ADPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN UPPER ŞİRVAN TAT

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INTRODUCTION

- “Southwestern” Iranian language spoken mainly in Azerbaijan, also in Dagestan (Russia), Georgia, and immigrant communities (in Israel, Russia-proper, the United States, etc.)

- Different from Tati (a cluster of Northwestern Iranian languages spoken in Iranian Azerbaijan)

- Number of speakers unknown; probably several tens of thousands (down from ca. 100,000 in the late 19th c.)

- Nominative-accusative alignment
INTRODUCTION

- Two main varieties: Judæo-Tat (smaller, written, well-described) and Muslim Tat (larger, non-written, under-described); little to no mutual intelligibility between them.

- Muslim Tat is divided into four main dialect groups (limited mutual intelligibility) – Upper Şirvan Tat (UŞT) being one of them.

- In contact with Turkic and East Caucasian, influenced heavily by Azeri (phonology, vocabulary, derivational morphology, subordinate sentence structures, etc.).

- All speakers are bilingual in Azeri.
INTRODUCTION
ADPOSITIONS IN UPPER ŞIRVAN TAT
ADPOSITIONS IN UPPER ŞIRVAN TAT

- Simple and compound

- Why “adpositions”?

- Examples below will show that historical prepositions can be preposed and postposed to nominal dependents
SIMPLE ADPOSITIONS
**SIMPLE ADPOSITIONS**

- All have cognates in Modern Persian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UŞT</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏā (var.: ḏe, ḏə, ḏa) ‘in, to’</td>
<td>ḏe ‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏi(z) ‘from’</td>
<td>ḏaz ‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣo, ṣe ‘with’</td>
<td>ḏā ‘with’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SIMPLE ADPOSITIONS

(1) ba ḥāyot ye kärg=i hi
LOC yard one chicken=IDF EXIST2/3
‘There is a chicken in the yard.’

(2) fūrmō-re ā ās
descend-PRF2/3 from horse
‘He dismounted from his horse.’

(i) be mān ijozā ti ki vo ti bi-rom
LOC I permission (IMP)give:2 SUB with you SBJV-come.1
‘Allow me to come with you.’
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS

- Grammaticalised prepositional groups / adverbs of place (incomplete list):
  - ba are ‘among’ (ara ‘gap’)
  - bā birun ‘outside of’ (birun ‘outdoors’)
  - bə darun ‘inside of’ (darun ‘indoors’)
  - bā kinor ‘near, beside’ (kinor ‘edge’)
  - bā mingāh ‘in the middle of’ (mingāh ‘middle’)
  - bā pišō ‘in front of’ (pişō ‘front’)
  - bā pišt ‘behind’ (pišt ‘back’)
  - bə sār ‘on top of’ (sār ‘head’)
  - bə tān ‘toward, at, next to’ (tān† ‘body’)
  - bā zir ‘under’ (zir ‘bottom’)
  - vo/ve darun ‘through’
  - vo/ve ruz ‘after, following’ (?ruz ‘day’)

†Note: tān is a homophone with tān ‘toward’.
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS

- Can be used as adverbs in the absence of a dependent:

(ii)  
\[ \text{däsmol}=a \quad \text{ba-šun-dan}=im \quad \text{bə} \quad \text{darun}, \]
\[ \text{towel=OBL} \quad \text{IPFV-throw-PRS-1PL} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{indoors} \]
\[ \text{där}=ä \quad \text{bas-tan}=im \]
\[ \text{door=OBL} \quad \text{close-PRS}=1\text{PL} \]

‘We throw the towel inside and we close the door.’
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS

- Two strategies:
  - ezafe
  - oblique-marked
Bares resemblance to the Persian ezafe structure:

\[\text{kor} \quad \text{xuna} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{home} \quad \text{‘housework’}\]

\[\text{xune} \quad \text{mällö} \quad \text{home.EZ} \quad \text{mullah} \quad \text{‘mullah’s house’}\]
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS — EZAFE

Compound adpositions preposed to their dependents:

(3) ḏē̄ darun qāżit=īš ye jīf qaloš poy vor-de
inside newspaper=ADD one pair people share bring-PRF2/3
‘And inside the newspaper, he brought a pair of clogs as a present.’

(4) ḏē̄ sār qābr-ho nōš-tond
on tomb-PL write-PRF3PL
‘It is written on the tombstones.’

(5) [‘May God always send you bread to your door…’]
ḥā dūr nā=dō-yi vo_ruz nun
LOC far NEG=(SBJV)run-2 following bread
‘…so that you do not have to run far to get it!’
Compound adpositions preposed to their dependents:

(6) \[ \text{daraftanbo } \text{babor=ra } \text{ba_zir } \text{qəravot=i} \]
> enter-PQP3 grandfather=OBL under bed=POS3
> ‘He would get under the grandfather’s bed.’

(iii) \[ \text{pärt } \text{bä-bi-rän } \text{dä } \text{ba_are jamaat} \]
> embarrassed IPFV-be-PRS:3 DM among people
> ‘He became embarrassed in front of the people.’
COMPUND ADPOSITIONS — OBLIQUE-MARKED

- Resembles the oblique possessive construction
- oblique marker (r)ä + possessive marker

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{mälim}=ä & \quad \text{kitob}=i \\
  \text{teacher}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{book}=\text{POS3} \\
  \text{‘a/the teacher’s book’} \\
  \text{imun}=a & \quad \text{säy}=\text{mun} \\
  \text{we}=\text{OBL} & \quad \text{dog}=\text{POS1PL} \\
  \text{‘our dog’ (lit. ‘of us our dog’)}
\end{align*} \]
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS — OBLIQUE-MARKED

- Dependent acts as the morphological possessor:

(9) ye däqqä=rä bə_darun=i här kor dägiš bi
one minute=OBL inside=POS3 each work [changing] be.PST3
‘Within one minute, everything changed.’

(10) tojir hüt_Süryun taxta=rä bə_sär=i xisi-re
merchant naked.STR board=OBL on=POS3 fall_asleep-PRF2/3
‘The merchant, naked as a jaybird, is sleeping on the board.’

(11) yek=i=rä ve_ruz=i hazor-to biye
one=POS3=OBL following=POS3 thousand-QNT SBJV.come:2/3
‘Following one of them, may a thousand come!’
COMPOUND ADPOSITIONS — OBLIQUE-MARKED

Dependent acts as the morphological possessor:

(12) qurban bu-bur-um ü=rä bä_zir=i
sacrifice SBJV-cut-1 s/he=OBL under=POS3
‘I would slaughter a sacrificial lamb under it.’
PLACEHOLDER CONSTRUCTION
Term coined for Middle Persian by Jügel (to appear)

- an enclitic pronoun in its usual position followed by a preposition marked by a third-person ‘expletive pronoun’
- the latter does not refer to an argument but instead secures the position of the fronted pronoun after the preposition

(13) \( u=\tilde{s} \quad d\ddot{a}m \quad d\ddot{o} – \quad \tilde{e}k \quad m\text{erd} \quad u\ddot{d} \quad \tilde{e}k \quad z\text{an} – \) 
  and=s/he creature two one man and one woman

\( a\ddot{z}=i\tilde{\text{s}} \quad d\ddot{e}s-\tilde{\text{ad}} \) 
  from=EXPL build-2PL.SBJV

‘and [he] shall form two creatures – a man and a woman – out of it’ [Jügel, to app.]
PLACEHOLDER CONSTRUCTION

- Similar construction in UŞT
- third-person pronoun ü as expletive pronoun
- (NB. fused forms bä + ü > bö and vo/ve + ü > vö)

(14) in xö=rä äz=ü bendäm vogah bi-r-um
this dream=OBL from=s/he at.this.moment awake be-PST-1
‘At this very moment, I woke up from this dream.’

(15) hänum=a äz=ü dü-to min-de
bathhouse=OBL from=s/he two-QNT stay-PRF2/3
‘There are two of the bathhouses left.’

(16) ye kälä qažqun=i=rä bö oš hist=i
one big.ATR pot=IDF=OBL LOC.s/he cooked.rice EXIST=2/3
‘There is cooked rice in one big pot.’
DISCUSSION


**DISCUSSION**

- Placeholder construction and oblique-marked construction are both dependent-final
- However, they are different!

- **Placeholder construction:**
  - is only possible with the third person
    
    \[
    \text{män}=ä \ \text{bə}_\text{darun}=i \ \text{‘inside me’}
    \]
    
    \[
    *\text{män}=ä \ \text{äz}=\text{män} \ \text{‘from me’}
    \]
  
  - requires a personal pronoun (‘expletive’) and not a possessive clitic
    
    \[
    \text{hänum}=a \ \text{äz}=\text{ü} \ \text{‘from the bathhouse’}
    \]
    
    \[
    *\text{hänum}=a \ \text{äz}=i \ \text{‘from the bathhouse’}
    \]
DISCUSSION

• Placeholder construction – relic feature of Middle Persian origin or recent development due to Turkic influence?
DISCUSSION

- Placeholder construction is typical only for UŞT
  - absent in Judaeo-Tat and in all other Muslim dialects, including some UŞT-speaking villages

- attested in Lahıc and Əhən but notably absent in Gombori where migrants from the former two settled in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} c.
  - THEREFORE: probably a recent development motivated by contact with Azeri, a language with no prepositions and a rich set of postpositions and case suffixes

- made possible by analogy with oblique-marked constructions
  - due to constraints, simple adpositions could not be combined with possessive markers and a more typical ‘simple adposition + personal pronoun’ formula was chosen
CONCLUSION

- Elicitations and spontaneous corpus analysis indicate lack of substantial semantic differences between preposed and postposed constructions in Tat.

- Similar contact-induced phenomena are attested in other Iranian languages, namely Balochi:
  - dialects of Balochi in contact with postpositional Indo-Aryan shifted to postpositional constructions either entirely (e.g. Karachi Balochi) or partially, resulting in a parallel use of prepositions and postpositions (Farrell 2003: 196)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


BĒ DIQQÄTŠMUN QE SOĞ BOŠIND!