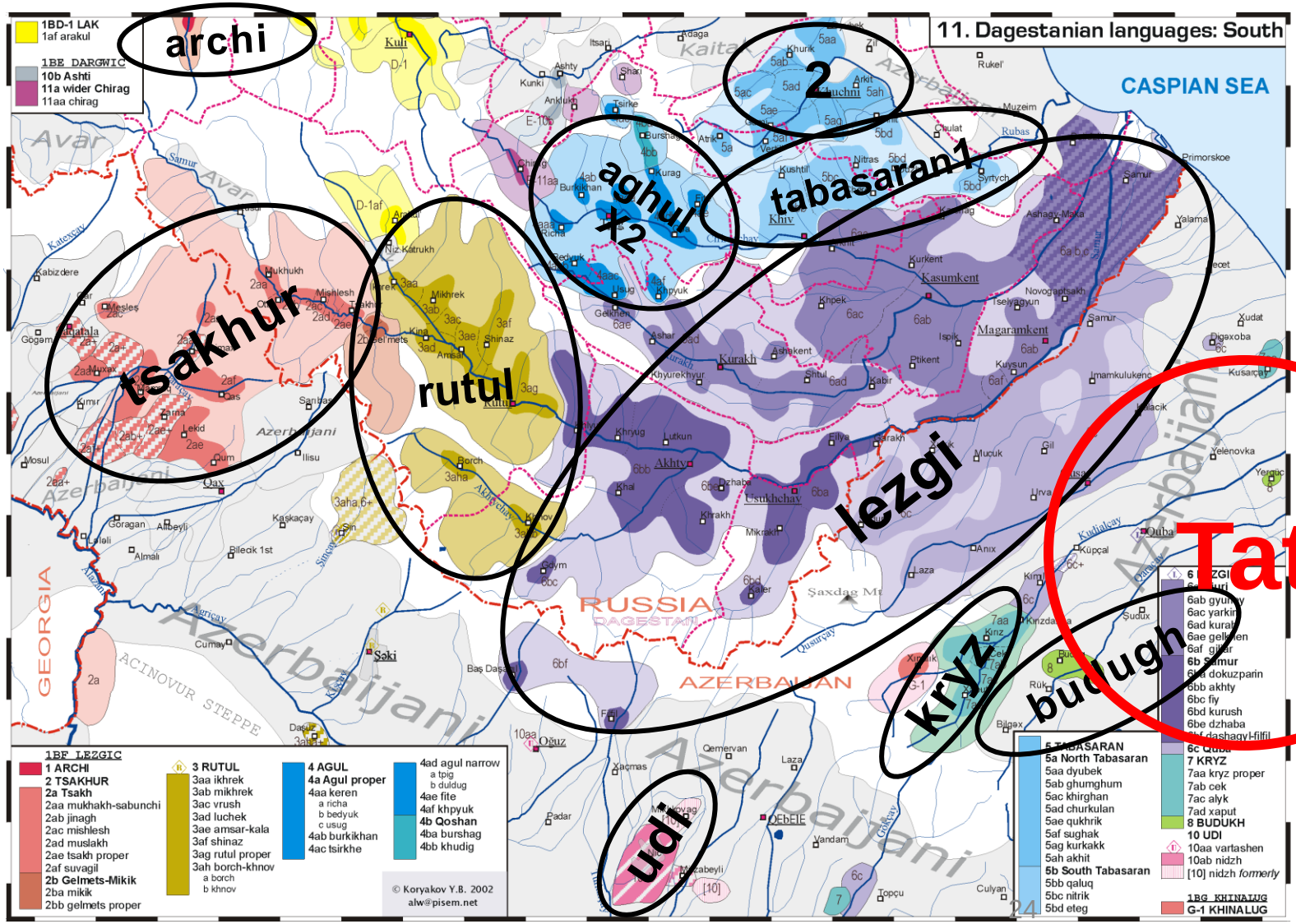
u ʕätoş veno mulla=re xinik ne=bu ***=gufdi-re****.*

3 fire put.aor3 mulla=obl cold neg=(subj)be.3 =quote

« He made fire **so that** the mulla would not freeze. »

Copying from East Caucasian

Lezgic


archi
2
aghul x2
tabasaran1
tsakhur
rutul
lezgi
Tat
kryz
budugh
udi
11. Dagestanian languages: South
CASPIAN SEA
RUSSIA
DAGESTAN
AZERBAIJAN
GEORGIA
Azerbaijani
1BD-1 LAK
1af arakul
1BE DARGWIC
10b Ashti
11a wider Chirag
11aa chirag
1BF LEZGIC
1 ARCHI
2 TSAKHUR
2a Tsakh
2aa mukhakh-sabunchi
2ab jinagh
2ac mishlesh
2ad muslakh
2ae tsakh proper
2af suvagil
2b Gelmets-Mikik
2ba mikik
2bb gelmets proper
3 RUTUL
3aa ikhrek
3ab mikhrek
3ac vrush
3ad luchek
3ae amsar-kala
3af shinaz
3ag rutul proper
3ah borch-khnov
a borch
b khnov
4 AGUL
4a Agul proper
4aa keren
a richa
b bedyuk
c usug
4ab burkikhan
4ac tsirkhe
4ad agul narrow
a tpig
b duldug
4ae fite
4af khpyuk
4b Qoshan
4ba burshag
4bb khudig
5 TABASARAN
5a North Tabasaran
5aa dyubek
5ab ghumghum
5ac khirghan
5ad churkulan
5ae qukhrik
5af sughak
5ag kurkakk
5ah akhit
5b South Tabasaran
5bb qaluq
5bc nitrik
5bd eteg
6 LEZGI
6a Kuri
6ab gyuney
6ac yarkin
6ad kura
6ae gelmen
6af gilar
6b Samur
6ba dokuzparin
6bb akhty
6bc fiy
6bd kurush
6be dzhaba
6bf dashagyl-filfil
6c Quba
7 KRYZ
7aa kryz proper
7ab cek
7ac alyk
7ad xaput
8 BUDUKH
10 UDI
10aa vartashen
10ab nidzh
[10] nidzh formerly
1BG KHINALUG
G-1 KHINALUG
© Koryakov Y.B. 2002
alw@pisem.net

A very un-Caucasian language

No ejective consonants

No palatalization, labialization

No vigesimal numeration

No inclusive *vs* exclusive 1pl pronouns

No grammatical gender

No ergativity (S = P / A)

Phonology

	s	*ʂ*		*x*
p	*t*	*ʨ*	*k*	*h*
b	*d*		*g*	*q*
v	*z*	*j*		*ʃ*
m	*n*	*r, y*	*l*	= ‘zone du *ä*’

Word initial pharyngeal epenthesis

ʕ***ov*** < *āb* ‘water’

ʕ***äsb*** < *asb* ‘horse’

ʕ***ätoş*** < *ātaş* ‘fire’

including Azeri loans:

ʕ***ätlü*** < az. *atlı* ‘horseman’

ʕ***ärmu*** < az. *armud* ‘pear’

ʕ***ärebir*** < az. *ara-bir* ‘once in a while’

Preverbs

Not Turkic !

< ***dar*** **‘in’, *bar* ‘on’**

very frequent :

ve-gür-d	*e=buz*	*korde*	*tike=y*	*en*
take_up-AOR3	LOC=point	knife	piece=EZ	GEN

xämze=re	*eri*	***do-no-re***	*e=läʕä=y*	*jovon.*
date=DAT	for	put_in-INF	LOC=mouth=EZ	young

« He took (up) **on** the point of a knife a piece of date and put it **into** his mouth. » (D)

Preverbs in Budugh

ʕa-*č’i* ‘to go <u>in</u>’

qe-*č’i* ‘to go <u>out</u>’

ye-*č’i* ‘to go <u>across</u>’

ču-*su* ‘to put <u>under</u>’

o-*su* ‘to put <u>down</u>’

qu-*su* ‘to put <u>on</u>’

Reversive preverb

de(r)- ‘in’ / ***ve****-de(r)-* ‘out’

ve- (Persian *bāz* ‘back’)

dir-omore	‘come in’ >	***ve****-dir-omore*	‘come out’
da-rafde	‘go in’ >	***ve****-da-rafde*	‘go out’
de-berde	‘bring in’ >	***ve****-de-berde*	‘bring out’

Reversive preverb

u	*şuşkey=re*	***de-şen-d***	*e*	*qob.*
3(NOM)	sword=DAT	put_down-AOR(3)	LOC	sheath

« He **put** his sword **in** the sheath. »

u	*şuşkey=re*	***ve-de-şen-d***	*ez*	*qob.*
3(NOM)	sword=DAT	take_out-AOR(3)	ABL	sheath

« He **took** his sword **out** of the sheath. »

Reversive preverbs in Lezgic

Rutul

sa-<va>-ğas ‘to tie’ sa-**qh**-<va>-ğas ‘to un-tie’

Tabasaran

ili-t- ‘put on’ > il-**di**-t- ‘take off’

ʔi-p- ‘throw in’ > ʔi-**di**-p- ‘throw out’

ʔu-č’v- ‘enter’ > ʔu-**du**-č’v- ‘exit’

Spatial copulas

dative possessor + locative copula:

i=re *ruş-biq* ***ver-i****.*

this=OBL beard-moustache be_on-3

« This one has beard and moustache. »

der-i

< Persian *dārad* ‘there is’ < ‘he has’

xov *der-i* *me=re.*

sleep be_in-3 <*have.3 1=OBL

« Sleep has me > Il feel sleepy. »

Inverse construction (affective predicates)

physical:

*u=**re*** *säxd-e* *dendunederd* *gür-debu.*

3=obl firm-attr toothache catch-pqpf.3

« He had severe tooth-ache. »

moral:

tü=re *ze-re* *xäyol=i* ***me=re****.*

2=OBL strike-inf thought=cop3 1=OBL

« My intention is to strike you. »

Construction of contact verbs

keçi	***sürg***	*ze-rebu*	***ez***	*me.*
goat	horn	strike-PQPF.3	ABL	1

« A goat had struck **me** with its horn. »

*ye **qämçil***	*ze-r-im*	***ez***	*ʕäsb-ho=y=imu.*
a whip	strike-AOR-1PL	ABL	horse=1PL

« Let's whip our horses! »

the bodypart or instrument of contact is treated as the patient, while the affected object or person is in an ablative-like case.

« Participles » in interrogative clauses

ki	*bi-re*	*en=tü*	*i*	*se*	*düsdoq?*
who	be-PART	GEN=2this	three	prisoner	

« Who are these prisoners to you ? »

çü sox-de tü i pul-ho=re ?

« What do you do of this money ? »

Same rule in most East Caucasian languages

East Caucasian semantics / Turkic loans

Az. *yan* ‘side’ > Tat *yon* ‘**apudlocative**’

mun-d-um *me e=**yon*** *kulak* *penj sal.*

remain-AOR-1 1 LOC=side kulak five year

« I remained five years **at** this kulak**’s**. »

Az. *qat* ‘fold’ > Tat *qäd* ‘**inside (empty)**’

*ä=**qäd** sunduq.*

LOC=inside trunk

« Inside the box. »

Az. *qäriş* ‘span’ > *qäriş* ‘**inside (mass)**’

ä=***qäriş*** ʕ*ov.*

LOC=inside water

« in water »

gilles.authier@gmail.com