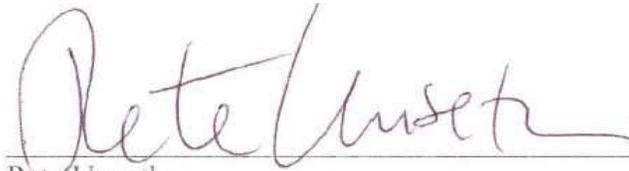


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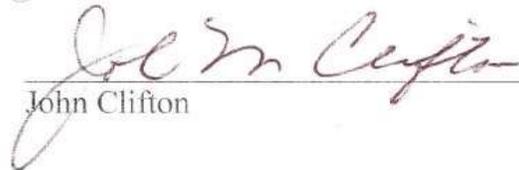
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The Importance of Verb Salience in the Followability of Lezgi Oral Narratives

By

Charles M. Donet

Presented to the Faculty of
the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics
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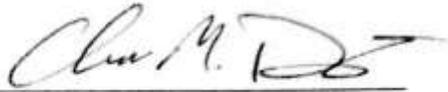
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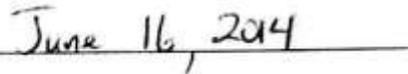
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ABSTRACT

The Importance of Verb Saliency in the Followability of Lezgi Oral Narratives

Charles M. Donet

Master of Arts

with major in

Applied Linguistics

The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics, May 2014

Supervising Professor: Pete Unseth

This thesis describes a verb saliency scheme for Lezgi (Lezgian) oral narratives from the Qusar region of Azerbaijan, primarily using the discourse theory of Robert Longacre. Variation in the verb saliency scheme was found for three sub-genres of informal oral narratives: stories, parables, and folktales. Discourse structures for these three types were also described for typical texts. The interaction between verb saliency scheme, discourse structure, and pragmatics was explored and used together to determine overall followability.

In addition, several unique findings were contributed: Some differences between oral Lezgi and written Lezgi were described. A data corpus of oral Lezgi narratives from the Qusar region was gathered and interlinearized. The use of the *-da* suffix (as an old present tense) was described as an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT), and its alternation with aorist preterits on the mainline of Lezgi oral folktales was explored.

The results were used to suggest in the conclusion that by knowing the verb saliency scheme, followability of Lezgi oral narratives should be improved, translation of

oral narratives into Lezgi can be done more naturally, and adaptation from written Lezgi to oral Lezgi must recover any lost meaning.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated first to my wife and children, who graciously tolerated it through times I could have been spending with them. Along with me, they gave this time up in service to the Lezgi people in Azerbaijan. Secondly, I dedicate this study to the Lezgi people ‘Juvanbur’ – and I pray it represents them well. Their tough, noble, and honest mountain spirit will always be an inspiration to me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to acknowledge the faithful support of my Lezgi project team: Natavan Zamaldinova, Ofeliya Pirverdiyeva, Rafik Magamedyarov, Roza Hajimuradova, and Venera Aliyeva – as well as the language company they work for, Üfüq-S ‘Horizons.’ Several important community members provided guidance and insight into the Lezgi language: Sedaget Kerimova, Muzaffar Melikmamedov, Abir Tagirov, Faina Gurbanovaya, Ulker Rustamova, Rosa Abdullayeva, and all others who provided oral texts. I especially remember Afiya Ibrahimova, who passed away during this study, and whose life was an example to be followed.

I am grateful for the life and work of Robert E. Longacre, who also passed away only a few months ago. May his contributions to textlinguistics be forever remembered and built upon. Several SIL colleagues helped me through some tough issues: Teija Greed, Erwin Komen, Diane Hintz, and Shin Ja Hwang. I also thank my thesis committee, Pete Unseth, Jan Allen, and John Clifton, for their gracious help and guidance. Finally, there were a few individuals who always encouraged me to keep going – you know who you are.

20 May 2014

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Absolute case	IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
ADIR	Addirective case	MSD	Masdar
ADEL	Adelative case	NEG	negation
ADES	Adessive case	OPT	Optative
AOC	Aorist converb	pl	plural
AOP	Aorist participle	PODIR	Postdirective case
AOR	Aorist	POEL	Postrelative case
CAUS	Causal converb	POESS	Postessive case
CND	Conditional	POSTR	Posterior converb
coll.	colloquial	PRED	predicative suffix
CONT	Continuative	PRF	Perfect
COP	copula	PROHIB	Prohibitive
DAT	Dative case	PST	Past
EVID	Hearsay Evidential	PT	particle
ENT	Epic Narrative Tense	PTP	participle
FOC	Focused constituent	PURP	Purpose/Manner converb
FUT	Future	Q	question marker
GEN	Genitive case	SBDIR	Subdirective case
GRAD	Graduative converb	SBEL	Subrelative case
ERG	Ergative case	SBESS	Subessive case
HORT	Hortative	SBST	substantivizer
IMC	Imperfective converb	sg	Singular
IMMANT	Immediate-Anterior converb	SRDIR	Superdirective case
IMPF	Imperfective	SREL	Superrelative case
IMPV	Imperative	SRESS	Superessive case
INESS	Inessive case	TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
INEL	Inelative case	TEMP	Temporal converb
INF	Infinitive		

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

Transliteration scheme:

The official Lezgi alphabet uses Cyrillic characters. Haspelmath (1993) uses a transliteration scheme to present Lezgi data using Latin letters. The transliteration scheme used in this thesis differs from that of Haspelmath in that it is based on the modern Azerbaijani Latin alphabet so that readers in Azerbaijan will be more easily able to engage with this material. Notice below that a few letters in the official Lezgi Cyrillic alphabet represent phonemes that do not actually exist in the Lezgi language. They are used when writing Russian loan words.

Trans-literation	IPA	Lezgi Alphabet	Haspelmath
<i>a</i>	a	а	<i>a</i>
<i>b</i>	b	б	<i>b</i>
<i>v</i>	w	в	<i>w</i>
<i>g</i>	g	г	<i>g</i>
<i>ğ</i>	ɣ	гъ	<i>ğ</i>
<i>h</i>	h	гъ	<i>h</i>
<i>d</i>	d	д	<i>d</i>
<i>ye</i>	je	е	<i>e, je</i>
<i>yo</i>	jo	ё	-
<i>j</i>	ʒ	ж	<i>ž</i>
<i>z</i>	z	з	<i>z</i>
<i>i</i>	i	и	<i>i</i>
<i>y</i>	j	й	<i>j</i>
<i>k</i>	k	к	<i>k</i>
<i>g'</i>	ɡ	къ	<i>q̃</i>
<i>q'</i>	q'	къ	<i>q'</i>
<i>k'</i>	k'	кІ	<i>k'</i>
<i>l</i>	l	л	<i>l</i>
<i>m</i>	m	м	<i>m</i>
<i>n</i>	n	н	<i>n</i>
<i>o</i>	o	о	-
<i>p</i>	p	п	<i>p</i>
<i>p'</i>	p'	пІ	<i>p'</i>

Trans-Literation	IPA	Lezgi Alphabet	Haspelmath
<i>r</i>	r	р	<i>r</i>
<i>s</i>	s	с	<i>s</i>
<i>t</i>	t	т	<i>t</i>
<i>t'</i>	t'	тІ	<i>t</i>
<i>u</i>	u	у	<i>u</i>
<i>ü</i>	y	уь	<i>ü</i>
<i>f</i>	f	ф	<i>f</i>
<i>xh</i>	χ	х	<i>x</i>
<i>q</i>	q	хъ	<i>q^h</i>
<i>x</i>	x	хь	<i>x̂</i>
<i>ts</i>	ts	ц	<i>c</i>
<i>ts'</i>	ts'	цІ	<i>c'</i>
<i>ç</i>	tʃ	ч	<i>č</i>
<i>ç'</i>	tʃ̃	чІ	<i>č'</i>
<i>ʃ</i>	ʃ	ш	<i>š</i>
-	ç	щ	-
'	ʔ	ъ	<i>ʔ</i>
<i>ɪ</i>	i	ы	-
-	j	ь	-
<i>e</i>	ʔe, e	э	<i>ʔe, e</i>
<i>yu</i>	ju	ю	<i>ju</i>
<i>ya, ə</i>	ja, æ	я	<i>ja, ä</i>
<i>ö</i>	ø	ве	<i>we</i>

Transcription Symbols:

All texts encountered in this paper are developed from oral transcriptions. Three such representative texts are found in the appendices. An oral transcription is included for The Bug Story (Appendix A). Below are the symbols used for transcription, adapted from Du Bois, et al.

(1993:45-89):

Word unit	<i>space</i>	Marcato speech	<MRC MRC>
Truncated word	-	Quotation quality	<Q Q>
Lengthened word	=	Widened pitch (high involvement)	<W W>
High tone on word	!	High pitch	<HI HI>
Intonation unit	<i>new line</i>	Low pitch	<LO LO>
Normal pause (1 sec)	...	Allegro (rapid) speech	<A A>
Short pause	..	Diminuendo (gradually softer)	<DIM DIM>
Long pause	Laughter quality over speech	<@ @>
No pause	<i>no dots</i>	Code Switching (to Azeri)	<L2 L2>
Final intonation	.	Speech overlap	[]
Continuing intonation	,	Transcription comments	()
Question intonation	?	Exhalation	(Hx)
Truncated intonation	--	Laughter	@
Embedded intonation			
High tone at end of a clause	/		

Remember that in oral transcriptions, these symbols above (especially . , ? !) always represent specialized prosodic information, not grammatical or semantic structure.

1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a verb ranking salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives and then uses it to obtain ‘followability’ by observing its interaction with the discourse structure and pragmatics. The Lezgi (or Lezgian) language, is a Caucasian language of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family (Lezgi branch) spoken in Azerbaijan and Daghestan. Though the grammar of written Lezgi has been described by Martin Haspelmath (1993), very little work has been produced on the oral dialects of Lezgi. Neither have discourse features of Lezgi been addressed.

1.1 Problem Statement

To be able to understand a narrative, one must first be able to follow it. A story is more than just words on a page in a certain order, or words spoken into the air without feeling. It is a text spoken in a certain way, by an author, to an audience, for a purpose. It is done according to cultural conventions, in a particular setting, according to a narrative template, and in a certain order of action. These factors are interwoven, and add to the meaning of the text. Therefore, to understand a story, one must understand more than the words. One must be able to ‘follow’ the story. One way to do this is to note the tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) of the verb forms, rank them according to their salience, and then see how they are used throughout the narrative discourse (Longacre and Hwang 2012:4).

In fact, this kind of ‘followability’ is one of the main functions of the TAM features in a language (Longacre 2006:343). Ricouer (1985:150) said, “To follow a story, in effect, is to

understand the successive actions, thoughts, and feelings in the story inasmuch as they present a particular ‘directedness.’” This is a notional concept that is influenced by surface and structural clues in a language. “After all, the listener/reader must be given a clue(s) as to what are the primary sequential happenings of the stories and what material in the text is more marginal. In constructing a salience ranking scheme we are simply trying to make explicit those clues and demonstrate the integrity of the story” (Longacre and Hwang 2012:76). For narratives, the primary, punctiliar actions in a story constitute the storyline, or mainline progression. This mainline progression is a main component of followability. It is the foregrounding of certain important information complemented by the backgrounding of less important information.

Starting with the presupposition that narrative templates exist in every language, and that storylines aid in the followability of a text (Longacre 2006:343-345), I have gathered oral Lezgi texts (in the Quba dialect of Azerbaijan) in order to study them and understand better how Lezgis tell stories. From this corpus, several types of narratives were selected for analysis in order to find their mainline development – the sequential and punctiliar happenings which constitute the structure of a story. I rely on the hypothesis developed by Robert E. Longacre, which says that a text is generated from the mainline, which “is considered to be the central feature of the text of which other text features are essentially elaborations and additions” (Longacre 1989:414). One of the most fruitful text linguistic analyses that can be done in a language is to understand the mainline development of a narrative and construct a salience scheme based on it. My purpose in this thesis is to describe, based on an investigation of a text corpus of Lezgi oral stories (3.5), a verb salience ranking scheme that obtains for most Lezgi oral narratives (Chapter 5) and show how its interaction with the discourse structure aids in its followability (Chapter 6).

I maintain that this cannot be done unless issues of pragmatics, which closely intersect discourse analysis (Longacre 1996:31), are also considered. Speaker, audience, and purpose are basic clues to understanding a Lezgi oral narrative. The genre of the text tells a lot about the text itself. Oral prosodic features also have an important bearing on the discourse. These issues are addressed throughout the study (especially in 3.1, 3.3, 4.1), and cannot be ignored in an analysis of followability (as demonstrated in 6.2).

With regard to grammar (Chapter 2), I focus on the verbal system of Lezgi (2.2). “The verb morphology does more than orient the reader/hearer temporally and to signal qualitative differences in happenings and activities; it ultimately exists to expedite that very special form of discourse, the narrative” (Longacre and Hwang 2012:79). Consequently, other parts of the grammar of Lezgi are presented in a much abbreviated way (2.1). Further, the use of colloquial and other oral constructions that vary from written Lezgi as described by Haspelmath are dealt with (2.3).

Finally, the overall discourse structure (Chapter 6) is very important to understand because of its interplay with the verb salience scheme. All of these issues above are considered and illustrated by a few representative texts that have been interlinearized in the appendices.

1.2 The Lezgi Language

Lezgi is a member of the Lezgi branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family. This branch also includes Archi, Tabassaran, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, Kryz, Khinalug, and Udi (Berg 2005:182). More specifically, the Eastern Samur group of Lezgi languages

(Lezgi, Agul, Tabassaran) share many words and syntax, as well as the distinct characteristics of morphological ergativity, ejective consonants, significant suffix-agglutination, many noun cases with localizations, and similar verb affixation strategies (Berg 2004:198). Lezgi is spoken by about 654,000 people¹ living in Southeastern Daghestan and Northeastern Azerbaijan. Figure 1 shows the area where Lezgi is mainly spoken (10), along with the other languages of Agul (6), Avar (7), Dargin (8), Lak (9), Rutul (11), Tabassaran (12), Tsakur (13), and Azerbaijani (22). Some Russian (R) and Lezgi (L) are spoken in various isolated instances.



Figure 1: Lezgi Language Group (10) shown with other East Caucasian Languages²

¹ This number is based on the official census figures in Russia (FSSS 2010) and Azerbaijan (State Statistical Committee of the Republic of Azerbaijan 2009). While the official census figures from the Azerbaijani government reports 180,300 ethnic Lezgis in Azerbaijan (2.0% of the population), unofficial sources like Mateveeva and McCartney (1997:217), Kerimova (2011a:609), and the Ethnologue (2014) claim they are higher. It is unclear how many Lezgi speakers are in Azerbaijan presently.

² This black and white excerpt of “Map of the ethno-linguistic groups in the Caucasus region (English Version)” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Caucasus-ethnic_en.svg) by User:Pmx (<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Pmx>) is licensed under CC BY 2.5 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/deed.en>).

Lezgis are native to the East Caucasus area and were part of the Ancient Caucasian Albanian Empire, a Christian nation that existed in the southern Caucasus in the 3rd-5th centuries (Mateveeva and McCartney 1997:214). The Muslim invasion in the 7th-8th centuries changed not only their religion, but their locale – forcing them higher up into the Caucasus Mountains. Arabic was used during this interim time for law, religion, poetry, and inscriptions (Haspelmath 1993:23). Through the middle ages, Lezgis existed alongside conquering Persian and Turkic groups. From the 11th century, the Seljuks (and later, the Shirvan Dynasty) used Azerbaijani as a trade language in the region (Nichol 1996:88-89), which has influenced the Lezgi language (Haspelmath 1993:26). Incorporation of Daghestan into the Russian Empire in the 19th century brought Russian as a trade language, as well as Russian language policies. This influence has remained since Soviet times, and use of Cyrillic as the official alphabet of the Lezgi language has continued even after Azerbaijan gained its independence and changed its script to Latin in 1991 (Bayatly 1997:22-24).

Though the Lezgis have long been a distinct people group, they have sometimes been identified together with other language groups from the Lezgic branch, and their language served as a literary language for Agul and Rutul up to 1950 (Wixman 1984:125-126). All these historical sociolinguistic events have heavily influenced the Lezgi language, both in Azerbaijan and in Daghestan. Though Lezgi is an official language of Daghestan and a recognized language in Azerbaijan, it remains classified as “vulnerable” by UNESCO's Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley 2010).

1.3 Literature Review

The first linguistic studies of Lezgi were done by Russian linguists. Uslar created the first alphabet based on Cyrillic for Lezgi in 1896. The standard language, based on the Küre dialect, was made official in 1928, using a Latin alphabet championed by Gadzhibekov. In 1938, Moscow decreed Cyrillic alphabet be used for all written languages of the Soviet Union, including Lezgi. Gadzhijev published a dictionary in 1941 and 1950. Other works from Gulmagamyedov, Talibov, and Melanova have followed over the years (Haspelmath 1993:23-24).

Today, Lezgi is written with 45 Cyrillic characters (See Appendix A). It is learned in the home, and taught in a few schools in Daghestan and Azerbaijan. There are old school textbooks from Daghestan and some children's literature but mother-tongue literacy is still quite low, especially in Azerbaijan (Gerber 2007:31-36). However, for a minority language, a relatively large amount of literature (poetry, fiction, journals, newspapers, etc.) exists, mostly in Daghestan, but also a little in Azerbaijan. Lezgi has been considered to be one of the languages of the Caucasus with the largest amount of literature. However, mother tongue language use must compete with Russian and Azeri (languages of wider communication). Having lived and worked with Lezgis in Azerbaijan over the last four years, it seems to me that Lezgi language proficiency in Azerbaijan has declined since the sociolinguistic survey work conducted by Clifton, et al. in 1999-2001 (Clifton, et al. 2002).

In modern times, Moor (1984) helped to better describe the morphology of the Lezgi verb. However, Haspelmath has done the bulk of the task in his *Grammar of Lezgian* (1993) – a

work focused only on written Lezgi. Further, as a result of his typological study of other languages, Haspelmath has also published extensive work on Lezgi ergativity (Haspelmath 1991), verb tenses (Haspelmath 1994), coordination (Haspelmath 2007), and especially converbs (Haspelmath 1995a). Even the word lists and texts he collected in the literary dialect have been useful to others.

But less work has been done in spoken Lezgi. For practical purposes, the spoken dialects can be divided into four regions: Küre and Axtı in Daghestan; and in Azerbaijan, Qusar and Ismayilli (which Jessica Smith described in 2010). The grammar of Qusari oral dialect (also known as Quba dialect) has not been formally described.

There is a lack of discourse analysis for Lezgi as well. Little is known about its overall discourse features. Haspelmath (1993:241-244) speaks of discourse markers, but their function is illustrated only at the sentence level. He also mentions information flow in passing (Haspelmath 1993:301), simply noting that “given information tends to precede new information.” Niels Smit (2010:248-252) confirmed from Haspelmath’s written data that 1) the normal construction for a Lezgi sentence is Subject-Oblique-Object-Verb with little exception, 2) in narrative, objects which are comments then usually become the topic of the next assertion, and 3) focus occurs by fronting an argument or adverbial clause other than the actor. While information flow is a natural extension of good syntactical description, it falls short of describing the overall discourse of Lezgi.

What is still needed is macro-level discourse analysis of various text genres, observation of the mainline progression, development of a salience ranking scheme, description of the

discourse structure, and even an investigation of pragmatic features – for all major genre types. This thesis contributes to filling this need, at least for oral narratives.

1.4 Verb salience theory

The idea that verbs in a narrative can be divided into punctiliar actions and ongoing actions was first proposed by Grimes (1975), and then later expanded and systematized by Longacre (1989). Including principles of transitivity from Hopper and Thompson (1980), Longacre (1989:415) posited that a ranking scheme of verbs showing relative prominence, or salience, can be observed in a narrative. The sequential, punctiliar happenings are called the mainline, or storyline. These are contrasted with the less prominent actions, states, contingencies, existences, and elaborations occurring off the mainline. The ranking of these verbs (along with the clauses they control) relative to one another other is a verb ranking salience scheme, and is useful for understanding how stories are told. Longacre (1977, 1981, 1982, 1989, 1995, 1996, 2006, 2010) has been particularly active in making typological observations using this method from languages around the world, and a simplified field method has been developed (Longacre and Hwang 2012) in order to describe a verb ranking salience scheme in various languages and text types.

At a more basic level, the idea of salience has to do with foregrounding and backgrounding of information - and every language has ways of indicating it. For Lezgi, the main way this happens is with tense, aspect and mood (TAM), but it is also done by the semantic meaning and type of action inherent with every verb. Clues must be drawn from both the

semantic meaning and notional forms of the text. Thus, the development of a verb salience scheme is the act of correlating morphological features of verbs with their functions in the text (Longacre 1989:443).

This concept of verb salience is also intricately tied with the story schema – a kind of narrative template. In many languages and cultures (especially for their oral traditions), patterns of discourse are highly organized and conventionalized. When the audience hears and understands a particular cue, form, or structure, they expect the story to progress in a certain way. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:106) emphasize the importance of genres in this way: “A story schema can be expected to reflect productive patterns of foreground and background information, and in some cases there may be no reason to believe that a story schema per se is being imposed. In other cases, regularity of patterning may indicate that the grounding patterns have become conventionalized.” As will be shown in Chapter 3, oral Lezgi narratives are conventionalized, and this does effect the grounding patterns (especially for parables 5.2 and some folktales 5.3). The observations of Labov and Waletzky (1997), Norrick (2000), Fleischman (1990), Fludernik (1991), and others, who have done much work in analyzing story schemas for narratives in English, were helpful in this determination. However, it cannot be automatically assumed that the cultural, pragmatic, and structural conventions of oral English stories are identical to those in Lezgi. The dynamics of discourse structure must be studied and described largely within the system of the particular language.

Longacre’s method of describing a verb salience scheme for a language starts with the assumptions that in a discourse, 1) the whole of the text and its parts interplay with each other

and 2) different verb forms tell the hearer about the various dynamics of successive action in a narrative (Longacre and Hwang 2012:15-19). Longacre (1989:443, 1996:28) developed an etic verb salience scheme theory for narratives of all languages (see Figure 2). The scheme consists of a main storyline of sequential and punctiliar happenings, with possible features in “progressive degrees of departure from the mainline” (Longacre 1989:414).

- 1'. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)
 1. Primary storyline (S/Agent > S/Experiencer > S/Patient)
 2. Secondary storyline
 3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)
-
4. Backgrounded actions/events
 5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
 6. Setting (exposition)
 7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)
 8. Evaluations (author intrusions)
 9. Cohesive and thematic

Figure 2: Longacre’s Etic Salience Scheme

This etic scheme consists of four possible mainline bands (pivotal, primary, secondary, and routine) and six possible background bands (plus a possible additional flashback band, if it exists in a language, which would come before band 6. Setting). All these etic bands are covered in detail in Longacre 1989:437-446 and 1996:27-29. The etic verb salience scheme can “serve as a beginning frame of reference for analyzing verb/clause functions in narrative” (Longacre 1996:27). The salience scheme that results from the application of this etic scheme in Lezgi is presented in chapter 5. I explain each proposed band for oral Lezgi in each subsection below (5.5.1-5.5.8).

This method of investigation is appropriate for two reasons: First, it rightly presupposes that narrative templates exist universally because humans are essentially storytellers (Longacre

2006:343). Narratives consistently exhibit both surface and notional features, and a kind of structure can be observed from them. This method equips us to answer the question ‘*What* does a Lezgi story look like?’ Second, the method takes seriously the very practical understanding that events in a narrative discourse can be organized in some ‘salient’ way by a speaker to form a story (Longacre 1996:27-28). This is correlated to verbal TAM in clauses, and equips us to answer the question ‘*How* do Lezgis tell stories?’ With Lezgi’s co-subordinative verb chaining structure (Haspelmath 1995b:21-26), its rich and complex verbal TAM, and interesting narrative genres (and sub-genres), this method yields fruitful results that will help better understand and follow oral narratives.

In short, the importance of verb salience can be explained this way: If the normal verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives is known, then the storyline can be determined. Observing how this storyline interacts with the discourse structure (and some key issues of pragmatics, like genre and prosodics) will tell us how to follow a Lezgi oral narrative. Followability is key, because it reveals the ‘point’ of the story and enables it to be properly understood. Therefore, determining the salience scheme is the core task of this study.

2 OVERVIEW OF LEZGI GRAMMAR

This chapter summarizes the basic grammar of written (standard) Lezgi and describes variations of oral Lezgi that are important in this study of discourse analysis (in 2.3). Since this thesis is focused on a verb ranking salience scheme, emphasis is put on the verbal system of Lezgi (in 2.2).

2.1 Overview of written (literary) Lezgi

In Haspelmath's grammar of written Lezgi (1993), he starts with orthography, phonology, and word stress, then moves on to the basics of morphology and syntax, and ends with a description of complex clauses. Though this excellent grammar is based on texts, his discussion of discourse issues is limited to the usage of certain forms and description of a few 'discourse' particles. In this section, I summarize the material from Haspelmath (1993) relevant to this study. It should be remembered that Haspelmath's description is that of the written literary dialect of Lezgi, which is not the same as oral Lezgi. In section 2.3, I note the differences between written and oral Qusari Lezgi.

A phonetic inventory of Lezgi (transliterated) is presented in Table 1 below. Note especially the ejectives in most points of articulation. The official Lezgi alphabet consists of the same 45 Cyrillic letters as the Russian alphabet. Of those, four letters are only used in Russian loanwords: *ë*, *о*, *ш*, and *ы*. Also, there are three symbols *ь*, *ъ*, and *І*, which modify certain letters to signify uniquely Lezgi phonemes. These phones are shown below. A few phonemes below (*ö* and *ə*) are not represented in Cyrillic Lezgi.

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Ejective	pʼ	tʼ	tsʼ	çʼ	kʼ	qʼ		
Stop	p	t	ts	ç	k	q		ʼ
Voiced Stop	b	d			g	gʼ		
Fricative	f		s	ʃ	x	xh		h
Voiced Fricative	v		z	j	ğ			
Nasal	m	n						
Approximate		l	r	y				

Vowels	Front		Middle		Back	
	Unround	Round	Unround	Round	Unround	Round
High	i	ü	ɨ			u
Mid	e			ö		o
Low	ə				a	

Table 1: Phonetic Inventory of Spoken Lezgi

To make it easier for Azerbaijanis to engage with this study, I have chosen to base the Latin transliteration on the current Azerbaijani Latin alphabet. Refer to the chart on p. xv which compares this transliteration with IPA, the official Cyrillic Lezgi alphabet, and Haspelmath's transliteration.

As is common in many other languages in the Caucasus, the basic word order pattern of Lezgi is head-final: Subject-Object-Verb, Postpositions, Genitive-Noun, and Adjective-Noun. Haspelmath acknowledges there are a few exceptions to the verb-final pattern (direct speech in narration, questions, and emphatic or emotional speech) (Haspelmath 1993:300), but Lezgi oral narratives frequently use a freer word order for focus (see 2.3). Lezgi is consistently ergative using valence patterns with one to three arguments (Haspelmath 1993:268). Nuclear roles are clear from the use of an absolutive argument with intransitive verbs, and an ergative argument with transitive and ditransitive verbs. A dative experiencer (much like Russian) is also used, in

what is termed as the Affective Construction (Haspelmath 1993:280-283). Verbs are inflected for aspect/tense, mood, and non-finite forms, but have no person/number agreement. The Lezgi verb is covered more in depth in the next section, 2.2.

Lezgi is distinctive for its agglutinating morphology, especially in its noun cases. Nouns are classless, but inflected for singular and plural, localized movement and direction, and other abstract relationships (Haspelmath 1993:74-79). These combine to give 18 cases, listed in Table 2 below. They are basically organized around the directional concepts of essive (being at), elative (coming from), and directive (going toward) combined with the locational concepts of ad (by), sub (under), post (behind), super (on, over), and in (inside). The root plus the ergative suffix is the basis for the oblique stem, upon which most other cases are formed. While the ergative suffix varies, the other suffixes (formed from the oblique stem) are fairly regular. It should be understood that not all these cases exist or are used the same way in colloquial oral Lezgi.³ For example, Smith (2010:58-59) found that only 7 of the 18 cases of written Lezgi functioned the same in the Ismayilli dialect. For the Qusar dialect of this study, the form and use of the noun cases are identical to the literary Lezgi dialect.

³ However, this idealized case structure does serve well for diachronic and investigative study. How the cases are used is ultimately reserved with the Lezgi people as they speak (and change) the language. Of course, the best way to understand usage is to investigate within the context of discourse.

Case Name	Suffix Form	Function (in written Lezgi)
Absolutive-ABS	∅	subject of intransitive clause; patient/theme object of transitive clause
Ergative-ERG	<i>-di -i</i> primarily <i>-Adi -Ra -A -U -a -u -</i> <i>Uni</i> ⁴ (= Obl stem ⁵)	agent subject of transitive clause
Genitive-GEN	Obl + <i>-n</i>	possession, part-whole, relational adjective
Dative-DAT	Obl + <i>-z</i>	recipient, experiencer, location, and spans of time, etc.
Adessive-ADES	Obl + <i>-v</i>	with, by, to
Adelative-ADEL	Obl + <i>-v-ay</i>	from near/by, from a person or being, involuntary agent, causative
Addirective-ADIR	Obl + <i>-v-di</i>	instrument or manner
Postessive-POES	Obl + <i>-q</i>	to/toward, in exchange for, behind, possessive
Postelative-POEL	Obl + <i>-q-ay</i>	from, 'from behind,' stimulus of emotion
Postdirective-PODIR	Obl + <i>-q-di</i>	through a place, toward
Subessive-SBES	Obl + <i>-k</i>	below, underneath, close contact
Subelative-SBEL	Obl + <i>-k-ay</i>	from, partitive (out of), stimulus of emotion
Subdirective-SBDIR	Obl + <i>-k-di</i>	adverbial, causative, direction 'toward below'
Superessive-SPEs	Obl + <i>-l</i>	on, onto, located in a Lezgi village
Superrelative-SPEL	Obl + <i>-l-ay</i>	off, across/over, after, beginning with, comparison
Superdirective-SPDIR	Obl + <i>-l-di</i>	up, onto, until
Inessive-INES	Obl (lowered vowel)	in, temporal
Inelative-INEL	Inessive <i>-y</i>	out of, from, 'in exchange for,' cause of emotion

Table 2: Lezgi Case Suffix Forms and Uses⁶

Lezgi is a chaining language that frequently uses a non-finite verb form for adverbial subordination called the converb (verbal adverb). It also makes use of the masdar (verbal noun), participle (verbal adjective) and the infinitive in complement clauses. Many of the other typical clauses of Daghestanian languages also exist in Lezgi (described in detail in Haspelmath (1993)): standard (294-303), dative (280-83), copular (317-26), coordination (327-39), relative (340-53),

⁴ For most nouns the default ergative suffix is *-di* (sg) or *-i* (pl), but the other suffixes for irregular nouns are also included in this chart. Because Lezgi has palatal vowel harmony, the letters A and U stand for phonemic variation in the front and back vowels (Haspelmath 1993:48).

⁵ The oblique suffix is the base for further case formations.

⁶ From Haspelmath 1993:4 as summarized in Smith 2010:58-59

questions (417-31), and comparison (432-441). The spoken language tends to be simpler, so we do not meet all of these clausal constructions in oral texts.

It has been mentioned that Lezgi is generally a verb-final language. A notable exception to this is the *ki* ‘that’ complement/quotation clause (Haspelmath 1993:370-72) that came into the standard written language from Azerbaijani (Turkic) influence. Additionally, other orders (like post-posed subjects) are possible – especially in colloquial language (Haspelmath 1993:298). Other possible post-posed elements include what Haspelmath calls discourse markers (Haspelmath 1993:241), including *man* (expressing weak exhortation, or the appellative ‘you know?’) and question particles (Haspelmath 1993:428).

Information structure and participant reference are outside the scope of this study but are important for a complete discourse analysis. Haspelmath (1993:298-99) notes, that in the overwhelming majority of cases, word order at the clause level is verb-final and that the subject precedes the other arguments, ‘at least in the written standard language.’ But in this study, post-posed subjects are not rare, and must be linked with their matching verb correctly in clauses. This is not always easy to do, since Lezgi has no verb-subject agreement (Haspelmath 1993:294).

2.2 Lezgi Verbs

Because the scope of this study is to describe the discourse structure and verb salience scheme of Lezgi oral narratives, a primary concern is the TAM of Lezgi verbs. Moor (1984) made great progress in the description of Lezgi verb morphology, and Haspelmath built on that

in chapters 9 and 10 of his grammar (Haspelmath 1993:122-183) and in a later article where he illustrated the two main types of converbs, contextual and specialized (Haspelmath 1995b).

Lezgi verbal paradigms are based on two verb stems (strong and weak) in three stem groups (masdar, imperfect, and aorist).⁷ Since there are several irregular and periphrastic forms, and because the participle and converb forms can only be derived from certain stems, this necessitates the kinds of numerous paradigms that Haspelmath (1993) presents and explains in detail. However, I believe it is simpler and more helpful to summarize these formations with a position class chart to quickly visualize the process of verbal inflection. This is summarized below in Table 3-5, keeping in mind that not every combination of affixes is possible.

First observe that there are three classes of verbs that can be formulated: finite verbs, non-indicative, and non-finite verbs. Additional markers can occur on the end of most conjugated verbs.⁸ The finite verbs (Table 3) have imperfective and perfective affixes in position 1 and modifying affixes in position 2. Non-indicative verbs (Table 4) have the usual array of modal affixes. And the non-finite verbs (Table 5) are those verbs used in co-subordinating clauses, so the variety of affixes offered in positions 1 and 2 reflect various adverbial relationships.

⁷ Scheffler (2005:6-9) has since shown using Distributed Morphology that it is possible to describe verb (and noun) affix formation in Lezgi without “reifying abstract concepts like stems.”

⁸ FOC and Q share the same form: *-ni*; however, a characteristic rising-falling intonation indicates a question. This *-ni* suffix is also the coordinator ‘and’ or ‘also.’

Finite Verbs:

	0	1	2	Markers	
Stem		<i>-z(a)va</i>	IMPF	<i>-y</i> PST	<i>-t'a</i> CND
		<i>-z(a)ma</i>	IMPF- CONT	<i>-ç</i> NEG	<i>-ni</i> FOC
		<i>-da</i>	FUT	<i>-çir</i> NEG-PST	<i>-ni</i> Q
		<i>-na</i>	AOR	<i>-lda</i> EVD	
		<i>-n(a)va</i>	PRF	<i>-daldi</i> POSTR	
		<i>-n(a)ma</i>	PRF- CONT	<i>-n(a)maz(di)</i> IMMANT	
				<i>-z(a)maz</i> IMMANT	
		<i>-da</i>	ENT	<i>-(i)rdavay</i> GRAD	

Table 3: Lezgi Verb Position Class Chart for Finite Verbs

Non-Indicative Verbs:

	0	1	Markers	
NEG <i>tV-</i>		<i>-ray, -(u)y</i>	OPT	<i>-ni</i> FOC
Stem		<i>-a, Redup, Supl, Irreg</i>	IMPV	<i>-ni</i> Q
		<i>-(i)n</i>	HORT	
		<i>-mir</i>	PROHIB	

Table 4: Lezgi Verb Position Class Chart for Non-Indicative Verbs

Non-Finite Verbs:

	0	1	2	Markers	
NEG <i>tV-</i>		<i>-(u)n</i>	MSD	<i>-la</i> TEMP	<i>-ni</i> FOC
Stem		<i>-(i)z</i>	INF	<i>-val</i> PURP	<i>-ni</i> Q
		<i>-(i)z</i>	IMC	<i>-valdi</i> IMMANT	
		<i>-na</i>	AOC	<i>-vilay</i> CAUS	
		<i>-ay, -r, -y, -yi</i>	AOP	<i>-t'a</i> CND	
		<i>-z(a)vay</i>	IMPF-PTP	<i>-di</i> SBST	
		<i>-z(a)may</i>	IMPF-CONT-PTP		
		<i>-day</i>	FUT-PTP		
		<i>-n(a)vay</i>	PRF-PTP		
		<i>-n(a)may</i>	PRF-CONT-PTP		

Table 5: Lezgi Verb Position Class Chart for Non-Finite Verbs

Note further from Table 5 that IMC and INF suffixes are the same form. They have similar functions at times, and Haspelmath develops IMC fully in his article on converbs (Haspelmath 1995a:417-422). For the specialized converbs, some (like POSTR, IMMANT, GRAD) are based on finite forms while others (like TEMP, PURP, IMMANT, and CAUS) are actually secondary verb forms based on participial forms. The negative for non-finite verb forms is made with the prefix *tV-*, which is the only formal way to distinguish AOC from AOR (Haspelmath 1995a:423). The fact that AOC and AOR share the same suffix was a particular challenge at first in interlinearizing oral texts, analyzing the verbs, and determining the mainline. Distinguishing the AOC from the mainline verb actually became easier for the exceptional cases of some parables (where the mainline verb is IMPF) and some folktales (where the mainline verb is ENT). Finally, notice that the FUT suffix shares the same form as the ENT (Table 3), as explained further in 2.3.3.

The functions of each possible verbal form are also explained and illustrated by Haspelmath in his grammar (1993:140-158) and his article on the Lezgi converbs (Haspelmath 1995a:417-431). They are summarized below in Table 6-8.

Finite Forms		Function in Haspelmath (1993)
<i>-z(a)va</i>	IMPF	Present progressive action; Habitual (preferred in coll.)
<i>-z(a)ma</i>	IMPF-CONT	Present continuative ‘still –ing’ or ‘not –ing’
<i>-z(a)ma-y</i>	IMPF-CONT-PST	Past continuative state ‘was still –ing’
<i>-z(a)va-y</i>	IMPF-PST	Past progressive action ‘was –ing’
<i>-da</i>	FUT	Future situations ; Durative in proverbs Used in theater stage directions
<i>-da-y</i>	FUT-PST	Habitual ‘would’ or ‘used to’; hypothetical;
<i>-na</i>	AOR	Perfective events in the past –Used in narratives
<i>-na-y</i>	AOR-PST	Situations that do not obtain anymore or effect has been canceled; Remote past; Situations before the main storyline
<i>-n(a)va</i>	PFR	Present perfect - the current effect of past events; Resultative for verbs of posture i.e. ‘have sat’
<i>-n(a)va-y</i>	PFR-PST	Resultative for action verbs ‘was now...’ ‘was done’; Anteriority to another past situation ‘had...’
<i>-n(a)ma</i>	PFR-CONT	Present resultative state that continues ‘still has...’
<i>-n(a)ma-y</i>	PFR-CONT-PST	Past resultative state that continued ‘was still -ing’
<i>-lda</i>	EVID	Hearsay – ‘one says’ (from <i>luhuda</i>)
<i>-daldi</i>	POSTR	Posterior adverbial clause ‘until...’ ‘before...’
<i>-z(a)maz</i> <i>-n(a)maz(di)</i>	IMMANT	Immediate anteriority clause ‘as soon as...’
<i>-(i)rdavay</i>	GRAD	Graduative clause ‘as... -ing’ or ‘becoming ...’

Table 6: Functions of Finite Verb Forms

Non-Indicative Forms		Function in Haspelmath (1993)
<i>-ray, -(u)y</i>	OPT	Wishes (usually with <i>goy</i> ‘let’); Exhortations to third person; Oaths (with <i>eger</i> ‘if’); Deliberative questions
<i>-a, Redup, Supl, Irreg</i>	IMPV	Command (can’t be negated –PROHIB is used instead)
<i>-(i)n</i>	HORT	Exhortation (often with <i>ša</i> ‘come’); Deliberative questions; Uncertainty (often with <i>belki</i> ‘perhaps’)
<i>-mir</i>	PROHIB	Negative command
<i>-(i)z xun</i>	INF + <i>xun</i>	Periphrastic Habitual ‘regularly...’
<i>-dayval ya</i>	FUT-PTP-PURP + COP	Periphrastic (Immediate) Future ‘about to...’

Table 7: Functions of Non-Indicative Verb Forms

Non-Finite Forms		Function in Haspelmath (1993, 1995a)
-(u)n	MSD	Verbal noun; Citation form; inflected for case; takes adverbial modifiers; expresses situations
-(i)z	INF	Purpose and complement clauses, esp. in ‘want’ ‘can’ ‘make’ ‘begin’
-(i)z	IMC	Simultaneous accompanying event, or another way of viewing the event (or manner) of the main clause
-na	AOC	Non-specific adverbial subordination; Chaining adverbial clauses expressing sequences of events generically (less commonly, a series of successive events in one sentence). Not always perfective: if main verb is non-indicative, AOC expresses simultaneity.
-ay, -r/-y/-yi	AOP	Generic verbal adjective marking a non-finite relative clause – close in meaning to PRF-PTP; This is the only participle that can take COND <i>t’a</i>
-z(a)vay	IMPF-PTP	Continuative participle ‘that was still’
-z(a)vay-di	IMPF-PTP-SUBT	Substantivized participle, marking a headless relative clause ‘the one who...’
-z(a)ma-y	IMPF-CONT-PTP	Past continuous participle ‘that was –ing’
-day	FUT-PTP	Future or present participial clause ‘that will be –ing’
-n(a)va-y	PRF-PTP	Perfective participial meaning ‘which had been...’; Preferred in coll. to AOP
-n(a)may	PRF-CONT-PTP	Perfective continuous participial meaning ‘had been –ing’
-ay-la	TEMP	Temporal clause ‘when...’ or ‘after...’ depending upon verb in main clause
-dayval	PURP/MAN	Purpose or Manner clause; Often used with FUT-PTP
-valdi	IMMANT	Immediate anteriority clause ‘as soon as...’
-vilay	CAUS	Causal clause ‘because of...’

Table 8: Functions of Non-Finite Verb Forms

In Table 7, there are a few periphrastic forms that use the COP ‘be’ *ya* and *xun* to indicate Habitual and Immediate Future. Periphrastic verb formation and copular clauses are common in Lezgi. They are made with the COP ‘be’ and its localized forms ‘be in,’ ‘be near/at,’ ‘be behind/with,’ ‘be under,’ and ‘be on,’ as well as *xun* ‘be, become’ and *avun* ‘do.’ For these, the negation *tV-* attaches to the COP, but the focus marker *-ni* attaches to the base verb.

2.3 Spoken Lezgi

As with most languages with a literary tradition, there are marked differences between the written language and the spoken varieties. This study is focused on the Qusar dialect of spoken Lezgi which exhibit differences encoded in oral prosodics, as well as differences in grammatical use and in oral narrative discourse.

2.3.1 General differences between spoken and written Lezgi

Several features of spoken language in general apply to this spoken (Qusari) dialect of Lezgi: 1) less structure with short sentences (even those which would be considered incomplete in written form, but are acceptable in oral form), 2) adjustment of constituent order to keep the listener aware of the topic (resulting in focused objects, sentence final subjects, cleft sentences, tail-head linkage, predicative substantivized participles, and other ‘non-standard’ techniques), 3) prosodic information that encodes all kinds of information (which, if existing in a written text, must be encoded in written form, or lost), and 4) repetition. To these typical differences of features in spoken discourse, Chafe would add what he calls ‘involvement’: more details, emphatic particles, reference to the speaker and his/her mental processing, and direct quotations (Chafe 1982:45-48). Many of these features were indeed found in the Lezgi oral narratives of this corpus. How they were captured in the transcriptions is discussed in 4.2.

Chafe also notes that speech comes in “spurts,” not in a continuous flow - a biological necessity since air needs to be replaced as we talk. “This physiological requirement (of needing to replace air) operates in happy synchrony with some basic functional segmentations of

discourse” (Chafe 1994:57). This is one reason we see shorter, simple sentences in spoken Lezgi. Further, these spurts must also be connected in some way. The temporal and logical sequence of a story naturally does this in a narrative (helped in Lezgi by the coordinator suffix *-ni* ‘and’). Norrick (2000:11) adds, “This characteristic turn reflects the additive nature of spoken language by contrast with the subordinative character of written language.” Finally, by noticing the prosodics of Lezgi oral narratives (especially with clarifying explanations from native speakers), analysis was done from the beginning of this study listening for the most important prosodic information – namely, each ‘intonational unit’ (Chafe 1993:37).

2.3.2 Grammatical differences between spoken and written Lezgi

First, it should be noted that there many examples of constituents out of normal order in oral Lezgi. One reason for this is the natural result of a speaker’s spontaneity and story-forming process as it is being spoken (Chafe 1993:39). For example, *zu* ‘my’ is postposed in (1) below – a clarification of the subject which had not yet been said in the sentence:

- (1) Фена къаткана жуван чкадал вил ахвара фена зу
 fena g'atkana juvan çkadal vil axhvara fena zu
 go-AOC lie.down-AOR own place.on eye dream.in go-AOR my
 I went to lie down in my bed and I fell asleep. (Bug 5)

Other post-posed constituents also show the desire of the speaker to keep a participant or idea always in the listener’s mind. A good storyteller unconsciously understands that followability of the story is partly dependent upon keeping a participant or idea activated. Placing a constituent (even whole phrases) right after the verb serves this purpose, since it is the last thing heard by the

listener following the story. In (2) the listener is reminded of the reason for the return by post-posing *qifiz* ‘to.return-INF’:

- (2) Зазни кІан хъана жуван дидедин патав гъадан къвалав Набрандиз
 zazni k'an xana juvan didedin patav hadan g'valav Nabrandiz
 to.me-and want.be-AOR own mother-GEN to her side Nabran-DAT
 хъифиз
 qifiz
 to.return-INF

And I wanted to go to my mother, to return to Nabran. (Bug 2.2)

In (3) and (4) the verbs are moved out of normal order to focus the action:

- (3) Зани вуч ийин Къвазнава зун
 zani vuç iyin g'öznavazun
 I-and what do-HORT stop-PRF I
 So what shall I do - I have stopped. (Bug 27)

- (4) Хтана ибур и виляятдиз .
 xhtana ibur i vilayatdiz
 returned-AOR these this province.to
 They returned to this province. (Princess 10.1)

Fronted verbs also occur in the climax of Lezgi stories to emphasize the action (see Chapter 6). Haspelmath (1993:300) explains that clauses that do not end in a verb are acceptable, especially in emotional or emphatic speech or quotations in narrative texts. Actually, for oral texts, emphasized words can be placed basically anywhere, even in the middle of a subordinate clause when the speaker feels the need to clarify the focus, for example:

- (5) Ахпа чир хъана хъи , рехъ къалурайди вуж я , хъуъруьнвийриз ,
 Axhpa çir xana xi req g'aluraydi vuj ya xürünviyriz
 then find.out-AOR that road show-AOP-SBST who is villagers-DAT
 къеледиз .
 g'elediz
 into the fortress

Then they found out who showed the way - the villagers did - to the fortress. (Migrax 1.28)

Perhaps expected in oral Lezgi, are the many contracted, slang, and elided verbs that were encountered. In (6), the verb *luhuzvay* ‘was saying’ is elided (probably a result of heightened vividness).

- (6) Зани икI явашдиказ мамадиз эверна За ø Мама
 zani ik' yavaşdikaz mamadiz everna za (luhuzvay) mama
 I-and like this slowly to mother call-AOR I say-IMPF-PST mother
 мама Мадни за ø Мама
 mama madni za (luhuzvay) mama
 mother again-and I say-IMPF-PST mother

And I...called mom like this slowly. I (was saying) “Mama, Mama.” And again: “Mama.” (Bug 29)

In (7), toward the end of the sentence, we should expect the COP *ya* after the PTP-PURP *fidayval* to make a periphrastic (immediate future) construction, but this ‘be’ verb has been elided.

- (7) « Ша », лагъана , « вун и гъуьлелай », лагъана , « алатна чун
 şa lahana vun i hūlelay lahana alatna çun
 come said-AOR you this sea.over said-AOR passing-AOC we
 фида исятда , вун акъах зал », лагъана , « са къирмаждив зун
 fida isyatda vun ag'axh zal lahana sa g'irmajdiv zun
 go-FUT now you mount-IMPV on me said-AOR one whip.with me
 ягъ » лагъана , « цавалай лув гана фидайвал чун .
 yağ lahana tsavalay luv gana fidayval çun
 strike-IMPV said-AOR air.from.off flying-AOC go-FUT-PTP-PURP we
 "Come, we will pass over this sea now. You mount me, strike me with a whip, and we are
 about to fly in the air." (Princess 5.9)

Further, Lezgi has a tendency historically to reduce compound verbs, especially those formed from nouns, adjectives, or participles with the verbs like *awun* ‘do, make’ and *xun* ‘be, become’ (Haspelmath 1993:178). This was found in a few Lezgi oral texts, probably because it tends to happen when speaking quickly. For example, in (8) *yaşamışda* is actually a contraction of *yaşamış iyida* ‘be starting a life.’

- (8) Яшамішда ибур са гъазим чІувал .
 yaşamışda ibur sa hazim ç'uval
 lived-ENT⁹ these one lot.of time.of
 They lived for a long while. (Princess 18.1)

In example (9) *fikirda* is a contraction of *fikir iyida* ‘did thoughts.’

⁹ See section 2.3.3 for a description of the Epic Narrative Tense (ENT).

- (9) Гададини фикирда , « яраб » лугъуда « зун фейитIа
gadadini fikirda yarab luhuda zun feyit'
guy.ERG.and thought-ENT I wonder said-ENT I agoing-PTP-COND
эвел руш инал туна хъуй бубади атана руш чуънуъх
evel ruş inal tuna xuy bubadi atana ruş çünüxh
before girl here putting-AOC if.do father coming-AOC girl steal-INF
хъийида .
qiyida
do.again-FUT
The guy thought "I wonder - if I leave the girl here and go first, my father will come and steal her." (Princess 15.9)

In (10) below, the colloquial construction *akungaz* ‘see-like’ is a sort of slang for the girl ‘that you like.’

- (10) И балкIандини лугъуда хьи , « аку », лугъуда , « ваз а руш
İ balk'andini luhuda xi aku luhuda vaz a ruş
this horse.and said-ENT that look-IMPV said-ENT you.to that girl
акунгаз на лагъ хьи », лугъуда , « я руш , заз са къапина
akungaz na lah xi luhuda ya ruş zaz sa g'apina
see.like you say-IMP that said-ENT oh girl to me one jar
цвана яд це .
tsöna yad tse
put.in-AOC water order-IMPV
The horse said, “Look, when you see the girl you say ‘Give me some water in a jar.’”
(Princess 9.4)

Some aorist converbs which are used as an adverbial of manner with main verbs (Haspelmath 1993:377, 1995a:420) don't occur in an expected serial verb order. They seem to be semantically linked verbal compounds, so their order must not important in the mind of the

speaker. In example (11) you can see how ‘went to lie down’ can be considered one action (but in Lezgi, we would expect the general verb *fena* ‘go’ to be a main verb.

- (11) Фена къаткана жуван чкадал вил ахвара фена зу
 fena g'atkana juvan çkadal vil axhvara fena zu
 go-AOC lie.down-AOR own place.on eye dream.in go-AOR my
 I went to lie down in my bed and I fell asleep. (Bug 5)

In (12) we would expect the converb *raxhaz* ‘speaking’ to be placed before the main verb *başlamışzava* ‘starts’ (Haspelmath 1995a:421):

- (12) Ибурикай сада башламишзава рахаз .
 iburikay cada başlamışzava raxhaz
 they.from one start-IMPF speak-IMC
 One of them starts to speak. (Stone 1.3)

Where written Lezgi has IMPF-PST to speak of situations in the past, people speaking Lezgi instead often use predicative participial constructions (Haspelmath 1993 312-14, 325) in the periphrastic form PTP + COP. In (13) an Aorist participle (AOP) is used with COP to speak about a time in the past.

- (13) Чун гъада виликди гъеле христиан дин амай вахт тир чаз
 Çun hada vilikdi hele xhristian din amay vaxht tir çaz
 we then before still Christian religion be.still-AOP time COP-PST us.to
 The time before that was when we had Christian religion. (Migrax 1.4)

In (14), the COP:PST is actually elided.

- (14) Гъилин къен къван авай ø
 ğilin g'en q'van avay (tir)
 hand's inside so much be.in COP-PST
 It was the size of the palm of a hand. (Bug 19)

Also, predicative substantivized participles (Haspelmath 1993:347-351) in the periphrastic form PTP-SUBST + COP are extremely common in oral texts, evidenced in the second sentence of (15) below.

- (15) Эхир пара фикирайдалай сонра руш ацукъарна луйткведа , ракъуда
 exhir para fikiraydalay sonra ruş atsuq'arna lütködä rag'uda
 after all very a.thinking-MSD-off after girl boarding-AOC boat.in sent-ENT
 и руш луйткведаваз тIва патахъ .
 i ruş lütködavaz. t'ö pataq
 this girl boat.in.being-IMC other side

In the end, after many thoughts, he sat the girl on the boat and sent her by boat to the other side.

- Руш фейила , ахпа вич физвайди я ма .
 ruş feyila axpa viç fizvaydi ya ma
 girl going-TEMP then himself go-IMPF-PTC-SBST COP you know
 After the girl goes, then he himself will go, you know. (Princess 13.21-22)

Though Haspelmath (1993:349-51) mentions only a few possible functions of this PTP-SUBST + COP construction, it seems that this is more of an oral narrative discourse phenomenon, the function of which becomes clearer from studying a text as a whole. Since this construction turns an action into a performer and then comments on it, the construction probably serves to focus the entire predication, instead of the topic or comment of the sentence. This can be seen from (16) in that the first sentence is a summary statement, and the entire second sentence is a comment on the first.

At times, the FUT affix *-da* is left out of spoken Lezgi words. In (16), *jeç* ‘will not be’ should have the FUT *-da* in it (*jedaç*):

- (16) « АкІ жеч хьИ »
 Ak' jeç xi
 like that will.not.be that

"It cannot be this way." (Princess 13.28)

The suffix *-da* is also often left out of periphrastic (immediate) future constructions (Haspelmath 1993:147). Apparently this omission of the future component in the Qusari dialect doesn't take away from its meaning. In example (17), *at'urval* 'cutting' is missing *-da* in a periphrastic (immediate) future construction (should be *at'urdayval ya*).

- (17) « Заз чИдаç », лугьуда , « кьве юкьуз вуна гьИн
 Zaz çidaç luhuda q'ö yug'uz vuna ğin
 I know-PRED-NEG said-ENT two day you a.bringing-MSD

тавуртІа , ви кьИл атІурвал я .
 tavurt'a vi q'il at'urval ya
 NEG-do-PTP-COND your head cutting-PTP-MAN is

"I don't know." the king said. "But if you don't bring her in two days, your head is about to be cut off." (Princess 7.8)

In (18) below, the purpose clause *dingjval iyida* 'in order to rest' is a highly colloquial. There is a *-da* suffix, but it has moved to the main verb *iyida* 'do' instead of on *dinj* (should be *dinjdayval*). *Dinj* 'rest' is actually an Azerbaijani word.

- (18) За лагьана ки са са гьефте кьве гьефте за гьана фена
 za lahana ki sa sa hefte q'öe hefte za hana fena
 I say-AOR that one one week two week I there go-AOC

динжвал ийИда
 dinjval iyida
 have.a.rest-PURP do-FUT

I decided to go there for one or two weeks, in order to rest. (Bug 3.2)

Some verbal affixes have a different form in Qusari spoken Lezgi. For example, in the beginning of (19) and (20) the *-di* affix is used to express temporal co-subordination, normally expressed with the TEMP affix *-la*.

- (19) Чпин пачагъдин гардан алатна акурди и къушунди гъужумна
 Çpin paçahdin gardan alatna akurdi i g'uşundi hujumna
 Their king's neck cutting-AOC seeing-TEMP this army attack-AOR

Шарвилидал.
 Sharvili.on.
 Sharvilidal

When seeing their king's neck was chopped off, this army attacked Sharvili. (Sharvili 99)

- (20) Жемятдизни гъамамда кицІ акурди , вирида кутуна
 jemyatdizni hamamda kits' akurdi virida kutuna
 people.to.and bathhouse.in dog when.saw-TEMP all putting-AOC
 гъарай калтуг-гагъат , сада тас элягъна , сада
 haray kaltug-gahat sada tas elyağna sada
 screaming-AOP chasing-being.chased-MSD one basin taking.off-AOC one
 яд элягъна , калтugna вирида кицІ хъиз чукурда има .
 yad elyağna kaltugna virida kits' xiz çukurda ima
 water taking.off-AOC driving.away-AOC all dog as chased-ENT this.one

And when the people saw a dog in the bathhouse they all screamed, running here and there - one threw a basin, another threw water - they all running after the dog, chased it away.

(Princess 10.19)

The archaic future uses the affix *-di* (Haspelmath 1993:159-60), but the idea of possibility is not expressed in these examples above. However, it is possible this could be an abbreviated form of the IMMANT converb *-valdi*, expressing 'as soon as' (Haspelmath 1993:385-86).

Some affixes have a different function in spoken Lezgi. For example, Haspelmath (1993) describes the conditional affix *-t'a* in written Lezgi with specific usages of conditional (394-96),

concessive (396-97), correlative clauses (345-46), and indirect questions (427). In Qusari oral Lezgi it is used simply to express purpose or possibility, as shown in (21), (22), and (23):

- (21) Мукъвал фена за килигайтIа
 muq'val fena za kiligayt'a
 near go-AOC I look-AOP.CND

Coming closer, I could see –

Вау Са еке са пепе ø
 vay sa eke sa pepe tir
 INTRJ one great one bug COP-PST

Wow! A huge bug! (Bug 18.1-2)

- (22) Эхирни-эхир нянин са бере тир , асул и руш кланзавай гада
 Exhirni-exhir nyanin sa bere tir asul i ruş k'anzavay gada
 finally evening one time COP-PST actually this girl wanting-PTC boy

къведа иниз , воо , идаз акуртIа , гъа вичин руш .
 g'öda iniz voo idaz akurt'a ha viçin ruş
 arrived-ENT here well him.to look-PTP-COND that ones.own girl

Finally it was one evening, and the guy who really loved her appeared here, that he might see his own girl. (Princess 16.14)

- (23) « Вун базарриз фенватIа , са хабарар аватIа , заз
 Vun bazarriz fenvat'a sa xhabarar avat'a zaz
 you market.to go-PRF-COND one news be.in-COP-PTP-COND to me

лагъ кван .»

lah kön

say-IMP please.do

"If you went to the market and heard any news, tell me please." (Princess 14.2)

Sometimes an irregular written form is regularized in Qusari oral Lezgi. For example, in (24), the word *fena* 'go-AOR' is meant to be a command, instead of using the written Lezgi verb *alad* 'go':

- (24) « Фена », лагъана , « куъне », лагъана , « зи балкандин кIвач галукъ
 Fena lahana küne lahana zi balk'andin k'öç galuq'
 go-AOR said-AOR you said-AOR my horse's leg hit
 тавунвай са чкадлай » лагъана , « zaz са тике », лагъана «
 tavunvay sa çkadlay lahana zaz sa tike lahana
 not.make-PRF-PTP one place.from said-AOR to me one piece said-AOR
 накъв гъваш » лагъана .
 naq'v ğöş lahana
 soil bring-IMPV said-AOR
 "Go" he said, "and bring me some soil from a place where my horse has never walked."
 (Princess 4.4)

Finally, Qusari oral Lezgi is different than written Lezgi because of language contact with Azerbaijani. For example, in (25), the Azerbaijani locative suffix *-da* is used for *lütködä* 'in the boat' instead of the expected Lezgi SRDIR case *-ldi*. The Lezgi COP-IMC *avaz* 'being in' is compounded to *lütködä* 'in the boat' in the same sentence.

- (25) Эхир пара фикирайдалай сонра руш ацукъарна луйткведа , ракъуда
 exhir para fikiraydalay sonra ruş atsuq'arna lütködä rag'uda
 after all very a.thinking-MSD-off after girl make sit-AOC boat.in sent-ENT
 и руш луйткведаваз тIва патахъ .
 i ruş lütködavaz t'ö pataq
 this girl boat.in.being-IMC other side
 In the end, after many thoughts, he sat the girl on the boat and sent her by boat to the other side. (Princess 13.21)

The postposition strategy of Azerbaijani is often used in place of Lezgi noun cases. This is heard quite often in the speech of Lezgis living in Azerbaijan. For example in (26), putting one foot 'on the stone' was said using *-GEN* + postposition instead of *g'ontsel* = stone-on (SREL case).

- (26) Са кІвач кЪванжин винел эцигна , хкаж жезва .
 sa k'vaç g'onjin vinel etsigna xhkaj jezva
 one leg stone.of on put-AOC climb-IMPF
 He puts one foot on the stone and climbs. (Stone 1.13)

Example (27) is interesting in that the Azerbaijani word *istrahat* 'rest' (instead of the Lezgi verb *yal yagun*) is combined with the Lezgi superrelative case *-dila*y and the postposition *sora* 'after.'

- (27) Эвел са чаяр хъван , са ял ягъан , ахпа истирагъатайдалай
 evel sa çayar qön sa yal yağan axpa istirahataydalay
 before one tea drink-HORT one breath take-HORT then rest.from
 сонра квекай сад за хкягда », лугъуда .
 sonra kökay sad za xhkyagda luhuda
 after from.ya'll one I-ERG will.choose-FUT said-ENT
 "But first, let's drink some tea, take a breath. Then after the rest I will choose one from among you." she said. (Princess 13.30)

This noun-superrelative + postpositive construction is genuinely Lezgi, but *sora* (*sonra*) is an Azerbaijani word (the Lezgi postposition is *q'uluğ* 'after'). These examples are illustrations of how language contact changes expressions – and helps explain in what ways oral Lezgi is different from written Lezgi.

2.3.3 Special use of the suffix *-da*

One prominent difference between written Lezgi and spoken Lezgi is found in the use of the suffix *-da*, which normally indicates FUT:

(28) " Гъа вили чкадиз зун фида . "

Ha vili çkadiz zun fida
that blue place.from I go-FUT

"I will marry a man from that blue place." (Marry 35)

However, in some oral Lezgi folktales, the *-da* suffix has a different function, carrying the mainline of the story. In (29) below, this use is indicated as an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT):

(29) Им са юкъуз фида сердиз вичин балкІандални
im sa yug'uz fida serdiz viçin balk'andalni
he one day went-ENT his.own.business.to his horse.on

ацукъна .
atsuq'na
sitting.down-AOC

One day he went out by horse on business.

Фена-фена им акакъда са гъуьлуьн къерехдив .
Fena-fena im akaq'da sa hülün g'erexhdiv
going-going he reached-ENT one Sea edge

Going along, he reached a seashore. (Princess 3.1-2)

Though formed just like the FUT verb in written Lezgi with the *-da* suffix on the imperfect stem, it seems to function as a narrative tense in oral Lezgi. Example (30) shows this narrative usage in the same sentence as a FUT:

(30) Абуру ви къил тІарарда », лугъуда .
aburu vi q'il t'ararda luhuda
they your head make.ache.FUT said-ENT

"They will give you a headache." he said. (Princess 5.15)

This use of the suffix *-da* is specific and intentional. It seems to be an archaic present tense form that has been preserved in folktales (See more on this in 5.3.1). Because of its use in

folktales, mainly as a narrative tense, it will simply be referred to in this study as an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT). The function of this suffix must be determined from its use in discourse. Why exactly this phenomenon occurs and how it fits into the salience scheme of Lezgi oral narrative is found in 5.3. It's interaction in the discourse structure of the Sea Princess folktale is covered in 6.4.

3 LEZGI ORAL NARRATIVE GENRES

This chapter covers the important pragmatic issues of Lezgi oral narratives which must be considered along with a verb salience scheme and discourse structure in order to develop a proper understanding of followability. Many of these pragmatic issues are encapsulated in the particular genre of the narrative, viewed either from an insider perspective (3.2) or through pragmatic factors (3.3). Finally, having understood the dynamics involved with Lezgi oral narrative genres, and charting out text type features (3.4), a summary of the text corpus used in this study is presented (3.5).

3.1 The Importance of Pragmatic Issues

The pragmatic issues of a narrative text are of essential importance in understanding it. Fundamental to this is the conviction that a narrative text always has a function: for example, Referential or metalingual, phatic or appellative, conative or emotive (Jakobson 1960:353-357). These functions not only call for a certain genre, but also a way in which the text is to be communicated, and under what circumstances. And we must not think that the function, genre, and other pragmatics for English are the same for Lezgi. But we can agree that for all languages “stories normally have a point to make, which organizes the construction of the narrative itself. Often the point is a moral evaluation of an occurrence, an action, or a psychological stance related to a set of events. Stories are not so much depictions of facts as they are construals of happenings” (Ochs, 1997:192-93). Akimov, in his study of the development of Lezgi narrative genre, said that the aesthetics of these works cannot be separated from their social conditions -

and thus historical research. “They are not arbitrarily created, but a real-world phenomenon” (Akimov 1999:16). Because of this, we must investigate the real-world phenomena associated with the telling of Lezgi oral narratives.

These social conditions are generally referred to as pragmatics (Johnstone 2002:111), and can be determined by asking basic W-questions: Who? When? How? Why? and What?

Who: speaker and audience. The narrative is told by someone of a certain age, gender, and social status. They are from a particular area, speaking a particular dialect. They are telling this narrative to someone with possibly the same set of characteristics. We must also keep in mind that in some cases, they are telling these narratives to foreigners who elicited them.

Why: intent and use. A narrative is told for a reason. Many times the reason is only known inside the culture. Other times the reason may be obvious, especially when narratives are embedded in hortatory, episodic, or procedural texts. It is important to know why the speaker tells the story. One cannot really fully ‘follow’ a text if they do not know the reason for the telling.

How: paratextual information like intonation, visuals, and setting. Many text linguists can take for granted that they work with printed texts on a page that have been created, sanitized, and even artistically manipulated before they study them. However, so much is lost (or perhaps, transformed) when a text is written down. Intonation and visuals that come from the speaker are critical for understanding every clause and sentence of an oral text. Interaction between the speaker and audience can help interpret an unspoken theme. The setting of the telling may be a

part of the message, or enable the point of a message in subtle ways. All this paratextual information is worth noting and evaluating along with the transcription since it may contain clues relevant to the meaning.

When: timeframe and issues of evidentiality. The issue of ‘when’ the story is has an effect on the attitude that the audience is expected to have toward the narrative. That attitude may be different between a story that was witnessed or experienced yesterday, compared with an event that that is a matter of historical record. Farther back in time, the lines between ancient history, legend, and myth blend together in the Lezgi culture. For a folktale, there may be very little deictic connection to the present audience’s world. Clues to this relationship will be seen in the notional form of the text.

All of these questions determine the ‘What’: the genre of the text. Genre is a paradigm that aids in effective communication. Particular genres are used to tell particular stories. And these stories could be true or fiction, could have occurred long ago or yesterday, could be first person or about someone else. They are to be told by certain people to certain audiences in a formal or informal setting. And their purposes vary: to entertain, teach, warn, share tradition, communicate something exciting, or just recount the mundane. Any oral narrative will exhibit this range of pragmatic issues. The next section will address the issues peculiar to Lezgi oral narratives.

3.2 Types of Lezgi Oral Narratives

Lezgis have a wide variety of story forms. Russian domination from the early 19th C and Soviet rule in the early 1920s, not only accelerated the proliferation of Lezgi literature, it also heavily influenced it (Akimov 1999:4). Most notably, much of the rich traditional oral expression of stories, folk tales, legends, and historical accounts have been written down¹⁰ – a direct result of Russian influence. As this happened, the body of literature was affected by Russian syntax, genre classification, Russian poetics, and even selectivity of which stories should be recorded. Before this time period, Lezgis were influenced by Persian and Turkic folktale traditions, encouraging a love for preserving and telling fantastic, traditional, and historical oral tales. The religious writings of Islam in Arabic were also introduced during this time (Akimov 1999:40). But before this, the oldest Lezgi stories were preserved in a proto-Lezgi language that was shared by several people groups in the ancient Caucasian Albanian Empire (3rd-5th Century AD). This is where, for example, the story of the legendary Lezgi hero Sharvili and stories of the god Alpan come from (Akimov 1999:33).

Most of these traditional stories were written down long ago. Though true oral literature does exist in Lezgi today, it is difficult to find those who still consistently practice telling it. This situation is concerning situation for the Lezgi people. There have been small-scale attempts to preserve written folklore by publishing favorite texts in local Lezgi newspapers, literary journals,

¹⁰ Some of the more famous modern Lezgi writers were the “Pushkin of Lezgi poetry” Yetim Emin (19th C), scholar and historian Hasan Algadari, the prose writer Alibek Fataxov, “the 20th C Homer” Suleiman Stalski, and Zabit Rizvanov, who prepared the poetic version of the “Sharvili” epic in 1969.

culture magazines, or anthologies. But no efforts presently exist for preservation of oral stories, except for the language documentation activities being done in connection with this study.¹¹

Because of this situation, there is no established social situation for formal storytelling in the Lezgi culture today. There are words for storytellers found in the Lezgi dictionary (Gadzhijev, 1950) – *maxhban* or *k'isachi*, but there is little evidence concerning the original context(s) of their storytelling. This is why the stories collected for this study have been more informal, from everyday people who happen to know how to tell stories better than others. Because this tradition has practically disappeared, there is a wide range of opinion as to exactly what each kind of narrative genre consists of. Presented below is information generally agreed upon in the Qusar district of Azerbaijan.

The main two categories for Lezgi stories are *maxh* and *k'isa*, which can both refer to the wide range of folktales, legends, and stories. Many Lezgis use these words interchangeably for tales/stories. The word *maxh* can more restrictively refer to a folktale, but most often, it is used as a generic term for all the types of Lezgi literature. For example, *Lezgi xhalkdin maxhar* (Gasharov 1989) ‘tales of the people’ encompasses several types of Lezgi literature, including story, folktale, legend, myth, poem, riddle, proverb, and even *xhket* (a small anecdote, joke, or funny story).

The term *k'isa* is often used generally, much like the English word ‘story.’ Sometimes, it is used more specifically to refer to fictional stories like folktales, legends, and small tales. A

¹¹ This Lezgi language development project exists under the management of Ufuq-S, a registered translation and language development company in Azerbaijan. Funding for this activity is provided by SIL International.

parable is also known in Lezgi as *k'isa*,¹² as well as a lesson or explanation with a conclusion (see analysis of the parable ‘Two Men and a Stone’ in 5.2 and 6.3). Even though the word *k'isa* was likely borrowed from surrounding languages (Persian or Arabic), it has found a strong home in Lezgi oral literature.¹³

Lezgi folktales (*maxh*) are fictional stories involving people, animals, magical creatures, kings, and unlikely heroes. They are immediately known by certain phrases: The introductory formula of *xana q'ön xanaç q'ön* ‘there was, there wasn’t’ is often used. Restaging of an important character (or even ad-hoc introduction of a new one) at an important point is done by the phrase *Xhabar nikay, xhabar_____* ‘News about what? News about (so-and-so)...’ The closing is usually a variation of *Abur hana amaz, çun iniz xhtana – Közni za i maxh xhkana* ‘They being there, we came here – and to you I brought this tale.’ See the analysis of The Sea Princess folktale in 5.3 and 6.4 for more on this story genre.

The category of *legend* ‘legend’ is borrowed from Russian, but has been used for those stories that are very old, well-known, not true, and usually centered around a hero. The Lezgi hero Sharvili is chronicled in a chain of legends that are derived from the *epos* ‘epic’ poetic form. The category *dastan* comes from Persian influence,¹⁴ and is a fantastic tale, full of monsters, love, and of course, a hero. Many of these tales included poems (*maniyar*) or were sometimes themselves entirely poems.

¹² This is evidenced by the fact that one speaker coded-switched to the Russian ‘pritcha’ ‘parable’ when labeling his spoken parable because there was no Lezgi word to describe this precise meaning. See Appendix B, Stone 1.20.

¹³ It is unclear what the original story forms in Lezgi were. Perhaps these terms were simply adopted words used to refer to a form that had already been in existence in the Lezgi culture from long ago. In other cases, the form was also adopted.

¹⁴ The *dastan* form was continued and embraced more in the Turkic culture, which was the wider culture where the Lezgians found themselves in the Middle Ages. For this wider influence, see H.B. Paksoy 1995.

Other Lezgi literature is understood to be true. *Ehvalat* ‘true story’ and *hadisa* ‘happening’ are categories that come from the influence of earlier Turkic language and culture. The *ehvalat* is simply a small, true story, the kind one might tell to a friend about something that happened to them at the market. It could also be about someone else, or happened long ago (for example, a childhood story), as long as the teller witnessed it.¹⁵ *Hadisa*, on the other hand, was not witnessed. It is no less true, however, and the hearsay evidential *-lda* (Haspelmath 1993:148), a contracted form of *lahuda* ‘one says,’ may be used in the story. Lezgis also use the word *hadisa* to describe a ‘real story’ or ‘happening’ that occurred even long ago in ancient history or Holy Scripture. The word *gispes* ‘historical story’ on the other hand, seems to refer to stories from the distant past that are verifiable, though all the details of the historical event are not known. Stories of famous local khans or important battles that occurred (against Muslim or Soviet invaders) are good examples of *gispes*. These historical stories can be handed down, or accessed from a history book and retold (again, usually with the hearsay evidential, *-lda*).¹⁶

Finally, the *rivayat* ‘traditional story’ comes from Persian and Zoroastrian traditions. In these ancient cultures, *rivayats* were mythical stories (and sometimes epistles) used to establish and reinforce religious and worldview frameworks. In Lezgi, the category of *rivayat* refers to well-known stories that are a mix of legend and truth. More precisely, they are foundational texts – they may not be true in the absolute sense, but they function as true stories. *Rivayat* are traditional stories that are important for the culture, and so are to be told and remembered in order to teach people. While texts like *Q’uran*, *Īnjil*, *Tora*, and *Zabur* are considered to be *Pak*

¹⁵ From personal communication with many individuals - Lezgis who I work and associate with.

¹⁶ This occurred throughout the Migrakh Fortress historical story. See example (74) for one use of this device.

Kalam ‘Holy Scripture,’ the stories of the prophet Muhammad in the Hadith and Sunnah are *rivayat* in Lezgi. Since they contain ‘oral sacred history’– the reporting of the words and deeds of Muhammad and other early Muslims – they serve as foundational religious oral texts in the Lezgi culture. Sometimes stories of the Lezgi hero Sharvili are also called *rivayat*. Other lesser-known short *rivayat* about local heroes are found in Lezgi folklore collections.

3.3 Pragmatic Factors of Lezgi Oral Narratives

To complete this study, the boundaries of what was considered to be Lezgi oral narrative had to be established. Starting with an insider view of this genre (3.2) helps immediately find ‘the core’ of what is considered ‘narrative.’ At the same time, certain pragmatic factors were considered by the investigator, motivated by a practical desire to be able to understand (i.e. ‘follow’) normal every day stories told by Lezgi people. These pragmatic factors are discussed below.

Oral vs. written: As mentioned previously (in 2.3 and 4.1), the discourse features of Lezgi oral stories are different than those of written stories for many reasons. Most spoken texts are every-day texts that the average Lezgi understands. Additionally, spoken texts from one region and dialect may differ from those of another. While research has been done related to written Lezgi (for example, Akimov (1999) on the genre of the Lezgi novel), Lezgi oral narratives are still unexplored.

Narrative vs. expository: Narrative texts are typically those that have some level of contingent temporal succession as well as agent orientation (Longacre 1996:9-10). They should have tension (Longacre and Hwang 2012:36-37), resulting in a plot-peak structure and profile –

though some Lezgi stories are less dynamic than others.¹⁷ Also, they most likely will have occurred in the past, moving forward sequentially; although perhaps they occur in ‘no-time’ or in the imagination like a parable that just ‘happens’ in order to teach something.

Short vs. long: A few long epic tales do exist in Lezgi, but short narratives are more common. The everyday story is a relatively short one since people generally don’t have the time and patience for much more. This factor usually has an impact on the tension of the story – some stories end up being more expository for lack of time to develop. However, this should not disqualify these texts as a focus of study, especially since there is a utility in understanding how they are followed. In many cases, the telling of short stories in Lezgi requires a skill of structure and delivery that grabs the attention of the hearer and communicates the content in an efficient, relevant, and often witty way.

True vs. fiction vs. traditional: A story is true from a Western-enlightenment perspective if the facts of the texts can be corroborated. External and internal evidence support the truth of the text, and need for exact citation is desired. However, most of the world does not share this perspective. Historiography is more common in Lezgi culture, and whether or not a text is true is simply not as important for them.¹⁸ More important is for what purpose is it used, and whether that purpose is effective. Some Lezgi stories may be clearly true or fiction (a Western category), while other stories are simply traditional (to be told *as true*). Therefore, it was important to keep

¹⁷ For example, Trip (see Table 10) is simply a list of personal past actions with no real plot: inciting action, tension, or resolution. Other Lezgi texts may be timeless reminiscing, also with no plot.

¹⁸ That this culture comes out of 70+ years of Soviet domination plays for and against this observation. While formally calling for fidelity of facts and historical accuracy, the Soviets also engaged in mass propaganda. Cultures of the Soviet empire like the Lezgis learned to be wary of, and consequently ignore and use these methods of ‘creative writing.’

a middle category of ‘traditional story’ open in this pragmatic factor, lest narratives were included or rejected based on Western distinctions.

Witnessed vs. hearsay: The issue of whether or not the events of a story were actually witnessed by the teller is important in many languages. For Lezgi, this concept of evidentiality is inherent in the oral genres *hadisa* ‘happening’ and *ehvalat* ‘true story.’ In *gispes* ‘historical stories’ there may be many occurrences of the evidentially marker suffix *-lda* (Haspelmath 1993:148), which means “the teller doesn’t deliver his own story, but only what he heard.”¹⁹ Narratives expressing a variation of evidentiality must be considered to determine what the text typology boundaries are for Lezgi.

Informal vs. formal: Some texts have a performative aspect to them (Dooley and Levinsohn 2007:9-10). They are told in a formal setting with a particular audience in order to accomplish some act of significance or teach in a formal way. None of these kinds of Lezgi texts have been selected for study, but one must still be conscious of their form and influence. Most formal texts would be in poetic form (e.g. the Sharvili Epic). While still an invaluable resource, formal texts that were translated and written down by foreigners in the past will most certainly show signs of transmediatization (transformation from one medium to another) as well as a different cultural discourse structure overlaid on the original text. Most Lezgis will recite a performative text in a formal setting by reading it. Unless expertly dramatized, these kinds of texts fall flat, lacking some ineffable quality.²⁰

¹⁹ Faina Gurbanovaya, via personal email correspondence 17 May 2013.

²⁰ This is the case for one Lezgi folk tale “Seven Brothers” which being in written form, was edited, recorded, and produced in 2012 for a local radio station and posted on a local website, but it wasn’t very successful. See 7.2 for some suggestions on how this can be remedied based on the discourse findings of this study.

From a consideration of these pragmatic factors, the most important Lezgi narratives to be studied are those that are short, informal, oral stories. These are the kinds of narratives being told in everyday life to everyday people. They include folktales, legends, and epics from long ago – as well as fictional stories and parables made up yesterday. They include true stories that just happened to someone at the market this morning – as well as historical stories that have been directly witnessed, heard or read about – and even ancient Scriptural stories passed down for generations. They are informal stories told to a friend, a parable told to a child, or a legend told to a foreigner. They are the reminiscing of an old grandmother, the playful joke of man drinking tea, the purposeful story of a mother, or the sacred tale of a mullah. These are the kinds of oral Lezgi narratives that were collected for this study.

3.4 Establishing the Lezgi Oral Narrative Genre

Establishing the precise bounds of ‘narrative’ in Lezgi could only be done after some initial investigation of the discourse features of Lezgi texts. A short survey of the names Lezgis call their own oral genres (3.2) and a consideration of pragmatic issues (3.3) helped to narrow the most useful factors to study. The actual scope of the text corpus was determined by a discourse typological comparison of the features summarized in Table 9 below, which charts different genres for the features of temporal succession, agent orientation, evidentiality, and truth orientation. Using text typology (Longacre 1996:9-10), one would anticipate narratives to exhibit both contingent temporal succession and agent orientation.

	+ - Temporal Succession	+ - Agent Orientation	+ - Personally Witnessed	+ - Truth Orientation
True story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	+	+	+	+
Historical Story (<i>gispes</i>) Happening (<i>hadisa</i>)	+	+	-	+
Legend (<i>dastan</i>) Epic (<i>epos</i>) Folktale (<i>k'isa, maxh</i>) Fictional story (<i>k'isa</i>)	+	+	-	-
Parable (<i>k'isa</i>) Myth (<i>mif</i>) Traditional story (<i>rivayat</i>)	+	+	-	?
Joke/anecdote (<i>xhket</i>)	+	-	-	-
Reminiscing (<i>ixtilat</i>)	-	+	+	+
Proverb (<i>bubarin gafar</i>)	-	-	-	+
Riddle (<i>mucha mucha</i>)	-	-	-	-

Table 9: Text Typological Features of Lezgi Oral Narratives

When the various types of Lezgi oral literature are charted for these characteristics, a few groups stand out as truly narrative: those associated with true stories, historical stories, legend/folktales, parables, and traditional stories. These were the kinds of text selected for this study and considered as Lezgi oral narratives. Even though the names Lezgis use to describe their narratives are not used in a completely consistent way, these chosen texts are generally viewed by Lezgis as *k'isa*²¹— simply, ‘story’ (as mentioned in 3.2) and are quite consistent with this analysis.

3.5 Lezgi Oral Narratives Text Corpus

The text corpus is presented in Table 10 below. Nineteen of these texts are spoken Lezgi narratives, transcribed from field recordings. Most texts were collected under University of North Dakota approval, project #IRB-201101-235, John Clifton principal investigator. They

²¹ This is confirmed by my colleague, Roza Hajimuradova, who has studied Lezgi folklore.

were collected within the last two years by the investigator or one of the Lezgis on our team, employed at Ufuq-S, a registered Azerbaijani translation and language development company in Baku, Azerbaijan. Other texts were collected by John Clifton’s team during survey work among the Lezgi people of Azerbaijan from 1999-2001 (reported in Clifton 2002). These texts are used by permission, and according to the consent given for that study. All oral texts are recorded from individuals who are native speakers of Lezgi and are from the Northeastern region of Azerbaijan (Quba, Qusar, Xachmaz) where the Qusar dialect is spoken. The written texts (#19, 22, 23, 24), used to compare to the oral folktales, were published in Makhachkala, Russia, and have been used widely in Lezgi communities. The tale “Seven Brothers” (#20) was a text that was edited, recorded, and then produced for radio in Qusar, Azerbaijan.

Recall that followability of Lezgi oral narratives includes more than just the verb salience scheme; there are also pragmatic issues such as authorial intent (purpose) as well as the overall discourse structure to consider. Because of this, it was important that the metadata for each story was noted while in the field, placed in the data corpus, and considered in the analysis. Some narratives were extracted from larger discourse events (persuasive, expository) and their overt intent considered as the embedded text was analyzed.²² Any relevant pragmatic issues are noted below in Table 10.

²² Though non-narrative discourse is outside the scope of this study, it should be clear that the resulting analysis of an embedded narrative could be used to analyze the larger discourse event.

#	Story Name (Abv.)	Genre	Speaker	Audience & Setting	Summary	Purpose
1	The Bug Story (Bug)	Short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Ofeliya Young woman From Nabran	Lezgi lang doc worker in office	She woke up and was scared by a big bug in her home.	That she was so scared and why she never goes down at night.
2	Migrax Fortress (Migrax)	Short historical story that speaker had read before in a book (<i>gispes</i>)	Faina Older woman From Qusar	Two Lezgi lang doc workers at speaker's home	How the fall of a key fortress during the Muslim invasion took place and the stoning of the girl who allowed it.	Why the present-day people from the village throw a rock on a pile.
3	WWII Story (War)	Short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Agarza Elderly man From Duztahir	Survey team of Westerners with local Lezgi helpers in home	His past service in the Russian army during WWII, including a few incidents of conflict.	To communicate the tough times he had in WWII.
4	You Know Better (Bebir)	Short true story or anecdote (<i>ehvalat, khet</i>)	Beybut Older man From Anik	Researcher with local Lezgi helpers in home	Uncle Bebir let a younger man load the sled too full of grass and when it fell over, he went home.	To instruct: Always defer to elders!
5	A Man's Word (Word)	Short true story embedded in an expository speech (<i>ehvalat</i> but he uses the general term <i>k'isa</i>)	Kamran Young man From Hil	Hundreds of Lezgis at a Lezgi book dedication in Baku	A man unsuccessfully tried to acquire wood from a master crafter who had promised it to someone else. He eventually rewarded the master because he kept his word.	To illustrate an honest person, which points to the person the speech is about.
6	Crashing the Crane Truck (Kraz)	Short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Ravid Older man From Hil	Survey team of Westerners with local Lezgi helpers in home	While serving in the military in Kazakhstan, he and a friend crashed a crane truck and had to seek help from a nearby village.	To communicate an incident that that impacted him
7	Two Men and a Stone (Stone)	Very short parable (<i>k'isa</i>)	Abir Older man From Adjakhur	Researcher with local Lezgi helpers in office	Two men encounter a large stone while traveling. One grumbles, walking around it. But the other uses it as a springboard to go farther.	To teach: Use obstacles to achieve more! (Overt explanation at the end.)
8	Unlucky Hunting (Hunt)	Very short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Murfattar Man From Gimil	Survey team of Westerners with local Lezgi helpers in home	He and a friend hunted for a bear, swine, and deer, but didn't get anything.	To communicate a very unlucky hunting trip

#	Story Name (Abv.)	Genre	Speaker	Audience & Setting	Summary	Purpose
10	Nureddin's Wanderings (Trip)	Short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Nureddin Older man From Hazra	Survey team of Westerners with local Lezgi helpers in home	He recounts what he did on a trip to Daghestan. Then he crossed back over the border, and then visited his son in Baku.	To communicate how he visited his sons.
11	Attacked by Wolves (Wolves)	Short true 1 st person story embedded in a public conversation (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Shyobeddin Old man From Anik	Survey team of Westerners with local Lezgi helpers and neighbor in home	1 st person account of being attacked by wolves while herding sheep for his village. He came down from the mountain and encountered a bus full of people.	To communicate an emotionally impacting incident.
12	The Bread Burned (Bread)	Short true 1 st person story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Jamfir Old woman From Qusar	Researcher with local Lezgi helper (granddaughter)	1 st person account of when Jamfir burned the bread she was baking while she napped. Her brother came in and saw her and thought for a moment she was dead.	To communicate about past life with her brothers, especially one memorable incident
13	Marriage Arrangement (Marry)	Short true 1 st person story embedded in a life story (<i>ehvalat</i>)	Afiya Old woman From Nabran	Researcher with local Lezgi helpers at home	1 st person account of when Afiya was arranged to be marriage. She told the boy she would marry someone and live by the sea.	To communicate how her marriage happened and relates to the rest of her life.
14	Fire on Shahdag (Fire)	Short fictional parable embedded in a persuasive speech (<i>k'isa</i>)	Kamran Young man From Hil	Hundreds of Lezgis at a Lezgi book dedication in Baku	Story of two boys who wanted to marry a girl. She told one to make and keep a fire going on Shahdag Mountain, and the other to put it out. The other ended up helping the first to keep the fire going, thus showing his friendship.	To illustrate true friendship which the listeners should express monetarily in response to this persuasive speech
15	Shepherd's Dog (Dog)	Medium true second hand story (<i>ehvalat</i> but he says <i>ixtilat</i> - conversation)	Abir Older man From Adjakhur	Two Lezgi lang doc workers at office	Personal story that he heard first hand from another man in Sudur about his dog, who was taken by a shepherd and abused.	To communicate an impactful story of a sad incident
16	Clean and Unclean (Clean)	Short true story translated orally from Holy Scripture (<i>hadisa</i>)	Ofeliya Young woman From Nabran	Lezgi lang translator at an office	Biblical account (Mat 15:1-11) of Jesus teaching on the issue of clean and unclean when the Pharisees came to challenge him about his disciples.	To teach: It's what comes out of a person that makes them unclean.

#	Story Name (Abv.)	Genre	Speaker	Audience & Setting	Summary	Purpose
18	Sea Princess – oral version (Princess)	Long fictional folktale (<i>maxh</i>)	Rosa Older woman From Qusar	Two Lezgi lang doc workers in home	Tale about a young man and the Sea Princess. Many others fall in love with the Sea Princess, and she is lost for a time, but becomes queen of a kingdom and gets her man back.	To tell a fantastical folktale story for entertainment
19	Sea Princess – written version (Sea)	Long fictional folktale (<i>maxh</i>)	Written text (Gasharov and Ganijeva 1989:50-56)	Readers of Lezgi folklore (<i>Lezgi Xhaldin Maxhar</i>)	Tale about a young man and the Sea Princess. Many others fall in love with the Sea Princess, and she is lost for a time, but becomes queen of a kingdom and gets her man back.	To read a fantastical folktale story for entertainment
20	Seven Brothers (Brothers)	Medium fictional folktale – edited audio production (<i>maxh</i>)	Anelya Woman From Qusar	Lezgi people listening to radio in Lezgi	Tale about seven lost brothers and their sister who seeks them out, only to be attacked by a dragon, lost, married, and reunited with them.	To tell a folktale for entertainment
21	Sharvili defeats the Army of the Aghuz King (Sharvili)	Medium traditional story (<i>rivayat, epos</i>)	Gulsum Young woman From Qusar	Lezgi folklorist and lang doc worker in home	One of the many episodes of Sharvili – this one is when he is called on to seek out and defeat the advancing army of Aghuz.	To tell a <i>rivayat</i> to pass on and entertain
22	Three Daughters (Daughters)	Long fictional folktale (<i>maxh</i>)	Written text (Gasharov and Ganijeva 1989:50-56)	Readers of Lezgi folklore (<i>Lezgi Xhaldin Maxhar</i>)	One of three daughters becomes the wife of a king and bears him a son with a golden comb, who is lost. When the son comes back years later, all is made right.	Printed as a folktale story for entertainment
23	The Bull King (Envy)	Medium fictional animal folktale (<i>maxh</i>)	Written text (Kerimova 2011b:7)	Readers of Lezgi Newspaper “Samur”	The bull feels he should be king because of his big beautiful horns. He overthrows the lion king, but is finally eaten by the wolf and jackal.	Printed as a folktale story to teach and keep
24	Musa and Isa (Musa)	Short story or anecdote embedded in a Novel (<i>k'isa, khet</i>)	Written text (Gurban 1997:82-83)	Lezgi readers of the Novel	Because Musa is dissatisfied, he swaps wives with his friend for a few months, only to learn that he wasn't able to change her.	Story told by one character to another to illustrate a point

Table 10: Lezgi Oral Narratives Text Corpus Summary

4 METHODOLOGY

In a discourse analysis study of oral texts, it is very important to use methods that are appropriate to the medium. This chapter describes the transcription method (4.1), the process of text interlinearization and grammatical analysis (4.2), and method of discourse analysis (4.3).

4.1 Transcription

To study oral texts, it is very important to transcribe the text accurately, understand what exactly was said, and take into consideration any intonational clues. Because the focus of this study was on discourse of Lezgi narratives in oral form, special attention was paid to oral prosodics in order to capture any important intonation features that may have a bearing on discourse analysis. Consequently, special transcriptions were made for select texts using a modified set of symbols (see p. xvi) adapted from Du Bois, et al. (1993:45-89). A transcription of the Bug Story is included in Appendix A.

It became clear through this preliminary work that the most important concept here is that of the intonation unit. “Substantive intonation units are the contentful stretches of speech that include ideas of people, objects, events, and states. They are in a sense what language is about” (Chafe 1993:37). Marking the intonation unit in transcription was very helpful in determining sentences and clauses, and noting high involvement (Chafe 1982:45-48). This discipline was important to be brought in at the beginning stages of research, since “the analysis of spoken discourse into intonation units provides a solid foundation for all subsequent analysis, whether prosodic, grammatical, or interactional” (Du Bois, et al. 1993:229).

Further, it was important to notice what the oral text was saying that the words of the text were not. The typical features in oral discourse that are different from written discourse are what Chafe (1982:45-48) calls ‘involvement’: more details, emphatic particles, reference to the speaker and his/her mental processing, devices to monitor information flow, direct quotations, and repetition of sounds, words, and phrases. These are in essence surface features that have notional significance.

So in an oral text, we must capture for later analysis the sounds and vocal features (prosodics) that we usually take for granted when someone is telling us a story. There is a vast array of features that must be considered. Some of the more important features are the following:

- Pauses
- Accent (in the word)
- Lengthening
- Tone/Pitch
- Intonation (a pattern of tone)
- Truncation (on words and intonation)
- Quality (volume, tempo, rhythm, voice type, etc.)
- Vocal noises (ideophones)
- Phonetical notes
- Transcriber notes

Combinations of all of these will indicate discourse information that cannot be completely accounted for in traditional text-based discourse analysis. What is said is only a portion of what is communicated. *How* it is said is very important for understanding the text, and very much completes a holistic approach to discourse analysis. A good transcription captures the most relevant of these features for later consideration.

For this study, not every piece of prosodic information was relevant or practical to record in order to clue us into how to follow a Lezgi oral narrative. Based on Du Bois et al. (1993),

Hinz (2010), and Hintz (personal communication), elements of both broad and narrow transcription were used that primarily helped determine the intonational boundaries of each sentence. Listed below are the most significant oral features for oral Lezgi narratives that were recorded, and how the prosodics indicate them:

1. Typical intonation unit (the sentence):

- Usually a pause before the beginning of the unit
- Characteristic high pitch at the beginning of a sentence
- Characteristic lowering of pitch at end of sentence
- Characteristic raising of pitch for a question
- Pause and continuing intonation between clauses

2. Interruptions, mistakes, parenthetical thoughts:

- Truncation of word (with glottal stop)
- Truncation of intonation pattern
- Parenthetical prosody
- Hesitation words (*uh-* or *a-*)

3. Other features with variable significance

- Longer pauses
- Speed (sometimes with latching – no pauses)
- Pitch boosting of words
- Higher than expected pitch at the end of a clause
- Word lengthening
- Sounds (sighs, claps, bangs, etc.)
- Voice quality (widened pitch, low or high pitch, accented (*marcato*) speech, etc.)

Noting these prosodic features helped significantly in the analysis; most importantly in determining sentence boundaries – which were shown to be different than written Lezgi.

Pausing and continuing intonation helped for clauses and illustrated the tendency for oral Lezgi to place many words after the typically final verb. Intonation also clearly indicated fronted (back-referential) adverbial clauses, as well as some converbs. Finally, high and widened pitch, fast and marcato (distinct, emphatic) speech, and other intonation variations were observed in peak episodes – helping to confirm the discourse structure.

On the other hand, some prosodic features had to be ignored. The typical hesitation word (*uh-* or *a-*) can sometimes indicate a text boundary because the speaker has finished one thought (paragraph) and is gathering thoughts for another. However, in many texts it happened in places where the speaker just couldn't quite think of the word. It even happened in the middle of a high-pitched climactic conversation (Bug 36). Consequently this feature was not useful in confirming a text boundary. The other prosodic feature that had to be overlooked was that of latching (no pause between clauses/sentences). Many speakers spoke at length without a pause as a matter of habit, so latching could not be relied upon to indicate the continuity of a clause, sentence, or idea. Also, it could not be used to evidence a peak episode.

4.2 Interlinearization and Grammatical Analysis

Texts were interlinearized by first having a native speaker transcribe the text and give a free translation according to the Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD) method²³ (Reiman 2010) using oral transcription tools in SayMore (SIL 2013). Native speakers

²³ This method for documenting languages is optimal for oral texts since it focuses on oral annotation, which can be accomplished quicker and easier than written transcription - and is archivable for future use. It involves first dividing the the oral text into intonation units, then annotating it with careful speech, and then providing an oral free translation. The result is an 'oral interlinear' that can be transcribed, checked, and used for more careful text analysis.

determined spelling, word usage, sentence breaks and paragraphs. Then, through dialogue, any needed corrections were made to the text and free translation. The main relevant feature for processing the interlinear text was the progression by clauses and sentences according to intonational units. Afterward, the text was exported to FLE_x (SIL 2014) and a word for word interlinearization in English was completed for the study. Representative examples of these interlinearized texts can be found in the appendices.

As the word for word glossing progressed, issues of grammar needed to be considered. Not every word of the texts was parsed into morphemes since the focus was mainly on the verbs in the text. Any verbal constituents were considered closely (main verbs, non-finite verbs, and participles). Differences between written standard Lezgi and Qusar oral Lezgi were noted. For folktales, the use of the *-da* suffix as an Epic Narrative Tense (2.3.3) was observed.

4.3 Discourse Analysis

Recall the notion that to understand a text, one must be able to follow the text. A verb salience scheme helps us to distinguish the mainline development of the text and is a key component of its followability. "...The listener/reader must be given a clue(s) as to what are the primary sequential happenings of the stories and what material in the text is more marginal. In constructing a salience ranking scheme we are simply trying to make explicit those clues and demonstrate the integrity of the story" (Longacre and Hwang 2012:76).

This study applies the processes suggested by Longacre and Hwang (2012) to explore Lezgi oral narratives through holistic discourse analysis. Therefore, the investigation was

primarily observational; describing what Lezgi oral narratives are exhibiting in their verbs, structure, and pragmatics. It was important to begin from within the Lezgi language – noting its surface/structural features, how they compare with each other internally, and then considering what these patterns might indicate. Longacre (1989:414) said, “Structural prominence exists in its own right, although often correlating with semantic prominence.” So, correlations with notional/semantic components of verb salience and discourse structure were made in due course; but it was important to start with the surface/structural features first, lest too many assumptions were made based on English or Western perspectives.

The process of developing the verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives began with an analysis of “The Bug Story” (see Appendix A), considered to be representative of the short personal oral narratives. The first task was to select all main clauses with their verbs in order to observe their TAM. Like other co-subordinative verb chaining languages (Haspelmath 1995b:21-26) the main clause in Lezgi consists of a finite verb (usually sentence final), with non-finite clauses (containing converbs, participles, and masdars) preceding.²⁴ Post-verbal elements (more common in oral narratives) were preserved. Truly dependent complement clauses, relative clauses, and quotation clauses were set aside because of the ‘radical demotion’ of their verbs, “taking it out of the rank scheme entirely” (Longacre 1989:419). Of course, verbs inside quotation clauses do not advance the mainline since they are demoted by the verb which reports the action (Longacre 1996:25).²⁵ After main clauses were determined with their main verbs, a

²⁴ This was not easy at first, because the form of aorist converb suffix (AOC) is the same as the mainline aorist (AOR) verbs. But they are two different forms, since AOC is only distinguished from AOR in its negative non-finite form made with the prefix *tV-* (see table 5).

²⁵ Additionally, for some longer texts with extended dialogue, the quotation marking verb *lahana/luhuda* ‘said’ may not even advance the mainline. See 6.4.2: alternation of *-da* and *-na* on the mainline of “The Sea Princess” folktale.

deductive method was used to indicate each band of salience using colors (Longacre and Hwang 2012:52). The TAM of each verbal component in each main clause is a surface feature that encodes meaning, and was correlated with each of Longacre's etic band of salience. Initial observations led to a preliminary verb salience scheme.

A parallel process to investigating verbal salience was observing the discourse structure of "The Bug Story." Macrosegmentation of the text was an important activity for several reasons. First, it helped in becoming familiarized with the text. Second, the activity of separating the text into surface units helped to verify clauses, sentences (by intonation units), main verbs and converbs, as well as paragraphs and episodes. Finally, since the normal verbal salience scheme is often 'violated' or skewed in peak episodes, determining where these peaks are in the surface structure of the text is critically important. This activity of macrosegmentation was done for most of the texts in the corpus, though many of the shorter texts did not exhibit much of a structure. Preposed time and locational clauses were used to initially establish paragraph boundaries: time changes, place changes, character changes, perspective changes, which can combine to make, in essence, scene changes (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:39-41). Then peak-marking surface features were noted, and larger divisions were made, resulting in episodes.

The resulting macrosegmentation was then compared with the initial verb salience scheme. Overall, normal TAM functions were confirmed, and in peak episodes any 'violations' of the verbal salience scheme (Longacre 1996:38) were noted. With the structural and surface characteristics of Lezgi oral narratives as a basis, a notional plot of relative tension was inferred

from mainline action (Band 1), and correlated with any pragmatic information for that particular text. Together, these features helped to ‘follow’ the main point of the text, bringing the investigator to understand the text’s macrostructure – the overall message of the text (Longacre and Hwang 2012:218).

After analyzing “The Bug Story,” an initial salience scheme was developed as a hypothesis. Then, investigation of other Lezgi oral narratives confirmed, adjusted, and added to the basic verb salience scheme. When compared with the discourse structures of other Lezgi narratives, the typical interaction between verb salience, discourse structure, and pragmatics was confirmed. Complications arose over some exceptional verb usages like an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) suffix in some oral folktales, or the use of the present IMPF for mainline in some Lezgi parables. This necessitated the exploration of modified verb salience schemes with their corresponding discourse structures. For folktales, a special alternation of mainline verbs was observed that could only be seen in its interaction with the story’s discourse structure. In conclusion, this overall discourse analysis method proved to be useful in the goal of developing a verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives.

5 SALIENCE SCHEME FOR LEZGI ORAL NARRATIVES

This chapter articulates the salience scheme for oral Lezgi narratives. Section 5.1 presents this scheme with examples from the text corpus. It applies to oral narratives, which are primarily characterized by temporal succession and agent orientation, and are generally referred to as *k'isa* ‘stories’ by Lezgis (from 3.4). Exceptions to this salience scheme are presented in 5.2 – an analysis of a parable (which uses present IMPF for the mainline verb), and 5.3 – the special use of the suffix *-da* on the mainline as an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) in some folktales.

5.1 Verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives

Recall from 1.4 that Longacre (1989:443-446, 1996:27-29) proposed an etic verb salience scheme for all languages. Using this as a notional basis, the TAM of Lezgi verbs was observed in the course of each oral narrative and correlated to each etic band of salience. Seven bands of salience (and a promoter) were observed in Lezgi oral narratives. No evidence of secondary storylines was observed in the oral Lezgi texts in this corpus.²⁶ The verb salience scheme is presented in Table 11, and explained throughout the rest of the section (5.1.1-5.1.8). In summary, it can be seen that the mainline verb form for Lezgi oral narratives is normally the AOR.

²⁶ One could argue that the similarity of the AOC and the AOR suffix *-na* could indicate the possibility of a secondary storyline not intuitively obvious by the non-native speaker (Longacre 1989:437), but Haspelmath’s (notional) grammatical analysis of AOC as a non-finite verb, combined with verification from native speakers gives reasonable assurance that this TAM form does not correspond to a secondary storyline band.

Band 1 Storyline	AOR actions (ERG Agent), AOR motions (ABS Agent), AOR contingencies (ABS Patient) AOR cognitive events (DAT Experiencer)
Band 2 Background	IMPF actions and motions (ongoing) Events and actions in adverbial clauses (AOC, IMC, specialized converbs) Present PRF verbs (resultative) Cognitive States, esp. Affective Constructions (DAT Experiencer)
Band 3 Flashback	Prior completed action PRF-PST, AOR-PST verbs
Band 4 Setting (Expository)	Existential and habitual clauses indicating descriptive material: Past predicative participial constructions (PTP + COP:PST) FUT-PST and IMPF-PST + COP:PST (past habitual action) COP:PST and non-compound AOR <i>xana</i> 'be' verbs
Band 5 Irrealis	Events that don't happen (NEG, HORT, CND)
Band 6 Authorial comments	Present COP and local COP Present substantivized predicative participles (PTP + COP) Habitual present IMPF
Band 7 Cohesive	Fronted back-referential adverbial clauses (AOC, TEMP, IMMANT)
Promotion	<i>sad lahana</i> 'suddenly' promotes to Band 1, or makes Band 1 events pivotal

Table 11: Salience Scheme for Lezgi Oral Narratives

5.1.1 Band 1 Storyline

Longacre (1989:414) said that the storyline of a narrative should express sequential, punctiliar happenings. These are the actions that advance the narrative. The storyline in Lezgi oral narratives is primarily carried by AOR events. This is noted by Haspelmath (1993:142), and we find it to be true after an examination of this corpus of Lezgi narratives. The only exception is for some folktales where the AOR alternates on the mainline with the suffix *-da* (used as an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT)) – see 5.3. Otherwise, AOR actions, motions, contingencies, and cognitive events seem to be all equally salient on the mainline. Mainline actions are easy to see in Lezgi with an ERG subject agent. For example, in (31) a German gave-AOR:

- (31) Са немецди чаз фуни гана
 sa nemetsdi çaz funi gana
 one German-ERG us.to bread.also gave-AOR
 A German gave us food. (Kraz 44)

An absolutive agent like *zun* ‘I’ moves itself on the mainline with an AOR verb like *fena* ‘went’ in (32). Contingencies on the mainline like the AOR *g’arağna* ‘woke up’ also happen to an absolutive patient, as in (33).

- (32) Зун са тИмил мукъвал фена
 zun sa t’imil muq’val fena
 I one little near go-AOR
 I came a little closer. (Bug 17)

- (33) Вил ахвара фена йифен са береда зун къарагъна
 vil axhvara fena yifen sa bereda zun g’arağna
 eye dream.in go-AOC night-GEN one time I wake.up-AOR
 I fell asleep... and in the middle of the night, I woke up. (Bug 6)

Cognitive events are on the mainline with AOR verbs like *akuna* ‘saw,’ taking a DAT agent:

- (34) Айвандик экъечАйла заз акуна ки дивандин винел са ч’улав
 ayvandik eg’eç’ayla zaz akuna ki divandin vinel sa ç’ulav
 to.balcony go.out-AOP-TEMP to.me see.AOR that sofa-GEN on one black
 са шей ацукънава
 sa şey atsuq’nava
 one thing sit-PRF

When I went out to the balcony, I saw that some black thing has sat on the sofa. (Bug 10)

Other cognitive events are expressed through the AOR verb *lahana* with the meaning ‘decided’ or ‘thought.’ These thoughts are punctiliar, happening in a moment, as in (35).

- (35) За лагъана я Аллагъ им вуч ятIа
 za lahana ya Allah im vuç yat'a
 me say.AOR oh Allah this what COP-CND
 I thought, "Oh God, what could it be?" (Bug 13)

5.1.2 Band 2 Background

This is a broad band in which contains non-punctiliar activities (Longacre 1996:26) secondary to the mainline action. These are activities and cognitive states that are background to the main action on the storyline and may even overlap temporally with it (Longacre 1989:417). In Lezgi, this correlates to IMPF actions (ongoing action), adverbial events and actions in converb clauses, as well as present PRF verbs (resultative). Cognitive states (which take a dative experiencer), called affective constructions, are also included in Band 2, secondary to the mainline. Because of the variety of background activity, and the relatively imprecise semantic relationship of Lezgi converbs to their coordinative main verb (Haspelmath 1995a:415) it is hard to say which of these, if any, are more salient than the others.

Action simultaneous with (off) the mainline is shown by (36) below, where the *-z(a)vay* PST-IMPF verb follows a mainline AOR verb.

- (36) Хтана ибур и виляятдиз .
 xhtana ibur i vilayatdiz
 returned-AOR these this province.to
 They returned to this province.

Хтайла и хкведай рекъе и рушаз аквазвай хъи , гъич
 xhtayla i xhköday req'e i ruşaz aközvay xi hiç
 returning-TEMP this returning-AOP way.in this girl.to see-PST-IMPF that never
 и гада шад туш .
 i gada şad tuş
 this boy happy COP-NEG

While returning, on their way back, the girl was seeing that the guy isn't happy. (Princess 10.1-2)

In addition to the use of the PST-IMPF, *aközvay* ‘seeing’ is also a verb of perception, which further justifies its inclusion in Band 2 as a cognitive state. In the same way, the verb *luhuzavy* ‘saying,’ when it has the meaning of ‘thinking,’ is background action, as in (37):

(37) Зани лугъузвай ки им пепе яни им вуш яни
 zani luhuzvay ki im pepe yani im vuş yani
 I-and say.IMPF-PST that this bug is-Q it what is-Q
 And I was wondering: “Is this a bug or what?” (Bug 16)

Events and actions in adverbial clauses – whether they are AOC, IMC, or any of what Haspelmath (1995a) calls the specialized converbs – are certainly less salient than mainline events. They are demoted by grammatical subordination (Longacre 2006:344); or in the case of Lezgi, by a co-subordination that expresses events or activities adverbial relative to the main verb (Longacre 1989:439). This is exactly why converbs are in Band 2 – action that is secondary to the mainline. The simplest examples involve AOC (38) and IMC (39).²⁷

(38) К'ват'на за жуван шиле-куъле хъфена
 k'vat'na za juvan şile-küle qfena
 gather.AOC I own a-few-things return.AOR
 Packing a few of my things, I left... (Bug 3.1)

²⁷ Note in this example, ENT carries the mainline (see section 5.3).

- (39) Ибуруни чаяр хъвана вири ахвариз фида .
 They and tea drinking-AOC all sleep-IMC went-ENT
 iburuni çayar qõna viri axhõriz fida
 And drinking tea, they all fell asleep. (Princess 13.34)

Other converbs, even though they are AOC, are so intertwined (serialized) with the main verb that it is hard to speak of which action is secondary. For example, in (40) it's hard to tell which is the converb and which is the main verb (both have suffix *-na*) when the concept 'going and lying down' goes so close together semantically. The relatively freer word order of oral Lezgi (with a post posed *juvan çkadal* 'my own place') makes it even more difficult:

- (40) Фена къаткана жуван чкадал вил ахвара фена зу
 fena g'atkana juvan çkadal vil axhvara fena zu
 go-AOC lie.down-AOR own place.on eye dream.in go-AOR my
 I went to lie down in my bed and I fell asleep. (Bug 5)

Though perhaps clear in the English free translation, it is important to endeavor to view the event line from the perspective of Lezgis. Converbs can also be piled up within adverbial clauses to make a complicated set of background action that modifies the mainline verb. In example (41) below, the main verb *fena* 'went' has three converbs in front of it:

- (41) Мамадини вуч ятІа гъиле къуна ам рекъиз кІан хъайила имани
 mamadini vuç yat'a ğile g'una am req'iz k'an xayila imani
 mother-also something hand.in take-AOC it kill-INFV want-TEMP this-but
 гагъатна гъиниз ятІани фена ман
 gahatna hiniz yat'ani fena man
 escape-AOC somewhere go.AOR PT
 And when mother wanted to take up something to kill it, (the bug) escaping, went somewhere, you know. (Bug 39.1)

Some converbs in the text seem to convey a sequence of successive events (like clause-chaining constructions). Though Haspelmath (1993:376, 1995b:423) says this is not a very common use of the converb in Lezgi, it does seem to occur more often in spoken texts. Recall from 2.2 that AOC and AOR verbs have identical suffix forms (-*na*), so it is difficult at times to distinguish them. The only contextual clue seems to be the presence of time separating the actions. For example in (42), *atana agaḡ'na* ‘arrived,’ *t'üna* ‘ate,’ and *g'atkana* ‘went to bed’ are mainline verbs in a sequence because they are separated by time:

- (42) Атана агаḡ'на зун гъаниз фу затІ т'уьна галатнавай тир
 atana agaḡ'na zun haniz , fu zat' t'üna , galatnavay tir
 com-AOC reach.AOR I there bread thing ate.AOR tired-PRF-PTC COP:PST
 зун нянин бере тир къаткана зун
 zun nyanin bere tir , g'atkana zun .
 I evening time COP:PST lie.down-AOR I

I arrived there, ate some food, I was tired – it was evening – so I went to bed. (Bug 4)

However, in (43) below, the verbs *g'araḡna* ‘stood up’ and *aḡayna* ‘opened,’ are adverbial to the main verb *eg'eḡ'na* ‘went out.’ They are in Band 2 and are background and off the mainline because of the main verb’s general meaning (Haspelmath 1995a:424) and because the actions occur at the same time. This kind of adverbial action occurred often in the Lezgi oral texts collected in this study.

- (43) Къараḡна зун жуван чкадилай къапу ахъайна зун айвандик экъечІна
 g'araḡna zun juvan ḡkadilay g'apu aḡayna zun ayvandik eg'eḡ'na
 stand.up-AOC I own place.from door open.AOC I to.balcony go.out-AOR
 I getting (got) up from my bed, opening (opened) the door, (and) I went to the balcony.
 (Bug 9)

Also contained in Band 2 are resultative actions and verbs of posture which are constructed with present PRF verbs and refer to past events with current relevance (Haspelmath 1993:143-144). This present PRF indicates an ongoing state that is background to the mainline action. Example (44) below uses the compound verb *txhuz xanva* ‘took’ perfectly, and (45) is a common way of speaking of someone having fallen asleep, but the verb of posture *g’atkanava* ‘have laid down’ is even more pronounced during a ‘frozen’ moment:

- (44) И рушани вичин стхайриз фу тхуз хъанва гъар юкбюз .
 İ ruşani viçin stxhayriz fu txhuz xanva har yug’uz
 this girl and his/her to brothers bread take-PRF every day
 That girl was taking the meal to her brothers every day. (Migrax 1.23)

- (45) Мамани мици кІвала къатканава зунни и патал алай кІвала
 mamani mitsi k’vala g’atkanava zuni i patal alay k’vala
 mother-and other room.in lay.down-PRF me-also this side.on be.on-IMC room.in
 къатканава
 g’atkanava
 lay.down.PRF

And Mama in the other room has laid to sleep, and I have laid to sleep in the room on this side. (Bug 28.2)

Cognitive states belong in Band 2 as well. Verbs of perception like *k’an* ‘want, love, need,’ *kiç’e* ‘afraid,’ *çi* ‘know,’ and *t’a* ‘hurt’ belong to a special class of verbs in Lezgi (Haspelmath 1993:137-139) which use a Dative experiencer in what’s called an Affective Construction (Haspelmath 1993:280-283). Sometimes the existential ‘be’ verb *xana* takes a DAT experiencer as well. The examples (46) and (47) below are both background because they are cognitive states.

(46) Заз дуьз киче хана
 zaz dūz kiç'e xana
 to.me great fear be-AOR
 I was so scared. (Bug 12)

(47) Зазни кІан хана жуван дидедин патав гьадан кьвалав Набрандиз
 zazni k'an xana juvan didedin patav hadan g'valav Nabrandiz
 to.me-and want.be-AOR own mother-GEN to her side Nabran-DAT
 хъифиз
 qifiz
 to.return-INF
 And I wanted to go to my mother, to return to Nabran. (Bug 2.2)

5.1.3 Band 3 Flashback

This band notionally contains prior events and activities not sequential on the storyline (Longacre 1989:417). For Lezgi, this is correlated to AOR-PST, PRF-PST, PRF-CONT-PST verbs. The addition of the PST affix *-ay* makes it clear that these events happened (or were still going on) before the mainline action. Though flashback is not very common in the texts of this study, a good example is (48), where *g'uru xanvay* 'had become dry' happened prior to the current events of the storyline:

(48) Заз яд хъваз кІанзавай тир тутьер кьуру хъанвай
 zaz yad qvaz k'anzavay tir tüter g'uru xanvay
 to me water drink-INF want-IMPf-PTP COP:PST throats dry become-PRF-PST
 I was wanting a drink of water; my throat had become dry. (Bug 7)

Haspelmath shows the difference between PRF-PST actions which expresses completion 'was now...' 'was done' (Haspelmath 1993:144-145) and AOR-PST situations that no longer obtain,

or the effect has been canceled (Haspelmath 1993:143). Example (49) illustrates this and is also in Band 3:

- (49) A сев ягъун патал фенавай чун .
 A sev yağun patal fenavay çun
 That bear strike-MSD for went-AOR-PST we
 We had gone to hunt that bear. (Hunt 3)

5.1.4 Band 4 Setting (Expository)

This band is filled with existential and habitual clauses indicating descriptive material (Longacre 1989:441), and can occur anywhere in the text. Though they are farther away from the storyline proper, Longacre (1989:418) admits that “such elements of setting are somewhat important to the macrostructure of the story.” This means they are essential for followability, since they provide orientation for events that follow. This band correlates in Lezgi to COP:PST verbs as well as the *xana* ‘be’ verbs, which are quite clearly observed as setting in texts (but present COP will always be an authorial comment – see 5.1.6). Also, predicative participial constructions (PTP + COP:PST) very commonly indicate expository information. Finally, reminiscing is done with FUT-PST verbs and habitual situations in the general past use the IMPF-PST + COP:PST construction.

The COP:PST *tir* is found throughout the texts describing setting and other expository states:

- (50) И Бакида шегъерда гъаваяр пара чими тир
 i bakida şeherda havayar para çimi tir
 this Baku.in city.in weather very warm COP:PST
 It was very hot in Baku, in the city. (Bug 2.1)

Example (51) below shows that existential AOR *xana* ‘be’ verbs are non-action verbs – as are ENT *xeda* ‘be’ verbs (52) for folktales (see 5.3):

(51) Садра захъ галаз са ихътин са кар хъана
 Sadra zaq galaz sa ixtin sa kar xana
 once me with one such one case be-AOR
 Once, such an incident happened to me. (Bug 1.2)

(52) И гъилени идан гевгърдин хтарар жеда къве жуът .
 i ġileni idan gevherdin xhtarar jeda q’ö jüt
 this hand.in.and its pearls.of necklaces was-ENT two pair
 And in the hand was two pairs of pearl necklaces. (Princess 5.12)

However, when *xana* means ‘become’ and is combined with a noun to make a compound verb, it is no longer expository. It is a punctiliar verb, and so corresponds to Band 1. So the AOR *aşuq’ xana* in (53) below is on the mainline (and the PRF-PST verb *g’uru xanvayis* in (48) above remains in Band 3 Flashback).

(53) Имни и рушал пара ашукъ хъана .
 imni i ruşal para aşuq’ xana
 he.and this on the girl very fell.in.love -AOR
 And he fell very much in love with this girl. (Princess 3.5)

Recall from 2.3.2 that the interesting predicative participial constructions (PTP + COP) and substantivized predicative participles (PTP-SBST + COP) are very popularly used in Lezgi oral texts. They are expository because of their existential meaning, using of the COP:PST *tir* ‘was’ like in (54). In (55) the verb is actually elided:

(54) Заз дуъз кичӀе хъанвай тир ман
 zaz dūz kiç'e xanvay tir man
 to.me right fear be-PRF-PTC COP:PST PT
 Such a fear I had (at that moment), you know. (Bug 38)

(55) Гъилин къен къван авай ø
 ğilin g'en q'van avay (tir)
 hand's inside so much be.in-PTP COP:PST
 It was the size of the palm of a hand. (Bug 19)

(56) И чӀулав са шейни са жуъре ван акъудзавай тир
 i ç'ulav sa şeyni sa jüre van ag'udzavay tir
 this black one thing-also one kind sound.going.out-IMPF-PTP COP:PST
 And also (from inside) this black thing, a kind of strange sound was coming out. (Bug 14)

In example (56) above, there is a reason why a predictive participial construction is used for this ongoing sound instead of a normal past progressive (IMPF-PST) verb. Especially in Lezgi oral narrative, the PTP + COP construction is used to focus the preceding (left dislocated) constituent (Haspelmath 1993:349-351). Perhaps also, since there is a general avoidance of IMC in spoken Lezgi, this is used to fill the gap in order to indicate non-specific adverbial action. Because of this function, this construction is probably the most salient in Band 4.

The next salient component in this expository band is reminiscing, which is correlated with FUT-PST (-*day*) verbs. Example (57) twice uses the FUT-PST -*day* suffix:

(57) Занни лугъудай ки " ГьутІа вили чка аку , гьутІа вили
 Zanni luhuday ki Hut'a vili çka aku hut'a vili
 I.and say-FUT-PST that that.yonder blue place look.IMPV that.yonder blue
 чка ..." Гьул аквадай чи хуьрей . " Гьа вили чкадиз зун
 çka Hul aköday çi xhürey Ha vili çkadiz zun
 place sea see-FUT-PST our village.from.out.of that blue place.from I
 фида . "
 fida
 go-FUT

And I used to answer: "Do you see that blue place?" We used to see the sea from our village. "I'll marry a man from that blue place." (Marry 34-5)

Sometimes in Lezgi oral narratives, there can be several small episodes in a story (especially first person stories of the past) and reminiscing occurs between each mini-story. Each story is initiated by a mainline AOR, with setting in-between, and then resumption of the mainline with another AOR.²⁸

Habitual situations in the general past also belong to Band 4. Notice in (58) the grammatical form IMPF-PST + COP:PST is being used.

(58) Мектебдиз жи девирда гьада кьарас игъизвай тир гьамиша.
 Mektebdiz ji devirda hada q'aras ihizvay tir hamişa
 School.to our time.in he-ERG wood bring-IMPF-PTP COP:PST always

In our youth he was always bringing wood to our school (Beibir 1.7)

²⁸ It is possible a text could consist entirely of reminiscing with verbs indicating past habitual activities. With these texts, an AOR mainline is never initiated and a story is never told – just habitual activities sometime in the past. In this case, we might say this is a different discourse type (negative temporal sequence) with a thematic structure. I have excluded such a text from the Lezgi oral narrative corpus.

5.1.5 Band 5 Irrealis

Notionally, events that don't happen belong in the irrealis band – alternative reconstructions that are a sort of ‘parody on the storyworld’ (Longacre 1995:6). Far from unimportant, they allow the speaker to comment on what did *not* happen, and explore what *could* have happened, serving to help the listener understand and follow the evaluative ‘point’ of the story better (Labov 2011:547). This includes verbs with NEG like in (59) and (60):

(59) Рушазни чара жедач .
ruşazni çara jedaç
girl.to.also means can.be-FUT-NEG
The girl had no choice. (Princess 9.14)

(60) Гъадалай сонра мад зун ивиз киник садрани эвецІнач
hadalay sonra mad zun iviz kinik sadrani evets'naç
That.from after more I night down never come.down-AOR.NEG
From then on, I never went down at night. (Bug 41)

(61) Хъана къван - хъанач къван са вилаятда са пачагъ хъана
xana q'ön - xanaç q'ön sa vilayatda sa paçah xana
be-AOR turns.out be-NEG turns.out one country.in one king be-AOR
Once upon a time, there was a king in a province. (Princess 2.1)

It is interesting that introductory formulaic statements of Lezgi folktales like in (61) say *xana q'ön xanaç q'ön*²⁹ ‘there was, there wasn't,’ giving the idea that the whole story may not have really happened.

²⁹ Haspelmath (1993:243-44) describes this as a discourse particle.

Also in this band are modals like the HORT deliberative question *vuç iyin* ‘what to do’ in (62), and CND verbs like in (63). Notice that CND verbs are often in main clauses, sometimes with the complementizer *ki* ‘that’ afterward setting off a dependent clause.

(62) Вуч ийин

vuç iyin

what do-HORT

What to do? (Bug 22)

(63) Пачагъдин нуькердиз акуртІа хьи , и кІвале мичІи берета дубз
paçahdin nükerdiz akurt'a xi i k'öle miç'i bereda düz
 king's servant.to look-PTP-CND that this house.at at dark time great

ишигъли я ма , имни атана чинеба пенжердай тамашна
işıgli ya ma imni atana çineba penjerday tamaşna
 light is you know he.and coming-AOC secretly window.from looking-AOC

акуртІа , цлалай гевгъерар кудна , хтарар , гъабуру нур я
akurt'a tslalay gevherar kudna xhtarar haburu nur ya
 look-PTP-CND wall.on pearls hang-AOC necklaces its light is

къван гузвай .
q'ön guzvay
 so much giving-IMPF-PTP

The servant could see that, though it was evening, a great light was in this house, you know. He came secretly, and looking through the window, could see the pearls on the wall - and they were giving so much light. (Princess 6.2)

Though it may seem from English free translation that *akurt'a* ‘could look/see’ is a real event, the CND affix *-t'a* is used to speak of ‘modal’ seeing, and could be rendered ‘was able to see.’ This points to an “alternative reconstruction of that world” (Longacre 1989:418). Perhaps a stylistic choice by the teller, this sentence could have been said ‘more real’ using a cognitive action verb *akuna* ‘saw,’ but the CND was chosen instead.

5.1.6 Band 6 Authorial comments

This section first deals with the importance of authorial comments and how they are indicated in oral Lezgi (5.1.6.1). Then, examples of Band 6 authorial comments are given and evaluation in first person narratives is addressed (5.1.6.2).

5.1.6.1 The Importance of authorial comments

Though Longacre (1989:418, 445, 1995:6) seems to think authorial comments are intrusive and counts them as unnecessary to the story proper, they can actually be some of the most important utterances in a narrative, since the teller is in control of the story. Norrick (2000:35) says, “All kinds of evaluation work to create interest in the audience and to ratify the narrated events as genuine past experience, but they also serve to signal the teller’s attitudes and cue the hearer’s expectations.” So evaluative phrases are actually integral to the point of the narrative, especially if the point is more thematic and less action oriented (as in first person narratives). Also, evaluative phrases in an oral epic genre like folktales take on a special significance to the story, since the teller is commenting on the actions of the hero, which may be foregrounded (See 5.2). Since evaluative phrases are so integral with the narrative, determining what is a part of Band 6 is not easy.

For oral Lezgi narratives, there are a few clues to indicate authorial comments:

1. Phrases that are clearly spoken directly to the audience, including deliberative questions, desires of the author, explanations, openings and closings. For example:

(64) Дидени диде я ма .
 dideni dide ya ma
 mother.FOC mother is you know
 The mother is a mother, you know.

Вичин хва рекъиз кІан жени ?
 viçin xhõ req'iz k'an jeni
 her son to.kill-IMPV want be-FUT-Q
 Would she ever want her son to be killed? (Princess 13.7-8)

2. Introductory phrases like *helbeta ki* ‘of course it is that’ in example (65) show an authorial comment may be coming:

(65) Ну , мад халкъарни ава ина ыи — Са пуд стхадивай , гьелбетда
 Nu mad xhalq'arni ava ina ıı Sa pud stxhadivay helbeta
 well more people COP here Uhhh only three brothers.from Of course
 хьи , къеле хуыз жедайди туш .
 xi g'ele xhüz jedaydi tuş
 that fortress defend-IMC be-FUT COP-NEG

Well... there were more people here aaa... Of course, only three brothers cannot defend the fortress. (Migrax 1.16)

3. The presence of the Lezgi particle *ma* (or *man*) equivalent to the English ‘you know.’ This is an appellative particle used to see if the listener is paying attention, or inviting the listener to engage with the storyteller:

(66) КицІ зид я ма .
 Kits' zid ya ma
 Dog mine is you know
 The dog is mine, you know. (Dog 2.12)

4. Intonation is another way an authorial comment is made clear. A good example is in (67) where the intonation of a low, quite, ‘under-the-breath’ explanation of *çun ixtin incanar ya* ‘we are such people’ is spoken in the midst of a sentence:

(67) Ибуруни и руш физ-хквезвай рехъ чирна , рушав
 iburuni i ruş fiz-xhközvay reġ çirna ruşav
 They and this girl coming-going-IMPF-PTP road know-AOC to girl
 агатна мукъвал , ашукъ хъанва лагъана вич рушал — чун
 agatna muq’öl aşuq’ xanva lahana viç ruşal çun
 approach-AOC near fell.in.love say-AOC himself on the girl we
 ихътин инсанар я — руш акъудна рекъей , са гафуналди .
 ixtin insanar ya ruş ag’udna reġ’ey sa gafunaldi
 such people is girl take.out-AOR the way one onto word

And they learned the girl-coming-and-going way, [and a soldier] came close to the girl, said he fell in love with the girl – we are such people – and found out the girl’s way, the by-word. (Migrax 1.25)

It must be remembered that these are not just interruptions in the story – they are explanatory remarks to ensure the hearer understands (and follows). Thus they are tied to pragmatics – the purpose, author, audience, situation, etc. What is deemed reportable is not always fixed, especially in other languages and cultures. We should expect to encounter more of these interruptions and explanations if the audience was not Lezgi or perhaps a child. Speaking about authorial comments, Labov (2011:547) said, “for a narrative to be successful, it cannot report only the most reportable event. It must also be credible if the narrative is not to be rejected as a whole by the listener.”

On the other hand a different factor in authorial comments is the capability of the teller to tell the story. If this is a first-time telling, or the teller is distracted, not articulate, or just not a

good storyteller, we may hear lots of interruptions to the mainline, including mistakes, reformulations, repetition, and parenthetical thoughts. The issue of how a storyteller corrects themselves or formulates a story in their mind are outside the scope of this study, but it is important to know that these kinds of authorial comments exist in Lezgi oral narratives. Unless explicitly stated, I have treated many interruptions and mistakes as insignificant to the narrative structure and verb salience scheme.

5.1.6.2 Examples of Band 6 Authorial comments

Many times, a simple transition to the present tense indicates an authorial comment in Lezgi narratives.³⁰ Almost all present tense COP (66) and local COP (68) seem to indicate some kind of break from the narrative and make a statement to the audience.

(68) Адаз аялар ава ,
 Adaz ayalar ava
 him.to children COP
 He has children. (Trip 27)

The equative present tense COP comment in (69) marks the transition between a parable (which has been using present tense IMPF verbs) to the lesson of the parable which the author gives using the word *kanzava* ‘need’ and HORT verbs.

(69) Им дуьньядин притча я .
 im dunyadin pritça ya
 This world's parable is
 This is a parable of the world... (Stone 1.20)

³⁰ This is true unless there is skewing to the present tense because of storytelling style (Dog) or peak marking in order to express immediacy (for example Bug 28-31 as well as Princess 13.7 and 13.11).

Similarly, in (70), after the final action ‘they stoned her,’ an authorial comment states that there is (*ala* - local COP), to this day, a pile of stones as a result of this story. This also marks the transition between the story proper, and the conclusion.

- (70) Къван гана къена ва къенин йикъалди , хъуьруьн къерехда , хъуьруьз
 g’ön gana q’ena va g’enin yig’aldi xürün g’erexhda xürüz
 stone.give-AOR died and today even this day village in outskirt village
 гъахътай рекъе лугъуда , са къванерин хара ала .
 haxtay req’e luhuda sa g’önerin xhara ala
 enter-AOP way they say EVD one stones-GEN pile is there
 (They) stoned and killed (her) and even today, they say on the outskirts of the village, in
 the side of the entrance road to the village there is a pile of stones. (Migrax 1.30)

Authorial comments are also indicated by the present tense substantivized predicative participle (PTP-SBST + COP) *fizvaydi ya*, ‘a going’:

- (71) Руш фейила , ахпа вич физвайди я ма .
 ruş feyila axpa viç fizvaydi ya ma
 girl going-TEMP then himself go-IMPF-PTC-SUBT is you know
 After the girl goes, then he himself will go, you know. (Princess 13.22)

In (72) below, the particle *ma* ‘you know’ and deliberative questions coincide to let the audience know there is still trouble. This is very important at this point in The Sea Princess folktale (See 6.4.1), because it sets the stage for the second half, and more action to come.

(72) Бубани хъсан хъана къарагда , гила рушан фикир амазма ,
 bubani qsan хана g'arağda gila ruşan fikir amazma
 father.and good being-AOC got.up-ENT now girl.of thought has-IMPF-CONT
 анжах чизвач ма , руш гъиклин , гъинай гъин ,
 anjaxh çizvaç ma ruş hik'in hinay ğin
 but know-IMPF-NEG you know girl how-Q where from bring-HORT
 вучин .
 vuçin
 what-Q

The father being healed, got up – Now he is still thinking about the girl, but he doesn't know, you know, where from or how to bring her. (Princess 12.10)

The particle *man* (or shortened *ma*), is noted by Haspelmath (1993:241-242) to be a discourse particle, but he analyzes it only at the clause/sentence level with various meanings. Actually, in the Bug Story (Sentences 8, 24.1-2, 34, 38, 39.1) and Sea Princess folk tale (Sentences 6.2, 10.20, 12.10, 13.22, 13.7, 14.13) *man* seems to function as an appellative particle meaning something like the English 'you know?' used by the speaker to engage with the audience and see if the listener is following.

It is especially difficult to identify authorial comments in a Lezgi first person narrative like the Bug story. When does the author act in the story, tell the story, or comment about the story? Participant reference doesn't help us much, since the referent is 'I' *za* (ERG) or *zun* (ABS) through much of the story. However, when the speaker addresses the listener as *köz* 'you,' as in (73), then this is certainly an authorial comment:

(73) Са эхтилат ийиз кІанзава заз квез
 Sa exhtilat iyiz k'anzava zaz köz
 one story do-INF want-IMPF to.me to.you
 I want to tell a story to you. (Bug 1.1)

Any text in the positions of aperture and finis (if they exist) would be authorial comments addressed to the audience with the special purpose of establishing the setting of place or time (Grimes 1975:54-55).

We also see that the habitual use of present IMPF is clearly used for authorial comments³¹ (as opposed to habitual past IMPF in Band 4, and non-habitual IMPF action in Band 2). Haspelmath (1993:141) says the IMPF is preferred to the FUT by colloquial speakers when referring to habitual action. In the Bug story, during the frozen moment where Ofeliya comments about how much she hates bugs, she clearly uses the habitual present IMPF (as well as the present substantivized predicative participle):

(74) Заз пепейрикай дуьз кичІезвайди я ман
 zaz pereyrikay düz kiç'ezvaydi ya man
 to me bugs.from great fear-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP PT

I have a great fear of bugs, you know.

и пепейрикай винел икІа хкадарзавай пепеяр рус
 i pereyrikay vinel ik'a xhkadarzavay pereyar rus
 these bugs.from on like this jump-IMPF-PTP bugs russian

чІалал кузнечикар лугьуда ман
 ç'alal kuzneçikar luhuda man
 language.in grasshoppers say-EVID PT

These bugs that jump like this – in Russian are called “kuznechiki” –

³¹ Again, except for skewing into present tense at peak episodes for immediacy, as well as some parables (see 5.2) which use IMPF verbs for the mainline.

Гъабурикай зу зегъле физава яман
 haburikay zu zehle fizava yaman
 them.from my hate.comes-IMPF so much
 I hate them so much.

Абур акурла зун гагъатзава гъвечиди чIехиди
 abur akurla I gahatzava ğöçidi ç'exhidi
 them see-TEMP zun run.away-IMPF small-SUBST big-SUBST

When I see them, I run away – big or small. [STRESSFUL SIGH] (Bug 24.1 – 26)

These are authorial comments that explain and “suspend the action to set the scene and let the suspense build...” (Norrick 2000:35), so are not really part of the story. Contrast these habitual uses of IMPF with other present IMPF action verbs in the Bug story in Appendix A (sentences 28.1, 32, 36.1, 36.2, 36.4, 37), which belong in Band 2.

5.1.7 Band 7 Cohesive and thematic

Longacre (1989:418) says that elements in this band “are more a part of the connective tissue of the text than any vital part of its content.” They are back referential clauses and thematic statements that only serve to tie the text together. Since Lezgi is a chaining language, this band corresponds to AOC, TEMP, and IMMANT converb clauses, commonly occurring as left-shifted tail-head linkages. When these converb clauses are fronted, they act like conjunctions, not adding anything substantial to the story. Usually they are clearly heard in the continuing intonation of the speaker. Below are examples of AOR (75), TEMP (76), and IMMANT (77).

(75) Зун са тИмил мукъвал фена
zun sa t'imil muq'val fena
I one little near go-AOR

I came a little closer.

Мукъвал фена за килигайтIа
muq'val fena I kiligayt'a
near go-AOC za look-AOP.CND

Coming closer, I could see – (Bug 17-18.1)

(76) И гададини гъил вегъена са жуът къачуда .
i gadadini ğil vehena sa jüt g'açuda
this guy.ERG.and hand throwing-AOC one pair took-ENT

And the guy picked up one necklace pair.

Им къачурла и балкIанди « вуна нагъахъ къачуна » лугъуда « а
İm g'açurla i balk'andi vuna nahaq g'açuna luhuda a
this take-TEMP this horse you in.vain take-AOR said-ENT that

гевгъерар .

gevherar

pearls

When (he) took this, the horse said, “You took those pearls in vain.” (Princess 5.13-14)

(77) зунни фу тIуъна , чна пуда , зунни чал фена .
zunni fu t'üna çna puda zunni çal fena
me.also bread ate-AOC we three me.also water.for went-AOR

We had food and I went to drink some water.

зун чал фидамаз абурал аватна мина ... ибур къена .
zun çal fidamaz abural avatna mina ibur q'ena
I water.for go-FUT-IMMANT on them fell-AOR mine these died-AOC

As soon as I went to drink a mortar fell on them... they died. (War 14-15)

In addition to verbal cohesive elements in this band, it is worth noting some particles, phrases and clitics that connect Lezgi narratives. The coordinator *-ni* ‘and’ is the main way clauses in Lezgi oral narratives are connected (Haspelmath 1993:327-28):

- (78) Зазни кІан хъана жуван дидедин патав гъадан къвалав Набрандиз
 zazni k'an хана juvan didedin patav hadan g'valav Nabrandiz
 to.me-and want.be-AOR own mother-GEN to her side Nabran-DAT
 хъифиз
 qifiz
 to.return-IFN

And I wanted to go to my mother, to return to Nabran. (Bug 2.2)

The affix occurs on the first noun phrase of the subsequent clause, and serves to keep clauses tightly connected, as well as speed up the pace of the story.³² Sometimes *-ni* ‘and’ helps to reinitiate the mainline from a regression. In example (79) below, *-ni* is combined with *za* ‘I-ERG’ on the second line:

- (79) Абур акурла зун гагъатзава гъвечиди чІехиди
 abur akurla I gahatzava ğöçidi ç'exhidi
 them see-TEMP zun run.away-IMPF small-SUBST big-SUBST

When I see them, I run away – big or small. [STRESSFUL SIGH]

- Зани вуч ийин Къвазнава зун
 zani vuç iyin g'öznavava zun
 I-ERG-and what do-HORT stop-PRF I

So what shall I do - I have stopped. (Bug 26-27)

³² See especially the sequence in the Bug story 32-36.1 where a quick succession of events is connected with *-ni* ‘and.’

Other cohesive devices summarize large portions of a Lezgi oral narrative.³³ These can be thought of as thematic statements, and are indicated by a more general non-verbal reference (Longacre 1989:443) like *hadalay sonra* ‘from then on’ in (80) or *gila* ‘now’ in (81):

- (80) Гъадалай сонра мад зун ивиз киник садрани эвецІнач
 hadalay sonra mad zun iviz kinik sadrani evets'naç
 That.from after more I night down never come.down-AOR.NEG
 From then on, I never went down at night. (Bug 41)
- (81) Гила идани вушин вуч тийин бес лагъана « белке », лагъана ,
 gila idani vuşin vuç tiyin bes lahana belke lahana
 now she.and what-Q what NEG-do-HORT but said-AOR maybe said-AOR
 « зун фин кван », лагъана , « а базардал » лагъана , « белке
 zun fin kön lahana a bazardal lahana belke
 I go-HORT please.do said-AOR that market.on said-AOR maybe
 зи къуьнел ацукъда а къуш .»
 zi 'ünel atsuq'da a g'uş
 my shoulder.ong sit-FUT that bird
 Now what should she do? She says, "maybe I should go to the market and the bird might sit on my shoulder,' she said. (Princess 14.7)

The particle *exher* ‘finally’ can connect any number of ideas that were being presented thematically beforehand. Here in (82) it is combined with the conjunction *-ni* and reduplicated, with the meaning “And finally in the very end...”:

³³ The particle *q'wan* ‘it turns out’ described in Haspelmath (1993:243-244), would have been a good candidate for a cohesive discourse marker to indicate a thematic statement, but it was not found used as such in this text corpus.

(82) Эхирни-эхир нянин са бере тир , асул и руш кланзавай гада
 Exhirni-exhir nyanin sa bere tir asul i ruş k'anzavay boy
 finally evening one time COP-PST actually this girl wanting-PTC gada
 къведа иниз , воо , идаз акуртла , гъа вичин руш .
 g'öda iniz voo idaz akurt'a ha viçin ruş
 arrived-ENT here well him.to look-PTP-CND that ones.own girl

Finally it was one evening, and the guy who really loved her appeared here, that he might see his own girl. (Princess 16.14)

5.1.8 Promotion

Longacre (1996:29) says that promotion devices can come in two variations: those that promote a clause to the mainline from a lower band, and those that may promote something on the mainline to a pivotal event. Sometimes this is achieved by punctiliar adverbs. For Lezgi, the punctiliar adverb *sad lahana* ‘suddenly’ serves to promote clauses from background bands to the mainline. For example in (83), the existential ‘be’ verb *xana*, which would normally be in Band 4 Setting (5.1.4), is promoted to the mainline and is part of the action of the story. Here the listener can picture how suddenly it became dark:

(83) сад лагъана гъава хъана чӀулав
 sad lahana hava xana ç'ulav
 suddenly weather be-AOR black

Suddenly the weather was dark. (Kraz 11)

This promotion applies in folktales too, where ENT carries the mainline.³⁴ In (84), the ‘be’ verb *jeda* ‘was’ is promoted to the mainline:

³⁴ See section 5.3 for how ENT carries the mainline of folktales.

- (84) Атана эхъвена куьтягъ хъана , пекер алукирла , и гада
 atana eqõna kütyah хана peker aluk'irla i gada
 coming-AOC bathing-AOC finishing-AOC clothes put.on-TEMP this boy
 экъечІна чинеба кьулухъай эчІрна и дарман , « вакай я кичІ
 eg'eç'na çineba g'uluqay eç'irna i darman vakay ya kiç'
 going.out-AOC secretly from.behind poured-AOC this medicine you.to or dog
 хурай , я вак » лугъун галаз , сад лагъана элкъвена
 хурай ya vak luhun galaz sad lahana elg'õna
 may.be-OPT or pig a.saying-MSD with suddenly turning.around-AOC
 идакай жеда са кицІ .
 idakay jeda sa kits'
 he.from was-ENT one dog

When he finished bathing and was putting on his clothes, the guy went out secretly from behind, and pouring the medicine on him, said 'May you be a dog or a pig!' - and suddenly, the king, turning around, was a dog! (Princess 10.18)

If a clause with *sad lahana* is already on the storyline, this adverb serves to promote that happening to the rank of pivotal event, which Longacre (1989:438) says is common to many languages. In (85) below, the pivotal event of the bug suddenly moving occurs in the peak episode of the Bug Story (see 6.2).

- (85) Сад лагъана заз акуна ки и пепе и жуван чкадилаь агъвазва
 sad lahana zaz akuna ki i pepe i xuvan çkadilay aǧvazva
 suddenly to me see.AOR that this bug this own place.from move.IMPF
 Suddenly, I saw that this bug is moving from its place. (Bug 32)

5.2 Modified verb salience scheme for parables

An exception to the general rule exhibited in this verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives occurs in the genre of parable (a fictional story told to illustrate a principle). This

exception is the fact that some parables in Lezgi are told with all mainline verbs in the present IMPF tense. Longacre (1995:26) said, “It should be emphasized that what is on the line in one type of discourse is off the line in another type and vice versa.” The story ‘Two Men and a Stone’ (Appendix B) is a perfect example of this, clearly exhibiting present IMPF verbs being used in the mainline progression from the beginning. Consider (86):

(86) Къве хванахво рехъ физва , къве кас рехъ физва .
 q'ö xõnaxhvo req fizva q'ö kas req fizva
 two friend way go-IMPF two man way go-IMPF

Two men, two friends, are going on the way.

Рехъ са кIадар фейдалай къулухъ абурин вилик са еке къван
 req sa k'adar feydalay q'uluq aburin vilik sa eke g'van
 way one some go-AOP-SUBST-SREL after their front one great stone

ахъатзава , чIахмахдин къван .
 aqatzava ç'axmaxhdin g'van
 appear-IMPF flint.from stone

After having gone a little while on the way, a great stone appears before them – a flint stone.

Ибурикай сада башламишзава рахаз .
 iburikay cada başlamişzava raxhaz
 they.from one start-IMPF speak-IMC

One of them starts to speak. (Stone 1.1- 1.3)

This phenomenon is not altogether surprising considering the purpose and delivery of a story of this nature. Similar to English, a short fictional story like this can be told in a terse, vivid, interesting way, and then finished off with a formulaic ending. The function of the present tense would seem to indicate a story that is not true (and the audience knows isn't true), is timeless and could occur anywhere, and is told in order illustrate a point or teach a lesson. As such, this kind

of story is useful embedded in other Lezgi oral texts, like the parable “Fire on Shahdag,” which also uses present IMPF for the mainline:

(87) Къве дустиниз са руш кІан жезва .
 q'õ dustiniz sa ruş k'an jezva
 two friends one girl want is.being-IMPF

Two friends fall in love with one girl.

Къведаз сад .
 q'õdaz sad
 both.to one

Both of them fall in love with the same girl.

Са гадади , са дустини вичин рикІ ахъайзава рушаз .
 sa gadadi sa dustini viçin rik' aqayzava ruşaz
 one boy one friend ones.own heart open-IMPF girl.to

One of them opens his heart to the girl.

Вичин мурад лугъузва .
 viçin murad luhuzva
 ones.own wish says-IMPF

(He) tells (her) about his wish. (Fire 4.1-4)

In this exception to the general salience scheme, AOR punctiliar happenings are replaced with the IMPF, indicating the mainline of the text. Background activities are still present, but they are only in the form of converbs. Notice that in (88) the AOC (a perfective verb form) is used as background to an IMPF mainline verb, which is consistent with Band 2 in Table 11:

(88) Са кІвач къванжин винел эцигна , хкаж жезва .
 sa k'vaç g'vanjin vinel etsigna xhkaj jezva
 one leg stone.of on put-AOC climb-IMPF

He puts one foot on the stone and climbs.

хкаж хъана, и къванжикай трамплин хъиз истифаде ийизва .
 xhkaj hana i g'vanjikay tramplin xiz istifade iyizva
 climb-AOC this stone.from springboard as use make-IMPF
 Climbing, (he) uses this stone as a springboard. (Stone 1.13-14)

Besides this substitution of IMPF verbs for the mainline AOR punctiliar verb, no other salience bands seem to be modified in this genre.

5.3 Modified verb salience for folktales

As mentioned in 2.3.3, the suffix *-da* is used on the mainline as a narrative tense for some Lezgi folktales. This is a significant exception to the normal verb salience scheme that requires some explanation. Section 5.3.1 discusses why *-da* is called an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT), and 5.3.2 gives examples of how ENT verbs are used in the Sea Princess folktale. It also begins to address why ENT verbs alternate with AOR verbs on the mainline of this folktale.

5.3.1 The Epic Narrative Tense

As mentioned in 2.3.3, the suffix *-da* in some folktales indicates the mainline:

- (89) Им са юкъуз фида сердиз вичин балкІандални
 im sa yug'uz fida serdiz viçin balk'andalni
 he one day went-ENT his.own.business.to his horse.on
 ацукъна .
 atsuq'na
 sitting.down-AOC
 One day he went out by horse on business.

Фена-фена им акакъда са гъуьлуьн къерехдив .
 Fena-fena im akaq'da sa hülün g'erexhdiv
 going-going he reached-ENT one Sea edge
 Going along, he reached a seashore. (Princess 3.1-2)

From comparing written texts (Sea, Daughters, Envy, Musa, and Brothers) to oral Lezgi narratives, it seems clear that this is an oral phenomenon.³⁵ This use of the suffix *-da* as an ENT in oral Lezgi folktales is specific and purposeful. It seems to be an archaic present tense form that has been preserved in folktales. The following will address why this is so.

It cannot be that this is simply a future, habitual, or hypothetical use of the *-da* suffix (Haspelmath 1993:141-42). Nor can it be what Russian linguists have referred to as ‘a figurative sense of the past’ (Alexseev & Shejkhov 1997:20). However, Haspelmath (1993:130) does propose that *-da* must have been a ‘very general non-past form’ which included present meanings until the IMPF *-zva* took over. Elsewhere, he calls it an ‘old present’ (Haspelmath 1998:38). Because *-da* PRED can be used predicatively with adjectives (*şirin-da* ‘It’s sweet’), and the fact that a few verbs of perception have a present state meaning with the suffix *-da* (*k’an* ‘want/love/need,’ *kiç’e* ‘afraid,’ *çi* ‘know,’ and *t’a* ‘hurt’), it seems that this ‘old present’ survives in a habitual use (Maisak 2011:50-51).

³⁵ This phenomenon was first observed by the investigator during a discourse workshop in 2011 exploring written Lezgi texts. It was strange at first that the *-na / -da* alternation appeared in a few written texts, while in others, it did not. Further investigation revealed that this phenomenon actually occurs in spoken texts, and is usually (but not always) edited out in written texts. For this reason, some written texts were added to the text corpus, in order to compare this phenomenon in oral and written situations. For a more in-depth study on the use of *-da* in Lezgi oral narratives, more texts are needed (see 7.3).

It should not then be surprising to find that this suffix is appropriate for folktales in a narrative use.³⁶ The use of *-da* in stage directions (Haspelmath 1993:141-42) would seem to be similar to this use as an ‘old present,’ since it reports action as it happens – a kind of vivid play-by-play. This observation is confirmed by Maisak (2011:49-50), who says the Lezgi *-da* suffix is “obviously a subtype of the narrative use.”

Haspelmath (1998:48-49) goes on to say, “The historical present is often used conventionally in certain narrative genres, and this convention may remain in place even after the new construction has ousted the old present tense from its central functions. Particularly folklore genres appear to be generally conservative, so it is here that we tend to find old presents as narrative tenses.” A similar phenomenon with the ‘Potential Future’ used in narrative folklore texts is reported to occur in Tat, a Persian language also found in Azerbaijan (Gruenberg 1966:293), as well as in Agul and Tabassaran with their habitual imperfective converb copula (Maisak 2011:46, 48).

In this study on oral Lezgi narratives, the use of the suffix *-da* as an ‘old present tense’ has been observed in folktales (Princess, Daughters, Sharvili), as well as other tales (Dog, Musa), but it seems that many times it is edited out of written folktales (like Sea, Brothers, Envy) and replaced with the AOR.

In an attempt to identify the use of the suffix *-da* in these oral narratives, it may be tempting to equate it with the historical present tense. However, if one were to review the Sea

³⁶ “...it is quite widespread in languages of the Caucasus to use habituais in the function of a ‘narrative tense,’ something like *praesens historicum*.” Dmitry Ganenkov, email communication.

Princess folktale as a whole (See Appendix C), it should be clear that there are some problems with this analysis:

- The Historical Present is traditionally understood to make the reporting of events vivid and dramatic. However, since the *-da* phenomenon occurs over most of the Sea Princess folktale, vividness is somewhat lost through its continual use.
- Though it appears extensively throughout the text, its patterns of distribution are not consistent enough. We should expect to find it used at peaks, but there is too much variation.
- There are already present tense *-z(a)va* verbs in these texts (for example, Princess 6.3, 13.9, 13.11, 16.16), apparently used for immediacy (as shown in 6.4.3).
- There are several places in the Sea Princess where this *-da* phenomenon alternates with *-na* AOR actions and speech signalers (discussed in 5.3.2 and 6.4.2).

The component of present tense in the Historic Present is still useful for our understanding of this phenomenon, though. This quality goes well with an epic folktale, a genre where, as Fleischman (1990:283) says, “it is not surprising to see the preterit, which ties events to an historical world, yield to the present, which detemporalizes events and underscores a story’s function as timeless entertainment.” Fleischman, who examined medieval Romance oral epics, proposed that the historical present (a stylistic feature) of written genres is not the same as the Narrative Present (a performative spontaneous feature) of earlier oral epics. The oral epic narrator often used a normal (preterit) tense to report the actions of the hero while stepping back and using the Narrative Present to evaluate the hero (through foregrounding), relating the significance of this action to the audience. An alternation between the preterit and the narrative present therefore occurred which highlights vivid action (Fleischman 1990:272). It seems this *-da* phenomenon in Lezgi is also an oral narrative tense. I have chosen to call this use of the *-da*

suffix in Lezgi oral narratives an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) because it is the form of the ‘old present’ in Lezgi, seems to mostly occur in Lezgi oral folktales, has an imperfect stem, and because it is used to set the audience apart from real life in a timeless epic way.

At any rate, it cannot be simply performance errors (sloppy suffixation) by the speaker since the *-da* suffix is placed on the imperfective stem, whereas the *-na* suffix is placed on the perfective stem. This stem usage is completely consistent in all texts. In (90) the ENT even conditions a nearby PTC and TEMP:

- (90) Хъвада ибуру чаяр , хъвадайла и руша чинеба ибурун чайдиз
 drank-ENT They tea drink-FUT-PTP-TEMP this girl secretly their tea.to
 qöda iburu çayar qödayla i ruşa çineba iburun çaydiz
 бигъуш жедай са дарман вегъида .
 unconscious be-FUT-PTC one medicine threw-ENT
 bihuş jeday sa darman vehida
 They drank tea. While they drank, the girl secretly added some sleep medicine to their tea.
 (Princess 13.33)

Additionally, several ‘be’ verbs *jeda*³⁷ appear using this ENT; example (91) below contains the same verb in AOC form ‘*xana*’:

- (91) Жемьатдизни хвеша жедая иер жаван пачагъ хъана .
 people.to.and happy was-ENT beautiful young king being-AOC
 jemyatdizni xhöşi jeday ier javan paçah xana
 And the people were glad to have handsome young king. (Princess 10.22)

³⁷ Some cases of *jeda*-ENT are already instances of promotion by *cad lahana* (5:12, 10:18), while others could be interpreted as the punctiliar ‘become’ (10.16, 10.22, 13.42, 14.11 17.25). A few are in cleft sentences (10.21, 13.23), others are in the NEG (7.1, 9.14), and still others are authorial comments (9.14, 13.10).

In the *Sea Princess*, the many occurrences of *xeda* (10 times) instead of *xhana* (11 times) are apparently an important interplay in oral narratives (Fludernik 1991:368). Fleischman suggests “a context-sensitive grounding relationship in which the simple past provides background for the more crucial information reported by the foregrounding present. This grounding relationship, I would add holds for descriptive as well as eventive material” (Fleischman 1990:272). This strongly points to the use of ENT as narrative tense.

The ENT could be due to historical accident from the general loss of the use of *-da* as a present tense, naturally preserved by speakers telling old stories that have been passed down. Or, it could be an unconsciously³⁸ preserved deictic technique. In any narrative, the ‘deictic center’ of the story is established by the teller and perceived by the listener combined with their cultural worldview and imagination (Jahn 2005:N6.4). If this ‘old present’ is unconsciously chosen by Lezgi speakers it is primarily because of their purpose in the telling: to entertain with a traditional epic-like tale. This corresponds to the Lezgi convention to open a folktale using the formula ‘there was, there wasn’t’ and close with some variant of ‘they being there, we came here – and to you I brought this tale.’ Throughout the story, the Epic Narrative Tense is used by the speaker to remove the ‘deictic orientation’ of time for the listener, and place the story in another world – separate from real time – in a non-past, non-real place.³⁹ It seems that this technique

³⁸ Indeed, none of the Lezgi speakers (many whom tell stories with this ENT) who were asked about this phenomenon even recognized that they use this suffix in this way. They did not understand why, nor had they even thought about it. This includes local Lezgi writers, poets, teachers, and journalists.

³⁹ Fleischman (1990:255-56) says, “Epic is a genre in which the events of story-worlds detach themselves from their historical origins and become, as it were, timeless...A discourse that is timeless, in the sense of collapsing the traditional divisions of the time continuum (past, present, and future) is appropriately vehiculated by a tense that can avoid a commitment to explicit temporality and to completion. This tense is the Narrative Present...[and]...texts that rely on the Narrative Present tense typically have an interest or entertainment value that is independent of and often takes priority over their referential value as reports of information. This is certainly true of epic, whose

even extends at times to portions of other fictional Lezgi oral narratives (Musa) - and even to a personal account told second-hand like (Dog) in (92) below, which uses the ENT. “Narratives about hypothetical worlds can concern hypothetical past, present, future, or generic time and include such genres as plans, science fiction and narratives of personal experience” (Ochs 1997:190).

(92) Акатда захъ хъел .
 Akatda zaq qel
 came-ENT me.to anger

I became angry.

Хъфида зун Исабаладин гъейетдал : « Я стха , вуна гаф
 qfida zun İsabaladin heyetdal Ya stxha vuna gaf
 left-ENT I Isabala's courtyard-on hey brother you-ERG word

гайи туширни заз ?
 gayi tuşirni zaz
 giving-PTP COP:NEG:PTP:Q to.me

I went to Isabala’s house again and said “Brother, haven’t you promised me?” (Dog 4.11-12)

5.3.2 ENT as the mainline for folktales (and its alternation with AOR)

After understanding the nature of the ENT, we are able to observe how it is an exception to the normal verb salience scheme. This must be done by looking at large sections of the text at one time, so referencing the parallel text in Appendix C is essential. We see from the beginning of episode 3 that the ENT carries the mainline.

nonreferential (social, cultural, political) functions have been extensively commented upon by literary critics and anthropologists.”

A complication to this modified verb salience scheme for folktales is a peculiar alternation of AOR suffix *-na* verbs and ENT suffix *-da* verbs on the mainline. This can also be best observed in the first few episodes of The Sea Princess parallel text (Appendix C). Notice two things about this *-da / -na* alternation: 1) Though the ENT carries the mainline for most of the story, there are more AOR verbs at the beginning and at the end of the story. 2) The AOR appears mostly in dialogue (for example, episodes 14 and 17) on the speech signaler *lahana* ‘he/she said.’ This alternation does not indicate promotion, nor a secondary mainline. Also, it is not VIP tracking of the main character. Further, the occurrences of AOR are not background (Band 2) because there are certainly AOR action verbs on the mainline as well. This is one troubling inconsistency in the analysis at this point – but it is addressed in 6.4.2 after the discourse structure of the Sea Princess folktale is taken into account. What is clear is that this ENT mainline does resume with action. This occurs after a dialogue, and at the beginning of every paragraph.

The salience scheme for other background information remains relatively unchanged. From example (93) below, we see that converbs and other non-finite verbs are unchanged, still functioning as Band 2 background events to this mainline ENT verb.

(93) Ковш цона яд гъана и гададиз гудайла , гададини
 kovş tsona yad ğana i gadadiz gundayla adadini
 ladle poured-AOC water bringing-AOC this guy.to giving-TEMP guy.ERG.andg
 кьуна рушакай , гъиликай ацукъарда балкІандал , са капашда
 q'una ruşakay ğilikay atsuq'arda balk'andal sa kapaşda
 taking-AOC girl.from.under hand.by seat-ENT horse.on one handful.in
 авай накъвни кьуна ибур экъецІ хъийида гъуьлуьн
 avay naq'vn q'una ibur eg'ets' qiyida hülün
 be in-PTP soil.also taking-AOC these a.going-MSD did.again-ENT Sea
 кьилел .
 q'ilel
 head.on

When she brought some water in the ladle and was giving it to him, he took her by the hand and put her on the horse. He took a handful of soil and they went back to the surface. (Princess 9.15)

At other times (94), the sentence is entirely full of ENT mainline verbs.

(94) Имани ван къведа и везирриз , къада и пачагъ , тухуда
 imani voice g'öda i vezirriz q'ada i paçah tuxhuda
 this.and van arrived-ENT this viziers.to caught-ENT this king took-ENT
 има , эцигда , са кІвале кутада .
 ima etsigda sa k'öle kutada
 this.one put-ENT one house.at put-ENT

The viziers heard about this, caught the king, took and put him in a house, and kept him there. (Princess 16.6)

The fact that this phenomenon is not found in all folktales could be due to preservation factors which vary from dialect to dialect, region to region, or speaker to speaker. Interestingly, this phenomenon is also found in some modern novels, written stories, and even some personal stories. Perhaps it's because this is an oral style of storytelling which tends toward vivid

depictions and actions, and is readily used in other stories.⁴⁰ These issues are beyond the scope of this study and can only be determined by studying a significant corpus of folktales.

⁴⁰ From Jahn (2005:N3.3.4): "...skaz narrative (from Russian *skaz*, 'speech'): A literary form that represents an oral (or 'conversational') story-telling situation in which a speaker tells a story to a present audience. Apart from having a distinctly oral diction and syntax, a skaz-narrator's discourse is also characterized by a high incidence of phatic and appellative elements, signaling the presence of the listening audience. Skaz is closely related (and usefully compared to) the poetic genre of the 'dramatic monologue.'"

6 DISCOURSE STRUCTURE OF LEZGI ORAL NARRATIVES

This chapter covers important steps in understanding followability for Lezgi oral narratives: how elements “work together to contribute to the followability of a discourse” (Longacre 1995:13). Having considered genre issues, and posited a verb salience scheme for three variations of Lezgi oral narratives, we will see how these interact with the narrative template. In this chapter, the overall discourse structure for these narratives is presented from a surface and notional perspective, and discussion follows about how the storyline and narrative template are intertwined. Key in this process is how the speaker uses certain peak marking features in order to make the story more vivid. Correlating these surface features with notional/thematic elements, and considering issues of pragmatics serves to emphasize main points in the text. Followability can then be represented visually with a plot line. First, is a discussion of discourse structure and its effect on the storyline (6.1). Then representative examples of discourse structures are presented in analyses of the Bug Story (6.2), Two Men and a Stone parable (6.3), and The Sea Princess folktale (6.4).

6.1 The Importance of Discourse structure

The discourse structure of a text is as vital to a story as bones are to a body. And with any body, there are differences between how it looks on the outside vs. inside. Longacre (1996:34-36) says that all narratives have a surface structure correlating with a notional structure – with corresponding slots that follow a plot-peak profile. Far from dividing the text according to the researcher’s whims, the text will show linguistic (surface) evidence of this division. This

evidence can take the form of different verb endings, changes in time, place, participants, events, or points of view, and even special discourse markers that show division. These divisions are actually markers that correlate to development in the text that help the listener follow the story.

The typical divisions described by Longacre (1996:36) are in Figure 3 below:

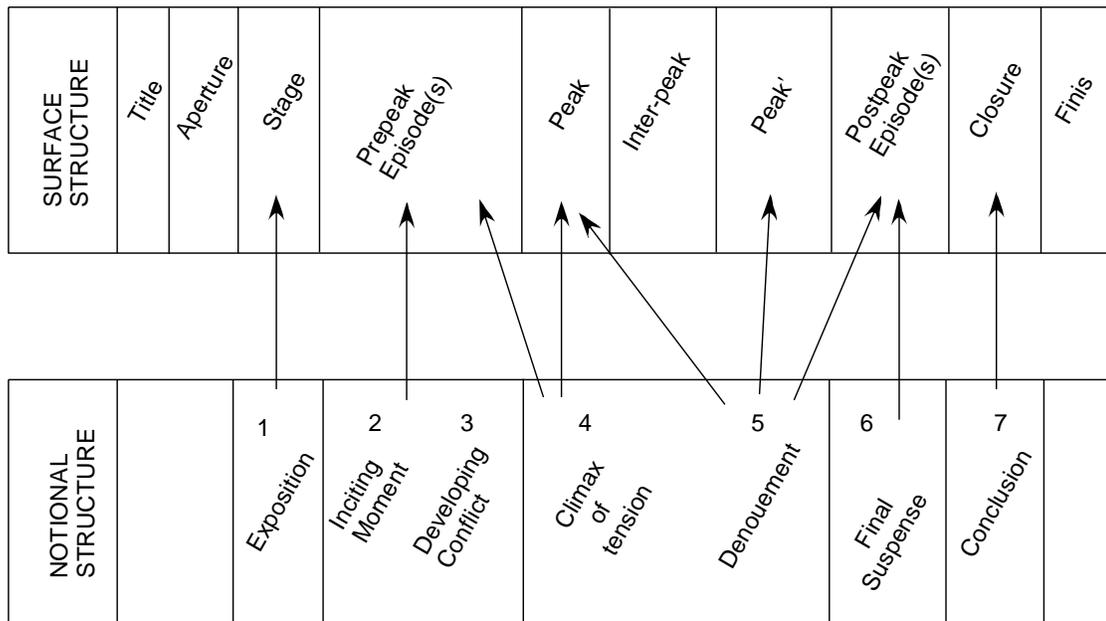


Figure 3: Typical Narrative Surface and Notional Structure Divisions⁴¹

This schema proposed by Longacre shows plot (notional) and peak (surface) structures side by side. There are several possible surface-notional correlations (Longacre and Hwang 2012:55). From these divisions, we can see how a story progresses through episodes notionally, starting with an inciting moment, developing conflict and tension, peaking in a climax and possible denouement, then finally resolving (Longacre 1996:37).

⁴¹ Adapted from Longacre (1996:36)

There is some variation for Lezgi oral narratives on a surface structure level. A longer Lezgi text will have more pre-peak episodes. Many shorter Lezgi texts don't include denouement. Notionally, even more variation exists. Some (especially short) Lezgi oral narratives do not exhibit all of these divisions; they have a very small inciting moment with only a bit of action, and a quick conclusion. Some have lots of exposition, with hardly any conflict, followed by reminiscing. Still others have many episodes, each with their own small inciting moment and climax, all resolving in one final climax or denouement. However, three narratives are good representative examples: The Bug Story (Appendix A) is a typical, short, informal, true first person story told for a purpose. Two Men and a Stone (Appendix B) is a typical, short, informal, parable, with a lesson at the end. The Sea Princess (Appendix C) is a typical, longer, informal, third person folktale told for entertainment.

Regarding the surface structure, Longacre (1996:38) points out that something strange happens at the peak of the narrative. There are usually unusual surface features in the peak episode: like rhetorical underlining, repetition, or special markers (Longacre 1996:38-43). Prosodics are another set of surface features that change at the peak (see 4.2): short choppy intonation units, quickened pace, volume, and pitch, different voice quality and ideophones. Also, changes to all the normally occurring features of the text may occur here at peak: especially heightened vividness through person or tense shift. This means the normal verb salience patterns could be 'violated' at the peak of the narrative (Longacre 1996:36). So we must know where the peak of the narrative is (as well as the typical peak marking features of oral Lezgi) in order to observe any special surface markers that affect followability of an oral text.

6.2 Discourse Structure of the Bug Story

To engage with the concept of discourse structure and see how it relates to the verb salience scheme, The Bug Story is analyzed and presented below as a representative text. By looking at this text in depth, discourse features (which are also common to other Lezgi oral narratives) are noted. The transcription and interlinear text of the Bug Story is found in Appendix A. The discourse structure is in Table 12 below.

Surface	Notional	Sentences	Summary
Aperture		1	Ofeliya wants to tell a story.
Stage	Exposition	2	It's summertime, and she wanted to take her usual summer trip to Mama.
Pre-Peak	Inciting moment	3-21	She traveled, arrived, ate, went to bed, and woke up in the night needing a drink. Then when she went out, she saw a big bug.
Peak	Climax	22-40	She is frozen, explains her fear of bugs, and tried to wake up Mama. Suddenly, the bug flew at her - and she ran and woke Mama, screaming. Mama comforted her, then went to kill the bug, but it escaped.
Closure	Conclusion	41-42	Ofeliya says she never goes down at night anymore but always brings a glass of water up.
Finis		43	Thanks.

Table 12: Discourse Structure of the Bug Story

The surface structure boundaries of this story can be first determined from observing the aperture, stage, closure, and finis. The aperture (sentence 1) uses non-punctiliar verbs expresses the desire and intent to tell a story. The stage (sentence 2) clearly speaks descriptively about the place, time frame, and situation in which the story takes place (the script of summer for most Lezgis living in the city), using the past tense 'be' verb. The closure (sentence 41-42) is not part of the story proper, but is an authorial comment – essentially a lesson the storyteller has learned from this frightening experience. Imperfect and negative verbs in combination with adverbs

‘from then after,’ ‘never,’ and ‘always’ give a durative sense to this authorial comment. The *finis* (sentence 43) is simply a ‘thank you’ to the audience for listening to the story.

More difficult to delineate are the surface boundaries of the core of the text. Because it is a short story, the whole incident can be observed in two surface structure episodes: pre-peak and peak episodes. Grammatically, the beginning of the pre-peak episode is seen from the onset of the punctiliar aorist action verb *qfena* ‘left to return’ in (95).

- (95) КІватІна _за жуван шїле-куъле хъфена
k'vat'na za juvan şile-küle qfena
gather.AOC I own a-few-things return.AOR
I packed a few of my things and left – (Bug 3.1)

Here we begin to see an interaction between verb salience and narrative template, because this kind of verb establishes the mainline of the story and moves it through the climax to completion in sentence 39. These mainline AOR action verbs (Band 1) are complemented by verbs off the mainline (Band 2): background activities, adverbial and resultative action, and cognitive states. As the pre-peak episode progresses, the episodic activities of going, arriving, eating, going to lie down, falling asleep, waking up, and going out for a drink bring the plot to the inciting moment. Seeing a big black bug sitting on the sofa is something that doesn’t happen every day! This moment is a cognitive event marked with a verb of perception⁴² *akun* ‘see’ in the aorist. This sighting causes Ofeliya to investigate closer – hearing, thinking, and looking until finally realizing that it really is a big bug. With this comes the experience of fear.

⁴² Though this verb of perception *akun* ‘see’ takes a dative experiencer for a subject, it claims a special status called the Affective Construction in Daghestanian linguistics (Haspelmath 1993:280-283). Contrast this with the word *kiligun* ‘look’ in 18, which takes an absolutive subject and can be used as an imperative ‘look’ with a dative addressee. However, both express the action of a cognitive event in this story when combined with an AOR ending and the complementizer *ki* ‘that’ – the object of what was seen.

The Peak Episode, which starts in sentence 22, is evidenced by several surface (peak) marking features which were commonly seen in other Lezgi oral narratives:

- The asking of a deliberative question in the hortative (sentence 22) – a common rhetorical underlining feature found at the peak of other Lezgi oral texts.
- Some mainline verbs are shifted to the present tense (*ag'öznav* 'have stopped' in sentence 23 and 27 and *güzlemişzava* 'am waiting' in sentence 28.1) in order to bring heightened vividness to the frozen situation Ofeliya finds herself in when she sees this big bug. In Lezgi, the present IMPF brings a sense of immediacy through a tense shift to the present, temporarily replacing the AOR form for mainline verb. As a 'violation' of the normal verb salience scheme, this peak marking feature is actually a kind of skewing into drama (Longacre 1996:15).⁴³ This occurred in a few other texts as well (Sharvili, Dog, and Princess).
- This frozen situation (starting from sentence 23) is also used as a rhetorical feature that slows down the climax of the story, allowing Ofeliya to give an authorial comment about how she hates these kinds of bugs (sentences 24-26). Further, the moment is still frozen in sentence 28.1 to allow Ofeliya to explain where she and her mother were situated sleeping, and how she called her mom to (unsuccessfully) wake her up (sentences 28.2-31.2). All this presumably happened in the span of a few seconds in the climax.
- There are more occurrences of the connective affix *-ni* 'and' in this episode (13 out of 18 total in the text) to show quick succession and coordination of events.⁴⁴
- Dramatized dialogue – the verb *lahana* is elided (sentences 29, 37) or signaling of reported speech dropped altogether (sentence 36.4). Also, the dialogue is smashed

⁴³ Longacre talks about degrees of vividness according to a ranking scale: a) drama, b) various narrative types, c) procedural (how-to-do-it), d) descriptive types, and e) behavioral types (especially hortatory). This concept has been used by linguistic researchers to characterize the languages of the world. However, this characteristic is not applied in every language the same way. Additionally, skewing along a scale of vividness can make a text more interesting (Longacre 1977:74).

⁴⁴ Haspelmath (1993:327-329) says that the *-ni* particle is a coordinator for noun phrases, but also a focus marker 'also,' 'too,' or 'even' (20, 36.2) that can follow all major constituents. Of course it occurs more often in oral speech – and it increases during a peak episode.

together, told with quick, loud, high-pitched prosodics⁴⁵ which indicate excitement, fear, stress, and emotion (sentences 36-37). This skewing from narrative into drama heightens the vividness of this episode (Longacre 1996:15), communicating the fear that Ofeliya experienced.

Looking at this text notionally brings us a step closer to following the story. When we do, we see the climax paragraph is divided into four sections:

- Sentences 22-27: Starting with the deliberative question ‘So what shall I do?’ and the frozen situation (in present tense) ‘I have stopped’ there is expository information about how Ofeliya greatly fears these kinds of bugs, ending with the same deliberative question.
- Sentences 28-31: Starting with a repeat of ‘I have stopped,’ and very quickly following, the reason: ‘I am waiting for my mom’ (both in present tense), there is an unsuccessful attempt to wake Mama.
- Sentences 32-38: Starting with the interruption of the bug moving *sad lahana* ‘suddenly’ from its place (a pivotal action in the plot), then followed by another *sad lahana* ‘suddenly’ of the bug flying towards her, there is a flurry of actions, screaming, and high-pitched drama-like dialogue, ending with a summary statement that she was ‘so scared (at that moment).’
- Sentences 39-40: Especially evident in a change in prosodics (slower, softer, lower), is the follow-up about what happened to the bug. This is merely a formality of the story plot, explaining to the listener how it all turned out – because the main theme is about Ofeliya’s fear, which she affirms again in sentence 40.

A useful notional plot profile graph was constructed in Figure 4 to show how tension correlates with plot by episode, and then how tension is resolved as the narrative ends. The line

⁴⁵ There are other prosodic features we could note here, like the loud, stressful sigh (26), long pauses (28, 29, 32, 33, 40), and a clap (34). However, a good story might have sound effects and prosodic features throughout, like the excitement in 11, the bug’s sound in 15 and the laughing in 41-42. None of them seem to overtly mark a surface structure peak.

represents the mainline of events in the text as it goes through the episodes, and the height of the line indicates relative rising and resolving tension. This profile differs from the ones found in Longacre (1981:356-57) and Longacre and Hwang (2012:57) in that it is strictly a representation of the notional plot, and can be considered a visual representation of followability. Since it highlights the tension and climax, it is a useful aid in understanding the meaning of the story.

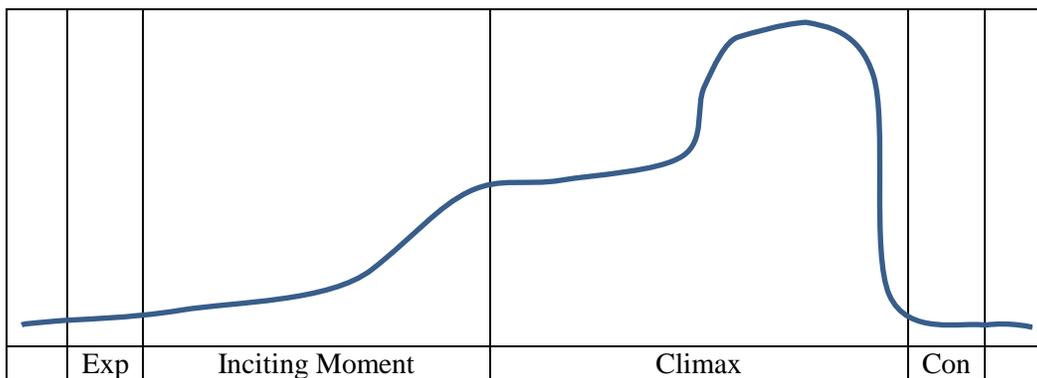


Figure 4: Notional Plot Profile of the Bug Story

In the pre-peak episode we can see the inciting moment (or problem) of seeing the big bug. This recurring statement ‘I was so scared’ (sentences 12, 21, 24.1, 36.3, 37, 38, 40) emphasizes the theme of the story. The tension heightens in the climax as she comments on her fear and tries unsuccessfully to wake her mother. It then shoots up as the bug flies toward her, resulting in screaming and fleeing, and is even felt prosodically in the dramatic dialogue with her mother. The tension is resolved when Mama comforts her and then tries to kill the bug, even as it escapes – thus the problem is solved: Ofeliya’s fear is relieved.

After studying the discourse structure of the text, noting the peak marking features, and focusing on the climax, we have increased followability. Factoring in pragmatic features of the text, we can now much more easily understand the main point of this narrative. Ofeliya learned

a lesson, which she emphasizes to us in the final expository section: She now always tries to avoid this fear. This is the reason she told the story.

6.3 Discourse Structure of Parable of Two Men and a Stone

This representative oral text is a short Lezgi parable ending with advice. It uses a modified salience scheme for Lezgi oral parables (see 5.2). The interlinear text is found in Appendix B. The simple discourse structure is presented in Table 13 below.

Surface	Notional	Sentences	Summary
Pre-Peak	Exposition and inciting moment	1-10	Two men were on the way. They come upon a great stone. The first man grumbles, asking questions, pacing back and forth.
Peak	Climax	11-19	The other man stops and suddenly uses the stone as a springboard. Authorial contrast of the two men.
Closure	Conclusion	20-23	Explanation of parable – that we should actually use obstacles in life to better ourselves and achieve more.

Table 13: Discourse Structure of Two Men and a Stone Parable

There is no aperture or finis; the story just starts. Because it is so short, we need to be careful not to over analyze the structure, dividing out each sentence as if they were episodes. Though there is a general place and situation, there is no time reference, suggesting this is a timeless parable.

Verbal TAM is not as helpful in dividing the text as it was in the Bug Story – as was seen in 5.2, the IMPF is the mainline verb, and it occurs from the very first clause. There are no expository ‘be’ verbs, so there is really no staging. Oral intonation confirms this too – the speaker just starts the story.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Perhaps if this text was embedded another discourse (as parables normally are) there might be more staging or

The first episode (sentences 1-10) includes quick orientation (sentence 1.1), inciting action (sentence 1.2), and build up to the peak episode. The direct quotation of the first man is not analyzed since it is not considered to be action that advances the mainline. Latching occurs between sentence 1.8 and 1.9, stylistically emphasizing with intonation the continuous nature of the man's grumbling and pacing. What the second man doesn't do in sentence 1.10 (NEG – Band 5 Irrealis) serves to bring some balance semantically to the story.

The beginning of the peak episode (sentences 11-19) is not marked verbally, but other clues help us establish this boundary:

- There is a resumption of the mainline IMPF verb in sentence 1.11, from irrealis verbs. This wouldn't be noticeable, except for a change in participant reference. The notional focus changed to 'the other man' but he didn't do anything. Thematically, this non-action balances the first man. Therefore the peak episode starts when the second man actually does something.
- The post-posed subject in sentence 1.11 is used to place focus on the verb *aq'özava* 'stops.' Though it is IMPF, the punctiliar nature is felt by its placement at the beginning of the sentence. Though the speaker could have dropped the subject like in sentences 1.7, 1.15, 1.18, or 1.19, the placement of this subject at the end of the sentence keeps our focus first on the action, then on the subject.
- The short, choppy sentence of sentence 1.11 is a characteristic rhetorical feature of Lezgi in the peak episode. This is opposed to the similar short sentence in sentence 1.8 where there is latching with sentence 1.9.
- Another characteristic of Lezgi at peak is the deliberative question as in sentence 1.12 "What did he do?" This leads right into the next mainline action (which is perhaps pivotal or a response to a pivotal event).

perhaps an aperture in the form of a title. "Fire on Shadag" does have this aperture.

- Finally, the longer descriptive piling up of action (using converbs – Band 2) in sentences 1.13 and 1.14 – as the man jumps – is another rhetorical feature used in peak episodes.

Notionally, the climax is divided into two sections. The first is the culminating action of the other man climbing the stone and using it a springboard. The second half of the climax is thematic – an authorial comment contrasting the two men’s actions. Though still using IMPF verbs, the connective *znachet* ‘so’⁴⁷ is used to indicate this is exposition. This authorial comment is used to further emphasize the impact of what the second man did, thereby increasing the pragmatic understanding of the parable.

The conclusion (sentences 20-23) is set off by another authorial comment. This is a clear statement from the speaker about what this discourse is: “a parable of the world.” We should expect explanation to follow in this kind of oral Lezgi narrative template, again with the word *znachit* ‘it means.’ Normally used in Lezgi hortatory oral texts, the verb *ganzava* ‘is needed’ and any verb with HORT affix show that this section is clearly expository, meant to exhort the listener based on the meaning of the parable. We could ultimately classify this parable as a hortatory text. However, because it is mostly narrative, and because most Lezgi people consider it an instance of the genre *k’isa* ‘story,’ it is has been considered here as useful for study.

Though followability for a parable like this is not difficult, a simple notional plot profile graph can be constructed for this parable in Figure 5. Plot progresses through each episode and (a more thematic) tension is resolved in the conclusion with the action of the second man (and what his action means). The conclusion is not part of the narrative proper, but is expository

⁴⁷ By using this word, the speaker is code-switching to Russian. The Lezgi word would be *gila* ‘now.’

authorial comment on the meaning of the parable, so it continues the lowering of tension as the plot line resolves.

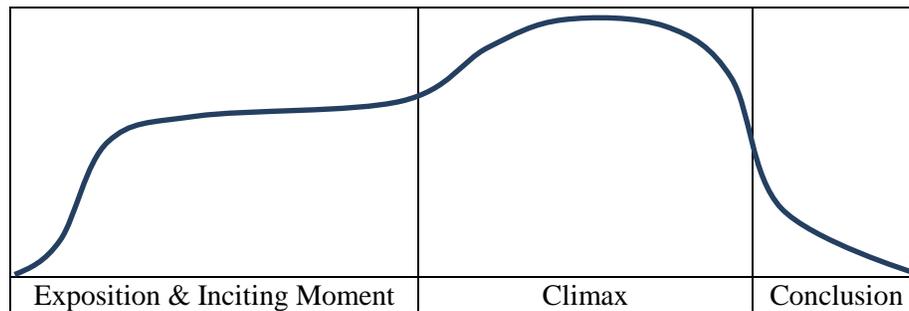


Figure 5: Notional Plot Profile of Two Men and a Stone

The expository/hortatory section at the end increases followability, since it reveals the pragmatic reason for this short narrative. Though not all Lezgi parables, anecdotes, or stories have overt explanations (Bebir), others are found embedded within extended discourse (Fire) which explains and applies their meaning. The amount of explanation is also connected to the speaker’s intuition of how much the audience understands, as well as the particular situation of the telling. In the case of this parable, Two Men and a Stone, one person in the audience was the investigator – a westerner ‘unaccustomed’ with Lezgi ways. The situation was a somewhat artificial setting of an elicited story without other context. So the speaker must have felt the need to give more explanation, but nevertheless used the relevant principles for Lezgi storytelling to construct a narrative that would communicate well to the others in the audience.

In conclusion, by considering the interaction between the verb salience scheme (modified for parables), the narrative discourse structure, and some pragmatic issues of speaker/audience, we can see that the parable clearly teaches this: “Use obstacles to achieve more in life.”

6.4 Discourse structure of the Sea Princess folktale

This section covers the macrosegmentation of the Sea Princess folktale (6.4.1), the conclusion of why *-da* and *-na* alternate on the mainline (6.4.2), and a discussion of the followability of the Sea Princess folktale (6.4.3).

6.4.1 Macrosegmentation of the Sea Princess folktale

This Lezgi oral narrative is a longer narrative. It is a third-person story, clearly in the genre of *maxh* ‘folktale,’ and told in an epic ‘timeless’ way. It has many scene and character changes, extended dialogue, complex plot progression, and multiple peak episodes. Most interestingly, it uses a modified verb salience scheme involving the oral phenomenon of the Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) to advance the mainline (see 5.3).

Especially for longer stories, it is first important to analyze paragraphs, understand their relationship to one another, and observe how they contribute to the whole of the text. “Sentences cluster and clump into units of various size. An intermediate level of clustering can be posited to which we might as well apply the traditional term paragraph...” (Longacre 1996:101). Paragraphs usually correspond to episodes, though sometimes paragraphs can combine to create embedded discourses. This holds true for Lezgi oral narratives, as observed in the texts *Word, Wolves, Marry, and Fire*, which were taken from larger hortatory texts.

For longer oral Lezgi narratives, paragraphs (and episodes) were delineated according to the general characteristics of a narrative text type: temporal and locational discontinuities,

changes in participants, and between action and conversation (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:39-40), as well as topic change or difference in discourse. Any one of these characteristics can indicate a new paragraph in Lezgi. However, as in other languages, these characteristics usually intersect to signal a new paragraph (Hwang: 1987:27). Taken together, this situation can effectively be referred to as ‘major reorientation’ (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:41) or what I call ‘scene changes.’ This combination of characteristics for determining paragraphs definitely held true for the Sea Princess folktale, but the largest factor seemed to be temporal. Many times a variation of the temporal phrase *sa yuğ* ‘one day’ was used to indicate a new paragraph:

- (96) Са югъ фена , кьве югъ фена , эхир и дердинлай идан вилер
 sa yuğ fena q’õ yuğ fena exhir i derdinlay idan viler
 one day going.AOC two day going.AOC after all this grief.off.of his eyes
 буъркьуь хьана .
 bürq’ü xana
 blind happened-AOR

A couple of days passed, and finally he became blind from grief. (Princess 4.1)

This resulted in the story structure below in Table 14, which is summarized here by paragraphs to note the surface and notional structure. The full story in parallel Lezgi-English can be found in Appendix C.

Surface	Notional	¶	Summary
Aperture		1	Rosa will tell the folktale of the Sea Princess
Stage	Exposition	2	There was a rich king who had three sons.
Episode 1	Inciting moment	3	He went to the sea, saw a girl come out of the water and wave at him, fell in love with her and couldn't take his mind off of her.
		4	He became blind with grief because of her. He called his three sons to help, asking them to obtain some special soil to put on his eyes for healing. The first two sons were unsuccessful. The last one left with this task.
Episode 2	Rising tension (Beginning action)	5	The guy rode to the sea not knowing what to do. The horse spoke and offered to fly him over the sea to look for the soil. As they were traveling over, a hand came out with pearls. Though the horse warned him not to, the guy took the pearls and they passed over to another province. He rented a house and hung the pearls on the wall.
		6	A servant of the king passing by saw the pearls and reported it to the king. The king summoned the guy and ordered him to bring the pearls. He took them and sent the guy away.
		7	The servant suggested to the king that the guy bring the king the owner of the pearls. The king summoned the guy and ordered him to this, or he would be beheaded.
Episode 3	Rising tension (Partial resolution)	8	The guy returned to his horse sad, but the horse offered to help him find the owner of the pearls: the Sea Princess. To find her the horse needed to fight the Sea Steed. This was done successfully.
		9	The guy and horse went to the bottom of the sea, which was like a city, with a spring. The horse explained to the guy a plan to take the girl when she comes for water, and also get the soil needed for his father's eyes at the same time. The guy successfully did this, taking the girl and the soil, and they returned to the surface.
		10	On the way back, the girl asks why the boy is upset, and he is sad because he has to give her to the king. She tells him not to worry, and explains a plan for the guy to hide in the bathhouse, pour a potion on the king to turn him into a dog. The guy did this, and the people chased away the dog. They made the guy king and they began ruling there together.
Episode 4 (Pre-peak)	Transition	11	The guy suggested they go back to his province to heal his father's eyes. They told the people to choose a new king and left.
		12	On the way, the guy said that he doesn't want to give her to his father and suggested he hide her in the upper room. He did this, and gave the soil to his father, healing his eyes, but the father is still thinking about this girl.
Episode 5 (Peak)	Climax	13	After a couple of days, the king saw the girl, and told his wife he planned to kill the son and girl. The mother warned

			them and they ran away to the sea. They met a boatman and asked to be taken across, but the boatman fell in love with her, deceived them, and took the girl. She escaped from the boatman, but met forty robbers. They were fighting over her, but she convinced them to drink tea, and when they did, she slipped in sleeping medicine, allowing her to escape. She ran to a village and stayed with a poor old grandmother.
		14	She asked the grandmother if there was any news, and the grandmother told her that they have no king. They customarily release a falcon to choose the king, and the girl thinks maybe she can be the one it will choose. She goes to the market disguised as a boy, the falcon sits on her shoulder, and she is made king.
Episode 6 (Post-peak)	Denouement (Resolution)	15	When she was reigning there as king, she remembered all her struggles, captors, and her beloved. She ordered an artist to paint her picture and had it placed near the edge of the kingdom with a plan to capture anyone who lingers, looking longingly at it.
		16	The boy's father arrived and was captured, as well as the forty robbers, the boatman, and finally, her beloved guy. They placed them all in a house to await punishment.
		17	Everyone was gathered at the town square and the girl revealed herself and told her story. Then she punished each one: the father was sent out on a horse burning. The forty robbers were beheaded. The guy she loved was called, and they were married, and he became king.
Episode 7	Final resolution	18	They lived for a while, but the guy suggested they should return to his mother and brothers, so they did. They reigned there and were all happy.
Closure	Conclusion	19	So the Sea Princess became the guy's wife.
Finis		20	The End

Table 14: Discourse Structure of Sea Princess Folktale

The surface structure of the Sea Princess follows the normal (but longer) pattern of aperture, stage, pre-peak episodes, peak episode, post-peak episodes, closure and finis. Every paragraph has a signal of discontinuity (usually temporal), and all have mainline verbs (either ENT or AOR) driving the action. Of course, it can be observed that many paragraphs have in themselves a stage, pre-peak, peak, and post-peak elements, but it is more helpful for this study

to keep observations at a higher level in order to observe generalities and the alternation of *-da* and *-na* in the storyline.

6.4.2 Alternation of *-da* and *-na* on the mainline

We saw in 5.3.2, that *-da* and *-na* alternate on the mainline. However this alternation is inconsistent, occurring in unexpected places (3.3-4.11, 4.13-4.17, 5.2-5.10, 9.7, 10.1, 14.4, 14.13, 17.7-8, 17.13-17.23, and 18.2). The ENT does resume at the beginning of a paragraph, and many times after dialogue with *lahana* ‘he/she said.’ These inconsistencies cannot be fully addressed without analyzing more folktales, but some progress can be made by addressing three questions:

1. If ENT is a mainline verb, then what are the AOR verbs – a secondary mainline, background actions, or something else? It seems that these AOR verbs are still on the mainline because of the issues discussed in 5.3 – the nature of the ENT is a narrative tense that differentiates mainline action (that the narrator believes is important) from preterit action in the story, foregrounding it in order to move the story along, accomplishing the teller’s thematic and pragmatic goal.
2. Why don’t we see more ENT verbs at the beginning of the story? If we see specific evidence showing that the ENT is the mainline, and that it resumes at the appropriate time in the story so as to clue the listener into important information, then we must be consistent and conclude that the AOR action verbs in Episode 1 (paragraphs 3-4) are less important preterits (but still in Band 1). Perhaps for the teller, the first episode is still orienting the listener, and the real story starts with guy as he gets on his horse, and the ENT verbs start in earnest. There are a few ENT verbs in Episode 1, clueing the listener into the most salient actions (for them to interact with).

3. Why does the ENT mainline alternate to AOR during extended dialogue, sometimes tapering off to the end of an episode, in other places a stray AOR *lahana* ‘he/she said,’ and in other places many ENT *luhudas* ‘he/she said’? It’s possible to treat the AOR reported speech signals as a reduced form indicating speech⁴⁸ – *lahana* → *lna* ‘saying,’ thus relegating it to Band 2 background. However, how would we account for all the *luhuda* ENT forms, with the speech dialogue it indicates? It’s more probable that *lahana* is repeated so often that it has become a simple grammaticalized marker (similar to the hearsay evidential *-lda*) for direct/indirect speech. It may be a technique of the teller to start dialogue with *luhuda* ENT, and then drop to a less foregrounded reduced *lna* AOR in order to take attention off of how many times the author is saying *lda, lna, lna* after each speech phrase. So this AOR form of *lahana* probably indicates that the speech is continuing, without any other function than indicating quoted speech. From a narrative perspective, this effectively puts less emphasis on who said something, and more emphasis on the content of what they said.

6.4.3 Followability of the Sea Princess Folktale

Moving outward to larger units, we see that each paragraph certainly progresses the notional plot, but patterns are difficult to discern at this level. One action drives the next, and new characters in a new place or time are needed to resolve the problems that arise. Each participant’s actions (king, boy, horse, servant, king, girl, etc.) effects the other. Thematic elements are interwoven, both in physical form (soil, pearls, water) and abstract form (love, kingship, happiness). All these poetic elements combined make the plot of such a long story difficult to analyze paragraph by paragraph.

⁴⁸ This is similar to the one reported by Maisak (2010:2) as “a pleonastically used speech verb” in the (Lezgi) Agul language.

However, if we allow larger notional episodes to emerge (refer again to Table 14), they serve to thematically connect the overall structure of the story:

- Episode 1 is the inciting action of the king falling in love with the Sea Princess and becoming blind - this obstacle of blindness is resolved in episode 4, but the former obstacle of being in love with the young Sea Princess remains until his death in episode 6. His first two sons try unsuccessfully to help, but the challenge is left for the third son.
- Episode 2 is the beginning of the action in earnest (indicated by consistent ENT verbs), and the theme of gaining and losing the pearls in a country across the sea is in the forefront. A 'nasty' king demands the owner of the pearls.
- Episode 3 raises the tension by the seeking, finding, and keeping of the Sea Princess – first in the sea, then back in that country across the sea. The girl now becomes the main theme, and all the other characters will seek to have her throughout the rest of the story. A partial resolution has the girl and the boy reigning as royalty together there.
- Episode 4 is transitional, resolving the father's blindness, but setting the stage for another struggle, as the father now seeks to kill both the girl and boy.
- Episode 5 raises the tension to its highest, as the girl is completely on her own, running from every danger she encounters, until finding some rest with the old grandmother. The key event of the girl becoming a king 'by fate' makes this the climax of the story.
- Episode 6 is denouement, since the king-girl is now in a position to resolve everything. She captures all those who troubled her and punished them. She marries her beloved boy and they reign together in this neighboring kingdom.
- Episode 7 is a final resolution, mirroring episode one, where the boy and Sea Princess go back to his family to live 'happily ever after.'

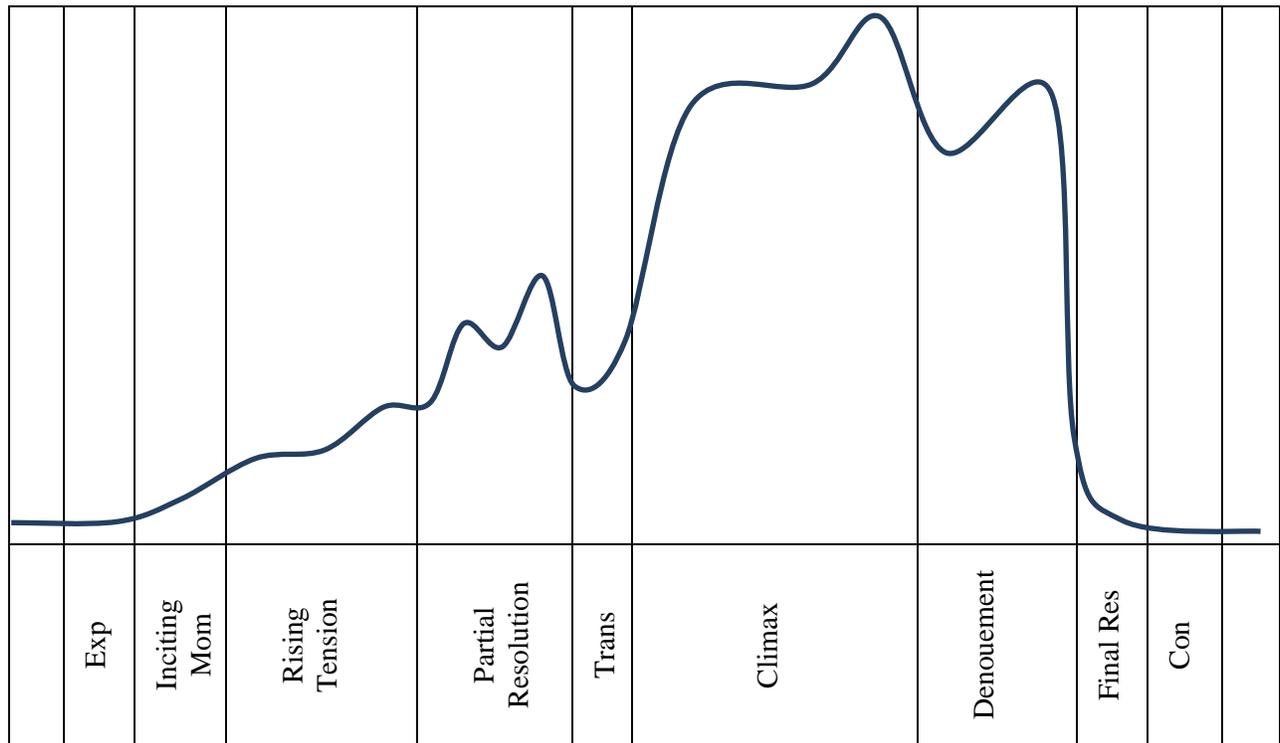


Figure 6: Notional Plot Profile of Sea Princess

Fig 6 shows the notional profile of the Sea Princess, correlating relative tension with episodes using a line of plot continuity. After some exposition, the inciting moment starts in Episode 1 (when the king saw the Sea Princess), and tension builds through Episode 2 and reaches two mini peaks of partial resolution in Episode 3 when the girl is taken and the people chase away the dog-king. After a transition, the stakes get even higher as the girl is running on her own in Episode 5 until the most climactic moment is when she becomes king. Finally, denouement occurs in Episode 6 as the Sea Princess captures and kills her enemies. In the final resolution, they both return to the Guy's home.

Peak marking features in the Sea Princess are not all too different than those in the Bug Story, Two Men and a Stone, and other Lezgi oral narratives. Actually, there is a mini-peak in

every episode (and even some paragraphs) with many of these same features. Three of the most important of these peak marking features are worth mentioning. The first is shown in example (97) below, and is from the second peak in paragraph 10. This is rhetorical underlining which serves to simultaneously slow down the climax (raising tension), while communicating a chain of successive events (several AOC verbs ending with an ENT verb) that the listener will perceive of happening together quickly:

- (97) Жемятдизни гъамамда кицІ акурди , вирида кутуна
 jemyatdizni hamamda kits’ akurdi virida kutuna
 people.to.and bathhouse.in dog when.saw-TEMP all putting-AOC
 гъарай калтуг-гагъат , сада тас элягъна , сада
 haray kaltug-gahat sada tas elyağna sada
 screaming-AOP chasing-being.chased-MSD one basin taking.off-AOC one
 яд элягъна , калтugna вирида кицІ хъиз чукурда има .
 yad elyağna kaltugna virida kits’ xiz çukurda ima
 water taking.off-AOC driving.away-AOC all dog as chased-ENT this.one

And when the people saw a dog in the bathhouse they all screamed, running here and there - one threw a basin, another threw water - they all running after the dog, chased it away.
 (Princess 10.19)

A second peak marking feature (one where the verb salience scheme is ‘violated’) is presented below in (98) from one of the peaks of paragraph 13. The use of present IMPF *luhuzva* ‘says’ to show immediacy is found next to a present IMPF authorial comment (Band 6) verb *k’anzava* ‘need,’ even amongst mainline ENT verbs (and several deliberative questions):

(98) Идани ивиз атана хциз лугъузва , « чан бала », лугъуда , « рушни
 idani iviz atana xhtsiz luhuzva çan bala luhuda ruşni
 she.and night coming-AOC son.to says dear baby said-ENT girl.and
 галаз ката инрай », лугъуда « кьил къакъудна , бубадиз куън
 with kata inray luhuda q'il g'ag'udna bubadiz kün
 galaz run-IMP here.from said-ENT head removing-AOC father.to you
 рекъиз к'анзава ».
 req'iz k'anzava
 to.kill-IMPV want-IMPF

So coming at night, she says to her son: “My child, run away from here with the girl!
 Father wants to kill you.”

Гададизни вуч чара жеда ?
 gadadizni vuç çara jeda
 guy.to.so what means was-ENT

What choice did the son have?

Къада и рушни , къуна чпин шеле-куълени т'имил ,
 g'ada i ruşni q'una çpin şe-le-küleni t'imil
 took-ENT this girl.and taking-AOC their own stuff little
 акъахна балк'андал фида ибур , гъуьлуьн къерехдиз фена
 ag'axhna balk'andal fida ibur hülün g'erexhdiz fena
 climbing.up-AOC horse.on went-ENT these Sea side.to going.AOC
 катиз к'анзава , гьикI фин , гьикI катин , аквада са
 katiz k'anzava hik' fin hik' katin aköda sa
 to.run-INF need-IMPF how go-HORT how run-HORT saw-ENT one
 лутькве гъалзавай са лутьквечи .
 lütke halzavay sa lütkeçi
 boat driving-IMPF-PTP one boatman

He took the girl, some of their belongings, climbed on a horse, and they left. Coming to
 the seaside, they need to run away - but how to go? How to run? Then they saw a boatman
 driving a boat. (Princess 13.9-11)

The third peak marking feature in the Sea Princess text worth mentioning is the crowded stage in paragraph 17. Longacre (1996:40) says, “In using this device, the author moves from few participants to more participants so that often the concentration of participants at peak approximates the universal set.” This technique is useful in that it allows the story to resolve everything at one time, since everyone is there. Because the Sea Princess was crowned king in a previous pivotal episode, she now has the power to deal with her enemies justly. This makes the post peak Episode 6 (paragraph 16 and 17) a denouement in that the original tension that was built up through the entire story has previously climaxed, and now everything is being put back right (with slight excitement in the capturing and execution of the enemies).

The main peak episode of the Sea Princess turns out to be more didactic (Longacre 1996:37-38) – the pivotal plot event of the girl becoming king ‘by fate’ in 14.12-13 is not marked by extraordinary surface peak features. Nor would we say that the denouement has many peak marking features either. Prosodics indicate nothing out of the ordinary – in fact the storyteller speaks very fast and in a latching manner throughout most of the narrative, save at some paragraph markers. The best indications of peak marking features are the rhetorical underlining in Episode 3, suggesting that some of the most important action is the finding and keeping of the Sea Princess – for whom the story is named. Knowing where the peak marking features ‘violate’ the verb salience scheme help us to understand that this story was not about the guy, or even the father (who started the story) – it was about the Sea Princess, who was smart, made everything right, and got her guy. This points to a particular audience (a pragmatic issue) – The Sea Princess is a role model for a young Lezgi girl!

In conclusion, we see that verb salience and discourse structure have a particular relationship with each other for longer oral Lezgi folktales as well. Though not completely consistent, we clearly see that the affix *-da* ENT is being used primarily to indicate the mainline (epic foregrounding), and there is an alternation with *-na* AOR for the less salient (preterit) mainline actions. Scene changes serve to delineate paragraphs, which combine to make episodes. There are several peaks in the notional structure, and the peak markings features clue us into important points of the story. On the other hand, notional themes run throughout the story, all resolving in the climax and denouement. These observations point to the central character (Sea Princess), and the importance of fate making her king. From understanding the interaction between discourse structure and verb salience, we are able to follow and better understand the point and purpose of this long, interesting folktale.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

7.1 What this study has done

This study investigated, for Lezgi oral narratives, the interaction between the very important concept of verb salience scheme, discourse structure, and pragmatic issues in order to better follow a story – to understand its point and purpose.

A verb salience scheme for Lezgi oral narratives was proposed in Chapter 5. AOR events carry the storyline (Band 1), while IMPF actions and adverbial clauses (usually converbs) hold the background events (Band 2). Evidence for other bands of salience (flashback, setting, irrealis, authorial comments and cohesive material – Bands 3-7) was found as well. Promotion to a pivotal event is accomplished by the adverb *sad lahana* ‘suddenly’ + AOR. Exceptions to this general verb salience scheme are seen in some parables (which use the IMPF for the mainline) and some folktales (which mainly use an Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) for the mainline, and at times, alternates with the AOR on the mainline).

This salience scheme is integrated with the discourse structures of these narratives, explored in Chapter 6. Storyline initiation occurs with an AOR action verb (or ENT, in the case of some folktales that use this), and consistent mainline progression happens through pre-peak episodes, with increasing tension. The peak is usually identified by the rhetorical underlining features of repetition, promotion, deliberative questions, and/or higher pitched prosodics. Further, present tense-shift, dramatized dialogue, and foregrounding with the ENT are used to heighten vividness, depending upon the speaker. Finally, a change in pace often occurs at peak:

Successive events connected by the affix *-ni* ‘and,’ as well as frozen moments full of authorial comments, short choppy (sometimes postposed) sentences, or a string of converbs piled up before a final verb all in one climactic sentence. These surface features help to identify the plot progression inherent in the narrative template of Lezgi oral narratives, contributing to followability.

Chapter 3 discussed what a Lezgi oral narrative is, pragmatic issues, and how a suitable text corpus was selected. This was done by first exploring Lezgi oral genres from both an insider and text typology perspective. Followability of oral, short, informal narratives was the key study motivation. All of this helped to set the minimum bounds of the text corpus to those texts that were + temporal succession, + agent orientation. Confirming this was the local Lezgi concept that these texts could all generally be called *k’isa* ‘stories.’ The resulting text corpus included 24 texts from various Lezgi narrative genres (everyday true stories, folktales, legends, first-person stories, third-person stories, parables, fiction, historical accounts, etc.). This corpus included a few written texts, which were used to contrast oral Lezgi features.

Attention was given to the discourse methodology in Chapter 4. An early focus on oral prosodics was important in order to capture intonation features at the beginning of the study that may have a bearing on discourse analysis. Marking intonation units was very helpful in determining sentences and clauses, and noting the quick, high-pitched, emphatic dialogue was helpful in identifying the climax of the story.

The grammar of written Lezgi was summarized in Chapter 2, with special emphasis on the morphological system of the verb. A few differences between written and Qusar oral Lezgi

were identified in the process; oral Lezgi having many post-posed components after the main verb, contracted verb forms, and frequent use of predicative participial constructions. None of these variants seemed to interfere with the production of a decent interlinear text and the subsequent development of a salience scheme. Also, a special use of the suffix *-da* was proposed for some folktales, which was called Epic Narrative Tense (ENT).

The results of this study are based on this small corpus of Lezgi oral narratives as it was defined, but should fairly represent the large body of other Lezgi oral narratives in the Qusari dialect. Developing a salience scheme based on these texts results is a good hypothesis, but more oral Lezgi narratives need to be studied to verify these findings. More work is needed, especially to describe the use of the *-da* affix in Lezgi oral narratives.

7.2 Implications for ‘followability,’ translation, and reproduction of Lezgi oral narratives

As was mentioned in the problem statement, to be able to translate a narrative, one must first be able to follow it. Ricouer (1984:66) said, “To follow a story is to move forward in the midst of contingencies and peripeteia under the guidance of an expectation that finds its fulfillment in the ‘conclusion’ of the story.” One of the keys to followability is verb salience and mainline action – “the main structural feature of the story” (Longacre 1989:414). Together, the verbs used for mainline action work alongside the verbs used for background activities, as well as the other bands – all in their proper places in the story. If these verb patterns are used contrary to convention, the narrative will sound strange and unnatural – difficult to follow. Once armed

with a good verb ranking salience scheme, checking can be done to help determine the naturalness of a story.

Further, to translate a text, we cannot impose narrative templates from another culture on the text. “The characterization of plot into macrostructures and typologies depends upon an understanding of cultural codes and their interplay with literary and artistic codes and codes of ordinary life” (Chatman 1978:95). Stories are told differently in different languages, and it takes a skilled interpreter to transform a story from one culture to another. Thankfully, there are available to the translator natural typological discourse features common to all languages, or else the conclusions of this study would not even be possible. Longacre (2006:8) said, “Discourse templates are not daisy chains woven by imaginative linguists, but part and parcel of our perceptions in social relations and hence arguably belong to our basic makeup as interacting human beings.” Familiarity of how the verb salience, discourse structure, and pragmatic issues are intertwined can help translators, checkers, and editors understand the main point and purpose of a text, an important basic step toward natural translation (Longacre and Hwang 2012:13-14).

If one has the nontrivial task of translating texts into Lezgi from other languages like Azerbaijani, Russian, and English, they must first understand the Lezgi worldview. Each language has its own conventionalized aspects of narrative template, repetition, openings and closings (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:104-106). But Akimov (1999:32) reports that, “in the early 20th century, during the establishment of the Soviet government and the accelerated development of native languages and literatures in Daghestan, Lezgi literature was heavily influenced by Russian, Azerbaijani, and other developed literatures of the peoples of the USSR,

and through them, the world of literature; In Lezgi there appeared dozens of new products for her genres: essays, short stories, novels, etc.” Today, the tendency for Russian literary conventions, grammar, and style to affect a Lezgi translation is still perhaps as big as it was in the past.⁴⁹ And who knows what oral Lezgi narratives have been forever transformed in the processes of being written down, affected by Russian literary templates, verb salience, and pragmatics. It would therefore be wise to preserve Lezgi oral narratives in their natural oral form for future generations to enjoy.

To take this task a step further, if audio versions of Lezgi narratives are to be recorded from written Lezgi sources, care is needed. We have seen that oral Lezgi tends to exhibit certain conventions that are different from written Lezgi, and that will need to be considered before someone even steps inside the recording studio. Written discourse is not the same as oral discourse (Chafe 1994:42-44). Walter Ong (1982:34-40) said that knowledge that is transmitted orally differs from that transmitted through written text. It is:

- Different in structure – repetition, balance, rhythm
- Formulaic – mnemonic, ‘aggregative’
- Simple – in syntax, additive
- Redundant

For producing oral Lezgi narratives, the following (at least) must be considered:

- Oral narrative conventions
- Awareness of usual focus on involvement vs. content⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Haspelmath (1995a:423) give one example of this effect when he speaks about the conjunction *va* ‘but’ (an Arabic loanword) “often found in bookish style (especially texts translated from Russian), but it does not occur in colloquial language...”

⁵⁰ Tannen (1982:3-4) speaks about an oral-literate continuum for communities who have incorporated written discourse in their everyday communication. Thus people groups who are ‘mostly oral’ may still use some literate tradition strategies which vary the focus on involvement vs. content in their oral discourse. An awareness of these

- Situation, setting, and audience of the narrative event
- Speaker “involvement,” including additive intonational units, prosodics, etc.
- How to handle an edited written Lezgi text that has probably been ‘corrected’
- The use of the suffix *-da* (Epic Narrative Tense) and the meaning it holds
- Any other stylistic idiosyncrasies of the oral storyteller

The question at hand is twofold: 1) Does the written text adequately express important information through the discourse structure (formulaic elements, paragraph separation, peak marking features), salience scheme (consistent use of the appropriate verb TAM for mainline, and others for background, as well as conventional ‘violations’ at peak episodes), and written or inferred pragmatic conventions which effect the main point and purpose of the text? 2) Are we aware of the equivalent discourse features in oral Lezgi so we are able to encode meaning orally, including taking advantage of all manner of situational, prosodical, and even visual and dramatic (out of the scope of this study) techniques? In short, we must ask, what do we need to put back into this text orally that has been lost because it was written down?⁵¹

For example, since the Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) suffix *-da* form is often redacted out of written folktales, and one desires to orally retell a story, then consideration needs to be made to what has been lost in a simple recording of written text read out loud. What use of the Epic Narrative Tense might need to be re-introduced into the oral version; and at what specific points; and how might this reinforce the natural narrative template and followability of the folktale? Sensitivity to the study of oral (and arguably ‘purer’) texts in the Lezgi culture is needed to

strategies for Lezgi would be important working with oral narratives.

⁵¹ By doing this, one may accuse the orator of imposing himself on the text, possibly adding things that aren’t really there – but this is no worse than the liberties taken by the person who wrote it down in the first place, as well as the editor who regularized and ‘cleaned up’ the text in the name of some past movement led by intelligentsia. At least the modern orator has considered these discourse dynamics in-depth and is aware of his bias.

preserve Lezgi narratives. On the other hand, if the conclusions of this study are utilized, and a Lezgi story is sufficiently internalized (not memorized word-for-written-word), and then re-told in an informal setting – in an oral form without reference to a text – these stories could be accessible again in a natural, current, authentic form.

7.3 Questions for Further Study

There are several worthwhile areas of study to embark on concerning Lezgi oral narratives:

- Further, deeper verification of this salience scheme and any exceptions. There are likely other variations in sub-genres. The text corpus should be widened. For example, one may find that like some parables, jokes (*xket*) can also be told using the present IMPF. Especially important would be to investigate some oral versions of the famous Kas Buba stories in Lezgi.
- More peak-profile plots for more narratives: Only a few typical narratives were done here. Further charting of narrative profiles might reveal that many Lezgi oral narratives share the same peak-profile structure. This should prove very useful in following, translating, and checking Lezgi narratives to and from another language, especially if a typical peak-profile structure was found for a certain sub-genre.
- Verb salience schemes, discourse structure, and pragmatics should be investigated for non-narrative genres if translation is to be done for these as well.

- A more systematized description of the differences between written and oral Lezgi is needed. I have just noted a few differences in 2.3 for only the Qusari dialect.
- Study in other dialects is needed, especially Axy dialect, in the mountains of Daghestan.
- A complete study of the Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) is needed: Collection and analysis of many Lezgi oral folktales, investigation of the alternation of *-na/-da*, and confirmation of the Epic Narrative Tense (ENT) as a narrative tense for Lezgi folktales. This is especially needed if translation of folktales is a goal. How frequent is the use of *-da* for mainline information in other folktales and stories? What specific information does it encode? Any difference among speakers and dialects?

APPENDIX A: THE BUG STORY

The actual oral recording of the Bug Story was done in Baku, Azerbaijan in April 2012. The speaker is Ofeliya Pirverdiyeva who is an employee of our translation company, a member of the Lezgi project, and a native speaker from Nabran, Qusar Region, Azerbaijan. Upon my request she told this story about herself and the encounter she had with this bug in her mother's home in Nabran sometime in the recent past. It is an informal true story, in the first person, told to the investigator and another Lezgi in private.

The transcription of the Bug Story below is placed in separate columns. The first is with marked oral prosodics (see p. xvi), which was done by the investigator. Column two has the resulting written text (in Cyrillic) where certain cleaning, punctuation, and grammar decisions (noted) have been made in order to analyze the text. This was done by a native speaker/writer of Qusar dialect, and standard spelling and punctuation conventions were used to fit the spoken words. The interlinear is based off this text with transliteration. Finally, column three is the English free translation done in a more formal style so the English reader can feel the vernacular better.

Transcription of the Bug Story

	1. Transliterated transcription with oral prosodics	2. Written text with punctuation	3. Free translation
1	Sa exhtilat iyiz k'anzava zaz köz, ... sadra zaq galaz sa ixtin sa kar xana.	Са эхтилат ийиз к'анзава заз квез садра захъ галаз са ихътин са кар хъана.	I want to tell a story to you. Once, such an incident happened to me.
2	... I bakida şherda havayar para çimi tir, ... zazni k'an xana juvan didedin patav, .. hadan g'valav .. Nabrandiz qifiz.	И Бакида, шеѓерда, гъаваяр пара чими тир зазни к'ан хъана жуван дидедин патав, гъадан къвалав, Набрандиз хъифиз.	It was very hot in Baku, in the city. And I wanted to go to my mother, to return to Nabran.
3	.. K'vat'na za, .. juvan şile küle, ... qfena -- za lahana ki sa sa hefte q'öe hefte za hana fena, .. dinjvalda.	К'ват'на за жуван шиле-куъле, хъфена. За лаѓана ки, са са гъефте, къве гъефте за гъана фена динжвал ийида.	I packed a few of my things and left -- I decided to go there for one or two weeks, in order to rest.
4	Atana agaç'na zun haniz, ... fu zat' t'üna, .. galatnavay tir zun nyanin bere tir, ... g'atkana zun.	Атана агаќна зун гъаниз. Фу зат' туъна, галатнавай тир зун, нянин бере тир, къаткана зун.	I arrived there, ate some food, I was tired – it was evening – so I went to bed.
5	..Fena g'atkana juvan çkadal, ... vil axhvara fena zu. ⁵²	Фена къаткана жуван чкадал вил ахвара фена зу.	I went to lie down in my bed and I fell asleep.
6	Vil axhvara fena, ... yifen sa bereda, .. zun g'arağna.	Вил ахвара фена, йифен са берета зун къараѓна.	I fell asleep... and in the middle of the night, I woke up.
7	... Zaz yad qvaz k'anzavay tir, .. tüter g'uru hanvay.	Заз яд хъваз к'анзавай тир туътер къуру хъанвай.	I was wanting a drink of water; my throat had become dry.

⁵² Since final nasals are sometimes dropped after vowels (Haspelmath 1993:35), this word was verified with the story teller.

8	Za luhuzvay gila eviç'da kinik, ... q'öd lahay mertebedilay aġuz man sad lahay mertebeda hanani, sa istikan yad qvana zun g'aval xhköda.	За лугъузвай, гила эвич'да киник къвед лагъай мертебедилай агъуз ман, сад лагъай мертебеда гъанани са истикан яд хъвана зун къавал хкведа.	I was thinking: now I'll go down - from the second floor, you know to the first floor – there have a glass of water, and return to the upper floor.
9	...G'araġna zun juvan çkadilay, g'apu aqayna,/ ... zun .. ayvandik eg'eç'na.	Къарагъна зун жуван чкадилай къапу ахъайна зун айвандик экъеч'на.	I got up from my bed, opened the door, and I went to the balcony.
10	...Ayvandiġ eg'eç'ayla, .. zaz akuna ki divandin vinel sa ç'ulav sa şey atsuq'nava. [wow]	Айвандик экъеч'айла, заз акуна ки, дивандин винел са чулав са шей ацукънава.	When I went out to the balcony, I saw that some black thing has sat on the sofa.
11	.. <MRC Eke sa MRC>	Еке са!	(Something) huge!
12	... Zaz düz iç'e xana.	Заз дуз кич'е хъана.	I was so scared.
13	Za lahana ya Allah im vuç yat'a?	За лагъана, я Аллагъ, им вуч ят'а?	I thought, "Oh God, what could it be?"
14	... I ç'ulav sa şeyni, ... ⁵³ sa jüre van ag'udzavay tir.	И чулав са шейни са жуьре ван акъудзавай тир.	And also (from inside) this black thing, a kind of strange sound was coming out.
15	.. Ik'a -- .. <Q ts'its'.. ts'its' ts'its' ts'its' Q> ixtin sa jüre van ag'udzavay tir.	Ик'а:ЦыцІ, цыцІ, цыцІ, цыцІ ихътин са жуьре ван къудзавай тир.	Like this: ts, ts, ts, ts... kind of sound was coming out.
16	.. Zani luhuzvay ki im pepe yani im vuç yani --	Зани лугъузвай ки, им пепе яни им вуч яни?	And I was wondering: "Is this a bug or what?"
17	.. Zun sa t'imil muq'val fena.	Зун са т'имил мукъвал фена.	I came a little closer.
18	.. Muq'val fena za kiligayt'a, ... <W va=y W> <MRC sa eke sa pepe MRC>	Мукъвал фена за килигайт'а, Вау, са еке са пепе.	Coming closer so that I might look - Wow! A huge bug!
19	... Ğilin g'en q'van avay.	Гъилин къен къван авай.	It was the size of the palm of a hand.
20	.. Zaz sadrani ġöçi ç'avalay zun ik'an -- .. fiz xhtanani, zaz sadraqni axtin pepe akunvaçir.	Заз садрани гъвечи ч'авалай зун ик'ан физ хтанани, заз садрахъни ахътин пепе акунвачир.	Never – even going there so often from my childhood - I had never seen a bug like that.

⁵³ While reviewing this text, the speaker reported that an implied idea of *g'ene* 'from inside' is here, which relates to the following PTP *van ag'udzavay* 'sound coming out,' but it's not necessary to add to the written text and interlinear.

21	... Zazni düz kiç'e xana.	Зазни дүз киче хьана.	And I was so scared.
22	... Vuç iyin?	Вуч ийин?	What to do?
23	.. Zun gila ag'öznav a --	Зун гила акъвазнава...	I have now stopped...
24	.. Zaz pepeyrikay düz kiç'ezvaydi ya man. ⁵⁴ I pepeyrika=y a- .. vinel ik'a -- .. xhkadarzavay pepeyar ava- e- rus ç'alal kuzneçikar luhuda man.	Заз пепейрикай дүз кичезвайди я ман. и пепейрикай, винел икла хкадарзавай пепеяр, рус ч'алал кузнечикар лугьуда ман.	I have a great fear of bugs, you know. These bugs that jump like this – in Russian called “kuznechiki” – you know.
25	Haburikay zu zehle fizava yaman.	Гъабурикай зу зегъле физва яман.	I hate them so much.
26	Abur akurla zun gahatzava. Ğöçidi, ç'exhidi, ...(Hx)	Абур акурла зун гагъатзава, гъвечиди, ч'ехиди.	When I see them, I run away – big or small. ...[STRESSFUL SIGH]
27	Zani vuç iyin g'öznav a zun --	Зани вуч ийин? Къвазнава зун...	So what shall I do - I have stopped.
28	... Zunni -- g'öznav a gila mama za güzlemişzava. Mamani mitsi -- .. k'vala g'atkanava zunni i patal alay k'vala g'atkanava.	Зунни къвазнава, гила мама за гузлемишзава. Мамани мици к'вала къатканава, зунни и патал алай к'вала къатканава.	And I...have stopped and now I am waiting for my mom -- And Mama in the other room has laid to sleep, and I have laid to sleep in the room on this side.
29	... !Zani -- ... ik' yavaşdikaz mamadiz everna. Za ⁵⁵ <LO mama= ... mama= LO> ... madni za <LO mama= LO>.	Зани ик' явашдиказ мамадиз эверна. За: "Мама, мама." Мадни за: "Мама!"	And I...called mom like this slowly. I was saying “Mama, Mama.” And again: "Mama.”
30	Sa şumudraq <LO mama= LO> lahana za. ah.	Са шумудрахъ мама лагъана за.	I called mama several times.
31	..Idaz van xanaç. Im -- .. <L2 deyesen ⁵⁶ L2> k'eviz ks- ksanvay xtin tir.	Идаз ван хьанач. Им, дейесен, к'евиз ксанвай хьтин тир.	She didn't hear. It seemed like she was sleeping strongly.

⁵⁴ The discourse particle *ma(n)* can mean several things (Haspelmath 1993:241-242), including weak exhortation, question expecting a positive answer, or ‘after all.’ Several Qusar speakers have told me it means something like ‘eh=!’ in Azerbaijani or ‘you know’ in English (an appellative particle used by the speaker at the end of a sentence to get feedback from the listener).

⁵⁵ This is a dropping of *luhuzvay* ‘was saying,’ common in colloquial Lezgi quickly spoken. See also here at the end of 29 and in 37.

32	... (4) <W Sad lahana zaz akuna ki I !pepe – ... I juvan çkadilay ağvazva. W>	Сад лагъана заз акуна ки, и пепе и жуван чкадилай агъвазва.	Suddenly, I saw that this bug is moving from its place.
33	... (4) <W !Zunni, ... I k'öç vehena, .. k'valiz hatiz k'an xayila, ida sad lahana <A luv gana zu vinel atana A>W>	Зунни и кІвач вегъена кІвализ гъатиз кІан хъайила ида сад лагъана лув гана зу винел атана.	And when I wanted to step into the room... suddenly, it flew towards me.
34	<W<A Luv gana zu vinel atayna, .. zani fad ik'a -- .. <MRC şapna ⁵⁷ MRC> g'apu agalaydi im g'apudin, A> .. i t'var vuç tir .. vinel ik'a alk'ana man ik'a (CLAP) <MRC şapna MRC> W>	Лув гана зу винел атайла, зани фад икІа шапнакъапу агалайди им къапудин и тІвар вуч тир винел икІа алкІана ман, икІа, шапна.	As it flew towards me, I quickly slammed the door closed like this, and this what's-its-name stuck on the door like this – bam [CLAP].
35	... <W Axhpani avatna çilal. W>	Ахпани аватна чилал.	And then (it) ⁵⁸ fell to the floor.
36	.. <W Zunni gila hanta g'ene za harayzu. ⁵⁹ <Q<HI Mama! Mama! HI>Q> harayzu zani. I mamadizni kiç'e xana g'arağna <Q<A vuş xana ya bala vun vuş xana tsi harayzava vuna Q>A>W> ... ha.	Зунни гила гъатна къене за гъарайзу. "Мама, мама." -гъарайзу зани. И мамадизни кичІе хъана къарагъна. "Вуш хъана я бала, вун вуш хъана, ци гъарайзава вунна."	And I went in the room; I am screaming. "Mama! Mama!" I am screaming... Mom also was scared and got up. "What happened? Oh child, what happened? Why are you screaming?"
37	.. <W Za ki <Q<A ana pepe ava ç'ulav pepe ava am yiq' req'iq' zaz adakay kiç'ezava zaz k'anzavaç am hanal xuray <MRC Req'iq' ama. MRC>A>QW>	"За ки, ана пепе ава, çулав пепе ава, ам йикъ, рекъикъ, заз адакай кичІезава. Заз кІанзавач ам гъанал хъурай, рекъикъ ама!"	I was saying that "A bug is in there, a black bug – Squash it! It scares me! I don't want it to be there! Kill it!"

⁵⁶ This is an Azerbaijani word meaning 'it seems.'

⁵⁷ This is an onomatopoeic word from Azerbaijani *şapalaq* "slap, smack" (the second time in 34 it is combined with a clap). In this moment of heightened tension, the sound word *şapna* 'slam' acts like a verb, and combines with the AOP-SBST *agalaydi* 'a shutting one' to make the sentence understandable to the hearer, even though it's not grammatically correct.

⁵⁸ Referring back to the previous subject - the bug. The prosodics seem to indicate that the referent might be the speaker because there is a pause, and then next sentence (36) follows closely. However, this is an instance of self-correction by the speaker, and is not helpful to the discourse (see also 'well' in 36). This often happens as speakers think real-time about what they will say next in their focus of consciousness (Chafe 1996:61-62).

⁵⁹ This is a shortend version of *harayzava* 'screaming' used in spoken Qusar Lezgi.

38	.. <A Zaz düz kiç'e xanvaytir man./ A>	Заз дуьз киче хьанвай тир ман.	Such a fear I had (at that time) you know.
39	...<W Mamadini, .. vuç yat'a ğile g'una, .. am req'iz k'an xayila imani W> <DIM gahatna hiniz yat'ani fena man i pepe a -- .. t'ök avaytir balxhunda hanalay avatna -- .. sad lahay mertebadiz fena. DIM>	Мамadini вуч ятла гъиле къуна ам рекъиз клан хъайила, имани гагъатна гъиниз ятлани фена ман, и пепе. Твек авайтир балхунда, гъаналай аватна сад лагъай мертебадиз фена.	And when mother took something to kill it, the bug escaped somewhere. This bug went down to the first floor from a hole that was in the balcony you know.
40 Zaz düz kiç'e xana.	Заз дуьз киче хъана.	I was so afraid.
41	Hadalay <L2 sonra ⁶⁰ L2> mad zun iviz, .. <@ kinik sadrani evets'naşa. @>	Гъадалай сонра мад зун ивиз киник садрани эвецнач.	From then on, I never went down at night.
42	.. <@ Za hamişa gila yad zat' k'an xayila, juvaq galaz sa istikan yad g'una, g'aval fizava ki, iviz aqtin pepeyar zaz akun tavuray. @>	За гъамиша гила яд-затл клан хъайила, жувахъ галаз са истикан яд къуна къавал физава ки, ивиз ахътин пепеяр заз акун тавурай.	Now I always, whenever I want water or something, go to the upper floor taking a glass of water with me, so that I may not see bugs like that at night.
43	Ha -- sağ xuray. @@@ [Avazni] [Ela. Supir.]	Гъа, сагъ хъурай.	Well, thank you.

⁶⁰ Azeri word meaning 'after'

Interlinear of The Bug Story

1.1 Са эхтилат ийиз к'анзава заз квез
one story do-INF want-IMPF to.me to.you
Sa exhtilat iyiz k'anzava zaz köz
I want to tell a story to you.

1.2 Садрa захъ галаз са ихътин са кар хъана
once me with one such one case be-AOR
Sadra zaq galaz sa ixtin sa kar xana
Once, such an incident happened to me.

2.1 И Бакида шегъерда гъаваяр пара чими тир
this Baku.in city.in weather very warm COP:PST
i bakida şeherda havayar para çimi tir
It was very hot in Baku, in the city.

2.2 Зазни к'ан хъана жуван дидедин патав гъадан къвалав Набрандиз хъифиз
to.me-and want.be-AOR own mother-GEN to her side Nabran-DAT to.return-INF
zazni k'an xana juvan didedin patav hadan g'valav Nabrandiz qifiz
And I wanted to go to my mother, to return to Nabran.

3.1 К'ват'на за жуван шиле-куъле хъфена
gather.AOC I own a-few-things return.AOR
k'vat'na za juvan şile-küle qfena
Packing a few of my things, I left –

Key:

Mainline events **in double solid box**

Background events and activity **in single solid box**

Prior events and activities (flashback) **in hatched box**

Setting/exposition **underlined**

Events that don't happen (irrealis) **in dotted box**

3.2 За лагъана ки са са гъефте кве гъефте за гъана фена динжвал ийида
 I say-AOR that one one week two week I there go-AOC have.a.rest-PURP do-FUT
 za lahana ki sa sa hefte q'öe hefte za hana fena dinjval iyida

I decided to go there for one or two weeks, in order to rest.

4 Атана агакъна зун гъаниз фу затI тлуъна галатнавай тир зун нянин бере тир къаткана
 com-AOC reach.AOR I there bread thing ate.AOR tired-PRF-PTC COP:PST I evening time COP:PST lie.down-AOR
 atana agaq'na zun haniz , fu zat' t'üna galatnavay tir zun nyanin bere tir , q'atkana

зун
 I
 zun .
 I arrived there, ate some food, I was tired – it was evening – so I went to bed.

5 Фена къаткана жуван чкадал вил ахвара фена зу
 go-AOC lie.down-AOR own place.on eye dream.in go-AOR my
 fena q'atkana juvan çkadal vil axhvara fena zu

I went to lie down in my bed and I fell asleep.

6 Вил ахвара фена йифен са береда зун къарагъна
 eye dream.in go-AOC night-GEN one time I wake.up-AOR
 vil axhvara fena yifen sa bereda zun q'arağna

I fell asleep... and in the middle of the night, I woke up.

7 Заз яд хъваз к'анзавай тир туътер къуру хъанвай
 to me water drink-INF want-IMPFP-PTP COP:PST throats dry become-PRF-PST
 zaz yad qvaz k'anzavay tir tüter g'uru xanvay

I was wanting a drink of water; my throat had become dry.

8 За лугъузвай гила эвичИда киник къвед лагъай мертебедилай агъуз ман сад лагъай мертебеда гъанани са истикан
 I say.IMPf-PST now go.down-FUT down second floor.from down PT first floor.on there-and one a glass
 за luhuzvay gila eviç'da kinik q'öd lahay mertebedilay ağuz man sad lahay mertebeda hanani sa istikan

яд хъвана зун къавал хкведа
 water drink-AOC I to.upper.floor return-FUT
 yad qvana zun g'aval xhköda

I was thinking: now I'll go down you know- from the second floor, to the first floor – there have a glass of water, and return to the upper floor.

9 Къарагъна зун жуван чкадилай къапу ахъайна зун айвандик экъечІна
 stand.up-AOC I own place.from door open.AOC I to.balcony go.out-AOR
 g'arağna zun juvan çkadilay g'apu aqayna zun ayvandik eg'eç'na

I got up from my bed, opened the door, and I went to the balcony.

10 Айвандик экъечІайла заз акуна ки дивандин винел са чулав са шей ацукънава
 to.balcony go.out-AOP-TEMP to.me see.AOR that sofa-GEN on one black one thing sit-PRF
 ayvandik eg'eç'avla zaz akuna ki divandin vinel sa ç'ulav sa şey atsuq'nava

When I went out to the balcony, I saw that some black thing has sat on the sofa.

11 Еке са
 great one
 eke sa
 (something) huge!

12 Заз дүз киче хъана
 to me great fear be-AOR
 zaz düz kiç'e xana
 I was so scared.

13 За лагъана я Аллагъ им вуч ятIа
 me say.AOR oh Allah this what COP-CND
 за lahana ya Allah im vuç yat'a
 I thought, "Oh God, what could it be?"

14 И чIулав са шейни са жуьре ван акъудзавай тир
 this black one thing-also one kind sound.going.out-IMPF-PTP COP:PST
 i ç'ulav sa şeyni sa jüre van ag'udzavay tir
 And also (from inside) this black thing, a kind of strange sound was coming out.

15 ИкIа ЦыцI цыцI цыцI цыцI ихътин са жуьре ван акъудзавай тир
 like this [tsits tsits tsits tsits such one kind sound.going.out-IMPF-PTP COP:PST
 ik'a ts'its' ts'its' ts'its' ts'its' ixtin sa jüre van ag'udzavay tir
 Like this: ts, ts, ts, ts... kind of sound was coming out.

16 Зани лугъузвай ки им пепе яни им вуш яни
 I-and say.IMPF-PST that this bug is-Q it what is-Q
 zani luhuzvay ki im pepe yani im vuş yani
 And I was wondering: "Is this a bug or what?"

17 Зун са тIимил мукъвал фена
 I one little near go-AOR
 zun sa t'imil muq'val fena
 I came a little closer.

18.1 Мукъвал фена за килигайтIа
 near go-AOC I look-AOP.CND
 muq'val fena za kiligayt'a
 Coming closer, I could see -

18.2 Bay Ca eke sa pepe ø
 INTRJ one great one bug COP-PST
 vay sa eke sa pepe tir
 Wow! A huge bug!

19 Гъилин къен къван авай (tir)
 hand's inside so much COP.in-PST
 ğilin g'en q'van avay
 It was the size of the palm of a hand.

20 Заз садрани гъвечи ч'авалай зун ик'ан	физ хтанани	заз садрахъни ахътин пепе	акунвачир
to me never small time.from I so much	go.IMC make-AOC-FOC	to.me never like that bug	see-PRF-PST-NEG
zaz sadrani ğöçi ç'avalay zun ik'an	fiz xhtanani	zaz sadraqni axtin pepe	akunvaçir

Never – even going there so often from my childhood - I had never seen a bug like that.

21 Зазни дүз кич'е хъана
 to.me-and right fear be-AOR
 zazni düz kiç'e xana
 And I was so scared.

22 Вуч ийин
 what do-HORT
 vuç iyin
 What to do?

23 Зун гила акъвазнава
 I now stop-PRF
 zun gila aq'öznavava
 I have now stopped...

24.1 Заз пепейрикай дуыз кич'езвайди я ман
 to me bugs.from great fear-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP PT
 zaz pepeyrikay düz kiç'ezvaydi ya man
 I have a great fear of bugs, you know.

24.2 и пепейрикай винел ик'а хкадарзавай пепеяр рус ч'алал кузнечикар лугьуда ман
 these bugs.from on like this jump-IMPF-PTP bugs russian language.in grasshoppers say-EVID PT
 i pepeyrikay vinel ik'a xhkadarzavay pepeyar rus ç'alal kuzneçikar luhuda man
 These bugs that jump like this – in Russian are called “kuznechiki” – you know

25 Гъабурикай зу зегъле физава яман
 them.from my hate.comes-IMPF so much
 haburikay zu zehle fizava yaman
 I hate them so much.

26 Абур акурла зун гагъатзава гъвечиди ч'ехиди
 them see-TEMP I run.away-IMPF small-SUBST big-SUBST
 abur akurla zun gahatzava ğöçidi ç'exhidi
 When I see them, I run away – big or small. [STRESSFUL SIGH]

27 Зани вуч ийин Къвазнава зун
 I-and what do-HORT stop-PRF I
 zani vuç iyin g'öznavazun
 So what shall I do - I have stopped.

28.1 Зунни къвазнава гила мама за гузлемишзава
 me-also stop.PRF now mother I wait.IMPF
 zunni g'öznavazun gila mama za güzlemiszava
 And I...have stopped now. I am waiting for my mom --

28.2 Мамани мици кІвала къатканава зунни и патал алай кІвала къатканава
 mother-and other room.in lay.down-PRF me-also this side.on be.on-IMC room.in lay.down.PRF
 mamani mitsi k'vala g'atkanava zuni i patal alay k'vala g'atkanava

And Mama in the other room has laid to sleep, and I have laid to sleep in the room on this side.

29 Зани икІ явашдиказ мамадиз әверна За ø Мама мама Мадни за ø Мама
 I-and like this slowly to mother call-AOR I say-IMPF-PST mother mother again-and I say-IMPF-PST mother
 zani ik' yavařdikaz mamadiz everka za (luhuzvay) mama mama madni za (luhuzvay) mama

And I...called mom like this slowly. I was saying "Mama, Mama." And again: "Mama."

30 Са шумудрахъ мама лагъана за
 one several.times mother say-AOR I
 sa řumudraq mama lahana za

I called mama several times.

31.1 Идаз ван хъанач
 her.to hear-AOR-NEG
 idaz van xanař

She didn't hear.

31.2 Им дейесен кІевиз ксанвай хътин тир _____
 She it.seems strong sleep.PRF-PTP like COP:PST
 im deyesen k'eviz ksanvay xtin tir

It seemed like she was sleeping strongly.

32 Сад лагъана заз акуна ки и пепе и жуван чкадилай агъвазва
 suddenly to me see.AOR that this bug this own place.from move.IMPF
 sad lahana zaz akuna ki i pepe i xuvan çkadilay ağvazva
 Suddenly, I saw that this bug is moving from its place.

33 Зунни и кІвач вегъена кІвализ гъатиз кІан хъайила ида сад лагъана лув гана зу винел атана
 me-also this leg throw-AOC room.to enter-IMC want.be-TEMP it-ERG suddenly fly-AOC my on come-AOR
 zuni i k'öç vehena k'valiz hatiz k'an xayila ida sad lahana luv gana zu vinel atana

And when I wanted to step into the room... suddenly, it flew towards me.

34 Лув гана зу винел атайла зани фад икІа шапна къапу агалайди им къапудин и тІвар вуч тир
fly-AOC my on come-TEMP I-and quickly like this slam door close-AOP-SBST [it door-GEN this name what COP:PST
luv gana zu vinel atayla zani fad ik'a şapna g'apu agalaydi im g'apudin i t'var vuç tir
 винел икІа алкІана ман икІа шапна
 on like this stick-AOR PT like this bam
 vinel ik'a alk'ana man ik'a şapna

As it flew towards me, I quickly slammed the door closed like this, and this what's-its-name stuck on the door like this, you know – bam [CLAP].

35 Ахпани аватна чилал
 then-and fell-AOR ground.on
 axpani avatna çilal

And then (it) fell to the floor.

36.1 Зунни гила гъатна къене за гъарайзу
 me.also now go-AOR inside I scream-IMPF
 zunni gila hatna g'ene za harayzu

And I went in the room; I am screaming.

36.2 " Мама мама гърайзу зани
 mother mother scream-IMPF I-FOC
 мама мама harayzu zani

"Mama! Mama!" I am screaming...

36.3 И мамадизни киче хъана къарагъна
 this mother.to-also fear be-AOC stand.up-AOR
 i mamadizni kiç'e хана к'арагъна

Mom also was scared and got up.

36.4 вуш хъана я бала вун вуш хъана ци гърайзава вуна
 what be-AOR oh child you what be-AOR why scream-IMPF you
 vuş хана ya bala vun vuş хана tsi harayzava vuna

“What happened? Oh child, what happened? Why are you screaming?”

37 за ø ки ана пепе ава чулав пепе ава ам йикъ рекъикъ zaz адакай кичезава Заз
 I say-IMPF-PST that there bug be.in black bug be.in it completely kill-IMPV to me it.from fear-IMPF to me
 za (luhuzvay) ki ana pepe ава ç'ulav pepe ава ам yiq' req'iq' zaz adakay kiç'ezava zaz
 кІанзавач ам гъанал хъурай Рекъикъ ама
 want-IMPF-NEG it there be-OPT kill-IMPV it
 k'anzavaç am hanal xuray req'iq' ama

I was saying “A bug is in there, a black bug – Squash it! It scares me! I don't want it to be there! Kill it!”

38 Заз дуьз киче хьанвай тир ман
 to.me right fear be-PRF-PTC COP:PST PT
 zaz düz kiç'e xanvay tir man
 Such a fear I had (at that moment), you know.

39.1 Мамадини вуч ятIа гъиле кьуна ам рекъиз кIан хьайила имани гагъатна гьиниз ятIани фена ман
 mother-also [something hand.in take-AOC it kill-INFV want-TEMP this-but escape-AOC somewhere go.AOR PT
 mamadini vuç yat'a ğile g'una am req'iz k'an xayila imani gahatna hiniz yat'ani fena man
 And when mother wanted to take up something to kill it, (the bug) escaped somewhere, you know.

39.2 и пепе а тIвек авай тир балхунда гьаналай аватна сад лагъай мертебадиз фена
 this bug that hole COP.in-PTP COP:PST balcony.at there.from fall-AOC first floor.to go-AOR
 i pepe a t'ök avay tir balxhunda hanalay avatna sad lahay mertebadiz fena
 This bug went down to the first floor from a hole that was in the balcony.

40 Заз дуьз киче хьана
 to me right fear be-AOR
 zaz düz kiç'e xana
 I was so afraid.

41 Гьадалай сонра мад зун ивиз киник садрани эвецIнач
 That.from after more I night down never come.down-AOR.NEG
 hadalay sonra mad zun iviz kinik sadrani evets'nac
 From then on, I never went down at night.

42 За гъамиша гила яд-затI	к'ан хъайила	жувахъ	галаз	са	истикан	яд	къуна	къавал	физава	ки	ивиз
I always now water.or.something	want-TEMP	[with me	with	one	a glass	water	take-AOC]	upper.floor	go-IMPF	that	night
za hamiṣa gila yad zat'	k'an xayila	xuvaq	galaz	sa	istikan	yad	g'una	g'aval	fizava	ki	iviz

ахътин пепеяр заз акун тавурай
 like that bugs to me see NEG-do-OPT
 aqtin pepeyar zaz akun tavuray

Now I always, whenever I want water or something, go to the upper floor taking a glass of water with me, so that I may not see bugs like that at night.

43 Гъа сагъ хъурай
 Well thank you
 ha sağ xuray
 Well, thank you.

APPENDIX B: PARABLE OF TWO MEN AND A STONE

This oral text is a parable told by an older man named Abir from Adjakhur, a northern village in Azerbaijan. It was recorded in Baku, Azerbaijan, September 2011. Upon my request, he shared this story, merely saying it was a *k'isa* story (though he used the Russian word *pritça* 'parable' in the text itself. He told the parable to me and two other Lezgis in private. The interlinear was prepared by a native speaker from the recording, who eliminated mistakes and non-words, and also ensured standard spelling (even though some words are pronounced differently in his dialect).

Interlinear of Two Men and a Stone

1.1 Къве хванахво рехъ физва, къве кас рехъ физва .
 two friend way go-IMPF two man way go-IMPF
 q'ö xönaɣhvo reɣ fizva q'ö kas reɣ fizva

Key:
Mainline events in double solid box
Background events and activity in single solid box

Two men, two friends, are going on the way.

1.2 Рехъ са к'адар фейдалай к'улухъ абурин вилик са еке къван ахъатзава, ч'ахмахдин къван .
 way one some go-AOP-SUBST-SREL after their front one great stone appear-IMPF flint.from stone
 reɣ sa k'adar feyɗalay q'uluɣ aburin vilik sa eke g'van aɣatɣava ɕ'axmaxhdin g'van

After having gone a little while on the way, a great stone appears before them – a flint stone.

1.3 Ибурикай сада башламишзава рахаз .
 they.from one start-IMPF speak-IMC
 iburikay cada baɣlamisɣava raɣhaz

One of them starts to speak.

1.4 " Им вуч къван я ?
 this what stone COP
 im vuɕ q'van ya

<<What is this stone?>>

1.5 Има гъинай зи вилик акъатайди я ?
 this where from my front appearing-AOP-SUBT COP:PST
 ima hinay zi vilik ag'ataydi ya

<<From where did it appear before me?>>

1.6 За гила вушда ?"
 I now do-FUT
 za gila vuşda

<<What will I do now?>>

1.7 Элкъвезва .
turn-IMPF
elg'özva

(He) turns.

1.8 Элкъвез-элкъвез къванжалай а патахъ физва има , ида вичин наразивал къалурзава .
 turning-turning stone.from that side go-IMPF this he his displeasure show-IMPF
 elg'öz - elg'öz g'vanjalay a pataq fizva ima ida viçin narazival q'alurzava

Going around from one side of this stone to the other, he shows his displeasure.

1.9 Им гъятдилай рази туш , и къван ахъатайдилай им рахазва , луьквензава .
 he life.from agree COP-NEG this stone appear-AOP-SBST-SREL he speak-IMPF grumble-IMPF
 im hayatdilay razi tuş i g'van aqataidilay im raxazva lukvenzava

He is dissatisfied with life, he grumbles about the appearance of this stone.

1.10 А мицида куьтІни ийизвач .
 that another not a word do-IMPf-NEG
 a mitsida kut'ni iyizvaç

The other doesn't say a word.

1.11 Акъвазава ама .
 stop-IMPf he
 ama
 aq'vazava

He stops -

1.12 Ада вуч ийизва .
 he what do-IMPf
 ada vuç iyizva

What does he do?

1.13 Са кІвач къванжин винел эцигна , хкаж жезва .
 one leg stone.of on put-AOC climb-IMPf
 ca k'vaç g'vanjin vinel etsigna xhkaj jezva

He puts one foot on the stone and climbs.

1.14 хкаж хъана, и къванжикай трамплин хъиз истифаде ийизва .
 climb-AOC this stone.from springboard as use make-IMPf
 xhkaj hana i g'vanjikay tramplin xiz istifade iyizva

Climbing, (he) uses this stone as a springboard.

1.15 Къве кам анихъни хкадарзава .
 two step further-and jump-IMPF
 q'ö kam aniqni xkadarzava

And jumps two steps further even.

1.16 Значит , сада дейинмиш жезва рахазва гъакIа , вичин гъажузвал къалурзава .
 So, one grumble become-IMPF speak-IMPF just his weakness show-IMFP
 znaçit sada deyinmiş jezva raxazva hak'a viçin hajuzval q'alurzava

So, one of them becomes 'grumbly,' speaks like that, shows his weakness.

1.17 Мици касди и къванжалай истифаде авуна , вич авайдилайти къакъандиз хкаж жезва .
 another man this stone.from use make-AOC himself existence.from high.to climb-IMPF
 mitsi kasdi i g'vanjalay istifade avuna viç avaydilayni g'ag'andiz xhkaj jezva

Another man, using the stone, raises himself higher from it.

1.18 гъуцариз мукъвал жезва , Аллагъдиз мукъвал жезва .
 gods near become-IMPF Allah near become-IMPF
 ğutsariz muq'val jezva Allahdin muq'val jezva

(He) becomes closer to the gods, closer to Allah.

1.19 Трамплин хъана , къве камни вилик физва .
 springboard is-AOC two step.FOC forward go-IMPF
 tramplin hana q'ö kamni vilik fizva

(It) being a springboard, (he) goes two steps even further.

1.20 Им дуьньядин притча я .

This world's parable is
im dunyadin pritça ya

This is a parable of the world.

1.21 Значит , вилик акъатай гъар са цуьниз инсанди хъсан патай килигна канзава .

So, before existed every one thing's person good side look-AOC need-IMPF
znaçit vilik ag'atay har sa tsuniz insndi qsan patay kiligna kanzava

It means when something appears before a person, looking at the good side is needed.

1.22 гъа къванжикай вичиз хъсан шеъ хъиз истифаде авуна канзава .

that stone.from him.to good thing as use make-AOC need-IMPF
ha g'vanjikay viçiz qsan şey hiz istifade avuna kanzava

Making use of that stone as a good thing is needed.

1.23 Вилик фин патакай , са шеъни артухарин патакай , са камни къакъан жен патакай .

forward go-HORT for one thing make more-HORT for one step.FOC high be-HORT for
vilik fin patakay sa şeyni artuxharin patakay sa kamni q'aq'an jen patakay

Use it for going forward, for increasing something, for stepping even higher.

APPENDIX C: SEA PRINCESS FOLKTALE

Below is the Lezgi-English parallel text of the Sea Princess folktale. While examples in the body of this thesis are interlinearized and use free translation, including the interlinear, even in the appendix would have been too much detail. A very literal English translation is presented here, in order to follow the verbs in the text and observe the *-na/-da* alternation.

This folktale was told by an older woman Rosa, who lives in Qusar and is a high school teacher. She was asked for a Lezgi folktale, and given a few days to prepare. She recorded this folktale in front of two Lezgis in Qusar, Azerbaijan, June 2013 without any use of the written text, though she said she consulted it in preparation. The written text (Gasharov and Ganijeva 1989:50-56) was also added to the data corpus, for comparison. It is clear from her use of the Epic Narrative Tense *-da* suffix that she did not read the text while telling the story.

Parallel Text of
Sea Princess Folktale

Key:

All mainline verbs marked **in bold**;

AOR verbs **without box**;

ENT verbs **bold with solid box**;

IMPF verbs **bold with dotted box**;

¶	Lezgi	English literal translation
1	За квез са хъсан са мах ахъайин гъуьлуьн рушакай.	1 Let me open to you a good folktale - The Sea Princess.
2	Хъана кван - хъанач кван са вилаятда са пачагъ хъана. И пачагъдин тварни Джагъан пачагъ тир. И Джагъан пачагъдизни авай тир са паб, садни пуд хва. И Джагъан пачагъни пара ваар-девлет авай, твар-ван авай, вичиз са пачагъ тир.	2.1 'There was, there wasn't' In a country, there was a king. 2.2 And this king's name was King Jahan. 2.3 And to this king Jahan was a wife and three sons. 2.4 And this king Jahan was a very famous and rich king.
3	Им са юкъуз фида сердиз вичин балкандални ацукъна. Фена-фена им акакъда са гъуьлуьн къерехдив. И гъуьлуьн къерехдиз экъецайла, ида тамашиз къвазна , сад лагъана гъуляй цин винел са руш экъеца на ва ада гъил элягъна, пачагъдиз гъил агъурна . И пачагъни мягътел хъана, «и гъуьлуьн къеняй яраб», лагъана , «и иер руш гъим ятла акъатайди.» Имни и рушал пара ашукъ хъана . Хтана квализ, фикирарна-фикирарна саклани и руш гъиле гъатнач.	3.1 One day, he went out on business, sitting on his horse. 3.2 Going, going, he reached the edge of a sea. 3.3 When reaching the seaside, he stopped to look, (and) suddenly, from the sea a girl came out and taking her hand waved at the king. 3.4 And this king was amazed. "From this sea, I wonder, who could this girl be, who appeared?" he said . 3.5 And it happened he very much (fell) in love with this girl. 3.6 He returned home, continuously thinking (that) in no way didn't get her hand.
4	Са югъ фена, кве югъ фена, эхир и дердинлай идан вилер буьркьюь хъана. Им гъатна месе. Эхир идани вичин гадайриз эверна, «я чан балаяр», лагъана , бес «зи квилел ихътин са квалах атанва, бес гъуьлуьн къеняй ихътин са руш экъеца на заз гъил элягъна», лагъана , «саклани», лагъана ,	4.1 One day passing, two days passing, finally from grief on his eyes blindness happened. 4.2 He fell on his bed. 4.3 And finally, calling his sons, he said, "Oh dear children, such a matter has come on my head - from the sea such a girl coming out, waved at me - and in no way is it being away from me off my

<p>«ам завай риклелай алуд жезвач», лагъана.</p> <p>«Фена», лагъана, «куьне», лагъана, «зи балкландин кIвач галуць тавунвай са чкадлай» лагъана, «заз са тике», лагъана «накъв гъваш» лагъана.</p> <p>«А накъв зи вилерал эцигайтIа», лагъана, «белке», лагъана «зи вилер хъсан жеда», лагъана.</p> <p>«ХъайитIа», лагъана «ада хъсан, тахъайтIа зун рекьида», лагъана. «Баш уьсте», лагъана гадайри.</p> <p>«Чан буба», лагъана, «чна», лагъана, «балкландал акъахна фена исятда ваз гъа накъв гъида», лагъана.</p> <p>«Ээ, чан хваяр» лагъана, «а накъв», лагъана, «инра авай туш», лагъана, «зи балкландин кIвач галуць тавунвай чка хъана кIанзавайди я.»</p> <p>Чехи гадади лагъана, «чан буба», лагъана, «за изатна фена», лагъана, «гъида», лагъана.</p> <p>Фена и гада, фена са къерехдилай са капашда авай накъв гъана, акъахна балкландал хтана, «ма чан буба» лагъана, «за ваз накъв гъана».</p> <p>Эцигда бубади вилерал, гъич са тафаатни хъанач.</p> <p>«Ваъ, чан хва», лагъана, «им» лагъана, «а накъвадикай туш».</p> <p>Къвед лагъай гадади лагъана «Зун фида буба», лагъана, «исятда за гъида», лагъана.</p> <p>Къвед лагъай гадани фена, гъадани фена гъаклан са рукан къерехдай гъана са капашдин накъв, идани са хийирни авунач.</p> <p>И вахтунда пуд лагъай гадади лагъана, «чан буба», лагъана, «гила за гъида», лагъана.</p> <p>«Накъвар», лагъана, «за гъана муьтлег ви вилер сагъарна кIанда», лагъана.</p>	<p>heart." he said.</p> <p>4.4 "Go, you" he said, "from that place my horse's leg didn't hit some soil bring me." he said.</p> <p>4.5 "Maybe putting that soil on my eyes, they can be good." he said.</p> <p>4.6 "If so, good." he said. "If not, I will die." he said.</p> <p>4.7 "It will be done!" said the boys.</p> <p>4.8 "Dear father," they said, "we on horses climbing going now to you that soil will bring." they said.</p> <p>4.9 "Eeh, dear sons," he said, "that soil isn't here - it needs to be from a place where my horse's leg has not hit."</p> <p>4.10 The oldest boy said, "Dear father, I going, that thing will bring." he said.</p> <p>4.11 Went this boy, Going, from the outskirts a handful of soil brought, climbing up on horse returned. "Here you go, dear Father," he said, "I to you the soil brought."</p> <p>4.12 The father put (it) on his eyes - not one difference it wasn't.</p> <p>4.13 "No, dear son." he said, "It wasn't that soil."</p> <p>4.14 The second boy said, "I will go father - now I will bring (it)." he said.</p> <p>4.15 The second boy went. And he going simply, by the forest's edge brought a handful of soil - it also a benefit didn't do.</p> <p>4.16 At this time, the third boy said, "Dear father, now I will bring (it)." he said.</p> <p>4.17 "The soil, I absolutely bringing, your eyes healing, is needed." he said.</p>
<p>5 Имни са юкъуз фида, къве юкъуз фида, имни атана агакъ хъийида и гъуьлуьв.</p> <p>Имни гъуьлуьн къерехдал балкландал ацукъна, эхир ида</p>	<p>5.1 And he went one day, went two days, and reached again this sea.</p> <p>5.2 And (while) he sitting on his horse on the shore, continuously</p>

фикирна-фикирна, и балкланди **лагъана**, «чан иеси», **лагъана**, «вуна икван фикирар ци ийизва», **лагъана**, «я кьегьел», **лагъана**?

«Ваз вуч хъанва», **лагъана**?

«Пара вун фикирдиз фенва хьи».

«Бес за вучин», **лагъана**, «зи бубадин вилер саклани хъсан жезвач», **лагъана**.

«Адан балкландин кивач галукъ тавур чкадай за гъана кланзава хьир накъв», **лагъана**.

«Бес за вучин», **лагъана**, «зун гьин патахъ фин», **лагъана**, «Зун гьиниз фин», **лагъана**?

И арада балкланди «са фикирарни ийимир» **лагъана**, «за ваз куьмежда» **лагъана**.

«Ша», **лагъана**, «вун и гьуьлелай», **лагъана**, «алатна чун фида исятда, вун акъах зал», **лагъана**, «са кърмаждив зун ягъ» **лагъана**, «цавалай лув гана фидайвал чун. Фидайла, за ваз лугъуда», **лагъана**, «гъина аватла накъв».

Акъахда и гада и балкландал, **ягъада** кърмаждив ида и балклан, лув гана и гьуьлелай фидайла, сад лагъана и гьуьлуьн юкъвай са гьил **акъатда**.

И гьилени идан гевгьердин хтарар жеда кьве жуьт.

И гададини гьил вегьена са жуьт **къачуда**.

Им къачурла и балкланди «вуна нагъахъ къачуна» **лугъуда** «а гевгьерар.

Абуру ви кьил ттарарда», **лугъуда**.

«Вучиз», **лугъуда**, «икъван иер гевгьерар къачудачни бес за» **лугъуда**?

Идани «ваъ» **лугъуда**, «абур вуна къачуна кланзавай тушир», **лугъуда**, «абур гьуьлуьн пачагьдин рушанбур тир», **лугъуда**.

thinking, finally this horse **said**, "Dear owner, why do you make so many thoughts, oh brave-one?" he **said**.

5.3 "What has happened to you?" he **said**.

5.4 "You go to thought very much."

5.5 "But what to do?" he **said**. "My father's eyes are in no way being good." he **said**.

5.6 "From that place the horses leg didn't hit some soil I bringing is needed." he **said**.

5.7 "But what (to do)?" he **said** "Which side should I go?" he **said** "Where should I go?" he **said**.

5.8 At this moment the horse **said**, "Don't think - I with help you." he **said**.

5.9 "Come," he **said**, "You (and) I, over this sea passing, we will go now. You mount on me, with a whip strike me, (and) we flying in the air, will go."

5.10 "Flying, I will say to you where it might be - the soil"

5.11 This guy **mounted** this horse, he **struck** this horse with whip. When flying going over this sea, suddenly from the middle of this sea one hand **appeared**.

5.12 And in this hand were two pairs of pearl necklaces.

5.13 And this guy, hand throwing, one pair **took**.

5.14 He taking, this horse **said**, "You took those pearls in vain."

5.15 "They will make your head ache." he **said**.

5.16 "Why?" he **said**. "So beautiful pearls, will I not take?" he **said**.

5.17 And he "No." **said** "They taking, you didn't want." he **said**. "They were the Sea King's Daughter's." he **said**.

<p>Идани «са шейни жедай туш» лугьуда. Къачуна фида ибур алатда гьуьлуьн тIва патаз. Алатайла, ибурни атана агакъда маса вилаятдиз са. И вилаятдив эгекъайла имани фена са кIвал къада вичиз, и кIвале амукъда, идани гевгьерарни жибиндай акъудна цлал мисмардикай куьзарда.</p>	<p>5.18 And he "It won't be being a thing." said. 5.19 Taking, they went and passed to the other side of the sea. 5.20 When passing, they reached another province. 5.21 When approaching this province, and going here, he rented a house for himself, he remained, and he, taking out the pearls from his pocket, hung them from a nail on the wall.</p>
<p>6 Са югъ хъана, са нянин бере я, и куьчеда фида и пачагьдин нукер. Пачагьдин нукердиз акуртIа хьи, и кIвале мичли береда дуьз ишигъли я ман, имни атана чинеба пенжердай тамашна акуртIа, цлалай гевгьерар кудна, хтарар, гьабурну нур я къван гузвай.</p> <p>Имни звериз-звериз фена пачагьдиз лугьузва хьи, «я пачагъ», лугьуда, «заз филан кIвале са гевгьерар акуна», лугьуда «цлалай куднавай, пачагьриз лайих тир» лугьуда. Абуру «эвера а гада» лугьуда, «абур ваз къачу» лугьуда, «абур адаз лайих туш». И пачагьдини лугьуда «эвера кван а гада гьим ятIа». Къведа и гада. Атайла, «я гада», лугьуда, «заз ван атана, лагъана, ви кIвале гевгьерар ава» лагъана. «Абур ваз лайих туш, абур заз лайихди я», лугьуда. «Фена гъваш абур, тахъайтIа за ви кьил атIуз гуда исятда».</p> <p>Гададини «я пачагъ» лугьуда, «вун сагърай. Ваз тагудай гевгьерар авайди яни», лугьуда.</p>	<p>6.1 One day being, one evening time it is, the king's servant went in the street. 6.2 The king's servant could be seeing that, at this house at evening a great light is, you know, and he coming secretly, from the window looking, could be seeing, pearls hanging on the wall, the necklace's light, giving so much. 6.3 And he going with haste to the king says that, "O king!" he said, "at some house some pearls I saw," he said, "hanging on a wall - worthy of a king they were." he said. 6.4 They "call that boy" said, "You take them" they said "they are not worthy of him." 6.5 And this king said "Call please, that boy, whoever he is." 6.6 Arrived, this guy. 6.7 When coming, "Oh boy" he said "word came to me, saying "at your house are pearls" he said. 6.8 "They (are) not worthy of you - they are worthy of me." he said. 6.9 "Go, bring them, or else I will give (the order) to cut your head now." 6.10 And the guy said "Oh king, may you be healthy!" 6.11 "Will the pearls not be given to you?" he said.</p>

	<p>«Исятда гъишни за ваз», лугьуда, «захъ ктадмир анжах».</p> <p>Фида и гадади и гевгьерар гъана гуда пачагъдиз, пачагъни тамашна пара иер гевгьерар къахчуна рахкуда и гада.</p>	<p>6.12 "Will I bring them to you now? (Yes)" he said "Only don't touch me."</p> <p>6.13 This boy went, the pearls bringing, gave (them) to the king, and the king looking, the very beautiful pearls taking, sent (away) the boy.</p>
7	<p>Са югъ, къве югъ алатда и качалдивай мад эх хъийиз жедач.</p> <p>Писвал ийиз кланзава хъир гададиз.</p> <p>Фена лугьуда «я чан пачагъ», лугьуда, «адаз икъван иер гевгьерар авайди я, адан иеси низ чида гъикъван иерди я» лугьуда.</p> <p>«Вуна эвера а гададиз», лугьуда, «гевгьеррин иесини гъиз ча жуваз».</p> <p>Эверда пачагъди гададиз, «я гада» лугьуда, «и гевгьерар икъван иер», лугьуда, «идан иеси низ чида гъикъван иерди ятIа. Гъинай кландатIани заз жагъурна идан иеси гъваш», лугьуда.</p> <p>Гададини лугьуда «я пачагъ, за гъинай гъин», лугьуда, «заз чизвач хъир, за ваз вучин, гъикI ийин?»</p> <p>«Заз чидач», лугьуда, «къве юкъуз вуна гъин тавуртIа, ви къил атIурвал я.</p> <p>Гъинай клантIани заз жагъурна гъваш».</p>	<p>7.1 One day, two days past, this bald-headed (servant) cannot do again anymore patience.</p> <p>7.2 He even wants to do evil to the guy.</p> <p>7.3 Going, he said, "Oh dear king" he said "He had pearls so beautiful was being, who knows how beautiful its owner is" he said.</p> <p>7.4 "You call that guy" he said "and the pearls' owner bringing, give me."</p> <p>7.5 The king called the guy: "Oh boy" he said "these pearls (are) so beautiful" he said "who knows how beautiful its owner might be"</p> <p>7.6 From wherever you might want, finding its owner, bring to me." he said.</p> <p>7.7 And the guy said "Oh king, from where shall I bring (her)" he said "I don't even know, what shall I do for you - how?"</p> <p>7.8 "I don't know." he said "(If) in two days a bringing you aren't doing, your head is about to be cut off."</p> <p>7.9 "From wherever you want, finding, bring (her) to me."</p>
8	<p>И гадани кор-пешман элкъвена хкведа балкландин патав.</p> <p>Балкланди лугьуда: «вуч хъанва», лугьуда, «мадни къил кудна хъи», лугьуда, «вуч хъанва, вуч фикирарзава?»</p> <p>«За вучин», лугьуда, бес, «аквазвачни», лугьуда, «пачагъдиз</p>	<p>8.1 This boy very sad turning around, returned to the horse.</p> <p>8.2 The horse said, "What has happened?" he said "Again head (is) hanging" he said "What has happened, what are you thinking much (about)?"</p> <p>8.3 "What to do?" he said "Was I not seeing?" he said "The king</p>

завай гила гевгьеррин иеси кланзава».

«Гъааа», **лугьуда**, «за ваз лагъанайни», **лугьуда**, бес «а гевгьерар къачумир, ви къил тларарда, ци къачуна бес» **лугьуда**?

«Гила мад чара авач» **лугьуда**, «са ам авуна кланда ман, чна са ківалах.»

«Ша кван», **лугьуда**, «гила за ваз гьикі куьмекдатла.

Ша фин гьуьлуьн къерехдиз» **лугьуда**.

«Ам» **лугьуда** «гевгьеррин иеси пачагьдин руш я» **лугьуда**, «гьуьлуьн пачагьдин вичин.

А гьуьлуьн пачагьдин рушни гила акьудун патакай гьуьлуьн клануз фена кланзава», **лугьуда**.

«Гьуьлуьн клануз фин патакайни зун гьуьлуьн шивдихъ галаз кклана кланзава» **лугьуда**.

Гьуьлуьн шив гьуьлуьн балклан.

«За», **лугьуда** «хкадарда исятда гьуьлуьз» **лугьуда**, «гьуьлуьн шиврехъ галаз кклида» **лугьуда**.

«Эгер», **лугьуда**, «са арадлай гьуьлуьн винел пад яру хьайитла, ваз чир хьухъ хьи», **лугьуда**, «за гьуьлун шив къенва, зун гьалиб атанва.

За атана» **лугьуда**, «вун тухуда гьуьлуьн клануз.

Ваъ, гьуьлуьн винел иви акъат тавуртла, зун амач», **лугьуда**.

Гададини «хьуй ма», **лугьуда**.

Хкадарда и балкланди гьуьлуьз, са арадлай ина хкаж йитар, бурулгъан, хкадар хъана цавариз акъатна лепеяр ягъана, каф акъатна гьуьлуьн винел.

Са арадлай яру хъана гьуьлуьн винел пад, сакит хъана.

now wants from me the pearls' owner."

8.4 "Ahh" he **said** "Wasn't I saying to you?" he **said** "Don't take those pearls (or) your head will ache. But why did you take (them)?" he **said**.

8.5 "There is not now anymore means" he **said** "something making is needed, you know, we one deed (need to do)"

8.6 "Come, please" he **said** "Now how could I help you..."

8.7 "Come, let's go to the seaside" he **said**.

8.8 "That pearls' owner is the king's daughter." he **said** "The Sea King himself."

8.9 "And that Sea King's daughter to take out, to the bottom of the sea going, is needed." he **said**.

8.10 "And for a sea-bottom-going, I fighting with the Sea Steed, is needed." he **said**.

8.11 The Sea Steed (is) the Sea Horse.

8.12 "I will jump to the sea now" he **said** "(I) will fight with the Sea Steed" he **said**.

8.13 "If" he **said** "after a while, on the sea, red being may be, know that" he **said** "I have killed the Sea Steed, I have become victorious."

8.14 "I coming" he **said** "will take you to the bottom of the sea."

8.15 "(If) no on the sea blood appearance might not being, I don't exist." he **said**.

8.16 And the guy **said** "Let it be."

8.17 This horse **jumped** into the sea. After a while rising waters, whirlpool, jumps happened, waves went into the air, hitting, (and) foam **went out** on the sea.

8.18 After a while (there) was red, and the sea was calm.

<p>Гадани гъавурда акьуна хьи, гъуьлуьн шив кьейи члал.</p> <p>Идазни хвеши хъана.</p> <p>Хтана балклан, «Гъаа», лагъана «гила чавай физ жеда» лагъана, «пачагъдин руш гъиз».</p>	<p>8.19 And the guy understood that (this was) Sea-Steed-dying-language.</p> <p>8.20 And he was happy.</p> <p>8.21 The house returning, "Yes" he said "Now we can be going" he said "to get the king's daughter."</p>
<p>9 Акъахда и гада балкландал, фида ибур гъуьлуьн клануз.</p> <p>Гъуьлуьн клана авай сараяр, дуьз булахар, са еке, дуьз хъсан са чка ава ина, гъеле бил са шегьер я.</p> <p>И булахдални, воо, дуьз акуртла хьи, хъсан къайи яд авай була х я.</p> <p>И балкландини лугъуда хьи, «аку», лугъуда, «ваз а руш акунгаз на лагъ хьи», лугъуда, «я руш, заз са къапина цвана яд це.</p> <p>Рушани лугъуда хьи,» лугъуда, «эвеца, жува къачу».</p> <p>Вунани лагъ хьи,» лугъуда, «зи плузарар хер хъанва, са къапина аваз це кван вуна заз».</p> <p>«Рушани ваз ковш кутуна яд ацлурна гъана гудайла, гъиликай къуна», лагъана, «ацукъра балкландал, са капаш накъвни къачуна гъуьлуьн кланай экъецлна хъфида чун» лугъуда.</p> <p>«Гъагъам», лугъуда, «как раз ви бубадин вилериз кланзавай накъв я» лугъуда.</p> <p>«Хъуй» лугъуда гададини.</p> <p>Эвецда ибур, эвецна аквада хьи, яргъалай са руш къвезва иер, иер, иер, мад маса къиямат.</p> <p>И руш эгекъайла гадади лугъуда «я руш», лугъуда, «заз капашда авай яд це тлун» лугъуда.</p> <p>«Эвечна жува хъухъ я гада», лугъуда, «Не хьи була х».</p>	<p>9.1 This boy mounted the horse, they went to bottom of the sea.</p> <p>9.2 Being at the sea bottom were castles, great springs - one great good place it is, here - like a city would be.</p> <p>9.3 And this spring - wow - right looking that, it is a good-cold-water-being-spring.</p> <p>9.4 This horse said that, "Look" he said "you seeing that girl, say that" he said "Oh girl, give me water put in a jar."</p> <p>9.5 "And the girl will say that" he said "get down, yourself take."</p> <p>9.6 "And you say that" he said "there has become a wound on my lips - (water) being in a jar to me (I) order you please."</p> <p>9.7 "And when the girl is bringing the ladle having been made filled with water to you, taking by the hand" he said "make (her) to sit one horse, one handful of soil also taking, from the sea needing, going out, we will leave." he said.</p> <p>9.8 "That" he said "is this for-your-father's-eyes-needing-soil" he said.</p> <p>9.9 "Let it be" said the guy.</p> <p>9.10 These went down, going down they saw that, from afar a girl is coming - beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, more than others - amazing.</p> <p>9.11 When this girl was approaching, the guy said "Oh girl" he said "(I) order do to me a handful of water." he said.</p> <p>9.12 "Coming down, drink yourself, oh guy." she said "Here (is) the</p>

	<p>«Ваъ», лугьуда, «зи плузаррал хер хъанва» лугьуда, «а ковшда аваз са яд це кван заз».</p> <p>Рушазни чара жедач.</p> <p>Ковш цона яд гъана и гададиз гудайла, гададини кьуна рушакай, гъиликай ацукьарда балкандал, са капашда авай накъвни кьуна ибур экъец хъийида гьуьлуьн кьилел.</p>	<p>spring."</p> <p>9.13 "No" he said "A wound has come on my lips" he said "to me water being in that ladle (I) order please."</p> <p>9.14 And to the girl there were no means.</p> <p>9.15 When bringing to this guy the ladle poured water and giving, the guy taking the girl by the hand, seated (her) on the horse, (and) a handful of soil taking, these, a going did again, to the top of the sea.</p>
10	<p>Хтана ибур и виляятдиз.</p> <p>Хтайла и хкведай рекье и рушаз аквазвай хьи, гъич и гада шад туш.</p> <p>Идани лугьуда «я гада», лугьуда, «вуч хъанва» лугьуда, «вун икъван ци бейкеф я» лугьуда, «Икъван иер руш хъанва ваз», лугьуда, «Зун хътин руш гъеле-меле жагъизвай туш» лугьуда.</p> <p>Гададини «ээээгь, чан руш», лугьуда, «вун хътин иер руш хъунал зун шад я, анжах заз жезвач хъир», лугьуда, «вун инал са кьуьзуь пачагь ава», лугьуда, «са мурдар, гъадаз клан хъанвайди я», лугьуда, «вун.</p> <p>За вун тухвана гъадаз гана кланзава.</p> <p>Зи гъилерив за вун гъикI гун, икъван иер руш?»</p> <p>«Вуна гъадан фикирарзавани», лугьуда, «я гада, фикирармир», лугьуда, «ша чна исятда са план кьурмишда», лугьуда.</p> <p>«А пачагъдиз фена вуна лагь хьи», лугьуда, «аку, яхцIур юкьуз мехъерриз ижаза авай туш.</p> <p>ЯхцIур югь хъайидилай сура вун фида гьамамдиз, фена цийи пекер алукина аяр хъана хкведа, гъа береда чна мехъерарда.</p>	<p>10.1 These returned to this province.</p> <p>10.2 When returning, on the returning way, this girl was seeing that, this boy is never happy.</p> <p>10.3 And she said "Oh boy" she said "What has happened?" she said "Why are you so upset?" she said "You have (gotten) such a beautiful girl." she said "A girl like me is not being found all the time" she said.</p> <p>10.4 And the guy: "Ehh, dear girl" said "I am happy on having a beautiful girl like you. Only (you) won't even be mine." he said "An old unclean king is wanting you" he said.</p> <p>10.5 You brining, to him giving, I need (to do).</p> <p>10.6 From my hand how shall I give such a beautiful girl?</p> <p>10.7 "That's what you are thinking about?" she said "Oh boy, don't think" she said "Come, we will now organize a plan" she said.</p> <p>10.8 "To that king going, you say that" she said "Look, (there) is not permission being for a wedding in forty days."</p> <p>10.9 "After forty days you will go to the bathhouse, having gone, new cloths wearing, nice being, (you) will return - at that time we will wed."</p>

Вунани», **лугьуда**, «гьам гьамамдиз фейила, фена гьамамда илис хьухъ» **лугьуда**.

«Аку ма и дарманни», **лугьуда**, **гуда** са шуьше къапина авай идаз яд хьтин дарман **гуда**.

«Им ичёрна гьа пачагьдин винелай лагь хьи» **лугьуда**, «вакай я кицI хьурай, я вак хьурай».

«А бере», **лугьуда**, «адакай я кицI жеда лугьуда, я вак.

Гьа береда», **лугьуда**, «ам чукурда жемятди», **лугьуда**, «вун пачагь хьагьда» **лугьуда**.

«Гьа бередани зун вуна къачуна тур», **лугьуда**.

Хвеша жеда гададизни.

Имни фена **илис жеда** гьамамда и яхцIур югь хьайила **къведа** пачагь гьамамдиз вичин везирар, векилар, гьамбалар, вири галаз.

Атана эхьвена куьтягь хьана, пекер алукIирла, и гада экъечIна чинеба къулухъай эчIирна и дарман, «вакай я кичI хьурай, я вак» лугьун галаз, **сад лагьана** элкьвена идакай **жеда** са кицI.

Жемятдизни гьамамда кицI акурди, вирида кутуна гьарай калтуг-гагьат, сада тас элягьна, сада яд элягьна, калтугна вирида кицI хьиз **чукурда** има.

Пачагьдивайни жезвач хьир са куьтIни, кицI я ман вич.

Эхир акI жеда хьи, им чукурайла и рушни гада экъецина **хкведа** алукIна пачагьдин пекер.

Жемятдизни хвеша жеда иер жаван пачагь хьана.

Ибуруни им **тада** анал и вичин тахтунал **ацукьарда**.

10.10 "And you" she **said** "when he goes to the bathhouse, going in the bathhouse - hide" she **said**.

10.11 "See, here you go, this medicine" she **said** and **gave** - a water-like medicine in a glass bottle, she **gave**.

10.12 "This pouring over that king, say that" she **said** "may you be a dog or may you be a pig!"

10.13 "At that time" she **said** "He will be either a dog" she said "or a pig."

10.14 "At that time" she **said** "the people will chase it" she **said** "(they) will choose you as king" she **said**.

10.15 And at that time, You take me" she **said**.

10.16 And the guy was happy.

10.17 And he going, **hid** in the bathhouse, and after forty days, the king **came** to the bathhouse, with all his viziers, lawyers, servants.

10.18 When coming, bathing, finishing, putting on clothes, this boy going out, secretly from behind pouring this medicine, with a "may you be a dog or a pig" saying, **suddenly**, turning around, he **was** a dog.

10.19 And when the people saw a dog in the bathhouse, they all, putting, screaming, chasing-being chased, one a basin taking (throwing), another water taking (throwing), driving away - all **chased (away)** this as-a-dog one.

10.20 And from the king not even one word-saying was - he himself was a dog, you know.

10.21 When, after all that chasing, this girl and guy going out, **returned** wearing kings clothes.

10.22 And the people were happy, a beautiful young king having.

10.23 And they **put** and **seated** him and her on a throne

	<p>Рушахъ галазни мехъерарна ибуру башламишда ина пачагъвализ.</p>	<p>10.24 The girl with the guy being wed, they started a reign here.</p>
11	<p>Са югъ, къве югъ, эхир и гадади лугъуда хьи, «ваъ ээ, икл жедач, бубадин вилер ахъайна кланзава, гъуълун кланагъ и накъв тухвана бубадин вилерал туна кланзава, ша» лугъуда «чун хъфин чи виляятдиз» лугъуда. «Хъуй», лугъуда руша. Экъеціна ибуруни жемятдиз лугъуда хьи, бес «куъне квез цийи пачагъ хкъгъа, чун хъфизва чи виляятдиз».</p>	<p>11.1 One day, two day, after all, this boy said that "No, ehh, it cannot be like this. The opening of father's eyes is needed - this sea-bottom-soil brining, on father's eyes putting, is needed. Come," he said "let us go back to our province" he said. 11.2 "May it be" said the girl. 11.3 And they appearing to the people said that "But for you choose a new king - we go to our province."</p>
12	<p>Ибурни амна,... гадани руш хкъведа ибур чпин виляятдиз. Хтайла и рушакай гададизни пара дуъз хуш къведа. Лугъуда хьи, рушаз «бес», лугъуда «заз гъич», лугъуда, «вун зи бубадизни гуз кланзавач. Икъван иер руш заз кланзава хьи, заз жуваз къачун. Ша за вун илисрин» лугъуда, «вуна жува-жув зи бубадиз къалурмир» лугъуда. «Зи бубадиз вун такурай», лугъуда. «Акуна хъуй вун ада вичиз къачудайди я». Тухуда и руш къилел къвале илисарда. Накъвни гъана бубадин вилерал тада, бубадин вилер ахъа хъижеда. Бубани хъсан хъана къарагъда, гила рушан фикир амазма, анжах чизвач ман, руш гъиклин, гъинай гъин, вучин.</p>	<p>12.1 And that happening...this boy and girl returned to their own province. 12.2 When returning, the guy very much liked this girl. 12.3 He said to the girl "but" he said "I never" he said "want to give you to my father." 12.4 "So beautiful of a girl I want that, I should take for me." 12.5 "Come, I shall hide you" he said "You shall not show yourself to my father" he said. 12.6 "May my father not see you." he said. 12.7 "If it happens, him seeing you, he is doing a taking." 12.8 He took (and) hid this girl on the top room. 12.9 And soil bringing, on father's eyes (he) put, (and) father's eyes opened again. 12.10 And father being good, got up - now (he) is still having thought of the girl, but doesn't know, you know, how, where from to bring the girl, what to do.</p>

13	<p>Во, са кве юг алатна идаз садни аквада хьи, квилел балхундай са иер руш тамашава.</p> <p>Тамашатла, а вичиз гил авур руш, «Гъааа», лугьуда, «им гинватлани», лугьуда «гадади гъанвайди я, аквазвани», лугьуда, «закай илисарнава?»</p> <p>Къе йифиз за абуруз вуч той къадатла аку».</p> <p>Вичин папаз лугьуда «паб», лугьуда, «къе за а гадани рекьиде, свасни, ама, ада гъанвай рушни» лугьуда.</p> <p>«Зун алцурарна», лугьуда, «абуруз», лугьуда «руш гъана, вичиз тунва» лугьуда, «закай илисарнава» лугьуда.</p> <p>«За гила абуруз къе йифиз вучдатла аку».</p> <p>Дидени диде я ман.</p> <p>Вичин хва рекьиз клан жени?</p> <p>Идани ивиз атана хциз лугьузва, «чан бала», лугьуда, «рушни галаз ката инрай», лугьуда «кьил къакъудна, бубадиз куьн рекьиз кланзава».</p> <p>Гададизни вуч чара жеда?</p> <p>Къада и рушни, къуна чпин шеле-куьлени тлимил, акъахна балкландал фида ибур, гъуьлуьн къерехдиз фена катиз кланзава, гьикл фин, гьикл катин, аквада са луьткве гьалзавай са луьтквечи.</p> <p>Эверда и луьтквечидиз лугьуда хьи, «чан стха, чун» лугьуда «гъуьлуьн тѳва къерехдиз акъудна кланда вуна».</p> <p>Луьтквечидизни и руш акуна имни ашукъ жеда и рушал.</p> <p>«Икъван иер руш» лугьуда фикирдай, «гьикл лагъана за», лугьуда. «и гададив тан има?»</p> <p>Идани гададиз нуьмре къевез кланда.</p>	<p>13.1 Well, one, two day passing, he saw that, from the top balcony a beautiful girl is looking.</p> <p>13.2 Looking (carefully), that hand-waving-to-him-girl (it was), "Ahh" he said "from where might have come? The boy has brought her - you see?" he said "he is hiding (her) from me."</p> <p>13.3 "Look what wedding I might take to them this night."</p> <p>13.4 To his wife he said "Wife" he said "Today that boy I will kill - and the bride - the girl he brought." he said.</p> <p>13.5 "They deceived me" he said "girl bringing, himself keeping" he said "hiding from me" he said.</p> <p>13.6 "Look, what I might do to them this night."</p> <p>13.7 The mother is a mother, you know.</p> <p>13.8 Would she want her son to be killed?</p> <p>13.9 And she coming at night says to the son "Dear baby" she said "with girl run from here" she said "head removing, father wants to kill you."</p> <p>13.10 What means did the son have?</p> <p>13.11 He took this girl, taking some of their own things, and climbing up on their horse, they left. Going to the seaside, they need to run - (but) how to go, how to run? - they saw a boatman driving a boat.</p> <p>13.12 They called this boatman, said that "Dear brother, we" they said "taking out to the other side of the sea is needed from you."</p> <p>13.13 And the boatman this girl seeing, also fell in love on the girl.</p> <p>13.14 "Such a beautiful girl!" he said in thought "how saying" he said "shall I put this guy for her?"</p> <p>13.15 And he wants to fraud the guy.</p>
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Алцуарда.

«Гъаа» лугьуда, «и зи луйткведа» лугьуда «анжах са нефердивай физ жезва» лугьуда.

«Я руш ракъана кланда» лугьуда, «я вун фена кланда» лугьуда.

Гададини фикирда, «яраб» лугьуда «зун фейитла эвел руш инал тунa хъуй бубади атана руш чуйнуйх хъийида.

Руш ракъайтла гьикл жеда?»

Эхир пара фикирайдалай сонра руш ацукъарна луйткведа, ракъуда и руш луйткведаваз тива патахъ.

Руш фейила, ахпа вич физвайди я ман.

Рушни гьикл жеда хьи, фидай рекье луйтквечини ашукъ хъанвай эхир рушал, идани лугьуда хьи, «ваъ», лугьуда, «и руш гьи саягда хъайитлани, за жуваз тухвана кланда.»

Идани авудна руш алцуарна вичин кваллиз тухурла и руш катда идан гъиляй.

Катда има рукарай, валарай, цацарай, пекерни гуд-гуд хъана катдай рекье идал гьалтда яхцлур къулдур.

И къулдурризни акуна и руш ибуру къада и руш, акуна иер руш я, хуш, ида заз, ада заз, кклида къулдурар сад-садахъ галаз.

И руша лугьуда хьи, «я стхаяр, акл жедай туш» лугьуда, «куьн яхцлур нефер я», лугьуда, «зун сад я», лугьуда.

«Акл жеч хьи», лугьуда.

«Ша», лугьуда «чна» лугьуда «меслятдив ийин.

Эвел са чайр хъван, са ял ягъан, ахпа истирагъатайдалай сонра квекай сад за хъягда», лугьуда.

13.16 He **deceived** (them).

13.17 "Yes" he **said** "in my boat" he **said** "only one person going is being" he **said**.

13.18 "Or girl sending is needed" he **said** "or you going is needed" he **said**.

13.19 And the guy **thought** "I wonder" he **said** "I going before, putting the girl here - If I do (this), father coming, again will steal the girl."

13.20 "How will it be (if) I might send the girl?"

13.21 In the end, after lots of thoughts, the girl boarding in the boat, **sent** (her), this girl being in the boat, to the other side.

13.22 When the girl goes, then he himself is going, you know.

13.23 And for the girl it was that, in the going way, the boatman in the end falling in love with the girl. He **thought** "No" he **said** "This girl, however it might be, I brining to me, is needed."

13.24 And when he taking down, deceiving the girl, (and) taking her home, this girl **ran** from his arm.

13.25 She **ran** through forests, bushes, thorns, (and) clothes being torn to pieces, running on her way, (she) **met** forty robbers.

13.26 And these robbers seeing this girl, they **took** this girl. Seeing she is a beautiful girl, pleasant to them (was), the robbers **fought** with each other.

13.27 This girl **said** that "Oh brothers, it cannot be like that" she **said** "you are forty persons" she **said** "I am one" she **said**.

13.28 "It cannot be like that" she **said**.

13.29 "Come" she **said** "We" she **said** "let us advise."

13.30 "Before, let us drink a little tea, let us take a breath, then

<p>«Гъим заз хуш хъайитла, гъадаз зун фида.» Ибурни члалах жеда идал. Хъвада ибуру чаяр, хъвадайла и руша чинеба ибурун чайдиз бигъуш жедай са дарман вегъида. Ибуруни чаяр хъвана вири ахвариз фида. Ахвариз фейила и рушни экъеціна ибурувайни катда. Катна атана им са хуъруыз агакъда. И хуъруын къерехдани са кесиб са кума аваз хъана, дахма, квал. Рак гатана фад ахъайна тамашайтла, са къуызъуь къари баде ава.</p> <p>«Чан къари баде» лугъуда, «ваз руш кландани», лугъуда, «ваз са бала кландани», лугъуда? Идани «кланда чан руш» лугъуда, «ша» лугъуда, «зунни тек я» лугъуда. Идани «зун къенин йикъалай ви руш жеда, чан баде» лугъуда, «За ваз куъмекарда, за ваз крарда.» Къари бадедизни хвеши жеда, амукъда руш идан квале.</p>	<p>after a rest, from you I will choose one" she said. 13.31 "That one might being pleasant to me, I will go to him." 13.32 And they believed her. 13.33 They drank tea. When drinking, this girl secretly to their tea, unconscious-being-medicine threw. 13.34 And they drinking tea, all sleeping went. 13.35 When sleeping, and this girl going out, ran from them 13.36 Running, coming, she approached a village. 13.37 At the village's edge, there was a poor hut - a shack house. 13.38 Door knocking, quickly opening, to look, (there) is an old grandmother woman. 13.39 "Dear old woman grandmother" she said "Do you need a daughter" she said "Do you need a baby" she said. 13.40 And she "needed, dear girl" said "Come" she said "and I am alone" she said. 13.41 And she "I will be your girl from today on, dear grandmother" said "I will give help to you, I will do work for you." 13.42 And the old woman grandmother was happy. The girl remained at her house.</p>
<p>14 Са югъ, къве югъ, эхир са юкъуз и руша лугъуда хъи, «чан къари баде» лугъуда, «и куь вилаятра вуч хабабар ава» лугъуда? «Вун базарриз фенватла, са хабарар аватла, заз лагъ кван.» «Чан бала», лугъуда, «зун фин гъар юкъуз ийизва», лугъуда, «анжах чаз шумуд йис я» лугъуда «са пачагъ авачиз. Чаз са адет авайди я» лугъуда, «пачагъ хкъягъин патакай чна са</p>	<p>14.1 One day, two day, afterward, one day, this girl said that "dear old woman grandmother" she said "in your provinces, what news is there?" she said. 14.2 "(If) you might have gone to the market, some news might there be, please tell me." 14.3 "Dear baby" she said "I make a trip every day" she said "but for many years it is" she said "a king we are not having." 14.4 "We have a tradition" she said "for a king-choosing - we have</p>

<p>кард кѳуш авайди я, чаз ам ахѳайзавайди я, чна, гѳам ни кѳуьнел ацукѳайтла» лагѳана, «гѳадакай пачагѳ жезвайди я. Шумуд йис я», лагѳана «а кѳуш ахѳайиз чна садан кѳуьнелни ацукѳзавач» лагѳана.</p> <p>«Она гуьре» лагѳана, «чаз пачагѳни авач» лагѳана.</p> <p>Гила идани вушин вуч тийин? «бес» лагѳана «белке», лагѳана, «зун фин кван», лагѳана, «а базардал» лагѳана, «белке зи кѳуьнел ацукѳда а кѳуш.»</p> <p>«Вач ман чан руш», лагѳана, «тамаша ман.»</p> <p>Идани «аку», лагѳана, «за гададин пекер алукѳна фирвал я», лагѳана, «зун чир тахѳурай», лагѳана, «иниз атанвай чѳал.»</p> <p>«Зун», лагѳана, «фена инсанрин арада гѳатда, акван белке зи кѳисметда ава.»</p> <p>Фида и руш алукѳна гададин пекерни, кѳватѳ жеда мейдандал жемят, ахѳайда и кѳуш.</p> <p>Ахѳаюнмаз лув гана атана и кѳуш ацукѳда рушан кѳуьнел.</p> <p>Идан кѳуьнел ацукѳайла жемятдиз виридаз хвешѳ хѳана, «жаван пачагѳ хѳана» лагѳана вирида хкажна тухвана има, гада, руш я ман ам гила, гуя гада я, гададин пекер алай, им ѳцигда тахтунал «гѳа, чаз пачагѳ хѳанва.»</p>	<p>a falcon bird, we releasing it, (and) on whoever's shoulder it might sit" she said "that one is becoming king."</p> <p>14.5 "For many years it is" she said "we releasing that bird, and on someone's shoulder it isn't sitting" she said.</p> <p>14.6 "Therefore" she said "we have no king" she said.</p> <p>14.7 Now she what to do? and what not to do? She said "but maybe" she said "I shall go, please" she said "at that market" she said "maybe on my shoulder will sit, that bird."</p> <p>14.8 "Go, you know, dear girl" she said "look, you know"</p> <p>14.9 And she "look" said "I am about to go wearing boy's clothes" she said "I cannot let be knowledge" she said "coming-here-language"</p> <p>14.10 "I going" she said "will enter between people. Let me look, maybe it is my fate."</p> <p>14.11 This girl went, wearing boy's clothes, the group was in the public town square, (and they) released this bird.</p> <p>14.12 As soon as released, flying, coming, this bird sat on the girl's shoulder.</p> <p>14.13 When (it) sitting on her shoulder, everybody was happy. "The king is young" they said. All raising, bringing this boy - it's a girl, you know, now as if a boy is, boy's clothes being on - they put her on a throne, "We (now) have a king."</p>
<p>15 И рушни пачагѳ хѳана гила башламишда вичин пачагѳвализ. Са юкѳуз идан риклел хкведа вич кланзавай гада, вичикай катай йикѳал ибур кѳачагѳар, муькуь, ааа луьтквечи. Идазни кланда ибуруз жаза гун. Идани ѳверна вичин везирдиз лугѳуда хѳи, «ѳвера са рессам» лугѳуда, «зи шикил чѳугурай.» ѳверда рессамдиз.</p>	<p>15.1 And this girl being king, now started her own reign.</p> <p>15.2 One day, on her heart returned herself-wanting-boy, the herself-running-day, these robbers, (and) the other one, boatman.</p> <p>15.3 And she wanted a punishment-giving for them.</p> <p>15.4 And she calling her viziers, said that "Call and artist" she said "Let him draw my picture."</p> <p>15.5 (They) called an artist.</p>

<p>Рессамдин ида алулда хъсан рушан иер вичин пекер, дамахарна рессамдив вичин шикил члугваз гуда.</p> <p>«Твах и зи шикил», лугьуда, «а», лугьуда «анавай вилаятдин кьилел алай булахдин кьилел эциг» лугьуда.</p> <p>«Гьим булахдал атана», лугьуда, и шикил акуна агь аладрайтла, ам кьуна» лугьуда, «гъваш», лугьуда, «тIва кIвале кутур.»</p> <p>«Хъуй», лугьуда.</p> <p>Ибуруни тухуда и шикил эцигда булахдал.</p>	<p>15.6 For the artist she put on her own good beautiful girl's clothes, making proud, and gave (the order) for the artist to draw her picture.</p> <p>15.7 "Carry this picture of me" she said "it" she said "put at the head of the spring being at the head of the province" she said.</p> <p>15.8 "He coming to the spring" she said "this picture seeing, might moaning-longing doing, taking that one" she said "bring" she said "put in another house."</p> <p>15.9 "Let it be" they said.</p> <p>15.10 And they took this picture, put it on the spring.</p>
<p>16 Са югъ, кьве югъ, садни и буба авачирни гададин, гъагъа гададин буба къведа къван иниз, экъвез-экъвез и рушахъни гададихъ.</p> <p>Атана и вилаятдиз агакъна ама, булахдал алайла адаз аквада и руш.</p> <p>Идаз чир хъижеда руш.</p> <p>«Ооо», лугьуда, «им и заз кланзавай рушан шикил, им ина гьикл хъана авайди ятIа.»</p> <p>Идани гъиле гъат тавурди агь аладриз амукьда инал.</p> <p>Имани ван къведа и везирриз, къада и пачагъ, тухуда има, эцигда, са кIвале кутада.</p> <p>Са юкъуз, маса юкъуз къведа и яхцлур къулдур.</p> <p>Ибурузни и рушан шикил ахкуна ибуруни агь аладарда.</p> <p>«Гъагъ», лугьуда «и руш чи гъиляй акъатна икъван иер руш».</p>	<p>16.1 One, day, two day (after), was it not this boy's father? That boy's father arrived continuously searching so much after this girl and boy.</p> <p>16.2 When coming, this province reaching, still being at the spring, he saw this girl.</p> <p>16.3 Knowledge to him did again (of) the girl.</p> <p>16.4 "Oooh" he said "this wanting-girl's-picture - how might it be being here?"</p> <p>16.5 And (because) he didn't get her hand, he remained here, moaning-longing.</p> <p>16.6 And this voice arrived to these viziers, (they) caught this king, took this one, put in a house, kept.</p> <p>16.7 One day, another day, these forty robbers arrived.</p> <p>16.8 They also this girl's picture seeing, they moaning-longed.</p> <p>16.9 "Yes" they said "This girl went out from our arm - such a beautiful girl"</p>

<p>Ибуру и яхцур амни кьуна кьулдурни, ибурни кутада са квалеле.</p> <p>Ахпа къведа луйткве гьалзавай гада, во, идаз акуртла, имни вичиз кланзавай руш тир, гваз катай вичи.</p> <p>«Им гьинвайда, и руш гьинвайди я,» идани агь аладарда руш гьиле гьат тавурди.</p> <p>И луйтквечини кьуна гухуда ибуру кутада квалеле.</p> <p>Эхирни-эхир нянин са бере тир, асул и руш кланзавай гада къведа иниз, воо, идаз акуртла, гьа вичин руш.</p> <p>Идани лугьуда «ааа, и руш», лугьуда «инриз гьикл акъатнатла» лугьуда.</p> <p>Агь аладарна ида, «агь зи гьилей акъатна хьи и руш», лугьузвай.</p> <p>И арада къада имни гухуда и квалелиз.</p> <p>Ибур вири кутуна квалеле, хабар гуда хьи везирди пачагь рушаз, «бес чна абур вири кьунва.»</p> <p>«Пака», лугьуда, «эвера мейдандал инсанриз, за абуруз виридаз» лугьуда, «са жаза гурвал я.»</p>	<p>16.10 And this forty robbers taking, they put (them) at a house.</p> <p>16.11 Then arrived the boat driving guy- well, that he might look, and he was wanting the girl, with his running.</p> <p>16.12 "Where is she? Where is this girl?" He also moaning-longed (because) he didn't get her hand.</p> <p>16.13 This boatman also taking, they took, put in the house.</p> <p>16.14 Finally, it was evening one time, actually this girl-wanting-boy arrived here - well, that he might look for his own girl.</p> <p>16.15 He also said "ahh, this girl" he said "how might appeared here?" he said.</p> <p>16.16 He moaning-longing did, "Ahh that this girl from my arm went out" he says.</p> <p>16.17 At this moment, (they) caught and took him to this house.</p> <p>16.18 These all putting at the house, the vizier gave news to the girl-king "But we have taken them all"</p> <p>16.19 "In a while" she said "call the people to the town square. I to them all" she said "am about to give a punishment."</p>
<p>17 Кватіна инсанар эверда вири.</p> <p>«чан инсанар», лугьуда, хтунда вичин гададин пармакни, «зун», лугьуда, «асул руш я» лугьуда, «зи кьилел ихьтин гьадисе атайди» лугьуда.</p> <p>Вичин кьилел атай гьадисени ахъайда.</p> <p>«Ибурни», лугьуда, «за жазаландырмиширвал я исятда.</p> <p>Гъваш», лугьуда, «гададин буба, им», лугьуда, «а анин вилаятдин пачагь я», лугьуда.</p>	<p>17.1 Gathering, the people were all called.</p> <p>17.2 "Dear people" she said, (she) took off her boy's hat "I" she said "actually am a girl" she said "coming on my head such a happening (was)" she said.</p> <p>17.3 And this happening coming on her head she told.</p> <p>17.4 "And they" she said "I am about to pronounce punishment (on) now."</p> <p>17.5 "Bring" she said "the boy's father. He" she said "is the king of that province" she said.</p>

«Ида зун», **лугьуда**, «жаван вичин гададин гъилляй къакъудна вичиз къачузвай чкадал, чун рекьидай чкадал, чун катайди я»

лугьуда.

«Им» **лагъана**, «идаз лафирдилайти члехи жаза гана кланзава» **лагъана**.

«Акъадра балкландал», **лагъана**, «терсина, ягъ цай, ахъая», **лагъана** «инай агъуз».

Акъадарда и пачагъ ибуру ламрал, балкландал **акъадарда**, ламрал **акъадарда** яда, цайни **ахъайда**, им гъи хуьрей агъуз.

Куз-куз **фида** има.

«гъваш гила а яхцур къулдур», **лугьуда**, «гъабурузни жаза авайди я.»

«Ибурни», лугьуда «къил атун лазим я ибурун», **лугьуда**.

«Ибуру», **лагъана**, «яхцурни», **лагъана** «гъалтна», **лагъана**, «са руш аялдал», **лагъана**, «зун», **лагъана**, «ида заз, ада заз», **лагъана**, «саклани», **лагъана**, «зун катнавайди я ибурун гъилляй гужна.

Ибурузни жаза це» **лагъана**.

«Атлутл ибурун къилер» **лагъана**.

Атлуз **гана** ибурун къилерни.

«Гъа и луьтквечидини», **лагъана**, «идани», **лагъана** «зун», **лагъана**, «гададивай къакъудна», **лагъана**, «алцурарна вичин кваллиз тухузвай тир.

Идазни це жаза» **лагъана**.

Гъадазни жаза гуз **гана**.

Эверна ахпа муькуь гададиз «Гъа и гада», **лагъана** «асул заз кланзавай гада я», **лагъана**.

«Им зи адахлу я» **лагъана**.

17.6 "He, me" she **said** "from his own young boy's arm removed, for him taking instead of, killing us instead of, we running are" she **said**.

17.7 "He" she **said** "punishment of dying by the sword to him giving, is needed." she **said**

17.8 "Mount (him) on horse" she **said** "backwards, strike fire, send (him) down away from here."

17.9 They **mounted** this king on donkey, on horse **mounted**, or on donkey **mounted**, and fire **released**, out of this village he (went) down.

17.10 Burning he **went**.

17.11 "Bring now those forty robbers" she **said** "to them also is being punishment."

17.12 "And they" she **said** "a head-cutting must be for them" she **said**.

17.13 "They" she **said** "forty, meeting" she **said** "one baby girl" she **said** "me" she **said** "he to me, he to me" **said** "in no way" **said** "I am hardly running from their arm."

17.14 "(I) order punishment for them also" she **said**.

17.15 "Cut their heads" she **said**

17.16 And she **gave (the order)** to cut their heads.

17.17 "Yes, this boatman also" she **said** "he also" she **said** "me" she **said** "removed me from the guy" she **said** "deceiving, was taking to his home."

17.18 "(I) order punishment for him too" she **said**.

17.19 They **gave** punishment to him too.

17.20 Then calling the other guy "Yes, this boy" she **said** "is actually my-wanting-boy" she **said**.

17.21 "This is my betrothed." she **said**.

	<p>«Зун идаз фена кланзавай тир», лагъана, «ибурун гъилляй», лагъана, «чун гъарад саниз къакъатна», лагъана. «Эвера», лагъана, «и гада къенин къалай жеда пачагъ, зунни адан свас.» Ийида мехъерар ибуру, яхцлур югъ, яхцлур йиф. Авуна мехъерар гада ийида ибуру пачагъ, рушни жеда идан паб.</p>	<p>17.22 "I was going to him, was wanting" she said "from their arm" she said "we because of everybody separated" she said. 17.23 "Call this guy." she said "From today on he will be king, and me, his wife." 17.24 They did a wedding, forty days, forty nights. 17.25 Wedding making, the boy they did king, the girl was his wife.</p>
18	<p>Яшамишда ибур са гъазим чувал. Ахпа и гадади лугъуда хъи, «бес гила вири хъанва», лугъуда, «бубадини жаза къачуна, муькуьбуруни жаза къачуна, бес,» лагъана, «муькуь виляятда зи дидени ама» лагъана, «пуд стхани ама, къве стхани ама» лагъана. «Бес чун гъабурун патав хъфена кланда, Ша кватл хъана хъфин чун.» Кватл хъана рушни гада, экъечина хъфида чпин виляятдиз, чпин дидедин патав, гъагъана пачагъвалда, стхаярни дидени шад хуъррем яшамишда.</p>	<p>18.1 These lived a lot of time. 18.2 Then, this boy said that "But now all happened" he said "Father punishment took, others punishment took, but" said "my mother is still in the other province." he said "and three brothers are still - and two brothers are still." he said. 18.3 "But we returning to them is needed. Come, a group being, let's go back." 18.4 A group being, girl and guy, going out, they left for their own province, to their own mother's (place), there reigned. Brothers and mother lived happy-merry.</p>
19	Гъуьлун рушакайни хъана и гададиз са свас.	19 And the girl from the sea became to this guy a wife.
20	Икл хъана куьтягъ хъана чан и махни.	20 This folk-tale has a finishing like this, dear.

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