



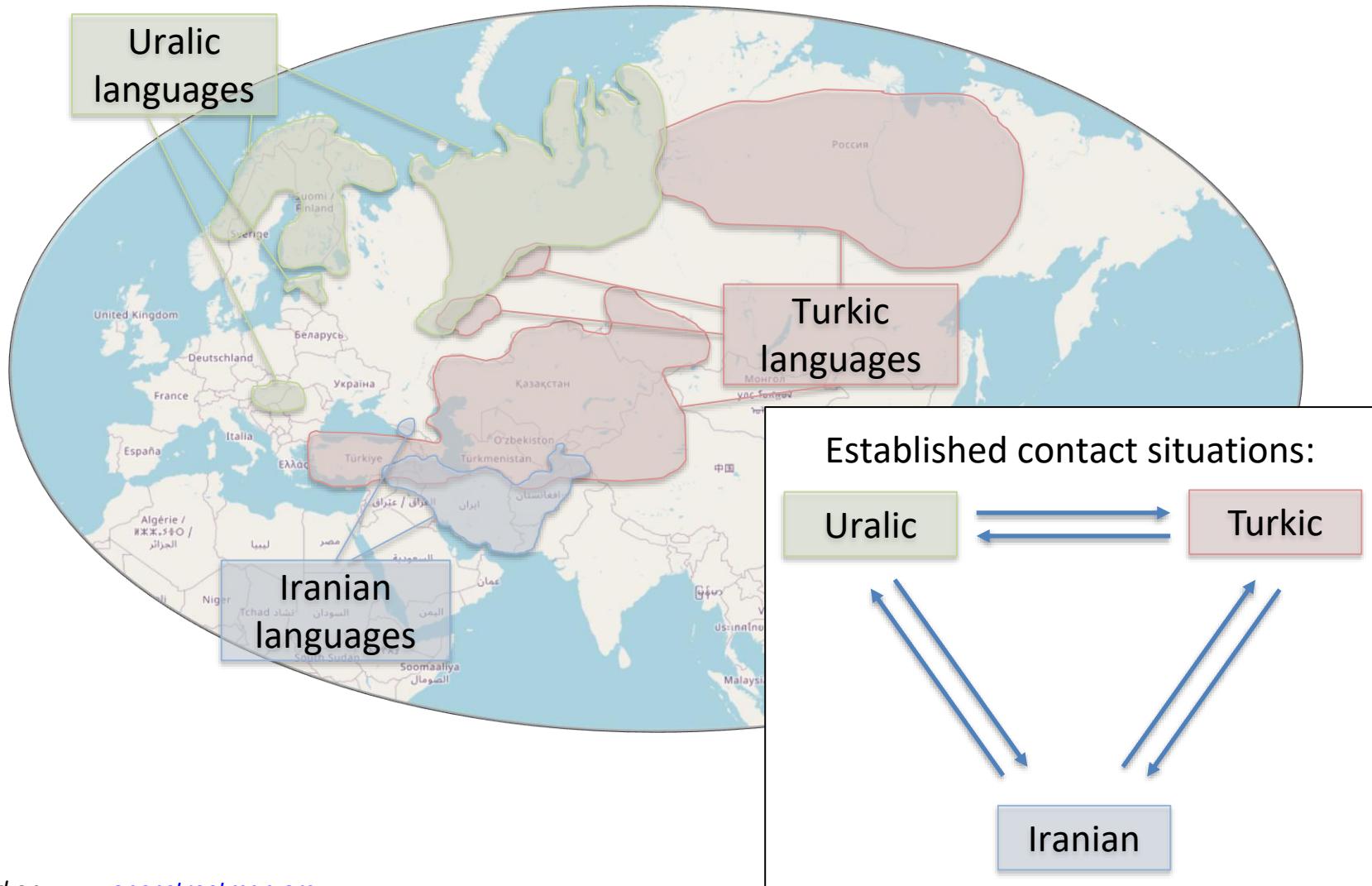
Structural parallelism in Turkic, Iranian, and Uralic languages from a contact-linguistic perspective

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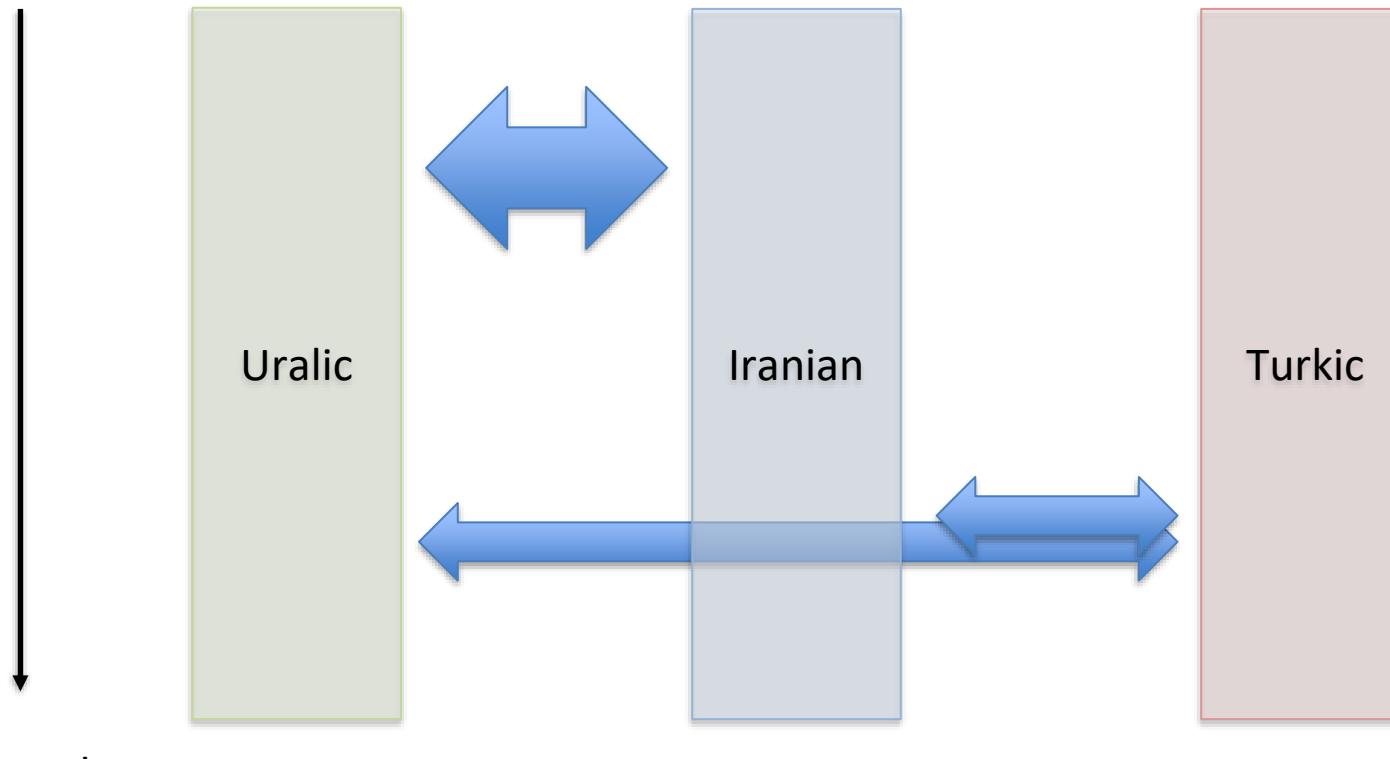
Language families of Central Eurasia and Siberia



Language families of Central Eurasia and Siberia

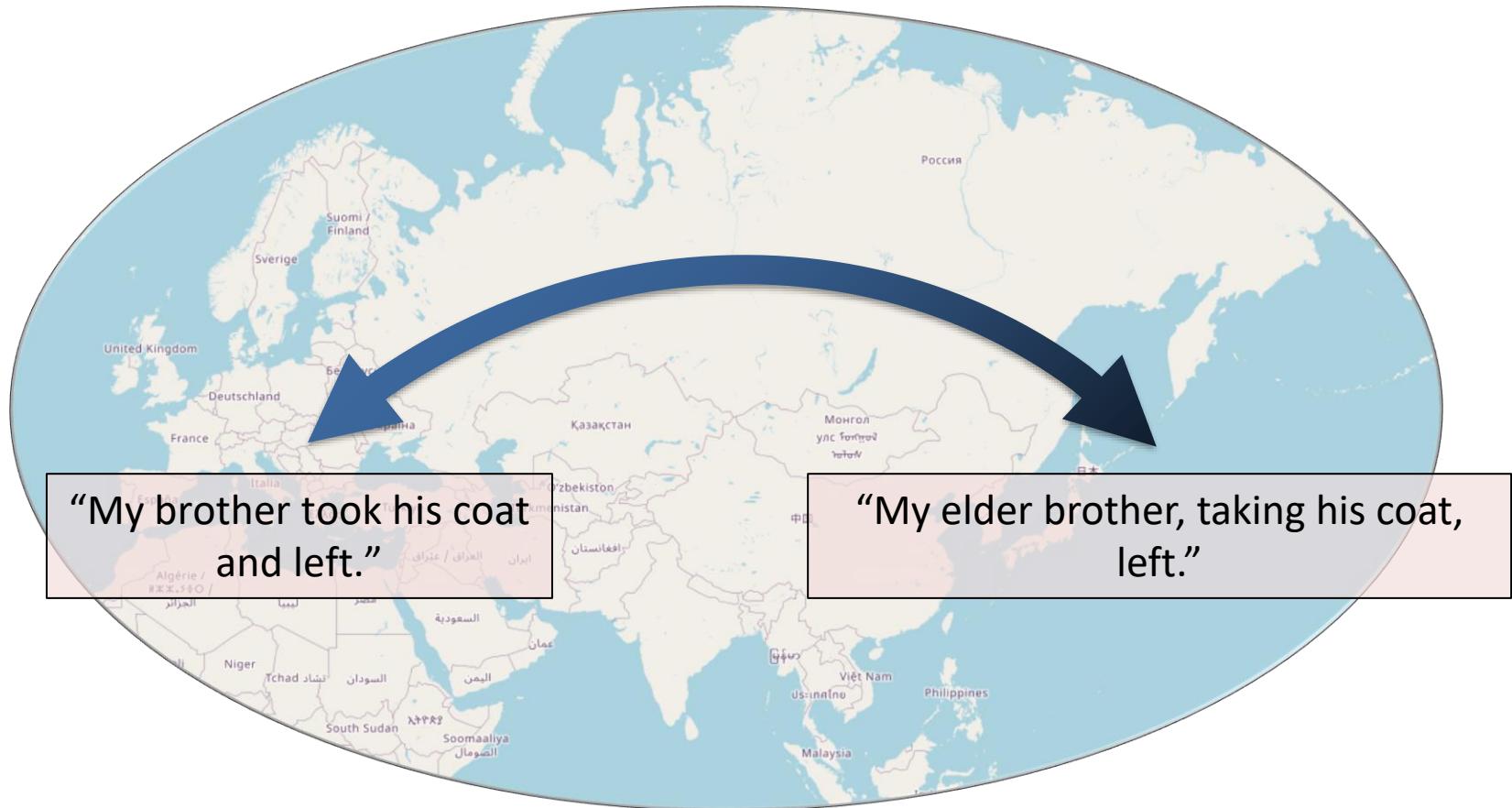
Approximate time frame of contacts (simplified view):

2000 BC



Present day

Macroareal trends



Intensive p-Reduplication

Mari (Uralic):

šeme 'black' > **šep**-*šeme* 'pitch black'

Uzbek

qora 'black' > **qop**-*qora* 'pitch black'

Tajik (Indo-European > Iranian)

siyoh 'black' > **sip**-*siyoh* 'pitch black'

Arabkir Armenian (Indo-European)

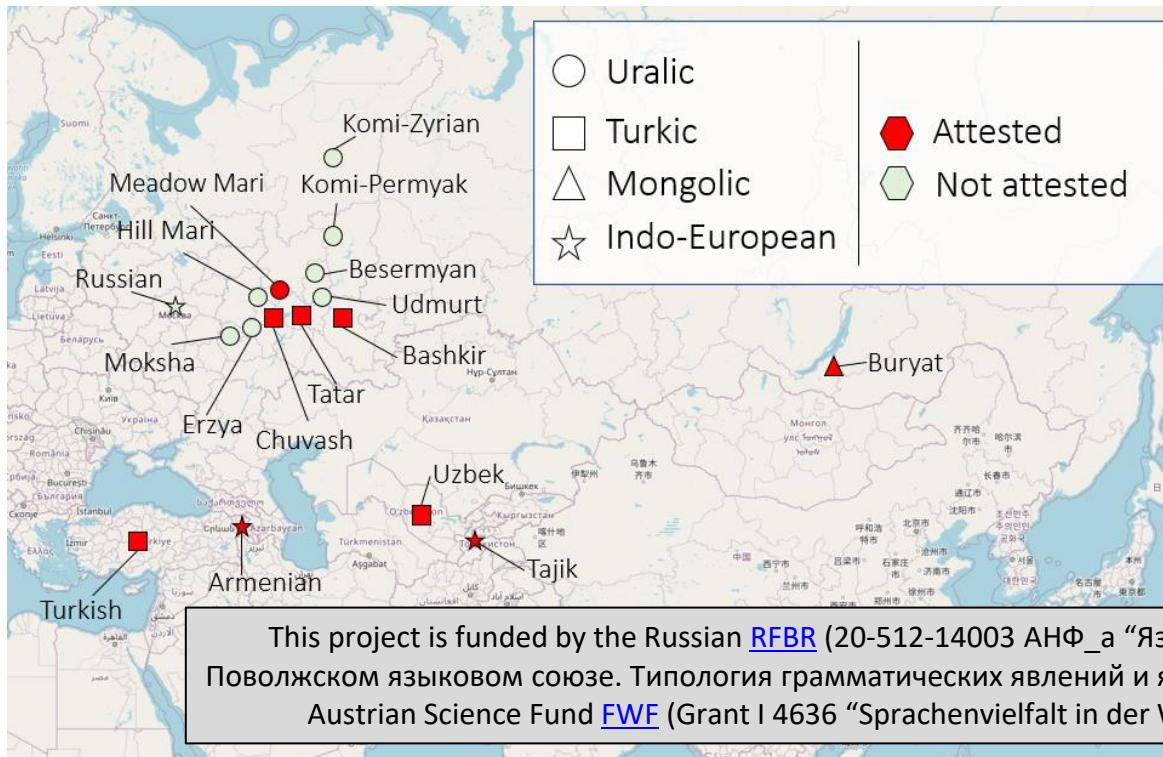
nor 'new' > **nop'**-*nor* 'brand new'

Mongolian

ulan 'red' > **ub** *ulan* 'flaming red'

Intensive p-Reduplication

> Project LIDIVOKA (Linguistic Diversity in the Volga-Kama Region), lidivoka.univie.ac.at



Propensity of non-finite verbal forms

Mari (Uralic) ‘to know’, <paradigm.mari-language.com>

<u>Non-finite forms</u>	
Infinitive:	palaš
Necessitive infinitive:	palēman
Active participle:	palēše
Passive participle:	palēme
Future-necessitive participle:	palēšaš
Negative participle:	palēdāme
Affirmative instructive gerund:	palen
Negative gerund:	palēde
Gerund of prior action:	palēmek(e)
Gerund of future action:	palēmeš(ke)
Gerund of simultaneous action:	palēšêla
Nominalization:	palēmaš
Negative nominalization:	palēdāmaš

2 infinitives

4 participles

5 converbs

2 nominalizations

Propensity of non-finite verbal forms

Mari (Uralic)

malâ-meke ‘after sleeping’

malâ-šâla ‘while sleeping’

malâ-meške ‘before sleeping’

Aspectual auxiliary constructions

(6) Mari (Uralic)

kočk-ən onč-aš

eat-CVB see-INF

'to try, to taste' (dict.mari-language.com)

(7) Uzbek (Turkic > Karluk)

Ye-b ko'r-ing!

eat-CVB see-IMP.2PL

'Try it!' (Landmann 2014: 87)

Aspectual auxiliary constructions

(8) Mari (Uralic)

mal-en	kolt-aš
sleep-CVB	send-INF

‘to fall asleep.’ (**Bradley 2016: 38**)

(9) Uzbek (Turkic > Karluk)

Ber-ib	yubor-ing!
give-CVB	send-IMP.2PL

‘Give it (instantly)!’ (**Landmann 2014: 89**)

Aspectual auxiliary constructions

Aspectual values expressed by auxiliaries in the Volga-Kama Region:

- **Ingressive**: ‘descend’, ‘go (away)’, ‘let go; send’, ‘become’, ‘look’
- **Resultative**: ‘lie down; fall’, ‘stay’, ‘sit down’, ‘stand up’, ‘leave something’, ‘put, place, stand’, ‘give’, ‘throw’, ‘stop’
- **Exhaustive**: ‘(come to an) end’, ‘arrive; reach’, ‘become superfluous’, ‘take out’, ‘finish something’, ‘win’, ‘fill something up’, ‘strike’, ‘provide’, ‘be filled’, ‘manage’
- **Delimitative**: ‘take’, ‘carry out’, ‘leave’
- **Durative**: ‘live’, ‘lie’, ‘go/wander’, ‘sit’, ‘stand’
- **Continuative**: ‘endure’
- **Iterative**: ‘set’, ‘turn’, ‘sit around’, ‘stand around’
- **Gradual**: ‘come’

Aspectual auxiliary constructions

(10) Tajik (Indo-European > Iranian)

rafta istoda-am

go.PTCP.PST stand.PTCP.PST-1SG

'I am going.' (Perry 2005: 224)

~ (11) Ir. Pers. dāram mi-ravam

have.PRS.1SG go.PRS.1SG

(Adnominal) light verb constructions

Especially productive in Iranian

Persian

roušan kardan ‘to light; to switch on’

dust daštan ‘to love’

zamin x^(w)ordan ‘to fall down’

dars x^(w)āndan ‘to learn, to study’

ejāze dādan ‘to permit’

(see an overview of Iranian LVC and discussion in Korn 2013)

(Adnominal) light verb constructions

Persian LVC → Hindi LVC (selected frequently used semi-borrowings):

Hindi *yād karnā* ‘to remember’ ~ Pers. *yād kardan*

(Hindi *yād rakhnā* ‘to memorize’ ~ Pers. *yād gereftan* ‘to learn’)

Hindi *pasand karnā* ‘to like’ ~ Pers. *pasand kardan* ‘to approve, to choose’

Hindi *kharāb karnā* ‘to destroy’ ~ Pers. *xarāb kardan*

Hindi *nafrat karnā* ‘to hate’ ~ Pers. *nefrat kardan*

Innovations with Sanskrit or Hindi words: e.g., *svāgat karnā* ‘to welcome’, *pyār karnā* ‘to love’, *pūjā karnā* ‘to worship’

Innovations with English words: *disturb karnā* ‘to disturb’

(cf. Fornell & Liu 2019: 170–173)

(Adnominal) light verb constructions

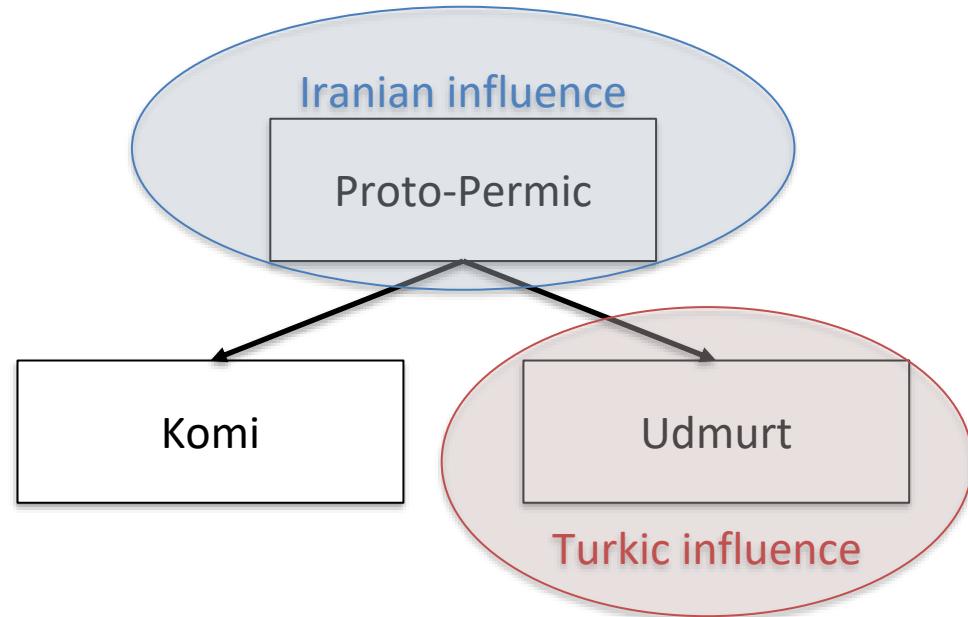
Tatar (Turkic > Kipchak)

- *doşman it-* ‘to make an enemy’ (lit. ‘enemy do’ ~ Pers. *došmani kardan*)
- *pärwaz it-* ‘to soar’ (lit. ‘flight do’ ~ Pers. *parwāz kardan*)
- *yad it-* ‘to remember’ (lit. ‘memory do’ ~ Pers. *yād kardan*)
- *qabul it-* ‘to accept’ (~ Pers. *qabul kardan* ‘id.’)
- *söxbät it-* ‘to converse’ (lit. ‘conversation do’ ~ Pers. *sohbat kardan*)
- *fiker it-* ‘to contemplate’ (lit. ‘thought do’ ~ Pers. *fekr kardan*)
- *xarap it-* ‘to ruin’ (lit. ‘broken do’ ~ Pers. *xarāb kardan*)
- *näfrät it-* ‘to hate’ (lit. ‘hate do’ ~ Pers. *nefrat kardan*)
- *xäbär it-* ‘to inform’ (lit. ‘message do’ ~ Pers. *xabar kardan/dādan*)
- *säfär it-* ‘to depart’ (lit. ‘journey do’ ~ Pers. *safar kardan*)
- *yärdäm it-* ‘to help’ (lit. ‘help do’)
- *bäyräm it-* ‘to celebrate’ (lit. ‘feast do’)
- *mobilizovat’ it-* ‘to mobilize’ (< Russian *mobilizovat'*, Kincses Nagy 2006: 2)

(Adnominal) light verb constructions

Udmurt (Uralic > Permic)

- *žur karjnij* 'murmur (lit. žur do)'
- *jegit karjnij* 'rejuvinate (lit. young do)'
- *murt karjnij* 'shun (lit. strange do)'
- *kjrś karjnij* 'pollute (lit. dirt do)'
- *keneš karjnij* 'consult (lit. advice do)'
- *vlijat' karjnij* 'to influence' (Russian *vlijat'* 'to influence')



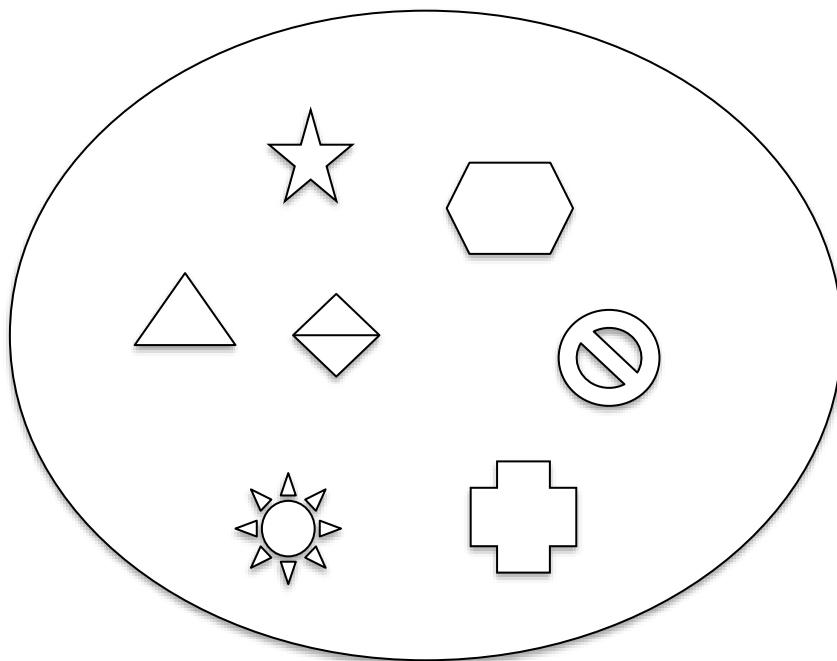
Proto-Uralic *a > Proto-Permian *u

> Iranian borrowing into Proto-Permian (cf. Komi *kernj*)

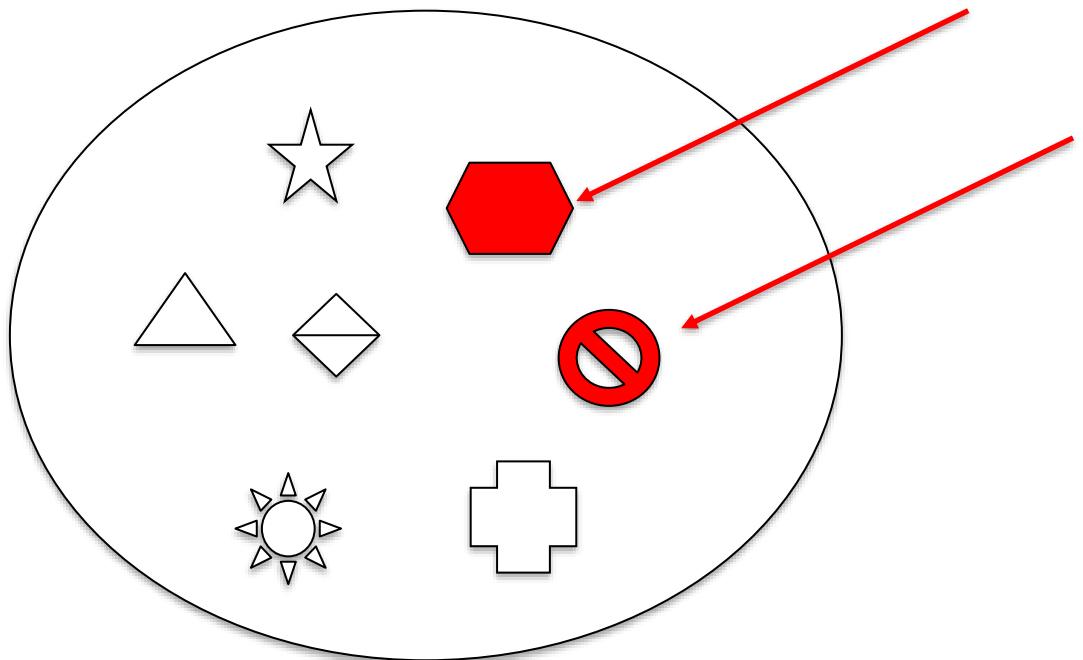
Cannot be Alanian

Komi (Uralic > Permic) *kernj* is not documented in adnominal light verb constructions

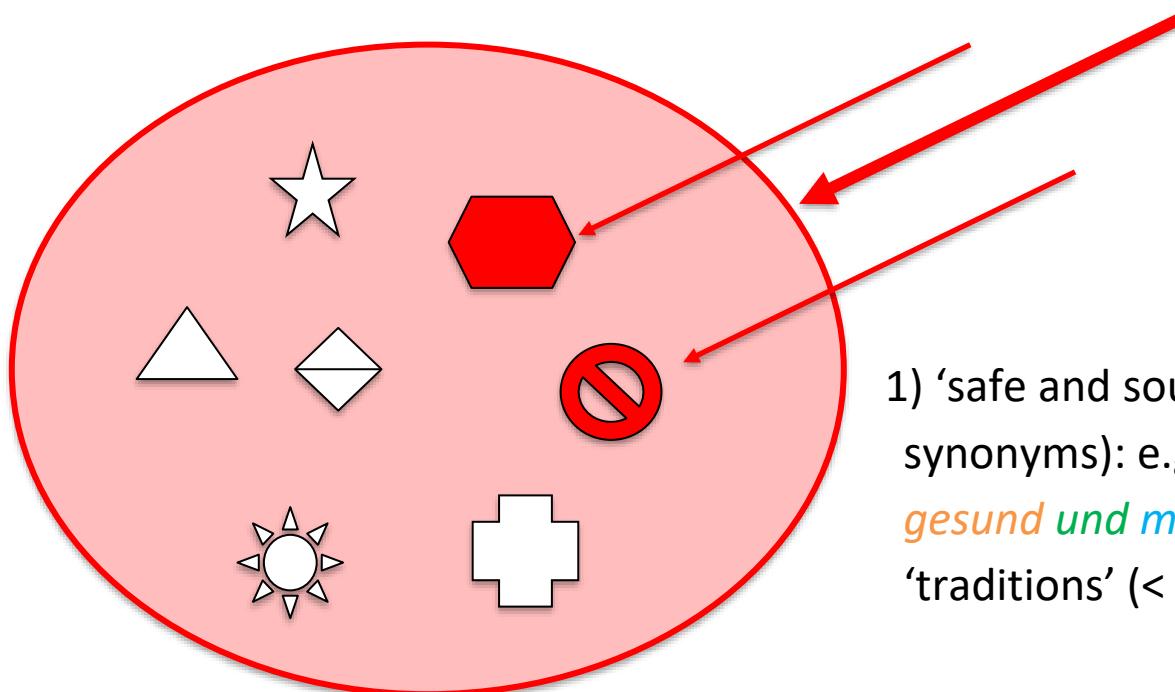
Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms



Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms



Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms



- 1) 'safe and sound' type (coordinating two synonyms): e.g., Eng. *kith and kin*, Ger. *gesund und munter*, Pers. *ādāb-o-rosum* 'traditions' (< 'manners and tradition')
- 2) exocentric twin forms: e.g., Toch. A *akmal* 'face' < 'eye-nose'

Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms

‘Safe and sound’ type (Iranian)

‘kith and kin’

Persian

qoum-o-x^(w)iš (Arab. *qawm* ‘people; tribe; nation’, *OArD* 685 + Plr. **xwaθya-* < PIE **s̥uat-i̥io-* ‘belonging to one’s own (people)’ (Hassandust 2015: II / 1221)

Dari

qawm-o-xēl (Arab. *qawm* + Arab. *hayl* ‘horses; cavalry; a body of men, troop’, *OArD* 248, Tsabolov II / 471)

Tajik

xeš-u-tabor (Plr. **xwaθya-* + ?Urdu *ṭabār* ‘family, dynasty; tribe, people, race’, *UrEnD* 204)

xeš-u-aqrabo (Plr. **xwaθya-* + Arab. *?aqrabā?* ‘relatives’)

Also occurred in Middle Iranian languages:

Sogdian

kant kōtar (of Semitic and Indo-Aryan origin, cf. Akkadian *kinattu, kinātu* ‘colleague, friend’ + OInd. *gotra* ‘family’, Sims-Williams)

Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms

‘Safe and sound’ type

Mari (Uralic)

ilâš-šülâš ‘everyday life’ < ‘life-breath’

taza-esen ‘healthy’ < ‘healthy-healthy’ (*taza* < Tatar < Persian, *esen* < Tatar)

sad-pakča ‘orchard’ < ‘garden-garden’ (*sad* < Russian, *pakča* < Tatar < Persian *bāğča/e* ‘small garden’)

Tatar (Turkic > Kipchak)

yalğız-yätim ‘lonely’ < ‘alone-orphaned’ (*yalğız* < Turkic, *yätim* < Arabic *yatīm* ‘orphan’)

isän-sau ‘healthy’ < ‘healthy-healthy’

šau-šu ‘noise’ < ‘noise-noise’

Coordinating compounds / binomials / twin forms

Exocentric twin forms

Persian (Indo-European > Iranian): *kot-o-šalwār* ‘suit’ < ‘jacket and trousers’

Mari (Uralic): *šürgyvylyš* ‘face’ < ‘face-ear’

Komi (Uralic): *paškem* ‘clothing’ < ‘fur_coat-footwear’

Hungarian (Uralic): *arc* ‘face’ < *orca* < *orr* ‘nose’ + *száj* ‘mouth’

Tatar (Turkic > Kipchak): *töş-baş* ‘appearance’ < ‘look-head’
ir-at ‘men’ < ‘man-horse’ [!] (cf. Dari *qawm-o-xēl*)

Chuvash (Turkic): *jīvəś-kurək* ‘vegetation’ < ‘tree-grass’

Questions to consider

- Choice of relevant and appropriate factors
- General typological trends (the prospective coincidence dimension)
- Time frame and directionality of assumed borrowings
- Borrowings from unattested forms
- Role of typological fit

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