INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a manuscript sent to us for publication and microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. Pages in any manuscript may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. Manuscripts may not always be complete. When it is not possible to obtain missing pages, a note appears to indicate this.

2. When copyrighted materials are removed from the manuscript, a note appears to indicate this.

3. Oversize materials (maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or in black and white paper format.*

4. Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, all photographs are available in black and white standard 35mm slide format.*

*For more information about black and white slides or enlarged paper reproductions, please contact the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

UMI University Microfilms International

8604589

Rahmani, Monireh

ETHNOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GILAKI LANGUAGE

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1985

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1985

by

Rahmani, Monireh

All Rights Reserved

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

ETHNOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE
AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GILAKI LANGUAGE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE COLLEGE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

MONIREH RAHMANI

Norman, Oklahoma

1985

ETHNOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE

AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GILAKI LANGUAGE

Approved By

John A. Dunn

John H. Moore

Dana B. Lancaster

Stephen A. Wurm

Dragan Milivojevic

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

© 1985

MONIREH RAHMANI

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii

CHAPTER page

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Statement of the Problem 1
Language and The National Question 4
LANGUAGE CHANGE IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT . . 6

II. LITERATURE REVIEW 15

Linguistic Classification of Gilaki 26

III. HISTORY 29

Origin of Gilaks 30
History of Contacts 35

IV. THE GILAKI LANGUAGE 48

Introduction 48
Phonology 49
Inventory of Basic Sounds 49
Vowels 49
Consonants 50
Distribution of Sounds 54
Vowels 54
Consonants 56
Consonant Clusters 58
Syllable Structure 63
Phonological Processes 64
Vowels 64
Consonants 66

V. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX 70

Introduction 70
Word Formation 70
Reduplication 70
Compounding 77
Affixation 86
Suffixes 86

The Prefix 91
Infixes 92
Noun Phrase 93
The Noun 93
The Pronoun 94
Personal pronoun 95
Demonstrative Pronouns 95
Interrogative Pronoun 98
Indefinite Pronoun 100
Reflexive Pronouns 101
Noun Modifiers 106
Numerals 106
Determiners 107
Plural 108
Universal Quantifiers 109
Indefinite Quantifiers 109
Relative Clauses 110
The Adjective 110
Comparative Adjective 113
Adpositions (Prepositions and Postpositions) 114
Postposition 115
Prepositions 120
Verb Phrase 121
The Verb 122
Tenses 124
Aspect 130
Modality 133
Negation 139
Passive 140
Verb Modifiers (Adverbs) 141
Adverb of time 141
Locative adverbs 143
Adverb of Manner 144
Adverb of frequency 145
Intensifier adverbs 145
interrogative adverbs 145
Negational Adverbs 146
The Clause 147
The Subject 149
The Object 150
Word Order 152
Order of Modifiers 154
Conjunctions 157
Compound Clauses 160
Deletion of Parts of Speech 162
Direct/Indirect speech 166

VI. ETHNIC POLICIES IN IRAN (1920 TO 1978) 167

Iran and World War I 168
Reza Shah (1925 to 1941) 172
Mohammad Reza Shah (1941 to 1978) 177
National Liberation Movements 178

Neocolonial Policy-Oil Era 182

VII. THE SOCIAL STATUS OF GILAKI 190

Introduction 190
Methodology 191
Investigative Procedures into the Social Status of Gilaki 191

VIII. LANGUAGE CHANGE 214

Introduction 214
Methodology 215
Impacts of Outside Contacts on Gilaki 217
Loanwords (Lexical Borrowing) 217
Loan Translation (calque) 229
Changes in the Sound System: Phonology . 230
Internal Sound Change 232
Morphology and Syntax 235
Stable Parts of Gilaki 241
Phonology 241

IX. CONCLUSIONS 244

Implications 251

Appendix page

A. GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY OF GILAKI WITH OTHER IRANIAN LANGUAGES 254

B. SURVEYS 261

C. 1982 INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE 262

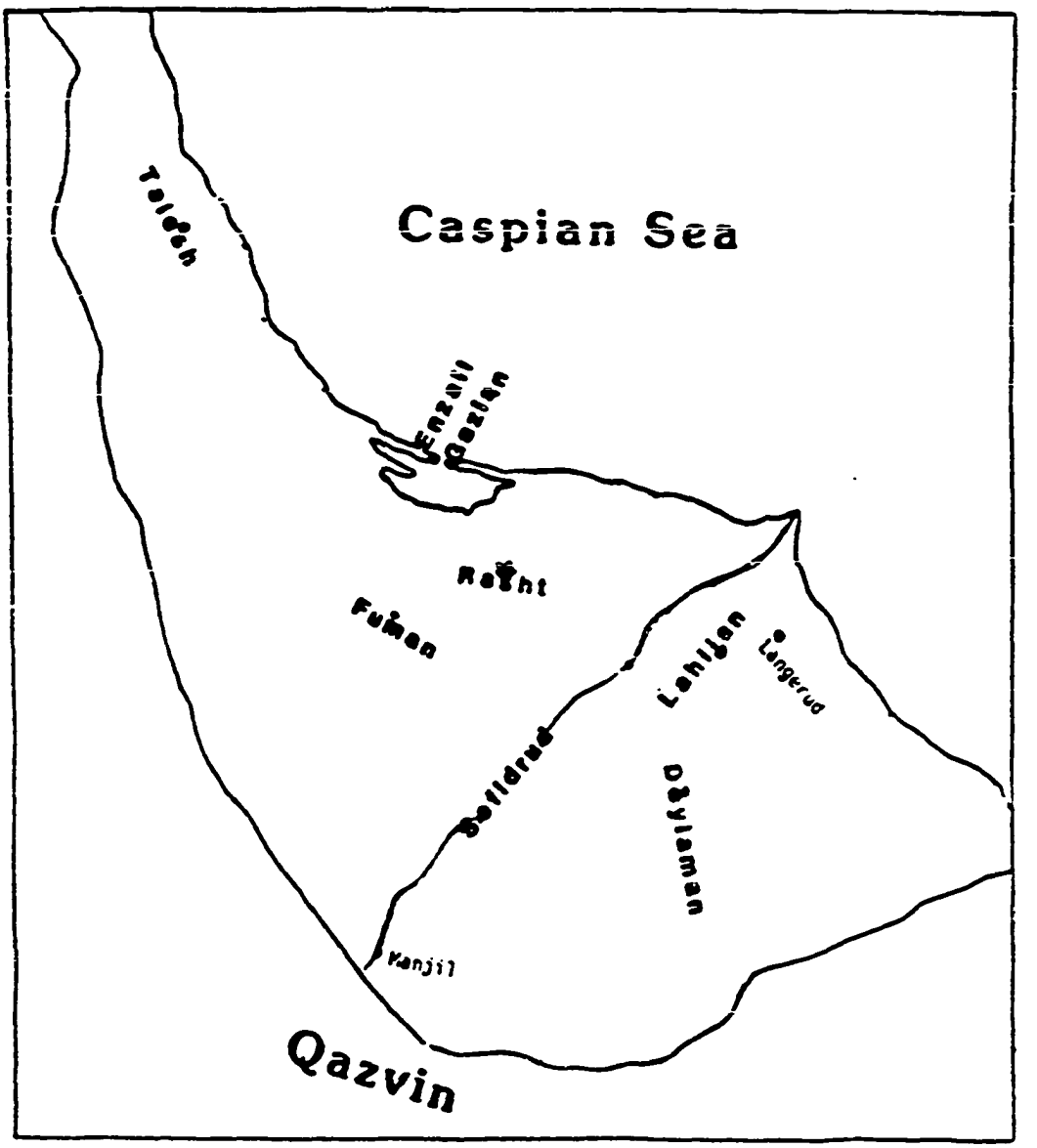
D. TALES 265

BIBLIOGRAPHY 270

LIST OF TABLES

Tables		Page
1.	Correlation of vowels according to different studies on Gilaki	51
2.	Basic consonants of Gilaki	5
3.	Combinations of consonants in medial position	60
4.	Combinations of consonants in final position	61
5.	Noun cases in Gilaki	93
6.	Personal pronouns in Gilaki	95
7.	Demonstrative pronouns in Gilaki	96
8.	Samples of the questions and responses	196
9.	Samples of the questions and answers	197
10.	Samples of the questions and answers	198
11.	Test of Gilaks attitudes toward jokes about them	200
12.	Comparison of Farsi and Gilaki in respect to change	242

USSR
USSR
Turkey
AZARBAIJAN
Kurds
Caspian
sea
Gilaks
Tehran
Turkmans
Mashad
Qom
IRAN
Lurs
Isfahan
Iraq
Arabs
Yazd
Bakhtiaris
Afghanistan
Kuwait
Shiraz
Kerman
Zahedan
Persian
Gulf
Saudi Arabia
Baluchis
Pakistan
U.A.E.
GULF OF OMAN


Caspian Sea
Talesh
Enzali
Gazian
Rasht
Fuman
Lahijan
Langerud
Safidrud
Daylaman
Kanjil
Qazvin

GILAN

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is the result of twenty years of study toward understanding language change and a developing respect for the language and culture of the different ethnic/nationality groups in Iran.

The completion of this dissertation provides me with an opportunity to express my gratitude to a large group of people who have contributed to this work and have supported me in my efforts throughout.

I am deeply grateful to Professor John Dunn for many reasons. It would have been impossible to complete this research without his help. As my teacher he broadened my perspective towards linguistics and as my advisor he patiently and carefully guided me in my research from the beginning in the Fall of 1981 to its completion Summer 1985.

I must express my appreciation to members of my dissertation committee: John Moore, Dragon Milivojevic, Stephen Thompson, and Jane Lancaster, for their encouragement and guidance through this study. I owe particular thanks to John Moore, for his valuable contribution to this study and his theoretical guidance through my years of study at the University of Oklahoma.

I wish to thank the graduate college for providing me with library research funds which enabled me to complete this project.

In addition, I am grateful to my husband Mehdi Foroughirad in a number of ways: as a Gilak (native of Gilan) he has influenced my feelings of respect for the Gilaki language, as my colleague he has worked with me in preparing a Gilaki-English dictionary of about 4500 entries (started in December 1979; this project is still under way), and he has assisted me in performing field work in Rasht and Kosbijar. Above all, I wish to thank him not only for providing me with the books and other literature on Gilaki--he searched in Iran for any available piece of literature about Gilan and Gilaks and mailed them to me--but also for his extraordinary patience and for the financial support that he has given me throughout my years of study in the Untied States.

I have a very special thank you for my son Attila and my daughter, Asmar for their patience, understanding, love, and cooperation through this study, especially Asmar who typed this dissertation.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

During the twentieth century one of the focal points of linguistic anthropology has been the study of language change. Anthropologists believe that language can reveal a people's history even more surely than archaeological materials, and they assume that in language there are live, vivid, and unstable fossils--phonemes, morphemes, sentences-- through which they can study peoples' ancient histories. The linguistic anthropologist's major concern in studying language change is to investigate the distribution of a language and its genetic classification to give insight to population movements, trade relationships, conquests, and other forms of contact between speakers of various idioms.

Gilan, a province in northern Iran, is located on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea and has a population of approximately 1.5 million. Seventy-five percent of the population is Gilak, and their language is Gilaki.

Gilan has been an area of extensive contacts between speakers of different languages, including Turkish (Mongol-

Turks, 1307-1370 A.D.), Russian (1723-1730 A.D.), English, and other European languages. These contacts resulted from conquest, domination, colonization, and trade. Furthermore, the kings of Iran have in the past forcibly exiled to Gilan several different ethnic groups-- Kurds, Armenians ,and Jews.

Gilaki belongs to the northwestern group of Iranian languages. It is especially interesting because it has a different pattern of syntax when compared to other contemporary Iranian languages. It is also unique in respect to its culturally specific terminologies. Gilaki is of interest to sociolinguists because it is considered by non-Gilak Iranians to be "inferior" to Farsi, which is the official language of the Iranian government. It is looked upon as a corrupted form of Farsi by Pars, and its use implies a lack of manliness to Farsi speakers. Because of these attitudes toward it Gilaki has changed more rapidly than other Iranian languages, and it has Farsized since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The above historical and linguistic evidence indicates that Gilan would be a good laboratory for testing the mechanism of language change and the continuity that has maintained throughout contacts with speakers of other languages.

My hypothesis is that sociopolitical pressure has played a major role in language acculturation in Gilan. Furthermore, internal linguistic change and sociopolitical pressure from without interact dynamically to produce change. Thus, a historical and dialectical analysis of the policies pursued by various Iranian governments during the twentieth century as regards national minorities may lead to greater understanding of the mechanism of change.

The purpose of this study, then, is not only to understand Gilaki, but to assess the effects of different forms of contact--material, ideological, spiritual--through conquest, colonization, and migration to determine the more significant factors of Gilaki language change. I also intend to ascertain which parts of the language have undergone the greatest change and which parts have remained the most stable. I hope to give an explanation of some of the cultural differences that obtain between Gilaks and Pars so to promote an understanding of Gilaks that may help to eliminate the condescending attitudes held towards them.

1.2 LANGUAGE AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Language has an important value as a symbol of national and ethnic identity. Language as a basic component of a nation is the product of the nation's course of history. A historical review of multinational societies in the Middle East, indicates that the languages of national minorities have had a parallel development with the formation of nations which is closely tied to the national question.

The development of the national question and language in the Middle-East, especially Iran may be considered in three stages: the first is feudalism and independency or semi-independency of the national/ethnic groups that associate language with cultural autonomy.

The second stage is the period of the establishment of capitalism and the decline of feudalism, the epoch of transformation of many nationalities into a single nation state. In this era colonial powers attempt to consolidate their influence by supporting a central government that represents only one nationality. The newly formed nation is not the objective outcome of the historical formation of a state; rather, it is artificially formed on the basis of prescribed political boundaries, and is usually a blind/narrow nationalist government that must take contradictory positions in regards to the special interests that it pro-

notes. In order to suppress other national minorities within the boundaries of the state and to unify its people around a new prescribed nationalism, the new centralized power plays the role of a nationalistic government promoting national interests, while remaining subservient to outside colonial powers.

This new nationalist government is unconcerned with the social needs of its people; it subordinates all such concerns to a nationalistic posture. However, at the same time it promotes the in-group as being superior in all things and subjugates and neglects the rights of other nationalities within its boundaries. This results in the worst kind of national chauvinism, under which the languages and culture of other national minorities are subjected to humiliation and assertions of their inferiority.

The third stage is the period of the spread of capitalism in search of a homogeneous consumer society and its formation into imperialism. It is the epoch of internationalization of capital and labor in which developed capitalistic powers evolve into a neocolonial system which in turn creates a world market that not only consolidates the nation economically as a consumer community but also establishes economic ties between all nations that ultimately form a world economic system. This leads to cosmopolitanism which

stands against any national unity. It justifies economic and political submissiveness toward the expansionist policies of the great world powers under the pretext of abandoning national differences (Konstantinov et al. 1974:396-401).

Cosmopolitanism results in a homogeneous consumer world of acculturated nations in which prestige is given to the language and culture of the outside dominating powers. The outcome of cosmopolitanism, then, is a neutralization of the language and culture of national minorities and even entire nations. For a detailed explanation of the connection between language and the national question of national minorities see chapter 6 of this study.

1.3 LANGUAGE CHANGE IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Language change has been widely studied, and many scholars have put forth contrasting explanations of the process of change based on their various theoretical positions.

Until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these studies of languages and language change were generally restricted to a comparative approach that was used in the study and reconstruction of Indo-European and other language families. Ferdinand de Saussure (1867-1913), a Swiss linguist, was the first to introduce a major shift in emphasis by turning from the comparative approach to methods

of recording and describing individual languages. He saw each language as a system in which every part relates to every other part. However, his view of language change was as a process

> applying not directly to the system as a whole but only to individual elements of it , and this in completely unmotivated and fortuitous fashion. As a result, although each individual change will bring about a new synchronic system capable of description in structuralist terms, there is no such meaningful relationship between successive language states and language change is therefore not amenable to description in terms of the systems. (Jakobson 1972a:122)

American structuralists Bloomfield (1933) and Hockett (1958) maintain that linguistic change is too slow to be directly observable over a relatively short period of time. They view language as distinct and separable from other systems of behavior, and they describe a language without any particular reference to the social context in which speaking takes place. In summary, they view change as various utterances with no temporal, spatial, or social order.

On the other hand sociolinguists view language as "a form of social behavior" (Labov 1972a:183), and they investigate language change in its social contexts giving close attention to social factors and the use of actual performance data in explaining change. They maintain that the study of ongoing change is a practical strategy to use in interpreting historical changes that have taken place.

The various areas of sociolinguistics are: microlinguistics, which deals with the variation in language within a speech community in relation to sex, age, education, national origin, and groups which comprise the sociological makeup of the community and macrolinguistics which deals with large-scale social factors such as "the sociology of language" and the mutual interaction with languages and dialects. Fishman (1972: 1) says:

> the sociology of a language examines the interaction between ... two aspects of human behavior: use of language and the social organization of behavior.... The sociology of language focuses upon the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behavior, including not only language usage per se but also attitudes, overt behavior toward language, and toward language users.

Scholars in this area of sociolinguistics (Fishman 1969; Bell 1976) attempt to deal with many practical problems associated with language planning, bilingualism, standardization of language, and rapid change or assimilation of minority languages. It is this perspective of sociolinguistics that I will apply in this study.

Historical linguists (Lehman 1962, 1982; Bynon 1977) have added a historical (diachronic) dimension to the investigation of language change. They believe that language change can be studied over time as a system in continuity and are interested in the history and development of certain languages or groups of languages.

> A two-fold strategy for the investigation of language change is necessary: Firstly we must study its results as abstracted from the grammatical description of successive language states; and,...of related languages; and secondly we must investigate the actual process of change as an ongoing phenomenon through the methods of sociolinguistic analysis. (Bynon 1977:6)

Historical linguists use the diachronic rules in analyzing the correlation between language change and social geographical space, including contacts between different languages through trade, migration, and domination. They concern themselves with the impacts of these factors on a language that takes such forms as loan words, loan translation, semantic extension, etc.

The historical approach provides a complete method to investigate language change, and I will apply it to the investigation of change in Gilaki. But to be able to understand Gilaki and Gilak culture I intend to use a more holistic approach (anthropological) to give insight into the cultural values, the "world view" of the people. An anthropological approach toward linguistics may help to verify a people's rules of etiquette. "How do they greet, advise, encourage, praise, or insult one another. What are their prayers, orations, jokes, and poetry really like?" (Hickerson 1980:5). Linguistic study from an anthropological perspective was first promoted by Franz Boas. His "In-

troduction" in The Handbook of American Indian Languages (1911) is based on the relevance of linguistic study to anthropology. He recognizes the close connection between language and thought and points out that there are "unconscious phenomena" such as the classification of ideas and their expression that are apparent in the metaphorical use of terms that can only be approached through the study of language. (Boaz 1911)

Bronislaw Malinowski (1889-1942), a British social anthropologist, emphasized the importance of language for field ethnology to his methodology for cultural research. In his study of Melanesia. Malinowski (1922) characterized the "verbatim recording" of native terminology as "ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folklore, and magical formula" which should be specifically valuable as documents of native thought to supplement the cultural study of people.

Benjamin Whorf's hypothesis is based on the assumption that there is a close connection between language and culture, and that the study of a language gives an indication of the "world view"--utilized by speakers of the language. Edward Sapir, famous cultural anthropologist and linguist, held the same view. But, Whorf (1941) further argued that different forms of the verb in different languages

go beyond the language itself and relate to differences in ways of thinking and perceiving which he called the "thought world" of an individual or the microcosm that each man carries within himself.

The anthropological study of a language is a two way approach: First, it helps to understand culture from language; second, it verifies "the way language is affected by the rest of the culture" (Burling 1970:v).

> Points of cultural emphasis are usually reflected in language through the size, specialization, and differentiation of vocabulary. That is, there are more separate terms, more fine distinctions made in reference to features of an environment or culture with which the speakers are the most concerned. There are fewer terms and they tend to be more generalized when they refer to features which are given less cultural emphasis. (Hickerson 1980:108)

"Cultural emphasis" may refer to environment such as do the many specialized terms relating to snow, ice, and seals in the Eskimo language (Boas 1911); or it may indicate economic factors such as the more than 100 specialized terms that relate to fish, rice, and rice farming in Gilaki. Another example of strong economic emphasis in language is reported by E. Evans-Prichard (1940) on the Nuer of East Africa. The language of the Nuer is a reflection of their interest, appreciation, and concern for cattle. Terms for cattle are used as individual names and terms of praise which reflects their outlook in a life dominated by pastoralism.

In other areas terms that show cultural emphasis are based on religious ideology; examples of this have been reported by many anthropologists. For a discussion of cultural emphasis on ideology see chapter 8 of this work.

In summary, the subject matter here is the ethnography of change in the Gilaki language, and while it is beyond the scope of this study to develop a ground theory of language change, I will attempt to identify the problem areas in language change and apply an ethnographical approach to their solution.

Data for this study were gathered during two periods of fieldwork in Iran, the first in 1979, when I was privileged to have access to a large Gilak community in Tehran. There I conducted a series of interviews with Gilaks from three age groups: grandparents, parents, and children. The second and final part of this research was done in 1982 when I visited Gilan and interviewed forty-seven other Gilaks. My intention was to make a comprehensive analysis of Gilaki national feeling during the three years following the revolution of 1979. To test their attitudes toward Gilaks I also interviewed fifty Tehranis in 1982.

In addition to my two periods in the field, I have had six Gilaki informant students in the United States whom I have used to compare the form and degree of their linguis-

tic acculturation to Gilaks in Iran. I have also conducted library research for a complete review of the literature on this subject. Finally, I have supplemented field study and library research with extensive reading in the literature, folklore, and songs of the Gilaks.

To put Gilaki in perspective, chapter 2 deals with the classification of Gilaki and a review of the pertinent literature.

Chapter 3 covers the geography and history of Gilan and discusses the history of contacts between Gilaks and members of other linguistic groups through trade, conquest, domination, etc.

An investigation of any language change is not possible without a careful description of the language. Since none of the studies on Gilaki provides a complete analysis, I intend to do a careful and complete descriptive analysis of the language. Thus, chapters 4 and 5 deal with phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Chapter 6 is a brief modern history of Iran from the beginning of the twentieth century. It includes a historical and dialectical analysis of the ethnic policies of the governments of Iran and their impact on the languages of national minorities.

Chapter 7 will focus on a descriptive sociology of the Gilaki language. I will explore what accounts for the shift in language use norms and identify the overt behavior towards Gilaki and Gilaks.

Chapter 8 will focus on the interplay between social, ideological, and linguistic factors that have affected language change in Gilan, especially during the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present time.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on the Gilaki language are numerous and date back to the eighteenth century. Here, however, only major works of interest and primary sources may be mentioned.

The earliest of these works done on Gilaki is Travels in Russia written in 1775 by S.G. Gmelin, a Russian scholar who visited Gilan during his travels through the Caucasus and to the south shore of the Caspian Sea. He recorded the names of animals and plants in Gilaki.

In 1842 Alexander Chodzko wrote Specimens of the Popular Poetry in Persia. This work includes a chapter entitled "Popular Songs of the Inhabitants of the Southern Coast of the Caspian Sea." These songs were part of a corpus of unwritten Asiatic poetry that were, in the main, part of the oral traditions of the inhabitants of Iran and the coast of the Caspian Sea. He collected them during different periods of his eleven year stay in those areas "from oral communications with the people generally, the lower classes, who did not know how to read or write" (Chodzko 1842:vii). Chodzko's work includes Gilaki songs and their

translations from Gilaki into English as well as climatological and anthropological information about the region and a small Gilaki-English word list.

Chodzko organized the songs into three general dialectical categories: the Taulish dialect, spoken from the desert of Moghan to the mouth of the river Dinachal, separating the Gilan district of Rasht from that of Gasker: the Ghilek (Gilaki) dialect, spoken along the Caspian coast from the Dinachal to the mouth of the river Pilorud (big river); and finally the Mazandarani dialect, used from the river Pilorud to the mouth of the river Karassou.

In his analysis of Gilaki, Chodzko indicates that the Zend language in ancient Persia had been widely used and can be traced by comparing the purely Zend or Sanscrit words with Gilaki, Farsi, and Taulishi. In order to substantiate the relationship between Zend, Gilaki, and Farsi, Chodzko surveys the toponomy of the region and compares the similarities among the still existing place names. He uses "different species of lemons and orange trees, distinguished by special names in order to point out a remarkable circumstance that all these fruits are known in India under the same appellations" (1842: 457-60). He concludes that Zend was spoken by all Persians not just a privileged class but also by "ignorant foresters of Ghilan and Mazandaran" (1842:461).

One apparent mistake in Chodzko's analysis is his claim that certain Gilaki lexemes have become obsolete in modern Farsi, however, these same words are usually Gilaki specific and are still commonly used by Gilaki speakers. Therefore, lexemes that he thought to be "obsolete" in modern Farsi may not be Farsi at all and might never have been a part of the Farsi lexicon. As an Iranian national who has had long access to Farsi and Gilaki speakers, I have never known a Farsi speaker to use any of these words. I have asked many Farsi speakers to identify some of Chodzko's "obsolete" Farsi words, and none whom I consulted were able to give meanings for them. Following is a partial list of the lexemes in question.

ɔšpɘl	'red-fish/roe'
åɣoz	'walnut'
gos/zkɘ	'frog'
labt/dan	'rope'
záak	'child'
ǰukul	'unripe rice'

Another shortcoming in Chodzko's analysis is that he attempted to use modern Farsi syntax as a model in his analysis of Gilaki data. However, when he found the post-position noun order of Gilaki he believed that it was based on Turkish. For example he analyses the Gilaki sentence:

biǰar sər-ɔ-dar

rice field on/at tree

'The tree in the rice field.'

And says:

> A strange inversion; according to the rules of modern Persian syntax, it ought to be constructed i dara-sara-bijar.... Similar inversions happen very often in Ghilaki and demonstrate how considerably this idiom was influenced by Turkish. (1842:537-538)

There are further examples of his misinterpretation; he applies the possessive adjective to the same Farsi syntax model and again concludes that Gilaki word order represents the influence of Turkish syntax. For example:

Gilaki	Farsi
mi aɣa	aɣay-e-mæn
my boss, mister	mister liaison
	'my mister'
mi bərarə kəš	àɣuš-e-bæradær-e-mæn
my brother's bosom	bosom of brother of me
	'my brother's bosom'
ti dimə	surat-e-to
your face	face of you 'your face'

There will be an explanation for Chodzko's interpretation of Gilaki syntax below in chapter 8.

During the years 1860 and 1861 B.A. Dorn, a Russian scholar who was an expert on Iran, collected Gilaki data from the cities of Rasht, Lahijan, and Fuman. His data in-

clude poetry, the translation of Farsi stories into Gilaki, a Farsi-Gilaki glossary, and a grammatical outline of Gilaki.

In a publication dated 1898-1901, W. Geiger published his essay entitled "Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen." Geiger's work summarizes that of many earlier researchers such as B. Dorn (1860-61), G. Helgounof (1868), I. Beresine (1853), A. Chodzko (1842), and Gmelin (1775) and is, therefore, a major contribution to the study of Caspian languages, especially Gilaki. He compares the characteristics of all Caspian languages such as Mazandarani, Gilaki, Talyshi, Tati, and Semnani with Farsi. He also summarizes the data on phonetics and grammar in Gilaki that had been gathered by researchers from the late eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century.

Although Geiger's work is the best source for the available information on Gilaki at the turn of the century, there are several problems with it. The Gilaki sound system is not represented in modern phonetic orthography, and further, some confusion in his representation of Gilaki phonology results, especially in his interpretation of the vowels since he is not consistent in the symbols he uses in the texts. From a grammatical point of view, there are many other shortcomings. For instance, the possessive case for

personal nouns has not been given, the lexicon is very limited, and entries have not been used in sentences for contextual meaning.

A more recent contribution to the study of Gilaki is the 1930 Contributions a la Dialectologie Iranienne by the Danish scholar A. Christensen who collected all of his data while he was in Iran (Gilan) during the year of 1929. The book contains a brief but careful description of the Gilaki sound system, the grammatical structure of Gilaki, several short stories in Gilaki, three poems, and a short word list in the Rashty dialect. Further, he added a small systematic vocabulary that compares Gilaki with the Iranian dialect of Farizandi, Yarani, and Natanzi translated into Farsi and French. Finally he gives a list of the main verbs in which all verbal forms are accounted for in paradigm with their system of declensions. Although the recorded texts are given in a phonological system, the vowels are still not clearly presented.

In 1954 Manuchehr Sotudeh published the first extensive Gilaki- Farsi dictionary in Iran. It has about 4600 words that were collected during his years of contact (1941-1953) with Gilaki speakers. In some cases a full interpretation of each word is given, and he has even included illustrations for birds specific to the region of Gilan.

The Gilaki vocabulary is written in Arabic orthography with transcriptions on Latin bases, and since he collected his data in different regions of Gilan, he notes the provenience of each lexeme. It is an admirable and useful work from an ecological and a cultural perspective. It includes almost all the Gilaki terms that refer to regional environment and Gilak material culture plus descriptions of some folk games specific to Gilaks.

However, Sotudeh's work contains many redundancies and is not a complete lexicon of Gilaki because he included data only on Gilaki words with which he personally was not familiar.

Again from a phonetic perspective, the work lacks the necessary information since it is written in an Arabic/Farsi orthography and based on the Arabic/Farsi phonemic system. Only a few words have been used in sentences, so most are given in isolation with no information about syntax.

Among the major contributions to the study of the Gilaki language by linguists in the U.S.S.R. are an article by V.S. Sokolova in T.N. Paxalina's Gilianskii Yazik(The Gilaki Language) (1957), the dissertation of V.I. Zavialova Fonetika Gilianskovo i Mazanderanskovo Yazikov, Ahtoref (Phonetics of the Gilaki and Mazandarani Languages) (1955),

and a 1956 article by Zavialova entitled Novie Sevedeniya Po Fonetika Iranskix Yazikov. Gilianskii i Mazanderanskii Yazikii (New Information on the Phonetics of Iranian Languages, the Gilaki and Mazandarani languages) based on her dissertation.

Publications during the 1950s by local writers have helped the people of Gilan to preserve their language in spite of the acute socio-political pressures brought against the retention of Gilaki. Chalangar and Porough were two popular journals which dealt with the problems of laborers and peasants. They were both written in Gilaki with a modified Arabic orthography and made a great contribution to the spread of Gilaki poems and idiom.

L. Mobaseri has also published a collection of songs with musical notation (Ahangha 1959). Poems in Gilaki can also be found on five pages of an 1981 manuscript that has been edited by M. Mohaqeq (1959).

Other articles by Sotudeh have been published: "The Winds of Gilan," "The Names of Fish," and songs and poems published by Sotudeh and E. Seraj (Afshar 1961: nos. 4183-4211).

Keshavarz's work Gilan (1963) has a section on the Gilaki language that includes a brief explanation about its typology, the origin of the name Gilan, and some remarks on Gilaki grammar.

Finally P. Maciani (1964-65) has written four articles on this language as spoken in a village in Rudsar which includes phonetics, stories, names of the months, and a glossary in transcription. These are all Iranian scholars who have added to the extensive knowledge of Gilaki.

From 1964 to 1966 another group of linguists in the Iranian study sector of the Linguistic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (A.A. Kerimova, V.S. Rastorgoeva, A.K. Mamedzade, L.A. Pireiko, and D.E. Edelman) gathered data for Giljanskii Yazik (the Gilaki language) from Gilaki informants, natives from Rasht, who were living in Moscow. Their work consists of the Gilaki sound system, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. It also gives twenty separate texts written in Gilaki and a basic vocabulary that compares some Gilaki lexemes with those of other Iranian languages such as Tati, Taleshi, Kurdi, Parsi, Avestan, and Baluchi. Included are also Gilaki lexical borrowings from French, Turkish, Arabic, Russian, and Azarbaijani. The book is a complete descriptive analysis of the Gilaki language with one serious flaw, the description of the sound system fails to consider the velar nasal /ŋ/. Another shortcoming is that, with the exception of the last two, the texts do not represent the speech of the rural, uneducated, or poorly educated people in Gilan. They are largely based on the speech of the mid-

dle class and are limited to the Rashty dialect that has been most susceptible to change.

Eva Apor, a Hungarian scholar who collected verses in Gilaki from Langrudi (a city in Gilan) during 1971 presented them in phonetic transcriptions of great accuracy. The article includes an English translation of the verses and a glossary.

More recently, in 1980, the section of Iranian Languages at the Institute of Linguistics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences has published the Gilianski-Russki Slovar with a Russian-Gilaki index. The data for this dictionary were partially taken from the materials in the texts of Gilianski Yazik and other works by Soviet linguists. This Gilaki-Russian Dictionary has 10,000 entries which cover not only Gilaki but Farsi and Arabic. In fact, over 50 percent of the reported lexemes are not Gilaki specific at all but are loan words from Farsi and modified Arabic. However, it not only gives individual terms but explains their functions. It discusses Gilaki morphology including morphemes, affixes, word endings, and their places in Gilaki syntax by using them in phrases and sentences so that the function of these words is clarified. It also gives the phonetic variation of lexemes found in Gilaki. No doubt, it is a great contribution to the study of the Gilaki language, but, again, it

covers only the Bashty dialect as it is spoken by middle class and educated Gilaks. Therefore, it does not represent all spoken dialects in Gilan, and the /ʔ/ is still not mentioned.

Another study of Gilaki as a Gilaki-English dictionary compiled by Mehdi Poroughirad and me. We began to collect the data for this work in 1979, and the project is still incomplete. Through our collection of Gilaki lexemes, we have so far been able to compile a dictionary of about 4,500 words.

I, too, have decided to focus mainly on the Bashty dialect in this study, since there is such wide dialectical diversity in Gilan, but this study represents a variety of speech patterns elicited from all social classes. For some parts of the vocabulary I did consult speakers from other areas of Gilan including those of the village Xosbijar and others who reside near Rasht. The speakers who live in these villages are linguistically more conservative than those that live in other areas of Gilan. Each lexeme is given phonetically as it is pronounced by at least four different informants according to their age, sex, and education.

As we have seen, there are many studies on Gilaki that have been done by linguists. They are generally con-

cerned with the formal description of the language, including its structure, phonology, and lexicon and include the complex grammatical system which relates sound and meaning. Still, all of these studies do not provide a complete descriptive analysis of Gilaki.

2.1 LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF GILAKI

Several approaches have been used to classify the Gilaki language. Some studies have classified Gilaki along with western Iranian languages. Voegelin (1977:183), grouping Iranian languages indicates "Comparative linguistic evidence reflects an earlier split from Proto-Iranian into languages which are now classified as Eastern and Western rather than paths of descent." He goes on to place Gilaki among western Iranian languages in the northwestern type subgroup. Other linguists Parahvashi (1965:1), Rastorgoeva et al. (1971 and 1980), The Great Soviet Encyclopedia and Christensen (1930:3) support that view.

Some scholars, who consider Gilaks to be non-Aryan from a genealogical point of view, make a distinction between language classification and genealogical classification. Piguloskaya et al. (1975:205) believe that "Gilan and Deylaman were occupied by two local groups who spoke a specific language of the Iranian languages."

Geiger (1903:346-348) has classified Gilaki as a subgroup of the Caspian languages with Mazandarani, Tati, Taleshi, and Semnani in "Der Kaspischen Dialekte." He adds that the Lahijani dialect varies slightly from the Gilaki language. Thomas A. Sebeok (1970:111) has classified Gilaki along with Mazandarani as a Caspian dialect. Christensen (1930:3) places Gilaki among the northwestern dialects spoken by people on the Caspian Sea littoral.

Some researchers believe that Gilaki originated from Zend (the transcription and exposition of the Avesta in the literary Pahlavi language) and Farsi.

According to Chodzko (1848:453-454) the:

> idioms, or different patois, spoken by these nations (inhabiting the southern coasts of the Caspian Sea), seem all to have a zendo-Persian origin, mingled more or less with Turkish alloy; and, in some degree, vary in almost every village of the different districts of Gilan and Mazandaran. They, however, can be classified in three general divisions: The Taulish (Talesh) dialect, The Ghilak dialect, The Mazandaran dialect.

Still others have considered Gilaki to be a dialect of Farsi. Rabino (1916-17:33) views "Gilaki as a dialect which is more rapid and less vocalic than other Farsi dialects in other regions of Iran. It varies in different parts of Gilan."

Sotudeh (1957:7) considers Gilaki to be one of the local Iranian dialects, and he refers to Gilaki as one of

the languages spoken in the land of Gilan. He divides Gilaki into two dialects: 1) Gilaki Bi p s (Rasht) which is spoken in a part of Gilan that is located in West Sefidrud and 2) Gilaki Bi pis (Lahijan) which is spoken by people in East Sefidrud (White River).

Keshavarz (1977:70) asserts:

> we did not use [the term] 'language,' or 'dialect' and 'guyesh' (dialect) for Gilaki on purpose, because there is a controversy between linguists on the definition of the understanding of 'language' and 'dialect.' Some scientists do not consider 'a language' the dialect which does not have written literature. Some call 'language' only the language which is recognized by a government but do not consider 'a language' a speech which is spoken by hundreds of thousands and for any reason has not been recognized... and they call it 'lahje' (dialect) or guyesh (dialect).

To draw my own conclusions in relation to all of these studies, I undertook a glottochronology (lexical comparison) of several Iranian languages: Parsi, Kurdi, Gilaki, and Mazandarani. The result indicates that, Gilaki is closer to Parsi than any of the other languages mentioned. For more detail on the above see Appendix A.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY

Gilan (Jilan) is a province in the north of Iran, located at 36 28" to 38 11" north latitude and 48 44" to 50 32" east longitude on the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea. Gilan is bordered on the south by the Elborz mountains and Qazvin, on the east by Mazandaran, and on the west by Azarbaijan.

Situated 25 meters below sea level, it has lush green forests, a heavy rainfall, rice paddies, and sandy beaches and is a pleasant place in contrast to many other parts of Iran which are either arid deserts or high barren mountains. This unique environmental situation has played a major role in shaping Gilaki language and culture.

Gilan, occupies approximately 15,000 square kilometers and is heavily populated in comparison to other provinces of Iran, although there are no exact statistics available. If there has been a census conducted since the 1979 revolution, it is not currently available. The most recent statistics are from The Plan and Budget Organization Statistical Center of Iran census which indicates a population of 1,578,000 in 1976/77.

Rasht, with a population of about (144,000) is the major city and the cultural center of Gilan. Other important cities in Gilan are Lahijan, Fuman, and the port-city of Enzali.

The indigenous people of Gilan are called Gilaks, and make up 70 percent of Gilan's population.

3.1 ORIGIN OF GILAKS

Various approaches have been used to try to determine the origin of Giaks; (1) physical/anthropological; (2) and historical. Using a physical/anthropological perspective, Alexyev (1977: 67) argues that the Caspian type is one of four distinctive anthropological types in the Caucasus area: Included in this typology are the "Pontian, in the western regins of the North Caucasus and near the Black sea; the Caucasionic, in the central foothills of the Caucasus; Armenoid, or Near_Asiatic in Georgia and Armenia; and the Caspian, in Azarbaijan and south Daghestan. "Each of these types is characterized primarily by a specific morphology so distinct that in most cases a representative of any of these types can be identified at once by the complex of characteristics he possesses".

Using a historical perspective, many scholars have discussed the Gels/Gelae, Kadusi, Caspian, and Amardan tribes, but each has his own interpretation as to their origin and relationship. Some believe that Gilaks along with Mazandaranis were indigenous to the region before the Aryan tribes came to Iran from the East and that their sedentary civilization was even more advanced than that of the intruding nomadic Aryans.

> In antiquity, four tribes were living around the sea of Gilan and Mazandaran when the Aryan tribes came to Iran. The four tribes were the: 1) The 'Brudian' tribe or 'Mazuyan' which occupied the area on the west shore. The term Mazandaran is derived from the name of this tribe. 2) The 'Tabury' tribe occupied the area on the northeastern part; Tabarestan is derived from the name of the tribe. 3) The "Jel" or "Gel" tribe which occupied the area from the Sefid (Uzun) river to Lobar. Jilan or Gilan is named after them. 4) The 'Kaduzi' tribe which occupied the area from Lobar to Lankaran; now it has been replaced by the Tavalesh [plural for Talesh]. (Lahijani n.d.: 15)

He adds that, except for a few scattered settlements, only those four places around the Xazar (Caspian) Sea were settled, and these groups, did not owe allegiance to the Aryan kings. They remained independent or sometimes semi-independent by paying tribute, and in doing so they were able to preserve their identities (Lahijani N.D.: 16).

Mashkur (1966: 13) in his introduction to Marashi's work refers to "Tapors as Caspis and Mards (Amards) as pre-Aryan nations which were pushed to the high mountains by Iranian immigrants." (1966: 13).

Tabari (1970: 13) agrees with Lahijani that the Gilaks predated the Aryans in the area. He says that when "the Aryan tribes came to Iran from the east and northeastern parts of Iran, non-Aryan tribes were living in Iran. . . . These tribes such as Tapirs, Bards, Kadusis, and Caspis were in the north."

Pirnia refers to other researchers who also considered the Kadusis to be among the Pre-Aryan groups who lived in Iran.

Other historians refer to the tribes located at the southern edge of the Xazar (Caspian) Sea as being independent kingdoms in ancient time such as the "Caspian, Kadusian, Gelan tribes who lived in the northern parts of the Median kingdom at 3000 B.P.. (Diakunov 1956:85)

Bartolet (1915) refers to small independent kingdoms and tribes indigenous to the southern regions of the Xazar (Caspian) Sea who were called Gels, Kadusian, Amardan, and Caspian by Greek authors in 150 B.C.

Other historians use the name Caspian as the common denominator for all tribes living on the southern shores of the Xazar (Caspian) Sea. Strabo who lived at the time of Christ refers to these tribes as Airkanis, Amardan, Anariakan (non Aryan), Kadusian, and Utian. He adds that a tribe called Caspian did not exist at his time. Rather it may

have been the common name for non-Indo-European tribes located there.

Geiger classifies Gilaks among the Caspian tribal groups. He cites Herodet (7:67) who mentions "the Caspians in the army of Xerxes, who were dressed with hides and equipped with swords and bows and a wild tribe named Amardan or Mardar lived further in the west in the Elborz mountains" (Geiger 1903: 346).

Some historians believe that the Kadusis were the ancestors of the Gilaks. H. Rawilson says that in antiquity the mountains north and south of the Sefid Rud (White River) was the home of the powerful Kadusi tribe who, at different times, were living in Khalkhal and the two Taroms.

Pigulevskaya et al. (1957:36) refer to the Gilaks as a warlike mountain tribe, the Karduxian (Kardusian), that lived in the area surrounded by Asur, Made, and Armenia in 405 B.C. They revolted against Darius II and later Ardesir III.

Other historians believe that the Gils and Kadusis were two separate tribes or two sections of a single tribe. Geiger (1903:347), refers to "Strabo (508-510) who mentioned the Kadusians next to the Gelan tribe..." But Plinus believed that the Kadusis and the Gelans were identical, and all tribes living on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea were called Caspians.

Some historians believe that Kadusis are people whom we call Deylams. But Geiger points out that "in the work of Arab geographers the names of Deylams and Gelan appear to be related. Some believe that the Gels were those who lived in the flat part of the area, and Deylams referred to those of the mountain." (Geiger 1903: 346)

Rabino (1916-17:18) states that in the 4th century A.D. Gilan, the eastern mountain provinces, and all along the Xazar Sea, Tabarestan, Djordjan, and Qoumis comprised the Deylam province. But in recent centuries eastern provinces have been separated. The name of Deylam disappeared as the independence of the area was lost and the delta of the Sefid Rud (White River) gave its name to the whole district and was called the province of Djilan. But Djilan (Gilan) was used specifically for the shores around the Caspian and Deylaman was used for the mountain area. But in different periods of time this name has been used sometimes to refer to the one and sometimes to the other.

Geiger (1903:346) says at the turn of the century that two thirds of Gilan's population was probably descendents of the old Gelan tribe. Their external appearance differs from that of the Parsis who lived among them.

From all of the above we may conclude that the Amards, Gels/Kadusis, and Caspians are the ancestors of the

people living in Gilan and Deylaman today. One point that all historians and linguists so far have agreed on is that Gilaks are descendants of the Gil/Gel/Jil tribes who lived around the Caspian Sea. Gilaks are indigenous people of Gilan, who have been living in the southern shores of the Xazar (Caspian) Sea from antiquity. They predate Aryans, and they have had their own language, culture, and ethnic characteristics.

3.2 HISTORY OF CONTACTS

The history of Gilan reveals the area to be a place of contact between several languages including , Arabic, Turkish (Mongols), Azarbaijani, Farsi, Russian, English, Armenian, Kurdish, and many others. Linguistic contacts have been made through invasion, domination, trade, and displacement. From a chronological perspective, the history of contacts may be divided into three phases: the pre-colonial era (from Arabs invasion to the sixteenth century), the colonial era (from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century), and the neocolonial era (from the late nineteenth century to the present). At each stage of its history Gilan has had its own specific pattern that paralleled the historic and economic development of all the peoples involved.

Historical data indicate that the Gels or Jil/ Kadusi tribes, ancestors of present day Gilaks were independent during the reign of Shapur the First the Sasanid who had an alliance treaty with their chief Balerus, or Balenus The family of Djasnafshah ruled in Mazandaran from 330 B.C.-491 A.D. and extended their authority to Gilan

By 651 A.D. Iran was no longer an independent country; it had been conquered by Arabs. But the Arabs had special problems with freedom-loving people who resisted them in the mountain areas of Gilan (Deylam). Arabs invaded Gilan and Deyalm several times but they were never conquered by Arabs. Therefore, the area was not exposed to Islam until the ninth century A.D. when during the second half of that century, Islam (Shiite) was brought to Gilan and Deylam by Ali's descendants (Alavis) who, fleeing from the Caliphs, had taken refuge in Gilan-Deylam. Later, they established the independent Shiite government of Alavis in Gilan and Deyalm. This dynasty lasted until 928 A.D. until this time Deylam and Gilan had been independent or semi-independent but governed by local rulers.

Mongols invaded Iran around 1220 A.D. and were able to occupy most of Iran by the second half of the thirteenth century.

> Holakuxan the Mongol king in Iran dominated the Eastern coasts of Xazar Sea to the border of Xazar (Caspian) Sea with the Qezel Ordu. The Xazar Sea

> was considered the northern border of Holaku Dynasty. And only the small district of Gilan--close to the coasts of the Xazar Sea preserved its independence. (Pigulevskaya et al. 1957: 344)

By 1307 A.D., Gilan which was under the control of semi-independent emirates, joined the Ilxanis(Mongol) state completely From 1307 to 1370 it was ruled by Mongol Turks.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Gilan, after a bloody struggle, became part of Iran under the Safavid dynasty. During the pre-colonial era, contacts generally, were made through domination. The main purpose of contact was to occupy another people's territory, obtain war gains, slaves, and receive tribute. But Gilan's access to the sea and shipping added a new dimension to these contacts. Gilan became a gateway between Europe and the East. In addition, the production of silk in Gilan attracted many rulers and merchants.

The era of colonization begins in the fifteenth century. The thrust to gain new markets and to exchange new products for cheap raw materials created serious competition among European colonizers, especially between the Portuguese and British.

At that time the Portuguese already monopolized shipping in the Indian Ocean south of Iran. British merchants were looking for a new way to compete with the Portuguese and to be considered as a secure sea route to India. Thus, they accomplished many exploratory trips.

It is not surprising then, that Gilan became a target for the European colonizers by the mid-sixteenth century.

> In 1553 A.D. British merchants established the sea route between the Sefid [White] sea and Russia...opened a new era in the reletionship between Iran and the European countries. The British considered the direct trade relationships without using Turkey much more profitable. British merchants also tried to use the Volga-Xazar trade route which had already been made by the Russian. (Pigulevskaya et al. 1957: 466)

The British founded the Russian company of Moscovite. Then, in 1557:

> Anthony Jenkinson and [two others] were assigned from the above company to explore the routes for trade with central Asia. They arrived in Astraxan after they passed Moscow, and there they raised the British flag at the Xazar Sea for the first time. The company decided to buy silk from Shirvan, Gilan, and Mazandaran located in north of Iran..., and carry goods to and from India via the caravan route. (Rabino: 446)

To gain control of trade, European governments now realized that it would be easier to negotiate with a single powerful centralized government than with the many leaders of several independent tribes or semi-independent emirates. Therefore, they assisted the kings of Iran in consolidating their power. Thus, the British government sent several emissaries to Shah Abbas (the king of Iran) to negotiate trade treaties with him. They submitted luxurious gifts with letters praising the king of Iran as "king of kings," "king of

nations," and so on. Eventually, Shah Tahmasb (a Safavid king) officially gave many credits to the Moscovite company, a British-Russian trading enterprise, that exempted them from paying any taxes, insured their properties against theft, and permitted their free entry into the country. The Moscovite company was also promised help in transporting goods from the ship to the city (Rabino 1916-17: 448). The 20 years' export of goods to Iran from the Moscovite company (1561-81 A.D.) is an indication of the friendship between the kings of Iran and British merchants.

But the Moscovite company and the British-Russians were not the only foreign agents in Gilan. Turks and other Europeans had undertaken more or less the same quest for gaining control of the Volga-Xazar route. Rabino (1916-17: 448) notes that:

> The fourth group of British merchants arrived in Iran in August 1568...were not successful in trade, because the delegates they had sent to Gilan were everywhere faced with Turks. Even the new order of the Shah Tahmasb based on his agreement with free traveling of the British via Gilan to the other parts of Iran and cooperation of the local people...did not help them.

He adds that one of the reasons why British merchants were not successful was their lack of understanding of the difficulty in breaking down traditional trade competition in a country where trade had long been dominated by Turks, Armenians, and Venetians.

In the seventeenth century there were two factors which finally intensified trade and attracted more foreign merchants to Iran and Gilan. The first was the establishment of a money economy that replaced the exchange of goods for goods barter. Using money made big trade easier and merchants' profits more secure than before. The second important factor was that all semi- independent and independent groups had been overcome and were now ruled by the Safavid kings of Iran. Pigulevskaya et al. (1957: 551) notes that certain wealthier regions of Iran (Ardabil, Gilan, Mazandaran, and Isfahan) were considered to be the territory of the special lands. They were governed by specific ministers appointed by the Safavid kings and their agents who had the authority to regulate trade. The income from these specific territories was allocated to finance the palace of the king, its staff, and other royal institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the rulers supported trade and changed the rules and tax laws as it suited them. Thus, in the seventeenth century foreign trade and export intensified and the production of raw silk for export reached its climax. Chapman 1566 says: "The most important goods we [could] buy [were] raw silk...and alum in this district [Gilan]. He also refers to the many Turkish merchants who were living there at the time(Chapman in Rabino 1946-17: 449)".

A few notes on the extent of the silk trade will help to clarify how important it was in the history of contact and why Gilan lost its independence during the colonial era. In the reign that was ruled by the Safavids twenty to twenty-two thousand dl [bales] of silk were produced annually. According to Charden Gilan produced ten thousand dl [bales] of raw silk (half of the production of the whole country). Only one thousand dl [bales] remained in Iran to be used for local purposes, and the rest was exported to India and Europe. The highest quality silk came from Shirvan and Gilan and was of the Lahijani type.

During this period the silk trade was so profitable that for as long as six or seven years many British businessmen restricted their trade to the exportation of raw silk from Gilan and the importation of woven fabrics from England and other European countries to Iran through Gilan. It was not only a very profitable business but also provided for an extremely comfortable and quiet life for the British merchants who stayed in Rasht. From Rasht they controlled trade with all other areas of Iran. It was so profitable, that the "silk trade could bring more than 50 percent and sometimes 180 percent interest"(Rabino 1916-17:468).

Armenian businessmen also garnered large profits by monopolizing silk exports from Gilan. Shah Abbas of Iran

used these Armenians as political mediators and agents to sell the silk fabrics that had been woven in the royal workshops in Europe. The Armenians in return paid as much as 580 tuman in tax, a large amount of Iranian currency, to the Iranian treasury annually (Pigulevskaya et al. 1959).

The Dutch also were very successful in the competition with British merchants. They exported around five hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand Livre of raw silk to Europe annually at about 1670.

In the seventeenth century trade between Iran and Russia also expanded; at this time too ,silk, more than anything else, was exported from Iran.

Many other historians have mentioned the activities of the Moscovite company and other foreigners who traded at the ports of Gilan around 1629 A.D.

Rabino (1916-17:475) also mentions "a large number of Armenians...a noticeable group of Russians, many Hindus, and Jews in Rasht. Each group had a separate caravanserai (inn)." The Christian merchants carried on trade with the European countries and Russia, the Hindus with India and the far east.

Linguistically silk has had an impact, especially on personal names in Gilan. The name Debaj/Diba(silk) has been used often, largely in elite families, not only in Gilan but

throughout Iran. Diba is also used as a family name, but the Arabic word for silk harir has largely replaced it. Dibaci (silkman) or hariri has been used for silk merchants, but today it is used as a surname. Diba or harir is a word that is also used to praise the beauty of a girl's long, straight, soft hair.

Therefore, we may conclude that the silk trade played a dialectical role in linguistic and cultural contact and Gilaki language change. On the one hand Gilaks have been able to preserve their cultural and linguistic identity through an independence which was bought by the tribute in silk that they paid until the sixteenth century. On the other hand, later in the seventeenth century the huge profits of the silk trade attracted foreigners and, it was instrumental in Gilan's loss of independence.

In late 1722 Afghani troops surrounded Rasht. The governor of Gilan sent a delegate to Astarxan to suggest the surrender of Rasht to Russia in return for receiving help to fight the Afgans (Rabino 1916-17: 463-4). Transported in twelve ships, Russian troops arrived in the port city of Enzali on the 14th of November 1722 and went from there to Rasht.

Shah Tahmasb the Second the king of Iran, who was willing to receive help from Russia to fight against Mahmood

Shah of Afgan, made a treaty with Russia in Saint Petersburg. According to this treaty Russia was obligated to help Shah Tahmasb and in return receive control over the sea ports of Daghestan, Azarbaijan', Gilan, Mazandaran, and Esterabad. Later Shah Tahmasb indicated that his delegate had exceeded his authority, and he rejected the treaty.

In late 1722 the Ottoman Turks took advantage of the weakness of the Iranian government, and their agents occupied Shirvan and part of Azarbaijan. The threat from the Ottoman Turks forced Shah Tahmasb to accept the earlier treaty with Russia. It was thus that the western and southern ports on the Xazar Sea (Darband, Baku, Gilan, and Mazandaran) officially were submitted to Russia.

In 1734 the Russian troops left Gilan after twelve years occupation. Tzarist Russia returned Gilan to Iran on the condition that the Shah should be able to prevent its falling in to the hands of the Ottomans (Pigulevskaya: 596).

During the following years (1736-1747) Nader was the king of Iran. He wanted to establish a good relationship with British merchants, therefore, he supported the British-Russian Company (Moscovite) in their efforts to monopolize silk exports from Iran. Thus, British firms were established in Mashhad and Rasht (Pigulevskaya: 596).

In addition, the completion of the railroad between Russia and Iran, increased navigation in the Caspian Sea, and improvement and construction of roads between Enzali and Tehran made contacts easier.

Gilaki contact with non-Gilaks inside the territory of Iran were brought about through domination and displacement. From the beginning of the sixteenth century when Gilan lost its independence, it was ruled by governors appointed by the Iranian central government who were mainly non-Gilaks, that is, Safavid governors from Azarbiajan, Nader who was Azarbaijan'i Gezelbas, Zands who were Fars, and Qajars who were originally from a Turkish nomad tribe. Each group tried to enforce its own cultural norms and languages on the Gilaks.

The history of Gilan shows how several different ethnic groups have been forcibly exiled to Gilan or they have been installed there as military troops. Rabino (1916-17:31) refers to "eight hundred Ojag/g 'families' of Rishvand Kurds from the BeBe tribe who were settled forcibly by the Safavid king Shah Abbas. They lived on the two sides of the Shah Rud 'river' and the right shore of the Sefid Rud from Manjil to Deylaman. Their language was Kurdi. Kurd groups exiled by Shah Abbas are also in other areas of Gilan--Rahmatabad, Aliabad, Kalaya, and Divrud. Some Kurds still live in Rudbar and Amarlu.

Other Kurds were sent to Gilan as troops to aid the rulers of Gilan. Rabino (1916-17:436) refers to "Sharafeldin the governor of Tonekabon who had five hundred Kurds as servants and warriors who were sent to help from Qazvin." The Kurd Mahale (Kurd place) in Rasht and the lexemes that Gilaki shares with Kurdi are the little that remain of this contact.

Another ethnic group that was forcibly sent to Gilan were Armenians who were sent to the south Caspian and Gilan by Shah Abbas the Safavid king.

Rabino (1916-17:325) refers to prisoners who were brought to Deylam by Mohammad Reza Xan, the governor of Gilan in the early nineteenth century. Later they constituted four tribes in the region: Talesh, Jahangiri, Gaskari, and Oshkuri.

Trezel (1821) stated thet fifty Jewish families were living in Rasht in Siahkal and Deylaman: fifteen to twenty families had lived from a long time ago as small businessmen.

In some areas of Gilan the migration of groups and contacts between different groups is still more intensified. For example in Enzali almost all inhabitants are immigrants. Rabino (1916-17: 138-140) refers to the Surxi Ne'mati clan who originally came from Surxak, a village around Semnan,

and the Darya Baggi clan from Bojnurd and Xorasan in northeast of Iran. The ancestors of the Darya Beygi clan owned ships and came to Gilan accompanied by Russian fishermen. They came to the Sefid Rud to receive fishing permits from the governor of Lahijan in exchange for some small gift, such as fur. In 1858 and 1859 Mirza Ebrahim Khan (from the Darya Beygi family) monopolized the fishing industry with a permit obtained from the governor of Gilan for fifty-five hundred tuman per year and received the title of Darya Beygi (Sea Lord) for himself and his descendants. From then until the present time Darya Beygi has been used as a surname.

Another group in Enzali which indicates contact, is the Mohajer family who are people who escaped to Iran during the second war between Iran and Russia. Mohajer means immigrant and now their descendants use this term as a surname.

Finally, the Anezanie are the descendants of some Anezan gun men of Esterabad who were sent to Enzali as troops in 1815.

The existence of two foreign schools--one Russian and one Armenian school at the turn of the century in Enzali also reinforced the contact.

To sum up, Gilan has been a place of contact between many linguistic communities. For the impacts of these contacts on Gilaki see chapter 8 of this study.

CHAPTER IV

THE GILAKI LANGUAGE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter and the next provide a description of Gilaki as spoken in the city of Rasht (the capital city of Gilan), Enzali (where most of the contact between Gilaks and Europeans took place), and Koshijar (a small town in the province of Gilan). I have not relied on the studies discussed in chapter 2 for the description of Gilaki presented here but have used them to check my analysis, and I have noted my agreements and differences with them where necessary.

My treatment of Gilaki here is based on the speech of my oldest informants, both female and male speakers, using informal, colloquial, deliberate formal, poetry, and folksongs. Female speech differs from male speech in both phonetics and syntax. The speech patterns differ from individual to individual relative to age, education, social class, and residence, and these differences in speech have been explained where appropriate.

The phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax of Gilaki is given in two chapters, chapters 4 and 5. The first is a brief analysis of phonetics and phonology; the second is on morphology and syntax.

4.2 PHONOLOGY

4.2.1 Inventory of Basic Sounds

The basic sounds in Gilaki are 25 consonants and 12 vowels.

4.2.1.1 Vowels

Vowels in Gilaki are:

[a]/[ʌ], low central unrounded short vowel; /əma/ʌ 'we'.

[å], low central unrounded long vowel. This vowel is shorter than [å] in Farsi and other Iranian languages; /åb/, 'water'.

[e], mid close front unrounded long vowel; /ge,ɛ/ 'says'.

[ɛ], mid open front unrounded short vowel; /pɛ̀r/ 'father'.

[ə], mid central unrounded short vowel; /dərd/'pain'.

[i̊:], high close front unrounded long vowel;- /xai:y/'you want'.

[i], high close front unrounded short vowel; /piš/ 'front'.

[ī], high open front unrounded short vowel; /dīgər/ 'other'.

[u], high close back rounded long vowel; /birun/'out'.

[ū], high open back rounded short vowel; /rūzan/'days'.

[o], mid open back rounded long vowel; /xol/'crazy'.

[ō], mid open back rounded short vowel; /xōb/'good'.

Christensen (1930:39) in the "Grammar of Gilaki" divides vowels in two groups--long and half long. a,e,i,o,u, and short vowels: å, a, ä, æ, ɛ, e, i, o, ū, u, ə . But Rastorgoeva et al. (1971:17), on the bases of stability and duration, categorize vowels in Gilaki into two types: 1) stable vowels: e, o, a, å, i, ū and 2) unstable vowels: i, ə, u. According to them, unstable vowels vary in duration on the basis of stress and environment. Table 1 represents a correlation of the vowels, recognized by Rastorgoeva et. al. (1971:), Christensen (1930:9), and this work.

4.2.1.2 Consonants

Basic consonant phonemes in gilaki can be summarized in table 2. The basic consonants of Gilaki are stop consonants, affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and glides. The stop consonants are: 1) voiceless, 2) voiced. voiceless stops are: [p], [t], and [k]. Voiced stops are: [b], [d], and [g]. Examples: /purd/ 'bridge', /əpč/ 'tasteless', /gəp/b/ 'conversation', /tur/ 'crazy', /koyə/ 'where'.

Affricates in Gilaki are: [č] voiceless, alveolar palatal and [j] voiced alveopalatal. Examples:

Table 1

Bastorgoeva et al.		Christensen			Rahmani	
Stable	Unstable	Short	Long&	Half Long	Short	Long
å		å	ă		aʌ	å
a		a				
		ä				
		æ				
e		e	ē		ə	e
	e	ə ɛ			ɛ	
ĭ	i	i	i		i	
					ĭ	i:
o		o	ŏ		ō	o
u	u	u	u		ū	u
		ů				

Table 1 represents the correlation of vowels according to different studies on Gilaki.

/čtu/o/ 'how'; /ičči/ 'something', /ləpč/, 'lip'; /ǰul/ 'cheek'; /iǰgərə/, 'cry'.

Fricatives in Gilaki are: 1) voiceless, 2) voiced. Voiceless fricatives are: [f], [s], [š], [x], and [h]. Examples:

filli	'saliva, spittle'
səbəǰ	'louse'
šəlunək	'apricot'
xʌš	'bone'
hist	'wet'

Voiced fricatives are: [v], [z], [ž], and [ɣ]/[ʁ]. Examples:

vavin	'cut'
zày	'child'
marožni	'ice cream'
ɣorab-zən/	'liar'

Nasals in Gilaki are: [m] bilabial, [n] alveolar and [ŋ] velar. Examples:

/máar/ 'mother'; /ništən/ 'sit'; /əŋgušər/ 'ring'.

Liquids in Gilaki are: alveolar laterals [l] and [r]. [r] is either voiced alveolar flap or [ř] voiced alveolar trill. The occurrence of [ř] is very limited. Few words in Gilaki have been recorded with the [ř]. Sometimes

Table 2

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/ Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
voiceless stop	p		t			k		
voiced stop	b		d			g		
voiceless affricate				č				
voiced affricate				ǰ				
voiceless fricative		f	s	š		x		h
voiced fricative		v	z	ž		ɣ	ʁ	
nasal	m		n			ŋ		
liquid			l-r					
glide	w				y			

Table 2 represents basic consonants of Gilaki.

it is used as a variant of tne rearticulated [r]. Examples:

/dərrə,dəř/ 'valley';/ərrə, ərə/ 'saw'; /təřnə/'the paunch of stomach'.

Glides in Gilaki are: [y] voiced palatal, and [w] bilabial rounded glide. Examples:

/ayta/ 'this one'; /towxorɛ/ 'top'.

A review of the major works on Gilaki indicates that there is agreement among Rastorgoeva et al. (1971,1980), Eva Apor (1973), Christensen (1930), and this study on the major consonants. But the velar nasal [ŋ] is mentioned only here and, by Christensen and Chodzko (1842:526). Chodzko, however, does not use phonetic script. He uses ماںگه /mayŋə/ 'moon' in his work. The [ɣ] is not recognized in any study other than the present one. Christensen (1930) shows [q], but Rastorgoeva et al. (1971, 1980) have not mentioned it. The [ř] is not recorded by any of the previous studies.

4.2.2 Distribution of Sounds

4.2.2.1 Vowels

The basic vowels of Gilaki occur in all positions with one exception the vowel /e/. Its occurrence in the morpheme/syllable initial is limited to loan words from Arabic and Farsi. Examples:

Arabic /eʃdam/ 'execute' ===> /èdam/in Gilaki.

putting or being put to death as a legal penalty.

The usage of this sound is very limited. Its pronunciation is associated with highly acculturated Gilaki. The [e] in the morpheme initial position is mainly used as /e/, /ɛ/, and /eh/ in Arabic loan words. Examples:

ARABIC		GILAKI
ʕešq	'love'	ɛšɣ/ɣ
ehtemal	'probability'	itemal/ temal
e temad	'trust'	temad/itemad

In addition, the occurrence of /e/ after certain consonants is limited to loan words. The distribution of the vowel /o/ is very limited in Gilaki. This sound is less rounded and shorter, close to /ō/ when pronounced by old uneducated informants or people who have have not been highly acculturated. The /å/ is articulated by people who have been influenced by Farsi. The occurrence of this long /å/ is an indicator of the process of change. The /ū/ and /i/ have been mentioned by Rastorgoeva et al., (1971:14) as sounds that are about to disappear. In this study I found that many older informants and those in younger age groups who have not been acculturated or "Farsized" use them more frequently. The /ə/ is used more than any other vowel. Its articulation ranges from /ʌ/ to deletion of /ə/. /ə/ is a characteristic sound in the Gilaki language.

The following combinations of vowel have been reported for Gilaki:

ai

ə̯i

ui

ūi

Some vowels are rearticulated. Often they are paralleled with long vowels with a falling or rising pitch. Examples:

á̋a	maar	'mother'
ɛ̀ɛ̀	pʰɛ̀ɛ̀r	'father'
ó̋o	šóon	'going'

4.2.2.2 Consonants

a. Initial Position: All consonants except /ŋ/, and /r̆/ occur initially in a syllable or a word. The /ŋ/ occurs only in word medial position. It is usually followed by /g/, /ɣ/, or /ʁ/. Examples:

tuŋg	'bracelet'
əŋguštər	'ring' (finger ring)
iŋɣəlab	'revolution, vomiting'
səŋg	'stone'
əŋɣəɛ	'on purpose'
məŋul	'portable'

Voiceless stop consonants /p/, /t/, and /k/ are slightly aspirated when they occur in word initial position; in other positions they are unaspirated. Examples:

pʰɨ̀r	'father'
əpč	'tasteless'
əsp	'horse'
tʰ.ur	'crazy'
kʰ.otɨ̀r	'dove'
buguft	'said' (third position singular)
kʰ.óor	'girl'
əski	'sneeze'
tʰ.ušk	'pit'

Voiced stop consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ are less voiced when in word initial position than in intervocalic position. Examples:

bŭbŭr	'cut'
dŭxån	'call'
gĭdi	'they say'
dĭgər	'other'

b. Medial Position: All consonants occur in the morpheme medial position. All consonants except /ŋ/ may occur in the intervocalic position if they are not part of a consonant cluster.

c. Final Position: All consonants except /ŋ/ occur in the final syllable position. However, /ŋ/ may occur in a morpheme syllable final position in onomatopoeic cases. For example:

vəŋ$zɛɛn 'cry of baby'.

The /ŋ/ may occur in the syllable final position when a new syllable is added to the word so that the /ŋg/, /ŋ ð/ clusters may be broken. Examples:

səŋg + in ===>	səŋ$gin
'stone'	'heavy
cvcc	cvc$cvc

Frequently, the /h/ is mute when in final position.

4.2.2.3 Consonant Clusters

a. Initial Position: The following combinations of consonants may occur in the morpheme syllable initial position:

sb	sbūl	'flee'
čm	čmuš	'mulish'
kr	kruǰ/c	'boat'
br	brar	'brother'
čt	čto	'how'
fr	frōxtim	'we sold'
bz	bza	'born of /delivered by'
bg	bga bga	'make love'
bb	bbo	'became'

gr groxt 'fled'

čx čxərtmə 'stew'

b. Medial Position: When in the word medial position, the syllable may start with the following combinations:

bl kərbla

dr faɲdrəst

tm čxərtmə

Table 3 contains combinations of consonants in medial positions.

c. Final Position: Table 4 represents the many combinations of the two different consonants in syllables final position:

d. Rearticulated Consonants: Double geminate consonants occur in the intervocalic position in a word. The following types have been recorded.

ɣɣ dəɣɣə 'minute'

ll šəllàɣ 'lash'

čč mačči 'kiss'

rr dərrə 'valley'

šš maššə 'pincers'

tt šəttə 'plant louse'

mm həmmətan 'all of them/you'

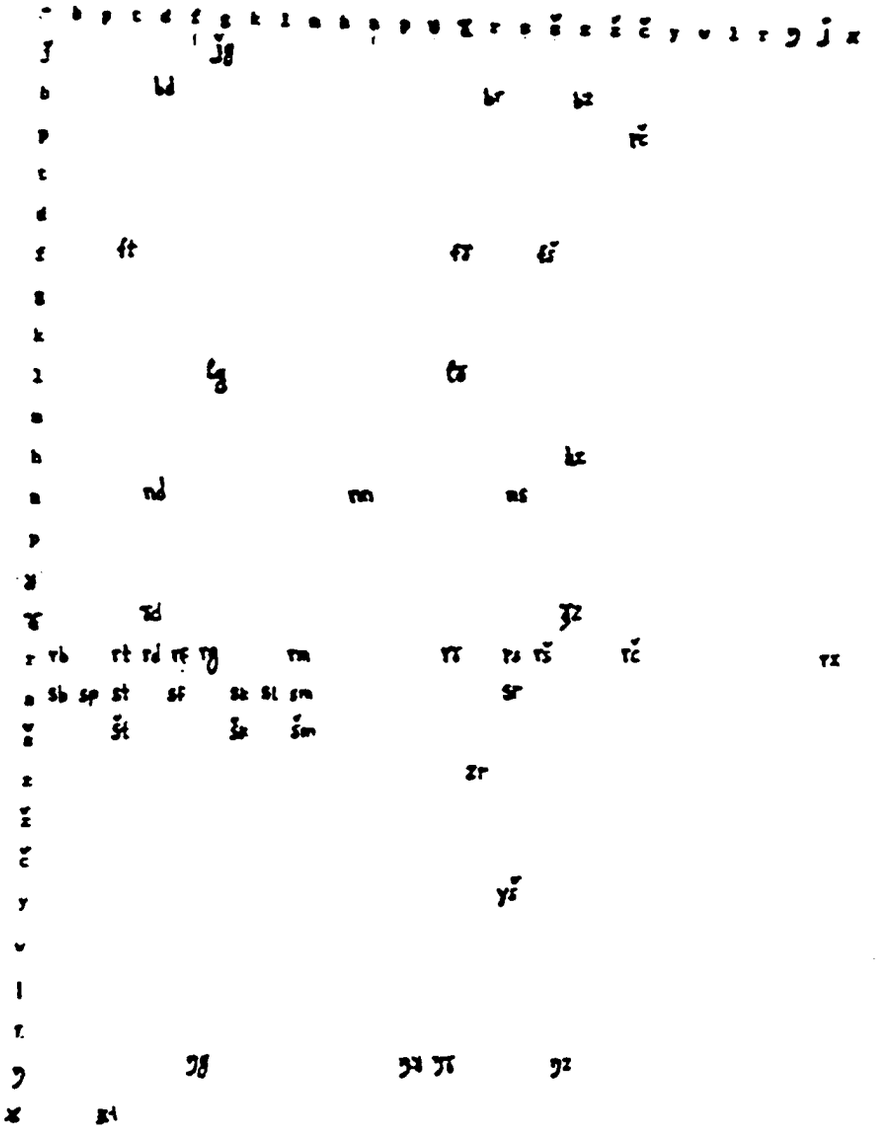
bb dobbə' a kind of fruit'

rr ərrə 'saw'

pp ɣoppiamon 'boasting'

ff fəffarə 'fountain'

Table 4



vv əvvəl 'first'

ss kassə čun 'blue eye'

4.2.3 Syllable Structure

A syllable division comes between the two consonants of a consonant cluster when a morpheme/syllable final position follows another syllable/morpheme (in compound words). For example, /bū$xūft/ 'slept' has two syllables cv$cvcc, but /bū$xūf$ti/ 'you slept' has three syllables cvcvccv. However, if the second consonant in a cluster is /r/, then the division becomes before the two consonants. Examples:

vabrazɛ 'to be deserved' which is cvccvcv

va$vrs 'ask' which is cv$crc

In general the following types of syllable structures have been recorded in Gilaki:

v	u	'and'	i:	'one'
vc	åb	'water'	ən	'this'
vcc	əsp	'horse'	əpč	'tasteless'
vccc	fândr	'look' or 'watch out'		

(the occurrence of this type is rare; it can be heard from old informants).

cv	pa	'foot'	du	'two'
cvc	šiš	'six'	sir	'garlic'
cvcc	hist	'wet'		

ccv wabraz 'to be deserved/being deserved'

ccvc frox$tim 'we sold'

ccvcc fan$drast 'looked'

It appears that there is a specific trend in Gilaki language change to adapt Gilaki to the syllabic structure of Arabic and modern Farsi. Clusters in the word initial position tend to be broken up by an epenthesis vowel. For the details of Gilaki language change, see chapter 8 of this study.

4.2.4 Phonological Processes

4.2.4.1 Vowels

a. Vowel harmony: In Gilaki the vowel /e/ becomes /ə/, /i/, or /u/ when it is followed by /ə/, /i/, /u/. Examples:

be	+	bər	===>	bəbər
imperative prefix		take		'take'
fe	+	kəš̆	===>	fəkəš̆
				'pull, drag'
de	+	bəd	===>	dəbəd
				'close'
ne	+	kəft	===>	nəkəft
negation prefix		fall		'did not fall'
be	+	hin	===>	bihin

'buy'

fe + vištən ===> fivištən

'to roast'

de + čin ===> dičin

'pick up'

be + gūft ===> buguft

'said'

fe + gurdanɛɛn ==> fugurdanɛɛn

'to turn upside down'

de + kun ===> dukun

'put-on'

ne + xurd m ===> nuxurdəm

ate 'I did not eat'

b. Elision: Some words/prefixes loose their vowels if they precede a word beginning with a vowel. Examples:

gu + əm ===> gəm

say suffix 'I say' (first person singular)

gu + i ===> gi

say suffix 'you say' (second person singular)

be + avər===> bavər

'bring'

xanə + ȧn ===> xȧnȧn

house suffix 'houses'

plural

ǰəɣələ+ an ===> ǰəɣalan

'child' 'children'

In rapid pronunciation vowel /i/ is deleted when it occurs between two uvular fricatives. Examples:

dəʁiʁə ===> də

'minute'

The vowel /ə/ is deleted when two syllables coalesced. Examples:

dukunəm + nə===> du nu kunəm/duŋkunəm

'I put on' 'I do not put on'

The unstressed combinations of vowels diphthongize with its corresponding semi-vowels. Examples:

u+i===>ŭy u + ita ===>uyta

'that one' 'that one'

a+i===> ày a + ita===>ȁyta

'this one' 'this one'

4.2.4.2 Consonants

a. Assimilation: The nasal consonant /n/ assimilated to the point of articulation of the following contiguous consonants. Examples:

|k|

n ===> --/|g|

|ǰ|

dukunəm + nə ===> duŋkunəm

'I donot do'

fa + nə+ giftəm ===> fəŋgiftəm

'I did not take'

b. Devoicing: The voiced consonants become unvoiced when they are followed by voiceless stops, for example, /t/ (in making the past tense). Examples:

z ==> š /- t	viriz	virišt
	'stand up'	'stood up'
r ==> f /- t	figir	figift
	'take'	'took'
ǰ ==> x /- t	suǰ + t	būsūxt
	'burn'	'burned'
r ==> s /- t	bədar + t	dʌšt
	'have'	'had'
r ==> s /- t	bugzər	bugzəšt
	'passing by'	'passed by'
r ==> s /- t	būšūr	būšū/ust
	'wash'	'washed'
z ==> x /- t	gōriz	gōrōxt
	'escape'	'escaped'

c. Changing Consonants: Some consonants alternate with each other. Examples:

b <==> p əsb <==> əsp

'horse'

əšbəl <==> əšpəl

'red caviar'

v <==> b vərf <==> bərf

'snow'

l <==> r putal putar

f <==> h fədən <==> hədən

'give'

ɤ <==> h bɤtər <==> bɤhtər

'better'

p <==> v vapərs<==> vavərs

'ask'

d. Loss of Consonant: Sometimes consonants may be deleted under stress or in different sexes. Examples:

be + kūn + idi ===> būkūidi

prefix do (second person) 'you did'

ending

be + zɛ n + idi ===> bɤzɤydi

hitting (second person) 'you hit'

ending

usan + d ===> usad

take past tense suffix 'took'

Often a consonant /ɣ/ is deleted when intervocalic. Examples:

šəɣal ===> šáal/šəal

'jackal'

e. Consonant Harmony: In Gilaki some loan consonants assimilate in the manner of articulation of the following sounds. Examples:

ʕæɡd ===> əɣd

'marriage contract'

ɡ ===> x /- t

wæɡt ===> væxt

'time'

CHAPTER V

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 is a discussion of word formations, various classes of words, nouns, and verbs and their modifiers, pronouns, and adpositions and syntactic units (phrases, clauses, or combinations of clauses).

5.2 WORD FORMATION

In Gilaki words are formed through reduplication, compounding, and affixation.

5.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is a derivational mechanism by which a whole word or part of it is copied or repeated. Reduplication derivations may function as attributes or intensifiers, to express a state of being or an activity; or they may refer to natural species or natural phenomena (mainly onomatopoeic words), or body parts.

The first type of reduplication consists of the repetition of whole words.

xorɛ xorɛ

himself/herself (accusative case)

'talking to oneself/himself'

(continuity of action, interaction)

pīllə pɪllə (intensifier)

large/big big

'very big'

ni ni (body part)

'eyeball'

bōšo bōšo (attribute)

'a thread bare'

ǰi ǰi (body part)

'breast'

təkəs təkɔs (attribute)

worn out/rugged

'worn out/rugged'

vavərs vavərs (continuous astion)

ask ask

'asking'

kunʌ kunʌ (action)

reverse/going backward

'going backward, reversing'

tuk/kə tuk/kə (attribute)

drop drop

'drop by drop'

bōl bōl (attribute or intensifier)

flare flare

'the fire flares/to blow the fire'

bi bi (natural species, and onomatopoeia)

'silk worm/cocoon'

ku ku (natural species, and onomatopoeia)

'The cuckoo bird'

The second type of reduplication consists of repeating the first part of a verb.

uštə uštəg/kudən (state of being)

doing

'idiomatic expressions which refer to teenager's behavior expressing readiness for adult love and sexuality.'

bud bud g/kūdən (state of being)

'the same as ust ust kud n'

ušmʌ/ušmʌ g/kūdən (continuous nous action)

'shivering'

čir čir dáan (action)

'to provoke'

viǰ viǰ/biǰ biǰ g/kūdən (state of being)

'an idiomatic expression to describe the physical sensation of pain which accompanies warming one's hands or feet which are intensely cold.'

kəs kəs g/kūdən (activity/verb)

dispute/quarrel doing

'to quarrel/quarreling'

gili gili xurdən (action/continuous action)

roll roll

'roll roll'

biǰin biǰin g/kūdən (action/verb)

mince mince doing

'to mince'

dəgərə dəgərə xurdən (continuous action)

stagger/totter

'staggering/tottering'

vʌgən vʌgən g/kūdən (state of being)

itching & pain doing

'itching and pain in the eyes'

čək čək g/kūdən (continuous action)

leak leak doing

'leaking'

The third type of reduplication consists of repeating the first syllable of a word.

čičini (natural species/onomatopoeic word)

'sparrow'

čičilas (natural species)

'dragon fly'

čičir (natural species)

'lizard'

kakai (natural species)

'a bird'

milɛ milɛ

'striped, corded, twilled, ribbed'

giǰ giǰi daan/amon

'tickle'

kər kəri

'to turn some one against the other'

kusa kusi

'disorderly; a state of chaos'

haǰhaǰi/ey (natural species)

'stork'

səxšəx /ey

'an insect' (natural spescies)

zàlzàlɛ/ey (natural species)

'cricket'

bədbədɛ

'a wild plant'

vilvili g/kūdən (action/verb)

'moving/tossing/to toss about/to wriggle'

The fourth type is formed by duplicating the initial consonant only.

xå xūr

'sister'

xå xōl

'crazy'

The fifth type of reduplication is formed by changing just the initial consonant of the first syllable of a word.

ǰəɣəl məɣəl (attribute)

'small, little, tiny/a child'

čiz miz

'thing'

dōršin bōršin 'disorderly, chaotic'

'disorderly, chaotic'

kərti pərti

'nonsense'

čakun vakun

'to makeup one's face, dressing,toilette'

dəgərdan vagərdan g/kūdən

'to turn inside out'

The sixth type of reduplicated derivations consist of repeating a whole word with a connecting / /.

gərm-ə-gərm

warm warm

'hot and fast'(idiomatic word)

máar- ə -máar

mother mother

'mother's mother'(grandmother)

pʰɛɛ̀r- ə -pʰɛɛ̀r

father father

'father's father's'(grandfather)

Often reduplicated words are connected to the first word by /b /.

bal-bə-bal

arm arm

'arm to arm'

dəl-bə-dəl

'wandering/errant'

Other reduplicated derivations are onomatopoeic words.

gōr gōr/asman gor gor

thunder/sky thunder

'thunder'

tələγ tuluγ

clap click

'onomatopoeic description; notion of the sound made by a horse or a woman walking on high heels.'

γarγur

'stomach growling' (onomatopoeic word)

γər γərə

'gargling' (as in using mouthwash) (onomatopoeic word)

tap tap

'tapping' (as in drumming one's fingers)

šərəx šūrūx

'rain falling'

5.2.2 Compounding

compounding elements are nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and adpositions.

The first type of compounding is a noun plus a noun.

àɣuz dàr

walnut tree

'walnut tree'

bəmsayə xànə

neighbor house

'neighbor'

The second type of compounding consists of a noun or an adjective plus an a verb.

Noun + Verb {N + g/kūdən}

'doing'

bina g/kūdən

establish/start doing

'to start/to establish'

kar g/kūdən

work/job doing

'to work'

N+ dáan

'giving'

xōšə dáan

kiss giving

'kissing/kiss'

zȧɒ dáan

'to use abusive or obscene language/to curse'

N+ zɛɛ̀n

to beat,strike,smite

əski zɛɛ̀n

sneeze

'to sneeze'

ištōp zɛɛ̀n

'to blow a whistle, whistling'

iǰgərə zɛɛ̀n

'to cry'

N+ giftən/gitən/beytən

to get, to receive, to catch,to take

kəšə giftən/gitən

busum taking

'embrace/embracing'

čuŋlus- -giftən/gitən

pinch taking

'pinching'

Adj/N+ bóostən

'becoming'

hist-ə-bostən

wet becoming

'becoming wet'

dəvəŋg-ə-bóstən

'to become surprised/becoming astonished'

N+ šóon

going

ra šóon

road/way walking

'walking'

h̬xūn šóon

blood going

'menstruating'

N+ dəkəftən/dəkətən

'to fall'

ab ɣ̌/dəkəftən/dəkətən

water fall

'to begin to salivate/make one's mouth water'

ra dəkəftən/dəkətən

road/way fall

'to set out/to start'

N+ dʌštən

'having'

dus dʌštən

friend having

'to love/like'

N+ dəgadən

to throw, to cast, to toss

ra dəgadən

way/road to set out

'to set out, to be set in motion, to move'

låf dəgadən

'to put in disorder, to riot'

N+ xūrdən

'eating'

ab xūrdən

water drinking

'drinking water'

tō xurdən

swing

'to swing'

Often compounding consists of a noun and a verb stem.

dōrōʒgu

lie say

'liar'

xåtɬr xå

sake wanting

'lover'

adəm xōr

human eater

'cannibal'

čačul båz

trick player

'a tricky or cunning person'

zən xazi

woman wanting/wishing/demanding

'wishing, asking, soliciting, demanding for marriage.

xəǰalət kəš

shame talorate

'shy'

xəǰalət nə kəš

shame not feeling

'shameless/ruthless'

The third type of compounding consists of an adjective and a noun.

šəkəm kūlūft/kuluft

belly thick/big

'big belly, fat person'

buləɲd bala

tall height

'tall'

kus xul

vagina crazy

'crazy/stupid' (this word is used to refer to both male and female.)

The fourth type of compounding consists of numerals and nouns.

du vardə

two times

'again'

du dil

two heart

'hesitant'

du tai:

two person

'couple'

The fifth type of compounding is that of two verbs.

bəzən būkŭb

beat/blow

'beating a drum or any musical instrument'

bəzʌ bəkaštə

born of planted by

(mother) (father)

'parents'

šóon ȧmón

to go to come

'coming,going'(to ply to, to hold familiar intercourse)

The sixth type of compounding is that of an adverb and a verb.

bijir ȧmón

down coming

'coming down'

būjor šóon

up going

'to go up'

bəd-u- xŏb g/kūdən

bad and good/well doing

'vomiting (to throw up) (idiomatic:used for babies)

Some compounds have more than two members.

kəd xūda mərdi

N N V

house god man to be

mayer/an alderman/a bailiff

'judgement'

bili xūli bazi

penis vagina play

'love play'

sinə ab g/kūdən

chest water doing

'to swim' (the crawl)

bə kəš-ə-giftən/fitən

prep. bosom get/take

'to embrace'

ǰə xtər šóon

from memory go

'to forget'

Members of inflective compounding are joined by the vowel /ə/ which acts as inflection attached to the first part of the compound.

mərd- ə - máar

N N

man/husband mother

'husband's mother' (mother-in-law)

gərd -ə- murɣánə

round egg

'egg yolk'

ɣali-ə-pən -ə-g/kudən

carpet spread doing

'to spread the carpet'

Coordinative compounds consist of two words joined together by /u/ or /ū/, meaning 'and'. The two members are of the same class.

b/vəlg-u/ū-xál

leaf and branch

'leaf and branch'

zən -u/ū-záak

woman/wife and child

'family'

Gilaki has no specific word for some nominative adjective. Instead, speakers use a phrase to express their meaning.

úni ki gūfti

she/he one who said

'speaker' (imperative)

ú̃ni ki xʌndi

she/he one who sing

'singer' (the one who sings)

Often a phrase is used to express a state of being or an action.

xō/ū dimə sili həmrʌ surx-ə-g/kūdən

his/her face slap with/by red doing

(This is an idiomatic expression used to describe the act of slapping one's face to produce a reddish color which indicates a state of health of being well-fed. Poor people who do not want their pallid complexions to reflect their their lack of sustenance might commit such an act.)

In addition to the above, all non-focal kinship terms are descriptive except for a few that represent change of loan words. Examples:

mərd -ə- bərar zən

husband's brother wife

'husband's brother's wife'

(sister-in-law)

zən bərar

wife's brother

(brother-in-law)

zən xàxōr

wife sister

'wife's sister' (sister-in-law)

5.2.3 Affixation

Affixation is another type of word formation. It consists of suffixes, prefixes and infixes.

5.2.3.1 Suffixes

Various types of suffixes are nominal suffixes, adjectival suffixes, and particle suffixes.

Nominal suffixes are those that are suffixed to nouns, for example, /čǐ/ specifies occupation (one who works with). The suffix /čǐ/ is a loan suffix from Turkish.

ci

lotkə čǐ

boat one who works with

'boatman/sailor'

pūs čǐ

post

'postman/mailman'

Often /ci/specifies place of citizenship.

ənzəli/Pəhləvi čǐ

a port in Gilan

'citizen of the port of nzali/Pahlavi

zȧ

'son of/daughter of'

xàxōr zà

sister child

'sister's child' (nephew,niece)

bərar zà

brother child'

'brother's child' (nephew,niece)

sōʧə zà

'dog's pup'

ga

'place'

kar gà

'workshop' (place of work)

dàn

'receptacle/container'

čày dan

tea box

'tea-box'

čōrnil dàn

ink pot

'inkpot'

gər nominative suffix

kar gər

work

'worker'

ahəjgər

iron

'blacksmith'

an

'place of'

gilan

'place of Gils (Gilaks)'

deyl man

'place of Deylams'

čɛ, and lək 'diminutive suffix'

bàɣ

'garden'

bàɣčɛ

'small garden' (a flower bed)

ča

'well'

čalək

'small hole/shallow'

N + / k,ak/ specifies definiteness and /ay/ expresses indefinite nouns.

zənàk

'the woman'

zənày

'a woman'

Note: /zɒn /'woman, wife; and /mərd/'man,husband' are differentiated form /zənày/ 'woman' and /mərdày/ 'man' by suffix /ày/.

adj. + ə ===> Noun

s bz + ə ===> səbzə

'green' 'grass'

and

mūrɣ + ànə===> murɣànə

'chicken plural' 'egg'(chicken's egg)

The nominative suffix occurs with the adjective to form a noun. Adj. + i/gi ===> Noun

sərd + i ==> sərdi

'cold' 'coldness'

xōb + i ==> xōbi

'good' 'goodness'

kusxul + i ==> kusxuli

'crazy' 'madness'

gi

sʌdə+gi ==> sʌdəgi

'simple' 'simplicity'

Often nominative suffixes /ə/ or / š/ occur with the verb stem to form a noun.

xənd + ==> xəndə

'laugh' 'laughter'

nal +ə ==> nalə

'to groan' 'a groan'

š

gərd + š ==> gərdəš

'turn/walk/ 'a turn'

around'

Adjectival suffixes derive adjectives from nouns, adjectives, verb stems and particles.

Adjectival suffixes occur with nouns and particles to form adjectives.

u

gaz + u ===> gȧzu

'tooth/bite' 'buck-toothed'

tərs + u ===> tərsu

'fear''cowardly'

bȧz

xanəm +bȧz ==> xanəmbȧz

'woman''womanizer'

čačul + baz ==> caculbaz

'trick' 'tricky'

an

zən + anə==> zənanə

'woman' 'ladies' (specified for woman,

like bathroom, clothing,etc.)

mərd + an ==> mərdanə

'man' 'men's' (specified for men)

z nan as an adjective often is used to insult men.

Particle suffixes express position of someone or something in a series of items. Examples:

omi

pənǰ + omi ⇒ pənǰomi

'five' 'the fifth'

5.2.3.2 The Prefix

The following prefixes have been recorded in Gilaki: /b/, /bi/, /bu/, /ba/, /bi/, /n/, /na/, and /həm/. These prefixes in some cases are considered to be prepositions by some linguists. Vahidian (1970:93) indicates that the above morphemes are considered prefixes only as long as they form new words.

ba 'refers to possession of some character or thing'

ba huš

with intelligence

'intelligent'

bi

bi kar

without ǰob

'unemployed'

həm

həm sayə

same shadow

'neighbor'

na

na šɪnâx

lack understanding

'inconsiderate'

Other prefixes occur mainly with verbs; see the section on verbs.

5.2.3.3 Infixes

Infixes come between two morphemes. Examples:

n

xəǰ alət nə kəš

shame not feel

'shamelessness'

tu

šir tu šir

lion into lion

'chaos/confusion/disorder'

dər

yək dər yək

one in one

'one to one/at once'

5.3 NOUN PHRASE

A noun phrase consists of a noun, a pronoun, and its modifiers.

5.3.1 The Noun

A noun in Gilaki may be inflected for cases, definitions, and numbers.

Three noun cases have been recorded in Gilaki: 1) nominative, 2) accusative, and 3) possessive. Examples:

Nominative	Accusative	Possessive
zấak	zấak baard m	zấak-ə-mấar
'child'	child brought	child mother
	'I brought the child'	'child's mother'

Note: For nouns ending in /u/, /a/, and /i/, in the accusative case, a glide /y/ precedes the inflective endings /ə/. /ȧn/, and /an /. Examples:

Nominative		Accusative	Possessive
mu/u	'hair'	muyə	muyə
ǰa	'place'	ǰayə	ǰayə
mahi	'fish'	mahiy	mahiyə

Table 5 represents noun cases in Gilaki:

Table 5

Numbers / Cases	Singular	Plural
Nominativ	N	N+ ân
Accusative Dative Possessive	N+ə	N+ ân

5.3.2 The Pronoun

The following types of pronouns have been recorded in Gilaki: personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun, interactive pronoun, adverbial pronoun, and reflexive pronoun.

Pronouns in Gilaki show distinction for person, number, and case.

5.3.2.1 Personal pronoun

Table 6 represents personal pronouns in Gilaki. They occur in three cases: 1) nominative, 2) accusative/ dative, and 3) possessive. Nominative pronouns occur in two forms: a) independent of the noun/ separated and b) attached to the end of the noun.

Often two cases, accusative and possessive, occur together.

... nan-ə gərmə-gərm mi mərɛ̀ xàn: bərəm

bread hot/fresh my/forme home take /I/

'... I take home my bread, fresh and hot.'

5.3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 7 represents demonstrative pronouns in Gilaki:

Note: ə/ ,u,h ,hu/ are short forms of /ən/, and /un/, /həm/, and /hun/. All demonstrative pronouns starting with /hə/ are used in emphatic cases.

Other forms of demonstrative pronouns are: /uy/ and /ày/. They are usually attached to /ta/ or /dʌnɛ̀ / which means 'one'or 'a'.

àyta, àydʌnɛ̀

this one

uyta, uydʌnɛ̀

that one

Table 6

cases	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	mən	'I'	əma/ʌ	'we'
	tu	'you'	simi	'you'
	un/hun	'he,she,it'	əšan/	'they'
			usan	'they'
Accusative/ Dative	mərə/ɛ	'me',for/tome	əmərɛ/ə	'us'
	tərə/ɛ	'you'	šim rɛ/ə	'you'
	unərə/ɛ	'him,her,it'	ušanərɛ/ə	'them'
	ənərə/ɛ	'him,her,it'	əšanərɛ/ə	'them'
Possessive	mi	'my'	əmi	'our'
	ti	'your'	šimi	'your'
	un	'his,her,it'	ušanə	'their'
	ən	'his,her,it'	əšanə	'their'
Possessive case in absotuive form	mišin	'mine'	əmišin	'ours'
	tišin	'yours'	šmisin	'yours'
	unəšin	'his,hers,its'	ušanəšin	'theirs'
	ənəšin	'his,hers,its'	əšanəšin	'theirs'

Table 6 represents personal pronouns in Gilaki.

Table 7

cases		Singular	Plural
Nominative	close	ən,ə/hə,hən 'this'	əšan,həšan 'these'
	far	un,u/hu,hun 'that	ušan,hušan 'those'
Accusative	close	ənə,hənə 'him,her'	əšanə,həšanə 'their'
	far	únə,húnə 'him,her'	ušanə,hušanə 'thier'
Possessive	close	ənə,hənə 'his,her'	əšanə,həšanə 'theirs'
	far	únə,húnə 'his,her'	ušanə,hušanə: 'theirs'

Table 7 represent demonstrative pronouns in Gilaki.

ɣazi zaak fədʌ ayta uytayə ɣəmči bɨzɛ

judge child the gave this one that one the lash beat

(The judge gave the child to one [woman] and kicked out the other after having her lashed.)

5.3.2.3 Interrogative Pronoun

The following interrogative pronouns have been recorded in Gilaki:

Nominative===>	či
	'what'
	kō
	'where'
	ki
	'who, whom, whose'
Accusative===>	čirɛ/ə, čīrɛ/ə
	'what for, why'
	kir / , kir /
	'for, to whom'
	kor / , koy
	'where to, 'where'
Possessive===>	ki
	'whose, who'
	kišin 'whose' (absolute)
	'whose' (absolute)

Other forms of interrogative pronouns are /koydan/ and /koyta/ 'which one'. Examples:

čі 'what'

čі xordȧn dʌri

what eating have you

'what are you eating?'

bidin čɨ gɛ

see what says (third person singular)

'what does she say?'

ki 'who,whom, whose'

ki ámón dʌrɛ (third person singular)

who coming has (progressive)

'who is coming'

əgər mi pʰír-ə- vɨrǰə nəšəm ki vɨrǰə va bəšəm

if my father to not go I whom should go I

'If not my father, to whom should I go?)

kōyə/ ko 'where'

koy soon d ri

'where are you going?'

čɨrɛ 'what for, why'

čɨrɨta hə̄sə nəmoiy

'why haven't you come yet?'

kirɛ/ kɨrɛ 'for whom, to whom'

kirɛgūft n dʌri?

'To whom you are talking?'

kišin 'whose'

ən kišinə

this whose is

'whose is this?'

ə kʰóor kišinə

this girl whose is

'Whose girl is this?'

kōyta / koydʌnə

'Which one'

kōyta mišinə

'Which one is mine?'

5.3.2.4 Indefinite Pronoun

indefinite pronouns in Gilaki are as follows:

hər ki'each, everybody' (These pronouns act as indefinite quantifiers)

hər ki unə ičči gūfti

everybody him something said

'everybody said something to him/her.'

həmə 'all, everyone/everybody'

həmə ba həm bina g/kūdid rəx/ s g/kūdən

all together started dancing doing

'All started dancing together.'

ə kȧrə həmə kəs nətanəsti

this work everybody not could

'Not everybody could do this job.'

hərdu 'both'

hər du/duta bušūiydi ʋazi xȧnə

both went judge house

'Both [of them] went to the judge's [house]

dīgər 'the other one, next one'

dɪgəri būgūftə

other one/next one said

'[The] other one/next one said.'

/hič či/ 'nothing' and /iččɪ/ 'something' are pronouns that function as indefinite, indeterminate negative pronouns.

mən hič nanəm.

I nothing not know

'I don't know anything.'

un yəvaški xōrɛ xōrɛ iččɪ gūfti

he slowly him/self him/self something said.

'He was talking to himself slowly.'

Other indefinite pronouns in Gilaki are: /hič kəs/ 'nobody,' /hič kodam/ 'none of them,' /həməči/ 'everything,' and /həməǰur/ 'all kinds.'

5.3.2.5 Reflexive Pronouns

The function of the reflexive pronouns in Gilaki differs from other Iranian and Indo-European languages. In these languages /xōd/ 'self' is used as a common pronoun for all persons with personal suffixes to show distinction of

person and number. But in Gilaki /xō/ū/ 'self' is mainly used to substitute nominative pronouns (usually the first person singular and the third person singular and plural). The following cases have been recorded for /xo/u/ in Gilaki.

nominative xu/o 'I'

nə xō/ū ə karə nūkūnəm

no self this work not do I

'No, I don't do this job.'

...,xō/ū xay əm bəšəm səfər

self want first personal ending go trip

'I want to go to a trip.'

accusative/dative xor 'by himself'

xōrɛ ništ bu aɣoz darə ǰir

by himself sat had walnut tree under

'He had sat down by himself under the walnut tree.'

xōrɛ 'for himself'

...xōrɛ bazar vàkūnɛ

for himself market open does

'He creates a market for himself.'

xōrɛ 'me'

...tu va ita əɣguštər xōrɛ fədi

you must/should a ring me give

'You should/must give me a ring.'

xō/ū 'me'

...bə yadɛ xū/o dəkəfiyə

[you] remember me.

xō/ū 'me/I'

tu əz xū/ō əɣguštər bəxasti və xū/ō tərɛ faəndʌm.

you of me ring wanted and I you give not [I]

'You asked me for [a] ring and I did not give it to you.'

possessive xō/ū 'her/his'

xō/ū kəllə

'his head'

xō/ū dəs čumaɣə usad ...

her/his cane took

'He took his cane...'

xō/ūšən 'their'

xō/ūšənəxànə bɛsabid

their house had stayed

'[They] had stayed [at] their house.'

Other possible meanings of xo/u and xc/ur are:

xōrɛ xōrɛ 'by himself'

xōrɛ xōrɛxiyal g/kudan d bu

'[He] was thinking by himself.'

xōrɛ xōrɛ gūfti

himself himself talking

[He] '[was] talking [to] himself.'

xōrɛ 'doing something without consultation'

un xōrɛ ə kârə bûg/kūd

he/she this work did

'He did this without consultation.'

xōrɛ (himself, herself)

xorɛ gɛ unə nəva bavər g/kūdən

himself says him not should believe

'[He] says [to] himself [I]should not believe him.'

The function of the pronoun in Gilaki differs according to the various positions it takes in a sentence. For example, an accusative pronoun may function as nominative when in the subjective position.

mərɛ 'me'

mərɛ ti kərdə karan xuš nàyɛ

me your done works like not

'I do not like what you are doing/what you have done.'

tərɛ 'you'

məgər rahəti tərɛ xuš nàyɛ

not if comfort you like not

'Don't you like your comfort?'

mərɛ/ə 'I (me)'

əŋɗədər mərɛvištàyə ki nətanəm taʁət bavərəm

so much I hungry that not able I wait

'I am so hungry that I am not able to wait.'

Often absolutive possessive pronouns are accompanied by a noun to make emphasis.

mišin 'mine'

zəy mišin du salәyә

child mine two years is

'My child is two years old.'

tišin 'yours'

gonah tišin čiyә

fault yours what is

'What is your fault?'

šimišin 'yours'

šimisinә xanә koyә isa/nәha

yours (plural) house where stands

'where is your house?'

Often two cases are used.

mi 'my', and m r 'for me', 'to me'

... mi әmrɨ xanә bәrәm

my me for home take

'... take [something] home for myself.'

5.3.3 Noun Modifiers

The following semantic modifiers have been recorded for the noun in Gilaki.

5.3.3.1 Numerals

A numeral precedes the noun it numbers. A numeral unit /ta/ is added to numerals when they precede certain nouns. Numeral units of measurement can stand alone as nouns.

ita gəməǰ

'one stewpot'

duta gəməǰ

'two stewpots'

sɛ ruzɛ

'three days'

čar ɯuti bərənǰ

'four boxes of rice'

ita əŋgušt

'one finger' (used for measurement)

šiš nūxūd tɛla

'six peas of gold' (pea= type of measurement)

həf ta ǰo

'seven barley' (seven jo= one finger/measurement)

həš vəǰəb parčɛ

'eight spans of clothes'

du ərəš̌

'two ərəš̌' (əɾəš̌ = two vəǰəb + two š̌əs [the distance between thumb and forefinger])

no/oh kūləš̌

'kūləš̌' (kūləš̌ = four ərəš̌ [kuləš̌ = the distance between two fingers when two hands are open])

5.3.3.2 Determiners

Different classes of determiners are articles, deictics, universal quantifiers, and relative clauses.

In Gilaki, like other "languages that do not have definite/indefinite articles [speakers of Gilaki] often use deictics--" pointing "words like this, that, these, those--for definiteness..." (Stockwell 1977:57).

Definite articles in Gilaki are: /u/, /un/, /hun/, 'that, those'; and ə: /ən/, /hən/ 'this, these.'

u mərday zənàkə būgot

that man (previously mentioned) woman told

'That man told the woman'

Indefinite articles in Gilaki are: /i/ or /ita/ 'one, a', /duta/ 'two'; etc.

i ruz 'one day'

i ta mərday 'a/one man'

du ta z nay ita záakə sər də́va dʌšťidi

two women one child over quarrel had

'Two women had an argument over a child.'

5.3.3.3 Plural

The plural is formed by adding /an/ to the end of the nouns ending in consonants. Nouns ending in the vowel /ə/ delete their final vowel when an is added.

mərd + an ==> mərdàn

man men

xanə + an ==> xànàn

house houses

/ha/ as a suffix for the plural has been recorded few times. In the Farsi language two suffixes /ha/, and /an/ are used to form the plural. Therefore, the rare occurrence of /ha/ represents Parsization and signifies change.

/čizəha/'things' is a modified form of /čizha/'things' in Farsi.

In Gilaki articles and quantifiers do not agree in form when in plural.

ə xan xeyli ɣəšəŋgə/isa

this house very beautiful is

'This house is very beautiful.'

ə xànàn xeyli ɣəšəŋg ən/isən

these houses very beautiful are

'These houses are very beautiful.'

5.3.3.4 Universal Quantifiers

Universal quantifies in Gilaki are: /h ɔ mmə / 'all,everybody' and /hər/ 'every, each'.

h mm ǰaǰgayə vaməxtəmə
every places searched
'I searched everywhere.'

hərki unə ičči gūfti
everybody him/her something said
'Everybody said something to him.'

5.3.3.5 Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers are: /i:zərə/ 'a little', /ita p̌īcɛ , ipīčɛ/ 'a few,a little,a moment', /ičə n/ 'a few', /xeyli/ 'many', /itadəstə/ 'a group', and /iǰuft/ 'a pair'.

ipčɛ səbər būkūn
a moment wait do
'wait a moment'

ipčɛ kar dʌrəm
a few work have I
'I have a few things to do...'

ičan nəfəri unə həmrʌ būšūidi

a few person him/her with went

'A few persons accompanied him/her.'

ita dəstə 'a group, a branch'

iǰuft 'a pair'

xeyli adəman 'many people'

5.3.3.6 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Gilaki are made of definite articles and a noun plus iki 'one who'.

uni ki 'the one who'

uni ki tu bəbərdi mišin bu

that one who you took mine was

'The one you took was mine.'

Relative clauses will be discussed more fully in the section on syntax.

5.3.3.7 The Adjective

The fourth type of modifier in Gilaki is the adjective. In Gilaki the adjective mainly precedes the noun that it modifies. The inflective symbol /ə/ is attached to the adjective.

pīllə bərar

big brother

'elder/big brother'

kasə čum

blue eye

'blue eyed'

gīlə dərman

Gilak treatment

'folk (Gilak), medicine'

Often the / / is deleted.

gərun yaʁut

expensive/precious ruby

'precious ruby'

šantey mərday

crazy/stupid man (indefinite article)

'crazy/stupid man'

Often the adjective follows the noun. If more than one attributive accompanies the noun, then the adjectives follow the noun. Often the conjunction /u/'and' or /izafe/-'liaison' /ə,ɛ,e/ is inserted in-between words.

fərəsɛ bə i ǰīgayɛ xoš ab u həvaye

[He] reaches to a place pleasant water and weather

- xōbi

good one

'He arrives at a pleasant place.'

ita hoor ʁəšəŋg u - xušgil...

a girl beautiful and pretty

'a pretty and good-looking girl...'

If more emphasis is on the noun, then the attributive follows the noun.

ti pʰɛ̀r - ɛ- kafər

your father (liaison) godless, blasphemer

'Your father is a heathen'

ita əmarət -ɛ- xõb dʌrəm

a building (liaison) good have I

'I have a good property.'

Note: The attributive of color always precedes the noun in Gilaki. No liaison /ə,ɛ/ is added to color terms ending in vowels.

siya əsp

black horse

'black horse'

surxə-gul

red flower

'rose'

kasə čum

blue eye

'blue eye'

səfidə / gul -ɛ- gilas -ɛ- həštpəri tu

white flower cherry eight-petaled you

'You are a white eight-petaled cherry flower.'

5.3.3.8 Comparative Adjective

The comparative adjective is formed by adding the suffix /tər/ to the end of the attributive.

ə kʰóor u kʰóor -ə- bɨxtər

this girl that girl better

'This girl is better than the other.'

Other examples of comparative adjectives are:

pĭll tər

'bigger, larger, elder, older'

There is no specific rule for the comparative expression in Gilaki. Often /ǰə/ 'than' is used as a comparative conjunction, but there is no consistent placement for /ǰə/.

unə bərar ǰə un pĭllətərə

her/his brother he bigger/older

'His brother is older than he.'

ənə ǰə šəkar bɨxtər nɨbɨ

this hunt better not be

'No hunt could be better than he.'

In consistency of word order is correlated with change in Gilaki. For a detailed discussion of change, see Chapter 8.

There is no specific term for the superlative adjective in Gilaki. The superlative adjective is formed by the comparative adjective plus terms such as /ǰəhəmə/ 'of all', /ǰ ə ušan/ 'of them' or reduplication of an adjective.

ǰə ušan xeyli xeyli adəmtərə
of them very very human more is
'He is more human than they are.'

ǰə həmə bɨxtər tərə
of all better more is
'[He] is the best of all.'

ita əz u pīllə pīllə hɨnd vånån...
one of big big watermelons
'One of the largest watermelons...'

5.4 ADPOSITIONS (PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS)

Adpositions occur in nominal phrases. Their function is to give information about the relationship of noun phrases to the predictors. Their position (pre/post) is related logically to the word order of the language. For more information see chapter 8.

Gilaki has historically had mainly postpositions; in Modern Gilaki, however, there are found some prepositions which represent change.

5.4.1 Postposition

The main postpositions in Gilaki are as follows:

ǰōr 'on/top'

dar- ə -ǰōr

tree dative on/top

'on the tree'

ǰir 'under'

aʒoz dar- ə ǰir

walnut tree dative under

'under the walnut tree'

birun 'out'

šəhr- ə - birun

city dative out

'out of the city'

dūrūn 'through'

xōrɛ kučɛ durun šóondə bid

self alley through going was

'[He] was going through the alley by himself.'

durun 'into, inside, interior'

ti xunə durun/miyan

your house into/interior

'inside your house'

miyan 'among'

əšan- ə miyan zəndəgani būg/kūd

them dative among lived did

'[He/she] lived among them.'

həmrʌ 'with/by'

..., xō/ū pʰɛɛ̀r- ə -həmrʌ būšo

his father dative with went

'...,[He] went with his father.'

h mr 'to'

xō/ū həmr gəp/b zɛɛ̀n də bu

himself to talking was

'[He] was talking to himself.'

s r 'over' (discussion, fight, or quarrel over something)

duta zənày ita záakə sər dəəva dʌšti

two women one/a child dative over quarrel had

(Two women quarreled over the custody of a child.)

s r 'at'

čaiy baɣan- ə -sər

tea gardens dative at

'At the tea gardens/orchards.'

vasti/vasi 'for the sake of'

ti vasti/vasi

your sake

'[for] your sake'

vasti/vasi 'for'

či vasi

'what for/why'

dumbal 'in search of'

pul- ə -dumbal əra ura vaməxtim

money dative search here there looked for

'[We] searched here and there for the money.'

dumbal 'follow','after'

mi dumbal bəmō

my after came

'[He] followed/came after me.'

K nar/kun 'beside'/'by side'

un hozə kənar/ništɛ bu

he pool dative beside sat was

' He was sitting beside the pool.'

baɣ- ə -kun

garden dative by

'by the garden'

dərya kənar

sea side

'sea side'

vərǰə/virǰə 'to, towards'

biya mi vərǰə/virǰə

come my side/to

'come to me'

rɛ 'for'

čirɛ

'what for/why'

rɛ 'of'

mən un ə -rɛ tərsəm

I him dative of afraid

'I am afraid of him.'

dōr/dūr-u-bər 'surroundings'

šəhr- ə -dōr

city dative surrounding

dəm 'opening/ mouth/ nozzle'

čalək- ə -dəm

small/well dative opening

'opening/mouth of the well.'

ləb 'side'

dərya ləb

'sea side'

manəstən 'like'

mi manəstən

me like

'like me'

pušt/pəs 'back/after'

əsp- ə -pušt

horse dative back

'[the] horse's back.'

šan pəs

shoulder back

'shoulder blade/back of the shoulder.'

piš 'front'

bi^ piš

river front

' The front river.'

nəzdik 'close to/near'

šimi xànə nəzdiki

'close to your house.'

your house near

ǰə 'according to'

duzdi kərdən -ə -ǰə...

this stealing dative from

'As witnessed by /According to [the technique]

of stealing....'

ǰə 'from'/'of'

mərɛǰə əŋguštər bəxasti.

me from/of ring wanted you

'[You] wanted a ring from me.'

ǰə 'than'

ən ǰə un bɛxtər

this than that better

'This is better that that.'

5.4.2 Prepositions

The following prepositions are now extant in modern Gilaki and have the same meaning and function as postpositons:

ǰə 'from, of'

ǰə dʌrə ə sər bəkəftə

from tree dative top fell

'It fell from the top of the tree.'

/ba/ has the same meaning as /həmrɴ/ .

bə 'to'

...bə hər duta zənȧy fədən

to both two women give

'...give to both women.'

b 'towards'

bəšim bə xan

go to house/home

'Let us go home.'

bu 'to'

bū hūš bəmō

to senses came

'He came to his senses.'

əz, from and ta 'until' are used to limit time and space.

əz ayə ta uyə

'from here to there'

Rastorgoeva et al (1971:191-2) have listed other prepositions, but my data does not support them. Rather, I consider them to be Farsi loan words.

5.5 VERB PHRASE

One type of verb phrase consists of copula and a predicate that may be a noun or a pronoun. In either case they refer to the same subject, that is, they are predicate nominatives. See the following example:

u mərday karɛgərə
that man worker is
'That man is a worker.

The predicate may be an adjective or an interrogative, in which case it modifies the subject.

u mərday xeyli čačulbazə
this man very tricky is
'This man is very tricky.'

ti ahval xōb isə?
your health good/well is
'Are you well?'

5.5.1 The Verb

In Gilaki verbs have a more elaborate morphology than nouns. The classes of verbs are formed by different initials. The following classes of verbs have been recorded in Gilaki:

First class: the /bə, bi, bu, bō/ verbs

bibištən 'to fry'

bōbōxōstən 'to rot, wear out, decay'

būšūstən 'to wash'

Second class: the/də, di, du/ verbs

dəxšardən 'to press, squeeze'

dəpəlkəstən 'to be soaked'

dimištən 'to urinate'

dūkūdən 'to put on'

Third class: the /f , fi, fu/ verbs

fəčəməstən 'to bow'

fəvərdən 'to swallow'

fəvərəstən 'to be drowned and sunk'

fivixtən 'to hang, suspend'

figiftən 'to take'

fukudən 'to pour'

fučəkəstən 'to climb'

fuxusdáan 'to push' (as in a person pushing others.)

fuxusdáan 'to come down (as a wall or building), to fall'

Fourth class: the /va, vi/ verbs

vaməxtən 'to search for, look for'

vatərkəstən 'to be torn, to tear'

viriš̆tən 'to stand up'

Fifth class: the /u/ verbs

usadən 'get, take'

ūsūxtən 'to burn'

Sixth class: the /j̆ə, j̆i, j̆u/ verbs

j̆əməxtən ' suddenly happening'

j̆iliskəstən 'to slide, to glide'

j̆iviš̆tən 'to run away, escape'

j̆ugurdəstən 'to twist, contort'

Rastorgoeva et al. (1971) have analyzed these various initial verb markers as prefixes, but according to this study, only /bə, bi, bu, bo/ function as prefixes.

There is a semantic correlation between some of the verbs above and their initial marker. For example, verbs that start with /fə, fi, fō, fu/ signify direction up, down, outside, or inside.

In Gilaki verbs inflect for the following features: 1) person: (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and number (singular and plural); 2) aspect, 3) tense, 4) mood, 5) transitivity, and 6) voice (active and passive).

5.5.1.1 Tenses

There are two basic verb tenses in Gilaki, present and past.

The present tense is formed from the imperative form, that is, the present stem of the verb plus the person-number suffix.

	singular	plural
1st person	əm (ə)	im (i), (ə)
2nd person	i (ə)	id (i), (ə)
3rd person	e,ɛ (ə)	id (i), (ə)

singular	plural
m n virizəm (ə)	əmʌ virizim (i),/(ə)
'I stand up'	'We stand up'
tu virizi (ə)	šumʌ virizid (i),/(ə)
'You stand up'	'You stand up'
un/hun virizit	ušan virizid (i),/(ə)
'He/She stands up'	'They stand up'

The indicative form of the present tense is used as follows:

If the action happens at the present time.

mən həssə dəvəɣgəmə ; xūdaya gəm

I now shocked/surprised; God say I

'I am now shocked,surprised; God, I say!'

Repetition of a habitual action, or a statement of truth.

šəb u ruz kar kūnɨ.

night and day work does

'[He] works day and night.'

The present tense is also used in narration, that is, to describe an action that actually happened in the past.

The present progressive is formed by the infinitive plus the auxiliary /dʌštən/ 'have' and the personal ending of the present tense.

bərdan dʌr əm

carry/take have personal ending

'[I] am taking/carrying.'

bərdan dʌr i

taking have personal ending

'[You] are taking/carrying.'

kōyə šóon dʌri

'Where are you going?'

ɣ šimi xanə ámon dʌrím

'[we] are coming from your house.'

In Gilaki, the future tense takes the same form as the present tense, but temporal reference for the future is represented by means of adverbs of time, such as: /du ruzə

dīgər/ 'two days from now,' /fərda/ 'tomorrow,' and /salɨ dīgər/ 'next year.'

mi həmsayəxanə šəkəm dɑrɣ;du ruzɨ dīgər zàyɨ
my neighbor belly has two days after give birth
'My neighbor is pregnant; she will give birth [to her baby] two days from now.'

mən fərda šəm uyə
I tomorrow go there
'I will go there tomorrow.'

Note: In some Iranian languages, the future tense is expressed by the verbs 'to wish' or 'to want' plus the main verb. In Gilaki, however, 'to want' does not represent the future tense. Rather, it is used to express wish or want.

Parsi	Gilaki
mɤn xahæm ræft	mən šəm (I will go/I go)
I want went	ī gō
'I will go.'	mən xayəm bəšəm
	I want go I
	'I want to go (subjunctive mood).'

Rastorgoeva et al. (1971) state that /xast n/ 'want' plus the main verb, as in Parsi, expresses the future tense. They cite the example /xay m amon/ 'I will come'. Christenson (1930) also indicates that he only once had heard /xay m amon/ but that such a form does not represent an ordinary

speech pattern in Gilaki. My data does not support this view. I consider this form of the future tense to be a loan translation from Farsi.

Past Tense

The past tense is formed by deleting the final suffixes /ɛn, an, ən/ of the infinitive and adding the prefixes/ bə, bi, bu, bō/ for some verbs.

Infinitive	Past
bərdən 'to take, to carry'	bəbərd 'took'
kɐftən 'to fall'	bəkəft 'fell'
hɛɛn 'to buy'	bihɛ 'bought'
dɛɛn 'to see'	bidɛ 'saw'
iškəftən 'to break'	biškəft 'broke'
kuštən 'to kill'	būkūšt 'killed'

Note: Other types of verbs do not take the /be, bi, bu, bo/.

Infinitive	Past
və vrsɛɛn 'ask'	va vrsɛ 'asked'
fərəsɛɛn 'to reach/arrive'	fərəsɛ 'reached/arrived'
tʌv/bədən 'to throw'	tʌv/bədʌ/ə 'threw'
išmardən 'to count'	išmard 'counted'
išnəvəstən 'to hear'	išnəvəst 'heard'
fandərəstən 'look/search for'	fandərəst 'looked'
fišadən 'throw away'	fišad 'threw away'
virištən 'to stand up'	virišt 'stood up'
čakudən 'to fix, to make'	čakud 'fixed, made'

To analyze the past form in Gilaki, Bastorgoeva, et.al (1971:122-4) uses a different approach. In that study they classify past tense forms into 1) verbs with the final consonants /t/ or /d/ and 2) verbs that end in with the final vowels /e/ or /a/. Dealing with basic formation of the past tense, they consider it as a derivative form of the present tense with the addition of suffixes /e/, /a/, /d/, /t/, / st/ to the end of the present form with phonological change in the verb stem.

Present	Past	Infinitive
tərs 'fear'	tərse	tərsen
bər 'take'	bərd	bərdən
kəf 'fall'	kəft	kəftən
dan 'know'	danəst	danəstən
is 'stand,stop'	isá	isán

The second type of past tense formations is one that changes the stem significantly before adding the suffix /t/.

Present	Past	Infinitive
gir 'take'	gift	giftən
viriz 'stand up'	virišt	virištən

Other types of past tense are:

When the present tense stem ends in the nasal /n/ the past tense has suffixes /e/ and /d/.

Present	Past	Infinitive
din 'see'	de	deen

kun 'do' kud kudən

The present tense stem ends in /h/. In rapid pronunciation, the/h/ is often omitted with change in the previous vowel.

Present	Past	Infinitive
de(h), d(ih)	da	dáan 'to see'
neh	na	náan 'to place'

The following personal endings for the past tense have been recorded in Gilaki: /əm, i, ə/ɛ, , im(i), id(i)/, and /id(i)/.

Singular	Plural
də/ bəkəft əm	də/ bəkəftim (i)
'I fell'	'We fell'
də/ bəkəft i	də/ bəkəftid (i)
' You fell'	' You fell'
də/ bəkəft/ə	də/ bəkəftid (i)
' He/She fell'	' They fell'

A few cases are reported of an /ə/ attached to the personal endings, especially among female speakers of Gilaki.

In Modern Gilaki /ə/ changes to /ɛ/ or /e/ signifying the social and educational background of speakers. Often the third person singular suffix /ə/ is completely deleted, representing a shift in pronunciation toward Farsi.

The past perfect tense is formed by the past participle of the basic verb plus the past form of the auxiliary verb 'to be'.

Singular	Plural
išnəvəstə bum	išnəvəstə bim
'[I] had heard'	'[We] had heard'
bügüftə bi	bügüftə bid
'[You] had said'	'[You] had said'
bidɬ bu	bidɬ bid
'[He/She] had seen'	'[They] had seen'

5.5.1.2 Aspect

The imperfect tense in Gilaki is formed by the past tense of the verb plus the personal endings: im, i, i, im(i), id(i), id(i). The Prefixes/bə,bi,bu/, are deleted.

Sing	Plural
1st futurkəst im	futurkəst im(i)
2nd futurkəst i	futurkəst id(i)
3rd futurkəst (i)	futurkəst id(i)

The imperfect form is used in the following cases:

Durative

ta zənd bid ǰə adəman duri kudidi

until alive were of human beings away stayed ' They stayed away from human beings as long as they were alive.'

Repetitive action

(There is no English equivalent for this case.)

murɣanə bərdim bazar fərəxtim...

egg took [I] market sold [I] '(Customarily, usually) I took eggs to the market where I sold them.'

Habitual action

məstə la məst ámoi bə xanə šəb

drunk came home night

'(Every) night [he]came home drunk.'

mi dimə sili həmr surx-ə-g/kūdim

my face slap with/by red did I (cf.p. 85)

Continuous action:

həmišə ʁərz kudi nuzul dáyi

always loan did interest gave

'[He] was always borrowing and paying interest.'

The imperfect in a contrary to fact carries conditional meaning.

ə ɣər danəst im(i) ámó iym(i)...

if knew personal ending come personal ending

'If I knew,[I] would come./ Had[I] known, I would have come.'

The imperfective descriptive is formed by the infinitive of the verb plus the prefixes /d/ , /di/, /du/, and the past tense of the auxiliary verb to be.

singular			plural		
kəftʌm	də	bum	xərdʌn	də	bim

infinitive pr. Aux.be	inf. pr. aux.be
'[I] was in the process process of falling.'	'[We] were eating.'
šóon də bi	šóon dɛ bid
'[You] were going.'	'[You] were going.'
kəftʌn du bu	kəftʌn dɛ bid
'[He] was falling.'	'[They] were falling.'

The imperfective descriptive form is used to express an action that was in progress during specific moment in the past.

Often the past progressive (continuous action) is formed by the infinitive of the verb, the present progressive form of the auxiliary /dʌštən/ 'to have' plus the past form of the auxiliary /buun/ 'to be'.

kəftʌn	dʌrɛ	bu	n
infinitive	Aux.	Aux.be	personal
(to have)		(past form)	ending

'[I] was falling down.'

gɔb/p zɛɛn dʌrɛ bi

'[You] were speaking./[You] were in the process of speaking.'

kar g/kudan dʌrɛ bu

'[He] was working./[He] was in the process of working.'

Other personal endings for this form are: /bim/, /bid/, and /bid/.

This form is used to express durative actions in the past. The past progressive form is used less frequently in Modern Gilaki.

In Gilaki, the perfective is marked by contrast with the imperfective . The perfective /bə bərdəm/ 'I took' and the imperfective /b ə rdim/ 'I took' each represents an action in the past, but they are not equivalent. The perfective form /bəbərdəm/ implies the meaning of completion of the act of taking while imperfective /bərdim/ does not indicate completion or the specific time of action.

5.5.1.3 Modality

Grammatically, the speakers of Gilaki mark their attitudes in the following moods:

Indicative/Declarative Mood

A verb in the indicative mood is an assertion of the truth or poses a question. It may occur in all tenses.

present		past			
mən šəm	un morɣananə	bəbərdə	bazar	bōfrōxtə	
I go	he eggs	took	market	sold	
'I go'	'He took eggs to the market and sold them.'				

Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is formed by the present verb stem. Some verbs take the prefixes /bə, bi, bu/. The plural suffix /in, id/ is added to the imperative mood to express command in the second person plural. Other types of verbs do not take a prefix.

bəbər

'take,carry''bow'

vavrs

'ask'

fəčəm

'bow'

usân

'take, lift'

Often the imperative mood expresses an invitation.

bəfərma binšin hayə/ayə

sit down here

'Please sit down here.'

The implication of this expression is difference, that is, the speaker would be honored if the addressee accepts his invitation.

Possibility/Impossibility

nəšɛ suzən tabədən biǰir

not possible needle throw down

Idiomatic: It was so crowded that it was impossible to drop a needle among the people.

ta bəlki u pul bəčukə čubəsərə
may be that money adheres to the stick
'Perhaps money adheres to the stick.'

Ability/Disability

tu tani bəgi čəvədər tul kəšɨyəta əma fərəsim bə xanə
you can tell how long takes until we get to home
'You can tell/Can you tell how long it takes to get home.'

gəb/p mi dilə xurdan dʌrɨ gũftən nətanəm
speech my heart eating is saying not can
'Idiomatic expression: I have so much to say, but I am unable to speak and the silence breaks my heart.'

Necessity

əlan vasi mi ǰanə zay õryan bəmanɨ
now must my beloved child naked stay
'My beloved child must stay naked now.'

mən vasi ta həssə həzar bar bənobim
I must/should until now thousand times have come
'I should have come a thousand times before this.'

unə va gũftən
him/her should/must to tell
'He/She must/should be told.'

Wish

xuda ti ǰanə saɽ bukunɛ

God your body healthy does

'[May] God keep you healthy.'

xuda təɾɛ əməɾɛ bədarɛ

God you us for keep/protect/save

'[May] God save you for us.'

Desire

mən xȧyəm bəšəm musafərət

I want go I trip

'I want to go on a trip.'

tu čto xayi tarikə šəb iččci peyda kuni bəbəri

you now want you dark night something find do you take

'How do you expect to find anything in the dark night?'

mən xayəm ita duxtərɛ tazə bɨzʌ būbōstə usanəm....

I want I one girl new born take

'I want to take a new born girl ...'

In addition, the subjunctive form of the present and past tenses have been recorded when they are preceded by the following verbs:

meyl da/ʌštən

'to desire'

meyl dʌšt əm təɾɛ bidin əm

want/desire had personal ending you see personal ending

'[I] had [a] desire to see you.'

fəramuš kudən/ǰəxtər šóon

'to forget'

fəramuš- kudəm/mərɛ ǰəxtər bušo tərɛ bəgəm....

forget- did I me memory went you tell I

'I forgot to tell you.'

bɛxtər bu

'It was better'

bɛxtər

'It is better'

bɛxtər bu ki ti zənakə bugufte bi

better was that if your wife told were/had been

'It would have been better if your wife had been told.'

tərs

'To be afraid of'

tərsəm unə bəgəm unə xuš nàyɛ

afraid I him/her tell I him happy not be

'I am afraid if I tell him, he will not be happy.'

Notes:

In all forms and tenses, verbs ending in a vowel take a glide /y/ before the personal ending that starts with the vowel /i/.

singular plural

1st	vavɛ m 'I cut'	vavɛyim(i) 'we cut'
2nd	vavɛ yi 'you cut'	vavɛyid(i) 'you cut'
3rd	vavɛ 'he cut'	vavɛyid(i) 'they cut'

	singular	plural
1st	bəmo m 'I came'	bəmo yimi(i) 'we came'
2nd	bəmo yi 'you came'	bəmo yid(i) 'you came'
3rd	bəmo 'he/she came'	bəmo yid(i) 'they came'

	singular	plural
1st	fədʌ im 'I gave'	fədʌ yim(i) 'we gave'
2nd	fədʌ yi 'you gave'	fədʌ yid(i) 'you gave'
3rd	fədʌ 'she/he gave'	fədʌ yid(i) 'they gave'

As previously indicated, only some verbs take the prefixes /bə, bi, bu/ where the form requires a prefix.

In compound verbs rather, for instance, an /ə/ is inserted between the noun and the verb.

ɣərz- -g/kūd

loan did

'[He] received a loan.'

ɣali-ə-pən-ə- g/kūd

carpet spread did

'[He] spread the carpet.'

Irregular verbs in Gilaki are as follows:

Imperative/present	Past	Infinitive
biyʌ 'come'	bəmó 'came'	ȧmón/óon 'to come'

åyɛ 'comes'

bugu 'tell, say' būgūft 'said' gūftən 'to tell, say'

gɛ 'tells, says'

buso/u 'go' būšo 'went' šóon 'to go'

šɛ 'goes'

bɛdar 'have' dʌšt 'had' d štən 'to have'

dʌrɛ 'has'

Transitivity

The transitive verb is formed by adding the suffix /ånɛn, ånɛɛn/ to the imperative form of the verb.

fəčəm + ånɛn/anɛɛn ==> fəčəman ɛn/nɛn

bow 'to make to bow'

dūčūk + ånɛn/ånɛɛn ==> dūčūkånɛn/nɛɛn

'to stick,to adhere' 'to make to adhere'

All verb forms inflect for the transitive suffix /an/ before personal endings.

imperative	transitive
dūčūk 'stick'	dūčūkånɛn
fəčəm 'bow'	fəčəmånɛn

5.5.1.4 Negation

In Gilaki, as in many other Iranian languages, the negation particle /n/ is added to the verb in all tenses and moods to form a negative statement. The negation particle

replaces the prefixes /b , bi, bu/ in verbs with those prefixes.

affirmative/positive	negative
būgū 'say, tell'	nūgū 'do not say/tell'
bihin 'buy'	nihin 'do not buy'
bɔzən 'hit'	nəzən 'do not hit'

In other types of verbs the negation particles fall after the first syllable of the verb.

positive	negative
fəkəš 'pull'	fənəkəš 'do not pul'
fədɛ/fədən 'give'	fə́ndɛ/fā́ndɛ 'do not give'
dūkūn 'put on'	dūnūkūn/dūŋkun 'do not put on'
vavin 'cut'	vanəvin 'do not cut'
čakun 'make/fix'	čanukun/caŋkun/cā̃nkun 'do not/fix'

5.5.1.5 Passive

Unlike English and like other Iranian languages, Gilaki does not have a complete passive voice. However, the passive voice in Gilaki, as in many Indo-European languages, is expressed as an agentless statement that is formed by the present participle of the verb plus corresponding forms of the auxiliary /buon/ 'to be'. Example:

ušantər čənta pīlləpīlləhəndəvanə bi čɛ bid nəhabid

further some big big watermelon being picked up piled up

'Very big watermelon had been picked and piled up further

(from here).'

Often the passive voice is expressed as an unspecified (unknown) agent.

gīdī xŏb məʔazə iyə/isə

it is said good shop is

'[They/people] say it is a good shop.'

Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries in Gilaki are:

buón 'to be'

is an 'to exist'

būbōst n 'becoming'

tanəstən 'can/to be able'

xastən 'want'

dʌštən 'to have'

va/vasi 'must'

ša 'might/perhaps'

5.5.2 Verb Modifiers (Adverbs)

Verb modifiers in Gilaki can be classified according to their cognitive functions into the following types.

5.5.2.1 Adverb of time

(durative and/or point of time)

tazə 'recently, newly'

mən xayəm ita duxtər tazə bɪza bōbōstə usanəm...

I want one girl new/recently born take/get

'I want to take a new born baby...'

həssə 'now'

mən həssə dəvəɣgəmə

I now shocked/am surprised

'I am shocked/surprised now.'

hətōki 'meanwhile'

dərhəmiyan

hətōki əšanə həmrʌ gəb zɛɛn dʌrɛ bu...

while them with talking progressive was...speaking

'Meanwhile (he) was talking to them...'

həmišə 'always'

həmišə tərɛ yad avərəm...

'I always remember you...'

ta 'as long as'

ta zəndə bid əz adəman duri g/kūdid(i)

'As long as they were alive, they stayed away from

human beings.'

dīr 'late'

axərɛ borǰə kərayəxanə dīrə bō

'It is the end of the month and the rent is late.'

ivar ki 'suddenly'

ivarəki sɛb vəškəfɛ

suddenly apple split

'The apple split suddenly.'

hənuz 'so far, yet'

hənuz ušanə nidɪm

yet them not seen I

'I have not seen them yet.'

5.5.2.2 Locative adverbs

(stative, up, down, inside, through, etc.)

àyə/hayə 'here'

...hayə/ayə zəndəgani g/kūdid

' They were living here.'

uyə/huyə 'there'

...uyəbəpa isa bu

'There [he] was standing.'

kōyə 'where'

kōyəšóon d ri?

'Where are you going?'

əra/ura 'here and there, everywhere'

əra ura hərči vamə xtəm hičči peyda nūg/kūdəm

'Here and there (everywhere) I looked/searched I could not find anything.'

bijir 'down'

un zâak ə bijir bəna

he child down put

'He put down the baby.'

birun 'out'

ušanə ǰə uyə birunə g/kūd

they from there out did

'[He/She] kicked them out of there.'

kun/kənar 'beside'

ita pīrə mərday darə kun ništɛ bu

a/one old man tree beside sat was

'An old man was sitting by the tree.'

5.5.2.3 Adverb of Manner

The following adverbs of manner have been recorded in Gilaki:

yəvašəki 'slowly'

xəlvəti 'secretly, privately'

naxəbərəki 'unconsciously'

xōb 'well'

bəd 'bad/badly'

ətoiy 'this way, in this manner'

Often adverbs of manner are formed by the reduplication of an adjective.

gərm-ə-gərm 'hot-hot'

yəvaš yəvaš 'slow slow/slowly'

buləndbuləndbuləndbu

equivalent to slowpoke in English.'

In Gilaki the suffix /t r/ is added to the adverb of manner to compare them.

bɛxtər 'better'

bəʈtər 'worse'

zuʈtər 'sooner'

dīrtər 'later'

5.5.2.4 Adverb of frequency

həndey 'again'

i var 'once'

həmišə 'always'

5.5.2.5 Intensifier adverbs

xeyli 'very, very much'

...,tərɛ xeyli dus dʌrəm

...,you very much love

'...[I] love you very much.'

5.5.2.6 interrogative adverbs

čūto čto 'how'

čɛrɛ/cīrɛ 'why'

məgər 'a word put forth by one who hears a remark that is contrary to his previous understanding.'

məgər tu :ani mi máar naxušə

'Don't you know my mother is ill?'

5.5.2.7 Negational Adverbs

Negational adverbs in Gilaki are:

hič 'nothing'

hun hič kar nu kunɛ

he nothing work not does

'He does nothing/ does not do anything.'

hərgəz 'never'

hərgəz mi vərǰə nəməiy

never my place/side not came

'[He] would never come to me.'

Adverbs are often formed by adding /ə/ to adjectives.

dir 'late' dīr- -bu 'became late'

pir 'old' pīr- -bu 'became old'

Adverbs in Gilaki, as in many other Iranian languages, are not strongly developed. Other studies on Gilaki have included these classes of adverbs.

Geiger (1903:375), has classified adverbs in Gilaki accerding to time, place, manner, reason, and degree. He has recorded the following:

Time: imruz 'today'

diruz 'yesterday'

həssə 'now'

dīr 'late

Place: kū/kūyə 'where'

uyə 'there'

Manner: čūtūr 'how'

ətū 'this way'

Reason and degree: čire 'why'

čivasti 'for what'

xeyli 'very'

Christensen (1930:93), has listed adverbs of time, place, manner and intensification. Rastorgoeva et al (1971:81-83) classify adverbs of time place, and intensification but mainly focused on time, place, and manner.

5.6 THE CLAUSE

A basic clause consists of a subject and its verb in agreement. In Gilaki, as in many Iranian languages, the subject may be expressed by adding the person-number suffix to the verb stem or by a noun plus the verb with a person-number suffix.

bəmō

'[He/She] came.'

mən bəmóm

'[I] came.'

There is a person-number agreement between subject and verb. However, the following cases of disagreement (anomaly) between the subject and verb have been recorded.

1) Subject is plural, but the predicate is singular.

duta zənay ita zʹáakə sər dəwa dʌštidi

S O V

'Two women had quarrel over a child.'

2) Subject (inanimate) is plural, but the predicate is singular.

ti čuman gušə dʌšti mən nanəstim

your eyes corner had I not knew

'I didn't know your eyes were slanted.'

(Idiomatic expression of praising the beauty of eyes)

3) The Subject is plural (collective noun) but the predicate is singular.

təmamɛ zəndəganiɛ dunia unə fərahəm bu

all living world him available was

'Everything[in] the world was available to him./

[He] had access to everything in the world.'

təmamɛ ənə səŋgan səŋgɛ mərmərə

all its stones stone marble

'All its stones are marble.'

5.6.1 The Subject

A subject may be a noun, a pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or an interrogative pronoun. In addition to the above, a numeral (cardinal or ordinal number) and an adjective have also occurred in the subjective,or nominal position.

Noun as subject

zənay būgūftə

woman said

'The woman said.'

Pronoun as subject

(personal pronoun) mən xayəm bəšəm musafərət

I want go travel/trip

'I want to go on a trip.'

(reflexive pronoun) xō/ū ə karə nukunəm

I(self) this job/work not do

' I (self) don't do this job.'

Demonstrative pronoun (article) as subject

hūn būgūftə

'That he said.'

ən bəmo

'This he came.'

Interrogative pronoun as subject

ki bəmo?

'Who came?'

čɨ būbūstə

'What happened?'

A numeral as subject

dutaiy ra dəkəftidi

two started to go

'Two of them/both started to go.'

dovvomi ru kunɨ gɛ əvvəliyə

second looks tells/says the first...

'[The] second (one) looks at [the first] and says ....'

Adjective as subject

bičarə dəs ǰə ə dunya kutayə

poor hand of this world short is

'Poor [man]; [his] hand is short of this world.'

Often the subject noun or pronoun is merely understood.

xeyli tərɨ dus dʌrəm

very you love

' I love you very much.'

5.6.2 The Object

An object may be a noun, a pronoun, or an interrogative. Ordinal numbers and demonstrative articles may occur as the object.

Noun as object

ʈazi ǰəlladə bəxastə

S O V

judge killer wanted

'The judge wanted/called the executioner.'

Pronoun as object

mən unə būgūftəm

S O V

I him said/told

'I told him.'

Ordinal number as object

dovvomi rukunɛ; gɛ əvvəliyə

S V V O

second looks says the first

'(The second) looks at (the first) and says.'

Interrogative pronoun as object

čі xaiy

what want

'What do you want?'

Demonstrative pronoun as object

ənə bəbərdidi

O V

this took

' They took this.'

5.6.3 Word Order

Word order in Gilaki is SOV, but some cases of VO order have been recorded. The following list represents various types of sentences in Gilaki:

V būgūftə
'[He] said.'

SV un bəmo
'He came.'

OV xū čumanə dəbəstə
his eyes closed
'[He] closed his eyes.'

SOV mən tərɛ xeyli dus dʌrəm
S O V
I you very love
'I love you very much.'

OOV ...tərɛəŋgušt́ər fá́əndəm
O O V
you ring do not give
'[I] do not give you a ring.'

SOOV tu mərɛ əŋgušt́ər bəxasti
you from me ring wanted
'You wanted a ring from me.'

SOVO tu ti zá́akə fədən mərɛ
you your child give me
'Give you child to me.'

Often copula is deleted.

nisfə pust tišin-u--nisfə pustəm unəšin

half of peel yours and half of peel also his

'Half of the peel is yours and half of the peel

[is] his.'

Word order in interrogative sentences is SOV or OV, accompanied by a change in intonation.

tu či kuni?

S O V

'What do you do?'

un kiyə/isə

O S V

'Who is he?'

tu náani

S V

you not know

'Don't you know?/ You don't know.'

In addition, the following types have been recorded:

VOS bələhəstə həsirə mərzə mi čəyg

V O S

stuck mat edge my grip

'My grip stuck to the edge of the mat.'

VO gɛ əvvəliyə

says first the

'[He] says [to] the first one.'

Gilaki is an inflectional language. Words may occur in the same order, but in different forms and with different meanings when accompanied by different affixes or adpositions.

zənay mərdakə-bū́gū́ft

S O V

the woman man the told

'The woman told the man.'

zənakə mərday bū́gū́ft

O S V

'The man told the woman.'

5.6.4 Order of Modifiers

The following list represents the order of noun modifiers in Gilaki.

Possessives

possessive + noun/possessor + N

ti mā́ar

'your mother'

kasàɣa mā́ar

'Kasàɣa (personal/name)'s mother'

possessor + (liaison) + adj. + N

Kasàɣa yə pīllə duxtər

Kasa a's elder daughter

uš̌anə pīllə pəsər

'their elder son'

adj. + ə + possessor + ə + N

pīr-ə-mərd-ə- kəllə

old man head

'The old man's head.'

Compound Nouns

possessor + ə + compound noun (modifier + modified)

mərd-ə-bərar zən

man brother wife

'man's brother's wife.'

ti zən-pʰɛ̀r

your wife father

'your wife's father.'

possessor, possessive + adj. + compound noun

(modifier + modified)

Gulmir -ə- pīllə zən xàxōr

personal name elder wife sister (sister in-law)

'Gulmir's elder wife's sister'

Conjoined nouns, Conjoined possessors

N + U (and) + N + (liaison) + N

zən-u- zɛ́ak ə xəndə

wife and child laughter

'wife and child's laughter'

Numerals

numeral + N(modifier) + N(modified)

ita ɑ̀ɣoz dar

a/one walnut tree

'a walnut tree'

i nɐfər-ə- lōtkə

a person boat

'a person's boat'

Postpositional phrase

N + N + ə + post position

kunus dar-ə-ǰir

medlar tree under

'under the medlar tree.'

possessor/possessive + N + ə + postposition

mi duxtər-ə -həmrʌ

my daughter with

'with my daughter'

An adjective often follows the noun it modifies. For a detailed explanation of this order see p. 111.

The following represents the order of verb modifiers in Gilaki:

Time modifier usually precedes the verb. In sentences which contain two time modifiers, the more general expression of time is usually at the very beginning of the sentence and precedes the more specific one.

dišəb sàətɨ haft ra dəkəftim

last night seven o'clock started to move

'We left last night at seven o'clock.'

Violation of the above rule may occur in poetry.

məstɛ la məst ámóiy bə xan šəb

drunk came home night

(This comes with a connotation of habitual action:)

'He usually comes home drunk at night.'

Often the expression of place follows the verb.

bia bəšim mi xanə

come go our house

'Come/Let's go to our house.'

For more information of the other verb modifiers see adverbs.

5.6.5 Conjunctions

The following list represents conjuctions in Gilaki:

a. Simple conjunctions

Coordinative conjunction. This conjunction may connect two words, two verbs, or two sentences.

u/vɛ 'and'

čənta šellaɣ bɛzɛ-u- ǰə mə́kəmə birun-ə-k/gūd

several lashes gave and from office kicked out

'[He] gave her several lashes and was kicked out of office.'

əma/əmma 'but'

ita əz u zənakan təm bɛzɛ, əma uyta bina . .g/kudə

'One of those women kept quiet but the other started

gəryə g/kūdən...

crying.'

vəila 'otherwise'

heyf ki kar dʌrəm vəila ti həmr amóiyn

unfortunatly that work have otherwise you with would go

'I am sorry that [I] have something to do otherwise,

[I] would go with you! (Apologetic connotation)'

b. Two-word conjunctions

ya...ya 'either, or'

ya mən ya tu va åyə bɛsim

either I or you should here stay

'Either you or I should stay here.'

həm, həm...həm 'also/too'

un həm bəmo

'She/he also came'

gahi...gahi 'sometimes often.'

nə...nə 'neither nor'

nə əz u pul xəbəri bu nə əz u

neither of/from that money news was not from that

xåb

dream

'There was neither any news from that money nor had the

dream (again).'

Other conjunctions are:

ki 'which/that/who'

ú́ni ki xʌndi

the one who sang/was singing (the singer)

ta 'until'

tà i ruz fərəsɛ bə i...

until one day reaches to a...

'Until one day /he/ reaches to a...'

ta 'as long as'

ta zɵndə bid ǰə adəman duri g/kūdidi

as long as alive were of human beings away stayed

'They stayed away from human beings as long as they were alive.'

ta 'purpose'

biyʌ tətərɛ bəgəm

čun 'because'

čun mən tərɛ dus darəm...

because I you love

'Because I love you...'

əgər 'if'

əgər kədxudamərdi hənə mən zá́ak ə nɵ xam

if judgement this is I child definite not want

article

'If this is the judgement, I don't want the child.'

dərhəmiyan 'while, meanwhile'

hətoki 'while'

hətoki ə xiyalanə durun bu...

while this thinking inside was

'While [he] was preoccupied.'

vəxti 'when'

taki 'until'

hərvəxtki 'whenever'

Often in Gilaki, sentences are connected without any conjunction.

budurun bəmo bušo duxtərə duxadə unə buguftə

inside came went girl called her said

'[He/She] came/went inside, called the girl,

[and] told her.'

ən gūfti zəy mišinə un gūfti zəy mišinə

this said child mine is that said child mine is

'[Each one] claimed the child to be hers.'

tu insi tu jini?

you human you jinni

'Are you a human [or] are you a jinni?'

5.6.6 Compound Clauses

Compound clauses consist of sequences of clauses in which one clause may be subordinated to the other. Subordinate clauses are connected to the main clause by the following cunjunctions:

vəxtiki 'when'

vəxti 'when'

dərhəmiyan 'in the mean time'

dərhəhal 'meanwhile'

ki 'which, that'

hərvəxtki 'whenever'

taki 'until'

Subordinate clauses may occur as modifiers of the main clause in the following positions:

1) A subordinate clause occurs as the introductory part of a compound clause.

əgər ti hukm hənə mən zây nəxam

if your judgement this is I child not want

'If this is your judgement, I do not want the child.'

2) A subordinate clause modifies the subject.

úniki åvaz x ndi mi bərarza bu

'The one who was singing was my brother.'

bikarə adəman, ušani ki yəkšay sənnarə sər

these idle people those who (penny) for head

S subject modifier

vavinid,...,u ruzaməči g/kūdid

cut of, those days what did

O V

'Those idle people who may cut the head off for (a) penny, what were they doing those days.'

ita əz u zənakan ki ə gəpə bɛšnəvəstəhič gəp nɛzɛ

one of those women who this ----------nothing said

'One of those women who heard this said nothing.'

S modifier V. modifier 3) A subordinate clause modifies the object.

úni ki tu bɨzɬiy mišin ɓu

one who you hit mine was

'the one you hit was mine.'

ǰəušani ki marɬ dōr-ə g/kūdid adəmtərə

than those who me surrounded human more is

O O V S

'He is more human than those who had surrounded me.'

4) A subordinate clause modifies the verb.

hərǰa ti dil xayɬ ɓūšō

wherever your heart wants go

'Go wherever your heart says/wishes.'

5.6.7 Deletion of Parts of Speech

Different parts of speech may be deleted in the following cases:

1) The verb is deleted.

a. Deletion of auxiliary.

nisf-ə-pust tišin, nisf-ə-pust əm unəšin,

half of peel yours half of peel also his

baδi fūndoδ əm mi həδɬ kədxodamərdi

rest filbert nut my right of judgement

'Half of the peel [is] yours and half the peel
[is] also his; the rest of the filbert nut
[is] for my judgement."

b. Coreferential verbs are deleted.

mən mi kar-ə g/kudim un əm xō/ū karə
I my work was doing he also his work
'I was doing my work: he was also doing his.'

ə hindəvanə bə ə pīlləki-rɛ ita barikə
this watermelon such a small acc. markers
lu, ə åɣoz bə a ə kučikirɛ dar -bə ə
branch this walnut such a small acc. tree such a
pilləy ki xəlɤ būkūdi
big created
'[you] created such a big watermelon (on) a narrow
branch, such a small walnut on such a big tree.'

c. The verb is deleted when two things/persons
are compared or contrasted.

kuči ta mah mənɛ pīlləta sətarɛ
small one moon like elder one star
*The younger one resembles a moon and the elder
one looks like star.

d. the coreferential mood is deleted.

ita z n xayəm tərɛ fədəm, ita zən xušgil tərɛ
....'

one women want you give a women beautiful you....'

'I want to give you a women, a beautiful woman....'

e. The mood/modality is deleted.

šəl -ū- būdū būdū

Lame and run run

'The lame can not run.'

2) The subject is deleted

a. Often the subject of the interrogative sentence is deleted.

či xaiy ?

what want(attached pronoun)

'What do you want?'

b. The coreferential subject is deleted.

duvardə xūrɛ bəxab bɪzɛ xū čumanə dəbəstə

again himself pretended to sleep his eyes closed.

xū dəstanə dəraz-ə-g/kudə; hey bugufte ...

his hands stretched repeatedly said

'Again he pretended to sleep. [he] closed his eyes, stretched his hand, [and] said:...'

c. Often a subject which is the object of the preceding sentence is deleted.

ita tajər ita pəsər dʌšti jə xū pɛ̀r fərar kunɛ

a merchant a son had from his father escape

S O V

šɛ ǰəŋgəlanə miyan

goes forests (accusative) into

'A merchant had a son. [He] escaped from his father [and] went to [the] forest.

3) The object and verb are deleted.

xūda həmrʌ

God with

'God [be] with [you].'

xūda nigədar

'God protect you.'

4) The subject and verb are deleted.

ti ǰanə ɣurban

your soul/life offering/sacrifice

'[I] want [to become] a sacrifice for your soul.'

a. The sentence is completely deleted. In Gilaki, as in many Iranian languages, the answer to a negative question is /čīrɛ/'why', which implies an affirmative response.

tu ti pɛ̀r -ə -xanə nɛšɨ ? čɨrɛ/čɛrɛ šəm

you your father's house not go? why / why I go

Don't you go to your father's house? [Yes],

I go/do

5.6.8 Direct/Indirect speech

As in other Iranian languages indirect speech is not developed in Gilaki. The two clauses are often connected by /ki/- 'whc' which , whom, that.'

un xu həmšəhriyə būgūgtə ki: "əǰəb xəri isi..."

he his fellow citizen said that: "What ass are you"

'He said to his fellow citizen "How stupid you are..."'

Often /ki/ is deleted.

un būgūftə:"nə, xū/ō- ə karə nukunəm

the said :"No, I don't do this work"

CHAPTER VI

ETHNIC POLICIES IN IRAN (1920 TO 1978)

Iran is a multinational, multilingual state. The linguistic minorities in Iran are Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs, Azarbaijanis, Gilaks, Turkmans, Armenians, Jews and Assyrians. Although accurate statistics on their populations are difficult to obtain, non-Fars nationalities account altogether for more than one-half of the Iranian population. Among all of the linguistic varieties in Iran, standard Farsi is the official language and that of education and law; among Farsi speakers, the Tehrani dialect is regarded as the most prestigious in Iran.

During the twentieth century, no matter who held power, the Iranian government has absolutely refused to recognize the linguistic rights of non-Fars groups except for Armenians, who had the right to use their language in Armenian schools until 1979. On a national scale, the Iranian state has applied a variety of abuses to ethnic minorities that include pervasive discrimination, cultural oppression, physical oppression, as well as cultural disparagement.

6.1 IRAN AND WORLD WAR I

A brief history of Iran after World War I may help to clarify the nature of the policies of the Iranian government toward national ethnic minorities.

World War I brought new socioeconomic problems to Iran and promoted revolutionary and anti-foreign sentiments among the people. During the years between 1914 and 1917, in spite of its political neutrality, Iran became literally the battlefield for the Turko-German troops on one side and the Russo-British troops on the other. In March 1915, the Russian and British governments made a secret treaty to divide Iran between themselves. The German agents who used the sentiment of the southern tribes against the Russo-British troops, organized a tribal revolt and, with the help of the police force, occupied Shiraz in November 1915. Most of the British were concentrated in the southern sections. The new third Majlis (Parliament) that was pro-German, pro-Turkey and anti-Russian then formed a provisional nationalist government at Qom that refused to fight the Germans. Russian troops were sent to Tehran in retaliation and moved on to Qom, thereby ending the temporary government (Ivanov 1977: 26-27). By 1917, Russian troops had occupied northern Iran and the British were established in the rest of the country, especially in the south.

However, in November 1917, the Tsarist government was overthrown by the Russian revolution. The new government repudiated all Tsarist privileges and renounced all unequal treaties. The Russian revolution, with its declaration of the right to self-determination for all nationalities, had a profound effect on national minorities in Iran. Trade unions for teachers, printing house workers, bakers, postal workers, and telegraph employees were established in Tehran, Rasht, Enzali, Tabriz, and Hamedan among other cities. Chapters of the Social Democratic Party, Edallat (justice), were formed in Enzali, Hamedan, and elsewhere. Anti-foreign domination and anti-government sentiment spread rapidly among national minorities; this feeling was especially pronounced in the northern provinces of Gilan, Mazandaran, and Azarbaijan. Keddie following Lenczowski (1949) points out that:

> The most serious anti-governmental and nationalist movements was a revolt in the Caspian province of Gilan from 1917 on. A local leader, Kuchak Khan, led a movement for more democratic and egalitarian rule. The partisans of this movement were known as Jangalis (forest dwellers) because they operated in the wooded area of Gilan. (1981: 80-81)

Later, among Farsi speakers, the word jangali came to mean dirty, savage men. This is but one example of the extreme linguistic oppression of an ethnic identity.

The British government, threatened by these national movements, attempted to solidify and consolidate its power in Iran. Iran was important to the West both for its oil and as a buffer state against Soviet Union, and "British control could make Iran part of a cordon sanitaire around the Bolsheviks" (Keddie 1981: 82). Therefore, when great Britain wanted to formalize its control over Iran it did so in a treaty that essentially made Iran a British protectorate. British sent new troops to Iran and an Iranian government that was subservient to the British was formed and headed by Prime Minister Vosuq ad-Dowleh. The treaty provided that Iran was to be a British protectorate and ensured British administrative and economic control (Hurewitz 1979: 182-83). It was met with a great deal of resistance by the people that continued through 1920. In some areas, like Azarbaijan, it resulted in a popular movement for economic and social justice.

There was a democratic thrust in Azarbaijan that was under the leadership of Shaikh Mohammad Khiabani from 1905 until 1911. By 1920 the Democratic Party, an outgrowth of this earlier movement, was stablished. The movement was reformist and expressed the national sentiments of the Turkish speaking Azarbaijanis whom were oppressed by the Fars central government. Khiabani formed an autonomous local

government and renamed the province Azadistan (place of free people), and he made reforms such as price control. Although the achievements of the Azarbaijan revolt encouraged similar movements elsewhere, the revolt itself was not long-lived. In September 1920, with the support of the British, the Iranian government suppressed the Azarbaijani rebels and Khiabani was killed.

The hegemony of the British government was threatened by the Jangalis, the Azarbaijanis, and other radical groups. A special threat was the Communist Party of Iran, established in 1920 in Enzali that had as one of its goals the expulsion of the British and the formation of a republican government. The British soon realized that a protectorate status was not possible in Iran so they began to favor a pro-British central Iranian government that would be able to suppress any radical uprisings, especially the Jangalis. The British supported Reza Khan who was the Cossack Brigade commander. The British helped him to gain power and encouraged him to attempt a coup in February 1921. The successful coup enabled Reza Khan to attain power and to become shah (king) in 1925, thereby establishing the Pahlavi dynasty.

6.2 REZA SHAH (1925 TO 1941)

At first the new Shah seemed to promote nationalistic policies. He claimed an interest in an independence from the West and Great Britain, and he made other promises for reform. Later, however, he demonstrated that he had:

> no interest in fundamental social reform to help the popular classes, and his reform efforts were mainly measures for centralization and efficiency, including suppression of tribal and autonomist movements and strengthening the army and bureaucracy. (Keddie 1981:87)

Reza Shah's first concern was to put down any movements that were perceived to threaten the established order. Gilan, where the united front government had already been established under the leadership of Kuchak Khan was a major threat. Kuchak Khan's government included both Communist and non-Communist forces. However, the unity in Gilan dissipated as these factions quarreled over reform policies, and in late 1921 Kuchak Khan expelled the Communists from the government. He signed a treaty with the British government that permitted them to send, their troops to Baku(Soviet Azarbaijan), supplied them with foods and released British captives in return for recognition by the British government. Later, the British violated the treaty and sent their troops to Gilan. At the end of 1921, Reza Shah's troops occupied Gilan. Kuchak Khan was later taken

and beheaded. As a result, the Soviet Republic of Gilan was abolished, and Gilan was made subject to Tehran.

Although the suppression of the national movement was successful in Gilan, it did not prevent uprisings, elsewhere. Anti-foreign and anti-government feelings mobilized Kurds in Kurdistan and in Khorasan, a city in northeastern Iran located well away form the majority of Kurds who lived in the west. The government put down this movement in the fall of 1921.

To further consolidate his power and suppress other attempts by ethnic groups at self-government, Reza Khan determined to neutralize national movements in Iran and to create an official Iranian nationalism that would embrace all of the various peoples in Iran. Such neutralization would occur militarily; tribal revolts were crushed; leftist opposition and attempts at national autonomy were put down. The Shah used the policy of disarmament; he arrested the leadership; he forced a relocation of radical Kurds. These tactics effectively crushed the rebellion.

The same policies of disarmament, arrest, and relocation that had been used for Kurds were also used for other tribes; the Lurs, for instance, were decimated.

To unify the country, Reza Shah also determined to create an official nationalism that asserted the ascendancy

of the Aryan/Iranian and the supremacy of the Farsi language. The name Pahlavi was given to this new dynasty, and the country's name was changed from Persia to Iran. This nationalism took its ideology from Fascism and Nazi Germany. Reza Shah's reign that lasted from 1925 until 1940 paralleled the rise of Fascism in Germany and Italy.

> Seen as a base against the Soviet Union, Iran was penetrated by the Germans militarily and politically. Nazi ideology and agents were prominent, and the Germans declared Iran a pure Aryan country. Reza Shah was not averse to Nazi phrases and methods, as they suited his dictatorial and nationalistic inclinations. On th eve of World War II, Iran housed German economic and political agents, and the government had economic and political commitments tying to a pro-German policy. (Keddie 1981:110)

Iranian nationals who were German agents held high ranking offices including Parliamentary seats, and they controlled business and commerce. German agents also published bulletins written in Farsi that promoted fascist ideology among intellectuals. As a result, some Iranian writers produced literature praising Hitler and Fascism, and Reza Shah was called "Mussolini of Islam" (Javanshir 1980:16).

The fascist climate of Italy and Germany spread within the Middle East. It was not surprising, then, when Ataturk in Turkey, Reza Shah in Iran, Mussolini in Italy, and Hitler in Germany all played the same tune extolling the supremacy of one culture over another, one language to an-

other, or one race over the others as the natural (correct) order of things. Reza Shah usually followed Ataturk's lead in ethnic policy. For example, Ataturk banned traditional dress in Turkey, and as a part of his policy of neutralization/westernization he "stipulated that every [Kurd] had to wear the 'Republican Cap.' Should a peasant forget to remove his traditional headgear he might be heavily fined by officials for [his] 'serious offense'" (Kendel 1980:83). Reza Shah followed more or less the same policy in Iran. All show of ethnic/national pride and spirit as well as traditional dress were banned in 1928. Everyone was ordered to wear European style clothing and to replace their own traditional head covering with the Pahlavi hat. All government employees had to wear the so-called chapeau ' and all military personnel had to wear an official hat (Ivanov 1977: 88).

In summary, Reza Shah's policy toward ethnic minorities in Iran was based on four dimensions of Fascism: 1) the suppression of ethnic minorities, 2) the promotion of racism and the supremacy of the Aryan race, 3) linguistic chauvinism (the superiority of Farsi over other Iranian languages), and 4) submission of the people to the authority of the leader.

The impact of these characteristics of an ultranationalist spirit was the development of a pan-Iranianism that argued the superiority of the Iranian (Pars) over the other nationalities who lived within the confines of the national borders of Iran and praised the Shah as the symbolic representation of the Aryan race. Measures were even taken to revitalize the glorious ancient empire of Iran, and the ideological movement had linguistic consequences. Parsi was mandated as the official language and considered to be superior to other languages; it was the language of law and education. "At the Academy of Language, academicians began to "purify" the language in order to rid it of its Arabic, Turkish, [etc.], contaminants..." (Ivanov 1977: 88). Simultaneous to these political and linguistic movements was a literary one. Poems were added to the canon of ancient Iranian literature, and original poems were distorted in an effort to institutionalize the growing fascist racial attitudes.

6.3 MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH (1941 TO 1978)

In September 1939, at the beginning of World War II, German's fifth column was active in Iran. Its presence was obvious everywhere, and Reza Shah's pro-Nazi policy was no secret. Germans attempted to use this sympathy to turn Iran as a base against the Soviet Union. The Allies needed Iran as a supply route to the Soviets. The British and Russians demanded the expulsion of the German's from the Iranian government. When Reza Shah procrastinated, Russian troops entered northern Iran in August 1941 with the authority of Article 6 of the 1921 treaty between Iran and the Soviet Union, and British troops entered the south-southwestern regions of Iran.

Allied pressure and Iranian public protest forced Reza Shah to abdicate. In September 1941, he resigned in favor of his son, Mohammad Reza. Reza Shah was deported to Egypt and died there in 1944.

After the war years, Iranian politics took two contradictory directions --one toward national liberation movements and the other toward neocolonialism.

6.4 NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

War and Reza Shah's abdication, were associated with a certain degree of a liberation. The political prisoners of earlier national movements were released, and newspapers were published that praised the benefits of a democratic government. The Tudeh (communist) Party of Iran was established in 1941. Its main center of activity was in the north, but it encouraged working people from all over the country to unite. Workers and coalitions of peasants soon established unions in many cities such as Isfahan (the textile area) and the oilfields. The plan of the party was to establish democratic freedoms for all individuals, independence for the country, friendly relationships with the Allies, establish labor laws, and implement social security. In addition, social and economic problems were intensified and the presence of the Soviet Union and the influence of Marxist ideology contributed to movements aimed at implementing radical social change. All these factors prompted the national minorities to reassert their demands for autonomy.

As after World War I, the strongest of these movements was in northern Iran especially Azarbaijan where they found encouragement in the socialist revolution. Resentment

against the central government was strong for many reasons. Economic oppression was intertwined with national oppression. Azarbaijan paid more taxes than any other Iranian province and received no commensurate benefits in return. Further the Azarbaijanis were denied the basic human right of using their own language; Azarbaijani was neither taught in schools nor was it permitted to be used for official business. Of course, Azarbaijanis resented deeply the enforced Farsization. The information of the liberated Soviet Azarbaijan led Azarbaijanis in Iran to use it as a model for a liberation movement in Iran.

In the middle of 1945 a united front party called the Democrat Party of Azarbaijan was formed to include a complex coalition of groups and classes. The goals of this party were to create an autonomous Azarbaijan, to have the authority to administer the province on the basis of a democratic policy, and to reinstate Azarbaijani as the official language. The Tudeh (communist) party of Iran was strong in Azarbaijan, and in October 1945 the district branch of the party joined the Democrat Party. Soon the Democrat Party of Azarbaijan became a very powerful force in that region, representing all social strata and classes.

In November 1945 a provincial assembly was elected and most of the seats were won by the Democrats. The new

provincial government, declared that Azarbaijan held autonomous status but was not independent from the central government. Among the provisions of the new government were that a large portion of tax receipts was to remain within the province and that the local administration was to be constituted of elected local officials thereby reestablishing self-government to the province. They also included a policy based on a land reform program that would lower rents and redistribute the land that belonged to the Tehran government or to absentee landlords. Other provisions were directly related to language. Azarbaijani was to be the official language of the province, and it was to be used in the schools, including the new university and the 407 new elementary and high schools. A literary campaign in the villages opened night schools and stressed the use of the native tongue.

Events similar to those in Azarbaijan occured in Kurdistan. The Kurdistan Democratic Party was founded in 1945 with the leadership of an eminent intellectual and religious leader, Qazi Mohammad. The Party presented a progressive platform comprised by such provisions as the management of local affairs of Kurdistan by the Kurds, using Kurdi as the official administrative language, and allowing the study of Kurdi in the provincial schools. Among other

key points in the platform were land reform, political freedom for all people, and the local election of state officials and district councillors from the provincial population. Because of the specific conditions of the time and the progressive nature of its goals, the party grew rapidly and won the support of all the Kurds in Iran. The First Republic of Kurdistan was proclaimed in Mahabad, Kurdistan of Iran, and in 1948 Qazi Mohammad was elected as its president. Even though the Kurdistan republic lasted for less than a year it achieved many of its goals. Kurdi became the official language of the administration and was freely spoken and taught in the schools. Several Kurdi journals were published including the KDP Organ, the Children's Magazine, and a paper for women. Also, the first Kurdi theater was founded during this time (Qassemlu 1978:118-122).

In Gilan, a movement based on radical socioeconomic reform and anti-monarchism began. Runaway soldiers, supported by peasants and workers, formed a partisan group that struggled against the central Iranian government and feudal lords. In 1944 the group staged mass protests against the government for closing down the democratic newspapers and for arresting and assaulting people who were participating in the May Day parade. In 1946 peasants and the workers union joined forces and demanded reform in the peasant-feudal

relationship. By the end of 1946 landlords were forced to reduce their annual share of the tenants' produce by 25 percent.

So, post World War II conditions promoted democratic/nationalist movements not simply among scattered minorities, but they often were unified fronts of radicals that advocated socioeconomic change.

6.5 NEOCOLONIAL POLICY-OIL ERA

The years that followed World War II introduced a new era, the oil or neocolonial age. It was during this epoch that western powers attempted to consolidate their powers by supporting a strong central government for Iran.

The United States army, supplying arms to the Soviet Union, had already moved into Iran during World War II. They came in, with the consent of the Prime Minister of Iran. Soon afterward American army officers occupied key government positions in Iran. American involvement in Iran was heavily on the Shah's side because of oil interests and anti-communist sympathies.

A major threat to the government and foreign power interests were the ethnic/national movements that endangered established order. Inherent in this threat were the Soviet

Union and Marxist ideology, an ideology already applied by the Kurds, Azarbaijanis, and Gilaks to their radical movements.

The central Iranian government and its British and American supporters distrusted the ethnic/national movements, rightly fearing that they might serve as models for others in Iran and ultimately result in the West's losing control of Iranian oil fields. Therefore, the central government's policies, marked by an emphasis on a strong militarized government and allegiance to the Shah opposed the radical movements of the national minorities.

Using a divide and conquer strategy the Shah set tribe against tribe so to fight against the democratic nationalities and union movements that were so strong in the north and in other cities of Iran. Governmental tactics included prevailing on the Bakhtiary tribe to fight against the democratic forces in Azarbaijan and recruiting members of the Shahsavan tribe to fight against other popular forces in the north. In the spring of 1946 mercenary groups aided by the central government's police attacked leaders of popular organizations in Gilan and other cities(Ivanov 1977: 120-22).

In November 1946, the Qavam (Prime Minister) with the cooperation of the United States of America, sent troops

north to put down the Azarbaijani and Kurds' autonomy movements. The tactics in both areas were brutal. Numerous people were jailed, and leaders who did not flee or hide were executed.

In addition to militarily suppressing the rebels, the government of Iran launched a new campaign for official nationalism. Iran was called Shahanshahie Iran, the Iranian Empire, and the shah was called Shahanshah the Emperor or King of Kings. Mohammad Reza Shah was attempting to revive the image of the ancient Iranian empire and Arya-Mehr (The Sun of the Aryan) became his title. He acclaimed himself to be sole heir to the throne and to have a special spiritual relationship with Cyrus the Great (Mohammad Reza Shah's speech at Persapolis, 1971).

As is often the case, this type of nationalism in regard to other ethnic/nationalities in the country takes the form of everything which is 'ours' is superior and subjugates other nationalities rights. Thus, to institutionalize this nationalistic attitude, traditions were invented, and proverbs and poems were written to legitimize them. The thematic message of this new literature was an association of Iranian patriotism with chauvinism. The literary tradition also promoted the worship of the Shah as the representation of God on earth (the shadow of God). Such slogans as

"če farman-e-yazdan, če farman-e-šah" (God's order [is the same as] Shah's order) or shah's trinity "xoda shah mihan" (God, king, nation) in which the Shah was graphically shown to be in the central position and above the other two, God and nation, were mandatorily posted in schools and public offices. Opponents of the Shah were labeled pro-Soviet, godless traitors and were subject to suppression.

Language was also affected by this official nationalism. Farsi was again declared to be the official language and all other languages, including Azari that does not even belong to the Iranian language group, were demoted to local dialects. This linguistic policy enabled Mohammad Reza Shah to add a new psychological dimension to the assimilation of national minorities that was first launched by his father. In order to institutionalize Farsi chauvinism, sociologists, writers, and pro-monarchist theoreticians manipulated the Farsi language and national literature so it would be made clear that any member of another nationality who communicated in his/her own language and not in Farsi would be considered inferior and a subject of ridicule.

Pejorative terms for other nationalities became embeded in the language and were used to stereotype and humiliate members of those groups. The followings are few examples of such slogans: "Kurds are fierce; Arabs are sloppy,

lazy lizard eaters; Lurs are simpletons; Azarbaijanis are crazy; and Gilaks (men) are effeminate; (This term is mentioned for the first time by Babino(1916-17: 27)--a racialist historian who says: "les guilek de la plaine sont en general une race effeminee").

So discrimination of ethnic groups was extended to include negative attitudes about place of birth and regional peculiarities. In many technically advanced societies, birthplace is assumed to be relatively uncorrelated to attitudes and behaviors(Cox 1948). But in Iran in Pahlavi's reign, the nation's literature is replete with the idea of a correlation between birthplace and people's personality. Thus, any one born in Isfahan was assumed to be stingy and materialistic, liable to do anything for money. Old racist Iranian aphorisms, such as "Qazvinis are rustic," "Hamedanis are avaricious," "Azarbaijanis are crazy," "Dezfulis are worthless," "Kermanshahis are jerks," and and stereotyped poems that employed the same kind of pejorative phrases were widely used in Iran during Mohammad Reza Shah's rule as satirical devices: "A dog of Kashan is better than the noble of Qom, although a dog is better than the native of Kashan," and "from a Tabrizi, thou will see naught but rascality; so it is better to see no Tabrizi at all".

These pejorative descriptions were used as a double-edged sword against the people to shame and humiliate whole cultures and to divide and conquer them. Tapes and cassettes based on jokes about effeminate Gilaks and the mockable Gilaki language were numerous. In many areas they were the only source of entertainment. The Fars chauvinists used these ethnic slurs to promote unfriendly attitudes among people in order to divert them from uniting and remedying their common social and economic problems.

To sum up, during the Pahlavi dynasty, national minorities' languages were degraded and the people who spoke them were humiliated.

The last years of the Pahlavi dynasty mark the epoch of cosmopolitanism that led to the economic, political, and cultural subjugation of the nation (Iran) to the western powers. It started with the westernization and neutralization of the languages and cultures of the national minorities and the nation as well. The westernization of the political elite was an integral part of this acculturation policy. Mirroring this policy in linguistics--knowing an European language, especially English , was promoted, and learning one was a requirement throughout high school. According to Marvin Zonis (1971:178) the political elite of Iran spoke not only their own Farsi but English or French as

well. He says that, of the political elite, only 17 percent spoke any Iranian language other than Farsi, and of the vast number of ethnic languages, only those that are variants of Turkish are used by the wielders of political power. Only 5 percent of the political elite claimed fluency in any of the indigenous languages of Iran other than Farsi. Zonis adds that this elite is by no means representative of the entire ethnic population of Iran.

> Individuals with strong regional bases of power or provincial rural or tribal constituencies are relatively rare among the group of national elite. To some extent, this is a function of the selection procedures initially used to identify them. To a greater extent, however, it is an accurate reflection of the conditions of political power in Iran today. Local, regional tribal, or ethnic bases of political power are of little consequence in the game of politics as it is now played in Tehran. And unlike past decades and centuries, that game is now initiated and played out in Tehran. No longer do the outlying centers play the roles they did in the past. (Zonis 1971-79)

During Mohammad Reza Shah's reign, ethnic-national minorities were suppressed linguistically physically, economically, and culturally. Perhaps if the national minorities of Iran who neighbor the Soviet Union, Kurds and Azarbaijanis in general, Gilaks in particular, had not been so geographically close to Russia, had not been involved with radical economic reform, and had not demanded their national-ethnic rights they might have been given some privileges of cultural autonomy. The western powers that dominated

Iran during this period would possibly have tolerated several small, separate, autonomous regions as part of the defense against the Soviet Union. But that was not the way it was, and ethnic minorities suffered a great deal because of the political situation. Therefore, because of anti-sovietism and an anti-progressiveness policy, access to the Iranian oil, Gilan's geopolitical position, and its own political rebellion Gilan suffered the most. And, as a result of the central governments's policies of suppression, oppression, and humiliation Gilaki has been repressed to the extent that it has been acculturated and Farsizied more than other Iranian languages.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF GILAKI

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistic investigations have shown the speech behavior of an individual speaker within a speech community to be of the greatest relevance to language change. As Fishman (1972:3) indicates:

> unless we can attain reliable and insightful description of an existing patterns of social organization in language use and behavior toward languages it will obviously be impossible to contribute very much that is sound toward the explanation of why or how this pattern changes or remains stable.

Therefore, this chapter will focus on a descriptive sociology of the Gilaki language. Its goals are to portray the general or normative pattern of language use within the Gilaki community and to provide an answer as to who speaks Gilaki to whom and when and to what end. Further, I will explore what accounts for the shift in the language usage norm and identify the overt behavior towards Gilaki and Gilaks.

7.2 METHODOLOGY

The methods of data collection and analysis used here are common to all sociological inquiries. The study's goals, the selection of sample population, the selection and eliciting of informants, the analysis of the data, and the explanation of social behavior have all been influenced by the traditional methods of social research.

7.2.1 Investigative Procedures into the Social Status of Gilaki

In order to provide an answer to the question raised above, during the summer of 1979 I interviewed a group of Gilaks who lived in Tehran. These informants were selected on the basis of a representative sample and not by random selection. Wolfram and Pasold (1974:38) say:

> As an alternative to strict random sampling, it is often more efficient to obtain a representative sample for predetermined social categories. In this procedure, the social composition of the sample is first determined, then informants are chosen to represent these categories, which are sometimes referred to as cells of the sample.... This procedure avoids the problem of over and underrepresentation for particular social categories, because the investigator stops selecting informants for given cells when a quota is reached.

The basic rationale for this representative sampling was that the anti-imperialist path of the 1979 revolution and the development of leftist political organizations had contributed to the social class consciousness of Iranians in

general and Gilaks specifically. Therefore, a Marxist social class analysis would be possible. Informants were chosen according to the variables of sex, age, occupational level (class), education, marital status, and the length of time that the individual had lived away from Gilan. My intention was to inquire into the sociopsychology of Gilaki use in a Farsi speaking community. Therefore, I managed the interviews so that I was able to learn a native speaker's attitudes of shame, inferiority, confidence, or anxiety when speaking Gilaki.

The interviewees were my friends and relatives who had no problem in revealing their true feelings in answer to my questions. Although the term interview implies a formal exchange, the informants' familiarity with the interviewer overcame any hesitancy that might have otherwise been present. I, therefore, will call our conversations informal discussions.

The informants' educational, age, and social profiles are as follows:

1) Nurse: A Gilak woman of about 49 who had spent the first twenty years of her life in Gilan. She attended college in Tehran and remained there. Her husband is also a Gilak, and they have two children.
2) Engineer: Male of half Turk and half Gilak descent

who lived in Gilan for the first 22 years of his life. He is about 49. His wife is Gilak.

3) Laborer: A Gilak who is about 48. He was in Basht for only the first five years of his life, but he has more sympathy for Gilaki than some others. He completed the eleventh grade. His wife is Fars, and they have two children.

4) Teacher: A Gilaki female of about 49 years of age who lived in Gilan for twenty-six years. She did not attend college, and taught at the elementary school level. Her husband is also Gilak.

5) Technician: Male of about 55 years of age who is a Gilak and lived in Gilan until he was 20. He attended technical school. His wife is Fars.

6) Housewife: A Gilak widow of around 60 who was born and lived in Gilan for more than fifty years. She has received no formal education and could read only the Koran. Recently her two daughters married middle class Fars.

Questions and responses:

1) When do you speak Gilaki?

Nurse: When I am talking to another Gilak.

Engineer: Whenever it is necessary. I like to practice Gilaki in order not to forget it.

Worker: With my family and Gilaks.

Technician: When I am talking with Gilaks.

Teacher: With my family and Gilaks.

Housewife: I have forgotten how to speak Gilaki. She was a guest at a party when I asked her, in an intimate mood, how it was that she had forgotten Gilaki. She answered, "I am not against Gilaki, but I am living in a large city among Fars, and I have to protect myself."

2) How do you feel when you are speaking Gilaki?

Nurse: I feel free and friendly.

Engineer: I feel free, if other people speak Gilaki.

Worker: I feel free because I can express myself well. I feel no pressure.

Teacher: I feel free.

Technician: Not only do I feel free, but I insist on speaking it if I am speaking to a Gilak.

Housewife: It is very difficult for me to speak in Gilaki.

3) Are you ashamed when speaking Gilaki in the presence of a Fars?

Nurse: I am not ashamed, but I don't like it.

Engineer: No, I don't feel any shame.

Worker: No, I am not ashamed of my own language.

Teacher: No, I am not ashamed, but I am afraid they don't like it.

Technician: When I am speaking Gilaki in the

presence of a Fars, simultaneously I prepare myself for conflict and quarrel. I asked him why and he answered "because they think of Gilaks as stupid people."

4) Do you think in Farsi or Gilaki?

Nurse: Gilaki

Engineer: In Gilaki only when I think of my personal life.

Worker: Gilaki

Technician: It depends on the language of the group that I am thinking of.

Housewife: Farsi.

In order to asses the change in the Gilaks' attitude towards their language and to test their ethnic consciousness at a time three years after the 1979 revolution, in the summer of 1982 I developed a new series of questions and put them to a group of new informants. They were selected randomly and were all literate so that they could answer the written questionnaires. The major social categories that this study took into account were age, sex, and number of years residence outside of Gilan. I had originally hoped to add a class factor to my social categories, but such an investigation could not be accurate because the earlier goal set by the Islamic Republic of Iran to realign the social

structure of Iranian society for the benefit of the Mostaz'-afan (oppressed people) had been changed to one for the restructuring of Iranian society on the model of Islamic ideology; the years of war between Iran and Iraq have caused extreme shortages of food and the rationing of all life's necessities; there are thousands of unemployed. These factors have created a chaotic situation that has made any sort of Marxist social class delineation untenable.

The total number of informants used was forty-seven Gilaks divided into two groups: those who still lived in Gilan and those, including four of the earlier (1979) informants, who lived in Tehran. There is a complete list of informants available in Appendix B. Tables 8-10 provide a sample of the questions and responses for the second (1982) group. Appendix C provides a complete copy of the questionnaire.

The results of this test reveal that there is a sharp difference between Gilaks who live away from Gilan and those who remain there in how Gilaki is regarded. Although all of those who live in Gilan consider Gilaki to be a language separate from Farsi, only 38.84 percent of my Gilak informants who live in Tehran thought of Gilaki as a separate language. There was a difference of opinion between females and males on that issue. Female housewives between

Table 8

Is Gilaki a language or a dialect of Farsi?	5 (F)	Gilaki is a language.	Gilaks living outside Gilan.
	2 (M)		
	6 (F)	Gilaki is not a language/	
	4 (M)	It is a dialect of Farsi.	
	2 (F)	other remarks (I think it has some origin from Farsi)	
	27	Gilaki is a language.	Gilaks living in Gilan.
		Gilaki is not a language/ It is a dialect of Farsi.	
	1 (M)	I do not know. All I know	Third category
	20-30	Gilaki has changed a lot.	
Total	47		

Note: The third category refers to Gilak students living in the United States.

Table 9

How do you feel when you speak Gilaki?	13	Nothing/No difference.
	8	I feel fine (I have good feeling).
	1	I have a good feeling when I see my partner speaks in my own language.
	8	I feel comfortable.
	1	I feel more comfortable because I don't get tired when I speak Gilaki.
	1	I feel I am myself.
	4	I feel relaxed and fine.
	4	I feel comfortable and free from pressure.
	6	I feel more comfortable because I can express myself well.
	1	I feel peaceful because I am not obligated to follow restrictions made by Farsi on language.

Table 10

Do you feel shame when you speak Gilaki in the presence of a Fars/non-Gilaki?	2	Yes	
		Yes, but I feel I should respect Fars and speak Farsi in their presence.	
	24	No	
	2	No; if people do not understand me it is not my fault.	
	9	No; because I am proud of my mother language.	
	1	No; I am proud of it; because not every body can speak Gilaki.	
	2	No; because it is a sweet language.	
	2	No; because I am a Gilak.	
	2	No; because I am proud of myself; I know three languages.	
	1	No; because Gilaki and Gilaks exist as a symbolic representation of my culture in Iran.	

the ages of forty and fifty generally thought that Gilaki was a dialect of Farsi. There were two of that group who considered Gilaki to be a separate language, but neither informant really fit in with the group of housewives.

One was extremely biased toward non-Gilaks, and the other was politically active and very conscious of her cultural background and rights.

The teenager group all considered Gilaki to be a language. All of the Tehran Gilaks who regarded Gilaki as a language were bilingual and had no Gilaki accent when speaking Farsi.

In answer to the question, Do you consider yourself to be a Gilak? everyone replied, "yes." This sample included two women who had denied their Gilaki ethnic identity in 1979. Another two of the group added that they were Iranian as well. There was a twenty-two year old female college student among the informants who was unable to speak Gilaki, however, even though she had spent her entire life in Tehran, she considered herself to be Gilak.

As noted in the previous chapter, Gilaki has been considered to be an "inferior" language because of the chauvinistic policies of the governments of Iran. It is looked upon as a corrupted form of Farsi by non-Gilaks, especially Fars, to whom the use of Gilaki implies a lack of manliness.

Culturally Gilak men have been portrayed as dimwitted, stupid, and effeminate; Gilak women are portrayed in jokes and folklore as unfaithful wives. To test the attitudes of Gilaks toward the pejorative jokes about them and their culture, I included the following question presented in table 11.

The sharp difference in the replies made by Gilaks who lived in Tehran and those who were born and have lived in Gilan exclusively indicates that the latter group has not been exposed to the hostile and chauvinistic attitudes of non-Gilaks that are present in other areas of Iran.

To assess the impact of the revolution on the Gilak feeling toward their language and national identity, I asked them if they felt any change in their perception of Gilaki since the 1979 revolution. In response, the majority (24) agreed that their attitudes had changed. Only sixteen denied any change. Four replied that the revolution cannot be ignored, and that history reveals that the policy of the Pahlavi dynasty was based on ethnic confrontation. They felt that under the present regime it was better for people to express their native cultures. One teenager remarked that she now realized the degree of oppression that had obtained against national minorities (such as Gilaks) under the previous government.

Table 11

	16	"Because jokes are sweeter if they are told in Gilaki? (all were born and lived in Gilan.)	Gilaks living outside Gilan.
	5	Did not understand the question or had no background of these dirty jokes. They answered "because they love Gilaks. (all were born and lived in Gilan)	
	6	No repsonse	
What is the basis for prejudiced jokes about Gilaks?	8	Ignorance of non-Gilaks	Gilaks living in Gilan
	7	It might be based on the simplicity of Gilaks. (a woman of 40-50)	
	4	divide and conquer.	
	3	These jokes are made to exploit people because it is the best way to destruct people's unity and cooperation.	
	2	To insult Gilaks and divert their attention from social class conflict.	
	3	They are based on the monarchy's culture of Pahlavi whose aim was to humiliate all nationalities other than Fars.	
	2	Gilaks are the most civilized nation, because they have not been affected by religious and superstitious. Therefore other nations have developed an inferiority-complex toward them.	
	1	These jokes stem from the rudeness of other nationalities especially Fars. They take advantage of the humanistic characters of Gilaks to divide and conquer.	

In sum, even among those who did not recognize any change in their attitudes, it was quite obvious that the anti-western thrust of the revolution has created a sense of revitalization of national consciousness and traditional cultural behavior generally in Iran and especially in Gilan. In addition, this sense of ethnic revitalization has emerged as a symbolic representation of resistance to the imposition of Arabic/Islamic tradition by Islamic rulers among other Iranian national minorities as well.

In order to portray the general or normative pattern of the language shift within each generation, I arranged a study that would cross-cut generations. The source of my information is a large extended family, and The data that I have collected were taken from three age groups--grandparents, parents, and children. Other variables include intragroup or outgroup marriage, social class, place of birth, and the length of time spent in Tehran away from Gilan.

Forty years ago a man migrated from Rasht to Tehran with his two wives. Later, the man's three sisters, their husbands, and two brothers of his elder wife moved to Tehran. This family now consists of more than 130 individuals. Some relatives still live in Gilan, and the two parts of the family retain close contact with each other. Therefore, those in Tehran have been able to keep their culture and

language alive. I have maintained a close relationship with this family for over twenty years. The father and mother (elder wife) of the original migrating family are octogenarians and speak Gilaki with all other members of the family. The elder wife has seven children, three sons of 56, 51, and 44 years of age and four daughters. The sons are all bilingual, but they speak only Gilaki with other Gilaks. Each of them is married: one to a Kurd, another to a Gilak, and the third to a Tehrani (Fars). The son whose wife is a Gilak speaks with her in Gilaki; the other two speak Farsi with their non-Gilak wives. They all have children with whom they speak Farsi. The four daughters-ages 47, 41, 35, and 32 are also married. All of their husbands are non-Gilak, and they speak Farsi with their husbands and children.

The younger wife, age sixty-five, speaks Gilaki with her husband and children who are three sons aged 35, 33, and 30 and two daughters aged 27 and 24. All of them speak Farsi.

All of the females and males who were born out of Gilan speak Farsi. This pattern is common to the part of the family who live in Gilan. the only exception to this pattern were two women of the family who were born in Gilan, but married Fars businessmen and live in Tehran. They claim that they are unable to speak Gilaki, even though they have

been in Tehran for less than a decade, were not highly educated, and speak Farsi with a Gilaki accent.

In a conversation with the eldest son of the family I asked if the girls of the family could not speak Gilaki or if they just did not want to. His answer was that he went to college in Tehran, and there he learned that people looked upon Gilaks as inferiors. The use of Gilaki implied ignorance and a lack of morals to Fars. Therefore, he tried to keep the family close together, but he encouraged the younger children to learn and use Farsi in order to prevent being ridiculed at school. He added, "Farsi is considered the prestigious language in Iran."

In the rest of the family those who had been born and had lived in Gilan--the generation above fifty, are unable to speak Farsi or they know only a few words unless they are literate, or are employees of the government. Still even those Gilaks have a heavy Gilaki accent. The generation under fifty can all speak Farsi but do so with heavy Gilaki accent, and their level of performance depends on their education. This group used Farsi only at work in offices or when speaking with Farsi speakers. Among this age group, those who were illiterate and had lived all of their lives in a village context were not able to speak Farsi at all. Those below forty years of age were generally educat-

ed; some of them were even high school graduates. This group speaks Gilaki at home, with relatives and friends, and they use Farsi (with a Gilaki accent) only in offices or schools. Only two of the test group speak Farsi at home with their children, and they hold university degrees.

The general information gathered through this study indicates not only that Gilaki has changed but that the feelings of shame and inferiority associated with its use have resulted even in a denial of the speaker's national identity. Further, the data shows that its use has rapidly changed and become farsized during the decades between 1920 and 1970. Therefore, Gilaks who live in Tehran especially women who work in public offices or are housewives are more sensitive to discrimination and are careful to hide and deny their Gilak roots. They attempt to speak Farsi as best as they can when they do their shopping, which in Iran is usually the responsibility of the housewife. Shopping for a household is quite a different process than it is in western countries. A housewife must buy each item from its specific shop, so she must deal with several people each day. Shopkeepers develop a face to face personal relationship with their customers, and they usually discuss the shopper's family during the transaction. Often shopkeepers are insensitive and ridicule non-Farsi speakers or those who speak Far-

si with an accent openly other than Tehrani. Therefore, housewives are more vulnerable to the chauvinistic attitudes of some Pars.

It was not intended to extend this study by exploring the origin of the cultural humiliation of Gilaks. Nevertheless, since it is a major factor in Gilaki language change, it is necessary to investigate the underlying structure of the negative attitudes expressed towards Gilaks through jokes and folklore by non-Gilaks in Iran that portray Gilaks as "the others" and Gilak males as effeminate.

In 1982 I examined non-Gilak attitudes towards Gilaks with a group of fifty non-Gilak Tehranis most of whom were Pars. The sample consisted of twenty-five men and twenty-five women that cross-cut the age groups of twenty to sixty years of age and from various socioeducational backgrounds. In order to contrast their responses, the men and women were interviewed separately. The first question put to the males was, How would you define a Gilak man? The answer of nine of the group were to describe Gilak men as "weak and unable to control their families, especially their wives." When asked to be more specific, one respondent referred to an incident in which first cousins of the opposite sex were kissing one another, and their fathers, who saw them, had not objected. Another referred to the economic

dependence of Gilak men and their submissiveness to their wives; some were put off by the open discussions of love and sex that takes place among Gilaks. Three referred to Gilak women as shameless because they express mutual feelings of love to their husbands and lovers. Eleven identified Gilaks as "simpletons." Only two of the sample considered Gilaks to be "nice, peaceful, understanding, and more open-minded than others in Iran."

The responses of non-Gilaki women to the same questions were completely different. Eleven replied that they saw no difference between Gilak men and others. Five of the women who had had close relationships with Gilak families identified Gilak men as "gentle, understanding, and appreciative of their wives." Two of the female respondents had married twice, one Gilak and one non-Gilak from southwest Iran each; they both answered that it would be difficult to compare them because they are two extremes of a spectrum. They said that Gilaks were not like other men in Iran; they do not act as if they own women. A female teacher and an elementary school principal who had worked both in Gilan and in the central cities of Iran identified Gilaks as being very humanitarian and understanding towards their female relatives. Three of the women labeled Gilak men as "simple" on the basis of jokes and two thought that Gilak men were sexy and romantic.

Generally, information gathered from this study reveals the cultural bias which is based on the lack of an attitude of male supremacy and dominance among Gilak men. This cultural behavior may be clarified by an assessment of the socio-economic structure of the society. Cultural behavior is a manifestation of "spiritual behavior" which is generally defined as the "totality of society's moral, artistic, scientific and philosophical attainments." And this spiritual behavior by itself is a reflection of material culture which is

> on the one hand the material objects that satisfy 'material' needs..., and on the other hand, people's habits of work and social practices, the social organization of labor and the forms that organization takes and the organization of life in general. (Bromley 1974:27)

To clarify how the social organization of labor contributes to the cultural behavior of Gilaks, it is necessary to assess the economic pattern of Gilan. A demographic study of Gilan indicates that the province is regarded as one of Iran's most fertile and prosperous areas because of rice production. Rice is the major crop in Gilan, and rice cultivation is exclusively important in the province. Gilan is more heavily populated in the rural areas than in its cities, and the rural population is most representative of Gilaks. In the Caspian littoral area, consumption of rice has been estimated at 150 kilogram per person a year. The

most productive rural population is smaller and their dependent population is larger (Suzuki 1981: 103, 116, 134, 145).

Rice cultivation is so important that it affects all spheres of Gilak's life. For example, although religion is important, if there is a conflict between religion and rice farming, the production of rice takes priority and modifies the religious code. Suzuki (1981:264-65) refers to the 1978 harvest occured during Ramazan (the Muslim month of fasting) when Family farmers had to keep the fast during daylight. His report of the food consumption in a sample household before and during the first two weeks of Ramazan indicates that the frequency of food taken was reduced to two times a day. The farmers skipped the three lightest meals but continued to eat the main meals of the day.

In sum, the generalized Islamic code was modified by the nature of rice farming and reduced frequency of eating was considered comparable to the fast.

Another example indicates a similar practice. In the summer of 1979 when I was in Gilan, a major conflict arose between religious practice and women working in rice farms. According to the revolutionary committee, all women had to wear Islamic dress. They were supposed to wear either pants or a long gown with a veil. The rice farmers in Gilan objected to this stricture; they argued that Islamic

dress hindered a woman's full practical involvement in the labor force. Therefore, it would appear that all aspects of life and the social code reflect the importance of rice farming in Gilan. As Suzuki(1981: 260-264) indicates, the Gilaki farming is based on the family labor force. There are more females in the labor force, and the female labor plays an important role in rice farming.

Women are exclusively responsible for weeding and transplanting in addition to other operations. Both transplanting and weeding are intensive and laborious, and as many laborers as possible are needed for that critical period when the young plants are taking hold. Nevertheless, no male participates in this operation. Male workers may stay idle in tea house while the plantaion household employs extra female laborers.

Gilaki/Rashti women contribute greatly to the Gilaki economy, and rice farming could not be done without womens' labor. In short, the sexual division of labor within the family farms has raised the status of Gilaki women to the decision making authority on rice production. As a result, their status in the family is higher when compared with women in other rural communities in Iran. According to Ono's monograph on four Iranian villages in the regions of Shiraz, Isfahan, Nishapur, and Reza'iye (Orumiye), women are not es-

sentially integrated into farming systems in those areas (1971:114, 190, 263, 352). Females do not participate in any field operation in other rural communities of Iran.

So since women are an integral part of the farming operation in Gilaki-Rashti rice farming nothing can compensate for a loss of a female's labor except the labor of another individual. For example, in some villages the bride price is not to be in gold, not in money, but instead it consists of a certain period of labor that the groom must provide.

To sum up, the rural population is the majority in Gilan, and Gilan's economy is based mainly on a staple crop(rice). The production of rice is possible only by the intensive participation of the female population in rural areas. Interestingly, Gilan has higher literacy(50.7 percent) than the national average (47.5), the rural female population has a higher literacy rate (31.8%) than the Iranian national average (17.4), and the difference in the literacy rate between rural Gilak men and women is smaller than the national average. The gap between the urban literacy and that in the rural areas is also smaller than the national average in Gilan (Plan and Budget Organization 1977/78).

Given, then, the facts, it is not unexpected that these "habits of work and social practices, the social or-

ganization of labor" (Bromley 1974) develop into a different life style and cultural behavior which grants women higher social and economic status in Gilan. And assuming that the rural community are culturally conservative, then, they have preserved this feeling of respect for their women.

Men in Iran have been affected by laws that promote male supremacy and cultural stereotypes such as bossy, macho, and he-man images that tend to make males aggressive and dominant. Therefore, it is not easy for non-Gilak/Pars men to understand the Gilak's cultural behavior towards their women.

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE CHANGE

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Language change is inevitable. It is brought about by contacts between speakers of different language communities as well as by the natural processes of internal change. Despite this inherent pressure for change, there are parts within a language that remain stable.

Chapter 8 will focus on the interplay between social and linguistic factors that have affected language change in Gilan, especially during the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present time.

While the internal processeses of generalization, simplification, strengthening, and weakening have taken place, Gilaki has undergone phonemic, lexemic, and grammatical changes that are the results of the varying contexts of its outside contacts. Throughout its long history Gilan's far flung trade relationships have had a major impact on its language. It has been subjugated and relegated to an inferior position and Farsizied because of chauvinistic government policies that discourage its use.

8.2 METHODOLOGY

In this study I will follow an integrated strategy that includes both a linguistic and an extralinguistic analysis of Gilaki. Historical linguistics provides the methodology for the diachronic analysis that will be undertaken in this chapter. For the synchronic analysis of Gilaki, see chapters 4 and 5.

As Bynon (1971:171) says "the past states of the language subjected to comparative analysis may be either attested in written documents or the products of reconstruction based on the comparison of related languages or dialects." Here the diachronic analysis of Gilaki will be a comparative study of the language in a specific time frame from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present time. I will concentrate on this period because the linguistic documentation for an earlier period is insufficient for such an analysis.

To assess the linguistic changes that have occurred during this century, I have conducted a study of documents written in Gilaki that date from the mid-nineteenth century. Further, to ascertain the phonological and grammatical changes that have taken place in this time period, I have selected six famous folk stories, used by other linguists

from the beginning of the 20th century. They contained all the features of Gilaki. These texts were written in standard modified Arabic orthography; informants were asked to translate them into Gilaki. Three different age groups participated--grand parents, parents, and children. The social and educational backgrounds of these informants was also taken into consideration. Some translated the texts readily so that I could tape them, but others preferred to do them in their leisure time and taped their translations themselves. Appendix D provides phonetic translations of some of the texts.

The extralinguistic analysis of Gilaki includes a complete historical record of contacts between Gilaks and speakers from other language communities. There is a detailed explanation of historical contacts in chapter 3 of his work. Further, to understand the actual mechanism of change, I have undertaken a detailed sociolinguistic investigation of the modern Gilaki community as reported in chapter 7.

8.3 IMPACTS OF OUTSIDE CONTACTS ON GILAKI

Below I will assess the impact of the various forms of language contact on Gilaki which include trade, geographical proximity, political domination, sociopolitical pressure, etc.

Bynon (1977:216) argues that:

> The most superficial kind of language contact is probably that which exists between the producers or conveyors of some commodity and their clients in other language areas, and it is a well-documented fact of recent language history that the names of such objects of international trade as tea, coffee or tobacco readily travel with them and become part of the consumers' language.

But language contact:

> always presupposes some degree of cultural contact, however limited. And since, of all sectors of language, it is the lexicon which reflects the culture of its speakers most closely we shall in our consideration of the results of cultural contact on language turn first of all to the lexicon.

The major impact of cultural contact on the lexicon of Gilaki takes the form of loanwords and loan translations.

8.3.1 Loanwords (Lexical Borrowing)

The following words in Gilaki meet Bynon's definition for loanwords (1977:224) as "innovations which can not be accounted for in terms of inheritance and which can at the same time be systematically related to items in a donor language." The comparison of Gilaki with the varied lexical

forms that exist in the languages with which its speakers had contact gives the correspondences between them at the time of borrowing. Often the borrowed words have undergone sound changes that are related to the different phonological systems of Gilaki and the contact languages. I will discuss these phonological differences below. The following is a list of some of the many loanwords taken from Russian that are now to be found in Gilaki.

pamador	from Russian pamidor	'tomato'
boškə	from Russian bočka/ʌ	'barrel'
čə/õrnil	from Russian černil	'ink'
praxūd	from Russian paraxot	'ship'
ganto/ur	from Russian g/kantora	'office'
lotkə	from Russian lotkə	'boat'
məɤazə	from Russian magazin	'shop'
galoš	from Russian galoši	'rubbershoe'
marožni	from Russian marožninə yə	'ice cream'
səmavər	from Russian samovar	'Samovar'
matiškə/ʌ	from Russian matuška	'beautiful woman'
mašin	from Russian mašina/ʌ	'car'
simička/ʌ	from Russian simyočika	'sunflower seed'
putin	from Russian Botinki	'shoes'
putnus	from Russian podnos	'saucer'

Russian and Gilaki share many other lexical items that are related to material culture and the natural environment, for instance terms of measurement, names of birds, types of fish, and terms relating to rice cultivation.

There are also hundreds of Arabic loanwords used in Gilaki. These came either directly from Arabic or indirectly from Arabicized Farsi. Many of these have adapted to the Gilaki/ Farsi syntax and morphology and have changed so that they are no longer intelligible to speakers of Arabic.

Arabic has played an especially significant role in altering the personal names of Gilaks. Traditional names were derived from Gilan's culture and natural environment have been replaced by the names of prophets, saints, their descendents, or attributes described in Arabic. Following are examples of the traditional names and those later derived from Arabic.

OLD	NEW
Kas'fair skin, blond', used to refer to blue eyes.	Hoseyn'the prophet Mohammad's grandson', Arabic /ħ sseyn/.
Ma/ah xanəm'Moon Lady.'	Fatom h'Mohammad's daughter.'
Gul åɣa'flower head/ chief/Mr.'	əli'Mohammad's son-in-law' Arabic/ʕæli.
Xoršid xanəm'sun lady.'	Mutərəm xanəm'respected Lady.'Arabic moħtərəm.'

Rustəm 'Ancient Iranian hero.'	Šəmsədin 'sun of the faith' Arabic s msolddin.
Pīllə xanəm 'Great/ Elder Lady.'	Kobra xanəm 'Great Lady.'
Kučə xanəm 'Small/ Younger Lady.'	soğra xan m 'Small/ Younger Lady.'
Pīllə ağa 'Mr. Great/ Chief/elder.'	əkbər ağa 'Mr. Great/ Chief/elder.'
Kučə ağa 'Mr. Small/ Young.'	əsğər ağa 'Mr. Young/ 'Small.' Arabic æsɣær

It is not the purpose of this study to discuss the ethnography of names in Gilaki but to clarify the change that has taken place in the twentieth century. The use of Arabic terms for personal names was intensified by the introduction of Islamic ideology under Safavid Shiites and deemphasized with the increasing political secularization during the early twentieth century. Gilaks over forty years of age who live in urban areas usually bear two names: one is a religious name that is used on official documents such as birth certificates and other identification materials and the other a non-religious name from traditional Gilaki culture. The second name is the one used by family and friends in everyday life. These familiar names are generally taken from nature and are the names of flowers, natural phenomena,

or even ancient Iranian heros. For instance a woman might be called hajær (Hagar), a religious name, and Širin (sweet). A man might have the name Ræsul (messenger/prophet), and færeydun an Ancient Iranian hero's name. The generation of Gilaks under thirty years of age, especially those who are from educated families, are generally given old Iranian names. These Farsi names are derived from nature and consist of names of flowers, natural phenomena, or personal attributes, such as terms that praise the beauty of women; Masculine names are ordinarily taken from the Old Iranian or Arabic and are terms that extoll the personal attributes of bravery and honesty. These data have been collected during my own field work.

Gilaki has borrowed many titles from Arabic and Turkish. These can best be shown by a historical survey of the terms bestowed upon the kings and leaders of Gilan. Since political elites are usually the first to adopt prestigious names and titles of another, more powerful culture and since it would be impossible to know the titles used by ordinary people at the time of such elite borrowing, titles are excellent markers of contact. A chronological list of how Gilak elite titles have changed over time by borrowing follows,

Prior to 1160

ɛspəhbod	(a marshal)	šah	ǰaz	i	rostəm
commander-in-chief		king	from a port in Gilan	azyan attached to place names to mark origin	Ancient Iranian hero.

Kia (lord/master) bozorg/great

KIa	Omid	šah	ǰaz	i	rostəm
great	hope	king	from azyan port in Gilan	place marker	Iranian hero.

Ebn (son of): Found after 1160 and Arab domination.

əstəndar	keykavus	ɛbn	həzar	əsp
governor general	King of the Kyan Dynasty of old Iran	son of (Arabic) bən	thousand	horse

Məlɛk (king): Circa 1220. From the Arabic m lek.

məlɛk	fəxr	el	doleh	namavər
king	glory, pride	of (Arabic al)	wealth, government, state	famous illustrious (proper noun)

məlɛk	həsam	el	doleh	ərdəšir
king	a sharp sword,	of	government, wealth, etc.	Sasanid king

sword's
edge (A)

mir/e (prince, commander, chief, or master): Circa 1307. From the Arabic amir.

mir/e	mohəmməd	timiǰan	i
prince	personal name	place in Gilan	origin marker

mir plus an Arabic or Gilaki personal name plus place of origin as a family or lineage name: 1307 until present.

əmir	mohəmməd	rəšt	i
prince	personal name (A)	place in Gilan	origin marker
əmir	sasan	gəskər	i
prince	personal name (G)	place in Gilan	origin marker

Gilaki titles plus Arabic title:

kia	məlk	həzar	əsp	oškur	i
king (G)	king (A)	thousand	horse	place in Gilan	origin marker

Sid/Seyd/Seyɛd (sir, master): Circa 1367. Attached to the names of Gilak males who were known to be descendents of the Prophet Mohammad. From the Arabic, sayyed.

seyɛd	rəkabzən	tonokabon	i
sir, master	one who spurs	place in Gilan	origin

seyɛd	əmir	kia	marker
sir, master	prince	great, king, lord	

Mirza (short form of mirzade, son or daughter of an əmir) : circa 1443. Now applies to a clerk or secretary signifying education or Farsized Arabic.

mirza	əli	biʌpiš	i
(prince)	personal name (A)	front river (Ancient name for Lahijan) a city of Gilan	origin marker

Sultan (king): Early sixteenth century. From the Turkish. Began after Mongol domination of the Gilan region.

sultan	həssən	biʌpiš	i
king	personal name (A)	Lahijan	origin marker

Xȧn (noble): Circa 1506. From the Turkish/Mongolian.

sultan	əhməd	xȧn	biʌpiš	i
king	personal name (A)	noble	Lahijan	origin marker

Multiple Titles:

xan	əhməd	xȧn	šah	məlɛk	fumən	i
noble (T)	personal name (A)	noble (T)	king (P)	king (A)	a town in Gilan	origin marker

Beyg/k (lord, prince): Early seventeenth century. No longer used as a title, however still used with the suffix /i/ to denote a lineage name.

dərya	beyg/k	i
sea	lord	lineage/marker

Baši (chief, principal, expert, or master): Early eighteenth century. Suffix to the morpheme for profession. From the Turkish.

Či (artisan, merchant, or tradesman): Early eighteenth century. Suffix to the morpheme for profession. From the Turkish.

Mohammad	Reza	xan	abdolla	q/ɣur	či	baši
personal name (A)	personal name. signifies Shiism	noble (T)	Arabic name, (a servant, slave or worshipper of God.)	arms, ammunition	maker	master

These titles later were used as family names either because sons followed in their father's occupations or they were given to the descendents of persons of certain occupations.

Haǰi (pilgrim to Mecca): Early eighteenth century. From the Arabic /hæǰi/.

haǰi	šəfi
pilgrim	personal name (Arabic s fi)

haǰi	ǰəmal
pilgrim	personal name

Aɣa (Mr., sir, lord, lady): Late eighteenth century after Gilan's domination by the Turkish tribe Qajar. From the Turkish.

haǰ/i	áɣa	bozorg	munəǰəm	baši
pilgrim	Mr., sir	great/ personal name	astronomer/ astrologer/ lineage	master, head

xanəm	áɣa
lady	chief/lord

From the late nineteenth century to the early part of the twentieth century Gilaki titles not only reflect the bearer's occupation, they indicate social status and a man's position in the political hierarchy.

àɣa	m á sum	sahɛb	extiar
sir	personal name	owner/ bearer	authority

mirza	hoseyn	muəzəm	el	səltənə
clerk	personal	dignified	of	government,

name	honorable gentleman	state, wealth

mošir	səltənə
minister, counsellor	government, state

muəyed	divan
confirmer	council of state, high court of cassation

Xaǰɛ: (master, owner, wealthy man, teacher, old man): Early seventeenth century when Gilan was occupied by the Safavids. From Farsi xaje. (xaje can also carry the meaning eunuch

xaǰ	mohəməd	əmin	fumən	i
master	personal name	reliable	a town in Gilan	origin marker

Other titles have been introduced into Gilaki by the Islamic and Shiite believes.

Məšt/d : A pilgrim who has visited the sepulcher of Emam-Reza, the martyred eight Emam of the Shiites, in /Mæšhæd/. Məšhad . Mæšhæd is the major city of Khorasan, called the place of the martyr. Məšt/di precedes the personal name but follows such titles as aǰa and xanəm. Applied to both men and women.

məštə	xanəm
	lady
məštə	àδa
	sir
məš təδi	
personal	
name	

Kəlb/kəlblai : A pilgrim to Karbəla. Located southwest of Baghdad, it is the site of the martyrdom of Emam hoseyn, grandson of the prophet Mohammad. The title precedes the personal name.

kəlblai	hoseyn
pilgrim	personal name

Arabic and Turkish have also provided kinship terminology for Gilaki speakers.

xàlə	MZ	from Arabic xàl
əmm	FZ	from Arabic ʕəmmi
əmu	Fb	from Arabic ʕəm
daii	MB	from Parsi da'i
daii ɒɛzi	MBD	from Turkish qez(daughter/girl)

Gilaki has borrowed these terms and added them to its own descriptive kinship terminology.

xàlə(A) pəsər (G) MZS

əmmə(A) duxtər (G) FZD

In very rare instances Turkish and Arabic terms such as dai gɨzi (MBD) or əm gɨzi (FZd) have been recorded in Gilaki.

8.3.2 Loan Translation (calque)

Often when two languages come into contact "the form and meaning of a foreign word instead of being carried over into the recipient language as a unit, is merely employed as a model for a native creation" (Bynon 1979:223). Gilaki has borrowed form as well as meaning from other languages, but often a new form has been created from a native construction.

xətɛ ahɔn
line liaison iron
'railway'

Although Parsi speakers prefer a new form to borrowed words, Gilaki has borrowed form as well as meaning from other languages.

pamidor (Russian)	pamador (G)	goǰe færængi (Parsi)
tomato		plum foreign
		'tomato'
maǰinʌ/ə (Russian)	maǰin (G)	xod ro (Parsi)
car		self run
		'automobile'

Often the semantic concept of a foreign word has been modified, that is, it has been narrowed down to accommodate the new meaning. For instance, the word aʔa (noble, master, head from the Turkish a a) is generally used for men as sir/mister in Gilaki. The word seyid (sir/mister in Arabic) has been narrowed to denote only the male descendents of the Prophet Mohammad.

seyid	AʔA	Gulmir	Dabiča	i
descendent of Mohammad		name	place of birth	place of origin marker

As shown above, the word mirza, originally mirzade (prince's child), has been semantically modified in Gilaki to signify a clerk, secretary, or educated person.

8.3.3 Changes in the Sound System: Phonology

Acquired Sounds. Gilaki's sound system has acquired some additional phonemes through the various forms of contact that Gilaks have had with speakers of other languages. /ž/: acquired after the beginning of the twentieth century in contact with speakers of other Indo-European languages. Rarely found, Chodzko (1842:108) does not mention this sound, and Christensen (1930) shows /ž/ only once in /pə

žmorde/'rotten. It still is not found in the phonological system of all Gilaks, and /pažmorde/ is not a Gilaki word. Sotudeh (1954), in his Gilaki dictionary, says that /ž/ alternates with /ǰ/ in a few words as in /iǰgərɛ ,ižgərɛ/ 'to cry' or appears in loan words such as /garaž/ 'garage' pronounced /garaǰ/ by many native speakers and /marožni/ 'ice cream'. The occurrence of this sound is becoming more frequent, especially among educated Gilaks who live outside Gilan.

/q/ : this sound was originally introduced to Gilaki as /q/ (Arabic/Parsi voiceless aspirated uvular stop). Its occurrence is limited to loan words from Parsi,Arabic, and Turkish. It is not aspirated as in Arabic, rather it is frequently pronounced as /ɣ̌/, /ʁ/ or /g/ . Those Gilaki speakers who differentiate these sounds tend to spirantize them as in, for instance, /ɣ̌ələm/ 'pen', /ʁoran/ 'Koran', and /ɣ̌atoɣ̌/ atoʁ/ 'stew'. This distinction between /ɣ̌/ and /ʁ/ or /q/ and /ɣ̌/ is an adequate marker of the social status and/or educational level of a speaker.

/ʔ/: A voiceless glottal stop consonant that has been added to Gilaki through contact with both Parsi and Arabic. /ʔ/ has been assimilated to /ə/ by many native Gilaki speakers, and according to this study /ʔ/, rather than /ə/, is used only by educated Gilaks of the younger generation who are between twenty and thirty years of age.

8.8 INTERNAL SOUND CHANGE

Certain phones in Gilaki have been changed through time. Mechanisms of such internal change will be discussed below.

Weakening: There is a relative phonological strength that "refers not to the absolute phonetic strength of elements, but to the relation of the elements to one another in a phonological system as defined their propensity to undergo lenition" (Foley 1977:29). He adds that:

> Since geminate voiceless clusters weaken to single voiceless stops in the same environment that voiceless stops weaken to voiced stops and voiced stops weaken to voiced continuants, it may be assumed for the nonce that geminate voiceless stops are stronger than single voiceless stops. (Foley 1977:33)

In Gilaki, consonant clusters tend to weaken to a single consonant through a Farsization process. Some consonant clusters in the word initial position tend to be broken by an epenthesis vowel that usually starts with a short form of /ə/ and becomes longer and more diversified in the speech of the younger generation and educated people.

bbər	bəbər	bɛbər	bebəɾ	'take'
bbūr	bəbōr	bɛbōr	bebor	'cut'
brår	bərår	bɐ̈rar		'brother'
bfrōxt	bɛfrōxt	bɛfrōxt	befrōxt	'sold'
bzən	bəzən	bɛzən	bezɐ̈n	'hit'

Consonant clusters in word medial position tend to weaken to a single consonant.

čč	čø	maččі	mačі	'kiss'
mačč	mačі			
šš	šø	mašša	mašə	'pincers'
ff	fø	fəffárə	fəfárə	'fountain'

The voiced velar stop /g/ is weakened to the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/.

ǰəgələ (Chodzko 1842:549) ===> ǰəɣələ 'child'

The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is deleted or changed to /h/ (silent/ḥ/).

xálu (Chodzko 1842:542) ===> hálu/álu 'plum'

Or often /x/ is weakened to /ɣ/.

tix (Chodzko 1842:549) ===> tiɣ 'razor blade'

The voiced aspirated stop /gh/ has already disappeared in gilaki and voiceless aspirated stops /ph/, /th/, and /kh/ tend to disappear in the speech of the younger generation as well as among educated Gilaks.

The bilabial nasal /m/ has changed to the alveolar nasal /n/.

va	·mə	·ssin	===> va-nə-ssin
imperative negation		rub	
marker		mark	

'do not rub'

Strengthening: Voiced labiodental fricative /v/ has strengthened to a voiced bilabial stop /b/.

vəlg/k(Chodzko 1842:555) ===> bərg 'leaf'

v rf(Geiger & Kuhn 1903:351) ===> bərf 'snow'

vini(geiger 1903) ===> bini 'nose'

/z/ the voiced alveolar fricative continuant has strengthened to /d/ the voiced dental stop as in

zama(Chodzko 1842:551) ===> damad 'groom/son-in-law'

/x^{ω}/ has changed to /x/.

bəx$^{\omega}$ast(Geiger 1903:377) ===> bəxast 'wanted'

/b/ the voiced bilabial stop has strengthened to /p/ the voiceless bilabial stop.

gəb ===> gəp 'conversation'

High front vowel in Gilaki have changed to low back vowels. Acccrding to Foley (1977) this process strengthens the vowels.

i==> ə ==>æ

binakudən(Geiger 1903)===> bə na(Christensen 1903)===> bæ na (younger generation)

hun ===> hən ===> hæn (younger generation)

Another change in the sound system of Gilaki is that the unstressed geminate vowels tend to change to a single vowel.

áa==> a	maar==> mar	'mother'
ɛɛ̀ ==> ɛ	pɛɛ̀r==> pɛr/per	'father'
oó==> oo	šoon==> šón	'to go'

Generalization: Through the Farsization process, various prefixes of verbs tend to generalize to /be/ concomitant with the generalization of vowel harmony between the first vowel of a verb and the preceding prefix. (See chapter 5)

duxàn	bəxàn	bɛxàn	bexàn 'to call'
fəkəš	bəkəš	bɛkəš	bekəš 'to pull'
dičin	bičin	bɛčin	bečin 'pick up'
dūkūn	būkūn	bɛkūn	bekon 'do, put on'

8.5 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Changes have been recorded in the morphology and syntax of Gilaki. Some reduplicated words have been replaced with Arabic/Farsi terms, especially words or idioms that include body parts or sexual organs. These Gilaki words are now considered to be impolite or show a lack of education among the high social class of educated Gilaks. Examples:

bg^ bg^ ===> dǰəma from Arabic /dǰəmaʕ

make love make love

'make love'

kun^ kun^ ===> əb from Arabic /ʕæqəb/

back back

'reverse'

kusa kusi ===> hərǰomərǰ

lit. vagina vagina

'a state of chaos'

xɛr xɛr 'larynx' ===> guli/hənǰərə, from /gælu/ (Farsi) and /hænǰərə/ (Arabic).

kas kas kudən ===> dəəva, from Arabic dæɣwa

'to quarrel'

Some compound nouns have been replaced by Arabic/Farsi terms.

h/xun šóon ===> qaidəgi/heyiz/binəmazi

lit. blood going

'menstruation'

xošədáan ===> mačči-dáan/busidən

'to kiss'

xatɛr xa ===> ȧšɛɣ or məšuɣ, from Arabic ɣašeq/mæɣšuq

'lover'

kus xul ===> divanə

lit. vagina crazy

'crazy'

kəd xuda mərdi ===> insaf

'judgement'

kəd xuda ===> ɣazi, from Arabic/qaḍi,

'judge'

zən xazi ===> xastɛgary

'wife wanting'

xanəfaru ===> ǰaru

'broom'

Terms related to measurement have changed.

Gilaki has no terminology for nominative adjectives. Instead, the speakers use a phrase to express their purpose, but there is a tendency among the younger generation and educated Gilaks to replace these phrases with Farsi terms.

úni ki gūfti ===> guyəndɛ́'speaker'

úni ki xʌndi ===> xʌnəndɛ́'singer'

The comparative conjunction has developed through Farsization process in Gilaki. The process of its development is given below.

No comparative conjunction:

ə kóor u kóor ə bɛxtər

this girl that girl better

'This girl is better than that girl.'

The first appearance of the comparative conjunction:

unə bərar ǰə un pĭllətərə

his brother (comp. conj.) him older is

'His brother is older than him.'

Change in word order:

ənə ǰə šəkar bɛxtər nɛ́ bɛ́

this than hunt better not be

'No hunt could be better than this.'

Replacing /ǰə/ with /əz/ by the younger generation of speakers.

əz šan həmə bɛxtər tərə

than them all better comparative marker is

'He is best of all.'

Reflexive Pronoun. The function of the reflexive pronoun in Gilaki differs from that of other Iranian languages. xod (self) in Parsi is used as a common pronoun for all persons with personal suffixes to show distinction of person and number. In middle and old Parsi xod without the personal ending was used as a common pronoun for all persons.

singular	plural
mæn xod goftæm	ma xod goftim
'I myself said.'	'We ourselves said."
to xod gofti	šoma xod goftid
'you yourself said.'	'You yourselves said.'
u xod goft	išan xod goftænd
'he himself said.'	'They themselves said.'

In Modern Parsi xod shows distinction for persons plus personal ending attached to xod.

mæn	xodæm goftæm	'I myself said.'
	xodæt	'yourself'
	xodæš	'her/himself'
	xodeman	'ourselves'
	xodetan	'yourselves'
	xodešan	'themselves'

In Gilaki xō/ū is generally used to substitute for nominative pronouns, especially the first person singular and the third person singular and plural. But in modern Gilaki there is a tendency to follow the same process of change that took place in Farsi, namely some Gilaks have started to use /xōdəš/ and /xodəm/ as reflexive pronouns.

Prepositions. Gilaki has an OV word order so it can be assumed that it also has postpositions, and as Bynon (1977: 231) indicates that "It is generally claimed that members of the 'open' classes (nouns, verbs, and adjectives) are more readily borrowed than those of the 'closed' classes(pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions)". Thus, Gilaki is not expected to develop prepositions through contact, but "it would at any rate, seem likely that borrowing from closed classes will only be possible in situations of intense linguistic exchange since it presupposes the cross-linguistic equation of syntactic patterns" (Bynon, 1977:321). However, a few prepositions have been added to Gilaki through time. The following prepositional sentences represent the process of change in Gilaki.

Old Gilaki	Modern Gilaki
mərɛ či bəxasti?	1) often the same postposition
me of what wanted you	is used as a preposition.
'What did you want	ǰə mən či bəxasti?
from me.'	

2) Borrowing the preposition /əz/ from Farsi.

əz mən či bəxasti?
of I what wanted you

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.

əz bə xanə bəmóm
from to house I came
'I came from the house.'

or they use them in both pre and past positions (double positions).

mən xayəm ba simi mašin-ə- həmrʌ bəšəm birun
I want with/by your car with/by go I out
'I want to go out by (in) your car.'

Note: The use of prepositions in Gilaki is accompanied by the change in word order.

xànə šidi
house going you
'You/they are going home.'

šidi bəxan ?
go you to house

8.5.1 Stable Parts of Gilaki

In spite of all the contacts and exposures to various languages, Gilaki has remained conservative in some areas.

8.5.1.1 Phonology

The velar nasal /ŋ/ has been preserved. This sound has been recorded in few other Iranian languages. It does occur in Kurdi /maŋ/ (moon) as well as in Gilaki. It also has been recorded in Parsi cuneiform inscriptions and other old Iranian texts. Aspirated /ph/, /th/, /dh/ are parts of the Old Iranian sound system and have almost disappeared in other Iranian languages although they still exist in Gilaki.

Lexicon: Gilaki has retained words that are related to the natural environment and material culture, such as terms used for birds, fish, rice, rice plantation (which exceed a hundred), color terminology, Gilaki cuisine, and toponomy.

Morphology and Syntax: Gilaki is a conservative language that has retained the OV serial order paralleled by a corresponding order in other pairs of elements in the language such as noun-adjective, genitive-noun, noun-preposition, and standard comparative. This can be clarified by comparing

Gilaki with other Iranian languages such as Farsi which was originally an OV language that has retained its OV form while other structures of the language have changed to VO serialization under the influence of Arabic. It has prepositions rather than postpositions, and the negative follows the noun, which it modifies, as do the adjectives.

Jaffary (1965:10-11) refers to one of changes in Farsi which is:

> the increasing reversed position of adjectives and the nouns and pronouns they qualify as well as the genitives--a fact that has become the order of the day in Modern Farsi and other Iranian languages with the exception of Baluchi and the Caspian dialects.

Table 12 is a comparison of the two languages in respect to change.

Table 12

OV Languages	VO Languages
Adjective-Noun	**Noun-Adjective**
(Gilaki) pīlla-bərar big brother vazarka khshayati great/big king (Cuneiform inscriptions) (Rawilson 1846: 320)	(Farsi) bæradær-e-bozorg brother big (Arabic) æx-kæbir
Genitive-Noun	**Noun-Genitive**
(Gilaki) mi pɛɛ̀r my father Cuneiform ya pitra my father Cuneiform (Rawilson 1846: 324)	(Farsi) pedær-e-mæn father I/me (Arabic) æb----i father my
Noun-Postposition	**Preposition-Noun**
(Gilaki) gənbǰ-ə-duren pot inside	(Farsi) durna-e-xan inside house (Arabic) fi-I beyt at the house

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The primary undertaking of this study has been to investigate language change in Gilan, especially during the period from the beginning of the twentieth century until 1979. By focusing on the interplay between sociopolitical and linguistic factors that have affected language, I hope to have explained certain trends in linguistic change. More specifically, my intention has been to explore cultural aspects of Gilaki and to assess the impact each has had on the language. Furthermore, by defining the cultural differences between Gilaks and Pars I have provided an explanation of sociopolitical view that underlies cultural degradation of Gilaks in Iran.

Major Findings

The ancestors of Gilaks are Pre-Aryan groups that have lived in the Gilan region since ancient times.

Even though Gilaki shares certain aspects of language with other Iranian linguistic groups, Gilaki syntax is most closely related to the languages spoken by people who live on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea; shares lex-

enes related to its culture and environment with this Caspian language group.

Nevertheless, Gilaki has "autonomy". It has its own lexicon that is especially related to the environment--plants, animal, and climate--daily life, Gilaki cuisine, and household materials as well as its own specific phonology and syntax when compared to Farsi and other Iranian languages. Toponomy, profanities, onomatopoeia terms, and reduplicated morphemes are 99 percent Gilaki specific and are not intelligible to non-Gilaks. Only 4.48 percent of Gilaki verbs of either action or state of being are intelligible to non-Gilaks.

Gilaki has its own "vitality"; inspite of all the changes it has been through, it is a living language, spoken by more than 1.5 million people in everyday situations.

From all of the evidences presented above I suggest that Gilaki is not simply a dialect of Farsi, as many researchers have said, rather along with the Caspian subgroup, Gilaki split from a proto-Iranian language. It developed its own specific morphology in response to its own social and cultural environment and has preserved its original common SOV order. The "Farsization" of Gilaki began when Gilan lost its independence to the central government of Iran, as Farsi itself has been Arabicized, Gilaki has followed the direction Farsi has taken for change.

For the investigation of language change, I have used the methodology of historical linguistics. For analyzing the cultural aspects of Gilaki, I have used an anthropological approach.

The Gilaki language change was examined in two diametric dimensions: 1) horizontally or synchronically, which considers social parameters such as sex, age, education, social class, degree of ethnic/national consciousness, place of residence, and marital status; and 2) vertically or diachronically, which considers the impacts of different forms of contacts such as trade, domination, ideology (spiritual contact), and the political context at the time of change.

Horizontal/synchronic factors such as sex, age, education, occupational level (social class), marriage status, ethnicity, and the length of time the family resided outside Gilan are influential variables that affect language change, but the degree, strength, and influence of each variable differs.

Sex is usually a major factor which correlates strongly with language change. Males have been considered more linguistically conservative. It has been shown that although female Gilaks residing outside Gilan feel more insecurity, the pattern of change was not consistent among them. Rather, although middle aged women who work in public

offices and housewives are quite conscious of the social stigma attached to Gilaks and are more sensitive to the chauvinistic attitudes of non-Gilaks, teenager females who often have never been exposed to the discriminatory behavior of the Fars toward Gilaki speakers, found no problem in communicating freely with non-Gilaks.

The sex factor does not correlate totally with language change for Gilaks living in Gilan either. There were no differences between male and female language behavior among this group. A reverse correlation was shown among Gilaks living in small villages and those of the lower social class where males had more access outside Gilan and to urban areas. They were often more educated and therefore, less conservative about change.

Age is reckoned as a factor in which older generations were more conservative; but middle-aged housewives and teachers living in Tehran were the exceptions to this rule. They were even more careful to hide or deny their Gilak roots in conversation with other Gilaks.

Social class and the type of occupation correlates with the language change in that members of the lower class and Gilaks who held manual or technical jobs were more conservative than Gilaks who held public office, teachers, or white collar workers.

It has been shown that although highly educated Gilaks are less conservative towards language change, the pattern of change is not consistent.

Place of residence is a major factor in language change. Not only have Gilaks who live in Tehran changed linguistically, they have developed different views of their own language and nationality. All of those who live in Gilan consider Gilaki to be a language separate from Farsi, but only 38.4 percent of the Gilak informants who live in Tehran believed that Gilaki is a separate language.

Gilaks living in Gilan have no feeling of shame or humiliation about their own language, because they have not experienced discrimination from non-Gilaks. Therefore, they are not under strong social pressure for linguistic conformity to Farsi.

The length of time a Gilak family has resided in Tehran correlates with change; the longer they lived in Tehran, the more change was evident; the second generation of Gilak immigrants did not even speak Gilaki.

Marital status is another factor that accounts for change. Gilaks who have married non-Gilaks have changed linguistically more than those married to Gilaks.

Another factor that has to be considered in an assessment of the Gilaki language change is that, unlike other

national minorities, Gilaks have been most concerned about their social and economic rights rather than cultural and linguistic rights in their uprisings against the governments of Iran.

Ethnicity is the most important factor of change in Gilaki. An analysis of the historical context of the region at times of rapid Farsization of Gilaki indicates that, no matter who held power, the Iranian government has absolutely refused to recognize the existence of the non-Fars nationalities. Their educational system and national policies have encouraged chauvinism, a divide and conquer mentality, and cosmopolitanism. The theoretical underpinnings of these various forms of oppression have been to decompose and to neutralize the basic components of such nationalities. There are other minorities in Iran who have suffered from physical oppression, displacement, and a denial of their historical background, as well as linguistic and cultural discrimination; but Gilaks have been the target of cultural degradation, linguistic discrimination, and psychological humiliation. The impact of these policies has been shown in the "stigmatized" values attached to the stereotyped features which have played the major role in language change among Gilaks.

Diachronically Gilaki has undergone phonemic, lexemic, and grammatical changes in response to contacts with speakers of various linguistic communities as well as by the natural processes of internal change.

Trade has contributed greatly to the Gilaki lexicon, but ideological factors have played a significant role in altering the use of titles and personal names. The domination by Fars governments and the loss of independence have caused a Farsization of Gilan.

In spite of all the contacts and exposures to various languages including the social pressure for conformity to Farsi, Gilaki has remained conservative in many areas--phonology, morphology, and syntax. Gilaki has retained its own lexicon, especially that part related to the natural and cultural environment of Gilan, and its syntax showing that those two aspects of Gilaki are the most stable.

One other finding of this study is that the anti-western thrust of the 1979 revolution has created a sense of revitalization in national consciousness and traditional cultural behavior, generally in Iran and specifically in Gilan. This national revitalization has helped the Gilaks to restore their self-esteem and promote national pride.

To sum up, I suggest that the psychological make-up or self-esteem of any ethnic group is a crucial factor in

the preservation of linguistic integrity; a demoralization in the psychological make up of any ethnic group may cause the extinction of its language just as a revitalization of ethnic pride may help to restore the viability of that language.

9.1 IMPLICATIONS

As with many other scientific endeavors, the motivation for this project lies in a hope to benefit mankind. My quest has been to understand Gilaks and to help others understand them. By doing so I desire to help eliminate the many problems faced by Gilaks that have been caused by a misinterpretation of their social and cultural behavior. It is my intention that this study will have both practical benefits for Gilaks and theoretical ones for other scholars.

Practically, chapters 4 and 5 may be used as a textbook for the Gilaki grammar. As stated above, none of the previously existing sources on Gilaki is a complete and accurate descriptive analysis. These chapters can be further used in lexicographical works as a dictionary. As previously mentioned, learning one European language was a high school requirement in Iran. As a teacher, I am well aware of the special problems of students who belong to various linguistic minorities, and as a Kurd, I have personally ex-

perienced the difficulty of learning a third language, a difficulty compounded by lack of adequate resources. In high school, in order to learn English I had to translate each term from English to Farsi and then find the equivalent term in Kurdi. All too often I was unable to find an accurate equivalent. Therefore, I hope the sections of this study which contain Gilaki-English lexemes will help simplify the tedious chore for Gilaks who are learning English.

On a more political level, I would hope that Iranian policy makers for language and education would heed the following responses to my question: "How do you feel when you speak Gilaki?" The following are representative answers: "I feel fine"; "I have good feelings"; "I feel comfortable"; "I feel I am myself"; "I feel relaxed and fine"; "I feel free from pressure"; "I feel more at ease because I can express myself well"; "I am not obligated to the restrictions made by Farsi." "I feel myself and am peaceful"; "I am free from pressure and hypocrisy conventionally used by Fars." Perhaps the best summary of attitudes toward imposition of Farsi and denial of native tongue is the statement: "Other people's language is other people's language". Farsi for Gilaks and other national minorities in Iran is "other people's language" and a threat to ethnic/cultural identity.

Finally, I believe the theoretical approach to this study, a holistic look at linguistic change will be a contribution to the study of anthropology and linguistics and may serve as a model for the study of change in the languages of other Iranian nationalities.

Appendix A

GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY OF GILAKI WITH OTHER IRANIAN LANGUAGES

English	Gilaki	Mazandarani	Kurdi	Farsi
night	šəb	šu	šæw	šæb
hot	daɣ	da	daz	daɣ
cold	sərd	sərd/beča	sərd/čäyg	særd
full	pur	por	př/rr	por
new	tazə/no	nu	tåzə/nwe	taze/no
good	xōb	xar	xås/bäš	xub
round	gərd	gerd	grd	gerd
dry	h/xušk	xošk	hešk/wšk	xošk
name	nam	num	naw	nam
stand	bɪssan	esey kerdæn/bɪsan	wɪstan/	istadæn (int.)
-	issan	-	wessan	istandæn (tran)
give	fədáan	denni/hǽde	dán	dadæn
say	buguft n/bugut n	boɔtæn	wutɪn	goftæn
n/bez				h rf-z d n
sun	aftab	aftab	hætaw	aftab
sun	xōr (O.G.)	--	xwærætaw	xor (Old F.)
sun	xōršid	xoršid	rəǰiar/rožyar	xoršid
moon	maŋg (O.G.) ma/mah	ma/mah	maŋ	mah
star	sɛtarə	setare	hæsaræ	setare
water	aw/ab	au/u	åw	ab
rain	barəš/	vareš/varɪ́n	baran/waran	baran/baridæn
-	varɪstən (O.G.)	-	-	-

-	varan' (O.G.)	-	-	-
stone	sɒŋg	səŋg	bərd/kōčɛk	sæng
sand	xalət/rig/	rex	r x	rig/masse
-	furšəkələt/	-	-	sen
-	furš xal t	-	-	-
cloud	əbr	æbr	hæwr	æbr
earth	zəmin	zæmin	zəwi	zæmin
fire	atəš	tæš	agɛr/awər/	azær/atæš
-	-	-	ah r	(old Parsi)
ash	xakəstər	kaleh/zakestær	bʊl/sutek	kakest r
burn	bsoxtən	bsutən	sutian	suxtæn
-	suǰanɛɛn(tran.)	sutanen(tran.)	suzanen	-
-	-	-	sutanen(tran.)	suzand n
path	ǰ.ddə/ra	ǰadə/rah	ǰelə/rɛyə	ǰadde
mountain	kō	kūh	kuh kef/šax	kuh
red	sūrx	sərx	sur/al	sorx
green	səbz	sæbz	sowz	sæbz
yellow	zərd	zərd	zærd	zærd
white	sɛpid/	spe/ɛspe	spi	sefid/sepid
-	s fid	espi	čærau/čærmeg	-
black	sia/siah	siah	ræš	siah/meški
-	-	-	bɛlæk/qənusi	
eating	xūrdən/būxūrdən	bǽx rdæn	xwarden	xordæn
biting	gazgitən/	gazbeytæn	qæpgerten	-
-	giftən	-	-	gazgereftæn
-	gəštən	-	gæsin/	-
-	gazzɛɛn	-	vəpewdǽn	gæzidæn
-	-	-	čezin	mišzædæn
see	di:n	hədiɛn	diin	didæn/negahkærdæn
-	fandərəstən	-	čawpɛkæften	-

hear	išnəvəstən/	fštuni/	žəaəftən	šæmidæn
-	bišnəvəstən	beštusen	šenævin	
sleep	xōftən/	bɔ́xætən	x ften	xabidæn (intr)
-	būxūftən	-	-	xabanidæn (trans)
-	bōxōsanɛn (tran.)	-	xæfanen	-
-	-	-	(trans.)	-
die	dəmərdən/	bǽmærdən	mɛrdn	mordæn/mærg
-	bəmərdən	-	mærg	mir
-	mir mærg	-	-	-
-	-	-	topiin (for	-
-	-	-	animals)	
tongue	zəban	zebun	zwan	zæban
drink	dəməduš	-	xwarden	nɒšidæn/ašamidæn
-	xordən	xærdæn	hælgoranen	-
-	-	-	hælnušin	-
-	-	-	nošin	-
bird	pərənde	p r nd	pælævdr	pærænde/baldar
-	-	-	mæl	morɒ
-	-	-	baldar	-
dog	soɒ/	sæg	səg /	sæg
-	sakud	-	seplot	-
louse	səbəǰ/	spič	spɛ	šepeš
-	səbəǰke/-	-		-
-	fitɒe (big louse)	-	-	-
tree	dar	dar	dar	deræxt/dar
-	-	-	dr xt	(old Parsi)
seed	ṭɒxm	dune	tom/tu	toxm/bæzr/dane
leaf	vəlg (O.G.)/bəlg	bærg	gæla/bælg.	bærg
root	bīx	-	rešə/bɛx/	rise/bix/t bar
-	-	-	ben/benǰ	-

bark	darəpust	darepust	pos/tokel/	pust/puste derækt
-	-		tok	-
skin	pust		pes/pos	pust.
flesh	gust/ǰan/gušt	tænegušt	gošt/xæwa	gušt/gušte bædæn
blood	xun/hun	xun	xwen/hon	xun
bone	xaš	estexun	pīšə/pelan/	ostexan
-	-	-	seqan	-
-	-	-	ɛsxan	
grease	-	čærbi/raɣun	cəwri	čærbi
egg	morɣanə	mǽrɣne/	hilkə/yilkə	toxmemorɣ/toxm
-	-	mærɣənə	-	
horn	šax	šax/kol	šax/kæl	šax
tail	dum	dem	dučkə	dom
hair	mu	me	qež(mu)/me	mu
head	sər/kəllə	sər	sər/kələ	sær/kælle
feather	pər	pær	pəř	pær
I	mən	men	men	mæn
you	tu/šimi/šime	tu/šoma	to/ɛvə/ivə	to/šoma
we	əmʌ	əma	īmæ/ɛmæ	ma
this	hən/ən/ə̀	inta	ænæ	in
that	un/hun/u	unta	æwæ	an
who	ki	ki	kī/e	ki
what	či	či/čiči	čæ	či
not	nisə/niə/n	næ	ni	nist
all	həmmətan	həmmə	gīšt/hæmu	həmme/həmegi
-	-	-	twawi	həmegan
one	i:ta/i:	ətta/ettə	yæk/danek	yek/yekta
two	du	deta	du/duan	do
big	pīllə/pilə	gat	gəwrə/zel	bozorg

- - m r n -

long	deraz	gat/deraz	drež	deraz
small	kučɛ/kuči	kučik	buček/	kuček/keh
-	-	-	buckælanæ	kučulu
-	-	-	čkolæh	
man	mərday/mərdak	mərdi	piaw/piag	mærd
woman	zənay/zənak	ženo	žin	zæn
fish	maii/mahi	mahi	masi	mahi
person	kəs/nəfər	kæs/ta	kæs	kæs/næfær/šæxs
many	pur/færavan	čændta	ferə/færavan	færavan/biš
-	xeyli	-	zor	xeyli/ziad/besyar
breast	ǰiǰi		mæmkæ/mæmek	pestan
know	danəstən	bǽdunestæn	zamin	danestan
kill	kuštən	bǽkušt n	kožyan/koštin	koštæn/koštešodæn
-	-	-	meranen	mi:
-	-	-	-	
swim	sinəabkudən	šeno/šnu/həsənu	mælekerten	senak rd n/sena
-	-	-	uvbazi	senav ri abbazi
-	-	-	-	
fly	pərəgiftən/	pəræhitæn	balæw gerten	pæridæn/pærwaz
-		-	frrin	kærdæn
walk	gərdəstəm/	gærdešəkerdæn	gəšt/gəryan	gædæ zædæn
-	čərxəstən	raburdæn	-	ǵæšt/gærdeš/gæštæn
come	amón	bimuǽn/beru	haten	amædæn
lie	ɣorab/dōrōɣ	drɔɣ	derō/dələsə	doruɣ
-	-	-	-	
sit	ništən	hæšin/heništən	danian/daništen	nešæstæn/nešandæn
ear	guš	guš	gwečkæ/gwe	guš
eye	čum/čəsm	čum	čaw/čæm/didæ	česm/dideh
nose	vini(Old Gilaki)	demaɣ	lut/dæmax/	bini/dæmaɣ
-	d ma	-	berna	-

mouth	kəpč/dəhan	dehun/kætar	dæn	dæhən/dæhan
tooth	gaz	dendun	ådan/dian/dʒan	dændan
-	-	-		-
claw	čūŋlus/čūŋglus	čŋgli/	čŋ	cæŋg/pænǰul
-	čəŋgal	cæŋglibǽzue		-
foot	pa	liŋg	pa/pɛ	pa
knee	zuni	zanu	zrani	zanu
hand	dəs	dæst	dæs	dæst
belly	šəkəm	eškæm	zek/sek/	šekæm
-	-	-	æškæm	-
neck	gərdən	gærdæn	mel/ gærdæm	gærdæn
heart	dil/ǰan	del	del/gian	ǰegær/ǰegær sia
liver	ǰəgər	ǰigær	siuǰgær/	kæbed (Arabic)
-	-	-	suǰgær	-
-	-	-	-	

Appendix B

SURVEYS

Informants	Sex	Age	Level of Education	Occupation	Years living in Gilan	How living in
1	M	30-40	6th grade	security man	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
2	M	40-50	6th grade	farmer	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
3	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
4	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
5	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
6	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
7	F	40-50	11th grade	housewife	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
8	M	30-40	11th grade	company	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
-	-	-	-	storage man	-	-
9	M	20-30	high school graduate	unemployed	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
10	M	40-50	high school diploma	retired	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
11	F	40-50	high school diploma	housewife	6	Tehran
12	F	40-50	high school	teacher	9	Tehran
13	M	50-60	2nd grade	worker at a	20	Tehran
-	-	-	-	dress making	-	-
-	-	-	-	factory	-	-
14	F	40-50	6th grade	housewife	25	Tehran
15	M	40-50	5th grade	tailor	12	Tehran
16	F	20-30	high school graduate	unemployed	-	Tehran
17	F	20-30	high school graduate	unemployed	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
18	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
19	M	40-50	high school diploma	reired	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
-	-	-	-	ex-government	-	-
-	-	-	-	employee	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
20	M	30-40	high school	company	-	
-	-	-	-	employee	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
21	M	20-30	high school	unemployed	21	Tehran
22	F	40-50	high school diploma	housewife	20	Tehran

23	F	50-60	high school diploma	retired	-	-
-	-	-	-	teacher	15	Tehran
24	M	50-60	6th grade	construction	-	-
-	-	-	-	contractor	19	Tehran
25	M	20-30	high school	student	20	Tehran
26	F	40-50	high school	housewife	12	Tehran
27	M	40-50	6th grade	shop keeper	20	Tehran
28	M	50-60	3rd grade	worker	20	Tehran
29	F	40-50	high school diploma	teacher	10	Tehran
30	F	40-50	high school diploma	housewife	18	Tehran
31	F	50-60	high school	student	19	Tehran
32	M	20-30	college	student	25	Tehran
33	F	40-50	6th grade	housewife	-	-
34	F	20-30	college	student	20	Tehran
35	F	40-50	11th grade	housewife	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
36	F	40-50	6th grade	housewife	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
37	M	40-50	high school	retired	-	-
-	-	-	-	government	-	-
-	-	-	-	employee	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
38	M	40-50	high school	retired	-	-
-	-	-	-	teacher	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
39	M	20-30	high school diploma	unemployed		
40	M	30-40	3rd grade	company	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
-	-	-	-	employee	-	-
41	F	40-50	3rd grade	housewife	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
42	F	under 20	high school	student	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
43	M	30-40	6th grade	worker	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
44	M	40-50	8th grade	farmer	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
45	M	20-30	high school	unemployed	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
46	M	30-40	high school	government	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan
-	-	-	-	employee	-	-
47	F	50-60	2nd grade	housewife	born and lived in Gilan	Gilan

Appendix C

1982 INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

sex: Female__ Male__

Age: 80-70__ 60-50__ 50-40__ 40-30__ 30-20__ Under 20__

Birthplace:__

Education:__

Occupation:__

Family Annual Income: Very high__ High__ Middle__ Low__ Very low__

Birthplace of Parents: Father__ Mother__

Education of Parents: Father__ Mother__

Occupation of Parents: Father__ Mother__

Years lived in Gilan: _____ and what period of their lives: -----

Nationality of Parents: Father__ Mother__

In what language do your parents communicate with each other: _____ with you: _____ with others: _____

Birthplace of grandparents: _____ Maternal Grandmother: ___ _____ Maternal grandfather: _____

Paternal grandfather: _____ Paternal Grandmother: _____

Nationality of Grandparents: _____

Maternal Grandfather: _____ Maternal Grandmother: _____ Paternal Grandfather: _____ Paternal Grandmother: _____

Birthplace of Spouse: _____

Education of Spouse: _____

Occupation of Spouse: _____

Nationality of Spouse: Gilak ___ Non-Gilak ___

Years lived in Gilan: _____ and what period of life: _____

In what language dose your spouse communicate with you? _____

Children: Son ___ Age/Ages ___ Daughter ___ Age/Ages ___

Birthplace of children: _____

Education of children: _____

In what language do you communincate with your children? _____

Do you consider yourself a Gilak? Yes__ No__ Other nationality ___ _____

Years lived in Gilan: _____ Tehran _____ and what period of your life _____

Other places lived and how long: _____

Are you a bilingual (do yopu speak Gilaki and Farsi fluently)? Yes __ No __ Explain which one is easier for you?

In what other occasions other than above do you speak Gilaki _____ and to whom _____

Is Gilaki a language ____ a dialect of Farsi _____ Neither _____

How do you feel when you speak Gilaki?

Do you feel any shame when you speak Gilaki in the presence of non-Gilaks _____ Pars _____

Do you feel any change in your feeling towards Gilaki after the 1979 revolution? Yes ___ No ___ Please explain _____

What language do you use when you are thinking? Farsi ___ Gilaki ___ Others ____

When you are in a state of anger or loose your temper, what language do you use to insult the other party?

In what language do jokes, proverbs, and anecdotes are more meaningful to you? Farsi ____ Gilaki ____ Others ____

What language do you use for mathematics and calculus? Farsi ___ Gilaki ___ Others ___

Appendix D

TALES

I

ita adəm xàb bidɛ i: məfər kərɛ unə pulɛ sia fədand ərɛ. unəa fəŋgifti bũgũtɛ nə mən pulɛ tɛla ya nuʂrə xayəm. bəzin ki əz xab viriz bəfaməstə ki xàb bidɛ bu duvardə xurɛ bəxab bɛzɛ xu čumanə dəbəstə xu dəstam dɛrazə kud hey bugutə mən u pulɛ siayə xayəm, əmʌ hərči bũgũftɛ dɛ nə əz u xʌ bəri bu nə əz u pul. xurɛəfsus xurdi ki čarɛu pulɛ siayə bə čəŋgəda.

A man had a dream, in which somebody was giving him some change money, and he refused to accept it. Rather, he was asking for silver or gold money. When he woke up and realized that he had been dreaming, he closed his eyes again, stretched his hands, and pretended he was asleep and said, I accept that change money, but there was no money and no dream. He regreted that he had given up the change money.

II

duta zənay ita zə́akəsər də́v daštidi. ən gufti zay mišinə un gufti zày mišinə. duta zənay šahid əm naštidi.

biləxərə bušuidi ɣazi xànəta bidinid ɣazi či gɛ. ɣazi vəxti əšanə gəbanə bɛšnəvəstɛ ǰəlladəbuguftə ki; záakədu niməkun, i tikə fədən ə zənay u tikəm fədən uyta zənay. ita əz u zə nakan ki ə gəpə bišnəvəstə təm bɛzɛ, əmʌ uyta zənay bina gudə gəry zari g/kudən ki əy aɣa turʌ buxuda záakə vanəvin. əgər ti hukm hənə mən zày nəxam. ɣazi bɛfaməstə ki zay hən maarə šinə. záakə fəda hənə, uyta zənakə čənta ɣəmči bɛzɛ u mákəmə ǰə birunə ·kud.

Two women were quarrelling over the custody of a child. Each claimed the child to be hers, but there were no witnesses. Finally they went to the judge's house to see what he would suggest. When the judge had heard them, he called the executioner and ordered "cut the child in two halves and give each woman a half." When she heard the judge's order one of the women started crying and shouted to the judge "if this is your judgement, then I do not want the child." The judge, realizing that she was the child's real mother, gave the child to her. The judge then had the other woman lashed and kicked out of the court.

III

ita zənay v ita mərday həmdīgərə həmrʌ ašɛɣ- -məšuɣ bid. mərday vagərdəstə zənakə bugutə ki mən xayəm bɛšəm səfə r. čun tɛrɛ xeyli dus dʌrəm tu ti əŋguštərə fədən mərɛ ta hə r vəxt mən əŋgustərə niga bukunəm tərə bəyad bàarəm. zənay

vagərdəstə bəgut ki, nə mən tərɛ əŋguštər fáandəm, ta tu hə r vəxt ti əŋguštə niga bukuni və bidini əŋguštər nənaa bəyadɛ xə̄ dəkəfi ki tu mərɛəŋguštər bəxasti və mən tərɛ fanəda.m .

A woman and a man loved each other. The man told the woman that he was going to take a trip, and he said "because I love you very much, you give me a ring so that everytime I look at the ring I will remember you." The woman turned and said, "no I will not give you a ring so that everytime that you look at your finger and do not see it you can remember that you asked for a ring and that I did not give you one."

IV

i:ta duz šəb bušə i:nəfə rə xànə. hərči vaməxtə hičči peyda nukudə. sabxànə bidarə-bostə duzdə buguftə ey bərar ǰan mən ruzɛ rošən mi xanə durun hər či vaməǰəm hičči peyda nukunəm tu čto xayi tarikəšəb ičči peyda kuni bbəri?

One night a thief enterred a man's house. He searched everywhere but could not find anything. The owner of the house woke up and said to the thief, "hey brother, I cannot find anything in my house in daylight, how do you expect to find anything to take in the dark night?"

V

i:ta adəmə pul dəkəft bu abə miyan. u xu dəs čoma ɣə furu bug/kudəàbə durun, hey vaməxti ta bəlki pul bɛčəspə čub sərə və xu puləbirun bavrɛ. ənə dus vagərdəstə unə bugut ; rey əǰəb xəri isi. ta həssə bedɛiy ita čiz hošk ita hoškɛ dīgərə bəčəspɛ? tu əɣər xaiy pulə baari əz ab birun, vasi filli vasini cubə sərə, ta pul bəčəspəčubə sər , un vax pulə baary əz ab birun.

A man's money had fallen into the water. Putting his cane into the water, he searched for the money meaning for it to stick to the cane. His friend looked at him and said, "boy how stupid you are. Have you ever seen any dry thing stick to another dry object. If you intend to bring your money out of the water, you should rub the stick with water so that the wet money will adhere to it, and then you can bring your money out of the water."

VI

ita pirə mərday xōrɛ ništɛ bu ʌɣoz darə ǰir. ipčɛ u tərəftər ita hindəvanə baɣ nəha bu. čənta pīllə pīllə həndə vanəm bičɛ bid bəmbid baɣə kənar. pīrə mərday xōrɛ xōrɛ gufti xudaǰam ti ɣūdrətə ɣurban -ə-pīlləygi hindəvanə ə bar ikə xàl və ə aɣoz darəbə ə buləndi xəlɣbuɟ/kudi. hətoki xōrɛ xiyal gudandəbu ita aɣoz darə sə rəǰir bəkətə buxurdə pīrə mə rdakəkəllə bɛškənɛ hun bəmó. pīrəmərday du dəstəki bigitəxū kəllə, bugutə xudaǰan əgərə ti hindəvanan buxurdəbu mikəllə əlan mi məɣz pəxt -ə-bostə bu zəmin sərki.

An old man was sitting under a walnut tree. A few steps further on there was a watermelon garden. Some very big watermelons had been picked up and were stacked by the garden's side. Talking to himself, the old man said: "oh dear God I am impressed by your power; you have created such a big watermelon on such a narrow branch and this little walnut on such a tall tree." While he was thinking, a walnut fell on his head from the top of the tree. It hit the old man's head so hard that it started bleeding. Keeping his hand on his head, he said: "Oh dear God, if one of your watermelons had struck me rather than this walnut, my head would now be in pieces on the ground."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexeyev, V.P. "Modes of Race Formation and Geography of Genes." In Races and Peoples: Contemporary Ethnic and Racial Problems. edited by S.Y. Kozlov. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.

Apor, Eva. "Gilanica: Langerudi." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, XXVII (3), 1973: 351-372.

Afsar, Iraj. Ahangha-ye mahali-ye Gilan. (1338) Tehran: Edare-ye honarha-ye ziba-ye kesvar, 1959.

Bartoled, B. B. Istorii Persodeskova Eposa. n.p., 1915.

Bell, Roger T. Sociolinguistics. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976.

Beresine, I. N. Recherches Sur Ies Dialectes Persans. Casan: 1853.

Bloomfield, Leonard. Language. New York: Henry Holt, 1933.

Boas, Franz. The Handbook of American Indian Languages. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, Part I. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1911.

_____. Race, Language and Culture. New York: Free Press, 1940.

Bromley, Y. V. Races and Peoples: Contemporary Ethnic and Racial Problems. Edited by S. Y. Kozlov and I. R. Grigulevich. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Brown, Edward G. A Year Amongst the Persian. London: A. and C. Black, 1893.

Burling, Robbins. Man's Many Voices: Language in its Cultural Context. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winstons, inc. 1970.

Bynon, Theodora. Historical Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Chodzko, Alexander. Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia. London: Harrison and Co., 1842.

Christensen, Arthur. Contributions a la Dialectologie Iranienne. Kobenhavn: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri A/S, 1930.

Cox, Oliver C. Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics. Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday, 1948.

Diakunov, E. M. Istorii Midii. M. L., 1956.

Dorn, B. "Caspia: Uber Kie Einfalle der alten Russen in Tabaristan." Zapiski imp. Akademii Nauk, Ser. UP, T. XXIII (I), SPb., 1875.

Evans-Prichard, E.E. The Nuer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940.

_____. "Nuer Modes of Address." The Uganda Journal 12: 166-171. Reprinted in Dell Hymes Languages, Culture and Society, 221-227, 1964.

Faravashi, B. "Linguistic Map of Iranian Languages." The Ancient Iranian Cultural Society Bulletin. V 2, no. 1 (1965): 1-5.

Fishman, Joshua A. Language in Sociocultural Change: Essays by Joshua A. Fishman. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.

Foley, James. Foundation of Theoretical Phonology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Geiger, W. Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen: Die Kaspischen Dialekte. GIPh., Bd I, Abt. 2, Strassburg: 1898-1901.

Geiger, W. and Ernst Kuhn. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trubner, 1903.

Gmelin, S. G. Puteshestvia po Russii dlia Issledovania vsex Trex Tsarstv Periode. SPB., 1775.

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia A translation of the 3rd edition, vol. 6. New York: MacMillan, Inc., 1977.

Hain, S. New Persian-English Dictionary. Tehran: Ketab Forushi-ye Bruxim, 1975.

Hickerson, Nancy Parrott. Linguistic Anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.

Hockett, Charles F. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: MacMillan, 1958.

Hurewitz, J. C. ed. The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record. 2nd. ed., 2. New Haven and London: 1979.

Hyman, L. M. Phonology Theory and Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.

Ivanov, M. S. Tarixe Novine Iran. Translated from the Russian into Farsi. n.p., 1977.

Jaffary, Ali Akbar. The Ancient Iranian Cultural Society Bulletin, 2, no. 1 (1965): 6-11.

Jakobson, R. (1972a) "Principles of Historical Phonology" in Keiler 1972, 121-38 German Original TCLP 4, 1931.

Javanshir, F. M. Hemasa-ye Dad: Bahsi Dar Mohtava-ye Siasie Shahname. Tehran: Sherkate Sahami-ye KAS. Tudeh Press, 1980.

Keddie, Nikki R. Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981.

Kendel, M. Nazdar. "The Kurds Under the Ottoman Empire." In People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan. London: Zed Press, 1981.

Keshavarz, Karim. Gilan. Tehran: Sepehr Press, 1977.

Konstantinov, F. V. et al. The Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy. Translated from the Russian by Robert Daglish. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Labov, William. Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972a.

Lahijani, M. Rejale do hezar sale-ye Gilan. Al Najaf: Metba atoladab, n.d.

Lehman, W. P. Historical Linguistics: an Introduction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

Lehma, W. P. and Malchiel, Yakov. Perspective on Historical Linguistics. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 1982.

Lenczowski, G. Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948. New York: Ithaca, 1949.

lyon, John. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: The University Press, 1969.

Maciani, M. Parzpur. "Zaban o farhang-e-Maciani." RPLTIZ 16: 277-96, 1964-65.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London: Routledge, 1923.

_____."The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages." In The Meaning of Meaning. Edited by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, 451-501. London: Kegan Paul, 1923.

Mashkur, M. Javad. An Introduction to Marashi's Tarixee Tabarestan va Ruyan va Mazendaran. Edited by M. H. Tasbihi. Tehran: Shargh Book Shop, 1966.

Matthews, C. M. English Surnames. New York: Scribner, 1966.

Melgounof, G. Essai sur les Dialectes de Mazanderan et de Ghilan. ZDMG, XXII, 1868.

Mohaqeq, Mehdi. As'ari be Lahja-ye Mahali. FIZ: 242-52, 1338(1959).

Mobaseri. Ahangha 1959.

Ono, Mario. Persia no Noson. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1971.

--------. "On Social-Economic Structure of Iranian Villages with Special Reference to Deh." The Developing Economics. 5, no. 3, (1967): 446-462.

Pigulevskaya, N. V. et al. Tarix-e Iran: az Dorane Bastan ta Payan-e sade-ye Hejdahom-e Miladi. Translated from the Russian by Karim Keshavarz. Tehran: Entesharat-e Payam, 1974.

Pirnia, Moshirodoleh. Tarix-e Iran-e Bastan. Cit. apud Karim Keshavarz, Tehran: Sepehr press, 1977.

Plan and Budget Organization Statistical Center of Iran. Salname-ye Amari-ye Keshvar 2536 (1977/78).

_____. Amar name-ye Ostan-e Gilan 2536 (1977/78).

Plinus. Cited by Geiger, W. and Ernst Kuhn. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie. P.374. Strassburg: 1903.

Qassemlu, Abdul Rahman. "Kurdistan in Iran." In People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan. London: Zed Press, 1980.

Rabino, H. L. "Les Provinces Caspiennes de la Perse: Le Guilan." Revue Du Monde Musulman. 1916-1917.

"Une Chanson Guilek." Notes Sur la Perse XXVIII, 1914.

Rastorgoeva, V. S. et al. Gilianski Yazik. Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Yazikoznania, 1971.

_____. Giliansko Russkii Slovar. Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Yazikoznania, 1980.

Rawlinson, H. C. The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistan. Decyphered and Translated; with a Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions; in general, and on that of Behistan in Particular. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. 1846.

_____. Notes of a Journey from Tabriz, through Persian Kurdistan to the Ruins of Takhti-Soleiman, and from thence by Zanjan and Tarom, to Gilan. Londre: J.R.G.S, 1838.

Sapir, Edward. "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method." Canada, Department of MInes, Geological Survey, Memoir 90; Anthropological Series, no. 13. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916.

--------. Language. New York: Harcourt, 1921.

Saussure, Ferdinand. Course in General Linguistics. (orig. 1916) New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.

Sebeok, T. A. Current Trends in Linguistics. 1970.

Sokolova, V. S. and T. N. Paxalina. "Gilianski Yazik." In Sovresenni Iran. Sparvosnix. Moscow:, 1957.

Sotudeh, Manuchehr. Farhange Gilaki. Tehran: Anjomane Iran Shenasi, 1954.

Stockwell, Robert. Fonndation of Syntactic Theory. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1977.

Strabo. cited by Keshavarz, Karim. Gilan. p. 11. Tehran: Sepehr Press, 1977.

Suzuki, Toshio. "Land Reform, Technology, and Small Scale Farming: The Ecology and Economy of Gilaki-Bashti Rice Cultivators, Northern Iran" Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1981.

Tabari, Ehsan. Barxi Barresiha Dar Bare-ye Jahanbiniha va Jonbeshha-ye Ejtema i Dar Iran. n.p., 1969.

Trezel(Colonel). "NOtice Sure Le Ghilan et le Mazanderan." Dans le Voyage en Armenie et en Perse de P. Amedee Jaubert. Paris: 1821.

Vahidian, Taqi. D stur-e Farsi Ba R vesle Asan y no. Mashad: Amir Kabir, 1965.

Voegelin, F. M. and C. F. voegelin. Classification and Index of the World Languages. New York, Oxford, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1977.

Whorf, Bejamin. "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language." In Spier, 1941(reprinted in Whorf,1956, and in Blount, 1974).

_____. Language, Thought and Reality: the Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1956.

Wolfram, Walt and Ralph W. Fasold. The Study of Social Dialects in American English. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1974.

Zavialova, V. I. "Fonetika Gilianskovo i Mazandaranskovo Iazikov." Ph.D. Dissertation. Novie Svedenia Po Fonetike Iranski y Iazikov. Gilanski i

_____. Gilianski i Mazandaranskvo Iazikov. Trudi Instituta Iazikoznanania An SSSR, Moscow: 1956.

Zonis, Marvin. The Political Elite of Iran. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.