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Persian Dialects

As Spoken in Iran

Corey Miller, PhD, Jace Livingston, MA, Mark Vinson, MA, and Thomas Triebwasser Prado, MA

Preface

CASL has been tasked with providing research and materials to support ADET's effort to develop an intermediate and an advanced course in the accents and regional dialects and languages of Iran. CASL was provided with a list of accents, dialects and languages. These varieties can be grouped into three main classes as shown below. For the Iranian languages, we have indicated their genetic grouping according to Windfuhr (2009):

- Dialects close to Persian (SW): Abadani, Esfahani, Hamedani, Kashani, Kermani, Mashhadi, Shirazi, Yazdi

- Dialects and languages belonging to the Iranian language family yet more distant from Persian: Lori (SW Perside), Lari (SW non-Perside), Bandari (SW non-Perside), Kordistani (NW tier 1), Balochi (NW tier 2), Gilaki/Gilani (NW Caspian), Mazandarani (NW Caspian)

- Languages from other families: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Khuzestani (Arabic)

In the case of the dialects close to Persian, we have attempted to describe their phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. In the case of the languages from other families, we have introduced the main features of these languages, but focused more of our attention on the Persian spoken by speakers of those languages. For the Iranian dialects and languages more distant from Persian, we have attempted a middle ground; describing both the languages themselves as well as the Persian characteristic of their speakers.

The dialects close to Persian can be covered in an intermediate course, while the Iranian languages and dialects further from Persian can be combined with the languages from other families to form the advanced course. We propose the following weeklong modules to accommodate students who may not have time to attend the entire course:

Intermediate

Week 1 [Introduction, Esfahani, Kashani]
Week 2 [Kermani, Yazdi]
Week 3 [Shirazi, Hamedani]
Week 4 [Abadani, Mashhadi]

Advanced

Week 1 SW: [Lori, Lari, Bandari]
Week 2 NW: [Kordistani, Balochi]
Week 3 NW Caspian: [Gilaki/Gilani, Mazandarani]
Week 4 Non-Persian: [Azerbaijani, Armenian, Khuzestani]

Figure 1 shows the dialects and languages included in this report superimposed on a map of Iran.

Figure 1: Dialects included in this study

Introduction

The Persian language as spoken today can be roughly divided into three varieties depending on the country in which it is spoken: Farsi, spoken in Iran, Dari, spoken in Afghanistan and Tajiki, spoken in Tajikistan. The research described here is entirely based on Farsi. To an extent greater than that of English, and perhaps lesser than that of Arabic, Farsi is diglossic (Jeremias 1984, Perry 2003), which means that its written and spoken varieties differ from each other. We will refer to the written variety as "Standard" and the spoken variety as "Colloquial". The following chart provides information on the different terminology employed to describe this dichotomy:

Table 1: Terminology for Standard and Colloquial

Standard	Colloquial
Formal Written Persian (FWP) (Stilo et al. 2005, vol 1, 256-257)	(Standardized) Colloquial (Stilo et al. 2005, vol. 1, 256-257, vol. 2, 23)
کتابی 'bookish'	زبان گفتار 'spoken language' (Najafi 1999)
زبان نوشتار 'written language' (Najafi 1999)	زبان عامیانه 'vernacular language' (Najafi 1999)
formal	informal
زبان رسمی 'official language' (Najafi 1999)	زبان محاوره 'conversational language' (Najafi 1999)
زبان ادبی 'literary language' (Najafi 1999)	گفتار سهل انگارانه 'allegro speech'
	زبان عوام، زبان عوامانه 'common/vulgar speech'(Peisikov 1960)
	زبان روزمره 'daily language' (Najafi 1999)
	زبان تداول 'language in use' (Najafi 1999)

The purview of Colloquial Farsi should be further described. Stilo et al.(2005, 259) mention that there are at least two forms of colloquial, the less formal of which they call خودمونی /xodemuni/ 'casual, informal, our own' or Tehrani (Stilo et al. 2005, vol. 2, 23-26). In this style, for example, there are more words that undergo the /an/ -> [un] transformation as well as vowel harmony effects, to be described below. Following Stilo et al., we will refer to Colloquial as the standardized form of colloquial, and the more extreme form as Tehrani. Peisikov (section 1) underlines the difficulty of distinguishing between "Tehrani" and "Colloquial".

HISTORY OF PERSIAN

Windfuhr (2009) summarizes the history of the Iranian language family, which can be divided chronologically into Old, Middle and New and geographically into Southwest (SW) and Northwest (NW) among others. In the Old stage, Old Persian reflects the SW branch, and Median the NW branch. Middle Persian succeded Old Persian in the SW, and Parthian succeeded Median in the NW.

Ergativity

Ergativity is a syntactic feature present in earlier stages of all branches of the Iranian family and which is still present in many varieties of NW Iranian (Haig 2008). Intransitive constructions are said to consist of a *subject (S)* and a verb, e.g. in the sentence "I come", "I" is the subject. Transitive constructions are said to consist of an *agent (A)*, *object (O,* or *patient, P)* and a verb. For example, in the sentence "I saw him", "I" is the agent and "him" is the object or patient. Languages are said to have *accusative alignment* when S and A have identical properties in contrast to O. So in English "I" as S and A is in the subjective case, and is therefore identical, and both are in contrast with "him"

which is in the objective case; so we would say that English has accusative alignment. *Ergative alignment* refers to situations where S and O have identical properties in contrast to A. Consider the two Pashto sentences in the past tense below (Payne 1998). /zə/ 'I' is in the absolute case as S in the intransitive sentence and O in the transitive sentence, whereas A /ta/ 'you' is in the oblique case. So we would say that Pashto's past tense has ergative alignment. In contrast, Pashto's present tense has accusative alignment, since A /zə/ 'I' is in the direct case and O /ta/ 'you' is in the oblique case.

Intransitive Past	zə raɣəlay yəm 'I arrived'
Transitive Present	zə ta winəm 'I see you'
Transitive Past	ta zə wulidəm 'You saw me'

DIGLOSSIA

Diglossia, as used by Ferguson (1959) and others, characterizes languages such as Arabic that in any given speech community have two essentially non-overlapping varieties that can be called H (high) and L (low). In the case of Arabic, H would be Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), while L would be local dialects such as Egyptian, Levantine, etc. The H varieties are used in activities like sermons, speeches and in writing, while the L varieties are used in spoken interactions with family, friends and colleagues. However, the H variety is not the native variety of any speakers. H and L varieties are often characterized by extensive grammatical differences, combined with lexical and to some extent, phonological, differences. Diglossic situations differ from a situation Ferguson calls "standard with dialects". Such a situation, which he ascribes to Tehran Persian (p. 337), is where there is a segment of the population that uses the H variety natively (in this case Tehranis), whereas others use local dialects at home, but the Tehran variety when speaking with outsiders.

Jeremias (1984) notes that what sets the diglossic languages described by Ferguson off from the rest are the extensive grammatical differences between the H and L varieties (p. 272). In addition she notes that it is the degree of these differences and not their mere existence that results in a diglossic situation. Jeremias (1984, p. 286) concludes that the grammatical differences between the H and L varieties of Persian are as marked as those between two independent languages, and that Persian is a striking example of diglossia; in fact she claims that this situation has existed since the "earliest historical times" (p. 286). Many of the distinguishing features of today's L variety are derived from earlier stages in H, including the use of the 3rd person pronominal enclitic as a subject, e.g. گفتش /gofteš/ 'he/she said', whose origin she finds in Middle Persian (p. 284).

Perry (2003) responds that Persian is not in fact diglossic, that it is homoglossic. He develops a method for quantifying the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences between H and L levels in a given language and then compares H and L Persian with H and L Egyptian Arabic. By this method he finds that Arabic is three and a half times more diglossic than Persian (p. 24). However, he claims that Persian should not in fact be considered diglossic (p. 26). Perry notes that in cases of "real" diglossia, speakers have clearly defined terms for each variety, such as الفصحى *fuṣḥa* (H) and العامية *ʕāmiyya* (L) in Arabic, and *Hochdeutsch* (H) and *Schwyzertüütsch* (L) for German (in Switzerland). In contrast, as illustrated in Table 1, Persian has multiple different possible ways to refer

to the H and L varieties (p. 15). Perry also notes the ease with which H-L conversion in Persian can be achieved by means of simple transformation rules (e.g. third person singular present is /-äd/ in H and /-e/ in L); while in Arabic it is much more complex (p. 24).

CODE SWITCHING/LANGUAGE CONTACT

Any discussion of dialects and regional languages must address code switching, also known as code mixing or multilingual practice. Because Persian is the national language of Iran, many speakers of dialects or regional languages will use Persian to some extent in conversations, even with speakers of their own variety. The main language of a particular dialog can be called the *matrix* language. Code switching can refer to deviations from the matrix language of a single word, a phrase, a sentence or more. Roots of words may be from one language, and inflections from another. Over time, the contact between two languages can affect different areas of a language's grammar, including morphology, phonology, syntax and vocabulary. Perry (2001) discusses the effects of Turkish on Persian. Bani-Shoraka (2005) discusses Persian-Azerbaijani code switching, while Shabibi (2006) discusses Persian-Khuzestani Arabic code switching. Other situations are discussed in the relevant dialect chapters.

PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY

Notation

There are two principal traditions in explaining the pronunciation of Persian words. One employs the Arabic short vowel diacritics, and the other employs Roman symbols. We will first describe the Arabic system and then the Roman system, which we will use in the rest of this work.

The Arabic system uses the symbols shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Arabic Pronunciation Symbols

Symbol	Arabic name	Persian name	IPA Value(s)
ó	فتحه /fäthe/	زبر /zäbär/	/ä/, /e/, /o/
o̦	کسره /käsre/	زیر /zir/	/e/, /i/
ó	ضمه /zämme/	پیش /piš/	/o/, /u/

The Dehkhoda dictionary (Dehkhoda 1998) does not superimpose these symbols on dictionary headwords; rather, it respells the word with a subset of the characters in isolated form using these symbols. The examples in Table 3 illustrate Dehkhoda's respelling method, as well as an "integrated" method, where the vowels are placed within the word itself. The comments section explains the ambiguity of this system:

Table 3: Dehkhoda's Use of Arabic Pronunciation Symbols

Word	Respelling	Integrated	Comments
بخیر	بِ خَ/خِ	بِخَیر	Optionality is shown by a slash; this can accommodate both the standard pronunciation /bexeyr/ and the dialect pronunciation /bexayr/
توصعه	تَ س عَ	تُوصِعَه	The standard pronunciation is /towseʔe/. The use of *zabar* on the initial letter signals the "original" Arabic pronunciation /aw/. Note that the final vowel also uses *zabar*, despite being pronounced /e/; this also reflects the Arabic pronunciation, or an earlier stage in Persian.

The advantage of this system is the possibility of including pronunciation information directly on words, which publishers take advantage of to indicate the pronunciation of novel words or to disambiguate words that are spelled the same but pronounced differently (heterophonous homographs). In such cases, it is usually the less common pronunciation that is indicated with vowel diacritics. For example, دُر /dor/ 'pearl' vs. در /där/ 'door/in'.

However, as has been shown above, the system has its own ambiguities due to the same symbol representing multiple sounds. In some ways, this resembles the situation in American dictionaries like Merriam-Webster, where a word like *saw* is pronounced /sȯ/. To know how /ȯ/ is pronounced, one consults the legend at the bottom of the page that gives an example word with that symbol: *law*. While this may be circular, it may be sufficient for native speakers. It also accommodates dialect variation. That word may be pronounced /sa/, /sɒ/ or /sɔ/ in American English; for most speakers this word's pronunciation will rhyme with that of *law*.

In order to overcome the liabilities of the Arabic pronunciation system, many Persian dictionary authors use some form of Romanized respelling to indicate pronunciation, even for native audiences (Anvari 2003, Sadri Afshar, Hakami & Hakami 2008). Specialized Persian pronunciation dictionaries also use this format (Moshiri 1987, Deyhim 2008). There are many ways to transcribe Persian pronunciation using Romanized spelling. The most precise method would be to use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). However, several of the symbols may appear complicated for students and teachers, so we have developed a compromise system outlined in Table 4. Unless otherwise indicated, these symbols are used to describe standard, colloquial and Tehrani Persian.

Table 4: Phonetic Notation

Phonetic Symbol used in this work	IPA	Alternative symbols	Possible Persian or English Letters	Sample word
ä	æ	a		در /där/ 'door, in'
ə	ə			/axər/ Gilaki 'last', English /sofə/ 'sofa'
ay	aj			سعی /say/ 'try', English /tray/ 'try'
aw	aw	au		ئاو /aw/ Sorani Kurdish 'water', English /kaw/ 'cow'
a	ɒ, ɑ	ā	ا	مار /mar/ 'snake', English /bar/ 'bar'
b	b		ب	بار /bar/ 'load'
č	ʧ	ch	چ	چیز /čiz/ 'thing', English /čiz/ 'cheese'
d	d		د	در /där/ 'door, in'
e	e	ɛ		دل /del/ 'heart', English /pet/ 'pet'
ey	ej	ay	ی	کی /key/ 'when', English /pey/ 'pay'
f	f		ف	فارسی /farsi/ 'Persian'
g	g		گ	گنج /gänj/ 'treasure'
ɣ	ɣ	ɢ, q, gh	غ، ق	غم /ɣäm/ 'sorrow', قسم /ɣesm/ 'kind'
h	h		ه ، ح	هزار /hezar/ 'thousand'
ħ	ħ	ḥ	ح	حه‌-زیران /ħäziran/ Sorani Kurdish 'June'

i	i		دیر	دیر /dir/ 'late', English /dir/ 'dear'
j	dʒ	ǰ	ج	جان /jan/ 'soul, dear', English /jan/ 'John'
k	k		ک	کف /kaf/ 'palm'
l	l		ل	لازم /lazem/ 'need'
ł	ł	ll	ڵ	گوڵ /guł/ Sorani Kurdish 'flower'
m	m		م	مادر /madär/ 'mother'
n	n		ن	نان /nan/ 'bread'
ñ	ɲ	ny, nj		/värtäñidä/ Lori 'to dig up', English /käñən/ 'canyon'
o	o			بزرگ /bozorg/ 'big'
ow	ow	aw	و	نو /now/ 'new', English /now/ 'know'
p	p		پ	پدر /pedär/ 'father'
q	q			واقعی /vaqei/ Kermani 'true'
r	ɾ		ر	رسیدن /residän/ 'arrive'
rr	r	ř		پەڕە /pärrä/ Sorani Kurdish 'page'
s	s		س، ص	سپاس /sepas/ 'thanks'
š	ʃ	sh	ش	شماره /šomare/ 'number'
t	t		ت، ط	تبریز /täbriz/ 'Tabriz'

θ	θ	th		/peθär/ Judeo-Shirazi 'son', English /päθ/ 'path'
ð	ð	dh		/daða/ Lori 'old woman', English /ðät/ 'that'
u	u		و	بود /bud/ 'was', English /sun/ 'soon'
ü	y		دوست /düst/ Lari 'friend'
v	v		و	ورزش /värzeš/ 'sport'
w	w		و /wä/ Sorani Kurdish 'and'
x	x	kh	خ	خود /xod/ 'self'
y	j		ى	یک /yek/ 'one', English /yes/ 'yes'
z	z		ز، ذ، ض، ظ	زبان /zäban/ 'tongue, language'
ž	ʒ	zh	ژ	ژاله / žale/ 'dew', English /gəraž/ 'garage'
ʔ	ʔ	'	ع، ء	مسئله /mäsʔäle/ 'problem', American English /kaʔən/ 'cotton'
ʕ	ʕ		ع	Arabic /ʕäyin/ 'letter ayn'

Common Variants

There are several common variants that recur across dialects; we will mention a few here that occur in more familiar dialects of Persian like Tehrani.

r and l

Peisikov (1960, section 25) notes several words with /r/ in the standard language that can be pronounced with /l/ in Tehrani: دیوار 'wall' /dival/, برق 'electricity' /bälɣ/, سوراخ 'hole' /sulax/.

/l/ is occasionally realized as dark l /ł/ in the words الله /ałah/ 'Allah' and یاﻻ /yała/ 'let's go'.

/r/ can be trilled initially and finally in words pronounced carefully (Kahn 1976, p. 31). Inouye (1995, pp. 275-280) and Rafat (2010) discuss /r/ allophony in Persian in more detail including its presence in geminates, e.g. بره 'lamb' /barre/.

b ~ v

Peisikov (1960, section 33) notes words with /b/ in the standard language that can be pronounced with /v/ in Tehrani: بردار 'take!' /värdar/, باز ایست 'stop!' /vaysta/. Another example is بازکن 'open!' /vakon/.

غ and ق

The letters غ and ق are pronounced indistinguishably in standard and colloquial Iranian Persian. That is, we can recognize them as one phoneme /ɣ/ that has at least two allophones, [ɢ] word-initially, after nasals and when geminated, and [ɣ] elsewhere (Majidi & Ternes 1999). In Arabic, Dari, Tajik and several of the dialects discussed in this report, غ is pronounced /ɣ/ and ق is pronounced /q/. In Armenian Accented Persian and Gilaki both غ and ق are realized as /ɣ/.

aN->un

In colloquial Persian, many words written with ا followed by a nasal (ن، م) are pronounced /un/ or /um/ compared to /an/ or /am/ as in the standard. For example standard /xane/ can be contrasted with colloquial /xune/ for خانه 'house'. This phenomenon is discussed in detail in Miller (2011).

Vowel Harmony

Lazard (1957, pp. 16-17) and Stilo et al. (2005, vol. 2, 24) provide several examples of assimilation, or what we might call vowel harmony, in which certain features of a vowel are changed to match the features of vowel in a neighboring syllable. They give the following examples which they attribute to the Tehrani dialect as opposed to either Colloquial or Standard:

Table 5: Examples of Vowel Harmony

Word	Colloquial/Standard	Tehrani
/ä/ → [a] / __ a		
نهار 'lunch'	nähar	nahar
بهار 'spring'	bähar	bahar
/o/ → [u] / __ u		
بلوز 'blouse'	boluz	buluz
علوم 'science(s)'	olum	ulum
اروپا 'Europe'	orupa	urupa

/e/ → [i] / __ i		
کلید	kelid	kilit
شوید	ševid	šivit
بلیت	belit	bilit

This sort of vowel harmony is very common in connection with the subjunctive/imperative prefix ب /be/, as shown in Table 6, based on Jahangiri's (2000) Tehrani data.

Table 6: Vowel Harmony in Subjunctive/Imperative Prefix

Word	Harmonized Imperative
برو	boro
بخر	bäxär
بگیر	bigir
بخوان	baxan

Dissimilation

Mahootian (1997, pp. 326-327) describes several cases of dissimilation. Affricates (composed of a stop + fricative) lose their stop quality but may retain the voicing that had been on the stop before other stops. For example اجتماع 'society' /ejtema/ becomes [ežtema] and هیچکی 'no one' /hički/ becomes [hiški].

Vowel Reduction

Peisikov (1960, section 12) and Hodge (1957, pp. 357-358) discuss cases where short vowels reduce to schwa [ə] in Tehrani: بنده 'slave, I' /bände/ becomes [bənde] and شما 'you' /šoma/ becomes [šəma].

t,d Deletion/Cluster Simplification/Final Devoicing

Peisikov (1960, section 47) observes several cases of consonant clusters ending in /t/ or /d/ simplifying by losing the /t/ or /d/ in Tehrani : for example, هست 'there is' /hast/ becomes [häs] and گفتند 'they said' /goftänd/ becomes [goftän]. Jahangiri (2000, pp. 79-94) investigates the simplification of the cluster/st/ into /ss/, finding that it is more common in native Persian words like دست 'hand' than words borrowed from Arabic like استفاده 'use'. Clusters ending in /r/ can also simplify: صبرکن 'wait' /säbr kon/ becomes [säp kon]. Note that when the /b/ is in final position, it devoices to [p].

h dropping and insertion

Peisikov (1960, section 42) and Windfuhr (1997, p. 683) discuss instances where /h/ can be dropped : e.g. ما هم 'we too' /ma häm/ becomes [mam] and صاحب 'master' /saheb/ becomes [sab]. /h/ dropping is also common in Dari (Farhadi 1955, pp. 19-22). Ghobadi (1996, p. 153) and Lazard (2006, p. 63) discuss cases where /h/ can be inserted to avoid hiatus before the colloquial definite suffix /e/: /aɣahe/ 'that man', /bozɣalehe/ 'that kid (animal)', /nunvahe/ 'that baker'.

e > i

Jahangiri (2000, p. 55-56) and Peisikov (1960, section 10) discuss the raising of /e/ to /i/ before /k, g, š/ in several words in Tehrani: کوچک /kučik/ 'small', نگاه /nigah/ 'look', شش /šiš/ 'six'.

Vowel Fronting

A number of dialects exhibit fronted versions of back vowels. Okati et al. (2009) discuss this phenomenon in Sistani and Miller (2012) summarizes research in Persian and Kurdish dialects where /u/ becomes /ü/ and /o/ becomes /ö/.

A Note on the /ä/ → /e/ Shift

One of the most common vowel changes which occurs in Tehrani as well as several of the dialects dealt with in the intermediate course, is the vowel shift where /ä/ → /e/. While this shift is ubiquitous, it does not follow a clearly discernible rule for any given dialect. Additionally, given that people from a particular region may or may not have the accent associated with that region or may be code-switching (see above), the /ä/ → /e/ rule should not be taken as a definitive identifier of a particular dialect.

With that caveat in mind, the identification of a given dialect can sometimes be facilitated by examining the pronunciation of two or more high frequency words that contain /ä/ in Standard. For example, speakers of Esfahani are unique for pronouncing /äz/ as /ez/ while at the same time preserving the /ä/ in /kärdän/ which is commonly pronounced /kerdän/ in other dialects. Below are a few examples found in various dialects.

Standard Persian	Esfahani	Kashani	Kermani	Mashhadi	Shirazi	Yazdi
از /äz/ 'from'	/ez/	/ez/	/äz/	/äz/	/äz/	/äz/
کردن /kärdän/ 'to make or do'	/kärdän/	/kärdän/	/kerdän	/kerdän/	/kerdän/	/kerdän/
کسی /käsi/ 'someone'	/kesi/	/kesi/	/käsi/ or /kesi/	/käsi/	/kesi/	NA
رفتن /räftän/	/räftän/	/räftän/	/räftän/	/reftän/	/räftän/	/räftän/
3.SG. present-future verb ending [-äd]	[-ed]	*NA*	[-äd]	[-äd]	[-äd]	[-äd]
comparative [-tär]	[-ter]	*NA*	[-tär]	[-tär]	[-tär]	[-tär]
superlative [-tärin]	[-terin]	*NA*	[-tärin]	[-tärin]	[-tärin]	[-tärin]

*Red letters indicate where /ä/ → /e/

MORPHOLOGY OF STANDARD, COLLOQUIAL AND TEHRANI PERSIAN

There are several features of Persian morphology that are present in the standard, colloquial and Tehrani forms of the language that are also found in other dialects. By introducing the terminology and features in the more familiar varieties, we hope to facilitate absorption of the dialect features.

Object Marking

Persian marks definite direct objects with the suffix را /ra/, and forms with this suffix may be said to be in the *objective* case, while subjects may be said to be in the *subjective* case. In colloquial and Tehrani Persian the pronunciation of this suffix may also be [ro], [o] or [e] (Peisikov 1960, section 55).

Persons and Pronouns

We refer to the *persons*, which can occur in *singular* and *plural* when referring to pronouns and verbs as in the

Table 7: Persons and Pronouns

Person	Singular		Plural	
First	I	من /män/	we	ما /ma/
Second	you	تو /to/	you (all)	شما /šoma/
Third	he/she/it	او /u/	they	آنها، ایشان /anha, išan, išun/

There is extensive variation in pronoun usage depending on the level of intimacy and social distance among participants in a dialog. Keshavarz (2001) reports on the use of تو and شما. In addition to serving as a plural form, شما can be used as a respectful or formal form for the singular. Given the ambiguity between singular and plural شما, Beeman (1986, p. 148) notes the emergence of /šomaha/ as a plural form, which could be seen as analogous to the Southern American "you all/y'all". Note that the use of شما as a singular does not change the fact that the verb must be in the plural; however, Beeman (1986, p. 148) explains that use of the colloquial –in ending instead of the standard –id provides an "intermediate" form with respect to intimacy and distance. Beeman (1986, p. 147) mentions additional second person singular options that serve to raise the interlocutor with respect to oneself: جناب عالی and حضرت عالی.

In a similar way, singular او can be replaced with plural ایشان when referring to a single person out of respect, and this has resulted in the plural most often being expressed with آنها (Beeman 1986, pp. 148-149). The third person plural verb form can be used out of respect, even when a grammatically plural pronoun is not present (Beeman 1986, p. 150).

Beeman (1986, pp. 146-147) mentions several options for من, including بنده، چاکر and نوکر 'servant', each of which serves to lower the speaker out of respect to the interlocutor. The first person plural ما can be used to achieve a similar self-lowering effect (Beeman 1986, pp. 150-151).

Plural

Persian has multiple ways of forming the plural, including the regular plural ها /ha/, the animate plural ان /an/, and various plurals inherited from Arabic. In the colloquial language, the regular plural may be reduced to /a/, the animate plural (if it occurs, cf. Kahnemuyipour 2000) may surface as /un/ and Arabic plurals may be combined with the regular plural to create doubly marked forms such as /ärbaba/ 'lords', where the singular is رب, and the Arabic plural is ارباب /ärbab/ (Peisikov 1960, section 53). Hashabeiky (2007) discusses the variable use of singular and plural verbs with plural inanimate subjects.

Definite article

Standard Persian does not have a definite article, but it does have an indefinite marker, ى /i/, as in كتابى /ketabi/ 'a book'. However, Colloquial Persian has been reported to use a stressed /e/ to mark definiteness (Lazard 1957, 69), e.g. /pesarˈe/ 'the boy'. Afzali (2012, pp. 12-13) mentions that this suffix can be pronounced /ä/ before the object marker /ro/, as in /pedäräro/ 'the father's (objective)' and that /h/ can be inserted before /e/ when the noun ends in a vowel: /babahe/ 'the father'.

Double Indefinite Marking

Indefinite nouns are usually marked with the suffix ى as in كتابى /ketabi/ 'a book'. Sometimes indefiniteness can be doubly marked by a form of the word يك /yek/ before, and the indefinite suffix after the noun: /je mardi/ 'a man' (Peisikov 1960, section 61).

Prepositions Combined with Personal Pronouns

Colloquial and Tehrani Persian use some different prepositions from standard. For example, /tu/ often replaces در meaning 'in', and /vase/ often replaces براى meaning 'for' (Peisikov 1960, sections 102, 105, 107). In colloquial and Tehrani many prepositions can take personal pronoun suffixes, e.g. /be(h)äm/ 'for me', /vasetun/ 'for you' (Peisikov 1960, section 70).

Special uses of Pronominal Enclitics

The third person singular pronominal enclitic ش– normally signals possession, as in كتابش /ketabäš/ 'his book'. In colloquial and Tehrani this suffix is pronounced /eš/ and takes on additional usages, such as serving as objects of transitive verbs and even emphasizing intransitive verbs, such as رفتش /räfteš/ 'he left' (Peisikov 1960, section 70). Both Peisikov (1960, section 70) and Jeremias (1984, p. 284) discuss the origin of this feature in Middle Persian.

Diminutives

Peisikov (1960, section 129) mentions several diminutive suffixes that can be added to nouns, including stressed /äk/, /če/, /u/ and /i/, e.g. /pesäru/ 'little boy' and /kučulu/ 'tiny'.

SYNTAX OF STANDARD, COLLOQUIAL AND TEHRANI PERSIAN

Word Order

Mahootian (1997, p. 166) indicates how word order can differ between standard and colloquial. Compare بچه‌ها رفتند (به) مدرسه (standard) with بچه‌ها (به) مدرسه رفتند 'The children went to school.'

Emphatic/Modal Particles

Colloquial and Tehrani Persian have a number of particles which add color or emphasis to the meaning of utterances. Peisikov (1960, sections 123-124) discusses /äge/ (emphatic), /dige/ (emphatic), /ke/ 'after all' and /hey/ 'always'. Another example is /ha/ or /a/ which can occur sentence-finally as a kind of precaution: /xäfet mikonäma/ 'Watch out—I'll strangle you' (Peisikov 1960, section 123).

LEXICON OF STANDARD, COLLOQUIAL AND TEHRANI PERSIAN

In addition to its particular pronunciation and morphology, the colloquial language has some of its own vocabulary. Perry (2003, p. 20) provides some examples where the standard and colloquial forms of the language diverge in vocabulary, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Vocabulary differences between standard and colloquial

English	Standard	Colloquial
slow	آهسته	يواش
head	سر	كله
nose	بينى	دماغ

Sometimes speakers of a dialect may consider a given word or locution to 'belong' to that dialect when in fact it is used in many dialects or is so widespread that it could more accurately described as a *colloquial* word (see above). As is the case with the phonological features discussed above, when attempting to identify a dialect it is best not to rely too heavily on one lexical item which may not be as dialect-specific as it seems. For example, يارو ("dude, guy") and اِختِلاط ("talk, conversation") are two words which are sometimes labelled as identifiers of particular dialects, yet both of those words appear in Abolhassan Najafi's *Dictionary of Persian Slang* (فرهنگ فارسى عاميانه), which demonstrates that these purportedly unique dialectal words are in fact also used by speakers of colloquial Persian. Similarly, the word /esedän/ اسدن ("to get, to buy") is sometimes claimed as pertaining solely to one dialect or another, yet in reality it appears in Esfahani, Hamedani, Southern Lori, and is even described in the Dehkhoda dictionary as being used across the dialects of southern Iran.

CLASSICAL AND LITERARY PERSIAN

In addition to the differences between colloquial and standard speech, there are also differences between standard and classical Persian. By classical Persian, also known as Early New Persian, we mean the language associated with the literature (specifically poetry) of authors such as Omar Khayyam, Hafez, Rumi, Sa'di and Ferdowsi. Similar to the English of Shakespeare or Chaucer, the language of these poets has archaic words, phonology, syntax and morphology which have fallen out of use in the standard. Nonetheless, due to the the important role that classical prose and poetry has played in Iranian culture over the centuries, some of these archaic features are still preserved in very high register speech such as invocations, anthems, wedding toasts, military or parliamentary protocol, etc.

As with colloquial phenomena, these archaic features are not exclusive to any single dialect, though occasionally dialects may exhibit one or more of these classical features. A detailed comparison of classical and contemporary standard Persian falls outside of the purview of this report, but below are examples of the sort of features commonly found in classical Persian:

- از /äz/ 'from' → ز /ze/
- The negative verb prefix /nä-/ → /mä-/ (Lambton 1984, p. 28)
- Sometimes simple past tense verbs are preceded by the prefix /be-/ which in standard Persian is usually reserved for the subjunctive-imperative. (Lambton 1984, p. 161)
- Ezafe was short /i/ rather than /e/ as in the contemporary standard language (see Miller 2012 for a description of the Classical Persian vowel system and its relationship to the contemporary system).

JUDEO-PERSIAN

Jews have lived in Iran since 721 BC (Sarshar 2009). Judeo-Persian refers to dialects of Persian spoken or written by Jews since at least the eighth century AD up to the present day; many of these incorporate Hebrew and Aramaic words and many of the written versions use the Hebrew alphabet. شاهن /šahin/ was a Judeo-Persian poet from the 14th century AD who wrote works about the Torah (five books of Moses) called موسی نامه /musaname/ and the story of Esther, known as تفسیر مگیلت استر /tafsir-e megillat-e ester/ or اردشیر نامه /ärdäširname/ (Bacher 1908).

Many of the Judeo-Persian dialects preserve earlier stages of the languages of the surrounding communities, due perhaps to segregation. Speakers of these dialects refer to their language as *Farsi*, while non-Jews may refer to these varieties pejoratively as زیدی /zidi/, جودی /judi/ or جیدی /jidi/ 'Jewish' (Gindin 2009). Additional words used to refer to 'Jews/Jewish' include: یهودی /yähudi/, کلیمی /kälimi/ and هود /hud/.

While many Jews have moved to Tehran "which has proved more hospitable and less prone to religious prejudices" (Yarshater 1974), there still exist Jewish communities in many parts of the country and brief sections on contemporary Judeo-Persian will be provided in the chapters on Yazdi, Hamedani, Esfahani, Kermani, Lori and Shirazi.

DARI

The variety of Persian spoken in Afghanistan, known as Dari, shares many features with dialects of Persian found in Iran. Those that are also features of Classical Persian are marked CP.

- (CP) Final ه pronounced /ä/ rather than /e/: پرده /pardä/, گفته /goftä/ (Farhadi 1975, p. 13)

- (CP) *Majhul e*: ی is pronounced /e/ rather than /i/ in certain words: شیر /šer/ 'lion' (Farhadi 1975, p. 20)

- (CP) *Majhul o*: و is pronounced /o/ rather than /u/ in certain words: روز /roz/ 'day' (Farhadi 1975, p. 22)

- (CP) Diphthong /ay/: ی is pronunced /ay/ rather than /ey/ in certain words: پیدا /payda/ 'find ' (Farhadi 1975, p. 22)

- (CP) Diphthong /aw/: و is pronounced /aw/ rather than /ow/ in certain words: نو /naw/ 'new' (Farhadi 1975, p. 23)

- (CP) Consonantal و is pronounced /w/ rather than /v/: و /wä/ 'and' (Farhadi 1975, p. 40)

- ق and غ are distinguished: قربت /qorbät/ 'proximity', غبرت /ɣorbät/ 'exile' (Farhadi 1975, p. 40)

- (CP) Some observers have noted that the ezafe can be short /i/, as in Classical Persian (Neghat 1993, Rees 2008, p. 59)

- (CP) The labialized cluster /xw/ is preserved in some words spelled with خو, such as خواهر 'sister' /xwahär/, خواستن /xwastän/ 'want' (Farhadi 1975, p. 49).

- ژ /ž/ is often rendered /j/ (Farhadi 1975, p. 42).

- Demonstrative pronouns realized as /i/ 'this' and /u/ 'that' (Farhadi 1975, p. 117).

The features above are general in Afghanistan and characteristic of the standard dialect spoken in Kabul. Some features that are found in dialects of Iran are found in non-standard dialects of Afghanistan:

- Herati: n/m may drop in final position: بیرون /biru/ 'outside', آفرین /afäri/ 'bravo', کدام /kodu/ (Ioanessyan 2009, p. 5)

- Hazaragi: /an/ > /u/, e.g. کلان /kalu/ (Kieffer 2003)

MATERIALS FOR STUDYING PERSIAN DIALECTS

In addition to scouring the internet for authentic audio and video samples of the dialects and languages studied here, we have made use of three databases that have already been collected: an unpublished collection of materials held by Dunwoody Press, Sahand and Farsdat.

The Dunwoody Press materials were collected in the 1980s in order to find authentic materials reflecting how language is actually spoken, rather than news broadcasts or self-conscious recordings. These materials consist of audio recordings as well as in-language transcripts and English translations. The recordings are of pairs of speakers of the language or dialect, ideally recently arrived in the United States, and they were made using a special telephone arrangement to eliminate the influence of gestures and other nonverbal signals and to eliminate potential effects of speaking in front of a microphone. There were no particular topics suggested, and participants were encouraged to speak freely. The dialects and languages in the collection that are relevant to this report are: Armenian, Hamedani, Shirazi, Azerbaijani, Gilaki, Mashhadi and Mazandarani.

FARSDAT (RCISP, 2003), available through the European Language Resources Association (ELRA), consists of recordings made at the University of Tehran based on read material which have been given both an aligned broad and narrow phonetic transcription. In addition to Tehrani, these recordings include speakers labeled as Torki, Esfahani, Jonubi, Shomali, Khorasani, Balochi, Kordi, Lori and Yazdi. The sentences to be read were quite stilted due to the fact that they were designed to sample all of the phonemes of Persian according to a particular distribution. In addition, the fact that they were written in standard Persian reduced the possibility for dialect features to emerge.

The Sahand Accented Speech Database (Pilevar & Sedaaghi 2009) was created by the Electrical Engineering Faculty of the Sahand University of Technology in Tabriz, Iran. Similar to Farsdat, it was based on read Persian speech, but in this case the written speech incorporated colloquial features. The recorded participants came from the following dialect areas: Azeri/Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Kordi, Tehrani and Esfahani. The creators of the database also evaluated which accents were most recognizable, as will be described in the next section.

PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY

Often a linguist's understanding of what a dialect is and where it is spoken may differ from commonly held perceptions. To better understand these perceptions linguists have posited the notion of 'perceptual dialectology' which deals with how members of a speech community perceive the dialects/accents of other members of that community (Preston 1999). For example, in Iran sometimes references are made to vaguely defined concepts such as a "Khorasani accent". Often the referent of a term like "Khorasan" depends on who is using it and could mean a number of things including 1) Razavi Khorasan the province in Eastern Iran whose capital is Mashhad, 2) the collective of North, South, and Razavi Khorasan provinces which until 2004 comprised one administrative unit, or 3) a much wider historic region sometimes referred to as 'Greater Khorasan" which includes large parts of Afghanistan and Central Asia. Therefore the term "Khorasani accent" could potentially refer to things as diverse as Mashhadi or Tajik.

With this ambiguity in mind, below is a mapping of few commonly encountered dialect perceptions and the names of some of the dialects discussed in this report.

Term Commonly Used	Might Refer To…
Tork	Azerbaijani Accented Persian
Northern	Gilaki, Mazandarani
Gulf/Southern	Lari, Bandari, Abadani, Khuzestani-Arabic Accented Persian
Khorasani	Mashhadi
"Non-Persian/Minority"*	Khuzestani-Arabic, Balochi, Kurdish, and Lori accented Persian

*While lacking a clear overarching term, these four accents are often perceptually lumped together.

People's perceptions of dialects may vary with their proximity or exposure to dialects. In the American context, for example, someone from Georgia may have only a vague notion of a 'Northern accent' which they associate with Joe Pesci, whereas someone from New York may have a more fine grained understanding of the differences between the accents of Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, etc. Our research suggests that a similar situation exists in Iran. An Arab living in Khuzestan may be able to tell

the difference between Arabic and Kurdish accented Persian, however someone from Tehran may only be able to identify that their accent is not Tehrani.

In an experiment performed at the Sahand University of Technology in Iran, researchers found that when played an audio cut and asked to identify the accent of the speaker from five choices (Tehrani, Esfahani, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, and Kurdish accented Persian) a test pool of 18 subjects were able to correctly identify the accent of the speaker 74.44% of the time and were best at identifying an Azerbaijani accent (85.7%) and worst at identifying a Kurdish accent (66%) (Pilevar & Sedaaghi 2009). While these results seem to indicate that Iranians are quite good at accent detection, bear in mind that if the test set were to be expanded to 18 dialects and/or if the participants were asked to ID the accents without the benefit of a multiple choice format then this percentage would like drop considerably. Gholipour et al. (2012) report on automatic accent identification using the Sahand database; they found that their system identified Mazandarani and Kurdish speakers better than humans.

AUDIO/VIDEO MATERIALS

Throughout this report you will see references to audio cuts that illustrate various phenomena discussed in the chapters. The cuts are not embedded in the report itself, but can be found on the accompanying DVD. To listen to a cut go to the directory named after the chapter you are interested in (e.g. Esfahani) and open the directory labeled 'audio cuts used in sketch'. For the convenience of the teachers and students all files have been saved in both WAV and MP3 formats in directories with those names. Once you have chosen the format click on the audio cut with the corresponding number. For example if you would like to hear *Cut 4* from the Esfahani chapter of the report click on the cut labeled 4ESF.

In addition to audio cuts used in the report each dialect also has a directory labeled 'resources for listening exercises' which have longer cuts. Additionally, some dialects may have directories labeled 'resources for reading exercises' and/or 'overview material'. For a complete inventory of all materials please see the accompanying Excel file named 'Master List of Dialect Materials'.

Note: occasionally you might see a cut in the report with a lower case letter in its name such as *Cut 9a* corresponding to 9aESF. This convention has no special meaning. Rather the letter simply reflects the fact that the cut was incorporated after the initial draft of the report was completed.

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Intermediate Dialects

ABADANI آبادانی

Abadani 📢👂 *Quick I.D.*
- Objective marker, را, changes to /e/
- ق ≠ غ
- /ä/ → /e/ and /kerden/
- Ezafe deletion in definite possessive object clause
- Verbal ending /äm/ → /um/
- /män/ → /mu/
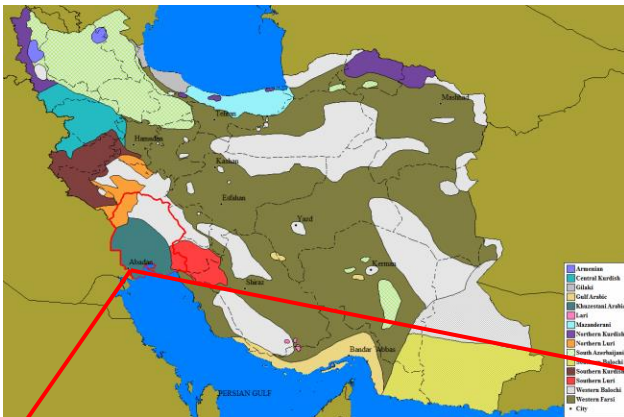
Overview

The Abadani dialect of Persian is spoken in and around the city of Abadan (population: 271,484) in the province of Khuzestan. Abadani is often referred to as Khuzestani, though there are a number of other mutually intelligible Persian dialects in the province, including Ahvazi, Khorramshahri and Dezfuli/Shushtari. The majority of the province is bilingual in either Arabic and Persian or Persian and one of the nearby Iranian lanugages, like Bakhtiari or Lori.

During the Iran-Iraq war many populated areas were badly damaged or vacated, with Abadan being besieged for 18 months. The war forced much of Khuzestan's population to flee or relocate to safer parts of the province and this led to many of the languages becoming more dispersed. That said, there is still a division in the Persian dialects of the province with Behbahani and Dezfuli/Shushtari falling into the Northern Khuzestan group, while Abadani, Ahvazi/Ajami, and Khorramshahri fall into the Southern group.

Morphology

Object marker

The objective marker is /e/ rather than /ra / (ر) as in Standard. This also occurs in a number of other Persian dialects such as Tehrani, Bushehri, Dasht Setani, and Hamedani. If the word ends in a vowel then either /y/ or /n/ will come before the /e/. Figure 1 below contains a few examples of this phenomenon.

English	Abadani Phonetics	Abadani	Standard Phonetics	Standard
Give (me) the book	/ketabe bede/	کتابه بده	/ketab ra bede/	کتاب را بده
Give (me) Esmail's book	/ketab esmeyle bede/	کتاب اسماعیله بده	/ketabe esmayl ra bede/	کتابِ اسماعیل را بده
Give (me) our books	/ketaba mane bede/	کتابا مانه بده	/ketabhaye ma ra bede/	کتاب‌های مارا بده

Figure 1. Objective Markers in Abadani

Pronoun Variation

The pronouns in Abadani differ somewhat from those of Standard Persian, specifically the first person singular and the objective proouns (influenced by the aforementioned objective marker). Figure 2 highlights these differences.

Pronoun	Colloquial Subjective	Abadani Subjective	Colloquial Possessive	Abadani Possessive	Colloquial Objective	Abadani Objective
First Person Singular	من /män/	مو /mu/	ـَم /äm/	ـُم /om/	مرا /mära/	مُنه /mone/
Second Person Singular	تو /to/	تو /tu/	ـِت /et/	ـَت /ät/	ترا /tora/	تونه /tune/
Third Person Singular	او /u/	او ئی /ue/	ـِش /eš/	ـَش /äš/	او را /u ra/	اونه /une/
First Person Plural	ما /ma/	ما /ma/	ـِمون /emun/	ـَمون /ämun/	ما را /ma ra/	مانه /mane/
Second Person Plural	شُما /šoma/	شُما /šoma/	ـِتون /etun/	ـِتون /etun/	شُما را /šoma ra/	شُمانه /šomane/
Third Person Plural	اونا /una/	اونا /una/	ـِشون /ešun/	ـَشون /äšun/	اونا رو /una ro/	اونایه /unaye/

Figure 2. Personal pronouns

Cut1

Phonetics and Phonology

Unlike the majority of Persian dialects in Iran, the Abadani dialect retains two separate sounds for the letters غ /ɣ/and ق /q/.

/v/ → /w/: Though not universal, Abadani speakers often exhibit this consonant shift.

Cut 2

/č/ → /š/: In a heavy Abadani accent a word like /če/ becomes /še/.

Cut 3

Verbal suffix /äm/ changes to /um/.

Cut 4
Cut 5

Lexical

Like many other nearby dialects Abadani has a rich lexicon with a high number words that either are not in Standard Persian or have fallen out of use. Additionally, there are many Arabic and English loanwords in the dialect.

Persian Definition	Abadani Word	English Gloss
مادر	نهنه	mother
پدر	دهده	father
مخفف کاکا یا همان برادر خودمون	کا	brother
گاز	گیس	gas
به معنای پسر بچه	ولک	boy
کفش	ارسی	shoe
روشن	چالو	bright, clear
پنجره	نیم دری	window
چوب	چوق	wood
دایی، برادر مادر	خالو	maternal uncle
باشد، باشه	خب	OK
خواهر	دده	sister
تنبل، بی عار	فیک	lazy
رایگان، مجانی، مفت	مفتکی	free
آدم گیج و بی حواس	منگ	absentminded person
ایست	هُپ	stop!
شیشه	جام	glass
مجرد، کسی که هنوز ازدواج نکرده باشد	لوفر	bachelor
ناحیه، منطقه (واژه‌ای عربی است)	کوت	district, area, region
رودخانه، رود	شط	river
دوچرخه	بای سیکل	bicycle
بطری	بوتَل	bottle
دروازه بویژه، دروازه‌های پالایشگاه	گیت	gate
فروشگاه	اوستور	store, shop
گوجه	تماته	tomato
خطا، اشتباه	فَل	mistake
ایستگاه	ایزگاه	station/stop
کثیف	چک و چول	dirty
بشکه	درام	barrel
صمیمی، شفیق	جنگ	sincere, compassionate
سریع و فوری	جنگی	fast, urgent
چاخان، دروغگو	کخ	liar
هواپیما	طیاره	airplane
«سیگار» با تلفظ عربی	سیجاره	cigarette
رئیس مسئول	اسپکتر	inspector (work), chief
ترمز	بیریک	brake (car)
شیلنگ آب	پیپ	water hose
کارآموزی	ترنینگ	training
ضرب موسیقی	تیمپو	tempo
رستوران پالایشگاه	کانتین	canteen
باشگاه	گلوپ	club

کابل برق	وایر		wire
دوچرخه	سیکل		bike
کلک، دروغ بازی، کلاشی	ربیت		con, scammer
پمپ استیشن	پمپوس یا پمپوز		pump station (gas station)
با مشت زدن	بافتن		to punch
قایق، قایق‌های چوبی وکوچک دست ساز را می‌گوییم	بَلم		a small handmade boat
کارگر کشتی (ملوان)	جاشو		sailor
قرقره	چرخك		pulley
شن	لمر		sand
بدنام، بد اسم (برای زنان...کاربرد دارد)	پیتون		lady of ill repute
زمان استراحت بین تایم کار، بریک	تنتو		break (work break)
تازه، هنوز، همین الان	جَخ		new, yet, just now
دعوا، مرافعه	جر		spat, dispute, tiff
شیک پوش	جستی		well dressed, fashionable
پل	جسر		bridge
پارچ آب، تنگ آب	جک		creek, narrow waterway
جوی، جوب، آب رو	جوق		gutter
در رفتن، فرار کردن	جیم		escape
چپل، زشت، بد قواره	چپلو		ugly
مچاله، بهم فشرده	چپه		crumpled
درب و داغون، فکسنی	چوَل		dilapidated, shattered
لنج، موتورلنجهای دو طبقه را می‌گویند	داکو		boat launch
دزدیدن، بلند کردن	دنگ		to steal, nab
کمد	دولاب		closet
فرمان اتومبیل	رُل		steering wheel
فرو ریختن، آوار شدن	رمبیدن		to collapse
ریل قطار، راه آهن	سچه		railway, train tracks
سوراخ	سولاخ		hole
نگاه‌کردن، دید زدن	سیل		to look
قر و قاطی و نامفهوم	شیتان پیتان		unintelligible, mixed up
گلوله، تیله	فنگ		bullet, shot, marble?
بد یمن، نحس	فوگرات		bad omen
زن بدکاره	فیتکی		lady of ill repute
افاده	فیس		pride
پُر افاده	فیسو		prideful
کشتی، لنج بزرگ	قراب		large boat
شکم	گُم		stomach
خسیس، ناخن خشک	کنس		cheap, miserly, tight
سرحال، صمیمی هم معنا می‌شود	کوک		cheery, friendly
دوش، شانه	کول		shoulder
ماشین باری، کامیون	لاری		lorry, tractor trailer

معطل کردن	لفت دادن	to linger, detain

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BANDARI بندری

Bandari 🔊👂 *Quick I.D.*

- Vowel /ü/
- /mi-/ → /ä-/
- Past-tense transitive verb endings.
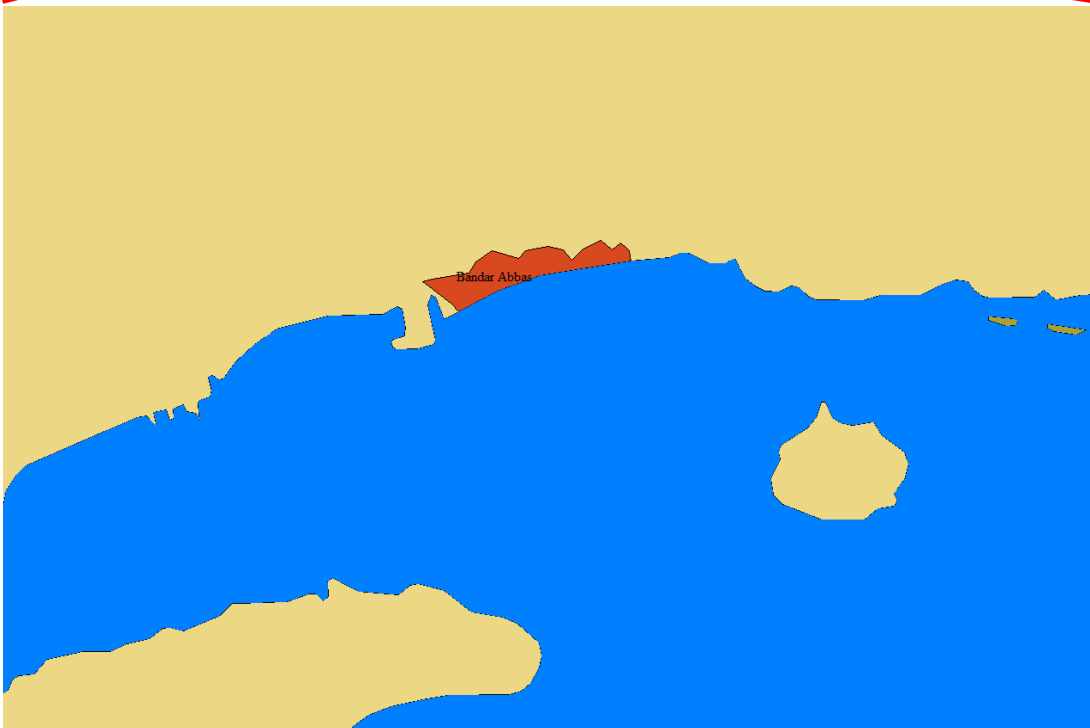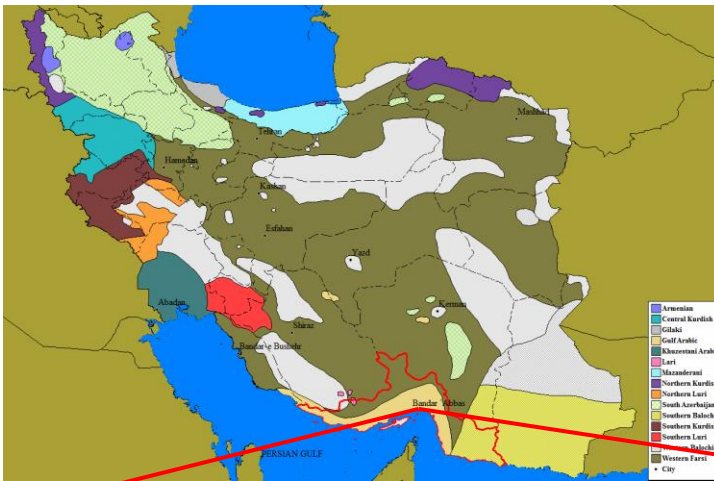
Overview

Bandari is a dialect of Persian spoken in and around the port city of Bandar Abbas (population: 367,508 according to the 2006 census), the capital of Hormozgan Province. Given its strategic location on the Persian Gulf and the Straights of Hormoz, Bandar Abbas has long been a center for maritime trade and a point of intersection between Iran, the Arab Gulf states, and Africa. Centuries of commercial and cultural interaction between various groups such as Persians, Arabs, Baloch, and Africans have given Bandar Abbas a unique cultural identity. Unlike other dialects of Persian discussed in the report, Bandari not only has phonological and lexical differences with standard Persian, but also significant differences in verb morphology (possibly due to the influence of Balochi). Bandari most closely resembles Lari, and other smaller dialects spoken in Hormozgan such as Minabi, Bashkardi, and Kumzari. The city of Bandar Abbas also has significant populations of Arabs and Balochis who have migrated from other parts of Hormozgan province.

Phonetics and Phonology

1) Unlike most dialects of Persian, Bandari has the vowel /ü/ which is common in French, German and Turkic languages.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
night	/šü/	/šäb/	شب
water	/hü/	/ab/	آب
rope	/risämün/	/risman/	ریسمان

Cut 1

2) Like many Persian dialects, sometimes /ä/ → /e/ especially when it appears between two consonants.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
sea	/derya/	/därya/	دریا
iron	/ahen/	/ahän/	آهن

3) Recall that in standard Persian there are no words which begin with /st/. There are, however, some foreign loanwords such as استراتژی /esträtazhi/ 'strategy' whose native forms begin with an /st/ but in Persian begin with an /e/. This process of adding a vowel is called epenthesis, and occurs in Bandari in words beginning with a /š/.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Persian Script
stomach	/uškum/	/šekäm/	شکم

| to hear | /ešnüten, ešnüv-/ | /šenidän, šenäv-/ | شنیدن/شنو - |
| to know, to be acquainted with | /ešaxten, ešas-/ | /šenaxtän, šenas-/ | شناخت/شناس- |

4) sometimes /b/ → /v/ when it occurs between two vowels. As discussed in the introduction, standard /b/ can become /v/ in some Tehrani words.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	StandardScript
ax	/tävär/	/täbär/	تبر
small pox	/avelä/	/abele/	آبله

Morphology

5) In Bandari the plural marker is /o/ and fulfills the functions of both /ha/ and /an/ in Standard Persian.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
women	/zäno/	/zänan/	زنان
jugs	/gädüko/	/kuzeha/	کوزه‌ها

6) The ezafe is sometimes dropped when it is preceded by a vowel.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
my voice	/seda me/	/sedaye män/	صدای من
in front of the big stone	/jelü sänge gäpi/	/jeluje sänge bozorg/	جلوی سنگ بزرگ

7) In some irregular cases a definite marker (recall the discussion of the definite marker in Tehrani in the introduction) /–ü/ appears as in:

/berar-e gäp-ü kasum num-eš hästä/ 'The name of the big brother was Kossum.'

8) The comparative and superlative suffixes are:

- -te(r)

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
warmer water	hüv-e gärmte	/abe gärmtär/	آب گرمتر
this book is larger	i ketab gäpter-en	/in kitab bozorgtär äst/	این کتاب بزرگتر است

Cut 2 /beštär/ → /bešte/

- -terin

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
the smallest nets	küčekterin liho	/kučiktärin turha/	کوچک‌ترین تورها

9) The personal and enclitic pronouns in Bandari are similar to standard Persian:

Personal Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	/me/	/ma/
2nd person	/to/	/šoma/
3rd person	/ü/	/üšü/

Enclitic Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	/-um/	/-umü/ or /-emü/
2nd person	/-ut/or /-et/	/-utü/or /-etü/
3rd person	/-uš/ or /-eš/	/-ušü/ or /-ešü/

Unlike standard Persian, however, Bandari also has a set of proclitic pronouns which are used in a variety of verb constructions discussed below.

Proclitic Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	/um-/ or /m-/	/ma-/
2nd person	/et-/ or /t-/	/ta-/
3rd person	/i-/	/ša-/

Verb Morphology

10) /büden/ replaces /šodän/ in all instances, including passive constructions.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Persian
the doors of the all the houses were marked by a sign	/däre tämame xunävo nešunä zädä büdä/	در تمام خانه‌ها نشان زده شده

Cut 3 /äz bände ney saxte šode äst/ → /äz bände ney saxt bude/

11) The verb /hästän/ existential and 'to be', similar to its Persian counterpart, and is used frequently in Bandari and is conjugated as follows:

Present	Singular	Plural

1st Person	/hästum/	/hästim/
2nd Person	/hästi/	/hästi/
3rd Person	/hä/	/hästän/

Cut 4 /bašä ija hä hä...sidi hä…kapitär hä/ 'OK It's here it's here! There are CD[s] there are computer[s].' Note: /hästä/ → /hä/

Past	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st Person	/hästärum/	/hästärim/
2nd Person	/hästäri/	/hästäri/
3rd Person	/hästä/	/hästären(-än)/

A present tense possessive construction formed using this verb replaces the Persian word /daštän/

{Object} + {Proclitic Pronoun} + {inflected form of /*hästen*/ which agrees with the object in person and number}

English	**Bandari Phonetic**	**StandardPhonetic**	**Standard Script**
I have a crab	/singü um-hä/	/män xärčäng daräm/	من خرچنگ دارم.
We had a house	/xunä ma-hästä/	/ma xane daštim/	ما خانه داشتیم.
Do you have friends?	/düsto et-hästän/	/dustha darid/	دوست‌ها دارید؟

Note: in this construction the ending of /hästen/ agrees with the noun/pronoun which is *being possessed* and not with the noun/pronoun which is possessing. This is similar to certain constructions in standard Persian such as seen in the sentence از این فیلم خوشم می‌آید 'I like this film' where the English subject 'I' is expressed in Persian by the enclitic pronoun م- /-äm/.

Cut 5 /ne čun elaqe be musiq imhäste…be kare musiq imhäste.../
    'no, because we like music…musical work…/
      نه چون علاقه به‌موسیقی داریم... به‌کار موسیقی داریم   cf. Standard Persian

12a) An important aspect of Bandari verb morphology is transitivity. Recall that a verb is transitive if it can take an object. Some common transitive verbs in Persian are: دیدن 'to see', آوردن 'to bring', بردن 'to take' etc. These verbs are considered transitive because they can take an object, i.e. you can see, bring, or take *something*. Examples of *in*transitive verbs are رفتن 'to go', آمدن 'to come', خوابیدن 'to sleep', etc. These verbs are considered intransitive because they cannot take an object, i.e. you cannot go, come, or sleep *something*. In Bandari, transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated differently in the simple past and pluperfect (past-perfect) tenses.

12b) The simple past tense of transitive verbs follows this formula:

{proclitic pronoun} + {past stem of transitive verb}

Past Tense Transitive Verbs	*/did-/ to see*		*/bord-/ to take*	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st Person	/um-di/	/ma-di/	/um-bord/	/ma-bord/
2nd Person	/et-di/	/ta-di/	/et-bord/	/ta-bord/
3rd Person	/i-di/	/ša-di/	/i-bord/	/ša-bord/

Cut 6 listen to the end of the cut and notice /entexab kärdäm/ → /intexab umke/ 'I chose'

Cut 7 /e...ma...yäni ma maborden inja/ 'uh…we…that is…we took them there'

Note: This example is potentially confusing for Persian speakers because one might be tempted to interpret /maborden/ as simply an accented variant of /mibordänd/ 'they were taking' which had undergone a series of phonetic processes such as final /d/ dropping, an /ä/ → /e/ shift, and /mi-/ → /ma/ shift all of which are common in a variety of dialects. In fact in this cut /maborden/ has an altogether different meaning, namely: 'we took them'. Notice how the subject is expressed by a proclitic pronoun and appears before the verb stem whereas the object is expressed by an object clitic and comes after the verb stem.

Cut 8 Listen to the end of the cut and notice /šäru kärdäm/ → /šäru umke/ 'I started.'

Cut 9 in this cut you will hear several instances of the verb /musiqi…maäsi/ 'we played music.'

- For negatives the negative affix /nä-/ is placed after the pronominal prefix
  {proclitic pronoun} + {/nä-/} + {past stem of transitive verb}

  e.g. /i-nä-di/ 'they did not see'

- Compare with intransitive verbs whose behavior more closely matches the behavior of Persian verbs:

{past stem of intransitive verb} + {verb ending}

Past Tense Intransitive Verbs	*/räsid-/ to reach*		*/räft-/ to go*	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st person	/räsidum/	/räsidim/	/räftum/	/räftim /
2nd person	/räsidi/	/räsidi/	/räfti/	/räfti/
3rd person	/räsi/	/räsidän/	/rä/	/räftän/

Cut 10 /husseyn koja räft/ → /husseyn koja rä/ 'Where did Hussein go?'

12c) The pluperfect is formed by adding of affix /ä(r)/ to the past stem. Transitivity determines where the verb inflection is placed.

- For transitive verbs:

{pronominal prefix} + {past stem of transitive verb} + {past particle /ä(r)/}

 e.g. /um-dad-ä/ 'I had given'

- For intransitive verbs:

{past stem of intransitive verb} + {past particle /ä(r)/} + {verb ending}.

 e.g. /käft-är-um/ 'I had fallen'

In addition to its normal role, the pluperfect can also be used as a counterfactual, as in Standard Persian.

12d) For intransitive verbs of state such as /hästen/ 'to be', /nešten/ 'to sit', /ṿustaden/ 'to stand', /xaften/ 'to sleep,' the affix /-ä(r)/ is added to the past stem to form both the past tense as well as the pluperfect.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
I was there	/aja häst-är-um/	/män anja budäm/	من آنجا بودم
you had come	/hund-är-i/	/amädeh budi/	آمده بودی
they had fallen	/käft-är-en/	/oftadeh budänd/	افتاده بودند

Cut 11 /pošte kar neštä/ 'he sat behind [his] work/

13) Present-future indicative tense is not affected by transitivity and behaves more or less regularly as it does in standard Persian. However, instead of the prefix می- /mi-/ Bandari uses /ä(t)/.

{verbal prefix /ä(t)/} + {present stem of verb} + {personal ending}

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
I (will) see	/ä-gin-um/	/mi-bin-äm/	می‌بینم
I (will) come	/ät-a-m/	/mi-a-yäm/	می‌آیم

Cut 12 /bäzia murede enteqad qärar ägen/ 'some are criticized' cf. standard /bäzi(h)a mowrede enteɢad ɢärar migirän(d)/

14) In standard Persian, the prefix می‎/mi-/ is used not only for the present-future indicative, but also for the past-progressive می‌رفتم 'I was going/used to go' and the counterfactual می‌رفتم 'I would have gone'. In Bandari these two imperfect tenses are constructed according to a formula that differs from that of the present-future.

<div align="center">{imperfect proclitic pronoun*} + {past tense}</div>

Imperfective Forms	/räft-/ to go		/vard-/ to bring	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/mä-rä/	/ma-rä/	/mä-vard/	/ma-vard/
2ⁿᵈ Person	/tä-rä/	/ta-rä/	/tä-vard/	/ta-vard/
3ʳᵈ Person	/šä-rä/	/ša-rä/	/šä -vard/	/ša-vard/

*Note that these proclitic pronouns differ from those used to form the past-simple and pluperfect tenses of transitive verbs (compare with 12b and 12c or see comparative appendix below).

Example 1) /ägä bä šähr ma-ra dust-umü ma-di/ 'If we'd gone to the city we would've seen our friends.'

Example 2) /säreɢ šä-zä daxel-e xunä rä/ 'shouting, he came into the room.'

15) The present-progressive tense is formed the following way and is not sensitive to transitivity (note that the ending is sometimes elided).

<div align="center">{ä} + {past stem of verb} + {personal verb ending}</div>

Present Continuous Tense	/nevešt-/ to write		/räft-/ to go	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/ä-nevešt-um/	/ä-räft-um/	/ä-nevešt-eym/	/ä-räft-eym/
2ⁿᵈ Person	/ä-nevešt-ey/	/ä-räft-ey/	/ä-nevešt-ey/	/ä-räft-ey/
3ʳᵈ Person	/ä-nevešt-en/	/ä-räft-en/	/ä-nevešt-en/	/ä-räft-en/

Note: Despite the fact that this tense is formed with the past stem of the verb it is in fact the *present* progressive tense i.e. 'I am going', 'I am writing', etc.

Example: /käs-i dumbal-eš ägärdidey xodum-um/ 'the one you are looking for is me'

16) Another way of forming the future tense is a construction involving the verb /*hunden*/ 'to come':

{present-future inflected form of /hunden/} + {present future inflected form of verb}

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Script
I will sit down	/ätam äninum/	می‌نشینم/خواهم نشست
they will arrive	/ätan äräsen/	می‌رسند/خواهند رسید

17) The past subjunctive behaves much like it does in standard Persian.

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Script
they might have lied	/üšü dorüg goftä bäšän/	ایشان دروغ گفته باشند
[might] you know anyone who has recently become rich?	/to käs-i äšasi ke tazä puldar budä bäšet/	تو کسی می‌شناسی‌که تازه پولدار شده باشد؟

18) Some common irregular verbs:

- The negative copula is formed differently, compare with Persian:

negative copula	Singular		Plural	
	Bandari	*Standard*	*Bandari*	*Standard*
1st Person	/nehum, neum/	/nistäm/	/nehim, neym/	/nistim/
2nd Person	/nehi, ney/	/nisti/	/nehi, ney/	/nistid/
3rd Person	/nehen, nin/	/nist/	/nehan, nean/	/niständ/

Cut 13 /beläd nehi/ 'you don't know' cf. standard /bäläd nisti/

- Some irregular subjunctive-imperatives:

Bandari Stem	English	2.SG Sub./Imp.	2.PL Sub./Imp.	Neg. 2.SG Sub./Imp.
/kärd-/	to throw	/bekärd/	/bekärdi/	/mäkärd/
/gir-/	to take	/bege/	/begiri/	/mäge/
/da-/	to give	/hada/	/hadey/	/mäda/

- The present-future indicative of the verb 'to want' /va-/ is conjugated with the same proclitic pronouns as the imperfect tense (see 15).

/va/	Singular		Plural	
	Bandari	*Standard*	*Bandari*	*Standard*
1st Person	/mä-va/	/mixaham/	/ma-va/	/mixahim/
2nd Person	/tä-va/	/mixahi/	/ta-va/	/mixahid/
3rd Person	/šä-va/	/mixahäd/	/ša-va/	/mixahänd/

Lexical

19) The following suffixes are commonly used to build words:

- -ük

English	Bandari Phonetic
ant	/mürük/
hump	/poštük/
peg-top	/färfärük/
round fan	/dämük/

- -ü

English	Bandari Phonetic
swing	/jikü/
kid	/küčükü/

- -ak

English	Bandari Phonetic
chicken, chick	/čüräk/
river whirlpool	/adäm-käšäk/

- -eɢ

English	Bandari Phonetic
roaring	/säreɢ/
cough	/küleɢ/
sneeze	/güšeɢ/

20) Common prepositions:

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
from	/ä/ or /ey/	/äz/	از
with, by	/va/	/ba/	با
to	/bey/	/beh/	به

- /ä äsp-o zir hunden/ 'they dismounted'
- /mekdar-i ey i vagirum/ 'I will take part of it'

- /va ma zendegi bokun/ 'live with us'
- /va zärbä -v-o-ye šämšir košt- ä/ 'killed by sword strikes'
- /gädük-o bey a zän i-da/ 'he gave the jugs to that woman'
- /bey apel düvi/ 'he ran in that direction'

21) Bandari has many words which differ from standard Persian. Some of these words are shared by neighboring dialects such as Lari, but others are unique. Here are some of the most common:

English	Bandari Phonetic	Standard Script
address	/arüvi/	آدرس
must	/bayä/	باید
can	/bällas/	قوطی
father	/bäp/	پدر
grandfather	/bäpgäpü/	پدر بزرگ
husband's father	/bäpšü/	پدر شوهر
bus	/bäst/	اتوبوس
brother	/berar/	برادر
housewife	/biräm/	کدبانو
to switch on, to turn on	/bun, bon kerden/	روشن کردن
family	/čäk-o čük/	خانواده
lunch	/čast/	نهار
eye	/čehem/	چشم
son	/čük/	پسر
daughter	/duxt/	دختر
yesterday	/düš/	دیروز
big	/gäp/	بزرگ
adult	/gäpsen/	بزرگسال
play	/gazi/	بازی
daughter-in-law	/govüg/	عروس
neighbour	/hämsadä/	همسایه
water	/hü/	آب
in this way	/itüka/	این طور
hell	/jähändäm/	جهنم
sailor	/jašü/	ملوان
shirt	/jemä/	پیراهن
footwear	/jüva/	کفش
smuggling	/kačax/	قاچاق
brother	/kaka/	برادر
kid	/küčükü/	بچه
cup	/küp/	فنجان
mother	/müm/	مادر

grandmother	/mümgäpü/	مادر بزرگ
grandson	/nük/	نوه
tomorrow	/säba/	فردا
dirt	/sehar/	خاک
sister	/xwäh/	خواهر
Straits of Hormuz	/sälamä/	تنگه‌ی هرمز
to give	/daden, (ha-) dä-/	دادن/ ده -
to see	/diden, gin-/	دیدن/بین -
to know, to be acquainted with	/ešaxten, ešas-/	شناخت/شناس -
to hear	/ešnüten, ešnüv-/	شنیدن/شنو -
to say	/goften, gä-/	گفتن/گو -
to come	/hunden, (t)a-/	آمدن/آ -
to do	/kerden, kon-/	کردن/کن -
to sit (down)	/nešten, nin-/	نشستن/نشین -
to bring	/varden, (ta)r-/	آوردن/آور -
to want	/vastän, va-/	خواستن/خواه-
to throw	/kärdünden, kärd-/	انداختن/انداز -

Appendix: Comparison of the Persian and Bandari present-future indicative with two verbs.

/gin-/ 'to see'	Singular		Plural	
	Bandari	*Standard*	*Bandari*	*Standard*
1st Person	/äginum/	/mibinäm/ می‌بینم	/äginim/	/mibinim/ می‌بینیم
2nd Person	/ägini/	/mibini/ می‌بینی	/ägini/	/mibinid/ می‌بینید
3rd Person	/äginet/	/mibinäd/ می‌بیند	/äginän/	/mibinänd/ می‌بینند

/rä-/ 'to go'	Singular		Plural	
	Bandari	*Standard*	*Bandari*	*Standard*
1st Person	/äräm/	/miräväm/ می‌روم	/äreym/	/mirävim/ می‌رویم
2nd Person	/ärey/	/mirävi/ می‌روی	/ärey/	/mirävid/ می‌روید
3rd Person	/äreyt/	/miräväd/ می‌رود	/ärän/	/mirävänd/ می‌روند

Example Verb Chart (Pelevin)

	Transitive 'to see'		Intransitive 'to go, leave'	
Imperfective	1s	3s	1s	3s
Present-Fut.	a-gīn-um	a-gīn-et	a-r-am	a-re-yt
Imperfect	m-a-dī	š-a-dī	m-a-ra	š-a-ra
Perfective	1s	3s	1s	3s
Past	um-dī	ī-dī	raft-um	ra
Pluperfect	um-dīd-a	ī-dīd-a	raft-ar-um	raft-a
Pres. Subj.	be-gīn-um	be-gīn-et	be-ra-m	be-re-yt
	1s	3s	1s	3s
Cont. Pres.	a-dīd-um	a-dīd(-en)	a-raft-um	a-raft(-en)
Imm. Fut.	at-ā-m +	at-ā-t +	at-ā-m +	at-ā-t +
	a-gīn-um	a-gīn-et	a-ra-m	a-re-yt

Chart comparing verb endings (Pelevin)

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
Pronoun	me	to	ü	mā	šomā	üšü
Poss./Obl.	-um	-et	-eš	-emü	-etü	ešū
	-um	-ut	-uš	-umü	utü	ušü
Imperfect	m-a-	t-a-	š-a-	mā-	tā-	šā-
Past/Plupf	.um-	et-	i-	mā-	tā-	šā-
Endings	-um	-ī	-et	-im	-ī	-an
Copula	-um	-ī	-en	-im	-ī	-en
Pres. exist	hast-um	hast-ī	ha	hast-im	hast-ī	hast-an
Past exist	hast-ar-um	hast-ar-ī	hast-a	hast-ar-im	hast-ar-ī	hast-ar-an

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http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86_%D9%87%D8%B1%D9%85%D8%B2%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%86

ESFAHANI اصفهانی

Esfahani 🔊👂 *Quick I.D.*

- Intonation
- /äst/ → /äs/
- /ä/ → /e/ but not in كردن /kärdän/
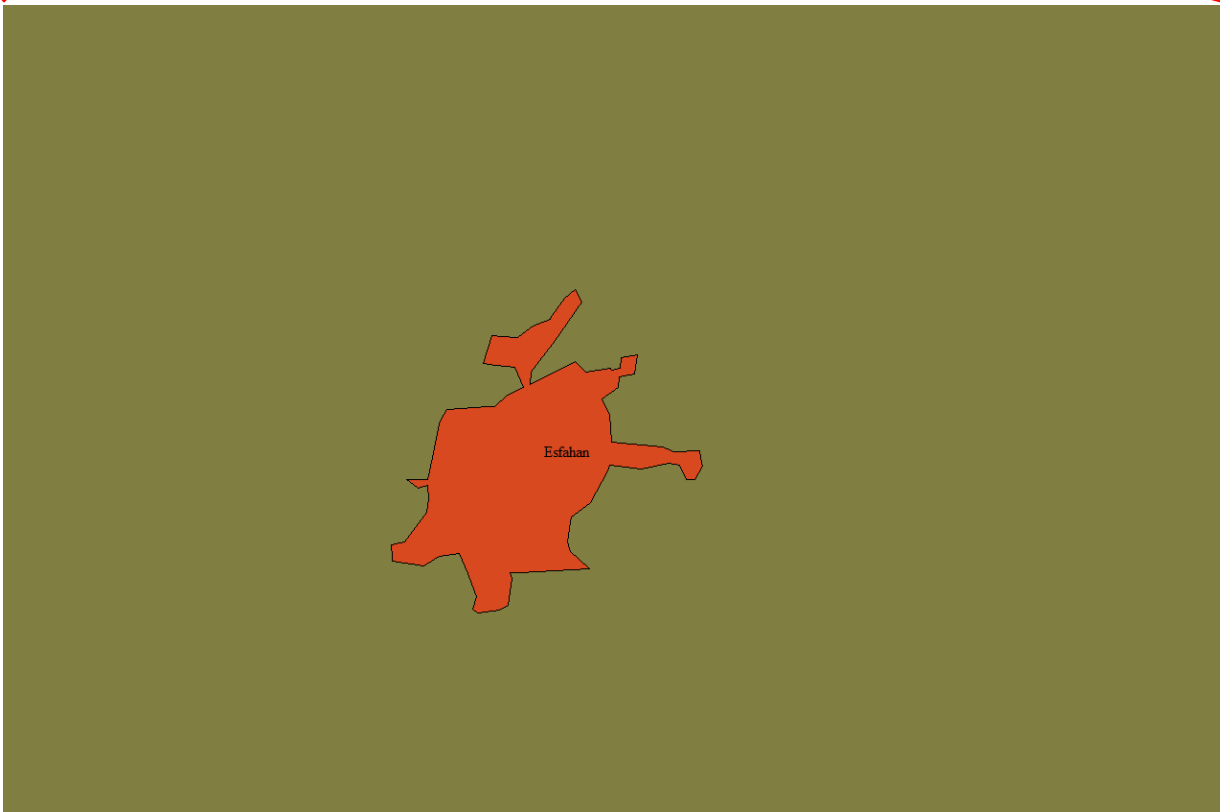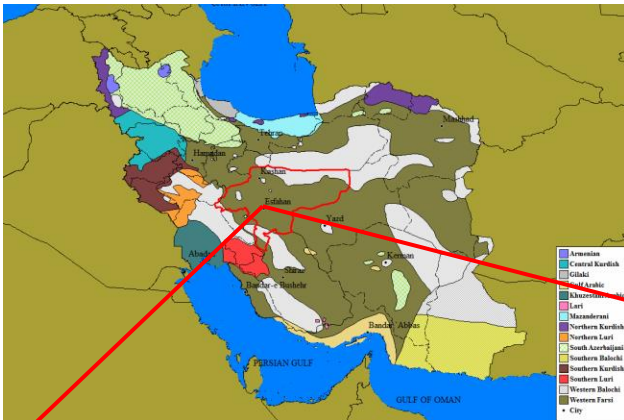
Overview

Like most of the central Iranian provinces, Esfahan is primarily ethnically Persian, but does have small populations of Lor, Azeris, Armenians, Georgians, and Arabs. The largest population of Georgians in Iran is concentrated in the county (*shahrestan)* of Fereydunshahr to the west of the city of Esfahan. The Georgians living here are predominently Shia muslims, but have maintained their Georgian language. At one time Esfahan province hosted a rich variety of Iranian dialects collectively referred to as the Median or Central Dialects. These dialects are not widely spoken anymore, but will be briefly touched on later in this report. The two primary accents of Persian spoken in Esfahan province are those associated with its two largest cities, Esfahan and Kashan. Kashan will be discussed in its own chapter.

The city of Esfahan (population 1,583,609 according to the 2006 census) is the capital of Esfahan Province in central Iran. It is the third largest city in Iran and is famous for the Zayanderud River which flows through the city from the Zagros Mountains to the west. The accent of Persian spoken in the provincial capital of Esfahan is the subject of this chapter and is one of the most well-known accents in Iran. In addition to this accent, a small Jewish population concentrated in the neighborhood of Jubara جوباره speaks its own dialect belonging to the family of Central Dialects (see *Figure 2*) which will be described below. The city also hosts one of Iran's largest Armenian communities, which will be looked at in depth in the Armenian chapter below.

Figure 2: *Jewish neighborhood of Jubara*[1]   *Figure 2*: *Ethnic Distribution of the city of Esfahan*[2]
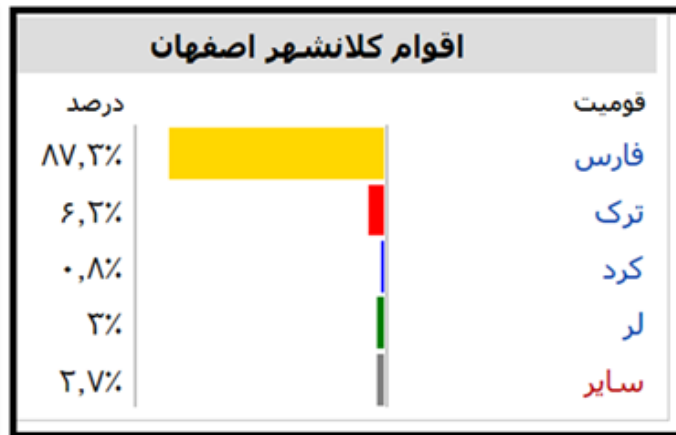
Phonetics and Phonology

1) Intonation

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[1] Google Maps

[2] https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%81%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%86

One of the most unique features of the Esfahani accent is its intonation, which differs significantly from standard Tehrani speech.

Figure 3: *Comparative intonation pattern of Tehrani and Esfahani*[3]
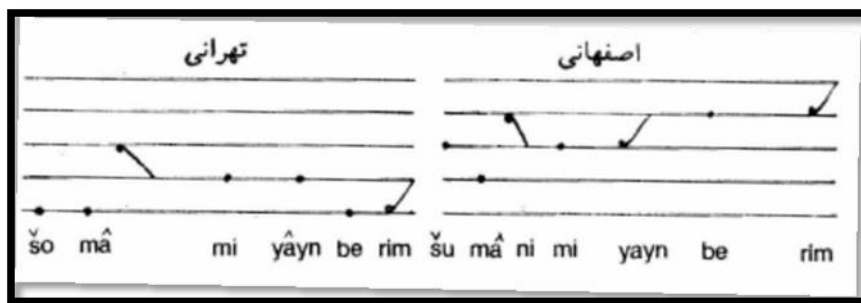
Listen to the following four cuts and focus on the intonation of the speakers.

Cut 1

Cut 2

Cut 3

Cut 4

2) /e/ → /i/

The majority of /e/'s change to /i/ as shown below. Note that a similar process was discussed in the introduction regarding Tehrani.

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
look	/nigah/	نیگاه	/negah/	نگاه
how	/čito/	چیطو	/četowr/	چطور

The ezafe changes from /e/ → /i/. Note that this is also a feature of Classical Persian, Dari, and Tajiki as discussed in the Introduction.

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
garden door	/där-i baq/	دری باغ	/där-e baɢ/	درِ باغ
pretty flower	/gol-i qäʃäng/	گلی قشنگ	/gol-e ɢäšäng/	گلِ قشنگ

Listen to the cut below for a brief explanation and some examples:

---

[3] figure from Kalbāsī, I. (1991). *Fārsī-i Iṣfahānī*. Tihrān: Mu'assasah-i Muṭāli'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī.

Cut 5

3) /ä/ → /e/

The vowel /ä/ often, but not always, changes to /e/

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
from	/ez/	اِز	/äz/	از
father	/peder/	پِدِر	pedär/	پدر
son	/peser/	پِسِر	/pesär/	پسر
imp. hit	/bezen/	بِزِن	/bezän/	بزن

Click on the link below for a brief explanation and some examples:

Cut 6 /pedär/ → /peder/ 'father'

Cut 7 /äz/ → /ez/ 'from'

Cut 8 /päšäha/ → /päšäha/ 'mosquitoes'

Note: in this example you can see that /ä/ → /e/ is not a universal, happening in some syllables but not others. However at the same time it is not arbitrary, and if you hear an /ä/ → /e/ shift occurring in a word you can typically expect to hear it another Esfahani's speech.

This affects some common morphemes causing:

a. The third person singular verb ending /-ad/ → /-ed/ making it difficult to distinguish from the second person plural.

Listen to the two following cuts. Note that the subject of each example is third person singular:

Cut 9 /in rah pajan nädared/ 'this road has no end' cf. standard Persian *Cut 9b* /in rah payan nädaräd/

Cut 10 /dzip dare äz täppe bala mired/ cf. standard Persian *Cut11* /jip daräd äz täppe bala miräväd/

Note: In this cut you can observe another feature of Esfahani, namely the pronunciation of /j/ (see below). Notice how /äz/ does NOT → /ez/ which highlights the fact that speakers of dialects do not always consistently manifest phenomenon associated with their dialect. Lastly, note that the abbreviated verb form /dare/ is typical of spoken Persian and doesn't necessarily reveal any evidence of a particular dialect.

b. The comparative and superlative change from /-tär/ →/-ter/ and /-tärin/→ /-terin/

Listen to this Esfahani cook discuss the freshness of meat:

Cut 12 /tazetär/ → /tazeter/ 'fresher' and /xušmäzetär/ → /xušmäzeter/ 'tastier'

4) Final /š/ → /št/

Sometimes an epenthetic /t/ is added to the end of words ending in /š/

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
sports	/värzešt/	ورزشت	/värzeš/	ورزش
makeup	/araišt/	آرایشت	/arayeš/	آرایش
pillow	/balešt/	بالشت	/baleš/	بالش

5) /dz/

 The letter ج /j/ is pronounced as /dz/ (cf. English *adds*), which is known as affrication:

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Esfahani Phonetic	Standard Script
It's interesting	/dzaleb es/	ژالبس	/jaleb äst/	جالب است
where	/kudza/	کوجا	/koja/	کجا

Now listen to two example sentences:

Cut 13 /koja/ → /kudza/ 'where'

Cut 14 /konj/ → /kondz/ 'corner'

In this cut an Esfahani man tells a joke about identifying an Esfahani accent based on this feature:

Cut 15

Morphology

6) /äst/ → /äs/ or /es/

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Esfahani is that the verb است /äst/ is often shortened to س /es/. Recall that in colloquial Persian است is often shortened to ست as in کجاست؟ علی or even further to ه as in

این فیلم خیلی خوبه!

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Spoken Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script

he's eaten	/xordes/	خوردِس	/xordäst/	/xordeh äst/	خورده است
he's said	/goftes/	گفتِس	/goftäst/	/gofteh äst/	گفته است
What's up?	/tʃe xäberes/	چه خَبِرس؟	/tʃeh xäbär/	/tʃeh xäbär äst/	چه خَبَر است؟
It's better	/beyteres/	بِیترس	/behtäreh/	/behtär äst/	بهتر است
That's enough	/bäses/	بَسِس	/bäseh/	/bäs äst/	بس است

Listen to the following explanation and example:

Cut 16

Now listen to two more examples:

Cut 17 /rebhe pulät čeɢädr äst/ → /rebhe pulet dzeɢädr es/

Cut 18 /sär borde äst/ → /sär bordäs/

7) The plural marker /ha/ → /a/

English	Phonetic	**Esfahani**	**Phonetic**	**Standard Persian**
trees	deräxta	درختا	deräxtha	درختها
There are many things.	čiza ziadi häs	چیزا زیادی بِس	čizhaye ziadi häst	چیزهای زیادی هست

Listen to the following explanation of this phenomenon:

Cut 19

Now listen to two additional examples:

Cut 20 /parking jameha tätil äst/ → /parking jama tätil es/ 'Parking is closed on Friday'

Note: In this example you can observe both the /äst/ → /es/ shift as well as /ha/ → /a/ however /j/ does NOT become /dz/.

Cut 21 /in no jängha mosälsäl lazem daräd/ → /in no jänga mosälsäl lazem dared/ 'These types of war don't require machine guns.'

Note: As in Cut 20, several Esfahani features can be heard, but nevertheless /j/ does NOT become /dz/ as one may expect.

When the plural marker is preceded by /u/ or /o/ then /ha/ →/va/

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
radios	/radiyova/	/radioha/	رادیوها
smells	/buva/	/buha/	بوها
hair (*lit.* hairs)	/muva/	/muha/	موها

8) Particle را

The object marker را /-ra/ changes to ا /-a/ unless it is preceded by an /u/, /h/ or /a/ in which case it is pronounced رُو /-ru/

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
Read your book	/ketabäda buxun/	کتابدا بوخون	/ketabät ra bexan/	کتابت را بخوان
I love/like you	/šuma ru dus daräm/	شمارو دوس دارم	/šoma ra dust daräm/	شما را دوست دارم
They've seen you	/tu ru didän/	تو رو دیدَن	/tora dideʔänd/	ترا دیدہاند

Listen to the following sentence in a standard, Tehrani accent, and then compare it with Esfahani:

Cut 22 /hävuš-a/ cf. standard Persian *Cut 23* /hävuyäš-ra/

9) به + pronoun

In standard spoken Persian sometimes the combination of the preposition به /be/ and an object pronoun (as in کتاب را به او بدهید 'Give him the book') can transform from به او ← بهش

This phenomenon also occurs in Esfahani, but with some differences shown below:

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
to me	/bem/	بِم	/bem/	بهم
to you	/bed/	بِد	/bet/	بهت
to him/her/it	/beš/	بِش	/beš/	بهش
to us	/bemun/	بِمون	/bemun/	بمون
to you	/bedun/	بِدون	/betun/	بتون
to them	/bešun/	بِشون	/bešun/	بهشون

Additionally, to show emphasis a ش /š/ can be inserted between the به /beh/ and the object clitic:

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
to me!	/bešem/	بِشِم	/bem/	بهم
to you!	/bešet/	بِشِد	/bet/	بهت
to him/her/it!	/bešeš/	بِشِش	/beš/	بهش
to us!	/bešemun/	بِشِمون	/bemun/	بمون
to you!	/bešedun/	بِشِدون	/betun/	بتون
to them!	/bešešun/	بِشِشون	/bešun/	بهشون

10) Emphatic دِ

Sometimes in emphatic expressions such as commands or expressions of sufficiency دِ /de/ is used. It can appear at the beginning or end of the phrase or both. The function of دِ in Esfahani is similar to that of دیگه in standard spoken Persian. For example:

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
Then come on!	/pä bia de/	پَ بیا دِ	/päs bia dige/	پس بیا دیگه
Enough already!	/de bes es/	دِ بَسِس	/dige bäse/	دیگه بسه
Get out!	/de buru de/	دِ برو دِ	/boro dige/	برو دیگه

Listen to the following explanation and example:

Cut 24

11) Object pronoun /et/ → /ed/

Recall that in spoken Persian another way of saying کتاب تو is کتابت /ketabet/. In Esfahani the second person singular pronominal suffix /et/ → /ed/.

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
Where's your food?	/ɢezaed kujas	غذاد کوجاس؟	/ɢäzat kojast/	غذایت کجاست؟
Have you done your lesson?	/därseda xundei/	درسِدا خوندِی؟	/därset o xundei/	درستو خوندهای؟
Put on your clothes.	/lebasada bupuš/	لِباسادا بوپوش	/lebashat o bepuš/	لباسهاتو بپوش
Your handwriting is bad.	/xäted bäd es/	خطِد بَدِس	/xätet bäd e/	خطت بَده

Cut 24a

/dä seke bed midäm…bayad bisun/ 'I'll give you 10 coins…you gotta take it'

notice that /behet/ → /bed/

Lexical

12) The verb اِسِدَن

The verb اِسِدَن /esedän/ is derived from the verb سِتانَدَن and means "to get or buy".

- The past stem is اسد /esed/ and the present stem is سون /sun/ and it behaves regularly. Note: this word is also used in several other dialects.

Listen to the infinitive:

Cut 25

Now listen to the following cut where the word is used more than once:

Cut 26

13) Compound verbs with ور ← بر

The بر /bär/ in some compound verbs changes to ور /vär/

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
to gather	vär čidän	ور چیدن	bär čidän	بر چیدن
to pick up	vär daštän	ور داشتن	bär daštän	بر داشتن

Cut 27 at the 0:07 second mark you hear /...vär dare.../ cf. standard /bär daräd/

14) Suffix وندی

The suffix /vändi/ used to connote a sense of being polluted/besmirched/contaminated

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Esfahani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
muddy	/gelvändi/	گلوندی	/gelalud/	گل آلوده
dirty	/čerkvändi/	چرکوندی	/čerkalud/	چرک آلوده

15) Common words with different pronunciation

English	Esfahani Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
how	/čito/	/čeʔtowr/	چطور
what sort of	/čedzuri/	/čeh jur/	چه جور
maybe	/šayed/	/šayäd/	شاید
now	/ʔalan/	/älʔan/	الان
question marker	/ʔay/	/aya/	آیا
after	/pä/	/päs/	پس
one time	/yevaxdi/	/yek väɢt/	یک وقت
should/must	/mibas/	/mibayest/	می‌بایست
should/must	/mibad/	/mibayäd/	می‌باید
of course	/ʔalbette/	/älbätteh/	البته
indeed/really/by the way	/rassi/	/rasti/	راستی
unless	/mege/	/mägär/	مگر
must/should	/bayed/	/bayäd/	باید
How much?	/čiɢäz/	/čeɢädr/	چقدر

16) Numbers 1-20 whose pronunciation differs from standard Persian

English	Esfahani Phonetic	StandardPhonetic	Standard Script
one	/ye/	/yek/	یک
four	/tsar/	/čähar/	چهار
five	/päyn/	/pänj/	پنج
six	/šiš/	/šeš/	شش
seven	/häf/	/häft/	هفت
eight	/haš/	/häšt/	هشت
nine	/no/	/noh/	نه
ten	/dä/	/däh/	ده
eleven	/yazzä/	/yazdäh/	یازده
twelve	/duvazz/	/dävazdäh/	دوازده
thirteen	/sinzä/	/sizdäh/	سیزده
fourteen	/tsardä/	/čähardäh/	چهارده
fifteen	/punzä/	/panzdäh/	پانزده
sixteen	/šunzä/	/šanzdäh/	شانزده
seventeen	/hevdä/	/hefʔdäh/	هفده
eighteen	/hidžä/	/hejdäh/	هجده
nineteen	/nunzä/	/nuzʔdäh/	نوزده
twenty	/bis/	/bist/	بیست

Judeo-Esfahani

Along with the Jewish dialects of Kerman, Hamadan, Borujerd, Yazd and Kerman, the Jewish dialect of Esfahan forms part of the Central dialects of Northwestern Iranian, descended from Median, rather than Old Persian (Stilo 2007). Proto-Iranian *dz has reflexes in the Southwestern Iranian languages (like standard Persian) with /d/, whereas it has reflexes in the Northwestern Iranian languages with /z/. The following table exemplifies this distinction:

Language	'know'	'son-in-law'
Standard (SW)	/dan-/	/damad/
Judeo-Esfahani (NW)	/zun-/	/zamatär/

Proto-Iranian *ū which often corresponds to /u/ in standard can be /i/ in Judeo-Esfahani: /miš/ 'mouse' (compare to standard موش /muš/), /xin/ 'blood' (compare to standard خون /xun/). /s/ and /z/ can be realized as /θ/ (as in English 'thin') and /ð/ (as in English 'that') respectively.

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http://isfahan.irib.ir/web

KASHANI کاشانی

Kashani 🔊 *Quick I.D.*

- /o/ → /a/
- /ä/ → /e/
- final /t/ → /d/
- suffix /-idu/
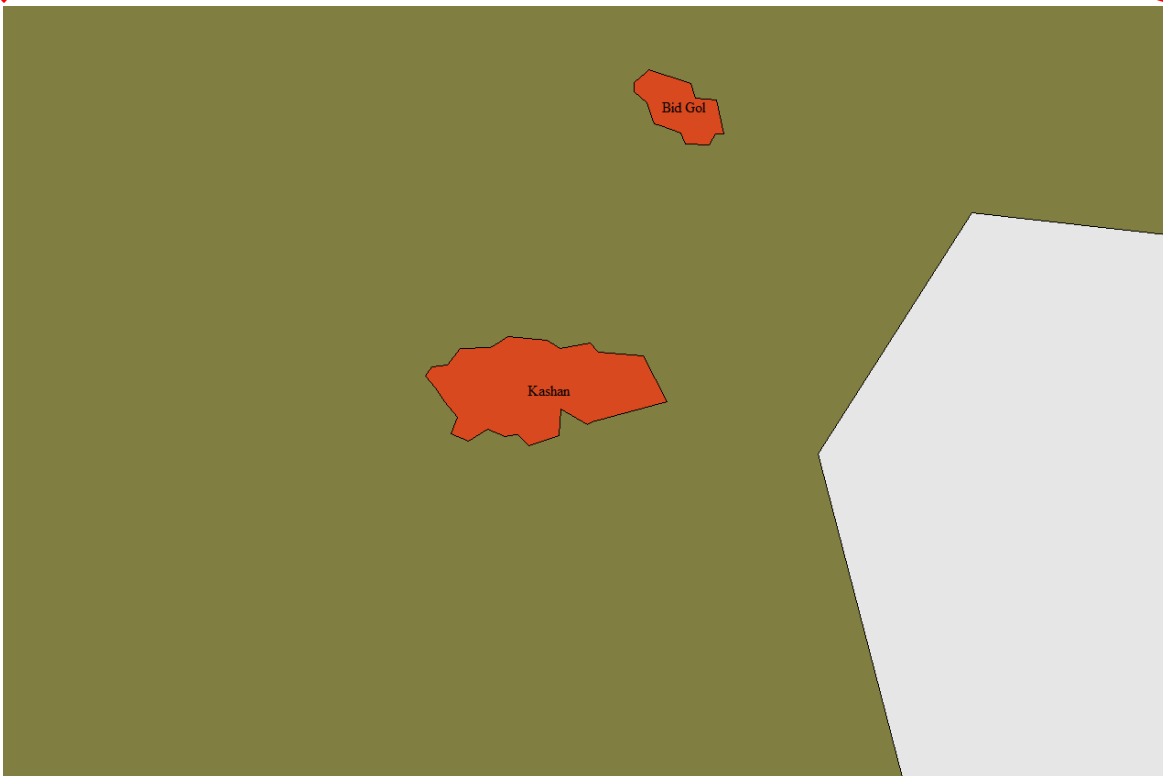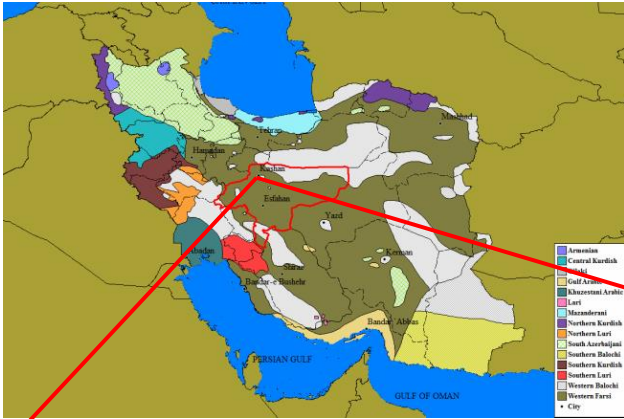
Overview

The city of Kashan, whose natives are known as 'Kashanis' or 'Kashis', is the second largest city in Esfahan province (population: 248,789 according to the 2006 census) and is famous for its rugs and for being the hometown of the renowned 20th century writer and poet Sohrab Sepehri. The city was once home to significant Jewish and Zoroastrian populations who spoke various Median dialects, however currently the city is nearly homogeneously Persian-speaking and Muslim. Various Median dialects are still spoken in the districts and villages surrounding Kashan, but they are not the subject of this section, which deals only with the accent of Persian associated with the city of Kashan.

Phonetics and Phonology

1) The majority of /ä/ → /e/ on the condition that the second syllable does not have an /o/.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
dough	/xemir/	خمیر	/xämir/	خمیر
samovar	/semavär/	سِماور	/sämavär/	سماور
always	/hemiše/	هِمیشه	/hämišeh/	همیشه
hall/salon	/sera/	سِرا	/sära/	سرا
youth/young	/jevu/	جِوو	/jävan/, coll. /jävun/	جوان / جوون
ground/land	/zemi/	زمی	/zämin/	زمین
black donkey	/xere sia/	خرِ سیا	/xäre siah/	خرِ سیاه
in the house	/dere xune/	دِر خونه	/där xaneh/, coll. /där xuneh/	در خانه / در خونه
someone	/kesi/	کِسی	/käsi/, coll. /kesi/	کسی / کِسی

Cut 1 /käsi/ → kesi/ 'someone'

Cut 2 /käs/ → /kes/ 'person'

Cut 3 /fäza/ → /feza/ 'atmosphere'

Cut 4 /täbiät/ → /tebiät/ 'nature'

However there are some exceptions:

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
county	/särässu/	شرَسّو	/šährestan/	شهرستان
treatment	/därmu/	دَرمو	/därman/ coll. /därmun/	درمان / درمون

2) /o,e,ä/ often → /a/. Note that in many other accents such as Esfahani /o/ often becomes /u/.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
hat	/kala/	کالا	/kolah/	کلاه
where	/kaja/	کاجا	/koja/	کجا

sleep!	/baxab/	باخواب	/bexab/	بخواب
you	/šama/	شاما	/šoma/	شما
jackal	/šaɢal/	شاغال	/šoɢal/	شغال
coal	/zaɢal/	ذاغال	/zoɢal/	ذغال
slow/slowly	/yavaš/	یاواش	/yävaš/	یواش
pan, tube, vat	/taɢar/	تاغار	/täɢar/	تغار
heater	/baxari/	باخاری	/boxari/	بخاری
category	/maɢule/	ماقوله	/mäɢuleh/	مقوله
room	/ataɢ/	آتاق	/otaɢ/	اتاق

Cut 5 /zähmät/ → /zähmat/ 'toil'

3) Sometimes this rule is inverted causing /a/ to transform to another vowel.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
he/she brought	/ovord/	آورد	/avärd/ coll. /ovord/	آوَرد / آوُرد
he/she came	/umad/	اومد	/amäd/ coll. /umäd/	آمد / اومد
shirt	/pirä/	پیرَ	/pirahän/	پیراهن
all, complete	/temu/	تِمو	/tämam/, coll. /tämum/	تمام / تموم

/a/ → /u/ in a context where it is followed by an /n/ or /m/. This is typical of many accents, however in Kashani it often leads to the dropping of the final /n/ or /m/ as see in these examples (also a feature of Herati and Hazaragi dialects of Afghanistan as mentioned in the introduction):

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
hall	/dalu/	دالو	/dalan/	دالان
Balochistan	/bolučässu/	بُلوچِسّو	/bälučestan/	بلوچستان
satan	/šeytu/	شیطو	/šeytan/, coll. /šeytun/	شیطان / شیطون
young, youth	/jevu/	جوو	/jävan/, coll. /jävun/	جوان / جوون
storm	/tifu/	تیفو	/tufan/	طوفان

4) Sometimes the combination of vowels /ahi/ or /ai/ transforms to the diphthong /oy/ as in:

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
(a) road	/roy/	رای	/rahi/	راهی
where are you?	/kajoy/	کاجای	/kojai/	کجایی
(a) fish	/moy/	مای	/mahi/	ماهی
imp. move	/roy šu/	راهی شو	/rahi šo/	راهی شو

5) When words ending in /ng/ or /nj/ which are preceded by a short vowel usually /n/ ➜ /j/ and the /g/ or /j/ is elided.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
war	/jäj/	جی	/jäng/	جنگ
stone	/säj/	سی	/säng/	سنگ
five	/päj/	پی	/pänj/	پنج
rice	/beräj/	بری	/berenj/	برنج

6) /st/ often changes to /ss/, which is a phenomenon that is also observed in Tehrani as described in the introduction. In Kashani, this phenomenon may also be accompanied by final /n/ dropping causing the suffix /-stan/ ➜ /-su/.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
ancient	/bessu/	بسو	/bastan/	باستان
Golestan	/golassu/	گلسّو	/golestan/	گلستان
Balochistan	/bolučassu/	بلوچسّو	/bälučestan/	بلوچستان
bone	/ossoxu/	اسّخو	/ostoxan/	استخوان
slow, slowly	/asse/	آسّه	/ahesteh/	آهسته
professor	/ussa/	اوسّا	/ostad/	استاد

Cut 6 /bisto se/ ➜ /bissu se/ 'twenty-three'

Sometimes /t/ is dropped altogether. Final /t/ dropping is common in standard Persian, however sometimes in Kashani it happens in words that it would not happen in in standard Persian.

Cut 7 /nist/ ➜ nis/ "it isn't"

7) Several common consonant shifts occur which manifest themselves uniquely in certain words. Among them are:

- Sometimes /r/ ➜ /l/ in non-initial contexts, which has also been described in Tehrani in the introduction.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
wall	/difal/	دیفال	/divar/	دیوار
hole	/suläx/	سولاخ	/surax/	سوراخ
leaf	/bälg/	بلگ	/bärg/	برگ

- In some contexts /p/ and /b/ → /f/

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
rope	/tenaf/	طناف	/tänab/	طناب
record	/zäf/	ضف	/zäbt/	ضبط
purple	/benäbše/	بنبشه	/bänäfše/	بنفشه
half	/nesbe/	نصبه	/nesfe/	نصفه

Cut 8 /nesbät/ → /nesfät/ 'relative, related [to]'

- Sometimes /b/ → /v/ (as described in the introduction for Tehrani) and /v/ → /b/.

English	Kashani Phonetics	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
cow	/gab/	گاب	/gav/	گاو
baker	/numba/	نومبا	/nanva/	نانوا
brother	/värdar/	وردار	/bäradär/	برادر
imp. open	/vako/	واکُ	/baz kon/	باز کن

Morphology

8) the suffix /-du/ is common in Kashani, but has no specific meaning.

English	Kashani Phonetic	Kashani Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
how are you?	/četowridu/	چطوریدُو	/četowr/	چطور
good	/xubidu/	خوبیدُو	/xub/	خوب
he/she comes	/miayädu/	میآیّدو	/miayäd/	می آید
there is [a] house	/xuneh häsidu/	خونه هَسّیدُو	/xaneh häst/	خانه هست

Kashani shares some of the same morphological peculiarities as Esfahani such as:

9) Object pronoun et → ed

Recall that in spoken Persian another way of saying كتاب شما is كتابت (ketabet). In Kashani the second person singular pronominal suffix *et → ed*.

English	Kashani Phonetic	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
where are your shoes?	/orossiad ku/	/käfšhayet kojast/	کفش هایت کجاست؟
from you	/ezed/	/äzet/	ازت (از تو)

10) به + pronoun

In standard spoken Persian sometimes the combination of the preposition به and an object pronoun

بهش ← به او can transform from (کتاب را به او بدهید as in)

This phenomenon also occurs in Kashani, but with some differences shown below:

English	Kashani Phonetic	Kashani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
to me	bem	بِم	/beäm/	بهم
to you	bed	بِد	/bet/	بهت
to him/her/it	beš	بِش	/beš/	بهش
to us	bemun	بِمون	/bemun/	بهمون
to you	bedun	بِدون	/betun/	بهتون
to them	bešun	بِشون	/bešun/	بهشون

Lexical

English	Kashani Phonetic	Kashani Script	Standard Script
slow, slowly	/asseh/	آسّه	آرام، آهسته
mistake, error	/aleši/	آلِشی	غلط اشتباه،
half	/aleh/	آله	نیم، نصف
to talk	/extelat/	اَختلاط	گپ، صحبت
shoe(s)	/orossi/	اَرُسّی	کفش
mainly, particularly	/elhäddey/	الِحَدّی	عمدتاً، مخصوصی
this time	/ipässa/	ای پِسّا	این بار، این دفعه
big sister	/baji/	باجی	خواهر بزرگ
ancestors	/baxajad/	باخاجاد	اجداد، نیاکان
must, should	/bas/	باس	باید
rain	/baru/	بارو	باران
pretty	/bäbul/	بَبول	قشنگ، زیبا
be careful	/bepa/	بِپا	مواظب باش
give (it to) me	/bede mä/	بِدِ مَ	بده به من
quickly	/berfov/	بِرفو	فوراً، سریع، زود
small	/bugulu/	بوگولو	کوچولو
to be afraid	/ja zädän/	جا زدن	ترسیدن
rage, hate	/jerr/	جِرّ	خشم و نفرت
child	/jiji/	جی جی	کودک
how are you?	/čedä/	چِدَ؟	چطوری؟
wall	/čineh/	چینه؟	دیوار
to state/mentioned	/hali kärdän/	حالی کردن	بیان کردن، گوشزد کردن
invitation	/xošva/	خُشوا	تعارف،دعوت
to be ashamed	/xit šodän/	خیط شدن	شرمنده شدن، خجالت کشیدن
come out	/derad/	دِراد	بیرون بیآید
don't tell him anything	/dämbeš nedeh/	دَمِبِش نِده	چیزی بهش نگو
better	/rubera(ter)/	رُوبِرا (تِر)	بهبود، بهتر، خوبتر

sometimes	/gayi godar/	گایی گدار	گاهی اوقات
grandmother	/majun/	ماجون	مادربزرگ
to dislike	/merešt/	مِرِشت	میل، تمایل، دوست نداشتن
sick	/mändemur/	مَندِمُور	بیمار، ناساز
small	/neɢjeleh/	نِقجِله	خرد، کوچک، کم
this much	/inɢäz/	اینɢَز	اینقدر

Cut 9 /inɢäd(är)/ → /inɢäz/

Often the word /nä/ 'no' → /ney/ or /ni/

Cut 10 /nä/ → /ney/

Cut 11 /nä/ → /ni/

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Median Dialects in Esfahan Province

The province of Esfahan is home to a large number of so called Median or Central Dialects which belong predominantly to the Northwest group of Iranian languages and have significant phonological, lexical, and morphological differences with Persian. A high concentration of these dialects can be found in the area surrounding Kashan county (*shahrestan*) in the north of Isfahan province and are sometimes locally referred to as Raji (راجی) dialects. The number and diversity of these dialects have led to a great deal of linguistic research to the extent that a sufficient overview of them would require its own course. While these dialects are of particular interest to linguists and Iranologists, the number of Iranians who actually speak them has dwindled significantly over the last 30 years to the point that many of them are on the verge of extinction and none exceeds 10,000 speakers (Borjian 2009).

In general, these dialects are considered low prestige, not frequently spoken by young people, and do not engender strong ethnic, tribal, or regional identity. The two exceptions to this rule are the Median Dialects spoken by Jewish and Zoroastrian communities whose numbers are small, but which exhibit more cultural cohesion and in-group use of these dialects. Figure 3 is a map showing the geographic distribution of some of the major Median Dialects in the northern Esfahan and southeast Markazi

provinces. Figure 4 is a table highlighting some of the major isoglosses (see introduction) among these dialects.

Figure 3: Median Dialects
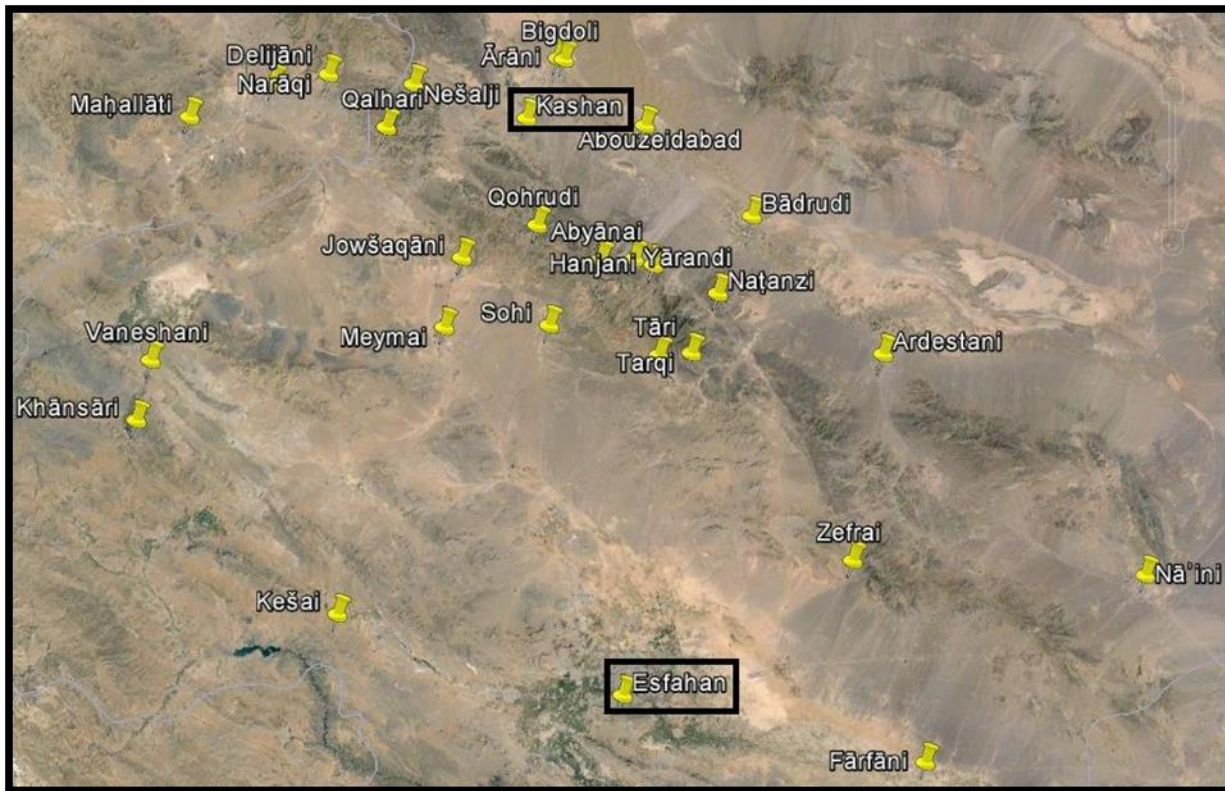
Table 5
DATA FOR SELECTED ISOGLOSSES*

Dialect	"eye"	"it, he"	"now"	"sit"	"big"	"small"	"wall"	"sister"	"tomorrow"
	1	3	7	8	10	11	12	13	14
Abu	čaž	na/nön	ha(t)	čin- : češt-	görd(a)	vejij	kāl	dādā	hayā
Aby	čem	nūn	ha(ta), hā(n)	čin- : čažt-	görd	vūjūö	kal, kāl	dādā	hayā
Ārā	ča:ž	nə		hā-čin- : čižd-				xār	
Ard	čež, čaž	ī	nū, konu	he-nagn- : nagni-, nāq- : nāqešt-	got	kessu	duful	xuār	fa(r)dā
Bād	čam	nū	eten	ānžin- : ānžas-	gūrd	jij	čina	xu, xo	sabā
Bdg	čaž	nə/ne	ha	hā-cin-				xuar	sobā
Del	čam	on	haton	hā-cež-	messar	xud	duār	fáke	sobā
Han	čam, čažm	non	hat	hā-čin- : čažd-	gord	kasla		dādā	sebā
Jow	čaim	nūn	hat	hā-čin- : čažt-	gord, gurd	vučul	kal	dādā	sabā
Kān	čažm	u(n)	asāsā	hā-čin- : čes-, kis-	buzurg, gunda, missar	kissar	dúār, čina	xuā	ferdā, sobā
Keš	čam, čem	ū, ī	hátu(n)	ho-nig- : čašt-	gūrd	kas	kala	xuh	hūyā
Mah	čam	un	heton, hetö	ha-čin- : čižt-	mazar, messar	kūsūr, kučura	duwār	xāk	sobā
Mey	čam	un	hate	hā-čin- : čažt/d-; āh-; āni-	gord	vižli	divāl, čina	dādā	sahbā
Naž	čež				gord	vejuj		xáka	
Nat	čam	nōn/nēn	hā	hā-ni- : nžast-, hāčin-	gord	kes	difāl, dival	xāhar	
Nāy	čaž	u(n), di	osmi	ha-nig- : nigižt-	masa, mas(s)e	kas	difāl	xow	subā
Nrq	čem		haton		massar			fāk	
Qāl	ceym	no	hate		gord	urjuk			sobāh
Qoh	čaž	nū(n)	hat	hovačin- : hočižt-	gurd, gord	vūjūj	kal, pey	dādā	hiā, pehrā
Soh	čam	nūn	hat	čin- : čižt-	gurd, gurt	vūjūj, vižlah	kal	dādā	hiā
Tār	čem, čeym	ū	hat(ō)	ng- : čažta-	gord, gort	kas	kala, peh	xox	hūyā/heyā
Trq	čem	on, i			gord		kala		
Vān	čam	u(n)	etun	čin- : čess-	mus(sar)	kessar	duār	xuvā	subāh
Yār	čam	non/ne		hā-čin-: čažt-	gord	jūxja	kal	dāya	
Zef	čem, cež	ū, ī	zono	he-ning- : nižt-	beur	kas	čina, dezār	xāh, dād	sāhbe

Figure 4: modified from Table 5 http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kashan-ix-the-median-dialects-of-kashan

Abu	*Abouzeidabadi*	**Han**	*Hanjan*	**Nat**	*Naṭanzi*	**Trq**	*Tarqi*	
Aby	*Abyānai*	**Jow**	*Jowšaqān*	**Nay**	*Nāʾini*	**Van**	*Vānišāni*	
Ara	*Ārāni*	**Kan**	*Khānsāri*	**Nrq**	*Narāqi*	**Yar**	*Yārandi*	
Ard	*Ardestāni*	**Kesh**	*Kešai*	**Qal**	*Qalhari*	**Zef**	*Zefrai*	
Bad	*Bādrud*	**Mah**	*Maḥallāti*	**Qoh**	*Qohrudi*	-	-	
Bdg	*Bidgol*	**Mey**	*Meymai*	**Soh**	*Sohi*	-	-	
Del	*Delijān*	**Nash**	*Nešalji*	**Tar**	*Tāri*	-	-	

The figure above uses the following abbreviations:

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http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/central-dialects

http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/isfahan-xxi-provincial-dialects

HAMEDANI همدانی

Hamedani **Quick I.D.**
- /ow/ → /ew/
- /æ/ → /e/ but /kærdæn/
- /tʃ/ → /ʃ/
- /b/ → /v/
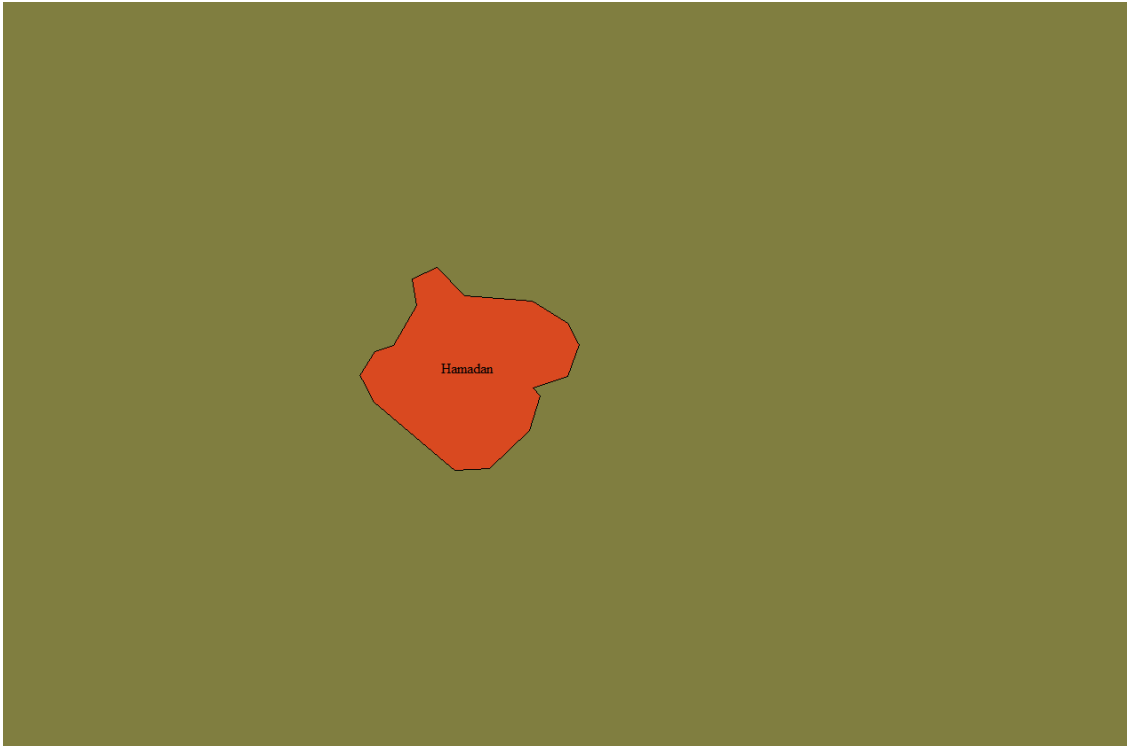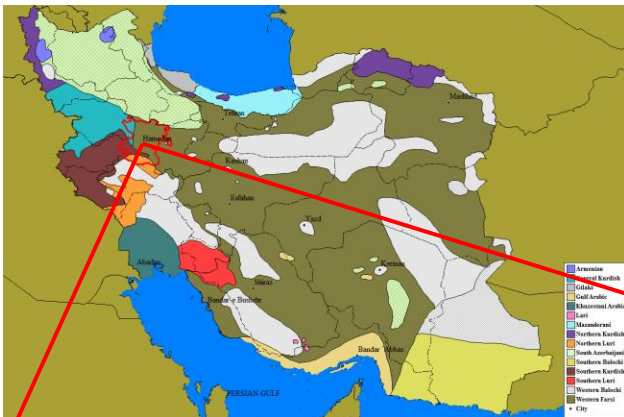
Overview

The Hamedani dialect of Persian is spoken in and around the city of Hamedan (population 473,149 in 2006). This city is believed to be one of the oldest in Iran and was discussed by Herodotus as the capital of the Median Empire around 700 BCE, then known as Ecbatana. As the modern-day capital of the province of the same name, Hamedan is home to a number of important cultural sites, including the monument to and mausoleum of Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) and the tomb of Baba Taher, an 11th-century Persian poet who wrote in the Fahlaviat (Pahlaviat) style of prose, which is mostly often associated with Middle Persian (Pahlavi). A major aspect of today's Hamedani dialect is its retention of Middle Persian lexical items, especially verbs, giving further importance to the works of poets like Taher, for residents of the city and surrounding areas.

Researchers have observed a decline in the usage of the dialect, which they attributed to several factors:

- The centrality of the Tehrani accent in everyday life, particularly its ubiquity in media.

- The association of Hamedani with satire.

- The lack of formal education in the Hamedani dialect.

- The trend of families discouraging their children from speaking Hamedani especially in the presence of people not from Hamedan (Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008).

The decline in the dialect's use has occurred more rapidly in certain sections of society. Sociolinguistic research indicates that the use of Hamedani is best predicted by the gender and educational level of the speaker with illiterate males being the most likely to speak the vernacular and university educated females the least likely to use it (Saeedi et al. 2009).

Furthermore, because of significant internal migration that occurred after the Islamic Revolution, the city of Hamedan now has a large Azeri population which has grown to the point that one Iranian linguist has claimed, "if someone were to recently arrive in Hamedan they might suspect that Azeri is the language of the city" (Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008). Azeri influence can be seen in some phenomena such as affrication (see below) which is not traditionally considered a feature of Hamedani, but occurs nonetheless.

Phonetics and Phonology

Preservation of Standard/Classical /ɒn/

Unlike Colloquial Persian, and a number of other regional dialects, the combination of the vowel /ɒ/ and the consonant /n/ in Hamedani does not result in /un/ in its spoken form, and instead, retains the standard pronunciation, /ɒn/ (Gorusin 2005, p. 15)

Cut 1

Cut 2

/ew/

The long diphthong /ow/, often shifts to /ew/ (Gorusin 2005, p. 12), which is similar to the fronted Baltimore or Philadelphia pronunciation of English /o/ as in Tim**o**nium, L**o**cust, etc.

English	Example Cut	Hamedani	Standard	Standard Script
forward	*Cut 3*	/jelew/	/jelow/	جلو
I was running	*Cut 4*	/midewidäm/	/midävidäm/	می دویدم
basin	*Cut 5*	/hewz/	/howz/	حوض
pilaf	*Cut 6*	/pelew/	/polow/	پلو
banana	*Cut 7*	/mewz/	/mowz/	موز
about	*Cut 8*	/där mewred/	/där mowred/	در مورد

/ä/ often changes to /e/

English	Example Cut	Hamedani	Standard	Standard Script
salaam	*Cut 9*	/selam/	/sälam/	سلام
what's up	*Cut 10*	/če xebere/	/če xäbäre/	چه خبر
my boy/son	*Cut 11*	/peseräm/	/pesäräm/	پسرم
father	*Cut 12*	/peder/	/pedär/	پدر
kid/child	*Cut 13*	/beče/	/bäčče/	بچه
your body	*Cut 14*	/tenetan/	/tänätan/	تنتان
kinder	*Cut 15*	/mehreban-ter/	/mehreban-tär/	مهربانتر
if	*Cut 16*	/egä/	/ägär/	اگر

High Frequency Exceptions:

Cut 17 observe that there is no change in /kärdän/ 'to make/do' but /käs/ 'person' → /kes/

Cut 18 /äz u xater/ 'for that reason'

Sometimes in an attempt to avoid using what they perceive to be a less prestigious dialect, some people from Hamedan occasionally hypercorrect their pronunciation. Consider the following sentence:

/yadäme unruz läbasämo tu kälas ja gozäšte budäm/ 'I remember I had left my clothes in the classroom that day'

Note the overcorrected pronunciation of /läbas/ 'clothes' cf. standard /lebas/ and /kälas/ 'class' cf. standard /kelas/ (Saeedi et al. 2009, p. 82).

/č/ and /š/

(Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

Sometimes /č/ is pronounced /š/ which is particularly salient in the word /če/ 'what' چه and associated high frequency phrases.

English	Example Cut	Hamedani	Colloquial	Standard
what [does it mean]?	*Cut 19*	/yäni ši/	/yäni či/	یعنی چه

what did you say?	Cut 20	/ši gofti/	/či gofti/	چه گفتی
what should we do?	Cut 21	/ši konim/	/či (kar) konim/	چه کار کنیم
that which	Cut 22	/un še ke/	/un če ke/	آن چه که

This phenomenon is not universal. Consider the following cut in which the speaker pronounces

هرچه as /härče/ 'the more [I tried to figure out]' and then pronounces چه به چه as /ši be ši/

Cut 23

Additionally the opposite can sometimes occur causing /š/ → /č/ although this is most commonly seen in the environment that /š/ is preceded by /x/ as in the word /bäxš/ → /bäxč/ 'section'.

English	Example Cut	Hamedani	Colloquial	Script
Excuse me!	Cut 24	/bebäxčina/	/bebäxšin(a)/	ببخشینا
we (should) broadcast it	Cut 25	/päxčeš konim/	/päxšeš konim/	پخشش کنیم

/b/ → /v/

/b/ is often pronounced as /v/. While this happens in many dialects and even colloquial speech to a certain extent it happens with a much higher frequency in Hamedani.

English	Example Cut	Hamedani	Colloquial	Script
get up!	Cut 26	/vä xäzin/	/bär xizid/	بر خیزید
unlike	Cut 27	/vär xelaf/	/bär xelaf/	بر خلاف
thank you (lit. *your sacrifice*)	Cut 28	/gorvanet biräm/	/gorbunet beräm /	قربونت برم
he/she would pick it up	Cut 29	/vär midašteš/	/bär midašteš/	برمی‌داشتش
must	Cut 30	/mivaste/	/mibayest/	می‌بایست
one time	Cut 31	/yevare/	/yekbare/	یکباره
excuse me	Cut 32	/beväxšin/	/bebäxšin/	ببخشین
you see it	Cut 33	/miviniteš/	/mibinideš/	می‌بینیدش
OK	Cut 34	/vaše/	/baše/	باشه

Occasionally the opposite can happen causing /v/ → /b/. Consider the following example:

Cut 35 /väli/ → /beli/ 'but'

Note: this phenomenon doesn't appear to be systematic and this particular example may be due to hypercorrection.

Affrication

Occasionally affrication occurs causing /k/ → /č/. Recall that this phenomenon is commonly seen in in Azerbaijani-accented Persian, and therefore its occurrence in Hamedani may be due to Azeri influence.

Cut 36 /noɢte/ → /nukče/ 'point'

Cut 37 /kenari/ → /čenari/ '[to the] side'

Cut 38 /yeki bud yeki näbud/ → /yeči bud yeči näbud/ 'once upon a time'

/t/

When /t/ is preceded by /s/ it is often dropped. This phenomenon is also common in Tehrani, as discussed in the introduction under Cluster Simplification.

Cut 39 /dästet därd näkone/ → /desset därd näkone/

Cut 40 /aheste aheste/ → /asse asse/ 'slowly'

While this happens in nearly all dialects and even colloquial speech to a certain extent, its effect on the verbs /häst/ and /äst/ is somewhat rarer. Note: the /äst/ → /es/ shift is typically associated with Esfahani.

Cut 41 /zärd äst/ → /zärdes/ 'it's yellow'

Cut 42 /yeki äz käsanist ke/ → /yeki äz käsanes ke/ 'is one of the people who…'

Cut 43 /ɢäza(ä)st / → /ɢäzas/ "it's food'

Cut 44 /där xedmäte šoma hästim/ → /där xedmäte šoma hässim/

Sometimes /t/ → /d/

English	Hamedani	Standard	Standard Script
fall	/ufdad/	/oftad/	افتاد
tree	/deräxd/	/deräxt/	درخت
behind	/pošd/	/pošt/	پشت

(Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

Sometimes /t/ is added to a final /š/ → /št/

English	Hamedani	Standard	Standard Script
itch	/xarešt/	/xareš/	خارش
pillow	/balešt/	/baleš/	بالش

(Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

Morphology

Object Particle

The object particle /ra/ را is typically expressed by /(r)e/ (also noted for Tehrani in the Introduction under Object Marking) in Hamedani such as:

/hoseynra didäm/ → /hoseyne didäm/ 'I saw Hussein' (Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

If the object ends in an /h/ the /h/ is not dropped resulting in:

Cut 45 /bärnamera/ → /bärnamehe/ 'the program'

Note: in the case that the 1.SG pronoun takes an object particle it changes from /mä(n)ra/ → /mene/

(Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

/t/ + Object Clitic

Recall that in colloquial and Tehrani speech the object of a verb can be expressed by a pronominal clitic e.g. /ura didäm/ 'I saw her' can be expressed as /didämeš/ (see Introduction, under "Special Uses of Pronominal Enclitics"). In Hamedani an epenthetic /t/ is often inserted between the verb ending and the object clitic (Gorusin 2005).

Cut 46 /nä aftab dideteš/ 'She's fair skinned *lit. the sun has not seen her'*

Cut 47 /xoda biamorzeteš/ 'May God forgive/bless her' i.e. 'May she rest in peace'

Cut 48 /mibineteš/ 'you (will) see her'

1.PL and 2.PL Verb Endings

Sometimes the 1.PL verb ending changes from /didim/ → /didiman/ 'I saw' and the 2.PL verb ending changes from /didin/ → /didinan/ → 'you *pl.* see'

Cut 49 /befärmajen/ → /befärmanan/ Note: in this example some further vowel assimilation is evident

(Nuriyun and Hamedani 2008)

Vowel Harmony in Verb Prefix

Vowel harmony can occur in verbs causing the verbal prefix /mi-/ → /mo-/ or /mu-/. Note that this is an extension of vowel harmony processes discussed in the Introduction with regard to Tehrani and colloquial.

Cut 50 /če (kar) mikoni/ → /ši mokoni/ 'what are you doing?"

Cut 51 /mikonäd/ → /mokone/

Lexical

/dige/ → /diä/

The word دیگه /dige/ is used colloquially either to mean 'other' or as a discourse marker to express emphasis (see Introduction, "Emphatic/Modal Particles"). In Hamedani it is pronounced /diä/ or /de/. This is not unique to Hamedani and occurs in Esfahani and Yazdi.

Cut 52 /dige/ → /diä/ Note: In this clip a woman uses a particular Hamedani verb which the boy is not familiar with /jik u buk/ which could roughly be translated as 'check something out' or 'get the lowdown'

Cut 53/diä härf nemidane bezene käm härf šode/ "he doesn't know how to say anything else, he's gotten all taciturn'

Cut 54 /de arey diä/ 'yes, [of course]!'

Verbs

We provide Pahlavi/Middle Persian examples where available.

English	Hamedani Phonetics	Hamedani Script	Pahlavi	Standard Script
to hear	/ešnäfdän/	اشنفدن	/šnäftän/	شنیدن
to get	/esandän/	اساندن		ستاندن / گرفتن
to place	/häštän/	هشتن	/häštän/	گذاشتن
to sit	/neštän/	نشتن		نشستن
to toss, throw	/ešandän/	اشاندن		انداختن
to dive	/čeɢidän/	چقیدن		فرو رفتن
to spray	/pešɢidän/	پشگیدن		پاشیدن
to fall	/tombidän/	تمبیدن		افتادن
to twist/turn	/tenjidän/	تنجیدن		پیچیدن
to decay/ to be destroyed, ruined	/romidän, rombidän/	رمبیدن /رمیدن		خراب شدن
to spread	/pelmidän/	پلمیدن		پخش شدن
to rub	/pelmandän/	پلماندن		مالیدن
to wither, decay	/čulosidän/	چولسیدن		پلاسیدن
to press	/velajidän/	ولایدن		فشار دادن

Other Words

English	Hamadni Phonetics	Standard Script
broken	/eškeste/	شکسته
window	/vendik/	پنجره
stomach ache	/sanju/	دل درد
diffuse/spread out	/pelmide/	پخش شده
dirty	/pis/	کثیف
pillow	/muteka/	بالش
ready, aware, prepared	/gebraɢ/	امادهه /اگاه

so *adverb*	/inɢäzär/	انقدر
small	/kučuk/	کوچک

Common Phrases

English	Hamadni Phonetics	Standard Script
what do I know?	/mäčim/	من چه میدانم
so why?	/päča/	پس چرا
So why are you doing that/this?	/päča uju mukuni/	پس چرا این جوری میکنی
What do you want?	/bäri ši te/	چه می خواهی

Lexical Audio Examples

Cut 55 /ešnäfdäm/ 'I heard' cf. standard /šenidäm/

Cut 56 /neštän(d)/ 'they sat' cf. standard /nešästän(d)/

Cut 57/häšte budäm/ "I'd put" cf. standard /gozäšte budäm/

Cut 58 /yey henduvane gonde esande vu gerefte desseš/ 'had gotten a huge watermelon and was holding it in his hands'

Cut 59 /ɢebraɢi/ 'are you ready/aware/prepared'

Cut 60 /inɢäzär/ 'so' *adv. e.g. It's so good!* cf. standard /inɢäd(är)/

Cut 61 /kučuk/ 'small' cf. standard /kuček/ /kučkäk/ /kučik/ or /kučulu/

In the following four audio cuts a man from gives examples of Hamedani words, their standard equivalents, and some example senteces.

Cut 62

Cut 63

Cut 64

Cut 65

In this cut two Hamedani men introduce Hamedani words and then give its standard equivalent

Cut 66

Judeo-Hamedani

Sahim (1994) reports on the features of the Jewish dialect of Hamedan. As with other Median (Northwestern) dialects, /j/ corresponds with standard /z/: /jändegi/ 'life' (compare standard زندگی

/zendegi/), /jir/ 'below' (compare standard زیر /zir/). The past tense features ergative alignment (see introduction).

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KERMANI کرمانی
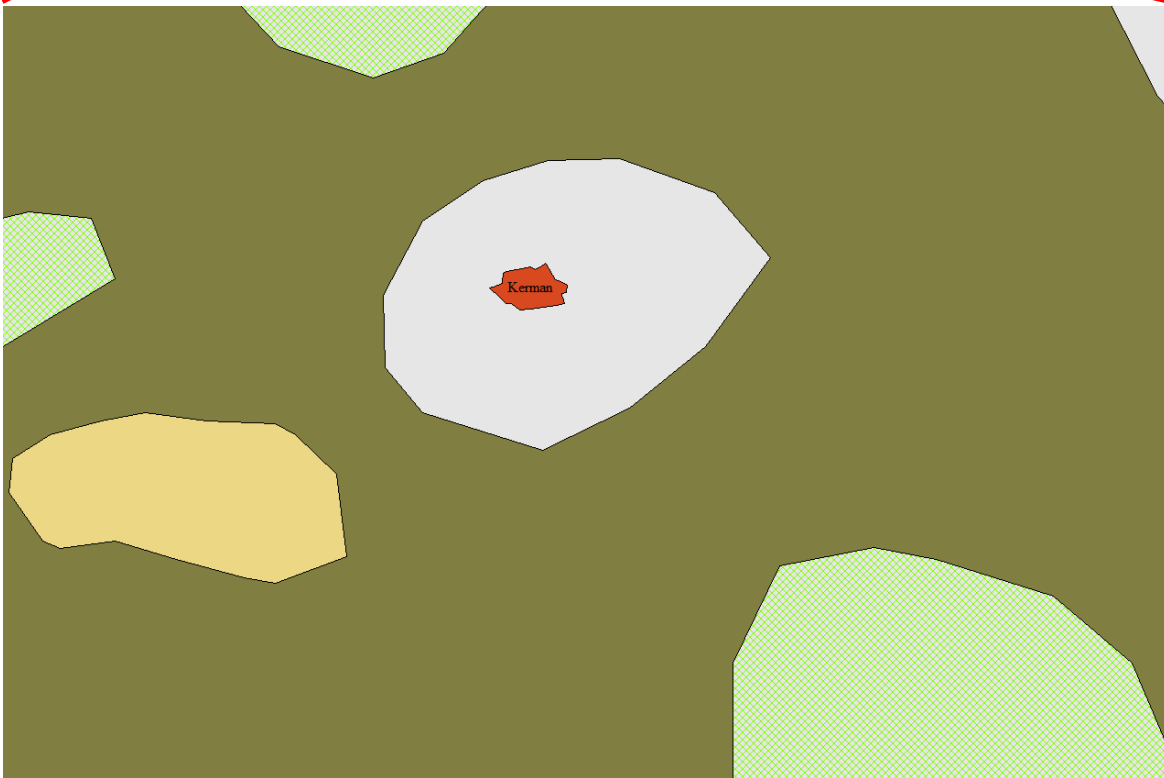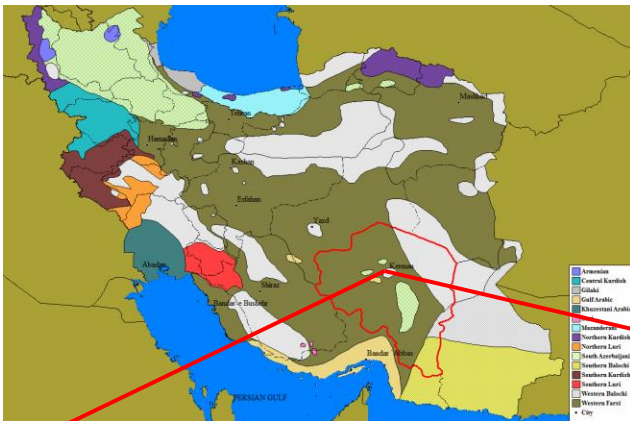
Overview

Kerman is a province located in the Lut Desert (*kavir-e lut*) in south central Iran. It is famous for the Safavid-era Ganjali Khan complex in the city of Kerman and for being the birth place of Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani. Like most central Iranian provinces, the majority of the people of Kerman are ethnically Persian. In past centuries, various tribes of Lors, Laks, Turks, and Arabs moved through the region, however today they make up only a tiny minority of the population. Balochi is spoken by a small minority concentrated primarily in the city of Kerman and the southern counties of the province bordering Sistani-Baluchistan (See figure 1). Historically Kerman, like Yazd, was home to a large Zoroastrian population who spoke their own language known variously as Gabri, Behdinâni, or Dari (not too be confused with the name of the Persian spoken in Afghanistan). Today this language is nearly extinct, but it is still spoken by several thousand people. While Persian is by far the dominant language in Kerman province, a variety of regional accents exist which correspond roughly to towns or counties (*shärestanha*). They include, but are not limited to Bafti, Jirofti, Rafsanjani, Bami, and Kuhbonani. The most widely spoken accent and the subject of this chapter, is the one associated with the province's capital and largest city, Kerman (population: 621,374 according to the 2006 census).

Figure 1 http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iran_ethnoreligious_distribution_2004.jpg
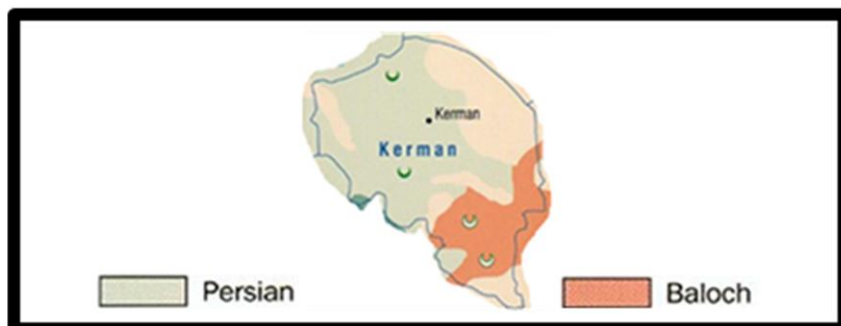
Phonetics and Phonology

1) /ä/ → /e/

In general the vowel /e/ is used more often causing /ä/→/e/ and occasionally /o/→/e/

English	Kermani Phonetics	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
to do/make	/kerdän/	/kärdän/	کردن
head	/ser/	/sär/	سر
samanu (a traditional food)	/semenu/	/sämänu/	سمنو
to become	/šedän/	/šodän/	شدن

As noted in the introduction /ä/→/e/ is not a firm rule, and has many exceptions. Read the following romanized Youtube comment posted by a Kermani user:

Kakoo, khoshalemoon kerdi. Inghade khandeedim ke koftamoon dard kerd. Demet Garm!

'Dude, you've made our day [*lit*. you made us happy]. We laughed so much it hurts. Nice work!'

Notice how the words in red follows the /ä/→/e/ rule, but the green ones do not. One of the most important exceptions to this rule is از which is pronounced /äz/. Recall that in Esfahani از /äz/→ /ez/ however کردن is pronounced /kärdän/.

Examples:

Cut 1 /gonah kärd/ → /gona kerd/ 'he/she sinned'

Cut 2 /seta xälaf kärde/ → /seta xelaf kerde/ 'he/she has committed three misdeeds'

Cut 3 /kešvär/ → / kešver/ 'country'

Cut 4 /če šode/ → / če šede/ 'What's happened?'

Cut 5 /pedär säg/ → /peder seg/ 'son of a bitch *lit. dog father*'

Cut 6 /säret/ → /seret/ 'your head'

Cut 7 /tälaš/ → /telaš/ 'attempt/effort/

2) غ and ق

غ and ق which in standard Iranian Persian are typically indistinguishable are pronounced differently from one another in Kermani.

غ → /ɣ/
ق → /q/

Note: this is not unique to Kermani as these two letters are distinctly pronounced in several Persian dialects such as Abadani,Yazdi, Dari, and Tajiki.

Examples of غ

Cut 8 /där ɢeyre in surät/ → /där ɣeyre in surät/ 'otherwise'

Cut 9 /ɢore/ → /ɣore/ 'complain/make a ruckus'

Examples of ق

Cut 10 /ɢät bešäväd/ → /qät beše/ 'be cut'

Cut 11 /ɢävanin vä moɢärärat/ → /qevanin vä moqärärat/ 'rules and regulations'

Cut 12 /ɢorban/ → /qorban/ 'sir/master'

Cut 13 /gährämane vaɤei/ /qährämane vaqei/ 'real hero'

Morphology

3) /nä-/ → /mä-/

The negative prefix of the subjunctive/imperative /nä-/ → /mä-/

English	Kermani Phonetics	Kermani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
Don't [do]	/mäkon/	مکن	/näkon/	نکن
Don't eat	/mäxor/	مخور	/näxor/	نخور

Note: this is a feature of classical Persian and still appears in verse and occasionally in high register speech.

Example:

Cut 14 /näxor/ → /mäxor/ 'don't eat/drink!'

4) Diminutive

It is popular in Kerman to add a diminutive /u/ to the end of proper nouns (and some common nouns) to express affection or endearment. This is similar to the use of the suffix چه in standard Persian, however it is used more widely in Kermani.

English	Kermani Phonetics	Kermani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
Ali	/äliu/		/äli/	علی
Hussein	/hosseinu/		/hossein/	حسین
Rabab	/rebu/		/räbab/	رباب

This diminutive has had a significant effect on the Kermani lexicon. Observe the following words for some small insects and animals which end in و.

English	Kermani Phonetics	Kermani Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
cockroach	/medu/	مدو	/susk/	سوسک
cricket	/jiku/	جیکو	/jir jir/	جیرجیر
grasshopper	/jeku/	جکو	/mäläx/	ملخ
lizard	/kerpu/	کرپو	/marmuläk/	مارمولک
spider	/karbafu/	کاربافو	/änkäʔbut/	عنکبوت
swallow (bird)	/äsperiču/	اِسپریچو	/pärästu/	پرستو

This effect can even be seen in other words which do not have anything to do with smallness.

English	Keramni Phonetics	Kermani Script	Standard Script

a simple or naïve person	/häpu/		هپو	شخص ساده و زود باور
cry baby	/čigu/		چیقو	کسی که داد و فریاد راه می اندازد
rumor	/čow/		چُوْ	شایعه
sneeze	/apešow/		اپْشُو	عطسه

5) suffix کی

In Kermani the suffix کی, as in پولکی changes from [äki] → [ekay]

English	Kermani Phonetics	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
crookedly, askance	/käjekay/	/käjäki/	کجکی
sinister*	/čepekay/	/čäpäki/	چپکی
reverse, retrograde	/päs pesekay/	/päs päsäki/	پس پسکی

*In standard sense of "bad, evil, base" as well as older sense of "on or of the left side."

6) به من

Recall that sometimes in colloquial Persian the preposition به merges with an object pronoun as in:

بهم ← به من

بهمون ← به ما

In Kermani these two words merge in the following way:

English	Kermani Phonetic	Kermani Script	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
to me	/vešäm/	وشم	/behäm/	بهم
to us	/vešemun/	وشمون	/bemun/	بهمون

Lexicon

7) هسِتِه

As discussed in the introduction, sometimes in colloquial Persian the third person singular enclitic pronoun /-eš/ is added to the end of third person singular intransitive verbs, but does not have any specific meaning. This phenomenon is commonly seen in the words هست and نیست which become هستِش and نیسِتِش. One of the most distinctive features of Kermani is the pronunciation of these verbs which transform as follows:

English	Kermani Phonetics	Kermani Script	Colloquial Phonetics	Colloquial Script
[there] is/are	/häste/	هسِتِه	/hästeš	**هستِش**

[there] isn't/aren't	/niste/		نِستِه	/nisteš/	**نیستش**

Cut 15 /äli häst(eš)…hosseyn häst(eš)/ → /äli häste…hosseyn häste/ 'Is Ali there?…is Hussein there?"

Cut 16 /nihäste če häste/ "What is 'nihäste'?" See next cut for more information.

Note: this change can make it more difficult to distinguish between the words هست and هسته ای (*nuclear*)

This phenomenon is commonly attributed to Kermanis. Listen to this comedian give a monologue on the word هسته

Cut 17

Below is a list of some high frequency words which differ from standard Persian:

English	**Kermani Phonetics**	**Kermani Script**	**Colloquial Script**
let, allow	/bel/	بل	بگذار
from now on	/äzi vär bäʔd/	أزي وَر بعد	از این به بعد
from you	/äšet/	أشِت	ازت (از تو)
this	/i/	ای	این
none, nothing	/afuk/	آفوك	هیچ
fake, spurious	/ätkeli/	اتكلى	الکی
in place of, instead of	/äjeme/	أ جِم	بهجاي، عوضه
such, like, as	/häm či/	هم چی	همچنین، به طوری، چنان
sister	/abaji/*	آباجي	خواهر
grand father	/ababa/	آبابا	پدربزرگ
young, inexperienced	/jal/	جال	جوان
cup/glass	/abxori/	آبخوري	لیوان
hole	/kot/	كت	سوراخ
slow/slowly	/asta/	آستا	آهسته
ID card	/sejelt/	سجلت	شناس نامه
equal, symmetric	/hämsär/	همسر	هم اندازه
chick, baby chicken	/čuri/	چورى *	جوجه مرغ
someone with poor manners	/xoluš/	خلوش	عامی
shamed, disgraced	/xit/	خیت	سرافکنده، رسوا
large dish, platter	/dowri/	دُوْری	بشقاب بزرگ
uphill/high place	/seraborzi/	سرابُرزی	سربالایی
downhill/low	/serajäʔri/	سراجَئری	سرازیری

place			
hanging, dangling	/olengun/	النگون	آویزان
core, nucleus	/dendel/	دندل	هسته
yes	/ha bäle/	* هابله	ها
brother, dude	/kaku/	* کاکو	برادر

* not unique to Kermani

Judeo-Kermani

The Jewish dialect of Kerman is similar to the Jewish dialect of Yazd, from which city the Jewish population is said to have come in the late nineteenth century, and different from that of the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kerman (Lazard 1981). Lazard identifies a prefix /ä-/ on present and imperfect verbs: /äräsin/ 'I arrive', /äräsarin/ 'I was arriving'. The subjunctive and imperative prefix is /ve-/: /veräsin/ 'that I arrive', /vie/ 'come'. There is a perfect prefix /e-/: /eräsarin/ 'I arrived'.

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MASHHADI مشهدی

Mashhadi 🔊 *Quick I.D.*

- /mi-/→ /mo-/
- /šodän/ →/reftän/
- /nä/ → /ney/
- /ä/ → /e/ and /kerdän/
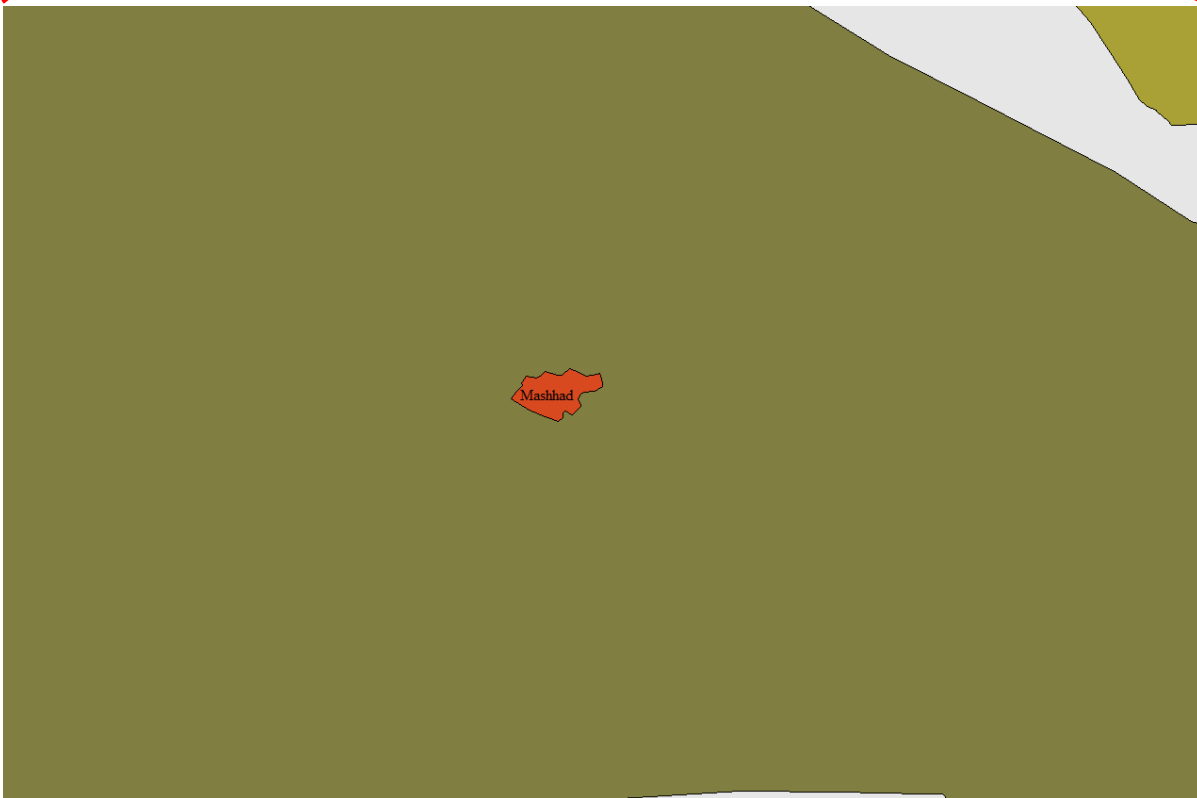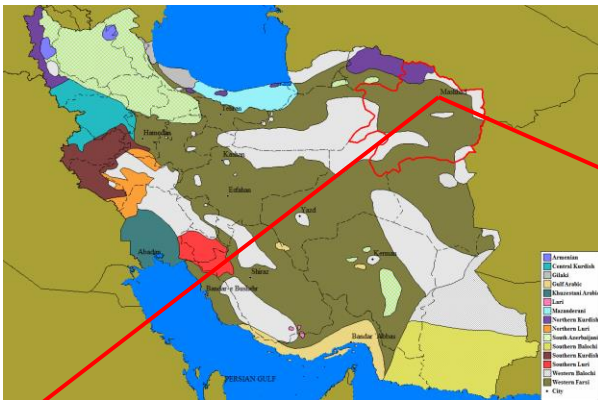
Overview

Mashhad is Iran's second largest city (population: 2,772,287 according to the 2006 census) and is famous for being the birthplace of Ferdowsi (author of the epic poem *Shahname*) as well as being home to the holiest Shia site in Iran–the shrine of the 8th Imam Ali Reza. Mashhad is also the capital of Razavi Khorasan province which along with North and South Khorasan used to comprise a single province before it was partitioned in 2004. Historically Khorasan or "Greater Khorasan" referred to a much larger area encompassing much of Afghanistan and Central Asia. The three Khorasan provinces of Iran are home to significant populations of Kurmanji speaking Kurds, Turkic peoples (see figures 1 and 2), and other ethnic groups, however the city of Mashhad is predominantly Persian speaking. Occasionally reference is made to a "Khorasani" dialect or accent, but given the ambiguous scope of the term "Khorasan" this label is not well defined.

In this chapter we refer to Mashhadi as the Persian accent associated with the city of Mashhad. Given the city's proximity to Afghanistan, Mashhadi shares some similarities with the Herati accent of Dari spoken in western Afghanistan and lies somewhere in the middle of the continuum between Tehrani-Kabuli accents. Mashhad is also home to a significant population of Afghan refugees, many of whom are ethnic Hazara and speak a dialect of Dari known as Hazaragi (see figure 3). Hazaragi falls outside the purview of this chapter, but will be lightly touched on for the purposes of disambiguation. Lastly, because Mashhad is home to one of the holiest Shia pilgrimage sites the city hosts a steady stream of pilgrims from both Iran and abroad which enriches its linguistic milieu.

Figure 1: Concentration of the Kurds in Greater Khorasan from Madih, 'Abbas-'Ali. "The Kurds of Khorasan." Iran & the Caucasus (2007): 11-31.
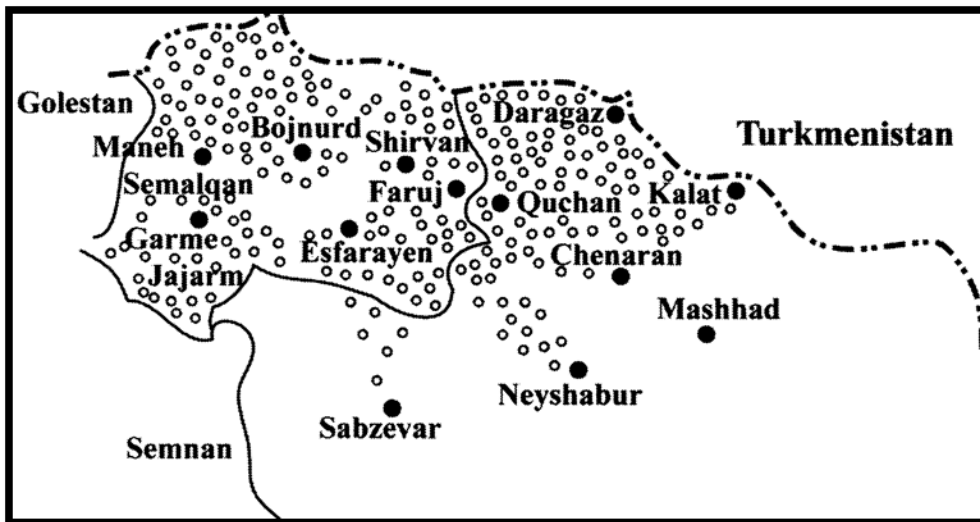
Figure 2: Author Amir Ebrahimi based on Dr.Papoli Yazdi work (فصلنامه تحقیقات جغرافیایی، سال سوم شماره 2 ، پاییز 1376، دکتر محمد حسین پاپلی یزدی)
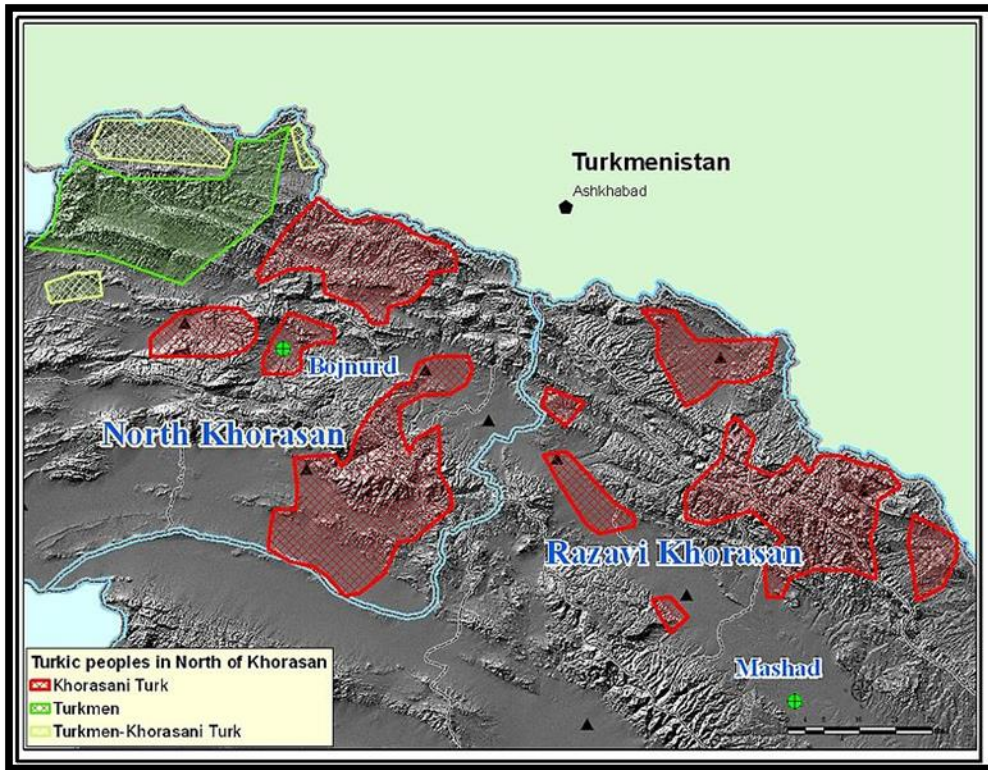
Afghan (predominantly Hazara) neighborhoods of Mashhad

- التیمور *Altaymoor* (aka Sheikh Hassan) 5,000 Afghans, 33% of population
- گلشهر *Golshahr* (aka Kabul Shahr) 35,000 to 40,000 Afghans, 50-60% of population
- ساختمان *Sakhteman* (aka Shahid Rajai) 40,000-45,000 Afghans, 25% of population

Figure 3: data taken from Abbasi-Shavazi, Mohammad Jalal, et al. "Return to Afghanistan? A Study of Afghans Living in Mashhad, Islamic Republic of Iran." (2009).

For a quick overview of the Afghan neighborhood of Golshahr listen to the following cut.

Cut a

Phonetics and Phonology

1) In Mashhadi several high frequency words have non-standard pronunciations. In general, like many dialects Mashhadi sees a lot of /ä/ → /e/ shifts as well as some /a/ → /e/ shifts.

English	Mashhadi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
no	/ney/	/nä/	نه
I/me	/ma/ or /mo/	/män/	من
present stem of verb to have	/der/	/dar/	دار [*present stem of* داشتن]
past stem of verb to go	/reft/	/ räft/	رفت [*past stem of* رفتن]
to make/do	/kerdän/	/kärdän/	کردن
to know	/den/	/dan/	دان [present stem of دانس]
salaam *greating*	/selam	/sälam/	سلام

Listen to a boy from Mashhad conjugate داشتن in the present tense.

Cut 1

Cut b /daräm yävaš yävaš miräm jelu/ → /deräm yävaš yävaš miräm jela/

Now listen to examples of other words.

Cut 2   /män/ → /ma/, /miräftäm/ → /mireftäm/

Cut 3   /nä/ → /ney/

Cut 4   /nä/ → /ney/

Cut 5   /nä/ → /ney/ Note: you may also hear 'no no' this due to English-Persian code switching and is not a normal feature of Mashhadi.

Cut 6   /räftäm/ → /reftäm/

2) In Mashhadi the letter ژ /zh/ is pronounced like a خ /j/

3) Like many accents, vowel harmony occurs in Mashhadi. Its most obvious effect is on the verb prefix می /mi/ → /mo/.

English	Mashhadi Phonetic	StandardPhonetic	Standard Script
I take	/moborom/	/mibäräm/	می برم
I eat	/moxorom/	/mixoräm/	می خورم
I want	/moxabom/	/mixabäm/	می خوابم
I make/do	/mokonom/	/mikonäm/	می کنم
I say	/mogom/	/migom/	می گویم

This process is not unique to Mashhadi, but given its frequency is often associated with the Mashhadi accent as evidenced by this joke:

Cut 7

Cut 8 /migäm/ → /mogom/
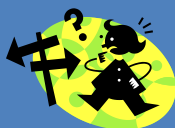
Disambiguation

Hazaragi also exhibits this feature; however Hazaragi and Mashhadi are distinguishable by a variety of features including:
- The consonant و [v] which is pronounced [w] in Hazaragi
- The consonants ق and غ which are pronounced distinctly in Hazaragi in a fashion similar to Dari, Tajiki, Yazdi, and Kermani.

4) In colloquial Persian sometimes the combination of the preposition به and an object pronoun (as in بهش → به او from کتاب را به او بدهید) can transform

This phenomenon also occurs in Mashhadi, but with some differences shown below:

English	Mashhadi Phonetic	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
to me	/bezem/	/beäm/	بهم
to you	/bezet/	/bet/	بهت
to him/her/it	/bezeš/	/beš/	بهش
to us	/bezemun/	/bemun/	بهمون
to you	/bezetun/	/betun/	بهتون
to them	/bezešun/	/bešun/	بهشون

Consider the following Romanized comment taken from an Iranian blog:

> *falsafeye ee KEYS ke beche meshadia be jaye cake megan medeni chie? haaa! nemdeni?! khob mo mogom bezet,...*
>
> "Do you know what the philosophy [behind] why a Mashhadi says 'keys' instead of cake is? Haaa! You don't know?! O.K. I'll tell you,…"

Note how the red lettered words show not only the /behet/ → /bezet/ shift but other features as well.

5) In Mashhadi the verb رفتن is often used in place of شدن

English	Mashhadi Phonetic	Mashhadi Script	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
How beautiful you look tonight!	emšäb či ziba refti!	امشب چه زیبا رفتی!	emšäb či ziba šodi	امشب چه زیبا شدی!

Cut c at the 0:05 second mark notice: /xärab šode(äst)/ → /xerab refte/

Cut d at the 0:05 second mark notice: /tämam bešä(vä)m/ → /tämam beräm/

Lexical

Below are some common Mashhadi words which differ from their Persian counterparts.

English	Mashhadi Phonetic	Mashhadi Script	Standard Script
fat	/čombeh/	چُمبه	چاق
dirty	/pälešt/	پلشت	کثیف
alley/street	/milan/	میلان	کوچه
sparrow	/čoɢok/	چُغک	گنجشک
lizard	/kelpaseh/	کلپاسه	مارمولک

acceptable, pretty	/mäɢbul/	مَقبول	قابل قبول ؛ قَشنگ
ceiling	/čoxät/	چُخت	سقف
mother in law	/xoš/	خُش	مادر زن
father in law	/xosor/	خُسُر	پدر زن
sister's husband	/äɢ mirza/	اق میرزا	شوهر خواهر
big	/kelun/	کِلون	کلان؛ بزرگ
great-grandfather	/äɢ baba/	اق بابا	بابای بابا
all of the sudden	/nasän/	ناسَن	یکدفعه؛ یهو
brother in law	/hämzoläf/	هَم زلَف	باجناق
wall	/difaʟ/	دیفال	دیوار
field, square (public), circle (traffic)	/fäläkeh/	فَلَکه	میدان
ready/prepared	/taɪar/	تیار	اماده
firm, strong, solid	/ɢaim/	قایم	محکم
get up!	/växeh/	وَخه	بلند شو
side	/säm/	سَم	سو؛ طَرف
aunt	/dizeh/	دیزه	خاله
grandfather	/baba kelun/	بابا کِلون	پدر بزرگ
grandmother	/nä nä kelun/	نه نه کِلون	مادر بزرگ
grandchild	/noseh/	نوسه	نوه
pants	/tämbun/	تمبون	شلوار(تنبان)
second wife (additional wife)	/väsäni/	وسنی	هوو / زن دیگر شوهر
complaining, whining	/čoɢoli/	چُغُلی	شکایت کردن
wood	/kändeh/	کَنده	چوب
really stupid	/mešäng/	مَشنگ	خیلی اسکل و نفهم
headscarf	/čorɢäd/	چارقَد	روسری
dish	/dowri/	دُوری	بشقاب
mosque	/mäjet/	مجد	مسجد

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SHIRAZI شیرازی
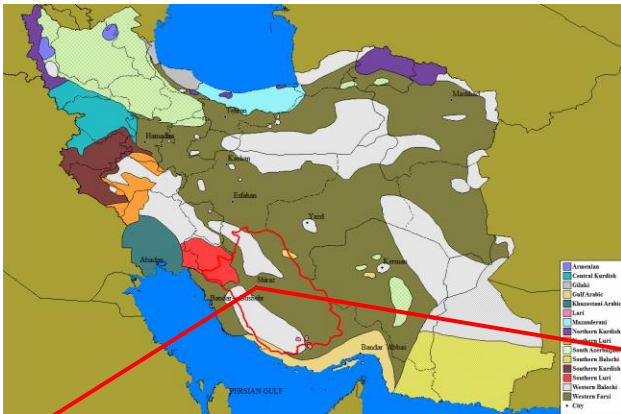
Overview

The city of Shiraz (population 1,455,073) in Fars province is often regarded as one of Iran's most important cultural centers and is referred as the city of literature and poetry. Two of Iran's most famous poets Hafez and Sa'di were from Shiraz and the tomb of each is located in the city. Due in part to the city's literary importance, the Shirazi dialect of Persian is one of the more recognizable dialects among native Persian speakers. Some people have claimed that even within the city of Shiraz itself specific neighborhoods have their own unique accents. Not much research has been conducted on these neighborhood level differences and an exploration of them is beyond the scope of this report (see Appendix 1). Additionally Shiraz was historically home to a large Jewish population which spoke their own dialect known as Judeo-Shirazi. However due to emigration and a host of other factors this dialects is no longer widely spoken (see Appendix 2).

Phonetics and Phonology

Consonant Deletion

In the Shirazi dialect, there are a number of occurrences of consonant deletion that are not common in other dialects of Persian. One notable case of this is in the demonstrative pronouns, where the final /n/ is dropped with respect to the colloquial and standard; this phenomenon also happens in Dari (Farhadi 1975, p. 117)

English	Shirazi Phonetics	Colloquial Persian	Standard Persian
this	/i/	این	این
that	/u/	اون	ان

/ä/ → /e/

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
to make/do	/kerdän/	/kärdän/	کردن
brother	/beradär/	/bäradär/	برادر
one hundred	/sed/	/säd/	سد
clever	/zereng/	/zeräng/	زرنگ

(Sepasdar 2009 pg 60)

Cut 1 /käsi/ → /kesi/ 'anyone' Note: only the second speaker is Shirazi

By far the most salient example of this shift is seen in /kärdän/ → /kerdän/ which is very common.

Cut 2 /hänuz ärusi näkärde budäm/ →/ (h)änuz ärusi näkerde budäm/ 'I hadn't gotten married yet'

Cut 3 /äz pošt hämle kärdän(d)/ → /äz pošt hämle kerdän(d)/ 'they attacked [us] from behind'

Cut 4 /män ke ärz kärdäm xedmätetan/ → /män ke ärz kerdäm xedmätun/ 'it's like I told you'

Cut 5 /xub päs četore komäkät mikärd/ →/xub päs četowre komäkät mikerd/ 'ok then how did s/he help you'

This shift is not as common as it is in other dialects it. Below are some high frequency words in which /ä/ does *not* become /e/ in Shirazi, but might in one or more other dialect.

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
from	/äz/	/äz/	از
me, I	/män/	/män/	من
if	/ägär/	/ägär/	اگر
son, boy	/pesär/	/pesär/	پسر
to go	/räftän/	/räftän/	رفتن
to hit	/zädän/	/zädän/	زدن

Occasionally the opposite phenomenon occurs causing /e/ → /ä/

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Colloquial Phonetic	Colloquial Script
beggar	/gäda/	/geda/	گدا
white	/säfid/	/sefid/	سفید

(Tavakoli 2011) pg 121

/a/ → /o/

The long vowel /a/ becomes the short vowel /o/ in final position of many words.

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
father, dude	/babo/	/baba/	بابا
top, high	/balo/	/bala/	بالا
leg, foot	/po/	/pa/	پا
fight	/dävo/	/däva/	دوا
with	/bo/	/ba/	با
mama	/mamo/	/mama/	ماما
until	/to/	/ta/	تا
brother, dude	/kako/	/kaka/	کاکا
now	/halo/	/hala/	حالا

(Adopted from Sepasdar 2009 pg 38-39)

Cut 6 /koja/ → /kojo/ 'where'

Cut 7 In this cut a Shirazi woman (first speaker) is talking to Tehrani woman and she tries to get her to pronounce کخا with a Shirazi accent. The conscious awareness of this phenomenon highlights its saliency.

Cut 8 /inja/ → /injo/ 'here'

Cut 9 /kaka/ → /kako/ 'brother, dude' (See Lexical section below)

Cut 10 /čära/ → /čero/ 'why'

This phenomenon affects common religious exclamations involving the word الله 'God'

Cut 11 /bärkällo/

Cut 12 /išällo/ cf. standard *Cut 13*

Cut 14 /mošällo/ cf. standard *Cut 15*

Higher prevalence of /ow/

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
shoe	/kowš/	/käfš/	كفش
water	/ow/	/ab/	آب
sun	/awftob/	/aftab/	آفتاب
cow	/gow/	/gav/	گاو
summer	/towessun/	/tabestan/	تابستان

(Sepasdar 2009) pg 61-63

Higher prevalence of the final diphthong /oy/

This diphthong can be caused by a variety of mergers including:

/ai/ → /oy/ e.g. /čaidän/ چاییدن 'to cool' → /čoydän/

/aye/ → /oy/ e.g. /jaye/ جای 'a place' → /joy/

/ahe/ → /oy/ e.g. /rahe/ راهِ 'place + *ezafe*' → /roy/

/ahi/ → /oy/ e.g. /danešgahi/ دانشگاهی 'collegiate' → /danešgoy/

(Sepasdar 2009 pg. 63-64)

Cut 16 /nämiai/ → /nämioy/ "you're not coming"

Cut 17 listen to the pronunciation of /bugu(i)/ '(you) say!' → /bugway/

Morphology

Pronoun + Object Particle را

The combination of pronouns and the object particle را results in /ra / → /re/ (also noted for Tehrani in the Introduction under Object Marking) (Sepasdar 2008 pg. 73-74)

Pronoun + Object Particle را	*Colloquial*		*Shirazi*	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/mära/	/mara/	/mäne/	/mare/
2nd	/tora/	/šomara/	/tore/	/šomore/
3rd	/ura/	/anhara/	/ure/	/inare/

Cut 18 /tura mišinasän(d)/ → /ture mišinasän/ 'they recognize you'

Definiteness

The suffix /u/ can be used to express definiteness or for attribution or exaggeration (Sepasdar 2009 pg. 77)

English	**Shirazi Phonetic**	**Standard Phonetic**	**Standard Script**
pencil + *suffix*	/medadu/	/medad/	مداد
book + *suffix*	/ketabo/	/ketab/	کتاب
girl, daughter + *suffix*	/doxtäru/	/doxtär/	دختر

When a word ends in /e/ then this suffix becomes → /ow/

English	**Shirazi Phonetic**	**Standard Phonetic**	**Standard Script**
home + *suffix*	/xunow/	/xune/	جونه
shoulder + *suffix*	/šunow/	/šune/	شونه
bowl + *suffix*	/kassow/	/kasse/	کاسه

Copula

In colloquial Persian sometimes the present copula is contracted. Consider these examples from a Romanized comment from a Yahoo forum:

bazi az adama kheili khooban va bazi az oona kheili bad amma jaleb injast ke ta adam bad vojood nadashte bashe adame khoobb ham

In the first example *khooban* '[people] are good' the 3.PL copula /-änd/ → /-än/

In the second example *injast* 'here [it] is' the 1.SG copula is contracted /inja äst/ → /injast/

In Shirazi a different sort of contraction occurs. Consider the following two examples:

Cut 19 /koja äst/ → /kojan/ cf. حالا بگو ببینم این رامین کجاست که رفته سرت هوو آورده *Cut*

"Ok now explain to me where this Ramin [fella] is who's gone off and gotten a second wife"

Cut 20 /hämin ja äst/ → /hämin jan/ 'this (very) place' cf. منزل آقای رحمانی که میگم همین‌جاست؟

"Is the house of the Mr. Rahmani who I'm talking about right here?"

Lexical

Reduplication of چه چه

In colloquial speech چه چه 'what what!' is sometimes repeated for emphasis or to express anger or surprise. In Shirazi this reduplication is very common and can be used in a variety of ways.

Question Word

Cut 21 /či či/ 'what [is it]?' Note: the male voice in this cut does not have a Shirazi accent.

Cut 22 /berey či či/ 'why *lit. for what*' Note: the male voice in this cut does not have a Shirazi accent.

Rhetorical Questions

Cut 23 /äsleš dige či či e/ '[then] what about the original!'*

Cut 24 /midun[i] či či e/ 'you know what?'

Object

Cut 25 /či či kar bokonim/ '*subjunctive* what [should] we do'

Cut 26 /či či mixore/ 'what does [s/he] eat'

*Note: the چه in /či Gäd[är] Gäšäng e/ 'how beautiful!' is an adverb and is perhaps the only usage of چه which is not reduplicated in Shirazi.

Family Terms

People from Shiraz are known for their use of the word /kaka/کاکا which is an arcane term for big brother that has largely fallen out of use elsewhere in Iran (کاکا is still used in parts of Afghanistan to mean paternal uncle) (see the online version of the Dehkhoda dictionary). Because of the aforementioned /a/ → /o/ shift Shirazis often pronounce the word as/kako/.

Cut 27 in this cut a Shirazi woman is talking about her older brother /äz kakae män/

In thick Shirazi accents sometimes سیاه کاکا or کاکا سیاه is used

Cut 28 /sia kaka/

It can also be used in other ways similar to the various uses of the words بابا، جانم، عزیزم

Cut 29 in this a Shirazi man uses it twice when talking to his little sister.

Note: the word for sister-in-law is /zän kaka/ زن کاکا

The word for sister in Shirazi is آباجی /abaji/ which like کاکا is an antiquated term that has largely (but not entirely) fallen out of use. It can be preceded by another title such as ماه، شاه، خانم، گل and is sometimes shortened to /baji/ which has cognates in other languages such as Azeri. [(Behruzi and Naghi 1969) pg. 1 and 48]

Cut 30 in this cut a Shirazi man addresses his sister /šabaji/ i.e. شاه آباجی

The word عمو/ämu/ 'paternal uncle' in standard Persian is used in to Shirazi for a variety of purposes and its meaning is mediated primarily through intonation. It is similar to the colloquial use of بابا in Persian or 'dude/bro' in American English.

Cut 31 /voy ämu/ 'What? Really?'

Cut 32 /nä ämu/ 'What? Get outta here!'

Cut 33 /nätärs ämu/ 'Dude, don't be scared'

Greetings and Farewells

In Shiraz the word باک /bak/ means 'sickness, fault, deficiency, problem' and is commonly used in the rapid fire exchange of greetings known in Persian as احوالپرسی. [(Behruzi and Naghi 1969) pg 53]

Cut 34 /bakit ni[st]/ 'are you ok?

Now listen to two more examples in context:

In this cut a woman from Shiraz (second speaker) calls a Tehrani woman and they exchange greetings. Note that the Tehrani woman says that she recognizes her because of her accent.

Cut 35 /haletun xubi xan[e]vade mo[h]täräm xubän[d] sälamäten bakitun nis/

'Are you good? Are your respected family [members] good? Are you healthy? Any problems?'

Cut 36 /xubän bakišun nis/ '…are (they) good, they got any problems?'

A way of saying goodbye in Shirazi is کاری باری /kari bari/

Cut 37

Pahlavi Verbs

شنفتن /šenoftän/ 'to hear' cf. standard شنيدن

Cut 38 /šenofti či či goftäm/ 'did you hear what I said?'

Cut 39 /näšenofe betär e/ 'it's better he doesn't hear'

اساندن /esandän/ 'to get'

Cut 40 /mixai beri nun busuni/ 'you want to go get bread'

Additional Vocabulary

English	Shirazi	Standard
longing	آرمه	ويار
accustomed	آمخته	عادت کرده
dear	ببه	عزيز
cry, yell	جار	بانگ و فرياد
conflict	جَر	دعوا و کشمکش
fast	چِبَری	فوری- سريع
become fat	حال اومدن	چاق شدن
lizard	کل پوک	مارمولک
girlfriend	دولک	دوست دختر

Appendix 1 Neighborhood Differences

It has been postulated that Shirazi is in fact comprised of three distinct accents; شيرازی‌ميانه (Midtown Shirazi), شيرازی پودنکی (Pudonaki Shirazi), and سيرازی قصردشتی (Qasredashti Shirazi). These accents are isolated to specific neighborhoods in Shiraz. The reason for the existence of different Shirazi accents is primarily due to variety in the demographic layout of the city. Below are a few examples from Persian Wikipedia:

English	Qasredashti Shirazi	Pudonaki Shirazi	Middle Shirazi	Colloquial Persian	Standard Persian
For what?	بری چی؟	سی چی چی؟	بری چی چی؟	برای چی؟	برای چه؟
Look	نيگا	هيکو	سيکو	ببين	بيبين
Where is the bakery?	ای ورا نون وُیی کجان؟	نون وی کوجونه؟	نونوُیی کجان؟	نانوایی کجاست؟	نانوایی کجا است؟

Appendix 2 Judeo-Shirazi

Yarshater (1974) notes that Shiraz has the second largest Jewish population after Tehran and provides a phonetically transcribed sample of Judeo-Shirazi. Following are a few observations on aspects of the

Jewish dialect of Shiraz. Note that depending on social factors, Jewish Shirazis' accent will not necessarily differ from that of other residents of the city.

In addition to a shift in the pronunciation of long vowels, many short vowels in Judeo-Shirazi are altered as well. For example, in verbs that include a short "a" (◌َ), this vowel changes to the short vowel "e" (◌ِ).

English	Shirazi Phonetic	Standard Phonetic	Standard Orthographic
to read	/xunden/	/xandän/	خواندن
to be	/buden/	/budän/	بودن
to do	/kerden/	/kärdän/	کردن

Cu 41 With the final verb in this cut we hear /xundend/

Cut 42 In this cut the speaker says /budend/

Cut 43 The final verb in this cut is pronounced /kerdend/

The following cuts are from an 80-year old Jewish Shirazi currently living in Los Angeles. She exhibits a feature whereby /s/ is realized as /θ/ as in English 'thin'. This feature has also been noted variably in the Judeo-Persian of Esfahan (Stilo 2007).

Compare this speaker's /muθälmuno/ to standard مسلمانان *Cut 44* /mosälmanan/ 'Muslims'

Compare this speaker's /farθi/ to standard فارسی *Cut 45* /farsi/ 'Persian'

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YAZDI یزدی

Yazdi 🔊👂 *Quick I.D.*

- /mi-/ ➔ /mo-/
- /ä/ ➔ /e/ and /kerdän/
- غ ≠ ق
- /nä/ ➔ /ney/
- Intonation (often initial stress)
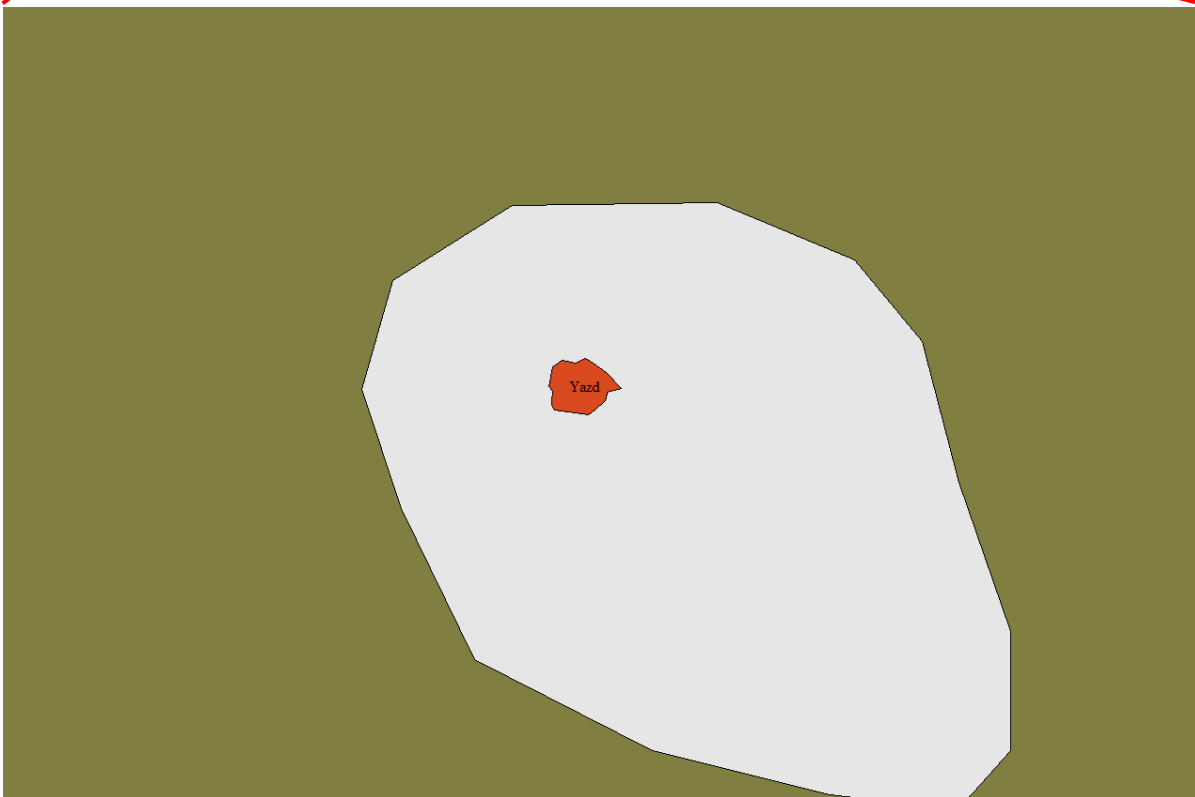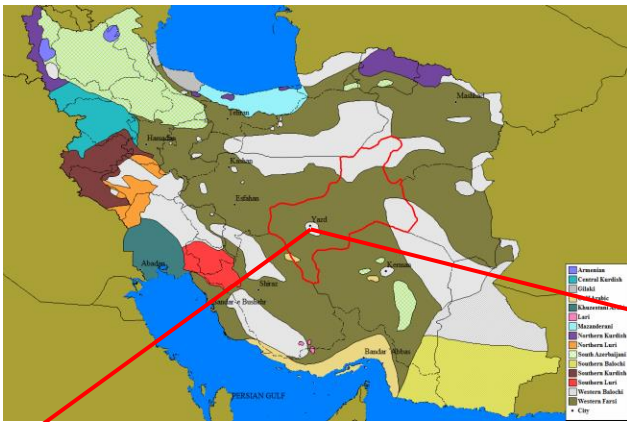
Overview

The city of Yazd (population 423,006 according to the 2006 census) is situated between the Kavir and Lut deserts in central Iran and is the capital of Yazd province. It is famous for its unique architecture, underground canals, and for being the hometown of Ayatollah Mohammad Taghi Mesbah Yazdi. Historically Yazd, like Kerman, was a cradle of Zoroastrian culture and is still home to a population of Zoroastrians who speak their own language known variously as Gabri, Behdinâni, or Dari (not too be confused with the name of the Persian spoken in Afghanistan, Farudi & Toosarvandani 2004). Today this language is nearly extinct, but it is still spoken by several thousand people. Like most large cities on the central Iranian plateau Yazd's population is overwhelmingly Persian, and the surrounding inhospitable geography has historically limited language contact from other groups. While several districts in the province claim distinct accents (Ardakan and Bafq for example), the accent spoken in the city of Yazd is the most famous and is the subject of this chapter. Given their proximity, Yazdi shares similarities with Kermani, and and they are most easily distinguished by certain lexical peculiarities.

Stress

One of the most distinct aspects of Yazdi is its unusual stress pattern. Recall that in standard Persian lexical stress almost always falls on the last syllable. There are a few exceptions to this (Windfuhr 1997, pp. 684-685):

1) verbal prefix /mi-/ is stressed
2) the negative marker /nä-/ is stressed
3) in certain discourse markers such as /yäni/ 'namely', /monteha/ 'although', and /aya/ *interrogative particle* stress falls on the first syllable
4) /-ra/ is not stressed even when it is the final syllable in a word
5) personal endings and object clitics are not stress even when they are the final in a word.
6) the indefinite marker /-i/ is not stressed

By contrast, in Yazdi lexical stress is often initial which helps contribute to its unique intonation. Listen to the following cuts to get the general idea:

Cut a

Cut b

Cut c

Now listen to a Tehrani and Yazdi pronunciation of the two words:

Cut d Yazdi موجود /mujud/ 'existence'
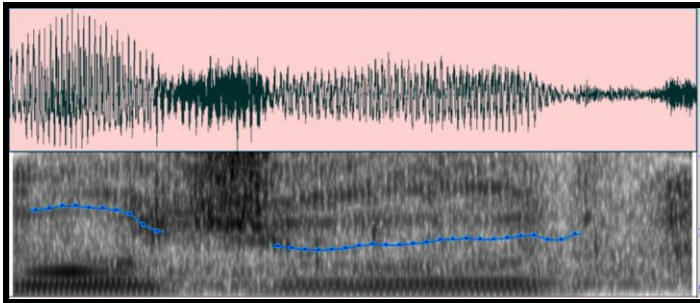
Cut e Tehrani موجود /mujud/ 'existence'
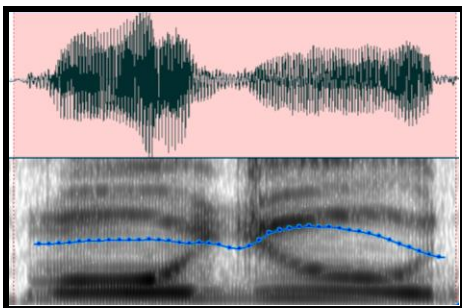
Cut f Yazdi بالاخره / beläxäre/ 'finally'
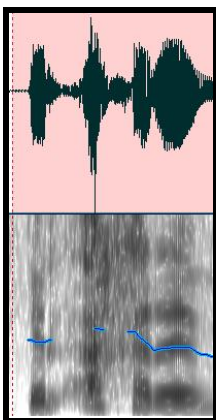
Cut g Tehrani بالاخره / beläxäre/ 'finally'
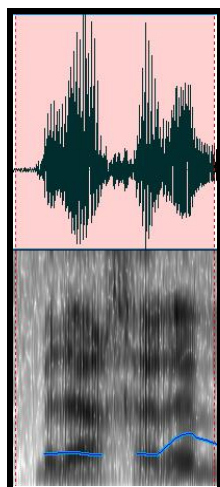
Phonetics and Phonology

2) غ and ق which in standard Iranian Persian are typically indistinguishable are pronounced differently from one another in Yazdi.

غ → [ɣ]
ق → [q]

Note: this is not unique to Yazdi as these two letters are distinctly pronounced in several Persian dialects such as Abadani, Kermani, KAP, and KAAP.

Listen to this cut of a Tehrani man saying the word غیبت

Cut 1 /ɢeybät/ 'absence'

Now listen to a Yazdi pronounce غیبت

Cut 2 /ɣeybät/ 'absence'

Listen to this cut of a Tehrani man saying the word پیغام

Cut 3 /peyɢam/ 'message'

Now listen to a Yazdi pronounce پیغام

Cut 4 /peyɣam/ 'message'

Listen to this cut of a Tehrani man saying قند

Cut 5 /ɢänd/ 'candy'

Now listen to a Yazdi pronounce قند

Cut 6 /qänd/ 'candy'

Listen to this cut of a Tehrani man saying قرض

Cut 7 /ʁärz/ 'debt'

Now listen to a Yazdi pronounce قرض

Cut 8 /qärz/ 'debt'

3) Final /z/ is often dropped

English	Yazdi Phonetics	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
today	/emru/	/emruz/	امروز
yesterday	/periru/	/päriruz/	پریروز
yesterday	/diru/	/diruz/	دیروز
yet, still	/hänu/	/hänuz/	هنوز

4) Vowel harmony/assimilation occurs in verbs causing:

English	Yazdi Phonetics	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script
I eat	moxoräm	mixoräm	می خورم
I kill	mokošäm	mikošäm	می کشم
I do/make	mokonäm	mikonäm	می کنم

Cut 9 /hal mikonim/ → /hal mokonim/ 'we will have a good time'

Cut 10 /mikošäm/ → /mokošäm/ 'I kill'

Note: this sort of verbal vowel harmony is not unique to Yazdi. Recall that it also happens in Mashhadi, however in Mashhadi the assimilation often also effects the personal ending. Compare:

Mashhadi Phonetics	Yazdi Phonetics	Standard Phonetics
mokošom	mokošäm	mikošäm

Cut h /jälbe täväju mikonäd/ → /jälbe täväju mokone/ 'It draws attention'

5) Some high frequency words are pronounced distinctly in Yazdi. Among them are:

English	Yazdi Phonetics	Yazdi Script	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script

English	Yazdi Phonetic	Yazdi Script	Standard Script
this way	/itär/	ایطر	/in tur/ این طور (این گونه)
other	/dia/	دِيه	/digär/ دیگر
namely, meaning	/äni/	يَنی	/yäni/ یعنی
must	/basi/	باس , باسی	/bayäd/ باید
one	/yäta/, /yätä/	يَتا	/yek/ یک
a little	/yä xude/	يَه خودِه	/yek xorde/ یک خورده
this	/i/	ای	/in/ این
a little	/kämäki/	کُمَکی	/kämi/ کمی
to make/do	/kerdän/	کِردَن	/kärdän/ کردن
no	/ney/	نه	/nä/ نه
talk	/gäf/	گف	گپ, حرف , صحبت

Listen to the following short cuts. See if you can identify any of the above words:

Cut i /yäki digär äz.../ → /yeki di[ä] äz.../

Cut 11 /yäkta/ → /yätä/ 'one'

Cut 12 /yäkta/ → /yäta/ 'one'

Cut 13 /xušäm nämišäväd/ → /xešäm nämiše/ Note: in standard Persian you are more likely to hear someone say /xušäm nämia(yä)d/ instead of /nämišäväd/

Cut 14 /digär če käshaye.../ → /diä če käshaye.../ 'what other [kinds of] people…'

Cut 15 /nä/ → /ney/ 'no'

Cut 16 //četuri tänzim mikärdänd/ → /četuri tänzim mikerdänd/ 'how would they regulate…"

Lexical

Below are some more common words used in Yazdi:

English	Yazdi Phonetic	Yazdi Script	Standard Script
like, similar to	/jure/ or /jura/	جورِه	مانند
to push	/teläki dadän/	تَلَکی دادن	هل دادن
straight	/taras/	تاراس	یک راست ,مستقیم
ragged, torn up	/jendär jendär /	جِندر جندر	تکه تکه، پاره پاره
to jolt, jerk	/jer jer kerdän/	جِرجر کردن	تکان خوردن
eye	/xeš/ or /xäš/	چَش	چشم
lunch	/čašte/ or /čašta/	چاشته	غذای نیم روز، ناهار
fire	/xälvareh/	خلواره	آتش
slow, slowly	/homvarok/	هُموارُک	آهسته,آرام
converse, opposite	/päsvarun/	پَسوارون	برعکس
dirty, polluted	/pačol/	پچل	کثیف,آلوده

good for him	/xäšeš/	خِشِش	خوش به حالش
neat, orderly	/sekke/ or /sekka/	سکّه	منظم و مرتب
lay down	/läm bedi/	لم بِدی	دراز بکشی
stomach	/kom/	گُم	شکم
Yazdi's speaking with a non-Yazdi accent	/čäpuni gäf zädän/	چِپونی گَف زدن	صحبت کردن یزدیها به لهجۀ غیر یزدی
good	/xäš/ or /xeš/	خَش	خوب

Here is a video clip giving some special Yazdi words and their Persian equivalents.

Cut 17

Judeo-Yazdi

Like Zoroastrian Dari (Farudi & Toosarvandani 2004), Judeo-Yazdi exhibits ergative behavior (see introduction) in past tense transitive sentences . Gindin (2003a) provides the following examples differentiating between between the morphology (in bold) used to express the subject/agent used in present tense and past intransitive sentences in contrast to past transitive sentences:

Tense	**Transitivity**	**Judeo-Yazdi**	**Translation**
Present	Intransitive	(mo)aš**in**	I go
	Transitive	(mo)aker**in**	I do
Past	Intransitive	(mo)šer**in**	I went
	Transitive	(mo)e**m**ka	I did

Judeo-Yazdi is part of the Central Dialects, which are considered "Median" or Northwest Iranian, in contrast to the standard language which is Southwest Iranian (Gindin 2003a, Windfuhr 2009). One reflex of this is the correspondence between some /d/'s in standard which correspond with /b/ in Judeo-Yazdi: در /där/ ~ /bär/ 'door', دیگر /digär/ ~ /bi/ 'another'.

Gindin (2003b) describes the presence of a definite plural /ona, una, na/ beside the unmarked plural /a/ (cognate with standard ها /ha/) in Judeo-Yazdi. The different plurals can occur on the same words, e.g. /tämam-e ädäma/ 'all the men' vs. /tämam-e ädämona/ 'all the men'. Gindin notes the similarity of the definite plural with the Pashto plural, but feels it is more likely to be an independent development that combines the inanimate /ha/ with the animate /an/ from the standard.

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http://yazd.irib.ir/

http://www.ichto.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=280

Advanced Dialects

ARMENIAN ارمانی

Armenian 👂 *Quick I.D.*
- no /ä/, /ä/ → /a/
- ق and غ → /ɣ/
- /ə/
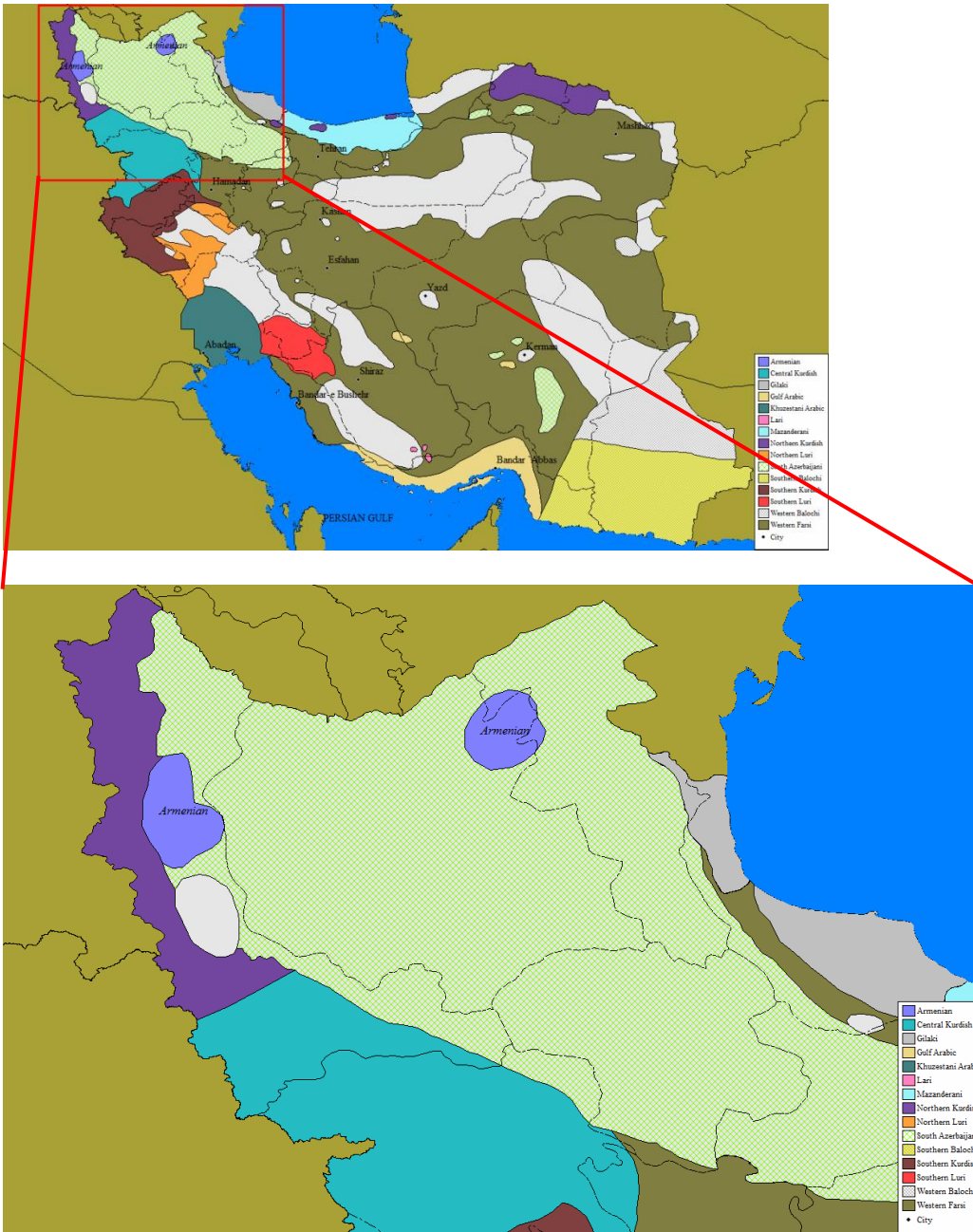
Overview

Armenian (Persian ارمنی /ärmäni/ Armenian /häyeren/ is an Indo-European language spoken by approximately 6 million people in the Republic of Armenian as well as by a widespread diaspora in the former Soviet Union, Europe, Middle East, and America. Armenian is considered a "pLoricentric" language meaning that more than one standard variety exists. In the case of Armenian the two standard varieties are Eastern and Western Armenian, however the two are generally considered to be mutually intelligible. Western Armenian was historically spoken by the Armenian population in what is modern day Turkey, but since the Armenian genocide in 1915, Western Armenia has been associated with variety spoken by the diaspora. Eastern Armenian is the official language of the Republic of Armenia, and is also spoken in the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and by the Armenian population of Iran. In addition to these two standard forms other dialects exist but they are outside of the purview of this overview. Within Iran itself several dialects of Armenian are spoken, however the 'Tehrani' dialect is the most common and the de facto standard (Nercissians 2001).

Armenians in Iran

Armenian and Persian communities have been in contact for thousands of years, however the contemporary Armenian diaspora in Iran traces its roots back nearly 400 years to the Safavid Empire. Following the annexation of eastern portions of the Ottoman Empire by Shah Abbas, a large number of Armenians were forcibly resettled to Persia. At the time of the Islamic Revolution the population of Armenians in Iran was approximately 270,000 however that population has since declined to roughly 80,000 people.

Unlike other minorities in Iran such as Kurds, Baluchi, Azeris, and Arabs, whose populations are concentrated on Iran's borders and are adjacent to ethno-linguistically similar groups, the majority of Iranian-Armenians do not live near the Iranian-Armenian border as one might expect. While pockets of Armenians can be found throughout the country the majority live in urban centers such as Tehran, Esfahan, and Tabriz (Nercissians 2001). Within these cities their population tends to be concentrated in certain neighborhoods such as جلفا Julfa in the city of Esfahan or in neighborhoods in Tehran such as ونک Vanak, نارمک Narmak, and مجیدیه , Majidiyeh.

Armenians are both a linguistic and religious minority in Iran. Like other officially tolerated religious minorities in Iran such as the Jews and Zoroastrians, their Christian identity has been cited as the primary factor for the cohesion of their communities and the preservation of their culture and language. Unlike other linguistic minorities whose proficiency of their mother tongue may be variable, Armenians are generally proficient in the Armenian language and regularly use it to communicate with other Armenians (Nercissians 2001). Armenians are allowed to teach Armenian in their schools in language and religious classes, however the rest of the curriculum is taught in Persian (Vossoughi and Ebrahimi 2003).

The presence or absence of an Armenian accent varies widely among speakers. The majority of Armenians are middle class, educated, and urbanized, which can sometimes result in a very muted accent. Many Armenians may speak Persian with no discernible accent while others manifest certain of the below features, but not all. As is the case with Kurdish speakers, trilingualism is not uncommon in Azeri speaking regions such as Tabriz and Urmia (Fereidoni and Jahandideh 2010).

Figure 5 Armenian neighborhood in Esfahan known variously as جلفا "[New] Julfa" (Նոր Ջուղա "Nor Juġa" in Armenian)
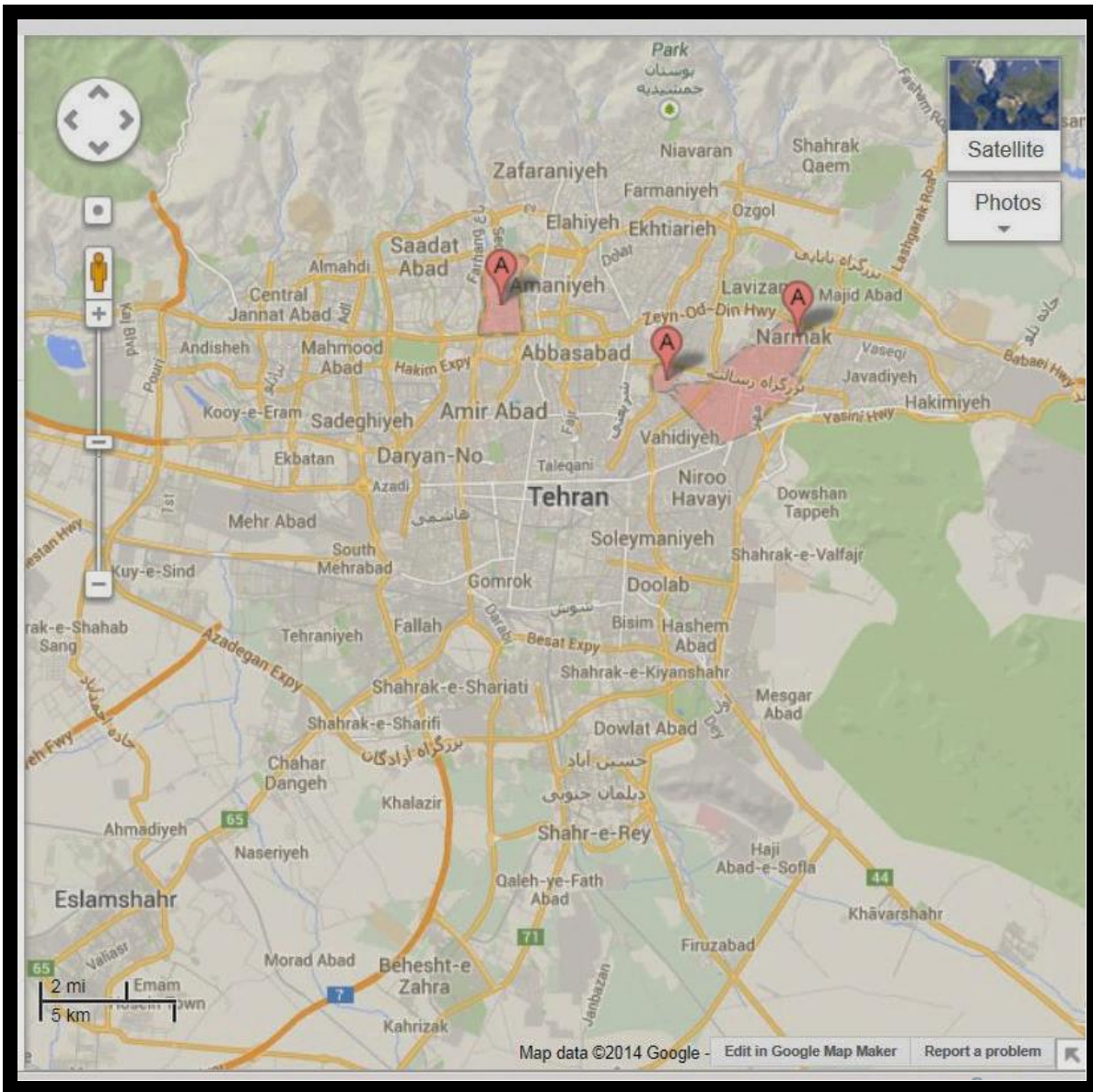
Figure 6 Three Armenian neighborhoods in Tehran. From west to east: ونک Vanak, مجیدیه Majidiyeh, and نارمک Narmak

The Armenian Language

Alphabet

In the 19th century Armenian was written in what is known as the "Traditional Armenian Orthography". This orthography is still used by the Armenian diaspora in Iran. In the 1920s the Soviet Union simplified the script into the form that is currently used in the Republic of Armenia. This alphabet is known as "Reformed Armenian Orthography".
Video Cut 1 Armenian alphabet

Phonetics and Phonology

Vowels

	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded		Unrounded	Rounded
Close	i ḥ i				u nɪ u
Mid	ɛ ḭ, ḽ[3] e, ē		ə ṇ ë		ɔ n, o[3] o, ò
Open			ɑ ɯ a		

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Armenian

Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Nasal		m (ս́)	n (ʈ)						
Stop	aspirated	pʰ (փ)		tʰ (թ)			kʰ (ք)		
	voiceless[4]	p (պ)		t (ın)			k (կ)		
	voiced	b (բ)		d (դ)			g (գ)		
Affricate	aspirated			tsʰ (g)	tʃʰ (ջ)				
	voiceless			ts (ծ)	tʃ (ճ)				
	voiced			dz (ձ)	dʒ (ջ)				
Fricative	voiceless	f ($)		s (ս)	ʃ (շ)		χ (խ)	h (h, յ)[5]	
	voiced	v (վ, ւ, ни, ն)[6]		z (զ)	ʒ (ժ)		ʁ (ղ)		
Approximant				ɹ~ɾ (ռ)[7]		j (յ, ḭ, ḥ, ḽ)[8]			
Tap									
Trill				r (ռ)					
Lateral				l (լ)					

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Armenian

- Persian lacks the following sounds: /ts/, /tsʰ/, and /dz/
- Persian has both a tap [r] and a trilled [rr], however unlike Eastern Armenian and Kurdish, they are not distinct phonemes.

- In Eastern Armenian there is a three way contrast between the voiced, aspirated, and voiceless variants of certain sounds (Zamir 1982).

Voiceless Sound	Armenian Letter	Aspirated Sound	Armenian Letter	Voiced Sound	Armenian Letter
/p/	պ	/pʰ/	փ	/b/	բ
/k/	կ	/kʰ/	ք	/g/	գ
/t/	տ	/tʰ/	թ	/d/	դ
/č /	ճ	/č ʰ/	չ	/j/	ջ
/ts/	ծ	/tsʰ/	ց	/dz/	ձ

Persian has all of these sounds, however the sounds in the aspirated column are merely allophones of the corresponding voiceless sounds. For a brief explanation of the difference watch this clip *Video Clip 2*

Morphology

While Eastern Armenian is an Indo-European language it is not an Iranian language, and we will not discuss its morphology in depth. Below are a few major features:
- Nouns can take seven cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, and locative.
- /mi/ is the indefinite article and it precedes the noun.
- the definite marker is formed by suffix /-ə/ if the final sound is a consonant and an /-n/ if the final sound is a vowel.
- Adjectives precede the noun they modify, but are not declined.
- Like English Armenian is Subject-Verb-Object however in its spoken Iranian variants it is often SOV.

Lexical

Common Discourse Markers

The following is a list of some words and discourse markers used by Iranian Armenians. Some transcriptions are approximate.

Arm. Script	Arm. Romanized	English Equivalent	Persian Equivalent	Example In context
լավ	lav	o.k./good	خوب	*Cut 1* *Cut 2*
չէ	ch'e	no *informal*	نه	*Cut 3*
վատ չէ	**vat** ch'e	not **bad**	بد نیست	*Cut 4*
հա	ha	yeah, oh	بله/ها	*Cut 5*
գիտես	gites	you know/you see	می دانید/ببین(ید)	*Cut 6*
դա հիանալի	da **hianali**	that's great!	بسیار عالی/ خیلی خوب	*Cut 7*
ճիշտ	chisht	correct/true/right	درست	*Cut 8*
հետո	heto	then	پس	*Cut 9*

Armenian	Romanization	English	Persian	Cut
շատ	shat	very/much	خیلی	*Cut 10* *Cut 11*
ինչու	inch'u	why?	چرا	*Cut 12*
ինչպես	inch'pes	how are you?	چطوری؟	*Cut 13*
Ինչ նորություն կա	Inch' norut'yun ka	what's **new**?	چه خبر؟	*Cut 14*
հետաքրքիր	hetak'rk'ir	interesting/strange	عجب/جالب	*Cut 15*
եւ այլն	yev ayln	etc.	و غیره	*Cut 16*
հիմա	hima	now	حالا	*Cut 17*
Իհարկե	Iharke	of course	البته	*Cut 18*
փառք Աստծո	p'arrk' Asttso	thank God!	خدا را شکر	*Cut 19*
այո	ayo	yes (*formal*)	بله	NA

Numbers
Cut 20

#	Eastern Aremenian	Romanization
1	մեկ	mek
2	երկու	yerkoo
3	երեք	yerek
4	չորս	chorss
5	հինգ	hing
6	վեց	vets
7	յոթ	yote
8	ութ	oot
9	ինը	eenë
10	տասը	tahssë

Greetings
This to this quick video that explains some of the common greetings used in Eastern Armenian.
Cut 20a

English	Eastern Armenian	Romanization
Hello	բարև	barev
Goodbye (formal)	Ցտեսություն	tstesutyun
Goodbye (informal)	Հաջողությո'ւն	Hajoghutyun
Good morning	բարի լույս	Baree louys
Good afternoon (Good day)	բարի օր	Baree or
Good evening	բարի երեկո	Baree yereko
Good night	բարի գիշեր	Baree geesher
How are you? (informal)	Ինչպես ես	Eenchpess ess?
How are you? (formal)	Ինչպես եք	Eenchpess ek?

I'm fine, thank you (formal)	Ես Լավ եմ, շնորհակալություն	Yes lav em, Shnorhakalootyoon
I'm fine, thank you (informal)	Լավ, մերսի	Lav, mersi
Please	խնդրեմ	Khntrem
Thank you	շնորհակալություն	Shnorhakalootyoon
Welcome	բարի գալուստ	Baree galoost

http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Armenian/Common_Phrases

Listen to the following two cuts in which two Iranian-Armenians greet each other in Armenian. Listen for some of the above greetings as well as Persian cognates.

Cut 21

Cut 21a

Now Listen to the following cut of two Iranian-Armenians greeting each other in Armenian.
Cut 22

Armenian Accented Persian

A Note on Competing Influences

As noted in the introduction, the Armenian population is scattered throughout cities in Iran such as Tehran, Esfahan, and Tabriz. With that in mind be aware that the Persian accent of Armenians may also be influenced by the regional accent of the place they live (such as Esfahan) or by another language in the area (such as Azeri in Tabriz).

Phonetics and Phonology

Zamir (1982, p. 367) compares the Standard Persian and Armenian Persian vowel systems. We discuss some of the details below.
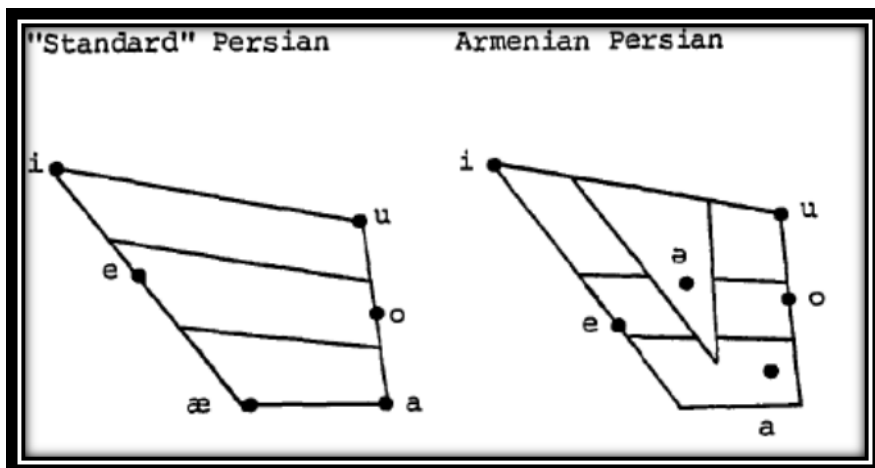
/ä/ → /a/

Probably the most stereotypical feature of AAP is the tendency for /ä/ → /a/. As you can see in the above chart in AAP the short /ä/ and long /ɒ/ in Persian have a tendency to merge into /a/ sound.

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
bad	/bad/	/bäd/
3.sg came	/amad/	/ɒmäd/
wisdom	/aɣl/	/äɢl/
coffee	/ɣahve/	/ɢähve/
color	/rang/	/räng/
cloth	/raxt/	/räxt/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 370

Consider the following examples:

Cut 23 /maniš/ معنی‌اش 'its meaning' cf. standard pronunciation *Cut 24* /mäʔni/ Note: that /ʔ/ in Cut 23 is deleted, however this phenomenon is typical of colloquial Persian and should not be interpreted as being an indicator of AAP.

Cut 25 /namigi/ نمیگی 'you don't say' cf. standard pronunciation *Cut 26* negative particle /nä-/

Cut 27/ɣam/ غم 'sadness' cf. standard pronunciation *Cut 28* /ɢäm/

Cut 29 /hamašun/ همه‌شان 'all of them' cf. standard pronunciation *Cut 30* /hämä/

Cut 31 /masi/ مسیح 'Messiah/Christ' cf. standard pronunciation *Cut 32* /mäsi/

/ə/

AAP has an /ə/ (known as schwa) which sounds like the final vowel in the English 'sofa'. It has been described as having: "a relatively distinct auditory impression, almost the same as the German schwa but somewhat more tense and slightly higher (towards the English /a/)." (Zamir 1982) pg. 368

/är/ → /ər/

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
doll	/ərusak/	/ärusäk/
pain	/dərd/	/därd/
3.sg did/made	/kərd/	/kärd/
man	/mərd/	/märd/
death	/mərg/	/märg/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 370

initial /e/ → /ye/

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
connection	/yertebat/	/ertebɒt/
human	/yensan/	/ensɒn/

essay	/yenša/	/enšɒ/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 370

Stress

In standard Persian the last syllable is usually stressed, however an exception to this rule are verbs with prefixes such as /mi-,be-,nä-/ in which case the stress is initial. Sometimes Armenian Accented Persian does not observe these exceptions resulting in the following:

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
I go	/miravˈam/	/ˈmirävüm/
I don't do/make	/nämikunˈam/	/ˈnämikonäm/
2.pl imp. you take!	/bebarˈid/	/ˈbebärid/
3.pl subj. they don't do/make	/näkonˈand/	/ˈnäkonänd/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 373

Degemination

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
first	/aval/	/ävväl/
jam (food)	/muraba/	/moräbbɒ/
second	/duvum/	/dovvom/
birth	/tävälud/	/tävällod/
statue	/mujasame/	/mojässäme/
bath	/hamam/	/hämmɒm/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 371

/q/ → /ɣ/

Recall that in standard Persian the pronunciations of غ and ق converge to /ɢ/. In other dialects such as KAP, KAAP, Yazdi, and Kermani their pronunciations diverge to /ɣ/ and /q/ respectively as happens in Dari and Tajik. In AAP the pronunciation of both letters often converges but to /ɣ/.

Cut 33 /az ɣadim/

Cut 33a /ɢalbi/ cf. standard *Cut 34b*

Cut 34 see the following chart:

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Standard Audio
quote	/ ɣul/	/ɢul/	قول	*Cut 35*
century	/ɣarn/	/ɢärn/	قرن	*Cut 36*
grave	/ɣabr/	/ɢäbr/	قبر	*Cut 37*
graveyard	/ɣabrestan/	/ɢäbrestɒn/	قبرستان	*Cut 38*

Voiced-Aspirated-Voiceless Interference

Regarding the influence of Armenian contrastive aspiration on Persian Zamir (1982, p. 369) says, "…there is a certain degree of interference that occurs as a result of this situation". The following

YouTube comment in Roman letters from an Iranian Armenian illustrates a possible confusion resulting from this (using *d* instead of *t* in *tarjome*):

yeki vase ma darjome kone bebinim in kafara chi migan?

"Someone translate for us [and] let's see what these infidels are saying?"

Other Affricates

Among the sounds that Eastern Armenian has in its phonetic inventory that Persian does not are the affricates /ts/ and /dz/. While these two sounds are not often observed in AAP they are worth being aware of them.

Syntax

Occasionally changes in syntax can be observed. They mostly occur in the following two instances. interrogative modifiers and their head nouns

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
what is that?	/če ast an/	/ɒn če äst/
where is the child?	/kuja äst bäče/	/bäčče kojɒ äst/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 376

Reordering of adverbial phrases

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
I go home at two o'clock.	/män be xane sate do miravam/	/män sɒʔäte do be xɒne miräväm/
Jahan will go there tomorrow	/jahan anja fərda miravad/	/jähɒn färdɒ ɒnjɒ miräväd/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 376-377

Morphological

Lack of Ezafe

Listen to the following example:

Cut 39 /tämɒm[e] räzmändegɒn/ تمام رزمندگان 'all of the fighters'

Note the distinct lack of an ezafe in the above phrase. Ezafe dropping is not strongly associated with AAP, however given that in Eastern Armenian there is no equivalent grammatical construction as the ezafe and the fact that adjectives typically proceed nouns this sentence is an example of the sort of L1 transfer that can happen when non-native Persian speakers speak Persian.

Definite Marker

Recall that in spoken Persian the definiteness is sometimes expressed by the marker /-e/ as in
/pesäre nätunest shämhɒro xɒmush kone/ "**The** [aforementioned] boy couldn't blow out the candles."
(example adapted from (Afzali 2012) pg. 12)

Note that this definite marker can only be used once the noun/phrase it attaches to has previously been mentioned.

In AAP this marker sometimes changes to /en/

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Colloquial
the [aforementioned] gentleman	/aga'en/	/ɒgɒ'e/
the [aforementioned] dad/dude	/baba'en/	/bɒbɒ'e/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 377

The Armenian definite marker is /ne,e/ as in /mama-ne/ 'the mother' and /aman-e/ 'the plate'

Lexical

The following words are Armenian cognates which have been observed in Persian speech.

English	Armenian Accent Persian	Standard
cheese	/bänir/	/pänir/
pencil	/mädid/	/medɒd/
bottle	/šiš/	/šiše/
chest, box	/sendug/	/sändoɢ/
chicken, chick	/judig/	/juje/
grasshopper	/marax/	/mäläx/
letter	/namag/	/nɒme/
orange	/narinj/	/nɒrenj/

Adopted from (Zamir 1982) pg. 374

Note: while it may be tempting to assume that some of the above examples are indicative of phonetic shifts take care not to overgeneralize.

Cultural Indicators

The majority of Armenian-Iranians are Christians and observe certain Christian rites and celebrations which have their own vocabulary. While Armenians are the largest Christian population in Iran, there is also a smaller population of Assyrian Christians آشوریان as well as an unknown number of Christians converts from among the Muslim majority. Below are a few terms associated with Armenian Apostolic Church and Christianity more broadly. Obviously it is possible for non-Christians or non-Armenian Christians to use these words, however being aware of Christian discourse may be helpful in identifying Armenian speakers. Consider the following example:

Cut 31 (again) عیسی مسیح حفظشان کند. امین 'May Jesus Christ protect them. Amen'.

While it is certainly possible for a Muslim to say this sentence, when referring to Jesus it is more common for Muslims to use the honorific حضرت عیسی or to refer to him as عیسی پیامبر 'the prophet Jesus' as the term عیسی مسیح 'Jesus Christ' has certain theological implications.

English	Pronunciation	Persian
church	/kälisa/	کلیسا
priest	/käšiš/	کشیش
Eucharist	/badarak/	باداراک
Easter	/ide pak/	عید پاک
communion bread	/näšxaräk/	نشخارک

Common Names

Many if not the majority of Iranian-Armenian last names end with the final three letters /-ian/ یان

Romanized	Persian
Marcos Grigorian	مارکو گریگوریان
Vigen Derderian	ویگن دردریان
Samuel Khachikian	سیموئل خاچیکیان
Markar Aghajanian	مارکار آقاجانیان
Andranik Eskandarian	آندرانیک اسکندریان

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AZERBAIJANI آذربایجانی

Azerbaijani **Quick I.D.**
- /ʤ/ → /dz/
- /k/ → /ʧ/
- /g/ → /ʤ/
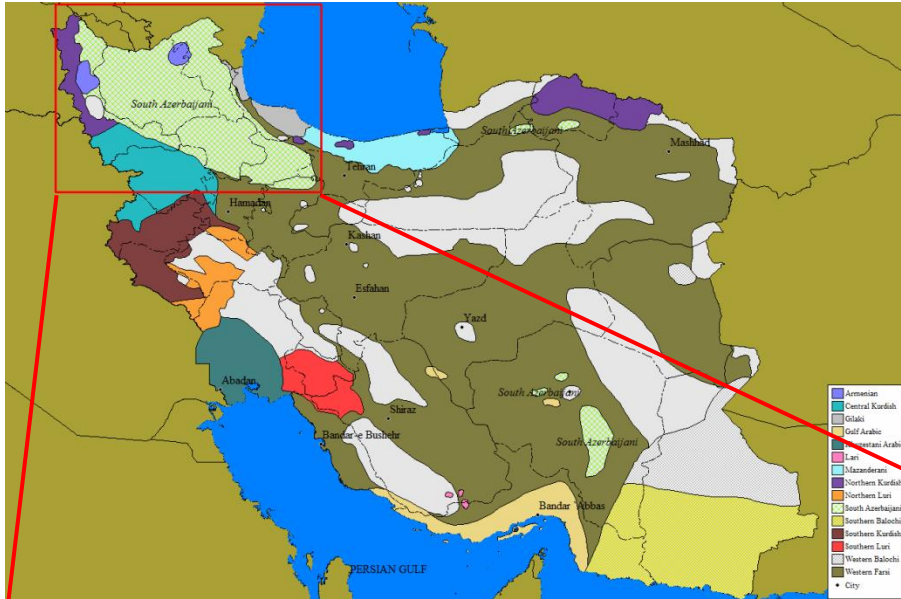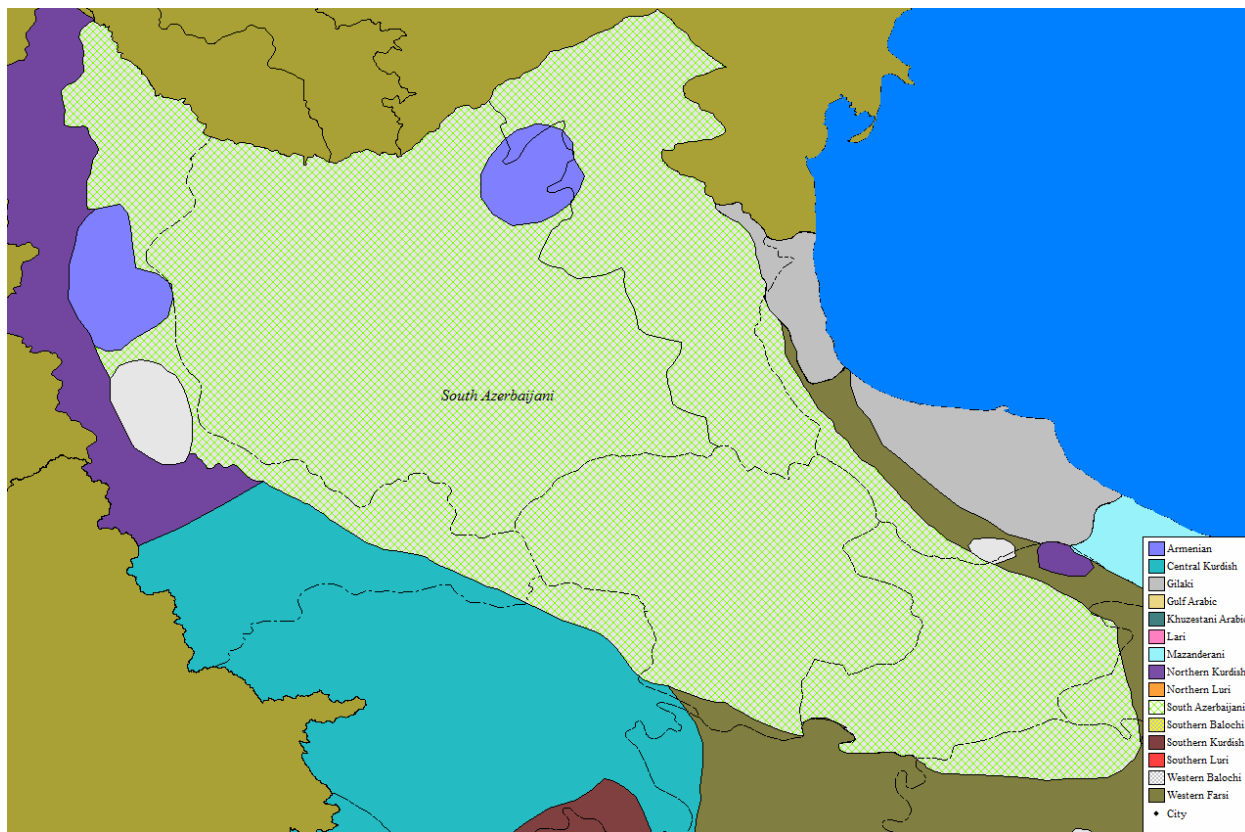
Overview

Azerbaijani (also known as Torki, Azeri, Azari[4], or Azerbaijanian) آذربایجان دیلی is an Oghuz (Southwestern) Turkic language spoken primarily in the Caucasus and Northern Iran. The Oghuz subdivision of Turkic languages is also made up of Turkish, Turkmen, Qashqai, and a number of smaller languages spoken in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Crimea. Azerbaijani itself is divided into two dialectal varieties, Northern Azerbaijani and Southern Azerbaijani, with a number of subdialects falling into each.

Northern Azerbaijani is the official language of the Republic of Azerbaijan and is also spoken in parts of Russia and small communities throughout the Balkans, Caucasus, and Central Asia. As this dialect of the language is widely document and has official status in the Republic of Azerbaijan, there are many international news mediums that has a components devoted to using the dialect.

This is an audio clip from the BBC Azeri channel: 01AZE_N

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[4] Azari is also used to refer to an Iranian language, also known as Tati, formerly spoken in this region (Windfuhr 2009, p. 13).

Southern Azerbaijani is spoken in Iran and among small communities in Iraq. In Iran, South Azerbaijani is primarily used in the provinces of Ardabil, East Azerbaijan, West Azerbaijan, Gilan, Zanjan and Hamadan. According to some researchers, the Southern dialect in Iran is further broken down into several mutually intelligible regional varieties primarily focused around provincial capitals. The Ardabil dialect is spoken in Ardabil Province and the western part of Gilan province, the Hamadan dialect is focused in the province of the same name, the Karadagh dialect is spoken in parts of East Azerbaijan province and in West Azerbaijan province, the Maradagh dialect is isolated to parts of East Azerbaijan, the Tabriz dialect is spoken in and around the city of Tabriz, in East Azerbaijan, and finally the Zanjan dialect is spoken in Zanjan province. While these dialects are noted by some sources, the linguistic variation between them is very subtle and even the fact that they are separate subdialects is often disputed, therefore we will address Southern Azerbaijani as a whole dialect of the language and only address Iranian regional varieties where possible.

The following is an audio clip of Southern Azerbaijani: 01AZE_S

Alphabet

Azerbaijani is written in three alphabets, which are presented in the following table. The use of each is largely dependent on which dialect is in use and the geographic location of the writer. Prior to 1929 all Azerbaijani dialects were written in the Perso-Arabic script. After 1929 the language saw a split in alphabet use with Northern Azerbaijani briefly taking the Latin alphabet before adopting the Cyrillic script. Southern Azerbaijani, on the other hand, has always used the Perso-Arabic script, though due to the fact that the southern dialect has never existed as an official language, there is a good deal of variation in how this script is used. That said, as Iran's education system has never adopted the language as a teaching medium, there are not many who use South Azerbaijani in its written form. Following the fall of the Soviet Union and the establishment of an independent Republic of Azerbaijan in 1991, Northern Azerbaijani adopted the Latin script as the language's official dialect. Despite the official change in script, the Cyrillic alphabet is still widely used in the Northern dialect.

Perso-Arabic	Latin	Cyrillic	Phonetic
آ ا	A a	А а	/a/
ب	B b	Б б	/b/
ج	C c	Ҹ ҹ	/j/ or /dz/**
چ	Ç ç	Ч ч	/č/ or /ts/ **
د	D d	Д д	/d/
ائـ ذ ئ	E e	Е е	/e/
ا ه ٵ	Ə ə	Ә ә	/ä/
ف	F f	Ф ф	/f/
گ	G g	Ҝ ҝ	/g/
غ	Ğ ğ	Ғ ғ	/ɣ/
ح ، ه	H h	Һ һ	/h/
خ	X x	Х х	/x/
ایـیـیٰ*	I ı*	Ы ы*	/ɨ/*
ایـیـی	İ i	И и	/i/

ژ	J j	Ж ж	/ž/
ک	K k	К к	/k/
ق*	Q q*	Г г*	/q/*
ل	L l	Л л	/l/
م	M m	М м	/m/
ن	N n	Н н	/n/
اوْ وْ	O o	О о	/o/
اؤ وؤ*	Ö ö*	Ө ө*	/ø/*
پ	P p	П п	/p/
ر	R r	Р р	/r/
س، ث، ص	S s	C c	/s/
ش	Ş ş	Ш ш	/š/
ت، ط	T t	Т т	/t/
اوُ وُ*	U u	У у	/u/
اؤ وؤ*	Ü ü*	Y y*	/ʏ/*
و	V v	В в	/v/
ى	Y y	J j	/j/
ز، ذ، ض، ظ	Z z	З з	/z/

* Indicates representation of sounds that do not occur in Persian.
**In many variations of Southern Azerbaijani /j/ and /č/ are realized as /dz/ and /ts/. This is particularly true in the areas south and southwest of Tabriz.

Here is an excerpt from an Azerbaijani blog, written in Perso-Arabic. Note the lack of diacritics, which while useful in differentiating between vowels, are often not used.

آنا دیلیم آذرباجان دیلی

دنیادا دیل لر قیمت وریلیپ همتینن

هر دیلین رتبسی تایین اولونوپ دقتینن

ثبت اولوپ دفتر قانونیل رسمیتنن

ان مکرمدی عربدی عربستان دیلیدی

چون او دیل شامل ادر همید قرآن دیلیدی

انگلیس کی بو جهان اهلی مونی بیلملیدی

اون یاشینان هامی بو دیلد یازیپ سیلملیدی

کارگر اورکسینی گتملیدی گلملیدی

بو عزلدن بشرین بوینونان گلمیش یوخودی

رتبسی دیلر آراسیندا اونون اون ایکیدی

هلفانلار شومیزلر بیز تفسیر ایلییر

سن اولارلان دییشند سینو ور قاباقا

سویل من سوم دنیایم ایا حضرت الی

اوچومونجی تانینان هانسی بیر انسان دیلیدی

او منیم دوغما آنام آذربایجان دیلیدی

یاشاسین آذربایجان

Grammar

All Turkic languages, the family to which Azerbaijani belongs, exhibit a number of grammatical features, such as case endings, agglutination, and two that are shared with Persian: subject-object-verb word order, and the lack of grammatical gender. Agglutination in Azerbaijani occurs primarily through the use of suffixes and case endings.

The following table explains the basic uses of the cases and shows the endings associated with each:

Nominative (Subject)	(no ending)
Genitive	(n)ın (possession - kişi-nin maşını "the man-'s car")
Dative	(y)a (motion towards - ev-ə "to-the house")
Accusative	(n)ı (definite direct objects - məktub-u yazdı "he wrote the letter")
Locative	da (shows where an object is located - ev-də "in the house")
Ablative	dan (motion away from - ev-dən "from the house")

The following table shows the basic functioning of agglutination, or stringing together of affixes:

dad	taste
dad-lı	taste-y
dad-siz	taste-less
ish	work

ish-siz	work-less
ish-siz-lik	work-less-ness (ie. unemployment)

The following is a more extreme example of Azerbaijani agglutination:

səmtləshdirilmishlərdən = 'From one of those who has been orientated'
səmt = 'orientated'
ləsh = verbal ending
dir = 'who'
il = passive indicator
mish = past tense
lər = plural
dən = 'from'

Phonetics

Azerbaijani, like many other Oghuz Turkic languages exhibits 2-way and 4-way vowel harmony. The vowels in case endings and suffixes harmonize with the root word based on whether the vowels in the root are front or back, and on whether they are rounded or not.

Front/Back (2-way)

Front: Suffix contains /ə/ when root contains /e ə i ü ö/

Back: Suffix contains /a/ when root contains /a ɪ u o/

Example using the suffix '-dan' meaning 'from'
evdən = 'from the house'
dağdan = 'from the mountains'

Rounded/Unrounded (4-way)

Rounded:

Front: Suffix contains /ü/ when root contains /ü ö/

Back: Suffix contains /u/ when root contains /u o/

Unrounded:

Front: Suffix contains /i/ when root contains /e ə i/

Back: Suffix contains /ɪ/ when root contains /ɪ/

Example using '-siz' meaning 'without'
ishsiz = without work

kürksüz = 'without a coat'
dadsız = 'without taste'
pulsuz = 'without money'

Code-switching

In multilingual communities, like the majority of the Azeri community in Iran, code-switching occurs when speakers switch between two or more languages, or language varieties, in a single conversation. In the case of Azerbaijani and Persian, this can take form as any of the 3 major code-switching categories: intersentential, intra-sentential, and intra-word.

For some some examples of notable Irananians code-switching between Azerbaijani and Persian the following are video clips of Queen Farah Pahlavi and Ayatollah Khamanei.

1AZE_CS = Ayatollah Khamanei

2AZE_CS = Farah Pahlavi

Intersentential example:

1st speaker (Azerbaijani): baba dodən soux yel ver (for God's sake, it is really blowing cold air!)

2nd speaker (Persian): baba migäm särde (I'm telling you it's cold!)

Intra-sentential and intra-word example:

1st speaker: ba inke pändzäräs atsıxdi issidi (Although the window is open it's hot!)

        |____Persian___||_Azerbaijani_|

Azerbaijani-Accented Persian

Due to the differing phonologies of Azerbaijani and Persian, often native Azerbaijani speakers speak Persian with a unique accent. The following are some of the major accent differences with accompanying audio cuts:

/k/ → /č/
Audio cut 4AZE:

/j/ → /dz/

Audio cut 2AZE:

Audio cut 3AZE:

/g/ → /j/

Audio cut 8AZE1:

/č/ → /ts/

Audio cut 1AZE:

Vocabulary

Below is a a set of words and phrases that will be useful in language detection and identification.

Category	English	Azerbaijani (Latin)	Azerbaijani (Perso-Arabic)
Basic expressions	yes	hə	
	no	yox	
		xeyr	
	hello	salam	سلام
	goodbye	sağ ol	
		sağ olun (formal)	
	good morning	sabahınız xeyir	
	good afternoon	günortanız xeyir	
	good evening	axşamın xeyir	
		axşamınız xeyir	
Colors	black	qara	قره
	blue	göy	گوی
	cyan	mavi	
	brown	qəhvəyi/qonur	قهوهیی/قونور
	grey	boz	
	green	yaşıl	یشل
	orange	narıncı	نرنجی
	pink	çəhrayı	چهرهیی
	purple	bənövşəyi	
	red	qırmızı/al/qızıl	قریمیزی/ال/قیزیل
	white	ağ	اغ
	yellow	sarı	
Numbers	0	sıfır	
	1	bir	
	2	iki	
	3	üç	
	4	dörd	

5	beş	
6	altı	
7	yeddi	
8	səkkiz	
9	doqquz	
10	on	
20	iyirmi	
30	otuz	
40	qırx	
50	əlli	
60	altmış	
70	yetmiş	
80	səksən	
90	doxsan	

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http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B2%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86_%D8%AA%D8%B1%DA%A9%DB%8C_%D8%A2%D8%B0%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C

http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%B2%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86_%D8%AA%D8%B1%DA%A9%DB%8C_%D8%A2%D8%B0%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azerbaijani_language

BALOCHI بلوچی

Balochi 🔊 *Quick I.D.*

- /v/ → /w/
- Trilled /r/ even in quick colloquial speech
- /f/ → /p/ depending on speaker's dialect of Baluchi
- /h/ insertion
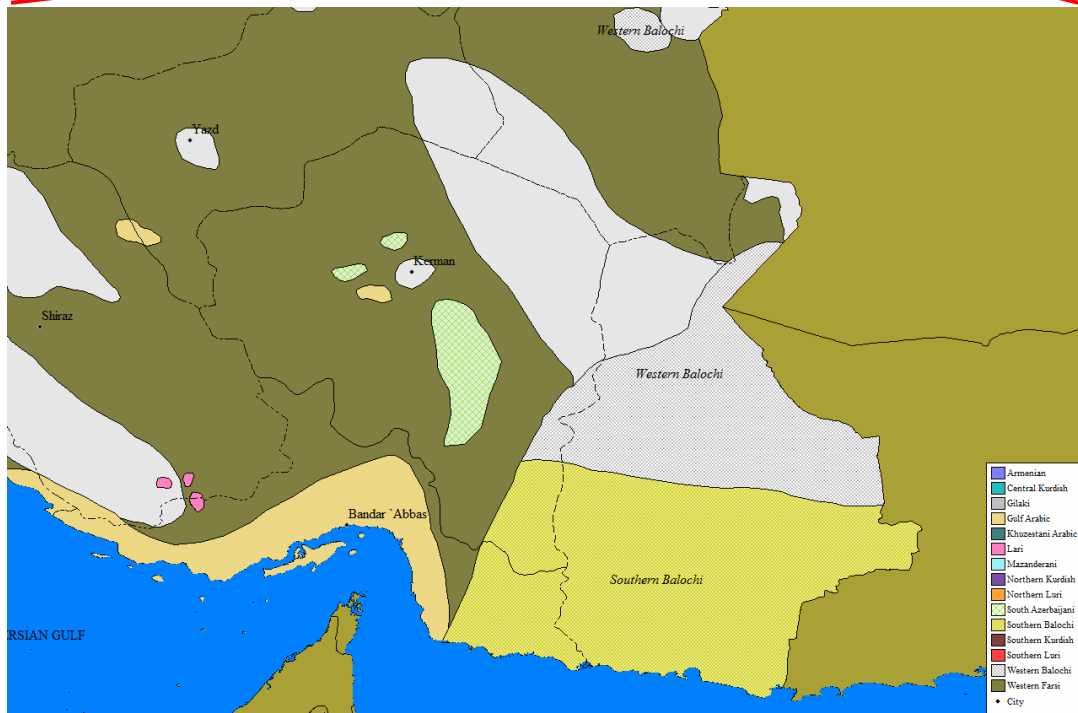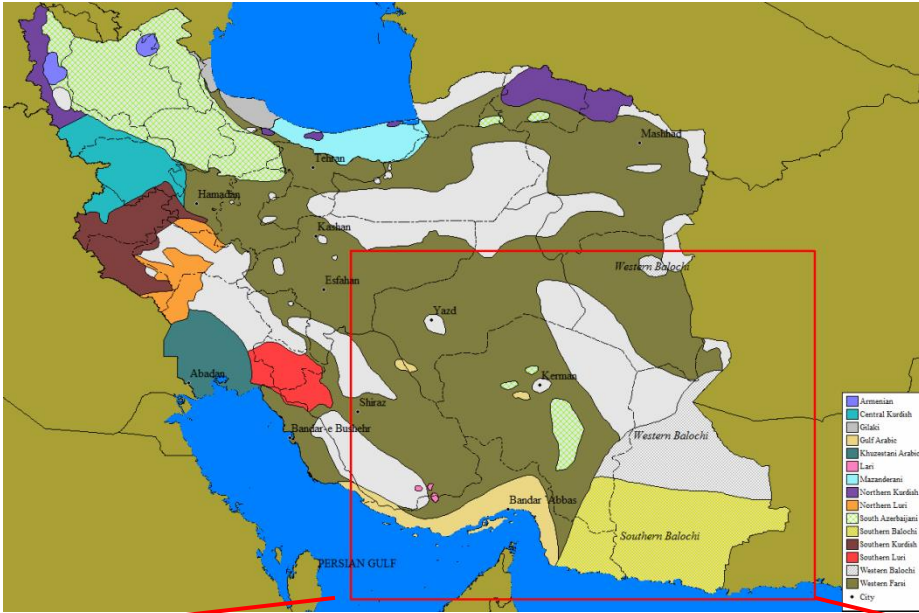
Overview

The Balochi language (also spelled commonly spelled Baluchi, reflecting the Persian pronunciation of the word) is a Northwestern Iranian language spoken primarily in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, with some smaller communities of speakers in Turkmenistan, Oman, and East Africa. It is the language of the Baloch people native to the Balochistan region of the Iranian plateau. Modern Balochi is broken into three major dialect divisions, Western (Rakhshani, رخشانی), Southern (Makrani, مکرانی), and Eastern (Suleimani, سلیمانی). These dialect divisions are not actually unified dialects of Balochi, but rather conglomerate a number of dialects that often present a high level of variation within each grouping. The largest of these dialects is Eastern Balochi, which is almost entirely spoken in Pakistan. While Eastern Balochi has a larger population of speakers, it is often seen as a less developed language due to a high degree of influence from Sindhi and Pashto. Western Balochi is generally regarded as the primary medium for literature and writing due to its lack of influences from nearby languages.

In Iran the issue of dialect lines is even more problematic as researchers have yet to agree on which dialects of the language are even spoken in the country (Korn, 2009). That said, most information continues to list the Southern and Western dialects as being the dominant dialects of Iran.

Balochi is not an official language of any of the countries in which it is spoken and, for the most part, is not taught in any of these countries' education systems. Therefore, in most Balochi-speaking communities the population is bilingual, with the majority speaking Urdu or Persian as a first or second language. These two factors have resulted in a very low Balochi literacy rate amongst the Baloch community with only 1-5% of Western Balochi speakers being able to read in the language.

For an example of how the different dialects sound please listen to this clip of Eastern Balochi as spoken in Pakistan: BAL1

This audio clip is of a man speaking a dialect in Iran (presumably Western Balochi): BAL2a

Note the heavy Persian influence in the second clip.

Orthography

Prior to the 19th century Balochi was an unwritten language. Initially, British linguists and regional specialists developed a Roman alphabet, but with the independence of Pakistan, Balochi scholars adopted a modified Urdu Arabic script for official use. This script is now used amongst the Balochi communities in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, however outside of these countries, the Roman script is common. Below in Figure1, we see the Balochi alphabet as it is most commonly used today and additionally the Romanized alphabet that commonly appears in on-line forums and in discourse amongst the Balochi diaspora.

Perso-Arabic	Romanized	Additional Information
آ	Á/á	
ا	A/a	
ب	B/b	
پ	P/p	
ت	T/t	
ٹ	Ť/ť	
ث	S/s	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ج	J/j	
چ	C/c	
ح	H/h	
خ	X/x	
د	D/d	
ڈ	Ď/ď	
ذ	Z/z	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ر	R/r	
ڑ	Ř/ř	
ز	Z/z	
ژ	Ž/ž	
س	S/s	
ش	Š/š	
ص	S/s	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ض	Z/z	Only Appears in Arabic

		loanwords
ط	T/t	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ظ	Z/z	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ع	H/h	
غ	Ĝ/ĝ	Only Appears in Arabic loanwords
ف	F/f	
ق	Q/q	
ک	K/k	
گ	G/g	
ل	L/l	
م	M/m	
ن	N/n	
ں	ñ	Indicated final nasalization. Mostly in Eastern dialects
و	V/v, W/w, Ú/ú, O/o,	For the most part used as a /v/ only in loanwords
ھ	H/h	
ہ	H/h	
ءَ, ءُ, ء	I/i, A/a, O/o	
ے	Y, i	
أو	U/u	
ی	Y/y, Í/í	
او	Aw/aw	

ائے	Ay/ay	

Figure 1: Balochi Perso-Arabic alphabet and its Romanized equivalent

Grammar

While there are some variations between the different dialects, Balochi generally exhibits similar grammar rules throughout the language. Like Persian, Balochi word order is subject-object-verb. There are five attested cases: nominative, accusative, dative, oblique, and vocative. All dialects of Balochi have been traditionally indicated as being split-ergative, where in the past tense the subject of a transitive verb is marked with the oblique case and further, a transitive verb agrees with its object in the past tense. Despite this ergativity in the larger dialects, a number of sub-dialects including some varieties spoken in Afghanistan and Turkmenistan have lost this linguistic aspect and most others are on their way toward abolishing it (Bennett, 2005).

Case Structure

The table below show's the afore mentioned cases used on the word مرد or "man"

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	مرد / märd /	مرد / märd /
Genitive	مرد ء / märde /	مردانی / märdani /
Accusative/dative	مرد ءَ / märdä /	مرداں / märdan /
Oblique	مرد ءَ / märdä /	مرداں / märdan /

Pronouns

Singular	1st Person		2st Person		3st Person	
Nominative	من	/män/	تو	/täu/	آ	/a/
Genitive	منی	/mäni/	تئی	/tähi/, /ti/	آئرا	/ahi/
Accusative/dative	منا	/mäna/	ترا	/tärA/	آ , آئرا	/a/, /aira/
Oblique	من	/män/	تو	/täu/, /tä/, /to/	آئی	/ahi/

Plural	1st Person		2st Person		3st Person	
Nominative	ما	/ma/	شُما	/shuma/	آ	/a/
Genitive	مئی	/mäi/	شُمئی	/shumäi/, /shumi/	آوانا	/awan/
Accusative/dative	مارا	/mara/	شُمارا	/shumara/	آوانا	/awana/
Oblique	ما	/ma/	شُما	/shuma/	آوان	/awan/

Verbs

Balochi, like Persian, uses light verb constructions quite frequently by adding a noun to a simple verb like "to do" or "to become". This table shows the conjugation structure for the simple verb "to do".

کنگ – to do

I do	کنیں /koneen/	We do	کنن /konän
You do	کنئے /konai/	You do (plural)	کنات /konit/
He/she does	کنت /konät/	They did	کن انت /kon änt/

Using a simple verb like "to do", the Baluchi speaker can create light verbs like کنگ حساب "to count"

Listen to the following audio clip: BAL3a

Note that this dialect of Balochi sounds so similar to Persian that it might be mistaken as a strong accent, but by paying attention to the use of the simple verbs it becomes apparent that the speaker is, in fact using an Iranian dialect of Balochi.

Phonetics

Much like in Persian, the vowel system in Balochi is characterized by a long/short distinction. Balochi also makes use of retroflex consonants much like Pashto and many Indic languages (these retroflex consonants are much more prominent in Eastern Balochi). Below are charts displaying the phonetic aspects of Balochi. See Okati (2012) for more details on the vowel systems of Balochi diaelcts.

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatoalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d		ṭ ḍ			k g	ʔ
Affricate					č j			
Fricative			s z		š ž			h
Tap			ɾ	ɽ				
Nasal	m		n					
Approximant	w		l			y		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	ی - ee, i		أَو - oo, ُ - u
Half closed	ﮮ - e		
Half open		ا - a	
Open		ا - ä	

Lexical

There is quite a bit of lexical overlap between Persian and Balochi due to the languages' close relations as members of the Western Iranian language family.

Numbers

Balochi numbers are almost identical to Persian with minor variation in the way that they are pronounced.

English	Balochi	Phonetic
One	یک	/yek/
Two	دو	/do/
Three	سہ	/sei/
Four	چار	/čar/
Five	پنج	/panj/

Six	شش	/šäš/
Seven	ہفت	/häft/
Eight	ہشت	/häš/
Nine	نو	/no/
Ten	دہ	/dä/

Category	English	Balochi (Romanized)	Balochi (Perso-Arabic)
Basic expressions	yes	Haw	ہاؤ
	no	Na	نہ
	hello	Salám	سلام
	goodbye	Salám	سلام
	good	Nik	نیک
	bad	Gandag	گندگ
	correct	Sahih	صیحیح
	what	ceh	چے
	why	per ceh ki	پر چے کی
	thanks	shukr	شَکر
Colors	black	siyáh	سیاہ
	blue	nil	نیل
	brown	xáki	خاکی
	green	sevez	سَوَذ
	red	Sawhr	سُہر
	white	aspit	اسپیت
	yellow	zařd	زڑد

Balochi Accented Persian (BAP)

Overall Impression

Iranian Balochi speakers sound similar to Afghans and Kurds when speaking Persian. In general their speech has a more staccato, less melodic, quality and a higher prevalence of trilled r's then standard Persian. The following cuts illustrate the overall auditory impression of BAP.

Cut 3

Cut 4

Cut 5

/f/ → /p/

Iranian varieties of Balochi have not historically had the fricative /f/ in their phonemic systems and it is often realized as /p/ in Balochi (Jahani and Korn 2009 pp. 643-644, Korn 2005 p. 64). Because of widespread bilingualism and the absorption of Persian loanwords into Balochi this phenomenon is not universal; however it is usually evident in strong accents.

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
I got	/gereptä(m)/	/gereftäm/	گرفتم	*Cut 6*
introduce	/märepi/	/moärefi/	معرفی	*Cut 7*
angels	/päreštegan/	/färeštegan/	فرشتگان	*Cut 8*
I went	/ye(k) däpe perestade/	/ye(k) däfe ferestade/	یک دفعه فرستاده	*Cut 9*

Instances of hypercorrection can also cause /p/ → /f/

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
answer	/fasox/	/pasox/	پاسخ	*Cut 10*
recklessness	/bifärvai/	/bipärvai/	بی پروای	*Cut 11*
God	/färvärdegar/	/pärvärdegar/	پروردگار	*Cut 12*

ق and غ

Iranian varieties of Balochi also lack the sounds /q, ɣ, ɢ/ (for more on the pronunciation of غ and ق see introduction). The absence of these phonemes in Balochi combined with the variation of pronunciation in the Persian to which Balochi speakers are exposed (Standard Persian, Dari, Kermani, Yazdi, etc.) tends to create inconsistent pronunciations of words containing غ and ق. In practice they can be realized by a variety of phonemes including [q, ɣ, ɢ, k, g].

words with ق	English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
realized as [ɢ]	meeting	/molaɢat/	/molaɢat/	ملاقات	Cut 13
realized as [q]	true/real	/äqiqi/	/häɢiɢi/	حقیقی	Cut 14
realized as [ɣ]	grave	/ɣäbr/	/ɢäbr/	قبر	Cut 15
realized as [g]	legal	/ganuni/	/ɢanuni/	قانونی	Cut 16
realized as [k]	value/esteem	/kädr/	/ɢädr/	قدر	Cut 17

words with غ	English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
realized as [ɢ]	foreign/alien	/ɢäribe/	/ɢäribe/	غریبه	Cut 18
realized as [q]	occupation	/ešteqal/	/ešteɢal/	اشتغال	Cut 19
realized as [ɣ]	western	/ɣärbi/	/ɢärbi/	غربی	Cut 20
realized as [g]	mistake	/gälät/	/ɢälät/	غلط	NA*
realized as [k]	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA**

*example from (Jahani and Korn 2009 pg. 644)

**this realization is rare

/v/ → /w/

Like Kordistani and Khuzestani-Arabic accented Persian /v/ is often pronounced as /w/.

Examples of word initial /v/ → /w/

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
and	/wä/	/vä/	و	Cut 21
homeland/fatherland	/wätän/	/vätän/	وطن	Cut 22

Examples of intervocalic /v/ → /w/

English	BAP	Standard/Coloquial Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
3.SG present subjunctive to be able	/betäwane/	/betävanäd/ or /betune/	بتواند	Cut 23
3.SG present continuous to go	/dare miräwäd/	/daräd miräväd/ or /dare mire/	دارد می رود	Cut 24

It is important to note this shift is not universal and often both sounds appear in a single utterance.

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
…and the collection of intelligence…	/wä jamaväri etelate/	/vä jämaväri etelate/	و جمع آوری اطلات	Cut 25
obtain…family	/vusule…xanewade/	/vusule…xanevade/	وصول...خانواده	Cut 26

/h/

In BAP /h/ is affected in a number of ways.

Insertion

In some dialects of Balochi (e.g. varieties spoken in Sarbaz and Chabahar) an excrescent /h/ is inserted before a syllable with an initial vowel (Jahani and Korn 2009 pg. 647). This phenomenon has also been noted in colloquial Persian (see introduction). In other dialects of Balochi a /ʔ/ is inserted, however this can also happen in Persian (Jahani 2005).

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
Khamenei	/xamenehi/	/xamene(ʔ)i/	خامنه‌ای	*Cut 27*
esteem, honor	/hezät/	/ezät/	عزت	*Cut 28*

Substitution

Balochi does not have the phoneme /x/. In Perso-Arabic loan words it is usually rendered as a /h/ or /k/ e.g. /xäbär/ خبر 'news' → /häbär/ or /käbär/ (Korn 2005 pg. 153). This pronunciation can carry over into BAP.

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
outside of, abroad	/harej/	/xarej/	خارج	*Cut 29*

Deletion

In Balochi /h/ dropping occurs in a variety of contexts and this phenomenon often carries over into BAP (Korn 2005 pg. 153). The primary context in which /h/ is lost in BAP but is *not* dropped in colloquial Persian (see intro /h/ dropping) is intervocalic /h/. When an intervocalic /h/ is dropped it usually causes can cause vowel lengthening. This phenomenon can also be witnessed in spoken Dari (Miller et al. 2013).

English	BAP	Standard Phonetics	Standard Script	Cut
the global community	/jame jani/	/jame jähani/	جامعه جهانی	*Cut 30*

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http://www.lmp.ucla.edu/Profile.aspx?LangID=193&menu=004)

GILAKI/GILANI گیلکی

Gilaki 📢👂 *Quick I.D.*

- verbal prefixes for past tenses (e.g. /bu-/
- Adjectives and possessive pronouns precede nouns
- no prefix on present-future tense verbs
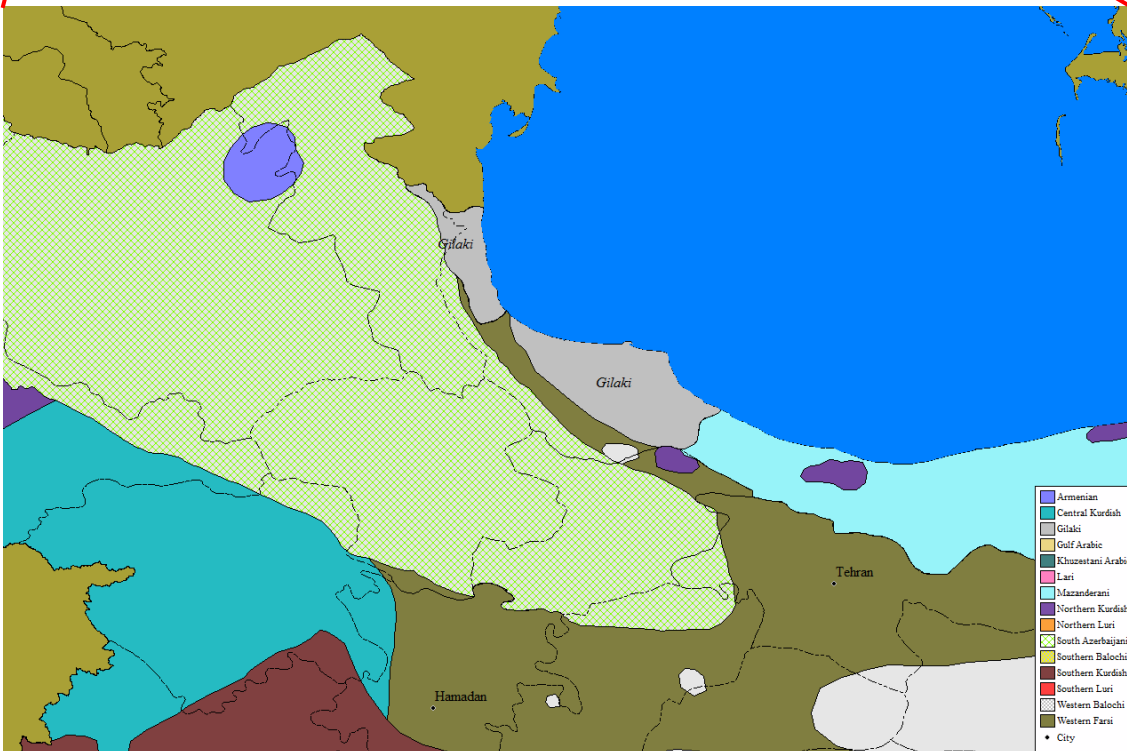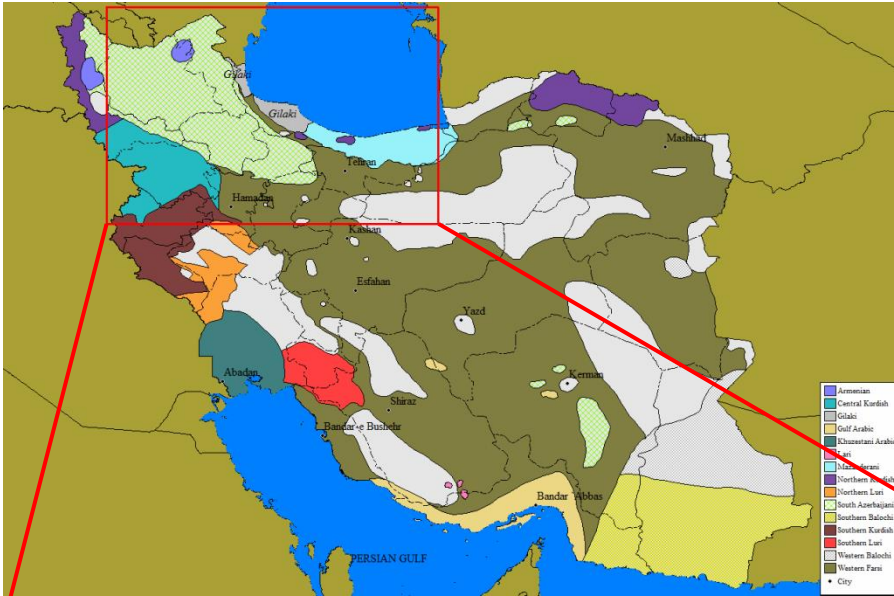
Overview

Gilaki[5] is spoken in the northern province of Gilan by as many 3 million speakers (Stilo 2001). Along with Mazandarani, Tati, Taleshi, and Semnani it is a member of the so-called Caspian group of the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages (Rastorgueva, et al. 2012). The province of Gilan is linguistically diverse. In addition to Gilaki, Taleshi is the dominant language in the northwest counties of Astera and Talesh, Tati is spoken in the southern county of Rudbar, and there are pockets of Persian, Azeri, and Kurdish-speakers throughout the province (Sartippur 1990).

Like Mazandarani, Gilaki has many sub-dialects and lacks any standard form. Most cities in the province could plausibly claim to have their own, unique dialect, but scholars make a broad distinction between eastern and western varieties, with the Sefidrud River forming the border between them. The dialect associated with the city of Rasht (i.e. Rashti) is considered to be the exemplar of the western dialect, though the towns of Fuman, Sowme'eh Sara, and Bandar Enzali also fall under the umbrella of western Gilaki.

The variety spoken in the region to the east of the Sefidrud River (historically known as بیه پیش Biya Pish) is considered to be closer to Mazandarani (Sartippur 1990). Eastern Gilaki is best exemplified by the dialect spoken in the city of Lahijan (i.e. Lahijani), but also includes varieties spoken in Rudsar and Langarud (Stilo 2001). Scholars have noted that even in their 'pure' forms, eastern and western varieties may not always be mutually intelligible (Purhadi 2005). As noted in the chapter on Mazanderani, the border region of the provinces of Mazanderan and Gilan (particularly the regions of Tonekabon and Kelardasht) have their own dialect, which some have argued is an independent Caspian language in its own right.

For the purposes of this sketch we will consider the dialect spoken in the provincial capital of Rasht (population 622,209[6]) as the de facto standard, however you will be exposed to audio and written examples from a variety of sources. Gilaki has not historically been written, but there have been recent attempts to promote the use of Gilaki in print, including several newspapers, a Gilaki-language Wikipedia, and usage in blogs and social media sites (Rastorgueva, et al. 2012).

Like Mazandarani, Gilaki has been undergoing a process of Persianization, which affects the speech of people at different social stratas differently. Educated, urban speakers may be fully bilingual in Gilaki and Persian, and manifest no accent when speaking Persian (Rahmani 1985). On the other hand, while the province of Gilan has higher rates of rural literacy than other parts of Iran, many rural Gilakis do not know Persian (Rastorgueva, et al. 2012, Rahmani 1985). This has been attributed in part to the importance and profitability of rice cultivation in Gilan, which has helped curb the trend of mass urbanization that has occurred elsewhere in Iran. Like Mazandarani, verb morphology tends to be the most conservative feature of Gilaki, making verbs the least likely words to be Persianized (Stilo 2001).

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[5]Gilaki is also sometimes referred to as Gelaki, Gilani, Guilaki, and Guilani.
[6]According to the 2012 census as referenced in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rasht

Phonetics and Phonology

Scholars disagree about Gilaki's vowel system, and descriptions of it vary widely. However, for the sake of simplicity it can be said that, in addition to the usual set of Persian vowels, Gilaki also has an /ə/ which may occur in a variety of contexts, but often replaces the /i/ found in Persian cognates. In this sketch the presentation of Gilaki vowels has been somewhat idealized for the sake of simplicity. You may notice transcriptions of cuts whose rendering of vowels seem inconsistent with other vowels, however this is due to a number of factors including allophony, dialect variation, and the variable degree of Persian influence on a given speaker.

English	Gilaki Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
walk	/gärdəš/	/gärdiš/
last	/axər/	/axir/
prison	/zəndan/	/zindan/

(Rastorgoeva, et al. 2012) page 12

Gilaki has the same consonants as Persian, although in Gilaki both غ and ق are pronounced as /ɣ/.

Cut 1 /laɢär/ → /laɣär/ 'skinny'

Cut 2 /ɢanun/ → /ɣanun/ 'law', /ɢälb/ → /ɣälb/ 'hart'

Morphology

Pronouns

(Rastorgoeva, et al. 2012)

Personal pronouns in Gilaki are similar to Persian, however, note that possessive pronouns (genitive case) differ slightly. Possessive pronouns generally precede the noun they modify. Pronominal clitics are not used in 'pure' Gilaki, but may be encountered in Persianized speech (see Code switching section below).

Personal Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	/mən/	/ämä/
2nd person	/tu/	/šumä/
3rd person	[see demonstratives]*	[see demonstratives]

Possessive Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st person	/märä/ or /mi/	/äme/ or /ämi/
2nd person	/ti/	/šime/ or /šimi/
3rd person	[see demonstratives]	[see demonstratives]

Cut 3 /esme män nai äst/ → /mi is(me) ise nai/ "My name is Na'ĭ"

Cut 4 /sälam ähvalät xub äst/ → /sälam te äval xub ise/ 'Salaam, how are you' *lit. 'how is your condition*?'

Cut 5 /pedäre u/ → /unä per/ 'his/her father'

Cut 6 /näzäre šoma/ /šimi näzäre/

Demonstrative Pronouns

In Gilaki the third person pronouns are the same as demonstrative pronouns. These demonstratives come in several varieties depending on case (nominative, accusative, genitive) emphasis (emphatic and non-emphatic) and proximity (referencing something near or referencing some far away). The nominative, non-emphatic demonstrative pronouns which are used to reference things nearby are /än/ and ä/šan/ for single and plural respectively. For a complete chart of all forms see Appendix 1.

Adjectives

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

Unlike Persian, in Gilaki adjectives typically precede nouns.

English	Gilaki Phonetic
They say it is a good shop.	/gidi xob məɣazə-yə/
My older brother went.	/mi pile bərär bušo/
The children called him black Hussein.	/ jəɣəlän unä siyä Huseyn duxädidi./

However ezafe constructions can also be encountered:

English	Gilaki Phonetic
There is a coal-mine there.	/uyä mädən-ə zuɣal-ə säng nähä/
They wished her a happy birthday	/unə ruzə təvəlluda təbrik bugoftə/
From this end of the room to that end of the room a tablecloth was spread.	/äz ä sərə tinibi ta u sərə tinibi səfrə pähn-ä bukudə bid./
Talking for such a long time (lit. enough to give you a headache), the music was playing until midnight (lit. half of the night)	/či dərdə sər bədəm, ta nis fə šəb bəzən-bukub bu/

Comparative

Like Persian the comparative is formed with the help of the suffix /tər/ and either the preposition /äz/ or the postposition /jä/ or /jə/.

English	Gilaki Phonetic
It was more than ten years since Hussein travelled from Rasht to	/däh salə-jä bištər bu ki Huseyn Raštə-

Tehran.	jäTähranä bušo/
The children were cleverer than [too clever] to fall for their tricks	/zäkän hušyärtər äz un bid ki ušänə gulä buxorid/
At night you come to your hut with your arms longer than your legs [from hard work]	/šəb äyi ti kumədəs dəraztär äz pa/

Superlatives

There is no /-tärin/ equivalent in Gilaki. Superlatives are formed by:

{/äz hämə/ or /hamə-jä/ or /jə hamə/ or /jə ušän/ + Adjective + /-tər/}

/jə ušän xeyli ädämtərə/ 'He is more human than they are.'

/ä mädən häməyə mädənänə-jä buzurgtər-ə və betər-ə/ 'This mine is bigger and better than all other mines.'

[(Rahmani 1985) pg. 113 (Rastorgoeva 2012) pg. 71]

Cut 7 notice that in this cut the speaker uses /äz/ instead of /jə/

Indefinite Marker

(Rahmani 1985) pg. 106

The indefinite articles are /i/ or /itä/

/i ruz/ 'one day'

/itä mərdäy/ 'a man'

Cut 8 /yäk ruz/ → /itä ruz/ 'one day'

Adpositions

(Rahmani 1985) (Rastorgoeva 2012)

Postpositions

Gilaki makes use of many postpositions. Most of them are similar to their Persian prepositional counterparts although you will notice that some are distinct.

English Gloss	Gilaki Example	Meaning	Postposition
Some girl was playing by the door	/itä duxtərbətšə dər ə-bija bazi kudi./	to, towards, near	/-bijä/
Laughing, Maryam approaches her father.	/Məryəm xəndə kunan äye xu perə-virjä/	to, towards	/-virjä/ or /-vərjä/
Tears welled up in the eyes (lit. around the eyes) of Maryam.	/äšk Məryəmə čəšmə-dor xälɣə bəze bu/	around	/-dor/
I followed Ahmed closely in fear.	/mən ba tərs-u lərz Amədə-dumbal ra dəkəftəm./	after, follow	/-dumbal/
In the room my child will be hot.	/utaɣə-durun mi zäkä gərm-a be./	In, through	/-durun/
I [will] leave the house.	/xanə-jä birun šəm/	from	/-jä/
Ten degrees below zero	/dä dərəjə səfrə-jir/	under	/-jir/
(He) stood on the stool.	/pakursi-jor šuon du/	on, on top of	/-jor/
Today people like you have gathered in the thousands in one place.	/imruz ti-manəstən adəmän hizar-hizar ija jəm-a bidi./	like	/-mänəstən/
I fell into the water.	/dəkəftəm abə-miyän/	amidst, among, into	/-miyän/
The lieutenant ... went behind the pillar.	/nayəb ... bušo sutunə-pušt./	behind	/-pušt/
(He) read newspapers and books to them.	/ušäni-re ruznamə, kitab xändi/	to, for	/-re/
The policeman struck me on the head.	/äjän bəze mi kəllə-sər/	at, in, over (*i.e. fight over something*)	/-sər/
H was sitting beside the pool	/un hozə kənär nište bu/	beside, along, to the side of	/-kənär/ or /-tərəf/
Will you carry it out for my sake?	/tu mi xatərə-vasi bə ja avəri?/	for, for the sake of	/-väsi/ or /-västi/ or /-xatərə-väsi/
Out of the city	/šəhrə birun/	out, outside	/-birun/
Ahmed and I went along one street.	/əmədə-ämärä it ä xiyabanä bušoim/	with, together	/-ämärä/

Cut 9 /där xanä/ → /xanä durun/ 'in the house'

Cut 10 /sälam be šoma/ → /sälam te re/ 'greetings to you'

Cut 11 /tu äz män či mixahi / → /tu jä män či xahi/ 'what do you want from me?'

Preposition-Postposition Combinations

(Rastorgoeva 2012) pg. 183

In addition to postpositions, Gilaki also uses the full range of Persian prepositions. Sometimes a noun can take both a preposition and a postposition, however this usually appears in predictable combinations.

/bə ... -durun/

/amara bə xanə-durun bəbərdə./ 'He took us into the house.'

/ta ... –miyan/

/az uya [uya-ja] ra dəkəfidi ta pillə meydanə-miyan./ 'From there they headed for the big square.'

/az ... –ja/

/az únə-ja buxar bulənd-a bosti/ 'steam rose from it'

/ja ... –ja/

/ja a suraxə-ja/ *Out of this hole*

Rahmani notes that that "Since the usage of prepositions is new in Gilaki, many native speakers who attempt to use them to show a higher level of education are not able to do so properly. Often they use two prepositions together." (Rahmani 1985) pg. 239

/əz bə xanə bəmom/ *I came from the house*

Sometimes Gilaki speakers use Persian prepositions instead of their Gilaki counterparts. Listen to the following three exampels:

Cut 12

Cut 13

Cut 14

Verb Morphology

Verb Endings

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

	Singular	**Plural**
1st person	/-əm/*	/-im(i)/
2nd person	/-i/	/-id(i)/
3rd person	/-e/	/-id(i)/

*In the first and third person singular of present continuous verbs /-əm/ → /-im/ and /-e/ → /-i/

Verb Prefixes

(Rastorgueva 2012, Rahmani 1985, pp. 121-122)

Gilaki infinitives can have one of several prefixes including /də-, du-, di-, fä-, fu-, vä-, vi-, u-, ji-, ju-, jə-/ however by far the most common prefixes are /bə-, bi-, bu-/. The presence or absence of the verbal prefix determines the tense of the verb. Specifically, the prefix appears in the imperative, subjunctive, simple past, and past perfect tenses, but is deleted in the present-future and imperfect.

In compound verbs sometimes this prefix is dropped and an /a/ is added to the end of the nominal component

English	Gilaki with /-ä/	Gilaki with Verb Prefix
Spread the carpet!	/ɣali pän-ä kun!/	/pän bukun/
By no means can I forget you.	/hitš nə-tänəm tərä fərämuš-a kunəm/	/fərämuš bukunəm/
My heart has been set at rest	/mi dil xunək-a bostə/	/xunək bubostə/
As he himself was already old	/xudəš ki pir -a bostə bu/	/pir bubostə bu/

Present-Future Indicative

The present-future indicative is formed by:

{no prefix + present stem + verb ending}

Present-future	Singular	Plural
1st person	/kunəm(ə)/	/kunimi/
2nd person	/kuni/	/kunidi/
3rd person	/kune/	/kunidi/

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

Cut 15 /mimiräm/ → /mireme/ 'I will die'

Note: do not confuse the 1.SG present tense Gilaki /mirəm/ 'I [will] die' with the colloquial pronunciation of the Persian /miräm/ 'I [will] go'.

Cut 16 /härf ke mizänäd/ → /härf ke zene/ 'the word(s) that he speaks'

Cut 17 /ma mig(uj)im das/ → /ämä gemi das/ 'we say sickle'

Cut 18 /šoma či mig(uj)ed/ → /šoma či gidi/ 'What do you say?'

Cut 19 /nämifähmän(d)/ → /nəfähmidi/ 'they don't understand' Note: don't confuse this with past 2.SG past tense

Present Continuous

The present progressive is formed by:

{infinitive + conjugated present tense of the helping verb /dastan/}

Present Continuous	Singular	Plural
1st person	/nivištən dərəm/	/nivištən dərim(i)/
2nd person	/nivištən dəri/	/nivištən dərid(i)/
3rd person	/nivištən dərə/	/nivištən dərid(i)/

(Rastorgoeva)

Note: unlike Persian, the main verb precedes the helping verb is and is not conjugated

Note: Occasionally this structure is preceded by the particle /kəra/ as in /kəra ämon dərə/ which is roughly equivalent to the more literary Persian variant در حالی آمدن است (Purhadi 2005) pg 127

Cut 20 /män daräm mimiräm/ → /män kerə mardän dəräm/ 'I am dying'

Simple Past

The simple past is formed by:

{prefix + past stem + verb ending}

Simple Past	Singular	Plural
1st person	/bukudəm/	/bukudim(i)/
2nd person	/bukudi/	/bukudid(i)/
3rd person	/bukudə/	/bukudid(i)/

(Rastorgoeva)

Cut 21 /färuxtän(d)/ → /bəfäruxdidi/ 'they sold'

Cut 22 /did/ → /bibide/ 'he saw'

Past Continuous

The Past continuous is formed by:

{infinitive + conjugated past tense of the helping verb /daštän/}

Past Continuous	Singular	Plural
1st person	/kudən dubum/	/kudən dibim/
2nd person	/kudən dibi/	/kudən dibid/
3rd person	/kudən dubu/	/kudən dibid/

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

Note: this form is used less frequently in modern Gilaki (Rahmani 1985) pg. 131

Imperfect

The imperfect is similar to its Persian counterpart and is used to express past continuous action, the habitual past, and the counterfactual. As noted above, it uses slightly different verb endings. It is formed by:

{no prefix + past stem + verb ending [im. i, (i), im(i), id(i), id(i)]}

Imperfect	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/kudim/	/kudim(i)/
2ⁿᵈ person	/kudi /	/kudid(i)/
3rd person	/kud(i)/	/kudid(i)/

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

Cut 23 /misuxtim/ → /suxtim/ 'we would burn'

Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by: {prefix + past stem +/ə/ + past simple verb 'to be'}

Past Perfect	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bukudə bum/	/bukudə bim/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bukudə bi/	/bukudə bid/
3rd person	/bukudə bu/	/bukudə bud/

(Rastorgoeva 2012)

Cut 24 /dide bud/ → /diändə bu/ 'he had seen'

Cut 25 /gofte bud/ → /bəgoftə bu/ 'he had said'

Cut 26 /väde bude bud/ → /väde budə bu/ 'he had promised'

Present Subjunctive

The present subjunctive is formed by: {prefix + present stem +verb ending}

Present Subjunctive	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bukunəm/	/bukunim(i)/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bukuni/	/bukunid(i)/
3rd person	/bukunə/	/bukunid(i)/

(Rastorgoeva 2013)

Past Subjunctive

The past subjunctive is formed by: {prefix + past stem + /ə/ + present simple verb 'to be'}

Present Subjunctive	Singular	Plural

1ˢᵗ person	/bukudə bim/	/bukudə bim/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bukudə bi/	/bukudə bid/
3rd person	/bukudə bi/	/bukudə bid/

(Purhadi pg. 140)

Absolute Future

(Absolute) Future	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/xäjəm vavərsen/	/xäjim vävərsen/
2ⁿᵈ person	/xäji vävərsen/	/xäjidi vävərsen/
3rd person	/xäje vävərsen/	/xäjidi vävərsen/

'To Be'

Present Copula	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/isəm/	/isimi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/isi/	/isidi/
3ʳᵈ person	/isə/	/isidi/

Cut 27 /hästim/ → /isimi/ 'we are'

Past Copula	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bum/	/bim/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bi/	/bid/
3ʳᵈ person	/bu/	/bud/

(Purhadi…pg 126)

Cut 28 /bud/ → /bu/

To be used in past subjuntive	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bim/	/bim/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bi/	/bid/
3ʳᵈ person	/bi/	/bid/

(Purhadi…pg 126)

Present Enclitic Copula	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/-əm/	/-im/
2ⁿᵈ person	/-i/	/-idi/
3ʳᵈ person	/-ə/	/-idi/

Negation

The negative prefix is /nə-/ which can also be realized as /ni-/ or /nu-/

English	Gilaki Phonetic
he/she will not fall	/nə-kəfe/
I did not see	/ni-dem/
he/she was not	/nu-bu/

(Rastorgoeva)

Note that the negative prefix replaces the verb prefix in all forms. (Rahmani 1985) pg. 138

Cut 29 /chära salam nämikunäd/ → /chära salam nukune/ 'why doesn't he greet [us]?'

Cut 30 /äz zäban nämifähmäd/ /äz zäban näfähmiə/ 'he doesn't understand language'

Cut 31 /nädanid/ /nä(dä)nid/ "you don't know"

Cut 32 /nämia(yä)d/ → /näye/ "It won't come"

Cut 33 /šoma guš näkärded/ → /šoma guš nugudidi/ 'you didn't listen' Note: the speaker pronounces /nukudidi/ as /nugudidi/ which is probably due either to assimilation or some idiosyncrasy of the speaker.

Lexical

Verbs

English	Present Stem	Past Stem	Gilaki Infinitive
to stand	/is-/	/isä-/	/isän/
to break	/tävəda-/	/tavəd-/	/tävədän/
to do	/kun-/	/kud-/	/kudən/
to drag, to pull	/kəš-/	/kəše-/	/kəšen/
to reach	/rəs-/	/rəse-/	/rəsen/
to be afraid	/tərs-/	/tərse-/	/tərsen/
to carry, to take away	/bər-/	/bərd-/	/bərdən/
to bring	/ävər-/	/ävərd-/	/ävərdən/
to take	/gir-/	/gift-/	/giftən/
to beat, to strike	/zən-/	NA	/zeen/
to read	/xän-/	/xänd-/	/xändən/
to die	/mir-/	/murd-/ /mərd-/	/murdən/ or /mərdən/
to fall	/kəf-/	/kəft-/	/kəftən/
to break	/iškəf-/	/iškəft-/	/iškəftən/
to kill	/kuš-/	/kušt-/	/kuštən/
to go	/šu-/	/šo-/	/šon/
to arrive	/a-/	/ämo-/	/ämon/
to say	/gu-/	/goft-/	/goftən/ or /guftən/
to explain	/fähmäne-/	/fähmän-/	/fähmänen/
to know	/dän-/	/dänəst-/	/dänəstən/
'to revolve', 'to go', 'to wander'	/gərd-/	/gərdəst-/	/gərdəstən/
to lift	/viriz-/	/virišt-/	/virištən/

to write	/nivis-/	/nivišt-/	/nivištən/
to pass	/guzər-/	/guzəšt-/	/guzəštən/
to have	/dar-/	/dašt-/	/daštən/
to wash	/šor-/	/šost-/	/šostən/
to want	/xäj-/	/xäst-/	/xästən/
to tie, to bind	/dəbəd-/	/dəbəst-/	/dəbəstən/
to know (about a man), to be familiar	/šənäs-/	/šənäxt-/	/šənäxtən/
to be burnt down	/soj-/	/soxt-/	/soxtən/
to take	/gir-/	/gift-/	/giftən/
to sleep, to lie	/xus-/	/xuft-/	/xuftən/
to look	/fander-/	/fanderəst-/	/fanderəstən/

Modal Verbs

English	Gilaki Phonetic
it is necessary, one should	/västi/ or /väsi/

/ä jur västi rúzi häšt saät kar bukunid/ 'Thus they had to work eight hours a day'

/mašin nə-nä, piyadə väsi bišid/ 'There are no cars; we must go on foot'

/änəm väsi bəgəm ki .../ 'I should also say that ...'

English	Gilaki Phonetic
it is necessary, one should	/bä / or /vä/

/ kojä va bəšəm?/ 'Where must I go?'

/zud baš mä-täl nävä bostən!/ 'Hurry up, do not be slow!'

English	Gilaki Phonetic
perhaps, it is possible, one could	/šä(sti)/

/ab čitšäl bu. unə šä taɣət ävərdən/ 'The water was lukewarm. It could be endured.'

Persian modals are also used, witness:

/ušäni ärusi-re häto mərdum bäyəd xuši bukunid/ *At their wedding people must be happy in the same way.*

/šayəd xəjalət kəšeyidi/ *Perhaps they were ashamed.*

Other Vocab

English	Gilaki Phonetic
brother	/bərär/
sister	/xaxur/ or /xäxur/
now	/häsä/
a few, a little	/itä pitše/ or /ipitše/
a few	/itšän/
a group	/itädästə/
when	/äke/
here	/ärä/
which	/ko/
where	/kujä/

Cut 34 list for the word /ipitše/ 'a little'

Cut 35 /äz kuja/ → /az kujä/ 'where from'

Cut 36 /xub digär päs či/ → /xub de päs či/ 'OK OK fine, then what?'

Cut 37 /bäradärane u/ → /unä bərärän/ 'his brothers'

Russian Cognates

For a variety of geographic and historical reasons Gilaki has incorporated many Russian words into its lexicon. Below are a few examples of Russian words which are not used in Persian.

English	Gilaki Phonetic	Russian Phonetic	Persian Script
Tomato	/pämädor/	/pämidor/	گۆجه فرنگی
Ice cream	/märožni/	/märoženayε/	بستنی
Sun flower seed(s)	/semitškä/	/semitški/	دانه افتابگردان

(Rahmnai 1985) pg. 217

Note: These words are not used in standard, Iranian Persian, however all are used in Tajik.

Cut 38 /ma mig(uy)im guje färängi...guje färängi/ → /ämä gemi pämädor...pämädor/ 'We say tomato...tomato."

Examples of Common Phrases from Social Media

The following common phrases were harvested from Gilaki-speaking Facebook and Youtube users. In order to preserve its authenticity the spelling in the 'Gilaki Romanized' column has not been changed.

English	Colloquial Persian Phonetic	Gilaki Romanized
Term of endearment	/ɢorbanet beräm/	te qherbon bavem
You're welcome (or 'please…')	/xahiš mikonɐm/	Xahiš konɵm
I had fun too	/mänäm hal kärdäm/	manam hal bukudam
Salaam brother	/sälam bäradär/	salam baraaa
Thanks, I enjoyed it	/däste šoma därd näkonäd, lezät bordäm/	shemi dast dard nokone, lezat bobordam
My opinion is…	/näzäräm inä ke/	mi nazare ine ki
Welcome!	/xoš amädi/	khosh bamoei
Nice work!	/karet xeyli daruste/	khaili ti kar duruste

Code Switching Examples

Cut 39

In the above clip notice the inconsistent use of possessive pronouns. The speaker's first phrase /dustane män/ 'my friends' uses a standard Persian structure, however later he says /šemi ɣälb/ 'your heart' and /šemi rah/ 'your ways (*lit.* way) which uses Gilaki possessive pronouns and syntax.

Cut 40

Note the pronominal clitic /əš/ in the phrase /bäd äz märgəš/ 'After his death'. Recall that these clitics are not found in 'pure' Gilaki, but are commonly encountered in Persianized speech.

Cut 41

Sometimes the combination of a Gilaki possessive pronoun *and* a pronominal clitic can be heard. Witness the phrase /mi ärbabäm/ 'my master' (*lit.* my master my) in the above cut.

Cut 42

Listen to the above cut of a Gilaki woman speaking Persian. Can you detect any morphological evidence of Gilaki? Now listen to *Cut 43* cut taken from example 42. Note the Gilaki influence of the verb in the phrase /in tur ke shuma binevištid/ 'as you wrote'.

Cut 44

In this clip listen for several instances of /u ra/ 'him + *object particle*'. Notice how this Persian pronoun and object particle appear several times in a sentence which is otherwise Gilaki.

Cut 45

Note the Persian form of the imperfect /či minevišti/ 'what were you writing?' at the 0:47 second mark.

Cut 46

In this clip you hear three speakers. The first two are a Gilaki husband and wife arguing. The third voice who speaks at the 0:33 mark is an Arab boy from Khuzestan. Notice how they switch to Persian as a lingua franca.

Persian with a Gilaki Accent

Cut 47

Cut 48

Cut 49

Cut 50

Appendix 1: Demonstrative Pronouns

Nominative	**Singular**	**Plural**
Close simple	/än/	/äšän/
Close emphatic	/hän/	/häšän/
Distant simple	/un/	/ušän/
Distant emphatic	/hun/	/hušän/

Accusative	**Singular**	**Plural**
Close simple	/änä/	/äšänä/
Close emphatic	/hänä/	/häšänä/
Distant simple	/unä/	/ušänä/
Distant emphatic	/hunä/	/hušänä/

Genitive (possessive)	**Singular**	**Plural**
Close simple	/änə(i)/	/äšänə(i)/
Close emphatic	/hänə(i)/	/häšäne(i)/
Distant simple	/unə(i)/	/ušänə(i)/
Distant emphatic	/hunə(i)/	/hušäne(i)/

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KHUZESTANI خوزستانی

Khuzestani 🔊 *Quick I.D.*

- /v/ → /w/ at least some of the time
- /h/ → /ħ/
- ع is pronounced as /ʕ/
- غ ≠ ق
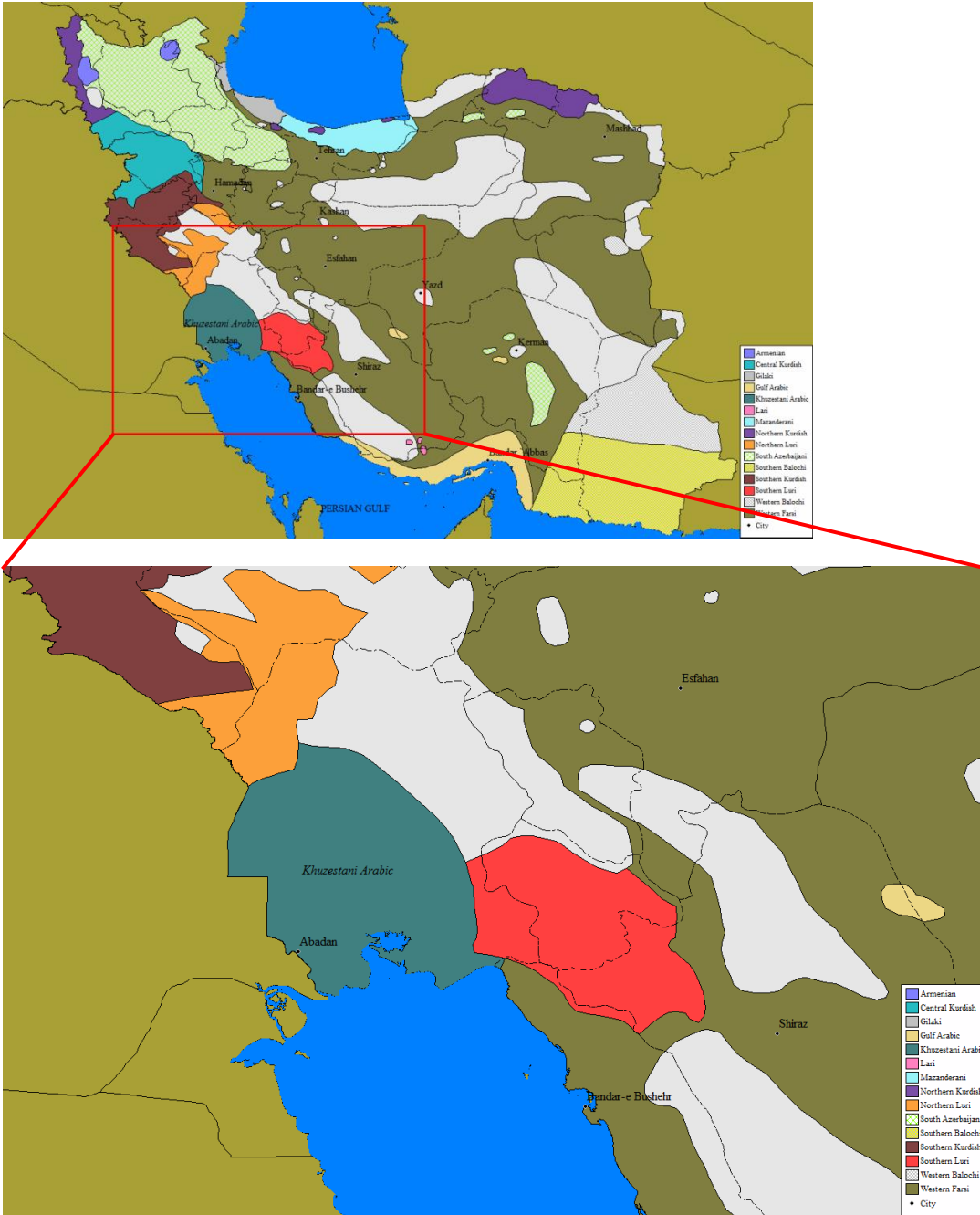
Overview

Khuzestan Province

Khuzestan is a province in Southwest Iran situated along the border of Iraq and the Persian Gulf. It is the main oil-producing province in Iran and was the primary objective of Saddam Hussein's invasion of Iran in 1980. Throughout the Iran-Iraq war, the province was devastated and today remains a relatively poor and underdeveloped province. The population of Khuzestan is diverse and besides Persians includes sizable populations of Lori-Bakhtiari and Qashqai tribes as well as a smattering of small groups such as the Mandeans—a heterodox Christian minority who speak a Semitic language known as Mandaic (Häberl 2009). In addition to regional dialects of Persian such as Abadani (see above) several Iranian dialects/languages associated with cities in Khuzestan are also spoken. Among the most famous are Behbahani, Dezfuli, and Shustari. The primary focus of this sketch, however, is Persian as spoken by Khuzestan's largest ethnic group—the Arabs.

Khuzestani Arabs

The largest concentration of Iranian Arabs lives in the southwestern province of Khuzestan and speaks a dialect of Arabic known as "Khuzestani Arabic". Khuzestani Arabic is broadly classified as belonging to the so-called 'Mesopotamian' (Iraqi) group of Arabic dialects. Further regional subdivisions of Khuzestani have been proposed, however a discussion of them falls outside the purview of this sketch (Ingham 1997). There are approximately 2.5 million native speakers of Khuzestani Arabic which account for roughly 60% of the population of Khuzestan Province. It is spoken primarily in the following cities Abadan, Omidia, Ahvaz, Bandar-Mahshahr, Khorramshahr, Dasht-Azadegan, Shadegan, and Susa (Shabibi 2006). Attitudes regarding the relative prestige of Arabic and Persian differ. Some families prefer the use of Persian while others prefer the use of Arabic and the avoidance of Persian loan words (Shabibi 2006). In Khuzestan there is a marked difference between urban and rural varieties of Arabic. In urban areas, Arabic is being replaced by Persian as a first language and is spoken primarily in the home while Persian is employed as the language of education, commerce, and education. Bilingualism is common, and in some families the use of Arabic has atrophied to the extent that it is only used to communicate with older generations. In rural areas, Arabic monolingualism is more common. Khuzestani Arabic is not taught in school, however Classical and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are widely taught across Iran. In addition to Khuzestan, historically a sizable population of Arabs lived in Greater Khorasan. Groups of Arabs are also settled along the coast of the Persian Gulf, in Fars Province, and various other pockets around Iran.

Khuzestani Arabic

While related to Iraqi Arabic, Khuzestani Arabic has significant Persian influence which has heavily affected its lexicon, and to a lesser extent, certain aspects of its morphology and syntax.

Phonetics and Phonology

The following table illustrates the sounds of Khuzestani Arabic. Because of Persian influence, Khuzestani Arabic has five more consonants than Modern Standard Arabic: /p, g,v, č, ž/, which are shaded below. However /p, v, ž/ only appear in loan words.

Consonants

Phonetic	Script Letter	Khz. Arabic Example	English Meaning
/b/	ب	/bāb/	door
/p/	پ	/pärdä/*	curtain
/d/	د	/dĭč/	rooster
/t/	ت	/tūt/	berry
/g/	گ	/bäggä/*	insect
/k/	ك	/ktāb/	book
/q/	ق	/qəsmä/	fate
/ʔ/	ء	/mäʔmūr/	delegate
/ṭ/	ط	/ṭijūr/	birds
/s/	س	/səmä/	sky
/z/	ز	/zəlmə/	man
/v/	و	/vīllā/*	villa
/f/	ف	/šārä/	mouse
/ð/	ذ	/ðĭb/	wolf
/θ/	ث	/θob/	dress
/š/	ش	/šäʔär/	hair
/ž/	ژ	/žĭlā/*	girls
/x/	خ	/xubuz/	bread
/ɣ/	غ	/ɣärib/	strange
/ħ/	ح	/ħār/	hot
/ʕ/	ع	/ʕäläm/	flag
/ḍ/	ض	/ḍämīr/	conscience
/ẓ/	ظ	/ẓāləm/	cruel
/j/	ج	/jämīl/	beautiful
/č/	چ	/čəbīr/*	big (masculine)
/w/	و	/wäläd/	boy
/j/	ي	/jōm/	day
/l/	ل	/lōm/	blame
/m/	م	/märäg/	curry
/n/	ن	/ʔämān/	safety
/r/	ر	/rāḍi/	satisfied

Adapted from pg. 53-55 (Shabibi 2006)

Short Vowels

Phonetic	Khz. Arabic Example	English
/i/	/ilim/	knowledge
/u/	/umm/	mother
/ä/	/wäläd/	boy
/ə/	/əbn/	son
/o/	/moʕälläm/	teacher (masculine)

Adapted from (Shabibi 2006) pg. 50

Long Vowels

Phonetic	Khz. Arabic Example	English
/ī/	/azīz/	dear
/ū/	/arūs/	bride
/ē/	/umrēn/	two lives
/ō/	/rōbä/	yoghurt

| /ā/ | /rāḥ/ | he went |

Adapted from (Shabibi 2006) pg. 51

Diphthong

Phonetic	Khz. Arabic Example	English
/iə/	/biət/	house

Morphology

Unlike Kurdish and Balochi which are genetically related to Persian, Arabic is a member of the Semitic language family. Because the goal of this chapter is the identification of Khuzestani Arabic Accented Persian, we will not endeavor to give a full overview of Arabic grammar. A few basic observations will suffice:

- Nouns and adjectives are declined according to case, state (e.g. construct), gender and number.
- Like Persian Adjectives follow Nouns, but must agree in case, state, gender, and number.
- Arabic verb morphology is very complex, but the in their most basic form verbs are expressed by a cluster of three or four consonants known as a root. For example /k-t-b/ 'write'.
- Classical Arabic word is order is VSO however this order is more flexible than Persian. Notably in Khuzestani Arabic SOV word order is sometimes encountered.
- Unlike Persian, Arabic has a definite marker /äl-/ which corresponds roughly to the English 'the'. However due to Persian influence in Khuzestani Arabic the definite marker behaves uniquely and in some cases is deleted.

Lexical

Khuzestani Arabic is lexically similar to Iraqi (Mesopotamian) Arabic. For an overview of key words and phrases along with example audio cuts consult DLI's online Iraqi Arabic Survival Kit:

http://famdliflc.lingnet.org/products/iraqi/ir_bc_LSK/default.html

The following sections will be most beneficial:

- Helpful Words, Phrases, and Questions
- Greetings & Introductions
- Numbers
- Days of the Week
- Descriptions
- Relatives

From a lexical perspective, the primary difference between Khuzestani and Iraqi Arabic is that the former has appropriated more Persian words. The most common Persian loan words are the following discourse markers:

English	Persian Discourse Marker Use in Khuzestani Arabic
that/which	/ke/

although	/ägär če/
although	/ba inke/
both…and	/häm...häm/
not only…but also	/nä tänha...bälke/
too	/häm/ or *filler*
OK, alright, well	/xob, xo, xoš*/
nothing	/hič/
of course	/älbäte/
in short, in summary, basically	/xolasä/

Adapted from (Shabibi 2006) pg. 151, 158

*Shabibi notes that in Persian /xoš/ is not used as 'filler word' in the same way it is used in Kz. Arabic. pg. 159-160 (Shahidi 2006)

For transcribed sample texts of Khuzestani Arabic in which Persian loan words are highlighted see Appendix 1.

Khuzestani-Arabic Accented Persian (KAAP)

As with the chapters involving Kurdish, Azeri, and Armenian, the primary goal of this chapter is not the identification of Khuzestani Arabic itself, but rather the identification of Khuzestani Arabic Accented Persian (KAAP). Like Kurdish Accented Persian, the Persian proficiency of native speakers of Khuzestani Arabic varies widely from those who speak Persian fluently with no discernible trace of Arabic influence, to those with heavily accented, dysfluent speech.

A Note on Arabic Influence on Standard Persian

Since the time of the Muslim conquest of the Sassanid Empire and the subsequent adoption of the Arabic writing system, Arabic has had a significant influence on the Persian language. By far the most important influence has been lexical (Jazayery 1970). The most common domains of borrowing are religious, legal, political, and scientific words; however Arabic loan words have permeated all domains of Persian speech. Consider following paragraph in which words are color highlighted as follows:

Arabic Loan Words Proper Names Loan Words from other Languages

حامد کرزی رئیس جمهوری افغانستان فردا برای یک سفر پنج روزه به آمریکا می رود. مقامهای افغان می گویند که این سفر اهمیت زیادی برای آینده روابط دو کشور و امنیت منطقه دارد. ده وزیر افغان حامد کرزی را در سفر به آمریکا همراهی می کنند. مبارزه مشترک با تروریسم از جمله مسائل مهم مطرح در این سفر خواهد بود.

http://www.arabicgenie.com/2010/06/learn-persian-from-arabic

In addition to individual words there are a large number or Islamic phrases which are commonly used.

Arabic Example	English
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	"In the name of God, the most gracious, the most merciful" (common invocation)
عجل الله تعالي فرجه	"May Allah hasten his return" (said after the mention of the 12th Imam)
صلي الله عليه و آله و سلم	"Peace be upon him" (said after the mention of Mohammad)

For a quick overview in English of some of the most common Islamic terms listen to this short clip

Cut 1

Certain morphological features have also affected Persian such as Arabic plural markers.

Perso-Arabic Singular	Perso-Arabic Plural	English	Plural Marker	Plural Marker Type
/monafiq/	/monafiqin/	hypocrites	/-in/	masculine
/näzär/	/näzärat/	opinions	/-at/	feminine
/amel/	/ävamel/	factors	NA	broken plurals

Common Features of KAAP

False Friends

In the previous section we highlighted the large lexical overlap between Persian and Arabic, however many of these words have different meanings or connotations. Linguistically these pairs are known as 'false cognates' or 'false friends'. Consider the following examples of false friends in Arabic and Persian:

Word	Arabic Meaning	Persian Meaning
تقلید	tradition	imitation, emulation
هندسه	engineering	geometry
جامعه	university	society
انقلاب	coup d'état (negative connotation)	revolution (positive connotation)
استثمار	investment	exploitation

Arabic Influenced Pronunciation of Arabic Cognates

Without a thorough knowledge of both Arabic and Persian detecting incorrect usage of Arabic loan words can be quite difficult for the non-native Persian linguist. Fortunately, even if speakers of KAAP use Arabic cognates correctly they will often preserve the Arabic pronunciation of the word or phrase. Even if the speaker actively tries to pronounce a word in a Persian manner, lingering Arabic influence can still often be detected. This is most apparent in the following instances:

/ħ/

Like Kurdish Accented Persian, the /ħ/ (a voiceless pharyngeal fricative) sound is often heard in KAAP. Recall that this sound corresponds to the Arabic letter ح which is distinct from the ه which is pronounced like the English and Persian /h/. Consider the following examples:

Cut 2

/hokumät/ → /ħokumät/ حکومت 'rule'

Cut 3

/silah/ → /silaħ/ سلاح 'weapons'

Note: the fact that /silaħ/ is an Arabic word and is pluralized using Arabic morphology is not itself an indication of KAAP, but the pronunciation of the letter ح as /ħ/ is.

Cut 4

/häl/ → /ħäl/ حل 'solution'

Cut 5

/mänabe hoquqe bäšäri/ → /mänabʕ ħoquqe bäšäri/ منابع حقوق بشر 'human rights sources'

Cut 6

/mähkumiyäthaye bäynälmeläli/ → /mäħkumiyäthaye bäynälmeläli/ محکومیت بین المللی 'international condemnation'

/hokme edam/ → /ħokme ʕdam/ حکم اعدام 'death sentence'

Note: the above sentence illustrates the rule of thumb that the /ħ/ sound is more clearly heard when it is followed by a vowel.

/ʕ/

Another common Arabic sound is /ʕ/ (a voiced pharyngeal fricative) which corresponds to the letter ع. Recall that in Persian ع is pronounced either as a glottal stop /ʔ/ or not at all (for more on the status of /ʔ/ in Persian see Jahani 2005). Note that this sound is similar to the /ħ/ above except it is voiced.

Cut 7

/jameʔe iran/ → /jameʕe iran/ جامعه ایران 'Iranian society'

Cut 8

/ʔlane mujudiyät/ → /ʕlane mujudiyät/ اعلام موجوديت 'a declaration of existence'

Cut 9

/sa(ʔ)ät/ → /saʕät/ ساعت 'hour'

Cut 10

/onvan/ → /ʕonwan/ عنوان 'title'

Note: the ع in /äʔza/ اعضا 'members' and /äʔdäm/ عدم 'lack' is more muted

Cut 11

/fä(ʔ)aliyät/ → /fäʕaliyät/ فعاليت 'activity'

Physical Articulation of Pharyngeal Fricatives

As noted above both the /ʕ/ and /ħ/ sounds are closely related to one another, but can be hard for English speakers to perceive and produce. For more help watch this video to see how the two above sounds are physically articulated

Video 1

/v/

Recall that the /v/ sound can occur in Khuzestani Arabic proper, but only in loan words. In KAAP /v/ is often (but not always) pronounced as /w/ as is the case in KAP, Dari, and some dialects of Tajiki. Consider the following examples:

Cut 12

/be vojud avärdän(d)/ → به وجود آورند /be wojud awärdän/ 'have created'

Note: the word /motäväje/ → /motʔ(v)äje/ متوجه 'mindful'

Cut 13

/ba vojud in ke/ → /ba wojud in ke/ به وجود اينکه 'Despite the fact that'

Cut 14

/miawärd/ → /miavärd/ می آورد 'he was bringing'

Cut 15

/vaset/ → /waset/ واسط

/ɣ/ and /q/

غ and ق which in standard Iranian Persian are typically indistinguishable are pronounced differently from one another in KAAP. غ is realized as /ɣ/ and ق is realized as /q/. Watch this video two see how these two sounds are physically articulated in Arabic:

Video 2

Examples of غ

Cut 16

/mäɢamate ɢäzai/ → /mäqamate ɣäzai/ مقامات غذای 'food authorities'

Cut 17

/pišnehade ɢärb/ → /pišnehade ɣärb/ پیشنهاد غرب 'the West's proposal'

Examples of ق

Cut 18

/sabeɢeye dästgiri/ → /sabeqeye dästgiri/ سابقه دستگیری 'arrest record'

/ɢäbʔl/ → /qäbʔl/ قبل 'previous'

Cut 19

/ɢäblän/ → /qäblän/ قبلا 'previously'

Cut 20

/aɢayyun/ → /aqayyun/ آقایان 'gentlemen'

Proper Names and Identity Words

During the Pahlavi dynasty a lot of Arabic place names in Khuzestan were changed to Persian. The use of the Arabic name does not necessarily mean that the speaker is Arab, nor does the use of a Persian name mean that the speaker is Persian. However, a good rule of thumb is that if the Arabic place name is used then the speaker is likely attempting to emphasize their 'Arabness'.

Arabic Place Name Romanized	Arabic Place Name Script	Persian (Official) Name Romanized	Persian Place Name Script	English Description
Mohammarah	محمرة	Khorramshahr	خرمشهر	city in Khuzestan
Fallehiyeh	فلاحية	Shadegan	شادگان	city in Khuzestan
Khafajiah	خفاجية	Susangerd	سوسنگرد	city in Khuzestan
Arabistan	عربستان	Khuzestan	خوزستان	Province in

				southwest Iran
Shatt al-Arab	شط العرب	Arvandrud	أروندرود	waterway formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates

Cut 21 an explanation of the name changes

Note the use of Shatt or Shatt al-Arab شط العرب instead of the Persian name Arvand Rud أَروَندرود in the following two clips:

Cut 22

به تقلیل ۷۰ درصد آب کرون باعث شد که آب [inaudible] خلیج وارد شط العرب بشود

'The 80% diminution of the Karun's water has caused [inaudible] the Gulf entering the Shatt al-Arab.'

Note the use of Shatt al-Arab شط العرب instead of the Persian name Arvand Rud أَروَندرود

Cut 23

[S1] شما چه مشکل دارید در این زمین؟

[S2] چون این شط را بستند الال همه ی زمین ها خراب شدند

[S1] 'What problems do you have with this land?'

[S2] 'Because they closed this river...now all of the land is destroyed.'

Along with 'Arabistan' the term 'Al-Ahwaz' الأحواز is one of the historic names of the Arab inhabited areas in and around Khuzestan. The term carries certain political undertones and is typically used by those who agitate for greater Arab rights, federalism, or secession. Its usage is similar to the phenomenon of Irish Republicans who refer to Northern Ireland as "The Six Counties" or Sunni jihadists who refer to the Levant as 'Bilad al-Sham'. Note: this should not be confused with the name 'Ahwaz' احواز which is the official name of the capital city of Khuzestan province and carries no specific connotation.

The term 'ajami' عجمي is used by Arabs to refer to Persians/Iranians or more broadly to anyone who is not Arab. The term is often used pejoratively or to reinforce the Arab identity of the speaker. It can also be used as a proper name referring to one of several villages in Iran, an alternative name for the Lari dialect discussed above, or as a surname e.g. Fouad Ajami the prominent Lebanese-American Middle East expert.

Cut 24 Listen for several examples of Ajam

Prosody and Overall Impression

One of the helpful aspects of identifying KAAP as opposed to Kurdish, Balochi, Azeri, or Armenian accented Persian is that Arabic is a much more common language and therefore Persian students generally have a better idea of what it sounds like. This is helpful because while the statement "KAAP sounds like an Arab speaking Persian" may sound trivial, people working with Persian probably have some a priori intuition of what that means. As is the case with certain prosodic features such as Esfahani's unique intonation, simply listening to examples and focusing on the overall impression of the speech may prove the best way to familiarize oneself with KAAP.

Cut 25

Cut 26

Cut 27

Cut 28

Cut 29

Cut 30

Cut 30

Cut 31

Cut 32

Cut 33

Cut 34

Possible Features of KAAP

Other Arabic sounds not found in Persian

These sounds are not heard as often in KAAP but given the fact that these sounds *do not* exist in Persian, but their corresponding letters *do*, you may occasionally here speakers of KAAP use them when pronouncing cognates.

Letter	Persian Phonetic	Arabic Phonetic	Arabic Example	Arabic Example Cut
ظ	/z/	/zˤ/ or /ẓ/	/ẓāʔ/	*Cut 35*
ض	/z/	/dˤ/ or /ḍ/	/ḍād/	*Cut 36*
ذ	/z/	/ð/ or /dh/	/dhal/	*Cut 37*
ث	/s/	/θ/ or /th/	/thāʔ/	*Cut 38*
ص	/s/	/sˤ/ or /ṣ/	/ṣād/	*Cut 39*
ط	/t/	/tˤ/ or /ṭ/	/ṭāʔ/	*Cut 40*

Watch this video two see how these sounds are physically articulated in Arabic.

Video 3

Sounds which are difficult for Arabic speakers in general

Arabic speakers of English often have a difficult time with the sounds /p, v, č/ pronouncing them instead as /b, v, š/ (Barros 2003). One might expect to find a similar phenomenon in KAAP, however the dialect of Khuzestani Arabic has borrowed these sounds from Persian so speakers of Khuzestani Arabic do not tend to have a problem pronouncing them while speaking Persian. However given that Khuzestani Arabs are generally exposed to a variety of Arabic dialects which do not have these sounds including Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Egyptian Arabic (via film and television) occasional mix ups may still be heard.

Code Switching

As previously mentioned the Arabic language has had significant influence on Persian for over 1000 years and plays an important role in Iranian political and religious discourse. With that in mind it is important to distinguish between instances of 'Persian speakers using Arabic' vs. 'Arabic-Persian code switching'. Examples of the former are usually reserved for high register speech.

Persian speakers using Arabic

Prior to making a formal speech it is common for public figures to give a brief Arabic invocation before proceeding in Persian. Listen to this cut of Iran's Supreme Leader making a speech:

Cut 1

Here is a longer example made by Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati head of Iran's Guardian Council:

Cut 2

Beyond 'salaam alaykum' and the previously mentioned Islamic greetings and interjections a host of longer phrases also exist. Consider the following exchange:

Cut 3

This cleric references an Arab scholar and the title of his book as well as several Islamic concepts not commonly heard in everyday speech.

Cut 4

Arabic-Persian code switching

Contrary to the above examples these cuts may be regarded as examples of code switching proper.

Examples of *intra*-sentential switching in which the speaker uses a single Arabic word or morpheme that Persians would not typically use:

Cut 5

/be sʕid dästur midad vä sʕid dästur äta be ħäsän ...ħäsän nasiri/

[two theories: 1) Arabic verb أعطى 'to give' is consistent with Arabic VSO word order 2) noun is dasturAt-(r)A and the verb is distributed. No ain heard in أعطى but heard in sa'd.] [following cut lends credence to theory 2]

Cut 6

Notice how the speaker uses the Arabic word /abril/ instead of the Persian /avril/.

Note: while it is possible to attribute the above phenomenon to a phonological shift of /v/ → /b/, given that /äbril/ is an Arabic word this is most likely a case of lexical borrowing i.e. codeswitching.

Cut 7

At the 0:03 mark the speaker says /hälänä/ 'we are dismayed' which is an Arabic locution

Longer examples of *inter*-sentential switching

Cut 8

Cut 9

Cut 10

Cut 11

Cut 12

Examples of Bilingualism

Cut 13

Cut 14

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Appendix 1: Persian Loan Words in Khuzestani Arabic

Transcription of Khuzestani Arabic excerpted from pg. 250 (Shahidi 2006)

Italicized words are Persian loan words.

āšpazxāne əḥna *ham* gāfl-īn-a, məθəl mənna əḥna gāfl-īn-a ba'ad l-*panjara* š-bī f āyda ,

l-bāb magfūl. kəṣr-aw l-bāb, kəṣr-aw l-bāb w fakk-ō-li l-bāb, yābō-li 'alī daššīət, daššīət

l-yārāt daxxəl-an rā-dan nnām w-yāč. wəḥda hīyya w šərīčat-ha, gālat bət rayl-ī tnām w-yčā.

lā bāba 'āna mā xāfan folān w bahmān, amman 'āna mərta'b-a ba'ad ya'nī kəlləš *borīde*

būd-am. daššīət ša'alt l-fānṣū amman mā 'endi ḥāl. haðōl θnīən-hom mā-y'arf-ūn yəḥč-ūn,

wyā-man aḥč-i wyā-man agdar, w č- čaləb yənbaḥ wī rəd līə-warā, mū wādəm trḥū w tīyyī

ləgrāyāt, nəṣṣ-l-leīl *dasejāt* yənbaḥ č- čaləb hassa mā dri yənbaḥ 'ala wādəm, ḥarāmī yrīd

īyyī-n-na, mā adri xanzīr mā adri šənhi, w l-*panjara* kəl wəḥda škəbər-ha blayya ḥefāz,

w 'āna Ḍālla, Ḍālla, memtaḥna mjābla hēč l-*panjara* w gā'da, balla yamta aḥḥad īfək l-bāb w

īdəš 'alay. mən 'əšyāt lə-ṣ- ṣubuḥ haðōl θnīən l-əfrūx nāym-īn w 'āna gā'da hēč, ḥātṭa yd-i

hēč wa 'āyən l-əl-*panjara*. kəl mā yənbaḥ č-čaləb ba'ad 'āna galb-i yənšələ' w ītīḥ . lamman

mā ṣār ṣ- ṣubuḥ ba'ad 'āna mayta. yom θ-θānī ṣərət majbūr-a, yəbət bət īrān-na. Ḍallē-na

'abāra santīən. mən ba'ad santīən īyyē-na rəja'-na l-šīrāz, šīrāz…. īyyē-na ḥattē-na b-ḥōš

farəd wāḥəd īgəll-ū-l-a sālemi. men ba'ad mudda nnob *xo* rəḥ-na bəl ābādī l-laði ənti yyē-ti,

yəbnāč ġādī. mən l-ābādī nnob kaððē-na ḥōš šerkat nafṭi, b-əl-manāzəl. sanat zəmān

xallaṣ *ġarār-dād*-na nnob ənti ba'ad rəḥ-ti, sanat zəmān w rəḥ-ti, klāṣ rābə'čən-ti. ənti rəja'-ti

əḥna rdūd ḥawwal-na məkān, *ham* kaḌḌē-na ḥōš, *ham* sana, ḥudūdan θalθ snīn nnob

Ḍallē-na b-šīrāz. 'ali w ayman *ham* čān ubū-hum b-hāð l-ḥōš l-laði ba'ad mā ku aḥḥad, *ham*

ubu-hum īyya l-el-hawāz w θnīən-hum īḥaṣb-ūn w l-īḥaṣṣub *ham* šadīd ītəmarraḌ mū məθəl

hassa, hassa wāksan īṭəgg-ū-ll-a hassa l-ḥamd-əlla lā aḥmad w lā mīnā w lā mahā mā ftəkər

ḥaṣṣəb-aw mā šəfət ḥaṣṣəb-aw 'āna.

English translation of above text. excerpted from pg 251-252 (Shahidi 2006)

Kitchen, we had locked it, too. For example we had locked it from here, what use could the window have? The door was locked. They smashed the door and opened the door for me. They brought Ali for me, I went in, and I went in. The neighbours insisted that they would sleep over with me. One of them with her *šərīča* (the husband's second wife), she said that her husband's daughter would stay with me. 'No I am not scared' and things like that. But I was terrified, I mean I had completely lost it (I had no energy). I went in. I turned the lantern on, but I was not feeling well. Both of these two (kids) could not talk. Who should I speak to? With who could I …

And the dog kept barking, because people were going and coming to the ceremony, at midnight there were groups of mourners. The dog was barking. I don't know whether it was barking at the people, a thief was coming to us? I don't know. I don't know what, and the window, each one was so big without any fence and I was there, was there, confused, facing the window like this (she demonstrates) and was sitting, waiting to see when someone is going to open the door and enter. From the evening until the morning these two kids were asleep and I was sitting like this (she demonstrates). I was putting my hand like this (she demonstrates) and was looking at the window. Every time the dog barks my heart stops (lit. it is pulled out and falls). Until the morning I was nearly dead. The second day I had to bring the daughter of out neighbours. We stayed there for about two years. After two years we went back to Shiraz, Shiraz. We came and resided in the house of someone called Salemi. After a while we went to the Abadi (a district) that you came to. We brought you there. From the Abadi we rented a house from the oil company, from the housing. Our contract ended in year. You went, then. One year and you went. You were in year four. You went back. We changed

place again. We rented a house also for a year. For about three years we stayed in Shiraz. Ali and also Ayman, their father was in this house, that there was no one, and their father came to Ahwaz and both of them got measles, and when someone gets measles he gets badly ill. It was not like now. Nowadays they get injections. Now, thank God, none of Ahmed, Mina and Maha, I don't think they got measles. I did not see them get measles.

KORDESTANI کردستانی
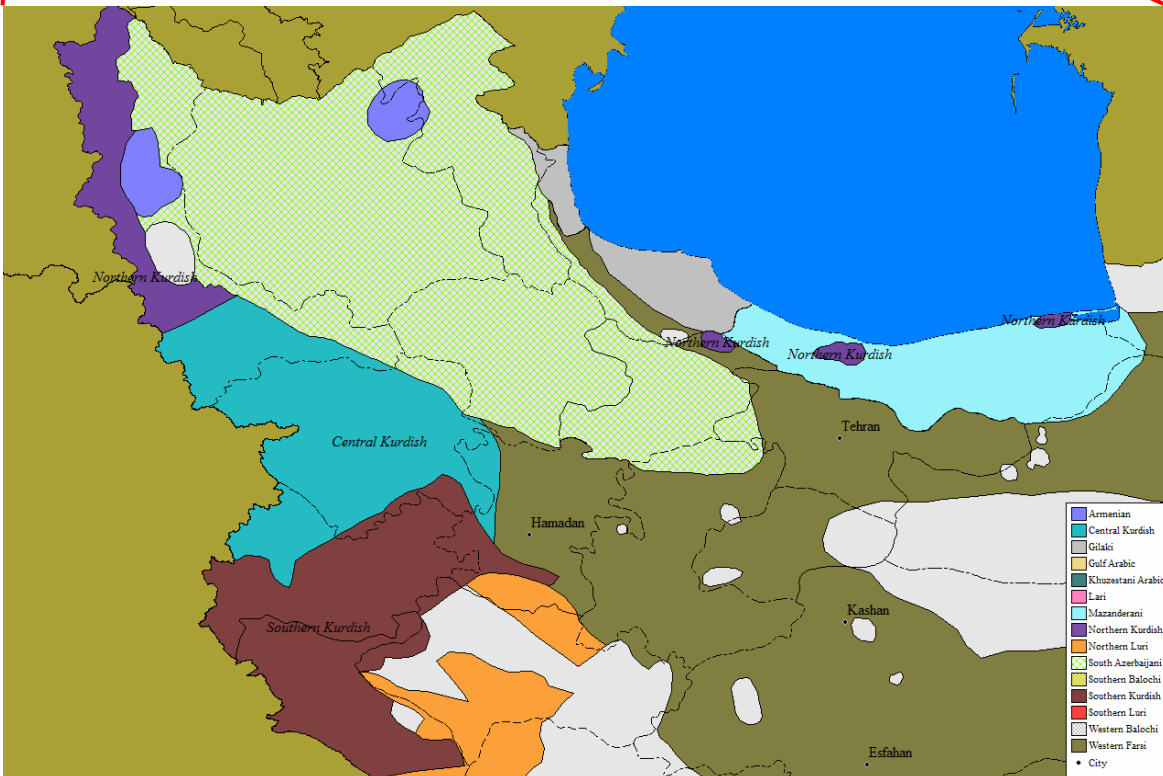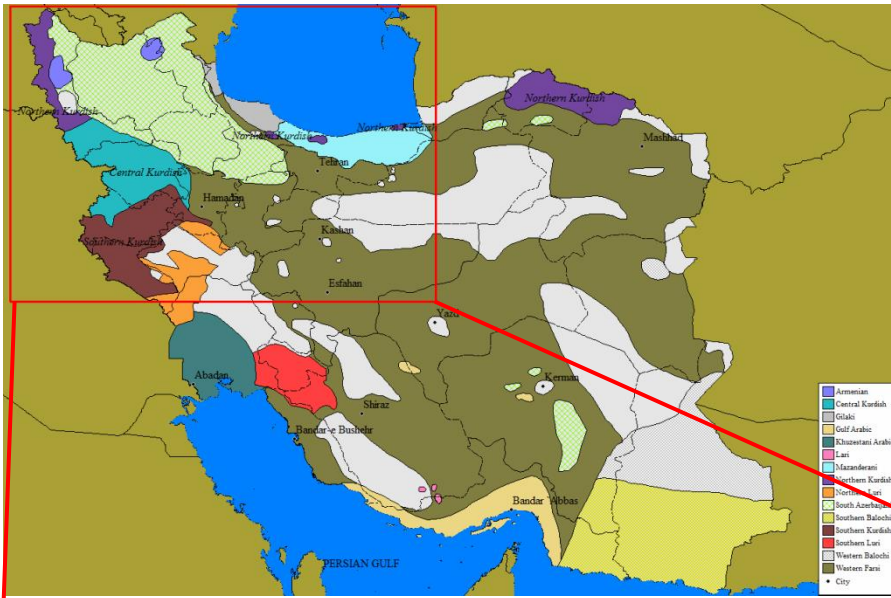
Overview

Introduction to Koredestani

Kordestani, or Kurdish (Persian کردی /kordi/ Sorani کوردی /kurdi/), is a Northwestern Iranian language spoken throughout the Middle East and former Soviet Union by an estimated 20-23 million people (Asatrian 2009). The largest populations of Kurds live in Turkey (7-8 million), Iran (5-6 million), (Iraq 4-5 million), and Syria (3-4 million). Strictly speaking there is no Kurdish language as such, rather the term "Kurdish" serves as an umbrella term for a large, diverse, and often mutually unintelligible number of languages. Linguists usually divide Kurdish dialects into three groups: northern, central, and southern each of which has its own array of sub-dialects. The northern dialects are often collectively referred to as Kurmanji, mainly spoken in Turkey, Syria and parts of Iraq, while the central and southern are known as Sorani. While this distinction is not very fine grained, for the sake of simplicity we will maintain this division.

Kurdish in Iran

While pockets of Kurds can be found throughout the country their population is primarily concentrated in the western provinces of Kordestan, Kermanshah, Ilam, and West Azerbaijan (Zahedi et. al. 2012). Occasionally references to "Iranian Kurdistan" are made which can either refer simply to the province of Kordestan or, with more political undertones, to the entire block of Kurds living in in these western provinces. With the exception of those Kurds living along the Turkish border, the primary dialect spoken in this region is Sorani. Aside from 'Iranian Kurdistan' the second largest population of Kurds in Iran lives in "Greater Khorasan" (a term used to collectively refer to the provinces of Southern, Northern, and Razavi Khorasan). This population of approximately 1 million Kurds is mostly concentrated near the Turkmenistan border and speaks Kurmanji (Madih 2007).

Despite the large number of speakers of Kurmanji in Iran, for the sake of brevity only the Sorani dialect will be introduced in any depth. Kurmanji and Sorani are generally regarded as mutually unintelligible and Kurmanji is generally regarded as the more "conservative" dialect whereas Sorani has been subject to more Persian influence (for a quick comparison of the main differences between Sorani and Kurmanji see Appendix 1).

The principle focus of this chapter is not on Kurdish or Sorani itself, but rather 'Kurdish Accented Persian" (here after KAP). With that in mind, in order to provide a sufficient frame of reference the first part of this sketch is a brief overview of Sorani itself. For a more in depth treatment of Sorani see W.M. Thackston's "Sorani Kurdish: A Reference Grammar with Selected Readings".

Multi-Lingualism

Bilingualism is very common in Kurdish speaking regions of Iran. Sometimes a 'linguistic division of labor' known as diglossia emerges where Kurdish is used in in the home and for social or even commercial purposes, and Persian is used in education, government, and other formal settings (Hemmati & Zare 2008). In some areas, such as the West Azerbaijan province where there are a large

number of both Azeris and Kurds live, trilingualism is not uncommon and code switching can occur among multiple languages (Saiedi & Rezvani 2012).

Sketch of Sorani Kurdish

Phonetics and Phonology

Alphabet

While Kurdish is written in several alphabets including Roman, Cyrillic, and Perso-Arabic, Sorani is most often written in Perso-Arabic script. For a comparative alphabet chart see Appendix 2. Listen to the Sorani alphabet below:

Cut 1

Vowels

In addition to the Persian vowels /i/, /e/, /ä/, /u/,/o/, and /a/ Sorani also has 3 additional sounds [cf. appendix 3]:

/ɪ/ /gɪrtɪn/ 'to take'
/ʊ/ /gʊrg/ 'wolf'
/ə/ /tänäkäkəy/ 'his tin can'

(Thackston 2006) pg. 1

Consonants

Kurdish in general, and Sorani, in particular is phonologically similar to Persian, however there are some additional sounds. These sounds may affect the Persian speech of Kurds. Some of them are discussed below.

- Kurdish like Dari has a /w/ sound which often transfers over to Persian speech, but not always (see counterexamples). Unlike Dari, Kurdish also has /v/. Additionally Thackston notes that when /w/ precedes a /e, i, or î/ it is pronounced as "a close back unrounded semivowel, IPA [ɯ], like the 'u' in French *cuire* and *huit*." (Thackston 2006).

- Another Kurdish sound is /ʕ/ (a voiced pharyngeal fricative) which corresponds to the letter ع. Recall that in Persian ع is pronounced either as a glottal stop /ʔ/ or not at all (for more on the status of /ʔ/ in Persian see Jahani 2005). Note that this sound is similar to /ħ/ (Arabic pronunciation of ح) except it is voiced.

- غ is pronounced as /ɣ/ but it is often realized as /x/. ق also exists and is pronounced /q/

- Recall that in Persian there is no difference between the ح and ه both of which are pronounced like the English /h/. However in Kurdish, as in Arabic, ح is pronounced as /ħ/ which sounds

something between a Persian /x/ and /h/. This sound is more common in Iraqi speakers of Sorani (Thackston 2006).

- Kurdish has both an ل pronounced as /l/ as in the English 'Light" and an ڵ /ɫ/ as in the English word 'all'. ڵ does not appear word initially (Thackston 2006). As discussed in the introduction, the dark l can appear in words like الله 'Allah' in standard Persian.

/ɫ/	English	/l/	English
/gʊɫ/	flower	/gʊl/	leper
/čɪɫ/	stalk	/čɪl/	forty

(Thackston 2006)

- Kurdish also has both an ر /r/ which is pronounced like its Persian counterpart and a trilled ڕ /rr/. Note that in Persian the trilled /rr/ is often heard, but it is an allophone of /r/, whereas in Sorani it is a separate phoneme. As discussed in the introduction, the trilled r can be heard as an allophone of /r/ in standard Persian, particularly initally, finally and in geminates.

/rr/	English	/r/	English
/kärr/	deaf	/kär/	donkey
/bärrä/	rug	/bärä/	front

(Almasi 2010)

- The sounds /w/ /ɫ/ and /rr/ are stigmatized especially by younger generations and women when speaking Persian (Saiedi and Rezvani 2012)
- Labialization (addition of /w/) can occur on certain consonants including /g/ /k/ /x/. As discussed in the introduction, this process also occurs in Dari.

English	Sorani
well	/xwäš/
blind	/kwer/
ear	/gwečkä/

(Zahedi et. al. 2012)

Morphology

Indefinite Marker

The indefinite in Sorani is formed by the suffix /-(y)ek/

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
a day	/rožek/	/ye(k) ruz)
a door	/därgäyek/	/ye(k) där/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 8

Cut 2 /dergäyek/ 'a door'

Cut 3 /hämu beyäniek/ 'every morning' *lit*. 'every a morning'

Adverbs of quantity such as /čänd/ 'how many', /hämu/ 'all', /här/ 'all' are similar to Persian although unlike Persian the noun they modify is always accompanied by the indefinite marker as in /här layek/ 'each direction' c.f. Persian /här täräf/.

Definite Marker

The definite marker is /-(ä/e)kä/. See the introduction for a discussion of the definite marker in Tehrani.

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
the door	/därgakä/	/där/
the American	/ämärikiäkä/	/ämrikai/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 9

Cut 4/diwäreke/ 'the wall'

Plural Marker

The plural marker for indefinite nouns is /-(y)an/ and for definite nouns is /-(ä)kan/. Note that this is similar to the plural marker used for animate objects in standard Persian.

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
(some) men	/pjawan/	
the men	/pjawäkan/	

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 9

Cut 5 /dergäkan/ 'the doors'

Demonstratives

The demonstrative 'this' and 'that' surround the noun that they modify

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
this man	/**äm** pjaw**ä**/	/in märd/
these men	/**äm** pjawan**ä/**	/in märdan/
that letter	/**aw** namaj**ä/**	/an name/
those letters	/**aw** naman**ä/**	/an nameha/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 10

Cut 6 'this'

Cut 7 'that'

Cut 8 'these'

Cut 9 'those'

Ezafe

Sorani has an ezafe construction which is similar to its Persian counterpart.

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
a good hotel	/hotelekıbaš	/ye hotele xob/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 10

When the noun being modified has either a definite suffix or demonstrative pronoun the ezafe /i/ → /ä/ and an /ä/ is added to the end of the phrase.

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
The good hotel	/hotel ä bašäkä/	/hotele xob/
This good hotel	/äm hotel ä bašä/	/in hotele xob/

Additionally, sometimes if the noun being modified ends in an /ä/ then sometimes the ezafe is dropped.

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
The big teahouse	/čayxanä gäwräkä/	/ čayxaneye bozorg/

(Thackston 2006, pp. 12-14)

Pronouns

Personal pronouns	Singular	Plural
1st	/mın/	/emä/
2nd	/to/	/ewä/
3rd	/äw/	/äwan/

(Thackston 2006, pp. 12-14)

Personal pronouns Enclitic form	Singular	Plural
1st	/-ım/ or /-m/	/-man/
2nd	/-it/ or /-t/	/-tan/
3rd	/-i/ or /-y/	/-yan/

(Thackston 2006, pp. 12-14)

When the possessive pronoun is used with a definite noun it has a more concrete meaning than it does when it is used with dictionary form (absolute) of the noun it which case it takes on a more figurative meaning. For example:

	English	Sorani-Kurdish
Absolute noun	my money (i.e. that I am holding)	/paräm/
Definite noun	my money (i.e. my wealth)	/paräkäm/

(Thackston 2006) Pg 15-16

Comparative and Superlative

/-tɪr/ and /-tɪrin/ similar to Persian. Used with the preposition /lä/ e.g. /ämřo lä dwene sardtɪr ä/ 'today is colder than yesterday'(Thackston 2006) (pg. 19)

Active Verb Morphology

Copula

Enclitic form of present copula	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ	/-ɪm/ or /-m/	/-in/ or /-yn/
2ⁿᵈ	/-i(t)/ or /-y(t)/	/-n/ or /-n/
3ʳᵈ	/-ä/ or /-yä/	/-n/ or /-n/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 25

Object Clitics

Object Clitcs	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ	/-(ɪ)m/	/-man/
2ⁿᵈ	/-(ɪ)t/	/-tan/
3ʳᵈ	/-i/ or /-y/	/-yan/

- In lite verb constructions the object clitic is added to the nominal component e.g.:

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
I'll learn it	/feri äbim/	/yadeš mikonäm/

- In simple verbs the object clitic follows the verb prefix /dä-, bä, nä-/

English	Sorani-Kurdish	Persian Phonetic
I'll see you	/dätbinim/	/mibinämet/
I'm not going to buy it	/naykřɪm/	/nämixärämeš/
I want to buy it	/ämäwe biykřɪm/	/mixam bixärämeš/

Pg. 37-38

Present

{prefix /(d)ä-/ + present stem + present tense verb ending/

Present tense verb endings	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ	/-ɪm/ or /-m/	/-in/ or /-yn/

2nd	/-i/ (t)/ or /-y(t)/	/-ın/ or /-n/
3rd	/-e(t)/ or /-a(t)/	/-ın or /-n/

(Thackston 2006) Pg 26

The /t/ in the 2SG and 3SG is not common in spoken Sorani

Cut 10 example paradigm with English

Cut 11 example paradigm with English

Present tense 'to go'	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/däčım/	/däčin/
2nd	/däči/	/däčin/
3rd	/däče/	/däčin/

Present Subjunctive

{/bi-/ + present stem + present tense verb ending} e.g. /bitšim/, /bi-/ is often dropped in light verbs

In negative subjunctives the /bi-/ is replaced with the negative prefix

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 31

Past Simple

Intransitive Verbs

{past stem + past tense verb ending}

Present tense verb endings	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/-ım/ or /-m/	/-in/ or /-yn/
2nd	/-i (t)/ or /-y(t)/	/-ın/ or /-n/
3rd	Ø or /-in/	Ø or /-n/

Past tense /gäjin/ 'to say'	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/gäjim/	/gäjiyn/
2nd	/gäjiy/	/gäjin/
3rd	/gäji/	/gäjin/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 40

Intransitive Verbs

{object clitic + past stem}

Object Clitcs	Singular	Plural
1st	/-ɪmxward/	/-manxward/
2nd	/-ɪtxward/	/-tanxward/
3rd	/-ɪxward/	/-yanxward/

The object clitic must attach itself to something such as a:

- Negative prefix e.g. /nämxward/ 'I didn't eat'
- The progressive prefix e.g. /dämnʊsi/ 'I was writing'
- The nominal component of a lite verb e.g. /häɫɪmgɪrt/ 'I picked up/
- The object of the sentence /namäkäm nʊsi/ 'I wrote the letter'
- "A prepositional phrase other than temporal or manner"
  /bä räfiqekyan nʊsɪ/ 'They wrote it to a friend.'

If the clitic has nothing to attach to then it is added to the end of the verb the way as if it were intransitive: /kɪčäkä bä tuřäiäwä witi/ 'the girl said angrily'

(Thackston 2006) Pg 41-44

Imperfect

Counterfactual (pg 60), Past Habitual and Past Continuous

Intransitive Verbs

{/dä-/ + past stem + past tense verb ending}

Imperfect /gäjin/ 'to say'	Singular	Plural
1st	/dägäjim/	/dägäjiyn/
2nd	/dägäjiy/	/dägäjin/
3rd	/dägäji/	/dägäjin/

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 41

Transitive Verbs [see above]

Present Perfect

Intransitive

{Perfect Active Participle + verb endings}

/hatin/	Singular	Plural
1st	/hatum/	/hatuyn/
2nd	/hatuy/	/hatun/
3rd	/hatuä/	/hatun/

Transitive

{pronominal clitic + perfect active participle + /ä/}

/hatin/	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/-ɪmxwarduä/	/-manxwarduä/
2nd	/-ɪtxwarduä/	/-tanxwarduä/
3rd	/-ɪxwarduä/	/-janxwarduä/

(Thackston 2006) Pg 54

Past Perfect

Intransitive

{Past stem + /ɪ/ + past tense of 'to be'} [explore /i/ in KAP]

/hatin/	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/hatɪbum/	/hatɪbuyn/
2nd	/hatɪbuy/	/hatɪbun/
3rd	/hatɪbu/	/hatɪbun/

Transitive

{pronominal clitic + past stem + /bû/}

/hatin/	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	/-ɪmhatɪbu/	/-manhaɪtbu/
2nd	/-ɪthatbu/	/-tanhatɪbu/
3rd	/-ihatɪbu/	/-janhatɪbu/

(Thackston 2006) Pg 57

Passive Verb Morphology

The passive voice is regularly conjugated, but the verb stems are altered in the following way:

Past passive

{Present stem of transitive verb + /-ra/ + verb ending}

Present stem /bin-/ 'see'	**Singular**		**Plural**	
	Sorani	*English*	*Sorani*	*English*
1st	/binram/	I am seen	/binrayn/	We are seen
2nd	/binray/	You are seen	/binran/	You (*pl.*) were seen
3rd	/binra/	She are seen	/binran/	They are seen

(Thackston 2006) Pg. 63

Present passive

{/dä-/ + (present stem of transitive verb) + /-re/}

Present stem /bin-/ 'see'	Singular		Plural	
	Sorani	*English*	*Sorani*	*English*
1st	/däbinrem/	I was seen	/däbinreyn/	We were seen
2nd	/däbinrey/	You were seen	/däbinren/	You (*pl.*) were seen
3rd	/däbinre/	She/he was seen	/däbinren/	They were seen

Past Perfect Passive

Present stem /bin-/ 'see'	Singular		Plural	
	Sorani	*English*	*Sorani*	*English*
1st	/binrabum/	I had been seen	/binrabum/	We had been seen
2nd	/binrabuy/	You had been seen	/binrabuy/	You (*pl.*) had been seen
3rd	/binrabu/	He/she had been seen	/binrabu/	They had been seen

(Thackston 2006) Pg 64

Present Perfect Passive

{Present stem of transitive verb + /-raw/ + verb ending}

Present stem /bin-/ 'see'	Singular		Plural	
	Sorani	*English*	*Sorani*	*English*
1st	/binrawim/	I have been seen	/binrawin/	We have been seen
2nd	/binrawi/	You have been seen	/binrawin/	You (*pl.*) have been seen
3rd	/binrawä/	She has been seen	/binrawin/	They have been seen

(Thackston 2006) Pg 65

Lexical

Numbers

Cut 12 1-10

Cut 13 11-20

Twenty High Frequency Words and Phrases (see also Appendix 4)

Audio Cut	English	Sorani Phonetic	Persian Script
Cut 14	salaam	/selämkirdin/	سلام
Cut 15	hello *informal*	/slaw/	
Cut 16	hello *very informal*	/helaw/	
Cut 17	good morning *singular*	/beynIt bäš/	صبح به خیر
Cut 18	good morning *plural*	/beynItan bäš/	صبح به خیر
Cut 19	how are you *informal*	/čoni/	چطوری؟
Cut 20	fine thanks	/bäšim supäs/	خوبم مرسی
Cut 21	goodbye	/xuafizikIrdIn/	خداحافظ
Cut 22	goodbye *informal*	/xuähäfiz/	خداحافظ
Cut 23	have a good day	/rožeki xoš/	روز خوبی داشته باشید
Cut 24	see you soon	/bem zuäne etänbinmew/	می بینمت
Cut 25	please	/bezehmet/	لطفا
Cut 26	yes	/bele/	بله
Cut 27	thanks	/supäs/	مرسی
Cut 28	sir	/käkä/	آقا
Cut 29	miss, ma'am	/dädä/	خانوم
Cut 30	welcome *singular*	/bexerbeyt/	خوش آمدی
Cut 31	welcome *plural*	/bexerben/	خوش آمدید
Cut 32	please [offering]	/fermu/	بفرما
Cut 33	please [offering] *plural*	/fermun/	بفرمایید

Kurdish Accented Persian (KAP)

Kurdish-Persian bilinguals are not a homogeneous group and their proficiency in either language can vary greatly. Some Kurdish speakers of Persian may be fluent to the degree that no Kurdish accent is detectable. That being said, bear in mind that not all features listed below will always be manifest.

Phonetics and Phonology

Recall that Sorani has several consonants which Persian does not have. Sometimes these appear in KAP.

/v/ → /w/

One of the most common features of KAP is the tendency of speakers to pronounce /v/ → /w/. While this shift is easily recognizable recall that it is also common in a number of other dialects such as, Khuzestani Arabic Accented Persian, Balochi Accented Persian and Dari.

Cut 34

/vä/ → /wä/ 'and'

/äväz/ → /äwäz/ 'change'

In some cases both /v/ and /w/ can be heard by the same speaker. This mixing of /v/ and /w/ would not typically be expected from a Dari speaker.

Cut 35

Note at 0:04 /hezar o si säd u pänja wä häš/ '1358' and then at 0:09 /väsi/ 'broad' and 0:14 /vä/ 'and'

/ħ/

As discussed in the Sorani Phonology above, this voiceless pharyngeal fricative does not occur in Persian, but can appear in KAP although it is not as strong as KAP than Khuzestani-Arabic Accented Persian.

Cut 36

/häl/ → /ħäl/ 'solution'

Cut 37

/häta/ → /ħäta/ '3even'

Cut 38

/häl/ → /ħäl/ 'solution'

/ʕ/

The voiced pharyngeal fricative does not occur in Persian, but can appear in KAP. Recall that in Persian ع is pronounced either as a glottal stop /ʔ/ or not at all (for more on the status of /ʔ/ in Persian see Jahani 2005). Note that this sound is similar to the /ħ/ above except it is voiced. While /ʕ/ exists in all Kurdish dialects to a certain extent it is more common in Kurmanji and in Sorani speaking areas of Iraq where Arabic influence is stronger. It is more rarely heard in KAP than Khuzestani-Arabic Accented Persian.

Cut 37 (again)

/mowze joda/ → /mowzʕe joda/ 'separate position'

Cut 39

/mäsaleh vä mänafʔe kuta modätäš/ →/mäsaleħ wä mänafʕe kuta modätäš/ "its short term interests"

Cut 40 In this clip you will hear a Kurdish cleric discuss the role of mosques. Towards the beginning he quotes Arabic and then at the 0:13 second mark goes on to explain:

/doa vä nämaz o ebadät/ → /dʕa wä nämaz o ʕibadät/ "prayer, namaz, and worship."

Note: while his pronunciation of /ʕ/ is very clear this is because, as a cleric, he has probably been taught classical Arabic, and is likely to pronounce Islamic concepts borrowed from Arabic with accurate pronunciation. For more on this phenomenon see the above chapter on Khuzestani.

/ɫ/

As discussed in the Sorani Phonology above, this 'dark *l*' does not generally occur in Persian (except in words like الله 'Allah'), but can appear in KAP.

Cut 41 /bäle/ → /bäɫe/ 'yes'

غ and ق which in standard Iranian Persian are typically indistinguishable are pronounced differently from one another in KAP. Note that this is not unique to KAP.

غ → /ɣ/
ق → /q/

Cut 42

/ɢärib/ → /ɣärib/ 'stranger'

Cut 43

/ɢäziyä/ → /qäziyä/

Affrication of /k, g/

When /k,g/ are followed by the vowel /i/ then they are sometimes pronounced /č, ǰ/. This can also happen when they are followed by an /e/ and the resulting syllable is stressed. This process is known as "velar affrication" and has also been observed in Kurdish speakers of English (Rahimpour, Massoud, Dovaise 2011). This phenomenon is also common in Azerbaijani Accented Persian. A related phenomenon known as "fronting" can happen in spoken Persian (Jahani and Paul 2008).

Note: this is not a universal feature of KAP and is typically heard in the speech of Kurds from Mahabad and other regions with a large Azeri population. This phenomenon is likely due to the influence of Azeri Accented Persian rather than Kurdish.

The subordinating conjunction که /ke/ 'that/which' → /če/

Cut 44

/ke/ → /če/

Cut 45

/ke/ → /če/

Cut 46

/ke/ → /če/

*Note: this speaker does *not* pronounce /migiräd/ as /mijiräd/ as the above rule would predict. This example highlights the inconsistent manifestation of certain features of accented speech.

The abstract noun building suffix /-gi/ as in /zendägi/ 'life' → /-ji/. Consider the following examples:

Cut 47

/nämajändägi/ → /nämajändäji/ 'representation'

Cut 48

/zendägi/ → /zendäji/ 'life'

Cut 49 /vižejiha/

/vižegiha/ → /vižejiha/ 'characteristics'

/gir/ the present stem of گرفتن 'to take' or the related suffix /giri/

Cut 50

/surät bigire/ → /surät bijire/ 'take place'

Cut 51

/ke/ → /če/

/därgiri/ → /därjiri/ 'clash/fight'

Cut 52

/ke/ → /če/

/räygiri/ → /räyjiri/ 'voting'

Code Switching

Cut 53 - In this cut you will hear a Kurdish drug addict talk about his addiction. Most of the cut is in Kurdish, but notice how he suddenly switches to Persian to relate the idiom خودکرده راتدبیر نیست which is roughly equivalent to the English "You lie in the bed you make."

Cut 54 – In this cut you will hear a group of men listening to an old Kurdish man do an imitation of a Persian variety show. Note how he switches between Kurdish and Persian.

Lexical

Consider the following comparison of Kurdish and Persian words. Note the words listed as Kurdish do not necessarily always appear in KAP, but given the similarity to their Persian counterparts they are more likely to 'seep' into KAP.

/b/ → /w/

English	Kurdish Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
water	/aw/	/ab/
lip	/lew/	/läb/
night	/šäw/	/šäb/
silk	/äwrišim/	/äbrišim/

Cut 55

/besyar/ → /wesyar/ 'many'

Note: this particularly speaker is very difficult to identifify because his pronunciation of صحبت, و, and داشته ایم do not exhibit previously mentioned features.

/m/ → /w/

English	Kurdish Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
name	/naw/	/nam/
raw	/xaw/	/xam/
dinner	/šaw/	/šam/
half	/niw/	/nim/

(Zhian 1972)

/f/ → /w/

English	Kurdish Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
purple	/wänäwšä/	/bänäfše/
oil	/näwit/	/näft/
seven	/häft/	/näwit/
shoe	/käfš/	/käwiš/

(Zhian 1972)

/ä/ → /hä/

English	Kurdish Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
date	/hänjir/	/änjir/
pomegranate	/hänar/	/änar/

(Zhian 1972)

/z/ → /ž/

English	Kurdish Phonetic	Persian Phonetic
woman	/žän/	/zän/
under	/žir/	/zir/
day	/rož/	/ruz/
bell	/žäng/	/zäng/

(Zhian 1972)

High Frequency Phrases

Below are several common Persian locutions pronounced with a Kurdish accent which Iranians typically recognize as coming from a Kurdish speaker For comparison purposes a Tehrani equivalent has also been provided.

'good by' خداحافظ

KAP Male: *Cut 56*

KAP Female: *Cut 57*

Tehrani Male: *Cut 58*

Tehrani Female: *Cut 59*

'Mr.' اغا

KAP Male: *Cut 60*

KAP Female: *Cut 61*

Tehrani Male: *Cut 62*

Tehrani Female: *Cut 63*

Islamic greeting سلام علیکوم

KAP Male: *Cut 64*

KAP Female: *Cut 65*

Tehrani Male: *Cut 66*

Tehrani Female: *Cut 67*

Appendix 1: Differences between Sorani and Kurmanji Kurdish

While Sorani and Kurmanji share similarities they are generally considered to not be mutually intelligible (Asatrian 2009). Kurmanji is typically written in a Latin based alphabet whereas Sorani is written in a modified Perso-Arabic script (see Appendix 2 for a comparison of scripts). Below are a few of the major differences as described by Esmaili & Salavati (2013).

1) "Kurmanji is more conservative in retaining both gender (feminine:masculine) and case opposition (absolute:oblique) for nouns and pronouns. Sorani has largely abandoned this system and uses the pronominal suffixes to take over the functions of the cases,

2) in the past-tense transitive verbs, Kurmanji has the full ergative alignment but Sorani, having lost the oblique pronouns, resorts to pronominal enclitics,

3) in Sorani, passive and causative are created via verb morphology, in Kurmanji they can also be formed with the helper verbs *hatin* ("to come") and *dan* ("to give") respectively, and

4) the definite marker *-aka* appears only in Sorani."

Compare the two following cuts. They are both of the same story, but in different dialects.

Cut 68 Sorani

Cut 69 Kurmanji

Appendix 2: Kurdish Alphabets

Comparative Alphabet Chart

Latin Kurmancî	Yekgirtú*	Cyrillic Kurmancî	Sorani				IPA
			(isolated)	(initial)	(medial)	(final)	
A,a	A,a	А,а	ا	ئا	—	ـا	[aː]
B,b	B,b	Б,б	ب	بـ	ـبـ	ـب	[b]
C,c	J,j	Щ,щ	ج	جـ	ـجـ	ـج	[d͡ʒ]
Ç,ç	C,c	Ч,ч	چ	چـ	ـچـ	ـچ	[tʃ]
D,d	D,d	Д,д	د	—		ـد	[d]
E,e	E,e	Ə,ə	ە	ئە	—	ـە	[ɛ]
Ê,ê	É,é	Е,е (Э э)	ئ	ئێـ	ـێـ	ـێ	[e]
F,f	F,f	Ф,ф	ف	فـ	ـفـ	ـف	[f]

G,g	G,g	Г,г	گ	گ	ـگ	ـگ	[g]
H,h	H,h	Һ,һ	ہ	ه	ـه	ـه	[h]
—	H',h'	h',h'	ح	ـح	ـحـ	حـ	[ħ]
—	'	—	ع	ـع	ـعـ	عـ	[ʕ]
I,i	I,i	Ь,ь	—				[ɪ]
Î,î	Í,í	И,и	ى	ئي	ـيـ	ى	[i]
J,j	Jh,jh	Ж,ж	ژ	—		ـژ	[ʒ]
K,k	K,k	К,к	ک	ک	ـکـ	کـ	[k]
L,l	L,l	Л,л	ل	ـل	ـلـ	لـ	[l]
—	ll	Л',л'	ل	ـل	ـلـ	لـ	[ɫ]
M,m	M,m	М,м	م	ـم	ـمـ	مـ	[m]
N,n	N,n	Н,н	ن	ـن	ـنـ	نـ	[n]
O,o	O,o	О,о	ۆ	ئۆ	–	ـۆ	[o]
P,p	P,p	П,п	پ	ـپ	ـپـ	پـ	[p]
Q,q	Q,q	Q,q	ق	ـق	ـقـ	قـ	[q]
R,r	R,r	Р,р	ر	—		ـر	[ɾ]
—	rr	Р',р'	ڕ	—		ـڕ	[r]
S,s	S,s	С,с	س	ـس	ـسـ	سـ	[s]
Ş,ş	Sh,sh	Ш,ш	ش	ـش	ـشـ	شـ	[ʃ]
T,t	T,t	Т,т	ت	ـت	ـتـ	تـ	[t]
U,u	U,u	Ö,ö	و	—		ـو	[u]
Û,û	Ú,ú	У,у	ۇ	—		ـۇ	[uː]
—	Ù,ù	—	ۉ	—		ـۉ	[ʉː]

V,v	V,v	В,в	ڤ	ڤ	ـڤ	ـڤ	[v]
W,w	W,w	W,w	و	—		ـو	[w]
X,x	X,x	X,x	خ	ـخ	ـخ	ـخ	[x]
—	X',x'	Ѓ,ѓ	غ	ـغ	ـغ	ـغ	[ɣ]
Y,y	Y,y	Й,й	ى	ـيـ		—	[j]
Z,z	Z,z	З,з	ز	—		ـز	[z]

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdish_alphabets#Sorani_alphabet

*The so called 'Yekgirtú' alphabet is an attempt by the Kurdish Academy of Languages to made a unified script. For more information see their website here http://kurdishacademy.org/?q=node/145

Appendix 3: Sandandaj Vowels

Table of Sanandaj vowels (Zahedi et. al. 2012) pg. 73
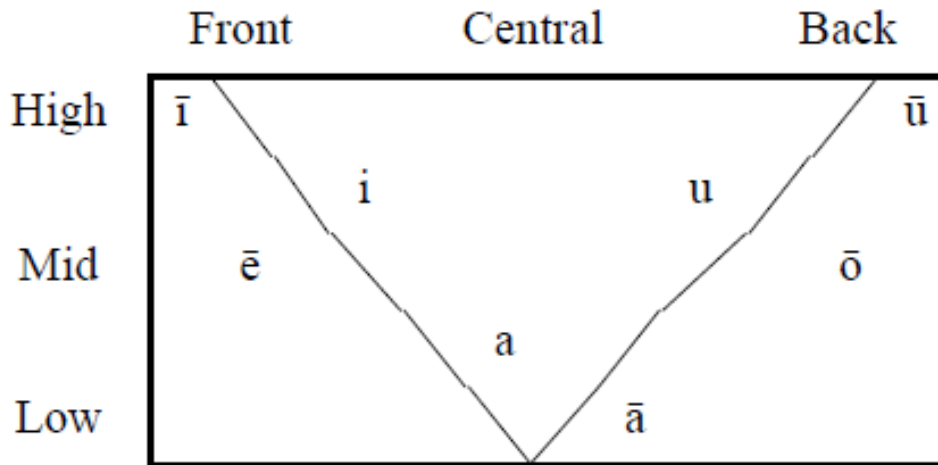
Appendix 4: Additional Kurdish Vocabulary

Familial Terms

English	Sorani Phonetic

father	/babä/ or /bawk/
mother	/dayä/ or /diyä/ or /dayk/
elder brother	/kak/ or /kakä/
brother	/bra/
elder sister	/baji/
sister	/xošk/
uncle (father's brother)	/mam/ or /mamä/
uncle (mother's brother)	/xałä/ or /xał/ or /xało/
grandfather	/bapir/ or /bapirä/ or /babä gäwrä/
grandmother	/nänä/ /nänke/ /dayä gäwrä/
uncle's wife	/ʔamožən / or /mamožən/
uncle's wife	/xałožən/
brother's wife	/bražən/
aunt	/pur/ or /pure/
cousin	/ʔamoza/
cousin	/xałoza/
cousin	/purza/
nephew, niece	/xwarza/ or /xoškäza/
nephew, niece	/braza/
my father's father	/babi babəm/
my mother's mother	/dayki daykəm/
(my) husband	/piyawäkä/
(my) wife	/ʔafrät/
(my) child	/rrołä/
my son	/kurräkäm/
my daughter	/kətšäkäm/

(Asadpour et. al. 2009)

Other Terms of Address

English	Sorani Phonetic
respectable	/bärēz/ or /rrezdar/
Mrs.	/xanəm/ or /xat/
headman	/kwea/
female khan	/kwexažən/
clergyman	/mäla/
leader, president	/särok/
comrad	/hävał/ or /hawrre/

(Asadpour et. al. 2009)

Terms of Endearment

English	Sorani Phonetic
lit. my eye	/čawäkäm/
lit. my liver	/järgäkäm/
lit. my heart	/dəläkäm/
lit. my dear	/giyanäkäm/

lit. my soul	/ruhäkäm/
lit. my life	/ʔämräkäm/
lit. my dear	/ʔäzizäkäm/

(Asadpour et. al. 2009)

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LARI لاری
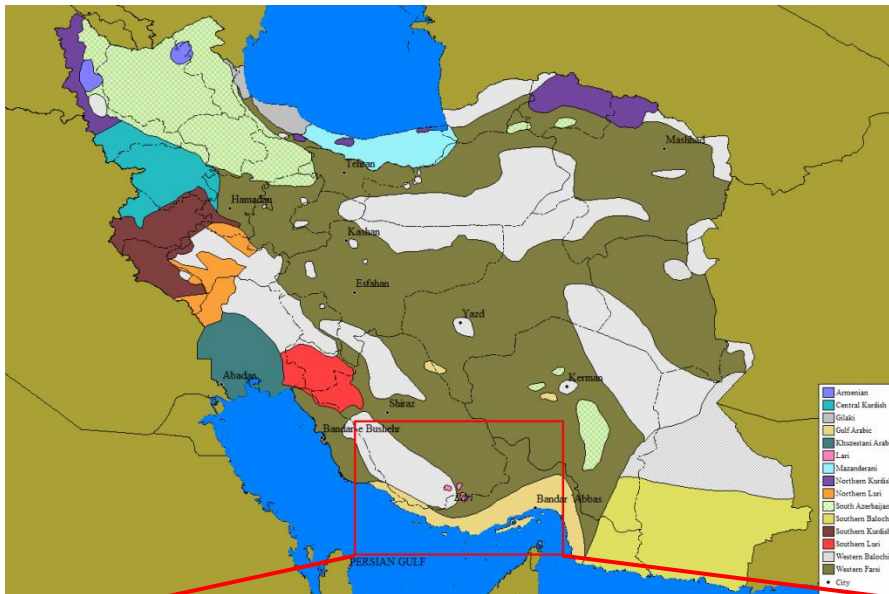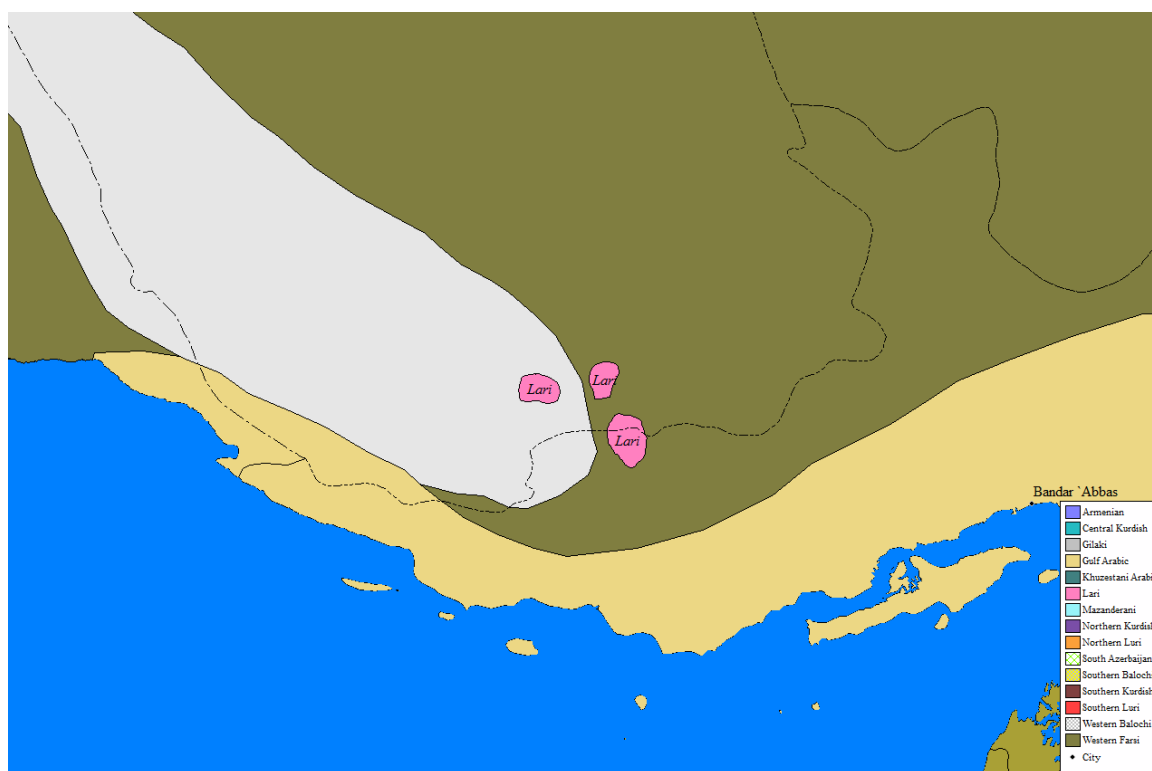
Overview

Lari is a member of the Southwest branch of Iranian languages and is spoken primarily in southern Fars Province in the *shahrestan* of Larestan (لارستان), in Hormozgan province west of Bandar Abbas, and by a significant diaspora in Dubai and elsewhere in the Gulf. The language goes by several names including Larestani (لارستانی), Ajami/Achomi (اچمی), or by one of the many towns associated with a sub-dialect such as Evasi (اوزی), Khonji (خنجی), Bastaki (بستکی), Fishvari (فیشوری) etc. It is similar to several other dialects including Bandari, Kumzari, and Bashkardi. The dialect is seldom written and is estimated to be spoken by roughly 80,000 to 100,000 people. In addition to Lars the Larestani region is home to a number of Balochi, Kurdish, Arabic, and Qashqai speakers.

As noted there are a number of sub-dialects of Lari, however a comprehensive study cataloging and comparing these dialects has not yet been conducted and falls outside of the purview of this introduction. The following sketch is taken from several primary sources dealing mainly with Lari as it is spoken in the city of Lar, however you may hear audio cuts from speakers from other towns as well. Additionally, Lari (لاری) should not be confused with the language Lori/Lori (أری) which is discussed in the following chapter of this report.

Phonetics and Phonology

- Phonologically Lari is similar to Persian however Lari also has front rounded vowels which may be transcribed /œ/ or /y/. /œ/ is pronounced like the *eu* in French as in *jeune* or the *ö* in

German as in *köstlich*. /y/ is pronounced like the *u* in French *tu*, or the *ü* in German *Tüte*. (Eghtadari 1992)

Cut 1 /dust/ → /dœst/ 'friend'

Cut 2 /dust/ → /dœst/ 'friend

- غ and ق which in standard Iranian Persian are typically indistinguishable are pronounced differently from one another in Lari.

  غ → [ɣ]

  ق → [q]

  Note: this is not unique to Lari as these two letters are distinctly pronounced in several Persian dialects such as Yazdi, Kermani, Dari, and Tajiki.

Morphology

Pronouns

- Personal Pronouns (Skjærvø 1989)

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	/mä/	/äma/
2nd Person	/to/	/šoma/
3rd Person	/em/	/ešu/

- Enclitic Pronouns (see section on object clitics below)

1st Person	/-(o)m/	/-mo/ or /-mu/
2nd Person	/-(o)t/	/-to/ or /-tu/
3rd Person	/-(o)š/	/-šo/ or /-šu/

(Skjærvø 1989)

There are two types of proclitic pronouns in Lari which are used in various verb forms. For a more detailed explanation see Simple Past below.

- Proclitic pronouns used in the simple past, present perfect, past subjunctive forms of transitive verbs. Proclitic means a clitic, or word that is dependent on another word, that comes before the word that it depends upon; similar to a prefix.

Type 1	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st Person	/om-/	/mo-/
2nd Person	/ot-/	/to-/
3rd Person	/oš-/ or /-ož/	/šo-/

- Proclitic pronouns used in the imperfect and past perfect continuous forms of transitive verbs.

Type 2	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/mä-/	/moä-/
2ⁿᵈ Person	/tä-/	/toä-/
3ʳᵈ Person	/šä-/	/šoä-/

Plural Marker

The plural markers are /-iya/ (which becomes /-niya after vowels/) and /-un/ which is reserved for poetry. (Skjärvø 1989)

Cut 3 /ärusiha/ → /ärusiniya/ 'weddings'

Verb Endings

The primary verb endings used in the present indicative, present continuous, and all past forms of intransitive verb forms in Lari are:

	Singular	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ Person	/-em/	/-äm/
2ⁿᵈ Person	/-eš/ or /-ät/	/-i/
3ʳᵈ Person	/-e/	/-en/

(Skjarvo 1989)

Note: The 2.SG verb ending in Lari is /-eš/ which is the same as Talysh, Judeo-Yazdi, and Judeo-Kermani. (Moridi 2009)

Present and Future Indicative

The present-future is formed by the prefix {/ä/} + {the present stem} + {verb endings}

/dedä/ *'to see'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1ˢᵗ	/ä-bin-em/	می بینم	/ä-bin-äm/	می بینیم
2ⁿᵈ	/ä-bin-eš/	می بینی	/ä-bin-i/	می بینید
3ʳᵈ	/ä-bin-e/	می بیند	/ä-bin-en/	می بینند

/čede/ *'to go'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1ˢᵗ	/ä-čem/	می روم	/ä-čedaäm/	می رویم
2ⁿᵈ	/ä-češ/	می روی	/ä-čedai/	می روید
3ʳᵈ	/ä-čü	می رود	/ä-čen/	می روند

Note: because present verb stems in Lari often end in a vowel, vowel assimilation is common and leads to a number of irregular forms especially in the 3.SG where contracted forms are common.

Audio examples

Cut 4 Listen for the 2.PL of 'to say' /ägi/ cf. standard /miguyed/ and 1.SG of 'to say'/ägem/ cf. standard /mig(uy)äm/

Cut 5 Listen for 1.SG of 'to offer' /ärz äknem/ cf. standard /ärz mikonäm/

Cut 6 Listen for 3.PL of 'to do' /komäk äknen/ cf. standard /komäk mikonänd/

Cut 7a Listen for 2.PL of 'to know' /ädüni/ cf. standard /midaned/

Cut 7 Listen for 3.SG of 'to use' /estefoidä äkned/ cf. standard /estefoidä mikonäd/

Written examples

- /mä e kärü äkonem/ 'I will do this work' (Kamioka pg. 21)[7]
- /key ä xonj ätšeš?/ 'when will you go to khonj?' (Kamioka pg. 33)
- /bitšiyä äteke baqe mädräsä bazi äkonen/ 'the children are playing in the courtyard' (Kamioka pg. 71)

Present Continuous

The present continuous is formed by {/ä/} + {the past stem} + {the verb endings /-aem/, /-aeš/, -/-ai/, /-aäm/, /-ai/, /-aen/}

(Sadighi and Rostampour 2013) (Iqtidari 1992)

Present continuous 'to say'	Singular	Plural
1st Person	/ä-got-aem/	/ä-got-aäm/
2nd Person	/ä-gotaeš/	/ä-got-ai
3rd Person	/ä-got-ai/	/ä-got-aen/

Note: Despite using the past stem of the verb this form is the *present* continuous tense.

Written example

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[7] All written examples have been adapted from those found in Kamioka 1979. Modifications to the originals may include, changing transcriptions conventions, spacing of Lari words, the deletion of glottal stops in transcriptions, and changes to the English translations.

- /mä bisso äf sale, ke äteke lar zendegi äkerdaem/ 'I have been living in Lar for twenty seven years.'(Kamioka 65)

  Note: the tense of /äkerdaem/ is present continuous even though it has been rendered in English as the present perfect continuous.

Simple Past

Like Bandari an important aspect of Lari verb morphology is transitivity. Recall that a verb is transitive if it can take an object. Some common transitive verbs in Persian are: دیدن 'to see', آوردن 'to bring', بردن 'to take' etc. These verbs are considered transitive because they can take an object i.e. you can 'see, bring, or take *something*'. Examples of *in*transitive verbs are رفتن 'to go', آمدن 'to come', خوابیدن 'to sleep', etc. These verbs are considered intransitive because they cannot take an object i.e. you cannot 'go, come, or sleep *something*'. In Lari, transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated differently in all past tenses.

For transitive verbs the simple past is formed by {type 1 proclitic pronoun} + {past stem of verb}

/gotä/ *'to say'*	**Singular**		**Plural**	
	Lari	*Persian*	*Lari*	*Persian*
1ˢᵗ Person	/om-got/	گفتم	/mo-got/	گفتیم
2ⁿᵈ Person	/ot-got/	گفتی	/to-got/	گفتید
3ʳᵈ Person	/oš-got/	گفت	/šo-got/	گفتند

(Hajiani 2009)

Audio examples

Cut 8 Listen for 3.SG of verb 'obeyed' /etaät oške/ cf. standard /etaät kärd/

Cut 9 Listen for the 3.SG of verb 'to perform' /änjam ošdad/ cf. standard /änjam dad/

Written examples

- /mä där omzät/ 'I knocked the door' (Kamioka pg. 53)
- /ossa mämmä e xunäʔü ossäxt/ 'mäster mohammed built this house' (Kamioka pg. 65)
- /yäk däfäʔi äteke xiyabun va aghaye eftexali bärxord moke/ 'Once we met with Mr. Eftekhäli on the street' (Kamioka pg. 71)

The simple past of intransitive verbs is formed by {past stem} + {the verb endings /-em/, /-eš/, /-ät/ or /Ø/, /-äm/, /-i/, /-en/}

/kätä/ *'to fall'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	*Persian*	*Lari*	*Persian*
1ˢᵗ Person	/kät-em/	افتادم	/kät-äm/	افتادیم
2ⁿᵈ Person	/kät-eš/	افتادی	/kät-i/	افتادید
3ʳᵈ Person	/kät/	افتاد	/kät-en/	افتادند

http://larcity.ir/lar.php?id=8-4-2

Written examples

- /mä loe sändäl šessem/ 'I sat on the seat' (Kamioka pg. 57)
- /key äz xonj däʔeš?/ 'when did you come from Khonj?' (Kamioka pg. 33)
- /änä mašinü xäyli assa tšü/ 'that car moved slowly' (Kamioka pg. 79)
- /märdom va sinä zätä ätäräfe hoseyniyä čeden/ 'people went to the Hoseiniye beating their chests' (Kamioka pg. 174)

Present Perfect

Recall that despite its name the present perfect tense actually deals with the past (e.g. *I have gone*) and therefore, like the simple past, is sensitive to transitivity in Lari.

For intransitive verbs it is formed by {the past stem} + {the verb endings /-essem/, /-esseš/, /-e/, -essem/, /-essi/, /-essen/}

/xätä/ *'to sleep'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1ˢᵗ	/xät-ess-em/	خوابیده ام	/xät-ess-äm/	خوابیده ایم
2ⁿᵈ	/xät-ess-eš/	خوابیده ای	/xät-ess-i/	خوابیده اید
3ʳᵈ	/xät-e/	خوابیده است	/xät-ess-en/	خوابیده اند

Written examples

- /qäblän ä mäšäd čedessem/ 'I have been to Mashhad before' before' (Kamioka pg. 119)
- /päsin ä kojä geštessi?/ 'where did you walk this afternoon?' (Kamioka pg. 56)
- /e lüiya äz rüdbar ondessen/ 'these gypsies have come from Rudbar' (Kamioka pg. 177)

For transitive verbs the present perfect is formed the same way as the simple past with the addition of the suffix /e/.

/xeledän/ *'to buy'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1ˢᵗ	/om-xeled-e/	خریده ام	/mo-xeled-e/	خریده ایم
2ⁿᵈ	/ot-xeled-e/	خریده ای	/to-xeled-e/	خریده اید
3ʳᵈ	/oš-xeled-e/	خریده است	/šo-xeled-e/	خریده ند

(Hajiani 2009)

Audio examples

Cut 10 Listen for the 2.PL of verb 'to play' /bazi tokerde/ cf. standard /bazi kärded/ and the 1.SG /bazi omkerde/ cf. standard /bazi kärdäm/

Cut 11 Listen for the 1.PL of verb 'to marry' /ezdevaj mokerde/ cf. standard /ezdevaj kärdem/

Past Perfect

Transitive Verbs

For transitive verbs the past perfect is formed by {type 1 proclitic pronouns} + {past stem} + {/esson/}(Skjarvo 1989)

/xeledän/ *'to buy'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	**Persian**	**Lari**	**Persian**
1ˢᵗ Person	/om-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بودم	/mo-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بودیم
2ⁿᵈ Person	/ot-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بودی	/to-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بودید
3ʳᵈ Person	/oš-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بود	/šo-xeled-ess-on/	خریده بودند

(Hajiani 2009)

Written examples

- /änüz karom tämom omnevakerdesson, änä ond/ " I had not finished my work when he came (Kamioka 155)

For intransitive verbs the past perfect is formed by {past stem} + {/esson/} + {verb ending}

/xätä/ *'to sleep'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	**Persian**	**Lari**	**Persian**
1ˢᵗ	/xät-ess-on-em/	خوابیده بودم	/xät-ess-on-äm/	خوابیده بودیم
2ⁿᵈ	/xät-ess-on-eš/	خوابیده بودی	/xät-ess-on-i/	خوابیده بودید
3ʳᵈ	/xät-ess-on/	خوابیده بود	/xät-ess-on-en/	خوابیده بودند

(Iqtidari 1992)

Imperfect

Recall that in Persian the imperfect tense (e.g. می رفتم) serves multiple functions including the counterfactual *If I had gone*, the conditional *I would have gone,* the past continuous *I was going*, or the habitual past *I used to go*. The imperfect behaves similarly in Lari, but its form is dependent on transitivity.

Transitive verbs use pronominal clitics, however they differ from those used in the simple past.

{type 2 proclitic pronouns} + {past stem}

/dedä/ *'to see'*	Singular	Plural

	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1st	/mä-di/	می دیدم	/moä-di/	می دیدیم
2nd	/tä-di/	می دیدی	/toä-di/	می دیدید
3rd	/šä-di/	می دید	/šoä-di/	می دیند

For intransitive verbs the imperfect is formed by {ä} + {past stem} + {the verb endings: /-em/, /-eš/, /-ät/, /-ät/, /-i/, /-en/}

/xätä/ *'to sleep'*	**Singular**		**Plural**	
	Lari	**Persian**	**Lari**	**Persian**
1st	/ä-xät-äm/	می خوابیدم	/ä-xät-em/	می خوابیدیم
2nd	/ä-xät-eš/	می خوابیدی	/ä-xät-i/	می خوابیدید
3rd	/ä-xät/	می خوابید	/ä-xät-en/	می خوابیدند

Past Perfect Continuous

Unlike Persian where the past perfect continuous has largely fallen out of use it is still used in Lari and is sensitive to transitivity.

Intransitive Verbs

{ä} + {past stem} + {/esson/} + {the verb endings /-em/, /-eš/, /-ät/ or /Ø/, /-äm/, /-i/, /-en/}

/xätä/ *'to sleep'*	**Singular**		**Plural**	
	Lari	**Persian**	**Lari**	**Persian**
1st	/ä-xät-ess-on-em/	می خوابیده بودم	/ä-xät-ess-on-äm/	می خوابیده بودیم
2nd	/ä-xät-ess-on-eš/	می خوابیده بودی	/ä-xät-ess-on-i/	می خوابیده بودید
3rd	/ä-xät-ess-on/	می خوابیده بود	/ä-xät-ess-on-en/	می خوابیده بودند

Transitive Verbs

{type 2 proclitic pronouns} + {past stem} + {/esson/}

/dedä/ *'to see'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	Persian	Lari	Persian
1st	/mä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بودم	/moä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بودیم
2nd	/tä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بودی	/toä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بودیم
3rd	/šä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بود	/šoä-ded-ess-on/	می دیده بودند

Subjunctive/Imperative

The subjunctive imperative is formed the same way as standard Persian, however there are some exceptions:

English	Lari	Standard Phonetic	Standard Script
sit!	/uni/	/bešin/	بشین!

| go! | /otšy/ | /boro/ | برو! |

(Skjarvo 1989)

Past Subjunctive

The past subjunctive of transitive verbs is formed by: {proclitic pronouns} + {past stem} + {/-ez-/} + {/-bü/}

/xeledä/ *'to buy'*	Singular	Plural
1st Person	/om-xeled-ez-bü/	/mo-xeled-ez-bü/
2nd Person	/om-xeled- ez-bü/	/to-xeled-ez-bü/
3rd Person	/oš-xeled-ez-bü/	/šo-xeled-ez-bü/

(Hajiani 2009)

Negation

In general the negative prefixes /ne-/ or /mä-/ are used (Iqtidari 1992).

Irregular Verbs

The verb 'to want' is irregular and resembles an imperfect construction.

/vi/ present stem *'want'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	*Persian*	*Lari*	*Persian*
1st Person	/mävi/	/mixahäm/	/moävi/	/mixahim
2nd Person	/tävi/	/mixahi/	/toävi/	/mixahi
3rd Person	/šävi/	/mixahäd/	/šoävi/	/mixahänd/

/ves/ past stem *'want'*	Singular		Plural	
	Lari	*Persian*	*Lari*	*Persian*
1st Person	/mäves/	/xastäm/	/moäves/	/xastim/
2nd Person	/täves/	/xasti/	/toäves/	/xasted/
3rd Person	/šäves/	/xast/	/šoäves/	/xaständ/

(Sadighi and Rostampour 2013) (Iqtidari 1992)

Written examples

- /mä tešnäme, äw mävi/ 'I am thirsty, I want water' (Kamioka pg. 59)
- /mä dässom jüš-äkerdaj, mävi bexäränem/ 'my hand itches, I want to scratch it' (Kamioka pg. 56)

The Verb /büden/

As in Bandari, the verb /büden/ replaces /šodän/ in all instances including passive constructions.

Audio Examples

Cut 12 Listen for the 3.SG of verb /košte bü/ cf. standard /košte bud/

Written examples

- /varede lar bodem/ 'I entered Lar.' (Kamioka pg. 73)
- /äz moqabele edarä räd bodäm/ 'we passed in front of the office' (Kamioka pg. 149)
- /iran saläe du kešväre xäši äbü/ 'Iran will become a good country next year' (Kamioka pg. 154)

Object Clitics

Recall that in spoken Persian pronominal clitics are often used to express the object of a sentence e.g. ‏می‌کشمت!‏ /mikošämet/ '*I'll kill you*!' means the same as ‏تو را می‌کشم!‏ /tu ra mikošäm/. This also happens in Lari. The object clitics are:

1st Person	/-(o)m/	/-mo/ or /-mu/
2nd Person	/-(o)t/	/-to/ or /-tu/
3rd Person	/-(o)š/	/-šo/ or /-šu/

Because the past tenses of transitive verbs take proclitic pronouns, sometimes a situation arises where a verb stem is sandwiched between two clitics. For example in the word/sentence /oš-košt-em/ '*she killed me*'. Note that the proclitic /oš-/ tells you the person and number of the *subject* while the /-em/ tells you person and number of the *object*. This could lead to confusion if such a sentence is preceded by a noun as in /säg oškoštem/ *'The dog killed me'* which when spoken could mistakenly be heard by a Persian speaker as /sägäš koštem/ *'We killed his dog'*. This can be particularly confusing in light verb constructions.

Audio examples

Cut 13 Listen for the 3.SG verb 'to rise, to be resurrected' /qiam oške/ cf. standard /qiam kärd/

Note: how the final /m/ in /qiam/ is hard to distinguish from the third person singular proclitic pronoun /oš-/ which could lead the listener to thing the subject is 1.PL if they had not correctly identified the subject of the sentence.

Written examples

- /biz ošxasedem/ 'a wasp stung me' (Kamioka pg. 15)
- /ämi pose xäštärü komäkom oždadem/ = 'this kind boy helped me' (Kamioka pg. 168)
- /komäkom bokon/ 'help me' (Kamioka pg. 71)

Subjunctive/Imperative of /kerdä/

A good way of recognizing Lari is the present subjunctive/imperative form of the verb /kerdä/ which is the equivalent of the Persian verb کردن /kärdän/. Like its Persian counterpart, /kerdä/ is used frequently in many compound verbs (light verbs) and is therefore heard often. The present subjunctive/imperative forms are {/bekn/ + verb endings} e.g. the first person plural is /beknem/.

Audio Examples

Cut 14

Cut 15

Cut 16

Lexical

Prepositions

English	Lari	Standard Persian
to	/ä/	به
with, back to	/va/	با
with	/xode/	با
on	/lu/	روی
on/in/at	/teke/	در

(Skjärvø 1989) (Iqtidari 1992)

Verbs

Most Lari infinitives end in /tä/ or /dä/

English	Lari	Standard Persian
to make, do	/kerdä/	کردن
to bring	/äordä/	آوردن
to go	/čedä/	رفتن
to see	/dedä/	دیدن
to be	/bodä/	بودن
to sleep	/xätä/	خوابیدن
to walk	/lätä/	راه رفتن
to find	/vajossä/	پیدا کردن
to burn	/sotä/	سوختن
to cook	/poxä/	پختن
to stick	/notä/	چسبیدن
to shower	/dosedä/	دوشیدن
to pour	/letä/	ریختن
to search (i.e. with a warrant)	/vax o vajû kerdä/	جستجو و تفتیش کردن
to dirty	/gänä kerdä/	کثیف کردن
to babble, prattle on	/por gotä/	پرگویی کردن

| to swell | /äbära aorda/ | متورم کردن |
| to jump | /šätä/ | جهیدن |

(Iqtidari 1992)

Question Words

English	Lari	Standard Persian
how	/šue/	چطور
why	/väsoječe/	چرا
why	/bäreče/	چرا

(Iqtidari 1992)

Other Words and Greatings

English	Lari	Standard Persian
day before yesterday	/pered/	پریروز
yesterday	/de/	دیروز
here	/enke/	اینجا
yes	/oh/	بله
never	/iskä/	هرگز
good	/xäš/	خوب
where	/kojä/	کجا
since, as	/bäre/	چون
because	/bäreke/	چونکه
because	/väsojeedeke/	برای اینکه
It's good! Enough!	/näke/	خوب است! بس است
great, how nice!	/čekädä xäšen/	چه قدر خوب است
sit!	/uni/	بشین
How are you?	/četowreš/	چطوری
welcome!	/xäšondesseš/	خوش آمدید
be healthy	/sälamät beš/	سلامت باش
then	/näpä/	پس
to/for you	/täzbär	بهت
son	/pos/	پسر

Audio examples of several of the above words

Cut 17 /xäš/ 'good' compare with standard Persian خوب

Cut 18 /teke/ 'in, at, on' compare with standard Persian در

Cut 19 /pos/ 'son' compare with standard Persian پسر

Cut 20 /kojä/ 'where' compare with standard Persian کجا

Cut 21 /lu/ 'on' compare with standard Persian روی

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http://larcity.ir/lar.php?id=8-4-2

LORI لری

Lori 🔊👂 Quick I.D.

Northern:

- Usage of "ny" resembling Spanish ñ.
- When **/d/** is situated in an **/ada/** or **/adä/** cluster, it will sound like the "**th**" in "**th**ose."
- Direct object marker is -(ä)n instead of را.
- Plural suffixes are -ya and -ʉ(n).

Southern:

- Plural suffix **–äl** or **–yäl** in some cases. In some regions, **–gäl** is used. –un is also used for certain nouns (not necessarily animate like in Persian).
- Present progressive prefix is i– (e.g. i-bini = می‌بینی).
- Direct object marker is **–ä** when following a consonant, and **–nä** when following a vowel.
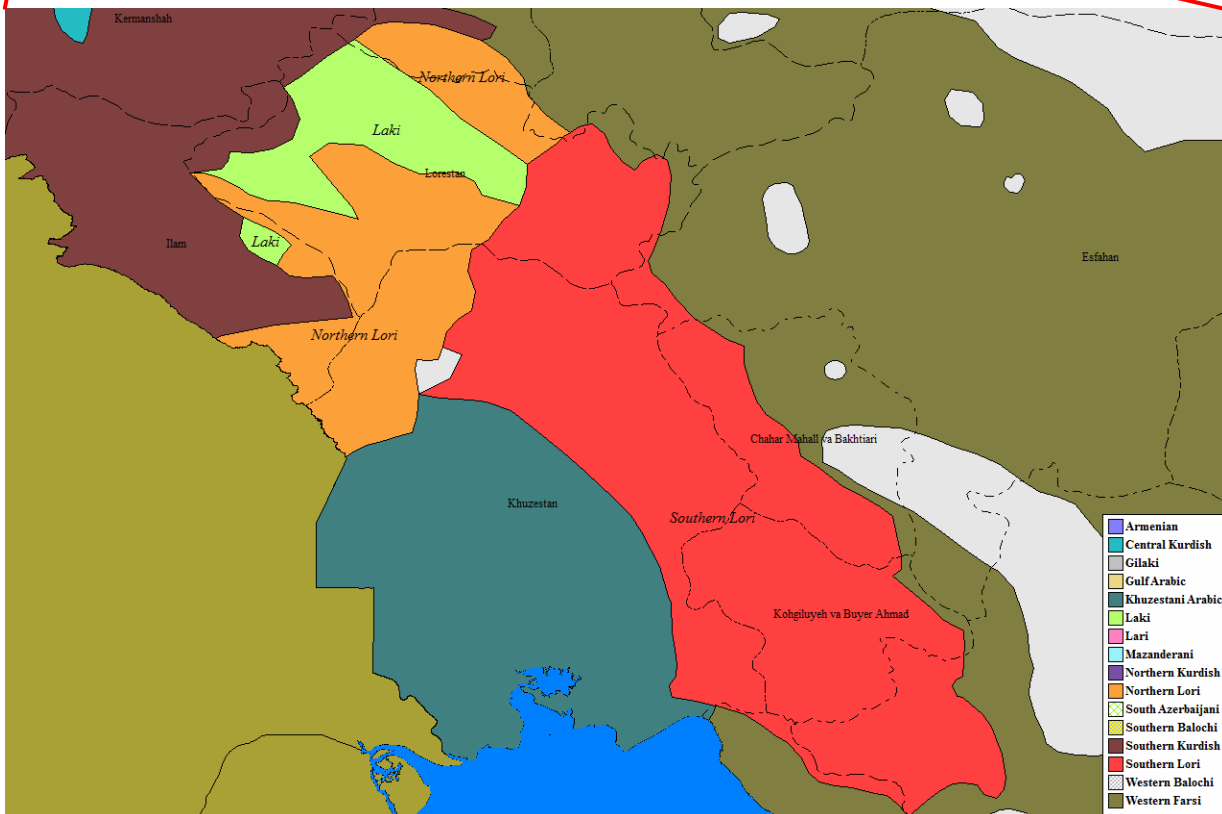
Lori Overview

Lori لری or Luri, is a traditionally unwritten language that belongs to the southwestern branch of the Iranian language family. As has historically been the case in many countries with regional languages that are closely related to but distinct from the language of government (e.g. Scots with respect to English, or Catalán with respect to Spanish), Lori has traditionally been considered as being not only a dialect of Persian, but also as being an internally homogeneous grouping (Anonby 2003b). The reality is more complex; while Lori is indeed closely related to Persian, there are in fact multiple Lori dialects or even fully-fledged languages that form a continuum between Persian and Kurdish (Anonby 2003b).

Lori speakers generally have little difficulty with Persian, and bilingualism is relatively common amongst the approximately 4 million Lors spread cross nine provinces, including Lorestan, Khuzestan, Ilam, Kohgiluyeh-o Boyer Ahmad, Bushehr, Fars, Chaharmahal-o Bakhtiari, Esfahan, and Hamadan (Amanolahi and Thackston 1986). Anonby even reported cases where speakers of one Lori dialect (Mamasani) used Persian rather than Lori to communicate with speakers of a different Lori dialect (Bakhtiari), simultaneously demonstrating the speakers' level of familiarity with Persian and lending some credence to the idea that Lori is not a single dialect or language (Anonby 2003a).

The division of the Lori dialects is a debatable topic. Anonby (2003a) divided Lori into three main dialects, namely Luristani, Bakhtiari, and Southern Luri, which he in turn divided into several subdialects as shown in the chart and accompanying map below. This tripartite division is shared by *Ethnologue*, which calls Luristani "Northern Luri" (lrc), and uses the code bqi for Bakhtiari and luz for Southern Luri.

List of Lori Languages and Major Component Dialects

LANGUAGE	DIALECT	DIALECT CENTRES
Luristāni:	Khorramābādi	Khorramābad
	Borujerdi	Borujerd
	Nahāvandi	Nahāvand
	Luri of Andimeshk	Andimeshk
	Rural dialects	(various)
Bakhtiāri:	Haflang (Haftlang)	Masjed-e Soleimān, Shahr-e Kord
	Chārlang (Chahārlang)	Shahr-e Kord, Dowrud
	Chelgerd	Chelgerd
	Kohrang	Kohrang
Southern Luri:	Boyerahmadi	Yāsuj
	Kohgiluyeh	Dehdasht
	Mamasani	Nurābād
	Shuli	Shul

Lori Dialect Map

(Anonby)

MacKinnon (2011) categorized Lori into two general dialects geographically: Northern Lori, spoken by the group traditionally known as the Lor-e Kuchak ("Lesser Lors"), and Southern Lori, spoken by the group traditionally known as the Lor-e Bozorg ("Greater Lors"), with the Dez River forming the major geographical division between the two. According to his scheme, Southern Lori includes Bakhtiari, Mamasani, and other dialects of the province of Kohgiluyeh-va Boyerahmad, while Northern Lori includes Gioni, Khorramabadi, Chagani, and Bala Gariva'i.

The current report is organized in accordance with MacKinnon's system, whereby Bakhtiari is placed in the Southern Lori category. See the table below for a visual representation of the Northern and Southern distinction, and a list of dialects followed by the provinces and counties (*shahrestan*) where they are spoken.

Northern Lori (lrc)	Southern Lori (luz)
Fars Province - Larestan County (لارستان) - Chagani dialect **Hamedan Province** - Nahavand County (نهاوند) - Gioni dialect **Lorestan Province** - Khorramabad County (خرم‌آباد) - Gioni dialect - Pol-e Dokhtar County - Bala-Gariva'i dialect (بالاگَریوَهای) - Borujerd County (بروجرد) - Borujerdi dialect **Khuzestan Province** - Andimeshk County (اندیمشک) - Bala-Gariva'i dialect (بالاگریوهای)	**Fars Province** - Mamasani / Nurabad-e Mamasani County (ممسنی / نورآباد ممسنی) - Mamasani dialect (ممسنی) **Kohgiluyeh-va Boyerahmad Province** - Boyerahmad County (بویراحمد) - Yasuj dialect (یاسوج) - Kohgiluyeh County (کهگیلویه) - Dehdasht dialect (دهدشت)

Bakhtiari (bqi) بختیاری
Khuzestan Province   - Izeh County (ایذه)   **Bushehr Province**   **Charharmahal va Bakhtiari Province**   - Ardal County (اردل)   - Borujen County (بروجن)   - Shahrekord County (شهرکرد)   - Kiar County (کیار)   - Farsan County (فارسان)   - Kuhrang County (کوهرنگ)   - Lordegan County (لردگان)   **Esfahan Province**

The following is a lexical sampling of a Northern Lori (NL) and Southern Lori (SL) dialect to demonstrate how they differ noticeably from both each other and from Standard Persian.:

English	Standard Persian	Bala-Gariva'i (NL)	Kohgiluyeh-o Boyerahmad (SL)
mother	مادر /madär/	/da/	/dey/
brother	برادر /bäradär/	/gɪyä/ or /bärar/	/berar/ or /kaka/
water	آب /ab/	/aw/	/ʔow/
sun	آفتاب /aftab/	/äftaw/	/ʔäftow/
winter	زمستان /zemestan/	/zɪmɪssʉ(n)/	/zemesun/
tongue	زبان /zäban/	/zäwʉ(n)/	/zown/

*Parentheses ( ) indicate sounds that are omitted in certain contexts.

Tense/Aspect	English	Persian	Bala-Gariva'i (NL)	Kohgiluyeh-o Boyerahmad (SL)
Infinitive	To say	/goftän/ گفتن	/gʊwtä(n)/	/gohtän/
Present	He says	/miguyäd/ می‌گوید	/gʊä/	/i-go/
Present Continuous	He is saying	/daräd miguyäd/ دارد می‌گوید	/ha gʊä/	/dare i-go/
Past	He said	/goft/ گفت	/gʊwt/	/goht/
Past Continuous	He was saying	/dašt migoft/ داشت می‌گفت	häy gʊwt	/dašt i-go/
Present Perfect	He has said	/goft-äst (gofte äst)/ گفته است	/gʊwtä/	/gohte/
Past Perfect	He had said	/gofte bud/ گفته بود	/gʊwti/	/gohtä bid/
Imperative	Say it!	/begu/ بگو	/bäʊ/	/bego/
Present Subjunctive	He wants to say	/mixahäd beguyäd/ می‌خواهد بگوید	/hayä bäʊ/	/i-xo bego/
Past Subjunctive	He wanted to say	/xast beguyäd/ خواست بگوید	/hass bäʊ/	/xas bego/

NORTHERN LORI

Phonetics & phonology

Much of the information gathered on the phonology and morphology of Northern Lori came from Amanolahi and Thackston's (1986) work *Tales from Luristan*, which focuses on the dialect of Bala-Gariva.

Consonants

The consonant inventory of Northern Lori is the same as that found in Standard Persian, with a few additional consonants to consider. They are as follows:

Consonants	English Equivalent	Northern Lori	Notes:
ñ	ca**ny**on	/värtäñidä/ *"to dig up"* /tʊfäñči/ *"rifleman"*	Sometimes it corresponds to Persian /ng/
ð	**th**ose	/färisnaðä/ *"to send"* /daða/ *"old woman"*	Replaces the /d/ in an /ada/ or /adä/ cluster
w	ho**w**	/suw/ *"morning"* /šaw/ *"night"*	Occurs only after vowels

Vowels

NL (Bala-Gariva) Phoneme	Standard Persian for this word class	Early New Persian	Recommended Symbol for Phoneme	English equivilent
î	i, u	ī	i	b**ee**t
i	e	i	ɪ	b**i**t
ɨ	i	ē	ɨ	ros**e**s
a	ä	a	ä	c**a**t
â	a	ā	a	c**o**t
ʉ	u	ā	ʉ	d**u**de (Cali style)
u	o	u	ʊ	p**u**t
û	u	ō	u	b**oo**t
å			ə	sof**a**

Cut 1: Man pronouncing ʉ in the word /šʉkr/ (*"thanks"*).

Corresponding Phonemes

In Lori there are several phonemes that generally correspond with phonemes in Standard Persian. Nevertheless, be aware that the examples below are not meant to be generalized into universal rules. A given Persian word cannot necessarily be converted into an authentic Lori word and viceversa using the patterns below.

Phoneme and Note	NL (Bala-Gariva'i)	Standard Persian
/b/ after a vowel sounds like [w]	/aw/	آب /ab/
	/šäw/	شب /šäb/
	/läw/	لب /läb/
	/xaw/	خواب /xab/
/v/ replaces /b/ after vowels such as –äy and –i and sometimes as the initial letter	/äyv/	عیب /eyb/
	/jiv/	جیب /jib/
	/siv/	سیب /sib/
	/va/	با /ba/
	/vaz/	باز /baz/
/d/ in the Persian clusters /nd/ and /zd/ is usually dropped	/čän/	چند /čänd/
	/dʊz/	دزد /dozd/
	/gän/	گند /gänd/
	/känä(n)/	کندن /kändän/
Final /n/ is subject to deletion unless it corresponds to Persian /nd/ or /nn/	/asɪmʉ/	آسمان /aseman/ or /asman/
	/zämi/	زمین /zämin/
	/dʉnɪssä(n)/	دانستن /danestän/
	/zä/	زن /zän/
/ñ/ which sounds like "ny" in the word "canyon" corresponds to Persian /ng/	/säñi/	سنگین /sängin/
	/äñʊšt/	انگشت /angošt/
	/räñ/	رنگ /rang/
/ss/ corresponds to /st/ in Persian	/däss/	دست /däst/
	/mass/	مست /mäst/
	/nɪšɪssä(n)/	نشستن /nešästän/
/h/ will sometimes correspond to Persian /x/	/härdä(n)/	خوردن /xordän/
	/hʊšk/	خشک /xošk/
	/hali/	خالی /xali/

Other Considerations

Post or intervocalic **/h/** is almost always deleted. This often happens in verb conjugation	/nä/ + /**h**ʊrä/ = /näʊrä/ = *She doesn't eat.* /bä/ + /**h**ɨss/ = /bäɨss/ = *Stand!* /nä/ + /**h**ʊft/ = /näʊft/ = *Don't sleep!* Note: See more in the Verbs sections
/g/ is sometimes deleted.	/bä/ + /**g**ʊ/ = /bäʊ/ = *Speak.* /nä/ + /**g**ir/ = /näir/ = *Don't take!* /är/ = /ä**g**är/ اگر BUT…. /nä**g**ırıt/ = /nä**g**ereft/ نگرفت = *He didn't take* /nä**g**äšt/ = /nä**g**äšt/ نگشت *She didn't turn*
When **/d/** is situated in an **/ada/** or **/adä/** cluster, it will sound like the / **ð**/ (as in "**th**ose")	/da<u>d</u>a/ /da<u>ð</u>a/ /färına<u>d</u>ä/ → will sound like → /färına<u>ð</u>ä/ /sıya<u>d</u>ä/ /sıya<u>ð</u>ä/

Morphology

Pronouns

Pronouns	1S	2S	3S*	1PL	2PL	3PL*
Subjects or Posessors	/mä(n)/**	/tʊ(n)/	/i(n)/ or /ʉ(n)/	/ımu/	/šımu/	/inʉ(n)/ or /ʉnʉ(n)/
Direct Objects or Possessives	/-(ä)m/***	/-(ä)t/	/-(ä)š/	/-mʉ(n)/	/-tʉ(n)/	/-šʉ(n)/

*In Lori, 3rd person singular and plural pronouns are the same as demonstrative adjectives.

**(n) is usually dropped, but restored when followed by an enclitic.

*** (ä) is usually dropped when preceded by a noun or verb ending in -ä.

Plural Noun Suffixes -ya and -ʉ(n)

There are two plural sufffixes in Northern Lori: /–ya/ (Persian ها–) and /–ʉ(n)/ (Persian ان-). Like its Persian counterpart, /–ʉ(n)/ is restricted to animate beings. Note that/ –ä/ at the end of nouns will be dropped before either suffix is added.

Animate		Inanimate	
/gɪyä/ → /gɪyʉ(n)/	*brothers*	/gɪya/ → /gɪyaya/	*plants*
/bärar/ → /bärarʉ(n)/	*brothers*	/tiyä/ → /tiyya/	*eyes*
/tatäza/ → /tatäzaʉ(n)/	*cousins*	/äwr/ → /äwrya/	*clouds*

Indefinite Noun Marker /–ɨ/

Similar to the ی– in Persian, an /–ɨ/ is attached to the ending of a noun to indicate that it is an indefinite or nonspecific noun. For words that end with an omissible /n/, the /n/ is restored before adding the/ –ɨ/. Some examples:

/xärɨ/   *a donkey*

/dɪgärɨ/   *a stranger*

/čɨ/   *something*

/zädʉnɨ/   *a prison*

Noun Modifiers

In Standard Persian, an *ezafe* connects the adjective(s) or noun(s) to the noun being modified. In Northern Lori, this concept does not exist. For example:

my brother's dogs → /säyʉn bärar mä/

a child's condition → /ähval bäččäɨ/

Compare the phrases above to the corresponding phrases in Standard Persian below:

my brother's dogs ➔ /sägan-e bäradäräm/ سگان برادرم

a child's condition ➔/ähval-e bäččei/ احوال بچهای

Cut 2: Man pronouncing the phrase hunä mä (*"my house"*).

Note that in the case of nouns that end with an omissible /n/, the /n/ is restored before adding the modifier. For example:

The group's enemy ➔ /dušmä<u>n</u> jugä/

/–ä/ at the end of nouns is changed to /–äɪ/ before adding the modifier:

The hungry cat ➔ /gʊrv<u>äɪ</u> gʊsnä/

Prepositions

The goat was carried off <u>from</u> him. ➔ /Bʊzɨ <u>dä</u>-š bärɪs/

She gave half of it <u>to</u> the thieves. ➔ /Nɪsm-äš dä <u>vä</u> dʊzɨ/

<u>Around it</u> were sixteen demons. ➔ /Šʊnzäh naradɪv ha <u>däwr-äš</u>/

Direct Object Marker /–(ä)n/

Like the Persian را , the enclitic/ –(ä)n/ indicates the direct object.

The wolf ate the sheep. ➔ /Gʊrg mʊrɣ<u>än</u> härd/

The wolf picked up the fox. ➔ /Gʊrg räwa-<u>n</u> värdašt/

They struck the one match. ➔ /Ye kɪrmit-<u>än</u> zän/

Nouns ending in the omissible /n/ do not retain the /n/.

They chopped them up. ➔ /Unu-<u>n</u> kʊt kʊt kɪrdən/

Objects that are marked by a singular possessive enclitic **do not** require the /–(ä)n/ marker.

Give me my money. ➔ /Pil-<u>m</u> bäɪ vä-m/

Cut 3: Woman pronouncing the phrase /där-ä bäz kʊ/ (*Open the door!*)

Anaphoric Prefix And Suffix: /a–/ and /–ká/

An anaphor, which can be a pronoun, adverb, or verb phrase, is used to avoid repetition in context. It refers to an antecedent expression which may not necessarily be in the same sentence.

In the following sentences:

John, Tom, and Brad said they will bring the chips and dip. "They" is an anaphor referring back to "John, Tom and Brad."

The crowd was getting inpatient, and so were we. "So" is an anaphor referring to "getting impatient."

In Northern Lori, /**a-**/ is an anaphoric prefix and /**–ká**/ is an anaphoric suffix. However, /–ká/ is used much more often than a-.

Don't capture me as you did before. → /Näkʊ vä gɪrɪtän-<u>ká</u>-t/

A student of Persian may confuse the suffix /–ká/ with the Persian conjunction که (which, that). However, notice that an enclitic can be attached to the suffix/ –ká/.

Verbs

Copular/Linking Verbs

English	Lori ending*	Examples	
(I) am	/-äm/ or /-am/	/Mä naxʊda-äm/	*I am the ship captain*
(You) are	/-i/ or /-ai/	/Tʊ dɪvʉnai/	*You're crazy.*
(He/She/That) is	/-ä/ or /-a/	/Ʊ ärzʉn-ä/	*That is cheap.*
(We) are	/-ɨm/ or /-äɨm/	/ɪmu dä hʉnäɨm/	*We're at home.*
(You) are	/-ɨ(t)/ or /-äɨ(t)/	/Gɪyʉn- äš- ɨ(t)/	*Are you his brothers?*
(They) are	/-än/ or /-an/	/Hi dʊšmän-t- än/	*Here are your enemies.*

*When the preceding word ends in /–ä/, the verb ending is combined as shown in the second member of each pair.

The Long Copular Verb

Similar to the Persian هست, Lori uses /hɨss-/ and /ha-/ stem words to indicate the existence of something or to make a special emphasis.

Main Copula	Alternative Copula	Examples	
/hɨssäm/	/ham/	/Häm adämɨ hɨssäm, häm adämzadɨ/	I am both a man and a human being.
/hɨssi/	/hai/	/Tu kuja hɨssi/	Where are you?
/hɨ/ or /hɨss-äš/	/ha/	/Mär där zäbuä-m bɨhtärɨ hɨ/	Is there (anyone) better than my stepmother?
/hɨssɨm/	/haɨm/	/Tu kujanɨɨ hɨssi/	Where are you from?
/hɨssɨ(t)/	/haɪ(t)/		
/hɨssän/	/han/	/Härki hɨssän, bayäd hämä-n biyari/	Whoever they are, you must bring them all.

Cut 4: Man pronouncing hɨssi (*"you are"*).

Verb Tenses and Aspects

Verb Tense/Aspect	Rules or Patterns	Examples
Infinitive **/n/ deletion**	/n/ deletion from infinitive, resulting in/ –ä/ ending unless followed by enclitic or genitive	/mʊrdä/ *"to die"* /Bäʊ mʊrdän̲ mä dʊruɨ-ä/ *Say my dying is a lie.*
Past	Drop **/–ä(n)/** or **/–dä(n)/** ending to get past root stem and attach the following personal endings: **/-əm/, /-i/, /-im/, /-i(t)/*, /-ən/** When the stem ends in vowel, as with **/ɨmadä̲/** *"to come"* or **/didä̲/** *"to see"*, /ə/ is dropped from the personal endings Optional: restore **/d/** to the past stem for 2S or 2PL and 1S stems ending in /–ɨ/ and /-ɨ/	/gʊwtän/ "to say" /gʊwtə̲m/ /gʊwtɨ̲m/ /gʊwti/ /gʊwtɨ̲(t)/ /gʊwt/ /gʊwtə̲n/ /ɨmadän/ "to come" /ɨmam̲/ /ɨmaɨm/ /ɨmai/ /ɨmai(t)/ /ɨma/ /ɨman̲/ /didän/ "to see" /dim̲/ /di(d)ɨm/ /di(d)ɨ/ /di(d)ɨ(t)/ /di/ /din̲/

	*The (t) is used in the Khorramabadi dialect of North Lori. ------------------------ NEGATIVES: add stressed prefix **/nä-/** (**/ni-/** before vowels) If the past tense stem begins with /d/, is it usually deleted (as is the /g/ at the beginning of guwta). An exception is /**dädä**/ *"to give."* If the past stem begins with **/b/** it becomes a **/w/** and turns into a glide. ------------------------ More examples:	/rätä/ *"to go"* ᵾmadä *"to come"* /**nä**rätəm/ /**ní**ᵾmam/ /**nä**räti/ /**ní**ᵾmai/ /**nä**rät/ /**ní**ᵾma/ /**nä**/ + /dašt/ → /našt/ *"she didn't have"* /**nä**/ + /din/ → /nain/ *"they didn't see"* /**nä**/ + /gʊwtəm/ → /nägʊwtəm/ *"I didn't say"* /**nä**/ + /dä/ → /**nä**dä/ *"he didn't give"* /**nä**/ + /bäst/ → /**nä**wäst/ *"he didn't tie"* /**nä**/ + /bʊrd/ → náwʊrd *"he didn't take"* /**nä**/+baxt→ näbaxt *"he didn't lose"* ------------------------ *"He woke up his brother."* /Gɪyᵾ-n biar kɪrd/ *"They ate breakfast, got dressed, and set out."* /Nᵾn ʊ aw härdän ʊ qäd ʊ kul kɪrdän u rätän/
Past Habitual/ Progressive **häy +past tense**	Indicated by the word /**häy**/ In the progressive aspect, /**häy**/ is comparable to the Persian use of داشتن	/häy rät/ *"he was going" "he used to go"* /häy guwt/ *"he was saying" "he used to say"*
Past Perfect **Add -i**	Add /–**i**/ to simple past conjugation Verbs with past stems in ending –**i**, have alternate forms for 1PL and 2PL	/ᵾmadän/ "to come" /ᵾmami/ /ᵾmaimi/ /ᵾmaii/ /ᵾmaiti/ /ᵾmai/ /ᵾmani/ /räsidä/ *"to arrive"* /räsimi/ /räsiimi/ or /räsiimᵾni/ /räsii/ /räsiiti/ or /räsiitᵾni/ /räsi/ /räsini/

		"We had slept in two places." /mu hi du ja hʊftiɪm/ *"We had not seen anything."* /mu čɨ näidɨm/
Past Perfect vs. Past Stative	Lori makes a distinction between past perfect and past stative (state of being)	**Past Perfect:** /hɨssami/ *"I had stood up"* /nišissi/ *"He had sat down"* **Past Stative:** /hɨssadä vimä/ *"I was standing up"* /nišissä bi/ *"He was seated"*
Present Perfect **Add /–ä/**	Add **/–ä/** to all forms of the simple past. The resulting /-əmä/ in 1S often collapses to /–mä/ In **/ɨma(dä)/** type verbs, either a /–yä/ or a **/–dä/** is added to 3S. In /**dä(dä)/** type verbs, the 3S will end in /-a/ to represent /-ä/ + /-ä/	/rätä(n)/ "to go" /rät(ə)mä̱/ /rätɨmä̱/ /rätɨä̱/ /rätɨtä̱/ /rätä̱/ /rätənä̱/ /ɨmadän/ "to come" /ɨmamä̱/ /ɨmaimä/ /ɨmaiä̱/ /ɨmaitä̱/ /ɨmayä/ /ɨmanä/ or /ɨmadä̱/ /dä/+ /ä/ → /da/ *"has given"*
Present	Add the following personal endings to the present stem /-(ä)m/ /-ɨm/ /-i/ /-ɨ(t)/ /-(y)ä/ /-(ä)n/ *Notice present tense Lori does not use می ------------------------------ NEGATIVES: add /**nä-**/ to affirmative form (all examples useS 3S) add /**ni-**/ for forms starting with /y-/ drop **/d/, /g/,** and intervocalic **/h/**	/räsidä/ /räsä̱m/ /räsɨm/ /räsi̱/ /räsɨ̱(t)/ /räsä̱/ /räsä̱n/ /ɨmadä/ /ya̱m/ /yaɨ̱m/ /yai̱/ /yaɨ̱(t)/ /ya(yä)/ /ya̱n/ --------------------------------- /räsidä/ → /räsä/ → /näräsä/ /ɪftadä/ → /ɪfta/ → /näɪfta/ /kɪrdä/ → /kʊnä/ → /näkʊnä/ /awärdä/ → /yarä/ → /nɪyarä/ /ɨmadä/ → /ya(yä)/ → /nɪya(yä)/

	change postvocalic **/b/** → **/w/**	/daštä/ → /darä/ → /narä/ /gʊwtä/ → /gʊä/ → /näʊä/ /härdä/ → /hʊrä/ → /näʊrä/ /bidä/ → /buä/ → /nuä (*näwuä)/ /bʊrdä/ → /bärä/ → /näwärä/ *"Do you know what will help them?"* /Dʉni či si-šʉ xʉ-ä/ "I am not letting go of you!" /Sʊss vä-t näkʊnäm/
Present Progressive **/ha/** + **present**	indicated by **/ha/** In the progressive aspect, **/ha/** is comparable to the Persian use of داشتن	/ha guä/ *"He's saying."* /ha hʊräm/ *"I'm eating."*
Present Iterative **/häy/** + **present**	signaled by **/häy/**	/häy guä/ *"He keeps on saying."* /häy huram/ *"I keep on eating."*

Other Verb Cases

Moods

Imperative	Add **/bä-/** (**/bɪ-/** before roots beginning with /y-/) to the present stem. Add **/nä-/** or **/nɪ-/** for negatives. Exceptions: **/rätä/** does not take the /bä-/ prefix **/bidä/** *"to be"* has several forms Apply consonant change /b/ → /w/. Apply usual consonant deletion rules (/d/, /g/, /h/). Delete terminal /n/ of present stem **Exceptions:**	/awärdä/ {/yar/}: /bɪyar/ – /nɪyar/ /ʉmadä/ {/ya/}: /bɪya/ – /nɪya/ /räsidä/ {/räs/}: /bäräs/ – /näräs/ /rätä/ {/ru-/}: /räw/ – /näräw/ /bidä/ {/ba-/}: /ba/, /va/, /bu/ – /näva/ /bʊrdä/ {/bär/}: /bäwär/ – /näwär/ /dädä/ {/dɪ/}: /bäɪ/ – /näɪ/ /gɪrɪtä/ {/gir/}: /bäir/ – /näir/ /hissadä/ {/hiss/}: /bäiss/ – /näiss/ /zädä/ {/zän/}: /bäzä/ – /näzä/ /yad kɪrdä/ {/yad kʊn/}: /yad bäkʊ/ – /yad näkʊ/ /vakɪrdä/ {/vakʊn/}: /vakʊ/ – /nävakʊ/

	Closed compound verbs omit the bä-prefix.	/värgäštä/ {/värgärd/}: /värgärd/ – /navärgärd/ *"Wake us up."* /ɪmu-n biar kʊ/ *"Let me go!"* /Vɪl-äm kʊ/
Subjunctive	Add an accented /**bä-**/ (occasionaly /**vä-**/ to the present tense conjugations. The negative subjunctive of most verbs is the same as the negative present tense conjugation. Also /**bä-/**, /**bɪ-**/ or /**nä-/**, /**nɪ-**/ for stems beginning with /**y-**/ Closed compounds verbs omit the /bä-/ prefix **Irregulars:** /zädä/ has two forms	 /Värgärdɪm/ *"Let us return."* /zänä/: /bäzänä/ or /näzänä/ **OR** /dɪä/, /näɪä/ (3S) *"Get up and let's go."* /Värɪssɪt kä räɪm/
Contrafactual	The following endings are added to the past stem to indicate a contrafactual condition. /**Bä-**/ is an optional prefix. /-imäy/ /-imᵾnäy/ /-itäy/ /-itᵾnäy/ /-iäy/ /-ináy/	/Är padša zɪnä bä<u>imäy</u>/ *"If the King were alive…"* /Är pʊrsid<u>itäy</u>/ *"If you had asked…"* /Är darändä bä<u>imᵾnäy</u>/ *"If we were wealthy…"* /Är dᵾnɪss<u>ináy</u>/ *"If they had known…"*

Cut 5: Woman pronouncing 3S past tense verb /ᵾma/ ("he/she/that came").

SOUTHERN LORI

Southern Lori is perhaps more similar to Persian than Northern Lori. The most significant differences are seen in their respective phonologies.

Phonetics & phonology

Consonants

Whereas Northern Lori has three additional consonants beyond the inventory of Standard Persian, the consonant inventory in Southern Lori is slightly shorter. The phoneme /ž/ is not found in Southern Lori, and is instead rendered as /j/ in loanwords.

Anonby classifies /w/, /y/, and /h/ as glides as in /ä**w**/, /ä**y**/, and /ä**h**/ (2003a).

Vowels

Below is the Southern Lori vowel inventory from Anonby's (2003a) work *A phonology of Southern Lori.*

	[- back]	[+back]
[+high]	iy [iː]	uw [uː]
	ih i u uh [ɛː] [ɛ] [ɔ] [ɔː]	
[+high]/[-high]	ay [ɛj]	aw [ɔw]
[-high]	ah a [aː] [a]	ā [ɑː]

Table 4: The Southern Luri vowel system, including all nucleus slot fillers

Taking Anonby's chart and reformatting it to match the transcription system of this report, the vowels and dipthongs of Southern Lori include: /iy/, /uw/, /ih/, /i/, /u/, /uh/, /äy/, /äw/, /äh/, /ä/ and /a/.

Other Considerations

Phonological changes

VOWELS		
Changes →	**Standard Persian**	**Southern Lori**
Usually… Persian /a/ → /u/ before /m/ and /n/	شام /šam/ قیامت /qiyamät/ جامه /jame/	/šum/ (*dinner*) /qeyumät/ (*pandemonium*) /jumä/ (*garb*)
Persian /a/ → /ä/ before /h/	راه /rah/ چاه /čah/ كلاه /kolah/	/rä/ (way) /čä/ (well) /kelä/ (hat)
Persian /ä/ → /ow/ before consonant cluster /fs/ and /fš/. Also, /fs/ or /fš/ → /s/ or /š/	كفش /käfš/ بنفش /bänäfš/ كرفس /käräfs/	/kowš/ (shoe) /bänowš/ (violet) /kälows/ (celery)
Usually… Persian /ä/ → /ow/ before b. Also /b/ gets dropped	لب /läb/ تب /täb/ سبز /säbz/	/low/ (lip) /tow/ (fever) /sowz/ (green)
Sometimes…. Persian /ä/ corresponds to /e/ … or /o/	كردن /kärdän/ مرد /märd/ خنک /xonäk/	/kerdän/ (to do) /merd/ (man) /xenok/ (cool)
Sometimes… Person /o/ corresponds to /e/	خنک /xonäk/ دشمن /došmän/ مدت /moddät/	/xenok/ (cool) /desman/ (enemy) /medät/ (period)
Terminal Persian /e/ → /ä/	دستگیره /dästgire/ كهنه /kohne/ خانه /xane/	/dähsgirä/ (handle) /kohnä/ (old) /hunä/ (house)
Sometimes… Persian /u/ corresponds to /i/ … or /e/ … or /o/	كوچه /kuče/ خون /xun/ تومان /toman/ سوختن /suxtän/	/kiča/ (street) /xin/ (blood) /temen/ (toman) /sohtan/ (to burn)
Sometimes… Persian /i/ corresponds to /e/	ریختن /rixtän/ بیختن /bixtän/	/rehtän/ (to pour) /behtän/ (to sift)
CONSONANTS		
Sometimes… Persian /b/ corresponds to /v/ … or /w/	باز /baz/ شوربا /šurba/ تبر /täbär/ روباه /rubah/	/vaz/ (open) /šurava/ (pottage) /twär/ (axe) /rwä/ (fox)

Sometimes… Persian /d/ corresponds with /t/	لگد /lägäd/ مهدی Mehdi/	/läɣät/ (kick) /mehti/ (rightly guided)
Sometimes… Persian /f/ corresponds with /m/ … or /h/	وقف /vaɣf/ کفچه /käfče/ گفتن /goftän/ رفتن /räftän/ بهتر /behtär/ حلقه /hälqe/	/växm/ (pause) /kämčä/ (skimmer) /gohtän/ (to say) /rähtän/ (to go) /bextär/ (better) /xälqä/ (ring)
Sometimes… Persian /x/ corresponds with /h/ in postvocalic position …or /ɣ/	شخم /šoxm/ ریختن /rixtän/ پختن /poxtän/ خندق /xändäq/ خروس /xorus/	/šohm/ (plowing) /rehtän/ (to pour) /pohtän/ (to cook) /ɣändäq/ (moat) /ɣerus/ (rooster)
Sometimes… Persian /q/ corresponds with /x/ within a terminal consonant cluster	وقت /vaqt/ بقچه /boqčeh/	/växt/ (time)
OTHERS		
Sometimes… Persian /t/, /h/ and /ʔ/ are dropped from similar Lori words	خواست /xast/ چهار /čähar/ کهنه /kohneh/ طمع /tämäʔ/	xas (desire) čar (four) konä (old) tämä (greed)

Cut 1: Southern Lori woman pronouncing /kerdän/ (*"to do"*).

Morphology

Pronouns

	1S (*I*)	2S (*you*)	3S (*he/she this/that*)	1PL (*we*)	2PL (*you*)	3PL (*they these/those*)
Subjects or Possessors	/mo/	/to/	/vo/	/ʔima/	/ʔiša/	/ʔungäl/
	1S (*me, my*)	2S (*you, your*)	3S (*him, her, his, her*)	1PL (*us, our*)	2PL (*you, your*)	3PL (*them, their*)

Direct Objects or Possessives	/-m/ or /-om/	/-t/ or /-et/	/-š/ or /-eš/	/-mun / or /-emun/	/-tun / or /-etun/	/-šun/ or /-ešun/

Demonstrative Pronouns

Pronoun	*this*	*these*	*this* (emphatic, e.g. "this very thing")
Subject	/yo/	/ʔingäl/	/hämyo/
Object	/yenä/	/ʔingälä/	/hämyenä/

Pronoun	*that*	*those*	*that* (emphatic, e.g. "that very thing")
Subject	/vo/	/ʔungäl/	/hämvo/
Object	/venä/	/ʔungälä/	/hämvenä/

Plural Suffixes

There are several ways to pluralize a noun.

1) /–äl/ is the most common plural suffix. The chart below shows the different ways /–äl/ is added to a modified noun depending on the ending of that modified noun (Moqimi 1994).

When the modified noun ends in a….		Southern Lori	Standard Persian
consonant	add /–äl/	/merd-**äl**/	/märdan/ مردان
short vowel	add /–y/ + /–äl/	/kelä-**yäl**/	/kolah-ha/ کلاه‌ها
	change ä → e then add /–y/ + /–äl/	/bäčä/ → /bäče/ → /bäče-**yäl**/	/bäčče-ha/ بچه‌ها
	if a y comes before the short vowel add /-l/	/teyä/→ /tey**äl**/	/chäšm-ha/ چشم‌ها
long vowel (a, i, u)	add /–y/ + /–äl/	/či-**yäl**/	/äbzar-ha/ ابزارها
diphthong (ey, ow)	add /–y/ + /–äl/ or sometimes…	/bow- **yäl**/ *or* /bow- **väl**/	pedäran پدران
	add /–v/ + /–äl/	/dey –**yäl**/ *or* /dey –**väl**/	madäran مادران

Moqimi (1994) also noted that the plural 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person pronouns have their own plural forms. They are as follows: /imanäl/ (Standard Persian /ma-ha/ ماها, not used), /ishanäl/ (Standard Persian /šoma-ha/ شماها), and /ungälo/or /ungälon/ (Standard Persian /anha/ آنها).

2) /–un/ corresponds to the Standard Persian plural suffix ـان .   Examples include:

/dwär<u>un</u>/ = /doxtäran/ دختران

/sal<u>un</u>/ = /salha/ سالها

*The suffix /–äl/ can also be used in place of /–un/.

3) /–gäl/ as a plural suffix may be encountered in some regions where Southern Lori is spoken.

Example: /zängäl/ = /zanha/ زنها

Prepositions

It's possible <u>for</u> us.	/<u>Si</u> ʔima monken- e/
They will help <u>(to)</u> you.	/<u>Vä</u>-t kemäk i kenen/
He took them <u>from</u> us.	/ʔungäl-ä <u>vey</u>- ma geroht/

Definite and Indefinite Nouns

Definite nouns can be indicated with or without the definite marker /–äku/. When the marker follows a vowel, then only /–ku/ is added. Examples below:

/miš- äku/ = *"that sheep"* (Standard Persian /an gusfänd/ آن گوسفند)

/ga-ku/ = *"that cow"* (Standard Persian /an gav/ آن گاو)

The two indefinite markers here are much like the ones used in Standard Persian:

1) Using /yä/ before the noun. Example: /<u>yä</u> bäčä/ = *"a child"* (Standard Persian /yek bačče/ or /baččei/

2) Adding /–i/ to the end of a noun. Depending on the ending of the word, adding this indefinite marker could significantly alter the pronunciation. The following chart demonstrates the changes.

Definite (Southern Lori)	Indefinite (Southern Lori)	Indefinite (Standard Persian)
/sib/	/sib**i**/	/sib**i** سیبی
/ga/	/gey/	/gavi/ گاوی
/bäčä/ →	/bäčey/	/baččei/ بچهای
/ču/*	/čuyi/	/čubi/ چوبی

* For words ending with i or u, add /–yi/.

Noun Modifiers – The Ezafe

Southern Lori, like Standard Persian, uses the ezafe to connect nouns and their modifiers. The ezafe in Southern Lori is expressed by the vowel /-e/. However, there are some exceptions as shown in the chart below.

When the word ends with…	Rule	Southern Lori Base Word	Southern Lori	Standard Persian
consonant	add /–e/	/merd/	/merd-<u>e</u> gäpu/	/märd-e bozorg/ مرد بزرگ
/ä/ or /a/	change to /-ey/	/pa/	/p<u>ey</u> mo/	/pa-ye män/ پای من
/o/, /u/, /i/	insert /–y/ before the /-e/	/gelu/	/gelu-<u>y</u>-e iša/	/gorbe-ye šoma/ گربهی شما
/ow/, /ey/, and sometimes /u/	no ezafe	/bow/ /dru/	/bow mo/ /dru šaxdar/	/pedär-e män/ پدر من /doruɣ-e šaxdar/ دروغ شاخدار

Direct Object Markers

The direct object in Southern Lori is marked by attaching /–ä/ to the direct object if it ends in a consonant and /–nae/ if it ends in a vowel (Moqimi 1994).

Take your hands off! /dähset-<u>ä</u> vähger/ دستت را بردار.

It destroyed the house. /Hunä-<u>nä</u> xärab kerd/ خانه را خراب کرد.

He brought it to me. /ʔungäl-<u>ä</u> si-mo i yare/ آن را به من آورد.

I saw the whole place. /Hämä ja-<u>nä</u> didom/ همه جا را دیدم.

He did not see my brother.   /Käka-m-ä neyd/   برادرم را ندید.

Verbs

Copular Verbs a.k.a. Linking Verbs

English	Long	Short *
(I) am	/hesom/	/-om/ or /-yäm/
(You) are	/hesi/	/-i/, /yey/, or /-yi/
(He/She) is	/hes/	/-e/ or /-yä/
(We) are	/hesim/	/-im/, /-yeym/, or /-yim/
(You) are	/hesit/	/-it/, /-yeyt/, or /-yit/
(They) are	/hesen/	/-en/ or /-yän/

* The short form beginning –y is used when the preceeding word ends in a vowel.

Verb Tenses and Aspects

Much like Standard Persian, infintive verbs end in /–än/, and their past root stems, which end in either /–d/, /–t/, or /–s/, will drop the infinitive ending. Present root stems vary in general structure depending on whether or not they are derived from regular or irregular verbs. Here are some examples:

English	Standard Persian	Southern Lori	Past stem	Present Stem
to throw	انداختن /ändaxtän/	/ʔendaxtän/	/ʔendaxt-/	/ʔendaz-/
to stand	ایستادن /istadän/	/veysadän/	/veysad-/	/veys-/
to be	بودن /budän/	/bidän/	/bid-/	/bu-/ or /buv-/
to want	خواستن /xastän/	/xasän/	/xas-/	/xo-/ or /x-/
to send	فرستادن /ferestadän/	/besi kerdän/	/besikerd-/	/besi kon-/
to go	رفتن /räftän/	/rähtän/	/räht-/	/rä-/ or /räv/
to hit	زدن /zädän/	/zädän/	/zäd-/	/zän-/

Verbal Affixes

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	/-om/	/-im/
2nd Person	/-i/	/-it/ or /-in/
3rd Person	/-e/ or /ø/*	/-en/

*The absence of a verbal affix is seen in all past tense aspects of 3ˢᵗ person singular, except for the past perfect tense. On the other hand, the affix /–e/ appears in all present tense forms of the 3ʳᵈ person singular.

Present tense verbs are in indicated by the affix /i-/ + present stem + personal ending.

Southern Lori - xowsidan	Standard Persian – خوابیدن xabidän
/i-xows-om/	میخوابم /mixabäm/
/i-xows-i/	میخوابی /mixabi/
/i-xows-e/	میخوابد /mixabäd/
/i-xows-im/	میخوابیم /mixabim/
/i-xows-it/	میخوابید /mixabid/
/i-xows-en/	میخوابند /mixabänd/

The negative present tense is formed by replacing /i-/ with /ni-/. For example:

/**ni**-xows-om/

/**ni**-xows-i/

/**ni**-xows-e/

/**ni**-xows-im/

/**ni**-xows-it/

/**ni**-xows-en/

Cut 2: Woman pronouncing /i-bini/ (*"you see"*).

Present Subjunctive is indicated by the affix /**be-**/.

/šayät **be**-xows-om/ = Standard Persian /šayäd bexabäm/ (شاید بخوابم).

The negative subjunctive mood is formed by replacing the /**be-**/ with /**nä-**/. Thus,

/šayät **nä**-xows-om/ = Standard Persian /šayäd näxabäm/ (شاید نخوابم) .

Imperatives

The two imperative forms are formed by adding /be-/ or /bo-/ to the singular present stem or the plural 2nd person present.

/be-xows/ = Standard Persian /bexab/ بخواب!

/be-xows-it/ = /bexabid/ بخوابید!

/**bo**-vär/ = Standard Persian /bebär/ ببر!

The negative imperative is formed replacing the /be-/ or /bo-/ with either a /**nä-**/ or /**mä-**/.

/nä-xows/ = Standard Persian /näxab/ نخواب!

/nä-xows-it/ = Standard Persian /näxabid/ نخوابید!

Simple Past

xondän = Standard Persian /xandän/ خواندن

/xond-**om**/	/**nä**-xond-**om**/	/xond-**im**/	/**nä**-xond-**im**/
/xond-**i**/	/**nä**-xond-**i**/	/xond-**it**/	/**nä**-xond-**it**/
/xond/	/**nä**-xond/	/xond-**en**/	/**nä**-xond-**en**/

Past Imperfect

The past imperfect is constructed by adding an /i-/ to the beginning of the simple past verb. The Standard Persian equivalent would be می + simple past, as in میخواندم. The negative past imperfect is formed by inserting /ni-/ at the beginning.

/i-xond-**om**/	/**ni**-xond-**om**/	**/i**-xond-**im**/	/**ni**-xond-**im**/
/i-xond-**i**/	/**ni**-xond-**i**/	**/i**-xond-**it**/	/**ni**-xond-**it**/
/i-xond/	/**ni**-xond/	**/i**-xond-**en**/	/**ni**-xond-**en**/

Present Perfect

The negative Present Perfect is formed by inserting /**nä-**/ at the beginning of the verb.

Standard Persian	Southern Lori
/xandeäm/ خوانده‌ام	/xond-**eme**/
/xandei/ خوانده‌ای	/xond-**eyä**/*
/xande-äst/ خوانده است	/xond-**e**/

/xande-im/ خواندهایم	/xond-**ime**/
/xande-id/ خواندهاید	/xond-**ite**/**
/xande-änd/ خواندهاند	xond-**ene***

*alternate affix for 2nd person singular is /–**yey**/.

** alternate affix 2nd person and 3rd person plurals is /-**ine**/.

Past Perfect

Past perfect consists of: past participle + past tense of /**bidan**/. The negative is formed by adding /**nä**-/ to the beginning of the past tense root.

Standard Persian	Southern Lori
/räfte budäm/ رفته بودم	/rähtä **bidom**/
/räfte budi/ رفته بودی	/rähtä **bidi**/
/rafte bud/ رفته بود	/rähtä **bid**/
/rafte budim/ رفته بودیم	/rähtä **bidim**/
/rafte budid/ رفته بودید	/rähtä **bidit**/
/rafte budänd/ رفته بودند	/rähtä **biden**/

Past Subjunctive

Past subjunctive consists of : modal verb + past participle + subjunctive of /**bidan**/. Negative subjunctive past is formed by adding /**nä**/- to the past participle.

Examples of modal verbs include: /šayät/ (SP /šayäd/ شاید), bayät (SP /bayäd/ باید), išahe ( ), and išave ( )

Standard Persian	Southern Lori
/šayäd rafte bašäm/ شاید رفته باشم	/šayät rähtä **buvom**/ or /**bum**/
/šayäd rafte baši/ شاید رفته باشی	/šayät rähtä **buvi**/ or /**bey**/
/šayäd rafte bašäd/ شاید رفته باشد	/šayät rähtä **buve**/ or /**bu**/
/šayäd rafte bašim/ شاید رفته باشیم	/šayät rähtä **buvim**/ or /**beym**/
/šayäd rafte bašid/ شاید رفته باشید	/šayät rähtä **buvit**/ or /**beyt**/
/šayäd rafte bašänd/ شاید رفته باشند	/šayät rähtä **buven**/ or /**bun**/

Auxiliary Verbs

/Bidän/ (بودن) and /vabidän/ (شدن) are auxiliary verbs that may be encountered frequently. Below is a chart of /vabidän/ in various tenses and aspects. Note that in some cases there are two possible conjugations of vabidän within the same tense and aspect.

	1S	2S	3S	1PL	2PL	3PL
Present	veybuvom/ bum (می‌شوم)	veybuvi/ veybey (می‌شوی)	veybuve/ veybu (می‌شود)	veybuvim/ veybeym (می‌شویم)	veybuvit/ veybeyt (می‌شوید)	veybuven/ veybun (می‌شوند)
Present Subjunctive	vabuvom/ vabum (شوم)	vabuvi/ vabey (شوی)	vabuve/ vabu (شود)	vabuvim/ vabeym (شویم)	vabuvit/ vabeyt (شوید)	vabuven/ vabun (شوند)
Past	vabidom (شدم)	vabidi (شدی)	vabid (شد)	vabidim (شدیم)	vabidit (شدید)	vabiden (شدند)
Past Continuous	veybidom (می‌شدم)	veybidi (می‌شدی)	veybid (می‌شد)	veybidim (می‌شدیم)	veybidit (می‌شدید)	veybiden (می‌شدند)
Present Perfect	veybideme (شده‌ام)	veybideya (شده‌ای)	veybide (شده است)	veybidime (شده‌ايم)	veybidite (شده‌ايد)	veybidene (شده‌اند)
Past Perfect	vabidä bidom (شده بودم)	vabidä bidi (شده بودی)	vabidä bid (شده بود)	vabidä bidim (شده بودیم)	vabidä bidit (شده بودید)	vabidä biden (شده بودند)
Past Subjunctive	vabidä buvom/bum (شده باشم)	vabidä buvi/bey (شده باشی)	vabidä buve/bu (شده باشد)	vabidä buvim/beym (شده باشیم)	vabidä buvit/beyt (شده باشید)	vabidä buven/bun (شده باشند)

Special Conjugations

The past tense of ʔesädän (SP ستدن/گرفتن) has two different sets of inflections.

1S	گرفتم	/ʔesäd-om/	/ʔesäm/
2S	گرفتی	/ʔesäd-i/	/ʔesey/
3S	گرفت	/ʔesäd/	/ʔesä/
1PL	گرفتیم	/ʔesäd-im/	/ʔeseym/
2PL	گرفتید	/ʔesäd-it/	/ʔeseyt/
3PL	گرفتند	/ʔesäd-en/	/ʔesän/

Affixes

Prefixes

Southern Lori		Standard Persian	
/vär-/, /vä-/, /väh/	**/vä**gerotän/, **/vär**daštän/	بر -	برداشتن
/vaz-/, /va-/	**/vaz**kerdän/	باز -	باز کردن
/hom-/	**/hom**dard/, **/hom**zur/	هم-	همدرد، همزور

Suffixes

Ending	Example Word	Indicates a/an…	Persian Equivalent	
/-ku/ or /-aku/	/bäčä**ku**/ (that child)	definite noun	ان	آن بچه
/-unä/	/zän**unä**/ (women's)	adjective, pertaining to	-انه	زنانه
/-čä/	/xalin**čä**/ (rug)	diminutive	-چه	قالیچه
/-äk/	/merd**äk**/ (little man)	diminutive	ک	مردک
/-väki/	/ʔow **väki**/ (watery)	adjective, likeness	کی	آبکی
/-ä/	/ruz**ä**/	adjective	ـه	روزه
/-ä/	/xard**ä**/ (eaten)	participle	ـه	خورده
/-bun/	/där**bun**/ (doorkeeper)	guardian, occupation	بان	دربان
/-own/	/baq**own**/ (gardener)	guardian, occupation	بان	باغبان
/-pun/	/ga**pun**/ (herdsman)	guardian	چران	گاوچران
/-čin/ or /-či/	/tefän**čin**/ (rifleman)	occupation	چی	تفنگچی
/-ondä/	/šärm**ondä**/ (ashamed)	adjective	ـنده	شرمنده
/-endä/	/bar**endä**/ (bearer)	adjective	ـنده	برنده
/-u/	/fis**u**/ (snobbish)	adjective	ـای	افادهای
/-älidun/	/bard**älidun**/ (a sandy region)	place	ـزار	ریگزار
/-zar/	/gändom**zar**/ (wheat field)	place	ـزار	گندم زار
/-dun/	/nemek**dun**/ (salt cellar)	place	دان	نمکدان
/-sun/ or /-esun/	/tow**sun**/ (summer)	place, time	ـستان	تابستان
/-vaz/	/del**vaz**/ (jolly)	adjective	ـآور	نشاطآور
/-inä/	/sowz**inä**/ (green)	adjective	ـینه	سبزینه
/-var/	/ʔemed**var**/ (hopeful)	adjective	ـوار	امیدوار
/-ar/	/kerd**ar**/ (dealing)	verbal noun	ـار	کردار
/-ešt/	/xer**ešt**/ (eating)	verbal noun	ش	خورش

Lexicon of northern and southern lori

English	Persian	Bala-Gariva'i (NL)	Kohgiluyeh-o Boyerahmad (SL)	Bakhtiari (SL)
Who?	کی	ki	ki	
person	کس / شخص	käs/ šaxs		käs, kes
youth	جوان	jähal/jäwʉ(n)/jävʉ(n)		
male	نر	närä		
man	مرد	märd/ pɪyä		merd, merdä
guy/fellow	یارو	bawa/ yaru		
female	ماده	äwrät		
woman	زن	zä(n)	zän/ zinä	zen
lady	بانو / خانم	bivi		
family	دودمان / خانمان / خانواده	dudmʉ(n)/ hʉnämʉ(n)		
mother	مادر	daa/ daläkä		da(k)
father	پدر	buä	bow	
husband	شوهر	mɪhrä	mirä	
wife	زن	ɪyal / zɪnä		zen
offspring	فرزند	rulä	ru	
child	بچه	bäč/ bäččä	bäčä	
girl	دختر	dʊxtär		
brother	برادر	bärar/ gɪyä	berar/ käka	
sister	خواهر	xwär		
son	پسر	kʊr	kor	
daughter	دختر	dʊxtär		

paternal relatives		baʉ(n)		
grandfather	پدر بزرگ / بابا	papa		
grandmother	مادر بزرگ / ننه	nänä		
maternal aunt	خاله	halä		
paternal uncle	عمو	tatä		
maternal uncle	دایی	halu		
cousin		haläza/ tatäza		
friend	رفیق / دوست	räqif		
brain	مغض			mäzg
body	بدن	bädä/ lašä		
blood	خون	xi(n)		
skin	پوست	jäld/ puss		
bone				
head	سر / کله	källä/ sär	sär	
face	رو	ri		
hair				
eye	چشم	čäš/tɪyä		
mouth	دهان	däm/ gäp		
tongue	زبان	zäwʉ(n)	zown	
nose	بینی / دماغ	pät / nuk		
chest	سینه	sinä		
stomach	شکم	gädä		
arm				
hand	دست	däss / pänjä		

finger	انگشت	añʊšt/kıllık	kelič	
leg				
foot	پا	pa	pa	
What?	چی	či(n)		
thing	چیز	či		
clothes	جامه / لباس	järdä/ jʉmä/ pärtal		
money	پول	pil	pohl	
tool	ابزار	äsbaw		
house	خانه / سرا	hʉnä/ sära		honä
building	ساختمان	ämarät		
sun	آفتاب	äftaw	ʔäftow	
water	آب	aw	ʔow	
road	راه	rä(h)/ ra(h)		
strength	قوه / زور	qäwbä /zur		
hope	امید		ʔemid	
prayer	دعا	dʊa/dʊva		
news	خبر	čäw/ xävär		
condition	احوال	ähval		
death	مرگ	märg		
life	جان / عمر / زیست / زندگی	jʉ(n)/ ʊmr / zähist/		
food	خوراک / غذا	xʊrak		
breakfast	صبحانه	änašta		
lunch	نهار	čass		
supper	شام	šʉm		

help	کمک	čarä		
work	کار	kar		
problem	مشکل	tälabä		
activity	عمل	ämäl		
trick/ruse		apärtigari		
color	رنگ	räñ		
description	تعریف	bäyʉ(n)		
When?	کی	käy		
time	وقت / موقع	gɪl /mäwqä /växt		
hour	ساعت	saät	saät	
minute				
day	روز	ru(z)		
week				
month	ماه	ma		
year	سال	sal		
dawn	سحر	zʉsärʉ(n)/ äftawzänʉ(n)		
morning	صبح	säba(h) /sʊw		
daytime				
noon	ظهر	zʊhr / piši(n)		
dusk	غروب آفتاب	äftawnɪši(n)		
nighttime	شب	šäw/ šäwgär		šäu
spring	بهار	bähar /säraw		
summer	تابستان		towsun/tavesun	
autumn	پاییز		peyz	

winter	زمستان	zɪmɪssʉ(n)	zemesun	
yesterday	دیروز		dig	
tomorrow	فردا	sʊwšäw		
today	امروز	ɪmru(z)	ʔomruz	
now	حالا	häɪssä		
later	بعد	bäʔd		
era/period	دوره	däwrä		
Where?	کجا	kuja		
to				
from	از	dä		
far	دیر	dir		
near	نزدیک	nɪhäñ/ näzik		
here	اینجا	vice		
there	آنجا	vʉče		
in	در	dä		
out				
in front of	جلو	jɪläw		niyah
behind			pošt	
beneath	زیر	zɪr		
within	تو / داخل	tu		
next to, edge	کنار / پهلو	pär		
by the side of	کنار / پهلو	pähli		
Between	میان			min, miyun
east	شرق / مشرق	äšräq		
Why?				

If	اگر	ägär/ är	ʔägär	
because				
of course	البته	älvättä		
nonetheless	با یاحال / بایا وجود	älali		
however	اما	ämɯnäy		
otherwise	وگرنه	äni		
finally	عاقبت / سرانجام	aqɪwät		
maybe	شاید	bälkʊm		
concerning	در باره/ در باب / در مورد	dä bawät		
intentionally	عمداً	dä dässi		
suddenly	ناگهان	ye gɪl/ näwhälmunä		
for	برای	si	si	
How?	چطور / چجور	čɪjur/čɪtäwr		
with				
without	بی / بدون	bɨ / bɪdun		
along with	همراه با	väba		
easy	آسان	asɯ(n)	ʔasun	
difficult				
fast	سریع / تند	azäy/ jäldi		
slow			yävaš	
big	بزرگ	gäp	gäpu	
small	کوچک	kɨh/ kučik		
short	کوتاه	kʊl/ kuta		
long	دراز	däraz		

tall/ high	بلند	bʊläñ		
weak	ضعیف	bɨhuš		
pretty	قشنگ	qäšäñ		
ugly			zešt	
open	باز	va/vaz		
closed				
up/over	بالا	vala		
wounded	زخمی شده	zäxmi/ zäxmdar		
madness	دیوانگی			levagiri
amount	مقدار	qär		
length	طول	tul		
all	کل / همه	kʊll		
many	چند	čän		
a bit/piece	تکه	tikä		
a drop	قطره	tʊkä		
one	یک	yäk		yä
two	دو	dʊ		
three	سه	se		
four	چهار	čar		
five	پنج	pänj	pänj	
six	شش	šäš		
seven	هفت	häft		
eight	هشت	häšt		
nine	نه	nʊh		
ten	ده	däh		

eleven			yazä	
twelve	دوازده	dʊazä		
twenty	بیست		bis	
thirty	سی	si		
forty	چهل	čɪl		
fifty	پنجاه	pänja	pänja	
sixty	شصت	šäss		
seventy	هفتاد		häftad	
hundred	صد	säd	säd	
thousand	هزار	hɪzar		
Which one?	کدام	kʉm		
VERBS				
to be	بودن	bidä(n)/ bu-, ba-, va-		
to do	کردن	kɪrdä(n)/ kʊn-		kerdän
to become	شدن	bidä vä		
to see	دیدن	didä(n)/ din-		
to want	خواستن	hassä(n)/ ha	xasän/ xo-, x-	
to have	داشتن	daštä(n)/ dar-		
to happen				
to go	رفتن	rätä(n)/rʊ- , räw-, rä-		
to come	آمدن	ʉmädä(n)/ ya-	ʔumädän	
to say	گفتن	gʊwtä(n)/ gʊ-		
to listen	گوش کردن	guš kɪrdä(n)	guš kerdän/ guš kon	
to get	گرفتن	gɪrɪtä(n)/ gir-	gerohtän/ ger-	
to think	فکر کردن	fɪkr kɪrdä		

to take	بردن	bʊrdä(n) / bär-		
to make an attack	حمله کردن	ärišt awärdä		
to commit a crime	مرتکب جنایت شدن	gʊna kaštä(n)		
to pull/draw	کشیدن			käšidän
POLITICAL AFFAIRS and SECURITY				
chief	رئیس	räis		
leader	رهبر	särkäš/ särkırdä		
contract	پیمان	päymu(n)		
court	دادگاه	därga		
government	دولت	däwlät		
seat of government	دیوان	divʉ(n)		
country	کشور / مملکت	mämläkät		
land/region	منطقه / دیار	dıyar		
edict	حکم / فرمان / فتوا (فتوا not used in everyday situations)	fätba		
alliance	اتحاد	hʊmbäyäti		
group	گروه	jugä		
agent	مأمور	mäʔmur		
secret	راز	raz		
travel	سفر	säfär		
compensation	جبران	tawʉ(n)		

soldier	سرباز	särvaz		
warrior	جنگجو	jäñi		
army	ارتش / لشکر / سپاه	ʊrdi/ läškär / qʊšʊn / sıpa(h)		
guard	نگهبان	dıžban/ dıžvan / käšık/ paidä		
volunteer	داوطلب	datäläw		
battle	نبرد	mäsaf		
war	جنگ	jäñ		
fighting		qi		
quarrel	دعوا	däʔva/ järbazi		
protection				
expertise	کارشناسی	fänn		
enemy	دشمن	dʊšmä(n)		
tower	برج	bırj		
raid	غارت	ɣarät		
campsite	اردوگاه	malgäh		
battlefield	میدان	mäydu(n)		
ADDITIONAL WORDS				
lover	مول / عاشق / معشوق			mul
shadow	سایه			
god	خداونده / خداوند / خدا			xudawanda
prostitute	فاحشه			fahıšä
chair	صندلی / کرسی			kursi

shop	دکان			dukun
Pain	درد			derd
clever	زرنگ			zering
other	دیگر			diyer
hidden	قایم			qoiyum
sleep	خواب			xäu
supposition	گمان			gimun

Jewish Borujerdi

Yarshater (1989) notes that the Jews of Borujerd, in Lorestan, speak a Median dialect (as in Esfahan, Kerman, Yazd, etc.) rather than one based on Lori. On occasion they use *Lotera'i* (possibly based on the Hebrew word *torah*) a jargon designed not be understand by Muslims through its employment of Hebrew/Aramaic vocabulary with Iranian morphology and syntax.

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MAZANDARANI مازندرانی

Mazandarani **Quick I.D.**

- verbal prefixes for past tenses (e.g. /bu-/
- Adjectives and possessive pronouns precede nouns
- no prefix on present-future tense verbs
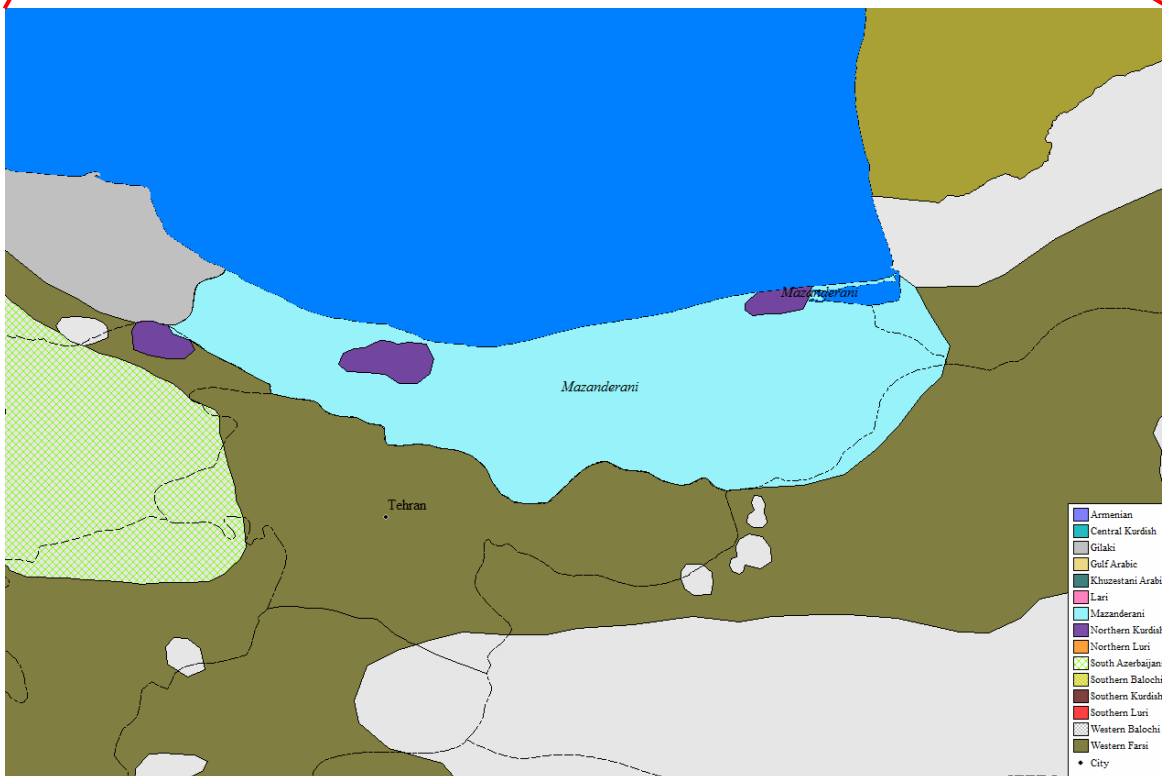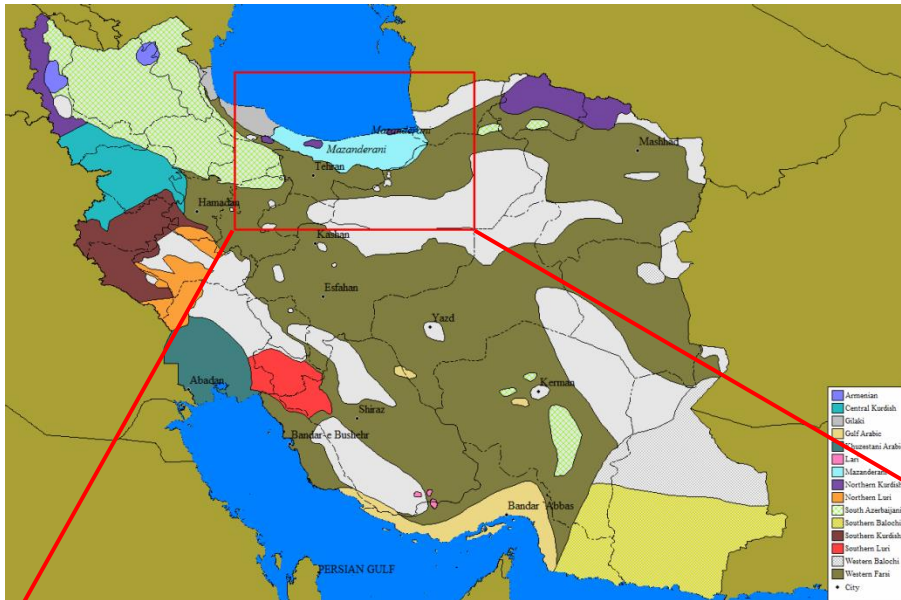
Overview

Intro

Mazandarani[8] مازندرانی is a member of the Caspian group of the Northwest branch of Iranian Languages. The Caspian languages are primarily spoken in northern Iran along the coast of the Caspian Sea. In addition to Mazandarani, they include Gilaki, Taleshi, Tati, and Semnani, all of which possess a variety of subdialects.

Mazandarani was historically spoken in the kingdom of Tabaristan and today it is spoken predominantly in the province of Mazandaran. More specifically, the population of Mazandarani speakers is delimited to the south by the Alborz Mountains and parts of Tehran Province near Mount Damavand, to the west by the northwest part of Gilan province, and to the east by Golestan province. The western dialects spoken in Tonekabon and Kelardasht in Mazandaran province are regarded as forming the border between Mazandarani and Gilaki speaking areas, although given their lack of mutual intelligibility it has been posited that they could in fact be their own Caspian language (Borjian 2004).

For a variety of reasons which will be explained below, attempts to number the speakers of Mazandarani are inherently difficult, however most estimates put the number between 1-3 million (Shahidi 2008) (Borjian 2004). Mazandaran province is also home to minority populations of Kurds, Azeris, Baloch, Armenian, Turkmen, and Russians (Shahidi 2008).

Language Variation and Methodology of Sketch

There are several factors which complicate the task of providing a succinct overview of Mazandarani. First, despite a literary tradition which scholars estimate is as old as that of New Persian, Mazandarani is no longer frequently written and no standardized form exists (Borjian 2004). Furthermore, various sources indicate the existence of more than a dozen subdialects which can be grouped into three main categories, Eastern, Central, and Western (Shahidi 2008). Additionally, sometimes a distinction between lowland (littoral/shore) and highland (i.e. Northern and Southern) varieties is referenced (Borjian 2004, Borjian & Borjian 2007).

Despite the absence of a standard variety, for the purposes of this overview we will treat the dialect spoken in and around the provincial capital of Sari (located in eastern Mazandaran) as a de facto standard. The justification for this is that 1) Sari is the largest city in the province and 2) the bulk of recent and reliable research on Mazandarani has been based on fieldwork from this region. You will, however, be exposed to a variety of dialects in the example cuts.

Aside from the issue of dialect variation, a study of Mazandarani is complicated by three additional factors 1) a decline in usage 2) high rates of bilingualism and Persian fluency amongst Mazandarani speakers 3) the fact that phonologically, morphologically, and lexically Mazandarani is rapidly being 'Persianized'. Equally important as the difference in dialects, if not more so, is the distinction between 'rural and urban' varieties of Mazandarani (Shahidi 2008). When possible, the following sketch will present two parallel forms of Mazandarani for the purpose of comparison. The first is a "conservative" Mazandarani (referred to below as Rural Mazandarani) which is stereotypically spoken by elderly, poorly educated, rural speakers.
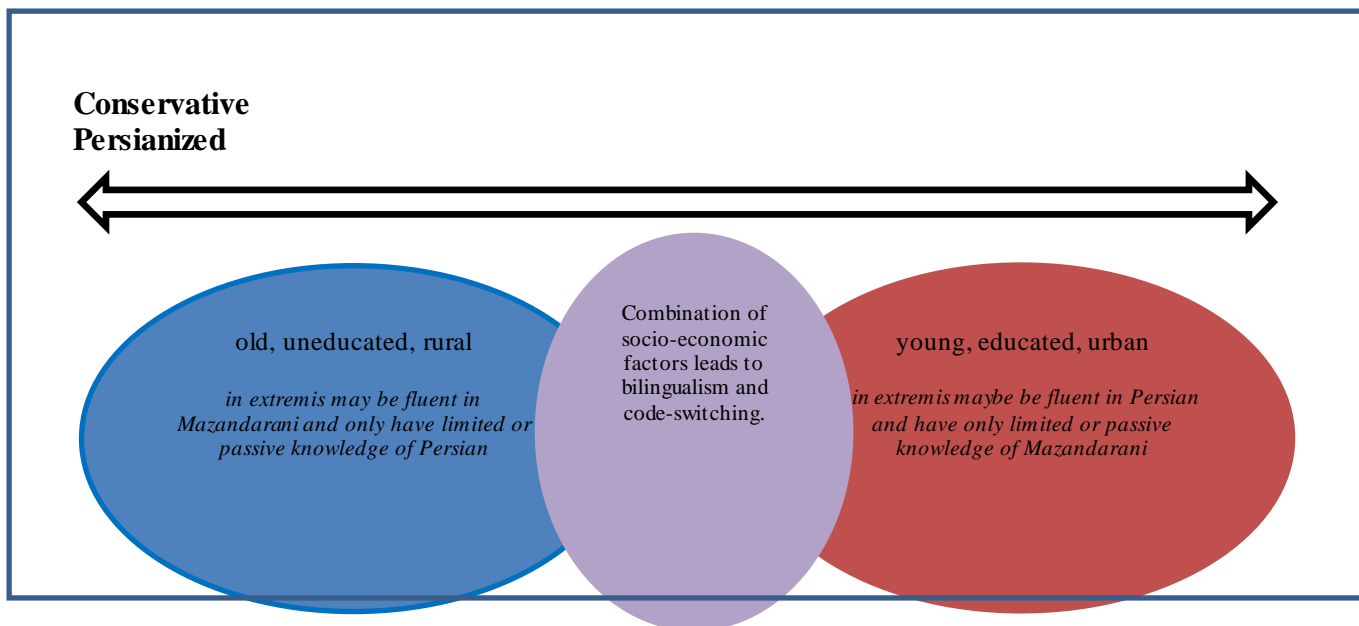
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[8] also known as Mazrani مازنی Mazruni مازرونی or Tabari طبری / تبری

The other variety will be referred to as "Urban Mazandarani" and describes heavily Persianized Mazandarani as is likely to be spoken by a young, urban, well-educated speaker. The fluency of Mazandarani speakers is highly variable and depends on a variety of socio-economic factors. Obviously it is possible that a speaker might be young, well educated, *and* rural, or old, uneducated, *and* urban, etc. However, in order to present a concise overview of Mazandarani it is necessary to simplify a complex linguistic situation and make some broad generalizations. Hopefully by introducing students to both conservative and Persianized varieties they will be more equipped to identify and understand a broader spectrum of speakers.

Identity, Prestige, and Use

The literature on the subject indicates that Mazandaranis typically have a low opinion of the Mazandarani language, considering it to be associated with backwardness, poverty, and illiteracy (Shahidi 2008). Most people under 30 years old prefer to speak Persian (even in informal settings) and women are less likely than men to speak Mazandarani. Unlike other minority groups in Iran such as Kurds, Mazandaranis do not have a strong ethnic identity or desire to 'institutionalize' Mazandarani by, for example, teaching it in school or otherwise promoting its use (Shahidi 2008). Shahidi also notes that unlike other minority groups, Mazandaranis can more easily 'wash off' their accent (Shahidi 2008). Paradoxically, better educated Mazandaranis who are fluent in Persian are more inclined to have a favorable opinion of Mazandarani, however this doesn't necessarily lead to increased language use (Shahidi 2008).

This attitude has been attributed to several factors including the fact that Mazandaranis are 1) generally Shia, 2) their language is only spoken in Iran and hence there exists no competing transnational identity such as is the case with the Kurds, Azeris, and Baloch, 3) they tend to be more historically integrated, urbanized, and economically prosperous than other minorities (Shahidi 2008, Borjian 2004). However, Borjian notes that while Mazandarani is in decline there are a growing number of literary publications as well as radio and television programming in Mazandarani which are considered to be 'successful' (Borjian 2005).

Conservative
Persianized

old, uneducated, rural

in extremis may be fluent in Mazandarani and only have limited or passive knowledge of Persian

Combination of socio-economic factors leads to bilingualism and code-switching.

young, educated, urban

in extremis maybe be fluent in Persian and have only limited or passive knowledge of Mazandarani

Phonetics and Phonology

Consonants

The consonants of Mazandarani are similar to Persian with some differences explained below.

- Rural Mazandarani does not have the /ž/ sound. If confronted with a (loan) word with a /ž/ rural speakers usually pronounce it as a /j/. Urban speakers typically do not have a problem producing the sound. As discussed in the introduction, this is common in Dari as well.

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
good news	/moštelaq/	/može/	/može/
dew	/šebre/	/žale/	/žale/
eyelash	/mejik/	/može/	/može/

[Adapted from Table 4.1 on page 53 (Shahidi 2008)]

- In some consonants labialization (the addition of a /w/ sound) occurs causing /k, g, x/ → /kʷ, gʷ, xʷ/

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
dry	/xʷešg/	/xošk/	/xošk/
she/he does	/kʷende/	/konde/	/mikonäd/
where?	/kʷeje/	/koje/	/koja/
she/he says	/gʷene/	/gone/	/migujäd/

[Adapted from Table 4.2 on page 54 (Shahidi 2008)]

According to Shahidi the difference between labialization and non-labialization has "reached the level of conscious awareness" and has become stereotyped i.e. labialization is stigmatized as rural. (Shahidi 2008 pg. 54)

- The /v/ sound can be realized as either [v] and [w] (Satoko 1996)

  Cut 1 Listen for /bawim/ *first person plural subjunctive* 'to be' and compare to the Persian /bɒšim/

- /k/ and /g/ "are not palatalized before the front vowels as they are in Persian" (Borjian and Borjian 2007, cf. Jahani & Paul 2008).

- /b/ → /v/ While this shift is seen in many Persian dialects it is very common in Mazandarani

English	Mazandarani	Persian Phonetic	Persian
wind	/va/	/bad/	باد
lamb	/väre/	/bärre/	بره
snow	/värf/	/bärf/	برف
enough	/väs/	/bäs/	بس
leaf	/välg/	/bärg/	برگ
rain	/var(əš)/	/baran/	باران
child	/vätšə/	/bätše/	بچه
on, upon	/vär/	/bär/	بر
Bahman	/vähmän/	/bähmän/	بهمن

[Table adapted from (Agha-Golzadeh 2005)]

Vowels

The vowels are similar to Persian but Mazandarani also has an /ɛ/ which can be realized variously as [ɛ] [e] [ə] (Borjian & Borjian 2007). Aditionally:

- Often /u/ → /ɔ/

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian (Colloquial)
paternal uncle	/ämɔ/	/ämu/	/ämu/
young	/jevɔn/	/jevun/	/jävun/
that	/ɔn/	/un/	/un/
night	/šɔ/	/šu/	/šäb/
water	/ɔ/	/u/	/ab/
they	/vɛšɔn/	/vešun/	/išun/

[Adapted from Table 4.3 on page 55 (Shahidi 2008)]

- Mazandarani does not have /o/. It usually changes to /e/ or /u/

English	Mazandarani	Persian Phonetic	Persian Script
goat	/bez/	/boz/	بز
full	/per/	/por/	پُر
you	/te/	/tu/	تو
doctor	/duktur/	/doctor/	دکتر
to kill	/kušten/	/koštän/	کشتن
camel	/šeter/	/šotor/	شتر
daughter	/deter/	/doxtor	دختر

[Adapted from Persian Wikipedia]

- In loan words, Persian or otherwise, the vowel /o/ changes to /ə/ in Amoli (Western dialects) and to /u/ in Baboli/Sari (Eastern dialects).

English	Baboli (Eastern)	Amoli (Western)	Persian Phonetic
post, mail	/pust/	/pəst/	/post/
wardrobe	/kumud/	/kəməd/	/komod/
doctor	/duktur/	/dəktər/	/doktor/

(مازندرانی: زبان، لهجه، یا گویش؟)

- Mazandarani has a /ə/. Its exact status is disputed but there are several minimal pairs which suggest it is not simply an allomorph of another vowel.

/ə/		/e/	
English	*Mazandarani*	*English*	*Mazandarani*
bridge	/pəl/	hot, humid weather	/pel/
short	/kəl/	plow	/kel/
three	/sə/	apple	/se/

(مازندرانی: زبان، لهجه، یا گویش؟)

Syntax

- In Rural Mazandarani word order is relatively free. Consider the following examples (the verb is underlined):

English	Rural Mazandarani	Persian Script
put the child here	/biel väče-re inje/	بچه را اینجا بگذارید
put the child here	/väče-re biel inje/	بچه را بگذارید اینجا*
put the child here	/väče-re inje biel/	بچه را اینجا بگذارید
put the child here	/biel inje väče-re/	بچه را اینجا بگذارید

(Adapted from pg. 109 of Shahidi 2008)

*Recall that in colloquial Persian this syntax is allowed in certain locative constructions, as discussed in the introduction under "Word Order".

- Urban speakers typically use SOV word order as in Persian. Compare:

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Spoken Persian
The child was still in her mother's womb.	/väče dävie hända še ma-e eškem dele/	/väče hänuz še mar-e eškem dele däjje/	/bäče hänuz tuje del-e madär-eš bud/

(Adapted from pg. 110 of Shahidi 2008)

- One of the more distinct features of Mazandarani is that adjectives precede nouns, but still maintain the ezafe at the end of the adjective.

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian Script
good man	/xare märdi/	/märde xub/	مرد خوب
good men	/xare märdiyun/	/märdane xub/	مردان خوب
big house	/gäte ker/	/xonäye bozorg/	خانه ی بزرگ
soft clothes	/närme lebas/	/lebase närm/	لباس نرم
straight tree	/rase dar/	/däräxte rast/	درخت راست

[Table adapted from data on page 5 of (Nawata 1984)]

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian Script
Ali bought a blue car.	/äli yete abi mašin bäxrie/	/äli yete mašine abi bäxrie/	علی یک ماشین ابی خرید

(Amoozadeh)

- This also applies to possessive pronouns

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian Script
your mother	/te mar/	/madäre tu/	مادر تو
our father	/eme per/	/pädäre ma/	پدر ما

[Table adapted from data on page 7 of (Nawata 1984)]

Cut 2 Listen for /mi däs/ 'my hand' and compare with Persian /däste män/

Cut 3 Listen for /mi bärär/ 'my brother' and compare with Persian /bäradäre män/

Note however that Urban Mazandarani speakers often adapt the Persian structure even if it preserves some phonetic or lexical features of Mazandarani.

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Spoken Persian
good child	/xare väče/	/väčeye xub/	/bäčeye xub/

[Example taken from pg. 112 of (Shahidi 2008)]

Morphology

Pronouns

Personal Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/mɛn/	/ɛma/
2ⁿᵈ person	/tɛ/	/šɛma/
3ʳᵈ person	/vɛ/	/vɛšun/

(Borjian & Borjian 2007)

Object Pronouns	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ Person	/me/	/äme/
2ⁿᵈ Person	/te/ or /tɛne/	/šɛme/
3ʳᵈ Person	/vɛne/	/vešune/

(Borjian & Borjian 2007)

- Rural speakers tend not to use pronominal clitics, however sometimes urban speakers use them, but may adapt them phonologically to Mazandarani (Shahidi 2008) (Nawata 1984).

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
my father's heart	/me piere qälb/	/me pier qälbeš/	/qälbe pedäräm/
his son	/vene rika/	/pesereš/	/pesäreš/
his father	/vene pier/	/pedereš/	/pedäreš/

Adapted from Table 4.66 on page 100 (Shahidi 2008).

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
I cannot remember.	/me re yad nene/	/nätum-be bexater-em biar-em/	/nemitun-äm be xater-äm biar-äm/
The child was still on the mother's womb.	/hänta väce dävie še mare eškem dele/	/bäčte hänuz tu dele mader-eš däjje/	/bäčče hänuz tu dele madereš bud/

From pg. 100 (Shahidi 2008).

- /še/ is added to pronouns to make them reflexive or to add emphasis

	Singular		Plural	
	Mazandarani	*Persian*	*Mazandarani*	*Persian*
1st person	/mən še/	من خودم	/äma še/	ما خودمان
2nd person	/tə še/	تو خودت	/šəma še/	شما خودتان
3rd person	/və še/	او خودش	/vəšun še/	آنها خودشان

(مازندرانیۃ زبان، لهجه، یا گویش؟)

Nouns

- /ätta/ is used as an indefinite marker in Mazandarani (Nawata 1984)

Cut 4 Listen for /ätta märdi/ 'a man' and compare with Persian /ye märd/ or /märdi/

- Mazandarani has an object marker /-re/ which functions the same as /-ro/ in Persian. Sometimes the /r/ assimilates to the final consonant in the noun as in:

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
the bread	/nun-ne/	/nun-ro/	/nun-ro/
the body	/tän-ne/	/tän-ro/	/tän-ro/
the money	/pul-le/	/pul-ro/	/pul-ro/

[Adapted from Table 4.11 on page 57 Shahidi 2008]

- Plural markers are similar to Persian, however sometimes in lieu of a plural marker, redoubling signifies that a noun is plural.

English	Mazandarani Plural	English	Mazandarani Singular
sons	/rik-rika/	son	/rika/
daughters	/kij-kija/	daughter	/kija/
boys	/sek-sek/	boy	/sek/
children	/väč -väčə/	child	/väčə/

(مازندراني: زبان، لهجه، يا گويش؟)

Adpositions

Unlike Persian, Mazandarani makes use of postpositions instead of prepositions, i.e. words like 'to' 'from', etc. come after the noun that they are associated with. Notice that the adpositions used in Urban Mazandarani are very similar to Persian, but may come before or after the noun depending on the degree of Persianization.

English	Rural Mazandarani (postpositions)	Urban Mazandarani (prepositions or postpositions)	Persian
from/with/of/to	/je(m)/	/äz/ or /je/	/äz/
inside	/dele/	/tu/	/tu/
beside	/päli/	/pählu/	/pählu/
front	/piš/	/jelo/	/jelo/
beside	/vär/	/pählu/	/pählu/
on/over	/tän/	/ru/	/ru/
on/over	/sär/	/ru/	/ru/
along/with	/hemra/	/ba/	/ba/
for	/vesse/	/bäraye/	/bäraye/
under	/ben/	/zir/	/zir/

[Adapted from Table 4.70 on page 103 (Shahidi 2008)]

Cut 5 Listen for /irane dele/ 'in Iran' and compare with Persian /där iran/

Cut 6 Listen for /sänändäj dele/ 'in Sandandaj' and compare with Persian /där sänändäj/.

Cut 7 Listen for /pere ja/ 'from [his] father' and compare with Persian /äz pedär[eš]/

Like Persian, sometimes an object pronoun can merge with the word /vesse/ 'for' resulting in:

English	Mazandarani	Spoken Persian
for me	/messe/	/bärayäm/
for you *sg.*	/tesse/	/bärayet/
for she/he	/venesse/	/bärayäš/
for us	/ämesse/	/bärayämun/
for you *pl.*	/šemesse/	/bärayätun/
for them	/vešunesse/	/bärayäšun/

(Barfarush 1989)

Verb Morphology

Like Persian and many other Iranian languages Mazandarani has both simple and compound verbs, however the majority of them are compound. The Urban vs. Rural distinction is operable for Mazandarani verb morphology, although typically Mazandarani verbs are the most resilient class of words to Persian influence. Many times a sentence uttered by an urban speaker is indistinguishable from Persian, except for the use of a Mazandarani verb. It is also possible for the verb to adopt Persian morphology, preserving only the Mazandarani stem (Shahidi 2008). Consider the following transformation of the verb /bäruten/ 'to sell' *past stem* /rut/ *present stem* /ruš/

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
you sell, you will sell	/rušeni/	/miruši/	/miforuši/

Verb Endings

Perhaps the most variable and confusing aspect of Mazandarani morphology is its verb endings. In addition to dialect variations, Mazandarani verbs vary morphologically and irregular verbs also exist (Shahidi 2008). Most scholars identify three main groups of verb endings (see Appendix 1 for table of common variations). The groups are used to form different verb tenses which will be explained futher below.

Group 1	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/-mmɛ/ or /-mbɛ/	/-mmi/ or /-mbi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/-ni/	/-nni/
3ʳᵈ person	/-nɛ/	/-nnɛ/

(Borjian H. 2005)

Group 2	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/-mɛ/	/-mi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/-i/	/-ni/
3ʳᵈ person	/-ɛ/	/-nɛ/

(Borjian H. 2005)

Group 3	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/-ɛm/	/-im/
2ⁿᵈ person	/-i/	/-in/
3ʳᵈ person	/-e/	/-ɛn/

(Borjian H. 2005)

Verb Prefixes

Additionally, most Mazandarani verbs have prefixes which are part of their citation form. Some of the most common prefixes are {/be-/ /bä-/ /bi-/ /bo-/ /he-/ /hä-/ /ha-/ /de-/ /dä-/}. For the most part these prefixes have lost any morphological role or meaning which may have historically distinguished them from one another (Shahidi 2008). However the absence or presence of these prefixes does help determine verb tense.

Shahidi notes that occasionally urban speakers will 'over adapt' by adding these prefixes to verbs which do not historically have them.

Verb Conjugation

Mazandararni verb forms are built using the following general formula:

{(optional verbal prefix) + (present or past stem) + (verb ending from appropriate group)}

Verb Form	Verb Prefix?	Verb Stem	Verb Ending Group
Present Continuous	no	present stem	group 1
Present-future	no	present stem	group 1
Past Simple	yes	past stem	group 2
Past Continuous	no	past stem	group 2
Past Perfect	yes	past stem	group 2
Past Imperfect	no	past stem	group 2
Present Subjunctive	yes	present stem	group 3

Adopted from (Borjian 2005)

Present-Future Simple

Present-future tense is formed by: {(*no verb prefix*) + (present verb stem) + (group 1 verb endings)}

/hakerdɛn/ 'to do'	Singular		Plural	
	Mazandarani	*Persian*	*Mazandarani*	*Persian*
1ˢᵗ Person	/kɛmbɛ/	می کنم	/kɛmbi/	می کنیم
2ⁿᵈ Person	/kɛndi/	می کنی	/kɛnni/	می کنید
3ʳᵈ Person	/kɛndɛ/	می کند	/kɛnnɛ/	می کنند

(Borjian 2008)

/badiɛn/ 'to carry'	Singular		Plural	
	Mazandarani	*Persian*	*Mazandarani*	*Persian*
1ˢᵗ Person	/vimbɛ/	می برم	/vimbi/	می بریم
2ⁿᵈ Person	/vindi/	می بری	/vinni/	می برید
3ʳᵈ Person	/vindɛ/	می برد	/vinnɛ/	می برند

(Borjian 2008)

Cut 8 Listen for /šäru kembe/ 'I will start' and compare with Persian /šäru mikonäm/

Cut 9 Listen for /män či dumme/ 'what do I know?' and compare with Persian /män či midonäm/

Note: how in the above cut a process of labial assimilation causes /dun-mbe/ to be pronounced as /dumme/.

Cut 10 Listen for /fik kandi/ '[do] you think?' and compare with Persian /fikr mikoni/

Present Continuous

In Rural Mazandarani, the present continuous is formed with the help of the third person singular indicative of the auxiliary verb /däyyen/ 'to be' (*existential*):

{(däre) + (inflected form of present-future)}

However, Urban Mazandarani speakers tend to Persianize the construction either by conjugating the auxiliary verb /däyyen/ so that it agrees with the main verb or by abandoning it altogether in favor of the Persian auxiliary verb /daštän/ (Shahidi 2008).

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
I am eating	/däre xorme/ or /däreme xorme/	/däreme xorme/ or /dareme xorme/	/daräm mixoräm/

[From Table 4.40 on page 85 Shahidi 2008]

Cut 11 Listen for /män darme injä äz vešnaʔi mirme/ 'here I am dying of hunger' and compare with Persian /män inja daräm äz gorosnegi mimiräm/

Past Simple

{(verb prefix) + (past verb stem) + (group 2 verb endings)}

/bäxerden/ 'to buy'	Singular	Plural
1st person	/bäxerdeme/	/bäxerdemi/
2nd person	/bäxerdi/	/bäxerdeni/
3rd person	/bäxerde/	/bäxerdene/

Cut 12 Listen for /män bordeme/ 'I went' and compare with Persian /män räftäm/

Cut 13 Listen for /bawteme/

Cut 14 Listen for /xoš begzešte/ 'it went well/it was nice' and compare with Persian /xoš gozašte/

Cut 15 Listen for /ɢäsäm bäxerdene/ 'they vowed' and compare with Persian /ɢäsäm xordänd/

Past Continuous

The past continuous is formed the same way as the present continuous, but it uses the past imperfect (Shahidi 2008).

{(däy[ye] + (inflected form of past imperfect verb)}

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Colloquial Persian
they were giving	/däy(ye) dane/	/daštene dane/ or /däyne dane/	/daštän midadänd/
she/he was hiting	/däy(ye) zu/	/däyye mizue/	/dašt mizäd/

(Adapted from tables 4.41 and 4.42 on page 86 of Shahidi 2008)

Note: notice how in the second example of an urban speaker the Persian prefix /mi-/ is added to the main verb.

Imperfect

The imperfect is used to express the the past habitual tense as well as the counterfactual and is formed the same way as the simple past, but without the verb prefix.

{(*no verb suffix*) + (past stem of the verb) + (group 2 endings)}

English	Mazandarani	Persian Phonetic	Persian Script
he used to do	/kärdä/	/mikärd/	می کرد

Adapted from (Nawata 1984)

Urban speakers may add the Persian prefix /mi-/ or may impose a Persian structure on the verb by adding the Mazandarani verb prefix which would not traditionally be see in the imperfect. This can cause confusion with the simple past.

English	Urban Mazandarani	Persian Phonetic
I used to take	/bäverdeme/ or /mibordeme/	/mibordäm/

Table adapted from page 82 of Table 4.34 from Shahidi 2008

Past Perfect

The past perfect is formed by: {(past participle + the conjugated simple past of the verb /buden/)

/bäxerden/ 'to buy'	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bäxerd bime/	/bäxerd bimi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bäxerd bi/	/bäxerd bini/
3ʳᵈ person	/bäxerd biye/	/bäxerd bine/

(Barforush 1989)

Note: the past participle is the past stem of the verb along with its prefix (if it has a prefix)

The past perfect is highly irregular in urban varieties. Consider these examples:

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
they had written	/bänvišt bine/	/bänvišt bini/	/nevešte budänd/
they had said	/baut bine/	/bautene bine/	/gofte budänd/
they had put	/biešt bine/	/gozäšt bine/	/gozäšte budänd/

[Adapted from Table 4.39 on page 84(Shahidi 2008)]

Imperatives

Manzandarani imperatives resemble their Persian counterparts and are generally formed by the {(verb prefix) + (present stem) + (/Ø/ or /-in/ or /-id/)}

English	Mazandarani	Persian
Go!	/rah bur/	راه برو
Do!	/hakän/	بکن
Get!/Take!	/bägir/	بگیر
Hit!	/bäzän/	بزن
Sell!	/bäruš/	بفروش

[Adapted from page 18 (Nawata 1984)]

Cut 16 Listen for /guš häkän/ 'listen!' and compare with /guš kon/.

Subjunctives

Mazandarani subjunctives are the only verb form to use the 'group 3' verb endings (see above). In general subjunctive forms are more likely than other verb forms to be Persianized.

English	Mazandarani	Persian
I should go	/šayäd buräm/	شاید بروم
I (must) go there	/bayäd unjä buräm/	باید انجا بروم
I can go	/tummä buräm/	می توانم بروم
I (must) know	/dunem/ or /bedunem/	باید بدانم
I (must) be able to	/tunem/ or /betunem/ or /bätunem/	باید بتوانم

(Nawata 1984) (Shahidi 2008)

Negation

In general negation is formed by substituting the verb prefix (if the verb has one) with the prefix /nä-/ or one of its variants /n-/ /ni-/ /na-/ /ne-/. An exception to this is the verb /bätunəssän/ 'can, to be able':

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Persian
I cannot	/bätumbe/	/nätumbe/	/nämitunäm/

[Adapted from Table 4.45 on page 87 Shahidi 2008]

Note: the rural form /bätumbe̱/ or / batummə̱/ is stigmatized as 'hickish' and is only distinguishable from the present indicative /bätummə/ or /bätumbe/ by its final stress (مازندرانی: زبان، لهجه، یا گویش؟)

Verb 'to be'

Present copula is formed by: {(häss-) + (group 2 endings)}

- /men te pier hässeme/ 'I am your father.'
- /väčun vene näzri-ne/ 'Children are his trust.'
- /te čeči-e berme kendi?/ 'What are you weeping for?'
  (Borjian & Borjian 2007)

Past copula is formed by: {(bi-) + (group 2 endings)}

- /jole ta saxe-kärb bi-e/ 'the depth was up to the knee' [sic?]
  (Borjian & Borjian 2007)

Note that for the copula, tense does not determine which endings are used.

present tense copula 'to be'	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/hässämä/	/hässämi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/hässi/	/hässäni/
3ʳᵈ person	/hässe/	/hässänä/

past tense copula 'to be'	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/bimä/	/bimi/
2ⁿᵈ person	/bini/	/binini/
3ʳᵈ person	/biye/	/binä/

Enclitic copula 'to be'	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person	/-mä/	/-im/
2ⁿᵈ person	/-i/	/-in/
3ʳᵈ person	/-e/ or /-ä/	/-änä/

[(Nawata 1984) page 16]

Cut 17 Listen for the 3.PL present tense verb 'to be' /hässämi/

Cut 18 Listen for the 3.SG past tense verb 'to be' /baɪye/ and compare with Persian /bud/

Lexical

Lexically Mazandarani is quite different from Persian, however as noted in the introduction, given the fact that it is rapidly being Persianized many Persian words are being appropriated. Verbs are generally the most resistant to the influence of Persian so this section will focus primarily on verbs.

Verbs

English	Mazandarani Infinitive	Past Stem	Present Stem
to cook	/bäpäten/	/pät/	/päj/
to sew	/bäduten/	/dut/	/duj/
to wash	/bäšussen/	/šuss/	/šur/
to sell	/bäruten/	/rut/	/ruš/
to burn	/bäsuten/	/sut/	/suj/
to die	/bämärden/	/märd/	/mir/
to hit	/bäzuʔen/	/zuʔ/	/zän/
to go	/burden/	/burd/	/šun/
to see	/bädiʔen/	/diʔ/	/vin/
to know	/bädussen/	/dussen/	/dun/
to want	/bäxassen/	/xass/	/xa/

to send	/bäräsiʔen/	/räsiʔ/	/räs/
to tie, bind	/dävässen/	/väss/	/vän/
to knock	/bäkubessen/	/kubess/	/kub/
to sow, plant	/bäkašten/	/kašt/	/kar/
to have	/dašten/	/dašt/	/dar/
to say	/bäʔuten/	/bäʔut/	/gä/
to cover, wear	/däpušiʔen/	/puši/	/puš/
to cut	/bäveriʔen/	/veri/	/ver/
to steal	/bädeziʔen/	/dezi/	/dez/
to ask	/bäpärsiʔen/	/päris/	/pärs/
to dig	/bäkäniʔen/	/käni/	/kän/

[Table adapted from page 11 and 12 (Nawata 1984)]

Interrogative Pronouns

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Spoken Persian
which one	/komin/	/kudum/	/kudum/
what	/če či/	/či či/	/či/
how much	/čände či/	/če qäd/	/če qäd/
why	/če/	/čera/	/čera/

[Adapted from Table 4.57 on page 94 Shahidi 2008]

Conjunctions

English	Rural Mazandarani	Urban Mazandarani	Spoken Persian
and	/o/	/vä/ /vo/ /o/	/vo/ or /o/
that	/ge/	/ke/	/ke/
as if	/xodi/	/engar/	/engar/
if	/xane/	/äge/	/äge/
whenever	/här goder/	/här väx/	/här växt/

[Adapted from Table 4:71 on page 105 Shahidi 2008]

Other

Cut 19 Listen to this cut of two Mazandarani college students greeting one another.

Cut 20 Listen to this cut of two Mazandarani college students saying goodbye to one another.

Cut 21 Listen to this cut and listen for the following words: /berar/ 'brother', /xor/ 'good', /pir/ 'father'

/mor/ 'mother', /kečke xahär/ 'little sister', /äta/ 'one'

Appendix 1 Verb Endings

According to extensive research conducted by Shahidi on speakers from the Sari region, group 1 endings are the most variable, particularly in the present indicative. Below are what she identifies as the most common variations.

1ˢᵗ Singular	2ⁿᵈ Singular	3ʳᵈ Singular	1ˢᵗ Plural	2ⁿᵈ Plural	3ʳᵈ Plural
/-me/	/-eni/	/-ene/	/-embi/	/-enni/	/-enne/
/-embe/	/-ni/	/-ne/	/-mbi/	/-nni/	/-nne/
/-mbe/	/-di/	/-de/	/-bi/	/-eni/	/-ene/
/-be/	/-i/	/-e/	/-emi/	/-ni/	/-ne/
/-eme/			/-mi/	/-neni/	/-nene/
				/-deni/	/-dene/
				/-eneni/	

(Table drawn from data on pages of 63-79 of Shahidi 2008)

She draws several conclusions concerning these verb endings (pg. 79)
1) Changes usually occur when verb stems end in liquid consonants
2) Generally older rural speakers have less variation
3) Younger rural speakers have the most variation
4) Past indicative endings generally don't exhibit much variability except for 3.SG

The variation and similarity of verb endings can make it difficult to track the person and number of the speaker. However, the fact that they are distinct from most other dialects can aid in the identification of Mazandarani particularly in the 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ person where the [vowel-n-vowel] cluster is quite salient. Consider this example:

Cut 22

Appendix 2 Code Switching

As noted in the throughout this chapter Mazandarani has been Persianized to the extent that differentiating between Mazandarani-Persian codeswitching and Mazandarani can be difficult. In general Mazandarani verbs are the most resilient class of words to Persian influence, however Persian and Mazandarani verbs are often used together. Consider the following example:

Cut 23 Listen to the first speaker say /hänuz nädumbe täsmim nägereftäm/ ''I don't know yet, I haven't decided.' . Note how the first verb /nädumbe/ is Mazandarani, but the second verb is Persian.

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Corresponding Author and Reprints:
Corey Miller, PhD, University of Maryland Center for
Advanced Study of Language, (301) 226-update,
updatethis@casl.umd.edu, www.casl.umd.edu.