Syntactic Borrowing of Azerbaijanian and Qashqay in Iran*

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The Qashqays (Qashqa’i) inhibit various pasturelands at the southern end of the Zagros mountain chain in and around the province of Fars. Recent estimates of the population range from 141,000 to 530,000 (Soper 1986) or 500,000 (Oberling 1993), owing to the lack of reliable statistical data. The Qashqays speak the Southwestern or Oghuz Turkic dialects.

In this paper, I will show the varieties of on-going contact-induced linguistic change that occurs among the younger generation in Qashqay, which have not been exhaustively documented in the literature. The data used in this paper is based on my fieldwork in Shiraz (August 2002, August 2003, August 2004) and Tabriz in Iran (August 2003). Hence, the language referred to as Azerbaijanian here is Iranian-Azerbaijanian. My informant, who speaks the Tabriz dialect of Azerbaijanian, is a 21-year-old woman.

Qashqay has undergone extensive linguistic influence from Persian, especially in the younger generation. Such influence has developed more extensive syntactic changes than Iranian-Azerbaijanian. The Qashqay syntactic structure has not been fully discussed in relation to other Turkic languages in Iran, except for some recent works (see Csató, Isakssom and Jahani (eds.) 2004). Most of the Qashqays are bilingual and speak Persian. The language use of nomad Qashqay is different from those who settle down in the city. Hence, the background of the present informant is important to our study. My Qashqay informant is a 23-year-old woman (2004) who was brought up in the suburbs of Shiraz City. She is a university graduate. She belongs to the Kashkuli tribe. Qashqay is her first language and Persian is her second language. She speaks Persian in her work place and uses Qashqay at home. Data used here is from her examples, except as otherwise indicated.

I will now discuss the Qashqay syntactic structure with respect to Relativization, Possessive, Focus Position, Subordination, Modals and Passives, in that order.

[Qashqay Relativization]:

Qashqay has the same right-branching subordination found in Persian.

(1) kiši-yaki ke (belasín-nan) at aldík.
man-DEF that from him horse we bought

cf. Mard-í ke asb az u xarídánam. Persian
man-DEF that from him I bought
‘The man from whom we bought the horse.’

In contrast to (1), Azerbaijanian has both right-branching and left-branching subordination.
The remarkable feature of Qashqay relativization in this case is that the Head Noun has a definite marker (yaki <yek “one” in Persian). Bulut (2004) also pointed out that Southern Kurdish has a similar type of post-nominal definite marking +aka. Copies of +aka can be also found in Sonqor Turkic, a neighbouring Turkic language. Another point worth mentioning is that Qashqay allows the resumptive pronoun “belasfn-nan” when oblique nominals are relativized. This is the same syntactic strategy that is found in the corresponding Persian relative clause. In Persian, however, the resumptive pronoun is obligatory in this case. The strategy used in Qashqay relativization here corresponds to the selective-copying of Johanson (2002)’s code copying model, where he distinguishes two notions of copying:

“The copying process can be global and/or selective. In global copying, a B (socially dominant language Y.K.) pattern is copied into an A (socially dominated language Y.K.) basic-code clause in its entirety, i.e., as a block of material, combinational, semantic and frequential structural properties. In selective copying, discussed below, the model consists only of selected structural properties of a B block, i.e., characteristics of a material, combinational, semantic and/or frequentive kind.” (Johanson 2002:9)

More examples of selective-copying are set forth below.

[Qashqay Possessive]:

(3) a. Hasan bir oyol var-df.
   H. a sun exist-PST
   ‘Hasan has a son.’
   cf. Ali’nin bi-dane oyl-e var.
   A. -GEN one son-3SG/POSS exist
   ‘Ali has a son.’

Qashqay does not use a clausal genitive possessor construction when the possessee is a human nominal. On the contrary, both Iranian-Azerbaijanian and Turkish use a pre-nominal genitive possessor in this case. The usage of the existential verb “var” (exist) in (3a) is analogous to the Persian verb “dāstān,” which corresponds to the English verb “to have”. Intriguingly, the predicate has the personal agreement marker in Qashqay, as in (4), whereas both Iranian-Azerbaijanian and Turkish do not allow it. Csató (2004:208) also points out the existence of the same type of copied structure taken from the Firuzabad dialect.

(4) a. Men bir oylan var-ym.
   I one son exist-1SG
   ‘I have a son.’

   b. Men mive var-am
   I fruits exist-1SG
‘I have fruits.’

Persian does not use the Genitive Possessor in the Possessive Construction, as in Qashqay. This is also a case of selective copying.

[Focus Position]:

(5) a. Gid-i-ŋ hara?
go-PROG-2SG where
‘Where are you going?’ Qashqay

b. Sen hara ged-di-ŋ?
you where go-PST-2SG
‘Where did you go?’ Azerbaijanian

It is interesting to note that an adverbial WH-element occupies the post-verbal position in an interrogative construction, as in (5a). Generally, the pre-verbal position is used for the adverbial WH-element, as in the Azerbaijanian example (5b). This kind of focus shift cannot be found even in the so-called SVO word order language, such as Gagauz. In contrast to the examples above, interrogated pronominals do not have such properties.

(6) a. *San al-di-ŋ nāmenêt
you buy-PAST-2SG what

b. San nāmenêt al-di-ŋ?
you what buy-PAST-2SG
‘What did you buy?’

Qashqay seems to show Argument versus Adjunct asymmetry in this case, but this is not completely true. Other adjuncts cannot be allowed in the post-verbal position.

(7) a. Nayim bil-ir-ŋ?
how know-PROG-2SG
‘How do you know?’

b. *Bil-ir-ŋ nayim?
how

(8) a. Hačan gel-di-ŋ?
when come-PST-2SG
‘When did you come?’

b. *Gel-di-ŋ hačan?
when

(9) a. Hansi al-di-ŋ?
which buy-PST-2SG
‘Which did you buy?’

b. *Al-di-ŋ hansi?
which

Qashqay has an inflected auxiliary form, whose corresponding form in Persian also has
inflections.

[Auxiliary Inflection]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qashqay → mi-tavān-am</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qashqay → tavānest-am</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The syntactic position for this potential independent auxiliary is pre-verbal, which is also the case in Persian, where both the tense and personal markings are indicated. The lexical meaning of Qashqay in this case is related to Turkic ‘bašar-’, meaning success.

Next, I will demonstrate a full sentence using selective copying of the Present form in Persian. The Tense is indicated on the auxiliary.

(10) mān bašar-īr-am gālā-m.
    I can-PRS-1SG come-OPT-1SG
    ‘I can come.’

(11) Siz bašar-īr-īnīz gālā-ŋīz.
    you can-PRS-2PL come-OPT-2SG
    ‘You can come.’

The Past form is shown below.

(12) Mān bašar-dī-m gālā-m.
    I can-PAST-1SG come-OPT-1SG
    ‘I could come.’

(13) Siz bašar-dī-ŋīz gālā-ŋīz.
    you can-PAST-2PL come-OPT-2PL
    ‘You could come.’

All of these examples are used with the Optative subordinate clause, which shows a typical right-branching subordination strategy used in Persian. We will label this type of auxiliary as full inflection, having both Tense and Personal markings on it.

The following is an original Persian example.

[Persian Auxiliary]:

(14) Mi-tavān-am ān-rā be-kon-am
    PRS-can-1SG that-ACC SUB-do-1SG
    ‘I can do that.’

Here, the auxiliary verb mi-tavān-am “can” appears in the pre-verbal position and has both tense and personal inflections.

[Volition]:

    I tea-ACC want-1SG
    ‘I want to have tea.’
b. Mân ser-im ged-e-m otel-e.
   I want-1SG go-OPT-1SG hotel-DAT
   'I want to/ will go to the hotel.'

We can also find the partial inflection in the auxiliary. The word "ser-" means volition "want" in Qashqay. It does not seem to show any tense inflection as in the potential form we saw before. It only has personal inflection. We would like to call this partial inflection of the auxiliary. Kiral (2004) also presents an example of the modal verb eway- 'want' in Khalaji, a minor Turkic language spoken in Iran. It probably has the same etymological origin as the Qashqay ser-.

In (16-17), we can also find second and third person inflection of the auxiliary.

(16) Sân ser-iŋ ged-e-iŋ otel-e.
   you want-2SG go-OPT-2SG hotel-DAT
   'you want to go to the hotel.'

(17) O seri gede-e otel-e.
   s/he want go-OPT hotel-DAT
   's/he will / wants to go to the hotel.'

All of the examples above seem to have no tense at all. The Tense slot for this form seems to disappear, (a reduced form; E. A. Castó p.c.). Although the intuition of the native speaker shows this word to be one morphological unit, there is a dialectal variation forming the Qashqay volitional construction. The exact nature of this volitional element will be discussed elsewhere.

As we saw before, Qashqay also shows the so-called loss of infinitive behavior with respect to the subordinate clause formation. Namely, the subordinate verb must have the optative form and personal inflection. The Infinitive form cannot be allowed as in (18a).

[Modal for Necessity]:

   I need write-INF
   'I have to write.'

b. Sân gereg ič-e-iŋ.
   you need drink-OPT-2SG
   'You have to drink.'

In (18b), Qashqay uses an analytical modal auxiliary, where no personal inflection is used (impersonal). We will call this the non- inflection of the auxiliary. Further examples of various loan-modals are recognized in Qashqay, such as gereg "need", gas "may" and hatman "must".

[Loan Syntax of Modal]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qashqay</th>
<th>Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gereg 'should'</td>
<td>bāyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gas 'may'</td>
<td>šāyad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatman 'must'</td>
<td>bāyad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Qashqay modals shown above correspond to the Persian non-inflectional modals,
respectively. All of them are lexical copies of Persian. Persian modals here do not have any inflection. These analytical modal adverbs are used with optative verbs, as is the case in right-branching subordination, as follows.

(19) Mān gereg yaz-a-m
    I need write-OPT-1SG
    ‘I need to write.’
(20) Gas mān gal-ā-m
    may I come-OPT-1SG
    ‘I may come.’
(21) Mān hatman yaz-a-sīm
    I must write-OPT-1SG
    ‘I must write.’
(22) Sān hatman yaz-a-sīŋ
    you must write-OPT-2SG
    ‘You must write.’

My informant told me that the Persian hatman is used especially by young people. Below is the corresponding Persian modal construction, where we can find the pre-verbal non-inflectional modal auxiliary “bāyad”. Its main verb has the Subjunctive mood.

The reason why we regard these modals as auxiliaries and not as adverbs is because the relative position of these elements is limited. The most appropriate position for this element is a pre-verbal one.

(23) a. Hatman gid-e-siz hotel-e.
    must go-OPT-2SG hotel-DAT
    ‘You must go to the hotel.’

    b. * Gid-e-siz hatman hotel-e
        must

    c. * Gid-e-siz hotel-e hatman.
        must

In contrast to these, the modal gereh is relatively free in the pre-verbal domain.

(24) a. Siz gereh mana nāma yazāsīz.
    you need to me letter write-OPT-2SG
    ‘You need to write a letter to me.’

    b. Siz gereh mana nāma yazāsīz.

    c. ??siz mana gereh nāma yazāsīz.

    d. * Siz mana nāma gereh yazāsīz.

    e. * Siz mana nāma yazāsīz gereh.

    cf. Siz bana mektup yaz-ma-niz gereh. [Turkish]
you to me letter write-VN-2SG need

[Persian Modals]:

bâyad be-rav-am must SUB-go-1SG
'I must go.'

Here, we observe mixed copying, namely global copying of the Persian analytical modal and selective copying using the Persian subordination strategy.

[Three Types of Modals]:

Thus far, we can summarize the Qashqay modals as follows. Qashqay has three types of modals. The first has full inflection, the second has partial inflection and the last has no inflection for tense or person. All of these modal auxiliaries make use of the corresponding Persian system, although some use Turkic lexical items and others use Global copying of the Persian model. Hence, these examples are syntactic copies of Persian.

Two remarkable features in syntactic borrowing from Persian have been recognized in Qashqay:

1. the loss of the use of the infinitive
2. a kind of pre-verbal modal auxiliary developed by dropping the tense morpheme
3. syntactic distributions show grammatical categories of modals that vary from an auxiliary-like to adverb-like property.

[Azerbaijani]:

Loss of Infinitive

(25) Mân čay isd-ir-am ič-a-m.
1 tea want-PROG-1SG drink-OPT-1SG
'I want to drink tea.'

(26) İste-r-im hotel-e ged-er-e.
want-AOR-1SG hotel-DAT go-AOR-OPT
'I want to go to the hotel.' Azerbaijani also has the optative form and personal inflection in subordinate predicates. In other words, it also shows loss of the use of the infinitive, as in Qashqay.

[Modal]: (No inflection)

(27) Mân hotel-e jărâx ged-e-m.
1 hotel -DAT must go-OPT-1SG
'I have to go to the hotel.'

(28) Siz jărâx mana nāma yaz-a-sîz
you must me letter write-OPT-2PL
'You must write to me.'

Azerbaijani has a limited number of pre-verbal modals. However, recent investigation reported a global copy of "bâyad" from Persian as in Qashqay (see Kiral (2004). The Azerbaijani modal behaves more adverbially; namely, the relative position of this element is
rather free.

[Passive in Persian]:

Next, I will demonstrate the Passive formation. Lambton (1986) describes the Persian passive as follows:

"The Passive Voice is not used in Persian if the Active Voice can be used. Thus ‘I was hit by him’ must be translated as ‘he hit me’."  
Lambton (1986:54)

Qashqay passive is very interesting on this point. They have no Passive if the construction is in the active form. This is the way the Persian Passive is used. Hence, it represents selective-copying of the code-copying model.

Qashqay Passive:

     cat mouse-ACC catch-PAST  
     ‘The cat caught the mouse.’

This kind of Passive behavior cannot be found in Azerbaijanian.

Azerbaijanian Passive:

(30) a. Pišix sičan-ī tud-de.  
     cat mouse-ACC catch-PAST  
     ‘The cat caught the mouse.’

   b. Sičan piši-in el-i-nan tut-ul-de.  
     mouse cat-GEN hand-3SG/POSS-with catch-PASS-PAST  
     ‘The mouse was caught by the cat’s paw.’

In contrast to the Qashqay Passive, Azerbaijani has a Passive-Active pair, as in other Turkic languages.

Conclusion

Qashqay develops its loan-syntax from Persian. We have seen many examples with respect to Relativization, Possession, Focus Position, the use of Auxiliaries, and Subordination and Passive formation. Both global copying, selective copying and mixed copying can be found. This means that the copying process is not just phonological or lexical. On-going change is recognized, which expands among young Qashqay speakers living in Shiraz. Socio-linguistic factors play a crucial role in the present linguistic changes. Young Shiraz speakers prefer Persian to Kashkay in most communicative situations (see Csató 2004).

Iranian-Azerbaijanian does not show as much extensive loan-syntax as compared with Qashqay.

In contrast to the Qashqay examples, all of the viewpoints stated above show that syntactic influences from Persian are very limited in Iranian-Azerbaijanian. In this respect, Qashqay undergoes more linguistic influence from Persian than that of Azerbaijani. The Pre-verbal
position of the modal element in Qashqay also reminds us of the emergence of VO characteristics that are often found in contact situations in Balkan (i.e., Balkan-Turkish, Gagauz), although it is said that the characteristics are due to Slavic influence. However, a focus shift with the Adjunct in Qashqay is worth considering for future research.

Certain types of modal construction have been more developed in Qashqay by syntactic borrowings of the Persian pattern. Which linguistic element is eligible for copying or difficult to copy may be a problem that needs solving. Although the present study does not enumerate the exhaustive list of syntactic borrowing that occurs in young Qashqay speakers, the findings in this paper demonstrate the contact induced change that occurs in Turkic languages in general.

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References


List of abbreviations;

ABL Ablative
ACC Accusative
AOR Aorist
COND Conditional
DAT Dative
DEF Definite
DEM Demonstrative
INF Infinitive
NEG Negation
OPT Optative
PL Plural
PROG Progressive
POSS Possessive
PRS Present
PST Past
SG  Singular
SUB  Subjuctive