173. Tat

Abstract

The present article provides an overview of the available and productive word-formation patterns of composition, derivation, conversion and reduplication in Jewish Tat, based on material published in the literary variety.

1. Introduction

The name Tat refers to a small group of closely related Iranian languages, all more or less seriously endangered, which are now spoken by approximately 50.000 people in Azerbaijan and Daghestan. They seem to be descended from a language very similar to Early New Persian, which was spoken and probably used as a lingua franca in the Eastern part of the Caucasus before it was slowly replaced in this function by Azeri, a Turkic language of the Oghuz branch, which exerted a strong influence on all Tat varieties in both their vocabulary and their grammar.

There are three southern Tat languages, which will not be dealt with in this article. Apsheron Tat, still spoken in the outskirts of Baku, the Lahic dialect and other varieties from the South-Eastern piedmont of the Great Caucasus range, and the North-Eastern piedmont varieties centered around Qonaqkend and described by Grjunberg (1963) are all now spoken by Muslims.

Jewish Tat, or Juhuri, is a fourth language, very different from the others in many respects, and the only one to have a – recent but quite rich – literary tradition. It is spoken in the town of Quba, Azerbaijan; in larger cities of Daghestan; elsewhere in Russia; and in Israel. The number of competent speakers is hard to evaluate, but probably lies below 30.000. The Quba dialect represents a southern variety; a central variety is found primarily in Derbent and Makhachkala, Daghestan; and a northern variety, originally from the Kaitag region and other districts of central Daghestan, has spread in towns of the Northern Caucasus since the Russian conquest in the 19th century. It was documented by Miller (1898). All data below come from texts published in the literary variety based on the dialect of Derbent.

Due to its long and intensive contact with Turkic and East Caucasian languages, Tat has developed features not found in Persian. While these features are most obvious on the level of lexicon and syntax, changes on the morphological level, though few in number, are highly indicative of language contact, and Tat word-formation does not resemble Persian word-formation particularly closely. It has not been studied in any detail in the scarce literature, for which see Authier (to appear). However, Izgijaeva's dictionary (2006) has been useful in the preparation of this article, along with the systematic scanning of a sample of literary works, especially by Hizqil Avshalumov (1913-2001).

2. General overview

Tat has a highly balanced array of word-formation devices. Compounds, especially verbal compounds, are well represented; derivation, mostly suffixal, is not particularly rich nor very

productive but is applicable to all parts of speech; adjectival conversion of NPs is quite productive, and reduplication and other reiteration phenomena are also found, mainly to mark intensity on adjectives and in a subtype of uninflected elements used in compound verbs.

A special feature of all Tat languages is the integration of many borrowed elements, including grammatical ones, mainly from Azeri, a Turkic language, into a generally Iranian framework.

3. Composition

Tat has different kinds of compounds, belonging to all word classes, but only verbal compounds are highly productive.

3.1. Nominal compounds

3.1.1. Determinative compounds

Left-headed N+N compounds: Most determinative compounds in Tat associate two nominals [N+N] the first of which takes a relational suffix –*y* (called the "ezafe" [EZ]) only if the stem ends in a vowel: *xoye=y kovter* egg=EZ pigeon 'pigeon egg', *seg-ho=y gele* dog-PL=EZ herd 'sheepdogs'. Consonantal stems are directly linked by juxtaposition, with a single intonational contour: *ser* 'head' + *sümbül* 'ear (of wheat)' → *sersenbol* 'curl', *divor xune* wall house 'house wall' (compare *divor en xune* wall GEN house 'wall of the house'), *kuk-ʕäm-le* 'cousin', in which the diminutive suffix -*le* (see section 4.1.1.) bears on *kuk* 'son', not on *ʕäm* 'paternal uncle'. Obviously, the resulting compounds are often not fully lexicalized.

Right-headed N+N compounds: Rarer is the type in which the head follows the modifier: *qäsob-tuku* 'butcher shop', *desde-boš* group head 'band leader', *ongur-boq* grape orchard 'vineyard'. The case of *bäʕä-veče* toad-bird 'sparrow', in which the first noun qualifies the second one, is also exceptional. Names of trees pleonastically combine a specifying Azeri term with the Tat word *dor* 'tree': *qovoq-dor* 'poplar', *balud-dor* 'oak tree', *dombul-dor* 'prune tree', *šäʕme-dor* 'pine tree'.

Another type, rare in Jewish Tat but very frequent in the southern Tat languages, is a calque of Azeri possessive constructions, e.g., *mäšä-bäg-i* forest guard-POS 'forest ranger'. These involve a possessive marker -*i* borrowed from Azeri, which is attached to the determined noun: *čum ʕärs-i* eye tear-POS 'tear' (cf. Az. *göz yaš-ı*), *nun-pul-i* bread money-POS 'livelihood'. Note that in Tat, the borrowed morpheme is not subject to (labial) vowel harmony: *räħ-pul-i* road money-POS 'money for a trip', *bisdu-kor-i* garden work-POS 'gardening'.

A+N nominal compounds are rare, for instance *kele-merd-ho* large-man-PL 'old men'.

N+V compounds: This type is native and relatively productive. The substantive is given the function either of direct object or, less frequently, of an adjunct to the verb. These compounds refer to a human agent or an instrument carrying out the activity denoted by the verb: *xun-riz* blood-to pour 'murderer', *jofo-keš* labour-to pull 'worker', *gufere-furux* cradle-to sell 'cradle-seller', *ošne* 'lover' + *gir-de* 'to take' → *ošne-gir* 'adulterer', *yon-nüši* side-to sit 'counsellor'; the object can be marked by the definite clitic =(r)e, and the predicate can be complex: *qonun=e-puzmiš-sox* law=DAT-destroyed-to do 'outlaw'. Examples of terms of instruments are *čay-deki* tea-to pour 'teapot', *muš-gir* mouse-to catch 'mousetrap', *ser-či* head-to pluck 'razor', *des-poku* hand-to wipe 'towel', *yor-ovurd* memory-to bring 'remembrance', *biror* 'brother' + *zere* 'born' → *biror-zere* 'cousin'.

A small subclass of the latter, with similar meanings, takes the nominalizing suffix -*i*: *dül-suxun-i* heart-to burn-NMLZ 'pity', *yozuq-ber-i* pity-to bear-NMLZ 'feeling of pity', and the negative *ne-yozuqberi* 'recklessness', *ʕäyb-keš-i* shame-to pull-NMLZ 'feeling of shame'.

Another subtype of N+V compounds is calqued from Azeri, e.g., *biq-bur-an* moustache-twist-ACTIVE.PART 'frightening'. These can combine a Tat noun and an Azeri participle: *gürg=e-bas-an* wolf=DAT-crush-ACTIVE.PART 'wolf-strangler' (name of a dog).

The word *duš-ov* to boil-water 'juice, syrup' does not represent a productive type, and is probably a phonetically adapted loan from Persian.

3.1.2. Copulative compounds

Copulative compounds (*dvandvas*), whose constituents are equal in rank and thus can both be considered as heads, are sometimes found but do not represent a very productive type: *šei-šovol* shirt-trousers 'covering clothes', *des-poy* 'hand and foot', *biror-xäher* 'siblings', *bebe-dede* 'parents', *gov-gusele* 'cow and calf', *qovol-zurnov* 'drum and pipe' (cf. the derivate *qavol-zurnov-či-ho* 'drum-mer-s and pipe-r-s'), *torik-i-tovuši* dark-ness-shining 'chiaroscuro'. Some are no longer recognized as compounds: *tir-komu* '(arrow and) bow', *naz-buz* 'coquetry (and needle, sic!)'.

Synonymous compounds are a feature of both spoken and literary registers: *tike-para* 'pieces', *xäto-boloh* 'calamities', *buy-bala* 'size', *nifri-näʕleti* or *nifri-qärquš* 'hate and curse', *nifri-serkuši* 'hate and reproach', *niyet-ho-xäyol-ho* 'intention-s and imagination-s; i.e. plot', *din-imon* 'religion and faith', *piše-seniʕät* 'craft and art', *pul-mol* 'money and goods', *tur-sever* 'net and basket', *tuz-tüpräq* 'dust and earth', *dih-jäʕmeti* 'village and community', *din-ho-ʕädot-ho* 'religion-s and custom-s', *doq-ho-tepei-ho* 'mountain-s and hill-s', *lov-domoq* 'lip and palate', *qähri-birazi* 'anger and resent', *nole-buruj* 'moan and wail', *tufi-näʕleti* 'spit and curse', *dumit-ho-fikir-ho* 'thought-s', *dumit-ho-niyet-ho* 'intention-s', *dumit-ho-xäyel-ho* 'dream-s'.

The first element is often borrowed from Azeri while the second, particular to Tat, is explicative of the first: *xosiyet-ho-diväʕ-ho* 'temperament(s)', Kumyk *ovil* 'sheepfold' + Tat *xune* 'house' → *ovil-xune* 'sheepfold', *xämze-šomomo* 'ogling and peeking'.

Sometimes a part-whole relation is extended to designate a larger entity: *xiš-kuton* 'sock and plough', *xune-ho-ħäyot-ho* house-s-yard-s 'household-s', *kosib-fähle* 'poor and labouring people', *nüker-gede* 'servants and boys', *qunši-ho-dusd-ho* 'neighbours and friends', *qunši-mäħäle* 'neighbourhood'.

In a number of cases, the first element of the copulative compound is not found independently or has become obsolete: *merg 'death' (replaced by the masdar *mürde-i*) + *ʕäzor* 'sickness' → *merg-ʕäzor* 'all sorts of calamities'.

3.2. Adjectival compounds

N+V compound adjectives are well attested, and take the attributive suffix *-e* when modifying a noun: *šir-xur-e gusele* milk-to eat-ATTR calf 'suckling calf', *xoye-sox-e kerg* egg-to do-ATTR hen 'good layer', *xudo-ters-e zen* God-to fear-ATTR woman 'devout'.

Possessive compound adjectives are numerous. A first type preserves the order A+N usual in Tat, as in Persian loans like *xuš-buy* good-smell 'smelling good', *bed-bäxd* bad-luck 'unlucky', *bed-ħol* bad-state 'sick'; but an additional attributive marker *-e* after the noun signals the expression as a new adjective: [*tünd-e-poy*]-*e ʕäsb* 'a swift-footed horse'. A subtype of this is the class of adjectives denoting age, in which a number precedes the noun *sal* 'year' plus the attributive *-e*: *sizdeh-sal-e kuk* 'sixteen-year-old boy', *ħofdod-sal-e merd* 'seventy-year-old man'. Sometimes *-sale* is taken as a suffix, and another *-(y)e* is added: *šasd-sale-ye zen* 'sixty-year-old woman'.

Another, productive type of compound is N+Adj (or adverb), in which the noun is a body part: *poy-birähne* foot-naked 'barefoot', *ten-birähne* body-naked 'naked', *dül-dinj* heart-calm 'serene', *dül-temiz* heart-clean 'sincere', *dül-očuq* heart-open 'generous', *dül-šor* heart-happy 'joyful', *dül-xürd* heart-broken 'despairing'. All take the attributive suffix *-e*: *dül-šor-e odomi* 'a man with a joyful heart', *muy-zarzari-ye gusbend* 'a sheep with curly hair', *muy-duraz-e gede* 'a

boy with long hair'. *dül-hemin-i* heart-always-ADJ 'equanimous' has an additional adjectival marker *-i*.

N+Adverb is less frequent: *dül* 'heart' + *peso* 'behind' → *dül-peso* 'worried'.

In A+A compounds two synonymous or semantically complementary adjectives can be combined to express intensity: *kosib-ʕoni* 'poor (Azeri) + poor (Hebrew)', *jonlü-jürʕätlü* 'lively-hardy', *qoq-mäħtel* stunned-surprised 'very surprised', *qoq-pert* stunned-peeved 'scandalized', *qoq-sesüz* stunned-voiceless 'abashed', *yetim-bebe-süz* 'orphan-father-less'.

N+V adjectival compounds are restricted to a type in which the verbal element is a locative copula: *ruš-veri* beard-to be_on 'bearded', *rang-ne-veri* colour-NEG-to be_on 'pale', *muy-ne-veri-ye ser* 'hairless head', *dendu-ne-deri-ye läʕä* tooth NEG-to be_in-ATTR mouth 'mouth without teeth'.

Even though numerals are not prototypical adjectives, I will treat compounds based on numerals in this section. In numeral compounds, juxtaposed numbers mark approximation. The two numbers always differ by a single unit: *se-čor* 'three or four', *penj-šeš* 'five or six', *nüh-deh* 'nine or ten', *deh-yezdah* 'ten or eleven', etc.

The element 'ten' follows in numbers between 13 and 19, with phonetic modifications: *penj* 'five', *šeš* 'six' + *deh* 'ten' → *pazdeh* 'fifteen', *šazdeh* 'sixteen'; *düvazdeh* 'twelve' has a buffer syllable analogical on *yezdah* 'eleven', which itself has probably borrowed the Persian vocalism. Between 20 and 99, numbers always show tens followed by units, for instance *siv-penj* 'thirty-five'. Hundreds are formed by juxtaposition: *hofd* '7' + *sad* '100' → *hof-sad* '700'.

3.3. Verbal compounds

Tat has no productive verbal compounding of the V+V type, but collocations exist which juxtapose verbs with opposite meanings: *verafde-furamore* 'to go up and (come) down', *vešende-fušende* 'to put on and take off [trousers]'; or with complementary meanings: *xisire-domunde* to sleep-to be tired 'to fall asleep [out of laziness]', *jümüsde-čarüsde* to move-to turn 'to fidget'. The verb *domunde* 'to remain (in)' is used together with another verb to express result in the past: *zuhun en u guyge vogosi e läʕäy en u domund* 'His tongue remained stuck in his mouth.'

On the other hand, the incorporation of other parts of speech in verbal predicates is an extremely common phenomenon shared with Persian (for which see Lazard, Richard, Hechmati and Samvelian 2006, and most recently Samvelian 2012) and other languages of the region, including Azeri. Complex verbs consisting of an invariable element or "coverb" and a light verb (mainly *bire* 'to be' and *soxde* 'to do') make up a major domain of the lexicon, and this is the only source of new verbs in the modern language. The observed patterns are of two types according to whether the individual elements can still be used as independent lexical forms or not. The coverb can be an existing noun, as in *para* 'piece' → *para bire/soxde* 'to split intr./tr.', or an existing adjective: *xürd* 'in pieces' → *xürd bire/soxde* 'to break', *xos* 'healthy' → *xos soxde/bire* 'to cure/be cured', or an interjection: *piš* 'away!' → *piš soxde* 'to expel, oust', *quduz bire* 'to go mad (like a mad dog)' (from Azeri *quduz* 'rage').

Very often though, the coverb is an element which does not exist in isolation, for instance: *jül soxde* 'to crawl', *subit soxde* 'to prove' (cf. Az. *subut* 'proof'), *sinesov bire* 'to break', *gilgez soxde* 'to wrestle to the ground'.

Instances of complex verbs using other light verbs are *šiħine zere* 'to neigh', *šiv kende* 'to attack from above', *qič gürde* 'to squeeze', *ser gürde* 'to begin' (*zere* 'to strike', *kende* 'to dig', *ser* 'head', *gürde* 'to take'); *tov dore* light-to give → 'shine', *vor dore* wind-to give 'to spin (wool)'.

A large subclass makes use of Azeri verbs borrowed in the form of their perfect participle, with an invariable ending *-miš*: If the Azeri verb is transitive, the Tat auxiliary is *soxde* 'to do': Az. *as-maq* 'to hang' → Tat *asmiš soxde* 'to hang', *injimiš soxde* 'to ennoy', *sečmiš soxde* 'to choose', *sinemiš soxde* 'to check, test', *qäzenmiš soxde* 'to earn', *duzetmiš soxde* 'to arrange', *bemzer soxde*

'to look like'. If the Azeri verb is intransitive, the Tat auxiliary is usually *bire* 'to be': *batmiš bire* 'to sink', *satašmiš bire* 'to clash', *qizmiš bire* 'to be furious', *učmiš bire* 'to fly', *tündlemiš bire* 'to be enraged'.

In some cases an intransitive Azeri verb becomes a transitive Tat complex verb, taking *soxde* 'to do', rather than *bire* 'to be', as its light verb: Azeri *atlanmaq* 'to throw oneself, jump' → *atlanmiš soxde* 'to attack', Azeri *dolanmaq* 'to make a living' → *dulanmiš soxde* 'to subsist'.

Note that the valency-marking system of Azeri is not borrowed into Tat (cf. article 197 on the situation in Budugh): a verb can change its valency by switching auxiliaries, but the coverb remains unaffected, e.g., Az. *hirs* > Tat *ħürš* 'anger' → *ħüršlemiš bire/soxde* 'to be/make angry', *češmiš bire/soxde* 'to be surprised/surprise' (Azeri has *hirslän-mäk* 'to be angry' and *čašmaq* but the derived causatives *hirs-län-dir-mäk* 'to make angry' and *čaš-dır-maq*); *bula-n-miš bire/soxde* 'to be troubled/trouble' (based on a derived anticausative form: Azeri has the underived transitive *bula-maq*), *evlenmiš bire/soxde* 'to get married/marry off' (Azeri has the derived causative *evlän-dir-mäk*). Another valency-changing device is syntactic, adding the Tat passive auxiliary *omore* 'to come' to the compound verb: *tapšürmiš soxde/tapšürmiš soxde omore* 'to entrust/be entrusted' (Azeri has the derived passive *tapšır-ıl-maq*).

The Azeri verb *ačmaq* 'to open' is not used with its basic concrete meaning, but rather in metaphorical or specialized expressions: *ez xov očmiš bire* 'to wake up (from sleep)', *sebäħ očmiš bire* 'morning comes', *dül xüšdere očmiš soxde* 'to open one's heart'.

The borrowed coverb can be phonetically changed along with the source noun. Often Tat retains a form older than the one found in contemporary Azeri: *degmiš bire* 'to touch' (Azeri has *däymäk*).

This device is at least partly derivational and productive, since the coverb of the complex verb can be a purely Tat derivate, not found in Azeri, of a noun found in both languages: Az. *bäxš* 'part' (borrowed from Persian) → Tat *bäxšlemiš soxde* 'to forgive', but Azeri has only *bäxš etmäk* and no **bäxšlämäk*.

A couple of Russian infinitives have been used as coverbs, even in texts from the first part of the 20th century, like *dumat'* 'to think' → Tat *dumit soxde*.

3.4. Adverbial compounds

Adverbial compounds are few, for instance *peso-pušo* behind-in front 'around', *dir-zu* late-soon 'sooner or later'.

4. Derivation

4.1. Nominal derivation

Nominal derivation uses few suffixes, but most of them are productive.

4.1.1. Denominal nouns

Abstract nouns denoting qualities or habits are formed from animate nouns by means of the suffix *-i*: *mar* 'snake' → *mar-i* 'snake's nature', *xär* '(n.) donkey; (adj.) stupid' → *xär-i* 'stupidity', *qäčäq* 'robber' → *qäčäq-i* 'robbery', *nüker* 'servant' → *nüker-i* 'servitude', *yesir* 'captive' → *yesir-i* 'captivity', *ʕärüs* 'bride' → *ʕärüs-i* 'wedding', *bordor* 'pregnant' → *bordor-i* 'pregnancy', *durgu(n)* 'liar' → *durguni* 'lie', *ošne-gir* 'adulterer' → *ošnegir-i* 'adultery'. Some nouns are also derived from inanimate nouns by means of *-i*: *qälxänd* 'shield' → *qälxänd-i* 'defence', *kišd* 'waist' → *kišd-i* 'belt' (not an abstract noun). Derivates of this kind may be based on compounds: *zen-šüver* 'wife (and) husband' → *zen-i-šüver-i* 'marital status, life as a married couple'.

The suffix *-i* is so closely associated with abstract nouns that it is also found added to many abstract nouns borrowed from Azeri: *buyruq-i* 'order', *qärqüš-i* 'curse', *qunoq-luq-i* 'party' from Azeri *qunoq-luq,* cf. *qunoq* 'guest'; or from Arabic via Azeri: *ħijron-i* 'labour', *ħille-i* 'trick', *iħdibor-i* 'trust', *iħtiyot-i* 'cautiousness', *nubot-i* 'turn', *ozon-i* 'call to prayer', *qälet-i* 'error', *teklif-i* 'proposition', *xärj-i* 'expense', *xurofot-i* 'superstition', *šükeyet-i* 'complaint', *šolum-i* 'peace', *zaral-i* 'damage', *dulanmiš-i* 'subsistence', *kumek-i* 'help' (the bare form *kumek* is now found only in the meaning 'helper'), etc.

Some of these abstract nouns ending in *-i* originate elsewhere (usually Aramaic) and are synchronically opaque, such as *oxmuri* 'ignominy', or *menäħäfi* 'flattery'.

The suffix *-(y)eti* mainly produces q u a l i t y and s t a t u s n o u n s, usually from nouns denoting animates: *qul* 'slave' → *qul-eti* 'slavery', *kovxo* 'village chief' → *kovxo-yeti* 'function of village chief', *usdo* 'craftsman' → *usdo-yeti* 'capacity', *ovči* 'hunter' → *ovči-yeti* 'hunting', *igid* 'hero' → *igid-iyeti* 'bravery', *odomi* 'person' → *odomi-yeti* 'humanity,' and, with a locative extension, *padšoh* 'king' → *padšoh-eti* 'realm'.

P e r s o n a l n o u n s denoting occupations add the suffix *-či* (borrowed from Azeri) to nouns denoting places (*yesiyov* 'mill' → *yesiyov-či* 'miller', *bisdu(n)* 'vegetable garden' → *bisdon-či* 'gardener'), objects, whether animate (*jäʕ* 'fish' → *jäʕ-či* 'fisherman', *guselov* 'calf' → *guselov-či* 'calf-tender') or inanimate (*kobob* 'roast meat' → *kobob-či* 'seller of roast meat', *ʕärebe* 'cart' → *ʕärebe-či* 'carter'), as well as abstract nouns (*ʕilm* 'science' → *ʕilm-či* 'scientist'). In some cases, the suffix *-či* is added to a noun which already denotes an occupation in the source language (Arabic or Persian): *čupon(-či)* 'shepherd', *qäsob(-či)* 'butcher', *boğbon(-či)* 'gardener', *komsomol-či* 'komsomol'. On the other hand, some Azeri derivates which do bear the suffix *-či* are borrowed without their base noun: *demürči* 'smith', *yulči* 'traveller', cf. Azeri *dämir-či, yol-cu,* derived from 'iron' and 'road' respectively, for which Tat retains the Iranian words *ohu(n)* and *räħ*.

An old suffix found on p l a c e n o u n s is *-du* (cf. Persian *-dân*): *gov* 'cow' → *govdu* 'stable', *sümer* 'straw' → *sümer-du* 'barn', along with *semendu* 'barn' from Azeri *saman* 'straw'. This suffix is no longer productive.

The suffix *-luq* (Azeri *-lIq,* type *bataq-lıq* 'moor' from *batmaq* 'to sink') is found both on loans from Azeri and on native Iranian terms, denoting a place with a particular type of vegetation: *qämiš-luq* 'place with reeds', *čemen-luq* 'meadow', *kule-luq* 'bush-es', *bäqälü-luq* 'place with cherry trees', *ševelü-luq* 'place with chestnut trees'.

The d i m i n u t i v e s u f f i x *-le,* probably borrowed from Yiddish, is very productive in Jewish Tat. It is not found in Persian but is shared by the southern Tat languages, where it is less productive. It is mainly found on nouns to express either small size/quantity: *bor-le* 'little wood', *ʕärs-le* 'little tear', *ye meh-le* 'just a little month', or youth: *nazu* 'cat' → *nazu-le* 'kitten', *tülki-le* 'fox cub', *duxder-le* 'little girl'.

The older suffix *-če* has been widely replaced by *-le,* and where it survives it shows at least some semantic drift: *sovu* 'jug' → *sovu-če* 'flask', *boq* 'vineyard' → *boq-če* 'garden'.

4.1.2. Deadjectival nouns

The suffix *-i* forms q u a l i t y n o u n s from primary adjectives: *ʕošir* 'rich' → *ʕošir-i* 'wealth', *šor* 'glad' → *šor-i* 'joy', *xinik* 'cold' → *xinik-i* 'cold', *germ* 'hot' → *germ-i* 'heat', *gisne* 'hungry' → *gisne-i* 'hunger', *kele* 'large' → *kele-i* 'size', *luqond* 'deep' → *luqond-i* 'depth', *gurund* 'heavy' → *gurund-i* 'weight', *sipi* 'white' → *sipi-i en xoye* 'white of an egg', *rač* 'pretty' → *rač-i* 'beauty'; and from historically compound adjectives: *kele-ged* 'big+? > braggard' → *keleged-i* 'boasting', *ʕämel-dan* 'wile+to know > wily' → *ʕämeldan-i* 'wiliness'.

The suffix *-(y)eti* also occasionally produces nouns of quality from adjectives: *ovodune* 'fertile' → *ovodune-yeti* 'fertility'. Note also: *foriq* 'free, not busy' → *foriq-eti* 'shabbat'. This suffix *-eti* is the result of a reanalysis. Abstract nouns of Arabic origin ending in *-et* had come to be

used as adverbs and predicative adjectives, meaning that the nominalizing suffix *-i* had to be added in order to recreate the original nominal sense: *räħät* 'calm' → *räħät-i*, *qälet* 'erroneous' → *qälet-i* 'flaw', *xijolet* 'shameful' → *xijolet-i* 'shame', *zarifet* 'delicate' → *zarifet-i* 'soft-ness'.

Unproductive, opaque prefixes are seen in the derivations *biror* 'brother' → *še-biror* 'brother-in-law' and *zen* → *xüsür-zen* 'mother-in-law' (*xüsür* is attested separately as 'in-law', cf. Latin *socer* and *socrus*).

4.1.3. Deverbal nouns

A few words retain unproductive suffixes added to a verbal base, which may be perfective as in *parüsde* 'to fly' → *parüsde-k* 'swallow' or imperfective as in *pürsire* 'to ask' → *pürsü-š* 'question'.

However, the most commonly encountered deverbal nouns are the very regular forms known as "masdars". These are derived from any verb by adding the nominalizing suffix *-i* to the non-finite form (either participle, converb or infinitive) in *-De* (*D* is for the two allophones *d* and *r*): *ze-re* 'to beat', *zere-i* 'beating', *verexši-re* 'to vomit' → *verexšire-i* 'nausea', *raf-de* 'to go' → *rafde-i* 'action of going', *vomux-de* 'to learn' → *vomuxde-i* 'instruction'. Masdars can be derived from a verb phrase: *poy* 'foot' + *nore* 'to put' → *poynore-i* 'step', *nüvüs-de* 'to write' → *duz nüvüsde-i* 'orthography', [*fürso-rei-ombarak-bu*]*-i=re ez Amerike* 'messages of congratulation from America'. One can also consider as verbal nouns those derived from Azeri participles ending in *-miš* like *tapšürmiš-i* 'mission', *dulanmiš-i* 'way-of-living'.

Personal and agent nouns add to the infinitive the suffix *-gor*, which is historically an element of compounding (the root-noun of the Iranian verb *kardan* 'to do'). But synchronically, this formation can be viewed as inflectional and labelled the "agentive participle", as it is totally regular and productive, e.g., *e=kuče bi-regor-ho* LOC=street to be-AGT-PL → 'those gathered in the street'. But it can serve to translate nouns in other languages: *zihis-degor-ho=y Derbent* 'inhabitants of Derbent', *heysäʕät-ine xun-degor* 'today's reader', *kura bi-rogor-e odomi-ho* gathered to be-AGT-ATTR person-PL 'crowd', *po=y malad-i bi-regor* foot=EZ mud-ADJ be=AGT '(person with) dirty feet', *xokoru* 'dirt, dust' → *xokoru večiregor* 'dustman' → *xokoru večiregor-i* 'garbage collection'.

Some suffixes are no longer productive: *-bon*, originally 'guard', as in *boq* 'vineyard' → *boq-bon* 'gardener' (but *dih* 'village' → *dih-bon* 'hamlet'); *-dor* 'possessor': *bor* 'burden' → *bor-dor* 'pregnant', *teref* 'side, party' → *teref-dor* 'partisan'.

4.2. Adjectival derivation

Apart from relational adjectives, which are entirely regular and take the native suffixes *-i* or *-in*, all derived adjectives show suffixes borrowed from Azeri.

4.2.1. Denominal adjectives

Relational adjectives show a suffix *-i* (middle Persian *-īg*) which is not related to the nominalizing suffix *-i*. They constitute a very important facet of word-formation in Tat, because they allow the creation of new lexemes: *maral doq-i* doe mountain-ADJ 'chamois', *gov küh-i* cow mountain-ADJ 'ibex', *boqče=y ʕäyl-i* garden-EZ child-ADJ 'kindergarten', *dih* 'village' → *dih-i* 'of the same village'.

They are widely used to specify a generic noun: *buz-po-i* point-foot-ADJ 'tiptoe', *ser xug-i* 'pig's head', *zurbe=y verf-i* tempest=EZ snow-ADJ 'snowstorm', *boq-ho=y kolxoz-i* orchard-PL=EZ kolkhoz-ADJ 'kolkhoz orchards', *ʕail-ho=y škola-i* child-PL=EZ school-ADJ 'schoolchildren', *odomi verf-i* person snow-ADJ 'snowman', *ruz vasal-i* day springtime-ADJ 'spring day' (cf. the corresponding genitival noun phrase: *ruz en vasal*), *ħäyvonet xune-i/čul-i* animals house-ADJ/countryside-ADJ 'domestic/wild animals', *xurek sebäħmünde-i* meal morning-ADJ 'breakfast', *xune-le=y seg-i* house-dimin=EZ dog-ADJ 'kennel', *čele=y muš-i* trap=EZ mouse-ADJ 'mousetrap',

qob ʕov-i vessel water-ADJ 'water vessel', *sifet ʕärs-i/xun-i* face blood-ADJ 'face covered in blood', *čum ʕärs-i* eye tear-ADJ 'eye full of tears', *zuhun-ho=y mizräħ-i* language-PL=EZ orient-ADJ = *mizräħ-lü-ye zuhun-ho* orient-ADJ-ATTR language-PL 'oriental languages', *hinqär kerg-i* 'chicken broth', *jele=y ʕovun-i* 'iron trap', *Šimi Derbend-i* 'Shimi of Derbent', *kiläħ buxore-i* 'astrakhan cap; lit. from Bukhara', *xalif bäqdod-i* 'Caliph of Baghdad', *dialekt miyone-i* 'intermediary dialect', *e=lüväħ yehudi-i* 'Jewish calendar', *lo=y ruz-i* direction=EZ day-ADJ 'the south', *lo=y šev-i/tsofun-i* direction=EZ night-ADJ/bad_weather-ADJ 'the north', *xäzr-i* Caspian-ADJ 'Oriental'. This qualification device is recursive: *e=kul liħif pešm-i deve-i* LOC-back blanket wool-ADJ camel-ADJ 'on a camel's wool blanket'. In some cases (idiolects?) the use of the genitival preposition *en* is possible in front of the relational adjective: *xune=y en gilov-i* house=EZ GEN clay-ADJ 'mud house'. And indeed these multi-word units are fairly similar to noun phrases linked by the more recent genitive marker *en*: *riħon en čul-i* basil GEN countryside-ADJ 'wild basil', *tešd en xämi-i* basin GEN dough-ADJ 'basin for dough', *lengeri en müs-i* basin GEN copper-ADJ 'copper basin'.

A few words have a labile ending /n/ which appears in this construction (*status constructus*): *e=zuhu-n türk-i* LOC=tongue Turk-ADJ 'in Azeri', *zuhu-n mar-i* tongue snake-ADJ 'snake tongue'. Another type of adjectival derivation takes the ending *-i(n)*, and the resulting adjectives are usually preposed to the noun: *ʕäyb* 'shame' → *ʕäyb-i-ne jige* shame-ATTR place 'pudenda'. Adjectives based on nouns of time also take the suffix *-i(n)*: *di* 'yesterday' → *dih-i(n)* 'yesterday's'; *ruz-in-e qäzenj* 'dai-ly income', *växd sebäħ-ine ozon* 'morning call to prayer', *ye penj-hozor-sal-ine šeher* 'a five-thousand-year-old city'. Two adjectives in *-i/une,* which constitute a semantic microclass, are postposed: *merd* 'man' → *partal merd-une* 'clothes man-ADJ', *nar* 'male' → *ʕäil nar-ine* 'child male-ADJ'.

The relational suffixes *–i* and *–in* are Iranian, and so are *-mend* and the prefix *bi-*. The very productive possessive and privative suffixes *-lü* and *-süz*, on the contrary, are both borrowed from Azeri. The possessive suffix *-mend* is always used with human animates and laudative: *ʕäqül* 'wit' → *ʕäqül-mend* 'clever', *ʕäsül* 'breed' → *ʕäsül-mend* 'noble', *ħäyo* 'modesty' → *ħäyo-mend* 'modest', *hinor* 'skill' → *hinor-mend* 'gifted', *devlet* 'wealth' → *devlet-mend* 'rich'; but *derd* 'worry' → *derdimend* or *derdimend-i-ye* 'sad (person)' but *derdimend-lü* 'sad (thing)'.

The privative prefix *bi-* produces adjectives from abstract nouns: *ħürmet* 'respect' → *bi-ħürmet* 'disrespectful'; in turn these derived adjectives have a nominal derivate in *-i*: *biħürmet-i* 'insolence', *tob* 'patience' → *bi-tob* 'impatient' → *bitob-i* 'impatience', *šäʕr* 'verdict' → *bi-šäʕr* 'unjust' → *bišäʕr-i* 'injustice', *insof* 'justice' → *bi-insof* 'iniquitous' → *bi-insof-i* 'iniquity', *växd* 'time' → *bi-växd* 'premature'→ *biväxd-i* 'prematurity', *bi-rač* 'ugly' → *bi-rač-i* 'ugliness'. In some cases, the basic noun is obsolete: **obur* 'eyebrow' > 'pride' / *bi-obur* 'impudent' → *biobur-i* 'impudence', **jo* 'place' cf. *injo* 'here'/*unjo* 'there' → *bijo* 'irregular' → *bijo-i* 'irregularity'.

Two Azeri adjectival suffixes have been borrowed, though without the vowel harmony which characterizes their behaviour in Azeri. The possessive suffix *-lü* is no less productive than in its source language: *yara-lü* 'wounded', *qüzdürme-lü* 'impaludated', *meng-lü* 'moon-lit', *dumit* 'thought' (cf. the Russian infinitive *dumat'*) → *dumut-lü* 'preoccupied', *ħäroy* 'shout' → *ħäroy-lü* 'exclamative', *quvot* 'strength' → *quvot-lü* 'strong', *buho* 'value' → *buho-lü* 'precious', *velg* 'leaf' → *velg-lü* 'leaf-covered', *din-doʕot-lü-ye juhur-ho* 'religious Jew-s', *mizräħ-lü-ye zuhun-ho* 'oriental language-s'. The suffix *-lü* is also used to translate expressions like *biror-lü-ye xälq-ho* 'brother people' and may even be applied to bases which are not found as independent nouns, such as **fehm*, from Arabic 'understanding': *fehm-lü* 'clever', cf. the compound verb *fehm soxde* 'check'; **oloqo* (cf. Azeri *älaqä* 'relation') → *oloqo-lü* 'interesting', or in order to integrate and characterize Azeri participles and adjectives like *bacar-an* 'able' → *bojoren-lü* 'efficient', *yeke-lü* 'massive' (cf. Azeri *yekä*). It is possible to form an adjective ending in *-lü* from some noun phrases: *ombar-e ʕäil-lü-ye kiflet* 'a family with many children', but there are limitations on this procedure: *biq-lü-ye odomi* 'a man with a moustache' vs. *sara biq-ine(-ye) odomi* 'a man with a yellow moustache', using the native derivational suffix *-in*. Not all derivates in *-lü* can be part of

predicates, for which the Tat circumpositional instrumental case (*e=...=(r)Evoz*) must sometimes be used instead: *yeräqlüye odomi* 'armed man' but *e=yeräq=ävoz=ut* 'They are armed (lit. with weapons)'.

The borrowed p r i v a t i v e suffix is *-süz*: *biq-süz* 'without moustache', *sovod-süz* 'ignorant', *ʕovun* 'sin' → *ʕovun-süz* 'sinless'; unlike *-lü* and the Iranian prefix *bi-*, it can be attached to proper names: *Soro-süz* 'without Sarah'.

Note that these suffixes have replaced older, Iranian formations still retained in individual instances, such as: *bäxd* 'luck' → *bäxd-ever* 'lucky'; *ħürmet* 'respect' → *bi-ħürmet* 'disrespectful', *ses bi-evoz-i/ses evoz-dor-i* sound without-voice-ADJ/sound voice-keeping-ADJ 'voiced/voiceless sound'.

Etymologically related to the deverbal nominalizer *-gor* is an unproductive adjectival suffix *-kor*, found in *temäħ* 'greediness' → *temäħ-kor* 'greedy'.

4.2.2. Deadjectival adjectives

Ordinal numerals are formed by means of the suffix *-imün*: *dü-imün* 'second', etc. But *dü* 'two' → *dü-voin* 'double' should be grouped together with the denominal adjectives of section 4.2.1.

Intensive derivation based on adjectives involves reiteration of material, and will be discussed in section 6.2. together with reduplication.

4.2.3. Deverbal adjectives

The "prospective participle" is derived from the infinitive *-De(n)* with the adjectival suffix *-i*; contrary to the agentive participle and to the past participle, it is not fully productive/inflectional, and frequently serves to translate specialized lexemes into Tat: *keši-reni-ye odomi* to smoke-*Deni* person 'smoker', *ters do-reni-ye či* fear to give-Deni-ATTR thing 'something frightening', *ne=verzi-reni-ye odomi* NEG=to praise-Deni-ATTR person 'infamous', *bovor ne=sox-deni-ye kor* 'something unbelievable', *e=räħ ber-deni* LOC=way to bear-*Deni* 'amendable', *xisi-reni-ye utoq* to sleep-Deni-ATTR room 'bedroom', *xilos sox-deni-ye ez batmiš-i stantsiya* saved to do-Deni-ATTR ABL sink-ing post 'rescue post'.

The deverbal agent noun formation in *-gor* can be used as an attribute: *xun-degor* read-AGT 'well-read', taking the attributive suffix *-e* before a head-noun *xun-degor-e odomi* read-AGT-ATTR person 'educated person'.

4.2.4. Deadverbial adjectives

Adverbs can be turned into adjectives by means of the suffix *-i(n)*. The resulting forms are found as preposed attributes, e.g., *peso-i poyho* 'hind legs', and often take the attributive suffix *-ye*: *burun-i-ye/dorun-i-ye jige* outside-ADJ-ATTR/inside-ADJ-ATTR place, *dur* 'far' → *dur-in* 'far', *pušote* 'before' → *pušote-i-ne* 'previous', *imburuz* 'today' → *imburuz-i-ne ruz* today-ADJ-ATTR day, *u-växdi* that-time 'then' → *u-växdi-ne pisatel-ho* 'the authors of that time', *šovu* 'the evening before' → *šovu-ne* 'of the evening before'.

4.3. Verbal derivation (deverbal)

The Tat languages show almost no denominal or deadjectival derivation of new verbs; they seem to have split from their common ancestor with Persian before this device became productive in the latter. Single instances like *bäxš* 'part' → *bäxšire* 'to share with' are exceptional and have probably been borrowed from Persian in recent times.

4.3.1. Spatial preverbs

Spatial preverbs have developed in Tat from elements already present in Persian (cf. Lazard, Richard, Hechmati and Samvelian 2006: 281–283), certainly under the influence of Daghestanian languages of the Lezgic branch such as Agul or Rutul. There are four spatial preverbs. Three are simple: *de(r)-* 'in; down', *ve(r)-* 'on', *fu(r)-* 'down, along'. *vedE(r)-* 'out' conflates *ve(r)-* and *dE(r)-*, but here *ve(r)-* is a reversive operator, analogous to an element found in the neighbouring languages Lezgian and Rutul. These spatial categories are the ones most frequently expressed by preverbs in Lezgic languages.

Naturally, spatial preverbs are mostly found on verbs of movement like *rafde* 'to go' → *de-rafde* 'to go in', *hišde* 'to let' → *de-hišde* 'to let in', or *omore* 'to come' → *dir-omore* 'to come in'; *nüšde* 'to sit' → *ve-nüšde* 'to mount', *ve-rafde* 'to go up'; *vede-rafde* 'to go out', *kende* 'to dig' → *vede-kende* 'to dig, extract', *fürsore* 'to send' → *vede-fürsore* 'to expel'.

Some roots can take all preverbs: *berde* 'to carry' → *de-berde* 'to carry in', *fu-berde* 'to swallow' (note the demotivated variant *süperde*, with metathesis), *ve-berde* 'to lift', *vede-berde* 'to carry outside'; *šende* 'to throw' → *de-šende* 'to throw in or down', *fu-šende* 'to take down (trousers)', *ve-šende* 'to throw on', *vede-šende* 'to throw out'.

Other verb roots only take some of the available preverbs, like *čire* 'to pluck' → *de-čire* 'to tidy up', *fu-čire* 'to steal', *ve-čire* 'to gather up', *nore* 'to put (down)' → *do-nore* 'to put in', *ve-nore* 'to put on', while **funore*, **vedečire*, or **vedenore* do not exist.

Semantic drift has occurred in a number of cases: *omore* 'to come' → *ver-omore* 'to grow', *pičire* 'to roll, wind' → *ve-pičire* 'to wrestle', *šumorde* 'to count' → *ve-šmerde* 'to abuse' and *je(hi)sde* 'to jump' → *ve-je(hi)sde* 'to dance'.

Most preverbed roots also appear without a preverb. Exceptions are *vo-gosire* 'to stick (on)', *fu-joqunde* 'to grumble', *fu-qunde* 'to speak through the nose'; *fur-munde* 'to cheat' no longer bears any relationship with *munde* 'to remain'. *vo-kurde* 'to build (up), *de-kirde* 'to pour', *vede-kirde* 'to repudiate' are related to Persian *kardan* 'to do', which is attested in southern (Muslim) varieties of Tat with the taboo meaning of 'to fuck': this accounts for its total loss in Jewish Tat.

4.3.2. Causative verbs

Causative verbs come paired with their anticausative counterparts. In one subtype, causative verbs are formed by adjunction of the suffix *-un-* without further changes: *giris-de* 'to cry' → *giris-un-de* 'to make cry', *rix-de* 'to flow' → *rix-un-de* 'to make flow', *sux-de* 'to burn, tr.' → *sux-un-de* 'to burn, kindle'. But regressive vowel harmony frequently applies: *depiči-re* 'to roll, itr.' → *depuč-un-de* 'to roll, tr.', *düši-re* 'to boil, itr.' → *duš-un-de* 'to boil, tr.'.

Other causatives are more irregular, being based on the alternating, sometimes obsolete present stem: *xur-de* 'to eat' → *xor-un-de* 'to feed', *degešde* 'to lie' → *de-gerd-un-de* 'to lay', *diromo-re* 'to enter' → *dirov-un-de* 'to push in', *geš-de* 'to walk, look for' → *gerd-un-de* 'to carry around', *pois-de* 'to stop, itr.' → *poy-un-de* 'to stop, tr.', *växüš-de* 'to stand up' → *växiz-un-de* 'to raise', *vejes-de* 'to dance' → *vejeh-un-de* 'to make dance'.

Verbs ending in *-ire* have a causative counterpart without /i/ : *lerzi-re* 'to tremble' → *lerz-un-de* 'to shake', *tasi-re* 'to choke, itr.' → *tas-un-de* 'to stifle', *tersi-re* 'to be afraid' → *ters-un-de* 'to frighten', *varasi-re* 'to understand' → *varas-un-de* 'to make understand', *vogosi-re* 'to stick, itr.' → *vogos-un-de* 'to stick, tr.', *xisi-re* 'to sleep' → *xis-un-de* 'to put to bed'.

Many intransitive verbs show a suffix *-Is* (I is a high vowel subject to harmony) which commutes with the causative suffix, producing equipollent pairs: *bürj-us-de* 'to cook, itr.' → *bürj-un-de* 'to cook, tr.', *čar-üs-de* 'to turn, itr.' → *čar-un-de* 'to turn, transform', *günj-üs-de* 'to be fit' → *günj-un-de* 'to adapt', *je(h-ü)s-de* 'to slip' → *jeh-un-de* 'to make slip', *tov-us-de* 'to be hot' → *tov-un-de* 'to warm up'.

Some transitive verbs seem to be causative derivates but have no anticausative counterpart: *palun-de* 'to filter', *voburjun-de* 'to fry', *voqun-de* 'to thrust', *vošun-de* 'to winnow'.

Semantic drift has occurred in a number of cases, such as *vosux-de* 'to burn' → *vosux-un-de* 'show compassion', *virix-de* 'to flee' → *virix-un-de* 'to kidnap' (cf. Azeri *qač-ır-maq*), *vomux-de* 'to learn' → *vomux-un-de* 'to advise', *voxur-de* 'to meet' → *voxor-un-de* 'to search', *nüš-de* 'to sit' → *nuš-un-de* 'to plant, organize', *verzi-re* 'to be worth' → *verz-un-de* 'to praise', *zihis-de* 'to live' → *zen-de* 'to give birth'.

4.4. Adverbial derivation (denominal)

Noun phrases are recognizable in *i(n)-ruz* this-day > *imburuz* 'today' (with epenthesis), *i(n)-šev* this-night > *imišev* 'tonight', *umoho(y)* 'then'/*imoho(y)* 'now' (probably from *meh* 'month'), *e=u lo* 'to that side' > *ovlo* 'far', *e=i lo* 'to that side' > *eylo* 'this way, here', *e-čor-kino-mürd* loc-four-ridge-? 'around'.

A suffix *-o/-ovo/-u* is found on many adverbs derived from an attested noun: *šev* 'night' → *šovu* 'the evening before', *šüqäm* 'belly' → *šuqomo* 'face down', cf. French *à plat ventre*, Persian *zi-bar* → *zever-o* 'above', Persian *piš* 'forehead' → *pušo(vo)* 'in front', *kun-boloq-ovo* → bottom-upside-ADV 'upside down', *yon* 'side' → *yon-ovo* 'askance'.

In some case, an older adverb has received the characteristic suffix: **pes* 'then' → *peso* or *pesovo* 'behind', *kim-väʕd-o* indef+time+o 'sometimes' (from Azeri *växd* 'time'), *bäqd-o* 'later' (from Arabic *baʕd* 'after').

Less frequent is the formative *-ki*: *äxir* 'end' → *äxirki* 'eventually', *xäber* 'news' → *näxäber* 'unaware' → *nä-xäber-eki* 'inadvertently'.

There is an adverbial (attenuative?) diminutive suffix *-lEy*, probably related to *-le* (see section 4.1.1.): *yevoš* or *asda* 'slowly' → *yevoš-ley* or *asda-lay* 'rather slowly'.

5. Conversion

Major word classes show a tendency to be signalled overtly in Tat: abstract nouns usually acquire a nominalizing *-i* suffix, attributive adjectives attach a suffix *-(y)e*, and verbs have overt conjugation in all tenses and persons. Conversion is thus restricted to a few particular cases, namely the non-finite form of verbs and the conversion of nouns into attributive adjectives.

5.1. Nominal conversion

Deadjectival conversion of nouns is available but rarely used except in the case of agent participles undergoing a semantic shift, e.g., *gešde* 'to walk' → *gešde-gor* 'prostitute, lit. walk-er'.

Nominal conversion is rare, but one may cite *kerg* 'chicken' → *kerge-lü* (with an elided head-noun *jige* 'place'?) 'henhouse', given the fact that *-lü* is otherwise exclusively used to derive adjectives.

Names of inhabitants are substantivized adjectives derived from place names: *Müšgür-i* 'person from Mushgur'.

5.2. Adjectival conversion

Conversion of nouns into attributes rarely goes without marking of some kind. Examples of bare conversion/of conversion without any morphological marking include: *sula* 'hole' → 'pierced', *bij* 'bastard' → 'disloyal', and probably *zurbo* 'strong' → *zurbe* 'tempest'.

But very often, a noun may take the attributive suffix *-(y)e* and modify a following noun: *oxmuri-ye gof* 'offens-ive word' (along with the derivate *oxmur-lü*). This pattern serves to express resemblance: *kafdar* 'ghoul' → *kafdar-e* 'ghoul-ish', *ʕälbüs-e čum-ho* 'devil-ish eye-s', *ʕäzroil-e zen* 'Azrael-ATTR woman', *rač-e maral-e zen* pretty-ATTR doe-ATTR woman 'a woman as beautiful as a doe', *tomoše-ye odomi* marvel-ATTR person 'an extraordinary person', *xär-e odomi* donkey-

ATTR person 'stupid person', *sevor-e ʕäil gufere-i* basket-ATTR child cradle-ADJ 'infant', *xinik-e liħä-ye ʕov* cold-ATTR mud-ATTR water 'cold, muddy water'.

Possessive meaning is also frequent: *češmek-e-čum-ho* 'eyes with glasses', *ħille-ye mulla* 'wil-y mulla', *šexde-ye ruz* 'frost-y day', *bioburi-ye num* 'ignomini-ous name', *se ser-e dev* 'three head-ed demon', *qäšqä-ye gusele* 'white_spot-ted calf', *ʕäsel-e lov-ho* 'honey-tasting lips', *se kepik-e pul* 'three kopeck-ATTR money', *gürve-ye zimisdu* 'frost-y winter', **merg* 'death' (obsolete, but cf. Persian *marg) > merg-e više* 'deep forest', synonymous with *xäste više* lit. 'sick forest'.

Azeri nouns may also undergo conversion: *qonquš-e dor* 'hole-ATTR tree', *qobon-e odomi* 'hog-ATTR person'. And some Azeri participles in *-miš* used in verbal compounds can also be used as attributes to a noun: *češmiš-e čum-ho* 'astonished eyes' (cf. *češmiš bire* 'be astonished'). But conversion of an Azeri adverb is exceptional: *dalda-ye jige* 'remote, secret place' (cf. Azeri *dal-da* 'in the back').

5.3. Conversion of nouns as adpositions

Most precise spatial relations are expressed in Tat by possessive NPs including a noun implying spatial reference, usually a body part: *ser* 'head' > 'on', also found in Persian. But *qäd* 'fold' > 'interior', *qäriš* 'span' > 'inside', *lo* 'direction' > 'towards', *läʕä* 'mouth', *lov* 'lip' > 'near' are proper to (Jewish) Tat.

6. Reduplication

Reduplication devices are well represented in Tat and quite productive in Jewish Tat, applying to all parts of speech.

6.1. Nominal reduplication

Reduplication patterns producing nouns are somewhat exceptional and irregular: *gof* 'word' → *gofe-gof* 'conversation', *ħäroy-ħäroy* 'shouts'. The formation can be imitative (onomatopoeic): *gurgur* 'turkey', *läqläq* 'big mouth'. *Gilguli* 'trouble' seems to be a variant of *bilbul-i*, which is deadjectival, *čem-či* 'all sorts of food' seems to be made according to the superlative pattern from *či* 'food', which is the root-noun of the verb *či-re* 'to pick, pluck'.

Echo-reduplication in which the onset of the second occurrence is changed to /m/ is a pattern which expanded from Turkic into many languages of Russia including those of Daghestan; it is also found in Tat: *savzi-mavzi* 'all sorts of greens and salads', *luti* 'lecherous man' → *luti-puti* 'hooligans'.

Other reduplication patterns are less straightforward: *šele* 'burden' → *šele-šulte* 'one's entire burden', *dalde* 'hidden' (cf. Azeri *dal-da* 'in the back') → *dalde-dulda* 'stealthily', *kosib* 'poor' → *kosib-kusub* 'poor crowd', *qob* 'dish' → *qob-qujob* 'all sorts of dishes'; Azeri *däqiqä* 'minute' is borrowed in Tat as *däqdäqä*.

Sometimes, two independently existing words echo each other and are commonly juxtaposed to give rise to a single meaning, with an affective nuance: *kor* 'work' + *bor* 'burden' → *kor-bor* 'chores', *bojäħ-bürüj* 'shouting'; some elements of these echoing compounds can be words which no longer exist, or have never existed, in their own right in Tat, as in *pol-xol* 'small scrap of land', which patches together Russian *pol* 'floor' and an adaptation of Persian *xor* 'land' (the Tat word is *xori*); *qäsd-šükesd* 'plea and complaint'; the two elements of *qoziye-qäder* 'adventures', which are Arabic words not found individually in the language.

In *vizor-gizor en=u=re mi=ber-d* 'She gives him a hard time', *vizor* 'painful' is a frequent form, but *gizor*, which represents the obsolete present stem of Persian *guzâštan*, is not attested independently.

6.2. Adjectival reduplication

Adjectives, both Iranian and borrowed, very often have an intensive form which functions as a superlative. The pattern, copied from Azeri, consists of the copying of the first consonant, followed by a high vowel and a labial element, which is /m/ before a voiced consonant: *johil* 'young' → *jem-johil* 'very young', *duraz* 'long' → *dim-duraz*, *zerd* 'yellow' → *zim-zerd*, *tij* 'sharp' → *tim-tij*, *duz* 'exact' → *dim-duz* or *dib-duz*, *tenbiräħne* 'naked' → *tim-tenbiräħne* 'stark naked'; or /p/ before a voiceless consonant: *siye* 'black' → *sip-siye* 'pitch black', *kovu* 'blue' → *kip-kovu*, *tihi* 'empty' → *tip-tihi*, *soq* 'healthy' → *sip-soq*, *täħno* 'alone' → *tip-täħno* 'all alone'. Exceptions are *tik* 'upright' → *tim-tik* 'very upright', *zünde* 'alive' → *zip-zünde xurde* 'to devour raw', *temiz* 'clean' → *tip-temiz* or *tur-temiz*, and *täʕdi* 'rapid' → *ter-täʕdi*, *sov* 'broken' → *sovesov* 'shattered', *bed* 'bad' → *beter* 'very bad' → *beš-beter* 'terribly bad'.

Total reduplication of adjectives is exceptional: *digil* 'twisted (smile)' → *digil-digil* 'unpleasantly twisted (smile)'. Note the semantic change in *kele* 'large' → *kele-kele* 'loud'.

More commonly seen are adjectives resulting from the total reduplication of nouns: *xoši* 'good mood' → *xoši-xoši* 'joyful', *jüre* 'sort'→ *jürbejür* 'manifold', *xär* 'donkey; stupid'→ *xär-xär-e gof* 'very stupid talk', *benek* 'freckle'→ *benek-benek* 'freckled', *para* 'piece' → *para-para* 'scattered', *rang* 'colour'→ *rangi-be-rang-i* 'richly coloured', *petli-pitov* 'entangled (hair)' (from Russian *petlja* 'loop' and Azeri *bütün*, dialectally *bitov* 'totally'). But no simple base is attested for *bil-bul* 'troubled', *pelü-pelü* 'worn out', or *qir-qir* 'curly'.

6.3. Verbal reduplication

Reduplicated syllables form ideophonic coverbs: *jiv-jiv zere* 'to chirp', *ħov-ħov soxde* 'to bark', *qär-qär zere* 'to crow'.

Some existing nouns are found reduplicated in expressive compound verbs: *sürg* 'horn' → *sürge-sürg soxde* 'to fight with horns', *tov-tov soxde* 'to shine' cf. *tov-sebäħi* 'dawn', *tovuš* 'light', *tovusde* 'to be hot', *guš* 'ear' → *guše-guši soxde* 'to whisper in the ear', *vor* 'wind' → *vorvori xurde* 'to wave in the wind', *sille* 'slap' → *sille-sille soxde* 'to slap', *qähri* 'hatred' → *qähri-qähri* or *qähre-qähr denišire* 'to look hatefully'.

Another type associates a noun with another, slightly different element: *loy* 'side' → *loy-lum xurde* 'reel, stagger' (cf. Russian *lomat'* 'break'), *nifri* 'hatred' → *nifri-ofri soxde* 'to hate', *sabür* 'patience' → *ez sabür-obur vedarafde* 'to be out of patience' (*oburi* 'dignity'), *ʕänje-ʕänj bire* 'to be torn (by the teeth of dogs)' (cf. *ʕänj gürde* 'bite, tear'), *ruq-ruq dore* 'to shine (of a carpet)' (cf. *ruqän* 'oil').

Reduplication of the converb form ending in *-De* yields a depictive adjunct predicate: *xän-de xän-de* 'laughing', *javus-de javus-de* 'chewing away'. Compound verbs duplicate the auxiliary only: *fit ze-re ze-re* 'whistling'; *päħni bi-re bi-re* 'stealthily'; *simov ze-re ze-re* 'swimming'.

6.4. Adverbial reduplication

Reduplication is found in a number of adverbial expressions: *dir* 'late' → *dir-dir* 'slowly', *täħno* 'alone' → *täħno-väħno* 'all alone', *qüj* 'strength' → *qüje-qüj* 'with difficulty', *nerm* 'soft' → *nerme-nerm* 'softly', *sove-sov* 'totally broken', *xun-i-xun-i denišire* blood-y-blood-y-to look 'to look very angrily', *xänjel-xänjel soxde* dagger-dagger to do 'to gouge'.

Distributivity is expressed by doubling the number: *yeki yeki* 'one by one', *dü-dü=y en=u-ho ez guš-ho=y xär gir-d* two-two=EZ GEN=3-PL ABL ear-PL=EZ donkey take-AOR3 'They both catch him, each of them seizing one ear of the donkey'. The distributive value of reduplication also accounts for expressions like *čend* 'how many' → *čend-čend* or *češ-čend* 'so many', and *nubo* 'turn' → *nubo-nubo* 'in turn'.

A couple of adverbs form another adverb by reduplication: *pes-pes-o* 'and so on', *sebäħ* 'morning' → *sebäħ-sebäħ* 'very early', *yevoš-yevoš* 'slowly', *puš-pušo-ki* 'beforehand', *ser* 'head; on' → *ser-sereki* 'one on top of the other'.

Derived from verbal bases are *vidov-vidov* 'running' (cf. *vidovusde* 'run'), and similar expressions: in *riz-riz ʕov rixde* 'to drip water', the repeated obsolete present stem of the verb *rixde*, *riz-* acquires expressive value, as in *šur-šur tihi bire* 'to flow abundantly' (of blood, cf. *šušde* 'to wash', subjunctive *šur-um*).

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