PLACING İSMAYILLI LEZGI AMONG THE LEZGI DIALECTS

by

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This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	1st person singular	OPT	optative
1PL	1st person plural	PCPL	participle
3SG	3rd person singular	PODIR	postdirective
3PL	3rd person plural	POEL	postelative
ABS	absolutive	POES	postessive
ADEL	adelative	PPH	periphrastic
ADES	adessive	PRF	perfect
ADIR	addirective	PROH	prohibitive
AL	Axti Lezgi	PST	past
AOR	aorist	PTCL	particle
AOP	aorist participle	S	subject
CND	conditional	SBDIR	subdirective
CND.CF	counter-factual conditional	SBEL	subelative
CNDF	factual conditional	SBES	subessive
CONT	continuative	SL	Standard Lezgi
COP	copula	SPDIR	superdirective
CVB	converb	SPEL	superelative
DAT	dative	SPES	superessive
ERG	ergative	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
FUT	future	V	verb
GEN	genitive		
HORT	hortative		
IL	İsmayıllı Lezgi		
IMP	imperfective		
IMPV	imperative		
INF	infinitive		
INT	interrogative		
MSD	masdar		
NEG	negative		
O	object		

ABSTRACT

There is a cluster of three Lezgi villages in the İsmayıllı district of Azerbaijan that is separated by the Caucasus Mountains from the three main Lezgi dialects—Standard (SL), Axti (AL), and Quba (QL) Lezgi. This study places İsmayıllı Lezgi (IL) among the other dialects by comparing many of the varieties' attributes.

Five approaches are taken in this comparison: 1) comparing the similarities and differences of IL's phonological inventory to that of SL and AL; 2) contrasting the noun case system of IL versus that of SL; 3) comparing their verbal morphology; 4) looking for lexical similarities between IL and SL/AL/QL wordlists; and 5) describing the results of survey work in intelligibility testing of IL and SL/QL and informal interviewing about IL language attitudes and use.

Finally, these comparisons are evaluated in terms of extensibility of SL literature for IL communities.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Lezgis[1] are an ethnic group of approximately 784,000[2] (Lewis 2009) living in the northern districts of Azerbaijan and southern parts of Dagestan. Most Lezgis live on the eastern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, but on the other side of the range, separated by mountain peaks and history, are three small villages inhabited by people who also call themselves Lezgis. In the topmost circles in Figure 1, are the three main dialect regions of Lezgi—Axti[3] and Küre[4] of Dagestan, Russia and Quba[5] of Azerbaijan. Circled at the bottom of the map, you can see an isolated area of Lezgi speakers.[6] Those are the villages of Sumağalı, İstisu, and Qalacıq in the İsmayıllı district of Azerbaijan—the İsmayıllı Lezgis.[7] In this study, I examine the İsmayıllı Lezgi variety in relation to the other Lezgi dialects.

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[1] The ISO 639-3 code for Lezgi is [lez].

[2] Numbers vary. According to Smeets (1994), cited in (Clifton et al. 2005), the total population of Lezgis was closer to 500,000. The CIA estimates 183,000 in Azerbaijan, while Lewis (2009) gives 364,000 Lezgis living.

[3] This dialect (which is referred to as 'Samur' (6b) in the legend) is centered in Akhty, Dagestan.

[4] This dialect is the 'standard' dialect (SL), marked as (6a) in the legend, with its regional center in Kashumkent, Dagestan.

[5] Qusar is the regional center for the Quba dialect, (6c) in the legend.

[6] The ridge of the Caucasus Mountains range is roughly equivalent to the white area separating that circle from the other shaded Lezgi regions in Figure 1.

[7] Though the İsmayıllı Lezgi villages are marked as being part of the Quba dialect (6c) in Figure 1, the basis of that classification is unknown.
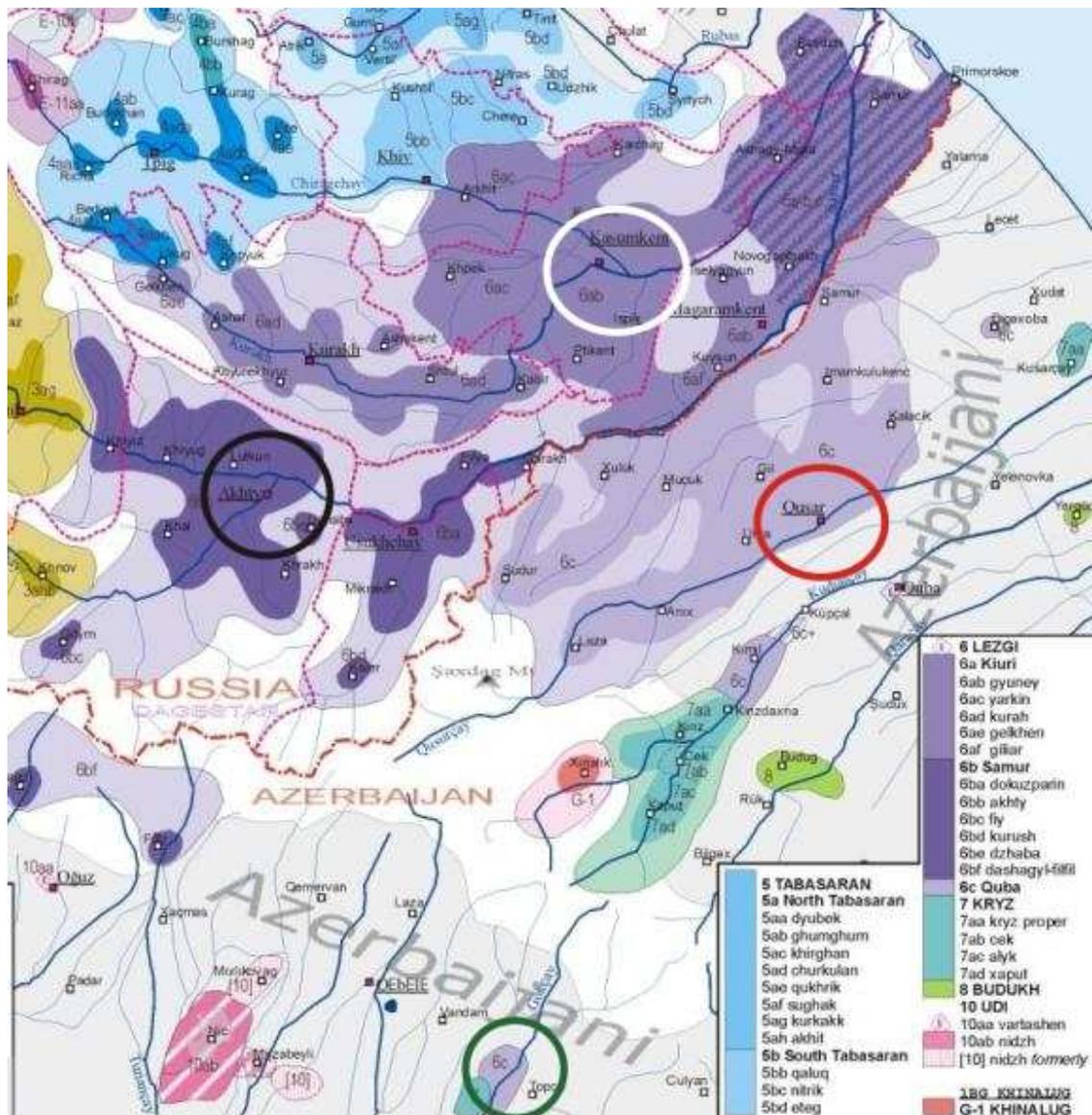
Figure 1: Lezgi Map[8]

Some from the İsmayıllı Lezgi (IL) villages have recently begun to explore literacy in their

native tongue, and they are realizing that several options are available. They could use the

literary dialect of Lezgi used in Qusar and Dagestan, or they could create their own materials

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[8] This map is from Atlas of the Caucasian Languages (2002). The circles were not in the original map.

unique to IL with their own orthographic preferences. In Chapter 7, I evaluate these literacy

options and show how they are affected by İsmayıllı Lezgi's relationship with the other Lezgi

varieties.

I use a number of methods to compare İsmayıllı Lezgi (IL) with other Standard Lezgi (SL)

and other Lezgi varieties. Some specific phonological and morphological categories are

compared: Chapter 2 assesses the similarities and differences between IL and SL phonology.

The next two chapters look at morphology: Chapter 3 investigates noun cases, and Chapter 4

examines the verbal tense/aspect/mood system. These three chapters reveal many similarities and

systematic differences, but they also show a few unpredictable changes. Chapter 5 evaluates

lexical similarities between IL and other Lezgi dialects, and the findings in this chapter are that a

significant number of lexical differences exist among them. Then, in Chapter 6, intelligibility

testing and informal interviews give insights into IL intelligibility and language attitudes.

Intelligibility testing shows near-perfect, basic comprehension between IL and Quba Lezgi (QL)[9]

The informal interviews are more revealing; many İsmayıllı Lezgis expressed a desire both to

keep their language and culture alive, and to have access to materials of the larger Lezgi language

group. The findings from all these comparisons are integrated in Chapter 7. In all, it seems that,

though IL differs from the standard dialect in many ways, those differences are not significant

enough to quell the desire to promote their linguistic connection, helping maintain ethnic unity.

In light of what is known about their relationship with the main Lezgi dialects, Chapter 7 also

gives implications and recommendations for future literacy work with İsmayıllı Lezgis

The rest of Chapter 1 provides helpful background information by addressing the current

sociolinguistic situation of the Lezgis after giving an overview of the history of the Lezgi people

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[9] This is especially true since both groups share Azerbaijani as a second language. Therefore, if one dialect used more Azerbaijani than the other, it would not impede comprehension. More on this topic in Chapter 6.

and their language. Section 1.1 covers the known history of the Lezgi people, and Lezgi dialect

distinctions are outlined in section 1.2. Language use among the Lezgi people in Azerbaijan is

discussed in section 1.3. The next section, 1.4, presents what is known about Lezgi language

attitudes, which is significant when compared to IL language attitudes in 6.2. A brief overview of

Lezgi grammar is presented in section 1.5.

1.1   Background of Lezgi People

A brief overview of Lezgi history is provided in order to better understand their current

sociolinguistic situation. Throughout history, the Lezgi people have had many opportunities to

assimilate to various governing groups, but they have not. They have been a minority ethnic

group in various situations and have maintained their ethnic identity. A look into Lezgi history

and culture explains how they have continued throughout the centuries as a unique ethnic group.

This is important to language development and literacy work because, while other languages may

be endangered or dying out, Lezgis have a history of language and ethnic vitality.

In a region that has been historically marked by ethnic unrest, it is difficult to get a clear

picture of the Lezgian past. Ancient historians and geographers, like Ptolemy and Strabo, give us

clues, but their renderings should be critically reviewed as territorial approximations and

potentially biased historical accounts.[10] History written during the Soviet era is also dubious;

speaking of work from this time, Krag and Funch (1994) state:

> "maps may reflect wishful thinking,…often reproduc[ing] national policies, rather than
> the realities, …Thus, no map adequately reflects the ethnic and national complexity of
> this highly diverse region in Europe."

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[10] Krag and Funch (1994) remind us that history, especially at that time, was written from the view

point of the conqueror. In Strabo's account from around 0 C.E., he admits that the Armenian territory he

depicts was probably the result of conquest; thus, the land that he marks as Armenian was not wholly

comprised of Armenian-speaking people (Strabo 1928).

It is recognized that Soviet and ancient maps—which may or may not be drawn to scale or show the diversity of people groups living in an area—can fuel arguments over land claims. That is not the intent of this thesis; all maps and documented historical claims are presented as being imperfect approximations of perceived happenings.

Historians trace the modern Lezgi people (and many other Caucasian nations) to the ancient Albanian empire,[11] which has no connection to the modern Albanian nation. The ancient Albanian territorial boundaries shifted as they sometimes fell under Roman, Armenian, and Persian rule, but the map in Figure 2 is a sufficient approximation of what the Albanian empire looked like in the fourth through the sixth century A.D. It was in this Albanian nation of the fourth and fifth centuries that "the major cultural and religious developments of this period had their origin," (Thomson 2000, 664)[12] including an orthography and written tradition that would be lost for centuries (Alexidze and Blair 2003).[13] One of the influential Albanian cities of this era was Qabala, (marked with an arrow[14] on the map in Figure 2) which is 15 miles northwest of the modern-day İsmayıllı Lezgi villages.

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[11] For more information about the ancient Albanian language and proto-Lezgian, see the following sources: Alexidze and Blair (2003), Schulze (2001), and Gadjiev (2007).

[12] See Alexidze and Blair (2003) for more on the cultural and religious impact of the Albanian script on the region.

[13] A sample of writing was discovered in the 1930s in a monastery at Mt. Sinia, and it was identified in the 1990s as being in the Albanian script and translated as a portion of Biblical scripture (Schulze 2001). It is considered most closely-related to Udi, another Lezgic language (North Caucasian→East Caucasian→Lezgic→Udi (Lewis 2009)).

[14] The arrow is an addition, not part of the original map.
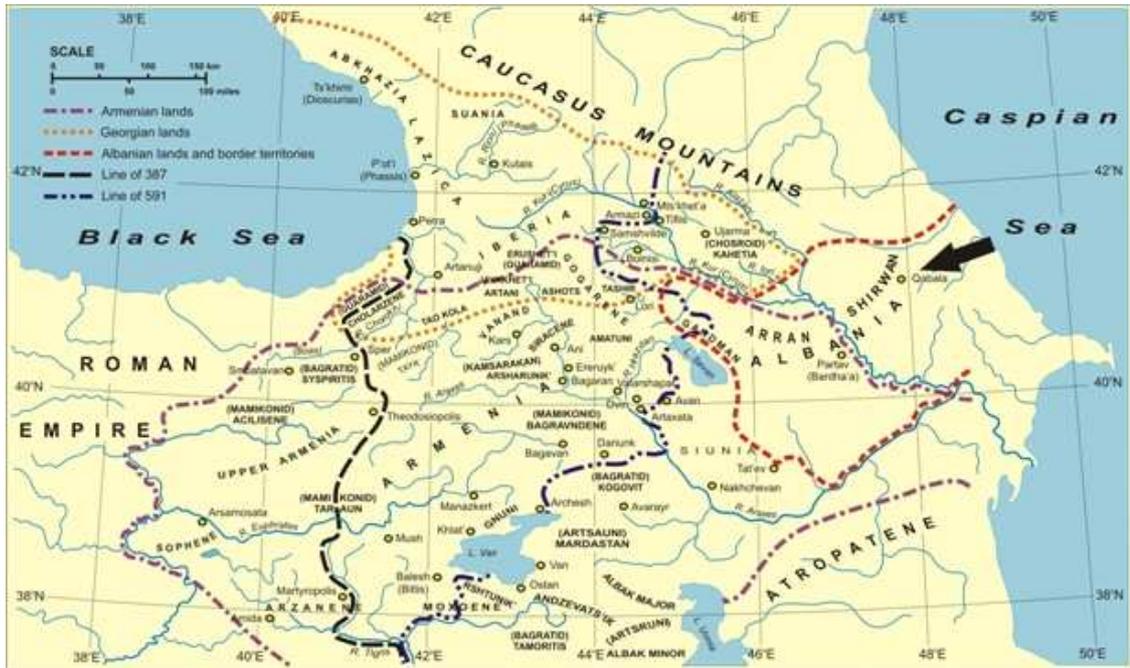
Figure 2: Map of Albanian Empire[15]

At this time, Albania's national religion was Christianity,[16] but the empire was closely tied to

Persian influence and culture (Thomson 2000). While claims have been made that Albania,

Armenia, and Georgia were religiously linked, there were differences in beliefs that set the

Albanians apart. According to Alexidze and Blair (2003), the Albanians differed from their

Christian Armenian neighbors in that "Armenians are Monophysites, meaning that they believe

that Christ had a single nature - only God. Albanians were Diophysites, insisting on the dual

nature of Christ-both God and man." From the fourth through sixth centuries, as Albania fell

more and more under Sassanid Persian control, the people were pushed to the easternmost parts

of their land, and an attempt was made to reintroduce the Zoroastrian religion in the area (Rubin

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[15] (Thomson 2000)

[16] Before adopting Christianity, according to Strabo (1928, XI), the Albanians worshipped three
deities: sun, moon, and sky.

2000, Thomson 2000, 673). Then, during the seventh through the ninth century, Islam spread

from the west, bringing cultural, religious, political, and linguistic changes, such as borrowed

words and phonemes. The region would remain under the Islamic Shirvanshah dynasty from the

ninth century to the sixteenth century, as it was occupied and settled by Persians from the south

and Turkic peoples from the east (Van der Leeuw 2000). Descendents of the Albanians would

find themselves in a religious situation in the Muslim world similar to that which they faced as

Christians: in the Islamic era most Lezgis are Sunnis in a Shia land (Kotecha 2006, 41). Even if

their culture has merged with the ethnic groups around them, Lezgis have maintained a religious

identity slightly different from that of their neighbors.

 Oral tradition[17] in Sumağalı holds that, at the threat of Arab invasions, some of their people

moved north, across the Caucasus, to what is now Axti, Dagestan. Perhaps it is true that Lezgis

relocated farther north and east or higher up into the mountains to make way for various

governing ethnic groups. Perhaps it is also true that a number of Lezgis assimilated into the

Persian-Arab-Turkic culture that formed from centuries of occupation and settlement.[18]

Regardless, the Lezgi descendents of the Albanian empire who maintained their cultural and

language identities found themselves a minority in a Turkic-speaking region. And, at some point

between the fourth and twentieth century, the Lezgis in three small villages, Sumağalı, İstisu, and

Qalacıq, in the İsmayıllı district, became estranged from those across the mountains, in Dagestan

and in the northern provinces of Azerbaijan.[19]

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[17] From an interview with Lezgis in Sumağalı.

[18] For a genetic study on the inter-relatedness of people in the Caucasus region, see Nazidze et al.
(2004).

[19] It is unknown how the İsmayıllı Lezgis actually came to occupy their current territory. Though the
oral tradition of Sumağalı previously mentioned implies that they have occupied the territory for centuries,
it could also be that in recent history the İsmayıllı Lezgis moved into the area from the north.

Though we don't know the exact dates and patterns of Lezgi migration and assimilation, we do know that in the early eighteenth century, as the Golden Horde's empire began to crumble, Russians from the north began to set their sights on the Caucasus. After a brief resistance from 1830-60s under the leadership of Imam Shamil, the Caucasian War brought Lezgis and other former Albanian groups under Russian rule (Krag and Funch 1994). At the same time, the Russians divided Lezgi territories: the northern portion would belong to Dagestan (see Figure 3, in which Lezgis are #24), while the southern portions would reside in Russian-controlled Azerbaijan (see Figure 4, which shows Lezgis in post-soviet Azerbaijan). Since the Caucasian and Russo-Persian wars, the Lezgis have remained minority people under Imperial Russian, Soviet, and Azerbaijani rule and have interacted with the respective languages and cultures.
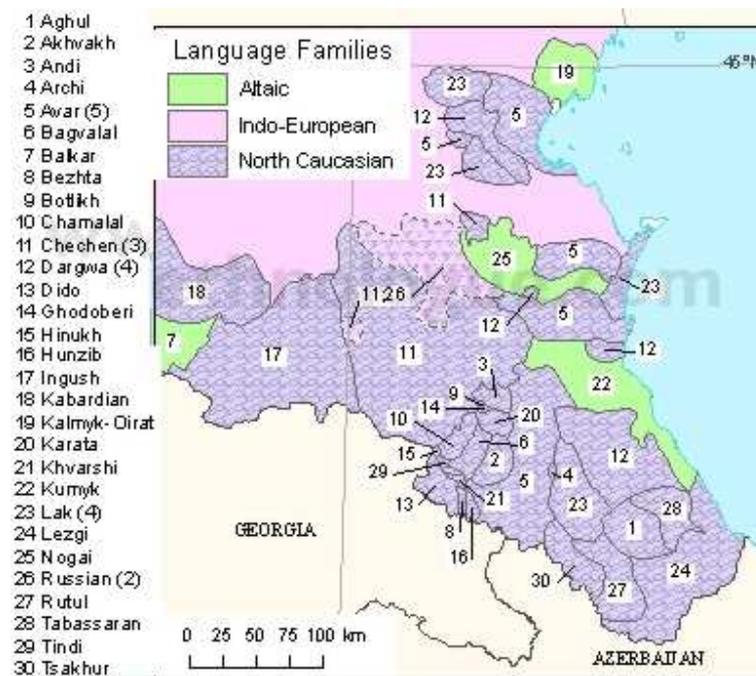
Figure 3: Languages of Dagestan[20]

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[20] This map is cropped from the European Russian Federation language map (Lewis 2009).
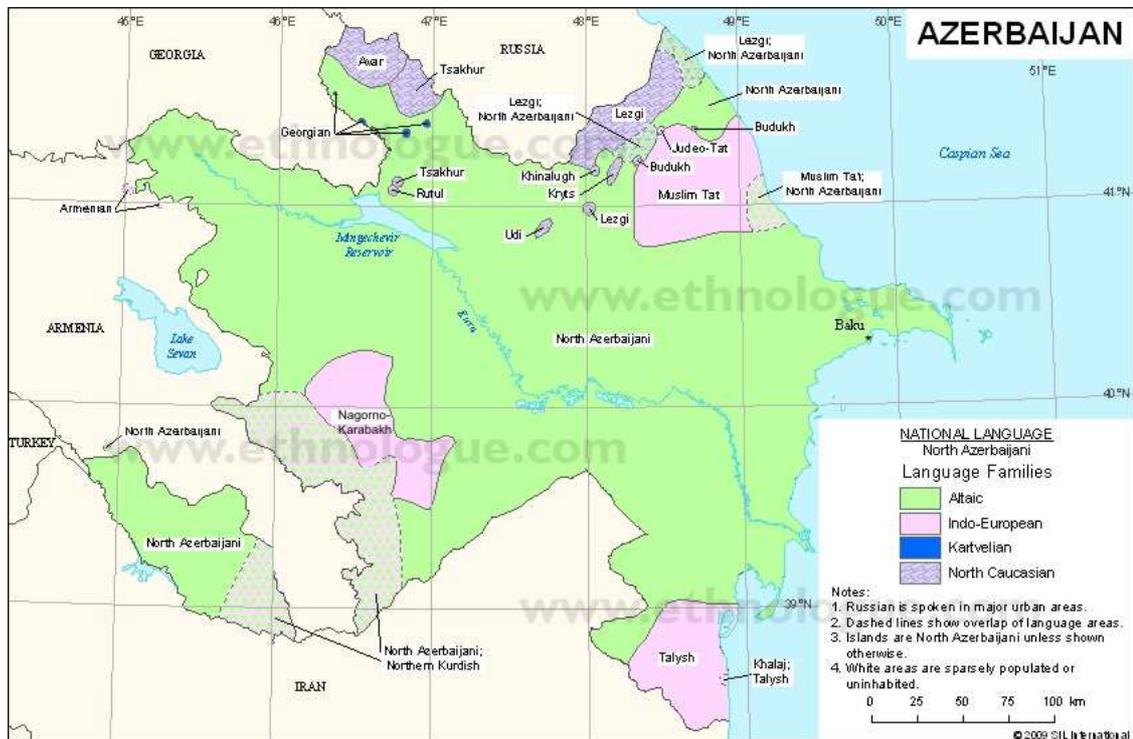
Figure 4: Languages of Azerbaijan[21]

Lewis (2009) reports that approximately 400,000 Lezgis live in Dagestan, while almost as many live across the southern border in neighboring Azerbaijan. Most Lezgis in Azerbaijan live in the northern districts of Qusar, Quba, and Xaçmaz (Clifton et al. 2005, 3). In both countries, Lezgis are free to teach their language in schools and to maintain an ethnic identity. Lezgi organizations exist that work to keep their culture alive and to ease border-crossing restrictions between Azerbaijan and Dagestan (MAR. 2000).[22] "Samur," a Lezgi culture/political group, is particularly interested in keeping their language alive and improving education and media

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[21] The map is from (Lewis 2009). İsmayıllı Lezgis, separated from larger Lezgi group to the north by the Caucasus Mountains, are represented by the small circle east of Udis and west of Tat.

[22] At one time, however, there was suspicion of Lezgi secessionist movements, especially of an organization named Sadval after a bombing incident in 1994 (MAR. 2000).

availability (Kotecha 2006, 42).[23] While pursuing those ends, Lezgis in Azerbaijan make a special effort to demonstrate loyalty to the country of Azerbaijan and to integrate within Azeri society (MAR 2000).[24]

1.2   Lezgi Dialects

As I present the İsmayıllı Lezgis of Azerbaijan in relation to the three main Lezgi dialects, it is important to be aware of what dialect is spoken in which region and how they are used. The İsmayıllı dialect itself is not mentioned in any of the literature. Though it is marked as being part of the Quba dialect group in Figure 1, the source of this claim is unknown. Another opinion, presented in informal interviews, was that İsmayıllı Lezgis spoke a variation of the Axti/Samur dialect. This study hopes to help place İsmayıllı Lezgi in relation to the Standard Lezgi dialect and, when possible, the other dialects.

Figure 1, shows the geographical centers of the three major Lezgi dialects. The Küre dialect group is centered in Kashumkent, Dagestan, and is the dialect on which the literary form is based. The literary dialect is referred to as 'Standard Lezgi' (SL) in the following chapters. Education in the Lezgi language is currently being done in the Standard Lezgi (SL) dialect. Quba Lezgi (QL) is the dialect spoken in the northern regions of Azerbaijan, with Qusar as the geographical hub.[25] The *Samur* newspaper in Azerbaijan makes some adaptations of the literary form for its audience of Quba dialect speakers (Sadegat Karimova, personal interview 2009).[26] The Axti dialect[27]

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[23] For more on the state of Lezgi education in Azerbaijan, see (Gerber 2007).

[24] This was also noted in personal interviews with many Azerbaijani Lezgis.

[25] The dialect has been named 'Quba'; however, the center of the Lezgi population in Azerbaijan is not Quba, but Qusar. Not having consulted the Lezgi leaders of the Qusar and Quba districts on which label they think is more appropriate, I will continue to use the traditional label 'Quba' which is used in Haspelmath (1993) and Mejlanova (1964).

[26] Specific adaptation techniques are not known. Further discussion with S. Karimova would be useful for consultation on SL/QL adaptations.

(AL), named for the city of Axti, is spoken in the southwest portion of Dagestan, on the western branches of the Samur River. It is unknown whether or not there are publications in the Axti dialect, but it is known that the Axti dialect has many distinctive features that set it apart from SL and QL (Mejlanova 1964). Many of these features are addressed in Chapter 2. And, in the following chapters specific comparisons are made between IL and the other dialects' phonology, morphology, and vocabulary.

1.3   Lezgi Language Use in Azerbaijan

Though many Azerbaijani Lezgis are also fluent in Azerbaijani, they pass on their language and culture and have managed to maintain a high level of language vitality (Gerber 2007, 53; Clifton et al. 2005). Gerber notes that Lezgis felt it was the parents' responsibility, as well as the state's, to give children instruction in their native tongue (Gerber 2007, 36). Clifton et al. (2005), reports that Lezgi "is used widely in the home in throughout much of the northern districts, and among the majority of Lezgis in Baku" (Clifton et al. 2005, 16). Lezgi was used in the home in Qalacıq, the İsmayıllı village they surveyed, at the same high level that it was spoken in Qusar, which is significant because İsmayıllı villages are surrounded by Azerbaijani speakers to a higher degree than Lezgis in Qusar. In interacting with their neighbors and for official purposes Azerbaijani was the language of wider communication for Lezgis everywhere except Baku and Nabran (a village in Xaçmaz rayon), where it was Russian (Clifton et al. 2005, 16).

All schools in Azerbaijan in which Azerbaijani is not the language of instruction teach it as a subject,[28] but in some villages the Lezgi language is also part of the curriculum.[29] In Quba

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[27] The Axti/Akhty/Axtseh dialect is referred to as 'Samur' in Mejlanova and some other sources.

[28] Azerbaijani may or may not be the language of instruction. In some schools it is Russian (Gerber 2007).

[29] The Cyrillic script is used for Lezgi in Russia, but there is question about the whether an adaptation of the national language's Latin script should be used in Azerbaijan. More on this in Chapter 6.

district and Nabran, Lezgi curriculum was in place, and it was well established in Qusar (Clifton et al. 2005, 10). The Lezgi language materials use the Cyrillic alphabet, and some of the materials have been acquired from Dagestan.[30] In some villages, Lezgi replaced Russian as a language elective. In Xudat and Qalacıq, Lezgi was not taught as part of the curriculum (Clifton et al. 2005, 10).[31]

1.4   Language attitudes

Examining Lezgi language use is significant to this study because, by looking at how Lezgi is used in other areas, we can guage whether or not the IL situation is the same and what approaches to literacy and language development might be appropriate in light of the comparison. This section addresses these issues further.

According to (Clifton et al. 2005), Lezgis generally did not view their language as having any more or less prestige than Azerbaijani or Russian. Some commented that "knowledge of any language could increase a person's prestige, because it is good to know many languages, but lack of proficiency in any particular language is no cause for shame" (Clifton et al. 2005, 13). Lezgis found their language most important in the areas of home life and general communication and somewhat important for earning income, gaining prestige, and discussing religion. It was not viewed as an important medium for news; Azerbaijani and Russian were ranked higher in importance in that category (Clifton et al. 2005, 12). With the increase in Lezgi language internet sites and social media groups in the past few years, it would be interesting to know if the attitudes have changed in regard to the importance of Lezgi in the realm of media.[32]

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[30] From an interview with an İstisu teacher.

[31] Our research also found that Lezgi was being taught in the İsmayıllı village of İstisu.

[32] Internet access is not available in most rural Lezgi villages in Azerbaijan, but it is becoming increasingly available in the larger cities.

Many Azerbaijani Lezgis I communicated with (either in person or via social networking sites) who were from Quba and Qusar did not know that Lezgis lived in İsmayıllı. And, although Lezgis in İsmayıllı knew of the existence of those in Qusar, Quba, and Dagestan, only few interacted much with Lezgis from other regions. For some Lezgis, there was uncertainty whether or not or to what degree İsmayıllı Lezgis and other Lezgi varieties could understand one another. Through intelligibility testing, I show that, at basic levels, the Quba Lezgi people can comprehend the İsmayıllı Lezgi variety, and that the reverse is potentially true (see section 6.1). However, discovering the actual degree of intelligibility is not the goal of this thesis.

1.5 Lezgi Language

Lezgi is a language with a large consonant inventory, expansive noun case system, and complicated verb affixing strategies. A student of Lezgi might empathize with the 19th Century explorer, George Kennan:

> "A [Lezgi] mountaineer once gave me to pronounce a sentence in his native language, which corresponded to our children's "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers;" only instead of the labials it had clicks, of which he told me there were four different kinds…It meant, "to tie a man hand and foot, and throw him over a precipice." I told him frankly that he might tie me hand and foot and throw me over a precipice, but he couldn't teach me any such language as that." (Kennan 1874, 182)

Thankfully, 20th century linguists were more adept at fieldwork and analysis than Kennan, and today there is a thorough Lezgi grammar and articles comparing Lezgi dialects. Haspelmath's (1993), *A Grammar of Lezgian* is regarded as the authoritative source for Standard Lezgi and is referenced in each chapter, while it and Mejlanova (1964) are consulted for dialect differences among Axti/Samur, Küre, and Quba Lezgi—the three main dialects of Lezgi.[33] All

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[33] Other articles on Lezgi dialects might exist in the Russian language. Due to language constraints, those were not accessible.

examples from SL will be attributed to Haspelmath (1993), while IL examples will not mark attribution.

In chapters 2-4, I cover the specific topics of phonology, noun cases, and verb morphology. Here, I provide an overview of the Lezgi orthography and the syntactic structures that occur in examples in the following chapters. Generally, this section is reserved for larger clause issues that are not covered in other sections of this thesis. However, valence, which is also mentioned in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, is discussed in this section in order to understand examples that occur prior to the forthcoming analysis.

1.5.1 Latin Lezgi Script

Lezgi literature is currently written using a Cyrillic orthography that does not show a contrast in aspiration. Because aspiration is phonemic in Lezgi, the Cyrillic orthography will not suit this study. Neither will Haspelmath's transcription work, since his Latin letters are based on the Cyrillic and also do not mark aspiration or include the phonemes present in IL but not in SL. For these reasons, the İsmayıllı Lezgi Latin orthography—created by Aliyeva and Clifton (2007) and based on the Latin Azerbaijani orthography—is used consistently throughout this paper.[34] Table 1 gives the IL Latin transcription with corresponding IPA equivalents.

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[34] For consistency, in examples of Literary and Quba Lezgi taken from other sources I will also use the IL Latin alphabet. Note that the presence or absence of aspiration in SL/QL is impossible to determine, since aspiration is not distinguishable in the source orthography. Therefore, all stops and affricates will be written as unaspirated.

The order of alphabetical letters was decided by Aliyeva and Clifton.

Labialization is marked with digraphs, C*v* in both orthographic systems.

Table 1: IL Latin Alphabet

Latin	IPA		Latin	IPA
a	ɑ		kˈ	kˈ
b	b		q	q
bˈ	p		qˈ	qˈ
c	ʤ		l	l
cˈ	tʃ		m	m
ç	tʃʰ		n	n
çˈ	tʃˈ		o	o
d	d		ö	ɵ
dˈ	t		p	p
e	e		pˈ	pˈ
ə	æ		r	r
f	f		sˈ	tsˈ
g	g		š	tsʰ
gˈ	k		s	s
ğ	ɣ		ş	ʃ
ğˈ	ʕ		t	tʰ
h	h		tˈ	tˈ
hˈ	χ		u	u
x	x		ü	y
xˈ	qʰ		v	v
i	i		y	j
ı	ɯ		z	z
j	ʒ		zˈ	ts
k	kʰ		ĭ	ʔ

1.5.2 Word Order

Word order in Lezgi is fairly free, though the most common order is SOV. Like most other SOV languages, it has postpositions and other head-final structures. In example (1) you can see the SOV clause structure and two postpositions: *patal* 'in order to' is used for a purpose clause and *qešel* 'out' is a locative postposition.

(1) *Hürmet   k'valəy   qešel   eqeç'un   patal   rak'arix'   fena*
    Hurmet   [[house-INEL   out]PP   go.out-MSD   for]PP   door-PL.POES   go-AOR
      'Hurmet went to the door to go out of the house.' (Haspelmath 1993, 392)

Haspelmath (1993) explains that clauses that do not end in a verb are acceptable, especially in emotional or emphatic speech or quotations in narrative texts (Haspelmath 1993, 300). Example (2) shows a VS structure that gives emphatic stress, and example (3) shows a VO structure with a complement clause. (Though, notice that the complement clause is SOV.)

(2) *Paka*   *hatda*   *kün*   *çi*   *ğilel*
      tomorrow   get-FUT   you.all-ABS   we-GEN   hand-INES
      'Tomorrow you-all will fall into our hands!' (Haspelmath 1993, 300)

(3) *Akvan*   *aburu*   *zun*   *hik'*   *q'abuldat'a*
      see-HORT   [they-ERG   I-ABS   how   receive-FUT-CND]_{COMPL}
      'Let's see how they will receive me.' (Haspelmath 1993, 300)

Another example of head-final structure is the noun phrase, as in (4) where the noun is preceded by a number and adjective

(4) *wad*   *güzel*   *z'ük*
      [five   beautiful   flower]_{NP}
      'five beautiful flowers' (Haspelmath 1993, 263)

Adjective phrases are also head-final, as in (5) where the adjective is preceded by an adverb of degree.

(5) *Am*   *lap*   *x'san*   *ust'ar*   *ya*
      he-ABS   [very   good]_{ADJP}   master   COP
      'He is a very good master' (Haspelmath 1993, 266)

1.5.3 Valence and Case-Marking of Core Nominals

As mentioned above, valence is covered in more detail in chapters 3 and 4; this presentation is meant to give a brief overview in order to understand examples that occur prior to those discussions.

According to Haspelmath (1993, sec. 15.2), Lezgi valence uses an ergative case-marking system (see 3.2.2), having a basic pattern of V (S_{ABS}) for intransitive clauses and V (S_{ERG}, O_{ABS})[35] for transitive clauses:

(6) Intrasitive: *Sixa*   *k'valiz*   *h'tana.*
                     brother-ABS   house-DAT   return-AOR
                   'The brother came back home.' (Haspelmath 1993, 5)

---

[35]The notations are from Haspelamath (1993): A "agent" for the subject of a transitive clause and T "theme" for the subject of an intransitive clause and the object of a transitive clause.

(7)   Transitive: *Ada   abur   k'valiz   raqurna.*
                        she-ERG   they-ABS   house-DAT   send-AOR
                        'She sent them home.' (Haspelmath 1993, 392)

Some verbs are ditransitive, with dative case marking the indirect object:

(8)   *Za   ada-z   sa   ğud   vihena.*
        I-ERG   he-DAT   one   fist-ABS   throw-AOR

        'I hit him with the fist.' (lit. 'I threw a fist on him.') (Haspelmath 1993, 272)

Other valence patterns exist. Dative subjects represent 'experiencer.'

(9)   *Zamiradiz   Diana   akuna.*
        Zamira-DAT   Diana   see-AOR
        'Zamira saw Diana.' (lit. Diana was visible to Zamira.) (Haspelmath 1993, 270)

Locative arguments occur in transitive and intransitive clauses. They are often presented as

nouns with any of various locative case-markers (see Table 10 in section 3.2 for a listing of the

locative cases in SL). In (10), *h'ürüv* 'from near the village'[36] is the locative argument, as is *šlax'*

'toward behind the wall'[37] in example (11).

(10)   Intransitive: *Maşinar   h'ürüv   agaq'na.*
                        car-PL   village-ADEL   reach-AOR
                         'The cars reached the village.' (Haspelmath 1993, 272)

(11)   Transitive: *Ada   q'il   šlax'   galuq'arna.*
                        she(ERG)   head   wall-POES   hit-AOR
                         'She hit her head against the wall.' (Haspelmath 1993, 274)

Haspelmath notes that the direct object can be incorporated into the verb, in which case the

subject is still marked ergative. This is seen in example (12), related to example (13) which shows

no incorporation:

(12)   *Ada   k'valah'-zava.*
        she(ERG)   do.work-IMP
        'She is working.'

---

[36] See 3.2.6 for more on the locative meanings of the adelative case.

[37] See 3.2.8 for more on the locative meanings of the postessive case.

(13) *Ada*   *k'valah'*   *iyi-zva.*
     she(ERG)   work   do-IMP
     'She is doing work.' (Haspelmath 1993, 284)

Subjects and other arguments can also be omitted.

(14) ∅   *k'valerin*   *dak'arrayni*   *ekver*   *akvazva.*
     one(DAT)   house-PL-GEN   window-PL-INEL-also   light-PL   see-IMP
     'From the windows of the house, too, one can see the lights.' (Haspelmath 1993, 288)

In special circumstances, such as when the subject of the clause is an 'involuntary agent,'

locative cases are used for the subject.

(15) *Didedivay*   *nek*   *alaxna.*
     mother-ADEL   milk   boil.over-AOR
     'Mother involuntarily allowed the milk to boil over.' (Haspelmath 1993, 292)

1.5.4 Subordinate Clauses

Relative clauses are most often marked with participles, such as the aorist[38] participle

raquray 'having sent' in example (16).

(16) [*gada*   *k'valiz*   *raquray*] REL   *ruş*
     boy   house-DAT   send-AOP   girl
     'the girl who sent the boy home' (Haspelmath 1993, 6)

As mentioned in 1.5.2 above, the relative clause precedes the noun it modifies (in this case, *ruş*

'girl').

Complement clauses are often marked with non-finite verb forms;[39] (17) is an example of a

complement clause using the infinitive verb *kxiz* 'to write.'

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[38] Aorist tense is described in 4.3.3.

[39] Participles, infinities, and masdars are commonly used in complement clauses. The masdar form
nominalizes verbs, creating situations, facts, or states of action. Verb forms are explained in Chapter 4.

(17) *Aburuz*   *clan*   *qazetdiz*   *sa*   *ğveç'i*   *maqala*
they-DAT   [wall-GEN   paper-DAT   one   little   article

kxiz   *kanzava.*
write-INF]_{COMPL}   want-IMP

'They want to write a little article for the wall newspaper.' (Haspelmath 1993, 7)

Here, the complement clause precedes the clause-level verb *kanzava* 'wants', maintaining an

overall SOV structure unlike the VO example (3) above.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

In this section I show the primary characteristics of İsmayıllı Lezgi (IL) phonology, as compared to what is known about the phonology of other dialects of Lezgi. Phonological characteristics that set IL apart from Standard Lezgi (SL) are discussed, as are shared morphophonemic processes. I show that IL and SL have strong correspondences between matching phonemes, but there exist some weak correlations between non-matching segments. IL phonology is also compared to the Axti dialect (AL) when correspondences have been shown to exist in both varieties. It is seen that AL and IL have many of the same phonological features.

Research for this chapter comes from the proposal for an İsmayıllı Lezgi orthography outlined in Aliyeva and Clifton (2007). Additional data comes from a word list transcribed by L. Aliyeva, a mother-tongue İsmayıllı Lezgi speaker. (See Chapter 5 for more on wordlist methodology). Recordings of İsmayıllı Lezgi speakers and transcriptions of recordings were also consulted. The transcriptions did not mark labialization, so I consulted the audio recordings for that feature. IPA symbols have been substituted for the Latin Lezgi orthography in the original.

In 2.1 and 2.2 the phonological inventories and differences between İsmayıllı and Standard Lezgi are presented. First the vowels are discussed, then the consonants. Section 2.3 summarizes the phonological differences between IL and SL.

2.1   Vowels

According to Aliyeva and Clifton (2007), the İsmayıllı Lezgi vowel inventory contains the nine phonemes shown in Table 2.

Table 2: IL Vowel Inventory

	Front Unrounded	Front Round	Back unrounded	Back Round
High	i	y	ɯ	u
Mid	e	ɵ		o
Low	æ		ɑ	

Three of the IL vowels, /ɯ/, /ɵ/, and /o/, are not present in standard Lezgi. SL shares the six

vowels shown in Table 3.

Table 3: SL Vowel Inventory (Haspelmath 1993, 2)

	Front Unrounded	Front Round	Back
high	i	y	u
mid	e		
low	æ		ɑ

Examples of IL words containing the vowels listed in Table 2 with their corresponding SL

equivalents are shown in example (18) .

(18)   IL   SL

/ɑ/   /ɑlɑqˈɯn/   /ɑlɑqˈun/   'be able'

/e/   /peş/   /peş/   'leaf'

/i/   /tʃin/   /tʃin/   'face'

/æ/   /læʕnet/   /lænet/   'curse'

/ɯ/   /zɯn/   /zun/   'I'

/o/   /kˈol/   /kˈʷal(er)/   'house'

/ɵ/   /tsɵz/   /cegʷ/   'ant'

/y/   /tʃʰyxer/   /tʃyxwer/   'pear'

/u/   /kˈus/   /kˈus/   'piece'

General correspondences exist between the three vowels unique to IL and vowels in SL. As

exemplified in (18) above, SL generally has /u/ for IL /ɯ/ (/ɯ/ is discussed more in sub-section

2.1.2). Additionally, IL has /o/ for SL /a/ and /ɵ/ for SL /e/ (these two IL vowels are discussed in

2.1.1). Yet, for all three vowels, there are exceptions to the general correspondences, as seen in

(19) where IL /ɯ/ appears as /i/ in SL, /o/ as /e/, and /ə/ as /u/.

(19)   IL   SL

  /ɯ/ /ʤɯɣɯr/   /ʒiʁir/   'path'

  /o/ /t'ot'/   /t'ʷet'/   'fly' (insect)

  /ə/ /həkʰymetʰ/   /hukumat/   'government'

2.1.1 IL Vowels /ə/ and /o/

Two of the IL vowels, /ə/ and /o/, are commonly used in Azerbaijani and may have been

borrowed from it. They are often seen in loan words, where SL replaces /ə/ with /y/ and /o/ with

/ɑ/, as seen in (20).

(20)   IL   SL   Azerbaijani

  /ə/ /səʕbetʰ/   /sybet/   /səhbæt/   'conversation'

  /o/ /jalov/   /yalav/   /alov/   'flame'

These two vowels, /ə/ and /o/, also occur in IL in native Lezgi vocabulary, such as the

examples in (18) above. However, they occur in special situations: where the SL form has an

adjacent labialized consonant. Where we see a VCʷ or CʷV environment in SL forms, a rounded

vowel occurs in IL next to a non-labialized consonant.[40] Examine (21) . In a., b, and d, it is

evident that if the labialized consonant of SL is word final, then in IL, no labialization will occur

on the consonant but a round vowel will precede that environment. In c, g, and h, round vowels

occur in IL after non-labial consonants that correspond to a labial consonant in SL. In short,

rounding on consonants in SL has shifted to the vowel in IL in many cases, and in the process

added two new vowels to the inventory.

_____

[40] The Haspelmath wordlist did not distinguish between labialized occlusives, such as /kʷ/, and
consonant clusters containing labio-dental fricatives, such as /kv/. Therefore, in examples from the
wordlist, both will be represented with /v/ instead of /ʷ/.

(21)   IL   SL

  a.   /ək/   /ekʷ/   'light' (n.)

  b.   /tsəz/   /tsegʷ/   'ant'

  c.   /tˈotˈ/   /tˈʷetˈ/   'fly' (insect)

  d.   /jokˈ/   /jakˈʷ/   'axe'

  e.   /ylykʰ/   /vilik/   'forward'

  f.   /nəɣ/   /naʁʷ/   'tear' (n)

  g.   /qˈəd/   /qˈʷed/   'two'

  h.   /uxar/   /axʷar/   'sleep' (n)

                        (Haspelmath 1993),(ILWL)

Additionally, IL rounded vowels sometimes even occur in words where the SL environment

has a word-initial unrounded labial consonant, such as /v/ in (21)e. However, many times

word-initial /v/ occurs in IL and does not affect succeeding vowels. Vowels are not rounded and

the labial consonant is not lost.

(22)   IL   SL

     /viri/   /veri/   'all'

     /væʕz/   /væts/   'sermon'

Standard Lezgi sometimes undergoes a phonological process that is similar to what we see in

the IL environments. Haspelmath (1993, chap. 4) explains that certain SL vowels are affected by

labial-obstruent vowel harmony, in which /i/ or /e/ can become labialized /y/ in the environment

_Cʷ or Cʷ_. Labial vowel harmony can be seen easily in plural forms.[41] Example (23) shows a

contrast of labial and non-labial environments in order to highlight labial vowel harmony in SL.

---

[41] It is unknown if IL undergoes labial-obstruent vowel harmony in plural forms. Other suffixes that
contain a labial element, such as the nominalizer /–val/ do not motivate vowel labialization in IL: *sakitval*
'silence' (Aliyeva 2008).

The SL analysis shows that in non-labial words such as (23)a, an /i/ occurs in the plural form;[42] whereas, in (23)b, the plural form is a labialized environment in which labial-obstruent vowel harmony occurs, rounding the /e/ to a /y/ (Haspelmath 1993, 50).

(23)   SL Singular   SL Plural

a.   /qʰel/   /qʰiler/   'anger'

b.   /qˈʷex/   /qˈyxwer/   'groin'

We can see that labial harmony in SL is restricted to the vowel /y/, but IL has extended this to /o/ and /ɵ/, perharps under influence from Azerbaijani. Notice that SL vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/ can occur in IL as round vowels /y/, /ɵ/ and /o/, respectively. In IL there is no restriction on the vowels that have a rounded form, which may explain why the IL vowel inventory is much larger than that of SL. And, whereas SL labialization appears to be a synchronic phonological process, IL rounded vowels may be the result of an historical process which has created differences in the underlying forms of SL and IL vowels.[43]

2.1.2 IL Vowel /ɯ/

Although /ɯ/ is not used in Azerbaijani, it is often found in IL where the Azerbaijani high-mid-unrounded vowel /ɨ/ occurs, and the two vowels are of course very similar. For example, the Azerbaijani word for 'gold', /qɨzɨl/, is /qɯzɯl/ in IL. Frequently, when SL uses /u/, IL uses an unrounded high back vowel /ɯ/; compare SL /buj/ vs. IL /bɯj/ 'figure'. This is true not only in stems, but also in affixes, such as the SL masdar verb ending /-un/ versus IL /-ɯn/(see 4.2.1). These affixual vowels also participate in vowel harmony, discussed in section 2.1.4.

---

[42] The plural suffix is /-er/.

[43] A few Ismayilli speakers said that, when reading SL, they knew to substitute the rounded vowel for a vowel in a labialized environment.

The occurrence of this vowel was the most common phonological difference I noted when comparing the İsmayıllı and Standard Lezgi wordlists. There were 360 İsmayıllı words that used /ɯ/; whereas the SL had no examples of this phoneme. Haspelmath (1993) and Mejlanova (1964) both state that this vowel occurs in the Axti dialect of Lezgi—so this is one of its major distinctives which it shares with IL.

2.1.3 Syncope

Haspelmath (1993) notes that Standard Lezgi has had a recent sound change of vowel syncope, leaving consonant clusters from the word-initial and medial voiceless obstruents. Lezgi vowel syncope is limited to high vowels /i, y, u/.

In the environments where syncope is likely to occur in SL, IL shows evidence of a similar process, but there are differences in detail. There are at least nine cases where the SL form does not undergo syncope but the IL form has a consonant cluster which appears similar to Haspelmath's analysis of syncopic changes. The reverse was also true; there were at least seven cases where the IL form contains vowels that the SL does not. It is not predictable which words in each variety will always exhibit syncopic changes. For instance, in (24)a, SL shows syncope, losing the /i/, but IL keeps it. In (24)b, IL shows evidence of syncope, losing the first /u/ (or /ɯ/) while SL does not. In (24)c, both SL and IL appear to undergo syncope and lose the /i/.

(24)   Former SL   SL   IL

 a.   /kʰiˈʧʼɛ/   >   /kʰʲʧʼɛ/   /kʰiˈʧʼe/   'afraid'

 b.   -----   /kutˈun/   /kʰtʰɯn/   'rot'

 c.   /sitʰʲˈχa/   >   /stʰχa/   /stʰxa/   'brother'

(Haspelmath 1993, 2)   (ILWL)

Therefore, it appears that the two Lezgi varieties undergo (or have undergone) syncope independently of one another. Haspelmath (1993) notes that syncope is a recent change in SL, but the history of syncopic change is not known for IL.

2.1.4 Palatal Vowel Harmony

Lezgi has a rule of palatal vowel harmony,[44] which allows either front vowels /i, y, e/ or back vowels /a, u/ to occur together in the same stem; front and back vowels cannot co-occur in the same stem. Only in suffixes (and borrowed words) are the two groups allowed to coexist, as in the SL oblique suffix /-uni/. Even so, harmony can spread from stem to suffix. In (25)a., the front vowel /y/ in the stem spreads to the suffix, resulting in /-yni/. In (25)b, the back vowel /a/ allows for a back vowel in the suffix /-uni/ (Haspelmath 1993, 3).

(25)   stem   stem+ /-uni/

    a.   /qʼyk/   /qʼykyni/   'pitchfork'

    b.   /zarb/   /zarbuni/   'speed'

IL does not have the oblique suffix /-uni/ (see 3.2.2); however, the same principle is seen in the nominalizing and oblique affixes on /qʰsan/ 'good' in (26) . The nominalizing suffix /-val/ agrees with the back-vowel in /qʰsanval/ 'goodness'; however, in /qʰsanveli/ it surfaces with the front vowel /e/ before the front vowel /i/ in the oblique suffix..

(26)   stem   stem+ /-val/   stem+/-val/ + /-i/ (Oblique)

    /qʰsan/   /qʰsanval/   /qʰsanveli/   'goodness' (erg)

With the addition of vowels /ɯ/, /ɵ/ and /o/, IL vowel harmony is more complex and mimics Azerbaijani vowel harmony systems, where rounding is also important. In example (27), the IL forms have rounded vowel harmony, while those in the SL form do not.

---

[44] With fewer vowels in Standard Lezgi, palatal harmony differs slightly from the more complex ATR vowel harmony of neighboring Turkic languages which also distinguish between high and low vowels.

(27)   IL   SL

        /əkʰy/   /eky/   'light' (adj. bright)

        /mɯkˈratˈ/   /mukˈratˈ/   'scissors'

2.2   Consonants

In the following sections the phonology of Standard and İsmayıllı Lezgi consonants is examined. First, in section 2.2.1, the SL consonant inventory is charted and variations in the IL inventory are presented. Next, correspondences between the features of SL and IL consonant phonology are shown: labialization in section 2.2.2, and an unaspirated/ejective correlation in 2.2.3.

2.2.1   Consonant Inventories

According to Haspelmath (1993), the consonant inventory of Standard Lezgi consists of 54 phonemes; the non-labial consonants are shown in Table 4, and the labialzed consonants are given in Table 5. Of the stops, many are aspirated, unaspirated, labialized, or ejective.

Table 4: Standard Lezgi Non-Labial Consonants[45]

	Labial	Alveolar		Post-Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
unaspirated	p	t	ts	tʃ	k	q	ʔ
aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	tʃʰ	kʰ	qʰ	
ejective	pˈ	tˈ	tsˈ	tʃˈ	kˈ	qˈ	
voiced	b	d			g		
Fric +voice			z	ʒ		ʁ	
Fric -voice	f		s	ʃ	x	χ	h
Nasal	m	n					
Lateral		l					
Trill		r					
Approximant	w[46]			j			

Table 5: Standard Lezgi Labialized Consonants

	Alveolar		Velar	Uvular
unaspirated	tʷ	tsʷ	kʷ	qʷ
aspirated	tʰʷ	tsʰʷ	kʰʷ	qʰʷ
ejective	tˈʷ	tsˈʷ	kˈʷ	qˈʷ
voiced			gʷ	
Fric +voice		zʷ		ʁʷ
Fric -voice		sʷ		χʷ

The İsmayıllı variety of Lezgi, on the other hand, consists of 39 consonants (Aliyeva and Clifton 2007), as shown in Table 6. The shaded regions of the table indicate phonemic differences between IL and SL, except for the labialized consonants which are not included in the IL table.

---

[45] The table is from Haspelmath (1993:34). Haspelmath (1993) places both / ʔ/ and /h/ in the approximant line and describes them as laryngeal.

[46] Allophones for /w/ are [w], [v], or [β].

Table 6: İsmayıllı Lezgi Consonant Inventory

	Labial	Alveolar		Post-Alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn-geal	Glottal
unaspirated	p	t	ts	tʃ	k	q		ʔ
aspirated	pʰ	tʰ	tsʰ	tʃʰ	kʰ	qʰ		
ejective	pˡ	tˡ	tsˡ	tʃˡ	kˡ	qˡ		
Voiced	b	d		ʤ	g			
Fric -voice	f	s		ʃ	x	χ		h
Fric +voice	v	z		ʒ	ɣ		ʕ	
Nasal	m	n						
Liquid		l	r	j				

Labialization is probably not phonemic, as is shown in section 2.2.2 ; however, the pharyngeal[47] is phonemic, as are some additional variations to the consonant inventory, shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Consonant Inventory Differences

Unique to SL	Unique to IL
labialized consonants	/ʕ/
/ʁ/	/ɣ/
	/ʤ/

In Standard Lezgi, the voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/ is phonemic while the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ is not. The opposite is true for İsmayıllı Lezgi. Sometimes, if the SL word has /ʁ/, the IL uses /ɣ/ instead (e.g., SL /myʁ/ vs. IL /miɣ/ 'bridge'). This does not mean, however, that there is always a one-for-one correspondence. For the word 'rebuke' in example (28), SL uses /ʁ/, but instead of a velar fricative, IL uses a pharyngeal /ʕ/. In other forms, IL uses the velar fricative /ɣ/, while SL uses a uvular stop instead of a fricative. A list of correspondances related to the unique consonants /ʁ/, /ɣ/, and /ʕ/ are given in example (28).

---

[47] Haspelmath notes that phrayngeals occurs in some dialects, including Quba and a Küre subdialect. During an informal survey in the Quba rayon, one İsmayıllı Lezgi speaker noted that İsmayıllı uses pharyngeals more often and more pronouncedly than Quba Lezgi speakers. It is not known whether Axti has a pharyngeal.

(28)

Correlation	strength	SL	IL	
/ʁ/↔/ɣ/	strong	/ʁed/	/ɣæd/	'star'
/q/↔/ɣ/	weak	/muqajat/	/muɣajatʰ/	'careful'
/q/↔/q/	strong	/aqatun/	/aqatʰɯn/	'come out'
/ʁ/↔/ʕ/	weak	/k'æʁun/	/kʰvæʕin/	'rebuke'
∅↔/ʕ/	weak	/sæt/	/saʕatʰ/	'clock', 'time'
/h/↔/ʕ/	weak	/pahlivan/	/pʰæʕlivan/	'athlete'
/h/↔/h/	strong	/hejran/	/hejran/	'amazed'

The strongest correspondence for SL /ʁ/ is IL /ɣ/ and vice versa. There is not a strong correspondence for IL /ʕ/, rather, three weak correspondences to SL /h/, /ʁ/, or null. IL /ɣ/ has a weak correspondence to SL /q/, and SL /ʁ/ has a weak correspondence to IL /ʕ/. The two IL phonemes /h/ and /q/ in (28) have strong correspondences to their SL equivalents.

Another consonant difference is that İsmayıllı Lezgi, unlike some other dialects, uses the voiced post-alveolar affricate /ʤ/ in many words borrowed from Azerbaijani and Persian, such as /tæʕʤub/ 'amazed' (/taʒub/ in SL) and the two /ʤ/ words in (29). Haspelmath does not include /ʤ/ in his phonological analysis of SL. Mejlanova (1964) states that there is a tendency to lose /ʤ/, but not in some of the Axti dialects.[48] Example (29) shows the weak correspondences for IL /ʤ/ and SL /ʒ/ or /tʃ/.

(29)

Correlation	strength	SL	IL	
/ʒ/↔/ʤ/	weak	/ʒavab/	/ʤuvab/	'answer'
/ʒ/↔/ʒ/	strong	/ʒimi/	/ʒimi/	'liquid'
/tʃ/↔/ʤ/	very weak	/ɣlgytʃ/	/ɣlgyʤ/	'razor'
/tʃ/↔/tʃ/	strong	/tʃyxwer/	/tʃʰyxer/	'pear'

---

[48] Mejlanova does not mention if /ʤ/ is found in only borrowed words in some Axti dialects.

The two IL phonemes /ʒ/ and /tʃ/ in (29) have strongest correspondences to their SL equivalents. The /tʃ/↔/ʤ/ correspondence was considered very weak because it was only found in one example.

One other weak consonant correspondence is between İsmayıllı /tʃ/ or /tʃˈ/ and Standard Lezgi /ts/:

(30)   Correlation   strength   SL   IL

        /ts/↔/tʃʰ/   weak   /tsyk/   /tʃʰykʰ/   'flower'

        /ts/↔/tʃˈ/   weak   /tsyk/   /tʃˈykʰ/   'millet'

                                        /tsɨrɪʁɨl/   /tʃˈuruɰɣil/   'rake'

        /ts/[49]↔/ts/   strong   /jats/   /jatsʰ/   'bull'

        /tʃ/↔/tʃʰ/   strong   /tʃetin/   /tʃʰetʰin/   'difficut'

        /tʃˈ/↔/tʃˈ/   strong   /tʃˈul/   /tʃˈil/   'belt'

Strong correspondences remain between phonemes that IL and SL share in common. When the two varieties do not share a phoneme, multiple weak correspondences occur. In addition, the uvular and velar voiced fricatives of SL and IL, respectively, have a strong correspondence.

2.2.2 Labialization

Labialized occlusives, mentioned above as being present in standard Lezgi, also occur in the speech of some İsmayıllı Lezgi speakers. As mentioned before, those speakers who do not labialize occlusives, round the vowel immediately following (or in some cases, preceding) the non-labialized consonant (see 2.1.1). Below are examples from audio texts of IL speakers who use both forms: one speaker produced both the labialized stop in (31)a and the labialized vowel in (31)b, and another speaker used both in (31)c.

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[49] Aspiration is not marked in any SL form.

(31)   IL

    a. /xqʷezi/   'come back'

    b. /xqɵzi/   'come back'

    c. /xqɵzivi/ or /xqʷezivi/   'come back'

The tendency to lose labialization on occlusives can be seen in other dialects of Lezgi, and in

some dialects labialization is lost completely (Haspelmath 1993, 35). Mejlanova (1964) reports

that AL does not have labialized alveolar affricates and fricatives.

2.2.3 Nonaspirates and Ejectives

İsmayıllı Lezgi has contrastive aspiration. Minimal pairs are displayed in (32).

(32)   Aspirated: Unaspirated:

    a. /tʰɯm/   /tɯm/
       'seed'   'thread'

    b. /tsʰin/   /tsin/
       'to sweep'   'watered'

    c. kʰekʰ/   kekʰ/
       'hem'   'rooster'

There are only 19 reported minimal pairs in standard Lezgi for aspirated/unaspirated pairs.

It is unknown how many minimal pairs İsmayıllı Lezgi has, and, since SL does not mark

aspiration, it is difficult to know how the two dialects compare in that feature.

What is known is that there is a weak correlation between SL ejectives and IL unaspirated

voiceless consonants. Example (33) shows words that have ejectives in SL but unaspirated stops

in IL.

(33)   SL Ejective   IL Unaspirated:

    a. /kʼel/   /kel/   'lamb'

    b. /tʼur/   /tur/   'spoon'

c. /tak'an/   /takan/   'hateful'

d. /q'uʃun/   /quʃɯn/   'army'

e. /balk'an/   /palkan/   'horse'

Axti also shows evidence of a correlation between unaspirated stops and SL ejectives. In

Standard Lezgi, it has been noted that there is an ejective/aspirated correlation between singular

and plural, but that the Axti dialect (AL) has a parallel unaspirated/aspirated correlation in the

plural form, as shown in (34) (Haspelmath 1993, 22):

(34)   Standard Pl/Sg   Axti Pl/Sg

a.   /nek'er/ ; /nekʰ/   /neker/ ; /nekʰ/   'milk(s)'

b.   /met'er/ ; /metʰ/   /metar/ ; /metʰ/   'knee(s)'

c.   /req'er/ ; /reqʰ   /reqer/ ; /reqʰ/   'way(s)'

(Talibov 1980,71-72 from Haspelmath 1993, 22)

Ismayilli Lezgi again fits the AL pattern, as in (35).

(35)   Plural   Singular

/neter/   /netʰ/   'lice/louse'

Examples (33) and (35) give evidence that a correlation exists between SL ejectives and IL

unaspirated stops, a correlation that AL also shares. This correlation, however, is weak; usually

ejectives in the IL and SL forms match. Example (36) shows corresponding ejectives in each

place of articulation.

(36)   SL Ejective   IL Ejective:

labial   /p'ɯz/   /p'ɯz/   'lip'

alveolar   /taxayt'a/   /t'ʔaχayt'a/   'or'

alveolar.affricate	/tsˈeh/	/tsˈeh/	'goat'
pst.alvlr.affricate	/tʃˈar/	/tʃˈarar/	'hair'
velar	/kˈir/	/kˈir/	'hook'
uvular	/qˈil/	/qˈil/	'head'

Yet, sometimes the IL form has an ejective that corresponds to a non-ejective stop in the SL form, as seen in the word-initial alveolar stop in (36) above. This correlation is weak. It can occur in Lezgi words (37) or in borrowed words from languages that do not have ejectives (37)c. The examples in (37) show word-final, -initial, and -medial ejectives in IL that correspond to non-ejective stops in SL.

(37) SL Ejective   IL Ejective:

  a. /qˈynt/   /qˈyntˈ/   'elbow'

  b. /taxaytˈa/   /tˈʔaχaytˈa/   'or'

  c. /partal/   /pˈaltˈar/   'clothes'

So, we see the following set of correlations occur between IL and SL ejectives and unaspirated stops:

Correlation	strength	SL	IL	
ejective↔unaspiration	weak	/qˈuʃun/	/quʃun/	'army'
ejective↔ejective	strong	/qˈil/	/qˈil/	'head'
non-ejective[50]↔ejective	weak	/qˈynt/	/qˈyntˈ/	'elbow'

---

[50] Since the SL transcriptions do not mark aspiration, it is impossible to make that distinction. It is also impossible to determine whether there is a correlation between SL and IL aspiration/non-aspiration.

2.3   Summary of Phonological Differences

İsmayıllı Lezgi has 48 phonemes, while Standard Lezgi has 60. The loss of contrastive

labialization in IL accounts for the majority of the differences. Table 8 lists the unique phonemes

that SL and IL varieties do not share in common.

Table 8: Phonemic differences

Unique to SL	Unique to IL
labialized consonants	/ʕ/
/ʁ/	/ɣ/
	/ʤ/
	/ɯ/
	/ɵ/
	/o/

The strongest correlations between IL and SL phonemes are between matching segments.

One strong correlation (between SL /ʁ/ and IL /ɣ/) occurs between phonemes that do not exist in

the other dialect. Weak correspondences of mismatched phonemes occur; however, they usually

share similar qualities such as place of articulation or rounding. These weak correspondences

affect a relatively smaller number of forms compared to correlations between the same phonemes

in SL and IL.

Many of the phonological differences that set the Axti dialect apart from the Standard Lezgi

dialect are also present in İsmayıllı Lezgi. The correspondences to SL that AL and IL share are

presented in Table 9 .

Table 9: Phonological Correspondences between SL and AL/IL

Standard Lezgi	Axti / İsmayıllı Lezgi
/u/	/u/ and /ɯ/
/ʒ/	/ʤ/ and /ʒ/
labialized alveolar affricates and fricatives	non-labialized alveolar affricates and fricatives
ejective stops	ejective stops and a weak correlation to unaspirated stops

CHAPTER 3

NOUN CASES

A distinctive part of Lezgi grammar is its complex noun case system. Comprised of 18 cases, the Standard Lezgi case system can convey very subtle differences in locative movement/direction or more abstract meanings, such as causation, possession, temporal orientation, etc. This chapter explores the similarities and differences between IL and SL in both the forms and the functions of their noun case suffixes.

Section 3.1 explains the methodology I followed, section 3.2 shows and explains the SL and IL noun case paradigms, and section 3.3 concludes this chapter, summarizing the comparisons. I show that while the shapes of the case markers in İsmayıllı Lezgi systematically differ from those in Standard Lezgi, the differences in the functions of the case suffixes are less predictable. Although many meanings of the cases are similar, the Lezgi varieties have evolved in different directions in the two dialects in the way they convey several abstract concepts.

3.1 Methodology

Similar methodology applies to this chapter and the next; therefore, attention is given here to an explanation of methods and information that applies to both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (and, in some cases, the rest of this thesis.)

In each section, the İsmayıllı Lezgi noun morphology is presented and compared to Standard Lezgi as presented in Haspelmath (1993). If other dialects are known to compare to an aspect of IL noun morphology, that comparison is also explored. For example, Gensler (2000) was helpful for insight into the Axti Lezgi adverbializer *-dakaz* (section 3.2.13).

Sources for the İsmayıllı Lezgi language data took many forms: transcriptions of audio recordings and elicited sentences, paradigms, and word lists. Aliyeva and I recorded native speakers by permission in the İsmayıllı Lezgi villages of Qalacıq, İstisu, and Sumağalı. Four middle-aged men, two middle-aged women, two young women, and one young man were recorded. Topics of recordings were of the following discourse genres: procedural, narrative, and hortatory (advice to youngsters). Of the recordings, seven narratives and one procedural text (approximately 25 minutes total) were transcribed and translated into Azerbaijani by Aliyeva, and a few of those were translated into English. In addition to this unpublished data, I consulted some of Aliyeva's previous work: unpublished transcriptions and translations of recordings from people from her village, Qalacıq. Aliyeva herself was not recorded.

Aliyeva also provides three types of unpublished elicited data: sentences, word lists, and paradigms. When a form that was present in one of Haspelmath's paradigms could not be found in any of the IL texts, I asked Aliyeva how IL speakers would communicate that concept. Sometimes, sentences were elicited by translating the English gloss of Haspelmath's example sentences. I wrote the English sentences on a piece of paper and asked Aliyeva to translate them. She did not have access to the SL translation, so that did not sway her word or morpheme choice. This is evident in the examples used in this chapter; sometimes the same concept was expressed very differently by Aliveya, compared to Haspelmath's examples. Such changes were not deemed significant, since these were isolated sentences elicited without context. It is significant, however, when in structurally different sentences the same morphological forms were used. If, after this process, the form still could not be found, I showed Aliyeva the SL form and asked if it could be used in IL. In noun morphology, this was never the case.

Elicited paradigms and a wordlist were collected. Without knowing or seeing the SL paradigms, Aliyeva was asked to give the corresponding paradigms for IL. The same was asked

of teachers in Sumağalı. A combination of those 13 paradigms is used in this study.[51] Finally, some items from IL wordlists were given in an inflected form and were used on occasion (see 5.1 for an explanation of the wordlist methodology.) While examples from texts were preferred to examples from elicitations, paradigms or wordlists, these elicited examples were also useful in comparing SL and IL morphology.

Noun cases are carefully glossed in example sentences in this chapter, whereas glossing of other elements is more informal.

3.2   Noun Cases

Lezgi noun morphology is complex, nouns being marked for number and 18 cases. It uses an ergative/absolutive system and also marks dative and genitive cases. Other cases have a variety of locative meanings as well as non-locative meanings such as temporal, instrumental, or causal. Many of the cases have extended uses beyond their prototypical locative ones, and there is considerable overlap among them, so that in any given context more than one case may be usable for a given meaning. The following table gives an illustrative paradigm of SL noun cases with prototypical senses (Haspelmath 1993, 4, 74). Each case is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

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[51] In İstisu a teacher was asked for IL paradigms. As a teacher of Standard Lezgi, he was responsible for producing educational materials and accordingly gave paradigms in SL, not IL. These paradigms, though helpful for other reasons, were not particularly useful in the morphology chapters of this thesis.

Table 10: SL Noun Case Paradigm

Absolutive-ABS	*sev*	'the bear'	*hül-er*	'seas'
Ergative-ERG	*sev-re*	'the bear'	*hül-er-i*	'seas'
Genitive-GEN	*sev-re-n*	'of the bear'	*hül-er-i-n*	'of the seas'
Dative-DAT	*sev-re-z*	'to the bear'	*hül-er-i-z*	'to the seas'
Adessive-ADES	*sev-re-v*	'at the bear'	*hül-er-i-v*	'at the seas'
Adelative-ADEL	*sev-re-v-ay*	'from the bear'	*hül-er-i-vay*	'from the seas'
Addirective-ADIR	*sev-re-v-di*	'toward the bear'	*hül-er-i-vdi*	'toward the seas'
Postessive-POES	*sev-re-x'*	'behind the bear'	*hül-er-i-x'*	'behind the seas'
Postelative-POEL	*sev-re-x'-ay*	'from behind the bear'	*hül-er-i-x'ay*	'from behind the seas'
Postdirective-PODIR	*sev-re-x'-di*	'to behind the bear'	*hül-er-i-x'di*	'to behind the seas'
Subessive-SBES	*sev-re-k*	'under the bear'	*hül-er-i-k*	'under the seas'
Subelative-SBEL	*sev-re-k-ay*	'from under the bear'	*hül-er-i-kay*	'from under the seas'
Subdirective-SBDIR	*sev-re-k-di*	'to under the bear'	*hül-er-i-kdi*	'to under the seas'
Superessive-SPES	*sev-re-l*	'on the bear'	*hül-er-a-l*	'on the seas'
Superelative-SPEL	*sev-re-l-ay*	'off the bear'	*hül-er-i-lay*	'off the seas'
Superdirective-SPDIR	*sev-re-l-di*	'onto the bear'	*hül-er-a-ldi*	'onto the seas'
Inessive-INES	*sev-re*	'in the bear'	*hül-er-a*	'in the seas'
Inelative-INEL	*sev-rəy*	'out of the bear'	*hül-er-ay*	'out of the seas'

When asked to give noun case paradigms, a group of 4 İsmayıllı Lezgi speakers (3 teachers and a translator) gave the forms listed in Table 11. The IL speakers were asked to give as many forms of a noun as they could think of. They did not label the forms with case names (i.e., postdirective). Such categorization came from textual analysis and conversations with Aliyeva.

Table 11: IL Noun Case Paradigm

Noun Case	'bear'	'Africa'	'wings'
Absolutive	*sev*	*Afrika*	*lıvar*
Ergative	*sev-re*	*Afrika-zı*	*lıvar-ı*
Genitive	*sev-re-n*	*Afrika-zı-n*	*lıvar-ı-n*
Dative	*sev-re-z*	*Afrika-zı-z*	*lıvar-ı-z*
Adelative	*sev-re-v-i*		*lıvar-ı-v-ı*
Addirective	*sev-re-v-ağ*		
Superessive	*sev-re-l*	*Afrika-za-l*	*lıvar-a-l*
Superelative	*sev-re-l-i*	*Afrika-z-l-ı*	*lıvar-ı-l-ı*
Subessive			*lıvar-ı-k*
Subelative	*sev-re-k-i/ sev-re-k-ağ*	*Afrika-z-k-ı*	*lıvar-ı-k-ı*
Postessive	*sev-re-g*		*lıvar-ı-g*
Postdirective		*Afrika-za-ğ-uz*	
Inessive		*Afrika-z*	
Inelative		*Afrika-za-ğ*	*lıvar-a-ğ*

Since four cases (adessive, postelative, subdirective, and superdirective) were absent from
these IL noun case paradigms, texts were consulted and the missing forms were elicited to fill in
the gaps. Though some cases are considered rare even in Standard Lezgi, and though it proved
difficult to identify case suffixes due to differences between IL and SL allomorphy, I found IL
examples of 17 of the 18 nominal cases indentified by Haspelmath (1993) for SL. Subdirective is
the one case that was not found in IL (see section 3.2.13). Each of the 18 Lezgi noun cases is
now covered in the following subsections.

3.2.1 Absolutive

In both SL and IL, the absolutive case consists of the noun stem with no case suffixes. As in
standard ergative systems, the absolutive marks the subject of an intransitive clause and the direct
object (typically a patient or theme) of a transitive clause. The use of the absolutive to mark the
subject of an intransitive clause is shown in (38).

(38) <u>*İd'em-∅*</u>   *i*   *xabar*   *heni,*   *qarağnı*   *fizi*   *b'ayc'ahzın*   *k'oliz.*
  man-ABS   this   news   hear,   to.stand   went   king-GEN   house-DAT
   'Hearing this news, the man got up and went to the king's palace.'

In (39) the absolutive marks the direct object, the theme.

(39) *adaz*   *b'ayc'ah-zı*   *sa*   *deve*   *qızıl-∅*   *gulu.*
    that   king-ERG   one   camel   gold-ABS   will.give

    'That king will give one camel-full of gold.'

Finally, the absolutive marks the patient in (40).

(40) *id'em-z*   *ğüləğ-∅*   *turbaz*   *d'unu.*
    man-ERG   snake-ABS   bag-INES   dropped.

    The man dropped the snake in the bag.

3.2.2 Ergative

There are several ergative suffixes in both varieties of Lezgi, determined by the noun stem. Standard Lezgi uses *-di* as the most common ergative suffix, while the most common ergative suffix in the IL corpora is *-zI*. The other ergative suffixes that exist in both Lezgi varieties are listed in Table 12, with the most common ones underlined as the default. The letters A, U, and I represent /a,e/, /u, y, i/, and /i, ɯ/, respectfully, signifying that the phonemic variant that surfaces is dependent on vowel harmony with the last syllable of the noun stem (Haspelmath 1993, 74, 77) (see section 2.1.4).

Table 12: Oblique Suffixes

SL	IL
-di	*-zI*
-Adi	*-dI*
-Ra	*-rA*
-A	*-A*
-U	*-U*
-a	
-i	
-u	
-Uni	
- ši/-s'i/-çi/-ji	

SL has more forms for the ergative suffix than does IL. All IL ergative suffixes are subject to vowel harmony, while some SL suffixes, such as *-a*, *-i*, and *–u,* are not. The suffixes *-Uni* and *-ši/-s'i/-çi/-ji* are not found in the IL corpus. Though *-di* is the SL default suffix and it can occur in IL, the *-di* suffix it is not the IL ergative default. *-zi* is the default IL suffix, which is identical to that of AL (Mejlanova 1964).

The function of the ergative case in both varieties of Lezgi is to mark an agentive subject of a transitive clause, as shown in (41).

(41)   <u>*id'em-zi*</u>   *ğüləğ*   *turbaz*   *d'unu.*
        man-ERG   snake   bag-INES   dropped.
        The man dropped the snake in the bag.

The root plus an ergative suffix also serves as the oblique stem, to which the other nominal case suffixes are added. In a few cases the oblique stem is slightly modified from the ergative form (see superessive 3.2.14, inessive 3.2.17, and inelative 3.2.18 sections). In the following, the

suffix that forms the oblique stem (homophonous to the ergative form, or nearly so) will not be

segmented off or glossed separately when it is used with other case endings.

3.2.3   Genitive -n

The genitive suffix *-n* occurs after the oblique stem in both varieties.

(42)   <u>*b'ayc'ahzı-n*</u>   *k'oliz*
      king-GEN   house-DAT
       'to the king's palace'

In both varieties, occassionally the genitive suffix is reduced, as in the following example

(43)   Oblique   Genitive

IL   *neg'ezi*   *neg*   'milk'/ 'milk's'

SL   *didedi*   *dided*   'mother' / 'mother's'   (Haspelmath 1993, 79)

In Lezgi, the morphological genitive case is used to mark syntactic possessors, and

possession is used to express a range of semantic relationships: ownership, part-whole, relational

adjective (e.g., 'work of science' for 'scientific work'), and other abstract relationships. The

genitive is also used on the object of many postpositions (Haspelmath 1993, 85). While the

genitive in IL has all these functions, I only present an example of the basic function of

possession as ownership (see (44)).

(44)   *İsmayılzız*   *vaç,*   <u>*Şahmarı-n*</u>   *ğanel.*
      İsmayıllı-DAT   go   Şahmar-GEN   courtyard-SPRES
       'Go to Şahmar's courtyard in İsmayıllı.' (Lit: 'Go to İsmayıllı, in Sahmar's courtyard.')

In addition to all these functions, the genitive is also used in IL in a syntactic configuration

for telling time, which is done in a manner that is identical to Azerbaijani constructions—a

genitive that is similar to the English contraction "o'clock" (Mid Engl: *of the clokke*). Example

(45) shows this function, in which a numeral is preceded by the genitive form *sağ'atzın* 'of the

hour'; it also shows the use of genitive for possession expressing a part/whole relationship.

(45) *İve-n*   *q'ılaryı,*   <u>*sağ'atzı-n*</u>   *sadyı.*
      night-GEN   middle.BE   clock/hour-GEN   one-COP
      'It's the middle of the night; it's one o'clock.'

Another example of telling time is shown in (46)

(46) *Xıtanı*   *üx'ne*   <u>*sağ'atzı-n*</u>   *vadaz*
      returning   morning   hour-GEN   five-DAT
      'Returning at five o'clock in the morning…'

3.2.4 Dative -z

In both IL and SL, the dative case suffix is *-z* and attaches to the oblique stem. The Lezgi dative case marks indirect object (recipient, experiencer), as well as also some types of location, spans of time, and a few other functions. The normal position for dative forms is before the verb, as seen in (47).

(47) <u>*İsmayılzı-z*</u>   *vaç,*   *Şahmarın*   *ğanel.*
      İsmayıllı-DAT   go   Şahmar-GEN   courtyard-SPRES
      'Go to Şahmar's courtyard in İsmayıllı.' (Lit: 'Go to İsmayıllı, in Sahmar's courtyard.')

When a verb has an experiencer argument,[52] it is also in dative case, as seen in (48):

(48) <u>*ğüləğzi-z*</u>   *id'em*   *ag'unu*   *luzu:*   *C'an*   *id'em!*
      snake-DAT   man   saw   said   dear   man
      The snake saw the man and said, "Kind sir,…!"

The dative indicating location 'to'[53] can occur anywhere in the clause. In (49) (part of example (38) above), the dative location occurs after the verb.

(49) *fizi*   *b'ayc'ahzın*   <u>*k'oli-z*</u>
      went   king-GEN   house-DAT
      'went to the king's palace'

The dative has a temporal use to indicate a point in time, as shown in (50):

---

[52] Whether this argument is a syntactic subject, indirect object, or some other grammatical relation is not relevant here.

[53] In IL, postessive is also used for 'to' locations (see section 3.2.8). It is not clear when to use the dative versus postessive.

(50) Zın   g'olaxılı   xüqezay   ç'ovu-z,   fılıan   küçezağ.
     I   work-SPREL   was.coming   time-DAT   such.and.such   street-INEL
     'I was coming home from work then, from such and such street.'

In IL, the dative case is used for the subject of *ava* 'have' in a clause expressing possession, a function for which SL uses the postessive case, as shown in (51).

(51)   Standard: *Za-x'*   *masa*   *tekif*   *ava.*
                     I.POES   different   proposal   have

       İsmayıllı: *Za-z*   *masa*   *plan*   *ava.*
                     I.DAT   different   proposal   have
       'I have a different proposal.'

3.2.5 Adessive -v

Though the adessive case was not included in the IL paradigms, it was found in one text. Like SL, IL uses *-v* for the adessive suffix. In this example the adessive suffix is used, not in its typical locative sense, but in the sense of 'with, by, to' (Haspelmath 1993, 90). With only one example, the distinction between when to use dative versus adessive for expressing the recipient role is not clear.

(52)   *Vu-v*   *lan*   *ya*   *rış*   *lan*   *vın*   *kiçi*   *hanıvan?*
       you-ADES   to.say   did   girl   to.say   you-GEN   crazy   are
       'Did the girl tell you that you were crazy?'

In fact, Haspelmath (1993, 90) claims that the adessive is rarely used in a locative sense in SL; rather, *patav* 'near, by, at the side of' is used to convey the locative sense. Haspelmath's analysis is interesting given that *patav* is the adessive form of *pat* 'side' (Haspelmath 1993, 207). In IL the addessive case is not used in this construction; rather, *b'ad'ag,* the postessive of *b'ad* 'side', is used, as seen in (53). No examples of an adessive form of *b'ad* were found in the IL corpus.

(53)   *İd'em*   *qarağnı*   *fizi*   *b'ayc'ahzın*   *b'ad'-ag.*
       man   to.stand   go   king-GEN   by/near-POES
       'The man stood and went to the king.' (Lit. 'The man stands, goes to the king's
          nearness.')

3.2.6 Adelative -vi

The IL adelative suffix *-vi* (*-vaj* in SL) is used abstractly in the sense of 'from near/by,' and can be used more generally when referring to 'from a person or being,' in reference to physical actions such as (54) or verbal behaviors such as (55).

(54) *Za*   *sevre-vi*   *çuxer*   *c'unuxni.*
      I   bear-ADEL   pears   stole
      'I stole pears from the bear.'

(55) *Za*   *feni*   *adan*   *yoldaşzı-vı*   *ç'ızınzıvı*   *ki;*   *Şahmar*   *finvi?*
      I   went   his   friend-ADEL   ask   that   Şahmar   where.is
      'I went and asked his friend, "Where is Şahmar?'

This function of the adelative is found in both SL and IL. In SL, the adelative case is also used to mark an involuntary agent/causative construction (Haspelmath 1993, 91). At this time, there is no data to support this use in IL.

3.2.7 Addirective -vaz, -vağ

Haspelmath includes this case but notes that it is very rare and is usually only used for instrument or manner; this is its use in the IL example (56) which has the addirective suffix *-vaz*.

(56) *Mirzəğ'liz*   *in*   *zı*   *maşızı-vaz*   *ibir*   *ismayılzız*   *tuxanı.*
      Mirzəğ'li-DAT   this   my   car-ADDIR   these   İsmayıllı-DAT   took
      'With this car of mine Mirzəğ'li took them to İsmayıllı.'

In SL, the addirective case occurs in similar structures as (56) using the suffix *-vdi*, as seen in example (57).

(57) *Qadima*   *ğili-vdi*   *adaz*   *ašuq'un*   *teklifna.*
      Qadim-ERG   hand-ADDIR   he-DAT   sit   propose

'Qadim offered him to sit down with his hand.' (Haspelmath 1993, 92)

Although Sumağalı teachers listed a case ending in *-vağ* (i.e., *sevrevağ, Mıradvağ*), they were not able to explain its use or give sample sentences at that time. None of the transcriptions of recorded texts, Lezgi proverbs, traslations, nor isolated sentences contained this form *-vağ*, but

the texts did have *-vaz*. It is possible that there is a slight difference in pronunciation between the villages.

3.2.8 Postessive -x'

The SL postessive suffix is *-x'*. I found examples of this suffix in the IL texts and elicited sentences with the same meanings as the SL postessive case. The postessive case has many functions in SL, but not all of those functions were found in IL. I have found two functions for the postessive in IL: locational and exchange.

In both IL and SL, the postessive is used to convey the locative meanings 'toward' and 'behind'. The more common locative function is 'to/toward' as in example (58).

(58) *Vas'arı*   *hili-x'*   *yalzı.*
      Rivers   sea-POES   stretch
      'Rivers stretch to the sea.'

Less commonly, the postessive suffix -x' is used in SL to convey the sense 'behind.' In one IL text, an abstract use of this suffix could potentially mean 'behind.'

(59) *zın*   *x'fi*   *masa*   *b'ayc'ahzı-x'*   *əqöni*   *g'enizyi*
      my   go   different   king-POES   walk   is.necessary

      adaz   *rış*   *avan,*   *avaşnı*   *c'irin*   *lazımyı.*
      he-DAT   daughter   is   is.not   to.learn   is.necessary
      'It is necessary for me to go to another king and learn whether or not he has a daughter.'
          (perhaps literally 'walk behind a king'.)

Haspelmath (1993, 92) states that the postposition *qulux'* is used for 'behind' more often than the postessive case. As seen in example (60), IL also uses *qılıx'* for this function.[54]

(60) *De*   *ayalzın*   *qılıx'*   *xus'unuvu.*
      mother   child-GEN   behind   stands
      'Mother stands behind the child.'

_____

[54] Though Haspelmath does not analyze it as such, this postposition may be in the postessive form. This raises the question as to whether such words can be classified as postpositions at all; perhaps they are special nouns that are used to express location.

There is a question as to whether or not some speakers of IL also use -*g* for the postessive suffix. Table 11 shows that the -*x'*suffix is missing from the IL paradigms; instead, we find examples of -*g* suffix in *lıvarıg* and *sevreg*, which I have tentatively classified as postessive.[55] Only one example of -*g* was found in the text as seen in (61), and it is used in the abstract sense as the recipient of a promise so it does not provide a clear identification as postessive.

(61)   …*xi*   *d'ahanı*   <u>*ğüləğzi-g*</u>   *yagay*   *gafınız...*
        keep   not.able   snake-POES   given   word-GEN.DAT
        '…not able to keep [his] promise to the snake…'

The second function of the postessive in IL is to express the sense 'in exchange for'. It has the same function in SL, as shown in (62)

(62)   Standard: *Za*   *zi*   *balk'an*   *s'ud*   <u>*xipe-x'*</u>.   *gana.*
                   I   my   horses   ten   sheep-POES   gave.

        İsmayıllı: *Za*   *zazı*   *yabıyar*   *10*   <u>*xpe-x'*</u>   *degişni.*
                   I   my   sheep   ten   sheep-POES   exchanged
            'I gave my horses in exchange for 10 sheep.'

While SL uses the postessive for the possessor in a possessive clause, IL does not. Instead it uses the dative:

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[55] The velar –*g* shares place of articulation with the subessive –*k* suffix (cf. section 3.2.11), so one might think that –*g* is just a variant form of -*k*; however, in the paradigm for 'wings' in Table 10, the subessive *lıvarık* is already listed. So, *lıvarıg* (-*g*) appears to be in another case, which I have tentatively categorized as postessive.

(63)	Standard:	*Za-x'*	*masa*	*tekif*	*ava.*
		I-POES	different	proposal	have
	İsmayıllı:	*Za-z*	*masa*	*plan*	*ava.*
		I-DAT	different	proposal	have

'I have a different proposal.'

3.2.9 Postelative -x'i

Though this case was not listed in the verb paradigms, it was used in one elicited sentence. In (64), the postelative suffix -x'i in İsmayıllı (-x'ay in SL) appears to mean 'from' as it does in SL.

(64)	*Hili*	*am*	*çaz*	*masa*	*b'ad'a-x'ı*	*ag'ozuvu.*
	now	he	we-DAT	different	side-POEL	see

'Now we see him from a different side.'

3.2.10 Postdirective -ğuz

The IL postdirective suffix *-ğuz* (*-x'di* in SL) attaches to the oblique stem, although in some cases the last vowel of the oblique is lowered before attaching the postdirective ending (compare the *-a* in postdirective *Afrikaza̱ğuz* and the *-ı* in ergative *Afrikaẕı* in Table 11, page 41).

Of the 13 noun case paradigms prepared by IL speakers, the only words to take the postdirective suffix were the following: *şeherzağaz* 'through the city'*, Afrikazağuz* 'through Africa'*,* and *parkınağuz* 'through the park'. All three are places in the narrow sense of geographic locations. This case was not used for any other nouns, and Aliyeva noted that in IL this case cannot be used for anything other than geographical locations. She recommended glossing the postdirective 'through', but only in the strict locative sense, as shown in (65).

(65)	*Muse*	*hilə-ğuz*	*feni.*
	Moses	sea-PODIR	went

'Moses went through the sea.'

This differs from SL's use of the postdirective, which also expresses the locative meaning 'toward', and which can be used with nouns that are not geographical places or locations, as shown in (66).

(66)	*Şarvilidi*	*ayal*	<u>*h'uru-x'di*</u>	*q'una*	*va*	*am*	*viçin*
	Şarvili-ERG	child	breast-PODIR	held	and	he-ABS	self-GEN

	çiniv	*agudna.*
	face-ADES	approached

'Sharvili held the child close to his breast and brought him close to his face.'
    (Haspelmath 1993, 95)

Even though the functions vary between IL -*ğuz* /ɣuz/ and SL -*x'di* /qʰdi/ suffixes, I believe

that -*ğuz* is the postdirective form for IL. Phonological correlations between IL and SL support

this hypothesis. It has been seen that there is a weak correlation between IL /ɣ/ and SL /q/ (refer

to section 2.2.1). Although the postdirective suffixes begin with /ɣ/ and /qʰ/, the SL aspirated

uvular in the environment preceding a voiced stop /d/ might lose its aspiration, making the /ɣ/:/q/

correlation possible.[56] The last part of the postdirective suffix is also reasonable; other directive

cases of IL contain [V*z*] in correspondence with SL [*di*]. For instance, refer to the

addirective -*vaz* (3.2.7), adverbial subdirective use of -*dakaz* (3.2.13), and superdirective -*laz*

(3.2.16).

3.2.11 Subessive -k

There appears to be virtually no difference between the IL and SL subessive case; both use

the suffix -*k* in a locative sense to express 'below' or 'underneath'. An example from IL is given

in (67).

(67)	*Zın*	<u>*hili-k*</u>	*akuç'nu.*
	I	sea-SBES	entered

'I entered (down) into the sea.'

Subessive is also used as an abstract locative, especially with verbs that denote close contact,

like 'mix', 'touch', 'participate, and 'stick' (Haspelmath 1993, 275).

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[56] Haspelmath does not address the affect voiced stops have on the aspirated stop that precede them in
a consonant cluster.

(68) *Sevre-k*   *ürt*   *k'kanı.*
      bear-SBES   honey   sticks

      'Honey sticks to the bear.'

3.2.12 Subelative *-ki* or *-kağ*

The subelative suffix, *-ki* or *- kağ* in IL (*-kay* in SL) differs slightly in usage from SL. The

prototypical meaning 'below' in SL was not found in IL. Usually the subelative is used in IL in a

general, abstract sense of 'from'.

(69) *vini*   *rıgıdaz*   *mesi-ki*   *qarağaz*   *d'iy.*
      You-and   six-DAT   bed-SBEL   to rise   did.

      'And you arose from bed at six.'

As in Standard Lezgi, the subelative is used for partitive expressions (out of) (Haspelmath

1993, 97), as in (70).

(70) *Sa*   *ç'iç'i-ki*   *gam*   *jezaş,*   *sa*   *d'erz'i-ki*   *g'am.*
      One   thread-SBEL   carpet   is-NEG   one   tree-SBEL   meadow

      'One thread of yarn doesn't make a carpet, nor one tree a meadow.'

      (Lit.: from one thread of yarn there isn't a carpet; from one tree a meadow).

Standard Lezgi uses the subelative for the stimulus of emotions:

(71) *Aynisediz*   *viçin*   *apaya-kay*   *x'el*   *qvez*   *başlamişna.*
      Aynise-DAT   self-GEN   father.in.law-SBEL   anger   come   begin

       'Aynise began to get angry with her father-in-law.' (Haspelmath 1993, 98)

In the IL example (72), the subelative is used in a similar construction to that of (71); in (72) it is

the object of pleasure.

(72) *Zaz*   *s'eheri-ki*   *b'ara*   *xuş*   *qözay.*
      I-DAT   goats-SBEL   much   pleasure   comes

      'I like goats very much.'

3.2.13 Subdirective

In SL the subdirective (*-kdi* in SL) is used on nominalized verbs and masdars that express

cause or the locative notion 'direction toward below.' Given that the IL corpus contains

examples of the postdirective, addirective, and superdirective case, one would expect to find *-kaz*

(or potentially phonological variants -*xaz*, or -*ğaz*) as the subdirective suffix. None of the texts or elicited sentences and paradigms, however, had the -*kaz* nominal suffix nor any other variant that matched Haspelmath's analysis. Haspelmath claims the subdirective is rare in SL, so the failure to find it could be accidental. There is reason to believe, however, that a subdirective case existed in IL at some point in time. The evidence can be seen in adverbial morphology. The suffix -*dakaz* is used in IL for deriving adverbs, as shown in (73 and (74).

(73)   *çın*   *g'eşin-dakaz*   *qatanay*
        we   hunger-ADV   slept
        '…we went to bed hungry'

(74)   *axpa*   *s'eyi-dakaz*   *ğür*   *x'eheni.*
        then   new-ADV   flour   add
        '…then add flour again.' (lit: 'then newly flour add.'*)*

SL uses -*daldi* rather than -*dakaz*, as seen in (75).

(75)   SL *Muallimar*   *har sa*   *tarsuniz*   *diget-daldi*   *hazur*   *sun*   *lazim ya.*
        IL *Məğ'limar*   *har sa*   *darsınız*   *x'san-dakaz*   *hazır*   *hanı*   *genizyi.*
            teachers   every   class   care-ADV   prepare   do   is.necessary
        'The teachers have to prepare carefully for every class.'(Haspelmath 1993, 101)

    Gensler (2000) shows that the SL superdirective suffix, -*daldi,* adverbializes only nouns. Haspelmath shows that in SL -*dakaz* adverbializes adjectives. As we can see from the examples above, IL -*dakaz,* which potentially originated from the subdirective case, adverbializes nouns (73) and adjectives (74). Also, Haspelmath notes that the adverbial -*dakaz* suffix is frequently used in Axti adverbs.

3.2.14 Superessive -*l*

    The SL and IL superessive suffix -*l* induces lowering on the final vowel of the oblique stem, and it is used primarily to express the location 'on' or 'onto', as shown in (76).

(76*)*   *Axg'unu*   *in*   *gavyadina*   *inağ,*   *ğanı*   *stulza-l*
         found   this   beef   here-INEL   bring   table-SPES
         'Finding the beef there, he brought it (on)to the table.'

In SL, the superessive is also used in a locative sense when referring to certain Lezgi villages (while the inessive is used to refer to other Lezgi villages and any non-Lezgi locations). This use was not found in IL.

Both Standard and İsmayıllı Lezgi use superessive to mark the cause of an emotion:

(77)   Standard: *Adan   şirin   sesina-l   bilbil   heyran   z'eda.*
        her   sweet   voice-SPES   nightingale   surprised   will.be
                                                                (Haspelmath 1993, 99)

        İsmayili: *Bilbil   ni   adan   şirin   vanınal   mahtal   hanı.*
                nightingale   ?   her   sweet   voice-SPES   amazed   be
                'Even a nightingale will be surprised at her sweet voice.'

Both also use it for the temporal sense of 'until'.

(78)   *Vın   in   ç'ovara-l   finivay?*
        you   there   time-SPES   had.gone
        'Where were you until now?'

3.2.15 Superelative -li

All uses and senses of the IL superelative suffix *-li* are the same as those in SL (*-lay*) (Haspelmath:1993:99-100). Examples for each meaning are given in the examples below.

The superelative is used to express 'off'', as shown in (79).

(79)   *Bay   sevre-li   gvadarnı.*
        grandpa   bear-SPEL   jumped
        'Grandpa jumped off of the bear.'

It is used to express 'across' or 'over', as shown in (80).

(80)   *vavı   a   miqən-li   gaxlaç'   jeş.*
        you   that   bridge-SPEL   cross   NEG
        '...(you) don't cross over that bridge.'

A third sense is the temporal 'after', as shown in (81).

(81)   *quq,   vad   qala-lı   indaz   everni   məh'kemazız.*
        four   five   day-SPEL   him-DAT   called   lower-court-DAT
        '…four or five days later they summoned him to the lower-court.'

A fourth sense is the temporal 'beginning with', as shown in (82).

(82) *In   ǥala-lı,   insanırı   adaz   s'eyi   d'or   ganı.*
     that   day-SPEL   people   come   new   name   gave
     'Starting on that day, the people called him by a new name.'

Finally, it is used for the object of a comparison, as shown in (83).

(83) *Valud   za-lı   sa k'us   faz   xqözi   darsınağ.*
     Valod   1SG-SPEL   little.bit   fast   came.back   lesson-INEL
     'Valod came back from the lesson a little quicker than me.'

3.2.16 Superdirective -laz

The SL superdirective suffix is *-ldi,* and it has the following senses: temporal 'until',
instrument, abstract manner, and (on rare occasion) 'onto' Haspelmath (1993, 101). In the
İsmayıllı data only one example of the superdirective nominal suffix *-laz* was found. It conveys
the sense of 'onto'. Like the superessive, it occurs after lowering the final vowel of the oblique
stem.

(84) *Abırı   Vı   ğilera-laz   tuxulu.*
     they   you   hands-SPDIR   will.lift
     'They will lift you up in their hands.'

As a translation of a foreign text, this example is suspect; however, there are reasons to believe
this is a natural IL form. First, the IL translation was done using SL as the source language, but
in SL 'in their hands' was given as *ğilera-l*, the superessive form. Although IL also uses a
superessive case, the translator chose to use the superdirective case in this passage. Second, the
IL translation was checked with two IL speakers for naturalness.

The SL superdirective's instrument, manner, and temporal senses were not found in
İsmayıllı; as shown in 3.2.14, superessive is used for 'until' in IL. But, because IL
superdirective *-laz* (SL *-ldi*) shows the same [Vz] versus [di] correspondence pattern that occurs
in other directive cases, there is added reason to affirm the validity of this suffix in IL usage.

3.2.17 Inessive -V

Both varieties use the inessive case to mean 'in' in the physical sense. However, abstract and temporal senses of inessive that are found in SL were not found in IL. In both varieties there is no overt, separate inessive suffix; instead, the inessive is formed by lowering the final vowel of the oblique stem.

(85) *İ̇*   *fır-a*   *sa*   *ğüləğ*   *ava*   *jezi.*
      this   well-INES   one   snake   is   being
      'There was a snake in this well.'

In IL, the inessive case may also be formed by deleting the final vowel of the oblique stem. For example, in (86) we find the noun *turbaz* 'bag' inflected for the inessive case as *turbaz,* whereas the oblique stem is *turbazı.*

(86) *id'emzi*   *ğüləğ*   *turbaz-∅*   *d'unu*
      man.ERG   snake   bag-INES   dropped
      '…the man dropped the snake in the bag.'

In the same text, *turbazı* is also used for the inessive case. It appears that dropping and lowering the final vowel of the inessive suffix are optional in IL.

In (87) the noun *fır* 'well', which usually ends in *-İ*[57] in the oblique stem, is lowered to *-a* in the inessive form.

(87) *İ̇*   *fır-a*   *sa*   *ğüləğ*   *ava*   *jezi.*
      this   well-INES   one   snake   is   being
      'There was a snake in this well.'

3.2.18 Inelative -ğ

Like the inessive case, the inelative lowers the final vowel of the oblique stem to *ə* or *a* before the *-ğ* (*-y* in SL). It has two uses in common with SL. It means 'out of', as in (88) and (89), and it can have an abstract meaning of 'from' as in (90).

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[57] The dative case is *fırız.*

(88) *za*   *cibina-ğ*   *pıl*   *ganı.*
      I   pocket-INEL   money   gave

'…I gave money from out of my pocket.'

(89) *b'ab'a*   *fıra-ğ*   *yad*   *aqudza*   *ç'ovuz.*
      woman   well-INEL   water   taking   time

'…at the time the woman was taking water from the well.'

(90) *Valud*   *zalı*   *sa k'us*   *faz*   *xqözi*   *darsına-ğ*
      Valud   me-SPEL   little.bit   fast   come.back   lesson-INEL

'Valod came back from the lesson a little quicker than me.'

In SL, the inelative also has meanings of 'in exchange for' or 'cause of an emotion', but

those uses were not found in the IL data.

3.3   Conclusion

İsmayıllı Lezgi differs from standard Lezgi in its noun morphology in several ways.

Whereas SL uses *-di* as its default ergative suffix, IL uses *-zi*. Furthermore, the Xelative and

Xdirective cases exhibit systematic morpheme changes: elative cases end in *-ay* in SL and *-i*

or *-ağ* in IL; directive cases end in *-di* in SL and *-az/-uz/-ağ* in IL. The postessive suffix ends

in *-x'* in SL and in *-x'* or *-ğ* in IL. These differences in the forms of IL and SL case suffixes are

summarized in Table 13.

Table 13: Comparison of forms of IL and SL case suffixes

	IL	SL	likeness
Absolutive	∅	∅	same
Ergative	*-zI*[58] (= Obl stem)	*-di* [59](= Obl stem)	
Genitive	Obl + *-(I)n*	Obl + *-(I)n*	same
Dative	Obl + *-z*	Obl + *-z*	same
Adessive	Obl + *-v*	Obl + *-v*	same
Adelative	Obl + *-v-i*	Obl + *-v-ay*	
Addirective	Obl + *-v-az, -v-ağ*	Obl + *-v-di*	
Postessive	Obl + *-x', -ğ*	Obl + *-x'*	
Postelative	Obl + *-x'-i*	Obl + *-x'-ay*	
Postdirective	Obl + *-ğ-uz*	Obl + *-x'-di*	
Subessive	Obl + *-k*	Obl + *-k*	same
Subelative	Obl + *-k-i* or *-k-ağ*	Obl + *-k-ay*	
Subdirective	----	Obl + *-k-di*	
Superessive	Obl + *-l*	Obl + *-l*	same
Superelative	Obl + *-l-i*	Obl + *-l-ay*	
Superdirective	Obl + *-l-az*	Obl + *-l-di*	
Inessive	Obl (lowered/dropped vowel)	Obl (lowered vowel)	
Inelative	Inessive *-ğ*	Inessive *-y*	

It is evident from Table 13 that, while the SL case system is fairly regular, IL cases are more complex. In SL there is only one form for each case, while there are multiple forms in IL for the subelative, addirective, and postessive cases.

Table 14 shows the differences between IL and SL nominal case functions. Seven of the eighteen cases have exactly the same meaning in both varieties. Eight have fewer functions documented in IL than in SL, which could just be due to a lack of relevant data in IL rather than to differences in case usage. One case, genitive, has a function in IL (telling-time) that isn't mentioned in Haspelmath's analysis of SL. Another case, postdirective, has different locative meanings in IL than SL: 'through' in IL and 'toward' in SL. Finally, one case, subdirective, is not used in the data from IL.

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[58] Also for IL ergative/oblique are *-re*, *-U*, *-A* and *–dI*, where *I* is /i, ı/, and *A* and *U* represent /a,e/ or /u, ü, i/, respectfully.

[59] Also for SL ergative/oblique are *-a, -i, -u, -Adi, -rA, -Uni, -A, -U*, and *–ši/-s'i/-çi/–ji.*

Table 14: Differences in the functions of IL and SL cases

	IL	SL functions not in IL	IL function not in SL
Absolutive	subject of intransitive clause; patient/theme object of transitive clause		
Ergative	agent subject of transitive clause, Oblique		
Genitive	possession, part-whole, relational adjective, telling-time		telling-time
Dative	recipient, experiencer, location, and spans of time, etc		possessive
Adessive	with, by, to	near/by	
Adelative	from near/by, from a person or being	involuntary agent, causative	
Addirective	instrument or manner		
Postessive	to/toward, in exchange for, behind	possessive	
Postelative	from	'from behind', stimulus of emotion	
Postdirective	through a place	toward	through a place
Subessive	below, underneath, close contact		
Subelative	from, partitive (out of), stimulus of emotion		
Subdirective	adverbial	causative, direction 'toward below'	adverbial
Superessive	on, onto, located in a Lezgi village		
Superelative	off, across/over, after, beginning with, comparison		
Superdirective	up, onto	until	
Inessive	in	temporal	
Inelative	out of, from	'in exchange for', cause of emotion	

The differences in functional use of the case suffixes are less predictable than the differences in forms. Generally, many meanings of the cases are similar, especially the concrete ones; however, the Lezgi varieties differ in how they convey several abstract concepts. It is impossible to determine at this point whether the missing IL functions are simply due to a lack of data. At times (such as the adverbial use of subdirective or the possessive use of dative), the IL nominal case has an entirely different use from that of SL.

CHAPTER 4

VERBS

In Chapter 3, I showed that the noun case system in İsmayıllı Lezgi is quite similar to that in Standard Lezgi. In this chapter, I show that the general verb morphology, including non-finite and non-indicative finite verb forms and the tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) system, is also similar. The phonological forms of the two varieties' verbal affixes are more-or-less systematically related, and there are only a few significant differences in the functions of the basic verb forms and TAM system, mood being the most divergent.

Lezgi's verbal constructions, like its nominal cases, are a complex feature of the language and an area well-suited to synchronic comparison. Because Lezgi verbs are so complex, this study is limited to an analysis of TAM and certain other verb forms—masdar, infinitive, hortative, prohibitive, imperative, and optative. Locative preverbs, participles, and converbs (serial verbs) are not compared in full, though tables of IL and SL participle and converb affixes and functions are provided in Appendix A. The comparison of IL and SL TAM and other basic verb forms presented here is intended to highlight differences in verbal forms on the most fundamental level.

The methodology for this chapter is identical to that used for the previous chapter (see 3.1). In section 4.1 I provide a general description of Lezgi verbs and describe the systematic phonological differences between parallel morphemes in IL and SL. In section 4.2 I present masdars, infinitives, and non-indicative finite verb forms (imperative, hortative, optative, and prohibitive). Section 4.3 discusses the verbal tense-aspect system in both IL and SL, and section

4.4 covers mood. In the section 4.5, dealing with negation, comparisons are also made to the Axti dialect. Finally, in section 4.6 I conclude the chapter and summarize the similarities of IL and SL verb constructions.

4.1   General Description

The SL and IL verbs forms covered in this chapter are not marked for person or number.[60] Features of the verbal system in both İsmayıllı and Standard Lezgi include vowel harmony, locative preverbs[61] and affixes for tense, aspect, and mood. Irregular verb forms occur, especially in the imperative mood.[62] An illustrative paradigm of the IL and SL forms of the verb *fin* 'go' is given in Table 15, which is described in detail in the subsequent sections after a brief description of some systematic phonological differences between the IL and SL verbal suffixes.

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[60] Haspelmath (1993) adds that 'substantivized' adjectives (adjectives that, along with a copula, act as a predicate) are marked for person and number.

[61] Locative preverbs are morphemes such as *al-*, which gives the meaning 'off' in verbs like *alıq'ın* (*aluq'un* in SL) 'to fall.' Preverbs will not be discussed in any detail in this thesis. Upon casual observation, they appear to be used the in the same way (see Haspelmath (1993, sec. 10.3)), but nothing further than that can be said here.

[62] Irregular verbs will not be discussed here.

Table 15: Verb Paradigm

	IL 'go'	SL 'go'
Masdar	*fin*	*fin*
Optative	*firay*	*firay*
Imperative	*vaç*	*alad*
Infinitive	*fiz*	*fiz*
Imperfective	*fizivi*	*fizva*
Past Imperfective	*fizivay*	*fizvay*
Continuative Imperfective	*fizi*	*fizma*
Past Cont. Imperfective	*fizay*	*fizmay*
Future	*fili*	*fida*
Past Future	----	*fiday*
Periphrastic Future	*firvalyı*	*fidayval ya*
Hortative	*çefi (pl)*	*fin*
Prohibitive	*mefir, fimir*	*fimir*
Aorist	*feni*	*fena*
Past Aorist	*fenay*	*fenay*
Perfect	*fenivi*	*fenva*
Past Perfect	*fenivay*	*fenvay*
Continuative Perfect	*fena*	*fenma*
Past Cont. Perfect	*fenay*	*fenmay*

İsmayıllı Lezgi verbal suffixes adhere more to the rules of vowel harmony than do those of Standard Lezgi. For example, the root *fin* 'to go' always has a front vowel: *i* in the masdar and *e* in the aorist stems. Roots with front vowels should require suffixes with other front vowels according to the rules of palatal vowel harmony (section 2.1.4). However, nearly all SL suffixes break the rule by containing the low-back vowel *a*. In IL, vowel harmony is usually preserved; the suffixes for *fin* in IL contain front vowels (except for palatalized *-ay*). Another IL root, *as'uq'un* 'to sit down', has back vowels in the stem that require back vowels in the suffix, i.e., the perfect is *as'uq'nuvu*. Table 16 gives more examples of IL *as'uq'un* 'to sit down' and SL *raxun* 'to talk' in order to highlight that IL and SL forms with back vowels in the stem both appear to follow palatal vowel harmony while SL forms that have front vowels in the stem do not.

Table 16: Verb Paradigm: Vowel Harmony

	IL 'sit down'	SL 'talk'	IL 'go'	SL 'go'
Imperfective	*as'uq'zuvı*	*raxazva*	*fizivi*	*fizva*
Future	*as'uq'alı*	*raxada*	*fili*	*fida*
Aorist	*as'uq'nu*	*raxana*	*feni*	*fena*

Also, as seen above, IL suffixes do not undergo syncope to the extent that those of SL do; compare IL *-zIvI* with SL *-zva* in the imperfective. Further variations, specific to certain tense/aspect/mood suffixes, are discussed in the following sections as appropriate.

4.2 Masdar, Infinitive, and Non-Indicative Finite Verb Forms

The masdar,[63] infinitive, and non-indicative finite verb forms—hortative, optative, imperative, and prohibitive—are discussed in this section. These verb forms fall outside the Lezgi tense-aspect-mood system, and so they are discussed separately here.

4.2.1 Masdar -In

Because the masdar is the citation form and is used frequently throughout the chapter, it is discussed first. Both the function and the form of IL and SL masdars are identical. In both SL and IL, the masdar usually ends in *-In*, where *I* is *i*, *u*, or *ı*. The masdar form nominalizes verbs, creating nominal forms that refer to situations, facts, or the action itself. Example (91) shows a masdar used to express the state of 'being ready'.

(91) *Axpa   ešekzi   çına,   am   ad'-ın   güzetzi.*
       then   put-IMP.CONT   we   that   come-MSD   wait-IMP.CONT
       'Then we wait for its coming.' (i.e., 'we wait for it (the dough) to be ready')

Example (92) shows a masdar referring to the of action of 'taking out'.

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[63] See the next section, 4.2.1, for an explanation of the masdar form.

(92) *Haq'dar*   *xöşizivaz*   *jezi*   *ki*   *ğüləğ*   *turbazağ*
      so.much   gladness   be-IMP.CONT   that   snake   bag-INEL

      axqud-un.   *rik'el*   *alatzı.*
      take.out-MSD   heart.SPES   go.out-IMP.CONT[64]
      'There is so much gladness that the taking of the snake out of the bag leaves his heart.'
          (i.e., 'He was so happy that he forgot <u>to take</u> the snake <u>out</u> of the bag.')

Example (93) shows that even though the masdar is a nominalized form, its arguments are

still case-marked normally for a transitive verb with the ergative subject *indi* and absolutive

object *zın*.

(93) *İndi*   *zın*   *x'ile d'-un*   *b'edeli*   *xud*   *h'ağuznu.*
      it-ERG   me-ABS   make.angry-MSD   because   sound   make.low-AOR
      'It <u>made</u> me <u>angry</u> that the sound was turned down,' lit. 'Its making-me-angry (was the
          case) because the sound was made low.'

When transitive verbs are masdars, they tend to have a more obvious subordinate role in the main

clause.

Sometimes, the masdar suffix can be found added to verbs borrowed from Azerbaijani,

usually inflected with the Azerbaijani hearsay past *-mIş*, though it is unlikely that the hearsay

connotation lingers in the Lezgi borrowing.[65]

(94) *G'ard'uşar*   *qavır-mışın*   *Nurəğ'lizin*   *nıbat*   *d'iy.*
      potatoes   fry-AZERI   Nurali-GEN   turn   was
      'It was Nurali's turn to fry the potatoes.'

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[64] Due to discourse differences between Lezgi and English, the imperfective continuous tense-aspect is realized in the free translation as past tense in narratives like Text 2 but as present tense in other discourse genres such as the process text Samayezin.

[65] Both SL and IL lexicons contain many borrowed verbs which are inflected with *–mIşIn* rather than the Azerbaijani citation form *–maq/-mək*. These borrowed verbs can be inflected for other Lezgi verb forms. The masdar is particularly interesting because *–mIşIn* looks identical to the Azerbaijani/Turkish 2SG hearsay perfective (i.e. *sat<u>mışın</u>* 'I hear you've sold [it].'). SL has its own hearsay suffix, *-lda*, which will not be discussed in this chapter.

4.2.2 Infinitive -z

In both IL and SL there is little difference between the infinitive verb form and the imperfective converb, which signifies simultaneous action (see Appendix A); both take the suffix -z (Haspelmath:1993:156). A few examples were found in the IL texts of the infinitive suffix -z being used in the same manner as it is in Standard Lezgi, to express a purpose clause whose subject is coreferential with the matrix subject. Compare the use of the infinitive function in SL in example (95) to its use in IL in example (96).

(95) *I   irid   sth'a   çpin   juldaşrix'   galaz   <u>quǧva-z</u>   fena.*
      this   seven   brother   selves-GEN   friends-POES   with   play-INF   go-AOR
       'These seven brothers went to play with their friends.' (Haspelmath 1993, 156)

(96) *...adax'   əqö-z   fenaş.*
      that-POES   walk-INF   go-AOR.NEG
       '...[we] didn't leave to walk to that [place].'

4.2.3 Hortative -V

In SL, the hortative suffix is identical to the masdar -In. In IL, the hortative suffix is usually the bare stem plus a vowel,[66] as seen in example (97). In both varieties, hortative is used for exhortations in the first person singular or plural.

(97) *İd'emzi   fikirzi   ki,   qala   sarax'   idi*
      man-ERG   think-IMP.CONT   that   give-IMPV   one.time   he

      luzaval   <u>ey-i,</u>   <u>kilig-a,</u>   vış   jez   jez.
      like.said   do-HORT   look-HORT   what   is   is
       'The man thought, "Let me do what he says, giving it a chance, and see. What will be will be."'

Other masdar/hortative comparisons are *as'uq'un/as'uq'a* 'sit down,' *gun/gu* 'give,' and *gatkın/gatgı* 'lie down'.

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[66] The irregular hortative form *çef* 'let's go' was given by Aliyeva in the verb paradigm for *fin* 'to go'. Probably, the 1PL pronoun *çV* acts as a prefix. There is no other evidence in the corpora that such a strategy is used for the hortative in IL.

4.2.4 Optative *-ray*

In both SL and IL, the optative suffix *-ray* is used for exhortations and third person wishes, as shown in example (98).

(98) *B'ayc'ah   sağ   <u>hı-ray</u>.*
      king   well   be-OPT
      'Long live the king.' (Lit: King, be well.)

4.2.5 Imperative

A number of strategies are used to form the imperative in both IL and SL. As seen in Table 15 the imperative forms of 'go' are irregular in both IL and SL (*vaç* and *alad*, respectfully). For other verbs in IL, the imperative form omits all suffixes; compare *as'uq'-un* 'sit.down-MSD' and *as'uq'* sit.down.IMPV.[67] Some SL verbs form the imperative the same way. Some IL verbs have the suffix *-(a)h* in the imperative; compare *ki-n* 'write-MSD' and *Kiy-ah!* 'Write!'.[68] In contrast, the imperative in SL can be formed by adding the suffixes *-a* or *-x* (Haspelmath 1993, 135-6). Notice that the hortative suffix in IL is *-a*, so there is potential for confusion between IL hortative and SL imperative without the proper context.

In example (99) the imperative is marked with the suffix *-h,* while it is marked without overt suffixes in example (100).

(99) *in   kar   çüne   zaz   <u>la-h</u>.*
      this   work   you-ERG   me-DAT say-IMPV
      '…assign me this task.' (Lit: '(You) say to me this work.')

(100) *<u>Gahat-∅</u>   nevi   c'an   <u>x'ütəğ'-∅</u>!*
      run-IMPV   RFLX-you   heart   save-IMPV
      'Run; save your own soul!'

---

[67] The paradigm for *as'uq'un* also listed the suffix *–man* (*as'uq'man)* for the imperative form; however, no other examples of *–man* as an imperative suffix were found in the texts or sample sentences.

[68] It is interesting that the process text did not use the imperative but rather the imperfective when instructing one in how to make bread.

4.2.6 *Prohibitive -mir; m(V)- , -(V)r*

In both SL and IL varieties, the prohibitive is the negative form of the imperative. Since it takes different affixes than the affixes of other negative forms of the verb, it is discussed here (see section 4.5 for more on negation).

Though the prohibitive functions identically in IL and SL, there is a difference in how the category is expressed. The SL prohibitive suffix is always *-mir*. While IL also uses *-mir*, sometimes it uses the circumfix *m(e)-* and *-r* (*m-X-r*) as seen in *me-je-r*[69] 'don't be' and *me-fi-r* 'don't go' (compare *fi-n* 'go-MSD'). The Axti dialect also uses the *m-* and *-r* prohibitive circumfix. The following examples show both suffix options in IL: *-mir* in (101) and (*m-X-r*) in (102).

(101)   *Gafın*   *q'il*   *aqudnu,*   *d'ım*   <u>*c'in-mir.*</u>
         word-GEN   head   leave-AOR   tail   keep.back-PROH
         'The promise was begun; don't hold back on the end.' (Lit: 'The head of the word left; don't keep back the tail.')

(102)   *Hakimzin*   *ülukü,*   *p'alg'anzın*   *qılıx'ı*   <u>*me-fi-r.*</u>
         judge-GEN   front-INES   horse-GEN   back-INES   PROH-go-PROH
         'Don't go before a judge or behind a horse.'

4.3   Tense-Aspect Categories

In Haspelmath's analysis of SL, which also can be applied to IL, there are six major tense-aspect categories: imperfective, future, aorist, perfect, past, and continuative. The first four categories can occur alone. Past can occur in combination with each of these four. Continuative can only occur with perfect and imperfective. Continuative and past can also cooccur. There is one additional category: periphrastic future. Each combination of tense-aspect categories has a distinct fused suffix (there are not separate morphemes for each category). These forms will be discussed separately in sections 4.3.1 through 4.3.13. As will be seen, certain other notions

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[69] *hin* 'to be' is an irregular verb.

besides tense and aspect (such as discourse relevance) are needed to fully characterize the meaning and use of these forms.

4.3.1 Imperfective *-zIvI*

The imperfective suffixes of SL (*-zva*) and IL (*-zIvI*) have slightly different forms. In function, however, they are identical. Imperfective verbs are events or actions that progressively happen or exist during a time of reference. In example (103), the event does not occur at one specific point in the narrative; it is somewhat ongoing, therefore being marked with the imperfective.

(103) *Milis*   *idareziz*   *xabar*   <u>*gu-zuvu.*</u>
       polis   office-DAT   news   give-IMP
       'News was being given to the police office."

The imperfective is also used for events that have ongoing relevance to the narrative (in contrast to the aorist, see 4.3.3). In example (104), the act of writing the lower court is one that affects the actions that follow it in the story, such as actually going to the court.

(104) *Məhkemazız*   <u>*ki-zivi.*</u>
       lower.court-DAT   write-IMP
       'He was writing to the lower court.'[70]

4.3.2 Future *-li*

While future is marked by *-da* in SL, it is marked by *-li* in IL. In SL it expresses future time and also habitual scenarios in formal language, though only the first function was found in the IL texts.

(105) *har sa*   *kar*   *qənihid*   <u>*je-li.*</u>
       every   work   like.this.day   be-FUT
       '(When you come) Everything you'll have to do will be the same as it was today.'

---

[70] Because the mainline events in this narrative are in the past tense, the imperfective in this context is translated with the English past tense,. The Lezgi imperfective, however, is not itself a past tense

(106) *Zın   sa   b'ayc'ahzın   rışan   tütenal   <u>əlgö-li.</u>*
      I   one   king-GEN   daughter-GEN throat-SPES   wrap-FUT
      'I will wrap myself around the neck of a king's daughter.'

4.3.3 Aorist -nI

The aorist suffix is *-na* in SL; it is *-nI* in IL. The last vowel in the aorist and perfect stems

can also be lowered. For example, the *i* in <u>*fi-n*</u> 'go-MSD' lowers to *e* in the aorist *<u>fe</u>-ni*. The

vowel is not lowered in all verbs; for instance, the *u* in *as'<u>uq</u>'nu* 'sit.down-AOR' does not lower

to *o* or *a*. Some verbs undergo lowering, while others do not. This vowel-lowering occurs in

both SL and IL even though the suffixes are different.

The aorist marks a past state or action that has no current effect, as shown in (107).

(107) *Ekper   g'olaxılı   işez- işez   <u>xta-nı</u>   çaxgalaz   sa*
      Ekper   work-SPEL   weeping   return-AOR   with.us   one

      otağzı   qatkızıvay   man.
      room-INES   sleep-IMP.PST   PTCL
      'Ekper returned from work weeping, [as we could see] since he slept in one room with
          us.'

The speaker is recalling an event (Ekper's return) that happened in the past and has no effect to

other events that will take place in the narrative. The weeping may affect events that occur later

in the story, but his return does not. The aorist is also used in a narrative in (108).

(108) *B'ayc'ahzız   xoşi   <u>x'ha-nı.</u>*
      king-DAT   joy   be-AOR
      'The king was filled with joy.'

In this text, the main characters of the narrative are a man and a snake. The king was affected by

their actions, however the king's resultant experience of joy (marked by the aorist) does not

influence the actions of the man or the snake.

4.3.4 Perfect -nIvI

The perfect takes the suffix *-nva* in SL and *-nIvI* in IL. It is used for a past action or state that has relevance to the time of reference. In example (109) the snake's past action (marked by the perfect tense) affects what the man will do next.

(109) | *Qarlıqız* | *id'emziz* | *hizi* | *ki* | *fılan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one.day | man-DAT | hear-IMP.CONT | that | such.and.such |

b'ayc'ahzın	*rışan*	*tütenal*	*ğüləğ*	*əlc'ük ha-nıvı.*
king-GEN	daughter-GEN	throat-SPES	snake	be.wound.around-PRF

'Then one day, the man heard that the snake wound himself around the neck of some king's daughter.'

In (110), the narrator recalls returning, which is relevant to the topic he is discussing (the beating).

(110) | *Zın* | *an* | *momentzi* | *xta-nıvı* | *ki,* | *ibiri* | *Valod* | *rəqizivi.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | that | moment-INES | return-PRF | that | these | Valody | kill-IMP |

'I returned at that moment when they were beating Valodiya.'

4.3.5 Continuative Imperfective -zI

The continuative aspect can only occur with imperfective or perfect tenses in both SL and IL. In SL the continuative imperfective *-zma* is derived from the copula *ama* 'still being' (Haspelmath 1993, 130), but the copula is not apparent in the IL suffix *-zi*. The continuative imperfective indicates an action that has relevance to the time of reference. In (111), the action of buying beef is relevant to the immediate context of the story and continues as the background.

(111) | *İn* | *Valudu* | *viçiz* | *magazinziki* | *sa* | *gavyadina* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | Valodiya-ERG | himself-DAT | store-SBEL | one | beef |

qaz'ızı.
buy-IMP.CONT

'Valodiya bought himself some beef from the store.'

The continuative imperfective is also used for habitual situations, such as the process of bread-making in a procedural text (112).

(112)   *Axpalazı*   *ksövar*   <u>*axqud-zu,*</u>   *yad*   <u>*eliz-zi.*</u>
        then   cinder   take.out-IMP.CONT   water   splash.IMP.CONT

        'Then the cinders are taken out and water is splashed.'

4.3.6 *Continuative Perfect -na*

The continuative perfect suffix in IL is *-na* versus *-nma* in SL. According to Haspelmath (1993), in SL the continuative perfect must carry a resultative meaning. It is unclear whether or not a resultative meaning must exist in this tense-aspect form in IL. No examples using the continuative perfect were found in IL that exactly matched the way it is used in SL. In the following IL example, there is a resultative relationship, but the relationship is reversed. The verb marked with the continuative perfect, *kıtkana* 'get caught on,' is not the result, but the cause of the related actions. The verb *kıtkana* takes the continative perfect because the action of getting caught on something is ongoing during the narrator's episode of disorientation.

(113)   *Çarxın*   *k'enik* *qon* <u>*kıtka-na*</u>   *vışna,* *zın* *avatzı*
        wheel-GEN   under rock to.light-PRF.CONT what.is I   fall-IMP

        c'ilel.
        ground-SPES
        'The wheel caught on a rock, and I don't know what happened but I fell to the ground.'

4.3.7 *Past Imperfective -zIvay*

The past imperfective suffix *-zIvay* (*-zvay* in SL),[71] indicates the action still has relevance to the mainline theme, but it occurs prior to the other related actions. In example (114) the fact that Ekper slept in the same room as the narrator and others gives background information explaining how they all could tell he was weeping upon return (that is, since he did not have his own room for that night).

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[71] The suffixes for the past tense-aspect categories all end in [(*a*)*y*] in the affirmative. This formative could be analyzed as a separate past morpheme with fairly transparent morphophonemic alternations, but this is not necessary for the present analysis, which treats all tense-aspect suffixes as unitary fused forms.

(114) | *Ekper* | *g'olaxılı* | *işez- işez* | *xtanı* | *çaxgalaz* | *sa* | *otağzı*
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Ekper | work-Spel | weeping | return-Aor | with.us | one | room-Ines |

qatkı-zıvay   *man.*
sleep-Imp.Pst   Ptcl

'Ekper returned from work weeping, [as we could see] since he slept in one room with us.'

4.3.8 Past Future

No evidence has been found for a past future tense in İsmayıllı Lezgi. Haspelmath gives *-day* as the past future suffix for SL, but the corresponding *-lay* was not found in IL. If the past future also reflected the *ay/i* correspondence seen in the -elative suffixes (see section 3.2), it would be homophonous with the future *-li*.

The primary function of the oddly-named "past future tense" in SL is to indicate a habitual action or state. IL uses the continuative imperfective for this function (see section 4.3.5). Another function of the past future in SL is counterfactual conditional statements. Instead of using the past future to mark this function, IL uses the conditional mood, *-t'ı,* in these situations (see section 4.4.2).

4.3.9 Past Aorist -nay

Both the form and functions of the past aorist suffix (*-nay*) are the same in IL and SL. Like the aorist, the past aorist marks a state or action that was finished prior to the time of reference and has no current effect, but the time between the completed state or action and the time of reference is greater in the case of the past aorist. In example (115), the arrest is being told as background information, a commentary and reflection at the end of a story.

(115) | *Amay* | *kataybır* | *qı-nay.*[72] |
| --- | --- | --- |
| they | who.beat | be.arrested-Aor.Pst |

'Those who beat (him) had been arrested.'

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[72] This action was not a continuous event in the story, so the past aorist in this case is not to be confused with the past continuative perfect tense, which has the homophonous suffix *–nay*.

In this example, the narrator had already begun to move on with the storyline in the aorist when

he backed up and gave information about an event (the beating) that occurred prior to his

stopping point in the story.

4.3.10 Past Perfect -nIvay

The past perfect suffix is *-nIvay* in IL (*-nvay* in SL), and it "expresses temporal precedence

to another past situation" (Haspelmath 1993, 145). In example (116), 'returning the car' happens

prior to other actions in the narrative which are also in the perfect tense. In this situation, the

narrator is telling other characters in the story about a past event that had already been completed.

(116)   *"Senviz*   *maşın*   *za*   <u>*xutxa-nıvay.*</u>*"*
        night-DAT   car   I-ERG   return-PRF.PST
        'At night I had returned the car.'

4.3.11 Past Continuative Imperfective -zay

For the past continuative imperfective, marked by *-zay* in IL and *-zmay* in SL, there is not

only a past element, but also a habitual sense that is relevant to the immediate context. In

example (117) the narrator describes Pirquliyev and Zahidovar's former habit of coming to visit.

It is a habit that is relevant to the immediate context because, as the introduction to a narrative, it

sets the scene for the rest of the events to come.

(117)   *Pirquliliyevni,*   *Zahidovar*   *b'ara*   <u>*ǧö-zay*</u>   *anız.*
        Pirquliliyev.and   Zahidovar   much   come-IMP.CONT.PST   there-DAT
        'Pirquliliyev and Zahidovar would come to us often.'

4.3.12 Past Continuative Perfect -nay

The past continuative perfect suffix is *-nmay* in SL. As with the continuative perfect, the

past continuative perfect has a resultative meaning in SL. There is also a past element, which sets

the resultative state prior to the time of reference. An example of this use of the past continuative

perfect in SL can be seen in (118) below.

(118)   *K'vale*   *sekin*   *tir.*   *Gül*   *hele*   <u>*ksa-nmay.*</u>
house-INES   quiet   COP-PST   husband   still   sleep-PRF.CONT.PST

'It was quiet in the house. The husband was still asleep.' (Haspelmath 1993, 145)

This description might be accurate for IL past continuative perfect, although I do not have sufficient data to definitively support such a conclusion. Only one potential example of the past continuative perfect was found in IL, in example (119).

(119)   *k'oliz*   *muq'a*   *ğ'arabazağ*   *gaxvadarnı,*   *k'oçu-k'oçu*   *k'oliz*
house-DAT   near   cart-INEL   throw-AOR   foot-foot   house-DAT

<u>*x'fe-nay.*</u>
return-PRF.CONT.PST

'…near home I jumped off the cart and had been returning home[73] by foot.'

The resultative sense in example (119) may come from the verbal suffix, or from the context of the story, wherein, because he got off the cart before he was at his house, he still had to walk the rest of the way. This could also be a case of the continuative perfect participle.

The difficulty in finding occurances of the past continuative perfect comes from the fact that we would expect it to be marked by the suffix -*nay,* since the SL suffix is -*nmay* (compare the past continuative imperfective correspondence of IL -*zay* versus SL -*zmay*). This suffix, in IL, is homophonous with the past aorist and continuative perfect participle. All other examples of the -*nay* suffix in İsmayıllı texts and verb paradigms functioned as one of these other forms.

4.3.13 Periphrastic Future -*valyı*

In SL, the periphrastic future is marked with the suffix -*dayval* and the copula in the present (*ya*) or past (*xana*) form. The periphrastic future expresses an immediate future time in relation to the present, as shown in (120), or the past, as shown in (121).

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[73] The Azeri translation "arabaya mindim və evə yaxın arabadan tullanıb piyada evə getdim" does not show whether the continuative/resultative meaning exists. A more natural translation in English (which does not capture the continous aspect) would be '…near home I jumped off the cart and returned home by foot.'

(120) *Ada   i   dağlariz   s'iyi   ümür   ği-dayval   ya.*
       he-ERG   this   mountains-DAT new   life   bring-PPH.FUT   COP
       'He is going to bring a new life into these mountains.' (Haspelmath 1993, 147)

(121) *Aburu   hadaz   ever   gu-dayval   xana.*
       they-ERG   that-DAT   call   give-PPH.FUT   be-AOR
       'They were going to call him.' (Haspelmath 1993, 147)

The corresponding form in IL appears to be -*valyı*, as shown in (122).

(122) *üx'ne   sağ'atzın   vadaz   çın   aq'uç'ur-valyı.*
       morning   hour-GEN   five-DAT   we   leave-PPH.FUT
       '...we are going to leave at six in the morning.'

This suffix appears to have been derived from -*val* (corresponding to SL -*dayval*) plus the present

copula (*ya* or *yI*). Aliyeva feels there is little semantic difference between the suffixes -*li*

and -*valyı*. She also notes that -*valyı* sounds more grammatical.[74] On the other hand, in spoken

texts -*valyı* was only used three times, and -*li* was the more common future form. Example (122)

above shows one of the three instances of the periphrastic future used in a spoken IL text. More

research is needed to determine if -*valyı* is like the periphrastic future in IL in expressing an

immediate future, distinct from the regular future.

4.4   Mood

İsmayıllı Lezgi and Standard Lezgi share three of the same mood categories: interrogative,

factual conditional, and counterfactual conditional. IL has a fourth mood, desiderative, which is

reportedly only used in slang. Table 17 lists the four moods, their meanings, and their suffixes.

In the following sub-sections the table is explained.

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[74] The periphrastic future was used exclusively for the future tense in formal, written texts that were
translated into İsmayıllı Lezgi from Standard Lezgi. It is unknown what tense-aspect the SL used and if IL
simply copied the SL choices.

75

Table 17: IL and SL Moods

Mood	Uses	SL	IL
Interrogative	Question particle	*-ni*	*-ni,*
Factual Conditional	if (potential exists)	*- t'a* (AOR.PCPL)[75]	*-t'a*
Counterfactual Conditional	if (impossible; theory)	*-t'a* (AOR.PST)	*-t'i*
Desiderative	if (wish/hope)	---------	*-gan/ganzay*

4.4.1 Interrogative

The interrogative mood is identical in form and function in SL and IL. In both varieties the

suffix is *-ni*, and it marks yes/no questions, as shown in (123).

(123) *bes   vına   maşın   hal-zıvaşırnı?*
       but   you.ERG   car-ABS   drive-IMP.PST.NEG.INT
       '…but you weren't driving the car?'

4.4.2 Conditional

Factual and counterfactual conditional moods are marked differently in IL than in SL. In IL,

there is a simple difference of suffixes: *-t'a* for factual, *-t'I* for counterfactual. These suffixes can

be attached to any tense-aspect or participial form, as illustrated in (124) with the future and past

imperfective tenses.

(124)   Factual   Counterfactual

Past Imperfective *fizivayt'a* 'If he goes'   *fizivayt'ı*   'If he were going to go'

Future   *feyt'a*   If he will go'   *feyt'ı*   'If he were to go'

                                 [potential exists]   [impossible, theory only]

The SL system is more complicated. Both conditional moods use the same *-t'a* suffix, but

they attach to specific verb forms. The factual conditional suffix must be added to an aorist

participle, while the other verb in the clause must be in the future tense (Haspelmath 1993, 394-

395), as shown in (125).

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[75] These tense-aspect and participlial forms are discussed in the relevant subsections.

(125)　*Vun*　　　　*vi*　　　　　*didedini*　　　*bubadi*　　　*Ismidiz*
　　　　you-ABS　　you-GEN　　mother-ERG-and　father-ERG　Ismi-DAT

　　　　<u>*ga-yit'a*</u>　　<u>*vuç-da*</u>　　*na?*
　　　　give-AOP.CND　what.do-FUT　you-ERG
　　　　'If your parents give you (i.e. marry you off) to Ismi, what will you do?' (Haspelmath
　　　　　1993, 394)

This construction was not found in the IL texts, but a similar construction is shown in (126), in
which the factual conditional suffix attaches to an aorist participle, though the main verb in the
clause is an infinitive rather than future tense.

(126)　*za*　　*ğüləğ*　<u>*axqud-urt'a*</u>　　*idi*　　　*zın*　　*yağ'az.*
　　　　I-ERG　snake　extract-AOP.CNDF　he-ERG　I-ABS　strike-INF[76]
　　　　'…if I extract the snake, he could strike me (in the process).'

　　　　The counterfactual conditional mood is constructed in SL by adding the same *-t'a* suffix to
an aorist past verb, while the other verb in the clause must be in the past future (Haspelmath
1993, sec. 21.7), as shown in (127).

(127)　*Eger*　　*am*　　　*paka*　　<u>*ata-nayt'a*</u>　　　*za*　　　*am*
　　　　if　　　she-ABS　tomorrow　come-AOR.PST-CND　I-ERG　she-ABS

　　　　vakzalda　*gürüşmiş*　<u>*iyi-day*</u>
　　　　station　　meeting　　do-FUT.PST
　　　　'If she were to arrive tomorrow, I would meet her at the station.' (Haspelmath 1993, 395)

Again, no examples were found in IL, but a similar construction is shown in (128) where the IL
counterfactual conditional suffix attaches to a past aorist, though the main verb in the clause is
aorist not past future.

(128)　*Za*　　*eger*　*rəqin*　　*qayda*　<u>*pızmış-nayt'ı,*</u>　　　*zın*　*yegin*
　　　　I-ERG　if　　road-GEN　rule　　disturb-AOR.PST.CND.CF　I　　fast

　　　　fizivayt'ı,　　　*abır*　*kabinkazız*　*fik'*　*aqaxnı?*
　　　　go.IMP.PST.CND.CF　they　cabin-DAT　　how　go.out-AOR
　　　　'If I had disturbed the rules of the road, if I had driven fast, how could people board my
　　　　　car?'

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[76] In this case, the infinitive is acting as the imperfective converb, denoting a simultaneous act.

4.4.3 Desiderative

Desiderative mood suffixes in IL are *-gan* 'wish' and *-ganzay* 'hope'. Haspemath did not note similar affixes in SL. Here are examples of the desiderative mood given as part of the verb paradigm elicitations:

(129) *fizgan* 'wish to go'

fizganzay 'hope to go'

The forms were given during an elicitation session, but they were not found in any of the texts. Given the Aliyeva's assertion that the desiderative mood is used only in slang, it is understandable that recorded texts would be missing such constructions.[77]

4.5 Negation

Lezgi has two ways of marking negation on the verb stem: adding the prefix *tV-* or adding a suffix. The prefix strategy is used on masdar, optative, and participial forms.[78] The other negative forms for the six tense-aspect categories in IL follow a replacement strategy: if the affirmative suffix ends in *-(C)I*, replace *-I* with *-aş*; if the affirmative suffix ends in *-ay*, replace *-ay* with *-aşır.* Negation in the future tense is the exception: the affirmative future suffix *-li* is completely replaced with the negative suffix *-ş*. SL uses *ç* instead of *ş* in all the negation suffixes, but the Axti Lezgi dialect, like IL, uses *ş*, not *ç* (Mejlanova 1964). Table 18 illustrates the pattern for negation in IL verbs:

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[77] When speaking in front of a microphone or recording device, it is natural to slightly alter speech and purposely or subconsciously avoid slang terminology.

[78] In Standard Lezgi *tV-* is also used for negation on infinitive forms, but no examples of negative infinitives were found in the IL data.

Table 18: IL Negative forms of *fin* 'to go'

	affirmative	negative
Masdar	*fin*	*ti-fin*
Optative	*firay*	*t-firay*
Infinitive	*fiz*	
Imperfective	*fizivi*	*fiziv-aş*
Past Imperfective	*fizivay*	*fiziv-aşır*
Continuative Imperfective	*fizi*	*fiz-aş*
Past Cont. Imperfective	*fizay*	*fiz-aşır*
Future	*fili*	*fi-ş*
Hortative (1SG)	*feni geni*	*ti-feni*
Aorist	*feni*	*fen-aş*
Past Aorist	*fenay*	*fen-aşır*
Perfect	*fenivi*	*feniv-aş*
Past Perfect	*fenivay*	*feniv-aşır*

In example (130), the negation prefix is used, while in (131) the aorist negative suffix can be

seen.

(130) *Cuvab*   <u>*ti-he-yzi*</u>   *mandı*   *luzu:*
       answer   NEG-hear-AOR.PCPL.IMP   again   say.IMP

       'Not having heard the answer, it is repeated,'

(131) *bes*   *t'ïa*   <u>*lan-aş*</u>   *maşın*   *xutxaç'al?*
       Oh!   why   say-AOR.NEG   car   take-PSTR.CVB[79]

       '…Oh! Why didn't you say to take the car beforehand?'

4.6   Conclusion

İsmayıllı Lezgi marks verbal tense, aspect, and mood using similar forms and strategies to

those in Standard Lezgi. For the most part, phonological differences are systematic. Syncope

and vowel shifts account for the majority of differences. A listing of the differences between the

forms of IL and SL verbal affixes is presented in Table 19.[80]

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[79] The posterior converb gives the sense of before, until, or while (Haspelmath 1993, sec. 21.4.2).

[80] Of course, if a form does not exist in one of the varieties, there will be affix differences, but that will
be discussed with Table 19 below.

Table 19: Differences between IL and SL verbal affix forms

	IL	SL
Masdar	*-In*	same
Optative	*-ray*	same
Imperative	Irregular, ∅, or *-(a)h*	Irregular, *-a* or *-x*
Infinitive	*-z*	same
Imperfective	*-zIvI*	*-zva*
Past Imperfective	*-zIvay*	*-zvay*
Continuative Imperfective	*-zI*	*-zma*
Past Cont. Imperfective	*-zay*	*-zmay*
Future	*-lI*	*-da*
Periphrastic Future	*-rvalyı*	*-dayval ya*
Past Future	----	*-day*
Hortative	*çe- (*pl*), -V*	*-In*
Prohibitive	*me- -Ir, -mir*	*-mir*
Aorist	*-(A)nI*	*-(A)na*
Past Aorist	*-(A)nay*	*-(A)nay*
Perfect	*-(A)nIvI*	*-(A)nva*
Past Perfect	*-(A)nIvay*	*-(A)nvay*
Continuative Perfect	*-(A)na*	*-(A)nma*
Past Cont. Perfect	*-(A)nay*	*-(A)nmay*
Interrogative Mood	*-nI*	same
Factual Conditional	*-t'a*	same
Counterfactual Conditional	*-t'I*	*-t'a*
Desiderative	*-gan, -ganzay*	----
Negation	*tI-, -aş, -aşır*	*tİ-, -aç, -açır*

There are only a few differences in functions. Eighteen of the twenty-four possible TAM categories were identical in function. Of the others, most had similar functions, although some of the usages found in SL do not occur in the IL texts and paradigms. This could be due to lack of data. The most important differences were the lack of the resultative sense for continuative perfect tense-aspect categories in IL. Each of the future tenses varied slightly, and IL listeners might not perceive the habitual and counterfactual connotations of future and past future, respectively. Only two categories—past future tense and desiderative mood—were non-existent in one of the varieties. The IL desiderative mood might be lost on a SL audience. Table 20 lays out the patterns mentioned above and shows the differences in the functions between IL and SL verb forms.

Table 20: Differences in functions of IL and SL verb forms

	IL	SL
Masdar	nominal, facts, states	same
Optative	wish 'may verb happen'	same
Imperative	command	same
Infinitive	'to+verb', simultaneous	same
Imperfective	happens during TOR,[81] relevant	same
Past Imperfective	happened prior to TOR, relevant	same
Continuative Imperfective	habitual during TOR, relevant	same
Past Cont. Imperfective	habitual, prior to TOR, relevant	same
Future	future	same + habitual
Periphrastic Future	more grammatical future	immediate future
Past Future	----	after TOR, prior to main future events; counterfactual conditions
Hortative	exhortation (1SG, 1PL)	same
Prohibitive	negative imperative	same
Aorist	prior to TOR, no current effect	same
Past Aorist	prior to Aorist, no current effect	same
Perfect	prior to TOR, relevant	same
Past Perfect	prior to Perfect, relevant	same
Continuative Perfect	prior to TOR, ongoing, relevant	same + resultative
Past Cont. Perfect	prior to Perfect, ongoing, relevant	same + resultative
Interrogative Mood	yes/no question	same
Factual Conditional	'if' potential exists	same
Counterfactual Conditional	'if' impossible; theory only	same
Desiderative	wish/hope	----
Negation	negative	same

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[81] TOR: Time of reference

CHAPTER 5

LEXICAL COMPARISON

In this chapter, I compare an İsmayıllı Lezgi (IL) wordlist to Standard Lezgi (SL), Quba Lezgi (QL), Axti Lezgi (AL), Russian, Persian, and Azerbaijani wordlists. Percentages of lexical similarity are given between IL and SL/QL/AL, and the Russian, Persian, and Azerbaijani worldlists are used to determine sources of borrowings. Additionally, results of an investigation of the source of words used in two IL texts are reported in order to give a more precise estimate the number of borrowed words in actual spoken language. In section 5.1 I explain the methodology used in eliciting and comparing wordlists, while in section 5.2 I give the results of these analyses.

5.1   Methodology

The 1350-word Lezgi/English wordlist from Haspelmath (1993) was used as the basis for IL elicitation. All of the words from the list were used because, as noted by Simons (1977), the larger the wordlist, the more reliable the comparison is likely to be. The wordlist contained words that were know or common to Lezgi life; there were no concepts that required phrases to explain a foreign term. The IL elicitation resulted in a comparative list of 1350 words from SL and IL.

Additionally, the comparative wordlist database of SL and many other languages archived in the Intercontinental Dictionary Series (IDS) was consulted.[82] The IDS entries contain multiple synonymns for each entry and included 1310 words from the Standard, Quba, and Axti[83] dialects; these were compared to IL in the same manner as was used with the HSL wordlist. I also added forms for English, Russian, Azerbaijani, and Persian from the IDS database.[84] All except English and Persian are written in the Cyrillic script (see Appendix B for the Lezgi Cyrillic alphabet.) Unlike Haspelmath's wordlist, foreign concepts and items (such as 'stingray', 'intoxicated', and 'mortar') are included in the IDS, so there are many phrasal entries and loan words. When the 1310-item IDS wordlist was compared to the 1350-item lists, 707 items overlapped. In this chapter, the 1350-item list will be called the 'full wordlist' and the list of the 707-items that appear in all the lists will be called the 'common wordlist'.

In the following subsections I describe in more detail the process of handling the wordlists. I explain the procedure for eliciting and checking the IL wordlist in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. Next, in section 5.1.3, I explain how lexical similarity was determined. I describe in section 5.1.4 the method used for comparing word lists that contained multiple lexical entries for a given gloss. Finally, in section 5.1.5 I show how percentages of lexical similarity and borrowings were calculated.

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[82] I discovered the IDS database too late to use it as a basis for further elicitation. Ideally, the IDS list would have been used for IL elicitation as well.

[83] In this wordlist, the specific sub-dialect of Axti is Mikrakh.

[84] Russian, Azerbaijani, and Persian were chosen for this comparative analysis because I was interested in which dialects borrowed lexical items from the various historically dominant contact languages. I assumed that Lezgis living in Dagestan would have a high percentage of Russian loan words, while Azerbaijani Lezgis would have more Azerbaijani words.

5.1.1 Proceedure for IL Wordlist Elicitation

The first stage of lexical elicitation for IL began at a dictionary workshop held in Baku in 2008. Three Qalacıq Lezgis (two women in their late twenties/early thirties and a middle-aged man)[85] attended the workshop and began brainstorming to list words from their language according to semantic domains, with Azerbaijani equivalents.

One of the women, Aliyeva, was asked to give equivalents for the words in Haspelmath's English list. She used words from the dictionary workshop when possible, and translated the others into İsmayıllı Lezgi. After she finished the IL wordlist, it was compared to Haspelmath's forms from Standard Lezg (HSL)i. [86] She was then asked to compare the IL and HSL lists. If the HSL list contained a word that IL also used synonymously, she included the IL pronunciation of that word in a new column.[87] An example is shown below:

HSL	IL 1st	IL 2nd	English
ever gun, luhun	*everin*[88]	*van ələğ'in, lun*	call (v)

5.1.2 Checking the IL Wordlist for Variation Between Villages

Because the IL wordlist was elicited from speakers from only one of the three İsmayıllı Lezgi villages, I felt it necessary to check the wordlist with speakers from another village.

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[85] The man lives in Qalacıq, while the women live in Baku and speak Azerbaijani daily. (They also know English and Russian.) The women regularly use Lezgi, speaking it with one another, on the phone to relatives, and with other Lezgis in Baku. Still, some terms (especially uncommon terms for women in the village, e.g., rare flora and fauna) were unknown to them.

[86] In order to avoid confustion, I will not use SL for Haspelmath's Standard Lezgi wordlist because I will use 'SL' later to describe the IDS Standard Lezgi wordlist. Haspelmath's Standard Lezgi wordlist will be referred to as HSL.

[87] This new column of IL words is potentially suspect. It could be that the words were truly synonymous and used as frequently as the original IL word, but there was also the potential that these new words were rarely used. It could be that the IL translator would not have thought of them had she not seen the HSL wordlist.

[88] The word *everin* was considered lexically similar to the IDS SL entry *everun.*

Therefore, the first 100 words were checked with three local women in Sumağalı who were also fluent in Azerbaijani. A translator read the wordlist in Azerbaijani, and then the women gave the Lezgi equivalent. If the word was different from the İsmayıllı word that had been previously elicited, they were asked if any synonyms existed.[89] The lists from Qalacıq and Sumağalı were then compared.

Of the 100 İsmayıllı Lezgi words that were checked in Sumağalı , 7 were discarded because of either problems with translation (such as 'long piece of wood' for 'beam' when 'ray of light' was the desired meaning) or complex verb morphology that make comparison difficult. Another 36 were discarded because they were Azerbaijani loan words. Of the 57 words left for comparison, 53 (or 93%)were similar. This percentage of similarity gave greater confidence in using the whole of Aliyeva's IL wordlist. Additionally, in informal interviews the Sumağalı teachers indicated that the Qalacıq residents speak a "purer" form of Lezgi because they lived in a more remote village and have less contact with outsiders. This gave greater confidence that the speech of Qalacıq was a suitable standard for testing and that the choice would be respected among İsmayıllı Lezgis from all three villages.

5.1.3 Determining Lexical Similarity

When comparing wordlists, words were considered to be lexically similar if at least 50 percent of the segments corresponded (Blair 1990). For example, IL *qırax* is considered to be lexically similar with SL *qerex* 'edge' because three out of five segments correspond.

However, because wordlists were not transcribed phonemically and it was possible that transcriptions varied, this principle was not adhered to rigidly. One example is that aspiration was ignored during the comparison because it is not indicated in the SL orthography: for instance, SL /t/ was considered the same as IL /t/ and /tʰ/. Words were considered to be lexically similar

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[89] The women were not asked if they also use the previously elicited IL word.

with fewer than 50 percent identical segments if some of the nonidentical segments differed in only one feature (Z'graggen 1971, 6). An example of this is the word 'blind', where IL has *p'irq'i* versus SL *bürq'ü*. While only two of the five segments match, the vowels differ only in roundedness.

Another exception to the 50 percent rule was that words were considered to be similar if they differed by segments that exhibit predictable correlations. This helps to explain why the IL word for 'illness/sickness', *ǧ'azarlıval,* is considered to be similar to SL *azarlu*: the IL pharyngeal frequently corresponds to null in SL (see 2.2.1). In addition, only the roots are compared (Blair 1990), so the affixes (i.e., *-val* in *ǧ'azarlıval*) are not included in the lexical comparison. Below are examples of lexically similar forms that differed slightly phonologically and/or morphologically.

İL	SL	phonological	morphological	
k'ot'	*k'adar*	vowel height	*-ar* is plural affix	'crowd'
ax'ay	*ax'ayun*	---	*-un* is masdar suffix	'lie down'
muq'al	*muq'uv, muq'val*	vowel height	*-l* is SPES suffix *-v* is ADES suffix *-val* is nominal affix	'near'
tp'al	*tup'al*	syncope	----	'ring'

If polymophemic entries were encountered that did not share an obvious root, a typical situation for many verb forms (see Chapter 4), then the word was excluded from the analysis (Sanders 1977). An example is the QL and AL comparison to the IL entry for *huç'un* 'go in'. While the QL *hakun* and AL *haxun* differ in only one consonant from the IL form, the consonants in Lezgi verb morphology are so integral to the locative and semantic senses (Haspelmath 1993, 167) that the comparison was excluded. Though the meaning may be similar in English, the locative preverbs and other affixes in Lezgi verb morphology could specify distinct features that alter a root beyond recognizable lexical similarity.

A few other words that were excluded from the comparison were those such as 'beam', where the İsmayıllı Lezgi consultant gave the word for 'ray of light' rather than 'long piece of wood'. That error was caught because IL shares the term for 'ray of light' with Azerbaijani. Most of those errors were caught by the İsmayıllı translator when she compared her list to the HSL wordlist, so this did not significantly affect confidence levels in the IL wordlist.

5.1.4 Multiple Entries

The IDS lists often contained multiple synonymous entries, such as SL entries *vas', sel, bulax*, and *xval* for 'river.' When comparing with IL, I only required similarity with one of these forms. In the case of 'river', the form *vas'* was listed in the IL wordlist. The SL word *vas'* was counted as similar to the IL word, while the other three SL words were ignored.

If multiple words from different origins matched, the Lezgi word was chosen; the lexical similarities that were shared with Russian, Azerbaijani, or Persian were noted but not factored into the initial calculations (Sanders 1977). For instance, 'person' was listed as *insan* (Azeri) and *kas* (Lezgi) in both the IL and SL wordlists; *kas* was counted while *insan* was ignored.

Words were compared two lists at a time. For instance, the entry for 'forest' in IL is compared separately with the corresponding word in QL, AL, and SL. For 'forest', IL *ruk* is similar to QL and AL, but not to SL *tam*. For 'butter', IL *c'em* is similar to SL, but not to AL *düdhver* or QL *ğeri*. (QL is also similar to a second SL entry for 'butter'). Below is an example of words that IL shared with other Lezgi dialects; matching words are shaded.

İL	SL		QL	AL	
c'em	*c'em,*	*ğeri*	*ğeri*	*düdhver*	'butter'
bilbil	*çepeluq'*		*çepelux*	*bilbil*	'butterfly'
çig	*çig, nig*		*çig*	*çig*	'dew'
ruk	*tam*		*ruk*	*ruk*	*tam*	'forest'

5.1.5 Calculations

After lexical similarities were marked, they were tallied and percentages were calculated two wordlists at a time. The equation used was sf/TF*100, where 'sf' represents the number of similar forms in the two word lists, and 'TF' is the total number of forms compared (not including those rejected for purposes of comparison). To find out how many borrowed forms came from each language, I used the equation Px=bx/TF*100, where the percentage of borrowings from language X (Px) equals 'bx', the borrowed forms in language X, divided by 'TF', the total number of forms compared, times 100.

5.2 Results

In comparing the IL and HSL 1350-item full wordlists, I excluded borrowed words. Therefore, the total number of non-borrowed words that could be compared between the IL and SL wordlists was 746. Table 21 shows that, of these, 661 words were lexically similar while 85 were different. The table also gives the number of borrowed words from the IL wordlist and the words that could not be compared (see section 5.1.3).

Table 21: IL/SL wordlist comparison

Total # of IL/SL words	borrowed words	words not comparable	shared Lezgi words	different Lezgi words	% non-borrowed lexical similarity
1350	526	78	661	85	88.6%

The shared lexically similar forms between all non-borrowed IL and SL lexical entries was 88.6%.

For the 707-item common wordlists, IL forms were also compared to the forms from the SL, AL and QL IDS wordlists. Borrowed words were included for this comparison. The results of this comparison are given in Table 22.

Table 22: IL lexical comparison to Lezgi dialects

	SL	QL	AL
lexical similarities	584	603	613
total # comparable words	707	707	706
percentage	82.6%	85.3%	86.8%

The IL and the SL lists shared 584 of those words (including borrowed words), or 82.6%. IL and QL shared 603 words, or 85.3%; and IL and AL shared 613 words, or 86.8%. All four of these percentages of similar forms are above 80%.

5.2.1 Borrowings

I examined borrowings in the 707-form common wordlists to see if there is a significant difference in the source of borrowed words between IL and SL. Of the 707 words on the IL common wordlist that could be compared to the IDS Russian, Azerbaijani, and Persian lists, 207 could be identified as borrowed words. Of these, there were 5 Russian, 6 Azeri/Russian,[90] 120 Azerbaijani, and 76 Persian words. In the same 707 entries in the SL IDS wordlist, 183 could be identified as borrowed words. Of these, there were 9 Russian, 6 Azeri/Russian, 90 Azerbaijani, and 78 Persian words. Percentages are charted in Table 23.

Table 23: Borrowed words in IL and SL wordlists

List	total loanwords		Russian		Azeri/Russian		Azerbaijani		Persian	
IL	207	(29.3%)	5	(0.7%)	6	(0.9%)	120	(17%)	76	(10.8%)
SL	183	(25.9%)	9	(1.3%)	6	(0.9%)	90	(12.7%)	78	(11%)

In both lists, the greatest number of borrowings come from Azerbaijani and then Persian. Only a few Azeri/Russian words were borrowed, about the same number as the number of Russian

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[90] 'Azeri/Russian' refers to Russian words that have been borrowed into Azerbaijani. It is impossible to tell if the Lezgi dialects borrowed these words from Azerbaijani or directly from Russian.

loanwords. Unexpectedly, SL does not borrow a considerably greater number of words from Russian than does IL. Perhaps if the Haspelmath wordlist had included more modern/foreign terms, the lists would have included more loan words and the SL list would show a greater number of borrowed Russian words. Another significant observation is that, while both IL and SL borrow roughly the same numbers of Russian, Persian, and Azeri/Russian words, IL borrows considerably more Azerbaijani words than does SL. In other words, IL borrows more than SL, and the words that increase the number of borrowings in IL are almost all from Azerbaijani. Figure 5 shows the percentages of the total respective borrowings in the IL and SL common wordlists.
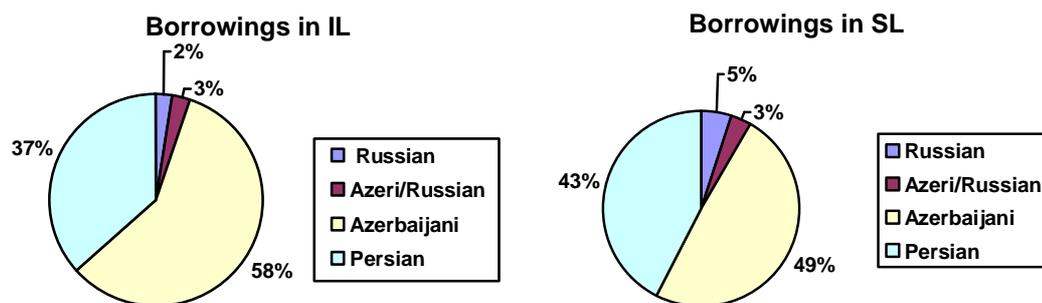
Figure 5: Comparison of borowings in IL and SL common wordlists

Of the borrowed words in the IL common wordlist, the percentage of Azerbaijani words is 58%, whereas the percentage of Azerebaijani words from the borrowings in the SL common wordlist is 49%. Clearly, a greater percentage of borrowings comes from Azerbaijani in IL than in SL.

In addition to comparing borrowings in wordlists, I examine the sources of borrowings found in two natural IL texts. Both stories are anecdotal retellings of personal experiences. The speakers are middle-aged men who lived and were educated during Soviet Azerbaijani times. Because of this, we can expect their speech to represent, if anything, a higher than normal level of

borrowing from Russian.[91] Because the levels of Persian borrowing are similar for IL and SL,

Persian borrowings will not be noted, only Russian, Azeri/Russian, and Azerbaijani.

The text 'Ekper' contains 115 different words.[92] Of these, 17.4 percent are borrowed from

Russian or Azerbaijani. All the modern/cultural/technological terms are Azerbaijani (or Russian

words that Azerbaijani also borrowed.) Example (132) is a list of the 17 Azerbaijani and 3

Azeri/Russian loanwords.

(132)

IL	Azerbaijani	Azeri/Russian	English
otağzı	*otaqda*		'in room'
maşın		*maşın*	'car'
qəlem	*qələm*		'pen'
defter	*dəftər*		'writing book'
küçezağ	*küçədən*		'from street'
teker	*təkər*		'wheel'
kabinkazız		*kabinaya*	'to cabin'
poştunuz		*poçta*	'post (office)'
məh'kemazıg	*məhkəməyə*		'to low-court'
yavaş	*yavaş*		'slow'
yəqin	*yəqin*		'apparently'
filan	*filan*		'such and such'
tarix	*tarix*		'date'

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[91] As noted in Clifton et. al. (2005), Lezgi men in Azerbaijan are more likely than women to speak
Russian.

[92] In both texts, the total number of words represents the total lexical items in the text. Repeated words
and different forms of the same root are counted only once.

teseviryi	*təsəvvür edin*		'imagine
çükek	*çökek*		'cavity'
qayda	*qayda*		'rule'
eger	*əgər*		'if'
izahat	*izahat*		'written explanation'
pis	*pis*		'bad'
sebeb	*səbəb*		'cause/reason'

The second text, 'V&N,' contains 107 words. Of these, 17.8 percent are borrowed from Russian or Azerbaijani. Three Russian loan words, five Azeri/Russian, and eleven Azerbaijani loan words are used in this text; they are listed in example (133).

(133)

IL	Azerbaijani	Azeri/Russian	Russian	English
inistutzunu		*insititutda da*		'in the insititute'
fəğ'le	*fəhlə*			'worker'
d'arsınız	*dərsə*			'to class'
kravatzal			*krovaty*	'on bedstead'
margarinzal		*margarində*		'margarine'
sliveçniy			*slivochnoe maslo*	'butter'
raydunzunu		*radioda da*		'in radio'
muğamat	*muğamat*			'eastern melody'
tavasar	*tava*			'frying pan'
karidorzuz		*koridor*		'corridor'
daban	*daban*			'heel'
opşiy jitelzi		*otel*		'in hotel'

ğ'aq'ıllı	*ağıllı*		'clever'
şirin çay	*şirin çay*		'sweet tea'
macarayar	*macəralar*		'event'
insanar	*insanlar*		'people'
dust	*dost*		'friend'
sa şeyni	*bir şey də*		'nothing'
kuxnuzuz		*kukhnya*	'to the kitchen'

In looking at both texts, borrowed terms include terms for borrowed technology (*maşın* 'car'), government (*məh'kemazıg* 'to the low court'), culture (*muğamat* 'traditional music form'), and concepts (*sebeb* 'cause/reason'). They both contain approximately the same percentage of borrowed words (17.4 and 17.8 percent), and have few if any Russian words that have not also been borrowed into Azerbaijani. However, if percentages of borrowed words are taken from the small sample of these two texts, we find that a relatively greater number of Russian loanwords occurs in the texts in comparison to the wordlists. Table 24 gives the number of words borrowed from Azerbaijani, Azeri/Russian, or Russian in each of the texts and shows the percentage of those borrowings in the texts. The last line of the table compares the text percentages to percentages of borrowed words (excluding Persian)[93] in the IL wordlist.

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[93] Excluding Persian, the IL wordlist has a total of 131 borrowed words, 120 from Azerbaijani, 6 Azeri/Russian, and 5 Russian (cf. Table 23).

Table 24: Borrowed words in IL texts

text	Azerbaijani	Azeri/Russian	Russian
Ekper	17	3	
V & N	11	5	3
total (39)	28	8	3
%	71.8%	20.5%	7.7%
% IL wordlist	91.6%	4.6%	3.8%

As seen in Table 24, of the 39 total borrowed words in the two IL texts, 71.8% were borrowed

from Azerbaijani, 20.5% from Azeri/Russian, and 7.7% from Russian.

5.3   Conclusion

Lexical similarity between IL and SL/QL/AL is over 80 percent, with the potential for

further variation with the addition of borrowed words for modern terminology into the lexicon.

The result of the word list comparison was that in both IL and SL the majority of borrowed words

come from Azerbaijani, followed by Persian. IL borrows a significantly greater number of

Azerbaijani words than does SL. Russian and Azeri/Russian words account for only a small

percentage of the wordlists; however, in the IL texts substantially more of the words were from

Russian. An area of further research would be to take a similar look into SL spoken and written

texts to determine the number and percentages of borrowed words.

CHAPTER 6

COMPREHENSION AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

So far, I have shown that IL shares much of its phonology, noun case and verb morphology, and lexicon with the three other Lezgi dialects, especially with Axti. In this chapter, I discuss the effect that the differences between IL and SL might have on literature extensibility.

Phonologically, the greatest differences between IL and SL were the following: borrowed Azerbaijani vowels in IL, a lack of labialization in IL consonants, and systematic correspondences between phonemes such as /ɯ/ in IL for /u/ in SL, a trait that IL shares with Axti. In addition to these systematic correspondences between phonemes in IL and SL, some less-systematic correspondences between phonemes (such as /ɣ/ in IL to /q/ in SL) occur that might cause problems in literature extensibility. Because, however, even these correspondences involve similar phonemes and are infrequent, it is likely that extensibility will not be affected. Another phonological phenomenon that has the potential to affect extensibility is synocope because it affects different words in IL and SL.

Turning to the case system, while the SL case system is fairly regular, IL cases are more complex. While there are multiple forms in IL for -elative, -directive, and post-, each morpheme has a consistent shape in SL. This would imply that SL speakers might have more problems understanding IL than vice versa, since the IL pattern is not as predictable and systematic. However, some of the differences in form are not as problematic to extensibility. For instance, the subelative suffix *-kay* in SL is similar to both IL suffixes *-ki* (*y* vs *i*) and *-kaǧ* (identical

vowel). Unpredictable differences in semantic functions of the noun cases could potentially hinder extensibility between IL and SL speakers. With the help of context clues, however, it is possible that these differences would not impede understanding.

The differences between IL and SL in the areas of verb morphology examined in Chapter 4 are not great enough to lead to an expectation of problems in literature extensibility. A nonsystematic difference occurs between IL and SL hortative and imperative affixes, which results in the potential for confusion between SL imperative and IL hortative, since both are marked with the suffix *-a*. There are also a few differences in the functions of verb morphology in IL and SL, such as the addition of a resultative meaning to continuative perfect forms in SL, the occurrence of a desiderative mood only in IL and the past future only in SL. Though slight changes in meaning would occur with these differences, context clues could help decipher meaning. Other suffixes that vary do so in mostly predictable and systematic ways, though even predictable and systematic differences could prove problematic. In general, though, these differences on their own are not expected to seriously hinder literature extensibility.

Lexical similarity between IL and SL/QL/AL is over 80 percent, but there is the potential for further differences with the addition of borrowed words for modern terminology into the lexicon. It appears that IL borrows more words than does SL, and most of those words come from Azerbaijani. This could make it difficult for SL speakers to understand an IL text if the SL audience does not know Azerbaijani. Also, if IL speakers only know the Azerbaijani borrowing and not the SL form, they could find it difficult to understand SL texts. In IL audio texts there were a few more Russian borrowed words than were found in the wordlists. If that is the case in SL (which would be expected since SL is spoken in Dagestan, Russia), an IL audience that doesn't know Russian could find it difficult to comprehend borrowings in SL texts.

It is possible that, individually, none of the differences in phonology, noun and verb morphology, or vocabulary would create problems for literature extensibility, but perhaps the combination of all the variations could create texts so different that real problems arise in comprehension. Therefore, testing intelligibility and determining language attitudes could add to our understanding of potential extensibility. This chapter focuses on research into comprehension of the Lezgi variety spoken by İsmayıllı Lezgis by Lezgis in other regions, and vice versa. Language attitudes are also addressed in order to gauge what İsmayıllı Lezgis feel is appropriate for literature extensibility.

I discuss intelligibility testing in section 6.1 and informal interviews in section 6.2. I give an assessment of the intelligibility testing and the interviews in section 6.3.

6.1 Intelligibility Testing

We conducted intelligibility testing to investigate the comprehension of IL by Lezgis in other regions, and vice versa. In the following sections, I first present the methodology we followed, followed by the results in Qusar and Xaçmaz and the results in İsmayıllı.

6.1.1 Methodology for Intelligibility Testing

The team consisted of three people: Aliyeva; a second Azerbaijani, Fidan Asad; and me. We also traveled with local guides to introduce us to people in the communities/villages. We tested for comprehension or intelligibility by having people listen to recorded speech samples from other dialects and asking them questions to see how well they understood the samples. According to Grimes (1995), intelligibility testing is useful in areas where dialect and language barriers are fuzzy—that is, where researchers do not know if people speak dialects of the same language or separate languages. Since that was the problem at hand, we essentially followed the method described by Grimes (1995).

Our goal was to see how well IL was understood by speakers of other varieties, and how well speakers of IL understood other varieties. To do this, we elicited and edited audio texts from Qalacıq (IL), Qusar and Xaçmaz (QL), and from a speaker from the Küre region of Dagestan (SL).[94] In most cases, personal narratives were recorded since, as Grimes notes, folktales and other predictable texts are not useful for intelligibility testing because speakers from other dialects may guess the right answers from a few key words or phrases of a familiar story. In Qalacıq, however, we did record the process of making *tendir* bread, which is a common practice in Lezgi homes.[95] Although we received permission to use the texts in this research, we used judgment to discern which portions were not appropriate (such as recordings of a political, overly personal, or controversial nature). Additionally, only sound files of good quality that could be cropped to a story from two to five minutes in length were used (Grimes 1995). Five texts of personal narrative and one process text were prepared for intelligibility testing of IL. One SL and two QL sound files were prepared in a similar way.

Questions were developed to test comprehension of each of the recordings. The texts were adequately challenging; questions could be constructed about multiple characters, changes in location, emotive content, and purpose or causation. The sound files were each broken up into 3 to 5 sections and approximately 5 short-answer questions[96] were written for each of those sections.[97] The questions on the IL texts were checked with a "home town" test group of five İsmayıllı Lezgi speakers who had recently moved to an outlying area of Baku. The participants

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[94] We were not able to travel to Dagestan, so this text was provided by a contact working in Dagestan.

[95] By oversight, this text was included in our intelligibility testing in Xaçmaz, but it ended up being an asset to our research, as will be explained in a later section.

[96] Grimes (1995, sec. 3.6) indicates that guessing is more likely with yes-no questions, and long-answer questions can simply test memory rather than comprehension.

[97] QL recordings were not prepared in the same manner. Since we did not have a native QL speaker to develop questions for the texts, we did not attempt to create formal questions.

listened to a recording once, then listened again to the same recording broken up into sections. Aliyeva read the questions in İsmayıllı Lezgi between breaks and marked their answers. The home town group answered all but one question correctly, so that question was discarded, while the other questions were kept and translated into Azerbaijani. Home town tests were not performed on the SL recordings, and comprehension questions were not prepared for QL recordings.[98]

We tested the IL texts with speakers of QL from the Qusar and Xaçmaz districts. Lezgi speakers from Qusar were from the district capital and also from a remote village. Whenever possible, we looked for speakers who had no previous interaction with Ismayilli Lezgis.[99] Participants in these regions were not chosen at random; due to cultural norms, it was more appropriate to meet through a social network. There were eleven participants, both male and female, ages ranging from late 20s to 60s. Testing occurred in four homes, once per home, and the participants sat together during the process.

It might have been better for testing purposes to test individuals separately. When a group is tested there is the risk that one person answers and the rest copy his/her answers. But our guides advised against testing individuals alone. Knowing the risks before hand, team members watched and listened for visible and audible clues of comprehension, such as smiles or laughter at jokes or humorous situations, nods of approval, or tongue clicks of disapproval. If one person dominated in giving answers, team members would ask quieter participants to answer specific questions.

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[98] These variations from Grimes' methodology were due in part to logistical constraints and lack of QL and SL researchers.

[99] Three Lezgis we tested in Qusar had prior interaction with Ismayilli Lezgi speakers. In Xaçmaz, the Lezgi speakers who were tested had some interaction with other Lezgic dialects, but usually the cross-dialect interaction was with Dagestani Lezgis.

The testing procedure was explained beforehand, and the scope of our research was explained later. As with the home town testing, the participants listened to a recording once, then listened again to the same recording broken up into sections. An Azerbaijani or Russian translator read the questions in between breaks, and the Lezgi participants responded in that language[100] as another team member marked their answers as correct or incorrect.

The recordings from Quba and Standard Lezgi were played to seven İsmayıllı Lezgis from Sumağalı and three from Qalacıq. Comprehension questions were asked for the Küre dialect, but the IL audience preferred to simply retell the SL and QL narratives in Azerbaijani, while one of the researchers noted any discrepancies.

6.1.2 Results in Qusar and Xaçmaz

In Qusar and Xaçmaz, all but one of the participants answered all questions correctly. The exception occurred during a distraction, which, according to Grimes (1995, sec. 3.9), means the question should be discarded. So, the result of tests of comprehension of IL by QL speakers was 100 percent, although this is based on a small sample.[101] It is also significant that after the test the participants said that they could easily understand İsmayıllı Lezgi. The differences they noticed were attributed to 'accent,' and many compared the relationship between QL and IL to regional dialect differences within Azerbaijani.

Aliyeva, a speaker of IL, was among the members of the research team but refrained from speaking in Lezgi until the intelligibility testing was complete. Then she spoke in Lezgi with the participants and reported that they had little difficulty understanding one another, although she

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[100] Native Azerbaijani and Russian translators noted that all participants had good command of whichever language was used for questioning.

[101] That is not to say that the actual intelligibility is 100 percent. The intelligibility test is only designed to differentiate dialects that definitely cannot understand one another; it does not accurately test comprehension of material requiring a high level of proficiency (Blair 1990).

noted that QL was probably more difficult for speakers of IL to understand than vice versa. She observed that QL sounded 'softer' than IL; that is, the ejectives and pharyngeals were not as pronounced. Also, Aliyeva noticed occasional vocabulary differences during their conversations.

A number of other interesting observations were made during the intelligibility testing of İsmayıllı Lezgi. At the first home we visited in Qusar, before listening to the recordings, the couple commented that they could *not* understand İsmayıllı Lezgis. As they listened to the recordings, however, they were visibly interested and surprised that they could understand what was being said. One participant answered all questions correctly, and the other, who was being distracted by a child, answered all but one question correctly. It is significant that the participants responded correctly in spite of the fact they had negative perceptions at the outset of the test. If they had answered the questions according to their preconceptions, they would not have performed so well.

An interesting methodological note resulted from including a process text in the recordings. Grimes recommends not using process texts because of their predictability, but a recording telling the process of making *tendir* bread was played as the first recording in one of the homes. Before beginning the intelligibility testing with this family, we gave instructions on how the tests would be performed, but the participants did not understand the instructions. Some were suspicious of our team's intentions,[102] but when they heard the recording about a process that is culturally familiar and began answering the questions with ease, they dropped their guard. They were then eager to move on to the more difficult texts.

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[102] Due to time constraints, we had declined an invitation to meet local school teachers. This created suspicion, for, if we were researchers, why would we not want to speak to the educated among them?

6.1.3 Results in İsmayıllı

We tested both the Quba Lezgi and Küre Lezgi recordings in Sumağalı and Qalacıq. In Sumağalı, the participants tired of answering the intelligibility test questions that had been prepared for the Küre Lezgi recording, and proceeded to give a summary of the story instead. As they did so, we checked the summaries to see if they covered all the information that was asked in the comprehension questions. They seemed to include everything. The same results occurred for the Quba Lezgi recordings: respondents seemed to include everything in their retellings. In Qalacıq, intelligibility questions were answered correctly for the Küre dialect, and good summaries were given for the Quba dialect recordings. While no statistical information could be garnered from the method used in these two villages, it seemed clear that the İsmayıllı Lezgis understood the Küre and Quba dialects well.

One participant from Qalacıq said that the Küre recording was easier to understand than the Quba recording. Many participants noted that there were two unfamiliar words in one of the Quba recordings, but they could figure out the meanings from context. Some participants from Sumağalı were surprised at how many Azerbaijani words were included in the Küre text; they had expected Russian loan words.

6.2   Informal Interviews

We conducted informal interviews for the purpose of understanding language attitudes, perceptions, and use. In the following sections, I first present the methodology we followed, followed by the findings of these interviews organized under two general areas: perceived history, and reading and education.

6.2.1 Methodology for Informal Interviewing

Interviews occurred in conjunction with the intelligibility testing, during other visits to Lezgi villages, and online. Sometimes questions were prepared for a formal interview; however, most

often, questions arose during conversation. Audio recordings of the interviews were made when appropriate.

Face-to-face interviews occurred in Lezgi homes, at schools in Sumağalı and İstisu, and in the *Samur* newspaper office. Interviews were conducted with a wide range of participants: male, female, young adult, middle-aged, elderly, urban, rural, well-educated, minimally educated, nearly mono-lingual, polyglot, low-tech, Facebook user, and, occupationally, from unemployed to government officials.

Most often, interviews were conducted in the presence of a family member, friend, or colleague who introduced the respondent to the research team. As a result, it was not difficult to have friendly, animated conversations about language issues. Lezgis are known in Azerbaijan for their direct, straightforward manner of speaking, and this was the case in these interviews. Participants spoke openly, sometimes disagreeing with local members of the research team or with one another.[103] Potentially distracting or persuasive elements that could have swayed participants' answers are addressed when relevant.

On Facebook, a public social networking website, inquiries were made in two Lezgi community groups. Questions were posted in English and it was directly stated that they were being asked for research purposes.

6.2.2 Perceived History

When asked about their relationship with Axti Lezgis, the İsmayıllı Lezgis from Sumağalı stated that, when the Muslims entered into their region, some Lezgis moved north into what is now the Axti region of Dagestan. Interestingly, at least one man currently living in the village is

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[103] Enough statements were made that could have been offensive to the researchers or other groups, that we believe the participants were not trying to tell us what we wanted to hear. Thankfully, our team was thick-skinned and open-minded in cross-cultural exchanges.

married to an Axti woman, but it was not possible to ask her about her perception of differences between IL and AL.

In the Lezgiyar Facebook group, I asked whether or not the members knew anything about the İsmayıllı dialect of Lezgi. Many people had never heard of it, but one man responded that it was part of the Axti/Samursky dialect group. He did not respond to further queries. One woman who lives in Baku said that her roots are from İsmayıllı, and she attributed any dialect differences to slight changes in pronunciation. Her example was *ş* for *ç*, a characteristic of Axti Lezgi, as noted in 4.5.

6.2.3 Reading and Education

The results of the comprehension testing indicated that speakers of İsmayıllı Lezgi could understand spoken Küre and Quba Lezgi, but that does not mean that we can assume they can understand the other dialects in written form. Standard Lezgi, based on the Küre dialect, has been written for many years in the Cyrillic script, and websites, newspapers, educational materials, and literature are written in SL. A newspaper based in Baku prints articles in Quba Lezgi using the Cyrillic script. Most İsmayıllı Lezgis interviewed were aware that some of these materials existed, but few thought they had time to read or learn to read in their own language.

Most İsmayıllı Lezgis have not been formally taught how to read any form of Lezgi. A few teachers in Sumağalı read the Quba Lezgi newspaper from Baku, while a few respected middle-aged men that we spoke with in Qalacıq read a Lezgi paper from Dagestan. İstisu was the only İsmayıllı village where Lezgi was being taught in school. On his own initiative, a teacher there acquired primers and taught Standard Lezgi for one or two hours per week for all the grades. A major impediment to reading is the Cyrillic orthography. The older generation learned to read Russian and Azerbaijani in Cyrillic, but the use of Cyrillic in Lezgi is quite different from

its use in Russian or Azerbaijani.[104] The problem is worse for the younger generation, who are learning Azerbaijani in the Latin script in school, and many of whom are not learning to read Russian.

The Sumağalı teachers found the Quba Lezgi newspaper that they were accustomed to reading much easier than some Standard Lezgi folktales from Dagestan, which we had found online and printed off. There could be several factors contributing to this, such as differences in writing style, familiarity of stories, and/or vocabulary. It is also possible that the folktales were written in an antiquated style, and that the difficulties had nothing to do with the fact that they were written in SL as opposed to QL. One final possibility is that SL, while based on Küre Lezgi, is different enough from all of the spoken varieties of Lezgi as to result in problems for reading.

After reading these samples and answering a few questions, the Sumağalı teachers were asked whether or not they wanted İsmayıllı Lezgi to be written. They stated that they would like materials written with SL spelling and morphology in the standard literary style but with their own vocabulary. They suggested that footnotes should be provided to give the corresponding Standard Lezgi word.

The teachers were also shown the Latin Lezgi script developed by Aliyeva and Clifton (2007), and they seemed interested, but none felt qualified to make an official decision on the matter. One of them suggested that materials be written in both Cyrillic and Latin: Cyrillic because of the Standard Lezgi tradition and Latin because it is the script of education in Azerbaijan. When asked to transcribe a short recording for us, this teacher preferred using the Latin Lezgi alphabet that had been newly introduced over the Cyrillic Lezgi alphabet that they were accustomed to reading. Lezgis in Qalacıq also were interested in the Latin script, but they

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[104] Even people who use the Russian Cyrillic script might have difficulty with the Lezgi Cyrillic orthography since they are significantly different. For instance, [ь] and [ъ] have very different uses in the respective languages. See Appendix B for the Cyrillic Lezgi alphabet.

indicated that the government would have to approve it and teachers would have to be provided to teach it.

Interestingly, in the Lezgi Facebook groups, some members write in Cyrillic and others in their own versions of a Latin script. Some members from Azerbaijan and Turkey who use the Latin script have stated that they do not know Russian or Cyrillic very well. In order for Lezgis to text-message in their mother tongue in Azerbaijan, they would have to use Azeri Latin letters.[105]

Most Lezgis in İsmayıllı were concerned with the passing on the Lezgi language; some feared that the IL villages would eventually lose Lezgi in favor of Azerbaijani as their first language. Some IL residents reacted positively to the idea of Lezgi literacy[106] in the IL villages.[107] In Qalacıq and Sumağalı, however, there was little hope that any change would happen, since there were no teachers, materials, or time. I do not know how the teacher in the İstisu school was able to find time to teach Lezgi, since the Sumağalı educators said that there were no periods available for Lezgi language instruction. Perhaps Sumağalı schools have made other electives required, in which case teaching Lezgi would require a change in priorities. In Qalacıq, many people said that there was not time to read; life was too hard. Some İsmayıllı Lezgis who have moved to Baku or the regional capital, İsmayıllı, seemed more hopeful and energetic about reading in their language/dialect.

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[105] In Azerbaijan, texting is available in the Azerbaijani Latin orthography. In Russia, texting can be done in Cyrillic, but not with the additional Lezgi Cyrillic ejective character (see Appendix B).

It is not known whether Lezgis prefer to text in their mother-tonge or in Azerbaijani or Russian.

[106] We did not specify whether 'Literacy in Lezgi' would be in SL or IL.

[107] An exception was one mother of young children who did not want her children to learn to read Lezgi because she thought it was impractical.

6.3 Assessment of Intelligibility Testing and Interviews

Involving the Lezgi community gave many insights into the relationship between the İsmayıllı and the Küre, Quba, and Axti Lezgis. During several trips to Lezgi villages and homes, intelligibility testing showed that mutual comprehension was high among İsmayıllı and Quba Lezgis, though İsmayıllı Lezgis found it slightly more difficult to understand speakers of the Quba dialect than vice-versa. İsmayıllı speakers also understood the Küre dialect. It appears that the differences discussed in chapters 2 through 5 between IL and other Lezgi dialects do not significantly affect comprehension in average spoken texts.

During informal interviews it was possible to discuss general language issues with speakers of the İsmayıllı and Quba dialects. In Facebook community forums, Lezgis from Azerbaijan and Dagestan added their opinions to the questions raised about the İsmayıllı dialect. We learned that some believed IL to be part of the Axti dialect group. We also learned that the issue of orthography is an important one for Lezgi literature extensibility in IL. IL speakers value their ethnic ties with Dagestani Lezgis and want to be able to share literature. At the same time, some İsmayıllı Lezgis would rather use an orthography similar to the Azerbaijani Latin script they learn and use in schools. Regardless of the script, we learned that many teachers in IL villages respect the literary tradition of SL, though they felt that IL vocabulary could be substituted for the SL equivalent if any adaptations were to be made.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to answer questions about the identity of the İsmayıllı Lezgi speech variety, and, through that, to determine if Standard Lezgi materials could be used by speakers of İsmayıllı Lezgi. Though the intelligibility testing showed near-perfect comprehension, intelligibility testing is primarily designed to identify when varieties are *not* similar enough to share literature; it is not fine-grained enough to measure how similar the varieties really are. So, we are left with inconclusive answers: while IL is a dialect of Lezgi and intelligible in simple spoken narratives, it is still unknown how similar and intelligible they would be in more complex forms of speech, especially in written texts.

An additional factor arises when we consider written texts: the issue of education. Do any of the dialects have 'inherent intelligibility' with Standard Lezgi, or is it learned? Is the lack of Lezgi language education in the İsmayıllı Lezgi villages the major reason why speakers of IL have difficulties with written Standard Lezgi? If intelligibility tests were created from well-read recordings of complex Standard Lezgi narratives, could Lezgis in any dialect score well if they have not first had education in SL? It appears that more investigation into the use of Standard Lezgi needs to be made. A potentially useful angle from which to approach the topic could be to see how Axti Lezgis[108] deal with the written form and how successful their educational programs are.

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[108] Axti seems like a reasonable choice since the dialect is similar in many respects to İsmayıllı Lezgi.

Regardless of whether further intelligibility testing and dialect research is conducted, information that was gathered about language attitudes, along with recommendations from İsmayıllı Lezgi teachers needs to be taken into consideration in planning for any future literacy and language development program. Teachers in Sumağalı wanted materials written in Standard Lezgi, but with IL vocabulary, with footnotes indicating the SL equivalent of IL words. The İstisu teacher had already started to teach SL in the village school, and a man in Qalacıq kept copies of Dagestani Lezgi newspapers on hand. Clearly, there is an interest among İsmayıllı Lezgis in the literary materials of Standard Lezgi.

There may be interest in the literary materials, but that is different from being interested in a literacy program. Though one Istisu teacher was instructing his students in SL literacy, in Sumağalı, the teachers expressed the belief that there wasn't time in the school day to teach a Lezgi class. In Qalacıq, some thought that, realistically, village life was so difficult that people would not have time and energy to give to learning how to read in their own language. In general, sentiments of İsmayıllı Lezgis regarding literacy do not foster much hope for language development workers.

If, however, materials could be made that require minimal additional education and training to use, it is possible that attitudes could change. One way to lessen the educational requirements would be to provide Lezgi in an adapted Azerbaijani Latin script. While older Lezgis are familiar with the Cyrillic script, the younger generation is not. Since the Latin script is taught in schools as students learn Azerbaijani, they are familiar with it and would only need to learn a few additions to complete the Lezgi alphabet. In contrast, learning the Cyrillic Lezgi orthography would take significantly longer for children who are no longer required to learn Russian in school. Even among adults, the Latin orthography might be preferred, as was evident in Sumağalı: When the Latin Lezgi alphabet was explained to teachers who were already somewhat

literate in Cyrillic Lezgi, one of them used the newly-learned Latin alphabet instead of the Cyrillic alphabet when she was given the opportunity to transcribe a Lezgi poem. Also, Latin scripts are preferred by some Lezgis in Facebook groups.

One problem with providing Lezgi materials in the Latin script, however, is that doing so does not help İsmayıllı Lezgis to read the literature and websites produced by Lezgis in Cyrillic in other regions. In other words, it estranges them politically and culturally from those they identify with ethnically. A solution that language developers in Azerbaijan should consider is to create materials with Latin Lezgi on one page and Cyrillic Lezgi on the opposite-facing page. A variation of this option is to have SL vocabulary in the Cyrillic on one page and IL vocabulary in the Latin on the opposite-facing page instead of using a footnote format. Regardless of the method used, this study should prove useful for those interested in literature extensibility among İsmayıllı Lezgis.

APPENDIX A

CONVERBS AND PARTICIPLES

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Table 25: Lezgi Converbs

converb & mood suffixes	uses	Standard Lezgi	IL
Posterior	before, until, while	*-daldi*	*-ral*
Graduative	as X happens	*-rdavay*	*-rdivi*
Imperfective	simultaneous act	*-z*	*-z*
Aorist	same tense (like Azeri -ib)	*-na*	*-ni*
Immediate-Anterior	as soon as	*-valdi, -zmaz, -nmaz(di)*	*-naz, n(a)maz, -kmaz*
Secondary Imperfective	resultative	*-zvaz, -nvaz*	*-zivaz, nivaz*
Temporal	when	-PTCPL-*la*	-PTCPL -*li*
Conditional Mood	if	*--t`a*	*-t`a, t`i*
Purpose Manner	-in order to -conformity of action	-PTCPL-*val*	-PTCPL-*val*
Causal	because	-PTCPL -*viləy luhuz*	*hand'ivli luz*
Interrogative Mood	question particle	*--ni*	*-ni, -n, ∅*

Table 26: Participles

tense	IL affirmative 'go'	IL affirmative participle 'going', 'gone'
Imperfective	*fizivi*	*fizivay*
Past imperfective	*fizivay*	
Cont. Imperfective	*fizi*	*fizay, fiza*
Past Cont. Imperfective	*fizay*	
Aorist	*feni*	*fey*
Past Aorist	*fenay*	
Perfect	*fenivi*	*fenivay*
Past Perfect	*fenivay*	

APPENDIX B

CYRILLIC LEZGI ALPHABET

This is a list of the Lezgi Cyrillic alphabet, as presented in Haspelmath (1993, 28), including the characters that are only used in Russian loan words (R.). The IPA and Latin Lezgi (Aliyeva and Clifton 2007) equivalents are given. Aspiration is unmarked in the Cyrillic alphabet; the Latin equivalent is presented in only the aspirated form.

Cyrillic	IPA	Latin
a	a	a
б	b	b
в	w	v
г	g	g
гъ	ʁ	ğ
гь	h	h
д	d	d
е	e, je	e, ye
ё	(jo)	(R.)
ж	ʒ	j
з	z	z
и	i	i
й	j	y
к	k, k^h	k
къ	q	q
кь	q'	q'
кI	k'	k'
л	l	l
м	m	m
н	n	n
о	(o, ɔ)	(R.)
п	p, p^h	p
пI	p'	p'

Cyrillic	IPA	Latin
р	r	r
с	s	s
т	t, t^h	t
тI	t'	t'
у	u	u
уь	y	ü
ф	f	f
х	χ	h'
хъ	q^h	x'
х	x	x
ц	ts	š
цI	ts'	s'
ч	tʃ	ç
чI	tʃ'	ç'
ш	ʃ	ş
щ	(ʃtʃ)	(R.)
ъ	ʔ	ǐ
ы	(ɨ, ɰ)	(R.)
ь	---	(R.)
э	ʔe, e	ǐe, e
ю	ju	yu
я	ze, ja	ze, ya

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