THE DIALECT OF SHĀHRUD (KHALKHĀL)[1]

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THE object of this paper is to give preliminary information about Shāhrudi, one of the Iranian dialects spoken in Khalkhāl, the south-eastern province of Āzarbāijān lying between the Caspian province of Tālesh to the east, Ardabil to the north, Zanjān to the south, and Miyāna(j) to the west.

Our information about the Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān, where a form of Turkish is the common language, has until recently been very defective. The scanty material available was summed up by Professor W. B. Henning in a recent article.[2] Since then, however, several studies of the current dialects of Āzarbāijān have been published.[3] Among them one may mention Y. Zoka's description of the dialects of Karingān [4] (a village in the Dizmār district of the province of Ahar, near the Russian border) and Galin Qaya,[5] and the work of A. A. Karang [6] and M. Mortazavi [7] on Harzani. Yet, so far, no proper study of the Iranian dialect of Khalkhāl has been published and, in the absence of Dr. Baer's lost materials,[8] the information about this dialect remains very meagre. Professor Henning's discussion of Khalkhāli, based on the late A. Kasravi's quotations,[9] is unique.[10]

Recently, when intending to travel to Khalkhāl, I was fortunate enough to meet in Tehrān a native of Kulur, the main village among those in Khalkhāl where this dialect (called *Tāti* by its speakers) is spoken. From him I collected some material about his language. I feared, however, that his speech might have been influenced by *Tāleši*, owing to the close relations between the people of Kulur and Tālesh. As a check, therefore, I secured the help of two long-sought informants from Shāl, a village about three kilometres distant from Kulur, who happened to stay in Tehrān. In the course of working with them I found one, Tahmuresi, a young man of 32, a particularly articulate and intelligent informant. Owing to the longer period I could work with him the material collected was more extensive and included three tales and two interesting descriptive pieces. Although my Kuluri materials were entirely confirmed I have, therefore, preferred to base the present paper on the materials obtained from Tahmuresi.

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[1] I am deeply grateful to Dr. D. N. MacKenzie for the generous help he has given me in the preparation of this article.

[2] ' The ancient language of Azerbaijan ', *TPS*, 1954.

[3] A number of Iranian words used in Āzarbāijāni Turkish can be found in Dr. Y. Navvabi's *Zabān-e konuni-ye Āzarbāijān*, Tabriz, 1954.

[4] *Guyeš-e Karingān*, Tehrān, 1954.

[5] ' Guyeš-e Galin Qaya ', *Farhang-e Irān zamin*, v, 1.

[6] *Tāti va Harzani*, Tabriz, 1955.

[7] ' Nokte'i cand az zabān-e Harzani ', *Našriye-ye Dāneškade-ye adabiyāt-e Tabriz*, vi, 3.

[8] See Henning, op. cit., 166.

[9] S. A. Kasravi, *Āzari*, 3rd ed., Tehrān, [1946].

[10] [Dr. Yarshater, apparently, has not had access to A. A. Karang's pamphlet *Khalkhāli*, s.l., 1334, which concerns *Kajali*.—W. B. H.]

Both Shāl and Kulur, whose dialects differ slightly, belong to Shāhrud, one of the five rural districts of Khalkhāl, of which it occupies the south-eastern corner. It comprises about 32 villages and hamlets, the largest being Kulur, of some 3,000 inhabitants, lying 24 km. to the south of the road leading from Miyāna(j) to Haru-ābād, the administrative centre of Khalkhāl. In all these villages both Tāti and Turkish are generally spoken, Tāti being the native language, with the exception of four (according to my Shāli informants) to seven villages (according to the *Farhang-e joγrāfiyā'i-ye Irān*, IV, Tehrān, 1951) where Turkish is the sole language in use.

In studying Shāhrudi one gains, from the first, the impression that this dialect closely resembles southern Tāleši, especially the variety spoken in Shānderman and Māsāl, the southernmost districts of the Persian province of Tālesh.

In what follows occasional reference is made to the following dialects :

As.	Tāl. of Asālem, a central district of Pers. Tālesh.
Cāl.	Tāti dialect of Chāl, or Shāl, a village in the Rāmand district of Qazvin.
Har.	Harzani.
Kaj.	Tāti dialect of Kajal, a village in the Kāghazkonān district of Khalkhāl, 27 km. north of Āq-Kand.
Karg.	Tāl. of Kargāna-Rud, a northern district of Pers. Tālesh.
Karin.	Karingāni.
Kul.	Kuluri.
Māsāl.	Tāl. of Māsāl.
Māsul.	Tāl. of Māsule, in north-western Gilān.
Shān.	Tāl. of Shānderman.
Tāk.	Tākestāni.
Tāl.	Tāleši.
Tāl.-D	Tāl. of Tālesh-Dulāb, a central district of Pers. Tālesh.

PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS.   The Shāli consonants appear to be the following :

	Labial	Dental and Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive . .	p b	t d	[ḱ ǵ]	k g	
Affricate . .			c j		
Fricative . .	f v	s z	š	x γ	h
Nasal . .	m	n		[ŋ]	
Rolled . .		r			
Lateral . .		l		[ɫ]	
Semi-vowel .	w		y		

The dental plosives are generally heard with appreciable aspiration [tʻ, dʻ] when prevocalic, but in final position they have a weaker plosion.

The velar plosives *k*, *g* [1] are somewhat advanced [k̓, g̓] under the influence of neighbouring palatal sounds, but hardly ever as advanced as Pers. palatal plosives. *g* tends to become devoiced in final position following another consonant, e.g. [karg̓] ' hen ', [reʃ(g̓)] ' nit ', [moŋᶢ, moŋᵏ, moŋ] ' moon ', [zeŋᶢ, zě͞ᶢ, zeŋᵏ] ' knee '.

In saṃdhi there is evidence of both the voicing of final *k*, e.g. [xɑːᶄ] ' earth ', [xiᶄ] ' skin bag ' (but always [xeˈlek] ' spade '), and the devoicing of *d*, *g*, e.g. [perḍ] ' bridge ', [seg̓] ' stone '.

The affricate *c* is most strongly aspirated [tʃʻ] in initial position.

f, *v* are normally labio-dental. I heard bilabial [ɸ] in [dafarsəm, daɸarsəm] ' I ask ' only. *v* is loosely articulated when intervocalic.

z is normally dental, but occasionally I heard it tend towards palatal [ʒ], probably through Tāl. influence (see p. 62).

x, *γ* are almost uvular. It is not always easy to decide whether *γ* is a fricative or a weak plosive [ɢ]. In initial position and as the first member of a cluster it is perhaps best described as a flapped uvular [ʀ].

h is rather unstable in (*h*)*aˈni* ' again ', (*h*)*aˈma* ' we ', (*h*)*a* ' that '. It is lost intervocalically in derivatives of *hardan* ' to eat ', with compensatory vowel lengthening, e.g. [ˈnaːrəm] ' I do not eat ', [ˈbaːrdeʃe] ' he ate '.

n is alveolar. Both *n* and *m* are sometimes weakened when final, giving rise to nasalized vowels (notably in the 1st person sg. and pl. of the present indicative). [vɪriˈdʒə̃] *verijəm* ' I run ', [vɪriˈdʒã] *verijam* ' we run ', [ʃɑːˈnanã] *šāna-nam* ' with a fork ', [tʃeˈmã] *ceman* ' my, mine ', [eʃˈtã] *eštan* ' self, own '. The velar nasal [ŋ] is heard only when *n* is followed by *g*, [moŋᶢ] *māng* ' moon ', [zeŋᶢ] *zeng* ' knee ', [zaŋgəˈla, zãgəˈla] *zangəla* ' bell '.

r is rolled alveolar. *l* is generally broad, but it is greatly influenced by its phonetic context. It is an advanced palatal in [zalˈlə] ' woman ' and [ˈmavlin] ' do not tread ', and a broad velar in [ˈiɫːa] *'illa* < *'i-gəla* ' one ', where the velar plosive has been attracted to *l*.

VOWELS. The vowel phonemes of Shāli have appeared to me, with due reservations, to be the following :

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
i & & u \\
e & \partial & o \\
(\ddot{a}) & a & \bar{a}
\end{array}
$$

i is articulated almost at the cardinal point : [iː] ' one ', [miːx] ' nail ', [ʃim] ' I went ', [lif] ' leaf ', [giʲɛˈbon] ' cowherd '.

e is slightly more open and less spread than the cardinal, its quality varying somewhat according to the neighbouring sounds : [xeriˈjame] ' I have bought ', [bexeˈrime] ' I bought ', [ˈbəkan] ' dig ! '. Lengthened in [meːr] ' seal ', Pers. *mohr*, in compensation for the lost aspirate.

A closer [ɪ] is heard in a number of words : [ɪm] ' this ', [vɪriˈdʒəm] ' I run ', [zɪr, zer] ' yesterday '. In unstressed syllables *e* is sometimes reduced to a very

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[1] Unlike northern Tāl. (see B. V. Miller, *Tališskiy yazïk*, Moscow, 1953, 59), Shāli evinces no interchange of *g* and *γ*.

short central vowel : [tʃə'man] ' mine ', [ᵊʃ'te] ' thine '. My informants were not always consistent and I have not infrequently noted overlapping of [ɪ, e, ə].

[ɛ] occurs but rarely, e.g. [ge'rɛ be‚za] ' (he) threshed (wheat) ', [fə'tɛr] ' medlar '. It is sometimes difficult to decide whether to assign it to the e or a phonemes. For example, [tʃa] ca ' his ' was frequently heard as [tʃɛ, tʃę] in rapid speech. Tahmuresi quoted [ʃɛʃ] as the older pronunciation of his [ʃeʃ] ' six ', probably due to Persian influence.

a is somewhat closer [a̤] than the cardinal : [a̤z] ' I ', [a'taʃ] ' fire ', [ga̤'ze] ' broom ', ['a̤gir] ' take ! '.

ä represents the same vowel, regularly lengthened [a:] in compensation for a lost fricative : pä'lu ' side ', dä'vā ' quarrel ', ä'mad ' Ahmed '. It is quite distinct from ā, e.g. [ba:d] bäd ' then ' : [bɑ:d] bād ' wind '.

ā is an open back vowel, varying between [ɑ] and [ɔ], being generally longer in stressed syllables. The closer variety is mainly heard after labials and before nasals. [vaʃ] ' grass ', ['ɑ:vadʒ] ' undress ! ', ['ɑ:laf] ' find ! ', [xɑ:v] ' sister ', [be'dɑ:ʃe] ' he gave ', [mɑ:] ' mother ', [li'jɑ:s] ' fox '. ['bɔ:ra] ' bring ye ! ', [bɔ:m] ' (if) I be ', [zɔ:'mɔ:] ' son-in-law ', [zü'wɔn] ' tongue ', even [nɔ:] ' he does not come ', [dɔ'gɔ] ' heap (of grass, etc.) '.

In the pronominal forms cān, avān, -mān, -rān, -šān, [ɔ:] is even more close and I have also noted [tʃɔn] etc.

o is a very infrequent vowel. I heard it otherwise only in otāγ ' room ', boγca ' bundle ', no ' nine ', and in the diphthong ou, as in kou ' blue, green ', louš ' wheatsheaf '. Except in the diphthong it is probably not a genuine Shāli phoneme. Internal o in loanwords from Pers. is often rendered by ə or e [1] : pəšt ' back ', mez ' salary ', səm ' hoof ', mərγāna ' egg '. But note [nɑ:xøʃ] ' ill ', [møstafɑ] ' Mustafa ', [ø] reflecting perhaps Turkish influence.

u is generally more central and less rounded [ü] than the cardinal : [ku] ' in ', [duʃ] ' dance ', [turʃ] ' sand ', [gu'le] ' calf ', [xu'ma] ' nest '. In some words, however, it closely approaches the cardinal, possibly under Pers. influence : [zu:r] ' power ', [du:r] ' far ', [du:] ' smoke ; buttermilk ', [mu:] ' hair '. In [sü] su(< sobh) ' morning ', [(j)üz] (y)uz ' walnut ' the vowel is closer than usual.

ə, apart from rendering Pers. o in a number of borrowed words, is heard in genuine Shāli words : dət ' daughter ', kəl'la ' girl ', fət ' full ', tərt ' squashed ', ə'sərk ' tear ', etc. I have not always been able to distinguish between ə and e, especially when the latter appears in unstressed closed syllables. I have noted, e.g. ['beber, 'bebər] ' cut ! ', [gan'dɪm, gan'dəm] ' wheat '. ə appears here mostly in the neighbourhood of labials and liquids.

Diphthongs are not common. I have met instances only of the following :

ei : tei ' empty ' (Pers. tohi, tahi), kei ' when ', heize ' gets up ', beiz (with loss of h) ' get up ! ' ;

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[1] cf. northern Tāl. i̯, i < Pers. o, Miller, op. cit., 35, 50.

ou : *louš* ' wheatsheaf ', *gou* ' cattle ', *kou* ' blue, green ' ;

āi : *vāi* ' whoa ! ', *harāi* ' shout ', and whenever *-i* (*yā-e vahdat*) follows a word ending in *-ā*, e.g. '*i us'tāi* ' a master ' ;

āu : *kāu* ' lettuce ' (Pers. *kāhu*).

ai occurs in *paidā* ' obvious ' (probably a loanword from Pers.), '*ailla* < '*a illa* ' that one ', and *bāmai* beside *bāmaye* ' he came '.

PHONETIC DEVELOPMENT.   In the treatment of sounds Shāli shares the main traits of north-western Iranian dialects. A rather conservative dialect, it generally preserves fuller forms than are seen in Tālešī and avoids the far-going phonetic changes of Harzani and, more especially, Karingāni.

Original *y-* is preserved in *yav* ' barley ', *ye* ' yoke ' (< **yuga-*). Words with *j-*, such as *jeft* ' pair ', *jui* ' stream ', are loanwords from Persian.

OIr. initial *v-* is preserved in numerous examples : *var* ' snow ', *vini* ' nose ', *varg* ' wolf ', *vak* ' kidney ' (Av. *vərəδka-*), etc.   OIr. *dv-* is represented by *b-*, as elsewhere, e.g. in *bar* ' door '.

OIr. intervocalic *-č-* is regularly represented by *j* (against Pers. *z*) : *vāje* ' he says ' (*vač-*), *seje* ' it burns ' (*suč-*), *betājān* ' make . . . run ! ' (*tač-*), *bepaj* ' cook ! ' (*pač-*).

Original intervocalic *-t-* disappears, or is replaced by a glide : *ā-dā* ' (he) gave ' (*-dāta-*), *bešim* ' I went ' (*-šuta-*), *bim* ' I was ', *be* ' he was ' (*būta-*), *pe* ' father ', *mā* ' mother ', *bərā* ' brother ' (*pitā*, etc.).

The change of intervocalic *-t-* to *r*, a characteristic feature of Harzani and Tāti of Bāku, is attested only in the 2nd person pronoun suffixes, sg. *-r*, pl. *-rān*, e.g. *te nāhār bārdere, nāhārer bārde, šema nāhār bārderāne* ' you ate lunch '.[1]

In the dialects of Shāl and Kulur I was not able to confirm the *šera* ' he went ', *bera* ' he was ' quoted by Kasravi.[2] But Shān. does have *šera*, in marked distinction from Shāli *beše* ' he went '.[3]

-x- and *-f-* disappear before *t*, chiefly in past participles : *bevrite* ' he fled ' (pres. *v(e)rij-*), *bāte* ' (he) said ' (pres. *vāj-*), *dərunte* ' (he) pulled ' (pres. *dərunj-*), *xet(t)e* ' he slept ', *agate* ' (he) took '.[4] In one case *-f-* disappears before the *s* of an inchoative present : *xese* ' he sleeps ' (Av. *xᵛafsa-*).

Shāli has *xr-* for original *fr-* in *bəxruš* ' sell ! ', cf. Shān. *bexraš*, Māsul. *boxruš*.[5]

OIr. *s* (OP *θ*, Pers. *h*) is preserved : *pas* ' sheep ', *āsen* ' iron '. Original *su̯* (Av. *sp*, OP *s*) appears as *sb* with prothetic or intrusive vowel : *seba, səba*

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[1] Kaj. *kerom* ' which ' (Av. *katāma-*) points to the same development.

[2] op. cit., 64.

[3] cf. Henning, op. cit., 174.

[4] cf. Miller, op. cit., 55, for numerous examples of the same development in Tāl.

[5] Differently in Tāl., where *fr-* produces *h-* with the loss of *-r-* normal in that dialect : *hamue* ' to order ' (< *fra-mā-*), *havate* ' to sell ' (MPers. *fravaxtan*), see Miller, op. cit., 54. An exception is Shāli *pasara* ' day after to-morrow ', the second part of which goes back to *fratāk* (suggested by Professor Henning). Kaj. (*h*)*ara* ' to-morrow ' and *paš* ' back, behind ' leave no doubt about this etymology ; cf. further Shān. and Māsāl. *pašera*, Cāl. *pešarā*, Tāk. *sarā*.

'dog' (Av. *span-*), *sebi* 'white' (Av. *spaēta-*), *sebej*, Kul. *esbej* 'louse' (Av. *spiš-*).[1]

OIr. *z* (IE *ĝ*, *ĝh*, OP *d*) appears as *z*, as in all other north-western dialects : *zāmā* 'son-in-law', *zānəm* 'I know', *zer* 'yesterday' (cf. Pers. *di*, Skt. *hyas*), *az* 'I'.

Various forms of shortening occur, mostly involving the loss of dentals, *r*, *h*, or *v*[2] : *vak* 'kidney', *γam-ba* 'look after . . . !' (< **γam behar*), *ruan* 'butter' (Av. *raoγna-*), *ka* '(he) did', *bājen* 'say !' (< **bevāj-*), *benāše* 'he laid' (< **ni-dāta-*). Abbreviated forms also occur in words borrowed from Persian : *ker* 'worm' Pers. *kerm*, *tal* 'bitter' Pers. *talx*, *kene* 'old' Pers. *kohne*, *kāu* 'lettuce' Pers. *kāhu*, *lef* 'quilt' Pers. *lehāf*.

In the treatment of vowels Shāli is generally conservative. The principal exception is the frequent change from older *u* to *e* and *ə* : *sejessan* 'to burn' (intrans.) (< *suč-*), *ser* 'red' (MPers. *suxr*), *te* 'thou, thee' (OP *tuvam*), *dət* 'daughter'.

ō and *ē*, resulting from older diphthongs, coincide with original *ū* and *ī* : *i* 'one', *izəm* 'fuel', *nima* 'half', *sebi* 'white', *via-dār* 'willow tree', *suje* 'burns (trans.)' (< *sauč-*), *guš* 'ear', *ruan* 'butter', but note *liyās* 'fox', Kul. *luwās* (Pers. *rubāh*, Skt. *lopāśa-*).

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS. No distinction of gender is made in Shāli. A two-case system, direct and oblique, can be distinguished in the singular. The obl. case is generally marked by the addition of *-e*, but only to nouns ending in a consonant. The old nouns of relationship ending in *-ar-* have mostly preserved this in the obl. form : *mā*, obl. *mār* 'mother', *pe*, *piar* 'father', *bərā*, *bərār* 'brother', *xāv*, *xāvar* 'sister', *dət*, *dətar* 'daughter', and by analogy *zan*, *zanar* 'wife'. *-ān* marks the plural of both cases.[3]

The obl. case expresses (i) a *definite* direct object, e.g. *ceman dasse agir* (Kul. *ceman daste igir*) 'take my hand', *eštan piar xaš dāre* 'he likes his father', (ii) a genitive, which precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g. *em ceman arbābe zāye* 'this is my master's son', *otāγe bare-ku axlen* 'hang (it) on the door of the room', (iii) an indirect object, with or without a postposition, e.g. *ešte dətar bājen* 'tell your daughter', *hasane-ku agateše* 'he took it from Hasan', (iv) the agent of a transitive verb in the preterite or a compound tense, e.g. *ceman zanar eštan māš beza* 'my wife beat her mother'. The logical direct object of this construction is expressed by the direct case, e.g. *mā* in the above example. An *indefinite* direct object of a verb in the present or imperfect tenses likewise

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[1] cf. further Har. *espej*, Karin. *pež*. For forms with *š* see Žukovskiy, *Materialī*, II, 264, and Horn, *Neupers. Etym.*, s.v. *supuš*. Professor G. Morgenstierne sees the true Persian form with **s-* in Baxtiyāri and Davāni *šeš* < **seš*, *s* having been assimilated to *š* as in the case of Pers. *šepeš* < **sepeš*. He considers *teš* and *heš* (in some Fārs dialects) as the outcome of a southern dialect form **θiš*, and Baškardi *hreš* as a combination of *heš* and *rešk* 'nit'.

[2] cf. Miller, op. cit., 53–5.

[3] Unlike As., Kaj., Karg. where the two-case system exists also in the pl., dir. *-e*, obl. *-ān*, *-un*.

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appears in the direct case, e.g. *kena* xalāv *ca sare a-dinde* ' they put old clothes on its top ', Kul. *pase vāš bedaya, ca šeta sare begira* ' give ye grass to the sheep, collect its cream ', *i tika* nemak *bexer* ' buy a little salt '.[1]

A further distinct ending *-a* occurs (i) in seeming semi-compound formations,[2] e.g. *cua tike* ' a piece of wood ', *yuza* ma*γz* ' walnut kernel ', *šeta sar* ' top of the milk, cream ', *dasmāla sar* ' head kerchief ', *sebia dān-dān* ' white and granular ', (ii) apparently as a ' locative ' postposition in, e.g. *liyās raza miyāna-ku venda* (Kul. *luwās bāγa-ku dare*) ' the fox is in the garden ', *tei ā-kare γazāna dela* ' she empties (it) into a cauldron ', (iii) occasionally for a definite direct object, e.g. *ešta pā nāxena begir* ' pare your toe-nail ', *ceman dasmāla sara bāren* ' bring my head kerchief '. This may be due to colloquial Pers. influence, *-a* < *-rā*.[3]

PRONOUNS. The *personal* pronouns have four forms in Shāli, direct, oblique, possessive, and suffix, as follows :

		Direct	Oblique	Possessive	Suffix
Sg.	1.	*az*	*man, men*	*ceman*	*-(e)m*
	2.	*te*	*te*	*ešte, ešta*	*-(e)r*
	3.	*a*	*ave* [4]	*ca, ce*	*-(e)š*
Pl.	1.	*ama*	*ama*	*cema*	*-(e)mān*
	2.	*šema*	*šema*	*šema*	*-(e)rān*
	3.	*avān*	*avān*	*cān*	*-(e)šān*

All four types can be seen in the sentence : *az ceman piar ka-ku šia bim ave maneš vinde* ' I had left my father's house (when) he saw me '. It will be seen that, as with nouns, the agent of a preterite etc. transitive verb is expressed by an obl. case form, *ave*, the construction being to that extent ' passive '.[5] But when the logical direct object is pronominal it equally is expressed by an obl. case form, as here *man*. This weakening of the ' passive ' construction is general, e.g. *man avem binde* ' I saw him ', Kul. *aveš beza* ' he hit him ', *maneš beza* ' he hit me '.

In all the examples of this construction quoted so far the agent has been resumed by a suffix pronoun. In this, its only function, it is suffixed either to the verbal stem itself or to a preceding word, normally the logical object, e.g. *man γazā bārdeme, man γazām bārde* ' I ate food ', or occasionally to both, e.g. *illa gadiakarəm bindəme* ' I saw a beggar ', *hasane ca kaš ātaš bezaše* ' Hasan

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[1] Note the same distinction in Shan., where *-i* is the sign of the obl., *gusandi vāš bedeya, ce šeta sari begera ; i tika* nemek *bexer*.

[2] cf. Miller, op. cit., 103 ff.

[3] No ' ablative ' ending *-o* occurs in Shāli, Kul., or southern Tāl. The northern Tāl. form should, I think, be considered a shorter form of the postposition *-rā* etc. known from other dialects (v. Henning, op. cit., 174), rather than a continuation of the old ablative, Av. *-āṯ* (so Miller, op. cit., 75, 91).

[4] The only marked difference in Shan. is 3rd sg. obl. *ai*, cf. Miller, op. cit., 118. The secondary ' accusative ' forms *mịni, tịni, avi*, etc. (ibid., 115–22) do not occur in either Shan. or Shāli.

[5] Or, as Benveniste has now shown (*BSL*, XLVIII, 1, 1952, 52 ff.) ' possessive '.

set his house on fire '. The suffix pronoun is not, however, essential to the construction, e.g. *šema bāte* ' you said ', *əm te vatae* ' you have woven this '.

The oblique and possessive pronominal forms appear in precisely the functions their names imply, with the exception that the possessive may occasionally serve for the oblique [1] with pre- or postpositions, e.g. *bi ešta* ' without you ', *cema(n)-rā xälat bārinde* ' they may bring a robe of honour for me '.

VERBS. The Shāli verbal system is based on two stems, present and past, which represent the old present stem and past participle in *-ta* respectively. Apart from the Imperative the following tenses are formed from the present stem : Present Indicative, Subjunctive and Conditional, and Imperfect. On the past stem are based a Preterite tense and a Past Participle employed in forming compound tenses.

Four series of personal endings are found, each distinguishing six persons. They are :

		Present	Conditional	Imperfect	Preterite
Sg.	1.	*-(ə)m*	*-ām*	*-im*	*-im*
	2.	*-i*	*-āš*	*-iš*	*-iš*
	3.	*-(e)*	*-ā*	*-i*	*-e*
Pl.	1.	*-am*	*-āmān*	*-imān*	*-imān*
	2.	*-a*	*-ārān*	*-irān*	*-irān*
	3.	*-inde*	*-āinde*	*-imbe*	*-inde*

The 3rd pl. Imperfect ending *-imbe* does not occur in any Tāl. dialect and is difficult to account for.

The Preterite endings, which are markedly different from the Present, also serve as the enclitic present of the Substantive verb. Following a vowel they are then sometimes preceded by a glide *-r-*, e.g. *az yārim* ' I am here ', *a xerde care* ' that child is his ', *kārinde* ' where are they ? '.

In distinguishing the tenses one prefix, *b(e)-*, is employed (except when a preverb is present) and one ' continuous ' particle, *kerā*. The general negative prefix is *ne-*.

The *Imperative* is formed by adding stressed *b(e)-*, negative *m(a)-*, to the present stem with the endings 2nd sg. nil, pl. *-a*, e.g. *bevrij* ' run ! ', *bevrija* ' run ye ! ', *bāya* ' come ye ! ', *makəša* ' do not kill ! '.

A number of verbs take *-en* in the 2nd sg. Imperative, apparently when the prefix and stem together form one syllable, e.g. *bären* ' eat ! ' (< *har-*), *bājen* ' say ! ' (< *vāj-*), *bāren* ' bring ! ' (< *vār-*). *beše(n)* ' go ! ' (< *šu-*) and *buren* ' come ! ' (cf. MPers. *'wr*) appear to be analogical formations.

The *Present Indicative* is formed directly from the present stem by adding the stressed present endings, e.g. *verijəm* ' I run ' etc. When the stem ends in a vowel this supersedes the vowels of the 1st and 3rd sg. endings, but is lost before the other endings, e.g. *šum, ši, šu, šam, ša, šinde* (Kul. 3rd pl. *šun*)

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[1] As generally in Tāk., which has lost its simple obl. pronouns (v. Henning, op. cit., 162).

6 ★

' I etc. go '.   Ambiguities appear to be avoided by irregular forms, as in the 1st and 2nd pl. of *nam, ni, na,* niyam, niya, *ninde* ' I etc. put ' (cf. Kul. *ādam, ādai, āda, ādayam, ādaya, ādan(d)* ' I etc. give ').

The inflexible particle *kerā,* also employed in southern Tāl., forms a *Continuous Present* when placed immediately before the Indicative, e.g. *az kerā pajəm* ' I am cooking ', *te kerā ši* ' you are going '.

The *Present Subjunctive* is formed by adding the stressed prefix *b(e)-* to the Indicative. When the verb has a preverb this takes the stress. *jallāde da-xāna bā* ' call ye the executioner (that) he may come ', *šum ā-diyasəm* ' I go (that) I may look, I am going to look ', *biri . . . bekari* ' you must do . . .'.

The *Present Conditional* is formed with the stressed prefix *b(e)-* and the appropriate endings with the ' conditional vowel ' *-ā-,* e.g. *age az bepajām* ' if I (should) cook ', *age bevrijāš bargeni* ' if you run you will fall '. The conditional endings appear to be obsolescent, however, giving way to the present endings in the sg. (so coinciding with the Subjunctive) but the past endings in the pl., e.g. *bevrijəm, bevrije* (3rd sg.), *bevrijimān, bevrijirān, bevrijinde* ' if I etc. run '.

The *Imperfect* is formed from the present stem with its characteristic endings. It has habitual meaning, e.g. *a harruz heizi, eštan nemāze xāni, bäd eštan pasān duši* ' every day he used to get up, say his prayers, (and) then milk his sheep '. A *Continuous Imperfect* is formed with the particle *kerā,* e.g. *az kerā larzim* ' I was trembling ', *kerā harimbe* ' they were eating '.

The *Preterite* of Intransitive verbs is formed by attaching the preterite endings to the past stem with the prefix *b(e)-*. The stress falls on the last syllable of the stem, e.g. *bev'ritim* ' I ran ', *betar'sesim* ' I was afraid ', *be'šim, bešiš, beše, bešimān, beširān, bešinde* ' I etc. went '.   The 3rd sg. ending *-e* is not normally found when the stem ends in a vowel, e.g. *beza* ' hit ', *bāma,* but also *bāmaye* ' he came ', the latter perhaps influenced by the Perfect.

With Transitive verbs the 3rd sg. form is employed throughout, e.g. *man avānəm binde* ' I saw them '. When the pronominal suffix agent is attached to the verbal stem it precedes the ending *-e,* e.g. *bexeri*me ' I bought ', *bexerir*āne ' you bought ', *bexrute*māne ' we sold '. Very occasionally the ending *-e* is lost, e.g. *hasane puleš bind(e)* ' Hasan saw the money ', *bašnavessešān* ' they heard '.

The *Perfect* is apparently formed from a Past Participle in *-a* (< *-aka*) by the addition of the enclitic substantive verb.   In Shāli, however, this supplants the final *-a* of the participle in all persons but the 3rd sg.,[1] with the result that in general the Perfect differs from the Preterite only by the absence of the prefix *b(e)-* and the placing of the stress on the ending, e.g. *ā'mirān* ' you have come ', *āmayə* ' he has come '. With Transitive verbs the pronominal suffix agent precedes the 3rd sg. enclitic substantive verb when it is attached

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[1] In Kul. the Past Participle preserves its identity throughout, thus *šiyeim(a), šiyeiš, šiyei, šiyeimān, šiyeirān, šiyeinde* ' I etc. have gone '.   This agrees with Shān. perfect *šeima, šeiša, ša, šeimuna, šeiruna, šeina.*

to the verbal form, e.g. *patame* ' I have cooked ', *patare* ' you have cooked ', *xeriame* ' I have bought ', but also *man pul avəm ā-dāye* ' I have given him money '.

The *Pluperfect* is formed regularly from the Past Participle by adding the Preterite of the auxiliary *bian* ' to be ' (viz. *bim, biš, be, bimān, birān, binde*), e.g. *az šia bim* ' I had gone ', *dāvāšān gata be* ' they had quarrelled ', *vataš be* ' he had woven '.

A *Past Conditional* is similarly formed with the Present Conditional of the auxiliary (viz. *bām, bāš, bā*, but coinciding in the pl. with the Preterite, *bimān, birān, binde*), e.g. *age az šia bām* ' if I had gone ', *age man patam bā* ' if I had cooked '.

The *Infinitive* seems to have limited use in Shāli. The examples noted show it to be formed by adding -(*a*)*n* to the past stem, e.g. *šian* ' go ', *ām(i)an* ' come ', *hardan* ' eat ', *dān* ' give ', *nān* ' put '. A large number of infinitives end in -*es*(*s*)*an*, apparently modelled on Pers. infinitives in -*estan*, e.g. *āressan* ' grind ', *ā-rasessan* ' arrive ', *ašnavessan* ' hear ', *zānessan* ' know '. With the equivalent secondary past stem in -*es*(*s*)- Shāli thus preserves, where necessary, the two-stem system.

The following *Preverbs*, the presence of which precludes the prefix *b*(*e*)-, occur in Shāli : *a*- (Kul. *i*-), *ā*-, *bar*-, *da*-, *pa*- (Kul. *pi*-).[1] *ā*- is commonly present in compound verbs with *bian* and *kardan* as auxiliaries.

a-bian ' pour (intrans.) ', *a-kardan* ' pour out ; shut ', *a-gatan* ' take ', *a-gateše*, Kul. *i-gateše* ' he took ', Kul. *i-gir* ' take ! '.

ā-dān ' give ', *ā-kardan* ' open ', *ā-lusesan* ' lick ', *ā-vatan* ' take off (clothes) ' ; *radd ā-bian* ' pass ', *sard ā-bian* ' become cold ', *rac ā-kardan* ' arrange ', *tei ā-kardan* ' empty '.

bar-āmian ' come out ', *bar-genessan* ' fall ', *bar-kardan* ' drive out ', *bar-šian* ' go out ', *bar-še* ' go out ! '.

da-farsessan ' ask ', *da-genessan* ' fall ', *da-kardan* ' put on (clothes) ; pour in ', *da-runtan* ' pull ', *da-vaštan* ' snatch ', *da-xetan* ' hide oneself ', *da-xes* ' hide ! ', *da-xesānessan* ' hide (trans.) ', *da-xesān* ' hide (it) ! '.

pa-gatan, Kul. *pi-gatan* ' take up ', *pa-nān* ' put upon ', *pa-runtan* ' pull up ', *pa-runj* ' pull (it) up ! '.

The close relationship between Shāli and Shāndermani Tāl. is nowhere better brought out than in the pronominal and verbal systems, where agreement between the two dialects is almost complete. Although they preserve the two stems both verbal systems are much simpler than that of northern Tāl., based largely on one stem. Thus the continuous present of the type *votedam* ' I am saying ' (Miller, op. cit., 144 ff.),[2] the future with prefix *ba*-(*bakardam* ' I shall do ', ibid., 155 ff.), the negative future employing a present

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[1] In general agreement with Tāl., cf. Miller, op. cit., 135 ff., *e*-, *o*-, *be*-, *da*-, *pe*- ; Shān., Tāl.-D also *ve*-, *vi*-, Shān. *ve-gerəm*, Tāl.-D *vi-gərəm* ' I take '.

[2] See also Henning, op. cit., p. 174, n. 3.

participle with *a-* (*avot-nim* ' I shall not say ', ibid., 157), and the *futurum necessitatis* employing a future participle in *-anin* (*vindaninim* ' I am to see ', ibid., 159) are all foreign to both Shān. and Shāli.

The Tāl. of Tālesh-Dulāb has a middle position between north and south, possessing features of both. To quote a few, it has the imperfect with ' augment ', *'aši* ' he used to go ' (v. Miller, op. cit., 152–4), the future with *ba-, ba'šim* ' I shall go ', and the future participle in *-ani(n)*, as in northern Tāl. On the other hand it has preserved special endings for the present tenses and forms continuous tenses with the particle *kərā*.

There are a number of obvious differences between Shān. and Shāli. The most outstanding phonetic difference is Shān., and Tāl. generally, *ž* against Shāli *z-* (< *ǰ-*) and *-j-* (< *-č-*), e.g. Shān. *žen, ža, ruž* : Shāli *zan* ' wife ', *beza* ' (he) hit ', *ruz* (loanword from Pers.) ' day '. Shān. has the ' augment ' imperfect and infinitives in *-e*, as in northern Tāl. (Miller, op. cit., 141 ff.) : Shān. *vinde, harde* : Shāli *vindan* ' see ', *hardan* ' eat '. Shān. has lost the *-d* of the 3rd pl. verbal endings : Shān. *bun, šina* : Shāli *binde* ' they were ', *bešinde* ' they went '. Finally, the negative particle precedes preverbs in Shān. while it some-times follows in Shāli and Kuluri : Shān. *na-ā-dam* : Shāli *ā-ne-dam* ' I do not give ' (Kul. *pi-ni-girəm* ' I do not take up ').

Although the two dialects are very close in vocabulary there follows a list of common words in which they differ :

	Shāli	Shān.		Shāli	Shān.
father	*pe*	*dada*	big	*pilla*	*löla*
mother	*mā*	*nana*	small	*villa*	*ruk*
son	*zā*	} *zua*	to stay	*vendardan*	*monde*
boy	*kula*	}	to hear	*ašnavessan*	*masse*
girl	*kəlla*	*kina*	given	*dā*	*dua*
sheep	*pas*	*gusand*	put	*nā*	*nua*
kidney	*vak*	*verek*	I was	*az kerā*	*az kərā*
to-day	*meruz*	*uri*	running	*verijim*	*musim*

Looking further afield, Shāli also bears a resemblance to Tākestāni on the one hand and to Karingāni and Harzani on the other. As Professor Henning has traced the relation between these dialects in his article I may be brief on the point.

There is general agreement in the pronominal and verbal systems between Tāk. and Shāli, though with interesting differences, the most striking of them being the use of the possessive pronouns in Tāk. to the exclusion of the oblique. The distinction of gender still preserved to a certain degree in Tāk. and Semnāni, and more fully in Kaj., is absent from Shāli. The characteristic combination of the *-š-* of the 3rd person pronominal suffixes with the dental ending of the past stem, *-t/d-š-* > *-c-*, a feature Tāk. shares with Karin. and Har. (where > *-j-*), is not found in Shāli : Tāk. *vāce* ' he said ', *šireš bedušt, šir bedušce* ' he milked ', Karin. *harce, harcuna* ' he, they ate ', Har. *vinje, vinjuna* ' he, they saw ', but Shān. and Shāli *vindeše* ' he saw ', *vir bārdeš* ' he remembered '.

Although Shāli differs from Karin. and Har. in some grammatical features (such as the formation of the present indicative, which in Har. is based on the past stem and in Karin. on the past participle), and despite the fact that the phonetic developments are considerably different in the three dialects (for instance, the change of postvocalic -t- to -r- in Har., the change of original a to u and the loss of original s- before -p- in Karin., e.g. pi, pa, pež : Shāli sebi ' white ', seba ' dog ', sebej ' louse '), yet there is fundamental agreement between the three dialects in the pronominal system, the tenses of the substantive verb, and in vocabulary.

The striking similarity of Shāli and Shan. bears out, as far as Shāhrudi is concerned, Professor Henning's view of the common origin of Tāleši and the present Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān.

In general, there are important factors contributing towards the assimilation of these two languages to each other. Many Shāhrudis spend more than half the year working in southern Tālesh, especially in Shānderman and Māsāl, and a number of Tāleshis use Shāhrud as their regular yeilāq. Tālesh supplies Shāhrud with rice, wool, and dairy products, and buys fruit in return. Girva, the most popular yeilāq of Shānderman and Māsāl, is almost within Shāhrud. Indeed, most Shāhrudis can also speak Tāleši.

In considering the position of the Iranian dialects of Āzarbāijān, I believe one should take Shāli, Kuluri (i.e. Shāhrudi) and Shāndermani, Māsāli, and Māsule'i Tāleši as close members of the same group rather than separate dialects.

<div align="center">TEXTS</div>

<div align="center">I</div>

<div align="center">*neira 'zan ruana ga'tan*</div>

av'val šete pa'jinde, 'bād ninde kanā're-ku. telāyəli ke sard ā-be, bād ave mā'ya zaninde. mā'yašin 'i cekalu 'duye. bād ave paruši'ninde, 'ca sare pa-'ninde, ke'na xalāv ca sa're a-'dinde. 'də sāte bād ce 'ru ā-ka'rinde. bād eš'tan gi're. 'hajur 'ninde tā sub.

subə-rā ave da-ka'rinde neira dela. bād ca sa're pust 'ninde, da-van'dinde, seinā keta mā'nandi ce 'bəne 'ninde. bād 'i zalla a'gā ne'še, a've takkān-tak'kān da tā 'i sāᵃti.

'bād zal'la xā 'bine du bia yā bia 'ni. neira pā'lu-ku xela ti'ki dāre. a'gā kena pā'ra za'ninde. 'a pāra tike pa-gi're. bād cua tike a-'xā 'ca dela. bād pa-gi're, ā-diya'se. 'age vi'ne sebia dān-dā'ne, ce sa're 'ā-kare, 'tei ā-kare yazā'na dela. bād das'se-nam ca ruane gi're. bād ca 'du hin'jinde. age 'bindeše ke se'bia dān-dān ni'e (h)a'ni kena pā'ra (h)a xe'la zana, (h)a'ni takkān-tak'kān da tā 'bəbu.

<div align="center">Rocking the *neira* [1] and getting butter</div>

First they cook the milk, then they put it aside. When it has cooled a little they put ' starter ' in it ; its ' starter ' moreover is a spoonful of buttermilk.

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[1] An earthenware jar, about half a metre or more high, with one loop handle near the mouth.

Then they mix it (and) cover its top : they put old clothes on its top. Two hours later they uncover it. Then it curdles.[1] They leave it like this till morning.

In the morning they pour it into a *neira*. Then they put a skin on its top (and) fasten it (and) put a small cushion underneath it. Then a woman sits there and shakes it for an hour.

Then the woman wants to see whether it has become buttermilk or not. The *neira* has a small hole in (its) side. There they push in an old rag. She takes out that piece of rag, then she puts a piece of wood inside it. Then she takes (it) out (and) looks (at it). If she sees it is white (and) granular she opens its top (and) empties it into a large copper cauldron. Then she collects its butter by hand. Then they drink its buttermilk. If she sees that it is not white and granular she pushes the old rag into that hole again and shakes it again until it becomes (ready).

II

yeta kar'dan, gandəma kāre'san, gandəma deru'an

av'val zami 'āv dārinde, 'narm ā-bu. bäd 'də gəla varzā vā'rinde, 'ye wə yam'rāz ban'dinde, gāvāse'ne ce sa're-ku za'ninde, 'šum karinde. šum tamān ā-'be 'tum da-ka'rinde. de'rā-nam deru'ninde. a've da-van'dinde. bäd lou'še pəš'ta pəš'ta da-van'dinde, vā'rinde xarma'na-ku, dā'gā karinde. bäd lou'še ve'lā ā-karinde, gere da-van'dinde 'panj gəla mā'le-nam. də'rəs ke xərd ā-'be ave šā'na-na(m) 'kua ā-karinde. nā(h)āre 'paš-ta 'bād ā. ave šā'ninde, ce gan'dəm səmba're-ku jedā ā-bu. səmba're ba'rinde, ambā're da-ka'rinde. zemə'sān-da mā'lān ha'rinde.

Ploughing, sowing of wheat, (and) reaping of wheat

First they water the land (so that) it becomes soft. Then they bring two oxen (and) they fasten the yoke and the shaft (and) tie the ploughshare to its end, (then) they plough. (When) the ploughing is finished they scatter the seed. (Later) they reap (the wheat) with sickle(s). They tie it (together), then they tie the sheaves in bundles, bring (them) to the threshing-floor (and) stack (them) up.

Then they spread the sheaves and fasten the threshing-machine with five animals. (When) it has become properly threshed they heap it with the winnowing-fork. In the afternoon [2] the wind comes. They winnow it (so that) the wheat of it separates from the chaff. They take the chaff (and) put it into the store. The animals eat it in winter.

III

'naɣle rama'bāne dəruavā'jen

'i rama'bāni be 'pis, ši'a be 'ku-da ra'ma 'becarāne. 'igara dəruda'ni ha'rāiš be'karde, ' 'varg bā'ma, ramaš 'bārde '. de ādamā(n) bašna'vessesān, bešinde ca 'paš-ta, 'bindešāne də'ru vāje. ā-gar'desinde, bā'minde.

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[1] Lit. ' takes itself '.   [2] Lit. ' after lunch '.

ca su'ba rās'si vā'ji, varg āma be. ha'ni ha'rāiš be'karde, ' 'varg bā'ma, ramaš 'bārde '. de āda'mān em safar 'nešinde, 'bātešāne, ' də'ru vāje '. rama'bāne 'binde 'nāminde ca paš, bəv'rite, be'še a 'dim-da, da-'xete. 'varg bā'ma, ra'ma 'bārdeše.

ša've-ra 'pis bāma 'ka. mālase'bān 'bindešāne cān mālān 'nāminde. da-far'sesinde [sic], ' cama mā'lān 'kārinde ? ' 'bāteše, ' var'ge 'bārde. man 'handa harāim bekar'de 'cerā šema 'nāmirān ? 'manim 'binde šema ce'man ha'rāi-rā ā-'nerasesirān,[1] be'šim, da-'xetim '. de āda'mān 'bātešāne, ' dəruavāje'ne ka 'vaš be'gate,[2] šema 'bāte, " də'ru vāje " '.

The story of the lying shepherd

There was (once) a scald-headed shepherd (who) had gone into the mountain(s) to graze (his) flock. Suddenly he cried, falsely, ' The wolf has come (and) eaten the flock '. The people of the village heard, went after him (and) saw (that) he was lying. They returned and came (back).

On the morrow he was telling the truth : the wolf had come. He cried thus, ' The wolf has come (and) eaten the flock '. The village people this time did not go. They said, ' He is lying '. The shepherd saw (that) they did not come after him, (so) he fled, went to that side (and) hid. The wolf came and ate the flock.

In the evening the scald-headed one came home. The animal-owners saw (that) their animals did not come. They asked, ' Where are our animals ? ' He said, ' The wolf ate (them). Why did you not come, however much I cried ? I too saw (that) you did not come to my rescue, (so) I went (and) hid '. The village people said, ' The liar's house caught fire (and) you said, " He is lying " '.[3]

IV

'nayle pārca'vaj va 'šā

a vax'ti vā'jinde us'tāi be pārcavaj. ave pārce va'tan-da 'esmeš 'bar-karda be. 'can sāl əštan 'vaxteš ca 'rā-da be'nāše. 'igara 'illa tāqa pār'ca ke 'xeili xās 'be va ca 'puli(n) ziyād 'be əštan das'se-nam va'taš be. bäd be'nešte, əštan 'var-da 'bāteše, ' 'əmi ke ceman das'se-nam va'tame, va 'xeili xāse, 'ā-dam 'bebarinde 'šā-rā. 'ca yāblati dāre. zā'nəm 'šā ave vi'ne 'xašeš ā, da-xā'ne, vā'je, " ceme vajā're xä'lat bediya " '. i(n)jur əštan 'var-da salāš bezā'nesse.

va 'i ā'dati dā'ri, a-in əm be, əštan zuwā'ne 'nešāi yam (h)ardan, tura lā'va ka'ri. əštan zu'wāneš 'bāte, ' ei zuwān, te bi'ri manam [4] me'ruz kə'mak 'bekari, cema(n) can sāle zäma'te puc ā-'makari. i juri bi'ri šā va're-ku xāsa lā'va bekari ke šā ceman lā'va 'xašeš bā, 'bāje cema(n)-rā xä'lat 'bārinde '. ə'māneš əštan zuwā'ne 'bāteše, darasmā'resseše, 'beište, be'še, əštan xa'lāveš 'raceš ā-karde, da-'kardeše. 'a pārca pa-'gateše, illa xāsa dasmā'le-ku da-'vasseše, 'beište, be'še šā 'ka-rā.

ā-ra'sese šā 'ka, šā āda'mā(n) ca 'pišešān be'gate. 'bāteše, ' az 'šā-nam kār

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[1] cf. Pers. *be faryād rasidan.*   [2] *vaš* ' flame '; cf. Pers. *alou gereftan.*
[3] A proverbial saying.   [4] i.e. *man-nam.*

*dārəm '. šā 'bāteše, ' 'bā dela '. be'še dela, boγ'ca pa-'gateše, šā va're*š *be'nā.
šā ā-di'yašte, 'bindeše ca vajā're 'xāseš va'tae, 'xašeš bāmayə. va 'can gəla pila
marda'kān a'gā-ku neš'ta bimbe. avān vazir va'kil bimbe. 'bindešāne šā 'əm
pārce xeili 'xašeš bāmayə. əmāni ā-gar'desinde, 'bātešāne, ' 'xāseš vatae '.*

'*handašān ceme vatan-da lā'vašān be'karde 'šā ā-gar'dese, 'bāteše, ' illa ıl'la
'bāja, əm 'ce-ra xube ? ' 'i nafari 'bāte, ' šā-rā bāš'lāγ rac ā-kara. ave da-'xure '.
'i nafari 'bāte, ' a've 'pa-gira, šā zā-rā 'γam bāra. ca-rā xube. valiyād 'bu 'əma
du'je, 'da-kare '. cemān lā'vān šā xašeš 'nāmaye. 'bāteše, ' še'ma nešāsserāne
vātan, cemə vajā're 'da-xāna, 'bāra, bedā 'a bā'je əm 'ce-rā xube, 'binəm 'ca
aγl 'cejure '.*

*pārce'vaje bicāra, ke hama tura lā'va ka'ri va əštan zuwā'nə-ku hamiša nā'la
ka'ri, bā'maye šā var. šā ave 'bāte, ' əm 'te vatae, əm 'ce-rā xube ? ' hə'zin əštan
zu'wāneš ā-karde, bāteše, ' 'šā 'sāγ bebu, əm tābu'te sa're-rā xube, va əm ca vā'si
vār'dame '. šā 'əm lāva bašna'vesseše, 'γeizeš be'karde. da-'xandeše əštan γəlā'ma.
ca γəlām bā'mayə, ave 'leseš beza, a'gā-ku bar-'kardešāne.*

The story of the cloth-weaver and the king

In olden times, they say, there was a master cloth-weaver. He had made a
name for himself in cloth-weaving. Several years he had spent [1] his time in
that way. Once he had woven a piece of cloth with his own hands that was very
fine and its value, moreover, was great. Then he sat (and) said to himself,
' This which I have woven, and it is very fine, I shall give for them to take to
the king. It is worthy of him. I know (that when) the king sees it he will be
pleased (and) will call (and) say, " Give ye a robe of honour to the weaver
of this " '. He thought to himself (that) this way (of acting was) advisable.

He had a habit, and it was this : he could not control his tongue (and)
he would say foolish things.[2] (So) he said to his tongue, ' O tongue, you must
help me to-day (and) not spoil my toil of several years. You must say nice
words before the king (so) that my words may please him (and) he may tell
them to bring me a robe of honour '. He said these (words) to his tongue,
admonished (it), got up, went (and) arranged his clothes (and) put (them) on.
He took up that cloth, wrapped it in a fine kerchief, rose and went to the
king's house.

(When) he reached the king's house the king's men checked him. He said,
' I have business with the king '. The king said, ' Let him come in '. He went
in, took up the bundle (and) put it before the king. The king looked (and)
saw that its weaver had woven it well. It pleased him. And several great men
were sitting there. They were ministers and deputies. They saw that this cloth
pleased the king greatly. These also turned (and) said, ' He has woven it well '.

They said so much about its weaving (that) the king turned (and) said,
' Tell (me), one by one, what is this good for ? ' One person said, ' Arrange ye
a mantle for the king. It suits that (purpose) '. One person said, ' Take it
(and) keep (it) for the king's son. It suits him. (When) he becomes heir to

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[1] Lit. ' put '.　　　　　　　　　　　　　[2] Lit. ' words '.

the throne he will sew this (and) wear it'. Their words did not please the king. He said, ' You were not able to say, (so) call ye the weaver of this, bring him (and) let him say what this is good for (so that) I may see how his wit is'.

The poor weaver, who used to say all foolish things and used always to complain of his tongue, came before the king. The king said to him, ' You have woven this. What is this good for ? ' He loosed his tongue in this manner (and) said, ' May the king be well, this is good for the top of (your) coffin and for that reason I have brought it'. (When) the king heard this talk he grew angry. He summoned his servant. His servant came (and) beat him with a stick (and) they drove him out from there.

V a (Shāli)

naγle mollā, də zalla, i xerdi

də gəla zalla 'bimbe, de-ben'di-nam dä'vāšān gata be 'i xerdi 'sar-da. be'šinde mol'lā var. mollā 'bāte, ' 'cerā āmirān yā ? ' bātəšāne, ' ama xer'de sar-da dä'vāmān ga'tae'. 'i zal'la ā-gar'dese, 'bāteše, ' 'a vāje, " em xer'de ce'mane ". ha'ma zā'ninde em xerde ce'mane'. mollā 'bāteše, ' jal'lāde 'da-xāna, 'bā, emə 'nesf bekare, 'i tika 'ā-da 'a zal'la, 'i tika 'ā-da 'em zalla '.

jal'lād bā'maye. jal'lād ke bāma'yə 'illa zalla berame'sa(n) da-genesse, 'bāteše, ' ceman xerde 'makəša '. a-illa zalla 'nevrami, hici 'nevāji, agā vən'da be ā-diya'si. mollā 'bindeše a zalla ke bera'me, befä'messeše, ' em xerde 'māye '. xerdeš pa-gateše, 'ha zalleš ā-'dā. 'bāteše, ' em xerdei 'mā 'teiš. 'pa-gi, 'bešen '. a've pa-'gate, be'še. mollā 'bāte, ' a zal'la 'less bezana '.

The story of the judge, two women, (and) a child

There were two women who had quarrelled with each other about a child. They went before a judge. The judge said, ' Why have you come here ? ' They said, ' We have quarrelled about this child '. One woman turned (and) said, ' She says, " This child is mine ". (But) everybody knows this child is mine '. The judge said, ' Call ye the executioner (that) he may come (and) halve this (child and) give one piece to that woman (and) one piece to this woman '.

The executioner came. When the executioner came one woman fell to weeping (and) said, ' Do not kill my child '. The other woman neither wept nor said anything (but) stood there looking on. When the judge saw that that woman wept he realized that, ' This is the child's mother '. He took up the child (and) gave it to that woman. He said, ' You are the mother of this child. Take (it and) go '. She took (it and) went. The judge said, ' Beat ye this woman '.

V b (Shāndermani) [1]

'də žen 'binan ben'di-na dä'vāšon geta ba 'i xerda'ni sar. šina mol'lā var. mol'lā 'vāta, ' 'cerā umaina ? ' 'vātešuna, ' a'ma əm xerda'ni xone dä'vā getamuna '.

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[1] Versions in related dialects, see *Gr. ir. Ph.* i, 2, 376 ff.

' əm že'nak vā, " xer'dan ce'ma(n)šena ".   'az vām, " 'xeir, ce'ma(n)šena ".
hama zu'nen ce'ma(n)šena.'   mollā vāta, ' 'jallād ! 'beri, 'əm xerdani mi'yān-da
'də tika beka, 'i sāmi əm že'nak ā-da, 'i sāmi a ženaki ā-da, di'ya dä'vā 'negeren,
ben'di 'neženen '.   'tā mollā əmeš vā'ta illi be'rame da-gena ke, ' xerda'ni 'makešen '.
a ženak 'nevrami va 'hici 'nevāteša, manda di'yašta. mollā 'vinda ženak ke bera'me
xerda'ni na'naye. a pi-'gateša 'ai ā-'duša, 'vāteša, ' 'nana ! 'əm xerdan eš'tešena.
'pi-ge, 'bešə '.   ai pi-'gateša, 'bardeša.