

during the ten days of Moḥarram together with processions and dirges (*dāstā/dasta*, *nowhā/nawḥa*, *mārsiā/marīā*) (see Tapper, 1979, pp. 159-63; Lassy, 1916). Other religious occasions are Ramaẓān and the concluding feast of *fitr-bayramī*, the feast of sacrifice (*qorban-bayramī*), and in some places the festival of 'Omar-bayramī, when an effigy of the Caliph 'Omar is burned (Sā'edī, 1965, p. 152). As in the rest of Iran, Nowrūz is a major festival, preceded on the Wednesdays of the last month by special ceremonies, including fire-jumping. Shrines of varying importance are common in town and countryside, from Shaikh Ṣafī's tomb at Ardabīl to wayside "rooms" (*ojaḡ*) and praying trees (*pir*). Women especially make pilgrimages to these, seeking cures, remedies and intercessions. Mullahs, wandering sayyeds, and dervishes may act as prayer-writers (*do'ayazan*), providing more or less "unorthodox" cures, protections, and exorcisms. Modern cosmopolitan medicine, with government personnel, hospitals and health centers, has during the present century all but driven underground the traditional *ḥakīms* and other specialists in *torkidava* (herbal and humoral medicine, see B. Good, 1981). In the realm of popular culture, Azerbaijan is known for distinctive dresses, music, dances, and oral literature. One particular tradition associated with Azerbaijan, as well as neighboring areas of the Caucasus and Anatolia, is that of the *āseq* (q.v.), wandering minstrels with a wide and well-loved repertoire of songs, ballads, and folk epics.

In the twentieth century, Azerbaijan, like other parts of Iran, has undergone enormous social changes. In particular there has been a sharpening of distinctions of wealth and status, as well as a growing divergence between those who favor more traditional attitudes and ways of life, with roots in the countryside, religion, and the bazaar, and those who seek a more cosmopolitan "modernity," through secular education, the professions, the civil service, and government-sponsored industry and commerce. (See B and M.-J. DelVecchio Good, 1984).

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(R. TAPPER)

vii. THE IRANIAN LANGUAGE OF AZERBAIJAN

Ādarī (Ar. *al-ādarīya*) was the Iranian language of Azerbaijan before the spread of the Turkish language, commonly called Azeri, in the region. The currency of Ādarī in Azerbaijan during the first centuries of the Islamic period is attested by contemporary sources. The earliest reference to Ādarī is the statement by Ebn al-Moqaffa' (d. 142/759), quoted by Ebn al-Nadīm (*Fehrest*, p. 13), to the effect that the language of Azerbaijan was Fahlawī (*al-fahlawīya*) "pertaining to Fahla," and that Fahla was the region comprised of Isfahan, Ray, Hamadān, Māh Nahāvand, and Azerbaijan. A similar statement, on the authority of Ḥamza Eṣfahānī, and obviously deriving from the same source, occurs in Yāqūt's *Mo'jam al-boldān* (III, p. 925, s.v. "Fahlaw"), and also in K'ārazmī's *Mafatīḥ al-'olūm* (ed. van Vloten, pp. 116-17).

Next to Ebn al-Moqaffa's the oldest reference to Ādarī, though no name is given the language, occurs in Balādorī's *Fotūḥ al-boldān* (p. 328; cf. Qazvinī, *Bīst maqāla* I, p. 145), composed in 255/869. He quotes the word *ḥān*, meaning "house" or "caravanserai" (Ar. *ḥā'er*), as belonging to the "language of the people of Azerbaijan." (This word shows the development in Ādarī of Middle Iranian *x* to *h*, see below.) The oldest mention of the specific term Ādarī occurs in Ya'qūbī's *Ketāb al-boldān*, composed in 276/891, p. 272; the population of Azerbaijan is described here as a mixture of Iranian Ādarī (*al-'ajam al-ādarīya*) and old Jāvedānis (*al-jāwedāniya al-qadam*). By these terms he apparently means the Muslim Azerbaijanis and the Korramdīnis or Jāvedānis, the followers of Jāvedān and Bābak, the neo-Mazdakite leaders who had held sway in Azerbaijan under al-Ma'mūn. It thus appears that the term Ādarī was applied to both the population of Azerbaijan and their language.

The next testimony is the statement by Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) which points to the original unity of the language of the Iranians and its later differentiation into separate languages, such as Fahlawī, Darī, and Ādarī—obviously the most prominent Iranian dialects in his estimation (*Tanbīh*, p. 78). Next we have the statement of Ebn Ḥawqal (d. ca. 981/371) that "the language of the people of Azerbaijan and most of the people of Armenia (*sic*; he probably means the Iranian Armenia) is Iranian (*al-fāresiya*), which binds them together, while Arabic is also used among them; among those who speak *al-fāresiya* (here he seemingly means Persian, spoken by the elite of the urban population), there are few who do not understand Arabic; and some merchants and landowners are even adept in it" (p. 348). Despite the exaggeration concerning the spread of Iranian languages into Armenia and the currency of Arabic in Azerbaijan, the statement clearly attests to the fact that the language of Azerbaijan in the 4th/10th century was Iranian. Moqaddasī (d. late 4th/10th cent.) also affirms that the language of Azerbaijan was Iranian (*al-'ajamiya*), saying that it was partly Darī and partly "convoluted (*monqaleq*)"; he means no doubt to distinguish between the administrative lingua franca, i.e., Darī Persian, and the local dialects (*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 259). Further he says that the language of the Azerbaijanis "is not pretty... but their Persian is intelligible, and in articulation (*fī'l-ḥorūf*) it is similar to the Persian of Khorasan" (p. 378). Again he must mean Darī Persian, which then, as now, must have been current in the urban centers of Azerbaijan.

An anecdote preserved by Sam'ānī (*Ansāb*, s.v. Tanūkī) concerning Abū Zakariyā Kāteb Tabrīzī (d. 502/1109) and his teacher Abu'l-'Alā' Ma'arrī refers again to the vernacular of Azerbaijan in the 5th/12th century. While Kāteb Tabrīzī was in Ma'arrat al-No'mān in Syria, he met a fellow-countryman and conversed with him in a language which Abu'l-'Alā' could not understand. When Abu'l-'Alā' asked him to identify the language, Kāteb told him it was the language of the people of Azerbaijan (read *al-*

ādarīya in the Hyderabad ed., III, p. 93; and *al-adarbijīya* [unpointed] in the Leiden ed.; c.f. A. Kasravī, *Ādarī*, p. 13 n. 1). The statement of Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) to the effect that "The people of Azerbaijan have a language which they call *al-ādarīya*, and it is intelligible only to themselves" (*Mo'jam al-boldān* I, p. 172) makes it clear that Ādarī was still current in Azerbaijan on the eve of the Mongol invasion.

From Zakariyā b. Moḥammad Qazvinī's report in *Ātār al-belād*, composed in 674/1275, that "no town has escaped being taken over by the Turks except Tabrīz" (Beirut ed., 1960, p. 339) one may infer that at least Tabrīz had remained aloof from the influence of Turkish until the time of Abaqa. Ḥamdallāh Mostawfī writing in the 740/1340s calls the language of Marāḡa "modified Pahlavi" (*pahlavi-e moḡayyar*, as in Dabirsīāqī's reading, *Nozhat al-qolūb*, Tehran, 1336 Š./1957, p. 100; the reading *pahlavi-e mo'arrab* "arabicized Pahlavi" in Le Strange's edition, p. 87, is not likely). Mostawfī also calls (*ibid.*, p. 62) the language of Zanjān "straight Pahlavi" (*pahlavi-e rāst*) and the language of the Goštāsī province on the western side of the Caspian (i.e., north of the Persian Ṭāleš and south of Šīrvān) a Pahlavi close to the language of Gīlān (*ibid.*, p. 92). By Pahlavi he, like Ebn al-Moqaffa', obviously means in a general way the vernacular of northwestern and central Iran (an area coinciding with ancient Media). This language, however, was not, contrary to Marquart's view (Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 132 n. 5) the same as Parthian, as is evident from the written remains and surviving dialects of Ādarī (see below).

These various testimonies, in spite of their being occasionally imprecise and uncritical, indicate that the population of Azerbaijan spoke a major Iranian language, termed Ādarī after the name of the region. It formed a group with the dialects of Ray, Hamadān, and Isfahan and remained the prevalent language of Azerbaijan until the 8th/14th century and probably for some time thereafter.

The spread of Turkish in Azerbaijan.

The gradual weakening of Ādarī began with the penetration of the Persian Azerbaijan by speakers of Turkish. The first of these entered the region in the time of Maḥmūd of Ġazna (Ebn al-Atīr [repr.], IX, pp. 383ff.). But it was in the Saljuq period that Turkish tribes began to migrate to Azerbaijan in considerable numbers and settle there (A. Kasravī, *Šahrīārān-e gomnām*, Tehran, 1335 Š./1956, III, pp. 43ff., and *idem*, *Ādarī*, pp. 18-25). The Turkic population continued to grow under the Ildegozid atabegs of Azerbaijan (531-622/1136-1225), but more particularly under the Mongol il-khans (654-750/1256-1349), the majority of whose soldiery was of Turkic stock and who made Azerbaijan their political center. The almost continuous warfare and turbulence which reigned in Azerbaijan for about 150 years, between the collapse of the Il-khanids and the rise of the Safavids, attracted yet more Turkic military elements to the area. In this period, under the

Qara Qoyunlū and Āq Qoyunlū Turkmen (780-874/1378-1469 and 874-908/1469-1502 respectively), Ādarī lost ground at a faster pace than before, so that even the Safavids, originally an Iranian-speaking clan (as evidenced by the quatrains of Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn, their eponymous ancestor, and by his biography), became Turkified and adopted Turkish as their vernacular.

The Safavid rule (905-1135/1499-1722), which was initially based on the support of Turkish tribes and the continued backing and influence of the Qezelbaş even after the regime had achieved a broader base, helped further the spread of Turkish at the detriment of Ādarī, which receded and ceased to be used, at least in the major urban centers, and Turkish was gradually recognized as the language of Azerbaijan. Consequently the term Ādarī, or more commonly Azerī, came to be applied by some Turkish authors and, following them, some Western orientalists, to the Turkish of Azerbaijan (see *EP*¹⁻², s.v. "Ādharī").

Ādarī survivals.

These are of three kinds: (1) words, phrases, poems, and scattered verses, recorded in various written sources; (2) the present-day dialects which continue Ādarī, spoken mainly on the periphery of Azerbaijan to the south and southeast, but also in isolated pockets in the north and the center; and (3) vocabulary borrowed from Ādarī into the Turkish of Azerbaijan. The credit for first bringing together a collection of Ādarī survivals belongs to Aḥmad Kasravī (d. 1324 Š./1946; see *Ādarī yā zabān-e bāstān-e Ādarbāygān*, Tehran, 1304 Š./1925). He also sketched the Ādarī background and a history of the gradual spread of Turkish in Azerbaijan. Although his linguistic observations and methods can not always be supported, his general conclusions were essentially valid and dispelled a widespread notion that no information was available on the original language of Azerbaijan beyond Turkish. (See the reflection of his research in *İslām Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Āzerī," where *Āzerī-Fārisī lehcesi* "Iranian Azeri dialect" is distinguished from *Āzerī-Türk lehcesi* "Turkish Azeri dialect".) Later, other Ādarī survivals were detected.

1. *Ādarī in written sources.* These include the following: (1) A sentence in "the language of Tabrīz" in Ḥamdallāh Mostawfī's *Nozhat al-qolūb* (ed. Dabīr-sīāqī, p. 98). (2) A sentence in the "Tabrīzi" language and two sentences attributed to Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn of Ardabīl, two double distichs (*dobaytīs*) probably by him, another *dobaytī* apparently in the language of Ardabīl, and one in the language of Kalkāl, all of these in the *Şafwat al-şafā* of Ebn Bazzāz, a contemporary of Shaikh Şadr-al-dīn, the son of Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn, and therefore of the 8th/14th century (Bombay ed., 1329/1911, pp. 25, 107, 191, 220). (3) Eleven double *dobaytīs* by Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn, and therefore apparently in the language of Ardabīl, in the *Selselat al-nasab-e Şafawīya* of Shaikh Ḥosayn, a descendant of Shaikh Zāhed Gīlānī, the mentor (*morād*) of Shaikh Şafī-al-dīn (Berlin, 1343/1924-25, pp. 29-33). (4) A

macaronic *gāzal* by Homām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314) in Persian and a local language which must be that of Tabrīz (see M. Moḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Dar pīrāmūn-e zabān-e fārsī," *Majalla-ye āmūzeš o parvareš* 8/10, 1317 Š./1938, p. 10; M. H. Adīb Ṭūsī, *NDA Tabrīz* 7/3, 1334 Š./1955, pp. 260-62). This specimen differs, however, from the sentence in Tabrīzī given by Ebn Bazzāz with respect to one important phonological feature: In Homām's poem, the enclitic pronoun of the second person singular is *-t*, while in Ebn Bazzāz's sentence it is *-r* (see below). (5) Two anonymous *qasīdas* in a manuscript written in 730/1329-30 and preserved in the Aya Sofia library in Istanbul (see Adīb Ṭūsī, *ibid.*, 10/4, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 367-417); the dialect of these, judging from their phonology and some of the vocabulary which can be read with certainty appears to belong to the north-central Persian Azerbaijan, probably the Tabrīz-Marand region (see below). (6) One *gāzal* and thirteen *dobaytīs* by Maḡrebī Tabrīzī (d. ca. 809/1406-07; see Adīb Ṭūsī, *ibid.*, 8/12, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 121-27). (7) A text probably by Māmā 'Eşmat, a mystical woman-poet of Tabrīz (d. 9th/15th cent.), which occurs in a manuscript, preserved in Turkey, concerning the shrines of saints in Tabrīz (see M. Nawwābī, *ibid.*, 7/1, 1334 Š./1955, pp. 41-44; cf. Adīb Ṭūsī, "Fahlawiyāt-e Māmā 'Eşmat wa Kaşf-ī be-zabān-e ādarī—eştelāḥ-e rāzī yā şahrī," *NDA Tabrīz* 8/3, 1335 Š./1957, pp. 242-57). (8) Three poems in the dialects of Kamsa and Qazvīn, quoted by Ḥamdallāh Mostawfī in *Nozhat al-qolūb* which, although not belonging to Azerbaijan in the narrow sense of the term, should be grouped with the other remnants of Ādarī in accord with the classification of the modern Iranian dialects of the Qazvīn and Zanjān areas. These poems consist of a *dobaytī* by Abu'l-Majīd Bāygānī in the dialect of an environ of Qazvīn; two *dobaytīs* by Jūlāha of Abhar, apparently a contemporary of Mostawfī, in the dialect of Abhar, a town in Kamsa, and a fragment of nine *dobaytīs*, by a certain Uyanj or Utanj, in the dialect of Zanjān. The text of all three is extremely corrupt (E. G. Browne, *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 738-41). (9) Two *dobaytīs* by Kaşfī, a *gāzal* and seven *dobaytīs* by Ma'ālī, five *dobaytīs* by Ādam, and seven by Kalīfa Şādeq from a *jong* (a manuscript of personal selections) found in Ṭāleš, and another *jong* from the Kalkāl area (Kasravī, *Ādarī*, 5th ed., pp. 57-61). Information is lacking concerning their authors and their dates of composition, but linguistically they are all close to the verses of Shaikh Şafī. (10) Ten words from the language of "Ādarbādakān" in contrast to Persian, quoted in an old manuscript of Asadī Ṭūsī's *Loḡat-e fors* in the Malek Library (no. 5839) (Ş. Kīā, "Kohnatarīn dastnevīs-e 'Loḡat-e fors'-e Asadī Ṭūsī", *MDAT* 3/3, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 4-5; *idem*, *Ādarīgān: āgāhīhā-ī dar bāra-ye gūyeš-e ādarī*, Tehran, 1354 Š./1975). (11) Two short *gāzals*, five lines each, by Badr Şīrvānī (*Dīvān*, ed. A. H. Rahimov, Moscow, 1985, pp. 665f.) in the language of "Kanār Āb," in a local dialect of Şīrvān and possibly the mother tongue of the poet who was born in Şamākī. The language of these poems is almost identical to that of Shaikh Şafī-al-

dīn's *dobaytīs* (see below); notice *čəman* "my," -r, the 2nd singular enclitic pronoun (read *mehr-ər* "your love," cf. *gam-ər* "your sorrow"), *až* "from," *vī* "without," *kar-*, the present stem of "to do," *vāč-*, the present stem of "to say."

It should be noted that the final section of Rūhī Anārjānī's 11th/17th-century *Resāla*, a literary miscellany, entitled "On the Terms and Phrases of Ladies, Grandees, and Dandies of Tabrīz" which has been assumed by a number of scholars to be in Ādarī dialect ("Abbās Eqbāl, "Yak sanad-e mohemm dar bāb-e zabān-e ādarī," *Yādgār* 2/3, 1324 Š./1945, pp. 43-50; M. Moğdam [Moqaddam], *Iran Kūda* 10, 1327 Š./1948, pp. 1-18; Sa'īd Nafīsī, ed., "Resāla-ye Rūhī Anārjānī," *FIZ* 2, 1333 Š./1954, pp. 329-72; Y. M. Nawwābī, *NDA Tabrīz* 9, 1336 Š./1957, pp. 221-32, 396-426; M. J. Maškūr, *Nazar-ī ba tārik-e Ādarbāyjān wa ātār-e bāstānī wa jam'iyatšenāsi-e ān*, Anjoman-e Ātār-e Mellī, Tehran, 1349 Š./1971, pp. 221ff.; M. Mortazawī, *Zabān-e dīrīn-e Ādarbāyjān*, Tehran, 1360 Š./1981, p. 35), bears no relationship to Ādarī, but as W. B. Henning ingeniously realized ("The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan," *TPS*, 1954-55, p. 176 n. 5) refers to a vulgar form of New Persian, and actually attests to the continued currency of this language in Tabrīz even in the sixteenth century.

Of the written remains of Ādarī, the *dobaytīs* of Shaikh Šafī-al-dīn are the most important: They are relatively old, their linguistic area and their author are known, and they are accompanied by a paraphrase in Persian which helps their understanding. Despite Ardabīl's location at the eastern edge of Azarbaijan, in view of its significance both before and after the advent of Islam, its language must have been one of the more important dialects of Ādarī. Before it fell into the hands of the Arabs, Ardabīl was the *madīna*, i.e., the metropolis, of Azerbaijan; it was the center of its fiscal administration and the seat of the Sasanian *marzbān* (Balāđorī, *Fotūh al-boldān*, p. 325; Yāqūt, *Mo'jam-al-boldān* I, p. 197) and was confirmed as the capital of the region by Aš'at b. Qays during 'Alī's caliphate (Balāđorī, *Fotūh*, p. 329). Some three centuries later Ebn Ḥawqal (*Šūrai-al-arž*, p. 334) still mentions it as the center and the largest city of Azerbaijan (cf. Moqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 375); Eṣṭakrī (*Masālek*, p. 181) refers to it as the largest city, the seat of the government (*dār al-emāra*), and the military encampment (*mo'askar*) of the region (see further Qodāma b. Ja'far, *Ketāb al-kaṛāj*, p. 244 and Ebn Rosta, *A'lāq*, p. 106).

2. *Words borrowed from Ādarī into Azeri Turkish.* These include *dardažar* "ailing" and **kušn* "field", which occur in Shaikh Šafī's *dobaytīs* (see Kasravī, *Ādarī*, p. 41). Kārang (*Jahān-e aklāq* 4, 1956, pp. 84ff.) notes a number of Tati words used also in Azeri Turkish, e.g., *dīm* "face," *zamī* "land, field," *olis*, Azeri *ulas* "charcoal." But to determine the full extent of such borrowings requires further research. Several authors, notably Adīb Ṭūsī ("Nomūna-ī čand az loğat-e ādarī," *NDA Tabrīz* 8/4, 1335 Š./1957, pp. 310-49; 9/2, 3, 4,

1336 Š./1957, pp. 135-68, 242-60, 361-89; cf. M. Aržangī, *ibid.*, 9/1, 2, pp. 73-108, 182-201; 10/1, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 81-93) have collected the large number of non-Turkish words used in the Azeri Turkish of the various parts of Azerbaijan (See Maškūr, *op. cit.*, p. 263 for a count); but, ignoring proper linguistic criteria, they have taken them to be Ādarī, whereas in fact, they are, by and large, Persian (or Arabic, borrowed through Persian), a fact which shows that Ādarī, unlike Persian, has not affected the lexicon of Azeri Turkish significantly. The assumption of these researchers that the material in the last chapter of Rūhī Anārjānī's *Resāla* is Ādarī (see above) has also tended to vitiate their conclusions. (for a listing of Azeri vocabulary see Y. M. Nawwābī, *Zabān-e konūnī-e Ādarbāyjān* [Bibl.]; and Koichi Haneda and Ali Ganjelu, *Tabrizi Vocabulary, An Azeri-Turkish Dialect in Iran*, Studia Culturae Islamicae, no. 13, Tokyo, 1979).

3. *Present-day dialects of Ādarī.* Despite its continued decline over the centuries, Ādarī has not died out and its descendants are found as modern dialects, mostly called Tati, sharing a wide range of phonological and grammatical features. Proceeding from north to south, these are: (1) The dialect of Kalāsūr and Qoynarūd, two villages of the Ḥasanow (Ḥasanābād) district of Ahar; (2) the dialect of Karīngān, a village of eastern Dīzmār in the Vazraqān district (*bakš*) of Ahar sub-province (*šahrestān*); (3) the dialect of Galīnqaya, a village of the Harzand rural area (*dehestān*) in the district of Zonūz, Marand sub-province; (4) the Kalkāli dialects spoken in the chief villages of the Šāhrūd *bakš* (i.e., Askestān, Asbū, Derow, Kolūr, Šāl, Dīz, Karīn, Lerd, Kehel, Ṭahārom, Gelūzān, Gilavān, and Gandomābād), in Karnaq, in the Koreš-e Rostam *bakš*, and in Kajal in the Kāgādkonān *bakš* of Kalkāl; (5) the Tati dialects of the Upper Ṭārom (principally in the villages of Nowkiān, Sīavarūd, Kalāsar, Hazārūd, Jamābād, Bāklūr, Čarza, and Jeyšābād); (6) the Tati dialects of Rāmand and Zahrā, southwest and south of Qazvīn (i.e., the dialects of Tākestān, Čāl, Esfarvarīn, Kīāraj, K'oznīn, Dānesfān, Ebrāhīmābād, and Sagzābād) which are close to the Tati of Kalkāl and Ṭārom; (7) the dialects of Ṭāleš, from Allāhbakš Maḥalla and Šāndermīn on the border of Gīlān in the south to the Soviet Ṭāleš in the north, including the dialect of 'Anbarān in the Namīn district of Ardabīl; all connected with the Tati dialects of Šāhrūd. This list does not necessarily exhaust the Ādarī-speaking villages of Azerbaijan, and there may exist villages which the writer has not been able to visit, and where Tati is still understood (see A. A. Kārang, *Tātī wa harzanī*, pp. 27; he mentions a number of villages in Dīzmār and Ḥasanābād districts, including Arzīn, where the dialect was still understood in the 1940s; on the continued waning of Ādarī, see below).

To the same group of dialects belong in a broad sense: (1) the dialect of Māsūla in the Fūmenāt district of Gīlān; (2) the language spoken in the Rūdbār of Gīlān (Raḥmatābād, Rostamābād, etc.), in the Rūdbār of Alamūt (Dekīn, Mūšqīn, Garmārūd, and Bolūkān), and in Alamūt (Mo'allem Kelāya, Estalbar, Gāzarkān,

Avānak, etc.); (3) the dialect of *Ḳoʿīn* and *Safīdkamar* in the *Ījrūd* of *Zanjān*, and a few villages in the *Kūhpāya* of *Qazvīn* (*Zerejerd*, *Nowdeh*, *Asbemard*, *Heṣār*, etc.); (4) the dialect of *Vafs*, between *Hamadān* and *Arāk*. There are also a number of border dialects, such as the dialect of *Ṭāleqān* villages between *Qazvīn* and *Karaj*, and the dialects of *Āmora* and *Āštīān*, all much affected by Persian, that have close affinities with the group. In fact, the demarcation line between these dialects and their more northerly cognates cannot be sharply drawn. Kurdish, however, spoken in *Mahābād* in southwestern Azerbaijan and scattered in several other areas in the region, which some have supposed to be a descendant of Median, does not belong to this group and exhibits some clear differences with it. (See D. N. Mackenzie, "The Origins of Kurdish," *TPS*, 1961, pp. 67-83).

The fact that these dialects are so relatively abundant and are spoken in contiguous areas over a vast territory confirms their being indigenous to these areas and speaks strongly against the possibility that they spread into Azerbaijan and its border regions from other areas. Their shared linguistic features place them in a well-defined group of North-West Iranian, with affinities with the Central dialects, spoken to the south and southeast of the *Ādarī* language area. *Ādarī* and the language termed *Fahlawī* in the medieval Islamic sources refer in fact to the northern and southern branches of the language spoken in the territory of ancient Media, broadly corresponding to their modern continuations, namely the Tati or *Ādarī* dialects in central and western Iran (excluding Kurdish and Luri). On the analogy of New Persian one may call them New Median (see further below).

That only meager traces of the language spoken in the central regions of Azerbaijan have survived is only natural, since a language that comes under pressure from other languages disappears faster in the center than in the periphery. The fact that while there are some meager remains of *Ādarī* from the north, the center, the east, and south of Azerbaijan, yet the western part of the province yields no comparable material, is no doubt due to the dominance in these regions, before the spread of Turkish, of other languages, such as Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish.

The process of the linguistic Turkification of Azerbaijan continues to this day, and even in the border areas the original dialects keep giving way to Turkish. In the course of his study of these dialects in the 1960s, the writer met a number of elderly people who could remember or had been told by their fathers or grandfathers that villages now speaking Turkish formerly spoke the Iranian dialect. In *Halab*, a village in *Ījrūd* on the way from *Zanjān* to *Bijār*, he met in 1964 the last three men who still retained some shaky memory of their Tati, and in *Galīnqaya* there was in 1972 only one old man who could speak the native dialect fluently. (See also *Kārang*, *Tāī wa harzanī*, pp. 27-29; idem, "Kalkālī," *Jahān-e aklāq* 4, 1335 Š./1956, p. 83; *Dokāʿ*, *Gūyeš-e Galīnqaya*, p. 6.)

Linguistic features.

The absence of vocalization, the deficiencies of the Arabic alphabet in indicating the details of pronunciation, scribal errors, and the influence of classical Persian make the reading of the literary *Ādarī* remains difficult. Nevertheless they reveal some genuine features of the phonology, grammar, and vocabulary of the language in which they are written. Here the features of two written remains are explored.

A. *Shaikh Ṣafī-al-dīn's* *dobaytīs*. 1. Old Iranian intervocalic *t > r*. Examples: *zīr* "life" (< **jit-*, cf. Parthian *iydg*); the enclitic 2nd singular pronoun *-(a)r* (Pers. *-[a]t*); past tense forms: *āmarim* "I came" (< **āmat-*), *bori* or *beri* "he was" (< **būt-*), *šoram* or *šeram* "I went" (< **šut-*), and *žar* "struck" (< *jat-*, Pers. *zad*) in *dara žar* "was pained" (Parthian *drđjd*; Henning, "Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4). The same sound change is found in two Tati dialects: Harzandi and the dialect of *Kalāsūr* and *Ḳoynarūd*; cf. Harzandi *amārā* "he came" (other examples: *vör* "wind" < **wāt-*, *kar* "house" < **kat-*, *jörö-tan* "stranger" < **(wi)yt-*, Pers. *jodā* "separate"); *Kalāsūri umarim* "I came," and *šerim* "I went" (other examples: *vur* "wind," *jeru* "separate," *purez* "autumn" < **pātēz* [Pers. *pāʿiz*], *zura* "boy, son" < **zātak-*). In other dialects, this change occurs only sporadically; cf., e.g., *Kajali kerom* "which" (< **katām-*, Pers. *kodām*), and in the dialect of *Derow* in *Ḳalkāl šera* "he went." The enclitic pronoun of the 2nd singular is *-r* in *Kajali* and *Šährüdi* of *Ḳalkāl*, also in *Asālemi* and *Māsāli* in the central and southern Iranian *Ṭāleš* area (but not in northern *Ṭāleši* or 'Anbarāni). In the sentence in the dialect of *Tabrīz* recorded by *Ebn Bazzāz* as uttered by a contemporary of *Shaikh Ṣafī-al-dīn*, we find *harīf-ar zāta* "your contender has come." One can not measure the extent of this rule in the defunct dialect of *Tabrīz* by this instance alone, but note also the Iranian word *dārdājār* "sick, ailing" in *Azeri Turkish*, and the Azerbaijani placename *Esparaḳūn*, colloquial for *Safīdakān*, a village in *Bostānābād*, east of *Tabrīz*, probably "White spring," with *espara* < **spētak-* (Pers. *safīd* "white"). The change of intervocalic *t* to *r* is seen also in the so-called Tati, but actually (archaic) New Persian dialect of the Iranian-speaking Jews in the *Apsheron* peninsula and the northeast of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. The change, on the other hand, is not effected in the dialects of *Ṭārom*, *Ḳoʿīn*, *Rāmand*, and *Alamūt* areas to the south.

2. Old Iranian intervocalic *č > j*. Examples: *riji* "he pours," (Av. *raēca-*), and *navāji* "you [sing.] do not say" (Parth. *wʿc-*). The same change is seen in the modern dialects of *Šährüd*, *Kajal* and *Asālem*: *Šährüdi verijam* "we flee," *vāje* "he says," *Kajali mirviže* "he flees," and *Asālemi bivrij* "flee!" By contrast, in the dialects of *Kalāsūr* and *Ḳoynarūd*, *Ṭāleš*, *Karīngān*, and *Harzand*, *č* has become *ž*: cf. *Kalāsūri ruž* "day," *namuž* "prayer;" 'Anbarāni *ruža* "fast," *nāmož* "prayer;" *Ṭāleši* as spoken in the Soviet Union: *tož* "to rush, gallop," *bad-vož* "defamer, slanderer;" *Karīngāni vuž* "say!;" *Harzandi ruž* "sun."

3. A vowel phoneme /ö/ø/ is indicated by the variant

spellings *-w* and *-h*: *čw* and *čh*, i.e., /čə/ "from" (< **hača*, Pers. *az*); and **štw* and **čth*, i.e., /aštə/ or /ačtə/ "yours" (2nd sing., rendered by Pers. *māl-e to*, lit., "your property"). A similar phoneme is found in the modern dialects of Harzand, Tāleš, Kajal, and Šährūd (not in word-final position in Šährūdi).

4. Old Iranian initial *j* > *ž*. Examples: *žir* "life," and *žar* "struck." The same sound change is seen in the modern dialects of Kalāsūr and Koynarūd: *žan* "woman," *žare* "to hit," *žāte* "to arrive"; Tāleši *žen* "woman," *žae* "to hit"; Arazini *žen* and Kajali *žan* "woman," *bežana* "strike!" The form *žāta* in Ebn Bazzāz's sentence shows that this feature extended to the dialect of Tabrīz. In the dialects of Karīngān and Harzand, however, initial *ž* has become *y*: Karīngāni *yan* "woman" and "strike!," *yaz/yat-* "to arrive," and Harzandi *yan* "woman," *yare* "to strike."

5. Old Iranian *x*, *xw* > *h* in *harda* "he ate;" cf. *sohrāb* "rouge" in the manuscript of the *Loğat-e fors* mentioned above (Kīā, p. 4). This development is regular in Kajali: (*hardan* "to eat," *hāra* "ass," *heriār* "buyer," *howlig* "sister") but sporadic in the Šährūdi group: Šāli (*h)ardan*, cf. Gīlavāni *ha* "sister," *hezə* "he wants" (Parth. *wxāz-*, *wxāšt*, but Pers. *ḵāh-*, *ḵāst*); but Šāli *kri-* "to buy," *kes/keł* "to sleep," etc. Cf. also Karīngāni *hārdan* "to eat," *haraši* "sun" (Pers. *ḵoršīd*): Harzandi *horde* "to eat," *höšn/höšt* "to want," *hištan* "self" (Pers. *ḵištan*); Kalāsūri *horma* "I ate," *hāmma* "I read" (Pers. *ḵāndam*); and in most Tāleši dialects: Asālemi *hard-*, 'Anbarāni *hāna bim* "I was eating, used to eat," and Northern Tāleši *hova* "sister". But in Asālemi we find *ženā-xāzī* (Pers. *ḵāstgārī*), and in the dialect of Māsāl in southern Tāleš we find *xa* "sister," *xəšk* "dry," etc.

6. Old Iranian *fr* > *hr* in *ahrā* "tomorrow" (Pers. *fardā* < **fra-*, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963, p. 145). In the modern dialects we find Kajali *a(h)rā*, Harzandi *ohra* (cf. also *heraš/heröt* "to sell" < **frawaxš-/frawaxt*, Pers. *foruš/forūkt*), Kīāraji of Rāmand *ahrā*, Šāli *paš-arā* "the day after tomorrow," Šāndermīni and Māsāli *pašerā*, Tākestāni *sarā* "day after tomorrow," Northern Tāleši *havate* "to sell," *hamue* "to order" (< **framāt-*, Pers. *framūdan*).

7. Oblique case/genitive in *-*i* (or so-called inverted *ežāfa* construction). This ending is written only in *ōyān-i banda* "the servant of the Lord" (*dobayī* 11; on *ōyān* < Tk. *oyan*, see Henning, "The Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4; it is not a plural of *oy* "he," as Kasravī thought) but may also be assumed in other cases, e.g., *oyān(i) kəššān* "special friends of god," *čowgān(i) gur-im* "I am the ball of the polo stick" (i.e., resigned to the divine will), and *qodrat(i) zanjir-im* "I am the chain of power" (*dobayī* 3). Among modern dialects, Kalāsūri and Asālemi have accusative and genitive in *-i*, Kalkāli in *-e*.

8. The personal pronouns have four forms:

	Direct	Oblique	Possessive	Enclitic
1st	<i>az</i>	<i>man</i>	—	<i>-m</i>
2nd	—	<i>te</i> or <i>tō</i>	<i>eštō</i>	<i>-r</i>

This feature is shared by the dialects of Kalkāli and Tāleš. For instance, the corresponding forms in the Šāli dialect of Šährūd are:

1st	<i>az</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>čeman</i>	<i>-m</i>
2nd	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ešte</i>	<i>-r</i>

In Kajali the forms are:

1st	<i>az</i>	<i>aman</i>	<i>čəman</i>	<i>-m</i>
2nd	<i>tə</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>əštə</i>	<i>-r</i>

and in Asālem:

1st	<i>az</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>čəman</i>	<i>-m</i>
2nd	<i>tə</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>əštə</i>	<i>-r</i>

A similar scheme is found in the dialect of Čāl in Rāmand. In the rest of the Rāmand area, however, the oblique form is no longer used. The dialects of upper Tārom, e.g., Nowkīāni and Hazārūdi, have a system of actually five pronominal forms (the pronouns for the direct object and the "logical direct object" in passive constructions are differentiated; see Yarshater, "The Tati Dialects of Tārom"). In Karīngāni and Harzandi the direct pronoun has been replaced by the originally oblique form, as in Persian.

9. The 2nd person singular ending is *-i* in the present indicative (*riji* "you pour," *navāji* "you do not say"), but *-š* in the present subjunctive (*mavāješ* "you may not say"). A 2nd person singular ending *-š* is found in several Tati dialects. In Karīngāni, in particular, it is the common form; in Kalāsūr, it is found in the present indicative (*bežareš* "you strike"); in Šährūdi (Šāli and Kolūri), everywhere except the present indicative and the imperative (*bešiš* "you went," *age bevrījāš* "if you should flee"); in Asālem, everywhere except in the imperative and the present subjunctive (*biš* "you were," *bebaš* "be!"); in 'Anbarāni, in the continuous past tense; and in Northern Tāleši throughout the verbal system. In Harzandi the ending *-š* does not occur.

10. A continuous present is made from the past stem if indeed, as it appears, the verbs in the fourth *dobayī* are present tense, wrongly rendered by the past tense in the paraphrase of the *Selselat al-nasab*: *be-koštīm* "I kill," *be-heštīm* "I let/leave," and *na-daštīm* "I am not harming" (on the last verb, see Henning, "The Ancient Language," p. 176 n. 4). The same kind of formation is found in the dialects of Karīngān, Harzand, and Kalāsūr, Northern Tāleši, and in Asālemi, but not in the dialects of Southern Tāleši: Karīngāni *heteine* "I am sleeping" (cf. *fesene* "I sleep" < **xwafs-*), Harzandi *bāvāštān* "he is carrying," *bo-hordān* "he is eating," Kalāsūri *ba-durem* "I am giving" (< **dāt-*), *be-žareš* "you (sing.) are striking," *ba-šem* "I am going," Asālemi *ba-vindīše* "you (sing.) are seeing," *ba-bramastīm* "we are weeping."

11. Vocabulary. Note *asra* "tear" (cf. Šährūdi *asərk*, Asālemi, Māsāli, and 'Anbarāni *asərg*, Harzandi *ösör*, Karīngāni *aster*; cf. also *ásra* [fem.] in the dialects of Rāmand and *ars* in the Persian dictionaries) and *ahra* "tomorrow" (see above, no. 6). The question whether *-a* in *asra* is a feminine marker (as it is in Rāmandi) and

whether Ādarī of Ardabīl distinguished grammatical gender, can not be determined on the basis of the material at hand. Its affinities lie mostly with modern dialects which do not have the category of gender (see below).

It can be seen from the foregoing that the language of the *dobaytīs* is not identical with any one modern descendant of Ādarī. Its greatest affinity seems to be on the one hand with the Tati dialects of Kalāsūr and Kōynarūd to the northwest ($t > r, j > ž$, 2nd singular $-š$, continuous present from the past stem), and on the other with the dialects of the central Tāleš area to the east ($j > ž$, four-fold personal pronoun, 2nd singular $-š$, continuous present from the past stem), and Kalkāli ($t > r$ in some instances, $j > ž$ in Kajali, four-fold personal pronoun). This agrees well with Ardabīl's geographical position. By contrast, the dialects of Harzand and Karingān, the Āstārā region, and of Soviet Tāleš to the north that B. V. Miller (*Talyshskii yazyk*, Moscow, 1953, pp. 253ff.) for lack of information about Tati and southern Tāleši dialects thought were closest to Ādarī, are relatively remoter. (Northern Tāleši is characterized by the dropping or greatly reducing of unstressed syllables, t does not become r , the enclitic pronouns are $-ə$ and $-əon$ for 2nd singular and plural, respectively).

Another conclusion that can be drawn from these comparisons is that Tāleši should not be grouped with the Caspian dialects, as is commonly done on the basis of their geographical location, but rather with the Tati dialects of Azerbaijan, particularly Šāhrūdī.

B. *The Istanbul qašidas*. The phonology and vocabulary of the language attested in this poem link it with the area of Tabriz and Marand. Note the following features.

1. Old Iranian $\bar{a} > \bar{u}$ in *āžūr* "free" (Pers. *āzād*), *dūr* "hold!" (Pers. *dār*), *gūr* "soul" (Parth. and Mid Pers. *gyān*, NPers. *jān*), **huzdan* "to ask, want" (Pers. *kāstan*), *pūydūr* "permanent" (Pers. *pāydār*), and *vadnehūd* "bad-natured" (Pers. *bad-nehād*).

2. Old Iranian intervocalic $t > r$ in *āžūr*, $-r$ "you" (Pers. $-t$), *zūnar* "he knows" ($< *zān-$, Pers. *dānad*), and *žaran* "to strike" ($< *jat-$, Pers. *zadan*).

3. Old Iranian intervocalic $\check{c} > j$ in *jeman* "my own" ($< \text{Old Iranian } hača-$).

4. Old Iranian $x, xw > h$ in *harda* "eaten" (Pers. *k'orda*), **hūzdan* "to ask, want"; cf. *hošk* "dry" ($< \text{Old Iranian } *huška$).

5. Vocabulary. Note *gūr* "soul," **karend* "they do, make" (Parth. *kar-*), *sag* "stone" (Pers. *sang*), and *vūr* "blood" (Av. *vohunī*, Pers. *kūr*).

The position of Ādarī among the Iranian languages.

It is obvious that the language of as broad an area as Azerbaijan could not have been uniform throughout and must have exhibited a variety of local dialects. The statement by Moqaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, p. 375) to the effect that seventy dialects were spoken in the region of Ardabīl, despite its gross exaggeration, has to be taken to refer to the variety of its local subdialects. On the other hand, the fact that the language of the entire

Azerbaijan has been called Ādarī in the early sources and placed alongside Darī and Pahlavi implies that the dialects of the region were similar enough to be called by a single name.

Azerbaijan and the "Jebāl" of the medieval geographers, that is, the mountainous west-central part of the Iranian plateau, coincide geographically with ancient Media and was inhabited by Median tribes in ancient times. Although no independent written document in ancient Median has yet come to light, its fundamental phonological features are known from the Median words and names which occur in Old Persian inscriptions and, less frequently, in Greek (e.g., IE. \acute{g} , and $\acute{g}h < \text{Med(ian) } z$, OPers. d ; IE. $\acute{k}u > \text{Med. } sp$, OPers. s ; IE. tr and $tl > \text{Med. } \theta r$, OPers. ζ ; see Kent, *Old Persian*, secs. 8-9; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Rekonstruktion des Medischen*, Anz. d. Österreichischen Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1968, 1, Vienna; G. L. Windfuhr, "Isoglosses: A Sketch on Persians and Parthians, Kurds and Medes," in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg II*, Acta Iranica 5, Tehran and Liège, 1975, pp. 457-72). All these features are characteristic also of Ādarī and its modern relatives. Thus there are no linguistic arguments against the derivation of Ādarī from Median, which is based upon compelling geographical and historical evidence (see below), and such a conclusion can in no way be invalidated by the fact that the phonological peculiarities of Median are found, by and large, in all north-western branches of Iranian, including Parthian, or by the fact that it has not been possible to find exclusive Median isoglosses (see P. O. Skjærvø, *BSL* 78, pp. 244-51). It will be noted that Ādarī differs from Parthian in some important respects, e.g. "came" is from **ā(g)mata-* (as in Persian) against Parthian *āyad* $< *āgata-$; Parthian has a suffix $-ift$ and the *ežāfa čē*, both unknown in Ādarī.

Likewise, the fact that the Ādarī group of dialects shares a few isoglosses with some geographically and linguistically distant dialects in southeastern Iran, namely Lāri and Baškardi, which, like Persian belong to the South-Western Iranian dialects does not affect our conclusion with regard to the derivation and provenience of Ādarī. The isoglosses shared with Lāri are the 2nd singular ending $-š$ and the continuous present from the past stem; cf. Lāri *ačedāeš* "you are going," *čedeš* "you went" (A. Eqtedārī, *Farhang-e lārestāni*, Tehran, 1334 Š./1955, p. 269); the isoglosses shared with Baškardi are: $t > r$ in North Baškardi (e.g., *zar-* "to strike") and the continuous present based on the past stem (e.g., North Baškardi *akerdenom*, South Baškardi *beker(en)om* "I am doing," see G. Morgenstierne in *HO I*, iv, 1: *Linguistik*, Leiden, 1958, p. 178). There is no need for assuming any special historico-geographical connection between the Ādarī group and Lāri and Baškardi to explain these isoglosses. Indeed, since Ādarī is phonetically a typical North-Western dialect but Lāri and Baškardi typical South-Western dialects, such an assumption would create more problems for historical Iranian linguistics than it would solve. In the case of other Iranian languages and dialects, too, we occasion-

ally find isoglosses crossing other, fundamental, isoglosses and spanning large distances. One typical case is that of Sogdian and Old Persian (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, p. 108).

Historically, Media was divided into Greater Media, which was the area where today the Central dialects are spoken, and Lesser Media or Azerbaijan. Doubtless it is this geographical division which is reflected in the linguistic distinction between *al-ādariya* and *al-fahlawīya* of our medieval sources. (The fact that while there are some meager remains of Ādarī from the north, the center, the east, and the south of Azerbaijan, yet the western part of the province yields no comparable material, is no doubt due to the dominance in these regions, before the spread of Turkish, of other languages, such as Neo-Aramaic and Kurdish.) Since there is no historical evidence that the population of the Median territories was ever dislocated on a significant scale, or that its language was superceded by any other language than Persian (in the urban centers) and Turkish (in Azerbaijan), the conclusion is inevitable that the affiliated Iranian dialects spoken in Azerbaijan, Kamsa, Qazvīn, Ṭāleš, Hamadān, Nahāvand, Kānsār, Kāšān, Isfahan, and Semnān, to mention only the chief regions, can be none other than the descendants of the Old Median language, today divided roughly into a northern, Ādarī, group and a southern, "Fahlawī" or "Central" group of dialects.

Bibliography: Given in the text. The dialect materials referred to in the article, except for the Ṭāleši of the Soviet Union, Arazīni, Baškardī, and Lāri, were collected by the author between 1955-72. See also M. Qazvīnī's review of Kasravī, *Ādarī*, repr. in *Bīst maqāla*, Tehran, 1332 Š./1953, I, pp. 178-86. On the modern dialects see 'A. Kārang's pioneering treatise on the dialects of Karīngān and Galīnqaya, *Tāti wa harzanī, do lahja az zabān-e bāstān-e Ādarbāy-jān*, Tabrīz, 1333 Š./1954. Y. Dokā', *Karīngānī*, Tehran, 1332 Š./1954. Idem, *Gūveš-e Galīnqaya*, 'harzandī', Tehran, 1336 Š./1957. J. Matīnī, "Daqīqī, zabān-e darī wa lahja-ye ādarī," *MDAM* 11/4, 1354 Š./1975, pp. 559-75. M. Mortaẓawī, "Nokta-ī čand az zabān-e harzanī," *NDA Tabrīz* 6/3, 1333 Š./1954, pp. 304-14. Idem, *Fe'l dar zabān-e harzanī*, Tabrīz, 1342 Š./1963. Y. M. Nawwābī, *Zabān-e konūnī-e Ādarbāy-jān*, Tabrīz, 1334 Š./1955 (published earlier as a series of articles in *NDA Tabrīz* 5 and 6, 1332-33 Š./1953-54). E. Yarshater, "The Tati Dialect of Shāhrūd (Khalkhāl)," *BSOAS* 22, 1959, pp. 52-68. Idem "The Tati Dialect of Kajal," *BSOAS* 23, 1960, pp. 275-68. Idem, "The Tati Dialects of Rāmand," in *A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, ed. W. B. Henning and E. Yarshater, London, 1962, pp. 240-45. Idem, "Marāgīān-e Alamūt wa Rūdbār wa zabān-e ānhā," *Majalla-ye Irānsenāšī* 1, 1346 Š./1967. Idem, *A Grammar of Southern Tati Dialects (Median Dialect Studies I)*, The Hague and Paris, 1969. Idem, "The Tati Dialects of Ṭārom," in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, London, 1970, pp. 451-

67. M. Mortaẓawī provides a listing of the Persian articles on topics related to Ādarī in *Zabān-e dirīn-e Ādarbāy-jān*, pp. 56ff.; of interest is a paper he entitled "Bīst vāza-ye ādarī dar ḥawāšī-e noska-ye kaṭṭī-e *Ketāb al-bolḡa*" (Twenty Ādarī words on the margin of the MS. of the *K. al-bolḡa*) read by M. Mīnovī at the sixth conference of Iranian studies (1974?), but apparently not yet published. On Median and the "Median" dialects see also A. Meillet, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, 2nd ed. by E. Benveniste, Paris, 1931, p. 7, par. 8; I. Gershevitch, "Dialect Variation in Early Persian," *TPS*, 1964 [1965], pp. 1-29; P. O. Skjærvø, "Farnah: mot mède en vieux-perse?" *BSL* 79, 1984, pp. 241-59. On the dialectology of Middle Iranian see also W. Lentz, "Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi," *ZII* 4, 1926, pp. 252-316, and P. Tedesco, "Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte," *Monde oriental* 15, 1921, pp. 184-258.

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viii. AZERI (ĀDARĪ) TURKISH

Azeri belongs to the Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family. In the eleventh century the "Tūrān defeated Ērān and a broad wave of Oghuz Turks flooded first Khorasan, then all the rest of Iran, and finally Anatolia, which they made a base for vast conquests. The Oghuz have always been the most important and numerous group of the Turks; in Iran they have assimilated many Turks of other origins and even Iranians.

Oghuz languages were earlier grouped into Turkish (of Turkey), Azeri, and Turkmen, but recent research has modified this simple picture. Today we may provisionally distinguish the following languages: Turkish of Turkey (including Crimean Osmanli and Balkan dialects, such as Gagauz), Azeri, "Afsharoid" dialects (spoken east and south of the provinces of Azerbaijan; there is a broad area of either transitional Azeri-"Afsharoid" dialects or of mixed territories between Qazvīn and Kalajestān, but south of a line Hamadān-Qom, including Qašqā'ī and Aynallū, "Afsharoid" dialects dominate; Afshar is also spoken in Kabul), Khorasan Turkic (northeastern Iran, Turkmenistan and northwestern Afghanistan), and Turkmen (in Turkmenistan, northern Afghanistan and close to the southeastern shore of the Caspian Sea). Some features of Oghuz were described by Maḥmūd Kāšgarī (11th century), e.g., the sound change *t* -> *d* (*dāvā* 'camel' = *tāvā*, or similar, of other Turkic branches). But it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the East Anatolian dialects of Turkish and Azeri, on the one hand, and between Azeri and "Afsharoid" dialects or even Khorasan Turkic, on the other hand. There is a plethora of transitional phenomena among all Oghuz idioms. Thus one possibility would be to range East Anatolian as Azeri; however, the personal forms of the predicate show clear, and apparently archaic, distinctions among these five groups (Doerfer, 1982, pp. 109-