Syntactic Borrowing of Azerbaijanian and Qashqay in Iran*

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The Qashqays (Qashqā' ı) 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 (belasïn-nan) at aldïk.
    man-DEF that from him horse we bought

cf. Mard-ı ke asb az   u   kharīdam.   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.

[Azerbaijanian Relativization]:

(2) a. Bazar-da   aldıım   kitap   čok   paha
      in the market I bought book   very   expensive

   b. O   kitap   ki   bazar-da   aldıım   čok   paha
       DEM   book   that in the market bought   very   expensive
       'The book I bought in the market is very expensive.'

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 "belasïn-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 frequential kind." (Johanson 2002:9)

More examples of selective-copying are set forth below.

[Qashqay Possessive]:

(3) a. Hasan bir ovol   var-dï.
       H.   a   sun   exist-PST
       'Hasan has a son.'
   cf. Ali'nin   bi-dane   ovl-e   var.
       A. -GEN one   son-3SG/POSS exist
       'Ali has a son.'   Azerbaijanian

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 "dāštan," 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   ovlan var-ïm.
         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-iŋ   hara?
      go-PROG-2SG where
      'Where are you going?'   Qashqay

  b. Sen hara ged-di-n?
    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-iŋ   nämenä?
     you buy- PAST-2SG   what

  b. San nämenä al-di-iŋ ?
    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-iŋ ?
    how know-PROG-2SG
    'How do you know?'

  b. *Bil-ir-iŋ nayim?
           how

(8) a. Hačan gel-dï-ŋ ?
    when come-PST-2SG
    'When did you come?'

  b. *Gel-dï-ŋ hačan?
         when

(9) a. Hansi al-dï-ŋ ?
    which buy-PST-2SG
    'Which did you buy?'

  b. *Al-dï-ŋ hansi?
       which

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

inflections.

[Auxiliary Inflection]:

bašar-ïr-am 'I can'	Qashqay	→ mī-tavān-am	Persian
PRS-can-1SG			
bašar-dï-m 'I could'	Qashqay	→ tavānest-am	Persian
could-1SG			

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)   män bašar-ïr-am   gäl-ä-m.
       I   can-PRS-1SG come-OPT-1SG
       'I can come.'
(11)   Siz   bašar-ïr-iŋiz   gäl-ä-ŋiz.
       you   can-PRS-2PL   come-OPT-2SG
       'You can come.'

The Past form is shown below.

(12) Män bašar-dï-m gäl-ä-m.
     I   can-PAST-1SG come-OPT-1SG
     'I could come.'
(13) Siz bašar-dï-ŋiz gäl-ä-ŋiz.
     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) Mī-tavān-am   ān-rā   be-kon-am
     PRS-can-1SG   that-ACC   SUB-do-1SG
     'I can do that.'

Here, the auxiliary verb mī-tavān-am "can" appears in the pre-verbal position and has both tense and personal inflections.
[Volition]:

(15) a. Män   čay-i   ser-im.
        I   tea-ACC want-1SG
        'I want to have tea.'

b. Män 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. Kıral (2004) also presents an example of the modal verb šay- '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)   Sän ser-iŋ   ged-e-ŋ   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]:

(18)   a. *Män gereg yaz-mag.
        I need write-INF
        'I have to write.'

      b. Sän gereg ič-e-ŋ.
         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]:

Qashqay   Persian
gereg 'should' ← bāyad
gas 'may'   ← šāyad
hatman 'must' ← bāyad

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) Män gereg   yaz-a-m
    I   need   write-OPT-1SG
    'I need to write.'

(20) Gas män   gäl-ä-m
    may I   come-OPT-1SG
    'I may come.'

(21) Män   hatman yaz-a-sïm
    I   must   write-OPT-1SG
    'I must write.'
(22) Sän hatman yaz-a-siŋ
    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   yazasïz.
      you need   to me   letter   write-OPT-2SG
      'You need to write a letter to me.'

    b. Siz gereh mana nāma yazasïz.

    c. ??siz mana gereh nāma yazasïz.

    d. * Siz mana nāma gereh yazasïz.

    e. * Siz mana nāma yazasïz gereh.

    cf. Siz   bana   mektup   yaz-ma-nız   gerek.   [Turkish]

       you   to me   letter   write-VN-2SG   need

[Persian Modals]:

bāyad   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.

[Azerbaijanian]:

Loss of Infinitive

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

    (26) Iste-r-im   hotel-e   ged-er-e.
         want-AOR-1SG   hotel-DAT   go-AOR-OPT
         'I want to go to the hotel.'Azerbaijanian 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) Män hotel-e   järäx ged-e-m.
         I   hotel -DAT   must go-OPT-1SG
         'I have to go to the hotel.'

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

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

rather free.

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:

(29) Gorbe sičan-ï   tud-du.
     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-ï   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, Azerbaijanian 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 Azerbaijanian. 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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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