YUSHIJ: A CASPIAN DIALECT
OF THE CENTRAL ALBORZ

Habib Borjian*
Encyclopaedia Iranica
New York

SUMMARY

Yushij is the dialect of Yush, a mountainous village in the Mazandaran province of Iran. An endangered variety of the Tabari language, Yushij exhibits transitional characteristics between Tabari proper, spoken in the urban centers of Mazandaran, and the Central Caspian language group, neither of which has received proper scholarly attention. This study offers an outline of phonology and morphosyntax of Yushij based on the texts collected a half a century ago. The texts are transcribed and translated here, followed by a glossary which offers etymology for selected lexical items. This study may also offer clues to elucidate some ambiguous Tabari verses of the illustrious Persian poet Nima Yushij, whose works in his mother tongue have largely been overlooked because of their linguistic intricacies.

Keywords: Tabari, Mazandaran, Northwest Iranian languages, dialectology, Nima Yushij.

Across the Caspian littoral and most valleys within the Alborz range in northern Iran, the Caspian language family forms an unbroken continuum of vernaculars that extends some 350 miles wide. This chain of dialects, called gelaki by their speakers, can be broken down areally into three language groups: Gilaki in the west, Tabari (Māzandarānī) in the east, and, between these two, Central Caspian (Stilo 2001), embracing the districts of Tonekābon and Kalārdasht. This classification should be regarded as tentative because there are still many Caspian towns and districts whose dialects remain either undocumented or poorly known.

One of the murkiest regions within the Caspian language group is the central Alborz, which spreads along the latitude from the mount Damāvand, the highest on the plateau, to the Chālūs River. Central Alborz consists of three parts: Koju valley in the north, Nur valley in the middle, and Karaj and Jārud valleys in the south. Of these, Karaj, Jārud and Koju valleys have recently received some linguistic attention (Borjian, 2012; idem, 2013). The dialect of Nur is the subject of this paper.

* I would like to thank Maryam Borjian for helping me with the texts.
This paper investigates the linguistic data published in the monograph Yuš by Sirus Tāhbāz (1963). As the full title of the volume reveals, its purpose was to inquire about the birthplace of Nima Yushij (1896-1960), the most celebrated Iranian poet of the twentieth century, known to have founded the New Style in Persian poetry. The subject of the documentation, conducted in the summer of 1962, is the mountainous village Yush, located on the middle course of the main river of the Nur district of Māzandarān province. It was then a large village, populated by some two-hundred households, or 1,200 souls, many of whose youth would winter in littoral Māzandarān to work in the fields or in towns. Otherwise, the village was fairly secluded and inaccessible half of the year because of snow.

In spite of its ethnographic orientation, the monograph is rich in terms of linguistic data on the Tabari dialect of Yush, or yušij, as the natives call it. These consist of several idioms, a tale, and a few Tabari poems recited by the villagers (pp. 85-104) and a short glossary (pp. 106-13). Recorded also throughout the ethnography is a wealth of words and phrases in Yushij, as well as dozens of place-names that constitute the rural district of Yush, all with their transcription in the Roman letters. Notwithstanding their scanty nature (800 words), the texts are adequate for a grammatical sketch to be drawn, though some clarifications await additional data. The following sketch grammar of Yushij, the only known Tabari dialect of the Nur district and central Alborz, may aid future areal and comparative studies on the Caspian dialects.

Aside from its merit in typological studies, Yushij is the dialect in which Nima Yushij wrote his Tabari poems. Notwithstanding his rank in the modern Persian literature, Nima’s Tabari poetry has received little attention. Several native speakers of Tabari have told this author that Nima’s verses are often difficult to understand not only for the idioms and figures of speech used in them but also because the Yushij vocabulary and grammar are somewhat different from those of Tabari proper, as spoken in Āmol, Bābol, Shāhī, and Sārī, the major urban centers of Māzandarān. Another obstacle in appreciating Nima’s verses is the multitude of local toponyms used in them. I hope therefore that the present study of Yushij will aid clarification of Nima Yushij’s Tabari poems.

**Phonology**

Although Tāhbāz has done a satisfactory job as a non-specialist in collecting his Yushij materials, the resulting data are not accurate enough to allow us to run a full phonological analysis of the dialect. We may infer from his documentation that the inventory of the consonants in Yushij is similar to that of Persian. Yushij vowel are probably ā (semi-rounded), o, u, a, e, i, with possible allophones ō, ţ, and ŏ.

§1.1. As in some other Tabari dialects, there is a considerable variation in pronunciation of the vowel sounds. For instance, the variants kenne and könne “she makes” occur in the same poem recited by a single speaker.

---

1 The only other published data known to me from this area consists of eighteen lexical items from the dialect of Nesan, collected by Ann Lambton (1938) during her stay in Velātru. I have used the Neseni data for comparison in this paper. Scholarly publications on the Tabari language are not many; a reliable grammar is Sārī Dialect by Satoko Yoshie (Tokyo, 1996).

2 Published in Rujā, a supplement in Nimā Yušij, 1994.
§1.2. The fronted vowel ð, otherwise absent in Tabari proper and in Caspian at large, occurs occasionally in the texts. It is likely to be allophonic, as it appears in the present stem kon/-ken/-kön- “do.” The vowel gains more frequency in the region as one travels south from the Nur valley into the Jâjrud and Karaj valleys.

§1.3. What Ţâhâbz recorded as the Latin letter e with an acute accent is likely to be the mid-front vowel e or the neutral ə, typical of Tabari and indeed the most frequent vowel sound therein. Its frequency in Yushij may be more than that in the texts.

§1.4. The variations sâl/sâl “jackal,” amow/amâ “we,” and the like suggest the back, low, half-round vowel o, which we encounter in the nearby Neseni and Velâtru’í data collected by Ann Lambton.

§1.5. Postvocalic h, not a characteristic of Tabari, is present regularly in Yushij. Table 1 compares some Yushij words with those I documented from Espivard, west of Sâri, in Mâzandarân proper.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postvocalic h</th>
<th>Yushij</th>
<th>Espivardi</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meh</td>
<td>miâ</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peh</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>following</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>râh</td>
<td>râ</td>
<td>road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahra</td>
<td>da(:)re</td>
<td>sickle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mânhr</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vâhman</td>
<td>bat(:)man</td>
<td>Aquarius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahu</td>
<td>kau</td>
<td>blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dâhâr</td>
<td>dâr</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vâhâr</td>
<td>bâ(h)âr</td>
<td>spring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gohâl</td>
<td>govâl</td>
<td>sack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sebâhi</td>
<td>sevoi</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From a diachronic viewpoint, the h in the words peh, mânhr, kahu, dâhâr, and gohâl is not etymological but has been developed within the dialect (cf. Pers. pey, már, kabud, dâr, javâl). Nevertheless, Yushij does have words with vanished postvocalic h, such as taya (Pers. tahiya) “prepare,” lulâyn (Pers. lulahang) “water vessel,” mîr (Pers. mehr) “Libra,” šervin (Pers. šahrivar) “Virgo.”

§1.6. Initial g is lost in some stems when preceded by a verbal prefix: hâ-yat-eno (← hâ-git-) “they took,” bottan (← ba-got-) “to call, say” (see also §3.7.4). For phonological processes in verb endings, see §3.3.

NOUN MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§2.1. Number. A plural marker is -un, as in dâhârun “trees.” The marker -kân in zenâkân “women” is characteristic to Central Caspian; it occurs in Kalârdâshi only in
zenâkon “women” and merdâkon (plural of mardi) “men” (Borjian 2010). More data would reveal other plural forms that may exist in Yushij.

§2.2. Object making. The postposition -(r) or -o marks the definite direct object (e.g. vi del-o x̩rmo “I’ll eat its heart”) and indirect objects: či man-e denenin? “what do you give to me?” asb-e lu baxerdan “to fall down from a horse,” mardêm-e deh-re “for the people of the village.” In the following example -re marks both the direct and indirect objects, placed before and after the verb, respectively: uyanne-re demo te-re “I’ll give the rest to you.”

§2.3. Modifiers. The oblique marker -e is suffixed to the head noun, in possessives (verg-e puss “wolf’s skin,” bân/pây-e sang “the stone under/below”; Text II.7), adjectives (pir-e divor “old wall,” garne baz “bald goat”), and objects of postpositions (§2.6). The connecting marker may drop (bač ow “cold water,” sio meh “black cloud”), sometimes yielding compound nouns: sio-fêg “black willow tree,” spi-fêg “white willow,” bámîsi-fêg “cat willow,” bámîsi-kotar “kitten,” šir-jula “milk bucket.” There are instances of persianism in employing the ezâfa marker: tamum-e dašt “the entire plain.” Note in the following phrase the word sequence in Yushij is the inverse of that of Persian: tappe sar sare nârenj dâr = Pers. deraxt-e nârenj-e xâna-ye sar-e tappe “the sour orange tree of the house on the hill.”

§2.4. Pronouns. Personal pronouns have two basic forms (Table 2). The oblique forms are used as possessives (mi mãr “my mother,” ti per “your father,” vi del “his heart”) or objects of propositions (vi bun “under him,” te hamre “with you”). Direct personal pronouns, when suffixed by the direct object marker, yield accusatives: mane (@men + -re), te-re, vešun/vešân-â. But note vi pare dâr “hold him a bit,” where one expects to find vire instead of vi. Note also hayn “this.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>man, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu, ti, te, ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>amâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>šomow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vešân</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§2.5. The reflexive ši “self” functions as an emphatic (ši... geni = Pers. xod miguyi “you yourself say”) or possesive (ši sar “your head,” ši xena “your/their house,” ši dannen “your tooth”). No example of the reflexive pronoun is found in the texts.

§2.6. Adpositions. Postpositions are the norm, with the oblique marker -e normally added to the object noun (cf. §2.2). The postposition -jâ/-ja probably cover a wide ablative

3 Also vešân, ušân, ušan, forms that seem to be influenced by neighboring non-Tabari dialects.
and dative range; the only examples are: šir-e jâ hâyto “he took [it] from the lion,” qâter-e ja bapersino “they asked (from) the mule.” Examples of other postpositions are: telâr-e dela “in a cave,” dâhâr-e sar/ben “on/under the tree,” deh sar “in the village” (Text II.28), gug-e hamrâ “with the calf,” ling vâri “by the leg” (II.14). -re (§2.2) is the only postposition that always attaches directly to the preceding word and hence requires no oblique marker.

Postpositions precede nouns to form compounds: dela-asîow “inner room of the mill,” dirgâ-asîow “outer room of the mill” (cf. §2.3).

Prepositions are sometimes used, e.g., sar čišma “by the water source,” behtar-e az... “is better than...”; gel-e bâq “into the garden” (II.18). These, however, are mere persianism.

VERB MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§3.1. Stems. Past stems are formed regularly by adding -i to the present stem, as in (present stem: past stem) persi: pers “ask,” tersi: ters “fear.” Another past stem marker is -ess, as in ba-kel-ess-e “it poured.”

§3.2. Prefixes

§3.2.1. Preverbs may further specify the stem lexically, e.g. da-kerd- “throw,” hâ-kerd- “do,” da-kâf- “fall,” da-mej- “walk,” hâ-de- “give,” hâ-fha- “take,” dar-burd “run away,” dar-e- “come out” (cf. e- “come”), pe-r-es- “stand/get up” (with the ephenthesis -r). Preverbs replace the modal prefix.

§3.2.2. The modal prefix ba- marks the imperative, subjunctive present, preterit, past participle, and infinitive. Examples: ba-zen “hit!” ba-trâs-im “that we shave,” ba-zu-mi “we hit,” ba-sut-e “burned,” ba-xerd-an “to eat.”

§3.2.3. The negative marker na- precludes the modal prefix ba-, e.g. na-šu- “that he go not,” na-šu-ne “he doesn’t go,” dar-n-ey-ne “it doesn’t come out.” More data will elucidate on the correlation between the negative marker and the preverb hâ-.

§3.3. Personal endings. These are shown in Table 3. Set I marks the indicative present, II the preterit and the present of substantive verbs, and III the subjunctive present. The imperative ending is zero in the singular: bazen “hit!” dakaf “fall!” hâdâ “give!”4 nasro “don’t sing!”

§3.3.1. The third person singular endings are deduced from the available data as -e in Set II and -a in Set III. One finds an opposite association in other Tabari dialects such as Âmoli (Humand) and Kordkheyli (my data), in which -a and -e mark the past and the subjunctive, respectively.

§3.3.2. According to a diachronic law, the difference between Sets I and II is an extra nasal consonant which is a remnant of the ancient participle marker *-ant.5 inserted

4 If correct, this must be irregular; an expected form is hâde “give!” with the present stem de-, which appears in de-mo “I give.”
between the stem and the ending in the simple present tense. As Table 3 reveals, the additional nasal consonant in Set I is lost in the first person singular and plural in Yushij; we find a similar situation in Kalârdashî and partially in Velâtru’î. Despite the loss of the nasal element in the first person endings, the distinction between the present indicative and the imperfect is still evident from the different stems employed in each.

§3.3.3. An intrusive vowel, usually e, appears between the stem and the ending to avoid confluence of two consonants, e.g. hà-yt-e-no “they took,” pus-e-ne “it decays” (cf. de-mo “I give”), but we also find the exception doz-ne “he steals.” Moreover, the stems ending in -r- and -n- do not take the epanthesis: or-mo “I bring,” xar-mo “I eat,” xar-ne “it eats”; vin-ni “you (sg.) see,” xen-no “he sings,” ken-no “he does,” eškan-ne “it breaks.”

§3.3.4. When a stem ends in n, this nasal is assimilated to the first person ending I, as in zammo (← zan- + -mo) “I hit.” The dissimilation nn to nd that occur in the second and third persons singular in some Tabari dialects (Borjian 2005) is irrelevant in Yushij, owing to distinctive endings for all six persons.

§3.3.5. The status of Set I second plural is vague; note these paradigms: de-nenin “you give,” šu-nnenin “you go.” See also “have,” in §3.7.1.

Table 3  
Verb Endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-(e)mo</td>
<td>-(e)mo</td>
<td>-om/-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-(e)ni</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-(e)n/-no</td>
<td>-(e)-o</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-(e)mi</td>
<td>-(e)mi</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-(e)n/eni</td>
<td>-(e)ni</td>
<td>*-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-(e)n/eno</td>
<td>-(e)no</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§3.4. Tenses. The materials at hand yield five simple structures, as formulated below. The imperfect is poorly represented in the available data. No present perfect (which Tabari lacks) or perfective periphrastic forms occur in the texts. See Table 4 for conjugation of a regular verb.

Present indicative = pres. stem + ending I
Present subjunctive = preverb/ba- + pres. stem + ending III
Imperative = preverb/ba- + pres. stem + zero (sg.)
Preterit = preverb/ba- + past stem + ending II
Imperfect = past stem + ending II

5 See Azami and Windfuhr, pp. 197-198.
Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>bazuan</strong> “to hit”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pres.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Preterit</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 1</td>
<td>zammo bazumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 2</td>
<td>zanni bazuî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg. 3</td>
<td>zanno bazuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>zammi bazumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 2</td>
<td>zannin bazuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 3</td>
<td>zanneno bazuno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§3.4.1. *Progressive tenses.* These are formed in Tabari and Persian by two different auxiliary verbs: the locative verb and “have,” respectively. The Yushij data show both constructions: (1) *de šumî* “we are going,” with the invariable auxiliary *de* (see §3.6.2) in the third person singular, as is the case in some other Tabari dialects. Another example of this construction can be *dâ eneno* “they are coming.” (2) *dâr-eno zan-neno* “they are hitting” (cf. Pers. *dârand mizanand*), in which the auxiliary “have” (see §3.7.1) is unmistakably present.

§3.5. *Be and Become.* Our data is unfortunately too meager to yield full paradigms of these important verbs, which exhibit considerable variations across Tabari dialects. The following stems could be deduced from the available data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>be</strong></th>
<th><strong>be in</strong></th>
<th><strong>become</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>present</strong></td>
<td>zero</td>
<td><em>dar-</em></td>
<td>*<em>vu, bu-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>subjunctive</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td><strong>bev-<em>, bab-</em>, hâv-, hâvâš-</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>past</strong></td>
<td>?</td>
<td><em>dav-</em></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§3.5.1. The copula employs Set I personal endings (*-mo, -i, -el-o*, etc.) for all tenses. Irregular forms include: (imperative) *voš “be!” navoš!* (neg.); (present) *niâ “is not.”*

§3.5.2. The locative verb is based on the stems *dar-* (present) and *dav-* (past), conjugated regularly in terms of personal endings. It serves as auxiliary in the progressive formations (§3.4.1). Examples:

Present: *addâ šâl dar-eno* “there is a jackal”
Past: *talâr-e dela dav-emi* “we were in a cave,” *dav-eno* “they were in,” *koja dav-i?* (simple past form) “where have you been?”

§3.5.3. “Become” takes the personal endings regularly. The present subjunctive show considerable variation in form in the texts. Examples:

Present: *gugyun vu-no* “he becomes a calf herder,” *xol vuno* “he becomes insane,” *pusin vuno* “it becomes a skin-hat,” *na-vu-ne, na-bu-ne* “it does not become,” *bu-nne* “it becomes,” *na-bu-nne* (neg.)

Imperative: *garm hâ-vâš* (Pers. *garm shî*) “get warm!”
Subjunctive: qâyem hâ-vâ-š-im “that we hide,” xamir ke šol hâ-v-e (Pers. šod? beša-vad? bâšad?) “when the dough is made loose,” tirme agar kohne bâbe (Pers. beša-vad) “if fine cloth turns old,” ke pir bâve (Pers. bâve) “that he get old.”

§3.6. Modals
Impersonal vene/veno “must; want” is followed by the subjunctive or infinitive of the main verb: vene damiji ame peh “you must walk like us,” vene bottan “one should say,” vene vešun-o bakušn “they want to kill them.”

Another impersonal is bâ (cf. Pers. bâyad, bâyest): bâ pâre bunne “must be (have been) torn apart” (II.32).

§3.7. Some verbs
§3.7.1. “Have; hold” is irregular in that it takes no modal prefix, e.g. dâr! (imperative) dâšton (infinitive); see also Table 5. Moreover, the distinction between the third person singular and plural in the present is made by an epenthesis before the ending in the latter: dâr-no “he has” ≠ dâr-eno “they have.”

A similar trait is found in Velâtru’î: nêr-na “he has not” ≠ nêr-ena “they have not” (Borjian 2012, §3.4.2).

<p>| Table 5 |
| “Have; hold” |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dâr-mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dâr-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dâr-no/ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dâr-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dâr-ni8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dâr-eno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§3.7.2. “Go.” For this verb many Tabari dialects has four stems: šu-, ši-, bur-, burd-. Three of these stems are attested in the materials for Yushij:

Imperative: bero! (irregular)
Present indicative: sg. 1st šu-mo, 3rd šu-no, na-šu-ne, pl. 1st šu-mi, 2nd šu-menni
Subjunctive, affirmative: sg. 1st bur-om, pl. 1st bur-im
Subjunctive, negative: sg. 3rd na-šu-ô
Preterit: sg. 3rd burd-o, pl. 3rd burd-eno

§3.7.3. “Come.” The stems e-: imu- occur in: dâ e-neno “they are coming,” dar-n-e-y-n “it didn’t come out,” bi-e-m “that I come,” b-imu-i “you came,” b-imu-no “they came.”

The phrase varo-navaro (for Pers. âmad-nayâmad) could not be justified in the grammatical context of Yushij.

6 See Text II.20.
7 Cf. regular conjugations: e-neno “they come,” zan-neno “they hit.”
8 Corrected for dârâni.
9 Cf. Neseni bêr “come!”
§3.7.4. “Say.” The stems, g(e)-: got-, lose their initial sound when prefixed: n-sut-omo “I said not,” b-sot-o “he said,” bottan “to say,” cf. geni “you say,” gene “he says.” The preterit is realized in two sets of forms: boto ~ geteno “he said.” The latter form, with the past stem and present ending, cannot be an error of recording for it is repeated several time in the texts. Moreover, there occur got-omo “I said,” get-eno “they said,” which are imperfect in form but used unambiguously as preterit.

§3.8. Verbal nouns. (1) The infinitive is ba/-preverb + past stem + -an, e.g. ba-tet-an “to run,” biârdan “to bring,” bottan “to call, say,” lu baxerdan (Pers. zamin xordan) “to fall down.” The infinitive is used as adjective in baxðdan ow “drinkable water.” (2) The past participle is the past stem with verbal prefix and the optional suffix -e, as bapte “cooked,” bapis “decayed.” Perfective verb forms are missing in the available data, but the adjectival forms (cf. §2.3) of the past participle occur in bamerd-e spiğ “dead louse,” basut-e jo “burned place,” bazâ zan “parturient,” baybazemay-e duq (for Pers. ba-ham-zada máya duğh?) “churned sour milk,” falak dakete (lit. “fallen heavens”; cf. Pers. sar ba falak kašîda) “lofty as heavens.”

§4. WORD FORMATION. The only noteworthy formative is the Tabari attributive suffix -ij is found in zaij “capable of giving birth,” yuʃij “of or related to Yush,” oziʃ “of or related to Uz.”

THE TEXTS

I

1 addâ boz o addâ gug o addâ gusand addâ mardi-e bâq-e la daveno. šow xow badino fardâ veno veʃin-o bakuʃan, ferâr hâkerdeno burdeno addâ telâr-e dela. badino addâ šîr o addâ palang o addâ verg dâreno pamma-kamun zanneno.

2 gug boto, “kamun-o hâdâ mân, te-re komak hâkonom.” kamun-o šîr-e jâ häyto banâ hakerdo pamma bazuan. unvax boto, “šîr-e puss o verg-e puss o palang-e pus šâh-e sar pussin vuno, ţy vuno, ĉi xor vuno!”

3 šîr batersio boto, “man burom dirgo, kor dârmo.” ferâr hâkerdo burdo. unvax gusun kamun-o hayto geteno, “verg-e puss o palang-e puss šâh-e sar pussin vuno, ţy vuno, ĉi xor vuno!”

A goat and a calf and a sheep were living (lit. “lying”) in a man’s garden. At night they dreamed that they must be killed tomorrow. They ran away and went into a cave. They saw a lion and a leopard and a wolf were (lit. are) beating cotton with a bow. The calf said: “Give me the bow, [so that] I may help you.” He took the bow from the lion and began to beat the cotton. Then he said, “The lion skin, wolf skin, and leopard skin will become a skin-hat on the king’s head—it will become, how well it will become!”

The lion was scared and said: “I should go out, I have business to do.” He ran away and left. Then the sheep took the bow and said: “The wolf skin and leopard skin….”

10 This suffix is found in some other Tabari dialects, although it is no longer productive. It is also found in some other Northwest Iranian vernaculars, e.g., in the Tati dialect of Kho’in; see E. Yarshater, “The Xo’ini Dialect,” Persica 19, 2003, pp. 165-182, §44.3.

11 Words similar to those in the previous paragraph are repeated here.
The wolf too was scared and said: “I’ll go and bring the lion.” He also ran away. Then the sheep took the bow and said: …. He also ran away. The goat, calf, and sheep said: “Let’s go home.”

The lion, wolf, and leopard went down the hill and saw there a jackal. The jackal said: “Where are you going?” The wolf said: “We were in a cave and saw a lousy sheep, calf, and goat. They came and took from us the bow; they were beating [on the cotton] and saying: The wolf skin…. We ran away, and we are going to hide somewhere.”

The jackal said: “If I kill them, what will you give me?” The lion said: “If you kill the calf, I will eat its heart and give you the rest.” The leopard said: “If you kill the goat, I will eat its liver and give you the rest.” The wolf said: “If you kill the sheep, I will eat its tail and give you the rest.”

They came across a road and saw that the goat and sheep and calf coming. [As soon as] they saw them, they went up to a tree. The goat went to the tip of the tree, the sheep went half-way up the trunk, and the calf went up to the branch.

The lion, wolf, leopard, and jackal came under the tree. The frightened calf fell on the jackal. The jackal’s waist broke.

The goat said [from] up top: “Hold it a little bit until I come!” The wolf, leopard, and lion got scared and ran away. The jackal too with much difficulty flew from beneath it. Then the goat and sheep came down and together with the calf went to their home.

II

Proverbs

1 basute jo vâš dar-nayene
On a scorched lot grows no grass.

2 šir jula melk-e bâj navune
A milk pail doesn’t make for property tax.

12 “I did” contradicts the subject of the sentence, amâ “we.”
13 Cf. uyanne, above.
tirme agar kohne babe, čarm pina nábune

If *terma* (a fine cloth) turns to a rag, it won’t be [good for] patching leather.

per kāyar kenno, pesar dahra dozne

The father labors in the field, the son steals sickles.

*xādâ agar hâmde,14 varvar-e Jamârân am hâmde // xādâ agar nâmde, tamum-e dašt o biâbun am nâmde*

If God [decides to] give, he will give [access to] the file of Jamârân // if God gives not, he won’t give the entire plains and deserts.

por batetan čarm-e jurâb pusene

Too much running [causes] the shoe leader to wear out.

*bâlâ-ye pamma gulika pâyn-e sang-e aškonne*

The cotton bundle on the top will [eventually] break the stone below.

*baybazemay-e duq behrate15 naymazemay-e16 màss_e*

Churned sour milk is better than un-churned yogurt.

*gâšê ke pir haveyo gugvun vuno*

A cowboy who gets old becomes a calf herder.

*xamir ke šal hâve, loak am ow pas de*

When the dough is made loose, the dough-container seeps out.

*pere nasthan (?), kaleper-e vene botan ajân17*

When the father is absent, the stepfather should be called “Sir!”

*har vača yag duna, yâ xol vuno yâ divuna*

Every only child becomes either insane or mad.

*asb-e lu baxerdan beytar e az xare-re*

It is better to receive a kick from a horse than from a donkey.

*ling vârî našune gohâl, sar vâri bur19*

He doesn’t go into the sack by the leg, he goes by the head.

*moft-e mollâ gir bimu, bâmši kotar doa ow xenno*

When a priest is accessible for free, the kitten will offer a prayer.

*garne b¢z uno sar čisma ow xorne*

A bald goat goes to the source to drink water.

*qâter-e ja bapersino, “ti per ki.e?” bote, “mi màr màdiun e.”*

They asked the mule, “Who is your father?” He said, “My mother is the mare.”

*xar-e dakerderen gel-e bâq, gene, “jân-e del-e mi20—kangar!”*

They threw the donkey into the rose garden; he said, “Oh my favorite, prickly artichoke.”

*felân kas-e bamerde spij noh man pi dârne*

The dead louse of such and such [rich man] has nine mounds of fat.

14 *hâmde and nâmde* (below) appear to carry the Persian durative marker *mi*- (*hâ-ni-e-de*), which is alien to Tabari grammar.
15 Cf. *beytare*, below.
16 *naybazemuy-e?*
17 Pers. *âqa jân*.
18 *“Stepmother” in Tâhbâz’s translation.*
19 *bur?* Cf. *burdo* “he went.”
20 Pers. *jân-e del-am!*
pir-e divor-o tok dârneh, pir-e mardi-ro lok

The old wall is held by piles, the old man by belly.

20

tu ke anni xoš sohvat-i, tâ alân koja davi?

You who are so talkative, where have you been so far?

21

tu age mard-i, și sar-e kolâ-re qors dâr

If you are a (real) man, hold firm to your own hat.

22

te-re gotomo, “bero garm hâvâš!”
nutomo, “bero kele dâkof!”

I told you, “Come get yourself warm,” I didn’t say, “Come fall into the oven!”

23

și dannen-o vinni, mi sar taya vinni

You see your teeth, you get ready for my head.

24

kôrd-e vaxt-e kâr-o, kôrd-e sak gi dâro

Time for the shepherd to get to work, the shepherd’s dog wants to defecate.

25

șu burdo și tâza geni, “te-re mobârak”?

Night is gone, and you just now say, “congratulations!”

26

tu age yoft dâšt-i, te hamre zami kil kor-
demo

If you had a pair, I would have tilled the field with you.

27

și deh sar-e šol voš, mardom-e deh-re šir
navoš!

Be a jackal in your own village, be not a lion in the other’s village.

28

vaxtî bimui ame deh, vene damiji ame peh

When you come (lit. came) to our village, you must walk like us.

Sentences

amsâl mi sâl nia. amâ addâ sag dâštemi
kâlačî21; vi dum pâk bakelesse.

This year is not the year of [goat’s] hair; we had a dog, a star-spotted dog; [the hairs of] its tail all fell off.

30

jamîyat hâkenîm, burîm sa:râ mardi,
zerâat-e batrâ șim, az beyn naśu

Let’s get together and go to work in the field, cut the harvest, [so that] it will not be wasted.

31

mi del bâ pâre bunne—nabunne, barâdar!

My heart must have been torn apart—it does not, brother!

32

III

Poems

sar-e ku-ye bolan mi vung o vung e
šukâ-ye tarnemâr mi gate sang e
šukâ-ye tarnemâr bavrom barušom
mi dextar dâl-re telâ bapušom
mi dextar dâl yek bu-i könne
gul-e mahammedi še ahru mûnne

On the lofty mountain is my clamor
The mother-deer is [the sign of] my big stone
May I carry and sell the newly delivered deer
I cover my cousin with gold
My cousin carries an aroma
The pink rose resembles her eyebrow

21 Pers. gol-bâqlâyi.
YUSHIJ: A CASPIAN DIALECT OF THE CENTRAL ALBORZ

sabâhi perese raxt-e no kenne
In the morning she gets up and puts on new clothes
jâhel sek sekâni (?) del ow kenne
She makes the heart of the young men melt

The Amiris

2 šâhân-e šâh Ašraf jâ besâste
King of kings built Ashraf
setun be setun qas-e talâ besâste
Column on column he built a golden palace
sang-e marmar adinakâ besâste
He built mansions from marble
falak dakete karvonsarâ besâste
He built heavenly lofty caravanserais

3 bolbol mičkâ, nasro! man tâ barâr me
Nightingale, sing not! I am your brother
man ham mesl-e tâ âsequ-e biqarâr me
I am an anxious lover like you
šīs mâh zemessun man gol-e entezâr me
Early winter months I wait for flowers
avval-e bâhâr gol dar-bimu man lâl me
Early spring, [when] flowers bloom, I go dumb

4 tappe sar sare narenj dâr xeijr e
The bitter orange tree of the house on the hill is pretty
nârenj vâhâr gardan-e yâr xeijr e
In the spring bitter orange [necklace around my] beloved’s neck is pretty
spi sâq o ling, kahu šalvâr xeijr e
White legs [in] blue pants are pretty
kâse bexetan fast-e vâhâr xeijr e
Making love (lit. sleeping together) in spring is pretty

5 kuk či xaš e avval-e vâhâr benâle
How fine is a pheasant to moan early in springtime
tikâ či xaš e mâh-e vâhâr benâle
How fine is the ortolan to groan in springtime
guzâ či xaš e berâ-ye mîr benâle
How fine is a calf to moan for the mother
jevun či xaš e berâ-ye yâr benâle
How fine is a young man to groan for the beloved

6 xayli xaš-e ruz baîto bârun
Many pleasant days turned rainy
xayli nar-e šir baîmo zîr-e pâlun
Many proud lions came under the saddle
xayli bi-kafen bamerden mâldârun
Many wealthy men died without a shroud
kâr-i denyâ hamîn e, ey yârûn!
That’s the manner of the world, Oh dear friends!

22 Amiri is a genre in Tabari poetry. See Habib Borjian and Maryam Borjian, “Amir Pâzvâri.” Ţâhbâz states that he documented more than a hundred amiris from Yush, but he has published only six in his monograph.
23 I.e. Shah Ŭbâs the Great, who founded the town of Ashraf in Mâzandarân and built mansions therein.
24 Cf. vâhâr, below.
Dobeytis by Nima Yushij

7 nui Hešmat, nui sâlar bamerde
    Heshmat of [the district of] Nur, the chief of Nur died
nui sarvar, nui kâmkâr bamerde
    Nur’s headman, Nur’s august died
vahâr vayo, ame26 vahâr bamerde
    It was springtime, our spring died
mard-e mardun-e razegâr bamerde
    The man of men of the era died

8 Tîrmow Sizza bieo mon cu bairom
    The festival of T. S. came; I should grab a stick
lâl az zabun, ši cešo xu naïrom
    Having become dumb, I won’t get sleepy
baymo kijâ-ye vero tu bairom
    get near the girl and I may get attacked by a fever
dasmâl hâdemo hero bero bairom
    I give a handkerchief and receive… (?)

9 man kačvar-e sarx-e juma tali mo
    I am the red-shirt thorn of foothills
man gedâyun-e xarás-e čašeni mo
    I am the relish of the food of the poor
fasl-e vahârun bolbolun-e kâli mo
    Springtime I am the nightingale’s nest
fasl-e zemesun taš-e sar-e tali mo
    Wintertime I am the fire blaze (firewood?)

25 As recollected by his co-villagers.
26 Corrected for ameye, which not only violates the meter of the verse, but also contains the oblique marker added to the oblique personal pronoun.
27 The poet is alluding to the customs of the festival of Tirâmâ Sizza: a boy who pretends to be dumb takes a stick and goes with his friends to houses; he gently strokes the residents with the stick, until they offer something.
YUSHIJ: A CASPIAN DIALECT OF THE CENTRAL ALBORZ

Glossary

âbšel sour milk (Pers. dugh)
adā, âdā one
adinakā palace (III.2)
âfen-darâ sickle with long, straight handle for trimming the trees
âfla smallpox
âftōb, âftob sunray, sun; ~-cīsma sun
Alam-sar (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush
âlāg rope hitching the yoke (jod) to the plough beam (azâl tir)
Ali-col (toponym) northern pasture near Yush. See âol
Ali-sâr (toponym) farmland in Yush irrigated by a subterranean channel
Alu (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush; ~-pešta (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
amâ, amow (pronoun) we; âme (oblique form) our
âmiza leaven for making yogurt (Pers. mâya-ye mâst)
ângis finger
âng̠s̠t̠ar ring
anni such, so much, this much
âqâz walnut
âraš forearm
ârašt curse (Pers. nefrin, násazâ)
Ari (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush; ~-e par (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
arke-mow (calendar) Sagittarius (Pers. âzar)
arâniâh blister (Pers. varam)
ârt flour
âsh horse; ~-e zin horse riding
asel-mâhowz bee (cf. ma(u)iz “bee” in most Tabari dialects). Cf. kur-mâhowz; Mâzuvan āsiovi mill
âsioviyu miller
âš bear (< OIr. *arša-, *rša-, Kd. hîrč, Pers. xers)
Ašîlî, Ašîlî (toponym) mountain and southern pasture near Yush
avâmel ox (euphemized term; < Ar.-Pers. ‘âvâmel “agents, powers”)
Âxer-saŋ (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
axlowt pepper (< Ar.-Pers. exlāt “(act of) mixing,” probably referring to mixed spices)
ayār-e raz (calendar) 12th day of une-mow, near spring equinox, when ākīdâr visit the gusansarâ to compensate the moxtâbâd for his work
âyvun terrace
azâl plough; ~ âhan iron ploughshare; ~ tir plough beam, shaped from a suitably trimmed tree fork; ~ kinga plough sole which carries the iron share; ~ dassa vertical steering handle of the plough
bač cold (probably a short past participle of *bačâan to catch a cold)
bad bad
bahra chimney of the oven
bahrkar large churn (-kar should be the present stem of “do,” now replaced by Pers. form -kon in all Tabari dialects; see Borjian 2008)
bal flame (< OIr. *bhrd- (*braz-))
bâl arm; ~-van sleeve worn by bakers; ~-kaš sleeve worn to protect the arm during collection of fodder
bâmši cat; ~ kātar kitten
Band-e-bon (toponym) quarter and water source in Yush.
bangâ small dam (< bandgâh)
barâr, b(a)rör brother. See also vari
bar-mum black wax
barîzow nephew, niece
bau beast
bel spade
belfâ, bolfâ eyebrow
ben, bzn bottom; (postposition) under
berma weep(ing) (cf. Parth. bram- < OIr. *bram)
bešg orbicular, dung (of sheep)
bešti crispy rice scraped from the bottom of pot (Pers. tah-dig; cf. Pers. berešta “crispy”)
H. BORJIAN

bêtin stomach, belly
bôz goat
bištêziyûl kind of pastry. Cf. bêti
bolbol mičkâ nightingale (III.3)
bôn rounded dough for baking bread
bozura stem of wheat or barley
bum roof
čâb-o-ros (lit. left and right) S-shaped hook
used in the thresher (xîza)
čakâd manmade mound in roads (cf. Mid.
Pers. čakâd, “summit, peak, mountain,”
Armian (< Ir.) čakat “forehead,” Kd. čî
“mountain”)
čaki-dâr owner of a cow and a few sheep
čaluk penis
čaluk spindle
čangel beet
čanën clenching stick squeezed into the hole
near the tip of plough beam to hold the rope
(alašg)
čapi heave (Pers. kandu)
čarxe-vow whirlwind (Pers. čarxįgerd-bâd)
čel crazy
čela prong of the pitchfork
čêner mooing, tone of voice of the cattle and
boars
čêsh eye
čêcher stones around the water source
čêti how
čôk land washed out by inundation
čêke me mist
čêl wheel of the mill (< OIr. *čaxra-)
čêl grave (cf. Pers. čâl)
-čêl (toponym suffix) depression, lowland (cf.
jul)
čêla child
čemol barking, voice of wolves and dogs
čû wood
dâhân mouth
dâhîr tree
damak vessel for milk and yogurt
dannon tooth
dar door
darezen needle
darija window
Dar-mion (toponym) northern pasture near
Yush
dassâ handle
dassang hand-mill
dastâr assistant (Pers. dastyâr)
day-mow (calendar) Capricorn (Pers. dêy)
dâze (lit. twelve; measure of weight) half a
maund, 12 sîrs
deh village (cf. mahalla “village,” in Caspian
littoral dialects)
dela (adverb) inside; (postposition) in, inside
(can be from dar, with *r > l, a common
Tabari characteristic; or from del “heart”)
derâzî length
di smoke
dim chick (Pers. lop)
dir far
dirgâ (adverb) outside
divak kind of wheat
dohoj quilt (Neseni dojî)
domes two-year-old calf
donqor measure of yogurt (Pers. peymâna-ye
mâst)
dorîz kind of wheat
dorom (measure of weight) 3 sîrs (maybe
from *Oraya-, as may do Tiram River; see
Borjian, 2013a, III)
dowz sickle (consisting of dassa “handle,”
gerdan “neck,” bôfâ “brow,” tôk “tip”)
duna rice
duš shoulder
dušâ-go (lit. milk cow) cow capable of giv-
ing birth
dušên churn
aspi, spi white
ešnofa sneeze
fâre chicken of the partridge
fôz willow
fenduqa nut
fie shovel for sifting the threshed harvest (<
Olr. *faya-/*fiya-, cf. OInd. sphiya- “scap-
ula, shoulder blade,” Wakhi fyak, psy
“shoulder-blade, spade,” classical Pers. faya “spade” (< *fayaka-), Sog. âlyk
“shoulder,” Yagh. fîk “id.,” Oss. fîjâk
“spade.” Cf. Tabari xia “wooden spade” in
Târix-e Tabarestân, cf. Pers. xolâ “spade”
(s.v. in Borhân-e Qâte’))
filik saliva (= felik, xolik, xoli in other Tabari
dialects; cf. Pers. xala “the watery fluid
seeping from the eyes” (s.v. in Farhang-e
Ânandrâj))
fiŋili nestling (Pers. rîza)
fordine-mow (calendar) Aries (Pers. farvardin)
frām barren cow, incapable of producing offspring; --gusan barren sheep
gab speech (Pers. harf)
gahre cradle; --jow urinal placed in the cradle
gal mouse; rat? (cf. Tonekāboni gal “rat,” gezer “mouse”)
gāleš cow herder
gāleš-gow coyote?
gal-yā narrow alley (lit. mouse alley)
Gamiraye-qalt (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
gandeno skin wart (Pers. zegil)
garne bald (II.16)
Garzön (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
gat big
gel flower
gel-e (preposition) into (II.18)
Genāraye-qalt (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
gi excrement. Cf. guî
gij confused
gohāl sack (Pers. javâl)
gohon heath, goat’s thorn (Pers. gavan)
golang large needle (Pers. javâlduz)
Gol-o-bôn (toponym) water source in Yush
gomej jug
goşādi width
gow cow (Neseni go)
gug, gugzâ calf
gugvun shepherd of calves
güi dung of the cattle. Cf. gi
gulkha bundle
guros millet (Pers. ġavers, arzan)
gusan(d) sheep (if not a secondary, shortened form of guspdand, then it probably reflects a Perside development of OIr. *sp into s; cf. Armenian Sandaramet < Perside form of the name of the deity Spandârmad, from which derives Pers. gospand “sheep,” lit. “sacred cattle”)
gusan-sarâ sheepcote in highlands
gustî (lit. of or related to meat) killed sheep
Halom (toponym) quarter in Yush
hammâz partner (Pers. anbāz)
hamrâ (postposition) with, together
hamru pear (Pers. amrud)
hamun sack (Pers. anbân)
harâd river (< Harâd, the river on an upstream confluence of which lies Yush)
hasowr dew (Pers. šabnam)
haṣsa kernel
hassâl pool used for irrigation (Pers. estaxr)
hassexo bone
hâvâng mortar
havow air
hynma firewood
hyn (pronoun) this
huyunjâ (adverb) here
jâ place
jâ, ja (postposition) from (< OIr. *hača-, cf. Mid. Pers. hač, az, Parth. až, Old Tabari aj, Gilaki ja, Gorgâni -yâ, Azari aj, Kurd. zîlže, až, Bal. ač, aš, etc.)
javan young
jert torn, ripped (Pers. jer, pâra)
jir below (< OIr. *hača-adari-, cf. Pers. (a) zêr)
jod yoke (from joxt or joft; cf. Kurd. jôt, Pers. yugh < OIr. *yuxta- (*yuk-))
Jol-e-lo (toponym) farmland in Yush. Cf. jul jom bowl
jugi gypsy
juja chicken
jul deep (< OIr. *jafra-)
jula — šir ~ milk pail (II.2)
juma shirt
juši (lit. susceptible to boiling) angry
kačeles wooden ladle (Pers. āb-gârdân-e čubi)
Kâčiar (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
kačvar foothill (III.9)
kahrobâd fishhook (cf. Pers. kahrobâd “amber”)
kahu, kau dark blue (Pers. kabud)
kal bald; ~zami fallow land
kal male, he-goat
kalâči piebald, parti-colored, variegated (Pers. ablaq)
kala-sang stones around the hearth. Cf. kola kaleper stepfather (II.11)
kalesen scarecrow (Pers. matarsak)
kaloč crow, raven
kalow jug
kalvatayn pair of plyers used for pulling out teeth (< Ar.-Pers. kalbatayn)
kal-zami → kal
kamuna plough stilt mortised into the rear of the plough beam and held in position by a wedge (pows)  
kanneli wasp (probably from OIr. *ka-anga-, cf. South Kurd. kăng “bee”)  
kapar bush (Pers. buta)  
sheaf of fodder grass; (measure of weight)  
12 kars make 40 maunds or one xarvār; --vand binder around a kar  
karak large pot  
Karbalā-ye sar (toponym) southern pasture near Yush  
kard ditch between two farmlands  
Kare-sar-e-bôn (toponym) shady-side farm-land in Yush  
Kariz (toponym; lit. kâriz/kahriz, qanāt) farm-land in Yush irrigated by a subterranean channel  
karvand → kar  
akāsh time, one of several instances (Pers. bār, daf’ā)  
kaše bosom, hugging (III.4) (probably from OIr. *kaša-, cf. Sogd. 'pk’š “arm-pit” < OIr. *upa-kaša-)  
kaši (past principle form) girth, strap (Pers. tang-e qāter o asb)  
kašqit, qašqit pie, magpie, jackdaw (Pers. zāghča)  
Kašṭi nešun (sign of zodiac) Great Bear (Pers. Haft barādarān, Haft owrang, Banát al-na’š)  
kāšyar crow (Pers. kalāgh-e nok qermez)  
katār chin  
katīn trunk of the tree  
kau → kahū; vow  
kāvi three-year-old lamb  
kāy(y)ar worker  
kazdūm wild pear  
kāja where  
kele cub (of a bear or a pig)  
kālam ash  
keli, koli nest  
kel-kel cough  
kalom stable (Neseni kālom, lūše, Pers. tavila)  
kār pivot of the door revolving in the lintel (Pers. pāšna-ye dar)  
karē-mow (calendar) Taurus (Pers. ordibe-hešt)  
ker-gi-čol depression in ground for weaving jājim. See also -čol  
kork hen  
kerzang kind of grass  
Kerzang-e-čol (toponym) northern pasture near Yush  
kāš urine  
kota short  
tetal ear of corn  
katar → bāmši-kotar  
katgo → sag-katgo  
kijā girl (cf. kīza in Judeo-Pers. dūškīza, and Pers. kanīz, which may have come from OIr. *hanya-ča-. If kijā is derived from the latter root, the problem of the missing nasal may be justified through the processes of consonantal assimilation and de-gemination: *kēnjā > *kijā > *kijā. A similar line of diachronic development, but in reverse order, is proposed for Pers. kālijār ~ kālin-jār “war campaign,” farījāb ~ faranjāb “dew,” and z.vij~ zunij “sausage” by ‘Ali-Ašraf Sādeqi in Masā’el-e tārixi-e zabān-e fārsi, Tehran, 2001, pp. 51-65)  
kil plough, till  
kīla ditch, channel  
king buttocks, bottom, tale  
kīsa sack  
Kofer-čol (toponym; lit. unbeliever’s grave) northern pasture near Yush  
kola hearth  
Komerd (toponym) village near Yush  
kopā, kupā heap of the harvest, pile (cf. Pers. kop(p)ā “id.”; Mid. Pers. kōf < OPers. kaṭa-, Av. kaōfa- “mountain”)  
Kopā-čin (toponym; lit. heap like) northern pasture near Yush  
kor stratified rock with sharp edges  
kord, kōrd shepherd  
Kōrd maḥle (toponym) quarter in Yush  
korgak grey partridge (Pers. tihu)  
kork partridge (Pers. kābk). Cf. kuk, kork  
Košgog (toponym; lit. calf killer) northern pasture near Yush  
kotar pigeon  
kothkote ladder  
kow game, play (cf. Mid. Pers. kādāg)  
kowr work
ku mountain
kuk pheasant. Cf. körk
kur-мâhowz fly. Cf. mâhowz
Kutkuti (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
kua jug
la lying, recline (I.1)
lafika small pot
lalepar a kind of grass
Lâlevay (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
Lalök (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
laš threshing ground
latar (measure of weight) 24 maunds
lavi cupper pot
lem fish (Pers. čerk-e tan)
Lex-ğuzen-e-pas (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
lifo pitchfork (consisting of a dassa “handle” and čela “prongs”), used for winnowing and sifting the threshed harvest
ling leg
Lo (toponym) mountain near Yush
lo ⋆ low
loak buddle, wooden pan or tub (Pers. làvak)
lok stomach (II.20)
lošg harrow beam attached to an oxen-drawn plough and boarded by the cultivator to finish the tillage
lotok wooden plate on which students write homework
lo(w) up (Pers. bâlã); *north, in lu meh large, cooling clouds that come from the col; lo vow northerly cold wind
lowkpešt turtle
lowš (i.e. láš corpse) dead sheep
lu ⋆ baxerdan to be kicked (II.13); see also low
lulayn water vessel (Pers. lulahang, that is lula “tube, pipe, duct” and hang < OIr. ðanj- “drag”)
lur dairy product made by boiling the juice of the cheese
luša lip (Pers. lowča)
mâhowz → asel-mâhowz
mâhr snake
majji lentil (Neseni majjī)
mâmo-jing-jing kind of pastry
mâr, mowr mother
mardi man; husband
mârme rz (calendar) first day of the month
Mâzûvan, Mâzûban (toponym) mountain and northern pasture near Yush. Cf. asel-mâhowz
meh cloud (cf. Mid. Ir. mēg < OIr. *maiga)
mejela ant
mellâle-mow (calendar) Leo (Pers. mordâd)
mon (measure of weight) maund
mon, man (pronoun) I; mi my, mâne me
morgâna egg
mi hair, wool
mičkâ — bolbol ~ nightingale
Mičkâ-sang (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
mija eyelash
Minâk (toponym) village near Yush
mîr-e-mow (calendar) Libra (Pers. mehr)
mîs fist, handful (< OIr. *musti-, cf. Av. musti, Mid. Pers. must)
Mînj (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
mow month
mow female; ~ gusan ewe
moxtâbâd chief shepherd (could be a grouping of Mid. Iranian mûttag “trained” (cf. Parth. ammûttag “learned, taught”) and OIr. suffix *pati. As such, the Tabari phonological rule *xt > t is violated! In the Tabari dialect of Kordkheyl we find the present stem mês- and the causative past stem mèsandi- “teach, learn”; mês- < inchoative stem *ham-auk-s-, which yields Man. Mid. Pers. hammôxs- (inchoative as passive) “be taught,” hammôz- “teach,” Arm. (< Ir.) hamozem “convince”)
mul bastard
nana grandmother
nâv duct made from a tree trunk used for transferring water from a stream to water-mill
Naykalâ (toponym) farmland in Yush irrigated by a subterranean channel
nesem shade, shady side of the mountain not exposed to sunray (cf. Pers. nasâr)
Nesem-e nalin (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush
Nesen (toponym) upstream village on the west of Yush
nini pupil of the eye
nistiok gutter (Pers. nadvan). Cf. nāv
Nobon (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
norze-mow (calendar; lit. the month of Nowruz) Pisces (Pers. esfand)
nui Nurā, from or related to Nur
num name
Nur (toponym) district to which Yush belongs.
   Cf. nui
oloxi wild horse (cf. Turko-Pers. ili)
omiz leaven, yeast (used for bread backing;
   Pers. xamir-māya-ye nān; cf. Pers. âmiz “mix”)
oosuni tale, legend (Pers. afsâna)
ow water (Neseni o)
owestan pregnant (note SW Iranian s < *-q-r-)
owros bride
ow-vozi bathing (Pers. âb-tani/bâzi)
pal pasha rib (Pers. danda)
pamma cotton
pansalvār kind of pants
par foothill
pardu thick branch of the tree; rafter covering
   the roof of a sheepcote (tālār) (likely to be a semantic extension of “bridge”;
   cf. Gilaki pard, Kurdish pird, Pers. pol “bridge”)
pare little bit
pātrāzi kind of long bread
patu soft dried whey (kaš in Kiā, no. 155, s.v. “binu”)
pe(h) (postposition) after, following (II.2)
Pehe (toponym) farmland in Yush
pella platform (Pers. sakka)
penemowz sundown, evening (− pe after + namāz prayers)
pesar son
pešilik butterfly
pid cross-eyed (< past participle form *pēxta “twisted”)
pilak measure of yogurt (Pers. peymāna-ye māst)
pir, per [pir] father
pisqāb plate
pilak (calendar) five intercalary days; −vā wind blowing during the pilak
piqilî owl. Cf. pid
poiz autumn
pows wedge squeezed between the plough stilt (kamuna) and the hole in the plough beam (cf. Pers. pās “guard”)
Poyni (toponym; lit. lower) quarter in Yush
qabressun cemetery
qase (measure of weight) local maund, equal to 44 sīrs
qavā gown, caftan
Qeble-namā (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
gelf lock (Pers. qof)
gēb heel. Cf. kopā
qolqolak water glass
qorofak belch(ing), burp (Pers. ârogh)
Rahōr (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush
rasan string, cord, thread
raxu clothes (must be a loanword from Persian owing to retention of the consonantal cluster *xt)
rešva (lit. bribes) manure (Pers. kud)
rey way, road (Pers. rāh)
Rigāji (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
rikô boy (Neseni rīkô) (cf. Mid. Pers. rēdak “lad, boy,” rahīg “page, boy”)
rušan bright
rušanak Venous
sabāhi morning
sahrā, sa:rā farmland irrigated by the river; − mardi act of working in the field (II.31)
sak, sag dog; − kâgo puppy
sâlik fishnet
saliko ventilation duct, chimney (Pers. havā-kaš)
samow dance (Pers. samâ’)
Sâmun-tanāz (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
sang stone
Sang(-e)-si (toponym) southern pasture and farmland near Yush
Sâng-e-plax (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
sar (postposition) on; in
Sar-bişol (toponym) sunny-side farmland in Yush
Sar-e ğol (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
sartaxta forehead
sâza broom
sefak wild apple. Cf. sif
Sefak (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
cloth
sej dried black curds (Tehrani Pers. qardâ-rut)
sejak two-year-old lamb
sej satiated
Ser-e-no (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
sere-piš front yard of the house
Sernay-e-čol (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
Ser-e bon (toponym; lit. red upslope) southern pasture near Yush
setāra star
sevā separate
-si (toponym suffix) hill
sif apple. Cf. sejak
sio black (cf. Parth. siyāw)
Sioči (?) (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
somes three-year-old calf
soreşt Caucasian partridge (Pers. kabk-e dar)
sow scream (Pers. faryâd)
spi white of the eye → aspi
spij louse
šabčera snack eaten in nightly gatherings
šāl, šol jackal
šarbowz seditious (Pers. šarur, fetnagar)
šāxa branch (of the tree)
šol loose
šelāp heavy rain, shower
Šele-gon (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
šerwine-mow (calendar) Virgo (Pers. šahrivar < Av. xšaṇra-vairya-)
šey first milk (cf. Aftari šet, Tati šet, Parthian šif “milk”)
šekela tenent (Pers. panir māya)
ši (reflexive pronoun; see §2.5) self (cf. Pers. xʷeš, Kurd. ūe, Aftari jūm, Tâkestâni jà, jana, Tâlysh čay, čavôn, Sêmâni masc. čo and fem. čin, etc. However, ši may have developed from an original enclitic 3rd per-
son singular pronoun -eš, which functions as possessive in many Iranian languages28)
ši husband
šole kind of wheat
šom dinner
šomow (pronoun) you
šu, šow night
šukâ deer (< OIr. *asuka-, cf. Sogd. āsûk, Kurd. āsik, Pashto (h)osay, but Mid. Pers. āhûk. The loss of the initial d- in Tabari is found also in taš “fire”)
šukr (lit. thanks) bundle of fodder grass given as wage to the mower
tab ball
tabarzi poplar tree (Pers. tabrizi)
tāl dung (of cattle) used as fuel
talà cock
talâji trout
tâlâr sheepcote in lowlands
tali thorn
Talio (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush
Taṇâs (toponym) shady-side farmland in Yush
tanir oven
tâpî churn
tarne fresh (< OIr. *tarna-ka- or *tṛnaka-, cf. Pers. tar, tarrā)
tarne-gug calf before reaching one year of age
tarne-mâr newly calved cow
taš fire
taši porcupine (Pers. juja-tighi)
taya prepare (from Pers. tahiya)
telâr cave, Cf. tâlār
telok kind of small bread with a circular design on the surface
teraš reaping, harvest, mow (Pers. derow)
ttirg hail
terra handrail (Pers. narda)
tuxsân bau cockroach
tîk beak (Pers. mengâr)
tikâ ortolan, ortolan bunting, Emberiza hortulana (Pers. tukâ)
tîl mud
tîrang pheasant (Pers. qarqâvol)
tîre-mow (calendar) Cancer (Pers. tîr)

28 If so, Tabari shares the development with, say, Ārâni, which has še 3rd pers. sg. pronoun in indirect object position; see E. Yarshater, s.v. “Bidgol and Bidgoli,” Encyclopaedia Iranica.
Tirmow sizza (calendar) festival held on the eve of the 13th day of tire-mow
tok pile, raker, inclined support to the unsafe
wall (II.20)
tök tip. Cf. tik
toloni churn made from a tree trunk
tosun summer
tow yarn, thread, cord (Pers. nax, tâb)
tu (pronoun) you; ti, te, to (oblique) your
tur axe
tura sack, nosebag (Pers. tubra)
tutak kind of pastry
une-mow (calendar) Scorpio (Pers. âbân)
urusi shoe (lit. “Russian”)
uyanne, uyanni remaining, leftover (I.6)
vâ, vow wind; kau ~ southerly, warm wind; lo ~ northerly, cold wind; pitak ~ wind that
blows during the pitak. See also çarxe-vow
vag frog
vahår(un) spring
vahmane-mow (calendar) Aquarius (Pers. bah-
man < OIr. vohu-manah)
Vâ-jol (toponym) northern pasture near Yush
Vak-col (toponym) sunny-side farmland in
Yush
val deformed, slant, crooked (Pers. kaj)
valg leaf
Vali-sang (toponym) sunny-side farmland in
Yush
-van(d) (suffix) binder. See bâl; kar
vannâli moss or weed growing around water
sources
varf snow
vari (postposition) side; pir~ brôr, mâr~
brôr half brother
vâri (postposition) by, like (II.14)
varkâ one-year-old lamb
varo-navaro bringing good or bad luck (Pers. 
âmad-nayâmad)
varvar cot, file, pass
varzo ox; â~frâm ox
vâš grass, fodder
vâše eagle
vašño hungry
vène, veno must
verg wolf
Verx-tala-ye-si (toponym; lit. wolf-trap hill)
northern pasture near Yush
verow terraced farmland used for dry farming
vešun, vešôn, vešân, ušân, ušan (pronoun) they
vi (pronoun) he, she; vi (oblique) his
vija handsapn (Pers. vajab)
vinâ nose
vinja alfalfa (Pers. yonja)
voreš rain
vow → vâ
yung voice (of people)
Xanâs (toponym) southern pasture near Yush
xarak boji yellow roach
Xar-e-gar (toponym) shady-side farmland in
Yush
Xar-kolom (toponym; lit. donkey stable)
northern pasture near Yush
xarmiza melon
Xar-sare-duš (toponym) southern pasture near
Yush
xâxor sister
xedow God
xejiak tickling
xejir pretty (< hu-čihr)
xere-mow (calendar) Gemini (Pers. xordâd)
xeš kiss
xi pig
xiza thresher: wooden platform drawn by bull-
ocks for threshing the cereal harvest
xor well, good (xâr in some other Tabari vari-
eties; cf. Isfahani Persian xâr kardan “to
comb hair”) xortâb sunny side of the mountain
xow, xu sleep
yâ alley
yak one
Yaxcol-si (toponym) southern pasture near
Yush
yak-pahlu stubborn
yof pair (II.27)
yušij of or related to Yush
zâ-gusan sheep capable of producing offspring
zaij, zâyj, zâjęj capable of producing offspring, 
especially a cow. Cf. zâyj
Zaki-abod (toponym) shady-side farmland in
Yush
zamessun winter
zami(n) ground, earth
zamil basket (Pers. zambil)
zardak carrot

H. BORJIAN
YUSHIJ: A CASPIAN DIALECT OF THE CENTRAL ALBORZ

zeg mucus of nose
zolfin latch, fastening of the door (Pers. čeft-e
dar)
zevun tongue
zine morda → zuzu-kow

ENGLISH-YUSHIJ

alfalfa vinja
alley yâ: gal-yâ
angry juši
ant mejela
apple sif; sefak
Aquarius vahmane-mow
Aries fordine-mow
arm bâl
ash kolm
assistant dastâr
autumn pož
axe tur
bad bad
bald kal; garne
ball tab
bark čomol
barren frâm
basket zamil
bastard mul
bathing ow-vozi
beak tîk
beat aš
beast bau
bee asel-máhowz
beet čangel
belch qorofak
belly lok
below jir
big gat
binder kar-vand
blister armâh
blue kahu/kau
bone hasaexo
bosom kaše
bottom ben/hân
bowl jom
boy riko
branch šāxa; a:jâr; pardu
bread (types) telok; pâtrâzi

zinni knee
zur dung (of a donkey)
zuzu-kow (also known as zine morda) Gilli-
danda: game played by boys (Pers. alak-
dolak)

bride owros
bright rašan
broom såza
brother barâr, b(a)rör
brow belfa/bolfa
buddle loak
bunch kar
bundle guliča
bush kapar
butterfly pešilik
buttocks king
by vári
calf gug, gugzâ; tarne-gug; domes; somes
Cancer tire-mow
Capricorn day-mow
carrot zardak
cat bâmši
cattle → cow, ox, calf
cattle owner čakidâr
cave telâr
cemetery qabressun
channel kila
chick dim
chicken juja; fare
child čola
chimney bahra; saliko
chin katâr
churn tolom; dušôn; tápâ; bahkar; jula
clothes raxt
cock talâ
cockroach tasan bau; xarak boji
cold bač
confused gij
corpse lowš
cot varvar
cotton pamma
cough kel-kel
courtyard sere-piš
cow gow; dušá-go; zâyj; tarnemâr
cow herder gâleš
coyote gâleš-gow
cradle gahre
crazy čel
crispy rice beštî
crooked val
cross-eyed pid
crow kalo; kâšyar; kašqit; qašqit
cub kela; katar; katgo
curse arâst

dairy product lur; sej
dance samow
day ruz
deep jûl; -čol
deer šukâ
defined val
dew hasowr
dinner šom
ditch kila; kard
dog sak/sag
door dar
duct nûv
dung gui; tâl; zur; bešg
eagle váše
ear of corn ketal
egg mörqona
evening penemowz
ewe mow-gusan
excrement gi
eye češ
eyebrow belfa/bolfa
eyelash mía
fallow land kal zami
far dir
farmland sahrâlsa:râ; verow
father pir/per
female mow
fertile zaij
filth len
finger anglis
fire taš
firewood hayma
first day of the month màrme ruz
first milk šey
fishhook kahrobâ
fishnet sâlik
fist mis
flame bal
flour ârt
flower gel
fly kur-mâhowz
following pe(h)
foothill kačvar; par
forearm araš
forehead sartaxta
fresh tarne
frog wâg
from jâija
game kow
Gemini xere-mow
Gilli-danda game zuz-kow
girl kijâ
girth kaši
glass qolqolak
goat bhz; kal
God xedow
good xor
gown qavâ
grandmother nana
grass vâš; lalepar; kerzang
grave čol
ground zami(n)
gutter ništök
gypsy jugi
hail tãrig
hair mi
hand span vija
hand-mill dassang
handful mis
handle dassa
handrail terra
he vi
heap of the harvest kopâikupâ
hearth kola
heath gohon
heave čapi
heel qîb
hen kark
herder gâleš
here haynjâ
hill -sî
horse asb; oloxi
how čiti
hungry vašno
husband ši; mardi
I man/man
inside dela
intercalary days pitak
jackal šâlišol
jug gomej; kalow; kaza
kernel hassa
kiss xeš
kitten bâmši-kotar
knee zinni
ladder kotkote
ladle kačesel
lamb varkâ; kâvi; selak
land zani; laš; čok
latch zâlfin
leaf valg
leaven omiz
leftover uyanne/uyanni
leg ling
legend osuni
length derâzi
lentil majji
Leo mellâle-mow
Libra mire-mow
lip luša
little pare
lock qelf
loose šal
louse spij
maggie → crow
man mardi
manure rešva
measure for yogurt donqor; pilak
measure of weight man; qase; dorom; dâze;
   latar
melon xarmiza
mill âsiow
miller âsiowvun
millet guros
mist čok-e me
month mow
mooing čener
morning sabâhi
mortar hâvang
moss vanâli
mother mār/mowr
mound čakâd
mountain ku

mouse gal
mouth dâhân
mowing terâš
much por
mucus zeg
mud til
must veni/veno
name num
needle darezen; golang
nephew barörzow
nest keli
nestling říngili
niece barörzow
night řówišu
nightingale bolbol mičkâ
nose vini
nut fenduqa
on sar
one addâ/adâ; yak
outside dirgâ
oven tanir
owl pitgili
ox varzo; avâmel
pair yoft
palace adinâkâ
pan loak
pants pan-šâlvâr
partner hammâz
partridge körk; korgâk; soreni; kuk; tirang
pear hamru; kazdum
penis čalak
pepper axlowt
pigeon kotar
pile tok
Pisces norze-mow
pitchfork lifo
pivot of the door kâr
place jâ
plate pîsqâb
platform pella
play kow
plough (and its parts) kil; azâl; lošg; kamuna;
   čânöni; pows
pool hassâl
poplar tree tabarzi
porcupine taši
pot lavi; karak; laftika; bahrkar
pregnant ovestan
prepare taya
pretty xejir
productive zaij
prong čela
pupil of the eye nini
puppy sag-kətgo
quilt dohoj
rafter pardu
rain voreš; šeláp
raven → crow
reaping terāš
rennet šeykela
rib palašofa
rice duna
ring angustar
river harāz
road rey
rock kor
roof bum
rope rasan; alašg
sack gohâl; hamun; kisa; tura
Sagittarius arke-mow
saliva filik
satiated ser
scarecrow kalesen
Scorpio une-mow
scream sow
seditious šarbowz
self ši
separate sevá
shade nesem
sheaf kar
sheep gusan(d); mow-gusan; zâ-gusan
sheepcote gusan-sarâ; tâlâr
shepherd kord/körd; gugvun; moxtâbâd
shirt juma
shoe urusi
short kata
shoulder duš
shovel fie
shower šeláp
sickle dowz; áfen-dare
sister xâxor
sleep xowl/xu
smallpox áfla

smoke di
snack šabčera
snake mâhr
sneeze ešnofa
snow varf
son pesar
sour milk ābšel
spade bel
speech gab
spindle čaluk
spring vahâr
stable kalom
star setâra
stem bozura
stepfather kaleper
stick čanón
stomach betin; lok
stone sang; kala-sang; čičer
story osuni
strap kaši
string rasan
stubborn yâk-pahlu
such anni
summer tosun
sun āftōb/āftob
sunny side xortâb
tablecloth sefra
tale osuni
Taurus körče-mow
terrace ayvun
they vešun
this hayn
thorn talī
thread tow
thresher xîze
threshing ground laš
tickling xejiak
till kil
tip tök
tongue zevun
tonight amšu
tooth dannn
torn jert
tree dâhor
trouth talâji
trunk katin
turtle lowkpešt
under ben
YUSHIJ: A CASPIAN DIALECT OF THE CENTRAL ALBORZ

up low
urine koš
Venous rušanak
vessel dušon; tápi; tolom
vessel jula; âmiza; damak; lulayn; gomej
village deh
Virgo šervine-mow
voice vung; čener
walnut âquz
wart gandeno
wasp kanneli
water ow
wax (black) bar-mum
we amâ, amow
wedge pows
weep(ing) berma
well xor
wheat (types) divak; doriz; šole
wheel čol
where kaja
whirlwind čarxe-vow
white âspi, spi
width gošâdi
willow fag
wind vâ
window darîja
winter zamessun
with hamrâ
wolf verg
wood ču
work kowr
yard sere-piš
yarn tow
yeast oniz
yoke jod
you tu; šomow
young javun; jâhel

REFERENCES

Yoshie, Sotoko, Sârî Dialect, Tokyo, 1996.