LOANWORD TYPOLOGY THE CASE OF BEZHTA

Bernard Comrie and Madzhid Khalilov Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology comrie@eva.mpg.de, khalilov @eva.mpg.de

Existing hypotheses on lexical borrowing

1.	Some concepts are more resistant to lexical borrowing than others especially basic vocabulary
	cf. English <i>hand</i> , German <i>Hand</i> ; English <i>ballet</i> , French <i>ballet</i> but there is no scientific definition of the concept "basic vocabulary" the Swadach list purports to be a universal list of the human condition
	the Swadesh list purports to be a universal list of the human condition but there are exceptions (e.g. 'ice', 'horn')
	such a list of lexical concepts is a hypothesis that must be tested in a
	systematic and cross-linguistic manner
	especially some semantic fields
	but the identification of such semantic fields also needs systematic
	investigation some semantic fields behave differently in different cultural environments
	e.g. Austronesian languages have few loanwords connected to the sea, while (High) German has borrowed much of this vocabulary from Low German
	especially more frequent words
	but again there are almost no empirical investigations
	on the basis of a wide range of languages
	representing various kinds of language contact situations
	especially some parts of speech
	cf. the hypothesis that nouns are more borrowable than verbs, or that grammatical words are more resistant to borrowing than lexical
	words
2.	Loanword Typology Project
	(project leaders: Martin Haspelmath, Uri Tadmor)
	worldwide sample of languages representing different language families, areas, and types of contact
	in this case ca. 50 languages
	list of words must be more extensive than Swadesh
	and include words from presumed non-basic vocabulary
	in order to test Swadesh's hypothesis
	in this case a list of over 1300 words as used for the "Intercontinental Dictionary Series" project
	each language is investigated by a specialist on the given language (and its history)
	each author submits a data base, i.e. an electronic list of the lexical items, corresponding to the given 1300 concepts
	identifying loans and their immediate sources
	each author also submits a chapter presenting empirical and theoretical generalizations
	the project is made possible by recent work compiling dictionaries of various languages of the world, including comparative and etymological dictionaries
3.	Results of the project

for each lexical concept, the percentage of languages with a loanword this will give a list of lexical concepts from the most to the least borrowable and facilitate the testing of hypotheses concerning the relevance of semantic field, frequency, part of speech, etc. the comparison of different language contact situations will facilitate the testing of hypotheses concerning the relevance of the social environment for lexical borrowing

Bezhta

- Bezhta (Kapuchi) [kap], ca 6461 speakers (2002 Russian census; informal estimates give around 12,000) in west of Republic of Daghestan main dialects: Bezhta Proper, Khasharkhota, Tladal Bezhta Proper has some idiosyncratic properties: shift of *r to y shift of *r to h, 7 respectively with umlaut of neighboring vowels
- 5. Nakh-Daghestanian language family:

Nakh-Daghestanian (North-East Caucasian, East Caucasian) Nakh languages Daghestanian languages Avar-Andi-Tsezic languages Avar-Andic languages Avar [ava] Andic languages Tsezic languages West Tsezic languages Khwarshi [khv] (incl. aberrant Inkhogwari "dialect") Tsez (Dido) [ddo] Hinuq [gin] East Tsezic languages Bezhta (Kapuchi) Hunzib [huz] Lak Dargi Lezgic languages

- 6. Major resources, mostly from recent years
 a. dictionaries of Bezhta, Hunzib, Tsez, and Hinuq (but not Khwarshi)
 b. comparative dictionary of North Caucasian (Nikolayev and Starostin 1994)
- Major lacuna no systematic work on inter-Tsezic loans partly in absence of detailed comparative phonology

8. Inherited vocabulary

Khinalug

- a. vocabulary inherited from Proto-East Tsezic (ca 1000 BP)
- b. vocabulary inherited from Proto-Tsezic (ca 2000 BP)
- c. vocabulary inherited from Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian (ca 8000 BP)
- d. in principle, also vocabulary inherited from
 - i) Proto-Avar-Andi-Tsezic
 - ii) Proto-Daghestanian
- 9. Major non-Tsezic linguistic contacts of Bezhta: direct contacts:

Greet contacts: Georgian [kat] (at least from early centuries CE) Avar (long-standing, heavy since 1860s) Russian [rus] (direct influence mainly from 1950s; some earlier influence through Georgian and especially Avar) indirect contacts:

- Arabic [arb] (at least from C18; assumed to be through Avar, with possible transmission to Avar via Turkic, esp. Azerbaijani [qzj] and Kumyk [kum])
- Persian [prs] (assumed to be through Avar, with possible transmission to Avar via Turkic, esp. Azerbaijani and Kumyk)
- Turkic, esp. Azerbaijani and Kumyk (assumed to be through Avar)

Sources of loans

- 10. Georgian
 - main studies Xalilov (1993; 2004)
 - loans into
 - Bezhta/Hunzib (ca 400 items)

Tsez/Hinuq (ca 129 items, of which 88 in Tsez or Tsez and Hinuq) Khwarshi (ca 10 items, all nouns — less borrowing? or secondary loss?) some predate language-specific sound changes within Tsezic, so probably

reflect Proto-Tsezic period loans, e.g. Geo *gemo* 'taste', Bezhta-Hunzib *gemo*, Tsez-Hinuq *gimu*; Geo *okro* 'gold', Bezhta-Hunzib *okro* (Bezhta Proper *okko*), Tsez-Hinuq *ukru* 'money, silver'

some show typical Old or Middle Georgian forms, e.g. O/MiGeo *toqi* 'hoe', MoGeo *toxi*, Bezhta-Hunzib-Hinuq *toqi*, Tsez *toq^ci*, though most are Modern Georgian

- Bezhta-Hunzib (but not Tsez-Hinuq) have some Georgian loan verbs as parts of light verb constructions (LVCs), e.g. Bezhta *daγup'a -owal* 'spoil' < Georgian *da-γup'v-a* (PFV-spoil-INFIN), also in some dialects the conjunction *magram* 'but'
- loans mainly concrete nouns, reflecting Georgian cultural influence, e.g. Bezhta leybi 'mattress' (< leibi), topi 'rifle' (< topi)
- 11. Avar (esp. adjacent Antsukh (*ánsuq*) dialect) traditional lingua franca of western Daghestan at least fm 1860s, especially fm 1920s also conduit for loans fm other languages Avar origin vocabulary
 - nouns from wide range of semantic domains, e.g. *beyten* 'wedding', *waccal* 'cousin'
 - includes many adjectives, e.g. *bercinab* 'beautiful' (in Avar -b is a class III [neuter] suffix; in Bezhta, the word is invariable)
 - verbs are borrowed only as parts of LVCs, in the infinitive form in -(i)zi, e.g. bak'arzi -owal 'gather (tr.)', bak'arzi -aqal 'gather (itr.)'

some doublets, e.g. indigenous *nuzo* (archaic), Avar loan *bet'erhan* 'husband' phonetic adaptation *r* > *y* in older loans, e.g. *beyten* 'wedding' < Avar *bertin* but: *bercinab*, *bak'arzi*, *bet'erhan* - later loans

12. Russian

currently major source of loans into Bezhta (and other Tsezic languages) including transmission of international vocabulary

- even some words with a native counterpart, e.g. *peč* 'stove' (< Russian *peč* ') Bezhta has at least one indigenous word and two loans from Georgian for different kinds of stoves
- also loan adjectives, adverbs, expressions

```
verbs only in LVCs, in form of infinitive (-t < \text{Russian } -t')
```

earlier loans have phonetic adaptation

e.g. Russian *fabrika* 'factory' appears as Bezhta *pabrika* and *fabrika*

some early loans transmitted through Georgian have ejectives in Bezhta-Hunzib e.g. *p'alt'o* < Georgian *p'alt'o* < Russian *pal´to* 'raincoat'

but not Tsez-Hinuq *paltu*

13. Arabic

Islamicization from C18 Arabic loans largely restricted to nouns (incl. those used as parts of LVCs) also some religious locutions, e.g. wallah 'by God' one conjunction, amma 'but', which is frequent in Bezhta semantic domains: religion: allah 'God', šävt'an 'devil' abstract nouns: häl 'state, condition', pikro 'thought', zaman 'time', sa?at (also šä?ät) 'hour' administration: ahlo 'people' arts: kalam 'word', surat 'picture' science, education: *dars* 'lesson' (often now replaced by Russian, e.g. older *mü?älim*, newer *üštel* 'teacher' < *učitel* ') names of weekdays, Islamic months, people's names stronger phonetic adaptation in Bezhta Proper e.g. häl < ħaal, mü?älim < muSallim but without shift r > y, e.g. dars < dars 14. Results for chapter 1: The physical world Indigenous: 51 9 of which 2 from Arabic. 1 from Turkic Avar loans: 2 Georgian loans: of which 1 questionable Russian: 3 of which 1 from Latin, 1 from Greek No equivalent: 7 Total 72 Details: $ra\lambda$ ' 'land' < $ra\lambda$ ' Avar č'ink'il4i 'island' < č'ink'il4i *rä?äl* 'shore' < *ra*sal ra4ad 'sea' < ra4ad *halagab* 'rough (of sea)' < *halagab* kan4i 'the light' < kan4i dunnal (duniyal) 'the world' < dunyal (duniyal) (< Arabic dunyā) *hawa* 'air' < *hawa* (< Arabic *hawā*') *maydan* 'valley < *maydan* 'square, plain' (< Turkic, cf. Kumyk *maydan* 'square'); also indigenous *ko*, less common Georgian *yadri* 'embers' < *yadari mašola* 'rainbow' < *ašuni* 'belt' questionable; Tsez has both meanings 'rainbow', 'belt' Russian *picka* 'match < *spička* akean 'ocean' < okean (< Greek ōkeanós) *kantinent* 'mainland' < *kontinent* (< Latin *continentum*)

References

- Nikolayev, S.L. and S.A. Starostin. 1994. A North Caucasian etymological dictionary. Moscow: Asterisk.
- Xalilov, Madžid Šaripovič. 1993. Gruzinsko-dagestanskie jazykovye kontakty (na materiale avarsko-cezskix i nekotoryx lezginskix jazykov). Doctoral dissertation, Russian Academy of Sciences, Daghestan Scientific Center, Makhachkala.
- -. 1995. Bežtinsko-russkij slovar '. Makhachkala: Dagestanskij naučnyj centr Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Institut jazyka, literatury i isskustva im. G. Cadasy.
- -. 1999. Cezsko-russkij slovar '. Moscow: Academia.
- -. 2004. Gruzinsko-dagestanskie jazykovye kontakty. Moscow: Nauka.
- and Isaak Abdulvaxidovič Isakov. 2001. Gunzibsko-russkij slovar ´. Moscow: Nauka.
- and Isaak Abdulvaxidovič Isakov. 2005. *Ginuxsko-russkij slovar* . Makhachkala: Dagestanskij naučnyj centr Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Institut jazyka, literatury i isskustva im. G. Cadasy.

MEA	LWI code I.J	Suggested code	remove m	eaning se	t to an existing meani	ing >	•
view	Semantic Field PHY	SICAL WORLD IN ITS LAR	GER ASPECTS		Missing word for	'm 🔲	Language name Bezhta
	LWT label (M2) the	water			Reason for missing	word form	
	ning Description (M3) drink	•			Comments (on miss	sing word form)	
		inhabitants get their water fr					
Ser	mantic category (M5) NOU	n 🔻	Next LWT Cha	apter # 8			
MEA	NING-WORD RELAT	IONSHIP	Word to meaning	ı relationshi	o (W25)	•	
(Comments on meaning-v	vord relationship (W5A)					
	ALL WORDS Record #	10 Default lang Be	zhta remove v	word	set to an existing wo	ord >	•
view	Project Language (W0)	Bezhta [Daghestanian]	set default	-			Original Script (W3)
LG	Word Form (W2)	4i					Comments On Word Form (W5B)
	>> Meaning (W6)	water					Grammatical Info (W4)
AUM	>>						Calqued (W11)
	Analyzability (W7)	Unanalyzable	•	-			Created On Loan Basis (W12)
	heme By Morpheme Gloss						Comments On Borrowed (W10)
(W8)	Borrowed (W9)	 No evidence for borr 	owing .	-			
popul	late age table Age (W13)		•	Frequenc	y [numeric] (W13A)		occurrences per million words
	Start year of period	En	d year of period	Frequen	cy [relative] (W13B)	-	•
	Record status	INCOMPLETE	•	-	· · · · ·	-	Register (W23)
ONLY	Y FOR LOANWORDS	, CALQUES, AND CRE	ATED ON LOAN BAS	IS 🗌 No s	ource word (neither W	V14 nor W14A) is iden	tifiable
		Immediate source word		Earliest k	nown source word		
	Word form (W14)						Word form (W14A)
	Donor Language (W15)		•			•	Donor Language (W15A)
	Meaning (W16)						Meaning (W16A)
	Effect (W18)		•				Comments on Intermediate Source Words (W17)
Envi	ronmental Salience (W20)		•				Integration (W19)
	Reference (W21)					•	Contact situation (W27)
Other Comments (W22)							
List of words related to meaning: the water List of meanings related to word:							
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)							
41	fi the water view						

MEANING LWT co	de 1.32 Suggested code remove meaning set to an existing meaning >	•				
view Semantic F	old PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS Missing word form	Language nameBezhta				
LWT label (I	12) the sea Reason for missing word form					
Meaning Description ((3) Comments (on missing word form)					
Typical Context (I	4) The ship is sailing in the sea.					
Semantic category (I	15) Noun Vext LWT Chapter # 8					
MEANING-WORD	RELATIONSHIP Word to meaning relationship (W25)	-				
Comments on m	aning-word relationship (W5A)					
FOR ALL WORDS	ecord # 11 Default lang Bezhta remove word set to an existing word >	•				
view Project Langua	ge (W0) Bezhta [Daghestanian] set default ▼	Original Script (W3)				
LG Word For	n (W2) ra4ad	Comments On Word Form (W5B)				
∂ ≫ Mean	ng (W6) sea	Grammatical Info (W4)				
AUM Ø >>		 Calqued (W11) 				
Analyzab	ity (W7) Unanalyzable 🛛 🗸 🗸	Created On Loan Basis (W12)				
Morpheme By Morphe	ne Gloss	Comments On Borrowed (W10)				
(W8) Borrowe	d (W9) 4. Clearly borrowed					
populate age table Ag	e (W13) Frequency [numeric] (W13A)	occurrences per million words				
Start year o	period End year of period Frequency [relative] (W13B)	-				
Reco	d status INCOMPLETE	Register (W23)				
ONLY FOR LOANV	ORDS, CALQUES, AND CREATED ON LOAN BASIS 🔲 No source word (neither W14 nor W14A) is ide	ntifiable				
	Immediate source word Earliest known source word					
	n (W14) ra+ad	Word form (W14A)				
Donor Languag		 Donor Language (W15A) 				
	g (W16) sea	Meaning (W16A)				
	t (W18) Insertion	Comments on Intermediate Source Words (W17)				
Environmental Salience	(W20) Present only since contact	 Integration (W19) 				
Reference	a (W21)	 Contact situation (W27) 				
Other Commen	s (W22)					
List of words rela	ed to meaning: the sea List of meanings related to word: railad					
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)						
ratad view						

MEANING LWT code 1.	341 Suggested code	remove meaning	g set to an existing meaning >	▼	
view Semantic Field PH	YSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER A	SPECTS	Missing word form	Language name Bezhta	
LWT label (M2) th	e embers		Reason for missing word		
Meaning Description (M3) pie	eces of wood or coal in a fire that are	no longer burning but are	still red Comments (on missing w	ord form)	
Typical Context (M4)					
Semantic category (M5) No	oun 🔻	Next LWT Chapter	# 8		
MEANING-WORD RELA	TIONSHIP	Word to meaning relat	tionship (W25)	•	
Comments on meaning	-word relationship (W5A)				
FOR ALL WORDS	# 72 Default lang Bezhta	remove word	set to an existing word >	▼	
Project Language (W) Bezhta [Daghestanian]	set default 💌		Original Script (W3)	
LG Word Form (W	adri 🥼			Comments On Word Form (W5B)	
ə 🧼 Meaning (W	embers			Grammatical Info (W4)	
AUM a >>				Calqued (W11)	
Analyzability (W	7) Unanalyzable	-		Created On Loan Basis (W12)	
Morpheme By Morpheme Glo				Comments On Borrowed (W10)	
(W8) Borrowed (W9	4. Clearly borrowed	•			
populate age table Age (W1	5)	🔻 Fr	requency [numeric] (W13A)	occurrences per million words	
Start year of perio	d End year	of period F	Frequency [relative] (W13B)	•	
Record state		▼		Register (W23)	
ONLY FOR LOANWORI	S, CALQUES, AND CREATEI	O ON LOAN BASIS [No source word (neither W14 n	or W14A) is identifiable	
	Immediate source word	Ear	liest known source word		
Word form (W1				Word form (W14A)	
Donor Language (W1		•		Donor Language (W15A)	
Meaning (W1				Meaning (W16A) Comments on Intermediate	
	No information	•		Source Words (W17)	
) Present in pre-contact enviro	nment -		 Integration (W19) Operation (W197) 	
Reference (W2	·			Contact situation (W27)	
Other Comments (W22)					
List of words related to meaning: the embers List of meanings related to word: yadri					
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)					
the embers view					

MEANING LWT code 1.1	Suggested code remove mea	aning set to an existing meaning >	•		
	SICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS	Missing word form	Language name Bezhta		
LWT label (M2) the	world	Reason for missing word form			
Meaning Description (M3)		Comments (on missing word form)			
	Amazon is the longest river in the world.				
Semantic category (M5) Nou		pter# 8			
MEANING-WORD RELAT	TONSHIP Word to meaning	relationship (W25)			
Comments on meaning-v	word relationship (W5A) variant duniyal]		
FOR ALL WORDS	1 Default lang Bezhta remove w	ord set to an existing word >	•		
	Bezhta [Daghestanian] set default		Original Script (W3)		
LG Word Form (W2)		variant duniyal	Comments On Word Form (W5B)		
a >> Meaning (W6)			Grammatical Info (W4)		
AUM Ə >>			Calqued (W11)		
Analyzability (W7)	Unanalyzable 🗸 🗸	·	Created On Loan Basis (W12)		
Morpheme By Morpheme Gloss			Comments On Borrowed (W10)		
(W8) Borrowed (W9)	4. Clearly borrowed 🗸 🗸				
populate age table Age (W13)		Frequency [numeric] (W13A)	occurrences per million words		
Start year of period	End year of period	Frequency [relative] (W13B)			
Record status		·	Register (W23)		
ONLY FOR LOANWORDS	, CALQUES, AND CREATED ON LOAN BASI	S No source word (neither W14 nor W14A) is iden	tifiable		
	Immediate source word	Earliest known source word	1		
	dunyal, duniyal	dunyā Arabic	Word form (W14A)		
Donor Language (W15)	· · ·	world	Donor Language (W15A)		
Meaning (W16)		wond	Meaning (W16A) Comments on Intermediate		
Effect (W18)		1 Linkly integrated	Comments on Intermediate Source Words (W17)		
	· ·		Integration (W19)		
Reference (W21)		▼	Contact situation (W27)		
Other Comments (W22)		r			
List of words related to meaning: The world List of meanings related to word: dunnal					
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)					
tunnal the world time to the world t					

MEANING LWT code 1.8	37 Suggested code remove me	aning set to an existing meaning >	•			
view Semantic Field PH	YSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS	Missing word form	Language name Bezhta			
LWT label (M2) th	e match	Reason for missing word form				
	small wooden stick used to light a fire'	Comments (on missing word form)				
Typical Context (M4)						
Semantic category (M5) No		pter# 8				
MEANING-WORD RELA	TIONSHIP Word to meaning	relationship (W25)				
Comments on meaning	-word relationship (W5A)					
FOR ALL WORDS	# 49 Default lang Bezhta remove w	ord set to an existing word >	•			
view Project Language (W0) Bezhta [Daghestanian] set default		Original Script (W3)			
LG Word Form (W2			Comments On Word Form (W5B)			
∂ ≫ Meaning (We			Grammatical Info (W4)			
AUM a >>			Calqued (W11)			
Analyzability (Wi	7) Unanalyzable 🗸 🗸		Created On Loan Basis (W12)			
Morpheme By Morpheme Glo			Comments On Borrowed (W10)			
(W8) Borrowed (W9	4. Clearly borrowed					
populate age table Age (W13	3) 🔫	Frequency [numeric] (W13A)	occurrences per million words			
Start year of perio	d End year of period	Frequency [relative] (W13B)				
Record statu		·	Register (W23)			
ONLY FOR LOANWORD	S, CALQUES, AND CREATED ON LOAN BASI	S 🔲 No source word (neither W14 nor W14A) is ider	ntifiable			
	Immediate source word	Earliest known source word				
Word form (W14			Word form (W14A)			
Donor Language (W18		`	Donor Language (W15A)			
Meaning (W16			Meaning (W16A)			
Effect (W18	·		Comments on Intermediate Source Words (W17)			
Environmental Salience (W20			Integration (W19)			
Reference (W2)		•	Contact situation (W27)			
Other Comments (W22	2)					
List of words related to meaning: the match List of meanings related to word: picka						
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)						
picka view + the match view +						

MEANING LWT code 1.59 Suggested code	remove meaning	g set to an existing meaning >	•			
view Semantic Field PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LAF	GER ASPECTS	Missing word form	Language nameBezhta			
LWT label (M2) the rainbow		Reason for missing word for	m			
Meaning Description (M3)		Comments (on missing word	form)			
Typical Context (M4) After the storm, a rainbow appe						
Semantic category (M5) Noun -	Next LWT Chapter	# 8				
MEANING-WORD RELATIONSHIP	Word to meaning relat	tionship (W25)	•			
Comments on meaning-word relationship (W5A)						
FOR ALL WORDS Record # 31 Default lang B	ezhta remove word	set to an existing word >	~			
view Project Language (W0) Bezhta [Daghestanian] set default 🔻		Original Script (W3)			
LG Word Form (W2) mašola			Comments On Word Form (W5B)			
a >> Meaning (W6) rainbow			Grammatical Info (W4)			
AUM P			Calqued (W11)			
Analyzability (W7) Unanalyzable	•		Created On Loan Basis (W12)			
Morpheme By Morpheme Gloss			Comments On Borrowed (W10)			
(W8) Borrowed (W9) 2. Perhaps borrowed	•					
populate age table Age (W13)	▼ F	requency [numeric] (W13A)	occurrences per million words			
Start year of period Er	nd year of period	Frequency [relative] (W13B)	•			
Record status INCOMPLETE	▼		✓ Register (W23)			
ONLY FOR LOANWORDS, CALQUES, AND CR	EATED ON LOAN BASIS	No source word (neither W14 nor V	V14A) is identifiable			
Immediate source wor	d Ear	rliest known source word				
Word form (W14) ašuni			Word form (W14A)			
Donor Language (W15) Georgian	▼		Donor Language (W15A)			
Meaning (W16) belt Effect (W18) No information			Meaning (W16A) Comments on Intermediate Source Words (W17)			
Environmental Salience (W20) Present in pre-contact	•		Source Words (W17) Integration (W19)			
Reference (W21)			Contact situation (W27)			
Other Comments (W22) The Tsez cognate has	the meanings 'belt' and 'rai	inbow'.				
List of words related to meaning: the rainbow List of meanings related to word: mašola Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2)						
Word Form (W2) Word to meaning relationship (W25) LWT label (M2) mašola view the rainbow view						