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Foreword

Volume 3 / Issue 1

"Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going." — Rita Mae Brown

The five articles that open the third volume of the *Journal of Iranian Linguistics* reflect the remarkable range of approaches and methods that scholars bring to the study of Iranian languages and their cultural worlds. Moving from phraseology and film semiotics to morphosyntax, dialectology, and medieval manuscript studies, this issue engages with data drawn from living dialects, cinematic archives, classical texts, and unpublished manuscript fragments, demonstrating that Iranian linguistics remains a field of inexhaustible depth.

The issue opens with **Tereza Amryan**'s systematic study of color phraseology in Kurmanji Kurdish, the first dedicated investigation of this topic in the language. Drawing on lexicographic, folkloric, and ethnolinguistic sources, including material from the Yezidi communities of Armenia, Amryan analyzes idioms built on five basic color terms: *reş* "black", *spî* "white", *sor* "red", *şîn* "green/blue", and *zer* "yellow". The study identifies *reş* as the most productive color term and demonstrates how Kurdish color phraseology reflects a rich system of cultural and symbolic meanings embedded in the language and its traditional worldview.

Hakob Avchyan offers the first systematic account of possessive constructions in Northern Talyshi, comparing two dialects, Anbarāni (Iran) and Lankarāni (Republic of Azerbaijan), on the basis of original fieldwork and corpus data. While both dialects share three attributive strategies, they diverge sharply in the predicative domain: Anbarāni employs a goal-schema construction, while Lankarāni employs a genitive-schema construction with obligatory enclitic cross-referencing. This divergence tracks the dominant contact language of each variety, Persian and Azerbaijani respectively, with significant implications for the typology of Western Iranian predicative possession.

Noonik Darbinian brings linguistic and semiotic analysis to bear on the *daš mašti*, the iconic urban masculine figure of pre-revolutionary Iranian popular cinema. Drawing on Metz, Barthes, and Bakhtin, the article examines how cinematic language produces ideology through sign systems, embodied gestures, and vernacular speech in films such as *Qaysar* (1969) and *Daš Akol* (1971). Darbinian demonstrates that the *daš mašti* functions

as a hybrid discourse mediating between colloquial urban speech, the moral codes of *javanmardi*, and performative markers of masculinity.

Youli A. Ioannesyan contributes a carefully argued study of verbal derivational prefixes as a distinguishing morphological feature of Persian dialects within the Southwestern Iranian group. Drawing on data from Classical Persian, modern Persian dialects, Dari, Tajiki, Bakhtiari, and Caucasian Tati, the article demonstrates that Persian dialects are characterized by the relative independence of derivational prefixes, separable from the verbal stem by aspectual, subjunctive, and negative markers — an important and previously underexplored criterion for distinguishing them from their closest relatives.

The issue closes with **Enrico Morano**'s edition and commentary of two previously unpublished Manichaean Middle Persian texts from the Berlin Turfan Collection. The two folios, from a single hymn codex and in parts severely damaged, preserve a hymn to Mani with references to forerunning Prophets, a hymn to the Sun God, and a hymn to the Chariots of the Sun and the Moon. Even in their fragmentary state, these texts illuminate the richness and sophistication of Manichaean hymnological tradition in ways that only painstaking philological work of the highest order can achieve. By making them available to the scholarly community for the first time, Morano adds yet another invaluable piece to our understanding of Middle Persian religious poetry and the literary culture of Manichaeism along the Silk Road. We are honoured to publish this contribution in the pages of the *Journal of Iranian Linguistics*.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the editorial board for their continued guidance, and to the reviewers for their careful and generous assessments. We hope that this inaugural issue of Volume 3 will prove stimulating to all scholars of Iranian linguistics and will encourage further research across the many dimensions of this richly varied field.

Vardan Voskanian
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"Black Day, White Face": Color Terms in Kurmanji Kurdish Phraseology

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Abstract: This article examines color-related phraseological units in Kurmanji Kurdish, a topic that has received little dedicated attention despite growing cross-linguistic interest in color idioms. Drawing on lexicographic, folkloric, and ethnolinguistic sources, including material from the Yezidi communities of Armenia, it analyzes idioms built on five basic color terms: *reş* "black", *spî* "white", *sor* "red", *şîn* "green/blue", and *zer* "yellow". For each, the study traces the etymology of the color word and identifies the cultural, social, and symbolic meanings it encodes. The analysis shows that *reş* is the most productive and diverse term, while the others range from purity and honor to vitality, fertility, and ambivalent symbolism. It offers a systematic account of color phraseology in Kurmanji and its place in Iranian ethnolinguistics.

Keywords: color idioms; Iranian languages; Kurmanji Kurdish; phraseology; symbolism; Yezidi culture

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The research is timely, given the growing global interest in color idioms and other phraseological units containing color components. Recent years have seen a surge of cross-linguistic studies in this area, many of them identifying culture-specific characteristics in color vocabulary (Golda et al. 2022: 41, Hastürkoğlu 2017: 11–17, Skara 2018: 66–70).

1. The study of the issue

The Kurdish language exhibits a wide range of dialects, the result of several factors. Historically, the Kurds have been dispersed across the Middle East, divided among different tribes and groups. The lack of a unified Kurdish state and of a single standard language[1] has further contributed to this diversity, allowing dialects to flourish independently (Asatrian 1990: 154–163; 2009: 11–13, Yusupova 1990: 165–174). The Kurds also have a vibrant and long-standing oral tradition, rich in idioms and expressions that are characteristic of everyday speech. While these are also found in Kurdish literature, they occur most frequently in daily conversation (Khamoyan 1979: 5). Kurmanji in particular is rich in set expressions and idioms, which form a substantial part of the language's phraseology. Early research focused on the idioms and proverbs of Kurdish oral tradition, particularly from the mid-nineteenth century onward, when Kurdish literature began to appear in print and the first Kurdish dictionaries were compiled. These dictionaries frequently recorded idioms and phraseological units (Tsukerman 1977, Farizov 1957, Jaba 1879, Kurdoyev 1960, Lescot 1940; Paul-Margueritte and Bedir Khan 1937). Researchers have also examined phraseological units in connection with compound verbs, analyzing how they function within compound-verb structures (Avaliani 1970).

While dictionaries and previous studies have touched on color-related phraseological units, no dedicated study of Kurdish color idioms has yet been undertaken. Some comparisons have been drawn with somatic phraseological units — those involving body-part terms such as head, face, eye, hand, and heart — but a comprehensive examination of color idioms remains absent (Bakayev 1969). Given that Kurdish is an Iranian language, it is unsurprising that many of its idiomatic expressions reflect conceptual patterns similar to those of other Iranian languages, especially Persian (Avaliani 1970: 9–13). Several studies have examined idioms in general, and color idioms in particular, in Kurdish and English (Alotaibi 2020, FaqeAbdulla 2023, Kareem 2019, Sabah 2016).

[1] During the mid-twentieth century, considerable efforts were made to establish a standardized Kurdish language, with particular focus on Kurmanji. Jaladat Ali Bedir Khan, working with the French orientalist Roger Lescot, published a Kurdish grammar intended to lay the foundation for a standard literary language; widely reprinted, it proved highly influential (Bedir Khan and Lescot 1970). The Soviet authorities likewise supported a unified Kurdish literary standard, contributing a Kurdish alphabet, a comprehensive grammar, and lexical expansion. Kurdoyev (1957) published a grammar of Kurdish with the similar aim of providing a basis for standard literary Kurmanji.

2. The color *black* in idiomatic expressions

The Kurmanji word *reş* "black" goes back to Old Iranian **raxša-* (cf. Old Indic **rakṣa-*, said to denote "red"). This etymon is reflected in several ancient languages: in Khotanese, *rrasa-* denoted a color resembling "gray-yellow", while *ṛyš* meant "spotted"; Persian *raxš* refers to a blend of red and white — sometimes even light blond — especially of horses; and Talyshi *raš* denotes dark brown, dark, or gray hues (Tsabolov 2010: 194).[2]

In Kurmanji, the color black carries negative connotations, frequently linked to darkness, misfortune, mourning, and death. These associations are most often expressed through simple idioms, typically combining *reş* "black" with a noun or verb.

In Kurmanji, *roja reş* (lit. "black day") refers to a "bad situation", an "unfortunate situation", or an "unlucky life". Similarly, *bextê reş* (lit. "black luck") means "bad luck" or "bad fate", and *bextreşî kirin* (lit. "to make black fate") extends the same association, meaning "to bring misfortune", "to act dishonestly", or "to betray" (Kurdoyev 1960: 68).

Kurmanji forms many black-color idioms on a single pattern, combining *reş* "black" with a noun or verb. Thus, *reş wergirtin* (lit. "to dress in black") and *reş girêdan* (lit. "to tie [on] black [headscarf]", i.e. "to cover one's head with a black kerchief") are both symbolic expressions of mourning (Chyet 2003: 509).

These idioms also occur in larger expressions. The sentence *wê reşa birê xwe girêda* — literally "She tied her brother's black" — conveys that her brother had died and she had put on a black headscarf in mourning. Similarly, the proverb *reşa mêra girêdidin, ya jina girênadin* "The black [headscarf] is tied for men, not for women" reflects the custom of wearing black headscarves only after the death of a male family member (Jndi 1985: 449). The phrase *gulî reş vegirtin* (lit. "to weave the braids in black") is a figurative expression meaning "to suffer a misfortune or tragedy", with its attendant sadness and grief (Khamoyan 1979: 78).

The Yezidis of Armenia use the phrase *reş hildan* ("to take off the black [headscarf]") for the act of letting go of grief.

The Kurmanji phrase *reşa min serê te be!* (lit. "May my black [headscarf] be on your head"), though ostensibly about a black headscarf, functions as an emphatic affirmation or vow, equivalent to "May I die". The expanded form *reşa min serê te be wekî derew dibêjim* (lit. "May my black [headscarf] be on

[2] We use different transliteration systems for each language: Hübschmann–Meillet for Armenian and the scholarly (Slavist) system for Russian; Russian and Armenian personal names, however, are given in their conventional English forms. For Kurmanji, the Latin-based alphabet developed by Jaladat Ali Bedir Khan is used.

your head if I tell a lie") underscores the speaker's conviction that the statement is true (Jndi 1985: 449).

The Kurmanji phrase *reş kirin* (lit. "to make black") describes not only painting something black but also, figuratively, "to disgrace" someone — that is, to damage their reputation. Similarly, *reş bûn* (lit. "to become black") extends beyond its literal sense to mean "to lose one's honor". The phrase *ber çava reş bûn* (lit. "to become black before the eyes") figuratively means "to lose honor in someone's eyes", as in *ew ber çavê te reş bû* "He/she lost honor in your eyes" (lit. "He/she became black before your eyes") (Khamoyan 1979: 193).

Kurmanji also draws on "black-faced" imagery to express embarrassment and shame. *Rûreş bûn* (lit. "to be black-faced") means "to be embarrassed", *rûreş derketin* (lit. "to come out black-faced") "to become embarrassed", while *rûreş kirin* (lit. "to make black-faced")[3] and *rûreş derxistin* (lit. "to bring [someone] out black-faced") mean "to embarrass" or "to disgrace" someone. *Şixulê rûyê reş* (lit. "the deed of the black face") denotes a shameful act, and *rûyê te reş e* (lit. "your face is black") is a direct way of saying "you are disgraced" (Kurdoyev 1960: 649).

Yezidis living in Armenia use the phrase *min rûyê xwe reş kir û tiştek xwest* (lit. "I blackened my face and asked for something") to describe someone who, though shy, persists in asking for what they want. The expression highlights the act of overcoming social discomfort to achieve a goal, even at the risk of embarrassment or humiliation.

Kurdish uses metaphorical expressions involving "black water" to describe blindness. In Kurmanji, *ava reş or avreş* (lit. "black water") refers to glaucoma, and *ava reş hat ser çavê wî/wê* (lit. "black water came down on his/her eye") means "He/she became blind" (Khamoyan 1979: 30, Kurdoyev 1960: 54). The phrase *xwedê ava reş anî çavê filankesê* (lit. "God brought black water onto so-and-so's eye") is a way of saying that "God made so-and-so blind" (Khamoyan 1971: 287). In some contexts, *ava reş* can also mean "coffee" (Chyet 2003: 509). In Kurmanji, *êşa reş* (lit. "black pain") refers specifically to cholera or plague (Kurdoyev 1960: 401).

In Kurmanji, *serreş* (lit. "black-headed") denotes an "ordinary person" or "human being". The phrases *e'bdê serreş* and *bendê serreş* (both "black-headed person") reinforce this sense of a "common" or "ordinary" individual (Kurdoyev 1960: 244, 670). Among the Kurds of Moks, *serreş* (lit. "black-headed") is used instead to denote an unmarried girl with uncovered hair — a localized, dialect-specific usage (Orbeli 2002: 175).

[3] The Persian phrase *rū sīāh šodan* literally means "to become black-faced" but figuratively "to be put to shame", "to be embarrassed", or "to be ashamed" (Ghafel and Eslami Rasekh 2011: 207).

The Kurmanji phrase *xunava reş ser da barîn* (lit. "for black dew to fall on [someone]") conveys the idea of hardship and bad luck. The phrase *xunava reş ser wîda/wêda dibare* (lit. "black dew falls on him/her") describes someone experiencing misfortune (Kurdoyev 1960: 378). The comparison of misfortune to "black snow" and "black dew" evokes an image of darkness.

A related Kurmanji phrase, *reş-spî ji hev cuda dike* "[he/she] distinguishes black from white" (Khamoyan 1979: 193), denotes the ability to read and write and, more broadly, to tell right from wrong and good from bad.

Kurmanji also has phrases expressing the opposite. The saying *reş-spî hev cuda nake* — with variants *reş-spî hev başqe nake* and *reş û spî hev dernaxe* — literally means "[he/she] does not distinguish black from white" and refers to someone who is illiterate.

In Kurmanji, *rûvîyê reş* (lit. "black fox") signifies misfortune. The expression *rûvîyê reş bê pêşîya filankesê* (lit. "May the black fox meet so-and-so") is a curse wishing misfortune on someone (Khamoyan 1979: 197).

Kurdish folklore also employs animal imagery to represent misfortune. The phrases *qirkê reş* / *qirka reş* (lit. "black crow") and *pûpîya reş* (lit. "black cuckoo") describe unfortunate individuals, often mourning women (Khamoyan 1979: 193). This association likely stems from the traditional symbolism of crows and cuckoos as harbingers of bad news. Likewise, *beqê reş* (lit. "black frog") serves as a metaphor for an unfortunate person (Kurdoyev 1960: 69); this may reflect the frog's generally negative cultural associations.

In Kurmanji, the phrase *warê reş danîn* (lit. "to set up a black abode") refers to a childless marriage (Khamoyan 1979: 193), reflecting the cultural importance placed on having children. The Yezidi community of Armenia similarly uses the term warê reş (lit. "black abode") for a childless family.

In Kurmanji, *caba reş* (lit. "black news") signifies bad news, while *ronaya reş* (lit. "black light") represents misfortune; the phrase *bûye ronaya reş* (lit. "[it] has become a black light") indicates that a misfortune has occurred. In folklore, *ricafa reş* (lit. "black shiver, black tremble") symbolizes both misfortune and death, conveying the trembling associated with hardship or impending death. The phrase *ricafa reş filankesê girt* (lit. "black shiver gripped so-and-so") describes the moment someone begins to die (Khamoyan 1979: 193).

Xûdana reş (lit. "black sweat") embodies the pain of dying, as in *hetanî xûdana reş ser ra davêje* (lit. "until black sweat covers him/her"), meaning "until he/she dies". *Xûna reş* ("black blood") signifies death, particularly from a heart attack: *xûna reş hilşîya nav dilê filankesê* (lit. "black blood poured into so-and-so's heart") means "so-and-so had a heart attack" (Khamoyan 1979: 193).

The Yezidi religion has a sacred text known as the *Meshefa Reş*, literally "Black Book" or "Black Scripture" (Asatrian and Poladyan 1989: 143–148, Joseph 1909: 111; 1919: 222).

Yezidis in Armenia refer to the Ottoman army as *Roma reş*, "Black Rom". The term likely stems from their historical contact with the empire: Iranian-speaking peoples often called the Byzantine Empire (the Eastern Roman Empire) and the Sultanate of Iconium Rum or Rom, and the Yezidis extended this usage to the Ottoman Empire (Amryan 2020: 52).

Another phrase used by the Yezidis of Armenia, *ew agirê reş e* (lit. "he/she is a black fire"), describes someone mischievous or quick; here "black" conveys the fast, unpredictable nature of such a person. They also use *şerma reş* (lit. "black shame") for a deep sense of disgrace.

In the speech of the Yezidis of Armenia, *reş* "black" very often functions as an intensifier, conveying "very big" or "tremendous". Thus, *be'ra reşe mezin* means not merely "the big black sea" but "the vast, tremendous sea", and *Ûrsêta reşe mezin* means "vast Russia". In this use, *reş* expresses overwhelming size or vastness.

3. The color *white* in idiomatic expressions

Kurdish employs the color white in idioms expressing innocence, purity, justice, and the absence of wrongdoing or malicious intent. These idioms typically follow a simple structure, combining *spî* "white" with a noun or verb.

The Kurmanji word *spî* "white" goes back to Proto-Iranian **spaita-* (cf. Avestan *spaēta-*, Middle Persian *spētak*, Persian *sepīd*). The Armenian word for "white", spitak, is of the same Iranian origin (Acharyan 1979: 265, Tsabolov 2010: 278, Chyet 2003: 561).

In Kurmanji, *rûspî bûn* (lit. "to be white-faced") denotes moral integrity — a clean conscience or innocence. *Rûspî kirin* (lit. "to make white-faced") means to protect someone's honor and dignity, sparing them shame or humiliation;[4] *rûspî derketin* (lit. "to come out white-faced") means to be exonerated and proven innocent; and *rûspî derxistin* (lit. "to bring [someone] out white-faced") means to defend someone, vindicating their actions. Finally, *rûspî verê kirin* (lit. "to see [someone] off white-faced") denotes a respectful, dignified farewell.

In Kurmanji, *spî kirin* (lit. "to make white") can refer to painting something white, peeling fruit (Chyet 2003: 561), or something becoming white in appearance. Similarly, *spî bûn* (lit. "to become white") can signify turning white or growing old (Kurdoyev 1960: 688).

[4] The Persian phrase *rū sifīd šodan* (lit. "to become white-faced") figuratively means "to be victorious" or "to succeed completely in an undertaking" (Ghafel and Eslami Rasekh 2011: 207).

Several proverbs offer insight into aging. *Spî bûn cinse* (lit. "turning white is a matter of kind/breed") suggests that growing old is largely hereditary — the whitening of hair being a physical consequence of age, not a sign of wisdom. The proverb *Spî bûna serê wî nenihêre, çîya jî spî dibin* (lit. "Do not look at the whiteness of his head; the mountains too turn white") reminds us that graying is universal, just as mountains turn white with snow (Jndi 1985: 483).

The expression *çavê wî/wê spî bûn* (lit. "his/her eyes turned white"), widely used by the Yezidis of Armenia, literally denotes a physical change but symbolizes the emotional toll of hardship.

4. The color *red* in idiomatic expressions

The Kurmanji word *sor* "red" goes back to Old Iranian **suxra-* (Avestan *suxra-*, Old Persian *θuxra-*) (Tsabolov 2010: 276).

In Kurdish folklore, red carries strong symbolic weight, often linked to health, beauty, and strength; these associations shape how red is used in idiomatic expressions.

The Kurmanji phrase *sor û fît dike* (lit. "he/she makes [it] red" or "he/she appears red")[5] means "he/she looks healthy" (Khamoyan 1979: 211). A Yezidi saying in Armenia runs *qîze sor in, xorte kor in* (lit. "the girls are red, the boys are blind"), suggesting that the girls are beautiful but the boys fail to notice.

The Kurmanji phrase *heta guha sor bû* (lit. "[he/she] turned red up to the ears") likewise expresses shame or embarrassment (Khamoyan 1979: 211).

In Kurmanji, *sor kirin* (lit. "to make red") has several meanings: "to paint red", "to make (something) appear red", "to heat (metal) until red-hot", and "to fry (food)" (Chyet 2003: 558).

It can also mean "to make someone feel ashamed". Similarly, *sor bûn* (lit. "to become red") has several senses — "to become red", "to blush", "to become red-hot" (of metal), "to be fried" (of food), and "to be ashamed" (Kurdoyev 1960: 685). In Kurmanji, *sor bûn*[6] can also express anger: the phrase *çavê filankesê sor bû* (lit. "so-and-so's eyes turned red") means "so-and-so got angry" (Khamoyan 1979: 211).

The Kurdish proverb *sor dike zimane, spî dike dirane, gişk şe'dê derewane*[7] (lit. "the tongue turns red, the teeth turn white, all are witnesses of lies")

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[5] The Persian proverb *Ḥakīmī ki xod bāšadaš zard-rūy, az ū dārū-yi sorxrūyī majūy* "Seek not the means to rosy cheeks from a pale-faced physician" underscores the association of red with health in Persian culture (Ahmadi and Ketabi 2011: 16–17).

[6] The Persian phrase *sorx šodan az asabāniyat* "to become red from anger" is figuratively akin to the English idiom "to see red" (Alotaibi 2020: 104; Mashhady et al. 2014: 146–147).

[7] In Persian, *zabān-i sorx* (lit. "red tongue") denotes a dangerous speech habit marked by furious, reckless, or inflammatory language, which can jeopardize the speaker's

implies that someone is lying (Jndi 1985: 482). In Kurmanji, *çêleka sor* (lit. "red cow") describes a person who is inflexible and unwilling to change their character (Khamoyan 1979: 211).

Some images are language-specific. In Kurmanji, death is figured as a "red carpet" laid at everyone's door, signifying an unavoidable reality: the proverb *mirin ber'a sore, ber derê h'emû kesîye* (lit. "death is a red carpet, [and] at everyone's door") captures the inevitability of death (Jalil and Jalil 1972: 222).

5. The color *green* in idiomatic expressions

Kurmanji *şîn* denotes both green and blue. The word goes back to Proto-Iranian **axšaina-* "not shining" and is connected with Avestan *axšaēna-* "dark(-colored)", Old Persian *axšaina(ka)-* "blue, sky-blue", and Middle Persian *axšēn* "blue" (Tsabolov 2010: 324).

In Kurmanji, idiomatic units featuring green typically combine *şîn* "green/blue" with a noun or verb. *Şîn kirin* (lit. "to make green") has several context-dependent senses — "to paint green", "to grow" (of plants), "to make appear green" — and *şîn bûn* (lit. "to become green") likewise means "to turn green", "to be painted green", or "to grow/bloom" (of plants).[8]

Kurmanji also has another word for green, *kesk*[9] — which, unlike *şîn*, denotes only green, not blue. The compound *keskesor* (lit. "green-red") means "rainbow".

The Yezidis of Armenia have a blessing that uses color differently: *bedena te şîn be* (lit. "may your body become green") means "may you have children". It is customarily offered to women, especially newlyweds.

In Kurmanji, blue carries complex symbolic weight, with both positive and negative aspects. Despite this range of meanings, relatively few phraseological units use the color term directly.

The Kurdish phrase *rengê wî/wê şîn bû* (lit. "his/her color turned blue") means "he/she got angry" or "turned blue with anger", and in some contexts "he/she got worse (from illness)". The Kurmanji saying *tunebûn kevirê şîne* (lit. "poverty is a blue stone") means "poverty is a cruel thing", implying that

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social standing by provoking conflict or even violence (Mashhady et al. 2014: 137, 147). The Persian proverb *zabān-i sorx sar-i sabz mīdahad bar bād* (lit. "the red tongue gives the green head to the wind") warns that reckless speech can have disastrous consequences for one's safety, freedom, and life (Ghafel and Eslami Rasekh 2011: 203).

[8] Kurmanji shows a strong link between *şîn* "green" and vegetation: the words *şînayî* (or *hêşînayî*) and *şînahî* (or *hêşînahî*), all meaning "greenness", "vegetation", or "grass", are derived directly from *şîn* (or *hêşîn*) (Chyet 2003: 252).

[9] While Kurmanji uses *şîn* in a wide variety of color idioms, *kesk* appears in significantly fewer such expressions.

poverty is a cold, unyielding force, very hard to overcome (Jalil and Jalil 1972: 277).

The Yezidis of Armenia use *bûza şîn* (lit. "blue ice") for something extremely hard and resistant to melting, and by extension for a person of unwavering character. They use *delinga şîn* (lit. "blue skirt") to symbolize a violation of religious custom; specifically, *delinga xwe şîn kirin* (lit. "to turn one's skirt blue") means to marry a non-Yezidi (Voskanyan 1999: 239).

Among the Yezidis, the phrase "blue ink" signifies a forbidden act, recalling a period when writing was discouraged in the community — a reminder of past restrictions on literacy.

6. The color *yellow* in idiomatic expressions

The Kurmanji word *zer* "yellow, golden, pale, gloomy" originates from Old Iranian **zar-* or **zarita-* and Avestan *zar-/zari-*, all meaning "yellow" (Tsabolov 2010: 510; Chyet 2003: 686).

Yellow has complex meanings in Kurdish and other languages, with both positive and negative associations. It can signify creation, energy, and optimism, but also cowardice and fear, conveying sadness, despair, and timidity (FaqeAbdulla 2023: 377).

The Kurdish phrase *zêrê zer* (lit. "yellow gold") signifies a positive quality: *ew zêrê zer e* (lit. "he/she is yellow gold") means "he/she is a very good person", and *zêrê zer jê dibare* (lit. "yellow gold pours from him") implies that someone is good and brilliant (Khamoyan 1979: 128).

7. Conclusions

The analysis of color-related phraseological units in Kurmanji Kurdish demonstrates that colors function not merely as lexical elements but as important carriers of cultural, social, and symbolic meanings. The study reveals that color idioms are deeply embedded in the worldview of Kurdish speakers and reflect traditional beliefs, values, emotional experiences, and collective cultural memory.

Among the color terms examined, *reş* "black" is the most productive and semantically diverse, predominantly associated with misfortune, mourning, shame, death, and social disapproval; among the Yezidis of Armenia it shows additional developments, including its use as an intensifier. By contrast, *spî* "white" generally symbolizes purity, innocence, honor, justice, and moral integrity. *Sor* "red" is connected with health, beauty, vitality, shame, and anger, while *şîn* "green/blue" reflects notions of growth, fertility, hardship, and social norms. Finally, *zer* "yellow" shows a dual symbolism, expressing both positive qualities (such as value and excellence) and negative associations (such as weakness and melancholy).

The findings confirm that color phraseology constitutes an important component of Kurdish linguistic and cultural heritage. Since the study of Kurdish color idioms remains relatively underdeveloped, further comparative and interdisciplinary research may contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between language, culture, and cognition in Kurdish and other Iranian languages.

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Who Owns What? Possessive Constructions in Northern Talyshi (Anbarāni and Lankarāni Dialects)

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Abstract: Talyshi, a Northwestern Iranian language spoken in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan, is traditionally divided into three dialect clusters: Northern, Central, and Southern. This paper investigates possessive constructions in two Northern Talyshi dialects, Anbarāni (Iran) and Lankarāni (Azerbaijan), drawing on original fieldwork and corpus data. In the attributive domain, both dialects share three strategies: oblique marking of the possessor, the optional preposition *ǰə*, and possessive pronouns. In the predicative domain, hitherto almost undocumented, they diverge sharply: Anbarāni employs a goal-schema construction, marking the possessor with the postposition *ro* and an existential predicate, whereas Lankarāni employs a genitive-schema construction, in which the oblique-marked possessor is obligatorily cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun. This divergence tracks not the traditional tripartite classification of Talyshi but the dominant contact language of each dialect — Persian for Anbarāni, Azerbaijani for Lankarāni. The findings refine the place of Northern Talyshi within the typology of Western Iranian predicative possession and provide the first description of predicative possession for any Northern Talyshi variety spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Keywords: Anbarāni; Lankarāni; Northern Talyshi; possessive constructions; predicative possession; Talyshi dialectology.

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1. Introduction

The Possession is among the most basic relations encoded in human language, and every language possesses grammatical means to express it (Heine 1997). Cross-linguistically, a distinction is drawn between attributive possession, holding within the noun phrase, and predicative possession, expressed at the clause level — and languages frequently differ markedly in how elaborated each domain is. In Northern Talyshi, a Northwestern Iranian language spoken in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan, attributive possession has received some descriptive attention, while predicative possession remains almost entirely undocumented and, where mentioned at all, rests on a single example.

This paper offers the first systematic account of possession in Northern Talyshi, based on a comparison of two dialects — Anbarāni (Iran) and Lankarāni (Republic of Azerbaijan) — drawing on original fieldwork and corpus data. We examine three attributive strategies (oblique-case possession, the *čə*-construction, and pronominal possession) and, for the first time, the predicative domain. The two dialects are shown to employ structurally distinct predicative possessive constructions — a goal-schema strategy in Anbarāni and a genitive-schema strategy, obligatorily cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun, in Lankarāni — a split that tracks the contact language of each dialect (Persian and Azerbaijani, respectively) rather than the traditional Northern/Central/Southern dialect classification. These findings refine the existing typological classification of Northern Talyshi predicative possession — based, in the absence of dedicated fieldwork on the dialect, on a single example excerpted from a broader descriptive source — and provide the first description of predicative possession for any Northern Talyshi variety spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides background on Northern Talyshi and its dialects, reviews previous scholarship on possession in the language, and introduces the typological framework adopted here. Section 3 describes the data and methodology. Section 4 examines attributive possession in its three strategies. Section 5 turns to predicative possession. Section 6 concludes.

2. Background

Talyshi is a Northwestern Iranian language spoken along the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea, straddling the border between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan. It is traditionally divided into three dialect clusters — Northern, Central, and Southern — a classification that cuts across the state border rather than following it. This paper examines two Northern Talyshi varieties: Anbarāni, spoken in Iran, and Lankarāni,

spoken in the Republic of Azerbaijan. The choice of these two varieties is motivated by more than convenience of access: as members of the same dialect cluster separated by an international border, they have developed for roughly a century under markedly different contact regimes — Persian in the case of Anbarāni, Azerbaijani in the case of Lankarāni — making them a natural pair for examining how far a shared morphosyntactic inheritance can diverge under distinct external pressures.

Possession in Talyshi has received uneven treatment in previous scholarship. Attributive possession is described, with varying degrees of detail, in the major descriptive accounts of Northern Talyshi, including Miller (1953), Schulze (2000), Amiriān-Budālālu (2005), and Paul (2011), several of which also note the preposition *ǎə* in its genitive function. Predicative possession, by contrast, has gone almost entirely undescribed. The only first-hand observations are found in Paul (2011), who touches on the matter in passing in connection with the existential verb *heste* and the postposition *ro*.[1] In his cross-linguistic survey of predicative possession in Western Iranian, Mohammadirad (2020) classifies Northern Talyshi as a "be"-possessive language of the genitive-schema type, in which the possessor is expressed as a bound pronominal clitic and the possessee functions as the subject of the existential predicate, while Central Talyshi is assigned to the goal schema, with the possessor flagged by the postposition *rā*. This classification, however, rests on a single example drawn from Paul (2011: 222); it has not been tested against a broader body of data, nor differentiated across the Northern Talyshi dialects. The present paper undertakes such a test.

Following Heine (1997), a distinction is drawn between attributive (or adnominal) possession, which holds within a single noun phrase, and predicative possession, which is expressed at the clause level. Cross-linguistically, predicative possessive constructions are argued to derive historically from a small set of source schemas — among them the topic schema ("as for X, Y exists"), the genitive schema ("X's Y exists"), and the goal schema ("Y exists for X") — which in turn motivate a broad typological split between "be"-possessive languages, which retain an existential or copular predicate and mark the possessor non-canonically (obliquely or via pronominal clitic), and "have"-possessive languages, which employ a

[1] Paul (2011) records this postposition as *ru*; in my Aminjān data it is consistently *ro*. Since Paul's consultants were drawn in part from the same village (Aminjān; Paul 2011: 18), the difference is not one of locality. Note that the regular *u*/*o* correspondence between Anbarāni and the Azerbaijani varieties (e.g. Anbarāni *yul* "big", *tuža* "new", *zua* "boy" vs. Azerbaijani Talyshi *yol*, *toža*, *zoa*) would in fact predict Anbarāni *ru*; the *ro* of my data thus appears to reflect variation specific to this grammatical morpheme, which does not pattern with the lexical vocabulary. This has no bearing on the analysis.

transitive verb historically derived from "hold, keep" (Stassen 2009, Heine 1997, Mohammadirad 2020). Within Western Iranian, Mohammadirad (2020) shows this split to be areally rather than genetically conditioned: “be”-possession predominates at the northwestern and southwestern peripheries of the Iranian-speaking area, in contact with other “be”-languages such as Kurdish, Arabic, and Aramaic, while “have”-possession dominates the center and north, in the sphere of Persian influence; Azerbaijani, a “be”-possessive language, and Persian, the archetypal “have”-language, place Lankarāni and Anbarāni Talyshi on opposite sides of this areal divide. The existential/copular strategy itself continues a pattern already attested in Old and Middle Iranian, where the possessor appeared as a topicalized dative or oblique argument of an existential verb; the transitive “have”-construction is a later Western Middle Iranian innovation. Some languages additionally show a possession split conditioned by alienability, retaining the older “be”-construction for inalienable relations (kinship, body parts) while extending “have” to alienable and abstract possession. This typology provides the frame within which the predicative constructions of Anbarāni and Lankarāni are analyzed in Section 5.

3. Data and methodology

The Anbarāni data were collected during field trips conducted between 2015 and 2017 in the village of Aminjān (Anbarān District, Namin County, Ardabil Province) and supplemented through remote sessions in 2024–2025. The corpus comprises 32 recorded texts — folktales, anecdotes, translations from Persian, and personal narratives — together with an elicited list of over 350 sentences, obtained primarily through direct translation tasks from Persian. The elicited material served both to verify morphosyntactic patterns attested in the texts and to probe constructions — including the possessive constructions examined here — that are not spontaneously frequent in narrative. The Anbarāni data were provided by five native speakers of different generations and educational backgrounds, all originally from Aminjān and all trilingual in Talyshi, Persian, and the local Turkic variety (Torki).

Since direct fieldwork in the Republic of Azerbaijan was not feasible owing to access restrictions, the material for the Azerbaijani side derives from remote interviews with two native speakers — both bilingual in Talyshi and Azerbaijani — complemented by published sources, including collections of folktales, literary works by Talyshi authors, newspapers, and Talyshi-language news portals. This material predominantly represents the Lankarāni variety, which serves as the basis of the emerging written standard in the Republic of Azerbaijan and dominates published Talyshi-language production.

Interlinear examples are glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules; the transcription follows a slightly modified version of Schulze's (2000) system (for details, see Avchyan 2024: 303). Historical-comparative observations, with reference to Old and Middle Iranian reconstructions, are introduced where relevant. A list of abbreviations is provided at the end of the paper.

4. Attributive possession

Attributive possession (also referred to as *nominal* or *phrasal possession*; Heine 1997: 143) describes the way two noun phrases are linked, where the possessor modifies the possessee within a single noun phrase. As Heine (1997: 143) notes, "(a) it typically presents presupposed rather than asserted information; (b) it involves object-like, time-stable contents rather than event-like contents; and (c) it involves phrasal rather than clausal syntax." In Northern Talyshi, attributive possession is expressed through three primary strategies: (i) the use of the oblique case on the possessor, (ii) the optional use of the preposition *čə*, which may precede the possessor in the oblique case, and (iii) the use of possessive pronouns.

4.1 Oblique case on the possessor

4.1.1 Simple oblique-case possession

In Northern Talyshi, nouns distinguish between a direct (unmarked) form and an oblique form, the latter used for marking objects, possessors, and certain adpositional phrases. Since attributive possession relies on the possessor being in the oblique case, understanding its form and distribution is crucial for the analysis that follows.[2]

In Anbarāni, the oblique case is marked by the suffix *-ə*, whereas in Lankarāni it is marked by *-i*.[3] In the Lankarāni dialect, when the suffix attaches to vowel-final nouns, it typically surfaces as *-y*, as in *muy rāng* "the hair's color" and *zoay pəa* "the boy's father". In some cases, however, the marker may also be omitted. By contrast, in Anbarāni, vowel-final nouns show formal syncretism between the direct and oblique forms, as the distinction between the two cases is neutralized in this environment.

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[2] For a concise description of the case system in Northern Talyshi, see Avchyan 2024: 306.

[3] According to Miller (1948: 245) and Schulze (2000: 17), the Northern Talyshi oblique case marker can be traced back to Old Iranian *-ahyā*, which appears in Old Persian as the genitive singular ending of *a*-stem nouns. Miller further argues that the Talyshi suffix *-i* ultimately shares the same historical origin as the Persian *ezāfe* construction. Both, he suggests, derive from the Old Persian demonstrative-relative pronoun *hya*, from which the genitive ending *-ahyā* itself also developed (Miller 1948: 244–245).

One of the primary functions of the oblique case in Northern Talyshi is to express attributive possession, marking the person or thing that possesses another entity. In both Anbarāni and **Lankarāni**, the possessor, which appears in the oblique case, precedes the possessee:

(1)	i	ruž	i	nafar-ə	dust	avə=ku
	one	day.DIR	one	person-OBL	friend.DIR	PP.3SG.OBL=from
	pārs=ina=y		(Anb)			
	ask.ST[4]=in=COP.3SG					

"One day, **someone's friend** asks him."

(2)	Nurahmad-i	pəa	š-e	əšta	boa
	Nurahmad-OBL	father.DIR	go.II-3SG	REFL	brother.Ø[5]
	ton=o	(Lan)			
	side=from				

"Nurahmad's father went to his brother."

As shown in (1) and (2), in both Anbarāni and Lankarāni the possessor appears in the oblique case and precedes the possessed noun, while the possessee remains in the direct case unless required by other syntactic contexts.

4.1.2 Possessee in oblique case

In addition to marking possession, the oblique case in Northern Talyshi is also used to encode the definite direct object in accusative constructions and

[4] Northern Talyshi inherits the common Iranian two-stem verb system (present stem, Stem I; past stem, Stem II), but this system has been substantially reduced, and many verbs have become monostemmic, retaining only one of the two stems (Stilo 2008: 372). The reduction has proceeded differently in Anbarāni and the Azerbaijani varieties, so that a verb may be one-stem in one dialect and two-stem in the other. Two-stem verbs are glossed here with Stem I / Stem II (following Paul 2011: 105); monostemmic verbs are glossed neutrally as .ST, since their single stem may historically continue either the present or the past stem, and glossing them as .ST avoids implying a stem identity that is not always recoverable.

[5] In this paper, .Ø in glosses indicates the absence of overt morphological marking. It is used in two main contexts: (i) when a noun occupies a syntactic position that would normally be case-marked — such as an oblique possessor, an oblique agent in an ergative construction, or a definite direct object — but shows no overt marking, particularly with vowel-final stems in Anbarāni, where the direct and oblique forms are syncretic; and (ii) when an adjective, especially one ending in a vowel, does not take the attributive suffix *-a*.

the agent in ergative clauses. Consequently, when in a possessive construction the possessee itself fulfills one of these syntactic roles, it likewise appears in the oblique case, as in the following example:

(3) Ahmad-ə dust-ə nun=əš vārd-a (Anb)
Ahmad-OBL friend-OBL bread.DIR=ENC.3SG bring.II-PPTC
"Ahmad's friend has brought the bread."

(4) toləš-on dust-i–dəšmen-i farğ-i
Talysh-PL friend-OBL–enemy-OBL difference-OBL

zən-anin=in (Lan)
know.ST-DEB=COP.3PL
"The Talysh need to know the difference between (lit. of) friends and enemies."

In (3), the possessor (*Ahmad*) and the possessee (*dust* "friend") are both marked with the oblique case because the possessed NP *dust* functions as the agent of the verb *vārd-a* "to bring" in an ergative clause. In (4), the possessee *farğ* 'difference' appears in the oblique case since it serves as the definite direct object of *zən-* "to know". The possessor phrase *dust-dəšmen* "friend and enemy" is likewise marked with the oblique case, following the regular possessive strategy.

4.1.3 Nested possession

Possessive constructions may also be embedded within one another, yielding so-called recursive or nested possession, in which a single noun phrase functions simultaneously as the possessee of a preceding possessor and as the possessor of a following possessee. In such constructions, every non-final noun in the chain appears in the oblique case, in accordance with the regular possessive strategy described in 4.1.1, while only the final possessee remains in the direct case:

(5) Maryam-ə utuğ-ə ba səpi=y (Anb)
Maryam-OBL room-OBL door.DIR white=COP.3SG
"The door of Maryam's room is white."

(6) Piyamerd-i jen-i nom Fātma b-e (Lan)
old.man-OBL wife-OBL name.DIR Fatima be.II-3SG
"The old man's wife's name was Fatima."

Nested constructions of greater depth are not attested in the present corpus, where possessive chains do not exceed two levels of embedding. There is no grammatical restriction that would rule out longer chains, and they can be

readily constructed; their absence from the material is more plausibly a matter of usage. Whether such chains occur in spontaneous speech, and at what depth acceptability degrades, remains to be investigated.

4.2 Possession with *čə*

The preposition *čə*, which is generally traced back to Old Persian *hačā* 'from' (Miller 1953: 86, Schulze 2000: 18) < OIr. **hačā*, occurs in both Anbarāni and Lankarāni and governs noun phrases in the oblique case. In both dialects, *čə* can function as a genitive marker, yielding possessive constructions such as *čə Ahmadə dada* (Anb) "Ahmad's father", *čə zoay ka* (Lan) "the boy's house", or *čə šāiri kitob* (Lan) "the book of the poet". As discussed in Section 4.1.1, the genitive relation may also be conveyed by the oblique case alone, without the preposition *čə*. In Anbarāni, the use of *čə* is relatively rare, and it is notably absent from earlier descriptions of this dialect (see Paul 2011; Amiriān-Budālālu 2005). The preposition also combines with various postpositions to express a range of other case relations, which fall outside the scope of the present paper. Below are examples illustrating the use of *čə* in possessive constructions:

(7)	čə	zua	nana	um-a	(Anb)
	of	boy.Ø	mother.DIR	come.II-PPTC	

"The mother of the boy came."

(8)	viša=da	ğafil	gəlay	āvačaka	gənie=da,
	forest.DIR=in	suddenly	CL	lightning.DIR	fall.INF=in

	čə	merd-i	ha	kəšte=da	(Lan)
	of	man-OBL	donkey.Ø	kill.INF=in	

"In the forest, suddenly a lightning bolt falls and kills the man's donkey."

4.3 Pronominal possession

The third strategy employs the possessive pronouns, which are historically transparent fusions of the preposition *čə* with the personal pronouns — for the first and third persons singular, with their oblique forms (e.g., *čəmān* (Anb), *čəmə* (Lan) "my"; *čavə* (Anb), *čay* (Lan) "his/her"). Miller (1953: 115) extends this analysis to the second person as well (*əštə* < *čə* + *tə*; *šəma* < *čə* + *šəma*, where the initial *č* was lost owing to the articulatory proximity of *š* and *č*). Pronominal possession is thus not an independent development but the

lexicalized reflex of the *čə*-construction described in Section 4.2. The full paradigms are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Possessive pronouns in Anbarāni and Lankarāni

	Anbarāni		**Lankarāni**	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	*čəmān*	*čama*	*čəmə*	*čama*
2nd	*əštə*	*šəma*	*əštə*	*šəma*
3rd	*čavə*	*čavun*	*čay*	*čavon*

In their attributive use, the possessive pronouns invariably precede the possessed noun, show no agreement with it in number, and are restricted to attributive position:

(9) čəmān rost-a dās əmruž xayli
POSS.1SG right-ATTR hand.DIR today much

diž=ina=y (Anb)
hurt.ST=in=COP.3SG
"My right hand hurts a lot today."

(10) se ruž=e čəmə bāla tablārz-i
three day.DIR=COP.3SG POSS.1SG baby.Ø fever-OBL

gat-a=š=e (Lan)
take.ST-PPTC=ENC.3SG=COP.3SG
"It's been three days since my baby got a fever."

Alongside these attributive forms, both dialects possess absolute possessive pronouns ("mine", "yours", etc.), which are syntactically free, functioning as subjects, objects, or copular complements. Here the two dialects diverge sharply in the morphology they recruit: Anbarāni derives its absolute forms with the suffix *-(n)i* (*čəmāni* "mine", *čavəni* "his/hers"), whereas Lankarāni employs the suffix *-ki*, borrowed from Azerbaijani (*čəmənki ~ čəməki* "mine", *čayki* "his/hers"). The variation between forms with and without the epenthetic *-n-* — prescribed by Miller (1953: 115) but contradicted by Aboszoda and Sadykhzoda (2019: 57) — appears in the attested materials in both shapes, likely reflecting minor dialect-internal variation:

(11) čəmān zua vəyi čuk-a zua=y,
POSS.1SG son.DIR very good-ATTR boy.DIR=COP.3SG

əštə-ni čuk=e? (Anb)
POSS.2SG-ABS good=COP.3SG

"My son is a very good boy. Is yours good?"

(12) čəmān-i=an čuk=e (Anb)
POSS.1SG-ABS=too good=COP.3SG

"Mine is good, too."

(13) čəmə-n-ki ni əm māšin (Lan)
POSS.1SG-EP-ABS NEG.COP.3SG DEM car.DIR

"This car is not mine."

5. Predicative possession

5.1 Anbarāni

In Anbarāni, predicative possession is expressed by means of an external possessor construction (cf. Paul 2011: 78, 330), in which the possessor is marked with the oblique case and the postposition *ro*, the possessee stands in the direct case, and the invariable existential verb *heste* — always in the third person singular regardless of the number of the possessee — completes the predicate:

(14) Ahmad-ə=ro də gəla səpa hest=e (Anb)
Ahmad-OBL=for two CL dog.DIR exist.ST=COP.3SG

"Ahmad has two dogs."

(15) avə=ro tuža māšin hest=e (Anb)
PP.3SG.OBL=for new.Ø car.DIR exist.ST=COP.3SG

"He/she has a new car."

(16) ama=ro ila yul-a ka hest=e (Anb)
PP.1PL=for CL big-ATTR house.DIR exist.ST=COP.3SG

"We have a big house."

As (15) and (16) show, when the possessor is a personal pronoun, the 1st and 3rd singular forms appear in their oblique shape (*avə*), while the remaining persons, lacking a distinct oblique form, appear in the direct case (*ama*). Note further that *heste* shows no agreement with the possessee in number (*də gəla səpa hest-e*, lit. "two dogs exist-3SG"), unlike the possessee agreement still visible in the corresponding Old Persian construction (cf. Mohammadirad 2020: 499, ex. 4).

Possession may alternatively be signaled by an enclitic pronoun alone, without any *ro*-marked possessor phrase — typically when the possessor has already been established in discourse:

(17)	yul-a	ka=šun	hest=e	(Anb)
	big-ATTR	house.DIR=ENC.3PL	exist.ST=COP.3SG	

"They have a big house."

The two devices — the *ro*-marked possessor and the enclitic — may also co-occur, in which case the enclitic functions as a resumptive element doubling the possessor:

(18)	əštə	žen-ə=ro	čān	gəla=š	hoa
	POSS.2SG	wife-OBL=for	how.much	CL=ENC.3SG	sister.DIR

hest=e?	(Anb)	
exist.ST=COP.3SG		

"How many sisters does your wife have?"

Here, *əštə žen* "your wife" is itself an ordinary attributive possessive phrase (Section 4.3), which as a whole functions as the possessor of the predicative construction; the enclitic *š*, attached to the classifier *gəla* rather than to the possessee noun *hoa* "sister" itself, resumes this possessor. Crucially, the enclitic and the *ro*-phrase are not independent alternatives but two positions in a single licensing system: either may occur alone, but the interpretation of the clause depends on which is present. With the possessor phrase omitted, *čān gəlaš hoa heste* (lit. "how many sisters does he/she have") is grammatical, with the possessor recovered only anaphorically from *š*; if the enclitic is dropped as well, *čān gəla hoa heste* is no longer a possessive construction at all, but a plain existential, "how many sisters are there?". Predicative possession in Anbarāni thus requires the presence of at least one possessor-licensing element — an oblique NP marked with *ro*, or an enclitic pronoun — with co-occurrence of both yielding an optional, redundant doubling. No example of the enclitic splitting the verb stem itself

(*hest=ENC=e*, as attested in Lankarāni, Section 5.2) occurs in the Anbarāni corpus; its possibility cannot, however, be excluded on this basis alone.

5.2 Lankarāni

Lankarāni predicative possession likewise involves the possessor in the oblique case, optionally preceded by the preposition *čə*, the possessee in the direct case, and the invariable verb *heste*. Unlike Anbarāni, the postposition *ro* is never employed in this function. When the possessor is pronominal, Lankarāni draws on the possessive pronouns described in Section 4.3 (*čama*, *čay*, etc.) rather than the bare personal pronouns used in the corresponding Anbarāni construction (Section 5.1: *amaro*, *avəro*) — so that, unlike in Anbarāni, the pronominal possessor in predicative possession is formally identical to the pronominal possessor in attributive possession. Also, unlike Anbarāni, the resumptive enclitic pronoun is obligatory here, regardless of whether the possessor is expressed as a full oblique noun phrase or as a possessive pronoun; only its position within the clause is free, attaching either to the possessee noun or, by the same mobility independently attested for enclitic pronouns elsewhere in the language (Section 4.1.1), splitting the existential verb itself:

(19) čə Murād-i gəlay toža māšin=əš
of Murad-OBL CL new.Ø car.DIR=ENC.3SG

hest=e (Lan)
exist.ST=COP.3SG

“Murad has a new car.”

(20) čama rečin-a ka=mon
POSS.1PL beautiful-ATTR house.DIR=ENC.1PL

hest=e (Lan)
exist.ST=COP.3SG

“We have a beautiful house.”

(21) čavon yol-a boğ
POSS.3PL big-ATTR garden.DIR

hest=əšon=e (Lan)
exist.ST=ENC.3PL=COP.3SG

“They have a big garden.”

Examples (20) and (21) illustrate the same possessive relation with the enclitic attached, respectively, to the possessee noun and, splitting the

copula from the existential stem, to *heste* itself — confirming that its placement follows the general clitic-mobility rules of the language rather than being fixed to the possessee. The preposition *čə*, by contrast, is genuinely optional: (19) remains grammatical without it, *Muradi gəlay toža māšinəš heste*, with the oblique case alone marking the possessor.

5.3 Negation and past tense

Negation and past-tense marking in predicative possession do not introduce new possessor-marking strategies in either dialect; they operate entirely within the system already described in 5.1 and 5.2, substituting into the position otherwise occupied by *heste*. Negation in the present is expressed by the invariable negative copula *ni*, which replaces *heste* outright and, like its affirmative counterpart, shows no person or number agreement:

(22)	avə=ro	aslan	pul	ni	(Anb)
	PP.3SG.OBL=for	at.all	money.DIR	NEG.COP.3SG	

"He/she doesn't have money at all."

(23)	čəmə	pul=əm	ni	(Lan)
	POSS.1SG	money.DIR=ENC.1SG	NEG.COP.3SG	

"I have no money."

As (22) and (23) show, the possessor-licensing patterns established above hold under negation without alteration: the Anbarāni example marks the possessor via *ro* alone, while the Lankarāni example shows the possessive pronoun obligatorily doubled by the enclitic, exactly as in the affirmative (Section 5.2).

Past tense is formed with *hestbe* (Lan)/*hestbə* (Anb), in which the existential stem *hest-* combines with *-be*/*-bə*, the third person singular past form of the copula *be* "to be". Despite this etymological composition, the resulting form is invariable for all persons and numbers, a frozen third-singular agreement rather than a productive one; in Lankarāni, the enclitic may split the stem from this past-tense marker, just as it splits *hest-* from the present copula –e (Section 5.2):

(24)	vāxti	hərdan	b-im	ila=m	arusak
	when	child.DIR	be.II-1SG	CL=ENC.1SG	doll.DIR
	hest=b-ə	(Anb)			
	exist.ST=be.II-3SG				

"When I was a child, I had a doll."

(25) čə Ali Soltān-i gəlay zoa=š
of Ali Soltan-OBL CL boy.DIR=ENC.3SG

hest=b-e (Lan)
exist.ST=be.II-3SG

"Ali Soltan had a son."

(26) hest=əšon=b-e də kina də zoa (Lan)
exist.ST=ENC.3PL=be.II-3SG two girl.DIR two boy.DIR

"They had two daughters (and) two sons."

Example (24) shows the Anbarāni enclitic-only strategy (Section 5.1) extended to the past tense, with *-m* attaching to the classifier *ila*. Example (25) shows the Lankarāni obligatory doubling (Section 5.2) likewise unaffected by tense. Example (26) further confirms that the enclitic may split the existential stem from the past-tense marker in exactly the same way it splits *hest-* from the present copula *-e* (Section 5.2); as in Anbarāni's enclitic-only strategy, no overt possessor phrase is present in the clause, and the possessor — "they" — is recovered from the enclitic *əšon* alone. Note also that *hestəšonbe* shows no agreement with the plural possessee (*də kina*, *də zoa* "two daughters, two sons"), consistent with the invariability of the existential stem observed throughout this section.

For negative past possession, the negator combines with the past copula exactly as in ordinary negative past clauses: *nəbe* is simply the third person singular negative past of *be* "to be" (cf. *nəbim* "I was not", *nəbiš* "you were not", *nəbe* 'it/he/she was not', etc.), used here as the negative existential predicate. As with the affirmative *hestbə/hestbe* discussed above, the form remains invariant regardless of the person and number of the possessor or possessee; this is attested for Lankarāni, where the obligatory possessive-pronoun-plus-enclitic strategy again holds without alteration:

(27) čay hič gəla dust=əš nə=b-e (Lan)
POSS.3SG none CL friend.DIR=ENC.3SG NEG=be.II-3SG

"He/she didn't have any friend."

No corresponding example is attested for Anbarāni in the present corpus; there is no reason to expect the pattern to differ, given that negative present and past-tense affirmative possession both behave regularly in that dialect (22, 24), but the gap should be closed through further elicitation.

In both dialects, then, negation and past tense are morphologically independent of, and do not interact with, the possessor-licensing system itself: whatever strategy licenses possession in the simple affirmative present

— *ro* and/or enclitic in Anbarāni, oblique/*čə* possessor plus obligatory enclitic in Lankarāni — carries over unchanged under negation and under past-tense marking.

5.4 Discussion

The two Northern Talyshi dialects examined here instantiate two structurally distinct predicative possessive constructions. Anbarāni employs a goal-schema construction (Heine 1997: 47, Paul's (2011) "external possessor construction"), in which the possessor is marked by the postposition *ro* — continuing a pattern already attested in Middle Iranian (cf. the Middle Persian *rāy*-construction; Mohammadirad 2020: 505) and shared with Central Talyshi *rā* (Mohammadirad 2020: 508). Lankarāni, by contrast, employs a genitive-schema construction, in which the possessor is marked by the oblique case alone, optionally reinforced by *čə* — formally identical to the attributive possessive strategies described in Section 4.1 and Section 4.2 — with the existential predicate obligatorily cross-referencing the possessor via an enclitic pronoun. The postposition *ro* is categorically unattested in Lankarāni predicative possession.

This division bears on the classification proposed by Mohammadirad (2020: 508), who groups "Northern Taleshi" as a whole under the genitive-schema type on the basis of a single example, *šâš gəlam bəva heste* "I have six brothers" (Paul 2011: 222) — a reasonable choice given that his study surveys predicative possession across some thirty Western Iranian languages and could not undertake dedicated fieldwork on each. That example, however, is drawn from a passage in Paul (2011) illustrating the mobility of enclitic pronouns within numeral phrases (§4.10.3-adjacent material), where its possessive meaning is incidental to the point being made, rather than from Paul's dedicated treatment of possession (§6.11.6, 330), where the Anbarāni construction he identifies as characteristic is instead *ro*-marked. The present data, together with Paul's own description, suggest that Anbarāni is better analyzed as a goal-schema language, patterning with Central Talyshi rather than with the genitive-schema type; Northern Talyshi as a whole, rather than forming a single type, appears to split along the Anbarāni–Lankarāni line into goal-schema and genitive-schema types respectively. For the Northern Talyshi varieties of the Republic of Azerbaijan, no description of predicative possession, in any form, has previously existed; the Lankarāni construction reported here is accordingly new to the literature.

The two dialects also diverge in the grammatical status of the resumptive enclitic: optional in Anbarāni, where it may double an overt *ro*-marked possessor or stand alone in its place, but obligatory in Lankarāni, where it co-occurs with the possessor regardless of how the latter is expressed. This

obligatoriness closely parallels the predicative possessive construction of Azerbaijani, in which a genitive-marked possessor pronoun co-occurs with an obligatory possessive-agreement suffix on the possessee before the existential particle *var* (e.g., *mənim maşınım var* "I have a car", lit. "my car-my exists"). The parallel extends to the pronominal possessor itself: just as Lankarāni recruits its possessive pronouns — rather than bare personal pronouns, as in Anbarāni — into the predicative construction, Azerbaijani possessive constructions are built on the genitive-marked personal pronoun. The structural convergence between Lankarāni and Azerbaijani, absent from Anbarāni, is consistent with contact-induced reinforcement of an obligatory possessor-agreement mechanism under sustained Azerbaijani influence — though, since no comparable "have"-verb or Turkic morphological material has been borrowed, the effect appears to be one of pattern replication rather than lexical or morphological transfer (cf. Matras and Sakel 2007). Considered alongside Southern Talyshi, which has independently developed a "have"-verb possessive construction from *dâštan* (Paul 2011: 330, Mohammadirad 2020: 508), the three dialects trace a cline from goal-schema "be"-possession (Anbarāni, Central Talyshi) through genitive-schema "be"-possession (Lankarāni) to full "have"-possession (Southern Talyshi) — a cline that does not track the traditional Northern/Central/Southern dialect classification directly, but appears sensitive to the possessive typology of the contact language at each point along it.

6. Conclusions

This paper has provided the first systematic account of possessive constructions in two Northern Talyshi dialects, Anbarāni and Lankarāni. In the attributive domain, both dialects share the same three strategies — oblique marking of the possessor, the facultative preposition *čə*, and a set of possessive pronouns historically derived from *čə* plus a personal pronoun — with the principal difference lying in the productivity of *čə*, which is rare in Anbarāni, and in the shape of the absolute possessive pronouns, where Anbarāni uses the inherited suffix *-(n)i* and Lankarāni the contact-induced Azerbaijani *-ki*.

In the predicative domain, previously almost undocumented, the two dialects diverge more sharply. Anbarāni employs a goal-schema construction, in which the possessor is marked by the postposition *ro* and an existential predicate; Lankarāni employs a genitive-schema construction, in which the possessor is marked by the oblique case, optionally reinforced by *čə*, and is obligatorily cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun on the invariable existential *heste*. Negation and past tense operate identically in both dialects, substituting into the existing construction without introducing new possessor-marking strategies. This divergence does not follow the traditional

tripartite dialect classification of Talyshi; rather, it aligns with the predicative possessive typology of each dialect's dominant contact language — Persian for Anbarāni, Azerbaijani for Lankarāni — with the Lankarāni construction in particular showing a close structural parallel to the Azerbaijani genitive-plus-agreement pattern.

These results carry two broader implications. First, they refine the place of Northern Talyshi in the typology of Western Iranian predicative possession: Anbarāni is better grouped with Central Talyshi as a goal-schema "be"-language, and Northern Talyshi as a whole cannot be treated as typologically uniform. Considered together with the "have"-possession of Southern Talyshi, the Talyshi dialects trace a cline across all the major Western Iranian possessive types, sensitive to contact rather than to genealogical subgrouping. Second, they add to the evidence that predicative possession is a domain particularly susceptible to contact-induced restructuring in Iranian. Several questions remain open for further fieldwork: whether the Anbarāni negative past patterns as predicted, how the Azerbaijani Talyshi varieties beyond Lankarāni behave, and where exactly along the goal–genitive–"have" cline the transitional Southern varieties fall. A fuller areal picture of possession across the Talyshi dialect continuum, integrating the Iranian and Azerbaijani varieties on both sides of the border, remains a task for future research.

Abbreviations

Ø	zero morpheme	EP	epenthetic sound
1/2/3	first/second/third person	INF	infinitive
I	stem I (present stem)	Lan	Lankarāni
II	stem II (past stem)	NEG	negation
ABS	absolute	OBL	oblique case
Anb	Anbarāni	PL	plural
ATTR	attributive marker	POSS	possessive pronoun
CL	classifier	PP	personal pronoun
COP	copula	PPTC	past participle
DEB	debitive	REFL	reflexive pronoun
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	SG	singular
DIR	direct case	ST	stem
ENC	enclitic pronoun		

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Identifying *Daš Maštis* in Pre-Revolutionary Iranian Cinema: A Linguistic-Semiotic Study

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Abstract: This study investigates the semiotic and linguistic construction of *daš maštis*, urban masculine figures that became prominent in mid-twentieth-century Iranian popular cinema, within the broader cultural, social, and historical framework of *Film-Farsi*. Drawing upon the theoretical insights of Christian Metz, Roland Barthes, and Mikhail Bakhtin, the article examines how cinematic language produces ideology through sign systems, embodied gestures, and vernacular speech. Through close analysis of canonical films such as *Qaysar* (1969), *Daš Akol* (1971), and other representative works, the study demonstrates that the *daš mašti* functions simultaneously as a linguistic, moral, and cultural signifier. Specifically, it investigates linguistic features such as phonological variation, lexical creativity, idiomatic expressions, pragmatic markers of solidarity, and stylistic deviations from standard Persian, showing how these elements construct group identity and perform masculinity on screen. Employing a linguistic-semiotic approach, the study reveals that the *daš mašti* embodies a hybrid discourse, a synthesis of urban colloquial speech, moral codes associated with *javanmardi*, and performative markers of masculinity, that mediates between cinematic representation and social norms. Ultimately, the article argues that the *daš mašti* in pre-revolutionary Iranian cinema is not merely a cinematic archetype or folkloric trope but a complex socio-linguistic construct through which cultural identity, morality, and ideology are articulated and negotiated.

Keywords: Daš mašti; Film-Farsi; heteroglossia; iconization; Iranian cinema; javanmardi, semiotics.

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1. Introduction

French film theorist Christian Metz (1974) famously proposed that "the study of cinema should derive methods from linguistics," asserting that cinema operates as a language in which each shot functions as a unit within a syntagmatic chain. Following this paradigm, Iranian pre-revolutionary cinema, particularly the *Film-Farsi* genre, provides a rich corpus through which to examine how cinematic signs construct social and moral meaning. Within this framework, the *daš mašti*, a distinctly urban, lower-class male figure prominent between the 1950s and 1970s, emerges as a complex semiotic and linguistic signifier.

The present study investigates the *daš mašti* as a cultural-linguistic phenomenon, analyzing how this archetype conveys ideological and social meanings through both visual and verbal codes. It applies linguistic and semiotic theories to the analysis of cinematic sequences, exploring how the *daš mašti*'s gestures, clothing, speech, and interactions produce a system of signs that embody moral values, class identities, and social tensions in pre-revolutionary Iran.

The objective is twofold: first, to trace the linguistic features and vernacular associated with *daš maštis*; and second, to examine how filmic language (through montage, sound, and mise-en-scène) reproduces these features to construct an ideological narrative. Through a semiotic reading of selected films, this article situates *daš maštis* as linguistic subjects within a socio-historical continuum of Iranian masculinity, morality, and urban subculture.

2. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative, interpretive approach that combines close textual and semiotic reading with a synthesis of the existing descriptive literature on southern-Tehran urban vernacular. It is not a corpus-linguistic or sociophonetic study, and this scope should be understood as a considered methodological choice rather than an oversight.

The semiotic analysis developed in Sections 6 and 7 is based on a small, purposive corpus of two canonical *Film-Farsi* productions directed by Masoud Kimiai, *Qaysar* (1969) and *Daš Akol* (1971), selected because they are the works most consistently identified in the film-historical literature (Issari 1989, Naficy 2011, Moridi and Shahvaroughi Farahani 2023) as paradigmatic instances of the *daš mašti* archetype. These two films are read closely for their visual, musical, and dialogic construction of the *daš mašti*, drawing on repeated viewing of the films themselves alongside the published film-historical scholarship cited throughout this article.

The phonological, morphological, lexical, and pragmatic forms discussed in Section 6 are drawn from the existing descriptive and lexicographic literature on *daš mašti* and *jaheli* speech rather than from an original transcription and coding of film dialogue undertaken specifically for this study. They are treated here as attested features of the register that the two focal films are argued to evoke and stylize, not as data independently measured from those films' soundtracks. The semiotic readings of *Qaysar* and *Daš Akol* offered in Section 7 are the author's own interpretive analysis of specific scenes, dialogue, costume, and music, and should accordingly be read as one plausible reading among others rather than as an exhaustive or statistically representative account of the *Film-Farsi* genre as a whole.

This scope is a limitation as much as a method. A corpus-based study systematically transcribing dialogue across a larger sample of *Film-Farsi* films, with inter-rater coding of the linguistic features discussed in Section 6 and, where recordings permit, acoustic measurement of the prosodic patterns described impressionistically in this article, would be needed to test the interpretive claims advanced here empirically; this possibility is returned to in the Conclusion.

3. Literature Review

The intersection of linguistics and film semiotics has been explored in foundational works by Metz (1974), Barthes (1977), and Eco (1976), who viewed cinema as a structured system of signs analogous to language. Their structuralist framework provides the theoretical basis for understanding cinematic meaning as emerging not only from verbal language but also from visual composition, gesture, and other non-verbal signifying practices. In the Iranian context, however, the linguistic dimension of cinematic representation has often been overshadowed by socio-political and ideological analyses. While scholars such as Naficy (2011) and Mottahedeh (2008) have extensively studied post-revolutionary cinema and its discourses of modernity, and Moridi and Shahvaroughi Farahani (2023: 40–45) have more recently offered a discourse-analytic account of the *jahel*, *loti*, and *kolāh makhmali* figure across the Second Pahlavi era, there remains a relative scarcity of linguistic-semiotic research specifically on pre-revolutionary *Film-Farsi* dialogue. Golchinnezhad and Afrouz (2022: 258–262) have shown, in a sociolinguistic study of Persian film dubbing, that *jaheli* speech continues to be treated by present-day audiences and translators as a recognizable, class-marked variety associated with working-class male characters, evidence that the register discussed in this article has a documented afterlife beyond the pre-revolutionary period itself.

Within Iranian film scholarship, the *daš mašti* and *jahel* figures have primarily been discussed as moral, political, or class archetypes (Issari 1989,

Moridi and Shahvaroughi Farahani 2023), but not as linguistic phenomena. This gap provides a compelling space for the present study, which examines the linguistic and semiotic patterns through which *daš maštis* articulate cultural identity.

In sociolinguistic terms, the *daš mašti* vernacular constitutes a "restricted code" (Bernstein, 1971), a language variety shaped by social boundaries and group solidarity. It contains phonological, morphological, and lexical deviations from standard Persian that signify membership in a specific socio-cultural community, southern Tehran's working-class neighborhoods. This paper therefore situates *daš mašti* speech within the frameworks of register theory (Halliday 1978) and identity construction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

The semiotic component of this study builds on the structuralist concept of cinematic language as an articulation of ideological meaning (Voloshinov, 1973). The *daš mašti*'s speech and actions serve as "signs of social evaluation," in Voloshinov's sense, encoding cultural attitudes toward honor, masculinity, and class hierarchy. By applying a linguistic-semiotic lens, this research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how cinematic representations of vernacular speech shape collective memory and national identity.

4. Theoretical Framework: Film as a Linguistic System

Christian Metz's seminal theory of *le langage du cinéma* remains central to the present analysis, as it provides a structuralist foundation for understanding the ways in which film operates as a system of signification. (Metz 1974: 28) argued that cinema, like language, possesses both syntagmatic and paradigmatic dimensions: the syntagmatic referring to the sequential organization of shots within a narrative chain, and the paradigmatic referring to the selection of images, motifs, and editing choices available within a given cinematic code. Through this analogy, cinematic meaning emerges not merely from individual visual units but from their relational configuration within broader narrative and ideological structures. In this sense, each shot, sequence, or montage functions as a syntagm whose combinatory potential constructs what Metz calls a "filmic discourse." The *daš mašti* figure, therefore, can be read as a recurrent cinematic sign whose meaning is constituted by its position within a network of oppositions, between virtue and vice, modernity and tradition, or urban sophistication and moral authenticity.

Building on Metz, Roland Barthes's semiological model of multiple levels of signification further refines this interpretive framework. Barthes (1977: 45) distinguished between *denotation*, the literal, representational content of an image, and *connotation*, the cultural, ideological, and affective meanings that accrue through social codes and intertextual associations. Applying

Barthes's model to Iranian *Film-Farsi*, and specifically to the *daš mašti* subgenre, reveals that these films operate simultaneously across several semiotic strata. On the denotative level, they depict urban spaces, working-class male protagonists, and familiar social environments. Yet on the connotative level, they articulate complex ideological narratives of moral heroism, nostalgia for pre-modern communal values, and resistance to perceived moral decay. The *daš mašti* character thus becomes a mythic condensation of collective longing, a symbolic response to the tensions produced by rapid modernization and social transformation in mid-20th-century Iran.

Valentin Voloshinov's (1973:187) Marxist theory of the sign provides a further ideological dimension to this semiotic analysis. His assertion that "wherever a sign is present, ideology is present too" foregrounds the inseparability of language, signification, and socio-political struggle. From this perspective, the *daš mašti* is not a neutral cultural archetype but a discursive construct through which ideological contradictions are materialized. The recurring gestures, costumes, and idiomatic expressions associated with the *daš mašti* operate as semiotic vehicles of resistance and moral critique. They encode the aspirations of subaltern masculinity and the ethical values of neighborhood solidarity, while simultaneously revealing anxieties about moral corruption, Westernization, and the erosion of traditional codes of honor.

Complementing these perspectives, Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981:121) concept of *heteroglossia* illuminates the dialogic and polyphonic nature of *Film-Farsi*. Bakhtin emphasized that every utterance exists within a field of social voices, each carrying distinct ideological inflections. Within *Film-Farsi*, the *daš mašti* discourse interacts with competing registers: the refined diction of the bourgeois elite, the sentimental voice of melodrama, and the popular idioms of the working class. The *daš mašti*'s vernacular, deeply rooted in the argot of the urban poor, introduces a subversive linguistic energy that destabilizes dominant cultural hierarchies. Through its dialogic structure, *Film-Farsi* thus becomes a site where multiple ideological positions coexist and contest one another, producing what Bakhtin termed the "carnivalesque inversion" of social order.

In synthesis, these theoretical frameworks collectively enable a reading of the *daš mašti* not merely as a character type but as a semiotic and ideological formation. Through the interplay of syntagmatic structure (Metz 1974), multi-level signification (Barthes 1977), ideological materiality of signs (Voloshinov 1973), and dialogic multiplicity (Bakhtin 1981), the *daš mašti* emerges as a locus of cultural negotiation, a cinematic embodiment of Iran's conflicted encounter with modernity, morality, and identity.

5. Historical and Cultural Context: The *Daš Mašti* and *Film-Farsi*

The *daš mašti* archetype is not merely a folkloric construct but a historically sedimented cultural formation rooted in the moral and linguistic universe of Iran's urban lower classes. Its origins can be traced to the working-class quarters of southern Tehran, particularly the districts of Sangelaj, Pamenar, and Rey, where neighborhood solidarity, pahlavāni (heroic athleticism), and the ethics of *javanmardi* (manly virtue) coalesced into a distinct urban code of conduct. Emerging during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods, the *daš mašti* represented a subcultural identity structured around three key virtues: *javanmardi* (moral courage and generosity), *morovvat* (chivalric magnanimity), and *namusdāri* (protection of family and communal honor). These ideals combined physical toughness with a moral sensibility that privileged loyalty to one's neighborhood, defense of the weak, and deference to women's chastity, values that were simultaneously ethical, performative, and spatially embedded within the *mahalleh* (urban neighborhood).

The historical lineage of the *daš mašti* reaches back to earlier Persian social institutions such as the *ayyārān* (chivalric adventurers) and the *futuwwat* brotherhoods, whose origins lie in medieval Sufi orders that fused martial discipline with spiritual self-cultivation. The *ayyārān* embodied a proto-national ethos of honor, bravery, and altruism, later transformed into the *futuwwat-nāmeh* literature that codified moral and professional conduct for guilds and artisans. As Iran underwent processes of urbanization and modernization during the nineteenth century, these moral ideals were refracted through new socio-economic realities. The *daš mašti* evolved into an ambivalent figure: celebrated as a local protector and moral exemplar, yet also feared as an unruly street tough (*obāsh*, *chāqū-kesh*). This duality, between heroism and delinquency, reflected the contradictions of a rapidly transforming society negotiating the erosion of traditional authority and the incursion of state modernity.

The Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1911 marked a critical moment in the politicization of the *daš mašti*. Members of this subcultural milieu were mobilized by rival factions, their allegiances shifting between nationalist reformers and royalist conservatives. Figures such as Shaban Ja'fari (popularly known as Shaban Bi Mokh) epitomized this instrumentalization of urban masculinity, embodying both populist charisma and political opportunism. The 1953 coup d'état further crystallized this dynamic, as *daš maštis* were co-opted by state and clerical powers as enforcers of moral and political order, turning the once-autonomous urban moral code into a performative apparatus of authority.

The emergence of *Film-Farsi* in the 1950s and 1960s provided a crucial cinematic space for the rearticulation of the *daš mašti* mythos within modern mass culture. Often dismissed by critics as a commercialized, formulaic

genre, *Film-Farsi* in fact served as a vital arena for negotiating Iran's cultural anxieties regarding authenticity, modernity, and class identity. Within this cinematic matrix, the *daš mašti* was reimagined as a morally complex yet charismatic hero, an urban paladin whose rustic ethics contrasted sharply with the effete and Westernized *fokoli* (urban dandy). The *fokoli–daš mašti* opposition thus functioned as a central semiotic binary, dramatizing the broader tension between local cultural integrity and Western cultural intrusion.

In films such as *Qaysar* (Masoud Kimiai, 1969) and *Daš Akol* (Masoud Kimiai, 1971), the *daš mašti* emerged as a locus of moral resistance within a society perceived as corrupted by consumerism and moral decay. Kimiai's cinematic language transformed the archetype from a folkloric remnant into a tragic modern hero, caught between loyalty to traditional codes and the inevitability of social change. His sartorial markers (felt hat, dark suit, dagger), performative gestures (controlled aggression, stylized gait), and linguistic register (vernacular Tehran dialect) together produce a cinematic semiotics of authenticity. These embodied signs function as what Roland Barthes would call *mythologies*, codes that naturalize ideological meaning by fusing moral virtue with cultural nostalgia.

The *daš mašti*'s continued resonance within Iranian cultural memory underscores its ideological elasticity. At once a product of the urban underclass and a moral emblem appropriated by national culture, it occupies a liminal position between myth and modernity. Through the cinematic mediation of *Film-Farsi*, the *daš mašti* becomes not only a character type but also a moral discourse, a site where Iranian modernity confronts its own ethical and historical contradictions.

6. Linguistic Features of the *Daš Mašti* Vernacular

The linguistic identity of the *daš mašti* represents a central semiotic dimension of his cinematic construction and social intelligibility. Far from being a neutral vehicle of communication, the *daš mašti*'s speech functions as a highly codified sociolect, one that simultaneously delineates class belonging, moral orientation, and affective stance. As a product of Tehran's southern districts, this vernacular variety diverges markedly from the standardized register of Persian associated with education, bureaucracy, and the cultural elite. Phonologically, it features consonantal simplifications and vowel reductions that index informality and immediacy; morphologically, it employs diminutive and emphatic suffixes that convey affective intensity; syntactically, it favors parataxis and repetition over subordination, creating a rhythm of orality that mirrors street discourse. Lexically, it incorporates argot (*zabān-e kuče*) terms and idiomatic expressions specific to male camaraderie, local honor codes, and neighborhood solidarity.

In sociolinguistic terms, this speech pattern operates as what (Eckert 2008: 67) defines as an "indexical field": a constellation of semiotic resources that evoke specific social meanings through recurrent linguistic forms. Within this field, the *daš mašti*'s vernacular indexes authenticity, masculinity, and emotional integrity, positioning him in opposition to the effeminate, foreignized speech of the *fokoli*. Such indexicality is performative in the Butlerian sense, it does not merely represent identity but actively constitutes it through repeated linguistic acts. Each utterance, laden with colloquial humor, hyperbole, and moral invocation, becomes an enactment of *javanmardi* (manly virtue) and *morovvat* (chivalric decency).

The performative force of the *daš mašti*'s language is further accentuated by its cinematic mediation. On screen, dialect becomes an auditory signifier of social and moral geography. Directors such as Masoud Kimiai, Ali Hatami, and Davoud Mollapour exploited the expressive power of vernacular speech to encode authenticity and emotional proximity. The *daš mašti*'s dialect not only situates him within the urban underclass but also functions as a moral chronotope, a temporal and spatial condensation of pre-modern ethical values recontextualized in modern cinematic language. Through intonation, pacing, and idiomatic turns of phrase, the *daš mašti*'s speech conveys sincerity and honor in a way that the polished enunciation of the bourgeois characters cannot.

In semiotic terms, the *daš mašti*'s sociolect functions as a system of what Bakhtin (1981:89) would call *heteroglossia*, wherein language becomes a site of ideological struggle between competing voices. Within *Film-Farsi*, the coexistence of the *daš mašti*'s colloquial register and the standard Persian of the elite generates a dialogic tension that dramatizes class conflict and cultural duality. This heteroglossic interaction transforms the filmic dialogue into a linguistic battleground where moral and social hierarchies are both articulated and contested. The *daš mašti*'s voice thus acquires metonymic significance: it stands for the voice of the subaltern, the vernacular conscience of the nation, resisting the homogenizing pressures of modernity and Westernization.

Ultimately, the linguistic repertoire of the *daš mašti* operates as both a marker of social identity and a cinematic trope of authenticity. Its stylized realism bridges the gap between folklore and film, oral culture and visual narrative. In the symbolic economy of *Film-Farsi*, to speak like a *daš mašti* is to embody a moral language of belonging, a language in which pronunciation, rhythm, and idiom become the very texture of virtue and resistance. Viewed through the combined lenses of semiotics, sociolinguistics, and film theory, the *daš mašti*'s linguistic performance emerges as a crucial site where cinematic form and social ideology intersect: in the sense proposed by (Metz 1974: 67), his speech operates as a syntagmatic unit within the filmic

discourse, a narrative sign whose relational position constructs meaning beyond its immediate dialogue, while Voloshinov's (1973: 146) insight that "every sign is an arena of class struggle" finds concrete manifestation in the way the *daš mašti*'s vernacular becomes a socially charged sign that materializes ideology in the texture of speech itself.

6.1 Phonological Variation

The phonological profile of *daš mašti* speech constitutes one of the most salient markers of its semiotic distinctiveness within Iranian popular culture. Phonological variation here operates not merely as a linguistic deviation from the standard but as a socially meaningful stylistic practice that encodes masculinity, locality, and authenticity. The most prominent feature is vowel raising before nasal consonants, where long /a:/ and mid /o/ shift to /u/, as in *na:n* → *nun* and *pahlevān* → *pahlevun*. Although this process occurs sporadically across many colloquial Persian varieties, its systematic and exaggerated deployment in *daš mašti* speech functions as a socio-indexical signal of in-group solidarity. It marks the speaker's affiliation with the urban vernacular of southern Tehran while simultaneously rejecting the phonological precision associated with formal or bourgeois registers.

Equally notable is the tendency toward vowel and syllable deletion, exemplified in forms such as *dadašešim* (from *dadaše u hastim*), where contraction and lengthening occur within a single prosodic unit; *eštebāh* → *ešteb* ("mistake"); and *daghighe* → *daghghe* ("minute"). Note that this last pair of examples is a phonological rather than a morphological process in the strict sense: what is deleted is an internal vowel and syllable boundary, not a grammatical formative, so the word's category and argument structure are unaffected, even though the resulting form is shorter. This feature compresses the phonological shape of the word, producing what might be termed a "rhythmic contraction" that characterizes the oral performance of *daš mašti* identity. The alternation between contraction and vowel lengthening within the same phonological space generates a distinctive prosodic rhythm, one that conveys emotional immediacy, intimacy, and controlled aggression. These phonetic gestures align with the performative dimension of *daš mašti* masculinity, where rhythm, tone, and pacing carry as much semiotic weight as lexical content.

Consonantal variation further amplifies the distinctiveness of this register. Processes such as metathesis (*Ghofl* → *Gholf*), voicing alternation, and final consonant elision (*mast* → *mas*, *gušt* → *guš*) reflect a dynamic phonological economy aimed at communicative efficiency and oral fluidity. The frequent deletion of /h/, as in *Mehdi* → *Mehti* → *Meyti*, parallels similar elision patterns in other colloquial dialects but acquires distinct social meaning in the *daš mašti* context due to its consistency and performative emphasis. The

resulting phonetic texture, dense, rhythmic, and throaty, constructs a recognizable auditory icon of working-class speech.

The prosodic dimension of *daš mašti* speech is particularly revealing in its indexical function. Native speakers often describe this speech style as *bād dar gelu andākhtan* ("placing weight in the throat"), a vocal posture that produces a lowered pitch and guttural resonance. This phonation type operates as a form of embodied semiotics: the physical act of speaking "from the throat" iconically represents strength, confidence, and defiance. The effect is one of assertive masculinity, what (Irvine and Gal 2000: 56) might term an "iconization" of gendered and social attributes through linguistic form. In cinematic representation, such vocal stylization serves as an auditory cue that instantly anchors the *daš mašti* character within his social and moral universe.

From a linguistic anthropological perspective, the *daš mašti* phonological style exemplifies what Silverstein (2003: 92) terms a "second-order index", a higher-level metapragmatic association through which phonetic features come to signify ideological and affective meanings. The low, resonant voice and modified vowel patterns do not merely signal regional or class identity; they perform moral authenticity and virile integrity. In this sense, phonology functions as a site where cultural ideology becomes acoustically materialized. The *daš mašti*'s speech thus bridges the gap between linguistic form and social performance, between sound and ethics, making phonological variation a vital semiotic resource in the cinematic articulation of Iranian masculinity.

6.2 Morphological and Lexical Innovations

Morphological variation constitutes one of the most salient linguistic features that differentiates the *daš mašti* vernacular from standard Persian. Beyond the phonological reductions discussed in Section 6.1 above, which shorten a word's phonological shape without altering its grammatical category, *daš mašti* speech also reflects a genuinely morphological tendency toward creative restructuring, most clearly seen in the reduplication patterns discussed below. This process functions as a marker of in-group identity: it is not merely a matter of articulation efficiency but a semiotic strategy of solidarity, signaling shared familiarity and resistance to the formalism of standard Persian. Such forms are rarely encountered in other Tehrani sociolects, underscoring the *daš mašti* register's status as a restricted linguistic code, a term borrowed from Basil Bernstein's (1971) sociolinguistic typology, referring to language varieties that reinforce communal intimacy and social cohesion.

Another recurrent morphological and stylistic device is reduplication and *etbā* (a playful repetition or consonantal alteration). In *daš mašti* discourse,

reduplication often serves to amplify meaning, create rhythmic emphasis, or convey irony and ridicule. Examples such as *nun mun* ("bread and similar things"), *derakht merakht* ("trees and the like"), and *chert o pert* or *kharj barj* ("nonsense") demonstrate how sound patterning becomes an instrument of expressivity. These paired structures, while semantically light, perform important pragmatic and affective functions: they dramatize speech, signal emotional stance, and animate everyday conversation with performative energy. In this respect, *daš mašti* reduplication mirrors oral traditions of popular Persian storytelling and street performance, where rhythm and repetition heighten memorability and audience engagement.

The lexical repertoire of the *daš mašti* register further underscores its role as an urban argot, a coded vocabulary used to demarcate insiders from outsiders. Lexical items such as *dokhmal* (for *dokhtar*, "girl"), *tilif* ("telephone"), *tilgherab* ("telegraph"), and *otol* ("automobile") exemplify a blend of phonological adaptation, truncation, and parody of foreign loans. Such playful manipulations simultaneously domesticate modern or foreign terms and reassert linguistic autonomy in the face of modernization and Westernization pressures during early twentieth-century Tehran. On the surface, these transformations appear humorous or whimsical; yet, beneath their comic veneer lies a sociopolitical dimension, a linguistic resistance to elitist norms and a celebration of vernacular creativity as cultural capital.

Equally significant is the idiomatic dimension of *daš mašti* speech, which encodes moral and behavioral frameworks specific to this subcultural milieu. Expressions like *tigh keshidan* ("self-wounding for deceit"), *tigh zadan* ("taking money deceitfully"), *ketf band kardan* ("defeating someone physically"), and *gardun amadan* ("acting boldly or assertively") operate as condensed moral signifiers. They encapsulate a distinct ethical system rooted in *javanmardi*—the chivalric code of masculinity, courage, and honor, as well as the pragmatics of streetwise cunning. In these idioms, lexical economy fuses with symbolic density, allowing short, colloquial phrases to convey layered meanings about power, trust, and reputation. Thus, the *daš mašti* lexicon emerges not merely as slang, but as a moral-linguistic system that articulates the social values and behavioral expectations of its speakers.

6.3 Syntax and Pragmatic Markers

The *daš mašti* speech style is characterized by a marked preference for short, paratactic constructions over complex syntactic embedding. This tendency toward syntactic simplicity and clause chaining reflects both the oral foundation of the register and its emphasis on immediacy and emotional transparency. In *daš mašti* discourse, meaning unfolds through a succession of brief, self-contained utterances—each delivered with rhythm and forcerather than through hypotactic subordination typical of formal or

literary Persian. Such syntactic economy does not indicate linguistic deficiency; rather, it serves a functional and stylistic purpose: to foreground the speaker's presence and authority, to maintain conversational tempo, and to facilitate audience engagement in both spontaneous street interaction and cinematic representation. This preference for parataxis over subordination is consistent with a broader tendency in colloquial spoken Persian, where subordination is comparatively rare and clauses are more often juxtaposed than hypotactically embedded (Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 445–448); the *daš mašti* register can be read as intensifying, rather than departing from, this general colloquial pattern. Three concrete patterns illustrate the point. Subject and copula are frequently omitted where context recovers them, as in *nemixām* for *man nemixām*, "[I] don't want [it]"; finite clauses are chained with a bare *va* ("and") or simply juxtaposed rather than subordinated, as in *raftam, didamesh, zadam*, "I went, I saw him, I hit [him]," where three finite clauses stand in sequence with no connective; and vocative or imperative tags are frequently placed after, rather than embedded within, the main clause, as in *boro, baba, boro!*, "go on, man, go!," where the address term *baba* interrupts the syntax rather than modifying it.

In cinematic dialogue, this brevity enhances performativity. Because *daš mašti* speech often relies on intonation, rhythm, and gesture as communicative vehicles, syntactic compression allows these nonverbal modalities to assume greater semiotic weight. In other words, when a *daš mašti* character delivers a line, its full communicative force is carried not solely by verbal content but also by prosody, facial expression, and bodily stance. This interplay between linguistic minimalism and physical expressivity aligns with the performative traditions of Tehran's popular culture, particularly the *ru-hozi* theater and street performance, where dialogue functions as a vehicle of embodiment and moral assertion rather than abstract narration.

From a pragmatic perspective, *daš mašti* discourse is rich in repetition, interjections, and diminutive honorifics, which collectively construct the register's affective and relational tone. Repetitive patterns (e.g., *baba, baba!* or *befarma, befarma*) serve as emphatic and rhythmic devices, reinforcing urgency, persuasion, or affection. Interjections such as *boro baba!* ("come on!" or "get out of here!") function as stance-taking markers, expressing emotional evaluation and managing interpersonal boundaries. The frequent use of honorific diminutives such as *-jun* and *-am* (*maman-jun*, *dada-am*) indexes solidarity, affection, and emotional involvement, softening potentially confrontational exchanges and reaffirming social bonds within the masculine ethics of *javanmardi*.

Linguistically, these pragmatic features operate as what Du Bois (2007) conceptualizes as "stance markers", elements through which speakers

position themselves, evaluate others, and construct social identity. The *daš mašti* stance, in this framework, is both performative and moralistic: it foregrounds directness, protection, loyalty, and honor as key components of social identity. Speech becomes an enactment of ethical posture rather than mere information exchange. This performative stance also aligns closely with the *daš mašti* cinematic persona, figures whose speech and gesture communicate *javanmardi* values through tone, timing, and bodily expressivity.

In cinematic contexts, such pragmatic strategies play a crucial role in audience comprehension and emotional response. The combination of syntactic economy, rhythmic repetition, and affective intonation ensures that meaning is conveyed through sound, movement, and relational cues as much as through lexical content. The *daš mašti* way of speaking, therefore, embodies a semiotic totality, a fusion of linguistic, prosodic, and gestural signs that together project a coherent cultural identity. It exemplifies how language, in the urban popular sphere, functions as performance: a tool for asserting moral authority, emotional authenticity, and social solidarity within a visually and aurally mediated space.

7. Semiotic Analysis of Filmic Representation

Film, as (Christian Metz 1974: 143) famously argued, operates through the syntagmatic organization of visual and auditory signs, each functioning like a unit within a broader cinematic "language." Meaning in film thus emerges not from isolated images or sounds, but from their combinatory sequence, where narrative, editing, sound, and gesture coalesce to form a coherent semiotic structure. Within this framework, the *Film-Farsi* tradition of the 1950s–1970s offers a particularly rich site for analyzing how linguistic, visual, and musical codes work together to construct social and moral archetypes. Among these, the *daš mašti* figure stands out as a mythic condensation of urban masculinity, a hybrid of the street-wise hero, the protector of the weak, and the moral voice of the lower classes.

The *daš mašti* is not merely represented as a character; he is semiotically produced through a dense network of interrelated codes. Visually, his identity is established through a recognizable iconography, rolled sleeves, open collars, moustaches, prayer beads, or the *kolāh makhmali* hat, signifiers that connote strength, humility, and virile authenticity. Musically, his presence is often accompanied by traditional melodies, *tasnif*-like motifs, or street songs, anchoring him in the auditory world of the bazaar and the alleyway. Linguistically, the *daš mašti* register, replete with paratactic syntax, repetition, and moral idioms, functions as the primary vehicle for articulating his ethical stance. Together, these semiotic layers form a

syntagmatic chain that encodes both class identity and moral ideology, translating social values into aesthetic experience.

Through this interlocking system of signs, *Film-Farsi* constructs the *daš mašti* not simply as a narrative agent but as a symbolic structure, a site where competing cultural discourses, modernization and tradition, virtue and violence, authenticity and artifice, are negotiated. His language, gestures, and music are indexical signs of resistance against cultural alienation and social hierarchy, offering audiences a recognizable moral framework within the rapidly modernizing urban landscape of pre-revolutionary Iran. The *daš mašti* thus functions as a mythic mediator, embodying what Roland Barthes (1977) might call the "naturalization" of ideology: the transformation of social struggle into narrative pleasure, and of vernacular expression into cinematic heroism.

7.1 Visual Codes and Costume Semiotics

The costume of the *daš mašti* operates as a visual sign system derived from the *haft parcheh* tradition, seven emblematic items associated with urban chivalry: the felt hat (*kolah namadi*), long coat (*ghaba*), Yazd handkerchief (*dastmale Yazdi*), dagger (*ghameh*), brass bowl (*jam*), chain (*zanjir*), and handwoven shoes (*giveh*).

Over time, cinematic adaptation modernized these symbols: the *ghaba* transformed into a black suit, the *kolah namadi* into a velvet hat (*kolah makhmali*), and the dagger became a concealed switchblade. This semiotic modernization reflects a paradigmatic shift in Iranian urban identity, preserving the moral essence of *javanmardi* while embedding it within contemporary social realities.

This modernization was not a single, uniform shift but unfolded across the two decades under discussion here. Early *Film-Farsi* of the 1950s retained much of the *haft parcheh* silhouette relatively intact, presenting the *jahel* in loose traditional dress recognizable from earlier popular theater. By the 1960s, the figure sometimes labeled the *jahel-e kolāh-makhmali* had become more codified: an oversized, Western-cut suit worn in place of the *ghaba*, the velvet hat replacing the felt one, and the *giveh* increasingly giving way to polished leather shoes, a combination that marks the character as urban and modernizing even as his speech and conduct remain tied to older neighborhood codes (Moridi and Shahvaroughi Farahani 2023: 42–44). By the *Qaysar–Daš Akol* moment of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Kimiai's direction compresses this costume system further: the *ghaba* becomes a plain black suit or open-collared shirt, the dagger a concealed switchblade, and the hat is frequently dropped altogether in favor of bare-headed, open-shirted dishevelment at moments of violence or emotional exposure, a

stripping-away of ornament that can be read as shifting the locus of authenticity from costume to body.

Physical appearance and grooming operate as a parallel sign system. The moustache, worn full and untrimmed, functions as a conventional marker of the *javanmard*'s maturity and virility, in contrast to the clean-shaven or thin-moustached *fokoli*; hair is typically kept short and unstyled, again in visual opposition to the *fokoli*'s pomaded, Westernized coiffure. Gait and stance carry comparable semiotic weight: a rolling, deliberately unhurried walk, rolled-up sleeves, and an open collar recur across the *daš mašti* corpus as visual shorthand for readiness and lack of pretension. Such embodied gesture can be treated, following Kendon's (2004: 1–7) account of gesture as a structured, culturally conventionalized sign system in its own right, as a semiotic channel operating alongside costume and speech rather than as incidental behavior; Section 7.3 below discusses one such gesture, the pre-fight "raising of the heel," as a case of this kinesic signification. Taken together, costume, grooming, gait, gesture, and music form a redundant, mutually reinforcing sign cluster in which no single channel alone carries the full weight of characterization.

The moment a *daš mašti* enters a scene is often marked by the auditory cue of *zurkhaneh* music, a traditional gym melody associated with spiritual strength and masculine ritual. This music acts as an *indexical sign* signaling that the *javanmard*, the man of virtue, is about to appear. The synchronization of gesture, music, and costume constructs an intersemiotic cohesion that situates the *daš mašti* within both mythic and cinematic dimensions.

7.2 *Qaysar* (1969): Mythic Heroism and Moral Semiotics

Masoud Kimiai's *Qaysar* remains the quintessential cinematic articulation of the *daš mašti*. The film's title sequence introduces its semiotic structure even before the narrative begins: images of *Shahnameh* heroes tattooed on Qaysar's body appear alongside the credits, linking the protagonist to Iran's epic tradition. The juxtaposition of Qaysar's name with Sohrab's portrait and the *Arab-o-Ajam* battle imagery implies an underlying dichotomy of good versus evil, courage versus treachery.

As (Barthes 1977: 83) might suggest, these images form a "mythology" in which the *daš mašti* body becomes a text inscribed with cultural memory. Qaysar's subsequent actions, avenging his sister's dishonor, translate mythic heroism into urban morality. The film's mise-en-scène alternates between *zurkhaneh* interiors and modern streets, signifying the tension between tradition and modernity.

The scene where Qaysar's uncle reads the *Shahnameh* while Qaysar confesses to murder exemplifies the intertextual layering of epic and moral

codes. The dialogue's linguistic simplicity contrasts with the elevated literary allusions, creating what Bakhtin (1981: 25) would term a "dialogic intersection" between popular and high discourses.

7.3 *Daš Akol* (1971): Tragic Masculinity and Linguistic Duality

In *Daš Akol*, Kimiai continues the exploration of *daš mašti* morality through tragedy. The protagonist, torn between love and honor, speaks in a restrained vernacular infused with proverbs and elliptical phrases. His speech embodies the balance between silence and expression, reflecting the *daš mašti*'s moral restraint.

The climactic *ta'ziyeh* scene, depicting the martyrdom of Imam Husayn, operates as a meta-semiotic commentary: the religious passion play mirrors the *daš mašti*'s fatal duel. The overlap of sacred and profane discourses situates the *daš mašti* within Iran's broader cultural semiotics of sacrifice and redemption.

Kimiai's paradigmatic choices, such as associating *zurkhaneh* imagery with acts of vengeance, encode moral hierarchies visually. The act of "raising the heel" (*pashneye pa ra bala keshidan*) before a fight is a recurrent gesture that signals the imminence of action, a *syntagmatic cue* recognizable to Iranian audiences. It functions as a *kinetic signifier*, analogous to a linguistic morpheme signaling grammatical aspect (intention, imminence).

8. Discussion: Language, Ideology, and Masculine Performance

The *daš mašti*'s linguistic and semiotic construction reveals the intersection of language, ideology, and gender performance in pre-revolutionary Iran. His speech embodies the working-class morality of *namusdari* (protection of honor) and *morovvat* (generosity), opposing the corrupt elite represented by *fokolis*.

Through linguistic stylization, filmmakers transform everyday vernacular into a symbolic language of authenticity. The phonological roughness and lexical creativity of *daš mašti* speech produce an auditory realism that aligns with the visual codes of physical strength and moral clarity. This is consistent with Halliday's (1978: 33) conception of register as a "semiotic potential" through which social meanings are enacted.

Moreover, the *daš mašti*'s vernacular serves as resistance against linguistic standardization imposed by modernizing elites. The subcultural speech acts as what Bourdieu (1991:167) terms a "counter-capital" in the linguistic market, asserting working-class prestige through distinct style. In cinema, this resistance becomes aestheticized, creating a populist discourse that resonates emotionally with audiences while reaffirming traditional values.

The semiotic layering of language, gesture, and costume constructs masculinity as both moral and performative. The *daš mašti*'s manliness (*mardanegi*) is not innate but enacted through linguistic choices and ritualized gestures. As Connell (1995: 23) notes, masculinity is a "configuration of practice," and in *Film-Farsi*, these practices manifest linguistically, through assertive tone, controlled syntax, and proverbs emphasizing loyalty and courage.

9. Conclusion

The *daš mašti* in pre-revolutionary Iranian cinema represents far more than a recurring character type; he is a linguistic-semiotic construct through which evolving notions of morality, masculinity, and class identity are articulated and contested. His presence reveals how cinema can function as a mediating space between language and ideology, transforming spoken registers into visual myths. By integrating the frameworks of film semiotics (Metz, 1974: 49) and sociolinguistic theory, this study has shown that the *daš mašti*'s distinctive linguistic behavior, phonological shifts such as vowel raising and truncation, morphological economy, lexical innovation, and idiomatic density, forms a structured system of social signs. These linguistic features index solidarity, authenticity, and moral resistance, marking the speaker as part of an urban subculture that simultaneously affirms and subverts dominant social hierarchies.

From a semiotic perspective, the *daš mašti*'s speech exemplifies the process of enregisterment (Agha, 2007:21), whereby a particular set of linguistic forms becomes recognizable as a socially meaningful style. What begins as local street vernacular in south Tehran is recontextualized in *Film-Farsi* as a cinematic sociolect, carrying ideological resonance across visual and auditory domains. Directors such as Masoud Kimiai, Ali Hatami, and Samouel Khachikian performed what can be termed an intersemiotic translation, transforming linguistic signs into non-verbal cinematic codes: *zurkhaneh* music and chants, ritualized gestures of loyalty, the choreography of confrontation, and the mythic mise-en-scène of the alleyway. Through this translation, *daš mašti* speech transcended language to become a symbolic soundscape of urban morality and resistance.

While *Film-Farsi* often appeared as mere popular entertainment, it in fact operated as a complex semiotic system, one that mediated Iran's uneasy passage from traditional moral structures to modern urban modernity. The decline of *Film-Farsi* after 1974 signaled not only a stylistic shift but the erasure of a linguistic world-view. Yet, traces of the *daš mašti* idiom, its intonation patterns, slang expressions, and pragmatic formulas, continue to circulate within contemporary Iranian popular culture. They resurface in post-revolutionary media discourse, street vernaculars, and Persian rap

music, where echoes of the same moral register, honor, defiance, authenticity, are reimagined in new sociopolitical contexts.

Future research may explore how this linguistic heritage of the *daš mašti* evolves within post-revolutionary Iran's changing media landscape. Such inquiry would not only document the transformation of a speech style but also reveal how language, ideology, and performance remain intertwined in the production of Iranian urban identities. The *daš mašti*, though absent as a cinematic figure, endures linguistically, as rhythm, intonation, and stance, continuing to index a moral world that modern Iran has both outgrown and never entirely left behind.

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The Position of the Verbal Derivational Prefixes in the Sentence as a Distinguishing Feature of Persian Dialects from Other Southwest Iranian Dialects

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Abstract: The article examines the position of verbal derivational prefixes in relation to the stem and verbal form markers as a distinguishing morphological feature of Persian dialects in comparison with other Southwest Iranian languages and dialects. Drawing on extensive material from Classical Persian, a wide range of modern Persian dialects of Iran and northwestern Afghanistan, as well as Dari, Tajiki, Bakhtiari and Caucasian Tati, the study demonstrates that Persian dialects are characterized by the relative independence of derivational prefixes, which are separated from the verbal stem by continuous, subjunctive/imperative and negative markers. By contrast, in the remaining Southwest Iranian (SWI) languages and dialects these prefixes generally constitute an inseparable part of the verbal stem. The article argues that this morphological feature provides an important criterion for distinguishing Persian dialects from other members of the Southwest Iranian group and contributes to a more precise understanding of their historical and typological relationships.

Keywords: Persian dialects; SWI languages and dialects; verbal derivation; derivational prefixes; Iranian dialectology

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Introduction

An extremely important morphological distinguishing feature of Southwest Iranian (hereafter SWI) languages and dialects between themselves is related to prefixed verbs. This term denotes verbs that contain morphologically distinct prefixes[1] of word-building (derivational) nature (Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982: 144-145). *dar-, bar-/var-, farâ-* (in different phonetic variants) and some others, however, the most significant in the aspect considered in the present study are the first two, because they are found in the majority of SWI dialects. A brief historical overview is in order for a more complete consideration of this issue.

In the language of early classical Persian literature, these derivational prefixes or preverbs could either be separated from the verbal stem by means of *hamē, na-*, or adjoin the stem. In the latter case, *hamē* (originally an adverb, which in the late period, 13th-15th centuries, turned into a continuous prefix *mē-*), could be used separately from the verb, preceding or following it.[2]

The verbal prefix *dar-* goes back to *andar* with the original meaning of inward movement. In modern Persian of Iran, *dar-* combines both meanings: inward and outward movement. The former case refers to verbs meaning "entering a certain state", while the latter - to verbs denoting movement in space. In modern Dari of Afghanistan and in Tajiki, this prefix has exclusively the first meaning.[3]

The present article, however, is concerned with the morphological rather than the semantic aspect of this distinction.

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[1] Another term applied to them is "preverbs". But the term used to refer to these morphemes in this article is "derivational (word-building) prefixes" to be distinguished from verbal form markers: continuous prefix *mī-* (for Classical Persian), *mi-/mê-/mo-/mu-*, subjunctive/imperative prefix *bi-/be-/bə-/bo-*, and neg. prefix *na-/nä-/ne-*.

[2] As L. Paul points out, in Early New Persian (ENP), "The adverb *hamē* (later *mē*) could still complement the ENP present verb with an almost free position in the clause to give it a durative or progressive sense, and the particle/preverb *be* could precede the ENP present verb to emphasize its syntactic autonomy… Both *(ha)mē* and *be* would be grammaticalized as markers of the present indicative or subjunctive only in the course of the 10th-13th centuries; their usage in ENP is rather stylistic, and often unpredictable." (Paul 2000).

[3] There is a hypothesis that *där-* in verbs expressing the meaning of outward movement comes not from *andar*, but from *ba dar/be där* (cf. modern Persian *be där bordän* "to bring out", etc.), but as a result of the loss of *an-* and *ba/be* and the contamination of phonetically identical verbs with opposite semantics, the prefix *där-* in modern Persian combined both meanings.

Historical Background: Prefixed Verbs in the Shahnameh

The following examples are drawn from the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi:

1. Verbs with the prefix ***(an)dar-*** *(andar/dar āmadan, andar/dar āvardan, andar/dar raftan, (an)dar guzaštan*, etc.):

az-ō andar āmad hamē parvariš ki pōšīdanī nav bud-u nav xvariš

"From him came education - the clothes were new, and the food" (from the Story of Kayumarth).[4]

juhūd-u masīhī namānad ba jāy dar ārad hamē dīn-i pēšīn zi pāy

"There will be neither Jew nor Christian left, he (the new messenger) will overthrow the old religion" (from the Story about Anushirvan's dream and Buzurgmihr's counsel).

ō-rā gurd Šīdūš dārad ba pāy ču kōh-ē hamē andar āyad zi jāy (variant: *ki kōh-ē hamē andar ārad zi jāy*)

"The hero Shidush holds it (the banner) firmly, he moves from his place like a mountain (variant: "He removes the mountain from its place")" (from the Story about "how Farud and Tukhar went to view the Host (Iranian host)".

naguftam man īn tā nagaštam ɣamī ba maɣz-u xirad dar nayāmad kamī

"I did not say this until I became sad, [and] my brain and wisdom did not diminish (lit.: diminution did not enter into my brain and wisdom)" (from the Story of Zal Consulting his Magi/Mubads about Rudabeh).

či māya-i jahān-rā ba saxtī bidāšt jahānāfarīn z-ō hamē dar guzašt

"Since he (Zahak) held the foundation of the world in a tight grip, the Creator of the World turned away from him" (from the Story of how Gudarz and Piran arranged a battle of eleven combats).

2. Verbs with the prefix ***bar-*** *(bar āmadan, bar dāštan, bar darridan,* etc.):

jahān čun ba zārī bar āyad hamē badō nēk rōz-ē sar āyad hamē

"When the world laments (lit.: comes into lamenting), its good times come to an end" (from the Story of twelve combats: Introduction).

zi gard-i sipah havā šud nāpadīd bar āmad hamē tā ba xvaršēd jōš

"Because of the dust [raised] by the army, the air became invisible, the turmoil reached (lit.: rose up to) [the very] sun" (from the Story of the seven labors of Rustam: return of Kavus to Iran).

[4] Here and below, the transcription and translation are mine.

ču bēdād ō dādgar bar nadāšt jak-ē dādgar-rā bar ō bar gumāšt

"Since he, the unjust (Zahak), did not accept a just Judge, [God] assigned him one just judge (Faridun)" (from the Story of twelve combats).

yak-ē ō-vu dah nāmdārān(-i) Čīn hamē bar darridand rō-yi zamīn

"He alone (lit.: one) and ten noble Chinese tore each other to pieces on the ground" (from the Story of how Borzu was/is trained by the pahlavāns of Turan);

These examples could have been significantly expanded by more quotes from the Shahnameh and other sources, but only one further addition, from J. Rumi, is given here:

čun xudā andar nayāyad dar ʻayān nāyib-i haqq-and īn payɣāmbarān

"Since the Lord does not appear in a visible form, these messengers are the confidants of the True One" (Rumi. The Masnavi. Book 1. From the Story of "How the people of Jesus - on him be peace! - asked the amirs: which one of you is the successor?").

The verb forms (prefixed verbs) in the examples above may be specified as follows, marking the position of hamē or the negative prefix in relation to the verb:

Present tense forms with *hamē* following the verb:
dar ārad hamē, bar āyad hamē.
Present tense with *hamē* before the verb:
hamē andar āyad, hamē andar ārad.
Past tense with *hamē* preceding the verb:
hamē dar guzašt, hamē bar darridand.
Past tense with *hamē* following the verb:
andar āmad hamē, bar āmad hamē.
Present and past tense with the negative prefix:
andar nayāyad, dar nayāmad, bar nadāšt.

These examples confirm that hamē can either immediately precede or follow the prefixed verb. At the same time, in the above cases, hamē does not "break" the integrity of the verb and is not wedged anywhere between the derivational prefix and the stem proper. However, the fact that the derivational prefix has not completely become a single unit with the stem and has retained a certain independence from it, is confirmed by the negative forms of both tenses, in which the negative prefix na- stands between the derivational prefix and the stem.

Prefixed Verbs in Modern Dialects: Languages with Inseparable Prefixes

In the process of evolution of the New Persian language and its division into three forms: Modern Persian (Iran), Dari of Afghanistan (Afghan-Persian) and Tajiki of Central Asia, prefixed verbs underwent changes, at least at the level of the dialects of these languages. Thus, in the Persian dialects of Iran, the derivational prefixes have not only retained their independence, but also seem to acquire even greater independence compared to the language of early classical literature. While in the examples above hamē precedes or follows the prefixed verb, but does not come in between the derivational prefix and the stem, in modern Persian of Iran, mi-, which has originated from hamē, always stands between them, as will be discussed in more detail below.

Dari and Tajiki Dialects

In the Dari and Tajiki dialects, the number of prefixed verbs is considerably limited compared to modern Persian dialects. Thus, the authors of the section on Persian, Dari and Tajiki languages, in the multi-volume work *Fundamentals of Iranian linguistics*, rightly note: "The range of use of preverbs (the number of verbs combined with them) is widest in the classical Persian-Tajiki language. In modern languages, it has narrowed, and, if dictionaries are to be believed, in Tajiki and Afghan Dari, there are significantly fewer prefixed verbs than in modern Persian" (Efimov et al.1982: 146).

Although these derivational prefixes are unproductive in Tajiki and Dari, the dialects of both these closely related languages have a limited number of extremely common prefixed verbs. Their fundamental difference from the corresponding verbs in Persian dialects is that the derivational prefixes in them are an integral part of the verb stem and are not separated from it by the verbal form markers *mê-, bi-/bə-/bu-/bo-* and *na-*.[5] It primarily concerns verbs that are widely used in almost all the dialects of Dari and Tajiki: *darâmadan* (Tajiki *daromadan*) "to enter", *darâwordan* (*darovardan*) "to bring in/inside", *wardâštan* (*bardoštan/vardoštan*) "to take, to lift", *barâmadan* (*baromadan*) "to come out", *barâvordan* (*barovardan*) "to pull out", as well as some others that are specific only to certain dialects. This may be illustrated with examples from the Tajiki dialects, beginning with the northern ones. The Bukhara dialect is presented first (see Table 1).[6]

[5] In literary Dari, there is no uniform norm yet for prefixed verbs. Therefore, the use of *mê-* and *na-* with these verbs (i.e. their position in relation to the verbs they modify) largely depends on the authors' stylistic preferences and the influence of the Persian of Iran. The present article, however, is devoted to the situation in the living dialects.

[6] The examples below are taken from Kerimova (1959: 32–33). Here and throughout the article, Cyrillic has been replaced with the Latin script.

Table 1. Present indicative conjugation of the prefixed verbs *baromadan* 'to come out' and *daromadan* 'to enter' in the Bukhara Tajik dialect

	Pers.	***baromadan*** "to come out"	***daromadan*** "to enter"
Sing.	1	*mêburom*	*mêdarom*
	2	*mêburoi, mêburoêd / mêburoêt*	*mêdaroi, mêdaroêd(/t)*
	3	*mêburod / mêburot*	*mêdaroyad / mêdarot*
Pl.	1	*mêburoêm*	*mêdaroêm*
	2	*mêburoêton*	*mêdaroêton*
	3	*mêburon*	*mêdaron*

The same pattern is also attested in other Tajiki dialects, as illustrated by the following examples.

The variety of Roγ:

dar-a ela kadəm ki šamol <u>bədəroya</u>[7]

"I opened the door that the breeze may get in" (Bogorad 1956: 183).

The variety of Panjikand:

vazir guft ki: e, taqsir pošš̌o, tu dúra <u>meburori</u>,[8] *ayb-as*

"Oh, your majesty padishah, you are taking out pearls, it is shameful" (Ivanova 1956: 297, № 159).

hejjo <u>naburomat</u>[9] *akoš̌*

"His brothers didn't go out anywhere" (Ivanova 1956: 296, № 103).

kal guft: "ne, hejjo-ba <u>nadaromadim"</u>[10]

"The bald man said: "No, I didn't go anywhere"[11] (Ivanova 1956: 305, № 52).

The same situation is observed in the Dari dialects of Afghanistan (with the exception of those spoken in the far north-west of the country, which belong to the Khorasani group of Persian dialects): *mê-* and *na-* precede the derivational prefixes *dar-* and *bar-/war-*. Since this pattern has already been described in detail by A. Farhâdi (1955), it is sufficient here to cite representative personal forms of the verbs *darâmadan*, *barâmadan*, *wardâštan* and *farâmadan* from the most representative dialect of the region, namely Kabuli: *medrâyom, mebrâyom, namebrâyom, mêwardârom, namêwardârom,* and *mêfrâyom* (Farhâdi 1955: 76; cf. 91, 96).[12] The

[7] Pres. sub. 3rd pers. sing. of the verb *daromadan*.
[8] Pres. indic. 2nd pers. sing. of the verb *barovardan*.
[9] Past abs. 3rd pers. sing. of the verb *baromadan* with the negative prefix.
[10] Past abs. 3rd pers. pl. of the verb *daromadan* with the negative prefix.
[11] Lit. "We didn't go anywhere".
[12] The original transcription has been slightly modified.

imperative forms with the negative prefix are *nadrây, nabrây,* and *nafrây* (Farhâdi 1955: 91). The same pattern is likewise attested in the following lyrical rustic quatrain from the Kabuli dialect with the verb *wardâštan*:

gol mêkâštom, gol-e golâb mêkâštom

"I would have planted flowers, planted roses,

xâk-e qadam-et ba dida mêwardâštom

"I would have pressed[13] the soil from under your feet[14] to my eyes[15]" (Šuʿur 1974: 168).

Further evidence is provided by the following Kabuli proverbs containing the verbs *barâmadan* and *darâmadan*:

(h)ar čiz-ê ke da dêg as da čamča mêbrâya[16]

"Everything that is in the cauldron, comes out in the ladle" (Rābīn 1986: 32).

az i gôš mêdrâya az u gôš mêbrâya

"[A word] goes into this ear, comes out of that ear" (Rābīn 1986: 2).

Bakhtiari Dialects

This feature is also attested in other SWI languages and dialects, both within and beyond Iran. In the Bakhtiari dialects, the derivational verbal prefixes *dar-*, *der-*, *vor-* and *vā-* correspond to Persian *dar-*, *bar-* and *vā-* (< *bāz-*). These prefixes occur in verbs such as *deravorden* "to remove", *vorčarden* "to crawl", and *vorğeližniden* "to devour". As in Tajiki and Dari, but unlike Persian, they form an integral part of the verbal stem in most cases (past: *deravord-*, non-past: *derar-*; past: *vorčard-*, non-past: *vorčar-*; past: *vorğeližnid-*, non-past: *vorğeližn-*), while the form markers *e-*/*ī-* (cf. Persian *mi-*), *be-*, and the negative prefix *na-* precede, rather than follow, these derivational prefixes: *naderavord* "he/she did not remove", *ederare* "he/she removes/is removing", and *bederare* "so that he/she may remove" (Anonby and Asadi 2014: 124–127, 134, 149–151).[17] For the sake of clarity, the conjugation paradigms of these verbs, based on the data presented in Anonby and Asadi (2014: 134–135, 149–151), are provided in Tables 2–4.

[13] Lit. "taken up".
[14] Lit. "steps".
[15] A traditional expression of profound respect and admiration.
[16] In the Herati variant of the same proverb, the prefix *mi-* follows the derivational prefix *bar-*: *(h)ar či bɛ dig/dêg bâšɛ bɛ čŏwli bar-miâyɛ* (see the discussion of the Herati dialect below).
[17] See also Taheri-Ardali et. al., 2025: 22.

Table 2. Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb ***deravorden*** – to remove (non-past stem: *derar-*, past stem: *deravord-*): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative and negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 134–135)

	Singular			**Plural**		
	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Present (progressive) indicative	*ederarom*	*ederari*	*ederare*	*ederarim*	*ederarin*	*ederaren*
Negative present	*neyderarom*	*neyderari*	*neyderare*	*neyderarim*	*neyederarin*	*neyderaren*
Past	*deravordom*	*deravordi*	*deravord*	*deravordim*	*deravordin*	*deravorden*
Negative past	*naderavordom*	*naderavordi*	*naderavord*	*naderavordim*	*naderavordin*	*naderavorden*
Subjunctive	*bederarom*	*bederari*	*bederare*	*bederarim*	*bederarin*	*bederaren*
Negative subjunctive	*naderarom*	*naderari*	*naderare*	*naderarim*	*naderarin*	*naderaren*
Imperative	*derarom*	*derar*	*derare*	*derarim*	*derarin*	*deraren*
Negative imperative	*naderarom*	*naderar*	*naderare*	*naderarim*	*naderarin*	*naderaren*

Table 3. Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb ***vorčarden*** - to crawl (non-past stem: *vorčar-*, past stem: *vorčard-*): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative and negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 149–150)

	Singular			**Plural**		
	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Present (progressive) indicative	*evorčarom*	*evorčari*	*evorčare*	*evorčarim*	*evorčarin*	*evorčaren*
Negative present	*neyvorčarom*	*neyvorčari*	*neyvorčare*	*evorčarim*	*neyvorčarin*	*neyvorčaren*
Past	*vorčardom*	*vorčardi*	*vorčard*	*vorčardim*	*vorčardin*	*vorčarden*
Negative past	*navorčardom*	*navorčardi*	*navorčard*	*navorčardim*	*navorčardin*	*navorčarden*
Subjunctive	*bevorčarom / vorčarom*	*bevorčari*	*bevorčare*	*bevorčarim*	*bevorčarin*	*bevorčaren*
Negative subjunctive	*navorčarom*	*navorčari*	*navorčare*	*navorčarim*	*navorčarin*	*navorčaren*
Imperative	*vorčarom*	*vorčar*	*vorčare*	*vorčarim*	*vorčarin*	*vorčaren*
Negative imperative	*navorčarom*	*navorčar*	*navorčare*	*navorčarim*	*navorčarin*	*navorčaren*

Table 4. Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb ***vorğeližniden*** - to devour (non-past stem: *vorğeližn-*, past stem: *vorğeližnid-*): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative and negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 150-151)

	Singular			**Plural**		
	1	**2**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Present (progressive) indicative	*evorğeližnom*	*evorğeližni*	*evorğeližne*	*evorğeližnim*	*evorğeližnin*	*evorğeližnen*
Negative present	*neyvorğeližnom*	*neyvorğeližni*	*neyvorğeližne*	*neyvorğeližnim*	*neyvorğeližnin*	*neyvorğeližnen*
Past	*vorğeližnidom*	*vorğeližnidi*	*vorğeližni(d)*	*vorğeližnidim*	*vorğeližnidin*	*vorğeližniden*
Negative past	*navorğeližnidom*	*navorğeližnidi*	*navorğeližni(d)*	*navorğeližnidim*	*navorğeližnidin*	*navorğeližniden*
Subjunctive	*bevorğeližnom / vorğeližnom*	*bevorğeližni*	*bevorğeližne*	*bevorğeližnim*	*bevorğeližnin*	*bevorğeližnen*
Negative subjunctive	*navorğeližnom*	*navorğeližni*	*navorğeližne*	*navorğeližnim*	*navorğeližnin*	*nevorğeližnen*
Imperative	*vorğeližnom*	*vorğeližn*	*vorğeližne*	*vorğeližnim*	*vorğeližnin*	*vorğeližnen*
Negative imperative	*navorğeližnom*	*navorğeližn*	*navorğeližne*	*navorğeližnim*	*navorğeližnin*	*nevorğeližnen*

The following examples illustrate the same phenomenon:

sad veréise čapetī gân-e ī-der-årum[18]

"I will pull the bull out of the depths that require a hundred wide ropes with a pattern" (Kerimova 1982: 302).

ču ham ze men-e pā-s hani na-der-avod-e

"The stick was still stuck in his leg"[19] (Taheri-Ardali et. al. 2025: 22).

Tati Dialects of the Caucasus

In the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, the SWI varieties most closely related to Persian, Dari and Tajiki (especially the former), derivational verbal prefixes, as in Dari and Tajiki dialects, are inseparable from the verbal stem. The inflectional markers *mi-/mÿ-/mu-* (cf. Persian *mi-*), *bä-/bu-* (cf. Persian *be-/bo-*), and the negative prefixes *nä-* and, in the imperative, *mä-* (cf. Persian *nä-*, *mä-*) precede the derivational prefixes.

Tati possesses a considerable number of prefixed verbs. The discussion below, however, is limited to some of the most common formations that also occur in Persian, Dari and Tajiki, despite minor phonetic differences. These include:

dÿrmârän (southern Tati), *dirmore* (northern Tati) [stems: *dÿrâ-*: *dÿrâmar-*] "to go out",[20]

dÿrvârdän [*dÿrâr-*: *dÿrvârd-*] "to extract",[21]

fyrmârän [*fyrâ-*: *fyrmâr-*] "to descend".[22]

1. *dÿrmârän*[23]

ä tkun män midyrei,[24] *kymäk nänsei*

"He will leave[25] from my shop, he will not help me" (Grjunberg1963a: 76, 79).

tatihá nädÿrmarei[26] *ä biyár tÿ?*

"Haven't you forgotten the Tati [words] yet? [27] (Grjunberg1963a: 147).

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[18] Here and below, the original transcription is preserved.
[19] Lit. "The stick wouldn't/didn't come out of his leg".
[20] Cf. Classical Persian *dar āmadan.*
[21] cf. Classical Persian *dar āvardan.*
[22] cf. Classical Persian *furō āmadan.*
[23] Here and below, the transcription used by Grjunberg (1963a) has been slightly modified to conform to the system employed in Grjunberg and Davydova (1982).
[24] The underlined verb is in the future potential tense, which corresponds formally to the Classical Persian present-future tense (Grjunberg and Davydova 1982: 268).
[25] Lit. "will come out".
[26] The underlined form is in the perfect tense with the negative prefix *nä-*.
[27] Lit. "Have the Tati [words] not yet left your memory?"

bä aftá batän tÿ mädÿra,[28] *män dÿram*

"She says to the sun – you don't rise, I will rise"[29] (Grjunberg 1963a: 200).

2. *dÿrvârdän*

pul bä jib män birän bumiduardÿm,[30] *midärÿm*

"If I had money in my pocket, I would take it out and give it to you" (Grjunberg 1963a: 84, Grjunberg and Davydova 1982: 277).

imúnä ä biyár mädurâr [31]

"Don't forget us"[32] (Grjunberg 1963a: 183).

3. *fyrmârän*

duxtär ä äs mifÿrei [33]

"The girl dismounts/is dismounting the horse" (Grjunberg 1963a: 75).

Further examples of verb forms derived from the infinitive with the form markers are given below:

häčiní ki varíš varíst—midÿrmaränim bä särbún

"As soon as it starts to rain, we go out onto the roofs" (Grjunberg 1963a: 110).

mÿdÿrmarän yä käm bä rah (Grjunberg 1963a: 149).

"He sets out[34] on a journey" (Grjunberg 1963a: 149).

sätä balá šir, Mälík-Jÿmšÿd, äs bädÿrmaränund ä ɵÿšä bä kinár

"Three lion cubs, Melik-Jumšid, and a horse come out of the forest" (Grjunberg 1963a: 196).

mÿduvardän/miduardän panj manáta

"He pulls out five rubles" (Grjunberg 1963a: 150).

därvíš ä kisä xištän yä sib bädurvardän

"The dervish takes an apple out of his pocket" (Grjunberg 1963a: 189).

ä kämär än qatÿr mÿfÿrmarän

"He dismounts the mule" (Grjunberg 1963a: 151).

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[28] Imperative form marked by the negative prefix *mä-*

[29] A phrase used to describe a girl's beauty. Cf. the corresponding phrase/proverb in the Persian dialects cited below.

[30] Past continuous tense expressing a conditional or impossible action; the underlined verb is marked by the two form markers *bu-* and *mi-*.

[31] Imperative form with the negative prefix *mä-*.

[32] Lit. "Don't bring us out of your memory".

[33] The underlined verb is in the future potential tense.

[34] Lit. "goes out".

A particularly noteworthy feature is that, unlike Tajiki and Dari, where derivational prefixes form a single unit with the stem only in a limited number of high-frequency prefixed verbs, in the Tati dialects of the Caucasus they have become an inseparable part of the stem in all verbs containing such prefixes. This phenomenon is illustrated by the derivational prefix *vä-*, corresponding to Classical Persian *bar-*:[35]

ägär ä pič zu-zu xaskärä nävägiri, un pič xub nämsuzu

> "If you do not regularly remove the ashes from the stove, the stove will not heat up properly" (Grjunberg 1963a: 76).

The form *nävägiri*, in which *nä-* is the negative marker, is derived from the verb corresponding to *bar giriftan* in Classical Persian, demonstrating that the derivational prefix *vä-* has become an inseparable part of the verbal stem.[36]

Persian Dialects: Languages with Separable Prefixes

The SWI languages and dialects in which the derivational prefixes of all or a number of widely used verbs are inseparable from the verb stem by verbal form markers have been considered above. The discussion now turns to the dialects in which they are separated. These are the dialects of the Persian language proper. As G. Lazard rightly pointed out, "Preverbs are ancient adverbs that are no longer found as such in contemporary language and whose original meaning is more or less blurred in the prefixed verb. Preverbs usually precede the verb form itself; verbal prefixes and the negative [marker] are placed between the preverb and the verb stem" (Lazard 1957: 284).[37]

It is worth emphasizing that linguistic boundaries do not coincide with political ones, i.e. with the borders of states. Within the Persian-Dari-Tajiki dialect continuum, the area of Persian dialects begins not with the Iranian-Afghan border, but with the territories of northwestern Afghanistan, where the dialects of the Afghan-Tajiki group are replaced by dialects of the

[35] For details, see Grjunberg and Davydova (1982: 264).

[36] For a fuller picture of the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, it is worth adding a few examples from Armenian Tati. Thus, *Ägä zu mebrey, nuna hazər kʿənəm* "If you leave early, I will prepare the meal" (Tonoyan 2025: 98) contains the form *mebrey*, corresponding to Dari *mêbarâyi* and Tajiki *mebaroyi*, and illustrating that the derivational prefix *bar-* has become an inseparable part of the verbal stem. Another example, although not involving a verb with the derivational prefix *bar-*, is equally significant because it contains the form *ma-bī-y-ār*, in which the prefix *bī-* (corresponding to Classical Persian *be-*) likewise forms an inseparable part of the verbal stem: *bö-ü ṭahar mabīyār* 'Also, do not lead (lit. "bring") us into temptation' (from the Lord's Prayer; see Tonoyan 2025: 82, 85, 87). The form *ma-bī-y-ār* is the negative imperative of the verb 'to bring'.

[37] The translation is mine.

Khorasani group, which are a continuation of the realm of Khorasani dialects of Persian on the territory of Iran.[38] Among the Khorasani dialects spoken in present-day Afghanistan, Herati is the most prominent.

Herati and the Khorasani Dialects

In Herati, *war-/wor-* and *dar-* do not form part of the verb stem but remain separable during conjugation, being separated from the stem by the cont. prefix *mi-/mê-* or the neg. prefix *na-*. This is illustrated by *war-midârɛ* "he/she raises, takes" (pres. ind., 3rd sing.), *war-midıštim* "we were taking" (past cont., 1st pl.), *vor-nadâr* "do not take!" (neg. imp., sing.), *war-nemiâya* "it does not rise' (pres. ind., 3rd sing. of the verb "to rise", referring to dough), *dar-miâyɛ* "he/she enters" (pres. ind., 3rd sing.).[39]

The conjugation of the first of the above-mentioned verbs is given below (see Table 5). As in the other forms discussed above, the derivational prefix also remains separated from the verb stem in the negative imperative: *vor-nadâr*.

Table 5. Present indicative and past continuous conjugation of the Herati verb *war-dâštăn* "to raise, to take"

	Pers.	Present indicative	Past continuous
Singular	1	*war-midârom*	*war-midıštom*
	2	—[40]	—
	3	*war-midârɛ/vər-midârə, war-namêdârɛ*	*var-midıš, vor-nadıš*
Plural	1	*war-midârim/vor-midârim*	*war-midıštim*
	2	—	—
	3	—	—

The same verb may be considered in the dialect of Qayen (a city located in the southern part of Iranian Khorasan), as presented below (see Table 6):

[38] This issue is covered in detail in a number of the present author's works (see Ioannesyan 2000; 2010 etc.).

[39] Examples from the Herati dialect were collected by me during field research in Afghanistan, which formed the basis of many of my works (see, e.g., Ioannesyan 1999, 2000, 2009, 2010).

[40] In this and the following table, — indicates that the corresponding form is not attested in the available source material.

Table 6. Present indicative, past continuous and future conjugation of the verb *vär-dâštan* "to take" in the dialect of Qayen

	Pers.	Present indicative	Past continuous	Future tense
Sing.	1	*vär-medärom*[41]	*vär-medâštom*[42]	*va-xom dâš*[43]
Pl.		—	—	*vär-xä dâšt-em*

Comparable forms of the verb "to take, to raise" are also attested in other Khorasani dialects. Thus, the dialect of Mashhad preserves forms such as *var-mädarōm* (pres. indicative, 1st sing.) and *var-nädâš* (past absolute, 3rd sing., negative) (Massé 1925: 108, 115).[44] In the dialect of Birjand, the corresponding forms include *war-nadıštä-ye* (perf. tense, 3rd sing., negative) and *wär-nedâri* (pres. subjunctive, 2nd sing., negative) (Ivanow 1928: 256, 321). Additional examples from different Khorasani varieties (Birjandi, Mashhadi, and Qayeni) are presented below.

The variety of Birjand: *där-miâd* – pres. indic. 3rd sing. of the verb "to come/go out" (Ivanow 1928: 255).

The variety of Mashhad: *där-märäftän* – past continuous 3rd pers. pl. of the verb "to run away" (Massé 1925: 120).

The variet of Qayen: *där rä dä-näbandi* (<*där-näbandi*)/*där rä dä-maban* "Don't shut the door" (Zomorrodian 1974: 111, 112).

The dialect of Birjand attests the prefixed verb with the same meaning (*varbastə[nj]*): *var-mābandey* (imperative pl. with the negative prefix) "don't shut the door" (Reżāʾī 1998: 295) and *dor sera-r da-nabastam* "I didn't shut the door" (Reżāʾī 1998: 340).

[41] See Zomorrodian 1974: 93. Here and below, the original transcription has been slightly changed.

[42] See Zomorrodian 1974: 97.

[43] See Zomorrodian 1974: 93. The dialects of southern Khorasan in Iran employ future-tense forms similar to the future categorical tense of standard Persian in that they likewise use the auxiliary verb *xâstan*. They differ from standard Persian, however, in that the personal endings in the plural are attached not to the auxiliary verb but to the lexical verb. Of particular relevance here is the fact that the lexical verb is consistently inserted between the derivational prefix and the stem, highlighting the relative independence of the prefix.

[44] Here and below, the original transcriptions have been slightly modified.

Sistani Dialect

In the Sistani dialect of Persian, spoken to the south of Khorasan,[45] the published evidence indicates that derivational verbal prefixes are likewise separable from the verb stem. The following examples illustrate this pattern:

mešmâ va-mdârən[46] *u xalguškúna, merai*[47]

"We'll take these rabbits and leave" (Grjunberg 1963b: 82).

az ami gall-â vār m-dišt-ē[48]

"They used to pick up this very mud" (Ahangar 2010: 27-28).

amtéykə xušá-ra mgiri, yak karát fŭr-məmâli[49]

"You take a bunch of grapes [and] rub them [between your palms]" (Grjunberg 1963b: 81, 85).

Tehrani Dialect

Proceeding westward along the Persian–Dari–Tajiki dialect continuum, the discussion now turns to the dialect of Tehran. Spoken in the capital of Iran, it has exerted a considerable influence on other dialects of the country and most clearly reflects the characteristic features of the Persian dialect area. As in the Persian dialects of eastern Iran, derivational prefixes are separated during conjugation by verbal form markers, including the negative particle and even an enclitic pronoun:

1. *vär-dâštän*

âb be âb boxore zur vär-midâre[50]

"Water merges with water [and] gains strength" (Šahrī 2002: 16).

pâ-š ru mâr bâše vär-nemidâre[51]

"[Even if] his foot is on a snake, he won't take it off"[52] (Šahrī 2002: 178).

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[45] There is a settlement of Sistani speakers in the Serakhs region near the Turkmenistan–Iran border, whose inhabitants moved there from Sistan. Their dialect was studied by A. Grjunberg, who published a separate study on it (Grjunberg 1963b).

[46] Before a following vowel, the final *n* appears in the plural forms of all persons, as in *va-mdârə-n-u* (Grünberg 1963b: 86).

[47] The original transcription has been modified.

[48] The original transcription is preserved.

[49] The original transcription has been modified.

[50] *vär-midâre* - pres. indic. 3rd sing. The transcription of the examples from this source is mine.

[51] *vär-nemidâre* – pres. indic. 3rd sing., negative.

[52] A proverb about a lazy person.

bedehkâr age leng-e käfš-eš äm part kone âdäm bâyäd <u>vär-eš-dâre</u> [53]

"If a debtor throws his shoe, one should pick it up"[54] (Šahrī 2002: 136).

växt-i ke äks-eš-o <u>vär-midâššän</u>[55] *mâm unjâ budim*[56]

"When they took pictures of him, we were there too" (Pejsikov 1960: 73).

2. *där-âmädän*

tâ bebini äz âb či <u>där-miyâd</u>[57]

"… so that you may see what comes of it/[is going] to happen" (Šahrī 2002: 198).

do däst be häm boxore äz tu-š sedâ <u>där-miyâd</u>

"If two hands are clapped together, a sound comes out of it" (Šahrī 2002: 16).

dämâġ -eš-o bıgiri jun-eš <u>där-miyâd</u>

"If you take him [by the] nose, his soul will leave him"[58] (Šahrī 2002: 318).

säng be säng mixore âtıš <u>där-miyâd</u>

"When a stone hits [another] stone, fire is produced"[59] (Šahrī 2002: 381).

härf-i be del mišine ke äz del <u>där-biyâd</u>[60]

"[Only] a word that comes from the heart penetrates [another person's] heart" (Šahrī 2002: 263).

kârt be-h-eš mizädi xun-eš <u>där-nemiyumäd</u>[61]

"If you struck him with a knife, his blood wouldn't come out"[62] (Šahrī 2002: 450).

3. *där-âvordän/ där-âvärdän*

äge gom kärdi pedär-et-o <u>där-miyâräm</u>[63]

"If you lose [it], I'll give you a good thrashing"[64] (Pejsikov 1960: 72).

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[53] *vär-eš-dâre* – pres. sub. 3rd sing. with an enclitic pronoun.
[54] Lit. "Whatever is obtained from a debtor is a blessing" (a proverb).
[55] *vär-midâššän* – past continuous 3rd pl.
[56] The original transcription has been modified.
[57] *där-miyâd* – pres. indic. 3rd sing.
[58] Lit. "will come out".
[59] Lit. "comes out".
[60] *där-biyâd* – pres. sub. 3rd sing.
[61] *där-nemiyumäd* – past continuous 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.
[62] Lit. "His blood froze in his body because of extreme anger" (Šahrī 2002: 450).
[63] *där-miyâräm* – pres. indic. 1st sing.
[64] Lit. "bring your father out".

jik bezäni jikdun-et-o där-miyâräm

"If you squeak, I'll cut your throat" (Šahrī 2002: 237).

sedâ-š-o där-näyâr [65]

"Keep quiet about it"[66] (Šahrī 2002: 402).

It has already been noted above that in the versions of the same proverb in the Kabuli dialect of Dari and in Herati, the prefixes are used in accordance with the grammar of a particular dialect (see above). In Kabuli, the derivational prefix is inseparable from the stem (mêbrâya), while in Herati it is separated from the stem by the continuous prefix (bar-miâyɛ). The same pattern is observed in the case of one of the proverbs in the dialect of Tehran cited above that is identical in meaning and expressed in similar language to its analogue in the Kabuli dialect of Dari:

Tehrani: *do däst be häm boxore äz tu-š sedâ där-miyâd* (Šahrī 2002: 16).
Kabuli: *az yak dast sadâ namêbrâya* (Rābīn 1986: 2).

"From one hand there is no sound".[67]

The Dialect of Isfahan

In the dialect of Isfahan, derivational prefixes are also separable from the verb stem, as illustrated by the following examples from different sources.[68]

1. *där-âvordän/där-âvärdän*

če nävâ där-miyâred! [69]

"How he grimaces!" (Smirnova 1978: 81).

där-âräm, där-näyâräm [70] *pirän-e gol-e bâdumče-râ*

"Whether I take [it] out [or] I don't take [it] out, the shirt with almond flowers" (Zhukovski 1902: 75).

ege(r) väsile-yi bud ke…bärâ(-yi) doxter-i pâdšâ(h) hendune [71] *där-miâvordim-o*[72] *mâye-yi nejât-i u mišodim če ġädr xub bud*

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[65] *där-näyâr* – imperative sing. with the negative prefix.
[66] Lit. "Don't raise your voice about it".
[67] It should be noted that, semantically, the verb *där-âmädän* in the Tehrani dialect and a number of other Persian dialects often corresponds to *barâmadan* in Dari dialects.
[68] The phonetic features of the Isfahan dialect may not be fully reflected in all the sources used here, but they accurately represent its morphology, which is of primary importance for the purposes of the present article.
[69] *där-miyâred* – pres. indic. 3rd sing. Transcription has been slightly modified.
[70] *där-näyâräm* – pres. sub. 1st sing. with the negative prefix. Here and below, the romanized transcription is mine.
[71] Cf. Smirnova 1978: 18.
[72] *där-miâvordim* – past continuous 1st pl.

"If there were a way… that we could pull out a watermelon for the king's daughter and save her (lit.: become a means of her salvation) it would be/have been so good!" (Amīnī 1960: 34).

dăr jăvâb-i mărdom hič nemigoft-o dăm dăr-nemiâvord [73]

"He would not say anything in response to people and kept silent" (Amīnī 1960: 125).

bečebâzi dăr-năyâr [74]

"Don't be like a child".[75]

2. *dăr-âmădăn*

yâ ez ġerâmăt-eš bâyesti dăr-biyâyi[76] *yâ mâl-i mâ-râ bejuri*[77]*-vo bed(eh)i*

"You should either make up for our loss or look for our property and give [it to us]" (Amīnī 1960: 6).

3. *văr-dâštăn/băr-dâštăn*

pâ-š ru mâr bâšed văr-nemidâred [78]

"[Even if] his foot is on a snake, he won't take it off"[79]

negâh-ăm-râ ez in deräxt băr-nemidâräm [80]

"I won't take my eyes off this tree" (Amīnī 1960: 84).

xodâ ez miyân băr-eš dared [81]

"May God eliminate him" (Amīnī 1960: 54).

The last example, in which a pronominal enclitic indicating the object intervenes between the derivational prefix and the verbal stem, is of particular significance. A similar pattern is attested in the Tehran dialect (see the example above).

4. *băr-âmădăn*

väli muš be ġădr-i ziyâd bud ke [gorbe] meger päs băr-miâmăd [82]

"But the mice were so many that the cat could hardly cope with them" (Amīnī 1960: 135).

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[73] *dăr-nemiâvord* – past continuous 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.
[74] *dăr-năyâr* – imperative sing. with the negative prefix.
[75] This example is taken from a website of Isfahani proverbs and sayings, available at www.iran-eng.ir/threads/132489 (accessed 26 June 2026).
[76] *dăr-biyâyi* – pres. sub. 2nd sing.
[77] The Isfahani form *bejuri* corresponds to *bejuyi* (from *jostăn* "to look for") in standard Persian.
[78] *văr-nemidâred* – pres. indic. 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.
[79] A proverb about a lazy person (cf. the corresponding proverb in the dialect of Tehran; see n. 52). For the source, see n. 75.
[80] *băr-nemidâräm* – pres. indic. 1st sing. with the negative prefix.
[81] *băr-eš dared* – pres. sub. 3rd sing.
[82] *băr-miâmăd* – past continuous 3rd pers. sing.

kâr-i ez dess-eš bärâ(yi) nejât-i Malak Ebrâhim bär-nemiâmäd [83]

"He could do nothing to save Malak Ebrâhim" (Amīnī 1960: 154).

Other SWI Dialects: Yazdi, Kermani, and Shirazi

Finally, a few examples from some other Persian dialects from Central and South-Western Iran are briefly considered below:

1. The Persian dialect of Yazd:

četow šodä ke čänd ruz-e nâxäš[84] *bâzi där-miyâri*?[85]

"How come you've been playing a game for a few unpleasant days".[86]

vä-xized, tu xunä där-biyed[87]

"Get up, come into the house (pl.)"[88]

2. The Persian dialect of Kerman:

be pär-o pâhäm bär-miyâyän [89]

"They are not inferior to each other" (Sotūdeh 1957: 31).

xâ(hä)r-eš-ru vär-midâre [90] *vär râ miše tu râ xäste miše…*

"He takes his sister with him and sets off on a journey, [but] grows tired along the way …"[91]

bâbâ-t mägär bexâbe? ey kale vär-nädâre[92]

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[83] *bär-nemiâmäd* – past continuous 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.

[84] In the Persian dialect of Yazd, the word corresponding to *xoš* (خوش) "nice, pleasant etc." in standard Persian is pronounced as *xäš*, consequently, *nâxäš* corresponds to *nâxoš* (ناخوش) in standard Persian.

[85] *där-miyâri* – pres. indic. 2nd sing.

[86] This example is taken from the poetry of a modern poet writing in the Yazdi dialect who refers to himself as "hamed zd". His website is available at https://yazdbax.blogfa.com/post/45 (accessed 26 June 2026). Here and below, the transcription and translation are mine.

[87] *där-biyed* – imperative pl. It deserves noting that the verb *där-umädän* in the dialect of Yazd has the same meaning as in Dari and Tajiki: "to go/come in" unlike many other Persian dialects of Iran where it is used in the opposite meaning: "to go/come out".

[88] This example is taken from the same website cited in n. 86.

[89] *bär-miyâyän* – pres. indic. 3rd pl. The original transcription has been slightly changed.

[90] *vär-midâre* – pres. indic. 3rd sing.

[91] This example is taken from a tale in the Kermani dialect, available at https://payamema.ir/payam/articlerelation/9344 (accessed 26 June 2026). The romanized transcription is mine.

[92] *vär-nädâre* – pres. sub. 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.

"Isn't your dad asleep? he wouldn't lift (his) head [when he is sleeping]".[93]

3. The dialect of Shiraz:

tär miâyäd xošk där-miâyäd [94]

"It goes in wet and comes out dry" (Zhukovski 1902: 178).

âb mirize golâb vär-midâre [95]

"(She) pours water and gets (lit.: picks up) rose-water".[96]

vel-om bokon… išun bâyäd yâd bigire hame ju lutigäri vär-nemedâre [97]

"Let me alone… they/he/she should learn that generosity doesn't work everywhere"[98]

hey äz tu ġuti-š härf där-miyâre [99]

"He/she keeps pulling words out of his/her box"[100]

Conclusion

The analysis of the SWI languages and dialects presented in this article has shown that they differ in the position of the continuous, subjunctive/imperative, and negative prefixes in the personal forms of a number of widely used prefixed verbs. This variation depends on whether the derivational prefixes form an inseparable unit with the verb stem or remain relatively independent. In some languages and dialects, the derivational prefixes are inseparable from the stem, whereas in others they retain a certain degree of independence and are separated from the stem during conjugation.

The study has further demonstrated that, in the Persian dialects of Iran and in the adjacent northwestern part of Afghanistan, represented by Herati, a continuation of the Khorasani Persian dialects and assigned here to the

[93] This example is taken from the poetry of Fatemeh Lashkari, a modern poet writing in the Kermani dialect under the pen name "Rahil-e Kermani", available at https://niloofardarkavir.blogfa.com/post/39 (accessed 26 June 2026).

[94] *där-miâyäd* – pres. indic. 3rd sing. The romanized transcription is mine.

[95] *vär-midâre* – pres. indic. 3rd sing.

[96] This proverb about a thrifty housewife is taken from a website of proverbs in the Shirazi dialect, available at https://www.delgarm.com/shirazi-proverb.a242671 (accessed 26 June 2026).

[97] *vär-nemedâre* – pres. indic. 3rd sing. with the negative prefix.

[98] This and the following example are taken from a website in the Shirazi dialect, available at https://setare.com/fa/news/640141 (accessed 26 June 2026). The romanized transcription is mine.

[99] *där-miyâre* – pres. indic. 3rd sing.

[100] A proverb which, according to Iranian sources, is used when somebody's talking about a subject causes other subjects and words to come up.

Khorasani dialect group (the central group within the Persian–Dari–Tajiki dialect continuum), derivational prefixes are separated from the verb stem during conjugation. By contrast, in Dari (with the exception of Herati and the neighbouring varieties), Tajiki, the Bakhtiari dialects of Iran, and the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, the derivational prefixes of the verbs examined in this article form an inseparable part of the verb stem throughout conjugation.

The evidence presented here further suggests that the separability of derivational prefixes in this group of verbs constitutes an important distinguishing feature of the Persian dialects of Iran and the adjacent Khorasani dialects of northwestern Afghanistan in relation to the remaining SWI languages and dialects.

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Two Fragments from a Middle Persian Codex in Manichaean Script with Hymns to the Sun God and to Mani

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Abstract: Two unpublished Manichaean Middle Persian texts from the Berlin Turfan collection are here edited and commented upon for the first time. The two folios, in parts severely damaged, are from a same codex containing hymns. In the remaining parts a hymn to Mani, containing interesting references to the forerunning Prophets, a hymn to the Sun God, and a hymn to the Chariots of the Sun and the Moon are present.

Keywords: Manichaeism; Middle Persian; Berlin Turfan Collection; Manichaean Hymnology; Sun God; Mani; Prophetology

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Two unpublished Manichaean Middle Persian texts from the Berlin Turfan collection are here edited and commented upon for the first time. The two folios, in parts severely damaged, are from a same codex containing hymns. In the remaining parts a hymn to Mani, containing interesting references to the forerunning Prophets, a hymn to the Sun God, and a hymn to the Chariots of the Sun and the Moon are present.

In the Middle Iranian Turfan Berlin Collection there are still quite a few texts that remain unpublished. Many of them contain texts of hymns addressed to different deities of the Manichaean pantheon. Although most of them are fragmentary or heavily damaged, it is worth editing them, not only for the sake of completeness, but also because even "miserable scraps"[1] can give some useful information on Manichaeism in general and on their hymnological technique. Two of these fragments, M761 and M762, are edited here for the first time.[2]

I

M761

The sheet measures 20.7 cm x 13.2 cm, interlinear space: 0.7 cm, maximum length of lines: 8.5 cm, outer margin: 3.2 cm, inner margin: 1.9 cm, upper margin: 3.2 cm, bottom margin: 1.7 cm, black/red interpunction.

Mary Boyce (1960), in her *Catalogue*[3], considered M761 as part of a hymn to Mani, without explaining the reason. The text is unfortunately badly damaged[4], and it is indeed difficult to understand to whom this hymn was addressed. The presence of the names of three prophets, often given in Manichaean texts as preceding Mani bringing Gnosis to mankind, leads to the conclusion that this hymn may be indeed addressed to Mani, glorified by the testimony of the preceding prophets. As far as I know this should be the first time these prophets appear together in a Manichaean hymn.

/R/

/1/ [……..](w)t °° °° (cʾwn k)ʾ (šyt)[y](l)[5]
/2/ [ʾbr]tw dwš(yst) gwgʾy bwd ° k(w)

[1] This colourful designation goes back to Henning 1948, 316. See also Morano 2019.
[2] I would like to thank the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to consult and publish these fragments. Thanks are also due to all the *Mitarbeiter(in)* of the former Akademienvorhaben "Turfanforschung" for kindly hosting me on their premises. I would like in particular to express my sincere gratitude to Christiane Reck, who has hosted me on several occasions in her office at the Academy. She always helped me with any manuscript requests or codicological problems I had.
[3] See also Boyce (1960, Register, 148 n. 48).
[4] Boyce 1960, 51: "Remains of a badly worm-eaten sheet, parts of all 4 mm., but much of the centre missing with loss of complete lines, no remaining lines intact".
[5] Despite the loss of the bottoms of letters, the reading is not in doubt.

/3/ hʾn ʾʾwʾm ʿy ʾbdwmyy kʾ ʾb(r)
/4/ [h](w dwšmnw)n pʾdxšʾyhʾd[6] ° ʾwd gyʾ(nyn ky)
/5/ (r)[wšn pymwg p](y)mwcʾnd ° ʾyg xʾ[ny](g)ʾn ẅ
/6/ [7-8](y)nʾn dhyn wyšʾhʾnd ẅ
/7/ [……..ky](rb)gʾn zyhr ʾcy(š pdyr)ʾnd
/8/ [°° °° cʾwn]kʾ ʾnwš ʾb(r t)[w] (d)wšyst
/9/ [gwgʾy bwd °](k)w ʾsm[ʾn]ʾn (nr)[…..](.)
/10/ [……](k p.)[……]
/11/ *{lost}*
/12/ *{lost}*
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ [……](šʾdyh(ʾ)
/15/ [……](ʿspr)hmʾn hwmbwynʾn
/16/ [ʾ]yʾd pws ʿy hwcyhr ʾwd ʾrdykr
/17/ [ʾ]bʾg šhryʾrʾn pd ʾrdyg ʿy ʿstpt

/V/

/1/ [n](q)wšʾd ° ʾw(d) hrwys(p) [……]
/2/ [ʾ]wd xwd pyrwzyḫ ʿstʾnʾ[d …]
/3/ ʿy wzrg (bynʾ)[d] ʾwd šhryʾryy dʾrʾ(d)
/4/ °° °° cʾwn kʾ sym ʾbr tw (dw)[š](yst)
/5/ gwg[ʾ]y bwd ° kwm ʾgr c(š)[9-10]ʾn
/6/ ʿy pd ʾsmʾn ʾwd cʾ[wn ….. pd]
/7/ zmyg wʾryd ° ʾyg ʾbr (..)[……]
/8/ pryhstwm gryyḫ ° ʾwd (z)[……]
/9/ (z)[..](t)[wy]sʾy(ʾd) ʾc ʾxš[……]
/10/ [……](b.)[….](.n) ʾ(w)[……]
/11/ *{lost}*
/12/ *{lost}*
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ (p)dy[……]
/15/ pd dʾdystʾn (d……. °)[……]
/16/ bwʾd myʾn šhrʾn cʾwn srwʾn b[…]
/17/ ʾwd rwšnʾn ° ʾwd cʾwn xwrxšyd […]

Translation

/R/

/1/ […]. As when
/2/ Šytyl, dearest, was witness of thee, that

[6] For pʾdyxšʾyhʾd as subj. 3rd sing. see Sundermann (1973, 29 (421), M1004 + V iii 20).

/3/ on that final time when
/4/ he will rule over those enemies and the souls, when
/5/ they will put on [(their) Light garments], then springs and
/6/ [… (which were) sh]ut up(?) will open their mouth
/7/ […] the virtuous(?) will take life from him
/8/ [… As] when Enoš, dearest, [was witness] of thee,
/9/ that the skies […]
/10/ [……](b.)[….](.n) ʾ(w)[…….]
/11/ *{lost}*
/12/ *{lost}*
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ […] happily
/15/ […] fragrant flowers
/16/ […] the beautiful son and warrior will
/17/ fight together with the kings in the violent battle.

/V/

/1/ And every […]
/2/ and will take victory (?) […]
/3/ and bind the big […] and hold the kingship.
/4/ As when Sēm, dearest,
/5/ was witness of thee, namely when […]
/6/ rejoices in heaven and […]
/7/ earth […] of […]
/8/ on the dearest thou weepest(?) and […]
/9/ […] will enter from […]
/10/ [……](b.)[….](.n) ʾ(w)[d]
/11/ *{lost}*
/12/ *{lost}*
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ (p)dy[……]
/15/ in the judgement […]
/16/ may he be amids lands like cypresses(?) […]
/17/ and lights. And as the Sun . . .

Commentary

/R/1-2/ °° (cʾwn k)ʾ (šyt)[yl] /2/ [ʾbr]tw dwš(yst) gwgʾy bwd: this sentence appears three times in what remains of the page, always preceded by a double punctuation, with the name of a prophet (i.e. Šytyl, Enoš, Sēm respectively) after cʾwn kʾ. Although what follows in the three occurrences is partly damaged and not completely clear, this

could help us to understand the hymn as a glorification of Mani, who had as testimonies the major preceding Prophets who brought Gnosis to mankind. See, for instance, the first *Kephalaion* of the Berlin text, "Concerning the Advent of the Apostle" (Gardner 1995, 15 ff.), where we have the same sequence of Hebrew patriarchs, Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Enoch, and Sem (1 *Ke* 12.10–12, see Gardner,1995, 18) and Mani is connected with them. On the attestations of Šytyl/Syt in Iranian Manichaean texts (some also unpublished) see Colditz 2018, 462 f. nr. 489. Sethel/Seth, Adam's son, rather faded in the Genesis, assumes a leading role in the intertestamental and apocalyptic Jewish tradition, and, consequently, in the Gnostic, Mandaic and Manichaean tradition. He represents the father of a chosen humanity and the custodian of the secrets of the First Man. The Mandaic Šītīl is invoked in many liturgies as a sort of angel that presides over the baptisms of the Mandaeans and also plays an important role in the redemption of souls (see Villey 1994, 240-241). In the Coptic Manichaean Psalter, an entire Psalm, fourth of the *Psalms of the Errants*, is dedicated to him, invoked as Saviour (see Allberry 1938, 144-145; Säve-Söderbergh 1949, 81 ff., Villey 1994, 237 ff.).

/R/3-4/ ʾb(r) / [h](w dwšmnw)n pʾdxšʾyhʾd 'he will rule over those enemies', cf. M94+/20a–b/ ʾwd pdxšʾhynd ° pd nwʾg / šhrʾn ° ʾbr hw dwšmnyn ° 'and (they will) hold sway in the New Æons over those enemies and rebels' (Boyce 1952, 439-440).

/R/5/ (r)[rwšn pymwg p](y)mwcʾnd 'they put on their Light garments'. The restoration is only tentantive, assuming the fact that souls at the final judgement will take off their mortal garment, and put on a Light garment. Cf. M5/R/ii/27-V/i/9/ pd sxt cwhr<w>m / mʾḫ šhryywr / pd dwšmbt ʾwd / jmʾn ʿywnds / kd hmyw ʿyštʾd / pd ʾfrywn / frʾmwxtyyš / tnbʾr pdmwcn / ʾbdyn ° cwʾgwn / kd wrwc tgnbn(d) / wytʾbʾd / rwšnysṯr ʾc / myhryzd rwšnyfṯ 'On the fourth day of the month of Sharevar, on a Monday at the (30) eleventh hour, as he stood in prayer, he shed the wonted garment of the body. Suddenly he shone like a flash of lightning . . .' (Andreas and Henning 1934, 864).[7]

/R/8/ ʾnwš 'Enoš'; for attestations in Manichaean texts see Colditz 2018, 199, n. 47. Enoš is the son of Seth (Šytyl), grandson of Adam.

/R/15/ cf. M36/V/19-20 = Andreas and Henning 1933, 326 = Leurini 2017, 36-37: (dr)wd ʾwd ʾfryn ʾbr ʿyn bwysṯʾn ʾf(r)[yd]g ʿyg / ʿsprhmʾn

[7] For ʾbdyn meaning 'wonted, customary' and not 'wunderbar', see Henning (1944, 110).

xwmbwynʾn ʾwd wy[p](ʾ)bygʾn °° ‘Well-being and blessing over this blessed garden[8] of / fragrant and all pure flowers.’

/V/1/ [n](q)wšʾd: this word occurs elsewhere only once in Parthian in M888+M533/1b/. Boyce, when she published the fragment, left the word untranslated, the context not permitting to give the hapax a meaningful translation (Boyce 1952, 448: fragment F /R/1b/). Shokri-Foumeshi, forthc., republished the fragment and translates ‘killed’, presumably from the root kwš- + preverb ni-. In this context, however, ‘kill’ does not suit well. I therefore interpret [n](q)wšʾd as subj. 3rd sing. of ni+kwš ‘to fight’ (see Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 215, and Cheung 2007, 251). The meaning of the whole sentence may be perhaps that Mani (?), beautiful (Godson) and valiant warrior will fight with the Kings in the violent battle (against the demons of Darkness?).

/V/4/ sym: ‘Sēm’, Noah’s son, who appears in several Manichaean texts in the lists of forgoing prophets. For the attestations in Manichaean literature see Colditz 2018, 457, nr. 483.

/V/8/ gryyẖ ‘thou weepest’(?) (see Cheung 2007, 111-112). Probably indicating the mourning on the day of departure from this earth. Hardly the noun gryẖ ‘knot’ or ‘mud’ (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 164).

II

M762

This almost complete folio is from the same codex as M761, evidently a hymnbook. It contained 18 lines, but lines 13-14 are completely lost and lines 11, 12 and 15 are only partly preserved. Its measurements are: 20.9 x 13 cm; interlinear space: 0.7 cm; lines’ length: 8.5 cm; outer margin: 3 cm; inner margin: 1.5 cm; upper margin: 3.1 cm; bottom margin: 1.7 cm; black/red interpunction.

[8] I.e the Manichaean community, see Andreas & Henning 1933, 326 n. 8, and Leurini 2017, 41 on (94).

Boyce lists M762 as the only entry in group 43 of the Register "to the Spiritus Vivens" (Boyce 1960, 148), while in the main entry (Boyce 1960, 51) she assigns the hymn to the Sun God. Sundermann 1979, 105 [= Sundermann 2001, 131] seems to prefer to assign the hymn to the Sun God.

/R/

/1/ šhry(ʾ)[ʾrʾn] ʿy xwrʾsʾnyg ʿyg
/2/ xwd zynʾ(r)ys xwdʾy nʾzʾg ʿy
/3/ ʾsmʾnʾn ° hʾn kyš zwrʾn ẅ b(ʾn)
/4/ rwšnʾn nʾy pyšyy prxwʾnynd °° š
/5/ prys(t)[ʾgʾ]n ẅ dwšystʾn wzrgyẖ
/6/ ʾ(w)d t(h)myẖ prsrʾynd °° ʾwš
/7/ qnyg(ʾn) rwšnʾn nyšʾn ʾwd drpš
/8/ dʾrynd ° ʾwš nʾwʾzʾn nywʾn ʾw (r)hy
/9/ [ʾ](w)d wrdywn rʾynynd °° ʾ(p)wry(h)[ʾd ʾ](w)d
/10/ ʿstʾyhʾd xw(r)[9] [ny](sʾ)g m(ʾ)[ny](n)d[10]
/11/ dwšyst ʿy rw[šnʾn .....]
/12/ p(y)d (.ʿ)[y .....]
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ *{lost}*
/15/ [18-20](rw)šn(ʾ)[n]
/16/ [ʾy](ʾd[11] hy)b bw(y)nd (ʿy)myšʾʾn
/17/ [py](d)rʾn xwʾbrʾn nyʾgʾn pdxšrʾwnd(n̤)
/18/ (ʾw)mʾn xwd prystynd zwr ʾwd

/V/

/1/ (p)ryʾdyšn bwxtgyy (ʾ)[wd pyr]wzyẖ[12]
/2/ ʾw hʾmʾg dynywjdh(r) prʾzyš(t)
/3/ ʾwd jʾydʾn ʾwhbyẖ °°
/4/ *{blank}*
/5/ ʾpwryhʾnd ʾwd ʿst(ʾy)hʾnd
/6/ ʿymyšʾn dwnʾn rwšnʾn wzrgʾn
/7/ wrdywnʾn zyndgʾn ky šhr(yʾ)rʾn
/8/ shyn dydyšnʾn ʾndr[13] ʾwyrd hynd

---

[9] No trace of the suprascript dot, though.

[10] m(ʾ)[ny](nd), already in Sundermann 1979, 105 (= Sundermann 2001, 131): 'Gelobt und gepriesen werde der Bewohner der strahlenden Sonne, der Geliebteste der Lichtwesen'.

[11] Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 148 has [..ʾ](w)d{?}. For the expression ʾyʾd hyb bwynd 'may they be remembered', see BBB (224-225 and 235-236).

[12] Cf. BBB (242-247): pyšmʾn (242) pydrʾn xwʾbrʾn w: nyʾgʾn (243) pdyxšrʾwyndʾn ʾwmʾn (244) xwd prystʾnd zwr ʾwd (245) pryʾdyšn bwxtgyy ʾwd (246) pyrwzyy.

[13] ʾndr is sometimes adverb, see M5794+ dwdyg kw dyn 14 (11) ʿy pyšyn ʾndwm dʾš 15 (12) sʾrʾrʾn pʾqʾn ʾndr 16 (13) bwd hynd °° 'Second: the older religions (remained

/9/ (.)[...](.d) hynd rwšnyẖ ʿy ʾwybʾn(?)[14]
/10/ (ʾ)[b](r)dwm °° (ʾwd x)wd (h)ynd ʾwhyryš(n)
/11/ [13-14](t) ʾbrdr ° xwd hynd
/12/ [.....](ʾn) ʿy
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ *{lost}*
/15/ [..](.) ʿy(?)[.....]
/16/ (k/x.. wš)mynynd[15] ʿs(tʾr)gʾn (ẅ ... .)[.. .)[...]
/17/ ʾxtrʾn ʿspyr ° ʾwd prmws(ynd)[...]
/18/ hʾmʾg ʾyrdryẖ ° cynynd (ẅ) ʾb(dʾ)[cynd?]

Translation

/R/

/1/ King of Khorāsān,
/2/ Zēnārēs himself, delightful Lord
/3/ of Heavens, in front of whom the Powers and the Gods
/4/ of the Lights play the flute.
/5/ Let the Messengers and the Dearest Ones
/6/ praise his Greatness and Strength.
/7/ The Maidens of Light hold the sign
/8/ and banner. Good Pilots guide
/9/ his ... and Chariot. May be blessed
/10/ and praised the Splendid Sun, the dearest
/11/ dweller(?) of the Lights [...]
/12/ father [...]
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ *{lost}*
/15/ [...] of the Lights (?)
/16/ [...] may be remembered these
/17/ beneficent [fa]thers, honoured ancestors,
/18/ and may themselves send us strength and

/V/

/1/ help, salvation and victory
/2/ to the Holy Church, for ever
/3/ and eternally may it be so!

in order) as long as there were holy leaders in it' (Andreas & Henning 1933, 295-296).

[14] Unknown word, perhaps ʾwy bʾn, two words.

[15] Reading uncertain.

/4/ *blank*
/5/ May be blessed and praised
/6/ these two Great Lights'
/7/ Living Chariots, kings
/8/ who entered their splendid aspects
/9/ [...] are Splendour of the highest gods(??).
/10/ And they are ... the rising
/11/ higher. The are indeed
/12/ [.....](ʾn) ʿy
/13/ *{lost}*
/14/ *{lost}*
/15/ [..](.) ʿy(?)[.....]
/16/ [...] there rejoyce(?) the stars [...]
/17/ the constellations of the sphere. And may be praised
/18/ all of these. They gather and rescue [... all the Light]

Commentary

/R/1/ Since there is no ornamental initial letter, it is evident that the hymn does not start here. If we emend in the lacuna šhry(ʾ)[ʾrʾn], the translation thereof could be something like '[the brightest] of [all] the Lords of Khorāsān, Zēnārēs himself, the delightful Lord ...'

/R/2-5/ These lines are identical with those in M871g/A/ii/1-8/, a hymn to Zēnārēs.[16] It is worthy to note here that the compositional technique of the hymnographers was rather free, as they used "modules" to insert into various hymns (see also Durkin-Meisterernst 2014, 148, fn. c.).

/R/2/ On Zēnārēs see Sundermann 1979, 102, 105 and 131 n. 230, with references. In M98 and M99 and other Middle Persian texts the Third Messenger/Mihryazd seems to coincide with the Spiritus Vivens (see Andreas & Henning 1932, 177 n.3; Hutter 1992, 8 ff.; for the name, see Andreas and Henning 1933, 327 n. 2).

/R/3-4/ cf. M36/R/22-23/ ʾwd ʾbhw[mʾ](g)ʾn ʿy rʾzʾn ʿy whyy nʾypzdʾ(ʾ)n /23/ ʿy wh[m](n) [nrym]ʾ(n) pd nyšʾn ʿy xwndg nxwsṯʿyn 'the flute-players of Vahman [Narim]an through the sign of the First-Called One[17]'. M36 was recently republished by Leurini (2017, 33, lines 53-98),

[16] See the two texts compared in Durkin-Meisterernst (2014, 148-149). Our text is erroneously quoted as M762/V/.

[17] xwndg nxwsṯʿyn, i.e. Xrwštg, see Sundermann (1973, 44 with n. 3). Differently Andreas & Henning (1933, 324-325 n.7): "*xvandag* bedeutet 'gerufen, berufen' im Sinne von Erschaffen' ... Zur Frage wer der 'erste Berufene' ist, ... wäre der 'erste Berufene' Urmensch-Ōhrmizd". About *nīšān* they have an interesting remark: "Was

with no comment on the flute players (see also Klimkeit 1993, 92 n.3 and 97). Noteworthy is the fact that the preachers use music to summon the god Call. In our text, though, the flute players are not the preachers, but the Powers and the Gods. On xwndg nxwsṯʿyn see also Leurini (2017, 39 on (75)). See also M5260/R/1-2/ in Durkin-Meisterernst (2014, 36-37 with note 24 (without context)), [ʾ]w[d] (t)nwr ʾwʾcyn(d) (z)[.....] ʾ(w)d n(ʾ)y pzdynd... 'and they sound the *tnwr* ... and they play the flute(s).' On the importance of music for the Manichaean religion see Puech (1979). Cf. also the *Amatorium Canticum* quoted by Augustinus, *Contra Faustum* XV, 5-6:

(p. 425.4-6) Annon recordaris amatorium canticum tuum, ubi describis maximum regnantem regem, sceptrigerum perennem, | floreis coronis cinctum et facie rutilantem?

"Do you recall your 'Song of the Lovers' in which you describe the supreme reigning monarch, forever sceptre-bearing, crowned with floral wreaths and possessing a fiery countenance?"

*(p. 425.16-20) ... sequeris enim | cantando et adiungis duodecim saecula floribus conuestita et | **canoribus plena** et in faciem patris flores suos iactantia.*

"As you follow the song, you add [to the list of gods] Twelve Aeons clothed in flowers and **full of song**, throwing their flowers at the Father's face".

/R/5-8/ these lines are edited and translated in Colditz 2000, 297: 'verehrt und gepriesen werden sollen sie, diese zwei großen Lichter, die lebendigen Kampfwagen, in die die strahlenden Erscheinungen der Herrscher hineingegangen sind'.

/R/7/ For qnygʾn rwšnʾn in the plural (Sogd. XII βγpwryšt) 'the Twelve Maidens of Lights', see Sundermann 1979, 100, 2/12 and 122, fn. 101, 102, 103.

/R/8-9/ (r)hy /9/ [ʾ](w)d wrdywn hendiadys? or the chariots are two?

/R/17 ff./ in *BBB* 242 ff. we have a similar, but longer, blessing formula:

(242) 7/ *pydrʾn xwʾbrʾn ꙗ nyʾgʾn* 243 8/ *pdyxsřʾwyndʾn ʾwmʾn (*244) 9/ *xwd prystʾnd zwr ʾwd (*245) 10/ *pryʾdysn̆ b(wxt)[gyy](ʾwd) (*246) 11/ *(p)[yrwzyy* dr](y)styy ʾwd ʾby (247) 12/ *(wz)[yndyy]sˇdyy ẅ qyrbgyy* (248) 13/ *rʾm (ẅ) wsˇydʾxw m(y)hr*[49] *ꙗ (*249) 14/

das 'Zeichen' (*nīšān*) des 'ersten Berufenen' anbetrifft, so könnte man an die *Xvāstvānēft* VIIIB genannten vier 'Zeichen' (*tamga = nīšān, ...*) denken, wo denen das 'Zeichen der Fünfgötter', die Furcht, dem 'Zeichen des ersten Berufenen' am besten entspräche".

pʾsbʾnyy qyrbg (250) 15/ twxsʾysʾn ẅ ʿspwrgʾryy (251) 16/ ʾwd ʾstʾr hyṣ̌tn (252) 17/ wʾbrygʾn (rw)sʾn ʿyg (253) 18/ drwdyy ° wnyrʾd ʾ*br hm*ʾ*g* 254 17/ *dyn ywjdhr* °

‘(236) May praise, blessing, entreaty, prayer and supplication ascend from us all in purity and forgiveness and (241) be accepted **in the sight of our beneficent fathers and honoured forbears; and may they themselves send us support and** (245) **aid, salvation and [victory],** health and freedom from [harm], joy and piety, peace and security, friendship(?) and protection, pious (250) zeal and striving for perfection, and forgiveness of sins, the true light of salvation. May (all this) be established for the whole holy church, especially’ (translation by Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams et al. 2022, 31-33).

/V/5/ After one blank line a new hymn starts, possibly addressed to the Chariots of the Sun and the Moon.

/V/18/ ‘they gather and rescue’ possibly ‘[… all the Light]’ in the missing following text.

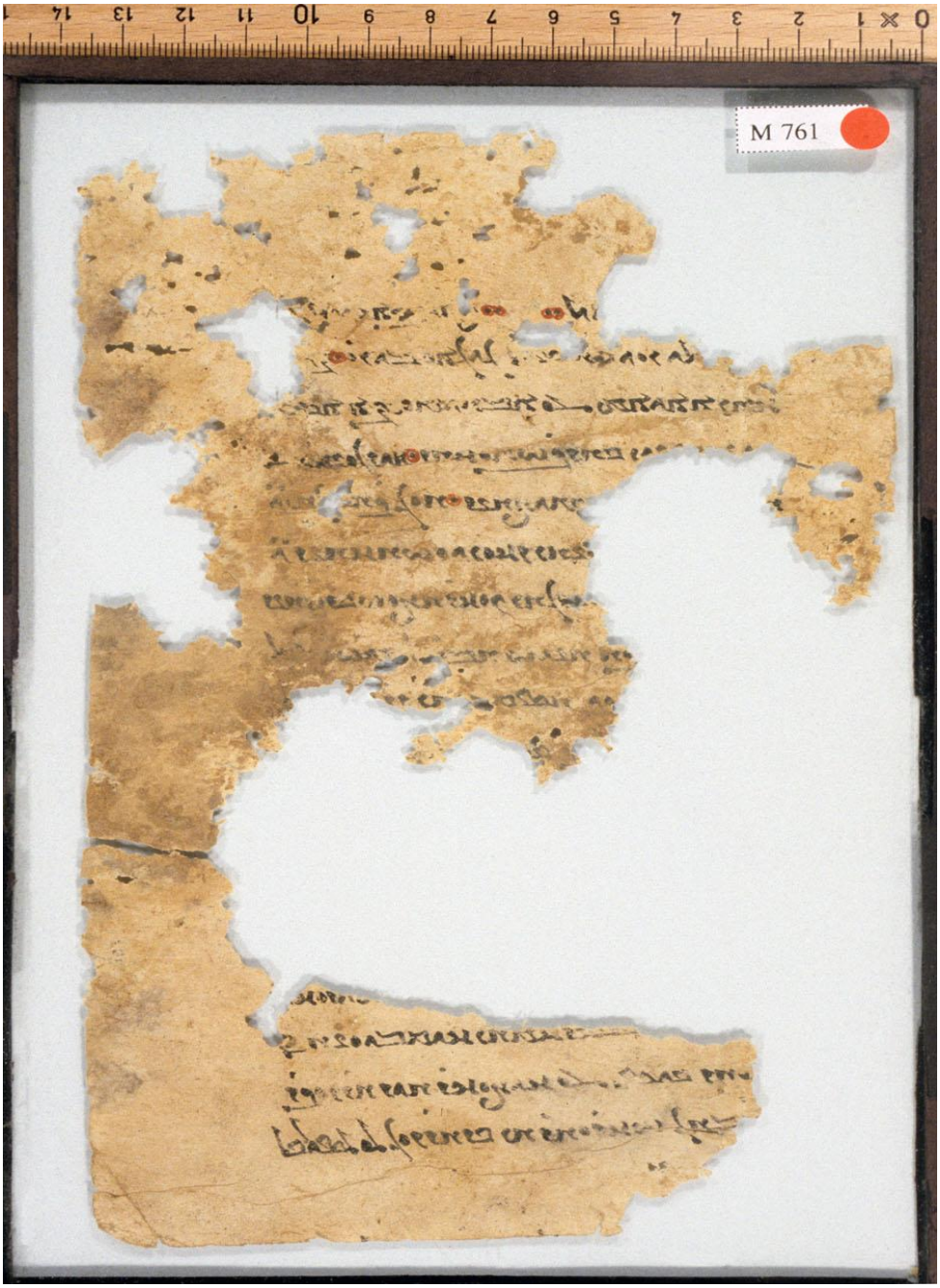
Appendix

When this article was at proof stage, Christiane Reck kindly informed me that the figure of a flute player appears on a page (So18700+M501e+III6261) that she reconstructed and edited (Reck 2005).

The figure is drawn on the right margin, and it has no apparent relation with the text of the page. I am very grateful to Christiane for this important hint and for allowing me to publish her montage in colour (Plate 5 below).

Plate 1	M761 recto
Plate 2	M761 verso
Plate 3	M762 recto
Plate 4	M762 verso
Plate 5	So18700+M501e+III6261 (Montage Christiane Reck)

Plate 1



M761 recto

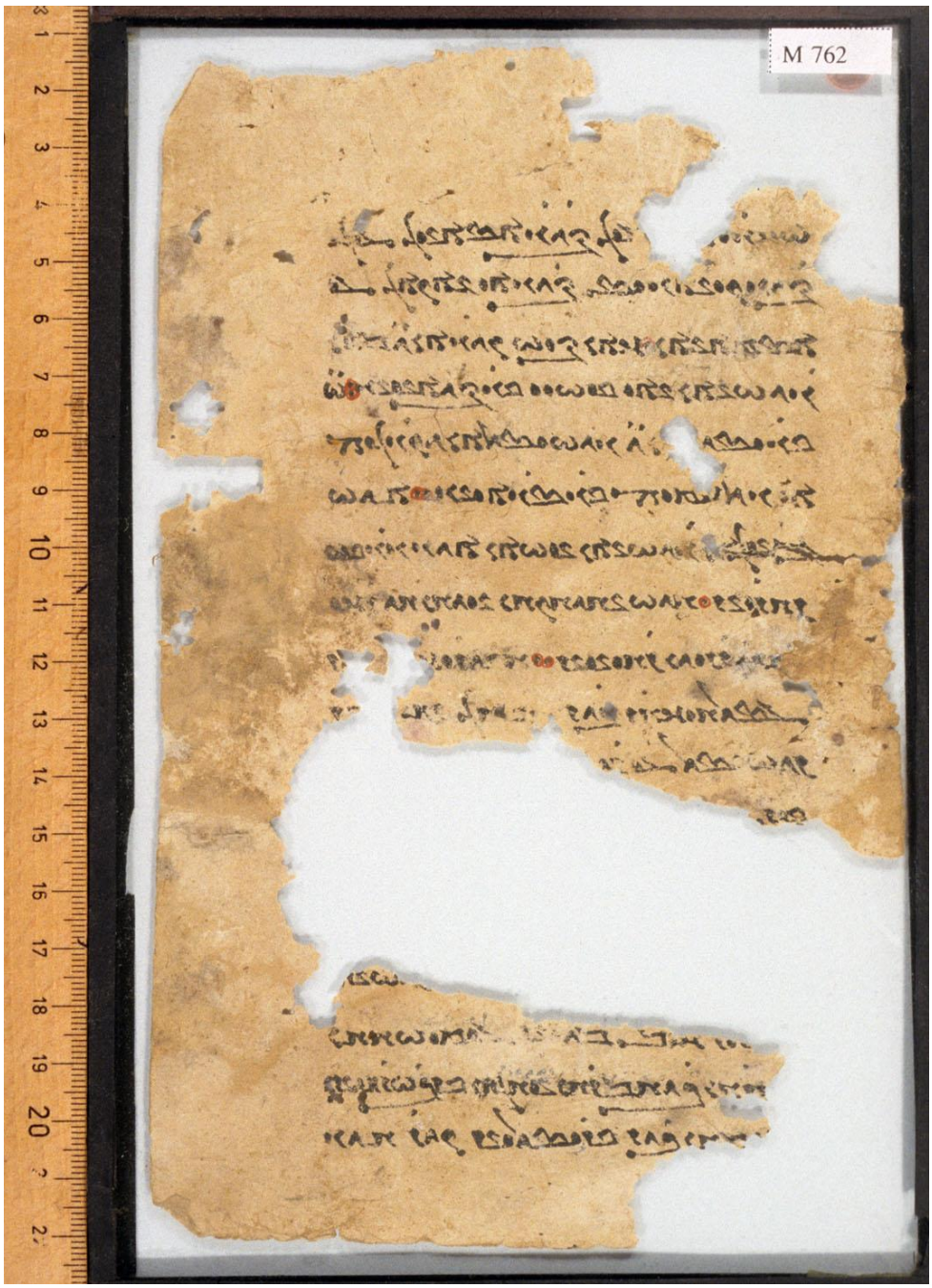
Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

Plate 2

M761 verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

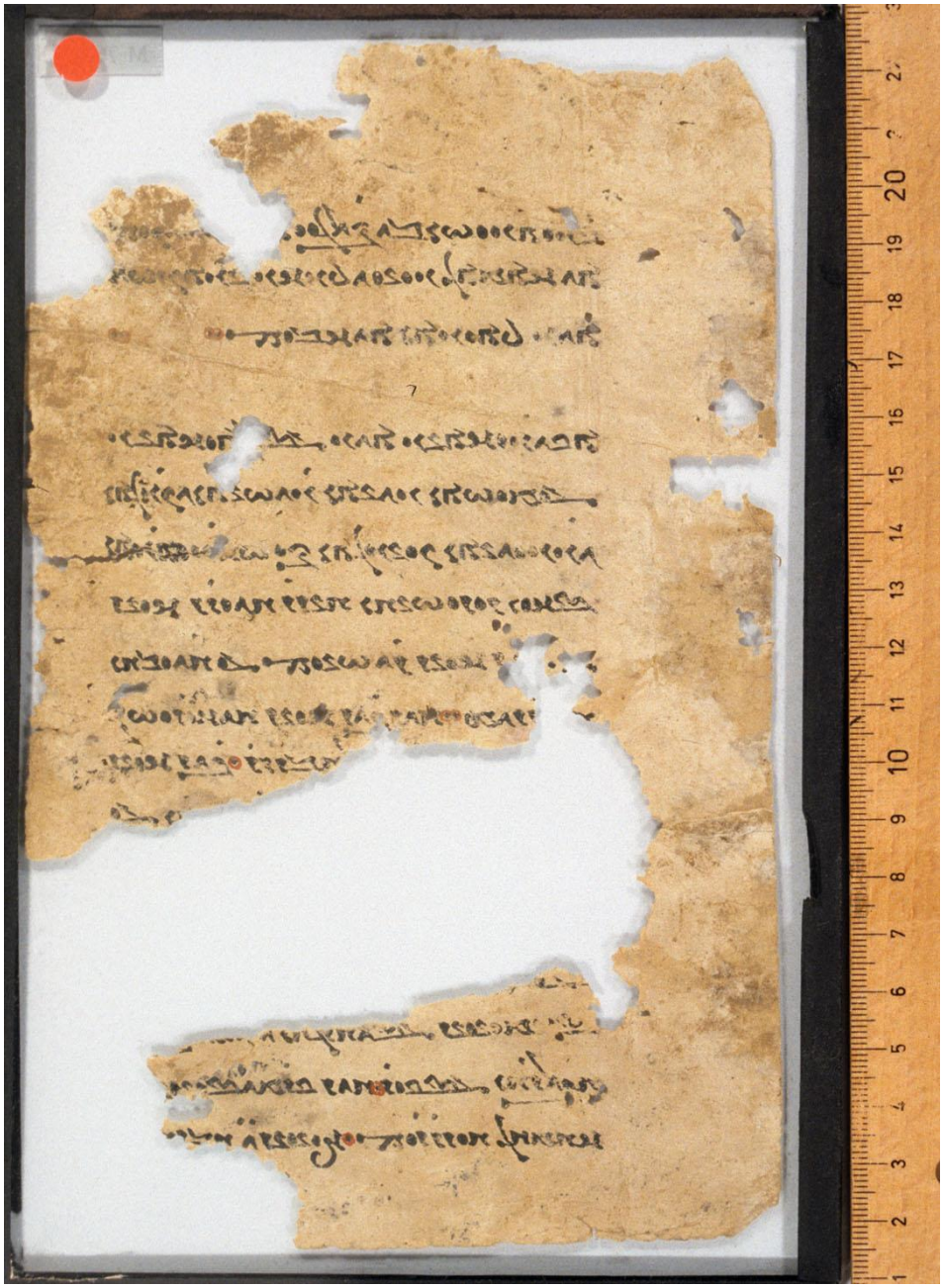
Plate 3



M762 recto

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

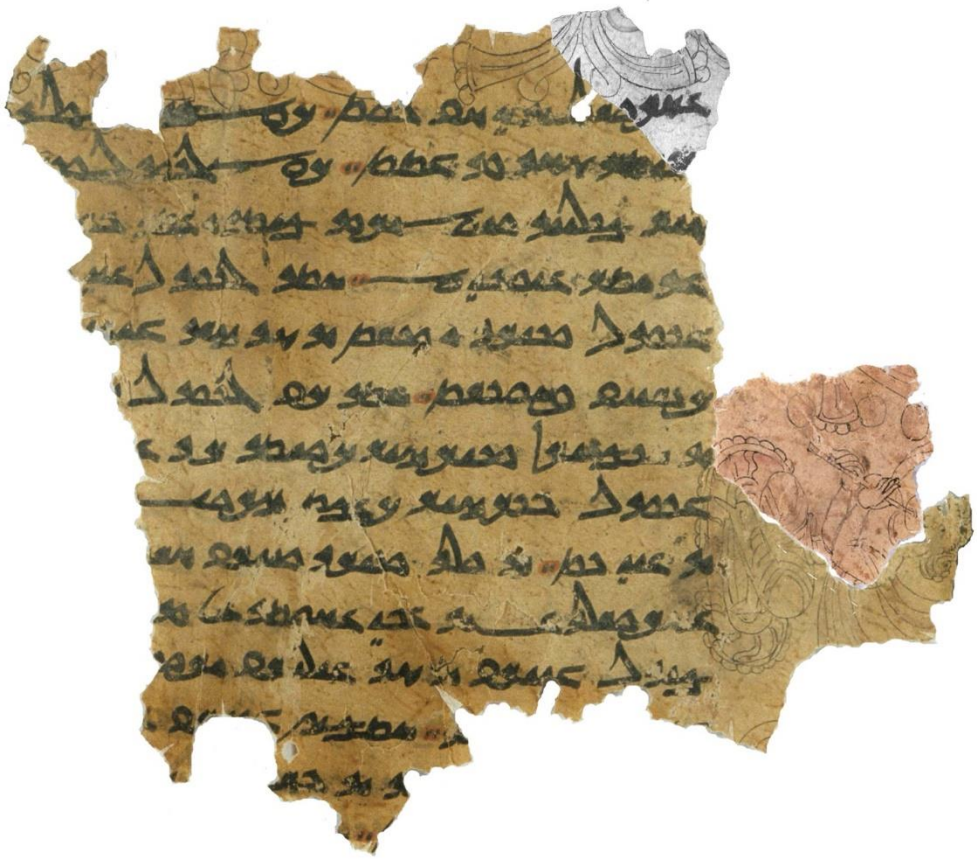
Plate 4



M762 verso

Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

Plate 5



So18700+M501e+III6261 (Montage Christiane Reck)

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Photos: *Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*

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BBB = Henning 1936, and Sims-Williams, Sheldon, and Gulácsi 2022.

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