

Time and time again

The evolution of 'time' nouns into temporal clause markers in three
Daghestanian languages

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Introduction

Time nouns are common sources for temporal clause marking.

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Aim of this talk

compare competing strategies with native nouns vs. borrowed nouns in three Daghestanian languages.

Data

Three languages

- ▶ Avar (major literary language of Daghestan)
- ▶ Andi and Botlikh (unwritten languages of the Andic branch; close relatives of and heavily influenced by Avar)
- ▶ East Caucasian languages, (mostly) agglutinative morphology, ergative alignment

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Resources

- ▶ **Avar** - [BaltoSlav.eu](#) corpus (2 million words), dictionary at [avar.me](#)
- ▶ **Andi** - translated fairy tales [Alisultanova and Magomedova 2010], 8.990 words; dictionary [Alisultanova 2009]
- ▶ **Botlikh** - texts [Gudava 1962], 8.314 words; dictionary [Saidova and Abusov 2012]

Time nouns

Native

- ▶ **Avar:** *mex, řuž, rih*
- ▶ **Andi:** *rihi*
- ▶ **Botlikh:** *rihu // riw*

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- ▶ **All:** *zaman* (from Arabic)

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NB: Generally, *zaman* refers to ‘time’ as an abstract concept, native nouns refer to a certain temporal interval (a period or moment).

Temporal subordinate clauses

Modelled after temporal adverbials from nouns

Andi

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 one-INAN₂ day
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- (2) *λer-di* *w-oqo-b=rihi,* *hege-š:u-b.o* *hago-d:u*
near-LAT M-reach-PST.PTCP=time DEM-M-INAN₁.AFF see-PF
b-eč'uχ^wa qala
INAN₁-big palace
'When [he] came closer, he saw a big palace.'

Botlikh

- (3) *ce-r* *ziu-di*
 one-INAN₂ day-ERG
 ‘One day’

Botlikh

- (3) *ce-r ziu-di*
one-INAN₂ day-ERG
'One day'
- (4) *go-j ješi, azdahu k'wanda rihu-di, iš-qa j-aʔa*
DEM-F girl, dragon kill.PST.PTCP time-ERG home-AD F-go.AOR
'That girl, when [she] had killed the dragon, went home.'

Avar

- (5) *co q'oja-t*
one day-ERG
'One day'

Avar

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one day-ERG
'One day'
- (6) *ħamzatov ce<w>e w-aqa-ra-b meħa-t naqeħan*
Gamzatov before<M> M-turn_out-PST.PTCP-N time-ERG further
q'an ĉ'e-č'o
close.CVB stop-NEG.PST
'Gamzatov, **when** [he] **became** famous, did not lose it.'

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Avar

- (7) *co q'oja-lda*
one day-LOC
'One day'

Avar

(7) *co q'oja-lda*
one day-LOC
'One day'

(8) *Aħmad Armenij-alda w-ug-e-b zaman-alda*
Akhmed Armenia-LOC M-COP-PRS.PTCP-N time-LOC
'When Akhmed is in Armenia'

Constructions are very similar, but show independent paths of development.

Andi

rihi and *zaman*

- ▶ Sporadic metathesis, *VERB-b=rihi* becomes *VERB-rbihi*
- ▶ In the Zilo dialect, this is standard: *-rbihi* became a temporal converb marker

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- ▶ *zaman* is not used for temporal subordinate clauses with a participle
- ▶ It does occur in constructions like 'one time', 'for a long time' etc.

Botlikh

rihu // riw and zaman

- ▶ Two variants attested: *rihu-di* and *riw-di*
- ▶ + a temporal converb marker *-rudi* of the same origin; not frequent in texts, but many examples in the dictionary

rihu // riw and zaman

- ▶ Two variants attested: *rihu-di* and *riw-di*
- ▶ + a temporal converb marker *-rudi* of the same origin; not frequent in texts, but many examples in the dictionary
- ▶ *zaman* can also head a temporal subordinate clause, but the native variant *riw* is preferred (119 examples; 14 *zaman*, 15 *rihu*, 83 *riw*, 7 *-rudi*).

mex and *zaman*

- ▶ *mex* more frequent in ergative, *zaman* in locative
- ▶ *mex* (ergative or locative) is preferred as head of temporal subordinate clauses, based on a random 400 sample (100 examples for each form)

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- ▶ Choice of case pragmatically motivated? Locative *mexalda* is more poetic than ergative *mexat*, according to [Alekseev et al. 2012].

Table: Frequency in the corpus

	ergative	locative	other	total
mex	2543 (55%)	1210 (26%)	884 (19%)	4637
zaman	195 (4%)	1855 (37%)	2950 (59%)	5000

'Other' includes absolutive / lexical use.

Sample of 100 random occurrences of each form (total 400 examples), 125 temporal subordinate clauses with a participle

Table: Case form in temporal subordinate clauses

	ergative	locative	total
meχ	43	57	100
zaman	11	14	25

Ergative

Other time nouns (including Arabic borrowings like *saʕat*) prefer ergative.

	erg	loc
<i>q'o</i> 'day'	1878	206
<i>son</i> 'year'	2201	809
<i>moç</i> 'month'	370	121
<i>laħzat</i> 'moment'	51	26
<i>saʕat</i> 'hour'	119	56

Ergative as original strategy

- ▶ Almost all temporal adverbials based on nominals prefer the ergative in Avar (including borrowed words like *saʕat* 'hour')
- ▶ It is also the preferred strategy for the native noun, while the locative is associated with *zaman*
- ▶ Neighboring Turkic languages like Kumyk and Nogai use Arabic borrowings like *zaman* or *vaqt* in locative case for this purpose

But...

- ▶ Locative strategies are attested in other EC languages like Godoberi (also Andic), which has a locative strategy with a *native noun* [Kibrik et al. 1996]
- ▶ We do not have enough comparative data (yet) on the distribution of time + case across the language family

Preliminary conclusions

- ▶ Andi, Botlikh and Avar mostly use native ‘time’ nouns to form temporal subordinate clauses
- ▶ In Andi and Botlikh the cognate nouns *rihi* and *rihu* // *riw* are morphologising towards temporal converb markers
- ▶ In Avar, there is no such development
- ▶ *mex* + other nouns in temporal expressions in Avar more frequently appear in ergative
- ▶ only *zaman* appears more frequently in locative
- ▶ In temporal subordinate clauses with a participle this difference disappears
- ▶ Possibly *zaman* + locative is contact-induced through (Kipchak) Turkic languages spoken in the area

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- ▶ Possibly *zaman* + locative is contact-induced through (Kipchak) Turkic languages spoken in the area though this requires further investigation

The end

Спасибо
за внимание

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