



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences  
Department of English Linguistics

**CODESWITCHING BETWEEN AZERI AND PERSIAN:  
SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND STRUCTURAL ASPECTS**

Navid MOHAMMADPOUR TALAEI

Ph.D. Dissertation

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## ÖZET

MOHAMMADPOUR TALAEI, Navid. *Azerice ve Farsça Arasında Düzenek Değişirme: Toplumdilbilimsel ve Yapısal Özellikler*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2020.

Bu çalışma, İran'ın Tebriz şehrinde ikidilli konuşucular tarafından Azerice ve Farsça arasında meydana gelen ve bir dil etkileşimi olgusu olan düzenek değişimine (İng. codeswitching) ışık tutmaya çalışan bir girişimdir. Bu amaçla çalışmada iki grup veri toplanmıştır. İlk grupta, bakkal, kuyumcu, yedek parçacı, kuaför, üniversite kampüsü, taksi, vb. gibi çeşitli durumlarda ve yerlerde dokuz saatlik doğal dil verisinin kaydedilmesiyle oluşturulan veri bulunmaktadır. İkinci veri grubunda ise, bir internet sitesi tarafından İran'ın Tebriz kenti yetkilileriyle gerçekleştirilmiş yedi televizyon röportajı bulunmaktadır.

Kaydedilen veriler el ile olarak çeviriyazıya aktarılmış ve kodlanmıştır. Verilerin çözümlenmesi ise yapısal ve toplumdilbilimsel olarak iki aşamada gerçekleştirilmiştir. Yapısal analizde, Myers-Scotton'un (1993a, 1993c) *Matrix Language Frame* Modeli ve Myers-Scotton'ın ve Jakes'in (2000) *4M* Modeli kullanılmıştır. Verilerin toplumdilbilimsel analizi için ise Myers-Scotton'un (1993c) *Markedness* Modeli kullanılmıştır.

Araştırmada düzenek değişiminin TV röportajlarında, doğal gerçekleşen konuşmalardan çok daha sık meydana geldiği bulgulanmıştır. Toplumdilbilimsel çözümlene ise televizyon röportajlarında düzenek değişirmenin *belirtisiz* (İng. unmarked) olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bununla birlikte, doğal gerçekleşen konuşmalarda kurum adları gibi özel ad içeren ad tümcelerinin belirtisiz düzenek değişirme görünümüne sahip olduğu bulgulanmıştır.

*Temel Dil* (Matrix Language) ve *Yerleşik Dil* (Embedded Language) unsurlarına sahip tüm bileşenlere bakıldığında, Azericenin biçim-sözdizimsel çerçeveyi sağlayan dil, Farsçanın ise yerleşik dil olduğu görülmüştür. Düzenek değişirme içeren tümcelere bakıldığında, Farsça adların her iki veri grubunda da en yüksek tekrarlanma sayısına sahip

olduđu bulgulanmıřtır. alıřmada, diđer en y¼ksek tekrara sahip olan s¼zc¼k t¼r¼n¼n ise sıfatlar olduđu g¼r¼lm¼řt¼r.

Farsa s¼zc¼klerin Azerice ekler ile ekimlenme sıklıđına bakıldıđında, dođal gerekleřen konuřmalarda Azerice iyelik eklerinin diđer eklerinden daha sık kullanıldıđı g¼r¼lm¼řt¼r. Televizyon r¼portajı verisinde, Azerice kiři belirteleri diđer Azerice eklerden daha sık gerekleřtiđi ve Azeri ara belirtelerinin diđer eklerden daha az kullanıldıđı bulgulanmıřtır.

Anahtar S¼zc¼kler: Dil etkileřimi, D¼zenek deđiřtirme, MLF, Markedness Modeli

## ABSTRACT

MOHAMMADPOUR TALAEI, Navid. *Codeswitching Between Azeri and Persian: Sociolinguistic and Structural Aspects*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara, 2020.

The present study is an attempt to shed light on the language contact phenomenon viz. codeswitching occurring between Azeri and Persian by the bilingual speakers of these languages in the context of Tabriz, Iran. To this end, two sets of data were collected. In the first set, approximately 9 hours of naturally occurring conversations were audio recorded in various situations and places, such as a grocery store, a jewelry store, a spare parts shop, a hair salon, university campus, taxi, etc. For the second set of data, 7 video clips of TV interviews with the governmental authorities of Tabriz, Iran, was retrieved from a video streaming website.

The recorded data were manually transcribed and codified. Analysis of the data was carried out at two stages, sociolinguistic analysis and structural analysis. For the purpose of structural analysis, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame Model and Myers-Scotton and Jakes's (2000) 4M Model were used. For the sociolinguistic analysis of the data, Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model was used.

Findings of the research showed that, codeswitching occurred much more frequently in the TV interviews. Sociolinguistic analysis of the data also revealed that all of the codeswitching in the TV interviews were unmarked. Nevertheless, in the naturally occurring conversations, the noun phrases (NPs) that included proper nouns such as organization names, etc. were the "unmarked choices".

In all of the constituents with "Matrix Language" and "Embedded Language" elements, Azeri proved to be the Matrix Language, providing the morphosyntactic frame for the constituent, and Persian was the Embedded Language. In the codeswitched sentences, Persian nouns had the highest number of occurrence in both data sets. There were Persian adjectives occurred in the data which were the second highest occurring Embedded Language elements among others.

Regarding the frequency of the Matrix Language (Azeri) suffixes that inflected with the Embedded Language (Persian) elements, in the naturally occurring conversations, Azeri possessive suffixes occurred more frequently than other suffixes. In the TV interviews, Azeri person markers occurred more frequently than other ML suffixes and the Azeri instrumental markers were used less than other suffixes.

**Key Words:** Language contact, Codeswitching, MLF, Markedness Model

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

ABL	ablative case
ASP	aspect
ACC	accusative case
ADJ	adjective/adjectival/adjectivizer
CAUS	causative
CL	clitic
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copular
CS	codeswitching
DAT	dative case
DUR	durative prefix
EL	Embedded Language
EMPH	emphatic
ENCL	enclitic
EZ	ezafe
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
GM	generalizing modality
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INTER	interrogative
INTJ	interjection

LOC	locative case
ML	Matrix Language
N.DER	noun/nominal deriving suffix
NEG	negative
NPAST	non past
OBL	obligation
OM	object marker
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PSB	possibility
PAST	past tense
Q	question maker
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
VN	verbal noun maker

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. THE PRELIMINARIES: LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

In multiethnic and multilingual regions where speakers of diverse languages or even diverse dialects of the same language interact with each other, various social and linguistic phenomena tend to occur. Linguistically, one of the languages in contact may transfer some of its features to the other one or vice versa. With a historical and more traditional perspective, the interaction between the languages, or in more accurate terms ‘contact linguistics’ has been the matter of interest since the nineteenth century (Nelde, 1998). With the shift of attention to the field research of an empirical nature in the early fifties, particularly in the United States, and in the light of the works of scholars like Weinreich, Fishman and Labov, the field of ‘contact linguistics’ was once again revived and language contact phenomena viz. diglossia, pidgins, creoles, language shift and codeswitching (CS), to name a few, were scrutinized by the scholars.

As an instance, in the context of diglossia studies, Fishman’s concept of diglossia replaced the view that bilingualism has a pedagogical-historical significance, and more attention was paid to the “socio-politically motivated difficulties of dialect speakers, socially underprivileged city dwellers, and mono- or multilingual in language conflict zones who were handicapped in their chances for professional advancement” (Nelde, 1998, p. 285).

Schiffman (1998) describes diglossic languages and diglossic language situations

...as consisting of two (or more) varieties that coexist in a speech community; the domains of linguistic behavior are parceled out in a kind of complementary distribution. These domains are usually ranked in a kind of hierarchy, from highly valued (H) to less valued (L); when the two varieties are recognized (or tacitly accepted) as genetically related, the H domains are

usually the reserve of the more conservative form of the language, which is usually the literary dialect if there is a written form (p. 205).

Whereas the H norm dominates the “formal” domains such as public speaking, religious texts and practice, education, and other prestigious kinds of usage; “the L norm is used for informal conversation, jokes, the street and the market, the telephone, and any other domains (e.g., letter writing, cinema, television) not reserved for the H norm” (Schiffman, 1998, p. 205).

In diglossic situations where two different linguistic codes are involved (sometimes referred to as “extended” diglossia) the code dominating the H domains has the greater international prestige or is the language of the local power elite or the dominant religious community and/or its priesthood. In such cases the H-variety language is clearly the language of the more powerful section of the society.

In the context of ‘contact linguistics’, creole and pidgin languages, which are two of the language contact phenomena, also gained interest to be studied as full-fledged means of communication in the fifties.

According to Rickford and McWhorter (1998), while a pidgin

...is used for limited communication between speakers of two or more languages who have repeated or extended contacts with each other, for instance, through trade, enslavement, or migration... [a] creole, in the classical sense of Hall (1966), is a pidgin that has acquired native speakers, usually, the descendants of pidgin speakers who grow up using the pidgin as their first language (p. 238).

There are some distinguishing factors between pidgins and creoles: a pidgin mixes the elements of the native languages of its users and is usually simpler than the native languages, since it has “fewer words, less morphology, and a more restricted range of

phonological and syntactic options” (Rickford, 1992, p. 224). However, creoles typically have a larger vocabulary and more complicated grammatical resources than pidgins.

Another language contact phenomenon that gained attention is the phenomenon of ‘language shift’ which has been considered under a number of labels; some studies address the issue under the specific label of “language death” or sometimes “language demise,” but much of the relevant literature can be found under the labels of “language drift,” “language shift,” or “language replacement.”

Grinevald Craig (1998) maintains that “language death refers to the complete disappearance of a language. Only in extreme cases will the death of a language be the result of the sudden death of a whole community of speakers. More often, death comes by in a situation of languages in contact and shifting bilingualism” (p. 257). Grinevald Craig (ibid) differentiates between the process of progressive language death with the process of historical linguistic change, and states that they differ in the speed and the scope of the change, and ultimately in their final outcomes. She gives Latin as an example of this difference in which she argues that Latin is not a dead language, “because it did not disappear but rather changed enough to be considered to have given rise to new languages” (p. 257). However, hundreds of languages that have vanished in the Americas since colonization are instances of the dead languages.

The language contact phenomenon which is the main scope of the present study is the codeswitching in which bilingual or multilingual speakers utilize various linguistic units from two or more languages in a discourse or a single utterance (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b, 2006).

The early studies focusing on CS mainly concentrated on the social functions of the switching between two languages. For instance, researchers like Blom and Gumperz (1972), and Scotton and Ury (1977), attempted to find answers for the question of “what is the main reason for the speakers to engage in CS?”, which often “received the answer that CS is a strategy to influence interpersonal relations” (Myers-Scotton, 1998, p. 18).

Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1984), having the same question in mind, considered CS as “contextualization cue”, a discourse device that is used to signal and interpret speaker intentions. Myers-Scotton (1998) argues that most of the studies that concentrated on the social functions of CS were on a micro-level, nevertheless, they assumed that “the interpersonal usage patterns in CS reflect group values and norms associated with the varieties in a community’s repertoire” (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*, p. 218). On the other hand, studies concerning CS on the macro-level that highlight the use of CS with the group identities are less in number. Myers-Scotton (*ibid*), provides two possible reasons for this case and attributes it to the “perceived difficulties in quantifying the use of CS in any meaningful way, plus a distrust of self-reports on CS use” (p. 218). A more important reason, according to her, is that most of the researchers conducting studies on CS on interpersonal level do not regard the quantified study of social identity features of “who uses what linguistic varieties where and when and to whom” Myers-Scotton (1998) as the explanatory causes for utilizing CS interpersonally.

A shift to characterizing the morphosyntactic constraints on intersentential switching occurred in 1980’s and the researchers focused on the intrasentential CS. They mainly tried to find where in the sentence CS can happen. While the morphosyntactic constraints were scrutinized widely by the researchers, the phonology of CS seems to be attended to in few studies.

Myers-Scotton (1998) maintains that past researchers identified two types of CS: intrasentential and intersentential. The basis for this distinction lied in the fact that whether CS occurred within the boundaries of the sentence. However, many current structural theories of CS argue that the CP (complement phrase) or the maximal projection could be the relevant unit of analysis, due to the fact that a sentence in a given discourse may contain one or more CPs.

From the sociolinguistic perspective, different communities can have different CS patterning options. In various communities, speakers can have a subjective preference which can show differences based upon the salience of the relevant socio/psycholinguistic factors in that community. Regarding the patterning options in intersentential or

intrasentential CS, Myers-Scotton (1998) discusses the prominence of one language over the other participating language in at least three ways:

First, the Markedness Model ... claims that, for any interaction type and the participants involved, and among available linguistic varieties, there is an “unmarked choice.” While there is a continuum of markedness between choices for any given interaction type in a community, one (or more) choice(s) is more unmarked than others, its status demonstrable by frequency. Discourses including CS are no different; that is, they also show an “unmarked choice.” ...Second, the same social conditions promote CS patterning such that switching is most often from one language to the other and not in the other direction...Third, although this aspect of prominence has not been studied systematically, it seems that the unmarked choice is the language setting various aspects of the discourse frame, e.g., how narratives or arguments are organized. In communities where CS itself is the main medium of in-group conversation, CS itself – rather than either language alone – is the unmarked choice (pp. 231-232).

Concentrating on the ongoing literature on the CS as a widespread language phenomenon in bilingual communities reveals the fact that more scholars, sociolinguists in particular, are dealing with this phenomenon. Studies carried out by Gumperz (1972), Scotton and Ury (1977), Poplack et al. (1988), Zuercher (2009), Hakimian and Lotfi (2015), and Rahimi and Dabaghi (2013) are only a few to name and more related literature will be reviewed in the upcoming chapters. Based on this stance, the present study is an attempt to shed more light on the issue of CS in the context of Iran, where Persian and Azeri, among other languages spoken in Iran, are in contact.

## **1.2. INTRODUCING THE STUDY**

### **1.2.1. Reasons for and the Purposes of the Study**

Focusing on Iran as a multilingual and multiethnic country where diverse ethnic groups live and diverse languages are spoken, it is likely that, at least, one of the language contact phenomena mentioned above happens. In this regard, the present study is an attempt to look into CS phenomenon that tends to occur between Azeri and Persian in the context of Iran.

Carrying out this research includes some reasons and purposes. Based on the primary and actual observations of the author as the native speaker of both Azeri and Persian and also as a linguist, the CS that occurs between Azeri and Persian deserves a more thorough scrutiny and scientific analysis. This not only serves to quench a scientific curiosity, but is also hoped to contribute to the flourishing field of sociolinguistics in general and CS studies and Turkic languages studies in particular.

Another motivation for conducting such a research lies in the fact that the above-mentioned language contact phenomena, i.e. CS between Azeri and Persian has not comprehensively been attended to by the linguists/sociolinguists, which in turn creates a gap in the literature. As it will be dealt with in the second chapter, the literature review reveals that there are only few studies (e.g. Alavi, et.al. (2013); Banishoraka (2005), etc.) dealing with the CS between Azeri and Persian with a relatively narrow scope. Nevertheless, the present study aims to scrutinize the matter with a broader and more extensive scope with a relatively comprehensive data to shed light on the nature of the sociolinguistic processes involved in the CS between these two languages. Moreover, this research aims at finding out whether the proposed theoretical framework (i.e. Matrix Language Frame Model proposed by Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993c) applies to this particular context.

In spite of the fact that CS between various languages illustrates universal patterns, exceptions, nonetheless, do also tend to occur in these patterns. Based on this stance, the present study is also an attempt to uncover what universal and/or exceptional morpho-lexical patterns the CS between Azeri and Persian yields. In this regard, the findings of this study could be beneficial in validating the generalizability and defining the exceptions of these hypotheses and models.

Along with the above-mentioned purposes that the present study aims to fulfill, there are some specific purposes. One of these purposes is to determine the possible role of the register in CS occurrence. To this end, a cross register analysis of the CS is aimed at in this study. In other words, determining whether the CS between Azeri and Persian occurs more in the formal settings or informal settings is another purpose of this study. To this end, as it will be explained in “CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY” of this dissertation, two sets of data viz. naturally occurring conversations and TV interviews were collected and analyzed.

This research also aims at determining the socio-pragmatic motivations of the individuals in CS according to the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b, 1993c). Based on this model, which is also going to be addressed in more details in the following chapters, the “Unmarked Choices” are the “expected” choices, regarding the code use in a given discourse, however, the “Marked Choices” are the “unexpected” ones. Thus, the use of Persian lexical items or even sentences in a given discourse, could be indicative of a socio-pragmatic motivation which is going to be analyzed and explained in this study.

This study also aims at investigating the role of the participating languages in the code-switched sentences. That is, which language (Azeri or Persian) is the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language in this context, based on the Matrix Language Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993c). According to this model, which is going to be explained in more details in the upcoming chapters, in the Mixed Constituents (code-switched sentences), the language that provides the morphosyntactic structure of a clause is called the Matrix Language and the language that is inserted in the Matrix Language is called the Embedded Language.

Finally, the research aims to shed light on the frequency of the Persian lexical and/or morphological categories that occur and are used in the Mixed Constituents. According to Myers-Scotton (1993a), nouns are the most frequently used lexical categories in most of the CS cases of the diverse languages. This study, too, is going to determine whether this claim applies to the CS between Azeri and Persian.



### **1.2.2. Significance of the Study**

Considering some assumptions constitutes the underlying significance of the present study. Firstly, this study attempts to accentuate and illustrate the possible patterns of CS between two languages (i.e. Persian and Azeri) that belong to different typological and genetic linguistic families, and compare these typological features within the scope of the Matrix Language Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993c). This, in turn, is hoped to contribute to this model and its universality aspect. Likewise, the sociolinguistic aspect of this research scrutinizes the possible socio-pragmatic features and the practices of the CS between Persian, which is the official language in Iran, and Azeri. The findings of this study in this perspective could contribute to the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1993c). Moreover, this study might be of assistance in providing a model for the similar future studies.

Secondly, investigating the literature related to the CS studies reveals that, unlike the CS studies outside the context of Iran, which are in abundance, there are a few CS studies between the languages spoken in Iran (e.g. Persian and Arabic) in general. In a similar vein, there are very few studies particularly focusing on CS between Persian and Azeri in the context of Iran, mostly with a somewhat different scope. This in turn creates a gap in the literature, and this study gains significance in contributing to fulfilling this gap.

### **1.2.3. Research Questions**

Given the fact that bilingual Azeri-Persian speakers in Tabriz, Iran, codeswitch in their conversations, in this study, two aspects (viz. sociolinguistic aspect and structural aspect) of the CS phenomenon between the Azeri and Persian languages are investigated.

On this stance, the research questions organized under two basic categories are as follows:

1. Considering the sociolinguistic aspect of the study;

- a) What is the general pattern of CS practices occurring in formal and informal situations and settings?
- b) On the basis of the “Markedness Model” proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b, 1993c), do the CS forms in formal and informal situations fall into the “Marked Choices” or “Unmarked Choices” categories?

2. Considering the structural aspect of the study;

- c) On the basis of the relevant criteria provided by the “Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b), how can Azeri and Persian be identified as the “Matrix Language” (ML) and the “Embedded Language” (EL)?
- d) What is the frequency of the lexical and morphological category or categories in the codeswitched clauses (nouns, verbs, etc.)?
- e) Which ML suffixes are inflected with the EL elements and what is their frequency of occurrence?

#### **1.2.4. Boundaries and the Limitations of the Research**

In order to conduct the research and to investigate the nature of the contact phenomenon between Azeri and Persian in Iran in a more comprehensive fashion which would encompass both formal and informal registers of the Azeri language, two sets of data were required. The first set of the data which addresses the informal register of Azeri, included the naturally occurring conversations of the Azeri speakers who reside in Tabriz, Iran. Although there are other Azeri speaking cities in Iran, such as Urmia, Zanjan, or Ardebil, in this study the Tabrizi dialect was focused upon, since it is considered to be more prestigious dialect than others (Dehghani, 2000). Moreover, Tabriz is the most populated Azeri speaking city among others in Iran. To this end, approximately, 9 hours of audio recording from 44 adult Azeri speaking individuals in various situations and contexts such as a grocery store, a jewelry store, a spare parts shop. etc was carried out.

The second set of data that addresses the formal register of Azeri, included 7 formal TV interviews with the governmental authorities. These TV interview clips, which were retrieved from the video streaming website called “Aparat”, include topics such as governmental authorities’ personal experiences regarding their position, the challenges of working in the position, the progress they have made so far in the position, etc. In spite of the fact that the data for the formal register of Azeri could be collected from various formal situations and contexts such as courts of law, formal government meetings, etc., however, due to the lack of feasibility of recording in these situations, formal TV interviews were selected as the source of formal register in the Azeri language. The detailed explanation of the methods of data collection and analysis will be provided in “CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY”.

### **1.3. AN OVERVIEW OF THE PERSIAN AND AZERI LANGUAGES IN IRAN**

Located in the Middle East, Iran is a multiethnic country with rich cultural and historical heritage, which is home to various ethnic groups, major ones of which are Persian, Azeri, Kurd, Lur, Baloch, Arab, Turkman and Turkic tribes. According to Ethnologue, n.d., there are more than 75 languages spoken in Iran, among which Persian or Farsi (Persian will be used in this study), Azeri, Kurdish, Gilaki and Mazandarani, Luri, Balochi, and Arabic are the major ones. Persian is the official language in the country and all formal correspondences and communications (those involving government) are carried out in Persian, and it is the medium of formal education including all levels of education. Figure 1. illustrates the allocation of major languages spoken in Iran:



*Figure 1.* The allocation of major languages spoken in Iran (retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/For-what-reasons-is-Farsi-the-only-official-language-of-Iran-when-40-of-the-Iranian-population-are-non-Persians>)

Regarding Clyne's (1998) definition of the terms 'multilingual and de facto multilingual nation', since there is only one official language in the country, Iran is considered to be an officially monolingual and a 'de facto' multilingual nation.

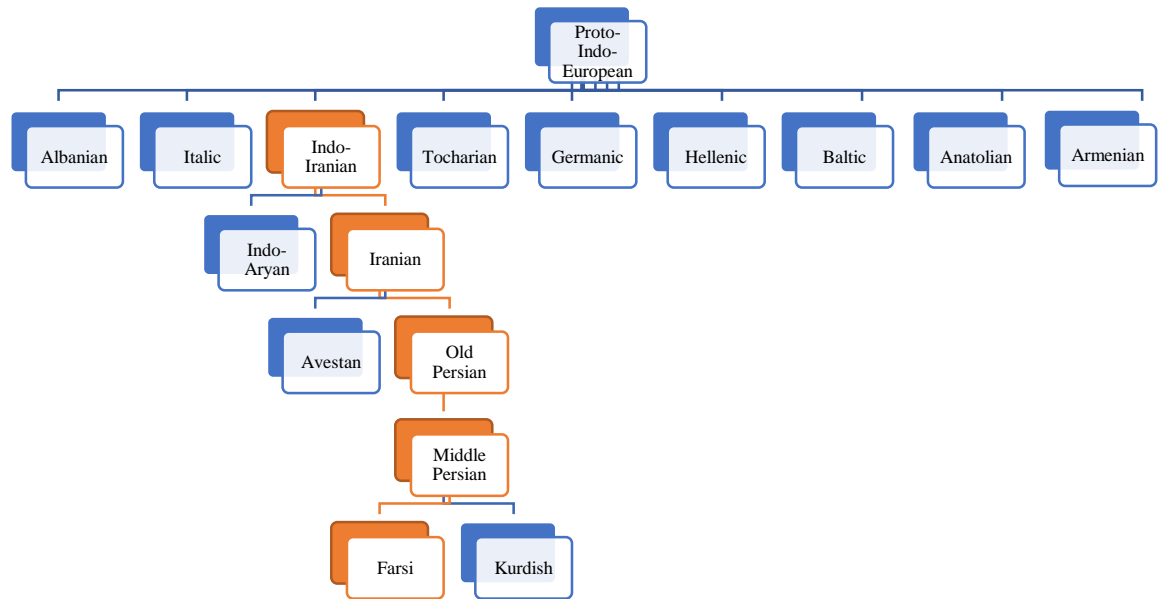
The estimated population of Iran in 2017, according to the Statistical Center of Iran (2017), is about 80 million people, 8.432 million of who live in Tehran, the capital city. According to Crystal (1997), Azeri has more speakers than the other non-Persian languages in Iran. There are more than 15 million Azeri speakers in Iran residing mostly in the northwest and some central parts of the country (Ethnologue, n.d.), whose mother tongue is Azeri and the second language is Persian which is learned through formal education.

Tabriz, the most major city where Azeri people inhabit, is the home to 1.572 million people and is located in the northwest of the country. However, Tabriz is not the only city in which Azeris reside. Urmia, Zanzan, Ardebil, and some parts of Hamedan, are the cities in which Azeri people form the major part of the population.

In the following sections, an overview of the Persian and Azeri languages spoken in Iran will be provided.

### **1.3.1. The status of Persian as the official language in Iran and a brief introduction to its linguistic features**

Persian, also called Farsi, is the official language of Iran and has been the dominant language of the Iranian lands and the regions in the vicinity for over a millennium. From the tenth century onward, it was the language of literary culture, as well as the lingua franca, in large parts of West, South and Central Asia until the mid-nineteenth century (Windfuhr, 2009). It is a member of the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian languages (Payne, 2009) and has two varieties viz. Dari and Tajik, which are the official languages in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, respectively. According to Beeman (2010), Persian is seen by all speech communities as a prestige standard, and Tajik and Dari as colloquial forms. Genetic relationship and the typological classification of Persian is schematically shown below in Figure 2 based on Comrie (2009):



*Figure 2.* Genetic relationship and the typological classification of Persian

Persian began as result of the political domination in Iranian lands by the Persian-speaking dynasties first the Achaemenids (c. 558–330 BCE), and then the Sasanids (224–651 CE), etc. (Windfuhr, 2009). The Modern Persian, however, emerged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and spread throughout the great Iranian empires of the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries in Bukhara (present-day Uzbekistan). The Modern Persian spoken in the areas mentioned above eventually separated from each other during the period of European colonization, and the establishment of the nation-state system (Beeman, 2010).

Beeman (2010), argues that the Modern Iranian Persian was influenced by Azerbaijani Turkish through the Qajar court, and by contact with Western European languages, notably French, and in the post-World War II period by English.

Having dealt with the brief history and origin of Persian, we can now deal with the linguistic features of this language. It should be noted, however, that since in the present study, the phonological influences of the languages in contact i.e. Persian and Azeri on each other was not taken into consideration, in discussing the linguistic features of the languages in question, their phonological features will not be discussed. Moreover, due

to the nature of this study, which does not require an in depth and thorough explanation of the linguistic features of the languages, only the fundamental explanation will be provided here.

Regarding the morphology of Persian, Windfuhr (2009) argues that:

...[u]nlike East Iranian Pashto and many smaller dialects, it has almost completely lost the inherited synthetic nominal and verbal inflection and their inflectional classes, and thus the inflectional distinction of case, number and gender as well as of aspect, mood and tense, and voice. This process began already in late Old Persian times. Three persons in singular and plural are, however, still distinguished in pronouns and personal endings” (p. 451).

Endings in Persian include present stems *-am*, *-i*, *-ad*, for the first, second and third person singular, respectively, and *-im*, *-id*, *-and*, for the first, second and third person plurals, respectively. As for the imperatives, the only ending is *-id* for the second person plural. The past stem includes *-am*, *-i*, *-Ø*; for the first, second and third person singular, respectively, and *-im*, *-id*, *-and*, for the first, second and third person plural, respectively. Perfect stem/Copula encompass *-am*, *-i*, *ast*, for the first, second and third person singular, respectively, and *-im*, *-id*, *-and*, for the first, second and third person plural, respectively. Persian also possesses an existential verb: *hast-am*, *hast-i*, *hast-Ø*, for the first, second and third person singular, respectively, and *hast-im*, *hast-id*, *hast-and*, for the first, second and third person plural, respectively.

Persian independent pronouns are *man* “I”, *to* “you”, *u* “he/she”, *ma* “we”, *šoma* “you”, *išan* “they” and the suffixed pronouns include *-am*, *-at*, *-aš*, for the first, second and third person singular, respectively, and *-eman*, *-etan*, *-ešan*, for the first, second and third person plural, respectively.

Demonstratives in Persian include *an* “that”, and *in* “this” as the singular demonstratives, and *an-ha* “those” and *in-ha* “these” as the plural demonstratives. The plural markers in

Persian include *-ha* and *-an*, e.g. *bozorg-an* “the elder (people), leaders”, *ketab-ha* “books”.

According to Windfuhr (2009), “Persian is an SOV language. Interrogatives do not trigger inversions. Subjects are unmarked, indirect objects are marked by the preposition *be*, and direct objects by the postposition *ra* if specific. Adverbial phrases are marked by the prepositions, including *bara-ye* ‘for’, *be* ‘to’, *[æ]z* ‘from, by, than’, *ba* ‘with’, *ta* ‘till, than (comparing clauses)’, *d[æ]r* ‘in/into’, and by adverbial phrases, e.g. *(be) ru-ye* ‘on(to)’ (*ru* ‘face’). (p. 456)

According to Mahootian (1997), “Persian is a pro-drop language with canonical SOV word order. Verbs are marked for tense and aspect and agree with the subject in person and number.” (p. 5) Following are the examples of declarative sentences in Persian:

- (1) Mina ketab næ-dar-e.  
Mina book NEG-have-3SG  
“Mina doesn’t have any books.”
- (2) (Anha) name nevešt-ænd.  
(They) letter wrote-3PL  
“They wrote a letter.”

As mentioned above, specific direct objects are followed by the object marker *ra*. Note that *ra* is mostly preferred in formal situations, and in informal situations, *-ro* or *-o* variants are normally used:

- (3) Ali ketab-ra xand.  
Ali book-OM read  
“Ali read the book.”



In three-argument structures, however, the indirect object is marked by *be* “to” and the typical order of the sentence is subject, prepositional phrase, object and verb:

- (4) Hamed *be* Sara pul dad. (S) (PP) (O) V  
 Hamed to Sara money gave  
 “Hamed gave (some) money to Sara.”

This order, nonetheless, is subject to change when the direct object is definite, in which case the definite direct object marked with the object marker *-ra/-ro/-o* occurs before the prepositional phrase (Mahootian, *ibid*):

- (5) Hamed pul-ra *be* Sara dad. (S) (O) (PP) V  
 Hamed money-OM to Sara gave.  
 “Hamed gave the money to Sara.”

There are two basic interrogative sentences in Persian according to Mahootian (1997): yes/no questions and question-word questions. While yes/no questions are classified as neutral, requiring no specific answer rather than an affirmative or a negative answer, question-word questions, as the name suggests, consist of a set of interrogative pronouns *viz. ci* ‘what’, *ki* ‘who/whom’, *key* ‘when’, *koja* ‘where’, *cera* ‘why’, *caend* ‘how much (price)’; and interrogative adjectives: *kodum* (yek) ‘which (one)’, *caend*, *caendta* ‘how many’, *ceqædr* ‘how much’.

Considering the neutral yes/no questions’ structure, there are two most common ways of asking these questions in both formal and informal contexts: the use of rising intonation in a declarative sentence, as shown in (6) and (7), and the sentence-initial use of *aya*, which is an interrogative particle, followed by a declarative sentence and a rising intonation, as shown in (8). However, note that the use of *aya* is preferred more in formal situations:

- (6) medad xærid-i (standard intonation)

pencil bought-2SG

“You bought (a) pencil”

(7) medad xærid-i (rising intonation)

pencil bought-2SG

“Did you buy (a) pencil?”

(8) aya medad xærid-id?

INTER pencil bought-2PL

“Did you buy (a) pencil?”

Question-word questions, on the other hand, make use of the interrogative pronouns that can be either objects or subjects. Like yes/no questions, question word questions, require a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Following are the examples of these questions:

(9) ki mi-ya-d ?

who DUR-come-3SG?

“Who’s coming?”

(10) ci-ro dad -ænd ?

what-OM gave-3PL?

“What did they give?”

Note that in (11), an interrogative adjective *cænd* “how much” is used:

(11) in ketab cænd-e ?

this book how much-is?

“How much is this book?”

An example of a dative case in which a preposition *be* “to” is used before the question word *ki* “who” is shown in (12):

- (12) Ali ketab-o be ki dad?  
 Ali book-OM to who gave?  
 “Who did Ali give the book to?”

Since there is no genitive pronoun equivalent to “whose” in Persian, either an *ezafe* construction that links the noun to the question word or an *ezafe* construction (see below) using *mal* “property” is used to convey the possessive relation for the pronoun (Mahootian, 1997):

- (13) in ketab-e ki-ye?  
 this book-EZ who-is?  
 “Whose book is this?”

- (14) in ketab mal-e ki-ye?  
 this book property-EZ who-is?  
 “Whose book is this?”

A very important structure in Persian, which is also observed in abundance in this study’s data, is called the *ezafe* construction in which the unstressed particle *-e* connects any attributive constituent (adjectives, nouns, noun phrases, etc.) to the head noun as in *pesar-(ha--y)e xub* “good boy(s)”. The sequence of *ezafe* structure is: MODIFIED+EZAFE+MODIFIER. (Mahootian, *ibid*)

In example (15), the modifier is an adjective, in (16), the modifier is a noun and in example (17) the modifier is a PP:

- (15) medad-e abi  
 pencil-EZ blue

“a blue pencil”

- (16) ængoštær-e tæla  
ring-EZ gold  
“a gold ring”
- (17) bošqab-e ru-ye miz  
plate-EZ on-EZ table  
“the plate on the table”

Ezafe structure can occur in various phrases viz. noun phrases, adjective phrases, quantifier phrases, and prepositional phrases. In the noun phrase, “the modifying element serve in a variety of relationships with the head noun: genitive, attributive and appositive.” (Mahootian, 1997, p. 68) Following are the examples of genitive, attributive, and appositive ezafe in NPs, respectively:

- (18) ketab-e Ali  
book-EZ Ali  
“Ali’s book”
- (19) mozu-e jaleb  
topic-EZ interesting  
“an interesting topic”
- (20) xælij-e Fars  
gulf-EZ Persia  
“the Persian Gulf”

As mentioned above, ezafe structures also occur in adjective phrases, quantifier phrases, and prepositional phrases. In (21), an adjective phrase with ezafe, in (22), a quantifier phrase with ezafe, and in (23), a prepositional phrase with ezafe are shown:

- (21) beh-tærin-e arezu-ha  
 good-SUPR-EZ hope-PL  
 “the best of the wishes”
- (22) tæmam-e ketab-ha  
 all-EZ book-PL  
 “all of the books”
- (23) pošt-e xane  
 behind-EZ house  
 “behind the house”

However, note that, some prepositions in Persian can stand without noun phrases and these prepositions can never occur with *ezafe* when used without arguments. These prepositions are: *birun* “out”, *tu* “in”, *bala* “up”, *pain* “down”, and *daxel* “inside”.

Another important feature of Persian is compounding verb, which is a very productive process for making verbs. The compound verbs in Persian normally include the nonverbal constituent, which can be an adjective, a noun, a past participle, a prepositional phrase or an adverb combined with a light verb (Purmohammad, 2015). Most frequently used light verbs, according to Mahootian (1997) are *kærdæn* “to do”, *šodæn* “to become”, *zædæn* “to strike” *dadæn* “to give”, *xordæn* “to eat”, *amædæn* “to come”, *daštæn* “to have”, and *gereftæn* “to take”. These light verbs carry the aspectual and agreement markers, and the left-most alien lexical element contributes to the core semantic content of the construction. Following are some of the examples of compound verbs in Persian:

*Noun + verb*

- (24) bazi+kærdæn > bazi-kærdæn  
 game+to do > ‘to play’

*Adjective/adverb + verb*

- (25) rošæn+kærdæn > rošæn-kærdæn

bright+to do > ‘to find’

*Preposition + verb*

(26) dær+mundæn > dær--mundæn

in+stay > ‘to be tired out’

Having provided a brief overview of Persian and its linguistic features, we can deal with the overview of Azeri and its features in the following section.

### **1.3.2. The Azeri language in Iran and a brief introduction to its linguistic features**

In this section, briefly the position of the Azeri Language in Turkic languages and its linguistic features will be discussed. It is worth noting the fact that there are different names (e.g. Azari or Azeri, South Azerbaijani [in Grimes, 1992], Torki, etc.) used for this language in the literature. Some authors (e.g. Dehghani 2000) have differentiated between Azeri and Azerbaijani in that the former is spoken in Iran and the latter is spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, although both dialects belong to the same language family. In this study, for the purpose of clarity, the same fashion will be followed and “Azeri” will be used to address to the language used by the Azeri people in Iran.

The Azeri language is a member of the West Oghuz Turkic languages (Menges (1959), Lewis (1967), Underhill (1976), Comrie (1981), Katzner (1986), and Kornfilt (1987)), on the basis of genetic and typological features. Based on Johanson (1998, p. 82), who divides Turkic languages into six different branches viz. 1) Southwestern branch, 2) Northwestern branch, 3) Southeastern branch, 4) Northeastern branch, 5) Chuvash, and 6) Khalaj, Azeri is a member of the southwestern branch. This branch also includes the Anatolian Turkish, spoken in Turkey and Turkmen, spoken in Turkmenistan.

The Turkic language group is a subgroup of the Altaic family whose members are spoken over a region extending from Turkey to the west, across ex-Soviet central Asia into

Mongolia and China and on the Pacific Ocean. Altaic family comprises of three divisions: Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungusic. Genetic relationship and the typological classification of Azeri is schematically shown below in Figure 3. based on Johanson (1998) and Comrie (2009):

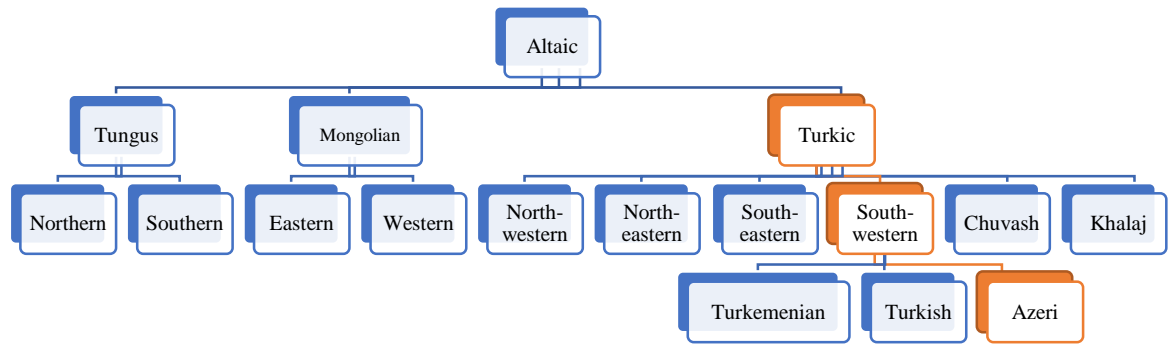


Figure 3. Genetic relationship and the typological classification of Azeri

Dehghani (2000, p. 6) discusses that there are four distinguishable dialects of Azeri in Iran: Tabrizi, Urumiyei, Zanjani, and Ardabili, among which, Tabrizi dialect is the prestige dialect. He further extends Grime's (1992) Azeri dialect division in Iran which was based on the tribal diversity. According to Grime (ibid), these dialects include Aynallu, Karapapakh, Tabriz, and Afshar.

Regarding Azeri's morphology, like modern Turkish, it is an agglutinative language. All native affixes are suffixes, except for some borrowed prefixes and a prefix in which the first syllable of the adjective is prefixed via reduplication. Some of the suffixes that attach to verbs to form nouns are: *-Iş* (*açış*), *-iş* (*giriş*), *-üş* (*gülüş*), *-gI* (*atgı*), *-Ar* (*açar*), *-gAj* (*tutgaj*), *-IcI* (*atıcı*), *-Im* (*artım*), *-Ax* (*boyax*), and *-mA* (*toxuma*). Some of the suffixes that attach to verbs to form adjectives are: *-Ix* (*açix*), *-ux* (*burux*), *-mAll* (*yaşamali*), *-sIz* (*adsız*), *-suz* (*pulsuz*), *-mAz* (*axmaz*), *-gAn* (*unutgan*), *-gIn* (*qızqın*), *-gun* (*solgun*). The following suffixes attach to nouns to make nouns: *-çI* (*balıxçı*), *-çi* (*badamçi*), *-daş* (*yoldaş*), *-Ilx* (*uşaxlıx*) and *-cil* (*işcil*). Among these suffixes, only *-Ilx* changes a noun into an adjective when attached to nouns: (*sağlıx*) in which "sağ" is an adjective meaning "healthy" becomes a noun when the suffix is added (Dehghani 2000).

Due to the fact that Azeri and Persian have been in constant contact with each other, some affixations have been borrowed from Persian. There are only two borrowed prefixes from Persian which change nouns into adjectives: *-ba* (*baiman*) and *-bi* (*bipul*). It is worth noting that these prefixes have native Azeri equivalents (*-suz= -bi* and *-II= -ba*), however, in some contexts speakers prefer to use the Persian prefixes.

According to Dehghani (2000), some of the borrowed suffixes are: *-ban* (*bağban*), *-baz* (*guşbaz*), *-çA* (*bağça*), *-dan* (*güldan*), *-dar* (*puldar*), *-I* (*bazari*), *-Istan* (*gülüstan*), and *-saz* (*sahatsaz*).

Inflectional suffixes for nouns in Azeri mark case, number and possession. The case suffixes in Azeri include nominative, accusative *-I* (*ati*), dative *-(y)A* (*atya*), ablative *-dAn* (*bağdan*), locative *-dA* (*bağda*), benefactive *-IçIn* (*gözüçün*), instrumental *-InAn* (*golunan*) and genitive *-Im(n)* (*bizim*, *sizin*). All the nouns in Azeri have a regular plural suffix: *-lAr* (*atlar*). Possessive suffixes in Azeri include *-Im* for 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (*atım*), *-In* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (*atın*), *-I* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*ati*), *-ImIz* for 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (*atımız*), *-Iz* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural (*atız*), and *-IarI* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural (*atları*).

Inflectional suffixes for verbs in Azeri include tense suffixes, Person/Number suffixes, aspect suffixes, mood suffixes, causative suffixes, infinitive suffixes, negative suffixes, and passive suffixes. Azeri has two tenses, past, marked by *-dI* as in (*saldı*) and the non past which is indicated by the absence of *-dI* as in (*sal*). (Dehghani, 2000, p. 110). The future forms in Azeri involve the copular construction in which the derivational suffix *-yAcAx* is affixed to a verb and the copular suffix is affixed to the output as in (*galayacaxam*). Person/Number suffixes for the past tense include: *-m* for 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (*saldım*), *-n* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (*saldın*),  $\emptyset$  for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*saldı*), *-x* for 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (*saldıx*), *-z* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural (*saldız*), and *-lAr* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural (*saldılar*). Person/Number suffixes for the non past tense include: *-Am* for 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (*salıram*), *-sAn* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular (*salırsan*),  $\emptyset$  for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*salır*), *-Ix* for 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (*salırıx*), *-sIz* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural (*salırsız*), and *-lAr* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural (*salırlar*). The aspect suffixes in Azeri comprise of two types: continuous aspect and perfect aspect. While *-Ir* is used to mark continuous aspect, (e.g. *verirdim*), *-mIş* is



used to mark perfect aspect as in (*vermişdim*). Mood suffixes in Azeri include *-sA* for conditional mood (*salsa*),  $\emptyset$  for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular imperative mood (*sal*), and *-yIz* for 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural imperative mood (*salyız*). For the optative mood, on the other hand, *-yIm* is used for 1<sup>st</sup> person singular (*salyım*), *-yAx* for 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (*galyax*), *-sIn* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*versin*), and *-sInlAr* for 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural (*galsınlar*). *-yA* is used to mark subjunctive mood (*galya*). Causative suffixes in Azeri are: *-Irt* (*uçurt*), *-dIr* (*utandır*), and *-t* (*toxut*). *-mAx* is used to mark infinitive as in (*getmax*). The negative suffix *-mA* is used to make a verb negative as in (*urma*). The passive suffix in Azeri is *-Il* as in (*satıl*) (Dehghani 2000).

According to Dehghani (2000), although the surface constituent order may lack grammatical function, it is not completely free. The basic word in the language is SOV:

- (27) Ali            kitab -1        oxu -du  
 Ali (NOM) book – ACC read –PAST.3SG  
 “Ali read the book.”

Azeri has no definite article but the indefinite article is /bir/ “one” (Dehghani 2000, pp. 137-138):

- (28) mən bir kişi gör -dü    -m  
 I    one man see -PAST -1SG  
 “I saw a man.”

When this indefinite article is lacked in an NP that is marked by a case, it is definite:

- (29) mən kişi -ni    gör -dü    -m  
 I    man -ACC see -PAST -1SG  
 “I saw the man.”

The noun is unspecified indefinite, when there is neither an infinite article nor a case ending (Dehghani, 2000, p. 138):

- (30) mən alma yey -di -m  
 I apple eat -PAST -1SG  
 “I ate (an) apple.”

Dehghani (ibid) argues that sentences with a definite object follow a free constituent order and that the main difference is analyzable in terms of topicalization and emphasis. According to him, there are several possibilities for the constituent order of sentences with two arguments (subject and direct object NPs) (Dehghani, ibid, pp. 138, 139):

- (31) a) Häsän kitab -1 oxu -du SOV  
 Hasan book -ACC read -PAST.3SG  
 “Häsän read the book.”  
 b) kitab -1 Häsän oxu -du OSV  
 c) kitab -1 oxu -du Häsän OVS  
 d) oxu -du Häsän kitab -1 VSO  
 e) oxu -du kitab -1 Häsän VOS

In three-argument sentences, however, the typical order of constituents is subject, direct object, non-direct object, and the verb (Dehghni, ibid: 139):

- (32) Ali kitab -1 kişi -ya ver -di S DO IO V  
 Ali book -ACC man-DAT give -PAST.3SG  
 “Ali gave the book to the man.”

Azeri has three WH constituents, viz. /hara/ ‘where’, /näy/ ‘what’, and /kim/ ‘who’ which are inserted instead of the constituent being questioned. (Dehghani, 2000, p. 208).

- (33) a) Ali kitab -ı Həsən -yə ver -di  
 Ali (NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT give -PAST.3SG  
 “Ali gave the book to Hasan.”
- b) Ali nəy -i Həsən -yə ver -di ?  
 Ali what -ACC Hasan -DAT give -PAST.3SG?  
 “What did Ali give to Hasan?”
- c) Ali kitab -ı kim -yə ver -di ?  
 Ali (NOM) book -ACC who -DAT give -PAST.3SG?  
 “To whom did Ali give the book?”
- d) kim kitab -ı Həsən -yə ver -di ?  
 who (NOM) book -ACC Hasan -DAT give -PAST.3SG ?  
 “Who gave the book to Hasan?”
- e) kim nəy -i kim -yə ver -di ?  
 who what -ACC who -DAT give -PAST.3SG ?  
 “Who gave what to whom?”

In this chapter, the purpose, and the significance of the research along with the research questions and the boundaries and the limitations of the study were addressed. A brief introduction of morphosyntactic features of the languages under scrutiny in this study (viz. Azeri and Persian) were provided. The following chapter includes the brief explanation of the theoretical models used in this study and the review of the studies conducted in relation to CS.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the literature related to CS will be reviewed. To start, a brief discussion of definitional issues regarding CS will be provided. The next section includes a brief background of early CS studies. The theoretical models put forward by various linguists will be scrutinized in the following section. In the following sections of the chapter, CS studies conducted both outside and inside the context of Iran will be attended to.

#### 2.1. CODESWITCHING OR CODEMIXING? SOME DEFINITIONAL ISSUES

Terminological confusion regarding CS, like any other language contact phenomena, has been a matter of controversy among the scholars in the field, since diverse usages of the terms have been applied by the researchers who do not agree on what scope the terms such as codeswitching, code-mixing, borrowing, or code-alternation cover. Boztepe (2003) argues that considering the literature, this confusion is presumably due to the difference in the perception of the distinction between codeswitching and borrowing (Myers-Scotton, 1992, Poplack 1980) and the codeswitching and code-mixing (Kachru, 1978, 1983, Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980). The term code neutrally conceptualizes a linguistic variety, i.e. either a language or a dialect (Myers-Scotton, 1993b). Nonetheless, researchers utilize the term in different ways.

The term code-alternation has been used by some researchers (e.g., Auer, 1995) as a hyponym. Boztepe (2003) defines the terms “alternation” and “insertion” as:

...the term *alternation* [italics in original] is...used in the literature to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and it is mostly, but not always, associated with longer stretches of CS. The term *insertion* [italics in original], in contrast, mostly correlates with occurrences of single lexical items from one language into a structure from the other language (p. 4).

Milroy and Muysken (1995), on the other hand, use CS as a cover term that encompasses various forms of bilingual behaviors. They define CS as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation” (p. 7).

CS has been used as a cover term by Myers-Scotton (1993a), too. She defines it as “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation” (p. 1). Gumperz (1982), define the term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (p. 59).

Considering the dichotomy between inter-sentential switches – switches between the sentences in the discourse – and intra-sentential switches – switches within the sentence – some researchers (Kachru, 1983; Singh, 1985; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1980), as cited in Boztepe (2003), keep the term code-switching for inter-sentential switches only, nevertheless they prefer to use code-mixing for intra-sentential switches.

In the present study, following Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), codeswitching will be used as an umbrella term to address the phenomena of alternating between two languages or dialects of the same language within the same conversation.

## **2.2. SOME BACKGROUND IN CS AS A RESEARCH TOPIC**

In spite of the fact that CS is one of the most important aspects of bilingual speech, nevertheless, it has been conceived of as a stigmatized form of conversation at some point. For instance, the disparaging attitudes towards CS from the advocates of the traditions of prescriptivism and semilingualism have influenced not only the perception of CS by the forerunners of the field such as Bloomfield and Weinreich, but also the popular culture, alike. According to prescriptivism, a variety of a language is seen to have a higher value than the other varieties and that this variety should be imposed on the whole of the speech community, particularly via educational means (Crystal, 1997). Semilingualism, on the other hand, conceives of the bilinguals who code-switch as “less competent” speakers and attributes CS to the lack of necessary linguistic competence in their repertoire (Edelsky, Hudelson, Flores, Barkin, Altwerger, & Jilbert, 1983). Based on this stance, Weinreich

(1968), described the ideal bilingual as someone who “switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence” (p. 73). As Myers-Scotton (1993c), points out, Weinreich is not to be blamed, since he “was only reflecting the attitudes of his time when he dismissed (intra-sentential) CS in this way.” (p. 48)

According to Nilep (2006), CS has been the focal point in various studies in the fields of sociology, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics. One of the earliest studies in the realm of linguistic anthropology which focused on the language choice and codeswitching along with other aspects was Baker’s (1947) language use description among Mexican Americans in Tucson, Arizona. In his study, Baker attempted to analyze the economic relations, social networks and social geography of Tucson residents and tried to answer the question why bilinguals used the ancestral language in one occasion and English on another. His findings revealed that interactions among family members or other intimates were mostly in Spanish, whereas English was the medium of interaction in formal interactions with Anglo-Americans. Moreover, he proposed that younger members were more inclined to use multiple languages in a single interaction than the elders (Nilep, 2006).

In the field of linguistics, Weinreich’s (1968) *Languages in Contact* provided a stance for CS studies by describing the effect of language contact on languages along with the activities of bilingual speech communities. As cited in Nilep (2006), Weinreich (ibid) was critique of Baker’s (1947) Tucson description in that his (Baker’s) description included only four speech situations viz. intimate, informal, formal and inter-group discourse. He argued that Baker’s taxonomy was not sufficiently articulated “to describe all potential organizations of bilingual speech events” (Nilep 2006, p. 4). The solution Weinreich had in mind was that “anthr\opology should look to linguistics- particularly to structuralism- in order to properly describe the practices of bilingual speech, and the language acquisition/socialization process that takes place in bilingual communities” (Nilep 2006, p. 4).

CS has also been the matter of scrutiny in the field of sociocultural linguistics since late 70s (Nilep, 2006) and as Myers-Scotton (1998) reports, these studies mainly considered the social functions of switching. For instance, studies carried out by Blom and Gumperz (1972) and Scotton and Ury (1977) concentrated on CS as a strategy to influence interpersonal relations. In other words, they attempted to find answers why speakers engage in CS.

During 80s and 90s, this ‘discourse’ side of CS continued and CS began to be considered as ‘contextualization cue’ by Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1984). According to this view CS is “one of a number of discourse devices (both verbal and nonverbal) which are used in signaling and interpreting speaker intentions” (Myers-Scotton 1998, p. 149).

In their canonical study, Blom and Gumperz (1972), realized that the alternations between codes among the local people of Hemnesberget in Norway, were both patterned and predictable. They used an integrated ethnographic and linguistic approach, and identified two different types of code choices: *situational switching* and *metaphorical switching*. While situational switching occurs as a result of the participants’ intention to redefine each others’ rights and obligations, metaphorical switching occurs when there is a change in the topic rather than the social situation. Based on this, Blom and Gumperz (ibid), introduced three types of social constraints that could effect the speakers’ code choices: (1) setting, (2) social situation, and (3) social event. They define setting as the physical environment in which the speakers actually interact with each other, and the social situation is defined as “particular constellations of [individuals], gathered in particular settings during a particular span of time” for a certain activity (p. 423). Finally, social event comprises of a particular definition of the same social situation at a particular point in time (Boztepe, 2003).

Auer (1984, 1988, 1995), further developed Gumperz’s approach by employing techniques used in conversation analysis to analyze the data on CS (Boztepe, 2003). According to him, for a theory of code alternation in a conversation to be meaningful and accurate, it should take into account the assumption that “the meaning of code-alternation depends in essential ways on its ‘sequential environment’” (p. 116). Auer (ibid),

highlights the notion that “the sequential embeddedness of meaning in bilingual conversation is “relatively independent” of its social meaning for the community (p. 132).

Myers-Scotton (1998) states that most of the studies carried out in the 90s attempted to accentuate the social functions of CS at a micro level, yet they argued that interpersonal usage patterns of CS are a reflection of group values and norms of the communities (e.g. McConvell 1988, Bhatia and Ritchie 1989).

Nevertheless, it was not only the micro level aspects of CS that received attention from the scholars. Poplack et al. (1988) focused on the relationship between CS usage with the demographic variables in French-Canadian communities in which speakers with diverse sociopolitical backgrounds “are the most frequent users of either borrowed English lexemes or CS involving English.” (Myers-Scotton 1998, p. 150).

While in 1980s the main interest shifted to characterizing the morphosyntactic constraints on intrasentential switching, in 1990s the social and discourse motivations for CS shaped the focus of CS studies. For instance, Wei (1994) analyzed the CS patterns used by different generations of Chinese immigrants in Tyneside, Britain who speak Cantonese. More recent studies, according to Myers-Scotton (1998) tend to focus on the usage of CS as an organizing device in discourse and discourse sequences (e.g. Auer 1995).

Having provided a brief discussion of the studies concerning CS, we can now deal with two most important models developed to analyze CS, i.e. Poplack’s Model (1980), and Myers-Scotton’s (1993a, 1993c) Matrix Language Frame model, in some details.

## **2.3. POPLACK’S MODEL**

### **2.3.1. Grammatical Constraints**

One of the most important theoretical models put forward to analyze the linguistic aspect of CS in bilingual discourses is Poplack’s model in which she argued that there is a word-



order equivalence between the languages involved in CS. Based on this stance, she proposed two morphosyntactic constraints that were present in the code-switched utterances of the Spanish/English bilinguals. These constraints are:

(1) The Free Morpheme Constraint

Codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme.

(2) The Equivalence Constraint

Code-switches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language. (Poplack, 1980, p. 586).

She states that the first constraint is valid for “all linguistic levels but the phonological.” (ibid, p. 586). In other words, unless an item is phonologically integrated into the base language, a switch between a lexeme and a bound morpheme is not allowed (Boztepe, 2003). According to her, idiomatic expressions also follow this constraint since “[they] behave like bound morphemes in that they show a strong tendency to be uttered monolingually.” (ibid, p. 586)

The second constraint, on the other hand, predicts that CS tends to occur where juxtaposition of the two languages does not violate the rules governing the surface structure of the participant languages.

Although Poplack advocates the universal validity of both constraints, some counter-evidence examples from different languages have been put forward by some researchers such as Bentahila and Davis (1983). Boztepe (2003), argues that the constraints are not valid for the agglutinative languages such as Turkish, the reason being the fact that “in such languages, each component of meaning is productively expressed by its own

morpheme, which are then affixed to the stem.” (ibid, p. 9) He also gives an example from his corpus of data in Turkish/English CS:

- (34) Sen-inle bu konu-da CONFLICT-imiz var.  
 you-PREP this issue-PREP conflict-POSS PRONOUN (1ST PLURAL) exist  
 We (You and I) have a conflict (disagreement) over this issue.  
 (Boztepe, ibid, p. 9)

According to this constraint, the Turkish bound morpheme *-imiz* “our” would not be affixed to phonologically unintegrated English root “conflict”, yet it does (Boztepe, ibid). Other counter-evidence examples are provided by Clyne (1987) from his German/English and Dutch/English bilinguals in Australia, which evidently question the universality of these constraints.

Another important criticism of these constraints also includes their not recognizing the notion of asymmetry, which influences many languages in contact situations. Asymmetry with respect to the degree of participation of the languages involved in CS is a crucial characteristic of CS, according to Joshi (1985).

### 2.3.2. Lexical Borrowing vs. CS

Poplack and other researchers associated with her (1980), have differentiated between the longer chunks of switches and the singly occurring foreign-language items and in order to distinguish whether the foreign-language item is CS or a borrowed item, proposed that the criteria for such distinction should be morphosyntactic and phonological integration of them into the recipient language. Based on this, if the lexical item is phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into the “base language”, it is not considered as CS (Boztepe, 2003). These criteria are shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1

*Poplack's (1980) Identification of Code-Switching Based on the Type of Integration into the Base Language*

Type	Levels of Integration Into Base Language			Codeswitching?
	Phonological	Morphological	Syntactic	
1	√	√	√	No
2	x	x	√	Yes
3	√	x	x	Yes
4	x	x	x	Yes

According to Poplack, Wheeler, & Westwood (1987), when a lexical item or a bound morpheme is both syntactically and morphologically integrated into the base language, however, it does not show the phonological integration, the lexical item is called nonce borrowing, which is different from “established borrowings in that it does not meet the criteria of frequency of use or degree of acceptance” (Boztepe, 2003, p. 6).

#### **2.4. THE MATRIX LANGUAGE FRAME (MLF) MODEL**

For the structural analysis of the data in this study, Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002, 2006) MLF Model will be used. According to Myers-Scotton (2006), the MLF model was developed thanks to the insights derived from the earlier studies carried out by researchers like Joshi (1985) who highlighted the “unequal participation of language in code-switching”. According to her (ibid), this model has three major premises:

The first premise is that the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language do not participate equally in constituent structure. The second premise is that not all morpheme types are equal in the sense that not all types can come equally from the Matrix and Embedded Languages. A third premise is that

both languages are always “on” when a speaker engages in codeswitching, although the Matrix Language is always more activated (p. 243).

Based upon this model, there are three different types of constituents viz. Matrix Language Islands, Embedded Language Islands, and Mixed Constituents:

1. ML+EL constituents – “a singly occurring EL lexeme in a frame of any number of ML morphemes” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 77).
  
2. ML Islands – “constituents consisting entirely of ML morphemes” (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:78).
  
3. EL Islands – “They must also be well-formed constituents, but according to the EL grammar; they also must show internal structural dependency relations.  
  
(Myers-Scotton, 1993b: 78)

Matrix Language Islands are those which include entire morphemes from the Matrix Language (ML), the language which provides the dominant morphosyntactic structure of a clause, and they should meet the ML well-formedness conditions.

Embedded Language Islands, on the other hand, are those islands that are mainly formed by the Embedded Language (EL), the language which is embedded in the ML’s CPs, morphemes and they should meet the well-formedness conditions of the EL.

Mixed Constituents, as the name suggests, are those constituents, which include morphemes both from the ML and the EL. According to Myers-Scotton (2006): “these

constituents may consist of an entire clause, but smaller phrases within larger clauses are also mixed constituents” (p. 244).

There are two testable principles of the Mixed Constituents Hypothesis viz. the Morpheme Order Principle, and the System Morpheme Principle.

According to the Morpheme Order Principle, “in the mixed constituents consisting of at least one EL word and any number of ML morphemes, surface word (and morpheme) order will be that of the ML” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 244). In other words, in the mixed constituents, the ML morphosyntactic order will provide the “backbone” of the mixed constituents and at least one EL island must be present in the constituent.

The System Morpheme Principle, on the other hand, speculates that in the mixed constituents “all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents ... will come from the [ML]” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 244).

Other hypotheses proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a), along with the Mixed Constituent Hypothesis are *The Blocking Hypothesis*, *The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis*, and *The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis*:

The Blocking Hypothesis: [t]he ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts. The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis: [w]henver an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML Hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island. The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis: [o]ptional EL islands occur; generally, they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence (p. 7).

Along with using ML morphemes, speakers may make use of some other strategies in a Mixed Constituent. One of these strategies is the “bare forms”. These bare forms “do not

receive any inflections that would make them well-formed in the language that supplies the morphosyntactic frame (the Matrix Language)” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 255)

A very common strategy used with bare forms is the use of a “do” verb from the ML. The “do” verb is usually inflected with the required system morphemes and is preceded or followed by a bare form of an EL verb. The EL verb sometimes shows an infinitive affix and is not syntactically active.

#### **2.4.1. Lexical Borrowings: Cultural Borrowings, and Core Borrowings**

Unlike Poplack (1980), who highlights the importance of the morphosyntactic integration as a criterion for discriminating the CS forms from the borrowed entries, Myers-Scotton (1993a), conceives of them as a “part of the same developmental continuum” (p. 163). Based on this stance, she argues that the distinction between the CS and borrowing is not necessary to be made. Nevertheless, she states that “the *lexical entries* [italics in original] of CS and [borrowed] forms must be different, since [borrowed] forms become part of mental lexicon of the ML, while CS forms do not” (ibid: 163).

Myers-Scotton (1993b, 1993c, 2006) distinguishes the Cultural Borrowings from Core borrowings in that, while Cultural Borrowings are the words “that fill the gap in the recipient language’s [lexicon], because they stand for the objects or concepts new to the language’s culture” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 212), Core Borrowings, on the other hand “are the words that duplicate elements that the recipient language already has in its [lexicon]. They are gratuitous – by definition, another layer on the cake, because the recipient language always has viable equivalents” (Myers-Scotton, ibid, p. 215). Most common instances of cultural borrowings are the technological names such as ‘automobile’, ‘telephone’ and so forth.

According to Myers-Scotton (ibid), one of the main reasons for using core borrowings is the cultural pressure. In communities where two languages are spoken, usually one language prevails in most public discourse and in all status-raising discourses, thus, the other language’s vitality is diminished and eventually becomes the recipient language in

borrowing. This borrowing process can also lead to the replacement of the words by the received words.

### **2.4.2. The 4M Model**

With the purpose of refining the division between system and content morphemes, Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000) developed a model called 4M Model which “begins with distinguishing four morpheme types in terms of the difference in their role in syntactic structure” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 267).

According to this model, content morphemes remain the same as they were characterized in the MLF model; however, in the 4M model, they are characterized as “conceptually activated along with the ‘early system morphemes’. This is due to the fact that the speaker’s prelinguistic intentions activate them at the mental lexicon. Mental lexicon consists of lemmas: “the abstract elements that underlie the actual surface level morphemes” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 268). Speaker’s intention directly activates the content morpheme lemmas in the lexicon, and these in turn activate the early system morphemes which provide the necessary ‘meaning flesh’ of the content morpheme lemmas. Early system morphemes are called so, since, according to the hypothesis, they are activated ‘earlier’ than the other system morphemes in the language production process. Common examples of early system morphemes include plural markings, determiners, and meaning changing prepositions in phrasal verbs as in: “hand in”.

#### **2.4.2.1. Late System Morphemes**

Since these morphemes are not activated until the next level of language production process viz. ‘formulator’, they are called Late System Morphemes which are of two types: Bridge System Morphemes and Outsider System Morphemes. Whereas the content morphemes contribute to indicating the semantic outlines of the clause ‘under construction’ by assigning and receiving thematic roles, the Late System Morphemes “are activated to indicate relationships within the clause; they are the cement that holds the clause together” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 269).

As mentioned above there are two kinds of Late System Morphemes viz. Bridge System Morphemes and Outsider System Morphemes. Bridge System Morphemes “unite morphemes into larger constituents showing their hierarchical relationships” (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, p. 4). They are highly dependent on the well-formedness conditions of the larger constituent in which they occur, and the constituent is not well-formed without using Bridge System Morphemes when necessary. One of the examples of these morphemes is the associative or possessive element that takes place between a possessor noun and the possessed element, as in ‘leg *of* table’.

Outsider System Morphemes, too, integrate morphemes into larger constituents, yet they show “coindexical relationships across maximal projections” (ibid). They are called ‘outsider’ since their “form depends on the information that is outside the element with which [they] occur and therefore outside [their] immediate phrase” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 269)

### **2.4.3. The Markedness Model**

While Myers-Scotton’s (1993a, 1993c) MLF Model has been designed to analyze the structural aspects of code-switched utterances, the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993b), has been developed to deal with the universal social forces which may/can motivate code-switching.

This model proposes that speakers “have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relationship with others with which they wish to have in place” (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, p.75).

According to this model, both speakers and listeners, using their communicative competence, follow a principled procedure to make judgments about any linguistic choice they might make or hear as more or less ‘marked’ (expected) (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 2006).



Myers-Scotton (1993c) discusses the four maxims proposed to explain the social motivation of CS. These maxims are:

(a) *The Sequential Unmarked Choice Maxim*: [italics in original] Switch from one unmarked code to another when situational features change during an interaction such that the unmarked choice changes. (b) *The CS as an unmarked Choice Maxim*: Maintain a pattern of switching between codes when the unmarked rights and obligations balance for participants is that indexed by both codes, not one alone. (c) *The Marked Choice Maxim*: Switch to a marked choice in order to negotiate a different rights and obligations balance than the one indexed by the unmarked choice. (d) *The Exploratory Choice Maxim*: In the less conventionalized exchanges where an unmarked choice is not obvious, use CS to propose one or more codes, each the unmarked index of possible rights and obligations balance for the interaction (p. 480).

#### 2.4.3.1. Unmarked Choices vs. Marked Choices

According to Myers-Scotton (1993c), the Unmarked-Choice Hypothesis is:

A continuum of relative frequencies of occurrence exists so that one linguistic variety can be identified as the most unmarked index of a specific RO set in a specific interaction type, in comparison to other varieties also in use (p. 89).

She argues that all the speakers possess an innate theory of markedness and indexicality, which includes a “markedness metric”, by means of which, for a specific interaction in their community, they can “assign readings of markedness to codes in the community’s linguistic repertoire” (p. 479). Based on this stance, the unmarked choice indexes the expected RO set, whereas a marked choice is “a negotiation for some other set – a choice which all speakers are free to make, although they recognize what is normatively expected” (ibid, p. 479).

In other terms, the unmarked choices in any given interaction, regarding the features of the interaction viz. participants, topics, settings, etc., are those ones that are more or less expected. Related to this kind of choice, Myers-Scotton (1993c), calls the normative expectations for each interaction type as Rights and Obligations Set (RO set). Marked choices, on the other hand, are those choices that are not expected based on the RO set that is in effect.

Myers-Scotton (1993c), moreover explains the role of the allocation paradigm in hypothesizing the Markedness Model. She maintains that the allocation paradigm, which focuses on the social context as to provide an explanation which linguistic varieties occur, accentuates the role of the macro-elements in the social situation as the main producer of the linguistic variation, and thus views “the speaker as a rather passive participant” (p. 92).

Regarding the fact that the markedness model shares the basic principle of the allocation paradigm, Myers-Scotton (ibid) cites Fishman (1972) for explaining this basic principle that “habitual language choice in multilingual speech communities or speech networks is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination” (p. 92). This basic principle of the allocation paradigm, according to Myers-Scotton (ibid), constitutes the “foundation-stone of the markedness model” (p. 92).

#### 2.4.3.2. The Negotiation Principle

Myers-Scotton (1993c) compares the “Negotiation Principle” to the Grice’s (1975) “Cooperation Principle” and argues that the “Negotiation Principle” is analogous to the “Cooperational Principle” structurally rather than its force. She discusses that, while the “Cooperation Principle’s” premise is to ensure the participants in a conversation to trust their fellow interlocutors “in structuring their utterances by following a set of maxims so that their intended implications are clear” (ibid, p. 478); the “Negotiation Principle” and its maxims, nevertheless, are those strategies of negotiation that are “likely to engender conflict as cooperation” (ibid, p. 478).

In other terms, the Negotiation Principle urges the speakers in a specific speech event to choose the set of RO sets and inter/intra-group norms to reveal the perspective of self which in turn results in the ‘solidarity’ or ‘divergence’ among the speakers.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993c), the Negotiation Principle states:

Choose the *form* of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange (p. 113)

## **2.5. REVIEW OF THE STUDIES FOCUSING ON CS**

In this section some of the studies conducted to analyze CS between various languages out of the context of Iran are presented.

Among other studies, Bentahila and Davies’ (1995) study gained a lot of importance due to the fact that they provided a counter-evidence of Poplack’s (1980) model’s constraints’ universality. They focused on some factors such as the length of the contact, roles and the status of each language and speakers’ relative proficiencies in each language as the determining factors in the speakers’ different switching preferences within Moroccan bilingual community.

Deuchar (2005) analyzed Welsh-English CS to find the predominant structural pattern of CS in these languages. According to the findings of this study, 64% of the switches are either single nouns or noun phrases and 96% of the switches are from Welsh to English, a determiner that there is no bidirectionality of switching.

Alam (2006) attempted to uncover the possible reason why some white-collar service holders and professionals mix Bangla and English in their conversations. According to the findings of this study, most of the participants (that is 60 white-collar service holders

and professionals) tend to mix these languages in formal situations (e.g. official meetings) “to coat their speech with the exact tone” (Alam, *ibid*, p. 57).

Jisa (2000) scrutinized the CS frequency and patterns in two young French-English bilingual sisters over a period of time and concluded that the age at which a bilingual child begins to produce in her weak language (i.e. English) has a profound impact on the type and the frequency of CS.

Peynircioğlu and Durgunoğlu (2002) studied the CS patterns of 36 Spanish-English bilingual preschool children between the ages of 3 and 5 based on the theoretical framework of Kroll and Stewart (1994). Their study revealed that, unlike Redlinger and Park’s (1980) study, intrasentential CS was used less often than the intersentential CS. The direction of the CS also depended on the linguistic context, according to Peynircioğlu and Durgunoğlu (*ibid*).

Brezjanovic-Shorgen (2011), on the other hand, concentrated on the effect of language exposure on 2 five-year-old Serbian-English bilingual children and their language choice behavior during everyday conversations. The findings of this study showed that the main motivation behind their code choice is solitary establishing, referential directive and reactive to positive/negative face and power.

Ayeomoni (2006) concentrated on the demerits of CS in the Ikale in the Irele and Okitipupa Local Government Areas of Ondo State, Nigeria. The researcher carried out the study with fifty young participants and concluded that, in spite of some positive correlations that the CM/S has with the educational attainment of individuals, some preventing measure should be taken by the English teachers in the context in order to prevent CS from adversely affecting the process of language acquisition in children. According to the findings of this study, Yoruba, which is the L1 for 90% of the participants before they start primary school, is taken over by English, which is taught at school, and therefore CS between English and Yoruba emerges among these young speakers profoundly.

Clachar (2000) studied the CS behaviors of Puerto Rican return migrants in interactions among themselves and as well as in interaction with bilingual island-raised Puerto Ricans with the aim of discovering the ways in which their interethnic experience is reflected in CS behavior. The results of this study revealed that intrasentential and sentential CS were favored more by the return migrants over tag and single-word mixing in intergroup communication (when they interacted with the island-raised individuals).

Lawson and Sachdev (2000) conducted a three-stage study on the attitudes and self-report associated with CS in Tunisia. In the first stage of the study they gathered the data from 169 Tunisian university students; in the second stage, they asked 28 students to complete language diaries that reported about their use of different language varieties over several days, and during the last stage, they conducted a field experimental approach and observed over 700 individuals in the streets to obtain the actual amount of CS behavior. The results showed that the negative attitude about CS obtained as the results of the first stage of the study, was not actually reflected in the results of the subsequent stages, and that CS behavior was profoundly used with in-group members and less with teachers or members of non-Arab groups.

Callahan (2001) put Myers-Scotton's MLF model into the test by analyzing the short stories and novels published in the United States between 1970-2000, which contain Spanish/English codeswitching. According to the findings of her study, there were only few counterexamples to the MLF model, and that the majority of CS found in the data can be accounted for by the model. The highlighted feature of the data, according to her, was the high incidence of ML shifts at mid-sentence.

Various studies have also been carried out in the field of Computer Mediated Communication and CS. For instance, Cardenas-Carlos and Isharyanti (2009) studied the occurrence of CS in internet chatroom conversations. In their study, 12 non-native speakers of English with Spanish and Indonesian background were scrutinized. The findings of the study suggested that the CS was mostly triggered when the participants used technology-related terms and introductory terms regardless of their cultural backgrounds. Jaworska (2014), on the other hand, concentrated on the linguistic practice

of digital code plays in an online discussion forum used by English speaking Germans residing in Britain and concluded that play with codes occur in three levels, viz. play with forms, meanings and frames. She states that the main reason for this code mixing is not only for the comic effect, yet there is more to this than merely humor, and that is participants by mixing the codes, deliberately produce aberrant German “polluted” with English with the aim of dismantling the ideology of language purity upheld by purist movement.

Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2011) focused on a specific CS type in a very popular radio comedy sketch in Ireland with the aim of uncovering ways in which the comedy harnesses, reflects and refracts attitudes toward language ownership, identity and practice in Ireland.

Koban (2013) explored intrasentential and intersentential patterns of CS manifested in the speech of 20 Turkish-English bilinguals in New York City, U.S. and investigated the influence of language proficiency on intrasentential CS. This study showed that CS occurred mostly interasententially and speakers dominant in both Turkish and English used more intrasentential CS.

Karahan (1995) explored the CS patterns of third generation immigrant Karachai people in Turkey. The CS phenomenon was discussed in the light of social network theory. Another study by the author (2000), which mainly focused on the sociolinguistic and social-psychological reflections of the Bosnian community, investigated ethnolinguistic vitality, speaker attitudes, social network and CS in Bosnian Turks living in Turkey. To accumulate the data regarding the participants’ ethnic identity, language choice in their social networks, personal and emotional activities, and attitudes towards both languages and identities, Karahan used the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) that included three factors of status, demographics and institutional support, and applied the survey to randomly chosen 145 Bosnians. For the CS analysis of the study, she tape-recorded the naturally occurring conversations of the Turkish-Bosnian community. The findings of the study revealed that the respondents who had mildly positive attitudes towards Bosnian and Turkish in terms of identity and languages had a higher degree of ethnolinguistic

vitality, which in turn affects their use of language in various social networks, emotional and personal activities. Findings of her study regarding the CS between Turkish and Bosnian, showed that all of the examples of the CS were in line with the structural constraints that the MLF predicts. Given the social motivations for the CS in this context, she concluded that the CS patterns tended to vary based on idiosyncratic motivations and types of the interaction for two generations of Turkish-Bosnian bilinguals. While Bosnian was the unmarked choice for the 2<sup>nd</sup>. generation Bosnians, compared to Turkish, the 3<sup>rd</sup>. generation tended to choose the opposite.

And last but not least, Zuercher (2009) studied the CS patterns in Azerbaijani and Russian in the republic of Azerbaijan. According to the results of this research, participants used Russian content words with a various rate of 11.2% to 97.2%. Moreover, CS was observed in turns and clauses and in some conversational turns only Russian was used. Nominal insertion and peripheral alternation of adverbial elements occurred frequently. According to Zuercher (ibid), participants tended to CS to construct a range of social identities. For instance, in some family domains and professional contexts they avoid using Russian to conform to social norms. However, they used Russian and Russian CS in some private domains when appropriate for the situation and the interlocutor.

## **2.6. REVIEW OF THE STUDIES FOCUSING ON CS IN CONTEXT OF IRAN**

Kim and Rezaeian (2009), studied the Persian and Korean similarities when they are code-switched to English. According to the authors, Persian and Korean depict similar syntactic structures. For example, both languages have the same canonical word order as Subject-Object-Verb. Their data in Persian/English and Korean/English code-switching reveal that bilingual speakers of Persian or Korean follow similar patterns when code-switching, especially in light verb constructions. The CS data used in their study were collected from separate spontaneous conversations involving five Iranian-Canadian and five Korean-Canadian undergraduate students living in Canada. Their findings revealed the following constraints regarding light verb construction:

- Code switching does not happen for finite verbs as a single element.
- Code switching between a verb stem and its inflection is not observed.
- Code switching between a NEG and the verb is not evidenced.
- Code switching of functional words is not a normal process.

Hakimian and Lotfi (2015) studied the written texts of Farsi-English bilinguals in online communications. They accumulated the data from a website in which individuals share their comments on immigration to other countries. The researchers investigated whether the MLF model put forward by Myers-Scotton (1993) can be applied to written texts. On the morphosyntactic side of the study, it was revealed that Farsi-English CS is a classic case of CS, and that in 88.35% of CPs regarding the morpheme order principle and 91.66% of CPs regarding the system morpheme principle, Persian is the source of morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual CPs.

Rahimi and Dabaghi (2013) tested the formal and informal conversations of Persian-English bilinguals on TV shows based on Myers-Scotton's MLF (1993). The findings of their study revealed that the three principles of the frame viz. the Matrix Language Principle, asymmetry principle and uniform structure principle were verified.

Hadei and Ramakrishna (2016) studied the English single content words' insertion in Persian structures using Myers-Scotton's (1993) MLF model. To carry out the research, the researchers tape-recorded the spontaneous conversations of 12 Persian-English bilinguals between the ages 20 and 40 with the IELTS score of 6.0 or higher. The study revealed that CS was permissible in spite of its cause to structural dissimilarity. The inserted English elements, i.e. nouns and adjectives in particular, received various Persian markers when needed.

In another study, Alavi, Moradi, and Taggaddomi (2013) explored the effect of the politeness norms in the spoken language of female and male Azeri speakers in formal and informal situations and considered CM/S as a criterion. Their study showed that female speakers tended to switch codes to Farsi more than the males, based on which they concluded CS as a politeness norm.



Last but not least, Bani-Shoraka (2005) used CA (Conversation Analysis) to analyze the function of CS as one of the strategies that Azeri-Farsi bilinguals residing in Tehran, Iran use to create and maintain opposition and disagreement in everyday conversations.

Considering the related literature in the context of Iran, there seems to be a gap in concentrating on the Azeri-Persian bilingual interaction, which is hoped to be fulfilled with the present study.

## **2.7. ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY**

In spite of the fact that the main scope of this study is to shed light on the CS patterns between Azeri and Persian, it is yet worth noting that the findings of this research could be of help and perhaps use for determining the degree of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Azeri in Tabriz, Iran, particularly for the future studies that mainly tend to concentrate on this matter. It is important to remember that evaluating the ethnolinguistic vitality of any language, Azeri in this case, obviously, requires a systematic and comprehensive research that is geared to address the problem(s) of the research in question. On this stance, the present study is not intended to address such questions, nonetheless, relating the findings, as mentioned above, might pave the way for potential researches. In this section, a very brief explanation of the ethnolinguistic vitality and ethnolinguistic identity theory is provided.

Ehala (2015) quotes Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) for the definition of the standard model of the ethnolinguistic vitality as “the vitality of an ethno-linguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations” (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor, 1977, p. 308). Based on this stance, the groups with higher vitality are more prone to survive as distinctive collectives and groups, however, the groups with lower vitality tend to cease to exist and tend to eventually assimilate to the stronger groups (Ehala, *ibid*).

Ethnolinguistic vitality comprises of two classifications: objective vitality (OV) and subjective vitality (SV). While the OV shows the group’s strength based on three

variables viz. demographic factors, institutional support factors and status factors, the “SV [is] viewed as group members’ subjective perceptions of their groups’ vitality along the dimensions which were assumed to be the same as those that characterized objective vitality” (Ehala, 2015, p. 2).

According to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) and Ehala (2015), demographic factors include those factors that concern the group size, birth rate, immigration, emigration and geographical distribution of the group members and their historical ties to the territory which they populate. The second factor viz. institutional support includes formal and informal support factors. While the formal support factors demonstrate the extent of group members’ power position gain in various fields such as business, industry, administration, education, mass media, culture, sports, etc., “[i]nformal support factors refer to the degree that a group has organized itself as a pressure group to safeguard its interests in social institutions such as education, culture and administration” (Ehala, 2015, p. 1). Status factors, on the other hand, are those factors related to the socio-historic, and the social prestige of a group.

Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981) designed a Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) based on the notions of the SV. This questionnaire was designed to measure the perception of OV factors, nevertheless, due to the discrepancy of the results and lack of their consistent correlation with the aforementioned factors of OV, the researchers felt obliged to remodel the theory to address the social psychological side of vitality, and this led to the development of ethnolinguistic identity theory which:

...was elaborated by integrating the principles of social identity theory with the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, and Johnson, 1987). Ethnolinguistic identity theory proposes that high level of SV increases members’ identification with the group and their wish to maintain their language or ethnic speech style in intergroup communication. This tendency is strengthened if the group members perceive the intergroup boundaries to be rigid and impermeable and the intergroup situation as unstable, i.e. if they

see cognitive alternatives to the existing group status relations (Ehala, 2015, p. 2).

In this chapter, brief explanation of the theoretical issues concerning the CS and also the theoretical models used in this study, along with the review of the studies conducted in relation to CS both in and out of the context of Iran were provided. The following chapter introduces the methodological issues regarding the data collection, and data analysis of this study.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

In this chapter, the methodological issues regarding the data collection for the study and the analysis of the collected data will be explained. This chapter comprises of two main sections: a. Method of Data Collection, and b. Method of Data Analysis. In the first section, the reasons for collecting data from two different sources (i.e. naturally occurring conversations and TV interviews) will be explained, and the details of the collected data such as the settings, participants, and the situational context of each data source will be provided. In the second section, the method of transcription of the spoken data and the codification of the data for the analysis will be elaborated. Following this, the method of analysis of the transcribed data and the theoretical frame for the analysis of both sociolinguistic and structural aspects of the CS between spoken Azeri and Persian will be explained.

#### **3.1. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION**

##### **3.1.1. Reasons for Collecting the Data from Two Different Sources**

Prior to the research, based on the primary observations of the researcher, who is a native Azeri-Persian bilingual speaker, on the spoken Azeri language utilized by Azeri-Persian speaking bilinguals that reside in Tabriz, Iran, in both informal daily conversations and the formal situations, presumably, a higher degree of CS tended to occur in formal situations. Thus in order to conduct a scientific, systematic, and cross-register study of CS phenomenon between Azeri and Persian languages, the research questions (presented in CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION) were raised. These questions mainly inquired: 1. whether the sociolinguistic factors such as degree of formality, topic and settings affect the occurrence and the frequency of CS; 2. the type of CS based on Myers-Scotton's (1993c) Markedness Model and their frequency of occurrence; 3. in the code-switched sentences, which language (Azeri or Persian) is used as the ML and which is used as the EL in formal and informal situations; in other words, does the formality or informality of

the situation influence the status of the participating languages to be the ML or EL in formal and informal situations? 4. what lexical categories (nouns, verbs, etc.) occur with higher frequency in the code-switched sentences in formal and informal situations, and 5. with which Azeri suffixes do these Persian elements inflect?

Since these questions investigate the potential role of formal and informal registers along with other sociolinguistic factors in the occurrence of CS, and the plausible role of these registers in determining the status of the participating languages as ML or EL, we had to look into two registers of the spoken Azeri language (viz. formal and informal) in Tabriz, Iran. To this end, two sets of spoken data were collected. For the formal conversations, it was initially intended to accumulate the data from formal situations such as formal meetings of the state and governmental offices, courts of law, etc., however, due to some state restrictions it was not feasible to obtain data from these settings, and thus we had to shift the attention to the formal TV interviews of the governmental authorities who are Azeri-Persian bilinguals. Ideally, for a better suited comparison of CS use in both informal and formal registers, the everyday informal spoken communications of the very same governmental authorities who participated in the TV interviews would have proved to be of paramount usefulness for the research, nevertheless, given the socio-political status of these governmental authorities, accessing the private lives of these individuals, and thus collecting the spoken data from their everyday conversations was not feasible. Based on this reason, to acquire the data for the daily informal register, naturally occurring conversations between the Azeri-Persian bilingual speakers who reside in Tabriz, Iran, in various settings were audio recorded, and for the formal conversations, TV interviews were used. The details of both data sets concerning the settings, and participants are provided in the following sections of this chapter.

### **3.1.2. Naturally Occurring Conversations**

Collecting data from the “real” settings has always proved to be a big hurdle, since the researcher must overcome the Observer’s Paradox, to use Labov’s term. According to Labov (1972), collecting data without disturbing the natural flow of the conversations seems possible through systematic observations: “the aim of linguistic research in the

community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation” (ibid, p. 209). There are various ways to overcome this problem. For instance, one way is to collect the data while the researcher is not present and is by asking a participant to collect the required data, or by getting an “insider” in the speech community to participate as a partner in the research. The other way is that the researcher herself/himself can spend enough time in the community to be considered a member before collecting the data (Zuercher, 2009).

Regarding the ways of accumulating data from natural settings, reveals that researchers have applied a variety of ways. For example, Poplack (1980, 1988), used tape recordings of naturally occurring conversations. In a similar vein, Piller (2002), provided the bilingual participants with tape-recorders and a list of 46 self-interview questions, asking them to record their answers to the interview questions. Blom and Gumperz (1972), along with observing the public language behavior in Hemnesberget, Norway, conducted structured interactional situations to observe the effects of topic, setting, and interlocutors on language use. Bani-Shoraka (2005), too, tape-recorded the naturally occurring conversations in the subjects’ homes.

In the present study, since the researcher himself is a member of the target community, he audio recorded approximately 9 hours of the naturally occurring conversations between adult Azeri-Persian bilinguals living in Tabriz, Iran, almost within a month, with the informed consent obtained from all the participants. Note that, almost 8 hours and half of this recording time was used in the study, since the remaining parts of the recordings were not usable due to fact that they were inaudible or incomprehensible. There were only two cases in which the recording was carried out by someone other than the researcher: Ladies’ Hair Salon and the Ladies’ Gathering. Due to the cultural and state restrictions in Iran, men are not allowed to enter the ladies’ hair salon. In this particular case, a female acquaintance was asked to do the audio recording. Like in all the other settings, in the ladies’ hair salon, too, the informed consent was acquired from the participants in the recording. The Ladies’ Gathering session was also audio recorded by a female

acquaintance invited to the gathering. The informed consent was acquired from the participants of this setting, too.

It is worth noting that, in this study, variables such as gender, age, and the educational background of the participants were not taken into account, and the settings, topics and the participants were randomly selected for recording. The following sections include the details about the settings, and participants for the naturally occurring conversations.

### 3.1.2.1. Settings

The audio recordings for the naturally occurring conversations were carried out in 8 different locations and settings in Tabriz, Iran. These settings include: a grocery store, a jewelry store, a spare parts store, two separate taxis, a hair salon, a university campus, and a ladies' gathering. In some settings, where there were multiple recordings, the recordings were numbered (e.g. Grocery Store, Rec # 1, etc.) during the transcription process. Table 2 illustrates the approximate duration of the audio recording in each setting:

Table 2

*Approximate duration of the audio recording in each setting*

Setting	Approximate duration of recording
Grocery Store	47 minutes
Jewelry Store	39 minutes
Spare Parts Store	22 minutes
Taxi	14 minutes
Hair Salon	48 minutes
University Campus	86 minutes
Ladies' Gathering	252 minutes
Total time of recording	508 minutes (8 hours and 46 minutes)

### 3.1.2.2. Participants

In this study, 44 Azeri-Persian bilinguals, between the ages of 21 to 66, who were living in Tabriz, Iran, participated. The educational background of the participants was also diverse, with the lowest degree being the high school diploma. In spite of the fact that this demographic information was not going to be used in this study, it was nonetheless asked by the researcher from the participants orally after the recording was over for the future researches. Since factors such as topic of the conversation, gender, age, and educational background were not taken into account in this study, all of the participants were selected randomly. They all consented to their voice being recorded by signing the “Voluntary Participation in the Research Form”, which is required by the Hacettepe University’s Ethics Commission’s regulations. A sample of this form and its Persian translation is given in Appendix 1. Of all the participants, only one participant (in the grocery store) disagreed to be recorded, in which case, the researcher did not record her conversation. In order to keep the participants anonymous in the study, when transcribing, we used alphabetical letters (e.g. A, B, C, etc.) to address each participant in the research. In the following tables (Table 3 – Table 10), participants’ gender, and role in each setting are shown. Note that in the tables, “participant’s code” refers to the code that was used in the transcription to address the participant, and “role” refers to the role of the individual in the conversation.

Table 3

*Participants’ code in the transcription, gender and role in the Grocery Store*

Participant’s Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	grocer
B	M	customer
C	M	customer
D	M	dairy products distributor
E	F	customer
F	F	customer



G	M	customer
H	F	customer
I	M	customer
J	F	landlady
Total number of the participants: 10		

Table 4

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Jewelry Store*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	shop owner
B	M	acquaintance
C	M	acquaintance
D	M	acquaintance
E	M	acquaintance
Total number of the participants: 5		

Table 5

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Spare Parts Store*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	shop owner 1
B	M	acquaintance
C	M	acquaintance
D	M	shop owner 2
E	M	acquaintance
F	M	acquaintance
Total number of the participants: 6		

Table 6

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Taxi 1*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	taxi driver
B	M	customer
C	M	customer
Total number of the participants: 3		

Table 7

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Taxi 2*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	taxi driver
B	M	customer
Total number of the participants: 2		

Table 8

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Hair Salon*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	F	salon owner
B	F	customer
C	F	customer
Total number of the participants: 3		

Table 9

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the University Campus*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	M	university lecturer
B	M	student
C	M	university lecturer
D	F	university lecturer
E	M	visiting student
F	M	university lecturer
G	M	university lecturer
H	M	office worker
I	M	student
J	M	student
Total number of the participants: 10		

Table 10

*Participants' code in the transcription, gender and role in the Ladies' Gathering*

Participant's Code in the Transcription	Gender	Role
A	F	host
B	F	invitee
C	F	invitee
D	F	invitee
E	F	invitee
F	F	invitee
G	F	invitee
H	F	invitee
I	F	invitee
Total number of the participants: 9		

### 3.1.2.3. Situational Contexts of the Naturally Occurring Conversations

In this section, for the purpose of providing a clear image of each setting in the naturally occurring conversations, a brief situational context of each setting will be described.

#### *The Grocery Store*

In this setting, a local grocer has short, typical conversations with the customers who come for shopping. Nonetheless, two of his conversations are different from others: a. his conversation with the dairy products distributor, and b. the landlady of the store. In his conversation with the dairy products distributor, he receives the dairy products he had ordered previously and tries to place new orders. They discuss the date of the check that the grocer offers to write as the payment method and have a slight argument over the issue. In the conversation between the grocer and the landlady, the grocer explains his reasons for his intention to quit his partnership with his business partner and complains about his partner's lack of shouldering the responsibility to run the business effectively.

#### *The Jewelry Store*

The conversations in this setting, which is a local jewelry store, include various topics. At the beginning, the shop owner has a conversation with two of his acquaintances at the store about some business related to gold trading. After some time, the topic of the conversation shifts to charity topics and the participants start talking about religious ceremonies and some cultural matters related to the religion. They exchange some examples of these religious ceremonies and discuss why they think such events are unnecessary.

#### *The Spare Parts Store*

At the beginning of the recording at this local spare parts store, one of the shop owners is having a telephone conversation with an acquaintance who asks at which hospital he can get a specific medical procedure practiced. The participant then asks the other participants

present at the store the same question. Meanwhile, other two participants are talking about the immigration process difficulties and exchange their ideas about the issue. The participants continue having conversations including various topics such as quitting smoking, some jokes, etc.

### *The Taxi 1&2*

The recordings in the taxi were carried out at two different taxis. In one of the taxis, the driver complains about the inflation and high prices, and compares the taxi fares in the past and present, and the other participant agrees with him. In the second taxi, the driver starts a conversation about the political and economical corruption in the country and gives an example from China as how to deal with corrupted politicians. Then the participants compare the socio-economic condition of the country in the past and present regimes.

### *The Hair Salon*

At the hair salon, which is a female-only setting, the salon owner (at the same time the hair dresser) has some conversations with two of the customers about the weather, and later she speaks to a customer about the hair model and color. Later, one of the customers starts a conversation with the other customer about acupuncture and they discuss the advantages of this practice and one of the participants talks about a friend of hers who had recently received acupuncture treatment. Later, the salon owner describes a public swimming pool that she had recently been to with her family and mentions that they had a lot of fun there.

### *The University Campus*

The recordings of this domain were carried out at two separate places on a university campus in Tabriz, Iran. In the first setting, which is a university lecturer's office, a male lecturer is talking to two students and gives them some advice as how to write an abstract for a paper. Meanwhile, the other lecturer discusses the course schedule in the new

semester with another lecturer. After a while, both lecturers have a conversation about a suitable occupation for the female lecturer's daughter, and the male participant gives some advice about the issue. Later, the female lecturer, as she reads, complains about a poorly-written chapter of a student's dissertation and compares her student years with her students'. In the second setting, which is the student affairs office, an officer has a conversation with two students about the registration process, and informs them of the requirements for the enrolment to the new term. After this conversation, he greets a visitor who is an acquaintance of his and also a graduate from this university. Their conversations mainly include the comparison of the curriculum and the student population of this university and the institution where the visitor is working at, the officer's reasons for not having continued the M.A. program at the university and the procedure of getting the visitor's particular document certified by the university.

### *The Ladies Gathering*

This setting is another female-only source of data in which the recording was carried out by an acquaintance of the researcher's. The conversations occur between some guests at a gathering/picnic in a garden near Tabriz, Iran. The participants have daily conversations on various topics: in one case, for instance, they mainly share their opinions about men's attitude difference in different cities, and in another case, one of the participants shares her ideas about an acquaintance's wedding ceremony.

### **3.1.3. TV Interviews**

As mentioned above, the second set of data for the research includes 7 formal Azeri TV interviews with the governmental authorities who are Azeri-Persian bilinguals. Six of these interviews were carried out by "Nasr News" (<http://nasrnews.ir/>), which is a non-governmental news agency based in Tabriz, Iran, and one of them was carried out by "Ay Media", which is a video channel on a video streaming website called "Aparat" (<https://www.aparat.com/>) from which the video clips of these interviews were retrieved. Table 11 illustrates the authorities' position in the local government and the retrieve information of each video clip. Note that, all of the interviewees (authorities) are male

speakers, and that, due to the lack of access to their demographic information such as age or educational background, such information will not be included here.

Table 11

*Authorities' position in the local government and the retrieve information of each video clip*

Video Clip #	Authority's Position	Video Clip Retrieve Information
1	Managing Director of Parks and Green Area Organization of the Municipality of Tabriz	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/OsJWk">https://www.aparat.com/v/OsJWk</a>
2	- President of the Medical Council -Candidate for the President of the Medical Council	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/387mu">https://www.aparat.com/v/387mu</a>
3	Former Deputy Governor General of East Azerbaijan Province	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/ySXic">https://www.aparat.com/v/ySXic</a>
4	Director General of the East Azerbaijan Relief Committee	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/F6fNb">https://www.aparat.com/v/F6fNb</a>
5	The Governor of East Azerbaijan	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/05uyB">https://www.aparat.com/v/05uyB</a>
6	Mufti of Tabriz	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/RAvkN">https://www.aparat.com/v/RAvkN</a>
7	President of the Medical Council	Retrieved on 09.02.2018 from <a href="https://www.aparat.com/v/48ESR">https://www.aparat.com/v/48ESR</a> .

### 3.1.3.1. Situational Contexts of The TV Interviews

Like the section above, in this section, for the purpose of a providing a clear image of each setting in the TV interviews, a brief situational context of each setting will be described.

#### *Video Clip #1*

In this interview, the correspondent is interviewing the Managing Director of Parks and Green Area Organization of the Municipality of Tabriz. The authority starts his interview

by expressing his appreciation of the news agency and later talks about the problems of the parks and green areas in Tabriz. He mentions that these problems are due to the lack of efficient management in the past, and continues to list the improvements that the current management has made in the parks and green areas in Tabriz.

#### *Video Clip #2*

This video includes interviews of the President of the Medical Council, who mentions about the projects that have been carried out to enhance the Medical Council's efficiency, and also the future plans. Later, the correspondent interviews two of the candidates of the Medical Council's presidency, the election of which would be done later in the upcoming days. These candidates, too, talked about their future plans for the Medical Council.

#### *Video Clip #3*

The Former Deputy Governor General of East Azerbaijan Province is interviewed in this clip. He commences by underling the importance of the sincere journalism and thus praises the news agency for holding such a quality. Later, he explains the challenges he confronted during his service and provides some examples as why running this office is challenging. He also criticizes the government for not rejuvenating the system.

#### *Video Clip #4*

In this interview, the correspondent is interviewing the Director General of the East Azerbaijan Relief Committee, a state-owned charity organization. At the beginning, he admires the news agency for being independent from any political parties, etc. Then he explains the way this charity functions and highlights a misconception that is rampant among people regarding its function. He also suggests an approach for improving the function of this organization.



*Video Clip #5*

Then newly-appointed Governor of East Azerbaijan is interviewed in this clip and is asked questions about the challenges that he has faced during this time. In response, he lists three main hurdles that he considers to be crucial: a. the revival of Lake Urumiye, b. Tabriz 2018 Expo. c. the unemployment problem in the province.

*Video Clip #6*

In this video, the Mufti of Tabriz is interviewed by Nasr News agency members at the Mufti's office. At the beginning of the interview, the head of the agency talks briefly about the news agency's history and then praises the Mufti for the importance of his position. The Mufti, then, acknowledges the importance of objective and sincere news, and mentions about his similar experiences in the news publishing via various media during his student years. Later, he discusses the problems of the society, and emphasizes that the cultural and economical problems should be addressed properly. Then he talks about the measures he has taken since his appointment as the Mufti of Tabriz, and gives some examples concerning these measures.

*Video Clip #7*

This video includes the interview of the President of the Medical Council about the nurses' salary problems. The interviewer starts the interview by mentioning some news about this issue and says that nurses, according to some sources, have not been paid and that their salary has been spent on some other projects like building a hospital etc. The authority does not corroborate this claim and explains why such a matter arouse, and that the Council is still trying to solve the problem.

## **3.2. METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS**

In this section, the methods used to transcribe, codify and analyze the data will be explained.

### **3.2.1. Transcription and Codification of the Data**

Due to the fact that most of the data for the studies that scrutinize the CS phenomenon between various languages typically include naturally and spontaneously occurring conversations, for the purpose of analysis, transcription of these spoken data is almost always required. Not only the transcription of the spoken data provides a practical and tangible way to linguistically analyze the data, it also bears some significance. Ochs (1979), as cited in Zuercher (2009), highlights the importance of the transcription and maintains that researchers should give importance to transcription: a) because for nearly all studies based on performance, the transcriptions are the researcher's data; b) because transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions; and c) because with the exception of conversation analysis (Sacks et al. 1974), the process of transcription has not been foregrounded in empirical studies of language behavior. (Ochs, *ibid*, p. 44)

Considering the importance of transcription in CS studies, in particular, it is important for the researcher to remember the aim(s) of the research before transcribing. A type of transcription that highlights the aspects of the data that are salient for the study and that are in line with the purposes of the research, and thus leaving out the extra aspects of the data should be favored by the researchers.

Based on this stance, given the purposes of the present study, which roughly include the identification of Persian linguistic elements that are inserted in the Azeri utterances in the first place, for the transcription of both data sets (i.e. naturally occurring conversations and TV interviews), a simplified version of Jeffersonian Transcription Notation (2004) was used (present in Appendix 2). Note that, since the phonological factors such as intonation, stress, etc. are not focused upon in this study, when transcribing the data, such

factors were ignored. We preserved the colloquial words used by the participants that clearly represented different lexical items from their formal counterparts, and no grammatical errors were corrected. Both languages were transcribed in Azeri Latin script, and Persian script was not used. For the classification of the elements as Azeri or Persian, an Azeri-Persian dictionary was used as a reference. Since none of the voice recognition software such as Praat or Dragon could recognize Azeri dialogues, the audio recorded data were manually transcribed. An example of transcription of both data sets are presented in Appendix 3.

In order to codify the transcribed data for the grammatical analysis and exemplification, Canonical Trilinear Representation (Lehmann, 2004) was used. In this codification, the L1 text is matched by two L2 lines: the IMG (Interlinear Morphemic Gloss) and a free translation. For the IMG and the free translation English was used. Example (35) shows a code-switched sentence from the data. Note that, the highlighted and underlined element represents Persian elements in all three lines of the codified data. The number in the parentheses represents the number of the example in this thesis and the number next to the L1 line represents the number of line in the conversation. The information concerning the setting and the recording number is provided in the parentheses under the free translation line:

- (35) 14 =ge-r-əmə                      qeyn-im-inən                      saxtuman                      iş-inə=
- go-PROG.1SG    brother-in-law-1SG.POSS-COM    construction    job-DAT.3SG
- “I am going to(start)a construction business with my brother-in-law”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the customer #1- Rec. 1)

### 3.2.2. Method of Analyzing the Transcribed and Codified Data

In this study, the analysis of the data was carried out from two perspectives: a) qualitative and quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of the data; and b) qualitative and quantitative structural analysis of the code-switched sentences. Table 12 summarizes the method of analyzing the data in this study:

Table 12

*Summary of the data analysis procedure in the study*

Aspect of analysis	What is investigated in the data?
Sociolinguistic Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Total number of the code-switched sentences in both data sets in order to testify the role of register in CS.</li> <li>- Type of the code-switched sentences (Marked or Unmarked) and their frequency.</li> </ul>
Structural Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The role of participating languages (as ML or EL) in the code-switched sentences.</li> <li>- The categories of EL parts of speech occurred in the code-switched sentences and their frequency in each register.</li> <li>- Types and the frequency of ML suffixes with which the EL elements are inflected.</li> </ul>

Once the spoken data from both data sets were transcribed and codified, in order to testify the potential role of register in the occurrence, and the frequency of CS between Azeri and Persian, both total number of the TPs (tense phrases) and the bilingual sentences (i.e. the code-switched sentences that include both Azeri and Persian elements) in both data sets were manually counted and compared. Moreover, the type of CS as Marked or Unmarked in each bilingual sentence, based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1993c) Markedness Model, in both data sets was identified, and the frequency of each type was compared across the registers.

For the structural analysis of the data, Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002, 2006) Matrix Language Frame model and the 4M Model developed by Myers Scotton and Jake (2000 & 2001) were used. To determine the role of each participating language in the Mixed Constituents of both data sets, as the ML or EL, based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 2002, 2006) definition, a qualitative analysis of the code-switched sentences was carried out. In order to find out the type and the frequency of Persian elements (i.e. parts of

speech) and also the frequency and pattern of the Azeri suffixes that were inflected with Persian elements, these elements were manually counted and categorized.

The statistical analyses of both stages of the data analysis, was carried out to find the ratio and the percentage of frequency of the elements in question. This information is presented in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the present study aims to scrutinize the CS phenomenon between Azeri and Persian from two perspectives: a. sociolinguistic, and b. structural aspect. Based on this, this chapter includes the statistics and some examples of the code-switched sentences found in two data sets, and is divided into two main sections viz. findings related to the sociolinguistic aspect of the study, and findings related to the structural analysis of the study. In the first section of the chapter, the statistics related to the total number of code-switched sentences in both data sets, and the frequency of Marked and Unmarked code-switched sentences based on Myers-Scotton's (1993b, 1993c) Markedness Model will be provided. In the second section, the categories and the frequencies of the EL parts of speech found in the Mixed Constituents (ML+EL), based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) MLF model, along with the types and frequencies of the ML suffixes inflected with the EL elements will be given. Further explanations for each of these statistics will be provided in the "CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION" of this thesis.

#### 4.1. FINDINGS RELATED TO THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECT OF THE STUDY

In both data sets, code-switched sentences including elements from both Azeri and Persian, based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) definition of Mixed Constituents were found. According to these findings, the total number of the TPs (tense phrases) that included mixed constituents in naturally occurring conversations was 356 out of 1372 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 3.85 (25.94 %). However, expectedly, the total number of TPs with mixed constituents found in the TV interviews was 268 out of 441 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 1.64 (60.7 %). The lower ratio of CS in the naturally occurring conversations and also the higher ratio of CS occurrence in the TV interviews are indicative of the role of register in CS, the possible reasons of which will be further explored in the next chapter.

Regarding the identification of the type of CS choice made by the participants as Marked or Unmarked choice, the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993c, 2006) was utilized. According to this model, both speakers and listeners, using their communicative competence, follow a principled procedure to make judgments about any linguistic choice they might make or hear as more or less ‘marked’ (expected) (Myers-Scotton, 2006). According to this model, there are two choices speakers make: Unmarked Choices and Marked Choices. The unmarked choices in any given interaction, regarding the features of the interaction viz. participants, topics, settings, etc., are those ones that are more or less expected. Related to this kind of choice, Myers-Scotton (1993c), calls the normative expectations for each interaction type as Rights and Obligations Set (RO set). Marked choices, on the other hand, are those choices that are not expected based on the RO set that is in effect. Based on this definition, both the Marked and Unmarked CS choices made by the participants in both data sets were identified and counted, and the results are shown in Table 13 below. Note that in the TV interview data, all of the CS choices are unmarked due to the distinctive features of the discourse, such as formality, the persona and the status of the participants, etc., in which the conversations took place. Further explanations about this will be given in the next chapter.

Table 13

*Number of TPs, Mixed Constituents, Marked CS choices, and Unmarked CS choices in both data sets*

Setting	Total Number of TPs	Number of Mixed Constituents	Marked CS	Unmarked CS
Naturally Occurring Conversations	1372	356	58	298
TV Interviews	441	268	0	268

The total number of Marked and Unmarked code-switched sentences in each of the settings in the naturally occurring conversations is shown in Table 14:

Table 14

*Number of Marked and Unmarked CS choices in each setting of naturally occurring conversations*

Setting	Marked Code-switched Sentence	Unmarked Code-switched Sentence
Grocery Store	11	36
Jewelry Store	22	55
Spare Parts Store	2	46
Taxi	6	42
Hair Salon	7	23
Campus	10	96
Total	58	298

#### **4.2. FINDINGS RELATED TO THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY**

In this section of the chapter, first, we are going to categorize the EL elements (lexemes/islands) according to their category as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and interjections and also according to the ML suffixes that they have been inflected with. In few cases, where the whole sentence is in Persian, the sentences are categorized in a distinct category. Once the categories are presented, the type and the frequencies of the ML suffixes with which the EL elements are inflected will be shown. Note that due to the high number of the Mixed Constituents in the data, only some examples are presented here. The highlighted and underlined parts show the EL islands. Table 15 illustrates the categories with their frequency and percentage:



Table 15

*Frequency of EL lexeme/islands in the Mixed Constituents*

EL lexeme / island type	Naturally Occurring Conversations		TV Interviews	
		%		%
Nouns	122	49.19	187	34.69
Adjectives	33	13.30	51	9.46
NPs	46	18.54	123	22.82
VPs	35	14.11	78	14.47
Adverbs	4	1.61	39	7.23
PPs	5	2	56	10.38
EL Sentences	3	1.2	0	0
Interjections	0	0	5	0.92
Total	248	100	539	100

**4.2.1. Mixed Constituents (ML+EL) in the Naturally Occurring Conversations**

The CS forms found in the data were the Mixed Constituents based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993c) definition. These constituents included morphemes from both Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL).

## 4.2.1.1. EL Nouns + ML Suffixes

## 4.2.1.1.1. EL Single Nouns

In this section, some examples of the EL (Persian) nouns found in the naturally occurring conversation data set are presented. It is worth mentioning that in all of the cases, well-formedness conditions of the Azeri grammar were met and the morpheme order in the constituents was not violated. In (36) and (37), the EL (Persian) noun **saxtuman** "construction" and the compound noun **ab + mädəni**, "water + mineral" are inserted in

the ML (Azeri), which shapes the morphosyntactic frame for the whole constituent. In (38), (39), (40), and (41) **məhəndis** “engineer” **imtiyaz** “license”, **cins** “goods”, **umurat** “affairs”, respectively, are the EL single nouns that are inserted in the ML.

- (36) 14 =ge-r-əm qeyn-im-inən **saxtuman** iş-inə=  
 go-PROG.1SG brother-in-law-1SG.POSS-COM **construction** job-DAT.3SG  
*“I am going to(start)a **construction** business with my brother-in-law”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the customer#1- Rec.1)

- (37) 72 C: bi-da **abmədəni** lütf el-iy-in  
 one-ENUM **mineral water** please do-IMP-2PL  
*“One **mineral water**, please.”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

- (38) 1 A: aye **məhəndis** nəcür-dü-lər? yaxçı-dı-lar?  
 mister **engineer** how-be.3PL? good-be.3PL?  
*“How is Mister **Engineer**? Is he fine?”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the customer#4 and 5- Rec.5)

- (39) 78 **imtiyaz** ver-sin o-na  
**license** give-OPT.3SG he/she-DAT  
*“he gives the **business licance** to the one who takes over the store”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

- (40) 100 =zəh vur-up ağa “Active-dən” gəl-sə mən-ə **cins**  
 phone call-PT mister “Active-ABL” come-CON.3SG I-DAT **goods**  
*“he has called me and told that if the distributor comes from “Active” [get some **goods** for me]*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

- (41) 103 A: hər-kəs=indi di-yir **umurat** mən-im əl-im-də-di=  
 any-one now say-IMPF.3SG **affairs** I-GEN hand-1SG.POSS-LOC-3SG  
*“anyone, now he thinks that he is controlling the **affairs**”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

## 4.2.1.1.2. EL Nouns + ML Possessive Markers

In the data, EL nouns that are inflected with ML suffixes were detected, too. In (42) and (43), the EL noun **həzine** “expense” occurred inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix *-sin*:

- (42) 101 A: hammi yaz-ıl-di =hammi-sı-nın **həzinə-sin** ver-dux=  
 everybody write-PASS-P.COP=all-3SG.POSS-GEN **expense-3SG.POSS** give-PT.1PL  
 “everybody enrolled and I paid all of **their expenses**”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

- (43) 109 =de-di ağa bu **həzine**(0.5)qıxzat **həzinə-sin** de-di =  
 say-PT.3SG Mr. this **expense** forty-something **expense-3SG.POSS** say-PT.3SG  
 “he said that this **expense of fortieth day** ceremony”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

In (44), **numayəndə** “representative” is an EL noun inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix *-si* and third person singular past copular *-di*:

- (44) 335 C: “R” indi “Samsung-un” **numayəndə-si-di**  
 “R” now “Samsung-GEN” **representative-3SG.POSS-3SG**=  
 “He is **the representative of** “Samsung”.

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

In (45), the EL **keyfiyyət-dər-i** “their quality” is an EL noun inflected with ML third person plural possessive making suffix *-dəri*.

- (45) 1 A: bu-lar öz-lər-i-də **keyfiyyət-dər-i** pis ol-m-ur= işlət-mi-süz?  
 this-3PL self-3PL.CL **quality-3PL.POSS** bad be-NEG-3SG= Use-PF-2PL?  
 “**Their quality** is not bad either, have you tried?”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the customer#2- Rec.2)

In (46), and (47) **danişcu** “student” is the EL noun that is inflected with the ML third person plural making suffix *-lar* and third person singular possessive suffix *-i*, and first person plural possessive suffix *-muz*, respectively:

(46) 46 B: neçə nəfər **danişcu-lar-i** var?  
 how many person **student-PL-3SG.POSS** exist  
 “how many **students** do they have?”

(Campus Rec. 2)

(47) 62 B: bu il **danişcu-muz** qıx yeddi nədəfr-di  
 this year **student-1PL.POSS** forty seven person-3SG  
 “this year we have forty seven **students**”

(Campus Rec. 2)

#### 4.2.1.1.3. EL Nouns + ML Person Markers

In (48), **hesabdar-di** “is [an] accountant”, and **fiziyotrap-di** “is a physiotherapist”, are inflected with ML third person singular marker *-di*:

(48) 139 =bekar dəyil-lər bir **hesabdar-di**=bir **fiziyotrap-di**=  
 unemployed not-be-PL one **accountant-3SG** one **physiotherapist- 3SG**  
 “that are very popular one is **accountant**, the other is **physiotherapist**”

(Campus – Rec.1)

In (49), (50), (51), (52), and (53), **pərəstar** “nurse” **cürm** “crime” **bimaristan** “hospital” **niyaz** “need” **foqilisans** “Master’s program”, **döhtüra** “PhD”, respectively, are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML third person singular suffix *-di*:

(49) 138 = **pərəstar-di**=yani biri “Tehran-da” **pərəstar** ol-a= ay-da beş  
**nurse-3SG** mean one “Tehran-LOC” **nurse** be-COND.3SG month-LOC five  
 “and **nursing**. If you are a **nurse** in “Tehran” you can [earn monthly...]”

(Campus – Rec.1)

(50) 168 A: ((LAUGHING)) böyüh cürm-di

big crime-3SG

*It's a big crime.*

(Spare Parts Store)

(51) 18 A: di-yir bimaristan-di=mən fikr el-ir-əm bimaristan=

say-IMPF.3SG hospital-3SG=I think do-IMPF.1SG hospital

*“He says it's a hospital. I think it is”*

(Spare Parts Store)

(52) 20 B: əyə çox niyaz-di soruş-um.

if much need-3SG ask-1SG

*“If it is needed much, I can ask.”*

(Spareparts Store)

(53) 123 F: foqilisans-di döhtüra-di?

Ø masters-3SG doctorate-3SG

*“Is he doing his Master's or PhD?”*

124 E: foqilisans

Master's

125 F: foqilisans-a beş il çox-di-da= foqilisans iki il-lıx dörə-di

master's-DAT five year much-3SG-EMPH=master's two year-ADJ program-3SG

*Five years is too much for a Master's degree. Master's is a two-year program*

(Spareparts Store)

#### 4.2.1.1.4. EL Nouns + ML Locative Case Markers

In (54), (55), (56), (57), (58), (59), and (60) danişqah “*university*”, karnamə “*transcription*”, bərnəmə “*program*” and, müctəmə “*the campus*” mühit “*environment*” and bimarestan “*hospital*”, respectively, are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML locative case marker *–da*, or *–də*:

(54) 12 B: danişqah-da?  
university-LOC  
*At the university?*

(Campus Rec. 2)

(55) 33 = nə karnamə-də nə də bərnəmə-də  
 neither transcription-LOC neither program-LOC  
*“neither in the transcription nor the program”*

(Campus Rec. 2)

(56) 94 B: müctəmə-də ikiminci təbəqə  
complex-LOC second floor  
*“It is on the main campus, on the second floor.”*

(Campus Rec. 2)

(57) 99 B: həftə-də bir gün müctəmə-də cələsə ol-ar= ged-ip ora  
 week-LOC one day complex-LOC meeting be-3SG go-P.COP there  
*“There is a meeting once a week on the main campus; he’s gone there”*

(Campus Rec. 2)

(58) 62 A: vallah bi tedad iş-lər var-ki çiih mühit-lər-də çətin-di=  
 well one things work-PL exist-that small place-PL-LOC hard-3SG  
*“Well, there are some things which are harder in smaller environments”*

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(59) 120 =bəzi yer-lər-də elə-sən ol-ur= vəli çiih mühit-lər-də=  
 some place-PL-LOC do-COND.2SG be-PART.3SG=but small place-PL-LOC  
*“if you do in some places, you can do them, but in small towns”*

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(60) 24 A: olsun n-olar=denə patoloji hançi bimaristan-da var? (1)bi-dana=  
 OK what-happen-3SG pathology which hospital-LOC exist? one-ENUM  
*“OK, it’s a good idea. Ask which hospital has pathology?”*

(Spare Parts Store)

In (61), the EL noun **vaqiyət** “*reality*” is inflected with the ML locative suffix *-də*.

- (61) 29 = zəh vur =**vaqiyət-də** gör-ü-sən indi neçə gün-di bu  
 phone hit-IMP.2SG=**reality-LOC** see-PART-2SG now how day-3SG this  
*call me; **actually** you see he has been (for some days)*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

#### 4.2.1.1.5. EL Nouns + ML Dative Case Markers

In (62), **moqe** “*time*” is a single EL noun and **bimarestan-nar-a** “*to the hospitals*”, is an EL noun inflected with ML plural making suffix *-nar*, and ML dative making suffix *-a*. Likewise,

- (62) 56 =hər **moqe** na-şükr ol-an-da bir **bimarestan-nar-a** ged-ə=  
 every **time** NEG-thank be-ADV-LOC one **hospital-PL-DAT** go-3SG  
*“**whenever** you feel discontent, go and visit **hospitals**”*

(Campus – Rec.1)

In (63), and (64), **xərid** “*purchase*”, and **şirkət** “*company*”, respectively are EL nouns that are inflected with ML dative case marker *-ə* “*to*”.

- (63) 41 B:bidəfə ötür-mi-yip **xərid-ə** mən  
 once allow-NEG-PF.3SG **purchase-DAT** I  
 42 =bax-am bül-əm-ki ağa ney-ni-rəm(0.5)  
 see-1SG know-COND.1SG that mister what-IMPF.1SG  
*“He hasn’t allowed me to deal with the **purchase** matters, so”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

- (64) 69 = dalı-sın imzala hançi **şirkət-ə** ver-isən ver (0.25)iş-in yox?  
 behind-GEN sign which **company-DAT** give-2SG give work-1SG.POSS not

“sign behind it(the check) and give it to whichever **company** you”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

In (65) too, **rahəndazi** “operation” is an EL noun inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix *-sin* and dative case marker *-a*:

(65) 80 =xamuş ol-sa-lar      **rahəndaz-ısin-a**      məcbur-ux=  
shut be-COND.3PL **operation-3SG.POSS-DAT** necessary-1PL

“and if they are shut down, **for their operation** we must”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

In (66), and (67), **bərnəmə** “program”, and **qəzaxori** “restaurant”, respectively, are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML dative case marker *-yə*, and *-ə*:

(66) 22 B: israğı gün      bi-dana      **bərnəm-iyə**      rasgəl-du-x      biz=bi-da=  
the other day one-ENUM **program-DAT** come-PT-1PL we=one-ENUM

“The other day we experienced **something** [interesting].”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(67) 32 = məçid-dən qonax çıx-mış-di      ged-ir-di      **qəzaxori-yə**=  
mosque-LOC guest exit-PF-P.COP return-IMP-P.COP **restaurant-DAT**

“guests were exiting from the mosque to go to the **restaurant**”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)



## 4.2.1.1.6. EL Nouns + ML Accusative Case Markers

In (68), the EL noun **rəmz** “password” is inserted in the ML, and it is inflected with ML second person plural possessive suffix *-iz* and accusative suffix of *-i*. In (69), **cins** “goods” is the EL noun that is inflected with the ML first person plural possessive suffix *-imiz* and accusative case marker *-i*.

- (68) 8 A: kart çək-əca-x? =**rəmz-iz-i** buyur-us-uz?  
 kard swipe-FUT.1PL?=**password-2PL.POSS-ACC** say-PART.2PL?  
 “Are we swiping card? Will you please tell **your password?**”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the customer#4 and 5- Rec.5)

- (69) 85 = **cins-imiz-i** sat-arux(0.5)sora de-di-ki mən “M” dost-am=  
**goods-1PL.POSS-ACC** sell-1PL later say-PT-that I “M” friend-1SG  
 “we sell **our products**; later he said that he was a friend of “M”s”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

In (70) and (71), **hünəristan** “vocational school” and **resid** “receipt” are EL nouns which are inflected with ML accusative suffix *-i* and clitic suffix *-də*, respectively:

- (70) 85 =**hünəristan-i** düzət-di-lər  
**vocational school-ACC** build-P.COP-PL  
 they built **the vocational school**, too

(Taxi- Rec.2)

- (71) 46 =özü-də bara goy-up-di ged-ip-di **resid-i-də** at-ıp bura=  
 self-CL goof put-PF-COP go-PF-COP **receipt-ACC-CL** throw-P.COP here  
 “that he had made a mistake and put **the receipt** here”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

In (72), (73), and (74), **ruznamə** “newspaper”, **umurat** “issues” **vəqeyət** “truth”, respectively, are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML accusative case marker *-ni*, *-I*:

- (72) 59 A: öyün **ruznamə-ni** oxu-ram=axi bu il “Ə” ged-ir **səhristan-lar-da**=  
 that day **paper-ACC** read-1SG=for this year “Ə” go-3SG **town-PL-LOC**=  
*“the other day I was reading **the newspaper** and as you may know “Ə”, this year goes to the **small towns** and”*

(Taxi- Rec.2)

- (73) 8 A: **umurat-ı-da** idarə eli-yən də **vəqeyəti** çəh-lər-i al-ır=  
**affairs-ACC-ENC** manage do-AOR.3SG **actually** check-PL-ACC get-PART.3SG  
*“who takes over the shop, **actually** takes the responsibility of the **affairs**”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

- (74) 10 =ol-ma-z= (0.5)mən **vəqeyət-i** diy-ir-əm= çün mən neçə nəfər-inən=  
 be-NEG=3SG I **truth-ACC** say-IMPF.1SG=because I some person-COM  
*“which I know is impossible, **actually** as I (have talked) to some people”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

#### 4.2.1.1.7. EL Nouns + ML Other Suffixes

In (75), the EL noun **əxlax** “habit” is inserted in the ML and is inflected with ML plural making suffix *-lar*:

- (75) 286 A: **əxlax-lar** fərq el-ir-da  
**habit-PL** differ do-IMPF-EMPH  
*“Well, people have different **habits**”*

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

## 4.2.1.2. EL Adjectives:

## 4.2.1.2.1. EL Single Adjectives

Like EL nouns, EL (Persian) adjectives, too, occurred in the Mixed Constituents in the data. In this section some examples are provided. In (76), (77), (78) and (79) EL single adjectives **qanun-i** “lawfull”, **bilatəklif** “goalless”, **müfəssəl** “lavish”, **həsteyi** “nuclear” are inserted in the Mixed Constituents, respectively, whose grammatical frame is provided by Azeri, the ML:

- (76) 86 =ol-acax-di yani **qanun-i** gərəh bu-cür ol-a(1) hər-kəs=  
 be-FUT-PT.3SG mean **law-ADJ** necessary this-like be-IMP any-person  
*“I mean **according to the law**, it should be like this, anyone”*

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

- (77) 401 C: o-lar çün **bilatəklif** qal-ıp.  
 that-PL because **goalless** remain-PT.3SG  
*“Because they are now **goalless**.”*

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

- (78) 37 =nə inke məsələn [**müfəssəl**  
 not that for example **lavish**  
*“but not something very **lavish**”*

(Taxi – Rec.2)

- (79) 98 =bi-dana **həsteyi** qoy-du-lar= o-nu-da axir-də gəl-di-lər=  
 one-ENUM **nuclear** put-PART-PL that-ACC-CL end-LOC come-P.COP-PL  
*“built a **nuclear plant** and at the end”*

(Taxi – Rec.2)

In (80), and (81), **təxəsoşi** “specialized” and **zəruri** “urgent” are EL adjectives inserted in the Mixed Constituent:

- (80) 45 B: siz-in orda indi **təxəsoşi** yox-di  
 you-GEN there now **specialized** not-3SG  
 “So you don’t have **specialized** veterinary field there?”

(Campus – Rec. 2)

- (81) 64 =gör-ü-sən oruşlux-di be istilah **zəruri** dəy-ir= iki yüz  
 see-IMPF.2SG Ramadan-3SG so-called **urgent** not.3SG= two hundred  
 “you see in Ramadan, when, in other words, it is **not necessary**”

(Jewelry Store –Rec.2)

#### 4.2.1.2.2. EL Adjectives + ML Person Markers

In (82), (83), and (84), the EL adjectives **mütməin** “sure”, and **şirinbəyan** “tactful”, and, **vətənpərəst** “patriot”, respectively, are inflected with ML second person singular “be” - *sən*, third person singular suffix –*di*, and third person singular perfective –*imiş* and third person plural suffix –*lər*:

- (82) 9 B: öcür de-mə-mis-ən? = **mütməin-sən**?  
 like that say-NEG.PF-2SG? = **certain-be.2SG**?  
 “you haven’t said so? **Are you sure?**”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

- (83) 120 “A” **şirin bəyan-di** axi =danış-sa hər-zad-i=  
 “A” **sweet talk-3SG** because=talk-COND.3SG every-thing-ACC  
 “A” **uses tact** very well, and if he talks”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

- (84) 89 =**vətənpərəst-imiş-lər** dər muqabil-i bu-lar  
**patriot-PF-3PL** opposite-DAT\_this-PL  
 “was **far more patriot than** these”

(Taxi – Rec. 2)

In (85), (86), and (87), the EL adjectives **səxtgir** “strict”, **tup** “well”, **roşən** “light”, respectively, are inflected with ML third person singular suffix *-di*:

(85) 117 E: vəli “Türkiyə” dodan **səxtgir-di**  
 but “Turkey” really **strict-COP.3SG**  
*“But “Turkey” is really strict in such cases.”*

(Spare parts Store)

(86) 50 = **tup-di** mən-im vəz-im xərəb-di aye doctor  
**ball-COP.3SG** I-GEN state-1SG.POSS broken-3SG Mr. doctor  
*“rich! I am in red doctor!”*

(Campus – Rec.1)

(87) 140 B: Uhm!= bi-də alt-i **roşən-di**= **roşən** rəng-in=  
 INTJ one-CL under-3SG.POSS **bright-COP.3SG**= **bright** color-GEN  
*“Uhm! Its under color is bright.”*

(Hair Salon)

#### 4.2.1.3. EL Noun Phrases:

##### 4.2.1.3.1. EL Single Noun Phrases

In the data, EL noun phrases were detected, too. These EL islands are mainly formed as noun phrases with ezafeh morpheme, which is a Bridge System Morpheme according to 4M Model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000). This morpheme’s equivalent in English could be the preposition “of”. However, note that in the noun phrases, when the noun preceding the ezafeh morpheme ends in a vowel, ezafeh morpheme changes into “-ye”.

In (88), (89), (90), (91), (92), (93), and (94) **tarix-e-felan** “at a date”, **kiray-e-qədim** “old fare rate”, **ruz-ha-ye-zoc** “even days”, **Azmayışqah -e-** “Novin” “Novin Laboratory”, **omur-e-xeyriyyə** “charity affairs”, **“Xeyriyye-ye-Müstəməndan”** “Xeyriyye-ye-

*Müstəməndan Charity Organization*”, respectively, are the EL (Persian) NPs with ezafe morpheme:

(88) 32 A: mən yaz-ac-am ki o çək-i be **tarix-e-felan** ver-dim Coca Cola-ya

I write-FUT-PART.1SG that that check-ACC to **date-EZ-that** give-PF.1SG Coca Cola-DAT

“*I will write that I have given the check to the Coca Cola (company) **at a date***”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(89) 13 = Tüman pul al-allar **kiray-e-qədim** geçən [il-in-kinən

Tuman money take-3PL **fare-EZ-old** last year-GEN-INST

“*with **the old fare rate**, last year’s fare*”

(Taxi – Rec.1 )

(90) 173 = **ruz-ha-ye-zoc** xanım-lar=ağa-lar-da fərd-di

**day-PL-EZ-even** lady-PL=gents-PL-CL odd-3SG

“*Ladies can go on **even days**, and gents on odd days*

(Hair Salon)

(91) 44 =bir **Azmayışqah –e- “Novin”** (0.25)

one **laboratory –EZ- “Novin”**

“*and there is one at **“Novin” Laboratory***”

(Spare Parts Store)

(92) 67 =bir-i döhtür “İ-di”=**azmayışqah-e-Novin**”“Hivdəh Şəhrivər-də-di”=

one-PREP doctor “I-GM” **laboratory-EZ-Novin** Hivdəh Şəhrivər-LOC-GM

*One of them is “Dr.I” whose office is at “Hivdəh Şəhrivər St.”*  
and its name is **“Novin Laboratory”**.

(Spare Parts Store)

(93) 8 bu **omur-e-xeyriyyə** iş-ində-di (0.5) qoy soruş-um gör-üm

this **issues-EZ-charity** work-GEN-PRT.3SG let ask-OPT.1SG see-OPT.1SG

“*this to **the charity**; let me ask her (what happened).*”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.1)

(94) 144 C: indi gəl-ipdi bu **“Xeyriyyə-ye-Müstəməndan”** öz-i bi-dana calib=

now come-P.COP this **“Charity-EZ-Mostamandan”** self-3SG one-piece interesting

“Now this “Xeyriyye-ye-Müstəməndan” has done something interesting”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

#### 4.2.1.3.2. EL Noun Phrases + ML Possessive/Genitive markers

In (95), (96), (97), (98), and (99), rival-e-qanun-i “the legal procedure”, sərətən-e-sinə “breast cancer”, morəxəsi-ye-təhsili “study leave”, and İdare-ye-Kar “Department of Labor”, həzine-ye mədrəsə “education expense”, respectively, are the EL (Persian) NPs with ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix –*si*, first person singular possessive suffix –*im*, and ML third person singular genitive case marker –*In*:

(95) 37 B: götür-əmə-sən=bu-nun rival-e-qanun-i-si bəcür-di-ki=  
take-NEG-2SG this-GEN process-EZ-law-ADJ-3SG.POSS like this-GM

“You can’t take this course, the legal procedure for this is that”

(Campus – Rec. 2)

(96) 117 =di-yir mən-im də xanım-ım=məriz-idi “sərətən-e-sinə-si”  
say-IMPF.3SG I-1SG.POSS CL lady-1SG.POSS sick-PT.3SG “Cancer-EZ-breast”

“he was saying that his wife was sick; she had breast cancer.”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

(97) 42 D: mən-im morəxəsi-ye-təhsil-im “Şəhrivər-də” qutul-ur  
I-GEN leave-EZ-education-1SG.POSS “Şəhrivər-LOC” finish-3SG

“My study leave finishes in September.”

(Campus – Rec. 2)

(98) 13 A: yo elə şey-di-da=həman İdare-ye-Kar-ın =  
no EMPH thing-be.3SG= same Department-EZ-Labour-GEN

“No it is at the same place at the Department of Labor’s”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.1)

(99) 115 =həzine-ye mədrəsə-lər-in kollən ibtidayı-dan danişqaha-can=  
expense-EZ school-PL-GEN entirely primary-ABL university-till  
 “he would pay their educational expenses from primary school till university”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

#### 4.2.1.3.3. EL Noun Phrases + ML Person Markers

In (100), (101), (102), and (103), şer-e-romantik “*Romantic Poetry*”, məqalat-e-məcəllat-e-na-motəbər “*invalid journals*”, bəççə-ye-təlaq “*Child of divorce*”, bimaristan-e-İmam Riza “*Imam Reza Hospital*” respectively, are the EL (Persian) NPs with ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML third person singular suffix *-di*, and past tense making suffix *-I* and third person singular suffix *-di*, respectively:

(100) 32 C: bi-dana dərs-lər-imiz-dən [şer-e-romantik-di  
 one-ENUM lesson-PL-1PL.POSS-ABL poem-EZ-romantic-3SG  
 “One of our lessons is Romantic Poetry”

(Campus – Rec. 1)

(101) 40 A: bir məqalat-e-məcəllat-e-na-motəbər-di  
 one articles-EZ-journal-PL-EZ-NEG-valid-3SG  
 “one issue is with the articles published in invalid journals”

(Campus – Rec. 1)

(102) 147 D: bi-dana famel-lər-dən var= bu bəççə-ye-təlaq-idi= dədə=  
 one-ENUM relative-PL-ABL exist=this child-EZ-divorce-3SG.PAST father  
 “We have a relative who is a child of divorce.”

(Campus – Rec. 1)

(103) 43 B:bi-də “bimaristan-e-İmam Riza-di”= o-lar-i velli-yəcax-san=  
 one-CL hospital-EZ-“Imam Riza-.3SG”=that-PL-ACC forget-FUT.2SG  
 “and there’s one at “Imam Riza” hospital. Never mind them.”

(Spare Parts Store)



## 4.2.1.3.4. EL Noun Phrases + ML Locative Markers

In (104), (105), (106), (107), and (108) **bimarestan-e “Şəms”** “*Shams Hospital*”, **bimaristan-e-İmam Rıza** “*Imam Reza Hospital*”, and **“pol-e-serat”** “*the Serat Bridge*”, and **bimarestan-e “Şəms”** “*Shams Hospital*”, respectively, are the EL (Persian) NPs with ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML locative case marker *-də*, locative case marker *-da*. Note that, in (107), **“pol-e-serat”** is inflected with EL enclitic case marker *-i*:

(104) 64 =aye döhtür-dən soruş-dux=bu diy-ir-ki həmi **“bimaristan-e-Şəms-də”**

Mr. Dr.-ABL ask-PT.1PL=this say-IMPF-that both **“hospital-EZ- Şəms-LOC”**

“*Dr. and asked him; he said that there’s one both at “Şəms” hospital*”

(Spare Parts Store)

(105) 62 =ki buyur-us-an həm **bimarestan-e-“Şəms-də”** var həm...bəli=

that say-IMPF.2SG both **hospital-EZ-“ Şəms-LOC** exist both yes

“*that you say, both “Şəms” hospital and...*”

(Spare Parts Store)

(106) 65 =var həmidə **bimaristan-e-İmam Rıza-da** var-di = bu-lar-i=

exist both **hospital-EZ-İmam Rıza-LOC** exist-3SG=this-PL-ACC

“*and “Imam Rıza” hospital. But, never mind these*”

(Spare Parts Store)

(107) 16 B: nə sən **“pol-e-serat”-da** =əgər **pol-e-serat-i** ol-muş=

no you **bridge-EZ-“Serat”-LOC**=if **bridge-EZ-Serat-ENCL** be-PF.3SG

“*No, you, at the “Serat Bridge”, if there is any,*”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

(108) 41 B: bi-dana **bimarestan-e “Şəms-də”** var-di

one-ENUM **hospital-EZ- “Şəms-LOC”** exist-3SG

“*There is one at “Şəms” hospital.*”

(Spare Parts Store)

## 4.2.1.3.5. EL Noun Phrases + ML Dative Markers

In (109), and (110), **tebb-e-suzəni** “*acupuncture*”, **amme-ye-mərdom** “*Most of people*”, respectively, are the EL (Persian) NPs with ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML dative case marker *-ə*, dative case marker *-a*, respectively:

(109) 57 A: (1.5)mən-im-da dust-um ged-ir-di **tebb-e-suzəni-yə=**

I-GEN-CL friend-1SG.POSS go-PART.3SG **acupuncture-DAT**

“*My friend was also going to the **acupuncture** clinic*”

(Hair Salon)

(110) 36 = **amme-ye-mərdom-a** iş ol-up da=bu bi-da iş ol-up da amma mən=

**most-EZ-people-DAT** job be-PF= this one-ENUM be-PF EMPH but I

“*that it has become a kind of habit **to most of people** but I*”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

## 4.2.1.4. EL Verb Phrases:

In (111), (112), (113), and (114) **varid ol-ma** “*do not enter*” **cəm vur-um** “*let me tally up*” **nəticəgiri el-iyip** “*has concluded*” **toçih elə-r** “*(he) justifies*” respectively are compound verbs in which the nonverbal constituents are inserted without any change, yet the light verbs are translated into the ML and then inflected with ML suffixes. In (111), **ol** is the translation of the EL light verb “*şo*” “*be*” which is inflected with ML negative making suffix “*-ma*”. In (112), **vur** is the translation of the EL light verb “*bezən*” “*lit. hit*” which is inflected with ML first person singular optative case marker “*-um*”. In (113), **elə** is the translation of the EL light verb “*kon*” “*do*” inflected with ML third person singular past tense marker. Likewise, in (114), **elə** is the translation of the EL light verb “*kon*” “*do*” inflected with ML third person singular non past tense marker.

(111) 63 A: yo altıncı ay-a yaz-san yaz=yediminci ay-a əslən **varid ol-ma**

no the sixth month-DAT write-COND.COP.1SG write=the seventh month-DAT at all **enter be-NEG.IMP**

“*If you want to write the check to the sixth month, it’s OK; but*”

*do not write it for the seventh month at all.*”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

(112) 79 A: sifariş-i ver S= faktor-i **cəm vur-um** çıx-ım ge-dim=tez ol axi  
 order-ACC give S=bill-ACC **plus do-OPT.1SG** exit-1SG go-1SG=fast be-IMP  
 “Place your order S; I need to **tally up** the bill and go! Hurry up!”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the dairy products distributor - Rec.3)

(113) 21 =öcür ki **nəticəgiri el-iyip** di-yir iki ayda mən dol-lam=  
 such that **conclude do-PAST.3SG** say-IMPF.3SG two month I fill-1SG  
 “and the way **he has concluded**, he says he can pay all the debts in two months”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(114) 121 =**tocih elə-t**=qərdəş-vari mən ginə axir seri de-di-m  
**justify do-3SG**=brother-ADJ I again last time say-PT.1SG  
 “he **justifies**; again last time I told him brotherly”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

In (115), (116), and (117) **bavər el-ə** “believe [me]”, **tozih ver-miş-ti-lər** “[they]have explained”, **təhvil al-sa** “if [he]takes over” respectively are compound verbs in which the nonverbal constituents are inserted without any change, yet the light verbs are translated into the ML and then inflected with ML suffixes. In (115), **elə** is the translation of the EL light verb “kon” “do”. In (116), **ver** is the translation of the EL light verb “bede” “give” which is inflected with ML perfective case marker –miş, and third person singular past suffix –ti and third person plural suffix -lər. In (117), **al** is the translation of the EL light verb “begir” “take” inflected with ML third person singular conditional marker -sa.

(115) 105 =di-yir ossun qoy kontakt el-əsin(0.5)**bavər el-ə** hər-kəs-ə  
 say-PART.3SG OK let-IMP contact do-3SG **believe do-IMP** any-one-DAT  
 “he’s saying it’s not a problem; let them overlap. **Believe me** whoever I have told”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(116) 117 =tozih ver-miş-ti-lər ya ver-mə-miş-ti-lər (0.25)

explain give-PF-PT-3PL or give-NEG-PF-PT.3PL

“have explained it to you or not”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(117) 128 =işallah təhvil al-sa bu çəh-lər-i dol-acax

hopefully deliver get-COND.3SGthis check-PL-DAT fill-FUT.3SG

“I hope if he takes over the store, he will pay these checks”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

#### 4.2.1.5. EL Adverbs:

In the data, some EL adverbs were detected. In (118), (119), (120), and (121) mütəsifanə “*unfortunately*”, təğribən “*approximately*”, and holehoşə “*approximately*” were used as adverbs respectively:

(118) 21 =nə fikir-ləş-ipdi= özü-də mən di-yir-əm mütəsifanə sən-in

what think-PF.3SG=self-too I say-PART.1SG unfortunately you-GEN

“what thought he has in his mind. All I say is this; now that you unfortunately”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(119) 67 =qabağ-ında-di= bir-i təğribən “Bağşumal Çarr-ana”

in front of one-3SG.POSS approximately “Bağşumal Square”

“in front of [“Bəstəni Vəhid”] and one is approximately near “Bağşumal Square””

(Spare Parts Store)

(120) 29 =ver-ir-di-lər= holehoşə üşyüz dörtyüz nəfər mən-I=

give-IMPF-PT.3PL=approximately three hundred four hundred person I-ACC

“were giving charity food, there were approximately three-four hundred”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(121) 31 =qaba-nda gör-düm holehoşə yüz yüzəlli nəfər=

front-LOC see-PT.1SG approximately a hundred-a hundred fifty person

“saw in front of the mosque approximately a hundred-a hundred fifty”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

#### 4.2.1.6. EL Prepositional Phrases:

In this section, the EL Prepositional Phrase are listed. In (122), (123), (124), (125), and (126), be-onvan-e “as a [brother]”, be xater-e “because of”, əz ləhaz-e-mali “from the financial perspective”, dər tul-e “during” and be-rahət-i “easily” are inserted in the ML, respectively. In be-onvan-e, the Persian preposition be “to” and a noun onvan “title” is followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme. In be xater-e, the Persian preposition be “to” and a noun xater “mind” is followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme. In əz ləhaz-e-mali, Persian preposition əz “from” and a noun ləhaz “aspect” is followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme and a Persian adjective mali “financial”. In dər tul-e, the Persian preposition dər “in” and a noun tul “length” is followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme. In be-rahəti, too, be “to” is a Persian preposition which is followed by the quality noun rahəti “easiness”:

(122) 72 =be-onvan-e bi-dana bacı qərdəş= siz de-dığ-ım kimin=siz mən-im  
P-title-EZ one-ENUM sister brother= you say-PF.1SG like= you I-GEN  
 “as brother and sister, as I told you, you are my...”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(123) 150 =amman ginə be xater-e neçə ill-ıx dost-lux mən gəl-di-m=  
 but again to mind-EZ some year-ADJ friend-ADJ I come-PT.1SG=  
 “yet again because of years of friendship, I came...”

(Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

(124) 91 E: məxsusən əz ləhaz-e-mali pişrəftə açix bir yer-di.  
 especially from aspect-EZ-financial advanced open one place-GM  
 “especially, it has financially developed well.”

(Spare parts Store)

(125) 43 =biri pənşənbə öl-dü şənbə qonaxl-ix ver-di (0.25) dər tul-e üş  
 one Thursday die-PAST.3SG Saturday guest-ADJ give-PAST.3SG in length-EZ three  
*“entertained the guets on Friday and one died on Tuesday, he entertained the guets  
 on Saturday. During three...”*

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(126) 104 =üş-dana de-di-m nəcür gəl-mi-süz ((laughing)) de-di be-rahəti!  
 three-ENUM say-PT.1SG how come-PF.2PL say-PT.3SG to-easiness  
*“and I asked them how did you come here, and they said easily!”*

(Spare parts Store)

#### 4.2.1.7. EL Sentences:

In the data, there were only three Intersentential CS forms. In these constituents, the whole clause was in EL, i.e. Persian. A very important note here is that, these constituents occurred when the speakers were quoting the lines of the dialogues which were in Persian. In (127) and (128), the speaker is quoting her response to her daughter in a dialogue which had been in Persian:

(127) 107 =de-dim həmkelas-iye-to-e baha-ş sohbət kon.  
 say-PT.1SG classmate-EZ-you-3SG with-him talk do  
*“I told her: “he is your classmate; go and talk to him””*

(Campus - Rec.1)

(128) 114=xod-et midun-i=boro bebin çi kar mişe kərd=  
self-2SG know-2SG go see what work can do  
“It’s up to you. Go and what you can do about it!”

(Campus – Rec.1)

Likewise, in (129), the speaker is quoting a famous politician who had spoken in Persian:

(129) 64 =mellət noh mah səbr kon-ənd bərmi-gərd-əm  
people nine month wait do-3PL return-PART.1SG

“People, wait for nine months, I will come back!”

(Taxi – Rec.2)

#### 4.2.2. Mixed Constituents (ML+EL) in The TV Interviews

In the following section, some examples of the Mixed Constituents found in the TV interviews data set are presented.

##### 4.2.2.1. EL Nouns

##### 4.2.2.1.1. EL Single Nouns

In this section, some examples of the EL (Persian) nouns found in the TV interviews data set are presented. It is worth mentioning that, like the naturally occurring conversations data set, in all of the cases, well-formedness conditions of the Azeri grammar were met and the morpheme order in the constituents was not violated. In (130), (131), (132), and (133), etminan “trust”, mərdom “people”, dəhə “decade”, məzrəə “farm”, kəmərbəndi “ring way” respectively, are the EL single nouns that are inserted in the ML:

(130) 13. ki bu etibar və etminan ki mərdom biləsin-ə  
that this credit and certainty EZ that people itself-DAT  
“this trust that people have in it...”

(TV Interview 1)

(131) 15. qırx il bu-nnan qabax şayəd dörd beş dəhə  
forty year this-ABL before maybe four five decade  
“or forty years ago, maybe four or five decades”

(TV Interview 1)

(132) 18. min hektar bağ məzrəə ya ,[var-idi (0.25)  
thousand hectar garden farm or exist-3SG.PAST  
“there were six thousand hectars of gardens or farms.”

(TV Interview 1)

- (133) 50. Təbriz-ə dər qələb e bir **kəmərbandı** ki eliyəbül-ə  
Təbriz-DAT in form EZ one **ringway** that can-3SG  
“west of Təbriz as a green **ringway** that can”

(TV Interview 1)

In (134), (135), and (136), **karkərd** “function”, **Mostəmərıbegir** “pensioner”, **dərman behdaşt** “health care dep.”, respectively, are the EL single nouns that are inserted in the ML:

- (134) 55. **karkərd** öz-ümüz-dən nişan ver-ax.  
**function** self-1PL-ABL show give-1PL.OPT  
“we [should] show some **function**”

(TV Interview 4)

- (135) 71. **Mostəmərıbegir** olar-dı-lar ki biz-dən təmam  
**pensioner** those-3SG-PL that we-ABL all  
“**Pensioners** are those people who receive...”

(TV Interview 4)

- (136) 74. çox-al-ip-di həm **dərman behdaşt** hammıs-ın al-allar.  
more-PAST.3SG both **treatment health** all-GEN get-3PL  
“[it has] increased, and they also receive **health care**.”

(TV Interview 4)

#### 4.2.2.1.2. EL Nouns + ML Possessive Markers

This section includes the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML (Azeri) possessive making suffixes. In (137), and (138), **etiqađ** “belief” is the EL noun that is inflected with the ML first person singular possessive suffix –*Im*. In (139), (140), and (141) too, **hədəf** “goal”, and **forsət** “chance”, **ərziş** “value”, respectively are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML first person singular possessive suffix –*Im*, and the ML third person singular possessive suffix –*I*, respectively:



(137) 9. C. Mən-im **etiqaad-ım** var biz bir otağ-i  
 İ-1SG.POSS **belief-1SG.POSS** exist we one room-ENCL

“I **believe** that it is a good idea to open a section”

(TV Interview 2)

(138) 28. **etiqaad-ım** bu-du ki bir fərdi ki  
**belief-1SG.POSS** this-3SG that one person that

“[I] **believe** that if a person...”

(TV Interview 3)

(139) 76. buyur-duz əvvəl-də mən-im **hədəf-im** bu-du ki  
 mention-1PL first-LOC I-GEN **goal-1SG.POSS** this-3SG that

“problem that you mentioned, firstly, my **goal** was to ....”

(TV Interview 6)

(140) 80. **forsət-im** yox-di(0.25)vəli xob yaxçı-da cəvab  
**chance-1SG.POSS** not-3SG but well good-too response

“I do not have any **time** to spare, however, we gained...”

(TV Interview 6)

(141) 61. balacə-di vəli **ərziş-i** çox yuxarı-tər-di ki bidana  
 small-3SG but **value-3SG.POSS** much high-COM.3SG that one

“It is small, but it is very **valuable** to...”

(TV Interview 1)

In (142), and (143), **pişnahad** “offer” and **maliyat** “tax”, are the EL nouns that are inflected with ML first person plural possessive suffix –*ımız*, and the ML third person singular possessive suffix –*ın* and respectively:

(142) 53. (1) biz bidana da **pişnahad-ımız** var-di ki əlan  
 we one too **offer-1PL.POSS** exist-3SG that now

“ We also have an **offer** that now”

(TV Interview 1)

- (143) 29. **maliyat-in** dalı-sın-a get-mə-rux. Öz-ləri  
**tax-3SG.POSS** behind-3SG.POSS-LOC go-NEG-1PL self-3PL

“do not chase **the tax** formalities; they”

(TV Interview 2)

#### 4.2.2.1.3. EL Nouns + ML Person Markers

The EL nouns found in the TV interview data set, were inflected with the third person singular suffixes, too. In (144), (145), and (146) **behsazı** “improvement”, and **vəzifə** “duty”, and **niyaz** “need”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML third person singular suffix –*di*, ML third person singular suffix –*di*, ML first person plural possessive suffix –*ımız* and third person singular suffix –*di*. In (146), **mərdum** “people” is an EL noun too, that occurred singly:

- (144) 28. **behsazı-di** orda, bi noo fəaliyyət-ha ye həm  
**improvement-3SG** there one type activity-PL EZ both  
 “**improvement** and also some activities related to...”

(TV Interview 5)

- (145) 92. siz-in **vəzifə-z-di**, gəl-in ged-in bax-un  
 you-GEN **duty-3PL.POSS-3SG** come-2PL go-2PL look-2PL  
 “it is **your duty**, and you should go and check these...”

(TV Interview 6)

- (146) 65. **niyaz-ımız-di** o zaman çağır-ax **mərdum**  
**need-1PL.POSS-3SG** that time invite-1PL.OPT **people**  
 “for people when we **need** them to vote and **people**”

(TV Interview 3)

In (147), (148), and (149) **oləviyyət** “priority”, and **məsələ** “problem”, and **fərhəngsazı** “acculturation”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix –*in*, ML locative suffix marker –*də*, and ML third person singular suffix –*di*, ML third person singular past suffix –*[i]ydi*, and ML third person singular past suffix –*[i]ydi*:

- (147) 27. oləviyyət-in-də-di, dər vaqe bi noo  
priority-3SG.POSS-LOC-3SG in reality one type  
 “[it is one of] their priorities, and a kind of...”

(TV Interview 5)

- (148) 104. (0.5) qətar bi-dana böyüh məsələ-ydi ki  
 train one-ENUM big problem-PAST.be.3SG that  
 “The train issue was a big problem that ...”

(TV Interview 3)

- (149) 77. fərhəngsazi-ydi nə inki məsələn o qədr  
culture-PAST.be.3SG not that for example that much  
 “[my intention was to] create a culture, and it shouldn’t be mistaken that ...”

(TV Interview 6)

#### 4.2.2.1.4. EL Nouns + ML Locative Markers

In (150), (151), (152), (153), (154), (155), and (156) bimaristan “hospital”, məcmuə “complex”, and dorə “period”, səmt “direction”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML locative case marker *-da* and ML locative case marker *-də*:

- (150) 13. məsələn bir filan bimaristan-da dur-sun  
 for example one that hospital-LOC stand-OPT.3SG  
 “for example in a given hospital, he/she can”

(TV Interview 2)

- (151) 95. bəstəri elə-di-lər, mən onbir yarım-da bimarestan-da  
 hospitalize do-PAST-3PL I eleven half-LOC hospital-LOC  
 “... and hospitalized him, so at half past eleven, I was in hospital...”

(TV Interview 6)

- (152) 3. məcmuə-də fəaliyyət eli-llər. Yəqinən bəraye pişrəft  
complex-LOC activity do-3PL. Certainly for progress  
 “are working in this complex. Certainly, for the progress”

(TV Interview 3)

- (153) 7. ye guruh-idi ki o **məcmuə-də** və o məntəqə-də  
EZ group-3SG that that **complex-LOC** and that region-LOC  
“mass media which are working **in that complex** and...”

(TV Interview 3)

- (154) 8. bu iş bu **dorə-də** əncam tap-di  
this work this **period-LOC** do find-3SG  
“This was done **in this period.**”

(TV Interview 2)

- (155) 19. B. bu **dorə-də** biz bidana yer-i al-mış-ux Xavəran-da  
this **period-LOC** we one place-ACC buy-PF.1PL Xarvana-LOC  
“We have bought a land in Xarvana **in this period.**”

(TV Interview 2)

- (156) 29. eli-yəbül-ərdux şəhr-i o **səmt-də** tosəə  
do-PSB-1PL.PAST city-ACC that **direction-LOC** develop  
“could develop the city in that **direction**”

(TV Interview 1)

#### 4.2.2.1.5. EL Nouns + ML Accusative Markers

The TV interview data set also included the EL nouns that were inflected with the ML accusative case marker. In (157), (158), and (159), **guzariş** “report”, **əhdaf** “goals”, and **fəaliyyət** “activity”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML accusative case marker *-i*:

- (157) 5. Bir-lıxda bu həftə-ki **guzariş-i** gör-ür-ux.  
one-NOM this week-POST **report-ACC** see-PART-1PL  
“Now, we will see this week’s **reportage**”

(TV Interview 2)

- (158) 51. eli-yəbil-sinnər ged-sinnər o **əhdaf-i** möhəqqəq

do-PSB-3PL go-3PL that **goals-ACC** realize  
*“they can achieve **the goals**.”*

(TV Interview 2)

(159) 61. o **fəaliyyət-i** ki əncam ver-isiz orda ehsas e  
 that **activity-ACC** that do give-2PL there feel EZ  
*are doing **an activity** (in a job), and if*

(TV Interview 2)

#### 4.2.2.1.6. EL Nouns + ML Dative Markers

In (160), (161), and (162), **mərdom** “people”, **saxtosaz** “construction”, and **ustan** “province”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML dative case marker *-a*:

(160) 64. **entixabat** gərəh hifz ol-a. Biz **mərdom-a**  
**election** necessity maintain be-3SG.IMP we **people-DAT**  
*“maintained during the **election** process. We call out for **people**...”*

(TV Interview 3)

(161) 35. persnel ki apar-ax **saxtosaz-a**, ki bular-in  
 personnel that take-1PL **construction-DAT** that these-GEN  
*“the personnel’s salaries, and use them **for construction**”*

(TV Interview 7)

(162) 52. **etibar** cəzb ol-ur gəl-ir **ustan-a**. Əgər biz  
**credit** attract be-3SG come-3SG **province-DAT** if we  
*“attract **credit to the province**. If we ...”*

(TV Interview 7)

In (163), (164), (165), and (166) **həmkar** “colleague”, **bimaristan** “hospital”, **məsul** “authority”, **payqah** “web page” and **mədədcu** “client”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML first person possessive suffix *-ımız* and dative case marker *-a*, ML dative case marker *-a*, ML plural suffix *-lar* and dative case marker *-a*, ML second person plural possessive suffix *-iz* and dative case marker *-a*, ML plural suffix *-lar*, first person possessive suffix *-ımız* and dative case marker *-a*:

- (163) 16. həmkar-ımız-a bimaristan-a tapışır-ax ki bu  
colleague-1PL.POSS-DAT hospital-DAT order-1PL that this  
*“to the hospital and tell our colleague that”*

(TV Interview 2)

- (164) 91. məsul-lar-a istir-əm diy-əm ki ağa bu  
authority-PL-DAT want-1SG say-1SG that Mr. this  
*“I can tell the other authorities that, this is...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (165) 3. dəfə payqah-ız-a bax-aram. Nəsr-in xub beş  
times site-2PL.POSS-DAT look-1SG.Nəsr-GEN well five  
*“I visit your web page. Well, Nəsr has five...”*

(TV Interview 4)

- (166) 64. Biz gəl-miş-ux mədədçu-lar-ımız-a pərvənde ye  
we come-PF-1PL client-PL-1PL.POSS-DAT file EZ  
*“We have created cultural files for our clients”*

(TV Interview 4)

#### 4.2.2.1.7. EL Nouns + ML Genitive Markers

The EL nouns found in the TV interview data set, were inflected with the ML genitive case marker, too. In (167), (168), (169), (170), and (171), persenel “personnel”, senf “vocation”, nizam “regime” bimarestan “hospital” and dolət “government”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML genitive case marker *-in* and *-In*. In (167), huquq “salaries” is inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix *-un*. In (171), dolət “government” is inflected with ML genitive case marker *-in* and clitic *-də*:

- (167) 48. yer-dən apar-miş-am, persenel-in huquq-un  
place-LOC take-PF.1SG personnel-GEN rights-3PL.POSS  
*“I have spent the personnel’s salaries”*

(TV Interview 7)

(168) 44. yani o **senf-in** tәмami ye tәsmimgiri-lәр-indә

hence that **vocation-GEN** whole EZ decision-making-PL-LOC

“which means in all of the decision-making processes in that **vocation**”

(TV Interview 2)

(169) 62. fәrhәngi-di (1) biz-im dүşmәn-lәр-imiz, **nizam-in**

cultural-3SG we-GEN enemy-PL-1PL.POSS **regime-GEN**

“...is cultural, our enemies, our **regime**'s...”

(TV Interview 6)

(170) 82. gәl-miş-di-lәр bura mән o **bimarestan-in**

come-PF- PAST.3PL here I that **hospital-GEN**

“they came here to Tәbriz, I told them about that **hospital**'s...”

(TV Interview 6)

(171) 17. **dolәt-in-dә** borc-u var, **dolәt-in-dә**

**government-GEN-CL** debt-3SG.POSS exist **government-GEN-CL**

“...**the government** is indebted to these people, and if **the government**...”

(TV Interview 7)

Likewise, in (172), and (173), **park** “park”, and **pәrәstar** “nurse”, respectively, are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML plural suffix *-lar* and genitive case marker *-In*:

(172) 59. ki hәrçәnd мүmkün-di bu **park-lar-in** bәzisi-nin

that even possible-3SG this **park-PL-GEN** some-GEN

“even if some of **these parks**”

(TV Interview 1)

(173) 1. A. Yeki әz bәhs-ha ye ruz ki hәм **pәrәstar-lar-in**

one EZ topic-PL EZ day that also **nurse-PL-GEN**

“One of the main topics discussed these days,

(TV Interview 7)

#### 4.2.2.1.8. EL Nouns + ML Plural Markers

This section includes the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML (Azeri) plural making suffixes. In (174), (175), (176), and (177), **iqdam** “action” , **cəvan** “the youth”, **bimarestan** “hospital” **məsul** and “authority” are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML plural making suffix *-lar*:

- (174) 11. və **iqdam-lar** ki ol-unup tozih  
and **action-PL** that be-PASS.3SG explanation  
“and those **actions** to be explained”

(TV Interview 5)

- (175) 43. elə-mi-siz, səfərəş eli-yi-siz ki hala **cəvan-lar**  
do-PART-2PL order do-PART-2PL that now **youth-PL**  
“do you recommend that book to **the youth**”

(TV Interview 5)

- (176) 51. Bu **bimarestan-lar** ki düzəl-ir bular-ın hamısı  
this **hospital-PL** that build-3SG these-GEN all  
“All of these **hospitals** that are built (here)...”

(TV Interview 7)

- (177) 97. ki gərəh **məsul-lar-da** deqqət el-iyə(0.25)  
that necessity **authority-PL-CL** attention do-3SG  
“**the authorities** should pay attention to such issues.”

(TV Interview 6)

In (178), and (179), **rəsənə** “media” ,and **bəstər** “floor” are the EL nouns that are inflected with the ML plural making suffix *-lər*, and *-rər*.

- (178) 6. **rəsənə-lər**, rəsənə-ha ye məktub, paygah-ha ye xəbəri



media-PL media-PL EZ written shelter-PL EZ news

*“mass media, news agencies”*

(TV Interview 5)

(179) 27. utuban e Şəhid Kəsayi-də behtərin bəstər-rər var-i-di  
freeway EZ Şəhid Kəsayi-LOC best floor-PL exist-PAST-be.3SG

*“in the Şəhid Kəsayi freeway, there were very suitable floors”*

(TV Interview 1)

#### 4.2.2.1.9. EL Nouns + ML Ablative Markers

In (180), (181), (182), and (183), modiriyət “management”, vəz “condition”, karanə “salary”, and numayndə “representative”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML ablative case marker *-dən*, ML ablative case marker *-nən*, ML plural suffix *-lər* and ablative case marker *-dən*, ML ablative case marker *-dən* and clitic *-də*:

(180) 63. şenaxt-lar-i modiriyət-dən düz var  
recognition-PL-3SG.POSS management-ABL correct exist  
*“they have a correct perception of management...”*

(TV Interview 7)

(181) 83. vəz-in-nən de-dim Təbriz-də (1)  
condition-3SG.POSS-ABL say-PAST.1SG Təbriz-LOC  
*“[I told them about the] condition of that hospital in Təbriz.”*

(TV Interview 6)

(182) 8. projə-lər-ə pul xəş-liy-ip; hətmən karanə-lər-dən  
project-PL-DAT money spend-PAST.3SG, surely salary-PL-ABL  
*“[he has] spent a lot of money on the projects, so he must have spent the nurses’ salaries”*

(TV Interview 7)

(183) 146. təşəkkür eli-yax qəbli numayndə-dən-də vəli  
thank do-1PL previous representative-ABL-CL but

“*[we] need to thank the previous **representative** too, but*”

(TV Interview 3)

#### 4.2.2.1.10. EL Nouns + ML Instrumental Markers

The EL nouns found in the TV interview data set, were inflected with the ML instrumental case marker, too. In (184), (185), and (186), **huzur** “*presence*”, **rəsane** “*medium*”, and **sürət** “*speed*”, respectively are the EL nouns inflected with ML instrumental case marker *-inən*:

(184) 11. vəli xoşbəxtanə mərdom **huzur-inən** bu ki moxtəlif

but fortunately people **presence-INST** this that various

“*but fortunately, people **with their presence** in various...*”

(TV Interview 6)

(185) 27. **rəsane-ynən** kamilən aşni-yəm və mossəllət-əm,

**media-INST** completely familiar-1SG and dominant-1SG

“*I am completely familiar **with media** works and I am good at it.*”

(TV Interview 6)

(186) 71. neççə vəxt və inşallah **sürət-inən** ba enayət e

how much time and god willing **speed-INST** with help EZ

“*and I hope that with the help of [the authorities we can do it] **rapidly***”

(TV Interview 6)

#### 4.2.2.2. EL Adjectives:

##### 4.2.2.2.1. EL Single Adjectives

Some of the examples of the EL adjectives found in the TV interviews are presented here. As with the other parts of speech, EL adjectives, too, happened either singly or inflected

with suffixes from ML and in some cases from the EL. In (187) and (188), **movəffəq** “*successful*”, and **mütədid** “*numerous*”, respectively are the EL adjectives inserted in the ML sentences in a single form without any inflections from the ML:

- (187) 9. hətta keşvər-imiz-di **movəffəq** ol-al-ar.  
 even country-1PL.POSS-3SG **successful** be-OPT-3PL  
 “... *even our country, will be successful.*”

(TV Interview 1)

- (188) 33. Xələtpuşan tərəf-in-ə **mütədid** bağ-lar-i  
 Xələtpuşan side-GEN-DAT **numerous** garden-PL-ACC  
 “*Xələtpuşan side and numerous gardens...*”

(TV Interview 1)

In the same vein, in (189), (190), (191), (192), and (193), EL adjectives that are inserted in the Mixed Constituents respectively are: **pormoxatəb** “*popular*”, **fərhəngi** “*cultural*”, **muxtəlif** “*various*” and **əsli** “*main*”:

- (189) 15. və siz-i **pormoxatəb** el-iyip-di ostan-da.  
 and you-ACC **popular** do-PAST.3SG province-LOC  
 and **popular** news agency in the province.

(TV Interview 4)

- (190) 49. **fərhəngi** ol-a ruykərd-imiz -də **fərhəngi**  
**cultural** be-3SG.OPT approach-1PL.POSS-CL **cultural**  
 “*should be cultural, our approach, too, should be cultural.*”

(TV Interview 4)

- (191) 7. qozəştə-də **muxtəlif** borhe-ha ye tarix-i və  
 past-LOC **various** period-PL EZ history-ADJ and  
 “*in various periods of history and ...*”

(TV Interview 6)

- (192) 11. vəli xoşbəxtanə mərdom huzur-inən bu ki **muxtəlif**

but fortunately people presence-INST this that **various**

*“but fortunately, people with their presence in **various**...”*

(TV Interview 6)

(193) 61. (1) **büyün** bizim **əslı** moşkel-imiz məsael e  
today our **main** problem-1PL.POSS problems EZ

*“Today, our **main** problems are...”*

(TV Interview 6)

#### 4.2.2.2.2. EL Adjectives + ML Person Markers

The EL adjectives found in the TV interview data set, were inflected with the first, second, and third person singular and plural suffixes, too. In (194), (195), (196), (197), and (198) **bıkar** “free”, **məsul** “responsible”, **məmnun** “thankful”, **aşına** “familiar” and **mossəllət** “dominant” respectively are the EL adjectives inflected with ML first person singular suffix *-am*, and ML first person singular suffix *-əm*:

(194) 78. **bıkar-am** ki ged-əm xiyaban-da filan xiyaban-a baş

**free-be.1SG** that go-1SG street-LOC any street-DAT head

*“I **am so free** that I roam to any street and...”*

(TV Interview 6)

(195) 45. **məsul-am** ki yirmi il, yirmi beş il

**responsible-1SG** that twenty year twenty five year

*“**[I am]responsible** to see twenty or twenty five years...”*

(TV Interview 7)

(196) 70. A. İnşallah; **məmnun-am** aye dr.

Godwilling **thankful-be.1SG** Mr. doctor

*“We hope so. **Thank you** very much doctor.”*

(TV Interview 7)

(197) 1. Nəsr-inən çox-dan-di **aşına-yəm**, vəli alti il-di

Nəsr-COM more-ABL-be.3SG **familiar-be.1SG** but six year-be.3SG

*“I have **known** Nəsr News Agency for a long time, but...”*

(TV Interview 5)

- (198) 27. rəsane-ynən kamilən aşni-yəm və mossəllət-əm,  
 media-INS completely familiar-be.1SG and dominant-be.1SG  
*“I am completely familiar with media works and I am good at it.*

(TV Interview 6)

In (199), and (200), məhdud “[is]limited” and şəffaf “is clear”, respectively, are EL adjectives which are inflected with ML third person singular suffix *-di*:

- (199) 28. və bağ-at da orda çox məhdud-di o-lar-i hifz  
 and garden-PL there very limited-be.3SG that-PL-ACC keep  
*“...and there were limited number of gardens which we ...”*

(TV Interview 1)

- (200) 26. çün biz-imki-lər çox şəffaf-di (0.25)  
 because we-1PL.POSS-PL very clear-be.3SG  
*“because ours is very clear...”*

(TV Interview 2)

Likewise, in (201), and (202), xoşhal “happy” and həmdərd “sympathetic”, respectively, are EL adjectives which are inflected with ML first person singular suffix *-əm* and ML first person plural suffix *-ux*, respectively:

- (201) 17. çox xoşhal-əm ke büyünnərim (0.5) dər xedmət e  
 very happy-be.1SG that today in service EZ  
*“Today, I am very pleased to be at the disposal of...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (202) 109. ki biz olar-inan bahəm həmdərd-ux eləbir  
 that we those-COM together sympathetic-be.1PL maybe  
*“...that we have sympathy for them, and...”*

(TV Interview 3)

## 4.2.2.3. EL Noun Phrases:

## 4.2.2.3.1. EL Single Noun Phrases

As in the Naturally Occurring data set, in the TV Interviews data set, too, EL (Persian) NPs with Ezafe morpheme occurred in the Mixed Constituents. In this section, these NPs are presented. In (203), (204), (205), (206), (207), (208), and (209), respectively, **huquq e mahane** “monthly salary”, **payqah e xass** “an especial news base”, **saxtuman e nime tamam** “half-completed building”, **fəza ye səbz** “green space”, **fəza ye baz** “open space”, **pasox e monaseb** “suitable response” **hoquq e perseneh** “personnel’s salaries” are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme:

- (203) 73. yani həm **huquq e mahane** al-allar ki əlan  
 hence both **salary EZ monthly** get-3PL that now  
*so they receive a **monthly salary** which has now...*

(TV Interview 4)

- (204) 10. Qət’ən bestelah Nəsr News büyünərimə **payqah e xass**  
 certainly so-called Nasr News today **base EZ special**  
*“Certainly, today, Nasr News is **a special (news)base**...”*

(TV Interview 1)

- (205) 20. və bi-dana **saxtuman e nime tamam** ki istir-ux ki  
 and one-ENUM **building EZ half complete** that want-1PL that  
*“...and **a half-completed building** to which we want to...”*

(TV Interview 2)

- (206) 23. ki **fəza ye səbz** dəyil-lər bağ dəyil-lər  
 that **space EZ green** not-3PL garden not-3PL  
*“which are not **green spaces** or gardens...”*

(TV Interview 1)

- (207) 39. öz-lər-inə **fəza ye baz** saxla-ma-mış-ux. Yani  
 self-PL-DAT **space EZ open** keep-NEG-PF.1PL in other words

“we have not preserved open spaces for them either.”

(TV Interview 1)

- (208) 57. əgər pasox e monaseb ver-il-sə biləsin-ə,  
if respond EZ suitable give-CAUS-3SG.COND it-DAT  
“if they are addressed appropriately...”

(TV Interview 2)

- (209) 34. bu ittifaq düş-əmmə-z (0.25) beləxəs hoquq e  
this event drop-NEG-3SG especially rights EZ  
“Such a thing cannot happen. Especially,  
35. persenel ki apar-ax saxtosaz-a, ki bular-in  
personnel that take-1PL construction-DAT that these-GEN  
the personnel’s salaries, and use them for construction...”

(TV Interview 7)

#### 4.2.2.3.2. EL Noun Phrases + ML Possessive Markers

The EL NPs found in the TV Interviews data set, were inflected with ML (Azeri) possessive suffixes, too. In (210), (211), (212), and (213), guruh e telvezuyn-i “a television group”, guruh e radiyo “a group of radio”, şərayet e ectemayı “social condition”, camee ye pezeşki “medical community”, and ertebat e mostəqim “direct relationship”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML first person plural possessive suffix *-imiz*, ML first person plural possessive suffix *-umuz*, ML first person plural possessive suffix *-ImIz* and clitic *-da*, ML third person singular possessive suffix *-I*:

- (210) 24. həm guruh e telvezuyn-imiz var-ı-di  
both group EZ television-1PL.POSS exist-PAST.3SG  
“we had a television group and a  
(211) 25. həm guruh e radiyo-muz həm neççə-dana  
both group EZ radio-1PL.POSS both some-ENUM  
radio group and some...”

(TV Interview 6)

- (212) 53. və şərayət e ectemayı-mız-da motəfavet-di  
and conditions EZ social-1PL.POSS-CL different-3SG  
and our social conditions are also different

(TV Interview 4)

- (213) 22. 101000 xanəvadə-ynən ertebat e mostəqim-i var  
101000 family-COM relation EZ direct-3SG.POSS exist  
“has a direct relation with nearly 1010000 families...”

(TV Interview 4)

#### 4.2.2.3.3. EL Noun Phrases + ML Genitive Markers

In (214), (215), (216), and (217), həmkar e pərəstar “nurse colleague”, nəhad-ha ye fərhəngi “cultural institutions”, Məqam e Moəzzəm e Rəhbəri “The Supreme Leader”, şoar e sal “New Year’s motto”, məsael e eqtesadi “economical issues”, Vizarət e Rah o Şəhrsazi “the Ministry of Road and Urbanism”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML genitive case marker *-In*, ML genitive case marker *-nin*:

- (214) 27. Biz el-iyə-mmə-rux bu həmkar e pərəstar-in ya  
We do-can-NEG-1PL this colleague EZ nurse-GEN or  
“We cannot abuse this colleague’s or ...”

(TV Interview 7)

- (215) 30. nəhad-ha ye fərhəngi-nin cələsə-lər-in-də  
institution-PL EZ cultural-GEN meeting-PL-3PL.POSS-LOC  
and joining the cultural institutions’ meetings

(TV Interview 4)

- (216) 56. Xob bax-ız Məqam e Moəzzəm e  
well look-1PL Eminence EZ Highness EZ  
“Well, consider this fact that, His Eminence,  
57. Rəhbəri-nin gör neçə il-lər-di şoar e



**leader-GEN** see how many year-PL-3SG **motto EZ**

*“The Supreme Leader’s New Year’s motto has been*

58. **sal-i** **məsael e eqtesadi-y-di**. Bu məlum-di  
**year-3SG.POSS EZ** **economical-PAST.3SG** this obvious-3SG  
*about the economical issues, thus it is obvious...*”

(TV Interview 6)

- (217) 26. seri **Vizarət e Rah o Şəhrsazi-nın** bu  
series **Ministry EZ Road and Urbanism-GEN** this  
*“... the Ministry of Road and Urbanism has a series of...”*

(TV Interview 5)

#### 4.2.2.3.4. EL Noun Phrases + ML Person Markers

The EL NPs found in the TV Interviews data set, were inflected with ML (Azeri) third person suffixes, too. In (218), (219), (220), (221), (222), and (223) **poştvanə ye mərdom-i** “people’s support”, **moşkelat e eqtesadi** “the economical problems”, **məsael e fərhangı** “cultural issues”, **təfəkkor e estratejik** “strategic thought”, and **bərnamerizi ye estratejik** “strategic planning” **rahkar e fərhangı** “cultural nature” and **cens e fəqr fərhangı** “the type of cultural poverty”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML third person singular suffix *-di*:

- (218) 14. ki **poştvanə ye mərdom-i-di** dər hərim e qanun e  
that **support EZ people-ADJ-be.3SG** in boundry EZ law EZ  
*“...people’s support [which is the most important of all], so that we can...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (219) 47. çox möhem-di məmləkət-imiz-də, biri **moşkelat e**  
very important-3SG country-1PL.POSS-LOC one **problems EZ**  
*“...to two points is very important in our country:*  
48. **eqtesadi-di** biri-də **məsael e fərhangı-di** (1)  
**economical-be.3SG** one-CL **matters EZ cultural-be.3SG**  
*“one of them is the economical problems, and the other is cultural issues.”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (220) 61. (1) büyün bizim əsli moşkel-imiz məsael e  
 today our main problem-1PL.POSS problems EZ  
 “Today, our main problems are”
62. fərhəngi-di (1) biz-im düşmən-lər-imiz, nizam-ın  
cultural-be.3SG we-GEN enemy-PL-1PL.POSS regime-GEN  
cultural, our enemies, our regime’s...”

(TV Interview 6)

- (221) 55. var, təfəkkor e stratejik-di, bərnamerizi ye  
 exist thought EZ strategic-be.3SG programming EZ  
 “... are the result of strategic thought and planning”
56. stratejik-di, be hiçvəch də bular-da pənsel-in  
strategic-be.3SG to not at all too these-LOC personnel-GEN  
 and the personnel’s...”

(TV Interview 7)

- (222) 28. ba fəqr, rahkar e fərhəngi-di biz özv e  
 with poverty method EZ cultural-3SG we member EZ  
with poverty is of cultural nature these days, definitely becoming a member of the
29. Şura ye Fərhəngi e Ustan hətmən ol-ey-dux(0.25)  
council EZ cultural EZ province surely be-1PL  
Provincial Council of Culture,
- (223) 37. Əlan cəns e fəqr fərhəngi-di və mənşə-idə  
 now type EZ poverty cultural-3SG and origin-3SG.POSS  
 “Nowadays, the type of poverty is cultural and its origins

(TV Interview 4)

In (224), (225) and (226), hadese ye bəhs e “Fitile” “the ‘Fitile’ event”, bəxş e modiriyət “the management sector”, and bəhs-hay e siyasi “political issues” respectively are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML third person singular past *-ydi*. Note that in (226), həvadəs e moxtələf is also an EL NP that occurred without any inflections with the ML suffixes:

- (224) 81. Hadese ye bəhs e “Fitile-y-di” biri ki vaqean çox  
event EZ topic EZ “Fitile-PAST.3SG” one that really more  
 ““Fitile” was one of the issues which indeed...”

(TV Interview 3)

- (225) 27. bəxs e modiriyət-di, həqiqitən mən-im  
section EZ management-3SG actually I-1SG.POSS  
 “...is the management sector and I truly...”

(TV Interview 3)

- (226) 75. Əlbəttə bir bəxs çələş-imiz-də bəhs-hay e  
 of course one section challenge-1PL.POSS-CL topic-PL EZ  
 “Of course, a part of our challenges were related to  
 76. siyasi-de-y-di ki həvades e moxtəlefi ittifaq  
political-LOC-PAST.3SG that events EZ different happen  
the political issues in which various events happened”

(TV Interview 3)

#### 4.2.2.3.5. EL Noun Phrases + ML Locative Markers

In (227), (228), (229), and (230), EL noun phrases inflected with the ML locative suffix are shown. ərse ye resanə və xəbər “the field of media and news”, dəhe-ha ye əxir “the last decades”, camee ye pezeşki “Medical community”, and faz e əvvəl “the first phase”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML locative case marker-*də*. Note that in (456), həd e mətlub “a favorable degree”, is also an EL NP that is inflected with ML dative case marker -*a*:

- (227) 7. ərse ye resanə və xəbər-də ki be onvan e yeki əz  
field EZ media and news-LOC that PREP as EZ one PREP  
 “in the field of media and news, which is one of the

(TV Interview 1)

- (228) 20. A.motəşifanə dəhe-ha ye əxir-də be vasete ye  
 unfortunately decade-PL EZ last-LOC PREP medium EZ

“However, unfortunately, in the last decades, due to...”

(TV Interview 1)

- (229) 35. camee ye pezeşki-də səlam ərz el-irəm və ərz e  
community EZ medical-LOC hello say do-1SG and say EZ  
 “in the medical community and I pay my ...”

(TV Interview 2)

- (230) 56. həd e mətlub-a yetir-ax faz e əvvəl-də  
degree EZ favorable-DAT deliver-1PL phase EZ first-LOC  
 “to be addressed to a favorable degree, in the first phase”

(TV Interview 1)

Likewise, in (231), (232), and (233), Şura ye Aali ye Sazman e Nezam pezeşki “the Council of the Medical System Organization”, Ostan e Azərbaycan e şərqi “the Province of Western Azerbaijan”, and kull e keşvər “the whole country”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML locative case marker *-də*. Note that in (231), qodrət e çanezəni “strong influence”, is also an EL NP that is inflected with ML third person singular possessive suffix *-si*. In (233) qərb e Təbriz cunub e Təbriz “in the west and south of Tabriz”, is also an EL NP inflected with ML locative case marker:

- (231) 76. eli-yəbül-əcax ki Şura ye Aali ye Sazman e Nezam  
 do-can-3SG.FUT that council EZ organization EZ system  
 “in the Council of the Medical System Organization  
 77. pezeşki-də qodrət e çanezəni-si çox  
medical-LOC strength EZ bargaining-3SG.POSS more  
 “will be able to have a strong influence”

(TV Interview 2)

- (232) 26. Ostan e Azərbaycan e şərqi-də şayəd çətin-tərin  
Province EZ Azerbaijan EZ western-LOC perhaps hard-SUP  
 “Perhaps the Province of Western Azerbaijan is the most difficult place to be...”

(TV Interview 3)

- (233) 26. apar-sam qərb e Təbriz-də ya cunub e Təbriz-də  
 take-1SG.OPT west EZ Tabriz-LOC or south EZ Tabriz-LOC  
 “give an example, in the west and south of Tabriz”

(TV Interview 1)

#### 4.2.2.3.6. EL Noun Phrases + ML Accusative Markers

The EL NPs found in the TV Interviews data set, were inflected with ML (Azeri) accusative case marker, too. In (234), (235), and (236), Moaven e siyasi e Vəzir e Keşvər “the Political Deputy of Interior Minister”, Vəzir e Keşvər “the Interior Minister”, Cələse ye Şuray e Əmniyyət e Keşvər “National Security Council Assembly”, məsələ ye xətt e ahən e Miyane Təbriz “the topic of Miyane – Təbriz railway” and məntəqə ye Şimal e Qərb e keşvər “the region of North western of the country” respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML accusative case marker-*i*. Note that in (236), təht e təsir “under influence”, is also an EL NP that is inflected with no ML suffixes:

- (234) 90. Moaven e siyasi e Vəzir e Keşvər-i  
deputy EZ political EZ Minister EZ country-ACC  
 “[we woke] the Political Deputy of Interior Minister [up]”
91. oyad-dux gecə saat iki-də. O-da Vəzir  
 wake up-1PL.PAST night time two-LOC that-CL Minister  
 “at two o’clock in the morning, and he too
92. Keşvər-i oyad-di. Vəzir saat alti ye sübh-ə  
country-ACC wake up-3SG Minister time six EZ morning-DAT  
 woke the Interior Minister up; The Minister set
93. Cələse ye Şuray e Əmniyyət e Keşvər-i qoy-di.  
meeting EZ Council EZ security EZ country-ACC put-3SG  
 “National Security Council Assembly at 6 o’clock in the morning”

(TV Interview 3)

- (235) 69. hammi-mız bir söz diy-ax. Əlan bu məsələ ye

together-1PL one word say-1PL now this problem EZ

“...should all try, and we should have a consensus. Now

70. xətt e ahən e Miyane Təbriz-i mən başla-mış-am bu

line EZ iron EZ Miyane Təbriz-ACC I start-PF.1SG this

*I have recently started the topic of Miyane – Təbriz railway”*

(TV Interview 6)

(236) 77. düş-di ki eli-əbilər-di bi-dana məntəqə ye

fall-3SG.PAST that do-PSB-3SG one-ENUM region EZ

“... that could effect the region of

78. Şumal e Qərb e keşvər-i təht e təsir qərar

North EZ west EZ country-ACC under EZ effect put

North western of the country

(TV Interview 3)

Likewise, in (237), (238), (239), (240), and (241), mizan e fəqr “the rate of poverty”, fəzay e haşiyyə “skid row space”, saxtəman e Nizam Pezeşki “the Medical System Organization’s building”, bimarestan e Çeşmpezeşki “the Çeşmpezeşki Hospital” and bimarestan e Şəhid Mədəni “Şəhid Mədəni Hospital”, sərfəsl e xədəmat e Emdad “laws of Emdad”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML accusative case marker-*i*. Note that in (237), hemayət e mali “financial support”, is also an EL NP that is inflected with no ML suffixes:

(237) 46. hemayət e mali elə-sən, şayəd mizan e

support EZ financial do-2SG.OPT maybe rate EZ

are financially supported, it might cause

47. fəqr-i apar-a yuxari-yə; pəs biz-im

poverty-ACC take-3SG up-LOC thus we-1PL.POSS

an increase in the rate of poverty; thus our...”

(238) 32. Əgər bu itifaq-i biz eli-yəbül-ax, bu fəzay e

if this event-ACC we do-can-1PL this space EZ

*“If we manage to carry out this, we can*

33. haşiyə-ni eli-yəbül-lux aram aram irtıqa ver-ax  
skid row-ACC do-PSB-1PL slow slow promote give-1PL.OPT  
*then slowly promote this skid row space into a...”*

(TV Interview 5)

- (239) 21. saxteman e Nizam Pezeşki-ni müntəqil eli-yax ora  
building EZ Medical System-ACC transfer do-FUT.1PL there  
*“transfer the Medical System Organization’s building there”*

(TV Interview 2)

- (240) 84. bimarestan e Çeşmpezeşki-ni de-dim; Bimarestan e  
hospital EZ Çeşmpezeşki-ACC say-PAST.1SG hospital EZ  
*“I told about the Çeşmpezeşki Hospital*  
 85. Kudəkan-i de-dim; bimarestan e Şəhid Mədəni-ni  
Kudəkan-ACC say-PAST.1SG hospital EZ Şəhid Mədəni-ACC  
*Kudəkan Hospital, Şəhid Mədəni Hospital, ...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (241) 72. e 55 sərfəsl e xədəmat e Emdad-i al-allr  
 EZ fifty five law EZ services EZ Emdad-ACC get-3PL  
*“all the services mentioned in all fifty five laws of Emdad”*

(TV Interview 4)

#### 4.2.2.3.7. EL Noun Phrases + ML Dative Markers

The EL NPs found in the TV Interviews data set, were inflected with ML (Azeri) dative case marker, too. In (242), (243), (244), and (245), məsəl e fərhəngi “*the cultural problems*”, Əhəmiyyət e rəsəni “*the importance of the media*”, and hoze ye projə “*field of projects*”, məsələ ye siyasi “*political issue*”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML dative case marker -yə, ML dative case marker -yə and clitic -də, and ML plural suffix -lər and dative case marker -ə:

- (242) 54. səhər-əkimin yux-um gəl-mə-z və **məsəl**  
 morning-until sleep-1SG.POSS come-NEG-3SG and **problems**  
 “... , and cannot go to sleep until morning, and I  
 55. **e fərhängi-yə** fikr elə-rəm (0.25) həmintor **məsael e eqtesadi**  
**EZ cultural-DAT** think do-1SG also **problems EZ economical**  
*think about **the cultural and economical problems.***”

(TV Interview 6)

- (243) 28. **Əhəmiyyət e rəsani-yə-də** kamilən eşraf  
**importance EZ media-DAT-CL** completely awareness  
 “...and I am fully aware of **the importance of the media**”

(TV Interview 6)

- (244) 7. saxtosaz el-iy-ip bibelə **hoze ye**  
 construction do-PAST-3SG this much **field EZ**  
 “[He has] done a lot of construction, and he has  
 8. **proja-lər-ə** pul xəş-liy-ip; hətmən karanə-lər-dən  
**project-PL-DAT** money spend-PAST.3SG, surely salary-PL-ABL  
*spent a lot of money **on the projects**, so he must...*”

(TV Interview 7)

- (245) 105. eli-yəbil-ərđi bi-dana vəqəən **məsələ ye siyasiy-ə**  
 do-PSB-3SG one-ENUM really **problem EZ political-DAT**  
 “that could have changed into a big **political issue**”

(TV Interview 3)

#### 4.2.2.3.8. EL Noun Phrases + ML Ablative Markers

Examples (246), (247), (248), and (249), include EL NPs that are inflected with ML ablative case markers. In these examples, **xanum-ha ye motəəllegə** “the divorced women”, **təşəkkol-ha ye rəsanei** “the media group”, **Moavenət e Mətbuat-i ye Vezarət e Keşvər** “The Press Secretary of the Ministry of Interior”, and **fəqr e mali** “financial poverty”, respectively, are the EL NPs with Ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML ablative case marker-*dən*:



- (246) 45. xanum-ha ye motəlleqə-dən bedun e hesab və bərnəmə  
woman-PL EZ divorced-ABL without EZ account and program  
the divorced women, without any thought given

(TV Interview 4)

- (247) 47. bu təşəkkol-ha ye rəsanei-dən biri Aqay e Əzizi-nin  
 this group-PL EZ media-ABL one Mr. Əzizi-GEN  
 “One of the media group’s books was Mr. Əzizi’s...”

(TV Interview 5)

- (248) 3. Moavenət e Mətbuat-i ye Vəzarət e Keşvər-dən  
Secretary EZ Press-ADJ EZ Ministry EZ Interior-ABL  
 “[from] The Press Secretary of the Ministry of Interior...”

(TV Interview 6)

- (249) 24. fəqr e mali-dən çıxad-ax bi yol-i  
poverty EZ financial-ABL extract-1PL.OPT one way-3SG.POSS  
 “[we should diminish] financial poverty, [to do so] one way is to...”

(TV Interview 4)

#### 4.2.2.4. EL Verb Phrases:

As in the EL verb phrases found in the naturally occurring data set, in the EL verb phrases found in the TV interviews data set, too, the verbal constituents of the verb phrases remained intact; however, the light verbs were translated into the ML (Azeri) and were inflected with the ML suffixes. Some examples of the EL verb phrases are presented here. In (250), icad elə-miş-ux “[we] have built” and təbdil elə-miş-ux “[we] have changed” are the EL compound verbs whose light verbs are translated into the ML and inflected with the ML perfective tense suffix *-miş* and first person plural suffix *-ux*:

- (250) 36. məskuni, kuy-lar və şəhrək-lər-i icad  
 residential neighborhood-PL and town-PL-ACC build  
 and built neighborhoods and towns
37. elə-miş-ux və ağaş-lar-i təbdil elə-miş-ux

do-PF.1PL and tree-PL-ACC change do-PF.1PL

and we have changed the trees into...”

(TV Interview 1)

In (251) and (252), bəstəri elə-di-lər “[they] hospitalized” and həzf eli-yə-lər “[if they] omit”, respectively, are the EL compound verbs whose light verbs are translated into the ML and inflected with the ML suffixes. In (251), the EL light verb “kərdən” “to do” is translated into Azeri “elə” and is inflected with Azeri past tense suffix *-di* and third person plural *-lər*. Likewise, in (252), the EL light verb “kərdən” “to do” is translated into Azeri “elə” and is inflected with Azeri conditional suffix *-yə* and third person plural *-lər*:

(251) 95. bəstəri elə-di-lər, mən onbir yarım-da bımarestan-da  
hospitalize do-PAST-3PL I eleven half-LOC hospital-LOC  
 “and hospitalized him, so at half past eleven, I...”

(TV Interview 6)

(252) 104. həzf eli-yə-lər, zəhn-lər-in-ə gəl-ər ki  
omit do-COND-3PL memory-PL-GEN-DAT come-3SG that  
 “[if they want to] omit such lessons, they can remember that...”

(TV Interview 6)

In (253) and (254), too, the EL light verb “kərdən” “to do” is translated into Azeri “elə” and is inflected with Azeri second person plural imperative suffix *-yin*, and first person plural optative suffix *-yax*, respectively:

(253) 17. gileylix var siz-dən və bu irad-i rəf eli-yin  
 complaint exist you-ABL and this flaw-ACC solve do-IMP.2PL  
 “there is such a complaint so please solve this problem...”

(TV Interview 2)

- (254) 21. saxteman e Nizam Pezeşki-ni **müntəqil eli-yax** ora  
 building EZ Medical System-ACC **transfer do-OPT.1PL** there  
 “we can **transfer** the Medical System Organization’s building...”  
 (TV Interview 2)

In (255), the EL compound verb **pərdaxt şodən** “to be paid”, occurred in the mixed constituent. As in the other examples, the verbal constituent **pərdaxt** “to pay” remained intact and the light verb was translated into the ML “ol” “be”. This light verb is then inflected with Azeri third person singular future suffix *-acax*:

- (255) 20. imkan-i yox-di, bettəb bu **pərdaxt ol-acax**  
 possibility-3SG.POSS not-be.3SG certainly this **pay be-FUT.3SG**  
 “...such a thing is impossible, and **it will** certainly **be paid**.”  
 (TV Interview 7)

#### 4.2.2.5. EL Adverbs:

The TV interviews data set included some EL adverbs, too. In this section some examples of these adverbs are presented. In (256), (257) and (258), **Qət’ən** “certainly”, **Həqiqətən** “actually”, and **əlan** “now”, respectively are the EL adverbs inserted in the Mixed Constituents:

#### ADVERBS OF CERTAINITY

- (256) 10. **Qət’ən** bestelah Nəsr News büünərimə payqah e xass  
**certainly** so-called Nasr News today base EZ special  
 “**Certainly**, today, Nasr News is a special (news)base”  
 (TV Interview 1)

#### ADVERBS OF MANNER

- (257) 12. **Həqiqətən** mən o zəman-i ki aye Dr varede

**Actually** I that time-ENCL that Mr. Dr. enter the

“**Actually**, when Doctor was assigned as the...”

(TV Interview 3)

#### ADVERBS OF TIME

(258) 53. (1) biz bidana da pişnahad-ımız var-di ki **əlan**

we one too offer-1PL.POSS exist-3SG that **now**

“We also have an offer that **now**...”

(TV Interview 1)

#### 4.2.2.6. EL Prepositional Phrases:

Like the EL prepositional phrases in the naturally occurring conversations data set, the EL prepositional phrases occurred in the TV interviews data set, as well. In the following section, some of their examples are presented. In (259) and (260), **be onvan e mərəcə motəmed** “as a result of being a trusted reference” and **be vasete ye tose ye şəhr-i** “due to city development”, respectively, are the EL prepositional phrases inserted in ML. In **be-onvan-e**, the Persian preposition **be** “to” and a noun **onvan** “title” is followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme. Likewise, in **be vasete ye**, the EL preposition **be** “to” and a noun **vasete** “means” is followed by the Ezafe morpheme.

(259) 11. pormoxatəb və **be onvan e mərəcə motəmed e**

popular and **PREP as EZ reference trusted EZ**

“which is popular and [**as a result of being**]a trusted reference”

(TV Interview 1)

(260) 20. A.motəsifanə dəhe-ha ye əxir-də **be vasete ye**

unfortunatly decade-PL EZ last-LOC **PREP medium EZ**

“However, unfortunately, in the last decades, **due to**

21. **tose ye şəhr-i** əvəz e inki tose ye

**development EZ city-ADJ** instead EZ that development EZ

**city development** and instead of developing the...”

(TV Interview 1)

In (261), dər ərazi-ye, and dər cunub e the Persian preposition dər “in” and the nouns ərazi “sites” and cunub “south” are followed by the Persian ezafe morpheme:

- (261) 42. ela-miş-ux.(1) Tosee ye fəza ye səbz dər ərazi-ye  
do-PF-1PL development EZ space EZ green PREP site-EZ  
*“The development of the green space in places”*
43. məsələn kuh e Oneben Ali-di şomal e şəhr-də  
for example mountain Oneben Ali-be.3SG north EZ city-LOC  
*like Onebene Ali mountain in the north of the city*
44. ya cəngəlkari ye Əbbas Mirza-di dər cunub e şəhr-də  
or forestation EZ Əbbas Mirza-3SG PREP south EZ city-LOC  
*or the forestation of Əbbas Mirza in the south of the city*
45. ya be noi Elbaği dər cunub e şərq-də və əxirən biz  
or to kind Elbaği in south EZ city-LOC and recently we  
*or Elbaği in the south west of the city and recently...”*

(TV Interview 1)

#### 4.2.2.7. EL Interjections:

EL interjections also occurred in the mixed constituents of the TV interviews data set. In the examples (262) to (266), EL interjection xob “well” was inserted in the ML:

- (262) 80. forsət-im yox-di(0.25)vəli xob yaxçı-da cəvab  
chance-1SG.POSS not-3SG but well good-too response  
*“I do not have any time to spare, however, we gained...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (263) 102. xolasə yaz-ıp-lar, vəli **xob** bu-nun əsər-i  
 summery write-PAST-3PL but **well** this-GEN effect-3SG.POSS  
 “[they have written a] summary to it, but **well** this objection of mine has an effect”

(TV Interview 6)

- (264) 4. **Xob**, bu irtibat-da neçə söhbət-lər gəl-ir  
**well** this relation-LOC how much talk-PL come-3SG  
 “**Well**, in this regard, some words...”

(TV Interview 7)

- (265) 56. **Xob** bax-ız Məqam e Moəzzəm e  
**well** look-1PL Eminence EZ Highness EZ  
 “**Well**, consider this fact that, His Eminence,

(TV Interview 6)

- (266) 96. huzur tap-dı-m gecə. **Xob** bu nişan ver-ir  
 presence find-PAST-1SG night. **Well** this show give-3SG  
 “I was present at the hospital. **Well**, this shows that...”

(TV Interview 6)

The EL (Persian) elements found in both data sets were presented above. These elements occurred either singly without inflection with any ML suffixes, or inflected with the suffixes from ML. The frequency of each of these suffixes for both data sets are shown in Table 16 and Table 17. Note that the EL VPs, in which the the verbal constituent remains intact and the light verb is translated into Azeri, and is inflected with the ML suffixes, are not included in the tables. Moreover, other categories viz. EL adverbs, PPs, and interjections that were not inflected with any suffixes are also excluded from the tables.

Table 16

*Frequency of ML suffixes in the Mixed Constituents of naturally occurring conversations*

ML Suffix	Nouns	Adjectives	Noun Phrases	Total
possessive	41	0	7	48
person marker	13	14	7	34
locative	21	0	9	30
dative	10	0	3	13
accusative	3	0	1	4
plural marker	5	0	0	5
genitive	0	0	0	0
adjective making suffix	1	0	0	1
ablative	0	0	0	0
instrumental	0	0	0	0

Table 17

*Frequency of ML suffixes in the Mixed Constituents of TV Interviews*

ML Suffix	Nouns	Adjectives	Noun Phrases	Total
possessive	51	0	11	62
person marker	13	31	23	67
locative	33	0	26	59
dative	20	0	7	27
accusative	6	0	16	24
plural marker	12	0	0	12
genitive	18	0	6	24
adjective making suffix	0	0	0	0
ablative	8	0	9	17
instrumental	6	0	0	6

In this chapter, the statistics related to the findings of the research for both sociolinguistics and structural aspects for both data sets along with the examples of the EL lexemes that are inflected with ML suffixes found in the study were presented. In the following chapter, these findings will be discussed based on the theoretical frames introduced earlier.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the transcribed data will be analyzed and the findings will be discussed. To this end, two stages of analysis based on the research questions raised in the first chapter will be carried out: in the first stage, the sociolinguistic aspect of the data will be discussed based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993c) Markedness Model, and in the second stage, the structural analysis of the data will be done based upon Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b, 2002, 2006) Matrix Language Frame model and the 4M Model developed by Myers Scotton and Jake (2000 & 2001).

#### 5.1. SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Considering the total number of the mixed constituents in both data sets, as presented in the previous chapter, CS phenomenon tends to occur more frequently in the formal TV interviews with the Azeri-Persian bilinguals in Tabriz, Iran (268 mixed constituents out of 441 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 1.64 (60.7 %)), in comparison with the CS occurring in the naturally occurring conversations (356 mixed constituents out of 1372 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 3.85 (25.94 %)). These frequencies are indicative of the role of the register in the occurrence of CS in the speech of Azeri-Persian bilinguals dwelling in Tabriz, Iran.

An explanation for the higher frequency of CS from Azeri to Persian in the TV interviews lies in the fact that the interviewees, who are (relatively) high rank governmental authorities, use CS as discourse/social strategy to convey an intended meaning during the course of the interview. Myers-Scotton (1993c), in a discussion of Gumperz's (1982) "code choices as discourse strategies", maintains that: "...speakers do not use language in the way they do simply because of their social identities or because of other situational factors. Rather, they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a soico-pragmatic nature" (p. 57). Before dealing with the nature



and the role of these intended meanings, the situational factors (e.g. settings, topic, etc.) which influence the discourse (the interviews) should be shed some light upon.

Hymes (1972), put forward the concept of “communicative competence” in response to Chomsky’s (1965) “grammatical competence” notion, which is by definition the ability by means of which the competent speakers can make judgements about the grammaticality of the language. According to Hymes (*ibid*), a competent speaker has the knowledge to answer these four questions:

1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible*;
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible*;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed*, and what its doing entails. (p. 281)

Related to this discussion, Myers-Scotton (1993c), discusses the points that Hymes emphasizes regarding the need for a shift in the perspective through which the language choice as a social phenomenon is seen. In this regard, she quotes Hymes’ definition of “rules of speaking” as “the ways in which speakers associate particular modes of speaking, topics or message forms, with particular settings and activities” (p. 58). The second point that she states is Hymes’ emphasis on the *situated meaning*, according to which “the ways of speaking are a function of the socio-cultural values and behavior of the group” (p. 58).

Based on this stance, CS is perceived by the members of this community (governmental authorities) as a discourse strategy that conveys the intended meanings and attributes of formality, politeness, and educatedness (among others), at least in the formal situations, that are based on the socio-cultural values and accepted behaviors of the community. The authorities in the formal TV interviews, utilizing their communicative competence and these values and norms, tend to switch codes because they consider it as the “proper” way

to communicate in a formal setting by using more frequent CS, based on Hymes' "rules of speaking".

Moreover, the motivation for the use of CS with high frequency in the formal TV interviews could be adhered to an "outside" factor, too. In this case, the speakers in the TV interviews data set, are the governmental authorities who are assigned by the central government in Tehran, thus, they are following the *professional* ingroup (government) norms, according to which, the use of the ethnic language (Azeri) better not be "overemphasized", due to the state's minority language policies (Eker, 2008). Consequently, CS becomes a discourse strategy, by using which, a "balance" between ingroup (government) and outgroup (people) identity is kept. In other words, the authority, as an individual from an Azeri-speaking community attempts to maintain his Azeri identity by speaking Azeri in the interviews, yet in order to show the "loyalty" to the government in Tehran, feels the urge to use Persian words and structures, which results in a lot of CS in the interview.

This motivation could be explained by the "referee design" as a part of the "audience design" framework put forward by Bell (1984). According to the referee design, the speakers, particularly in mass communication settings such as radio or TV broadcasts, diverge from the addresses towards "an absent reference group" (p. 145). According to him, "referees are third persons not physically present at an interaction, but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence speech even in their absence" (p. 186). He further categorizes the referees into "ingroup", in which the speaker is a member of the referee group, and the "outgroup", in which the speaker is not a member of the referee group in question.

According to the ingroup referee design, the speaker, when talking to an outgroup member, tends to shift the style in accordance with his/her own (absent) ingroup, thus "deliberately reject identification with the immediate addressee, and identifies with an external referee" (Bell, 1984, p. 187). Nevertheless, in the outgroup referee design, "speakers lay claim to speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them on some dimensions" (Bell, *ibid*, p. 188). In the case of the authorities in the TV

interview data set of this study, linguistically, they are not the members of the absent ingroup community, however, they tend to switch to a code (Persian) with higher prestige that is used by their “professional ingroup” members, the group with which they wish to be identified due to their social status.

For explaining the motivation for the code choice made by the participants in both data sets, the Markedness Model developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993c, 2006) was used. Based on this model, both speakers and listeners, using their communicative competence, follow a principled procedure to make judgments about any linguistic choice they might make or hear as more or less ‘marked’ (expected) (Myers-Scotton, 2006). According to this model, there are two choices speakers make: Unmarked Choices and Marked Choices. The unmarked choices in any given interaction, regarding the features of the interaction viz. participants, topics, settings, etc., are those ones that are more or less expected. Related to this kind of choice, Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993c), calls the normative expectations for each interaction type as Rights and Obligations Set (RO set). Marked choices, on the other hand, are those choices that are not expected based on the RO set that is in effect.

Given the CS occurred in the TV interviews, based on the explanations provided above, the choices made by the speakers were entirely Unmarked based on the Markedness Model (*ibid*). Considering the situational factors in which these interviews were carried out, it becomes apparent the formal nature of the settings, the social status of the participants (as governmental authorities), and the topics discussed, all contribute to the CS occurrence to index the salience of formality, politeness, educatedness, and social status in these settings. The CS in these settings are more or less expected, since the participants, using their communicative competence and the accepted behaviors of the community, are aware of CS occurrence in such contexts, and thus, when CS occurs speakers do not conceive of it as the introduction of new set of RO.

Regarding the CS in the naturally occurring conversations, only 58 mixed constituents out of total 356 mixed constituents were Marked based on the Markedness Model. The following are some of the examples of the mixed constituents in which speakers made a

Marked choice. In (267), a taxi driver uses the Persian word **ərus-i** “*matrimony ceremony*” when telling a story of how a corrupted Chinese politician spent a lot of money on his daughter’s marriage ceremony. According to the Rights and Obligations set, (Myers-Scotton 1993), this is an unexpected choice. The reason for his choice could be “keeping face” in this discourse, and projecting a higher status of self. Moreover, the CS in this example indexes a “plus education”, that is the speaker tends to reflect his educatedness using this CS. Also, since Persian is considered to be more prestigious than Azeri, he, by using EL lexemes, tries to be convergent with his customers according to the Negotiation Principle (Myers-Scotton, 1993):

- (267) =məmləkət-im-də-ki      tal-iy-ələ    gətir-ələ    bi-dana=  
country-1SG.POSS-LOC that loot-PART.3PL bring-3PL one-ENUM  
*“in country that people loot everything and spend huge sums on*  
=**ərus-i** tut-alar neçə      min      dolar=nəm qıxmin  
**bride-ADJ** hold-3PL how much thousand dollar=what forty thousand  
**matrimony** and spend some thousand dollars  
=dolar [xəşlə-miş-ti  
dolar spend-PF-3SG  
*some forty thousand dollars*  
(Taxi – Rec. 2)

In (268), a hairdresser is talking to a customer about the hair color; she uses the EL (Persian) lexemes **roşən** “*bright*” and **tirə** “*dark*” instead of ML (Azeri) lexemes. This choice indexes her tendency to show her expertise in the profession, and also her tendency to maintain the social distance with her customer. According to the RO set of this discourse, this CS is not expected, thus it is a marked choice:

- (268) =başar-m-ır(0.5)“Z”fıkr eli-sən yaraş-ar bu bilə-mə?  
know-NEG-3SG “Z” think do-2SG fit-AOR this to me?

*“doesn’t know anything about household. “Z” do you think it will look good on me?”*

B: Uhm!= bi-də alt-i      roşən-di= roşən rəng-in=

INTJ one-CL under-3SG.POSS **bright-3SG**= **bright** color-GEN

*“Uhm! Its under color is **bright**.*

=üst-ün-nən **tirə** rəh qoy-san açıl-ar

top-GEN-ABL **dark** color put-COND open-AOR

*if the **dark** color is put on the bright one, it will be brighter”*

(Hair Salon)

This example could be compared with Scotton’s (1976) example of use of English and Swahili patterns in Kampala. According to her, “in the work situation, the most salient attribute of English is without a doubt ‘plus education’, especially in those white-collar jobs where expertise acquired via education is at a premium. Any worker would be glad to index his or expertise via use of English” (Myers-Scotton, 1993c, p. 72). In spite of the fact that the situation here at hand is not a white-collar job situation, the participant tends to use Persian to index her expertise in her job. In other words, she accentuates the fact that she has been educated, has acquired the necessary training for the job, and thus possesses the required knowledge to do her job effectively.

Among the examples of the CS as Marked choice in the naturally occurring conversations, one example stands out in that, the participants switch codes from Azeri to Persian in the course of the conversation in order to negotiate a new set of ROs. In these examples, which occurred in the “ladies’ gathering”, a middle-aged daughter switches from Azeri to Persian in the middle of the conversation when she does not want her elderly mother, who is present at the setting and who does not apparently understand Persian, to understand that she is talking about her with the other participants in the conversation. In one situation, as shown in (269), the daughter asks another participant not to play the music, fearing that her mother would be disturbed and thus would start complaining about the situation. In (270), the daughter becomes fed up with her elderly mother’s complaints

and says that bringing her to the gathering is not a good idea, and continues to sympathize with those who seek help from the nursing homes for taking care of their elderly relatives. She switches from Azeri to Persian in order not to hurt her feelings, assuming that she cannot comprehend Persian. In both situations, CS conveys the attribute of “secrecy” and the speaker chooses a code that is not understood by the participant about whom the conversation is about.

- (269) M: Ə sed-aş beşe bədbəxt şod-im= hala baz nə-kon  
sound-3SG.POSS 3SG.COND miserable be-1PL= now open NEG-do  
“don’t play the music now! If she is disturbed, she will complain a lot!”  
 = ye nim saat dige  
one half hour later  
“you can play it half an hour later”

Ə: qoy gör-ax bəyə...

let see-1PL if

“Let’s see...”

(Ladies’ gathering)

- (270) M: mən yo vallah= be Qoran=ne-qi-n be mən biya-yin=mən ne-miy-am  
 I no God= to Quran=NEG-say-2PL to I come-2PL= I NEG-PART-1SG  
“No seriously for the God’s sake, don’t ask me to come to these gatherings  
with her”

Ə: axe nə-bayəd miy-ovard-in  
INTJ. NEG-must PART-bring-2PL  
“well, you shouldn’t have brought her here!”

M: Are=əslən avordən-i nis=nə xodeş lezzət mi-bəre= nə mi-zare ma bebər-im  
Yes= at all bring-ADJ not= no herself joy PART-take= no PART-put we take-1PL  
“You’re right! She neither enjoys the party herself nor lets you enjoy it.”

M: mi-qəm ke ye moqe həq dar-ən ke mi-bər-ən salməndan=

PART-say-1SG that one time right have-3SG that PART-take-3SG nursing home

“I think people who take their elderly to the nursing homes are right

mi-dun-i çera=həmə ro əsir kərd-e...

PART-know-2SG why=everyone PREP captive do-3SG

“You know why? Because (after a while) it becomes really difficult to deal with them”

(Ladies’gathering)

In contrast to the Marked Choices discussed above, the Unmarked Choices in this data set were more or less expected CS examples. They mainly include the terms and expressions (jargons) related to specific discourses, such as organization names (e.g. hospitals, various governmental departments, etc.), legal document names, some religious event names and terms, university course names, and so forth. Following are some the examples of such Unmarked Choices made by the participants in this data set:

(271) includes a university course name, in which the participant using it does not intend to introduce a new set of ROs:

(271) D: aye doctor həman saat-a bi-dana Tərcome-ye-Pişrəftə=

gentlemen doctor same hour-DAT one-ENUM translation-EZ-advanced

“doctor has written one Advanced Translation for that time, too”

(Campus – Rec.1)

Another example where a discourse-bound codeswitching was detected is (272):

(272) B: o-nun fəslbəndi-si yox-di?

that-GEN chapter organization-GEN not-3SG

“Does it not have a chapter organization?”

A: o-lar-i tənzim elə-rux

that-PL-ACC adjust do-1PL

*“We can adjust them later.”*

(Campus – Rec.2)

In (273), a customer is talking about the hair style where she uses an EL lexeme:

(273) A: “Z” **yekdəst** vur biraz uzun=hən?

“Z” **Weave** cut a little long=yeah?

“ “Z” cut it **Weave style**, I want it a little long”

(Hair Salon)

In (274) and (275), two participants are talking about a religious belief and a religious ceremony respectively they use EL islands:

(274) B: nə sən **“pol-e-serat”**da =əgər **pol-e-serat-i** ol-muş=

no you **bridge-EZ-“Serat”-LOC**=if **bridge-EZ-Serat-one** be-PF.3SG

*“No, you, at the **“Serat Bridge”**, if there is any,*

=ol-sa sən rəd ol-acax-san

be-CON.3SG you pass be-FUT-2SG

*will pass.”*

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

(275) =qərəh alti həftə **şəb-e-cümə** ol-ey-di =nəcür ol-di?=  
 necessary six week **night-EZ-Friday** be-PT.P.COP=how be-P.COP

*you had to hold **the Friday night ceremony**. But what happened?*

=gəl-di bi tedad de-di ağa biz **şəb-e-cümə** tut-miy-əca-x=  
 come-P.COP one some say-P.COP Mr. we **night-EZ-Friday** hold-NEG-FUT-1PL

*some people decided **not to hold the ceremony***

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)



As the above examples show, most of the CS happening in the speech of the Azeri-Persian bilinguals, are effected by the discursive factors such as the degree of formality, topic, setting, and the social status of the participants.

Considering the use of CS in both data sets with varying frequencies, the vitality of Azeri spoken in Tabriz, Iran could be scrutinized. Based on the definitions regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality presented earlier, considering the low frequency of CS occurrence in the naturally occurring conversations, most of whose instances include the terms and expressions (jargons) related to specific discourses, such as organization names (e.g. hospitals, various governmental departments, etc.), legal document names, some religious event names and terms, university course names, etc., also the formal institutional support factors such as the gained positions of power in business, industry, administration, education, mass media, culture, sports and other fields by the Azeri people in Iran, it is presumed the vitality of the Azeri language in Iran is high.

The occurrence of CS should be seen as an inevitable byproduct of Azeri and Persian contact during the course of history, and thus the negligible frequency of CS occurrence in the naturally occurring conversations, along with the presence of some factors such as Persian being the medium of education in Iran (Eker, 2008), could represent the fact that Azeri people tend to identify with the Azeri community in Iran and thus maintain their language in daily communications. It should, however, be noted that evaluating the vitality of Azeri in Iran is out of the scope of the present study, and the main reason for bringing up this topic here merely lies in the fact that whether CS in the daily conversations of the community has had any effect on the vitality of Azeri. Obviously to answer such a question requires a separate study with an extensive data.

## **5.2. STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE DATA**

### **5.2.1. Structural Analysis of the Naturally Occurring Conversations**

In this section, the role of the participating languages, i.e. Azeri and Persian, as “Matrix Language” (ML) and the “Embedded Language” (EL) according to the relevant criteria

of the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993c) will be dealt with. According to the findings of the data concerning the naturally occurring conversations, in all of the CS sentences, Azeri was the ML, since it provided the morphosyntactic frame for the whole constituent and Persian was the EL:

- (276) 141 =üst-ün-nən **tirə** rəh qoy-san açıl-ar  
 top-GEN-ABL **dark** color put-COND open-AOR  
*“if the **dark** color is put on the bright one, it will be brighter”*

(Hair Salon)

- (277) 25 =**pərvaz** açıl-di? (1) “A” o zəman rəhmət-dix mamancan-in bi  
**flight** open-3SG? (1) “A” that time mercy-ADJ mother-GEN one  
*“was the **flight** opened? “A”, back in, deceased mom...”*

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

In (276) and (277), **tirə** “dark” and **pərvaz** “flight” are Persian adjective and noun, respectively, that are inserted in the Mixed Constituent. Note that in Azeri, modifiers precede the modified words, and in Persian the modified words precede the modifiers using an ezafe morpheme. In (276), however, the Persian adjective **tirə** “dark” has followed the surface structure rule of Azeri and thus occurred before the noun. Myers-Scotton’s Morpheme Order Principle predicts that, “in the mixed constituents consisting of at least one Embedded Language word and any number of Matrix Language morphemes, surface word (and morpheme) order will be that of the Matrix Language” (Myers-Scotton 2006, p. 244). Based on this definition, it is clear that the Mixed Constituents in these examples meet the requirements of the Morpheme Order Principle and well-formedness conditions of the Azeri grammar are met and the morpheme order in the constituents is not violated. These examples are in line with Myers-Scotton’s (1993c) examples from her Swahili/English corpus. In the example below, in which English lexemes are inserted in the Swahili code-switched sentence, English is EL and Swahili, providing the morphosyntactic frame of the whole sentence, is ML:

... $\emptyset$ -RESULT-S *z-ake ha-zikuwa* *nzuri, basi*  
 cl. 10-results cl.10-his NEG/3SG-cl.10-NEG-PAST-be good so  
*a-ka-JUDGE kuwa skuli ni mbaya*  
 3SG-CONSEC-judge COMP school COP bad

‘...His results were not good, so he judged that [the] school is bad.’ (p.106)

Like EL single nouns and adjectives, EL NPs, VPs and adverbs, found in the data, occurred in the CS sentences without violating the surface structure of the ML, i.e. Azeri, and thus validating the Morpheme Order Principle. In the following examples, too, the ML is Azeri and the EL is Persian. In (278), EL noun phrase “**Şəhرداری-e-Təbriz**” “*Municipality of Tabriz*” is inserted in the CS sentence as a subject of the clause following the well-formedness rules of Azeri grammar.

(278) 69 A: on-da-ki **Şəhرداری-e-Təbriz** qutul-muş-di=  
 then-ADV-that **Municipality-EZ-Tabriz** finish-PF-P.COP  
 “*When the **Municipality building of Tabriz** was finished*”  
 (Taxi – Rec.2)

As mentioned previously, normally compound verbs in Persian include the nonverbal constituent, which can be an adjective, a noun, a past participle, a prepositional phrase or an adverb combined with a light verb. (Purmohammad, 2015) However, in the Mixed Constituents where EL verb phrases occur, the verbal constituent remains intact but the light verb is translated into Azeri making the VP bilingual. In these cases the translated light verb carries the aspectual and agreement markers and the left-most alien lexical element contributes to the core semantic content of the construction. In (279), **təhiyyə elə-rux** “*we provide*”, and in (280), **tolid elə-rux** “*we produce*” are bilingual light verb constructions which follow Azeri syntactic rules. Note that, in these examples, the Azeri first person plural marker *-ux* is inflected to *elə* “do”, which is the translation of the Persian light verb *kon* “do”:

(279) 7 =yer-dən təhiyyə elə-rux  
 place-ABL provide do-PRT.1PL  
 “we (can) provide from somewhere else.”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(280) 89 =ver-rux tolid elə-rux bas-arux anbar-a biyol Payız-da=  
 give-1PL produce do-1PL put-1PL storeroom-DAT then autumn-LOC  
 “we produce the socks and store them and in autumn”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

In the naturally occurring conversations data set, EL nouns, adjectives, and NPs that are inflected with ML System Morphemes were detected, too. In all of the CS sentences, the well-formedness conditions of the ML met by the EL lexeme insertion. Except for 5 cases, which will be discussed later, the findings support the System Morpheme Principle, according to which: “in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituents will come from the Matrix Language.” (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 244).

In the following examples, EL nouns that are inflected with ML, i.e. Azeri, case marker suffixes (possessive, genitive, locative, accusative, dative, and person marker) are shown. In all of the examples, the system morphemes that are related to the external head constituents, are Azeri, thus they meet the System Morpheme Principle:

(281) 160 B: Şənbə-lər DJ=sorsorə-si [zad var  
 Saturday-PL DJ=slide-3SG.POSS thing exist  
 “On Saturdays, there is a DJ, there is also water slides!”

(Hair Salon)

(282) 233 C: nəmənə-sin? kartxan-in?  
 what-GEN ? “POS”-GEN?  
 “Her what? Her POS machine?”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

(283) 12 B: danişqah-da?

university-LOC

At the university?

(Campus Rec. 2)

(284) 77 A: Aye E orsəd-i qutar-dun?

“Mr. E” master’s-ACC finish-PT.2SG?

“Mr.E” did you finish the Master’s degree?

(Campus – Rec. 2)

(285) 22 B: israğı gün bi-dana bərnəm-iyə rasgəl-du-x biz=bi-da=

the other day one-ENUM program-DAT come-PT-1PL we=one-ENUM

“The other day we experienced something [interesting].”

(Jewelry Store - Rec.2)

(286) 18 A: di-yir bimaristan-di=mən fikr el-ir-əm bimaristan=

say-IMPF.3SG hospital-3SG=I think do-IMPF.1SG hospital

“He says it’s a hospital. I think it is”

(Spare Parts Store)

(287) 335 C: “R” indi “Samsung-un” numayəndə-si-di

“R” now “Samsung-GEN” representative-3SG.POSS-3SG=

“He is the representative of “Samsung”.

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

(288) 116 D: mən öz-üm-i həmkilas-lar-ım-nan moqayese eli-yəndə=

I self-1SG-ACC classmate-PL-1SG.POSS-COM comparison do-ADV

“when I compare myself with my classmates”

(Campus - Rec.1)

All of the examples above are in line with the examples of English content morphemes inflected with Swahili system morphemes in Myers-Scotton’s (1993c) study. In this example, all the inflections on the verb are from Swahili and the verb stem (time) is from English:

*Wewe katika hiyo PARTY nzima hukuona msichana kasoro ROSE*  
 You(EMPH) in that whole you-didn't-see young-woman attractive  
*tu? Wewe ulikuwa umejikunja kwa CORNER u-na-m-*  
 just you(EMPH) you-were you-had-folded-yourself in 2SG-PRES-3OBJ  
*TIME tu...*

just

'In that whole party you didn't see another girl, just Rose [isn't that right]? You just put yourself in a corner and "timed" her...' (pp. 86-7)

The EL NPs in the data, in which an attributive item is connected to the attributed by an *ezafe* morpheme, are also inflected by ML system morphemes. The *ezafe* morpheme in these phrases are Bridge System Morphemes based on the 4M (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000), which by definition "unite morphemes into larger constituents showing their hierarchical relationships" (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000, p. 4). Bridge System Morphemes are highly dependent on the well-formedness conditions of the larger constituent in which they occur, and the constituent is not well-formed without using Bridge System Morphemes when necessary. One of the examples of these morphemes is the associative or possessive element that takes place between a possessor noun and the possessed element, as in 'leg of table'. The EL noun phrases in the data, were either EL islands or Mixed Constituents which were inflected with ML Outsider System Morphemes based on Myers-Scotton and Jake's (2000) 4M Model. Nevertheless, in the EL NPs as Mixed Constituents, an interesting process seems to be at play. In the EL (Persian) compound nouns (noun phrases), a noun is "tied" to another via the *ezafe* morpheme. However, when the same noun phrase is inflected with ML (Azeri) Outsider System Morphemes (e.g. person marker), presumably a special type of "double morphology" occurs. By definition, Double Morphology Principle is (Myers-Scotton, 1993b):

In cases where affixes from both the ML and EL appear with a noun or verb stem and therefore may be constructed as competing, only one affix 'wins'. The doublet matching the language of other system morphemes controlling

relationships in the constituents (e.g. affixes making case, tense, etc.) will be the ML affix (p. 133).

The main difference between the ‘double morphology’ examples in the present data with the definition above, lies in the fact that, in this data, instead of noun or verb stems, EL NPs occurred. Thus, provided that the System Morpheme is supplied by the ML, the EL’s internal morpheme becomes secondary and thus not affecting the well-formed conditions of the constituent. This very case is valid for all of the EL NPs that are inflected with the ML affixes. In (281), the EL NP is inserted in the ML with inflections with the system morphemes from the ML (Azeri). In this example, the well-formedness rules of both EL and ML are met:

- (289) 37 B: götür-əmə-sən=bu-nun rival-e-qanun-i-si                      bücür-di-ki=  
 take-NEG-2SG this-GEN process-EZ-law-ADJ-3SG.POSS like this-GM  
 “You can’t take this course, *the legal procedure* for this is that”  
 (Campus – Rec. 2)

For comparison, an example from Bokamba’s (1988) study of Lingala/French is given below. In this example, the French noun is marked for plural with affixes from both Lingala and French, however only the Lingala prefix is syntactically active:

*L’HEURE* y-a kala TROIS QUARTS y-a ba-JEUNE-S      ba-za  
 the-hour of past three quarters of cl.2/PL-young-PL they-are  
*ko-COMPREND-RE AVENIR* te ...  
 INF-comprehend-INF future NEG

‘In the past three-fourths of [the] young people did not understand what their future meant...’ (p. 37)

Like EL nouns, EL adjectives, too, occurred either singly or with ML inflections. For instance, in (290), **bilatəklif** “goalless” is a single EL adjectives that occurred in the Mixed Constituents. Since the surface morpheme order of the whole sentence is not violated in this example, we could say that the Morpheme Order Principle is met and thus the well-formedness conditions of the ML is preserved.

(290) 401 C: o-lar çün **bilatəklif** qal-ıp.

that-PL because **goalless** remain-PT.3SG

“Because they are now **goalless**.”

(Jewelry Store – Rec.2)

In (291) and (292), **tup** “colloquially: rich” **iftizah** “terrible”, respectively, are inflected with ML copular suffix, which is a Late System Morpheme. In this example, too, both System Morpheme Principle and Morpheme Order Principle are met.

(291) 50 =**tup-di** mən-im vəz-im

**ball-be.3SG** I-GEN state-1SG.POSS

“I am **rich**, doctor!”

(Campus – Rec.1)

(292) 49 C: büyün lap **iftizah-di**

today very **terrible-3SG**

“Today (the weather) is really **terrible!**”

(Hair Salon)

In spite of the fact that in Azeri, there are no prepositions or prepositional phrases (PP), in the naturally occurring conversations, 5 Persian PPs were detected. The presence of these PPs in the mixed constituents, violates the well-formedness of Azeri sentences, however, they can be explained by Myers-Scottons’(1993a) EL Island Trigger Hypothesis. According to this hypothesis: “whenever an EL morpheme appears which is



not permitted under either the ML Hypothesis or Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.” (Myers-Scottons’(ibid), p. 7) We can compare the presence of the EL (Persian) PPs in the mixed constituent as an EL island in (293) with Myers-Scotton’s (1993a) example of English *for* as an EL island in the Swahili/English study. According to her (ibid): “While *for* in English is a content morpheme, it does not have a Swahili counterpart which is also a content morpheme. Therefore, the only way to produce English *for* is in an island.” (p.491):

*Nikamwambia anipe                      ruhusa    ni-end-e            ni-ka-CHECK*  
 and-I-told-him he-should-give-me permission 1SG-go-SUBJ 1SGCONSEC-CHECK  
*FOR YOU*

‘And I told him he should give me permission so that I go and check for you’ (p.142)

(293) 72 =**be-onvan-e** bi-dana      baci qərdəş=    siz de-diğ-ım kimin=siz mən-im  
**P-title-EZ** one-ENUM sister brother= you say-PF.1SG like= you I-GEN  
**“as a brother** and sister, as I told you, you are my”  
 (Grocery store – Conversation with the landlady- Rec.8)

There were only three Intersentential CS forms. In these constituents, the whole clause was in EL, i.e. Persian. A very important note here is that, these constituents occurred when the speakers were quoting the lines of the dialogues which were in Persian. In these Intersentential CS the well-formedness of the surface structure was not violated and they were grammatical. In (294) and (295), the speaker is quoting her response to her daughter in a dialogue which had been in Persian:

(294) 107 =de-dim    **həmkelas-iye-to-e    baha-ş sohbət kon.**  
 say-PT.1SG **classmate-EZ-you-3SG with-him talk do**  
 “I told her: **“he is your classmate; go and talk to him”**”

(Campus - Rec.1)

(295) 114=**xod-et midun-i=boro bebin çi kar mişe kərd=**

self-2SG know-2SG go see what work can do

*“It’s up to you. Go and what you can do about it!”*

(Campus – Rec.1)

Likewise, in (296), the speaker is quoting a famous politician who had spoken in Persian:

(296) 64 = “mellət noh mah səbr kon-ənd bər-mi-gərd-əm”

people nine month wait do-3PL AUX-DUR-return-1SG

*“People, wait for nine months, I will come back!”*

(Taxi – Rec.2)

Considering the examples provided above, we can conclude that in all of the CS constituents that occur in the naturally occurring conversations’ data, based on the definitions of ML and EL by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), Azeri, by providing the morphosyntactic frame for the mixed constituents, is the Matrix Language, and thus Persian is the Embedded Language. Regarding the principles of the MLF model, the CS sentences follow both Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. In the rare case of occurrence of Persian PPs, which do not exist in Azeri, Myers-Scotton’s (ibid) EL Island Trigger Hypothesis can predict the case. The three Intersentential CS sentences found in the data, were all in Persian and followed the surface structure rules of Persian.

Considering the EL lexeme/island distribution in the CS forms in the data, Persian nouns were inserted with much higher frequency than any other Persian elements. Myers-Scotton (1993a) maintains that nouns are more prone to occur than any other categories in CS, since they do receive thematic roles and arguments in a maximal projection, thus it is easier for nouns to be inserted in a ML sentence. Table 18 illustrates the frequency and the percentage of the Persian lexemes/islands inserted in Azeri sentences.

Table 18

*Distribution of EL lexeme/islands in the naturally occurring conversations' data*

EL lexeme / island type	N	%
Nouns	122	49.19
Adjectives	33	13.30
NPs	46	18.54
VPs	35	14.11
Adverbs	4	1.61
PPs	5	2
EL Sentences	3	1.2
Total	248	100

As pointed out above, it was predictable that Persian nouns would occur with a higher frequency than the rest of the categories due to their particular syntactic feature. According to the findings, in the naturally occurring conversations data, there were 122 Persian nouns that occurred both singly and inflected with Azeri suffixes in the mixed constituents. This constitutes 49.19% of all the Persian items. Following nouns, are 46 (18.54%) Persian NPs which happened in the code switched sentences. The majority of these EL NPs, were either the names of the state institutions such as **dolət-e Çin** “China’s Government”, **rahahan-e-sərasəri** “National Global Railway” or official/professional terminologies such as **Tərcome-ye-Pişrəftə** “Advanced Translation”. Like EL nouns, these NPs either occurred singly or inflected with ML suffixes. The number of EL VPs found in the data was 35 (14.11%), most of which were core borrowed forms (i.e. they have an equivalent in Azeri) based on the definition. Some examples of these Persian verbs are: **tərçih ver-il-lər** “they prefer” **bərxurd elə-di-lər** “they behaved” **səbt-i-nam eli-yin** “(you) enroll”. EL adjectives, which also occurred either singly or inflected with ML suffixes, were close to VPs; there were 33 (13.30%) Persian adjectives in the data. In the data, there were 5 Persian PPs, most of which served as formulaic expressions, as in: **be xater-e** “because of” **əz ləhaz-e-mali** “from the financial perspective”. Finally, there were 4 EL adverbs and 3 EL sentences found in the data.

Regarding the findings above, EL nouns occurred more than any other EL items, which in turn validates Myers-Scotton's (1993) claim. Poplack (1980, p. 589), in this regard cites Timm (1975) and Wentz (1977), and states that: “[t]he ease with which single nouns may be switched is attested to by the fact that of all grammatical categories, they have been found to be the most frequently switched.”

### 5.2.2. Structural Analysis of the TV Interviews

In the previous section, the structural analysis of the naturally occurring conversations data set was carried out. In this section, the second data set viz. TV interviews will be analyzed.

The EL nouns occurred in the TV interview data, like the EL nouns in the naturally occurring conversations, occurred either singly or with ML (Azeri) inflections. In (297), **ustan** “*province*”, and in (298) **ittifaq** “*event*” are single EL nouns that occurred in the ML sentence, making the whole TP a mixed constituent. Note that these EL item insertions do not violate the surface structure of Azeri, and are in compliance with the Morpheme Order Principle:

- (297) 53. böcür fikr elə-mə-sax **ustan** dali qal-acax (0.5)  
 like this think do-NEG-1PL **province** behind stay-FUT.3SG  
 “[if we]don’t think like this, our **province** wont make progress”

(TV Interview 7)

- (298) 83. yuxari-ydi ki o **ittifaq** fəqət be dəlil e modiriyət  
 high-3SG that that **event** only because EZ management  
 “that this **event** only because of a...”

(TV Interview 3)

In (299), EL adjective **narazi** “*unhappy*” makes the sentence a Mixed Constituent and validates the Morpheme Order Principle, since the well-formedness of the sentence is not violated:

- (299) 57. heşkim o-nnan **narazi** dəyir,... öz-i sal-ha ye sal  
 nobody that-ABL **unhappy** not self-3SG year-PL EZ year  
 “nobody is **unhappy** with him, who is...”

(TV Interview 3)

In the same vein, EL NPs and VPs found in the data, occurred in the CS sentences without violating the surface structure of the ML, i.e. Azeri, and without violating the Morpheme Order Principle. In (300) and (301) **huquq e mahanə** “monthly salary”, **payqah e xass** “an especial news base” are respectively EL NPs with ezafe morpheme. As discussed in the previous section, the ezafe morpheme is a Bridge System Morpheme based on the 4M (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2000) In the following examples, too, the ML is Azeri and the EL is Persian.

- (300) 73. yani həm **huquq e mahanə** al-allar ki əlan  
 hence both **salary EZ monthly** get-3PL that now  
 so they receive a **monthly salary** which has now...”

(TV Interview 4)

- (301) 10. Qət’ən bestelah Nəsr News büyünərimə **payqah e xass**  
 certainly so-called Nasr News today **base EZ special**  
 “Certainly, today, Nasr News is **a special (news)base**...”

(TV Interview 1)

Similar to the EL VPs occurring in the naturally occurring data, the EL VPs in the TV interview data, too, have undergone the same process. In all of the EL VPs, the well-formedness conditions of the ML were met, and the Morpheme Order Principle is not violated. Furthermore, considering the fact that the light verb is provided by the ML, the System Morpheme Principle is also met, since the system morphemes are from the ML.

- (302) 20. Nəsr-ə **moraceə elə-rəm** (0.25) bu fəaliyət-ha ye Nəsr

Nəsr-DAT **refer do- NPAST.1SG** this activity-PL EZ Nəsr

*“I usually **refer to** check the activities of Nəsr News...”*

(TV Interview 6)

(303) 2. ki **donbal elə-rəm**, yani laəqəl həftə-də üç  
that **follow do- NPAST.1SG** mean at least week-LOC three

*“...it has been six years that I have been **following** the news reported by Nəsr.”*

(TV Interview 4)

(304) 15. **israr el-ir-di-lər** və bəndə be dəlayeli  
**insist do-PART-PAST-3PL** and I to reasons

*“**[they]insisted** and I because of some reasons...”*

(TV Interview 3)

(305) 24. (...) dər mored e maliyati ki **mətrəh ol-di** mən 100%  
PREP case EZ tax that **mention do-PAST.3SG** I 100%

*In the case of the tax which **was mentioned**, I*

(TV Interview 2)

(306) 12. gəl-sinnər. əgər **gelemənd-dilər** indi bir xidmət-dən  
come-3PL if **unhappy-be.3PL** now one service-ABL

*“they can come (complain there). If they **are unhappy**, with a service...”*

(TV Interview 2)

EL nouns that are inflected with ML, i.e. Azeri, case marker suffixes (possessive, genitive, locative, accusative, ablative, dative, and person marker) are shown below. In all of the examples, the system morphemes that are related to the external head constituents, are Azeri, thus they meet the System Morpheme Principle:

(307) 28. **etiqad-ım** bu-du ki bir fərđi ki  
**belief-1SG.POSS** this-3SG that one person that

*“**[I]believe** that if a person...”*

(TV Interview 3)

- (308) 3. məcmuə-də fəaliyyət eli-llər. Yəqinən bəraye pişrəft  
complex-LOC activity do-3PL. Certainly for progress  
*“are working in this complex. Certainly, for the progress”*

(TV Interview 3)

- (309) 5. Bir-lıxda bu həftə-ki guzariş-i gör-ür-ux.  
 one-NOM this week-POST report-ACC see-PART-1PL  
*“Now, we will see this week’s reportage”*

(TV Interview 2)

- (310) 35. persenel ki apar-ax saxtosaz-a, ki bular-ın  
 personnel that take-1PL construction-DAT that these-GEN  
*“the personnel’s salaries, and use them for construction”*

(TV Interview 7)

- (311) 62. fərhanği-di (1) biz-im düşmən-lər-imiz, nizam-ın  
 cultural-3SG we-GEN enemy-PL-1PL.POSS regime-GEN  
*“...is cultural, our enemies, our regime’s...”*

(TV Interview 6)

- (312) 8. projə-lər-ə pul xəş-liy-ip; hətmən karanə-lər-dən  
 project-PL-DAT money spend-PAST.3SG, surely salary-PL-ABL  
*“[he has] spent a lot of money on the projects, so he must have spent the nurses’ salaries”*

(TV Interview 7)

As discussed in the previous section, the EL NPs with the ezafe morpheme that are inflected with ML Outsider System Morphemes, validate Double Morphology Principle (Myers-Scotton, 1993b):

- (313) 24. fəqr e mali-dən çıxad-ax bi yol-i  
poverty EZ financial-ABL extract-1PL.OPT one way-3SG.POSS  
*“[we should diminish] financial poverty, [to do so]one way is to...”*

(TV Interview 4)

- (314) 54. park-ha ye məhəll-i-miz bizim Təbriz-də 250 dana-di  
park-PL EZ local-ADJ-1PL.POSS our Təbriz-LOC 250 NUM-3.SG  
 “our local parks in Tabriz are 250 in number...”

(TV Interview 1)

EL adjectives in the TV interview data, followed the same fashion in being inflected with the ML suffixes:

- (315) 108. çox təsirqozar-di və buiki cəməət gör-dü  
 more effective-be.3SG and that people see-3SG.PAST  
 “*which was very effective, people realized ...*”

(TV Interview 3)

- (316) 67. düş-mə-z, vəli bisəbr-anə müntəzir-ux əgər pul  
 drop-NEG-3SG but impatient-ADV wait-be.1PL if money  
 “*... impossible, however, we are impatiently waiting for...*”

(TV Interview 7)

While in the naturally occurring conversations, there were only 4 EL adverbs, in the TV interview data set, there were 39 adverbs. This, in turn, is indicative of the assumption that Persian adverbs are preferred more in the formal situations than in the daily conversations. In (317) and (318), noavəranə “*innovatively*”, and mütməinnen “*certainly*”, respectively, are the EL adverbs in the Mixed Constituents.

- (317) 5. bir bu ki siz noavəranə vared e bu ərsə  
 one this that you innovatively enter to this field  
 “*the first one being that you have entered this field innovatively;*”

(TV Interview 4)

- (318) 62. əmniyyət e herfei biştəri ver-əsiz, mütməinnen



security EZ professional more give-3SG.OPT **surely**

*“provide more job security, and **certainly...**”*

(TV Interview 2)

In the TV interview data, like the naturally occurring conversations data, EL PPs were found. As discussed above, since the presence of these PPs in the mixed constituents, violates the well-formedness of Azeri sentences, Myers-Scottons’(1993a) EL Island Trigger Hypothesis seems to be at work in these situations. Following are some of the examples of these EL PPs:

(319) 31. modiriyət eli-yə, hətta **dər səth e vizarətxana**

management do-3SG even **PREP level EZ ministry**

*“...will he be able to carry out those duties, even **at the level of ministries.**”*

(TV Interview 3)

(320) 141. modiran e arşəd var, vəli **dər kenar e**

administrators EZ senior exist but **PREP side EZ**

*“[there are] senior administrators, but their role **next to the ...**”*

(TV Interview 3)

(321) 50. Təbriz-ə **dər qələb e bir kəmərbəndi** ki eliyəbül-ə

Təbriz-DAT **PREP form EZ one ringway** that can-3SG

*“...west of Təbriz **as a green ringway** that can...”*

(TV Interview 1)

In the TV interviews data set, there were 5 EL interjections found. These interjections were used without violating the well-formedness conditions of the ML (Azeri). In the naturally occurring conversations, on the other hand, no EL interjections were detected. The following examples show the EL interjections inserted in the mixed constituents:

(322) 80. forsət-im yox-di(0.25)vəli **xob** yaxçı-da cəvab

chance-1SG.POSS not-3SG but **well** good-too response

*“I do not have any time to spare, however, we gained...”*

(TV Interview 6)

(323) 102. xolasə yaz-ıp-lar, vəli **xob** bu-nun əsər-i  
 summery write-PAST-3PL but **well** this-GEN effect-3SG.POSS

*“[they have written a]summery to it, but **well** this objection of mine has an effect”*

(TV Interview 6)

(324) 4. **Xob**, bu irtibat-da neçə söhbət-lər gəl-ir  
**well** this relation-LOC how much talk-PL come-3SG

*“**Well**, in this regard, some words...”*

(TV Interview 7)

(325) 56. **Xob** bax-ız Məqam e Moəzzəm e  
**well** look-1PL Eminence EZ Highness EZ

*“**Well**, consider this fact that, His Eminence,*

(TV Interview 6)

(326) 96. huzur tap-dı-m gecə. **Xob** bu nişan ver-ir  
 presence find-PAST-1SG night. **Well** this show give-3SG

*“I was present at the hospital. **Well**, this shows that...”*

(TV Interview 6)

Like the naturally occurring conversations' data, we can conclude that in all of the CS constituents that occur in the TV interview data, based on the definitions of ML and EL by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b), Azeri, by providing the morphosyntactic frame for the mixed constituents, is the Matrix Language, and thus Persian is the Embedded Language. Regarding the principles of the MLF model, the CS sentences follow both Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. In the rare case of occurrence of Persian PPs, which do not exist in Azeri, Myers-Scotton's (ibid) EL Island Trigger Hypothesis can explain the case. The five EL interjections that occurred in the

codeswitched sentences did not violate the surface structure rules of Azeri, thus validate the Morpheme Order Principle.

In the same vein as the naturally occurring conversations' data, Persian nouns were inserted with much higher frequency than any other Persian elements. Table 19 illustrates the frequency and the percentage of the Persian lexemes/islands inserted in Azeri sentences.

Table 19

*Frequency of EL lexeme/islands in the data from TV Interviews*

EL lexeme / island type	N	%
Nouns	187	34.69
Adjectives	51	9.46
NPs	123	22.82
VPs	78	14.47
Adverbs	39	7.23
PPs	56	10.38
Interjections	5	0.92
Total	539	100

According to the findings, in the TV interviews data, there were 187 Persian nouns that occurred both singly and inflected with Azeri suffixes in the mixed constituents. This constitutes 34.69 % of all the Persian items. Following nouns, are 123 (22.82 %) Persian NPs which happened in the code switched sentences. Like EL nouns, these NPs either occurred singly or inflected with ML suffixes. The number of EL VPs found in the data was 78 (14.47%), most of which were core borrowed forms (i.e. they have an equivalent in Azeri) based on the definition. Some examples of these Persian verbs are: **donbal ele-rəm** "I follow", **mətrəh ol-di** "(it) was mentioned", etc. There were 51 (9.46 %) EL adjectives, which also occurred either singly or inflected with ML suffixes. Persian PPs also occurred in the TV interviews data; there were 56 (10.38%) instances. Unlike the naturally occurring conversations' data, there were 5 (0.92 %) Persian interjections found in the TV interviews' data.

### 5.2.3. Some Exceptions

As discussed above, all of the instances of the CS found in both data sets in this study are in line with various hypotheses regarding the CS based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a, 1993b) MLF model. However, in this study some counterexamples regarding the System Morpheme Principle of this model were identified. The System Morpheme Principle, as discussed above with examples, predicts that all of the system morphemes in the Mixed Constituents should be provided by the ML. Nevertheless, in some examples of the present study, the System Morphemes in the Mixed Constituents were provided by the EL (Persian). These examples include the EL (Persian) comparative suffix *-tər* "more" inflected with either ML or EL adjectives. If these comparative adjectives were to be used with ML suffixes, they had to be inflected with Azeri comparative suffix *-rax* "more" to be compatible with the System Morpheme Principle. In (327) and (328) *çox* "many" and *gözəl* "beautiful" are respectively ML adjectives that are inflected with EL comparative suffix *-tər* "more":

(327) 57 =çox adam-da ged-ir oxi-yir= burda-da çox-**tər imkanat** var-idi vəli=  
 many person-CL go-3SG study-3SG here-CL many-**COMP facilities** exist-P.COP but  
*"many students go and study there; there are many **more facilities** here but"*

(Campus – Rec. 2)

(328) 89 F: Kanada çox gözəl-**tər** bir yer-di= vəli de-dim biraz=  
 Canada very beautiful-**COMP** one place-COP.3SG=but say-P.COP a little

*"Canada is a **more** beautiful place, but as I mentioned..."*

(Spare Parts Store)

In the same vein, in (329) and (330), respectively the EL adjectives **biş** "more" and **razi** "content", are shown that are inflected with EL comparative suffix *-tər* "more":

(329) 66. el-isiz və eli-yəbil-əcəx-suz ki **biş-tər**  
 do-2PL.PART and do-can-2PL.FUT that **more-COMP**

*"you will be able to do **more**"*

(TV Interview 2)

(330) 54. Yani işlə-m-iyən-də hammi razi-tər ol-ur.

hence work-NEG-PART-LOC everybody content-COMP be-3SG

*“I mean (he might think that) when you are not doing what you are supposed to do, everybody becomes more content with you;”*

(TV Interview 3)

Another counterexample of the System Morpheme Principle detected in this study includes the inflection of an EL (Persian) superlative suffix with EL adjective. In (331), beh “good” is the EL adjective that is inflected with EL superlative suffix tərin inserted in the Mixed Constituents:

(331) 27. utuban e Şəhid Kəsayi-də beh-tərin bəstər-rər var-i-di

freeway EZ Şəhid Kəsayi-LOC good-SUP floor-PL exist-PAST.3SG

*“... in the Şəhid Kəsayi freeway, there were the most suitable floors*

(TV Interview 1)

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This study was an attempt to scrutinize the linguistic behavior of the Azeri-Persian bilinguals based in Tabriz, Iran. Based on the primary observations and presumptions of the researcher, CS tended to occur both in the natural, spontaneous conversations among the speakers, and the TV interviews of the governmental authorities, who are also Azeri-Persian bilinguals. These research questions were asked in this study:

1. Considering the sociolinguistic aspect of the study;
  - a) What is the general pattern of CS practices occurring in formal and informal situations and settings?
  - b) On the basis of the “Markedness Model” proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b, 1993c), do the CS forms in formal and informal situations fall into the “Marked Choices” or “Unmarked Choices” categories?
2. Considering the structural aspect of the study;
  - c) On the basis of the relevant criteria provided by the “Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b), how can Azeri and Persian be identified as the “Matrix Language” (ML) and the “Embedded Language” (EL)?
  - d) What is the frequency of the lexical and morphological category or categories in the codeswitched clauses (nouns, verbs, etc.)?
  - e) Which ML suffixes are inflected with the EL elements and what is their frequency of occurrence?

To find answers to these questions, data from two different sources were collected: 1. randomly chosen and collected from the naturally occurring conversations in various situations in Tabriz, Iran, 2. seven video clips of the TV interviews with the governmental authorities of Tabriz from the website [www.aparat.com](http://www.aparat.com). To collect the data for the naturally occurring conversations, approximately 9 hours of audio recording (done almost in one month) was carried out in various situations and places viz. a grocery store, a jewelry shop, a spare parts shop, a hair salon, university campus, taxi, etc. The recorded data, then, were manually transcribed and codified. Factors like gender, age, or educational background were not taken into account in this study.

The findings related to the sociolinguistic aspect of the research showed that CS tends to occur more frequently in the formal TV interviews with the Azeri-Persian bilinguals in Tabriz, Iran (268 mixed constituents out of 441 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 1.64 (60.7 %)), in comparison with the CS occurring in the naturally occurring conversations (356 mixed constituents out of 1372 TPs in total with the ratio of 1 to 3.85 (25.94 %)). These frequencies were indicative of the role of the register in the occurrence of CS in the speech of Azeri-Persian bilinguals dwelling in Tabriz, Iran.

The socio-pragmatic motivations for the occurrence of CS in the TV interviews were explained based on Myers-Scotton's (1993c) Markedness Model, Hyme's (1972) hypothesis of "communicative competence", as an attributive factor in choosing the "proper" code for a given situation, and Bell's (1984) "referee design", for explaining the role of in/out group solidarity building in TV interviewees' (authorites) converging towards the "absent referees" code. It could be concluded that the authorites in the TV interviews tend to use CS frequently as a discourse strategy not only to accommodate to the set of Rights and Obligations (Myers-Scotton, *ibid*) required for the formal situation, but also to be identified as a member of the outgroup (government) along with ethinc bonding by speaking Azeri. The CS in the TV interviews mainly indexed the attributes of "plus educatedness", "plus formality", etc. among other attributes.

Based on the tenets of the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993c) and also the explanations above, the CS in the TV interviews were all Unmarked Choices. In the

naturally occurring conversations, however, the use of terms and expressions (jargons) related to specific discourses, such as organization names (e.g. hospitals, various governmental departments, etc), legal document names, some religious event names and terms, university course names, and so forth, were the unmarked choices, nevertheless, in some cases where the speaker tended to index “educatedness”, or distance her/himself from the other interlocutor, she/he made a marked choice by using CS.

Findings of the research, showed that in all of the mixed constituents, found in both data sets, based on the definitions of ML and EL by Myers-Scotton (1993a), Azeri, by providing the morphosyntactic frame for the mixed constituents, is the Matrix Language, and thus Persian is the Embedded Language. Regarding the principles of the MLF model, the CS sentences followed both Morpheme Order Principle and the System Morpheme Principle. In the rare case of occurrence of Persian PPs, which do not exist in Azeri, Myers-Scotton’s (ibid) EL Island Trigger Hypothesis was made use of explain the case.

Considering the EL lexeme/island distribution in the CS forms in the data, Persian nouns were inserted with much higher frequency than any other Persian elements. Myers-Scotton (1993) maintains that nouns are more prone to occur than any other categories in CS, since they do receive thematic roles and arguments in a maximal projection, thus it is easier for nouns to be inserted in a ML sentence.

The frequency analysis of the EL lexeme/island in the naturally occurring conversations data, revealed that there were 122 Persian nouns that occurred both singly and inflected with Azeri suffixes in the mixed constituents. This constituted 49.19 % of all the Persian items. Following nouns, were 46 (18.54 %) Persian NPs which happened in the code switched sentences. Like EL nouns, these NPs either occurred singly or inflected with ML suffixes. The number of EL VPs found in the data was 35 (14.11%), most of which were core borrowed forms (i.e. they have an equivalent in Azeri) based on the definition. EL adjectives, which also occurred either singly or inflected with ML suffixes, were close to VPs; there were 33 (13.30 %) Persian adjectives in the data. In the data, there were 5 Persian PPs, most of which served as formulaic expressions. Finally, there were 4 EL adverbs and 3 EL sentences found in the data.



In the same vein, the frequency analysis of the EL lexeme/island in the TV interviews, showed that the EL nouns occurred with higher frequency than the other categories. There were 187 Persian nouns that occurred both singly and inflected with Azeri suffixes in the mixed constituents. This constitutes 34.69 % of all the Persian items. There were 123 (22.82 %) Persian NPs which happened in the code switched sentences. Like EL nouns, these NPs either occurred singly or inflected with ML suffixes. The number of EL VPs found in the data was 78 (14.47). There were 51 (9.46 %) EL adjectives, which also occurred either singly or inflected with ML suffixes. Persian PPs also occurred in the TV interviews data; there were 56 (10.38%) instances. Unlike the naturally occurring conversations' data, there were 5 (0.92 %) Persian interjections found in the TV interviews' data.

Regarding the frequency of the ML (Azeri) suffixes that inflected with the EL (Persian) elements, in the naturally occurring conversations, Azeri possessive suffixes occurred more frequently (N=48) than other suffixes. These suffixes were inflected with the EL nouns more than other categories. The ML adjective making suffixes were the least frequent (N=1) suffix inflected with the nouns. In the TV interviews, Azeri person markers occurred more frequently (N=67) than other ML suffixes and the Azeri instrumental markers were used less than other suffixes (N=6).

In this study, there were some counterexamples regarding the System Morpheme Principle of MLF model. According to this principle, all of the system morphemes in the Mixed Constituents should be provided by the ML. Nevertheless, in some examples of the present study, the System Morphemes in the Mixed Constituents were provided by the EL (Persian). These examples include the EL (Persian) comparative suffix *-tər* "more" inflected with either ML or EL adjectives.

In spite of the fact that evaluating the ethnolinguistic vitality of Azeri in Iran is out of the scope of the present study, nonetheless, considering the low frequency of CS occurrence in the naturally occurring conversations, also the formal institutional support factors such as the gained positions of power in business, industry, administration, education, mass media, culture, sports and other fields by the Azeri people in Iran, it is tentatively

presumed that the vitality of the Azeri language in Iran is high and thus Azeri people tend to identify with the Azeri community in Iran and maintain their language in daily communications. Obviously answering a question regarding this matter requires a separate study with an extensive data.

While this research was an attempt to shed light on the research questions above, it could pave the way for the implementations for future researches, too. Due to the boundaries of the research, there still are some aspects of the study which require further exploration. In this study, the data was collected in the urban area of Tabriz, Iran. However, the data obtained from rural areas can also be added. Moreover, as mentioned in the first chapter, there are other Azeri speaking cities in Iran whose language contact patterns could be sought, too. In this research, variables such as gender, age, or education was not taken into account when accumulating the data, however such factors could also be taken into consideration in future researches. Furthermore, formal conversations between Azeri-Persian bilinguals could be examined to find any possible differences in patterns. Another implication for the future studies could be conducting a research comparing the formal spoken Azeri and formal written language (such as newspapers, magazines, etc.). Last but not least, the Azeri language used in social networks could be the matter of scrutiny for the future studies.

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## Appendix 1

### Participant Consent Form and Its Persian Translation

#### GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu belge Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Prof. Dr. Nalan Büyükkantarcioglu danışmanlığında Navid Mohammadpour Talaei tarafından yürütülmekte olan *İran'da Azerice yayımlanan yerel televizyonlardaki dil karıştırılması: Yapılar ve fonksiyonlar* adlı doktora tezine ait katılımcılara sunulan gönüllü katılım formudur. Bu araştırmada Azerice konuşan iki dilli yetişkin Azeri bireylerin ne sıklıkla ve hangi ortamlarda daha sık Farsça kullandıklarının betimlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Bu araştırmanın etik ilkelere uygunluğu Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu tarafından değerlendirilmiş ve onaylanmıştır. Bu çalışmaya katılmak tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılmanız veya katıldıktan sonra herhangi bir nedenle vazgeçmeniz tamamen sizin kararınıza bağlıdır.

Bu çalışmada katılımcılardan doğal konuşmalarının ses kayıtları alınacaktır. Ses kaydı esnasında araştırmacı hiç bir şekilde konuşmanın akışına ve ya konuşmacılara müdahale etmeyecektir ve katılımcılar diledikleri zaman herhangi bir nedenle çalışmadan ayrılabilirler. Bu durumda araştırmacılar katılımcıların ses kayıtlarını kullanamayacaklardır. Çalışmada alınan ses kayıtları katılımcı adı ile birlikte herhangi bir kaynakta geçmeyecektir. Çalışma çerçevesinde kaydedilen ses sadece bu doktora tezinde ve tez kapsamındaki çalışmalarda kullanılacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Hacettepe Üniversitesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü'nden Navid Mohammadpour Talaei ile (0535 366 8787 – navidtalaei@hacettepe.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

**Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda bırakabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.**

Tarih :

**Katılımcı:**

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### فرم مشارکت داوطلبان

این فرم مشارکت داوطلبانه به شرکت کنندگان در قسمت جمعآوری داده های تحقیق پایان نامه دکتری با عنوان **مخلوط زبانی در برنامه های تلویزیونی آذری زبان: سازه ها و عملکردها** که در دانشگاه حاجتتپه آنکارا زیر نظر استاد نالان بویوککانتارجی اوغلو به عنوان استاد راهنما و نوید محمد پورطلایی به عنوان محقق انجام می شود به شما ارائه می . گردد. هدف از این تحقیق توصیف چگونگی استفاده از واژگان فارسی توسط افراد دوزبانه آذری در تبریز می باشد.

این تحقیق با اصول اخلاقی که توسط کمیسیون اخلاق دانشگاه حاجتتپه ارزیابی و تایید شده است مطابق می باشد. مشارکت در این مطالعه کاملا داوطلبانه است شرکت کننده صاحب این اختیار می باشد که مشارکت داشته باشد یا بعد از پیوستن به هر دلیلی از مشارکت انصراف بدهد.

در این مطالعه ضبط صدا از مکالمات طبیعی شرکت کنندگان صورت خواهد گرفت. در طول ضبط صدا، محقق به هیچ وجه با مکالمات طبیعی شرکت کنندگان و نیز خود شرکت کنندگان تداخل نخواهد داشت و شرکت کنندگان می توانند جریان ضبط صدا رابه هر دلیلی و هر زمانی قطع و از مشارکت انصراف دهند. در این صورت، محققان قادر به استفاده از فایل صوتی شرکت کنندگان نخواهند بود. فایل های صوتی دریافت شده در این تحقیق به هیچ وجه با نام شرکت کنندگان در هیچ منبع ذکر نخواهد شد و نام و هویت شرکت کنندگان محفوظ خواهد بود. صدای ضبط شده تنها در چارچوب این پایان نامه و تحقیقاتی که در حوزه این پایان نامه میباشند مورد استفاده قرار می گیرد.

برای کسب اطلاعات بیشتر در مورد این تحقیق میتوانید با نوید محمد پورطلایی در گروه زبانشناسی دانشگاه حاجتتپه و یا با پست الکترونیکی [navidtalaei@hacettepe.edu.tr](mailto:navidtalaei@hacettepe.edu.tr) و تلفن 053533668787 تماس بگیرید. از شرکت شما در این تحقیق بسیار سپاسگزارم.

من به طور کامل با میل شخصی خود و داوطلبانه به این تحقیق شرکت میکنم و می دانم که من می توانم هر وقتی که خواستم ضبط صدا را قطع کرده و به ضبط پایان دهم. استفاده علمی از اطلاعاتی را که ارائه می دهم می پذیرم.

**تاریخ:**

**نام و نام خانوادگی :**

**آدرس:**

**تلفن:**

**امضا:**

**محقق:**

**نام و نام خانوادگی :** نوید محمد پورطلایی  
**آدرس:** گروه زبانشناسی دانشگاه حاجتتپه – آنکارا  
**تلفن:** 053533668787

**امضا:**



## Appendix 2

### TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The following are the basic transcription conventions that are followed throughout the study:

**1-** Participant Identities are represented by alphabetic letters in order.

A: qabil bişey dəyir

B: təşəkkür mersi

**2-** The inaudible or incomprehensible stretch of talk are indicated with the literal word in double brackets ((INCOMPREHENSIBLE))

**3-** Pauses and silences are noted in terms of a measured interval, for example, (0.5) indicates half a second and (2) indicates three seconds etc.

B: məni daviyə qoyusan da= qoy gəlsin özi hesabkitab eləsin=

=mən neynim axi(0.25)tükan təhvil alısan=gəl alda

**4-** The sign (⌋) is used to indicate the point where another speaker's talk occurs in overlap:

B: mən bülürəm ba o otuz milyoni [götürür oni indi

A: [axi bülürəmki bu nə əğlinən o

**5-** An equals sign (=) indicates that a next utterance is latched directly onto a prior one, with no gap.

A: hifzimidi=evizin tilifuni hifzimizdi=mubayluz hifzimizdi

**6-** The turns where the particle in question is being discussed occurs the particle is underlined and highlighted.

B: bidada burda sūt var=bax=buni=oların yerinə fəqət **botri sūt**

7- The conversational fragments are typed with Courier (10) compared to Times New Roman (12) in the rest of the thesis. Courier 10 in italicised form is used for the translations as well.

B: bizim bazar ki dayanıpdı

A: ağa zəh vurusan?

### Appendix 3

Grocery store - Conversation with the customer#1- Rec.1

**Participant A: shopowner - male - 30 years old - high school diploma**

**Participant B: customer/businessman - male - 34 years old - BA**

- 1 A: a indi siz əmr el-iy-in  
Sir now you order do-IMP-2PL  
*Now your order please, sir*
- 2 B: ərz ol-ar =baş-u-va dol-an-ım =[necə-süz?  
Request be-AOR-3SG =head-2SG-DAT orbit-AOR-1SG=[how are you?  
*Thank you=how are you?*
- 3 A: [sağ-ola-suz  
[health-be-2PL  
*(May you be healthy)Thank you*
- 4 B: ağa mən vəqt-ivi al-miy-im =[gəl-d-im o gün  
Sir I time-2SG.POSS get-NEG-OPT-1SG=[come-PF-1SG that day  
*Mister I don't want to waste your time. I came (here) that day*
- 5 A: [navax gəl-miş-ti-n?=dünən?  
[when come-PF-PT-2SG?=yesterday?  
*When did you come? Yesterday?*
- 6 B: mən yo ol-ar bi on gün= onüş gün bu-nnan gabax  
I no be-POSS.3LSG some ten days=thirteen days this-ABL before  
*I came here some ten or thirteen days ago*
- 7 =qərdəş-in burd-eyd-i =de-di ki öcür şey-lər-ə S  
=brother-2SG.POSS here-PF.3SG=say-PT.3SG that such thing-PL.ACC
- 8 Yetiş-əca-x  
deal-FUT.3SG  
*Your brother was here and said that S will deal with such things*
- 9 A: di-yir-da =amma bu-nnan bu tərəf-ə o yetiş-əcax-di=mən=  
say-AOR.3SG-so =but this-ABL this way-DAT he deal-FUT.3SG= I  
*He is saying so, but after this he will be dealing such thing,I*
- 10 =ge-rəm ayri iş-ə **təhvil ver-əm** [on-a  
go-IMPF.1SG different job-DAT **deliver give-1SG** [he-DAT  
*(I)am going to a different job, (I am)giving everything to hi*

- 11 B: [pe?  
INTJ  
Really?
- 12 A: hən o-na xatir o yetiş-əcax-di=öz-i sifariş ver-əcax-di  
Yeah it-DAT reason he deal-FUT.PRT.3SG =self-3SG order give-FUT.PRT.3SG  
*yeah, because of that he will deal with (things)= (if) he himself  
wants to place an order,*
- 13 gəl-sin ver-sin =vaqeyəti yorul-muş-am bu iş-dən=  
come-AOR.3SG give-AOR.3SG=actually tired-PF.1SG this job-ABL  
*he (should) come and order; actually I am tired of this job*
- 14 =ge-rəm qeyn-im-inən saxtuman iş-inə=  
go-PROG.1SG brother-in-law-1SG.POSS-COM construction job-DAT.3SG  
*I am going to (start) a construction business with my brother-in-law*
- 15 =çəh-dən məh-dən yorul-muş-am  
Check-DAT.3SG m-Reduplication-DAT.3SG tired-PF.1SG  
*I am tired of check issues.*
- 16 B: S can qərdəş-ivın qöyl-ü var biz-inən işli-yə?  
S dear brother-1SG.POSS will-3SG.POSS us-COM work-AOR-3SG?  
*Dear S, is your brother willing to work wit us?*
- 17 A: niyə bə yox-di =qöyl-i ol-ma-sa-da gərəh  
Why EMPH not-3SG=will-3SG.POSS be-NEG-CON-CL necessary  
iş-liy-ə-da  
work-OBL-3SG-EMPH  
*Why not (he is; even if he is not willing, he must work.*
- 18 B: havax öz-i gəl-ər?  
when self-3SG come-AOR.3SG  
*when will he come?*
- 19 A: fikr el-i-rəm sabax öz-i gəl-ə  
Think do-PROG.1SG tomorrow self-3SG come-FUT.3SG  
*I think he will come tomorrow.*
- 20 B: bəs bi danış-ım =[dene ki gel-miş-ti-m  
so one talk-AOR-1SG=[say-IMP that come-PF-PT.1SG  
*so let me talk to him, please tell him that I came*
- 21 A: [çəşm həllidi  
*Of course*
- 22 B: mersi  
*thanks*

## TV INTERVIEW 6

1. A. **Ajans e xəbəri təhlil-i e Nəsr sal e** həftad yeddi-də  
agency EZ news analysis-ADJ EZ Nəsr year EZ eight seven-LOC  
*The analytical news agency of Nəsr, started working*
2. **fəaliyyət-in başli-yip-di** (0.25) **əvvəlin resanə-di** ki  
activity-3SG.POSS start-PAST-3SG first medium-3SG that  
*in the year eighty seven; It is the first agency that*
3. **Moavenət e Mətbuat-i ye Vəzarət e Keşvər-dən**  
Secretary EZ Press-ADJ EZ Ministry EZ Interior-ABL  
*The Press Secretary of the Ministry of Interior granted*
4. **mocevvez e fəaliyyət** al-ıp-di (0.5) **təmam e**  
permission EZ activity get-PAST.3SG all EZ  
*the work permission. All of*
5. **həmm o çəmi-miz** bu ol-up ki mərdum-un  
concern-1PL.POSS this be-PAST.3SG that people-GEN  
*our concern has been this point that we (should) be*
6. **səs-i** ol-ax və bu neçə il e  
voice-3SG.POSS be-1PL.OPT and this some year EZ  
*people's voice, and in thses past years*
7. **qozəştə-də** **muxtəlif** **borhe-ha ye tarix-i** və  
past-LOC various period-PL EZ history-ADJ and  
*in various periods of history and*
8. **siyası-da** şayəd çox-lari biz-inən dost ol-uplar  
political-LOC perhaps many-PL we-COM friend be-PAST.3PL  
*politics, many people have become our friends,*
9. **çox-lar-ıda** narahand ol-uplar **be vasete ye** bu  
many-PL-too unhappy be-PAST.3PL to means EZ this  
*and many have resented us due to the fact that*
10. ki mərdum-un söz-ün **səy ela-miş-ux di-yax**  
that people-GEN word-3SG.POSS try do-PF.1PL say-1PL.OPT  
*we have tried to express people's words,*
11. vəli **xoşbəxtanə** mərdom **huzur-inən** bu ki **moxtəlif**

- but fortunately people presence-INST this that various  
*but fortunately, people with their presence in various*
12. şəbəkə-ha ye ectemayi-nən moxatəb ol-mağ-ımız-ınan  
 network-PL EZ social-INS audience be-INF-1PL.POSS-INS  
*social networks that we provide,*
13. biz-ə çox köməhlıx eli-yiplər ki böyüh-tərin poştvanə  
 we-DAT many help do-PAST.3PL that big-SUP support  
*they have helped us and supported us, the support*
14. ki poştvanə ye mərdom-i-di dər hərım e qanun e  
 that support EZ people-ADJ-3SG in boundry EZ law EZ  
*which is the most important of all, so that we can*
15. mətbuat ged-ax qabağ-a  
 press go-1PL.OPT front-DAT  
*make progress within the boundries of the Press Law.*
16. B. Bəsməllah e rəhman e rəhim.  
 name Allah EZ compassionate EZ mercifull  
*In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful*
17. çox xoşhal-əm ke büyünnərim (0.5) dər xədmət e  
 very happy-1SG that today in service EZ  
*Today, I am very pleased to be at the disposal of*
18. bəradər-an o xahər-an e Ajans e xəbəri təhlil-i  
 brother-PL and sister-PL EZ agency EZ news analysis-ADJ  
*you, brothers and sisters from The analytical news agency*
19. e Nəsr (0.25) Mən hər gün qəsmət e İnstagram e  
 EZ Nəsr I every day part EZ Instagram EZ  
*I check the Instagram of Nəsr everyday*
20. Nəsr-ə moracəə elə-rəm (0.25) bu fəaliyyət-ha ye Nəsr  
 Nəsr-DAT refer do-1SG this activity-PL EZ Nəsr  
*I usually check the activities of Nəsr Nəws*
21. Nəws dər İnstagram hər gün bir dəfə iki dəfə fursət  
 in Instagram every day one time two time chance  
*in Instagram, once or twice everyday, when I have*
22. elə-dıx-can bax-aram (0.5) bə təvəccoh be in ki

- do till look-1SG with attention to this that  
*tha chance. Considering the fact that*
23. öz-üm **qəbl əz inke** gəl-əm Təbriz-ə,  
 self-1SG before from that come-1SG.OPT Təbriz-DAT  
*before I came to Tabriz,*
24. həm **guruh e** telvezuyn-imiz var-ı-di  
 both group EZ television-1PL.POSS exist-PAST.3SG  
*we had a television and a*
25. həm **guruh e radiyo-muz** həm neççə-dana  
 both group EZ radio-1PL.POSS both some-ENUM  
*radio and some*
26. **məcəllə-miz** var-ı-di və **mozu e**  
 magazine-1PL.POSS exist-PAST.3SG and topic EZ  
*magazine preparation groups, and*
27. **rəsənə-ynən** **kamilən aşni-yəm** və **mossəllət-em,**  
 media-INS completely familiar-1SG and dominant-1SG  
*I am completely familiar with media works and I am  
 good at it.*
28. **Əhəmiyyət e rəsəni-yə-də** **kamilən eşraf**  
 importance EZ media-DAT-too completely awareness  
*and I am fully aware of the importance of the media*
29. **var-ım-di** (0.5) bu ki (0.25) biz-im  
 exist-1SG.POSS-3SG this that we-1PL.POSS  
*We have some*
30. **intizar-ımız** **rəsənə-dən** var (1) bu **ibarət-di**  
 expectation-1PL.POSS media-ABL exist this include-3SG  
*expectations from media and they include these points*
31. bun-nan ki **dər eyn e hali** ki **vəqeyət-dər-i**  
 this-ABL that in likeness EZ state that reality-PL-ACC  
*that, while the realities*
32. gərəh **mətrəh eli-yələr,** əmma (0.25) **bəyan e**  
 necessity express do-3PL but express EZ  
*should be expressed and mentioned, but the expression*

33. **vəqeyət-dər** gərəh **moncər be omidvar-i ye** mərdom  
 reality-PL necessity lead to hopeful-N EZ people  
*of these realities should make people hopeful*
34. **omidvar-i ye cəvan-an nesbət be ayənde ye keşvər**  
 hopeful-N EZ young-PL related to future EZ country  
*and also should makethe youth hopeful about the  
 future of the country*
35. ol-a.  
 be- 3SG.OPT
36. **Nokte ye bədi** xəbər-də gərəh (1) **deqqət e**  
 point EZ next news-LOC necessity attention EZ  
*The other point in journalism is the attentive*
37. **nəzər** və **rastguyi xəbər-də** çox **mohem-di** (0.5)  
 observation and honesty news-LOC very important-3SG  
*observation and honesty that are of great importance*
38. Düz-di **xəbər mümkün-di** yalan ol-a,  
 right-3SG news possible-3SG false be-3SG.OPT  
*It is possible that the news is false,*
39. mümkün-di düz ol-a (1) **deqqət e nəzər**  
 possible-3SG right be-3SG.OPT attention EZ observation  
*or it is right, but the attentive observation*
40. və **rastguyi** xəbər-də çox **əhəmiyyət ver-ax** ta  
 and honesty news-LOC very importance give-1PL so  
*honesty should be given a lot of importance, so that*
41. **etminan e mostəme-in, etminan e moxatəb-in, etmina**  
 trust EZ listener-PL trust EZ audience-PL trust  
*the listeners, the audience and*
42. **e binəndə-lər biştər hasəl ol-a** (0.25) bi-dana xəbər  
 EZ viewer-PL more result be-3SG.OPT one-ENUM news  
*the viewers can trust the news. When a peice of news*
43. yaz-anda di-yir ki bun-i Nəsr News  
 write-ADV say-PART.3SG that this-ACC Nəsr News  
*is written by Nəsr News,*



44. yaz-ıp-di, han eyb-i yox-di bax-ax.  
 writen-PAST.3SG yes error-3SG.POSS not-3SG see-1PL  
*I say that, yes it must be true, so let's read it.*
45. Gərəh ged-ax vaqeyyət-dər-in sorağ-ın-a,  
 necessity go-1PL.OPT reality-PL-GEN search-3SG.POSS-DAT  
*We should search for the realities,*
46. bu çox möhem-di (1) təvəccöh be iki əmr büyün  
 this very important-3SG attention to two point today  
*and this is very important. Today, paying attention*
47. çox möhem-di məmləkət-imiz-də, biri moşkelat e  
 very important-3SG country-1PL.POSS-LOC one problems EZ  
*to two points is very important in our country:*
48. eqtesadi-di biri-də məsael e fərhəngi-di (1)  
 economical-3SG one-too matters EZ cultural-3SG  
*one of them is the economical problems, and the other  
 is cultural issues.*
49. Məqam e Moəzzəm e Rəhbəri dər yek-i əz  
 Eminence EZ Highness EZ leader in one EZ  
*His Eminence, The Supreme Leader, in one of*
50. molaqat-dar-i buyur-ur ki mən dər ba ertebat ba  
 interveiw-PL-3SG.POSS say-3SG that I in relation with  
*his interveiw mentions that,*
51. məsael e siyasi niqəran-çılığ-ım yox-di(0.5) vəli  
 matters EZ political concern-INF-1SG.POSS not-3SG but  
*he is not concerned about the political matters, but*
52. dər ertebat ba məsael e fərhəngi niqəran-çılığ-ım  
 in relation with matters EZ cultural concern-INF-1SG.POSS  
*rather, he has some concerns about the cultural issues;*
53. var (0.25) bəzi vəx-lər gecə-lər yuxu-dan oyan-nam ta  
 exist some time-PL night-PL sleep-ABL wake up-1SG until  
*He says that:" I sometimes wake up in the middle of night*
54. səhər-əkimin yux-um gəl-mə-z və məsal  
 morning-until sleep-1SG.POSS come-NEG-3SG and problems

, and cannot go to sleep until morning, and I

55. e fərhəngi-yə fikr elə-rəm (0.25) həmintor məsael  
EZ cultural-DAT think do-1SG also problems EZ  
*think about the cultural and economical problems."*
56. eqtesadi. Xob bax-ız Məqam e Moəzzəm e  
economical well look-1PL Eminence EZ HighnessEZ  
*Well, consider this fact that, His Eminence,*
57. Rəhbəri-nin gör neçə il-lər-di şoar e  
leader-GEN see how many year-PL-3SG motto EZ  
*The Supreme Leader's New Year's motto has been*
58. sal-i məsael e eqtesadi-ydi. Bu məlum-di  
year-3SG.POSS EZ economical-3SG.PAST this obvious-3SG  
*about the economical issues, thus it is obvious*
59. ki bir niqəran-çılıx-ları ehsas elə-miş-tilər  
that one concern-INF-PL feel do-PF.3PL  
*that he has felt some concerns regarding this issue.*
60. (0.25) biri də ibarət-di məsael e fərhəngi  
one too include-3SG problems EZ cultural  
*The other issue is about the cultural problems*
61. (1) bugün biz-im əsli moşkel-imiz məsael e  
today we-1PL.POSS main problem-1PL.POSS problems EZ  
*Today, our main problems are*
62. fərhəngi-di (1) biz-im düşmən-lər-imiz, nizam-ın  
cultural-3SG we-GEN enemy-PL-1PL.POSS regime-GEN  
*cultural, our enemies, our regime's*
63. düşmən-lər-i (1) büyünnərim heş vəxt biz-inən  
enemy-PL-3SG.POSS today not time we-COM  
*enemies, today, never*
64. bərxord e nezami elə-mağ-i tərcih ver-m-illər  
contact EZ army do-INF-ACC prefer give-NEG-3PL  
*prefer to have a military conflict with us.*
65. (0.25) fəleza əz təriq e nerm isti-llər biz-i mored  
so from means EZ soft want-3PL we-ACC case

thus they are using 'soft' methods to

66. e feşar qərar ver-sinner (0.5) bu rabitə-də əlbəttə  
EZ pressure put give-3PL.OPT this relation-LOC surely  
*put us under pressure. Of course, about this case*
67. de-max ol-ar bir miqdar movəffəq ol-uplar (1) əmma  
say-INF be-3SG one amount successful be-PAST.3PL but  
*it is possible to say that they have been somehow  
successful, but*
68. büyünerim bəraye tose ye ostan gərəh əlləş-ax  
today for development EZ province necessity try-1PL  
*today for the development of the province we*
69. hammi-mız bir söz diy-ax. Əlan bu məsələ ye  
together-1PL one word say-1PL now this problem EZ  
*should all try, and we should have a consensus. Now*
70. xətt e ahən e Miyane Təbriz-i mən başla-mış-am bu  
line EZ iron EZ Miyane Təbriz-ACC I start-PF.1SG this  
*I have recently started the topic of Miyane - Təbriz  
railway*
71. neççə vəxt və inşallah sürət-inən ba enayət e  
how much time and godwilling speed-INS with help EZ  
*and I hope that with the help of the*
72. dolet-i-yan, Ostandar e mohtərəm,  
government-ADJ-PL governor EZ respectful  
*the government authorities and the Honorable Governor*
73. nəmayəndə-qan e mohtərəm e məcləs, qəşəh  
representative-PL EZ honorable EZ parliament beautiful  
*and the Honorable Members of the Parliament, it is*
74. ged-ir qabağ-a, xob bu projə-ni on il qabax  
go-3G front-DAT well this project-ACC ten year front  
*making a good progress. Well, this project*
75. gərəh təhvil ver-ey-dilər (1) o məsələ-də ki  
necessity deliver give-PAST-3PL that problem too that  
*should have been finished ten years ago. About that*

76. buyur-duz əvvəl-də mən-im **hədəf-im** bu-du ki  
 mention-1PL first-LOC I-GEN goal-1SG.POSS this-3SG that  
*problem that you mentioned, firstly, my goal was to*
77. **fərhəngsazi-ydi** nə inki məsələn o qədr  
 culture-PAST.3SG not that for example that much  
*create a culture, and it shouldn't be mistaken that*
78. **bikar-am** ki ged-əm xiyaban-da filan xiyaban-a baş  
 free-1SG that go-1SG street-LOC any street-DAT head  
*I am so free that I roam to any street and*
79. vur-am filan məhəlliy-ə baş vur-am, nə **vəqəən**  
 hit-1SG any neighborhood-DAT head hit-1SG no really  
*or neighborhood to check it out; no in fact*
80. **forsət-im** yox-di(0.25)vəli **xob** yaxçı-da cəvab  
 chance-1SG.POSS not-3SG but well good-too response  
*I do not have any time to spare, however, we gained*
81. al-dix. **Şora ye xəyyer-in e Səlamət**  
 get-PAST.1PL. Council EZ Benefactor-PL EZ Health  
*a positive feedback from this. When the Council of*  
*Benefactors of Health*
82. gəl-miş-dilər bura mən o **bimarestan-in**  
 come-PF.3PL here I that hospital-GEN  
*came here to Təbriz, I told them about the*
83. **vəz-in-nən** de-dim Təbriz-də (1)  
 condition-3SG.POSS-ABL say-PAST.1SG Təbriz-LOC  
*condition of that hospital in Təbriz.*
84. **bimarestan e Çeşmpezeşki-ni** de-dim; **Bimarestan e**  
 hospital EZ Çeşmpezeşki-ACC say-PAST.1SG hospital EZ  
*I told about the Çeşmpezeşki Hospital*
85. **Kudəkan-i** de-di; **bimarestan e Şəhid Mədəni-ni**  
 Kudəkan-ACC say-PAST.1SG hospital EZ Şəhid Mədəni-ACC  
*Kudəkan Hospital, Şəhid Mədəni Hospital,*
86. de-dim gör-dü-lər ki mən hamısını-nan baş  
 say-PAST.1SG see-PAST.3PL that I all-ABL head

- and they realized that, I am aware of the conditions in all of those hospitals.*
87. tap-ır-am; çün get-miş-əm hammısın yaxın-nan  
find-PART-1SG because go-PF-1SG all near-ABL  
*because I have closely visited those hospitals.*
88. gör-müş-əm (1) vaxti ged-əndə həm moşkelat-i bil-irəm  
see-PF-1SG when go- also problems-ACC know-PART.1SG  
*When I visit those hospitals, I become aware of the problems in those hospitals*
89. həm eli-yəbil-ir-əm yaxçı mozeqir-lıx eli-yəm;  
also do-can-PART1SG good position-INF do-1SG  
*also I can be biased for the benefit of the province*
90. həm moşkelat-i mətrəh eli-yəm və həmdə ayri  
also problems-ACC mention do-1SG and also other  
*and also I can mention the problems; moreover*
91. məsul-lar-a istir-əm diy-əm ki ağa bu  
authority-PL-DAT want-1SG say-1SG that Mr. this  
*I can tell the other authorities that, this is*
92. siz-in vəzifə-z-di, gəl-in ged-in bax-un  
you-GEN duty-3PL.POSS-3SG come-2PL go-2PL look-2PL  
*your duty, and you should go and check these*
93. moşkelat-ə yetiş-in (1) eşid-ir-əm məsələ  
problem-DAT solve-2PL hear-PART-1SG for example  
*problems and solve them. For instance, I heard that*
94. Dehqan e Fədakar-i gecə onbir-də gətir-di-lər  
Dehqan e Fədakar-ACC night eleven-LOC bring-PAST.3PL  
*they brought Dehqan e Fədakar to the hospital at 11 PM*
95. bəstəri elə-di-lər, mən onbir yarım-da bımarestan-da  
hospitalize do-PAST-3PL I eleven half-LOC hospital-LOC  
*and hospitalized him, so at half past eleven, I*
96. huzur tap-dı-m gecə. Xob bu nişan ver-ir  
presence find-PAST-1SG night. Well this show give-3SG  
*was present at the hospital. Well this shows that*


97. ki gərəh **məsul-lar** da **deqqət el-iyə**(0.25)  
 that necessity authority-PL too attention do-3SG  
*the authorities should pay attention to such issues.*
98. Mən **mozeqir-lıx ele-di-m** **dər rabete ba** **Amuzeş Pərvəreş**  
 I position-INF do-PAST-1SG in relation with Amuzeş Pərvəreş  
*I also showed my objection to this issue to the  
 Amuzeş Pərvəreş*
99. (0.25) ki o kitab-i ki Dehqan e Fədakar var-idi indi o  
 that book- that Dehqan e Fədakar exist-3SG.PAST now that  
*that the lesson in which Dehqan e Fədakar was  
 mentioned in that book,*
100. evəz ol-up; de-m-ir-əm **gətir-ip-lər** dörd  
 change do-3SG say-NEG-PART-1SG bring-PAST-3PL four  
*has been changed. Well, it is true that they have*
101. beş-dana **fədakar-i** bir yer-də **be surət e**  
 five-ENUM self-giving-ACC one place-LOC to form EZ  
*added some other stories of self-giving people in the form of*
102. **xolase** yaz-ıp-lar, vəli **xob** bu-nun **əsər-i**  
 summery write-PAST-3PL but well this-GEN effect-3SG.POSS  
*summery to it, but this objection of mine has an effect*
103. var; bu-nnan bu-yan-a **əgər isti-yələr** **bücür zad-dar-i**  
 exist this-ABL this-side-DAT if want-3PL like thing-PL-ACC  
*and from now on if they want to*
104. **həzf eli-yə-lər,** **zəhn-lər-in-ə** **gəl-ər** ki  
 omit do-COND-3PL memory-PL-GEN-DAT come-3SG that  
*omit such lessons, they can remember that*
105. mümkün-di bir nəfər **dayan-a** **qabax-lar-ın-da**  
 possible-3SG one person stand-COND.3SG front-PL-GEN-LOC  
*there might be someone who may object to such things*
106. (2) biz-də **rəsənə-lər-dən təşəkkor el-ir-ux**(0.25)  
 we-too media-PL-ABL thank do-PART-1PL  
*We thank the media and you dear journalists.*

## Appendix 4


### Ethics Permit

The experimental design adopted in the dissertation has been approved by Hacettepe University Academic Ethics Board. Below is the ethics permit which was issued on February 5, 2019 with an issue number of 35853172-100.

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Enstitünüz İngiliz Dil Bilimi Anabilim Dalı Doktora programı öğrencilerinden Navid MOHAMMADPOUR TALAEİ'nin Prof. Dr. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU danışmanlığında hazırladığı "İran'da Azerice Yayımlanan Yerel Televizyonlardaki Dil Karıştırılması: Yapılar Ve Fonksiyonlar" başlıklı tez çalışması Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun 05 Şubat 2019 tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

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ANKARA

Enstitünüz İngiliz Dilbilimi Anabilim Dalı Doktora programında Prof. Dr. S. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU danışmanlığında hazırladığım “İran’da Azerice Yayımlanan Yerel Televizyonlardaki Dil Karıştırılması: Yapılar Ve Fonksiyonlar” başlıklı tez çalışmam Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun 05 Şubat 2019 tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur. 27 Aralık 2019 tarihinde İngiliz Dilbilimi bölümünde gerçekleşen Doktora Tez Savunmasında jüri tarafından, aynı tez çalışmamın hiç bir içeriği, verileri, veri analizleri vs. değişmeden, sadece tez başlığının “Azerice ve Farsça Arasında Düzenek Değiştirme: Toplumdilbilimsel ve Yapısal Özellikler” olarak değiştirilmesine karar verilmiştir.

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## Codeswitching Between Azeri and Persian: Sociolinguistic and Structural Aspects

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