PRF	Perfect
PROHIB	Prohibitive
PST	Past
PT	particle
PTP	participle
PURP	Purpose/Manner converb
Q	question marker
REPET	Repetitive
SBDIR	Subdirective case
SBEL	Subelative case
SBESS	Subessive case
SBST	substantivizer
SRDIR	Superdirective case
SREL	Superelative case
SRESS	Superessive case
TEMP	Temporal converb

Other abbreviations that are used occasionally:

A.	Arabic
Ch.	chapter
intr.	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
lit.	literally
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
obl.	oblique stem
P.	Persian
T.	Turkic
tr.	transitive
V	verb

A and *U* also represent archiphonemes:
A stands for a low vowel, *U* stands for a high vowel.

Capital letters are sometimes used to represent NP arguments, sometimes with a subscript indicating case, e.g. A, T, E_{DAT}, L_{POESS}. Like mathematical variables, these letters are strictly speaking meaningless. However, as a mnemonic help for the reader, non-arbitrary letters were often chosen that can be thought of as standing for certain semantic roles:

A:	"agent"
T:	"theme"
E:	"experiencer"
S:	"stimulus"
L:	"location"
R:	"recipient"

See 1.3.4. for abbreviations of the sources of the example sentences.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. The Lezgian language and its genetic affiliation

Lezgian is spoken by about 400,000 people in southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan in the eastern Caucasus. (See 2.1. for details on Lezgian speakers.) Lezgian has been written since 1928, first in the Latin alphabet, from 1938 onward in the Cyrillic alphabet. This grammar describes the standard language, which is based on the lowland Güne dialect. (See 2.2. for more on Lezgian dialects, and 2.3. for more information on the status of Lezgian and the standard language.)

Lezgian is a member of the Lezgic branch of the Nakho-Daghestanian family of languages. The family tree of Nakho-Daghestanian is shown in (1) (following Hewitt 1981a:197).

(1)   Nakho-Daghestanian languages

Nakh languages
Chechen, Ingush, Tsova-Tush (Bats)

Daghestanian languages

Avaric languages

Avar

Andic languages
Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Akhvakh, Bagvalal, Tindi, Chamalal

Tsezic languages
Tsez, Khvarshi, Hinukh, Bezhta, Hunzib

Lakic languages
Lak, Dargwa

Lezgic languages
Lezgian, Archi, Tabasaran, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, Kryz, Khinalug, Udi

Comparative studies on Nakho-Daghestanian languages include Bokarev (1961), Giginejšvili (1977), Kibrik & Kodzasov (1988), (1990). Comparative studies of the Lezgic languages include Alekseev (1980) and Schulze (1983).

The Nakho-Daghestanian family is also sometimes called "North-East Caucasian" or "East Caucasian". Such terms are avoided here because they could strengthen the still widespread misconception (see, e.g., Voegelin & Voegelin 1966, Ruhlen 1987) that the Nakho-Daghestanian family is part of a larger "Caucasian" family, comprising also the Kartvelian ("South Caucasian") family and the Abkhazo-Adyghean ("North-West Caucasian") family. However, the main feature that these families have in common, besides being spoken in the Caucasus region, is that they are not related to any

of the neighboring larger families (Indo-European, Turkic, Afro-Asiatic), although they also share a few typological features (ergativity, ejective consonants). Of course, it cannot be excluded that the Nakho-Daghestanian, Kartvelian, and Abkhazo-Adyghean languages will some day turn out to be related after all, but so far a genetic relationship has not been proved.

1.2. An overview of Lezgian grammar

This section is an introduction to the typologically most striking features of Lezgian. Detailed information on each topic can be found in later chapters.

1.2.1. Phonology and morphophonemics

Lezgian has six phonemic vowels which form an asymmetric system which is typologically rather unusual. Distinctive length of /a/ and /æ/ is marginal.

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
i & y & u \\
e & & \\
& æ & a \\
\end{array}
$$

With its 54 members, the Lezgian consonant inventory is quite rich. There are 34 occlusives, in six places of articulation (labial, dental, dental sibilant, postalveolar sibilant, velar, uvular) and four series (voiced, voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiceless ejective). Dental, velar, and uvular obstruents have a labialized and a non-labialized variant.

b	d					g	g^w		
p^h	t^h	t^{hw}	ts^h	ts^{hw}	$tʃ^h$	k^h	k^{hw}	q^h	q^{hw}
p	t	t^w	ts	ts^w	tʃ	k	k^w	q	q^w
p'	t'	t'^w	ts'	ts'^w	tʃ'	k'	k'^w	q'	q'^w
			z	z^w	ʒ			ʁ	$ʁ^w$
f			s	s^w	ʃ	x		χ	$χ^w$
m	n								
	l								
w	r			j				h	ʔ

Until recently, Lezgian had only syllables of the structure CV, CVC, and CVCC. The last type occurs only at the end of a morpheme (e.g. /wertʃ^h/ 'hen', /halt^h-zawa/ 'meets'), and morpheme-internal consonant clusters (CVC-CV...) are restricted to a few types in native words.

Quite recently Lezgian has undergone a sound change of vowel syncope that eliminated high vowels in pretonic position between voiceless obstruents, e.g.

/tʃ^hu'χun/	>	/tʃ^hχun/	'comb'
/sy'pek^h/	>	/spek^h/	'mulberry'
/k^hi'tʃ'ɛ/	>	/k^hjtʃ'ɛ/	'afraid'
/sit^hχa/	>	/st^hχa/	'brother'

As a result of this change, which lacks uniformity and is apparently still in progress, a large number of new morpheme-initial consonant clusters has arisen. In addition, the syncopated vowels often leave the preceding consonant labialized (in the case of syncopated /u/) or palatalized (in the case of /i/) or both (in the case of /y/), so that a whole new class of palatalized and labialized-palatalized voiceless obstruents has come into being. This change complicates the description of Lezgian phonology considerably.

Another prominent feature of Lezgian is the occurrence of various consonant alternations in nouns. The Absolutive Singular form, which ends in zero, often differs from the other forms, e.g.

Word-final Ejective Aspiration

/ne't'er/	'lice'	/net^h/	'louse'

Word-final Ejective Voicing

/t'a'p'uni/	'block (Erg.)'	/t'ab/	'block (Abs.)'

Word-final Unaspirated Voicing

/tse'k^wer/	'ants'	/tseg^w/	'ant'

Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration

/tsyk^h/	'flower'	/ts^hᵁk^wer/	'flowers'

Lezgian also shows palatal (/e, i, y/ vs. /a, u/) and labial (/u, y/ vs. /i/) vowel harmony, but only in the first two syllables of a word. For instance, the oblique stem suffix -Uni has the alternants /-ini/, /-uni/, /-yni/:

ric'	ric'-ini	'bowstring'
leq'	leq'-ini	'liver'
q'ük	q'ük-üni	'pitchfork'
zarb	zarb-uni	'speed'
tur	tur-uni	'sword'

Word stress is generally on the second syllable of the root. Loanwords from Arabic may also be stressed on the third syllable.

ak'ázarun	'bow'
čubáruk	'swallow'
hukumát	'government' (< Arabic hukuumat)

Suffixes are of two types: stress-neutral and stress-attracting. Stress-neutral suffixes do not bear stress. Since roots are commonly monosyllabic and quite a few stress-neutral suffixes may follow a root, polysyllabic words stressed on the first syllable are not uncommon, e.g.

šéẋ-zawa	'is crying'
hált-nawa-j-bur-u-kaj	'about those who have met'

Most stress-attracting suffixes can follow only monosyllabic roots, resulting in words stressed on the second syllable.

sir-ér	'secrets'
wirt'-édi	'honey (Ergative case)'
fe-jí	'having gone'

1.2.2. Morphology

Lezgian morphology is overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs can be easily distinguished by morphological criteria.

Nouns are inflected for number (Singular, Plural), case (Absolutive, Ergative, Genitive, Dative, Essive, Elative, Directive), and localization (Ad, Sub, Post, Super, In). The locative cases Essive, Elative, and Directive occur in combination with the localizations (Ad-essive, Sub-elative, Super-directive, etc.). All cases other than the Absolutive are based on a special oblique stem whose suffix is idiosyncratic for many nouns. An example (*hül* 'sea'):

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	*hül*	*hül-er*
Ergative	*hül-i*	*hül-er-i*
Genitive	*hül-i-n*	*hül-er-i-n*
Dative	*hül-i-z*	*hül-er-i-z*
Adessive	*hül-i-w*	*hül-er-i-w*
Adelative	*hül-i-waj*	*hül-er-i-waj*
Addirective	*hül-i-wdi*	*hül-er-i-wdi*
Subessive	*hül-i-k*	*hül-er-i-k*
Subelative	*hül-i-kaj*	*hül-er-i-kaj*
Subdirective	*hül-i-kdi*	*hül-er-i-kdi*
Postessive	*hül-i-q^h*	*hül-er-i-q^h*
Postelative	*hül-i-q^{h}aj*	*hül-er-i-q^{h}aj*
Postdirective	*hül-i-q^{h}di*	*hül-er-i-q^{h}di*
Superessive	*hül-e-l*	*hül-er-a-l*
Superelative	*hül-e-laj*	*hül-er-i-laj*
Superdirective	*hül-e-ldi*	*hül-er-a-ldi*
Inessive	*hül-e*	*hül-er-a*
Inelative	*hül-äj*	*hül-er-aj*

The locative cases in combination with the localizations can express various local relations. However, local relations are more often expressed by postpositions, and noun inflections tend to express more abstract relations.

The only inflections of adjectives are the substantivizing suffix *-di* (e.g. *c'iji* 'new', *c'iji-di* 'new one') the adverbial suffixes *-(di)z / -dakaz* (e.g. *jawaš* 'slow', *jawaš-diz* 'slowly').

Verbs are inflected for tense-aspect, negation, several mood forms and various non-finite forms. There are no person-number agreement forms. The most important inflected verb forms are (from *gun* 'give'):

	non-negated	negated
Imperfective	*gu-zwa*	*gu-zwa-č*
Past Imperfective	*gu-zwa-j*	*gu-zwa-č-ir*
Future	*gu-da*	*gu-da-č*
Past Future	*gu-da-j*	*gu-da-č-ir*
Aorist	*ga-na*	*ga-na-č*
Past Aorist	*ga-na-j*	*ga-na-č-ir*
Perfect	*ga-nwa*	*ga-nwa-č*
Past Perfect	*ga-nwa-j*	*ga-nwa-č-ir*
Imperative	*ce /c^{h}e/*	—
Prohibitive	—	*gu-mir*
Optative	*gu-raj*	*ta-gu-raj*
Hortative	*gu-n*	*ta-gu-n*
Masdar	*gu-n*	*ta-gu-n*
Infinitive	*gu-z*	*ta-gu-z*
Imperfective participle	*gu-zwa-j*	*ta-gu-zwa-j*
Future participle	*gu-da-j*	*ta-gu-da-j*
Perfect participle	*ga-nwa-j*	*ta-ga-nwa-j*
Aorist participle	*ga-jí*	*ta-ga-j*
Aorist converb	*ga-na*	*ta-ga-na*
Posterior converb	*gu-daldi*	—
Temporal converb	*ga-ji-la*	*ta-ga-j-la*

There is little derivational morphology in Lezgian. The most important nominal derivational suffix is the abstract suffix *-wal* (*c'iji-wal* 'new-ness'). Verbs can be derived from verbs by means of the causative suffix *-(a)r* (*aǧwaz-un* 'stop (intr.)', *aǧwaz-ar-un* 'stop (tr.)'). Some derivational affixes have been borrowed along with loanwords and are so common that they must be considered Lezgian affixes, e.g. nominal *-či* (e.g. *lawǧa-či* 'proud person'), adjectival *-lu*, *-suz* (e.g. *mešreblu* 'pleasant', *mešrebsuz* 'unpleasant'), verbal *-lamišun* (e.g. *leke-lamišun* 'stain, soil').

1.2.3. Syntax

Word order patterns in Lezgian are overwhelmingly head-final. This order is obligatory in noun phrases (Genitive-noun, adjective-noun, numeral-noun, demonstrative-noun, etc.), adjective phrases, and postpositional phrases, and it is preferred for clauses. However, alongside SOV order other orders are also possible, especially in the spoken language.

The case-marking patterns in clauses is uniformly ergative, as shown in (2) (for notational conventions used in example sentences, see 1.3.4.-5.).

(2) a. *Stxa   k'wal.i-z   xta-na.*
    brother(ABS) house-DAT   return-AOR

    'The brother came back home.'

b. *Wax.a   stxa   k'wal.i-z ragur-na.*
   sister(ERG) brother(ABS) house-DAT send-AOR

'The sister sent the brother home.'

Dative subjects occur with some experiential verbs, e.g.

(3) *Wax.a-z stxa   aku-na.*
    sister-DAT brother(ABS) see-AOR

'The sister saw the brother.'

There is no agreement in Lezgian, neither in noun phrases nor on finite verbs. Personal pronouns are normally used if there are no full noun phrase arguments. (However, these may be omitted if they can be recovered from the context.)

(4) *Ada   abur   k'wal.i-z   ragur-na.*
    she(ERG) they(ABS) house-DAT   send-AOR

'She sent them home.'

Lezgian has practically no rules that change grammatical relations. There is only a derivational suffix *-(a)r* (causative) which turns intransitive verbs into transitive verbs.

Subordinate clauses are normally non-finite, i.e. marked by special subordinating verb forms, and they generally precede the superordinate clause.

Relative clauses make use of the participles, which have no inherent orientation and can therefore be used to relativize almost any constituent.

(5) a. *gada k'wal.i-z ragur-aj ruš*
       [boy house-DAT send-AOP] girl

   'the girl who sent the boy home.'

   b. *ruš.a   k'wal.i-z ragur-aj gada*
      [girl(ERG) house-DAT send-AOP] boy

   'the boy whom the girl sent home'

   c. *ruš.a   gada ragur-aj k'wal*
      [girl(ERG) boy send-AOP] house

   'the house to which the girl sent the boy'

Complement clauses are of three major types: Masdar (verbal noun) complements (6), Infinitival complements (7), and participial complements (8).

(6) *Ča-z   tamaša student-r.i-z   ğalur-un teklif-na.* (S88:155)
    we-DAT [play   student-PL-DAT   show-MSD] propose-AOR

'They proposed to us to perform the play in front of the students.'

(7) *Abur.u-z cl.a-n   gazet.di-z sa gweč'i maqala kti-z*
    they-DAT [wall-GEN paper-DAT   one little article write-INF]

k'an-zawa. (M83:55)
want-IMPF

'They want to write a little article for the wall newspaper.'

(8) *Škola.di č'exi rol' quğwa-zwa-j-di   za   inkar iji-zwa-č.*
    [school(ERG) big role play-IMPF-PTP-SBST] I:ERG denial do-IMPF-NEG

'I don't deny that the school plays an important role.' (DD77,6:15)

Although it is possible to conjoin clauses with the conjunction *wa* 'and', this is avoided in favor of constructions using converbs (non-finite verb forms used for adverbial subordination), e.g.

(9) a. *Ruš elqwe-na q'uluq^hdi kilig-na.* (S88:35)
       girl [turn-AOC] back   look-AOR

   'The girl turned around and looked back.'
   (Lit. 'The girl, having turned around, looked back.')

   b. *Sual-r.i-z   sa fikir-ni   ta-gu-z,   muhman-r.i anžax*
      [question-PL-DAT one thought-even NEG-give-INF] guest-PL(ERG) only

   žawab-ar tikrar-zawa-j. (Q81:112)
   answer-PL repeat-IMPF-PST

   'The guests did not pay attention to the questions and only repeated the answer.' (Or: 'Not paying attention to the questions,...')

Specialized converbs are used for adverbial clauses, e.g.

(10) *Sabir xkwe-daldi čaj hazur že-da.* (S83:61)
     [Sabir return-POSTR] tea ready be-FUT

'The tea will be ready before Sabir comes back.'

(11) *Mäden ačux   q^huwu-r-la,   ča-z wiri-d.a-z*
     [mine   open(PER) REPET-AOP-TEMP] we-DAT all-SBST.SG-DAT

xür-e   k'walax že-da. (HQ89:8)
village-INESS work   be-FUT

'When the mine is reopened, there will be work in the village for all of us.'

(12) *Zun   k'wal-äj   fe-ji-waldi,   Ahmed ata-na.* (G63:13)
     [I:ABS house-INEL go-AOP-IMMANT] Ahmed come-AOR

'As soon as I left the house, Ahmed came.'

Polar questions are marked by the interrogative verb suffix *-ni*, as in (13).

(13) *Farid ata-na-ni?*
     Farid come-AOR-Q

'Has Farid come?'

In parametric questions, the interrogative pronoun is normally in situ and no interrogative verb suffix is used.

(14) *Farid   m u s   ata-na?*
Farid   when   come-AOR

'When did Farid come?'

Comparison of inequality is expressed by marking the standard of comparison in the Superelative case. The adjective is not specifically marked.

(15) *Awar č'al   lezgi   č'al.a-laj   četin   ja.*
Avar   language   Lezgian   language-SREL   difficult   COP

'Avar is more difficult than Lezgian.'

1.3. A user's guide to this grammar

This book is intended as a reference grammar of Lezgian for linguists who wish to learn more about Lezgian grammar as a whole or about particular aspects of it.

Since it was written for linguists, the grammar presupposes familiarity with a large number of fundamental grammatical notions which greatly facilitate the concise formulation of grammatical regularities. However, it contains no framework-specific jargon, idiosyncratic formalisms, or other unnecessary obstacles.

1.3.1. User-friendly features

An attempt has been made to make this grammar maximally user-friendly even for readers who need a particular piece of information (e.g. for a cross-linguistic investigation) and have no time to wade through the whole grammar. This grammar has the following features that make it easy to use as a reference work:

(A) Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses with brackets marking subordinate clauses for better readability (cf. 1.3.5.).

(B) A detailed subject index which, in addition to normal entries referring to places in the book, contains entries that do not occur elsewhere in the book. Such entries are names of grammatical phenomena that do not occur in the language. Thus, looking up the subject index suffices to find out that Lezgian has no passive, no dual, no tones. There are of course no negative statements about these categories in the grammar, and since the mere absence of a category in the index proves nothing, the negative information in the index might be useful.

(C) An index to the example sentences. Since the examples (most of which were taken from original Lezgian texts) usually show other interesting phenomena in addition to the point which they illustrate in the particular place in the text, such an index makes a lot of additional information available. By looking up the number of an example in the index, the reader can find up to twenty more examples elsewhere in the grammar that illustrate the same point.

(D) A more or less complete bibliography of scholarly works on Lezgian. Most of these are not mentioned in the text, but a reader who is interested in further information or different points of view is given the chance to look them up. The subject index simultaneously serves as an index to the bibliography. This step was taken so as not to clutter the text with references that few readers will find useful because most of the publications are difficult to get outside of Daghestan.

(E) An index to the grammatical morphemes of Lezgian.

1.3.2. Structure of the grammar

The structure of this grammar follows the well-established traditional order: phonology — morphology — syntax — texts. This ensures that the amount of information that is presupposed in a given section but comes later in the book is minimized.

The morphological chapters deal with the form and the meaning of the grammatical items of the language. For inflectional categories, the inflection as a whole is first described, followed by a description of the meanings of the individual inflectional categories. For derivational categories, form and meaning are treated together.

While the morphology takes the analytical perspective (from form to function), the syntax takes the synthetic perspective (from function to form), with chapter topics such as coordination, relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, coreference, questions, and comparison. All these are taken as functional notions. For example, participial relative clauses and correlative relative clauses show no formal similarities, but they are treated together in Ch. 19 because of their similar function.

Thus, this grammar to some extent fulfills the theoretical requirement to present the grammatical information both from an analytical and from a synthetic perspective (von der Gabelentz 1901, Lehmann 1980). For example, the functions of the Dative case are described twice: First from an analytical perspective in the chapter on nominal inflection (7.2.2.4.); and then from a synthetic perspective in the sections on verbal valence (15.3.2., 15.4.1.), on adjectival valence (14.5.1.1.), and on spatial and temporal adverbials (16.3.1.1., 16.3.2.1.). Similarly, the functions of the Aorist converb are described twice: First in the chapter on verbal inflection (9.9.4.), and then in the sections on adverbial clauses (21.1.) and on complement clauses (20.6.1.-2.). Sometimes only cross-references are made to avoid unnecessary repetitions.

However, this grammar, too, has an analytical bias. Not everything is described from a synthetic point of view. For example, there is no function-to-form treatment of tense meanings, or of number meanings. For such phenomena, the form-to-function description must suffice.

1.3.3. Grammatical terminology

Another feature that contributes to the user-friendliness of this grammar is the avoidence of opaque grammatical category labels such as "5th Elative case" or "3rd Past tense". Instead, grammatical labels with some mnemonic descriptive content have been chosen, such as "Superelative case" and "Past Perfect". This meant that traditional Lezgian terminology had to be abandoned in several cases. However, the traditional terminology itself is by no means uniform. For example, Gajdarov's (1987a) textbook differs substantially from the earlier standard accounts of Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) and Mejlanova (1967). Other works such as Žirkov (1941) and Moor (1985) use still different terms.

The following table is a comparative list of the most important terms that are most widespread in Russian-language studies of Lezgian and of the terminology used in this grammar (my terminology is closest to Mel'čuk's 1988a).

Table 1. *Comparative list of terminology*

Terminology as in Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) and Mejlanova (1967)	Terminology in this grammar
cases	
imenitel'nyj	Absolutive
èrgativnyj	Ergative
roditel'nyj	Genitive
datel'nyj	Dative
mestnyj I	Adessive
isxoditel'nyj I	Adelative
napravitel'nyj I	Addirective
mestnyj II	Postessive
isxoditel'nyj II	Postelative
napravitel'nyj II	Postdirective
mestnyj III	Subessive
isxoditel'nyj III	Subelative
napravitel'nyj III	Subdirective
mestnyj IV	Inessive
isxoditel'nyj IV	Inelative
mestnyj V	Superessive
isxoditel'nyj V	Superelative
napravitel'nyj V	Superdirective

verbal categories		
nastojaščee I		Imperfective
nastojaščee II		Continuative Imperfective
buduščee		Future
prošedšee nesoveršennoe I		Past Imperfective
prošedšee nesoveršennoe II		Continuative Past Imperfective
prošedšee nesoveršennoe III		Past Future
buduščee predpoložitel'noe I		Archaic Future
buduščee predpoložitel'noe II		Archaic Past Future
prošedšee I		Aorist
prošedšee II		Archaic Preterit
prošedšee III		Perfect
davnoprošedšee I		Past Aorist
davnoprošedšee II		Past Perfect
celevaja forma		Infinitive/Imperfective converb
povelitel'noe nakl.	1st person	Hortative
	2nd person	Imperative
	3rd person	Optative
masdar		Masdar

Note that I follow Comrie's (1976) convention of capitalizing language-particular morphological categories such as Ergative case or Past Future tense, whereas universal or purely semantic categories are not capitalized.

1.3.4. Example sentences

This grammar provides rich exemplification of the covered material. The purpose of this is to make as many data as possible available to the reader. The reader may not agree with the proposed analyses and some of the descriptions may turn out to be incorrect, but the example sentences will not lose their usefulness.

Each example that has a number of its own illustrates a point in the description. When several examples illustrate the same point, they are distinguished by the letters (a), (b), (c), etc.

The overwhelming majority of example sentences were taken from original Lezgian texts and thus represent "real language". The source of each text example is indicated in parentheses following the example. (The number following the colon is the page number.) Example sentences where no source is indicated were elicited from native speakers (see the acknowledgments).

The following abbreviations of the sources of the examples have been used:

Books:

A55:   Ağaev, Ahed. 1955. *St'al Sulejman*. Maxačkala: Dagknigoizdat. [Sulejman Stal'skij]

A76:   Iskenderov, Abdullah. 1976. *Samur*. 3-ktab. C'iji ümür. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Samur. Vol. 3. New life]

A90:   Ahmedov, Ibrahim. 1990. *K'ewi dustar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Close friends]

AM87:   Akimov, Q.X. & Musanabieva, B.S. (ed.) 1987. *Literaturadin xrestomatija*. 5-klass. 11-izdanie. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Chrestomathy of literature. 5th grade. 11th edition]

D57:   Gor'kij, Maksim. 1957. *Dide*. Maxačǧala: Dağustandin ktabrin izdatel'stvo. [The mother. Translated from Russian by Magomed M. Gadžiev]

E56:   Efendiev, Zijaudin. 1956. *Jark'ižuwan ruš*. Maxačkala: Dagknigoizdat. [The Jark'i girl]

G54:   Gadžiev (1954) (see bibliography)

G57:   Gadžiev, Magomed M. 1957. *Lezgi č'alan grammatika*. 2 lahaj paj. Sintaksis. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Grammar of the Lezgian language. Part 2. Syntax]

G63:   Gadžiev (1963) (see bibliography)

G82:   Gjul'magomedov (1982) (see bibliography)

H63:   Hajdarov (1963) (see bibliography)

H77:   Haži, Rasim. 1977. *Zi irid stxa*. Povest'. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [My seven brothers. Short novel]

H82:   Hajdarov (1982) (see bibliography)

HQ89:   Qurban, Hakim. 1989. *Jaru mäden*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [The red mine]

J84:   Isaev, Šamsudin. 1984. *Rexi ǧwan*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [The grey stone]

J89:   Jaraliev, Jaq'ub. 1989. *Alamatdin Uruž*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Marvelous Uruž]

K57:   Kononov, A. 1957. *Leninakaj rasskazar*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Stories about Lenin]

M79:   Minhažev, Serker. 1979. *Laxta tataj iwi*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Uncurdled blood]

M83:   Mežidov, Qijas. 1983. *Qeni ǧunšijar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Good neighbors]

M90:   Mahmudov, Abdulbari. 1990. *C'iji q'ilelaj bašlamiša*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Begin anew]

N88:   Šixnabiev, Naxmudin. 1988. *Meqʰer*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [The wedding]

Q81:   Qurban, Hakim. 1989. *Quj hamiša rağ žuraj*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Let there always be sun]

R66:   Rizvanov, Zabit. 1966. *Garčülda žeda*. Baky: Azerbajžandin gosudarstvodin izdatel'stvo.

S88:   Salimov, Bajram. 1988. *Zaman buba*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Father Zaman]

Š77:   Šixverdiev, Muradxan. 1977. *Ekw jarğaj akwada*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [The light is seen from far]

Š83:   Šixverdiev, Muradxan. 1983. *Pakaman jarar*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Dawn]

TG66:   Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) (see bibliography)

X89:   Gašarov, G.G. & Ganieva, M.B. (eds.) *Lezgi xalq'din maxar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Lezgian folktales]

Journals:
(first number after the abbreviation = year, second number = issue)

Du: *Dustwal*. Maxačkala. [Friendship]

DD: *Dağustandin dišehli*. Maxačkala. [Daghestanian woman]

K: *Kard*. Maxačkala. [The Falcon]

L: *Literaturadin Dağustan*. Maxačkala. [Literary Daghestan]

Newspapers:
(first number = year, second number = month, third number = day)

Ko: *Kommunist*. (KPSS-din obkomdin, DASSR-din verxovnyj sovetdin wa ministrrin sovetdin organ) Maxačkala. [Communist]

Q: *Gyzyl Gusar/Qizil Qusar*. (Organ kusarskogo rajonnogo komiteta KP Azerbajdžana i rajonnogo soveta narodnyx deputatov) Qusar/Kusary. [Golden Qusar (Kusary, Gusar)]

1.3.5. Notational conventions for morpheme-by-morpheme glosses

1.3.5.1. General rules. In example sentences, all inflectional affixes are separated by hyphens from their adjacent affix(es) or the stem. Derivational affixes are separated only in the relevant sections of the morphology. Each morpheme separated by a hyphen in the Lezgian text corresponds to an element in the morphemic gloss. Stems are translated by English words, affixes by abbreviated category labels.

(i) When one Lezgian morpheme must be translated by two gloss elements (English words or category labels), these are separated by a period, e.g.

eǧeč'-un   *jaru-bur*
go.out-MSD   red-SBST.PL

(ii) When a category is expressed, but is not expressed by a separable morpheme, it is separated in the gloss by a colon.

wuna   (*w-una? wu-na? wun-a?*)
you:ERG

zi   (*z-i? zi-Ø?*)
I:GEN

(iii) When a category is expressed by zero, its category label is put in parentheses.

kilig!	instead of:	*kilig-Ø*
look(IMPV)		look-IMPV

1.3.5.2. Zero. Categories that are always expressed by zero are not shown in the morphemic glosses for economy, e.g.

ktab-ar	instead of:	*ktab-ar*	or:	*ktab-ar-Ø*
book-PL		book-PL(ABS)		book-PL-ABS

k'el-zawa	instead of:	*k'el-zawa*	or:	*k'el-zawa-Ø*
read-IMPF		read-IMPF(NONPAST)		read-IMPF-NONPAST

1.3.5.3. Oblique stem suffix. A period in nouns separates the stem from the (semantically empty) oblique stem suffix. Thus,

dide.di-z	instead of:	*dide-di-z*
mother-DAT		mother-OBL-DAT

tar-ar.i-kaj	instead of:	*tar-ar-i-kaj*
tree-PL-SBEL		tree-PL-OBL-SBEL

The Ergative case is marked by zero (like the Absolutive), but since the Ergative case is formed from the oblique stem, it is always clearly distinct from the Absolutive. It is therefore also shown in the morphemic glosses, as an exception to 1.3.5.2. above.

dide.di	instead of:	*dide.di*	or:	*dide-di-Ø*
mother(ERG)		mother		mother-OBL-ERG
		(by 1.3.5.2.)		(by 1.3.5.1.)

(4) In personal pronouns (including reflexive pronouns), the oblique stem suffix is not even shown by a period, again for reasons of economy.

za-waj	instead of:	*z.a-waj*	or:	*z-a-waj*
I-ADEL		I-ADEL		I-OBL-ADEL
		(by 1.3.5.3.)		(by 1.3.5.1.)

čpi-n	instead of:	*čp.i-n*	or:	*čp-i-n*
selves-GEN		selves-GEN		selves-OBL-GEN

In third person pronouns (which are based on demonstratives), also the substantivizer and the plural affixes are ignored by the gloss. The same rules apply to the demonstrative pronoun *im* 'this (one)'.

ada	instead of:	*ad.a*	or:	*a-d.a*
s/he(ERG)		s/he(ERG)		that-SBST.SG(ERG)

			or:	*a-d-a*
				that-SBST.SG-OBL(ERG)

abur.u	instead of:	*a-bur.u*
they(ERG)		that-SBST.PL(ERG)

	or:	*a-bur-u*
		that-SBST.PL-OBL(ERG)

The Ergative and Absolutive cases of personal pronouns are treated as unanalyzable.

zun	instead of:	*z-un*
I:ABS		I-ABS

am	instead of:	*a-m*
s/he:ABS		that-SBST.SG.ABS

1.3.5.5. Subordinate clauses. The boundaries of subordinate clauses are shown in the gloss by brackets ([...]) to facilitate the understanding of more complex examples.

1.3.5.6. Hyphen. When the Lezgian text contains a hyphen (e.g. in compounds), this is rendered by an equals sign (=) so as to avoid confusion with the hyphens that separate morphemes:

эвер-гьарай
ewer=haraj
call=shout

Chapter 2
Lezgian and its speakers

2.1. The Lezgians

The Lezgians live in an area of about 5000 km^2 in southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan, in the high mountain area of the eastern Caucasus and in the plains between the mountains and the Caspian sea. In addition, there is a sizable Lezgian diaspora in many major cities of the former Soviet Union.

According to the 1989 census, there were 466 000 Lezgians in the Soviet Union. Since the rate of language retention for the Lezgians is around 90 percent, the number of speakers of Lezgian must be well over 400 000.

Most Lezgians live in villages where they make a living out of agriculture (especially in the plains) and stockbreeding (especially in the mountains). The Lezgians have traditionally been Sunni Muslims, and until the incorporation of Daghestan and Azerbaijan into the Russian empire in the 19th century, their further cultural contacts were mainly with the Ottoman empire and with Persia. Both the older contacts with the Oriental world and the more recent contacts with Russia are reflected by large numbers of loans in the Lezgian language.

2.1.1. Population figures

The population figures from various censuses are as follows:

	number of Lezgians in the Russian empire/the USSR	number of Lezgian speakers
1907	159 000	
1926	134 536	
1959	220 000	
1970	323 829	304 087 (93.9%)
1979	382 611	347 556 (90.8%)
1989	466 006	

The language retention rate is 100 % in the Lezgian villages of Daghestan, but in the Daghestanian cities (espacially Maxačkala) and in the diaspora the language tends to be lost in favor of the dominating Russian by younger people.

The main potential inaccuracy in the census data concerns the Lezgians in Azerbaijan. They have been undergoing a process of (apparently sometimes forced) assimilation to the Azerbaijanis, and since identification as Lezgian can be disadvantageous in Azerbaijan, it is possible that many Lezgians were counted as Azerbaijanis. The number of Daghestanian Lezgians is somewhat higher than the number of Lezgians in Azerbaijan:

	Daghestan	Azerbaijan
1979	188 804 (49.3%)	158 057 (41.3%)
1989	204 400 (43.8%)	171 395 (36.7%)

According to the 1989 census, 52 900 Lezgians (11.4%) live in the Russian Federation outside of Daghestan, 13 905 (3.0%) live in Kazakhstan, and 10 425 Lezgians (2.2%) live in Turkmenia.

More detailed figures are available for the 1979 census (CSU 1984). In 1979, 347 556 Lezgians (90.8%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 18 069 (4.7%) gave Russian as their native language, and 16 986 (4.4%) gave some other native language (mainly Azerbaijani, cf. below). 3 452 Lezgians said they speak Lezgian in addition to their (non-Lezgian) native language (9.8% of those whose native language is not Lezgian). 181 969 Lezgians (47.6%) said they know Russian.

Within Daghestan, 185 563 of the 188 804 Lezgians (98.3%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 1922 (1.0%) gave Russian, and 1190 (0.6%) gave another Daghestanian language as their native language. 121 486 Daghestanian Lezgians (64.3%) know Russian, and 489 Daghestanian Lezgians (0.3%) know another Daghestanian language.

Within Azerbaijan, 134 873 of the 158 057 Lezgians (85.3%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 14 426 (9.1%) gave Azerbaijani, and 8571 (5.4%) gave Russian. 73 613 Azerbaijanian Lezgians (46.6%) know Azerbaijani, and 37 184 (23.5%) know Russian.

2.1.2. Geographical location

Lezgian is spoken in an area of about 5 000 km^2 in southern Daghestan and in northern Azerbaijan ("Lezgistan").

In Daghestan, the Kuraxskij, Sulejman-Stal'skij (formerly Kasumkentskij), Magaramkentskij, and Axtynskij rayons are completely occupied by Lezgians. Some Lezgians also live in the adjacent Rutul'skij and Xivskij rayons. In Azerbaijan, the Lezgians live in the Kusarskij, Kubinskij, Xudatskij, Kutkašenskij and Kunaxkentskij rayons.

Further geographical details can be found on the map on the following page (adapted from Mejlanova 1964).

2.1.3. Some remarks on Lezgian history

References to a Daghestanian people *Legoi, Lekoi* or *Geloi* can be found in several ancient writers (Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder). This probably refers to the Daghestanian peoples in general. Arab authors of the 9th and 10th centuries mention a kingdom *Lakz* in southern Daghestan.

In the 7th and 8th centuries Daghestan was conquered by the Arabs. As a consequence of this, the Daghestanian population was converted to Islam in the following centuries.

In the 18th century, feudal relations replaced the older free peasant communities in many places. Lezgians became part of the Quba khanate in the southeast, of the Derbent khanate in the northeast, and of the Kazikumux khanate in the northwest. In 1812 the Küre khanate was founded in the
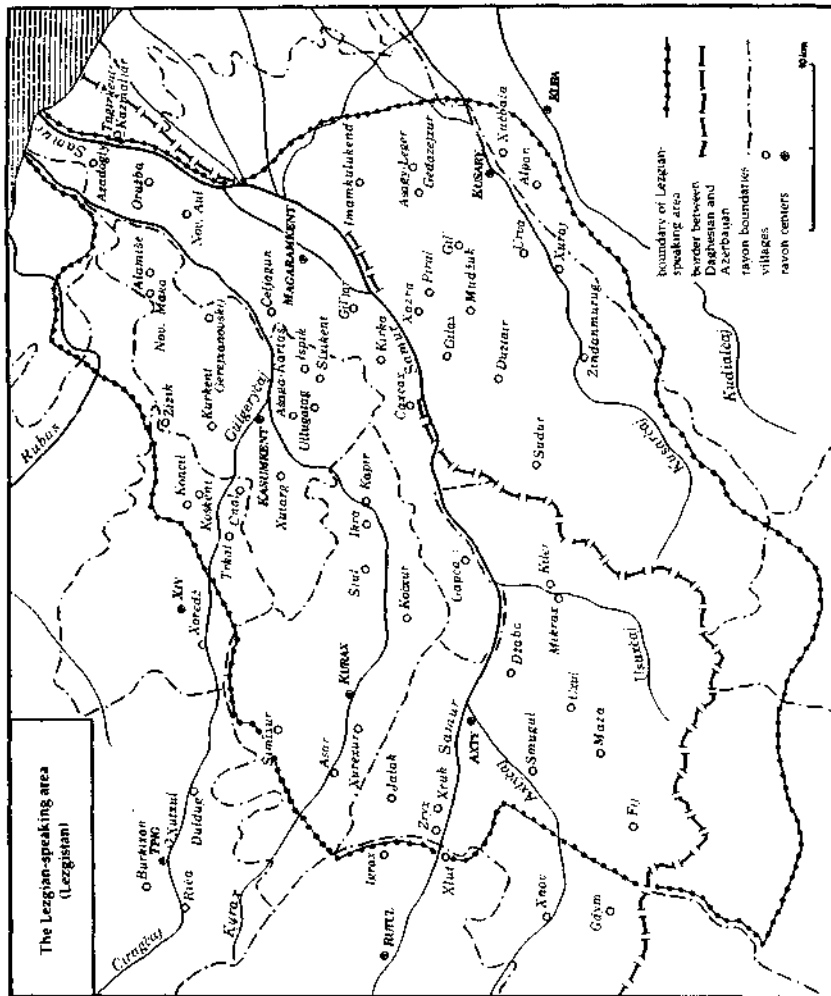
valley of the Q'urah-čaj (Kurax-čaj) river and the lower reaches of the Samur river (with the administrative center in Q'urah/Kurax). The southeastern areas (along the valley of the middle Samur river) did not belong to a feudal territory, but consisted of associations of independent peasant communities (vol'nye obščestva, 'free communities') such as Axty-para, Alty-para, Doquz-para, and Rutul.

The incorporation of Daghestan into the Russian empire began in the early 19th century. Because of the fierce resistance of part of the population, it was not until the 1860s that all of Daghestan was under Russian control. After the defeat of the Daghestanian resistance, many Lezgians were forced to emigrate and settled in Turkey (cf. Moor 1985 on Lezgian villages in Turkey).

The Küre khanate was transformed into the Kjurinskij okrug of the Daghestanian oblast' (center in Q'asumxür/Kasumkent). The free communities along the middle Samur became the Samurskij okrug. The Quba khanate became the Kubinskij uezd of the Baku gubernija.

The economy of the Lezgians has traditionally been based on agriculture and stockbreeding. Agriculture is most widespread in the eastern plains region, whereas the western mountain region supports practically only sheepbreeding (cf. Agaširinova (1978: Ch. 1) on the traditional Lezgian economy).

In the late 1920s, a standard written language was introduced, and teaching of Lezgian in schools and regular publication activities in Lezgian began (cf. 2.3.).

After 1929 agriculture in Daghestan was collectivized. By the 1960s, electricity was brought to most of the villages. Several mountain villages were resettled in more accessible places, some of them quite distant from their original location (e.g. the village Kuruš in the Axtynskij rayon was resettled in the Xasavjurtovskij rayon, 300 km from the original location).

The liberalization of the Gorbachev years led to a revival of Lezgian national self-awareness. The Lezgian national movement *Sadwal* ("Unity") was founded in 1990. Lezgians living far from Lezgistan are increasingly interested in preserving their national heritage. The territorial division of Lezgistan between Daghestan and Azerbaijan is seen as a big problem by many Lezgians.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991/92, the Lezgians found themselves in two different countries: Russia (of which Daghestan is a part) and Azerbaijan.

2.1.4. The ethnonym *Lezgian*

The word *Lezgian* corresponds to the Lezgian self-designation *lezgi* 'Lezgian' (Russian *lezginskij, lezgin*). This term has been used in the present sense since the 1920s. Before that, the term *Lezgian* had been used to refer to all non-Turkic mountain peoples of Daghestan, while the term *Küre* (or *Küri*, Russian *kjurinskij*) was used for the people and the language that are now called Lezgian. (cf. Uslar 1896). (*Küre* is more properly the name of the Lezgian dialect spoken in the eastern plains, the region most accessible to outsiders.)

Various spelling variants of *Lezgian* have been used in English (*Lezghian, Lezgi, Lesghian, Lezgin*, etc.). The variant *Lezgian* is chosen

here because it is close to Lezgian *lezgi* and because it has been used by other linguists working on Lezgian (Mel'čuk 1988a, Moor 1984, Job 1985).

2.2. Lezgian dialects

In contrast to some of the other major Daghestanian languages (especially Dargwa and Avar), Lezgian shows relatively little internal dialectal variation. Divergences from the standard language (which is described in this grammar) are relatively minor, and all dialects are mutually intelligible. This section gives a brief overview of the dialect division of Lezgian and some of the more salient divergences from the standard language.

2.2.1. Dialect division

Although some details are disputed, there is broad agreement among Lezgian dialectologists that the main subdivision of dialects is threefold: the Küre dialect group, the Axceh dialect group, and the Quba dialect group (cf. Gajdarov 1963, Mejlanova 1964).

The Küre dialect group is located in what used to be the Kjurinskij okrug with its capital Kasumkent/Q'asumxür (and before that the Küre khanate with its capital Kurax/Q'urah), i.e. the present Magaramkentskij, Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij), Kuraxskij, and Xivskij rayons. According to Mejlanova (1964), the Küre dialect group is subdivided into the Güne, Q'urah and Jark'i dialects. The Jark'i dialect is spoken in what used to be the Jarkinskij učastok in the northeast of the former Kjurinskij okrug, now the southern part of the Xivskij rayon and the northern part of the Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij) rayon. A variety belonging to the Jark'i dialect was described by Petr K. Uslar in his ground-breaking Lezgian grammar (1896).

The Q'urah dialect is spoken in what used to be the Kuraxskij učastok of the Kjurinskij okrug, now the Kuraxskij rayon.

The Güne dialect is spoken in what used to be the Gjunejskij učastok of the Kjurinskij okrug, now the southern part of the Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij) rayon and the Magaramkentskij rayon. The Güne dialect served as the basis for the standard language (cf. Mejlanova 1957, 1959, 1970).

The Axceh dialect group is located in what used to be the Samurskij okrug with its capital Axty/Axceh, now the Axtynskij rayon. Mejlanova (1964) calls it the Samur dialect group and subdivides it into the Axceh dialect and the Doquzpara dialect. The Axceh dialect is spoken in the western part of the Axtynskij rayon and in adjacent parts of the Rutul'skij rayon (cf. Genko 1926, Gajdarov 1961). The Doquzpara dialect is spoken in the former Dokuzparinskij učastok of the Samurskij okrug, now the eastern part of the Axtynskij rayon.

The Quba dialect group is located in what used to be the Kubinskij uezd of the Baku gubernija (province), now several rayons in northern Azerbaijan. See Genko (1929), Gadžiev (1957a), Saadiev (1961), Gjul'magomedov (1966), (1967), (1968), Mejlanova (1981) for several studies of the Quba dialects.

Furthermore, several authors set up various smaller "mixed" dialects that have a special status and do not strictly belong to one of the major di-

alects, e. g. the Fij dialect (Mejlanova 1964:386-394, Abdulžamalov 1965), the Čeper (Džaba) dialect (Ganieva 1972a, b, 1981, 1983, 1985), the Quruš dialect (Mejlanova 1964:395-399), the Gilig dialect (Mejlanova 1964:353-358), and the Gelxen dialect (Mejlanova 1964:358-365).

2.2.2. Some salient divergent features of the dialects

2.2.2.1. Phonology. The vowel inventory:

Besides the vowels of the standard language, several dialects (especially of the Axceh dialect group) have the high back unrounded vowel /ï/. In these dialects, the relation between /ï/ and /u/ is similar to the relation between /i/ and /y/ in the standard language (cf. 4.5.). E.g.

Axceh dialect	standard		(Gajdarov 1961:15)
q'ïn	q'un	(q'un)	'he-goat'
ts'ïd	ts'ud	(c'ud)	'ten'
tsïrï	tsuru	(curu)	'sour'
tsïwin	č'ugun	(č'ugun)	'pull'
hïnbïr	ibur	(ibur)	'these'

Furthermore, pharyngealization of vowels is widespread in several dialects, especially in the environment of uvular obstruents and pharyngeal consonants. According to Ganieva (1972a:209), The Čeper (Džaba) dialect has the front rounded vowel /ø/, e.g. /mønʰ/ 'barberry', /søl/ 'downpour'.

The consonant inventory:
Several dialects have the pharyngeal fricatives /ħ/ (voiceless) and /ʕ/ (voiced). They mostly occur in Arabic loanwords, but sometimes also in native words, e.g.

Quba dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1981)
ʕymyr	ymyr	(ümür)	'life'
ʕajib	ajib	(ajib)	'shame'
saʕatʰ	sætʰ	(sät)	'hour'

Čeper (Džaba) dialect	standard		(Ganieva 1972a:212)
hazïrwal	hazurwal	(hazurwal)	'readiness'
wahʃi	wahʃi	(wahši)	'wild'
t'emah	t'emæh	(temäh)	'desire'

Q'urah dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1964:135)
ʕyr	ĸyr	(gür)	'flour'
ʕač'i	ĸʷeč'i	(gweč'i)	'small'
q'yʕyr	q'yĸyr	(q'ügür)	'hedgehog'

Several dialects have the postalveolar labialized obstruents /č'ʷ/, /č'ʰʷ/, /č'ʷ/, /ʃʷ/, /ʒʷ/, e.g.

Axceh dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1964:270)
ʧʷal	tsʷal	(cwal)	'seam'
ʒʷal	zʷal	(zwal)	'boiling'
ʧʼʷeh	tsʼʷeh	(c'weh)	'whey'

According to Mejlanova (1964:387-389), the Fij dialect also has a series of special dento-labialized obstruents (of the type that is found in Tabasaran and Abkhaz).

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ occurs in the Jark'i dialect, and the uvular voiced stop /ɢ/ occurs in the Güne dialect.

Jark'i dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1964:68)
ɣam	ɡam	(gam)	'carpet'
ɣʷal	zʷal	(zwal)	'boiling'
ɣæl	ɡel	(gel)	'trace'

Güne dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1970:38)
ɢaʧʰun	qaʧʰun	(q̄a čun)	'take'
ɢutsʰar	ʁutsʰar	(ǧucar)	'god'

Some of the consonantal alternations (cf. 5.1.-5.4, 5.9-5.10.) are different in some dialects. For example, instead of the alternation ejective/aspirated (5.9.), the Axceh dialect has the alternation unaspirated/aspirated (5.9.), the Axceh dialect has the alternation unaspirated/aspirated.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Talibov 1980:71-72)
neker / nekʰ	nek'er / nekʰ	'milk'
metar / metʰ	met'er / metʰ	'knee'
reqer / reqʰ	req'er / reqʰ	'way'

2.2.2.2. Morphology. The most striking morphological feature of the Axceh dialect is the affix /-zi/-za/ instead of standard /-di/-da/ in various functions: Directive case, oblique stem, substantivizer, Future tense.

Axceh dialect	standard		(Gajdarov 1961)
tsew-e-l-zi	tsaw-a-l-di	(cawaldi)	'with the sky'
zaman-zi	zaman-di	(zamandi)	'time (Erg.)'
ts'iji-zi	ts'iji-di	(c'ijidi)	'new one'
gi-za	gu-da	(guda)	'will give'
gaji-walzi	gaji-waldi	(gajiwaldi)	'as soon as ... gave'

The suffix of the Elative cases is /-aʁ/ in the Quba dialect group.

Quba dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1964:405)
sik'-ra-kʰ-aʁ	sik'-re-kʰ-aj	(sik'rekaj)	'about the fox'
xyræʁ	xyræj	(xüräj)	'from the village'

The negative suffix is /-ʃ/ (rather than /-ʧʰ/) in several dialects.

Axceh dialect	standard		(Mejlanova 1964:305)
fi-za-ʃ	fi-da-ʧʰ	(fidač)	'will not go'
amuq'-nawa-ʃ	amuq'-nawa-ʧʰ		'has not remained'
	(amuq'nawač)		

The prohibitive is often formed by means of a prefix /m-/ and a suffix /-r/, rather than a suffix /-mir/:

Axceh dialect	standard		(Gajdarov 1961:96)
me-qʷa-r	qʷe-mir	(q̄wemir)	'don't come'
ma-gu-r	gu-mir	(gumir)	'don' give'

The Migraǧ subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect has a special Comparative case in /-ad/:

Migraǧ subdialect	(standard equivalent)	(Mejlanova 1964:241)
sik'-ad	(sik' ʒiz)	'like a fox'
ǯanawir-ad	(žanawur ʒiz)	'like a wolf'
fik'-ad	(hik')	'how?'

2.3. The status of Lezgian and the standard language

Until the second half of the 19th century, Lezgian was only used in speech and oral literature. The language of religion, bureaucracy, jurisdiction (shariah), and inscriptions (especially on houses and gravestones) was Arabic, as in all of Daghestan. When Daghestan and Azerbaijan became part of the Russian empire, Russian replaced Arabic as the language of government.

In the second half of the 19th century, poets such as Jetim Emin (a classic whose poetry is still widely read), Jetim Melik, Said Kočxürskij began to write down their poetry, using the Arabic script.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the Russian general staff officer Baron Petr Karlovič Uslar, in what is perhaps the greatest military achievement in history, laid the foundations of Nakho-Daghestanian and Abkhazo-Adyghean linguistics by producing excellent descriptions of seven languages of the northern Caucasus, among them Lezgian (Uslar 1896). Uslar created an alphabet for Lezgian on the basis of the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. His Lezgian informant, Kazanfar-beg, tried to spread the knowledge of this alphabet among the Lezgians. A textbook was produced (Kazanfar-Beg 1871, reedited by A. Mamedov 1911), but these attempts at establishing a written language were not successful.

After the Bolsheviks took power in the early 1920s, the official language policy at first favored the use of Turkic (Azerbaijani) in Daghestan. But in the second half of the 1920s, it was decided to provide several Daghestanian languages with written standards, among them Lezgian. The Lezgian alphabet, which was officially introduced in 1928, was based on the Latin alphabet,

like the alphabets of the other newly written languages of the Soviet Union. Particularly active in this early phase of the standard language were Gadžibek Gadžibekov (or Hežibegen Hežibeg; cf. Gadžibekov 1932, hažibegof 1928, Hažibegov 1934, hežibegen 1931, hežibegov 1931; the spelling variants of Gadžibekov's name show the lack of standardization at that time) and Abdulkadir Alkadarskij (cf. Alq'adarskij 1934, 1939-41, Alkadarskij 1932).

The new standard language was based on the Küre dialect (or, more specifically, on the Güne dialect of the Küre dialect group). According to Gajdarov (1962), there were three reasons for choosing this dialect: First, this dialect is spoken by the largest number of speakers; second, it was well-known through the work of the famous poets Jetim Emin and St'al Sulejman (Sulejman Stal'skij), who were speakers of that dialect; and third, the only linguistic description of Lezgian available at that time, Uslar's (1896) grammar, was based on a dialect of the Küre dialect group. One might add that the Küre dialect is spoken in the geographically more accessible lowlands and was therefore more likely to be known by speakers from the high-mountain areas than vice versa.

In 1938, the official alphabet was replaced by a new alphabet based on the Cyrillic alphabet, in line with a decision taken in Moscow for all the new written languages of the Soviet Union. Rules for Lezgian spelling were published for the first time in 1938 (Gadžiev & Alkadarskij 1938), and the first orthographic dictionary was published in 1941 (Gadžiev 1941). Magomed Gadžiev's comprehensive Russian-Lezgian dictionary (Gadžiev 1950) had an enormous influence on the development of the written language.

Since the Lezgian standard language was officially introduced, Lezgian has been taught at several levels of education, including higher education (at the Chair of Daghestanian Languages of the Daghestanian State University in Maxačkala). Publications in Lezgian include textbooks on Lezgian grammar and literature, children's literature, poetry, fiction, several journals and newspapers. There is also some radio broadcasting in Lezgian, and there is a Lezgian-language theater in Derbent.

Despite these relatively favorable conditions, there are clear signs of the decline of Lezgian (cf. also the retention figures in 2.1.1.). Where parents have the possibility to choose between Lezgian-language instruction in school and Russian-language instruction, many have been choosing Russian as the language that opens up greater possibilities for their children. The medium of instruction in the city schools is exclusively Russian, and the Daghestanian languages are not even taught as a subject. In Maxačkala, Russian is the dominating language outside of the home, and it is increasingly used even at home by the younger generation, not only in families with linguistically mixed marriages.

The resurgence of national self-awareness in the wake of the liberation from the totalitarian regime in the late 1980s has recently created some new interest in the native languages (as well as Arabic), but it remains to be seen whether it will lead to a reversal of the pattern of slow decline of Lezgian. However, there is no threat whatever in the rural areas of Lezgistan, where until today quite a few speakers (mainly women) are monolingual. As long as the Lezgians remain in their traditional settlement areas, Lezgian is not an endangered language.

2.4. The effect of language contact on Lezgian

The most important contact languages in the historical period have been Turkic (in particular, Azerbaijani), Arabic, Persian, and Russian. Only Russian and Azerbaijani contacts are still in effect today. Contact with Arabic and Persian came to a halt in the 1920s with the Sovietization of Daghestan and Azerbaijan.

As in many languages of traditionally Muslim populations, Arabic loanwords play an eminent role in the Lezgian vocabulary. Not only most religious terms, but also many abstract and intellectual words are of Arabic origin, e.g.

(16)	*Allah*	'God'	< *?allaah*
	düa	'prayer'	< *du?aa?*
	rehmet	'forgiveness'	< *rahmat*
	šejt'an	'shaytan, devil'	< *šayṭaan*
	žennet	'paradise'	< *jannat*
	zijarat	'pilgrimage'	< *ziyaarat*

(17)	*mašhur*	'well-known'	< *mašhuur*
	tažub	'amazing'	< *ta?ajjub*
	länet	'curse'	< *la?nat*
	namus	'honor'	< *naamuus*
	hukumat	'government'	< *hukuumat*
	ilim	'science'	< *?ilm*
	ištirak	'participation'	< *?štiraak*
	žür?et	'boldness'	< *jur?at*

Some Arabic loanwords have become part of the everyday vocabulary, e.g.

(18)	*lazim*	'necessary'	< *laazim*
	mumkin	'possible'	< *mumkin*
	sät	'hour; clock'	< *saa?at*
	waxt	'time'	< *waqt*
	insan	'human being'	< *?nsaan*
	q'adar	'amount, quantity'	< *qadr*
	žawab	'answer'	< *jawaab*
	hajwan	'animal'	< *hayawaan*
	xabar	'news'	< *xabar*

The conjunction *wa* (18.1.3.) is also ultimately from Arabic.

Since the other main Oriental contact language, Turkic, is also full of Arabic loans, it is often difficult or impossible to establish whether a loanword of ultimate Arabic origin was borrowed directly from Arabic by the few Lezgians who knew Arabic or via Turkic. Since the knowledge of Turkic has always been significantly more widespread among the Lezgians than the knowledge of Arabic, and Arabic was only used as a written and ceremonial language, everyday words such as those in (18) are more likely to have been borrowed via Turkic.

Persian loanwords belong to the same semantic types, but are much less numerous than Arabic loanwords. Since Turkic also has many Persian loanwords, again the immediate source is not always easy to establish. E.g.

(19) pejgambar   'prophet'   < peyyambær
     baxt   'happiness, luck'   < bæxt
     fend   'trick'   < fænd
     šeher   'city'   < šæhr
     tamašun   'look'   < tæmaša
     rang   'color'   < ræng
     zur   'violence'   < zur

The particle ži, or at least its use as a quasi-complementizer (20.7.), and the conditional particle eger (21.7.1.) are also ultimately from Persian.

The classical poetry of poets such as Jetim Emin is full of Persian and Arabic loanwords. Many words such as the following are exclusively poetic today:

(20) Arabic loanwords
     žasad   'body'   < jasad
     mu?min   'pious'   < mu?miin
     riwajat   'story'   < riwaayat

(21) Persian loanwords
     bed   'bad'   .   < bæd
     bejadalat   'unjust'   < bi-ædalæt

The strongest influence on Lezgian over the past couple of centuries has been Turkic. The Turkic influence on Daghestanian languages has two sources. On the one hand, the Turkic language Kumyk is spoken in some key areas of Daghestan, including the area of the old Daghestanian capital Temir-Xan-Šura (later renamed Bujnaksk) and the present capital Maxačkala (formerly Port-Petrovsk), and it used to serve as a language of interethnic communication in most of Daghestan (cf. Džidalaev 1990). On the other hand, and even more importantly, the Lezgians have long been living in immediate contact with the Azerbaijani population to the south of the Lezgian-speaking areas. Several villages even have a mixed Lezgian-Azerbaijani population.

The influence of Turkic on Lezgian is stronger than on most other Daghestanian languages to the north. Only languages like Tsakhur, Kryz, Budukh, and Khinalug, which are in part or totally spoken in Azerbaijan, show a comparable degree of Turkic influence. In addition to the many Turkic loanwords, one might attribute phonological characteristics such as vowel harmony (4.4.) and stress (Ch. 6; contrasting with the tonal systems found in many other Daghestanian languages) to the influence of Turkic.

Turkic loanwords come from all areas of the vocabulary, including concrete words like names of animals and plants, e.g.

(22) baluǧ   'fish'
     čaqal   'jackal'
     ǧarpuz   'water melon'
     üzüm   'grapes'
     texil   'grain'

In the last couple of decades, the influence from Russian has been stronger than from any other language. This is quite natural because of the overwhelming significance of Russian in Soviet society. It is quite difficult to establish the extent to which Russian loanwords have entered Lezgian because a large number of Lezgian speakers (especially in Daghestan) also know Russian and ad hoc borrowings are very common.

In several cases, Oriental loanwords that were formerly in use have been replaced by Russian loanwords that are now standard (cf. Gjul'magomedov 1982b:114-115). Such cases can perhaps be taken as evidence for deliberate Russification of Lezgian.

(23) Oriental loanword   Russian loanword
     edebijat   literatura   'literature'
     sijasat   politika   'politics'
     taržuma   perevod   'translation'
     inǧilab   revoljucija   'revolution'
     sinif   klass   'class'
                            .

The influence of Russian syntax on Lezgian is probably more significant in the written language (espacially, of course, in translations from Russian) than in the spoken language. Syntactic constructions that are apparently due to Russian influence are noted at several points in this grammar.