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Major and Minor Turkic Language Islands in Iran with a Special Focus on Khalaj

This contribution offers a presentation of Turkic languages in Iran with special focus on Khalaj, a non-Oghuzic language spoken in the Markazī province. Attention is paid to features induced by contact with Iranian languages in particular with regard to the anaphoric pronominal stem bilä-, necessity constructions and the multifunctionality of ki/ke, providing new data on Khalaj and offering significant insights for further research.

Keywords: Turkic Linguistics; Language Contact; Iran-Turkic; Khalaj; Endangered Languages; Anaphoric Pronouns; Necessity Constructions; Subordination; Focus and Emphatic Particles

Introduction

Turkic speakers in Iran make up approximately a quarter of Iran's population, a rather large minority. Most of these varieties belong to the Oghuzic branch of Turkic.¹ Historically, their speakers are descended from Seljuk Oghuz tribes which, after establishing a state in the Syr-Darya, proceeded west, conquering first Khorasan and later Anatolia.² Gerhard Doerfer classified Oghuzic varieties of Iran into four different sub-branches:

- Central Oghuz or Azerbaijanian, encompassing the varieties spoken in the provinces of East and West Azerbaijan and Ardabil as well as three enclaves in Khorasan (Galūgāh, Loṭf-ābād and Daragaz);
- South Oghuz represented by Qašqā'ī and related dialects, also including Zanjān and Qazvīn varieties in the northeast;
- East Oghuz or Khorasan Turkic;
- North Oghuz or Turkmen, i.e. the variety of Gonbad-e Qābūs in Golestān province.³

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¹For the overall classification of Turkic languages, see Johanson, "The History of Turkic," 82–3.

²Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples*, 225.

³Doerfer, "Irano-Turkic," 93–5.

Speakers of Central, South and East Oghuz generally identify themselves as *Turk/Tork* and their language as *Turkī/Torkī*. The only non-Oghuzic Turkic language of Iran is Khalaj, forming an independent Turkic language group, often referred to as Arghu. Historically, Khalaj people might descend from non-Oghuzic Arghu tribes—mentioned by Maḥmūd al-Kāšgārī's encyclopedic compendium *Divānu Luġāti't-Turk*—which presumably came to Iran after the thirteenth century Mongolian invasion.⁴ Presently, the number of Khalaj speakers approximately amounts to 42,100, distributed over several villages in the Markazī province across an area stretching from Qom, to Aštīyān and Tafreš.⁵

Turkī Classificatory Features

Turkī varieties are rather close to each other. They are mutually intelligible and share a common set of so-called Azerbaijani-style features. As a matter of fact, Central and South Oghuzic, Azerbaijani and its dialects, as well as varieties spoken in East Anatolia and northern Iraq form a linguistic area within Oghuzic.⁶

As for the sound system, such features include the occurrence of long consonants in intervocalic position, e.g. *ākki* “two,” *eššāk* “donkey,” *ottuz* “thirty,” the opposition between *ä* and *e* in first syllable, e.g. *äl* “hand” vs. *el* “land,” instability of *y*-, e.g. *ilan*

⁴For the Arghu-Khalaj historical and linguistic connections, see Doerfer, “Maḥmūd al-Kāšgārī”; Kiral, “Arġu-Halaç hipotezi üzerine.”

⁵General overviews on modern Turkic languages in Iran are: Doerfer “Türkische Sprachen und Dialekte in Iran” and “Turkic Languages of Iran”; Bulut, “The Turkic Varieties of Iran.” Linguistic sources on Oghuzic varieties include Doerfer, “Das Chorasantürkische”; Doerfer, “Ein türkischer Dialekt aus der Gegend von Hamadān”; Doerfer and Hesse, *Chorasantürkisch*; Doerfer and Hesse, *Südogusische Materialien*; Doerfer and Hesse, *Türkische Folklore*; Doerfer, Hesse, and Ravanyar, *Oghusica aus Iran*; Dehghani, *A Grammar*; Pocoluevskij, “Xorasano-tjurkskij jazyk”; Tulu, *Chorasantürkische Materialien*; Tulu, “Horasan Türkleri”; Lee, *A Grammar*; Sönmez, *Untersuchungen*; Amirpur-Ahrandjani, *Der aserbajdžanische Dialekt*; Dolatkah, *Qashqai Turkic*; Dolatkah, *A Collection of Qashqay folktales*, Dolatkah, *Le Qashqay*; Azmun, “Iran Türkmenesi”; Nazari and Routamaa, “The Iranian Turkmen language.” Publications on Khalaj include Minorsky, “The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj”; Doerfer, *Khalaj Materials*; Doerfer, *Lexik und Sprachgeographie*; Doerfer, *Grammatik des Chaladsch*; Doerfer, “Tati Lehnwörter im Chaladsch”; Doerfer, “Materialien zu türk. *b-*”; Doerfer and Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, and *Folklore-Texte der Chaladsch*; Kiral, “Copied Relative Constructions in Khalaj”; Kiral, “Weiteres zum Imperativ im Chaladsch”; Kiral, “Reflections on *-miş* in Khalaj”; Ščerbak, “Xaladzskij jazyk”; Bosnali, “The Khalaj People.” For maps localizing the Khalaj-speaking villages, see especially Doerfer, *Lexik und Sprachgeographie*. Besides, on Ajemi Turkic, i.e. the trans-regional written Turkic variety geographically placed between Ottoman and Chagathay, and actively spoken and used literally in the Caucasus and Iran till the end of the nineteenth century, see, inter alia, Bodrogligeti, “On the Turkish Vocabulary”; Gandjei, “Turkish in the Šafavid Court”; Johanson, “A Grammar.”; Perry, “Persian in the Safavid Period”; Perry, “The Historical Role of Turkish”; Stein, “Ajem-Türkisch”; Stein, “Opativ versus voluntativ-Imperativ”; Stein, “Persian Syntactic Influence”; Ağcagül, “Nišāfi's Šühedāneme.”

⁶See, inter alia, Caferoglu and Doerfer, “Das Aserbajdžanische,” Schönig, “Mongolian Loanwords in Oghuz”; Bulut, “Turkic Varieties in West Iran and Iraq.” Specifically on Azerbaijani, see Širaliev and Sevortjan, *Grammatika azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*, and, for a brief overview, Schönig, “Azerbaijani.” For Azerbaijani dialects, see Širaliev, *Dialekty*, as well as Širaliev and Islamov, *Azərbaycan dilinin dialektoloji atlası*.

“snake” and *üz* “face” (cf. Azerbaijani *ılan* and *üz*, but Turkish *yılan* and *yüz*), vowel rounding in the neighborhood of labials, e.g. *böyük* “big,”⁷ and assimilations to a following nasal: *min* “thousand,” *men* “I.” Furthermore, all Azerbaijanian varieties display heavy palatalization of velar stops, particularly in Central Oghuz, where initial and medial velar stops developed into *ç* and *ğ*, respectively.⁸

On the morphological level, typical Azerbaijanian features include the opposition between a focal present *-Ur* and a non-focal present *-Ar*, the preservation of a complete optative paradigm, the occurrence of the instrumental suffix *-(I)nAn*, e.g. *maşinan* “by car,” and the terminative *-AjAn*, e.g. *ävänçä*, “till home.”⁹

As for the lexicon, besides displaying a huge and an ever-expanding number of Persian lexical copies, Iran-Oghuzic varieties share with Azerbaijanian and Anatolian dialects a specific set of Mongolic elements representing Mongol Ilkhanid heritage, e.g. *yeke* “big,” *darıya* and *darıa* “night-patrol, sentinel, guard.”¹⁰

Khalaj

Khalaj displays several highly interesting features, some of which distinguish it from the rest of Turkic. As for the sound-system, Khalaj preserves proto-Turkic long vowels, e.g. *va:r* “existing” vs. *var-* “to go.” Long vowels often have a diphthongized character, e.g. *bi:š* ~ *be:š* “five.” Another noteworthy feature is the continuation of Proto Turkic **p-* as *b-*, e.g. *bat* “horse.”¹¹ Common Turkic *-δ-* and *-d-* have developed in Khalaj into *-d-* and *-d-*, e.g. *hadaq* “foot” and *bo:d* “figure, body.”¹² In stems and suffixes, Khalaj preserves Common Turkic *G-* and *-G-*, e.g. *-GA* (intentional suffix) vs. Oghuzic *-(y)A* (optative suffix); *-IUγ* (adjectival suffix), e.g. *hatlıγ* ~ *hatluγ* “horseman.”¹³

Khalaj peculiar morphological features include the occurrence of the suffix *-DA* as an ablative marker, continuing thus a feature attested in Runic Turkic (eighth century), and *-čA* as a locational marker, otherwise functioning as an equative suffix in Turkic.¹⁴ Khalaj also holds a special position within Turkic with respect to imperative forms. Affirmative imperative forms ultimately go back to postverbal constructions formed by the lexical verb augmented by a converbial suffix followed by an auxiliary verb.¹⁵ For instance Khalaj *ye:pi* “eat!” can be traced back to *ye:-*

⁷In this respect, see the corresponding forms: Azerbaijani *böyük* and Turkish *büyük*.

⁸For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Stilo, “Phonological Systems in Contact,” and “On the Non-Persian Iranian,” 210–11.

⁹Dolatkhah, *Le Qashqay*, 64.

¹⁰See Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*; Schönig, *Mongolische Lehnwörter im Westoghusischen*; and “Mongolian Loanwords in Oghuz,” as well as Ragagnin, “Some Notes.”

¹¹In this respect, see Proto Turkic **pakta* vs. Oghuzic *at*.

¹²See Oghuzic *ayaq* “foot” and *boy* “size,” vs. Sayan Turkic *adaq* “end” and *bot* “reflexive pronoun.”

¹³See Oghuzic *atlı* vs. Old Turkic *atlıg* and Sayan Turkic *a²ttig*. On Turkic classificatory features, further see inter alia Johanson, “The History of Turkic,” 102.

¹⁴In this respect, see Johanson, “Pyramids,” 196.

¹⁵On Turkic postverbal, i.e. auxiliary verb, constructions, see inter alia Johanson, “On Turkic Transformativizers.”

“to eat” augmented by the converbial suffix *-(X)p* followed by the auxiliary verb *iδ-* “to send.” On the other hand, negative imperatives follow Turkic patterns, i.e. are formed adding the negative suffix *-mA* to the verbal stem, e.g. *ye:me* “don’t eat.”¹⁶

On the lexical level, Khalaj displays several archaic lexemes, e.g. *baluq* “village,” *va:-* “to close,” *hürün ~ hirin* “white.”¹⁷ Nevertheless, Khalaj has also intensively copied from adjacent Iranian varieties. Particularly interesting in this respect are Tatic elements.¹⁸ Moreover, due to proximity to the *turki*-speaking area, Khalaj has undergone influence from Oghuzic as well, especially the speech of male Khalaj.¹⁹

*Language Contact with Iranian: Some Examples*²⁰

The contact with Iranian has a long history and is best exemplified by a verse of Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī, well-known in Turcological studies:

<i>Tat-siz</i>	<i>Türk</i>	<i>bol-mas</i>
Tat-PRIV	Turk	become-AOR.NEG

<i>Baş-siz</i>	<i>börk</i>	<i>bol-mas</i>
head-PRIV	hat	become-AOR.NEG

“A Turk is never without a Persian (just as) a cap is never without a hat”²¹

Speakers of Turkic came into contact with Iranian speakers long before migrating to present-day Iran. As a matter of fact, it was in Central Asia, in Transoxiana that the Seljuk Turks embraced Islam. It goes without saying that the contact situation became more intense after reaching present Iranian territories.

Much has been written on the influence of Persian on the Turkic languages of Iran, especially Oghuzic, and on the typological convergence between them and Persian.²² Contact-induced features include: delabialization, breaking of intrasyllabic synharmonism, copying of Persian-bound morphemes, e.g. the *izāfe*-marker, the comparative suffix *-tar*, replacing Turkic *-rAk*, and the marker of indefiniteness *-i*. On the syntactic level, the intensive copying of combinational patterns has led to the dominance of

¹⁶On Khalaj imperatives, see further Johanson, “Tuwinische Postverbien”; Kiral, “Weiteres zum Imperativ.”

¹⁷See Iran-Oghuzic *ken(d)* “village,” *bayla-* “to close” and *ay* “white.”

¹⁸Therefore, see Doerfer, “Tati Lehnwörter.”

¹⁹In this respect, see Doerfer, “Oghusische Lehnwörter.”

²⁰The terminology used here in the description of language contact phenomena follows the code-copying model developed by Johanson; see Johanson, *Strukturelle Faktoren* and Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic*.

²¹Dankoff and Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects*, 273.

²²See inter alia Johanson, “Code-copying in Irano-Turkic”; Kiral, *Das gesprochene Aserbajdschanisch* and “Copied Relative Constructions”; Bulut, “Iranian Influences”; Stein, “Persian Syntactic Influence.”

imitated postpositive subordinate clauses,²³ thus reducing the use of Turkic particles and converbs.

In this contribution, I will confine myself to some observations on the anaphoric pronominal stem *bilä-*, necessity constructions and the multifunctionality of *ki/ke*, providing new data on Khalaj and offering some insights for further research.

The Anaphoric Pronominal Stem bilä-

Several Iran-Turkic varieties display the intriguing anaphoric pronoun *bilä-*, occurring for all singular and plural pronouns. Functionally, as analyzed by Christiane Bulut,²⁴ *bilä-* never occurs in the nominative and it cannot combine with genitive suffixes to form possessive pronouns. *Bilä-* can only follow dative, accusative, ablative and instrumental suffixes, as well as the postposition *için* “for.” Some examples are:²⁵

Âbdollah fâyir-di, belä-sin-nä heşnä yox
 Abdollah poor-COP ANP-POSS3-LOC nothing inexistent
 “Abdollah is poor; he has nothing” (Qaşqā’ī Turkic)²⁶

<i>O</i>	<i>tor-i</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>bizim</i>	<i>dede-ler-imiz</i>
that	manner-ENC.PTC	CONJ	our	forefather-PL-POSS.1PL

<i>daniş-mi</i>	<i>bile-miz</i>	<i>içiy</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>me</i>
speak-PF	ANP-POSS1PL	for	CONJ	I

<i>öz-üm</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>bice</i>	<i>meğdari</i>	<i>şahidimişem</i>
self-POSS1SG	also	small	degree	witness.COP1SG

“The way our forefathers told us, and I myself am to some extent a witness thereof ...” (Sonqor Turkic)²⁷

<i>Män</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>dana</i>	<i>köynäh-lux</i>	<i>ver-dim</i>
I	one	CL	shirt-DER	give-PAST.1SG

²³Johanson, *Structural Factors*, 117.

²⁴Bulut, “Pronominal Systems.”

²⁵For the sake of consistency, grammatical glossings of other authors have been conformed to the system employed in this contribution.

²⁶Dolatkhah, *Le Qaşqay*, 76.

²⁷Bulut “Pronominal Systems,” 327.

bilä-si-nä

ANP-POSS3-DAT

“I gave him a shirting.” (Zanjān Turkic)²⁸

Bilä- occurs in Khalaj as well. Gerhard Doerfer argued that it may represent a copy from neighboring Oghuzic varieties.²⁹ Some examples are:

Älli

töman

bilä-miz-dä

al-di-lar

Fifty

tuman

ANP-POSS.1PL-ABL

take-PAST-3PL

“They took from us 50 tuman.”³⁰

Bilä-si-dä

ANP-POSS3-ABL

xabar

news

al-i

take.IMP.SG

“Get [some] information from him!” (Bahārestān Khalaj)³¹

Bilä-mä

ANP-POSS1SG.DAT

suw

water

yetik

bring.IMP.SG

“Bring me water!” (Bahārestān Khalaj)³²

There are close structural correspondences between Turkic and Persian in this respect, as shown by Sohrab Dolatkah:³³

beheš

to.POSS3SG

goft-am

say.PAST-1SG

na-miây-am

NEG-PRES.come-1SG

belä-sin-ä

ANP.3SG-DAT

de-dim

say-PAST.1SG

gäl-mir-äm

come-NEG.PRES-1SG

“I told him I will not come.” (Qaşqā’i Turkic)

Apparently, cognates of *bilä-* do not occur in Turkmen varieties of Golestān province and in Khorasan Turkic. They are, however, documented in Afshar varieties in

²⁸Sönmez, *Untersuchungen zu den aserbajdschanischen Dialekten*, 205.

²⁹Doerfer, *Grammatik des Chaladsch*, 107.

³⁰Ibid., 107.

³¹Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

³²Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

³³Dolatkah, *Le Qashqay*, 74–7.

Afghanistan.³⁴ Moreover, cognates of *bilä-* occur in Anatolian dialects as well as in Old Ottoman and in seventeenth century Iran-Turkic materials from Isfahan.³⁵ As for its origin, *bilä-* may represent a grammaticalization of the adverb *belä* “so.”³⁶

Necessity

To express necessity, Oghuzic varieties in Iran employ a periphrastic construction where a nominal sentence with Turkic *gäräk* “necessary, necessity” (or its synonym *lāzīm*) is followed by a subordinate clause whose finite verb is either in the optative or voluntative/imperative, corresponding thus to the Iranian construction *bāyad* + subjunctive. See the example below from the Orumiyeh variety:

<i>Baba-m</i>	<i>ǰäläh</i>	[<i>ǰi</i>]	<i>bimarestān-a</i>	<i>ǰed-ä</i>
father-POSS1SG	necessary	CONJ	hospital-DAT	go-OPT.3SG

“It is necessary that my father goes to the hospital.”³⁷

The Khalaj necessitative construction reveals a deeper, and possibly older, contact with Iranian. See the examples below:

<i>Bo</i>	<i>ǰi:z-lar</i>	<i>käräk</i>	<i>är-ti</i>	<i>ki:ǰä-dä</i>
this	girl-PL	necessary	be-PAST.3SG	night-ABL

<i>bi:-si</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>yi:ǰti</i>	<i>i:ǰk-ü</i>	<i>va:-ir-ǰa</i>
one-POSS3	this	seven	door-ACC	close-IMP-INT3

“One of these girls had to close at night these doors.”³⁸

<i>Käräk</i>	<i>kiš</i>	<i>al-i-ǰa-x</i>	<i>bilä-siyä</i>
necessary	woman	take-IMP-INT-1PL	ANP-POSS3.DAT

“We must find a wife for him.”³⁹

The intentional suffix *-GA*, structurally corresponding to the Oghuzic optative, is added to the imperative stem, and not like other suffixes to the bare verbal stem. The fact that in Persian both the subjunctive and the imperative are formed from the present stem of verbs may have triggered the emergence of this peculiar Khalaj feature.

³⁴See Ligeti, “Sur la langue,” 129–30.

³⁵Doerfer and Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, 92; Bulut, “Pronominal Systems,” 324.

³⁶See Bulut, “The Turkic Varieties of Iran,” 419.

³⁷Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

³⁸Doerfer and Tezcan, *Folklore-Texte der Chaladsch*, 279.

³⁹Doerfer, *Grammatik des Chaladsch*, 107.

On the other hand, negative forms, as expected since Khalaj negative imperatives follow Turkic patterns, are formed from the bare verbal stem, e.g. *käl-mä-gä-m* (come-NEG-INT-1SG).⁴⁰

Finally, it should also be noted that contracted forms often occur in allegro speech tempo:

<i>Muna</i> (s)he.DAT “I need to do him a kindness.” ⁴¹	<i>käräk</i> necessary	<i>bi:</i> one	<i>havul-luq</i> good-DER	<i>e:t-γä-m</i> do-INT-1SG
<i>Alān</i> now “I need to go home now.” (Bahārestān Khalaj) ⁴²	<i>käräk</i> necessary	<i>yovom</i> go.IMP.1SG	<i>hāv-kā</i> house-DAT	

E:t-γä-m and *yovom* occurring in the examples above are clearly contractions of *e:t-i-γä-m* (to do-IMP-INT-1SG) and *yova-γa-m* (to go.IMP-INT-1SG), respectively.

Multifunctionality of ke/ki

Another interesting case of convergence between Iran-Turkic and Persian/Iranian is represented by the multifunctionality of *ke/ki*. Much has been written on *ki* as a subordinative conjunction introducing a wide range of dependent clauses. It shall suffice to quote here three examples with the subordinator *ki* occurring in pre-verbal position of temporal clauses. This syntactic pattern is shared by several other languages in Iran.⁴³

<i>O</i> that	<i>šoxm</i> plough	<i>ke</i> CONJ	<i>elä-miš-dik</i> do-PF.COP.PAST.1PL	<i>äkärdik</i> sow.AOR. COP.PAST.1PL
“After we had ploughed [the fields], we used to sow” (Bayādestān Turkic) ⁴⁴				

These constructions occur in Khalaj as well:

<i>juš-ka</i> ebullition-DAT	<i>ke</i> CONJ	<i>kel-di</i> come-PAST3SG	<i>ya’ni</i> that is to say	<i>bänā</i> beginning
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⁴⁰Ibid., 193.

⁴¹Ibid., 195.

⁴²Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

⁴³Khan, “Western Iran”, 395.

⁴⁴Bulut, “The Turkic Varieties of Iran,” 435.

<i>ša-di</i> make-PAST3SG	<i>gayna-γali</i> boil-CV	<i>bi:</i> one	<i>zarre</i> bit	<i>te</i> PTC
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<i>šivit</i> dill	<i>bat-amiz</i> throw-AOR.PL1		<i>ič-iyä</i> inside-POSS3.DAT
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“When it reaches boiling that is to say when it starts boiling, we also add [lit. throw inside of it] a little bit of dill.” (Bahārestān Khalaj)⁴⁵

Even though Doerfer did not explicitly analyze this construction, examples are found in his Khalaj materials:

<i>Bizüm</i> our	<i>yoryan-imüz-i</i> blanket-POSS1PL-ACC	<i>ki</i> CONJ	<i>yet-Di-lär</i> take away-PAST-3PL	<i>dävä</i> quarrel
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<i>tämäm</i> end			<i>ol-di</i> become-PAST.3SG
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“When they took off our blanket, the quarrel drew to an end.”⁴⁶

To conclude, I wish to offer some preliminary notes on two neglected functions of *ki/ke* occurring in Iran-Turkic varieties and displaying Persian parallels. *Ki/ke* occurs extremely frequently as an emphatic and focus particle, always following the focused/emphasized element; see the selected examples below:

<i>Sü:trazi</i> sü:trazi	<i>ke</i> FOC	<i>ša:-yum</i> want-PRES.1SG	<i>Gayr-ï-Ga-m.</i> do-IMP-INT-1SG
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“I am going to prepare *sü:trazi*.”⁴⁷

<i>Čay</i> tea	<i>ke</i> FOC	<i>ič-ir-ey</i> drink-PRES-2SG
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“You drink tea.” (Hamedān Turkic)⁴⁸

<i>In</i> this	<i>qalyān</i> water pipe	<i>ke</i> FOC	<i>čāq</i> well-lit	<i>nist!</i> NEG.COP
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⁴⁵Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

⁴⁶Doerfer, *Grammatik des Chaladsch*, 228.

⁴⁷Text sample: a Khalaj cooking recipe (lines 1–2).

⁴⁸Ragagnin, field notes (2019).

“But this qalyān [water pipe] is not well-lit.” (Persian)⁴⁹

Note that such uses of *ki* are very frequent in spoken Azerbaijani too.⁵⁰

<i>Bu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>əla</i>	<i>fikir-dir!</i>
this	FOC	wonderful	idea-COP
“This is a wonderful idea!” ⁵¹			

<i>Sən</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>məni</i>	<i>gözlə-yə</i>	<i>bil-ir-din!</i>
you	FOC	I:ACC	wait-CV	know-PRES-COP.PAST.2SG.
“You could have waited for me!” ⁵²				

Lastly, *ki/ke* often occurs as an utterance-final particle underlying the obvious in exclamatory sentences and adding some rhetorical nuances in questions. See the examples below.

<i>Sən</i>	<i>jäl-mä-diün</i>	<i>ki!</i>
You	come-NEG-PAST2SG	PTC
“But you did not come!” (Tabriz Turkic) ⁵³		

<i>Häv-kä</i>	<i>var-ma-di</i>	<i>ke!</i>
house-DAT	go-NEG-PAST.3SG	PTC
“Of course he did not go home!” (Bahārestān Khalaj) ⁵⁴		

<i>Šām</i>	<i>ye:miš-ey</i>	<i>ke?</i>
dinner	eat-PF-2SG	PTC
“You have had supper, haven’t you?” (clearly expecting a positive answer) (Bahārestān Khalaj) ⁵⁵		

<i>Šām</i>	<i>khord-i</i>	<i>ke?</i>
supper	eat.PAST-2SG	PTC

⁴⁹Lazard, *A Grammar of Contemporary Persian*, 257.

⁵⁰See Širaliev and Sevortjan, *Grammatika azerbajdžanskogo jazyka*, 176–7, 187; Ragagnin et al., “On Some Neglected Functions of Oghuzic *ki*.”

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Kiral, *Das gesprochene Aserbajdschanisch*, 18.

⁵⁴Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

⁵⁵Ragagnin, field notes (2018).

“You have had supper, haven’t you?” (clearly expecting a positive answer) (Persian)⁵⁶

<i>Uh</i>	<i>āš-e</i>	<i>dahan-suzī</i>	<i>nist</i>	<i>ke!</i>
oh	soup-IZ	mouth-burning-IND	COP.NEG	PTC

“Oh! It is no bed of roses, is it?” (lit. it’s not a soup that burns the mouth)
(Persian)⁵⁷

Close correspondences are found in both Azerbaijani and Turkish:

<i>Hami</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>cür</i>	<i>ol-a</i>	<i>bil-məz</i>	<i>ki!</i>
all	this	type	become-CV	know-AOR.NEG.3SG	PTC

“Come on, not everyone could be like that!” (Azerbaijani)⁵⁸

<i>Gel-di</i>		<i>mi</i>		<i>ki?</i>
come-PAST.3SG		Q		PTC

“I wonder if he has arrived.” (Turkish)⁵⁹

As for the origin of the Turkish utterance final rhetorical particle *ki*, it has been argued that it is possibly related to Old Turkic *ārki*, an epistemic and modal particle occurring sentence-finally, and displaying cognates in Sayan Turkic languages.⁶⁰ If this were true, then could Persian *ke* occurring in the final position of interrogative and exclamatory sentences have been inspired by Turkic?

Text Sample: A Khalaj Cooking Recipe

I wish to include in the present contribution a glossed Khalaj text I recorded in 2018 in the village of Bahārestān. The speaker is Mrs. Sakine Arabgol, aged sixty-two, a native speaker of Khalaj. She explains how to prepare a special Khalaj soup called *sü:trāzi*. The local Persian name of this dish is *Talkhanašīr*.

How to prepare sü:trāzi:

<i>Šuruy</i>	<i>ša:-du:m?</i>	<i>Si:ü trāzi</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ša:-yum</i>
start	do-VOL.1SG	sü:trazi	FOC	want-PRES.1SG

⁵⁶Lazard, *A Grammar of Contemporary Persian*, 257.

⁵⁷Ibid., 257.

⁵⁸Ragagnin et al., “On Some Neglected Functions of Oghuzic *ki*.”

⁵⁹Lewis, *Turkish Grammar*, 212.

⁶⁰See Johanson, “Notes on Turkic Stance Particles,” 52–3; Ragagnin, *Dukhan*, 183; on Old Turkic *ārki*, see Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 349–50; Rentzsch, *Modality in the Turkic Languages*, 80–1.

<i>gayr-i-go-m.</i> do-IMP-INT-1SG	<i>Bi:</i> one	<i>dane</i> CL	<i>soyan</i> onion	<i>suv-om</i> peal-AOR.1SG
<i>piyāz</i> onion	<i>dāy</i> red-hot	<i>šo:m,</i> make.AOR.1SG	<i>soyan</i> onion	<i>qīza:r-tur-um,</i> fry-CAUS- AOR.1SG
<i>felfele</i> pepper	<i>o</i> and	<i>zardačuva</i> turmeric	<i>hat-am</i> throw- AOR.1SG	<i>ič-iyā,</i> inside-POSS3.DAT
<i>bi:</i> one	<i>zarre</i> bit	<i>tu:z-la</i> salt-INS	<i>bilä</i> together	<i>suv</i> water
<i>ta</i> PTC	<i>hat-am</i> throw- AOR.1SG	<i>o</i> CONJ	<i>bi:</i> one	<i>livān</i> glass
<i>ta</i> PTC	<i>sü^ütrāzi</i> sü:trāzi	<i>hat-am.</i> throw-AOR.1SG	<i>Bu</i> this	<i>kenār</i> side
<i>qāšāng</i> nice	<i>häsāb-i</i> all-POSS3	<i>ke</i> CONJ	<i>gayna-di</i> boil-PAST.3SG	<i>kält-i-miz</i> come.CAUS- AOR.1PL
<i>kol-lar-la</i> child-PL-INS	<i>ye:-miz.</i> eat-AOR.1PL	<i>Xäyli</i> very	<i>havul</i> good	<i>u^ol-ur</i> become- AOR.3SG

“Shall I start? I am going to prepare *sü:trāzi*. I peel one onion, I make the onion red-hot, I fry it, I add pepper and turmeric. I add water with a bit of salt, and I also add a glass of *sü:trāzi*. So ... when all of it has nicely boiled, we take it out, and we eat it with the children. It is very tasty.”

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