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KHVĀNSĀRI DIALECT AND ITS POSITION AMONG CENTRAL DIALECTS OF IRAN

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Khvānsāri is one of the dialects of the central regions of Iran, which is, more or less, prevalent today in the city of Khvānsār. Khvānsār is one of the cities of Isfahan province located on the northwest of this province. The new Iranian languages are divided into two groups: Western and Eastern. New Eastern Iranian languages are spoken outside the current borders of Iran. But New Western Iranian languages are predominantly spoken in Iran and in several other countries. The New Western Iranian languages are divided into two groups: Northern and Southern. The most important member of the New Southwestern group is Persian, which has been the dominant language of the Iranian plateau for over a millennium. The Northwestern Iranian languages include several different groups. The following languages are the members of the New Northwestern Iranian languages: Gilaki, Māzandarāni, Baluchi, Kurdish, Howrāmi, Laki, Tāti, Tāleshī, Semnāni, Central dialects of Iran, and etc. Central dialects of Iran are commonly spoken in the regions of Isfahan, Tehran, Hamedan, and Yazd. The classification of the Central dialects of Iran due to the dispersion of these dialects and the existence of multiple isoglosses between them is not easy. Nevertheless, the Central dialects of Iran can be divided into five general groups: 1) the Western group, 2) the

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North-Central group, 3) the Southern group, 4) the Eastern group, 5) the Northwestern group. According to the general view, Khvānsāri belongs to the Western group of Central dialects of Iran, along with the Mahallāti, Vāneshāni, Bijagāni, Delijāni, and some varieties around the Delijān such as Qālhari, Narāqi, and Vārāni. The speakers of the Central dialects usually name their dialects after the name of the place. These dialects have been propagated in the territories of ancient Media. In spite of belonging to the northern branch of New Western Iranian languages, in Khvānsāri there are some phonological and lexical features that other Central dialects of Iran lack. This paper focuses on studying these features of Khvānsāri and comparing them with other dialects of the central regions of Iran.

Keywords: Iranian Languages, New Northwestern Iranian Dialects, Iranian Central Dialects, Khvānsāri

1. Introduction

Khvānsār is one of the cities of Isfahan province. It is located in the northwest of this province and bordered to the north and east by Golpāyagān county and from the south and west by Faridan county. Khvānsār is located at 33 degrees 13 minutes north latitude and 50 degrees and 19 minutes east longitude. Covering an area of 892 square kilometers, Khvānsār is a mountainous region and is located at an altitude of 2,250 meters above sea level. Administratively, the county has a central section (Khvānsār) and three rural districts [MirMohammadi 1993, 13]. Nearly 4,000 people live in this area, and in addition to Khvānsāri, Persian is commonly prevalent [Borjian 2013]. Khvānsāri is one of the Central dialects of Iran and has common roots with other dialects of the central regions of Iran. Like other Central dialects of Iran, Khvānsāri is in great danger of being obliterated and is not common among young people and children.

The Central dialects of Iran are those varieties that roughly predominate between Hamedan, Tehran, Isfahan and Yazd and this is the same area that has been mentioned in some sources with the name of the 'Major Media' [Windfuhr 1989, 294]. Central dialects of Iran are closely related to other common language varieties in Iran such as Tāti, Tāleshi, and Semnāni, and all of them are New Western Iranian languages. There are also similarities between the Central dialects of Iran and other Western Iranian languages such as Kurdish, Baluchi, and Gurāni. Thus, the Central dialects can be considered as the core of the northern branch of the New Western Iranian languages, and on

the other hand, with the exception of Baluchi, they are the southernmost group of this branch [Windfuhr 1992, 243]. The speakers of the Central dialects usually name their dialects after the name of the place. However, since these dialects have been propagated in the territories of ancient Media, some scholars call these dialects Median dialects [Borjian 2015, 17].

The classification of the Central dialects of Iran due to the dispersion of these dialects and the existence of multiple isoglosses between them is not easy. Nevertheless, the Central dialects of Iran are divided into five general groups. These five groups and their outstanding members are: 1) the Western group in the west of Qom-Isfahan road, among these dialects are Khvānsāri, Mahallāti, Vāneshāni, and etc.; 2) the North-Central group is located in Kāshān and Natanz, among these dialects are Ārāni, Abu Zaydabādi, Abyāne'i, Bādrudi, Natanzi, Yārandi, and etc.; 3) the Southern group is located in the Isfahan region and its surrounding areas, divided into two sub-groups: A) Central and Western, and B) Eastern and Southern. Among the western and central varieties are the old Isfahani, Sedahi, Kafrāni, Gazi, Varzane'i, the eastern and southern groups are Ardistāni, Zefre'i, Kuhpāye'i, Jarquye'i, Kafrudi, and etc.; 4) the Eastern group includes Tudeshki, Kejini, Nā'ini, Anāraki, Yazdi and Zoroastrian dialects of Kerman and Yazd (known as Behdini) and etc.; 5) the North-western dialects, sometimes referred to as the dialects of the Tafresh area, are located in the east of Hamedan and south of Sāve, this group comprises Āshtiāni, Aāmora'i, Alviri, Kahaki, Vafsi, Vidari, and etc. Apart from these five major groups, there are two other varieties which are very similar to the dialects of the central regions of Iran, and thus some scholars consider them as Central dialects. The first is the Sivandi, which is common in Sivand in the province of Fars, and the second is the dialects of the regions adjacent to the Central desert (Dasht-e Kavir) like Khuri, Farvi (or Farvigi) and Mihrajāni [Windfuhr 1992, 243–244]¹.

¹ Lecoq has a different idea about the classification of Central dialects of Iran. He divides Central dialects into four main groups (northwestern, north-eastern, southwestern, and southeastern) and two transitional groups (desert dialects and Tafresh dialects) and collectively into six groups. For more details on this categorization, see: [Lecoq 1989, 313]. According to this categorization, Khvānsāri is one of the dialects of the northwestern group of Central dialects.

Therefore, Khvānsāri belongs to the western group of Central dialects of Iran, and along with other species of this group, such as Mahallāti, Vāneshāni, Bijegani (in the Bijegān in the northeast of Delijān), Delijāni, Qālhari (in the Qālhar in the southeast of Delijān), Narāqi (in Narāq in the east of Delijān) and Vārāni (in Vārān in the northeast of Delijān) [Hassandoust 2011, *XV*] forms the western branch of Central dialects of Iran. Despite belonging to the northern branch of New Western Iranian languages, in Khvānsāri there are some phonological and lexical features that other Central dialects of Iran lack, or these features have very little frequency in these dialects. In this paper, I will examine and study these characteristics of Khvānsāri and compare them with other Central dialects of Iran.

About Khvānsāri and its linguistic features, several works have been published. The list of most outstanding foreign authors includes Žukovskij (1888–1922), Hadank (1926), Eilers and Schapka (1976). Also, Krahanke (1976) referred to Khvānsāri in his Ph.D. diss. which deals with the linguistic relationships of the Central dialects of Iran. And the Persian catalog comprises the following works: Tasbihi (1975), Amiri (2000), Ashrafi Khvānsāri (2004), and MirBaqeri (2016). In these works, although some of the linguistic features of Khvānsāri have been examined, in none of them, the position of this dialect has been studied among the Central dialects of Iran. The Khvānsāri words and phrases used in this paper are based on these works: Hadank (1926), Eilers and Schapka (1976), Tasbihi (1975), Amiri (2000), and Ashrafi Khvānsāri (2004). To study the position of Khvānsāri among the Central dialects of Iran, this dialect has been examined from both phonological and lexical viewpoints.

2. Phonological and Lexical Distinctive Features in Khvānsāri

2–1. Phonological features

The phonological system of Khvānsāri consists of 25 consonants and 6 vowels [Behju 2005, *61*]. To investigate the historical phonological features of Khvānsāri and their changes, I first discuss the most important phonemic features of the Central dialects and their origin and background. Then, I examine these features in Khvānsāri and compare them with other Central dialects of Iran. Thus, with considering of preserving or changing of these features the position of Khvānsāri in the Central dialects of Iran can be determined.

Although the Central dialects of Iran are heavily influenced by Persian, many of the phonetic features of the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages are still preserved and therefore they have many phonetic connections with other Northwestern Iranian dialects. The most prominent features of the Northwestern dialects that exist in the Central dialects include: 1) the development of initial Old Iranian */*d̥u-/* to */b-/:* OIr. **duar-* ‘door’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *bar*, in Tāti: *bar* [Sabzalipour 2015, 162]; 2) the development of OIr. */*dz/* to */z/:* OIr. **dzāmātar-* ‘groom’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *zumā*, in Māzandarāni: *zomā/zomā* [Akbarpour 2015, 108–109]; 3) the development of OIr. */*tsu/* to */sp/* and */sb/:* OIr. **tsuaka-* ‘dog’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *espa/esba*, Abuzaydābādi: *esbā* [Razzāqi 2016, 153], in Tāti: *asba/esba* [Sabzalipour 2015, 192]; 4) the preservation of initial OIr. */*u/*: **uafra-* ‘snow’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *varf*, Abuzaydābādi: *vārf*, Totmāji: *vafr* [Razzāqi 2016, 168, 169], in Laki dialect of Delfān: *va:r*, Gorāni dialect of Gowraju: *w/vafər* [Aliyari Babolghani 2017, 211]; 5) the development of OIr. consonant cluster */*-xt-/* to */-t-/:* OIr. **sukta-* > **suxta-* ‘burnt’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *sotan* ‘to burn’, Natanzi: *sotan* ‘to burn’ [Esmaili 2011, 295], OIr. **duxtar-* ‘daughter’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *det*, Natanzi: *dot* [Esmaili 2011, 125], in Laki dialect of Delfān: *de/ət*, Gorāni dialect of Gowraju: *deta* [Aliyari Babolghani 2017, 155]; 6) the development of OIr. cluster of consonants */*θr/* to */(h)r/*: OIr. **puθra-* ‘son’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *pir*, Natanzi: *pur* [Esmaili 2011, 123], Zefre’i: *pur* [Borjian 2015, 110]; 7) the preservation of initial OIr. */*i/*: OIr. **iāθr-* ‘sister-in-law’, in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *eyā*, Khorzuqi: *yā*, Sedehi: *yā*, Jarquye’i: *yā* [Ibid, 110], in Māzandarāni: *yāri* [Akbarpour 2015, 2/107]. For more examples for these Northwestern phonological features in New Western Iranian languages (see: [Stilo 2007, 95–100]).

As it was shown above, regarding phonological features Khvānsāri has many similarities with other New Northwestern Iranian languages and Central dialects. But at the same time, it has some special phonological features that are not seen in other Central dialects of Iran, or they can be rarely found. Now I examine these features.

As it was mentioned, initial OIr. */*u/* has been preserved in Khvānsāri and Central dialects. But this phoneme in the initial cluster */*uṛ-/* in Khvānsāri, in contrast to other Central dialects, developed to

/g/, and for this reason it is similar to the varieties of southern branches of the New Western Iranian languages. Of these words: OIr. **uṛka-* ‘wolf’, in Khvānsāri: *gorg*, in other Central dialects: Tarqi, Tāri, Keshe’i: *varg* [Esmaili 2011, 164], Zefre’i: *werg* [Borjian 2015, 142], Ozvāri, Barzoki, Totmāji, Vidujā’i: *vārg* [Razzāqi 2016, 152–153].

Another distinctive feature of Khvānsāri is the preservation of intervocalic and final /d/ in many words, while in other Central dialects this phoneme has often developed to glide /y/ or glottal stop /ʔ/ or in some cases /h/, or completely deleted. For example, MP.: *wādām* ‘almond’ [MacKenzie 1986, 85], Khvānsāri: *bādom*, in other Central dialects: Khorzuqi: *vāʔom*, Sagzavi: *vāʔum*, Qehavi: *vāhām*, Kupāyi: *vāyom* [Borjian 2015, 128–129], Totmāji: *vāyom* [Razzāqi 2016, 135], Natanzi: *vāyom*, Tarqi: *vāyam* [Esmaili 2011, 146–147]. OIr. **uāta-* ‘wind’, in Khvānsāri: *vād*, in other Central dialects: Tarqi, Tāri, Natanzi: *vāy* [Esmaili 2011, 146–147], Khorzuqi, Qehavi: *vā*, Sagzavi: *vā*: [Borjian 2015, 154–155], Totmāji: *vāy* [Razzāqi 2016, 169]. However, in some Central dialects, especially in the southern group of Central dialects in Isfahan province and in some dialects of Kashan the preservation of intervocalic and final /d/ is common, for example in dialects of Kashan: Āzarāni and Ozvāri: *bādūm* ‘almond’ and in dialects of Isfahan: Jarquye’i and the Jewish dialect: *vādum* ‘almond’ (see: [Razzāqi 2016, 134; Borjian 2015, 128–129]).

As in other New Northwestern Iranian dialects, in Central dialects of Iran OIr. /*j/ in initial and middle position has been preserved or developed to /ž/ or /y/. But in Khvānsāri, in some words, it has developed to /z/, for example OIr. **jani-* ‘woman’, in Khvānsāri: *zan*, but in other Central dialects: Tarqi: *jun*, Tāri: *žin*, Natanzi: *žen* [Esmaili 2011, 124–125], Zefre’i: *žan*, the Jewish dialect of Isfahan: *jan*, Kamandāni: *jinji* [Borjian 2015, 112–113], Abuzaydābādi: *žan*, Totmāji: *yan*, Vidujā’i: *jan* [Razzāqi 2016, 112–113]. In addition to Khvānsāri, in some dialects of Isfahan and Kashan, under the influence of Persian, we see the use of /z/ instead of /ž/ or /j/, for example in Khorzuqi and Sedehi (in Isfahan): *zinji* and in Āzarāni and Tejere’i (in Kashan): *zan* (see: [Borjian 2015, 112; Razzāqi 2016, 112–113]).

As said earlier, one of the features of the New Northwestern Iranian languages is the preservation of OIr. /*i/ in the initial position, which is more or less seen in the Central dialects of Iran. In Khvānsāri, it is also seen in words like *eyā* ‘sister-in-law’ and *yā* ‘place’. But the

preservation of this phoneme in Khvānsāri is not always in accordance with the common rule of Central dialects. In some basic words, probably influenced by Persian, Khvānsāri has undergone another process and has been equal with the New Southwestern Iranian languages. The OIr. **ǰaua-* ‘cereal, barley’, cf. Av. *yauua-* ‘cereal’ (see: [Bartholomea 1904, 1265]), in the Central dialects, is largely preserved by the initial /y-/ , in the dialects of Kashan: Ozvāri, Totmāji, Viduji: *ye* [Razzāqi 2016, 138–139], in the dialects of Isfahan: Zefre’i, Qehavi, Kupāyi: *ye* [Borjian 2015, 132–133], in the dialects of Natanz: Tarqi, Tāri, Natanzi: *ya* [Esmaili 2011, 152–153]. This word is used in Khvānsāri as *ǰey*, namely with the change that is common in the southern branch of Middle and New Western Iranian languages (i.e., *y > ǰ*), cf. MP. *ǰaw* ‘barley’ [MacKenzie 1986, 46]. This development is also seen in the dialect of Mahllāt which forms the western branch of the Central dialects of Iran along with Khvānsāri; The OIr. **ǰaua-* has remained in Mahallāti as *ǰū* (see: [Majidi 1975, 18]). OIr. **ǰāurna-*, cf. Av. *yāuuarəna-* ‘pestle’ [Bartholomae 1904, 1286], has remained in most of the Central dialects of Iran with preservation of initial phoneme /y/, in dialects of Kashan: Āzarāni, Tejere’i, Viduji, and Ozvāri: *yahan*, Abuzaydābādi: *yōnā* [Razzāqi 2016, 98–99], in dialects of Isfahan: Khurzuqi, Zefre’i, Qehavi, and Sedehi: *yāne* [Borjian 2015, 100–101], in dialects of Natanz: Tarqi and Keshe’i: *yāna*, Natanzi: *yona* [Esmaili 2011, 110–111]. But in Khvānsāri this word has preserved as *ǰeven*, cf. Persian *ǰāvan* (see: [Hassandoust 2014, 2/945]).

Unlike many other Central dialects of Iran, in which the OIr. cluster /*-šm-/ has been simplified with the deletion of phoneme /š/, Khvānsāri has preserved this cluster, probably under the influence of the Persian. OIr. **čašman-* ‘eye’, in Central dialects: Āzarāni, Vidujā’i, Ozvāri: *čeym* [Razzāqi 2016, 76–77], Tarqi and Keshe’i: *čem*, Natanzi and Tekiye’i: *čam* [Esmaili 2011, 88–89], but in Khvānsāri *čašm*, cf. Persian *čašm*. The deletion of phoneme /š/ in the cluster /-šm-/ is one of the distinctive features of New Northwestern Iranian languages and it is seen in other varieties of this branch, for example in Kalhori and Sanjābi: *čaw* ‘eye’, in Jalālvandi, Zule’i, Hozmānvandi: *čam* [Moradi 2015, 34–35], in Laki dialect of Delfān: *ča(:)m* and in Kurdish dialect of Gahvāre: *čā/ow* [Aliyari Babolqani 2017, 119]. But the cluster /*zm/ (< /*sm/) has been preserved in most dialects of the northwestern branch of New Iranian languages with or without an

anaptyctic vowel, for example OIr. **aizma-* ‘firewood’ has remained in these forms: in Central dialects: Khvānsāri: *hizma*, Āzarāni: *üzōm*, Abuzaydābādi: *hizam* [Razzāqi 2016, 148], Tarqi and Keshe’i: *ezem*, Natanzi: *izom* [Esmaili 2011, 160–161], Gazi: *isme/ izme* [Eilers, Schapka 1979, 681], and in Kurdish: *ēzing* (see: [Paul 2008]).

The cluster of consonants /*-ft-/ has been simplified in many New Northwestern Iranian languages, as well as in most Central dialects of Iran. Thus, the phoneme /f/ is deleted and only /t/ remains in it. However, this consonant cluster has remained in Khvānsāri and some dialects of Isfahan province. OIr. **kafta-* ‘fallen’, MP. *kaftan* ‘to fall’ [Mackenzie 1986, 48], in Khvānsāri: *keftan* ‘to fall’, in dialects of Isfahan: Khorzuqi: *dakaftāmun* ‘to fall’, Qehavi: *dekaftemon* ‘to fall’, Sagzavi: *darkaftāmun* ‘to fall’ [Borjian 2105, 232–233]. But in other Central dialects of Iran, such as dialects of Kashan and Natanz, we come across the simplification of this cluster; in dialects of Kashan: Āzarāni: *darkātan* ‘to fall’, Ozvāri, Totmāji, and Qohrudi: *dārkātan* ‘to fall’ [Razzāqi 2016, 252–253], in dialects of Natanz: Tarqi and Keshe’i: *derkatmun* ‘to fall’, Natanzi and Tekiye’i: *darkatan* [Esmaili 2011, 268–269]. It seems among the Central dialects, the preservation of the consonant cluster /-ft-/ is more common in the dialects of Isfahan province and the simplification of this cluster in other Central dialects in Kashan and Natanz. But the cluster of consonants /xt/ in Khvānsāri, as in other New Northwestern Iranian dialects and the Central dialects, is simplified with the deletion of phoneme /x/, for example, OIr. **duxtar-* ‘daughter’ has remained in Khvānsāri as *det*.

The consonant cluster /*št/ (< /*zt/) has developed in Khvānsāri and some dialects of Isfahan province, contrary to the dialects of Kashan and Natanz, to /ss/ (through the process of assimilation ss < st). For example, Ilr. **uāz-* ‘to blow; to move’ (cf. Av. *vaz-* ‘to drive, to move’, MP. *waz* ‘to move, to blow’ [Cheung 2007, 429]) has developed to *vossan* ‘to run’ in Khvānsāri, and in some dialects of Isfahan to *vassemon*, *vassāmun*, *vassemon*, all three mean ‘to run’, respectively in dialects of Jarquye, Khurzuq, and Qehi [Borjian 2015, 252–253]. But in dialects of Natanz and Kashan, it has developed to *vaštan*, *veštan*, *vaštmun* and *vāštan* [see: Esmaili 2011, 290–291; Razzāqi 2016, 274–275]. The phonological change of consonant cluster /st/, however, is in Khvānsāri like other Central dialects. It has changed to /ss/, for example, OIr. **asta-* ‘place’ (cf. Av. *asta-* ‘place,

settlement' [Bartholomae 1904, 212]) has developed to *hass* 'yard' in Khvānsāri and *has* 'shed' in Natanzi [Esmaili 2011, 132–133].

Another phonological change of the consonant clusters that has a different trend in northern and southern branches of New Western Iranian languages is the development of the cluster */*sč/*. This cluster has developed in the southern branch of Western Iranian languages to */s/* and in the northern branch to */š/*, for example OIr. **pasča-* 'after, behind' (< IE. **po-sq^wo-*, cf. Skt. *paścā*, Av. *pasca*, and OP. *pasā*, all mean 'after, behind' [see: Mayrhofer 1963, 240]) has developed in Middle Iranian languages as *pas* 'then, afterwards' and *paš* 'then, afterwards' in Middle Persian and Parthian respectively [see: MacKenzie 1986, 65; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 284]. In the New Northwestern Iranian languages, this distinction is somewhat preserved (for example in Kurdish and Balochi, OIr. **pasča-* has developed to *pāš* and *paš* respectively [see: Paul 2008]), however, the prevailing trend has been to change to */s/*. In the Central dialects of Iran, this change is commonly seen as */s/*, but there are also some exceptions. In some dialects of Natanz and Isfahan, the cluster */*sč/* in a few words has remained in the form of */č/*, for example in Tarqi: *pač(e)pere* 'three days ago' and Tekiye'i: *pačperešev* 'three nights ago' [Esmaili 2011, 188–189], and in Zefre'i: *pačpere* 'three days ago' and *pačperešō*: 'three nights ago' [Borjian 2015, 160]. In some dialects of Kashan such as Āzarāni, Ozvāri, etc. OIr. **pasča-* has developed to *paš* and *peš* [see: Razzāqi 2016, 176], that is OIr. */*sč/* > */š/*. Therefore, it can be said that in some Central dialects, mainly in Kashan and Natanz, there is one of the distinctive features of Northwestern Iranian languages (i.e. the development of */*sč/* > */š/*). But in most dialects of Isfahan, including Khvānsāri, the dominant tendency, probably under the influence of Persian, has been toward */s/*. Another point is that besides the usual development of */*sč/* > */š/*, in the Central dialects of Iran, we also witness development of */*sč/* > */č/*. Therefore, the development of the cluster */*sč/* in the Central dialects of Iran has been to */š/* or */č/*.

2–2. Lexical Features

Although there is considerable homogeneity in the lexicon of the Central dialects [Windfuhr 1992, 250], sometimes we see some words in some varieties of this large branch, which is less visible in other varieties of this branch. This heterogeneity is sometimes due to the

preservation of the old features of the northwestern branch of the New Iranian languages, and sometimes due to the influence of the Persian language. In the meantime, Khvānsāri also has preserved some old features in some words and in some cases it has been influenced by Persian language and sometimes even left the old words and borrowed Persian equivalents of them. Now, some of these fundamental words are mentioned in Khvānsāri and compared with other Central dialects.

As said, the OIr. /*dz/ (< IE. /*ǵ(h)/) is developed to /z/ in the Northwestern languages of Iran according to the rule (OIr. *dzāmātar- ‘groom’, in Northwestern Iranian languages has been developed to forms such as *zumā*, *zəmā*, *zomā*, etc). In Khvānsāri, this word has also preserved as *zumā*. OIr. *bādzu- ‘arm’ (< IE. *bhāǵhu-) has developed in OP. as *bādu- [Tavernier 2007, 130], and in Av. as *bāzu*- [Bartholomae 1904, 955]. In the examples of Middle Iranian languages, this word is often seen with the phoneme /z/. In the new period of the Iranian languages, the word *bāzu* ‘arm’ has survived in the northern and southern branches of the New Western Iranian languages, sometimes with the preservation of the phoneme /z/ and sometimes by deleting or replacing it with the epenthetic consonant such as /v/, /y/, /h/, /ʔ/ (for different forms of this word in Iranian dialects, see: [Hassandoust 2011, 1/ 406–407]). In the Central dialects of Iran, it is seen more or less the same trend, although the tendency is mainly to remove and replace the phoneme /z/. This trend is especially seen in the dialects of the Isfahan province (from nine dialects collected in Isfahan province in *A Treasury of Iranian Dialects (Isfahan Province 2)* only in Khurzuqi and Sedehi the word *bāzu* is seen with preservation of the phoneme /z/) (see: [Borjian 2015, 76–77]). In the dialects of Kashan and Natanz, there is an intermediate state for phoneme /z/ in this word (see: [Esmaili 2011, 86–87; Razzāqi 2016, 74–75]). Despite the fact that Khvānsār is located near Isfahan, unlike other dialects of this province, the word *bāzu* ‘arm’ has remained by preserving the phoneme /z/ as *bāzī*. Therefore, Khvānsāri in preserving the phoneme /z/ in this word is more in line with the dialects of the Kashan and Natanz and has a different tendency from most dialects of the Isfahan province.

Another distinctive word in determining the position of Khvānsāri among Iranian dialects is the word *mossar* ‘big, large’. In this word, which is cognate with Middle and New Persian *meh* ‘big, large’ and OP. *maθiyah- and Av. *masiiah*- [Bartholomae 1904, 1156], it has

occurred the development of OIr. /*ts/ (< IE. /*ḱ/) to /s/. This feature is also a phonetic feature that is predominantly found in the northern branch of Western Iranian languages; in the southern branch, OIr. /*ts/ has developed to /h/ as in the word *meh* ‘big, large’. But in the Central dialects of Iran, other words are often used to express the concept of ‘big, large’ and the cognate words with Khvānsāri *mossar* are rarely used. For this concept, in the dialects of Kashan and Natanz, the word *gord* is often used (see: [Razzaghi 2016, 206–207; Ismaili 2011, 218–219]). Although to express this concept in some dialects of Isfahan province such as Jarquye’i, the word *mas* ‘big’ is common, another word that has different phonetic forms such as *bale*, *bele*, and *bala* is more common than *mas* (see: [Berjian 2015, 186–187]). In addition to Khvānsāri, in Vāneshāni, Mahallāti, Bijagāni, and Delijāni, which together with Khvānsāri constitute one of the branches of the Central dialects of Iran, there are more or less similar forms such as *massar*, *messar*, *mussar* and *masar*. Apart from Central dialects, this word is also common in some other Iranian dialects of the Northwestern Iranian languages (see: [Hassanost 2011, 2/ 949–951]). Thus, this word is a reliable criterion for determining the status of Khvānsāri and several dialects in Isfahan province compared with other dialects in this province. But we see a homogeneity and a monotony for OIr. **katsyah*- ‘lesser, minor’ (cf. OP. **kaṭiyah*-, and Av. *kasiiah*- [see: Bartholomae 1904, 460]), in the Central dialects, this word is common in Central dialects as *kas*, *kes*, *kessar*, etc. (with development of /*ts/ to /s/).

Another word that is worthy of attention in Khvānsāri is *kes* ‘look’ and its verbal form *bikessan* ‘to look’. This word which is cognate with New Persian *nigāh* ‘look’ (see: [Hassandoust 2014, 4/ 2770]), is probably derived from OIr. **kats*- ‘to look, to glance’, cf. Av. *kas*- ‘to look’ (see: [Bartholomae 1904, 459]). In this word, it is also seen the development of OIr. /*ts/ to /s/ in Khvānsāri, which also has occurred in the word *mossar* ‘big, large’. This word is very low frequency and usage in other central dialects of Iran. In the dialects of Natanz, Isfahan, and Kashan, with the exception of the word *bengasi* ‘to look’ in Tekiye’i, by the preserving the phoneme /s/ from **kats*-, it is often used New Persian loanword *nigāh* or the derivatives of OIr. root *dī*- ‘to see’ (for verbal forms of *nigāh* in the dialects of Natanz, Isfahan, and Kashan [see: Esmaili 2011, 314–315; Borjian 2015, 276–277; Razzāqi 2016, 298–299]). In addition to Khvānsāri, in Vāneshāni,

which is one of the species of the same group with Khvānsāri, the forms *kes* and *bikasan* ‘to look’ (for these forms, see: [Hassandoust 2011, 2/ 836]) are common. In sum, with respect to the preservation of phoneme /s/ from OIr. /*ts/ Khvānsāri in comparison with other Central dialects of Iran, in which there is another phonological development (*ts > *θ > h), is more conservative.

Another word which is important in determining the position of Khvānsāri in the Central dialects of Iran is the word *espa/ esba* ‘dog’. This word, which is from OIr. **tsuaka-* (< **tsuan-*) ‘dog’, cf. OP. **saka-* [Nyberg 1974, 2/ 172], Av. *span-* [Bartholomae 1904, 1610], is used in most of the Northwestern Iranian dialects. In addition to **tsuan-* ‘dog’, in Iranian languages the OIr. word **kuta-* or **kuṭī-* ‘dog’ (see: [Ēdel’man 2011, 4/ 413]) also is used. The remnants of this word in New Western Iranian languages are mainly found in the northern branch of this group. In the Central dialects of Iran, this word is still alive and common. In the dialects of Kashan, the word ‘dog’ is predominantly *espa/esba*, only exception is seen in Totmāj in form of *kūyā* ‘dog’ (see: [Razzāqi 2016, 152–153]). In the dialects of Natanz, only the remnants of OIr. **kuta-* (such as *kōva*, *kōya*, *kuya*, etc.) are used. In the dialects of the Isfahan province, like the dialects of Natanz, there are often the remainders of OIr. **kuta-* (for different forms of the ‘dog’ in dialects of Natanz and Isfahan, see: [Ismaili 2011, 164–165; Borjian 2105, 140–141]). In the dialects of Delijān, Qālhar, Bijagān, and Narāq, which are in the same group as Khvānsāri, still forms such as *espa/esba* are used (see: [Majidi 1975, 30, 34, 44, 55]). Thus, on the one hand Khvānsāri and the dialects of the same group have kept the consonant cluster /sp/ or /sb/ and on the other hand, they are different from the dialects of the Isfahan and Natanz and similar to the dialects of Kashan county. However, in Khvānsāri the fossilized forms of OIr. **kuta-* are also seen in words such as *kotera* ‘whelp’ and *koterespa* ‘puppy’.

Another distinctive word in determining the position of Khvānsāri among the Central dialects is *vāzi* ‘game’. In the Middle Persian, two words *wāzīg* and *kādag* both mean ‘game’ (see: [MacKenzie 1986, 89, 48]) were used. In Persian and in varieties of the southern branch of the New Western Iranian languages the forms of the *wāzīg* with different phonetic variations are largely used. But in most of the dialects of the northern branch of New Western Iranian languages, and especially in the Central dialects, different forms of *kādag* are used.

Different forms of *kādag* in dialects of Kashan and Natanz are *kāde* (in Āzarāni and Tejere'i), *kūwē* (in Abuzaydābādi), *kāye* (in Totmāji), and *kāya* in dialects of Natanz (see: [Esmaili 2011, 202–203; Razzāqi 2016, 190–191]). In the dialects of Isfahan province both *bāzi* and different phonetic variants for the word *kādag* (in the forms of *kāye*, *kaa*, *ka*;) are seen (see: [Borjian 2015, 172–173]). But in Khvānsāri and other dialects of the same group such as Delijāni, Narāqi, Vāneshāni, unlike other Central dialects of Iran there are no surviving forms of *kādag*, and forms such as *vāzi*, *vōzi* and *vāji* are used (for this forms, see: [Hassandoust 2011, 2/ 1111]). Given the word *vāzi* 'game', Khvānsāri and other varieties of western group of the Central dialects are quite distinct from the dialects of Kashan and Natanz.

Another special word in Khvānsāri is *genan* 'to become' which is less common in other Central dialects of Iran. 'To become' in Iranian languages is often expressed with derivatives of the roots **bū-* 'to become' and **gart-* 'to turn'. In most of the Central dialects, these two roots are commonly used with the meaning of 'to become', Tarqi and Keshe'i: *boymun*, Natanzi *boʔan* [Esmaili 2011, 294–295], Jarquye'i: *bebāmon*, Qehavi: *gartāmon*, Khurzuqi: *bo:mun* [Borjian 2015, 278–279], Āzarāni and Quhrudi: *babōdan*, Ozvāri and Vidujā'i: *bōbōdan* [Razzāqi 2016, 278–279]. But in other varieties of Central dialects, which belong to the western branch of the Central dialects, there are more or less similar forms to *genan* in Khvānsāri, such as Āshtiyāni: *gen(ā)-*, Delijāni: *genā*, *genī*, Mahallāti: *gin-*, and Vāneshāni: *gen-* (for these forms, see: [Hassandoust 2011, 2/ 867–868]). Another Central dialect, in which the form of *gīn-* 'to become' is used, is the dialect of Soh village that belongs to the north-central branch of the Central dialects of Iran. Another Iranian dialect in which this word is used is Sivandi, one of the New Northwestern Iranian languages. This dialect is a subcategory of the Central dialects but it is used in Fars province. This word is seen in Siavandi as *gen-*, *gin-*, *gyenā*. In Semnani, which is a completely different from the Central dialects, the word is *-gānā-* (see: [Hassandoust 2011, 2/ 867–868]). Therefore, it can be said that Khvānsāri and its similar varieties in the central region of Iran preserve this word as one of the most prominent words in the New Northwestern Iranian languages group, while this word is not used in most of the dialects of Isfahan province and in general in the Central dialects.

3. Conclusion

With regard to what was mentioned in this paper, it can be said that Khvānsāri has been influenced by Persian more than the other Central dialects, especially the dialects of Kashan and Natanz and it has undergone a different trend from other varieties of Central dialects. As for lexical developments, though it has been influenced by the Persian language, it has kept some distinctive and persistent words like *kes* ‘look’ and *bikessan* ‘to look’. At the same time in Khvānsāri, certain words such as *genan* ‘to become’ are still common which cannot be found in other Central dialects, and are only used in several New Northwestern Iranian languages. On the other hand, Khvānsāri is more closely associated with the dialects of Kashan region, despite being geographically closer to the dialects in the Isfahan province; for example, in preserving the phoneme /z/ in the word *bāzu* ‘arm’. On the whole, it can be said that the trend of phonetic developments in Khvānsāri compared to other Central dialects of Iran has been more influenced by Persian, but in preserving some archaic words, the situation is more or less similar to other Central dialects of Iran. In this regard, due to the social and geographical position of Khvānsāri, the lexical changes in it are more accelerated in comparison with other varieties of the Central dialects that are used in remote villages.

Abbreviations

- Av. – Avestan
- IE. – Indo-European
- Iir. – Indo-Iranian
- MP. – Middle Persian
- OIr. – Old Iranian
- OP. – Old Persian
- Skt. – Sanskrit

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M. Tame

ХВАНСАРІЙСЬКИЙ ДІАЛЕКТ І ЙОГО ПОЛОЖЕННЯ СЕРЕД ЦЕНТРАЛЬНИХ ДІАЛЕКТІВ ІРАНУ

Хвансарі є одним із діалектів центральних районів Ірану, який більш поширений сьогодні в місті Хвансар. Хвансар – одне з міст провінції Ісфахан, розташоване на північному заході цієї провінції. Нові іранські мови діляться на дві групи: західні та східні. Новими східноіранськими мовами говорять за межами нинішніх кордонів Ірану. А новими західноіранськими мовами в основному говорять в Ірані та деяких інших країнах. Нові західноіранські мови діляться на дві групи: північну та південну. Найбільш важливим членом нової південно-західної групи є перська, яка була домінуючою мовою на іранському плато протягом понад тисячоліття. Північно-західні іранські мови включають кілька різних груп: гілакі, мазандаранська, белуджійська, курдська, ховрамі, лакі, таті, талеші, семнані, центральні діалекти Ірану та ін. Центральними діалектами Ірану розмовляють у регіонах Ісфахан, Тегеран, Хамедан і Йезд. Класифікація центральних діалектів Ірану через дисперсії цих діалектів й існування множинних ізоглосів між ними нелегка. Проте центральні діалекти Ірану можна розділити на п'ять основних груп: 1) західна група, 2) північно-центральна група, 3) південна група, 4) східна група, 5) північно-західна група. Загальноновизнаною є думка, що Хвансарі належить до західної групи центральних діалектів Ірану, поряд із махлаті, ваньшань, біджагані, деліджані і деякими різновидами даліджані, такими як кхалхарі, нараки і варанів. Носії центральних діалектів зазвичай називають свої діалекти за назвою місцевості. Ці діалекти були поширені на території стародавньої Мідії. У діалекті хвансарі є деякі фонологічні та лексичні особливості, що відсутні в інших діалектах центрального Ірану. Ця стаття присвячена хвансарі та його порівнянню з іншими діалектами центральних регіонів Ірану.

Ключові слова: іранські мови, нові північно-західні іранські діалекти, центральні іранські діалекти, хвансарі

М. Таме

ХВАНСАРИЙСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ И ЕГО ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ СРЕДИ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫХ ДИАЛЕКТОВ ИРАНА

Хвансари является одним из диалектов центральных районов Ирана, который более или менее распространен сегодня в городе Хвансаре. Хвансар – один из городов провинции Исфахан, расположенный на северо-западе этой провинции. Новые иранские языки делятся на две группы: западные и восточные. На новых восточноиранских языках говорят за пределами нынешних границ Ирана. Но на новых западноиранских языках в основном говорят в Иране и некоторых других странах. Новые западноиранские языки делятся на две группы: северную и южную. Наиболее важным членом новой югозападной группы является персидский, который был доминирующим языком на иранском плато на протяжении более тысячелетия. Северо-западные иранские языки включают несколько разных групп: гилаки, мазандаранский, белуджийский, курдский, ховрами, лаки, тати, талешы, семнани, центральные диалекты Ирана и др. На центральных диалектах Ирана говорят в регионах Исфахан, Тегеран, Хамедан и Йезд. Классификация центральных диалектов Ирана из-за дисперсии этих диалектов и существования множественных изоглоссов между ними нелегка. Тем не менее, центральные диалекты Ирана можно разделить на пять основных групп: 1) западная группа, 2) северо-центральная группа, 3) южная группа, 4) восточная группа, 5) северо-западная группа. Согласно общему мнению, Хвансари относится к западной группе центральных диалектов Ирана, наряду с махлати, ваньшани, биджагани, делиджани и некоторыми разновидностями далиджани, такими как кхалхари, нараки и варани. Носители центральных диалектов обычно называют свои диалекты по названию местности. Эти диалекты были распространены на территории древней Мидии. В диалекте хвансари есть некоторые фонологические и лексические особенности, которые отсутствуют в других диалектах центрального Ирана. Эта статья посвящена хвансари и его сравнению с другими диалектами центральных регионов Ирана.

Ключевые слова: иранские языки, новые северо-западные иранские диалекты, центральные иранские диалекты, хвансари

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