

mazdayasnian religion as a confession of faith. The Zoroastrian community had then expansive and attractive force, although at the same time it was exposed to assaults of nomadic tribes. In later times, especially during the reign of the Assanid and of Sassanian dynasties it was declared the state religion of Iran but its cult became more and more dead. Buddhism threatened it from the East, and Christianity from the West. This slow process was, however, interrupted by the invasion of Islam in the 7th century and for this reason groups of both Mazdeists as well as of Christians were forced to emigrate from Iran /.../ to India - Mazdeists in India live chiefly in or near Bombay. In their publications of favarane they interpret the passage. Y 12,9 xvaētva-datha as "recommending the marriages among the Mazdayasnian religions community" or they totally drop this phrase*.

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AN AZERI DIALECT OF TABRIZ — AN ATTEMPT AT PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

The purpose of this paper is to present some phonological phenomena in the dialect of Tabriz in Iran.

The basis for the subject is the index of the words in this dialect, prepared by Marek Stachowski and published in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (M. Stachowski, *Das Täbriz-Aserbaidzschianische Wortgut von Ali Ganjeli, AOH XLV (1), 1991, pp. 55-87*). The basis for M. Stachowski's index was the vocabulary of the dialect of Tabriz, prepared by K. Haneda & A. Ganjeli, *Tabrizi Vocabulary. An Azeri-Turkish Dialect in Iran, Studia Culturae Islamicae 13, Tokyo 1979*).

M. Stachowski's index contains about one thousand words of the Azeri dialect of Tabriz, translated into English, in alphabetical order. In my paper M. Stachowski's transcription has been retained. Numbers in brackets indicate the page of the given word in the index, or of the information in M. Stachowski's commentary. Each phenomenon has been illustrated with examples, in some cases, however, only with a few words.

VOWEL PHENOMENA

Vowels in the Azeri dialect of Tabriz are as follows: a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü. The main question is the phonetic value of the vowels: a, ä, e - in Haneda's transcription (further on: H): â, a, e. K. Haneda's *Pronunciation of some letters* involves some ambiguities and, according to it, e and ä (H: e, a) are "mid front unrounded". The word material at our command does not allow us to describe phonetically vowels a, ä, e [cf. M. Stachowski's commentary, p. 57 and (Foy I 172)].

1. Palatal harmony of vowels:

(1.1) In some genuine words the vowel palatal harmony is no

* S.A. Kapadia, *Teachings of Zoroaster*, 1913.

more observed i.e. in the given word are found front and back vowels [cf. (Foy I 182)], e.g. *ayri* "sore" (59); *alti* "six" (59); *azi* "bitter" (60); *asğırma* "sneeze" (60); *aşayi* *ğalmax* "go down" (61); *bazi* "sister", but *bazi* *gızı* "niece" (62); *dali* "back", but *dälisizän* *getmax* "run after" (65); *galin* "thick; dense; stout" (68); *gapi* "door" (68), but *gäpi* "gate" (68); *gonši* "neighbour" (69); *işlx* "light" (72); *picax* "knife" (78); *sari* "yellow" (78).

(1.2) The absence of palatal harmony is observed not only in separate words, but also in derivatives. Vowels of some suffixes remain unchanged, i.e. they do not accomodate themselves to the vowels of the stem, which would be consistent with the principles of harmony.

(1.2 a) Suffix *-max*, which produces infinitive-like substantives from verbs is observed only in one form, with the velar vowel - irrespective of the vowels of the stem, e.g. *azmax* "grind" (61); *bilmax* "know" (62); *ğirmax* "enter" (70); *demax* "say" (65); *düşünmax* "notice" (67); *inzimax* "suffer" (73); *ölmax* "die" (77) [cf. (Foy I 183)].

Forms: *yemax* "eat" and *yemäx* "food; meal" (85) exhibit probably the secondary dissimilation of the suffix *-max*, but these are the only examples.

(1.2 b) Suffix *-mä/-ma*, also building verbal nouns, is observed in these two forms; most of the examples confirm the principle of palatal-velar harmony: *äsnämä* "yawn" (60); *ösğürmä* "cough" (77); *tixmä* "sewing" (82); *pişirmä* "cooking" (82); *yorulux alma* "rest" (59); *asğırma* "sneeze" (60); *cırplışma* "quarrel" (64); *oxuma* "song" (77).

In two examples a variant with a velar vowel appears after a palatal vowel of the stem: *oinäma* "dance" (76); *sälam verma* "greeting" (79).

(1.2 c) Suffix *-lax, -lux* creates nouns from various nominal categories. In the dialect of Tabriz it appears only with velar vowels, both after the palatal and velar vowel of a given word [cf. (Foy I 183)], e.g. *dirillax* "life" (66); *gäränlax* "dark" (69); *ğanişlax* "breadth" (70).

No examples of the derivatives derived from a word with a palatal labial vowel are found in the index. The velar labial variant of this suffix occurs in some words, e.g. *otlux* "field"

(77); *uzunlux* "length" (83) - cf. (2.2 e).

(1.2 d) Suffix *-i, -si*, the possessive suffix for the 3rd person singular occurs in the most of the examples with the palatal unrounded vowel *i*, e.g. *gärdäş gızı* "niece" (69); *äm oyli* "cousin" (60); *ayrısı* "other" (60); *balıxgülayi* "shellfish" (61); *döüräsi* "around" (66); *ğöz yaşı* "tears" (71) - cf. (2.2 a). In some cases a variant of this suffix with the velar unrounded vowel is observed: *äyay ältindä goymax* "tread" (61); *dälina almax* "bear (on one's back)" (65); *dälisizän getmax* "run after" (65).

(1.2 e) The adjectival suffix *-li* is observed as a variant with a palatal unrounded vowel (cf. 2.2 b), e.g. *ähämiyätli* "important" (60); *buzli* "cold" (63); *dadli* "tasty" (64); *pulli* "rich" (78); *suli* "sparse" (80); *huşli* "wise" (72); *malli* "rich" (74).

Compare the suffix *-siz, -süz, -suz*, also producing adjectives, with vowels *i, ı, u*, due to the operation of palatal-velar harmony: *änsiz* "narrow; thin" (60); *dadsız* "untasty" (64); *pulsuz* "poor" (78); *susuz olmax* "be thirsty", *susuzlamax* "become thirsty" (80); *sässiz* "quiet" (79); *täzrubäsiz* "unskillful" (82) - cf. (2.2 b).

The suffix *-li* appears only in one form. In contrast, *-siz* is recorded in three forms: *-siz, -süz, -suz*. Suffix *-siz* seems to be more conservative whereas suffix *-li* tended to iranization and lost the other vocalic variants.

(1.2 f) The Locative suffix is found in the index as the separate entry: *-dä, -da* "at" (64). In the index, however, are found examples of the use of the suffix *-dä*: *ävazindä* "instead of" (61); *baräsindä* "about" (61); *ğündä* "everyday" (71); *üstündädurmax* "continue (vt.)" (83). In one word the suffix *-dä* occurs after the velar vowel of the stem: *äyay ältindä goymax* "tread" (61). There are no examples of the use of the form *-da*.

(1.2 g) The Dative suffix *-ä/-a* is also found in the index as a separate entry (58). Generally it is used as required by vowel palatal harmony: *ciinä almax* "shoulder" (64); *zähmätä düşmax* "suffer" (86); *dälina almax* "bear (on one's back)" (65); *azıya ğalmış* "abominable" (60); *yada ğatırmaz, yada ğalmax* "remind"; *yada salmax* "remember; remind" (84); *ona ğörä* "therefore" (76). The only exception is: *boyunä almax* "undertake" (63).

(1.2 h) The Ablative suffix *-dän, -dan/-nän, -nan* "from; than" (65) seems to be added back and front respectively: *hərdən bir* "sometimes" (72); *yəddən cixatmax* "forget" (85); *günartadan sora* "afternoon; p.m." (71); *hardan* "which way" (71); *ordan* "that way; away" (77).

2. Labial harmony of vowels:

(2.1) Among genuine words are found examples of labial disharmony: in a given word rounded vowels are next to unrounded ones, e.g. *kuti* "box" (74); *yüxi* "dream" (86); *gonši* "neighbour" (69); *guyi ~ guyu* "well" (70).

(2.2) A disharmony between the vowel of the stem and of the suffix is observed too:

(2.2 a) The suffix *-i*, the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular is observed only as a variant with a non-rounded vowel. The only instance in our material with a rounded vowel of the stem and unrounded in the suffix is the word *oyli < oyul* "son" (76) in compositions: *əm oyli* "cousin" (60); *bəzi oyli* "nephew" (62); *gərdəş oyli* "nephew" (69) - cf. (1.2 d).

(2.2 b) The suffix *-li* is observed in derivatives derived from the stems with labial vowels, e.g. *məəmuli* "normal" (75); *pulli* "rich" (78); *təfəvütli* "different" (81) - cf. (1.2 e). Compare the suffix *-suz* which confirms the principle of labial harmony: *susuz olmax* "be thirsty" (80); *pulsuz* "poor" (78) - cf. (1.2 e).

(2.2 c) The Accusative suffix *-i*: only one example of this case seems to be observed in the index - with a non-labial front vowel: *tozi eləmax* "distribute" (82).

(2.2 d) The ordinal number forming suffix occurs in the index as a variant with a non-labial vowel: *-minzi, -inzi: ikininzi* "second", *ikininzi* id. (73); *birininzi, birininzi* "first" (62); *üçününzi, üçününzi* "third" (83).

(2.2 e) The suffix *-lax, -lux*: generally labial harmony between the vowel of the stem and the suffix is observed, e.g. *gurulux vaxti* "dry season" (71); *otlux* "field" (77); *uzunlux* "length" (83); *ayaşlax* "forest" (59); *aşpəzlax* "cooking" (59); *dirilax* "life" (66). The only exception is: *noxošlax* "disease" (76) - cf. (1.2 c).

(2.2 f) The Genetive suffix seems to be used as required by vowel labial harmony. The only examples are: *ayın əvvəli* "the first day" (59); *heyvənlın uzun dişi* "tusk" (72); *onun üçün* "therefore" (76).

3. Depalatalization of vowels:

In some genuine words depalatalization of vowels in proximity to a palatal consonant is observed: *gorə* "for" (70) - but cf. *ona gorə* "therefore" (76); *govərcin* "pigeon" (70) [cf. (ƏSTJa III 57-59)]; *gözəttəmax* "raise" (71) - but cf. *gözəttəmax* "wait" (71) [cf. (ƏSTJa III 64-65); (8.1 a)]; *kok* "root" (74); *kucuk* "small; little" (74) - but cf. *kicik* id. (74).

4. Palatalization of a:

According to Foy: "Im Azeri [= the dialect of Tabriz] herrscht eine grosse Neigung, das *a* in *e* zu verwandeln, was hauptsächlich vor *r*, aber auch sonst geschieht z.B. *gere* "schwarz" = [Osm.] *qara*, *geri* "alte Frau" = *gary*, *gerdeş* "Bruder" = *qardaş*, *jexe* "Kragen" = *jaqa*." (Foy I 185). In M. Stachowski's index the same instances are found: *garə* "black"; *garənlax* "dark"; *gərdəş gızı* "niece"; *gərdəş oyli* "nephew" [but cf. *qardaş ~ gərdəş* "brother" (68)]; *garın* "stomach" (69).

5. Labial ~ non-labial vowels:

In M. Stachowski's index pairs of genuine words are observed, one of these words contains labial vowels, others - non-labial ones: *birnız ~ burnuz* "horn" (62) [cf. (ƏSTJa II 243-245)]; *dimdiş ~ dümdüş* "beak" (66); *kicik ~ kucuk* "small; little" (74) (see also the paragraph 3.). Compare also the words: *birin* "nose" (62) [cf. (ƏSTJa II 263-271)]; *südüx* "urine" (80); *ulduz* "star" (82) [cf. (ƏSTJa IV 279-281)].

6. Labialization of vowels:

In some cases the non-labial vowel in the first syllable submitted to labialization [cf. (Foy I 177-178)]:

(6.1) under the influence of the following labial consonant:

in genuine words: *gouzamax* "lift" (69); *ouş* "palm" (77); *söymax* "like; love"; *söyməli* "lovely"; *söyməmax* "dislike"; *söyüşmax*

"love"; *söyüngän* "happy"; *söyünmax* "rejoice" (80);

in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin: *döwlätti* "rich" (66); *gowl vermax* "promise" (69); *howlız* "pool" (72);

(6.2) under the influence of the labial u:

from among the genuine words: *doušan* "rabbit" (66); *toyux* "hen" (82);

in one loanword of Persian origin: *dör* "around"; *döüräsi* "around" (66);

in one loanword of ultimately Arabic origin: *mouz* "wave" (75).

CONSONANT PHENOMENA

Consonants of the Azeri dialect of Tabriz are as follows: *b, c, d, f, g, ğ, γ, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, v, w, x, x̣, y, z, ž, ẓ̌*. The phonetic distinction between *v* and *w* remains unclear. Compare M. Stachowski's comment: "Im Wörtverzeichnis verwendet K. Haneda außer *v* auch *w* (z.B. in *gowl vermax*, Nr. 859), wobei er aber in der 'Pronunciation' die Lautwerte der beiden Buchstaben nicht erklärt. Ich bewahre die beiden Buchstaben ohne Änderungen." (57), cf. also (Foy I 176).

7. Affricates *c* and *z*:

(7.1) The symbol *c* denotes an alveolar unvoiced affricate *c* [tʃ]:

(7.1 a) At the absolute anlaut affricate *c* occurs:

in genuine words: *cayatmax* "take off" (64); *calği* "song" (64); *calmax* "hit; knock" (64); *cax* "time; period" (64) in: *sähär cayi* "a.m." (79); *cay I* "river" (64); *cay II* "tea" (64); *cätin* "difficult" (64); *cäxmax* "pull; draw; weigh, measure; carry" (64); *ceynämax* "chew" (64); *cırplışma* "quarrel" (64); *cıxmax* "climb; rise; come out" (64); *ciğin* "shoulder" (64); *cii* "raw" (64); *colax* "lame" (64); *coräx* "bread" (64); *cox* "many, often" (64); *cöndärmax* "turn to" (64); *cürümax* "rotten" (64);

in the loanwords from Persian: *caggi* "knife" (64); *caršämbä* "Wednesday" (64); *cänä* "chin" (64); *cätir* "umbrella" (64); *cešmä* "fountain, spring" (64); *cilo ~ pilo* "rice" (64); *cirk* "filth; pus" (64); *cirkın* "dirty; ugly" (64); *cünki* "because" (64).

(7.1 b) Word-medially affricate *c* is also observed in genuine

words and in borrowings from Persian;

from among the genuine words e.g. *acılmax* "bloom" (58); *äkincillıx* "cultivation" (60); *ğecän ay* "last month" (70); *icäriä* *älmax* "put in" (72); *kiciäx ~ kücük* "small, little" (74); *picax* "knife" (78); *sican* "rat" (79);

the loanwords of Persian origin: *becara* "pity" (62); *geyci* "scissors" (69); *pärcäm* "flag" (78).

(7.1 c) Word- and syllable-final *c* seems to be observed in one genuine word: *ic* "inside", but cf. its derivatives: *ici* "inside"; *icindä* "among" (72).

In the other genuine words *c* in this position is transformed into *š* [cf. (Foy I 191)]: *ayaš* "tree" (59); *ayašlıx* "forest" (59); *ašmax* "untie; open" (59); *bišmax* "mow" (63); *boš almax* "borrow", *boš vermax* "lend" (63) - with a simultaneous dropping of the preceding *r* [cf. (15.2 a)]; *gašmax* "run; escape" (68); *glš* "leg; foot" (69); *ğešmax* "cross, pass" (70); *išmax* "drink" (73); *išmäli* "drink (n.)" (73); *öšmax* "weigh, measure" (77) - with the dropping of the preceding *l* [cf. (15.6)]; *saš* "hair" (78); *sašmax* "stag" (78); *sešmax* "choose" (79); *slšma* "dung" (79); *ušmax* "fly" (83); *üc ~ üš* "three" (83).

(7.2) The symbol *z* is used for the voiced counterpart of *c*:

(7.2 a) At the absolute anlaut this affricate is observed:

in genuine words: *zırılmax* "tear (vi.); be torn" (87); *zırmax* "tear (vt.)" (87); *zıızmax* "scratch" (87); *zozux* "young (n.)" (87);

in loanwords from Persian: *zam* "glass" (86); *zan* "life" (86); *zänävar* "animal" (86); *zäng* "war" (86); *zängäl* "forest" (86); *zävan* "young (n.)" (86); *ziyär* "liver" (87); *zuval* "sack" (87); *züžä* "chicken" (87);

in words of ultimately Arabic origin: *zaalib* "interesting" (86); *zäabä* "box" (86); *zädd* "ancestor" (86); *zäwab* "answer; reply" (86); *zäza* "punishment" (86); *zäzirä* "island" (86); *zonüb* "south" (87); *zümä* "Friday" (87); *zür gälmax* "fit" (87).

(7.2 b) *z* is also observed in the middle of the words:

in genuine words, e.g. *ämzäx* "breast" (60); *bazi* "sister" (62); *biriminzi*, *birinzi* "first" (62); *gezä* "night" (69); *goza* "old, aged; old age" (69); *inzi* "sore" (73); *uzuz* "cheap" (83); *zozux* "young (n.)" (87);

in Persian loanwords: *pänzärä* "window" (77); *züžä* "chicken"

(87);

in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin: *finzan* "cup" (68); *sizill* "name" (80); *tazir* "merchant" (81); *täzzgüb elämax* "be startled" (81).

(7.2 c) *z* at the absolute auslaut of the word:

in genuine words: *äz olmax* "be hungry" (61) - *z* in this word is recorded only in the intervocalic position; *ouz* "palm" (77); *uz* "tip, point" (83);

in words of ultimately Arabic origin: *mouz* "wave" (75); *möhtäz olmax* "need" (75).

(7.2 d) In one genuine word variation in the quality of the intervocalic affricates *z* ~ *c* is observed: *nezä* "how, what kind of" (76); *neccä* "how much" (76); *necä* in: *saat necä di(r)* "What time is it?" (78); *necädana* "how many" (76).

8. Palatalized consonants: *ǵ*, *k̄*, *x̄*:

The signs *ǵ*, *k̄*, *x̄* denote the palatalized consonants. Their non-palatalized equivalents are: *g*, *x* [cf. (Foy I 175, 176)].

(8.1) Palatalized voiced stop *ǵ*:

(8.1 a) *ǵ* in the word-initial position:

of genuine words, e.g. *ǵälän* "next" (70); *ǵämi* "ship" (70); *ǵätirmax* "put in" (70); *ǵetmax* "go" (70); *ǵiimax* "wear" (70); *ǵinä* "again; yet, still" (70); *ǵöbäk* "navel" (71); *ǵözäl* "beautiful" (71); *ǵündüz* "day" (71);

of Persian loanwords: *ǵärdänbät* "necklace" (70); *ǵirdä* "round; circle" (70); *ǵiriftär* "busy" (70); *ǵuman elämax* "think" (71); *ǵül* "flower" (71).

In general palatalized *ǵ* occurs in proximity to palatal vowels. In some genuine words the loss of the palatalization of a vowel, in proximity to *ǵ* is observed: *ǵorä* "for" (70), but cf. *ona ǵorä* "therefore" (76); *ǵovärcin* "pigeon" (70); *ǵozättämax* "raise" (71), cf. *ǵozättämax* "wait" (71). In some instances the initial *ǵ* occurs in genuine words in proximity to velar vowels: *ǵalmax* "live, dwell; stay, to be" (68), cf. *galmax* "remain" (68); *ǵapmax* "bite" (70); *ǵırax* "bank (of river)" (70); *ǵı(r)x* "forty" (70); *ǵoxmax* "fear" (70); *ǵurulux växti* "dry season" (71), but cf. *gurumax* "dry; wither" (70); *ǵuyrux* "tail" (71).

(8.1 b) *ǵ* is also observed in the middle of words:

in genuine words: *beǵin* "brain" (62); *calǵi* "song" (64); *cigin* "shoulder" (64) - in this word the intervocalic *ǵ* can be dropped: *ciinä almax* "shoulder" (64), cf. (15.8); *düǵi* "rice; paddy plant" (67); *düǵünnämax* "tie, bind" (67); *düzǵän* "honest" (67); *ıǵlanmıš* "stinking" (72); *ıǵlı* "stinking" [cf. *ıy* "smell", *ıy vermax* "smell" (73)]; *kölǵä* "shadow" (74); *orgätmax* "teach" (77); *ösǵürmä* "cough" (77); *söyünǵän* "happy" (80); *yünǵul* "light" (86);

in the Persian loanword *xošǵıl* "pretty, beautiful" (84) the word with an initial *ǵ* is the second part of the compound word.

(8.1 c) At the absolute auslaut *ǵ* is observed only in loanwords from Persian: *räng* ~ *räk* "colour" (78); *tüng* "jar" (82); *zäng* ~ *zäk* "bell" (86); *zäng* "war" (86). These examples indicate, that the word-final *ǵ* occurs only in the cluster *nǵ* which can be reduced to *x̄*, with an intermediate stage: **nk̄*, cf. (8.2 c) and (8.3 c).

(8.2) Palatalized voiceless stop *k̄*:

(8.2 a) At the absolute anlaut of words *k̄* occurs:

in genuine words, in proximity to original palatal vowels, e.g.: *k̄äsmäx* "cut; cease; stop" (73); *kicix* ~ *kucuk* "small, little" (74); *kim* "who" (74); *kölǵä* "shadow" (74); *köpük* "bubble" (74); *körpä* "child" (74); *kül* "ash" (74). In words: *kox* "root" (74); *kucuk* "small, little" (74) the vowel in proximity to a palatal consonant is submitted to depalatalization. In one word, however, the occurrence of palatalized *k̄* remains unclear: *kuti* "box" (74), cf. (8.1 a);

in Persian loanwords: *kayaz* "paper; letter" (73); *k̄ar* "deaf" (73); *k̄armät* "official" (73); *k̄äf* "bubble" (73); *k̄äman* "bow" (73); *k̄ämärbät* "belt" (73); *käs* in: *här käs* "each one" (72); *kif* "bag" (74); *kisä* "sack" (74); *kör* "blind" (74); *köhnä* "old" (74); *kömax* *elämax* "help" (74); *küt* "dull" (74); *küzä* "pot" (74);

in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin: *k̄aamilän* "at all" (73); *k̄afi olmax* "suffice" (73); *k̄asıl* "poor" (73); *k̄eflänmax* "get drunken" [sic!] (74); *kibrit* "match" (74); *kifir* "dirty; ugly" (74); *kitab* "book" (74).

(8.2 b) Word-medial *k̄* occurs:

in genuine words: *äxincılıx* "cultivation" (60); *bärkıtmax* "fasten" (62); *hanksi* ~ *hankisi* "which" (71); *iki* "two" (72); in one word as a geminate: *säkkiz* "eight" (79);

in loanwords from Persian: *cünki* "because" (64); *šākār* "sugar" (81); *šikār* "hunting" (81); as a geminate in *yekḵā* "big; rough" (85); *yeḵšāmbā* "Sunday" (85);

in borrowings of ultimately Arabic origin: *fīkr* *elämax* "think", *fīkr* *vermax* "notice" (68); *hākīm* "doctor" (72); *hekayāt* "tale" (72); *mäktāb* "school" (75); *mämlākāt* "country" (75); *šākil* "picture; shape" (81);

in one loanword from Russian: *banka* "pot" (61) - as the etymon of this word contains the non-palatal *k*, the occurrence of *ḵ* is here unclear.

(8.2 c) At the absolute auslaut this consonant is observed only in three words:

in one genuine word *bork* ~ *boḵ* "hat" (63) - the cluster *rk* can be reduced to *ḵ*, cf. (8.1 c), (8.3 c);

in one loanword from Persian: *cirk* "filth; pus" (64) - in the same cluster *rk*, cf. *cirkīn* "dirty; ugly" (64);

in one borrowing of ultimately Arabic origin: *šakk* *elämax* "suspect" (81) - in this word the final *k* has been preserved as a geminate.

Generally word-final *k* seems to be changed into *ḵ*. At the absolute auslaut of the word: *göy* "grass; sky; blue; green; vegetable" **k* > *y* [cf. (Foy I 190)].

(8.3) Palatalized voiceless sibilant *ḵ*:

(8.3 a) At the absolute anlaut palatal *ḵ* is not observed.

(8.3 b) Word-medially *ḵ* is observed in genuine words: *äḵmax* "plant" (61); *cäḵmax* "pull; draw; weigh; measure; carry" (64); *tiḵmä* "sewing" (82), *tiḵmax* "sew" (82);

the same consonant occurs in a loanword *döḵtür* "doctor" (66).

(8.3 c) At the absolute auslaut *ḵ* is observed in many genuine words, e.g. *ämzäḵ* "breast" (60); *ärkäḵ* "male" (60); *biläzäḵ* "bracelet" (62); *coräḵ* "bread" (64); *diräḵ* "pole, stick; pillar" (66); *dirsäḵ* "elbow" (66); *inäḵ* "cow" (73); *pišäḵ* "cat" (78); *sümüḵ* "bone" (80); *tütäḵ* "flute" (82); *uräḵ* "heart; mind, heart" (83).

In one genuine word *boḵ* ~ *bork* "hat" (63) and in two loans from Persian: *räḵ* ~ *räng* "colour" (78); *zäḵ* ~ *zäng* "bell" (86) word-final *ḵ* is a result of the reduction of the consonant clusters, cf. (8.1 c) and (8.2 c).

The other loanwords of Persian origin with final *ḵ* are:

dünbäḵ "drum" (67); *nazīḵ* "thin" (76); *täḵ* "bottom; alone" (82); *xuräḵ* "food; meal" (84).

ḵ at the absolute auslaut occurs also in one loanword of Arabic origin: *mübaaräḵ di (dur)* "congratulations" (75).

9. Consonants at the absolute anlaut:

(9.1) Word-initial voiced stops: *b*, *d*, *g*:

(9.1 a) In M. Stachowski's index many genuine words with initial voiced stop *b* occur, e.g. *baarsax* "guts" (61); *baba* "ancestor" (61); *balix* "fish" (61); *barmax* "finger" (61); *bašga* "different" (61); *bašlanmax* "begin (vi.)" (61); *batmax* "sink" (62); *bänzär* "shape" (62); *baydax* "flag" (62); *begin* "brain" (62); *beš* "five" (62); *birä* "flea" (62); *birläšmax* "gather" (62); *boyaz* "throat" (63); *boy* "length" (63); *bulut* "cloud" (63); *buz* "ice" (63);

b occurring at the absolute anlaut of loanwords:

of Persian origin: *bahali* "expensive" (61); *bahar* "spring" (61); *bazar* "market" (62); *bäali* "yes" (62); *becara* "pity" (62); *bel* "hoe" (62);

of ultimately Arabic origin: *bäazi* "some" (62); *bädän* "body; trunk" (62). Compare (Foy I 189).

(9.1 b) Word-initial *d* is observed in a great number of genuine words, e.g. *dad* "taste" (64); *day* "mountain" (64); *dädä* "father" (65); *därax* "comb" (65); *demax* "say" (65); *dırmašmax* "climb" (66); *dırnax* "nail" (66); *dib* "beside; bottom" (66); *diz* "knee" (66); *dodax* "lip" (66); *duman* "fog" (67); *duz* "salt" (67); *dünän* "yesterday" (67). Notice that in genuine words: *daš* "stone" (65) and *doušan* "rabbit" (66) voiced *d* occurs near to voiceless *š*.

Initial *d* occurs also in Persian loanwords, e.g. *dana* "Stück" in: *necädana* "how many" (76); *därya* "sea" (65); *däšt* "field" (65); *dost* "ally" (66); *duvar* "wall" (67);

in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin, e.g. *daava* "quarrel; war" (64); *daayrä* "circle" (64); *döwlätti* "rich" (66). Compare (Foy I 189).

(9.1 c) Genuine material confirming the voiced initial *g* is plentiful. *g* is here an equivalent of palatalized *k*; non-palatal unvoiced *k* is not observed in this position [cf. (Foy I 188)], e.g. *gab* "plate; jar" (68); *galin* "thick; dense; stout" (68); *gapi* "door" ~ *gäpi* "gate" (68); *gärä* "black" (69); *gärin* "stomach" (69); *geyiš*

"belt" (69); *gezä* "night" (69) - but cf. *gezäz xeyr olsun* "good night" (70); *gıl* "(shame-)hair; wool" (69); *gol* "arm" (69); *gu(r)t* "insect" (69);

g at the absolute anlaut in Persian loans: *gablama* "cooking-pot, pan" (68); *gäšäx* "pretty, beautiful" (69); *geyci* "scissors" (69);

initial *g* in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin: *gäbir* "grave" (68); *gäbul elämax* "receive" (68) - cf. *yäbul elämax* "allow" (71); *gädär* "about, almost" (68); *gädim zäman* "ancient time" (68); *gäfäs* "cage" (69); *gäliz* "dense" (69); *gäyy elämax* "vomit" (69); *gırmızı* "red" (69); *giäs elämax* "compare" (69); *giimät* "price" (69); *gowl vermax* "promise" (69); *gurban* "victim" (69); *guvvätli* "stout" (70).

(9.2) In such genuine words as: *hank(i)si* ~ *hansi* "which" (71); *hara* "where; which way", *harda* "where"; *hardan* "which way" (71); *havax* "when" (71) word-initial *h* is an equivalent of non-palatal unvoiced *k*. This phenomenon is observed sporadically [cf. (Foy I 188)].

(9.3) Word-initial *m* in genuine words:

In M. Stachowski's index only four genuine words with an initial *m* are observed: *mämä* "breast" (75); *män* "I" (75); *min* "thousand" (75); *minmax* "rid" (75); notice that these words contain the *m* or *n*-consonants [cf. (Foy I 178-179)].

(9.4) Unvoiced stops *p* and *t* at the absolute anlaut of genuine words:

(9.4 a) In original words an initial *p* occurs only in some words: *parıldamax* "glitter" (77); *piširmä* "cooking" (78); *picax* "knife" (78); *pišix* "cat" (78); *pox* "dung" (78); *pul* "money", *pulli* "rich", *pulsuz* "poor" (78); *püflämax* "blow" (78) [cf. (Foy I 189)].

(9.4 b) Word-initial unvoiced stop *t* occurs in many genuine words, e.g. *taxmax* "attach" (81); *tär* "sweat" (81); *tixmax* "sew" (82); *tixmä* "sewing" (82); *titrätmax* "shake" (82); *toxümax* "knit, weave" (82); *toprax* "earth" (82); *tuman* "trousers" (82); *tüssi* "smoke" (82); *tux* "hair; shame hair; feather; wool" (82); *tütäx* "flute" (82) [cf. (Foy I 188)].

10. Consonants at the absolute auslaut:

(10.1) Word-final *b*, *d*, *g*:

(10.1 a) In two genuine words is observed a final stop *-b*: *gab* "jar; plate" (68); *bošgab* "plate" (63); *dib* "beside; bottom" (66). Compare the only genuine words: *ip* "rope; string" (73) and *sap* "thread; string" (78) with unvoiced *p* at the absolute auslaut.

(10.1 b) Voiced stop *-d* is observed in two genuine words: *ad* "first name" (58); *dad* "taste" (64). Compare genuine words with the final unvoiced *t*: *bit* "louse" (63); *bulut* "cloud" (63); *it* "dog" (73); *ot I* "grass"; *ot II* "fire" (77); *süt* "milk" (80).

(10.1 c) Word final stop *g* is observed only in loanwords of ultimately Arabic origin: *mäšrig* "east" (75); *muväffäg olmax* "succeed" vs. *muväffäg olmamax* "fail" (75).

In genuine words word-final sibilant *γ* is observed: *ay* "white" (58); *äyay ältindä goymax* "tread" (61); *say* "right" (78); *yay* "oil" (84) [cf. (Foy I 190)].

11. The proximity of voiced and unvoiced consonants:

(11.1) In some genuine words the clusters composed of voiced and voiceless consonants are observed: *äsgırma* "sneeze" (60); *bašga* "different" (61); *bošgab* "plate" (63); *garlıšga* "ant" (68); *ösğürmä* "cough" (77).

The same phenomenon occurs in one loanword of Persian origin: *ayšamiz xeyr olsun* "good evening" (59) vs. *axšam* "evening" (59).

(11.2) The verbal causative suffix *-dir/-dır, -där* is observed in such genuine words as: *basdırmax* "put out" (61); *bitiştirmax* "attach" (63); *cöndärmax* "turn to" (64); *döndärmax* "turn to" (66); *sındırmax* "crush; crack; break; destroy" (79); *tärpəşdirmax* "move" (82); *yandırmax* "light" (84); *yapiştirmax* "attach" (84); *yapiştirmax* "smear" (84). These examples can indicate an attempt at notation of the consonants pronounced with slight voicing. Compare also *gışgırmax* "cry" (69); *dadsız* "untasty" (64); *ätđi* ~ *äđđi* "fat" (60).

12. Intervocalic x:

(12.1) In the dialect of Tabriz an unvoiced, non-palatalized stop *k* is not observed [cf. (Foy I 187, 192)]. *x* occurs in place of word-medial and word-final *k*. At the absolute anlaut *g* occurs in place of *k*.

Generally, in genuine words, intervocalic *x* is observed in the words with velar vowels, e.g. *oxumax* "sing; read" (77); *yaxın* "near" (85); *yuxuli* "sleepy" (86).

(12.2) Joining the suffixes with an initial vowel, to the words with a word-final *x*, preceded by a vowel - this *x* is transformed into *γ* [cf. (Foy I 187)]: *cax* "time; period" (64), *sāhār cayı* "a.m." (79); *gulax* "ear" (69), *balıxguläyi* "shellfish" (61); *guşaya almax* "embrace", cf. *guşaxlamax* id. (70); *işıx* "light" (73), *ıldırım işıyı* "lightning" (72), *gari-nänä-işıyı* "rainbow" (68).

Palatal *x* in the same position seems to be changed into *y*: *urāx* "heart; mind" (83), *uräyi nazıx* "gentle" (82), but this is the only example.

(12.3) Final *x* is changed into *γ* not only in the formation of new words by means of the addition of suffixes with an initial vowel, but also in compositions with other words with an initial vowel: **ayax* "Fuß" (59), *äyay ältindä goymax* "tread" (61); *yorulux* almax "rest", but cf. *yorulux alma* "rest" (85). Quoted above lection **ayax* can be explained by the analogy of *yorulux*. The exception is: *cox* "many; often" (64), *coxalmax* "increase" (64).

13. Assimilation of consonants:

In some words the assimilation of consonants is observed. This phenomenon is generally found in the derivatives, on the morphological boundary between the stem and the suffix.

(13.1) Progressive assimilation:

(13.1 a) *t - l > t - t*: *döwlätti* "rich" (66); *ğozättämax* "wait" (71); *ğozättämax* "raise" (71); *ottutma* "fire; burning" (77); *särittämax* "wind" (79); *somuttamax* "suck" (80);

(13.1 b) *d - r > d - d*: *-dirmax ~ -didmax* "let one (go)"; *Kausativsuf.* (66);

(13.1 c) *n - l > n - n*: *änni* "wide; thick" (60); cf. *änsiz* "narrow; thin" (60); *bannamax* "sing" (61) (cf. Pers. *bān* "cry"); *dügünnämax* "tie; bind" (67) [cf. (Foy I 183, 193)].

(13.2) Regressive assimilation:

(13.2 a) *l - n > n - n*: *ann* "forehead" (59) - it raises no doubt that this form should look like *annV* (*annV* < **alın + V*) where *V* denotes a vowel of the possessive suffix - cf. (ESTJa I 146), (Foy I 179, 193);

(13.2 b) *l - t > *t - t > t*: *atmiş* "sixty" (59) [cf. *alti* "six" (59)];

(13.2 c) *d - n > n - n*: in the Ablative suffix: *-dan/-dän ~ -nan/-nän* "from; than" (65) - cf. (Foy I 179, 193);

(13.2 d) *t - d > d - d*: *ättdi ~ äddi* "fat" (60) - this form seems to go back to **ätli > *ätti*, cf. *ät* "flesh; meat" (61); cf. (Foy I 184), cf. also (11.2);

(13.2 e) *t - s > s - s*: *tüssi* "smoke" (82).

14. Metathesis of consonants:

(14.1) In some genuine words and in some loan-words the metathesis of neighbouring consonants is observed [cf. (Foy I 180)]:

in genuine words: *äsgırma* "sneeze" (60) [cf. (ESTJa I 194)]; *orgätmax* "teach" (77) [cf. (ESTJa I 496-498)]; *ösğürmä* "cough" (77) [cf. (ESTJa I 637); (VEWT 370 and 378)]; *tärpäsdirmax* "move", *tärpäsmax* "move; sway", *tärpätmax* "shake" (82) [cf. (ESTJa III 200-203)];

in one loanword of ultimately Arabic origin: *arvat* "wife; woman" (59), *är-arvat* "husband and wife" (60);

in one loanword of Old-Greek origin, widely spread in Turkic languages: *körpi* "bridge" (74), cf. an Osmanic form *körpü* quoted by Räsänen (VEWT 292).

(14.2) In one instance occurs a word-initial metathesis of a consonant and a vowel: *yuxuli* "sleepy", *yüxi* "dream" (86) [cf. (ESTJa I 579)].

15. Dropping of consonants:

(15.1) Dropping of *n*:

(15.1 a) Elision of *n* in consonant clusters *nc > C*:

nr > r: *tari* "God" (81); *sora* "afterwards; next; then" (80);

*nd > *d > t*: in Persian loanwords: *dästäbät* "bracelet" (65); *ğardänbät* "necklace" (70); *kämärbät* "belt" (73); *känd ~ kät* "village" (73); *karmät ~ karmäd* "official" (73); *tüt* "hot; sharp" (82);

ng > x: in Persian loanwords: *ğäşäx* "pretty, beautiful" (69); *räng ~ räx* "colour" (78); *zäng ~ zäx* "bell" (86); compare words with the preserved cluster *ng*: *tüng* "jar" (82); *ğäng* "war" (86);

nč > *č > š: *garlšga* "ant" (68) [cf. (VEWT 238)].

(15.1 b) Dropping of *n* in plural forms of pronouns: *bular* "these" (63) and *olar* "they" (76). Forms *ona ġorä* "therefore", *onun ücün* "therefore" (76), *onda* "when" (77) seem to indicate, that forms: *bular*, *olar* are not derivatives formed by the suffix *-lar* added to stems: *bu*, *o*.

(15.2) Dropping of *r*:

(15.2 a) Elision of *r* in genuine words is observed in clusters *rc > C*:

*rč > *č > š*: *boš almax* "borrow", *boš vermax* "lend" (63) - I can not agree with M. Stachowski who placed these words in the entry *boš* "vacant" (63). Verbs: *boš almax* and *boš vermax* go back to the word: **borč ~ *borš* [cf. (ĖSTJa II 196)];

rk > x: *bork ~ box* "hat" (63);

**rk > x*: *ġl(r)x* "forty" (70); *ġoxmax* "fear" (70);

rt > t: *dö(r)t* "four" (66); *gu(r)t ~ gut* "insect" (69); *ġizatmax* "roast; grill" (69); *ötmax* "cover" (77); *yäddän cixatmax* "forget" (85).

(15.2 b) In one genuine word the dropping of syllable-final *r* is observed: *otumax* "sit" (77).

(15.2 c) Elision of word-final *r* occurs: in the predicative suffix for the 3rd person singular: *saat necä di(r)* "What time is it?" (78); *yox di (dur)* "not" (85);

in Persian conjunction: *äyä* "if" (61);

in composition with the Arabic word *ġädär* "about, almost" (68): *näggädä* "how much; how many" (76).

(15.3) Dropping of *y*:

(15.3 a) Elision of *y* at the absolute anlaut of genuine words [cf. (Foy I 190)]: *ıldırım* "thunder" (72) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 281)]; *il* "year" (73) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 275)]; *ilan* "snake" (73) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 277)]; *ulduz* "star" (82) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 279)]; *üräx* "heart; mind" (83), *uräyi nazik* "gentle" (82) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 270)]; *üz* "face; surface" (83) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 259)]; *üzmax* "swim; float" (83) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 261)]; *üzük* "ring" (83) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 261)]; *uva ~ yuva* "nest" (83) [cf. (ĖSTJa IV 239)].

Compare the genuine words with initial *y*, e.g. *yumurta* "egg" (86); *yuxari cäxmax* "draw up" (86); *yüz* "hundred" (86).

(15.3 b) The absence of *y* in the middle of the word is

observed in the verb *elämax* "do" (67), in compositons with this verb, e.g. *šuxum eliyän* "plough" (81) [cf. (ĖSTJa I 248)].

(15.3 c) In some words of ultimately Arabic origin the absence of word-medial *y* is observed, e.g. *ġiäs elämax* "foster" (69); *keflänmax* "get drunken" [!] (74).

(15.3 d) The absence of word-medial *y* is observed in the Dative case of genuine words: *niä* "why" (76); *icäriä älmax* "put in" (72).

(15.3 e) Elision of word-final *y* is observed in the genuine word *buḡda* "barley, wheat" (63) [cf. (ĖSTJa II 230)].

(15.4) Dropping of intervocalic *y*:

In genuine words the elision of intervocalic *y* is observed: *baarsax* "guts" (61) [cf. (ĖSTJa II 22)]. The result of this elision is the long *a* (*aa*). K. Haneda uses the notation of two vowels side by side probably for some different sounds. M. Stachowski (p. 57) preserved the notation of double vowels without changes: "Der Vergleich mit schriftaserb. Formen läßt auf jeden Fall vermuten, daß der Lautwert der Doppelschreibung nicht immer gleich ist, z.B. *aaxir* (*ââkhir*) "end" = schriftaserb. *axir id.*, *bääzi* (*baazi*) "some" = schriftaserb. *bä'zi id.*, *ġimät* (*qiimat*) "price" = schriftaserb. *ġimät id.*, usw. Aus diesem Grunde habe ich mich entschlossen, in der hier angewandten Transkription die Doppelschreibung zu bewahren."

The other example of the above-mentioned elision is: *dourdan ~ do(γ)urdan* "really" (66). Compare the examples with intervocalic *y*: *boyaz* "throat" (63); *doḡuz* "pig" (66); *doḡulmax* "be born" (66); *oḡul* "son" (76).

(15.5) Elision of *k'* - is observed in one genuine word: *hansi ~ hank'(i)si* "which" (71).

(15.6) Dropping of *l* is observed in genuine words: *öšmax* "weigh, measure" (77) [cf. (ĖSTJa I 529)]; *düzätmax* "cure; mend, repair; make; built" (67) [cf. (ĖSTJa III 309)];

(15.7) Elision of word-final *t* is observed in one word of ultimately Arabic origin: *vax ~ växt* "hour" (83); *bevax(t)* "late" (62); *ovax(t)* "when" (77); *havax* "when" (71) [cf. (Foy I 191)].

(15.8) Dropping of *ġ* occurs in the intervocalic position: *ciinä almax* "shoulder" (64) cf. *cigin* "shoulder" (64); *yein* "fast" (85).

16. The variation l ~ r:

The variation l ~ r is observed in one genuine word *däyir* "not" (65).

17. Consonant clusters:

In some loanwords consonant clusters which are foreign to Turkic languages are observed, e.g. *desambr* "December" (65); *ezn vermax* "allow" (67); *fikr elämax* "think" (68); *oktobr* "October" (76); *septambr* "September" (79); *sifr* "zero" (79); *üzr istämax* "apologize" (83); *vässl elämax* "connect" (83).

18. Geminated consonants:

In genuine words geminated consonants are observed: *dillax* "pubes" (66); *dogguz* "nine" (66); *gıssa* "short" (69); *issi* "hot; warm" (73); *säkkiz* "eight" (79); *yeddi* "seven" (86) [cf. (Foy I 176-177)].

19. Special cases:

(19.1) *buy* "moustache" (63) - the same shape of this word with the short labial u is proved in Sevortjan's vocabulary for the dialectal Azerbaijani (ESTJa II 304). Foy quotes the form *by* "Schnurrbart" "und nicht b̄y!" (Foy I 187).

(19.2) *cilo* ~ *pilo* "rice" (64) - both Persian forms with initial c and p are recorded in the dialect of Tabriz.

(19.3) *gonši* "neighbour" (69) - the more archaic form is here preserved, cf. Turkish *konşu* - archaic, same as *komşu* id. (Redhouse 673); cf. also (VEWT 279).

(19.4) *soyux* "cold" (80) - the only example of such adaptation of the voiced spirant γ in the word with velar vowels. Generally y occurs in the words with palatal vowels, e.g. *däyär* "price" (65).

(19.5) *tüpürçäk* "saliva", *tüpürmax* "spit" (82), cf. **tükir*: Trkm. *tüjkir* "plevat'", Čag. etc. *tükür* "spucken, speien", Bar. *tügür*, Kom. *tüpkür*, Čag. *tüfkür*, East Turkic *tüpür* (VEWT 504).

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