

## THE XO'INI DIALECT

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## The village

1. Xo'in is a village belonging to the *Ejarud* (locally *Hejarud*) rural districts (*boluk*) of Zanjan Province, about 60kms. southwest of the city of Zanjan<sup>1</sup>. The dominant language of the village, like that of Zanjan Province, is Azari-Turkish, but a number of older people still managed to speak the Xo'ini dialect, when I visited the village in early October of 1960. The village had been declining for a number of years and had no more than some 170 families or eight to nine hundred souls. Earlier, Xo'in had been the center of a number of settlements belonging to it, such as Balbavin (Balubin), Garne (Garnā), Halab, Qanbarlak, Sa'idābād (Sa'dābād), Sura (Qezelja in Turkish) and Sefidkamar. Gradually, these settlements have grown independent of Xo'in. The fact that the road from Zanjan to Bijār in Kurdistan now passes by Halab and not Xo'in has particularly caused Xo'in to lose its centrality.

Many of the houses were in decay, a number of shops had disappeared, and its *qanāts* had fallen in desuetude. A number of Xo'in's population had migrated and were still migrating to Tehran in search of work. Many of them were engaged in bakery and they had an association (*anjoman*) in Tehran which was politically active. The basis of livelihood in Xo'in, situated at the end of long valley, was growing fruits such as grapes, apricot and walnut in orchards on the slopes of the hills around Xo'in. The village had no irrigated farms, had no tilling fields, and did not grow any grains worth mentioning. The drinking water was supplied by a spring. Also the houses had wells.

The Xo'inis spoke with nostalgia of the better days of Xo'in. They believed that the Xo'inis had originally come from Sistān. Some said that when Bahman invaded Sistān to avenge his father, Esfandiār, the descendants of Rostam fled and came to Xo'in<sup>2</sup>. According to Mahmud Dho'l-Feghāri, a major landowner of Zanjān, the Xo'inis were brave but troublesome people. According to local beliefs, in the Qājār period a number of Xo'inis emigrated to Marv and Ashkabad, now in Turkmenistan, and to Baku in the Caucasus,

<sup>1</sup> Razmārā, *Farhang-e Joghرافیā'i-ye Iran*, II, Tehran, 1949, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> There is cave-like depression in Xo'in called *dež-manda* (remnant of a fort), said to have been made by the *gowr* (i.e., a pejorative appellation for the Zoroastrians). Some villagers believed that the people of Xo'in had earlier been *gowr* and they said there were some old tombs that faced the sun in the east, instead of Mecca.

where they learned how to bake 'barbari' bread. After the October Revolution some of them returned to Mašhad and Tehran, where they opened barbari bakeries.

2. The people had a religious mindset and maintained eight mosques, despite the village's declining fortunes. According to Sheikh Moḥammad Esmā'ili, the mulla of the village, there were in 1950 thirty Xo'inis studying in the religious schools in Qom, and many women of the village were able to read the Koran. The major mosque had a prayer hall (*šabestān*) of some fifteen meters in length and some eight meters in width, with an alcove facing the entrance door; the floor was carpeted with *zilus* (cotton woven carpets). Outside the mosque there was a square which served as the village *tekyeh* (gathering place for religious ceremonies), in the middle of which there was a raised square platform, some three by three meters, with oblong stone slabs at the edges, which contained inscriptions of Koranic verses and other material in Persian and Arabic. The slabs apparently had belonged to an older building. They were not, however, tombstones. On top of the largest hill a slender tower could be seen, of which the lower part was built with stone and the upper part with baked bricks. It exhibited openings for keeping watch, seemingly the purpose of the tower; it was said to be very old, but it had no date.

3. The dominant language in Xo'in is now Turkish and the original dialect is disappearing; in Aruz Ma:la, which is the northern quarter of Xo'in, the dialect is somewhat better known than in Aš Ma:la, the southern quarter, where almost no one knows the language any longer. In Sa'idābād's upper quarter Turkish is dominant, but in the lower quarter they speak mostly the dialect. In Garne, a couple of kms. from Xo'in, people speak the dialect. In Sura to the east of Xo'in, which had some 250 inhabitants, some knew the dialect. In Balbavin (the Xo'ini form is Balubin) which is a fairly large village, the dialect is spoken side by side with Turkish. Their dialect differs slightly from that of Sefidkamar. Other villages of Xo'in are Turkish-speaking. Songs are in Turkish and the music is of Turkish type.

4. The Xo'ini dialect, which is called *di* (*die zuan* 'the *di* language') by its speakers, is best preserved in Sefidkamar (locally 'sipkamar'), a village to the west of Xo'in, with some seventy households in 1963. Sefidkamar was more prosperous than Xo'in, when I visited it, growing some grains (wheat, barley, lentils, chickpeas) and fruits (grapes, apricots, peaches, almonds, etc.). Sefidkamaris also keep some livestock and produce honey. The rather difficult road to reach the village, which limits communication, may have contributed to the preservation of the dialect. According to Ebrāhim Moḥammadi, its people came fifty years earlier from Xo'in. Everyone agreed that Sefidkamar was *the* place to find the *di* dialect in its best form. In Ḥalab the language had practically disappeared, being replaced by Turkish. I found only one old man in Halab who could remember a few sentences in the *di* dialect.

5. My informants consisted of (Mašhadi) 'Ali Moḥammadi, 55, a baker from Xo'in who had been living in Tehran for twelve years but maintained a house in Xo'in and spoke the dialect at home; Ebrāhim Moḥammadi, 28, a Sefidkamar villager; Sheikh Moḥammad Esmā'ili, 50, the mulla of Xo'in; (Mašhadi) 'Ali Ja'fari, 64, a native of Balbavin, living in Zanjan; and (Mašhadi) Rajab-'Ali, a maternal uncle of (Mašhadi) 'Ali; (they all were interviewed in the August and September of 1960), and (Mašhadi) 'Ali of Sefidkamar, 70, whom I interviewed in August of 1963 in Tehran. He had lived until 12

years of age in Sefidkamar, then 14 years in Marv and Ashkabad, then some 40 years again in Sefidkamar, farming; then he had moved to Tehran living partly in the capital and partly in his village.

### Phonology

6. The vowel phonemes of Xo'ini are: *i, e, (ö), a, ā, o, u, (ü)*.

6.1. *ö* occurs in a number of words such as *höröm* 'heat of fire'; *čöröl* 'dirty,' but whether it is a phoneme or an allophone of *o* or *u* needs further study. No minimal contrastive pairs occur in my material to distinguish it phonemically from *o* or *u*.

6.2. *ā* is generally a somewhat rounded /ɔ/; its roundness is particularly pronounced before *w* and nasals, where it is articulated sometimes as closed as *o*.

6.3. *o* has a wide range between /u/ and /ɔ/; it frequently occurs before *w*. It could be an allophone of *ā* or *u*.

6.4. *ü* /y/ is clearly heard in *mü* (also *mī*) 'hair', *dü* 'smoke' (cf. *du* 'diluted yogurt or *duy*'), *ü* 'one', *šūše* 'glass', *lüt* 'naked', *lüt(i)* 'chivalrous bully' and a number of other words. In spite of the contrast between *du* 'diluted yogurt' and *dü* 'smoke,' I doubt whether *ü* should be considered a separate phoneme as it alternates with *i* (e.g., *mi* 'hair' and *u*, e.g., *üü* 'one, a'). The palatalization of *u* may be simply a Turkish influence, in which case *du* and *dü* should be considered homonyms. In the absence of standardized pronunciations and in the interest of a more accurate transcription, however, I have rendered *o, ö, u, and ü* as heard, all the more so as the vowels tend to be somewhat fluid, even in the speech of the same speaker; for example the word for clothing was variously pronounced *xalow, xalaw, and xalāw*.

6.5. Some of the vowels like *e, ā, o, u* and *i* show variations, occasionally spilling into another vowel, e.g., *āme/owme/o:me* 'to come'; *mi-š uway-da* 'he has grown hair'; *agar mü dar-uwareg* 'if he grows hair'.

7. The consonants are: *p, b, t, d, č, j, k, g, x (x<sup>w</sup>), q, f, m, n, r, l, s, z, ž, š, h, v, w, y*.

7.1. Final *k*, e.g., in the 3rd. person singular ending of verbs, begins as a half-voiced stop and ends as a fricative *x*; when followed by a vowel it is mostly voiced as *g*.

7.2. *ž* is a rare sound. It is seen in *žani* 'woman'; *žay* 'to strick'; *gužd* 'meat'; *žarajžaraž* 'partridge'.

7.3. The articulation of *m* and *n* in final positions after a vowel is normally weak, tending to merely nasalize the preceding vowel, particularly *ā*, e.g., in the 1st person plural of the personal endings of verbs: *-āmi-ā/*.

7.4. Unlike *v, w* is an infrequent sound and it is doubtful whether it should be counted as a consonant rather than a semi-vowel. It appears practically as a semi-vowel after *a, ā, o* and the result may be considered a diphthong, but a weak *w* appears also as an initial sound in some words notably in *\*uj-/w* 'to say'. In rapid speech *w* is very often dropped (e.g., *uj-/ut-* 'to say'). In such cases *w* may be considered a weak labialised *v* rather than counting it as a consonant. In other cases like *wā* 'wind' it cannot be treated except as a consonant; on the other hand, in another form of the same word *uwā*, *w* may

be considered as a buffer between *u* and *ā* or else *u* to be considered an anticipatory sound for *w*, since the word appears to be monosyllabic.

7.5. *y* occurs initially, medially and finally, e.g., *yem* 'fodder'; *māyam* 'my mother'; *šey* 'you (sing.) have gone'.

7.6. In a number of words *x* is followed by a weak *w* or *u* without making any changes in the syllabic count of the word, e.g., *x'an* (or *xwan*) 'sleep'. Whether *x'* should be counted as a separate consonant or should be considered in such words as *x'an* a contraction of *xua* is moot.

8. *Vowel harmony* occurs notably in the vowel of the modal prefix *be-* and the negative prefix *ne-* depending on their environment, e.g., *be-gilbi-gi!* 'seize!'; *agar bu-bum* 'if I become'; *ne-rasta biām* 'we had not arrived'; *ni-m-zānešte* 'I did not know'; *no-xwa: be* 'he had not eaten'; *nu-m-buk* 'does not become (i.e., it won't do)'. For an example of assimilation of *n* to *m* before a labial (see 22.1).

9. *Gemination* occurs fairly frequently and sometimes without any obvious reason, apparently to emphasize the stress or to adjust to an intonation pattern, e.g., *bettaj* 'run!'; *pi bettajek* 'he must run'; *attel ka!* 'jump!'; *kušš-em-dare* 'I am extinguishing'; *junnam-marg bemmari* 'may you die young'. Sometimes, however, it compensates for a long vowel turned short, e.g., *aš(š)eq* < Pers.-Ara. *āšeq* 'lover'.

10. *Lengthening of a* occurs sometimes to replace an omitted sound, namely *h*, e.g., *me:mān* 'guest' (for *h*); *ha:ru/harru* 'every day' (for *r*); *a:rā* 'tomorrow' (for *h*); *ma:la* 'quarter' (for *h*); *da:n* 'mouth' (for *h*); *da:ne* 'to put' (for *r*) and sometimes without etymological reason, apparently to accommodate the intonation, *a:šte-še* 'he let, allowed'. The significance of lengthening of *a*, when not compensating an omitted sound, needs further study. In the interest of aural accuracy I have rendered the length where I have heard it, even if it may not be consistent with the phonemic system.

## Morphology

### Nouns

11. *Xoi'ni* distinguishes in nouns two numbers, singular and plural, and two cases, direct and oblique. Grammatical gender is not distinguished.

11.1. The marker of the direct case is nil in the singular and a stressed *-e* in the plural. The marker of the oblique is a stressed *-e* in the singular and a stressed *-ān* in the plural. The direct case is used for the subject of an intransitive verb, and the logical direct object of a past transitive verb in an ergative construction; the oblique for the genitive, the accusative, the object of a postposition or preposition and the agent of a past transitive verb in an ergative construction, e.g., singular: *pas āmi* 'the sheep came'; *pase pašma-š rijestiar(e)* 'the sheep's hair has fallen out'; *pase ow bede* 'give water to the sheep'; *alafe pase ku magerar* 'do not take away the fodder from the sheep'; *ta-r-em pase kāra numbukay* (i.e., *nu-m-buk-ay*) 'with this sheep no work can be done'; plural: *merde va šum kaydaren* 'men are ploughing there'; *a merdān bankis!* 'look at those men!'; *merdān xalawān-eš bederz!* 'sew the men's clothes!'; *ājade merdān!* 'give to the men!'; *merdān ku argi!* 'take from the men!'; *sege ut -ka darua merdān!* 'pick a stone

and hit the men!'. For an example of the cases in an ergative construction see below.

**11.2.** The oblique in *-r*, seen in a number of Tāti dialects for nouns denoting a family member, is not used in Xo'ini; cf. *mā-m āmi* 'my mother came'; *māyem ku ga:temerar* 'I took from my mother'; *māyem* 'ujem 'I will tell my mother'; only once did *piarem* 'my father' appear as the agent of a past transitive verb, otherwise *piam*.

**11.3.** In the vocative singular the direct case is used, whereas in the plural the oblique is employed, according to a number of examples, e.g., *ay xurde makay* 'o child, don't!'; *ay xurdegān bāyān* 'o children, come!'.<sup>3</sup>

**11.4.** Nouns ending in *-a*, all of which have the stress on the last syllable, lose their final vowel in the oblique case with the stress of *-a* transferred to *-e* in the singular, e.g., *se'be darua bušuk* 'hit the dog (so that) it goes (*se'ba* 'dog')'; *se'bān davarge bušund* 'chase out the dogs (so that) they go'.

**11.5.** In nouns ending in *-ā*, a connective *-y-* intervenes between *-ā* and the oblique marker, e.g., *zāmā-y-e nun ājade* 'give bread to the son-in-law'; *zāmā-y-e mān hamek-šān šaynd a karbalā* 'all the sons-in-law have visited (lit. gone to) Karbalā'; *zāmā-y-ān-mān rā-šān nedayend* 'they did not admit (lit. did not give way to) our sons-in-law'.

**11.6.** *r* is frequently used as a connective or buffer sound and sometimes by analogy even after a consonant, e.g., *mesar te nāza-r-ā-m-bim* 'this year you will become well'; *pusteš pā-tem-ālpāt-em-rālpāt-em-ājelpāt-em-r-āje* 'I peeled its skin'.

#### Adjectives

**12.** The adjective precedes the noun and is connected with it by *-al-e*; e.g., *pa:ta xorāk* 'cooked food'; *sūjesta kōmer* 'burned coal'; *pira nana* 'old mother'; *tara nun* 'fresh bread'; *pūsüstag čua* 'decayed wood'; *šegesta āynakā* 'broken mirror'.<sup>3</sup> (for demonstrative adjective see below).<sup>4</sup>

**12.1.** When necessary, the gender is indicated by the adjectives *narra* 'male', *ma:g* 'female', e.g., *narra bez/ma:ga bez* 'male/female goat'.

#### Reverse Ezāfe

**13.** The *Ezāfe* is not genuine to the dialect. The reverse *ezāfe* is the rule, e.g., *aste mezg* 'bone marrow' (*asta* 'bone', *aste* is the oblique form); *kue bez* 'mountain goat', *gallewān-e seba* 'shepherd dog'.

#### Pronouns

**14. Personal pronouns.** There are four sets of personal pronouns in Xo'ini: direct, oblique, possessive and enclitic (suffixed).

<sup>3</sup> My Xo'ini texts are not extensive enough to show whether or not the adjectives agree with their nouns in number and case. In *dereste xalawān da:štekeš* 'she sewed torn dresses', the adjective does not appear to agree with the plural noun. In *ā jem/ja faqirān* 'to these/those poor (men)', *jem* and *ja* are oblique demonstrative adjectives but their obliqueness may result from the preposition *ā* 'to'; however, they do not agree in number with their noun (see 14.1.1).

<sup>4</sup> This connector is sometimes also used for noun + noun, e.g., *guša ben* 'the upper left and right side of the face' (a calque on Persian *bonāguš*).

14.1. The direct pronouns are: 1. *az*, 2. *te*, 3. *a(v)*, 4. *mā*, 5. *šēmā*, 6. *ān*.

14.2. The oblique pronouns are: 1. *man*, 2. *te*, 3. *ā*, 4. *mā*, 5. *šēmā*, 6. *ān*. They differ from the direct pronouns only in the 1st and 3rd person singular.

14.3. The possessive pronouns are: 1. *čeman*, 2. *ešte*, 3. *čā*, 4. *čēmā(n)*, 5. *šēmā(n)*, 6. *čān*. The possessive pronouns are also used with both postpositions and prepositions, e.g., *a:rā buri čeman ku pül ar-gi* ‘tomorrow come (and) take money from me’; *ešte ku pül germ-are* ‘I take money from you’; *de man panir a-čman xarat-(e)š-e* ‘he sold two maunds of cheese to me’; *a:rā a ešte* ‘utjek ‘tomorrow he will tell you’; *mā a čā* ‘utmāne ‘we told him’. (NB. *a-šman* and *a-čman* alternate in the speech of the same informant.) Possessive pronouns serve also as possessive adjectives, e.g., *čeman da:s-em begi* ‘take my hand’ (with the pronoun repeated by an enclitic one); *čēmā püle āde* ‘give (us) our money!’.

14.4. The enclitic pronouns are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-i* (-y after a vowel), 3. *-(e)š*, 4. *-mān*, 5. *-yān*, 6. *-(e)šān*. They are used 1) as possessives, e.g., *berā-m āmi* ‘my brother came’; *berā-y nāmi* ‘your brother did not come’; *kay-šān pār sujeste* ‘their house burnt last year’; 2) as agents of past transitive verbs in the ergative construction, e.g., *man ow-em ente* (repeating the free-standing pronoun) ‘I drank water’, *te ow-i ente* ‘you drank water’, etc.; *zīr da: kāsa gādem-em bay arga* ‘yesterday I carried ten *kāsa(s)* of wheat to the mill (*kāsa* ‘bowl’= one maund of Tabriz, i.e., about 3 kg.); *aragvāne* ‘ut-še *a:rā buri beba* ‘the miller said come tomorrow (and) carry’ (for the *-e* which follows the enclitic pronoun *-š*, see below); 3) as objects, direct or indirect, e.g., *a:r-em-eš* ‘ut-me *a:rā dūre* ‘I told him tomorrow is (too) late’ (*a:r-em* consists of the preverb *ar-* and *-em*, an enclitic pronoun which has been repeated in ‘ut-me); *ū seg-ešān p(e)tow-šān kay* ‘they threw a stone’. In the following example the enclitic pronoun is used as both in the possessive sense and as agent of the verb: *mā a gege-mān viar seg-mān čī* ‘we piled stones in front of ourselves (in defense)’.

14.4.1. As is evident from the above examples an enclitic pronoun may be attached to the verb, the agent of the verb in an ergative construction, an adverb, a prepositional or postpositional phrase, and in a compound verb to its nominal complement (example for the latter: *ān kue-sar-da ūlle dāna seg-ešān degel-ešān kay a čēmā taraf* ‘they rolled a rock down from the top of the mountain towards us’ (*degel kay* ‘did rolling, rolled). As noticed in this example, sometimes the enclitic pronoun is repeated, resuming an independent personal pronoun.

#### 15. Demonstrative pronouns. These are:

<b>Proximate</b>	Direct	Accusative	Oblique
sing.	<i>em</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>čal’čie, čem</i>
pl.	<i>eme</i>	<i>emān</i>	<i>čīān</i>
<b>Remote</b>			
sing.	<i>(a)v</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>ča, čā</i>
pl.	<i>ave</i>	<i>avān</i>	<i>čān</i>

e.g., *čemlča da ar-ge* 'buy from this/tha one'; *čēmān da* 'from these'; *čia ku* 'from this'; *čā ku* 'from that'.

NB. In *mesar* 'this year', and *mešav* 'tonight', *me-* apparently a bound morpheme deriving from demonstratives that are used in word formation.

**15.1.** Demonstrative pronouns are also used as demonstrative adjectives, e.g., *em laka a laka tafāvot nedārek* 'this place (or) that place makes no difference'; *čielčā daste begi* 'take this/tha one's hand'; *čian/čān daste begi* 'take these/those ones' hands'; *čemlča zami da das bekeren* 'abandon (claim) to this/tha land (lit. draw hand from, pull back from, — a calque on a Persian idiom); *čemlča pasān da xeyr nemvini* 'you will see no profit from these/those sheep'.

**15.1.1.** In the following examples *jem* and *ja* appear as demonstrative adjectives after the preposition *ā* 'to'; *ow ājade ā jem faqire* 'give water to this poor (man); ... *ā ja faqire* 'to that poor (man). The same are used with plural nouns, e.g., *ā jem/ja faqirān* 'to these/those poor (men)'. Obviously they are built on *em* and *a(v)* and may be variations of *čem* and *ča*, since I have no examples of *čemlča* with preposition *ā* (see 14).

**16.** Reflexive pronouns. *geg* is served as a reflexive pronoun, but is treated as a noun in terms of declension, e.g., *gege ā marg bānj* 'feign death', (lit. strike yourself to death); *mā a gegemān viar segmān či* 'we piled stones in front of ourselves (in defense)'.

### The Verb

**17.** The verbal system follows the general pattern found in other Tati dialects: it employs a present and a past stem, verbal prefixes (*ā-*, *dar-*, *či-*, etc., here called preverbs); modal prefixes (imperative and subjunctive *be-*, imperfective *-in/-en/-m-*); prohibitive *ma*; negative *ne-*, and personal endings. What distinguishes the verbal system of Xo'ini is: 1) the building of continuous present on the past stem; 2) the shifting position of the preverbs depending on tense and mood, and 3) the frequent use of a connective sound, generally *-r-*, sometimes *-y-*, when the vowels of the different elements of a verb come into contact (see 11.6 & 20.1 & 20.2 for some examples).

**18.** The past and present stems are shaped by historical developments, e.g., *\*uj-/wut-* 'to say'; *xaraš-/xarat-* 'to sell'; *taj-/tat-* 'to run'. In a number of verbs however the past stem is built on the present stem by adding *-(e)st* to it, e.g., *da: desunjen-/da: desunjenest-*, 'to stick' (transitive); *brem-/~est-* 'to weep'; *ku-/kust-* 'to pound'.

**19.** Personal endings. The ending of the imperative is nil in the singular and *-ān* in the plural. A single set of endings is used for the present and the subjunctive. The endings of the preterit and the present perfect are essentially the enclitic present forms of the verb 'to be' (from the base *\*ah-*, here called base one); in periphrastic tenses such as pluperfect and subjunctive perfect the freestanding auxiliary verb 'to be' (from the base *\*bav-*, here called base two) is employed. For *-in* as an ending of the 2nd person singular of the present see below.

**20.** Preverbs. The preverbs of Xo'ini are: *ā-*, (*āje-*), *ar-*, *bav-/vav-*, *bay-/vay-*, *či-*, *da(r)-*, *dari-*, *pa(r)-*, *\*ut-*. The preverb in a number of tenses shifts to the end, that is, after the personal ending, with an *-e* (euphonic? or the 3rd person singular of the verb 'to be' = is?) added after the preverb.

**20.1.** In *da(r)-* and *pa(r)-*, *r* is dropped before a consonant and in final position. This analysis appears preferable, as suggested by Donald Stilo, to considering the preverbs as *da-* and *pa-*, with *-r-* as a connective sound when the preverb is followed by a vowel, all the more so as the lengthening of the *-a-* of *da-* and *pa-* before a consonant, which occurs very frequently, may be compensatory for the dropping of the original *r*.

**20.2.** When the preverb is a vowel or ends in a vowel, a connective or transition *-r-*, in some cases a *-y-*, comes between the vowel of the preverb and a following vowel, notably the final *-e-*; if an enclitic pronoun is attached to the verb the preverb follows it. Examples: *a: rā gandeme kuemare* (i.e. *ku-em-ar-e*) 'tomorrow I shall thresh the wheat' (cf., *ar-ku* thresh!, pound!); *sun-em-ar-e* 'I rub' (cf., *ar-sun* 'rub!'); *ger-em-ar-e* 'I take, seize' (cf., *ar-ge* 'seize!'); *ga:t-mon-ar-e* 'we took'; *kāš-em-par-e* 'I dig' (cf., *pa-kāš* 'dig!'); *bab-en-šānem* 'I scatter, *vav-em-šāy* 'I scattered, *vay-šāy-dar-im* 'I am sowing', *bay-šāy-e gandum* 'he scattered wheat', *bav-šān-est-a(g) čaltūk hani nembu jam-kay* 'one can any longer gather scattered rice', *či-m-ānte* 'I stirred' (cf. *či-b-anj!* 'stir!, mix!', from *ānj-lānt-* 'to hit'); *vaj-em-dar-e* 'I am pulling out' (cf., *da-vaj!* 'pull off!'); *kuš(š)em-dar-e* 'I extinguish' (cf., *da-kuš* 'extinguish!'); *pa-ker* 'to pull off, to pull out, to root out'; *pa-vaj* 'to pull out, to root out'.

NB. It is also possible that the preverb in *ar-* is *a-* plus a connective *-r-*, which has then been generalized as *ar-* appearing also before consonants; on formal grounds the preverb is to be taken as *ar-*

**20.3.** *āje* behaves in a number of cases as a plain preverb, appearing before the stem, after the ending, and before a nominal complement of the verb, e.g., *āje-de* 'give!'; *kar-em-āje* 'I open'; *ger-em-āje* 'I kindle'. On the other hand, in most cases the preverb *ā-* turns into *-āje* when shifted to the end of the verb, e.g., *ā-ka!* 'open!', *kar-em-āje!* 'I open'; *ā-ge!* 'kindle!'; *ger-em-āje* 'I kindle'. Thus *āje-* may be taken as an alternate form of *-ā* in some positions, e.g., *em vel šavān kar-eg-ā(je)* 'this flower opens in the evenings'.

**20.4.** The preverbs *da(r)-*, *dari-*, and *či-* however, remain in front in some verbs, e.g., *da:-m-barr-em* 'I cut, (cf., *da:bar* 'cut!'; *-m-* is a modal prefix); *da:-desunjun-em* 'I stick on' (cf., *da:-desunjen* 'stick on!'); *dari-ge* 'sweep!'; *dari-n-gatek* 'he used to sweep'; *či-m-ānte* 'I stirred' (cf. *či-b-anj!* 'stirr!, mix!', from *ānj-lānt-* 'to hit').

## Tenses and Moods

**21.** Tenses and moods based on the present stems are: the imperative, the present, and the subjunctive.

**22.** The *Imperative* consists of the present stem of the verb, the modal prefix *be-* if the verb contains no preverb, and the personal endings, which is nil for the singular and *-ān* for the plural. *be-* is often modified by its environment (*bi-*, *bo-*, *bu-*), and appears as *b-* before a vowel of a verbal stem. In the imperative the preverbs are not shifted to the end of the verb (see 20). E.g., singular: *beš!* 'go!'; *buri!* 'come!'; *bekejer!* 'laugh!'; *betta!* 'run!'; *b-ankis!* 'look!'; *bexaraš!* 'sell!'; *ā-de!* 'give!'; *da-bend!* 'close!'; *ar-gi!* 'seize!'; *ar-xos!* 'sleep!'. Plural: *b-āyān!* 'come!'; *bettajān!* 'run!'; *bi-girān!*



'seize!'; *bi-šān!* 'go!'; *ar-kuān!* 'pound!'. The *-n* of the plural has a weak articulation and is sometimes dropped, e.g., *ar-sunā!* 'rub!'; *da:-desunjinā!* 'stick on!'.

23. The *Present* of intransitive verbs, which serves also for the future tense, is formed from the present stem plus personal endings, e.g., 1. *az a:rā taj-em*, 2. *te a:rā taj-i*, 3. *av taj-ek*, 4. *mā taj-ām*, 5. *šomā taj-ān*, 6. *ān taj-end* 'tomorrow I run, tomorrow you run, tomorrow he runs, etc.'; *šuk* (also *šū<sup>w</sup>uk*) a *ku* '(every day) he goes to the mountains'; *berem(b)-em* 'I shall cry'; *ger-em* 'I take'; *xaraš-em* 'I sell'; *xoss-ek* 'he sleeps'; *ra:s-ek* 'he will arrive'; *kārān-š vin-ek* 'she sees after his affairs'. Further examples: *galle-dar-e* 'he returns' (cf., *da-gel* 'return!'); *galle-m-da* 'I return'; *jam kar-ek* 'he gathers'; *uar-ek* 'he brings'; *kar-em-āje* 'I open' (see 18.1).

23.1. In a large number of examples an affix *-(e)n/-(e)m* comes before the stem, mostly when the verb refers to a habitual act or to ability, e.g., *gap en-kar-ek* 'he talks (lit. does talking)'; *gitiyāri n-kar-ek* '(every day) he does ploughing'; *nemāz-eš en-<sup>w</sup>uj-ek* '(every day) he says his prayers'; *ut-en-kar-ek* '(every day) he takes up (his spade)'; *tijā-n-karek* 'he sharpens'; *dari-n-ger-ek* '(every day) she sweeps'; *Hasan moru ne-n-tānek bettajek a:rā n-tajek* 'Hasan cannot run today, he will run tomorrow'; *püle düz ar-n-en-genek* 'it does not succeed with money (lit. does not fall right); *düz* is Turkish); *pa xare sare(-n)-šan-ek* (or *xare sar-en-šānek* ?) 'he places (the saddlebag) on the donkey'. Yet in a number of other examples *-(e)m* appears as the imperfective affix mostly before vowels and labials, e.g., *da:-m-berr-em* 'I cut' (cf., *da:ber!* 'cut!'); *ut-em-izek* 'she gets up' (cf., *ut-i!* 'get up!'); *ut-emm-iz-em* 'I shall get up (with geminated *m*, possibly to be analyzed as *em-m*); *ut-em-kar-em* 'I lift' (cf., *ut-ka!* 'lift!'); *m-ā-k* 'he comes'. It seems that the base form is *-(V)m-* appearing before vowels and labials but assimilates to *-(V)n-* mostly before velars.

23. 2. The ending *-e* is occasionally omitted, e.g., *parsār ow-ni-mon dardel/owmon nedard* 'last year we did not have water'. When the prefix is *ar-*, a connective *-r-* comes between the ending *-e* and *-ar-*; the ending *-e* is often repeated after *-ar-*, e.g., *pa:ri pülem ga:t-e-r-ar-e* 'yesterday I took the money' (cf., *argate* 'to take'); *ka-m-e-r-ar-e* 'I closed' (cf. *arka!* 'close!').

23.3. When the stem ends in *-a* or *-ā* such as *ka*, *dā*, the ending *-e* of the 3rd person singular changes into *y*, e.g., *man āja-m dāy* 'I gave'; *kay-r-āje* 'you opened'. Notice that the connective *-r-* still occurs also after *y*. In the 1st and 2nd persons plural, although the intervocalic connective *-r-* is not needed, it sometimes precedes the preverb by analogy, e.g., *ga:te-mān-r-ar-e* 'we took'; *ga:t-ion-r-ar-e* 'you took'.

24. The *Subjunctive* is built like the present indicative except that it takes the modal prefix *be-* unless it contains a preverb, in which case *be-* is deleted. Thus 1. *bettajem*, 2. *bettaji*, 3. *bettajek*, 4. *bettajām*, 5. *bettajān*, 6. *bettajend* '(that) I run, (that) you run, etc.'; *az ne-tānem bettajem* 'I cannot run'; *bušuk* '(that) he go'; *berānek* '(that) he drive'; *b-ānj-ek* '(that) he hit'; *hāzer bebin* '(that) you become ready'; *benda tug bigire* 'wait (until) it forms (lit. takes) cream'; *benda berasek* 'let it ripen'. Some other examples are: *bām* '(that) I come'; *bāyām* '(that) we come'; *bešem* '(that) I go'; *bešām* '(that) we go'; with preverbs: *ā-dem* '(that) I give'; *ā-diām* '(that) we give'; *ar-nām* '(that) we put'; *arkuam* '(that) I pound'; *ar-nem* '(that) I put'; *dar-a-r-ua-r-em* '(that) I hit' (with two connective *rs*).

24.1. The subjunctive is used also for the conditional present, e.g., *aga az bettajem nengem šigek* 'if I run my leg will break'; *age nengeš bešgek dajek* 'if his leg breaks it will ache'.

24.2. The subjunctive is used also for the optative, e.g., *xodā piar-eš rahmat bekarek* 'may God show mercy to his father'; *xodā ešte omr bedek* 'may God give you (long) life'; *junnammarg bemmari* 'may you die young (lit. may you die a young death)'; *xodā gelgān-i sibi bevendā(r)neg* 'may God turn your eyes white (i.e., may you lose sight)'; *xodā Mašad qesmat-i bekarek* 'may god allot you (a pilgrimage to) Mašhad'.

25. *Tenses built on the past stem.* These are the continuous present, the continuous past, the preterit, the perfect, the pluperfect, the imperfect, and the subjunctive perfect.

26. The *Continuous present* is formed with the past stem followed by a stressed *-a* which is then followed by personal endings, which are in fact the present of the verb 'to be' (see 41). The past stem plus *-a* appears to be a past participle with an active meaning, connected to the vowel of the ending by a buffer *-r-* in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural, and *-y-* in the 1st and 2nd persons plural, e.g., *xarata-r-im* 'I am selling (lit. I am seller)'; *čāy enta-r-im* 'I am drinking tea'; *xorde beremasta-r-e* 'the child is crying (cf. *beremek* 'it cries')'; *Hasan pase-š xarata-r-e* 'Hasan is selling his sheep'; *az bare da-basta-r-im* 'I am closing the door'; *te bare dabasta-r-iš?* 'are you closing the door?'; *dabasta-y-ām* 'we are closing'; *dabasta-y-ān* 'you are closing'; *dabasta-r-end* 'they are closing'; *az nun argata-r-im* 'I am buying bread'.

26.1. In some cases (apparently when the past stem ends in a vowel or *y*) the participle is made by adding *-da* to the past stem, e.g., *še'da-r-im/še'dam* 'I am going'; *aranjida-r-em* 'I am cutting into pieces'; *āme'da-r-iš* 'are you coming?'; *te čekāra kay'da-r-iš* 'what are you doing?'; *nun xuayda-r-im* 'I am eating bread'; *nāza-r-ā-be-dar-im* 'I am becoming well'; *das mamānj nāza-r-ā-be-da-r-e* 'don't touch, it is healing (lit. it is becoming well)'; the first *-r-* is also a connective sound.

26.2. A different explanation of this verbal form would be to consider *dar* a post-position meaning 'in', thus *šey-dar-im* 'I am in (the act of) going, I am going'; *nun xuay-dar-im* 'I am in (the act of) eating bread, I am eating bread'; *nāza-r-ā-be-dar-e* 'he is in the process of becoming well'; *te čekāra kay-dar-iš?* 'what are you in the process of doing?'; *vel čī-da-y-ām* 'we are in the process of plucking flowers'. If this explanation holds then the verbal form that precedes *-dar* must be considered a verbal noun. In the simplified forms such as *šey-da-m* 'I am going'; *či kay-da-š?* 'what are you doing?', the verbal noun is followed by *da-* which drops its *-r-* before the personal endings.

27. The *Continuous past* is formed as the continuous present (see 26), except that the past participle is followed by the preterit of the verb 'to be', e.g., 1. *az arga:ta bim*, 2. *te arga:ta biš*; 3. *av arga:ta be*; 4. *mā arga:ta biām*, 5. *šoma arga:ta biān*, 6. *ān arga:ta bend*, 'I was taking, you were taking, etc.'; *Hasan ow enta be az āmaym* 'Hasan was drinking (when) I came'; *ān virita bend ke mā āmayām rastiām* 'they were running away (when) we came (and) reached'; *aranjida bim* 'I was cutting into pieces'; with *da* participle: *az nun xuay-da bim Hasan āmi* 'I was eating bread (when) Hasan came'; *az āmeda bim Hasan-em vinde* 'I was coming (when) I saw Hasan'; *še:da bim seba wāz-eš-gate učman* (i.e., *a čeman*) *sar* 'I was going (when) a dog jumped at my head' (cf., *wāz-gē* 'jump!'); *berida bim* 'I was cutting'. The same possible explanation that was men-

tioned about the continuous present, namely regarding *-da(r)* as a postposition preceded by an infinitive also applies here.

28. The *Preterit* of intransitive verbs is formed by attaching personal endings, that is, the present of the verb 'to be' to the past stem, with the stress falling on the last syllable of the stem. This stem seems to have an active participial sense, thus 1. *ge'nest-im*, 2. *genest-iš*, 3. *genest-e*, 4. *genest-iām*, 5. *genest-iān*, 6. *genest-end* 'I fell, you fell, etc.'; e.g., *az zir ü sāat xott-im* 'yesterday I slept one hour'; *az neverit-im*, *av virit-e* 'I did not run, he ran'.

28.1. In the 1st and 2nd person plural, *-i-* apparently is introduced on the analogy of the 1st and 2nd person singular.

29. *Ergative construction*. Except for the continuous present and the continuous past the past transitive verbs built on the past stem follow the ergative construction. In an ergative construction the agent of the verb (i.e., the verb's logical subject) is put in oblique case and the verb agrees not with its agent but with its logical object. The agent of the verb is commonly expressed by an enclitic pronoun or an oblique noun or pronoun; when the agent is expressed by an oblique noun or free standing pronoun, it is often reiterated by an enclitic pronoun.

30. The *Preterit* of transitive verbs is built like that of intransitive verbs except that normally it is put in the 3rd person singular whether its object, which is put in the direct case, is singular or plural. Example with enclitic pronouns as agent: 1. *man vind-em(e)*, 2. *te vind-i(e)*, 3. *ā vind-eše*, 4. *mā vind-emān(e)*, 5. *šoma vind-iāne*, 6. *ān vind-ešāne* 'I saw, you saw, etc.'. Some other examples: *runestek* 'was scratched'; *zir gandem-em kuste* 'yesterday I threshed wheat' (lit. yesterday the wheat was threshed by me); *parsār ow ni-mān darde* 'last year we did not have water'; *mesār hūčči ni-mān xeri* 'this year we did not buy anything'.

31. The *Perfect* of intransitive verbs is formed with the past participle of the verb, generally made of the past stem plus a stressed *-a-*; (*-a* having a range between *e* and *a*) then followed by the personal endings, namely, the present of the verb 'to be'. When the ending begins with *i* (1st and 2nd person singular) the *i* of the ending changes into *y*. In the 3rd person singular and plural the *-e* of the ending coalesces with the *a* of the past participle into *-i*. In the 1st and 2nd persons plural a connective *-y-* comes between the *a* of the participle and the initial vowel of the ending, e.g., *ü sāat heste ke az ra:steym* (i.e., *ra:sta+im*) 'it is (already) an hour (since) I have arrived'; *az de sar-e kāra-da mandaym* 'it is two years (since) I have remained (deprived) from work'; *ne tānēsta-r-im kāra bekarem* 'I have not been able to do work'; *te tanga hūš a Karbalā šayš* 'have you ever gone to Karbalā?'; *ne az... ne šaym* 'no I have not gone'; *te tanga omri da hūš kejerestayš* 'till now, have you ever laughed in your life?' (cf. the preterit *keje' rest-im* with the stress on the last syllable of the stem and the perfect *kejers'taym* with the stress on the last syllable of the participle.)

32. The *Perfect* of transitive verbs is formed with the past participle in stressed *-a-*, normally followed by a suffix pronoun as agent and then followed by *-e*, the 3rd person singular of the present of the verb 'to be', which refers in fact to the object of the verb, e.g., 1. *man-ji vinda-m-e*, 2. *te-ji vinda-y-e*, 3. *ā-ji vinda-š-e*, 4. *mā-ji vinda-mān-e*, 5. *šema-ji vinda-yān-e*, 6. *ān-ji vinda-šān-e* 'I too have seen, you too have seen, etc.'.

Notice that in the 2nd person singular the enclitic pronoun *i* changes to *y* between two vowels.

NB. It will be noticed that the continuous present and the perfect have the same formation, except in the 3rd person, where the ending of perfect is *-e* (>*-a+-e*) whereas the 3rd person of the continuous present ends in *-a-r-e*. Another difference is that the subject of a continuous present has a direct form in the 1st person, e.g., *az* 'I', whereas in the perfect if its agent is a pronoun, it will be an oblique one (*man* in the 1st pers. sing.).

**32.1.** In both intransitive and transitive perfects, the preverb shifts its position and comes after the stem, e.g., *te tanga hüš pelakān da genes' teyš-ar(e)* 'have you until now fallen down from a ladder?'; *gušt-eš n-a-y-dar-e* 'he has placed the meat (on the stove)'. Notice the following examples where the stem ends in a vowel; *be šū šay* 'she has gone to husband (i.e., she has been married)'; *biay* 'it has become'; *šomā omriān da guštiān nay dar-e* 'have you ever (lit. in your life) placed (the pot on the oven)?'; *ma: leyjān-mān gušt-šān na-y-dar-e* 'our neighbors have cooked'; *moru hüš bare ka-y(r)ar-e?* 'have you today closed the door at all?' *n-i-m-kay-are* 'I have not done (so)'.

**32.2.** In negative perfects the enclitic pronoun may follow the negative affix, e.g., *n-i-m xarati* 'I have not sold (lit. it is not sold by me)'; but *mā kay-mān na-xarata-mān* 'we have not sold our house'.

**33.** The *Pluperfect* is formed like perfect, that is, with the participle of the verb, except that its auxiliary verb is the preterit of the verb 'to be', e.g., *marda be* 'he had died'; *vāresta be* 'it had rained'; *az ke āma-ym Hasan ša: -be* 'when I came Hasan had gone'; 1. *rasta bim*, 2. *rasta biš*, 3. *rasta be*; 4. *rasta biām*, 5. *rasta biān*, 6. *rasta bend* 'you had reached, he had reached, etc.'.

**33.1.** A second pluperfect is formed by having the perfect of 'to be' as auxiliary (of the type that Gilbert Lazard calls 'Actance'), e.g., *va: te da-re biak* 'has been knitting'; *berembeste-dar-e biak* 'had been crying' in contrast to *va: te-da-be* 'was knitting,' (see 26) (pluperfect); in these two examples the information is a second hand, i.e., the speaker has not been present when the knitting or crying had occurred.

**33.2.** As in the perfect, in the pluperfect the preverb may shift its position and follows the auxiliary, e.g., *az ništa bim-are Hasan āmi* 'I had sat down when Hasan came'; *man čerow-em košta-be-dal/be-dare te āmayš*; *-i košta be-dal/be-dare*; *-eš košta be-dal/be-dar-e*, etc. 'I had put out the lamp when you came, you had put out the lamp, etc.'; *pülem gata be-r-are ke Hasan āmi* 'I had taken my money when Hasan came'; *pa-gušta bim merdem āmi* 'I was drawing (water from well) when my husband came'.

**34.** The *Imperfect* is made in two ways: (1) by the past stem of the verb followed by the personal endings which are the same as the present of the verb 'to be', thus undistinguishable from the preterit, e.g., *az pārsar harru še-m a ku* 'last year, every day I used to go to the mountains'; *pārsar šey-š* (i.e., *še-iš*) *a ku* 'last year you used to go to the mountains'; *šeg* (i.e., *še-ek*) *a ku* 'he used to go to the mountains'; in this instance the *g* of the 3rd person ending is generalized and appears in the plural as well; *mā šegiām a ku*; *šoma šegiān a ku*; *ān še(ge)nd a ku* 'we used to go to the mountains, etc.'.

**34.1.** Should the verb contain a preverb, then *eg* may come before or after the preverb, which is shifted to the end, e.g., *az har sar pella da genest-im-ar-eg* 'every year I

used to fall down from the stairs; *genest-iš ar-eg*, *genest-eg arel/geneste ar-eg* 'you used to fall down from the stairs', etc.

34.2. The imperfect of the transitive verbs is formed likewise, except that enclitic pronouns are added as the agents of the verb either before the stem or after it, e.g., *man pâr harru namâz-em xwand-eg/xwand-em-eg* 'last year, I would say my prayers every day', (*-(e)m* being the agent of the verb, cf., *-i xwand-i-eg* 'you used to recite'); *-eš xwand-eg* 'he used to recite'; *\*ut-š-ek* 'he used to say'; *man ha:ru maška-m nivist-ek* 'every day I used to rock the (skin) churn'.

It will be noticed that while the enclitic pronoun may change according to person and number, giving the impression of a verbal ending, the actual verb appears only in the 3rd person, as expected in an ergative construction.

34.3. (2) In a large number of examples an affix *en-lin-/em-* (the vowel of the prefix drops if it is preceded by a vowel, thus being reduced to *-n-* or *-m-*) comes before the stem, as is the case in the present, apparently indicating imperfectivity; if the verb contains a preverb or a nominal complement the imperfective prefix comes between these and the stem, e.g., *xalow-em da: -m-en-kak* 'I used to put on my clothes'; *vel-em ow en-dāk* 'I used to water the flowers (i.e., the flowers were watered by me)'; *em-kak* 'he used to do'; *\*ut-m-išt-ek* 'he used to rise'; *ow-em čāl da gušt-em-en-par-ek* 'I used to draw water from the well' (*guz-/gušt-* to draw); *dadem ā fekrem en-šāk* 'I used to remember my father (lit. it would throw my father to my mind, *šan-lšā-* 'to throw')'; *arva-n-kak* 'he used to pour' (cf., *arva-ka!* 'pour!'); *pasân-eš yem āješ-n-dāk* 'he would give fodder to his sheep'; *dari-n-gatek* 'she would sweep' (cf., *dari-ge!* 'sweep!'); *keř-eš-em-par-ek* 'he would draw (water from the well)'; *da: -š-en-kak* 'he would kindle (the oven)' (cf., *da:š-ka!* 'kindle!'). Notice further the following examples: *bavandân-da az harru xuan-da* (*\*ut-m-išt-im*, *dasnamâz-em gat-e-par-e*, *namâzema xuand-em-e xalaw-em da: -m-en-kak gerava-m da:menkak še-ma wājār* 'in those times (*bavandân-da*) I used to rise from sleep, make ablution, say my prayers, would put on my clothes, would put on my socks (and) would go to the market'.

35. The *Subjunctive perfect* which has limited use, is made by the past participle plus the subjunctive of the verb 'to be', e.g., *nengem čolâq bu-buk aġar az ša: -bum* 'may my leg become lame if I should have gone' (equivalent to Persian *rafte bāšam*).

### Passive and Causative

36. The *Passive*. The passive stem is formed by adding *-(e)st* to the present stem, e.g., *em nia nāza ne-pajesta-r-e* 'this chickpeas do not cook well'; *em xalāw nāza ne šurest-ar-e* 'these clothes do not wash well'; *vindeme, bar ā-kar-est-ilkaresti-ā/karesti-r-ā* 'I saw, the door had been opened (lit. has been opened)'; notice that the preverb *ā* may come before the stem or after the ending; *vel karesti-ā/karesti-r-ā* 'the flower has (been) opened', (cf. *em vel šavān kar-eg-ā(je)* 'this flower opens in the evenings'); *vindeme ruan xuaresti* 'I saw (that) the ghee has been eaten'; *vaxtik xalāw šureste, tanāb-e sar-da šānām-āje* 'when the clothes were washed (sing.) we spread them on the line'; *xurdek kay da ništa be, vind-eš divār kareste-r-āje* 'the child was sitting in the house (when) he

saw the wall was cracked open'; *em zamin nāza pa-kāšasta nige* 'this land does not till well'.

37. The *Causative* is formed by adding *-en* or *-jen* to the present stem, e.g., *bekejer!* 'laugh!', *bekejer-en!* 'make laugh!'; *ma-brem!* 'don't weep!', *ma-berem(b)en!* 'don't make weep!'; *beta(j)!* 'run!', *bettājen!* 'make run!, gallop!'; *Hasan asbe virijin-ista-r-e* 'Hasan is galloping the horse', cf. *asb virita-r-e* 'the horse is running'; *beta(j) beras!* 'run (and) reach!'; *em kāqe xowem berāsen* 'make reach (= deliver) this letter to my sister'; *da: desun-jen* 'stick on!'; *da: desunjenestem* 'I stuck on'; *ayšin!* 'sit!'; *ayšin-jen!* 'seat!'.

Notice that in some verbs the vowel *a* of the stem is changed in the causative to *ā*, e.g., *bettājen*, *berāsen*; *-j-* may have been added in some cases to *-en* on the analogy of *bettājen*, *bevirijen*.

### Verbal Nouns

38. The *Past Participle*, frequently used as an adjective, is formed from the past stem followed by *-a*, e.g., *pa: ta xorāk čie-rā nāza nigī* 'cooked food is not good for him (lit. this one)'; *sūjesta kōmer fāyde nedārek* 'burned coal is of no use'; *žang-ānta* 'rust-eaten' (lit. struck by rust, *ānj-ānt-* 'to strike'). Some adjectival past participles are followed by a *-g*, e.g., *rijistag* 'poured, wasted'; *rijistaga ruan* 'poured ghee'; *sūstaga xalowān* 'washed clothes'; *gullesta ow* 'boiled water'. Apparently *-g* is a vestige of *k* of the old suffix *-ak*.

39. The *Infinitive* is formed by the past stem followed by *-e*, e.g., *ankište zāni?* 'can you look?' (cf., *bankis!* 'look!'); *nafas kerie* 'to breathe, to gasp (lit. to draw breath)'; *či va: te zāni?* 'can you knit things?'; *gendem pāk āka: ye* 'to pick clean the wheat'; *ātaš daš-kaye* 'to kindle fire'; *čerāw dakošte* 'to put out the lamp'; *āja-dāy* (i.e., *-dā +e*) *argate nāztare* 'to give is better than to take' (cf. *argate āja-dāye nāztare* 'to take is better than to give'). Notice the following: *še:* 'to go'; *āme* 'to come'; *jūe* 'to chew'; *kay(e)* 'to do'.

### Certain Verbs

40. *Must/Want to*. As in a number of Tāti dialects, the base *pi-* is used to express both necessity and volition or wish, e.g., *pi bešum* 'I must go'; *te pi niši* 'you must not go'; *pi bušuk gīt berānek* 'he must go to plough'. For 'to want to' a past stem in *-sta* is used, e.g., *a: rā pista-r-im bešum* 'tomorrow I want to go'; *moru nūrūja paši pistarim bešum* 'today afternoon I want to go'; *angā pistampistarim bešum* 'now I want to go'; *iā pista bim bešum me: mān āmi* 'as soon as I wanted to go (i.e., as I was about to go) (a) visitor came'.

41. The Verb 'to be'. As the verb 'to be' is used as an auxiliary in a number of tenses its conjugation may be given here. The conjugation of the verb 'to be' uses two different bases (historically one from the root *\*ah-* and the other from the root *\*bav-*).

41.1. The *imperative* of 'to be' is formed from the root *\*bav-* and follows the general rule: *bebe* (sing.); *bebiān* (pl.).

41.2. *The present indicative*: 1. *im*, 2. *iš*, 3. *e*, 4. *ām*, 5. *ān*, 6. *end* 'I am, he is, etc'. After *e* and *ā*, the *e* of the 3rd person singular changes to *y*, *te-yš* 'you are (sing.)', *mā-y-ām* 'we are', *šomā-y-ān* 'you are (pl.)'.

41.3. A secondary form with *hest-* also occurs in the sense of 'to be, to exist'. The ending of the 1st person plural, however, is in my notations the same as the 1st person singular: 1. *hest-im*, 2. *hest-iš*, 3. *hest-e*, 4. *hest-im*, 5. *hest-ian*, 6. *hest-end*; e.g., *az hest-im tā te bāyn(a)* 'I am (= I stay, I remain) until you come'.

41.4. The present from the root *\*bav-* does not occur as 'to be,' but we have the present of 'to become' which is from the same root with the addition of the preverb *ā-* and the imperfective prefix (*e*)*m-*, thus: 1. *ā-m-bum*, 2. *ā-m-bin*, 3. *ā-m-buk*, 4. *ā-m-biām*, 5. *ā-m-biān*, 6. *ā-m-bend* 'I become, you become, etc.'; *agar bebuk karem, amā ne-m buk* 'if it is possible (lit. if it becomes) I will do (it) but it is not possible'; *mesar te nāza-r-ā-m-bin* 'this year you will become well'; *hāzer bebin* 'become ready, be ready'; *Hasan-ji nāz-r-ā-m-buk* 'Hasan too, will become well'; (for *m* as an imperfective modal prefix see 23 and 34.3). Notice that the ending of the 2nd person is *-in* (not *-i*).

41.5. When a word ends in a stressed *a*, the *a* coalesces with *e* of the 3rd person singular into *i*, e.g., *em kay pilli* 'this house is big (*pilla*= big)'; *em žani nāzi* 'this woman is good' (*nāza* = good).

41.6. In the negative of the 3rd person singular the *-e* of the negative prefix *ne-* combines with the *e-* of *-eg* into *-i-* (*nig-*) which is followed by *-i*, a narrowed form of *-e*, thus *nigi* 'is not'. The *-g* seems to originate from the *k/g* of the ending of the 3rd person singular of the present, voiced between two vowels; then the *g* is generalized and appears in other persons as well: 1. *nāwxaš nigim*, 2. *nāwxaš nigi*, 3. *nāwxaš nigiš*, 4. *nāwxaš nigiam*, 5. *nāwxaš nigian*, 6. *nāwxaš nigend* 'I am not ill, you are not ill, etc.'.

41.7. *The Subjunctive* of 'to be' is formed from the present stem of a different root (*\*bav-*), the verbal prefix *be-* with the following endings *-m*, *-i<sup>n</sup>*, *-k*, *-ām*, *-ān*, *-nda*, thus *bebum*, *bebi<sup>n</sup>*, *bebu(k)*, *bebiām*, *bebiān*, *bebunda*; *te tāni pen ru angā bebi?* 'can you be here for five days?'. Sometimes the prefix *be-* is omitted, e.g., *Hasan-e* 'ut-še ke pen ru paši angā bum 'Hasan said that I should be here after five days'; *agar angā bubum mām* 'if I should be here, I will come'.

41.8. Sometimes an euphonic *a* follows the singular ending thus, *bebuma* '(that) I become'; *bebuga* '(that) it becomes (cf., *buga* 'it becomes', *-g-* being a voiced form of *k* ending).

41.9. *The Preterit* of 'to be' is built with the past stem of the root: *\*bav-*, with the endings taken from the base one of 'to be' thus: 1. *bim*, 2. *biš*, 3. *be*, 4. *biyām*, 5. *biyān*, 6. *bend*; *az zir va bim te n-āmaysš* 'I was there yesterday (but) you did not come' (lit. have not come).

41.10. *The perfect* of 'to be' is formed with the participle *bia* (of base two), plus personal endings which are in fact the present of 'to be' (from the base one). The full conjugation is: *biyam*, *biay*, *biak*, *biayām*, *biayān*, *biaynd* 'I have been, you have been, etc.'; *ta hūč nāwxaš biaysš?* 'have you ever been ill?'; \**utšān-e Hasan vare biak* 'they said Hasan has been there'.

41.11. *The pluperfect* is made of the participle of the base two, plus the preterit of the same verb as auxiliary, e.g., 1. *bia bim*, 2. *bia biš*, 3. *bia be*, 4. *bia biām*, 5. *bia biān*, 6. *bia bend*.

**41.12.** The *imperfect* is made from the secondary participle in *-ste* of the verb ‘to be’ plus the personal endings, that is, the present of ‘to be’ (base one), e.g., *harvax za:m bustek* ‘whenever it became/was sore’; *az harvax nāwxaš bustim* ‘whenever I became/was ill’.

**41.13.** The *infinitive* of ‘to be’ appears as *be* (cf., *še* ‘to go’, *āme* ‘to come’); *čeman angā be čē fāyda dāre* ‘what good has my being here’.

### Particles

**42. Prepositions.** The following prepositions were noted: *a* ‘to’, *ā* ‘to’, *avi* ‘without’, *bi* ‘without’, *da* ‘to’, *pa* ‘on’, *ta* ‘with’, *viar* ‘in front of’.

Examples:

i. *šeg a galla* ‘goes to the flock (i.e., to graze the flock)’; *bešua a ku* ‘(that) he go to the mountains’; *gelle-dar-e a k(k)ay* ‘he returns to the house’; *ge-y ā kanār keren!* ‘draw yourself to the side!’; *xerdege seg-eš darderare a xumme* ‘the child throws stone at the (large earthen) jar’; *seg-eš darderare a hayvāne* ‘he throws stone at the animal’.

ii. *ā fekr-em āmi* ‘it came to my mind (I remembered)’; *ā fekr-em šān* ‘remind me’; *ke varg-eš ā galle ne bānjek* ‘that wolves do not attack the flock (lit. does not strike the flock, a calque on the Persian idiom)’; *gege ā marg bānj* ‘feign death (lit. strike yourself to death, a calque on the Persian idiom)’; *seg ānjeste ā xumme* ‘the stone hit the jar’; (in a number of examples *ā* is closed enough to change into *o*).

iii. *avi ačman maš* ‘don’t go without me’; *avi tum* ‘without seed’; *avi māye* ‘without yeast’.

iv. *bi pūl* ‘without money’; *bi berā maš* ‘don’t go without (your) brother’.

v. *da: desujen da divār(e)!* ‘stick onto the wall!’; *mixe darua da divār!* ‘press the nail to the wall!’; *pase neng-eš da dār bend* ‘tie the sheep’s foot to the tree’.

vi. *pa tantanan sar ne* ‘pile (or lay) on top of each other’; *pa xare sare(n)- šane-k* ‘he places (the saddle bag) on the donkey’s head’ (*pa* governing *sar* by circumposition), here it seems that *sar* as the second member of a reverse *Ezāfe* has an oblique form, unless the phrase is analyzed as *sar-e(n)-šānek*; on the other hand, it is possible that *pa* is in fact a preverb separated from the verb, cf. the following: *asbe zin-eš pa-š nā* ‘he placed the saddle on the horse’.

vii. *ta Hasan-e beš* ‘go with Hasan’; *xāwey ta gigay beba* ‘take your sister with you’; *ta merdey deviān bišān* ‘with your husband you both go!’.

NB. My material does not show examples in which the object of the postposition *pa*- and *da*- begins with a vowel and, therefore, it is not clear whether the preposition is *da(r)* and *pa(r)* in which case these would be the same as the preverbs.

**43. Postpositions.** The following postpositions were noted: *-da* ‘from’, *-da(r)* ‘in’, *-ku* ‘from’, *-(r)ā* ‘for’, *-tan* ‘from’. Examples:

i. *vela-da tuma bigi* ‘take seeds from the flower’; *čemā owdāni-da em rasm nie* ‘in our village this is not customary’; *daryāye lavenj-da čadereš žay* ‘he has pitched his tent at the edge of the sea’;



ii. *keydar-e* 'is in the house';

iii. *ĉeman-ku xabar magi* 'do not ask me';

iv. *ĉeman gān-e-rā* 'for my body'; *em kāreste-rā nāza niği* 'this is not good for sowing'; *yem galān-ā pa:n karek* 'he spreads fodder for the flock'; *va-tan āmayma Terān* 'I have come from there to Tehran'.

44. *o* 'and', is used as a conjunction, e.g., *nun o ow ājade ā jem faqire* 'give bread and water to this poor (fellow)'.

### Word Formation

45. An adjective with an active sense and used substantively is formed by adding the suffix *-ār* to the present stem of the verb, e.g., *xarašār* 'seller'; *reše gerār* 'bribe taker'; *pūl ādā-r-ār* 'money giver (with a connective *r* as the stem ends in a vowel)'. A number of professions are designated by such an adjective: *kūmer xarašār* 'coal seller'; *panba daruwa-r-ār* 'cotton carder'; *nemag dašanār* 'felt maker'; *lif derzār* 'quilt sewer'; *powjār derzār* 'cobbler'; *diār* however has a passive sense: 'visible, evident'.

45.1. An adjective is made by adding *-in* to a noun, e.g., *sarin lavenj* 'upper lip'; *gulgin lavenj* 'lower lip', (*gulek-* 'lower part').

45.2. An adjective is made from the present stem of the verb followed by *-ganin*, e.g., *em qazā xuaḡanin niḡe* 'this food is not fit to be eaten' (*xua-* 'to eat'); *mā hame ša: ganin-iām* 'we are all destined to go (i.e., to die)'; *em ow enta: ganin niḡe* 'this water is not suitable for drinking'. Such adjectives may also be analyzed as a primary adjective ending in *-aḡ* plus an adjectival suffix *-anin*.

45.3. Only in one adjective the suffix *jul* was noticed: *em sef kermajule* 'this apple is wormy' (or it is to be analyzed as *kermaj* 'wormy' and a suffix *-ul?*).

45.4. The suffix *-ej* is used to form an adjective relating a person to a place or to a language, e.g., *spekamarej* 'inhabitant of Sefidkamar, of Sefidkamar'; *halabej* 'inhabitant of Halab'; *diej* 'a person speaking the *di* (Xoin'i) dialect'.

46. An abstract noun is formed by adding a stressed *-i* to an adjective, e.g., *gallawāni* 'shepherding' (*gallawān* shepherd); *geṭiāri* 'ploughing, farming' (Persian *jufikāri*).

### Turkish influence

47. A number of Azari-Turkish words are borrowed into the dialect, e.g., *düz* 'straight, right'. Some Turkish verbal forms are also used, for instance *-miš* is attached to the past stem of some verbs to form a verbal noun, e.g., <sup>w</sup>*ut-miš* 'saying'; *-da* as a post-position in the sense of 'from' appears to be a borrowing from Turkish, cf. *em ĉeman-e/em ĉeman dar-e* 'this is mine'. Examples: *adoxli* 'fiancé', *buzma* 'pleat', *iššeq* 'clear', *karanti* 'sickle', *owkalamiš* 'rubbing', *pis* 'bad', *qazil* 'wool', *qiāq* 'reed', *qotorna* 'scab', *semān* 'direction', *zebil* 'rubbish'. Sometimes they combine with Persian auxiliaries to form a compound verb, e.g., *owkalamiš kay* 'to rub'.

**Personal names**

48. Men's names are generally taken from the names or attributes of the Imams and the Prophet. Women's names are mostly Islamic ones such as Fateme, Kolsum, Sakine, Zeynab, Soghrā, Kobrā, Robābe, Xeyronnesā, but also Mahlaqā, Farroxlaqā, Sārā, Sorayyā, Šahrbānu, Xoršid, Xāvar.