during the ten days of Moharram together with processions and dirges (dästä/dasta, nowhä/nawha, märsiä/martīa) (see Tapper, 1979, pp. 159-63; Lassy, 1916). Other religious occasions are Ramażān and the concluding feast of fitr-bayrami, the feast of sacrifice (gorban-bayrami), and in some places the festival of 'Omar-bayrami, when an effigy of the Caliph 'Omar is burned (Sā'edī, 1965, p. 152). As in the rest of Iran, Nowrūz is a major festival, preceded on the Wednesdays of the last month by special ceremonies, including fire-jumping. Shrines of varying importance are common in town and countryside, from Shaikh Safi's tomb at Ardabīl to wayside "rooms" (ojag) and praying trees (pir). Women especially make pilgrimages to these, seeking cures, remedies and intercessions. Mullahs, wandering sayyeds, and dervishes may act as prayerwriters (do'ayazan), providing more or less "unorthodox" cures, protections, and exorcisms. Modern cosmopolitan medicine, with government personnel, hospitals and health centers, has during the present century all but driven underground the traditional hakīms and other specialists in torkidava (herbal and humoral medicine, see B. Good, 1981). In the realm of popular culture, Azerbaijan is known for distinctive dresses, music, dances, and oral literature. One particular tradition associated with Azerbaijan, as well as neighboring areas of the Caucasus and Anatolia, is that of the āšeq (q.v.), wandering minstrels with a wide and wellloved repertoire of songs, ballads, and folk epics.

In the twentieth century, Azerbaijan, like other parts of Iran, has undergone enormous social changes. In particular there has been a sharpening of distinctions of wealth and status, as well as a growing divergence between those who favor more traditional attitudes and ways of life, with roots in the countryside, religion, and the bazaar, and those who seek a more cosmopolitan "modernity," through secular education, the professions, the civil service, and government-sponsored industry and commerce. (See B and M.-J. DelVecchio Good, 1984).

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(R. TAPPER)

vii. The Iranian Language of Azerbaijan

Ādarī (Ar. al-ādarīva) was the Iranian language of Azerbaijan before the spread of the Turkish language, commonly called Azeri, in the region. The currency of Ādarī in Azerbaijan during the first centuries of the Islamic period is attested by contemporary sources. The earliest reference to Adarī is the statement by Ebn al-Mogaffa' (d. 142/759), quoted by Ebn al-Nadīm (Fehrest, p. 13), to the effect that the language of Azerbaijan was Fahlawī (al-fahlawīya) "pertaining to Fahla," and that Fahla was the region comprised of Isfahan, Ray, Hamadān, Māh Nahāvand, and Azerbaijan. A similar statement, on the authority of Hamza Esfahānī, and obviously deriving from the same source, occurs in Yāgūt's Mo'jam al-boldān (III, p. 925, s.v. "Fahlaw"), and also in K'ārazmī's Mafātīh al-'olūm (ed. van Vloten, pp. 116-17).

Next to Ebn al-Moqaffa's the oldest reference to Adarī, though no name is given the language, occurs in Balādorī's Fotūh al-boldān (p. 328; cf. Qazvīnī, Bīst magāla I, p. 145), composed in 255/869. He quotes the word han, meaning "house" or "caravanserai" (Ar. $h\bar{a}$ 'er), as belonging to the "language of the people of Azerbaijan." (This word shows the development in Adarī of Middle Iranian x to h, see below.) The oldest mention of the specific term Adarī occurs in Ya'qūbī's Ketāb al-boldān, composed in 276/891, p. 272; the population of Azerbaijan is described here as a mixture of Iranian Ādarī (al-'ajam al-ādarīya) and old Jāvedānis (al-jāwedānīya al-qedam). By these terms he apparently means the Muslim Azerbaijanis and the Korramdīnis or Jāvedānis, the followers of Jāvedān and Bābak, the neo-Mazdakite leaders who had held sway in Azerbaijan under al-Ma'mūn. It thus appears that the term Adarī was applied to both the population of Azerbaijan and their language.

The next testimony is the statement by Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) which points to the original unity of the language of the Iranians and its later differentiation into separate languages, such as Fahlawī, Darī, and Ādarī obviously the most prominent Iranian dialects in his estimation (Tanbih, p. 78). Next we have the statement of Ebn Hawqal (d. ca. 981/371) that "the language of the people of Azerbaijan and most of the people of Armenia (sic; he probably means the Iranian Armenia) is Iranian (al-fāresīya), which binds them together, while Arabic is also used among them; among those who speak al-faresiya (here he seemingly means Persian, spoken by the elite of the urban population), there are few who do not understand Arabic; and some merchants and landowners are even adept in it" (p. 348). Despite the exaggeration concerning the spread of Iranian languages into Armenia and the currency of Arabic in Azerbaijan, the statement clearly attests to the fact that the language of Azerbaijan in the 4th/10th century was Iranian. Moqaddasī (d. late 4th/10th cent.) also affirms that the language of Azerbaijan was Iranian (al-'ajamīya), saying that it was partly Darī and partly "convoluted (mongaleq)"; he means no doubt to distinguish between the administrative lingua franca, i.e., Darī Persian, and the local dialects (Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, p. 259). Further he says that the language of the Azerbaijanis "is not pretty... but their Persian is intelligible, and in articulation(fi'l-hor $\bar{u}f$) it is similar to the Persian of Khorasan" (p. 378). Again he must mean Darī Persian, which then, as now, must have been current in the urban centers of Azerbaijan.

An anecdote preserved by Sam'ānī (Ansāb, s.v. Tanūkī) concerning Abū Zakarīyā Kāteb Tabrīzī (d. 502/1109) and his teacher Abu'l-'Alā' Ma'arrī refers again to the vernacular of Azerbaijan in the 5th/12th century. While Kāteb Tabrīzī was in Ma'arrat al-No'mān in Syria, he met a fellow-countryman and conversed with him in a language which Abu'l-'Alā' could not understand. When Abu'l-'Alā' asked him to identify the language, Kāteb told him it was the language of the people of Azerbaijan (read al-

 $\bar{a}\underline{d}ar\bar{\imath}ya$ in the Hyderabad ed., III, p. 93; and aladarb $\bar{\imath}j\bar{\imath}ya$ [unpointed] in the Leiden ed.; c.f. A. Kasrav $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{A}\underline{d}ar\bar{\imath}$, p. 13 n. 1). The statement of Y \bar{a} q \bar{u} t (d. 626/1229) to the effect that "The people of Azerbaijan have a language which they call al- $\bar{a}dar\bar{\imath}ya$, and it is intelligible only to themselves" (Moʻjam al-bold $\bar{a}n$ I, p. 172) makes it clear that $\bar{A}dar\bar{\imath}$ was still current in Azerbaijan on the eve of the Mongol invasion.

From Zakarīyā b. Mohammad Qazvīnī's report in Ātār al-belād, composed in 674/1275, that "no town has escaped being taken over by the Turks except Tabrīz" (Beirut ed., 1960, p. 339) one may infer that at least Tabrīz had remained aloof from the influence of Turkish until the time of Abaga. Hamdallah Mostawfi writing in the 740/1340s calls the language of Marāga "modified Pahlavi" (pahlavī-e mogayyar, as in Dabīrsīāqī's reading, Nozhat al-qolūb, Tehran, 1336 Š./1957, p. 100; the reading pahlavī-e mo'arrab "arabicized Pahlavi" in Le Strange's edition, p. 87, is not likely). Mostawfi also calls (ibid., p. 62) the language of Zanjān "straight Pahlavi" (pahlavī-e rāst) and the language of the Goštasfī province on the western side of the Caspian (i.e., north of the Persian Tāleš and south of Šīrvān) a Pahlavi close to the language of Gīlān (ibid., p. 92). By Pahlavi he, like Ebn al-Mogaffa', obviously means in a general way the vernacular of northwestern and central Iran (an area coinciding with ancient Media). This language, however, was not, contrary to Marquart's view (Markwart, Erānšahr, p. 132 n. 5) the same as Parthian, as is evident from the written remains and surviving dialects of Adarī (see below).

These various testimonies, in spite of their being occasionally imprecise and uncritical, indicate that the population of Azerbaijan spoke a major Iranian language, termed Ādarī after the name of the region. It formed a group with the dialects of Ray, Hamadān, and Isfahan and remained the prevalent language of Azerbaijan until the 8th/14th century and probably for some time thereafter.

The spread of Turkish in Azerbaijan.

The gradual weakening of Adarī began with the penetration of the Persian Azerbaijan by speakers of Turkish. The first of these entered the region in the time of Mahmud of Gazna (Ebn al-Atīr [repr.], IX, pp. 383ff.). But it was in the Saljuq period that Turkish tribes began to migrate to Azerbaijan in considerable numbers and settle there (A, Kasravī, Šahrīārān-e gomnām, Tehran, 1335 Š./1956, III, pp. 43ff., and idem, Adarī, pp. 18-25). The Turkic population continued to grow under the Ildegozid atabegs of Azerbaijan (531-622/1136-1225), but more particularly under the Mongol il-khans (654-750/1256-1349), the majority of whose soldiery was of Turkic stock and who made Azerbaijan their political center. The almost continuous warfare and turbulence which reigned in Azerbaijan for about 150 years, between the collapse of the II-khanids and the rise of the Safavids, attracted yet more Turkic military elements to the area. In this period, under the

Qara Qoyunlū and Āq Qoyunlū Turkmen (780-874/1378-1469 and 874-908/1469-1502 respectively), Ādarī lost ground at a faster pace than before, so that even the Safavids, originally an Iranian-speaking clan (as evidenced by the quatrains of Shaikh Ṣafī-al-dīn, their eponymous ancestor, and by his biography), became Turkified and adopted Turkish as their vernacular.

The Safavid rule (905-1135/1499-1722), which was initially based on the support of Turkish tribes and the continued backing and influence of the Qezelbāš even after the regime had achieved a broader base, helped further the spread of Turkish at the detriment of $\bar{A}dar\bar{i}$, which receded and ceased to be used, at least in the major urban centers, and Turkish was gradually recognized as the language of Azerbaijan. Consequently the term $\bar{A}dar\bar{i}$, or more commonly Azeri, came to be applied by some Turkish authors and, following them, some Western orientalists, to the Turkish of Azerbaijan (see EI^{1-2} , s.v. " $\bar{A}dhar\bar{i}$ ").

Ādarī survivals.

These are of three kinds: (1) words, phrases, poems, and scattered verses, recorded in various written sources; (2) the present-day dialects which continue Adarī, spoken mainly on the periphery of Azerbaijan to the south and southeast, but also in isolated pockets in the north and the center; and (3) vocabulary borrowed from Adarī into the Turkish of Azerbaijan. The credit for first bringing together a collection of Adarī survivals belongs to Aḥmad Kasravī (d. 1324 Š./1946; see Ādarī yā zabān-e bāstān-e Ādarbāygān, Tehran, 1304 Š./1925). He also sketched the Adarī background and a history of the gradual spread of Turkish in Azerbaijan. Although his linguistic observations and methods can not always be supported, his general conclusions were essentially valid and dispelled a widespread notion that no information was available on the original language of Azerbaijan beyond Turkish. (See the reflection of his research in İslâm Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Âzerî," where Âzerî-Fârisî lehcesi "Iranian Azeri dialect" is distinguished from Âzerî-Türk lehcesi "Turkish Azeri dialect".) Later, other Adarī survivals were detected.

1. Adarī in written sources. These include the following: (1) A sentence in "the language of Tabrīz" in Hamdallāh Mostawfi's Nozhat al-qolūb (ed. Dabīrsīāqī, p. 98). (2) A sentence in the "Tabrīzi" language and two sentences attributed to Shaikh Safī-al-dīn of Ardabīl, two double distichs (dobaytīs) probably by him, another dobaytī apparently in the language of Ardabīl, and one in the language of Kalkāl, all of these in the Safwat al-safā of Ebn Bazzāz, a contemporary of Shaikh Sadr-al-dīn, the son of Shaikh Ṣafī-al-dīn, and therefore of the 8th/14th century (Bombay ed., 1329/1911, pp. 25, 107, 191, 220). (3) Eleven double dobaytīs by Shaikh Safī-al-dīn, and therefore apparently in the language of Ardabīl, in the Selselat alnasab-e Safawīva of Shaikh Hosayn, a descendant of Shaikh Zāhed Gīlānī, the mentor (morād) of Shaikh Safī-al-dīn (Berlin, 1343/1924-25, pp. 29-33). (4) A macaronic gazal by Homām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314) in Persian and a local language which must be that of Tabrīz (see M. Moḥīt Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Dar pīrāmūn-e zabān-e fārsī," Majalla-ye āmūzeš o parvareš 8/10, 1317 Š./1938, p. 10; M. H. Adīb Ţūsī, NDA Tabrīz 7/3, 1334 Š./1955, pp. 260-62). This specimen differs, however, from the sentence in Tabrīzi given by Ebn Bazzāz with respect to one important phonological feature: In Homām's poem, the enclitic pronoun of the second person singular is -t, while in Ebn Bazzāz's sentence it is -r (see below). (5) Two anonymous qaṣīdas in a manuscript written in 730/1329-30 and preserved in the Aya Sofia library in Istanbul (see Adīb Tūsī, ibid., 10/4, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 367-417); the dialect of these, judging from their phonology and some of the vocabulary which can be read with certainty appears to belong to the northcentral Persian Azerbaijan, probably the Tabrīz-Marand region (see below). (6) One gazal and thirteen dobaytīs by Magrebī Tabrīzī (d. ca. 809/1406-07; see Adīb Tūsī, ibid., 8/12, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 121-27). (7) A text probably by Māmā 'Esmat, a mystical woman-poet of Tabrīz (d. 9th/15th cent.), which occurs in a manuscript, preserved in Turkey, concerning the shrines of saints in Tabrīz (see M. Nawwābī, ibid., 7/1, 1334 Š./1955, pp. 41-44; cf. Adīb Ţūsī, "Fahlawīyāt-e Māmā 'Esmat wa Kašf-ī be-zabān-e ādarī—estelāh-e rāžī yā šahrī," NDA Tabrīz 8/3, 1335 Š./1957, pp. 242-57). (8) Three poems in the dialects of Kamsa and Qazvīn, quoted by Hamdallah Mostawsi in Nozhat al-qolūb which, although not belonging to Azerbaijan in the narrow sense of the term, should be grouped with the other remnants of Adarī in accord with the classification of the modern Iranian dialects of the Qazvīn and Zanjān areas. These poems consist of a dobaytī by Abu'l-Majīd Bāygānī in the dialect of an environ of Qazvīn; two dobaytīs by Jūlāha of Abhar, apparently a contemporary of Mostawfi, in the dialect of Abhar, a town in Kamsa, and a fragment of nine dobaytīs, by a certain Uyanj or Utanj, in the dialect of Zanjan. The text of all three is extremely corrupt (E. G. Browne, JRAS, 1900, pp. 738-41). (9) Two dobaytīs by Kašfī, a gazal and seven dobaytis by Ma'ali, five dobaytis by Ādam, and seven by Kalīfa Şādeq from a jong (a manuscript of personal selections) found in Tāleš, and another jong from the Kalkāl area (Kasravī, Ādarī, 5th ed., pp. 57-61). Information is lacking concerning their authors and their dates of composition, but linguistically they are all close to the verses of Shaikh Safī. (10) Ten words from the language of "Adarbādakān" in contrast to Persian, quoted in an old manuscript of Asadī Tūsī's Logat-e fors in the Malek Library (no. 5839) (S. Kīā, "Kohnatarīn dastnevīs-e 'Logat-e fors'-e Asadī Tūsī", MDAT 3/3, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 4-5; idem, Ādarīgān: āgāhīhā-ī dar bāra-ve gūyeš-e ādarī, Tehran, 1354 \tilde{S} ./1975). (11) Two short $\tilde{g}azals$, five lines each, by Badr Šīrvānī (*Dīvān*, ed. A. H. Rahimov, Moscow, 1985, pp. 665f.) in the language of "Kanār Āb," in a local dialect of Sīrvān and possibly the mother tongue of the poet who was born in Šamākī. The language of these poems is almost identical to that of Shaikh Safi-aldīn's dobaytīs (see below); notice čəman "my,"-r, the 2nd singular enclitic pronoun (read mehr-ər "your love," cf. ḡam-ər "your sorrow"), až "from," vī "without," kar-, the present stem of "to do," vāč-, the present stem of "to say."

It should be noted that the final section of Rūhī Anārjānī's 11th/17th-century Resāla, a literary miscellany, entitled "On the Terms and Phrases of Ladies, Grandees, and Dandies of Tabrīz" which has been assumed by a number of scholars to be in Adarī dialect ('Abbās Eqbāl, "Yak sanad-e mohemm dar bāb-e zabān-e ādarī," Yādgār 2/3, 1324 Š./1945, pp. 43-50; M. Mogdam [Moqaddam], Iran Kūda 10, 1327 Š./1948, pp. 1-18; Sa id Nafisi, ed., "Resāla-ye Rūhī Anārjānī," FIZ 2, 1333 Š./1954, pp. 329-72; Y. M. Nawwābī, NDA Tabrīz 9, 1336 Š./1957, pp. 221-32, 396-426; M. J. Maškūr, Nazar-ī ba tārīk-e Ādarbāyjān wa ātār-e bāstānī wa jam'īyatšenāsī-e ān, Anjoman-e Ātār-e Mellī, Tehran, 1349 Š./1971, pp. 221ff.; M. Mortażawi, Zabāne dīrīn-e Ādarbāyjān, Tehran, 1360 Š./1981, p. 35), bears no relationship to Adarī, but as W. B. Henning ingeniously realized ("The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan," TPS, 1954-55, p. 176 n. 5) refers to a vulgar form of New Persian, and actually attests to the continued currency of this language in Tabrīz even in the sixteenth century.

Of the written remains of Adarī, the dobaytīs of Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn are the most important: They are relatively old, their linguistic area and their author are known, and they are accompanied by a paraphrase in Persian which helps their understanding. Despite Ardabīl's location at the eastern edge of Azarbaijan, in view of its significance both before and after the advent of Islam, its language must have been one of the more important dialects of Adarī. Before it fell into the hands of the Arabs, Ardabīl was the madīna, i.e., the metropolis, of Azerbaijan; it was the center of its fiscal administration and the seat of the Sasanian marzban (Balādorī, Fotūḥ al-boldān, p. 325; Yāqūt, Mo'jam-alboldan I, p. 197) and was confirmed as the capital of the region by Aš'at b. Qays during 'Alī's caliphate (Balādorī, Fotūh, p. 329). Some three centuries later Ebn Ḥawqal (Ṣūrat-al-arz, p. 334) still mentions it as the center and the largest city of Azerbaijan (cf. Moqaddasī, Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, p. 375); Estakrī (Masālek, p. 181) refers to it as the largest city, the seat of the government (dar al-emara), and the military encampment (mo'askar) of the region (see further Qodama b. Ja'far, Ketāb al-karāj, p. 244 and Ebn Rosta, A'lāq, p. 106).

2. Words borrowed from Ādarī into Azeri Turkish. These include dardažar "ailing" and *kušn "field", which occur in Shaikh Ṣafī's dobaytīs (see Kasravī, Ādarī, p. 41). Kārang (Jahān-e aklāq 4, 1956, pp. 84ff.) notes a number of Tati words used also in Azeri Turkish, e.g., dīm "face," zamī "land, field," olis, Azeri ulas "charcoal." But to determine the full extent of such borrowings requires further research. Several authors, notably Adīb Ṭūsī ("Nomūna-ī čand az logāt-e ādarī," NDA Tabrīz 8/4, 1335 Š./1957, pp. 310-49; 9/2, 3, 4,

1336 Š./1957, pp. 135-68, 242-60, 361-89; cf. M. Aržangī, ibid., 9/1, 2, pp. 73-108, 182-201; 10/1, 1337 S./1958, pp. 81-93) have collected the large number of non-Turkish words used in the Azeri Turkish of the various parts of Azerbaijan (See Maškūr, op. cit., p. 263 for a count); but, ignoring proper linguistic criteria, they have taken them to be Adarī, whereas in fact, they are, by and large, Persian (or Arabic, borrowed through Persian), a fact which shows that Adarī, unlike Persian, has not affected the lexicon of Azeri Turkish significantly. The assumption of these researchers that the material in the last chapter of Rūhī Anārjānī's Resāla is Ādarī (see above) has also tended to vitiate their conclusions. (for a listing of Azeri vocabulary see Y. M. Nawwābī, Zabān-e konūnī-e Ādarbāyjān [Bibl.]; and Koichi Haneda and Ali Ganjelu, Tabrizi Vocabulary, An Azeri-Turkish Dialect in Iran, Studia Culturae Islamicae, no. 13, Tokyo, 1979).

3. Present-day dialects of Adarī. Despite its continued decline over the centuries, Adarī has not died out and its descendants are found as modern dialects, mostly called Tati, sharing a wide range of phonological and grammatical features. Proceeding from north to south, these are: (1) The dialect of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd, two villages of the Hasanow (Hasanābād) district of Ahar; (2) the dialect of Karīngān, a village of eastern Dīzmār in the Vazraqān district (bakš) of Ahar sub-province (šahrestān); (3) the dialect of Galīngaya, a village of the Harzand rural area (dehestān) in the district of Zonūz, Marand sub-province; (4) the Kalkāli dialects spoken in the chief villages of the Šāhrūd bakš (i.e., Askestān, Asbū, Derow, Kolūr, Šāl, Dīz, Karīn, Lerd, Kehel, Tahārom, Gelūzān, Gīlavān, and Gandomābād), in Karnaq, in the Koreš-e Rostam bakš, and in Kajal in the Kāgadkonān bakš of Kalkāl; (5) the Tati dialects of the Upper Tārom (principally in the villages of Nowkīān, Sīāvarūd, Kalāsar, Hazārrūd, Jamābād, Bāklūr, Čarza, and Jeyšābād); (6) the Tati dialects of Rāmand and Zahrā, southwest and south of Qazvīn (i.e., the dialects of Tākestān, Čāl, Esfarvarīn, Kīāraj, K'oznīn, Dānesfān, Ebrāhīmābād, and Sagzābād) which are close to the Tati of Kalkāl and Tārom; (7) the dialects of Tāleš, from Allāhbakš Mahalla and Šāndermīn on the border of Gīlān in the south to the Soviet Tāleš in the north, including the dialect of 'Anbaran in the Namin district of Ardabīl; all connected with the Tati dialects of Šāhrūd. This list does not necessarily exhaust the Ādarīspeaking villages of Azerbaijan, and there may exist villages which the writer has not been able to visit, and where Tati is still understood (see A. A. Kārang, Tātī wa harzanī, pp. 27; he mentions a number of villages in Dīzmār and Hasanābad districts, including Arzīn, where the dialect was still understood in the 1940s; on the continued waning of Adarī, see below).

To the same group of dialects belong in a broad sense: (1) the dialect of Māsūla in the Fūmenāt district of Gīlān; (2) the language spoken in the Rūdbār of Gīlān (Raḥmatābād, Rostamābād, etc.), in the Rūdbār of Alamūt (Dekīn, Mūšqīn, Garmārūd, and Bolūkān), and in Alamūt (Moʻallem Kelāya, Estalbar, Gāzarkān,

Avānak, etc.); (3) the dialect of Ko'īn and Safīdkamar in the Ijrūd of Zanjān, and a few villages in the Kūhpāya of Qazvīn (Zerejerd, Nowdeh, Asbemard, Hesār, etc.): (4) the dialect of Vafs, between Hamadan and Arak. There are also a number of border dialects, such as the dialect of Tāleqān villages between Qazvīn and Karaj, and the dialects of Amora and Aštīān, all much affected by Persian, that have close affinities with the group. In fact, the demarcation line between these dialects and their more northerly cognates cannot be sharply drawn. Kurdish, however, spoken in Mahābād in southwestern Azerbaijan and scattered in several other areas in the region, which some have supposed to be a descendant of Median, does not belong to this group and exhibits some clear differences with it. (See D. N. Mackenzie, "The Origins of Kurdish," TPS, 1961, pp. 67-83).

The fact that these dialects are so relatively abundant and are spoken in contiguous areas over a vast territory confirms their being indigenous to these areas and speaks strongly against the possibility that they spread into Azerbaijan and its border regions from other areas. Their shared linguistic features place them in a welldefined group of North-West Iranian, with affinities with the Central dialects, spoken to the south and southeast of the Adarī language area. Ādarī and the language termed Fahlawi in the medieval Islamic sources refer in fact to the northern and southern branches of the language spoken in the territory of ancient Media, broadly corresponding to their modern continuations, namely the Tati or Adarī dialects in central and western Iran (excluding Kurdish and Luri). On the analogy of New Persian one may call them New Median (see further below).

That only meager traces of the language spoken in the central regions of Azerbaijan have survived is only natural, since a language that comes under pressure from other languages disappears faster in the center than in the periphery. The fact that while there are some meager remains of Ādarī from the north, the center, the east, and south of Azerbaijan, yet the western part of the province yields no comparable material, is no doubt due to the dominance in these regions, before the spread of Turkish, of other languages, such as Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish.

The process of the linguistic Turkification of Azerbaijan continues to this day, and even in the border areas the original dialects keep giving way to Turkish. In the course of his study of these dialects in the 1960s, the writer met a number of elderly people who could remember or had been told by their fathers or grandfathers that villages now speaking Turkish formerly spoke the Iranian dialect. In Ḥalab, a village in Ijrūd on the way from Zanjān to Bījār, he met in 1964 the last three men who still retained some shaky memory of their Tati, and in Galīnqaya there was in 1972 only one old man who could speak the native dialect fluently. (See also Kārang, Tātī wa harzanī, pp. 27-29; idem, "Kalkālī," Jahān-e aklāq 4, 1335 Š./1956, p. 83; Dokā', Gūyeš-e Galīnqaya, p. 6.)

Linguistic features.

The absence of vocalization, the deficiencies of the Arabic alphabet in indicating the details of pronunciation, scribal errors, and the influence of classical Persian make the reading of the literary Adarī remains difficult. Nevertheless they reveal some genuine features of the phonology, grammar, and vocabulary of the language in which they are written. Here the features of two written remains are explored.

A. Shaikh Ṣafī-al-dīn's dobaytīs. 1. Old Iranian intervocalic t > r. Examples: $\check{z}ir$ "life" (<*jit-, cf. Parthian iydg); the enclitic 2nd singular pronoun -(a)r(Pers. -[a]t); past tense forms: āmarim "I came" (<*āmat-), bori or beri "he was" (<*būt-), šoram or *šeram* "I went" ($< *\check{s}ut$ -), and $\check{z}ar$ "struck" (< jat-, Pers. zad) in dara žar "was pained" (Parthian drdjd; Henning, "Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4). The same sound change is found in two Tati dialects: Harzandi and the dialect of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd; cf. Harzandi amārā "he came" (other examples: vör "wind" < *wāt-, kar "house" < *kat-, jörö-tan "stranger" < *(wi)yut-, Pers. jodā "separate"); Kalāsūri umarim "I came," and šerim "I went" (other examples: vur "wind," jeru "separate," purez "autumn" < *pātēz [Pers. pā'īz], zura "boy, son" < *zātak-). In other dialects, this change occurs only sporadically; cf., e.g., Kajali kerom "which" (< *katām-, Pers. kodām), and in the dialect of Derow in Kalkāl šera "he went." The enclitic pronoun of the 2nd singular is -r in Kajali and Šāhrūdi of Kalkāl, also in Asālemi and Māsāli in the central and southern Iranian Ţāleš area (but not in northern Ţāleši or 'Anbarāni). In the sentence in the dialect of Tabrīz recorded by Ebn Bazzāz as uttered by a contemporary of Shaikh Safī-aldīn, we find harīf-ar žāta "your contender has come." One can not measure the extent of this rule in the defunct dialect of Tabrīz by this instance alone, but note also the Iranian word därdäjär "sick, ailing" in Azeri Turkish, and the Azerbaijani placename Esparakūn, colloquial for Safīdakān, a village in Bostānābād, east of Tabrīz, probably "White spring," with espara < *spētak- (Pers. safīd "white"). The change of intervocalic t to r is seen also in the so-called Tati, but actually (archaic) New Persian dialect of the Iranianspeaking Jews in the Apsheron peninsula and the northeast of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. The change, on the other hand, is not effected in the dialects of Tarom, Ko'īn, Rāmand, and Alamūt areas to the south.

2. Old Iranian intervocalic č > j. Examples: riji "he pours," (Av. raēca-), and navāji "you [sing.] do not say" (Parth. w'c-). The same change is seen in the modern dialects of Šāhrūd, Kajal and Asālem: Šāhrūdi verijam "we flee," vāje "he says;" Kajali mivrije "he flees;" and Asālemi bivrij "flee!" By contrast, in the dialects of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd, Ṭāleš, Karīngān, and Harzand, č has become ž: cf. Kalāsūri ruž "day," namuž "prayer;" 'Anbarāni ruža "fast," nəmož "prayer;" Ṭāleši as spoken in the Soviet Union: tož "to rush, gallop," badvož "defamer, slanderer;" Karīngāni vuž "say!;" Harzandi ruž "sun."

3. A vowel phoneme $|\ddot{o}/\partial|$ is indicated by the variant

spellings -w and -h: čw and čh, i.e., |čə| "from" (< *hača, Pers. az); and 'štw and 'čth, i.e., |aštə| or |ačtə| "yours" (2nd sing., rendered by Pers. māl-e to, lit., "your property"). A similar phoneme is found in the modern dialects of Harzand, Ṭāleš, Kajal, and Šāhrūd (not in word-final position in Šāhrūdi).

- 4. Old Iranian initial $j > \check{z}$. Examples: $\check{z}ir$ "life," and $\check{z}ar$ "struck." The same sound change is seen in the modern dialects of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd: $\check{z}an$ "woman," $\check{z}are$ "to hit," $\check{z}\bar{a}te$ "to arrive"; Tāleši $\check{z}en$ "woman," $\check{z}ae$ "to hit"; Arazini $\check{z}en$ and Kajali $\check{z}an$ "woman," $\check{b}e\check{z}ana$ "strike!" The form $\check{z}\bar{a}ta$ in Ebn Bazzāz's sentence shows that this feature extended to the dialect of Tabrīz. In the dialects of Karīngān and Harzand, however, initial \check{z} has become y: Karīngāni yan "woman" and "strike!," yaz/yat- "to arrive," and Harzandi yan "woman," yare "to strike."
- 5. Old Iranian x, xw > h in harda "he ate;" cf. $sohr\bar{a}b$ "rouge" in the manuscript of the Logat-e fors mentioned above (Kīā, p. 4). This development is regular in Kajali: (hardan "to eat," hára "ass," heriār "buyer," howlig "sister") but sporadic in the Šāhrūdi group: Šāli (h)ardan, cf. Gīlavāni ha "sister," hezə "he wants" (Parth. wxāz-, wxāšt, but Pers. k ah-, k āst); but Šāli kri-"to buy," kes/kel "to sleep," etc. Cf. also Karīngāni hārdan "to eat," haraši "sun" (Pers. k oršīd): Harzandi horde "to eat," höšn/höšt "to want," hištan "self" (Pers. k'īštan); Kalāsūri horma "I ate," hāmma "I read" (Pers. k and in most Ţāleši dialects: Asālemi hard-, 'Anbarāni hāna bim "I was eating, used to eat," and Northern Tāleši hova "sister". But in Asālemi we find ženā-xāzī (Pers. k'āstgārī), and in the dialect of Māsāl in southern Ṭāleš we find xa "sister," xəšk "dry," etc.
- 6. Old Iranian fr > hr in $ahr\bar{a}$ "tomorrow" (Pers. $fard\bar{a} < *fra$ -, cf. G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, Paris, 1963, p. 145). In the modern dialects we find Kajali $a(h)r\bar{a}$, Harzandi ohra (cf. also $hera\bar{s}/her\bar{o}t$ "to sell" $< *frawax\bar{s}-/frawaxt$, Pers. $for\bar{u}\bar{s}/for\bar{u}\bar{k}t$), Kīāraji of Rāmand $ahr\bar{a}$, Šāli $pa\bar{s}-ar\bar{a}$ "the day after tomorrow," Šāndermīni and Māsāli $pa\bar{s}-ar\bar{a}$, Tākestāni $sar\bar{a}$ "day after tomorrow," Northern Tāleši havate "to sell," hamue "to order" ($< *fram\bar{a}t$ -, Pers. $fram\bar{u}dan$).
- 7. Oblique case/genitive in *-i (or so-called inverted $e\bar{z}\bar{a}fa$ construction). This ending is written only in $\bar{o}y\bar{a}n$ -i banda "the servant of the Lord" ($dobayt\bar{t}$ 11; on $\bar{o}y\bar{a}n$ -i < Tk. oyan, see Henning, "The Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4; it is not a plural of oy "he," as Kasravī thought) but may also be assumed in other cases, e.g., $oy\bar{a}n(i)$ $k\bar{a}ss\bar{a}n$ "special friends of god," $\check{c}owg\bar{a}n(i)$ gurim "I am the ball of the polo stick" (i.e., resigned to the divine will), and qodrat(i) zanjir-im "I am the chain of power" ($dobayt\bar{t}$ 3). Among modern dialects, Kalāsūri and Asālemi have accusative and genitive in -i, Kalkāli in -e.
 - 8. The personal pronouns have four forms:

Direct Oblique Possessive Enclitic 1st az man — -m 2nd — te or $t\ddot{o}$ $e\breve{s}t\ddot{o}$ -r

This feature is shared by the dialects of \underline{K} al \underline{k} al and \underline{T} āleš, For instance, the corresponding forms in the Šāli dialect of \underline{S} āhrūd are:

1 st	az	man	čeman	-m
2nd	te	te	ešte	-r
In k	Kajali the	forms are:		
lst	az	aman	čəman	-m
2nd	tə	tə	əštə	-r
and	in Asālem	:		
lst .	az	man	čəmən	-m
2nd	tə	tə	ašta	-r

A similar scheme is found in the dialect of Čāl in Rāmand. In the rest of the Rāmand area, however, the oblique form is no longer used. The dialects of upper Ṭārom, e.g., Nowkīāni and Hazārrūdi, have a system of actually five pronominal forms (the pronouns for the direct object and the "logical direct object" in passive constructions are differentiated; see Yarshater, "The Tati Dialects of Ṭārom"). In Karīngāni and Harzandi the direct pronoun has been replaced by the originally oblique form, as in Persian.

- 9. The 2nd person singular ending is -i in the present indicative (riji "you pour," navāji "you do not say"), but -š in the present subjunctive (mavāješ "you may not say"). A 2nd person singular ending -š is found in several Tati dialects. In Karīngāni, in particular, it is the common form; in Kalāsūr, it is found in the present indicative (bežareš "you strike"); in Šāhrūdi (Šāli and Kolūri), everywhere except the present indicative and the imperative (bešiš "you went," age bevrijāš "if you should flee"); in Asālem, everywhere except in the imperative and the present subjunctive (biš "you were," bebaš "be!"); in 'Anbarāni, in the continuous past tense; and in Northern Ṭāleši throughout the verbal system. In Harzandi the ending -š does not occur.
- 10. A continuous present is made from the past stem if indeed, as it appears, the verbs in the fourth dobaytī are present tense, wrongly rendered by the past tense in the paraphrase of the Selselat al-nasab: be-koštim "I kill," be-heštim "I let/leave," and na-daštim "I am not harming" (on the last verb, see Henning, "The Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4). The same kind of formation is found in the dialects of Karingan, Harzand, and Kalāsūr, Northern Tāleši, and in Asālemi, but not in the dialects of Southern Taleši: Karīngāni heteine "I am sleeping" (cf. fesene "I sleep" < *xwafs-), Harzandi bāvāštān "he is carrying," bo-hordān "he is eating," Kalāsūri ba-durem "I am giving" (<*dāt-), be-žareš "you (sing.) are striking," ba-šem "I am going," Asālemi ba-vindiše "you (sing.) are seeing," ba-bramastim "we are weeping."
- 11. Vocabulary. Note asra "tear" (cf. Šāhrūdi asərk, Asālemi, Māsāli, and 'Anbarāni asərg, Harzandi ösör, Karīngāni aster; cf. also ásra [fem.] in the dialects of Rāmand and ars in the Persian dictionaries) and ahra "tomorrow" (see above, no. 6). The question whether -a in asra is a feminine marker (as it is in Rāmandi) and

whether Adarī of Ardabīl distinguished grammatical gender, can not be determined on the basis of the material at hand. Its affinities lie mostly with modern dialects which do not have the category of gender (see below).

It can be seen from the foregoing that the language of the dobaytīs is not identical with any one modern descendant of Adarī. Its greatest affinity seems to be on the one hand with the Tati dialects of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd to the northwest $(t > r, j > \tilde{z}, 2nd \text{ singular } -\tilde{s},$ continuous present from the past stem), and on the other with the dialects of the central Tales area to the east $(j > \tilde{z}$, four-fold personal pronoun, 2nd singular - \tilde{s} , continuous present from the past stem), and Kalkāli $(t > r \text{ in some instances, } j > \tilde{z} \text{ in Kajali, four-fold per-}$ sonal pronoun). This agrees well with Ardabīl's geographical position. By contrast, the dialects of Harzand and Karīngān, the Āstārā region, and of Soviet Tāleš to the north that B. V. Miller (Talyshskii yazyk, Moscow, 1953, pp. 253ff.) for lack of information about Tati and southern Tāleši dialects thought were closest to Ādarī, are relatively remoter. (Northern Tāleši is characterized by the dropping or greatly reducing of unstressed syllables, t does not become r, the enclitic pronouns are -ə and -əon for 2nd singular and plural, respectively).

Another conclusion that can be drawn from these comparisons is that Tāleši should not be grouped with the Caspian dialects, as is commonly done on the basis of their geographical location, but rather with the Tati dialects of Azerbaijan, particularly Šāhrūdī.

- B. The Istanbul qaṣīdas. The phonology and vocabulary of the language attested in this poem link it with the area of Tabrīz and Marand. Note the following features.
- 1. Old Iranian $\bar{a} > \bar{u}$ in $\bar{a}z\bar{u}r$ "free" (Pers. $\bar{a}z\bar{a}d$), $d\bar{u}r$ "hold!" (Pers. $d\bar{a}r$), $g\bar{u}n$ "soul" (Parth. and Mid Pers. $gy\bar{a}n$, NPers. $j\bar{a}n$), *huzdan "to ask, want" (Pers. $\underline{k}\bar{a}stan$), $p\bar{u}yd\bar{u}r$ "permanent" (Pers. $p\bar{a}yd\bar{a}r$), and vadnehūd "bad-natured" (Pers. bad-nehād).
- 2. Old Iranian intervocalic t > r in $\bar{a}z\bar{u}r$, -r "you" (Pers. -t), $z\bar{u}nar$ "he knows" ($<*z\bar{a}n$ -, Pers. $d\bar{a}nad$), and $z\bar{a}ran$ "to strike" (<*jat-, Pers. zadan).
- 3. Old Iranian intervocalic $\check{c} > j$ in *jeman* "my own" (< Old Iranian *hača-*).
- 4. Old Iranian x, xw > h in harda "eaten" (Pers. \underline{k} 'orda), *hūzdan "toask, want"; cf. hošk "dry" (< Old Iranian *huška).
- 5. Vocabulary. Note $g\bar{u}n$ "soul," *karend "they do, make" (Parth. kar-), sag "stone" (Pers. sang), and $v\bar{u}n$ "blood" (Av. vohunī, Pers. $k\bar{u}n$).

The position of Adarī among the Iranian languages.

It is obvious that the language of as broad an area as Azerbaijan could not have been uniform throughout and must have exhibited a variety of local dialects. The statement by Moqaddasī (Aḥṣan al-taqūsīm, p. 375) to the effect that seventy dialects were spoken in the region of Ardabīl, despite its gross exaggeration, has to be taken to refer to the variety of its local subdialects. On the other hand, the fact that the language of the entire

Azerbaijan has been called Ādarī in the early sources and placed alongside Darī and Pahlavi implies that the dialects of the region were similar enough to be called by a single name.

Azerbaijan and the "Jebāl" of the medieval geographers, that is, the mountainous west-central part of the Iranian plateau, coincide geographically with ancient Media and was inhabited by Median tribes in ancient times. Although no independent written document in ancient Median has yet come to light, its fundamental phonological features are known from the Median words and names which occur in Old Persian inscriptions and, less frequently, in Greek (e.g., IE. ĝ, and $\hat{g}h < \text{Med(ian)} z$, OPers. d; IE. $\hat{k}u > \text{Med. } sp$, OPers. s; IE. tr and $tl > Med. \theta r$, OPers. c; see Kent, Old Persian, secs. 8-9; M. Mayrhofer, Die Rekonstruktion des Medischen, Anz. d. Österreichischen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1968, 1, Vienna; G. L. Windfuhr, "Isoglosses: A Sketch on Persians and Parthians, Kurds and Medes," in Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II, Acta Iranica 5, Tehran and Liège, 1975, pp. 457-72). All these features are characteristic also of Adarī and its modern relatives. Thus there are no linguistic arguments against the derivation of Adarī from Median, which is based upon compelling geographical and historical evidence (see below), and such a conclusion can in no way be invalidated by the fact that the phonological peculiarities of Median are found, by and large, in all northwestern branches of Iranian, including Parthian, or by the fact that it has not been possible to find exclusive Median isoglosses (see P. O. Skjærvø, BSL 78, pp. 244-51). It will be noted that Adarī differs from Parthian in some important respects, e.g. "came" is from * $\bar{a}(g)$ mata- (as in Persian) against Parthian $\bar{a}y$ ad $< *\bar{a}gata$: Parthian has a suffix $-\bar{i}ft$ and the $e\dot{z}\bar{a}fa\ \check{c}e$, both unknown in Adarī.

Likewise, the fact that the Adarī group of dialects shares a few isoglosses with some geographically and linguistically distant dialects in southeastern Iran, namely Lāri and Baškardi, which, like Persian belong to the South-Western Iranian dialects does not affect our conclusion with regard to the derivation and provenience of Adarī. The isoglosses shared with Lari are the 2nd singular ending -š and the continuous present from the past stem; cf. Lāri ačedāeš "you are going," čedeš "you went" (A. Eqtedārī, Farhang-e lārestānī, Tehran, 1334 S./1955, p. 269); the isoglosses shared with Baškardi are: t > r in North Baškardi (e.g., zar-"to strike") and the continuous present based on the past stem (e.g., North Baškardi akerdénom, South Baškardi bekert(en)om "I am doing," see G. Morgenstierne in HOI, iv, 1: Linguistik, Leiden, 1958, p. 178). There is no need for assuming any special historico-geographical connection between the Adarī group and Lāri and Baškardi to explain these isoglosses. Indeed, since Ādarī is phonetically a typical North-Western dialect but Lāri and Baškardi typical South-Western dialects, such an assumption would create more problems for historical Iranian linguistics than it would solve. In the case of other Iranian languages and dialects, too, we occasionally find isoglosses crossing other, fundamental, isoglosses and spanning large distances. One typical case is that of Sogdian and Old Persian (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, p. 108).

Historically, Media was divided into Greater Media, which was the area where today the Central dialects are spoken, and Lesser Media or Azerbaijan. Doubtless it is this geographical division which is reflected in the linguistic distinction between al-ādarīya and al-fahlaw*īya* of our medieval sources. (The fact that while there are some meager remains of Adarī from the north, the center, the east, and the south of Azerbaijan, yet the western part of the province yields no comparable material, is no doubt due to the dominance in these regions, before the spread of Turkish, of other languages, such as Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish.) Since there is no historical evidence that the population of the Median territories was ever dislocated on a significant scale, or that its language was superceded by any other language than Persian (in the urban centers) and Turkish (in Azerbaijan), the conclusion is inevitable that the affiliated Iranian dialects spoken in Azerbaijan, Kamsa, Qazvīn, Ţāleš, Hamadān, Nahāvand, K'ānsār, Kāšān, Isfahan, and Semnān, to mention only the chief regions, can be none other than the descendants of the Old Median language, today divided roughly into a northern, Ādarī, group and a southern, "Fahlawī" or "Central" group of dialects.

Bibliography: Given in the text. The dialect materials referred to in the article, except for the Tāleši of the Soviet Union, Arazīni, Baškardi, and Lāri, were collected by the author between 1955-72. See also M. Qazvīnī's review of Kasravī, Ādarī, repr. in *Bīst magāla*, Tehran, 1332 Š./1953, I, pp. 178-86. On the modern dialects see 'A. Kārang's pioneering treatise on the dialects of Karīngān and Galīnqaya, Tātī wa harzanī, do lahja az zabān-e bāstān-e Ādarbāyjān, Tabrīz, 1333 Š./1954. Y. Dokā', Karīngānī, Tehran, 1332 Š./1954. Idem, Gūveš-e Galīngava, 'harzandī,' Tehran, 1336 Š./1957. J. Matīnī, "Daqīqī, zabān-e darī wa lahja-ye ādarī," MDAM 11/4, 1354 Š./1975, pp. 559-75. M. Mortażawī, "Nokta-ī čand az zabān-e harzanī," NDA Tabrīz 6/3, 1333 Š./1954, pp. 304-14. Idem, Fe'l dar zabān-e harzanī, Tabrīz, 1342 Š./1963. Y. M. Nawwābī, Zabān-e konūnī-e Adarbāyjān, Tabrīz, 1334 Š./1955 (published earlier as a series of articles in NDA Tabrīz 5 and 6, 1332-33 S./1953-54). E. Yarshater, "The Tati Dialect of Shāhrud (Khalkhāl)," BSOAS 22, 1959, pp. 52-68. Idem "The Tati Dialect of Kajal," BSOAS 23, 1960, pp. 275-68. Idem, "The Tati Dialects of Rāmand," in A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh, ed. W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater, London, 1962, pp. 240-45. Idem, "Maragian-e Alamūt wa Rūdbār wa zabān-e ānhā," Majalla-ye Īrānšenāšī 1, 1346 Š./1967. ldem, A Grammar of Southern Tati Dialects (Median Dialect Studies I), The Hague and Paris, 1969. Idem, "The Tati Dialects of Tarom," in W. B. Henning Memorial Volume, ed. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, London, 1970, pp. 451-

67. M. Mortażawi provides a listing of the Persian articles on topics related to Ādarī in Zabān-e dīrīn-e Ādarbāyjān, pp. 56ff.; of interest is a paper he entitled "Bīst vāža-ye ādarī dar ḥawāšī-e noska-ye kaṭṭī-e Ketāb al-holga" (Twenty Ādarī words on the margin of the MS. of the K. $al-bol\bar{g}a$) read by M. Mīnovī at the sixth conference of Iranian studies (1974?), but apparently not yet published. On Median and the "Median" dialects see also A. Meillet, Grammaire du vieux perse, 2nd ed. by E. Benveniste, Paris, 1931, p. 7, par. 8; I. Gershevitch, "Dialect Variation in Early Persian," TPS, 1964 [1965], pp. 1-29; P. O. Skjærvø, "Farnah: mot mède en vieuxperse?" BSL 79, 1984, pp. 241-59. On the dialectology of Middle Iranian see also W. Lentz, "Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi," ZII 4, 1926, pp. 252-316, and P. Tedesco, "Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte," Monde oriental 15, 1921, pp. 184-258.

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viii. Azeri (ādarī) Turkish

Azeri belongs to the Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family. In the eleventh century the "Tūrān defeated Ērān and a broad wave of Oghuz Turks flooded first Khorasan, then all the rest of Iran, and finally Anatolia, which they made a base for vast conquests. The Oghuz have always been the most important and numerous group of the Turks; in Iran they have assimilated many Turks of other origins and even Iranians.

Oghuz languages were earlier grouped into Turkish (of Turkey), Azeri, and Turkmen, but recent research has modified this simple picture. Today we may provisionally distinguish the following languages: Turkish of Turkey (including Crimean Osmanli and Balkan dialects, such as Gagauz), Azeri, "Afsharoid" dialects (spoken east and south of the provinces of Azerbaijan; there is a broad area of either transitional Azeri-"Afsharoid" dialects or of mixed territories between Qazvīn and Kalajestān, but south of a line Hamadān-Qom, including Qašqā'ī and Aynallū, "Afsharoid" dialects dominate; Afshar is also spoken in Kabul), Khorasan Turkic (northeastern Iran, Turkmenistan and northwestern Afghanistan), and Turkmen (in Turkmenistan, northern Afghanistan and close to the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea). Some features of Oghuz were described by Mahmūd Kāšgarī (11th century), e.g., the sound change t > d- (dävä 'camel' = tävä, or similar, of other Turkic branches). But it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the East Anatolian dialects of Turkish and Azeri, on the one hand, and between Azeri and "Afsharoid" dialects or even Khorasan Turkic, on the other hand. There is a plethora of transitional phenomena among all Oghuz idioms. Thus one possibility would be to range East Anatolian as Azeri; however, the personal forms of the predicate show clear, and apparently archaic, distinctions among these five groups (Doerfer, 1982, pp. 109-