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Circumpositions as an areal response: The case study of the Iranian zone

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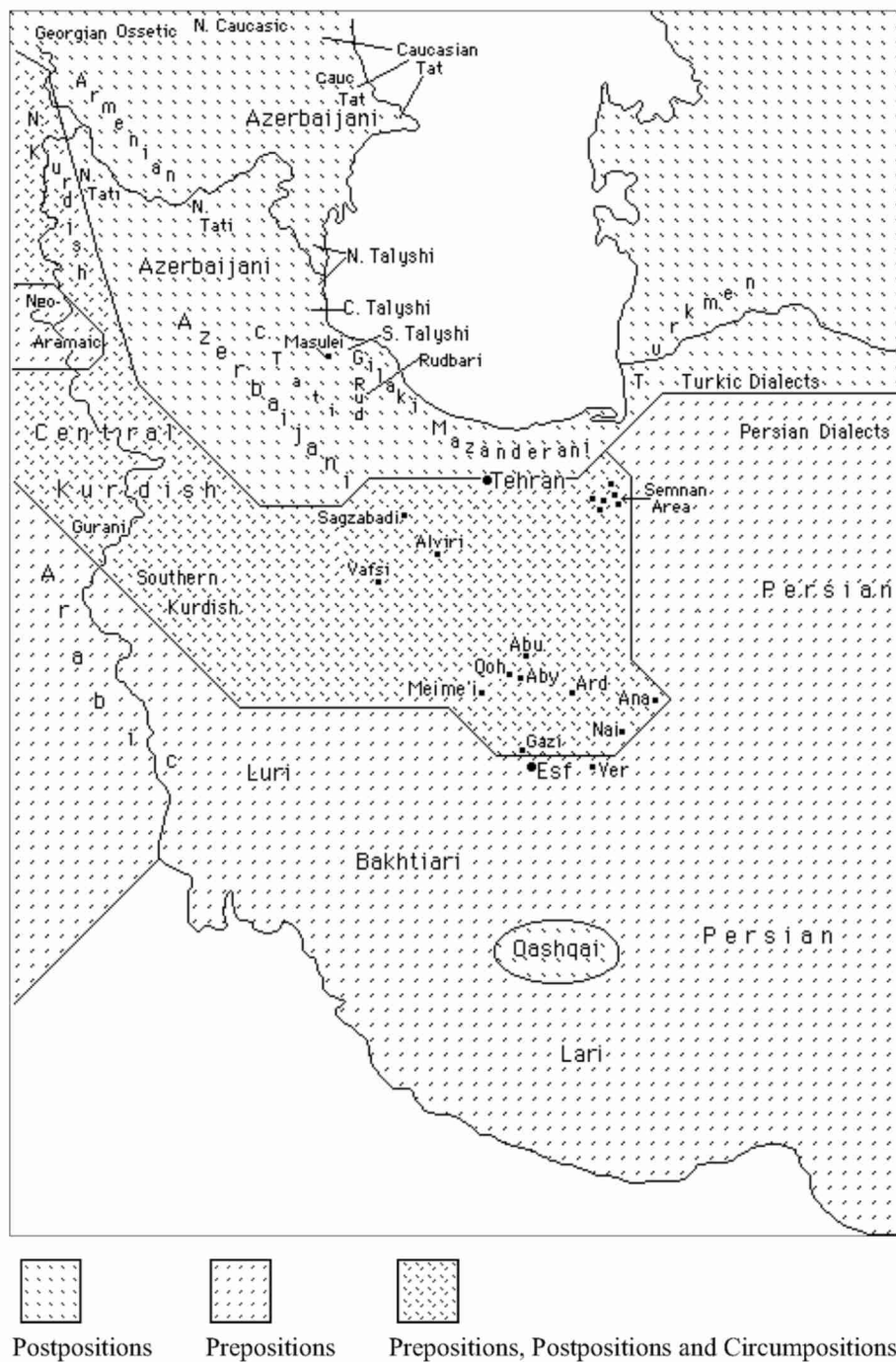
This paper proposes that the potential conflict arising from the areal distribution of a right-branching (VO) pattern encountering the area of a left-branching (OV) pattern is often resolved by the creation of an intersection zone which accommodates to both patterns by a simultaneous fluctuation between, or a merger of, the two patterns. The discussion is restricted here both in domain (adpositions) and area (the Middle East). Languages of this area group into three adpositional zones: postpositional, prepositional, and an intersection zone of mixed typology. The latter exhibits A) a split pattern, with both prepositions and postpositions; B) a merger of the two types into one hybridized pattern framing the head (circumpositions); or C) an assortment of patterns (prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions, and doublets or alternating forms). I also demonstrate that in the areas sandwiched between, and partially overlapping with, the postpositional zone (Turkic, Armenian, Caucasian, Indic) and the prepositional zone (Semitic), we find Iranian languages that are postpositional in the north, prepositional in the south, and of mixed adpositional typology in the central areas. In the east, we also find mixed typology in Nuristani languages.

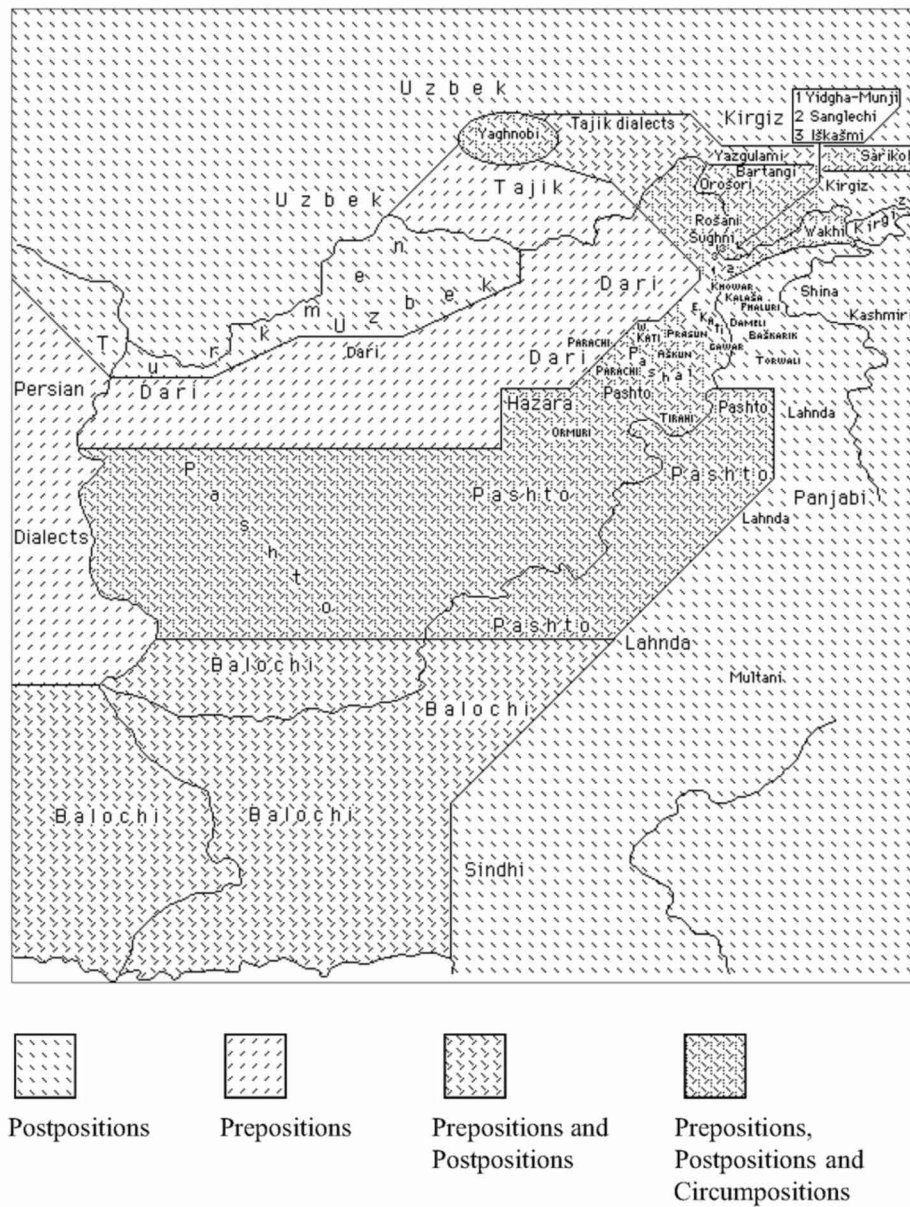
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0. Introduction

In this paper, I would like to demonstrate that some OV / VO-type grammatical patterns that are considered “inconsistent” in the scheme of word order typology can often be accounted for as a natural result of areal phenomena. Specifically, languages with syntactic “doublets” (Hawkins 1983: 13) or “split” (Comrie 1981: 82) grammatical patterns—such as the preposed and postposed adjectives of French / Spanish / Italian or genitives of English / Dutch / German—are very often located in those areas where two opposite syntactic patterns meet. That is, the potential conflict arising from the convergence of two opposite isoglosses, i.e. where an OV pattern meets a VO pattern, is often resolved by the creation of an intersection zone area which accommodates to both isoglosses by a simultaneous fluctuation between, or a merger of, the two patterns.

In the following discussion of adpositions, I reserve this term for spatial-locational relationships and other oblique nominal functions, i.e., non-subject, non-P/object functions.





1. The Iranian area: The intersection zone between postposition and preposition

The Middle East has consistently postpositional languages, consistently prepositional languages and languages of mixed adpositional typology. These three types group areally into three isoglosses or adpositional zones, each comprised of languages of different genealogical affiliations. (See Maps One and Two.)

1. The northern zone, which is consistently postpositional, includes Turkic, Daghestanian, Kartvelian, Armenian and some Iranian languages (Ossetic, Northern and Central Tati, S. Talyshi, Gilaki/Mazanderani, etc.). The postpositional zone also extends to the north and northeast in an unbroken continuum via Turkic to Uralic, to eastern Altaic languages (Mongolic, Tungusic), to Paleo-Asiatic, etc., and through the Central Asian area directly to Dardic and the whole Indian subcontinent.
2. The southern zone, consistently prepositional, includes Semitic languages (modern Arabic dialects, Neo-Aramaic and Hebrew) in the west and a second group of Iranian languages (Persian, Luri, and the languages of southern and most of Central Iran). This zone extends east through a great part of Afghanistan, and of course, to the west to include the Mediterranean zone and beyond.
3. The third zone, with the highest concentration of mixed adpositional types, is found in between the two consistent areas. This intersection zone appears on two different fronts in the Iranian area, one in the west and one in the east.
 - a) The western front, extending from Zazaki/Dimli and Kurmanji/Northern Kurdish in eastern Turkey and northeast Iraq to a number of Central Plateau dialects and some forms of Southern Tati (Vafsi, Alviri, Sagzabadi) of Iran, forms a third group of Iranian languages inside this intersection zone, with languages that have prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions; others such as Central Kurdish and Gurani have prepositions and circumpositions but no independent postpositions.
 - b) On the eastern front, there is another zone of mixed typology where the postpositional zone of Turkic (especially Uzbek) and Indic meets the prepositional zone of Persian. This second intersection zone includes most Eastern Iranian languages (Pashto, Yaghnobi, Pamir languages, etc.), some Persian dialects of the area (Hazara, Tajik dialects, etc.), Balochi and some Western Dardic/Nuristani languages (Kati, Waigali, Prasun, etc.).

Why have some languages, such as Vafsi, Kurdish or Pashto, stabilized as mixed in their typology of adpositions? Viewing the data from the areal axis, the “inconsistency” is no surprise. Languages such as Vafsi, sandwiched directly between these two opposing zones, are actually a mixture of the two types and form an intersection zone. The areal factor is no less crucial in determining the typology of these languages than are syntactic universals or genealogical / diachronic factors.

I propose the following statement about this type of intersection zone and the process of merging two opposite patterns:

In border areas where the opposites of one syntactic pattern meet and overlap (i.e. a specific VO-type feature meets an OV-type counterpart, e.g. prepositions vs. postpositions), there are often languages or dialects which accommodate themselves to both patterns by:

- a) developing a split pattern, having both opposite typologies concurrently (e.g. both prepositions and postpositions), and sometimes the same word alternates as both forms, or
- b) merging the two opposites into one hybridized pattern framing the head (e.g. circumpositions), or
- c) having various of the above patterns (e.g. prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions, and / or alternating forms).

As Masica (1976) points out, the phenomenon of mixed typology holds true for other OV-type and VO-type features besides adpositions. I have shown elsewhere (Stilo 1981) a similar process of merger of an OV (adjunct-head) and a VO (head-adjunct) pattern for possessive pronouns into a hybridized possessive-noun-possessive pattern in an intersection zone area extending from the Vafsi area halfway through the south Caucasus. I have, in addition, data from this area on similar split / hybridized processes in GEN-N / N-GEN, ADJ-N / N-ADJ, NEG-V / V-NEG, etc. (see, e.g., Stilo 2004). To discuss all these features, however, is beyond the scope of this article. I will, instead, introduce the phenomenon of the syntactic intersection zone by examining one crucial feature in syntactic universal typology: adpositions.

The Western and the Eastern adpositional intersection zones introduced above are each discussed below, with more detail devoted to the former group. I then discuss some apparent exceptions to my proposal:

- a) Northern Talyshi and Caucasian Tat (see footnote 5), two Iranian languages with highly mixed adpositional typology in the Caucasian area outside the intersection zone per se, and conversely,
- b) Georgian, Armenian, and Turkic dialects, all postpositional, located in enclaves inside a prepositional zone in Central / South-Central Iran.

The following is not intended as a complete grammar of adpositions with all their various syntactic functions in the languages mentioned, nor is it intended as an exhaustive listing of all adpositional forms occurring there. I wish, instead, to map out the areal distribution of the syntactic types of adpositions over a geographic continuum. The intent is to look at the effect of areal phenomena on typology, focusing specifically on resulting areal accommodation at the juncture of two opposite types. To do so, however, does entail some discussion of the use / grammar of adpositions in these languages and dialects.

2. The western zone: Iran

I shall first present data from three different areas within the intersection zone on map 1:

- (1) the central area, represented by Vafsi,
- (2) the extreme west, represented by Central Kurdish and Zazaki/Dimli, and
- (3) the extreme east of the Iranian zone, represented by Meime'i and other Central Plateau Dialects (henceforth CPD).

Each of these languages, it should be noted, belongs to a different Iranian subgroup: Tatic, Kurdish, Zazaki/Dimli and CPD, respectively; other languages within these groups exhibit the same patterns.

2.1. Vafsi adpositional data

Vafsi (see Stilo, to appear) is a type C language mentioned above. That is, in addition to having both prepositions and postpositions, it also has adpositions which double as both prepositions and postpositions, as well as having hybridized adpositions in the form of circumpositions:

(a) prepositions: *yáwa* 'until', *æz* 'from', *bæ* 'to', *o* 'to, on, upon', etc.

- (1) *æz indi yáwa andi*
from here until there
'from here to (until) there'
- (2) *tævæzénæ=s ór=es=giræ o kúl=es*
battle.axe=3S₂ PVB=3S₂=took upon shoulder=3S₂
'He took his battle-axe upon his shoulders.'
- (3) *in lebas bæ esdæ ætt-a-Ø.*
this clothes to you:OBL DU-come-3S₁
'These clothes suit you.'

(b) postpositions: *dómbæ* 'after', *=ra* 'for, with (comitative/instrumental)', *palu* 'to, at (animate)', *henra* 'with (comitative)', *xater* 'for the sake of', etc.

- (4) *pældéng-i=ra košdi=s dé-giræ*
leopard-OM=with wrestling=3S₂ PVB-took
'He wrestled with a leopard.'
- (5) *soay bera-y=m henra ætt-a-ym.*
tomorrow brother-OM=1S₂ with DU-come-1S₁
'I'll come with my brother tomorrow.'

- (6) *soay ætt-a-ym esdæ palu.*
 tomorrow DU-come-1S₁ you:OBL next.to
 'I'll come to you tomorrow.'

Note in examples (2) and (6) that the adposition is not the only indication of motion (allative) vs. rest (locative). The word order of goal in postverbal position contrasts with the locative in preverbal position. (See also next two sections.)

(c) alternating forms: *dæ* ~ *dæ* 'into ~ in', *sæx* ~ *sæx* 'onto ~ on', etc.

In the case of the alternating adpositions, the prepositions usually denote the allative while the postpositions denote locative:

- | | Prepositions/allative | Postpositions/locative |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>dæ an holle</i>
in that hole
'into that hole' | <i>an holle=dæ</i>
that hole=in
'in that hole' |
| (8) | <i>sæx miz-i</i>
top table-OM
'onto the table' | <i>miz-i sæx</i>
table-OM top
'on the table' |

(d) circumpositions: *ben* ~ *dæ* 'under', *sæx* ~ *dæ* 'on', *man* ~ *dæ* 'inside, among', etc.

Certain adpositions in Vafsi form pairs to express motion vs. rest: '(to) under' vs. '(at) under'; '(to) behind' vs. '(at) behind', etc. The allative forms are compound prepositions. The locative forms are hybridized adpositions in the form of circumpositions. In both cases, however, it is again the alternation of the adposition *dæ* that indicates the distinction of motion vs. rest:

Motion (allative):

- (9) *hár=om=nia dæ zer juanxa-y.*
 PVB=1S₂=put:PAST to under quilt-OM
 'I put (it) under the quilt.'
- (10) *hár=om=nia dæ sæx juanxa-y.*
 PVB=1S₂=put:PAST to top quilt-OM
 'I put (it) on (top of) the quilt.'
- (11) *hár=om=nia dæ man juanxa-y.*
 PVB=1S₂=put:PAST to middle quilt-OM
 'I put (it) in/inside the quilt.'

Rest (locative):

- (12) *zer juanxa-y=dæ hár=om=venda.*
under quilt-OM=in PVB=1S₂=found
'I found (it) under the quilt.'

- (13) *sær juanxa-y=dæ hár=om=venda.*
top quilt-OM=in PVB=1S₂=found
'I found (it) on (top of) the quilt.'

- (14) *man juanxa-y=dæ hár=om=venda.*
middle quilt-OM=in PVB=1S₂=found
'I found (it) in/inside the quilt.'

Vafsi is probably originally a postpositional language, based on the following facts:

- a) there are more postpositions in Vafsi than prepositions,
- b) the compounding of adpositions occurs more commonly postpositionally than prepositionally, and
- c) most prepositions in Vafsi seem to be borrowed from Persian.

The interesting thing about Vafsi, however, is that it has clearly adapted to the typological intersection zone and has developed a rich mixture of adpositional strategies (type C mentioned above).

2.2. Meime'i adpositional data

In some aspects, Meime'i and Vafsi parallel each other. In other ways, Meime'i is the mirror image of Vafsi. It has a predominance of prepositions and only a few postpositions. The latter, however, are used with very high frequency in the language. The following examples demonstrate the similarities and differences of these two languages (Vafsi equivalents are my own translation):

- Meime'i prepositions Vafsi postpositions
- (15) *yeki šekayæt=eš be-kæ yeki šekayæt=es bæ-kæ*
one complaint=3S₂ PU-made one complaint=3S₂ PU-made
vær-e hækim-i. hækim-i palu(=dæ).
front-EZ doctor-INDEF doctor-OM next.to(=LOC)
'Someone made a complaint to a doctor.' (Lambton 1938: 24)
- (16) *mesl-e afto=e. afdéw-i qærár=e.*
like-EZ sun=COP:3S₁ sun-OM like=COP:3S₁
'It is like the sun.' (Lambton 1938: 14)

- (17) *man čī=m bala ta tæmen esdæ=ra hiči=m*
 I thing=1S₂ for you I:OBL you:OBL=for nothing=1S₂
næ-nevēšt-e. nê-nevisd-e.
 NEG-wrote:PPL NEG-wrote:PF
 'I haven't written anything to you.' (Lambton 1938: 15)
- (18) *kæla=t xo ču kælle=y ču-é=ra æt-æšgen-om.*
 head=2S₂ with stick head=2S₂ stick-OF=with DU-break=1S₁
æ-hmer-o.
 DU-break=1S₁
 'I'll break your head with a stick.' (Lambton 1938: 24)
- Meymei prepositions Vafsi prepositions
- (19) *ye resmun=eš de gærdæn-e yey ræšændé=s dæ juji-an*
 one rope=3S₂ to neck-EZ one rope=3S₂ to chick-OP
juje-ha bæst. gærdæn dæ-besdæ.
 chick-PL tied neck PVB-tied
 'He tied a rope to the chicks' necks.' (Lambton 1938: 23)
- Meymei postpositions Vafsi prepositions
- (20) *man šoma=de be-tærsa-m. æz æz soan bæ-tærsa-ym.*
 I you=from PU-feared=1S₁ I.DIR from you:PL PU-feared-1S₁
 'I was afraid of you.' (Lambton 1938: 12)
- Meymei circumpositions Vafsi postpositions
- (21) *ru in kase=de zæhr=e. in kasæ=dæ zæhr=e.*
 in this bowl=LOC poison=COP:3S₂ this bowl=LOC poison=COP:3S₂
 'There is poison in this bowl.' (Lambton 1938: 12)

Note also that the Meime'i postposition =*de* is polysemous and means both 'in, at (locative)' and 'from (ablative)'. This is true of many other languages of the area, as is it occasionally for Vafsi as well.

There are many parallelisms between the two languages. As in Vafsi, the Meime'i adposition *de* functions prepositionally to indicate motion (allative, see (19) above) and postpositionally to indicate rest (locative, see (21) above).

Meime'i examples:

Motion (Allative)

- (22) *dæx-kæt-Ø de miun-e kiæ.*
 PVB-fell-3S₁ to middle-EZ house
 'He fell into the middle of their house (i.e., from above).' (Lambton 1938: 22)

Rest (Locative)

- (23) *dombal-e un pærde=de ha.*
 behind-EZ that curtain=LOC EXISTENCE:3S₁
 'It is behind that curtain.' (Lambton 1938: 15)

Also exactly as in Vafsi, *de ~ dæ(r)* 'in, at, to, etc.' combines with other adpositions to form circumpositions of rest. *bæx-* 'upon (motion)', *bæx- -de* 'upon (rest)'; *ru-* 'to', *ru- -de* 'in at'. Note the contrast of an allative and a locative in a single sentence:

- (24) *be-væšt-Ø ru γæbrestun ve ru γæbrestun=de ha-čæšt-Ø.*
 PU-ran-3S₁ in(to) cemetery and in(to) cemetery=LOC PVB-sat-3S₁
 'He ran into the cemetery and in the cemetery he sat down.' (Lambton 1938: 27)

Meime'i and Vafsi demonstrate the areal nature of the hybridization phenomena very well. Although Vafsi is a Tatic language and Meime'i is Central Plateau, they are more similar to each other in the typology of their adpositions than they are to their genetic relatives outside the intersection zone. Even the Southern Tati dialects (Yarshater 1969), which are geographically and linguistically closest to Vafsi, do not have such a high incidence of circumpositions and split adpositions as Vafsi. They are located within the intersection zone but are closer to the pure postpositional zone, and are thus more predominantly postpositional than Vafsi. Those relatives that are well inside the latter zone, such as most Central Tati dialects, are exclusively postpositional.

As for the rest of the Central Plateau group,¹ most of the dialects extending to the

¹ The Central Plateau Dialect (CPD) group (or simply Central Dialects), a subgroup of NW Iranian, is best viewed as a dialect chain spreading out in all directions within the space it occupies and consists of different dialects that are highly endangered but still spoken in some 100 - 200 locations (Borjian 2007) in central Iran. As we progress over the distance of this continuum, each dialect differs noticeably from the next and interintelligibility gradually diminishes as geographic distance increases. Nāini and Anāraki, in fact, belong to the southeastern subgroup of CPD and Gazi (Stilo 2007c), Esfahani Jewish (Stilo 2007a) and Verzenei are considered southwestern CPD, while the rest of the dialects mentioned on the map belong to northeastern CPD. See also Stilo (2007b) for further discussion of this family.

east from Meime'i also share a very similar mixed typology. The CPD dialects indicated on Map 1 that are within the intersection zone (also listed with the three-letter abbreviations used for them on the map), include Qohrudi/Qoh, Abuzey-dābādi/Abu, Abyāne'i/Aby, Ardestāni/Ard, Nāini/Nai, Anāraki/Ana, and Gazi), which have been documented by various authors but especially in the rich collection of texts in Lecoq (2002) for the first six dialects here and Eilers (1979) for Gazi. They all show a mixed adpositional typology similar to Meime'i and contrast with Esfahani Jewish/Esf (see Stilo 2007a) and Verzene/Ver (among many others) which are outside the intersection zone and are exclusively prepositional.

2.3. Kurdic adpositional data

The whole Kurdophone² zone, i.e., Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish, Gurani, and Zaza/Dimli, gives us a rather complex picture of mixed typology expected for the intersection zone. In Suleimaniye dialect of Central Kurdish, there are only three postpositional forms (=awa, =dā, and the rather uncommon =aw-dwā), which never stand alone but only enter into circumpositional compounds on a frequent basis. Friend (1985: 54-77) lists for Suleimaniye: (a) 17 simple and 88 compound prepositions, totaling 105 prepositional forms, and (b) 73 circumpositions formed with combinations of various prepositions and the two most common postpositions.

No clear picture of Suleimaniye adpositions has ever been established (Friend 1985: 66) and the grammar of adpositions in Central Kurdish in general is, in fact, so bewildering that it seems quite daunting to try to formulate anything for this article other than initial generalizations. Among the 73 circumpositions on Friend's list, *la*=ADP_₁=dā (and often *la*=ADP_₁=awa) and *ba*=ADP_₁=dā/*ba*=ADP_₁=awa mostly indicate locatives while *a*=ADP_₁=awa usually indicates the allative counterparts. The prepositional elements of these forms have the following meanings on their own (no independent meaning is given for the postpositions in Friend): *la* 'at, from', *ba* 'to, for, by, with', =*a* 'to' (Friend 1985: 56-7). The latter preposition occurs almost always encliticized to a verb (MacKenzie 1966:123). Generalizations about Locative vs. Allative, however, apply more generally to the prepositional element of the circumposition and not so regularly to the postposition:

² I use the term 'Kurdophone' here to include all groups that are considered Kurds according to their self-identity (as well as by other Kurdish groups) but whose languages are completely distinct and have linguistic histories that in fact show different origins from Kurdic within Iranian. I use the term 'Kurdic' to refer to Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish (themselves with somewhat low interintelligibility), whereas Zazaki/Dimli and Gurani/Gōrani are completely independent groups within Northwest Iranian languages, whose *linguistic* classification seems to be much closer to Tatic than to Kurdic.

(25) Motion/Allative		Rest/Locative	
<i>a nāw</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'into'	<i>ba nāw</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i>	
		<i>la nāw</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i>	'inside'
<i>a kin</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(to) near, next to'	<i>ba kin</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i>	'(at) beside'
		<i>la kin</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(at) beside, close to'
<i>a žēr</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(to) under, /below'	<i>ba žēr</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i> /= <i>awa</i>	'(at) under/below'
		<i>la žēr</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i> /= <i>awa</i>	'(at) under'
<i>a bin</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(to) under'	<i>ba bin</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i> /= <i>awa</i>	'(at) under'
		<i>la bin</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i>	'(at) under'
<i>a žūr</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'onto, (to) over'	<i>ba žūr</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i> /= <i>awa</i>	'(at) over, above'
		<i>la žūr</i> _ =(d) <i>ā</i> /= <i>awa</i>	'(at) above'
<i>a pišt</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(to) behind'	<i>la pišt</i> _ = <i>awa</i>	'(at) behind'

Zazaki, also known as Dimli, is a rather large Kurdophone linguistic enclave in central Turkey adjacent to, and partially surrounded by, Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji). It is also a Type C language and, not surprisingly, has an adpositional typology just as complex as Central Kurdish. In looking at one interesting factor presented by the Zazaki material, we see that while the language has similar strategies (prepositions, postpositions, circumpositions) to those of other languages of the intersection zone, it does not necessarily use them in the same way as these languages. Note, for example, in the following sentences from Selcan (1998) and Paul (1998) (who show some differences in transcription and probably slight dialect variation) that Zazaki sometimes also uses the word order of the adposition to distinguish the Locative from the Allative, as does Vafsi (see (7)-(14) above), but the Zazaki and Vafsi word orders are the exact opposite for the allative (27):

- (26) *u bin-ē dar-e=de mend.*
 he under:EZ tree-OF=at stayed
 'He remained under the tree.' (Selcan 1998: 653)

- (27) *dēw ye-n-o dār-i bin.*
 div come-TAM-3S tree-OF under
 'The div (type of monster) comes under the tree.' (Paul 1998: 109)

From the information available on Kurdic at this point, the adpositions of the various languages in the group seem to be typologically more homogeneous than either Tatic or Central Plateau. Obviously, more work is needed on each of these languages before the typology and functions of adpositions can be clearly understood. For the present discussion, however, all Kurdophone languages fall neatly within the adpositional intersection zone delimited here, and each language has prepositions, postpositions and circumpositions.

3. The eastern zone: Afghanistan, the Pamir region

The eastern Iranian area is a particularly interesting case. The intersection zone areas between the exclusively postpositional Indian and Turkic zones and the exclusively prepositional (standard) Persian / Tajik zone are all quite mixed. That is, Pashto (see Heston 1987), most Pamir languages, Yaghnobi, Balochi, Tajik dialects and the Hazara dialects of Persian in this area, as well as some West Dardic/Nuristani³ languages have adpositions of mixed typology.

Tajik itself is an interesting case study. It seems that the majority of dialects are prepositional, as are its closely related dialects (national languages) Farsi and Dari, or the Persian of Iran and Afghanistan, respectively. Tajik dialects in bilingual areas near the Uzbek (Turkic) area, however, seem to be predominantly postpositional. Other Tajik dialects on the southern front where it comes in contact with Pamir languages which are of mixed adpositional typology—seem to be circumpositional.

Since the material I present from the eastern zone all comes from published sources and not from direct familiarity or field experience in this area, I will restrict the number and types of examples given and will offer only minimal grammatical explanation of their differences.

3.1. The Pamir group (Southeastern Iranian): Wakhi, Sanglěči

For Wakhi, Paxalina (1975) lists ten prepositions of Wakhi origin plus another eight or ten of borrowed (Tajik) origin; six postpositions; and an open-ended number of circumpositions. All the native Wakhi prepositions also combine with the various postpositions to form circumpositions. Only those borrowed from Tajik function exclusively as prepositions. Statistically, circumpositions seem to have the highest frequency of occurrence. Examples:

Wakhi prepositions (Paxalina 1975: 36):

- (28) *pərindá-išt da činōr šōx náy-n-ay.*
 bird-PL to/at plane.tree branch sat=3s
 ‘The birds alighted onto the branch of the plane (sycamore) tree.’

³ Dardic—at least Central Dardic (Khowar, Kalasha, Tirahi, Pashai, Dameli, and others) and Eastern Dardic (Kashmiri, Shina, Phalura, and others)—is indisputably classified as a subgroup of Indic languages within Indo-Iranian, although it clearly stands somewhat apart genetically from the rest of Indic. West Dardic (Kati, Ashkun, Prasun, Waigali, and others), on the other hand, has been reclassified by some scholars (Edel'man 1999: 12-13) as a separate group within Indo-Iranian called Nuristani. It was also previously called “Kafiri” but this name is no longer in favor. According to those scholars who advocate this new status, Nuristani—based on common innovations that occurred after the breakup of the proto-Aryan stage—should be classified as an independent third branch within Indo-Iranian not directly belonging to either Iranian or Indic.

Wakhi postpositions (Paxalina 1975: 106):

- (29) *wuz nīv xōrīγ=ər rāč-əm*
 I now P.N.=to go-1s
 'I'll go to Khorog now.'

Wakhi circumpositions, *də* 'to, at' + postposition (Paxalina 1975: 86-87):

- (30) *də ī dara dəst čərn-əv.*
 to/at one valley inside entered-3p
 'They entered (into) a ravine.'

- (31) *wuz da tī dāčd-əv=ən nə nāzd-əm.*
 I:DIR to/at/with your daughter-OP=ON* NEG sit=1s
 'I will not live with your daughters.'
 (*=*ən* has multiple functions which are difficult to generalize)

- (32) *də bu dāst=ən wīdīr.*
 to/at/with two hand=ON take
 'Take (it) with both hands.'

Wakhi is also representative of the other languages of the Pamir group (Southeastern Iranian) that have prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions. Other languages of the Pamir group that have similar adpositional typology are Ishkashmi, Rushani and Shughni, Bartangi, Sanglēcī, and Sarikoli. For example, Sanglēcī:

Sanglēcī prepositions:

- (33) *cə kū yuz^p xaš-əm.*
 from mountain firewood fetch-1p
 'We fetch firewood from the hills.' (Morgenstierne 1938: 343)

Sanglēcī postpositions:

- (34) *xe wazīr-ən=gəɽ*
 own minister-PL=with
 'with (my, your, his, etc.) ministers' (Morgenstierne 1938: 393)

Sanglēcī circumpositions:

- (35) *cə mēz viš*
 from table under
 'under the table' (Morgenstierne 1938: 417)

Yidgha-Munji and Yazgulami seem to be exceptional for the area. The literature on adpositions in these languages, however, is neither entirely clear nor complete. Although Morgenstierne (1938: 142-143) presents Yidgha-Munji as exclusively prepositional, there are some cases listed which look like circumpositions:

- (36) *də to apīr*
 in you front
 ‘in front of you’
- (37) *də tō [sic] barābar*
 in you equal
 ‘equal to you’
- (38) *po yū horγ dīō.*
 on one work after
 ‘on account of one work’

Yazgulami, according to the literature, has a split typology with prepositions and postpositions, but some examples of circumpositions turn up within discussions of prepositions or postpositions. Edel’man (1966: 449) cites the following in a list of postpositions:

- (39) *ən du hāwzi p^əred xi laqáθ=əf awád*
 in that pool front own clothes=3P took.off
 ‘They took off their clothes by that pool.’

More work is needed on these languages to determine if they are actually different from their neighbors with respect to their adpositional typology.

3.2. Yaghnobi (Northeastern Iranian)

For Yaghnobi, Bogoljubov (1966) lists six prepositions (two of which are now obsolete) and an open-ended number of postpositions. In passing he also mentions the existence of a few circumpositions, but it is not clear how extensive they are in the language:

- (40) *č=idōkay tō aw máyni sa čōf sōati rōt=x?*
 from=here until that village to how.many hour road=COP:3S
 ‘How many hours travel is it from here (up) to that village?’ (Bogoljubov 1966: 356)

3.3. Hazara (Southwestern Iranian: Persian group)

Hazara, spoken by ethnic Mongols in various enclaves in Afghanistan, is a dialect of Persian. While sharing most of its structure with Tajik and Dari, it does differ in some phonological and grammatical features, and has traces of a Mongolian substratum (Efimov 1965: 8-9). Efimov demonstrates the split in Hazara adpositions by first listing three postpositions (p. 72) “among others”, and then listing an open-ended number of simple and compound prepositions of nominal derivation.

Postposition:

- (41) *u gaw=wōri sta.*
 he cow=like COP:3S
 ‘He is like a cow.’

Preposition: *da* ‘in; to; for the purpose of, with, etc.’

- (42) *xōneⁱ ma dæ dē surx asta.*
 house we in P.N. COP:3S
 ‘Our house is in Deh Surkh.’

- (43) *da čišm xu did-um.*
 with eye own saw-1S
 ‘I saw (it) with (my) own eyes.’

Hybridized typology is seen in the form of various circumpositions. One form alternates as a preposition, as a postposition, as well as a part of two circumpositions, all with similar meanings: *qat-* ~ *qad(i)-* ‘with’ (comitative); *-qati* ‘with’ (comitative); ‘with’ (instrumental); *qad-* __ *-qati* ‘with’ (comitative); *xun(i)-* __ *-qati* ‘with’ (comitative). This last form can appear as a preposition, *xun-*, as well. Examples:

- (44) *mōmut (qad) at-e xu=qati kōbul rōft-a.*
 P.N. (with) father-EZ own=with P.N. went-EVIDENT
 ‘Mahmud (it seems) went to Kabul with his father.’ (Efimov 1965:75)
- (45) *ōmat xun=ma=qati but-Ø.*
 P.N. with=me=with was-3S
 ‘Ahmad was with me.’ (Efimov 1965:79)

qati also enters into two compound prepositions, *da qad-i az* ‘with’ (comitative), and *qad-i az* ‘for’, as well as in a compound circumposition *ba-qad-(i)-* __ *-wori* ‘like’:

- (46) *i kitōp ba qad-i amzi kitōp=wōri sta.*
 this book to with-EZ that.very book=like COP:3S
 ‘This book is like that same book.’ (Efimov 1965: 79)

3.4. Kati (Western Dardic / Nuristani)

Kati is a type C language, as is Vafsi. It has one preposition, *b(i) ~ p(i)* 'in(to), on(to)', which occurs very commonly in the language. This preposition, in addition, enters into various commonly occurring circumpositions. Grjunberg indicates an open-ended list of postpositions for Kati:

The only Kati preposition (Grjunberg 1980: 206):

- (47) *yéme pi štúma d'u kšéřuk vřýá*
 I:OBL on tree two birds saw
 'I saw two birds on the tree.'

Kati postpositions (Grjunberg 1980: 198-199) *ta, taře*; etc.:

- (48) *nī syó-ta aví si*
 this jug-in water COP:3S
 'There is water in this jug.'
- (49) *vúze tú-meš nè-ácel-um*
 I you-with NEG-go-1S
 'I won't go with you.'

Kati circumpositions, /*b(i) ~ p(i)*/ + postposition (Grjunberg 1980: 199-200):

- (50) *bi dú-vu přayūto*
 to door-toward going
 'going towards the door.'
- (51) *vúšup bi gřóm=por valútva*
 horse to village=toward ascend:3P
 'The horses go up toward the village.'
- (52) *bi břúže=sti*
 to P.N.=from
 'from/out of Brudza'

The other languages in the West Dardic/Nuristani group seem to be typologically similar to Kati, although not enough information was available to me to determine the full picture of adpositions in these languages. There are prepositions (less common) and postpositions (predominant) in Waigali and Ashkun, but I was not able to ascertain the existence of circumpositions. Prasun is predominantly postpositional but does seem to have one widely used preposition and one circumposition (Edel'man 1965: 72).

- (53) *tu wuʃüt pa žipte*
 to P.N. to going
 ‘going to Wushut’

I feel that upon closer examination these languages, although predominantly postpositional, will all prove to be of more mixed typology—at least to the extent of Kati. Those West Dardic/Nuristani languages that are closer to the exclusively postpositional zone, which includes the Central and Eastern Dardic groups, may be less mixed than Kati. Dameli, the easternmost of the West Dardic/Nuristani languages seems to be exclusively postpositional. On the other hand, Tirahi, the westernmost Central Dardic language, located well into Pashto-speaking territory, seems to have at least one form which doubles as both postposition and preposition (Edel’man 1965: 115). More research in the languages of this area may turn up more information about split adpositions and circumpositions.

3.5. The eastern intersection zone: conclusion

Not only is the eastern intersection zone more consistent than the western, but it also includes languages of more varied genetic origin: Southwestern Iranian (Hazara and Tajik dialects), Northwestern Iranian (Balochi), Southeastern Iranian (Pashto and Pamir languages), Northeastern Iranian (Yaghnobi) and West Dardic/Nuristani (Kati).

4. Counterexamples

4.1. Talyshi adpositional data

Southern and Northern Talyshi—“dialects” which have a very low degree of mutual intelligibility—have gone in totally opposite directions on the issue of adpositions. Southern Talyshi is almost exclusively postpositional, as expected for this zone. Northern Talyshi, far beyond the intersection zone of Central Iran, on the other hand, not only has postpositions, prepositions and circumpositions—a situation not dissimilar from Vafsi—but also has used these processes to the maximum to develop a wealth of new compound forms yielding:

- simple prepositions: *bæ* ‘to’, *dī* ‘with’, *bo* ‘for’, etc.
- compound prepositions *bæ-sæ* ‘to’, *bæ-dü* ‘after’, *to-bæ* ‘up to, until’, etc.
- simple postpositions: *=ædæ* ‘in, inside of’, *=pe* ‘upon, over’, *=kü* ‘from, towards’, *=væ* ‘in front of’, *=(r)o* ‘for’, etc.
- compound = (2) postpositions: *sæ=pe* ‘over, on’, *toni=kü* ‘near, by’, *væ=dæ* ‘in front of, before’, *dil=ædæ* ‘(with)in’, etc.
- compound = (3) postpositions: *ži=ton=o* ‘from under’, etc.
- circumpositions = simple preposition + simple postposition: *bo- ___ =ro* ‘for’, *bæ-dil-æ* ‘into’, etc.

- circumpositions = compound preposition + simple postposition: *bæ-sæ* __ *sæ* ‘onto, than’
- circumposition = simple preposition + compound postposition: *bæ*- __ *dil*=*ædæ* ‘into’, *bæ*- __ *düm*=*o* ‘behind’, *čř*- __ *dil*=*ædæ* ‘from (inside)’, *čř*- __ *toni*=*kü* ‘from (anim.)’, *čř*- __ *ton*=*o* ‘from (anim.)’
- circumposition = compound preposition + compound postposition: *bæ-sæ* __ *sæ*=*pe* ‘?’—only example?

and even one compound of five (!) adpositional forms—two prepositions and three postpositions—forming one compound circumposition: *bæ-sæ* __ *sæ*=*pe* *sæ* ‘than, on’.

Many adpositions in Northern Talyshi function (a) as prepositions (*sæ* ‘up to’), (b) alternately as postpositions (*sæ* ‘on, onto, off of’), and (c) occasionally, the same adposition is used twice to form a circumposition (*sæ* __ *sæ* ‘on’; *bæ-sæ* __ *sæ* ‘than’), or even three times as listed above for *bæ-sæ* __ *sæ*=*pe* *sæ* ‘than, on’).

The amazing point in these data is the amount of polysemy in adpositions. Even with all the proliferation of adpositions in Northern Talyshi, one adposition can have several meanings, sometimes with opposite meanings:

- | | | |
|--------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| = <i>ædæ</i> | = | (a) ‘in, inside’ (locative); ‘into’ (allative);
(b) ‘out of’ (ablative, elative);
(c) ‘than’ (comparative); |
| = <i>ku</i> | = | (a) ‘from, out of’ (ablative, elative);
(b) ‘to, towards’ (allative); ‘in, at’ (locative); |
| = <i>sæ</i> | = | (a) ‘on, onto’ (superessive, super-lative);
(b) ‘off of’ |

Since the preposition *čř* only means ‘from, away from’ (in addition to genitive functions), it combines with the above postpositions to disambiguate them, restricting them to their ablative meaning:

- (54) *čř* *do*=*ædæ* *e-giniæ-Ø*⁴
 from tree=*ÆDÆ* PVB-fell-3S₁
 ‘He fell from the tree.’ (Pirejko 1976: 249)

⁴ Miller (1953) and Pirejko (1976) differ in their transcription of Talyshi vowels. Miller does not regularly distinguish between front and back low vowels, *æ* and *ɐ* (henceforth *a*), whereas Pirejko does, cf. Miller, *sar* ‘head; on’ and *az* ‘I’ vs. Pirejko *sær*, *az*, respectively. On the other hand, Pirejko consistently uses *ü* in her transcription where Miller mostly uses *u*. There is no contrastive, phonemic status between *u* and *ü*; *ü* is typical of the Astara dialect while both commonly fluctuate in other dialects. I have opted here for Pirejko’s *æ* vs. *a* and Miller’s *u* over *ü*, as this transcription agrees with my own fieldwork in Talyshi. I have also opted for Pirejko’s transcription of *kæ-y* ‘house (oblique case)’ over Miller’s *ka-l* for the same reasons.

- (55) *čĩ šæhr-i=ku be-š-e*
 from city-OBL=KU PVB-went-3S₁
 'He left/drove out of the city.' (Pirejko 1976: 249)

- (56) *čĩ kæ-y kum-i=sæ e-gĩniæ-Ø*
 from house-OBL roof-OBL=SÆ PVB-fell-3S₁
 'He fell off the roof.' (Pirejko 1976: 249)

By the same token, the preposition *bæ*, meaning 'to' (allative); 'to' (dative); 'toward; into', combines with the above polysemous postpositions to form a circumposition with strictly allative meaning:

- (57) *žen-i lævo bard=iš=e b=æy=ku*
 wife-OBL stick brought=3S₂=AUX? to=he:OBL=KU
 '(His) wife brought him a stick.' (Pirejko 1976: 30)

- (58) *ištæ pæto no=š=e bæ asp-i=sæ*
 own coat put:PAST=3 S₂=AUX? to horse-OBL=SÆ
 'He put his coat on the horse.' (Pirejko 1976: 30)

On the other hand, the postposition *=o*, — which Miller considers to be a case ending in Talyshi derived from the Old Iranian ablative case **-a ~ -āt* (Miller 1953: 75), but which I find more likely explained as a postposition not derived from an earlier case—generally has an ablative meaning:

=ò 'out of, from'

- (59) *bĩ-da be-š-u čĩmĩ torpáy=o*
 PU-give PVB-go-3S₁ my land=from
 'Let him go from my country.' (Miller 1953: 91, 5)

In combination with other adpositions, however, *=o* can change to the exact opposite meaning. With *ton* 'at, by, to, towards (nominal sense: side)', for example, it means 'towards' (with animates) as well:

- (60) *dædæ tón=o š-e*
 father side=from go-3S₁
 'He went toward (his) father.' (Pirejko 1976: 157)

More commonly, however, in its ablative sense, *=o* combines with the ablative preposition *čĩ* to form an ablative or relative circumposition:

- (61) *čĩ mæktæb=o omæ-Ø.*
 from school=from came-3S₁
 'He came from school.' (Pirejko 1976: 157)

According to the data provided in Miller (1953) and Pirejko (1976), on the other hand, one given semantic function may be expressed by different adpositional forms. Simple adpositions with more than one meaning often have equivalent compound forms with the same or similar meanings:

Locative, inessive

- (62) *=ku i kæ-y=ku bæ-bæm-e=m.*
 one house- OBL=KU TAM-cry-INF=1S₁
 'I will cry in one house.' (Miller 1953: 80)
- (63) *=ædæ boɣ=ædæ*
 garden:ÆDÆ
 'in the garden' (Miller 1953: 82)
- (64) *dil=ædæ kæ-y dila=dæ hĩttæ-Ø.*
 house- OBL inside=ÆDÆ sleep:PPL-COP:3S₁
 'He is asleep in the house.' (Pirejko 1976: 85)

Superessive

- (65) *=pe š-im ru=pe*
 went-1 S₁ river=on
 'I went along the river.' (Miller 1953: 85)
- (66) *sæ=pe ustul-ĩ sæ=pe*
 chair on SÆ=on
 'on the chair.' (Miller 1953: 90)
- (67) *sæ zæmin-ĩ sæ*
 land- OBL SÆ
 'on the ground.' (Miller 1953: 90)

Allative

- (68) *=ku omæ-y žen-ĩ=ku.*
 came-3 S₁ woman- OBL=KU
 'He came to the woman.' (Miller 1953: 80)

- (69) *bæ_ =ku* *lævo bī-æ bæ mo=ku.*
 stick PU-bring to I=KU
 'Bring the stick to me.' (Miller 1953: 81)
- (70) *toní=ku* *š-e ištæ boæ ton-í=ku.*
 went-3 S₁ own brother side- OBL=KU
 'He went to his brother('s).' (Miller 1953: 85)
- (71) *=tón=o* *dædæ tón=o š-e.*
 father side=from go-3S₁
 'He went toward (his) father.' (Pirejko 1976: 157)
- (72) *bæ* *š-in bæ višæ.*
 went-3P₁ to forest
 'They went (in)to the forest.' (Miller 1953: 87)

Ablative, elative

- (73) *=ku* *vit-im kæ-y=ku.*
 ran-1S₁ house-OBL=KU
 'I ran out of the house.' (Miller 1953: 80)
- (74) *čī_ =ku* *čī šuæ=ku.*
 from husband=KU
 'from the husband' (Miller 1953: 91)
- (75) *=ædæ* *nemek bī-æ di=ædæ.*
 salt PU -bring village=ÆDÆ
 'Bring salt from the village.' (Miller 1953: 82)
- (76) *čī_ =ædæ* *čī mæg=ædæ roxni-m-e.*
 from death=ÆDÆ released-1S₁-AUX?
 'I was saved from death.' (Miller 1953: 83)
- (77) *=o* *bī-dæ be-š-u čīmī torpáγ=o.*
 PU-give PVB-go-3 S₁ my land=from
 'Let him go from my country.' (Miller 1953: 91)

Comparative

- (78) *=ædæ* *im sef æ sef=ædæ šin=e.*
 this apple that apple=ÆDÆ sweet=COP:3 S₁
 'This apple is sweeter than that apple.' (Miller 1953: 83)

- (79) *bæ-sæ_ az bæ sæ tī=sæ bevæj=im.*
 =sæ I to on you=SÆ bad=1s₁
 'I am worse than you.' (Miller 1953: 84)

The problem with Northern Talyshi is explaining why it is located in the heart of a postpositional zone and is not completely postpositional. Neither diachronic, universal nor areal factors account for this discrepancy:

- a) Diachronic: The diachronic/genetic factor, as far as I can tell, does not explain why the Southern Talyshi dialects are purely postpositional and the Northern are so totally mixed / hybridized (type C). That is, if Talyshi had been originally prepositional, as many other Iranian languages, and had a hybridized typology by virtue of contact with postpositional languages, why then has one dialect converted totally to a postpositional typology, while another dialect, even more centrally located within the postpositional zone, has only converted partially? To complicate the issue even further, Northern Talyshi has proliferated a hybridized pattern, the circumpositional typology.
- b) Universal: The mixed adpositional typology in Northern Talyshi cannot be neatly accounted for by syntactic universals either, since its other features are mostly OV: gen-N, adj-N, num-N, dem-N, VB-aux and it even has some patterns of VB-neg, a highly unusual pattern in Iranian.
- c) Areal: The areal factor, as shown above and next for Caucasian Tat, also does not explain the existence of a mixed adpositional typology in this particular location.

4.2. Caucasian Tat

If Northern Talyshi is exceptional for the area, Caucasian Tat⁵ is even more unexpected. This language is even farther ensconced in postpositional territory and yet

⁵ Caucasian Tat is not to be in any way associated with the Tati family or the term Tatic. Caucasian Tat (see also: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tats>) is a Southwestern Iranian language whose population was resettled from southern Iran in late Sassanian or early Islamic times. Its closest relative is Persian, but after some 1500 years in the Caucasus the two languages have diverged so significantly in both structure and lexicon that they are no longer mutually intelligible. Caucasian Tat is centered in the northern areas of the Republic of Azerbaijan mostly in the city of Quba and surrounding villages but also farther south in the Lahic area and on the Apsheron peninsula to the east of Baku. The language divides up into Shiite, Sunni, Jewish and Christian (or Armeno-Tat) dialects. The Jewish groups are also referred to as the 'Mountain Jews' (see also: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mountain_Jews) and are located both in Quba and in Derbent in the Daghestan area of southern Russia. In addition, relatively large numbers of speakers of the Jewish dialects are found in diaspora. The two villages of Armeno-Tats were also resettled to Armenia from Azerbaijan during the war between these countries in the 1990's. In contrast to the SW Iranian classification of Caucasian Tat, 'Tatic' (Stilo 1981) refers to

seems to be predominantly prepositional, although it actually has quite a mixed typology with prepositions, postpositions, and circumpositions.

Grjunberg (1963) lists only three common simple prepositions—*æ(z)* ‘from’; *bæ* ‘to’ (dative, allative), ‘at’ (locative) and *bæri ~ bey* ‘for’—and four less common prepositions, two of which mean ‘like’, while the other two mean ‘until’. He then lists only two forms which can stand as independent postpositions. One of them, *bæ’dæ* ‘after’, usually occurs in another variant as a circumposition. The other, *kimi* ‘like’, is a direct borrowing from Azerbaijani and is the only exclusive postposition listed by him. Grjunberg then lists five exclusively circumpositional forms, all composed of a postposition and the two most common prepositions. Examples (Grjunberg 1963: 30-31):

bæ _=(*av*)*az* ‘with’ (comitative, instrumental)

- (80) *pæní=yæ* *bæ* *nú=vaz* *bu-xurd-æn=i*.
 cheese=ACC to bread=AZ DU-ate-INF=2S
 ‘You are eating the cheese with bread.’ (Grjunberg 1963: 30)

- (81) *insan* *bæ* *guš-á-y* *xištæn=az* *bæ-šünō^ār-æn-Ø*.
 people to ear-PL-EZ self=AZ DU-heard-INF-3 S
 ‘People listen with (their) own ears.’ (Grjunberg 1963: 30)

æ(z) _=*az* ‘since, from’ (temporal)

- (82) *mæn=æ æ* *par=az* *bæ-fürmund-æn-Ø*.
 I=ACC from last.year=AZ DU-deceive-INF-3 S
 ‘He has been deceiving me since last year.’ (Grjunberg 1963: 31)

a NW Iranian family that includes both the Tati group and closely related Talyshi. The time-depth for the split between SW and NW Iranian approaches 3,000 years, thus rendering Tatic (NW) completely unintelligible to Caucasian Tat (SW) or Persian. The use of the term ‘Tat’ for two totally different Iranian groups stems from the Turkic usage to refer to various non-Turkic peoples. The term was applied by incoming Turkic tribes to these two distinct groups simply because they are Iranian languages coincidentally within the Azerbaijani Turkic zone. To confuse matters even further, some scholars refer to Caucasian Tat (SW) as ‘Tati’ (as in the above Wikipedia entries) and conversely refer to the Tati (NW) of Iran as used by myself and others as ‘Tat’. The distinction, in either case, is arbitrary since ‘Tat’ is a noun referring to the people, while Tati is an adjective also used to refer to the language.

Tati extends along the high, mountainous areas from Vafsi in the south to Northern Tati along the Iran-Azerbaijan border (see Map One), while the Talyshi dialects are spoken along the Caspian littoral on both sides of the Iran-Azerbaijan border.

The majority of adpositions listed by Grjunberg, however, are nominally derived prepositions that combine with *bæ* or *æ(z)* to form compound prepositions. Grjunberg also points out that one of these compound prepositions alternates as a compound postposition as well:

bæ yan_ ‘toward’, example of two versions of the same (?) sentence (Grjunberg 1963: 32)

- (83) *bæ yan kæléyn-æ birar mæn*
 to side big-CONN brother I
 ‘towards my older brother’ (Grjunberg 1963: 32)

- (84) *kæléyn-æ birar mæn bæ yan=i*
 big-CONN brother I to side=3S:POSS
 ‘towards my older brother’ (Grjunberg 1963: 32)

Another postposition seems to have a prepositional doublet but the exact difference in their functions is not clear (Grjunberg 1963: 32):

_bæ dærin ‘in, inside’ (locative)

- (85) *in qutiæ bæ dærin=i hízat níst-ü*
 this box to inside=3 S:POSSnothing COP:NEG-3S
 ‘There is nothing inside this box.’ (Grjunberg 1963: 32)

bæ dæer_ ‘in, inside’ (locative)

- (86) *mæn bæ dæer ö^ušæ mi-raft-æn=bür-üm.*
 I to in forest DU-went-INF=COP:PAST-1S
 ‘I used to go along in the forest.’ (Grjunberg 1963: 32)

More work is needed on this language to determine if there are other cases of the same forms alternating between preposition and postposition for motion vs. rest or other possible distinctions.

4.3. Central / South-Central Iran

There is a corridor of languages just south of the western intersection zone that are typologically consistently OV / postpositional, but are areally “exceptional” (according to the present proposal). These data are not surprising given the histories and sociolinguistic backgrounds of the languages involved. The Fereydan area west-southwest of Esfahan includes more than 25 villages of Georgian-speakers (Stilo 2007b) and a rather more extensive number of Armenian-speakers, both of whom were resettled to this area from Transcaucasia during the reign of Shah Abbas

(1587-1629). Interspersed among these dialects are local Turkic dialects which connect this area in a somewhat inconsistent chain to Kashkay (Qašqā'i), a Turkic language of southern Iran. All of these languages are predominately postpositional. Within a larger context, these Georgian, Armenian and Turkic dialects are located among Luri (Lori) dialects and a small number of Persian-speaking villages of Fereydan, both prepositional languages.

There are sociolinguistic factors operating in this area that are not clearly understood and that need investigation. The Georgian and Armenian communities of this area are all quadrilingual, each speaking (1) their own language, (2) the local Turkic language, (3) Luri, and (4) Persian, probably in that order of usage. The *lingua franca* among the Armenians, Georgians, Turks and local Persian speakers is usually the Turkic dialect, even though maybe one village in ten is Turkic-speaking. Is this possibly a factor which would support retention of a pure postpositional typology in this area? What is the role of prepositional Luri and Persian in the sociolinguistic set-up in this area? What role does the agglomeration of three postpositional languages in one area play in retaining the postpositional pattern? Is there such a thing as 'critical mass' which would allow us to explain the retention of a 'mini-isogloss area' within a larger opposite isogloss? Many questions of a sociolinguistic nature remain to be answered, and the answers will contribute to our understanding of convergence, linguistic restructuring, and areal phenomena at work.

5. Discussion

5.1. Mixed typology and syntactic universals

In his discussion of the relevance of circumpositions to syntactic typology, Comrie (1981: 85) notes that "there are also languages which are more mixed, such as Estonian, for which it is difficult to say, other than on the basis of slight statistical preponderance, whether the language is prepositional or postpositional ... Languages like Estonian ... can thus be judged irrelevant ... to generalizations about prepositional versus postpositional languages".

A split word order, as the case of adpositions in Estonian or Vafsi, does seem to be irrelevant to the discussion of implicational universals, *qua* universals only. However, it would be desirable (a) to have a framework which accommodates the mixed types, or doublets, (b) to be able to explain the existence of these doublets in a given language and (c) to be able to predict the existence or appearance of alternating and hybridized word order types as a universal tendency. The data on adposition doublets seem to indicate that areal factors are at work. Languages like Estonian and Vafsi support this conclusion. They point to a need in other parts of the world to map out word order patterns into isoglosses (cf. Stilo 1981).

The effect of convergence and areal phenomena on language typology and the resulting typological hybridization cannot be ignored, because the phenomena can be generalized. Vafsi, Meime'i, Pashto, Kati, etc. are not the only languages to have

hybridized adpositions by virtue of the fact that they are located in intersection zone areas:

(a) One interpretation of the combination of postpositions and preposition-like verbs in Chinese make it a language of mixed adpositional typology, located between postpositional Altaic-Korean-Japanese and the prepositional languages of Southeast Asia.

(b) The Semitic languages of the Ethiopic area exhibit a particularly interesting intersection zone. Tigre in the north is exclusively prepositional; in the central area, Amharic, Tigrinya, Gafat and Gurage have prepositions and circumpositions; and in the south, in the heart of Cushitic territory, Harari is exclusively postpositional (Masica 1976: 33; Titov 1976: 41, 91; Hawkins 1983: 319-342). This distribution is important in light of the Cushitic languages with which (Semitic) Ethiopic is now in direct contact. These languages, Sidamo, Chamir, Agau, Galla, Beja, and Afar, are exclusively postpositional (Masica 1976: 33; Hawkins 1983: 319-342), and their ancestors, or languages similar to them, served as the substratum for Ethiopic.

Other Semitic languages to the north and east, the genetic relatives of Ethiopic, are exclusively prepositional. It is of interest to note the contrast of Amharic circumpositions with the cognate compound prepositions of its closest genealogical relative, South Arabic (Bauer 1966:14) of the southern Arabian peninsula and adjacent islands (not to be confused with Arabic):⁶

(87) Amharic:	<i>bε</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>tač</i>	<i>bε</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>wast</i>
South Arabic:	<i>b</i>	<i>tHt</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>wst</i>	<i>X</i>
	LOC	under	X	LOC	middle	X
		'under X'			'in the middle of X'	

(c) The Baltic area, including Estonian, is another prime example. In adpositional typology, Estonian serves as a transition between predominantly postpositional Finnish and exclusively prepositional Slavic. This intersection zone of mixed adpositional typology also includes Latvian, and to a lesser extent Lithuanian, as well as the other Finnic languages of this immediate area: Karelian, Livonian (Liv), Izhorian (Ingrian), Vodian, Veps, and Saamic (Lapp).

Given the above information, I cannot completely agree with Hawkins (1983: 14-16) that "within the adposition phrase, doubling is extremely rare ...". Taking into account all languages and dialects in the world, the number that have split and / or hybridized adpositions may be statistically small, but may not be as rare as assumed. The above three areas involve more than a few languages, and others will most likely turn up in parts of the world other than those I have been able to mention here.

⁶ Although South Arabic is still a spoken language, the examples here are of epigraphic origin, dating from the 8th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. and are thus presented by Bauer (1966) in their transliterated (unvoweled) form. Hence, /tHt/ is probably /taHt/ (> *tač*).

6. Conclusion

I am not suggesting that the areal factor undermines any conclusions reached in syntactic universal theory. I do feel that the existence of word order doublets has not been explained adequately. Hawkins 1983 has established a very strict hierarchy of orders and a strong theoretical tool for predicting which types will develop doublets. But not enough has been said in the literature about why already consistent word orders become inconsistent or switch from one consistent type, call it VO or prepositional, to the exact opposite type—of course with inconsistent / doublet stages in between. Why did a fairly consistent VO / prepositional language such as Classical Armenian completely reverse its type to the OV / postpositional type of Modern Armenian? My suggestion is simply that, where relevant, the areal axis be considered in examining universals, especially accounting for the deviation of certain types from the expected norm, and in determining the typology of any given language.

On the other hand, the areal factor is obviously not an absolutely predictable phenomenon, cf. Northern Talyshi, or, for example, postpositional Basque in an exclusively prepositional area. Areal factors do not necessarily supercede universals or diachronic / genealogical factors. They indicate a certain tendency toward consistent isoglossibility and toward hybridization in intersection zone areas. When there is a language that has inconsistent typology or that deviates from the expectations of the universal theory, the areal factor may be the reason. Instead of simply considering these languages irrelevant or inconsistent, it would be fruitful to consider the universal axis in the context of another intersecting axis, the areal. As is the case of the diachronic / genealogical axis, the areal axis complements our knowledge and understanding of syntactic universals. Each contributes valuable insights toward filling out the whole picture of the typology of a language.

Much more research is needed in areal phenomena. In the Middle East alone, many issues, too numerous to be included here, need to be investigated in depth. Theoretical considerations need to be checked against these data. The adposition, for example, is a very important factor in establishing implicational word order universals—and the principal indicator of operators in Hawkins' Postpositional Noun Modifier Hierarchy. But as we have seen, languages do have doublet adposition types. How then do these doublets fit in with the rest of the Hierarchy? The Iranian linguistic area offers us a wealth of valuable data, with many areas as yet untouched. The mixed typologies of the less well-known languages of the Iranian linguistic area need to be examined more closely. Many questions remain to be answered, but areal phenomena, as well as the sociolinguistic factors acting on them, need to be integrated into this research.

Abbreviations

1s	general 1st sg. person-agreement marker	DU	durative aspect marker
2s	general 2nd sg. person-agreement marker	ΘN	a multipurpose postposition, Wakhi
3s	general 3rd sg. person-agreement marker	EVIDENT	evidential marker
1p	general 1st pl. person-agreement marker	EZ	<i>ezafe</i> , a multipurpose NP connector/linker
3p	general 3rd pl. person-agreement marker	INDEF	indefinite marker
1s ₁	1st sg. PAM, type 1	INF	infinitive
3s ₁	3rd sg. PAM, type 1	KU	a multipurpose postposition, N. Talyshi
3p ₁	3rd pl. PAM, type 1	LOC	locative
1s ₂	1st sg. PAM, type 2	NEG	negative
2s ₂	2nd sg. PAM, type 2	OBL	oblique case marker
3s ₂	3rd sg. PAM, type 2	OF	oblique case marker, feminine
ACC	accusative	OM	oblique case marker, masculine
ÆDÆ	a multipurpose postposition, N. Talyshi	OP	oblique case marker, plural
AUX	auxiliary verb	P.N.	proper name
AZ	a multipurpose postposition, Caucasian Tat	PF	perfect marker
CONN	multipurpose NP connector/linker, Caucasian Tat	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DIR	direct case	PPL	past participle formant
		PU	punctual aspect marker
		PVB	preverb
		SÆ	a multipurpose postposition, N. Talyshi
		TAM	tense-aspect-mood marker

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