The Position of Zazaki among West Iranian Languages

Zazaki is a West Iranian language spoken in Southeast Anatolia, northwest to the Kurdish-speaking regions, by approx. 2 Mio. Since the beginning of the 20th century Zazaki has been accepted as a language of its own among linguists[1], and not any longer merely as a Kurdish dialect. Nevertheless until recently the Zaza people were generally held to be Kurds speaking a special dialect of Kurdish. Due to the oppressive minority and language policy of the Republic of Turkey, until 15 years ago there existed practically no indigenous Zazaki written literature, and so no means by which the Zaza people could find out anything about their own language and cultural identity[2].

Only after the military *coup d' état* of 1980 and the following emigration of Turkish leftists, many of them Kurds, to countries of Western Europe the publication in Zazaki started in the exile - then still under the label „Kurdish dialect". In 1984 AYRE („mill"), the first exclusive Zazaki journal, was published by the pioneer of Zaza nationalism Ebubekir Pamukçu (d. 1993). Considered an outsider among the Zaza, or even a „Turkish agent" trying to split off the Zaza from their Kurdish sister people, Pamukçu finally saw some fruits of his labour when in the early 90ies a stronger awareness of an own cultural identity started gaining a foothold among the speakers of Zazaki. At present the further development of Zazaki language and culture is endangered by the Turkish policy of „purifying" Eastern Anatolia of its indigenous Kurdish and Zaza population, as well as by the long-standing process of forced and unforced assimilation (to Turkish and Kurdish). As moreover there is even religious and political discord among the Zaza, it is far from certain whether the „making of the Zaza nation" will reach a successful conclusion.

Although the history of Zazaki studies is already 140 years old, we still lack a comprehensive grammar of even one of its dialects, and a reliable survey of its dialectology[3]. During the last four years I have, preparing my PhD thesis, which is intended to supply this want. In what follows, I will first give an outline of the historical phonology of Zazaki, and then sketch a couple of its morphological features –whith the aim, in both cases to determine more precisely than has been done hitherto the position of Zazaki among West Iranian languages and dialects. First attempts at achieving this aim have been made by Vahman and Asatrian recently[4].

The West Iranian languages and dialects are generally divided into a Southern and a Northern group. Already in the Old Iranian period the sound system of Old Persian (OP), the language of the Royal Achaemenian Court centered in Southern Iran, showed specific historical changes opposing it to the more conservative Avestan language (Av.) spoken at about the same time. In the Middle Iranian period this division became more distinct as Middle Persian (MP), the successor to Old Persian spoken in southern Iran, showed further sound changes not shared by the still more conservative northern Parthian (Pth.). Most of the dialectal distinctions attested in Old and Middle West Iranian, and some more in addition, are found in modern West Iranian languages and dialects as well. Although there are a couple of well-defined phonetic laws seperating the southwest from the northwest, it must be said that there is, in all historical stages, a varying amount of interdialectal borrowing whichs blurs the picture; furthermore, due to migrations in all periods, the SW/NW-distinction does not for all languages coincide with the geographical reality of today[5]. One major aim of this paper is to show that the NW/SW-distinction is not a clear-cut, but should rather be explained in terms of graduation, with each language attributed its position on a scale ranging from the „most north-western" to the „most southwestern". To facilitate comprehemsion of this study, a simplified list of the most important West Iranian languages and dialect groups is given below, together with the sketch of a map indicating their geographical location (fig. 1)[6]:

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[1] See O. Mann, *Mundarten der Zaza, hauptsächlich aus Siwerek und Kor* (Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Abt. III, Bd. IV), ed. K. Hadank, Berlin 1932, p. 18.

[2] „Zaza" denotes the people, „Zaza*kī*" their language. There are other names for this language used by its speakers, e.g. „Dimlî" or „zonē mā" (lit. „our language"), but „Zazaki" seems to have gained widest acceptance in scientific publications.
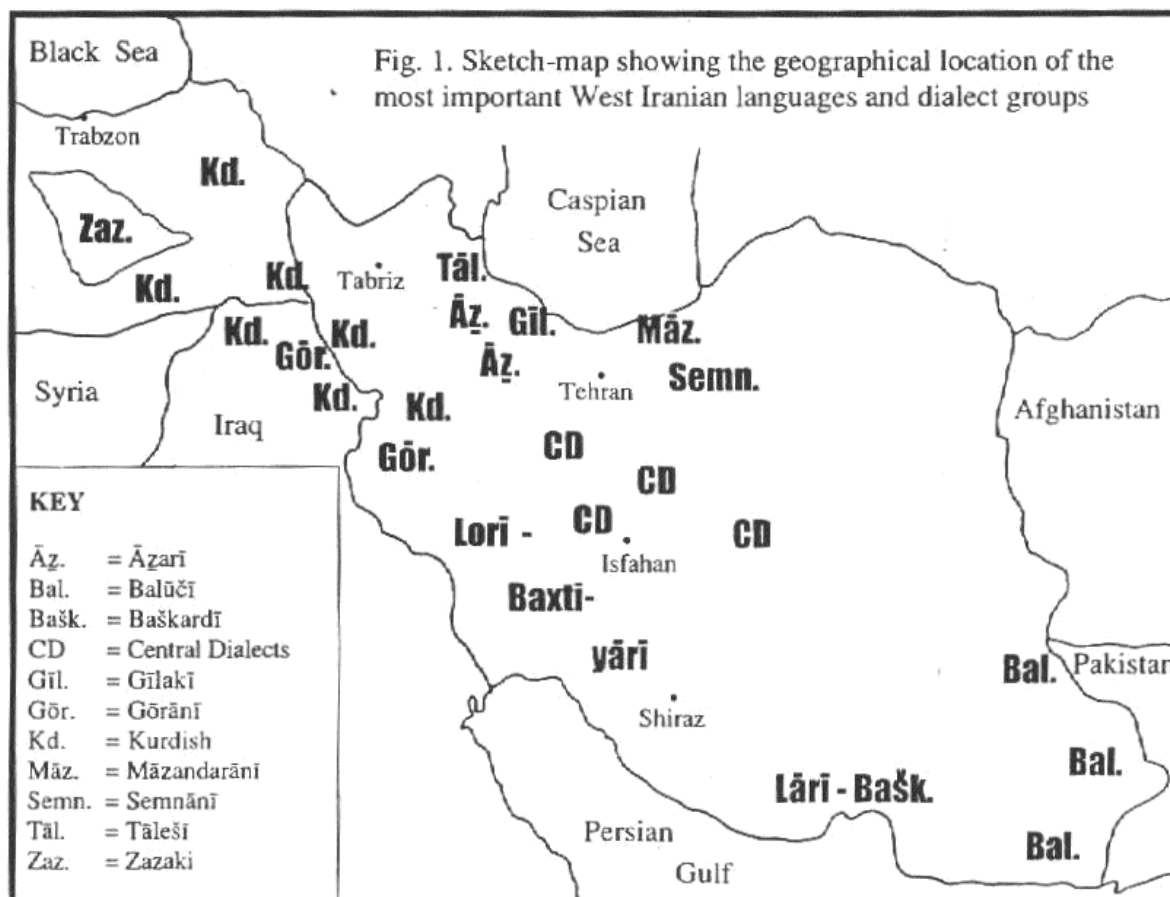
[3] The nearest thing to a comprehensive grammar of a single Zazaki dialect published so far is T. L. Todd's *A Grammar of Dimilī (also known as Zaza)*, Ann Arbor (UMI) 1985.

[4] F. Vahman and G. S. Asatrian, Gleanings from Zāzā vocabulary, *Iranica Varia*, Papers in honour of Ehsan Yarshater (= Acta Iranica 30), ed. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Leiden 1990, pp. 267-275; and G. S. Asatrian, Ešçe raz o meste Zaza v sisteme iranskyx jazykov, *Patma-banasirakan handēs* 1990/4, Erevan, pp. 154-163.

[5] E.g. „northwestern" Balūčī is spoken in the SE, but „southwestern" [N.]-Tātī in the NW

[6] The NW/SW-dichotomy is also a simplification (and will be questioned below). The dialect grouping followed here corresponds in general to that proposed by P. Lecoq in his articles dealing with NWIr. dialects in R. Schmitt (ed..) *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden 1989) (=CLI). Some of the dialects groups are more or less geographical and by no means uniform (esp. the CD), nevertheless this grouping seems to be a justifiable compromise for the moment.

The linguistic material concerning the modern dialects in this paper is mainly (unless otherwise stated) taken from the following sources. **Caspian**: M. Pāyande-Langerūdī, *Farhang-e Gīl va Daylam* (Teheran 1987); **Semnānī**: A. Christensen, *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne II* (Copenhagen 1935);

Fig. 1. Sketch-map showing the geographical location of the most important West Iranian languages and dialect groups

KEY

Āẕ.   = Āẕarī
Bal.   = Balūčī
Bašk. = Baškardī
CD   = Central Dialects
Gīl.   = Gīlakī
Gōr.   = Gōrānī
Kd.   = Kurdish
Māz. = Māzandarānī
Semn. = Semnānī
Tāl.   = Tālešī
Zaz.   = Zazaki

SW	NW
Persian	Caspian (Gīlakī, Māzandarānī)
Lārī/Baškardī	Semnānī (with adjacent dialects: Sangesarī etc.)
Fārs dialects	Central dialects (CD)
Lorī-Baxtiyārī	Tālešī (Tāl.)
(Northern) Tātī	Âzarī (i.e. S-Tātī, Harzandī, Keringānī etc.)
	Zazaki (Zaz.)
	Gōrānī (Gōr.)
	Balūčī (Bal.)
	Kurdish (Kd.)

A glance at the oldest stratum of NW/SW-isoglosses attested already in *Old Iranian* shows unequivocally Zazaki belongs to the NW group (which indeed was never contested):

H. Homādoxt, *Gūyeš-e Aftarī* (Teheran 1992); **Central D.**: A. Christensen, *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne* [I] (Copenhagen 1930); O. Mann, *Die Mundarten von Khunsār, Mahallāt, Natänz, Nāyin, Sämnān, Sīvänd und Sō-Kohrūd* (Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen, Abt. III, Bd. I, ed. K. Hadank Berlin 1926); M. Moqaddam, *Gūyeshā-ye Vafs va āštiyān va Tafre*š (Teheran 1949); **Tālešī**: B. V. Miller, *Talyšskij jazyk* (Moskau 1953); L. A. Pirejko, *Talyšsko-russkij slovar'* (Moskau 1976); G. Lazard, Le dialecte Tālešī de Māsūle (Gīlān)', *Studia Iranica* 7/2, 1978, pp. 251-268; **Âzarī**: E. Yarshater, *A grammar of Southern Tati dialects* (The Hague 1969); Y. Zokā, *Gūyeš-e Keringān* (Teheran 1954), and *Gūyeš-e Galīn-qaya ("Harzandī")* (Teheran 1957); **Zazaki**: from my forthcoming PhD thesis; **Gōrānī**: D. N. MacKenzie, *The dialect of Awroman* (Kopenhagen 1966); **Kurdish**: D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I* (London 1961).

2

IE (Indo-European) *ḱ/*ǵ > NW s/z, SW θ (>h)/d, cf.

Zaz. *des* „10"	~ Av. *dasa*, OP (in Elam.) **daθa*, > MP *dah*)
Zaz. *zān-* „to know"	~ Av. *-zān-*, OP *dānā-*

IE *ḱw/*ǵw > NW sp/zb, SW s/z, cf.

Zaz. (dial. of Kulp) *espe* „dog"[7]	~ „Median" *spaka*, OP **saka* (> MP *sag*),
Zaz. *ziwān* „tongue"	~ Av. *hizuuā-*, OP *hizān-*

IE *tr/*tl > NW θr (>hr), SW ç (>s), cf.

Zaz. *hīre* (< *h[ⁱ]rē) „3"	~ Av. *θritiia*, OP *çitiya*, both „3rd"

However not all languages figuring as NW in the lists given above behave in a straightforwardly "northwestern" way for all three phonetic changes. MacKenzie has shown that both Kurdish and Balūčī, although basically NW, regularly show the SW change *tr/*tl > s[8].

Coming now to the NW/SW-isoglosses attested in *Middle Western* Iranian but not yet in Old, the following four changes further confirm the NW character of Zazaki:

IE *d(h)w- > NW b-, SW d- (Av. and OP still dv-), cf.

Zaz. *kē-ber* „(house-)door"	~ Pth. *bar*, MP *dar*

IE *-tw- > NW -f-/-w-, SW –h- (Av. -θβ-, OP -θv-), cf.

Zaz. *čewres* "forty"	~ Pth. **čafarst*, MP *čehel* [9]

IE *k(ᵘ)pal > NW (ǰ >) ž, SW z[10] (Av., OP: č), cf.

Zaz. *ǰoy* "from/of/him/her"[11]	~Pht. *až*, MP *az* from"

IE *g(ᵘ)pal > NW (ǰ >)ž, SW z (Av., OP: ǰ), cf.

Zaz. *ǰin-ēk* „woman"	~ Pth. *žan*, MP *zan*
Zaz. *arǰān* „cheap"	~ Pth. *aržān*, MP *arzān*

As in the case of *tr/*tl > s (see above), Kurdish and, maybe, Balūčī from are the only NW dialects which show the SW development *d(h)w > d.[12] For * k(ᵘ)pal /* g(ᵘ)pal > NW (ǰ >)z, SW ž (where Kd. and Bal. show NW ž), Zazaki (with the affricate ǰ) seems to have preserved a phonetically older stage of development than does Parthian with the fricative ž. However, ǰ and ž, seem to be distributed at random among the NW dialects[13]. For the development of IE *tv, phonetically

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parallel to that of *dv (see above), Zazaki shows SW -h-:

IE *-tv-(>-ϑw-) > NW -f-, SW -h- (Av., OP: -tv-), cf.

Zaz. čahār (< SW) „4"   ~ Pth. čafār, MP čahār

This sound change, however, is attested in Zazaki with the numeral „4" only, and might be explained (cf. „3" above) through borrowing. The two NW dialects geographically closest to Zazaki (apart from Kurdish, of course), viz. Gōrānī and āzarī (Čālī), have preserved traces of the Old Iranian labial (čuār).

When we come to the next sound change, the situation becomes a little more different:

IE *y- > NW y-, SW ǰ- (Av., OP: y-), cf.

Zaz. ǰiyā „seperate"   ~ Pth. yuδ, MP ǰud(āg)

Zaz. ǰow „barley"   ~ (Av. yauua-), MP ǰaw

Zaz. ǰ(uw)ā-mērd[14] „young man"   ~ Pth. yuwān, MP ǰuwān, both „young"

Zazaki has SW ǰ-, while Gōrānī, Âzarī (Ker.) and sporoadically some Central Dialects (Sīvandī, Vafsī, Nā'īnī) have like Parthian kept original y-. Even if āzarī might be deleted from the list, as its initial y- could be the result of a secondary change (ǰ > y like in yan „woman", see above), and although it cannot be ruled out that Zazaki has borrowed all these words with initial ǰ-, Zazaki here seems to be opposed to (NW) Parthian, Gōrānī and Âzarī. In the next isogloss:

IE *sw- > NW wx- (>w-), SW xw- (> x[w]-) (Av. huu-, xᵛ-, OP ʰuv-), cf.

Zaz. wer- „to eat"   ~ Pth. wxar-, MP xwar-,

the actual pronounciation of Pth. wx- is not clear, rather than [wx] it was probably pronounced as „devoiced w", like e.g. wh- in early modern English[15]. Taking some combination of w and h as a NW starting point, two different NW developments seem to have taken place: the deletion of the labial element w, leading to āz./Tāl. h- (hār- „to eat"); or the deletion of the aspirate yielding w- or v- (Zaz. wer-, Gōr. wār-, Bal. vār-)[16]. Both developments seem to be equally „far away" from the SW development to x(w)-.

The development of OIr. *rd and *rz is more difficult to understand than anyone of the sound changes considered so far, maybe cannot yet be reduced to a common denominator from the linguistic material available[17]. For the two well-known examples *zr̥d „heart" and √hr̥z „to let, allow" in Pth. and MP, Pth. has (as usually) preserved the OIr. consonants, while MP has changed both *rd and *rz to simple l:

OIr. *-rd/*-rz (< IE *-rd(h), *ld(h) / *-r̥ǵ(h)) > NW -rδ/-rz, SW -l, cf.

Pth. zirδ „heart"   ~ MP dil (Av. zərəd-)

Pth. hirz- „to let, allow"   ~ MP hil- (Av. hərəz-)

Looking at rd not in the reduced grade (with IE vocalic r̥), but in the guṇa-grade complicates the situation. Pth., together with Manichean MP, shows simple r against Zoroastrian MP l, and both Pth. and MP lengthen the short a

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[14] Some Alevi (i.e. northern) dialects of Zazaki have ̆uwām_rd, all other: ̆ām_rd.

[15] See D. N. MacKenzie, ‛otes on the transcription of Pahlavi, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1967), p. 26, n. 29.

[16] In some central dialects, e.g. Sīvandī and Xūrī, *xw- has yielded f- (Xū./Sī. fīn "blood", fār- „to eat") (P. Lecoq, *le dialecte de Sivand,* Wiesbaden 1979; B. Farahvašī, *Važenāme-ye Xūrī,* Tehran 2535.)

[17] See already MacKenzie, "The origins of Kurdish", p. 77: „The outcome of the groups rd and rz in the various non-Persian dialects is far from certain, words having been borrowed in every direction."

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(perhaps as a compensation for the lost *d*)[18]:

OIr. **rd* > NW *r*, SW *r/l* (Man./Zor.), cf.

Pth. *ārag* „side"   ~ MP *ārag/ālag* (Man./Zor.) (Av. arəδa)

InscrPth. *sārār* „leader"   ~ MP *sārār/sālār* (M./Z.) (**sara-dāra*)

Pth. *wār-* „to grow, rejoice"[19]   ~ MP *wār-/wāl-* (M./Z.) (√w̥rd)

A case „in between" is the word for „rose", showing gu$_\underline{n}$ā grade in Pth., but zero grade in MP:

Pth. *wār* „flower" (< **warda-*)   ~ MP *gul* (Z.) (< **w̥da*)

In Modern Iranian, the distinction between zero-grade and gu$_\underline{n}$ā-grade has disappeared. Only the NW languages Zazaki, Gōrānī, āzarī and Tāléšī show clearly regular „northern" developments of *rd* and *rz* (which in the case of *rd* means the loss of *d*), somewhat less clearly the dialects of Semnān:

	āẓ./Tāl.	Zaz.	Gōr.	Semnānī	CKurd.[20]	Pers.
OIr. **rd r*	r	ṙ	ɫ, r (?)	l	ɫ	l
OIr. **rz*	rz	rz	(r)z	l	ɫ	l

Examples (borrowings are indicated by following +):

rd

„heart"	del+/dil+[21]	zeṙī	ziɫ, diɫ+	del+	diɫ+	del
„year"	sor (<*sār)	seṙi	sāɫ	sāl	sāɫ	sāl[22]

rz

„high"	belant+/barz	berz	barz	boland	biɫind	boland
„spleen"	?/siparz	serpez (*-perz)	sipiɫ+	seperz+	sipiɫ	seporz+[23]
„to let, allow"	harz-/?	erz-[24]	āz-	-hl-	hēɫ-	hel-

In all Âẓ., Tāl., Zaz. and Gōr. **rd* is reduced to *r*, in the case of Zazaki alone to a strong „trilled" *ṙ* phonologically different from plain *r*. Unlike in āẓ. and Tāl., in Zaz. the change of **rd* to trilled *ṙ* causes no compensatory lengthening of *a* (as can be seen with the equivalents for „year"). In āẓ., Tāl. and Zaz. **rz* remains unchanged, as basically in Gōr., which however shows in some words velarized ɫ alongside *r* as outcome of **rd*.

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[18] Cf. already H. Reichelt, Iranisch, *Grundriß der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, II: *Die Erforschung der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Bd. IV/2 (Berlin -Leipzig1927), 1-84 p. 59.

[19] It is hardly possible to interpret all these Pth. forms as Persian loans. Another prominent *r/l*-case without an attested Pth. equivalent attested (but with NW equivalents in modern dialects, see below) is the word for „year" MP *sār/sāl* (M./Z.) (Av. sarəd-).

[20] In NKurd. ɫ is replaced by *l*, in some CKurd. dialects (e.g. in Arbil) by *r*.

[21] *Del* must be SW loan due to *d-* < **ǵ(h)* (see above). Gōr. has *ziɫ* (besides *diɫ*) „heart", but preverb *hur-* (~ Av. ərədva-), see MacKenzie, "The origins of Kurdish", p. 77.

[22] The word for „rose" quoted above provides no isogloss here, as all NW dialects have borrowed SW forms in *-l/-ɫ* (āẓ./Tāl. *vel/gul*, Zaz. *vil(ik)*, Gōr. *wilī*, Semn. *vel, gol*, Kd. *guɫ*, note the forms with *w-/v-* borrowed before the SW change *w- > g-*!). The Iranian word for „rose", in its still earlier (or NW) form *ward*, has been borrowed by Armenian and Arabic as well.

[23] This is a NW loan, but cf. ZorMP *spul* "id.".

[24] Zaz. *erz-* [change of meaning] > „to throw"; Gōr. *āz-* with loss of *r* before *z* like in *māz* „spine" < **marz*.

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In other NW dialects, there are some sound changes difficult to account for, e.g. Balūčī *burz* „high", but *il-* „to let"; and in dialects of the Semnānī group, which have *rz* in some words (Semn. *seperz* seems to be a Pers. loan), but *l* in others like the verbs „to rub" (*māl-*) and „to let, allow" (*-hl-*) which are unlikely to be loans[25]. The Kurdish "NW" examples here are few and, as it has been shown that Kurdish has undergone considerable substratum influence by Gōrānī, can probably be explained as loans[26] The majority of the CD (left out above) seem to have regular *l* from both *rd* and *rz*, but the most northern group of CD around Vafs, inclining towards the āzarī group, might be an exception[27]. Altogether it might be concluded that the "NW" outcomes of **rd/*rz* in all these dialects -except Sangesarī, some nothern DC an maybe Balūčī[28]- could be due to loans and that these dialect groups do not regularly share the NW developments of **rd/*rz*.

The isoglosses considered so far may conveniently -and in a simplified form, without question marks- be summarized in the following diagram (please notice that the isoglosses are not in the same order as introduced above):

IE	Pth.	Gōr.	āz.	Zaz.	Tāl.	Semn.	Casp.	Centr.	Bal.	Kurd.	Pers.
*ḱ/*ǵ	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	s/z	h/d
*k(ᵘ)ᵖᵃˡ	-ž-	-ž-	-ž-	-ǰ-	-ž-	ǰ,ž	ˇj-	ˇj,ž,z	ˇj-	-ž-	-z-
*g(ᵘ)(ʰ)ᵖᵃˡ	ž	ž	ž (y-)	ǰ	ž	ǰ,ž	ǰ (z-)	ǰ,ž,z	ǰ	ž	z
*ḱw[29]	?	sip	isb	esp	asb	esp	s	esb	?	s	s
*tr/*tl	hr	(ya)r	(h)r	(hī)r	h(*r)[30]	(h)r	r	r	s	s	s
*d(h)w	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	d	d	d
OIr.**rd/*rz*	r(δ)/rz	ł,r/rz	r/rz	ṙ/rz	r/rz	l/l(rz)	l/l	l/l(rz)	l/l	ł/ł	l/l
*sw	wx	w	h	w	h	x(u)	x(u)	x(u),f	v	x(w)	x(u)
*tw	f	u	u	h	h	h	h	h,(u)	h	h	h
*y-	y-	y-	y-	ǰ-	ǰ-	ǰ-	ǰ-	ǰ-,(y-)	ǰ-	ǰ-	ǰ-

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[25] Sangesarī alone has *-rz-* in *hårz-* „to let" against all other Semn. dialects. Among other things (e.g. *š* as outcome of IE **tr/tl*), this led P. Lecoq (Le classement des langues indo-aryennes occidentales, eds. In C.-H. de Fouchécour and Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Etudes irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Paris 1989, pp. 247-264) to detach Sangesarī from the rest of the Semnānī dialects.

[26] So G. Asatrian and V. Livūic, Origine du système consonantique de la langue Kurde, *Acta Kurdica* I, 1994, p. 97f.

[27] E.g. Vafsī *esbeza*, Âštiyānī *esbərz*, both „spleen" (Moqaddam, *Gūyešhā* ..., p. 32).

[28] Professor Elfenbein, who kindly provided me with more examples of **rd/*rz* in Bal., e.g. *zirdē* (poetical, as against colloquial *dil*) „heart", *barzī* „saddle-bag" (cf. Av. *barziš-* „cushion"), but *pulang* (<**prdɑ̄*) „mountain cat", *ispulk* „spleen", favours *rz* as the „true Balūčī" development of **rz*.

[29] *ǵ(h)w* is absent from this list, as its SW outcome without *-w-* ist attested only in Old Persian (*hizān-* or *hazān-*); the modern dialects all showing the NW form *zabān, zuwān* or the like, it provides no isogloss. The *h-* of Xurī *hezun* [B. Farahvašī, *Vāženāme-ye Xūrī*, Teheran 2535, p. 1] seems to be prothetic, from **ezwān*, rather than etymological.

[30] In the Tālešī dialects of today, the word for „three" is *se*. Miller, *Talyšskij jazyk* (see above), p. 228, however quotes (froman early work of de Morgan) *hai* „three", which can be explained as **hrai*.

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Although this diagram still is very provisional and has gaps some of which may never be filled - it justifies, in my opinion, the assumption of a „scale of northernness" with Parthian at its positive, and the SW languages of today at its negative pole. There is a northern belt of linguistically "northern" languages from Zazaki in the west through Gōrānī, āzarī, Tāleŝī and the Central Dialects to Gīlakī and Semnānī in the east, interrupted and in fact sometimes reduced to small linguistic islands today by (from west to east) Kurdish, Azeri-Turkish and Persian. As we know that the two centers of expansion of New Persian were Khorāsān and Fārs, it is not surprizing that the three dialect groups geographically closest to these regions - viz. the Central, the Caspian and the Semnānī dialects – show less northern traits than do Zaz., Gōr., āz. and Tāl., but still more than Kurdish and Balūčī who apparently have left the bulk of NW-Iranian earlier than the other languages.

In order to define more exactly the position of Zazaki within West Iranian it is appropriate now to turn to morphology. Like most other NW languages of the „northern belt", the dialects of Zazaki show a two-case system of nouns, with an oblique ending generally going back to the Old Iranian genitive ending *-ahya. In Zazaki this oblique ending -ī is only attached to masculines, there being no general feminine oblique ending. But in most Čermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki there is an ending -(e)r sporadically attached to feminine nouns in the oblique case. Its origin is the old stem expansion in *-ar of relationship terms. Zazaki -(e)r, although actually denoting the oblique case of relationship terms of both genders, must in recent times have started spreading to feminines in general, thus making up for the want of a general ending of the feminine oblique[31]:

Zaz. (CS):   *pī* „father", obl. *pēr* (< *piyer* < *pidar* < *pitara*)

               mā(y) „mother", obl. *mār* (< ... < *mātara*)   (fem., +anim., +rel.)

               → *ǰinēk* „woman", obl. *ǰinēker*   (fem., +anim., -rel.)

               → *žīp* „jeep", obl. *žīper*   (fem., -anim., -rel.)

In accordance with its origin, in the Zazaki texts I examined while working on my PhD thesis -(e)r is much more frequently attached to animate than to inanimate feminine nouns: among the former 53% can take the oblique ending -(e)r, among the latter only 14%. An oblique suffix -r is attested in other dialects of the „northern belt" as well. In Gōrānī it is extinct; but in Tāleŝī and Semnānī it still exists in its „etymologically correct" form, attached only to the oblique case of relationship terms:

Tāl. (Māsūle):   *pə* „father", obl. *pār*

                   mā „mother", obl. *moār*

Semnānī: *pia* „father", obl. *piär*

                   bäre „brother", obl. *bärār*

Interestingly in some S-Tātī dialects of Âzarī -r has spread from relationship terms, in a way comparable to that of Zazaki not to *feminine* nouns, but to other nouns denoting *human* beings:

āzarī (S-Tātī: Čālī):   *pia* „father", obl. *piar*

                          teta „daughter". obl. *tetar*   (human, +related)

                          → *cupun* „shepherd", obl. *cupunar*   (human, -related)

When one look for a historical explanation for this, the first thing to say is that neither MP nor Pth. show any *general* ending for the oblique singular of nouns. But Sims-Williams and Skjærvø have shown some 10 years ago[32] that

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[31] In some dialects bordering to the Čermik-Siverek region, -(e)r is confined to relationship terms only. In other dialects, e.g. that of Bingöl, there exists no oblique ending -(e)r.

[32] N. Sims-Williams, Notes on Manichaean Middle Persian morphology, *Studia Iranica* 10 (1981), 165-176; P. O. Skjærvø, Case in inscriptional Middle Persian, inscriptional Parthian and the Pahlavi Psalter, *Studia Iranica* 12 (1983), 47-62; 151-181.

the suffix *-r* in some varieties of MP serves to mark the oblique case of relationship terms (in much the same way as in Tāl. and Semn., see above). Surprisingly, on the other hand, there seems to be no oblique case of relationship terms in Parthian. Although Pth. *pidar* „father", as the only such term, still shows the old *r*-ending, this is a „frozen" form generalized for all possible case functions (just like *pedar* „father" in Modern Persian):

MP   *pid* „father", obl. *pidar;*   *mād* „mother", obl. *mādar*

Pth.   *pidar* „father" (= obl., rct.); *mād* „mother" (= obl., rct.)

             duxt „daughter" (= obl., rct.)[33]

This leads to the still unanswered question of West Iranian dialectology: why Parthian, spoken nearly 2000 years ago, should be in its noun morphology more modern than any one of the closely-related NW dialects spoken today.

As the second morphological feature which I shall investigated here is the formation of present stems in Modern West Iranian. Henning stated already 40 years ago that Zazaki, Tālešī and some āzarī, Semnānī and Caspian dialects derive their present stem from the old present participle ending in **-ant-*[34]. Lecoq already used this isogloss for his study [35], and now I shall take a fresh look at it. The formation of present stems in these dialects „works" as indicated by the following list:

	Zaz. (CS)	āz. (Harz.)	Tāl. (Lenk.)	Semn. (Aft.)	Gīl. (Lāh.)
„to go"	ši-n-	še-nd-	še-d-	še-nn-	šū-n-
„to come"	ye-n-	āmā-nd-	ome-d-	ā-nn-	ā-n-
„to say"	vā-n-	öt-n-	vot-ed-	vā-nn-	gū-n- (PL)
„to see"	vīn-en-	vīn-n-	vīn-d-	(?)	ī-n- (PL)
„to do"	ke-n-	kö-nd-	kerd-ed-	ke-nn-	kū-n- (PL)

Gōrānī is absent at first sight, but Lecoq[36] saw that the hitherto mysterious Gōrānī imperfect infix *-en-* can be explained by the same „thème duratif du présent" *-nt-*[37]. This explanation becomes all the more probable as the Gōr. imperfect is built from the present stem, unlike the other past tenses built from the past stem. A possible counter-argument to this explanation would be the Zazaki imperfect suffix *-ē(n)*, if this should be linked to Gōr. *-en-*[38]. The forms listed above still present some difficulties, e.g. the reduction of *nd* to *n* in some dialects and to *d* in others, or the fact that āz. and Tāl. form the present tense from the past stem for some verbs (e.g. „come" and „say"). But altogether, the occurrence of this formation in at least one dialect of each group points to a common origin. Now comparing W-Ir. present tense formations with **-nt-* (left column) to such ones without **-nt-* (right column, all forms meaning „I go"):

Zaz. (CS)	*ez ši-n-ā*	Pers.	*man mī-rav-am*
āz. (Harz.)	*man še-nd-en*	Lakī	*me ma-č-em*
Tāl.	*az še-d-am*	Kurd.	*ez di-č-im*
Casp. (Gīl.)	*man šū-n-em*	CD (Xuns.)	*mon eš-š-ān*
Semn. (Aft.)	*a še-nn-ī*	CD (Mhll.)	*mun ät-š-ōn*

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[33] There are some "extremely uncommon" Pth. counter-examples, e.g. *pid* „father"; Sims-Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 171, concludes that "it would seem likely that the forms *pidar* ... and *duxt* (...) were generalized in Parthian at an early date".

[34] The ancient language of Azerbaijan, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1954, p. 175.

[35] "Le classement des langues indo-aryennes occidentales", p. 258.

[36] *Ibid*, *en passant* and without references.

[37] E.g. Gōr. *lu-en-* „to go", *-en-* „to come", *wāč-en-* „to say", *wīn-en-* „to see", *kar-en-* „to do" (all: imperfect).

[38] Zaz. *-ēn* (or *-ē* in some dialects), invariably attached to the past stem, forms the imperfect for all persons and numbers (e.g. Zaz. [dial. of Kur] *kewt-ēn* „[I, you ...] fell [several times]").

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Semn. (Sanges.)	*a šu-nd-ī,*

one thing becomes apparent immediately. Those dialects which have not retained and further developed the *-nt-* participle have used other means to form the present tense by attaching *mī-, di-, et-* or the like as modal prefix to the present stem. There are even dialects belonging to one of the NW groups listed lefthand employing modal prefix, e.g.:

Gōr. (Awr.)	*min mi-ɟu*
āz. (S-Tāt.: Tāk.)	*a(z) me-še-m*
Semn.	*a ma-š-īn,*

but they have modal prefix *instead of* *-nt- and thus further confirm the assumption that each dialect has chosen *either* of two ways to build up its present stem. The isogloss seperating *-nt- formations from those with prefix does not exactly work along the SW/NW distinction[39]. This isogloss could therefore be considered less ancient than the phonological isoglosses discussed above, but as it affects a central area of verb formation in which borrowing usually plays no role, it is nevertheless significant[40]. Altogether, in the formation of the present tense in Modern West Iranian, two perfectly complementary morphological strategies can be witnessed, one of which, the present participle in *-nt-,* is confined to almost the same groups of NW dialects as those which have preserved the "relationship-*r*" as oblique marker.

Combining the phonological and the morphological evidence, the findings arrived at so far can be summarized in the following manner.

1. The study of historical phonology shows that Zazaki, besides Gōrānī, āzarī and Tālešī, figures among the „most northern" of the WIranian dialects of today, but in „northernness", if „northern" is understood as „different from (SW) Persian", Zazaki ranks after Gōrānī and āzarī, owing to the development of initial *y-.

2. A number of significant morphological isoglosses, two of which (relationship *-ar, present tense in *-nt) were discussed in some detail, point to a similar northern belt of NW dialects, but with Gōrānī more at the periphery, and the Semnānī group more in the center of „northernness".

3. Both historical phonology and morphology detach Kurdish and Balūčī (and to a lesser degree the heterogeneous Central Dialects) from the rest of the NW. The features seperating Gōrānī from the „core of northernness" should be attributed to Kurdish influence.

If one now tries to translate this summary now into a picture of historical migrations, problematical as this may ever be, the following sketch emerges:

1. In ancient times (late 2nd millenium B.C. approx.) there was a continuum of closely related NW-Ir. dialects spoken from northwest to northeast of present Iran, distinct from the SW-Ir. dialects spoken further south.

2. Later, but still in pre-Achaemenian times, the forefathers of the (NW) Kurds and Balūčs of today were the first to split off to move towards south and southeast respectively. Possibly Zazaki may still have been spoken at this period around the ancient region of *Daylam* south to the Caspian Sea, if *Dimlī* (< *Daylamī* ?), as Zazaki is called today by speakers in some parts of its area, permits to draw this connection.

3. Centuries later, maybe during the rise of the Parthians and the accompanying westward movement of various (mostly NW) tribes from the ancient province of Parthia, the Gōrān and Zaza tribes made their home in northeastern Mesopotamia, forming the furthermost western links in a chain of NWIr. peoples stretching as far as Transoxania.

4. Centuries later, maybe during the Sasanian period, all NW dialects were gradually influenced and superseded by (Middle) Persian (most of all the Central Dialects, being closest to *Fārs*, the center of MP); in the west Zazaki was driven more to the north and northwest by Kurdish, but still remained in contact with the northern chain of NW dialects (āz.-Tāl.-Semn.-[Casp.]) for some longer time. Gōrānī, on the other hand, found itself soon surrounded by a sea of Kurdish, in which it would eventually end up reduced to small language islands, having in its turn exerted a considerable influence on

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[39] There is even a SW dialect combining modal prefix with *-nt-, if *-en- in N-Baškardī *a-kerdén-om* „I am doing" (P. O. Skjærvø in *CLI* p. 367) should be so understood.

[40] The usage of modal prefixes with *m-* in Gōr. (Awr.), āz. (S-Tāt.: Tāk.) and Semn. (see above, as compared to *di-, a-* etc. in „less NW" dialects) raises the question whether these are recent Persian borrowings. The variety of these prefixes in the various dialects (e.g. Semn. *mī-, mā-, ma-*), and the fact that in Gōr., one would rather expect the borrowing (if any), to be from Kd. one (*a-*) should, would speak against this.

southern and central Kurdish dialects[41].

It goes without saying that the time schedule presented here is purely conjectural and probably will always remain so, as there is no extralinguistic evidence which may help to place these movements more exactly in time and place. But it is hoped that these pictures at least serves to illustrate the hypotheses proposed earlier in this paper and to make them more easily comprehensible.

APPENDIX: SOME INTERESTING ZAZAKI WORDS[42]

ādir "fire": Only NW dialect preserving dental *d* from the *t of **ātara-*; other NW dialects have forms like Gōr. (Awr.) *ɜʳ*, Vafsī *āyr*, or like Tāl. *otəš* borrowed from Np. *āteš* < MP *ātaxš* < **āt̬ṛša*; Kd. has *āgir*. As intervocalic *-*t*- usually yields *y* in Zazaki (cf. Zaz. *keye* in n. 42), the *d* of *ādir* might be not etymological but hiatus-deleting, as the *g* in Kd. *āgir* also seems to be.

āqil-hend "blind" („mind-blind") (dial. of Kulp, other Zaz. dialects have *kōr*) ~ Pth. *hand*, Av. *anda-*; Pašto *ṛūnd* "id.", if <**ṛta-anda-*[43] maybe shows a „reinforcing" component **ṛta-* comparable to *āqil*[44].

āwirā "pregnant": only modern NW dialect with NW -*r*- from the *-*hr*- of **ā-puθra- (tanū)* (cf. MP *ābus(tan)*, *ābestan*)

āyām "weather" ~ Pth. *āɣām*, Sogd. *niɣām*, Xwar. *ʾɣmk*, all „time", Av. *gāman-* „step (for measuring)". For the semantic development, cf. Italian *tempo* „time; weather" < Latin *tempus* „time"; for *y* < *g*, cf. Zaz. *āyā* „awake" (MP *āgāh*), Zaz. (Alevi) *niyā-dāyiš* „to observe" (MP *nigāh* „look")

derg "long": only NW dialect to preserve -*g* (~ Av. *darəga-*, MP *dagr* „long" [> NP *dīr*, with change of meaning, „late"]; Tāl. *dəröz* and āz. [Harz.] *döröz* „long" are borrowed from NP *derāz* "id."). After -*r*-, *g* is also preserved in Zaz. *mergi* (fem.) „meadow, pasture" (Av. *marəɣā-*) (not to be confounded with Zaz. *merg* (masc.) „death" ~ MP *marg*). After vowel, *g > Zaz. *y* (see *āyām* above) or *w* (as in *rew* „soon" ~ Av. *raɣav-*, Pth. *raɣ* „swift", cf. Âz. [Ker.] *rav* „soon")

dew "village": only modern dialect (besides S-Tātī *doh, döh*[45]) still showing a reflex of the old velar ending -*u* (OIr. *dahyu "land"> *daʸw > *dew*) (cf. Np. *deh*, āz. [Ker.] + Tāl. *dī* „village")

gānī „necessary" (dial. of Pīrān) ~ Pth. *gawānīg*; in other NW dialects *g(ū)-* „to want" or/and „to have to" (e.g. Semn. *a mä-g-än* „I want"); cf. Sogd. *ɣwʾncyk* (√gu).

gūnī "blood" ~ InscrPth. *gōxan* (Av. *vohunī*) with unexplained *g-* (no other NW dialect has *g-*, e.g. Gōr. *winī*, āz. [Ker.] *vun*, Kd. *xwīn*)

meṟī „mouse": continuing Av. *marəδā-* -?- („eine Landplage Margianes", AirWb.)?[46] (Cf. āz. [Ker.] *mūrā*, Gōr. *miṟa* „mouse"; see above for Zaz. *ṟ*, Âz. *r*, Gōr. *ɬ*<*rd).

pirnike „nose" (Alevi, i.e. northern dialects): explaining Sogd. *prʾynk* „opening of the mouth"?[47] (Incidentally, the „nose" is still missing from the list.) As an etymology, **paranaha-(ya-)ka-* (to **parana-* "in front"[48], cf. OP *paranam*) could be conjectured; or less likely, *pari-naha-ka „(the part) around the nose" (with **naha-* as a shortened form of [Av.] *nāh-* „nose"), from which the Sodg. word could be derived through metathesis (>**pari-(h)anaka-* > *paryank > *parenk*)

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[41] As shown by D. N. MacKenzie in: "The origins of Kurdish' (summariy on p. 85). The westward movement of Turcophone tribes from the NE, travelling along the same route as that of the Partians centuries before and eventually Turcisizing the whole of the ancient province of Âzarbā̆yān, must already have started during the same period.

[42] The vocabulary of Zazaki contains many archaic Iranian lexemes not extant in NP, but most of them are etymologically transparent, e.g. *keynek* „girl" (cf. Av. *kainiiā*, MP *kanī(za)g*), *key(e)* „house" (< **kata-ka-* to root √*kan* „dig", cf. Sogd. *kanθ* „city", MP *kadag* „house", ModPers. *kad-xodā* „house-master"), or at least attested in other W-Ir. languages, e.g. *berm-* „to weep" (~ Pth. *bram-* "id.", cf. Skt. *bhram-* „to flicker"? More words are given in two articles by Vahman/Asatrian and Asatrian mentionend above, p. 164 n. 4). In the following, I confine myself to some less transparent words not dealt with, or not satisfactorily dealt with, so far. Whenever I here speak of Zazaki as „the *only* NW dialect preserving a certain NW trait", this is done with the reservation that for some dialects, our sources are still quite limited.

[43] G. Morgenstierne, *An etymological Vocabulary of Paūto*, Oslo 1927, p. 66.

[44] Professor Sims-Williams kindly drwas my attention to Christian Sogdian *znt* "blind" < **zu-anda-,* with "reinforcing" **zu-* (see N. Sims-Williams, *The Christian Sogdian manuscript C2,* Berlin 1985, p. 60).

[45] J. Âl-e Aḥmad, *Tāt-nešīnhā-ye bolūk-e Zahrā* (Teheran 1958), p. 149.

[46] The meaning of this A. word is unclear. S. Wikander, *Vayu* (Uppsala-Leipzig 1941), pp. 190ff., takes it as an abstract "abusing, mocking"

[47] W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. XXI (London 1940), p. 5f.

[48] Whence Henning, *ibid,* p. 26, explains Pth.(?) *pannīg "forehead".

rey "moment" (some Zaz. dialects) (mostly in combination with suffix *-nā* denoting „one more ...", e.g. *reynā* „once again"; other dialects have *rāy, ri* or other etyma such as *fin, qor* „moment") ~ Av. *ratu-* „period, time" (cf. Zaz. *key* „house" ~ OIr. **kata-*)?[49] Or: *rey* ~ Khotanese *rrāyä* „time" (< **rāti*)?

vistirī "daughter-in-law" ~ S-Tātī (Tāk.) *visite* "husband's sister", <**visa^h-duxtar-* and **visa^h-duxtā* [50]. As Tāk., Zaz. shows a more „original" meaning as compared to MP *wisduxt* „princess", and in this word alone preserves old **duxtar-* (today Zaz. „daughter" = *keynā*). As a feminine noun, *vistirī* can take the fem. oblique ending *-er* originating from "relationship-*r* " (see above) i.e. *vistirī-yer-*, thus showing "double relationship-*r* ".

wesār "springtime" (Alevi dialects: *usār*) <**upa-sarda-* (cf. Tāl. *əvəsor*, Âz. [Harz.] *avasör*, NP *ābsālān*, but Pašto *psarlay* requires **upa-sarada-ka-*). This word might indicate that Zaz. *serī* „year" is not from **sarda-*, but from a secondary form **sr̥da-* not attested in other Iranian languages.

zinǰī "nose" (non-Alevi dialects): the Zaz. dialect exclave of Mutki (close to Bitlis), where *zinǰ* „chin", provides the etymology (**zanaka-*); cf. Semnānī *zunǰī* „mouth", where **zanaka-* has wandered up the face only half as far as in Zaz.

zūrī "lie": only modern WIr. dialect continuing OP *zūrah* „deceit" (but Early Np. [Firdausī] *zūr* „lie").

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[49] In support of his etymology Professor Sims-Williams kindly refers me to Khotanese *bāḍa* "time", Christian Sogdian *prtw* "time, occasion" <**upa-r(a)tu-* (see N. Sims-Williams, *BSOAS* 46, 1983, p.49, with reference to an unpublished suggestion by Martin Schwartz).

[50] W. B. Henning, `he survival of an ancient term, *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à G. Morgenstierne* (Wiesbaden 1964), 95-7, p. 95.