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The Maku variety of South Azeri

Abstract

The paper presents a recently recorded text in the Maku dialect of Azeri spoken in Northwest Iran. The author, who speaks this variety as her mother tongue, examines the main linguistic features occurring in the text. The recorded speaker is a 54-year-old female, a fully-fledged speaker of the Maku variety with passive knowledge in Persian. She is from the village of Rend in the central district of Maku. The text is given in interlinear annotation in Turcological transcription, morphological glosses, and free translation.

Key words: Maku, Azeri, Northwest Iran, Persian, linguistic analysis

Güney Azerbaycan Türkçesinin Maku ağzı

Öz

Bu çalışma, Azerbaycan Türkçesinin Kuzeybatı İran'da konuşulan Maku ağzından kaydedilen bir metni incelemektedir. Söz konusu ağzı ana dili olarak konuşan yazar, metinde ortaya çıkan önemli dilbilimsel özellikleri ele almaktadır. Maku ağzını yetkin bir şekilde konuşan, aynı zamanda edilgen olarak Farsça da bilen konuşmacı, Maku merkeze bağlı Rend köyünde yaşayan 54 yaşında bir kadındır. Makalede, metnin Türkolojik çevriyazısı, satırasası morfolojik açıklamaları ve serbest çevirisi sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Maku, Azerice, Kuzeybatı İran, Farsça, dilbilimsel çözümleme

Information about the language, the speakers, and their community

Azeri is a member of the western – or central, according to Doerfer (2006) – subgroup of the south-western or Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family. In genealogical terms it is closely related to Turkish. Azeri which is the official language in the Republic of Azerbaijan (North Azeri), is also one of the Turkic languages spoken in Iran (South Azeri). Azerbaijan was divided between the empires of Iran and Russia through the *Turkmenchay* treaty in 1828. The northern part joined the Soviet Union as the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan in 1920, until its independence in 1991.

Although there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the North and South Azeri varieties, there are significant differences in linguistic aspects and sources of loanwords. Both varieties have further dialectal variants. The varieties of South Azerbaijan display different degrees of Irani- zation in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

South Azerbaijan is situated in north-western Iran and borders the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia to the North, Türkiye and Iraq to the West, the Republic of Azerbaijan and Gilan to the East, and the provinces of Zanjan and Kurdistan to the South. Politically, it is divided into the provinces of East Azerbaijan and West Azerbaijan. In the demographic context of Iran, it is impossible

to accurately tally the number of Azeri speakers. There is no consensus on the number of speakers and estimates are inconsistent. The main reason for this, is that speakers reside all over Iran and there is a lapse in the national census' taking into account, ethnic, and racial factors. According to Crystal (2010), Azeri, with approximately 15–20 million speakers, is larger than any language in Iran, other than Persian. Most Azeri speakers inhabit four provinces in the northwestern part of Iran, where each province has its own dialect; Tabriz dialect in East Azerbaijan province, Urmia dialect in West Azerbaijan province, Ardabil dialect in Ardabil province, and Zanzan dialect in Zanzan province. According to Menges (1951) and Bulut (2022), the dialect of Tabriz is the most prestigious among these and therefore serves as the standard for South Azeri. Some cities, including Qazvin, Hamedan and Karaj, have a large Azeri population as well.

This paper examines the main linguistic features of Maku, a dialectal variety of South Azeri in West Azerbaijan, which is the author's mother tongue.

Circumstances of the recording and the speaker



The speaker Kobra Ahmadi

Fieldwork in Maku

The city of Maku (Azeri *Maki*) is located in the Northeast of the West Azerbaijan province in the valley of the Zangmar River, which divides the city into northern and southern halves. Mountainous landscapes, flourishing pastures, hot water springs, waterfalls, and protected areas, along with old churches and castles, are tourist attractions of this area. Maku is 22 kilometers from the Turkish border; according to the 2016 census of the "Statistical Center of Iran", the city had a population of 46,581 (www.amar.org.ir).

The languages currently spoken in Maku are Azeri, Kurdish, and Persian. For more information on Kurdish tribes, see Oberling's 2004 article on Kurdish tribes in *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Most people in Maku speak Azeri, while Kurdish is used by a minority of the city's population. In 2022, the author carried out her first fieldwork on the Maku variety.

Sample text

This text, which is about 1000 words, was recorded in November 2022. The speaker, Kobra Ahmadi, is a 54-year-old woman with passive knowledge in Persian. She is from the village of Rend in the southern Chaybasar rural district, in the central district of Maku. An annotated transcription of a part of the recording is included here as a sample text in which the interviewee talks about daily life in Maku for about 10 minutes.

LINK: [Maku Audio](#)

1. *B-ism-i-llah-ə rāhman-i-rrāhim. Mān*
 in.the.name.of.God compassionate.merciful I
Čübra Āhmādi-yām, Rind āhl-ın-nān-ām Rit-dä
 Kobra Ahmadi-COP1SG Rend inhabitant-POSS-ABL-COP1SG Rend-LOC
dünya-ya jāl-mış-äm. Aya-m-ın ad-ı Āhmād-dı
 world-DAT come-POST-1SG father-POSS1SG-GEN name-POSS3SG Ahmad-COP3SG
bâ'd, älli dört yaş-ım var.
 then fifty four age-POSS1SG existing

'In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. I'm Kobra Ahmadi, I'm from Rend. I was born in Rend. My father's name is Ahmad, and I'm 54 years old.'

2. *Indi Maku-da zindäganniy el-ır-ıx vä aya-m*
 now Maku-LOC living do-INTRA-1PL and father-POSS1SG
ana-m čät-dä ol-ur jenä hāmčinan
 mother-POSS1SG village-LOC be(come)-INTRA3SG still still
ev-lär-ı.
 house-PL-POSS3PL

'Now we are living in Maku and my parents still live in the village.'

3. *Rind bi jözäl yer-dı. Mān hämišä*
 Rend one beautiful place-COP3SG I always
zadgah-ım-ı çoχ ist-ır-äm vä ona
 hometown-POSS1SG-ACC very love-INTRA1SG and that.DAT
iftıxar el-ır-äm. Čoχ jözäl bi čät-dı.
 proud do-INTRA-1SG very beautiful one village-COP3SG

'Rend is a beautiful place. I always love my hometown very much and I'm proud of it. It's a very beautiful village.'

4. *Äz jümlä o čät rusta-ha-ye gärdiŝgäri či*
 among that village village-PL-IZ touristic CONJ

de-yil-lär *rusta-ye* *gärdişgäri-dj.* *Ora* *dolan-may-a*
 say-INTRA-3PL village-IZ touristic-COP3SG there promenade-VN-DAT
jäz-mäy-ä *jal-äl-l* *täbi'ät-ın-dän* *istifada*
 recreate-VN-DAT come-AOR-3PL nature-POSS3SG-ABL use
el-ıl-lär. *Härčäs* *jal-ıp* *ora-nj*
 do-INTRA-3PL everyone come-CONV there-ACC
jör-üp *täbi'ät-ın-ı* *tähsin* *eli-yıp-lär.*
 see-CONV nature-POSS3SG-ACC admire do-POST-3PL

'It is among those villages that are called touristic, it's a touristic village. People come to this place to take walks, and enjoy its nature. Everyone who has come and seen this place, has admired the nature here.'

5. *žözäl* *bilaş-lar-ı* *var-dj,* *žözäl* *čaj-ı*
 beautiful spring-PL-POSS3SG existing-COP3SG beautiful river-POSS3SG
var-dj. *Bi* *mäntägä-sı* *var* *či* *ad-ın-a*
 existing-COP3SG one area-POSS3SG existing CONJ name-POSS3SG-DAT
Därä *de-yıl-lär.* *Därä-dä* *žözäl* *bi-dänä* *čaj*
 Dara say-INTRA-3PL Dara-LOC beautiful one-piece river
var-dj. *Or-dan* *čaj* *ječ-ır.*
 existing-COP3SG there-ABL river pass-INTRA3SG
Sarı su *ad-ın-da* *či* *ätraf* *čät-där-ı* *dä*
 Sari su name-POSS3SG-LOC CONJ surrounding village-PL-ACC PTCL
o *su* *jed-ır* *abyari* *el-ır.*
 that water go-INTRA3SG irrigate do-INTRA3SG

'It has beautiful springs and a beautiful river. It has an area called Dara (literally 'valley'). There is a beautiful river in Dara. There is a river called Sari su (literally yellow water) that irrigates the surrounding villages.'

6. *Bizim* *čänd-ımız* *bi* *su-lu* *bilaş-lı* *čaj-lı*
 we.GEN village-POSS1PL one water-DER spring-DER river-DER
čeşmä-lı *čät-dj.* *žözäl* *dolan-malı-dj.*
 spring-DER village-COP3SG beautiful explore-NEC-COP3SG

'Our village is a village full of water, springs, and rivers. It should be explored well.'

7. *Maku* *vä* *Rend* *bi-dänä* *därrä* *halät-ı* *var* *či*
 Maku and Rend one-piece valley state-POSS3SG existing CONJ

ätraf-ï sada day-dï.
surrounding-POSS3SG all mountain-COP3SG

‘Maku and Rend have the status of a valley surrounded by mountains.’

8. *Bizim šähr-ïmiz šayäd bi adam másälän bizim*
we.GEN city-POSS1PL maybe one person for.example we.GEN
mäntäyâ-miz-dä zindägan-niç elä-mi-yıp bidän jäl-ïp
area-POSS1PL-LOC living do-NEG-CONV suddenly come-CONV

jör-sä tä’äjüb elä-r.
see-HYP3SG surprise do-AOR3SG

‘Someone who has not lived in our area may be surprised when (s)he comes and sees our city.’

9. *Çox jalış jäl-ïr väli çün biz-lär or-da*
very interesting come-INTRA3SG but because we-PL there-LOC
doy-ül-up bur-da dünya-ya jäl-ïp or-da
born-PASS-CONV here-LOC world-DAT come-CONV there-LOC

yeçäl-miş-iç biz-ä addi jäl-ïr.
grow.up-POST-1PL we-DAT normal come-INTRA3SG

‘It looks very interesting, but because we were born here and grew up there, it seems normal to us.’

10. *O äl bu äl day-dï väsät dära-dï.*
that side this side mountain-COP3SG middle valley-COP3SG
Eläbir šähr-e Maku bir dära-nin iç-ïn-dä-dï
such.a city-IZ Maku one valley-GEN inside-POSS3SG-LOC-COP3SG

väsät-ïn-dä-dï. Daş Maku da di-yäl-lär hätta
middle-POSS3SG-LOC-COP3SG stone Maku also say-AOR-3PL even
bexäter-e bu day-lar-ï daş-lar-ï.
because.of-IZ this mountain-PL-POSS3SG stone-PL-POSS3SG

‘This side and that side are mountains, in the middle there is a valley. As if the city of Maku is inside a valley, it is in the middle of it. Because of these mountains and rocks, it is even called Dash Maku (literally Stony Maku).’

11. *Jözäl dolan-malı-dï mäxsusän jan ver-ïr*
beautiful explore-NEC-COP3SG especially deserve-INTRA3SG
kuhnävârdi-dän ötürü. Çox-lu guruh-ha-ye kuhnävârdi var
hiking-ABL for many-DER group-PL-IZ hiking existing

bür-da. Kuhnävârdi-yä dä jed-âl-lâr. Hätta mänim
 here-LOC hiking-DAT PTCL go-AOR-3PL even I-GEN
öz-üm dä hârdân bi täfännoni jed-âr-âm.
 self-POSS1SG PTCL occasionally one for.fun go-AOR-1SG

'It should be explored well, especially in view of hiking. There are many hiking groups here. They also go hiking. Even I myself go hiking for fun occasionally.'

12. *Çox xoş-um jâl-ir şähr-îmiz-dân*
 very pleasant-POSS1SG come-INTRA1SG city-POSS1PL-ABL
čänd-îmiz-dân tâbi'ât-in-nân.
 village-POSS1PL-ABL nature-POSS3SG-ABL

'I like our city, our village, and its nature very much.'

13. *Mântâyâ-miz-în dil-î Türç-dü vä ätraf*
 region-POSS1PL-GEN language-POSS3SG Turk-COP3SG and surrounding
čât-dâr-dä Kord zâban da var-dj.
 village-PL-LOC Kurdish language PTCL existing-COP3SG

Čürdü dil-în-dä danîš-al-lar.
 Kurdish language-POSS3SG-LOC speak-AOR-3PL

'The common language of our region is Turkic, and Kurdish is also spoken in the surrounding villages. They speak Kurdish.'

14. *Maku-da da elâ var-dj-lar. Nejä mäsälân biz*
 Maku-LOC PTCL such existing-COP-3PL how for.example we
Rit-tj-yiç, čât-tj-yiç, jâl-miş-iç Maku-da sakin
 Rend-DER-COP1PL rural-DER-COP1PL come-POST-1PL Maku-LOC resident
ol-muş-uç Čüt-dâr-dân dä Maku-da sakin ol-an
 be(come)-POST-1PL Kurd-PL-ABL also Maku-LOC resident be(come)-VN
var-dj či Ājâm-lâr-nân ba hām
 existing-COP3SG CONJ Ajam-PL-WITH.POSTP with.each.other
Türç-lâr-nân ba hām bir mântägâ-dâ sakin-dj-lâr.
 Turk-PL-WITH.POSTP with.each.other one region-LOC resident-COP-3PL

'They are also in Maku. For example, we are from Rend, we are rural, we came and settled in Maku. Among the Kurds, there are also those who have settled in Maku and live in the same area with Ajams (i.e. Shiite) and Turks.'

15. *Bâ?d öz-üm mänim öz-üm bi-vaç*
 and (i.e. then) self-POSS1SG I.GEN self-POSS1SG one-time

karimāndi-y-dī-m. Bimaristan-da işli-yār-dī-m indi
 employee-COP-TERM-1SG hospital-LOC work-AOR-TERM1SG now
baznišäst ol-muş-am.
 retired be(come)-POST-1SG

'I myself, once, was an employee. I used to work in a hospital, now I am retired.'

16. *Ev-ın iş-ı-ynān uşax-lar-a yetır-r-ām.*
 house-GEN work-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP child-PL-DAT care-INTRA-1SG
Süb dur-ur-am ev-ım-ın iş-lār-ın-ı
 morning get.up-INTRA-1SG house-POSS1SG-GEN work-PL-POSS3SG-ACC
jör-ür-ām. Aşpāzi el-ır-ām nahar pişır-r-ām
 see-INTRA-1SG cooking do-INTRA-1SG lunch cook-INTRA-1SG
uşax-lar-a hārdān piyaderāvi-yā jed-ır-ām.
 child-PL-DAT occasionally walking-DAT go-INTRA-1SG
ǰümā-lār hārdān kuhnāvārdi-yā jed-ır-ām.
 Friday-PL occasionally hiking-DAT go-INTRA-1SG

'I take care of housework and children. I get up in the morning and do my housework. I cook. I cook lunch for the children, I go for a walk occasionally. I go hiking on Fridays occasionally.'

17. *Hāftā-dā heç ol-ma-sa bi seri içi seri*
 week-LOC nothing be(come)-NEG-HYP one time two time
aḡa-m-a ana-m-a jed-ır-ām çānd-ā
 father-POSS1SG-DAT mother-POSS1SG-DAT go-INTRA-1SG village-DAT
baş vūr-ır-am.
 head hit-INTRA-1SG

'I go to the village at least once or twice a week and visit my parents.'

18. *Çānd-ā çı jed-ır-ām hāmişā mān di-yār-ām bura*
 village-DAT CONJ go-INTRA-1SG always I say-AOR-1SG here
māxsusān aḡa-m-ın ana-m-ın mähzār-ın-dā çı
 especially father-POSS1SG-GEN mother-POSS1SG-GEN presence-POSS3SG-LOC CONJ
otur-ur-am hāmişā ehsas elār-ām bir tiçā āz
 sit-INTRA-1SG always feel do.AOR-1SG one piece of
beheşt-dā-yām bir tiçā beheşt-ın bir
 heaven-LOC-COP1SG one piece heaven-GEN one

tičä-sın-dä *otu-muš-am.*

piece-POSS3SG-LOC sit-POST-1SG

‘When I go to the village, I always say that here, especially when I sit in the presence of my parents, I always feel that I am in a piece of heaven. I am sitting (I have set down, i.e. I am sitting) in a piece of heaven.’

19. *O yädr či häm ata-m-ınan*
 that much CONJ PTCL father-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP
ana-m-nan *çoχ* *lizzät* *apar-r-am* *hämnešin*
 mother-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP much pleasure take-INTRA-1SG companion
ol-maχ-dan *häm* *dä* *čänd-ımız-ı* *či* *jed-ır-äm*
 be(come)-VN-ABL PTCL PTCL village-POSS1PL-ACC CONJ go-INTRA-1SG
jör-ür-äm *ora-nın* *ab häva-sın-nan* *çoχ* *lizzät*
 see-INTRA-1SG there-GEN weather-POSS3SG-ABL much pleasure
apar-r-am *çoχ* *çoşhal* *ol-ur-am.*
 take-INTRA-1SG very happy be(come)-INTRA-1SG

‘I truly enjoy staying with my parents. Moreover, I enjoy when I go and see our village. I enjoy its nice weather and I become very happy.’

20. *Daha dört dänä giz-ım* *var-dı.*
 moreover four piece daughter-POSS1SG existing-COP3SG
Gız-lar-ım-a *iftıxar* *el-ır-äm.* *Olar-ın* *yad-ı*
 daughter-PL-POSS1SG-DAT proud do.INTRA-1SG they-GEN memory-POSS3SG
üräy-ım-ä *tüş-än-dä* *şad* *ol-ur-am.*
 heart-POSS1SG-DAT fall-VN-LOC happy be(come)-INTRA-1SG

‘Now, I have four daughters. I am proud of my daughters. I am always happy when I remember them.’

21. *Zindäganniy-ım-nan razi-yäm.* *Allah-a* *şüçr* *el-ır-äm*
 life-POSS1SG-ABL satisfied-COP1SG God-DAT thank do-INTRA-1SG
hämişä *vä* *moʔtäged-äm* *či* *här näkädr* *insan-nar*
 always and believe-COP1SG CONJ how.much human-PL
şokrgozar *ol-sa-lar* *oggädän* *Allah* *neʔmät-där-ın-ı*
 thankful be(come)-HYP-3PL that.much God blessing-PL-POSS3SG-ACC
onnar-a *jarı* *eli-yäjäχ.* *Färavani* *çoχ-lu* *neʔmät-lär*
 they-DAT pour do-PRO3SG abundance much-DER blessing-PL
onnar-a *näsib* *ol-ajaχ* *här näkädr* *či* *Allah*
 they-DAT portion be(come)-PRO3SG how.much CONJ God

ver-än ne'mät-där-ın gädr-ın-ı bil-sä-lär.
 give-VN blessing-PL-GEN value-POSS3PL-ACC know-HYP-3PL

'I am satisfied with my life. I always thank God and I believe that the more grateful people are, the more God will pour his blessing on them. Abundances and many blessings will be given to them as much as they appreciate the blessings that God has given them.'

22. *Män Allah-ım-nan çođ razi-yäm. Allah-ım-a här*
 I God-POSS1SG-ABL very satisfied-COP1SG God-POSS1SG-DAT every
lähzä şokrgozar-am. Allah män-ä çođ-lu ne'mät-där ver-ıp
 moment thankful-COP1SG God I-DAT much-DER blessing-PL give-CONV
jözäl bala-lar ver-ıp salim bala-lar ver-ıp-dı.
 beautiful child-PL give-CONV healthy child-PL give-POST-COP3SG

'I am very satisfied with my God. I am grateful to God every moment. God has given me many blessings. He has given me beautiful children. He has given me healthy children.'

23. *Härčänd zindäganniy-ım-da çođ-lu färazanäşib-lär alçađ uđa-lar*
 although life-POSS1SG-LOC much-DER vicissitude-PL down up-PL
var-ıyđı, çođ-lu dära täpä-lär ječ-ıt-mış-äm çođ-lu
 existing-DIST.COP much-DER valley hill-PL pass-CAUS-POST-1SG much-DER
zindäganniy-ım-da moşkelat jör-müş-äm asani jör-müş-äm väli
 life-POSS1SG-LOC problems see-POST-1SG ease see-POST-1SG but
här moşkelat-dan säy elä-mış-äm dars al-a-m vä pillä
 every problems-ABL try do-POST-1SG learn-OPT-1SG and step
ol-a mänım täräggi, elä-mäy-ım-dä pillä
 be(come)-OPT3SG I.GEN advancement do-VN-POSS1SG-LOC step
ol-a mänım Allah-a yaxun tüş-mäy-ım-dä.
 be(come)-OPT3SG I.GEN God-DAT close fall-VN-POSS1SG-LOC

'Although there were many vicissitudes and ups and downs in my life, I have passed through many hills and valleys. I have seen many problems and much ease in my life, yet I have tried to learn from every problem and make it a stepping stone for my advancement and get closer to my God.'

24. *Ränj-lär-ım-nän säy elä-mış-äm gänj äl-ä jätır-ä-m,*
 suffering-PL-POSS1SG-ABL try-POST-1SG benefit hand-DAT bring-OPT-1SG
gänj-lär-ä yetır-ä-m Allah-ım-a yaxunnaş-a-m.
 benefit-PL-DAT bring-INTRA-1SG God-POSS1SG-DAT come.near-OPT-1SG

Män *çoχ* *Allah-a* *šüçr* *el-ır-äm.* *Allah-dan* *razi-yäm.*
 I very God-DAT thank do-INTRA-1SG God-ABL satisfied-COP1SG

'I have tried to get benefit from my sufferings, to attain benefits, to come near to my God.
 I thank God very much. God satisfies me.'

25. *Düz-dü* *jävan* *sinn-ım-dä* *çoχ* *jävan* *sinn-ım-dä*
 true-COP3SG young age-POSS1SG-LOC very young age-POSS1SG-LOC
o *de-mäy* *ol-ar* *ušaχ* *sinn-ım-dä* *är-ım-ı*
 X say-VN be(come)-AOR3SG child age-POSS1SG-LOC husband-POSS1SG-ACC
äl-dän *ver-dı-m* *üş* *dänä* *ušaχ-nan* *täh*
 hand-ABL give-TERM-1SG three piece child-WITH.POSTP alone
gal-dı-m.
 remain-TERM-1SG

'Although I lost my husband when I was young, when I was so young, or even when I was a child, I was left alone with three children.'

26. *Üş* *dänä* *gız-ım-ı* *täh* *yeçät-dı-m* *väli*
 three piece daughter-POSS1SG-ACC alone bring.up-TERM-1SG but
Allah-ım-a *šüçr* *el-ır-äm* *vä* *öz-üm-ä* *iftıxar*
 God-POSS1SG-DAT thank do-INTRA-1SG and self-POSS1SG-DAT proud
el-ır-äm *çi* *Allah-ın* *çömäh-lıy-ı-ynän* *Allah-ın*
 do-INTRA-1SG CONJ God-GEN help-VN-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP God-GEN
lütf-ü-ynän *eli-yä* *bil-dı-m* *bala-lar-ım-ı*
 grace-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP do-CONV KNOW.AUX-TERM-1SG child-PL-POSS1SG-ACC
tämız *düzjün* *tärbıyät* *eli-yıp* *vä* *ıame'ä-yä* *tähvi*
 proper well bringing.up do-CONV and society-DAT deliver
ver-ä-m *vä* *Allah-dan* *razi-yäm* *Allah-a* *šüçr*
 give-OPT-1SG and God-ABL satisfied-COP1SG God-DAT thank
el-ır-äm *här* *babät-dä.*
 do-INTRA-1SG every matter-LOC

'I brought up my three daughters alone, but I thank God and I am proud of myself that with God's help and His grace, I was able to bring up my children properly and well, and deliver them to the society. God satisfies me. I thank God for everything.'

27. *Mänım* *döt* *dänä* *nävä-m* *var-dı*
 I.GEN four piece grandchild-POSS1SG existing-COP3SG
nävä-lär-ım-ın *üç-ü* *oylan-dı* *bir-ı*
 grandchild-PL-POSS1SG-GEN three-POSS3SG boy-COP3SG one-POSS3SG

giz-dĭ. Bōyüh nāvā-m-ĭn ad-ĭ Sobhan-dĭ
 girl-COP3SG elder grandchild-POSS1SG-GEN name-POSS3SG Sobhan-COP3SG
onnan soran-čĭ Elman-dĭ, onnan sora Karen-dĭ onnan
 he.ABL after-REL Elman-COP3SG he.ABL after Karen-COP3SG he.ABL
da sora bi dānā diġġilĭ giz-im
 PTCL after one piece little girl-POSS1SG
var ad-ĭ Janan-dĭ.
 existing name-POSS3SG Janan-COP3SG

'I have four grandchildren. Three of them are boys and one is a girl. The name of my oldest grandson is Sobhan. The next is Elman. After him is Karen, and after him I have a little daughter whose name is Janan.'

28. *Olar-ĭ mān çoχ, çoχ, çoχ ist-ĭr-ām širin dil-ĭ*
 they-ACC I very very very love-INTRA-1SG sweet tongue-DER
bi bala-dĭ-lar hammĭ-sĭ jözāl jöčäh.
 one child-COP-3PL all-POSS3PL beautiful cute

'I love them very, very, very much. They are nice children. They are all beautiful and cute.'

29. *Ĵäl-ändä bura mān olar-ĭn jör-māy-ĭn-nān*
 come-CONV here I they-GEN see-VN-POSS3-ABL
çoχ sāvĭn-ĭr-ām. Hārdān ġiz-lar-ĭm-nan
 very be.happy-INTRA-1SG occasionally daughter-PL-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP
Ĵäl-ĭl-lār bura hārdān ġiz-lar-ĭm Ĵätĭr-ĭr
 come-INTRA-3PL here occasionally daughter-PL-POSS1SG bring-INTRA3SG
olar-ĭ bidān ġoy-ur mānĭm yan-ĭm-a
 they-ACC occasionally leave-INTRA3SG I.GEN near-POSS1SG-DAT
Ĵed-ĭr iš-lār-ĭn-ĭ yer-be-yer el-ĭr.
 go-INTRA3SG affair-PL-POSS3PL-ACC arrange do-INTRA3SG

'When they come here, I am very happy to see them. They come here with my daughters occasionally. Sometimes my daughters bring them here and leave them with me and they go to arrange (i.e. place-PTCL-place) their affairs.'

30. *Čoχ xošhal ol-ur-am olar-ĭn yan-ĭn-da.*
 very happy be(come)-INTRA-1SG they-GEN side-POSS3-LOC
Olar-nan mān-ā çoχ xoš ječ-ĭr. Olar-ĭ čĭ
 they-WITH.POSTP I-DAT very pleasant pass-INTRA3SG they-ACC CONJ

jör-ür-äm *üräy-İM-dän* *nämmänä* *därd-o-yämm-o gussä* *var*
 see-INTRA-1SG heart-POSS1SG-ABL whatever pain-and-sorrow-and-grief existing
hammi-si *su* *ol-ur* *jed-ir* *Sävın-ir-äm*
 all-POSS3 water be(come)-INTRA3SG go-INTRA3SG be.happy-INTRA-1SG
onnar-i *jör-ändä.*
 they-ACC see-CONV

'I am very happy with them. I have a lot of fun with them. When I see them, all the pain and sadness in my heart disappears (i.e. water be(come)). I am very happy when I see them.'

31. *Ğiz-lar-İM* *üç-ü* *dä* *lisans-dİ* *bir-i* *dä*
 daughter-PL-POSS1SG three-POSS3 PTCL bachelor-COP3 one-POSS3SG PTCL
danešamuz-du *häštum* *oX-ur* *bä?d* *ğiz-lar-İM-İN*
 student-COP3SG eighth study-INTRA3SG and daughter-PL-POSS1SG-GEN
bir-i *nemayändegi-ye* *eläbir* *äsäl-i* *var-dİ*
 one-POSS3SG agency-IZ such.a honey-POSS3SG existing-COP3SG
nämänä-dİ.
 what-COP3SG

'Three of my daughters have bachelor's degrees, and one is a student, in eighth grade. One of my daughters has a, you name it, a honey sales agency.'

32. *Bä?d* *o-bir-i* *dä* *çi* *bašgah-a* *jed-ir* *bašgah-da*
 and that-one-POSS3SG PTCL CONJ gym-DAT go-INTRA3SG gym-LOC
eläbir *moräbbi-dİ* *tämriñ* *ver-ir* *bir-i* *dä* *šädid*
 such.a coach-COP3SG training give-INTRA3SG one-POSS3SG PTCL much
gol-o-giyah-a *älagä-si* *var-dİ* *o* *zäminä-dä*
 flower-and-plant-DAT interest-POSS3SG existing-COP3SG that field-LOC
fä?aliyät *el-ir* *ibtidayi* *halät-İN-dä* *fe?län.*
 activity do-INTRA3SG initial stage-POSS3SG-LOC at.present

'And the other one, who goes to the gym, she is some sort of coach of the gym and assigns training (to others). The next one is very interested in flowers and plants and has currently begun to work in that field.'

33. *Böyüh-täriñ* *hädäf-lär-i* *ušaX-lar-İN-i* *yečäld-İP*
 big-SUP goal-PL-POSS3PL child-PL-POSS3PL-ACC bring.up-CONV
sär-o-saman *ver-mäX* *begoli* *di-yäl-lär* *biräz*
 direction.and.order give-VN in.other.words say-AOR-3PL slightly

o yeçät-mäx-dj da o ab-o-gel-dän çix-a-lar
 that bring.up-VN-COP3SG PTCL that childhood-ABL come.out-OPT-3PL
hälä çoç uşax-dj-lar.
 still very child-COP-3PL

‘Their biggest goal is to bring up and organize (i.e. to give head and order to) their children. In other words, they say that they should bring them up and let them leave childhood (i.e. water-and-mud) behind, as they are still very small.’

34. *Onnar-ın yan-ın-da da äla?eg-lär-ın-ın dalı-sın-ı*
 they-GEN side-POSS3PL-LOC PTCL interest-PL-POSS3-GEN back-POSS3-ACC
tut-ul-lar ta bi munasib vaç-dä inşalla
 take-INTRA-3PL CONJ one proper time-LOC God.willing
igdam eli-yä-lär hädäf-lär-ın-ı peygiri eli-yä-lär.
 action do-OPT-3PL goal-PL-POSS3PL-ACC pursue do-OPT-3PL

‘Besides that, they follow their interests so that they can act at the right time and follow up on their goals.’

35. *Män dä năhayät-e säy-ım-ı el-ır-äm olar-ı*
 I PTCL most-IZ try-POSS1SG-ACC do-INTRA-1SG they-ACC
hädäf-lär-ın-ä arzu-lar-ın-a yetir-mäx-dä çömäh-lıy
 goal-PL-POSS3PL-DAT wish-PL-POSS3PL-DAT get-VN-LOC help-VN
eli-yä-m. Härnä iş äl-ım-nän jäl-sä.
 do-OPT-1SG whatever work hand-POSS1SG-ABL come-HYP

‘I will try my best to help them achieve their goals and dreams with whatever I can do.’

36. *Mänım böyüh-tärın arzu-m bala-lar-ım-ın*
 I.GEN big-SUP wish-POSS1SG child-PL-POSS1SG-GEN
arzu-lar-ı-dj arzu-lar-ın-a yetir-mäy-ı
 wish-PL-POSS3-COP3SG wish-PL-POSS3-DAT get-VN-POSS3SG
çoşbäxtçilix-lär-ı-dj.
 prosperous-PL-POSS3-COP3SG

‘My biggest wish is the wishes of my children, as it is their happiness to achieve their dreams.’

37. *Bä?d şähr-ımız mărzi bi şähr-dj, Türçiyä-ynän*
 and city-POSS1PL borderline one city-COP3SG Türkiye -WITH.POSTP
häm mărz-ıx eläbir, biz-nän Türçiyä-nın ara-sın-da
 same.border-COP1PL such.a we-WITH.POSTP Türkiye -GEN between-POSS3SG-LOC

elä-bi *fasilä* *yoḫ-du.* *Maku-dan* *jed-ır*
 so.much.one distance non.existing-COP3SG Maku-ABL go-INTRA3SG

Bazırgan-a *Bazırgan-nan* *märz-e* *Türçiyä-dı* *eläbir.*
 Bazargan-DAT Bazargan-ABL border-IZ Türkiye-COP3SG so.much.one

‘Our city is a border city. We are contiguous with Türkiye. There is not much distance between us and Türkiye. It goes from Maku to Bazargan and by Bazargan there is the Turkish border.’

38. *Bazırgan-nan* *o* *täräf-ä* *Türçiyä-dı.* *Orda* *jömröh* *var-dı.*
 Bazargan-ABL that side-DAT Türkiye -COP3SG there customs existing-COP3SG
Jömröh-dä *idarä-sı* *zad-ı* *var-dı* *çi* *or-dan*
 customs-LOC office-POSS3SG thing-POSS3SG existing-COP3SG CONJ there-ABL
bi *näfär* *çi* *isti-yä* *jed-ä* *Türçüy-yä* *çarej* *öz*
 one person CONJ want-OPT3SG go-OPT3SG Türkiye-DAT out of
keşvār-ä *or-da* *jed-ır* *iş-lär-in-i* *yer-be-yer*
 country-DAT there-LOC go-INTRA3SG work-PL-POSS3SG-ACC place-PTCL-place
el-ıl-lär *or-dan* *ječ-ır* *jed-ır* *o* *yan-a.*
 do-INTRA-3PL there-ABL pass-INTRA3SG go-INTRA3SG that side-DAT

‘On the other side of Bazargan is Türkiye. There are customs there. In the customhouse there is an office so that if someone wants to go from there out of the country to Türkiye, (s)he goes there and they do their work and passes through there and (s)he goes to the other side.’

39. *Bâ?d* *bü* *şähr-in* *märzi* *ol-may-ı-nın*
 and this city-GEN borderline be(come)-VN-POSS3SG-GEN
eli-yä *bil-är-dı* *bi* *şey* *bi* *seri*
 do-CONV KNOW.AUX-AOR-DIST.COP one thing one series
mázaya-sı *ol-a* *biz-ä* *váli* *ojur* *färgili*
 advantage-POSS3SG be(come)-OPT3SG we-DAT but so.many different
bi *mázaya-sı* *yoḫ-du.*
 one advantage-POSS3SG non.existing-COP3SG

‘The border status of this city could have advantages for us, but it does not have so many advantages for us.’

40. *Elä* *máziyät-i* *o-du* *çi* *biz* *yaḫun-tar-iḫ*
 so.much advantage-POSS3SG that-COP3SG CONJ we close-COMP-COP1PL
másälän *rahät-tär* *bür-dan* *ječ-ıp* *jed-ä* *bil-ır-iḫ*
 for.example easy-COMP here-ABL pass-CONV go-CONV KNOW.AUX-INTRA-1PL

<i>χarej</i>	<i>āz</i>	<i>kešvār-ā.</i>	<i>Bil-m-ir-ām</i>	<i>elā</i>	<i>o-lar</i>	
out	of	country-DAT	know-NEG-INTRA-1SG	so	that-PL	
<i>siyasāt-ā</i>	<i>mārbut-dū</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>mānīm</i>	<i>çoχ</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>baş-īm</i>
policy-DAT	related-COP3SG	CONJ	I.GEN	very	PTCL	head-POSS1SG
<i>čix-m-ir.</i>		<i>belā,</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>söz-īm</i>	<i>yoχ-dū.</i>	
come.out-NEG-INTRA3SG		so	more	word-POSS1SG	non.existing-COP3SG	

'The only advantage is that we are closer. For example, it is easier to pass through here and go abroad. I don't know if these issues are related to politics, which I don't know much about. So, I have nothing more to say.'

Selected characteristics

Sound system

The varieties of Northern and Southern Azeri display basically the same phonological structure. Their phonemic inventory consists of 9 vowels and 24 consonants. For socio-political reasons they are written with different orthographies.

Vowel types

The vowel inventory consists of the following main types: *i/i*, *u/ü*, *a/ā*, *o/ö* and *e*. The high vowels in suffixes are pronounced lax, marked with a dot under the vowel symbol. In some dialect studies, lax high vowels are represented by *ə*, however this is not correct, phonologically. Lax vowels are less high and tend to be somewhat less fronted, but the phonological distinction, for instance, between a lax *i* and a lax *i̇* is maintained. Therefore, they have to be represented in different ways.

Palatal and labial vowel harmony is a general phonological feature of Azeri words, but sometimes exceptions occur and we see non-harmonic cases due to the influence of Persian. Another Persian influence is the tendency toward a fronted pronunciation of *a > á*. The short *á* [æ] in Arabic and Persian loanwords in Azeri is thus rendered as *á*, e.g. S1 *Áhmád*, Turkish *Ahmet*, S36 *χoš-báχt-čij-lix* 'happiness' (Turkish *baht*). For more detail see Bulut (2018: 411).

In some varieties of Irano-Turkic, Turkic vowels, alien to Persian, are replaced, e.g. *ö > o*, *ü > u*. This replacement is not observed among native speakers of Maku.

Another tendency which is heard mostly from educated and young speakers, is the use of consonant clusters, e.g. S10 *šähr* 'city' is heard instead of *šähär*.

Consonant types

In S16 *pišir-* is used instead of the standard Azeri *bišir-* 'to cook'. According to Bulut (2018), the members of the pairs of voiced/unvoiced stops *p/b*, *t/d*, and *k/g* did not form separate phonemes in Turkic. Due to the high percentage of bilingual and multilingual speakers in the region, and the fact that a major proportion of the lexicon has been adopted from other languages, such as, for instance, Modern Persian, where *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g* are distinct phonemes, the situation has changed in present-day Iranian Turkic. As Doerfer (2006: 97) notes, "The distribution of initial stops is complicated. According to current theories in Turcology, Ancient Turkic had *t-*, *k-* and *b-*, with a tendency of the Oghuz branch to develop *lenes* variants of *t- > d-*, and *k- > g-*; *p-* rarely occurs word-initially. In present-day varieties of Oghuz Turkic the occurrence of *lenes* or *fortes* allophones of *k-* or *t-* varies across different regions, which makes it unpredictable".

The uvular stop *k̆* may also be pronounced as a postvelar voiced stop *ğ* [g], and sometimes both have merged into a unique phoneme *ɣ*, e.g. *kām* 'sorrow', which also appears with initial *ɣ* as e.g.

S30 *yäm*. *G* can also function as an allophone of *k*, e.g. *gäm*. Word-finally and in combination with back vowels, the uvular fricative *χ* occurs as another allophone of *k*, e.g. S5 *bīlaχ* ‘spring’.

Also, due to fronting, *ǰ* is used as an allophone for the front variety of *g*, e.g. in S18 *ǰed-* ‘to go’ instead of Turkish *git-*, S38 *ǰömröh* ‘costums’ instead of Turkish *gümrük*, and *č* is used as an allophone of *k* in fronted environments, e.g. S6 *čänd* ‘village’ instead of Turkish *kent* ‘town’. In the Tabriz variety, original *č* and *ǰ* sometimes change to *ts* and *dz*.

Consonant harmony is one of the other phonological processes in which back stops in word-final position harmonize with the preceding vowel as follows. Thus, *k* occurs after front vowels, e.g. *böyük* ‘big’, and *ķ* occurs after back vowels, e.g. S23 *alčak* ‘down’. Moreover, fricativization occurs in stems ending with *k* and *ķ*, which are followed by suffixes and *k* changes to *h*, e.g. S33 *böyüh-tärin* ‘biggest’, and *ķ* changes to *γ*, e.g. *alčay-i* ‘its down’.

Morphophonological rules operate over morpheme boundaries. When the plural {-lar} is added, a final *r* is regressively assimilated, e.g. S5 *de-yil-lär* ‘they say’ < *de-yir-lär*, S4 *ǰäl-äl-lär* ‘they come’. A stem-final *r* can be dropped as e.g. the post terminal form of *otur-* ‘to sit’ S18 *otu-muş-am* in opposition to the intraterminal form *otur-ur-am*.

An example of progressive assimilation is derivation with the suffix {-lı} such as S14 *čät-tǰ-yıχ* ‘we are villagers’, S14 *Rit-tǰ-yıχ* ‘we are from Rend’.

An example of contraction is S16 *yetir-r-äm* ‘I care’ < *yetir-ir-äm*. The auxiliary verb *elä-* ‘to do’ demonstrates contractions such as the intraterminal form *el-ir* < *elä-yir*, and the aorist form *el-är* < *elä-yär*. The verb *istä-* ‘to want’, ‘to love’ shows the intraterminal form S28 *ist-ir-äm* < *istä-yir-äm*.

The consonant clusters *-nd-* is avoided in the word for ‘village’ *čät/čäd* < *čänd*, and the name of the town Rend as in S14 *Rit-tǰ-yıχ*.

A stem-final *a* or *e* is usually raised before a suffix in *y*, e.g. the prospective form S21 *eli-yäǰäk* < *elä-yäǰäk*, and the aorist form S10 *di-yäl-lär* < *de-yäl-lär*.

In most South Azeri varieties such as the Maku variety, there is a special intonation pattern at the end of yes/no questions, possibly due to Persian influence, which replaces the interrogative particle *mī* in Turkish.

Morphology

The plural suffix is, as in most Turkic languages, {+LAR}, e.g. S36 *arzu-lar* ‘wishes’, S2 *ev-lär* ‘houses’. The L is realized as *d* in the vicinity of alveolar stops *t*, *d* and as nasal *n* after *n*, e.g. S21: *ne?mät-där* ‘blessings’, S5 *čät-där-i* ‘villages + ACC’, S21 *on-nar-a* ‘they+DAT’.

Examples of the personal pronouns are in S1 *män* ‘I’, *sän* ‘you’, S27 *o* ‘(s)he’, S14 *biz* ‘we’, *siz* ‘you’, S20 *o-lar* ‘they’. The reflexive pronoun is *öz*, e.g. S11 *öz-üm* (self-POSS1SG). There are two demonstrative pronouns, S10 *bu* and *o* ‘this and that’, plural *bu-lar* ‘these’ and *o-lar* ‘they/those’. For demonstratives, indicating place, e.g. S18 *bura* ‘here’ and S4 *ora* ‘there’ are used. Azeri uses the particle *či* < *ki* ‘that’ extensively. There are many examples of this in the text (S 4, 5, 7, 14, 18, 19, 21, 26, 30, 32, 38, 40). This is from the Persian *ke*, which is used in copies of Persian sentence structures in Azeri.

Possessive and case suffixes show the expected Azeri features. Possessive suffixes are {+(I)m}, {+I)n}, {+(s)I(n)}, {+(I)mIz}, {+(I)nIz}, {+LAR!}, e.g. S1 *aya-m* (father-POSS1SG), S32 *älagä-si* (interest-POSS3SG).

The case suffixes are genitive {+(n)In}, accusative {+(n)I}, dative {+(y)A}, locative {+dA}, ablative {+DAn}, e.g. S20 *olar-in yad-i* (they-GEN memory-POSS3SG), S25 *är-ım-i* (husband-POSS1SG-ACC), S23 *Allah-a* (God-DAT), S1 *Rit-dä* (Rend+LOC), S21 *zindä-gan-niy-im-nan* (life-POSS1SG-ABL). Observe that the *d* of the ablative suffix is realized as *n* after nasals, e.g. *äl-ım-nän* (hand-POSS1SG-ABL), S37 *Bazirgan-nan* (Bazirgan-ABL).

The suffixed postposition {+(l)nAn} means ‘with’ as in , e.g. S14 *Ājām-lār-nān*, ⟨Ajam-PL-WITH.POSTP⟩ ‘with Ajams’, *Türç-lār-nān* ⟨Turk-PL-WITH.POSTP⟩ ‘with Turks’, S16 *iş-ī-ynān* ⟨work-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP⟩ ‘with its work’, S19 *ata-m-īnan* ⟨father-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP⟩ ‘with my father’, *ana-m-nan* ⟨mother-POSS1SG-WITH.POSTP⟩ ‘with my mother’.

The present tense of ‘to be’ exists only as an enclitic copula: 1SG {+(y)Am}, 2SG {+sAn}, 1PL {+(y)IK}, 2PL {+sInIz}. In the third person the copula {+dI(r)} is used. Examples: S18 *behešt-dā-yām* ⟨heaven-LOC-COP1SG⟩ ‘I am in heaven’, S21 *razi-yām* ⟨satisfied-COP1SG⟩ ‘I am satisfied’, S1 *Āhmād-dī* ⟨Ahmad-COP3SG⟩ ‘is Ahmad’, S14 *čät-tī-yiχ* ⟨rural-DER-COP1PL⟩ ‘we are rural’, S14 *var-dī-lar* ⟨existing-COP-3PL⟩ ‘they are existing’. In the past tense the copula {-(y)dI} is used, e.g. *karimāndī-y-dī-m* ⟨employee-COP-TERM-1SG⟩ ‘I was an employee’.

Finite verb forms include intraterminal forms built with the suffix {+(y)Ir}. If the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix begins in -y, e.g. *de-yir* ‘X says’. Examples S2 *ol-ur* ⟨be(come)+INTRA3SG⟩ ‘is/becomes’, S5 *ječ-ir* ⟨pass-INTRA3SG⟩ ‘passes’, *jed-ir* ⟨go-INTRA3SG⟩ ‘goes’, S16 *dur-ur-am* ⟨get.up-INTRA-1SG⟩ ‘I get up’, *jör-ür-ām* ⟨see-INTRA-1SG⟩ ‘I see’, S17 *vur-ir-am* ⟨hit+INTRA+1SG⟩ ‘I hit’, S40 *bil-ir-iχ* ⟨know-INTRA-1PL⟩ ‘we know’. See about contracted forms above. The negation marker of all tenses is {-mA} attached directly to the stem, e.g. S40 *bil-m-ir-ām* ⟨know-NEG-INTRA-1SG⟩ ‘I do not know’ < *bil-mä-yir-ām*.

The aorist suffix is {+(y)Ar}, e.g. S11 *jed-är-ām* ⟨go-AOR-1SG⟩, S4 *jäl-äl-lär* ⟨come-AOR-3PL⟩, S33 *di-yäl-lär* ⟨say-AOR-PL⟩, S13 *daniš-al-lar* ⟨speak-AOR-PL⟩. Observe the contracted forms S8 *elär* ⟨do-AOR⟩. The past aorist is formed with the terminal copula, e.g. S15 *išli-yär-dī-m* ⟨work-AOR-TERM-1SG⟩ ‘I used to work’.

The terminal past tense is formed with {+dI} combined with the agreement suffixes of the possessive type, e.g. S25 *ver-dī-m* ⟨give+TERM-1SG⟩, S25 *gal-dī-m* ⟨remain-TERM-1SG⟩.

Postterminals are formed in the first person with {-mİš}, and otherwise with {-(y)Ib}, e.g. S1 *jäl-miš-ām* ⟨come-POST-1SG⟩, S9 *yečäl-miš-iχ* ⟨grow.up-POST-1PL⟩, S14 *jäl-miš-iχ* ⟨come-POST-1PL⟩, S4 *eli-yip-lär* ⟨do-POST-3PL⟩, S22 *ver-ip-dī* ⟨give-POST-3SG⟩. These forms are not markers of evidentiality.

The pluperfect suffix {+mİš-dI} does not occur in the sample text.

The modal forms include a prospective in {-(y)AĵAK}, e.g. S21 *eli-yäjäχ* ‘do+PRO3SG’, S21 *ol-aĵaχ* ⟨be(come)-PRO3SG⟩.

The optative suffix is {-(y)A}, e.g. S23 *al-a-m* ⟨take-OPT-1SG⟩, *ol-a* ⟨be(come)-OPT3SG⟩, *jätir-ä-m* ⟨bring-OPT-1SG⟩, S33 *čiχ-a-lar* ⟨go.out+OPT+3PL⟩. Observe the use of optative forms in expressions of wish, e.g. S38 *isti-yä jed-ä* ⟨want-OPT3SG go-OPT3SG⟩ ‘X wants to go’.

Other modal forms such as imperative and voluntative do not occur in the text.

The hypothetical suffix is {+sä}, e.g. S8 *jör-sä* ⟨see-HYP3SG⟩ ‘if (X) sees’, S21 *bil-sä-lär* ⟨know-HYP-3PL⟩ ‘if they know’.

Potential is expressed by the CONVERB in {-(y)A} and *bil-*, which means ‘to know’ as a full verb, e.g. S26 *eli-yä bil-dī-m* ⟨do-CONV KNOW.AUX-TERM-1SG⟩ ‘I could do’, S40 *jed-ä bil-ir-iχ* ⟨go-CONV KNOW.AUX-INTRA-1PL⟩ ‘we can go’.

Non-finite verb forms are the verbal nouns in {-(y)An}, e.g. S21 *Allah ver-än* ⟨God give-VN⟩ ‘God’s given’, the verbal noun of the infinitive type in {-mAK}, e.g. S4 *dolan-may*, *jöz-mäy* ⟨promenade-VN recreate-VN⟩ ‘to walk, to recreate’, the converbs in {-(y)Ip}, {-(y)A}, and {-(y)AndA}, e.g. S4 *härčäs jäl-ip ora-ni jör-üp* ⟨everyone come-CONV there-ACC see-CONV⟩ ‘everyone who has come and seen there’, S26 *eli-yä bil-di-m* ⟨do-CONV KNOW.AUX-TERM-1SG⟩ ‘I could’, S29 *jäl-ändä* ⟨come-CONV⟩ ‘when they come’.

Azeri has a passive voice marked by {-I} or the passive-reflexive suffix {+(l)n}, e.g. S9 *doy-ül-up* ⟨born-PASS-CONV⟩. One causative form in the text is S23 *ječ-it-miš-ām* ⟨pass-CAUS-POST1SG⟩.

Syntactic features

The unmarked order of major sentence constituents is SOV, e.g. S3 *Män zadgah-im-i çox isti-r-äm* (I hometown-POSS1SG-ACC very love-INTRA-1SG) 'I love my hometown very much'.

Possession is expressed by a noun + possessive suffix, e.g. S37 *šähr-İMİZ* 'our city', or by noun + genitive suffix and noun + possessive suffix, e.g. S26 *Allah-in lütf-üy-nän* (God-GEN grace-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP) 'with the grace of God'. Azeri adpositions are postpositions, according to left-branching syntax patterns; e.g. S27 *on-nan sora Karen-di* (he-ABL after Karen-COP3SG) 'after him is Karen', S30 *Çox xoşhal ol-ur-am olar-in yan-in-da* (very happy be(come)-INTRA-1SG they-GEN side-POSS3SG-LOC) 'I am very happy with them'.

The Persian comparative suffix {+tAr} and the superlative suffix {+tArIn} have been copied into the Maku variety of Azeri, e.g. S40. *Biz yaxun-tar-iç* (we close-COMP-COP1PL) 'we are closer'. S33. *Böyüh-tärin hədäf-lär-i* (big-SUP goal-PL-POSS3PL) 'their biggest goal'.

The Maku variety of Azeri has adopted the clause-combining strategies of Persian, the dominant language of the area. According to Johanson (1988), the impact of Iranian on Azeri syntax is particularly clear in the structure of complex sentences, especially in sociolects of the educated. Imitations of Indo-European type subordinative constructions are used instead of Turkic left-branching constructions, where the subordinated elements are more or less expanded sentence constituents, morphologically based on verbal nouns, participles, and converbs. However, the typical Turkic patterns of left-branching non-finite clauses have not been abandoned. Free subjunctors and conjunctors of the standard Persian type have been introduced, partly by assigning new functions to indigenous elements. According to Lee (2008: 208), Azeri relative clauses are head-external subordinate clauses embedded in noun phrases. The structure of Iranian Azeri is further characterized by the use of two syntactic types of relativization.

Prepositive or left-branching relative clauses are based on nominalized verb forms (verbal nouns or participles). Subordinators or deverbal noun suffixes are {(y)an}, {(y)AĴAĴ}, {+mİŝ}, {+dİĴ}, which attach to the predicates. These suffixes may also form clauses that function as adverbs, adjectives or nouns. These subordinate clauses act exactly as the corresponding word types. For example, just like a simple adjective, an adjectival clause precedes the noun modified, or a nominalized clause takes inflections which a simple noun can take and can occupy any place that a simple noun occupies in a sentence, e.g. S21 *här näkədr Allah ver-än ne'mät-där-in gədr-in-i bil-sä-lär* (how much God give-VN blessing-PL-GEN value-POSS3PL-ACC know-HYP-3PL) 'as much as they appreciate the blessings that God has given them'.

Postpositive or right-branching relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun or subordinator *ki* 'that', 'who', 'which' and use finite verb forms. They are structural copies of Iranian relative clauses, e.g. S30 *Olar-i çi jör-ür-äm üräy-im-dän nammänä dərd-o-yəmm-o gussə var hammi-si su ol-ir jed-ir*, (they-ACC CONJ see-INTRA-1SG heart-POSS1SG-ABL whatever pain-and-sorrow-and-grief existing all-POSS3 water be(come)-INTRA3SG go-INTRA3SG) 'When I see them, all the pain and sadness in my heart disappears'.

Lexicon

The Iranian impact is evident in South Azeri vocabulary, with Persian being influential through school education and mass media. Johanson (2021: 180) writes: "The Iranian influence has partly been very dominant. Oghuz groups that established the Southwestern branch had been in close contact with Persian in Central Asia. The groups settling in Transcaucasia and Iran in the eleventh century also encountered speakers of other Iranian varieties, e.g. Northwest Iranian languages such as Tati and Kurdish dialects".

Azeri possesses many Iranian and Arabic loanwords that are missing or rarely used in Turkish, with some changes at the phonological level, e.g. *asani* 'easiness', *jəvan* 'young', *gənĵ* 'treasure', *rənĵ* 'suffering', *həmišə* 'always', *behešt* 'heaven', *istifadə* 'use', *moşkelat* 'problems', *şayəd* 'maybe', *bimaristan* 'hospital', *aşpəzi* 'cooking', *munasib* 'proper', *əsəl* 'honey', *jömröh* 'customs', *kuhnävərđi*

'hiking', *danešamuz* 'student', *nemayāndegi* 'agency' *māziyāt* 'advantage'. Persian is more dominant in written than in spoken Azeri, and among educated and younger speakers.

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