

The Influence of Modern Persian on the Sārdā:rīd Dialect

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In a recent article Kapeliuk¹ demonstrated convincingly how strongly the literary language of Urmi is influenced by modern literary Persian. In particular, she referred to the similarities between the verbal system of both languages.

In this brief essay, I will point to a few examples from the Urmi language and, particularly, from the Sārdā:rīd dialect (a subdialect of Urmia), to illustrate the point that an intense influence continues to this day.

Let us note first that the basic forms of the verbal system of literary Urmi are divided by Simono² into five forms, namely, the infinitive, the present stem (subjunctive), the past stem (preterite), the past participle and the imperative. The most frequent forms, which appear in literary Urmi are listed by Kapeliuk³. I also use as reference the forms, which are presented in Simono and Benyamin's Grammar⁴. In the upper row of the tables, which follow are the Urmi verb forms from Kapeliuk, in the middle row are the Urmi verb forms from Simono and Benyamin, and their parallels in Persian as presented by Kapeliuk are shown in the bottom row.

1	pətix,	(ptux),	petix	ptix-,	ptijxə
	ܩܬܝܚܐ	ܩܬܝܚܐ	ܩܬܝܚܐ	ܩܬܝܚܐ	ܩܬܝܚܐ
	خریدن	خر		خرید	خریده

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	بخرد / خرد																			
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	ܩܬܝܚܐ																			
	میخرد																			

¹ Olga Kapeliuk, "Is Modern Hebrew the only 'Indo-Europeanized' Semitic Language? And what about Neo-Aramaic?," *Israel Oriental Studies* 16 (1996): 59-70.

² Nemrod Simono, *Melta dlišana atoraya swadaya wper'oh* [The verb in the Assyrian vernacular and its derivatives] (Teheran, Iran, 1974), 5:ܩ. The first part of this book is translated by B. Poizat in GLECS (1973-1979:169-192). See also H. J. Polotsky, "Neusyrische Konjugation," *Orientalia Suecana* 33-35 (1984-86): 323.

³ Kapeliuk, 63.

⁴ N. Simono and K. Benyamin, *Turas mamlla yan grammatiqi blišana suraya swadaya* [Grammar of the colloquial Syriac language] (Teheran, Iran: 1981), 144-146.

5	bit-pətix بیت پتیک خواهد خرید	6	ki-pətix-və کی پتیک و میخرد	7	ptix-li پتیک ل خرید
8	ptijxili پتیکس ل خریده است	9	ptijxivə پتیکس و خریده بود	10	vijjili ptijxə/ptixvəli ویجیل پتیکس و خریده بوده است
11	həvivə ptijxə هویو پتیکس خریده باشد	12	pišli ptijxə پیش ل خریده شد	13	bi-ptəxivə بی پتیکس و میخریده است
14	bi-ptəxili بی پتیکس ل --				

There are forms in the Urmi verb system that are not used in the Sārdä:rīd dialect⁶, namely the past of preterite (Nr. 10) and the passive preterite (Nr. 10). The pluperfect is used instead of the past of preterite. In the Urmi verbal system the passive is normally formed from the past participle and the auxiliary verb ^vpiä:šä⁷ پتیکس "to stay". In Sārdä:rīd, ^vpiä:šä is not an auxiliary verb; it has the exclusive function of a main verb. The passive is expressed by an unspecified agent and is actively constructed and marked by the 3rd person plural, e.g., instead of ^vät ^vbīt-^vpē:šīt ^hqtī:lā ایت بیت پتیکس و "you will be killed"

⁵ The passive, which is usually used in the literary Urmi is not mentioned by Simono and Benyamin.

⁶ Urmi has many forms of subjunctive which are mentioned by Simono and Benyamin, *Turas mamlla yan grammatiqi*, 146.

⁷ The transcription used in this article for the Sārdä:rīd dialect follows the method introduced in my article "Synharmonism in the Sārdä:rīd dialect," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 12, no.1 (1998): 77-82.

one would say ^hbīt-^hqāt!īj-lūḥ **ܝܕ ܩܩܝܠܝܗܘܢ** "they will kill you", and its parallel in Persian would be: tora ḥāhand košt **تو را خواهند کشت**.

The subjunctive forms are used in Sārdā:rīd as well as in Urmi in relative clauses. But Sārdā:rīd uses the Persian relative particle *ke*⁸ (in Sārdā:rīd čī) instead of the Syriac relative particle *d* (= ܕ) or *qād* (= ܩܕ), e. g.:

Persian: این همان کتابی است که باید بخرد
"in hamān kitābi ast ke bāyad bexarad"

Urmi: **ܐܘ ܗܘ ܗܡܢ ܩܩܝܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܕ ܩܩܝܠܝܗܘܢ**

Sārdā:rīd: ā o čtā:vī-lī čī ḡā:rāj zā:vīnnī.
(this is the book which he has to buy)

It is well known that the periphrastic verbs in Urmi (and in the Sārdā:rīd dialect) are still productive respectively. The periphrastic forms in Urmi are formed the same as in Persian. The following examples in the Sārdā:rīd dialect illustrate this point:

^v hūḡgūm ^v vättä	هجوم کردن	hujūm kardan	"to attack"
^v ḥūbbä ^v vättä	محبت کردن	maḥabbat kardan	"to show affection"
^v zähmät ^m ḡrašta	زحمت کشیدن	zahmat kašīdan	"to take trouble"
^h mārrā ^m ḡrašta	درد کشیدن	dard kašīdan	"to suffer, to grieve"
^v čūštī ^v dväqtä	کشتی ??? تن	kuštī giriftan	"to wrestle"
^h māhā:nā ^v dväqtä	بها نه ??? تن	bahāna giriftan	"to find a pretence"
^v ürḥä ^v drē:tä	راه انداختن	rāh andāxtan	"to start one on his way"
^v čīrrī ^v jävältä	کرایه دادن	kirāya dādan	"to hire out"
^v libbä ^v jävältä	دلدارئ دادن	dildārī dādan	"to comfort"

⁸ It is interesting to note that in some of the earliest manuscripts in Neo-Persian, which are written in Syriac characters the Neo-Persian relative particle *k* (= ܕ) appears for the Syriac relative particle *d* (= ܕ). This is described as "Syriasmus" by Müller, see F. W. K. Müller, "Ein syrisch-neupersisches Psalmenbruchstück aus chinesisch-Turkistan," in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* (Berlin: 1995), 215-222.

^h āinā ^v mḥē:tā	شم زدن?	čašm zadan	"to injure by the evil eye"
^v bīrčā ^v mḥē:tā	زانو زدن	zānū zadan	"to kneel"

The auxiliary verb in infinitive form in Sārdā:rīd are:

^v vāttā	كردن	"to make",	kardan	کردن
^m ḡrašta	کشیدن	"to draw",	kašīdan	کشیدن
^v dvāqtā	گرفتن	"to take",	giriftan	گرفتن???
^v drē:tā	انداختن	"to pour",	andāxtan	انداختن
^v iāvāltā	دادن	"to give"	dādan	دادن
^v mḥē:tā	زدن	"to beat".	Zadan	زدن

The loan-translation is also productive, e. g.: the expressions are translated literally:

^vlibbī lā ^vtī:-lī **دلم نیامد** dil-am nayāmad "my heart would not allow me"

or the translation is followed by a loan-word, e. g.

^mpja:da ^vḥāštā **پیاده رفتن** piyāda raftan "to walk".

Note also the following examples:

^vālā:hā lā ^vā:vid **خدا نکند** ḥudā na-kunad
"God forbid!"

^vzā:rār ^vlītlā **ضرر ندارد** arar na-dārad "There is no harm in it"