

KRYZ PEOPLE, THEIR LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

KRIZ HALKI, DİLİ VE LEHÇELERİ

Abstract: Kryz is a small language made of four to five distinct dialects. It belongs to the Lezgi branch of the East Caucasian family, and shows typical features thereof. Its speakers originate from the highlands to the East of Mount Shahdag in the region of Quba in Northern Azerbaijan, where their subsistence is mainly based on cattle breeding. Their ancestral culture, reflected in basic vocabulary and original folklore, has been shifting towards common Azerbaijani mainstream with the relocation of most families in the plain, and their unwritten language has now become severely endangered.

Keywords: Azerbaijan, Kryz, East Caucasian languages, Nakh-Daghestanian languages, Quba region, Ismaili region

Öz: Krız, dört ila beş lehçeden oluşan küçük bir dildir. Doğu Kafkas ailesinin Lezgi koluna aittir ve bu ailenin tipik özelliklerini taşır. Bu dili konuşan kişiler, Kuzey Azerbaycan'ın Kuba (Quba) bölgesinde Şahdağ'ın doğusundaki dağlık bölgelerden gelmektedir ve geçimleri büyük ölçüde sığır yetiştiriciliğine dayanmaktadır. Temel kelime dağarcıklarına ve özgün folklorla yansıyan atalar kültürü, çoğu ailenin ovaya taşınmasıyla ortak Azerbaycan ana akımına doğru kaymış ve yazısız dilleri artık ciddi şekilde tehlike altına girmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Azerbaycan, Krız, Doğu Kafkas dilleri, Nah-Dağıstan dilleri, Kuba bölgesi,

1. Introduction

Of the six villages located in the upper valley of the Kudyal-Chay at the confluence of the Agh-Chay, in the northeastern part of the Republic of Azerbaijan (Quba district) at an altitude of about 1,900 meters, between the peaks of Babadagh (3,630m) and Shahdagh (4,240m), one village (Qala Xudat) is Azeri speaking, and the last one (Khinaliq) has its own language usually spelled Khinalug. The four other villages (Kryz, today mostly relocated in Kryz-Dahna, Djek, Alik and Haput), speak dialects of the same language, traditionally and hereafter called 'Kryz' for convenience, after the name of the first one encounters on the old road from Susay. In addition to these four Kryz-speaking villages located in the mountain, a colony of Kryz speakers originating from the village of Haput has relocated in the 19th century in the villages of Hacı Hatamli and Molla İsaqlı in the region of Ismaili. Nowadays, the dialect spoken near Ismaili is no longer close to the current dialect of Haput, because the former evolved in its own way while the latter has heavily converged with the dialect of Alik. It is thus justified to identify a fifth dialect hereafter called 'İsmaili Kryz', which is both conservative and divergent.

¹ Ecole Pratique de Hautes Etudes, Paris, France. ORCID : 0000-0002-2691-1166

As a continuum of dialects, Kryz is nowadays spoken by probably no more than two or three thousand people including most of the families resettled in the plains east of Quba, near Khachmaz and in the Ismaili region. The transition of the younger generations to the national language (Azeri) is ongoing very fast in the villages of the plain, where children are educated and live in contact with Azeris; the language is better maintained and evolves more slowly in the mountains, but these villages become more depleted every year, and the chances for survival of the language are scarce. The inhabitants, once relocated in the outskirts of Quba, stop speaking Kryz with their children. The Ismaili dialect might actually survive longer, due to its compact and homogeneous population.

Much remains to be done on Kryz dialects in terms of documentation, in order to better understand their divergence and history.

2. The Study of the Kryz Language

The three brief pages that Dirr (1928) devotes to the dialect of Djek do not contribute much to the knowledge of the language. The Kryz dialect as spoken in the villages of the plain, on the other hand, provided the basis of Shamseddin Saadiev's documentation for his unpublished thesis, defended in Tbilisi in 1972. This pioneering work provides abundant comparisons between the data from the various dialects. A linguist trained in part by the Georgian School of Caucasology, Saadiev, who died in 1991, was of Lezgi 'nationality'. He was born in the winterage of Kimil, Khachmaz district (Kimil is a Lezgi village below Kryz-Dahna, i.e. at the southern limit of the Lezgian-speaking area). Among the texts provided by Saadiev, some, like those provided by Veli Khidirov, who meanwhile became a professor at Baku Slavic University and was himself the author of articles on the languages of the region, have a mixed idiolect, which undoubtedly reflects a syncretism born on the plain. Saadiev's notation is phonetic, and this has some advantages. However, his perception of morphology, especially verbal morphology, is seriously affected, and syntax is non-existent in his work.

The lexical data published by A. E. Kibrik and S. V. Kodzasov in their *Comparative Study of Daghestanian Languages* (1988-1990) are from the Kryz dialect, and are quite reliable.

The main contribution to the study of Kryz grammar is by far Authier (2009), based on the Alik dialect, as well as other articles by the same author, as well as a recent grammatical sketch of the Ismaili dialect (Authier, to appear).

A dictionary of proper Kryz published by Hümmevov and Rind-Pawlowski in 2019, with a grammar sketch in Azerbaijani, offers reliable and very valuable data, although the transcription is idiosyncratic and difficult for speakers to learn.

3. Literacy

Although a transcription system based on the current Azerbaijani alphabet was devised more than twenty years ago by the author of this article in collaboration with a teacher of the Alik village school, native speakers do not write in their language and use only Azerbaijani for official purposes. However, social media witnesses many attempts at using a loose Azerbaijani-based transcription, especially by speakers from the Ismaili dialect. The chart below presents the current system of transcription suggested for consonants not present in the Azerbaijani system.

	labial	dental / palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
ejectives	p'	t', ts', ç'	k'	q'	ʔ or '
fricatives			gh ; xh		ʕ or ''
aspirates				qh	

The unaspirated uvular stop (Azerbaijani q) is used by native speakers word initially but replaced by its Kryz allophone ğ in scientific writing. Likewise, historical diphthongs (au, eu, iu) are written as o, ö, ü by natives. Labialised velars and uvulars are noted by v.

The following text (an adapted Molla Nasreddin anecdote) exemplifies the system, with special graphemes in bold:

*malla umayğar **xhiyi** kum sad ʕayara cigayamiş. sunci **ghirra** yayci yiğina şaharci hakim uğ aylaczina lu kuma çeremiş. lu xabar **ixhaci** malla xayla narahat şere. sad hafta yarç'are. mallaz **ixhareki**, hakim kumaşar lasilca. malla an bigila **yixhaci** xabar ğaneki, kuma va yiğri şitaşar yaç'ci. hakimcir lireki, lap ʕayara, zaz hala nimara kef ip**qhv**adeb. zin kuma **yixhi** sifta yiğ kumuğ **ts'a** vapci kum yaru **ugvadu**. camaşatcir sab hayharay ʕaşacuniki! zin **qhur** varickar **riq'areni**. sar şibur adamiyan **ugvacib**. la **qhatasi** sel ʕaxhurdu. selcir camaşatci **k'ulibi** vağaci tuğayc. uckaran ʕayara lazat ğayniczin. çixaşana yiğ sunci ğuduza **xvarar** adamiyar yip**qh**ircib. la çixaşana yiğ sar furi gija **xhiyci** sar **rixhir** adami **q'aycib**. axir yiğina sad ğaziya **xhiyci**, zinan lazzat ğayniczin. hiç **ats'ara** **xhidadzazki**, lu sad hafta şi vaxt ʕaxhrini. mallar ibur kiyçi lireki: - şi **ghala** ki, kuma sadca hafta ğat'ilidvun, xayla ğat'ilnanivun kuma dahar - daharci ʕadiğ inkandadni.*

Note that this practical system is also sufficient for the transcription of Budugh and Lezgian in Latin script.

4. Linguistic Type

The phonology of Kryz is consonant-rich and typical of the Caucasus, with a series of glottalized stops, and a secondary opposition of labialization on most of the numerous postpalatal consonants. It is an agglutinative language, with a clear distinction between nouns and verbs, with ergative alignment of the case marking of arguments. The unmarked order of constituents is intransitive Subject or Agent (-Patient)-Verb.

The parts of speech are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, a few enclitic particles and synthetic verbs, a closed set of two hundred elements, transitive or intransitive, in addition to copulas, essential to non-verbal predicates. The renewal of the verbal lexicon is done by constructions with an Azeri participle and a light verb, which is an areal phenomenon.

Syntactic relations are marked on nominals by a transparent and invariant suffixed case flexion (22 cases, including 18 spatial and adverbial cases) and specified by the postposition of adverbs or locative nominal heads; they are also marked on the verbs, which have for the most part a preverb of spatial meaning and an ergative agreement marking according to four genders with S (intransitive Subject, Only argument or Stimulus of perception verb) or P (patient of transitive verb). Affective verbs have their experiencer in the dative case.

Verbs do not have a personal conjugation - except in the imperative - but are characterized by the indexation of the gender of the prime actant (S or P). The TAM forms are less numerous than in some close languages and for the most part synthetic, with a particular importance of the basic binary aspectual opposition, marked as close as possible to the root. Kryz has also

borrowed from Azeri the evidential clitic *-miş*.² An analytic construction with ‘do’ applies to intransitive verbs (‘causative’ voice) and a partially synthetic derivation allows to reduce the valence of transitive verbs (‘medio-passive’ voice).

Finally, all Kryz dialects preserve the distinction between first person plural inclusive vs exclusive pronouns, with interesting micro-variations.

The following two sentences taken from the text above show some salient typical features of Kryz, namely

- attributive conversion, oblique stems, pervasive gender agreement, including on numerals, ergative case marking and gender indexing of objects in the first one, and
- dative subject for perception verbs, enclitic chains as well as special interrogative verb forms in the second one :

<i>çixaſan-a</i>	<i>yiğ</i>	<i>sunci</i>	<i>ğuduz-a</i>	<i>xvar-a-r</i>
after-ATTR	day	one.OBL	mad-ATTR	dog-OBL-ERG
<i>adami-yar</i>	<i>yipqhir-cib.</i>			
person-PL	HPL.catch.PF-AOR.HPL			

‘The next day a mad dog bit people.’

<i>hiç</i>	<i>ats'ar-a</i>	<i>xhi-da-d=za-z=ki,</i>		
at_all	know-ADJ	be.PF-NEG(AOR)-N=1SG.OBL-DAT=THAT		
<i>lu</i>	<i>sa-d</i>	<i>hafta</i>	<i>şivaxt</i>	<i>ſaxhr-i-m-ni.</i>
this	one-N	week(N)	when	come.PF-INTERR-Q-PST

‘I did not realize when this one week had passed.’

(Nontrivial grammatical abbreviations : AOR ‘aorist tense’, ATTR ‘attribute’; ERG ‘ergative case’; HPL ‘human plural’; N ‘neuter gender’; OBL ‘oblique stem’; PF ‘perfective aspect’ ; PST ‘past tense’)

5. Phylogenetic Position

The Kryz language is one of ten Lezgian languages, a branch of the East Caucasian (aka Nakh-Daghestanian) language family, which is made up of a central group and two satellites to the north and south (Archi and Udi). Within the central Lezgian languages, Kryz constitutes with Budugh the Southern subbranch. This southern branch is distinct from both the eastern branch (various dialects of Aghul, Lezgian, and Tabasaran) and the western branch (various dialects of Tsakhur and Rutul).

Kryz and Budugh are both conservative in their morphology and innovative in their phonology and syntax. Like the western branch of the central Lezgian group (made up of Rutul and Tsakhur), they retain the inherited radical marking of aspect on verbs, and genders. They also have morphological valence change processes (passive and causative), which are less common in other Lezgian languages, and probably reflect recent Turkic influence. Affinities with the Eastern group (Lezgian, Agul, and Tabasaran) are less obvious.

Within Kryz, the passive seems to be an innovation or retention of the more central dialect, that of Alik, as it seems hardly attested in the other dialects. The two geographically peripheral dialects (Ismaili and Kryz) retain prefixed forms for the negative aorist, while the central

² For the Azeri influence on Kryz grammar, see Authier 2010

dialects (Djek, Alik and Haput) have replaced it with a suffixed form. The case system is simplified in Ismaili Kryz. Lative forms have developed non-spatial uses in Alik. Western dialects (Alik, Haput and Ismaili) have a superessive suffix which was lost in Djek and proper Kryz.

The Haput dialect is nowadays very close to the dialect of Alik, because of recent convergence. However, due to its geographical position, it retains some archaisms: adjectives agree in gender with the head noun, showing markers cognate with those found in Tsakhur or Southern Rutul. Some imperfective verb stems that are invariable in other dialects still have gender prefixes in Haput. However, although oral traditions relate the inhabitants of Hacıhatamli and Mollaisaqli to Haput, there is hardly any common innovation to genetically unite the dialect of Haput and that of Ismaili. Ismaili Kryz, like Haput, also preserves gender agreement on attributive adjectives, as well as prefixed negation on aorist, like 'proper Kryz'. But it has developed its own set of specialized converbs, and the case system is impoverished.

The Kryz dialects have yet to be studied contrastively and their further investigation is a priority in order to reconstruct their and Budugh's common ancestor.

6. Geographical Context

For a long time, the upper Quba region was the most isolated area in Azerbaijan, until a track was forced through with dynamite at the end of the Soviet period; bridges over the rivers have been added recently; but the links with the Quba plain, below a dense forest barrier, are old, and several settlements are found there, especially in the Khachmaz district³. The Kryz were also linked to the Qonaqkend district, which is a Tat-speaking area, via the ancient trail that passes through Budugh and ends at Khinalugh. Various transhumance routes connect these valleys to the south of the range, as far as Ali Bayramli on the Kura, through the districts of Shamakhi, Göyçay, and Ismaili. There is no Kryz emigration from Azerbaijan.

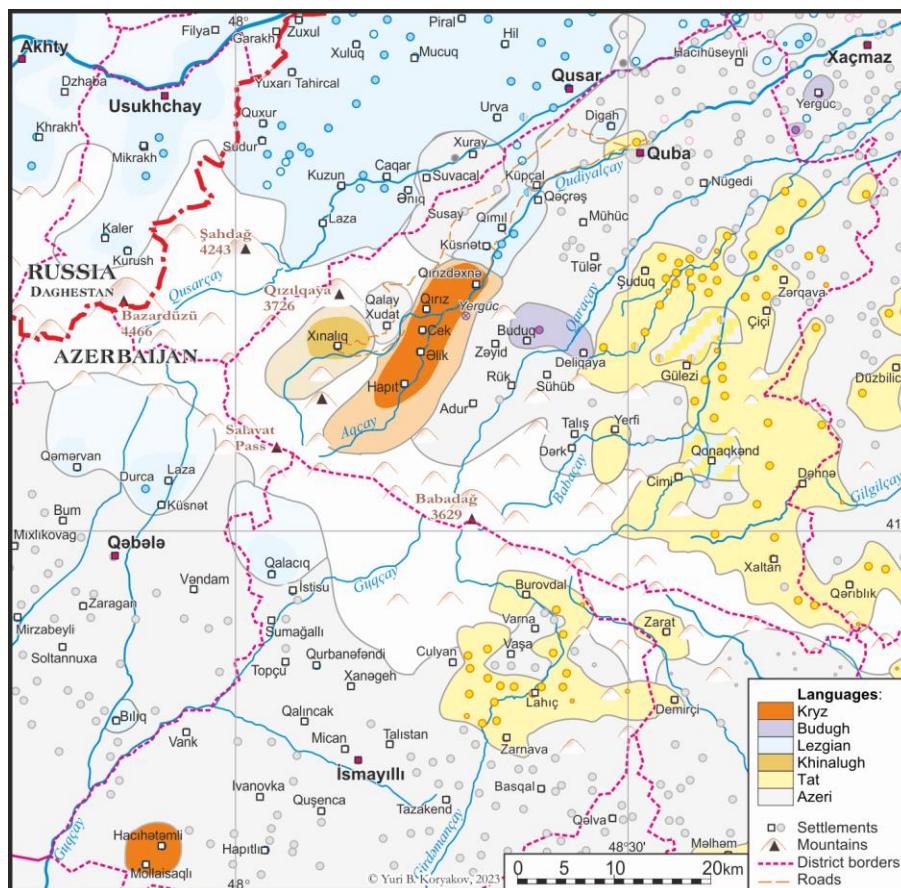
The village of Kryz, perched at 2,000 m on a vertiginous cliff, protected to the north by the Kizil-Kaya massif (3,700 m), locks the upper valley of the Kudyal-Chay and access to the alpine pastures from Quba. In the census statistics and in the meager bibliography on the peoples of the region, this name is that of the most powerful village at the beginning of the 20th century, and the seat of a lord whose memory is perpetuated in the oral tradition. In the 1970s, Kryz was still a large *aul* with several hundred inhabitants (A. Kibrik, c. p.). Today, only a dozen houses are permanently inhabited in Kryz.

Most of the families have gradually resettled in the Soviet-era agricultural settlements (sovkhoses) around Quba and in the coastal districts of Khachmaz and Khudat, near the Caspian Sea, which were made cultivable and healthy in the 1920s by the drainage and irrigation associated with the digging of the Samur-Apsheron canal, and then by the eradication of malaria in the 1960s. Few hamlets have remained linguistically homogeneous, and mixing has rapidly taken place, in the sovkhos and in school, with Azeris, Armenians, Russians, Tats, as well as with other 'Caucasian speakers' (Khinalughs, Lezgis, Budughs, etc.) precipitating the rapid decline of

³ The settlement areas of the various Caucasian ethno-linguistic groups in northern Azerbaijan are generally organized along an axis perpendicular to the ridge lines, with summer pastures ('yaylaks') above the 'auls' a Turkic word meaning, 'sheepfold' and winter pastures ('kishlaks') on the plain, cf. Nichols 2013.

the smaller languages. There are now only adult Kryz speakers in the plain, often speaking Kryz only occasionally.

Some of the inhabitants of Kryz, probably too poor to leave the mountains, are gradually moving to the slightly less austere site of Kryz-Dahna (1,500 m), which has been won over to the forest. This area is very humid since it is at the end of the gorges. A lot could still be collected in this locality from women, who still speak mostly Kryz among themselves, while young boys already speak only Azeri.



The approximately thirty households of Djek live exclusively on pastoral activity, which keeps most of the adult men and young people (from the age of eight) far from the village from morning to evening during the summer season. The Djek dialect is divergent from Kryz as well as from Alik and Haput. This is apparently the result of an evolution in isolation even though the village is located on the path leading from Kryz to Alik. The explanation could be, with all reservation, a prolonged period of hostility between feudal territories. Djek is indeed a lock built on two rocks on either side of the trail to Khinalugh, and traces of fortifications are still visible.

The local micro-history is full of conflicts between local-dialectal communities, which have nothing in common with the imported idea of a unity, an ethnic 'identity'. The forced integration of the Kryz villages into the Khinalugh sovkhhoz in 1961, whose language is totally obscure to them, was not well received, and some tensions remain today. Each village has its own police force, or does without, adapting the values of Islam and those of the teachers trained in the pedagogical institutes and school textbooks of the USSR.

The present-day village of Alik was originally perched on top of the ridge to the north, near a pass leading to Khinalugh, and is said to have been levelled down by an earthquake. Traces of the old site are still visible, as well as cemeteries. There is no running water in the new village. All the surrounding slopes are still streaked with the terraces where wheat was cultivated till the middle of the 20th century; the transition to a planned economy just before the war has led to famine in the mountains. Alik remains one of the two poorest localities of the region.

Contrary to Djek, where the houses, each with its sheepfold, are well separated and of the same type as in the valley, the habitat in Alik is traditional, tiered up to the river on a ground oriented to the south, as is customary, but extremely crumbly because of its siliceous nature. The roofs serve as drying terraces for the houses above, and the barnyard boundaries are low walls made of dung bricks, the only fuel for cooking and heating during the winter, which lasts nearly seven months. In May, the growth of nettles marks the spring and the end of the hunger season. Between the end of June and the end of September, most of the inhabitants of Alik camp on the alpine pastures, at an altitude of about 2500 meters, and come down regularly to mow the grass, collect it and bring it in. Cheese and lambs are sold in the fall, which pays for the flour for the winter. This village of two hundred and fifty inhabitants divided into about forty households, most of which have electricity and a vegetable garden, but many of which have no livestock, is largely self-managed.

Haput is located close to the Babadagh and Salavat pass and surrounded by vast highland pastures. Its economy is based on sheep breeding and doing comparatively well. Based on a more diversified economy, the social situation in Kryz villages of the Ismaili region is more stable than in Quba region, and this dialect seems to have a better perspective to survive in the next decades.

7. Kryz Culture as Reflected in the Lexicon

The vocabulary of all Kryz dialects reflects the origins of this language and its cultural layering. Indeed, apart from the most fundamental vocabulary (human body parts and functions, spatio-temporal landmarks, personal pronouns), which is entirely related to that of languages of the same family, a 'second circle' of vocabulary concerning material culture is also comparable to the vocabulary of languages related to Kryz. These are the numbers from 'one' to ten', the number twenty', while 'one hundred' (*veş* in most Lezgetic languages), while 'one hundred' has been remade as a compound of 'five' and 'twenty', *fu-qhab*); and vital activities such as food (*ulayc* 'eat', *ğirayc* 'drink', *cirayc* 'cook', *ts'a* 'fire') and clothing (*rub* 'needle', *reb* 'awl', *rugvayc* 'sew', *xirayc* 'weave', *ğixhayc* 'wear').

Borrowings and instability reign among kinship terms, even among the Kryz dialects, except for the nouns for 'son' (*dix*), 'daughter' (*riş*), 'brother' (*şid*) and 'sister' (*şidir*), which indicate a particularly archaic social structure.

The language retains in its vocabulary the heritage of a Neolithic culture, based on animal husbandry and agriculture. Insofar as written sources are almost non-existent, this proto-history goes back only a few centuries.

In particular, there is a whole set of common names for animal husbandry. Their fundamental importance is reflected in a series of poetic metaphors, since the kid is called 'star' (*haç*) and the wool (*yis*, which is 'shorn': *vudayc*) is a transparent doublet of 'snow' (*yiz*); the name of the little

flock (*k'ap'al*) also designates the 'cloud', and the noun for 'rainbow' (*t'am*) also denotes a 'wool carding rod'.

Small livestock are protected from rain (*ç'ebic*) and fog (*cif*) in summer thanks to rock shelters (*raç'*) or even caves (*aqhvan*); they are partly slaughtered (*kurayc*) in autumn for their meat (*yak*) and skinned (*yahayc*) for the skin (*leŋ*). In winter the large herds (*sürü*, *nexir*, Turkish and Iranian loans respectively) are housed in a stable (*q'acil*, derived from the name of winter, *q'ud*) which can be in the village (*kum*) or near winter pastures. The inherited noun for hay (*xhin*) is retained, but its derivate *xhinner* 'fork' is replaced in Alik by Azeri *yaba*, no doubt because haymaking is often carried out by seasonal workers from the Turkish-speaking lowland).

The names of the sheep (*vul*), goat (*ts'eŋ*), cow (*zar*, derived from the root of the verb *azayc* 'to milk'), lamb (*kel*), pigeon (*lif*) are inherited, while those for the 'young bull' (*k'vara*) and 'calf' (*leh*) are both euphemisms originally meaning 'black'.

Likewise, the inherited name for 'milk' (*nek* in related languages) was arguably taboo and has been replaced by the word *yux*, which originally means 'flow, stream'. On the other hand, the name for butter (*çem*) is shared with several Lezgian languages, and the colostrum (*da?*), which ensures the survival of the newborn cattle, is found in all the family. The cheese (*nisi*) is preserved in brine (*q'ili xhad* lit. 'salty water'). The name for salt (*q'el*) is common to almost all Lezgian languages, and shared with Khinalug, probably meaning 'bitter' originally, while in the other Dagestanian branches of the family it has been replaced by another derivate meaning 'sweet, tasty'. Sugar (*ğand*) is an Iranian loan, but honey (*yit*) is very old, as well as the wild bee (*p'eğu*), although beekeeping is mostly an activity of seasonal ethnic Azeri people, who imported the name of the honey bee (*aruv*).

The names of poultry are borrowed (*ğaz* 'goose', *ürdeg* 'duck', *xuruz* 'rooster') or onomatopoeic (*kis* 'hen', hence the name of the egg, *kusxunt'*, literally 'brought forth by the hen'). The donkey is also recent (*lem*, distant deformation of Arabic *himar*, like the name of the 'cat', *gaç*), and the noun for 'horse' (*barkan*) indicates a cultural novelty, since it is originally a 'mountainous mass'.

The large wild animals represented in the inherited vocabulary are especially those dangerous for cattle such as wolves (*eb*), bears (*sar*), foxes (*sakul*), martens (*cak*), or harmful for agriculture such as mice (*q'al*), wild boars (*vak*) and badgers (*t'uş*). (This last word is part of the 'Old European substrate and can be compared to German *Dachs*, Italian *tasso*).

Hunting is an occasional activity, as shown by the inherited nouns for 'hare' (*ğur*), 'partridge' (*ğud*), while the word for 'deer' (*mirg*) is undoubtedly an Indo-Iranian loan (Persian *murğ* 'bird' but Sanskrit *mṛgaḥ* 'deer') The Kryz-speaking highlanders, are not used to hunting ibex (*kal*), which live at higher altitudes.

Agriculture, which provides most of the calories, knows the plowing of the earth (*neuč'*) on terraced fields (*nik*), thanks to the ox (*hani*) which is harnessed (*kibt'ilic*). However, the name of the plow (*dinara*) is original and has no known relationship; sowing (*yizayc*) is referred to, as in many Dagestan languages, by a derivative of the same root as 'milking' (*yazayc*). Wheat (*ğul*) and barley (*mux*) are cultivated and harvested (*yixhayc*), and dung manure (*xhid*) mixed with chopped straw (*neux*) is used. But the names of the seed (*tum*), sickle (*çin*) and threshing floor (*xarman*) are Iranian.



A Kryz woman from Alik

The cereals are ground (*reuhayc*) in a water mill (*huv*) and transformed into flour (*rahac*) to make dough (*lazu*, euphemism related to *luzu* 'white') and bread (*fuv*). The names of the different dough dishes are either inherited (*riq'*, *ts'is*, *yiq'sa'al*) or specific (*xhixhi*, *bicah*).

Trees are scarce (*k'ina* means also 'wood', *dar* is an Iranian loan, and the original name for 'forest', *ruk*, has been replaced by Iranian *meşə*), however apple trees (*yeç*) and pear trees (*ceuhur*) grow around farmyards. In regard to uncultivated grasses, words for spinach (*q'aç*) and nettle (*mec*) are among the most stable vocabulary elements because both grasses are important for survival during the spring lean season.

References

Authier, Gilles (2009). *Grammaire Kryz*. Peeters: Louvain.

Authier, Gilles (2010). Azeri morphology in Kryz (East-Caucasian). In: *Turkic Languages* 14, 14–42.

Dirr, Adolf (1928). *Einführung in das Studium der Kaukasischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major. 412pp.

Gummatov, Israfil A. & Monika Rind-Pawłowski (2020). *Kryz-azerbaijani-english dictionary*. (<https://qriz.ru/en/kryz-azerbaijani-english-dictionary>)

Kibrik Aleksandr E. & Sandro V. Kodzasov (1988). *Sopostavitelnoe izuchenie dagestanskix jazykov: glagol*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta.

Kibrik Aleksandr E. & Sandro V. Kodzasov (1990). *Sopostavitelnoe izuchenie dagestanskix jazykov: Imja*. Moskva : Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta.

Nichols, Johanna (2013). The vertical archipelago: Adding the third dimension to linguistic geography. In Peter Auer, Martin Hilpert, Anja Stukenbrock and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi, eds., *Space in Language and Linguistics*, 38-60. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.