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## PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS

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## ABSTRACTS

### **An Attempt to Introduce Armenian Sources for the Study of the History of the North Caucasus**

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The historiography of the North Caucasus can be significantly enriched through the study of Armenian sources, many having remained outside the researchers' scopes. Basically, these are narrative sources from the Matenadaran (Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of Armenia), libraries and archival funds of Armenia.

The focused research work in this direction was started in 202 by Russian and Armenian researchers. Among them are the following: "A Journey to Armenia, Turkey and Cilicia" by Bishop Vardan Odznetsi, "The Alanian Gates or the Chora Gates, which the Persians call *Derbent*" by Sargis Jalalyants, and "The History of the Trans-Kuban Circassians and Circassian Armenians" by Hovhannes Khosrovyants. The first one is an important source on the history of the Caucasus in the 18th-19th centuries. Vardan Odznetsi describes in detail the court of the Georgian king Erekle II, the Talish Khan Mustafa, and the Avar Nutsal Umma Khan. The information is particularly important in the context of the study of the anti-Ottoman and anti-Iranian wars of the peoples of the Caucasus. The work contains a scrupulous description of the invasion of Tbilisi by the Iranian Shah Aga-Muhammadkhan Qajar in 1795.

At the end of the 18th century, the Avar Nutsal Umma Khan (1761-1801) began to play an important role in the military-political developments in the South Caucasus, what is also reflected in Odznetsi's work. The author describes the relationship between Umma Khan and his son-in-law Ibrahim Khan of Karabakh, their joint trips to neighboring regions.

Sargis Jalalyants' "The Alanian Gates or the Chora Gates..." is an important source on the history of Derbent; the author summarizes information from the then already known Armenian chronicles.

The Armenian priest Hovhannes Khosrovyants, apart from "The History of the Trans-Kuban Circassians and Circassian Armenians", wrote a number of historical essays. He lived among the Circassians in the 1840s and left extremely interesting ethnographic observations. He describes, inter alia, the confrontation between the Muslim Circassians and Christian Circassians, and discusses the influence of the Turks on these processes, etc.

The paper focuses on the current work on the Armenian sources related to the history of the North Caucasus, their systematization, translation and publication.

### **The Marwanid Dynasty: A Medieval Regional Power and Their Patronage in Upper Mesopotamia**

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This paper aims to question Marwanid art and architecture in Mayyafariqin (Silvan) and Amid (Diyarbakır) in Upper Mesopotamia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Kurdish Marwanid dynasty ruled an extensive territory, such as Amid, Mayyafariqin, Hisn Kayfa, Mardin, Jazirat Ibn 'Omar (Cizre), Nisibin, Mosul, Akhlāt, Garzan, Malazgird, and Ardjish for one century from 983 to 1085 AD under the authority of the Abbasid Caliph. The most significant architectural urbanite activities principally took place in Mayyafariqin and Amid which were both their capital cities. According to sources, such as Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi (1116-1176) and Izz al-Dīn Ibn Ibn Shaddad (1217-1285), many palaces, residences for dynasty members, summer residencies, mosques, masjids, madrasas, bathhouses (*hammams*), inns (*hans*), shrines, hospitals (*bimarhanes*), schools, fortresses, towers, markets, gardens, water canals, water cisterns, mills, and bridges were commissioned under the rule of the Marwanid Dynasty. City walls of Amid and Mayyafariqin were restored and reconstructed. Moreover, according to their foundation inscriptions, two houses for Christian pilgrims of Mayyafariqin were built in Jerusalem by the Marwanid ruler Nasir al-Dawla. Some of these monuments have survived to our days with major and minor additions, and some of them were destroyed and disappeared completely. In this presentation, I shall present the surviving Marwanid monuments, examine their architectural features, and discuss the Marwanid patronage and architectural style in Upper Mesopotamia.

### **Typological Study of Coordination in Turkish and Persian**

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Turkish and Persian have been living with each other for a long time so they have many things in common. One of these features which they have in common is language features. Among them is coordination strategy.

This research is allocated to a typological study of coordinate constructions in Standard Persian and Azari Turkish languages. It has done on the basis of Haspelmath(2004) strategies. In the first part of the research, the general issues related to the topic of the work which is " coordinate constructions " have been mentioned.. The theoretical bases of the research and the related details supported and posed originally by Haspelmath(2004) regarding the strategies used in determining four kinds of coordinate constructions, position of coordinators and similarities and differences in coordinate construction between them have been expressed here, moreover a brief introduction regarding the three involved languages in the research namely Persian and Turkish languages has been presented. And the analysis and description of the collected data of the foregoing languages on the basis of the theoretical illustration of the research have been done so as to find the most frequent coordinate construction, their position and used strategies in the coordinate constructions in these languages. The findings demonstrate the results of the research which contain the list of the different applied strategies in the under studying languages and a typological comparison between them. According to the collected data, in Persian –o and –u are the most frequent coordinators in Persian. In Turkish, juxtaposition is the most frequent strategy for coordination. The most important adversative coordinators which are used in Persian and Turkish are: amma, wali and a:mma:. For disjunctive coordination these languages use -ja:- in similar ways. Another kind of coordinate construction in these languages is "causative coordination." Along monosyndeti coordinators, they use bisyndetic coordinators which are almost same among them.

**On the Russian Orientation among the Dagestanis:  
The Status of the Avars in the Russian Federation and the South Caucasus**

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Demographic reference books and lists of district schools reveal the completely different levels and pace of the cultural and economic development of the Avar people living in the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan Republic.

The Russian Empire had encouraged the development of the Avar language and culture, while in the Soviet Union, Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic was the only political structure, in which the study of the Avar language was, in fact, prohibited. Neither in Georgia, nor in Dagestan (i.e. in the Russian Federation) similar processes never occurred. The state ideology of the current Republic of Azerbaijan, despite the constant statements about the policy of “multiculturalism” is actually hostile towards the autochthonous peoples living in its territory, the Avars being among them.

The described ideological developments whose main vector has never been changed in Azerbaijan regardless its political systems and regimes, is the basic factor of the Russian orientation among the Avars.

The paper focuses on the analysis of the political orientation of the Avars in Russia and Azerbaijan Republic, their perception of the states and visions of perspectives of their development in the both.

**The Şexbizinî-Kurdish of Haymana: Ethnolinguistic Situation and Distinctive Features**

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*Şexbizinî* is the designation of a Kurdish tribal confederation and is more and more used as the designation of its language. *Şexbizinî* is a North-western Iranian language belonging to the Kurdic group together with Northern, Central and Southern Kurdish, the Zazaki group, and the Gorani group (Anonby et al. 2016, Matras 2017, Haig/Öpengin 2018). The language is linguistically not documented nor described. Historically, the *Şexbizinî* confederation migrated from Western Iran to the region of Sulaimanya in Iraq to the present main settlement area in Haymana (Central Anatolia) in Turkey (Akin 2016, Çelebi 2017). From the 1970ies onwards, a considerable diaspora community developed in Europe, particularly in France, Germany, and Austria (Grond 2019).

Based on data collected by two questionnaires administrated in *Şexbizinî* speaking community in the framework of a Franco-Austrian project involving the universities of Graz and Rouen, our contribution firstly provides a description of the ecolinguistic habitat by focusing on the central sociolinguistic issues of language use, language attitude, and language transmission.

Secondly, we will present the main features setting Şexbizinî apart from Kurmanji which is the most important contact language on the one hand, and from its Southern Kurdish origins on the other hand:

Hereby, we will focus on distinctive features in *phonology* (rounded vowels ü, ö presumably deriving from language contact with Turkish), the *ezafe construction* and its markers, *gender distinction*, and *ergative construction*. By contrasting strategies, constructions and morphemes used to express *definiteness* and *indefiniteness* (numerals, quantifiers, determiners, adjectives, pronouns, etc.) to Sorani and Kurmanji, we expect insight into the question of whether Şexbizinî is part of a Sorani-Kurmanji continuum.

Finally, we will analyse the *pronoun paradigms* and the *case marking system*. In this respect, Şexbizinî shows features shared by many West Iranian languages (e.g. Belleli 2021), but not by Kurmanji: Şexbizinî has two sets of paradigms of personal pronouns: independent and bound pronouns. The set of bound pronouns seems to go back to archaic forms (see Korn 2009) and its use is decreasing under the influence of Kurmanji: we find a preference for unbound pronouns in the Haymana variety of Şexbizinî. At the same time, Şexbizinî has lost the case markers which is interpreted as a precondition for the evolvement of the bound pronouns (Haig 2008). We will describe strategies that ensure discursive disambiguity despite the dismantling of case marking and bound pronouns.

### **Mukrî<sup>1</sup> Pronominal Clitics Distribution and Absolute Prepositions Interaction: Klavans Cliticization Parameters**

Ghader Allahweisiazar

This paper investigates the direction of clitic movement in Mukrî Central Kurdish (CK) according to Klavans' Cliticization parameters. Prepositional complements in Mukrî can always appear as syntactic constituents of noun phrases, independent pronouns and clitics. Prepositions have two realizations according to the following constituent: simple and absolute prepositions. Noun phrases and independent pronouns appear with simple prepositions while clitics come with absolute ones. Complements of absolute prepositions can separate from their heads and move to the left or right of their domain. When the transitive verbs are in the past tense, clitics move to the right side and convert to Set 1(Person Agreement Markers) affix pronouns at the right hand margin of the verb. In case of moving to the left of the verb, clitics appear in second-position. Clitic movement to the right is sensitive to the category of the host while movement to the left is sensitive to the position of its host, so the first arrangement is called affixational and the latter is called clitic. That's why Mukrî pronouns are divided into two categories: affixes and clitics. Klavans' parameter 1 is absolutely capable of explaining the direction of clitic movements. The data come from recorded two-hour-long connected speech and the author's judgment (as a Mukrî native speaker) is used for grammaticality.

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1. The Kurdish subdialect under discussion called "Mukrî" is a subdialect of 'Sorani', also known as "Central Kurdish" and is the language of a plurality of Kurds of Kurdistan and West Azarbaijan provinces in Iran. The speakers of Mukri are found in Mahabad, Oshnaviye (Şino), Piranshar (Xanê), Sarsasht, Naghade and Bokeran in Iranian Kurdistan. The variety of Mukri which is under discussion is particularly spoken in Şino. The term Mukri is used for short in this article.

## **Socio-Cultural Changes among the Pastoral Nomads of Iran**

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This article deals with the impacts of Westernization and modernization among the pastoral nomads of Iran. Pastoral nomadism is a way of life based on animal husbandry, utilization of natural pasture and seasonal migration in search of pasture. Anthropologically speaking, pastoral nomadism is viewed as a cultural adaptation to certain ecological zones and it is characterized by the followings: 1- Constant changes of locality and hence the lack of fortification, 2-movable properties 3- Socio-political organization based tribalism 4-Vigorous activities, horsemanship and military activities necessary for offense- defense purposes. Such circumstances contributed to strong military and political power among the pastoral nomads to the extent that most of the dynasties ruled in Iran were originated from pastoral nomads. Furthermore, traditionally they constitute over 30% of the total population of the country. However, modernization and westernization has greatly changed their life circumstances and it led to their sedentarization and political weakness. Currently they constitute only 1% of the population of the country and politically they are no longer significant.

The paper explain how modernization and westernization resulted the formation of modern government and modern army equipped with modern weapons and warplane in which case managed to subdued the pastoral nomads and enforced the following policies: 1-force settlement. 2-Disarmament 3-execution, exile and removal of the tribal leaders. 4-Establishing governmental offices in tribal territories 5-Building modern schools in tribal areas. 6- Farsi (Persia) became the formal language of the country and hence those who attended school must speak Persian. Such policy affected the languages and dialects of the pastoral nomads who belong to various ethnic groups.

Overall, westernization and modernization has resulted in changes of the subsistence pattern, settlement in rural and urban areas, detribalization and political weakness, adaptation of modern cloths, customs, has led to relative assimilation of the tribal people in Iranian society the modernization and westernization has.

## **The Effect of Teaching Reading through Critical Pedagogy Principles on the Reading Comprehension of Non-native Learners of Persian**

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The present study was an attempt to investigate whether teaching reading through critical pedagogy (CP) principles positively affects the reading comprehension of non-native Persian learners. The study also aimed at finding the views of the same learners about teaching L2 reading of Persian based on CP principles. Sixty intermediate level foreign learners of Persian language with the age range of 18 to 25 studying Persian on-line at Iran Persian Learning Center in Tehran were chosen through a standard version of Oxford Persian Test (OXPET). These participants were also pretested through a validated researcher-made multiple-choice reading comprehension test. Then, they were divided into two equal experimental and control groups. Both groups received the

same materials but the experimental group learners were exposed to teaching reading through CP principles presented by Mazdaee and Maftoon (2012). In the control group, however, there was no CP based assignment. After 16 sessions of instruction, the researcher administered the validated reading posttest. The participants of the experimental group were also asked to complete the CP Attitude Questionnaire (Pishvaei & Kasaian, 2013). The outcome of the posttest data analysis clarified that the participants in the experimental group significantly outperformed the subjects in the control group. The results of the attitude questionnaire also proved the positive impact of teaching reading through CP principles. Therefore, it could be concluded that employing CP principles in teaching Persian can significantly enhance reading comprehension of non-native learners of Persian.

### **On Opposite Banks of the Araxes River: Discussing the Talishi Identity Markers**

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The paper will focus on the Talishi identity, its transformations and peculiarities among the Talishis of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Azerbaijan Republic.

The Talish people is the fourth largest ethnic group in the South Caucasus and the largest non-state ethnic group in the Caucasian-Iranian region. The problems of the ethnic history of the Talishes, their culture and identity are among the topical issues of Caucaso-Caspica.

The Talishis are a divided people living on the opposite banks of the Araxes, in the current Republic of Azerbaijan and Islamic Republic of Iran. This historical division occurred in the 19th century as a result of the Russian-Persian wars, and seriously affected the cultural, linguistic, religious and other markers of the Talishi identity. Formerly, the whole land inhabited by the Talishis, had been part of Iran. Since 1813, northern Talish has successfully been ruled by the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and finally, since 1991, by the former Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. As a result of the mentioned historical peripeteia, the identity transformations have resulted in the actualization of different identity markers among the Talishis of Iran and Azerbaijan Republic.

Among the markers of the identity of the Iranian Talishis, the Iranianness, belonging to the Iranian continuum (cultural, linguistic, and political), to the Iranian statehood and cultural environment is the main and most important element of identity. Living among other Iranian peoples, primarily the Mazandarani and Gilani, who speak related languages belonging to the NW Iranian group, they represent an organic part of the South-Caspian Iranian continuum, part of kindred Iranian peoples' family. Belonging to the local culture, the proper Talishi self-consciousness, being an important component of the mentality, is nevertheless, secondary in relation to the common idea of the Iranianness.

In the Republic of Azerbaijan, where Iranian autochthonous groups live in the dominant Turkic-speaking environment and have been actively assimilated, the opposition "Iranian vs Turkic" has become a significant element of the Talishi identity, particularly within the last century, i.e. the period of the shaping of the principally new identity among the Turkic-speaking Shi'as of the region.



Thus, identity markers common for the two mentioned groups of Talishis, are of different relevance in Iran and Azerbaijan Republic. Accordingly, the idea of the Talish ethnic territory and its status is also approached in a different way among the two groups.

### **The “Etymological Dictionary of Persian” (EDP) Project**

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The “Etymological Dictionary of Persian” (EDP) (Brill, Leiden-Boston) project was initiated by me 17 years ago. My programme-article about the need of a new etymological dictionary of Persian was published in the Iranian *Journal of Linguistics* as early as in 2001.

I will focus on the general presentation of this Project, realized by a group of scholars, as well as on the content and scopes of the EDP, its concept, structure, and current status.

### **Nethnography and the Discourse on the Turkishness/Turkic Roots of the North Caucasian Peoples in Social Media Segment**

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The study of social behavior and ideological trends on Internet environments presents both an innovation and a methodological challenge: being a good opportunity for a researcher, yet it implies new forms of interaction with the target milieu. Nethnography, as a new component of ethnographic research, manifests a continuous process of creating and developing new research methods on the Internet. It provides a convenient platform to trace the attitude of the society to this or that political, socio-economic or military situation in real time, thus yielding relevant data for predicting possible transformations in those spheres.

The main aim of this study is to see how the Turkic discourse, initiated and investigated predominantly by the Turkish government, reveals itself in the North Caucasian ethnic environment.

### **Inclusion and Exclusion Movements in and around Language Island<sup>2</sup>**

Lia Bakuradze

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The present paper deals with a particular and under-studied case of integration of majority representatives within the language island of minorities. It is about Fereydani Georgian - a Georgian language island in Iran established in the early 17th century near Isfahan. The Fereydani Georgian existed for most of the time in isolation from Georgia and therefore developed its own specific survival strategies in a multi-ethnic space of different majorities.

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In the study of the language island, the Fereydani Georgians appeared, whose names, according to several local language assistants, indicated their Hebrew, Kurdish and Turkish origins. Such ethnic "substrata" within the Fereydani Georgian are evidenced by the documented narration in the Georgian Dialect Corpus (GDC, corpora.co). Such integrations of the members of the majority ethnic groups, compared to the Fereydani Georgian, took place in the different periods of time and had correspondingly different reasons.

The family names are /Jadidi/, /Rafia/, /Jan/, /Safari/, /Mooliani/, /qalani/....

All of them are of the Muslim faith and full members of the Georgian language island. Some maintain cultural memory about own ancestry and are in active discourse about it. The crucial mechanism of integration represents the fluency of Fereydani Georgian.

A reverse movement out of the language island, towards integration in another ethnic group has already been reported in the earlier phase of Fereydani Georgian research. Thus, some Fereydani Georgian joined the Bakhtiari People (Chelidze 1935: 164).

Similar observations can be found with regard to the Armenian community. Armenians, like Georgians, were forcibly resettled in the 17th century. The reason of the integration of Georgians in the Armenian community is to be imagined the common Christian religion. In the language of Fereydani Georgians, the ethnonym /somexi/ "Armenian" has two meanings. The first meaning is the ethnonym for the ethnic Armenian. The second meaning is "a person of the Christian faith". In the reports of Ladi Agniashvili from 1894, it is evident that many Georgians were celebrating the services in the Armenian churches. It can be assumed that the Georgians who did not follow Islam and continued to practice the Christian religion, attended in the Armenian churches, which simply gave them the name "Armenians". The second, religious meaning of the word was decisive.

In the case of the Fereydani Georgian, two opposite processes can be observed. Within the framework of the linguistic island, representatives from larger ethnic groups are integrated from the outside, and vice versa, there are cases when the Fereydani Georgians themselves integrate elsewhere in other ethnic or religious groups. On this background the question arises about an explanatory approach for such quite special phenomena of the "language island substrata". Purely hypothetically, the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality can be used at this point. There are different profiles of ethnolinguistic vitality. The integration and/or disintegration can be explained by the fact that some ethnic islands have the strong vitality profile than the others, be it the strong reference to the language (Fereydani Georgian) or religion (Armenian).

### **The Rendering of /č/ in Middle Persian Loanwords in Arabic**

Pavel Basharin

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All Iranian loanwords in Semitic languages usually were borrowed in their phonetic rather than orthographic form. The reflection of Middle Persian affricate /č/ in Aramaic and Arabic denotes the period of borrowings. All loanwords with this affricate divided into some stages. Firstly, the Middle Persian vocabulary has been reaching Arabic via Aramaic. In all older or more recent Arabic loanwords Iranian affricates are rendering with /š/: \*čādurwān 'dais, platform; bassin, pond, fountain', Syr. šdrwn 'veil', Arab. šādurwān 'fountain'; MP \*kačkūl, NP kaškūl 'a beggar's cup or bowl' Syr. kškwł 'a large book of variable anthems for use at evening service'; Arab. kaškūl,

*kaškūla* ‘beggar’s beg, scrapbook, album’; NP *čangāl*, *čangul* ‘fingers, claws’, Syr. *šyngl* ‘fork, pitchfork’, Arab. *šankāl* ‘hook’; MP *čambar* ‘circle, hoop’, Syr. *šmbr* ‘crescent-shaped ornament’, NP *čanbar* ‘a circle, a hoop; the pit of the throat, the collar-bone; a kerchief, collar, necklage’, Arab. *šanbar* ‘bande de soie noire ou rouge foncé, large de deux emfans et longue d’environ sept aunes’. In the largest group of vocabulary borrowed via Aramaic MP /č/ is rendering with /š/. This rendering seems to be indicated pronunciation of MP /č/ of the later period: MP *činār* ‘oriental plane tree’, Syr. *šnr* id., Arab. *šinnār*, *šinār*, late *sinār* ‘plane tree’; MP *\*čāhrēg* (compound): *čāh* ‘well, pit’ + *rēz-*, *rēxtan* ‘to flow, pour’, Syr. *šhryg* ‘cistern’, Arab. *šihrij* ‘cistern, reservoir’; MP *čāu(la)gān* ‘corved polo-stick; polo’, Syr. *šwlg’n /šawlaḡan/* ‘the game of polo’, Arab. *šawlaḡān*; MP *čang* ‘harp’, Syr. *šng* ‘cymbal’, Arab. *šanj* id.; MP *čandal* ‘sandalwood’, Syr. *šndl* id., Arab. *šandal* id.; MP *Čīn* ‘China’, Syr. *Šīnyā*, *Šīn(i)stān*, Arab. *Šīn* etc. Some lexemes were borrowed into Arabic directly. MP *č* /š/ is rendering Qur’anic Arab. /s/: MP *čirāy* ‘lamp’, Arab. *sirāj* (Qur.) ‘lamp’ cf. Syr. *šrg* /*šrāḡā*/ ‘lamp, oil lamp’; MP *\*čārtāq* < *\*čahār-tāq* ‘a kind of tent, a principal room supported by four pillars’, Arab. *surādiq* (Qur.) ‘an awning, tent cover’. This rendering seems to be indicated the Qur’an’s phonetic.

### **On the Issue of “the Now Disputed” Time and Authorship of a Famous Poem on Tbilisi**

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Ali (David) Moslehi Moslehabadi

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Up to 2019, it was believed that a piece of Persian poetry on the city of Tbilisi, published by Georgian academician Magali Todua in 1975, belonged to someone by the name of Šāfi Ḥalḥālī and that it had been compiled in the first half of the nineteenth century. To everyone’s surprise, however, two other manuscripts have recently been found that attribute the poem to two different authors: one is “Mīrzā ‘Abd ‘al-Ġaffār-i Tabrīzī” and the other is “Mīrzā Ġa‘far, the vizier of the city [of Tbilisi]”. The piece attributed to the former had been kept in a private collection in the Iranian capital Tehran and the latter at the Library of the Custodianship of Šāh ‘Abd ‘al-‘Azīm-i Ḥasani’s Shrine in Rey, south of Tehran. Apart from the almost identical verses, there are clear differences in the wording and style of many of them which can be used as indicators to determine the issue of their originality. In this paper, such (con)textual indicators are used in combination with other factors for the sole purpose of a comparative study of the now three versions of seemingly the same piece of poetry. In the meantime, attempts are made to determine who the most likely author of the poem is and that during which era it might have been compiled.

### **On Comparison of Georgian Language Islands**

Marina Beridze

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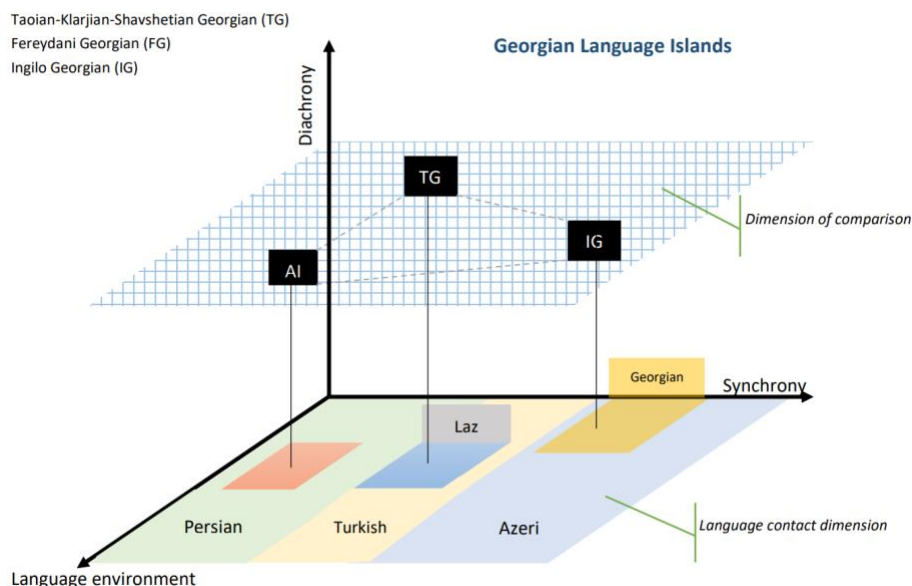
Zakharia Pourtskhvanidze

*Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main*

In the present presentation, an attempt is made to identify and test the criteria that would establish the scientific comparison of the language islands. The language islands of the Georgian

language serve as an example. Among the dialects of Georgian language three dialectal varieties stand out. Their common feature is the special geographical relation: they exist outside the Georgian territory. These are the varieties in Turkey (Taoian-Klarjian and Shavshian), in Iran (Fereydani Georgian) and in Azerbaijan (Ingilo Georgian). Based on this similarity, the differences can be described on the level of synchronic and diachronic views as well as in terms of language contact. (Chart 1.).

**Chart 1.** Comparison of language islands according to the criteria of geographical area and language contact.



Another criterion of comparison concerns the ways of forming language islands. When we investigate possible pathways, we have to consider two main scenarios : (1) when a country's territorial size shrinks or alters, various autochthonous ethnic groups may continue to exist but entirely within a new country's ethnic environment, and (2) a significant number of representatives of an ethnic group may relocate to a foreign country. The linguistic formations (islands) created on the basis of the two scenarios can be called autochthones in the case of (1) and allochthonous in the case of (2). The distribution areas of Ingilo Georgian (Azerbaijan) and Imerkhevian (Turkey) dialect islands are adjacent to the territory of Georgia, whereas Fereydani Georgian is surrounded by the foreign (Iranian) ethnic environment being not within easy reach of Georgia (Chart 2).

The language islands can be compared with each other on the basis of common geographical characteristics in relation to the standard language. In addition, "language contact", "synchronicity/diachronicity" and "educational background" can be established as comparison criteria.

The further dimension of comparison concerns the language island specific processes such as integration vs. isolation. In combination with the language contact situation and distance or nearness to the standard language, the linguistic phenomena indicating isolation or integration can be compared. Empirical evidence is illustrated in the presentation using the example of Georgian language islands.

**Chart 2.** Comparison of the language islands according to the criterion allochthonous vs. autochthonous

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## The Role of the Zagros Mountains in Anatolian, Caucasian and Iranian Civilizations

Dariush Borbor

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The area from the Persian Gulf up to the ridges of the Zagros Mountains present all types of ancient settlements, from the first developments of the Pre-pottery Neolithic, and the Pottery Neolithic, through the first larger permanent communities, up to all the higher forms of organization, such as the village, town, city, city region, regional centre, state and even confederation. This is also the case for the northern parts of this mountain range. Consequently, the present paper presents the argument that the Zagros must not be regarded in isolation, but in union with the vernacular of its hinterland; it investigates, traces and reconstructs the unique socio-urban interaction between the mountains and their hinterland from the prehistoric to the historic periods, a continuous process unprecedented elsewhere in the ancient world.

This exceptional combination of events, became the cause of the development of *seven* of the most crucial socio-historical components in human advancement to take place in the Zagros Mountains and its hinterland: *Agriculture, domestication of animals*, invention of the *wheel*, kiln-baked *brick*, *urbanization*, *writing*, and the seeds of *collective governance* and the basic concepts of *democracy*.

Considerable historical and archaeological evidence prove that neither the Zagros Mountains nor the plains of Iran and Mesopotamia could have achieved such high levels of progress in isolation.

Perhaps the greatest and the most outstanding contribution of the Zagros Mountains and its hinterland has been in the realm of *collective governance*, *state management* and the formation of *political institutions*, many of which were run by elected assemblies. The *confederated* system of

governance which acted as the basis of the later administration of Iran was developed first in Elam, closely followed by the Medes and all the later dynasties of Iran well into the Islamic period.

### **Is Caspian Northwest Iranian?**

Habib Borjjan  
*Columbia University*

The Caspian provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran are home to a people who identify themselves as *gelāk* and their languages as *gelāki* -- an endonym that roughly corresponds to what is defined by Donald Stilo as the Caspian language family, consisting of Gilaki (G), Mazandarani (M), and Central Caspian. Subsequently, the taxonomy of Iranian languages has long placed Caspian within the Northwest Iranian (NW) subgroup, without presenting a detailed analysis. I argue that Caspian as a whole is rather a mixed language family, carrying strong reflexes of Southwest (SW) features in some old sound shifts relevant for the classification of Iranian languages; e.g.:

- \*θr > SW s in M *pəsər* ‘son’, M *aves / os* ‘pregnant’, M *a(r)siu* G *aseyā* ‘mill’, M G *se* ‘three’
- \*ž > SW d in M *dun-* G *dan-* ‘know’, M *del* G *dil* ‘heart’, M *dinə* G *diru(z)* ‘yesterday’ (but > NW z in M *zumā*, G *zəma* ‘son-in-law’)
- \*šū > SW s in the strong evidence of M *sak* G. *sək/səg* ‘dog’ (but > NW sb in M *esbiḡ* G *səbāḡ*; M *esbe* G *esbi* ‘white’; similar NW form are already found in Middle Persian)
- \*j > SW z in M *zənā* G *zan* ‘woman’, M G *zən-* ‘hit’, M G *zəndə* ‘alive’ (but medial \*j typically remains)
- \*dū- > SW d in M *dar* G *dər* ‘door’, *adi* G *de / digər* ‘else, other’

None of the above developments is recent: most lexemes shown above are found in the medieval Tabari texts (Tab) (10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries) and in early modern translations from the Koran (Q) and *Maqamat-i Hariri* (MH) (circa 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries); e.g.: Tab *psr* (14<sup>th</sup> cent.) ‘son’; Tab *dwn-* (11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> cent.) ‘know’; Tab *dl* (10<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> cent.) but also Tab *zyl*, *zyl* (13<sup>th</sup> cent.) ‘heart’; Tab *sk* (13<sup>th</sup> cent.) ‘dog’; MH *zn(’)* ‘woman’; Tab *zn-* : *zw-* (10<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> cent.) ‘hit’; MH *zndy* ‘alive’; Tab *’dy* (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), Q *dyr* ‘else, other’.

Comparing with its historical neighbors Tatic, Semnāni, and (extinct) Gorgāni, which carry strong Northwest pedigrees, Caspian is an obvious geographic outlier in terms of in historical-comparative phonology, whereas in grammatical traits an expected areal continuum exists.

### **“Northern” Talysh and “Southern” Baloch: What Does Make Them Iranian?**

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The Baloch and the Talysh peoples inhabiting areas in the north-west and the south-east corners of the modern-day Iran respectively, and their languages being within the same northwestern subgroup of the Iranian language family, share not only a common Iranian legacy, but certain historical and socio-political fate as well. This presentation focuses on some aspects of modern-day realities constructing the general identity of the Talysh and the Baloch peoples, that are widely

accepted to be anchored on the concept of the “Iranian World”. Meanwhile, it is argued that certain aspects of their Iranian identity are prone to the surrounding non-Iranian elements, that target what makes the Talysh and the Baloch Iranian.

### **Iranian Mythological and Religious Loanwords in Georgian Language**

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In the course of the centuries-old historical and cultural relations between Iran and Georgia, hundreds of Iranian loanwords have been introduced into the Georgian language and some of them constitute an indivisible vocabulary of the modern literary and colloquial Georgian language.

Iranian loans include the mythological, religious and related peripheral content which was borrowed by the Georgian language at different stages of the development of ancient, middle and new Iranian languages and which is conditionally divided into various terms before and after the spread of Christianity in Georgia, such as: names of pagan deities, names denoting good forces and deeds, holy and sacred places, evil forces, deeds and places, rituals and concepts of Christianity, some things of Christian liturgy, and so on.

A careful study of this material shows that Iranian loanwords of mythological and religious content, with a few exceptions, completely penetrated the Georgian language in the period of the active influence of Zoroastrianism in Georgia in the 4th-6th AD and were later supplemented by a small number of new terms borrowed from the New Persian language.

Zoroastrian terms have their root in the Christian religion and liturgy, and, in some cases, have undergone semantic changes. The phonetic and semantic analysis of borrowings shows that some of them have been borrowed directly from Iranian languages, and some have entered through the Armenian language and literature.

At the turn of the 11th-12th AD, a new stage of mass borrowing and approval of new Persian loanwords in the Georgian language begins, which is associated with the wide influence of the New Persian language, literature and folklore in the regions of the Middle East and the South Caucasus. Elements of New Persian have in some cases eclipsed and replaced loanwords from Old Persian and Middle Iranian languages.

The study of the Iranian loanwords of the Georgian language has revealed a unique and very interesting linguistic phenomenon, when the same Iranian root was borrowed into the Georgian language several times, at different stages of the development of the Iranian languages. In some cases, all such borrowings are still actively used in the modern Georgian language and literature.

### **An Intellectual Commune in Quetta: Latkhana (1950-54)**

Julien Columbeau

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My paper will retrace the history, activities and contribution of an intellectual commune active in Quetta, Pakistan between 1950 and 1954, the ‘Latkhana commune’. Latkhana (or ‘Place of leisure’ in Pashto) is the name of a house in which Baloch (Abdullah and Azat Jamaldini, Anjum Qizilbash), Pashtun (Kamal Khan) Urdu speaking (Mahir ul Qadri) and Sindhi (Qadir Baksh

Nizamani) intellectuals settled in 1950. The Latkhana intellectuals were in close contact with the Communist Party of Pakistan and its cultural branch, the Progressive Writers Association (active in Lahore and Karachi), and attempted to spread socialist/communist thought in Balochistan. The Latkhana intellectuals – implementing the agenda outlined by communist and progressive writers such as Firozuddin Mansoor and A.N.Qasmi - set out to develop progressive literature in the languages of Balochistan, launching a Balochi literary associations and a Pashto journal and publishing the first collections of Balochi poetry of Gul Khan Naseer and Azat Jamaldini. Latkhana members promoted their outlook through journalism too, and edited journals such as Khaawar, Nawa-e Watan and Chaltan. In 1954, the Latkhana intellectuals who had been so far simple representatives of the Communists/Progressives in Balochistan started their own political movement: They created a party ('Young Democrats') and published a manifesto ('Hamaaraa Balochistan' - Our Balochistan) which promoted a socialist Balochistan free from the influence of landowners and feudal leaders. The arrest of prominent members of the commune (who were closely watched by the police and whose activities were deemed anti-national) as well as some ideological disagreement led to the closure of Latkhana, which had nevertheless a long-lasting influence on Balochistan's political and intellectual landscape.

### **Possible Traces of Pre-Christian Religious Symbols among the Sasanian Seal Impressions found at Dvin**

Matteo Compareti

*University of Venice "Ca' Foscari"*

Armenian archaeologists active at Dvin site excavated several seal impressions whose chronology seems to pertain to the Sasanian period. Some objects of this group present images of rams in profile with their horns in frontal view and embellished with typical Sasanian ribbons. Isolated rams or couples of rams beside a central tree represent the most popular subject in Sasanian sphragistics. This animal could have been a religious symbol in Sasanian art especially when embellished with ribbons or a necklace. By focusing on contemporary parallels in Central Asian and much earlier specimens in Mesopotamian art, this paper argues that the ram could be the symbolic animal of a deity associated with the planet Venus among many ancient peoples. The best candidate in the Caucasus and the Iranian world seems to be Anahita, the Zoroastrian goddess of water and fertility. Somebody in Christian Armenia possibly still worshiped Anahita as suggested by the archaeological artifacts found at Dvin.

### **Ambivalent Iranian Root \**frāi-*: *frī-* : Semantic Analysis**

Tamar Demetrashvili

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The work analyzes the Iranian root \**frāi-*: *frī-*, one of the roots of the vocabulary of Iranian languages. \**frāi-*: *frī-* 'to please; to grant' derives from the Arian \**prāi-*: *prī-* (compare to ancient Indian pray- 'to please'), which itself derives from the Indo-European \**prāi-*, *prai-*: *prī-* (*pri-*) 'to love'.

In Iranian languages, semantic information of all lexical items derived from the root \**frāi-*: *frī-* shows that in Avestan it means both 'to pray' and 'to curse'. In Middle Iranian languages it means



‘to laud, to bless, to create’, while by adding *\*ni-*, it denotes ‘to curse’ - *\*ni-* + Av. *frāi-* = *nifrīn* [*nplyn*] ‘curse’, opposite meaning of *āfrīn* ‘to pray’; Middle Persian *nifrūt*, *nifrīn* ‘curse’; Classical Persian *nafrīn*. In terms of structure, we have the opposite of the common root, which is created by the prefix of *\*ni-*.

The original semantic unit has developed into the Classical and New Persian *āfaridan* ‘to create’; *āfarīn* ‘Bravo! Well done!’ but not ‘to curse’. Like in Middle Persian, in New Persian, we have *nafrīn* to express the concept of ‘curse’.

This lexical item has ambivalent meaning in Iranian languages (blessing/curse) – positive and negative. In the Middle Iranian languages, this contradiction was lost. The negative meaning i.e. word ‘curse’ is created by new word *ni* + av. *frāy-* = *nifrīn* ‘curse’, which is the opposite of *āfrīn* ‘prayer’. This trend continued in the New Iranian languages as well. Only in Ossetic, the ambivalent meaning was preserved in Digor dialect. Ossetic *arfæ* > *\*afr-*. *arfæ* ‘blessing, benediction’; Digor ‘conspiracy, spell’;

Avestan *āfrī-vācah* = Ossetic *arfæjy wac* ‘to wish good and evil’: 1) ‘to bless’; 2) ‘to curse’

The lexical items with the *\*frāi-*: *frī-* root in Old and Middle Iranian languages, i.e., in the Pre-Islamic period, were used for religious purposes, though later the root lost its ‘curse-pray’ ambivalence and has since been used with a narrower meaning.

The semantic ambivalence of the earliest Iranian vocabulary units from all the Islamic-period Iranian languages is preserved only in Ossetic, which may be related to social, cultural and religious factors.

The semantic proximity of Ossetic and Avestan, as well as the semantic distance of Ossetic and New Iranian languages, is unsurprising given the isolated position of Ossetic in the Iranian Language group.

### **Manuscripts Attesting Persian Texts in Georgian Script from the K. Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts**

Natia Dundua

*Ilia Stat University, Acad. G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies; K. Kekelidze Georgian  
National Centre of Manuscripts*

Following manuscripts – S-16, H-2290, S-418, preserved at the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, represent Persian texts in Georgian script.

S-16 is a 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> cc manuscript attesting Persian Gospel transcribed with Georgian letters; H-2290 (19<sup>th</sup> century) represents a bilingual text of Georgian-Persian expressions, where Georgian phrases and Persian translations transliterated with Georgian letters are presented under each other; whereas S-418 is a 18<sup>th</sup> century collection including excerpts from poems in various languages, among them a Persian poem in Georgian letters, followed by Georgian translations of Persian words and phrases also in Georgian script.

The paper except for the paleographical-codicological description of the manuscripts will deal with the issues of Georgian-Persian phonetic correspondences: tables will be presented showing all Georgian equivalents of each Persian phoneme attested in the manuscripts. Furthermore, the hypothesis about probable users, owners, and audience of the manuscripts will be expressed.

### **Diyarbakir Armenian Catholic Church (Surp Hosep Church)**

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Diyarbakir (Diyarbakir, Amid) is a city located in the Southeastern Anatolia Region of Turkey and at the north of Mesopotamia called Cezire. One of the oldest settlements in Anatolia and Mesopotamia, Diyarbakir is a region where distinctive ethnic and religious groups live. Christian art has spread to Egypt, Anatolia, Syria, Armenia and Mesopotamia under the domination of the Roman Empire in parallel with Christianity, which spreads in the first century. The Armenians, as a widespread and settled community in Anatolia, lived in Diyarbakir by taking influential roles in urban population until the 20th century. The Armenian churches, which constitute the subject of this study, are the architectural documents that reflect the construction techniques, culture, and social-economic characteristics of the period, in which they were built.

Armenian Catholic Church, (Surp Hosep Church) belongs to the Armenian Catholic Foundation. Although, no precise information about the date of construction can be reached, the curved forms of the tile and mihrab ornamentation observed in the structure reflect the characteristics of the Baroque method that lasted from the 18th century until the beginning of the 19th century in the Ottoman Art. The church has three naves and it is built according to a basilica plan. In addition, the porched narthex is located in front of the main space and opened to the courtyard with three arches. A three-door entrance grants the passage from the narthex to naos.

Diyarbakir Armenian churches are the structures left in the city by Armenians, who left the regions for reasons of deportation and war. We believe that the churches may be protected, despite all the negative events, if they are included in the restoration program.

### **Assyrian Ethnic Minority of Armenia: Historical Memory and Self-Identification as Citizens of the Republic of Armenia**

Anton Evstratov

*Russian-Armenian University*

The Assyrian ethnic minority living on the territory of Armenia is united both by ethnic origin and culture, and partially by religion and relatively compact residence (in particular, in a number of villages in the Ararat region). An important marker of the historical memory of the Assyrians is their Genocide in the Ottoman Empire, which brings this minority closer to the titular nation of the Republic of Armenia, Armenians, and makes Assyrian citizens an integral part of Armenian society. The Assyrians of Armenia, associating themselves with this country, participated in the defining events of its modern history, in particular, both Karabakh wars, and also publicly support the RA even in the Diaspora. In this study, based on interviews with Assyrian public figures and texts from Assyrian diaspora publications of the Republic of Armenia, an attempt was made to identify the key markers of self-identification of this community as citizens of Armenia based on the common historical memory with Armenians and attitude to historical events and modern realities.

## **The Survival of Ossetian in Two Anatolian Villages**

Richard Foltz

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The migration of North Caucasian peoples into Ottoman Anatolia during the early 1860s included some 5,000 Muslim Ossetes, who settled first in the Sarıkamış district and later moved further west. While the Ossetian community in Turkey today may number as much as 100,000, most now live in the major urban centres of Istanbul and Ankara and have largely become assimilated into modern Turkish society. However, two villages in the Yozgat district east of Ankara, Poyrazlı and Boyalık, have remained Ossetian-speaking up to the present day. This paper, based on fieldwork conducted in 2022, explores the circumstances through which Ossetian language and customs have survived in these villages 160 years after the migration, and what prospects exist for the continuation of a distinct Ossetian communal identity in Turkey.

## **About a Painted Burial Jar from Tigranakert of Artsakh**

Armine Gabrielyan

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The tomb field of the Late Hellenistic period Tigranakert of Artsakh is spread out on the plain and is located approximately 0.5 km northeast of the city. Due to the excavations held in 2010-2018 by the archaeological expedition of Tigranakert, one cist burial and five jar burials were revealed here and studied. The smallest one is a double-handled vessel with a flat base. Moreover, the inventory of that burial is quite poor, confined to several carnelian beads and two small round earrings. The most remarkable find is a gorgeous painted jar. The images are made with red paint. There are several bands three of which are decorated with ornaments, consisting of variations of different astral signs and dots, one is figurative and the lower band consists of an arcade, very typical for the painted ware of the Late Hellenistic period of Tigranakert.

The fourth figurative band is portraying a deer hunting scene. It is depicted on both sides of the scattered branches of a dense tree. An infantryman and horsemen armed with long spears and accompanied by hunting dogs, chase the deer and does. This motif has been popular since the early periods. Scenes of deer hunting are noticed among the petroglyphs of the Armenian Highlands, on the bronze belts and other decorative-applied works of art discovered from the archaeological sites of Armenia and the neighboring countries. This theme is especially prevalent in Achaemenid glyptics and Hellenistic art.

Depiction of the Tree of Life and the motif of hunting scenes on the burial jars are probably of ritual significance. The analysis of that will help us fulfill the knowledge about the ritual beliefs of our ancestors.

## ***Al-mardmār‘d: an Iranian Title Attested in Ya‘qūbī’s History***

Haykaz Gevorgyan

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Arab historian and geographer Ya'qūbī (9th c.) mentions the title *al-mardmār'd* in his "History", in the section of "The kings of Persia". The latter, according to him, corresponds to *ṣāhib al-dīwān* 'the head of the chancery'. However, Ya'qūbī's version for this title is in all likelihood distorted. The Leiden edition of this work suggests the reading *al-mardmānbadh*, which again doesn't correspond to any known title. On the other hand, A. Christensen conjectured an original reading of *Ērān-āmārkār*. The present report is an attempt to reveal the correspondence of this term, using materials of Armenian historiography.

### **Architectural Ornament in Genre Paintings of Vardges Surenyants**

Susanna Gevorgyan

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Vardges Surenyants's (1860-1921) art contains many examples of petit genre, presented both in paintings and graphics, including book illustrations. In most of the works we see architectural ornaments, which, apparently, were influenced by his studies at the Munich Academy, as well as by his artistic preferences and taste. These works of genre painting made a significant contribution to the history of Armenian fine arts.

The aim of this presentation is to show the importance and origin of the architectural ornament in the works of Vardges Surenyants.

### **Caucasian Albanian - present knowledge and how it was achieved**

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The keynote addresses the language of the so-called Caucasian "Albanians", which was the third language of the Southern Caucasus to attain literacy in the course of the Christianisation of the region in about the 4th-5th centuries of our era. It focuses on the discovery and decipherment of the only manuscript remains of the language, which were detected in the 1990s in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai, overwritten, as palimpsests, by a Georgian hand of allegedly the 10th century. After explaining the scientific methods applied in the course of three international projects between 1999 and 2017, it summarizes the present state of knowledge as gained by inspecting the palimpsests via multispectral imaging, with a view to both the linguistic features of the language and the structure of the textual heritage that has been preserved in the Sinai manuscripts.

### **Georgia and Sasanian Iran: Rulership Imagery in Pre-Christian and Early Christian**

**Georgian Art**

Mariam Gvelesiani

*The University of Georgia*

Georgia's connection to the Iranian socio-cultural world is evidenced both by the historical texts and monuments of material culture covering the period from the Achaemenid time to the late medieval centuries. Eastern Georgian kingdom of Kartli (Iberia) founded by the very first local king Parnavaz in the early third century BC retained a close affiliation with its great neighboring

country of Iran even after its official conversion to Christianity under Mirian III in the fourth century. Georgian historical texts are abundantly imbued with Iranian imagery, such as the personages of half-legendary stories narrated in the Chronicle “K’art’lis C’xovreba” (Life of Kartli) who have been suggested to come from the Iranian epic tradition as well as the theophoric names of the Georgian kings: Pharnavaz, Mi(h)rvan, Pharnajom, Artag, Bartom, Mi(h)rian and others reflect the profound influence of Iran upon the political and religious life of pre-Christian and Early Christian Georgia.

Following the foundation of the Sasanian Empire, K’art’li became a part of the Sasanian state during the reign of Šāpūr I (240-70) and experienced thereby a series of major political, social, and cultural transformations between the fourth and seventh centuries. The Sasanians certainly were the supreme authority, controlling the political and military life of K’art’li, with a *marzban* settled in Tbilisi. The political expansion has left imprints on Georgian material culture as evidenced by several artifacts – bas-reliefs, silverware, bullae, and coins bearing the traits of Sasanian art as well as its amalgamation with Christian iconography. As visual documentation of Persian traditions of rulership over this period, some of these art objects show Iranian kings or rulers’ insignias (the bowl from Sargveshi, silver dish from Aragvispiri, bas-reliefs from Gulbaghi, Akvaneba, Bolnisi) which repeatedly appear on several artifacts depicting local noblemen (stelae from Samtsevrissi, Dmanisi, Bashkichi, Nagzauri). This evidence acknowledges certain rights and authorities given to them by the Iranian rulers. The dissemination of the Zoroastrian religion that followed the political hegemony of the Sasanians, was opposed by the political elite of Kartli, which can be confirmed by the Christian Cross constantly featured on those Early Christian objects, as well as by the replacement of the Zoroastrian fire by the same universal Christian symbol on the coins.

### **The Original Toponymy of the Hozat Region of Dersim**

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Dersim (modern-day Tunceli province in Turkey) in Eastern Anatolia, currently populated mostly by Zazas and Kurds, is one of the few regions, where the majority of the population adheres to a regionally distinctive religion, commonly known as Alevism. It is a rich crater of intermingled traces of different languages, religions, cultures, etc.

Geographical denominations, as it is well-known, are the best reflections of the historical past of a certain locality. However, unfortunately, as a result of continuous Turkification of geographical names, thousands of original names have been replaced by recognizable Turkish names. The original toponyms of this region, however, have been preserved in many sources, such as Urartian, Assyrian, and Hittite inscriptions, Armenian, Greek, Byzantine, Roman, and Arabic historiography, Ottoman Turkish documents, etc.

This research is an attempt to present the original toponymy of Dersim in a comparative-historical perspective.

### **The Avars according to Rostom Bek Yernkyants's work "Avaria"**

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The unpublished, archival materials of Rostom Bek Yernkyants, a retired officer of Caucasian War, have an important sourceological significance. For this report was selected the work "Avaria", which consists of 22 pages, 11 sheets and is the Mashtots Matenadaran's number 10903 manuscript. The written parts of the manuscript have numerous traces of deletions and corrections made by the author, which proves that the work is the private diary of Rostom Bek Yernkyants, intended for personal use. This fact increases the degree of objectivity of the work.

The work deals with the geography of Avaria – mountains, rivers, then settlements, villages, worshiping tombs, mythology and to some extent – the establishment of Russian rule in the region.

The report is an attempt to examine this work in a historical context, as well as to combine the data of published surveys on avars, which will allow us assess the original significance of Rostom Bek Yernkyants's work "Avaria". We think it is important for professionals interested in the political history, ethnography, religion and geography of North Caucasus.

### **Language Contact and Borrowing in the Turkish of Khorasan**

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Northern Khorasan is an area in which some languages and dialects like Turkish, Turkman, Kurmanji, Persian are spoken and naturally these have been in severe contact with each other. The most obvious result of language contact is the borrowing, or better, copying of vocabulary by one or both of the pertinent languages. In this research lexical borrowing and some cases of syntactic borrowing will be analyzed in The Turkish of Khorasan (exactly the Shirvan dialect) is analyzed. The tools and methods for data collection in this study are face-to-face interviews with some native speakers. During the trip to Shirvan, 10 speakers were interviewed and all interviews were recorded. All recorded conversations and interviews were carefully written on paper, transcribed, and then analyzed based on the features in question. The Leipzig glossing rules listed on the Max Planck Institute website were the criteria for sentence and morpheme analysis. Also, the available sources in the field of this dialect (dissertations, books, dictionaries, poetry and story collections, etc.) have been used whenever needed. In selecting speakers, it was tried to use people who were born and living in the same area, in terms of hearing be healthy, with clear pronunciation and fluent expression. Some vocabulary areas which have been borrowed strongly from Persian or other neighboring language are ordinal numbers, family members and relatives, days of the week, some adverbs of time, words for directions, house related words and some furniture, clothes, jobs and professions and colors. Also among syntactic influences two areas, namely some complex verbs and some clitic verbs can be mentioned.

## **Between Home and Homeland: Discussing the Armenian Identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Polis (Istanbul)**

Anahit Kartashyan

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The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a repositioning of power and influence inside the Armenian community of Istanbul. The influence of the Amira class was significant in the internal management of the communities before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From 1847 to 1863 as a result of various state reforms and regulations the government of the Armenian millet had been secularised and democratised. In the process of restructuring community life, a special role had to be attributed to the middle class: a coalition of craftsmen (*esnaf*), small merchants, and the Armenian “young” intellectuals (The Young Armenians<sup>3</sup>), who had studied at European universities and colleges and had absorbed European ideas of liberty and nation, on their return to the Ottoman Empire, complained about the lack of equality and good education. Prosopographic study of the Armenian graduates let me divide them in two strata, each occupying different positions in the Armenian community and in the Ottoman administration. The first stratum represented those Young Armenians<sup>4</sup> who did not occupy any position in the Ottoman administration; they started to modernise and develop family business, worked as teachers at Armenian schools, write articles in Armenian periodicals or publish books on agriculture, education, and science, encouraging Armenians to follow European civilized nations educate their children and change their lives. The second stratum represented that part of Young Armenians<sup>5</sup> who mostly came from wealthy Armenian families and were associated with the Ottoman reformers and on their return or graduation became a part of the Ottoman bureaucracy, joining the ranks of so-called the Men of Tanzimat. Both of them played key roles in the Armenian millet administration, adoption of the Armenian national constitution, holding positions in Armenian National Assembly. Parisian years left their influence on the Young Armenians who through education highlighted the significant role of the spoken Armenian language (*ashkharabar*), religion, and culture. These Young men using widespread Armenian newspapers were discussing and defining boundaries of the Armenian identity, the fragile dividing line between home (state) and homeland. They claimed that life in the homeland and the Ottoman state could be improved if both the state and the Armenian nation achieved progress and civilization. The old elite insisting on the key role of religion in the formation of the Armenian nation and the Armenian Church in the Armenian millet administration. While the Young Armenians were in favor of the secularization of the nation and decentralisation of millet Administration. Till the end of the 1860s, the Young Armenians avoided using such words as “fatherland” and Armenia preferring to refer to the nation or community rather than geography.

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<sup>3</sup> The term was used by V. Artinian (*Artinian V.*, The Armenian Constitutional System in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1863: A Study of Its Historical Development, Istanbul, 1988).

<sup>4</sup> Palyan Nikolos, Karapet Iutiudjyan, Nikolos Zoreyan, Hovhannes Tyusyuzyan, Karapet Sirunyan etc.

<sup>5</sup> Agathon (Agathonyan) Grigor Effendi, Amasyan Hakob Effendi, Krchikyan Hakob (Akop) Effendi, Otyan Grigor, Rusinyan (Pavghandyan) Nahapet Effendi, Servichen (Serovbe Vichenyan) Effendi, Stimaratchyan Gevorg Effendi etc.



Collectively and over time, we see the trend of citizenship boundary growing more permeable during the 1870s. Adapting and utilizing the language of state reforms, the Armenian elite began to consider the Armenians as an “integral part of Ottoman society” who were loyal and contributed to the development of the homeland and the state. However, the elite made it clear that they share the idea of citizenship, which provides a double identity – one imperial and one national that complemented each other.

This paper examines the Young Armenians’ perception of the home and homeland under the condition of growing nationalism. It explores how the Young Armenians using a myth of common origin and common historical memory, language, religion, and culture associate themselves with a special territory – homeland while living outside of it. The paper explains the dynamics influencing this process.

### **Chronologic frame**

In some respects, we can talk about the long 19<sup>th</sup> century being the focus of this paper. Therefore, the starting point of this project is quite fragile and makes it difficult to mention any date, which could mark the beginning of the timeframe. It starts with a short historic overview on the formation of ethno-diasporic community of Istanbul and then focuses on the long 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Primary Sources**

To analyze the perception of the Young Armenians towards home and homeland and discussion on Armenian identity, I consider the Armenian newspapers published in the Ottoman Empire (Masis, Arshaluys Arartyan, Hayastan, Meghu, etc.), and Minutes of the National Assembly. The second block of sources that I plan to use in my research is personal texts-diaries, memoirs, letters, etc.

## **The Social Value of Torque among the Ethnic Groups of the Eastern Hindukush Area**

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A number of peoples in Western Eurasia developed the idea of wearing a metal rod around their necks as a symbol of social status, decoration, and payment as early as the Bronze Age. The introduction of a universal trade equivalent in the shape of coins did not stop the torque from spreading across the continent and even originating in several locations, including Africa.

Torques of various configurations are well-known among the Iranic, Nuristani, Dardic, and Indo-Aryan ethnic groups in the Afghan-Pakistani borderlands’ material culture. Before the majority of the population of the Eastern Hindukush area converted to Islam, this form of jewelry was popular among both women and men. According to synchronous sources – colonial era literature and surviving anthropomorphic memorial effigies of Kafiristan – the brave warrior, along with his wife and daughters, were granted permission to wear a silver torque. In Islamic society, this item has become an attribute of a married woman – a part of her dowry as a material value and a decoration piece. Despite their non-Muslim status, the Dardic Kalasha males have long stopped wearing torques.

In the final decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Pashtun areas of Northwestern Pakistan saw mass production of low-cost spiral torques made from a coin alloy. Due to globalization, cultural transformation, and the wide availability of beads and cheap embellishments, this sort of jewelry has become archaic and is now mostly sported by Gujar women. The rejection of silver in torque

manufacturing also diminished its significance. Such ornaments, which used to cost the equivalent of one cow, are now virtually gone among Kalasha women, too.

At the same time, it's worth noting that a transition happened there from the world of things to the level of art. In the Swat valley and its upper reaches, by the beginning of the 20th century, images of spiral torque had established a traditional motif in woodcarving – on everyday objects and architectural elements, as well as on gravestones, toreutics and pottery. This image has occasionally appeared in the carved house posts of Nuristan, which have now lost their connection to the status culture of Kafiristan.

### **Studying Ethnoreligious Identity (an Overview of Theoretical, Ideological and Empirical Approaches)**

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The development of modern societies is largely associated with ethno-religious processes. The study of ethnicities/societies/groups through the prism of religious processes, first of all, aims to identify the impact of religious consciousness and behavior on the processes of reproduction of ethnic or other group identity.

Due to the characteristics of the country of residence, religious, ethnic, cultural or political milieu, different segments of the same ethnic or other group may exhibit different religious behavior.

Nowadays, religious processes are discussed in a vast social aspect. The concepts of religiosity, religious (ethnoreligious) identity, worldview and behavior are the object of different studies. This is one of the important, interesting and, at the same time, complex areas in modern Humanities, since, the question of theoretical and methodological approaches to study this topic remains open in scientific discourse. The issues of religiosity often go beyond the scope of theoretical research, and their high social significance requires the use of applied analytical developments. The latter is prescribed by the need of comprehending the place of religious consciousness and behavior in social processes, in the context of the transformation of modern societies and in periods of deep reforms and emergencies.

The purpose of the article is to represent the peculiarities of studying the phenomenon of ethnoreligious identity. A common structure of it is formed during the analyzing the specific interaction of ethnic and religious identities.

The author, based on the experience of researches, provides an overview of theoretical, ideological and empirical approaches in the study of this phenomenon. The importance of identifying the necessary relationships (history - modernity), the facts and the uniqueness of their manifestations in research on this topic is emphasized.

## **Written Sources on the History of Christianity in the Avar Nutsaldom (Kingdom of Sarir) of the 7th-14th Centuries\***

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During the medieval period, one of the major states of the Caucasus was the Avar Nutsaldom, known in Arab and Persian sources as the Kingdom of Sarir. According to written sources, Christianity was widespread here in the VII-XIV centuries. In the X-XIII centuries, it was the state religion of Avar. So far, only fragmentary information about the Christian period in the history of Avar Nutsaldom was known. However, with the identification of new written sources on the territory of Avar itself (epigraphy), as well as information from Armenian, Georgian and other chronicles, it is possible to answer some questions.

The early medieval fortified settlement of Gelbakh (Varachan in Armenian sources, Balanjar in Arabic sources) is located in the north of Avar. Here the remains of four churches of the 7th-8th centuries have been revealed, which can be considered the earliest Christian churches known in the territory of mountain Avaria. Chronologically and typologically close to these churches are two religious buildings discovered in Harkas, a large (26 ha) medieval town of Avar that existed in the VIII-XIV centuries.

At the same time, based on the study of Armenian sources, it becomes clear that the influence of the Armenian Church was predominant until the mid-tenth century. During this period under the influence of Georgia and the Byzantine Empire, Orthodoxy was consolidated and its positions were strengthened. At the very beginning of the 11th century King Bayar (church name – Bukht-yisho) intensified the construction of temples and the strengthening of church organization. At that time the Datun church was built, the only Christian temple preserved in its entirety to this day. The same time can be dated to the temple excavated on Mount Akaro above Khunzakh, the capital of Avar. Recent research has revealed the manufacture of silver plates with biblical scenes by his order in 1008. The construction of the church continued later. However after Mongolian invasion in XIII century the influence of Georgian church obviously weakened. By the ornamental design and some details in the use of building materials it is possible to speak about the break of Georgian tradition and the emergence of its own church architecture.

Under the pressure of external forces and in light of the adoption of Islam in the Golden Horde and the Hulaguid state the ruler (nutsal) of Avaria Andunik adopted Islam as the state religion in 1302. However, up to the end of the XIV century there were temples and Muslims living in Khunzakh. The only precisely dated building inscription reporting the erection of a church in Avaria refers to 1365 and was found in Ruguja. The same period can be dated to the temples that existed in a number of Hidatl villages. Only by the end of the XV century is the final assertion of Islam in Avar Nutsaldom. The same time should be dated to the cessation of Christianity in Avar.

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## **In Search of Kinship: The Talishi-Zaza Imagined Alliance**

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The study aims to examine the shaping of a mode of relations, kind of “imagined alliance” between two Iranian-speaking communities – the Talishis, inhabiting the South Caspian region (Azerbaijan) and the Zazas who live in Central Anatolia (Turkey). Both communities have experienced certain transformations of identities in the recent decades, both reveal the rise of self-awareness.

The research attempts to contextualize the phenomenon of “imagined kinship” coined by Benedict Anderson, according to which language affinity can become a basis to construct theories of blood ties between the entities on a popular level.

The inquiry seeks to empirically investigate and prove/disprove the hypotheses of the emerging discourse on the Talishi-Zaza imagined alliance. The study conducts discourse and content analysis of the available written and recorded media on the issues, in order to trace the tendencies in and the scope of the mentioned alliance at the moment and try to forecast its further development as a principally new socio-cultural phenomenon and a probable ethno-political factor in the region.

## **Armenian kalāntars of Yerevan in 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries**

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Kalāntar was a high official of the town administration in the periods of Safavid and Afsharid rule. This official played an important role in the regulation of affairs in a town and the collection of taxes there. One of the main duties of kalāntar was the assessment of tolls on merchants, artisans, guilds of handicraft production and other members of town community. Kalāntar also appointed the kadkhudās of the town blocks. Usually, outstanding representatives of local noblemen and merchant families were chosen by the community and then confirmed at this post by royal edict. Whenever the town consisted of significant groups of Christian and Muslim population, each group had its own kalāntar. This official was also engaged in the settlement of the problems of the community and the protection of its rights. Unlike the other high officials in Muslim states kalāntar usually was not obliged to adopt Islam. Nevertheless, there were few cases of conversion to Islam, too.

The Armenian kalantars of New Julfa secured a kind of autonomy of the Armenian colony in Isfahan. From the beginning of the establishment of the colony the representatives of the wealthy merchant family of Khachik from Old Jugha filled the post. The situation should be the same also as regards the kalantars of other towns. At present we have sufficient information about the Armenian kalāntars of Yerevan.

Sources have kept information about several representatives of Melik Shahnazaryan family of Gegharkuni, running this post at the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century and in 18<sup>th</sup> century: Melik Shahnazar, Melik Yavri and Melikjan. The Persian documents of the Matenadaran contain evidence also about Sahak kalāntar, the son of Grigor, holding the post in the mid-seventeenth century. The paper will consider the information of various sources about the Armenian kalāntars of the town of Yerevan: the circumstances of their appointment, political events connected with their activities at the post, possible conversion to Islam and other details referring to them.

## Word Class Flexibility in West Caucasian

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West Caucasian languages are known for having parts-of-speech systems which differ from those of Standard Average European languages in many respects and can be characterized as flexible. In particular, these languages display quite weak distinction between nouns and verbs (if any), because nouns here can take the typical predicate morphology (1), while words describing events can function as arguments referring to the participants of these events (2):

West Circassian (West Circassian corpus)

- (1) *wə-λə-β*, *wə-çəfə-β*  
2SG.ABS-man-PST 2SG.ABS-human-PST  
'You was a man, you was a human being.'
- (2) *njewəš'* *χ<sup>w</sup>ə-š'tə-r* *š<sup>w</sup>-ŝe-r-ep*  
tomorrow happen-FUT-ABS 2PL.ERG-know-DYN-NEG  
'You do not know what will happen tomorrow.'

Forms like those in (1) are often described as denominal stative verbs, but such description seems to be non-economical. At the same time, it is impossible to abandon the idea of content word class distinctions, since nouns have specific properties in all West Caucasian languages.

In this talk based on our fieldwork, we consider specific properties shown by nouns in the four living West Caucasian languages (West Circassian, Kabardian, Abkhaz and Abaza) and argue that these languages vary in the degree to which nouns are contrasted with other content words. In particular, we demonstrate that:

- (i) in Circassian languages (West Circassian and Kabardian) nouns display specific properties (such as specific inalienable possessive marking, definiteness marking, etc.) either only in the argument position or both in the argument and predicate positions (e.g., modifier incorporation),
- (ii) in the languages of the Abkhaz-Abaza branch nouns display specific properties either in the argument position only (e.g., definiteness marking) or both in the argument and predicate positions (e.g., modifier incorporation) or in the predicate position only (optional or even obligatory omission of some indexing predicate morphology in some, yet not all constructions).

In general, nouns in Circassian languages can be described as a subclass of a more general class of contentives, because non-nouns do not have any specific properties that are not available to nouns. In Abkhaz and Abaza, on the other hand, nouns lose predicate morphology in some peripheral constructions, so that although the system is similar to the Circassian one in general, in these patterns non-nouns turn out to have some properties (absolutive indexing morphology) that is absent for nouns and hence can constitute a separate class distinguished on positive grounds.

## Searching an Unattainable Equilibrium: Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Iranian-Georgian Relations during the Reign of Shah ‘Abbas I

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In the paper is discussed information of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Iranian historian Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani about Georgian-Iranian relations during the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I (1587-1629). This information is included in the third volume of Fazli’s chronicle - “Afzal-al-Tavarikh” (The Wonderful History) which was considered lost but was discovered at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Cambridge, Christ’s College Library by British Iranist, professor Charles Melville.

The above-mentioned chronicle is significant not only for studying the period of Safavid Iran, but also for analysing several aspects of the history of Iranian-Georgian and generally, of Iranian-Caucasian interactions.

The author of these chronicles, Fazli Beg Khuzani Isfahani was from Isfahan. His relatives, who belonged to the Iranian Bureaucracy, held high positions in Safavid administration. Therefore, Fazli’s career was linked to Caucasus, in particular Georgia, from the very beginning. He was a vizier of Peikar Khan, the ruler of Kakheti (part of the Eastern Georgia) during the dominance of Kizilbashs. Thus, he is a witness of the many events which were happening in Safavid Iran and Georgia and his work represents an important primary source.

The chronicle includes detailed information about the reign of Shah ‘Abbas and its large part is dedicated to the description of Iranian-Georgian interactions.

I have already had an opportunity to present some references from this historical chronicle with the Georgian translation and emphasize the inconsistency of specific information. I continue the work on the Georgian translation of Fazli’s chronicle and its study.

In this paper I present two passages from the chronicle of Fazli Beg Khuzani about the Iranian-Georgian political relations, interactions between royal families and comparative analysis of “Afzal-al-Tavarikh” and Georgian primary sources of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Some Kermāni Words from the *Fīqu-Nāme*, a 19<sup>th</sup> Century Text

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Adīb Qāsemī-Kermānī (1859-1929) was a poet whose major poetic career was contemporary to the reign of Muhammad-Alī Shāh Qājār, and composed several pieces of poetry which contain tens of words from the dialect of Kermān. His major works of poetry are *Neyestān* and *Khārestān* (Parodies to Sa’dī’s *Bustān* and *Golestān*), as well *Ātash-Zaneh* and *Tārīkh-e Telegrāfī*, edited in one volume by the late Professor Iraj Afshar in 1993. However, Afshar has not included one of Qāsemī’s major works, which is a manuscript kept in the library of the Iranian Parliament named *Fīqu-Nāme*. This unpublished text contains up to 100 Kermāni words, which have not yet been considered or studied. The present article introduces this manuscript, as well as providing the list of these Kermāni vocabularies with their examples from the text of *Fīqu-Nāme*.

## Time Nouns and Temporal Constructions in the Languages of Dagestan

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Samira Verhees

East Caucasian languages often have several words meaning ‘time’. Widespread are terms of Arabic origin: *zaman* is found all through the family, whereas *vaqt* and *dawr* are limited to the south, see Zabitov (2001). The Persian loan *gāh* is rarely used as a regular noun, but survives as a component of temporal adverbial markers in Agul, Tabasaran, Rutul and Khinalug (Maisak 2007). Temporal adverbial markers meaning ‘when’ in East Caucasian commonly consist of a ‘time’-noun inflected for ergative or another case. They can be attached to demonstratives, or head participial relative clauses (1).

(1) Andi (Alisultanova & Magomedova 2010)

|   |                        |                     |
|---|------------------------|---------------------|
| λer-di                                      | w-oqo-b= <b>rihi</b>   | hege-š:u-b-o        |
| near-LAT                                    | M-reach-PST.PTCP=time  | DEM-M.OBL-INAN1-AFF |
| hago-d:u                                    | b-eč'uχ <sup>w</sup> a | qala                |
| see-PRF                                     | INAN1-big              | palace              |
| ‘When he came closer, he saw a big palace.’ |                        |                     |

Similar constructions are used in Turkish, and in Nogai and Kumyk, two Turkic languages spoken in Dagestan. In Turkish, the construction appeared first with *vaqt* and later *zaman*, under the influence of the Persian subordinate construction *vaqtī ki* ‘when’ (Kirchner 2006).<sup>6</sup> Despite the Arabic origins of the head noun, the construction is an independent development of Persian (Ibid.). This could suggest that the pattern spread from Persian to Turkic and East Caucasian languages in the area. However, it is found in every branch of the East Caucasian family, while not all of them were equally influenced by Turkic. In addition, Azerbaijani, the most influential Turkic language of the area, seems to use either *ki*-constructions as in Persian or an original Turkic construction with a participle and a locative marker (Ibid.).

In this talk we take a closer look at the inventories and functions of ‘time’-nouns in the languages of Dagestan, and reveal several micro-patterns of convergence. The absence of certain borrowings in the south is almost in complementary distribution with the presence of native words for time. Avar and Kumyk show signs of bidirectional convergence. Avar likely borrowed the temporal subordinate clause pattern with *zaman* and a locative suffix from Kumyk. The regular way to form temporal adverbials in Avar is with ergative case, as is also evidenced by the native construction *mex-at* [time-ERG], which exists alongside the locative *zaman-alda*. Kumyk in its turn appears to have copied Avar’s lexical pattern *heb-mex-alda* [that-time-LOC] as the main strategy to express the meaning ‘then’, cf. *šo zaman-da* [that time-LOC] in Kumyk, as opposed to its equivalents *sonra* in Azerbaijani and Turkish, and *sonda* in Nogai.

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6 See Kirchner (2006) for a detailed description of how the left-branching subordinate construction in Turkish was developed from the right-branching Persian model.



## **The Present-Day Linguistic Situation in Kyrgyzstan: to the Issue of Languages of Minorities (Homshetsi Dialect of Western Armenian)**

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Central Asia has seen an immense amount of upheaval. Every major invasion beginning from Alexander the Great - 334-323 BC - to the Khanates - 1500-171 BC - has gone through the “roof of the world” leaving behind diversity of languages in peaceful co-existence.

1944 forcible deportation of minorities - the Meskhetian Turks, Kurds, Hemshins, etc. (approximately 115,000 people) from Georgia (Adjara area) had made the areal language diversity even more diverse. Still migration, invasions, conquest, and trade impacted on the languages and cultures of Central Asia including Kyrgyzstan. It must be pointed out that in spite of the immense linguistic diversity all the languages, as well as Hemshin, had space and often overlapped ensuring stability, linguistic equality and peaceful co-existence.

The entire region is multilingual, multiethnic, multi-faith and multicultural. Today Kyrgyzstan is one of the two former Soviet republics in Central Asia to retain Russian as an official language, Kazakhstan being the other. It added the Kyrgyz language to become an officially bilingual country in September 1991.

As is known, along with the official languages, other languages and dialects are spoken in this country. According to the 2009 census, 4.1 million people (about 65% spoke Kyrgyz as native or second language and 2.5 million spoke Russian as native or second language. Uzbek (about 12, 5%) is the second most widely spoken native language, followed by Russian; Russian (by 13, 8%) is the most widely spoken second language, followed by Kyrgyz, Uzbek and English.

| <b>Language name</b>  | <b>Total speakers</b>                     |
|-----------------------|---|
| Kyrgyz                | 4, 121, 743                               |
| Uzbek                 | 870, 314                                  |
| Russian               | 2, 591, 636                               |
| Dungan                | 58 128                                    |
| Uighur                | 48 543                                    |
| Tajik                 | 46 105                                    |
| Turkish               | 38 878                                    |
| <b><i>Hemshin</i></b> | <b><i>1 127 against 1 322 in 1999</i></b> |

Besides, about 80 languages and dialects are in active use. Russian is still the language of communication between all nations, living in this country. This fact, in my view, is not so pleasing as there is a certain national belief (which is rather ill at the moment) that Kyrgyz should be used in every social sphere. Speeches in other languages, especially in Russian, at certain meetings, conferences, etc. are not quite welcomed.

Despite the lack of school, literature, etc., commitment of Hemshins to their native language is a present-day reality. At the same time they are bi- and multilingual that makes it possible to get on well in a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural context.

## **The Archetype of Sacrificial Animal and Hunting Trophy. Sculptural Heads and Protomes of Animals in the Medieval Art of Anatolia, the Caucasus and Iran**

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In ancient cultures, the animal sacrifice played an important role and took shape into persistent ritual practices. One of their manifestations is the attachment of heads and/or other parts of the sacrificial bull or ram on the walls of sanctuaries, as a sign of the perfect rite and hence – the deity patronage. The details of these rituals soon penetrated into art, where imitating the real heads or skulls of sacred animals, they began to be simply depicted. The idea of sacrifice lies at the root of many religions and myths, and it was also adopted and developed in Christianity. In the early medieval monuments of Asia Minor, Armenia and Georgia, there are a number of sculpted heads of a bull or a ram, which reflected the same ancient archetype of sacrifice as a guarantee of salvation and were an allusion to the sacrifice of Christ. During the High Middle Ages bull and ram heads with the same symbolism continued to adorn the churches and secular buildings in the Caucasus.

In the medieval art of this vast region we also find the carved heads and protoms of wild, non-sacrificial animals, especially lionesses, leopards, associated with the power symbolism and the hunting practice of nobility. Hunting, as one of the primordial, vital skills of a human being has numerous reflections in culture from antiquity to the present day, one of which is conservation and displaying of hunting trophies. It is known that in Sasanian Iran the hunting of a number of animals considered incarnations of the Zoroastrian deities, was the proclamation of king's glory and divinity. The veneration of these animals was expressed in the interiors of the Sasanian palaces, often decorated with stucco heads of a wild ram, boar and lion. The heads of feline predators are later found in Seljuk architecture as astral and apotropaic symbols. In Armenian sculpture, the Holy Cross Church (915-921) of the Akhtamar Island is especially noteworthy with a number of heads and protoms of various animals, which, according to J. Orbeli, depicted hunting trophies in stone. The latter most likely were supposed to symbolize the power and right to rule of Gagik Artsruni and at the same time were apotropaea of the sacred space. Similar protoms are also known in Georgian architecture of the 10<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## **The Ordubad Province in the 1590 Ottoman Tax Register**

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After the war between the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran at the end of the XVI century (1579-1590), the Sublime Porte, together with a number of territories, managed to conquer the Caucasus. In fact, for the first time after the Treaty of Amasya (1555), the balance of power in the South Caucasus shifted in favor of the Ottoman Empire, which allowed Constantinople to control the territories previously occupied by Safavid Iran.

Traditionally, the Ottoman Empire, initiated the tax register documents (*Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*) in the occupied territories. This phenomenon was very common in the Ottoman Empire as well.

The Sublime Porte regularly created tax registers in the country, which mainly provided a stable income from the territories.

The South Caucasus was no exception. The Ottoman Government implemented *The Great Defter of Yerevan Vilayet* of 1590 (*Defter-i Mufasssal-i Vilayet-i Revan*), the administrative-political part of which was Ordubad. It is noteworthy that the Sublime Porte began the registration processes of the Yerevan Vilayet after the Ottoman troops captured Nakhijevan in 1588.

Ordubad in the Ottoman tax register of 1590 acted as a separate unit with the status of a province. In addition, the Ordubad Province consisted of a number of smaller administrative-political units.

The Ottoman tax register of the Ordubad province of 1590 is an exceptional primary source for studying the number of taxpayers and families of that administrative-political unit, revealing the demographic picture, its ethnic composition as well as studying the taxes collected from local taxpayers. This gives an opportunity to make a more objective conclusion about the socio-economic picture of the given administrative-political unit. The examination of the names of villages is also very important. Owing to that the borders of Ordubad Province of 1590 can be clearly determined.

### **Catching Variation during Fieldwork on Nakh-Daghestanian Languages**

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*Two equally interesting questions are at the heart of this book: how an extraordinary degree of idiosyncratic linguistic variation can coexist with an extraordinarily homogeneous speaker population, and how linguists might overlook the possibility of their coexistence.*

— (Dorian 2010: 3)

During fieldwork researchers have to deal with all kinds of variation in the answers given by speakers: free variation, idiolectal or sociolinguistic variation. In this talk I explore variation in a small, homogeneous speaker population and the probability that an average researcher of Nakh-Daghestanian languages catches this variation. In the present investigation I studied the degree of variation among 44 speakers of Andi (Nakh-Daghestanian) during the fieldwork in Zilo (Botlikh district, Dagestan) for 16 different morpho(no)logical features known to be variable in this dialect (Kaye et al. 2020; Moroz and Verhees 2019). I used entropy measure from information theory in order to measure variability (Shannon 1948) and discovered that some questions have higher variability within female speakers and some — within male speakers (see Fig. 1).

Additionally, I conducted a survey among a number of researchers of Nakh-Daghestanian languages, asking them about their fieldwork habits — including questions about how many speakers they usually consult. Gathering this data together I used bootstrap in order to simulate an “average Nakh-Daghestanian researcher” (E. 1992). After this I used these data to evaluate the probability that an average researcher of Nakh-Daghestanian languages catches the observed Zilo variation during their own fieldwork. As expected results correlate with the variability of the question and its entropy: if the question has low entropy it is higher probability for an “average Nakh-Daghestanian researcher” to find whole variation and vice versa.

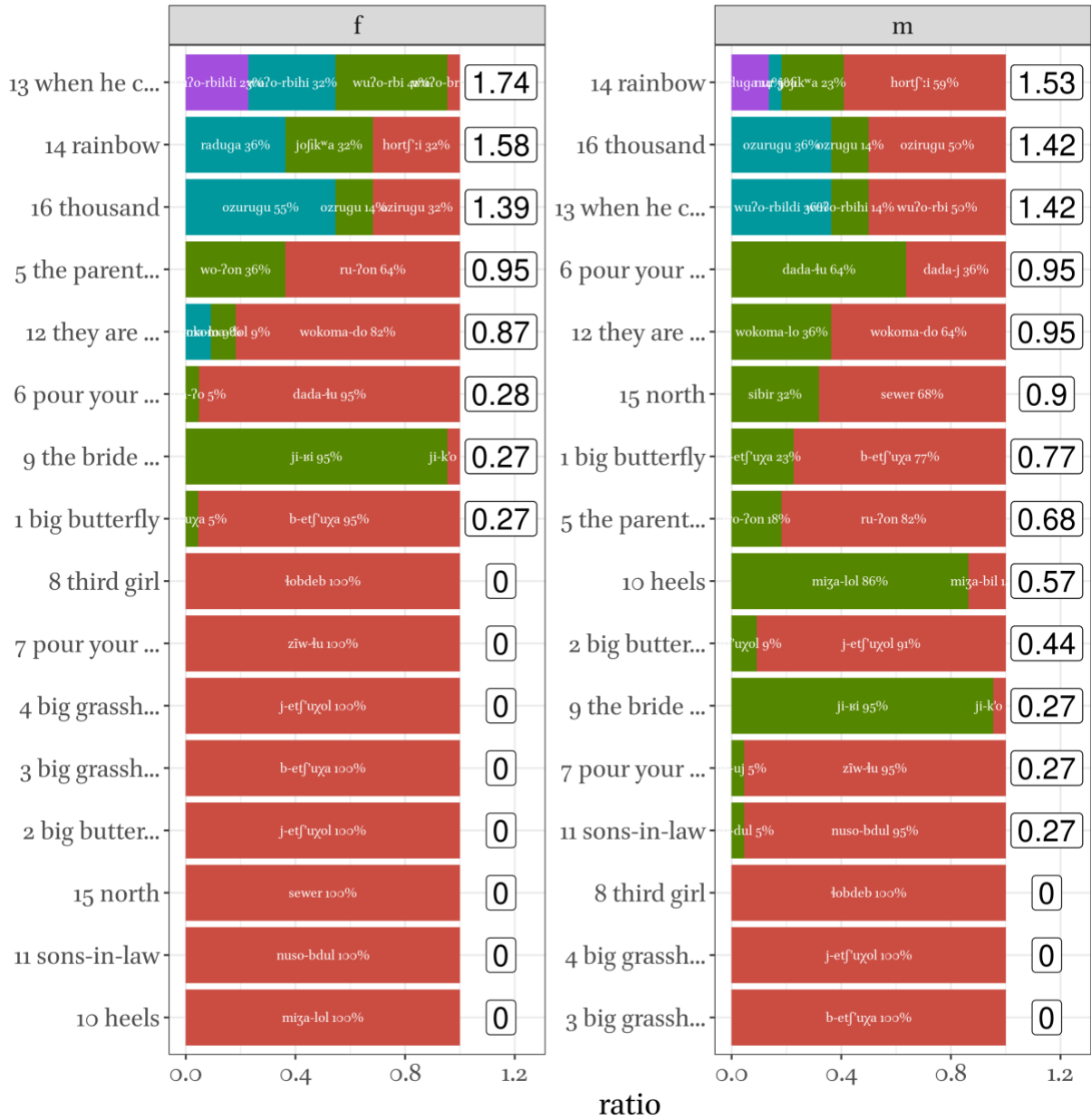


Fig. 1 Results of the first experiment: each line is a question with ratios of different answers; on the right side there is an entropy value; everything is grouped according to gender.

# Typological Correlation between the Adposition Type and the Order of Verb and Direct Object in Khalaj Language

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This paper presents a corpus-based study on the typological correlation between adposition type and the order of verb and the direct object in the Khalaj language, an endangered variety of the Turkic language spoken especially in some villages of Ghom and Markazi Provinces, in Iran.

The corpus of this study has been extracted from the Iran Linguistic Atlas (ILA) database. ILA is the Research Institute for Cultural Heritage and Tourism (RICHT) linguistic project for documenting the languages and dialects of Iran's rural areas. Recorded data of the spoken language of 16 villages in Ghom province and 4 villages in Markazi province are included in ILA's database. Khalaj language data consists of 360 sentences, including prepositional phrases which have been gathered through interviews with native speakers via a questionnaire. Seven prepositions, equivalent to English prepositions *with*, *in*, *to*, *from*, *toward*, *till*, and the *accusative marker*, have been included in the questionnaire's sentences. The syntactic behavior of the mentioned prepositions in the Khalaj language has been studied thoroughly in the present research.

The results indicate that in some cases in Khalaj language, there is more than one form for each of these prepositions, usually differing in pronunciation and sometimes in lexical forms. The data analysis shows that the type of adposition in the Khalaj language is postposition, like Azeri Turkic (example 1). The survey revealed that, due to language contact with Persian, lexical borrowing along with the borrowing of the propositional phrase structure has occurred in the case of one preposition equivalent to "till" (example 2), and the Khalaj and Azeri Turkic propositional phrase order "Np+P" has been altered to the Persian propositional phrase order "P+NP".

The Khalaj language like Azeri Turkic is an OV language. According to the language universals, the type of adposition in an OV language is postposition. The results of this study show that the Khalaj language as an OV language follows the language universals. Here are some examples:

|             |        |                   |               |        |
|-------------|--------|-------------------|---------------|--------|
| 1-mQn       | jalGuz | cQl-m-Qm          | mohQmQd-lQ    | cQl-im |
| I           | alone  | come-1S -negation | Mohammad-with | com-1S |
| <b>NP+P</b> |        |                   |               |        |

'I don't come alone, I come with Mohammad.'

2- QbbAs **tA QIA** cE hQvul oYIA-rt>

Abbas till now that good boy-was

**P+NP**

'Abbas has been a good boy till now'

## **Philosophical Aesthetics of Story as an Art**

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The story as an artistic mediator has the ability to convey concepts related to human life. In this article, the story of the modern narrative is read in a meeting, and most of our emphasis is on short stories. Aesthetics is the field of perception and pleasure of beauty by the observer. The revival of philosophical attention to aesthetics stems in part from the idea that it is impossible to understand many important and general philosophical subjects such as the nature of representation, imagination, emotion, and expression without examining their role in artistic understanding. Philosophical aesthetic critique is a type of non-political critique that, in addition to considering the form of the work, deals with components such as taste, emotion, expression, imagination, and inspiration. This article is an attempt to explain the concept of philosophical aesthetics of the story, which considers the mentioned components.

## **The Lost *Sanjaq* Revisited**

Peter Nicolaus

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In a previous article the author showed convincingly that there is a genuine *sanjaq* stranded in Armenia, and that there was also possibly a second one, which vanished in Georgia eventually. With this present contribution the author would like to recall the importance of the seven *sanjaqs* or sacred images of Malak Tawus, revisit the *sanjaq* lost in Armenia, explore its origins, and describe the route and circumstances of its probable journey to nowadays Armenia.

After a short introduction to the practices of veneration of the *sanjaqs* by the Yezidis and their yearly journey or *tawus gerran* (the parade of the peacock) to different areas where Yezidis dwell, these artefacts will be described briefly and their present whereabouts discussed. Following this, Layard's accounts on his first attendance of the Yezidi main festival, as well as on his later visit to Bitlis, will be scrutinized and the results of the author's own field visit to the area west of Balik Gölü in 2019 will be presented. From these sources it will become evident that the Armenian *sanjaq*, presently kept by the Ozmanyany family in Jrarat, is indeed the *moskovi-sanjaq* which previously was robbed by the Kurdish Mir of Bitlis in 1845. Furthermore, it will be shown how the artefact may have been returned to Yezidi possession and outline the controversy surrounding the possession of the *sanjaq* between the new owner and the secular and religious Yezidi leadership in Kurdistan. Finally, this contribution will elaborate on the journey of the *sanjaq* from the Ottoman Empire to the Russian Empire; in other words, how it came from Bitlis to the Yezidi village of Bash Sinak in the Surmalu District (now Iğdır), and ultimately via two villages in the Kars Oblast to present day Armenia.

## **Westernization and Modernization of Christianity in Iran**

Philip O Hopkins

*Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian-Armenian University, Yerevan*

Christianity has been present continually in Iran since the 200s CE. Christianity's connection with the Iranian Government has been both strained and peaceful, occasionally at the same time. With the rise of the Qajars, Iran cultivated meaningful connections with the West and oversaw a development of intellectual and cultural life. Iran was beginning to experience incipient forms of modernization. The Qajar Era of Iran coincided with the beginnings of the Protestant Modern Missions Movement that made its way to Iran.

The embryonic ideas of modernization that arose with the Qajars came to fruition under the Pahlavis. With modernization came Westernization, the two often being equated, and with Westernization came continued Western involvement, increased secularization, and Western – especially Protestant – Christian missionary activity. As Western administrations and missionaries had friendly relations with the Pahlavi Government, missionaries were involved in Iran's education and healthcare and helped to Westernize and modernize the country. However, Christianity in Iran was largely limited to certain ethnic groups, mainly the Armenians and Assyrians, until the Islamic Revolution.

During the Pahlavi regime and the Islamic Republic, Armenian and Assyrian Christian communities continued their existence and their connections with the Iranian Government developed, but H. B. Dehqani-Tafti, the first Anglican bishop of Persian origin, arose to personify modern Iranian Christianity. He desired to see Iranians from the majority religion convert to Christianity to make Christianity more 'Iranian', emphasizing local church services being conducted in Persian. With the creation and surge of house churches in Iran and the lack of Western physical presence, Christianity expanded by becoming increasingly modern, but perhaps less Western.

This paper investigates the impact of Westernization and modernization of Christianity in Iran during the Qajar Era to present times. Within the Qajar period, Westernization and modernization is seen with the introduction of Western ideas; in Pahlavi times, Westernization and modernization is seen with the influx of Christian missionaries; within the Islamic Republic, Westernization and modernization is seen in the promotion of the Persian language during church services and the development of the Iranian house church.

## **The Juridical Status of Georgia under Ottoman Rule in the XVI-XVII Centuries**

Vardan Papikyan

*Faculty of History, University of Bucharest*

My research examines the complex administrative and socio-economic transformations that occurred in Georgia during Ottoman rule from 1578 to the late seventeenth century. Following the Ottoman-Iranian war of 1578-1590, the Ottomans established sophisticated administrative structures, including the Tbilisi Beglerbeglik and various sanjaks, fundamentally altering Georgia's political landscape.

The Ottoman administration introduced a comprehensive taxation system that differed markedly from traditional Georgian practices. Non-Muslims faced discriminatory taxes including



jizya and ispençe, while the empire implemented distinctive landownership categories—Arz-i Miri, waqf, and mülk lands—that coexisted uneasily with existing Georgian feudal structures.

Remarkably, Georgian society demonstrated significant resilience and adaptation. The 1588 peace treaty between King Simon I and Ottoman commander Ferhad Pasha represents a unique compromise, allowing Simon to retain his Christian kingship while acknowledging Ottoman suzerainty. This arrangement reflects the empire's pragmatic approach to governing diverse populations.

The economic impact was profound yet varied. While Ottoman rule disrupted traditional trade routes and urban centers, certain regions like Kakheti experienced periods of prosperity under peaceful conditions. However, constant warfare between Ottoman and Iranian forces severely hindered long-term economic development.

This study reveals how Georgian institutions and identity persisted despite foreign domination, demonstrating the complex dynamics between imperial control and local resistance in early modern Transcaucasia.

### **Semantics of Mythological Motifs in the Ritual of Calling and Stopping the Rain of the Yezidis of Armenia**

Emma Petrosyan

Roman Hovsepyan

*Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, NAS RA*

The paper focuses on the reconstruction of the semantics of the Yezidi ritual of calling and stopping the rain, in the light of the motives of the Indo-European mythology, based on the field recordings of the Yezidis of Armenia. The peculiarity of the records is that the informants did not only recite the rite, but also they sang songs that accompanied the rite or games.

In the ritual song of calling the rain, *Buka baran* (Rain's Bride), the main characters are the Bride, the personification of Mother-Earth, and the Rain-Mamarash, the personification of the Thunder-god. The motive of the song is the damnation of the Rain, which tore off the Bride's veil, and the wedding did not continue from Friday to Saturday, as it is supposed to be. The bride was punished for some action and she was drowned in the river. So, the "Heavenly wedding" does not take place.

A nut-tree is also mentioned in the song; in mythology, an oak-tree or a nut-tree being the hypostasis of the Thunder-god.

In the ritual of stopping the rain, the namesake boys drive an iron stake into the ground with a wooden hammer to disperse the clouds. In this text, the Bride identifies as Mother-Earth, and the iron stake is the hypostases of Heaven or the Thunder-god.

The namesake boys are the personification of the divine blacksmith twins in Indo-European myth and their actions correspond to the concept of cosmic intercourse heaven and earth. The plot of blacksmith twins corresponds to the character of "sons of heaven" in the myth of the Creation of the world.

According to the beliefs, the weather controller is not only the domain of the Thunder-god, but also his opponent from the world beyond. This is a dead man, a corpse or his fetish like a tombstone. A woman must pour water on his grave or take a stone from his grave, lower it into a spring or vice versa to get it to stop or call the rain.

Imitation of thunder claps or striking sparks by hitting two stones against each other is reflected in the game of Kele-mele. The aim of the game is to knock down three large vertically placed stones with small pebbles. Young men play in the evening when it is cloudy to help the rain come.

**Conclusion.** The characteristics of the Yezidi ritual and poetic complex of motives of calling and stopping the rain, allow us to conclude that their mythologemes correspond to the scheme of the Indo-European myth of Creation.

### **Rite Processions in the Month of Moharram in the works of Vano Khodjabekyan**

Emma Petrosyan

*Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, NAS RA*

The Armenian artist Vano Khodjabekyan (1875 – 1922), who lived in Tbilisi, left, among other works, five pencil drawings depicting the Ashura procession in Tiflis, in the area of the Shi'a Mosque.

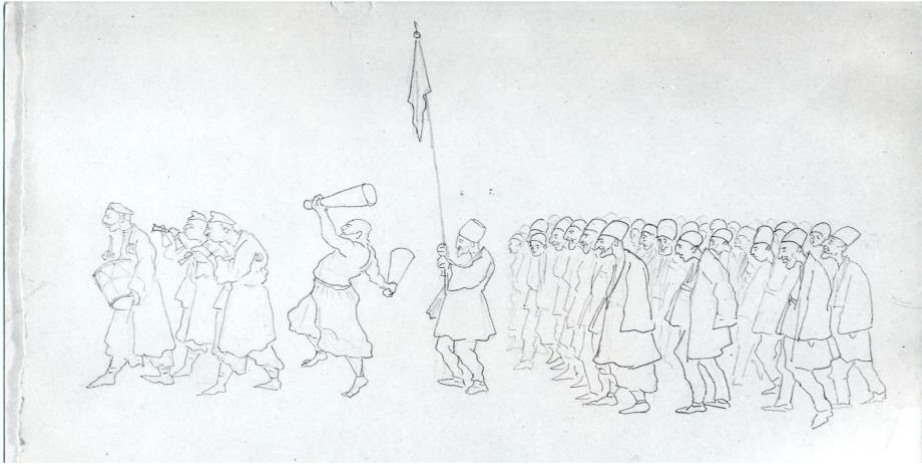
Two of them, under the same name “Shahsey-Vahsey”, are in the collection of the National Gallery of Armenia, Yerevan, and the other three, depicting the Bayram Festival and Shahsey-Vakhsey, are in the Historical and Ethnographic Museum of Georgia, Tbilisi.

These drawings contain important details, which allow to restore the *mise en scène* of the procession, the functions of the participants, their clothing, attributes, musical instruments, etc. The mentioned details are particularly important taking into account the fact that the Festival was later banned in Soviet Georgia, and the mosque, destroyed in 1951.

The paper is an attempt to analyze Vano Khodjabekyan's pencil drawings from the ethnographic point of view, restoring a significant cultural and religious phenomenon of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Tbilisi and its Shi'a Muslim community.



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3

### **Mihr-Narseh, An Antique Statesman in the View of Armenian and Iranian Authors**

Nils Purwins

*Freie Universität Berlin, Germany*

Mihr-Narseh was maybe the most important late antique statesman and polarized the literary tradition like few others. The author Lazar P'arpec'i stylized Mihr-Narseh as an archevil devil, who tried to oppress the Armenians and to destroy the Christianity, while Abu Ga'far Tabari made him to the embodiment of the wise statesman and a mirror of the viziers of the Caliphate.

Mihr-Narseh was no king, but ruled an empire for a time, saved the Sasanian dynasty from the abyss, preserved and reformed Eranšahr and was an excellent diplomat for the empire. For the Armenian founding movement in the fifth century, which began culturally with the invention of the Armenian Alphabet in ca. 405 by Mesrop Maštoc' (ca. 360/2-17.02.440) and was later continued by the Armenian authors Agat'angelos, P'awstos Buzand, Elishe Vardapet and Lazar

P'arpec'i (5th-6th century) and which had its political climax in the Armenian War 450, he was instead an insurmountable barrier. According to Lazar P'arpec'i Mihr-Narseh's great opponent was the Armenian general and martyr Vardan Mamikonjan (387-451), who was defeated by the elite army of the Sasanian Empire in the battle of Avarayr on 26 May 451. Later the Armenians finally got autonomy, and the cultural movement could not be stopped. Without intending to, Mihr Narseh had perhaps become an important pillar of the founding movement precisely because of his efforts against Armenia, which Lazar P'arpec'i attributed to him, as a counterpart. This lecture will therefore introduce this man and his work in more detail.

**Holy Matter and the Matter of the Holy:  
Genesis and Significance of the Yezidi *Berat***

Artur Rodziewicz

*Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Warsaw*

The sacred objects of the Yezidis can be divided into three categories: those belonging to the entire community, like the *sanjak*; those belonging to a particular group, caste, or family, like the *hadims*; and those belonging to each individual Yezidi. Into this third category falls the *berat*. It is a pearl-like white pellet made in Lalish of the local sacred dust mixed with several ingredients. For the Yezidis, it is a physical testimony of their connection with the holiest place on earth and at the same time with the location that, according to their myths, is believed to have been created by God in the heavens and then descended as the first place on earth ever. The author will speak about this sacred item, its symbolism, and its use in religious rituals. Then, he will conclude with a hypothesis about the origin of the *berat* and its relationship to the Christian *hnana*, the Muslim *turba*, and early legends about the creation of Muhammad.

**Martyrdom of the Sukiasyans (mytho-ritual aspect)**

Tamerlan K. Salbiev

One of brightest episodes of Armenian-Alanic interaction has long been considered the campaign of the Alans in Transcaucasia in 72 A.D. This event alone would suffice to lay solid foundation for such a scientific field of science as *Armeno-Alanica*. Indeed, it had far-reaching consequences and was reflected not only in historical chronicles, but also in the language of the two peoples (e.g., the name *Satenik* / *Satanæ*), their folklore traditions (the cycle about *Wyrzymæg* and *Satanæ* in Narts' epic), as well as in religious history (the Martyrdom of the Sukiasyans). Meanwhile, the mytho-ritual aspect of this interaction is still fully ignored, though without it the interpretation of the events under consideration cannot be regarded as historically irreproachable.

It is a common belief that conflict, underlying the events described in Martyrdom, was based on apostasy. Yet it is very likely that the conflict between the Alan king and the Alan monks who converted to Christianity – his subjects, was caused by more complex set of factors without which, it is impossible to adequately understand either the essence of the conflict, the motives of its participants, or the consequences to which it led. It seems that an integrated approach should play a decisive role to developing an adequate methodology, according to which Martyrdom cannot be separated from Satenik's wedding. It is only within the mytho-ritual framework of this wedding that five key motives, underlying the general plot of Martyrdom, can be explained.

The first motive is connected with the demand of the Alan king for the monks to return to their homeland and his promises of generous remuneration. This motive is directly related to the idea of their status and certain legal grounds that underlay the conflict with the Alan king. The second motive is connected with the kind of obedience that the monks chose – "herbivory way of life", which led to their "disgusting" appearance, for which the royal envoy reproaches them. The third motive can be deduced from the threats addressed to the monks, not only verbal, but also effective: in particular, the use of a torch as a weapon directed against them. The fourth motive focuses on that kind of massacre, monstrous for third-party eye witnesses, but which probably had some background. The fifth motive reveals itself in the last prayer, with which the monks departed to eternity.

This seems to be the only way to avoid the involuntary modernization while interpreting Martyrdom of the Sukiasyans.

### ***The Martyrdom of David and Costantine, the Life and Martyrdom of King Archil and the Historical Chronicle Used as a Source for These Works***

Manana Sanadze

*Institute of Kartvelology, The University of Georgia*

*The Martyrdom of David and Costantine* (written around 1058) as well as a narration describing the fight of the kings of Kartli Mihr and Archil against the enemy invading West Georgia and the martyrdom of Archil, inserted into *the Georgian Chronicles* by Leonti Mroveli at the end of the same century, are based on the same historical chronicle. In both works, reference to the invading enemy – the Arab commander Marwan ibn Muhammad dated the narrated events to the 730s, while identifying the Arab commander Asim Chichnaum, mentioned in *the Life and Martyrdom of King Archil*, with the Arab emir Huzaima Ibn Hazim determined 780 as the date of Archil's death. Accordingly, the historical chronicle which was a source for these 11<sup>th</sup> c. writings was declared as created in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. An in-depth study of the issue has revealed that the story told in the hagiographic work and the relevant section of *the Georgian Chronicles* occurred not in the period of Arabs and Marwan ibn Muhammad, but in the period of the great Persian-Byzantine war (541-562), when Khosrow Anushirvan, invited by the king of Egrisi Gubaz, invaded West Georgia. On his way to stronghold Petra, Khosrow sent a special army towards Abkhazia, which passed through the Kvirila and the Rioni rivers, left Rioni on its left, passed Egrisi and raided the vicinities of Sebastopolis and Pitunt (Procopius of Caesarea). It was this campaign that killed both the Argveti principals David and Costantine and Archil's brother Mihr who was in the Anacopia fortress. As for Mihr himself and his brother Archil, they turned out to be not the sons of the Erismtavari of Kartli Stepanos II (mid 7<sup>th</sup> c.), as believed by Leonti Mroveli (who also considered their father Stephanos to be a figure of the 730s and a contemporary of Marwan ibn Muhammad), but the sons of Vakhtang Gorgasali: the king of Kartli Darchil (around 531-562), who later turned into Archil in manuscripts, and his younger brother Patrician Mihr. According to the narration, after Mir's death (543), King Darchil, whose name was misspelled by copyists as Archil, ruled Kakhet-Hereti for many years. Darchil, who had not reached 60 years (born in 503) or was slightly older, was presumably executed after the Persian-Byzantine truce of 562, by a Persian commander who had arrived specially for this purpose (it could have been Khosrow Anushirvan himself).

## **Continuity and Changes in the Safavid Policy towards the Eastern Georgia**

George Sanikidze

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The paper depicts the Iranian-Eastern Georgian (Gorjestān) relationships during the Safavid era. The issues for study are as follows: can Gorjestān be regarded an integral part of the Safavid Empire or the one of the Persianate world? If so, how strongly was Gorjestān integrated into the one or the other? What were the reasons behind the peculiarities of the Safavid policy towards Gorjestān? What part did Georgia play in the Iran-Ottoman contention? In order to answer these questions, it is singled out some periods: the first covers creation of the Safavid State and the reign of Shāh Esmāʿīl; the second - the reign of Shāh Tahmāsb; the third - relations during Shāh ʿAbbās epoch and the final - those after Shāh ʿAbbās and up to the decline of the Safavid Dynasty. It is studied the similarities and differences between these periods and, also, what caused the continuity and transformation of the Safavid policy towards Georgia.

It is single out several crucial points in Iran-eastern Georgia relationships during the Safavid era: the early 16th c. up until 1630s is mainly the period of confrontation, which began by the vassalhood of eastern Georgia and was followed by the Safavids' permanent, albeit only partly successful attempts at its integration into the Empire. Along with the confrontation, both the Georgian kingdoms-principalities and Iran tried to use each other in their own interests (for instance, the Georgian princes in their rivalry and Iran-Ottoman confrontation). The early 17th c. is marked with the Georgian diasporas' increasing influence in Iran. However, the Georgians there were also closely engaged in the developments in their native country. In the 1630s, the Iran-Georgia relationship is marked by the policy of compromises. Although an Iranian province, Kartli was largely independent in terms of the internal affairs. While both sides were relatively satisfied with the situation, the princes of Kartli strived for more independence, which in some cases, they achieved.

## **Verbal Root Structure in Dargwa**

Nina Sumbatova

*Institute of linguistics, Moscow*

The verbs in Dargwa (a language group of the Nakh-Dagestanian family) have a rigid root structure (Kibrik, Kodzasov 1988 et al). The possible verbal roots are VC; B-VC; VRC; B-VRC; RVC, where V is a vowel, C – a consonant, R – a sonorant, 'B-' marks the position of a gender agreement marker (a few exceptions are mainly conditioned by recent phonological changes).

Most verbal roots exist in two aspectual variants: perfective and imperfective, which form an aspectual pair. In an aspectual pair, the consonant C is always the same, while other elements of the root (the vowel, sonorant and gender agreement slot) can vary, cf. the examples of aspectual pairs (perfective / imperfective, Tanti Dargwa): *aχ / alχ* 'put on'; *B-ac/B-alc* 'plough'; *aq/iq* 'overcome'; *B-arq / B-irq* 'make'; *B-elk / luk* 'write'; *B-ams:/ums* 'get tired'; *B-elč' / B-uč'* 'read'. The formal differences between the two members of an aspectual pair are highly irregular.

In this paper, I am systematizing the relations between the elements of aspectual pairs and suggesting some ideas on their origin and development. The research is based on a lexical database that contains data of nine Dargwic languages. The data are taken from published works (Jusupov 2017; Magomedov, Saidov-Akkutta 2017, Vagizieva 2018, etc.), or collected in course of field work.

The analysis of the verbal roots in the database showed that

- (1) for cognate roots, the root structure and the type of perfective vs. imperfective opposition are stable across all the languages of the set,
- (2) most roots fall into seven groups:  $V_1RC / V_2RC$ ,  $V_1RC / RV_2C$ ,  $V_1RC / V_1RC$ ,  $V_1C / V_1RC$ ,  $V_1RC / V_1C$ ,  $V_1RC / V_2C$ ,  $V_1C / V_2C$ ,
- (3) in all groups, there is much less variation than theoretically possible. For example, in the group  $V_1RC / V_2RC$  (42 verbs) we always observe an alternation of a low vowel (*a, e*) in the perfective and a high vowel (*i, u*) in the imperfective. In the group  $V_1RC / V_1C$  (13 verbs) all verbs have the sonorant *r* (perfective), a high vowel (*i, u*) and the aorist marker *-ib*.
- (4) there is clear correlation between the root sonorant and the conjugation type of the verb (Mudrak 2016).

Further analysis helps to suggest some hypotheses concerning the origin of this typologically rare aspectual system.

### **Phytotoponyms of Esfahan**

Elahe Taghvaei

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The purpose of this paper is to present and exploit fundamental information, such as semantic meanings and geographical features, of phytotoponyms (a type of toponym that includes plant names) in Esfahan.

The results showed that the most common plant names recognisable in place names are common plants that have a close connection with daily life and positive morals in Iranian and esfahanian culture and literature. The occurrence of plant names can reflect the characteristic plants of a city.

### **Chechen and Albanian Clans and Other Kin Groups in Times of War and Peace: Definitions, Types, Saliencies and Need for Further Research**

Caspar Ten Dam

*Universiteit Leiden*

The proposed conference paper is partially based on my research on *brutalisation* i.e. increasing violation of local and/or international norms of violence, including my Feud-and-Rebel series on Chechens and Albanians in the peer-reviewed journal *Iran and the Caucasus* and in a *Festschrift* in honour of Prof. Garnik Asatrian (Ten Dam 2010, 2011, 2012, 2015). It more basically constitutes a comparative analysis of the findings regarding the existence and saliency of clans and other kinship groups among Chechens and Albanians as presented in more recent publications (esp. Ten Dam 2018, 2020). The planned publication based on this paper will encapsulate some additional sources and findings as well. Hopefully this publication will appear in *Iran and the*

*Caucasus* or another peer-reviewed journal before the end of the year. Suffice to state here one of my main findings which I will elaborate in my conference paper:

“At first sight the broader patterns of (ethnic-)Chechen clan and other kinship entities, identities, distributions, characteristics and presentday existence i.e. survival in and beyond Chechnya seem to be generally known and agreed upon—yet on closer inspection turn out to be highly uncertain and contested. Indeed, the lack of up-to-date knowledge and lack of consensus on the rare out-of-date knowledge on Chechen clan and other kin groups remarkably resembles the gaps in research and knowledge on their Albanian counterparts” (Ten Dam 2020: 221).

Naturally, in this paper and related publications of mine I have done my utmost to overcome through in-depth archival research and analysis of the works by major scholars this glaring gap of knowledge on Chechen and Albanian kin groups. Still, more research—and in particular broad-ranging field research—is needed to overcome this gap. On my part, despite the discussed “shortfalls and challenges in obtaining knowledge”, I intend in future research to “ascertain whether each of the named tribes, clans, sub-clans, other kin groups or localised ethnic (sub) groups however defined” among the Chechens and Albanians and any Chechen and Albanian combat units during the recent or ongoing armed conflicts in Chechnya, Kosovo or elsewhere: i) is correctly identified by the indicated name; ii) exists at least ‘formally’ in name (existent); iii) is really salient i.e. vibrant and culturally active today; iv) is or has been politically a/o military active; v) if so, has been active in identifiable political a/o military formations; vi) if so, has exhibited identifiable brutalisation a/o debrutalisation patterns; vii) if so, whether any particular norms, beliefs, customs and practices account for any brutalisation and/or debrutalisation patterns (Ten Dam 2020: 257-258 incl. quotes).

Last but not least, the paper actually forms part of the overarching research project ‘Extended Families, Clans and other Kinship Groups in Present-day Societies’ which I am in the process of developing in collaboration with other scholars. Some preliminary findings on related projects, including the overarching project on ‘Kinship Groups in Present-day Societies’, and a project on ‘Ethnic and Kinship Bonds as Challenges of EU Enlargement in South-East Europe’, already have appeared in some publications of our own peer-reviewed journal *Forum of EthnoGeoPolitics* (see Ten Dam 2019, 2021; Ten Dam & Shi 2020). As already apparent in my research on the Chechens and Albanians, there exist a glaring lack of up-to-date and in-depth knowledge about particularly traditional kinship groups like extended families, (sub-)clans and tribes in many of the studied societies in the present, recent or more distant past.

### **The Persian Gulf—Black Sea Transit Corridor — Dreams of Opening up for Armenia and Iran, and Obstacles** Zadig Tisserand

The second Nagorno-Karabakh war of 2020 challenged the various regional alliance systems, and in particular demonstrated that the Turkey-Georgia-Azerbaijan axis had evolved and was no longer reduced to a fragile coalition of states united by purely opportunistic relations. Turkey, which supported Azerbaijan during the war and is now present in the region, and Azerbaijan are working together to ensure that the “Zangezur corridor” is created, which could strengthen Turkey's role as an energy hub and further isolate Armenia. While it is true that within this trilateral partnership Georgia appears to be the most politically volatile, if we rely on its formal refusal to



join the 3+3 format mentioned by Turkish President Recep Erdogan, the economic cooperation that links it to its two neighbours is still strong.

On the other hand, the war has proved that the Russia-Iran-Armenia axis, which could be distinguished before it broke out, was inconsistent. Russia did not intervene militarily to assist its Armenian ally but managed to mediate and send a peacekeeping force to Nagorno-Karabakh, causing frustration in Baku; Iran was side-lined by the victorious states and put under pressure by Azerbaijan during the serious diplomatic crisis of October 2021; Armenia, deeply dependent on Moscow, found itself in a situation of profound powerlessness and negotiated a rapprochement with Ankara while not accepting the idea of the "Zangezur corridor".

The North-South corridor project, or "Persian Gulf-Black Sea", is part of the desire to break the isolation of the actors of the Russia-Iran-Armenia axis. The project, initiated in the 2010s, aims to eventually link India and the Baltic States through Iran, Armenia and Georgia. It would make Armenia and Iran two major transit hubs for the region, strengthening their geopolitical importance and countering their isolation. Although the project faces significant obstacles - in relation to sanctions against Iran, road infrastructure in Armenia, the small number of investors and the high Armenian-Azerbaijani tensions - the current geopolitical balance could change considerably if the project is successful.

### **The System of Reflexive Pronouns in Dargwa Languages**

Svetlana Toldova

*HSE*

Ivan Kalyakin

*RSUH*

In this talk, we discuss systems of reflexive marking across Dargwa languages (< Nakh-Daghestanian) and show that although almost all of them are characterized by the presence of a simple unrestricted pronoun some languages, due to areal influence, may employ different system of reflexive pronouns.

Dargwa languages usually distinguish between two types of anaphoric pronouns, which are traditionally classified as reflexives. Simple reflexive *saj* (Muir Dargwa) represents the bare reflexive stem inflected for case and number, absolutive forms also distinguish gender. Complex reflexive *sunni saj* consists of two occurrences of the simple reflexive pronoun: the first part copies the case of the antecedent or is in genitive, whereas the second component bears the case of the reflexivized argument.

The unrestricted pronoun (e.g. *saj* in Muir Dargwa) can function both as a reflexive pronoun (as English 'himself') and as a pronominal. It may be used not only as a reflexive, it need not have a structural antecedent in some local domain and may even have antecedent outside of the sentence. It can also function as logophor, resumptive, intensifier and pause filler. The complex reflexive is only used to encode co-indexed arguments of a predicate.

Mehweb Dargwa seems to be an exception as it employs a different system of reflexive encoding. It has a complex reflexive *sawi-jal* that is formed from a bare reflexive stem with the help of an emphatic particle. The simple reflexive must be bound within a sentence, though it cannot have an antecedent in the same clause. Besides, it cannot have an antecedent in another sentence.

We compare reflexive systems in Mehweb and some other Dargwa languages and show that the Mehweb system is the result of the influence of Avar language, which belong to Avar-Andic branche of the East-Caucasian language family. Avar (and Lak) separate Mehweb from other Dargwa languages, which constitute a continuous area.

### **Rivers and Springs – Sites of Contested Memories and Struggles for Spatial Justice in Dersim**

Annika Törne

This paper attempts some reflections on the historical development of roles and practices related to the abundant water bodies of Dersim. Since long times, the population of this remote mountainous region in modern Eastern Turkey has been venerating rivers, springs, wells, and lakes as sacred places for their virtues of healing and protection. In local oral tradition and hegemonic discourse, the water landscape is associated with diverging mythological, religious, political and economic narratives. The paper attempts to shed light on the complex relation between power and altered meanings associated with the water landscape over time.

### **Phraseological Units with the Component *dāman* in Persian Classical Literature**

Hripsime Torosyan

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The phraselological units with the component *dāman* ("skirt") are widely used in Persian Classical literature, particularly in the works by Ferdousi, Naser Khusrau, Farrokhi, Nizami, Sa'adi, Amir Khusrau. This lexeme losing its primary meaning expresses different implicit semantical nuances. The paper is an attempt of structural and semantic analysis of such phraseological units aimed at revealing the inner paradigm of phraseological constructions containing this interesting term.

### **The Derivation of Participles in the Kadar Dialect of the Dargin Language**

Naida Vagizieva Arslankhanovna

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Past participles in the Kadar dialect are formed by adding the suffix **-il** to the 3rd person past tense form: kadar. *bahun* "learnt (Past Simple)" - *bahunil* "learnt"; *ak'un* "bore" – *ak'unil* "born"; *araq'un* "visited" - *araq'unil* "visited". In the literary Dargin, the past participle is formed by adding the suffix **-si**: liter. *bahursi* "known"; *ak'ubsi* "born"; *waq'unsi* "visited".

By adding the suffix **-uj** to the stem of the imperfect form, the Kadar participle of common tense is formed, and in the literary - by means of suffix **-usi**: kadar. *č'užuk'as* "slide" - *č'užuk'uj* "sliding"; *wašes* "walk, go" - *wašuj* "walking,going"; *bales* "know" - *baluj* "knowing"; *ba'nič'bires* "squeeze out" - *ba'nič'biruj* "squeezing out". lit. *wašusi* "walking" *balusi* "knowing", *g'a'nič'ik'usi* "squeezing out"; *t'a'k'bik'usi* "sliding".

The participle of the common tense, expressing the profession, occupation in the Kadar dialect and literary language is formed by adding suffixes *-an*, *-a<sup>n</sup>*, *-en* to the stem of the imperfect form: *uč'an* "reader (reading)"; *uzan* "worker (working)".

Participles in the Kadar dialect express both active and passive voices: *belk'unil kavat* "a written letter"; *luk'uj rursi* "a writing girl"; *uc'ui adam* "a reading man"; *belc'unil kitap* "read book"

The participle agrees with the class and number markers of the noun in the nominative case: *č'u2-uk'-uj amarsa* "sliding man"; *č'u2-r-uk'-uj xunul* "sliding woman"; *č'u2-b-uk'-uj durkʔne* "sliding children".

The participles in the Kadar dialect are formed by adding the following suffixes:

**-le, -ule:** *wak'ile* "having come"; *irisule* "buying"; *balule* "knowing". In literary Dargwa, this suffix corresponds to **-li, -uli:** *wašuli* "walking".

**-uwa:** *usuwa* "having fallen asleep"; *bah-uwa* "having learnt"; *belk'-uwa* "having written". This suffix corresponds to the literary Dargwa **-i, -ula:** *belk'-i* "having written"; *bac-i* "having plowed"; *bat-ulla* "having left"

**-ajkem:** *bar-ajkem* "until it is done"; *bah-ajkem* "until it is known." The Kadar *-ajkem* corresponds to the literary Dargin **-aiči:** *wak'aiči* "until he came".

**-ana:** *ik-ana* "place reached"; *bir-ana* "place made"; *kibi-ana* "place seen". cf. In literary Dargin: **-na, -nab, -na-CL-ad:** *wašn-aw* "place gone to".

**-ila:** *ara'q'un-ila* "to a place smb. has gone"; *arasib-ila* "to a place smth. is taken". Literary Dargwa **-ʔi, -ʔib, -ʔibad:** *wak'ibi-ʔi* "to a place you came to".

**-madajni:** *ajzuwa-madajni* "as soon as he got up"; *bahuwa-madajni* "as soon as he found out".

**-xale:** *wak'ile-xale* "although he has come"; *surkbarile-xale* "although having been rubbed in".

According to the results of the study, based on the materials of the vocabulary we summarize that Kadar participles are formed by means of suffixes that differ from the literary Dargin language.

## Syntactic Difficulties in Teaching Persian Literary Texts to Speakers of Other Languages Case Study: Usage of the Postposition *rā* in *Masnavi*

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One of the most common mistakes in the writing or speaking of Persian learners is the inappropriate addition or deletion of "ra" which has become a serious challenge in teaching the uses of this postposition for the instructors. A great portion of this challenge is due to the fact that no research has yet managed to analyse all the uses of this adposition, and not even in descriptive researches have all its uses been enumerated. In grammar books, "ra" has mostly been described as definite direct object marker. However, since this marker is also used with indefinite direct objects, some linguists have tried to make the analyses more precise by using concepts such as specificity, identifiability, and differential object marking. Moreover, in today's Persian, especially in speech, "ra" may accompany noun phrases that are simply not direct object. Although these uses are very rare (less than 10%), it has driven some researchers to explore the intersection of the uses of this adposition in information structure roles such as secondary topic. Syntactic differences between contemporary Persian and previous periods of Persian history has often

caused difficulty in comprehension of literary texts by Persian learners. The further we go back in Persian history, the more variation we have in uses of “ra” for intents other than object marking; so that in prose texts of 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century, on average, merely about 60% of the occurrences of this postposition are object marking. By examining 1200 verses from the six books of *Masnavi* (the first 200 verses of each book), in addition to showing the diversity in uses of “ra” in this corpus, by relying on semantic roles, the current article tries to provide a uniform analysis of all the seemingly diverse uses of this postposition in *Masnavi*. Such an analysis not only helps Persian learners to better understand *Masnavi*’s syntactic structures and hence its language, but also gives them the opportunity of better understanding some of the less common uses of this postposition in today’s Persian (e.g. in topicalisation).

### **Out of the Mouths of Babes... Children as Mediums in Pahlavi Literature**

Matthias Weinreich

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Zoroastrian doctrine distinguishes between two different spheres of existence of all things and beings: The physical sphere (MP *gētīg*), which is the habitat of humans, animals, plants and other creations of Ohrmazd, and the spiritual sphere (MP *mēnōg*), the place of the gods, the demons and the souls of the deceased. According to the Mazdaean belief system as expounded in the Pahlavi writings, the physical sphere contains whatever can be beheld with the eye, perceived with the ear and grasped with the hand, while its spiritual counterpart is described as intangible, never to be heard nor to be seen by a living human being. However, the same books also inform us about extraordinary people, who entered into an exchange with the divine, among them famous personages like prophet Zarathustra, his patron king Wištāsp, and the righteous Wirāz. Within the framework of this presentation, I would like to introduce another, less well-known mytho-historical character endowed with an insight into the spiritual sphere, investigate his credentials as a medium, and analyse the function of his vision within the literary context of its occurrence.

### **Adjectival Number Agreement in East Caucasian: an Overview**

Aigul Zakirova

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In this talk I will consider patterns of adjectival number agreement in the East Caucasian (EC) family and in the adjacent languages. Besides 59 EC idioms, the sample includes Kumyk, Azeri, and Nogay (< Turkic), Tat and Armenian (< Indo-European), and Georgian (< Kartvelian).

The **objectives** of this study are 1) to describe the distribution of adjectival number agreement patterns in the EC family and in the adjacent languages, 2) to establish the linguistic factors conditioning number agreement in EC.

**Methodology** (in line with <http://lingconlab.ru/dagatlas>)

I checked in the grammars of the sampled languages, whether adjectives in the attributive position showed dedicated number agreement with their overt heads. If adjectival agreement was optional, I established by what linguistic factors it is conditioned.

### **Results**

21 idioms feature obligatory number agreement on adjectives. 27 idioms feature no number agreement. In 17 idioms the presence or absence of agreement is conditioned by certain factors:

- a) derivational affixes present in the adjective (Tsova-Tush, Archi);
- b) inflectional affixes present in the adjective (Avar, Lak, Dargic);
- c) number agreement is a lexical property of the adjectival stem (Nakh, Botlikh);
- d) number agreement is conditioned by the value of the number category (Georgian < Kartvelian, not found in EC).

I will show that the adjectival number agreement patterns have a largely genetic distribution. However, linguistic convergence seems also to be at play. In the center of the surveyed area, languages of different branches of EC show similar behavior. In Lak, Avar, Archi and some Dargwa varieties adjectives have “short” and “long” forms, the latter agreeing for number and often having restrictive / contrastive semantics. I propose that contact influence has taken place, as Archi is the only Lezgian language to have adjectival number agreement and it has been in contact with Avar and Lak (Dobrushina 2011).

### **Russo-Iranian relations in Aleksander Dugin’s political mindset: Which strategy for the Eurasian Economic Union in the Middle East and the South Caucasus?**

Leonardo Zanatta

*Corvinus University of Budapest*

The present paper examines Russian-Iranian relations under the magnifying glass of Aleksander Dugin's geopolitical theories. Dwelling on the importance of the Eurasian foundations of the Russian state, Dugin calls Moscow to go beyond the ambition of reunifying the territories of the former Soviet Union, creating a network of alliances that would strengthen its leadership in the Eurasian landmass. In this context, Dugin considers Iran as Russia's most valuable ally because of its traditional political values, its opposition to the United States and Wahabbism, and as a trump card for access to the Indian Ocean. Despite their cooperation in maintaining regional stability, from Syria to the South Caucasus, there are still several obstacles that could undermine the expansion of Russian-Iranian relations. Therefore, instead of just focusing its efforts on how Dugin's ideas have shaped the approach of the Kremlin towards Iran, this work emphasizes how these have influenced the recent practices of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU); a Moscow's design of joint economic space with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. In 2018, the EAEU signed a three-year interim agreement with Iran to establish a free trade area. Proceeding in this direction, in 2021, the two parties started consultations to replace the interim agreement with a permanent one. The present paper claims that the whole EAEU bears Dugin's ideological fingerprints, as it offers a semblance of assured trade, diplomacy, and counter-Western alignment that reflects his vision for a Russia-led greater Eurasia. In light of the recent political developments in the South Caucasus, characterized by new prospects for regional connectivity, the findings show also that the EAEU-Iranian framework might lay unprecedented foundations for the shortest, safest, and most cost-effective route for Russian commodities to the Indian Ocean.

**The Bakhtiari Language: Maintenance or Shift?**  
**A Report on a Diachronic Survey on the Practical Status of the Bakhtiari Language in the**  
**City of Masjed Soleimān between the Years 1996-2020**

Sima Zolfaghari  
*Leiden University*

The concepts of Language choice, Language death and Language maintenance have always been very controversial when it comes to the effect of a national language on other local languages. These discussions have always been intentionally or naturally geared with other socio-political discussions that sometimes ignore the linguistic facts involved in the subject. The Negative effect of Persian on the other Iranian languages holds a fervent debate to this day. Proponents of this resentment towards Persian argue that their native languages have become endangered because they are not taught at school, and on a more extreme stance, because the whole educational system of the country is not designed for all or the languages with the biggest populations in Iran.

To learn about the validity of this so-called negative effect of Persian, in 1996 a research was conducted, investigating language choice among Bakhtiari speakers in Iran to see whether Bakhtiari is in danger of shifting to Persian or maintaining its practical status. A questionnaire was distributed to 150 women and men between the ages of (under 20) to (above 50) in three educational groups (illiterate, high school diploma, and higher education), in Masjed Soleimān where over 90% of the population spoke Bakhtiari. I concluded the variety of Bakhtiari used in Masjed Soleimān was not an endangered language, mainly due to the robust attitude of its speakers towards their culture, language, and traditions (Zolfaghari, 1997, 2001, 2003). This paper presents an updated version of this research, with questions added to the original questionnaire that include inquiries about the effects of new social media on the language choice and usage of Bakhtiari speakers of Masjed Soleimān. I will report the new results of some of the 66 statistically detailed tables of this diachronic research that represents the status of Bakhtiari after 24 years.

**On Some Areal Semantic Parallels to the Armenian Epic “the Daredevils of Sassoun”**

Suren Zolyan

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1. The epic of our region has exemplified how old and deep are contacts between them. One could assume that from ancient times there was a bizarre chain of contacts and exchanges between the whole region, and it had a great impact on the formation of the cultural national/ethnic identities.
2. The parallel between the Mher from the Armenian epic and Iranian Mihr (Mithra) lies on the surface and was mentioned by all the researchers. At the same time - starting with M. Abeghyan - there were different explanations for occurrence of two personage with the same name: Mher-Lion and Mher the Little. Although in most versions only one of them appeared, these characters represent the substantial and significantly differentiated elements of the semantic structure of the epic.
3. As it was shrewdly pointed by Joseph Orbeli, the image of this deity in the epic is split into two characters: if Mher-Lion corresponds to the rising sun, Mher Jr. correlates with the setting sun (let's add - midnight sun, mythological black sun, which correlates with death and burial). The parallels between Mher-Lion and Iranian Mihr are obvious, but in case of Mher the Little are not convincing enough. However, for the reconstruction of the semantics of the cave one should refer

to another prototype of Mher, i.e. God Mihr/Mithra. In this case Mher the Little inherited some attributes of the god Mithra from a Roman (exclusively male) cult - the deity born from a rock without female interference (catacombs and caves were places of Mithra's worship). Such a duality can be considered as a typical for the Armenian identity some peculiar syntheses between Eastern and Western traditions.

4. This also reminds the birth of Sosruko (Sosryko, Sozyrko, Sasrykva) - the main hero of the North-Caucasian epic about Narts. Sosruko was born out of the stone inseminated by a mythical giant shepherd. Mithra's birth from inseminated stone without women has a semantic structure representing the total inversion (total negation) of the initial episode in the Armenian epic (the birth of twins from water). Such areal parallels are especially relevant in the case of absence of writing and written tradition. For the North Caucasian peoples the Armenian and Georgian sources are the most important evidence of their history and culture. Thus, of the North Caucasus Nartian epic was recorded only in XIX century. However, its high antiquity was proved by the fact that one of the main themes of the epic was recorded as early as the fifth century by the Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi. It is the episode of captivity of the Ossetian (Alanian) Princess Satenik by the Armenian king Artashes and further marriage between them. The episode from the Nartian epic was transformed by Movses Khorenatsi and was reported by him as a historical event which had some reflection in Armenian wedding songs. It corresponds to the original episode of meeting between Nartian mythological ancestress Satana with a giant herdsman, which led to Satana giving birth to one of the main Nartian protagonists, Sosruko.

5. However, the opposite approach is also fruitful – the Nartic epic allows to reconstruct or explain a lot of episodes which were lost or are not clear in the Armenian epic. For example, the final episode of detaining in the cave of the last Sassounian hero Mher-Junior has very evident parallels in the North-Caucasian mythology, the magical “Pataraz” cross which had protected heroes from Sassoun and was sometimes used as a weapon refers to the name of the Nartian hero Patraz/Batraz with his magical sword, etc.

6. The abovementioned parallels and similarities are structural and are more salient while considering them on the deep semantic and cognitive levels.