

# The Zargari language: An endangered European Romani in Iran

HASSAN REZAI BAGHBIDI

Zargari (or Romāno, as it is called by its speakers) is the only genuine Indo-Aryan language still spoken in Iran. The purpose of this article, which is mainly based on the author's field work, is (a) to provide a brief, but at the same time precise, description of the main characteristics of Zargari phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, and (b) to examine the influences of Āzari Turkish and Persian on Zargari, which in some cases distinguish it from other Indo-Aryan languages, such as a tendency towards deaspiration, the existence of the phonemes /ö/ and /ü/, vowel harmony and the syllabic structure CV(CC).

**Keywords:** endangered language, Gypsy language, Indo-Aryan language, Romani, Romāno, Zargari

## 1. Introduction

Zargari, which is also known as 'Romāno' by its speakers, belongs to the Romani branch of central Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in the small village of Zargar in the Ābyek district in the Qazvin Province of northwest Iran. The village is located at 50° 23' E and 36° 03' N. It is some 20 km southwest of Ābyek, on the asphalt road connecting Ābyek to Xatāyān. According to the 1999 Iranian gazetteer, Zargar has a population of 160 families (Farhang-e joqrāfiyā'i 1999: 304).

The produce of Zargar is chiefly wheat, barley and maize. Animal husbandry, chiefly cattle, is one of the mainstays of the village economy. Apart from a few Afghan immigrants, the inhabitants of the village are all the descendants of the nomadic Gypsies of the region.

The earliest mention of Gypsies in Iran can be found in the *Šāhnāma* (Book of Kings), by the eleventh-century Persian poet Ferdowsi, according to which Bahrām-e Gur, the Sassanian king (reign: 421–38 AD), persuaded

Hassan Rezai Baghbidi is assistant professor of Old and Middle Iranian languages at the Iranian Academy of Persian Language and Literature, Velenjak, 15-East Street 36, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: harezai2001@yahoo.co.uk

Šangol, the king of India, to send him ten thousand Indian musicians (called the *Luri*) to be distributed to the various parts of the country (Osmanov and Nušin 1968: 451). The homeland of the *Luri* must have been the town of al-Rur some 30 *farsangs* to the southwest of Multān (Coxe 1967–1968: 75; Minorsky 1986: 817; see also Hancock 1995: 19–28; Matras 2002: 14–18).

The migrations of Gypsies in Iran have been so extensive that at present they can be found in almost all Iranian provinces, where they are given various names, such as *Čegini*, *Čingāna*, *Foyuj*, *Harāmi*, *Jugi*, *Kowli*, *Lavand*, *Luli*, *Luri*, *Pāpati*, *Qarači*, *Qarbālbānd*, *Qerešmāl*, *Qorbati*, *Suzmāni*, *Zangi*, *Zot* and so on. The word *Kowli*, which is more commonly used in Iran, is sometimes thought to be a distortion of *Kāboli* (i.e. coming from Kabul, Afghanistan), but its derivation from the Gypsy word *kālā* or *kāūlā* (cf. Hindi *kālā*, Zargari *kālo/qālo*), meaning ‘black, dark’, seems more logical (Ivanow 1914: 442). Most Iranian Gypsies lead a more-or-less nomadic form of life and earn their living by begging, carpentry, fortune-telling, metalwork and singing; however, due to the lack of reliable census material, it is not possible to give estimates for their number.

Unfortunately the Gypsy languages of Iran have not yet been fully researched and all previous research has been limited to samples of words. The oldest of these samples—from the second half of the nineteenth century—can be found in the works of Dames, de Gobineau, de Goeje, Newbold, Ouseley and Sykes (see de Goeje 1978: 35–45).

In the beginning of the twentieth century de Morgan (1903), Sykes (1906) and Ivanow (1914, 1920) gave brief descriptions of the *Jugi* dialect of Estarābād, the *Qorbati* dialects of Jiroft and Sirjān, and the *Qorbati* dialects of Qāēnāt, Neyšābur, Sabzevār and Mašhad respectively. The first Iranian scholar to describe the *Qorbati* dialect of Xenjin (near Vafs) was M. Moqaddam (1949). In 1962, another Iranian scholar, M. Sotude, published a short vocabulary of the *Seliyeri* dialect, then spoken in fourteen villages in Firuzkuh. What is certain about all these so-called Gypsy languages is that they are merely jargons based on the languages spoken by the people among whom the Gypsies live, and that only a few original Indo-Aryan words can be traced in them (see also Baghbidi 2002; Ivanow 1920).

Zargari is the only genuine Gypsy language in Iran which, in spite of being under the heavy influence of Āzari Turkish and Persian, has preserved its Indo-Aryan nature. It was first described by G. L. Windfuhr (1970) as a variety of European Romani, very close to the dialect recorded by Colocci (1889) in the Mariza valley of southern Bulgaria (see also Windfuhr 2002).

Windfuhr suggested that the origin of the Zargaris might indeed be Rum—that is, Rumelia. Long after Windfuhr, three Iranian scholars (Kalbāsi 1993; Tehrānizāde-ye Qučāni 1991; Xādemoššariʿe-ye Sāmāni 1994) tried to study Zargari, but all three drew false conclusions in many respects. Nevertheless, these studies showed that in addition to Zargar and its neighbouring village, Bāqerābād-e Tork, Zargari has a few speakers in Ābyek, Qešlāq-e Zargarhā (on the outskirts of Karaj in the Tehrān Province), Qučān (in the Xorāsān Province of northeast Iran, see Djonedī 1996) and Šahriyār (near Karaj).

There are different contradictory oral accounts as to the history of the Zargaris (see e.g. Kalbāsi 1993: 38–9; Xādemoššariʿe-ye Sāmāni 1994: 29); the one told by the village elder and recorded by Windfuhr (1970: 289) seems the most reliable:

There were three goldsmith brothers, hence their Persian name *zargar* ‘goldsmith’. These three were brought to Iran by Nāder Šāh (reign: 1737–1747) from Rum, which is somewhere in the Ottoman empire. Because of their skills, these hostages were granted grazing grounds in the area of present day Zargar as winter pastures and grounds in the mountains west of the former Xamsa (Zanjān) region as summer pastures. One of them, Ahmad, lived at Zargar, the other, Seyfollāh, in neighbouring Bāqerābād, and Zabdolmalek in a now ruined place called Qaraqobād. They were also granted exemption from taxation and military service (as were and are Gypsies in Iran today) and enjoyed official protection until the time of Amhad Šāh (reign: 1909–1925) when their land was transferred to a member of the court. Part of their land seems to have been religious endowment, i.e. *vaqf*. A copy of the granting edict of Nāder Šāh is said to have been burned about ten years ago [c. 1960] by the insane wife of the former village elder; but the original should be found in the official archives. During the time of Rezā Šāh (reign: 1925–1941) they were settled and built their homes in the winter pastures giving up their summer places.

The only Persian source in which the Zargar tribe is given a mention is the travel account of Mirzā Mohammad Hoseyn-e Hoseyni-ye Farāhāni (b. 1848) written by the order of the Qājār king Nāseroddin Šāh (reign: 1848–1897) in 1885. While describing his travel to Qazvin, Farāhāni wrote:

There is a road of four *farsangs* going from the Qešlāq caravanserai to the Kavanda caravanserai. It is covered with red earth and in the rainy season it gets rather muddy. The Zargar tribe of Qazvin lives far and near this road between the two caravanserais. They are all merciless robbers, robbing clandestinely and dirtily. Whenever they find an opportunity, day or night, they come to the road in a begging pose, and if they find two or three people unarmed, they rob them of their possessions. (Golzāri 1983: 16–17)

My informants told me that in the past the Zargar tribe consisted of many different clans, including *Čuqqorlu*, *Pāsālār*, *Sālātonlu*, *Sārdom* and *Sājfon*. The inhabitants of the Zargar village are mostly the descendants of the *Pāsālār*. The descendants of the other clans, especially the *Sārdom* and the *Sājfon*, can be found in the Iranian cities of Ābādān, Xoy, Salmās, Širāz, Tehrān and Urmiye, but they have all forgotten the Zargari language.

At present the speakers of Zargari (or the Roma, as they call themselves) in the Zargar village and its vicinities, whose number can hardly even reach 1,000, are normally trilingual in Zargari, Āzari Turkish and Persian. Since the language of communication with the neighbouring communities is Āzari Turkish and the language of education is Persian, Zargari is not properly passed on to the younger generation. The process of attrition, which has been accelerated by exogamy in the last two decades, threatens Zargari with complete extinction.

The following description of Zargari is based upon the material collected by the author in the Zargar village in 2000–1. The informants consisted of people of different backgrounds, most of them with little formal education and middle-aged.

## 2. Phonology

Zargari has the phonemes set out in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

### 2.1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	p ph b		t th d				k kh g	q	[ʔ]
Nasals	m		n						
Fricatives		f v		s z	š [ž]			x [ɣ]	h
Affricates					č čh dž				
Liquids				l r					
Semivowels	[w]					j			

## 2.2. Vowels

	Front	Back
High	i ü	u
Mid	e ö	o
Low	a	ā
Short	a e o ö	
Long	ā i u ü	

## 2.3. Phonological rules

2.3.1. There is a tendency to reduce the tripartite system of stops and affricates to a bipartite one by merging the voiceless non-aspirates either with the aspirates or with the voiced ones. The result is /p t k č/ vs. /b d g dž/, e.g. *pani* ‘water’ > *phani* or *bani*. There is a tendency in some speakers to reduce the indicated double opposition (i.e. aspiration and voice) to the single opposition of voice, namely /p t k č/ vs. /b d g dž/, e.g. *thān* ‘place’ > *tān*; *thimi* ‘price’ > *timi*; *kher* ‘house’ > *ker*; *čhal* ‘shadow’ (cf. Early Romani *učhal*) > *čal* (cf. Windfuhr 1970: 272–3).

2.3.2. A voiceless sound tends to become voiced before a voiced sound, e.g. *les-dād* [lez-dād] ‘his father’; *Ali-s bayisti si* [Ali-z bayisti si] ‘Ali is in the garden’.

2.3.3. Voiceless stops may become aspirated before front vowels and liquids, e.g. *pašana* [phašana] ‘mosquito’; *per* [pher], *ber* ‘belly; stomach’; *opro* [ophro] ‘up’; *kiri* [khiri], *giri* ‘ant’; *bakri* [bakhri] ‘sheep’; *kakliqā* [kakhliqā] ‘partridge’.

2.3.4. No word can contain more than one aspirated sound, e.g. *khitabi* or *kithabi* ‘book’.

2.3.5. Final aspirated sounds are often deaspirated, e.g. *dikh* [dik] ‘See!'; *jākh* [jāk] ‘eye’; *jekh* [jek] ‘one’.

2.3.6. Final consonant clusters often lose the last consonant, e.g. *bax(t)* ‘luck’; *vās(t)* ‘arm; hand’; *dān(d)* ‘tooth’.

2.3.7. Medial consonants are frequently geminated, e.g. *toppā* ‘ball’; *ākkur* ‘walnut’ (cf. Early Romani *akhor*); *pukko/puqqo* ‘shoulder’ (cf. Early Romani *phiko*); *āmmā* ‘but’; *āssajipej* ‘to laugh’; *tāššā* ‘tomorrow’; *māčcho* ‘fish’ (cf. Early Romani *mačho*); *sudždžo* ‘clean’; *bellu* ‘testicle’ (cf. Early Romani *pelo*); *zorreti* ‘maize’.

2.3.8. Aspiration may substitute gemination in voiceless stops, e.g. *tatho* for *tatto* ‘hot; warm’; *dākhār* for *dākkār* ‘king’.

2.3.9. Two liquids in the same syllable may be dissimilated, e.g. *ānglāl* [ānglāl, ānglār] ‘from the front’; *somlāl* [somlāl, somlār] ‘gold’.

2.3.10. Vowels are nasalized before nasal sounds. In such cases /n/ is often omitted, e.g. *vānvro* [vānvro, vāv̄ro] or even [vāv̄ro] ‘egg’; *mān* [mā̄n] or [mā̄] ‘me’.

2.3.11. The final vowel of the prefix is often omitted before the initial vowel of the stem, e.g. *m-āč* (< *mā-āč*) ‘Do not stay!’; *m-ān* (< *mā-ān*) ‘Do not bring!’.

2.3.12. Proto-Romani voicing of the initial voiceless sound of a suffix after voiced sounds is also attested in Zargari, e.g. *olungu* (< *olun-ke*) ‘their; for them; to them’; *olundār* (< *olun-tār*) ‘from them; with them’.

2.3.13. Final /j/ of Zargari present stems goes back to /v/, e.g. *soj-* ‘to sleep’ < \**sov-*; *ruj-* ‘to cry, to weep’ < \**ruv-*; *nāšaj-* ‘to make run’ < \**nāšav-*.

2.3.14. /k/ and /g/ are palatalized before front vowels, e.g. *karas* [kʲaras] ‘butter’; *kirmo* [kʲirmo] ‘worm’; *gerās* [gʲerās] ‘horse’ (< Armenian *grast*).

2.3.15. Dissimilation of /t/ may occur after /f/ and /x/, e.g. *eftā* [efdā] ‘seven’; *oxto* [oxdo] ‘eight’.

2.3.16. /q/ is a free variant of /k/ before back vowels (i.e. /ā o u/), e.g. *kāšt*/*qāšt* ‘wood’; *kāt/qāt* ‘scissors’; *kon/qon* ‘who?’; *olusku/olusqu* ‘his; for him; to him’; *sākulā/sāqulā* ‘bag’.

2.3.17. The cluster /st/ in medial position is often pronounced as /ss/, e.g. *dastas* [dassas] ‘handle; group’; *pistas* [pissas] ‘pistachio’.

2.3.18. Zargari /v/, like other Romani dialects, may go back to Old Indo-Aryan medial /\*m/, or it may have been added after the loss of Old Indo-Aryan initial /\*h/. The shift to /v/ was under the influence of Greek during the long sojourn of the ancestors of the Roma in Greece, e.g. *ānāv* ‘name’ < Old Indo-Aryan \**nāman-*, cf. Sanskrit *nāman-*, Hindi *nām*; *vās(t)* ‘arm; hand’ < Old Indo-Aryan \**hasta-*, cf. Sanskrit *hasta-*, Hindi *hāth*.

2.3.19. /v/ may go back to /b/ in word final position, e.g. *čhiv* ‘language; tongue’ < *čhib* (also > *čhip* and *čiph*, see the tendency rules in Section 2.3.1).

2.3.20. /v/ is pronounced as [w] after /u/, e.g. *čuv* [čuw] ‘Throw!’; *guruw* [guruw] ‘ox, bull’; *džuv* [džuw] ‘louse’; *usquv* [usquw] ‘hat’.

2.3.21. [ž] is a free variant of /dž/, e.g. *idž/iž* ‘yesterday’; *mindž/minž* ‘female organ’.

2.3.22. /h/ is only seen in recently borrowed words, and there only in initial position, e.g. *haftas* ‘week’; *har* ‘every’; *hāvās* ‘air; weather’; *heš* ‘nothing’; *hevidži* ‘carrot’ (cf. Persian *hafte*, *har*, *havā*, *hič* and *havij*).

2.3.23. Syllable final /čh/ before the initial consonant of the following syl-

lable may change into /š/, e.g. *pučh* 'Ask!'; but: *pušlom* 'I asked'; *pušlān* 'you (sg.) asked'.

2.3.24. Metathesis is also attested, especially when a liquid is preceded by a stop or a nasal, e.g. *āngunlo/āngulno* 'last, previous'; *gudlo/guldo* 'sugar; candy, sweet'.

2.3.25. Metathesis of voice and aspiration is also attested, e.g. *dākhār* 'king' (< Early Romani *thagar* < Armenian *thagavor*).

2.3.26. The most striking property of Zargari phonology, borrowed from Āzari Turkish, is the fact that the distribution of vowels within a word is governed by vowel harmony. According to Windfuhr (1970: 274) 'this harmony only affects non-high vowels and is only effected by non-high vowels, i.e. *i* and *u* are excluded from it', but nowadays the rule is often generalized to include all vowels, e.g. *bi-lovu* > *bu-lovu* 'moneyless'; *tu-ke* > *tu-gu* 'for you; to you; your (sg.)'; *te-phen-es* > *ti-phen-is* 'you (sg.) should say (subj.)'.

2.3.27. Vowel harmony often affects the vowel of the affix(es), but sometimes it is the vowel of the stem which is affected by the vowel of the affix, e.g. *čhib-ālo* > *čhub-ālo* 'cheeky' (literally: 'having a tongue'); *čik-ālo* > *čuk-ālo/čūq-ālo* 'muddy'; *dikh-āv* > *dukh-āv* (or *dikh-āv*) 'I should see'.

## 2.4. Syllabic structure

2.4.1. Unlike many other European Romani dialects, Zargari follows the syllabic structure of Persian, namely CV(CC). In other words, it can only have three types of syllables, i.e. CV, CVC and CVCC, e.g. *nāj* 'finger'; *lon* 'salt'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *du.rom* 'road' (< Early Romani *drom*); *de.rāk* 'grape' (< Early Romani *drakh*); *ge.rās(t)* 'horse' (< Armenian *grast*); *pho.rāl* 'brother' (< Early Romani *phral*); *te.rin* 'three'; *qur.bā.qās* 'frog'; *pārt.la.me.ki* 'to burst, to explode'.

2.4.2. Since the syllabic structure of Zargari does not allow initial vowels, words beginning with a vowel in other Romani dialects are always preceded by the Persian glottal stop [ʔ]. This [ʔ] is not a phoneme; therefore, it is not necessary to show it, e.g. [ʔ]*ā.māl* 'friend'; [ʔ]*en.na* 'nine'; [ʔ]*idž* 'yesterday'; [ʔ]*ox.to* 'eight'.

## 2.5. Stress

2.5.1. Stress often follows the pattern of the source language, e.g. genuine Romani words: *āw.sa* 'tear'; *bu.khā.ló* 'hungry'; *lā.čhó* 'good'; *mi.tér* 'urine'; *pār.nó* 'white'; but: *á.ja* 'if' (< Āzari Turkish *á.ya* < Persian *á.gar*); *bu.lú.ti* 'cloud' (< Āzari Turkish *bu.lút*); *ox.tó* 'eight' (< Greek *οχτώ*); *qó.qā.lā* 'bone' (< Greek *κόκκαλο*).

2.5.2. The stress falls on the first syllable of any word in the vocative case, e.g. *dév.lā* 'O God!'

2.5.3. The verbal prefixes *mā-* (prohibitive) and *nā-* (negative) are always stressed, e.g. *mé.phen* 'Do not say!'; *mā.khuv* 'Do not weave!'; *ná.ji.lom* 'I did not come'; *ná.ji.lo.mās* 'I had not come'; *nā.džā.nā.vās* 'I did not know'.

## 2.6. Intonation

2.6.1. A declarative sentence can be changed into interrogative by giving it a rising intonation, e.g. *Alis ajili* 'Ali came'; *Alis ajili?* 'did Ali come?'; *māngu lovū desā* 'you (sg.) give me some money'; *māngu lovū desā?* 'do you give me some money?'

## 3. Morphology

### 3.1. Nouns

3.1.1. Zargari nouns have two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural) and a two-tiered case system: nominative and oblique, contrasted with secondary cases built up by the addition of external (Layer II) case suffixes to the oblique, a type of inflection called agglutination. The inner (Layer I) case suffixes of Zargari, which may be affected by vowel harmony, are given in the following table.

	Vowel stems				Consonant stems			
	Masc.		Fem.		Masc.		Fem.	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nominative	-o	-e, -a	-i	-a	-ø	-ø, -e, -a	-ø	-ø, -a
Oblique	-es	-en	-a	-en	-es	-en	-a	-en
Dative/Genitive:	-ke							
Ablative/Instrumental:	-tār							
Locative:	-te							

3.1.2. In addition to the above-mentioned inner (Layer I) and external (Layer II) case suffixes, Zargari makes use of the suffixes *-i* (locative/directional) and *-dan* (ablative), borrowed from Āzari Turkish, and the ending *-ā* (vocative), probably borrowed from Persian. The suffix *-i* is used only



with place names (see Sections 3.1.18 and 3.1.20). Unlike in Āzari Turkish, the suffix *-dan* only functions as a derivational adverbial marker in Zargari (see Section 3.1.15).

3.1.3. The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, e.g. *görmis-o nāšulā* ‘the mouse runs’; *qaqin-i nāšulā* ‘the hen runs’; *sāpurn-o nāšulā* ‘the lizard runs’; *sāpurn-e nāšunā* ‘the lizards run’; *māččh-u* (< -o) *nanilā* ‘the fish swims’; *māččh-a naninā* ‘the fish (pl.) swim’; *guruvn-a bayisti si* ‘the cows are in the garden’; *murš gölu* ‘the man went’; *džuvel geli* ‘the woman went’; *čhā ajili* ‘the boy came’; *čaj ajili* ‘the girl came’.

3.1.4. The oblique is the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, e.g. *germis-es dikhlom* ‘I saw the mouse’; *māččh-us dikhlom* ‘I saw the fish’; *qaqin-in lom* ‘I bought the hens’; *lipsos xālum* ‘I ate the food’; *čhā-s dikhlom* ‘I saw the boy’; *čaj-a dikhlom* ‘I saw the girl’. (As to the alternation of the oblique with the locative in adpositional phrases see Section 3.1.19; for the alternation of the oblique with the dative/genitive to mark the possessor, see Section 3.1.13.)

3.1.5. Inanimate objects of transitive verbs often retain their nominative form, e.g. *kher dikhlom* ‘I saw the house’; *mu-phorāl nākhustelāno čidelā* ‘my brother is smoking a cigarette’; *mu-phorāl lipso xālā* ‘my brother is eating [his] food’; *pani pi* ‘drink [some] water!’.

3.1.6. Masculine proper names take *-es* (*-s* after vowels) in the nominative and oblique, e.g. *Parviz-es gölu* ‘Parviz went’; *Parviz-es dikhlom* ‘I saw Parviz’; *Ali-s ajili* ‘Ali came’; *Ali-s dikhlom* ‘I saw Ali’; *Parviz-es Ali-s dikhlas* ‘Parviz saw Ali’.

3.1.7. Feminine proper names take *-a* (*-na* after vowels) in the nominative and oblique, e.g. *Parvin-a geli* ‘Parvin went’; *Parvin-a dikhlom* ‘I saw Parvin’; *Ferešte-na ajili* ‘Ferešte came’; *Ferešte-na dikhlom* ‘I saw Ferešte’.

3.1.8. Words ending in consonants, especially monosyllabic ones, often have the same form in nominative singular and plural, e.g. *bār* ‘stone’; *berš* ‘year’; *čhār* ‘ash’; *čhon* ‘moon’; *dād* ‘father’; *dānd* ‘tooth’; *dār* ‘door’; *gād* ‘shirt’; *jiv* ‘snow’; *khām* ‘sun’; *khān* ‘smell’; *khās* ‘grass’; *khil* ‘oil’; *lon* ‘salt’; *masik* ‘month’; *murš* ‘man’; *phus* ‘straw’; *qāšt* ‘tree’; *rom* ‘Gypsy man; husband’; *thāv* ‘string’; *thuv* ‘smoke’; *vāst* ‘arm; hand’; *vešq* ‘mountain’; *vušt* ‘lip’; *kovā murš* ‘that man’; *kolā murš* ‘those men’; but: *dis* ‘day’; *dise* ‘days’; *rom* ‘(Gypsy) man; husband’; *roma* ‘(Gypsy) men; husbands’; *čhib* (f.) ‘language; tongue’; *čhiba* ‘languages; tongues’.

3.1.9. Some words demonstrate irregular plural forms, the most important of which are: *bārbāl* or *bārbājli* (f.), pl. *bārbājla* ‘wind’; *bāšno*, pl. *bāšno*

'cock'; *bori* (f.), pl. *bojra* 'bride; daughter-in-law'; *čhā*, pl. *čhāvu* 'boy; son'; *gi*, pl. *gi* 'heart'; *džukel*, pl. *džukle* 'dog'; *džuvel* (f.), pl. *džuvla* 'woman'; *muj*, pl. *muj* 'face; mouth'; *rizi*, pl. *rizi* 'rice'; *šoru*, pl. *šoru* 'head'; *vā(n)vro*, pl. *vā(n)vro* 'egg'; *zi* (f.), pl. *zi* 'balance, scales'; *zimi* (f.), pl. *zimi* 'broth'. As it can be seen, in some cases the development of number neutralisation is due to vowel harmony, e.g. *šoru* 'head' < \**šoro*, pl. *šoru* 'heads' < \**šore*.

3.1.10. Loanwords are adapted to the gender system by the suffixes *-i* and *-is* (*-s* after vowels) for the masculine, and *-a*, *-isa* and *-na* (after vowels) for the feminine, e.g. *šir-i* (m.) 'lion' < Persian *šir*; *kōraken-is* (m.) 'son-in-law' < Āzari Turkish *kōrakan*; *qahreman-i* (m.)/*qahreman-isa* (f.) 'hero/heroine' < Persian *qahramān*; *faqir-is* (m.)/*faqir-isa* (f.) 'beggar' < Persian *faqir*; *pandžara-s* (m.) 'window' < Persian *panjere*; *džudža-s* (m.)/*džudža-na* (f.) 'chicken' < Persian *juje*; *miva-s* (m.)/*miva-na* (f.) 'fruit' < Persian *mive*; *zandžir-a* (f.) 'chain' < Persian *zanjir*; *tulki-na* (f.) 'fox' < Āzari Turkish *tulki*.

3.1.11. The dative/genitive expresses (a) the indirect object, (b) possession, e.g. *pābāj Aliski dom* 'I gave the apple to Ali'; *pābāj Aliski lom* 'I bought the apple for Ali'; *Aliski gerās* 'Ali's horse'; *tinčhā-sku daj* 'the child's mother' (*tinčhā* 'child' < \**tikno čhavo*); *fājnlāku dār* 'the door of the house'.

3.1.12. The possessor may be encoded by the oblique case, e.g. *Alis(ki) gerās* 'Ali's horse'; *tinčhā-s(ku) daj* 'the child's mother'; *čor dākkār-us vāstu murdārdili* 'the thief was killed by the king' (literally: 'by the king's hand'); cf. *dākkār čor-us murdārdās* 'the king killed the thief'.

3.1.13. The ablative/instrumental expresses (a) removal, separation, distinction, issue and the like, (b) accompaniment, means and instrument, e.g. *ovā madrasas-tār āvulā* 'he comes from school'; *dewl-indār beršundo delā* 'the rain comes down from the sky' (literally: 'from the skies'); *ovā murš gerasn-atār ajili* 'that man came with the horse'; *Ali-stār Mešedi gölum* 'I went to Mašhad with Ali'; *ovā puvās čāqus-tār čhindās* 'he cut his hand with a knife'.

3.1.14. Adverbs of time may take the Āzari Turkish suffix *-dan* in the ablative case, e.g. *idž-dan/ižār-dān* 'since yesterday'; *qānāx-dān* 'since when?'

3.1.15. Adverbs of place may take the ablative suffix *-āl* (or its dissimilated form *-ār*), e.g. *opr-āl* 'from above'; *ānglāl/āngl-ār* 'from the front'. Note also *ter-āl* 'from the bottom' (instead of \**tel-ār*, from *teli* 'bottom').

3.1.16. The locative expresses situation, location and the goal of motion, e.g. *āmun qazvin-i zendeganli kerāsani* 'we live in Qazvin'; *bayi-sti* 'in the garden; to the garden'; *vešk-isti* 'in the mountain; to the mountain'. It also expresses the concept 'every', e.g. *dis-este* 'every day'; *rājt-ādu* 'every night'.

3.1.17. The locative alternates with the oblique in adpositional phrases, e.g. *khāmus-t-ānvro* (< *khām-ustu ānvro*) = *khām-us ānvro* ‘in the sun’.

3.1.18. The directional expresses the goal of motion, e.g. *garak teran-i džāv* ‘I should go to Tehran’.

3.1.19. The vocative is the case of one being addressed, e.g. *devl-ā komeki ker māngu* ‘O God! Help me’.

### 3.2. Definiteness

3.2.1. There is no definite article in Zargari: *ruv* ‘wolf, the wolf’; *bakri* ‘sheep, the sheep’; *ruv bakr-a xālās* ‘The wolf ate the sheep’.

3.2.2. Indefiniteness for both genders is shown by the numeral *jek* ‘one’ or by *jedana* (literally: one piece of), e.g. *jek murš* ‘a man’; *jek džuveł* ‘a woman’; *jedana čhaj* ‘a girl’.

### 3.3. Pronouns

#### 3.3.1. Personal pronouns

3.3.1.1. Zargari personal pronouns are inflected to show case, person and number. Gender distinction is only seen in the third-person singular. All the forms of personal pronouns are listed here:

	Singular				Plural		
	1	2	3 Masc.	3 Fem.	1	2	3
Nom.	<i>min</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>(k)ovā</i>	<i>(k)oja</i>	<i>āmun</i>	<i>timen</i>	<i>(k)olā</i>
Obl.	<i>mān</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>(k)olus,</i> <i>-les</i>	<i>(k)olā,</i> <i>-la</i>	<i>āmun</i>	<i>timen</i>	<i>(k)olun,</i> <i>-len</i>
Dat./ Gen.	<i>māngu</i>	<i>tugu</i>	<i>leske,</i> <i>(k)olusku</i>	<i>lake,</i> <i>(k)olāgu</i>	<i>āmungu</i>	<i>timenge</i>	<i>lenge,</i> <i>(k)olungu</i>
Abl./ Ins.	<i>māndār</i>	<i>tudār</i>	<i>lestār,</i> <i>(k)olustār</i>	<i>(k)olādār</i>	<i>āmundār</i>	<i>timendār</i>	<i>lendār,</i> <i>(k)olundār</i>
Loc.	<i>māndu</i>	<i>tudu</i>	<i>leste,</i> <i>(k)olustu</i>	<i>(k)olādu</i>	<i>āmundu</i>	<i>timende</i>	<i>lende,</i> <i>(k)olundu</i>

3.3.1.2. The dative/genitive forms of personal pronouns are only used in dative functions; possession is expressed by possessives (see Section 3.3.3).

3.3.1.3. Oblique pronouns may be used before and after the verb. In the latter case, third person enclitics (i.e. *-les*, *-la* and *-len*) are often used, e.g. *āmun na-dikhesān?/na-dikhesān āmun?* ‘don’t you see us?’; *olus dikhani!*

*dikhani-les* ‘I see him’; *olun mele/mele-len* ‘don’t buy them!’; *kolā dikhlom/dikhlom-lā* ‘I saw her’.

### 3.3.2. Demonstratives

3.3.2.1. Zargari demonstratives are as follows:

	This (masc.)	This (fem.)	These
Nom.	(ā)-(k)āvā	(ā)-(k)aja	(ā)-(k)ālā
Obl.	(ā)-(k)ālus	(ā)-(k)ālā	(ā)-(k)ālun
Dat./Gen.	(ā)-(k)ālusku	(ā)-(k)ālāgu	(ā)-(k)ālungu
Abl./Ins.	(ā)-(k)ālustār	(ā)-(k)ālādār	(ā)-(k)ālundār
Loc.	(ā)-(k)ālustu	(ā)-(k)ālādu	(ā)-(k)ālundu
	That (masc.)	That (fem.)	Those
Nom.	(o)-(k)ovā	(o)-(k)oja	(o)-(k)olā
Obl.	(o)-(k)olus	(o)-(k)olā	(o)-(k)olun
Dat./Gen.	(o)-(k)olusku	(o)-(k)olāgu	(o)-(k)olungu
Abl./Ins.	(o)-(k)olustār	(o)-(k)olādār	(o)-(k)olundār
Loc.	(o)-(k)olustu	(o)-(k)olādu	(o)-(k)olundu

3.3.2.2. The substantival declension of demonstratives is only used in head positions. In other words, Zargari demonstratives are uninflected in modifier positions.

3.3.2.3. The prefixes *ā-* and *o-* indicate vicinity and remoteness respectively, e.g. *kāvā/kovā mu-phorāl isi* ‘this/that is my brother’; *kaja/koja mi-phen isi* ‘this/that is my sister’; *kāvā murš* ‘this man’; *ākāvā murš* ‘this man here’; *koja džuvēl* ‘that woman’; *okoja džuvēl* ‘that woman yonder’.

3.3.2.4. Emphatic demonstratives are formed by prefixing *ela-*, e.g. *elakāvā* ‘this same (m.)’; *elakaja* ‘this same (f.)’; *elakālā* ‘these same’; *elakovā* ‘that same (m.)’, etc.

### 3.3.3. Possessives

3.3.3.1. In addition to the dative/genitive case of the personal pronouns, Zargari has a separate set of possessives. The forms given below are nominative, the other cases can be made by the addition of case endings (see Section 3.1.1). As it can be seen, these possessives, when used as modifiers, should also agree with the gender of the noun they modify:

		Singular				Plural		
		1	2	3 Masc.	3 Fem.	1	2	3
Nominative	Masc.	<i>miro</i>	<i>tiro</i>	<i>leske,</i> <i>les(ke) kiro</i>	<i>lake,</i> <i>la(ke) kiro</i>	<i>āmāro</i>	<i>tumāro</i>	<i>lenge,</i> <i>len(ge) kiro</i>
		<i>mi-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>les-</i>	<i>la-</i>			<i>len-</i>
	Fem.	<i>miri</i>	<i>tiri</i>	<i>leske,</i> <i>les(ke) kiri</i>	<i>lake,</i> <i>la(ke) kiri</i>	<i>āmari</i>	<i>tumari</i>	<i>lenge</i> <i>len(ge) kiri</i>
		<i>mi-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>les-</i>	<i>la-</i>			<i>len-</i>

Examples: *miro phorāl/mu-phorāl* ‘my brother’; *miri phen/mi-phen* ‘my sister’; *miro dād/mu-dād* ‘my father’; *miro dādustār/mu-dādustār* ‘from my father; with my father’; *les-dādus dikhloṃ* ‘I saw his father’; *āmāros* ‘ours (obl.)’; *āmārostār* ‘from ours; with ours’; *len(ge) gerasna bikende* ‘they sold their mare’; *len(ge) kiros bikende* ‘they sold theirs’; *kāvā gerās āmāro si* ‘This horse is ours’; *kaja gerasni āmari si* ‘this mare is ours’.

3.3.3.2. The substantival declension of possessives is only used in head positions—Zargari possessives are uninflected in modifier positions.

3.3.3.3. Zargari has also two reflexive possessives which are inflected for case and gender:

3Sg. 3Pl.

Masculine *pi(ro)* *pumāro*

Feminine *pi(ri)* *pumari*

Examples: *piro dād/pu-dād* ‘his own father; her own father’; *piri daj/pi-daj* ‘his own mother; her own mother’; *pu-dādus* ‘his own father (obl.); her own father (obl.)’; *pu-dādustār* ‘from his own father; with his own father; from her own father; with her own father’.

### 3.3.4. Reflexives

3.3.4.1. Zargari has borrowed the following reflexive pronouns from Āzari Turkish. These pronouns can also be used emphatically:

Singular			Plural		
1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>özüm</i>	<i>özin</i>	<i>özi</i>	<i>özimiz</i>	<i>öziz</i>	<i>özlari</i>

Examples: *min özüm dikhloṃ* ‘I myself saw; I saw myself’; *min özüm džānāv* ‘I myself know’; *kolā özlari pheninā* ‘they themselves say’.

## 3.3.5. Interrogatives

3.3.5.1. Some Zargari interrogatives are inflected for case:

who? which?	nom. <i>kon/qon</i> ; obl. <i>kos/qos</i> ; dat./gen. <i>kosku/qosqu</i> ; abl./ins. <i>kostār/qostār</i> ; loc. <i>kostu/qostu</i>
what?	nom./obl. <i>so</i> ; dat./gen. <i>sosku</i> ; abl./ins. <i>sostār</i> ; loc. <i>sostu</i>
where?	<i>qari(k), qonari</i>
whence?	<i>qātār</i>
which?	<i>qojinek, qojna</i>
when?	<i>qānāx</i> ; abl. <i>qānāxdān</i>
why?	<i>sosku</i>
how?	<i>sodžiras, sori, sojrās</i>
at what time?	<i>so kiros, qojna sāhati, qojna vaxti</i> ; abl. <i>qojna sāhatdan, qojna vaxtistar</i>
how many? how much?	<i>qozom</i> ; pl. <i>qozom-un</i> , abl./ins. <i>qozomundār</i>

Examples: *qos dikhlān?* ‘whom did you (sg.) see?’; *so lān?* ‘what did you (sg.) buy?’; *qozom lovu qāmus?* ‘how much money do you want?’; *sodžira-sān?* ‘how are you?’; *so māngulā?* ‘what does he want?’; *qosqu vāstu thovāv?* ‘in whose hand should I put (it)?’.

3.3.5.2. Zargari has borrowed the question particle *maja* from Persian *magar*. It is used when one hears a remark contrary to his previous supposition, e.g. *maja olā na-dikhlān?* ‘you saw her, didn’t you?’

## 3.3.6. Indefinite pronouns

3.3.6.1. Zargari indefinite pronouns are inflected for case:

somebody	<i>kon/qon, jek nāmāti</i>
something	<i>so, jek tipta</i>
whoever	<i>har kon/qon</i> ; obl. <i>har kos/qos</i>
whatever	<i>har so</i>
nobody	<i>heč kon/qon</i> ; obl. <i>heč kos/qos</i>
nothing	<i>heč so, heš, hešta</i>
another (one)	<i>(jek nāmāti, jek tipta) āvur</i>
both	<i>har duj</i>
everybody	<i>sir fen</i>
everything	<i>sir fen, sir tipta</i>
each one	<i>āpus</i>
each other	<i>āvrek, jek āvrus</i> ; obl. <i>āvrekis</i>

## 3.3.7. Quantitative pronouns

3.3.7.1. The quantitative pronouns are:

all	<i>hāmi, sir</i>
every	<i>har</i>
(not) any	<i>heč/heš</i>
many, much, several	<i>but</i>
few, a few, little, a little	<i>(je) xajri</i>

## 3.4. Adjectives

3.4.1. Attributive adjectives usually precede the noun they modify. Both attributive and predicative adjectives take the following endings to agree, in gender and number, with the noun they refer to:

Masculine	Feminine	Plural
-o	-i	-e

Examples: *lācho murš* ‘good man’; *lāchi džuvəl* ‘good woman’; *lāche qašina* ‘good hens’; *qāli guruvni* ‘black cow’; *qāle guruvna* ‘black cows’; *thevro lölo mächcho* ‘big red fish’; *thevri löli phābāj* ‘big red apple’; *kāvā bāšno pārno si* ‘this cock is white’; *kaja qaşini parni si* ‘this hen is white’; *kālā qaşina pārne si* ‘these hens are white’.

3.4.2. Zargari adjectives are indeclinable for case in modifier position.

3.4.3. Zargari adjectives do not have comparative or superlative forms. They are only syntactically expressed, e.g. *kāvā lācho si* ‘this is good’; *kāvā kolustār lācho si* ‘this is better than that’; *kāvā sir fendār lācho si* ‘this is the best of all’; *mu-phorāl mi-phendār bāro si* ‘my brother is older than my sister’.

## 3.5. Numerals

3.5.1. Cardinal numbers

0	<i>sefr</i>	8	<i>oxto</i>	16	<i>deš-šov</i>	60	<i>pejindā-deš</i>
1	<i>jek(h)</i>	9	<i>enna</i>	17	<i>deš-eftā</i>	70	<i>pejindā-jokus</i>
2	<i>duj</i>	10	<i>deš</i>	18	<i>deš-oxto</i>	80	<i>pejindā-tirāndā</i>
3	<i>terin</i>	11	<i>deš-jek</i>	19	<i>deš-enna</i>	90	<i>pejindā-sārāndā</i>
4	<i>ištār</i>	12	<i>deš-duj</i>	20	<i>jokus</i>	100	<i>šel</i>
5	<i>pāndž</i>	13	<i>deš-terin</i>	30	<i>tirāndā</i>		
6	<i>šov</i>	14	<i>deš-ištār</i>	40	<i>sārāndā</i>		
7	<i>eftā</i>	15	<i>deš-pāndž</i>	50	<i>pejindā</i>		

200	<i>duj-šel</i>	100,000	<i>šel-sila</i>
1,000	<i>sila</i>	1,000,000	( <i>jek</i> ) <i>milijāna</i>
10,000	<i>deš-sila</i>		

3.5.1.1. Numbers are compounded without any intervening sounds, the only exception is *šel* '100', which is compounded with *-i-* with its following number, e.g. *jokus-jek* '21'; *pejindā-tirāndā-duj* '82'; but: *šel-i-pāndž* '105'; *šel-i-pejindā-sārāndā-šov* '196'.

3.5.1.2. After numbers bigger than 1, the plural form is always used, e.g. *jek gajdži* 'one woman'; *duj gajdža* 'two women'; *terin gajdža* 'three women'; *jek čhaj* 'one daughter, one girl'; *oxto čhaja* 'eight daughters, eight girls'. Note: *jek bersš* 'one year'; *pāndž bersš* 'five years' (see Section 3.1.9).

3.5.1.3. While counting, sometimes the word *dana* 'piece' is used after numerals, e.g. *duj (dana) čhaja* 'two daughters, two girls'.

### 3.5.2. Ordinal numbers

3.5.2.1. Ordinal numbers, except *aval* 'first', are made with the suffix *-(e)dino* and agree in gender and number with the noun they modify, e.g. *šovedino murš* 'the sixth man'; *šovedini džuvəl* 'the sixth woman'.

### 3.5.3. Decimal numbers

3.5.3.1. Decimal numbers are made by compounding the larger number with the smaller number. The larger number is usually in the ablative/instrumental plural case, e.g. *dujendār-jek/duj-jek* 'half' (= *paš*); *pāndžundār-ištār/pāndž-ištār* 'four fifth'.

## 3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Zargari possesses the following verbal categories: tense (present, perfect, imperfect, pluperfect), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), voice (active, mediopassive), person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural), secondary conjugations (mediopassive, causative), periphrastic verbal phrases, infinitive forms, gerunds and participles.

3.6.2. The conjugation of verbs is based on two stems: the present stem (for present indicative, present subjunctive, imperfect and imperative) and the perfect stem (for perfect and pluperfect). The perfect stem is usually, though not always, formed by suffixing *-l* or *-d* to the present stem. The suffix *-d* is often used when the present stem ends in /n v š r d /, e.g. *biken-/biken-d* 'sell'; *čin-/čin-d* 'cut'; *nāngāv-/nāngāv-d* 'hit, strike'; *beš-/beš-d* 'sit'; *čor-/čor-d* 'steal'; *d-/d-* 'give'; but: *pāng-/pāng-l-* 'break'; *pučh-/puš-l-* 'ask'; *dikh-/dikh-l-* 'see, look'; *l-/l-* 'take, get, buy'; *māng-/māng-l-* 'want'; *xā-/xā-l-* 'eat'.



3.7. *Personal endings*

3.7.1. The personal endings are as follows:

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Perfect	Imperfect	Pluperfect	Imperative
Sg. 1	-ā, -ani	-āv	-om	-āvās	-omās	
2	-esā, -esani	-es	-ān	-esās	-ānās	-ø
3	-elā, -elani	-el	-ās	-elās	-āsās	
Pl. 1	-āsā, -āsani	-ās	-ām	-āsās	-āmās	
2	-enā, -enani	-en	-en	-enās	-enās	-en
3	-enā, -enani	-en	-e	-enās	-esās	

3.7.2. The third-person singular perfect ending for causative and medio-passive verbs is *-i* (not *-ās*) and the pluperfect of such verbs ends in *-isās*.

3.7.3. Since the verb is conjugated for person and number, it is not necessary for personal pronouns to accompany the verb. They are only used for emphasis or to disambiguate identical forms.

3.7.4. Sometimes the oblique form of the 3rd person plural enclitic pronoun (i.e. *-len*) is added to a verb to indicate a plural direct object, e.g. *bār lāzdo-lun* ‘take the stones!’ (cf. *bār lāzdo* ‘take the stone!’).

3.8. *Present indicative*

3.8.1. The present indicative is used to denote actions in progress and habitual actions. It is also used to make general statements, to express intention to perform an action in the not too distant future. In addition, the use of the present indicative with past meaning (as a ‘historic present’) is not infrequent: *mu-phorāl džudžas māngulā/māngulani* ‘my brother wants the chicken’; *mu-phorāl madrasa džālā* ‘my brother goes to school’; *diseste olus gāvustu dikhā/dikhani* ‘I see him in the village every day’; *māngu lovu desā/desani?* ‘do you give me some money?’

3.9. *Present subjunctive*

3.9.1. The present subjunctive is used to express wishes, desires, hypothetical situations and uncertainty. It is sometimes used with the optional subjunctive complementiser *te-*: *džāv dikhāv so kerilā* ‘let me go to see what he is doing’; *māngenani bikenen lenge fājnla* ‘they want to sell their house’;

*aja āvull/t-āvul, sir fen phena leske* ‘if he comes, I will tell him everything’; *kāš avdis t-āvul* ‘I wish he would come today’; *xodā keril dukhāv-lus* ‘I hope to see him’ (literally: ‘God grant that I should see him’).

### 3.10. Perfect

3.10.1. The perfect is used to show that the act or state described by the verb occurred at a time before the present. Sometimes it overlaps with the English present perfect in function: *sosku iž tu na-gelān madrasas?* ‘why didn’t you go to school yesterday?’; *ižārdān min kolus na-dikhloom* ‘I have not seen him since yesterday’; *qānāxdān kolus na-dikhlān?* ‘since when haven’t you seen him?’; *čhā haniz māru nā-xālās* ‘the child has not eaten food yet’.

3.10.2. Some verbs have irregular perfect forms which are inflected for gender in the 3rd person singular, e.g. *gōlu* (m.)/*geli* (f.) ‘he/she went’ (but: *gōlum* ‘I went’), *mulo* (m.)/*muli* (f.) ‘he/she died’, *pōlu* (m.)/*pele* (f.) ‘he/she fell’. Note: *ajili* ‘he/she came’.

### 3.11. Imperfect

3.11.1. The imperfect indicates that the action was incomplete, in progress, or developing in the past. It also expresses wishes, desires and hypothetical situations in the past, in this case often used with the subjunctive complementiser *te-*: *disesti gāvustu džālās* ‘everyday he used to go to the village’; *min tilivizijuni ārākhāvās, mu-phorāl ruznāmās oxujerdi* ‘I was watching TV, (but) my brother was reading a newspaper’; *iž māngāvās gāvustu te-džāv* ‘yesterday I wanted to go to the village’; *fājnlā dikhāvās* ‘I was looking at the house’; *kāš te-džāvās* ‘I wish I went’.

### 3.12. Pluperfect

3.12.1. The pluperfect indicates a state or an event which occurred before another state or event in the past: *kāš ajilisās* ‘I wish he had come’; *aja ajilomās, olus dikhloomās* ‘if I had come, I would have seen him’; *vaxti min ajilom, qonaka sir gelisās* ‘when I came, all the guests had gone’; *ānglār sir tipta māngu phendāsās* ‘he had already told me everything’.

3.12.2. The gender distinction in irregular perfect forms (see Section 3.10.2) is retained in the pluperfect: *vaxti min ajilom, seferiski gōlusās* ‘when I came, he had gone on a trip’.

### 3.13. Imperative

3.13.1. The imperative expresses a command, e.g. *pučh* 'Ask!'; *dikh* 'See!'.

3.13.2. In a few irregular verbs and the original compounds of *d-* 'give', the second-person singular takes a vowel ending, the vocalic quality of which is determined by vowel harmony, e.g. *čid-i* 'Pull!'; *d-e* 'Give!'; *γānd-o* 'Comb!'; *jir-i* 'Put on!'; *l-e* 'Buy!; Get!'.

3.13.3. The process /v > j/ in the present stems (see Section 2.3.13) is not observed in the imperative. In other words, the imperative forms show the basic variant of the stem, e.g. *sov/pl. sovun* 'Sleep!' (cf. *soj-ipej* 'to sleep'); *ruv/pl. ruvun* 'Cry!' (cf. *ruj-ipej* 'to cry, to weep').

### 3.14. Present perfect

3.14.1. The present perfect can, under the influence of Persian, be formed with the present of the auxiliary verb *isipej* 'to be' (i.e. *som, sān, si, sām, sen, si*; see Section 3.18) added to the past participle of the main verb, e.g. *bešipej* 'to sit'; *bešdo* 'sat': *bešdo-som* (m.)/*bešdi-som* (f.) 'I am sitting (literally: I have sat)'.

### 3.15. Causative

3.15.1. The suffix *-aj* (< \*-av; see Section 2.3.13) changes the intransitive/transitive present stems into causative present stems. The perfect stem of such causative present stems ends in *-āvd*, e.g. *nāš-* (inf. *nāšipej* 'to run'): *nāšaj-/nāšāvd-* (inf. *nāšajipej* 'to make run'); *pij-* (inf. *pijipej* 'to drink'): *pijaj-/pijāvd-* (inf. *pijajipej* 'to make drink').

3.15.2. A second type of causative present stems, known as factitives, is formed by adding the suffix *-ar* to adjectival, and rarely to nominal, stems. The perfect stem ends in *-ard*, e.g. *šukhar-/šukhard-* 'to cause to become dry, to dry' (*šukho* 'dry'); *čikar-/čikard-* 'to cause to be muddy' (*čik* 'mud').

### 3.16. Mediopassive

3.16.1. The mediopassive is formed with the addition of the suffixes *-iv* (present) and *-il* (perfect) to the perfect stem of the active verb or to the adjectival stem, e.g. *čhindiv-/čhindil-* 'to be cut'; *xaliv-/xalil-* 'to be eaten'; *phuriv-/phuril-* 'to get old' (*phuro* 'old'); *khiniv-/khinil-* 'to get tired' (*khino* 'tired'). Example of conjugation: Present indicative: *khinivā, khinivesā, khinivelā, khinivāsā, khinivenā, khinivenā* (also: *khinivani, khinivesani, khinivelani, khinivāsani, khinivenani, khinivenani*). Present subjunctive: *khinivāv,*

*khinives, khinivel, khinivās, khiniven, khiniven*. Perfect: *khinilom, khinilān, khinili* (see Section 3.7.2), *khinilām, khinilen, khinile*. Imperfect: *khinivāvās, khinivesās, khinivelās, khinivāsās, khinivenās, khinivenās*. Pluperfect: *khinilomās, khinilānās, khinilisās* (see Section 3.7.2), *khinilāmās, khinilenās, khinilesās*. Imperative: *khiniv, khiniven*.

### 3.17. Non-finite forms

#### 3.17.1. Gerund

3.17.1.1. The gerund is formed with the suffix *-indes* added to the present stem, e.g. *ruvindes fājnla bikendās* ‘crying, he sold the house’; *āsājindes ajilom* ‘I came smiling’.

#### 3.17.2. Participles

3.17.2.1. The present participle is formed with the suffixes *-eni* (m.) and *-enisa* (f.), added to the present stem, e.g. *xajeni/xajenis* (m.)/*xajenisa* (f.) ‘eating’.

3.17.2.2. The past participle is formed with the suffix *-o* (m.), *-i* (f.), and *-e* (pl.) added to the perfect stem, e.g. *čhindo* (m.), *čhindi* (f.), *čhinde* (pl.) ‘cut’.

#### 3.17.3. Infinitive

3.17.3.1. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ipej* to the present stem, e.g. *čhinipej* ‘to cut’; *nāšipej* ‘to run’; *nāšajipej* ‘to cause to run’; *phenipej* ‘to say; to tell’; *sojipej* ‘to sleep’.

3.17.3.2. The infinitive is formed irregularly with some verbs, e.g. *dejipej* ‘to give’ < *d-*; *dzejipej* ‘to go’ < *džā-*; *lejipej* ‘to buy; to get’ < *l-*.

3.17.3.3. The infinitives borrowed from Āzari Turkish end in *-meki* and are conjugated in their original form in Turkish, e.g. *akmeki* ‘to plant’ (< Āzari Turkish *akmek*). Present indicative: *akiram, akissan* (< *akirsan*), *akir, akirik, akirsiz, akillar* (< *akirlar*). Present subjunctive: *akam, akasan, aka, akak, akasiz, akalar*. Perfect: *akdim, akdin, akdi, akdik, akdiz, akdilar*. Imperfect: *akirdim, akirdin, akirdi, akirdik, akirdiz, akirdilar*. Pluperfect: *akmišdim, akmišdin, akmišdi, akmišdik, akmišdiz, akmišdilar*. Imperative: *ak, akin*. (Also: present perfect: *akmišam, akibsan, akibdi, akmišik, akibsiz, akiblar*. Future: *akadžijam, akadžaksan, akadžak, akadžöjük, akadžaksiz, akadžaklar*).

### 3.18. The copula

3.18.1. The copula has the forms set out in the table below.

3.18.2. As can be seen from the table, the present indicative and the perfect are expressed with the verb *is-ipej* ‘to be’, but the present subjunctive, the imperfect and the imperative are expressed with the verb *oj-ipej* ‘to become’.

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Perfect (formally pluperfect)	Imperfect	Imperative
Sg.	1 (i)som	tovāv	(i)somās	ovāvās	
	2 (i)sān	tovus	(i)sānās	ovusās	ov
	3 (i)si	tovul	(i)sās	ovulās	
Pl.	1 (i)sān	tovās	(i)sāmās	ovāsās	
	2 (i)sen	tovun	(i)senās	ovunās	ovun
	3 (i)si	tovun	(i)sās	ovunās	

### 3.19. Modal verbs

3.19.1. Zargari has two modal verbs, which are not conjugated for person and tense.

3.19.1.1. *ašti* ‘can’/ *n-ašti* ‘cannot’, e.g. *ašti džani* ‘I can go’; *ašti džāvās* ‘I could go’; *n-ašti džālās* ‘he could not go’.

3.19.1.2. *garak* ‘must’: *garak xāv* ‘I must eat’; *garak xāvās* ‘I had to eat; I must have eaten’.

### 3.20. Indeclinables

#### 3.20.1. Adverbials

3.20.1.1. Most of the Zargari adverbs are derived from other parts of speech directly or by the addition of prefixes or postpositions. Some adverbs are combinations of words which must be learnt separately. Also included in the category of adverbials are adpositional phrases. Some very common Zargari adverbs are:

3.20.1.2. Adverbs of time: *āngunlo dis* ‘the day before yesterday’; *avdis* ‘today’; *āvā berš* ‘this year’; *āvur dis* ‘the day after tomorrow’; *ājāndās berš* ‘next year’; *bersi* ‘last year’; *diseste* ‘every day’; *rājtādu* ‘every night’; *idž/iž* ‘yesterday’; *nāklās rāt/idž bijavli* ‘last night’; *šambas* ‘Saturday’; *tāqānāsqu* ‘up to now’; *tāššā* ‘tomorrow’; *terin berš āng(un)lo* ‘three years ago’, etc.

3.20.1.3. Adverbs of place: *(ā)kātu/ātu* ‘here’; *ānglo* ‘front; in front’; *anvri* ‘out; outside’; *ānvro* ‘inside’; *bāšu* ‘near’; *khal* ‘this side’; *mošgār* ‘in the middle’; *okorik* ‘that side’; *(o)kotu/otu* ‘there’; *opro* ‘above’; *teli* ‘below’; *pālo* ‘back’, etc.

3.20.1.4. Adverbs of manner: *doqri* ‘well’; *khal* ‘this way’; *reštār* ‘happily’; *sige* ‘quickly’, etc.

3.20.1.5. Adverbs of degree: *but* ‘very’; *ela/feqeti* ‘only’; *soni* ‘enough’; *xaj(n)ri* ‘few; little’, etc.

3.20.1.6. Adverbs of affirmation: *hatmi* ‘undoubtedly’; *vājā* ‘yes’; *sori* ‘yes’ (as an affirmative reply to a negative question), etc.

3.20.1.7. Adverb of negation: *nā* ‘no’.

3.20.1.8. Other adverbs: *avalan* ‘first(ly)’; *āndāmā* ‘together’; *dā* ‘also; too’; *kāš* ‘I wish’; *pāndā* ‘again’; *sar* ‘like’; *šājad/balkam* ‘perhaps’; *jani* ‘i.e., that is to say’, etc.

3.20.2. Adpositions

3.20.2.1. Some of the most important adpositions of Zargari are: *a(n)vri* ‘out of’; *ānglo* ‘in front of’; *ā(n)vro* ‘in, inside’; *bāšu* ‘near’; *opro* ‘above’; *pālo* ‘behind’; *sar* ‘like’; *sarik* ‘for the sake of; to, towards’; *tā* ‘till, until; as far as’; *teli* ‘beneath, under’.

3.20.3. Conjunctions

3.20.3.1. Some of the most important conjunctions of Zargari are: *agar/aja* ‘if’; *ām(m)ā* ‘but’; *kālus gūra* ‘because, since; so that’; *ki* ‘who, whom, which, that; when; where; so that’; *maja* ‘unless’; *tā* ‘in order that, so that’; *vali* ‘but’; *jā* ‘or’; (*j)o* ‘and’.

3.20.4. Negation particles

3.20.4.1. *nā-* is the negative particle, e.g. *ne-phendom* ‘I did not say’; *nā-šundās* ‘he did not hear’.

3.20.4.2. The negative form of the verb (*i*)*si* ‘is; are; there is; there are’ is *nā-nāj* ‘is not; are not; there is not; there are not’.

3.20.4.3. *mā-* is the prohibitive prefix, e.g. *m-āč* (< *mā-āč*) ‘Do not stay!’; *m-ān* (< *mā-ān*) ‘Do not bring!’.

3.20.5. Interjections

3.20.5.1. The most important interjections of Zargari are: *ah* ‘Ah! Ugh!’; *āx* ‘Alas! Ouch!’; *bah* ‘How nice! Wow!’; *he* ‘Oh!’; *vāj* ‘Alas! Woe!’.

## 4. Syntax

### 4.1. Noun phrase

4.1.1. Zargari possesses no definite article (see Section 3.2.1) and adpositions are always postpositioned; therefore, the linear layout of the noun phrase is [determiner] + [quantifier] + [adjective] + noun + [adposition], e.g. *kaja qali guruvni* ‘this black cow’; *pāndž berš* ‘five years’; *khām-us ānvro* ‘in the sun’.

### 4.2. Verb phrase

4.2.1. In Zargari, unlike in many other Romani dialects, the object precedes the verb (OV) in both main and subordinate clauses, e.g. *mi-phen qašina*

*xālās* ‘my sister ate the chicken’; *nā-džānāvās ki mi-phen qašina xālāsās* ‘I did not know that my sister had eaten the chicken’.

4.2.2. Pronominal objects may be used before and after the verb. In the latter case 3rd person enclitics (i.e. *-les*, *-la* and *-len*) are often used, e.g. *āmun na-dikhesān?/na-dikhesān āmun?* ‘don’t you see us?’; *olus dikhani/dikhani-les* ‘I see him’ (see also Section 3.3.1.3).

4.2.3. Direct objects often precede indirect objects, e.g. *min parsina Parvināku lom* ‘I bought a dress for Parvin’.

4.2.4. Resumptive pronouns are attested in Zargari, especially the third person plural enclitic pronoun (i.e. *-len*) to indicate a plural subject or object, e.g. *Hesenes čhaja kotusi-len* ‘Hassan’s daughters are there’; *dār piter-len* ‘open the doors!’ (cf. *Hesenes čhaj kotusi* ‘Hassan’s daughter is there’; *dār piter* ‘open the door!’; see also Section 3.7.4).

4.2.5. Change of word order is interpreted as topicalization, e.g. *mi-phen qašina xālās* ‘my sister ate the chicken’; also: *mi-phen xālās qašina*; *qašina mi-phen xālās*; *qašina xālās mi-phen*; *xālās mi-phen qašina*; *xālās qašina mi-phen*.

### 4.3. Possession

4.3.1. The possessor, normally in the dative/genitive case, but sometimes in the oblique case (see Section 3.1.13), precedes the possessed, e.g. *tinčhā-s(ku) daj* ‘the child’s mother’.

### 4.4. Coordinating clauses

4.4.1. Coordinating clauses are formed with *ām(m)ā* ‘but’, *jā* ‘or’, *(j)o* ‘and’ and *vali* ‘but, however’.

### 4.5. Verb serialization

4.5.1. Verb serialization is sometimes employed, e.g. *džāv dikhāv* ‘Let me go and/to see; I should go and see’.

### 4.6. Complex clauses

4.6.1. Relative clauses are formed with *ki* ‘who, whom, which, that’ which is not inflected for case, e.g. *murš ki bešdosi* ‘the man who is sitting’; *murš ki dikhlom* ‘the man whom I saw’; *murš ki kolustār ačilom* ‘the man with whom I came’.

4.6.2. Complement clauses with the verb ‘want’ are often introduced by *te-*, e.g. *māngulā te-džāl* ‘he wants to go’; *qāmāvās te-džāv* ‘I wanted to go’;

*qāmāvās te-džāl* ‘I wanted him to go’ (as for modal verbs see Section 3.19).

4.6.3. Complement clauses with factual verbs are formed with *ki* ‘that’, e.g. *šundum ki Alis gölusās* ‘I heard that Ali had gone’; *phendās ki džās* ‘he said that we should go’.

4.6.4. Purpose clauses may be introduced by *kālus güra* ‘so that’, *ki* ‘so that’ and *tā* ‘in order that, so that’, e.g. *bayisti gölum [kālus güra/ki/tā] pābāj t-ānāv* ‘I went to the garden to bring (some) apples’.

4.6.5. Conditional clauses are introduced by *agar/aja* ‘if’ and *maja* ‘unless’, e.g. *aja t-āvul, kolus dikhesā* ‘if he comes, you will see him’; *aja kotu te-džāvās, olus dikhlomās* ‘if I had gone there, I would have seen him’.

## 5. Lexicon

5.1. Zargari has borrowed a large number of words from Āzari Turkish, e.g. *bilakis* ‘wrist’ (< Āzari Turkish *bilak*); *boluti* ‘cloud’ (< Āzari Turkish *bulut*); *dirseki* ‘elbow’ (< Āzari Turkish *dirsak*); *döbiki* ‘knee’ (< Āzari Turkish *döbik*); *jārpaki* ‘leaf’ (< Āzari Turkish *yārpak*); *kujruka* ‘tail’ (< Āzari Turkish *kuyruk*); *naštaliki* ‘breakfast’ (< Āzari Turkish *nāštāloq*); *pāamboqi* ‘cotton’ (< Āzari Turkish *pāamboq*); *qaši* ‘eyebrow’ (< Āzari Turkish *qāš*); *qatiki* ‘yoghurt’ (< Āzari Turkish *qātoq*); *saremsaki* ‘garlic’ (< Āzari Turkish *sarimsāq*); *süti* ‘milk’ (< Āzari Turkish *süt*); *tosbāqās* ‘tortoise’ (< Āzari Turkish *tosbāqā*); *tulkina* ‘fox’ (< Āzari Turkish *tulki*), etc.

5.2. Some Arabic and Persian words are also used in Zargari. They have found their way into Zargari mostly through Āzari Turkish, e.g. *āsemān* ‘sky’; *diz* ‘town’; *res-[ipej]* ‘to arrive’; *xoš* ‘good, pleasant’ (all of Persian origin, *ās(e)mān*, *dez/dež* ‘fortress, fortified town’, *res-[idan]* and *xoš*); *ejbi* ‘defect’ (of Arabic origin, *ʿaib*), etc.

5.3. A few Greek loan words can also be found in Zargari, e.g. *āndāmā* ‘together’ (< ἀντάμα); *durom* ‘road’ (< δρόμος); *eftā* ‘seven’ (< εφτά); *enna* ‘nine’ (< εννέα); *luludi* ‘flower’ (< λουλούλι); *qoqālā* ‘bone’ (< κόκκαλο); *oxto* ‘eight’ (< οχτώ); *sārāndā* ‘forty’ (< σαράντα); *tipta*, in *jek tipta* ‘something’; *sir tipta* ‘everything’ (< τίποτα); *tirāndā* ‘thirty’ (< τριάντα); *zimi* ‘broth, soup’ (< ζουμί), etc.

5.4. Most of the lexical items of Zargari are genuine Indo-Aryan words. Here is a short list of some Indo-Aryan words in common use in Zargari and some other Gypsy languages of Iran: Zargari *kān* ‘ear’, Hindi *kān*, Sanskrit *kārṇa-*, cf. Seliyeri *hal-kerne*; Zargari *kāšt* ‘tree’, Hindi *kāṣṭh*, *kāṣṭha* ‘wood’, Sanskrit *kāṣṭhā-* ‘wood’, cf. Qorbati of Širāz *kāštā* ‘tree; wood’; Zargari *mās*



‘meat’, Hindi *mās*, Sanskrit *māmsā-*, Vedic *mās-*, cf. Qorbati of Sabzevār and Neyšābur *masi*, *masil*, *masir*, Qorbati of Qāenāt *masi*, *masil*, *masir*, *moṅsi*; Zargari *murš* ‘man’, Hindi *māriṣ* ‘honourable man’, Sanskrit *māriṣa-* ‘honourable man’, cf. Qorbati of Širāz *mārez* ‘man’; Zargari *nāk* ‘nose’, Hindi *nāk*, Sanskrit *nakra-/nakrā-*, cf. Qorbati of Qāenāt and Neyšābur *bar-nōgi*; Zargari *pāni* ‘water’, Hindi *pāni*, Sanskrit *pāniya-*, cf. Qorbati of Širāz *punew*, *punu*, Qorbati of Sabzevār, Qāenāt and Neyšābur *panew*, *punew*, *punow*; Zargari *per* ‘belly; stomach’, Hindi *peṭ* ‘basket; belly’, Sanskrit *peṭa-/peṭā-* ‘basket’, cf. Qorbati of Širāz *pitu* ‘belly’; Zargari *jaḡ* ‘fire’, Hindi *agan*, *agin*, *agini*, *āg*, Sanskrit *agnī-*, cf. Qorbati of Sabzevār and Neyšābur *agi*, *agir*, *ōgi*, Qorbati of Qāenāt *ogi*.

### List of Abbreviations

1	first person	loc.	locative
2	second person	m./masc.	masculine
3	third person	nom.	nominative
abl.	ablative	obl.	oblique
dat.	dative	OV	object + verb
f./fem.	feminine	pl.	plural
gen.	genitive	sg.	singular
inf.	infinitive	subj.	subjunctive
ins.	instrumental		

### References

- Baghbidi, H. R. 2002. Barrasi va tabaqe-bandi-ye guyešhā-ye kowliyān-e Irān [A study and classification of the languages of the gypsies of Iran]. Majmu'e-ye maqālāt-e naxostin hamandiši-ye guyeš-šenāsi-ye Irān. Tehrān: Farhangeštān-e zabān va adab-e Fārsi: 241–58.
- Colocci, A. 1889. Gli zingari: Storia d'un popolo errante. Torino.
- Coxe, A. H. 1967–1968. A philological excursion: Persian words in Gypsy language'. *Persica* 3: 73–6.
- de Goeje, M. J. 1978. La langue des tsiganes orientaux et occidentaux. Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales 1. Osnabrück: 33–54 [1st edn. 1886].
- de Morgan, J. 1903. Études linguistiques. Mission scientifique en Perse 5. Paris: 304–7.
- Djonedī, F. 1996. Romano-glossar: Gesammelt von Schir-ali Tehranizade. *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 46: 31–59.

- Farhang-e joqrāfiyā'i 26 [Gazetteer 26]. 1378 AHS [=1999]. Tehrān: Sāzmān-e joqrāfiyā'i-ye niruhāye mosallah.
- Golzāri, M. (ed.) 1362 AHS [=1983]. Safarnāme-ye Mirzā Mohammad Hoseyn-e Hoseyni-ye Farāhāni [The travel account of Mirzā Mohammad Hoseyn-e Hoseyni-ye Farāhāni]. Tehrān: Ferdowsi.
- Hancock, I. 1995. A handbook of Vlax Romani. Ohio: Slavica.
- Ivanow, W. 1914. On the language of the Gypsies of Qainat (in eastern Persia), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10: 439–55.
- 1920. Further notes on Gypsies in Persia. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 16: 281–91.
- Kalbāsi, I. 1372 AHS [=1993]. Barrasi-ye sāxt-vāži dar zabān-e Romāno (Zargari) [A morphological study of Romano (Zargari)]. *Majalle-ye Pežuheši-ye dānešgāh-e Esfahān 'olum-e ensāni'* 5: 37–58.
- Matras, Y. 2002. Romani: A linguistic introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Minorsky, V. 1986. *Lūli*. The encyclopaedia of Islam 5: 816–19.
- Moqaddam, M. 1328 AHS [=1949]. Guyešhā-ye Vafs-o Āštiyān-o Tafreš [The dialects of Vafs, Āštiyān and Tafreš]. Tehrān: Anjoman-e irānvij.
- Osmanov, M. N. and A. Nušin (eds.) 1968. Šāhnāma-ye Ferdowsi 7 [Ferdowsi's Šāhnāma 7]. Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR.
- Sotude, M. 1341 AHS [=1962]. Lahje-ye Seb Seliyeri [The Seb Seliyeri dialect]. *Farhang-e Irān zamin* 10: 471–7.
- Sykes. 1906. The gipsies of Persia: A second vocabulary. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain* 36: 302–11.
- Tehrānizāde-ye Qučāni, Š. 1370 AHS [=1991]. Vāže-nāme-ye Romāno [A glossary of Romāno]. Tehrān: Bonyād-e Neyšābur.
- Windfuhr, G. L. 1970. European Gypsy in Iran: A first report. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12: 271–92.
- 2002. Gypsy dialects. *Encyclopædia Iranica* 11: 415–21.
- Xādemoššariē-ye Sāmāni, M. 1373 AHS [=1994]. Barrasi-ye zabān-e Romāno: zabān-e sākenān-e rustā-ye Zargar [A study of Romāno: The language of the inhabitants of the Zargar village]. MA dissertation, Tehrān University.