

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE AZERBAIJANI INFLUENCE ON KHINALUG

AZERBAYCAN DİLİNİN HİNALIK DİLİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİNE İLİŞKİN BAZI GÖZLEMLER

Abstract: The Nakh-Dagestani language Khinalug is spoken in Khinalug village in the Quba district (North-East Azerbaijan) by approximately 2,300 people. All community members in the village are at least bilingual in their native language and Azerbaijani. Members of the elder generation speak also Russian.

The language contact situation of Khinalug is very complex. The village Khinalug belongs to the administrative area of the Quba district, where the Quba dialect of Azerbaijani is spoken. On the other hand, it is located in the neighborhood of Lezgi languages. Azerbaijani must have served as a *lingua franca* among various ethnicities in Azerbaijan for several centuries, although Russian was L2 for some ethnic minorities in the Northern and North-Eastern parts of the country during the Soviet time. Nowadays, the influence of the standard variety of Azerbaijani, the official language of the Republic of Azerbaijan, has become dominant in Khinalug. Moreover, the whole area, including the neighboring countries, is characterized by the long-term influence of Persian and Arabic.

This article aims at the identification of Azerbaijani influence in contrast to influences from other contact languages. The Azerbaijani lexicon itself contains, next to a recent layer of Russian borrowings, a large number of Persian loanwords, part of which go back to an Arabic origin. Direct borrowings from Arabic into Khinalug are attested as well, and direct borrowings from Persian are at least very probable. Therefore, phonetic features are investigated that hint at the borrowing path by which such loanwords have been transmitted to Khinalug.

Moreover, the data show that the Azerbaijani language has had a great impact on all parts of the Khinalug grammar. In particular, Khinalug has introduced progressive vowel harmony, expresses spatial relations by postpositions rather than by nominal cases, uses some Azerbaijani derivational morphemes with native stems, and has adopted Azerbaijani clause structure by borrowing connectors from Azerbaijani, or reproducing Azerbaijani patterns with native means.

Keywords: Khinalug, Nakh Dagestani languages, Azerbaijani, Persian, Arabic, Language contact

Öz: Nah-Dağıstan ailesine mensup olan Hınalık dili, Kuzeydoğu Azerbaycan'ın Guba bölgesinin Hınalık köyünde yerli dil olarak 2300 kişi tarafından konuşulmaktadır. Neredeyse tüm köy ahalisi çift dillidir, kendi dillerini ve Azerbaycan dilini konuşmaktadırlar. Daha üst kuşaklara mensup olanlar bunlara ek olarak Rusça da konuşurlar.

Hınalık dili, dil teması konusunda çok karmaşık bir durumdadır. Hınalık köyü Azerbaycan dilinin Guba lehçesinin konuşulduğu Guba bölgesinin idari sınırları içinde yer almaktadır. Ayrıca Lezgi dil ailesi konuşurlarının bulunduğu bölgededir. Azerbaycan dilinin, birkaç yüzyıl boyunca Azerbaycan'daki çeşitli etnik gruplar arasında bir ortak dil olarak kullanmış olmasını söyleyebiliriz; ancak Sovyet döneminde ülkenin Kuzey ve Kuzey-Doğu

¹ Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, Germany. ORCID: 0000-0001-8876-0431

bölgelerindeki bazı etnik azınlıklar için Rusça ikinci dil idi. Günümüzde Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti'nin resmi dili olan Azerbaycan dilinin ölçünlü değişkesinin Hınalık dili üzerinde egemen etkisi söz konusudur. Ayrıca söz konusu bölge, komşu ülkeler dâhil olmak üzere Arapça ve Farsçanın baskın etkisine maruz kalmıştır.

Bu makale diğer dillerden ziyade, Azerbaycan dilinin etkisi üzerinde durmaktadır. Azerbaycan dilinin söz varlığı yakın dönem Rusça alıntılarını ve bir kısmı Arapça sözleri de kapsayan Farsça alıntı sözleri içermektedir. Arapçadan Hınalık diline doğrudan geçen sözler de vardır; ayrıca, Farsçadan doğrudan alıntılarının varlığı da gayet olasıdır. Bu yüzden fonetik özellikler, Hınalık diline söz konusu alıntılarının hangi dil üzerinden geçtiği hakkında ipucu olarak ele alınmıştır.

Üstelik, veriler Azerbaycan dilinin Hınalık gramerine genel olarak büyük bir etkide bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Bu konuda spesifik olarak şu durumlar örnek verilebilir: Hınalık dili ilerleyici ünlü uyumunu benimsemiştir; mekân ilişkileri yalın hâl yerine kelime sonu ve sonrasına iliştirilen ilgeçlerle ifade edilmektedir; bazı durumlarda kelimeler Hınalık diline ait köke sahip olup Azerbaycan dilinin yapım ekleriyle türetilmektedir; Azerbaycan dilinden bağlaçlar ödünç alınarak veya Azerbaycan dilinin kalıpları Hınalık diline özgü yollarla yeniden üretilerek Azerbaycan dilinin cümle yapısı benimsenmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Hınalık, Nah-Dağistan dilleri, Azerbaycan dili, Farsça, Arapça, Dil teması

1. Introduction

The Nakh-Dagestani language Khinalug is endemically spoken in Khinalug village in the Quba district in North-East Azerbaijan by approximately 2,300 people. All community members in the village are at least bilingual in their native language and Azerbaijani. Members of the elder generation speak also Russian. Moreover, Khinalug is spoken, with a decreasing level of fluency, by the Khinalug diaspora in Azerbaijan and Russia, the number of which is estimated at 10,000 people. However, since the Khinalug ethnicity is not noted on official documents, census data on the exact amount of people who identify as Khinalug are lacking.

The research on the Khinalug lexicon and the etymologies of its words is still far from completed. Until today, even the relation between Khinalug and the other branches of the Nakh-Dagestani language family is debated. Some scholars consider it a branch of its own (Trubetzkoy 1922: 186, Klimov 1994: 402, Nikolayev & Starostin 1994), while others assign it to the Lezgi branch (Talibov 1960: 304, Giginejşvili 1977, Talibov 1980, Bokarev 1981, and Alekseev 1984, 1985), or even consider the hypothesis that it might be an early split from the Avar-Andic-Tsezic branch (Authier 2018).² However, the question of inherited cognates within the Khinalug lexicon cannot be further addressed within this article.

As for loanwords within the Khinalug lexicon, there are evidences in favor of borrowings from the neighboring Caucasian languages as well as from Arabic, Persian, Azerbaijani, and Russian. Investigations on a possible language contact between Khinalug and Tat have not yet been attempted.

This article will focus on the analysis of the Azerbaijani influence on Khinalug. However, the Azerbaijani lexicon contains a large number of Persian loanwords, part of which originate from Arabic. Direct borrowings from Arabic into Khinalug are attested as well, and direct borrowings from Persian are at least very probable. Therefore, this article will also investigate phonetic

² This hypothesis was presented by G. Authier within an internal workshop at Goethe University Frankfurt, Feb. 1st 2018.

features that hint at the path by which such loanwords have been transmitted to Khinalug. Moreover, Russian loanwords may have entered Khinalug directly or via Azerbaijani.

1.1 The investigated material



Khinalug village in winter

The investigation is based on the Khinalug corpus compiled by the author within the DoBeS project “Documentation of Khinalug” (2011-2015), funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. It consists of audio and video transcriptions of natural speech (monologues, dialogues, conversations), songs, translations of Azerbaijani stories into Khinalug, as well as prose and poetry written by community members in Khinalug language. The corpus was extended and complemented by lexicological research materials within the project “Linked Open Dictionaries” (2016-2020), funded by the German Ministry for Education and Research. For the analyses presented in this article, only those parts of the corpus have been considered that were produced directly in Khinalug language, since translations often copy structures and words of the original text that would not occur in natural speech.

The author’s material on further Nakh-Dagestanian languages also comprises corpora and lexicologic material on Kryz (and all its variants), Budugh, and several Lezgian dialects of the Quba and Khachmaz districts of Azerbaijan as well as observations on the Quba dialect of Azerbaijani.

1.2 Phoneme inventories and their transcriptions of the investigated languages

In this article, a number of different languages will be investigated which have their specific phoneme inventories and alphabets.³ Moreover, they belong to different language families with their respective own traditions of scholarly transcription. The symbols used in these transcription traditions are partly contradictory, i.e. different phonemes are referred to by the same symbols, or the same phonemes by different symbols. One might suggest a unified IPA transcription for all the investigated languages. However, we decided not to use IPA, since in that case, the Khinalug transcription would clearly distinguish aspirated from unaspirated voiceless plosives by marking the aspirated ([k^h], [t^h], [p^h] etc.) and leaving the unaspirated consonants unmarked. The same aspiration marking would be required then for all other languages considered in the study. But little do we know about aspiration in the early variants of Persian and Arabic that had direct contact with Khinalug,⁴ and the dictionaries of Standard Lezgian do not provide information on aspiration, since this distinction is neutralized by the orthography.⁵ Therefore, we consider it more practical to use unmarked symbols for phonemes with unknown aspiration features, rather than explicitly marking a feature that might not have existed.

For the studied languages, three different unified transcriptions will be used, which aim at a compromise between the different traditions.

(1) All Persian and Arabic words will be transcribed according to the methodology applied by Steingass 1892,⁶ as shown in the following Table:⁷

| Symbol | Transcription | IPA (modern Persian) | IPA (Arabic) |
|--------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
| ء | ' | [ʔ] | [ʔ] |
| ā or ا | ā; i | [ɑ]; [i] | [a:]; [i] |
| ب | b | [b] | [b] |
| پ | p | [p] | [p] |
| ت | t | [t] | [t] |
| س | s | [s] | [θ] |
| ج | j | [d͡ʒ] | [d͡ʒ] |
| چ | ch | [t͡ʃ] | [t͡ʃ] |

³ Khinalug has an officially acknowledged alphabet since 2017, which was developed within the DoBeS project on the basis of the previous phonetic investigation of Kibrik et al. (1972:10ff) and adapted to the Azerbaijani alphabet.

⁴ In modern Persian, the voiceless plosives are aspirated (Bijankhan & Nourbakhsh 2009:360). In the Mosul variant of Arabic, voiceless plosives with a voiced counterpart are more strongly aspirated than those without; /q/ is weakly aspirated in initial position, but unaspirated in internal position (cf. Kasim 2018:18-21). As for /q/, some scholars support the hypothesis that it was voiced in earlier stages of Arabic (cf. Anees 1990).

⁵ Spoken Lezgian distinguishes aspirated and unaspirated plosives and fricatives as distinct phonemes (Haspelmath 1993:2).

⁶ In words of Arabic origin, Steingass transliterates the Arabic orthography irrespective of the Persian pronunciation. Since readers who are used to a pronunciation-based transcription might find it difficult to recognize words in the transcription of Steinbach, the Arabic script will be given as well.

⁷ Aspiration is not marked at the IPA symbols.

| Symbol | Transcription | IPA (modern Persian) | IPA (Arabic) |
|--------|---------------|--|-----------------------|
| ح | ḥ | [h] | [ħ] |
| خ | kh | [x] | [x] |
| د | d | [d] | [d] |
| ذ | z | [z] | [ð] |
| ر | r | [r] | [r] |
| ز | z | [z] | [z] |
| ژ | zh | [ʒ] | / |
| س | s | [s] | [s] |
| ش | sh | [ʃ] | [ʃ] |
| ص | ṣ | [s] | [sˤ] |
| ض | ẓ | [z] | [dˤ] |
| ط | ṭ | [t] | [tˤ] |
| ظ | ẓ | [z] | [ðˤ] |
| ع | ‘ | [ʔ], [æ] | [ʕ] |
| غ | gh | [g], [ɣ] | [ɣ] |
| ف | f | [f] | [f] |
| ق | q | [ɣ] | [q] |
| ک | k | [k] | [k] |
| گ | g | [g] | / |
| ل | l | [l] | [l], [ɮ] (in ‘Allah’) |
| م | m | [m] | [m] |
| ن | n | [n] | [n] |
| و | w, ū, o | [v], [u:], [o] (only word- finally), [ow] [w], [aw] | [w], [u:] |
| ه | h | [h] | [h] |
| ة | a, at | [e] (word-finally) | [at] (word-finally) |
| ی | y, ī, e, ā | [j], [i], [ej], [v:] | [j], [i:], [a:] |

Table 1: Transcription of Arabic and Persian phonemes

Regarding loans of Persian origin, we do not know at what time and development stage of Persian these were transmitted to Khinalug. In the course of the development from Early New Persian to Contemporary Iranian Persian, the vowel system underwent considerable changes. Already at an early stage, the shifts /ē/ > /i/ and /ō/ > /u/ on the one hand, and /ī/ > /i/ and /ū/ > /u/ on the other, resulted in the merger of formerly distinct phonemes. Before nasalisation in combination with further phonetic preconditions, there was also a shift /ā/ > /u/ (cf. Modarresi-Tehrani 1978: 74–109, Perry 1996: 274, Miller 2011). In a next step, attested as of the 17th century, the shifts /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/ occurred (Miller 2012: 161-162). Within the frame of this study, when referring to a word transcribed with /e/, /o/ or /un/ as the source form of a Khinalug word, the underlying Early New Persian vowels cannot be further investigated.

(2) Russian words will be transcribed according to established scientific transliteration standard.

(3) Azerbaijani words will be indicated using the standard Azerbaijani orthography. Khinalug has an officially acknowledged alphabet since 2017, based on the Azerbaijani alphabet, and complemented by modified letters for additional phonemes. Kryz and Budugh do not have official alphabets, but in order to write their language, they also use the Azerbaijani alphabet as a basis. In this article, Azerbaijani and all major Nakh-Dagestanian languages will be transcribed in an Azerbaijani based alphabet. In order to avoid ambiguities with the transcription of Steingass, ejective consonants will be marked by apostrophy, unaspirated voiceless plosives and affricates by circumflex. Length will be marked by reduplication.

| Transcription | IPA | Azerb. | Khinalug | Kryz | Budugh | Lezgian |
|---------------|---------------|--------|----------|------|--------|------------------|
| a | [a] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ʌ | [ʌ] | - | - | - | ✓ | - |
| b | [b] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| c | [d̪ʒ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - |
| ç | [tʃʰ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ç̂ | [tʃ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | (✓) |
| ç' | [tʃʰ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| d | [d] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| e | [e] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ə | [æ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| f | [f] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| g | [gʲ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ğ | [ɣ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ɣ | [ɣ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | - | only in dialects |
| h | [h] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ħ | [ħ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| x | [χ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| xh | [x], [ç] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ı | [ɯ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| i | [i] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| j | [ʒ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| k | [kʰ]; [kʰ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ķ | [kʲ], [k] | - | ✓ | - | - | (✓) |
| k' | [kʰ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| q | [q], [g], [g] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| qˣ | [q̟χ], [qʰ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| q' | [qʰ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

| Transcription | IPA | Azerb. | Khinalug | Kryz | Budugh | Lezgian |
|---------------|---------------------|--------|----------|------|--------|------------------|
| l | [l] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| m | [m] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| n | [n] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| o | [o] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ö | [œ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | - |
| p | [p ^h] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ḡ | [p] | - | ✓ | - | - | (✓) |
| p' | [p'] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| r | [r] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| s | [s] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ş | [ʃ] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ts | [tʰs ^h] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| tš | [tʰs] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | (✓) |
| ts' | [tʰs'] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| t | [t ^h] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ḡ | [t] | - | ✓ | - | - | (✓) |
| t' | [t'] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| u | [u] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ü | [y] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| v | [v], [w] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| y | [j] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| z | [z] | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ʁ | [ʁ], [ʁ'] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | only in dialects |
| ʔ | [ʔ] | - | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | only in dialects |

Table 2: Transcription of Azerbaijani and Caucasian phonemes

The following Table compares the transcription used for Lezgian in this article with the official Cyrillic orthography:

| Cyrillic orthography | Transcription | IPA |
|----------------------|---------------|-----|
| А а | a | [a] |
| Б б | b | [b] |
| В в | v | [v] |
| Г г | g | [g] |
| Гъ гъ | ǰ | [ɟ] |
| Гь гь | h | [h] |

| Cyrillic orthography | Transcription | IPA |
|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Д д | d | [d] |
| Е е | e, ye (in Russian loans) | [e] ([je]) |
| Ё ё | yo | [j]o |
| Ж ж | j | [ʒ] |
| З з | z | [z] |
| И и | i | [i] |
| Й й | y | [j] |
| К к | k | [k ^h], [k] |
| Къ къ | q | [q] |
| Кь кь | q' | [q'] |
| КІ кІ | k' | [k'] |
| Л л | l | [l] |
| М м | m | [m] |
| Н н | n | [n] |
| О о | o | [o] |
| П п | p | [p ^h], [p] |
| ПІ пІ | p' | [p'] |
| Р р | r | [r] |
| С с | s | [s] |
| Т т | t | [t ^h], [t] |
| ТІ тІ | t' | [t'] |
| У у | u | [u] |
| Уь уь | ü | [y] |
| Ф ф | f | [f] |
| Х х | x | [χ] |
| Хь хь | xh | [x] |
| Хъ хъ | q ^x | [q̟χ], [q ^h] |
| Ц ц | ts | [t̟s ^h], [t̟s] |
| ЦІ цІ | ts' | [t̟s'] |
| Ч ч | ç | [t̟ç ^h], [t̟ç] |
| ЧІ чІ | ç' | [t̟ç'] |
| Ш ш | ʃ | [ʃ] |
| Щ щ | ʃ (only in Russian loans) | [ʃ] |
| Ъ ъ | ʔ | [ʔ] |
| Ы ы | ɪ | [ɯ] |
| Ь ь | - (only in Russian loans) | - |
| Э э | e | [e] |
| Ю ю | ü, yu (in Russian loans) | [y], ([ju]) |
| Я я | ə, ya (in Russian loans) | [æ], ([ja]) |

Table 3: Comparison between Lezgian orthography and transcription

(4) When references are made to other Nakh-Dagestanian languages in Russian literature (Comrie & Khalilov 2010), the transcription is adapted to the transcription indicated in Table 2.

(5) When references are made to other Nakh-Dagestanian languages in English literature (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994), Old Turkic (Clouston 1972, Erdal 2004), or Turkish (Bezmez & Brown 2002), the spelling used in the respective source is maintained.

A characteristic feature of Turkic languages is vowel harmony and consonant assimilation. When affixes are named as morphemes, without the phonological context of a preceding stem, capital letters will be used to refer to all variants:

<I> = variation between /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ü/

<A> = variation between /a/ and /e/

<K> = variation between /k/ and /q/

<Ĝ> = variation between /ğ/ and /y/

Moreover, it should be noted that Khinalug does not have an infinitive. Verbal nouns are derived from the perfective and the imperfective participles. Therefore, as a convention, the participles are used as lemmata in dictionaries. In this article, Khinalug verbs will be referred to in their imperfective participle form.

2. Khinalug and Its Contact Languages

This section will present an overview of the highly complex language contact situation of Khinalug. The village Khinalug is located in the neighborhood of Lezgi languages. It belongs to the administrative area of the Quba district, where the Quba dialect of Azerbaijani is spoken. Azerbaijani must have served as a *lingua franca* among various ethnicities for several centuries. Nowadays, the influence of Standard Azerbaijani as the official language of the Republic of Azerbaijan has become dominant. Moreover, the whole area, including the neighboring countries, is characterized by the long-term influence of Persian and Arabic. During the Soviet era, there was also an increased influence of Russian exercised on the population of Azerbaijan, which was, however, generally more intense in cities than in rural areas like Khinalug. Only during the military service, the Khinalug men were in an entirely Russian-speaking environment, and may have acquired a number of loanwords during this time.

The problem that loanwords may have been transmitted via one or more intermediate languages before they were adopted by Khinalug, and may have originated from different development stages of the donor languages, is a particular challenge for the investigation of the language contact situation.

2.1 Lezgian languages

Some parts of the Khinalug lexicon are related to the neighboring Lezgian languages. These are the Southern Samur languages Budugh and Kryz, the latter divided into the variants of Kryz, Yergüc, Cek, Alik, and Haput, as well as the Lezgian language as part of the Eastern Samur subbranch.

Some words are spread in the whole area, e.g. Khinalug *misq'i* Budugh *misq'i*, Kryz Alik, Cek *misq'i*, Lezgian *misq'i* 'stingy, avaricious' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 428). In this case, it is impossible to identify whether the word has entered Khinalug from Lezgian or from a specific Southern Samur language or variant. In other cases, there are at least some hints for a probable borrowing path. For example, Standard Lezgian has *xtul* 'grandchild' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 686), *ptul* 'great-grandchild' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 497), *štul* 'great-grandchild' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 754), and *ktul* 'great-great-great-grandchild' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 291). The Qimil dialect of Lezgian, spoken in direct neighborhood of Khinalug and the Southern Samur languages, distinguishes *xtil* 'grandchild', *ktil* 'great-grandchild' and *çtil* 'great-great-grandchild'. Only the Kryz variant of Kryz has *xıdıl* 'grandchild', *gıdıl* 'great-grandchild', *ts'ıdıl* 'great-great-grandchild', whereas the other Kryz variants as well as Budugh have Azerbaijani loans, i.e. *nəvə* 'grandchild' (Musayev 1998: 437), *nəticə* 'great-grandchild' (Musayev 1998: 437), *kötücə* 'great-great-grandchild' (Musayev 1998: 323). Khinalug has *xıdıl*, *gıdıl*, *şıdıl*. The threefold distinction and the anlaut of *şıdıl* justifies the hypothesis that the words are rather loaned from the Qimil dialect of Lezgian than from Standard Lezgian or Kryz. Moreover, there are some Budugh-Khinalug isoglosses, e.g. Budugh *t'ombul* 'plum', Khinalug *t'umbol* 'plum', or Budugh *cuğab* 'answer', Khinalug *cuğab* 'word'. Since cognates of these words do not occur in any other Lezgian language, we may conclude that they are Khinalug loans in Budugh rather than vice versa. Notably, the Khinalug community does not identify any word of Lezgian origin as a loanword.

2.2 Arabic and Persian

As of the 8th century, Khinalug was influenced by Arabic. The time around the year 749, when the Abu Muslim Friday Mosque was built in Khinalug, can also be considered the beginning of language contact between Khinalug and Arabic. Notably, in the neighboring Kryz village, one clan identifies as descendants of a group of Arabic missionaries of the 8th century. Arabic missionaries who lived in Khinalug village are also part of the common memory of the Khinalug community.



Sheep resting at the foot of Khinalug village

Moreover, Khinalug is located within an area that was strongly influenced by Persian for many centuries. Since the Middle Ages, Persian was the language of officialdom, literature, and culture in many Muslim states, including those established or run by Turkic clans. In particular, Persian was the cultural language of Azerbaijani Turks and Central Asians until the beginning of the 20th century, where the use of the Persian language marked social prestige and a high education level (cf. Garibova 2021: 11-12). Persian itself has many loanwords from Arabic, which were thus transmitted via Persian. Moreover, Arabic as the language of the mosque (Garibova 2021: 11) exerted direct influence within the Muslim states as well. As a result, the lexicon of Azerbaijani has a large portion of Persian and Arabic loans, which were then borrowed by Khinalug via Azerbaijani.

Differently from the lowland ethnicities, who follow Shiite Islam, the Caucasian people of the Shahdag area are Sunni Muslims. From this, we can conclude that the Persian influence was much less intense in the hardly accessible mountainous regions than in the lowlands. There are some Persian wanderwords which are widespread among the Nakh-Dagestanian languages, but not attested for Azerbaijani. This hints at least at a direct language contact between Persian and some Caucasian language from which these words may have been transmitted further among the Nakh-Dagestanian people. For example, the Persian number هزار *hazār* 'thousand' (Steingass 1892: 1497) occurs in Chechen and Ingush as *əzar*, in Avar as *azargo*, in Bagvalal and Tindi as *azarda*, in Bezhta as *hazay*, in Hinukh as *ʃazal*, in Hunzib as *hazar*, in most variants of Dargwa as *azir*, in Lak as *azarva*, in Tsakhur as *aazır*, in Udi as *hazar*, in Lezgian as *ağzur*, in Budugh as *hazar* (Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 606-607), in Kryz as *ʃazır*, and in Khinalug as *azır* 'thousand'.

In many cases, the pronunciation does not give any hints whether a word of Persian origin has been loaned from Persian directly or via Azerbaijani. In both cases, we can attest the assimilation of certain characteristic Arabic consonants.

Still, some peculiarities in the phonetic integration of several loans hint at direct borrowing from Persian. These will be discussed in section 3.2.3.

2.3 Russian

The first half of the 19th century is marked by a development thrust in non-religious education and scientific literature. The first schools with Azerbaijani as language of education came up, but at the same time, also the first Russian schools were opened. The first pieces of scientific literature in Azerbaijani language by authors such as Akhundov and Bakikhanov can be considered as the starting point of a systematic terminology development. Already then, the Russian language was one of the major sources for new terms. Since the language was not standardized at that time, scientific terms of Persian/Arabic and Russian origin existed in parallel, and the choice of the one or the other depended on the author's personal preference (Sadiqova 2005: 118 ff.).

Between the years 1920 and 1991, Azerbaijan was part of the Soviet Union as "Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic". During this time, the previously developed terminology was subject to a higher degree of Russian influence, so that Russian terms were often preferred to the synonymous Persian/Arabic terms. Notably, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia were the only Soviet republics whose national languages were recognized as official languages. Regarding the education of children, some schools offered education only in Russian, others only in Azerbaijani, and mixed schools were divided in a Russian and an Azerbaijani track. However, Russian schools were often better equipped, and higher education was possible only with a sufficient command in Russian, since dissertations had to be submitted to the central attestation committee in Russia for approval. Moreover, Russian was required in official meetings and formal correspondence (Garibova 2009: 13 ff). In rural areas, where the level of education was traditionally low, the influence of Russian through education was negligible (Garibova 2009: 30). The Khinalug school offered education only in Azerbaijani, and Russian was taught as a separate subject. However, Azerbaijani men of any educational background had to perform their military service in an entirely Russian speaking environment. All Khinalug men who were interviewed about this topic stated that they had spent their service outside Azerbaijan in various parts of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states. However, compared to the other contact languages, the impact of Russian on Khinalug is rather limited. Among the lexical borrowings, there are a few adverbs, e.g. *prosta* ~ *purosta* 'simply' < Russian *prosto* 'simply' (Mjuller 2013: 1218), *toçna* 'exactly' < Russian *toçno* 'exactly, accurately' (Mjuller 2013: 1284), *paçti* 'almost' < Russian *poçti* 'almost' (Mjuller 2013: 1198) etc., and cultural, scientific, and administrative terms. Most of these borrowings are also used in colloquial, or even Standard Azerbaijani (cf. section 4.1).

2.4 Azerbaijani

There must have been a long history of language contact between Khinalug and Azerbaijani, which served as the *lingua franca* among the ethnicities of the Azerbaijani Caucasus and the lowlands long before, and also during the Soviet era. Especially the Quba dialect has had

a great impact on Khinalug. Since the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1991, Azerbaijani has become the official state language as well as the dominant language in education and media. As a result, the influence of the standard language has increased, and Khinalug now exhibits standard forms next to dialectal forms of Azerbaijani loanwords, e.g. Quba dialect *değiştirmiş* vs. Standard AZ *dəyişdirmiş* ‘change-PTCP.PFV’.

Resulting from the modern living conditions, the exposure to Azerbaijani has become even more intensive. The constantly improving transport connections between Khinalug and Quba have enabled the community members to contact Azerbaijani speaking communities more easily, specifically in the context of trade and employment relations and tourism. The internet is used as a source of information in Azerbaijani on a daily basis, and social media facilitates the contact with people outside the village.

As a result, the Azerbaijani language affects every part of the Khinalug language system, not only the lexicon. The Khinalug phonology displays progressive vowel harmony, which is a characteristic feature of Turkic languages. Also the morphology is affected, as certain Azerbaijani affixes can be combined with Khinalug roots. The functional division between dative and ablative in Azerbaijani has influenced the Khinalug case system. Moreover, there are calques in coordinate and subordinate clause construction.

2.5 Turkish

Even though the Khinalug community is not in direct contact with speakers of Turkish, a certain influence can be observed. Some of this influence is transmitted via Azerbaijani. Since the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan from the Soviet Union, the language has undergone a new wave of terminology development. The country is part of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS), formerly called the Turkic Council or the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States, which cooperate, among others, in the field of common Turkic terminology development (İbrahimov 2019: 80). Turkish terms often serve as patterns for the languages of the other member states. Moreover, Khinalug children are particularly fluent in Turkish due to the popularity of Turkish children’s channels on television.

3. Integration of Loanwords from the Arabic/Persian/Azerbaijani Language Conglomerate

3.1 Part of speech integration

Most parts of speech can be integrated into Khinalug as stems, without any requirement for further morphological processes. Only borrowed verbs cannot take the Khinalug verbal morphology directly. Arabic verbs are borrowed in their masdar form, Russian verbs in their infinitive, and Azerbaijani verbs in their perfective participle form in *-miş* in its function as verbal noun. Persian verbs have so far not been attested.

Verbal nouns of intransitive verbs combine with the intransitive light verb *kui* ‘to be’, those derived from transitive verbs combine with the transitive light verb *kiri* ‘to do’.

When a nominal stem is borrowed from Azerbaijani, the derivations of this stem are usually borrowed as well, e.g. the noun *marəğ* ‘interest’ < Azerbaijani *maraq* ‘interest, curiosity’ (Muasayev 1998: 400) (derived from the Arabic root {rqq}, but with unclear semantic shift

'?have mercy' > 'be interested'),⁸ the denominal adjective *marəğli* 'interesting' < Azerbaijani *marəqli* 'interesting' (Musayev 1998: 400), and the denominal verb in its characteristic perfective participle form *marəğlanmışkui* 'to be interested in, inquire about' < Azerbaijani *marəqlanmaq* 'to be interested, to care for, to be curious' (Musayev 1998: 400).

When Khinalug speakers want to use nouns derived from adjectives which are borrowed from Azerbaijani, they may either borrow the derived noun, or borrow the adjective and derive the noun with the suffix *-val*. This suffix is of Lezgetic origin (possibly from Lezgian, cf. Haspelmath 1993: 105), but not perceived as a loan element any more. As a result, depending on each speaker's personal preference, *rahatlığ* < Azerbaijani *rahatlıq* exists next to *rahatval* 'comfort' < *rahat* 'easy, comfortable' < Azerbaijani *rahat* < Persian راحة *rāhat* 'quiet, rest, repose, ease, tranquillity; relief, pleasure, comfort' < Arabic (Steingass 1892:561); *çatınlığ* var. *çatınlıg* < Azerbaijani *çatınlık* next to *çatınaval* var. *çatınaval* 'difficulty' < *çatin* ~ *çatın* 'difficult' < Azerbaijani *çatin* etc.

3.2 Phonetic integration

All loanwords except for the most recent loans from Azerbaijani are phonetically adapted to the Khinalug phonemic system.

3.2.1 Phonetic integration of Arabic loans

Arabic loans that entered Khinalug directly can be identified by the pronunciation of the following phonemes:

ط /t/ is pronounced as ejective /t'/, as in *şeyt'an* 'devil' < Arabic شيطان *shaiṭān* 'satan, devil; demon' (Steingass 1892: 776), whereas forms loaned via Persian or Azerbaijani have /t/, cf. Azerbaijani *şeytan* (Musayev 1998: 522).

ح /ħ/ is pronounced as /h/, e.g. *ħarf* letter (of the alphabet) < Arabic حرف *ħarf* 'a letter of the alphabet' (Steingass 1892: 416) or *əhvalat* < Arabic احوالات *aħwālāt* 'state of health or affairs' (Steingass 1892: 23), or *röh* spirit < Arabic روح *rūh* 'the soul, incorporeal spirit' (Steingass 1892: 592). Forms loaned via Persian or Azerbaijani have /h/, cf. Azerbaijani *ħarf* (Musayev 1998: 249), *əhvalat* (Musayev 1998:188) or *ruh* (Musayev 1998: 479).

Vowels before and after /ħ/ are affected in their quality:

[ħ] + [æ] > [ħæ*], where the openness of the vowel is between [æ] and [a]. There is no IPA symbol for this sound. In these forms, [æ] goes back to the Arabic short vowel /a/.

[ħ] + [a] > [ħa]; here, [a] goes back to the Arabic long vowel /ā/

[ħ] + [u] > [ħy]; [y] goes back to the Arabic short vowel /u/. Loans of Arabic words with anlaut in /ħ/ + /ū/ are not attested in Khinalug.

[ħ] + [i] > [ħi]; [i] may go back to the Arabic long vowel /ī/ or the short vowel /i/.

[u] + [ħ] > [œħ]; [œ] goes back to the Arabic long vowel /ū/.

⁸ Nişanyan notes the original meaning 'sensitive part of the abdomen or ear, spleen'. Wehr (1977:318) does not note any derivation **marəq*. The form 1 of the root {rqq} is translated as 'be thin, fine, soft, pur, transparent; have mercy, feel sympathy' (<https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/merak>).

ع /ʕ/ is pronounced as /ħ/ in anlaut and auslaut position, e.g. in *həyid* ‘feast, holiday’ < Arabic عيد *ʿīd* ‘a solemnity, feast, festival, holiday’ (Steingass 1892: 875), *matəh* ‘valuable goods’ < Arabic متاع *matā* ‘Merchandise, goods; furniture; clothes, effects; utensils; valuables’ (Steingass 1892: 1153). It is pronounced as /ʕ/ in inlaut position, e.g. *məʕlim* ~ *məʕəlim* ‘teacher’ < Arabic معلم *muʿallim* ‘a school-master, preceptor, professor, tutor’ (Steingass 1892: 1275). In forms loaned via Persian or older variants of Azerbaijani, in inlaut position, this phoneme would be pronounced as a glottal stop.⁹ In modern Azerbaijani, certain phonetic contexts lead to the omission of the glottal stop, even though its traces can sometimes be identified e.g. by stress on non-last syllables or vowel lengthening (Rüstəm 2018: 102). The print media stopped using the apostrophy as of the 1960s, and the official orthography was adapted accordingly in 2003 (cf. Xudiyev 2013: 48-49; Rüstəm 2018: 102). In anlaut position, a possible glottal stop resulting from Arabic /ʕ/ was neutralized already in classical Azerbaijani, cf. *eyd* ‘feast, holiday’ (Abdullayev Vol. 1 2005: 138) In auslaut position, it is not pronounced after consonant, and may be realized as /h/ when following a vowel, as in *matəh* ‘jewel, gem’ (Musayev 1998: 401).

ض /z/ is pronounced as /d/, e.g. in *mukrad* ‘scissors’ < Arabic مقراض *miqrāz* ‘shears, scissors; snuffers’ (Steingass 1892: 1292), whereas forms loaned via Persian or Azerbaijani would have /z/, cf. classical Azerbaijani *miqraz* (Abdullayev et al. Vol. 2 2005: 75).

ق /q/ is mostly pronounced as /qʰ/ in anlaut and inlaut position, e.g. *qʰabul* in the phrase *qʰabul kiri* ‘accept’ < Arabic قبول *qabūl* ‘receiving favourably, consenting, granting’ (Steingass 1892: 953), *hulqʰum* ‘throat’ < Arabic حلقوم *hulqūm* ‘throat, gullet’ (Steingass 1892: 428), and displays ideolectic variation between /qʰ/ and /qˀ/ in auslaut position, e.g. *həqʰ* ~ *həqˀ* ‘right, justice; concern; fee’ < Arabic حق *haqq*, *haq* ‘justness, truth; justice, rectitude; law; right, title, privilege; duty, obligation; behalf, benefit’ (Steingass 1892: 425). However, some Arabic loans with /q/ have a Khinalug form with /kʰ/, e.g. *mukʰrad* (see above) or *kʰala* (notably not **kʰalʕa*, so that direct borrowing from Arabic can be excluded) ‘city, town’ < Arabic قلعة *qalʕat*, *qalʕa* ‘castle, fort’ (Steingass 1892: 985). This peculiar realization of Arabic /q/ is also found in some of the Kryz variants: Kryz and Yergüc *mikʰrətʰ*, Ismayilli variant of Haput *mikʰrətʰ*, only Cek has *miqʰrətʰ*. Notably, the Kryz variants assimilate Arabic /ʕ/ as ejective /tʰ/. The sound adaptation of Arabic /q/ > /kʰ/ in Kryz seems to be regular, it occurs e.g. also in *kʰaraz* ‘stiff’ < Arabic قارس *qaras* ‘congealed, stiff’ (Steingass 1892: 964), *kʰəlib* ‘mold, frame, socklast’ < Arabic قالب *qālab*, *qālib* ‘form, model, mould’ (Steingass 1892: 949), whereas the corresponding Khinalug form is *qʰalib* ‘mold, frame, socklast’; cf. Azerbaijani *qalib* ‘bootlast’ (Muradov 1998: 359). In words loaned via Persian or Azerbaijani, this sound is pronounced as allophone of /q/.

غ /għ/ in anlaut position is maintained as /ğ/, e.g. *ğərb* ‘west’ < Arabic غرب *gharb* ‘the place where the sun sets; sunset; the West’ (Steingass 1892:883). In words transmitted from

⁹ Also Arabic *hamza* was pronounced as glottal stop and written as apostrophy in earlier Azerbaijani. The abolishment of the apostrophy resulted in homographs, which is one of the reason why there are still calls for its restoration (cf. Rüstəm 2018, see also <https://senet.az/apastrof-yenid%C9%99n-az%C9%99rbaycan-dilin%C9%99-%C9%99lav%C9%99-edil%C9%99-bil%C9%99r/>, retrieved on 11.12.2022)

Azerbaijani and Persian, /ğ/ in anlaut position would have shifted to /q/, cf. Azerbaijani *qərb* (Musayev 1998: 361).

Since many words that have been borrowed from Arabic directly, have also been borrowed from Persian or Azerbaijani, there are often two or more variants that the Khinalug speakers may chose from, according to their own preferences (depending on age, exposure to Azerbaijani influences, attitude towards language preservation, and other factors).

Some words of Arabic origin are no longer attested in modern Azerbaijani. Since the Khinalug community is neither skilled in the Arabic language nor in classical Azerbaijani, words such as *muq'rad* (classical Azerbaijani *miqraz*) or *ħayid* (classical Azerbaijani *eyd*) are not recognized as loans.

3.2.2 Phonetic integration of Azerbaijani loans

We are currently witnessing a change in the phonetic integration of Azerbaijani words into Khinalug. The older layer of Azerbaijani loans follow certain adaptation rules, whereas recently borrowed words are pronounced like in their Azerbaijani original form. Especially the elderly people and those who are less exposed to Azerbaijani influence maintain the pronunciation of the older layer, and pronounce only the words of the new layer like in Azerbaijani. The younger generations and those with more intensive exposure to Azerbaijani pronounce all loans identified as borrowed from Azerbaijani according to their original Azerbaijani pronunciation.

According to the formerly valid adaptation rules, the following sound changes are applied:

/u/ > /ı/, e.g. in

bilağ < Azerbaijani *bulaq* 'well, spring' (Musayev 1998: 91)

pil < Azerbaijani *pul* money 'Musayev 1998: 496) < Persian پول *pūl* 'a small piece of copper coin; money' (Steingass 1892: 260)

pit < Azerbaijani *pud* ancient measuring unit, 16,38 kg < Russian *nyd* (Orucov et al. Vol 3 2006: 626)

/ü/ > /u/, e.g. in

guney 'sunny side of the moutain' < Azerbaijani *güney* 'sunny side of any place; South' (Musayev 1998: 239)

turba < Azerbaijani *türbə* 'tomb, sepulchre' (Musayev 1998: 562) < Persian تربة *turbat*, *turba* 'earth, ground; a grave; a tomb; a mausoleum' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 292)

/o/ > /u/, e.g. in

turpağ < Azerbaijani *torpaq* 'soil, earth; ground' (Musayev 1998: 557)

dust < Azerbaijani *dost* 'friend' (Musayev 1998:162) < Persian دوست *dost* 'a friend; a lover; a mistress, sweetheart' (Steingass 1892: 544)

/ö/ > /o/, e.g. in

kok < Azerbaijani *kök* 'root; fat (adj)' (Musayev 1998: 320)

goruşmuşkui < Azerbaijani *görüşmək* 'to see each other, to meet' (Musayev 1998: 232)

/ay/ > /ee/ ~ /ey/, e.g. in

çelaq < Azerbainani *çaylaq* 'river-bed' (Musayev 1998: 118)

yeelağ < Azerbaijani *yaylaq* 'summer pasture' (Musayev 1998: 606)

/c/ > /j/ between vowels and in auslaut position, e.g. in

möjüzə ‘miracle’ < Azerbaijani *möcüzə* (Musayev 1998: 419) < Persian معجزة *mu‘jizat*, *mu‘jiza* ‘miracle’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1269)

guj < Azerbaijani *güc* ‘strength’ (Musayev 1998: 236)

bij < Azerbaijani *bic* ‘sly, cunning’ (Musayev 1998: 72)

occasionally /n/ > /nd/ ~ /nt/ in auslaut position¹⁰, e.g. in

fənd ~ *fənt* ‘school subject’ < Azerbaijani *fənn* ‘subject, discipline, branch of science’ (Musayev 1998: 215) or < Persian or < Arabic فن *fann* ~ *fan* ‘manner, mode, way, rate; science, doctrine, art; artifice, craftiness, deceit; instruction; writing’ (Steingass 1892: 939)

kəmənd ~ *kəmənt* ‘rainbow’ < classical Azerbaijani *kəman* ‘bow’, *kəmani as(i)man* ‘rainbow’ (Abdullayev et. al. 2005: 346) < Persian کمان *kāmān* ‘a bow; an arch; a spring; anything bent, as a rim, a hoop’ *kamāni āsmān* ‘the rainbow’ (Steingass 1892: 1047) (cf. modern Azerbaijani *göy qurşağı* ‘rainbow’ (Musayev 1998: 384))

asand ~ *asant* < Azerbaijani *asan* ‘easy, simple’ (Musayev 1998: 32) or < Persian آسان *āsān* ‘easy, convenient, commodious’ (Steingass 1892: 47)

occasionally /ä/ > /a/, e.g. in

çatın < Azerbaijani *çətin* ‘difficult’ (Musayev 1998: 121)

maşa < Azerbaijani *meşə* ‘forest’¹¹ (Musayev 1998: 403)

occasionally /a/ > /ä/, e.g. in

qəmiş < Azerbaijani *qamış* ‘cane’ (Musayev 1998: 336)

dəryəz < Azerbaijani *dəryaz* ‘skythe’ (Musayev 1998: 147)

Apparently, in words of Persian origin, Khinalug has /a/ where Azerbaijani has /ä/ much more frequently than in words with Turkic roots, e.g. in:

kalam < Azerbaijani *kələm* ‘cabbage’ (Musayev 1998: 304) < Persian کلم *kalam* ‘cabbage, cauliflower’ (Steingass 1892: 1034)

baxt < Azerbaijani *bəxt* ‘fate, lot; fortune’ (Musayev 1998: 66) < Persian بخت *baḫt* ‘fortune, prosperity, felicity, happiness; luck (good or bad)’ (Steingass 1892: 158)

taka < Azerbaijani *təkə* ‘he-goat (older than two years)’ (Musayev 1998: 542) < Persian تکه *taka* ‘a he-goat that leads the flock’ (Steingass 1892: 319)

mafraş ‘bag for blanket and mattress’ < Azerbaijani *məfrəş* ‘a woven sack for the storage of blanket and mattress, carpets and rugs, or other things’ (Orucov et al. Vol. 3 2006: 318) < Persian مفرش *mifraş* ‘a coverlet, counterpane; a carpet; a travelling-bag, a sac-de-nuit’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1285)

¹⁰ The same phenomenon is attested for the Kryz variant of Kryz, but for different words, e.g. *qurban* < Azerbaijani *qurban* ‘sacrifice, victim’ (Musayev 1998: 384), *ḥayvand* < Arabic حيوان *ḥaiwān* ‘animal’ (Steingass 1892: 436).

¹¹ Both the Azerbaijani word *məşə* ‘forest’ and Khinalug *vişə* ‘tree’ are etymologically related to Persian بیشه *bīsha*, *besha* ‘a forest, wood, wild, uncultivated country; a country overgrown with reeds and the like’ (Steingass 1892: 221), but are loaned at different development stages of Persian, and from different language varieties or dialects.

Arabic loans with their characteristic phonemes exist next to Azerbaijani forms of the same words. Some of these have variants that display intermediate stages of adaptation to the Azerbaijani forms, e.g.

hürmät ~ *hörmät* ~ *hörmät* 'respect, honor' < Arabic حرمة *ḥurmat* 'dignity respect, honour' (Steingass 1892: 417), cf. Azerbaijani *hörmät* (Musayev 1998: 253)

hümür ~ *hömür* ~ *ömür* 'life, life-time' < Arabic عمر *umr* ~ *umur* 'life, life-time, age' (Steingass 1892: 866), cf. Azerbaijani *ömür* (Musayev 1998: 453)

Since we do not find forms such as **hormat* or **omur*, we can conclude that the Azerbaijani forms are have been borrowed rather recently.

The evidence that a word of non-Turkic origin is borrowed from Azerbaijani is provided by the metathesis of the sequence [labial consonant + /r/]. As for words of Turkic origin, metathetic forms are part of the standard language, e.g.

Azerbaijani *torpaq* 'soil' (Musayev 1998: 557), cognate of Old Turkic *topra:k* lit. 'something dry', in practice 'dry ground, soil, earth, dust' (Clauson 1972: 443), cf. Turkish *toprak* (Bezmez & Brown 2002: 881).

Azerbaijani *yarpaq* 'leaf' (Musayev 1998: 602), cognate of Old Turkic *yapurğa:k* 'a leaf of a tree or plant' (Clauson 1972: 879), cf. Turkish *yaprak* (Bezmez & Brown 2002: 942)

Azerbaijani *körpü* 'bridge' (Musayev 1998: 323), cognate of Old Turkic *köprüg* 'a bridge' (Clauson 1972: 690), cf. Turkish *köprü* (Bezmez & Brown 2002: 550).

In loanwords, the standard language maintains the sequence [labial consonant + /r/], but in colloquial Azerbaijani, the metathetic form is used. Khinalug does not have any regular, language-internal metathesis of [labial consonant + /r/]. Such forms occur only when they have been transmitted from Azerbaijani. Therefore, the words *turba* and *kirbit* in Khinalug can be identified as borrowed from Azerbaijani.

Russian *truba* 'tube, pipe; flue, funnel; shaft' (Mjuller 2013: 1286) > Standard Azerbaijani *truba* 'pipe; chimney' (Musayev 1998: 560), coll. *turba* > Khinalug *turba* 'pipe'

Persian کبریت *kibrīt* 'sulphur, brimstone; a match dipped in sulphur' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1012) > Standard Azerbaijani *kibrīt* 'match(es)' (Musayev 1998: 309) coll. *kirbit* > Khinalug *kirbit* 'match(es)'

In the Quba dialect of Azerbaijani, another process can be observed: The consonant clusters /br/ and /tr/ of Russian loans are dissolved by relocating the preceding vowel between the consonants. These dialectal adaptations are also attested in Khinalug:

Standard Azerbaijani *briqadir* 'brigade-leader, team-leader' (Musayev 1998: 89) < Russian *brigadir* 'brigade-leader' (Mjuller 2013: 940) > Quba dialect *birqadir* 'brigade-leader, foreman' > Khinalug *birğadir* 'foreman'

Standard Azerbaijani *metrika* 'birth certificate' (Orucov et al. Vol. 3 2006: 309) < Russian *metrika* 'birth certificate' (Mjuller 2013: 1090) > Quba dialect *metirka* 'birth certificate' > Khinalug *metirka* 'birth certificate' (cf. post-Soviet Standard Azerbaijani: *doğum şahadətnaməsi* (Orucov et al. Vol. 3 2006: 309))

3.2.3 Phonetic features hinting at borrowings from Persian or other sources

Some words, which are Persian loans in Azerbaijani, do not follow these adaptation rules when borrowed into Khinalug, from which we may assume that these were not borrowed via Azerbaijani. In certain cases of /u/ - /ö/ or /o/ - /u/ variation, the hypothesis seems justified

that Azerbaijani and Khinalug borrowed the words independently from different stages of Persian:

nukar ‘servant’ < Persian نوکر *naukar*, *nūkar* ‘a servant; a dependant’ (Steingass 1892:1435), cf. Azerbaijani *nökər* (Musayev 1998: 440); the regular adaptation of the Azerbaijani form would have resulted in **nokar*.

rozi var. *rozu* ‘provisions, daily food’ < Persian روزی *rozī* ‘daily food; monthly wages; provision’ (Steingass 1892: 594), cf. Azerbaijani *ruzi* (Musayev 1998: 480); the regular adaptation of the Azerbaijani form would have resulted in **rizi*.

One peculiar feature that calls for further investigation is the representation of Persian anlaut plosives as unaspirated plosives in Khinalug. According to Bijankhan & Nourbakhsh (2009: 360), modern Persian distinguishes voiced from unvoiced aspirated plosives. The Khinalug representation of Persian unvoiced as unaspirated plosives gives rise to the hypotheses that either they were borrowed via another, so far unknown intermediate language, or that the unvoiced plosives of earlier stages of Persian, or at least certain dialects, may have been unaspirated themselves. Examples for this feature are:

peyram ‘shirt’ < Persian پیراهن *pīrāhan*, *perāhan* ‘a loose vest, shirt’ (Steingass 1892: 265), cf. classical Azerbaijani *pirahən* (Abdullayev et al. Vol. 2 2005: 218)

tonor ~ *tunor* ‘earth oven’ < Persian تنور *tanūr* ‘oven’ (Steingass 1892: 331), cf. Azerbaijani *təndir* (Musayev 1998: 546)

kənap ‘hemp’ < Persian کنب *kanab* ‘hemp’ < Arabic *kaṃb* (Steingass 1892: 1052), cf. Azerbaijani *kənaf* (Musayev 1998: 305)

Only in one word of Turkic origin, /k/ and /p/ are adapted as unaspirated as well. The vowel change /ö/ > /a/ instead of /ö/ > /o/ hints at an intermediate language through which the word has entered Khinalug:

karpa ‘lamb’, cf. Azerbaijani *körpə* ‘infant, baby’ (Musayev 1998: 323), cognate of Old Turkic *körpe*; basically (of an animal or crop) ‘produced late in the season’. It has developed into Southwest Turkic *körpe* ‘very young, fresh, tender’. In Kipchak sources of the 14th century, it is attested in the sense of ‘a sucking lamb, calf’ (Clauson 1972: 737).

4. Lexical Influence

Khinalug has borrowed a large number of words in all semantic domains, most of which are of Azerbaijani/Persian/Arabic origin, and often with an unclear borrowing path. Some loanwords are of Russian origin, but since they are also used in (colloquial) Azerbaijani, their borrowing path is usually not reconstructable either. Within the frame of this article, a complete overview of the loans cannot be provided. The following sections will focus on the semantic domains with the highest share of loanwords, and investigate their origin.

4.1 The semantic domain of “Modern culture and technology”

All Khinalug nouns referring to items of modern culture and technology are loanwords, and nearly all of them are of Russian origin. In these domains, Azerbaijani itself – and particularly spoken Azerbaijani – has adopted many Russian loanwords, and it is impossible to assess whether they entered Khinalug directly from Russian or via Azerbaijani (except by rare features

such as metathesis or auslaut deletion, see section 2.3). Within this article, only a few examples can be given:¹²

aftobus 'bus' < Azerbaijani *avtobus* (Musayev 1998: 38) or < Russian *avtobus* 'bus, coach' (Mjuller 2013: 916)

akademya 'academy' < Azerbaijani *akademiya* (Musayev 1998: 15) or < Russian *akademija* (Mjuller 2013: 918)

asvalt 'asphalt' < Azerbaijani *asfalt* (Musayev 1998: 32) or < Russian *asfal't* (Mjuller 2013: 923)

avariya 'break-down, accident' < Azerbaijani *avariya* (Musayev 1998: 38) or < Russian *avarija* 'damage, wreck; crash, accident; break-down' (Mjuller 2013: 915)

direktor 'director, manager' < Azerbaijani *direktor* (Musayev 1998: 155) or < Russian *direktor* (Mjuller 2013: 1000)

ekspedisiya 'expedition' < Azerbaijani *ekspedisiya* (Musayev 1998: 175) or < Russian *èkspedicija* (Mjuller 2013: 1323)

kanalzasya 'sewage, sewerage' < Azerbaijani *kanalizasiya* (Musayev 1998: 295) or < Russian *kanalizacija* (Mjuller 2013: 1053)

mikrafon 'microphone' < Azerbaijani *mikrofon* (Oruc et al. Vol. 3 2006: 366) or < Russian *mikrofon* (Mjuller 2013: 1091)

pensya 'pension' < Azerbaijani *pensiya* (Musayev 1998: 461) or < Russian *pensiya* (Mjuller 2013: 1161)

turizm 'tourism, touring' < Azerbaijani *turizm* (Musayev 1998: 560) or < Russian *turizm* 'tourism' (Mjuller 2013: 1288)

In a few cases, certain phonetic processes occur in standard Azerbaijani, and the modified form is then borrowed from Azerbaijani into Khinalug, e.g. drop of the final vowel:

maşın < Azerbaijani *maşın* 'car' (Musayev 1998: 401) < Russian *mašina* 'machine, engine; coll.: car' (Mjuller 2013: 1086)

In some cases, certain phonetic processes occur in dialectal Azerbaijani, and we may assume that Khinalug has borrowed these terms via the Quba dialect:

televizor 'television set' < Azerbaijani *televizor* (Musayev 1998: 537), < Russian *televizor* (Mjuller 2013: 1278) > Quba dialect *tevizor* (drop of intermediate /e/)

tormuz 'brake' < Azerbaijani *tormoz* (Musayev 1998: 557), < Russian *tormoz* (Mjuller 2013: 1283) > Quba dialect *tormuz* (/o/ > /u/ in the second syllable)

4.2 The semantic domain of "Religion"

In the semantic domain of "Religion", Khinalug might have only one native word, i.e. *izə* 'fasting (during ramadan)', the etymology of which is unclear. The word for 'god', *ğutsar*, is borrowed from Lezgian *ğutsar*, i.e. the plural of Lezgian *ğuts* 'god' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 135), and *kob* 'namaz' from Lezgian *kap* 'worship, prayer, namaz' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 248).

¹² Standard Azerbaijani transcribes Russian <o> as <o>, but the pronunciation follows the Russian original: This phoneme is pronounced as /o/ only in stressed syllables, but as /a/ in unstressed syllables. The omission of /i/ in the sequence {iya} is characteristic for the Quba dialect.

Many words of this domain are borrowed directly from Arabic, which is attested by the maintenance of /h/, /ʕ/, /qʕ/, /tʕ/, e.g.

dəfə ‘prayer’ < Arabic دعوة *daʕwat* ‘prayer; petition, request’ (Steingass 1892: 528), cf. Azerbaijani *dua* (Musayev 1998: 167)

həlal ‘allowed by Islamic law’ < Arabic حلال *halāl* ‘legal, sanctioned by religion, suitable for food, lawful to eat, killed as prescribed by law; lawfully earned’ (Steingass 1892: 427), cf. Azerbaijani *halal* (Musayev 1998: 241)

həram ‘forbidden by Islamic law’ < Arabic حرام *harām* ‘unlawful, forbidden, prohibited; illegitimate’ (Steingass 1892: 414), cf. Azerbaijani *haram* (Musayev 1998: 242)

qʕurʕan ‘Quran’ < قرآن *qurʕān*, in P. *qurān* ‘the Qurʕān’ (Steingass 1892: 962), cf. Azerbaijani *quran* (Musayev 1998: 383)

şərəfət var. *şərifət* ‘Sharia’ < Arabic شريعة *sharīʕat* ‘law, justice, equity; the law of God; the supplementary laws given by Muhammad’ (Steingass 1892: 743), cf. Azerbaijani *şəriət* (Musayev 1998: 525)

şeytʕan ‘devil’ < Arabic شيطان *shaiṭān* ‘satan, devil’ (Steingass 1892: 776), cf. Azerbaijani *şeytan* (Musayev 1998: 522)

When these characteristic phonemes are adapted to the Persian/Azerbaijani pronunciation, the loans must be borrowed from one of these intermediate languages. Particularly when /ö/ and /ü/ of the Azerbaijani form are also pronounced in the Khinalug form, even in the pronunciation of elderly speakers, the loans can be identified as recent.

ibadət < Azerbaijani *ibadət* or < Persian عبادة *ibādāt* ‘divine worship, adoration’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 833)

övliya ‘Islamic saint’ < Azerbaijani *övliya* (Orucov et al. Vol. 3 2006: 558) < Persian اولياء *aulyā* ‘friends (of God), saints, prophets’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 122)

möjüzə ‘miracle’ < Azerbaijani *möcüzə* (Musayev 1998: 419) < Persian معجزة *muʕjizat*, *muʕjiza* ‘miracle’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1269)

müqəddəs ‘holy’ < Azerbaijani *müqəddəs* (Musayev 1998: 424) < Persian مقدس *muqaddas* ‘sanctified, consecrated; holy’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1291)

As for words of Arabic origin that do not have these phonemes, the path of borrowing cannot be reconstructed. This is, for example, the case of

din ‘religion’ < Azerbaijani *din* (Orucov et al. Vol. 1 2006: 637) or < Persian or < Arabic دين *dīn* ‘faith, religion’ (Steingass 1982: 554)

mədrəsə ‘Islamic school’ < Azerbaijani *mədrəsə* (Musayev 1998: 406) or < Persian or < Arabic مدرسة *madrasat*, *madrassa* ‘university, college, academy, public school’ (Steingass 1892: 1201)

kəfir ‘infidel, heathen’ < Azerbaijani *kəfir* (Musayev 1998: 293) or < Persian or < Arabic < كافر *kāfir* ‘one denying God; an infidel’ (Steingass 1892: 1007)

cəhənnəm ‘hell’ < Azerbaijani *cəhənnəm* (Musayev 1998: 103) or < Persian or < Arabic جهنم *jahannam* ‘hell’ (Steingass 1892: 382)

cənnət ‘heaven, paradise’ < Azerbaijani *cənnət* (Musayev 1998: 105) or < Persian or < Arabic الجنة *jannat* ‘paradise, heaven’ (Steingass 1892: 373)

ziyarət ‘pilgrimage’ < Azerbaijani *ziyarət* (Musayev 1998: 633) or < Persian or < Arabic زیادة *ziyārat* ‘a religious visitation, a pilgrimage’ (Steingass 1892: 632)

When stems of Arabic origin are borrowed with Persian affixes, we can assume a borrowing path via Persian or Azerbaijani rather than from Arabic,¹³ for example in constructions with *-gah* < Persian گاه *gāh* 'time; place (always in composition)' (Steingass 1892: 1074):

ibadətghah 'place of worship' < Azerbaijani *ibadətghah* 'temple, meeting house, chapel' (Musayev 1998: 266) or < Persian عبادتگاه *'ibādat-gāh* 'a place of worship' (Steingass 1892: 833)

ziyaratghah 'place for pilgrimage' < Azerbaijani *ziyaratghah* (Musayev 1998: 633) or < Persian گاه زیارت *ziyārat-gāh* 'a place of pilgrimage' (Steingass 1892: 632)

The term for 'mosque' has a peculiar form, the reasons for which is not yet clear. It might be a merger of Arabic *masjid* with a metathetic variant of the Persian modified form *mazgit*:

maççig 'mosque' < Persian مسجد *masjid, masjid* 'a mosque, temple, place of worship' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1236) / Persian مزگت *mazgit* 'house of prayer, mosque' (Steingass 1892: 1223), cf Azerbaijani *māscid* (Musayev 1998: 412)

There are also some words with roots of Persian origin in this semantic domain, the borrowing path of which is unclear:

peyğambər < Azerbaijani *peyğambər* (Musayev 1998: 462) or < Persian پیغمبر *paigham-bar* 'prophet' (Steingass 1892: 368)

molla < Azerbaijani *molla* (Musayev 1998: 418) or < Persian ملا *molla* 'scholar or teacher of theology; clergyman, preacher; judge, cadī' (Hayyim Vol. 2 1962: 0974, cf. Steingass 1892: 1303)

sitayış 'worship' < Azerbaijani *sitayış* (Musayev 1998: 505) or < Persian ستایش *sitāyish* 'praise, encomium, benediction, returning thanks; glory' (Steingass 1892: 655)

The maintenance of /u/ in the second syllable of *musulman* hints at direct borrowing from Persian:

musulman < Persian مسلمان *musulmān* 'Musulman, Muhammadan, believer' (Steingass 1892: 1239), cf. Azerbaijani *mūsəlman* (Musayev 1998: 426); notably modern Azerbaijani prefers the term of Arabic origin *muslim* < مسلم *muslim* 'Musulman, true believer in the Muhammadan faith, Moslem' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1239)

The terms for popular and non-Islamic beliefs are usually of Persian origin:

cadu 'magic, sorcery, witchcraft' < Azerbaijani *cadu* (Musayev 1998: 98) or < Persian جادو *jādū* 'conjuration, magic' (Steingass 1892: 349)

cadugar ~ *cadugər* 'magician, sorcerer' < Azerbaijani *cadugər* (Musayev 1998: 98) or < Persian جادوگر *jādūgar* 'a juggler, conjurer' (Steingass 1892: 349)

ataşpərəst < Azerbaijani *ataşpərəst* (Musayev 1998: 36) or < Persian پرست آتش *ātish-parast* 'fire-worshipper' (Steingass 1892: 13)

The representation of a labial Persian vowel as /ü/ can be interpreted as evidence for a recent borrowing via Azerbaijani:¹⁴

¹³ Steingass (1892: 833 and 1074) notes, however, that *'ibādat-gāh* and *ziyārat-gāh* were transmitted back to Arabic from Persian.

¹⁴ With the growing importance of the tourism sector, the respective Azerbaijani terminology for the description and explanation of archeological findings in Khinalug is required. As a result, there are recent loans in the domain of ancient culture and pre-islamic religion.

bütperəst < Azerbaijani *bütperəst* (Musayev 1998: 97) or < Persian بئپرست *but-parast* 'idolater' (Steingass 1892: 155)

As for *per*, the semantic shift 'founder of a religious sect' > 'sacred place' did not take place in Persian. Borrowing via Azerbaijani seems reasonable, however, the sound shift /i/ > /e/ needs further investigation.

per 'sacred place' < Azerbaijani *pir* < Persian پير *pīr* 'an old man; a founder or chief of any religious body or sect' (Steingass 1892: 264)

4.3 The semantic domain of "Education and literacy"

Among the terms of the semantic domain of "Education and literacy", only three verbs are of native Khinalug origin:

lūk'uviri ~ *lik'uviri* 'read, study'

ġompxuri 'learn'

xəġġiġiri 'teach'

A few terms are evidently borrowed directly from Arabic, as shown by the maintenance of /ʕ/ and /ħ/:

ħarf 'letter (of the alphabet)' < Arabic حرف *ħarf* 'letter of the alphabet' (Steingass 1892: 416); cf. Azerbaijani *ħarf* (Musayev 1998: 249)

ħilm 'science' < Arabic علم *ilm* 'knowledge, science' (Steingass 1892: 864); cf. Azerbaijani *elm* (Musayev 1998: 177)

məʕlim 'teacher' < Arabic معلم *mu'allim* 'school-master, preceptor, professor, tutor' (Steingass 1892: 1275); cf. Azerbaijani *müəllim* (Musayev 1998: 422)

məʕna 'meaning' < Arabic معنا *ma'nā* 'sense, meaning' (Steingass 1892: 1276); cf. Azerbaijani *məna* (Musayev 1998: 410)

saħifə 'page' < Arabic صحيفة *ṣaħīfat, ṣaħīfa* 'book, leaf, page; volume; letter, epistle' (Steingass 1892: 782); cf. Azerbaijani *səhifə* (Musayev 1998: 493)

Several terms go back to an Arabic origin, but due to their phonetic structure, it is not possible to identify their borrowing path:

dərs 'lesson' < Azerbaijani *dərs* (Musayev 1998: 147) or < Persian or < Arabic درس *dars* 'lecture, lesson, exercise' (Steingass 1892: 512)

ədəbyat 'literature' < Azerbaijani *ədəbiyyat* (Musayev 1998: 186) or < Persian or < Arabic ادبيات *adabiyyat* 'literature' (Hayyim Vol. 1 1962: 0061, Wehr 1977: 8)

fənd ~ *fənt* 'school subject' < Azerbaijani *fənn* (Musayev 1998: 215) or < Persian or < Arabic فن *fann* 'manner, mode, way, rate; science, doctrine, art' (Steingass 1982: 939)

kitab < Azerbaijani *kitab* (Musayev 1998: 312) or < Persian or < Arabic كتاب *kitāb* 'book, volume; letter, despatch' (Steingass 1892: 1014)

məktəb 'school' < Azerbaijani *məktəb* (Musayev 1998: 408) or < Persian or < Arabic مكتب *maktab* 'writing-school' (Steingass 1892: 1299)

məktub letter (piece of writing) < Azerbaijani *məktub* (Musayev 1998: 409) or < Persian or < Arabic مکتوب *maktūb* 'letter, writing, scripture; a collection of letters' (Steingass 1892: 1299)

sinif 'class' < Azerbaijani *sinif* (Musayev 1998: 504) or < Persian or < Arabic صنف *şanf*, *şinf*, 'kind, sort, species; mode, manner, form; guild; category' (Steingass 1892: 794)

Several words of Arabic origin are borrowed via Persian or Azerbaijani. While *hilm* (see above) still exists next to the Azerbaijani/Persian form, all further derivations are loans from intermediate languages. As for *imtahan* < *imtiḥan* (see below) the sound change of the intermediate vowel /i/ > /a/ took place when the word was transmitted from Persian to Azerbaijani. The Khinalug form equals the Azerbaijani form. Further loans can be identified as not borrowed directly from Arabic by the adaptation of the characteristic Arabic phonemes:



A tributary of the Qudiyalçay river

alim 'scholar' < Azerbaijani *alim* or < Persian علم *ʿalim* 'wise, learned' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 865)

elm ~ *elim* 'science' < Azerbaijani *elm* (Musayev 1998: 177) or < Persian علم *ʿilm* 'knowing, understanding, being learned; knowledge, science, doctrine; literature; trade, art, profession' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 864), modern Persian pronunciation: *elm* (Hayyim Vol. 2 1962: 0381)

elmi 'scientific' < Azerbaijani *elmi* (Musayev 1998: 177) or < Persian علمی *ʿelmi* 'scientific' (Hayyim Vol. 2 1962: 0381).

imtahan 'exam' < Azerbaijani *imtahan* (Musayev 1998: 276) < Persian امتحان *imtiḥān* 'trial, test, proof, experiment; examination, inquiry' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 98)

qələm 'pen' < Azerbaijani *qələm* (Musayev 1998: 358) or < Persian قلم *qalam* 'pen, penknife; engraving-tool' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 986)

varağ 'page' < Azerbaijani *vəraq* (Musayev 1998: 586) or < Persian ورق *waraq* 'leaf of a tree or of paper' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1464)

kıçeb, a peculiar variant of *kitab*, which is not attested outside Khinalug, might go back to the Persian variant کتیب *kiteb* 'book' (Steingass 1892: 1015), where /t/ may have shifted to /ç/ as a result of palatalization.

tələbə 'student' < Azerbaijani *tələbə* (Musayev 1998: 544), which goes back to a plural form in Persian and Arabic: طالبة *ṭalabat*, *ṭalaba* (pl. of *ṭālib*) 'seekers, inquirers; students' (Steingass 1892: 817)

Rather few loans of this semantic domain are of Persian origin, for example:

şagird 'pupil, student' < Azerbaijani *şagird* (Musayev 1998: 519) or < Persian شاگرد *şāgird* 'student, apprentice; disciple, pupil' (Steingass 1892: 724)

kağaz 'paper' < Persian کاغذ *kāghaz*, *kāghiz* 'paper' (Steingass 1892: 1006). Persian has two pronunciation variants; *kāghaz* was transmitted to Khinalug, while *kāghiz* was borrowed by Azerbaijani.

There are also some loans of Azerbaijani origin, e.g.:

araştırmışkiri 'investigate' < Azerbaijani *araşdırmaq* (Musayev 1998: 27)

yazı 'inscription' < Azerbaijani *yazı* (Musayev 1998: 606)

As for the names of school subjects, there is a split between the elder and the younger generations. While the elder people still use terms of Russian origin, the younger community members prefer the modern Azerbaijani terms, borrowed from, or transmitted via Persian/Arabic (cf. section 2.3) or via Turkish (cf. section 2.5).¹⁵ The same distribution can be observed among the ethnic Azerbaijani population.

ximya 'chemistry' < Russian *ximija* (Mjuller 2013: 1306)

kimya 'chemistry' < Azerbaijani *kimya* (Musayev 1998: 310) < Turkish *kimya* (Bezmez & Brown 2002: 532)

fizika 'physics' < Azerbaijani *fizika* (Musayev 1998: 221) < Russian *fizika* (Mjuller 2013:1302)

matematika 'mathematics' < Russian *matematika* (Mjuller 2013: 1085)

riyaziyyat 'mathematics' < Azerbaijani *riyaziyyat* (Musayev 1998: 478) < Persian ریاضیه
riyaziyyat, *riyāziya* 'disciplinary; mathematical; exact (sciences)' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 601)

geografya 'geography' < Russian *geografija* (Mjuller 2013: 979)

coğrafya 'geography' < Azerbaijani *coğrafiya* (Musayev 1998: 112) < Turkish *coğrafya* (Bezmez & Brown 2002: 164)

4.4 The semantic domain of "Authority, government, administration"

In the semantic domain of "Authority, government, administration", there are numerous loanwords from different donor languages which show the historical sequence of dominating powers.

The following words are examples for borrowings from Arabic:

hükumət < Arabic حكومة *hükūmat* 'dominion, sovereignty, absolute power; jurisdiction' (Steingass 1892: 427); cf. Azerbaijani *hökumət* (Nağısoylu et al 2021:266)¹⁶

hakim 'judge' < Arabic حاكم *hākim* 'governor; commander; judge, magistrate' (Steingass 1892:408); cf. Azerbaijani *hakim* (Musayev 1998: 240)

məhlə 'village quarter' < Arabic محلة *maḥalla* 'waystation, encampment, quarter (of a city)' (Wehr 1977: 181); cf. Azerbaijani *məhəllə* (Musayev 1998: 407)

cəməfət 'society, community' < Arabic جماعة *jamā'at* 'crowd, troop; meeting, assembly, council, congregation' (Steingass 1892: 370); cf. Azerbaijani *cəmaat* (Musayev 1998: 99)

Among the words of Arabic origin with an unclear borrowing path, the corpus attests, for example:

əhali 'population' < Azerbaijani *əhali* (Musayev 1998: 187) or < Persian or < Arabic اهالی
ahālī 'inhabitants, citizens, commons' (Steingass 1892: 123)

əmr 'order, command' < Azerbaijani *əmr* (Musayev 1998: 199) < Persian < or Arabic امر
amr 'order, command' (Steingass 1892: 99)

¹⁵ The terms *ximija/kimya*, *fizika*, and *geografija/coğrafiya* all go back to Greek roots, but have been transmitted to Russian and Turkish via different intermediate languages. For the etymology of Russian words, see <https://lexicography.online/etymology/semyonov/>. For the etymology of Turkish words see: <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/>.

¹⁶ Musayev (1998:253) notes *hökumət*, which represents the pronunciation, but not the official orthography.

məcbur 'obliged' < Azerbaijani *məcbur* (Musayev 1998: 405) or < Persian or < Arabic مجبور *majbūr* 'constrained, forced' (Steingass 1892: 1175)

millət 'nation, people' < Azerbaijani *millət* (Musayev 1998: 416) or < Persian ملت *millat* 'nation; a people' (Hayyim Vol. 2 1962: 0977) or < Arabic ملة *millat* 'people, nation, nationality' (Wehr 1977: 818)

xalq 'nation, people' < Azerbaijani *xalq* (Musayev 1998: 255) or < Persian or < Arabic خلق *khalq* 'created things, creatures'; cf. Persian *khalqi 'ālam* (lit. 'creatures of the world') 'mortals, man, people' (Steingass 1892: 472)

xidmət 'service' < Azerbaijani *xidmət* (Musayev 1998: 262) or < Persian or < Arabic خدمة *khadmat, khidmat* 'service, employment, office' (Steingass 1892: 450)

As for some words of Arabic origin, the adaptation of the characteristic Arabic phonemes shows that they cannot be loaned from Arabic directly:

əskər 'soldier'; the maintenance of Persian /k/ hints at borrowing from Persian عسکر *askar* 'army, forces, troops' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 849); cf. Azerbaijani *əsgər* (Musayev 1998: 203)

üsyən 'rebellion' the representation of Persian /i/ as /ü/ hints at a recent borrowing from Azerbaijani *üsyən* (Orucov et al. Vol 4 2006: 443) rather than from Persian عصيان *'iṣyān* 'rebellion, disobedience, overthrow' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 852)

qayda 'rule' < Azerbaijani *qayda* (Musayev 1998: 350) or < Persian قاعده *qā'idat, qā'ida* 'rule, custom, institution, mode, manner, style, etiquette; regulation' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 948)

müstəqil 'independent' < Azerbaijani *müstəqil* (Musayev 1998: 426) < Persian مستقل *mustaqil* 'absolute, despotic, independent; peculiar, particular; independent sovereignty' < Arabic *mustaqill* (Steingass 1892: 1232); the pronunciation of /ü/ hints at a recent borrowing from Azerbaijani.

vətən 'fatherland' < Azerbaijani *vətən* (Musayev 1998: 587) or < Persian وطن *waṭn, waṭan* 'country, dwelling, residence; native country, home' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1473)

In this semantic domain, Khinalug also has some loans of Persian origin. Their phonetic structure does not help to identify if they were borrowed from Persian directly or via Azerbaijani, e.g.

dustağ prisoner Azerbaijani *dustaq* (Musayev 1998: 168) or < Persian دستاق *dustāq* 'imprisoned, fettered' (Steingass 1892: 522)

qanun 'law' < Azerbaijani *qanun* (Musayev 1998: 339) or < Persian قانون *qānūn* 'rule, regulation; law; manner; custom' (Steingass 1892: 949)

paṭṣah 'king' < Azerbaijani *paṭṣah* (Musayev 1998: 457) or < Persian پادشاه *pādshah* 'king' (Steingass 1892: 229)

rəhbər 'leader, chief' < Azerbaijani *rəhbər* (Musayev 1998: 475) or < Persian رهبر *rah-bar* 'a way-guide, escort' (Steingass 1892: 599)

şah 'king' < Azerbaijani *şah* (Musayev 1998: 519) or < Persian شاه *shāh* 'king, sovereign, emperor, monarch, prince' (Steingass 1892: 726)

şəhər 'town' < Azerbaijani *şəhər* (Musayev 1998: 523) < Persian شهر *shahr* 'city, town' (Steingass 1892: 769)

Moreover, Khinalug has loanwords of Turkic origin:

qaçağ 'fugitive' < Azerbaijani *qaçaq* (Musayev 1998: 332)

devirmişkiri 'overthrow, dethrone' < Azerbaijani *devirmək* (Musayev 1998: 141)

tapşırıǵ 'task, assignment' < Azerbaijani *tapşırıq* (Musayev 1998: 534)

tapşırmişkiri 'instruct, impose; entrust' < Azerbaijani *tapşırmaq* (Musayev 1998: 534)

bayraǵ 'banner, flag' < Azerbaijani *bayraq* (Musayev 1998: 69); the maintenance of /ay/ hints at a recent borrowing.

quşun 'troop, army' < Azerbaijani *qoşun* (Musayev 1998: 378)

Some words are of Mongolian or unclear Turkic/Mongolian origin, but since direct borrowing from Mongolian is rather unlikely, we can assume Azerbaijani as the donor language:

ordu 'army' < Azerbaijani *ordu* < Old Turkic *ordū* or *ordo* 'headquarters, palace', cognate of Mongolian *ordu* (same meaning).¹⁷

ulka 'country' < Azerbaijani *ölkə* < Mongolian *ülige* or *ölige* 'share; district; home town'¹⁸

Some words of Russian origin have established in the lexicon of Khinalug as well, most of which have also become part of the Azerbaijani standard language:

imperiya 'empire' < Azerbaijani *imperiya* (Musayev 1998: 275) or < Russian *imperija* (Mjuller 2013: 1045)

kamandır 'commander' < Azerbaijani *komandır* (Musayev 1998: 314) or < Russian *komandır* (Mjuller 2013: 1062)

partiya '(political) party' < Azerbaijani *partiya* (Musayev 1998: 460) or < Russian *partija* (Mjuller 2013: 1160)

rayon 'region, district; area' < Azerbaijani *rayon* (Musayev 1998: 472) or < Russian *rajon* (Mjuller 2013: 1233)

zastava 'frontier post' < Azerbaijani *zastava* (Musayev 1998: 624) or < Russian *zastava* (Mjuller 2013: 1031)

A few words of Russian origin are not part of Standard Azerbaijani, but are often used in spoken Azerbaijani and in many dialects, including the Quba dialect, e.g.

türmə 'prison' < Russian *tjur'ma* (Mjuller 2013: 1289)¹⁹

naçalnik ~ *naçannik* 'leader, chief' < Russian *naçal'nik* (Mjuller 2013: 1110)

4.5 The semantic domain of "Thoughts, emotions, and mental processes"

Khinalug has a range of native *verba sentiendi*, which form a distinct group with regard to case government: They require the experiencer to be dative-marked. In Khinalug, they can form 2SG/2PL imperatives with the experiencer as addressee, which shows that, syntactically, the experiencer is the subject of such constructions.²⁰ These verbs may refer to physical sensations

¹⁷ <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/ordu>

¹⁸ <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/kelime/%C3%BClike>

¹⁹ Different sources discuss different etymologies of this word, possibly originating from Latin *turrim* or Turkic *türmä* (cf. Brockelmann 1928: 224, Fasmer Vol. 4 1973: 137, and <https://lexicography.online/etymology/%D1%82/%D1%82%D1%8E%D1%80%D1%8C%D0%BC%D0%B0>, retrieved on 16.01.2023.) The Azerbaijani term might be inherited or loaned back from Russian, which needs to be further investigated.

²⁰ In Kryz, imperatives of *verba sentiendi* have 3rd person jussive forms in the sense of 'may X be heard/seen /known to you'. Here, the dative-marked experiencer should be considered the object.

such as *dəxi* 'see' or *kli* 'hear', but also to mental processes such as *müxukui* 'know' or *yikui* 'want; like, love'.

The wide semantic scope of *yikui* is a good example for the lack of specificity in the native Khinalug terms for mental processes and emotions. In order to distinguish 'want', 'like' and 'love', speakers may prefer to use Azerbaijani loans. Moreover, Khinalug does not have any native words to express the opposite meaning of 'want, like, love'. Notably, all verbs on the basis of Azerbaijani participles belong either to the intransitive or transitive verbs, i.e. they cannot govern a dative-marked experiencer, but require the subject in absolutive or the agent in ergative case.

bagankiri 'like' is the only occurrence of a light verb combining directly with an Azerbaijani verbal root < Azerbaijani *bayənmək* (Musayev 1998: 70), Quba dialect *bagənmək*

istəmişkiri 'want' < Azerbaijani *istəmək* (Musayev 1998: 284 f.)

sevmişkiri 'love'²¹ < Azerbaijani *sevmək* (Musayev 1998: 491)

bezmişkui 'be sick and tired of' < Azerbaijani *bezikmək* (Musayev 1998: 63)

nifrət kiri 'hate, despise, abhor' < Azerbaijani *nifrət etmək* (Musayev 1998: 438) < Persian نفرة *nafrat*, *nifrət* 'abomination, aversion, horror' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1415)

iyranmişkui 'be disgusted' < Azerbaijani *iyranmək* (Musayev 1998: 290)

Khinalug has no native words to express gradations of 'want', such as 'wish', 'ask for' etc., or the respective nominal forms.

diləg 'wish, desire' (noun) < Azerbaijani *dilək* (Musayev 1998: 153)

arzu 'wish, desire' (noun) < Azerbaijani *arzu* (Musayev 1998: 31) < Persian آرزو *ārzū* 'desire, wish, intention, inclination, affection' (Steingass 1892: 36)

arzulamışkiri 'wish, desire' (verb) < Azerbaijani *arzulamaq* (Musayev 1998: 31-32)

xahiş 'appeal, plea, desire' (noun) < Azerbaijani *xahiş* (Musayev 1998: 255) < Persian خواهش *khwāhish* 'will, wish, inclination' (Steingass 1892: 481)

xahiş kiri 'appeal, ask for, desire' (verb) < Azerbaijani *xahiş etmək* (Musayev 1998: 255)

hecə kiri 'plead' is related to the Arabic root حَجَّ {hjj} 'convince, persuade' (Wehr 1977: 141), but not attested in this derivation in Arabic, Persian or Azerbaijani.

Moreover, Khinalug does not have any native general terms for 'thought' or 'think' and related expressions. Instead, loanwords of Arabic or Azerbaijani origin are used:

fikir 'thought, idea' < Azerbaijani *fikir* (Musayev 1998: 218) or < Persian or < Arabic فکر *fikr*, *fakr*, in Persian also *fakar* 'thought, reflection, consideration' (Steingass 1892: 936)

fikirləmişkiri 'think, reflect, deliberate' < Azerbaijani *fikirləşmək* (Musayev 1998: 219)

düşüncə 'thought, mentality' < Azerbaijani *düşüncə* (Musayev 1998: 171)

düşünmüşkiri 'think, reflect, deliberate' < *düşünmək* Azerbaijani (Musayev 1998: 171)

təsəvvür ~ *təsəffür* 'idea, notion' < Azerbaijani *təsəvvür* (Musayev 1998: 550), where /ü/ hints at a recent borrowing from Azerbaijani; < Persian تصاویر *tašāwīr* 'images, pictures, portraits' (Steingass 1892: 304)

²¹ While *yikui* used in the sense of 'love' towards people' *sevmişkiri* is attested in contexts of patriotic love towards one's home and fatherland.

tasəvvür kiri ~ *təsəffür kiri* 'imagine' < Azerbaijani *təsəvvür etmək* (Musayev 1998: 550)

ideya 'idea' < Azerbaijani *ideya* (Musayev 1998: 268) or < Russian *ideya* (Mjuller 2013: 1040)

Besides, Khinalug has a rather limited vocabulary for the semantic field of emotions. Only some basic negative feelings can be expressed through native words:

həşş kiri 'be angry' (lit. 'sb's anger falls')

inq^x kiri 'be afraid' (lit. 'do fear')

q^xol kiri 'be sulky, feel offended' (lit. 'do sulkiness')

irə kúi 'be ashamed'

A finegrained gradation of negative feelings can be achieved by additional Azerbaijani loans:

qaşqabağlı 'frowning, cheerless' < Azerbaijani *qaşqabaqlı* (Musayev 1998: 348)

kədər 'sad' < Azerbaijani *kədər* (Musayev 1998: 303) or < Persian or < Arabic *كدر* *kadar* 'being troubled, turbid; being perplexed through misfortune; perturbation, anxiety; melancholy' (Steingass 1892: 1081)

acığlanmışkúi 'be angry' < Azerbaijani *acıqlanmaq* (Musayev 1998: 3)

incimişkúi 'be annoyed' < Azerbaijani *incimək* (Musayev 1998: 277)

əsəbləşmişkúi 'be irritated, upset' < Azerbaijani *əsəbiləşmək* (Musayev 1998: 203); the root *əsəb* is borrowed from Persian *عصب* *aşab* 'tendon, nerve, ligament' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 851)

The language has no native terms for positive feelings, so that these are all expressed by loans:

şat var. *şad* 'glad, happy' < Azerbaijani *şad* (Musayev 1998: 519) < Persian *شاد* *shād* 'cheerful, exulting; glad, happy' (Steingass 1892: 721)

şadlanmışkúi 'be glad, happy' < Azerbaijani *şadlanmaq* (Musayev 1998: 519)

xoş 'pleasant' < Azerbaijani *xoş* (Musayev 1998: 263) < Persian *خوش* *khwush*, *khwash* 'good, beautiful, fair, pleasant, delightful, lovely, delicate; happy, well, pleased' (Steingass 1892: 487)

xoşbəxt 'happy' < Azerbaijani *xoşbəxt* (Musayev 1998: 264) < Persian *khwush-bağht* 'lucky, fortunate, happy' (Steingass 1892: 487)

xoşbəxtlik 'happiness' < Azerbaijani *xoşbəxtlik* (Musayev 1998: 264)

kef 'pleasure, mood' < Azerbaijani *kef* (Musayev 1998: 301) < Persian *کيف* *kaif* 'pleasure, a merry life' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 1069)

The general term 'to feel' is expressed by the Azerbaijani loan

duymuşkiri 'feel' < Azerbaijani *duymaq* (Musayev 1998: 169)

Also the different moods and mental processes are expressed by loans:

dərd 'grief, sorrow, distress' < Azerbaijani *dərd* (Musayev 1998: 145) < Persian *درد* *dard* 'pain, ache, grief, torment' (Steingass 1892: 511)

fəxr 'pride' < Azerbaijani *fəxr* (Musayev 1998: 215) < Persian or < Arabic *فخر* *fakhr*, *fakhar* 'glory; excellence, nobility; pride, egotism, vaunt, boast' (Steingass 1892: 909)

minnətdar 'grateful' < Azerbaijani *minnətdar* (Musayev 1998: 417); the stem goes back to Persian < Arabic *منة* *minnat* 'conferring a favour; obligation, favour, courtesy, grace; kindness or service done to anyone; praise, thanks' (Steingass 1892: 1321); the

derivation in *-dar* is of Persian origin: *مندانار minnat-dār* ‘under obligation, obliged; twitted with a benefit received or a favour conferred upon him’ (Steingass 1892: 1321)

minnatdarlıĝ ‘gratitude’ < Azerbaijani *minnatdarlıq* (Musayev 1998: 417)

paxil ~ *paxil* ‘envy’ < Azerbaijani *paxil* ‘envious’ (Musayev 1998: 457); Quba dialect: *paxil* ‘envy’, *paxılı* ‘envious’ < Persian *بخیل bakhīl* ‘avaricious, covetous; a miser’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 160); the anlaut /p/ in Khinalug hints at borrowing from Azerbaijani.



Drying clothes in the sunshine

peşman ‘repentant, sorry’ < Azerbaijani *peşman* (Musayev 1998: 461) or < Persian *پشیمان peshmān* ‘penitent’ (Steingass 1892: 267).

sabır ~ *səbir* ‘patience’ < Azerbaijani *səbir* (Musayev 1998: 492) < Persian or < Arabic *صبر şabr* ‘patience, toleration, endurance’ (Steingass 1892: 781)

ümid ‘hope’ < Azerbaijani *ümid* (Musayev 1998: 574) < Persian *امید umed* or *umīd*, *ummed* or *ummīd* ‘hope, expectation, trust; desire’ (Steingass 1892: 102); anlaut /ü/ in the Khinalug form hints at borrowing from Azerbaijani.

5. Phonetic and Phonologic Influence

5.1 Assimilation of vowels and consonants

We can distinguish two major types of phonetic assimilation: regressive and progressive. In case of regressive assimilation, the vowels or consonants of a syllable adapt to the phonetic features of the subsequent syllable. In case of progressive assimilation, they adapt to the phonetic features of the previous syllable. Progressive vowel harmony and consonant assimilation is a characteristic feature of all Turkic languages. Uighur is the only Turkic language where also regressive vowel harmony occurs (De Jong 2007: 16-17). Khinalug, however, applies both

regressive and progressive vowel assimilation. As for consonants, only regressive assimilation is attested.

Regressive assimilation is an inherent property of Khinalug and is applied by members of all generations, whereas progressive vowel harmony is the result of Azerbaijani influence, and applied particularly by the speakers who have been intensively exposed to the Azerbaijani language in its standard pronunciation.

5.1.1 Regressive assimilation

5.1.1.1 Assimilation of vowels

Khinalug has a range of preverbs that are, under certain conditions, subject to regressive vowel assimilation. It should be noted that many of the preverbal affixes as well as the verbal roots consist only of a consonant and a support vowel (schwa). Support vowels do not affect vowels in adjacent syllables.

The major part of simple (i.e. perfective) verb stems in Khinalug consist either of [consonant + schwa], irrespective of the verbal aspect, or distinguish imperfective roots [consonant + /i/] from perfective roots [consonant + /u/]. Some roots may have an extension in *-n*, see example *x^wun* below.²²

After the preverb /ç'/, the natural realization of schwa should be /i/. It assimilates to the vowel /u/ in the perfective stem *xhu*:

ç'i-xhi-r-i

'PV:AVAILABLE_LV:rub, smear(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'

'grasp, take(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'

ç'u-xhu-i

'PV:AVAILABLE_LV:rub, smear(PFV)-PTCP'

'grasp, take(PFV)-PTCP'

The morpheme *ç-i* consists of the preverb *ç-* 'down' and an element /i/, which assumably goes back to *y-i*, i.e. the marker for CLI/NHPL *y-* and an ancient verbal root **e*.²³ Nowadays, this cluster behaves like a preverb in most forms of the paradigm. The component *i* assimilates to /v/, i.e. the consonant of the root of the subsequent light verb. In the imperative, where the ancient verbal quality of *i* < *y-e* in *ç-i* is maintained and the light verb is therefore not required, the high vowel occurs on the surface:

ç-u-vi-r-i

PV:DOWN-CL.I/IV/NHPL:sit-LV-IPFV-PTCP

'sit down-IPFV-PTCP'

²² For a detailed analysis of verbal roots and stems in Khinalug, cf. Rind-Pawłowski (forthcoming).

²³ Cf. Chechen *ɬ-/ɬē-* 'sit, to be in a quiet state', Ingush *ɬe-* 'stay', Basbi *ɬe-/ɬa-* 'sit', Tabasaran *e-ʔ-*, Tsakhur *ɟ-i-ʔar-* 'sit, sit down' (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 409). The original vowel /e/ occurs in CLI *çe-z-viri* and CLIII/HPL *çe-biri* (< *çe-b-viri*). In these classes, /e/ is not subject to any assimilation process.

ĉ-i!

PV:DOWN-CL.I/IV/NHPL:sit

'sit down(IMP)!'

Khinalug has two variants of preverbs that express a movement away from the speaker, on the same level: *li-* and *la-* (see next example). Their semantic distinction is not yet fully clear. The variant with schwa adapts to /v/ in the verb stem *vi* 'pull', whereas the verb stem *ki* 'fall' has no effect on the realization of schwa:

li-ki-r-i

TRANS.LEVEL-fall-IPFV-PTCP

'fall onto the ground from a standing position-IPFV-PTCP'

*lu-vi-r-i*²⁴

TRANS.LEVEL-pull-IPFV-PTCP

'pull away sideways-IPFV-PTCP'

Differently from preverbs with schwa or close vowel, preverbs with /a/ are not affected by aspect related vowels in the verbal root: /a/ in the cluster *la-ts'* remains stable both before the imperfective root *ki* and the perfective root *ku*.

la-ts'-ki-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:INTO-LV:do(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP

'drive, make go into (away from the speaker, on the same level)(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP

la-ts'-ku-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:INTO-LV:do(PFV)-PTCP

'drive, make go into (away from the speaker, on the same level)(PFV)-PTCP'

Some verbal roots go back to a root with preceding vowel. This vowel no longer occurs on the surface, e.g. in *xhu k'iri* 'water give(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'give water (to plants)', the root *k'i* 'give' occurs with anlaut in consonant. However, its underlying root **ik*²⁵ still effects preverbs that attach to it, and trigger the regressive assimilation *la-* > *lə-*, which remains stable independently from subsequent aspect related root vowels:

lə-k'i-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-give(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP

²⁴ The different class marker patterns at the light verb *viri* ~ *vir* in 'sit' constructions (of unclear meaning and etymology) and the verb *vir* 'pull' prove that these verbs are not cognates, but homonyms.

²⁵ Cf. Chechen and Ingush =*al-*, Batsbi =*ał-* 'give'; Chechen ablaut stem *t-əl-* 'pay', Bach. *t=eł-* 'give'; Avar *λ:e-*, Chadakolob *λe-* 'give', Tindi =*iλ:-ij-* 'distribute, give out', Tsezic *n=eł-*, *t=eł-* 'give', Hinukh *n=eł-*, *t=oł-*, Khvarshi *t=iλ-*, Inkokhviri *t=iλ-*, *iλ-*, *c=iλ-*, Bezhta *n=iλ-*, Hunzib *n=iλ-* 'give', Tsakhur *hi=le-*, Archi *λo-* 'give' (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 640-641).

'give to somebody else-(IPFV)-IPTV-PTCP'

lə-k'u-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-give(PFV)-PTCP

'give to somebody else(PFV)-PTCP'

Some verbal roots start in labialized consonant. These trigger the assimilation /a/ > /o/ in the preceding preverb:

fo-x^wun-i

PV:LOCATION-stand-PTCP

'wait(PFV)-PTCP'

Preverbs may also assimilate to phonemic vowels in subsequent preverbs, such as in *k'i-* 'below, under'. In the following example, the preverb *qal-* 'from below upwards towards the speaker' is realized as *qəl-* due to the influence of *k'i-*. The vowel of *k'i-* is not affected by the verbal root starting in /v/.

qəl-k'i-vi-r-i

PV:CIS.UP-PV:SUB-pull-IPFV-PTCP

'pull out from a position under sth. (towards the speaker from below)(PFV)-PTCP'

5.1.1.2 Assimilation of consonants

Khinalug nouns divide into four singular classes (CLI: male, CLII: female, CLIII: animals and some concrete items, CLIV: other concrete items and abstract ideas) and two plural classes (human and nonhuman plural). The class of a noun is not expressed in the noun itself,²⁶ but in verbs, even though not all verbs can take class markers. If they do, their class marker slot is between the preverb (or preverb cluster) and the verbal root. Their forms assimilate to the anlaut of the verbal root:

| Class | Before vowel ²⁷ | Before voiced consonant or ejective | Before unvoiced consonant | Merging with stem anlaut <i>h-</i> |
|-------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| I | <i>y-</i> | <i>∅-</i> | <i>∅-</i> | <i>∅-h</i> |
| II | <i>z-</i> | <i>zi-</i> | <i>s-</i> | <i>s (< s-h)</i> |
| III | <i>v-</i> | <i>bi-</i> | <i>p^h-</i> | <i>f (< p^h-h)</i> |
| IV | <i>y-</i> | <i>∅-</i> | <i>∅</i> | <i>∅-h</i> |
| HPL | <i>v-</i> | <i>bi-</i> | <i>p^h-</i> | <i>f (< p^h-h)</i> |
| NHPL | <i>y-</i> | <i>∅-</i> | <i>∅</i> | <i>∅-h</i> |

Table 4: Class marking at Khinalug verbs

²⁶ Some nouns and adjective have petrified class markers as relics of an ancient, now obsolete marking system (cf. Nichols 2003: 212 ff.)

²⁷ The forms "before vowel" occur only when the vowel is explicit, not underlying as in *k'iri* 'give' (see section 5.1.1.1).

Example for class marking at stems with anlaut in vowel:

CLI/NHPL: *y-ax-i*, CLII: *z-axi-i*, CLIII/HPL: *v-ax-i*

'CL-allow, permit, let-PTCP'

'CL-allow, permit, let(PFV)-PTCP'

Example for class marking at stems with anlaut in voiced consonant:

CLI/NHPL: *ka-ğ-i*, CLII: *ka-zı-ğ-i*, CLIII/HPL: *ka-bı-ğ-i*

CIS-CL-go(PFV)-PTCP

'come towards the speaker<CL>(PFV)-PTCP

Example for class marking at stems with anlaut in unvoiced consonant:

CLI/NHPL: *ô-xun-i*, CLII: *ô-s-xun-i*, CLIII/HPL: *ô-p-xun-i*

'PV:LOCATION-CL-stand-PTCP'

'wait<CL>(PFV)-PTCP

Example for class marking at stems with anlaut in /h/:

CLI/NHPL: *cürə hi-yə*, CLII: *cürə si-yə*, CLIII/HPL: *cürə fi-yə*²⁸

different, separate LV:be(PFV.SUPP):PTCP-COORD

'separate.PFV(SUPP)-PTCP-COORD'

Khinalug forms intransitive/transitive pairs by the light verbs *kiri* 'fall' and *q'iri* 'make become, cause'. The plosives of certain preverbs occur as unvoiced unaspirated before /k/, and as ejective before /q/. The preverb *t- ~ t'* in *latkiri* and *lat'q'iri* can be traced back to a petrified verb stem **t'* 'lie down'.²⁹ The preverb *t- ~ t'* in *itkiri* and *it'q'iri* can be identified as petrified verb stem **it* 'to crush, pound'.³⁰

la-t-ki-r-i'

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:lie.down-LV:fall-IPFV-PTCP

'fall down, break down, collapse-IPFV-PTCP'

²⁸ The suppletive stem *ha* occurs only in specific forms of the verbal paradigm, such as in combination with the coordinative clitic. The participle *-i* replaces the vowel of *ha*: *ha-i > hi*.

²⁹ Cf. Batsbi =*aṭ-* 'lie, lie about', Hinukh =*oṭ-* 'lie down', Bezhta and Hunzib =*uṭ-* 'sleep' (Nikolayev & Starosti 1994: 1035).

³⁰ Cf. Chechen and Ingush: *āt-*, Batsbi *at-* 'crush, pound', Lak =*u=ta-n* throw, pound, chop, Akusha Dargwa =*it-es*, Chirag-Dargwa =*it-* 'beat', Lezgi *g-ata-*, Agul *uta-*, Rutul =*āta-*, Tsakhur *g-e=ta-*, Kryz =*āt-*, Budugh *at-* 'beat', Tabasaran *k-at-* 'smear', Archi =*āta-* 'crush' (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 282).

la-t'-q'i-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:lie.down-LV:cause-IPFV-PTCP

'knock down, demolish(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'

it-ki-r-i

PV:crush-LV:fall-IPFV-PTCP

'crack, be crushed-IPFV-PTCP'

it'-q'i-r-i

PV:crush-LV:cause-IPFV-PTCP

'pound, crush, cause to crack'

The spirants of certain preverbs occur as unvoiced before /k/ and voiced before /q'/. The preverb *aş-* ~ *aj-* in *laaşkırı* and *laajq'iri* goes back to a petrified verb stem **aş* 'go down, fall, put down'.³¹ The preverb *ş-* ~ *j-* in *laşkırı* and *lajq'iri* is a cognate of words related to 'sun' and 'light' in other Nakh-Dagestanian languages, and might go back to a verb stem **ş* 'shine, burn'.³²

la-aş-ki-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:go.down-LV:fall-IPFV-PTCP

'come off, peel off (away from the speaker, on the same level)-IPFV-PTVP'

la-aj-q'i-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:go.down-LV:cause-IPFV-PTCP

'let fall; let go, set free(away from the speaker, on the same level)(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'

la-ş-ki-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:shine-LV:fall-IPFV-PTCP

'start burning, catch fire (away from the speaker, on the same level)-IPFV-PTCP'

la-j-q'i-r-i

PV:TRANS.LEVEL-PV:shine-LV:cause-IPFV-PTCP

'set fire to(away from the speaker, on the same level)(IPFV)-IPFV-PTCP'

³¹ Cf. Chechen, Ingush, Batsbi =*oss-* 'descend, go down', Avar *š:ʷa-*, Chadakolob *susá-k-*, Tindi =*uš:-* 'scatter, strew', Akhwakh *š:e-r-*, Chamalal *š:uš:ē-d-* 'be scattered, fall', Hinukh =*iš-*, Bezhta and Hunzib =*ōs-* 'fall down, be scattered', Akusha-Dargwa =*uš-es* 'lower, put down' (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 1011-11012).

³² Cf. Chechen *sa* 'light', Ingush *sa-χila* 'to dawn', Batsbi *sa-χilno* 'dawn', Tsezic *reša* 'sun ray', Akusha-Dargwa *šala*, Chirag-Dargwa *š:ala* 'light' (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 974).



A typical table and rolling pin for rolling dough

5.1.2 Progressive assimilation

5.1.2.1 Progressive assimilation within syllables

Progressive assimilation as inherent feature of Khinalug occurs only within one syllable. Certain consonants may affect the quality of the subsequent vowel. In particular, /g/, /t/, /tʰ/, and /t̪/ may trigger palatalization on subsequent /u/, which is then realized as /ü/.

In the verb *çuviri* ‘sit down’, /i/ is pronounced as /u/ before /v/ (cf. section 5.1.1.1). In *güviri*, the same process takes place, but /u/ is then palatalized by the preceding consonant /g/ and therefore pronounced as /ü/ by the majority of speakers.

ç-u-vi-r-i ‘PV:DOWN_sit-IPFV-PTCP’ ‘sit down’

PV:down-CLI/IV/NHPL:sit-LV-IPFV-PTCP

‘sit down-IPFV-PTCP’

g-ü-vi-r-i

PV:up-CLI/IV/NHPL:sit-LV-IPFV-PTCP

‘mount a riding animal; pouch on a tree (bird)-IPFV-PTCP’

Khinalug has a set of deictically marked demonstrative pronouns. After the prefixes *k-* ‘near’ and *q-* ‘below’, /u/ remains /u/. After *t-* ‘far/even’ and *t’-* ‘above’, /u/ is pronounced as /ü/ by the majority of speakers:

k-ui ‘near-that’,

q-ui ‘below-that’,

t-üi ‘far/even-that’

t’-üi ‘above-that’

Moreover, Khinalug has three verb stems related to existence. Also here, /u/ remains /u/ after /k̂/, but is pronounced as /ü/ after /t̂/ and /t’/ by the majority of speakers:³³

k̂-u-i ‘PV:?-be(IPFV)-PTCP’ ‘be, become’

t̂-ü-i ‘PV:LOCATION-be(IPFV)-PTCP’ ‘exist, be located’

t’-ü-i ‘PV:ABOVE-be-PTCP’ ‘start existing, be born; give birth’

Occasionally, Azerbaijani loanwords are affected by this palatalization as well, e.g.

tüş ‘opposite side, front’ < Azerbaijani *tüş*.

tüttyä ‘soil of a sacred place’ Azerbaijani *tutyä* ‘zinc; religious relic’ < *tüttyä* توتياء ‘tutty (i.e. a kind of impure zinc oxyde powder)’ < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 333)

5.1.2.2 Progressive assimilation accross syllables

Progressive assimilation accross syllables has emerged as a result of Azerbaijani influence, and affects suffixes. In Azerbaijani, the following rules are applied:

A close vowel is pronounced

/i/ after /e/, /ə/, /i/

/ɪ/ after /a/, /ɪ/

/u/ after /o/, /u/

/ü/ after /ö/, /ü/

An open vowel is pronounced

/e/ after /e/, /ə/, /i/, /ö/, /ü/

³³ Historically, the demonstratives and the existential verbs have the same components. They consist of a deictic marker, the adverb *u* ‘there’, a petrified verb stem *a* ‘be’ in its participle form, where the participle suffix *-i* replaces *a*. However, they have grammaticalized in different functions. For example, *q-u-i* < **q-u-a-i* lit. ‘down-there-being’ has grammaticalized as demonstrative referring downwards; *t̂-u-i* < **t̂-u-a-i* lit. ‘located-there-being’ has become the participle of a verb that has only an imperfective stem; *t’-u-i* < **t’-u-a-i* lit. ‘above-there-being’ has grammaticalized in two directions: as demonstrative referring upwards, and as a verb. However, differently from *k̂ui* and *t̂üi*, *t’üi* represents the perfective participle, whereas the imperfective participle is marked by additional suffix *-l*, i.e. *t’ü-l-i*.

/a/ after /a/, /ɪ/, /o/, /u/

The majority of elderly speakers have maintained the original pronunciation of Khinalug suffixes, whereas the younger speakers usually apply the phonologic rules of Azerbaijani. Also intermediate stages of assimilation are attested.

For example, the so-called elative (or ablative, according to Turkologic terminology) is originally *-(i)lli*, i.e. *-lli* after vowel and *-illi* after consonant, where the support vowel (schwa) is pronounced as lax /i/ (IPA /ɪ/). This form is maintained by all speakers at nouns in which the last syllable has a nucleus in /ə/, /e/, or /i/:

ç'ic'ə-lli 'fire-ELAT'

intsel-illi 'rumex-ELAT'

gis-illi 'roof-ELAT'

When the elative attaches to nouns in which the last syllable has a nucleus in /a/ or /ɪ/, the most conservative speakers maintain the form in *-(i)lli*, others assimilate only the schwa of the elative form that follows a consonant, but many speakers assimilate both the schwa and the final vowel:

k'ura-lli ~ *k'ura-llɪ* 'road-ELAT'

bızı-lli ~ *bızı-llɪ* 'pear-ELAT'

gıblax-illi ~ *gıblax-illɪ* ~ *gıblax-ıllı* 'saddle bag-ELAT'

When the elative attaches to nouns in which the last syllable has a nucleus in /o/ or /u/, the most conservative speakers will pronounce the schwa as /ɪ/, but maintain the final vowel /i/. The younger generations will apply full labial harmony and pronounce both schwa and final vowel as /u/. Intermediate stages of assimilation have /ɪ/ for both schwa and final vowel, or /u/ as pronunciation of the schwa together with a final vowel /ɪ/:

zongu-lli ~ *zongu-llɪ* ~ *zongu-llu* 'stirrup-ELAT'

êunor-illi ~ *êunor-ullɪ* ~ *êunor-ıllı* ~ *êunor-ullı* ~ *êunor-ullü* 'earth oven-ELAT'

When the elative attaches to nouns in which the last syllable has a nucleus in /ö/ (which occurs only in recent Azerbaijani loanwords, cf. section 3.2.2) or /ü/, the majority of the speakers maintain the original elative form *-(i)lli*. Only the youngest generation, and speakers who are most intensively exposed to Azerbaijani influence, will produce the variants *-üllı* or *-üllü*.

sürü-lli var. *sürü-llü* 'herd-ELAT'

nüts'-illi var. *nüts'-üllı* var. *nüts'-üllü* 'honey-ELAT'

göz-illi var. *göz-üllı* var. *göz-üllü* 'eye-ELAT'

Khinalug has several nominal cases that combine with the elative (for detailed information on the case system, see section 7.1.1). The same variation between conservative forms, full harmony, and intermediate stages of assimilation is attested also here. For example, the possessive-locative has the following variants:

after vowel: -ş
after consonant: -iş, -ış, -uş, üş

The combination of the possessive-locative and the relative has the following variants:

after vowel: -ş-illi, -ş-illi, -ş-ulli, -ş-ulli, -ş-ullu, -ş-üllü, -ş-üllü
after consonant: -i-şilli, -ı-şilli, -ı-şilli, -ı-şilli, -u-şilli, -u-şilli, -u-şullı,
-u-şullu, -ü-şilli, -ü-şilli, -ü-şüllü

Khinalug has a dative *-u*, and several homonymous case forms in *-i*:

the ergative *-i*
the (inalienable) genitive *-i*³⁴
the instrumental *-i* (synonymous with relative-marked *-i-lli*)
the petrified superessive/superlative *-i*

The dative in *-u* is invariable. The ergative and genitive usually vary only between *-i* and *-ı*, whereas labial harmony is attested only for very few speakers among the younger generation. When the instrumental is expressed only by vowel, it usually varies only between *-i* and *-ı* as well. Labial harmony is more frequent when the synonymous complex form is used.

The superessive/superlative *-i* is petrified and occurs only at a small range of specific nouns. When these have a labial vowel in their last syllable, younger speakers will regularly apply labial harmony, e.g.

kol-i ~ *kol-ı* ~ *kol-u* 'side-SUPER'

Another suffix that has become subject to vowel harmony is the plural in *-dir* < *-dir*, which occurs at many non-human nouns ending in /l/, /n/, and /r/, as well as the plural in *-(l)rd(l)r* < *-irdir*, which attaches to many non-human nouns ending in other consonants. Here, the following variation is attested:

kəl-dir 'buffalo-PL'
gardan-dir ~ *gardan-dır* 'neck-PL'
k'or-dir ~ *k'or-dur* 'grain-PL'
hümür-dir ~ *hümür-dür* 'life-PL'
k'ind-irdir 'bridge-PL'
k'ig-hırdır ~ *k'ighırdır* 'eyebrow-PL'
quv-ırdır ~ *quv-ırdır* ~ *quv-urdir* ~ *quv-urdur* 'ceiling-PL'
nüş-ırdır ~ *nüş-ürdir* ~ *nüş-ürdür* 'marrow-PL'

³⁴ The alienable genitive *-e* and the inalienable genitive *-i* are distinguished only at nouns ending in open vowel. All other nouns take a general genitive *-i*.

Also some deverbal suffixes have become subject to vowel harmony, for example the converb suffix with the original form *-torşini* 'while'. The first element *t-o* is the copula 'PV:far/even-be', *-r* is an imperfective suffix; the etymology of *-şi* and *-ni* is so far unknown; *-ni* is a characteristic ending of converbs. The suffixes *-şi* and *-ni* also occur in a front vowel environment, e.g. in the irrealis converb *-q'ə-şi-ni*, where they are consistently pronounced with /i/. In *-torşini*, however, the vowel /o/ of the copula affects the pronunciation of /i/. Different stages of vowel harmony are attested:

-torşini, -torşini, -torşını, -torşuni, -torşuni, -torşunu

In Azerbaijani words of Turkic origin, /k/ and /g/ occur only in front vowel environments, e.g. *keçi* 'goat', *kirpi* 'hedgehog', *göl* 'lake', *gis* 'felt', whereas /q/ and /ğ/ occur only in back vowel environments, e.g. *qız* 'girl', *qışlaq* 'winter pasture', *ağac* 'tree, wood', *sağ* 'healthy; right(hand side)', *uyğun* 'matching, concordant'. In Khinalug, however, there is originally no relation between these consonants and any specific vowel environment.

As has been mentioned in section 5.1.1.1, some verbs distinguish imperfective roots [consonant + /i/] from perfective roots [consonant + /u/]. These verbs form their transitive imperative singular in *-ə*. The verbal roots that consist of consonant + support vowel (realized as /i/ or, after labialized root consonants, as /u/) form their transitive imperative in *-a*. This distinction is also made in the light verbs:

IPFV: *q'iri*, PFV: *q'ui*, IMP: *q'ə* 'make become, cause'

IPFV: *ğiri*, PFV: *ğui*, IMP: *ğə* (unclear meaning)

However, especially for the younger speakers, it seems unnatural to pronounce /i/ and /ə/ after /q'/ and /ğ/. While the perfective root remains stable, the following assimilations occur in the imperfective and imperative forms:

IPFV: *q'iri*, IMP: *q'a* 'make become, cause'

IPFV: *ğiri*, IMP: *ğa* (unclear meaning)

5.2 Voicing and aspiration

Written Azerbaijani distinguishes voiced and unvoiced plosives and affricates. In spoken Azerbaijani, specifically in the Quba dialect, this distinction is rather realized as unvoiced unaspirated vs. unvoiced aspirated.

Khinalug originally distinguishes voiced, unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, and ejective consonants. However, speakers with a high exposure to the Quba dialect have started to unify voiced and unvoiced unaspirated plosives and affricates in their pronunciation. They usually prefer the voiced consonants as written form, even though their pronunciation is closer to the unvoiced unaspirated consonants.

6. Influence on Word Formation

6.1 Noun formation

The Azerbaijani noun formant *-lIK* (*-lik/-lük/-lıq/-luq* in Standard Azerbaijani, invariable *-luğ* in the Quba dialect) derives abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns, and *nomina loci* from nouns (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 52-53). Khinalug has borrowed several derived nouns in *-lIK* in both functions, e.g. *çatınlığ* ‘difficulty’ < *çatın* ‘difficult’, *qəbristanlığ* ‘a location that has a graveyard’ < *qəbristan* ‘graveyard’. The Azerbaijani suffix *-lIK* in its function as formant of locations is used also in combination with nouns of Khinalug origin:

inkə-luğ ‘grass.OBL-NMLZ.LOC’ ‘grass field’

maq'al-lığ ‘mud-NMLZ.LOC’ ‘muddy place’

vişə-lig ‘tree-NMLZ.LOC’ ‘area where trees grow, small forest’

Moreover, Azerbaijani forms compound nouns of the semantics ‘X and such, X and the like’ by reduplicating the noun, but exchanging the anlaut for *m-* (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 57), e.g. *salat-malat* ‘salad and such (kind of food)’, *əkin-məkin* ‘ploughing and such (kind of agricultural activities)’. Khinalug has adopted the same pattern for its native nouns as well as nouns borrowed from languages other than Azerbaijani, e.g.:

qafin-mafin ‘cheese and such (kind of food)’

k'uk'ul-muk'ul ‘wool for filling mattresses and such (kind of filling materials)’

nağıl-mağıl ‘horseshoes and such (kind of items)’ < Persian نعل *na'l* ‘horseshoe’ (Hayyim Vol. 2 1962: 1093) < Arabic نعل *na'l* ‘sandal, shoe, horseshoe’ (Wehr 1977: 871), cf. Azerbaijani *nal* ‘horseshoe’ (Musayev 1998: 430)

6.2 Adjective formation

The Azerbaijani superlative is formed in *ən* + adjective (Musayev 1998: 200). Khinalug has borrowed the particle *ən*, and combines it with its native adjectives:

ən ksan ‘the best’

ən çixi ‘the biggest’

Moreover, in order to express a high degree of a property, Azerbaijani applies a reduplication pattern where the first two phonemes, combined with one of the consonants /m/, /p/, /r/, or /s/, are reduplicated before the adjective, e.g. *yamyaşıl* ‘very green’ < *yaşıl* ‘green’, *qupquru* ‘very dry’ < *quru* ‘dry’, *tərtəmiz* ‘very clean’ < *təmiz* ‘clean’ (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 69). Khinalug has adopted this pattern for its native adjectives, e.g.

fam-fara ‘very hot’

xhıp-xhırıts' ‘very white’

mim-miç'ə ~ *mip-miç'ə* ‘very black’

6.3 Adverb formation

Azerbaijani has borrowed the Persian preposition *bə* < Persian *bə* 'to; for; in; on; with; by; according to' (Steingass 1892: 209) in its function as a junction (Philott 1919: 327). It occurs between reduplicated nouns to form adverbs of the type 'X by X, from X to X' (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 154)), e.g. *cürbəcür* 'sort by sort' *evbæv* 'from house to house'. In Khinalug, this pattern usually occurs with Azerbaijani loans, but is occasionally used with native words as well, e.g. in a description of weaving methods:

t'u-bə-t'u 'loop by loop'

6.4 Formation of indefinite pronouns

The formation of indefinite pronouns follows the Azerbaijani patterns. Assertive existential pronouns are formed by interrogative + conditional enclitic, as in Azerbaijani *kim-sə* 'who-COND' 'somebody', *nə-sə* 'what-COND' 'something' (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 91). However, the scope of interrogatives that participate in this structure is even larger than in Azerbaijani.

kla-q'i 'who-COND' 'somebody; whoever (absolute)'

kši-q'i 'who.OBL:ERG-COND' 'somebody; whoever (ergative)'

yaza-q'i 'what.PREDIC-COND' 'something; whatever (absolute)'

çinə-x-q'i 'what.OBL-AD-COND' 'towards something; towards whatever'

çina-q'i 'why-COND' 'for whatever reason'

tağa-q'i 'when-COND' 'whenever'

fel-q'i 'where-COND' 'wherever'

çim-q'i 'how-COND' 'in what ever way'

The negative pronouns are formed by the combination of *heç* and interrogative pronoun, as in Azerbaijani *heç kim* 'nobody', *heç nə* 'nothing' (Širalijev & Sevortjan 1971: 91-92). Also here, the scope of interrogatives that participate in this structure is much larger than in Azerbaijani.

heç kla 'NEG who' 'nobody'

heç kši 'NEG who.OBL:ERG' 'nobody (ergative)'

heççə (contracted < *heç nə*) 'NEG what'³⁵ 'nothing'

heç çinu 'NEG what.OBL:DAT' 'for nothing'

heç tağa 'NEG when' 'never'

heç fel 'NEG where' 'nowhere'

heç çim 'NEG how' 'in no way'

³⁵ In this form, both *heç* and *nə* 'what' are borrowed from Azerbaijani.

In Khinalug, the universal pronouns are formed by the combination of *hər* 'every' and interrogative pronoun.

hər kla 'every who' 'everybody'

hər k̄ši 'every who.OBL:ERG' 'everybody (ergative)'

hər ya 'every what' 'everything'

hər çinə-x 'every what.obl-ad' 'towards everything'

hər t̄aga 'every when' 'always'

hər t̄el 'every where' 'everywhere'

Here, Azerbaijani does not use interrogative pronouns at all, but nominal expressions, as in *hər kəs* < Persian کس *kas* 'man, person; one, anyone', *hər kas* 'everybody' (Steingass 1892: 1028), *hər şey* lit. 'every thing', *hər vaxt* lit. 'every time', *hər yerdə* lit. 'at every place' etc. (Širalijev & Severtjan 1971: 91).

6.5 Formation of ordinal numbers

Khinalug has native cardinal numbers from 1 to 999. The numbers 1-10 and 100-1000 follow the decimal system, whereas the numbers 20-90 follow a vigesimal system. Khinalug can form sociative numbers in *-sta* and partitive numbers in *-r*. However, there are no native means to form ordinal numbers. This is probably one reason, next to school education in mathematics, for many Khinalug speakers to prefer the use of Azerbaijani numbers in any function, including cardinal numbers. However, some of the community members who make efforts to avoid loanwords as much as possible, regularly combine the Azerbaijani ordinal suffix *-(l)nci* (Širalijev & Severtjan 1971: 71) with Khinalug cardinal numbers, resulting in forms like e.g.

pxhu-ncu 'five-ORD'

ink'-inci 'eight-ORD'

yəfəz-inci 'ten-ORD'

7. Influence on Morphology and Clause Structure

7.1 Azerbaijani influence on the expression of spatial relations

In typical Nakh-Dagestani languages, a wide range of spatial relations can be expressed by the case system. In Khinalug, however, the case system has decayed, and spatial relations are now predominantly expressed by preverbs (cf. section 5.1.1) and postpositions. The majority of postpositions are loaned from Azerbaijani.

7.1.1 Peculiarities of the Khinalug case system

Compared to other Nakh-Dagestanian languages, the case system of Khinalug is rather untypical. Normally, the case system is split into a monomorphemic, syntactic subsystem, and a bimorphemic spatial subsystem. As for the spatial cases, the first suffix designates a spatial area (such as ‘on’, ‘in front of’, ‘behind’, ‘in (solid matter)’, ‘in (hollow space)’), and the second suffix expresses the position at (essive), or the movement to (lative) or from (elative) this area. Khinalug shows only relics of such a spatial subsystem.

At nouns, Khinalug has six syntactic cases: absolutive, ergative, dative, possessive-locative in its syntactic function, inalienable and alienable genitive. Pronouns also mark a third, family-related genitive. The distinction between inalienable and alienable genitive is rare among the Nakh-Dagestanian languages. However, in Khinalug, this distinction is only realized at nouns ending in low vowel, including certain nouns with oblique stem forms ending in a low vowel (i.e. /a/ and /ə/), where the genitive in *-e* can occur. Nouns ending in a high vowel or in a consonant take the genitive suffix *-i* in any type of possessor-possessee relation (cf. Kibrik et al. 1972: 51 ff.). A specific genitive that marks items owned by the speaker and their family has been attested only for Khinalug (cf. Rind-Pawłowski, 2019: 242ff).

| Case | Morpheme |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Absolutive | -∅ |
| Ergative | -i |
| Dative | -u |
| Possessive-Locative in its grammatical function | -š |
| Inalienable (if applicable) or General genitive | -i |
| Alienable Genitive (if applicable) | -e |
| Family-related Genitive | <i>only at pronouns in plural</i> |

Table 5: Syntactic cases

The following Table shows the genitives that can be marked at pronouns:

| | 1PL.INCL | 1PL.EXCL | 2PL | 3PL.PROX | 3PL.DIST |
|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ABS | <i>kin</i> | <i>yir</i> | <i>zur</i> | <i>dur</i> | <i>hoz</i> |
| OBL | <i>kirə-</i> | <i>şirə-</i> | <i>sura-</i> | <i>ğoz-</i> | <i>hoz-</i> |
| GEN.INAL | <i>kiri</i> | <i>şiri</i> | <i>suri</i> | <i>ğoz-i</i> | <i>hoz-i</i> |
| GEN.AL | <i>kire</i> | <i>şire</i> | <i>sure</i> | <i>ğoz-i</i> | <i>hoz-i</i> |
| GEN.FAM | <i>kə</i> | <i>şə</i> | <i>soa</i> | <i>ğotur</i> | <i>hotur</i> |

Table 6: Absolutive, oblique, and genitive forms of pronouns

Regarding the spatial cases, the monomorphemic forms have united spatial area, essive and lative. Only relative relations are expressed by a bimorphemic construction. The only productive opposition is AD vs. non-AD. At most nouns, this opposition is realized as *-x* vs. *-r* (essive/lative relations) or *-x-illi* vs. *-lli* (relative relations). The inessive/illative is

homonymous with the absolute or, if applicable, the bare oblique stem. It has petrified with a few nouns, e.g. *ts'oa* 'house; in, into a house', *tsuq^xa* 'stabel; in, into a stable', *ç'a* 'fire; in, into fire'. The superessive/superlative in *-i* is homonymous with the ergative, the (inalienable) genitive and the instrumental (see below). Also this case has petrified with a few nouns, e.g. *cini* 'on, onto the world' < *cinə* 'world', *gis-i* 'on, onto the roof' < *gis* 'roof', *gılı* 'on, onto the neck' < *gılı* 'neck'. Both inessive/illative and superessive/superlative are also used with a number of toponyms. The elative in *-lli* is the morphologic counterpart of the unmarked inessive/illative, but has adopted a general meaning, so that it now serves as functional counterpart of *-r*.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----|---------------|---------|
| Essive/Lative | -r | Elative | |
| Inessive/Illative | -∅ | Inelative | -lli |
| Superessive/Superlative | -i | Superrelative | -i-lli |
| Adessive/Allative | -x | Adelative | -x-illi |

Table 7: Spatial cases

Khinalug has two subsets of non-spatial adverbial cases. One subset comprises instrumental, equative, and possessive-locative in its adverbial function. Here, monomorphemic forms are synonymous to bimorphemic forms in {case + *-lli*}, from which we can conclude that they started out as spatial cases and were later re-grammaticalized as adverbial cases. Another peculiarity is the functional split of the case that is usually denoted as possessive-locative. As a grammatical case, it marks the subject or agent governed by a verb in abilitative mood, the accidental finder governed by the verb *ç'ağiri* 'happen to find', the possessor in constructions with the copula *ç'i* 'be at hand, be available', and the recipient governed by the verb *lək'iri* 'TRANS.LEVEL-give' / *tək'iri* 'CIS.LEVEL-give', if their possession of this item is temporary (while long-term possession / transfer of ownership is expressed by a recipient in dative *-u*). In its adverbial function, this case is used for movement or self-movement to or from humans, when this implies the movement to or from their sphere of availability and influence, including abstract relations such as the addressee of the verbs 'say to sb.' and 'ask sb.'. Moreover, the possessive-locative marks partitive, the material something is made of, topics of conversation, triggers of emotions, and reasons. Only in these adverbial functions, monomorphemic *-ş* is synonymous to bimorphemic *-ş-illi*.

However, the synonymy of mono- and bimorphemic adverbial cases is in a process of change due to Azerbaijani influence. As the corpus shows, it is mainly the elderly speakers who use both cases synonymously, while younger speakers tend to follow the Azerbaijani pattern and use the bimorphemic variant whenever Azerbaijani would require the ablative.

| Case | <i>Simple form</i> | <i>Synonymous marked form</i> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Instrumental | <i>-i</i> | <i>-i-lli</i> |
| Equative | <i>-q'</i> | <i>-q'-illi</i> |
| Possessive-Locative in its adverbial function | <i>-ş</i> | <i>-ş-illi</i> |

Table 8: Adverbial non-spatial cases

The second set of adverbial cases comprises the comitative and the similitive. These consist of a productive case (-*ş*) or petrified case (-*n*) with a grammaticalized deverbal element.

| Case | Form |
|------------|-----------------------------------|
| Comitative | - <i>ş-kili</i> |
| Similitive | - <i>n- çini</i> ~ - <i>ççini</i> |

Table 9: Secondary adverbial cases

Some cases, like -*n* as component of the similitive, are attested only in relics. Further relics are

General essive/lative -*l*

e.g. in *hine-l* 'there' < DP.DIST-ESS/LAT, *miq'e-l* 'near' < *vicinity?-ESS/LAT, *muso-l* 'down' < *bottom-ESS/LAT

Subessive/sublative -*k'i*

e.g. in the toponym *kxhir-k'i* per lit. 'sacred place under the drops'

7.1.1.1 Some ideas on the process of case re-grammaticalization

It is not clear what triggered the decay of the Khinalug case system, and when it took place. It might have started out as an internal process, since several former case suffixes are now part of the preverb system. The highly complex preverb system of Khinalug with sequences of up to five preverbs is unique even among the Nakh-Dagestanian languages, where preverbs are a common feature. Even less could any of the neighboring Turkic or Iranian languages have caused the re-grammaticalization of cases as preverbs.

The following Table compares the cases and case relics and their functions as preverbs:

| Form | Case Function | Preverb Function |
|------------|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>x</i> | ADESS/ALLAT | to/away from the surface or a place nearby |
| <i>ş</i> | POSS.LOC | in/out of solid space (including water, woven tissue, groups of humans or animals) |
| <i>r</i> | ESS/LAT | in/out of hollow space |
| <i>k'i</i> | *SUBESS/SUBLAT | under/from under |
| <i>l</i> | *ESS/LAT | away from the speaker, on the same level (in <i>li-/la-</i>) towards the speaker (in <i>ta-l</i> 'same level', <i>qa-l</i> 'from below', <i>a-l</i> 'from above') |
| <i>n</i> | *? (component of the similitive) | Along |
| <i>q'</i> | EQU | - |
| <i>i</i> | SUPER/INSTR/ERG/GEN | - |

Table 10: Comparison between case and preverb functions



Khinalug village, view from Qırx Abdal Baba Pir

This overview shows that major parts of the characteristic Nakh-Dagestaian system of grammatically marked spatial areas has shifted from the case system to the preverb system. We can assume that the morphemes have maintained their original function in the preverb system, and have been re-analyzed in the case system. For example, *-ş* must have started out as a marker for ‘in solid space’, and was later re-analyzed in its rather abstract adverbial and syntactic

functions;³⁶ *-r* must have started out as marker for ‘in hollow space’, but gained a more general function when the general essive/lative *-l* shifted completely into the preverb system. The empty slot of the inessive/illative was then filled by an unmarked case, that may have started out as a genitive, which will be discussed below (in this section). The equative *-q*’ is the only consonantic case that was not adopted into the preverb system, so that we cannot conclude its previous function. Nowadays, it marks the object of comparison in structures like ‘more/higher/bigger etc. than X’. One expected slot in the case/preverb system has so far been unoccupied, i.e. ‘before/behind’ relations. Therefore, we may tentatively assume that *-q*’ can be assigned to a former PRE or POST function.

Another peculiarity of the Khinalug case is the co-existence of four homonymous cases in *-i*, i.e. ergative, (inalienable) genitive, instrumental, and superessive/superlative.

The superessive/superlative in *-i* behaves like a normal spacial case, i.e. it has a directional counterpart in superlative *-i-lli*. Its petrification gives rise to the hypothesis that, while disappearing from the list of productive spacial cases, the morpheme might have adopted different functions in other parts of the case system. Notably, the synonymity of the instrumental case *-i* with its bimorphemic variant *-i-lli* shows that it must have evolved from a spatial case. The superessive/superlative *-i* and the superlative *-i-lli* are the most probable origin of the instrumental. In fact, many tools used in Khinalug imply that an item is put *onto* the tool, e.g. sieves, colanders, weighing scales, socklasts, wool combs, shovels, pitchforks etc., which hints at a certain semantic vicinity. Activities like ‘weigh sth. on the scales’ may have been re-interpreted as ‘weigh sth. by means of the scales’. In a further step of restructuring, the instrumental in its simple form *-i* may have been the source for the ergative in *-i*. A cognate of *-i* as ergative case

³⁶ In Kryz, variant of Kryz village, the adessive case *-v* and the allative case *-vər* share a range of grammatical functions covered by *-ş* in Khinalug: *-v* marks the recipient in ‘give’ constructions, when a transfer of ownership is not implied (Hümmətov & Rind-Pawłowski 2020: 21-22) whereas *-vər* marks the subject or agent of a verb in abilitative form (Hümmətov & Rind-Pawłowski 2020: 217, 250, 292).

suffix does not occur in any other Nakh-Dagestanian language, which supports the hypothesis that it has evolved from a different case. Harris & Campbell (1995: 248 f.), in reference to Garret (1990), provide the evidence for the re-analysis of the instrumental as ergative case in the Gorokan subgroup of Eastern Highlands family of Papua New Guinea, Anatolian, and Hittite, stating that “the re-analysis of an instrumental in a null subject transitive appears to be a likely way for ergative alignment to gain a small foothold in a language.” Unfortunately, we have no hints that may help to reconstruct the original ergative suffix that was replaced by *-i*.

At the same time, the superessive/superlative may have been the source for the genitive. Khinalug does not have a verb ‘have’. This semantics is expressed by the structure ‘possessor’s possessee exists’. When the possessor belongs to the group of nouns that take the superessive, the sentence becomes morphologically ambiguous, as in the following example:

- (1) *Kəʦ-i* *məktəb* *tü-i-də-mə*
 Khinalug- school exist(IPFV)-PTCP-DP.PROX.II/III-DECL
 SUPERESS
 ‘In Khinalug, there is a school.’
- Khinalug-GEN school exist(IPFV)-PTCP-DP.PROX.II/III-DECL
 ‘Khinalug has a school.’

Basically, both morphologic interpretations transmit the same information. Such overlaps may have enabled the re-analysis of the superessive as genitive.

The idea that the genitive in *-i* has evolved rather recently, is supported by the forms of the family-related genitive. Normally, a case-marked pronoun should have more components than an unmarked pronoun. Moreover, when the pronoun has an oblique stem, we would expect a case suffix to attach to it. As shown in Table 6 in section 7.1.1, this is not the case for the GEN.FAM forms of 1PL and 2PL. When we compare 1PL.INCL *kin* and its oblique stem *kirə* to GEN.FAM *kə*, 1PL.EXCL *yir* and its oblique stem *şirə* to *şə*, and 2PL *zur* and its oblique stem *sura* to GEN.FAM *soa*, the GEN.FAM forms rather look like the roots from which the oblique stems have been derived. Notably, bare oblique stems at positions where a genitive would be expected occur (even though rarely) also with a few nouns, e.g. *k’ura qırağ-ır* ‘road.OBL edge-ESS/LAT’ ‘beside the road’. Moreover, the GEN.FAM form of the proximal demonstrative hints at an ancient unmarked genitive. In Khinalug, the proximal demonstrative is also used as a nominalizer. In this function, it attaches to attributable parts of speech, e.g. adjectives: *inq^xer* ‘old’ > *inq^xer-dur* [old-NMLZ.HPL] ‘the old (people)’, or nouns in genitive form, e.g. *lıgıld-i* ‘man-GEN’ > *lıgıld-i-də* [man-GEN-NMLZ.II/III] ‘the man’s one’. As mentioned in section 7.1.1, the genitive-marked nouns that the nominalizer attaches to, distinguish alienable from inalienable genitive only when they end in low vowel, but take a general genitive suffix *-i*, when they end in high vowel or consonant. Also the GEN.FAM form of the proximal demonstrative can serve as a nominalizer, and attach to nouns in genitive. However here, the rules are different, and assumably more ancient: nouns ending in a low vowel take the regular inalienable genitive *-e* (*Fatma* > *Fatme*), but nouns ending in high vowel or consonant remain unmarked (*Əhməd* > *Əhməd*):

- (2) *Fatme-ğoŭur* *ts'oa*
 Fatma:GEN.AL-GEN.FAM house
 'the house that belongs to Fatma and her family'
- (3) *Əhməd-ğoŭur* *ts'oa*
 Ahmad-GEN.FAM house
 'the house that belongs to Ahmad and his family'

The opposite development, i.e. the re-analysis of spatial cases as genitive, has taken place in the neighboring language Budugh. Here, the inessive has adopted the functions of the inalienable genitive, whereas the adessive has been re-analyzed as alienable genitive (Authier 2003: 177 ff).³⁷

From the investigated material, we can tentatively reconstruct the Khinalug original case system as follows:

| Case | Morpheme |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Absolutive | -∅ |
| Ergative | ? |
| Dative | -u |
| Inalienable Genitive | -∅ (bare oblique stem, if applicable) |
| Alienable Genitive | -e |
| ESS/LAT | -l |
| AD | -x |
| IN (solid matter) | -s |
| IN (hollow space) | -r |
| SUPER | -i |
| SUB | -k'i |
| ALONG | -n |
| PRE/POST? | -q' |
| ELAT | -lli |

Table 11: Reconstructon of the Khinalug case system

7.1.2 Postpositions

The decay of the Khinalug case system decreased the range of grammatical means for the expression of spatial relations. The expansion of the preverbal field by re-analyzed case suffixes may have allowed a refinement of spatial expressions in specific verbal contexts. Still, the lack of

³⁷ "Inlocative" and "adlocative" in the terminology of Authier 2003.

spatial accuracy in the nominal system called for a new strategy to compensate for this loss. Until then, we may assume that Khinalug had only few postpositions. Still today, the primary native Khinalug postpositions express non-spatial relations:

ginəgi 'like, as'

çimi 'for; because of'

q'idan 'as much as, up to'

totux 'after (temporally)'

Moreover, three nouns have developed secondary functions as postpositions:

k'ix 'lower back' > 'behind'; *k'ix-illi* 'from behind'

cağ 'back' > 'after, in pursuit of' (also *cağ-i* 'rear-SUPERESS/SUPERLAT')

gus 'top' > 'on'; *gus-illi* from above

Also the perfective participle of the verb 'see' and its relative marked variant serve as postposition:

zağ-i ~ *zağ-i-lli* 'for the sake of, because of, for'

Two postpositions are borrowed from Lezgian languages:

Lezgian *qval* 'side of the body, side' (Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 323)

> Khinalug *kol* 'side' > *kol-i* 'side-SUPER' > 'near, at; with (a person)'³⁸

Lezgian *k'an-ik* 'bottom-SUB' (Haspelmath 1993: 219)

> Khinalug *k'anık* 'under'

The majority of postpositions is borrowed from Azerbaijani. For the expression of spatial relations, Azerbaijani makes use of possessive and case marked auxiliary nouns. 'Position' is expressed by locative, 'movement towards' by dative, and 'movement away from' by ablative (Musayev 1998: 267), e.g.

iç-in-də inside-POSS.3-LOC 'in'

iç-in-ə inside-POSS.3-DAT 'into'

iç-in-dən inside-POSS.3-ABL 'from inside'

Khinalug distinguishes essive/lative *-r* and relative *-lli*:

³⁸ Lezgi forms the postposition *qvala-v* 'next to' with the adessive case attaching to the oblique stem of *qval* (Haspelmath 1993: 74). Kryz has variation between *q'an-ik* '(position) under' *q'an-ki-n* '(movement) under' and *q'an-ki-r* '(movement) from under' (Hümmətov & Rind-Pawłowski 2020: 25).

iç-ir 'in, into'; *iç-illi* 'from inside' < Azerbaijani *iç* 'inside, interior' (Musayev 1998: 267)

üst-ür 'on, onto'; *üstü-llü* 'from the top of' < Azerbaijani *üst* 'top; surface; upper' (Musayev 1998: 577)

qabağ-ır 'in, to the front of'; *qabağ-illi* 'from the front of' < Azerbaijani *qabaq* 'front; ago, before' (Musayev 1998: 330)

dib-ir 'at /to the bottom of'; *dib-illi* 'from the bottom of' < Azerbaijani *dib* 'bottom' (Musayev 1998: 151)

ara-r 'between', *ara-lli* 'from between' < Azerbaijani *ara* 'distance, interval, space' (Musayev 1998: 25)

Two Azerbaijani postpositions are marked with the petrified directive case *-Inca*, i.e. *dal-inca* 'after, behind, for' (Musayev 1998: 132) < *dal* 'back' (Musayev 1998: 131) and *boy-unca* 'along' (Musayev 1998: 87) < *boy* 'length; figure, stature' (Musayev 1998: 85-86). At *dal*, Khinalug may reproduce the directive meaning by using the adessive/allative case *-x*, or relative *-lli*, or unify the form with the other spatial postpositions of Azerbaijani origin in *-r*. At *boy*, only the relative is attested.

dal-ix ~ *dal-illi* ~ *dal-ır* 'after, in pursuit of'

boy-ullu 'along'

Khinalug has also borrowed postpositions with temporal or abstract meaning. Except for

Khinalug *haqq-ır* 'about' < Azerbaijani *haqq-in-da* (Musayev 1998: 241) < Persian حق *ḥaqq*, *ḥaq* 'justness, truth; justice, rectitude; law; right, title, privilege; duty, obligation; behalf, benefit' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 425),

these consist of a simple stem without case suffix, and are maintained in their original form:

qabağ 'before (temporally)' < Azerbaijani *qabaq* 'front; ago, before' (Musayev 1998: 330)

aid 'ascribed to, concerning' < Azerbaijani *aid* (Musayev 1998: 14) < Persian عائد *'ā'id* 'who or what returns, refers to, turns towards, belongs, relates to, or is connected with; reverting; relative' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 832)

asılı 'depending on' < Azerbaijani *asılı* (Musayev 1998: 32)

başqa 'except, other than' < Azerbaijani *başqa* (Musayev 1998: 57)

ələvə 'in addition to' < Azerbaijani *ələvə* (Musayev 1998: 194-195) < Persian علاوة *'alāwat*, *'alāwa* 'redundancy, superabundance; excess; a super-addition; over and above, moreover, besides' < Arabic (Steingass 1892: 862)

əvəz 'instead of' < Azerbaijani *əvəz* (Musayev 1998: 206) < Persian عوض *'iwəz* 'equivalent, compensation, requital; a substitute, amends, return' (Steingass 1892: 873)

qarşı 'against' < Azerbaijani *qarşı* (Musayev 1998: 346)

uyğun 'corresponding to' < Azerbaijani *uyğun* (Musayev 1998: 570)

Besides, the usage of the verb ‘see’ as basis for postpositions in the sense of ‘having considered, according to, for the sake of, for, because of, owing to’ seems to be a widespread areal feature. As mentioned above, Khinalug makes use of the bare or relative marked participle of ‘see’, *zaği* or *zağilli* for this purpose (where the participle fulfils its secondary function as a converb of manner). Also Lezgian forms a postposition of this semantics on the basis of ‘see’, *kiligna*, i.e. the aorist converb of *kiligun* ‘look’ (Haspelmath 1993:224, Kərimova & Məlikməmmədov 2015: 264). Azerbaijani has the equivalent *görə* ‘according to; thanks to, owing to’ (Musayev 1998: 232), which consists of the verb stem *gör-* ‘see’ + converb *-A*. Khinalug has borrowed this Azerbaijani form, and uses it as a synonym of *zaği ~ zağilli*. The borrowing must have taken place rather recently, since an assimilated variant **gura* is not attested.

The postposition *uxşaş* ‘similar to’ is of Turkic origin, but not Azerbaijani, which has *oxşar*, composed of *oxşa-* ‘to resemble’ and the aorist suffix *-r*. A cognate of *oxşa-* with suffix *-ş* is typical for Kipchak languages, and the closest form is attested in Tatar *oxşaş* (Golovkina 1966: 415). Kumyk has *oşaşlı* with additional adjectivizer (Bammatov 1969: 248). Nogaj is one of the Kipchak languages that has undergone the shift /ş/ > /s/, so that the corresponding form is *usas* (Baskakov 1963: 384). Since direct borrowing from Tatar is rather unlikely, we can assume that some older Caucasian Kipchak variant was the donor language.

7.2 Evidentiality

Azerbaijani makes use of the copula *imiş* (cliticized as *=(I)mIş*) to express non-first-hand information (Şiralijev & Sevortjan 1971: 179). This copula goes back to an ancient indirective verb form *är-miş* (Erdal 2004: 273), where the verb *är-* ‘be’ in its perfective participle form already had the same function as *imiş* in current Azerbaijani.

According to this pattern, Khinalug has developed the evidential marker *q’-i-miş*, i.e. the perfective participle of *q’-* ‘be’ in combination with the Azerbaijani copula (Kibrik et al. 1972: 187 f.). The element *q’imiş* is attached to any type of predicate and replaces the sentence type marker.³⁹ In the following example, it follows a nominal predicate:

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (4) | <i>türme</i> | <i>çixı-du-m</i> | <i>türkmən</i> | <i>ts’u</i> | <i>fü-i-yə</i> | | |
| | prison:GEN.AL | big-NMLZ.I- FOC | Turkman | Name | be(IPFV)-PTCP-COORD | | |
| | <i>sa</i> | <i>əzazil</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>yava</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>hədmi</i> | <i>q’-i-miş.</i> |
| | one | brutal | one | evil | One | Person | be.PFV-PTCP-EVID |

‘The chief of the prison was a brutal, evil person named Turkman, they say’.

In the next example, *q’imiş* follows a verb:

³⁹ Khinalug has three cliticized sentence type markers: *=mə* declarative, *=ma* exclamative, and *=u* interrogative.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (5) | <i>hə</i> | <i>pşi</i> | <i>dəhşət</i> | <i>sürətli</i> | <i>ıldırım</i> |
| | DP.DIST.3 | horse | Extremely | Fast | lightning |
| | <i>sürət-i-lli</i> | <i>k'atko-ar</i> | <i>q'i-miş</i> | | |
| | speed-INSTR-ELAT | go-HABIT | be.PFV-EVID | | |
| | 'That horse would go extremely fast, at the speed of lightning, they say.' | | | | |

7.3 Conjunctions

Khinalug is not very rich in native coordinators and conjunctions. It has only one native coordinative enclitic =*yə* which fulfills two functions:

- a) It coordinates parts of speech of the same kind within a phrase
- b) It coordinates clauses; here, it attaches to the verbal predicate of the first clause in participle form, whereas the verbal predicate of the final clause carries the TAM markers

For the expression of all other types of phrase or clause coordination, Khinalug has borrowed conjunctions of Azerbaijani (/Persian/Arabic) origin. Adversative coordination is expressed by

amma 'but' < Azerbaijani *amma* 'but, however' (Musayev 1998: 22) or < Persian or < Arabic *amma* 'but, moreover, however, nevertheless, notwithstanding' (Steingass 1892: 97).

Disjunctive coordination can be formed by a range of conjunctions:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>ya</i> | < Azerbaijani <i>ya</i> 'or' (Musayev 1998: 592) or < Persian <i>ya</i> 'or; unless; either' (Steingass 1892: 1523) |
| <i>ya da</i> | a combination of <i>ya</i> 'or' and the Azerbaijani focus particle <i>da</i> |
| <i>və ya</i> | < Azerbaijani <i>və ya</i> 'or' (Musayev 1998:585) < Persian <i>wa-yā</i> 'or' (Steingass 1892:1422), a combination of <i>və</i> 'and' < Persian < Arabic <i>wa</i> (Steingass 1892:1422) and Persian <i>ya</i> 'or' |
| <i>yaxud</i> | < Azerbaijani <i>yaxud</i> 'or' (Musayev 1998: 595) < Persian <i>yā-kh̄wud</i> 'or' (Steingass 1892: 1524), composed of <i>ya</i> 'or' and <i>xud</i> < Persian <i>kh̄wud</i> , <i>kh̄wad</i> 'self' (Steingass 1892: 482) |
| <i>və yaxud</i> | < Azerbaijani <i>və yaxud</i> (Musayev 1998: 585), a combination of <i>və</i> 'and' and <i>yaxud</i> 'or' |
| <i>yaxut-êa</i> | a combination of <i>yaxud</i> and the Azerbaijani focus particle <i>da</i> |
| <i>və yaxut-êa</i> | a combination of <i>və ya</i> and <i>yaxud</i> and the Azerbaijani focus particle <i>da</i> |
| <i>yoxsa</i> | < Azerbaijani <i>yoxsa</i> 'otherwise, or (else)' (Musayev 1998:615), i.e. <i>yox</i> 'no, not' + conditional clitic = <i>sa</i> |
| <i>yoxsa da</i> | a combination of <i>yoxsa</i> 'or' and the Azerbaijani focus particle <i>da</i> |

Moreover, Khinalug has borrowed some correlative conjunctions:

həm...həm, var. *həm...həm də* 'both (X) as well as (Y)', where the second component can be emphasized by the Azerbaijani focus particle *da* < Azerbaijani *həm... həm (də)* (Musayev 1998: 247) < Persian *ham... ham* (Lazard 1992: 207)

ya...ya, var. *ya...ya da* 'either (X) or (Y)', where the second component can be emphasized by the Azerbaijani focus particle *dA* < Azerbaijani *ya...ya* (Musayev 1998: 592) < Persian یا یا *yā... yā* (Lazard 1992: 207)

nə...nə ~ *nə...nə də* 'neither (X) nor (Y)', where the second component can be emphasized by the Azerbaijani focus particle *dA* < Azerbaijani *nə...nə (də)* < Persian نه نه *na... na* (Lazard 1992: 207)



Khinalug village in winter

For the connection of subordinate complement clauses, Khinalug may use the particle *ki* (cf. Azerbaijani *ki* (Musayev 1998: 309) < Persian کي *ki* (Lazard 1992: 218 ff.)), next to its native Caucasian structures. The borrowing path of *ki* cannot be reconstructed, since it has spread to neighboring languages of Khinalug as well, and may have been borrowed from them. The particle is attested in several languages of at least four families: Turkic, Kartvelian, Nakh-Dagestanian, and Dravidian (Haig 2001: 200 ff).

7.4 Converbs

In Azerbaijani as well as in Khinalug, adverbial clauses are formed by means of simple or complex converbs. In Azerbaijani, the latter consist of a verbal noun or infinitive and a postposition, which governs a specific case.

| Arabic phoneme | | Khinalug form, if borrowed from Arabic | | Azerbaijani/Persian form, and Khinalug form if borrowed from these | |
|----------------|-------------------|--|------|--|---------------|
| Transcription | IPA | Transcription | IPA | Transcription | IPA |
| /ğh/ | [ɣ] | /ğ/ | [ɣ] | /q/ (anlaut) | [g], [ɟ], [q] |
| | | | | /ğ/ (other) | [ɣ] |
| /h/ | [ħ] | /h/ | [ħ] | /h/ | [h] |
| /q/ | [q ^h] | /q'/ | [q'] | /q/ | [g], [ɟ], [q] |
| /t/ | [t ^s] | /t'/ | [t'] | /t/ | [t] |
| /z/ | [d ^s] | /d/ | [d] | /z/ | [z] |
| /'/ | [ʔ] | /ʕ/ | [ʕ] | /'/ or ∅ | [ʔ] or ∅ |

Table 12: Realization of Arabic phonemes



A typical Khinalug house, made of river stones

The similarities between the phoneme inventories of Persian and Azerbaijani make it nearly impossible to reconstruct a borrowing path from the one or the other language. Only in cases of semantic shifts, or untypical phonetic variation, there may be hints towards either Persian or Azerbaijani as the donor language of a certain loanword.

The influence of Azerbaijani has affected major parts of the Khinalug grammar. More and more speakers apply the rules of Turkic vowel harmony on Khinalug suffixes. A number of derivational affixes of Azerbaijani (often < Persian) origin are used at Khinalug stems. The functional gaps that opened up when the spatial case system of Khinalug collapsed, were filled by Azerbaijani postpositions. Moreover, Khinalug has copied the Azerbaijani evidential copula *imiş* in the corresponding

form *q'imış*, and the converb *-mA-mış-dAn öncə ~ əvvəl ~ qabaq* 'before' in the corresponding form *-ində-sə-q'(-illi) qabağ* by reproducing the negative perfective participle. The Khinalug syntax is affected by borrowed conjunctions of Azerbaijani (often < Persian) origin.

Within this article, however, many facets of the Azerbaijani influence could not be addressed. Further investigations may reveal the percentages of loans in relation to the semantic domains, or provide information on the socio-linguistic circumstances that may trigger the replacement of

certain Khinalug words by borrowings, while other words remain stable. Also the semantic or functional split between certain native and borrowed words that originally have the same meaning could not be addressed here. Last but not least, the question how Khinalug deals with Azerbaijani idioms, which ones are borrowed in Azerbaijani language and which ones are translated into Khinalug, remains as a desideratum of research.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|---|
| ABS | absolutive |
| ABST.N | abstract noun formant |
| AD | marker for a position at, movement to/from near |
| ADESS | adessive |
| ALLAT | allative |
| CIS | cislocative |
| CL | nominal class |
| COMP | comparative |
| COND | conditional |
| COORD | coordinative clitic |
| DIST | distal |
| ELAT | elative |
| EQU | equative |
| ESS | essive |
| EVID | evidential: non-witnessed information |
| EXCL | exclusive |
| FOC | focus |
| GEN | unspecific genitive |
| GEN.AL | alienable genitive |
| GEN.FAM | family-related genitive |

| | |
|----------|--|
| GEN.INAL | inalienable genitive |
| HABIT | habitual |
| HPL | human plural |
| IN | marker for position at, movement to/from inside |
| IMP | imperative |
| INCL | inclusive |
| INSTR | instrumental |
| IPFV | imperfective |
| LAT | lative |
| LEVEL | on the same level |
| LV | light verb |
| NEG | negative particle |
| NEG.PTCP | negative participle |
| NHPL | non-human plural |
| NMLZ | nominalizer |
| NMLZ.LOC | nominalizer that derives nouns of location |
| OBL | oblique stem |
| ORD | ordinal number |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| POSS.LOC | possessive-locative |
| POST | marker for position at, movement to/from back |
| PRE | marker for position at, movement to/from front |
| PROX | proximative |
| PTCP | participle |
| PV | preverb |
| SG | singular |
| SUB | marker for a position at, movement to/from under |
| SUBESS | subessive |
| SUBLAT | sublative |
| SUPER | marker for position at, movement to/from top |
| SUPERESS | superessive |
| SUPERLAT | superlative |
| SUPP | suppletive stem |
| TAM | tense/aspect/mood |
| TRANS | translocative |