

**Azeri Morphosyntax:
The Influence of Persian on a Turkic Language**

by

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Abstract

Azeri, the second largest language in Iran, is a Turkic language, but its lexicon is heavily influenced by Persian, an Indo-European language. This thesis examines the effect of Persian on Azeri morphosyntax. Turkic languages are head-final: in noun phrases, modifiers appear before head nouns. In contrast, Persian is head-initial: modifiers follow head nouns. Azeri allows both head-final and head-initial structures. A field study conducted with ten Azeri speakers in Tabriz, Iran, revealed that in two domains—relative clauses and noun compounds—the two types of structures are used almost equally. However, older, monolingual speakers prefer head-final structures, while younger, educated, bilingual speakers prefer head-initial structures. This shows that Azeri is becoming persified, as predicted in such situations of language contact involving a politically-dominant language. However, all speakers accept head-final structures, showing the persistence of Turkic morphosyntax despite a millennium of intense social and cultural contact with Persian.

Keywords: Language contact; Azeri morphosyntax; Turkic language; bilingualism; relative clauses; noun compounding

*To my daughter, Sarah, whose love made this
work possible*

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List of Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 st , 3 st person
A	adjective
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
AOR	aorist
CAUS	causative
COM	complementizer
DAT	dative
EZ	ezafe
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
LE	linking element
LNK	linker
LOC	locative
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OM	object marker
PF	perfect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional/postpositional phrase
PRES	present tense
PST	past tense
RC	relative clause
REL	relativizer
RES	restrictive
S	subject
SG	singular
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
-	morpheme boundary
*	ungrammatical
∅	empty element

1. Introduction

The present study investigates Azeri, a language spoken in the northwestern part of Iran. Azeri is a Turkic language, but it is strongly influenced by Persian, an Indo-European language. The northwestern part of Iran is an ethno-linguistic contact zone where Azeri and Persian have been spoken side by side for at least a millennium. Due to this contact, the Azeri lexicon is heavily influenced by Persian. The main objective of the present research has been to examine patterns of language variation among Azeri speakers in order to determine whether Persian has also affected Azeri morphosyntax.

To do this, I undertook a comparison of Turkish and Persian and then constructed a list of Azeri constructions that show Persian influence based on introspective data—I am a native speaker of Azeri born and raised in Tabriz, Iran. My list consisted of four constructions—relative clauses, compound nouns, benefactives and causatives. Each comes in two variants—a native variant and a variant borrowed from Persian. Next I designed a field study to collect data from a variety of Azeri speakers. The data used in this study were collected from audio-recordings of task-based interviews with five monolingual Azeri speakers and five bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers living in Tabriz, Iran.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, my goal was to find the possible impact that socio-cultural factors have had on the variation patterns of the participants' speech. My results show that monolingual speakers prefer native variants, while bilingual speakers prefer borrowed variants in some constructions. This result is unsurprising given what has been observed in other regions of the world with intense contact between typologically diverse languages. Azeri is becoming persified, as predicted in such situations of language contact with a dominant language. Nevertheless, all speakers still use native Turkic variants of all four constructions, showing the persistence of Turkic morphosyntax despite an intense social and cultural contact with Persian.

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 gives an introduction to the basic morphosyntactic properties of Azeri, as compared to Turkish and Persian. With respect to agreement and word order, Azeri exhibits properties typical of Turkic languages, but with respect to word order, Azeri shows some influence from Persian. Chapter 3 describes the fieldwork undertaken in support of this thesis, detailing the participants, methodology and procedures. Chapter 4 discusses the relative order of head nouns and the relative clauses that modify them. Chapter 5 explores the order in compound nouns. Chapter 6 discusses different types of causative constructions. Each of Chapters 4, 5 and 6 explains the collection and coding of data and discusses the results in terms of two sociolinguistic factors—age and level of education. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the results of this study and what it reveals for the future of the Azeri language.

Before turning to my study of Azeri structure, I give some brief background information on the Azeri language in the remainder of this chapter.

1.1. The language

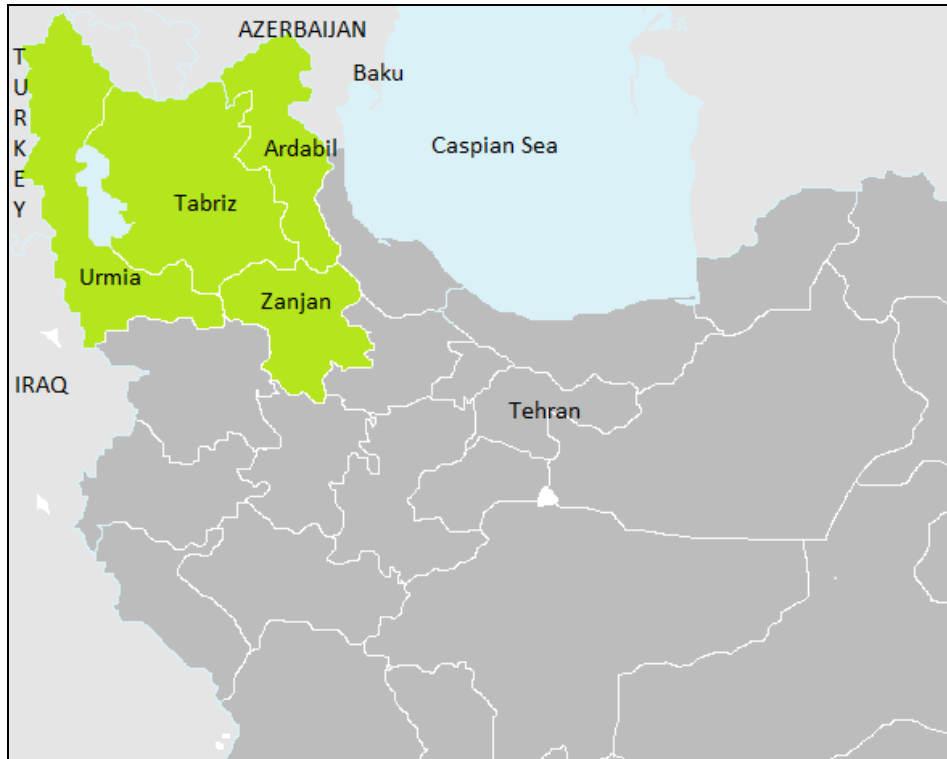
Azerbaijani is classified as a Turkic language.¹ It is a member of the Oghuz branch and in genetic terms is closely related to Turkish together with Anatolian Turkish, spoken in Turkey and Turkmen, spoken in Turkmenistan (Menges 1951, Lewis 1967, Underhill 1976, Zimmer 1976, Comrie 1981).

The classification of the Azerbaijani language and its varieties remain controversial (Amirpur-Ahrandjani 1971, Həsənov et al. 1989, Shönig 1998, Azersina and Memedova 1993, among others). However, two main varieties of the language can be recognized based on different cultural and linguistic regions. One variety, which is spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, is called Azerbaijani and the other variety, which is spoken in Iran,

¹ Turkic languages are posited as belonging to the southwestern group of the Altaic language family. The existence of the Altaic family is controversial. This language family arguably includes Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Korean, and Japanese language families, which stretch from Turkey through Central Asia to Anatolia and northwest Asia.

is called Iranian Azeri or Azeri.²

Image 1.1. Map of Azeri-speaking areas in Iran³



This thesis focuses on the Azeri language as it is spoken in Iran. Iranian Azeri is spoken predominantly in the northwestern part of Iran. Azeri, with approximately 15–20 million speakers, has more speakers than any other non-Persian language in Iran (Crystal 2010).

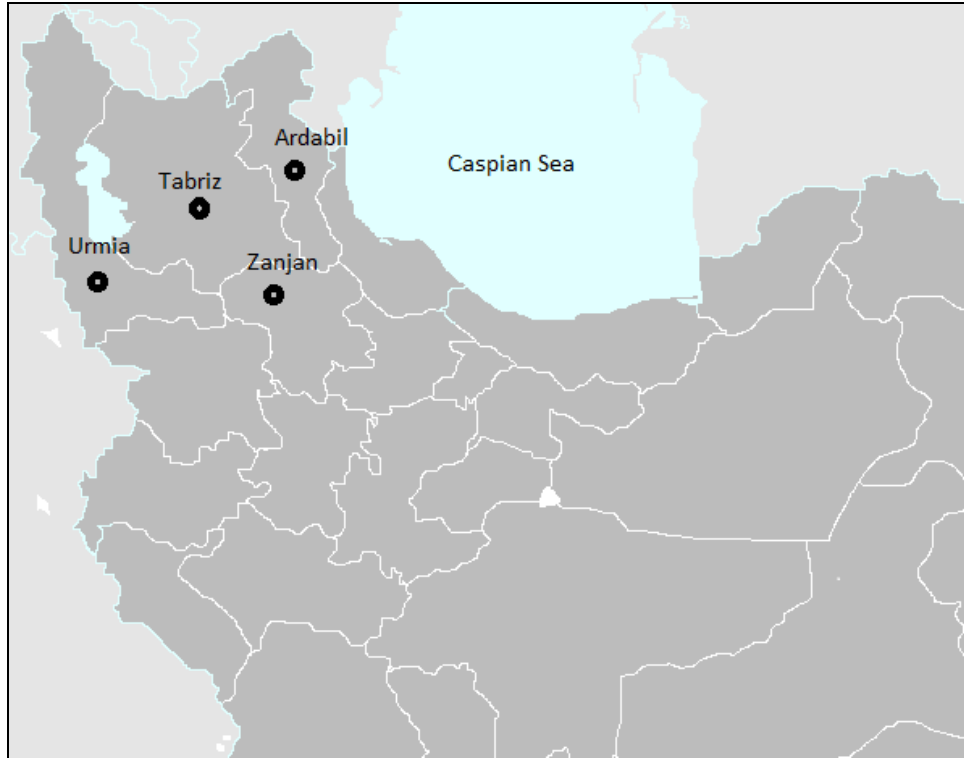
Most Azeri speakers inhabit the four provinces in the northwestern part of Iran. Each province has its own dialect—the Urmia dialect in West Azerbaijan province, the Tabriz dialect in East Azerbaijan province, the Ardabil dialect in Ardabil province and the Zanjan dialect in Zanjan province. The dialects are mutually intelligible, although they are

² Throughout this thesis, the term ‘Azeri’ is used to refer to the Azeri language is spoken in Iran, and Azeris is used to refer to the people who are living in Iran.

³ This map is constructed using the map template from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.PNG>, retrieved November 1, 2012.

distinguished by phonological and lexical criteria (Dehghani 2000). To my knowledge, there are no morphosyntactic differences among the dialects.

Image 1.2. Azeri dialects in the northwestern part of Iran ⁴



Among these dialects, the dialect of Tabriz is the prestigious dialect and serves as the norm for Iranian Azeri (Menges 1951, Johanson 1998). I am a native speaker of Azeri, born and raised in Tabriz and the data presented in this thesis were gathered in Tabriz, the capital of East Azerbaijan province in northwestern Iran.

1.2. Azeri sounds and their representation

Azeri has a phonemic inventory and phonological processes typical of Turkic languages, as briefly outlined in section 1.2.1. Although the varieties of Azeri—Iranian Azeri and Azerbaijani Azeri—basically share the same phonological structure, for socio-

⁴ This map is constructed using the map template from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Blank-Map-Iran-With-Water-Bodies.PNG>, retrieved November 1, 2012.

political reasons they are written with different orthographies, as discussed in section 1.2.2.

1.2.1. Phonology

The Azeri phonemic inventory consists of thirty-three phonemes, including twenty-four consonants and nine vowels. The general distribution of the Azeri consonants is illustrated in the Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1. Azeri consonant inventory

		bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	uvular	glottal
stop	vl	p		t			k	q	ʔ
	vd	b		d				g	
affricative	vl					ç			
	vd					c			
fricative	vl		f		s	ş		x	h
	vd		v		z	j		ğ	
liquid					l r				
nasal		m			n				
glide							y		

Discussion of some consonants requires elaboration. The consonant *ğ* does not appear in initial position in native Azeri words. Most of the words beginning with the *ğ* consonant are Arabic words that have been borrowed through Persian, e.g. *ğubar* ‘greif’. In addition, the consonant *j* appears in a limited number of loanwords in Azeri, e.g. *jandarm* ‘gendarme’ (Lee 2008). Furthermore, the consonant *g* does not appear in word-final position, except in the *ng* consonant cluster in loanwords from Persian, e.g. *zāng* ‘bell’.

Azeri has consonant harmony (Lee 2008). In word-final position, dorsal stops harmonize with the preceding vowel: *k* occurs after front vowels, e.g. *kiçik* ‘little, small’, and

q occurs after back vowels, e.g. *uşax* ‘child’⁵. In addition, consonant lenition occurs in stems ending with *k* and *q* followed by suffixes: stem-final *k* changes to *y* before a suffix beginning with a vowel, e.g. *kiçik* ‘little, small’, *kiçiy-in* ‘the small, and stem-final *q* changes to *ğ* before a suffix beginning with a vowel, e.g. *uşax* ‘child’, *uşağ-in* ‘your child’.

Azeri has nine vowels distinguished by height, frontness and roundness. The following Table 1.2 illustrates the Azeri vowel inventory⁶:

Table 1.2. Azeri vowel inventory

	front		back	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
high	i	ü	ɪ	u
mid	e	ö		o
low	ä		a	

Vowel harmony is a general phonological feature of Turkic languages. Azeri has two types of vowel harmony—fronting harmony and rounding harmony. Suffixes are harmonized according to the features of the preceding vowels. High vowels harmonize with the preceding vowel in frontness and roundedness, e.g. *kif-in* ‘your bag’, *qız-in* ‘your daughter’, *göz-ün* ‘your eye’, *kol-un* ‘your arm’. Low vowels are only affected by fronting harmony, e.g. *siz-dän* ‘from you’, *bur-dan* ‘from here’. The mid vowels occur primarily in initial syllables, and thus are not subject to vowel harmony.

1.2.2. Alphabets and orthography

Azerbaijani is written in three different alphabets (see Table 1.3 below). The Cyrillic and Latin alphabets are used in the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Arabic (Persian)

⁵ The consonant /q/ has two variants phones with respect to their environment (Lee 2008). In some dialects, especially in Tabriz dialect which is investigated in this thesis, the uvular stop [q] occurs word-initially and word-medially and the uvular fricative [x] occurs word-finally.

⁶ Various roman orthographies are used for the low front vowel in Azeri. Lee (2008) has represented the low front vowel with /ə/. In this study I follow Dehghani (2000) in representing the low front vowel as /ä/.

alphabet in Iran (Şimşir 1991, Tekin 1997, Lee 2008). Soviet officials pressured the government of the Republic of Azerbaijan into approving a modified Roman alphabet in 1924. In the late 1930s, their policy changed and a Cyrillic-based alphabet was proscribed as the official alphabet. After independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the Azerbaijani government officially re-introduced the Latin alphabet for the language.

Azeri in Iran is predominantly a spoken language and study of the Azeri language is not allowed. However, an Arabic script-based Persian (Perso-Arabic) alphabet has been used by scholars for centuries. This style of orthography follows the Persian orthography and leads to multiple ambiguities in writing. Azeri has nine vowel phonemes, whereas the Persian alphabet has only three vowel characters. For instance, there is no character for [ö] or [ü] in the Persian alphabet because they do not exist in the Persian vowel inventory. Therefore, the Persian alphabet is not adequate for representing Azeri. Reading and understanding written Azeri is difficult even for educated native speakers. Some scholars use a Latin alphabet to represent Azeri. This follows practices used in representing Turkish. However, Turkish orthography lacks symbols for [ä], [x] and [q] (Hatcher 2008).

The following table shows the Latin Azerbaijani alphabets together with the equivalents in the Cyrillic, Perso-Arabic and International Phonetic Alphabets. The data in this thesis are represented in the Latin script.

Table 1.3. The Azerbaijani alphabets

	Perso-Arabic	Cyrillic	Latin	IPA
1	ا, آ	А а	A a	[ɑ]
2	ب	Б б	B b	[b]
3	ج	Ч ч	C c	[dʒ]
4	چ	Ч ч	Ç ç	[tʃ]
5	د	Д д	D d	[d]
6	ا, ۆ	Е е	E e	[e]
7	ا, օ	Ә ә	Ä ä	[æ]
8	ف	Ф ф	F f	[f]
9	گ	К к	G g	[g]
10	غ	Ғ ғ	Ğ ğ	[ɣ]
11	ح, ه	Һ һ	H h	[h]
12	خ	Х х	X x	[x]
13	—	Ы ы	I ı	[ɯ]
14	ای	И и	İ i	[i]
15	ز	Ж ж	J j	[ʒ]
16	ک	К к	K k	[k]
17	ق	Г г	Q q	[q]
18	ل	Л л	L l	[l]
19	م	М м	M m	[m]
20	ن	Н н	N n	[n]
21	ا, ۆ, و	О о	O o	[ɔ]
22	—	Ө ө	Ö ö	[ø]
23	پ	П п	P p	[p]
24	ر	Р р	R r	[r]
25	ث, س, ص	С с	S s	[s]
26	ش	Ш ш	Ş ş	[ʃ]
27	ت, ط	Т т	T t	[t]
28	او	У у	U u	[u]
29	—	Ү ү	Ü ü	[y]
30	و	В в	V v	[v]
31	ی	Ү ү	Y y	[j]
32	ذ, ز, ض, ظ	З з	Z z	[z]
33	ع	'	?	[ʔ]

1.3. Sociolinguistic setting

Iran is a diverse country, with people of many religious and ethnic backgrounds who speak different languages as their first language. Persian is spoken as a first language by only 53% of the population. Alongside Persian, there are several minority languages, e.g. Azeri and other Turkic languages are spoken by 23% of the population, Kurdish by 10%, Lori by 6%, Baluchi by 2% and Arabic by 2% (Mehriyar 2000, Nomani and Behdad 2006). The following map illustrates where different minority languages are spoken in Iran.

Image 1.3. Map of Iran with diverse languages ⁷



Over half the world's population is bilingual (Holmes 2008: 74). This is the situation for half of the population of Iran. Persian is the dominant language and native speakers of Persian often do not learn a minority language. However, most speakers of minority

⁷ This map is adapted from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Iran_main_languages.png, retrieved November 1, 2012.

languages in Iran also speak Persian to some degree. Persian serves as a lingua franca in Iran, and most publications and mass media are in this language. There is only limited publication or broadcasting programmes in the other relatively popular languages of Iran, such as Azeri and Kurdish. In some societies, people use one language in their families, local communities, and work, but another language for education and official business. This is the situation in Iran: the only official language of Iran is Persian, and it is the only language used for education, including in Azeri-speaking areas. Speakers of minority languages that are upwardly mobile learn Persian. Many educated Azeris are totally fluent in both Azeri and Persian. Equally comfortable in both languages, bilingual speakers often engage in code-mixing when speaking to each other. In Azeri families living outside of the Azeri-speaking area, e.g., in Tehran, bilingual parents frequently speak to their children in Persian, and thus Persian is the first language of some Azeri children.

Given the dominance of Persian, and the long period of intensive contact, a more interesting observation is that some Azeri speakers have remained monolingual. Many people of the older generation in Azeri-speaking areas did not have a chance to attend school when they were children, especially in rural areas. These people can only speak Azeri, though they cannot read and write it. They also cannot read or write Persian, though some read a little Arabic due to their study of the Quran. That is why many older Azeris and those who are living in rural areas do not know Persian but are monolingual in Azeri.

Even Azeris that have had some education may be monolingual. In previous generations, and even recently in the rural areas, Azeri-speaking children arrived at school speaking only Azeri, but they were expected to learn to read, write and speak Persian. This was very difficult for children whose first language was not Persian and often resulted in problems (Hosseini 1992). For those who lived in cities, there was a chance to have at least limited contact with Persian speakers. However, those who are living in rural areas found it difficult to learn a language when nobody in their family spoke it. Due to these difficulties, many of these children dropped out after just a few years of school. Thus, some Azeris are monolingual despite several years of school.

Work is another setting in which Azeri speakers may come into contact with Persian. Speakers living in predominantly Azeri-speaking areas of Iran can hold jobs

requiring no Persian, especially in community-based businesses. But if they hold jobs with municipal or provincial governments, they need to be able to read and write Persian.

Azeri and Persian are used for different purposes in Azeri-speaking society, depending on various factors of the socio-cultural setting, location, age, and education. For example, we can picture a typical day of one Azeri speaker in Iran. Paralleling an example given by Holmes (2008: 74) of multilingualism in India, we can imagine an Azeri rug merchant, Mr. Bahrami who lives with his family in Tabriz, Iran. When he gets up he talks to his wife, children and mother in Azeri. Every morning he goes to the local bakery, where he uses Azeri to buy bread. On the way back home, he buys a newspaper, which is written in Persian. Since he has a middle school education, he can read Persian newspapers. When he gets to work at the Tabriz bazaar, he uses Azeri. His usual customers are Azeris, but sometimes he has customers from Tehran, who only speak Persian. He knows enough Persian to communicate with them. Back at home in the evening, he watches TV programs in Persian. Some relatives come visiting, Mr. Bahrami's brother and his family. His sister-in-law is from Tehran and can only speak Persian. Mr. Bahrami greets his brother in Azeri and his sister-in-law in Persian. Their children speak both Persian, the language of the mother, and Azeri, the language of the society. The cousins speak to each other in Azeri and sometimes switch to Persian because they know both. The grandmother knows only Azeri and can communicate in Azeri, though she can understand many Persian words that have been borrowed into Azeri. On the other hand, Mr. Bahrami's sister-in-law knows only Persian. She is bored because the main language spoken at home is Azeri. She understands only those Azeri words that have been borrowed from Persian, even though they are spoken with an Azeri accent.

In sum, Azeri speakers differ in their fluency in Persian, ranging from monolinguals to fully functional bilinguals. People from the older generation who have little or no education are not able to read, write or speak Persian fluently. However, those who have higher education, which includes most of the younger generation, can read, write and speak Persian fluently. The reason is that they have been in contact with Persian for many years, they read academic publications in Persian, follow the news in Persian, and of course, many of the educated people need to write academic texts. I use the term 'monolingual' to refer to those who are able to communicate comfortably only in Azeri and the term 'bilingual' to refer to those Azeri people who use Persian in their daily life.

1.4. Linguistic contact

Unlike other Turkic languages, Azeri as spoken in Iran is strongly influenced by Persian.⁸ When two languages that are not genetically related share a geographical location, and there is a high degree of bilingualism or multilingualism, grammatical features of the dominant language may be adopted by the minority language (Myers-Scotton 1993). Since, Persian is the only official language in Iran, it has political and cultural dominance over Azeri. This is exactly the sort of situation where one would expect the structure of a language to be influenced by another language, even if it is typologically dissimilar.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74–76) propose that when languages are in close contact with each other, borrowing lexical items is common, and in fact, many lexical items borrowed from Persian have become a part of the Azeri lexicon. Lee (2008) claims that, educated speakers tend to replace native Azeri words with their Persian equivalents. For example, the following is a part of an email to my cousin; in bold are Persian words which have been borrowed into Azeri:

bayram **ta?tilat** xoş geşdi? **hesabi** dolandin? inşalah **ki həmişə şad və sələmət** olasiz. **bahar** havasınan neynisiz? burda hala taza **bahardi və** ağaclar gözəl **şüküfälär** açıplar **və** hər yer **güldi**, adam deyir durum baxim bu güllara **və əks** salim. bizdə **tebge ma?mul, zendaganiğa məşğuluk və** günlərimiz geçir.⁹

How was your New Year's **holiday**? Did you have **much** fun? I wish you **happiness and health always**. How is your **spring** time going? Here it is still **spring and** trees have beautiful **blooms, and** everywhere is full of **flowers**, so you want to stop **and** watch them, **and** take **pictures**. **As usual**, we are **busy** with **life and** the days are passing.

One domain that is particularly susceptible to language mixing is the light verb construction:

⁸ Other languages in the area, such as Kurdish and Armenian, have been influenced by Persian as well.

⁹ This text as a sample text, is part of my emails communicating with my cousin. The italic/bolds words are Persian which have become part of Azeri lexicon and naturalized in Azeri.

Azeri
(1) dözmax
wait
'to wait'

Persian
(2) sabr kardan
wait do
'to wait'

Persified Azeri
(3) säbr elämax
wait do
'to wait'

Borrowing is not limited to lexical items; however, there is at least one function word, the preposition meaning 'for', that is borrowed from Persian into Azeri. The native Azeri construction for the benefactive involves the postposition *üçün* (4), while in Persian this is expressed by the preposition *barâye* 'for' (5):

Azeri:
(4) qız-ım üçün
daughter-GEN for
'for my daughter'

Persian:
(5) barâye doxtar-am
for daughter-POSS.1SG
'for my daughter'

Persified Azeri, preposition *baraye* 'for' (5) :
(6) Persified Azeri
bâraye qız-ım
for daughter-GEN
'for my daughter'

In addition, Azeri and Persian share some grammatical features, e.g. the placement of the modifier after the head noun in relative clauses:

Azeri:
(7) o qız ki alma ye-di
that girl-NOM COMP apple eat-PST.3SG
'the girl who ate an apple'

Persian				
(8) ân	doxtar	ke	sib	xord
that	girl-NOM	COMP	apple	eat-PST.3SG
'the girl who ate an apple'				

Slobin (1986: 281) notes that Azeri, under the heavy influence of Persian, has been using *ki* 'that' since at least the fourteenth century.

This is the topic that this project focuses on: what evidence is there for the influence of Persian on the structure of Azeri? Since Persian influence is quite significant, particularly among educated Azeri speakers, it might be possible to consider Iranian Azeri as a bridge between Turkish and Persian. In fact, Lee (2008: 7) raises the issue of whether Iranian Azeri is turkified Persian or persified Turkish.

In this study, I address the issue of the typological properties of Azeri, especially how this language is similar to or different from Turkish and Persian. This research addresses the following questions: What properties of Azeri are Turkic and what properties are due to contact with Persian? In what ways are Turkish and Azeri alike and different from Persian? In what ways are Azeri and Persian alike and different from Turkish? Are there ways in which Azeri differs from both Turkish and Persian? The particular domain that I will focus on is morphosyntax. The properties that I will target are based on a systematic comparison of the three languages.

Turkish and Persian are well-studied languages and there is a vast array of descriptive material. The key works on Turkish that I consulted are Lewis (1967), Underhill (1976), Erguvanlı (1984, 1987), Johanson (1986), Csató (1996), Haig (1997), Kornfilt (1997), Göksel and Kerslake (2005). For Persian, I consulted Lambton (1953), Karimi (1994, 2003, 2005), Windfuhr (1979), Mahootian (1997), *inter alia*.

Iranian Azeri, by comparison, is relatively understudied. There have been three Ph.D. theses on Azeri—two written in English, Deghani (2000) and Lee (2008), and one written in German, Kiral (2001)—all subsequently published as monographs. There are several descriptive grammars, e.g. Həsənov et al. (1989), Pir-Hashemi (1990), Zehtabi (1991), Ershadi-Far (1991), Farzane (1992), Rafrat (1995). Householder & Lotfi (1965) is a course book designed for English-speaking language learners. Also some articles address

various aspects of Azeri linguistics (Menges 1951, Öztopçu 1993, Azarsina and Memedova 1993, Johanson and Utah 2000, Johanson 2006, Stilo 2006, Dehghani 2008). Using the published works on Azeri and introspective data, I aimed to investigate a list of morphosyntactic properties in Azeri.¹⁰ I turn to these phenomena in subsequent chapters.

¹⁰ When necessary, I consulted Dehghani (2000) and Lee (2008) when glossing Azeri examples, Kornfilt (1997) when glossing Turkish examples, and Mahootian (1997) when glossing Persian examples.

2. Marking of Grammatical Relations

Natural languages indicate the grammatical and semantic relationships between the elements of clauses mostly by case marking, agreement and/or word order. Cross-linguistically, languages can be categorized based on the strategy or strategies they employ to identify grammatical relations. Although languages may apply multiple strategies, they follow some basic principles. For instance, English basically uses word order to distinguish subject and object, though, when pronouns are involved, case forms also distinguish them (e.g. *he* for subjects and *him* for objects).

In this chapter, we survey the basic case, agreement and word order systems found in Azeri as compared to Turkish and Persian. In terms of case and agreement (section 2.1), it is seen that Azeri has the typical trappings of a Turkic language, showing little influence from Persian. The situation with word order is a little more complicated (section 2.2). Azeri shows a wider variety of word order than exhibited by Turkish. Presumably this has arisen through the influence of Persian.

2.1. Case and agreement

This section summarizes the case and agreement patterns found in Azeri, Turkish and Persian.

2.1.1. *Azeri case and agreement*

The number of cases found in languages ranges from none to as many as 53 cases (Comrie 1981). Azeri has six cases. The Azeri case system is categorized as follows: nominative (NOM), which is zero-marked, genitive (GEN), accusative (ACC),

dative (DAT), locative (LOC) and ablative (ABL)¹¹. The following table (2.1) illustrates these cases:¹²

Table 2.1. Examples of Azeri case suffixes

CASE	Suffix	<i>kitab</i> 'book'	<i>körpü</i> 'bridge'
GENITIVE	-(n)In	kitab-ın	körpü-nün
ACCUSATIVE	-(n)I	kitab-ı	körpü-nü
DATIVE	-(y)A	kitab-a	körpü-yä
LOCATIVE	-(n)dA	kitab-da	körpü-dä
ABLATIVE	-(n)dAn	kitab-dan	körpü-dän

According to Lee (2008: 10), there are two kinds of grammatical agreement in Azeri—verbal and nominal. In verbal agreement, the verb agrees with the subject in person and number:

- (1) (män) kitab-ı oxu-dum
(I-NOM) book-ACC read-PST.1SG
'I read the book.'

Agreement in person and number is mandatory except for the third person plural. Lee (2008) states that third person plural follows Cormrie's (1989: 129) animacy hierarchy;

¹¹ Dehghani (2000) mentions eight cases in Azeri. In addition to Lee's (2008) list, Dehghani adds two additional cases—benefactive and instrumental. Under Lee's analysis, the comitative suffix *-y/InAn* is the same as Dehghani's instrumental suffix *-InAn*. It expresses comitative, instrumental and conjunctive meanings. The status of the comitative case marker is controversial not only in Azeri but also in Turkic languages in general.

¹² The case suffixes appear as phonological alternatives, based on consonant epenthesis and vowel harmony. The epenthetic consonant /n/ appears after nouns and pronouns ending with a vowel (Lee 2008: 26), e.g. *ayaxqabı-sı-nda* 'in his shoes'. Vowel harmony is a general feature of Turkic languages. The vowels of I-type suffixes are high and get their other features—frontness and roundedness—from the preceding vowel and alternates with *i, ı, ü* or *u*, e.g. *göz-ün* 'your eye', *kol-un* 'your arm'. The vowels of A-type suffixes are unrounded and non-high, *ä* and *a*, they are only affected by fronting harmony, e.g. *bur-dan* 'from here', *siz-dän* 'from you'.

when the overt subject is animate, plural marking is obligatory and the verb takes plural agreement:

- (2) uşax-lar bağ-a get-di-lär
 kid-PL garden-DAT go-PST.3PL
 'The kids went to the garden.'

On the other hand, when the subject is inanimate, plural marking is optional and a singular verb form is favored:

- (3) (män-im) paltar-lar-ım yaş-dır
 (I-GEN) cloth-PL-POSS.1SG wet-be.PRES.3SG
 'My clothes are wet.'

Nominal agreement occurs within a possessive noun phrase. In a possession relation, the possessor takes genitive case and the head noun takes a possessive suffix, which distinguishes person and number and agrees with the possessor. Both genitive and possessive suffixes in the possessive construction are obligatory.

- (4) oğlan-lar-ın ev- läreri
 boy-PL-GEN house-POSS.3PL
 'boys' house'
- (5) sän-in kitab-ın
 you-GEN book-POSS.2SG
 'your book'
- (6) Häsän-in ev-i
 Häsän-GEN house-POSS.3SG
 'Häsän's house'
- (7) a. *Häsän ev-i
 Häsän house-POSS.3SG
- b. *Häsän-in ev
 Häsän-GEN house

In addition, nominal agreement occurs with the relativized verb and the subject within relative clauses, where the relativizer takes the possessive marking agreeing with the subject in person and number:

- (8) [siz-in ye-diğ-iz] alma
 You-2PL.GEN eat-REL-POSS.2PL apple
 'the apple which you eat'

The following table shows examples of nominal agreement in a possession relation in Azeri:

Table 2.2. Azeri nominal agreement markers

PERSON	Genitive Case	Possessive Suffix	ev 'house'
1SG <i>mən</i>	<i>-Im</i>	<i>-(I)m</i>	<i>mən-im ev-im</i> 'my house'
2SG <i>sən</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-(I)n</i>	<i>sən-in ev-in</i> 'your house'
3SG <i>o</i>	<i>-nIn</i>	<i>-(s)I</i>	<i>o-nun ev-i</i> 'his/her house'
1PL <i>biz</i>	<i>-Im</i>	<i>-(I)mIz</i>	<i>biz-im ev(-lär)-imiz</i> 'our house(s)'
2PL <i>siz</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-(I)z</i>	<i>siz-in ev(-lär)-iz</i> 'your house(s)'
3PL <i>onlar</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-IArI</i>	<i>onlar-in ev-läri</i> 'their house(s)'

2.1.2. Turkish case and agreement

Like Azeri, Turkish also has six cases, a zero-marked nominative and the following five cases marked by suffixes (Kornfilt 1984, Kornfilt 1997, Göksel and Kerslake 2005).¹³

¹³ As mentioned earlier, vowel harmony is a general feature of Turkic languages. The vowels of I-type suffixes are high and get their other features—frontness and roundedness—from the preceding vowel and alternates with *i*, *ı*, *ü* or *u*, e.g. *göz-ün* 'your eye', *kol-un* 'your arm'. The vowels of A-type suffixes are unrounded and low, *a* and *e*, they are only affected by fronting harmony, e.g. *bur-dan* 'from here', *siz-den* 'from you'. *-Im* attaches only to first person pronouns, i.e. *ben-im* 'my', *biz-im* 'our' (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 70). In some stems ending in a voiceless consonant (*p*, *t*, *ç* and *k*) the consonant changes to its voiced counterpart (*b*, *d*, *c* and *g*) before a suffix beginning with a vowel. However, when final *k* is preceded by *n* it alternates with *g*, otherwise it alternates with *ğ*, e.g. *çocuk/çocuğ-un*, *çocuk/çocuk-ta*, *araba/araba-dan*.

Table 2.3. Examples of Turkish case suffixes

CASE	Suffix	<i>araba</i> 'car'	<i>çocuk</i> 'child'
GENITIVE	-(n)In/-Im	araba-nın	çocuğ-un
ACCUSATIVE	-(y)I	araba-yı	çocuğ-u
DATIVE	-(y)A	araba-ya	çocuğ-a
LOCATIVE	-DA	araba-da	çocuk-ta
ABLATIVE	-Dan	araba-dan	çocuk-tan

Turkish also exhibits two kind of nominal and verbal agreement (Kornfilt 1984, Kornfilt 1988). On the sentential level, Turkish exhibits a sentential verb–subject agreement; verbs agree in person and number with their subjects.

- (9) sen İstanbul-a git-din
 you.2SG-NOM İstanbul-DAT go-PST.2SG
 'You went to İstanbul.'

Other NPs, such as direct objects, indirect objects, benefactives, etc., do not trigger verb agreement.

The nominal agreement occurs in possessive NPs, where the possessor takes the genitive case and the head noun takes the possessive suffix, agreeing with the possessor in person and number (Knecht 1979, Kornfilt 1997).

- (10) Hasan-nin şapka-sı
 Hasan-GEN hat-POSS.3SG
 'Hasan's hat'

In addition, the relativized verbs also agree in number and person with the subject, the same as in the possessive construction (Kornfilt 1997: 384):

- (11) siz-in oku-duğ-unuz kitap
 you.2PL-GEN read-REL-POSS.2PL book
 'the book which you read'

The following table shows examples in nominal agreement in Turkish:

Table 2.4. Turkish nominal agreement markers

PERSON	Genitive Case	Possessive Suffix	<i>çanta</i> 'bag'
1SG <i>ben</i>	<i>-Im</i>	<i>-(I)m</i>	<i>ben-im çanta-m</i> 'my bag'
2SG <i>sen</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-(I)n</i>	<i>sen-in çanta-n</i> 'your bag'
3SG <i>o</i>	<i>-nIn</i>	<i>-(s)I(n)</i>	<i>o-nun çanta-sı</i> 'his/her bag'
1PL <i>biz</i>	<i>-Im</i>	<i>-(I)mIz</i>	<i>biz-im çanta(-lar)-ımız</i> 'our bag(s)'
2PL <i>siz</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-(I)nIz</i>	<i>siz-in çanta(-lar)-ınız</i> 'your bag(s)'
3PL <i>onlar</i>	<i>-In</i>	<i>-IArI(n)</i>	<i>olar-in çanta-ları</i> 'their bags'

2.1.3. Persian case and agreement

Old Persian had eight cases, but modern Persian no longer inflects nouns or pronouns for case (Bateni 1969). The one exception is that specific direct objects are marked by the particle *-râ*:¹⁴

(12) (man) nâme-râ xând-am
 (I-NOM) letter-OM read-PST.1SG
 'I read the letter.'

Case relations other than definite direct objects are expressed by prepositions. For instance, the indirect object is usually marked with a preposition such as *be* 'to':

(13) Sara be man gol dâd
 Sara to me flower give-PST.3SG
 'Sara gave a flower to me.'

The only obligatory verbal agreement in Persian is with an animate subject in person and number:

¹⁴ The categorization of *-râ* in the syntax of Persian is controversial. Some scholars have defined *-râ* as an indicator of topicalization or specificity (Windfuhr 1990, Karimi 1989, Browne 1970). Others have categorized *-râ* as a direct object marker (Vazinpoor 1977, Sadeghi 1970). In this study, the particle *-râ* is as an direct object marker.

- (14) to be xâne âmad-i
 you.2SG-NOM to home come-PST.2SG
 'You came home.'
- (15) ân-ha be xâne âmad-and
 they.3PL-NOM to home come-PST.3PL
 'They came home.'

Inanimate plurals trigger optional number agreement. The singular verb is favored in colloquial speech and the plural form in formal speech.

- (16) dastmâl-hâ ru-ye miz ast
 napkin-PL on-EZ table be.3SG
 'The napkins are on the table.'
- (17) medâd-hâ tu-ye kif hast-and
 pencil-PL in-EZ bag be-PRES.3PL
 'The pencils are in the bag.'

Next, we turn to a discussion of word order in the three languages.

2.2. Word order

Besides word order in basic clauses, we will also explore order within PPs and NPs. Studies on word order typology in languages of the world reveal that word order across various types of constituents show certain correlations. According to Greenberg's (1963) universals, the following correlations were found to be well-represented cross-linguistically:

- (18) OV : Genitive + N, Adjective + N, Relative clause + N,
 Suffixing, Postposition.
 VO: N + Genitive, N + Adjective, N + Relative clause,
 Prefixing, Preposition.

That is, if a language has basic SOV (subject-object-verb) order, it will tend to be head-final within the NP: the possessors, adjectives and relative clauses will precede the head noun. The language will also tend to have postpositions (i.e. the head of a PP is the adposition and it will follow its NP object). On the other hand, if a language has basic VO word order, then it will tend to be head-initial: possessors, adjectives and relative clauses

will follow the head noun. The language will tend to have prepositions rather than postpositions.

In the following discussion, I will show the basic word order properties of Azeri (2.2.1), Turkish (2.2.2) and Persian (2.2.3).

2.2.1. *Azeri word order*

Azeri, like other Turkic languages family, has verb-final word order. The basic sentence order in Azeri is SOV (Householder and Lotfi 1963, Zehtabi, 1991, Seyidov 1992, Lee 2008):

(19) (män) qız-ı gör-düm
 (I-NOM) girl-ACC see-PST.1SG
 'I saw the girl.'

Beyond the basic SOV order, word order in Azeri changes pragmatically. The emphasized constituents are placed immediately before the verb (Lewis1967: 240):

(20) qız-ı (män) gör-düm
 girl-ACC (I-NOM) see-PST.1SG
 'I saw the girl.'

However, there are some restrictions in Azeri word order. Azeri allows scrambling of pre-verbal definite NPs. However, when the object is a non-specified indefinite and thus has no case marking, scrambling is blocked.

(21) a. Ali çay iç-di
 Ali tea drink-PST.3SG
 'Ali drank tea.'

b. *çay Ali iç-di
 tea Ali drink-PST.3SG

Turning to word order inside the NP, we see that both genitives and adjectives precede the head noun. Post-head modifiers are not allowed.

- | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------------|
| (22) a. | kişi-nin
man-GEN
'the man's book' | kitab-ı
book-POSS.3SG |
| b. | *kitab-ı
book-POSS.3SG | kişi-nin
man-GEN |
| (23) a. | gözəl
pretty
'pretty girl' | qız
girl |
| b. | *qız
girl | gözəl
pretty |

With respect to adpositions, Azeri mostly behaves as a head-final language and uses postpositions, such as *üçün* "for, reason, purpose", which assigns genitive case for pronouns, as in (24) and *sarı* "toward", which assigns dative case, as in (25):

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------|
| (24) | mən-im
I-GEN
'for me' | üçün
for |
| (25) | ev-ə
house-DAT
'toward the house' | sarı
toward |

In addition, there are a number of nouns that function as nominal postpositions. These can be categorized based on the case they govern and the personal suffixes they take. For example, *qabax* 'front' governs locative case and can take any personal suffixes, as in (26), while *yerinä* 'instead of' governs dative case and takes only the third person singular suffix, as in (27):

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|
| (26) | mən-im
I-GEN
'in front of me' | qabağ-ım-da
front-POSS.1SG-LOC |
| (27) | Həsən-in
Həsən-GEN
'instead of Həsən' | yer-i-nä
placement-POSS.3SG-DAT |

Also, bear in mind that some meanings associated with adpositions in other languages are conveyed by case suffixes in Azeri:

(28) ev-dä
house-LOC
'in the house'

(29) ev-ä
house-DAT
'to the house'

(30) ev-dän
house-ABL
'from the house'

Although postpositions are the norm in Azeri, there is one preposition, the benefactive preposition *bäraye* "for", which has been borrowed from Persian (Dehghani 2000: 219):

(31) *bäraye* *qız-ım*
for daughter-GEN
'for my daughter'

2.2.2. *Turkish word order*

In Turkish word order is variable. However, Turkish, as a head-final language, generally exhibits the same SOV basic word order as Azeri. The majority of constituents place the subject at the beginning of the sentence, the verb at the end, and the other constituents place in between (Swift 1963, Kuruoğlu 1976, Underhill 1976, Kornfilt 1997, Göksel and Kerslake 2005):

(32) *çocuk* *kitab-ı* *oku-du*
kid-NOM book-ACC read-PST.3SG
'The kid read the book.'

As in Azeri, inside the NP, both genitives and adjectives precede the head noun:

Genitive N:

(33) *Ali-nin* *çanta-sı*
Ali-GEN bag-POSS.3SG
'Ali's bag'

Adjective N:

- (34) uzun ağaç
 long tree
 'a long tree'

Postpositions in Turkish express syntactic or semantic functions (Kornfilt 1997: 422). Some postpositions are free morphemes and do not assign overt case to their NP complements, e.g. *üzer(e)* 'on, according to, for the purpose of':

- (35) [İstanbul-a git-mek] üzere
 Istanbul-DAT go-INF for the purpose of
 'in order to go to Istanbul'

However, postpositions assign different cases, e.g. *gibi* 'like', which assigns genitive case and *karşı* 'against' which assigns dative case:

- (36) siz-in gibi
 you.3PL-GEN like
 'like you'
- (37) ben-a karşı
 I-DAT against
 'against me'

Furthermore, Kornfilt (1997: 425) describes a group of "fake" postpositions; these consist of a noun, a possessive suffix and a case marker, e.g. *arka* 'behind, back':

- (38) (sen-nin) arka-n-da
 (you.3GS-GEN) back-POSS.3SG-LOC
 'behind you'

Overall, we see that Turkish is much more consistently head-final than Azeri is.

2.2.3. Persian word order

In Persian, main clauses are SOV, though fairly free word order is allowed (Sadeghi 1973, Vazinpour 1977, Karimi 1989, Windfuhr 1990, Windfuhr 1997, Mahootian 1997, Karimi 2005).

(39) Ali doxtar-râ did
 Ali girl-OM see-PST.3SG
 'Ali saw the girl.'

In other respects, Persian exhibits head-initial typology. Within the NP, the head noun precedes a possessed or an adjective:

Genitive N:

(40) ketâb-e Ali
 book-EZ Ali
 'Ali's book'

Adjective N:

(41) medâd-e germez
 pencil-EZ red
 'the red pencil'

In the above examples, the head is suffixed with a linker morpheme to form an "Ezafe construction". Mahootian (1997: 66) states that the Ezafe construction is a productive means for modifying nouns as well as linking other nonverbal heads and their complements. The Ezafe particle, *-(y)e*, appears between a noun and its complements, between a noun and a possessor, between a noun and a modifier, between an adjective and its complements, and between a preposition and its complements (Ghameshi 1996: 26-82).

Most prepositions are free lexical morphemes that combine with an NP, such as *az* "from", *be* "to", *dar* "in", as in the following examples:

(42) az Tehrân
 from Tehran
 'from Tehran'

(43) be xâne
 to house/home
 'to the home/house'

(44) dar otâq
 in room
 'in the room'

Other preposition constructions are formed from nouns such as *kenâr* “side” and *ru* “top”.

These require an Ezafe when they combine with the following NP:

(45) *kenâr-e* *otâq*
beside-EZ room
'beside the room'

(46) *ru-ye* *miz*
top-EZ table
'on the table'

To sum up, Persian, as noted by Comrie (1989: 204), exhibits a combination of OV and VO typology: although it is verb final, it otherwise canonically exhibits head-initial order in NPs and PPs.

2.3. Summary

To sum up, Azeri and Turkish share the same features in case marking and agreement. They both have a six-case system. Persian lacks case marking, except for the particle-*râ*, which marks a definite/specific direct object for accusative case.

In terms of agreement, Azeri and Turkish have both nominal and verbal agreement. Nominal agreement occurs in possessive NPs and the relativized verb in the relative clause. In the possessive NPs the head N agrees with the possessor in person and number and the relativized verb agree with the subject in person and number. The verb agrees (in person and number) with all subjects. Persian only has verbal agreement, not nominal agreement. Verbs obligatorily agree in person and number with animate subjects and optionally agree with inanimate in number. Therefore, in terms of case marking and agreement, we see that Azeri maintains properties of a Turkic language and does not show any influence from Persian.¹⁵

¹⁵ The one exception is the Persian benefactive preposition, which has been borrowed into Azeri. This is discussed below.

The following table summarizes word order in Turkish, Azeri and Persian. Azeri is mostly a head-final language, like Turkish. Persian has SOV basic word order; but it is otherwise head-initial. The one way in which Azeri deviates from head-final typology is that, it has borrowed one Persian preposition *bāraye* 'for'.

Table 2.5. Summary of Turkish, Azeri and Persian word order

	Turkish	Azeri	Persian
Basic clause order	SOV	SOV	SOV
PP	postpositions	postpositions; benefactive preposition	prepositions
NP	possessor N	possessor N	N possessor
	adjective N	adjective N	N adjective

Another complication, the positioning of relative clauses with respect to the head noun, will be discussed in more detail below in chapter 4.

3. Methodology

In order to investigate the morphosyntax of Azeri and the influence that Persian has on it, I travelled to Tabriz, Iran, to conduct a field study.¹⁶ I spent four weeks in Tabriz during spring 2012. This project is a qualitative/quantitative study designed to compare Azeri as spoken by the younger and by the older generation. The study focused on how different generations use Azeri in their daily life. Generally, Azeri children acquire and speak Azeri as their first language at home. First language is the language that one first learns as a child. Azeri children do not receive any of their education in their first native language but learn Persian throughout the course of their education. On the other hand, the participants in the older group are mostly monolingual in Azeri. Since Azeri is an unwritten language in Iran, monolingual Azeris may also have some very basic knowledge of spoken and written Persian and therefore knowledge of the Perso–Arabic alphabet.

For my research project, I primarily interviewed my family, friends and other acquaintances that they introduced me to. Speakers were asked basic biographical information and were given a simple questionnaire about language use (See Appendix.). Then they were asked to tell a short story for me to record. Next, speakers were shown a set of pictures designed to elicit noun modifiers such as relative clauses. Lastly, speakers were asked for grammaticality judgments on forty sentences testing word order in three different constructions—relative clauses, causatives and benefactives. I undertook two interviews a day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. In the evening, I reviewed the sound files and made notes for follow-up visits as appropriate. Upon my return to Canada, I transcribed, glossed and translated the data per standard linguistic practices.

¹⁶ This field research was conducted under SFU Ethics Certificate # 2011s0561.

3.1. Participants

My field research involved ten participants divided into two groups.¹⁷ The participants in the older generation (aged 65+) were mostly monolingual in Azeri and the participants in the younger generation (aged 20–35) were mostly bilingual in Azeri and Persian. They can be further sub-divided by their level of education (basic education or higher education).

In the older group, participants were mostly monolingual in Azeri. Participant (5) has no education and is not able to read or write in Persian. Participants (1) and (2) have basic reading knowledge of the Persian alphabet. Participant (4) does not have a higher education but reads and writes Persian. This participant is a poet and has some familiarity with Azeri language structure. Only one of the older participants is bilingual between Azeri and Persian: participant (3), who has a post-secondary education, was a teacher at an elementary school and knows Persian very well.

In the younger group, all participants have post-secondary educations. All of them are fluent speakers of both Azeri and Persian. The general pattern is that they learned Azeri at home and learned Persian at school. One participant, however, learned some Persian as a child from her parents. Some parents, especially those in cities, speak Persian with their kids at home, hoping their kids will learn the prestige language. The general pattern in Tabriz is for Azeri children to first learn Azeri since they live in an Azeri-speaking environment. At school they speak Azeri to each other even though the curriculum is taught in Persian. Therefore, most Azeri-speaking children today are also fluent in Persian.

The following table summarizes the basic biographical information on each participant:

¹⁷ Three of the participants were female and seven were male. However, my preliminary research found that gender was not a factor in choosing morphosyntactic variants, and did not take gender into account when coding the data.

Table 3.1. Participants' information

Participant	Age	Language (Mono/Bilingual)	Level of Education
1	88	monolingual	basic reading
2	72	monolingual	basic reading
3	69	bilingual	higher education (BS)
4	65	monolingual	basic reading/writing
5	65	monolingual	none
6	36	bilingual	higher education (MS)
7	35	bilingual	higher education (PhD)
8	28	bilingual	higher education (PhD)
9	26	bilingual	higher education (MA)
10	22	bilingual	higher education (BS)

I should note at the outset that since my fieldwork was limited to family and friends in Tabriz, speakers representing other combinations of factors were not available to participate in my study. For example, there were no uneducated bilinguals or educated monolinguals. Furthermore, there were no younger monolingual speakers. It might be possible to find speakers with those factors in rural areas away from urban centers like Tabriz. In addition, a fuller study investigating age as a factor should involve speakers in the 35–65 age range. However, since my time and funding for fieldwork was very limited, I chose to focus on these two groups illustrating the extremes of the range of possible factors.

3.2. Procedure

The participants were each involved in a 30-45 minute interview in an informal setting. The interviews resulted in a total of 6 hours and 50 minutes of speech (189 minutes by older speakers, 221 minutes by younger speakers). Selected data were transcribed and translated and these formed the basis of my dataset.

The interviews were recorded with a high quality digital voice recorder (Olympus WS 801). Each interview took place individually in a quiet room at the participant's home. In a fieldwork study, some methodological problems may arise in face-to-face conversation. I discuss briefly some of the challenges I faced.

First of all, according to Labov (1984), participants should not be aware of the purpose of data collection. Therefore, I did not place any emphasis on language use or use of Azeri versus Persian structures. The interviews following this course: first I asked the questions on my questionnaire, next I asked for a short story, then I elicited using pictures, and finally I asked for grammaticality judgements on prepared sentences. However, the participants were also free to talk about whatever they liked.

Furthermore, according to Labov's (1972: 209) "Observer's Paradox", when participants are aware that their voice is being recorded, they will change their style of speech from informal to formal. I tried to mitigate this factor by starting each interview with an everyday conversation to help the participants feel more relaxed. After a couple of minutes, I started recording with my small recorder in a very unobtrusive way. Most of the participants spoke to me in an informal speech style, except one participant who preferred to use a more formal speech style. He lectured about Azeri literature and read me some poems in Azeri.

In addition, since half of my participants have knowledge of both Azeri and Persian, I anticipated that code-switching might occur in their speech. According to Poplack (1980) and Gullberg et al. (2009), code-switching occurs more in informal multi-party settings than in formal settings or in one-on-one conversations. When I reviewed my data, I noted very little occurrence of code-switching, and this was probably due to the face-to-face informality of the interview context.

Finally, as Poplack (1980) states, ethnicity is an important factor in sociolinguistic fieldwork and data collection. When the interviewer and the participants belong to the same ethnic or age group, the participants feel more comfortable and have a free conversation. Although there was a significant age difference between the interviewer and the older group of participants, I nevertheless belong to the same ethnic group, and the participants were quite comfortable speaking to me in a conversational setting, as indicated by their body language, tone of voice and sometimes joking manner. Overall, the interview experience was quite enjoyable.

3.3. Eliciting the data

As required by SFU Ethics regulations, I secured the consent of the participants. At the beginning of the interview, participants were asked for their consent verbally since Azeri is largely an unwritten language and participants who were monolingual in Azeri could not read Persian. In order to have an identical procedure for all participants (both monolinguals and bilinguals), I read the consent form in Persian to the younger group and translated it to Azeri for the older group and each participant was asked to state her/his agreement verbally.

In order to elicit appropriate data, I used multiple tasks to collect data from the same participants. This follows the strategy proposed by Gullberg et al. (2009) in which the participants were involved in a multi-task approach, as written in the following table:

Table 3.2. Tasks and output modes

Tasks	Language output mode
conversation	free
sentence production task with picture	constrained
acceptability judgment task	constrained
comparative judgment task	constrained

At the beginning of the interview, the participants were asked the fifteen questions listed in the questionnaire. They were asked identity questions concerning their age, education, place of birth, place of living and place of education. The participants were asked to give information about their language knowledge and use. In other words, how many languages do they know, which languages are used at home, which languages do they use in the community and which language do they use for reading or writing? In addition, they were asked some personal questions about their profession and how they met their spouse. Finally, the male participants were asked to tell a short story about themselves and the female participants were asked to describe the process of preparing and cooking an Azeri dish.

An elicitation task was designed to test the production of relative clause structures, using pictures that were selected and downloaded from the web and modified within Adobe Photoshop. There were three pairs of pictures, each depicting a person or an object with minimal differences between them. The pictures were used as a means to elicit the structure in a free and communicative way without focusing on morphosyntactic structure.

The last part of the interview included acceptability judgments followed by a comparative judgment task.¹⁸ Following Schütze (1996: 149), the participants were asked about their acceptability judgments and, if both sentences were acceptable, whether the first or second sentence sounded better to them. Schütze (1996) states the amount of time given to provide a judgment is important, because the initial reaction to the question is less likely to be influenced by other factors. If participants have less time to make a decision, they are less likely to evaluate the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the sentences. Also, a fast pace keeps them from trying to discover the purpose of the experiment. Since some of the older participants were not be able to read, I read the sentences aloud for all the participants. They listened to the sentences and then I asked for their judgments within ten seconds.

In sum, I used the aforementioned multiple methods to examine the penetration of Persian into Azeri. By asking for judgments, I gained insight into the speakers' attitudes

¹⁸ By acceptability, I mean relative preference, not whether or not the sentence is grammatical. In fact, Chomsky (1965) states that acceptability belongs to the study of performance, whereas grammaticality belongs to the study of competence.

toward the structures. In addition, I used naturalistic data to ascertain how Azeris actually speak versus how they claim to speak. This study focused on aspects of Azeri morphosyntax in which some linguistic variation can be seen—relative clauses, noun compounds and causative constructions. I turn now to a discussion of these structures and the analysis of the data from my study.

4. Relative Clauses

Typological studies investigating relative clauses have established that there is a strong correlation between the basic word order in a language and the position of the relative clause in relation to the head noun (Downing 1978, Keenan 1985). Relative clauses are categorized typologically with respect to the position of the head noun. In VO languages, relative clauses almost always appear after the head noun, like in English *the man who I saw* and in Persian *mardi ke diruz didam* ‘the man whom I saw yesterday’. OV languages show both head-first and head-final order, with a slight preference for the placement of the relative clause after the head noun (Dryer 1992). Turkish is an example of head-final, in which the relative clause is placed before the head noun, *şiiir oku-yan bayan* ‘the lady who reads poems’. Much rarer are languages in which the head noun appears within the relative clauses.

Turkish illustrates a language with head-final typology. As noted above, Turkish is an SOV language. In addition, relative clauses in Turkish typically precede the head noun (Haig 1997, Kornfilt 1997, Aygen 2003, Cagri 2005).¹⁹ Turkish relative clauses are formed with relativizers, for example, two commonly occurring suffixes *-(y)An* and *-DİK*.²⁰

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|------------------|--------|------|
| (1) | [sırt-ın-da | çanta | ol-an] | kız |
| | back-POSS.3SG-LOC | bag | be-REL | girl |
| | ‘the girl who has a bag on her back’ | | | |
| | | | | |
| (2) | [Ankara-da | gör-düğ-üm] | bayan | |
| | Ankara-LOC | see-REL-POSS.1SG | lady | |
| | ‘the lady whom I saw in Ankara’ | | | |

¹⁹ In Turkish, there is also a head-initial relative clause structure, which was presumably due to Persian influence. This construction has been dispreferred in formal Turkish since Language Reform in the 1930s (Göksel and Haznedar 2007).

²⁰ The relativizers *-(y)An* and *-DİK* are the most common relativizers. There are two more relativizers *-miş* and *-(y)AcAk*, which are outside the scope of this study. The relativizer *-DİK* in Turkish relative clause construction also is affected by *k/ğ* consonant alternation which has been described earlier.

Persian has head-initial typology. Persian relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ke* ‘that’ and follow the head noun, for example in the following non-restrictive relative clause:

- (3) ân doxtar [ke gol dâr-ad]
 that girl [COMP flower has-PRES.3SG]
 ‘the girl who has a flower’

The complementizer ‘*ke*’ is used restrictively and non-restrictively in Persian. In a restrictive RC, a restrictive morpheme *-i* is attached to head noun and is followed by *ke* ‘that’:

- (4) ân âgâ-yi [ke raft]
 the man-RES [COMP go-PST.3SG]
 ‘the man who went’

In a restrictive relative clause, when a definite direct object is relativized, the particle *-râ* optionally follows the specific head noun as a specificity marker:

- (5) ketab-i-(râ) [ke hame xând-and]
 book-RES-(OM) [COMP all read-PST-3PL]
 ‘the book that everyone read’

In comparison to Turkish, which predominantly uses RC-head order and Persian, which uses head-RC order, Azeri uses both types of orders. The properties of Azeri RCs are detailed in section (4.1). Since both orders for RCs are allowed in Azeri, the questions arise: Which speakers use head-first versus head-final orders? Or do all speakers use both types? Are the two orders differentiated on syntactic or semantic grounds? Data from my field study on Azeri provide answers to these questions. Section (4.2) details how the data on RCs were collected and coded. Section (4.3) discusses the data in terms of social factors. Finally, the last section (4.4) offers a summary of my findings.

4.1. Relative clauses in Azeri

There are two types of relative clauses in Azeri: pre-nominal RCs precede the head, as discussed in section 4.1.1, and post-nominal RCs following the head, as

discussed in section 4.1.2. In addition, both orders can be used simultaneously, as discussed in 4.1.3. Besides RCs with an NP as the head, Azeri also allows headless (or determiner headed) RCs, as discussed in 4.1.4.

4.1.1. Pre-nominal relative clauses

The RC-head order in Azeri is the native Turkic construction. As noted above, Azeri is an SOV language:

- (6) (män-Ø) sän-ä äks-i göstär-dim
 (I-NOM) you-DAT picture-ACC show-PS.1SG
 'I showed you the picture.'

There are several ways of forming pre-nominal RCs. The two most common ways involve the relativizer suffixes *-(y)An* or *-dIK*, which are suffixed to a non-finite verb.²¹

- (7) [(män-Ø) sän-ä Ø_i göstär-an] äks_i
 [(I-NOM) you-DAT show-REL] picture
 'the picture that I showed you'
- (8) [(män-(im)) sän-ä Ø_i göstär-diğ-im] äks_i
 [I-(GEN) you-DAT show-REL-POSS.1SG] picture
 'the picture that I showed you'

RCs formed with the suffix *-dIK* require a possessive suffix on the verb which agrees in person and number with the subject.²²

RCs formed with the suffix *-(y)An* can be used to relativize subjects, as in (9), (11) and (12), objects, as in (7) above, as well as other grammatical relations.

- (9) [Ø_i mavi köynäh gey-än] oğlan_i
 [blue shirt wear-REL] boy_i
 'the boy who is wearing a blue shirt' (Participant 4: 2012)

²¹ The relativizers *-(y)An* and *-dIK* are the most common relativizers. There are two more relativizers *-mİş* and *-(y)AcAk*, which are used rarely in Azeri.

²² The consonant harmony in Azeri is symbolized by *K* which occurs in word-final position. In some stems ending in one of the *k/g* and *q*, they change to *d*, *y* and *ğ* before a suffix beginning with a vowel. The relativizer *-dIK* in Azeri relative clause construction also is affected by *k/ğ* alternation.

(10) [Ø_i kırmızı köynäh gey-än] ođlan-nın başmađ-ı
 [red shirt wear-REL] boy-Gen shoe-POSS.3SG

qara-dır
 black-be.PRES.3SG
 'The shoe of the boy wearing a red shirt is black.'

(Participant 1: 2012)

(11) [Ø_i äräbi härf-inän yazıl-an] türki_i
 [Arabic letter-INST write-REL] Turkish_i
 'Turkish, which is written by the Arabic alphabet,'

(Participant 3: 2012)

(12) [Ø_i farsi dârs oxu-yan] uşax-lar_i
 [Persian lesson read-REL] kid-PL
 'the kids who study in Persian'

(Participant 2: 2012)

In contrast, RCs formed with the suffix *-dIK* modify only objects, as in (8) above and not subjects.

As mentioned before, object RCs can be formed with the relativizer suffix *-(y)An*. However, there is a syntactic difference between the RC constructions with *-dIK* and *-(y)An* suffixes. In an object RC with *-(y)An*, the subject does not take any case suffix:

(13) a. ođlan ye-yan alma
 boy eat-Rel apple
 'the apple that the boy is eating' (Participant 2: 2012)

b. *ođlan-nın ye-yan alma
 boy-GEN eat-Rel apple

(14) a. Ali istä-yän äks
 Ali want-REL picture
 'the picture that Ali wants' (Participant 4: 2012)

b. *Ali-nin istä-yän äks
 Ali want-REL picture

However, in an object RC with *-dIK*, the possessive relation between the subject and the verb inside the RC can optionally be signalled by the cases attached to the subject.

(15) mǎn(-im) al-dıǵ-ım kitab
 I-(GEN) buy-REL-POSS.1SG kitab
 ‘the book which I (myself) bought’ (Participant 4: 2012)

(16) kitab ev-i-ndä gör-düǵ-üm uşax
 book house-LNK-LOC see-REL-POSS.1SG kid
 ‘the kid whom I saw in the library’ (Participant 4: 2012)

In sum, RCs formed with the relativizer *–(y)An* have broader uses, for all grammatical relations and require less morphology than those formed with *–dIK*. In particular, in my data sample, most of the pre-head RCs were formed with *–(y)An*.

4.1.2. *Post-nominal relative clauses*

In addition to pre-nominal RCs, Azeri also has post-nominal RCs, presumably arising due to the influence of Persian. In this RC structure, the RC is introduced by the complementizer *ki* ‘that’.²³ In this structure, which is simpler than the pre-nominal RC structure, the relative clause takes a finite verb without any inflection for case or verbal agreement.

(17) o oǵlan_i [ki Ø_i qısa şalvar gey-ib-dir]
 that boy [COMP short pants wear-PF.3SG]

 başmaǵ-ı yox-dur
 shoe-POSS.3SG not-be.PRES.3SG
 ‘The boy who is wearing the short pants does not have shoes.’
 (Participant 6: 2012)

(18) o adam-lar [ki türki kitab-lar-ı oxu-yar-lar]
 that person-PL [COMP Turkish book-PL-ACC read-AOR-PL]

 yazmax bil-ar-lar
 writing know-AOR-PL
 ‘Those people who read Turkish books know writing.’
 (Participant 4: 2012)

Furthermore, there is a syntactic difference between the head noun in pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs: pre-nominal RCs can only modify definite NPs with the determiner *o* ‘that’:

²³ In this structure, the complementizer *ki* ‘that’ (with *–i*), which is a borrowed from Persian *ke* ‘that’, connects the head noun to the relative clause.

- (19) a. o oğlan ki qara köynäh gey-ip-dir
 that boy COMP black shirt wear-PF.3SG
 'the boy who is wearing the black shirt' (Participant 6: 2012)
- b. *oğlan ki qara köynäh gey-ip-dir
 boy COMP black shirt wear-PF.3SG

Post-nominal RCs, on the other hand, can modify both definite and indefinite NPs:

- (20) (o) qız ye-yän alma sarı-dir
 that girl eat-REL apple yellow-be-PRES.3SG
 'The apple that the girl is eating is yellow.' (Participant 8: 2012)
- (21) Ø oğlan ye-yän alma qırmızı-dir
 girl eat-REL apple red-be-PRES.3SG
 'The apple that the boy is eating is red.' (Participant 2: 2012)

As we can see in example (19), the determiner in the post-nominal RC is obligatory whereas it is optional in the pre-nominal RC in (20).

4.1.3. Combined relative clauses

A third type of RC in Azeri is a combination of both pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs modifying the same head noun. In this type, a pre-nominal RC precedes the head noun and the same noun is followed by the complementizer *ki* 'that' and a post-nominal RC:

- (22) [o ät-i käs-tir-an] kişi [ki de-di
 that flesh-ACC cut-CAUS-REL man COMP say.PST.3SG
 qässab ät-i käs-sin] müşähäs-dir
 butcher flesh-ACC cut-IMP.3SG know-be.PRES.3SG
 'The man, who ordered the butcher to cut the meat, is known'
 (Participant 4: 2012)
- (23) [o qırmızı köynäk gey-än] oğlan [ki göy
 that red shirt wear-REL boy COMP green
 alma ye-yir] sağ tərəf-dä-dir
 apple eat-PRES.3SG right side-LOC- be.PRES.3SG
 'The boy who is wearing a red shirt and eating a green apple is
 on the right.' (Participant 4: 2012)

4.1.4. Headless relative clauses

Both pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses in Azeri can occur without a lexical head noun because the referent of the relative clause is either clear from previous mention or is self-identifying. In the pre-nominal construction, the deleted head noun can be realized by the relativizer *-(y)An* or *-dIK*, which functions as a ‘agentive nominizer’ meaning ‘one who does’ (Lee 2008). In pre-nominal headless RCs, the number agreement is attached to the relativizer:

(24) *sän* *axtar-diğ-in* (Ø) *burda-dır*
you.2SG search-REL-POSS.2SG here-be.PRES.3SG
‘The one which/whom you are looking for is here’
(Participant 3: 2012)

(25) *alma* *yey-än-lär* (Ø) *get-di-lär*
apple eat-REL-PL go-PST-3PL
‘Those who are eating apples went.’

In addition, in these clauses the number and case markers, which is usually attached to the lexical head noun, can be attached to the relativized verb:

(26) *qırmızı* *köynäh* *gey-an-nın* (Ø) *alma-sı*
red shirt wear-REL-GEN apple-POSS.3SG

sarı-dır
yellow-be.3sg
‘The one who is wearing a red shirt’s apple is yellow.’
(Participant 1: 2012)

(27) *qapı-da* *dur-an-a* *su* *ver-dim*
door-LOC stand-REL-ACC water give-PST.1SG
‘I gave water to the one who was standing by the door.’
(Participant 4: 2012)

In the case of the post-nominal headless RCs structure, although the lexical head is missing, the determiner *o* ‘that’ appears:

(28) o (Ø) ki göy alma ye-yir
 that COMP green apple eat-PRES.3SG
 başmağ-ı var-dır
 shoe-POSS.3SG wear-PRES.3SG
 'The one who is eating a green apple is wearing shoes.'

(Participant 7: 2012)

(29) o ki kırmızı alma ye-yir
 that COMP red apple eat-PRES.3SG
 oğlan-dır
 boy-be.PRES.3SG
 'The one who is eating a red apple is a boy.'

(Participant 6: 2012)

As in the case of other post-nominal RCs, the verb in the RC appears in its finite form.

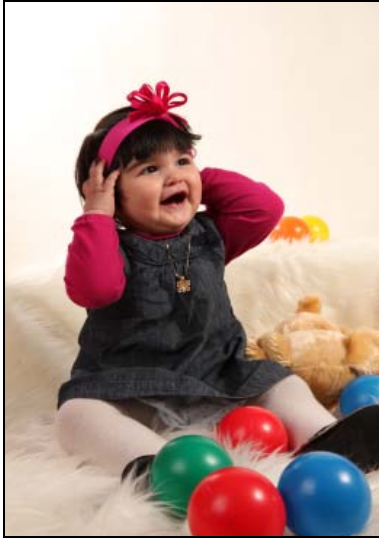
4.2. Methodology and data coding

As discussed in section 3.3, several means were used to elicit RCs from Azeri speakers—interviews, picture-based production tasks, and sentence judgments. I detail my methods and results below.

Although the interview topics were the same for all speakers, the proportion of RC production was not equal for all speakers. For instance, one of the older speakers produced eighteen relative clauses in thirty minutes; but one younger speaker produced only four relative clauses in twenty minutes. Overall, it was observed that relative clauses are not very common in daily speech.

One elicitation task was designed to test the production of relative clauses (RCs), by using pictures. The pictures were used as a means to elicit RCs in a free and communicative way without focusing on their structures.

Image 4.1. Sample picture for elicitation task²⁴



For instance, in the above pair of pictures, the children are differentiated by the color of their shirts, the fact that only one is wearing dress and only one is wearing a short pant. The task was designed in such a way as to lead the participants to use the target structures, relative clauses. The following is a sample question and the target answers:

(30) Sample question and target answers

Question 1: hansı kız ağ başmax ge-yip-dir
 which girl white shoe wear-PF.3SG
 'Which girl is wearing white shoes?'

Target answer 1: kısa şalvar ge-yân (kız)
(pre-nominal RC) short pants wear-REL (girl)
 'the girl who is wearing a short pants'

Target answer 2: o (kız) ki kısa şalvar ge-yip-dir
(post-nominal RC) that (girl) COMP short pants wear-PF.3SG
 'the girl who is wearing a short pants'

²⁴ Author's child

The goal of my questions was to elicit an answer with a relative clause in order to ascertain the frequency of RC-head or head-RC orders. In the case of variant ways of saying the same thing, it was important to find out what factors condition the choice.

In the last part of the interview, acceptability tasks and comparative judgment tasks were used to target syntactic variation in Azeri relative clauses. The first variant is the native Azeri structure and the second variant is a structure borrowed from Persian. The following sentences are sample pairs of RCs (from a total of 10 pairs), which I read to the participants and asked their judgments:

Sample relative clause construction:

Native Azeri structure:

(31) o ged-n qız bacı-m-dır
 that go-REL girl sister-POSS.1SG-be.PRES.3SG
 'The girl, who is going, is my sister.'

Persified Azeri structure:

(32) o qız ki get-di bacı-m-dır
 that girl COMP go-PST.3SG sister-POSS.1SG-be.PRES.3SG
 'The girl, who went, is my sister.'

The following examples illustrate the criteria used for distinguishing different Azeri RCs and their characteristics. The first issue is the relative word order between the RC and the head. The following examples from my data are pre-nominal RCs produced by a monolingual speaker:

(33) qähveyi köynäk gey-än oğlan
 brown shirt wear-REL boy
 'the boy who is wearing a brown shirt' (Participant 2: 2012)

(34) kitab ev-i-ndä gör-düğ-üm uşax
 book house-LNK-LOC see-REL-POSS.1SG kid
 'the kid whom I saw in the library' (Participant 4: 2012)

The following is a RC produced by a bilingual speaker. In this RC structure, the relative clause follows the head noun and is preceded by the complementizer *ki* 'that':

(35) o oğlan ki top-u var-dır
 that boy COMP ball-POSS.3SG has-PRES.3SG
 'the boy who has a ball' (Participant 10: 2012)

A second factor that might differentiate between RC variants is their semantics, for example, whether the RC is restrictive or non-restrictive. Restrictive relative clauses identify and restrict the referent of the head noun.

(36) yarpağ-lar-ı tökül-än ağaç-lar
 leaf-PL-ACC fall-REL tree-PL
 'trees that lose their leaves'

On the other hand, non-restrictive relative clauses provide additional information about the head noun, the referent of which is already known by the reader/listener, as in the following example:

(37) Ali ki otaş-da-dir dünän
 Ali COMP room-LOC-be-PRES.3SG yesterday
 iş-ä başla-dı
 work-DAT start-PST.3SG
 'Ali, who is in the room now, started to work yesterday.'

Another factor worth considering is the origin of the head noun (Azeri or Persian) to examine whether this influences the choice of native or borrowed RC variant. For example, participant 4 produced a pre-nominal RC with a head noun that was a Persian loanword with an Azeri plural marker:

(38) Azerbaijan-da çap ol-an rooznamä-lär
 Azerbaijan-LOC print be-REL newspaper-PL
 'the newspapers which are printed in Azerbaijan'
 (Participant 4: 2012)

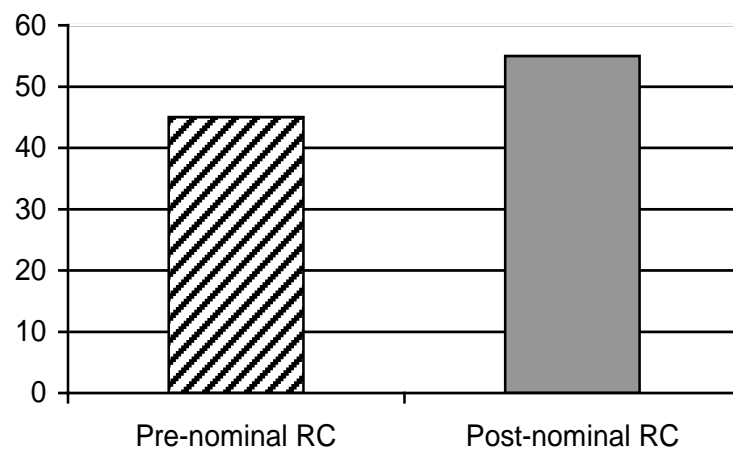
The data from the various tasks were compiled and coded. The results are discussed in the following section.

4.3. Results: Using RCs

Speakers rarely produced relative clauses in free speech in the naturalistic data in my field study. They preferred instead to express modification with adjective phrases or with two separate sentences. Thus, few data were obtained from my transcriptions of interviews. Fortunately, in the sentence production task where two pictures were

compared, the participants frequently produced RCs for the target sentences. My data yielded 85 tokens of RCs. As can be seen from Figure 4.1, 45% were pre-nominal (38 RCs) and 55% were post-nominal (47 RCs). In other words, the persified head-initial construction was slightly preferred over the native Turkic head-final construction. Therefore, RCs are a good linguistic variable to investigate because the two variants are produced at about the same rate of frequency.

Figure 4.1. Percentage of total pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs



Though pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs were both well-attested in my data, they were not evenly distributed among the speakers. I turn to a breakdown of structural criteria that may influence the choice of the type of RC in section 4.3.1. Next, I turn to a discussion of the data in terms of sociolinguistic factors in section 4.3.2. Unsurprisingly, we see a trend for younger, educated speakers to prefer the persified construction.

4.3.1. Structural factors

As discussed above, Turkic languages exhibit head-final properties, and thus within an NP, possessors, adjectives and relative clauses precede the head noun. Basically a question arises here: are there structural pressures on RCs, but not adjectives, to change from pre-nominal to post-nominal word order?

In Persian, a head-initial language, possessors, adjectives and relative clauses follow the head noun. While many languages of the world consistently follow the head-

first/head-last parameter within NPs, many show mixed word order. For example, in English, possessors and adjectives precede the head noun, but relative clauses follow it.

(39) the man's car	POSS–Head
(40) red balloon	Adj–Head
(41) the boy who is wearing blue pants	Head–RC

Hawkins (1983: 386) offers an explanation for inconsistencies in headedness by appealing to the Heavy Constituent Principle: heavy constituents favor post-nominal position. The adjective in English is a light constituent and therefore may be placed before head noun. However, the relative clause is a heavy constituent and thus is placed after the head noun. Heaviness outweighs the headedness parameter.

Psycholinguistic factors may underlie the preference for heavy constituents to appear post-head. Slobin (1986: 277-281) argues that “Turkic relative clause constructions are highly non-transparent and therefore are reformulated in history, replaced by paraphrases in conversation, and acquired with difficulty.” The results in his study show that Turkish-speaking children acquire pre-nominal relative clauses with difficulty, whereas English-speaking children at the same age learn post-nominal relative clauses earlier. Slobin claims that the presence of a relative pronoun and a finite verb facilitates sentence parsing in speech perception tests. Thus, Persian-style RCs are easier to process than Turkic-style RCs, which lack relative pronouns and are constructed on non-finite verbs.

The difficulty of processing and learning pre-nominal RCs may explain in part the skewing of the distribution of word order types in languages of the world. The cross-linguistic evidence shows that the languages prefer post-nominal relative clauses (Dik 1989: 350). For example, we can review the results of Dryer’s (2011) survey of word order in the *World Atlas of Language Structure*. Taking into consideration only those languages with consistent word order (648 languages), an examination of the correlation between the relative order of adjectives and nouns versus relative clauses and nouns can be summarized in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. The correlation between the relative order of adjectives, relative clauses, and nouns

Correlation	adjective-noun		noun-adjective	
	#	%	#	%
noun-relative clause	92	14%	427	66%
relative clause-noun	96	15%	33	5%

Of the four possibilities, we see that a consistently head-initial pattern is robustly attested (66% of languages sample), and presumably stable over time. The head-final pattern is less viable: only 15% of languages are consistently head-final. Just as many (14%) have mixed word order following the heaviness principle: adjectives precede the head noun and relative clauses follow. The remaining languages (5%) show the reverse pattern: adjectives follow the head noun, while relative clauses precede it, contradicting both the headedness parameter and the heaviness principle.

In sum, not only is there pressure from Persian for Azeri to restructure RCs to post-nominal order, but there may be some structural pressure for Azeri to move heavy constituents to post-head position. Certainly, languages which are consistently head-final are rarer than the headedness parameter would lead us to expect. We can also ask the question, how common is the pattern currently found in Azeri, where adjectives appear before the head, RCs appear either before or after the head. Dryer (2011) found only twenty-five of the 1,368 languages that he sampled had this pattern. An interesting study would be to see if the two word orders in those languages also result from a situation of language contact.

4.3.2. Sociolinguistic factors

The choice of pre-nominal versus post-nominal RCs also deserves a look from the point of view of sociolinguistic factors. Over the last forty years, language variation theorists have developed a methodology for applying sociolinguistic analysis to the variation found in the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structure of a language. Labov (1972c) defines a linguistic variable as simply “two ways of saying the

same thing.” Tagliamonte (2006: 70) refines this notion, saying that the variants should not result from performance anomalies, but be linguistically well-formed. Furthermore, the frequency of variation should be robust: both variants must occur with sufficient frequency. A variationist approach to linguistic analysis can then look for factors that elucidate the systematic distribution of the variants.

Weinreich (1953), Ferguson (1959), Calteaux (1994), Muysken (1997), Thomason and Kaufman (1998), Mufwene (2001), Thomason (2003), Winford (2003), O'Rourke (2005) are among those to discuss the effect of social factors in language contact. When speakers of different languages live in close contact, their languages influence each other, but they do so in piece-meal fashion, leading to complexities in the synchronic language structure and differences among speakers. Variations that gain popularity can gradually lead to loss of a variant and result in language change. According to Labov (1994, 2001), some of the socio-cultural factors that can affect the use of linguistic variables are age, sex, social class, ethnicity, race and community size.

My research seeks to examine language change in progress in the Azeri language by comparing the data from monolingual Azeri speakers to the data from bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers. This study shows that two socio-cultural factors, age and level of education, are relevant to morphosyntactic variation in Azeri. First, we look at the effect of the age and next the effect of education.

The age of the speaker has been demonstrated to be an important social factor in language variation (Labov 2000). Differences between generations in linguistic behavior illustrate clear examples of language change in progress. Thus, the age of the speaker becomes an important factor when investigating the status of a linguistic structure in a community. One goal of my field study was to see whether the factor of age influences the choice of RC variant.

As stated earlier, Azeri has two RC variants: the pre-nominal variant (42), in which the relative clause precedes the head, and the post-nominal variant (43), in which the relative clause follows the head.

(42) dil-a gäl-än kälmä-lär
 tongue-DAT come-REL word-PL
 'the words that can be produced' (Participant 4: 2012)

(43) o qız-uşağı ki yaşıl alma-sı var-dır
 that girl-child COMP green apple-POSS.3SG has-3SG
 'the girl who has a green apple' (Participant 6: 2012)

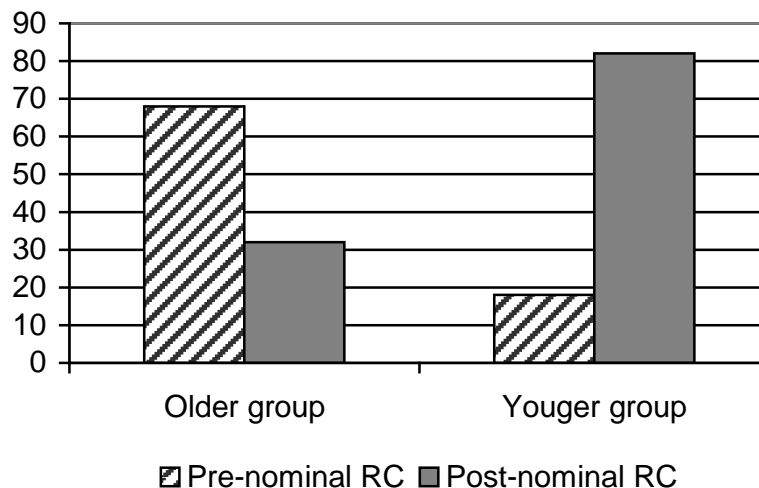
Table 4.2 gives a break-down in the results of the two types of RCs as produced by older and younger groups of speakers.

Table 4.2. Number and percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by older and younger groups

Participants	Pre-nominal RCs		Post-nominal RCs		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
older group	31	68	15	32	46
younger group	7	18	32	82	39
Total	38	45	47	55	85

As seen in Table 4.2, the older speakers produced 31/46 pre-nominal RCs and 15/46 post-nominal RCs, whereas the younger speakers produced 7/39 pre-nominal RCs and 32/39 post-nominal RCs. The results show that older participants tend to produce more pre-nominal RCs (68%), whereas the younger participants tend to produce more of the post-nominal variant (82%). See Figure 4.2. In sum, the total number of 38/85 of the pre-nominal variant (45%) and 47/85 of the post-nominal variant (55%) were found and transcribed.

Figure 4.2. Percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by older and younger groups



In the sociolinguistic literature, many studies have been done on the effect of education on language variation. Education may be the best factor measuring the social evaluation of features in a community, with higher levels of education correlating with linguistic features held to have prestige (Labov 2002: 60). In this study, the effect of education has been investigated differentiating between participants with little or no education versus those with some post-secondary education.

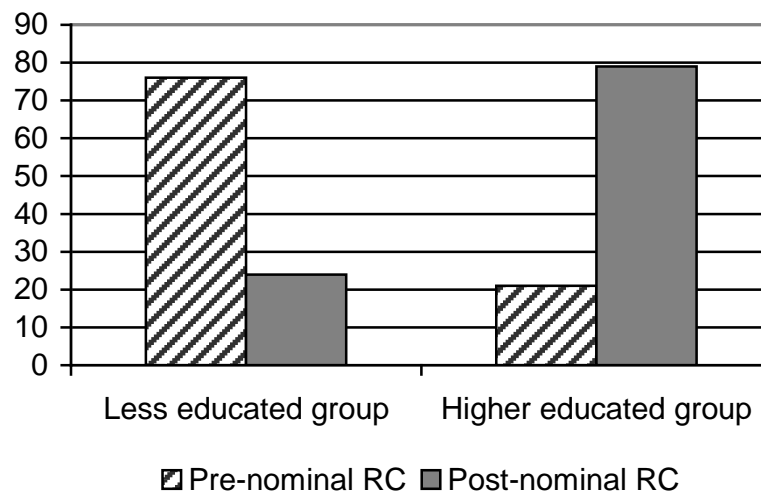
Table 4.3. Number and percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by level of education

Participants	Pre-nominal RC		Post-nominal RC		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
less educated group	28	76	9	24	37
higher educated group	10	21	38	79	48
Total	38	45	47	55	85

As Table 4.3 shows, the less educated speakers produced 28/37 post-nominal RCs and 9/37 pre-nominal RCs, whereas the more educated speakers produced 10/48

pre-nominal RCs and 38/48 post-nominal RCs. The educated participants tend to produce more of the head-final variant (76%) whereas the more educated participants tend to produce more of the head-initial variant (79%). See Figure 4.3. These statistics show that the less educated participants favor the native Azeri structure. In contrast, the behaviour of educated speakers is the opposite—they tend to produce RCs with the borrowed structure.

Figure 4.3. Percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by less educated and higher educated groups



Investigating the behavior of individual participants may reveal the linguistic and non-linguistic characteristics of a variation more clearly (Labov 1972, 1994, 2001; MacLagan, Gordon and Lewis 1999; among others). Therefore, when I divided the participants based on their level of education, I moved participant 3 to the group of participants with higher education. The following Table 4.4 gives the results for participant along with their level of education.

Table 4.4. Number and percentage of pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs by level of education

Participant	Age	Level of Education	pre-nominal RCs		post-nominal RCs		Total
			#	%	#	%	#
5	65	none	5	100	0	0	5
1	88	basic reading	5	62	3	38	8
2	72	basic reading	5	83	1	17	6
4	65	basic reading	13	72	5	28	18
SUB-TOTAL			28	76	9	24	37
3	69	higher education (BS)	3	33	6	67	9
10	22	higher education (BS)	0	0	6	100	6
9	26	higher education (MA)	0	0	4	100	4
6	36	higher education (MS)	0	0	10	100	10
7	35	higher education(PhD)	2	40	3	60	5
8	28	higher education(PhD)	5	36	9	64	14
SUB-TOTAL			10	21	38	79	48
TOTAL			38	45	47	55	85

As can be seen, the results from participant 3, who is in the older age group but who has a higher education, are more similar to the results from the younger educated group than to the other older participants. As stated above, this participant produced more post-nominal RCs, while the other participants who are old but have less education produced more pre-nominal RCs. This result shows that the factor of education is a strong social factor affecting the production of the pre-nominal and the post-nominal variants.

Accordingly, the results of this study support Lee's (2008: 276) impression that among the educated speakers of Azeri, the post-nominal RC is considered as the normal structure, displacing the native post-nominal RC. Furthermore, they support Dehghani's (2000) statement that, although borrowed structures are also used by Azeri speakers who have at least basic education, these structures are used more frequently among educated speakers.

4.4. Summary

In the data provided above, we saw that both pre-nominal and post-nominal RCs occur in Azeri. The aim of my study was to find the factors that influence this variation. Comparing the data from monolingual speakers to the data from bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers, I have found that certain social factors—age and education—encourage the speakers to choose one variant over the other. The result shows that educated speakers adopt more Persian structures in their speech, whereas less educated speakers use more native Azeri structures.

My results are partially compatible with the findings of other studies. Lee (2008: 276) claims that all Azeri speakers produce both types of RCs with equal naturalness. His results are based on 1320 minutes of taped radio programs and a few collected stories, roughly twice the size of my sample. Lee says that a statistical analysis of his data reveals that 61% of all Azerbaijani relative clauses are pre-nominal while 39% are post-nominal. However, he gives no information about the number of tokens, nor a breakdown by sociolinguistic factors of the speakers. His results differ substantially from my findings, which showed 45% pre-nominal RCs versus 55% post-nominal RCs.

One possible explanation relates to when the data was collected. Lee's data were collected in 1993, whereas my data were collected almost twenty years later in 2012. Accordingly, we can see that the difference in generations provides us with the most obvious example of change in progress. Another possible explanation for the difference between my results and Lee's is the setting in which the data were collected. I gathered my data in an informal setting recording the interviews through every-day conversation with my participants, being myself a native speaker of Azeri. However, the data used by

Lee (2008) consisted mainly of recordings of programmes from Urmia Radio. Urmia is a city just west of Tabriz so the same variety of Azeri is spoken there. The solidarity of the Azeri people is one goal of such programming and this might lead to a more conservative speech style. The nature of the setting may influence the use of the Turkic variant versus the borrowed variant. This could account for the slightly higher usage of pre-nominal RCs in Lee's corpus.

Overall, we see an historical change taking place in Azeri morphosyntax where pre-nominal RCs are being replaced by post-nominal RCs. This shift seems to be due to Persian influence, though other factors, such as the difficulty of processing and learning pre-nominal RCs and thus a cross-linguistic tendency for RCs to appear post-head may also be influencing this word order change.

5. Noun compounding

Compounding, which is probably the most common morphological process cross-linguistically, can be defined as a lexical item consisting two or more words used for generic rather than referential function, e.g. English *garbage man* or *popcorn* (Fabb 1998: 66). In section 5.1, I discuss noun compounding in Azeri, Turkish and Persian. Section 5.2 presents the methodology of data collection and coding. Section 5.3 focuses on the social factors affecting the choice of variants. Finally, section 5.4 offers a general description of my findings followed by a conclusion.

5.1. Typology of noun compounding

In this section, I turn to the issue of ordering in noun compounds. As with relative clauses, Azeri noun compounds come in two forms. One can be regarded as the native Turkic variant and the other variant borrowed from Persian and thus noun compounding can serve as a measure of Persian influence on Azeri.

Native Azeri has right-headed noun-noun and adjective-noun compounds:

- (1) märmär daş
marble stone
'marble stone' (Participant 3: 2012)
- (2) gümüş güldan
silver vase
'silver vase' (Participant 9: 2012)
- (3) böyük-maman
big-mother
'grandmother' (Participant 10: 2012)
- (4) sarı-kök
yellow-root
'turmeric' (Participant 5 : 2012)

The above compounds are bare, but for noun-noun compounds, it is more common to use the linker *-(s)l*.²⁵

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (5) | Azerbaijan
Azerbaijan
'Azerbaijani Turk' | türk-ü
turk-LNK | (Participant 3: 2012) |
| (6) | Isfahlan
Isfahlan
'Isfahlan village' | känd-i
village-LNK | (Participant 2: 2012) |
| (7) | lobya
bean
'green bean omelet ' | kükü-si
omelet-LNK | (Participant 5: 2012) |
| (8) | kitab
book
'library' | ev-i
house-LNK | (Participant 4: 2012) |

Right-headed compound structures are typical in Turkic languages. As in Azeri, the most productive and frequently used compounds in Turkish are noun-noun and adjective-noun (Kornfilt 1997, Göksel and Kerlake 2005, Göksel 2009, Ralli and Bağrıaçık 2011, among others).

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------|
| (9) | ipek
silk
'silk sock' | çorap
sock |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------|

²⁵ Throughout this thesis, the suffix *-(s)l*, in noun compounds is labeled linker, as adopted from Croft (1990). Because the linker *-(s)l*, although it has the same shape as the third person singular possessive suffix *-(s)l*, but it does not necessarily indicate possession. It may just function as a grammatical linker to express the relation between the elements, for instance, in place names:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | Eynali
Eynali
'Eynali Mountain' | Dağ-ı
mountain-LNK |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|

In contrast, the third person singular possessive suffix *-(s)l* expresses possession in a possessive construction; it is attached to the head noun preceded by genitive-marked possessor, as in:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (ii) | Ali-nin
Ali-GEN
'Ali's book' | kitab-ı
book-POS.3SG |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|

- (10) büyük-anne
big-mother
'grandmother'

Noun-noun compounding can also be formed with an *-(s)/* suffix, as in:

- (11) para çanta-sı
money bag-LNK
'money bag (purse)'

- (12) İngiliz edebiyat-ı
English literature-LNK
'English literature'

Persian also has bare noun-noun and noun-adjective compounds:

- (13) âb-havij
water-carrot
'carrot juice'

- (14) pedar-bozorg
father-big
'grandfather'

The above examples are left-headed, which is considered the default order of compounds in Persian (Kalbasi 1992, Shariat 2005, Anvari and Ahmadi-Givi 2006, Mahoozi 2006, Vahidian-Kamyar and Omrani 2006, Foroodi-Nejad and Paradis 2009), though right-headed compounds also occur.²⁶

- (15) noxost-vazir
first-minister
'prime minister'

Another way of compounding in Persian is by means of the *Ezafe* construction.²⁷

²⁶ These types of compounds are formed by reversing the canonical position of the noun and the modifier—see Kalbasi's (1992) *inverse Ezafe compounds*.

(i) vazir-e noxost
minister-EZ first
'prime minister'

²⁷ In Persian, the *Ezafe* construction with a vowel *-e* occurs with various kinds of post-nominal modifiers, including APs, descriptive NPs, genitive NPs, and some PPs (Samiian 1994).

(24) bank karmänd-i
bank employee-LNK
'bank employee '

(25) yazılı ädəbiyyat
written literature
'written literature'

I consider the right-headed compound in Azeri to be the native Turkic pattern since Turkish generally lacks left-headed compounds.²⁸

5.2. Methodology and data coding

I did not target noun compound data as part of my field study. However, when I was reviewing the data, I noticed that noun compounds appear in the speech of all the subjects. Furthermore, when comparing my own judgements concerning Azeri to those of some of the younger speakers, I noticed that they were using many left-headed compounds, where I would have preferred right-headed ones. Therefore, I found noun compounding to be a useful issue to explore further.

As stated earlier, the native Azeri compound noun construction is right-headed and formed with or without the linker *-l(s)*:

Right-headed compounds:

(26) äbrişäm färş
silk rug
'silk rug' (Participant 7: 2012)

(27) Tabriz püstä-si
Tabriz pistachio-LNK
'Tabriz pistachio' (Participant 2: 2012)

²⁸ The one exception seems to be a few Arabic and Persian loan compounds, for example:
(i) kabil-i tahammül (Göksel and Haznedar 2007: 3)
able-LNK toleration
'tolerable'

However, such compounds are regarded as archaic. The productive creation of compounds from foreign sources ended with the Language Reform in the 1930s (Göksel and Haznedar 2007).

(28) ät flesh 'meat grinder'	maşın-ı machine-LNK	(Participant 4: 2012)
------------------------------------	------------------------	-----------------------

In comparison, the Persian-style compound is left-headed with the Ezafe *-(y)l*.

Left-headed compounds:

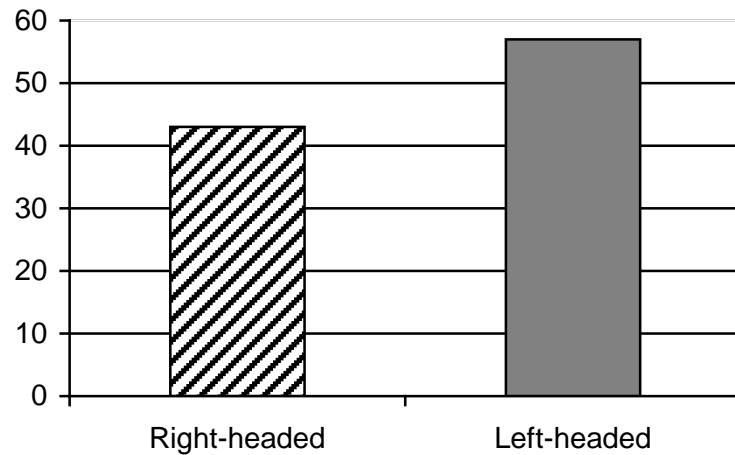
(29) istgâh-i station-EZ 'the Ahoodasht station'	ahoodâşt ahoodasht	(Participant 1: 2012)
(30) zâban-i language-EZ 'mother tongue'	madâri mother	(Participant 7: 2012)
(31) danişkâde-ye faculty-EZ 'the faculty of Engineering'	fânni engineering	(Participant 10: 2012)
(32) nâzâr-e idea-EZ 'personal idea'	şâxsi personal	(Participant 8: 2012)

The noun compound data were analyzed on these grounds.

5.3. Social factors

Right-headed and left-headed compounds are both robustly attested, with a slight preference for the latter. My data yielded 225 tokens of CNs: 43% were right-headed (96 CNs) and 57% were left-headed (129 CNs). In other words, the persified left-headed CNs was slightly preferred over the native Turkic right-headed construction. See Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. Percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns



These results suggest that noun compounds provide a good linguistic variable to investigate because both variants are produced frequently in daily speech. Given the results of the RC data above, an obvious question to ask is whether the social factors of age and education influence the choice of variants in noun compounding.

5.3.1. Effect of age

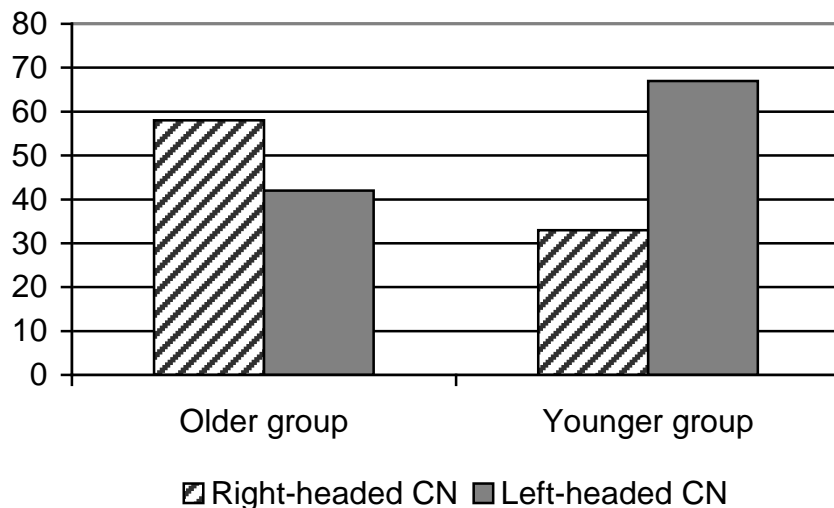
The following table gives the data on noun compounds based on the age of the participant.

Table 5.1. Number and percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by older and younger groups

Participants	right-headed		left-headed		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
older group	51	58	37	42	88
younger group	45	33	92	67	137
Total	96	43	129	57	225

As Table 5.2 illustrates, the older speakers produced 51/88 right-headed compounds and 37/88 left-headed compounds, whereas the younger speakers produced 45/137 right-headed compounds and 92/137 left-headed compounds. Therefore, the results show that older participants tend to produce more of the right-headed compound noun variant (58%), whereas the younger participants tend to produce more of the left-headed borrowed variant (67%). The older participants tend to produce slightly more compounds with native Azeri structures than with the borrowed Persian order, whereas the younger participants tend to produce more compounds with the borrowed structure than with the native one. See Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2. Percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by older and younger groups



5.3.2. Effect of education

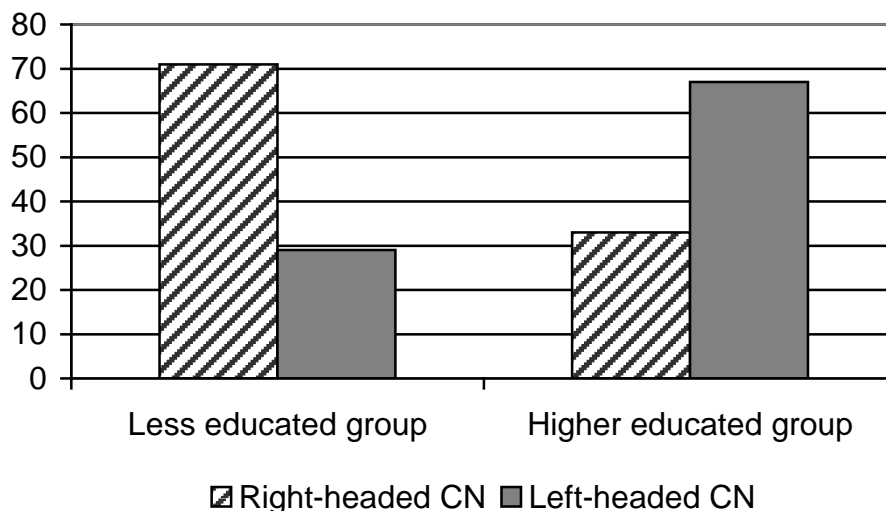
Next I will turn to the effect of level of education on the production of the two compound noun structures. The following table presents the number and percentage of right-headed versus left-headed compounds tabulated for two groups of speakers—those with little or no education and those with higher education.

Table 5.2. Number and percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by level of education

Participants	right-headed		left-headed		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
less educated	40	71	16	29	56
higher educated	56	33	113	67	169
Total	96	43	129	57	225

Table 5.3 illustrates, the less educated speakers produced 40/56 right-headed compounds and 16/56 left-headed compounds, whereas the more highly educated speakers have produced 56/169 right-headed compounds and 113/169 left-headed compounds. The results show that the less educated participants tend to produce more of the right-headed variant (71%), whereas the more highly educated participants tend to produce more of the left-headed variant (67%). See Figure 5.3. This statistic shows that the less educated participants favor the native Azeri structure. In contrast, the behaviour of the educated speakers shows that they tend to produce more compounds with the borrowed structure. Table 5.4 presents the results for each individual participant.

Figure 5.3. Percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by less educated and higher educated groups



Once again it is insightful to examine the results for participant 3, who is an older but highly educated participant. His results for compound nouns more closely resemble the results of the younger highly educated group than those of the other older speakers. This participant produced more left-headed noun compounds, whereas the other participants in the older group with less education produced more right-headed compounds. If we compare his behaviour with the younger educated speakers, we see that his choice of variants is in the same range as the other participants in the educated group. In other words, the result from participant 3 suggests that the factor of education is stronger than the factor of age.

Table 5.3. Number and percentage of right-headed and left-headed compound nouns by level of education

Participant	Age	Level of Education	right-headed		left-headed		Total
			#	%	#	%	#
5	65	none	6	100	0	0	6
1	88	basic reading	12	60	8	40	20
2	72	basic reading	10	83	2	17	12
4	65	basic reading	12	67	6	33	18
SUB-TOTAL			40	71	16	29	56
3	69	higher education (BS)	11	34	21	66	32
10	22	higher education (BS)	4	33	8	67	12
9	26	higher education (MA)	5	33	10	67	15
6	36	higher education (MS)	2	7	27	93	29
7	35	higher education (PhD)	14	42	19	58	33
8	28	higher education (PhD)	20	41	28	59	48
SUB-TOTAL			56	33	113	67	169
TOTAL			96	42	129	58	225

5.4. Summary

To summarize, the findings in the present study show that noun compounds are a good sociolinguistic variable in Azeri because both right-headed and left-headed compounds are well attested. As with the relative clause data, the factors of age and

education influence the choice between variants. Summarizing the results overall, young and educated speakers, who have more contact with Persian through media, education and social contact, are more influenced by Persian structure. In contrast, older speakers, who are mostly monolingual and have less education in the Persian language, retain more native Azeri structures in their speech.

6. Causatives

In this chapter, I turn to the issue of the persification of Azeri causatives. Both syntactic and semantic considerations come into play when discussing the typology of causatives. Comrie (1981) categorises causative constructions from lexical through morphological to syntactic (or analytic). Azeri, as well as Turkish and Persian, has all three types of causatives.

In lexical causatives, the causative form is lexically distinct from the corresponding intransitive verb, e.g. English *kill* vs. *die*. Lexical causatives occur in Azeri (1), Turkish (2) and Persian (3), as seen by contrasting the intransitive verbs below with their transitive counterparts; however only a few verbs have lexical causatives in each language.

Azeri:		
(1) a.	getmax 'to go'	aparmax 'to take'
	b. xarap olmax 'to be destroyed'	xarap elämax 'to destroy'
Turkish:		
(2) a.	görmek 'to see'	göstermek 'to show'
	b. harap olmak 'to be destroyed'	harap etmek 'to destroy'
Persian:		
(3) a.	âmadan 'to come'	âvardan 'to bring'
	b. mordan 'to die'	koştan 'to kill'

In morphological causatives, a causative verb can be created from a non-causative or causative verb by attaching an affix.

(4) ye 'eat' ye-dir 'feed' (Turkish & Azeri)

(5) ye-dir 'feed' ye-dir-t 'cause to feed' (Turkish & Azeri)

In syntactic causatives, the notion of cause and effect is distributed between two predicates, as in these English examples:

(6) I caused John to go.

(7) I brought it about that John went.

I discuss types of causatives in section 6.1. The methodology, data coding and results are presented in section 6.2, followed by summary in section. 6.3.

6.1. Types of causatives

As mentioned above, all three languages have both morphological causatives, as discussed in section 6.1.1, and syntactic causatives, as discussed in section 6.1.2. I draw my discussion of Turkish causatives from Aissen 1979, Dede 1986, Kornfilt 1997, Aygen 2003, and Göksel and Kerslake 2005, of Persian causatives from Dabir-Moghaddam 1982, Mahootian 1997, Golfam and Bahrami-Khorshid 2009 and Golfam and Dehghan 2012, and Azeri causatives from Dehghani 2000, and Nabifar and Shayegh 2011.

6.1.1. Morphological causatives

In Azeri morphological causatives, the suffix *-dlr* or *-(l)t* (with allomorphs varying phonologically due to vowel harmony) is affixed to the verb stem to form a causative verb.²⁹ In a causative based on an intransitive verb, the causer, (e.g. *Ali* in (8)) occurs in subject position in the causative clause, and the causee (e.g. *uşax* 'kid' in (8)) occurs in direct object position and is marked with accusative case.

²⁹ *-dlr* (stems ending in a consonant) *min-dir-max* 'to make someone get on'
-(l)t (polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel, *l* or *r*) *oxu-t-max* 'to make someone read'
-lrt (stems ending in an affricative) *ic-irt-max* 'to make someone drink'
-dirt (for few verbs) *ye-dirt-max* 'to make someone eat it.'
-tlr (for few verbs) *ge-tir-max* 'to bring'

- (8) a. uşax yat-dı
 kid-NOM sleep-PST.3SG
 'The kid slept.'
- b. Ali uşağ-ı yat-ıt-dı
 Ali-NOM kid-ACC sleep-CAUS-PST.3SG
 'Ali made the kid sleep.'

In a causative based on a transitive verb, the causer (e.g. *män* 'I' in (9)) occurs in subject position, the direct object (*kitab-ı* 'book-ACC' in (9)) remains unchanged in its position and the causee (*qız-a* 'girl-DAT' in (9)) occurs in indirect object position, with dative case.

- (9) a. qız kitab-ı oxu-du
 girl-NOM book-Acc read-PST.3SG
 'The girl read the book.'
- b. (män) qız-a kitab-ı oxu-t-dum
 (I-NOM) girl-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I made the girl read the book.'

According to Comrie's (1989: 191) case hierarchy, the causee is assigned the leftmost available position in the hierarchy: subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object. Since the direct object position is already occupied in a causative based on a transitive verb, the causee occupies the indirect object position.

To form a causative clause with a ditransitive verb (with a direct object and an indirect object), the causer is added as a new subject. Since the direct object position is already occupied, the causee must move to the indirect object position; but this position is also already occupied and two NPs cannot occupy the indirect object position in the same clause. Thus, based on Comrie's (1989) case hierarchy, the causee can be presented as an oblique object using other case suffixes—locative (10) , benefactive (11), instrumental (12) (Dehghani 2000: 234)—or a postposition *tarafından* 'by' (13) (Lee 2008: 125):

- (10) kişi ät-i qässab-a tükan-da
 man-NOM flesh-ACC butcher-DAT store-LOC
- käs-dır-dı
 cut-CAUS-PST.3SG
 'The man made the butcher cut the flesh in the store.'

(11) (män) kitab-ı Ali-yä gardaş-ım üçün
 (I-NOM) book-ACC Ali-DAT brother-POSS.1SG **for**

oxu-t-dum
 read-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I made Ali read the book for my brother.'

(12) qız tablo-nu naqqaş-a qälâm-inän
 girl-NOM picture-ACC artist-DAT pen-**INST**

çäk-dir-di
 draw-CAUS-PST.3SG
 The girl made the artist draw the picture with the pen.'

(13) Häsän kişi-yä namä-ni ata-m tarafından
 Häsän-NOM man-DAT letter-ACC father-POSS.1SG **by**

yaz-dır-dı
 write-CAUS.PST.3SG
 'Häsän made my father write the man a letter.'

In addition, Azeri allows two morphological causative suffixes on the same verb:

(14) a. qapı-nı aç-dır-dım
 door-ACC open-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I had the door opened.'

b. qapı-nı aç-dır-t-dım
 door-ACC open-CAUS-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I had the door opened.' / 'I had someone open the door.'

c. qapı-nı kişi-yä aç-dır-t-dım
 door-ACC man-DAT open-CAUS-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I had the man open the door.' / 'I had the door opened.'

A transitive verb with two causative suffixes often has the same meaning as its single causative counterpart, though a double causative meaning is also possible.

The Azeri morphological corresponds to the Turkish morphological causative. Morphological causatives, which are the most productive strategy for forming causatives in Turkish, are formed with two main causative suffixes *-Dir* and *-t* (Aissen 1979, Kornfilt 1997, Aygen 2003, Göksel and Kerslake 2005). In a causative formed on an intransitive verb, the causee appears in the accusative case and the causer takes the subject position:

- (15) a. çocuk koş-tu
 kid-NOM run-PST.3SG
 'The kid ran.'
- b. (sen) çocuk-u koş-dur-dun
 (You.2SG) kid-ACC run-CAUS-PST.2SG
 'You made the kid run.'

In a causative formed on a transitive verb, the causee is marked with dative case and the direct object is marked with accusative case:

- (16) a. oğlu-m kitab-ı oku-du
 boy-POSS.1SG book-ACC read-PST.3SG
 'My son read the book.'
- b. (ben) oğlu-m-a kitab-ı
 (I-NOM) boy-POSS.1SG-DAT book-ACC
- oku-t-tum
 read-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I made my son read the book.'

Causatives formed on ditransitive verbs—verbs with both a direct object and an indirect object—are parallel to causatives formed on transitive verbs. Since the direct and indirect object positions are already occupied and marked with accusative and dative case respectively, the causee appears as an oblique, marked with dative case:

- (17) a. Ali kitab-ı çanta-ya koy-du
 Ali-NOM book-ACC bag-DAT put-PST.3SG
 'Ali put the book in the bag.'
- b. (ben) Ali-ye kitab-ı çanta-ya
 (I-NOM) Ali-DAT book-ACC bag-DAT
- koy-dur-dum
 put-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I caused Ali to put the pen into the bag.'

In Turkish, multiple causatives are possible though rare.³⁰ They are formed by adding a causative suffix to a stem which already has a causative suffix (Kornfilt 1997,

³⁰ Göksel and Kerslake (2005) mention that verbs with three causative suffixes are possible, but the third suffix serves only to place emphasis on the event and does not affect the argument structure of the clause.

- b. (män) baʔis ol-dum (ki) uşax
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) kid
- kitab-ı oxu-du
 book-ACC read-PST.3SG
 'I caused the kid to read the book.'

The light verb *baʔis olmax* is borrowed from Persian light verb *baʔes şodan* 'to cause'. Light verb constructions in many languages often show language mixing: a borrowed noun is compounded with a native verb (Myers-Scotton 2002). We see this in the case of Azeri light verbs—the Persian noun *baʔis* 'cause' is compounded with the Azeri verb *olmax* 'become'. In this structure, which is borrowed from Persian, the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *ki* 'that'. Unlike other noun clauses, which can be placed either before or after the main clause, complement clauses with *ki* obligatorily follow the main clause:

- (25) (män) baʔis ol-dum (ki) qız
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) girl
- namä-ni oxu-du
 letter-ACC read-PST.3SG
 'I caused the girl to read the letter.'

There is also a syntactic causative in Turkish, formed with a light verb construction using *sebeP* or *nedən* meaning 'cause' and the light verb *olmak* 'become' (Dede 1986: 49, Kornfilt 2012, personal conversation):

- (26) a. inek öl-dü
 cow die-PST.3SG
 'The cow died.'
- b. Ali [ineğ-in ölüm-ü]-na sebeb ol-du
 Ali [cow-GEN death-POSS.3SG]-DAT cause be-PST.3SG
 'Ali caused the cow to die.'

- (27) a. şoför ol-du
 driver die-PST.3SG
 'the driver died.'
- b. kaza [şoför-ün ölüm-ü]-ne neden ol-du.
 accident [driver-GEN death-POSS.3SG]-DAT cause be-PST.3SG
 'The accident caused the driver to die.'

This construction follows the basic SOV order: the nominalized phrase, marked with dative case, precedes the main verb. The subject of the nominalized phrase is a possessor in the genitive case.

6.2. Methodology, data coding and results

The causative construction was the third structure that I investigated in my study. During the last part of the interview with my participants, I used acceptability and comparative judgments tests to target syntactic variations in Azeri causative constructions. The first variant is the native Turkic morphological causative structure and the second variant is syntactic causative structure borrowed from Persian. The following two sentences are a sample pair from ten pairs of causative sentences, which I read to the participants and in order to obtain their judgments:

Azeri structure:

- (28) (män) Ali-ni yat-it-dim
 (I-NOM) Ali-ACC sleep-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I made Ali sleep'

Persified Azeri structure:

- (29) (män) ba?is ol-dum (ki) Ali yat-dı
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) Ali sleep-PST.3SG
 'I caused Ali to sleep.'

It was my impression based on introspection that both variants are used frequently in everyday speech. My goal was to use pairs of sample sentences like the above to find out if speakers had a preference for the native or the borrowed variant, and if they had a preference, what factors conditioned their choice.

In the investigation of the causative construction by the younger and older groups, all participants compared the paired causative sentences and expressed their opinion about their acceptability. All participants answered that both constructions are acceptable and that they could use either structure, depending on the context. They stated that besides the grammatical differences, there are also semantic differences between the two types of causatives. For instance, the following examples illustrate a pair of morphological and syntactic causatives from my sample list:

- (30) a. (män) uşağ-a paltar gey-dir-dim
 (I-NOM) kid-DAT cloths put-CAUS-PS.1SG
 'I got the kid get dressed'
- b. (män) baʔis ol-dum (ki) uşax paltar
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) kid cloths
- gey-di
 put-CAUS-PS.1SG
 'I caused the kid to get dressed.'

Participant 3, who is an older, educated speaker, expressed that the choice between the morphological versus syntactic causative depends on the context. In example (30), the causer is the agent who performs the act of dressing whereas in the syntactic causative, as in example (31)(30), the causer may or may not be the person who actually dresses the child. One interpretation involves indirect causation, i.e. the causer asked someone else to help the kid to get dressed, as in (31):

- (31) (män) baʔis ol-dum (ki) uşax paltar
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) kid cloths
- gey-di
 put-CAUS-PS.1SG
 'I asked someone to help the kid to get dressed.'
- (Participant 3: 2012)

In another example from my sample sentences, the impression of participant 6, a young, educated speaker, was slightly different.

(32) bu ev-i Ali-yä düzät-dir-dim
 this house-ACC Ali-DAT build-CAUS-PST.3SG
 'I got Ali to build this house.' / 'I had this house built for Ali.'

Participant 6 expressed that the above morphological causative is also ambiguous. He stated that sentence (32) means 'I got Ali to build the house', where *Ali* in the dative case denotes the person who has built the house, or it can also mean 'I had this house built for Ali'. The latter meaning is also unambiguously expressed with the benefactive *üçün*:

(33) bu ev-i Ali için düzät-dir-dim
 this house-ACC Ali for build-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I had this house built for Ali.'

Comparing the morphological causative in example (32) with the syntactic causative in example (34), this participant said that example (34) unambiguously means that Ali built the house and furthermore entails that I used a degree of force to make him do it.

(34) (män) ba?is ol-dum (ki) Ali bu
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) Ali this
 ev-i düzät-di
 house-ACC build-PST.3SG
 'I forced Ali to build the house.' (Participant 6: 2012)

Furthermore, participant 4, who is an older and less educated speaker, offered his opinion about causatives like the following:

(35) a. (män) şorba-nı uşāğ-a ye-dirt-dim
 (I-NOM) soup-ACC kid-DAT eat-CAUS-PST.1SG
 'I made the kid eat the soup/ I fed the kid.'

b. (män) ba?is ol-dum (ki) uşax şorba-nı
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) kid soup-ACC
 ye-di
 eat-PST.3SG
 'I caused the kid to eat the soup.'

He stated that in the morphological causative, the causer feeds the kid, but in the syntactic causative the causer may exert some force on the causee. Therefore, in his impression, the light verb *ba?is olmax* 'to cause' in the syntactic causative might mean 'to force someone to do something':

(36) (män) baʔis ol-dum (ki) uşax şorba-nı
 (I-NOM) cause be-PST.1SG (COMP) kid soup-ACC

ye-di
 eat-PST.3SG
 'I forced the kid to the soup'

(Participant 4: 2012)

Thus, we see that the two types of causatives have different semantics.

This semantic distinction is often characterized as a difference between direct and indirect causation (Shibatani 1975). According to the notion of iconicity (Haiman 1980, Givón 1980, DeLancey 1984), morphological causatives express a stronger degree of direct causation than their syntactic counterparts. As described by Whaley (1997: 193), when the causer exerts a direct influence on the causee, the causation is direct, as in the English causative *kill*. When the causer starts a chain of events in motion that then affects the causee, then the causation is indirect, as in the English *cause to die*. Comrie (1985: 333) also states that in the morphological causative the relation between the causer and the causee is more direct than in the syntactic causative. Therefore, where a language allows both morphological and syntactic causatives, the morphological causative expresses more direct causation.

Turkish morphological versus syntactic causatives also differ with respect to their meaning where morphological causatives seem to reflect more direct causation and the syntactic (or clausal syntactic) tends to express more indirect causation (Kornfilt 2012, personal conversation). Dabir-Moghaddam (1982: 34) also argues that there is a semantic difference between morphological and syntactic causatives in Persian, as well. In the former, the causer is involved in the action, but in the latter, the causer may not be involved directly in the action. Therefore, in morphological causatives, the causer forces the causee to do something, while there is no implication of the use of force by the causer in syntactic causative.

6.3. Summary

To sum up, all three languages have both morphological and syntactic causatives, but the level of productivity differs among them. In Azeri and Turkish, the morphological

causative strategy is productive, but in Persian it is not productive. Although all three languages have syntactic causatives, they are not all constructed in the same fashion. To form the syntactic causative, Turkish follows the basic SOV order; the light verb *sebep olmak* ‘to cause’ or *neden olmak* ‘to cause’ appears as a main verb at the end of the sentence. However, the Azeri syntactic causative mimics the Persian syntactic causative: the light verb *baʔıs olmax* ‘to cause’ appears as a main verb followed by a complement clause with complementizer *ki* ‘that’. The following summarizes the strategies used to form causative in three languages:

Table 6.1. Summary of causative construction in Turkish, Azeri and Persian

	Turkish: SOV	Azeri: SOV	Persian: SOV
morphological causative	– <i>Dlr</i> or – <i>t</i>	– <i>dlr</i> or –(<i>l</i>) <i>t</i>	– <i>ân</i>
syntactic causative	[S][clause] [sebep lmak]	[S] [baʔıs olmax] ki [complement clause]	[S][baʔes šodan] ke [complement clause]

In addition, we have seen that in Azeri the two causatives express different meanings. The morphological causative formed on the Turkic pattern expresses direct causation and the Persian-style syntactic causative expresses indirect causation. This follows a general cross-linguistic tendency toward iconicity. In a morphological causative the distance between the verb stem and its affix is shorter than the distance between two separate verbs in a syntactic causative. Therefore, morphological causatives express more direct causation than syntactic causatives.

It became readily apparent during my field study that the two types of Azeri causatives did not actually represent variants. All speakers used both types, but for different meanings. There, causatives were not a useful construction for probing morphosyntactic differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers. It is important to note, however, that the persification of the Azeri syntactic causative is so well-established in Azeri that even monolinguals have a two-type system now, differing from Turkish, where morphological causatives are the norm. We can also point out that younger Azeri speakers

also still maintain a productive morphological causative, unlike Persian where morphological causatives are non-productive. Thus, we see that Azeri has a system that combines elements of the Turkic and Persian causatives.

7. Conclusion

This thesis examines some linguistic issues in Azeri, a Turkic language spoken in the northwestern part of Iran. The main objective has been to study the effect of Persian on Azeri morphosyntax. Iranian Azeri has been strongly influenced by Persian, an Indo-European language. Intensive linguistic and cultural contact has led to considerable convergence between the two languages. Northwestern Iran is an ethno-linguistic contact zone where Azeri and Persian have been spoken side by side for more than a millennium.

This thesis is based on both introspection—Azeri is my native language—and data collected during a field study. A total of 410 minutes of data were recorded from ten Azeri speakers living in Tabriz, Iran. These materials were used to examine a set of phenomena identified as aspects of Azeri morphosyntax that have been influenced by Persian.

As seen in the data above, the Azeri language exhibits the basic typological features seen in Turkic languages—agglutinating morphology with extensive suffixation, vowel harmony, basic SOV word order in the simple clause and the placement of modifiers before the head noun in the noun phrase. We saw that in the case and agreement systems, Azeri shows no influence from Persian. However, word order has been affected by Persian, at least partially. As typical of head-final languages, Azeri uses postpositions. However, Azeri has borrowed one Persian preposition, *barâye* ‘for’, which showed up in natural speech, even though speakers denied using it in judgement tests. In the relative clause construction, both pre-nominal clauses, the native Turkic construction, and post-nominal relative clauses, the Persianified structure, are accepted by all speakers. The results of this study suggest that the age and education of the speaker has a deciding effect on their use. In addition, in compound nouns, left-headed and right-headed compound nouns were used with almost equal frequency by the participants. Again, the choice of structure differed slightly by the age and education of the participants. Finally, there are two causative constructions: a native-Turkic morphological causative and a syntactic causative borrowed from Persian. All speakers accepted both types of causatives but claimed that

they had slightly different meanings. Morphological causatives were associated with direct causation and syntactic causatives with indirect causation.

The finding of the current study is compatible with the findings of other studies on languages of the region. Johanson (1998) claims that persification in the Irano-Turkic area is promoted by increased education and communication. It is typical of the sociolinguistic conditions that most Turks in Iran are bilingual, but generally do not read and write their mother-tongues no matter how well educated. Johanson (1998) further explains that intensive language contact in a linguistic area leads to "code-copying", whereby lexical, syntactic, phonetic and morphological structures are copied from one language to another. "The Code-Copying Model" developed by Johanson (Johanson 1992, 1993a, forthcoming; Backus 1996: 84-92) explains the effects of language contact in various settings leading to different degrees of copying. Properties can be copied entirely (global copying), as is the case with lexical borrowing, or partially (selective copying), as in the case with loan morphosyntax, loan semantics, etc.

All Azeri speakers of all ages continue to use basic Turkic structure: Azeri is a head-final language with verb agreement with subjects and case marking on NPs with other grammatical relations. This is a stable language type that has endured despite intense contact with Persian, a language that lacks case. In terms of basic clause structure, Persian is otherwise a head-initial language, but has OV order in main clauses. Azeri has integrated three types of head-initial structures. A single Persian preposition has been adopted. The lexical item and the structure it governs were borrowed simultaneously. Also, Azeri has adopted a post-nominal relative clause structure, making use of a borrowed complementizer. Beside the influence of Persian, other pressures, such as ease of processing heavy constituents, conspire to favor post-nominal relative clauses. Compound nouns seem to be equally distributed between native right-headed and borrowed left-headed forms. It remains to be seen if particular collocations favor one order or the other or if frequency of occurrence plays a role. The syntactic causative structure, which is used by all speakers, is borrowed from Persian structure. In this case, the native morphological causative and the borrowed syntactic causative have differentiated semantically.

These findings also show that Azeri is becoming persified, as predicted in situations of language contact involving a politically-dominant language. An interesting future study would be to compare the status of Azeri to other varieties of the Azerbaijan language, particularly Northern Azerbaijani, the official language in the Republic of Azerbaijan. Northern Azerbaijani has not been subjected to Persian influence, although it has been influenced by Russian. Northern Azerbaijani has preserved more native Turkic vocabulary than Azeri (Johanson 1998).

Language contact arises when people who are speaking different languages come into contact with each other in social situations. Contact-induced changes can be seen in the structure as well as the lexicon of the affected language. In language contact situations, we usually see a great deal of borrowing of lexical items from one language into the other. Less often we see the borrowing of grammatical elements or syntactic structures. It is easy for grammatical elements of one language to transfer to another if they share a typological pattern (Haugen 1950, Weinreich 1953, Thomason 2003, Calteaux 1994). However, Azeri and Persian are different types of languages and this may have slowed the restructuring process. Overall, there is little persification of Azeri morphosyntax, especially in basic clause structure. All speakers accept head-final structures, showing the persistence of Turkic morphosyntax despite intense social and cultural contact with Persian.

According to the results of my study, the influence of Persian is seen to be greater among young, educated speakers. With respect to the factor of age, Sankoff and Thibault (1981) claim that if a syntactic variant is correlated with age, this may be evidence of language change in progress. For example, head-initial variants correlate with the younger group and thus this might be an indication of an evolution in the grammar of Azeri toward head-initial structure. Sankoff and Thibault (1981) further argue that when variants coexist for a long time, it should be expected that this equivalence will be grammaticalized at a later time. Therefore, we should expect structures such as post-nominal relative clauses and left-headed compound nouns, which have been borrowed from Persian and have coexisted with native Turkish structure for a long time, will be eventually be considered as canonical structures in the grammar of Azeri.

The difference between the two groups of speakers in my study suggests that the rate of persification of Azeri is accelerating. However, due to the small number of participants and tokens, these conclusions can only be suggestive. Additional quantitative studies with sufficient data are required to verify these results. This discovery is an issue of some concern. The topic of language endangerment often focuses on languages with small populations of people, e.g. indigenous languages of North America. But even when a language is spoken by millions of people, it can undergo rapid decline in the face of contact.

Language use and attitudes towards language use are tied to issues of cultural identity. The Azeri people maintain a Turkic cultural identity even though they live in Iran. If they lose their language, they will lose the link to this heritage. Unfortunately, the current situation is that many Azeri children do not have an opportunity to learn Azeri. For example, my younger brother, who was born in Tehran, speaks little Azeri. There is much pressure—both from society at large and from families who desire their children to be upwardly mobile—to focus on learning Persian rather than Azeri. As fluency in the language is lost, so is the tie to Azeri culture. The future of Azeri, the Azerbaijani language as it is spoken in Iran, remains to be seen.

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Appendix

Interview Questionnaire Researcher: Parisa Erfani

A. BIOGRAPHY QUESTIONS

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. When were you born?
5. What do you do for a living?
6. How many years of schooling have you had?
7. Where, if anywhere, did you attend university?
8. Where do you live now?
9. How many years have you lived here?
10. Do you like living here or would you like to move to a different area?

B. SAMPLE TOPICS

11. What languages do you speak/read/write?
12. What languages do you primarily use at home/ at work/ at school?
13. Can you describe how to cook the well-known Azeri food 'Koofte'?
14. How did you meet your wife/husband?