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Caucasian Persian (Tati) Fragments in Armenian Script: A Study of the Lord's Prayer with Transliteration, Translation, and Comments[1]

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Abstract: The study of certain languages, particularly their history, has always greatly benefited from, and continues to rely on, the material of the Armenian language and its dialects, studied from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, as well as the literature in Armenian script created in or translated into these languages. Within this context, the attention of scholars studying Western Iranian languages has primarily centered on two languages: Persian and Kurdish, the text corpora of both of which contain materials in Armenian script. To these two, Dimlī (Zazaki) can also be added, as separate words and expressions from this language appear in *Dersim* by Andranik (1900).

This article aims to expand the list by including another Iranian language: Caucasian Persian (Tati), text corpus of which contains several fragments in Armenian script, all published during the last quarter of the 19th century.

The article provides a general overview of Caucasian Persian fragments in Armenian script and examines the linguistic features of the *Lord's Prayer*, translated from Armenian into Caucasian Persian by Mkrtich Antonean-Dadayeanc' and published by Archbishop Mesrowb Smbateancʿ in 1896.

Keywords: Caucasian Persian, Tati, Madrasa variety, fragments in Armenian script, Lord's Prayer, Archbishop Mesrop Smbateancʿ

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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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Introduction

The study of certain languages, particularly their history, has always greatly benefited from, and continues to rely on, the material of the Armenian language and its dialects, studied from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, as well as the literature in Armenian script created in or translated into these languages. The multilingual literature written in Armenian script, dating back to the 14th century and continuing thereafter (Kirakosyan 2020a: 60; Stepanyan 2023b: 31-43), encompass materials not only in the languages of peoples who lived alongside and interacted with Armenians in the Armenian Highland and its vicinity but also in the languages of other peoples with whom Armenians came into contact beyond the historical borders of their homeland. Therefore, among the languages, written in Armenian alphabet are not only Persian (Kirakosyan 2017; 2020a), Kurdish (Jndi 1962; Stepanyan 2007: 218-219; Yeranyan 2024), Georgian (Acharean 1941: 5; Stepanyan 2007: 223; Kirakosyan 2018: 47), Udi (Schulze 2005; 2016a; Maisak 2019), Greek, Syriac, (Stepanyan 2007: 223; Kirakosyan 2018: 47, Papazyan 1964: 216), Arabic (Papazyan 1964: 223), Turkish (Stepanyan 2023a; Stepanyan 2023b), Kipchak and Tatar (Stepanyan 2007; 2023a: 11-12; 2023b: 13-14), but also Polish (Grigoryan & Pisowicz 1964), Russian,[2] French,[3] etc.[4] Of these, the Kipchak materials preserved in Armenian script are the most extensive and have been the subject of continuous study for over 125 years by both Armenian (Alishan 1896; Stepanyan 2005; 2023a; 2023b;) and predominantly foreign researchers.

[2] See, e.g., Ms. 5954 preserved in the Matenadaran (*Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran 2*, ed. Khachikyan & Mnatsakanyan 1970: 219–220), a manuscript copied in the last quarter of the 18th century and containing Russian folk songs written in the Armenian alphabet (Ms. 5954, fols. 53a–54b). I am grateful to Dr. Hasmik Kirakosyan for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for providing information on the relevant folios.

[3] See Ms. 5954, fol. 55b (*Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Mesrop Mashtots Matenadaran 2*, ed. Khachikyan & Mnatsakanyan 1970: 219–220).

[4] The Matenadaran preserves 425 non-Armenian manuscripts, all written in the Armenian script. These include 422 manuscripts in Armeno-Turkish (i.e., Turkish written in the Armenian script), 2 in Armeno-Persian (i.e., Persian written in the Armenian script), and 1 complete manuscript in Armeno-Kipchak, along with fragments preserved in 9 Armenian manuscripts. Armeno-Kurdish fragments are preserved in 6 Armenian manuscripts. Numerous religious and literary passages, as well as glossaries in the aforementioned languages, appear in Armenian-script form within Armenian manuscripts. Additionally, passages written in Arabic, Georgian, Greek, Russian, Polish, and French using the Armenian script are also found in Armenian manuscripts (data provided by Dr. Hasmik Kirakosyan, personal communication, June 2025).

Within this context, the attention of scholars studying Western Iranian languages has primarily centered on two languages: Persian (Papazyan 1964; Kirakosyan 2017, 2018, 2020a, 2020b, Kirakosian 2020; Rzepka 2006) and Kurdish (Jndi 1962; Stepanyan 2007: 218-219; Yeranyan 2024), the text corpora of both of which contain materials in Armenian script.

To these two, Dimlī (Zazaki) can also be added, as separate words and expressions from this language appear in *Dersim* published by Andranik in 1900.

Another Iranian language that deserves attention in this regard is Caucasian Persian (Tati), whose text corpus includes several fragments in Armenian script, all published during the last quarter of the 19th century. Among these, the *Lord's Prayer*, translated from Armenian into Caucasian Persian by Mkrtich Antonean-Dadayeanc' and published by Archbishop Mesrowb Smbateanc‘ in 1896, stands out as a notable example (Smbateanc‘ 1896). This article provides a detailed examination of this text and a general overview of other Caucasian Persian fragments in Armenian script.

On the other hand, this contributes a new specimen to the corpus of Persian translations of the *Lord's Prayer*, a subject extensively treated by Rzepka in a valuable article (Rzepka 2006) that gathers and examines ten versions of the prayer in Middle and New Persian, attested between the 9th and 20th centuries. Chronologically, two of these translations date to the 19th century (Rzepka 2006: 101-102) and thus correspond to the period in which the version discussed in this article was rendered. However, from the perspective of the study of the history of Caucasian Persian, and in comparison, with the translation by Smbateanc‘, even greater value lies in the translation (Rzepka 2006: 100) drawn from Papazyan's publication: a 15th-century translation preserved on fol. 145a of Ms. 7117 at the Matenadaran.

There is yet another reason to revisit this topic, which deserves mention here: it concerns the renewed source-critical assessment of the book by Smbateanc‘ (1896) in the context of studying the history of endangered minority languages spoken in the territory of Azerbaijan. Although some parts of the mentiond book, particularly the Udi version of the *Lord's Prayer* translated from Armenian, have drawn the attention of scholars specializing in Caucasian Albanian and its Udi descendant (Schulze 2005; 2016a; Maisak 2019), it has, to date, remained largely overlooked by researchers working on Iranian languages, including Caucasian Persian (Tati). In this context, the publication of the Caucasian Persian translation of the *Lord's Prayer* included in the mentioned book of Smbateanc‘ may prove significant in drawing scholarly attention to 19th-century samples of non-Persian Iranian languages written in the Armenian script.

And finally, this study also sets forth certain objectives within the context of the dialectology of Caucasian Persian (Tati). Specifically, although considerable work has already been carried out in the field of Caucasian Persian dialectology [5] and studies dedicated to individual dialects are currently available (see, e.g., Miller 1907; Grjunberg 1963; Hacıyev 1971; K'vač'aʒe 1988; Hüseynova 2002; Mammadov 2018; Suleymanov 2020a), there still remain understudied dialects, among which is the so-called Armeno-Tat dialect. This article represents an attempt to initiate a series of studies aimed at filling this gap, studies through which both recorded but unpublished texts and valuable previously printed texts that have escaped scholarly attention will be made accessible. One such text is the *Lord's Prayer* presented in this article.

Preliminaries on Armeno-Tats and their language

In academic literature, the term *Armeno-Tats* (Russ. *армяно-таты* [armjano-taty], Arm. *հայ–թաթեր* [hay–tʿatʿer]) has traditionally been used to refer to Armenians (see, e.g., Miller 1929: 13-17; Qalt'axč'yan 1970a; 1970b; 1970c; Chirikba 2015: 147) who lived in the territory of Azerbaijan during the 18th to 20th centuries.[6] Up until the outbreak of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, specifically, as late as 1988, Tati-speaking Armenians still lived in at least two villages: Madrasa in the Shamakhi district and Kilvar in the Shabran (formerly Davachi) district. Although by 1988 the area of settlement for Tati-speaking Armenians had significantly contracted, historically they

[5] A recent publication examines the history of scholarship on Caucasian Persian and its dialects, providing a critical assessment of the field. It presents a chronological and typological classification of the language data corpus and research produced between 1853 and 2024 (Tonoyan & Voskanian 2024).

[6] Among the terms used to refer to this group are *Tat-speaking Armenians* (Suleymanov 2023: 267), i.e., *թաթախոս հայեր* [tʿatʿaxos hayer] in Armenian (Qalt'axč'yan 1957: 86), and *татоязычные армяны* [tatojazyčnye armjany] in Russian (Akopjan 2006), as well as *Armenian Tats* (Schulze 2016b: 425–448), *Armenian-Tats* (Hakobian 2001) and *Armenian Persians*, i.e., *հայ-պարսիկներ* [hay–parsikner] (Qalt'axč'yan 1995) in Armenian. In addition to the aforementioned terms, there are also forms that emphasize local origin, such as *Mədrəsə Armenians* and *Kilvar Armenians* (Suleymanov 2020a: 28), as well as those that highlight religious affiliation, for instance *Tat-speaking Christians* (Schulze 2016b: 438). One also encounters the formulation *Tat-speaking Armenian Orthodox Christians* (Suleymanov 2023: 261), which encapsulates the group's linguistic, ethnic, and religious identities simultaneously. Regarding the attestations of this group's designation in 19th-century sources, Hakobian (2001: 125) notes four terms: *Armenian-Tats* (Arm. *հայ-թաթեր* [hay–tʿatʿer]), *Tat-Armenians* (Arm. *թաթ-հայեր* [tʿatʿ–hayer]), *Tat-speaking Armenians* (Arm. *թաթախոս հայեր* [tʿatʿaxos hayer]), and *Tat-Gregorians* (Arm. *թաթ-լուսավորչականներ* [tʿatʿ-lowsavorčʿakanner]. (2001: 125)

maintained a much broader presence across the region stretching from Upper Shirvan to Derbent.

For instance, in a work by Boris Miller, in a section devoted to the Armeno-Tats (Miller 1929: 13–17), more than fifteen settlements across the Upper Shirvan - Quba region are listed based on fieldwork and documentary sources (Miller 1929: 13–15). Traces of Armenian material culture, such as ruined churches, gravestones, and *khachkars* (Armenian cross-stones), have been found in these settlements, whose inhabitants, according to testimonies from neighboring villagers and written sources, were formerly Armeno-Tats (Miller 1929: 13–15). In addition to these fifteen settlements, Miller names over a dozen other villages that, while populated by Azerbaijanis in the 1920s, contained remains of Armenian material culture and were believed to have been formerly inhabited by Armenians. However, for these localities, Miller does not provide any evidence suggesting that those Armenians had spoken Tat (Miller 1929: 13–16).

The villages of Mountainous Shirvan and Quba that had previously been inhabited by Armeno-Tats and Armenians were depopulated at the end of the 18th century—specifically after the 1796 military campaign to Eastern Transcaucasia led by Russian General Zubov. Following the withdrawal of his troops, the Armenian populations left these areas and resettled in various parts of the North Caucasus (Miller 1929: 13–15; Qalt'axč'yan 1957: 86; Akopjan 2006: 192–193), including Prikumsk, Kizlyar, Sarafan, Mozdok, Majar, Anapa, Tuapse, and Astrakhan (Miller 1929: 14).[7]

As a result, by 1988, only two villages populated by Armeno-Tats remained in Azerbaijan. However, amid the outbreak of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the growing tension in Armenian–Azerbaijani relations, the residents of the villages of Madrasa and Kilvar were also deported between 1988 and 1990, along with Armenians living in other parts of Azerbaijan (Baku, Sumgait, Ganja, Shamakhi, Shamkhor, etc.).

According to Arsen Hakobyan, based on notes taken during fieldwork interviews with eyewitnesses of these events, the deportation of residents from both villages took place at the end of 1988. However, the inhabitants of Madrasa had attempted to initiate their relocation to Armenia as early as February 1988, immediately after the events in Sumgait (Akopjan 2006: 204; 206).

Most of the Madrasa Armenians moved to Russia, where they settled in Prokhladny, located in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, as well as to Armenia, where they established the village of Dprevank in the Aragatsotn province

[7] For detailed information on the demographic distribution and deportations of Armenian-Tats from the early 18th to the late 19th centuries, see Hakobian 2001: 125-142.

(Akopjan 2006: 204–206). The Armenians of Kilvar, on the other hand, moved to Ukraine, particularly to Druzhkovka, and to the Russian Federation, where they primarily settled in the town of Budyonnovsk, located in the North Caucasus region (Akopjan 2006: 206).

Prior to the deportation that took place at the end of 1988, the sociolinguistic situation in the two villages of Madrasa and Kilvar had undergone significant changes over the course of at least the preceding hundred years.

In the case of Madrasa, during the second half of the 19th century and up until the early 20th century, the dominant and primary language spoken by the local population was Tati (Hakobian 2002: 76–78). Armenian served as the language of communication with neighboring Armenian villages, though not all inhabitants of Madrasa were proficient in Armenian. Those who did not know Armenian often attempted to communicate in Turkic, i.e. Azerbaijani (Hakobian 2002: 76–78).

Over time, the situation gradually shifted in favor of Armenian, due on the one hand to the establishment of an Armenian school in Madrasa in 1870–1872 (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83; Hakobian 2002: 76), and on the other hand to the dominant presence of Armenian in the surrounding linguistic environment (Hakobian 2002: 79).

It is a documented fact that, according to written sources from the last quarter of the 19th century, there were numerous individuals in Madrasa who did not know a single word of Armenian (Hakobian 2002: 76), and even into the 1930s and as late as the 1950s, there were elderly residents who could not speak Armenian at all (Hakobian 2002: 78; Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1957: 86).

It is therefore not surprising that, according to Miller, during the 1926 Soviet census, the inhabitants of Madrasa declared “Farsi” as their mother tongue and “Armenian” as their ethnicity (Miller 1929: 16).

Nevertheless, one of the most significant changes observed from the 1920s onward was the growing dominance of Armenian in Madrasa. From that period, Armenian gradually came to dominate, while Tati became confined to use as a home language, and even functioned as a secret language in other linguistic environments (Miller 1929: 16; Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1957: 87).

Based on his observations from the 1950s and 1960s, Qaltʿaxčʿyan already noted that Tati was no longer spoken in public spaces, gatherings, or community meetings in Madrasa. Its use had become confined to the household, and not even in all households, mainly among members of the older and middle generations (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83).

Essentially, over the span of approximately one hundred years, Caucasian Persian was almost entirely forgotten among the residents of

Madrasa, gradually being replaced by Armenian. Observations we conducted in Armenia during the 2010s revealed that only three to four individuals, aged between 80 and 90, were capable of translating sentences from Armenian into Caucasian Persian, and among them, only one could do so fluently. The rest remembered only a few words and expressions, typically those they had heard from their grandparents and, in some cases, their parents.

The status of the Armenian language was different among the residents of Kilvar. The Armenian school in the village, founded in 1875, operated intermittently until the first half of the 1910s (Hakobian 2002: 72–74), and during the Soviet period, likely continued until the mid-1950s (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83).

In contrast to Madrasa, bilingualism among the residents of Kilvar consisted of Caucasian Persian (Tati) as their mother tongue, and Azerbaijani as a second language or as the language used for communication with neighboring Azerbaijani-speaking villages (Hakobian 2002: 72–75).

Although several generations received instruction in Armenian thanks to the Armenian school, the language did not take root. According to Qaltʿaxčʿyan, by the mid-1950s the Armenian school was closed entirely at the request of the village population (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83). As he reports, the residents of Kilvar justified this decision by arguing that their children, upon graduating from the Armenian school, could not find employment in any institution, as all official correspondence in their region was conducted in Azerbaijani (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83).

According to Qaltʿaxčʿyan's observations from the 1960s, by that time the majority of Kilvar's children were no longer able to speak Armenian, although some of them could understand spoken Armenian to a certain extent Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83). During those years, Armenian was known relatively well by members of the middle and older generations in Kilvar Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970c: 83).

Consequently, due to the differing linguistic environments, the overall sociolinguistic situation in these two villages developed in substantially different ways. In Madrasa, the significant Armenian presence in Shamakhi and the existence of neighboring Armenian-populated villages ultimately led to the dominance of Armenian among its residents. In contrast, the weaker or altogether absent Armenian presence in the Shabran region diminished the role of Armenian among the people of Kilvar, contributing first to the consolidation of Azerbaijani as a second language, and eventually to its emergence as the dominant and primary language.

Remote fieldwork conducted by the author in the 2010s among Kilvar Armenians who had settled in the Russian Federation and Ukraine revealed that knowledge of Caucasian Persian within this community was in a

considerably better state. It was relatively easy to find individuals in their 60s and 70s who were able to translate everyday conversations and folklore texts from Azerbaijani and Russian into Caucasian Persian (Tati) without difficulty.

The endoglottonyms used by the Armenian-Tats of these two villages also differ. Among the residents of Madrasa, the terms *Parseren*, i.e. *Parsi* (Êfendyan 2004: 88–96) and *zuhunmu*, literally meaning "our language" (Schulze 2016b: 446), are attested as endoglottonyms. In contrast, the Kilvar Armenians consistently referred to the language as *Tati* in our interviews, and never used the terms *Parseren* or *Farsi*.

Although the languages of these two villages are often treated in scholarly literature as a single dialectal variety and collectively referred to as "Christian Tati", in reality they belong to distinct subgroups of Caucasian Persian, distinguished by phonological, grammatical, and lexical features. The variety spoken in Madrasa falls within the Shamakhi dialect group (Tonoyan 2015: 21–22; 192–193), whereas the Kilvar variety belongs to the Quba dialect group (Tonoyan 2015: 19–20; 191–192).

The Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati): research overview and corpus

In the broader context of both Iranian dialectology and the study of Caucasian Persian dialects, the Madrasa variety remains one of the least studied. The only relatively extensive research devoted to it is the still-unpublished dissertation by Qaltʿaxčʿyan, defended in Yerevan in 1970 (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a). This dissertation is particularly valuable for its fieldwork-based textual and lexical data, which will be discussed in more detail below, in the context of the corpus description.

In terms of published studies as well, there is little to present regarding this dialect variety. Only two articles written in Armenian by Qaltʿaxčʿyan are available. The first offers a general overview of the dialect's phonological, morphological, and lexical features (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1957), while the second, written within the framework of contact linguistics, examines the influence of Armenian on the Caucasian Persian (Tati) dialect variety spoken in Madrasa[8] (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970b). Apart from these, no dedicated studies have

[8] A valuable study on the contact between Armenian and Caucasian Persian was carried out by Vardan Voskanian, who examined Armenian loanwords that appear not only in the Madrasa variety, but across all dialectal varieties of Caucasian Persian (Voskanian 2016: 240-248). In that article, Voskanian demonstrated that the contact between Armenian and Caucasian Persian occurred not only in specific areas inhabited by Tati-speaking Armenians, such as Madrasa, Kilvar, and formerly also Khachmasn, but throughout the broader region of historical Shirvan, that is, a

focused specifically on the Madrasa dialect.[9] Nevertheless, some works have drawn on material from Madrasa to a limited extent, and certain features of this dialectal variety have been examined in the context of comparative analyses (see, e.g., Hacıyev 1995: 115-121; Tonoyan 2018; Suleymanov 2020b).

The corpus of Madrasa Tati, comprising textual materials and glossaries (published and unpublished) as well as audio recordings, currently includes the following:

a single sentence written in Armenian script and published in *Mshak* in 1880 (Hakobian 2002: 77),

two short fairy tales (approx. 3 pages), published in 1894 by Lopatinskij (1894: 25–32),

the *Lord's Prayer* in Armenian script (7 lines), translated from Armenian and published by Smbateancʿ (1896: 547),

a short story about the construction of the Madrasa village church, written in the Armenian script (24 lines with interlinear translation into Armenian) and published by Smbateancʿ (1896: 548–549),

a short folklore text published by B. Miller in his collection of Tati materials (Miller 1945: 124-125),

15 texts (short folklore stories, fairy tales, and simple conversational texts with Armenian translations), included in the appendix of Qaltʿaxčʿyan's unpublished dissertation (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 211–251).

a 22-page colloquial phrases, **simple interrogative, affirmative, and negative sentences** with accompanying Armenian translations, also found in the appendix of Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 252–274),

a 75-page glossary, included in the same appendix (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 275–350),

107 proverbs published by Hacıyev (1995: 115–121),

a 60-page wordlist (approx. 1,800 words and expressions) compiled in the village of Dprevank and preserved in prof. V. Voskanyan's unpublished field notebooks,

territory which, prior to its incorporation into the Russian Empire, roughly corresponded to the domains of the Baku, Shamakhi, and Quba khanates.

[9] Certain features of the Madrasa variety were also addressed by the author at ICIL-8. The material from this presentation has not yet been published as a standalone article; it is currently available only as a brief abstract in the abstract volume of the ICIL-8 conference (Authier & Tonoyan 2018: 67-68).

1 folklore text (3 pages), written in Yerevan and included in the appendix of A. Tonoyan's unpublished dissertation (Tonoyan 2015: 192–194),[10]

5 fairy tales (approx. 20 pages), written in Armenia (Dprevank, Charentsavan, and Etchmiadzin), preserved in A. Tonoyan's unpublished field notebooks,

3 hours of audio recordings, made by V. Voskanyan in 2001,

2 hours of audio recordings, made by A. Tonoyan in 2015.

Caucasian Persian (Tati) *Lord's Prayer* in Armenian Script (Smbateancʿ 1896)

The prayer under examination was published in 1896 in the book by Archbishop Mesrowb Smbateancʿ, who headed the Shamakhi diocese of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin between 1887 and 1895. In his work *Description of the Saint Stephen Monastery in Sałian and other monasteries, pilgrimage sites, villages and towns of Shamakhi diocese*, among other materials, he included a short story about the construction of the church in the village of Madrasa, written in the Armenian script (24 lines with interlinear translation into Armenian) (Smbateancʿ 1896: 548–549), as well as the *Lord's Prayer*, both in the Tat language (Smbateantsʿ 1896: 547). In the book (Smbateancʿ1896: 547), the record of the *Lord's Prayer* appears in Armenian script, written continuously in a single paragraph (see ill. 1).

In the section devoted to the village of Madrasa, Smbateancʿ begins with a description of the village's geographical location, historical background, population, and principal occupations (pp. 546–550). This contextual overview is followed by what may be considered a linguistic *field note*, in which he writes: *"In order to acquaint readers with the dialect of the people of Madrasa, which consists of Persian-Hebrew*[11] *words, I shall write the Lord's Prayer"* (Smbateantsʿ 1896: 547).

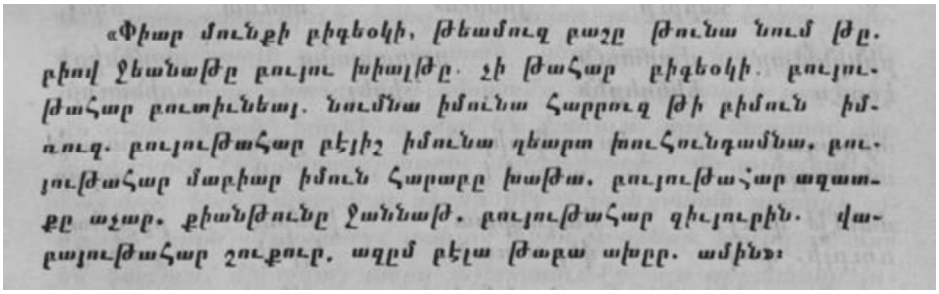
Following the Armenian-script version of the *Lord's Prayer*, Smbateancʿ adds the following sentence: *"I have also written a conversation, along with its Armenian translation, which is as follows"* (Smbateancʿ 1896: 547). The entire page 548 and the first half of page 549 are occupied by this conversation, which, as noted above, is a short story about the construction of the church in Madrasa village, written in the Armenian script with an interlinear Armenian translation (Smbateancʿ 1896: 548–549).

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[10] This text forms part of an appendix in the dissertation, where the same folklore text is presented in 13 different varieties of Caucasian Persian (for details, see Tonoyan 2015: 175-193, also Tonoyan & Voskanian 2024: 204-205).

[11] *Ֆարս Հրէական բառեր* [Fars Hrêakan bařer] in Armenian original.

Smbateancʿ concludes this valuable material on the Madrasa dialect with the following statement: *"The text presented here reflects the speech and heartfelt sentiments of the people of Madrasa. It was written, along with the Lord's Prayer, by Mkrtich Antonean-Dadayeancʿ, a clerk-teacher from Madrasa, as a translation of the villagers' feelings. After three years of preparation with us in Shamakhi, he was appointed as a clerk-teacher in the church."*


«Փիար մունքի բիգեօկի, թեամուզ բաշը թունա նում թը. բիով ջեանաթը բուլու խիալթը. չի թահար բիգեօկի. բուլու. թահար բուտիւնեայ. նումնա իմունա հարրուզ թի բիմուն իմ. ռուզ. բուլութահար բէյիշ իմունա ղեարտ խուհունդամնա. բու. լութահար մաբիար իմուն հարաբը խաթա. բուլութահար ազատ. քը աչար. քիանթունը ջաննաթ. բուլութահար զիւլուրին. վա. բայութահար շուքուր. ազըմ բէլա թաբա ախըր. ամին»

Ill. 1. *The Lord's Prayer* in the book Smbateancʿ (1896: 547).

A1. The *Lord's Prayer* in Armenian script, as published in the original source (Smbateancʿ 1896: 547, see ill. 1)

«Փիար մունքի բիգեօկի թեամուզ բաշը թունա նում թը. բիով ջեանաթը բուլու խիալթը չի թահար բիգեօկի բուլու. թահար բուտիւնեայ. նումնա իմունա հարրուզ թի բիմուն իմ. ռուզ. բուլութահար բէյիշ իմունա ղեարտ խուհունդամնա. բու. լութահար մաբիար իմուն հարաբը խաթա. բուլութահար ազատ. քը աչար. քիանթունը ջաննաթ. բուլութահար զիւլուրին. վա. բայութահար շուքուր. ազըմ բէլա թաբա ախըր. ամին»

A2. Transliteration of original in Armenian script

P'iar mownk'i bigeôki t'eamowz bašə t'owna nowm t'ə. biov ǰeanat'ə bowlow xialt'ə č'i t'ahar bigeôki bowlow. t'ahar bowtiwneay. nowmna imowna harrowz t'i bimown im. rowz bowlowt'ahar bêyiš imowna qeart xowhowndamna. bow. lowt'ahar mabiar imown harabə xat'a. bowlowt'ahar azat. k'ə ač'ar. k'iant'ownə ǰannat'. bowlowt'ahar ziwlowrin. va. bayowt'ahar šowk'owr. azəm bêla t'aba axər. amin

A3. Selective modification of certain Armenian letters and their transliteration according to Iranological and Turkological systems, based on relevant phonetic correspondences.

Armenian original	*Armenological transliteration*[12]	*Iranological transliteration*[13]	*Türkological transliteration*[14]
Փ/փ	p‘	p	-
Թ	t‘	t	-
Ք	k‘	k	-
Կ	k	k’	-
Տ	t	t’	-
Չ	č‘	č	-
Ղ	q[15]	q	-
Ը	ə	ï	ı
Ա	a	ä /ā[16]	-
Ու	ow	u / ū	-
Իւ	iw	yu / ü	ü
Եա	ea	(y)ä / yā	-
Եօ	eō	yo	ö

[12] The transliteration of Armenian is given according to the Hübschmann-Meillet system.

[13] The transliteration of Iranian material is based on the DMG system (version 1.0), with slight modifications made for consistency with the phonological features of the source text.

[14] In the case of the Turkological transliteration, only those phonemes are provided that occur in the words of Turkic origin found in the prayer text and whose pronunciation differs significantly from that of Armenian and/or Persian.

[15] Since the Armenian letter *[ղ]* appears only once in the prayer, specifically in the Arabic loanword *qarż*, it is preferable in this case to transliterate the Arabic *[ق]* as *[q]* rather than *[ɣ]*.

[16] Since the Armenian vowel [a] is phonetically distinct from both the short and long [a/ā] vowels of Persian, and given that the text of the *Lord's Prayer* contains an Armenian loanword with this vowel, the Armenian [a] is represented as *a* in transliteration. To avoid confusion and to preserve the phonetic contrast, the Persian short [a], which is traditionally transliterated as *a* (as opposed to the long [ā], marked with a diacritic), is here rendered as *ä*. This approach serves both to prevent ambiguity with Armenian *a* and to accurately reflect the phonemic distinctions among the various *a*-like vowels.

B1. The *Lord's Prayer*: transliteration of the Old Armenian original, Caucasian Persian translation in Iranological transliteration (DMG 1.0, with slight modifications), and its reconstructed pronunciation.

	Armenian original (translit.) /AO	*Caucasian Persian (Tati) translation / CPT*	*Reconstructed form and pronunciation / RFP*
1	Hayr mer or yerkins es,	Piär mūnki bigökī	Pi[y]ar[-]mūn ki[17] bi gökī
2	Sowrb eɫicʿi anown kʿo:	tämuz bāšï tūnä nūm tï	Tamüz bāšï tüna nūm-tï
3	Ekescʿê arkʿayowtʿiwn kʿo:	biov ǰännätï	bī[y]ov ǰannat[-t]ï
4	Eɫicʿin kamkʿ kʿo	būyu xīāltï	būyu xī[y]āl-tï
5	Orpês yerkins ew yerkri:	čī ṭähär bigökī buyuṭähär budunya	čī ṭähär bi gökī böü ṭähär bu dünya[18]
6	Zhacʿ mer hanapazord	nūmnä imūnā härrūz	nū-m[ū]n-ā imūnā har rūz
7	Towr mez aysôr:	ti bimūn imrūz	ti bi[-]mūn imrūz

[17] In the source text, the form ⟨mūnkī⟩ is written as a single unit. It is separated here (mūn kī) using a space to reflect its morphological components. At the same time, *mūn-* is joined with *pīar* by means of a hyphen (*pīar-mūn*) to indicate its function as a personal pronominal clitic (cf. lit. Persian *pedaremān*, and also *pedaremun* "our father", where the shift *ā* > *ū* before *-n* reflects a regular sound change in colloquial Persian. Cf. also Turkic *atamız* "our father", where the possessive suffix *-ımız/-imiz* marks first person plural possession.

[18] Given that the locative preposition *ba* (< NP *ba* < MP *pad*) has become *bu*, providing evidence of vowel harmony (synharmonism), likely under the influence of local Turkic, it can be inferred that the traditional long final *-ā* in the word *dunyā* would have been pronounced short, i.e. *a*. On the other hand, in Azerbaijani the word is written and pronounced *dünya*, not *dünyə*. However, the Azerbaijani *a* is in any case not comparable in duration to the long *a* of Persian and cannot, by itself, serve as sufficient grounds for confidently asserting that a long *a* could have been pronounced in the syllable following *ü*. Unfortunately, the Armenian script in this case does not allow for the precise phonetic reconstruction, and this word is absent from the wordlist appendix of aQlt'axčʿyan's dissertation. Instead, for the notion of 'world, country,' an Armenian loan, i.e. *ašxarkʿ* is recorded (Qalt'axčʿyan 1970a: 277).

8	Ew tʻoł mez zpartis mer,	buyuṭähär behiš imūnā qärtxūhundāmnā	böü ṭahar behiš imūnā qart[]xūhund[-]ā[-]m[ū]nā
9	Orpês ew mekʻ tʻołowmkʻ merocʻ partapanacʻ:		
10	Ew mi tanir zmez i pʻorjowtʻiwn	buyuṭähär mäbīār imūn hārābï xäṭā	böü ṭahar mabī[y]ār imūnhā[.]rā bï xaṭā
11	Ayl pʻrkea zmez i čʻarê:	buyuṭähär āzāt kï äčar	böü[.]ṭahar āzāt kï a[.]čâr
12	Zi kʻo ê arkʻayowtʻiwn	kīāntūnï ǰännät	kī[.]ān[-]tūnï ǰannat
13	Ew zôrowtʻiwn	buyuṭähär züürīn	böü[.]ṭahar züürīn
14	ew pʻarkʻ	väbuyuṭähär šukur äzïm	va[.]böü[.]ṭahar šukur azïm
15	yawiteans	bēla tā bï axïr	bela tā bï axïr
14	Amên	Āmin	Āmīn

B2. Final form

Piyar-mūn ki bi gökī
tamüz bāšï tüna nūm-tï
bīyov ǰannat-tï
būyu xīyāl-tï
čī ṭahar bi gökī böü ṭähär bu dünya
nū-mūn-ā imūnā har rūz
ti bi-mūn imrūz
böü ṭahar behiš imūnā qart-xūhundā-mūn-ā
böü ṭahar mabīyār imūnhā-rā bï xaṭā
böü ṭahar āzāt kï a čâr
kī āntünï ǰannat
böü ṭahar züürīn
va böü ṭahar šükür ʿaẓïm
bela tā bï axïr
āmīn

B3. An Interlinear morphological analysis

(1) *Piyar-mūn*[19] *ki bi gök-ī*
Father-PC.POSS.1PL REL LOC heaven-COP.2SG
"Our father, who are in heaven"

(2) *tamüz bāš-ï tü-n-a nūm-tï*
pure be$_1$-SBJV/IMP.PR.3SG you-<n>OBL[20] name-PC.POSS.2SG
"may your name be holy"

(3) *bī-y-ov ǰannat-tï*
ISP-<y>come$_1$-SBJV/IMP.PR.3SG paradise- PC.POSS.2SG
"may your kingdom come"

(4) *bū-y-u xīyāl-tï*
be$_2$-<y>-SBJV/IMP.PR.3SG will-PC.POSS.2SG
"may your will be carried out"

(5) *čī ṭahar*[21] *bi gök-ī*
what.INT kind.APP LOC heaven-COP.2SG
bö-ü ṭahar bu dünya
DIR-DIS kind.APP LOC earth
"just as in heaven, so also on earth"

(6) *nū-mūn-ā imūn-ā har rūz*
bread-PC.POSS.1PL-DOM we-OBL every day
ti bi-mūn imrūz
give$_1$-IMP.PR.2SG DIR-PC.POSS.1PL today
"give us today our daily bread"

(7) *bö-ü ṭahar be-hiš*
DIR-DIS kind.APP ISP-let$_2$-PR.2SG
imūn–ā qart xūhund-ā-mūn-ā
we-OBL debt owner-PL-PC.POSS.1PL- DOM
"also, forgive those who are the owners of our debts"

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[19] In the Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian, the possessive pronominal clitics are as follows: *-man* (1SG), *-tï(n)* (2SG), *-i* (3SG), *-mun* (1PL), *-šmun,* and *-šun (?)* (2PL), *šïn* (3PL) (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 115). These forms are nearly identical to those of the Upper Shirvan variety, where the corresponding forms are: *-man* (1SG), *-tï* (2SG), *-i* (3SG); and in the plural: *-mun* (1PL), *-šmun* (2PL), *-šun* (3PL) (Suleymanov 2020: 98).

[20] From a strictly grammatical standpoint, this can be classified as a dependent possessive pronoun (DPPR).

[21] The form *čī ṭahar* (or contracted *čīṭahar*), when used independently, conveys the meaning "how" or "in what manner" (cf. Pers. *četowr*). However, in finite manner clauses of the type *čī ṭahar … böü ṭahar*, the construction functions as a correlative comparative structure and semantically corresponds to English *"just as … so also …"*. For a detailed discussion of the phonological changes and functional usage of this word of Arabic origin in Azerbaijani, see Pastor & Suleymanov 2023: 430-433.

(8) *bö-ü* *ṭahar* *ma-bī-y-ār*
DIR-DIS kind.APP NEG-ISP-<y>-bring$_1$-PR.2SG
imūnhārā bï xaṭā
we-Pl- DOM DIR temptation
"also, do not lead us into temptation"

(9) *bö-ü* *ṭahar* *āzāt* kï *a* *čâr*
DIR-DIS kind.APP free do$_1$- IMP.PR.2SG SEP evil
"in the same way, deliver us from evil"

(10) *kī* *āntü-n–ï* *ǰannat*
because IPPR.2SG-<n>- COP.3SG heaven
"for Yours is the kingdom"

(11) *bö-ü* *ṭahar* *züürīn*
DIR-DIS kind.APP power
"in the same way, the power"

(12) *va* *bö-ü* *ṭahar* *šükür* *ʿaẓïm*[22]
and DIR-DIS kind.APP glory immense
"and, also, the immense glory"

(13) *bela* *tā* *bï* *ʿaxïr* *āmīn*
in this manner DIR DIR end Amin
"In this way, until the end. Amin"

Comments

Overall, the *Lord's Prayer*, translated from Armenian into the Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian, written in Armenian script, and published by Smbateancʿ, is quite concise in terms of length. Nevertheless, even in its brevity, it displays several noteworthy features. It is valuable not only for comparative analysis with other dialectal varieties of Caucasian Persian, but also for tracing internal developments within the Madrasa variety over several decades, particularly when compared with the data presented in Qaltʿaxčyan's dissertation.

The observations offered in this article concerning this version of the *Lord's Prayer* are organized into four categories: orthography, phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon.

[22] Cf. Persian *ʿaẓīm* "great", "huge", "immense" "gigantic", "cosmic", "mighty" etc.

Orthography

The Caucasian Persian translation of the *Lord's Prayer* in Armenian script contains four instances of hiatus, which may be grouped into two categories:

a. *i* + *a*,[23] as in ***piar***, ***xīāl***, and ***mabīār*** (see A1, AO and CPT columns);
b. *i* + *o*,[24] as in ***biov*** (see A1, AO and CPT columns).

In the reconstructed forms presented in this article, i.e., ***pi[y]ar***, ***xī[y]āl***, ***mabī[y]ār***, ***bī[y]ov*** (see A1, RFP column), the presence of the glide *[y]* results from distinct phonological processes characteristic of both New Persian and Caucasian Persian. These processes include:

a. *-d-* > *-y-* in intervocalic position, as in ***pidar > piyar*** (cf. OIr. ***bauda-*** > ENP ***bōy*** > NP ***būy*** > CPers ***bū***);
b. epenthesis, i.e. insertion of the glide *[y]* between vowels, a highly productive phenomenon in New Persian and Caucasian Persian, as seen in ***mabī[y]ār***, ***bī[y]ov*** (see A1, RFP column).

The absence of the glide *[y]* in the relevant lexemes of the prayer, written in Armenian script, may be attributed to the conventions of Classical Armenian orthography, which, apart from a few loanword exceptions in Modern Eastern Armenian (MEA), such as ***kʿaos***[25] "chaos" and ***kooperacʿia***[26] "cooperation", permits the written representation of the glide *[y]* only in *a* + *vowel* and *o* + *vowel* sequences. In all other cases, including *i* + *a* and *i* + *o* sequences, although the glide *[y]* is present in pronunciation, it is typically omitted in writing (see Dum-Tragut 2009: 46-47).

Consequently, the translator of the prayer remained faithful to Classical Armenian orthography and deliberately omitted the glide *y* in the spelling of these four words, thereby artificially creating hiatuses of the *i* + *a* and *i* + *o* type.

This same principle appears to apply in Middle Armenian literature as well, where, with a single exception, the Persian word ***xīyār*** "cucumber" is spelled ***xiar***[27] rather than ***xiyar***[28] (Łazaryan 2009: 320). The same spelling is also

[23] Arm. *ի + ա:*
[24] Arm. *ի + ո:*
[25] Arm. *քաոս*
[26] Arm. *կոոպէրացիա*
[27] Arm. *խիար*
[28] Arm. *խիյար*

attested in several derived forms containing ***xīyār***, such as ***xiarak***,[29] ***xiaršampʿay***,[30] ***xiaršambay***,[31] ***xiaršampar***,[32] etc.

This orthographic principle may likewise be operative in another Persian translation of the *Lord's Prayer* written in Armenian script and preserved in Matenadaran (Ms. 7117), dated to the early 15th century, where the word ***pʿiar*** ("father") appears in the same form. V. Papazyan (1964: 219), however, emended it as ***pidar***,[33] possibly overlooking the dialectological context, i.e., the possibility that the prayer could have been composed in Caucasian Persian (Tati), in which case the form ***piyar*** should not have been replaced with ***pidar*** (see Appendix)[34].

The same orthographic pattern is also found in Ms. 8492 (1717–1721, Shamakhi–Tiflis) and Ms. 3044 (1780, Ganja), both preserved in the Matenadaran and both containing Persian translations of the Gospels written in Armenian script.[35]

Moreover, although the Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian allows hiatus, particularly of the ***ou*** and ***öü*** types, as seen in forms such as ***gouz*** "whip", ***nour*** "lake", ***ǰouri*** "broom", ***xound*** "lord", ***dagröündan*** "to change, to dress",

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[29] Arm. *խիարակ*

[30] Arm. *խիարշամպայ*

[31] Arm. *խիարշամբայ*

[32] Arm. *խիարշամպար*

[33] Pers. پدر

[34] In April 2016, during a private conversation, Prof. Vardan Voskanian informed me that the so-called "Persian" translation of the *Lord's Prayer*, written in the Armenian alphabet and preserved in Matenadaran Ms. 7117, may represent one of the earliest extant texts in Caucasian Persian (Tati). According to Voskanian, several of its phonological and grammatical features suggest that it should be identified with Caucasian Persian (Tati). Probably unfamiliar with the Caucasian Persian (Tati) language, Pʿapʿazyan interpreted all deviations from standard Persian in the text as the result of misreadings of a presumed original in Arabic script or, more frequently, as deviations and irregularities caused by dialectal influence and a disregard for normative literary forms (Pʿapʿazyan 1964: 218–219). Both the translated fragment recorded by M. Smbateancʿ in Madrasa and the growing body of research on various dialects of Caucasian Persian support the conclusion that Voskanian's observation was well-founded.

[35] Although H. Kirakosyan, who conducted a detailed study of the two aforementioned manuscripts (see Kirakosyan 2020a), notes in one of his articles that the semivowel *-y-* is inserted before the Persian plural suffix *-ān* and following the vowels *-ā*, *-i*, and *-u*, the examples she provides do not include any cases of *-y-* insertion after the vowels *-i* or *-u* (see Kirakosyan 2018: 108–109). On the contrary, the manuscripts contain several instances where the semivowel *-y-* is absent even after the vowels *-i* and *-u*, as in *biapi* (Kirakosyan 2020: 17, cf. NP *bīyābī* "may you find"), *isayian* (Kirakosyan 2020: 21, cf. NP *īsāyīyān* "Christians"), *siay* (Kirakosyan 2020: 37, cf. NP *sīyāh* or *siyah* "black"), *xial* (Kirakosyan 2020: 39, cf. NP *xīyāl* "thought"), *bïgowit/bïgowid* (Kirakosyan 2020: 187; 218–219, cf. NP *begūyēd* "say!"), and *mi gowim* (Kirakosyan 2020: 223, cf. NP *mē-gūyēm* "we say / we will say").

höüz "cistern", ***vartöür*** < Arm. ***vardavar***[36]), the word for "father" is nevertheless consistently attested with the medial glide *[y],* i.e. ***piyar***, in both the unpublished dissertation by Qaltʿaxčʿyan (1970a) and in my 2014 field recordings.[37]

The use of -*y*- in the form ***bêyiš*** (see A1 and A2), instead of -*h*-, is likely to be influenced by Classical Armenian orthographic conventions. The verb is ***hištan*** (inf.) "to leave, to permit," which in this context appears in the imperative form (2SG), i.e. ***be+hiš***. It is possible that the translator, following the rules of Classical Armenian orthography and pronunciation, where initial *y*- is pronounced *[h]*, rendered ***hiš***- as ***yiš***-. This may also have been reinforced by analogy with Armenian words such as ***yišel*** "to remember", ***yišecʿnel*** "to remind", and ***yišatak*** "memorial", which, although spelled with initial *y*-, are pronounced as *[h]* (i.e., ***hišel, hišecʿnel, hišatak***). Thus, influenced by both phonetic coincidence and graphic analogy, the translator may have represented the imperative form of ***hištan*** as ***bêyiš***.

Particularly noteworthy in the prayer is the spelling of the Persian word ***dunyā*** ("world") as ***tiwnēay***.[38] First, according to Acharyan's law, attested in several Armenian dialects, including that of Shamakhi, the word-initial voiced dental *d*- is devoiced and palatalized, becoming *t*. As a result, the word takes the form *tiwnea*. Then, following traditional Armenian orthographic conventions, which require the insertion of the semivowel -*y* after final -*a* and -*o*, the word receives a final -*y*, producing the written form ***tiwnēay*** (see A1 and A2).

The word ***āzāt*** "free" (see B3(9) and C1(21)) also appears to be a result of Armenian orthographic influence (cf. Arm. ***azat***, itself an early Iranian loan), as one would have expected azad with final -*d* instead (cf. NP ***āzād***). The translator likely followed Armenian orthographic conventions and rendered the word in the spelling commonly used in Armenian, disregarding the need to represent its actual pronunciation. This is further supported by the forms ***āzād*** "free" and ***āzād sātan*** "to free" mentioned in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation (1970a: 275), as well as by several instances in the audio recordings made by Vardan Voskanian, in which the word is pronounced as *āzād*.

[36] It is a centuries-old Armenian festival where participants drench each other with water, a custom still observed today.
[37] Cf. also UpSh., Madr., ArDagh., Sur. *piyar*.
[38] Arm. *սիւնեայ* (see A1)

Phonology

Among the phonological features, the following may be noted:

1. Reduction of the rounded vowel *u* in interconsonant position, likely due to strong stress on the first syllable. This occurs in the case of the 1PL DPPR *mūn*, when followed by the DOM *ā*, as in ***nū-mnā*** **<** ****nū-mūnā*** ("our bread" + DOM), ***qeart-xuhunda-mnā*** **<** ****qart-xuhundamūnā*** ("our debtors" + DOM) (see A1, A2, B1/CPT and RFP columns, B3(6),(7)).
2. The phonological form of ***qarż*** (< Arabic) attested in the prayer is particularly noteworthy. It appears in the compound ***qart-xuhund***, meaning "creditor", "debtor", where *qart* means "debt" and ***xuhund*** means "owner." The final voiceless stop *-t* in *qart* appears irregular, given that in other dialects of Caucasian Persian (including UpSh and ArDagh) the word is attested with a final *-d*, i.e., *qard* (Suleymanov 2020: 232; Soltanov & Soltanov 2013: 102; Grjunberg 1963: 141). In Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation (1970a), two forms are recorded: ***gart*** "debt" (p. 286) and ***qārd-xound*** "creditor, debtor" (p. 285), the latter preserving the original *[q-]*, displaying *[-d]* in final position (as in other dialects of Caucasian Persian), and showing a shift from short *[a]* to long *[ā]*.

   This word is of particular interest for two reasons. On the one hand, the dialects of Caucasian Persian preserve an archaic pronunciation of Arabic *[ż]*,[39] in contrast to Azerbaijani and Modern Persian, where Arabic *[ż]* is realized as *[-z]* in final position.[40] On the other hand, the pronunciation *-t* in the *-rt* consonant cluster, as found in the prayer in Armenian script, may reflect dialectal influence from Armenian, particularly from the Shamakhi region, where the voiced stop *[d]* is regularly devoiced to *[t]* after *[r-]* in ***-rd*** clusters. Interestingly, the form *ɣart* attested in Ms. 7117 (see Appendix) indicates that the ***-rd*** **>** ***-rt*** shift had already been operative in borrowed words by at least the 15th century. Although the vowel length in the 15th-century form ***ɣart*** is difficult to determine, the spelling ***qart*** found in the Tati translation of the *Lord's Prayer* published by Smbatʿeancʿ clearly suggests that the vowel was pronounced short.
3. The compound *qart-xuhund* also contains a phonological sequence, i.e. *uhu*, within its second component ***xuhund*** (< ***xudāwand*** (?)), meaning "lord" or "master," which is atypical for the Madrasa variety. Unlike other Tati dialects, which retain the glottal consonant *h* in intervocalic position,

[39] Arabic [ض].
[40] Cf. NP *qarż* (Steingass 1892: 964), Az. *qərz* (ADİL 2006(3): 122).

particularly in environments such as *u(C)u*,[41] the Madrasa dialect exhibits loss of this consonant due to intervocalic lenition.[42] Notably, in mid-20th-century field data recorded by Qaltʿaxčʿyan, the word meaning "lord", attested in the *Lord's Prayer* as *xuhund*, appears in two alternative phonological forms, both of which reflect the loss of *[h]* through intervocalic lenition. In one case, the forms ***xound*** ("lord, director"; Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 306) and ***qardxound*** ("creditor"; Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 285) are documented; in the other, the form *xuund* with the meaning "lord" is attested (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 235, 264). These attestations suggest that the change ***–uhu– > uu*** is a relatively recent development in the Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian, likely emerging or becoming stabilized between approximately 1900 and the 1950s.

4. Another noteworthy point is that the word ***gök***, used in the prayer to denote the concept of "heaven," appears in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation with the pronunciation ***gög*** (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 288). This form may either reflect a case of word-final ***-k > -g*** voicing that occurred during the aforementioned period (1900–1950s), or it may suggest that the original form was ***gög***,[43] which, due to dialect-specific devoicing, was rendered as ***gök*** in the prayer text (see B1, B2 and B3).
5. Another change observable in comparison with Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation is the labialization ***-i > -u*** in word-final position (Auslaut) in the 1PL personal pronoun *imūn*, which occurs in the prayer only in its oblique form, i.e. ***imūnā*** (see B3(6)),[44] functioning essentially as a dependent possessive pronoun. In the *Lord's Prayer* published by Smbatʿeancʿ, this form is attested as ***imūnā***[45] whereas in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's data it appears as ***umūnā*** (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 340).[46]

[41] Cf. UpSh., ArDagh., Af., Sur. *zuhun* "language" (Suleymanov 2020: 110, 142; Soltanov & Soltanov 2013: 159; Grjunberg 1963: 141, 159; Mammadova 2018: 56), UpSh., ArDagh., Af. *duhun* "mouth" (Suleymanov 2020: 323; Soltanov & Soltanov 2013: 62; Grjunberg 1963: 26), as well as Sur. *dahan* "mouth" (Mammadova 2018: 334).

[42] Cf. *zuun* "language", "tongue" and *duun* "mouth" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 296, 292).

[43] Cf. SW Osm. *gök* (before vowels *gög* …), Tkm. *gö:k* (*gö:g* …). According to Clauson (1972: 708), these forms, along with Az. *köy*, suggest that the original form may have been *gö:g*.

[44] Cf. UpSh. *imun, umun* "we" (Suleymanov 2020: 97), and *imuna* (Suleymanov 2020: 334), and *umuna* "our" (Suleymanov 2020: 166).

[45] See B3(6).

[46] Notably, both in the field notebooks of Vardan Voskanian and in my own recordings from the mid-2010s, only the forms *umun* "we" and *umunā* "our" are attested; there are no instances of the forms *imun* or *imunā* in use.

Morphosyntax

The prayer exhibits several interesting morphosyntactic features, some of which are relatively straightforward and easy to explain, while others are more complex and less transparent.

1. Among the more accessible features is, for instance, the addition of the nominal plural suffix *-hā* to personal pronouns in the plural (i.e. i*mūnhā*),[47] a grammatical innovation also found in modern Persian and Azerbaijani. Examples include Pers. ***mā-hā*** "we," ***šomā-hā*** "you" (pl.), and Az. ***bizlər*** "we," ***sizlər*** "you" (pl.).
2. An interesting case is the word ***züürīn***, which appears in the prayer with the meaning "power."[48] This lexeme appears to present an unusual case of deadjectivalisation, assuming that the suffix ***-īn*** is etymologically identical to the Persian adjectival suffix ***-īn*** (< Middle Persian ***-ēn***) as in ***āhanīn*** "made of iron", ***čūbīn*** "wooden", ***pašmīn*** "woolen," etc.[49]
3. Particular attention must be paid to instances where past verbal stems are used in subjunctive and imperative moods, most notably the form ***būyu*** meaning "may it be" or "let it be" (see B3(4)), and ***behiš***, with the sense of "forgive" or "let [one] be forgiven" (see B3(7)). What is especially noteworthy, however, is the coexistence of two different verbal stems for the same mood and tense, namely, the non-past subjunctive, in the case of the verb ***biran*** (< NP ***būdan***) meaning "to be, to become." In one case, we find the form ***bāš***, which, while constituting a grammatical innovation in New Persian, has since become regularized and widely used in modern standard Persian. In the Madrasa variety, however, its usage remains marginal, although it does appear in the prayer. In the other case, the form ***būyu*** is employed—again with the meaning "may it be" or "let it be"—which is atypical not only for modern Persian but also for Caucasian Persian and all of its other dialects, with the exception of Madrasa. At the same time, this pattern recalls the coexistence in Early New Persian of innovative forms based on ***bāš-*** alongside the older ***bovāδ*** (SBJV, pr., 3SG) form, suggesting that ***būyu*** may reflect a preserved grammatical archaism in the Madrasa dialect of Caucasian Persian.

[47] See *imūnhā-rā* in B3(8).
[48] See B3(11).
[49] Even more notable is the case of denominalisation observed in the Madrasa variety, where *zūr*, which originally meant "power", has been attested in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's records as having acquired the adjectival meaning "strong", "powerful" (see Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 273). It should be noted that, in addition to the form *zūr*, the word list appendix of Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation also includes the form *zuur*, though with its expected meaning of "power" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 296).

An analysis of the corpus collected by Qaltʿaxčʿyan further reveals a noteworthy distributional contrast between the two dialects (Madrasa and Kilvar) with respect to the expression of subjunctive.

In Madrasa, the dominant form is ***bū-***, attested in 7 cases, with ***bāš-*** appearing only once. In contrast, in Kilvar, the corpus records 3 instances of ***bāš-***, and one case of the highly archaic ***bav-*** form (see the examples below).

Ex. Madrasa **(1)**[50]

Imruz šaangum xəntril mistanəm qonaγmun ***buyind****.*

Kilvar (**1**)

Imbruz šaangum xahiš misaxtänum ***bašind*** imuna qonaqmu.

Transl. "Tonight I ask you to be our guest" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 255).

Ex. Madrasa **(2)**

Pʿoy gušt čak düšü, kerakur tʿəmin ***buyu****.*

Kilvar **(2)**

Pʿey gušt xub düšüki, xurek läzätin ***bavu****.*

Transl. "Let the meat cook well, so that the food is delicious" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 257).

Ex. Madrasa **(3)**

Äntʿün ***bašə*** *u bar, kʿämini kʿi bə čatʿinetʿi kurabiränbu.*

Kilvar **(3)**

Tʿüna ***bašu*** *u mähsul, kʿi bä čätʿiniyuz večira bu.*

Transl. "Let the harvest that was gathered with difficulty be yours" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 269).

Ex. Madrasa **(4)**

Ägä girk ***nabuyi****, män vamuxtʿän namdunum.*

Kilvar **(4)**

Ägä därskʿitʿab ***nabašu****, mä na mutunum amuxtʿä.*

Transl. "If there is no textbook, I cannot study" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 273)

Ex. Madrasa **(5)**

Adä, bä män či kʿənəm, e, bärdand, bärdand, dä, ǰuntʿan xaš ***buyə****, saγutün buyə, yeloon az dava saγ – salamatʿ vagardənd...*

[50] In these examples, it has been deemed appropriate to refrain from making any changes and to retain the original transcription and orthography (including the separation or concatenation of words) as used by Qaltʿaxčʿyan.

Transl. “Oh boy, what can I do? Well, if they took it, they took it… May you live, may there be health, and may our children return safely from war” (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 226).

Ex. Madrasa **(6)**

Härči mxastän ***buyu*** *män in kilärä berimän zän mevagnəm.*

Transl. “Let whatever they want be—I'm marrying this girl” (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 244).

Ex. Madrasa **(7)**

saγutün ***buy***

Transl. “Let there be health” (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 331).

As for the second instance of the use of a past stem in the imperative mood, i.e. ***behiš***, which appears in the prayer with the meaning “forgive” or “let go”, this form is unusual not only for other dialects of Caucasian Persian but even for the Madrasa variety itself. The appearance of the past stem of ***heštan/hištan*** in the imperative may be, on the one hand, the result of a typographical error, possibly caused by the printer’s unfamiliarity with the language and a misreading of the handwritten Armenian letter [լ] as [հ]. After all, it is the ***hil-*** present stem of ***heštan*** that is recorded in the 15th-century Armenian-script version of the *Lord’s Prayer* (see Appendix), following the verbal prefix.

Moreover, even assuming there is no typographical error and that *hiš-* is indeed the intended form, the simplification of the ***št*** cluster to ***š*** also appears problematic. In Caucasian Persian, including the Madrasa variety, clusters containing *-t* tend to preserve this segment more robustly in processes of reduction (cf. ***sātan*** “to do” < ***saxtan***). In the lexical appendix to Qaltʿaxčʿyan’s dissertation (p. 310), the verb ***heštan*** is glossed as “to let go”, with a comparison to Persian ***heštan*** also offered. The verb additionally appears in two compound forms: ***darun heštan*** “to let in” (p. 291) and ***rāv heštan*** “to release, to forgive” (p. 339).

Unfortunately, the form in question does not occur in the imperative in the textual corpus of Qaltʿaxčʿyan’s dissertation, which prevents further verification. It is attested only once in the non-past subjunctive (irrealis modality), and in that instance the *[l]* of the ***hil-*** present stem is retained, which again supports the possibility of a typographical error. See the example below:[51]

[51] In this and the following examples as well, Qaltʿaxčʿyan’s transcription has been preserved.

Ex. Madr. (1) *In zän mït'k' mistän, axi in t'ämbäl märdä bəxunä taynä čitär* ***beylə****, axi az näxardän imürə.*

Transl. "This woman is thinking about how to leave this weak man alone at home, he'll die of hunger!" (Qalt'axč'yan 1970a: 222).

This stem, ***hil***, is used in the imperative in the form ***bil*** **(<** ***behil*****)** in several Tati dialects in so-called *let*-constructions, but it is not attested with such a function in the Madrasa variety. There, instead of ***bil***, the form ***poy*** (present stem of ***poyistan*** "to stand") is used. See the examples below:

Ex. Madr. (1) *A Horomsim, moy-piyärt'ənа, qoşiyatəna näärä k'ənə,* ***p'oy*** *vinənd či čaka ärüs birey.*

Transl. "Hey Horomsim, call your father and mother, and the neighbors too—let them see what a fine bride you've become" (Qalt'axč'yan 1970a: 222).

Ex. Madr. (2) ***P'oy*** *gušt čak düšü, kerakur t'əmin buyu.*

Transl. "Let the meat cook well, so that the food is delicious" (Qalt'axč'yan 1970a: 257).

Ex. Af. (3) *Darz tār-ü,* ***bil*** *xišk bašū.*

Transl. "The sheaves are wet, let them dry " (Afurja variety, Grjunberg 1963: 160).

Ex. Gand. (4) *… ou biyar, pur san,* ***bil*** *düšü.*

Transl. "Bring water, make fire, let it boil " (Afurja variety, Grjunberg 1963: 195).

4. Due to direct translation from Armenian, the position of the adjectival modifier within the possessive attributive structure has also been altered (see B3(4). In Caucasian Persian, Azerbaijani, as well as in modern colloquial Eastern Armenian and several Armenian dialects, the canonical structure of the possessive attributive construction is as follows:

   DPPR (= ADJ MOD) + (n. (= head) + PC)

For example:

Caucasian Persian	*mana kitab-man*
Azerbaijani	*mənim kitab-ım*

MEA dialects *im girk-s*
"my book"

In the Caucasian Persian translation of the prayer that follows the Classical Armenian model, however, we encounter a possessive attributive structure in which the adjectival modifier follows the head noun, producing the following order in the Classical Armenian column of B1:

DOM + n. (= head) + DPPR (= ADJ MOD)

Strikingly, the same word order, where the head precedes the adjectival modifier, is preserved in the Caucasian Persian translation as well, thereby deviating from the typologically expected structure of the language:

(n. (= head) + PC + DOM) + DPPR (= ADJ MOD) → *(nū+mūn+ā + imūnā)*

Glossary

The vocabulary found in the prayer is quite interesting both in terms of loanwords and in the use of certain word forms and expressions that are native Tati, yet specific only to the Madrasa variety, thus distinguishing it from other dialects of Caucasian Persian.

1. Two loanwords stand out for their uniqueness. The first is the Turkic loanword ***gök***, meaning "sky," which appears not to occur in other dialects (see C1(3) below). The second is ***čâr***, meaning "evil," which likewise does not occur in other dialectal varieties and appears in the Madrasa dialect (including the translation of the prayer) as a loanword of Armenian origin (see B3(9), also C1(23) below).
2. In total, only two native Turkic words are used in the prayer, i.e. ***gök*** and ***bela*** "in this manner" (see B3(13) and C1(29) below). Two additional words, ***ṭahar*** (see B3(5), C1(13)), and ***şükür*** (see B3(12), C1(27)), although of Arabic origin,[52] appear, based on their phonological form, not to have entered the dialect directly via Arabic or even Persian, but rather through Azerbaijani or a Transcaucasian Turkic variety. In these two cases, the trajectory of borrowing can thus be reconstructed approximately as follows: Arabic > New Persian > Azerbaijani or a Transcaucasian Turkic variety > Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian.

[52] For *ṭahar* see also Pastor & Suleymanov 2023.

3. The compound form ***böü ṭahar***, as used in the prayer, performs two distinct functions. In the first instance, it appears within the construction ***čī ṭahar ... böü ṭahar***, corresponding to the English correlative structure *"just as ... so also"* (see B3(5)), and is thus equivalent to the *"... so also"* segment in English. In all subsequent occurrences, i.e. B3 (7), (8), (9), (11), 12) ***böü ṭahar*** functions as a discourse continuity marker (DCM) with the meaning *"also"* or *"in the same way"*, and corresponds semantically to the Modern Persian form ***hamčenīn***.
4. A particularly interesting lexical example is the imperative form ***āzāt kï*** "free (me), save (me)" (see B3 (9)), in which the second, verbal component derives from the present stem of the verb ***kardan***, i.e. ***kï-*** or ***kïn-***. This example is noteworthy precisely because it is not attested in other Tati dialects, due to a semantic shift whereby the verb acquired a pejorative or cursive meaning, roughly equivalent to the Latin *coire*. This semantic development subsequently led to the avoidance of the form and its eventual removal from normative usage. In its place, the original (etymonic) meaning was transferred to another verb, *saxtan*, which in this language came to fulfill the same functions as *kardan* does in Persian. Interestingly, the derivative *satan* (from *saxtan*) has gained wide usage in Madrasa as well and, following the pattern observed in other Tati dialects, has come to perform the same functional role as *kardan*, including in compound verb constructions. However, a number of forms derived from *kardan* do occur in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's corpus, albeit only in the present tense, and all such instances should be considered archaisms. These forms are as follows.

Ägä zu mebrey, nuna hazər ***kʿənəm***.

Transl. "If you're leaving early, I'll prepare the meal" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 273).

Ägä umun mxastänink‘ gändümä çak‘ kʿura kʿınink‘, umun tʿaba şaangum be kʿar ***kʿınink‘***.

Transl. "If we want to gather the wheat properly, we must work until evening" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 272).

*U ama bə kʿinəmän, namak yazmiş****kʿənə***.

Transl. "He came to me to write a letter" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 257).

Ye ruz gözät ***kʿən*** *invini.*

Transl. "Watch for a day, observe, and you will see" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 242).

Adä, bä män či ***kʻənəm****, e, bärdand, bärdand, dä, ǰuntʻan xaš buyə, saγutün buyə, yeloon az dava saγ – salamatʻ vagardənd...*

Transl. "Oh boy, what can I do? Well, if they took it, they took it… May you live, may there be health, and may our children return safely from war" (Qaltʻaxčʻyan 1970a: 226).

Essentially, in terms of the semantic development of *kardan*, the Madrasa dialect has followed the same trajectory as the rest of the Tati dialect continuum—with the important distinction that it has retained certain archaic forms built on its present stem.

C1. Word list from the Caucasian Persian translation of the *Lord's Prayer*

1	***piyar*** (n.)[53]	"father"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *pidar*,[54] NP *pidar, padar* [55]
2	***ki*** (rel. pn.)	"that", "which", "who"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *kē*, NP *ki* , also Az. *ki*[56]
3	***gök*** (n.)[57]	"heaven", "sky"	< Turk. origin	cf. OT *kö:k (g-)* "sky", "sky-coloured", "sky", "blue", "blue-grey"[58], Az. *göy* "sky", "blue", "green"[59]

[53] Cf. UpSh., Madr., ArDagh., Sur. *piyar*. For the purpose of comparison with the dialects of Caucasian Persian, including later forms recorded in Madrasa, the dialectal examples given here are drawn mainly from the following sources: Suleymanov (2020) for the Upper Shirvan variety (Lahij and adjacent territories); Qaltʻaxčʻyan (1970a) for the Madrasa variety; Mammadova (2018) for the Surakhani variety; and Soltanov & Soltanov (2013) for the Arüsküsh and Daghqushchu variety.

[54] The Middle Persian words used are taken from the Pahlavi dictionary compiled by MacKenzie (1966).

[55] The new Persian words are given according to the dictionary of Steingass (1892).

[56] An Iranian loan, attested across multiple Turkic languages, including Turkish and Azerbaijani of Oghuz group, as well as some non-Turkic languages spoken in the territory of present-day Turkey (for some details see, e.g. Haig 2001: 200-202).

[57] Cf. UpSh. *havo*, *osimon* (Suleymanov 2020: 170, 329) Madr. *gög* (Qaltʻaxčʻyan 1970a: 288), *yergink* (Qaltʻaxčʻyan 1970a: 313), ArDagh. *āsiman, hovva, ʿarš,* Sur. *āsmān* (Bérésine 1853: 21), *zavār* (Mammadova 2018: 30; 185), *hovo* (Mammadova 2018: 265), Xalt., Gand. (Grjunberg 1963: 183; 209).

[58] The Old Turkic word forms are taken from Clauson's dictionary (1972: 708-709). Old Turkic refers to those Turkic varieties spoken approximately between the 5th and the early 12th centuries (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: VII).

[59] The Azerbaijani examples are drawn from the four-volume *Explanatory Dictionary of the Azerbaijani Language* (ADİL 2006).

4	***tamüz*** (adj.)[60]	"pure", "clean", "holy"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *tamīz* Az. *təmiz* Arm. *tamiz, tamuz*[61] (dial.)
5	***biran*** (v.), pr. stem *bāš-*, pst. stem *bū-*	"to be", "to become"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *būdan* "to be", "to become", NP *būdan* "to be", "to become", "to exist"
6	***tüna*** (pn.)[62]	"your"	< Ir. origin[63]	cf. NP *tō rā* [64]
7	***nūm*** (n.)[65]	"name"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *nām*, NP *nām*
8	***āmaran*** (v.) pr. stem *o-/ā-/a-*, [66] pst. stem *āmār-*[67]	"to come"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *āmadan*, NP *āmadan*
9	***ǰannat*** (n.)	"heaven"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *ǰannat* Az. *cənnət* Arm. ǰannatʿ, ǰanatʿ, (dial.) ǰennetʿ

[60] Cf. ArDagh. *pāk* "clean" (Soltanov & Soltanov 2013: 119), UpSh. *tamiz* "pure" (Suleymanov 2020: 142), Madr. *tamiz* "clean", *tamiz sātan* "to clean", *surp* "holy" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 297-298, 338), Sur. *gülamöra, tamiz* "clean" (Mammadova 2018: 337, 346).

[61] The Armenian dialectal forms used here for comparison are drawn from the *Dialectological Dictionary of the Armenian Language* (HLBB: 2001–2012).

[62] Cf. the form *türa* in all other varieties of Caucasian Persian.

[63] *tü* + DOM, i.e. *na (<rā)*.

[64] Compare purely in terms of etymological properties, but under no circumstances in terms of semantic or functional equivalence, particularly in structures such as *tüna nūm tū* "your name".

[65] Cf. ArDagh., UpSh., Gand. *num* (Soltanov & Soltanov 2013: 161; Suleymanov 2020: 206; Grjunberg 1963: 191), Madr. *nïm, num* (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 320, 228, 238), Sur. *nām* (Mammadova 2018: 340).

[66] In the prayer, the present stem (i.e. *o-/ā-/a-*) of the verb *āmaran* "to come", is attested in the non-past subjunctive (/imperative) form *biyov*, which is translated as "may he/she come" or "let him/her come" (cf. Az. *gəlsin* "let him/her come"). Taking into account the usual shift *-ā(h)* > *-ov* in Auslaut observed in the Madrasa dialect (e.g. *gīyov* < *gīyāh* "grass"), one may hypothesize the existence of a parallel form *biyā(y)* in other Armeno-Tat varieties, a form also attested in later field material from Kilvar, such as *biye* "let him/her come", "may he/she come" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 251).

[67] The infinitive also appears in the forms *imaran* and *omaran* in certain compound verbs, such as *vārīš imaran* "to rain" and *tur omaran* (< EA *dur gal*) "to be pleasing" or "to appeal to" (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 336, 338).

10	***dāran*** (v.), pr. stem. *ti(n)-*, [68] pst. stem *dār-*	"to give"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *dādan* NP *dādan*
11	***xīyāl*** (n.)	"thought", "will"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *xīyāl* Az. *xəyal, xiyal* "dream" Arm. *xial, xayal, xïyal* (dial.)
12	***či*** (pn.)	"what"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *čē* NP *či*
13	***ṭahar*** (n.)	"kind"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *ṭour* Az. *təhər* Arm. *t'avur* (dial.)
14	***bi/bö/bï*** (prep.)	"in", "at" (loc.), and "to", "into" (dir.)	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *pad* NP *ba(h)/ be(h)*
15	***ü*** (pn., in böü)	"that"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *ān* NP *ān* CP *ūn*
16	***hištan*** (v.), pr. stem. *hil-*, pst. stem *hiš(t)-*	"to let", "to leave", "to permit"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *hištan* cf. NP *hištan*
17	***imūnā*** (pn.)[69]	"our", "us"	< Ir. origin	cf. NP *mā rā* only for the meaning of "us"
18	***qartxuhund*** (n.)	"debtor", "creditor"	*qart* < Arab. *xuhund* < Ir.	cf. NP *qarż* "debt" cf. NP *xudāwand* "lord", "master", "possessor"
19	***(ā)vārdan*** (v.)[70], pr. stem. *ār(n)-*, pst. stem *āvārd-*[71]	"to bring"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *āwurdan* NP *āwardan*
20	***xaṭā*** (n.)	"fault", "error", "miss"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *xaṭā*

[68] See B3(6).
[69] *imūn+ā* (< NP *rā* < MP *rāy* < OP *rādī/rādiy*). For the context, see B3(6).
[70] See also Qaltʼaxčʼyan 1970a: 277.
[71] Cf. UpSh. *vordān* (Suleymanov 2020: 377), Sur. *āvārdan* (Mammadova 2018: 157).

21	***āzāt kardan*** (v.), pr. stem *kï-*(?), pst. st. *kard-*(?) [72]	"to free", "to liberate"	< Ir. origin	cf. NP *āzād kardan*
22	***a*** (prep.)[73]	"from"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *az* (< OIr. **hača-*) NP *az* CP *a* (e.g., *a kojā* "from where?")
23	***čâr*** (n.)	"evil"	< Arm. origin	cf. Arm. *č'ar (չար)*
24	***āntü(n)*** (pn.)[74]	"yours"	< Ir. origin	cf. NP *az ān-i tō*
25	***züürīn*** (n.)	"power"	< Ir. origin	cf. MP *zōr* "power" and *zōrīg* "powerful" NP *zūr*, *zor*, *zorī* "power"
26	***va*** (cnj.)[75]	"and"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *va*
27	***šükür*** (n.)	"glory", "praise"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *šukr* Az. *šükür*
28	ʿ***aẓïm*** (adj.)	"great", "huge", "immense"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP 'aẓīm Az. əzim
29	***bela*** (adv.)	"thus", "in this way"	< Turk. origin	cf. Az. *belə*
30	***tā bï*** (prep.)[76]	"till", "up to", "untill"	< Ir. origin	cf. NP *tā be* Az. *n.(+dat.)* + *qədər*

[72] Cf. āzād sātan "to free", "to liberate" in Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation (1970a: 275).

[73] For the context, see B3(9).

[74] This independent possessive pronoun has also been attested in the later period in Madrasa as *antün* (Qaltʿaxčʿyan 1970a: 104). Cf. also UpSh. *anti* (Suleymanov 2020: 98).

[75] This conjunction has extremely limited usage across all varieties of Caucasian Persian, including Madrasa, and its occurrence in the prayer is not entirely typical for the dialect.

[76] Although composed of two separate prepositions—*tā* ('until, to') and *bï* (1. 'to, towards', 2. 'in, at', cf. MP *pad*, and NP *ba*)—this fixed combination functions as a single complex preposition meaning 'till, up to' in a temporal sense. Despite their individual meanings, the sequence *tā bï / tābï* forms a grammatical unit in usage, closely corresponding to the equivalent construction in standard Persian. Qaltʿaxčʿyan (1970a: 168) also defines it as a single preposition, without discussing its origin or etymology. Similarly, Suleymanov (2020: 223) holds that, synchronically, this combination should be regarded as a single preposition.

31	***axïr*** (n., intj.)	"end"	< Arab. origin	cf. NP *axar* Az. *axır* Arm. *axr* (dial.)
32	***āmīn*** (intj.)	"Amen", "so be it", "truly"	< Hebr. origin	cf. NP *āmīn* Az. *amin* arm. *amin*

In lieu of a conclusion

The Madrasa variety of Caucasian Persian is now an extinct dialect. Following the Kilit dialect of the Tatic subgroup within the Northwestern Iranian (NWI) branch, once spoken in Nakhijevan, this is the second Iranian dialect of the Transcaucasian region to have become extinct. In this case, the extinct variety belongs to the SWI branch, and despite its highly archaic character and remarkably interesting grammatical features, it too has fallen out of use.

Regrettably, the linguistic material documented in the Madrasa variety remains unpublished. The *Lord's Prayer*, which forms the focus of this study, is one of the few surviving fragments printed in the Armenian script and has received little scholarly attention. It is now time for the linguistic data from the Madrasa dialect to be systematically analyzed and published, so that this variety becomes accessible to scholars working in Iranian dialectology and historical linguistics.

From the perspective of Iranian dialectological research, particularly the study of lesser-known minor dialects and varieties within the SWI group, and given the need to publish still-unreleased materials on sub-varieties of Caucasian Persian, the translation and publication of Qaltʿaxčʿyan's dissertation would be of considerable value.

More broadly, studying Caucasian Persian, and specifically the Madrasa variety, within a comparative-historical framework could significantly deepen our understanding of the historical development of Persian. It may, for example, help address questions such as the grammatical problem raised by Carina Jahani (2008: 171). Lesser-studied minor languages and dialects of the SWI group, such as Caucasian Persian, may well serve as a *kelīd-e moškelgošā*, a "key to unlocking complex problems".

Appendix. The 15th century "Persian" translation of *Lord's prayer*, written in Armenian script (Ms. 7117, fol. 145a, Matenadaran), published by Hakob Papazyan (1964: 219)

Original (as published by Papazyan)	**Papazyan's Reconstruction (in Persian script)**
Փի[դ]արի ման քի բար աստանի:	پدر مان که بر آسمانی
Փաքաստ ու նամի թու:	پاک است و نام تو
Բիայաթ բեհէշտի թու:	بیاید بهشت تو
Հաստ ու քամի թու, համչինն քի բար աստանի ու դարյալամի:	هست و کام تو همچنین که بر آسمانی و در عالمی
Նանի մա մուդամ բըդէ բմա ըռոզ-բառոզ:	نان ما مدام بده بما روز بروز
Բէհէլ դարտի մարա, քի մա բէհիլամ դարտի դարտդարանի մարա:	بهل قرض مارا که ما بهلیم قرض قرضئاران مارا
Մադէ մարա բըղադա[ու] բըբալա, բըռահան ազդադայ ու ազբալա:	مده مارا بقضا و ببلا برهان از قضا و از بلا
Անի թուսթ բէհէշդ:	آن تست بهشت
Ազ թուսթ մօճիզատ:	از تست معجزات
Աբաթըլ յաբաթ:	ابدالابد
Ամին:	آمین

	Transliteration of the original (Hübschmann-Meillet system)	**Rzepka's transliteration of the original 2006: 100), based on Papazyan's publication**
1	Pʿi[d]ari man kʿi bar asmani:	Pʿidari man kʿi bar asmani.
2	Pʿakʿast ow nami tʿow:	Pʿakast u nami tʿu.
3	Biayatʿ behêšti tʿow:	Biayatʿ behêšti tʿu.
4	Hast ow kʿami tʿow, hamčʿin kʿi bar asmani ow daryalami:	Hast u kʿami tʿu, hamčʿin kʿi bar asmani u dar yalami.
5	Nani ma mowdam bədê bma ərôz-barôz:	Nani ma mudam bədê bəma ə rôz-barôz.
6	Bêhêl łarti mara, kʿi ma bêhilam łarti łartdarani mara	Bêhêl ɣarti mara, kʿi ma bêhilam ɣarti ɣartdarani mara.
7	Madê mara bəłada[ow] bəbala,	Madê mara bəɣada[u] bəbala,
8	bərahan azładay ow azbala:	bərahan azɣaday u azbala.
9	Ani tʿowstʿ bêhêšd:	Ani tʿustʿ bêhêšd.
10	Az tʿowstʿ môčizat:	az tʿowstʿ môğizat.
11	Abatʿəl yabatʿ:	Abatʿəl yabatʿ.
12	Amin:	Amin.

Abbreviations (glosses)

-	morpheme separator
<…>	epenthesis, the insertion of a non-etymological segment
[…]	the reconstruction of a segment
1	present stem
2	past stem
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjectival
APP	approximative
COP	copula
DCM	discourse continuity marker
DIR	directional preposition
DIS	distal
DOM	differential object marking
DPPR	dependent possesive pronoun
IMP	imperative
INT	intterogative
IPPR	independent possesive pronoun
ISP	imperative-subjunctive prefix
LOC	locative preposition
MOD	modifier
OBL	oblique
PC	pronominal clitic
PL	plural
POSS	possesive
REL	relativiser
SBJV	subjunctive
SBJV/IMP	subjunctive/imperative
SEP	separative preposition
SG	singular

Abbreviations (general and glottonyms)

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Af.	Afurǰa (Quba) variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
AO	Armenian original
Arab.	Arabic
ArDagh.	Arüsküsh-Daghqushchu (Central) variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
Arm.	Armenian
Az.	Azerbaijani (Transcaucasian Turkish)
cnj.	conjunction
CP	Colloquial Persian

CPers	Contemporary Persian
CPT	Caucasian Persian translation
dat.	dative
dial.	dialectal
EA	Eastern Armenian
ENP	Early New Persian
ex.	example
Gand.	Gandov (Shabran) variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
Hebr.	Hebrew
inf.	infinitive
intj.	interjection
Ir.	Iranian
Madr.	Madrasa (Shamakhi) variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
MEA	Modern Eastern Armenian
MP	Middle Persian
n.	noun
NP	New Persian
NWI	Northwest Iranian
OIr.	Old Iranian
OP	Old Persian
Osm.	Osmanli, i.e. Ottoman Turkish
OT	Old Turkic
Pers.	Persian
pn.	pronoun
pr.	present
prep.	preposition
pst.	past
rel.	relative
RFP	reconstructed form and pronunciation
Sur.	Surakhani variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
SW	south-western [language group]
SWI	Southwest Iranian
Tkm.	Turkmen language
Turk.	Turkic
UpSh.	Upper Shirvan variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)
v.	verb
Xalt.	Xaltan (Quba) variety of Caucasian Persian (Tati)

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