

UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND
PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
MDP in Linguistic Data Sciences
Foreign Languages and Translation Studies

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**Influence of Persian Language on Azerbaijani:
A Case Study of Contact-Induced Changes in Iranian Azerbaijani**

MA Thesis
Autumn 2021

ITÄ-SUOMEN YLIOPISTO – UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND

Tiedekunta – Faculty Philosophical Faculty		Osasto – School School of Humanities	
Tekijät – Author Farzaneh Mohammadrahimi			
Työn nimi – Title Influence of Persian Language on Azerbaijani: A Case Study of Contact-Induced Changes in Iranian Azerbaijani			
Pääaine – Main subject	Työn laji – Level	Päivämäärä – Date	Sivumäärä – Number of pages
MDP in Linguistic Data Sciences	Pro gradu -tutkielma	x	12.12.2021
	Sivuainetutkielma		
	Kandidaatin tutkielma		
	Aineopintojen tutkielma		
Tiivistelmä – Abstract			
<p>This study is an attempt to investigate the linguistic aspects of contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani, a Turkic language, spoken in the northwest of Iran, where Azerbaijani as a minority language is spoken alongside Persian, an Indo-European language. To this purpose, a set of features from three linguistic categories of lexicon, morphology and syntax are analysed. Furthermore, this study aimed to get an overview of intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian. To achieve the objectives, a qualitative case study is conducted with collection of spoken data from seventy Azerbaijani-speaking people in Tabriz-Iran. The data annotated and transcribed using <i>ELAN</i> linguistic annotator software. For theoretical discussions, this project made use of Thomason' (2001) definitions on contact-induced change and borrowability. Moreover, Thomason's broad borrowing scale is used to determine the intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian.</p> <p>The findings suggest that Azerbaijani has been affected by Persian in three linguistic levels of lexicon, morphology and syntax. At lexicon level, Azerbaijani has borrowed Persian vocabulary of both content and function word classes in various semantic areas. At morphology level, Persian inflectional markers such as comparison suffixes and <i>Ezafeh</i> suffix are borrowed. Moreover, a set of Persian prepositions and an adjective-maker suffix imported from Persian. At syntax level, Persian syntactic method of passivization and causation are borrowed by Azerbaijani and are used besides Azerbaijani native morphological methods. Moreover, Persian head-initial order is borrowed by Azerbaijani at noun phrases and prepositional phrase levels, while the native Azerbaijani exhibits head-final order. Finally, regarding the four stages of Thomason's (2001) broad borrowing scale, my findings indicated that the current situation of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian falls into the third category of <i>more intense contact</i>.</p>			
Avainsanat – Keywords			
Language contact, Contact-induced changes, Lexicon, Morphology, Syntax, Azerbaijani language, Turkic languages			

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, Abdolrahim Mohammadrahimi, who always believed in me and encouraged me to pursue education, but he was unable to see my graduation. This is for him.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Michael Rießler, for all his help and advice with this thesis.

I am also indebted to my mum Khadijeh Tajaddini and my sister Parvaneh Mohammadrahimi, whom without this would have not been possible.

My appreciation also goes out to my husband, Navid Masoudipanah for his encouragement and support all through my study.

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADJP	adjective phrase
ADV	adverb
AOR	aorist
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
AZ	Azerbaijani
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPA	comparative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CV	compound verb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DM	discourse marker
EZ	ezafeh
GEN	genitive

HN	head noun
IMP	imperative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LNK	linker
LOC	locative
NEG	negation, negative
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NV	non-verbal
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional/postpositional phrase
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PRSN	Persian
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REL	relative
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUP	superlative
V	verb
∅	null morpheme

-	morpheme boundary
*	ungrammatical

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate Azerbaijani, a Turkic language spoken in Iran, a multiethnic and multilingual country where diverse ethnic minorities live and diverse languages are spoken, but the sole official language of country is Persian. Persian, as an Indo-European language, has political and cultural dominance over minority languages in Iran. Azerbaijani, is one of the main minority languages in Iran which is spoken in northwestern part of Iran where Persian and Azerbaijani have been in contact for at least a millennium. Regarding dominance of Persian, and the long period of contact, this is exactly the kind of situation where Azerbaijani language is expected to be influenced by Persian. The main objectives of the present thesis are as follow:

1. To investigate the linguistic aspects of contact induced changes in Iranian Azerbaijani in situations of contact with Persian, under the title of three linguistic categories of lexicon, morphology and syntax.
2. To achieve an overview of intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian, based on Thomason's (2001) broad borrowing scale.

In order to investigate the Persian features borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers, I conducted a case study, based on spoken data that I collected from broadcast media. The source of data was interviews with seventy Azerbaijani speakers, interviewed in Tabriz, Iran. To compile the required material, I used ELAN software, the Linguistic Annotator version 6.1, to manually transcribe and annotate the data. To do so, I searched the spoken data for any Persian feature that indicated contact-induced change in the speech of each individual speaker and annotated and transcribed them in detail. Then, I extracted the list of features which I called Persianization features. Then, using advanced search options of *ELAN* software, I conducted a structured search through multiple layers of data and categorized the resulted tokens of Persianization features into three categories of lexicon, morphology and syntax. Then, I analyzed each individually. Prior to discuss each feature, I addressed the typological difference of Persian and Azerbaijani in expressing that feature. To achieve the second objective of this study, I considered the characteristics of each stage of language contact intensity, introduced by Thomason's broad borrowing scale. I conducted a comparison between the features, mentioned

by Thomason for each stage, and the features that I collected, based on my findings. The stage whose features mostly matched with my findings I considered as the current stage of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian in Iran.

Considering the significance of present study, there are some assumptions that constitute pertinence of the present thesis. Firstly, investigating the literature related to influence of Persian on Iranian Azerbaijani revealed that most of studies investigated the sociological aspects of contact, such as language ideology, language identity, language policy, language vitality, so on. In general, there are a few studies that addressed the linguistic aspects of contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani. Among them, the majority have been more descriptive in nature, and those very few analytical studies are conducted with a somewhat different scope, non-sufficient number of features or participants. This in turn leaves a gap in the literature, and present study becomes significance in contributing to filling this gap.

Second, the present study attempts to give an overview of intensity of current contact between Azerbaijani and Persian within the scope of Thomason's broad borrowing scale. The intensity of contact can change through the time, due to different social factors, and it can be of interest to compare the intensity of contact over a period of time. The finding of this study, in this respect, is hoped to contribute to future comparative diachronic studies on contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani. Since there are other Azerbaijani varieties spoken in different provinces of Iran, the finding of this study can also contribute in conducting synchronic comparative studies on contact pattern of other geographical areas in Iran.

My reasons for choosing this subject are twofold. Firstly, as a native speaker of both Azerbaijani and Persian, based on primary and my own observations, Azerbaijani as a giant minority in Iran is understudied and deserves a more scientific analysis. This study is not only an attempt to satisfy a scientific curiosity, but is also expected to contribute to the thriving field of sociolinguistics, in general, and contact-induce language change studies, in particular. Secondly, the other motivation for conducting this study is the above-mentioned gap that needs to be fulfilled in the field of contact-induced changes in Iranian Azerbaijani.

As for theoretical framework of this study, I have used Thomason' (2001) definition on contact-induced change to recognize and to distinguish it from other linguistic changes that do not count as contact-induced. In the theoretical section, I also discussed the notion of borrowability and the universal constrains on borrowability, based on Thomason (2001). Based on her definitions, which is addressed in more details in the chapter four, any linguistic feature of the source language, regardless of typology of languages in contact, can be borrowed by receiving language. However, what she considers borrowing are only the interference features that are imported into receiving language by native speakers of that language. The intensity of contact is also defined based on social and linguistic factors which put forward by Thomason (2001). The section ends with presenting Thomason's broad borrowing scale that is used to determine the intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian, based on bilingualism condition and borrowing of lexicon and structure. The four levels of contact, introduced by Thomason (2001), are arranged from least intense contact to the most intense contact as follow: 1. *casual contact*, 2. *slightly more intense contact*, 3. *more intense contact* and 4. *intensive contact*.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter two gives an overview of the researches that have been already done in the field of sociolinguistics and contact linguistics, with respect to Iranian Azerbaijani. This chapter also discusses the current gap in the literature and how this study is contributing to filling this gap. Chapter three then presents some background information about Persian and Azerbaijani and describes the situation of contact between them in Iran. Chapter four deals with definitions of different concepts related to contact-induced changes, as defined by Thomason (2001). This chapter also presents Thomason's broad borrowing scale which serves as the determinant of contact intensity in this study. Chapter five describes the data collected to conduct this thesis, providing details of participants, methodology and procedures of annotation, transcription and analysis. The final analysis and results of this thesis are presented in chapters six through four sections: The first section discusses the lexical features; the second section explains the morphological results, the syntactic results are discussed in third section, and the fourth section includes discussion on intensity of contact. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the main findings and highlights the questions this study raised.

2. Research Background

There are various studies which investigated the influence of Persian on Iranian Azerbaijani. The most of these studies mainly concentrated on the areas of language policy and ideology (Karimzad 2018, Bani-Shoraka 2002, Mirvahedi 2019, Rezaei 2017), language attrition (Mirvahedi 2010), language attitude (Mirhosseini 2016, Nouri 2015, Zeinalabedini 2014, Mirshahidi 2017) and bilingualism (Bani-Shoraka 2005).

Mirhosseini 2016 “explored the attitude of Azerbaijani speakers towards their language in their bilingual Persian-Azerbaijani community and investigated their emotional attitudinal stance towards Azerbaijani as well as their positions regarding its application in some practical domains of language use”. Through his survey, Mirhosseini (2016) observed a two-sided profile of Azerbaijani speakers towards their mother tongue in such a way that they had a positive emotional feeling towards Azerbaijani language as a symbol of their identity but preferred to use Persian in official and social domains. Nouri (2015) achieved a similar result such that in spite of willing to retention of Azerbaijani language in family domain, Azerbaijani-Persian bilinguals exhibited “a slight decline in the usage of Azerbaijani and attitudes toward it”.

Bani-Shoraka (2005) and Mirvahedi (2010) by examining code-switching patterns detected an ongoing process of shift from Azerbaijani-Persian bilingualism to monolingualism in Persian. In an attempt to study the influence of Persian on Azerbaijani-speaking people in Iran, Karimzad (2018) indicated diverse ideologies among Iranian Azerbaijani speakers, which have emerged as a result of Iranian language policy in promoting Persian. Zeinalabedini (2014) argued the intense influence of Persian on a local media broadcasting in Azerbaijani language and people’s attitude towards it. The mentioned studies have mostly focused on sociological aspects of Azerbaijani language under the influence of Persian, not on linguistic aspects.

However, there have been several studies such as Vandhosseini (2013), Lee (1996), Dehghani (2000), Zehtabi (1991), Farzane (1992) and Lotfi (1965) which investigated Azerbaijani with focus on linguistic aspects. Investigation of these studies revealed that Iranian Azerbaijani has

rarely been approached from contact linguistic perspective. Among them Farzane (1992) and Lotfi (1965) recorded a descriptive grammar of Iranian Azerbaijani. The other few studies such as Vandhosseini (2013), Lee (1996) and Dehghani (2000) which developed a grammar of Iranian Azerbaijani, draw attention to influence of Persian on linguistic aspects of Azerbaijani by introducing differences of Azerbaijani and Persian language grammar to discuss features of Persian origin in Azerbaijani language.

Erfani (2012) is one of the few works that rightly pointed out the linguistic aspects of Persian influence on Iranian Azerbaijani. Her findings revealed that Persian affected Azerbaijani at different morphosyntactic levels of noun compounding, word order, causative construction and relative clause structure. However, this study conducted in the scope of language variation among ten Azerbaijani speakers based on two social factors of age and education level. Since the general situation of Persian influence on Turkic languages is also called persification phenomenon, Erfani (2012) deduced, based on her findings, that Azerbaijani is undergoing a persification process. Although Erfani's work makes a valuable contribution to the existing body of studies in the field of contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani, it is conducted with a small number of participants and she gives no explanation about degree of Persification.

In general, investigating previous studies indicated that Contact phenomenon between Azerbaijani and Persian has not sufficiently been attended to by the sociolinguists and linguists. Making use of the above-mentioned literatures, the present study aimed to throw more light on different linguistic aspects of Persian influence on Iranian Azerbaijani, however, more related literature will be reviewed in the forthcoming chapters. Unlike previous studies that argued the intensity of Persian influence on Azerbaijani without clear-cut determinants, current study identified the intensity of contact based on a combination of social and linguistic determinants, using Thomason's (2001) broad borrowing scale. Furthermore, while the previous researches did not distinguish between old and recent changes in Azerbaijani, this study observed the difference and focused on recent contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani under political and cultural dominance of Persian.

3. Azerbaijani-Persian language contact situation

Before I turn to the study of linguistic changes in Azerbaijani, in this chapter I presented some background information about Persian and Azerbaijani in order to give detailed view of Azerbaijani language and a holistic perspective of situation of contact between Persian and Azerbaijani languages in Iran.

3.1. Introduction

Iran is the home for various languages and dialects, but the national language of the country is Persian. Persian language, which is also called Farsi by Iranians, is a western Iranian language belonging to the Indo-Iranian subdivision of the Indo-European languages. Persian is spoken by the majority of the population in Iran, as well as in parts of Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Central Asia, and parts of the Indian subcontinent. Although Persian is the sole official language of Iran, a large number of minority languages from three language families of Indo-European, Turkic, and Afro-Asiatic are also spoken in Iran. Azerbaijani, Kurdish, Gilaki, Mazandarani, Lori, Arabic and Balochi are the languages with the greatest quantity of speakers in Iran. The following map illustrates distribution of minority languages spoken in Iran:

Image 1. Map of minority languages of Iran¹



In spite of linguistic diversity in Iran, Iranian language policies have strongly relied on elevation of Persian language, and restriction of minority languages' usage in official domains. Persian in Iran serves as a lingua franca and is the only official language which is allowed to be used in education, media and administration. There are only limited broadcasting programs in some minority languages such as Azerbaijani and Kurdish. In accordance with Matras & Sakel's (2007: 21) definition of dominant language – 'a language is dominant when used for administration, as a franca, and when it has to be learnt by the speakers of the dominated language, which in return is usually not used for any of the above or which is used in less official environments' - it goes without saying that Persian is the sole dominant language in Iran.

¹ <https://i.imgur.com/CLUB8KU.png> Gloe Andrew. Post title: 'Languages of Iran'. On the Reddit: https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/8814fz/languages_of_iran_1024_849/ retrieved on November 23, 2021.

3.2. Varieties of Azerbaijani

Azerbaijani, as a Turkic language belonging to the Oghuz branch of Turkic language family, is mainly spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan and north-western Iran. However, some varieties are also spoken in Georgia, Turkey and Russia. In General, Azerbaijani can be divided into two main varieties known as North Azerbaijani and South Azerbaijani. The northern variety is spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan as the official language, and the southern variety is spoken in Iran, as a minority language. You can see the locality of these two neighbor dialects as illustrated in the Image 2. below:

Image 2. Map of North and South Azerbaijani locations²



In fact, speakers of the both North Azerbaijani and South Azerbaijani varieties speak the same language but different dialects. However, the difference between these two dialects is considerable. In addition to some phonetic and morphological differences between the two

² Adapted from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idioma_azer%C3%AD.png.

Retrieved on November 24, 2021.

dialects, North Azerbaijani has been influenced by Russian over a span of undergoing Soviet Union, while Iranian Azerbaijani has been influenced by Persian.

As a speaker of the South Azerbaijani, the northern variety is completely intelligible to me. I used to watch TV channels broadcasting programs in northern dialect by Republic of Azerbaijan, for years, and if I want to compare the two dialects, in my judgment, South Azerbaijani speakers in Iran use considerably more Persian features than north Azerbaijani speakers use Russian. It comes as no surprise, considering that North Azerbaijani enriched its vocabulary under the Soviet Union, while South Azerbaijani in Iran, rarely went beyond usage in informal domains suppressed by Persian and linguistically changed, in consequent. In this thesis I have studied the southern variety of Azerbaijani which is in contact with Persian language in Iran.

Furthermore, one point needs to be clarified, regarding the contact between Persian and the two varieties of Azerbaijani, is that both of northern and southern varieties of Azerbaijani, due to the long history of contact with Persian for at least one millennium, have borrowed a large quantity of Persian vocabulary and syntactic features. The reason is that Iranian Azerbaijanis share the same ethnic background with the population of Azerbaijan, because the land that is now called the Republic of Azerbaijan was a part of Iran before 19th century.

However, these groups were divided in first half of the 19th century, through the Russo-Persian Wars, by the Treaty of Turkmanchai, which gave the northern portion of Iranian Azerbaijan to Russia. On the other hand, the first legislation that granted Persian language its status in Iran and positioned it as the official language of Iran commenced in 1906. Over time, this enactment was followed by different governments, which eventually led to the current cultural and political dominance of Persian in Iran. In light of these facts, the North Azerbaijani, spoken in Republic of Azerbaijan, has not been recently subjected to Persian influence as the Iranian Azerbaijani has been.

My focus in this study was not to investigate historical changes in Azerbaijani language, rather I have addressed recent contact-induced changes under dominance of Persian and the

monolingual policy in Iran. I used the north Azerbaijani as evaluation criteria to distinguish the new changes that happened in Iranian Azerbaijani. I will return to this issue in Section 5.4.

3.3. Azerbaijani alphabets and orthography

Regarding the orthography of southern and northern Azerbaijani, south Azerbaijani in Iran is a spoken language which has not been standardized yet and lacks a standard writing system. Although, a modified Persian script - Perso-Arabic script derived from Arabic Alphabet - is used in Iran to write in Azerbaijani. In practice, due to the fact that Perso-Arabic alphabet complies with Persian orthography and sound system, it is not adequate for illustration of Azerbaijani orthography. In particular, Azerbaijani has a larger vowel inventory than Persian and some of Azerbaijani vowels are left with no illustration in Persian alphabet. Likewise, there is no letter for some of Azerbaijani consonants in the Persian alphabet, because Persian does not have those consonants.

Northern Azerbaijani, on the other hand, is written in a modified Latin script, subsequent to Azerbaijan's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 when a Cyrillic version alphabet was used to write in Azerbaijani. The three different alphabets that are used to write in Azerbaijani are listed in Table 1. The transcription of data in this study is done using the Latin Azerbaijani. However, to keep consistency, an adapted Latin transcription is used to represent the Persian and Azerbaijani examples.

Table 1. Azerbaijani alphabets³

Arabic	Cyrillic	Latin	IPA
آ-ا	А а	A a	[ɑ]
ب	Б б	B b	[b]
ج	Ч ч	C c	[dʒ]
چ	Ч ч	Ç ç	[tʃ]
د	Д д	D d	[d]
ئ	Е е	E e	[e]
ه-آ-ا	Ә ә	Ә ә	[æ]
ف	Ф ф	F f	[f]
گ	К к	G g	[ɟ]
غ	Ғ ғ	Ğ ğ	[ɣ]
ه,ح	Һ һ	H h	[h]
خ	Х х	X x	[x]
ای	Ы ы	I ı	[ɯ]
ای	И и	İ i	[ɪ]
ژ	Ж ж	J j	[ʒ]
ک	К к	K k	[c],[ç],[k]
ق	Г г	Q q	[g]
ل	Л л	L l	[l]
م	М м	M m	[m]
ن	Н н	N n	[n]
ؤ	О о	O o	[o]
ؤ	Ө ө	Ö ö	[œ]
پ	П п	P p	[p]
ر	Р р	R r	[r]
ص,س,ث	С с	S s	[s]
ش	Ш ш	Ş ş	[ʃ]
ط,ت	Т т	T t	[t]
ؤ	У у	U u	[u]
ؤ	Ү ү	Ü ü	[y]
و	В в	V v	[v]
ی	J j	Y y	[j]
یا	JA ja	YA ya	[ja]
یئ	JE je	YE ye	[je]
ای	E e	E e	[e]
یو	JO jo	YO yo	[jo]
یو	JY jy	YU yu	[ju]
ظ,ز,ض,ذ	З з	Z z	[z]

³ Adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azerbaijani_alphabet . The source: Hatcher, L. 2008. Retrieved on November 30, 2021

3.4. Azerbaijani in Iran, the giant minority

According to Bani-Shoraka (2005), after Persian, which is the first language of over 50% of population in Iran, Azerbaijani is the mother tongue of approximately 24% of the total population of Iran. Current population of Iran is 81 million, and although estimates of the number of Azerbaijani-speaking people in Iran vary widely, it can be said that around 20 million Azerbaijani speakers live in Iran.

Azerbaijani language in Iran is mostly spoken by the people inhabiting north-western provinces, namely *Eastern Azerbaijan*, *Western Azerbaijan*, *Zanjan* and *Ardabil*. The people in these regions mostly are the bilingual speakers of Azerbaijani and Persian and speak Azerbaijani as their mother tongue. Each Azerbaijani-speaking province in Iran has its own specific dialect among which the Tabriz dialect – dialect spoken in Tabriz the capital city of Iran’s *Eastern Azerbaijan* province – is commonly recognized as the prestigious dialect and is traditionally accepted as the standard form of Azerbaijani spoken in Iran (Menges 1951, Doerfer. 1998). I was born in East Azerbaijan province of Iran and I am a bilingual speaker of the Azerbaijani Tabriz dialect and Persian. The present data in this thesis is collected in Tabriz city.

Azerbaijani is also called Azeri. In terms of the language and nationality, Azeri and Azerbaijani are the same; the term ‘Azeri’ is more of a short form of the term ‘Azerbaijani’, and is used commonly in Iran to refer to people who speak Azerbaijani. In this project I have used the term ‘Azerbaijani’ which is internationally recognized.

Regarding the situation of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian in Iran, the monolingual policy in Iran has strongly affected Azerbaijani in terms of loss of functional domains (Bakhtin 1981, Isaxanli 2002, Khalili (2016), Mirvahedi & Nasjian 2010), change in attitudes and identity of speakers (Sheykhoulislami 2012, Bani-Shoraka 2002, Mirhosseini 2016), depriving speakers from their linguistic rights, and consequently linguistic effects such as language endangerment (Nouri 2015) and contact-induced changes which the current study attempted to investigate. Before I keep on with the study of linguistic changes in Azerbaijani, due to contact

with Persian, I have discussed the mentioned social effects of Persian on Azerbaijani, in the remainder of this chapter.

3.5. Language policy in Iran and its effects on Azerbaijani

According to Chapter Two of the Constitution of Iran (Articles 15 & 16)⁴, Persian is regarded as the only official language, script and lingua franca in Iran, which is required to be used for schooling and official government communications. Although the constitution permits the use of minority languages in mass media and schools in the process of teaching minority language literature, in practice, Persian is the only dominant language in current education system and mass media in Iran.

3.5.1. Usage in functional domains: Education and media

Azerbaijani-speaking students in Iran, although use Azerbaijani to interact with their friends and teachers in school, according to Bakhtin (1981), educational conversations and activities such as teaching and question answers are done in Persian. Isaxanli (2002: 181) arguing the effects of monolingual education on Iranian Azerbaijani pupils, pointed out a great difficulty which both Azerbaijani-speaking teachers and pupils face with attempting to function in Persian. According to him, the pupils are embarrassed to speak Persian, due to their poor Persian skills and heavy Azerbaijani accent, especially in the early years of education. Furthermore, there are very few numbers of private educational institutions teaching Azerbaijani in Iran, but it is not taught as a school subject or university course. As mentioned earlier, Azerbaijani in Iran does not have a standard orthography and there is neither educational text books nor any other official publication in Azerbaijani in Iran.

Considering the usage of Azerbaijani in media, there are few local TV and Radio channels in Iran which are broadcasting limited hours of programs in Azerbaijani language. According to Mirvahedi & Nasjian (2010), the most of movies, scientific programs and the children's and teenager's programs in these channels are broadcasted in Persian. Moreover, the Azerbaijani

⁴ "Constitution". Islamic Parliament of Iran. Parliran.ir. Retrieved 1 October, 2021.

used in these channels is not that version of Azerbaijani which people use in their daily life, instead, it looks more like Persian (Zeinalabedini 2014: 22). Accordingly, it seems that in spite of mention in the Article, the policy of inclusion of minority languages in media and education, at least in case of Azerbaijani, has not been successfully implemented.

3.5.2. Persian as a symbol of national identity in Iran

In multi-lingual and multi-cultural environment of Iran, language policies give prominence to promotion of Persian as a symbol of national unity. Ahmadi (2012) and Meskoob (1992) assert Persian language as one of the main factors that has played a crucial role in creation of a united national identity of 'being Iranian' among various linguistic groups in Iran. And thus, multilingualism in Iran has been perceived as a threat to the nation's unity and territorial integrity. According to Sheykhoulislami (2012), and Bani-Shoraka (2002), the promotion of some minority languages in Iran, including Azerbaijani, has been associated with nationalist separatist groups who threaten the national unity of country. As a result, any activity or effort in order to support minority languages can be turned to a politically sensitive topic. This situation apparently has put more pressure on members of Azerbaijani-speaking communities and activists, with no separatist ideologies, in preserving and maintaining their local language.

Although political activities in multi-ethnic countries like Iran rely on putting high degree of emphasis on nationalism and national allegiance, it is acknowledged that "suppressing linguistic human rights for the sake of national unity rarely brings about that unity; on the contrary, language may become a symbol of self-determination" (Spolsky (2012: 111). Azerbaijani speakers in Iran as a minority group need their linguistic rights to be served as a part of their cultural and linguistic identity.

3.5.3. Attitudes and identity

The monolingual approaches in Iran have also influenced the attitudes of Iranian Azerbaijanis towards their mother tongue. Mirhosseini (2016) reported a two-sided portrayal of Iranian Azerbaijanis' attitudes towards Azerbaijani language. Azerbaijani speakers in Iran, on one hand, have emotionally very positive attitudes towards Azerbaijani as their mother tongue

which reflects their Azerbaijani identity. On the other hand, they have a hesitant attitude towards usage of Azerbaijani in functional and official domains such as education and media. Isaxanli (2002: 184) observed a similar opinion among Azerbaijani speakers in Iran in terms of identity. According to him, in spite of having a great sense of pride in being Iranian (Persian speaking), Azerbaijani speakers in Iran are strongly proud to be Azerbaijani.

Monolingual policies of Iran in associating Persian with national identity of ‘being Iranian’, and promoting ‘a single language and a single identity’ portray of country, apparently put Azerbaijani-speaking people under an obligation to give up part of their cultural identity in order to obtain ‘being Iranian’. This situation is worsened by absence of any topics about literature, history and culture of minority groups from educational text books.

Although many studies have acknowledged the role of the presence of the Republic of Azerbaijan - with which Iranian Azerbaijanis can relate to as an Azerbaijani-speaking independent nation - and watching Turkish channels’ Programs on construction of Iranian Azerbaijanis’ language identify (karimzad 2018, Isaxanli 2002, Bani-shoraka 2003), the considerable effect of enduring national allegiance Policy in Iran has been also asserted to be more effective, seeing that there is a consensus on strong connection of Iranian Azerbaijanis with ‘being Iranian’ identity (of which speaking Persian is an inseparable part). Seemingly, it can be concluded that a variety of language attitudes and ideologies has been formed among Iranian Azerbaijanis towards their mother tongue, Azerbaijani.

3.5.4. Language contact and endangerment (intensity of contact)

There are lots of factors which can affect the vitality and endangerment of a language. According to UNESCO Document 1 (2003: 4) on Language Vitality and Endangerment: ‘a language is in danger when its speakers cease to use it, use it in an increasingly reduced number of communicative domains, and cease to pass it on from one generation to the next.’ In the similar way, Spolsky (2012: 111) states the three factors of language endangerment (which are recognized by Dorian 1980) as: number of speakers, domains of use and structural simplification. Regarding Azerbaijani language, Nouri (2015) has investigated language vitality and endangerment of Azerbaijani among Azerbaijani-speaking people which have migrated to

Tehran, a mostly Persian-speaking city inhabiting by a considerable population of bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers. Nouri (2015: 357) argued that intergenerational language transmission among immigrant families is largely interrupted and immigrant Azerbaijanis has lost most domains of use in their life. However, He concluded that Azerbaijani cannot be defined as an endangered language.

Apparently, without a systematic investigation and deep knowledge of a society and its language values, it is impossible to say whether a language will be maintained or disappeared in the future. But in order to have an overview of language vitality, regarding Azerbaijani language in Iran, I analyzed the factors influencing language vitality including status, institutional support, demographic factors (mentioned in Meyerhoff's 2019: 121-122 model of language vitality) and intergenerational transmission (mentioned by UNESCO Document 1 2003: 4 on Language Vitality and Endangerment):

Regarding status, according to Bani-Shoraka (2005: 204), Azerbaijani does not have a specific status in Iran and is only spoken in informal domains. About Persian speakers' attitudes towards Azerbaijani and other minorities in Iran, the most of Persian speakers link the accented speech of minority languages like Azerbaijani with lower social and education levels (Mirshahidi's 2017: 154).

The second factor to be considered is institutional support. According to Meyerhoff (2019: 121), 'institutional support contributes to increased vitality of a language' and it involves the usage of language in 'the popular mass media, as the medium of education, and in official government business'. As it mentioned earlier, Azerbaijani in Iran has been deprived from usage in all official domains of media, education and administration.

The other factors influencing language vitality are demographic factors; according to Meyerhoff (2019: 122):

'Language might have relatively little social and economic status and relatively a little institutional support, but if the group of people speaking the language outnumber the speakers of other languages, and particularly if they are relatively

concentrated in a specific area, then the long-time outlook for the maintenance of that language is improved.’

Considering Meyerhoff’s above statement, the only factor that Azerbaijani seems to benefit from is its concentration in some particular provinces in Iran. But the population of Azerbaijani speakers fall behind Persian's. Therefore, it is quite normal to consider that Iranian Azerbaijani may be vulnerable to processes of endangerment.

Furthermore, in terms of intergenerational transmission, Persian language has penetrated even in family conversation of Azerbaijanis. A study by Mirhosseini (2016) reported that 16% of Azerbaijani people do not have the tendency to speak Azerbaijani with their children, instead they prefer to speak Persian with them in their early ages. In my opinion, this percentage may reveal a gradual trend towards passing less Azerbaijani to the future generation. This can also be motivated by parents' tendency to help children to success in the education, because Persian is the only medium of education in schools. Moreover, the situation turns to be more problematic in absence of any effective Azerbaijani acquisition planning.

3.6. Summary

Regarding the described Iranian monolingual language policies and demographic information of speakers, Azerbaijani in Iran, on the one hand, reaps benefits from having a large population of speakers and the concentration in some regions. On the other hand, because of Persian’s dominance as the sole national language in the country, it has lost most of functional domains, particularly the official and new grounds of usage such as education and media. Moreover, Persian language even has penetrated in family conversation of Azerbaijanis

In sum, it is undisputable that language policies in Iran have led to different challenges for Azerbaijani-speaking communities at different levels of usage in social domains, language right, attitudes and identity, language contact and endangerment. It should also be stressed that although Azerbaijani seems not to be regarded as an immediately endangered language, regarding dominance of Persian, and the long period of intensive contact, it is predictable that

Azerbaijani in Iran has undergone noticeable changes at different linguistic levels. Not only borrowing at lexical level but also at morphological and syntactic level.

According to Myers-Scotton (2002), in situation of contact between two languages in the same geographical location, where a high degree of bilingualism or multilingualism exist, even when the languages are not genetically related, grammatical features of the dominant language may be picked up by the minority language. Since, Persian is the sole official language in Iran and has political and cultural dominance over Azerbaijani, this is exactly the kind of contact situation where Azerbaijani language is expected to be influenced by Persian, even though they are typologically different. The linguistic results of this contact are addressed in this thesis. Meanwhile, one question also needs to be answered: how intense is the contact between Persian and Azerbaijani. The intensity of contact can be seen based on borrowing of lexicon and structure. Thomason (2001) categorizes the contact situation into four stages, based on borrowing of lexicon and structure: *casual contact*, *slightly more intense contact* and *more intense contact* and *intense contact*. Thomason's borrowing scale - as part of the theoretical framework supporting this study - will be discussed in more details in the next chapter.

4. Theoretical framework

4.1. Investigating Contact-induced changes

The first step in investigation of linguistic results of language contact phenomenon is to recognize contact-induced changes and distinguish them from other linguistic changes that do not count as contact-induced.

Thomason (2001) has suggested a broad definition for contact-induced language change: ‘any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation is due at least in part to language contact.’ She calls the importation of items from a source language to the receiving language, in the situation of contact, as interference process. Furthermore, she argues that as languages come into contact, two major categories of changes can occur: one, the direct importations from a source language which can occur at various forms: importation of only morpheme, or both the morpheme and structure, or only structure with or without structural modification of the interference features. Second, the later changes provoked by previous direct importation. Thomason (2001: 62) regards the activation of later changes as snowball effect by which the initial change activates other changes one after another. Only the first change is considered by her as an interference feature, however, all the changes are considered contact-induced.

According to Matras & Sakel (2007: 15), in situation of language contact there are two ways namely MATTER (MAT) and PATTERN (PAT) in which elements are borrowed from one language to another. They describe MAT-borrowing as a situation in which a morphological element and its phonological form is copied from one language to another. While, PAT-borrowing is described as a situation that only the patterns of one language are replicated by the other, which is described by Matras & Sakel (2007) as ‘the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed.’

The notions of MAT and PAT borrowings, mentioned by Matras & Sakel (2007), somewhat overlap with the first category of changes that labeled by Thomason (2001) as ‘interference

features' which involve direct importations items from a source language to the receiving language. Likewise, the second category of 'later changes triggered by previous importations', argued by Thomason (2001), is titled as 'integration of MAT and PAT loans' by Matras & Sakel (2007). While both theories may appear similar, I found Thomason's definitions more natural and straightforward. Furthermore, Thomason (2001) has introduced a model to evaluate the intensity of contact which will be discussed later in the remainder of this chapter. Thus, this thesis, is used Thomason' (2001) definitions to recognize and evaluate contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani as the receiving language, as a result of contact with Persian, as the source language.

4.1.2. Borrowability

To answer to question of what can be borrowed by one language to another, Thomson (2001) claims that anything is borrowable. There have been different claims in the literature on unborrowability of some features, however all are violated by numerous counterexamples. Some universal constrains on borrowability is also proposed that some of which are mentioned by Thomason (2001) as follow: borrowing of grammatical structures is limited to features that typologically well fitted to the structure of receiving language; vocabulary is borrowed prior to grammatical structure (if at all); contact-induced change leads to simplification (less markedness) not complication, so on. Thomason (2001), by claiming counterexamples for all the proposals, argues that none of the present constrains are valid because of lacking strong evidences. Hence, it should be implied that any linguistic feature, regardless of typology of languages in contact can be borrowed by receiving language.

As it mentioned earlier, Thomason (2001) calls the importation of items from a source language to the receiving language, in the situation of contact, as interference process. The crucial point that should be stressed here is that what she considers borrowing are only the interference features that are imported into receiving language by native speakers of that language. In current study, the Azerbaijani speakers who their speech has been evaluated are the native speakers of Azerbaijani language.

4.2. Language contact intensity

Intensity of contact is hard to define. Thomason (2001) puts forward some social factors associated to degree of intensity, such as duration of contact (longer the duration of contact is, the more time for extensive borrowing and structural interference) and number (the larger the population of one of two groups in contact is, the more features are adopted by smaller group). Dominance and speaker's attitudes are the other factors that Thomason (2001) mentions. She argues that intensity of contact, based on social factors, is hard to define and can make the issue complex. However, she also considers some easily identified social factors such as level of fluency and proportion of bilingualism among the borrowing-language speakers. Thomason (2001) has also emphasized on linguistic factors as major determinants of intensity of contact.

4.2.1. Thomason's broad borrowing scale

Thomason (2001) categorizes the language contact situation into four levels based on bilingualism condition and borrowing of lexicon and structure. These categories are namely "casual contact, slightly more intense contact, more intense contact and intense contact" (Thomason 2001:70):

1. *Casual contact*: happens in lexicon level in an infrequent bilingualism setting in which only content words are borrowed, while there is no borrowing in structure level.
2. *Slightly more intense contact*: mostly happens in lexicon level in a reasonable bilingualism situation, by borrowing of function words as well as content words (still non-basic vocabulary) and minor structures ("such as new functions for previously existing syntactic structures, or increased usage of previously rare word orders")
3. *More intense contact* occurs in frequent bilingualism situation in both lexical and structural level by borrowing more basic vocabulary such as closed-class and low numeral items and "more significant structural features" such as word order, coordination and subordination, without leading to typological change.

4. *Intensive contact* is described by Thomason (2001) as an intensive level of contact through intensive bilingualism situation in which heavy lexical and structural items are borrowed and results in typological changes in target language.

To answer the question of how is the intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian, I used the Thomason broad borrowing scale, and considered both the bilingualism situation and linguistic factors. In order to investigate the linguistic aspects of contact-induced changes we need to recognize the clear-cut indicators of language change. To that reason, each individual feature of contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani have been analyzed and classified under three levels of lexicon, morphology and syntax. I turn to the procedure of classification and analysis of these features in subsequent chapters.

5. Methodology and Data

This study is a qualitative project which is designed to investigate the linguistic aspects of contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani's vocabulary, morphological structures and syntactic properties, as a result of contact with Persian.

5.1. Source of data

Since language contact happens in a wide domain through the community, it would be challenging to investigate the evidences of contact-induced changes in all of usage domains. This study is based on data collected from broadcast media that is *Sahand* provincial TV channel. It is the only local TV channel broadcasting programs in Azerbaijani language in Tabriz, the capital city of *East Azerbaijan* province in Iran, with around 1.7 million Azerbaijani-speaking population. The source of data is an interview-based program *Ba-Xäbärnegaran* - literally means 'with reporters'- which covers interviews about current topics of society with ordinary people in streets, in their work place, in shops and other public spaces.

The source of data is speech of the interviewees, while speech of the interviewers were not investigated. The reason for ignoring the speech of interviewers was that they do not use the regular language that Azerbaijani people use in their daily conversations. It is acknowledged by Zeinalabedini (2014) that the Azerbaijani language that is used by news readers or interviewers in local media is a formal pretentious version which is so different from the language that Azerbaijani speakers use in their daily life. In fact, this study is not designed to investigate the language of media, but to use media to reach ordinary people's speech.

5.2. Participants

The number of interviewees that their speech were investigated in this project are 70 people, each involved in 10-45 second interview. The interviews were conducted in Tabriz city where the inhabitants speak Azerbaijani as their mother tongue and the most of the population are bilingual speakers of Azerbaijani and Persian. The topics of the interviews were every-day

social subjects such as New Year event, rises in grocery prices, the effects of Covid-19 crisis on people's life, celebration of Ramadan and so on. Due to the informal nature of topics interviewees produced more conversational speech.

It should be noted that since my thesis is not a fieldwork project, I do not have detailed biographical information about the participants. However, two social variables of gender and formality were extracted. The interviewees consist of 57 males and 13 females, 52 of them are interviewed in public places and 18 are interviewed in their work place. Since the analysis of social variables are not in the scope of this study, I ignored any further discussion on it. The table below provides a summary of information about the speakers:

Table 2. Speakers' information

Speaker	Duration of speech In seconds	Gender	Interview setting formal/informal
1	14	male	informal
2	10	male	informal
3	15	male	informal
4	15	male	informal
5	30	male	formal
6	10	female	informal
7	30	female	formal
8	20	male	formal
9	23	male	formal
10	12	male	formal
11	10	male	informal
12	14	male	informal
13	36	male	informal
14	15	female	informal
15	25	female	informal
16	25	male	formal
17	10	male	informal
18	14	male	informal
19	12	male	informal
20	11	male	informal
21	10	male	informal
22	20	male	informal
23	28	male	informal
24	10	male	informal
25	15	male	informal
26	14	female	informal
27	12	female	informal
28	19	male	informal
29	13	female	informal
30	40	male	formal
31	10	female	informal

32	10	male	informal
33	16	female	informal
34	10	male	informal
35	11	male	informal
36	10	male	informal
37	12	male	formal
38	11	male	informal
39	18	male	informal
40	23	male	informal
41	20	male	informal
42	11	male	informal
43	14	male	informal
44	12	male	informal
45	10	male	informal
46	17	female	informal
47	35	male	formal
48	24	male	formal
49	22	male	formal
50	31	male	formal
51	12	male	informal
52	11	male	informal
53	10	male	informal
54	14	male	informal
55	11	male	informal
56	12	female	informal
57	33	male	formal
58	10	female	formal
59	11	female	formal
60	10	male	formal
61	10	male	informal
62	10	male	informal
63	10	male	formal
64	27	male	formal
65	16	male	informal
66	21	male	informal
67	10	male	informal
68	15	male	informal
69	18	male	informal
70	29	male	informal
	1159 s	57 males 13 females	52 informal 18 formal

5.3. Procedure of data collection

In order to compile the appropriate data, I downloaded the interviews as video files in *MP4* format from archive of *Telewebion* website, an Iranian live broadcast and archive of TV channels which is free to watch and download.

5.3.1. Annotation and transcription

I used *ELAN* software, the Linguistic Annotator version 6.1., to manually transcribe and annotate the data. In order to prepare the downloaded *MP4* files as an appropriate version to be annotated by *ELAN*, I extracted a *WAVE* file from each, using *VLC* media player. By putting each pair of *MP4* file and *WAVE* file into *ELAN*, I achieved an *EAF* file for each video which could be recognized and be annotated by *ELAN*.

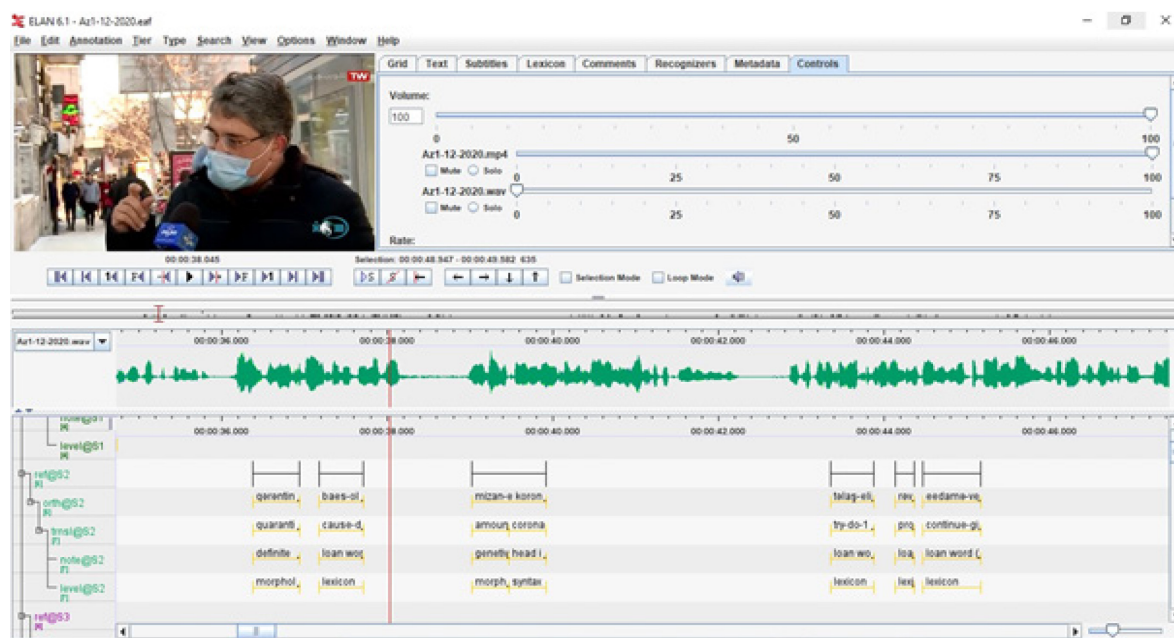
The generated 9 *EAF* files, including speech of 70 interviewees, are stored in a hardware of mine. The files were named based on a content-based approach and thus the name features indicated the language, the number of speakers and the year of Broadcast as follow: *Az-x-y-2020* by which the feature *Az* represents the Azerbaijani language, *x* stands for the first speaker whose speech stored in the file and *y* stands for the last speaker. For instance, the first file which is named *Az-1-12-2020* indicates following content: Azerbaijani, speech of speakers Number 1 to number 12, broadcasted on 2020. Respectively, the rest of files were labeled at the same way,

Each of the *EAF* files contains speech of different numbers of speakers, based on the number of people that were interviewed during the program. The time of speech uttered by each speaker varies from 10 to 40 seconds. Due to the question-and-answer nature of the speech, duration time of some speeches were less than 10 seconds which were ignored to be analyzed. Consequently, the speech of the interviewees, lasting more than 10 seconds, were annotated and analyzed.

The first step for annotation was to search for any Persian feature in the speech of each individual speaker and to transcribe them in detail. For this purpose, four set of tiers were generated for each participant indicating 1. orthographical transcription of each Persian feature in Azerbaijani, 2. translation of each feature in English, 3. a detailed note about the exact type of feature, and 4. level of change which was determined under three titles of lexicon, morphology and syntax. One of the files was transcribed completely and the rest of the files were transcribed in a similar way, but the English translations were not necessarily included and the notes were not explained in details, instead, they referred to short terms indicating the

type of transmitted Persian feature. You can see structure of tiers and annotation of a part of data in *ELAN* environment which is illustrated in Image 3. below:

Image 3. Annotation of 10 seconds of speech produced by the Speaker No.2.



5.4. Procedure of data analysis

In this project Persian features which have been found in the speech of Azerbaijani speakers were also called Persianization indicators. Persianization or Persification is a general term that is used to refer to a sociological process of transmission of Persian cultural aspects, including language, to non-Persian people living in neighboring areas of Persia, now is known as Iran (Ravandi 2005). However, in this study, Persianization indicators represent only the linguistic features of Persian language which are adopted by Azerbaijani as a result of contact.

The advanced search options of *ELAN* software made it possible to conduct a structured search through multiple *EAF* files of data. Firstly, I categorized the resulted 691 tokens of Persianization indicators into three categories of lexicon, morphology and syntax. The features of lexicon category are divided into content words including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and function words including prepositions, conjunctions, discourse markers and numerals. The features of morphology category are classified as comparison suffixes

(inflectional markers), an adjective maker suffix (a derivational marker) and prepositions. Syntactic features are organized into three groups of Persian passivization method, causation construction and head initial properties in two levels of noun phrase and prepositional phrase.

After classification of Persianization features, I analyzed each individually. In outset of discussing each Persian feature, when it needed, I addressed the typological difference of Persian and Azerbaijani in expressing that feature. Then I argued the area of change in Azerbaijani due to borrowing of that particular feature, by presenting examples from the data, glossed and translated into English.

The both Azerbaijani varieties, spoken in Iran and Republic of Azerbaijan, due to the long history of contact with Persian, have borrowed a large quantity of Persian vocabulary and grammar. It is worth bearing in mind that my focus in this study was not to investigate historical changes in Azerbaijani language, rather I have addressed recent contact-induced changes in Iranian Azerbaijani under political and cultural dominance of Persian.

Since the northern Azerbaijani, spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, is not recently undergone dominance of Persian language (discussed in 3.2), I used the North Azerbaijani as evaluation criteria to distinguish the new changes that happened in Iranian Azerbaijani. In my analysis procedure, I ignored the old Persian elements which were presented in both northern and southern varieties. To do this, I consulted to Leipzig Corpora Collection: a corpus of North Azerbaijani⁵ with following details: name: aze_newscrawl_2011, sentences: 784,291, Language: Azerbaijani, genre: News crawl, tokens: 8,883,122, year: 2011. I also used the online north Azerbaijani dictionary *AzerDict*⁶, and in some cases, I relied on my own introspections, since Azerbaijani is my native language and north Azerbaijani is completely intelligible to me.

⁵ Link to the corpus
https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de?corpusId=aze_newscrawl_2011

⁶ Azerbaijan's the largest free language portal: <https://azerdict.com/>

As the final step of analysis procedure, I presented the intensity degree of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian based on Thomason's broad borrowing scale model. To do this, considering the characteristics of each stage of contact intensity, introduced by Thomason's broad borrowing scale, I conducted a comparison between the features mentioned by Thomason (2001) and the features based on my findings. The stage whose features mostly matched with my findings, I considered as the current stage of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian in Iran.

6. Results and discussion

6.1. Lexicon

Iranian Azerbaijani has recently borrowed a considerable number of lexical items from Persian, particularly in the category of nouns. In accordance with samples of data, lexical borrowing has happened in the following categories: nouns, adjectives, compound verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, discourse markers and numerals.

My data yielded 314 tokens of lexical borrowing items. The proportion of these loanwords, regarding the aforementioned lexical categories, are as follow: nouns 49%, adjectives 16%, compound verbs 14%, adverbs 9% and function words 14% (including prepositions, conjunctions, discourse markers and numerals).

6.1.1 Semantic areas of borrowing

Having a closer look at meaning and semantic properties of the borrowed lexical items revealed that borrowing has happened, in the first place, in several main semantic areas belonging to different public domains as well as other miscellaneous domains. The main social domains that Iranian Azerbaijani has borrowed from Persian are revealed as follow: Academic subjects, medical subjects, business, names for institutions and work places, terms for practitioners and professions, judicial terms, technology and cultural subjects. The table 3. below illustrates the list of the main domains of lexical borrowings from Persian by Iranian Azerbaijani, comes along with list of corresponding examples from data.

Table 3. Semantic areas of lexical borrowings

Semantic area	Lexical borrowing examples	Meaning in English
Academic subjects	<i>payannamä</i> <i>amar</i>	thesis statistics
Medical subjects	<i>behdašt</i> <i>gändzudayi</i> <i>Bästäri</i> <i>bimari</i>	hygiene disinfection hospitalization disease
Business	<i>däramäd</i> <i>faktor</i> <i>xordä-furuşi</i> <i>bimä</i> <i>sud-e banki</i>	income invoice retailing insurance bank interest
Names for Institutions and work places	<i>furuşgah</i> <i>daruxana</i> <i>bimaristan</i> <i>azimayışgah</i> <i>vadie-rähmät</i> <i>taksi-rani</i>	shopping store Drugstore hospital laboratory the name for cemetery the name for taxi transportation organization
Terms related to professions	<i>xodrosaz</i> <i>furuşändä</i> <i>xäyyat</i> <i>duxt</i> <i>azimayış</i>	car manufacturer seller tailor sewing testing (laboratory test)
Judicial terms	<i>Müsävväbä</i> <i>nümayände-gan-e mäclis</i> <i>məsʔulin-e ustani</i>	enactment members of parliament provincial authorities
Technology	<i>xodro</i> <i>durbin</i>	automobile camera
Cultural subjects	<i>dorehəmi</i> <i>cäşn</i> <i>xanivadä</i> <i>Eid</i> <i>Märg</i> <i>äroosi</i>	gathering (family gathering) ceremony family name for new year eve death wedding

The wide range of lexical borrowing through different semantic areas in Azerbaijani shows that Persian has influenced the vocabulary of Azerbaijani not only in the areas of official and new domains such as education, technology, medicine, business and industry, but as well in the areas of non-official domains of cultural subjects and the terms related to professions.

In general, the new areas of technology, science or business are the source for generation of new items which needs to be coined into new words in every language. For Azerbaijani speakers, too, it is essential to name the items in these official areas of which such items have no equivalents in their native language or the old terms lack some aspects of the new fact. However, according to the results, they preferred to borrow from Persian, instead of coinage. It comes as no surprise, because usually new items are introduced by TV and the internet which the main language of these mediums in Iran is Persian. Furthermore, the medium of education and the language of science resources such as journals and books in Iran is Persian. These are of possible reasons why lexical borrowing widely has happened in these areas.

6.1.2. Verbs

On the basis of resulted tokens from data, the only Persian verb form which has been borrowed by Azerbaijani is compound verb form. In this section I discussed the properties of compound verb in Persian language, then I turned to the issue of importation of Persian compound verb by Azerbaijani.

Persian compound verbs consist of a verbal part and a non-verbal (NV) part. The verbal parts are a series of light verbs such as *kārdān* ‘to do’, *şodān* ‘to become’, *dadān* ‘to give’, *xordān* ‘to collide’, *gereftān* ‘to catch, to take’, *zādān* ‘to hit’, *daştān* ‘to have’, *amādān* ‘to come’, *rāftān* ‘to go’ (Dabir-moghaddam 1997). The NV parts cover a range of different categories including nouns, adjectives, adverbs, particles and propositional phrase (Karimi 2018). The following examples⁷ are Persian compound verbs with aforementioned NV categories:

(1) *dāst* *zādān*
 hand- NOM to hit
 ‘to touch’

(2) *tāmiz* *kārdān*
 clean-ADJ to do
 ‘to clean’

⁷ The examples are adapted from Karimi 2018.

(3) *birun* *kärdän*
 out-ADV to do
 ‘to fire (someone)’

(4) *päs* *dadän*
 Particle to give
 ‘to return’

(5) *be* *bad* *dadän*
 PREP wind to give
 ‘to waste’

Persian compound verb (CV) is transmitted into Azerbaijani in a manner that the NV part is directly imported, while the corresponding verbal part is adopted into Azerbaijani in the form of loan translations, preserving all its native Azerbaijani inflections. According to samples from the data, the verbs *kärdän* ‘to do’, *dadän* ‘to give’, *şodän* ‘to become’, *gereftän* ‘to catch, to take’ and *yaftän* ‘to find’ are the Persian light verbs that their meanings are adopted by Azerbaijani, respectively as *elämax* ‘to do’, *vermax* ‘to give’, *olmax* ‘to be’, *tutmax* ‘to catch, to take’ and *tapmax* ‘to find’. The following examples illustrate the Persian CVs with their contrasting borrowed forms in Azerbaijani:

a) Persian

b) Persianized Azerbaijani:

(6) *roayät* *mi-kon-im*
 observation IPFV-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘(we) observe’

(7) *ruayät* *el(iy)-ir-ux*
 observation do-PRS-1PL
 ‘(we) observe’

(Speaker 40)

(8) *äfzayeş* *be-d(äh)-im*
 increasing SBJV-give.PRS-1PL
 ‘(we) should increase’

(9) *äfzayiş* *ver-ax*
 increasing give-SUBJ.PRS.1PL
 ‘(we) should increase’

(Speaker 48)

(10) *paxş* *kon-änd*
 distribution do.PRS-3PL
 ‘(they) distribute’

(11) *päxş* *el(ä)-sin-lär*
 distribution do-PRS-3PL
 ‘(they) distribute’

(Speaker 38)

The most of Persian CVs borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers have equal non-CV forms which co-occur in this language. These are a list of some Persianized CVs used by speakers and their equal native Azerbaijani non-compound forms:

Persian loan CVs	Azerbaijani non-CV equivalents	English translation
päxş elämax	paylamax	distribute
äfzayış vermax	artırmax	increase
tälaş elämax	çalışmax	endeavor
äncam vermax	görmax	do/to accomplish
amadä elämax	hazırlamax	prepare
irtıqa vermax	yüksältmax	elevate
tozi? elämax	paylamax	distribute

6.1.3. Discourse markers

In general, there is not a commonly-accepted definition of the term discourse marker among researchers, and as a result, classification and functions of discourse markers vary in different studies (Bordería, 2008). I draw my discussion on Persian discourse markers from N-Mohammadi (2018) that defines discourse markers as a class of lexical items which are derived from other linguistic items - with confirmed grammatical function and semantic meaning - through the process of pragmaticalization during which the semantic properties of discourse markers are reduced or lost, while the pragmatic functions at the level of discourse take the place.

According to the resulted tokens from the data, the Persian discourse markers which have been borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers are *xob* and *hala*. *Xob* in Persian is a commonly-used discourse marker with two sets of discorsal and attitudinal functionalities. According to N-Mohammadi (2018) most of discorsal functions of *xob* direct the listener toward the following discourse, while the attitudinal functions of *xob* direct the listener backward to the preceding discourse to signify the speaker's stance or position (for more details see N-Mohammadi 2018: 122-137).

The samples of data suggested that Azerbaijani speakers have used *xob* in its both discursal and attitudinal functionalities. For example, in (12) and (13) *xob* marks the addition of a contrastive comment in the following statement to acknowledge an opposite view, and in (14) it signals an expression of agreement by the speaker about the preceding assumption. (Based on the context of speech, the speaker in (14) agrees that the proceeding mentioned arguments about the increase in price are true).

- (12) *mämülän iki nāfär ol-ur-Ø gahän dä xob da*
 ADV two CLF be-PRS-3PL ADV ADV DM DM[AZ]
 üç nāfär dä ol-ur.
 three CLF ADV be-PRS.3PL

‘There are usually two people. Occasionally, **well** (it happens) there to be three people, too.’

(Speaker 42)

- (13) *gün-dä al-ar-am ha väli xob*
 day-LOC buy-AOR-1SG DM[Az] but DM
 hifz dāyir-äm
 memorizing-NOM COP.NEG-PRS-1SG
 ‘(I) shop every day, but **well** I don’t remember [talking about price of a grocery item]’
 (Speaker 44)

- (14) ... *Tehran-da da qiymät yuxari-di vä bu xob*
 Tehran-LOC ADV price high-COP and DEM DM
 täsir goy-ur ruy-e qiymät ...
 effect-NOM put-PRS.3SG on-EZ⁸ price

‘... the price in Tehran is also high and this, well, influences the price ...’

(Speaker 47)

⁸ The *Ezafe* construction (*EZ*) will be discussed in 6.3.3.

(17) hār faktor-da **dāh** dārsād gāl-ir-lār üst-ü-(n)ä
 each invoice-LOC ten percent come-PRS-3PL on-POSS-DAT
 ‘(They) add **ten** presents in each invoice’
 (Speaker 51)

(18) nāmānā ki gör-üsüz bur(a)-da **nävād-o-noh** dār-sād
 what that see-PRS.2PL here-LOC ninty-and-nine percent

 duxt-e Iran-di
 sewing.NOM-EZ Iran-COP.3SG
 ‘whatever you see here are 99 percent sewed in Iran.’
 (Speakers 62)

It should also be noted that the word *dārsād*, that literally means ‘per hundred’, is a Persian loan word borrowed by Azerbaijani. In Persian, similar to English, percentages are formed by a cardinal number followed by the word *dārsād* ‘per hundred’ (19). While in Azerbaijani - due to its head-final nature - the term meaning ‘per hundred’ (which is *yüz-dä*) precedes the number (19).

Persian:

Azerbaijani:

(19) pänc dār-sād
 five in-hundred
 ‘five percent’

(20) yüz-dä beş
 hundred-LOC five
 ‘five percent’

My samples revealed that Azerbaijani speakers have used both the native Azerbaijani numbers (21) and the Persian numbers (22) with the loan word *dārsād* ‘per hundred’ to talk about percentage. However, there was no example of using the native Azerbaijani term *yüz-dä* ‘per hundred’. It seems that Azerbaijani speakers by borrowing the term *dārsād*, not only let the Persian cardinal numbers insert their speech but as well, they have quitted using their native Azerbaijani structure to talk about percentage.

(21) **oniki** dār-sād
 twelve in-hundred
 ‘twelve percent’
 (Speaker 52)

(22) **dävazdäh** dār-sād
twelve in-hundred
'twelve percent'

(Speaker 51)

The second area that Azerbaijani speakers have used Persian numerals is when they refer to year numbers (23).

(23) **näväd-o-noh-da** xanivade-yi korona tut-dux
ninty-and-nine-LOC family-COLL Corona get-PST.1PL

'(we) whole the family (together) got covid-19 in the year 99 (i.e., 1399 the solar year equal to 2020)'

(Speaker 69)

In addition to the percentage and year number, Persian numbers are used in some miscellaneous areas. Some examples are as follow: *do-bärabär* 'two-folded', *päncah-päncah* 'fifty-fifty', *häşt milliun* 'eight million'.

6.1.5. Conjunctions

Persian has a numerous series of conjunctions which the most common of them, among others, are *vä* 'and', *ya* 'or', *päs* 'so', *ägär* 'if', *çon* 'because', *ke* 'that', *häm* 'also, as well', *väli* 'but', *nä-tänha ... bälke* 'not only ... but also'. On the other hand, the common native Azerbaijani conjunctions are as follow: *da* 'and, too, also', *yoxsa* 'if not, or', *ancax* 'but', *ister ... isterse* 'either ... or'.

Although Persian and Azerbaijani each have a set of distinctive conjunctions, a majority of current Azerbaijani conjunctions are of Persian origin such as *vä* 'and', *häm* 'also, as well', *ya* 'or', *ägär* 'if', *amma* 'but', *nä ... nä* 'neither ... nor' (Schönig 1998). These of Persian-origin conjunctions have been borrowed not only by Iranian Azerbaijani but as well by south Azerbaijani and Turkish, due to the long history of contact with Persian. As I already mentioned, old borrowings are not addressed in this study.

Evidences from the data indicated that Iranian Azerbaijani speakers have not stopped borrowing from Persian conjunction class. For example, the Persian conjunctions *väli* ‘but’ (24) (25), *bä?d* ‘then’ (26) and *o* ‘and’ (27) are recently borrowed and is widely used by speakers.

- (24) *bir-az* *çätin* *ol-ur* *adam-a* ***väli*** *gäräk*
 one-little hard be.PRS.3SG person-DAT but should
- ruayät* *elä-(y)ax*
 observation do- SUBJ.PRS.1PL

‘(it) is a little bit hard (to people), **but** we should observe...’

(Speakers 15)

- (25) *gün-dä* *al-ar-am* *ha* ***väli*** *xob*
 day-LOC buy-AOR-1SG DM but DM
- hi?z* *däyir-äm*
 memorizing-NOM be.NEG-PRS-1SG

‘(I) buy every day, **but** well I don’t remember [talking about price of groceries]’

(Speaker 44)

- (26) *tärrahi-lär-i* *ki* *bur-da* *äncam* *tap-il-di*
 design-PL-DEF that here-LOC done.NOM find-PASS-PST.3SG
- bä?d*** *sayzbändi-yä* *get-di* *o(n)-dan* *sora...*
 then sizing-DAT go-PST.3SG DEM-ABL then

‘when their designs are done **then** they went to sizing [process], after then...’

(Speaker 58)

- (27) *ba?es-e* *ufunät* *o* *bu-jur* *bir* *şey-lär*
 cause-GEN infection and DEM-type one thing-PL
- ol-ar*
 become-AOR.3SG

‘(it) causes infection **and** this kind of things’

(Speaker 6)

The conjunction *o* ‘and’, is a colloquial version of the Persian conjunction ‘*vä*’, both mean ‘and’. *Vä* and *o* have the same written form -- و in Persian orthography (Perso-Arabic alphabet) (28), but in informal speech, *vä* is commonly pronounced as *o*. The phonetic presentation (28a) below illustrates the formal pronunciation and (28b) illustrates the informal pronunciations of (و) in Persian:

(28) نمک و فلفل خریدم

‘(I) bought salt **and** pepper’

(a) [næmæk **væ** felfel xæridæm]

(b) [næmæk **o** felfel xæridæm]

It should be stressed that the Persian conjunction *vä* ‘and’ was already borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers, but recently the colloquial form *o* ‘and’ has been borrowed, too (27).

6.2. Morphology

Before I turn to the discussion of morphological changes in Azerbaijani, in the following lines I presented an introductory description about the basic morphological properties of Azerbaijani and Persian. In the following sub-sections, I discussed these differences in more details, regarding each observed Persian morphological feature.

Azerbaijani, as a Turkic language, exhibits an agglutinating morphology with extensive suffixation. Generally, the native affixes in Azerbaijani are in the form of suffixes, except for one prefix in which the first syllable in adjectives are prefixed with partial reduplication (Schönig 1998) (e.g., *qirmizi* > *qipqirmizi* ‘red > absolutely red’, *sari* > *sapsari* ‘yellow > absolutely yellow’, *taza taptaza* ‘new > brand-new’).

Persian, on the other hand, is a non-inflectional language that widely uses prepositions and prefixes. Persian, an Indo-European language, has an atypical morphological system, in the manner that it marks neither synthetic nominal nor verbal inflection (together with their inflectional classes). Furthermore, none of the categories of case, number, gender, aspect, tense, mood and voice are inflectionally marked in Persian. Only the two categories of person and number in the form of singular and plural three persons are marked in pronouns and personal endings (M-Bakhtiari 2018)

6.2.1. Comparison

In Persian, comparative degree of adjectives is expressed by means of the suffix *-tār* e.g., *bozorg* > *bozorg-tār* ‘big, bigger’, *asan* > *asan-tār* ‘easy, easier. In a similar way, superlatives in Persian are formed by means of the suffix *-tārin* e.g., *bozorg* > *bozorg-tārin* ‘big, biggest’, *asan* > *asan-tārin* ‘easy, easiest.

Azerbaijani on the other hand, exhibits the comparative degree of adjectives with two methods. The common method is using the word *daha* (56) and the other less-common method is using

the suffix *-rAx* (57). However, when the degree of comparison is ablative marked, the comparison can be expressed without the mentioned elements (58) (Schönig 1998).

(56) daha	böyük	(57) böyük-rəx	(58) sən-dən (daha) böyük
COMPA	great	great-COMPA	you-ABL (COMPA) great
'greater'		'greater'	'greater than you'

The method of forming superlatives in Azerbaijani is using the particles *ən* (59) and *lap* (60)

:

(59) ən	böyük ,	(60) lap	yaxşı
SUP	great	SUP	nice
'greatest'		'greatest'	

The Persian comparative and superlative suffixes *tär* and *tärin* are both borrowed by Azerbaijani. My data revealed that Azerbaijani speakers have used *tär* and *tärin* with both the Persian loan words and native Azerbaijani words to express the degree of comparison. Surprisingly, the data does not yield even one occurrence of comparative or superlative formation using the native Azerbaijani methods. These results suggested that the borrowed Persian comparison suffixes *tär* and *tärin* are not non-functional elements that passed on Azerbaijani via random loan adjectives. But they are productive comparison suffixes which - on the basis of the tokens from my data - substituted the Azerbaijani native comparison elements. The following examples illustrate Persianized comparatives and superlatives from the data:

Comparatives:

Superlatives:

(61) çox-tär		(62) xoş-tärin	
much-COMPA		happy-SUP	
'much more'	(Speaker 61)	'happiest'	(Speaker 69)
(63) yaxşı-tär		(64) az-tärin	
nice-COMPA		less-SUP	
'nicer'	(Speaker 57)	'least'	(Speaker 17)

(65) aşağı-tər low-COMPA 'lower'	(Speaker 53)	(66) bəd-tərin bad-SUP 'worst'	(Speaker 70)
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6.2.2. Adjective maker suffix *-i*

There are various adjective forming suffixes in Persian. The suffix *-i*, which marks attribution, is one of the most commonly used ones and it passed on Azerbaijani via loan words such as *Iran-i* 'Iranian', *xaric-i* 'foreigner' (*xaric* 'foreign'), *parçe-(y)i* 'made of cloth' (*parça* 'cloth'), *täla-(y)i* 'golden' (*täla* 'gold').

Azerbaijani uses the suffixes *-li* or *-dan*, among others, to form adjectives. For instance, the above-mentioned adjectives can be expressed as follow, using native Azerbaijani adjective-maker suffixes: *Iran-li* 'Iranian', *xaric-li* 'foreigner' (*xaric* 'foreign'), *parçe-dan* 'made of cloth' (*parça* 'cloth'), *qizil-dan* 'golden' (*qizil* 'gold').

According to my data, more than 40% of loan adjective were formed by the suffix *-i*. In one hand, it can be said that the suffix *-i* is a non-functional borrowed element that passed on Azerbaijani via loan adjectives. On the other hand, the samples showed that Azerbaijani speakers have used the Persian suffix *-i* to drive the adjective *korona-(y)i* from *korona* 'the name for the covid 19 virus' - that recently has appeared in the language - instead of using the native Azerbaijani suffix *-li*.

Thomason (2001) claims this kind of change as one of the main categories of contact induced changes which happens when later changes triggered by an earlier direct importation. It can be concluded that Azerbaijani has started to use Persian nominal suffix *-i*, to derive new vocabulary, which have been triggered by initial borrowing of a large quantity of Persian adjectives, derived with the suffix *-i*.

6.2.3. Prepositions

Persian uses various numbers of prepositions. In fact, Persian mainly uses its prepositions to indicate case relations. The Persian seven main prepositions can be categorized as follow: *be* ‘to’ (directional-dative), *där* ‘in(to)’ (locative), *öz* ‘from’, (ablative), *ba* ‘with’ (comitatives, instrumental and concessive), *ta* ‘to, until’ (terminative), *(be)joz* ‘except’ (indicates exception), and *bära(-ye)* (benefactive) (M-Bakhtiari 2018).

Azerbaijani on the other hand uses postpositions. Postpositions are used with the nouns that have been inflected for case relations. Azerbaijani has eight cases which are categorized as follow: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, locative, ablative, instrumental⁹ and benefactive (Dehghani 2000). The following table shows the list of Azerbaijani case markers along with corresponding examples:

Table 4. Azerbaijani case suffixes

Case	Suffix	bıçaq ‘knife’	gül ‘flower’	alma ‘apple’
Nominative (NOM)	Ø	bıçaq	gül	alma
genitive (GEN)	-(n)In	bıçaq-in	gül-ün	alma- nin
accusative (ACC)	-(n)I	bıçaq-i	gül-ü	alma-ni
dative (DAT)	-(y)A	bıçaq-a	gül-ä	alma-ya
locative (LOC)	-dA	bıçaq-da	gül-dä	alma-da
ablative (ABL)	-dAn	bıçaq-dan	gül-dän	alma-dan
Instrumental (INS)	-(I)nAn	bıçaq-nan	gül-ünän	alma-inan
Benefactive (BEN)	-IçIn	bıçaq-için	gül-üçün	alama-için

Azerbaijani postpositions can be categorized as below based on the cases they govern:

- a. *İlä* ‘with’ *kimi*, *täk* ‘like’ govern nominative of nouns (59) and the genitive of singular personal (60) and demonstrative pronouns (61):

(67) <i>telefon-Ø</i>	<i>ila</i>	(68) <i>sän-(I)n</i>	<i>kimi</i>	(69) <i>bu-(n)un</i>	<i>täk</i>
phone-NOM	with	you-GEN	like	this-GEN	like
‘by phone’		‘like you’		‘like this’	

⁹ In addition to instrumental meaning, Azerbaijani instrumental case *-(I)nAn* expresses comitative and conjunctive meanings

b. *Görä* ‘for’, *qarşı* ‘against’, *doğru, sari, tərəf* ‘towards’, *dək* ‘until’ govern dative:

(70) <i>män-ä</i>	<i>görä</i>	(71) <i>qapı-(y)a</i>	<i>doğru,</i>	(72) <i>ev-ä</i>	<i>sari</i>
I-DAT	for	door-DAT	towards	home-DAT	towards
‘for me’		‘towards the door’		to home	

c. *qabax* ‘befor’, *sonra* ‘after’, *bäri* ‘since’, *başqa* ‘except, different from’ govern ablative:

(73) <i>sän-dän</i>	<i>sonra</i>	(74) <i>qış-dan</i>	<i>bäri</i>	(75) <i>on-dan</i>	<i>başqa</i>
you-ABL	after	winter-ABL	since	DEM-ABL	except
‘after you’		‘since winter’		‘except for that’	

While Azerbaijani language has no preposition class, there are examples that speakers have used Persian prepositions¹⁰ such as *bäraye* ‘for’, *därmoqabele* ‘against’, *ba* ‘with’, *bär-ruye* ‘on the’, *beyne* ‘among’, *zire* ‘under’, *bejöz* ‘except for’ instead of their native Azerbaijani postpositions. As mentioned earlier, Persian uses its prepositions to indicate case. My focus in this section was to examine if any Persian preposition used by Azerbaijani speakers to express case relations. The data revealed that the borrowed prepositions are not used to express case. However, due to the usage of Persian prepositions, the nouns in prepositional phrases are not inflected for case. The examples below are from data, for each I have provided the native Azerbaijani equivalent to enable readers to compare:

Persianized Azerbaijani:

Native Azerbaijani:

(68) <i>ba</i>	<i>telefon</i>	(69) <i>telefon-Ø</i>	<i>ila</i>
with	phone	phone-NOM	with
‘by phone’	(Speaker27)	‘by phone’	
(70) <i>bäraye</i>	<i>o äfrad</i>	(71) <i>o äfrad-a</i>	<i>görä</i>
for DEM	people	DEM	people-DAT
‘for that people’	(Speaker 30)	‘for that people’	for

¹⁰ Borrowing of Persian prepositions is discussed in more details in the 6.3.3

6.3. Syntax

In this section of my thesis, I argued the subject of borrowing Persian syntactic methods of passivization and causation by Azerbaijani. The influence of Persian on Azerbaijani noun phrase and prepositional phrase word order discussed, as well. Prior to discuss the topics, in each section I presented the typological difference of these constructions between Persian and native Azerbaijan.

6.3.1. Passive structure

Persian language shares with most of the Iranian languages a lack of productive morphological derivation of new verbs (Matras & Sakel 2007). Thus, the common method of forming passive verbs in Persian is a syntactic (analytic) construction formed by the auxiliary verb¹¹ ‘to become’ and past participle of the main verb (30). However, in most of compound verbs, passive form is simply produced by substitution of the verbal part with the auxiliary verb *şodän* (32)¹². This method of passive construction in Persian, in fact, is a semantic strategy which merely relies on the notion of passiveness coming from the semantic meaning of the verb ‘*şodän* ‘to become’

Active form:

passive form:

(29) *did-äm*
see-PST.1PL
‘(I) saw’

(30) *did-e* *şod-∅*
see.PST-PTCP become.PST-AUX-3PL
‘(he,she,it)were seen’

(31) *tätil* *kärd*
closed.ADJ do.PST-3SG
‘(he/she) closed’

(32) *tätil* *şod-∅*
closed.ADJ become.PST-AUX-1SG
‘(it) was closed’

¹¹ It should be pointed out that there are a number of other auxiliary verbs such as *gardidan* and *âmadan* which can be used instead of *şodan* in Persian passive form. In fact, they have the same function and meaning as the *şodan*, but are mostly used in literary style and in classic Persian (Moyne 1974. P.249).

¹² In passivation process of a series of compound verbs in Persian language, the past participle form of verb is eliminated. This shortened form of passivization is called short passive by Farshidvard (2003). e.g., *tätil kärd* (active verb) > *tätil kärd-e şod* > *tätil şod* (passive form)

On the other hand, Azerbaijani uses a morphological construction method to form passive verbs by affixing *-(i)l* (34) *-(i)n* (36) (38) between the verb stem and the tense - with allomorphs varying phonologically based on vowel harmony - not allowing the *-(i)l* to occur with verb stems ending in *-l*, due to a phonotactic constraint (Schönig 1998). The typological difference between Persian and Azerbaijani in construction of passives can be seen by contrasting the Persian passive verbs below with their Azerbaijani counterparts:

Persian:

Azerbaijani:

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>(33) <i>foruxt-e</i>
sell.PST-PTCP
'was sold'</p> | <p><i>şod-</i>
become.PST.AUX-1SG</p> | <p>(34) <i>sat-(i)l-di</i>
sell-PASS-PST.3SG
'was sold'</p> |
| <p>(35) <i>did-e</i>
see.PST-PTCP
'(they) were seen'</p> | <p><i>şod-änd</i>
become.PST.AUX-3PL</p> | <p>(36) <i>gör-(ü)n-dü-lər</i>
ee-PASS-PST.3PL
'(they) were seen'</p> |
| <p>(37) <i>tätıl</i>
closed.ADJ
'(it) was closed'</p> | <p><i>şod</i>
become.PST.AUX-1SG</p> | <p>(38) <i>bağla-n-di</i>
close-PASS-PST.3SG
'(it) was closed'</p> |

As already discussed in section 6.1.2., the only Persian verb form that has transmitted to Iranian Azerbaijani is compound verb (CV). Persian passive structure has passed on Azerbaijani along with CVs. In process of adopting Persian CV, we saw that the NV part was directly borrowed, but the verbal parts was loan translated, and its Azerbaijani inflectional markers remained intact. However, the samples of data here revealed that in most of the passive CV samples, Azerbaijani speakers have failed to mark the passive voice in verbal part. 45% of all the cases of passive CVs are passivized based on native Azerbaijani inflectional method (39) (40) (41) (42)- marking the verbal part with *-(i)l*, *-(i)n* suffixes-, while the 55% of cases are passivized using Persian syntactic method (43) (44) (45) (46). In other words, the Persian syntactic passivization slightly preferred over the native Azerbaijani inflectional passivization.

(a) Persianized Azerbaijani compound verbs using native Azerbaijani passive markers:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(39) <i>bästäri</i>
hospitalized.ADJ</p> | <p><i>ol-(u)n-up-lar</i>
be-PASS-PRF.PST-3PL</p> |
|---|--|

‘has been hospitalized’ (Speaker 3)

(40) *müdüriyət* *ol-(u)n-a*
management.NOM be-PASS-OPT.3SG
‘(should) be managed’ (Speaker 17)

(41) *bazrəsi* *ol-(u)n-ur-∅*
inspection.NOM be-PASS-IPFV.PRS-3SG
‘is inspected’ (Speaker 51)

(42) *äncam* *tap-(i)l-di- ∅*
done.NOM find-PASS-PST.3SG
‘was done’ (Speaker 58)

(b) Persianized Azerbaijani compound verbs not using native Azerbaijani passive markers:

(43) *äncam* *tap-ip-di*
done.NOM find-PRF-PST.3SG
‘has been done’ (Speaker 47)

(44) *färahäm* *ol-sun*
provided.NOM be-IMP.3SG
‘be provided’ (Speaker 50)

(45) *tolid* *ol-(u)r-∅*
production.NOM be-IPFV.PRS-3SG
‘is produced’ (Speaker 59)

(46) *ärzä* *ol-ur-∅*
introduction.NOM be-IPFV.PRS-3SG
‘is introduced’ (Speaker 64)

One explanation for not marking the verbal part for Passive voice can be that Azerbaijani speakers, by borrowing passive structure from Persian, have borrowed the whole semantic meaning of the verbal part - *şod-än* ‘to become’ - including the passiveness notion, and in order to avoid redundancy, they have preferred not to mark the verb for passiveness.

6.3.2. Causative structure

There are three general categories of causative construction in languages as follow: lexical, morphological and syntactic (Comrie 1981). Both Azerbaijani and Persian languages distinguish two types of lexical and morphological causative construction. In addition to the lexical and morphological methods, Persian uses a syntactic strategy to form causatives.

Lexical causatives are direct causatives, in which the semantic meaning of verbs conveys the idea of fulfilment of act on a patient by an agent (Karimi 2018), e.g., English contrasting transitive and intransitive verbs *kill* → *die* and *rise* → *raise*. As it mentioned above, Persian and Azerbaijani both uses lexical causatives but seeing that it is not the area of influence of Persian on Azerbaijani, I scape presenting more details and examples to avoid the complexity of the issue.

Regarding morphological causation, in Persian, morphological causation is formed by attaching the affix *-an* to the verb stem of a number of transitive and intransitive verbs. However, the morphological causative construction in Persian is limited to a few verbs and is not productive (Mahootian 1997, Dabir-Moghaddam 1982), (e.g., *xor-d* > *xor-an-d* ‘ate > caused to eat’ *bord* > **borand* ‘took > caused to take’).

On the other hand, the morphological causative in Azerbaijani, unlike Persian, is productive and is formed with the addition of suffix *-dir* (48) (50) or *-(i)t* (52) to the stem of verb:

(47) *sat-di*
sell-PST.3SGL
‘sold’

(48) *sat-dir-di*
sell-CAUS-PST.3SGL
‘caused to sell’

(49) *sil-ir*
clean-PRS.3SGL
‘(she/he) cleans’

(50) *sil-dir-ir*
clean-CAUS-PRS.3SGL
‘(she/he) causes to clean’

(51) *oxu-dum*
 read-PST.1SGL
 ‘(I) read’

(52) *oxu-t-dum*
 read-CAUS-PST.1SGL
 ‘(I) caused to read’

As it mentioned earlier, morphological causation in Persian is not productive. However, Persian uses a syntactic productive strategy to form causatives. The syntactic causative construction in Persian is in the form of a periphrastic CV consisting of the NV part *baʔes* or *sābāb* ‘cause’ and the light verb *ʃodān* ‘become’. The NV part - *baʔes* or *sābāb* ‘cause’ - carries the causation notion, while the light verb *ʃodān* ‘become’ is inflected for subject agreement and tense. The periphrastic causative construction - *baʔes ʃodān* or *sābāb ʃodān* - is followed by a complement clause¹³ which appears with complementizer *ke* ‘that’ (53). You can see the contrasting Persian causative verb - syntactic causation - with its Azerbaijani counterpart (54) - morphological causation - in the following examples:

Persian:

(53) *mān* *baʔes* *ʃod-ām* (*ke*) *bāçe-ha*
 I-NOM cause become-PST.1SG (COMP) child-PL

be-xānd-ānd
 SBJV-laught-PST.3PL

 ‘I caused the children to laugh’

Azerbaijani:

(54) *mān* *uşax-lar-i* *gül-dür-düm*
 I-NOM child-PL-ACC laugh-CAUS-PST.1SG
 ‘I caused the children to laugh’

On the basis of samples from the data, Azerbaijani speakers have borrowed Persian syntactic causation construction and hence started to use the syntactic causation in addition to their native

¹³ In Persian causative structure, the complement clause can be raised and be inserted between the non-verbal *baʔes* and the verbal *ʃodān*, e.g.:

mān *baʔes-e* *xānde-ye* *bāçe-ha* *ʃod-ām*
 I-NOM cause-EZ laugh-EZ child-PL become-PST.1SG
 ‘I caused the children to laugh’

(75) *ru-(y)e miz*
 on-EZ table
 ‘on the table’

You can see that in above examples the head of NP is inflected by suffix *-e* or *-ye* (following vowels) named *Ezafe (Ez)*. In fact, *Ezafe*, in Persian, is an extremely common suffix which function as a linker and can attach to each one of the constituents in the post-nominal domain, within the NP (Ghaniabadi 2010, Karimi 2018). It can attach to several elements¹⁴ (nouns, complements, modifiers, possessors, prepositions) in the same noun phrase, each one linked to the previous element by the *Ezafe* affix (Karimi 2018), with the following order: Noun (N)-Adjective (ADJ)-Adjective phrase (ADJP)-Prepositional phrase (PP)-Possessor. In example (76) below, you can see how each element within a NP is attached to the previous one by *Ezafe*, on the basis of the above-mentioned order:

(76) *käfs-e nayk-e ziba-(y)e xeyli rahat-e*
 shoe-EZ Nike-EZ pretty-EZ ADV comfortable-EZ

tu-(y)e vitrin-e foruşgah
 in-EZ showcase-EZ store

‘the very comfortable pretty Nike shoes in the store’s showcase’

Azerbaijani, like Persian, has a basic SOV word order (Schönig 1998, Lee 1996), and its word order can change, regarding pragmatic content of the sentence. However, Azerbaijani word order within NP is typologically different from Persian; the NPs are right-headed and all other elements in NP precede the head noun (HN). In other words, adjectives, nominal modifiers and possessor appear before the noun in an opposite order to Persian (77) (78) (79). Furthermore, as discussed in Section 6.2.3., adpositions follow the noun (postpositional) (80).

(77) *gözäl qiz*
 pretty girl
 ‘pretty girl’

¹⁴ *Ezafe* affix may not attach to verbs, adverbs, conjunctions and some of prepositions (Karimi 2018)

(78) *Nayk başmaq-i*¹⁵
Nike shoes-LNK
'Nike shoes'

(79) *Märyam-in başmaq-i*
Märyäm-GEN shoes-POSS
Märyäm's shoes

(80) *başmaq-in alt-i*
shoes-GEN under-POSS
'under the shoe'

The example (81) below illustrates the Azerbaijani equivalent of the Persian example (76). You can see how the words are appeared in opposite order to Persian NP word order.

(81) *mağaza-nin vitrin-i(n)-dä-ki çox rahat gözäl*
store-GEN showcase-POSS.3SG-LOC ADV comfortable pretty

Nike başmaq
Nike shoe

'the verry comfortable pretty Nike shoes in the store's showcase'

Persian and Azerbaijani word order within NP, regarding the examples (76) and (81) can be summarized as below:

Persian: HN - N - ADJ - ADJP - PP - Possessor

Azerbaijani: Possessor - PP¹⁶ - ADJP - ADJ - N - HN

According to the data provided above, we saw that Persian has a head-initial typology, while Azerbaijani exhibits head-final properties. However, my data revealed considerable numbers of head-initial descriptive NPs (82a), genitive NPs (83a) (84a), and PPs (85a). The most of Persianized phrases have occurred with Persian loan words, while all the phrases had the

¹⁵ In this example the suffix *-i* has the same shape as the Azerbaijani third person singular possessive marker *-i*, however, it does not mark possession. It functions as a grammatical linker to exhibit the association between the elements within the phrase (Croft 1990).

¹⁶ It should be noted that the meanings associated with preposition in Persian languages is conveyed by case suffixes in Azerbaijani. In example (76), the adpositional meaning of 'in' is conveyed by Persian preposition *tuye*, while in example (81) it is conveyed by the locative case marker *-dä*

potential to be used with native Azerbaijani word order. The below examples illustrate the Persianized head-initial phrases with Persian loan words (*a* examples) and their Azerbaijani head-final equivalents (*b* examples):

- (82) a. *puşak-i*¹⁷ *Iran-i*
 clothing-EZ Iran-ADJ
 ‘Iranian clothing’
 (Speaker 56)
- b. *Iran-i puşak*
 Iran-ADJ clothing
 ‘Iranian clothing’
- (83) a. *kitabxane-ye milli-ye Tabriz*
 library-EZ national-EZ Tabriz
 ‘Tabriz national library’
 (Speaker 7)
- b. *Tabriz-in milli kitabxana-si*
 Tabriz-GEN national library-POSS
 ‘Tabriz national library’
- (84) a. *qiymät-i kala*
 price-EZ good
 ‘price of the good’
 (Speaker 32)
- b. *kala-nin qiymät-i*
 good-GEN price-POSS
 ‘price of the good’
- (85) a. *be surät-i müstäqim*
 to manner-EZ direct
 ‘in a direct manner (directly)’
 (Speaker 57)
- b. *müstäqim surät-dä*
 direct manner-LOC
 ‘in a direct manner (directly)’

In addition to above examples of Persian loan words ordering based on Persian word order, there were some samples that Azerbaijani speakers used mixed native Azerbaijani (AZ) words and Persian (PRSN) loan words with Persian word order:

- (86) *zir-i beşyüz näfär*
 <PRSN> <AZ> <PRSN>
 under-EZ five hundred people
 ‘(an amount) under five hundred people’ (Speaker 5)
- (87) *bär äsas-i oniki därsäd*
 <PRSN> <PRSN/AZ> <AZ> <PRSN>
 on base-EZ twelve percent
 on the basis of twelve percent (Speaker 56)

¹⁷ In most of the examples of borrowing Persian *Ezafe* construction, Azerbaijani speakers adopted *Ezafe* suffix *-e* as *-i*, due to the Azerbaijani phonotactic rules.

- (88) *hässasiyyät-e* *çox-tär*
 <PRSN> <AZ>
 sensitivity-EZ much-COMPA
 ‘much more sensitivity’
- (Speaker 61)

In addition to above mentioned direct importation of Persian phrasal word order, some of the samples showed a mixed Persian-Azerbaijani word order. For example, in the genitive NP (89) below, the HN *bähs* occurred initially (Persian feature) and followed by its nominal modifiers *aqa* and *Trump* which are linked to the head noun by *Ezafə* (Persian feature). However, different from Persian word order, the possessor *Trump* occurred before the possessed *getmä* (native Azerbaijani feature) and both the possessor and possessed are marked with native Azerbaijani genitive and possessive suffixes. In sum, the word order in (89) is head-initial – like Persian structure – but the order of modifiers within the phrase is half-Persian and half-Azerbaijani.

- (89) *bähs-i* *aqay-e* *Trumpin* *getmä-si* S70
 topic-EZ Mr-EZ Trump-GEN leaving-POSS
 ‘Mr. Trump leaving topic’

The sample (90) is another example of mixed word order occurring in an Azerbaijani PP in which the HN *millät* - in line with Persian within-phrase word order – proceeded its adjective modifier *äziz* and nominal modifier *Azərbayjan*, but the adpositional structure of the phrase is exhibited by native Azerbaijani case suffix *-dan*. The interesting fact in this mixed structure is that, in Azerbaijani, postpositions and case suffixes that convey postpositional meaning attach to the final-occurring HN. However, in this PP, considering the initial position of HN (Persian word order), the postpositional case suffix attached to the non-HN *Azərbayjan*.

- (90) *millät-i* *äziz-i* *Azərbayjan-dan*
 people-EZ dear-EZ Azerbaijan-ABL
 ‘from dear people of Azerbaijan’

In sum, the above-mentioned data showed that Persian right-headed word order passed on Azerbaijani via descriptive NPs, genitive NPs, and PPs. Along with Persian phrase word order, the Persian *Ezafə* suffix is also penetrated Azerbaijani, and substituted Azerbaijani native genitive marker. Although the Persian right-headed orders are mostly occurred with Persian

loan words, there are examples of Persian order occurring with Azerbaijani native words. Furthermore, some of the samples illustrated the interference between Persian and Azerbaijani ordering. It can be concluded that Azerbaijani shows a clear change of word order in phrasal construction, under the influence the corresponding Persian construction.

6.4. Intensity of contact

As already mentioned, the intensity of contact can be estimated based on borrowing of lexicon and structure. In section 4.2.1., I discussed Thomason's (2001) broad borrowing scale which categorizes the contact situation into three stages, based on bilingualism situation and borrowing of lexicon and structure as follow:

1. *Casual contact* which happens in lexicon level, in an infrequent bilingualism setting in which only content words are borrowed

2. *Slightly more intense contact* that happens on lexicon level, in a reasonable bilingualism situation with borrowing of function words and minor structures

3. *More intense contact* which occurs in frequent bilingualism situation by borrowing more basic vocabulary such as closed-class and low numeral items and moderate structural features such as word order, coordination and subordination, without leading to typological change.

4. *Intensive contact* in which heavy lexical and structural items are borrowed and results in typological changes in target language.

Regarding the situation of contact at three levels of bilingualism, borrowing of lexicon and borrowing of structures presented by Thomason's (2001) broad borrowing scale, it can be implied that the situation of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian fall into third stage, the *more intense contact* category:

According to Thomason (2001), *more intense contact* happens in frequent bilingualism situation where the social factors such as attitudes favor borrowing. Regarding the bilingualism situation, the most of Azerbaijani-speaking population in Iran are bilingual speakers of both Persian and Azerbaijani. As already discussed thoroughly in chapter three, since the official language of Education and administration in Iran is Persian, Azerbaijani people use Persian at education, administration, and official business, but Azerbaijani in their families and local communities. Moreover, according to (Erfani 2012), in some Azerbaijani communities outside

of the Azerbaijani-speaking provinces, such as *Tehran* or *Hamedan*, bilingual parents communicate with their children mostly in Persian, and thus Persian turned to be the first language of some Azerbaijani children. However, in some rural areas of Azerbaijani-speaking provinces in Iran, there are some Azerbaijani speakers of older generation that did not attend school at early ages, and thus remained monolingual Azerbaijani.

On the whole, Azerbaijani speakers in Iran, vary in their fluency in Persian and usage of Azerbaijani and Persian languages for different purposes. For example, people from the younger generation which are fully functional bilinguals, write, read and speak Persian fluently, follow the media, academic works and official communication, in Persian, as well as informal communication with Persian-speaking friends and relatives, but use Azerbaijani to communicate with their family and Azerbaijani-speaking friends and at work places in their local communities.

On the other hand, the older generation ranges from functional bilinguals with less education to monolinguals with little or no education. The bilingual group with less education is still able to read, write and speak Persian but not as fluently as those who have higher education. They mostly use Azerbaijani in their daily communication with family and at work place, but follow the TV programs, newspapers or books in Persian. Finally, the monolingual Azeri speakers who have little or no education, do not know Persian and are not able to write, read or speak Persian. They use only Azerbaijani for their daily communication. In the light of the mentioned facts, it can be concluded that, in current situation of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian, the majority of Azerbaijani speakers in Iran are bilingual speakers of Persian and Azerbaijani.

Regarding the social factors favoring borrowing, it is already discussed in Section 3.5. that how the cultural and political dominance of Persian have influenced Azerbaijani speakers, in respect to different social factors. For instance, under influence of Persian, a hesitating attitude is formed in Azerbaijani people towards usage of their native Azerbaijani language in official domains. We also saw in Section 3.5.1., that Azerbaijani is rarely used in education and media, moreover, it is penetrated into family domain, Furthermore, the influence of Persian on Azerbaijani identity in evolving a mixed being-Azerbaijani and being-Iranian identity is

discussed in Section 3.5.3. The other social factors such as status, institutional support, demographic factors and intergenerational transmission is also argued in Section 3.5.4. To summarize, all the aforementioned factors potentially lean towards more intense contact and consequently more allowing of borrowing from Persian to Azerbaijani.

At lexicon level, according to Thomason (2001: 70), in *more intense contact* stage, closed-class items such as pronouns and low numerals can be borrowed, in addition to nouns, adjectives and verbs. Derivational affixes may be borrowed, too. Based on the findings from the Sections 6.1. and 6.2, Azerbaijani exhibited borrowing of not only the open-class items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but as well the closed-class words including conjunctions, discourse markers and numerals. Moreover, some derivational affixes such as adjective-maker suffix *-i* is borrowed which originally entered Azerbaijani on Persian loanwords and then spread from there to native Azerbaijani vocabulary.

Regarding structure level, Thomason (2001) discusses that, at *more intense contact* situation, features such as word order and the syntax of subordination and coordination may be affected by source language. The borrowed inflectional affixes and categories also can be added to native words. However, borrowings do not lead to typological change. As indicated in Section 6.3., we saw that Persian head-initial order is borrowed by Azerbaijani at noun phrases level and substituted the native Azerbaijani head-final order, in some of the samples. Some samples also showed the replacement of Azerbaijani native postpositional suffixes by Persian prepositions which led to change in native Azerbaijani word order of prepositional phrases. Moreover, the borrowed Persian comparison suffixes are used to inflect native Azerbaijani words. What is more, Persian syntactic method of passivization and causation are borrowed by Azerbaijani and are used besides Azerbaijani native morphological methods of passivization and causation. In addition, I considered Erfani's (2012: 41) acknowledgment on borrowing Persian post-nominal relative clause construction by Azerbaijani whose native form of relative clause is pre-nominal.

With regard to above-mentioned facts, Azerbaijani in situation of contact with Persian entered on the third stage: *slightly more intense contact*, because of frequent bilingualism in

Azerbaijani-speaking areas, borrowing of both open-class and closed-class lexical items and moderate structural features such as inflectional affixes, word order and subordination, without leading to typological change.

7. Conclusion

This thesis examined various contact-induced linguistic issues in Azerbaijani, a Turkic language, spoken in the northwest of Iran, where Azerbaijani as a minority language is spoken alongside Persian, an Indo-European language. Azerbaijani have borrowed a large quantity of Persian vocabulary and grammar due to the long history of contact with Persian.

The main objective of this study was to inspect the linguistic aspects of contact induced changes happened in Azerbaijani due to contact with Persian and to achieve an overview of intensity of contact between Azerbaijani and Persian. My focus in this study was not only to investigate old changes in Azerbaijani language, rather, I have addressed recent contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani under political and cultural dominance of Persian.

As seen in the above data, Azerbaijani has been affected by Persian in three linguistic levels of lexicon, morphology and syntax: At lexicon level, Azerbaijani has borrowed both content words including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and function words including conjunctions, discourse markers and numerals, from Persian.

At morphology level, Azerbaijani comparison suffixes are replaced by Persian's; the prepositions *bāraye* 'for', *dārmoqabele* 'against', *ba* 'with', *bār-ruye* 'on the', *beyne* 'among', *zire* 'under' and *bejoz* 'except for' are borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers and affected the case-marking process of corresponding nouns; the Persian adjective-maker suffix *-i* is borrowed by Azerbaijani speakers and is used to derive new vocabulary.

At syntax level, we saw that Persian passivization and causation construction imported by Azerbaijani. Moreover, Persian affected the Azerbaijani word order partially, in a manner that Persian head-initial order in noun phrases and prepositional phrases, in some examples of data, substituted the native Azerbaijani head-final order.

According to Thomason (2001), contact-induced changes can be detected in the structure and lexicon of the affected language, besides bilingual situation in community. Regarding the four stages of Thomason's broad borrowing scale, based on my findings, Azerbaijani is fully reached the third stage: *slightly more intense contact*, because of frequent bilingualism in Azerbaijani-speaking areas, borrowing of both open-class and closed-class lexical items and moderate structural features such as inflectional affixes, word order and subordination without leading to typological change.

The findings of this study are compatible with the findings of other studies on influence of Persian language on Azerbaijani. However, the previous studies (Dehghani 2000, Erfani, 2012) did not distinguish between old and recent changes in Azerbaijani, this study observed the difference and focused on recent changes from the first legislation that granted the Persian language its status in Iran, which goes back to 1906. Erfani (2012) has discussed the effect of Persian on Azeri morphosyntax and claimed that Azerbaijani has been strongly influenced by Persian in the fields of word order, noun-compounding and causation. My data resulted in similar results. However, I covered up more contact-induced features not only at morphosyntactic level, but as well at lexical and pure-morphological level. Moreover, I collected my data from greater number of participants. My findings also gave a vision of intensity of current contact between Azerbaijani and Persian, based on social and linguistic determinants.

Due to the boundaries of the research, there still are different aspects of the study that requires further investigation. Since there are other Azerbaijani varieties, spoken in different provinces of Iran, whose language contact patterns are expected to be different - due to sharing borders with Azerbaijani-speaking or Persian-speaking provinces - their contact situation could be an interesting subject to research. In this study, the varieties of gender and formality was extracted in collection of data, but not taken into account, due to the limitation of time. However, these social factors could be investigated, too. Furthermore, since the intensity of contact, due to different social factors, can change through the time, it can be of interest to compare the intensity of contact over a period of time. The finding of this study, in this respect, is hoped to contribute to future comparative diachronic studies on contact-induced changes in Azerbaijani.

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Notes

¹ <https://i.imgur.com/CLUB8KU.png> Gloe Andrew. Post title: 'Languages of Iran'. On the Reddit: https://www.reddit.com/r/MapPorn/comments/8814fz/languages_of_iran_1024_849/ retrieved on November 23, 2021.

² Adapted from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Idioma_azer%C3%AD.png. Retrieved on November 24, 2021.

³ Adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azerbaijani_alphabet . The source: Hatcher, L. 2008. Retrieved on November 30, 2021

⁴ "Constitution". Islamic Parliament of Iran. Parliran.ir. Retrieved 1 October, 2021.

⁵ Link to the corpus
https://corpora.uni-leipzig.de?corpusId=aze_newscrawl_2011

⁶ Azerbaijan's the largest free language portal: <https://azerdict.com/>

⁷ The examples are adapted from Karimi (2018)

⁸ The *Ezafe* construction (*EZ*) will be discussed in 6.3.3.

⁹ In addition to instrumental meaning, Azerbaijani instrumental case *-(I)nAn* expresses comitative and conjunctive meanings

¹⁰ Borrowing of Persian prepositions is discussed in more details in the 6.3.3

¹¹ It should be pointed out that there are a number of other auxiliary verbs such as *gardidan* and *âmadan* which can be used instead of *şodan* in Persian passive form. In fact, they have the same function and meaning as the *şodan*, but are mostly used in literary style and in classic Persian (Moyne 1974. P.249).

¹² In passivation process of a series of compound verbs in Persian language, the past participle form of verb is eliminated. This shortened form of passivization is called short passive by Farshidvard (2003). e.g., *tätil kârd* (active verb) > *tätil kârd-e şod* > *tätil şod* (passive form)

¹³ In Persian causative structure, the complement clause can be raised and be inserted between the non-verbal *baʔes* and the verbal *şodân*, e.g.,:

mân baʔes-e xânde-ye bâce-ha şod-âm
I-NOM cause-EZ laugh-EZ child-PL become-PST.1SG
'I caused the children to laugh'

¹⁴ *Ezafe* affix may not attach to verbs, adverbs, conjunctions and some of prepositions (Karimi 2018)

¹⁵ in this example the suffix *-i* has the same shape as the Azerbaijani third person singular possessive marker *-i*, however, it does not mark possession. It functions as a grammatical linker to exhibit the association between the elements within the phrase (Croft 1990).

¹⁶ It should be noted that the meanings associated with preposition in Persian languages is conveyed by case suffixes in Azerbaijani. In example (76), the adpositional meaning of ‘in’ is conveyed by Persian preposition *tuye*, while in example (81) it is conveyed by the locative case marker *-dä*

¹⁷ In most of the examples of borrowing Persian *Ezafe* construction, Azerbaijani speakers adopted *Ezafe* suffix *-e* as *-i*, due to the Azerbaijani phonotactic rules.