

Grammaticalized topics in Kashkay: The implication for the relativization of Turkic languages*

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1. Introduction

Kashkay is an Oghuz Turkic language spoken in the southwestern part of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Kashkay are a seminomadic people, forming the second largest Turkic group in the country after the Azerbaijanis. Estimates of their population range from 141,000 to 530,000 (Soper 1996). According to Stilo (2004), Kashkay has typical OV characteristics, as in OV/PO/GN/AN. However, rapid syntactic changes in the language have been reported in recent investigations (cf. Csató 2004 and Kuribayashi 2009). The use of preverbal modal auxiliaries, the occurrence of postverbal dative nominals that are also found in Azeri, and the absence of sentential passives are some of those syntactic changes and are considered to be results of the language's contact with Persian. In this paper, first, I will illustrate that a morphological topicalization strategy has been employed in Kashkay. Second, I will investigate the theoretical implication of this Kashkay topicalization process with respect to relativization, not only for Turkic languages but also for linguistic typology in general.

2. Topicalization in Kashkay

First, I will illustrate that a topicalization strategy has been employed in Kashkay's morphosyntactic structure, which is probably copied from Kurdish. Topicalization in Kashkay is realized as a special clitic postposition, “-yāki” or “-āki,” attached to a discourse-level topicalized nominal. Whatever the grammatical relation might be, discourse-related nominals can be topicalized as in (1a-c). For instance, (a) nominative, (b) accusative, and (c) dative can be topicalized with the “-āki” marking. (Glosses in Kashkay examples used in this paper are based on Dolatkah (2007), except that the topic marking and attached English translations are mine.)

- (1a) *šer-āki* *da* *qulāq* *ās-ir-miš.* Kashkay (Dolatkah 2007)
lion-TOP DA ear hang-PERF.EVID
'The lion is listening (to him).' P39L40

* This research was supported by the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A) No. 21251006 and (C) No.21520438, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). Abbreviations used here: ACC, Accusative; AGR, Agreement; AOR, Aorist; COP, Copular; DAT, Dative; EVID, Evidential; GEN, Genitive; LOC, Locative; MOD, Modal; MP, Medio Passive; NOM, Nominative; PFT, Perfect; PL, Plural; POSS, Possessive; PRT, Participle; RES, restrictive; SG, Singular; TOP, Topic.

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- (1b) ...*ney-ākī-nī* *aghz-ī-nā* *qoy-ännā* *kiplā-yännā...*
 flute-TOP-ACC mouth-POSS.3SG-DAT put-when blow-when
 ‘...when he put the flute on his mouth and blew it...’ P40L62
- (1c) ...*pās qez-ākī* *nā ol-muš...*
 then girl-TOP what become-PERF
 ‘...then what happened to the girl?...’ P39L46

Topicalization marking in Kashkay is also found in a sentence without discourse.

- (2) *Kiši-yaki* *ke ad-ī Hasan ne.*
 man-TOP that name-POSS.3SG COP.
 ‘The person whose name is Hasan.’

Topicalized nominals continue to bear topicality throughout the discourse. Thus, Kashkay is unique among Turkic languages in that it has a grammaticalized topic marker.

3. Topicalization and gapless relativization

The topicalization process and the possibility of relativization out of nonarguments, namely gapless relativization, are closely related. Example (3) is a typical topicalized sentence in Japanese, in which either the topic of the sentence is marked by “-*wa*” or both the possessor and the possessee are marked by nominative marking “-*ga*.” This double nominative construction is possible as long as an “aboutness” connection, as discussed in Kuno (1973), between the head noun and the modifying noun, is guaranteed.

- (3) *Zoo-wa/ga/no* *hana-ga* *nagai.* Japanese
 elephant-TOP/NOM/GEN trunk-NOM long
 ‘An elephant has a long trunk.’

In contrast, Turkish has no morphological topic marker, as shown in (4). The possessor–possessee relation is marked by genitive–possessee relation, as in (4a). Otherwise, as in (4b), the sentential topic is signaled by a phonological break after the topicalized nominal.

- (4a) *Fil-in* *burn-u* *uzun-dur.* Turkish
 elephant-GEN trunk-POSS.3SG long-MOD
 ‘An elephant has a long trunk.’
- (4b) *Fil,* *burn-u* *uzun bir hayvan-dır.*
 elephant trunk-POSS.3SG long an animal-MOD
 ‘The elephant is an animal that has a long trunk.’

Some Turkic languages allow a certain relative construction (RC) that corresponds to the Japanese construction in (7b). In (5, 6) the head noun “smell” has no logical relation to the predicate “cook.” What is crucial for the construal of such a construction is the semantic and pragmatic association between the modifier and the head noun, similar to “aboutness” or “relatedness” mentioned in Kuno (1973). We use the term “gapless RC” for this type of RC, following Matsumoto (1988).

- (5) *Et biş-gän iyis* Karachay-Balkar (Comrie 1998)
 meat cook-PRT smell
 'The smell of meat cooking.'
- (6) *Qoy et-in qaқта-ğan iyis* Kazakh (Mirkamal, A. p.c.)
 sheep meat-ACC cook-PRT smell
 'The smell of cooking mutton'
- (7a) *Sakana-o yaku otoko* Gapped RC Japanese
 fish-ACC grill man
 'A man who grills a fish'
- (7b) *Sakana-o yaku nioi* Gapless RC
 fish-ACC grill smell
 'Smell of grilled fish'

Gapless RC is not allowed in Turkish, as (8) shows. Some Turkic languages, including Kazakh (spoken in China), Kirghiz, and Uyghur, as well as Karachay-Balkar, have gapless relative constructions, in which the head noun has no logical relation to its predicate. However, this gapless relativization is not allowed in Turkish and other southwestern Turkic languages in general.

- (8) **Balığ-ın piş-tiğ-i / piş-en koku-su.* Turkish
 fish-GEN cook-PRT-POSS.3SG / cook-PRT smell-POSS.3SG
 Lit. Smell that a fish cooks 'Smell of a fish cooking'

Some Turkic languages of Central Asia allow gapless relative clauses, as seen in examples (9a) through (11a), as well as compound-like N-complement constructions marked by possessive agreement on the head noun with a genitive modifier, as in examples (9b) through (12b).

- (9a) *Prizident kel-gen habar* Kazakh (Mirkamal, A. personal communication)
 president come-PRT news
 'The news that the president has come'
- (9b) *Prizident-tiğ kel-gen habar-ı*
 president-GEN come-PRT news-POSS.3SG [Remark 8]
 'The news that the president has come'
- (10a) *Prezident käl-gän hävär* Uyghur
 president come-PRT news
 'The news that the president has come'
- (10b) *Prezident-ıñ käl-gän hävär-i*
 president-GEN come-PRT news-POSS.3SG
 'The news that the president has come'
- (11a) *qaynak suw qayna-ğan dawıs* Kazakh (Mirkamal, A. p.c.)
 hot water boil-PRT sound
 'The sound of boiled water'

- (11b) *qaynak* *suw-dıŋ* *qayna-ğan* *dawıs-ı*
hot water-GEN boil-PRT sound-POSS.3SG
‘The sound of boiled water’
- (12a) *Kaynak* *suu* *kayna-gan* *ün* Kirghiz (Saginbayeva, B. p.c.)
hot water boil-PRT voice
‘The sound of boiled water’
- (12b) *Kaynak* *suu-nun* *kayna-gan* *ün-ü*
hot water-GEN boil-PRT voice-POSS.3SG
‘The sound of boiled water’

4. Relativization in Kashkay

In this section, first, I will investigate the theoretical implication of Kashkay topicalization, not only for Turkic languages but also for linguistic typology in general. I assume a functional-typological prediction with regard to the possibility of relativization, which is valid at least in Korean and Japanese, as follows:

- (13) Functional-typological prediction
If a given language has a morphological topicalization strategy, then the language tends to allow gapless relativization.

If Kashkay has a genuine topicalization marker, it predicts that gapless relativization would be possible. I will explore the properties of Kashkay topicalization in terms of Turkic relativization process.

4.1. Gapless RCs in Kashkay

Most Turkic languages spoken in Iran have been influenced by Persian, the most prestigious language in the country. Thus, Kashkay, along with Azeri and Khalaj, extensively uses a right-branching RC strategy as well as a left-branching one. My Kashkay informant allows the gapless RCs mentioned in (14a), but some typical gapless RCs are not allowed. For example, the sentence meaning ‘the news that the president has come,’ which is found in Karachay-Balkar (cf. Comrie 1998) and Uyghur (cf. 10a), is not allowed in Kashkay. Namely, a genuine gapless RC in which the no-agreement marker is marked on the head noun is not found in Kashkay. However, a compound-like N-complement can be formed by the non-subject participle *-DIK-*. Thus, an important contrast is found between Kashkay and Turkish, as in the following examples:

- (14a) *At-ıŋ* *çap-dıg-i* *ses-i* Kashkay (Dolatkhah, S. p.c.)
horse-GEN run-PRT-POSS.3SG sound-POSS.3SG
‘The sound of a horse running’
- (14b) **At-ın* *koş-tuğ-u* *ses-i/-Ø* Turkish
horse-GEN run-PRT-POSS.3SG sound-POSS.3SG
‘The sound of a horse running’

Example (15) shows that N-complement structures are allowed in both Kashkay and Turkish.

- (15a) *Xers-ij gel-dig-i nišane-si.* Kashkay (Dolatkhah, S. p.c.)
 bear-GEN come-PRT-POSS.3SG sign-POSS.3SG
 ‘The sign that the bear has come’
- (15b) *Ayı-nın gel-diğ-i nišane-si.* Turkish
 bear-GEN come-PRT-POSS.3SG sign-POSS.3SG
 ‘The sign that the bear has come’

It must be noted that Kashkay also allows a prenominal modifier, classified as a gapped RC, as follows:

- (16) *...kil tek-il-ân yer-â* P42L86 (Dolatkhah 2007)
 ashes pour-MP-PRT earth-DAT
 ‘...to the ground where ashes poured’

Thus we can confirm that Kashkay’s left-branching RCs allow two types of RCs, namely, the *-An* participle in (16) and the *-DIK-* participle seen in (15), as in Turkish. The subject/non-subject distinction in the RC participle is also found in Khalaj, an endangered non-Oghuz Turkic language spoken in Iran.

- (17a) *Hat-ıyn ye-dik-i ot.* Khalaj (Cemrasi, A. p.c.)
 horse-GEN eat-PRT(non-sbj)-POSS.3SG grass
 ‘The grass which the horse ate’
- (17b) *Tağ-u kör-gülü kişi.*
 mountain-ACC see-PRT(sbj) person
 ‘The person who saw the mountain’

4.2. Right-branching RC

Kashkay example (18) shows a Persian-type right branching RC, in which the NP “pul” is topicalized by the complementizer “-ki.” A restrictive (RES) RC marking strategy on the head noun is also copied from Persian syntax. It is interesting to note that a resumptive pronoun strategy is employed in (18), namely the oblique resumptive pronoun “*o-nuŋ-nan*” refers to the head noun.

- (18) *Pul-i ki o-nuŋ-nan sigar al-dî-m.* Kashkay (Dolatkhah, S. p.c.)
 money-RES that it-GEN-with cigarette buy-PST-1.SG
 ‘The change which I bought the cigarette with’

We can find more examples of gapped RC employing resumptive pronouns, as follows:

- (19) *kişi-yaki ke belasın-nan at al-dî-k.* Kashkay
 man-TOP that from him horse buy-PST-1.PL
 ‘The man from whom I bought a horse’

- cf. *Mard-ī ke asb az u kharīdam* Persian
 man-RES that horse from him I bought
 ‘The man from whom I bought a horse’

Example (20) requires an extent of semantic or pragmatic inference to connect the head noun and the modifier, which means “even if you eat this cake, it does not make you fat. It is a cake for diet.”

- (20) *šīrn-i ki čaq ed-mi-r bele-miz-i* Kashkay (Dolatkhah, S. p.c.)
 cake-RES that fat do-NEG-AOR self-1PL-ACC
 ‘The cake that does not make us fat’

In addition, an N-complement or adnominal construction is also allowed in *ke*-RC constructions in Kashkay:

- (21a) *Delil-i ki ot pexš ol-muš* Kashkay (Dolatkhah, S. p.c.)
 reason-RES that fire spread become-PFT
 ‘The reason why the fire has spread’
- (21b) *Delil-i ki Ali gel-miš*
 reason-RES that Ali come-PFT
 ‘The reason why Ali has come’

5. Conclusion

We can depict our findings about topic marking and related properties as follows:

(22)

	Turkish	Kashkay	Khalaj	Karachay-Balkar	Kazakh	Kirghiz	Japanese
Topic marking	No	Yes	?	No	No	No	Yes
Gapless RC	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Sbj/non-sbj PRT	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
AGR on the head	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Kashkay is Oghuz Turkic, which has subject/non-subject distinction for participial agreement in the RC predicate. Thus, the complementizer agreement (CA) effect discussed in Kornfilt (2008), which claims that subject/non-subject distinction for the participial agreement in the RC is incompatible with a resumptive pronoun strategy, can be assumed for the language. However, a right-branching Persian-type RC strategy is prevalent in Kashkay, along with left-branching RCs, where resumptive pronouns are frequently employed. This shows an obvious contradiction of the CA assumption. In

addition, Khalaj, a non-Oghuz Turkic language spoken in Iran, also employs a copied resumptive pronoun strategy in gapped RCs from Persian (cf. Kiral 2000). The subject/non-subject distinction for the participial agreement in the RCs found in Azeri, Kashkay, and even in Khalaj suggests that it forms an areal feature found in Oghuz Turkic languages in Iran.

My reasoning for the relation between topic marking and the relativization of possibility of gapless RCs is functional/cognitive; the more the grammaticalized agreement marking is developed, as in Turkish, the less is the possibility of gapless RCs. On the contrary, the more the topicalization marking is developed, the less is the development of grammaticalized agreement markings, as in Japanese. Kashkay occupies an area in between, because many Persian syntactic properties are copied through language contact, including a resumptive pronoun strategy in RCs. Thus Kashkay is coming to possess a hybrid character. As for functional-typological prediction (11), it is partially borne out by Kashkay's hybrid character.

In summary,

- (1) Sbj/non-Sbj RCs are found in Turkic languages in Iran and are possibly an areal feature.
- (2) Right-branching RCs are prevalent in Khalaj and Kashkay.
- (3) A resumptive pronoun strategy is employed in right-branching RCs in Kashkay.
- (4) Grammaticalized topic marking is employed in Kashkay, but it is not full-fledged.
- (5) Topic marking and agreement on the head in RCs are correlated.

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