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PERSO-TABARIC DIALECTS IN THE LANGUAGE TRANSITION ZONE BORDERING MAZANDERAN

SUMMARY

The Tabari (or Mazanderani) language, spoken in the province of Mazanderan south of the Caspian Sea, is bound by Persian in the south and east. The transition zones between the two languages lay in the valleys and foothills of the Alborz range that separates Mazanderan from Tehran, Semnān, and Gorgān provinces. Within this zone we find a range of hybrid dialects that can be divided into two groups: Tabari dialects influenced by Persian and vice versa. This study includes the latter group, i.e. Persian varieties carrying various amounts of Tabari mix. The linguistic data is derived from nearly fifty localities surrounding Mazanderan, mostly from the south-central Alborz adjoining Tehran on the north, for which more material is on hand. The main objective is to show how the Persian dialects converge to Tabari in the morphosyntax of the noun and verb phrases. An attempt is also made to correlate the morphosyntax with the areal distribution of selected lexical items.

Keywords: Iranian languages; Caspian dialects; Mazanderan; Jajrud; Shemiran; Semnan; Shahrud; Gorgan; Karaj; typology; areal distribution; language convergence.

RÉSUMÉ

La langue tabari (ou mazanderani), parlée dans la province du Mazanderan au sud de la mer Caspienne, est en contact avec le persan au sud et à l'est. Les zones de transition entre ces deux langues se situent dans les vallées et les contreforts de la chaîne montagneuse de l'Alborz qui sépare le Mazanderan des provinces de Téhéran, de Semnān et de Gorgān. Dans cette région, nous trouvons une série de dialectes hybrides qu'il est possible de répartir en deux groupes : les dialectes tabari influencés par le persan, et les variétés du persan mélangées au tabari à des degrés divers. La présente étude concerne ce second groupe de dialectes. Les données linguistiques proviennent d'environ cinquante localités des alentours du Mazanderan, principalement de la partie sud-est de l'Alborz, voisine de Téhéran dans le nord, pour laquelle il existe plus de matériaux. Notre objectif principal est de montrer comment les dialectes persans convergent vers le tabari sur le plan de la morphosyntaxe des syntagmes nominaux et verbaux. Nous essayons également de mettre en corrélation la morphosyntaxe et la distribution areale pour un ensemble choisi d'items lexicaux.

Mots clés : langues iraniennes ; dialectes caspiens ; Mazanderan ; Jajrud ; Shemiran ; Semnan ; Shahrud ; Gorgan ; Karaj ; typology ; distribution aérale ; convergence des langues.

Along the Caspian littoral and the northern slopes of the Alborz range, the Caspian language family forms a continuum of dialects that extend some 550 kilometers along the latitude. This chain of dialects, called *gelaki* by their six to seven million speakers, can be broken down areally into three language groups: Gilaki in the west, Tabari in the east, and, between these two, the transitional Central Caspian, embracing the districts of Tonekābon and Kalārdasht in Mazandaran province (Stilo 2001). Tabari (or Mazanderani) predominates throughout the province of Mazandaran, with the nuclei cities of Sāri, Shāhi, Bābol, and Āmol, whose speeches form the Tabari proper. Most Tabari speakers, however, dwell in a series of loosely knit villages spread across the Caspian littoral as well as in the mountain valleys of the Alborz range. The dialects of Tabari are by and large mutually intelligible, but none is considered standard or formal. The dialectal continuum varies in two geographical directions: valley variation along the latitude and lowland vs. highland variation from south to north. Almost every locale has its own subdialect, and even neighboring villages may exhibit substantial phonological difference. Lexicon, however, is fairly uniform throughout the province.

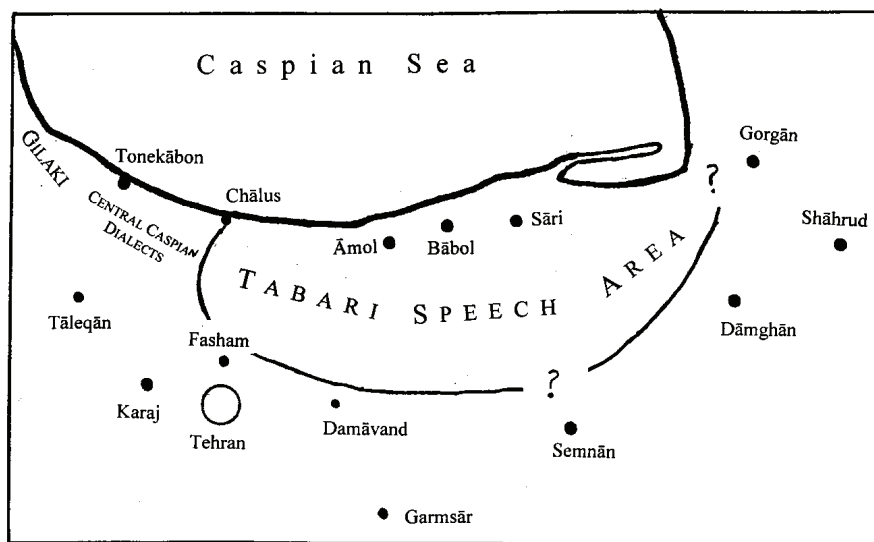
The lofty Alborz chain separates Mazandaran from the provinces of Gorgān to the east and Semnān and Tehran to the south, all of which are predominantly Persophone. The transitional zone between Tabari and its surrounding Persian has long been a murky area in Iranian dialectology. A recent study by this author (2013) has shed light on the language relationships in south-central Alborz, located between Mazandaran and Tehran. A thorough analysis based on 48 isoglosses from 35 localities spread out throughout the region revealed two distinct contiguous linguistic spaces. (1) Tabaroid dialects, spoken in the upper reaches of the Jājrud and Karaj river valleys, show a solid Tabari character in phonology, lexis, and verb morphology, but a strong Persian blend in the noun phrase. (2) Perso-Tabaric (or Tabaricized Persian) dialects, spoken in the lower Jājrud, Shemirān, and Damāvand, carry a chiefly Persian vocabulary diverging but slightly from Tehrani pronunciation, and closely resemble Tehrani also in morphological categories, but with a rich Caspian character in the verb, which distinguishes itself by its preverbs and past tense forms, and by non-Perside “be” and “become.”

In spite of close affinity between the Perso-Tabaric dialects and Persian, reports suggest that the level of mutual intelligibility is rather low. In his one month of stay in Damāvand village in the summer of 1948, Šādeq Kiā could communicate effectively with the native speakers only by means of either Tabari or Persian (Kiā 2011, p. lii). The Russian orientalist Valentin Zhukovskij, who visited Persia in 1883, states:

I found that in Shemirān there is a group that still speaks a language unintelligible to the residents of Tehran. Even Sheikh Mohammad Hasan, my teacher of Persian in Tehran, said that the people around Tehran speak the *dehāti* [“rural”] language. (Zhukovskij 1888, p. ix).

In their ethnographic survey of Central Alborz, Houcarde *et al.* (1979) group its dialects under the general appellation “Tati,” and state their local names as *fārsi[-e] šomāli* “northern Persian,” *fārsi Mazanderani* “Mazanderani Persian,” *fārsi qademi* “old Persian,” etc.

The present paper emerges from the abovementioned study (Borjjan 2013). Subsequent to the isoglottic classification of “Perso-Tabaric” as a dialect group, one needed to define them especially on grammatical terms, as in exactly which morphological and syntactic categories they diverge from Persian in favor of Tabari. In the process of investigating the Perso-Tabaric varieties of the lower Jājrud valley, Shemirān, and Damāvand, I came to realize that some other Persian dialects around Mazanderan, in Tāleqān, Semnān, and Gorgān (see Map 1), might also be categorized as Perso-Tabaric. I therefore decided to broaden the geographical domain of this paper while keeping focus on south-central Alborz (north of Tehran), on which fuller linguistic material is available.



Map 1 : Tabari-speaking and adjoining areas (Courtesy of the author, © H. Borjjan, 2013)

THE LOCALITIES AND THEIR DIALECTS

I. South-Central Alborz

This is a language transition zone bounded by Caspian and Persian, with possibility of some Tatic influence. There are two major groups of dialects spoken in the region: Tabari, with increasing Persian influence southward, and Persian, with various degrees of Tabari influence. As I have shown in an areal study (2013), these two groups form a discontinuous arrangement, with an isoglottic line dissecting the Jājrud valley. The Tabari-type dialects are not of our concern in this paper. The data from south-central Alborz come from three areas:

- (a) Jājrud river valley, separated from both Tehran and Mazanderan by mountains, is dotted with villages with vanishing dialects (Map 2). Our data are from over twenty villages, from Ruta, Fasham, and Ushān in the northwest down to Lavāsān district in the southeast. These dialects are moribund, becoming overlaid by Persian.
- (b) Shemirān, now within the municipal boundaries of the capital, has practically lost its dialects in favor of colloquial Persian. This study includes the vernaculars from sixteen localities in Shemirān on which some linguistic data is available.
- (c) Damāvand, a district in the southern piedmont of the Dāmāvand peak, the highest in the nation, has a dialect similar to those of Shemirān and the Jājrud valley. Damāvandi is spoken in the town of Damāvand and its villages scattered some 20 miles to the south and a couple of miles to the north, beyond which Tabari takes over (‘Alamdāri, p. 8).

II. Tāleqān and Karaj

The mountainous districts of Tāleqān in western Alborz form a transition zone between Caspian, Persian, and Tatic. Tāleqāni is still little known, with no major published materials. The meager data available to me is a short text from the village of Kash (in Kalbāsi 2005, pp. 675-677) and my own limited documentation from Mir village. These attest to a verb system very similar to that of south central Alborz but a much richer Tabari blend in noun morphosyntax: modifiers, pronouns, and postpositions. A similar grammar is found in the dialect of Kordān, a western village of Karaj, which has now grown to a major urban center adjoining Greater Tehran. Another vernacular of this type appear to be Gachsari, on the upper Karaj basin, but the available data on this dialect is too little to be included in this comparative undertaking.

III. Semnān

The province of Semnān, ancient Kōmish or Komisenia, is the southern neighbor of Mazanderan. It is bounded by the Great Persian Desert on the south and the Alborz ridge on the north. On Alborz piedmonts rest the province's settlements, which are configured around four nuclei, located at an average fifty-mile intervals: Garmsār, Semnān, Dāmghān, and Shāhrud, from west to east. These were major caravan stations on the Great Khorasan Road, which acted as a channel in spreading New Persian from Khorasan down to the capital city of Rey, now a southern quarter of Greater Tehran. Thus Kōmish became Persophonetic early on in the second millennium of our era, save Semnān and its villages who have preserved their Komisenian dialects down to present. Moreover, a Tabari variety, known as Shahmirzādi, is spoken just north of Semnān city.

The dialects that represent the Persian variety of Semnān province in this study are from four localities. From Dāmghān district are the villages of Sharifābād (southeast of Dāmghān, according to Razmārā, p. 179) and Satva, 80 miles south of Dāmghān, deep into the desert. Both of these have vernaculars that are little different from the colloquial Persian, but with some lexical features¹ that help shedding light on language distribution in this comparative study. Representing Shāhrud district are Shāhrudi and Bastāmi (to the northeast of Shāhrud). In these the influence of Khorasani Persian becomes more evident.

No example of the Persian variety is available to me on Semnān or Garmsār. A short text² from the village of Farvān, near Garmsār, proves it to be, rather unpredictably, a Tabari dialect, which we will use for comparative purposes in our isoglottic tables.

IV. Gorgān

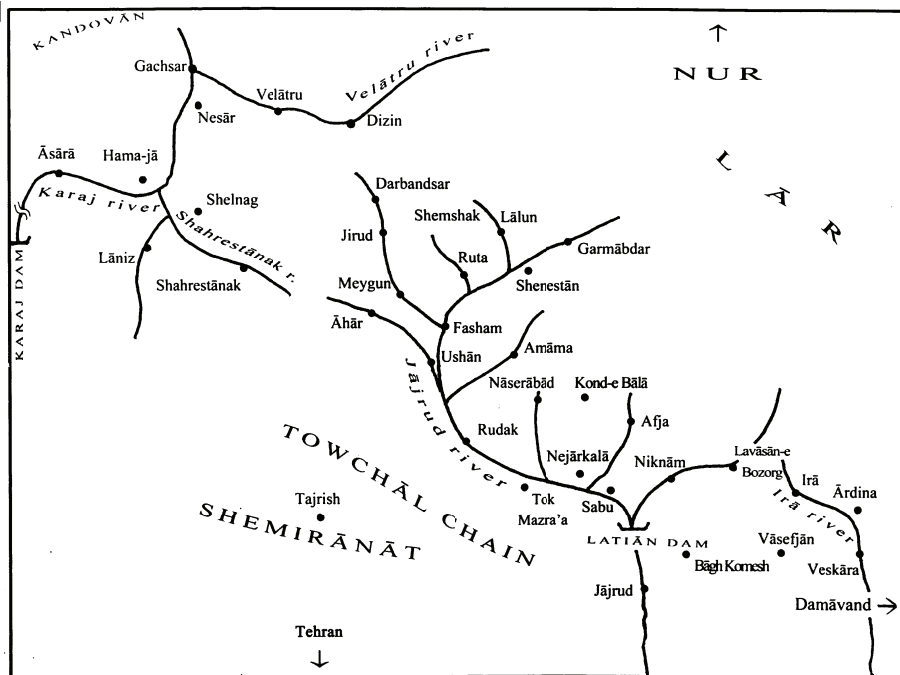
This eastern neighbor of Mazanderan is a province with a long history. Recently renamed Golestān, the area of the province is linguistically split between Turkmen in the north and Persian in the south around the capital city of Gorgān (formerly Astarābād). The province lost its original language (whereby the Ḥorufī scriptures were written) sometime after the fifteenth century (Borjian 2008).³ The details of language situation in Gorgān are obscure, to the extent that it is unknown whether there is linguistic continuity between Gorgān and Mazanderan or a well-defined borderline separates Gorgāni Persian from Tabari.

¹ E.g. Sharifābādi: *miān-e* "in," *vače* "child," *jen* "place," *šove* "that it become"; Satva'i: prepositions, the reflexive, *morqāne* "egg," *piar* "father," *kelān* "big," etc.

² Kalbāsi 2009, pp. 591-593.

³ The extinct language of Gorgān shows certain affinities with the dialects studied here; see e.g. §3.5.1.1, below.

Our linguistic data on Gorgān is from the following locations. (1) The villages of Taqiābād, 18 km east of the city of Gorgān on the Gorgān-Khorasan highway, and Taqartappa 2 km southeast of Taqiābād. They share a dialect which is close to colloquial Persian, but with some Tabari characteristic, including the presence of the locative verb, and the preposition “in” shared with other dialects studied here. (2) The village of Ziyārat, 18 km south of Gorgān city, at the southern edge of the rain forest. The data from this locality is uneven but they show somewhat more Tabari coloring than the other two vernaculars from Gorgān. (3) The city of Gorgān itself, which has a vernacular identical with Tehrani Persian in grammar but with many regional words.



Map 2: South-Central Alborz: the Jājrud and Karaj river valleys, north of Tehran
(Courtesy of the author, © H. Borjian, 2013).

THE DATA

The linguistic materials used in this study are extracted from several sources. The amplest data belong to Tajrishi, taken from the texts collected by the Russian orientalist Valentin Zhukovskij (1922, pp. 395-432) in the 1880s. Some more data on Tajrishi are from a recent article by Hoseyn Sāme'i (2005), based on documentation from aged informants who no longer used their native tongue in everyday speech. Damāvandi

morphosyntax is gleaned from Mehdi ‘Alamdāri’s (2005) texts; his verb paradigms would be considered with reservation, as his grammar contradicts his texts in several instances. The materials for other dialects are rather fragmentary. The examples from Jājrud and Shemirān are selected from the volume compiled by Giti Deyhim (2005), who lists several random sentences of everyday speech for each of the dozens of dialects spoken in the region; from these I used every set of data for which I could identify a provenance by referring to the most detailed maps available to me. The data in the Perside dialects of Semnān province and Taqiābād and Taqartappa of Gorgān, as well as Kordāni and Kashi (Tāleqān) are from Irān Kalbāsi (2009), who has sampled a short text in tens of vernaculars spoken in Iran. The dialect of Ziārat in Gorgān province is from Giti Shokri (2010), who uses the data, rather ineptly, to represent the Mazandeh-rani language. Further on Gorgāni Abu’l-Qāsem Najafī Āštiāni collected, supposedly from the city of Gorgān, an interesting glossary together with a few texts which reveal a dialect little different from standard colloquial Persian. The Damāvandi text in Kalbāsi was used vis-à-vis ‘Alamdāri’s data cited above. The posthumously published Šādeq Kiā’s *Vāžanāma* (2011) is a rich source of vocabulary for 67 dialects throughout Iran; of these Dāmāvandi; Keligāni, near Fasham in the Jājrud basin; Shemirāni of Sulqān; Baraqāni, north of Karaj; and Tāleqāni of Hasirān are relevant to this study.⁴ Lastly, the material in the Tāleqāni dialect of Mir village is my own documentation from Arezoo Rasouli Taleghani in 2011.

In this study, I have tried to supply nearly all relevant examples from the aforementioned sources that would elucidate on the grammar while keeping the redundancy at a minimum. Given the uneven quantity and fragmented nature of the data, some of the dialects, especially Tajrishi and Damāvandi, are represented more fully; others remain obscure in certain features, such as the present perfect tense, which has no explicit occurrence in Kalbāsi’s materials. Each vernacular of the Jājrud valley is represented but poorly, but if we treat them all, justifiably so, as varieties of one whole dialect group, we no longer will find the collective data as scanty as the data from individual localities. The same may be said about the dialects of Shemirān, which exhibit a high level of internal homogeneity and, therefore, are well characterized by the fuller amount of data available on Tajrishi.⁵ Although paradigms provided in some topics may appear

⁴ There are other published material, inaccessible to this author, that might be relevant to this study; they include: ‘Ali Timurifarr, *Guyeš-e damāvandi*, Tehran: Monfared, 1362sh./1983; ‘Ali-Ašghar Shari‘atzāda, *Farhang-e mardom-e Šāhrud*, Tehran, 1371sh./1992.

⁵ The examples from Tajrishi and other Shemirāni dialects in this study are kept at a minimal level, for I have treated them elsewhere (Borjian 2012a).

excessive, numerous examples will serve the purpose of providing material for better understanding or further study of ambiguous or underrepresented subjects. Besides, the examples will hopefully serve the purpose of disambiguating some of the aforementioned sources, which data are collected and presented, often in a jumbled and confused manner, by non-specialists.

– PHONOLOGY

§1.1. The consonants are no different than those of Persian. The vowel inventory of most dialects has the additional unlauded *ü* and *ö* (allophonic) with sporadic occurrence.

§1.2. The plosives are voiced in consonantal clusters, i.e. the original West Iranian *ft*, *xt*, *št*, *sp*, *šk* are altered quite systematically to *fd*, *xd*, *šd*, *sb*, *šg*, respectively,⁶ while the old *st* yields *sd* or *ss*. The following words demonstrate this trait in the dialects of Jājrūd and Shemirān: Ush, Ārd, Tok *gofd*- “say,” Njr *jofdak* “fling”; EQ, Kšr *deraxd* “tree,” Ush *unvaxd* “then”; Āhā *pošd* “back,” Ush *pošdebun* “roof,” *behdâšd* “sanitation,” Fsh *hešd*-, Vsf *ellešd*- “allow”; Ush *tâbesdun* “summer,” Afja *xasda* “tired,” Āhā, Ārd *xâsd*- “want,” Ār *daxosd*- “mix”; Rut, Nik (*vey*-) *jissâ* “stand,” Ush, Āhā, Afj, Njr, Dam *ness*- “sit,” Njr, Tok *darengess*- “place,” Tok *davess*- “close,” Ārd *tuness*- “can”; Knd *xošg* “dry,” Njr *bišgi* “it broke,” EQ *bešgess*e “broken.”

§1.3. Word-initial consonants are doubled at conjunctions in the Jājrūd and Shemirān dialects: Rut *ye rrâ* (lit. “one path”) “suddenly,” Fsh *ye nmafâr* “one person,” Ush *ye mmix* “a nail,” *se mmâh* “three months,” *a TTehrūn* “from Tehran,” Lav *do_sse* “two or three.” The initial consonant of the stem may duplicate when preceded by a verbal prefix: Vsf *baččarun* “graze!”

§1.4. When the verb stem ends in a vowel, the initial *i* of the ending turns to a glide (see §3.4).

§1.5. Initial *g* is lost in some stems when preceded by a prefix: “get”: Dam *day* “lit!” *hây* “take!” Vsf *bayr* “seize, pick up!” Āhā *begiran* “that they seize,” Nās *beyte*, Lav *bagit* “it seized,” Vsf *baytam* “I picked up,” Afj *baytim* “we took,” Vsf *baytan* “they seized,” Esk *naytena* “they didn’t take,” Bāg *meytan*, Āhā, Ārd *migitan* “they would seize,” Rut *xavar git* “he asked” — “say”: Dam *bōw!* *nōw!* *mü-i/-e/-an* “you/he/we say,”

⁶ This feature is documented only sporadically in the few short texts available to me on the Persian variety of Tehran. See Christensen 1935, pp. 295-298. As for the Persian variety of Isfahan, my own notes show that a voicing similar to that of Central Alborz is characteristic. But this point is missed in Smirnova 1978, save for *šk > šg* (p. 17).

böwtan “to say,” *muam* “I say,” *muge* “he says,” *böwt-am/ø* “I/he said,” Rut *baytam*, Tok *gofdam* “I said,” Rut *bayt/bagud* “he said,” Dam *mowt-am/ø* “I/he would say,” *Āhā migotan*, *Ārd migutan* “they would say.”

As verb forms always appear with a prefix (see Table 2 for examples), the initial sound of the stem may remain concealed; for example, Dam *möwrije* “he flees,” *böwritam* “I fled” could be built on the stems (present : past) *verij-* : *verit-* or *gorij-* : *gorit-* (in this case, the first set is more likely from a historical phonology viewpoint.) Similar line of argument holds for the verb “see.” Consider the occurrences: *Āhā bainan* “that they see,” Tok *beynam* “that I see,” Vsf *neyne* “that he see not”. We would never know whether the present stem is *vin-* or *bin-*, given that the initial consonant of the stem is absorbed by the prefix.

– NOUN MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§2.1. NUMBER. The dialects normally employ the plural marker *-(h)â* (*Ārd yâlagâ* “little children”), but we also encounter *-un* for both the animate and the inanimate in the dialects of Jājrud: Fsh, Rut *pesardâiun* “cousins,” Vsf *gohon* “cows,” Hmj *kuhun* “mountains.” In Damāvandi the plural marker *-(h)â* is the norm (*göw-hâ* “cows”), with possible duplication: *köwš-âhâ* “shoes,” *berâr-âhâ* “brothers,” *gosâlâhâ* (plural of *gosâla*) “calves”; but there are also many instances of the plurals formed by suffixing *-ün* to the animate nouns: *mardün* “men,” *xišün* “relatives,” *sagun* “dogs.” Examples from other dialects: Kashi *govân* “cows,” Kordāni *gusâleân* “calves,” Satva’i *gusâlehâ*, Shāhrudi, Bastāmi *gusâlâ* “calves.”

§2.2. MODIFIERS. We find the Persian *ežāfa* marker *-e* employed regularly in the dialects of Jājrud and Shemirān: Fsh *rafiqâ-ye man* “my friends,” *Āhā hame-ye ahl-e mahal* “all the people of the neighborhood.” There are many instances where the *ezafa* is omitted: Šur, Kan. *mâl ki_a/e* “whose is it?” Similar traits can be identified in the Persian varieties of Semnān and Gorgān; only the materil from Ziārat shows a gray area: (Persian type) *doxtarâ-e de* “the girls of the village,” *del-e deq* “in the pot,” *čiz-e garm* “fiery thing”; (Tabari type) *peyqambar nemâz* “prophet’s prayer,” *piar-eš xâne* “his father’s house,” *pall-et ben* “under your doorstep.”

On the contrary, we find the Caspian type, in which the head noun precedes the modifier and bonds to it with a “reverse-*ezafa*” connector, in Kordāni (e.g. *bastu-yi gal* “jug’s neck”) and Tāleqāni: Kashi *kuze-i sar* “jug’s neck,” *sarbâz-i das* “soldier’s hand,” *mâ gow* “cow”; Miri *sabz-e velag* “green leaf” (more examples, on pronouns and postpositions, in §§2.3.3, 2.5.3).

Damāvandi demonstrates an isoglottic overlap. It makes use of the Persian *ezafa* regularly: *dim-e laf* “wide face,” *lōwš-e hotor* “hanging lip.” The unstressed marker drops after /ü, i, â/ (*mü sar* “head’s hair”) and replaces the terminal /a/: *lūna* “coop” ~ *lūn-e morq* “hen’s coop.” Additionally, we find the Caspian “reverse-*ezafa*” construction sporadically in Damāvandi: *xol-a âdam* “crazy person,” *xob-a piar* “good father,” *amma Narges, to čeqad xob-a kasi* “aunt Narges, how good a person you are!” It yields compounds such as *gal-a-dard* “sour throat,” *sag-a-züz* “dog’s howl.” There are also compounds formed without a connector but with a Caspian word sequence: *ši-piar* “father-in-law,” *zan-mâr* “mother-in-law,” *ši-xüâr* “sister-in-law.”

§2.3. PRONOUNS. Personal and demonstrative pronouns are similar to those of Persian in all of the dialects but those of Tāleqān-Karaj area (see §2.3.3).

§2.3.1. The freestanding set is Dam *man, to, ü, mâ, šomâ, onâhâ* (cf. Jmr. *unâhân*, EQ *inâhân* “they”), with the accusative/dative forms Dam *mana, tora, ūra*, etc.; cf. Ārd *vere/vire* (3rd sg.); e.g. Fsh *mana nehešda* “he didn’t let me.” Demonstratives are Dam *in* “this,” *on* “that,” *inehâ* “these,” *on(h)â/onâhâ* “those.”

§2.3.1.1. A peculiar form is *ina/una*, the third singular personal pronoun and adjective, which is employed not only as direct object (in Ren. *ina hey mekene* “he digs this continually”) but also as subject and indirect object:

Jājrud

Rut *ina mâšin-e rušen mekone* “he starts the car”

Fsh *age ina xâse bâše...* “should he (*ina*) have wanted...”

Ush *ina-re megofdan* “they called this...”

Lav *ina in čan sâl-i bu* “this [incident] was these few years”

Šur *har ruz man-o bâ una midi* “he used to see me with him every day”

Shemirān

Hes. *ina daftare mâ bu* “this was our notebook”

Sul. *ina pulaki bo* “he was venal”

Dul. *ina bičâre dare* “he is desperate,” *ina iâl-e ki dare* “whose is this child?”

Taj. *pīš ez inâ xudō-i de bûm* “before this I was the lord of the village,” *čiz-ī ki betére ūna nébōše* “something that there is nothing worse than,” *hīč čiz-ī betére ūna nédīam* “I didn’t see anything worse than that.”

Kordāni *una mardâ-ra bugut* “he told the man” (cf. *mon une-ra migom* “I’ll tell him”)

§2.3.2. Enclitic pronouns functioning as possessives. All the dialects investigated here, with the exception of Tāleqāni, employ these non-Caspian clitics. They only differ from those of the standard Persian in the occasional pronunciation of the fricatives as affricates in the third person singular and plural, leading to the set: *-m*, *-t*, *-š/-č*, *-mun*, *-tun*, *-šun/-čun*. Examples: Āhā *piar/mâr-eš* “his farther/mother,” *vaxd-e zan-č_a* “it is the time for him to marry,” *miratan az-čun xâzenda* “they would go to ask her hand from them”; Hmj *gušde-š-o mixordan* “they would eat its meat,” *čarm-e pUSD-eš-o migitan* “they would take the leather of its skin”; Fsh *mâ omur-emun bâ in se toman megzere* “we make a living with this three tomans”; Lav *šâgerd-č_am min-eš xota bo* “his apprentice too was sleeping in it [the car]”; Dam *nâg-eš-a bayt* “he grabbed his throat.”

§2.3.2.1. ‘Alamdāri asserts a Damāvandi set of enclitics which function as the direct object: *mezane-ma*, *-ta*, *-ša*, *-mün*, *-tün*, *-šün* “he hits me, he hits you, etc.” But these forms are not supported by his texts.

§2.3.2.2. The third plural enclitic may designate a group of relatives, as in Lav *Ramazun-šon* “R. and stuff, the family of R.,” Njr *bâbâ-m-čun* “my father and his kind.”⁷ The latter is expressed in colloquial Persian as *bâbâ-m (o) inhâ*. The *-šon* suffix is related to the plural marker in the Central Caspian language group.

§2.3.3. Kordāni and Tāleqāni use Tabari possessives (which precede the head noun) with occasional switch to Persian enclitics. Examples: Kordāni *mon-i mâstân* “my yogurts,” *to-yi do-zâr* “your two-rial [coin],” *une-yi miân* “in that,” *mon-i yâl ~ yâl-om* “my child,” *jujeân-oš* “his chicks,” *âqâ-t* “your old man,” *duš-oš* “his shoulder,” *dass-oš* “his hand”; Tāleqāni: Kashi *ti-e do-zâr* “your two-rial [coin],” *dass-iš* “his hand,” Miri *mini xâne* “my house,” *tiyey bâl* “your arm,” *ošâni bâl* or *bâl-ešân* “their arm.”

§2.4. REFLEXIVES. The Tabari invariable pronoun *še* “self” is absent in the dialects. Instead, the reflexive is built on the Persian stem *xod-*, suffixed with enclitics: Dam *xod-emün* “ourselves,” Kordāni *xod-oš*, Kashi *xod-iš*, Shāhrud, Bastām, Gorgāni (Taqartappa) *xod-eš* “himself.” Satva’i (Dāmghān) employs *del-* in *be del-eš migoft* “he was saying to himself.”

§2.5. ADPOSITIONS. The dialects are basically prepositional⁸ with the only postposition being the accusative marker *-(r)â/-(r)a*, with occasional dative function: Dam *Ali-a böwtam* “I told Ali.” Examples of prepositions with indirect objects:

Hmj *až un kuhun* “from those mountains”

⁷ More examples in Borjian 2011, §2.4.4.

⁸ Except Tāleqāni and Kordāni; see §2.5.3.

Rut *sar-e xiâbun* “on the street,” *be do-râh ke baressim* “when we reach the fork of the road”

Âhâ *vâ hamdiar* “together,” *pošd-e pesarak* “the boy’s back”

Fsh *be bâbâ-ye man gud* “he told my father,” *pesar-t-e nehel bešu hamrâ-ye mâl* “don’t let your son go after pack animals”

Ush *sina-y difâl* “on the wall’s surface,” *sar pošdebun* “on the roof,” *a T:ehrun* “from Tehran”

Afj *da-hazâr temen di be mâ hâdâ* “he also (*di*) gave us ten-thousand tomans”

Dam *nesta ban nokol-e bün* “they were sitting on the roof”

§2.5.1. “In.” The prepositions *mon* and *min* “in, inside, into” are used predominantly in Shemirân and Jâjrud, respectively. These correspond to the Tabari postposition *mion*,⁹ which has shortened into the monosyllabic *mon*, *min*, *yon*, etc. Another meaning for the form *min* is “in the middle,” as demonstrated in examples from Kan. Examples are:

Shemirân

Kan. *mon xiâbunâ* “on the streets,” *šam min-eš davu* “there was a candle in [its] middle”

Evi. *mon un sarmâ... mimum* “we used to come in that chill”

Jml. *maqâza-ro dambendom o merim mon xune* “we shut the store and go home” (lit. “into the house”)

Taj. *nanjun-am mon ye bâq yâl bezâ’i* “my grandmother gave birth to a child in a garden”

EQ *a mon-e eyvun befdâ pâ’in* “he fell down from (the middle of) the porch”

Jâjrud

Rut *az un-var piâde mišam min-e Migun* “from that side I go on foot into Meygun”

Afj *jam’iyat min-eš por bo* “crowds filled inside of it”

Nâs *ye vahman-i biemu bašu min-e molk-e Mahmud Âqâ* “an avalanche came and went into M.’s estate”

Knd *min-e râhhâ-ye mâ daves migidi* “our roads used to be blocked”

Tok *jâ-ye man-e bengessan min-e xona* “they spread my bed in the room”

Lav *šâgerd-č am min-eš xota bo* “his apprentice too was sleeping in it [the car]”

Njr *min-e râh ye mâšin biemo* “a car came onto the road”

⁹ A more frequent Tabari postposition for “in, inside” is *dele*.

Bāg *miritan mon-e dizi, mon kelâ menân* “they would poor [it] into the pot and would put in/on the oven”; *miun-e kelâ menâ* “she would put it in/on the oven”

§2.5.1.1. Damāvandi uses *min-e*: *kočela-ra barit min-e âteš* “he threw the wood fragments into the fire”; *tix mešu min-e pâ-š* “a thorn goes into his foot”; *min-e šir demečinan* “they are ripping up (*xord mikonand*) [bread] into the milk”; *sedâ dampit min-e Čelbakinak* “voice echoed inside Ch.”; *mengene min-e taniür mesüze* “he throws into the oven [and] it burns.”

§2.5.1.2. The Persian varieties of Semnân province use various forms: *Satva’i miân-eš mâst bud* “in it was yogurt” (but *man be masjed budom* “I was in the mosque”); *Sharifâbâdi miân-e maččed* “in the mosque”; *Shâhrudi min-e maččed* “id.”; *Bastâmi min-e râh* “on the road,” but *dar on mâst bud* “in it was yogurt,” *tu maččad* “in the mosque.”

§2.5.1.3. In the Persian of Gorgân the corresponding forms are *mian* and *yan*, e.g. *Taqartappa’i kuze... yan-eš mâst dabu* “there was yogurt in the jug,” *man yan-e maččet dabudam* “I was in the mosque”; *Taqiâbâdi kuze... yan/mian-eš mâst dabud* “there was yogurt in the jug.” *Ziârati* however uses the Tabari *dele* but as preposition: *demriten del-e deq* “they used to pour [it] in the pot.”

§2.5.2. “For” is expressed by the preposition *vâs(e)*, *bâse*, *bâsan*, *est(e)*, *bâš(e)*, *baše*, depending on the dialect (cf. Tehrani Persian preposition *vâs(e)*, Tabari postposition *-vasse*). Examples: (1) Jājrud and Shemirān: *Šur vâsi-e mehmunâ* “for the guests,” Far. *mixâm vâs pesar-am arusi konam* “I want to arrange marriage for my son,” PQ *balg-e kefâlad vâse-mun hâgid* “he obtained for us an exemption certificate,” Jml. *ye či sar suqât vâse in yâlâ biurdam* “I brought something as souvenir for these children.” (2) Damāvandi *basan* (in ‘Alamdâri’s texts) and *bâse* (in Kalbâsi): *basan-e xod dilmâj bayte* “he has taken a translator for himself”; *bâse man biowr* “bring [it] for me,” *zan bâse-m ayâl mezâ* “the wife will bear me a child.” (3) Semnâni Persian: *Satva’i este-yi ma* “for me,” *Shâhrudi vâse men, vâs-om* “for me,” *Bastâmi zan est-om bačča miâre* “the wife will bring me children.” (4) Gorgâni Persian *baš(e)*:¹⁰ *Taqartappa zaneke baš-am bačče meyâre* “the woman will bring me a child,” *tâ hamin-jâ baš-am bass_e* “up to this point is enough for me,” *baše či mâssâ-re rexti?* “why did you spill the yogurt?”

We also find *-ere* “for” in Taqiâbâdi of Gorgân: *man-ere bas bud* “it was enough for me.”¹¹

¹⁰ *baše* in Najafi 1381sh., pp. 469, 530.

¹¹ Cf. Borjian 2013a, §2.6.1.

§2.5.3. Kordāni of Karaj and Tāleqāni are predominantly postpositional. Examples: Kordāni *duš-oš-i sar* “on his shoulder,” *xod-oš-i hamrâ* “with him,” *mon-i vâsân* “for me,” *maččod-i miân* “in the mosque” (but preposition: *piš-i xod-oš* “with himself”); Kashi *râ pey* “on the road,” *xod-iš-i kuli sar* “on his shoulder,” *xod-iš-i hamrâ* “with him” (but *zir-e kork* “under the hen”).

These dialects use the ablative postposition *-da*, e.g., Kordāni *dass-oš-i miân-da bastu vol gerdi* ~ *dass-oš az bastu vol gerdi* “the jug was slipped off his hand”; Tāleqān: Kashi *kuze dass-iš-i da jir kad* “the jug fell off from his hand,” Miri *koje-de biordey?* “where did you bring [it] from?” This postposition is comparable with *-da* “in, from” in Southern Tati, and *-de* in Central Dialects.

§2.5.4. The Ziārati dialect of Gorgān shows uniqueness among the studied dialects in employing the Tabari ablative postposition *-je*¹² (*inje-je* “from here,” *ejle-je darbiumen* “they came out of the bridal chamber”) while Persian *a(z)-* is encountered as well: *a jangal ke birun ârden* “when they brought out of the jungle.”

– VERB MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§3.1. STEMS. A regular past stem is formed by suffixing *-i* to the present stem, e.g. (present : past) Dam *čaf- : čafi-* “suck,” cf. irregular *foč- : fot-* “cook.” This marker is employed in all causative forms, the present stems of which is formed by adding *-(e)n-* or *-(e)nd-* to the intransitive present stem: Dam intr. *süz- : süt-*, trans. *süzen- : süzend-* “burn.”

§3.2. PREVERBS. Major preverbs are *da(r)-*, *(h)â-*, *ve-*, *vâ*, *var-*, as shown in the examples that follow. The Central Alborz dialects are almost as rich as Caspian in preverbs. The Persian varieties of Semnān, however, are little different than Tehrani Persian in terms of preverbs (only Bastāmi shows the Caspian *hâ-*). A similar situation exists in Gorgāni Persian of Taqiābād and Taqartappa, save for the locative verb (§3.6.2), but Ziārati seem to carry a good range of Tabari preverbs. Note that a verb may appear with different preverbs in different dialects, e.g. the verb “put” takes *da-* in Damāvandi and Kordāni but *ha-* in Kashi. Examples:

ha-/(h)â-: Buj *âdin* “that you give”; Shemirān dialects *hâ-gir- : -(g)id-* “seize,” *hâ-d- : -dâ-* “give”; Dam *hâ-niš- : -nest-* “sit”; Kordāni *hâ-m(i)-d-om* “I give,” *hâ/be-git* “he grabbed”; Kashi *hamidim* “I give,” *hamigirom* “I buy,” *hamini* “he places,” *hanâ* “he placed”; Bastāmi *hâkerdom* “I did”¹³; Ziārati (Gorgān)

¹² Cf. Table 6, row 6: *-jân* and *-jan* in the Tabari dialects of Farvān and Shahmirzād.

¹³ See also §3.5.1.1

hâkerde “he did,” *^he-dâ-n* “they gave,” *hâršen* “that they look,” *hayri* “that you take”

da-: Ush *damčian* “they arranged,” Tok *davessan* “they closed [the door],” *daxotam* “I slept,” Ārd *da-m-xosd-im* “we would mix”; Shemirāni *da-bend-* : *-bass-* “tie; close,” *da-kâr-* : *-kâšd-* “sow,” Taj. *da-kon-* : *-ked-/ket-* “throw out,” *da-xof-* : *-xoft-* “sleep”; Dam *damiram* “I lit,” *daband!* “close!” *čor dakonam* “that I urinate,” *šir-talit-a danân kenâr* “they put aside the milk soup”; Kordāni *de-mi-n-om* “I place,” *do-nâ-ø* “he placed”; Ziārati (Gorgān) *de-m-rit-en* “they would pour,” *demčindan* “they would arrange”

dar-: Tok *darengessan* “they placed”; Dam *dîr-iöwrđam* “I pulled out”

ve-/vâ-: Nik *veymissâi* “he would stand”; Taj. *ve-(g)it-* “pick up,” *ve-jur-* “search,” *vâ-iss-* : *-issâ-* “stand,” *vâ-xur-* : *-xurd-* “drink”; Kordāni *vi-gir* “pick up!”

var-: Taj. *var-ged-* : *-gedi-* (intr.), *var-gerdun-* : *-gerdun-* (tr.) “return”; Satva’i *var-dâr* “pick up!”

§3.2.1. Preverbs have two functions. (1) Lexically, they may expand or specify the stem, as in Dam *bay* “seize!” ≠ *day* “kindle!” ≠ *hây* “take!” (← *ba/da/hâ-gir*); Tok *engess-* “spread [the bed]” ≠ *dar-engess-* “place”; Ārd *mokordan* “they would do” ≠ *dar mokordan* “they would strain” ≠ *dakorde min-e yeg jâm* “she placed [dried fruits] into a bowl” = *dankordan jif-ešun* “they would put [it] in their pocket.” (2) Morphologically, preverbs replace the non-durative modal prefix *be-* (§3.3).

§3.3. PREFIXES. These are the perfective *be-* and durative *mi-*, the vowel of each may vary with the phonological environment and the locality. *Be-* is used in the imperative and subjunctive, but contrary to Persian, it also marks the preterit (see §3.5.2). The non-Caspian durative prefix *mi-* specifies the present indicative and the imperfect (see §3.5.1). The negative morpheme *na-* precludes the aspectual-modal prefix *be-*, precedes *me-*, and succeeds preverbs: Rut *na-dî-am* “I didn’t see,” Dam *n-engen* “don’t throw!” Ush *na-me-dâ-n* “they wouldn’t give,” Sul. *hâ-na-m-d-an* “they don’t give,” Dam *hâ-na-me-niš-e* “he doesn’t sit.”

§3.4. PERSONAL ENDINGS. There is only a single set of personal endings for all tenses; the third person singular becomes zero in the past.¹⁴ As shown in Table 1, three morpho-phonological variants can be identified from the material at hand, depending on the terminal sound of the stem. Initial vowels of the ending turn to a glide postvocally, to avoid

¹⁴ Note the ending in *-e* in the 3rd singular preterit in Nāserābādi: *bavorde* “he carried,” *beyte* “he seized,” although *bimu/biemu* “he came,” *bašu* “he went.”

hiatus, and an intruding *e* prevents *i* from geminating. Examples from Jājrūd: (postvocalic) Fsh, Afj, Njr *ba-šu-ym*, Afj *bašoym* “we went,” *našuyum* “we didn’t go,” *bo-ym* “we were,” *bi-emo-ym* “we came,” Dam *bieyn* “that you come,” *bimeyn* “you have come” — (after *i*) Ārd *me-zi-eym* “we would hit,” Rut *ba-di-eym* “we saw,” Afj *gerdi-eym*, Njr *gard-ieym* “we became”; Tāleqāni of Mir: *bidiyey* “you saw,” *biamiyeyn* “you came.” Note alteration in the stem’s final vowel in Damāvandi: *mo-xâ-m*, *moxey*, *moxâ*, *moxeym*, *moxeyn*, *moxân* “I want, etc.” Damāvandi shows exceptions as well: *mo-zo-am*, *mo-zo-i* “I, you would hit” (instead of—or parallel with?—**mozom*, **mozoy*; see also §3.8.2 for the verb “go”, cf. §3.5.3.1).

Table 1 : Personal Endings

	after consonants	postvocalic	after <i>i</i>
Sg. 1	-am	-m	-am
2	-i	-y	-ey
3	-e (present), zero (past)		
Pl. 1	-im	-ym	-eym
2	-in	-yn	-eyn
3	-an	-n	-an

§3.5. TENSES. Among the simple constructions the imperative, the present indicative, and the present subjunctive have structures similar to those of standard Persian, as shown in the formulas below; Shāhrūd dialects exhibit atypical forms (see §3.5.1.1). The preterit takes an additional modal prefix in most dialects (§3.5.2). The present perfect, which is absent in Tabari proper, is poorly represented in most dialects (§3.5.3). Periphrastic tenses are described in §§3.5.4-5. See Table 2 for a summary of the forms.

Pres. indic.	=	(prev.) + <i>mi-</i>	+	pres. stem	+	ending
Pres. subj.	=	prev./ <i>be-</i>	+	pres. stem	+	ending
Imperative	=	prev./ <i>be-</i>	+	pres. stem	+	zero (sg.), <i>-in</i> (pl.)
Preterit	=	prev./ <i>be-</i>	+	past stem	+	ending
Imperfect	=	(prev.) + <i>mi-</i>	+	past stem	+	ending
Pres. perfect ¹⁵	=	prev./ <i>be-</i>	+	past stem	+	-e- + ending

¹⁵ See §3.5.3 for constraints.

§3.5.1. The durative tenses, i.e. the present indicative and the imperfect, employ the prefix *mi-/me-*, with vowel sound variation depending on the sound environment as well as the dialect. Examples from South Central Alborz: (present) Rut *mekone*, Tok *mokone* “he does,” Fsh *miâre* “he brings,” Sul. *hâmgiri* “you take,” Jml. *dambendim* “we close”; (imperfect) Nik *midušd* “he would milk, he used to milk,” Ārd *mokofdan* “they would/used to pound,” Āhā *mexâsdan* “they wanted, would want,” Tar. *dankâšdim* “we would sow.” Examples from Ziārati (Gorgān): *megon* “they say,” *mebren* “they carry,” *merušen* “they sell,” *meheli* “you place,” *denemgerdânen* “they don’t return,” *nembie* (Pers. *nemišod*).

§3.5.1.1. The dialects of Shāhrud area exhibit various forms of the durative marker, as diverse as *me-/mi-*, *he-/ha-*, *hen-/hun-*, *hem-/hemi-/hom-*. Similar forms are encountered in the Horufi documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are written in the now extinct language of Gorgān. These forms are also comparable to *hamē*, an adverb marking duration in Classical Persian¹⁶ (< MP *hamē(v)-* < **hama-aiwa-*). Examples in the dialects of Shāhrud:

Bastāmi: (present) *me-g-om* “I say,” *m-el-om* “I put,” *mi-âr-e* “he brings,” *me-š-e* “it becomes”; *he-rev-e* “it becomes” (see §3.6.3.2), *ha-rev-om* “I go”; (imperfect) *me-kerd* “he would do,” *me-goft* “he would say.”

Shāhrudi: (present) *hem-el-om* “I put,” *hemi-âr-e* “he brings,” *hom-bâš-an* “they become,” *he-rev-om* “I go,” *he-xar-om* “I buy,” *hen-gir-om* “I get,” *hen-g-e* “he says,” *hen-zây-e* “she gives birth to”; (imperfect) *hen-kerd* “he would do,” *hun-goft-ø/om* “he/I would say.”

Note that the durative marker *hami-* splits in the negative: Bast. *ha-ne-mi-o-m*, Shāh. *he-ne-mi-o-m* “I don’t come.”

In Bast. *ha-de-n-om*, Shāh. *hen-de-n-om* “I give,” the intrusive *-n-* is either the causative formant (§3.1) or the Tabari durative marker derived from the ancient participle formant **-ant-*.

§3.5.1.2. It may not always be evident whether *hami-* or the like is a durative marker or a succession of a preverb and a durative marker. The latter is shown in the examples of Kordāni and Kashi in §3.2, under the preverb *ha-* (*hamigirom* “I buy,” etc.). Indeed, there is no easy rule to help us identify the form. One should first establish whether the dialect has the preverb *ha-* (< **fra-*) at all; then one may examine sufficient number of durative forms and observe the emerging pattern of the durative forms, as we did for the dialects of Shāhrud in this section.

¹⁶ See Xānlari 1987, II, pp. 222ff. There is a comparable construction in northern Lori, e.g. Khorramābādi *me hā mo-hor-em* “I’m eating (right now)” (MacKinnon 2011).

Moreover, familiarity with West Iranian languages will help identify the verbs that appear with preverbs in different languages and dialects.

§3.5.2. Preterit. The formations on the past stem distinct themselves from Persian in that they incorporate the modal prefix, as in Lav *bavord* “he carried away,” Rut *baziam* “I hit,” Tok *daxotam* “I slept”; Bastāmi *bieftid* “he fell”; Ziārati (Gorgān) *sedâ bakorde* “it made sound.”

The verb “say” appears without a prefix at least in the third singular in Bastāmi and Shāhrudi: *goft* “he said”; cf. Ziārati *guten* “they said”; and the optional prefix in Fsh (*ba*)*gud* “he said.”

Other Persian varieties of Semnān province and Gorgān are similar to standard Persian in the preterit.

§3.5.3. Present Perfect. This tense merges with the preterit in Tabari, while Persian forms it with the past participle suffixed with the verb “be.” The data on dialects of Jājrud and Shemirān exhibit by and large the Tabari characteristic: the preterit is employed when the present perfect is expected. Shemirān dialects have the present perfect only for the third person singular: EQ *bešgesse* “he has broken,” Kšr. *dakāšde* “he has sown,” Far. *bašoe* “he has gone,” Taj. *neste* “he is sitting,” *bazōye* “she has given birth,” *bedīe* “he has seen,” *baxerie* “he has bought,” *hādāye* “he has given.”¹⁷

§3.5.3.1. Damāvandi, according to ‘Alamdāri’s data, forms the present perfect regularly for all persons (see Tables 4 and 5 for “come” and “go”). We may infer from his paradigms that the stem used in the present perfect is formed by adding an /e/ to the past stem, e.g. *ba-zo-* + *e* + *-i* → *bazoey* “you have hit” (see §3.4 for the adjustment of the ending’s vowel), cf. *ba-zo-* + *-i* → *bazoi* “you hit”; *bi-öwrđ-* + *e* + *-an* → *biöwrden* “they have brought,” cf. *bi-öwrđ-* + *-an* → *biöwrđan* “they brought.” If we assume the perfective formant is /e/ in the present perfect, then it will be different from the past participle formant (§3.9.2), which is /a/: *bazoa bam* “I had hit” (cf. standard Persian, which employs the past participle in both the present perfect and the pluperfect: *zada-am* “I have hit,” *zada budam* “I had hit”). The following sentences from ‘Alamdāri support his paradigms:

halâ nâhârqalyün naxordem “I haven’t eaten breakfast yet”
dim-eš-a našurde “he hasn’t washed his face”
dast-eš-a darengeste rü sar-eš “he has put his hand on his head”
ayâl min-e lahâf-eš-a čor dakede “the child has urinated onto his quilt”

¹⁷ See more in Borjian 2011, §3.5.1; idem, 2012a, §3.4.3.

köwš-at pâra babe “your shoe has got ripped off”
berâr-am mariz babe “my brother has become sick”

§3.5.4. The pluperfect (past perfect) and the subjunctive past are formed by the past participle (§3.9.2) followed by the past and subjunctive forms of the substantive verb (§3.6), respectively. Examples:

Jājrud: *Lav xota bo* “he had slept, he was sleeping,” Njr *nessa bom* “I was sitting,” Tok *gedia bum* “I had become,” Šur *karda bo* “he had done,” Buj *biomâ bon* “they had come”;

Shemirân: Kan. *bašia bo* “he had gone,” Sul. *baša boym* “we had gone,” Kšr. *bašia bun šekâr bezia bun* “they had gone and had shot prey,” Kan. *sar-š-am gel bezia bu* “he had rather put mud on his head,” Niā. *baxorda bo* “it had come across” (lit. “had eaten”), Taj. *biâma/depixta/beftōya bom* “I had come/twisted/fallen,” Kāš. *nessa bun* “they were sitting,” Sul. *nessa bu* “he was sitting,” *Engelisiâ berixda bon Te:run-o beyta bon* “the English had poured [in] and had seized Tehran” — Damāvandi *bašoa ban* “they had gone,” *bašoa bâšan* “they may have gone,” *nesta ban* “they were sitting,” *to če keda bi?* “what had you done?” — Kordāni *to či kordi biej?* “what had you done?”;

Semnān Province: Sharifābādi *to če-kâr kerde bodi?* “what had you done?”; Satva’i *to če-kâr kard_owdi?* “id.”; Shāhrudi *to či-kâr kerde biyi* “id.”; Bastāmi *to čo-kâr kerde budi?* “id.”;

Gorgān: Taqiābādi *te če-kâr karde budi?* “id.”; Taqartappa’i *to či-kâr kard_udi?* “id.,” *kard_budam* “I had done”; Ziārati *baše bu* “she had gone,” *sevâ hâkârd bun* “they had separated,” *xu-re badi bui* “had you seen the boar.”

§3.5.5. Progressive Tenses. These are formed in Tabari and Persian by two different auxiliary verbs: the locative verb (§3.6.2) and “have,” respectively. Among the dialects studied here only Tajrishi and Tāleqāni use the locative verb. Examples:

Taj. *daram hâmdam/mišom* “I am giving/going,” *dabom mišoam/miziam* “I was going/beating”

Kan. *dâšdam nâhâr moxordam* “I was eating lunch”

Dam *dâran čelow mopočan* “they are cooking plain rice,” *dâštam be ayâl-am mowtam* “I was telling my child”

Kordāni *dâštam yâl-om-a migutom* “id.”

Kashi (Tāleqān) *dabiam vačč^e-am-o mugutom* “id.”

Sharifābādi *dâštom be vačč^e-om migoftom* “id.”

Satva’i *dâštom be bačč^e-am migoftom* “id.”

Bastāmi *dâštom be bačč^a-om megoftom* “id.”

Shāhrudi *dāštom be vačč^e-om hungoftom* “id.”
 Taqiābādi (Gorgān) *dāštam be bačč^e-am mogoftam* “id.”

Table 2 : Verb Forms (in 1st sg.)

	without preverb Dam <i>biöwrđan</i> “to bring”	with preverb Taj. <i>hādian</i> “to give”
Imperative	<i>biöwr!</i>	<i>hā-de!</i>
Present subjunctive	<i>biöwrām</i>	<i>hā-d-am</i>
Present indicative	<i>miöwrām</i>	<i>hā-m-d-am</i>
Present progressive	<i>dāram miöwrām</i>	<i>daram hāmdam</i>
Preterit	<i>biöwrđam</i>	<i>*hā-dā-m</i>
Imperfect	<i>miöwrđam</i>	<i>hā-m-dā-m</i>
Past progressive	<i>dāštam miöwrđam</i>	<i>*dabom hāmdām</i>
Present perfect	<i>biörđem</i>	<i>hādāye</i> (3 rd sg. only)
Pluperfect	<i>biöwrđā bam</i>	<i>hā-dā-y-e bom</i>
Subjunctive past	<i>biöwrđā bāšām</i>	n.a.

§3.6. BE and BECOME. There are two verbs “be”: the substantive and the locative, with the preverb *da(r)-*. These verbs function as the auxiliary in the perfective and progressive tenses (see §§3.5.4-5). The following stems prevail:

	be	be in	become
present	zero	<i>da(r)-</i>	<i>ge(r)d-</i>
subjunctive	<i>bāš-</i>	<i>da-bāš-</i>	<i>ba-vāš-</i>
past	<i>bo-</i>	<i>da-bo/vo-</i>	<i>ge(r)dī-, ba-vo-</i>

§3.6.1. The substantive verb has the present stem zero, the past stem *bo-*, and the subjunctive stem *bāš-*. Examples: Subjunctive present: Dam *bāšām, bāši*, etc.; Fsh *age ina xāse bāše...* “should he (*ina*) have wanted,” Taj. *nebāše* “that it not be”; past: Āhā *bo* “it was,” *navo* “it was not,” Afj, Sul. *boym* “we were,” Kordāni, Kashi *biey, ba, bien* “you, he, they were,” Shāhrudi *biom, bii, be, bian* “I, you, he, they were.”

§3.6.2. The locative verb *daboan* employs the substantive verb prefixed with *da(r)-*.

Present indicative: Lav *šomā yād-tun dare* (cf. Pers. *yād-etān hast* ?) “do you remember?” Njr *tefl-i ke hamrāh-e in xānevāda dare* “a minor who is with this family,” Dam *nün... dast-e... dare* “there is bread in the hands of...,” *dar in... emgen dāre (dare?)* “there are (lit. is) ticks in this...”; Kordāni, Kashi: *dara* “is in”; Gorgāni

(of Taqīābād) *bačča-m koje ye/dare?* “where is my child?” — (neg.) Rut *kas-i dania* “nobody is in,” Anb *allān die kâregar dani* “workers exist no longer”

Present subjunctive: Taj. *danabâše* “there shouldn’t/ may not be”

Past: Taj. *dabu* “there was,” *danabu* “there wasn’t,” Rut *pesar-dâiun-e mâr-am unjâ davun* “my mother’s cousins were there,” Dam *koja dabi* “where were you?”; Kordāni, Kashi: *debiam, daba* “I, he was in”; Gorgāni (of Taqartappa) *man yân-e maččet dabudam* “I was in the mosque,” *kuze... yân-eš mâst dabu* “there was yogurt in the jug,” Gorgāni (of Taqīābād) *kuze... yân/mian-eš mâst dabud* “id.”

Table 3 : The Locative Verb

		Present	Past	
			Shemirāni	Damāvandi
Sg.	1	(dar)-am	(da-)bom	(da-)bam
	2	(dar)-i	(da-)boy	(da-)bi
	3	(dar)-e	(da-)bo	(da-)bo
Pl.	1	(dar)-im	(da-)boym	(da-)bim
	2	(dar)-in	(da-)boyn	(da-)bin
	3	(dar)-an	(da-)bon	(da-)ban

§3.6.3. “Become.” This verb of high frequency, employed in the analytical passive construction, demonstrates *par excellence* the transitive character of the dialectal zone under study and the hybrid nature of most of the dialects. In Central Alborz, “become” is expressed principally by *ge(r)dian*, corresponding to Pers. *gardidan/gaštan*, but there are two more roots that express this gloss: Tabari *bavoan* and Pers. *šodan*. Existence of three distinct roots to express this verb of high frequency attests to an isoglottic overlap in the region. Interestingly, the roots may co-occur in the same dialect: Kšr. *un češma xošg âvu... o-eš râ’i migede... o-eš râ’i havu* “that source ran dry... its water will flow... its water gushed.” Here are the occurrences:¹⁸

(1) *gedian*

Imperative and Present subjunctive: Evi. *xafa gerdin* “shut up!”; Knd *xošg gede* “that it become dry”; Kšr. *sangin gede* “that it get heavy”

Present indicative: Šur *ma:sul xēli xob megede* “the harvest becomes very good”; Tok *bolan migede* “he stands up”; Kāš. *kas-i... jam namgede* “nobody gets together,” Kan. *agar amsâl vašand kone*,

¹⁸ More examples on Tajrishi can be found in Borjian 2011.

hâsel-mun xob megede “if it precipitates this year, our crop will be fine”

Preterit: Afj *suâr gerdieym* “we got on, mounted,” Tok *bolan gediam* “I stood up,” Njr *bolan gardieym* “we stood up”

Imperfect: Bāg *âmâda migedi* “it would be prepared,” Knd *râhhâ... daves migidi* “the roads would be closed,” Ush *pâ’iz_{am} ke megedi* “when also autumn would arrive,” Nik *zohr ke migardi* “when noon would come,” Bāg *sobe ge migedi* “when morning would come,” Āhā *jam migerđand* “they would gather”; Jmr. *šo/pâyiz ke megedi* “when night/autumn would come,” Kāš. *Moharram migidi* “it would be [the lunar month of] Moharram,” Taj. *mariz/xob megedian* “they would get sick/well,” Jmr. *har šo jam migedian* “every night they used to gather,” Kāš. *vâred migedian* “they would enter,” *baččehâ jam migidian* “the children used to gather”

Pluperfect: Tok *gedia bum* “I had become”

(2) *bavoan*

Present subjunctive: Vsf *baveše* “that it become”

Preterit: Niā. *xurd bavum* “I was crashed,” Kan. *avaz bavo* “it was changed,” Kšr. *o-eš râ’i bavu* “its water flowed,” un *češma xošg âvu* “that source became dry”

(3) *šodan*

Present indicative: Niā. *bolan mišim* “we get up,” Jml. *qorub ke meše* “when the sun sets,” Ren. *nezdik-e Hut mešu* “it is getting close to [the month of] Hut (Pisces)”

Preterit: Dul. *nomâz-e sob-eš emru qezâ šod* “his morning prayer was deferred today”

Note: Borrowings from Persian may result in semantic shift. When Jamālābādi borrowed the stem *r(av)-* “go” from Persian, it caused the stem *š-* to undergo a shift of meaning from “go” to “become,” and this resulted in a mixture of stems for “go.”

§3.6.3.1. Damāvandi employs *babān* “to become,” with the stems *š-* : *baba-*, as in *nebešta mâše* “it is being written” ~ *nebešta baba-ø* “it was written.” “Become” and “be” merge in the subjunctive: *man in harfâhâ sar-am nambâše* (Pers. *našavad/nemišavad*) “I don’t buy these words.” Other examples: *râzi mâše* “he becomes content/pleased,” *mardom jam mâšan mïan čiz_e* “the people gather and say: what is it?”; *mattal babān* “they waited,” (perfect): *para/mariz babe* “it has got torn/he got sick” (cf. *xabar-i nabo* (Pers. *našod*) “nothing happened”).

§3.6.3.2. Bastāmi employs two present stems, *š-* and *rev-*, both used to carry the meaning “go” (Classical Pers. *šaw-* : *šud-* and *raw-* : *raft-*). The stem *rev-* means both “go” and “become” in Bastāmi: *morqāne juje hereve, juje ham kelon hereve va morq meše... jujhâ kelon mešan... gusâle gow meše* “the egg becomes chicken; the chicken then will grow to become hen... the chickens grow up... the calf becomes cow.”

§3.6.3.3. Other dialects. Kordāni employs *gard-* and *bu-* alternately: *toxmomorq juja migarda, juja di gat mibu vo morq migarda... jujeân-oš gat migardon... gusâla gew mibu* “the egg becomes chicken; the chicken then will grow and become hen... her chickens grow up... the calf becomes cow” — Kashi *juje pille mibu* “the chicken grows up” — Gorgāni (Taqartappa, Taqiābād) *me-š-e/ân* “he/they become,” *šodan* “they became” — Semnān: Sharifābādi *tâ juje šove* “until it become chicken,” *bozorg mišen* “they grow up”; Shāhrudi: *hom-bâš-an* “they become.”

§3.7. MODALS. The Persian impersonal *bâyad* or *mibâyest* “must” takes dialectal forms: Buj *šomâ bâd un aslaha-tun-e be mâ âdine...* “you must give your gun to us,” Taj. *bōyed...* *danâbōše* “there mustn’t be,” Dam *miâst zūdtar biey* “you should come faster.”

§3.8. SOME VERBS

§3.8.1. COME. The common set of stems is Tab. *e-* : *em(u)-* (cf. standard Pers. *ây-* : *âmad-*), with variations which may depend on the underlying form of the past stem. A full paradigm for Damāvandi is listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Damāvandi *biman* “to come”

	Present	Subjunct.	Preterit	Perfect	Imperfect
Sg. 1	<i>mi-â-m</i>	<i>bi-â-m</i>	<i>b-im-am</i>	<i>b-im-e-m</i>	<i>m-im-am</i>
2	<i>miey</i>	<i>biey</i>	<i>bimi</i>	<i>bimey</i>	<i>mimi</i>
3	<i>miâ/mie</i>	<i>biâ</i>	<i>bimo</i>	<i>bime</i>	<i>mimo</i>
Pl. 1	<i>mieym</i>	<i>bieym</i>	<i>bimim</i>	<i>bimeym</i>	<i>mimim</i>
2	<i>mieyn</i>	<i>bieyn</i>	<i>bimin</i>	<i>bimeyn</i>	<i>mimin</i>
3	<i>miân</i>	<i>biân</i>	<i>biman</i>	<i>bimen</i>	<i>miman</i>

Neg. (1st sg.): pres. *namîâm*, pret. *nimam*, perf. *nimem*, imperf. *namimam*
 Imperatives: *bio!* *nio!* (sg.) *bieyn!* *nieyn!* (pl.); p. p. *bima* (aff.), *nima* (neg.)

Examples from other dialects: (present) Rut *miâ* “he comes”; (subjunctive) Rut *niâ* “that it come not”; (imperfect) Ush *memon*, Nik *mimun* “they would come” (and the anomalous 3rd sg. *Āhâ emu*, neg. *Nās nemu*); (preterit) Rut *bimom*, Tok *biâmom* “I came,” Afj *biâmo*, Rut *bimo/bimu*,

Fsh *bimu*, Nās *bimu/biemu*, Lav *bimu*, Njr *biemo* “he came,” Afj *biemoym* “we came,” Vsf *biman* “they came.”

§3.8.2. GO. For this verb, most dialects have the stems *š-*: *šu-*, corresponding to Classical Persian *šaw-*: *šud-* “go”; while modern Persian *rav-*: *raft-* “go” is used in some dialects. Note that none of the dialects exhibit the Tabari proper four-stem *šu-*, *ši-*, *bur-*, *burd-*. Phonological adjustments are made to keep the forms distinct, e.g. Dam *me-š-ü* “he goes” ≠ *mo-šo-ø* “he would go”; Tok *bašim* “that I go” ≠ *bašum* “I went.”

Table 5: Damāvandi *bašoan* “to go”

	Present	Subjunctif	Preterit	Perfect	Imperfect
Sg. 1	<i>me-š-am</i>	<i>ba-š-am</i>	<i>ba-šo-(a)m</i>	<i>ba-šo-e-m</i>	<i>mo-šo-(a)m</i>
2	<i>meši</i>	<i>baši</i>	<i>bašoi</i> ¹⁹	<i>bašoe</i>	<i>mošoi</i>
3	<i>mešü</i>	<i>bašü</i>	<i>bašo</i>	<i>bašoe</i>	<i>mošo</i>
Pl. 1	<i>mešim</i>	<i>bašim</i>	<i>bašoim</i>	<i>bašoeym</i>	<i>mošoim</i>
2	<i>mešin</i>	<i>bašin</i>	<i>bašoin</i>	<i>bašoeyn</i>	<i>mošoin</i>
3	<i>mešan</i>	<i>bašan</i>	<i>bašoan</i>	<i>bašoen</i>	<i>mošoan</i>

Neg. (1st sg.): pres. *namešam*, pret. *našoam*, perf. *našoem*, imperf. *namošoam*
 Imperatives: *bašü! našü!* (sg.) *bašin! našin!* (pl.); p. p. *bašoa* (aff.), *našoa* (neg.)

Examples: (present) Rut *mišam* “I go,” Tok *mošu* “he goes”; (subjunctive) Tok *bašim* “that I go”; (imperfect) Fsh *mišu* “he would go,” Ārd *mišun* “they would go,” Āhā *miraftan* “id.”; (preterit) Tok *bašum*, Rut *bašom* “I went,” *bašu*, Nās *bašu* “he went,” Fsh *bašun*, Vsf *bašian* “they went.”

§3.9. VERBAL NOUNS

§3.9.1. The infinitive is formed with the past stem, suffix *-an*, and modal prefix (§3.3): Dam *bōwritan* “to flee,” *dapâtan* “to scatter,” Miri (Tāleqān) *be/ba-neštan* “to sit.” The infinitive, in full or short form, acts as a verbal noun: Njr *vāse-ye ta:zia baxunan* “for reciting *ta'zia*”; Njr *jofdak-pâči* “fling throwing.”

§3.9.2. The past participle (p. p.) is formed with the past stem (with or without a modal prefix), with or without a final vowel, depending on the function.

(1) The pluperfect employs the past participle with the ending *-a* in Central Alborz, usually with a modal prefix in Shemirān but without it in Jājrud (see examples in §3.5.4). The p. p. of “sit” however takes no prefix: Sul., Kāš., Njr *nessa*, Dam *nesta*. Elsewhere around Mazandaran

¹⁹ Instead of **bašoy*, according to the postvocalic forms of Table 1.

the ending is usually *-e*. Note that Tabari proper normally omits the final vowel in the past participle.

(2) The present perfect systematically employs the past participle suffixed with *-e* (see examples in §3.5.3).

(3) The final vowel usually drops when the past participle functions as adjective. Examples: Lav *seyl sar-âket bimû* “flood came forcefully,” Knd *râhhâ... daves migidi* “the roads would be closed,” Dam *yek-i pet bo, yek-i šet bo* “one was squashed, one was spoiled,” Bâg *menesse šoru mekedan be baxordan* “seated, they would began to eat,” Taj. *nun besuxte* “burned bread.”

– LEXIS

Persian lexemes, even in dialectal forms, appear to be prevailing in the dialects of south-central Alborz, Semnân Province, and Gorgân, although there might be sufficient amount of Tabari and idiosyncratic lexical items in each dialect that, when coupled with the Perso-Tabaric morphosyntax and the possible local accent, may result in low level of intelligibility on the part of non-local Persophones.

Paucity of data and unevenness of the sources hinder this comparative study to take on an extensive lexical analysis. I could identify only ten lexical items with unbroken occurrence among all the dialects under study. These are listed in Table 6, which columns roughly simulate the geographical arrangement of the dialects along the latitude. The rows, each carrying an isoglotic item, are arranged so that the Tabari lexical types shared among majority of the dialects find their place at the top (representing geographical north) and that Persian types cluster in the lower rows of the table. Tabari words are typed in non-boldface, italicized letters; Persians are in roman letters, with a thick line running between the two groups. There are also words which are neither Tabari nor Persian; these are marked bold when they are idiosyncratic to south-central Alborz, and underlined when they are believed to be encroachment from neighboring languages.

Two outlier Tabari dialects are deliberately included in the table, not only to have an isoglotic frame of reference but also to show the reality of how far south the Tabari language is represented in Semnân province. The Tabari variety of Shahmirzâd exhibits the strongest Tabari character by meeting eight of the ten isoglosses in the lexical domain, even if it ranks second on grammatical terms (see Table 7). On the other hand, Farvâni, a surprising Tabari outlier (in the otherwise Persophonetic district of Garm-sâr), shows strong grammatical agreement (Table 7) with Tabari proper, and exhibits up to 40 percent alien mix in its vocabulary (Table 6).

Table 6: Selected Lexical Isoglosses

Lexical item	Kash (Taleqān)	Kordān (Karaj)	Jājrud & Shemirān	Damāv.	Farvān (Garmsār)	Shahm.	Satva (Dāmghān)	Shāhrud	Bastām	Taqartappa (Gorgān)
1 egg	<i>morqāne</i>	toxm	<i>čulu</i> , <i>morqāna</i> , toxm	<i>morqona</i>	<i>čulu</i>	<i>marqona</i>	<i>morqāne</i>	<i>morqāna</i>	<i>morqāne</i>	<i>merqāne</i>
2 child	<i>vačce</i>	<i>yâl</i>	<i>yâl</i>	<i>ayâl</i>	<i>yâl</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>bačce</i>	<i>vačce</i>	<i>bačca</i>	<i>bačce</i>
3 become	<i>bu-</i>	<i>gard-</i>	<i>ga(r)d-</i>	<i>š-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>š-</i>	<i>š-</i>	<i>š-, rev-</i>	<i>š-</i>
4 big	<i>pille</i>	<i>gat</i>	<i>gonda</i> , <i>bozorg</i> , <i>gat</i>	<i>bozorg</i> , <i>gondala</i>	<i>gat</i>	<i>mahin</i>	<i>kelān</i>	<i>kelon</i>	<i>kelon</i>	<i>kelān</i>
5 over, on	<i>sar</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>ru</i> , <i>sar</i>	<i>rü</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>dim</i>	<i>ru-yi</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>ru</i>
6 from	<i>-da</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>-jân</i>	<i>-jan</i>	<i>ez-</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>az-</i>	<i>az-</i>
7 he poured	<i>bešand</i>	<i>berit</i>	<i>berixt</i> (Taj.)	<i>berit</i>	<i>daket</i>	<i>dapāta</i>	<i>rext, rext</i>	<i>berext</i>	<i>berext</i>	<i>rext</i>
8 he fell	<i>jir kad</i>	<i>bakot</i>	<i>befto</i> (Taj.)	<i>beftā</i>	<i>hodāi</i>	<i>jer kata</i>	<i>oftid</i>	<i>biofti</i>	<i>bieftid</i>	<i>eftād</i>
9 hen	<i>kork</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>merq</i>	<i>karg</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>morq</i>	<i>merq</i>
10 chicken	<i>juje</i>	<i>jija</i>	<i>juja</i>	<i>čotok</i>	<i>jujag</i>	<i>čitikā</i>	<i>čuče</i>	<i>juje</i>	<i>juje</i>	<i>juje</i>

Legend: *Tabari type (italic)*; Persian type (roman); **Central-Alborz type (boldface)**; other (underlined).
The thick line separates Tabari and Persian types.

Table 7 : Morphological Isogloss Split between Tabari and Persian types.²¹

Language group	Tabari and Tabaroid			Tāleqāni Type	Perso-Tabaric and Persian				
	Velātru; Farvān (Garmsār)	Upper Jājrūd	Shahmirzād		Damāvānd	Lower Jājrūd, Shemirān	Gorgān	Shāhrūd	Satva (Dāmghān)
1 Locative verb	T	T	T	T	T	T	T	P	P
2 Preterit prefix	T	T	T	T	T	T	P	T	P
3 Preverbs	T	T	T	T	T	T	P	P	P
5 Modifiers	T	TP	T	T	TP	P	P	P	P
7 Adpositions	T	TP	T	T	P	P	P	P	P
8 Present tense	T	T	T	P	P	P	P	P	P
9 Verb endings	T	T	T	P	P	P	P	P	P
10 Imperfect	T	T	P	P	P	P	P	P	P

²¹ T and P designate Tabari and Persian character of the feature, respectively.

Divergences from both Tabari and standard Persian are of two types. One consists of the words idiosyncratic to the region, namely *(a)yāl* “child,” with a broad distribution from Karaj on the west to Garmsār on the east, and *čulu* “egg,” no form akin to which is known to me in any other Iranian language. The stem *ga(r)d-* “become” may also be considered idiosyncratic on the grounds of its absence in the nearby languages. Another isogloss, not listed in the table because it is unknown for most of the dialects, could be *ness-*, the past stem of “sit,” in Jājrud (Ush, Āhā, Afj, Njr, Bāg) and Damāvand.

The second type of the words that are neither Tabari nor Persian are those borrowed from the neighboring languages. Of these Tāleqāni *pille* “big,” in both Kashi and Miri dialects, has an areal domain which extends westward into South Tati, Gilaki, and South Talys. In the Persian dialects of Semnān province *kalon/kalān* “big” is a Khorasani Persian word, and so is the stem *oftid-*, instead of standard Persian *oftād-* “fall.”

CONCLUSIONS

In this study we found a high degree of homogeneity in both grammatical and lexical levels among the dialects of Lower Jājrud valley and Shemirān in the northern environs of Tehran. While these vernaculars are basically Persian, they carry a rich Tabari impression, particularly in the verbal paradigm, distinguished by Caspian preverbs and past tense forms. Damāvandi shares these features in the verb structure; in addition, it employs if only occasionally Tabari genitival structures in the noun phrase.

Outside of south-central Alborz, the Persian varieties of Shāhrud and Gorgān exhibit far less Tabari blend in their morphology (Table 7); yet, judging by the relatively short texts available from five localities, they demonstrate sufficient Caspian overlay to be designated as “Perso-Tabaric.” Dāmghāni Persian, on the other hand, renders no significant Caspian character. Unsurprisingly, the easternmost of the studied dialects, i.e. those of Shāhrud and Gorgān, show some similarity to Khorasani Persian, and a closer affinity may unfold when a sufficient amount of data is collected. The real surprise was the likeness between Shāhrudi and the dead language of Gorgān in the durative marker (§3.5.1.1).

The two Tāleqāni dialects and Kordāni, near Karaj, may be grouped together within the selected morphological categories of Table 7, which show them in full accord with Caspian in the noun phrase and share much with Persian in the verb phrase. Thus they render themselves to neither of these two languages. The vocabulary of Tāleqāni (Table 6) discloses some Tatic features. It would therefore be premature to draw any conclusions in

classifying these dialects within the binary Persian-Tabari framework employed in this study. An areal classification of Tāleqāni would be more realistic within extended morphological boundaries that foresee possible Tati traits unmatched by either Persian or Caspian.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Shemirān:

Dul.	Dulāb (in Tehran)
EQ	Emāmzāda Qāsem
Evi.	Evin
Far.	Faraḥzād
Hes.	Ḥeṣāarak
Jml.	Jamālābād
Jmr.	Jamārān
Kan.	Kan
Kāš.	Kāshānak
Kšr.	Keshār-e Pāyin
Niā.	Niāvarān
PQ	Pas-qal'a-ye Darband
Ren.	Rendān
Sul.	Sulaqān
Taj.	Tajrish
Tar.	Ṭarasht

Jājrud:

Afj	Afja
Āhā	Āhār
Anb	Anbāj
Ārd	Ārdina
Āsā	Āsārā
Bāg	Bāgh Gol
Bgh	Bāgh Kamesh
Buj	Bujān
Esk	Eskāra
Fsh	Fasham
Knd	Kond-e Bālā
Lav	Lavāsān-e Bozorg
Nās	Nāṣerābād
Nik	Niknām Deh
Njr	Najjārkalā
Rut	Ruta
Šur	Shurakāb
Tok	To(r)k Mazra'a
Ush	Ushān
Vsf	Vāṣefjān
Dam	Damāvand

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