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The Sheki dialect of Northern Azeri

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The Sheki dialect of Northern Azeri

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze linguistic features of the Sheki dialect of Azeri spoken in the north-central part of the Republic of Azerbaijan. On the basis of two recordings, transcribed, annotated, and translated into English, the analysis focuses on some specific phonological and morphophonological phenomena, and vocabulary. In particular, we present a detailed analysis of vowel lengthening, non-harmonic suffixes, and systematic phonological changes taking place in vowel-final syllables followed by suffixes that begin with the glide *y*, such as the viewpoint marker in $\{-(y)Ir\}$ or the dative marker in $\{+(y)A\}$.

Key words: Sheki dialect of Azeri, phonology, morphophonology, vowel lengthening, sound harmony

Kuzey Azerbaycan Türkçesinin Şeki ağzı

Öz

Bu makalenin amacı Azerbaycan Türkçesinin Kuzey Azerbaycan'da konuşulan Şeki ağzının dilbilimsel özelliklerini incelemektir. Analizimiz, çevriyazısını, satırasarı morfolojik açıklamaları ve İngilizceye çevirisiyle birlikte hazırladığımız iki ses kaydına dayanarak, söz konusu ağzın belirgin bazı fonolojik, morfofonolojik ve söz varlığı ile ilgili özelliklerine odaklanmaktadır. Özellikle, ünlü uzamaları ve ses uyumuna tabi olmayan eklerin yanı sıra, ünlü ile biten sözcüklerde, görünüş belirten $\{-(y)Ir\}$ eki ya da yönelme belirten $\{+(y)A\}$ durum eki gibi *y* sesi ile başlayan ekler ile birleşmeler esnasında ortaya çıkan sistematik ses değişimleri üzerine kapsamlı bir analiz ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Azerbaycan Türkçesinin Şeki ağzı, fonoloji, morfofonoloji, ünlü uzunluğu, ses uyumu

Introduction

This paper deals with linguistic features of the Sheki dialect of Azeri spoken in the north-central part of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The aim is to analyze some specific features of this dialect on the basis of two recordings that we have transcribed, annotated, and translated into English. As a consequence of this limitation, our analysis focuses mainly on phonological and morphophonological phenomena, and vocabulary. In accordance with the goals of the special issue of this journal, our aim is to contribute to studies in Turkic linguistics, particularly in Azeri dialectology.

Azeri is spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, Iran, the Russian Federation, Georgia, Iraq, and Turkey. Nowadays it is also spoken in the diaspora. The largest part of Azeri population living in Armenia left this country after the conflicts between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the late 1980s to 1994. Some Oghuz Turkic varieties spoken in Syria exhibit linguistic characteristics close to Azeri.

Going back to the Oghuz Turkic varieties of the Seljuks, Azeri shares many common characteristics with Turkish and Gagauz. Together with these languages, it forms a West Oghuz subbranch of Oghuz Turkic. In the whole region of the Caucasus and Persia, Azeri was used as a lingua franca with high status in intergroup communication. However, due to political developments during the 18th century, its transregional function gradually declined in favor of Persian in the south and Russian in the north. As a consequence of the division of the territory of Azerbaijan between Persian and Russian rule in 1828, the southern and northern varieties developed in different directions.

Azeri developed under strong Iranian influence exhibiting a number of contact-induced phenomena. In addition to being subject to more intense Persian influence, the southern varieties which remained in Iran have been in contact with Kurmanji, Sorani and smaller Iranian languages. The varieties in the north, on the other hand, continued to develop under conditions of Azeri-Russian bilingualism. These varieties have also had contact with languages other than Russian, such as Caucasian languages and Armenian (see e.g. Johanson 1988, 2006, Ragagnin 2022, Rind-Pawłowski 2023a, Bulut 2005, 2022, Dehghani 2000, Lee 2008, Stilo 2016). The East Anatolian dialects of Azeri have been in intense contact with Turkish.

About 10 million people live in the Republic of Azerbaijan. Outside the republic, the northern varieties are also spoken in Georgia, and in the Russian Federation. According to the census of 2010, there are 130,919 Azeri speakers in the Autonomous Republic of Dagestan in the Russian Federation (Rind-Pawłowski 2023a).

The standard language in the Republic of Azerbaijan, officially written with a Latin-based script according to the decree of 2 February 1991, is based on the dialect of the capital Baku. In the following, the written standard forms are indicated by using <> brackets.

The northern variety spoken in Azerbaijan has been the topic of various works. Məmmədəğa Şirəliyev has intensively studied dialect issues, among others, and provided the first classifications (see for instance Şirəliyev 2008, published earlier in 1967). In 1990, a comprehensive Atlas of Azeri dialects was published by M. I. İslamov et al. in Baku (abbreviated here as ADDA). A dialectological dictionary of Azeri edited by M. Şirəliyev and M. I. İslamov was published in two volumes in 1999 and 2003 by the Turkish Language Association (<Türk Dil Kurumu>). We refer to these volumes using the abbreviations ADL I and ADL II. Qarayev (2000) and Vaqıfızı (2012) include samples from Sheki folklore. Rind-Pawłowski (2023b), published recently in *Encyclopedia of Turkic Languages and Linguistics Online*, is a comparative overview of the northern and southern varieties.

The main dialects of the northern variety of Azeri can be grouped as follows (compare Johanson 2006: 637, Şirəliyev 2010, Rind-Pawłowski 2023b):

- Northern subgroup: dialects of <Şəki>, formerly called <Nuxa>, <Zaqatala-Qax>, <Qəbələ>;
- Southern subgroup: dialects of <Naxçıvan>, <Ordubad>;
- Western subgroup: dialects of <Gəncə>, <Şuşa>, <Qarabağ>, <Qazax>, <Ayrıım>;
- Eastern subgroup: dialects of <Quba>, <Şamaxı>, <Bakı>, <Muğan>, <Lənkəran>.

Thus, Sheki (<Şəki>) dialect is considered within the northern subgroup, together with the dialects of <Zaqatala-Qax> and <Qəbələ>. Apart from some phonological similarities with <Zaqatala-Qax>, the dialect of Derbend spoken in Dagestan can structurally be regarded an eastern dialect, close to that of <Quba>. The Yerevan dialect was spoken in central Armenia, the Kars dialect in eastern Tur-

key and northwestern Armenia, and the Borchali (Borçalı) dialect in northern Armenia and southern Georgia (Johanson 2021: 52).

The administrative district Sheki (Şəki rayonu) is located on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains on the ancient Silk Road in north-central Azerbaijan. In the 18th and 19th centuries Sheki was the capital of the khanate of Sheki. Until 1968, the district and the city Şəki was called Nuxa. The total population in the district is 190,000, of whom about 68,000 live in Sheki city. The rest live in the surrounding villages. The speakers of Rutul, a member of the Western Lezgi branch of the East Caucasian family (Authier 2023: 299), make up about 4% of the total population. Apart from its beautiful landscape, historical buildings, traditional crafts, including silk weaving, and pastry specialities, Sheki is a place not only associated with its striking dialect features, but also with humour and jokes.

The speaker and the recordings

The speaker Tangiz Süleyman qızı Zəkəryəyeva was born in Sheki city in 1986, and has been living there since. She graduated from a teacher's college in Sheki specializing in primary education (Şəki Pedaqoji Texnikumunun ibtidai təhsil fakültəsi). She is married and has a daughter attending elementary school. The Sheki dialect is their everyday language, both at home and at work. According to her own information, they are immediately recognized by interlocutors as being from Sheki when they are sometimes required to speak the standard variety on work-related occasions (İşlə əlaqədar olaraq bəzən Azərbaycan dilində danışırıq, ancaq onda da ləhcəmiz xüsusi seçilir). The family does not speak Russian, though they understand when it is spoken (Rus dilində danışmırıq, ancaq danışan olsa başa düşürük).

The two recordings, which we have transcribed, annotated and translated below, were provided by the speaker in April and May 2023. In the first recording (Text 1), she is discussing rituals and dishes associated with Nowruz, a widely celebrated spring holiday, and is also telling a traditional joke from Sheki. In the second recording (Text 2), she is providing the recipe for a pastry called çülçə 'külçə'. We would like to thank the speaker for sharing these recordings with us.

Annotated texts with audio

Text 1. Nowruz

LINK: [Sheki Audio 1](#)

- Sałam hər vaxt-oz xeyr ol-sun.*
hi every time-2PL goodness be(come)-VOL3SG
'Hello. Have a good day.'
- Mən siz-ə: şəci-də çeçir-ən novruz bayram-ı*
I you-DAT Sheki-LOC pass-PN Nowruz feast-POSS3SG
a:dät ənənə-lər-ı ba:rədə da:ş-may isti-yir-əm.
custom tradition-PL-POSS3SG about tell-INF want-INTRA-1SG
'I want to tell you about the customs and traditions related to the Nowruz holiday (as) celebrated in Sheki.'
- Novruz bayram-ın-a bir ay gəl-miş hamı ev*
Nowruz feast-POSS3SG-DAT one month remain-POST all house

uşağ-lar papaxatti-yä çix-ir-di-lar.

child-PL hat-throwing-DAT get out-INTRA-DIST.COP

'The girls and brides would engage in ear fortune-telling, and the children would go out to hat-throwing.'

8. *Män dä hardasa beş altı-nji sınıf-dä oxı-yän-dä:*

I PTCL almost five six-ORD class-LOC study-AN-LOC

papaxatti-yä jet-miş-äm go:ʎšu gız-dar-i-ynän

hat-throwing-DAT go-POST-1SG neighbour girl-PL-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP

yiyiş-miş-u.ç papaç at-miş-u.ç sora jizdän-miş-u.ç gapı:n

gather-POST-1PL hat throw-POST-1PL then hide-POST-1PL door-ACC

döy-üf jizdän-miş-u.ç. Sora näsä goy-üt-dular

knock-CONV hide-POST-1PL then something put-POST-3PL

papay-a sora gaç-ä gaç-ä jä:b papay -i

hat-DAT then run-CONV run-CONV come.CONV hat-ACC

jötür-ü:f iç-in-ä nä goy-üt-dular-sa

bring.away-CONV inside-POSS3SG-DAT what put-POST-3PL-HYP.COP

o: böl-müş-u.ç.

this.ACC share-POST-1PL

'I also went to hat-throwing when I was studying in the fifth or sixth grade; we gathered with the neighbour girls, and we threw hats together; then we hid, we knocked on door(s) and hid. Then they put something in the hat, then we came out running and took the hat and shared whatever they had put in it.'

9. *Sora: šähär-dä čänt-lär-dä: jünäs čayir-mağ-čün godu-yä*

after town-LOC village-PL-LOC sun call-INF-for.POSTP godu-DAT

çix-mağ a:dät-i jeniš yayıt-miş-di.

go out-INF custom-POSS3SG broad spread-POST-DIST.COP

'And, the custom of going out for *godu* in order to summon the sun was widespread in the town and villages.'

10. *Mählän javan-nar-i: ayaş-dan godu*

neighbourhood-GEN young man-PL-POSS3SG wood-ABL godu

düzäld-ir-di-lär: baş-da:n-a da yaylıx bayli-yi:b

make-INTRA-DIST.COP-3PL head-POSS3PL-DAT PTCL scarf tie-CONV

godu-yä çix-ir-di-lar čüčä-lä: jüz-ir-di-lär

godu-DAT go out-INTRA-DIST.COP-3PL street-PL.ACC walk-INTRA-DIST.COP-3PL

baş-da:n-da yaylıx-nan.

head-POSS3PL-LOC scarf-WITH.POSTP

'The young men of the neighbourhood would make a *godu* out of wood, tie scarves around their heads, go out for *godu*, and walk around the streets with scarves on their heads.'

11. *Sora: novruz bayram-ın-da tüzä doy-ut-muş inäy-ın*
 after Nowruz feast-POSS3SG-LOC fresh born-PASS-POST cow-GEN
süd-ün-nän ayız bulama: yayma: bişir-ır-dı-lä:
 milk-POSS3SG-ABL/WITH.POSTP first.milk bulama yayma cook-INTRA-DIST.COP-3PL
sämäni goy-a:r-dı-lä:r, sämäni goy-maχ da jeniş
 samani put-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL samani put-INF PTCL broad
yayıł-mış-dı.
 spread-POST-DIST.COP

'Then, on the Nowruz holiday, they made *bulama* and *yayma* from the milk of a cow that has recently given birth, and put up a *samani*; putting up a *samani* was also widespread.'

12. *Daha sonra:m şäci-nın än mäşhur čänd-ı ot-an*
 COMP after Sheki-GEN SUP famous village-POSS3SG be-PN
zäyızit čänd-ın-nä:n zäyızit čänd-ın
 Zayzid village-POSS3SG-ABL Zayzid village-POSS3SG.GEN
düyü-sün-nä:n aş bişir-ä:r-dı-lär.
 rice-POSS3SG-ABL/WITH.POSTP rice dish cook-AOR-DIST.COP-3PL
 'Later, they cooked a rice dish with the rice from the village of Zayzid, the most famous village of Sheki.'

13. *Beylä. Män siz-ä: şäci:n a:dät novruz bayram-ı*
 so I you-DAT Sheki.GEN custom Nowruz feast-POSS3SG
a:dät änänä-lär-ı ba:rädä da:ş-dı-m.
 custom tradition-PL-POSS3SG about tell-TERM-1SG
 'So. I told you about the customs of Sheki, about the customs and traditions related to the Nowruz holiday.'

14. *Hindi bi dä:n dä siz-ä čičih bir läti:fä dä da:ş-ım.*
 now one piece PTCL you-DAT little one joke PTCL tell-VOL1SG
 'Now let me also tell you a short joke.'

15. *Ġoʁʁʂu ġoʁʁʂu:n ev-ın-ä čeč-ır jö:r či*
 neighbour neighbour.GEN house-POSS3SG-DAT pass-INTRA see.INTRA JUNCT
ġoʁʁʂu:n ġiz-ı̄ kuxna-dä näsä bişir-ır.
 neighbour.GEN daughter-POSS3SG kitchen-LOC something cook-INTRA
 'A neighbour goes to another neighbour's house and sees that their daughter is cooking something in the kitchen.'
16. *So:ş-ur či a ġiz-ım sä:n yi-yım. Sän*
 ask-INTRA JUNCT PTCL daughter-POSS1SG you.ACC eat-VOL1SG you
orda naya:s:an?
 there what.do.INTRA.2SG
 'She asks: "May I eat you my daughter, what are you doing there?"'
17. *Ġiz javaf ve:r xała, xoräh bişir-äm.*
 girl answer give.INTRA aunt dish cook.INTRA-1SG
 'The girl answers: "Oh aunt, I am cooking"'
18. *Arvad di-yır a sä:n dä yi-yım sän*
 woman say-INTRA PTCL you.ACC PTCL eat-VOL1SG you
pişir-än xorây-o: da.
 cook-PN dish-POSS2SG.ACC PTCL
 'The woman says: "May I eat you and the dish you are cooking"'
19. *Obir otaç-dan ġiz-ın ata-sı başdi-yı dil-län-ma:*
 other room-ABL girl-GEN father-POSS3SG begin-INTRA tongue-DER-INF
či a ġoʁʁʂu: ġiz-ı̄ yi-may-a yi ama
 JUNCT PTCL neighbour girl-ACC eat-INF-DAT eat.IMP2SG but
xoräh-nän iş-ın ot-ma-sın!
 dish-WITH.POSTP work-POSS2SG be-NEG-VOL3SG
 'From the other room, the girl's father starts talking: "Oh neighbor, you can eat the girl, but don't touch the dish!"'



Samani and other dishes served in Nowruz

Text 2. Kulche

LINK: [Sheki Audio 2](#)

20. *Čülčä:n res:ept-i:n di-yır-äm.*
čülčä.GEN recipe-POSS3SG-ACC say-INTRA-1SG
'I am telling you the recipe for *kulche*.'

21. *Un jötür:-uχ bi dänä yumurta: peso:χ bi dä isti su*
flour take.INTRA-1PL one piece egg sugar one PTCL hot water
ğäšäh χämir yoçur:-uχ ama bärč oł-ma:t-dī sora
good dough knead.INTRA-1PL but hard be-NEC-COP after
hardasa sa:t ya:rīm χamir-ī goy-ur-uχ a:ji-may-a.
almost hour half dough-ACC put-INTRA-1PL ferment-INF-DAT

'We take flour, eggs, sugar, and hot water; we knead a good dough, but it should be hard, then we leave the dough somewhere for an hour and a half to ferment (to rise).'

22. *A:ji-yän-nän sora bu arada biz u:n içä:-sın-ä*
ferment-AN-ABL after this in.between we it.GEN inner-POSS3SG-DAT

töç-ül-än elä-bi-či ğariš-iy-i ha:zirli-yir-uç.
 pour-PASS-PN so.know.IMP-JUNCT mix-DER-ACC prepare-INTRA-1PL
 ‘While it ferments, we prepare the mixture to be poured into it.’

23. *Ğaršiy-a da ged-ir čišniš toxum-i hi:l*
 mixture-DAT PTCL go-INTRA coriander seed-POSS3SG cardamom
zänjafil darčin vanil bi dä zäfäran bi dä: yay
 ginger cinnamon vanilla one PTCL saffron one PTCL fat
anjaç yay da: ğuyruç yay-i oł-sa da: yaçši oł-ar.
 but fat PTCL tail fat-POSS3SG be-HYP COMP good be-AOR

‘The mixture consists of coriander seeds, cardamom, ginger, cinnamon, vanilla, and saffron, and lard is also added to the mixture, but it is better if the fat is tail fat.’

24. *Sora bu a:ji-yän-nän sora çamir-i: çirda çirda*
 after this ferment-AN-ABL after dough-ACC small small
čündä-lär-ä ayir:-u:ç kündä:-n yay-ir-u:ç
 dough.piece-PL-DAT divide.INTRA-1PL dough.piece-ACC spread-INTRA-1PL
hardasa yeddi milli ğa:lin-niy-in-da.
 almost seven milimetre thick-DER-POSS3SG-LOC

‘After the dough rises, we divide it into small balls, and roll them out at about 7 mm thickness.’

25. *Hämin ğaršim-i hämin di-yaç yay-di-y-İMİZ-in*
 that mixture-ACC that say-VOL1PL spread-PN-POSS1PL-GEN
üst-ün-ä töç-ür-u:ç sora /.../ dürmäh čimi büç-ür-u:ç.
 top-POSS3SG-DAT pour-INTRA-1PL after /.../ roll like fold-INTRA-1PL

‘We pour that mixture, let’s say, on that rolled out dough, then we fold it into a roll.’

26. *Büç-än-nän sora täzädä:n hardasa biräz*
 fold-AN-ABL after again almost a.little
ğa:lin jirdä forma-sın-a sał-ir-u:ç.
 thick round form-POSS3SG-DAT put-INTRA-1PL

‘After folding, we give it again some slightly thick round shape.’

27. *Yirimbeš deyğa ğoy-ur-u:ç istira:hät eli-yir.*
 twenty minute put-INTRA-1PL rest make-INTRA

‘We let them rest for 25 minutes.’

28. *Un-nan sora: üst-ün-ä yumurta vur:-u:ç bir dä*
 that-ABL after top-POSS3SG-DAT egg whip.INTRA-1PL one PTCL
čülčä-bas-an oğ-ur o čülčä-bas-an-nan gäšäh bas-ïf
čülčä-press-PN be-INTRA that čülčä-press-PN-WITH.POSTP good press-CONV
üst-ün-ä dä gära-čöräh gøy-uğ biš:r:-uğ.
 top-POSS3SG-DAT PTCL black-seed put-CONV cook.INTRA-1PL

'After that, we brush the top with egg; there is also a *čülčä* press, and we press the dough well with the *čülčä* press, put black seeds on it and bake it.'

Selected linguistic characteristics of the Sheki dialect as found in the recordings

In what follows, we deal with specific linguistic features of the Sheki dialect, focusing mainly on phonological and morphophonological phenomena, and the vocabulary, that appear in the transcribed recordings. We are aware that some of the features we encounter in the recordings might not be considered as general dialect features, but might be due to the individual characteristics of the speaker. Also, some features mentioned in earlier dialect studies might not appear in these recordings. In a few cases, the influence of the standard language might be in question. We make necessary comments on all these.

After each example, reference is given to the number of the sentence in the transcriptions. In order to complete the information or to provide comparisons with the attested features, examples are also obtained from other recordings not presented as transcriptions here. Further supplementary examples are extracted from ADDA, and other dialect studies. For the sake of comparison, the written standard cognates of some of the Sheki words are given within $\langle \rangle$ brackets. This should not be interpreted that we treat standard Azeri as a default reference variety for comparison, or that we consider a regional variety as a deviant form of the standard language. Our aim with these comparisons is only to illustrate the differences between the Sheki dialect as represented in the recorded texts and standard Azeri.

Developments of the velar stops

k > *č* / *-k* > *-č* / *-k* > *-č*

In word-initial and word-medial positions, and in final position of monosyllabic words, the East Old Turkic strong front stop *k* has developed into the aspirated affricate *č*: *šäči* (S2, S5, S12, S13), *čeč-ir-* (S2, S4, S15), *čülčä* (S5, S20, S28), *šäčär-bura:* (S5), *čänd* (S9, S12), *čüčä* (S10), *čičih* (S14), *či* (S15, S16, S19, S22), *bärč* (S21), *töč-* (S22, S25), *čišniš* (S23), *čündä* (S24) (but also *kündä* in the same sentence), *čimi* (S25), *büč-* (S25, S26). Compare the written standard forms $\langle \text{Şäki} \rangle$, $\langle \text{keçir-} \rangle$, $\langle \text{külçə} \rangle$, $\langle \text{şəkərbura} \rangle$, $\langle \text{kənd} \rangle$, $\langle \text{küçə} \rangle$, $\langle \text{kiçik} \rangle$, $\langle \text{ki} \rangle$, $\langle \text{bärk} \rangle$, $\langle \text{tök-} \rangle$, $\langle \text{kişniş} \rangle$, $\langle \text{kündə} \rangle$, $\langle \text{kimi} \rangle$, $\langle \text{bük-} \rangle$. In spoken standard Azeri, *k* undergoes varying degrees of palatalization (Ragagnin 2022: 243).

-k > *-h*

In final position of non-first stem syllables and suffixes, *k* is aspirated and fricativized as a glottal *h*: *čičih* (S14), *čörä:h* (S5, S28), *çoräh* (S17, S19), *gäšäh* (\leftarrow Persian) (S21, S28), *dürmäh* (S25), *eših* 'outdoor', *böyüh* 'big', 'great', *inäh* 'cow', *üräh* 'heart', *döš:äh* 'mattress', *jözällih* 'beauty' (see ADDA 96–97). Compare $\langle \text{kiçik} \rangle$, $\langle \text{çörək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{xörək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{qəşəng} \rangle$, $\langle \text{dürmək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{eşik} \rangle$, $\langle \text{böyük} \rangle$, $\langle \text{inək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{ürək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{döşək} \rangle$, $\langle \text{gözəllik} \rangle$ in written standard Azeri.

g > *ğ* / *-g* > *-ğ*

The weak front stop *g* has developed into the affricate *ğ*: *jün* (S3), *jöndär-* (S6), *jälin* (S7), *jet-* (S7, S8), *jiz-dän-* (S8), *jäl-* (S8), *jötür-* (S8, S21), *jünäš* (S9), *jeniš* (S9, S11), *jäz-* (S10), *jö:r-* (S15), *jirdä* (\leftarrow Persian) (S26), *iğid* 'young man', *sevji* 'love' *bilji* 'knowledge'. Compare the written standard

forms ⟨gün⟩, ⟨göndər-⟩, ⟨gəlin⟩, ⟨get-⟩, ⟨gizlən-⟩, ⟨gəl-⟩, ⟨götür-⟩, ⟨günəş⟩, ⟨geniş⟩, ⟨gəz-⟩, ⟨gör-⟩, ⟨girdə⟩, ⟨igid⟩, ⟨sevgi⟩, ⟨bilgi⟩. In spoken standard Azeri, *g-* displays varying degrees of palatalization (Ragagnin 2022: 243).

k- > ğ-

As in standard Azeri, the East Old Turkic strong velar stop *k* has developed into a weak velar stop *ğ-* in word-initial position in the Sheki dialect: *ğat-* (S3), *ğıştaχ* (S4), *ğırma-badam* (S5), *ğiz* (S7, S8, S15, S16, S17, S19), *ğutaχ* (S7), *ğo:ʷšu* (S8, S15, S19), *ğapı* (S8), *ğoy-* (S8, S11, S21, S27, S28), *ğaç-* (S8), *ğarıš-ıy* or *ğarš-im* (S22, S23, S25), *ğuyruχ* (S23), *ğa:ʔin / ɟa:ʔin-nıy-ın-da* (S24, S26), *ğara-çöräh* (S28).

The interrogative segment **ka-* is fricativized to *ha-*, e.g. *harda-sa* ⟨where-HYP.COP⟩ ‘almost’, ‘nearly’ (S8, S21, S24, S26).

The word-initial strong velar *k* is only found in the copied word *kuxna* ‘kitchen’ (← Russian) (S15).

-k > -χ / -k- > -χ-

In coda position, *k* has developed into the strong fricative *χ*: *ğıştaχ* (S4), *ušaχ* (S7), *ğutaχ* (S7), *çix-* (S6, S7, S9, S10), *otaχ* (S19), *anjaχ* (S23), *ğuyruχ* (S23), *yaχši* (S23), *papaχ* (← Persian) (S8).

The final *χ* that developed from *k* is also attested in suffixes: the infinitive {-maK}, *çix-maχ* (S6, S7, S9, S10), *çayır-maχ-çün* (S9), *ğoy-maχ* (S11); the first person plural personal ending {+(y)uχ}, *yıyış-mış-u:χ* (S8), *at-mış-u:χ* (S8), *jızdän-mış-u:χ* (S8), *böl-müş-u:χ* (S8), *jötür:-u:χ* (S21), *yoçur:-u:χ* (S21), *ğoy-ur-u:χ* (S21, S27), *ha:zirli-yır-u:χ* (S22), *ayır:-u:χ* (S24), *yay-ır-u:χ* (S24), *töç-ür-u:χ* (S25), *büç-ür-u:χ* (S25), *sał-ır-u:χ* (S26), *vur:-u:χ* (S28), *biši:r-u:χ* (S28); the voluntative {- (y)aχ} for first person plural: *di-yaχ* (S25), *jäl-aχ* (← *jäl-* ‘to come’), *jör-aχ* (← *jör-* ‘to see’); the derivational suffix {-LIK}, *yaylıχ* (S10), *boł-tuχ* ‘abundance’. Also in intervocalic position within primary stems, *k* has developed into *χ*: *oχu-* (S8), *toχu-* ‘to knit’, *yuχu* ‘sleep’.

-ğ / -ğ- > -y / -y-

The East Old Turkic weak velar stop *-ğ / -ğ-* has developed into the fricative *-y / -y-*: *yay* (S23), *doy-* ‘to be born’, *day* ‘mountain’, *say* ‘alive’, *ayaš* (S10), *soyan* ‘onion’.

The affricates *č* and *ǰ*

The original *č* and *ǰ* are found in *χałča* (S3), *çörä:h* (S5, S28), *çix-* (S6, S7, S9, S10), *ğaç-* (S8), *ič* (S8, S22), *çayır-* (S9), *attı-nǰı* (S8), *a:ǰi- / a:ǰi-* (S21, S22, S24), *anjaχ* (S23), *darčın* (S23), *javān* (S10), *javaf* (S17), *zānǰāfil* (S23). The second syllables of the following words contain the original *č*: *čeçir-* (S2, S4, S15), *çülčä* (S5, S20, S28), *çüçä* (S10), *çičih* (S14).

The fricatives *χ* and *h*

The original strong fricative *χ* is attested in copied words: *vaxt* (S1), *χeyr* (S1), *a:χir* (S4, S5), *kuxna* ‘kitchen’ (S15), *χała* (S17), *χoräh* (S17, S18, S19), *peso:χ* (S21), *χämir / χamir-ı* (S21, S24), *toχum* (S23), *χirda* (S24).

Similarly, the glottal fricative *h* is mainly found in copied words of Arabic-Persian origin: *här* (S1), *hamı* (S3, S6), *šähä:n / šähär-dä* (S4, S9), *hissä* (S4), *hatva:* (S5), *mählä:n* (S10), *mäšhur* (S12), *ha:zirli-yır-u:χ* (S22), *hi:l* (S23), *hämın* (S25), *istira:hät* (S27). Apart from these instances *h* is attested in some Turkic words: the interrogative *hardasa*, the comparative *daha* (S12), and the time adverb *hındı* (S14), which corresponds to ⟨indı⟩ in the standard variety. Other examples for the prosthesis of *h-* are *harava* ‘carriage’, *haçar* ‘key’, *hanjaχ* ‘but’ (ADDA 102–103), and *ho* ‘that’ (Qarayev 2000: 42), corresponding to ⟨araba⟩, ⟨açar⟩, ⟨ancax⟩, and ⟨o⟩ in the written language. Observe that word-initial *h* can also be found in the standard variety, such as *hörümjäk* ‘spider’, *hörük* ‘plait’, ‘braid’, *hürk-* ‘to be frightened’ (Ragagnin 2022: 244), and in some Anatolian Turkish dialects (Demir 1995, Karahan 1996: 151).

The lateral approximant /l/

The lateral approximant /l/ has front [l] and back [ɫ] variants. Some examples from the recordings are: *il-a:χir* (S4, S5), *čülčä* (S5, S20, S28), *jälin-nä* (S7), *böl-müş-uχ* (S8), *mählä:n* (S10), *dil-län-ma:* (S19), *hi:l* (S23), *zänjäfil* (S23), *tel-haɫva:* (S5), *saɫam* (S1), *oɫ-sun* (S1), *χaɫča-paɫaz-i:* (S3).

The initial dental and labial stops

The aspirated strong dental stop *t*- is attested in *töč-* (S22, S25), *tämiz* (← Arabic) (S3), *tel-haɫva:* (S5), *täzä* (← Persian) (S11, S26), *toχum* (← Persian) (S23). The weak dental stop *d*- is attested in *dä:n* (← Persian) (S14), *darčün* (← Persian) (S23). In ADDA (68–69), we find the following words: *tüş-* 'to fall', *taši-* 'to carry', *tiš* 'tooth', *tarax* 'comb', *taban* 'sole'. These correspond to <düş->, <daşı->, <diş>, <daraq>, <daban> in the written language.

The strong bilabial stop *p*- is weakened in the following instances: *bišir-ıl-ır-dı* (S5), *bišir-ır-dı-lä:* (S11), *bišir-ä:r-dı-lär* (S12), *bišir-ır* (S15), *biši:r-äm* (S17), but *pišir-än* (S18). In ADDA (64–65) following instances are found with the strong stop *p*: *pičün* 'harvesting', *palta* 'axe', *putax* 'branch', *pütün* 'all', 'whole', *pütöv* 'whole', 'entire' (see also Rind-Pavlovski 2023b). Although the corresponding written forms are <bičin>, <balta>, <budaq>, <bütün>, and <bütöv>, devoicing of word-initial *b* also occurs before syllables beginning with a voiceless consonant in spoken standard Azeri (Dəmirçizadə 2007: 173).

The labial fricative *f*

Apart from the development of *-b* into *-f* (see below), the labial fricative *f* is mainly found in copied words: *süfri-yä* (S5), *faɫ-ın-a* (S7), *sinif-dä* (S8), *läti:fä* (S14), *zänjäfil* (S23), *zäfäran* (S23), *forma-şın-a* (S26).

Word-initial *y*-

The word-initial *y* has disappeared in most high-vocalic syllables in standard Azeri (Johanson 2022: 96, Ragagnin 2022: 244, Rind-Pavlovski 2023b). In our material from Sheki, we find *il-a:χir* (S4, S5), *itir-än-nä:r* (S6), *üräh* 'heart', *ilan* 'snake', *üzük* 'ring', *üz-* 'to swim', 'to tear away'.

There are some differences between Sheki and the standard variety: *uχari* 'upper', *Usuf* 'Yusuf', *umruχ* 'fist', corresponding to <yuxarı>, <Yusuf>, and <yumruq> in the written standard variety (ADDA 100–101). In some instances, however, words with initial *y* in Sheki, such as *yalov* 'flame', *yuja*, 'high', 'tall', *yenış* 'down', correspond to standard words without *y*: <alov>, <uca>, <eniş> (ADDA 98–99).

Vowel and consonant lengthening

Vowel lengthening is characteristic of the Sheki dialect (see Şirəliyev 2008: 25). Primary long vowels mostly appear in words of Arabic-Persian origin: *a:dät* (S2, S9, S13), *ba:rä* (S2, S13), *ära:zi* (S4), *a:χir* (S4, S5), *ba:myä* (S5), *läti:fä* (S14), *sa:t* (S21), *ha:zir* (S22), *hi:l* (S23), *istira:hät* (S27). We find long vowels also in some Turkic stems: *čörä:h* (S5), *ya:rım* (S21), *a:jimaya* and *a:ji-yän-nän* (S21, S22, S24), *ja:lin* (S24, S26). Interestingly, the words *a:ji* and *ya:rım* also contain long vowels in Turkmen, a language which has preserved old primary long vowels.

Secondary long vowels emerge from contractions. In our samples, segments containing one of the following consonants are subject to contractions. It has to be pointed out that lengthening involving these consonants occurs if there is a high vowel in close vicinity, i.e. either within the same morpheme, or immediately in initial position of a following morpheme, or in final position of a preceding morpheme. But, in the samples, lengthening involving the glides *y* and *w* seems to be an exception to the requirement of co-occurrence with high vowels.

The nasal consonant n

- intervocalic *n* in stems: *da:š-may* / *da:š-dj-m* / *da:š-İM* (*a:* < -*ani-*) (S2, S13, S14); compare <danış> 'to talk' in written language;
- pronominal *n* before case markers: *o:* (*o:* < *onu*) (S8);
- genitive case {+(n)In} after vowel-final stems: *mählä:n* (*ä:* < -*äni-*) (S10), *šäči:n* (*i:* < -*ini-*) (S13), *ğo:ʃu:n* (*u:* < -*unu-*) (S15), *čülčä:n* (*ä:* < -*äni-*) (S20), *u:n* (*u:* < -*unu-*) (S22);
- possessive marker {+(I)nIz} for second person plural: This lengthening may simultaneously involve rounding of the vowel: *vaxt-o:z* (S1), *mällim-o:z* 'your teacher', *uşay-o:z* 'your child', *alma-lar-o:z* 'your apples', *täläba:-z* 'your student'; compare Şirəliyev (2008: 155). For non-harmonic rounding, see below;
- possessive marker {+(I)n} for second person singular in combination with the accusative marker {+(y)I}: This combination results in a long rounded vowel: *çöräy-o:* (S18); *ayaĵ-o:* (tree-POSS2SG.ACC), *yer-o:* (place-POSS2SG.ACC) (Şirəliyev 2008: 60). For non-harmonic rounding, see below;
- possessive markers {+(I)n} and {+(I)nIz} in combination with the dative marker {+(y)A}: *ata:* (father-POSS2SG.DAT) (< *ata-n-a*), *näva:* (grandchild-POSS2SG.DAT) (< *nävä-n-ä*), *inäya:* (cow-POSS2SG.DAT) (< *inäy-İN-ä*), *nävaz-a* (grandchild-POSS2PL-DAT) (< *nävä-nİZ-ä*); see ADDA (122–124);
- person-number marker {+sInIz} for second person plural: This lengthening may simultaneously involve rounding of the vowel: *ĵäl-är-su:z* (← *ĵäl-* 'to come'), *oĵi-mi-su:z* (← *oĵu-* 'to read'), *bayban-su:z* (← *bayban* 'gardener'), *mällim-su:z* (← *mällim* 'teacher'), *därzi-su:z* (← *därzi* 'tailor') (ADDA 128–129). For non-harmonic rounding, see below;
- person-number marker {-nIz} for second person plural in combination with the terminal marker: *ĵäl-du:z*, *oĵu-du:z*, *al-du:z*, *söylä-du:z*, *anna-du:z*. For non-harmonic rounding, see below.

The rhotic consonant r

- intervocalic *r* in stems: *so:š-ur* (*o:* < -*oru-*) (S16), *ičä:-şİN-ä* (*ä:* < -*äri-*) (S22);
- stem-final *r* before a suffix beginning with a high vowel: *šähä:n* (town.GEN) (*ä:* < -*äri-*) (S4), *ĵö:r* (see.INTRA) (*ö:* < -*örü-*) (S15), *ve:r* (give.INTRA) (*e:* < -*eri-*) (S17), *bişi:r-äm* (cook.INTRA) (*i:* < *iri*) (S17), *bişi:r-uĵ* (cook.INTRA-1PL) (*i:* < -*iri-*) (S28);
- plural marker before a vowel-initial suffix: *čüčä-lä:* (street-PL.ACC) (*ä:* < -*äri*) (S10); *baš-da:n-a* (head-POSS3PL-DAT) (*a:* < -*äri-*) (S10), *baš-da:n-da* (head-POSS3PL-DAT) (*a:* < -*äri-*) (S10);
- person-number marker for third person plural: *bişi:r-İR-dİ-lä:* (*ä:* < -*är*) (S11) and *ğoy-a:r-dİ-İa:* (*a:* < -*ar*) (S11).

The lateral consonant l

- stem-finally before a suffix beginning with a high vowel: *ĵä:b* (come.CONV) (*ä:* < -*äli-*) (S8).

The stop consonant d

- stem-finally before a suffix beginning with a high vowel: *ĵe:r-dİ* (go.INTRA-DIST.COP) (*e:* < -*edi-*) (S7).

The palatal glide y

- intervocalic *y* in stems: *naĵa:s:an* (*a:* < -*ayİ-*, developed from *nä ĵayİR-İR-san*) (S16);
- infinitive suffix in combination with the dative: *dil-län-ma:* (*a:* < -*äyä-*) (S19) <dillənməyə>. For non-harmonic suffixes, see below (compare Dəmirçizadə 2007: 38).

The bilabial glide w

- *o:ma* (< *owma*) (S5).

The accusative suffix causes lengthening of the immediately preceding vowel: *öziz-i:n* (S6), *gapi:n* (S8), *res:ept-i:n* (S20), *čündä:n* (S24) (see Karakoç 2022: 347 for a similar phenomenon in Turkmen). Without an explicit suffix, the nominative and accusative forms of the personal pronoun *sän* are distinguished by a long vowel: *sän* (you.NOM) (S16, S18) versus *sä:n* (you.ACC) (S16, S18).

Without contractions, the following suffix vowels are sometimes pronounced longer than usual:

- third person possessive: *şavan-nar-i:* (S10), *güz-i:* (S15);
- accusative: *pałaz-i:* (S3), *şamir-i:* (S24);
- ablative case or postposition denoting instrumental/comitative: *čänd-ın-nä:n* (S12), *düyü-sün-nä:n* (S12);
- locative: *bayram-ın-da:* (S5), *oşı-yän-dä:* (S8), *čänt-lär-dä:* (S9);
- plural or person-number marker for third person plural: *itir-än-nä:r* (S6), *düzäl-dır-dı-lä:r* (S10);
- person-number marker for first person plural: *yıyış-mış-u:ç* (S8), *at-mış-u:ç* (S8), *şizdän-mış-u:ç* (S8), *ayır-u:ç* (S24), *yay-ır-u:ç* (S24), *töç-ür-u:ç* (S25), *vur-u:ç* (S28);
- intraterminal: *tämiz-dı-yi:r-dı* (S3), *ver-ır-dı* (S3), *eli-yi:r* (S27);
- aorist: *goy-a:r-dı-ta:* (S11), *bişir-ä:r-dı-lär* (S12);
- postterminal converb: *şötür-ü:f* (S8), *baylı-yi:b* (S10), *bas-i:f* (S28).

The speaker pronounces some word-final vowels long: *sizä:* (S2, S13), *şäčär-bura:* (S5), *tel-haıva:* (S5), *sora:* (S9, S11, S28), *bulama:* (S11), *yayma:* (S11), *go:şu:* (S19), *yumurta:* (S21), *dä:* (S21, S23). The reason for this kind of lengthening may be the speaker's intention to emphasize the given words.

Segment contractions also result in long consonants. In the samples, we have instances involving the rhotic *r*. When combined with the intraterminal marker $\{-(y)ı\}$, the verb-final *r* is lengthened: *şötür-ıç* (*r:* < *-rür-*) (S21), *yoyur-ıç* (*r:* < *-rur-*) (S21), *ayır-u:ç* (*r:* < *-rir-*) (S24), *vur-u:ç* (*r:* < *-rur-*) (S28), *bişir-ıç* (*r:* < *-rir-*) (S28). This phenomenon is mainly observed where the intraterminal marker is followed by the person-number marker for first person plural, which contains a high vowel: *vur-u:ç* (*r:* < *-rur-*) (S28) (compare *şö:r* and *ve:r*), and *bişir-ıç* (*r:* < *-rir-*) (S28) (compare *bişir-äm*). In the example *naya:s:an* (< *nä gayır-ır-san*) (S16), the final *-r* of the verb stem and the intraterminal form *-ır* have developed into a long consonant, which has then been regressively assimilated into a long *s:* owing to the person-number marker *-san*.

Suffixes beginning with the glide *y*

After vowel-final stems, some suffixes begin with the glide *y*, such as the intraterminal $\{-(y)ı\}$, the aorist $\{-(y)Ar\}$, or the dative $\{+(y)A\}$. The use of such suffixes involves interesting morphophonemic phenomena which we analyze as follows:

1. Morphophonemic changes in word-final syllables

Raising of low front vowels ä/e to i

- intraterminal $\{-(y)ı\}$: *isti-yır-äm* (← *istä-*) (S2), *tämiz-dı-yi:r-dı* (← *tämiz-dä-*) (S3), *di-yır / di-yır-äm* (← *de-*) (S18, S20), *eli-yi:r* (← *elä-*) (S27), *şöz-dı-yır* (← *şöz-dä-* 'to wait'), *şöyli-yır* (← *şöylä-* 'to say'). Raising also occurs in spoken standard language, although it is not indicated in

the spelling: *tämiz-di-yır-dı*, spelled as <təmizləyirdi>, *göz-lü-yür* or *göz-dü-yür*, spelled as <gözləyir>, *söylü-yür*, spelled as <söyləyir>;

- aorist {-(y)Ar}: *jöz-di-yär* (← *jöz-dä*- 'to wait'), *söyli-yär* (← *söylä*- 'to say'), *dinni-yär* (← *dinnä*- 'to listen'), *iz-di-yär* (← *iz-dä*- 'to follow'). Compare the standard Azeri forms *göz-lü-yär* or *göz-dü-yär*, spelled as <gözləyə>, *söylü-yär*, spelled as <söyləyə>, *dinli-yär* or *dinni-yär*, spelled as <dinləyə>;
- postterminal converb {-(y)If}/{-(y)İb}: *jöz-di-yif* (← *jöz-dä*- 'to wait'), *söyli-yif* (← *söylä*- 'to say'), *dinni-yif* (← *dinnä*- 'to listen'). Compare the standard Azeri forms *göz-lü-yüp* or *göz-dü-yüp*, spelled as <gözləyib>, *söylü-yüp*, spelled as <söyləyib>, *dinli-yüp* or *dinni-yüp*, spelled as <dinləyib>;
- intraterminal converb {-(y)ä}: *söyli-yä* *söyli-yä* (← *söylä*- 'to say'). Compare *söylä-yä* *söylä-yä* or *söylü-yä* *söylü-yä*, spelled as <söyləyə söyləyə> in standard Azeri;
- dative {+(y)A}: *süfri-yä* (twice in S5). Compare *süfrüyä*, spelled as <süfrəyə> in standard language.

Unrounding of high front vowel *ü* to *i*

- intraterminal {-(y)İr}: *süri-yır* (← *sürü*- 'to drag'). Compare *sürü-yür*, spelled as <sürüyür> in the standard Azeri;
- aorist {-(y)Ar}: *süri-yär* (← *sürü*- 'to drag'), *büri-yär* (← *bürü*- 'to cover'). Compare the standard Azeri form *sürü-yär*, spelled as <sürüyə>, and *bürü-yär*, spelled as <bürüyə>;
- postterminal converb {-(y)İf}/{-(y)İb}: *süri-yif* (← *sürü*- 'to drag'). Compare the standard Azeri form *sürü-yüp*, spelled as <sürüyüb>;
- dative {+(y)A}: *süri-yä* (← *sürü*- 'horde'). Compare <sürüyə> in the written language.

Word-final syllables ending in a back vowel (*i*, *a* or *u*) are all palatalized.

Palatalization of the high back vowel *i* to *i*

- action nominal {-(y)An}: *a:ji-yän-nän* (S22, S24). Compare *a:ji-may-a* in (S21);
- instrumental/comitative {+(y)nAn}: *giz-dar-i-ynän* (S8);
- dative {+(y)A}: *papaqatti-yä* (S7, S8), *gapi-yä* (← *gapi*- 'door') (Şirəliyev 2008: 59). Compare <papaqatdıya> and <qapıya> in the written language.

Palatalization of the high back vowel *u* to *ü*

- dative {+(y)A}: *sü-yä* (← *su*- 'water');
- accusative {+(y)İ}: *sü-yü* (← *su*- 'water').

Palatalization and raising of the low back vowel *a* to *i*

- intraterminal {-(y)İr}: *baş-di-yı* (← *baş-da*-) (S19), *duz-di-yır* (← *duz-da*- 'to salt'), *anni-yır* (← *anna*- 'to understand'), *yaşı-yır-äm* (← *yaşa*- 'to live'), *doyri-yır-sän* (← *doyra*- 'to chop'). Compare the standard Azeri forms: *baş-dı-yır*, spelled as <başlayır>, *duz-tu-yur* or *duz-du-yur*, spelled as <duzlayır>, *anli-yır* / *anni-yır*, spelled as <anlayır>, *yaşı-yır-am*, spelled as <yaşayırım>;
- aorist {-(y)Ar}: *anni-yär*, *yoł-li-yär* (← *yołta*- 'to send'), *oyni-yär* (← *oyna*- 'to play') (Şirəliyev 2008: 61). Compare the standard Azeri forms *anni-yar* or *anna-yar*, spelled as <anlayar>, *yoł-tu-yar*, spelled as <yollayar>, *oy-na-yar*, spelled as <oynayar>;
- postterminal converb {-(y)İf}/{-(y)İb}: *bay-li-yi:b* (S10), *anni-yif* (← *anna*- 'to understand'), *yoł-li-yif* (← *yoł-ta*- 'to send'). Compare the standard Azeri forms *anli-yüp* or *anni-yüp*, spelled as <anlayıb>, *yoł-tu-yup*, spelled as <yollayıb>;

- intraterminal converb {- (y)ä}: *yoł-li-yä yoł-li-yä* (← *yoł-ta* 'to send'), *su-li-yä su-li-yä* (← *su-ta* 'to water'). Compare *yoł-ta-ya yoł-ta-ya* or *yoł-tu-ya yoł-tu-ya*, spelled as <yollaya yollaya>, *su-ta-ya su-ta-ya* or *su-tu-ya su-tu-ya*, spelled as <sulaya sulaya> in the standard variety;
- dative {+(y)A}: *bali-yä* (← *bala* 'child') (Şirəliyev 2008: 59), *dünyä-yä* (← *dünya* 'world').

Palatalization and unrounding of the high back vowel u to i

- intraterminal {- (y)İr}: *oıı-yİR* (← *oıı* 'to read'). Compare *oıı-yur*, spelled as <oxuyur> in standard Azeri;
- aorist {- (y)Ar}: *oıı-yär* (← *oıı* 'to read'). Compare *oıı-yar*, spelled as <oxuyar> in standard Azeri;
- postterminal converb {- (y)İf} / {- (y)İb}: *oıı-yİf* (← *oıı* 'to read'), *ğori-yİf / ğori-yİtdi* (← *ğoru* 'to protect'). Compare *ğoruyup / ğoruyupdu*, spelled as <qoruyub> / <qoruyubdu> in standard Azeri;
- intraterminal converb {- (y)ä}: *oıı-yä oıı-yä* (← *oıı* 'to read'). Compare *oıı-ya oıı-ya*, spelled as <oxuya oxuya>;
- action nominal {- (y)An}: *oıı-yän-dä*: (S8). Compare *oıı-yan-da*, spelled <oxuyanda>.

The example *hazİrtİ-yİR-uıı* (S22) displays only raising. In *ğodu-yä* (S9 and S10), the final syllable of the stem is neither palatalized nor unrounded. According to our knowledge, the expected forms in Sheki would be *hazİrtİ-yİR-uıı* and *ğodİ-yä*. We therefore assume influence of the standard variety here. Compare *hazİrtİ-yİR-uıı*, written as <hazİrlayırux>, and *ğodu-ya*, written as <qoduya>, in the standard language.

2. Uniform realization of suffixes

As a consequence of the above-mentioned phonological processes, suffixes with an initial *y* exhibit uniform front realizations when they immediately follow a vowel. Otherwise in post-consonantal use, most have front or back allomorphs according to the harmony rules (for the non-harmonic use of the intraterminal converb marker, see below). Examples:

Intraterminal {-yir} / {-İr}

- Post-vocalic {-yir}: *di-yİR / di-yİR-äm* (S18, S20), *eli-yİr* (S27), *yoł-li-yİR* (<yollayır>), *duz-di-yİR* (<duzlayır>), *imza-li-yİR* (<imzalayır>);
- Post-consonantal {-İr}: *čİı-İR-dİ-tar* (S7), *so:š-ur* (S16), *ğoy-ur-uıı* (S21, S27), *yay-İR-u:ıı* (S24), *sał-İR-uıı* (S26), *oł-ur* (S28).

Aorist {-yär} / {-Ar}

- Post-vocalic {-yär}: *söyli-yär*, *anni-yär* (<anlayar>), *duz-di-yär* (<duzlayar>), *yoł-li-yär* (<yollayar>);
- Post-consonantal {-Ar}: *ğoy-a:r-dİ-ta*: (S11), *oł-ar* (S23).

Postterminal converb {-yif} / {-yib} or {-İf} / {-İb}

- Post-vocalic {-yif} / {-yib}: *baı-li-yİb* (S10), *baı-li-yİf* (<baılayıb>), *baš-di-yİf* (<bašlayıb>);
- Post-consonantal {-İf} / {-İb}: *bas-İf* (S28).

Action nominal {-yän} / {-An}

- Post-vocalic {-yän}: *oıı-yän-dä*: (S8), *aıı-yän-nän* (S22, S24);
- Post-consonantal {-An}: *ad-tan-an* (twice in S4), *oł-an* (S12), *büč-än-nän* (S26).

Instrumental/comitative {+ynän} / {+nAn}

- Post-vocalic {+ynän}: *güz-dar-i-ynän* (S8), *šäči lähjä-si-ynän* (Sheki dialect-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP);
- Post-consonantal {+nAn}: *čülčäbasan-nan* (S28), *yaylıx-nan* (S10), *xoräh-nän* (S19), *süd-ün-nä:n* (S11), *düyü-sün-nä:n* (S12).

Dative {+yä} / {+A}

- Post-vocalic {+yä}: *süfri-yä* (twice in S5), *papaḫatti-yä* (S7, S8);
- Post-consonantal {+A}: in *garšiy-a* (S23), *forma-šin-a* (S26).

Palatal and labial harmony

There are various deviations from the rules of palatal and labial harmony. The phenomena of uniform front realization of the suffixes with the initial glide *y*, and vowel lengthening involving rounding are already analyzed in the previous sections. Other phenomena observed in the recordings are:

The locative marker exhibits the front variant *+dä* in combination with the Russian word *kuḫna* 'kitchen' (S15).

The voluntative suffix {-(y)aḫ} for first person plural is back: *di-yaḫ* (S25), *jäl-aḫ* (← *jäl*- 'to come'), *jör-aḫ* (← *jör*- 'to see'). For the back realization of the voluntative in Iranian Azeri, see Lee (2008: 32).

The infinitive suffix {-maḫ} is back: *yi-may-a* (S19), *dil-län-ma:* (S19), *jäl-maḫ* (see Şirəliyev 2008: 55–56, 274). For the back realization of the infinitive in Iranian Azeri, see Lee (2008: 32).

The intraterminal converb {-(y)ä} is realized as a front suffix after the reduplicated back stem *gäč*:-*gäč-ä gäč-ä* (S8). As already mentioned, in combination with this suffix, stem-final back vowels are palatalized: *su-li-yä su-li-yä* (← *su-la*- 'to water').

The terminal marker {-du} is realized with a back-rounded vowel: *jäl-du-ḫ*, *oḫu-du-ḫ*, *söylä-du-ḫ*, *anna-du-ḫ*. In combination with the person-number marker {-n!z} for second person plural, this back-rounded vowel is lengthened due to the contraction: *jäl-du:z*, *söylä-du:z*, *anna-du:z*.

The first person plural person-number {(y)uḫ} always contains a back rounded vowel, which is sometimes long (compare Şirəliyev 2008: 163):

- following postterminal: *yiyiş-miş-u:ḫ* (S8), *at-miş-u:ḫ* (S8), *jizdän-miş-u:ḫ* (twice in S8), *böl-müş-uḫ* (S8);
- following intraterminal: *jötür:-uḫ* (S21), *yoyur:-uḫ* (S21), *goy-ur-uḫ* (S21, S27), *hazirli-yir-uḫ* (S22), *ayir:-u:ḫ* (S24), *yay-ir-u:ḫ* (S24), *töç-ür-u:ḫ* (S25), *büç-ür-uḫ* (S25), *saḫ-ir-uḫ* (S26), *vur:-u:ḫ* (S28), *bişi:r-uḫ* (S28), *tämiz-di-yir-u:ḫ* (← *tämiz-dä*- 'to clean'), *di-yir-uḫ* (Şirəliyev 2008: 61);
- following aorist: *jäl-är-uḫ* (← *jäl*- 'to come'), *oḫi-yär-uḫ* (← *oḫu*- 'to read'), *söyli-yär-uḫ* (← *söylä*- 'to say'), *anni-yär-uḫ* (← *anna*- 'to understand');
- following prospective: *jäl-juḫ*, *oḫi-yjuḫ*, *söyli-yjuḫ*, *anni-yjuḫ*;
- in nominal clauses: *Mällim-uḫ* 'We are teachers', *Täläbä-yuḫ* 'We are students', *Uşay-uḫ* 'We are children'.

The second person plural person-number marker {+suḫ} usually contains a back rounded vowel, which is sometimes long (compare Şirəliyev 2008: 163, ADDA 128–129):

- following postterminal: *jäl-mi-su:z*, *oḫi-mi-su:z*, *al-mi-su:z*, *söylä-mi-su:z*, *anna-mi-su:z*;
- following intraterminal: *jär-suz*, *oḫi-yir-suz*, *al-ir-suz*, *söyli-yir-suz*, *anni-yir-suz*;

- following aorist: *jäl-är-su:z*, *oxi-yär-suz*, *al-ar-suz*, *söyli-yär-suz*, *anni-yär-suz*;
- following prospective: *jäl-ji-suz*, *oxi-yja-suz*, *al-jaç-suz*, *söyli-ji-su:z*, *anni-ji-suz*;
- in nominal clauses: *Mällim-suz* 'You are teachers', *Täläbä-suz* 'You are students', *Uşax-suz* 'You are children'.

The second person plural possessive marker contains a long rounded vowel after consonant-final stems. When following a vowel-final stem it causes lengthening of this vowel: *mällim-o:z* 'your teacher', *uşax-o:z* 'your child', *alma-lar-o:z* 'your apples', *täläba:-z* 'your student'; compare Şirəliyev (2008: 155). For vowel and consonant lengthening, see above.

Voicing of strong fricatives and stops

Preceding vowel-initial suffixes, word-final or suffix-final strong fricatives are voiced. Aspirated -*h* becomes the palatal glide -*y*-. *eşih* > *eşiy-i* (door-ACC) (S3), *döş:äh* > *döş:äy-i* (mattress-ACC) (S3), *xoräh* > *xoräy-o* (dish-ACC) (S18) (compare *xoräh-nän*, S 19), *inäh* > *inäyün* (cow-GEN) (S11).

Aspirated -*ç* changes into the fricative -*y*-. *a:ji-maç* > *a:ji-may-a* (S21), *ğariş-iç* > *ğariş-iy-i* (S22), *ğarşiy-a* (S23), *ğa:lün-niç* > *ğa:lün-niy-in-da* (S24), *yi-maç* > *yi-may-a* (S19), *yay-diç-i* > *yay-di-y-i* (S25) (compare *yay-diç-ları*), *papaç* > *papay-a* and *papay-i* (S8), *ğuyruy-i*. The latter change occurs even where the following word begins with a vowel: *da:ş-may isti-yir-äm* (S2), *çiç-may a:dät-i* (S9) (compare *çayir-maç-çün*, S9).

Preceding vowel-initial suffixes, the dental stop -*t* is sometimes voiced: *süd-ün-nä:n* ← *süt* 'milk' (S11), *çänd-i* and *çänd-in-nä:n* (S12) (compare *çänt-lärdä:*, S9), but *a:dät-i* (S9).

Fricativization of labial stops

In word-final or suffix-final positions, the labial stops *p/b* are often fricativized into *f*, often in cases where the following word starts with, or contains, an affricate or fricative consonant: *javaf ver* (S17), *döy-üfjizdän-miş-u:ç* (S8), *jötür-ü:f iç-in-ä* (S8), *bas-ü:f üst-ün-ä* (S28), *ğoy-uf bişir:-uç* (S28); compare *bayli-yi:b ğodu-yä* (S10) and *jä:b papay-i* (S8). See also *çiç-if* (← *çiç* 'to go out'), *ğoy-uf* (← *ğoy* 'to put'), *ğiril-if* (← *ğiril* 'to be broken'), *çek-if* (← *çek* 'to draw'), found in Qarayev (2000: 42–43); see also ADDA (92–93). In intervocalic position, either in the stem or before a vowel-initial suffix, final -*b* is fricativized into a weak fricative *v*: *harava* 'carriage', *läyäv-i* (nickname-POSS3SG). Compare ⟨araba⟩ and ⟨ləqəbi⟩ in the written standard language.

Regressive assimilation -*p-d*- > -*t-d*-

Regressive assimilation -*p-d*- > -*t-d*- is attested in instances involving the combination of postterminal {-(y)lp} with the person marker for third person: *ğoy-üt-dular* (put-POST-3PL) (S8), *ğoy-üt-dular-sa* (put-POST-3PL-HYP.COP) (S8), *ol-ut-du* (be(come)-POST-3SG) (Qarayev 2000: 45), *öl-üt-dü* (die-POST-3SG) (Qarayev 2000: 46), *hazirli-yit-dilär* (prepare-POST-3PL), *öyräş-it-di* (learn-POST-3SG), *ver-it-dilär* (give-POST-3PL). Compare *ğoy-up-lar* (qoyublar), *ğoy-up-lar-sa* (qoyublarsa), *ol-up-du* (olubdu), *öl-üp-dü* (ölübdü), *hazir-li-yip-lar* (hazirlyayblar), *öyräş-ip-di* (öyrəşibdi), *ver-ip-lär* (veriblər) in spoken and written standard Azeri. Mentioning that this assimilation is a specific feature of the Sheki dialect, ADDA (154–155) provides the examples *ğäl-it-di* (come-POST-3SG), *ğaç-it-di* (run-POST-3SG), *dur-ut-du* (stand-POST-3SG), and *ğör-üt-dü* (see-POST-3SG).

Regressive assimilation -*r-l*- > -*l-l*-

Regressive assimilation -*r-l*- > -*l-l*- is observed in combination of intraterminal {-(y)lr} or aorist {-(y)Ar} with the person marker {-LAR}: *jäl-il-lär* (< *jäl-ir-lär*), *jäl-äl-lär* (< *jäl-är-lär*), *aç-it-lar* (< *aç-ir-lar*), *süz-ül-lär* (< *süz-ür-lär*), *al-al-lar* (< *aç-ar-lar*), *anni-yil-lär* (< *anni-yir-lär*), *anni-yäl-lär* (< *anni-yär-lär*), *oxi-yil-lär* (< *oxi-yir-lär*), *oxi-yäl-lär* (< *oxi-yär-lär*), *söyli-yil-lär* (< *söyli-yir-lär*), *söyli-yäl-lär* (< *söyli-yär-lär*).

Suffix-initial variation between *l-*, *d-*, and *n-*

The initial consonant of the derivational suffixes {-LA} and {+LİK}, and the plural suffix {+LAr} is subject to progressive assimilation and exhibits alternation between *l-*, *d-* and *n-*. The variants with *d-* occur after fricatives like *-z* or *š*: *tämiz-di-yir-di* (S3) *baş-di-yi* (S19) (compare spoken standard Azeri *baş-di-yir*, written as *başlayır*), *güz-dar-i-ynän* (S8), *baş-da:n-a* (S10) (compare *başlarında*), *baş-da:n-da* (S10) (compare *başlarında*), *yot-daš-dar* 'friends', (compare *yoldaşlar*). The variants with *n-* appear after nasal consonants: *itir-än-när* (S6), *jälin-nä* (S7), *jävan-nar-i*: (S10), *ğa:hin-niy-in-da* (S24). In most other cases, the front or back variants of *l-* are used: *ad-tan-an* (twice in S4), *dil-län-mar*: (S19), *änänä-lär-i* (S2, S13), *uşax-tar* (S7), *čänt-lär-dä*: (S9), *bay-li-yi:b* (S10), *čüčä-lä*: (S10), *čündä-lär-ä* (S24).

Formal coincidence between ablative and instrumental/comitative

The ablative case is indicated by the suffix {+dAn} / {+nAn}: *yas-dan* (S6), *ayaš-dan* (S10), *otaχ-dan* (S19), *alma-dan*, *čänd-in-nä:n* (S12), *a:ji-yän-nän sora* (S22, S24), *büč-än-nän sora* (S26), *un-nan sora* (S28). As obvious from the examples, the latter variant {+nAn} is attached to the stems ending in a nasal consonant. After other consonants and vowels, the former variant is used.

The postposition with an instrumental/comitative meaning is marked with the suffix {+nAn} / {+ynän}. The variant {+nAn} occurs after all consonants, including nasals: *yayliχ-nan* (S10), *χoräh-nän* (S19), *čülčäbasan-nan* (S28), *biz-nän*. The variant {+ynän} is used after words ending with a vowel: *güz-dar-i-ynän* (girl-PL-WITH.POSTP) (S8), *šäči lähjä-si-ynän* (Sheki dialect-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP), *hami-ynän* (all-POSS3SG-WITH.POSTP).

Thus, the ablative case and the postposition denoting instrumental/comitative exhibit the same shape when a noun ends in a nasal consonant. The surrounding morphosyntactic context mostly makes it clear whether the suffix has an ablative or an instrumental/comitative function. In some contexts, however, words might be ambiguous: *süd-ün-nä:n* (S11) 'from/of the milk of' or 'with the milk of', *düyü-sün-nä:n* (S12) 'from/of the rice of' or 'with the rice of', *sän-nän* 'from you' or 'with you', *güz-in-nan* 'from his/her daughter' or 'with his/her daughter',

Observe that the same morphological coincidence is also found in spoken standard Azeri: *ilan-nan* 'from the snake' or 'with the snake'. In the written language, however, these two categories are clearly distinguished since the ablative is marked with {+dAn}, i.e. even after nasal consonants, while the instrumental is conveyed with {+(y)lA}: *ilandan* 'from the snake' and *ilanla* 'with the snake'. Observe that the example *χoräh-nän* attested in (S19) corresponds to *χöräklä* in the written language. In the spoken language, different intonation patterns may help to distinguish the ablative case {+nAn} from the postposition denoting instrumental/comitative {+nAn}. While the ablative is an accented suffix, the enclitical instrumental/comitative is not accented: *ilan-nan* 'from the snake' and *ilan'-nan* 'with the snake'.

Lexicon

Copied lexemes

Our transcriptions contain quite a number of words copied from Arabic and Persian. Some are relatively old copies in Turkic belonging to the basic vocabulary. Azeri is highly influenced by Persian, and Arabic words entered Azeri, as it is also true for other Turkic languages, mostly through the medium of Persian. The following words are originally from Arabic: *vaxt* (S1), *χeyr* (S1), *a:dät* (S2, S9, S13), *änänä* (S2, S13), *tämiz* (S3), *hissä* (S4), *ära:zi* (S4), *a:χir* (S4, S5), *halva* (S5), *šähär* (S4, S9), *süfrä* (S5), *äziz* (S6), *fał* (S7), *sinif* (S8), *mählä* (S10), *mäšhur* (S12), *läti:fä* (S14), *javaf* (S17), *χała* (S17), *arvad* (S18), *saxt* (S21), *χämir*, *χämir-i* (S21, S24), *hazir* (S22), *zäfäran* (S23), *zänjäfil* (S23), *istira:hät* (S27), *deyga* (S27).

The following words have Persian origin: *ba:rä* (S2, S13), *pałaz* (S3), *hami* (S3, S6), *novruz* (S3, S4, S5, S11, S13), *širin* (S5), *badam* (S5), *čülčä* (S5, S20, S28), *papaχ* (S7, S8), *jävan* (S10), *čüčä* (S10), *täzä* (S11, S26), *sämäni* (S11), *χoräh* (S17, S18, S19), *ğašäh* (S21, S28), *hi:l* (S23), *darčün* (S23),

toğum (S23), *čišniš* (S23), *χirda* (S24), *həmin* (S25), and *čänt* (S9, S12), an old Iranian copy in Turkic.

Russian copies are rare: *kuxna* (S15), *res:ept* (S20), *peso:χ* (S21), *vanil* (S23), *milli* (S24), *forma* (S26).

Vocabulary related to food

The transcriptions include the names of various dishes, most of which are typical of the Sheki region. *O:ma* (S5) is a kind of sweet bread made of wheat flour, butter, milk, sugar, saffron, and other spices in «Ağdaş», «Göyçay», «Mingəçevir», «Oğuz» and Sheki regions (ADL II: 428). *Čülčä* (S5, S20) «külçə» is a flaky pastry stuffed with spices, such as *čišniš* 'coriander', *hi:l* 'cardamom', *zənjäfil* 'ginger', *darčün* 'cinnamon', *zäfäran* 'saffron' (S23), in «Qax», «Şamaxı» and Sheki (see ADL I: 292). A special tool called *čülčä-basan* «külçəbasan» 'külçə-press' (S28) is used in «Ağdaş», «Mingəçevir» and Sheki to create patterns on the dough (ADL I: 292). In Sheki, *ğirmabadam* (S5) is a kind of halva dessert made of hazelnuts, egg white, rice flour, cardamom, coriander, sugar, and sesame seeds (ADL I: 332). The word *ba:myä*, referring to 'okra' in some parts of Azerbaijan (ADL I: 31), has a special meaning in Sheki (as in S5). It is a pastry speciality which is deep-fried and dipped in syrup. We assume that this dessert may have been called *ba:myä* because of the similarity of its shape with okra, having longitudinal stripes on it.

Halva is a dessert usually prepared and served during or right after a funeral, whereas Sheki halva (*šäči halvası*, S5) is an everyday speciality not restricted to funerals. It is a sticky dessert made with layers of rice-based strips mixed with nuts, sugar and cloves. According to ADL, in Sheki and «Zaqatala», *ayız* denotes the very first milk of a cow after calving. In «Ağdaş», «Qax», «Zərdab» and Sheki, it also designates a dish that is prepared with the first milk of a newborn calf and has a cheese-like taste («pendir kimi olur», ADL I: 5). The word *ayız* in (S11) is used in the latter meaning. *Bulama* and *yayma* (S11) are also dishes prepared with milk. In Baku *yayma* is a type of flat bread. But, in «Bərdə», «Daşkəsən», «Gədəbəy», «Göyçay», «Xanlar», «Mingəçevir», «Oğuz», «Zərdab» and Sheki, it is a milk porridge («südlüsüyüq», ADL II: 626).

Vocabulary related to traditional feasts and customs

İla:χir («*il* 'year' and *a:χir* 'end'») (S4, S5) and *novruz* (S3, S4, S5, S11, S13) are celebrated all over Azerbaijan. *İla:χir* «ilaxır çərşənbəsi» is the name of the last one of the four Tuesdays preceding Nowruz. In some regions, Nowruz does not play an important role, but *ila:χir* is celebrated. The day of *ila:χir* is also when people visit the graves of their loved ones. For Nowruz, seven dishes whose names start with the letter *s* (such as «sumax» 'sumach', «sirkə» 'vinegar', «süd» 'milk', «səmənı» 'samani', «səbzı» 'a kind of green vegetables'), a mirror, and candles are placed on the table. Painted eggs are placed in front of the mirror. Each of these has a symbolic meaning. A candle means light and fire that protects people from the evil eye, and a mirror indicates clarity. *Səmənı* (S11) «səmənı» is the name of sprouted seeds, which symbolize the beginning of spring and prosperity. During the *ila:χir* holiday, the above mentioned dishes (*o:ma*, *čülčä*, *ğirmabadam*, *ba:myä*, *şirin çörəh*, *šäčərbura:*, *telhaıva:*, *šäči halvası*) are prepared at home (S5). These are not only consumed by the family and served to guests, but also sent to and received from neighbours, relatives, and friends (*pay jöndär-* in S6). During this time, support is provided to the relatives and friends who have lost their loved ones to help them cope with their mourning (*yas-dan çix-ar-* in S6).

The word *ğodu* «qodu» is used in many places in Azerbaijan with various meanings. But, the custom of going out for *ğodu* (*ğoduyä çix-* in S9, S10) to summon the sun (*jünäş çayır-* in S9) is typical of the Sheki region. In Sheki, *ğodu* denotes a piece of wood buried in the ground to build a fence («çəpər çəkmək üçün yerə basdırılan ağac», ADL: 337). Going out for *ğodu* means boys tie wrapping scarves around their heads, carrying wooden *ğodus* in their hands, and singing the song *ğodu-ğodu* as they visit each house. In doing so, they receive gifts from neighbours in the form of money, onions, rice, butter, sweets or candy (*pay al-* 'to get a share').

On the eve of Nowruz, children go out for a game called 'hat-throwing' (*papaḫattiyä çix-* in S7, S8). They throw their hats through open doors or leave them on the doorstep and then knock on the door expecting a gift (share) from the householder. They disguise themselves to avoid being identified.

Ear fortune telling (*gulaḫ faḫi*, S7) is performed on the day of *ila:ḫir* after sunset. The person who wishes a wish takes a bowl of water, a mirror, and a key and goes to a neighbour's door. The person then eavesdrops on what is said inside and interprets the first words he or she hears according to his or her wish. If what he or she hears matches the wish, it is considered a sign that the wish will come true. Therefore, on this day, people pay particular attention to using heartwarming words so that the eavesdropper at the door is happy to hear that his or her wish will be fulfilled.

Expressions and kinship terms

The compound noun *papaḫ-at-ti* 'hat-throwing' (S7, S8), also used in the standard language, contains the noun *papaḫ* 'hat' and the verb *at-* 'to throw' conjugated with terminal marker {-dl}. Similar compound nouns containing a verb inflected with terminal marker are many in Turkish, such as *hünkar-beḡen-di* 'eggplant puree with cheese' (← *hünkar* 'sultan' and *beḡen-* 'to like'), *imam-bayıl-di* 'split eggplant with tomatoes and onions' (← *imam* 'imam' and *bayıl-* 'to be fond of'), *kül-bas-tı* 'grilled cutlet' (← *kül* 'ash' and *bas-* 'to press').

The expression *sä:n yiyim* (S16) 'May I eat you' is used by older people when talking to younger ones in order to show affection, sympathy, and closeness. Normally, it is not used when addressing agetates or older people.

Naya:s:an? (S16) 'What are you doing?' is a pronominal verb evolved from *Nä ḡayir-ir-san?*. The verb *ḡayir-* 'to make' is no longer used in the standard language as it has gained a negative meaning. In Sheki, it conveys a neutral meaning.

To address older women, the term *ḫala* 'maternal aunt' is often used, as in (S17). In Sheki, as well as in some other dialects, the kinship term *mama* refers to paternal aunt (ADL II: 378, Məşədiyəv 2018: 17). In the standard language, <mama> means 'mum' and <bibi> is used to denote paternal aunt. Thus, <bibiḡlu> 'father's sister's son' and <bibiqızı> 'father's sister's daughter' in the standard language correspond to *mamaoḡlu* and *mamaḡizi* in the Sheki dialect. Another difference concerns the use of *elti* 'husband's brother's wife' in Sheki, <Qazax>, <Quba>, and <Marneuli> dialects. This appears as *erti* in the <Tovuz> dialect. In the standard language, instead of *elti/erti* we find <qayın arvad> (Abid 2016: 199, Məşədiyəv 2018: 14, ADL I: 162). In Sheki, the word *çişi* 'man' also refers to 'husband'. In standard Azeri, <ər> is used in the sense of 'husband' while <kişi> only means 'man'. Thus, we find the expressions *çişi-yä get-* 'get married' and *çişi-arvad* 'husband and wife' in Sheki, next to the standard expressions <ərə get-> and <ər-arvad>. It has to be remarked that <kişi> 'person' in standard Turkish is a gender-neutral word, which can lead to misunderstandings in Turkish-Azeri receptive semi-communications.

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