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CODE-COPYING IN IRANO-TURKIC

LARS JOHANSON

Introduction

Turkic and Iranian are not closely related to each other, and they basically represent rather different language types. Long and intensive contacts in some areas have, however, led to considerable typological convergence between certain Turkic languages and Persian (Johanson, 1992: 62). Interesting results of this long symbiosis are found in the converging Central Asian languages Uzbek and Tajik. The southwestern part of the Turkic world offers similar cases of profound influence.

The southwestern part includes Turkish, Azerbaijani, and several other Turkic varieties spoken in Iran. Most of them belong to the so-called Oghuzic branch of Turkic: Turkish, Azerbaijani, South Oghuzic, Khorasan Turkic. One language, Khalaj, has a different origin.

The bulk of the Turkic population in this area are descendants of the Seljuks, Oghuz tribes that founded a state on the Syr-Darya in the eleventh century and then went farther westwards to conquer Khorasan and Anatolia. Basically, the Khorasan Turks go back to tribes that remained in Khorasan, while the Azerbaijani, South Oghuzic and Ottoman Turks are descendants of the Oghuz who moved farther west. The ancestors of the Khalaj, however, are non-Oghuzic Arghu tribes that probably fled to Central Iran during the Mongol expansion in the thirteenth century.

The area has for five centuries been politically divided into a western, Turkish part and an eastern, Iranian part, a division that is also connected with the internal Islamic schism between Sunnites and Shi'ites. There are still many common elements. East Anatolia and Iran are intense ethnolinguistic contact zones in which Turkic and Iranian have been spoken side by side for a millennium. Many speakers in rural areas of east Anatolia have an Iranian mother-tongue, mostly Kurdish, whereas vast layers of the population of Iran are bi- or even trilingual, speaking Persian plus a Turkic variety and/or Kurdish.

From the fifteenth century on, there has been an increasing divergence of the main West Oghuzic varieties, Ottoman Turkish and Azerbaijani. While the latter still played a considerable role in the Safawid state of Iran (Johanson, 1997), its significance decreased subsequently. In 1828, Azerbaijan was divided between Persia and Russia into Southern and Northern Azerbaijan. In the North, the language was developed and standardised, a task that was intensified in the Soviet era and after independence was gained in 1991. There was no corresponding development in the South,

Correspondence relating to this paper should be addressed to L. Johanson, Seminar für Orientkunde und Turkologie, Johannes Gutenberg Universität D-55099, Mainz, Germany.

where the official use of the Azerbaijanian language was even banned after World War II. In spite of this, the dialect of Tebriz has acquired considerable prestige and influence as a kind of norm variety for Iranian Azerbaijanian.

The Turkic varieties of the area mostly form continua without sharp boundaries. Thus, there is a gradual transition from Turkish to Azerbaijanian, the latter already beginning in east Anatolia. There is a similar continuum from Tebriz Azerbaijanian to South Oghuzic.

The Irano-Turkic area

The focus of the present paper will be on the Iranian area. Here, the language contact situation is asymmetrical, all Turkic varieties being more or less influenced by Persian without counter-currents worth mentioning. Persian, the only official language, is strongly dominant, other idioms having the status of provincial dialects without established norms and under overwhelming Persian influence. The Persification is promoted by increased education and communication. It is typical of the sociolinguistic conditions that practically all Turks of Iran, at least males, are bilingual, but generally do not, no matter how well educated, read and write their mother-tongues. The Roman-based alphabet for Azerbaijanian which was officially adopted by the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1991 may eventually also come to play a considerable role in the Irano-Turkic area.

The long and intensive contacts with Persian in largely bilingual groups have led to profound language change through copying of lexical, syntactic, phonetic and morphological structures. All varieties have been affected: Azerbaijanian, South Oghuzic and, particularly strongly, South Khorasan Turkic and Khalaj.

There has also been linguistic copying from Turkic prestige dialects. As is well known, Istanbul formed a western normative centre for Ottoman Turkish. In the Iranian area, the influential dialect of Tebriz played an analogous, though much weaker normative role. Peripheral areas have often been less affected by this impact, but instead exposed to stronger Iranian influence.¹

Irano-Turkic languages

The Oghuzic varieties of Iran have a considerable geographical distribution. Azerbaijanian is probably spoken by at least fifteen million in Northwestern Iran and a number of enclaves. South Oghuz, i.e. Qaşqāī and related dialects, including Aynallu, is spoken by some hundred thousand persons in Southern Iran. Transitional dialects, Sonqor and others, have a comparable number of speakers. Khorasan Turkic dialects are spoken by about two million in northern Khorasan. The speakers of non-Oghuzic Khalaj in Central Iran amount to less than 30,000 persons. This linguistically highly interesting language has preserved many ancient features thanks to its early isolation, and has acquired numerous innovative features in its Iranian and Oghuzic environment. The limited region in which it is spoken in a number of rather isolated villages is interspersed with Persian and Tati villages. Khalaj shows a far-reaching Iranian influence in phonology, syntax and morphology.

The description of most Irano-Turkic languages has begun only recently, mainly through the epoch-making work of Gerhard Doerfer, Göttingen, and his collabor-

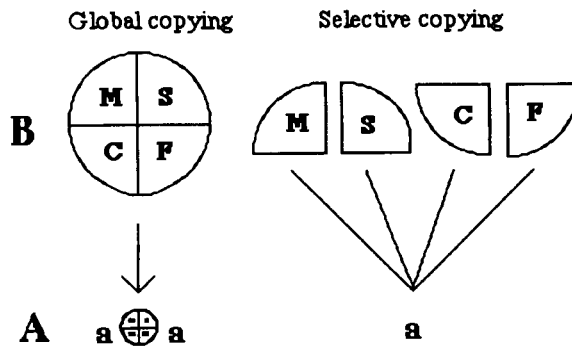
ators, Wolfram Hesch, Semih Tezcan and others. It is important to intensify research in this area, since many Irano-Turkic varieties spoken in relative isolation, e.g. Khalaj, are now seriously endangered.

Code-copying

In the following article, different types of Persian impact on Irano-Turkic varieties will be surveyed and classified according to the descriptive framework of the Code-Copying Model (Johanson, 1992; 1993a, forthcoming; Backus, 1996: 84–92).

The model implies that copies of elements from foreign codes are inserted into a native 'basic code' which provides the morphosyntactic frame for the insertion. Copying processes yield global and selective copies. Global copying means that a unit of a foreign code is copied as a whole into the basic code. The copy is a global block of structural, i.e. material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties. Selective copying means that the original is one selected structural—material, semantic, combinational or frequential—property of such a block. Mixed copies combine the two processes. Foreign blocks are copied *into the frame* of the basic code, whereas selected foreign properties are copied *onto units* of the basic code.

In the following graphic, the globe symbolizes a global block of material, semantic, combinational and frequential properties. M(aterial) properties concern the shape, S(ematic) properties the content, C(ombinational) properties word-internal and word-external combination patterns, and F(requential) properties the frequency of use.



Linguistic copying is conditioned by different communication needs and a complex interplay of factors. It would be important to find out under what circumstances typological features in the Irano-Turkic varieties are susceptible to influence, and to establish continua of varieties on the basis of such criteria.

The following survey, which comprises conventionalised code-copies resulting from dynamic processes of influence, draws upon published data as well as unpublished data collections, in particular those underlying Filiz Kırıl's investigations into Persian syntactic influences on Azerbaijani spoken in Iran (1997). Examples marked as "Tebriz Azerbaijani" are quoted from Kırıl's materials. The survey will be arranged according to the scheme given below. The sign \Leftarrow will be used in the sense of 'copied from'.

GLOBAL COPIES

Simple

Lexical

Grammatical

Free

Bound

Complex

Lexical

Grammatical

SELECTIVE COPIES

Material

Semantic

Combinational

Phonological

Syntactic

Frequential

MIXED COPIES

Simple lexical copies

Most global copies are simple lexical copies. The lexical influence of Persian on Irano-Turkic varieties is generally very strong. Without going into detail, it should be pointed out that, due to Persian influence, the vocabulary of Southern Azerbaijani nowadays differs considerably from that of Northern Azerbaijani, which has preserved more of the native vocabulary and also has been exposed to Russian influence. Thus words for phenomena of modern life often differ, e.g. Southern Azerbaijani *mîz* 'table' ← Persian vs. Northern Azerbaijani *stol* ← Russian *stol*, *rûznâmâ* 'newspaper' ← Persian *rûznâma* vs. *gâzet* ← Russian *gazeta*, *xâmir dândan* 'tooth-paste' ← Persian vs. *diş pastası* ← Russian *zubnaja pasta*, materially consisting of Azerbaijani *diş* 'tooth' + *pasta* ← Russian ← Italian. There has been a particularly strong Persian lexical influence on Khalaj and southern Khorasan Turkic (Doerfer, 1977: 179–183). In Khalaj, even numerals from sixty on and many temporal expressions are copied from Persian.

Global copies are often accommodated morphologically to fit the actual morphosyntactic frame of the basic code. Copies of Persian lexical verbs are mostly based on global copies of perfect participle forms. In order to adapt them, i.e. prepare them for insertion, auxiliary verbs such as *elâ-* 'do' are used, e.g. Azerbaijani *puşide elâ-* 'cover' ← Persian *puşidan* 'cover'. Some Iranian varieties such as Tajik and Kurdish use similar devices, postterminal participles in *-mIš* plus native auxiliaries, to copy Turkic (Uzbek, Turkish, Azerbaijani) verbs, e.g. north Tajik *tâpşirmîš kardan* 'confide' ← Uzbek *tâpşir-* 'confide' (Doerfer, 1967: 33, 1993; for Kurmanji, see Bulut forthcoming).

Simple free grammatical copies

Global copies of grammatical items are also found in Irano-Turkic varieties. The free ones include *vâ* 'and', *tâ* 'up to, until', *çon* 'for' and *ki* 'that (etc.)', all used much

like their Persian originals. The use of *ki* must be analyzed in the framework of mixed copies. The same goes for *tâ* and *çon* as purposive and causal junctors, respectively, since their use as global copies is connected with certain combinational patterns. For spoken Persian purposive clauses with *ke* and *tâ*, see Lazard (1957: 236 ff.).

The function of copies of the Persian preposition *tâ* in a Turkic frame is interesting. While they may maintain their position, as if they were prepositions, they generally need a postpositive native subjunctive to be syntactically anchored in the clause, e.g. Khorasan Turkic *ta axirâ äçän* [to (← Persian) end:DATIVE to] 'to the end' (Fázsy, 1977: 74). This phenomenon is often called 'double coding', but the functions are not identical. The copied relator only specifies a semantic relation, whereas the native marker takes care of the anchoring. However, Khalaj deviates from this pattern by also using *tâ* as an anchoring postposition, e.g. *äkgi künkä tâ* [two day:DATIVE to (← Persian)] 'up to two days', *tâ çäştga tâ* [to (← Persian) noon:DATIVE to (← Persian)] 'until noon' (Doerfer, 1988: 98), which is not possible in Azerbaijani varieties. Khalaj may even copy a Persian simple preposition such as *bî* 'without', e.g. *bî sän* 'without you' (Doerfer, 1988: 97–98). This case is a mixed copy, since it also involves a copied combinational pattern.

Bound grammatical copies

Copies of bound grammatical items are rare. However, numerous Irano-Turkic varieties all over the area, Azerbaijani, South Oghuzic and Khorasan Turkic dialects, use copies of the Persian comparative suffix *-tar* instead of the native *-rAK*, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijani *böwüxtär* 'bigger'. This relator signals a comparatively high degree of the property denoted, but to express a standard of comparison syntactically ('than'), a native ablative suffix is required. Since the latter relator is sufficient to form a comparative construction, the addition of *-tär* is syntactically redundant (Johanson, 1992: 26).

Some Irano-Turkic varieties also display copies of the suffix *-i*, considered to mark Persian nominals for 'indefiniteness', e.g. *ketäbi* 'a book'. Turkic lacks an equivalent native marker, but possesses the indefinite article *bir*, corresponding to Persian *yek*. In Azerbaijani, the suffix only occurs as part of complex copies, but in Khalaj, it is copied globally as such and also added to native items (Doerfer, 1988: 95). It can thus even be used, as in Persian, together with the indefinite article, e.g. *bî näfärî* 'a person' ← *yek...-î*. This is an example of a mixed copy: a global copy within a copied combinational pattern.

Complex lexical copies

Many Irano-Turkic varieties display complex global copies whose originals are lexeme combinations. Some are formed with the Persian *izâfat* relator *-(v)e*, which marks head-dependent relations in nominal phrases (Lazard, 1957: 62 ff.). Copies of combinations of nouns with other nouns, adjectives or numerals are, like simple copies, provided with the necessary Turkic morphosyntactic markers, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijani *eyd-e nowrüzda* [[feast izâfat RELATOR New Year] (← Persian)]:LOCATIVE] 'at the New Year's feast'. Non-final members of such complexes may even carry copies of Persian plural suffixes, e.g. Khorasan Turkic *ädäm^häye fäyir* [man:PLURAL izâfat RELATOR

poor] (← Persian) 'poor people' (Bozkurt, 1975: 159); cf. Afghan Uzbek *mardimoy' Uozbäk* [man:PLURAL izāfat RELATOR Uzbek] (← Persian) 'Uzbeks' (Boeschoten, 1983: 51). (For the Aynallu dialect, see Kowalski 1937: 66.)

Copies of prepositional phrases normally take Turkic case morphology to be able to occur adverbially, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijanian *där täbiyättä* [[in nature] (← Persian):LOCATIVE] 'in nature' ← *dar tabiyat*. Again, a native relator is required for the syntactic anchoring. But certain fixed expressions may dispense with this anchoring, e.g. *be här hāl* 'in any case' ← *be har hāl*. They are often used as adjunctors (conjunctive adverbials), and some of the originals contain Persian demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *be hämin xâtir* 'therefore' ← *be hamin xâtir*, *där un surät* 'in that case' ← *dar ün surat*, *gäbl äz in* ← *qabl az in* 'before this', *bä'd äz un* 'after that' ← *ba'd az ün*.

Complex grammatical copies

There are also globally copied complex items of a grammatical nature: complexes that have already been grammaticalised to relators in the original code. Interestingly enough, such items are more susceptible to global copying than simple grammatical items.

Simple Persian prepositions such as *dar* 'in', *az* 'from', *be* 'to' are only part of globally copied complex adverbial expressions, but there are also complex prepositions that are globally copied as such. They typically consist of a nominal core that conveys a specific content plus a simple preposition such as *dar*, *az*, and *be* that anchors them syntactically in the Persian clause. A frequent pattern is: simple preposition + nominal core + *izāfat* marker, e.g. *az sabab-i* [from reason izāfat RELATOR] 'because of'. A number of such constructions have been globally copied into various Turkic languages. (For causal junctors, see Johanson 1993b and 1996.) Irano-Turkic varieties display complex copies such as Tebriz Azerbaijanian *där möred-e* 'with respect to', *där bäre-ye* 'concerning', *üz täräf-e* 'on the part of'. Some may have a reduced shape, e.g. *där hadd* 'within, concerning', *där hudud* 'about'. Other types are represented by *xärej äz* 'outside', *märbut be* 'concerning', *geyr äz* 'except', *bä'd äz* 'after'.

Some of the copies seem to function as prepositions, which is remarkable in view of the dominant head-final syntax of Turkic. In reality, most of them cannot anchor a nominal phrase syntactically in a Turkic clause, but need the help of native relators. Only in a few cases, e.g. *geyr äz* 'except', *be onvân-e* 'as, in the quality of', a native anchor is not required. But *xärej äz* 'outside' requires a locative suffix, *üz täräf-e* 'on the part of' and *märbut be* 'concerning' a dative suffix, and *där bäre-ye* 'concerning' an ablative suffix, e.g. *där bäre-ye uşaxlâyinan* 'concerning my childhood'. The prepositive copies specify the semantic content of the relation signalled, whereas native case markers or postpositions take over the syntactic anchoring. The syntactic properties of the global copy thus deviate considerably from those of the original. In all Iranian-influenced Turkic languages, a preposed *bä'd äz* 'after' ← *ba'd az* normally needs a postposed relator, e.g. Uzbek *bad az nânda* ['after meal:ABLATIVE] 'after the meal' (Boeschoten, 1983: 52). Khalaj may even use a synonymous Turkic postposition, e.g. *bäd äz äkki kündä soy* ['after (← Persian) two day:ABLATIVE after] 'after two days' (Doerfer, 1988: 98). But remarkably enough, Khalaj *bäd äz* can also dispense with a native anchor, e.g. *bäd äz män* 'after me'. As we will see, there is also a strong tendency to turn preposed items of this kind into postpositions.

The globally copied complex clause junctors include the causal junctor *çünki* as well as the temporal junctors *tâ ki* 'until' \Leftarrow *tâ ki*, *vaxti ki* 'when' \Leftarrow *vaqti ke* and *möge^ci ki* 'when' \Leftarrow *möge^ci ke* [noun + 'indefiniteness' suffix *-i* + *ki*]. Besides the above-mentioned adjunctors of the type *gäbl äz in* 'before this', there are also copies of the corresponding subjunctors provided with *ke*, e.g. *gäbl äz inkä* 'before' \Leftarrow *qabl az inke*, *bä'd äz inkä* 'after' \Leftarrow *ba'd az inke*, *tâ inkä* 'until' \Leftarrow *tâ inke*.

Many of the complex junctors mentioned above represent mixed copies, since they are connected with copied combinational patterns.

Selective phonological copies

Structural properties can also be copied selectively on to items of the basic code. Copying of material properties occurs in several Irano-Turkic varieties. Thus, in South Oghuzic dialects and Khalaj, [ö] and [ü] have largely lost their roundedness under the influence of the Persian sound system, e.g. Khalaj *kin* 'day', *kez* 'eye'. This phenomenon is seldom attested in Azerbaijanian and Qaşqāī.

Copies of phonological combinational patterns include disturbances of intersyllabic sound harmony structures in Azerbaijanian, South Oghuzic and Khorasan Turkic, where nonharmonic suffixes are often found, e.g. Azerbaijanian *elämax* 'do'. Khalaj has a weak harmony system, e.g. *vardiq* 'we went', *haçüldi* 'opened (itself)' (Doerfer, 1983: 32). Qaşqāī is less affected by this phonological copying from Persian.

Copies of semantic properties

Numerous examples of semantic properties copied from Persian are found in the lexicon. Grammatical items are also affected. Thus, properties of the Persian perfect, consisting of the perfect participle + copula, e.g. *rafte ast* 'has gone', have been copied onto the Azerbaijanian item *-(y)İb[di]*, which behaves as a typical postterminal with present relevance, e.g. *gedİbdi* 'has gone'. In non-third persons, forms in *-mlš* are used, e.g. *gälmišäm* 'I have come', without expressing the inferentiality typical of Turkish post-terminal *-mlš* items, e.g. *gelmişim* 'I have apparently come' (Johanson, 1971: 280 ff.). The fact that *-mlš* forms do not signal inferentiality in Irano-Turkic varieties seems to be due to Persian influence. (For Khalaj, see Doerfer, 1988: 176.)

Properties of the Persian copula *-(y)e/-ast* 'is, exists' have been copied onto Turkic *-dlr* so that the latter may also express existence in the sense of 'there is', which is normally taken care of by the adjective *var* 'existing'. (For the copula use in Khalaj, see Doerfer, 1988: 203.)

Syntactic combinational copying

Syntactic combinational copying is common. Thus, constituent order patterns may be copied, e.g. INDEFINITE ARTICLE + ADJECTIVE ATTRIBUTE + HEAD in Tebriz Azerbaijanian *bi šux adam* 'a funny man', instead of ADJECTIVE ATTRIBUTE + ARTICLE + HEAD. The interrogative suffix *-ml*, which has no Persian equivalent, is mostly absent and replaced by a special intonational pattern. Several Irano-Turkic varieties exhibit possessive constructions in which the adjective *vār* 'existent' takes over combinational properties of the Persian verb *dāštan* 'have', e.g. Khalaj *hat vārum*

['horse existent:1SG.POSS'] 'I have a horse' \Leftarrow *asb dāram* instead of the native Turkic pattern *atiim var* [horse:1.SG.POSS existent] 'I have a horse'.

In most Irano-Turkic varieties, the suffix *-LIK* takes over properties of the Persian abstract suffix *-ī* in globally copied items, e.g. Rezayeh Azerbaijanian *javannix* [young (\Leftarrow Persian)]:*LIK.DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX* 'youth' \Leftarrow *javānī* (Amirpur-Ahrandjani, 1971: 93), Tebriz Azerbaijanian *āzādlig* 'liberty' \Leftarrow *āzādī*, *bādbāxtlix* 'bad luck' (with double coding by means of *ī* + *LIK*) \Leftarrow *badbaxī*. In Khalaj, almost every use of *-ī* can be rendered by *-LUX* (Doerfer and Tezcan, 1980: 48).

Properties of Persian modal verb constructions expressing 'want', 'be able', 'have to' have been copied onto equivalent items of Irano-Turkic varieties, e.g. *eliyā bil-* 'be able' + optative \Leftarrow *tavānestan* + subjunctive, *gārāh* 'necessary' + optative \Leftarrow *bāyad* 'necessary' + subjunctive. The construction *istā-* 'want' + optative \Leftarrow *xāstan* + subjunctive has ousted the native construction *-mAK* + *istā-*. (For Aynallu, see Kowalski, 1937: 66.)

Combinational properties of the Persian infinitive are often copied onto the Southern Azerbaijanian verbal noun in *-mAK*, which may occur in genitive constructions such as *o evün almavi* [that house:GENITIVE buy:INFINITIVE:3.POSS] 'the purchase of that house' (without passive marking) \Leftarrow *xarīdan-e ün xūne*. Similar constructions with intransitive verbs are known in Old Ottoman (Kleinmichel, 1973: 167 f.).

Postpositions modelled on prepositional patterns

There is a tendency to turn copies of Persian prepositions into postpositions, e.g., by copying properties of *izāfat* combinations on to Turkic possessive constructions. Turkic has declinable postpositions of the structure NOMINAL CORE + POSSESSIVE SUFFIX + SIMPLE RELATOR corresponding to the Persian pattern SIMPLE PREPOSITION + NOMINAL CORE + IZAFAT RELATOR. The nominal core is often a spatial noun such as *iç* 'interior', *arqa* 'back'. Given their special syntactic behaviour, these postpositions are not simply members of normal possessive constructions, but constitute a particular word class (Johanson, 1974).

The nominal cores are often global copies from prestigious contact languages, e.g. Turkish *sebebiyle* [reason (\Leftarrow Persian/ \Leftarrow Arabic)]:3.POSS:with] 'because of', *tarafından* [side (\Leftarrow Persian/ \Leftarrow Arabic)]:3.POSS:ABLATIVE] 'by, on the part of', *sayesinde* [shadow (\Leftarrow Persian):3.POSS:LOCATIVE] 'thanks to'. Comparable patterns underlie prepositions such as English *because of* ('for the reason [\Leftarrow Romance] of'). Thus, postpositions such as Tebriz Azerbaijanian *mōredindā* 'with respect to' are modelled on patterns such as *dār mōred-e*. Khalaj also exhibits postpositions of a more reduced shape, e.g. *tārāf* (+ dative) 'towards', where only the nominal core ('side') is left. As is well known, complex junctors tend to undergo formal simplification in the course of their grammaticalisation processes.

Combinational copying in clause junction

There are many other types of syntactic combinational copying. In the area of clause junction, Turkic techniques concerning the use of junctors and aspectotemporal items have been replaced by Persian ones. Head-initial Persian patterns tend to replace head-final patterns of the Turkic type. Combinational copying has led to new place-

ment patterns. In all Turkic varieties under strong Persian influence, nonfinite clauses placed in front of their heads have largely been replaced by postposed clauses with finite morphology, formed according to Persian patterns. Most syntactic copying in the area of clause junction is mixed, the junctors being global copies of Persian originals (see below).

Copying of frequential properties

Frequential properties are often copied to the effect that a given element increases its frequency. In Irano-Turkic varieties, Persian plural marking has induced a wider use of the Turkic plural suffix, namely on predicates occurring with collective nouns such as *mârdom* 'people' (*constructio ad sensum*). However, the use of plural markers after certain quantifiers, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijanian *çox adamnar* [many man:PLURAL] 'many men'—cf. Turkish *çok adam* [many man]—is basically an example of combinational copying. Persian influence has also led to a more frequent use of *vâ* and *ki* as sentence-introducing items in the sense of 'and then, moreover'.

Frequential copying may affect the use of constituent ordering patterns. As in spoken Persian and Kurdish, adverbials of direction and purpose are often postposed, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijanian *O geddi Teflisâ* [s/he go:PAST Tiflis:DATIVE] 'S/he went to Tiflis' ← *U raft Teflis*, *Mân oturdum ona baxmaya* [I sit:1SG.PAST it:DATIVE look:INFINITIVE:DATIVE] 'I sat down to watch it' ← *Man nešastam be didan-e u*. The tendency is not observed in clauses embedded according to native Turkic rules, e.g. *evâ gedândâ* [house:DATIVE go:PARTICIPLE:LOCATIVE] 'when going home'.

Spoken Persian often uses sentence-initial nominals in the so-called *nominativus pendens* marking a sentence topic which is not necessarily referentially identical with the first actant (subject). The referent can be taken up again in the sentence with a properly case-marked anaphoric pronominal item in the proper syntactic position. (For this technique, see Windfuhr, 1979: 72 f.) Irano-Turkic varieties often display similar initial sentence topics, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijanian *Dâdâsi vâ:zi yaxšiydi* [father:3POSS situation good COPULA:PAST] 'As for his father, the situation was good'. Such patterns are also observed in other Turkic languages, e.g. Ottoman Turkish, it seems appropriate to speak of frequential copying in this case.

Frequential copies in clause junction

Certain Irano-Turkic clause junction types are frequential properties of Persian originals. Their increased use means decreasing frequency of participles and converbs. Relative clauses with attributed participles are rare. Forms with the participial suffix *-(y)An* are predominantly used as nouns. This corresponds to the restrictive use of the Persian present participle in *-ande*, which has lost many of its verbal properties and passed into the category of nouns (Lorenz, 1964: 137). This tendency is observed in all Irano-Turkic varieties, Azerbaijanian, Khorasan Turkic, Khalaj, etc. (For Khalaj, see Doerfer, 1988: 232; for Afghan Uzbek dialects under strong Iranian influence, see Thalhammer, 1978: 83; Boeschoten, 1983: 49.)

The decreasing use of Turkic clause-combining techniques has led to a reduction of Turkic subjunctors. Tebriz Azerbaijanian has preserved the temporal junctors *-(y)AndA* 'when', *-(y)AnnAn sora* 'after', *-(y)AnnAn gabax* 'before'. Terminal and

purposive converb junctors such as *-(y)AnA kimin* 'until' and *-mAGA* 'in order to' are threatened by copies of Persian *tā inke*. Turkic causal subjunctors have been ousted by items such as *čünki* and *čon*. The converb in *-(y)Ib* is seldom used in Irano-Turkic varieties, probably due to identification with the Persian perfect (Johanson, 1988: 249; 1990: 144). The Azerbaijani perfect form in *-(y)Ibdi* may drop its copula *-di* just as the corresponding copula *ast* is often omitted in spoken Persian. The resulting short form *-(y)Ib* is homonymous with the converb. (For Qašqāī, see Soper, 1987: 397.)

Mixed copies

Mixed copies consist of copied combinatory patterns with at least one Turkic native item. Besides complex global copies of the type *rūz be rūz* 'day by day', many Turkic languages also have synonymous mixed copies such as *gün be gün* [day to (← Persian) day]. In Irano-Turkic varieties, most phraseological verbs consisting of a nominal item and an auxiliary verb are mixed copies of Persian originals. The nominal item is copied globally, and the auxiliary is a Turkic verb, mostly *elä-* 'do, make' ← *kardan*, onto which combinational properties of the original are copied, e.g. Tebriz Azerbaijani *täläs elä-* 'endeavour' ← Persian *talās kardan* 'endeavour', *telefon vur-* [telephone strike] 'call' ← Persian *telefon zadan* 'call'. Some variants are solid selective copies, containing both an equivalent Turkic nominal and a Turkic auxiliary, e.g. *saggal vur-* [beard strike] ~ *rīs vur-* [beard (← Persian) strike] 'shave' ← *rīs zadan*. Historically, they often represent a later stage of development than the mixed copies.

While the *izāfat* construction is normally not copied to be used with Turkic items, Khalaj offers examples that include one Turkic member, e.g. *balux-i diyär* [village (Turkic) *izāfat* RELATOR another] 'another village' ← *dih-i digar* (Doerfer, 1988: 99). Mixed copies with a native item as first member are also possible in Tebriz Azerbaijani, e.g. *balıy-e mäxsus* [fish (Turkic) *izāfat* RELATOR particular] 'the particular fish'. (For Khorasan Turkic and Afghan Uzbek, see Fázsy, 1977: 70 and Boeschoten 1983: 51, respectively.)

Semantic and combinational properties of Persian grammatical items are sometimes copied onto Turkic units in order to use them analogously. Thus, the Turkic demonstrative pronouns *bu* 'this' and *o* 'that' may occur in mixed copies such as Tebriz Azerbaijani *gäbl äz bu* 'before this' ← *qabl az ün*, *bä'd äz o* 'after that' ← *ba'd az ün*. Such adverbial copies may also be anchored syntactically by means of Turkic postpositions, e.g. *gäbl äz onnan gabax* 'before that', *bä'd äz onnan sora* 'after that'. Tebriz Azerbaijani also uses *soradan k'i* 'after', a mixed copy of the Persian subjunctive *ba'd az inke*. This kind of selective copying seems to presuppose the existence of corresponding globally copied grammatical items.

Mixed copies with junctors

As we have stated, several copies of combinational patterns discussed above are in reality mixed copies. An extreme case is Khalaj *bī sän* 'without you' with a global copy of a preposition together with its combinational pattern.

In all Irano-Turkic varieties, the preferred way of linking a dependent clause to its head by means of a junctor has been changed. Copies of Persian subordinated clauses are mostly finite postpositive predications with globally copied free junctors. (See the

parameters discussed in Johanson 1993b and 1996.) The postpositive relative clauses are usually marked with the junctor *ki* ← *ke*. Many copies of this versatile Persian relator do not behave as genuine subjunctors in the basic codes they are inserted into. They are often used as conjunctors, even if the original may be subordinative. The same is true of many other junctor copies.

On the other hand, there are obviously cases of genuine embedding of clauses introduced by copies of Persian subjunctors. Such clauses differ considerably from corresponding structures in languages such as Turkish. For example, Irano-Turkic causal clauses marked with *čünki* or *čon* 'because' may precede the clauses they are in construction with. This is not possible with Turkish *çünkü* clauses, which are not subordinated in the sense of being syntactically embedded. The complex topic of determining subordinative structures cannot be dealt with in depth here.

The new combinational patterns involve changes in the position of the junctors. The pattern PREDICATION + JUNCTOR is changed into JUNCTOR + PREDICATION, e.g. 'X come-when' > 'when X comes'. Subjunctors mostly occur at the periphery of the dependent with which they form a constituent. They tend to stand behind a dependent that precedes their head, and in front of a dependent that follows it. Ordering patterns and subjunctor types are thus closely interconnected. Subjunctors cannot be copied into incongruous structures, i.e. copies of Persian subjunctors cannot be inserted directly into Turkic frames to fill the slots of postpositions or converb markers. In Irano-Turkic varieties, most native subjunctors except the simple case markers have been replaced by copies of prepositive junctors. The resulting patterns are thus strongly frame-changing (Johanson, forthcoming).

The result of cyclic copying processes

Copying has led to considerable morphosyntactic convergence of the Persian and Irano-Turkic codes. On the other hand, copies always differ from their originals. Conventionalised copies are immediately subject to the normal grammaticalisation processes of the basic code, which creates further differences. The contact varieties thus often display structures found neither in Iranian nor in less Iranized Turkic varieties. An original may even disappear, whereas its copy remains in the recipient code and develops further there. For example, the above-mentioned unit *-miş*, which serves to accommodate copies of Uzbek verbs in Tajik, is unproductive in Uzbek.

Continuous copying may still lead to increasing similarity of the codes involved. More equivalence positions for insertion of new copies are created. By incorporating new items and structures, the basic code is permanently reshaped to form the basis for new frame-changing developments. A dynamic grammar concept is needed to account for the snowball effect of these successive copying processes.

The analysis of copying may prove very problematic if the periods of contact and influence are as protracted as in the case of the Irano-Turkic symbiosis. We must reckon with cyclic renewals of basic codes, a permanent creation of new lects prepared to integrate new copies. It is mostly impossible to decide what is inserted and what constitutes the native code at a given point in time. Deeply affected languages such as Khalaj contain layer after layer of copies constantly changing the basic frame.

What would finally appear if all these Iranian layers could be neatly peeled off one after the other? The oldest form of Turkic known to us seems to be influenced by

Iranian, and there are even reasons to suspect that the oldest form of New Persian is influenced by Turkic. What is the hard Turkic core like? Given the scanty materials at our disposal, it seems that historical Turcology will never be able to answer this question. Its work will, at best, be more like peeling a number of concentric coats of an onion. Understanding more recent copying processes will, however, also give insights into deeper layers.

NOTES

¹ A research project currently being carried out at the University of Mainz is devoted to areal processes in South Anatolia and West Iran, comprising the two work groups 'Areal typology of South Anatolian dialects' and 'Typological change in Turkic varieties of West Iran'. The project attempts to determine what dynamic processes emerge through contact and influence of normative centres, and what roles the tension between centres and peripheries play. The ultimate goal is a synthesis of the emergence and development of varieties under areal-typological aspects.

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