# A SHORT STORY OF MULLAH NASREDDIN IN THE ANBARĀNI DIALECT OF THE TALYSHI LANGUAGE: TEXT, TRANSLATION, GLOSSARY AND COMMENTS[∗]

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## Abstract

*Talyshi, classified as belonging to the Northwestern Iranian group of languages, includes a wide range of dialects, which, based on phonological, grammatical and lexical factors, are traditionally divided into three main clusters: Northern, Central and Southern (see Bazin 1980; Stilo 1981; Yarshater 1996). Anbarāni is a Northern Talyshi dialect spoken in Anbarān district (baxš) of Namin sub-provincial district (*šahrestān*) (Ardabil province) of Iran, in the city of Anbarān and adjacent villages. Relatively a large number of studies deal with the Northern Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan. For example, "The Talyshi Texts" by Professor of Iranian Studies Boris Miller, includes short stories, anecdotes, conversations, poetic verses (see Miller 1930) written down in these dialects. Unlike the Northern Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Anbarāni dialect is little known and less studied therefore the number of texts, published in this dialect, is quite limited. The aim of this paper is to broaden the scope of knowledge on Anbarāni by introducing a short story of Mullah Nasreddin and analyzing a number of morphological, syntactical and lexical dialectal features based on the text.*

**Keywords:** *Talyshi, Northern Talyshi, Anbarāni, Iranian languages, linguistics, dialectology.*

## 1. Introduction

This text is one of the four short stories of Mullah Nasreddin in the Anbarāni dialect recorded in Aminjān[1] in May, 2017 from Safā γamxāri, a 55 years old independent contractor (*peymānkār*) with a perfect knowledge of his mother tongue. According to the respondent, the story was told by her mother when he was a child. The reccording is 32 seconds in length and was written down and transcribed with the help of Sinā Morādzādeh, a 20 years old student of the University of Mohaghegh Ardabili, who also has a perfect command of his mother

[1] Nowadays the former Aminjān village is a part of the town of Anbarān which was created in 1998 by uniting this village with Anbarān-e Soflā (**Bazin** 2012).

tongue and was my main informant during the fieldwork conducted in June-July 2015.

### *2. Text: "Veyza do"*

i ruž Mallo ča veyza do žio həta bə ki i karanda gəle veyz agənina ča sasa. Čayo šuruš kā ba šukr kārde ki i nafar čayo davāna bə. A vāxti ki γaziyaš zəna ba Malloš vote: əmə ki šukr kārdeš pinani. Mallo vote: hāy āxmax, zənaniš ki agar ča veyza do avaz gəle xāmza do abi ba čəmān sa če baloyi avoyi.

### *3. Translation: "The Walnut Tree"*

One day Mullah was sleeping under the walnut tree that[when] suddenly a walnut fall on the head. Then Mullah began to thank [The God], and a person was passing. When he learned about the incident he said to Mullah: Well, there is no need to thank [The God]. Mullah said: "Hey, fool! You don't know if [it] was a melon tree instead of the walnut tree, what a trouble it would bring.

### 4. Glossary and comments

**4.1 i** 'one' < OIr. \*áiwa-[1]

**4.2 ruž** 'day' < OIr. \*raučah-

**4.3 ča** 'from, of' < OIr. \*hačā-[2]. Most likely in Anbarāni there are two *ča*, a preposition and the possessive form of the demonstrative pronoun *a* 'that', i.e. *ča* 'of that' < *čə+a*, cf. *čəm* 'of this' < *čə+əm* 'this', i.e. *čəm kina čašun* 'this girl's eyes', *ča kina čašun* 'that girls eyes'. As for the preposition *ča*, in this case, it can be assumed that this would be the same *čə,* where the sound change: ə→a has taken place influenced by *ča*. In the earlier stages of the Talyshi language the functions of today's *ča* were performed by *čə*. This is proved by the fact that the form čə is still preserved in *čəmān,* the possessive personal pronoun of the 1$^{st}$ person singular, which is formed by the preposition čə and *mān,* the oblique form of 1$^{st}$ singular personal pronoun *āz*. Despite the fact that in my text corpus there is not any example of čə*,* it seems that it is still rarely used in Anbarāni. Daniel Paul in his work entitled "A Comparative Dialectical Description of Iranian Taleshi" gives a couple of examples of the preposition *čə*, i.e. *cə də gəlau ku ilayə piana?* 'which one of the two do you want?[3].

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[1] **Rastorgueva, Edelman** 2000: 135.

[2] **Rastorgueva, Edelman** 2007: 301.

[3] **Paul** 2011**:** 154. In the description of this sentence D. Paul defines *čə (cə)* as 3S.POSS, i.e. the third-person singular possessive pronoun, and in the sentence *bâla merd cə hân=u pe-kâ* 'the child woke the man up' (lit. the child woke the man of the dream, **Paul** 2011: 160) *čə (cə)* is described as POSSD.3S (the abbreviation POSSD is not found in the list, but most likely it means "possessive form of the demonstrative pronoun"), but it is obvious that in these sentences we deal with the preposition *čə* combined with the postposition *u,* since, firstly, the only form of the possessive pronoun for the third-person singular in Anbarāni is *čavə,* which consists of the preposition *čə* and the oblique form of the 3$^{rd}$ person singular personal pronoun *av.* The same goes for the possessive form of

The preposition *ča* is rarely used independently in Anbarāni, but based on the few examples from our database a conclusion can be made that it combines with nouns in oblique case and marks the possessor, e.g. *ča zua nana uma* 'the mother of the boy came', *mānə ča Ahmadə dadam vinde* 'I saw Ahmad's father', but the use of *ča* in such constructions is optional (see the comments on **do**).

*Ča* also combines with various postpositions such as *ku, sa* (see §4.13), but most likely it only strengthens the meaning of those postpositions with which it combines, and in this case the usage of *ča* is optional[4].

Although the phrase *ča veyza do žio* can easily be understood as 'under that walnut tree', but it is obvious that in this case we deal with the preposition ča, not the possessive form of *a*, since *i ruž Mallo ča veyza du žio həta bə* is the first sentence of the story and the walnut tree is mentioned in the text for the first time.

**4.4 veyz** 'walnut' < OIr. *gauza-[5]

**4.5 do** 'tree' < O Ir. *dāru-. In the noun phrase *veyza do* 'walnut tree' the words *veyz* 'walnut' and *do* 'tree' are linked to each other by the connective vowel -*a* which in Anbarāni (as well as in other Central and Southern Talyshi dialects) usually links attributive adjectives to nouns, e.g. *šin-a angə* 'sweet grapes', *māhbub-a kina* 'beautiful girl' etc. In Anbarāni, as well as in Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan[6], sometimes nouns can also take -a when they are in attributive position and have adjectival value, e.g. *əm žen-a kif xayli čok-e* 'This woman's bag is very good', this is exactly as happens in our text.

**4.6 žio** 'under' = ži < OIr. *hača-adari + o < OIr. *-at[7]. The postposition *žio* in Anbarāni always combines with the oblique form of nouns. Anbarāni nouns in the oblique case are marked with the suffix -ə[8] (= Az.Tal. -i). The morphological distinction between the direct and oblique cases disappears when a word ends by a vowel, cf. *ženə bālā* 'the woman's child', *kina bəva* 'the girl's brother'.

One of the main functions of the oblique case is the expression of possession (as in the above-mentioned examples). Sometimes it can be expressed also through the combination of the preposition **ča** and the oblique case marker -ə

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the demonstrative pronoun *a*, which is *ča <čə + a*, and not *ča*. Secondly, the use of those forms is not relevant in this case, while the use of the preposition *čə* with -*u* (=Az.Tal. *o*) is completely logical, it expresses the meaning of the ablative case and is attested in other varieties of Northern Talyshi (see **Miller** 1953: 75-76, **Pireyko** 1991: 166).

[4] Probably the fact that *ča (čə)* is not even mentioned in the works on Anbarāni by D. Paul (**Paul** 2011: 172-174) and R. Amiriān-Budālālu (**Amiriān-Budālālu** 2005: 53) can be considered as an indicator that the use of this preposition is marginal.

[5] **Tsabolov** 2001: 409-410, **Rastorgueva, Edelman** 2007: 257

[6] **Miller** 1953: 73.

[7] **Miller** 1953**: 75; Stilo** 2006**:** 325. According to L. **Pireyko** (1991: 168) Northern Talyshi *o* corresponds to the postposition *rā* in all the Tati dialects and both derive from OIr. *radi.

[8] The oblique case marker -*ə* of Anbarāni corresponds to the suffix -*i* in other Talyshi dialects, and B. **Miller** (1953: 79) claims it derives from Old Persian demonstrative particle *hya*. According to W. Schulze (**Schulze** 2000: 17) it corresponds to Old Persian -ahyā (genitive singular of a-stems), which in its turn derives from Old Iranian case ending *-ahya (**Windfuhr** 1992: 29).

(*ø* after a vowel*)*, e.g. *ča Ahmadə dada* 'Ahmad's father', *ča merdə ka* 'the man's house', *ča do liva* 'the leaf of the tree' etc. (see the comments on **ča**). Thus, in the noun phrase **ča veyza do žio** 'under the walnut tree' the word *do* is in oblique case, even though it is not morphologically expressed.

**4.7 həta bə** '[he] was asleep'. *Həta* is the past participle[9] of the verb *həte* 'to sleep' (<OIr. *$x^w\bar{a}pta$-*) and *bə* is the 3$^{rd}$ person past form of the Auxiliary verb *be* 'to be'. This construction, when the past participle of some stative verbs are used as adjectives with the verb *be*, should not be confused with the past perfect tense of intransitive verbs. Past perfect tense of intransitive verbs in Anbarāni is formed with the past participle followed by the past simple forms of *be* (1sg. *bim,* 2sg. *biš,* 3sg. *bə,* 1pl. *bimon*, 2pl. *bin*, 3pl. *bin*), e.g. *ša bim* 'I had gone', *oma biš* 'you had come', *ogārda bə* 'he had come back' etc. Thus, the sentence *i ruž Mallo ča veyza do žio həta bə* should be translated as 'one day Mullah **was asleep** under the walnut tree' rather than '… had slept/had fallen asleep…'.

**4.8 ki** 'that'. *Ki* in Anbarāni is a universal subordinate conjunction for introducing relative clauses (*a žen ki ayo nəšta Mariame* 'The woman who is seating there is Mariam'), as well as various completive clauses (*āz buva kānanim ki avun uman* 'I don't believe that they have come', *ama ba nanamun vota ki tə dəzdiš* 'We have told our mother that you are a thief'). Like in Persian *ki* functions also as emphatic[10] and can be translated into English by words 'well' or 'so' or through interrogative expressions. In our text, in the sentence *əmə ki šukr kārdeš pinani* the conjunction *ki* is emphatic and can be translated as either 'Well/So there is no need to thank' or 'There is no need to thank, is there?'.

**4.9 i karanda** 'suddenly' = i 'one' + kara 'an instance or occurrence, time' + anda < OIr. *antar 'in, with'.

**4.10 gəle** 'a, one'. Definiteness is not a specific category in Anbarāni: definite nouns are devoid of any morphological markers and are used in their direct form, e.g. *kina xayli māhbub bə* 'The girl was very beautiful'. Sometimes definiteness can be optionally marked by demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *a žen uma* 'The (that) woman came'. In contrast to this indefiniteness is expressed by a special marker, the word *gəle/gəla* or *ila,* e.g *gəle dəzdə avunəš kəšte* 'A thief killed them', *əm deyoanda ila jazira heste* 'There is an island in this sea' etc. According to Professor Boris Miller this word is likely consisted of the numeral *i(g)* (see §4.1)

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[9] Past participle is constructed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to either the Pst. or Cst., e.g. *kārda* 'done', *mārda* 'dead', *hārda* 'eaten' etc. Anbarāni past participle corresponds to those of Classical Persian and New Persian with the endings *-a* and *-e* respectively, and derives from OIr. participle ending with *-ta followed by the suffix *-ka (e.g. *karta-ka) (see **Yefimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova** 1982: 169)

[10] Chodzko for the Persian emphatic *ke* suggested the translation-meaning 'voila, mais, eh bien' in French, for details see **Windfuhr** 1979: 70-72

and *la,* which isn't used separately in Talyshi and is related to Persian *lā* 'layer' which also metaphorically means 'times', e.g. *čand lā* 'several times'[11].

**4.11 agənina** '[it] falls', 3rd person singular of the present indicative of the verb *agənie* 'to fall'''. In Anbarāni, in contrast to the Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan[12], the present tense of the indicative mood is formed from the present stem of the verb (or from the common stem of one-stem verbs[13]), the postposition *-na,* which is probably derived from the postposition *anda (> \*anna >* *-na* due to the assimilation), and the following personal endings: 1sg. *-m,* 2sg. *-š,* 3sg. *-y;* 1pl. *-mun,* 2pl. *-n,* 3pl. *-n.* For the form of 3rd person singular, like in this case, the personal ending is often omitted.

**4.12 sa** 'head' < OIr. *\*sarah-*[14]

**4.13 ča sasa** 'on the head'. In Anbarāni there is also a postposition *sa* 'on, on top of', which, can be considered as a result of a semantic expansion of the noun *sa* 'head'. The postposition *sa* can be used both independently and along with the preposition *ča* as in our text. *Sa* combines with the nouns in oblique form, e.g. *bāndə sa* 'on/on top of the mountain', but since the noun *sa* 'head' ends with a vowel, it is used in its direct form. Thus, in the phrase *ča sasa* the first *sa* means 'head' and the second one derives from the same noun and functions as a postposition meaning 'on, on top of'.

**4.14 čayo** 1. 'there, from there', 2. 'then' = preposition *ča* 'from, of' + *ayo* 'there'.

**4.15 šuruš kā** '[he] began', 3rd person singular of the simple past tense indicative of the verb *šuru kārde* 'to begin'. The formation of the simple past tense of transitive verbs differs from that of intransitive, which is due to the existence of split ergativity in Anbarāni. Transitive verbs form their simple past tense from the past stem of two-stem verbs or the common stem of one-stem verbs, followed by the enclitic pronouns (1sg. *-əm,* 2sg. *-ə/-e,* 3sg. *-əš;* 1pl. *əmun,* 2pl. *-ən,* 3pl. *-əšun)*

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[11] **Miller** 1953**:** 128

[12] In all Northern Talyshi dialects of the Republic of Azerbaijan the present tense of the indicative mood is formed from the infinitive by adding the personal endings, which are almost the same as in Anbarāni (except of slightly different form of 1pl with *o* (-*imon*)*,* instead of Anbarāni *u.* In these dialects there are different forms for 2pl. and 3pl., while in Anbarāni the 2nd and 3rd plural persons have the same ending).

[13] It is well known that the two-stem verbal system is highly typical for Iranian languages and is considered as 'remarkably stable characteristic, one of the deepest traces of genetic unity across the family' (**Haig** 2008: 9-10). In spite of the fact that the opposition of two stems, past and present, still is found in Anbarāni, it is significantly blurred and the most of the verbs have lost one of the stems and at the present stage of the language development have only one common stem. Although the same verbs can differ from each other in Anbarāni and Northern Talyshi dialects of Azerbaijan from the perspective of how many stem numbers they contain (for example the verb *gārde* 'to move, to walk' has one stem in Az.Tal. (**Pireyko** 1976: 49), while it still preserves the two-stem paradigm in Anbarāni, e.g. *āz gār-na-m* 'I walk', *av gārd-e* 'he/she walked'), the situation of the verb system in two varieties is almost the same (for much more detailed information see **Kaye** 2013)

[14] **Cheung** 2002: 223

functioning as personal endings, and the marker *-e* [15] comes next*,* e.g. *vindəme* 'I saw', *havātəmune* 'we sold' etc. It should be noted, that the enclitic pronouns can be easily detached from the verb and attached to the other members of the sentence, and the marker *-e* attaches to the verb stem, e.g. *tə vindəme* or *tə-m vinde* 'I saw you', *ila go vindəmune* or *ila go-mun vinde* or even *ila-mun go vinde* 'we saw a cow'. The detaching of the enclitic pronouns from the main verb can also lead to the omission of the marker *-e,* especially when the verb stem ends with a vowel.

As for the N+V compound verb *šuru kārde* 'to begin' in our text, which is used in the simple past tense and appears as *šuruš kā*, the 3rd singular enclitic pronoun has been detached from the verb *kārde* 'to do' and attached to the noun *šuru* 'start, beginning', and since it ends with the vowel *u,* the vowel *-ə* of the 3rd singular enclitic pronoun is omitted. This process has caused the omission of the marker -e. It is noteworthy that instead of the past stem *kārd*, we have the present stem *kā*. In spite of the fact that *kārde* is considered as a two-stem verb[16], it undergoes the process of losing two-stem paradigm and converts into one-stem verb with the stem *kā.* For example, the future tense of the indicative mood in Anbarāni is built by the prefix *ba-*, the past stem and the personal endings. In case of the verb *kārde* the stem *kā* is used for the future tense: *bakām* 'I will do', *bakāš* 'you will do', *bakāy* 'he/she will do' etc.

**4.16 ba** 'to', cf. NP. be.

**4.17 šukr kārde** 'to thank', from Ar. *šukr* 'thankfulness, gratitude'

**4.18 nafar** 'person'. In all probability this is a new loanword of Arabic origin borrowed from Persian, since the world-final liquid *r* is not dropped which is typical not only for inherited Talyshi words (see §4.31), but also borrowings, like *xaba* 'news' < Ar. xabar, *xəyo* 'cucumber' < NP. *xiyār,* etc.

**4.19 davāna bə** '[he] was passing', 3rd person singular of the past imperfect 1[17] tense of the verb *davārde* 'to pass'. Its formation is quite similar to the present

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[15] B. **Miller** (1953: 168) compares this marker with NP. *ast* and claims that it should be considered as copula. D. **Stilo** (2008: 374) defines it as the 3rd person singular enclitic form of the auxiliary verb, while D. Paul (2011: 137) calls it transitivity marker.

[16] see **Paul** 2011: 104 for Iranian Talyshi, **Pireyko** 1976: 117 for Talyshi spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

[17] Daniel Paul calls this tense "Past Progressive" (**Paul** 2011: 125), so does Donald Stilo speaking about the analogical form in Azerbaijani Talyshi (**Stilo** 2008: 385-388). Doubtlessly this tense expresses progressiveness/continuousness, indicating an action that was ongoing at the past time being considered, e.g. *a vaxti ki av ogārde, āz kitob bim hānna* 'when he came back, I was reading a book'. In this case this tense fully corresponds to the past continuous tense of English or Persian, but at the same time in Anbarāni the habitual aspect combined with the past tense as well can be expressed through this tense, e.g. *pona āz hā māng ba rustā šina bim* 'last year every month I went to the village', or *av hamiša omina bə ba čama ka o gap bimun žana* 'he always came to our house and we talked'. This shows that this tense expresses imperfectivity in general, including iterativity, habituality and progressivity, and since all these can be considered as types or subcategories of imperfectivity (see **Comrie** 1976: 25), it would be more correct to call this tense 'Past Imperfect'.

tense, i.e. the present stem (or the common stem for one-stem verbs) and the postposition *-na* are used in this case as well, and the opposition over the present tense is expressed through the auxiliary *be* 'to be', which is used in the past perfect and indicates the person and number of the subject: 1sg. *bim,* 2sg. *biš,* 3sg. *bə,* 1pl. *bimun,* 2pl. *bin,* 3pl. *bin*, e.g. *šina bim* 'I was going', *kāna biš* 'you were doing', *šəma vona bin* 'you (pl.) were saying', *avun ogārna bin* 'they were returning' etc. This form is the same for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

**4.20 A vāxti ki** 'when' < DEM. *a* 'that' + *vāxt* 'time' + *i* [18] + CONJ. *ki* 'that'. As Rubinčik[19] claims about the Persian analogue of **a vāxti ki (**NP. *vaqti ke* 'when') from which most likely the Anbarāni version is calqued, this compound conjunction is actually a phraseological combination consisting of correlative words and the universal subordinating conjunction *ki,* but there are also two significant differences between these forms: while the Persian conjunction can be used without *ke* and in the same time the use of *yā-ye ešarat (i)* is mandatory, in the Anbarāni form *ki* can't be omitted and *i* is optional, e.g. *a vāxt ki žen ba ka rase čavə merd ba ko bə ša* 'when the woman got home, her husband had gone to work'.

**4.21 ɣaziya** 'incident, bad luck', Arabic borrowing, cf. Ar. *qaḍiyya* 'case, lawsuit'.

**4.22 zənə(še)** '[he] has known', 3rd person singular of the simple past tense of the verb *zəne* 'to know, to learn' < OIr. *\*zana-* . In the verb phrase *ɣaziyaš zəne*, as it appears in the text, the enclitic pronoun *-əš* has been detached from the verb and attached to the object *ɣaziya* of the ergative sentence, and the marker *-e* has been preserved and directly attached to the stem *zən-*.

**4.23 vote '[**he] said', 3rd person singular of the simple tense of the verb *vote* 'to say' < OIr. *\*waxta-*[20]. We have already discussed the formation of the simple past tense of transitive verbs. The verb *vote* 'to say' has the following paradigm for the simple past tense: 1sg. *votəme* 'I said', 2sg. *vote*[21] 'you said', 3sg. *votəše*

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[18] In Anbarāni this suffix is also used in relative clauses, e. g. *merdi ki zina uma bə vindəme* 'I saw the man who came yesterday' (**Paul** 2011: 80), but in all probability this construction is influenced by Persian and can be considered as a syntactic calque, since, first of all, the use of this suffix is optional and normally it is omitted, unlike the demonstrative pronoun *a* "that" is usually used, e. g. *a merd ki čəmān itoqanda həta, čəmān daday* 'the man who is asleep in my room is my father', *a žen ki zina iyo bə əmruže vinda?* 'have you seen today the woman who was here yesterday?'. Secondly, this morpheme does not have any other function in the grammar of Anbarani, which gives rise to doubt in its native Talyshi origin. Of course, the cardinal numeral *i* 'one', going back to OIr. *\*aiwa-* from which the Persian *i (yā-ye ešarat)* is thought to be derived, occasionally functions as a marker for singular-indefinite nouns, but such a development is attested in a big number of languages even not related to each other (see **Givon** 1981), thus it is highly unlikely that the inherited numeral *i* is the same *i* optionally used in the relative clauses.

[19] **Rubinčik** 2001: 328.

[20] **Pireyko** 1991: 102.

[21] Since the enclitic pronoun for the 2nd person singular in Anbarāni is *-e* (sometimes *-ə*) and it coincides with the transitivity marker *-e,* for avoiding the hiatus *ee (əe)* the enclitic pronoun always

'he/she said', 1pl. *votəmune* 'we said', 2pl. *votəne* 'you said', *votəšune* 'they said'. In the sentence *ba Malloš vote* '[he] said to Mullah', the personal ending is detached from the verb and attached to the indirect object *Mallo*, the marker -*e* is attached to the past stem -*vot.*

It is interesting that in the last sentence of our text in the clause *Mallo vote* 'Mullah said' the verb *vote* occurs without the pronominal clitic -*əš* which would indicate the person and number of the agent. Most likely this is similar to the case when in Anbarāni and also in the Northern Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan in a completely clear context, both the overt agent and the enclitic pronouns can be omitted[22]. In this case the 3rd person singular of the simple past tense of a transitive verb coincides with the form of the same person, number and tense of an intransitive verb, but, as it was mentioned above, in the case of transitive verbs -*e* is the transitivity marker, while in the case of intransitive verbs -*e* is 3rd person singular personal ending, and if the agent (the subject of nominative sentences) is not omitted, it is used in oblique case with transitive, and in direct case with intransitive verbs, e.g. *avə vote* 'he/she said', but *av vite* 'he/she ran', *Ahmadə pāte* 'Ahmad cooked', but *Ahmad həte* 'Ahmad slept'. The simple past tense of intransitive verbs in Anbarāni is formed with the past stem of two-stem verbs or the common stem of one-stem verbs by adding the following personal endings: 1sg. -*im/-em,* 2sg. -*iš,* 3sg. -*e,* 1pl. -*imun/-emun,* 2pl. -*in,* 3pl. -*in,* e.g. *šim* 'I went', *davārdiš* 'you (sg.) passed', *avun māndin* 'they stayed' etc.

**4.24 əmə** the oblique form of DEM. *əm* 'this' < OIr. *ima-.

**4.25 pinani** '[it] doesn't want, doesn't need'. The verb *pie,* which means 'to love' and 'to want', holds a special place in the verbal system of Anbarāni (and generally in Northern Talyshi[23]) this verb shows an ergative pattern not only in the simple past, present perfect and past perfect tenses, but also even in present tenses (actually this is not a unique phenomenon in Iranian languages[24]). If considered out of the sentence, *pinani* looks like a negative form[25] of the 3rd person singular of any other verb (no matter transitive or intransitive) in the present tense of the indicative mood, cf. *šinani* 'he/she doesn't go', *hətnani* 'he/she doesn't sleep', *vārnani* 'he/she doesn't bring', *gatnani* 'he/she doesn't take' etc. Actually, the complete form for 'he/she/it doesn't want' in Anbarāni is *pinaniše,* which, unlike the other verbs with -*ø* ending after the negative particle -*ni*, obtains -(*ə*)*š* and the transitivity

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detaches from the verb and attaches to other parts of the sentence (except of the agent), e.g. *tə keyna avə vinde?* 'when did you see him?'. But if the clause consists of only the agent and the predicate, the enclitic pronoun is omitted, e.g. *tə vote: bo iyo* 'you said: come here!'. In this case the 2nd person singular form of the verb in the simple past tense is exactly the same as 3rd person singular in a clause with a completely clear context, such as *Mallo vote* 'Mullah said'.

[22] see **Paul** 2011: 139, **Stilo** 2008: 382.

[23] see **Miller** 1953: 182, **Stilo** 2008: 369.

[24] see **Haig** 2008: 305.

[25] See the comments on **§4.28**

marker *-e.* The sentence *əmə ki šukr kārdeš pinani* 'well, there is no need to thank' (lit. 'this does not want thanking') shows an ergative pattern: the agent *əm* is used in oblique case, the direct object, which is the infinitive of *šukr kārde,* has not been changed morphologically since it ends with a vowel, but the personal ending *-əš* is detached from the verb and attached to the direct object, and the marker *-e* is omitted.

**4.26 hāy** 'hey!'.

**4.27 āxmax** 'fool'. Obviously, an indirect Arabic loanword with a Turkic source as intermediary, which is indicated by the first consonant *x*. The original Arabic word *aḥmaq*[26] was borrowed by Persian, but most likely Persian was not the source for Anbarāni loanword *āxmax,* since the consonant *x* in Northern Talyshi is relatively less active and even in the loanwords the original *x* tends to change into *h*, e.g. Ar. *xayr > hāy, xāsiyat >* hosiyat[27]. Instead the sound change h>x is found in a number of Turkic languages, e.g. Tab. axmax[28], Az. āxmāq[29], Gr. Tat. axmax[30] etc[31]. The Kurdish *āxmāx, āqmāq* is also defined as an Arabic borrowing through a Turkic source by R. Tsabolov[32].

**4.28 zənaniš** 'you don't know'. The negative form of the 3rd person singular of the verb *zəne* 'to know'. The negative forms of the present tense are built by adding the negating particle *ni* between the postposition *-na* and the personal endings, e.g. *šinanim* 'I don't go/I am not going', *bārnani(y)* 'he doesn't take/he's not taking', *avon vitnanin* 'they don't run/they aren't running' etc. The verb *zəne* has one stem, *zən,* but instead of the expected form *\*zənnaniš* we have *zənaniš*. Obviously after adding the posposition *-na* to the verb stem which ends with *n,* the cluster *nn* is degeminated to *n*. But it seems this happens only during the negation, most probably under the influence of the negation particle *ni*, because both in my corpus and in the work of D. Paul the affirmative forms of the present and past imperfect tenses preserve cluster *nn*, e.g. *āz zənnam ki əštə pia dada xayli čuka merde* 'I know that your grandfather is a very good person'.

**4.29 agar** 'if', most likely a Persian borrowing going back to OP. *\*hakaram.*

**4.30 avaz** 'instead', loanword of Arabic origin.

**4.31 xāmza** 'melon'. Obviously this is a Southwestern Iranian, most likely Persian borrowing in Anbarāni, cf. NP. *xarboze* 'melon'. There are two theories on the etymology of the Persian word. The first is that the word means 'donkey

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[26] see, for example, **Steingass** 1972: 17.
[27] **Pireyko** 1991: 114.
[28] **Salimi** 1976: 102.
[29] **Tağıyev** 2006: 72.
[30] **Podolsky** 1985: 3.
[31] The word ախմախ ախ [axmax] is broadly used in colloquial Armenian and in a number of dialects. Ačařean (**Ačařean** 1902: 65) determines the word as a Turkish loanword of Arabic origin in the Armenian dialects of Constantinople, Van and Artsakh.
[32] **Tsabolov** 2001: 102.

cucumber' and derives from Middle Persian *kharbuzak, xarbōǰīnā*[33], while supporters of the second theory claim that the word is an Old Indo-Aryan loanword, it originates from *trapusa* which was changed into *xarbūza* under the influence of the folk etymology[34]. Even if the Persian *xarboze* is derived from Early Middle Persian xarbūčak[35], which in its turn consists of the roots *xar* 'donkey'[36] < OIr. *\*xara-* and *\*bučak* 'cucumber', it can be considered as an inherited Persian word. The same can not be told about Anbarāni *xāmza,* since the consonants *x* and *z* in it indicate that it is borrowed from a Southwestern Iranian source. As we know in Northern Talyshi at the beginning of the inherited words *\*x* regularly changes into *h*, as in Anb. *ha* 'donkey' < OIr. \*xara-[37], Anb. *hərie* 'to buy' < OIr. *\*xri-na-*[38], and we should have *ž* instead *z,* which is a well-known isogloss between Northwestern and Southwestern Iranian languages[39], e.g. in *ruž* 'day' < OIr. *\*raučah-* 'light, day', cf. Prth. *rōž,* MP. *rōč, rōz*[40], NP. *ruz,* Anb. *rəže* 'to collapse, to crumble' < OIr. *\*raiča* < PIE. *\*leik^w-* 'to leave, to abandon'[41], cf. NP. *riz,* Prst. of *rixtan* 'to pour'.

The liquid *r* is very unstable in Anbarāni (and generally in Northern Talyshi in contrast to Southern Talyshi dialects[42]), while it is well-preserved at the beginning of the words, e.g. *ruž* 'day' < OIr. *\*raučah-*, *rəvos* 'fox' < OIr. *\*raupasa-* etc., it is usually lost in middle and final position, both in inherited words and borrowings, e.g. *ko* 'work'' < OIr. *\*kāra-*, cf. NP. kār, *poa* 'part, portion' < OIr. *\*pāra-*, cf. NP. *pāre, xaba* 'news' < Ar. xabar, *deyu*[43] 'sea' < NP. *daryā, xəyo* 'cucumber' < NP. *xiyār*, *si* 'garlic' < NP. *sir* etc. The lengthening of *a* into *ā* before *r* after the loss of it, like in *xāmza*, is not unusual in Anbarāni either, e.g. *kāg* 'hen' < OIr. *\*kṛka-*[44], cf. Gil. *kark,* Maz. *kerk*[45], *čāx* 'wheel' < *\*čarx* < OIr. *\*čaxra-*. It is difficult to

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[33] **Horn** 1893: 105.

[34] **Doerfer** 1967: 380, **Abaev** 1989: 141-142.

[35] **Doerfer** 1967: 380.

[36] There is also another opinion on the subject that *xar-* doesn't mean 'donkey', but 'big' (see **Abaev** 1989: 141, f3), going back to OIr. \*kara-/\*xara- (see **Edelman** 2011: 280-282).

[37] **Hasandust** 2011: 223.

[38] **Rastorgueva** 1990: 219.

[39] see **Paul** 1998.

[40] **Durkin-Meisterernst** 2004: 297-298.

[41] **Rastorgueva** 1990: 196.

[42] see **Bazin** 1980: 70.

[43] This word goes back to OIr. *\*zrayah-* 'sea', but doubtlessly it is not an inherited Talyshi word, since the Southwestern Iranian shift of *\*z* to *d* instead of *\*z>z* (e.g. z*əne* 'to know < OIr. *\*zan-,* zua 'boy' < OIr. *\*zata-* etc.) shows that it is actually a Persian loanword, although after borrowing it has undergone typical Northern Talyshi changes as the loss of *r* and the shift of Persian *ā* into o>u (cf. Az.Tāl. *dəyo*).

[44] **Edelman** 2011: 398.

[45] **Hasandust** 2011: 310.

explain the shift of *b* to *m,* but it is attested also in some other Iranian languages, cf. Tāt. *xamza,* Mm. *hermīze,* Vrzn. *komze*[46].

**4.32 abi** '[if it] was';

**4.33 avoyi** '[it] would come'. This is the form of the past imperfect 2[47] which has the following formation: prefix *-a* + verb stem (Prst. or Cst.) + personal endings (1sg. *-im*, 2sg. *-iš*, 3sg. *-i/-y*; 1pl. *-imun*, 2pl. *-in*, 3pl. *-in*). In our text corpus not a single usage of this form is found for expressing the past imperfective[48]. Just like in this short story, this form always appears in counterfactual conditional sentences and it is used both in protasis and apodosis, e.g. *agar havo čuk abi, āz ba boɣ ašim* 'if the weather was good, I would go to garden', *agar tə avə aviniš, čič avotiš* 'if you saw him, what would you say?' etc. From this point of view the abovementioned form is analogical to the past imperfect of the Persian language, which is also used in a conditional meaning both in if-clause and in main clause.

Note that in the form *avoyi* between the prefix *-a* and the stem *o* the consonant *v* is inserted, and the consonant *y* is added between the stem and the personal ending *-i* to prevent hiatus.

**4.33 če** 'what'

**4.34 balo** 'trouble, disaster', Arabic borrowing most likely with a Turkic source as intermediary. The construction *če baloyi* must be a calque from the Persian language, cf. če

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1pl. - the first-person singular | Gr. Tat. - Greek Tatar |
| 1sg. - the first-person singular | Maz. - Mazanderani |
| 2pl. - the second-person singular | Mm. - Meime'i |
| 2sg. - the second-person singular | MP. - Middle Persian |
| 3pl. - the third-person singular | N+V - a compound with noun+verb |
| 3S.POSS - the third-person singular possessive pronoun | NP. - New Persian |
| | OIr. - Old Iranian |
| 3sg. - the third-person singular | OP. - Old Persian |
| Anb. - Anbarāni | Pa. - Parthian |

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[46] **Hasandust** 2011: 146.

[47] It is noteworthy that during writing this article, I contacted my source of information Sinā Morādzādeh and asked him to translate a sentence from Persian to Anbarani. The sentence already existed in my text corpus, based on my records of the fieldwork conducted in July 2015. My goal was to see if the same form, past imperfect 1, would be used this time, and I got exactly the same result: NP.. *pārsāl man har māh be rustā mi raftam* ('last year every month I went to the village') → Anb. *pona āz hā māng ba rustā šina bim.* Then I asked him if 'šina bim' can be replaced by the form 'āšim' (Past Imperfect 2). His answer was: "No, 'ašim' is used in conditional sentences, my friend". Probably this fact indicates that for expressing the imperfective aspect in the past tense, native speakers of Anbarāni prefer to use past imperfect 1, and past imperfect 2 tends to be used only in conditional sentences, thus probably "Past Imperfect 2" is not a very correct way to call this tense and possibly should be replaced by "Past Unreal Conditional".

[48] In D. Paul's work there are some examples of this tense used as past imperfective, see **Paul** 2011: 129.

Ar. - Arabic
Az. – Azerbaijani
Az.Tal. - Talyshi dialects spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan
CONJ. - conjunction
Cst. - common stem
DEM. - demonstrative pronoun
Gil. - Gilaki

PIE. - Proto-Indo-European
Prst. - present stem
Pst. - past stem
Tab. - Tabrizi dialect of Azerbaijani
Tāt. - Tati
Vrzn. - Varzane'i

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# ՄԻ ԿԱՐՃ ՊԱՏՄՎԱԾՔ ՄՈԼԼԱ ՆԱՍՐԵԴԴԻՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ ԹԱԼԻՇԵՐԵՆԻ ԱՆԲԱՐԱՆԻ ԲԱՐԲԱՌՈՎ․ ՏԵՔՍՏ, ԹԱՐԳՄԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ, ԲԱՌԱՐԱՆ ԵՎ ՄԵԿՆԱԲԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ

*Հակոբ Ավչյան*

**Բանալի բառեր՝** *թալիշերեն, հյուսիսային թալիշերեն, Անբարանի բարբառ, իրանական լեզուներ, լեզվաբանություն, բարբառագիտություն:*

Թալիշերենը, որը պատկանում է հյուսիսարևմտյան իրանական լեզուների խմբին, ներառում է մեծ թվով բարբառներ ու խոսվածքներ, որոնք մի շարք հնչյունաբանական, քերականական և բառապաշարային առանձնահատկությունների հիման վրա ավանդաբար բաժանվում են բարբառային երեք հիմնական խմբի՝ հյուսիսային, կենտրոնական և հարավային: Անբարանի բարբառը հյուսիսթալիշական բարբառ է, որ խոսվում է Իրանի Արդեբիլ նահանգի (օսթան) Նամին շրջանի (շահրեսթան) Անբարան ենթաշրջանում (բախշ)՝ Անբարան քաղաքում և հարակից գյուղերում: Հյուսիսային թալիշերենի վերաբերյալ եղած ուսումնասիրությունների մեծ մասը նվիրված է Ադրբեջանի Հանրապետության տարածքում խոսվող բարբառներին: Օրինակ՝ հայտնի իրանագետ, թալիշագետ Բորիս Միլլերի «Թալիշական տեքստեր» արժեքավոր աշխատանքը ընդգրկում է կարճ պատմվածքներ, անեկդոտներ, երկխոսություններ, բանաստեղծություններ՝ գրի առնված այս բարբառներով: Ի տարբերություն ադրբեջանարևնակ թալիշների բարբառների և խոսվածքների՝ Անբարանի բարբառը համեմատաբար շատ ավելի քիչ է ուսումնասիրված, ուստի այս բարբառով հրապարակված տեքստերի թիվը բավականին փոքր է:

Այս հոդվածի նպատակն է ընդլայնել Անբարանի բարբառի վերաբերյալ գիտական տվյալների շրջանակը՝ ներկայացնելով մի կարճ պատմվածք Մոլլա Նասրեդդինի մասին և դրա տեքստի հիման վրա վերլուծելով ու քննարկելով բարբառային մի շարք ձևաբանական, շարահյուսական և բառապաշարային առանձնահատկություններ: