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The Bakhtiaris: an anthropological-linguistic lexical study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran

Zolfaghari, S.

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Bazoft, on Autumn migration route, October 2007

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To my mothers:

IRAN, my archetype of persistence and hope
Maryam, my prototype of dedication and love

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ATTR	attributive adjective suffix (<i>-i</i> , <i>-in</i>)
BP	bound pronoun
CAUS	causative
CLASS	classifier
COMPR	comparative suffix (<i>-tær</i>)
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
DIR	directional
DUR	durative
E	epenthetic phoneme
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
EZ	Ezafe
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INTER	interrogative
IPFV	imperfect
NCL	number classifier (<i>-ta</i>)
NEG	negation
OM	direct object marker

OP	optative
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PRV	preverb
PST	past
PTCP	participle
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
.	1.syllable boundary (Phonology)
two	2. several metalanguage elements (combines glosses for morphemes)
'	stress
‘ ’	meaning
>	changes to
bold	emphasis; phonemes (Phonology section)
<i>italics</i>	phonological representation
∅	zero/ null morpheme
//	phonological transcription
/	or
=	enclitic boundary
-	morpheme boundary

PREFACE

When I was six years old, my father took us from Ahvāz, where we lived in an NIOC¹ complex, to Masjed Soleimān, to visit his younger brother for the first time after some seventeen years. It was a reconciliation meeting and many family members and relatives were gathered together to celebrate this happy occasion in my father's sister's house. There, for the first time, I saw several cousins that I didn't know even existed. At that time, I was my father's youngest child and the only daughter and as such the center of attention for all who had not seen my father's family for several years. I noticed that almost all of them would address me as /*dor šæh*/ while caressing or kissing me. I knew that *dor* means 'girl', and, considering my father's highly respected position in his big extended family, I figured that /*šæh*/, as I had learned in my first school year Persian book, should mean 'king', therefore I am for them a princess! I was immensely content with the way they received me, up to the moment that I overheard my mother's complain to dad that they could address her little daughter better than 'the black girl'! What? So *šæh* is not *šah* in Persian but *sia* 'black'? I can still remember my disappointment and I guess I even got some watery eyes being teased for my dark brown skin tone, which was so much adored by my own parents. This is the first linguistic contemplation and cultural shock that I can remember.

After that family reunion, my father decided to take his 16 year-old niece, Massume, to Ahvāz to live with us. Massume became paralyzed in one leg due to polio when she was very young. My father's persistence to get the consent of Massume's father to hospitalize her in England with the help of a British colleague, had been all in vain, mainly because according to her Bakhtiari father: "Death in one's own country is better than wandering in an unfamiliar and pagan land". My father was still very sad and wanted to do something for her, which is why he decided to put her to school in Ahvāz. She was very caring and nice to all of us children and in her free time she would help mom in her daily chores while dad was away on his geological duty trips for the NIOC oil exploration section. Massume was a bit shy to speak in broken Persian and vulnerable to teasing because of her physical condition. I loved her so much and wanted her to feel more at home, so, I decided to start talking like her. In this way, she became my first Bakhtiari teacher. Everybody at home liked and adored my imitation of the Bakhtiari language and gestures, and so I became even more encouraged to learn from Massume and amuse the whole family. Later, when we would go to family visits or picnics in the nomadic areas, I could communicate more with the kids and every time I would come back home with a better command of Bakhtiari.

1. National Iranian Oil Company.

In 1980, when the Iran-Iraq war broke out just a day before the start of the school year and on my 13th birthday, my father who could not leave his work, took us one night to Masjed Soleimān which was farther away from the Iran-Iraq border, to stay with his brother's family for a while until the war ended. Just two days later we saw and suffered the deafening sound of the Iraqi French Mirages and Russian MiGs over the sky of Masjed Soleimān. As children we were both terrified and excited to see fragments of their bombs in the yard among the broken window glasses and discarded pieces of furniture. It was not safe there any longer, so my uncle decided to take us with his family to a village in the countryside of Masjed Soleimān to be at least protected by surrounding mountains. There, I had one of the most adventurous and happy times of my life and my first anthropological experiences! My mother, although a Bakhtiari herself and even from a more prestigious tribe than my father's, had always been considered an outsider by my father's family. Her sister-in-law even used to call her an *azærbayejuni* 'an Azerbaijani'² to express her discontent of her brother's choice of marriage from a faraway city and not choosing a girl of his own blood. Mom had always been a city girl, with a comfortable life in her loving father's house. She was a bit spoiled for her new situation, finding herself in the middle of nowhere with overwhelming stress and worries for her husband and two older sons working in the war zone. I remember her trying her best to be as active and tough as other Bakhtiari women around her to make a deserted cottage and pen clean and comfortable enough for us spoiled urban kids. But my youngest brother and I, as curious and restless as we were, could not relate to our parents' hardships and could not help exploring our new environment and learning and adopting the survival skills from village kids.

We would run to the springs to fetch water in whatever container that Mom could provide us with and get absolutely wet and drenched when back at the camp. Then we should go and wander around hills to collect sticks and dried branches for firewood, receiving instructions by local kids about which one is good and dried enough and which one would be too smoky. In this way, we would build up a lot of new vocabulary for which we didn't even know the Persian equivalents. I particularly remember that one day we were sent to pick up animal dung and droppings, which locally was the first and major fuel. I learned, reluctantly, how to examine them to see if they were dry enough to prevent the risk of having hands or feet covered with excrement. At that occasion I both learned the different terminology of the whole variety of animal droppings and developed the skill to distinguish a dried dung from a wet one by looking for a trail of ants underneath it which was an almost certain sign that the targeted treasure is dry and ready to be taken away by ants to their home. Then we needed to develop a skill how to combat the very big, yellow and at times even flying ants over dung and to escape their bites. The next skill was how to pile our collected treasures up in a huge gunnysack and carry them along to the camp. There we learned special knots, the names of different kinds of ropes and the verbs for different modes of fastening a load.

2. In the past, to a Bakhtiari, Azarbaijan was the farthest distance, both culturally and geographically, that a person could think of.

I clearly remember when for the first time in my life I truly enjoyed the taste of freshly baked bread. One day after dung hunting and water fetching we arrived at the camp and saw my mom and aunt Huri baking Tiri bread³. I didn't like to eat bread or rice and similar belly filling food, and used to eat only fresh fruits and well cooked meat. But there, we were not in a place to complain about food or ask for sweets or other goodies. When back from the mountains, my mom rolled one whole Tiri bread and gave it to me. I devoured it as if I was eating the most delicious cake in the world.

After two weeks of fun and hardship in the mountains, our parents came to the realization that apparently the war was not going to stop in the near future and that they had to think of a substantial solution for our schooling. They finally decided to take us to Tehran to live with my mom's family at least during the running school year.

There, in my last year of the secondary school, I had my second major linguistic awareness and cultural shock. The primary language spoken in my family was Persian or, to be more specific, the *jonubi* or southern variety⁴ of Persian. Through my new classmates' mild teasing, I realized that I have a very high-pitched intonation at the end of my interrogative sentences which always made them laugh. Then there were times of misunderstanding because, to their surprise, I had other words in my lexicon for several objects: *cop* instead of *fenjun* for 'cup'; *gilas* instead of *livan* 'glass'; *tæmate* instead of *goje færaengi* 'tomato'⁵, etc. As a *ǰæng zæde*⁶ child I was vulnerable to teasing and being bullied, but my very good grades after the first round of exams made me popular as a very clever new student that became the top student despite being away from the school for the first two months of the school year. This gave me the opportunity to be more accepted in their Tehrani circle and I got the chance to quickly adopt their intonation, vocabulary and other sociolinguistic behavior of a Tehrani teenager.

These first encounters with other languages and cultures sparked my interest in learning and studying languages; hence, I did a B.A. in English literature. Later in 1996, as an M.A. student in General Linguistics, I had no doubt that I wanted to study Bakhtiari from a sociolinguistic point of view. This study was the first of its kind in Iran, according to my supervisors, mainly because doing linguistic research in a non-structuralist way and coming from a social perspective was not a very

3. See 2.6 below.

4. *jonubi*, in Iranian society, refers to all the people and varieties of languages along the Persian Gulf to the western border of the country, including the variety spoken in Ahvāz, where I grew up. But from a linguistic point of view, this area has very diverse linguistic communities consisting of several distinct languages. The variety spoken in the province of Khuzestān and especially spoken in Ahvāz, the center of the province, and Ābādān, one of the major cities of the area, has mainly phonetic differences and of course there are words and expressions and some sociolinguistic characteristic specific to that area and at times not fully comprehensible for other Persian speakers.

5. These and many other words are all English loans that exist in many southern varieties in Persian. See also 2.3 and appendix 1 below.

6. War-struck.

prevalent tendency among Iranian academics of the time. I surveyed the practical status of the language in Masjed Soleimān. The title of my thesis was “Bakhtiari Language, Maintenance or Shift?”, and I found it useful to include some parts of it and its results in section 2.4 of the present research.

My fieldwork research during 1995-1997 was the beginning of my close encounter with the nomads’ harsh way of life and their social and administrative problems. To respond to their plea for my help, I have been immersed in a marathon of humanitarian activities, which continues to the present. This has obviously affected my academic interests. During the last eight years of living, migrating, planting, and fighting with governmental organizations for the rights of Bakhtiari nomads over their hereditary land and pastures. I have acquired a very deep knowledge of the nomad’s culture and lexicon. I became very much interested in anthropology, and started working with Iranian sociologists and anthropologists to discuss the nomads’ situation and issues, and strove to help them to have better education, a mobile library, training courses and the like.

Meanwhile, I started my second M.A. in Old Iranian Languages and Cultures at Tehran University. Fascinated by the archaic treasury of Bakhtiari language and culture, I decided to write my thesis, again, on Bakhtiari, and this time to include my new experiences and data in the work. I chose the field of Anthropological Linguistics and started working on “An Anthropological Survey of Bakhtiari Vocabulary, in comparison with Middle Persian”. I worked two whole years on the subject, gathered lots of data including many pictures and videos, attended several summer schools in Leiden and a conference and workshop in Germany (Hamburg and Kiel) in 2007, which focused on documenting Iranian languages. I tried to equip myself with the latest technology and techniques such as Toolbox, ELAN, PRAAT among others, and with Iranian linguistics in general. However, for personal reasons I decided not to defend my almost complete thesis in Tehran. I moved to The Netherlands to continue and pursue my education and research on Bakhtiari, which I now consider to be my academic mission in life.

SECTION ONE
LEXICON

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1 INTRODUCTION

The Bakhtiari language has both synchronic and diachronic importance for the study of the Indo-European languages in general and the Iranian languages in Particular. With the exception of Persian, there is no comprehensive description of any southern or southwestern Modern Iranian language. Therefore, a precise description of Bakhtiari by a researcher who combines linguistic schooling with the quality of being a semi-native speaker may be expected to provide a reliable model for future descriptions of other languages in the same continuum.⁷

Historically, Bakhtiari is a descendant of Middle Persian (300 BC– 900 AD) as it was spoken in southwestern Iran, a language that we know fairly well from written sources such as royal inscriptions and legal and religious writings. Bakhtiari still preserves some structures and words which have been lost in the Standard Modern Persian (See 2.3 below). Therefore, the documentation of present-day Bakhtiari, especially in its original usage as a language of (semi-) nomadic people, will yield interesting data for future scholars with historical and/or anthropological linguistic interests.

Having all these concerns in mind, I have designed and focused my study on the morphosyntax and vocabulary of that branch of the Bakhtiari language and culture with which I have more affinity, i.e. the Hamule tribe of the Haft Lang confederation (See 2.2.5 below).

The very few previous efforts that have been made are valuable but they have not managed to avoid all of the pitfalls caused by the unfamiliarity of researchers with some very delicate but critical cultural issues. Besides, the richness of the language and its varieties make it a very valuable historical and structural source for Iranian and Indo-European linguistics at large, and it would be a loss not to provide a solid analysis and description of Bakhtiari before it is too late.

As mentioned above, very little has been done on Bakhtiari so far. The Bakhtiari people and their history came to the attention of western scholars when the probable existence of oil fields in their territory was first reported by military authorities in the beginning of the nineteenth century and again in the early twentieth century. An overview of Bakhtiaris and their involvement in the discovery of oil in Iran (1906-

7. In the course of writing my research two scientific works on the subject were produced: Erik Anonby's book on the phonology of Bakhtiari (2014) and Mohsen Farsani's dissertation (2011) on Bakhtiari vocabulary, both of which will be discussed below in the section on the review of the literature.

09) is provided in the introductory section of the present research (See 2.1 below).

As for the anthropological studies related to the Iranian nomads and their history, a tide of new research on this subject began in the late fifties and sixties. The content of the sparse sources before this new tide can be summarized in Topper's words as below:

Sources for the history of tribes in Iran are mostly written from a distance by outsiders viewing the tribes with hostility or some other bias. They usually concern such matters as taxation, military levies, disturbances and measures taken to quell them, and more or less inaccurate lists of major tribal groups, numbers and leaders. They rarely deal specifically or in reliable detail with the basic social and economic organization of tribal communities; and they mention individual tribes only when prominent in supporting or opposing government, when involved in inter-tribal disorders, or when transported from one region to another (Tapper 1977: 10).

Since the mid-twentieth century, several Iranian and non-Iranian scholars have done decades of research on different peoples and produced monographs, the most notable ones being: Fredrik Barth (1961), Afshar Naderi (1968); Tapper (1975); Lois Beck (1986; 1991); Erika Freidl (1991; 1997); Shahshani (1987); Amanollahi (1991). Specifically on Bakhtiari, see Jean-Pierre Digard (1981; 1982; 1987; 1988; 1989; 2015). These works are anthropological studies in the broad sense with no or little focus on the linguistic aspects of their subject.

Therefore, to study an Iranian ethnic group from an anthropological linguistic point of view seemed both necessary and at the same time challenging due to the lack of any previous models to follow. This is especially true in case of studies such as the third chapter of the present research, where various semantic domains are explored to open a window to the mind and the world view of the nomads. There are a few studies on other Iranian communities' kinship terms (Gheitury et al. 2010) and body parts (Abasi 2012), but a study which includes several different semantic fields of a language and studies them from an anthropological point of view was missing. Most importantly, to my knowledge, the study of bio-taxonomy of the contemporary Iranian peoples is non-existent (See 3.2 below).

In the following paragraphs, I will give a very short review of the previous linguistic studies on Bakhtiari in Persian and in other languages.

1.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The major Persian work on the Bakhtiari language is called *Vazhe nāme-ye Zabān-e Bakhtiāri*, which is a Bakhtiari-Persian dictionary by Zohrab Maddadi (1375/1996). Maddadi is a retired literature teacher who has spent decades to collect as many Bakhtiari words as he could; he is still continuing this work (See 2.5, # 7 below). The dictionary was published in 1996 and it has been my main reference book since the beginning of my research on Bakhtiari in the late 1990s. The second edition has come out in 2013. The first edition of the book has 278 pages that contains around 4000 entries. The second edition has 327 pages, therefore contains more vocabulary, but with a minimal substantial difference from the first edition. In other words, the revision was limited to adding more entries but did not include more explanations of the previously understudied terms, especially words related to flora and fauna. As will be explained later, when it comes to botanical terminologies, in numerous cases the definition is limited to ‘a kind of plant’. This shortcoming has unfortunately not been resolved in the second edition. Furthermore, the appendix of the first edition which represents some additional vocabularies was kept unchanged without an effort to include the words in the body of the book. Maddadi has also published an article entitled “On Bakhtiari Verbs” (1373/1995), which is a very general discussion of the subject but left many related issues untouched. I personally know Maddadi; he is ever so generous, and is always ready to share his data with me and with other scholars (see 2.5.7. below).

Apart from Maddadi’s work, several books have been published by Bakhtiari poets and writers among others, but they only contain fragmentary pieces of information. None of them has a scientific character. Some of these works are duly mentioned in relevant discussions of the present research and in the bibliography.

In addition, there exists a small number of M.A. theses such as Ghasemi (1385/2007), and a few PhD dissertations on the Bakhtiari language from different universities of Iran, such as Taheri (1385/2007) but they usually consider only one particular linguistic characteristic of the language, for instance, “Noun Phrases in Bakhtiari”. To my knowledge none of the works published by Iranian scholars to this day constitutes a comprehensive description of the language or one of its varieties.

In the same manner, when it comes to discussions on the history, geography or the ethnography of the people, all of the existing works, local or international, tend to repeat each other in many respects and this is exactly what I have tried to avoid in the present research. In all the above mentioned discussions, I have tried to apply a very critical approach, challenging the mainstream notions and providing a fresh view on each subject based on more than two decades of first-hand observational participation in the field and on a thorough study of almost all the existing sources on the subject.

A number of non-Iranian scholars have written on the Bakhtiari language, with different intentions. Major D.L.R. Lorimer's book, *The Phonology of Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian* (1922) is an important and informative account of the language, which tries to give a precise phonological description and a reasonable corpus of vocabulary. However, it was written not by a linguist, but by a military man with an admirable analytical mind and a good command of different research disciplines. The main reason for giving his description, however, was geopolitical, rather than scientific. This becomes obvious in the introduction of the book, where he tries to describe the main characteristics of the Bakhtiari people for his fellow military colleagues, using a very authoritative tone and judging their behavior according to his own observation as an outsider and not according to unbiased descriptive and realistic anthropological methods and approaches. To illustrate this point more vividly two fragments of his introductory words are presented here:

The Bakhtiārī has more of Rob Roy perhaps than of the shepherd in him, and his natural pastimes, when left to pursue his own courses, are rather raiding and robbery than poetic reflection or philosophic meditation...

The Bakhtiārī, whose ruling vice in his own humble sphere is that of all Persians -greed of money and of possession - does not merely envy and grieve at the good of his neighbor; he tries to transfer it to himself (Lorimer1922: 5-6).

Lorimer's book is still very valuable, showing the state of the language almost a century ago, but the data need to be updated. Also, as with other non-native scholars, his data show occasional errors and discrepancies which may be the result of being misled by his informants. One reason for the discrepancies of his data, which are most apparent in his collection of poetry, can be explained by the arrangement of his informants. From his notes we understand that he has collected his data from his troops in southern Persia, and that he took down the poetry in Kerman, where he acted as the vice-consul of Great Britain. One can imagine that the soldiers were asked to recite some Bakhtiari verses, and that they, under the authoritative pressure of their commander would sing whatever would come to their mind. This may explain why we find a verse from a wedding song next to a line from a lamentation in the collection. In 2014, I consulted Lorimer's manuscripts in SOAS. The ample size of the collection and his precision in the tedious preparation of the transcription and the translation of his data, left me with a sense of wonder and admiration. Despite the valuable efforts of Fereydun Vahman and Garnik Asatrian in publishing two volumes of Lorimer's data (1987 and 1995), I believe that his manuscripts contain much more precious socio-historical information to be discovered by future scholarly research.

G.L. Windfuhr in his article “The Bakhtiari Dialect” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (1988), has tried to cover all major linguistic aspects of the language and compare them with other West Iranian languages including Modern Persian. This article is very informative, as is to be expected from a major scholar, and it provides many useful insights on the subject. It seems, however, that his main informants had Luri origins, because he always tries to compare Bakhtiari with other Luri or Kurdish dialects of the region. In other words, he uses Luri as the criterion to measure Bakhtiari deviation from the norms of West Iranian languages. This, I think, may lead the researcher to ignore or misinterpret some unique characteristics of Bakhtiari simply as deviations.

Pierre Lecoq (1989), in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* gives a very general overview of all West Iranian languages. This article, “Les dialects du sud-ouest de l’Iran”, is also very valuable and informative. It has a comparative approach and summarizes the major linguistic similarities of the southwestern language varieties, although some of the Bakhtiari examples are not precise or correct, such as *nift* instead of *noft* ‘nose’ (Lecoq 1989: 345).

A comparative work, “Update on Luri: How Many Languages?” (2003), has been done by Erik John Anonby in Leiden. In this work Anonby has established the existence of three separate languages in the Luri continuum: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri in the western, southwestern and southern regions of Iran. In his survey, which distinguishes a variety of languages spoken in the region, he comes across Bakhtiari surrounded by two Luri variants, but he concludes that although there are many similarities between the languages, a line should be drawn to separate Bakhtiari from Luri and Persian. I have presented my view on this subject in the introductory section of the present research (See 2.3 below). Anonby’s work is focused on the phonological aspects of these languages and has some brief accounts of the morphology and other linguistic aspects of Luri languages. His work also includes several useful wordlists of Bakhtiari and some varieties of Luri for comparative purposes. Some of the Bakhtiari data, unfortunately, are not precisely recorded.⁸ In 2014, Anonby’s latest book on Bakhtiari, entitled: *Bakhtiari Studies, Phonology, Text, Lexicon* was published. This work focuses on the phonology of Bakhtiari which constitutes the major part of the book. I found sections 2.5 *Prosodic phenomena* and 2.6 *Morphophonemic processes* particularly interesting and informative. Unfortunately the book was published after I had written my part on phonology, otherwise I could have incorporated its analysis into my own data. In several parts of the present work, however, Anonby’s point of view is added, either as a footnote or in the related discussions. Anonby (2014) has also included a glossed and translated text which is very helpful to get an overview of the syntax of the language. The accompanying grammatical guide and vocabulary are also very practical, both to read and to understand the text and also to become more famil-

8. Some of these words are items 13, 19, 87, 126, 129, 135, 144 and 147, as some examples of the above mentioned inaccuracy.

iar with the language. There are, however, some phonological and morphological points about which we have different opinions, some of them are mentioned in the body of the present work in the relative sections.

Mohsen Farsani's PhD dissertation *Étude Lexicologique de la Langue Bakhtiari D'Iran* was apparently designed to cover all the grammatical aspects of the language plus a thorough study of its lexicon. The four chapters of the research contain, accordingly, discussions on the phonology, morphology, the syntax, as well as different semantic fields of the language. When I heard about this research back in 2011, I made many efforts to contact him and to get hold of a copy of his work, but all my attempts failed. I meant to incorporate his data or methodology into my study to reach to a more comprehensive study of the language. I finally received a copy of this work by the generous help of Johnny Cheung, but only in April 2017 when I was completing the last editing of my book. Since I did not have the chance to refer to his work during the process of writing my research, unlike the previous works mentioned in this section, I try to give it a fair share of attention in the following paragraphs.

I found Farsani's work valuable in the sense that he has covered many semantic domains in a comparative approach, unlike my research, and for many words and terms he has succeeded to provide Old and Middle Iranian cognates as well as cognates from other modern Iranian languages. The French translation of the Bakhtiari words is also an added value for this field of research. He has also covered domains that are missing in the present research, such as his section 8: Traditional Bakhtiari Music (pp. 334-338); section 9: Ceremonies (pp. 339-372); section 10: Astronomy (pp. 372-379); section 11: Personal objects of Men and Women (p. 379); section 12: Words related to professions (p. 381-389) and the last section of his lexicon part, section 13: The trivial language and insults (p. 389-395). In the final chapter of his dissertation (chapter IV) Farsani has included two folk tales, transcribed but not glossed, followed by their French translations. These tales are not specifically Bakhtiari, but they are popular among several peoples residing along the Zagros mountains.

The downside of Farsani's work is, however, the anecdotal and at times highly chaotic nature of his presentation. The introductory part of the work is a repetition of previous sources or simply renders his informants' words verbatim. There exist multiple grammatical inaccuracies. Farsani is not a native speaker of Bakhtiari,⁹ and this may explain part of the discrepancies of the data. As for his lexicographic chapter, the lack of an obvious theoretical framework in presenting the lexicon makes it chaotic and at times it is very confusing because the same term is represented in different lists with no explanation for the change in their meanings.¹⁰

9. In page 3 of the thesis he explains his orientation with Bakhtiari thus: "I have been able to conduct this study because for years our family have lived alongside the bakhtiari people and I have experienced conversations and meetings with storytellers and poets who keep the language alive and allow us to preserve and study their language."

10. Some examples are presented here. I should mention that in the version that I have received the pages are numbered only up to the page 157, therefore, here I can only refer to the sections instead

In general, although Farsani has made a tremendous effort to cover as many semantic fields as possible, his discussions of the fields remain superficial with diverse discrepancies in their presentation. I hope that many of the above mentioned problems will be resolved in his published version, if there exists one.

Going through all the previous efforts on describing different aspects of Bakhtiari, it still remains a fact that this language has unfortunately not yet received consistent scholarly attention. Therefore, the lack of a good account of this lesser known language is sorely missing.

1.3 METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

In order to be able to provide a coherent description and avoid discrepancies and vagueness, I will focus on the speech of the Hamule tribe of the Bakhtiari, to which I belong. The Bakhtiaris are split into two main confederations: Haft Lang and Chahar Lang, Hamule being a subdivision of the Haft Lang confederation. A detailed description of this special social structure is given in the section 2.2 below.

By pursuing this method, I will provide a detailed description of the Hamule variant, which, with minor changes that are to be indicated, will also be valid for other branches of the Haft Lang confederation. My description will further include many aspects of the Bakhtiari language in general, i.e. both Haft Lang and Chahar Lang variants, but will leave the minor differences, especially those of a phonological nature, for a later consideration.

I have gathered my data mostly by means of fieldwork, partly also by library research. Most of the linguistic fieldwork has been carried out during two decades of working and living with nomads as explained in more detail in the preface. Throughout this prolonged interaction, I have also gathered a great deal of audio-visual data.

I am privileged by having some well-qualified consultants at my disposal. In other words, I was able to contact my relatives back home through telephone and

of the exact page numbers.: alaf 'herbe' is presented in section 2. L'Agriculture and again in 2.1.2. Moisson et la Récolte as 'pâturage, herbe' followed by a saying including the word alaf (mes alaf xers xarj kerden (in Farsani's transcription)), translated in French as 'dépenser follement, jeter l'argent par la fenêtre'. Sometimes the terms are misplaced, such as the term awza (æwzæ in my transcription see 3.2.1.1 below) which refers to a kind of sheep, in the middle compounds relating to irrigation and accordingly having the word aw 'water' as their first constituent. There are words that are not recorded correctly, such as melk instead of merk 'elbow' in section on body parts (1.2). Whether this is a typo or an error in recording the term, mistakes such as this are very grave in documenting a language because these words can be used as minimal pairs, in which melk means 'property, a piece of land'. In the same section which constitutes 132 body parts, several words and compounds are not genuinely Bakhtiari, but Persian; examples are: ostexunj-fak bâlâ 'Os maxillaire', ostexunj tarqova 'Clavicule', gune 'joue' or sâq-e pâ 'jambe'. As can be seen from these last examples, throughout his work, Farsani is not consistent in presenting the Ezafe marker or other grammatical morphemes while discussing the lexicon.

internet to ask my questions or to clarify some data. I insist here on using the term “consultant” and not “informant”, because my situation as a semi-native and local researcher makes this investigation more “participatory” than “observatory”. Therefore, instead of interviewing or questioning the nomads, which tends to create unrealistic situations, I have always gathered my data in the midst of a natural, everyday conversation or discussion. Of course, there were times when I wanted to clarify a specific grammatical or semantic point in which case I would consult my more educated Bakhtiari relatives or consultants.

A very crucial and eye-opening experience for me was the participation in a seasonal migration on Autumn of 2007. It was at that time and during that week of constant walking and living with nomads that I came to the realization that the way they see and categorize the natural world around them is different from that of an urban person. This triggered my interest and laid basis for a long and fascinating research the result of which can be seen in the section 3.2 of the present work.

At the end of this section I want to emphasize the importance of the new mobile applications for doing what I call virtual field work. While working in my office in Leiden, there were moments that I urgently needed to check, for example, the exact meaning or pragmatic aspect of a term. A very convenient way to do this in the quickest possible way is to text or audio message the question to a relative or young nomad, who are nowadays generally equipped with at least one android mobile phone in each household, and he or she will send back an audio file from an elder in the tribe in which you will receive all the necessary information as if you are sitting next to that elder under the black tent in the field and have a natural conversation. While writing the sections on fauna and flora, I used these applications, especially WhatsApp and Telegram, almost on a daily basis to check the minute details regarding my data by receiving audios and photos depicting a certain plant or the color or the shape of the horn of a certain domestic animal. I have used Facebook, as well, for checking some data with my urban consultants such as Maddadi. I could not use Facebook, Skype and video messaging to work with the nomads in the field, because the former is blocked in Iran and people can use it only by installing special proxies not available to everyone, and the latter is hard to use because high speed internet is not available everywhere, especially in the blind spots in the middle of the mountains. One other obstacle to use internet dependent applications is that generally people should buy internet bundles which are not always cheap and it can happen that in the middle of a conversation they run out of access to the internet and you should wait until they recharge their bundle. However, the perspective of using new public technologies for doing field work seems very exciting and promising.

1.4 THE ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

This research is organized in two sections, six chapters and ten appendices.

Chapter one contains some introductory remarks on the reasons behind the choice of Bakhtiari for this research and the background studies, as well as some explanations over the methods that were employed to carry out this study. Some ideas for further research are also suggested in the last section of this chapter (See 1.5 below).

In chapter two the socio-historical background of the Bakhtiaris is critically reviewed by providing first hand observational and analytic facts that at times contradict the existing and mainstream notions on the subject. As an example, in section 2.2.2, a new etymology for *laeng* is proposed. This word is a crucial term in Bakhtiari but its meaning is ambiguous. In the last two hundred years, a number of hypotheses on its meaning have been repeated without substantial revision. Here all the previous notions are reviewed critically and the proposed etymology incorporates the ideas and suggestions of some prominent contemporary linguists specialized in Iranian studies. At the end of chapter two, parts of my M.A thesis are included. Although it was carried out around two decades ago, it is considered to this day as a pioneer socio-linguistic study on a modern Iranian language, subsequently, several articles, M.A. theses and PhD theses have been written at the Iranian universities based on this model.¹¹

Chapter three presents a novel study for an Iranian language, viz. a semantic study of the vocabulary from an anthropological viewpoint. For this research I had no previous model to follow, so it presented many challenges. The chapter contains two sections. In the first section the semantic fields of kinship terms (3.1.1) and body parts (3.1.3) are detailed studies based on existing theories of language universals and word categories.¹² The second part of the chapter three is a new study of the Bakhtiari fauna and flora. It investigates the ways in which Bakhtiari nomads classify their natural surroundings (Ethno-taxonomy). The study of ethnic taxonomies, or as it is usually referred to, Ethno-biology, is relatively new, and to this day it has not received due attention among scholars working on the Iranian languages. Therefore, at the beginning of this chapter, this field of study is introduced very briefly and then several semantic fields of Bakhtiari are examined. The new findings are presented with tentative explanations that are rooted in the cultural history of the nomads.

Chapters four to six constitute the linguistic part of the study. In chapter four a brief introduction to the phonemic system of the present day Haftlang variety of Bakhtiari is provided. This chapter should be regarded as a guide to study the bulk

11. Khademi (2003), Kazemi (2010), Taheri-Ardali (2015) to name just a few of the most recent of these researches.

12. A study on color terms was designed to be included in this section, but due to the need for more fieldwork, the related data is presented as a table with some introductory explanation (Appendix 3).

of the words and sentences that are used throughout the book. For a more detailed study of the Bakhtiari phonology, the interested reader is encouraged to consult Anonby (2014).

In chapter five a thorough discussion of noun morphology is presented. All the different categories of nominal morphology are addressed, with detailed examples gathered through decades of research. Derivational morphology is not covered in the present volume; the relevant, extensive data must await a future opportunity to produce a more comprehensive description of the language.

Chapter six is a thorough description of Bakhtiari verbs. An attempt is made to categorize different verb classes using mainly synchronic data. In the description of the verbs, it was inevitable to resort to a historical explanation to deal with some minor grammatical issues.

It should be noted that chapters five and six are modelled on the traditional grammars of Persian and other Iranian languages. I chose not to depart from the centuries-old tradition of Persian grammar writing in the case of the Bakhtiari grammar, also in order to maintain comparability with other grammars of Iranian languages and dialects. Therefore, at times, it may seem that the description is not strictly from within the language, as in the case of introducing some forms of subjunctive verbs separately under a heading as Imperatives. However, the synchronic state of matters can at all times be seen by the reader.

The ten appendices contain word lists, the content of which are either partly (1, 9) or fully (3, 6, 7 and 10) discussed in the body of the research and they are represented as an appendix to be used as a quick vocabulary reference. Some other word lists 2, 4 and 5) have not been discussed in the book. These word lists, however, contain important data to be used in later anthropological or philological studies.

1.5 FURTHER RESEARCH

There are several other important areas that I wish to cover in later stages of my work. Generally speaking, each chapter of this research can be the subject of another PhD dissertation.

Derivational morphology and syntax of Bakhtiari are the two main subjects for future linguistic concern.

As for the lexicon section, the present data, especially the lists in the appendices, can be considered just as a raw material for diverse anthropological, semantic and philological studies in the future.

Comparative and typological works on other west Iranian languages and further on with other families of the Iranian languages is a necessity which hopefully will attract the attention of all the scholars in the field.

The anthropological model presented in this work can be used to study other Iranian nomads and ethnic groups. This model can also be modified and developed to study the terminology and the word categories used by professional communities, such as the fishermen on The Persian Gulf or the Caspian sea, the date cultivators on the southern half of the country, or to study communities that are involved in the horse domestication and training in the northern and north eastern regions, such as the Turkmens. Although Iran is a very diverse country, geographically as well as ethnically, these studies do not have to be confined within the geographical borders of the Iranian communities, the results of which can be incorporated in the anthropological studies of a more international nature.

I hope, however, that this research, in its present shape and content, will contribute some significant and valuable data to the field of linguistics and philology in general and Iranian linguistics and anthropology in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND

2 THE BAKHTIARIS

Bakhtiari refers to both the language and the people who historically are the inhabitants of a region of approximately 75,000 km² in Southwest Iran on both sides of the Zagros mountain range. Their territory used to be called, *χak-e bæχtiari* ‘The Bakhtiari ground’ or The Bakhtiari Country as depicted in the maps of some early western travelers or explorers of Iran, such as Sawyer¹³ (1890) and Layard (1846), among others, shown in Figure 1, below:

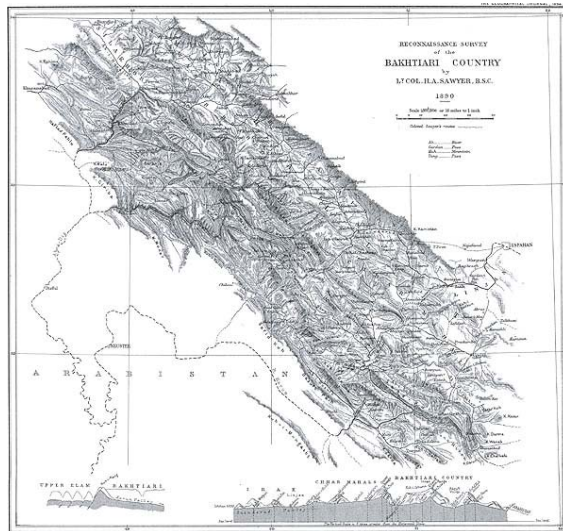


Figure 1: Old maps of the Bakhtiari Land (Sawyer 1890)

13. The following interesting information about this map can be found in the online gallery of SOAS (<http://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/bakhtiari-kuch/tribal-life/maps/>):

Reconnaissance Survey of the Bakhtiari Country by Lieut Col HA Sawyer BSC. The details of this map were considered ‘SECRET’, as marked (in large red letters) on the two versions currently in the India Office papers in the British Library. The map shown here was presented at the Royal Geographical Society in 1894, and includes a specially drawn “freehand cross-section from the Persian Gulf to the Iranian plateau. In a general way it purports to show the several parallel ranges, rising step-like to the two highest ranges, which average between 12,000 and 13,000 feet each, and the valley between 7000 to 8000 feet. The space they enclose measures from 10 to 30 miles in width. The map was constructed using “an Indian plane-table, a six-inch theodolite, prismatic compass, six aneroids and six boiling point thermometers . . . under the direction of Colonel Sawyer, by the Imam Sharif, KB, the well-known native Indian surveyor, who did most of the plane-tabling, and who persevered with his work, though he was twice on the point of being murdered, and was frequently robbed.”.

Map, 1890: Scale 1:1,000,000 or 16 miles to 1 inch. Reproduced here by the kind permission of Cyrus Alai, from his private collection.

At present, however, the majority of Bakhtiari live in cities, towns and villages in five administrative provinces: Khuzestān;¹⁴ Kohgiluyeh-o Boyer-Ahmad; Esfahān; Chahār Mahāl-o Bakhtiāri and Lorestān. A relatively recent map¹⁵ (figure 2) shows this area in more detail. The map presented in figure 3 shows my attempt to illustrate a more precise image regarding the distribution of Bakhtiari speaking population in present-day Iran. It is quite challenging to explore the internet or the existing published sources in the hope to find an exact map, illustrating the Bakhtiari area that has the consensus of all. It seems that the actual reason behind this confusion lies behind the opacity in the definition of Bakhtiari people who are usually thought of as belonging to a bigger ethnic group known as Lors. In below paragraphs this issue is discussed in more detail presenting the existing maps and introducing a new map with more precision.

Bakhtiari belong to the Twelver Shi‘ite¹⁶ sect of Islam. According to Ethnologue,¹⁷ Bakhtiari was spoken by around 1 Million speakers in 2001, of which 35% were monolinguals. One third or one quarter of this one Million population, according to different sources,¹⁸ still follow the nomadic life style of their ancestors, migrating twice a year across the central Zagros mountain range in search of fresh pastures for their herds of sheep and goats and also to escape the unbearable climatic extremes of their winter and summer campsites.

The word Bakhtiari consists of three morphemes: Bakht-yar-i /bæxt-yar-i/ ‘fortune-companion- ATTR. suffix’ > ‘The lucky/ fortunate ones’, but the reason for this appellation is known to no one. There are some legends on the origin of the name (Sardar Asad 1383:49) but they are not the concern of the present research. What is of importance here is the way Bakhtiari address their identity themselves. It is a common practice to classify the language and the people under a cover term as Lor/ Lori¹⁹ which also includes many people and linguistic communities to the north, south, west and east of the aforementioned Bakhtiari Land. Thus a Lor can be a Feili tribe member living in the Pishkuh area of Lorestan province, a Bakhtiari living in Chelgerd or Masjed- Soleiman (the two major cities in their summer and winter quarters, respectively, with above ninety percent Bakhtiari inhabitants) or further south, or a Bavi living in Basht village which is located in Kugilu²⁰! Figures

14. Throughout the present work and especially in this section, the names of the cities and villages and the like, are presented as they are commonly transcribed in the Iranian sources.

15. Available at URL (22-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.bakhtiarifamily.com/photos/_BakhtiariMapNew.pdf.

16. Digard, J. P. 1988. “ Bakhtiari Tribe, Ethnography”, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol.3, pp.553-559.

17. Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=bqi

18. Amirahmadian, B. 1378/2000. *Bakhtari Tribe*. Tehran: Dashtestan/ Abtahi, A. 1384/2006. *Oil and The Bakhtiari*. Tehran: Chap va Nashre Nazar, Organization of Nomads’ Affairs, available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://ashayer.ir/index.aspx?siteid=1&pageid=160.

19. It is also very common to spell this word as Lur/ Luri, but the actual pronunciation of its medial vowel is as in English word **door** (See the description of the vowel /o/ in 2.3.5 below).

20. Here I tend to represent the names of the cities, provinces and the people as pronounced by natives and locals to prevent the hypercorrection practice of official authorities. These hypercorrec-

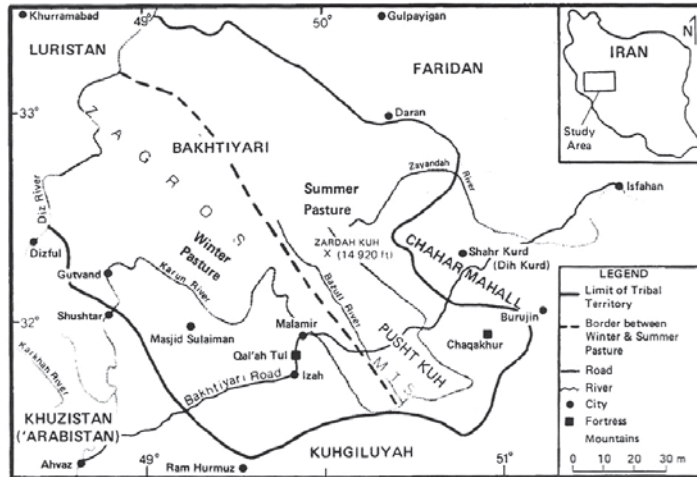


Figure 2: More recent map of the Bakhtiari Land



Figure 3: The main Bakhtiari area in present-day Iran based on the Bakhtiari speaking population

tions, which are usually an attempt to bring the local names, phonetically and semantically, closer to Persian, can at times destroy all clues to a valid etymology of the word. A very disturbing example is the representation of the place name **Shimbār** /*šimbar*/ as **Shirin Bahār** /*širin-bæhar*/, based on a false etymology that attempts to reflect the beautiful green scenery of the **Shimbār** area with the compound **Shirin Bahār** ‘the sweet spring’!

4.a and 4.b below are mainstream maps showing the distribution of Lurs and Lori language in Iran.²¹



Figure 4a: Mainstream maps of Lori language/ people distribution



Figure 4b: Mainstream maps of Lori language/ people distribution

21. Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/%20http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/lori-language

In reality, however, Bakhtiari do not identify themselves as a Lorestani or a Kugilo-Beiramedi Lor, claiming, among others, that those people have a distorted tongue (*zown-e čæp*), and emphasize their own distinction from other Lors, as being first a Bakhtiari. If willing to compromise for a relationship with other Lors, they would say: ‘we are a Lor-e Bakhtiari!’. It is true that linguistically, they share a great deal with Kugilo-Beiramedi Lors and to a lesser degree with Lorestānis, as confirmed by Anonby (2005), but there are enough differences in their lifestyle, language and customs to be able to distinguish separate identities for them.

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BAKHTIARIS

To give a clearer image of the present day distribution of the Bakhtiari, the map below (Figure 5) is drawn based on my own direct observation during field work trips, through consultation with locals and searching the existing websites and information sources on cities and villages in Iran.



Figure 5: Approximate distribution of Bakhtiari

The shaded area shows the region where Bakhtiariis predominantly live, along with other language speakers such as Persian, Arabic or a Lori variety; and where the Bakhtiari language is either spoken by the great majority of the inhabitants, such as in Masjed Soleimān, Chelgerd, Lāli and Izeh, or where there are a large number of Bakhtiari-speaking inhabitants, as in Shahrekord, Ahvāz, Boroujen and Foulādshahr, or where, at least, Bakhtiari is a familiar language for non-Bakhtiari inhabitants of the indicated city, town or village, such as in Esfahān or Gachsārān. It should be noted that these maps are by no means definitive and they will be modified later and through a more detailed investigation on the ground. They are presented here just to show the lack of precision in the existing available maps on the subject.

By comparison with old maps of the Bakhtiari Land (Figures 1 and 2 above), it appears bright and clear that Bakhtiariis no longer live in the exact same area of their ancestors and have changed their habitat through past decades for multiple reasons. Before the discovery of oil in their territory on 26 May 1908, which can be considered as a turning point in their socio-cultural as well as linguistic life, most of the replacement of the Bakhtiari population was due to socio-political reasons in the form of either forced migration or group exile dictated by the central government of the time²². The later moves and replacements, however, have mainly had socio-economic reasons, the most important of which has been the employment in the then so-called Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC), and after 1935, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOP)²³ and the emergence of new company towns in the region and hence the settlement of Bakhtiari employees along with their families in these company-built compounds. This situation holds true to this day. To give an example, since 1990 a large number of Bakhtiari workers have moved to Asaluye²⁴, a formerly small and insignificant city-port by the Persian Gulf, which after the discovery of a major gas resource, actually the largest natural gas field in the world, has developed into an important industrial center and a major recruitment destination in PSEEZ (*Pars Special Energy Economic Zone*) project. It is worthy of note that, out of the population of some 4,000 to 7,000 of this city, according to different sources, only a couple of hundreds (300-500) are Arabic-Persian speaking locals. The other inhabitants are workers from around the country, and Bakhtiariis comprise a major portion of these newcomers²⁵. I did not mark Asaluye in the above map (Figure 4) simply because Bakhtiari workers only commute to Asaluye and they generally do not move there permanently with their families, mainly due to the severe hot and dry climate of the area.

22. Perry (1975) and Sardar Asad (2005) among others.

23. Cronin (2004: 4).

24. Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asaluyeh

25. To my knowledge, no exact statistics are available online. In my future trips to Iran, I will certainly try to contact the PSEEZ administrative offices for exact statistics.

Apart from this more or less consistent area of Bakhtiari inhabitants, there are also some islands of Bakhtiari communities scattered around the country, as far as the north-east close to the border with Turkmenistan (Figure 6). This latter community is said to consist of exiles from the time of Nader Shah (1698-1747; he reigned from 1736 to 1747). To what extent they have preserved their language is a matter of question and needs to be investigated. Many of Bakhtiaris living in the big cities such as Tehran, Esfahan and Karaj have started their move rather recently, first during eight years of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) and then gradually, after the war, due to the subsequent deterioration of the socio-economic condition of the war-stricken cities. In other words, after the war, some Khuzestani families stayed in the cities where they found shelter during the war and many more moved to bigger cities to find better universities or socio-cultural opportunities for their children.



Figure 6: The major and minor Bakhtiari areas

2.2 BAKHTIARI NOMADS

According to the statistics of the Organization of Nomads' Affairs²⁶ based on the nomad census of 2008, Bakhtiari turns out to be the biggest tribal population on the list of Iranian nomads by numbering as many as 187,777 persons; the Qashqai rank second with 112,430 people living in Fars, Bushehr and parts of Esfahān and Char Mahāl-o Bakhtiari provinces. The third place, with a population of less than half of the Qashqai, viz. 47,248, belongs to the Shahsavān (İlsavan) tribes in Eastern Azarbaijān, Ardebil and Gilān provinces.

The above brief socio-historical introduction of Bakhtiari people makes it clear that, due to the numerous shifts in their geography and subsequent adaptations necessary for interacting with their new neighbors, the Bakhtiari speakers have developed several varieties of the language over the past decades. The exact description of these varieties would require a vast sociolinguistic project that can only be a desideratum for the future.

The focus of the present research will only be on the variety spoken by the Hamule nomads of the Haft Lang branch (See 2.2.5 below), who live mainly in *xorbe* and other countrysides of Chelgerd during the months of April to September and in *šelal* and other villages and countryside of Masjed Soleimān from November to March every year.²⁷

I will refer to them as nomads, despite the fact that the majority of them have a house in a village, town or city, simply because acquiring a house is a later adaptation to the necessities of modern life. Their children must be accommodated during the school year while their parents are on campsites with their herds. Having said that, their life style still fits the definition of a nomadic life, based on Potts (2014: 29):

- “1. the paramount economic role of herding;
2. the extensive nature of herd-maintenance strategies and free-range grazing without the use of stables or the accumulation, storage, and transport of fodder;
3. periodic mobility within or between certain pre-determined grazing territories;
4. the participation of the vast majority of the group in seasonal migration;
5. the orientation of most economic effort toward primary subsistence, rather than production for the market.”

Considering the dominant economic activity of the Hamule nomads, i.e. pastoral herd breeding and dry farming of mainly wheat but occasionally barley and clover, they can further be categorized as semi-nomadic pastoralists, as defined by Potts (2014: 30):

26. <http://ashayer.ir/index.aspx?siteid=1&pageid=160> The translation of the name of this organisation is based on Lois Beck (2014).

27. I have tried to explain reasons for this choice in the Preface.

“*semi-nomadic pastoralism*, defined as ‘extensive pastoralism and the periodic changing of pastures during the course of the entire, or the greater part of the year’ but which also involves ‘agriculture in a secondary and supplementary capacity’.”

2.2.1 Tribal hierarchy

In discussing the Bakhtiari tribe’s social structure, the first issue one encounters is the binary division of the whole so-called tribal confederation, or *il*, into two subgroups, namely: Haft Lang and Char²⁸ Lang. The meaning of the first elements seems to be obvious, representing the numbers ‘seven’ and ‘four’ in both Persian and Bakhtiari²⁹, whereas the second part *Lang* remains unresolved. Section 2.2.2 is devoted to a thorough discussion of these crucial terms in Bakhtiari, but before that, a few words about further subgroups of the Bakhtiari are necessary for a better understanding of the dynamics of their nomadic life.

It is a very common practice among scholars and locals that follow and copy the western way of argumentation, to begin the description of the Bakhtiari tribal structure from top to bottom, i.e. from *il* ‘confederation, tribe’, to *mal* ‘a tent and the nuclear family living under it’. These scholars probably had the segmentary lineage system of some other peoples as a model, tribes and peoples such as Semetic or African tribes or some Turkish villages. In anthropological researches this system is explained by ‘... successive branching of large lineage groups into smaller ones (Schwimmer, 2003).’ In the next step, they use or create terms, like *tire* or *bab* (Towfiq, 1987; Digard, 1988; Amirahmadian, 2000), that do not have

28. Short form of *chahār* meaning ‘four’.

29. In the later stages of the research, I have come across the Avestan term *cangraṇhāc* with its Pahlavi translation *cl̥k’ lc’nyk* meaning ‘worthy of pasture’ (Schmidt 1980: 216), the first part of which made me doubt to analyze Char as ‘number four’ simply based on the similarity with the word Chahar in Modern Persian and Char in Bakhtiari. In an attempt to provide an etymology for this term, Schmidt (1980: 216) concludes: “Proto-Iranian *cahra can then originally have been the area of wilderness cut down for cultivation and pasturage”. This interpretation leads us to the question: Can *Charlang* be interpreted as ‘a piece of land made ready as a pasture’? How can we interpret *Haflang*, then? To answer this second question, Johnny Cheung suggested the verbal root *Hap ‘to keep, observe’ as described in Cheung (2007: 129): “*hap ‘to keep, observe’ •AVESTAN: OAv. haf- (hap-) ‘to keep, observe’ Liste: 71 Pres. athem.: IND. 2sg. OAv. hafšī (Y 43.4), 3sg. OAv. haptī (Y 31.22) •SOGDIAN: ? CSogd. pw’d- (m.) ‘monument, altar’ (cf. Schwartz 1967: 137) || (+ *ni-) BSogd. ’nš’yp- (old caus.) ‘to envelop, cover’, CSogd. ’šyp- ‘to bury’ (+ *ni-) Pres.: IND. dur. 2sg. CSogd. ’šypysq, 3sg. BSogd. ’nš’ypt; Impf.: IND. 3pl. CSogd. mšypnt, POT. 3sg. BSogd. ’nš’ypt wn’; partic.: perf. pass. CSogd. ’šyby, CSogd. ’šybyty; Pass.: perf. intr. IND. CSogd. ’šybdy stysq •SANSKRIT: Skt. sap ‘to take care, honour, observe’ (RV) EWAia II: 698 •PIE *sep- ‘to take care of, observe’ LIV: 534 | Pok.: 909 •IE COGNATES: Gr. épw ‘I take care of, commit, do’, Lat. sepelire ‘to bury’ •REFERENCES: Werba 1997: 251 f”. Is it possible that *Haf* in *Haflang* does not indicate a number but an attribute for the word *Lang*? Can *Haflang* have a meaning similar to ‘an elevated piece of land for observation’ as opposed to *Charlang* ‘a piece of wild land cut down for cultivation and pasturage’? These questions require more investigation in future.

an equivalent reality for Bakhtiari themselves and ignore categories like *kor o beu* ‘literally: son and father’³⁰ which is a quintessential term in describing the Bakhtiari kinship relationships. One example of such a tribal chart (Digard, 1988)³¹ is represented below as Figure 7:

Table 15
THE PRINCIPAL SUBDIVISIONS OF THE BAKHTIĀRĪ TRIBE

<i>il</i>	<i>bakš/qesmat</i>	<i>bāb/bolūk</i>	<i>tā'efa</i>	
Bakhtiārī	Haft Lang	Dūrakī	Zarāsvand	1
			Gandalī	2
			Mowrī	3
			Osivand	4
			Bāmadī	5
			Asterekī-Čārbūrī	6
			Sohonī (Hamule)	7
			Bābādī 'Alī-Anvar	8
		Bābādī Bāb	Bābādī 'Akkāša	9
			Rōkī	10
			Molmolī	11
			Šehnī	12
			Madmolīl	13
			Gomar-Naser	14
			Pepdīnī	15
			Galla	16
	Čār Lang	Behdārvand (Monjezī)		17
		Dīnāronī		18
		Jānakī		19
		Mamīvand		20
		Mamsāla		21
		Mogū'ī		22
		Kīānersī		23

Note: The figures in the right-hand column refer to Figure 14; those in *italic* denote wholly sedentarized groups (Digard, 1979, pp. 134-35)

Figure 7: The principal subdivisions of the Bakhtiari tribe according to Digard (1988)

The problem with charts such as the above is the fact that the first three divisions, i.e. *il* ‘confederation’, *bakš/ boluk* ‘section’ and *bāb* ‘division’ do not have an conceptual reality among the Bakhtiaris and they are simply adopted either from other nomadic tribes’ structures, like *boluk* from the Qashqai, or are confused with a socio-political entity. In other words, for instance *il*, in the sense of the ‘confederation of Haflang and Chahar Lang tribes’, was introduced into the Bakhtiari community for the first time just in the nineteenth century, in 1867 to be

30. It is indeed surprising for me that this term has not been mentioned in any of the sources that I have consulted for this research and which have been quoted here.

31. In his recent book, *Une épopée tribale en Iran: Les Bakhtiyāri* (2015: 312), Digard has still kept these three first sections (*il*, *bakš* and *bāb*) but modified the members of the *tā'efa* here and there. For instance, he has added a new member to the Hamule tribe, namely, Toshmal, which he believes was one of the *tā'ef* in the tribe at the beginning of 1970. It is noteworthy that the word Toshmal has two meanings in Bakhtiari: first it is the name of the local musicians and second, as an adjective, it means ‘great’ and for reasons not known to me, was attributed to the Zarasvand tribe. I have heard from old people that in the old times, *ærdešqæriv* people were affiliated with the Zarasvand tribe and they sometimes were addressed or revered as Toshmal. Therefore, to include Toshmal as a fifth party of the Hamule tribe does not seem to be a right choice.

more precise, when Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar³², appointed Hossein Qoli Khan³³ as the *Ilkhani* ‘the chief of the Bakhtiari confederation’. Ironically, Hossein Qoli Khan and his ancestors were not originally Bakhtiari but descendants of a fugitive boy from the Papi tribe of Lorestan³⁴. Before this appointment, *il*³⁵, if used, would have had a meaning similar to an older and more common term *xeil*³⁶ ‘a group of many people’³⁷ as can be depicted in some very old *gageriāve* ‘mourning songs’³⁸. The Qajar dynasty kings had a Turkic-nomadic origin and hence the introduction of many Turkic terms into the political literature of the time; titles and terms such as, *Il-Khan*, *Il-Beig* ‘the deputy head of the confederation’, *Il-či* ‘the king’s messenger’, *tuman* ‘a new currency’, *gošun* ‘army’ and *baš/baši* ‘head, boss’. Some of these terms had already been inherited from Safavid administration which in turn had been adopted from previous Mongol dynasties ruling in Iran from 1219-1507.

A five-level hierarchical structure, however, does exist in Bakhtiari, based on genealogy, in the form of small to large patrilineal or agnatic³⁹ descent groups

32. The King of Persia, 16 July 1831 – 1 May 1896; he reigned from 17 September 1848 to 1 May 1896. Towfiq (1987: 712) mistakenly, relates this appointment as the order of Mohammad Shah Qājār (5 January 1808 – 5 September 1848) who was king of Persia from the Qajar dynasty (23 October 1834 – 5 September 1848 (Available at URL (17-10-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mohammad-shah).

33. 1820-1882.

34. “Though thus figuring as Haft Lang, this family is said to have originated from a boy of the Pāpī tribe of Lurs, who was ejected by his fellow tribesmen and recalcitrant subjects, and stayed into the Bakhtiārī country from the west of Luristān.” (Lorimer, 1922: 2).

35. The researches of W. Irons show that among the present Turkmen of Iran the word *il* is applied primarily to a group of tents (*ūba*) whose occupants keep together and live in peace and amity; these groups then form wider confederacies which locally are also named *il* (corresponding to the *walā* of Ebn Kaldūn). At the same time *ili* is used as an adjective to describe relations between tribes, meaning “at peace with” as against *yāgī* (at war with). Membership of an *ūba* and an *il* generally depends on genealogy. The members of an *il* perceive their community as made up of small and large patrilineal descent groups, the smallest consisting of brothers, i.e., sons of the same father, the next of brothers and nephews, i.e., descendants of the same paternal grandfather, the third of descendants of the same great-grandfather in the male line, and so on back to the common ancestor of the whole *il*. (Irons, 1974: 640-42 quoted from Towfiq, 1987: 707).

36. From the same word, the intensifier *xeili* in Persian and *xeile* in Bakhtiari are derived.

37. Another word for tribe, found in old geographical works mainly with reference to the so-called Kurds of Fārs, is *romūm*, the plural of *ramm* (cf. *rama* “herd, team”), or in some texts *zomūm*, from *zamm*. M. Qazvīnī (V, p. 53) considered *zomūm al-akrād* to be a manuscript error for *romūm*, while De Goeje (BGA VI, p. 250; Ebn Kordāḡbeh, Fr. tr., BGA VI, p. 33 n. 2) preferred the reading *zomm* on the basis of the Kurdish word *zūma* (tribe), a suggestion followed by Le Strange (*Lands*, p. 266) but questioned by Minorsky (*El* I Ib, p. 1135; see also Markwart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 27; Schwarz, *Iran* I, pp. 135ff.; Spuler, *Iran*, p. 241 n. 16). Yāqūt (II, p. 821) defines *romūm* as camp sites of and districts inhabited by Kurds (*maḥāll al-akrād wa manāzelohom*). Anyway, in the usage of the present tribes of Iran, *ramm* and *zomm* are seldom, if ever, employed (though *rama* remains current); *ūymāq* and *ūlūs* are also obsolete. As will be seen, a large section of a tribe is now usually termed *tāyefā* or *tīra* (Towfiq, 1987: 707). In Bakhtiari the closest term to the concept of a nomad is *mal-i* ‘belonging to a mal’.

38. For a brief discussion of the structure and the etymology of this word see footnote 125 below, under the Body parts section (3.1.2).

39. Patrilineal or agnatic descent is established by tracing descent exclusively through males from a

which only make sense from the bottom up. These levels are: *mal* ‘a nuclear family’, *kor o beu*⁴⁰ ‘brothers of the same father’, *æwlað* ‘grandchildren of a shared ancestor’, *tæš* ‘clans⁴¹ of the tribe’ and *tafe* ‘the tribe’. Figure 8 attempts to illustrate this hierarchy:

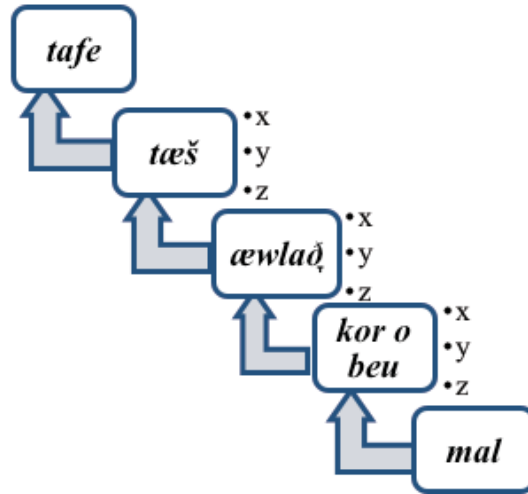


Figure 8: The patrilineal hierarchy of a Bakhtiari tribesman

The relationship between different *tæš* of a *tafe* can be either patrilineal and matrilineal or affinal. Any other grouping above the level of *tafe*⁴² is a social decision, based on the needs and necessities of the nomadic life of a tribe at the times of seasonal migration, weddings and funerals, harvest gathering, famine or a natural disaster, local or national conflicts or any other sort of turbulence⁴³. In anthropolo-

founding male ancestor (Schwimmer, 2003: 10)

40. Literally ‘son and father’.

41. I used ‘clan’ here in its anthropological narrow definition as stated by Schwimmer (2003: 22): ‘a **unilineal descent group whose members do not trace genealogical links to a supposedly historical founding ancestor**. Rights in the group are simple derived from a father or mother. Clans are usually large groups that are associated with mythical ancestors, who are very often identified as animal species that are considered sacred to the group. They may occur within a complex structure in which they are either nested into larger groups or subdivided into smaller ones in the same fashion as segmentary lineages. Where they are subdivided, the component units are often formal lineages, as in the case of the Akan ...’

42. The Bakhtiari pronunciation of the Arabic loan word *ta’efæ*. According to Vahman and Asatrian ‘The presence of a considerable number of Arabic word-forms in the dialect of the Baxtiārīs, unusual for vernacular Persian and even for Classic language might be explained by the Baxtiārī-Arab interrelations and by the fact of the assimilation of certain ethnic groups for arabic origin among them. (Vahman & Asatrian, 1995:10)’

43. The same formula seems to work in other tribes, as well, such as in Baluchi tribes in the Sarḥadd district (south and southeast of Zāhedān), as Towfiq (1987) has quoted from Salzman: ‘... the Yār Aḥmadzēhī and the Gamšādzhēhī, confirm the importance of descent-based organization. Apart from

gical studies a functional analysis is used to explain the reasons behind the emergence and the development of social organizations. Two theories are mentioned in this regard, one economic and one political, which here can be used as probable reasons behind Bakhtiari social structure. According to Schwimmer (2003: 26):

The economic theory focuses on corporate land owning patterns. It maintains that individual tenure systems cannot allocate farmland in cultivation regimes that depend upon long fallow periods and extensive land reserves. (This subsistence pattern is labeled **horticultural**.) Since farmers are constantly taking plots out of production and seeking fresh land for new fields, private ownership is not practical. Their long term resource needs are best met by relying on a communal unit to hold land in reserve for the group as a whole. Lineages provide just the right scale and continuity to coordinate these allocations at optimal efficiency. This argument is consistent with the analytical principles of cultural ecology.

As for the remaining categories such as *tafe*, Haft and Char Lang or even once existing Bakhtiari confederation, the political analysis seems applicable:

The political explanation focuses on the need for social order in stateless societies that lack centralized political systems with formal institutions of law enforcement. Under these conditions, strong and permanent alliances within and between large family based organizations are necessary to establish the sanctions needed to control disruptive behaviour among their members and to assist them when violence does occur. This approach is associated with the structural-functionalist school. (Schwimmer, 2003: 26).

It should be noted that the above mentioned arrangements only held true until the time when there still was an *ilkhan* (1936) or at most until the first decade of the twentieth century and the discovery of oil in their region, when some traces of authority among the *kælantars* 'head of a *tafe*' or *riš-sæfids* 'head of a *tæš*' could still function, to some extent, to regulate tribal affairs. After the new wave of employment in the oil company, finding a noble source of income and independence from local authorities led to the emergence of new kinds of social life. Especially after the weakening of the remaining Khans' authorities by British financial tactics (Cro-

halts, these tribes are constantly on the move, either to gather dates from palm groves in the Māškel lowland or to find pasturage for their sheep in the Sarḥadd highland. Consequently neither territorial groups such as the *bonend*, a collection of mud or mud-brick houses and palm-frond huts occupied during the date harvest, in the Māškel nor herding groups such as the *halk*, a number of families who own a flock and camp together, could become the basis of stable social organization in this district. The reverse is the case because the spatial distribution of the *bonends* and *halks* depends on family relationships. In matters such as marriage, prayer, house building, seasonal migration, disputes, etc., lineage is thus the main consideration, not "vicinage." The territorial groups are themselves formed from descent groups, and their bonds of common descent are reinforced by matrilineal and affinal ties (Salzman, 1972: 63).'

nin 2004) which led to their total destruction and loss of power, the need to be attached to a local authority or source of power for protection and survival faded away. Today the word *il* is still in use, habitually, to refer to the combination of the Chahar Lang and Haft Lang as opposed to other ethnic groups like Lorestani Lors or Arabs; but more frequently it is used instead of *tafe*, such as *il-e hæmule* or *il-e bavadi*.

The false assumption of top to bottom hierarchical organization of the Bakhtiari can also explain why not even two of the attempted charts of the Bakhtiari confederation have the same content and the same order of tribes. For instance, in Digar's chart (Figure 7), the Hamule tribe is grouped as Sohoni which itself is part of the so-called Duraki-bab of Haft Lang division. In Amirahmadi, however, Hamule is part of the Bavadi of Haft Lang (Amirahmadian, 2000:47), while in History of Bakhtiari written by one of the most important and learned chiefs, Sardar Asad the second, Hamule is part of Sohoni but is located among Chahar Lang tribes (Sardar Asad, 1383:619). The reason behind these discrepancies is that only the kin lineage of the tribe i.e. from *mal* to *tafe*, is fixed and cannot be changed under any circumstances. Nobody can change his *tafe*, unless he agrees to be deprived of all his rights on the shared pastures and lands. Even after his death, his widow, if she wants to keep her children, cannot marry into another *tafe*, and if she does, then the children should stay in their father's family custody to be able to inherit their father's share of tribal properties. On the other hand, a whole *tafe* can decide to cut its relation with the neighboring tribes and move or migrate to live in the vicinity of other tribes as was the case with the Hamule tribe (See 2.2.3 below).

The other entity that seems to have been fixed through time is the territories of the Haft Lang and the Chahar Lang. In other words, based on historical accounts of the Bakhtiari, their old songs and tales and old geographical records, what can be conjectured is that this binary division is very old and their territorial regions have also been more or less fixed for many generations, but the tribal groups living in these territories did not always remain the same. Otherwise stated, tribes could change their affinities to the Haft or the Char, in order to receive more support according to shared interests and territorial bonds. In section 2.2.3, on the account of the Hamule tribe's background, an example of this kind of territorial shift is mentioned.

In actual daily life situations, however, if you ask a Bakhtiari, *če kæs-i?*⁴⁴ 'Which tribe do you belong to?', he will start directly from a tribe's name such as Babadi, Kianersi, Hamule or Galla, i.e. the two levels of *bæχš* and *taefe* in the above or mainstream charts will be considered as the same level. For more clarification, the dialogue may continue somehow as follows:

Q: ze ko Hamul-i-yæl? 'From which Hamule subgroup?'

A: ze ærdešgærivōw 'from Ardesqariv clan (*tæš*)'

44. This is a very common and typically Bakhtiari small talk initiation question and ice-breaker which also plays an important sociolinguistic role, i.e. to fulfil the urge of a Bakhtiari to *pey ræson-den* 'to trace the tribal or kin relations' in order to make ties with a seemingly stranger and to make sure that they are eventually related somehow.

Q: *ko æwlað?* ‘whose descendant?’

A: *ze æwlað-e Niaz, kor-e šænbed-om* ‘from the descendants of Niaz,
I am Shanbe’s son.’

2.2.2 Haft Lang and Chahar Lang: *læng* is not *leng* ‘leg’

As mentioned above, Bakhtiari tribes are divided in two general categories: the Haft Lang tribes and the Char Lang tribes. They do not necessarily belong to a shared ancestor, as explained above, and this grouping rather has a socio- historical background. Linguistically, however, Haft Lang and Char Lang constitute the two major dialects of the Bakhtiari language. The question remains: What does the element *Lang* mean?

In the literature on the Bakhtiari over the past two centuries (starting with Layard, 1846), two main explanations of the meaning of *Lang* have always been repeated. These folk etymologies have never satisfied me as valid and correct interpretations of this very important and genuine term in Bakhtiari social history and everyday life. In the following paragraphs I will first cite the existing explanations, then bring forth my reasons for not accepting them, before suggesting a new way of looking at and interpreting this term.

To begin with, I should mention that the existing etymologies embody the notion of *Lang* as a variant of “leng” meaning ‘leg’ both in Bakhtiari and Modern Persian. But how to explain this phonological change from /æ/ to /e/? I will return to this issue, after bringing up all the justification stories for *Lang*.

For the sake of argument, I will begin by accepting that *Lang* means *leng* ‘leg’. Since the same explanation has been repeated in different sources, I prefer to sum them up in separate paragraphs and then mention the sources of the citations.

2.2.2.1 The two brothers story

Once there was a man called Badr who was the ruler of the Bakhtiari or the Big Lor tribes. He had two wives. One of them gave birth to seven sons and the other to four. After Badr’s death the Bakhtiari territory was divided between the two wives’ children. To distinguish them from each other they got the names of Haft Lang and Chahar Lang, indicating the number of sons in each party. (Mentioned first in Mostowfi’s *Tarikh-e Gozide* [Selected History] in 750 H.Q, 1364 below, and then repeated in Layard, 1846; Lorimer, 1922 and Windfuhr, 1988 to name just a few.)

Evaluation:

My reason for not accepting this explanation that *Lang* means “leng” is a very simple mathematical fact! If *leng* ‘leg’ is going to represent the number of sons in each party, then they should have been called Chahardah [14] Lang and Hasht [8] Lang! Unless all the poor sons had only one *leng* ‘leg’! Garnik Asatrian⁴⁵ has

45. Personal communication.

confirmed that counting the legs used to be a common practice for this kind of kin divisions, but he didn't have any answer for why the numbers in this case do not match. It may be argued that *leng* could also be used for 'one pair of legs' then it can be considered as a natural pair. Therefore, "one leg" actually meant 'one (man with) legs'. There is, however, a semantic obstacle facing this argument; i.e. the other meaning of *leng* as 'one half of a pair' as in a phrase like: *yæ leng-e kæwš* 'one half of a pair of shoes'.

2.2.2.2 The tax system explanation

The second very popular explanation is a later but more accepted notion and it seems more probable or at least more logical. It states that since the Safavid era (1501-1736), there has been a tax paying system established according to which the nomads, who were the majority of the Iranian population of the time should pay their share according to the number of their cattle or herds. The tax for the Qashqai tribe, for example, was based on the number of their sheep, whereas the Shahsavan paid on the basis of their camels. For the Bakhtiari, the mare was the basis for counting, in the sense that twenty sheep had the value of one mare. The details of this system are not of concern here⁴⁶, but for our discussion, the important point is that Bakhtiari had to pay a tax equal to the price of three mares. The Haft Lang, who were relatively richer, accepted to pay a share of 7/12 of the legs, and the less privileged Chahar Langs a share of 4 /12 and the remaining 1/12 was to be paid by the non-Bakhtiari tribes who came to their territory to live under their support (in Sardar Asad, 1383; Layard, 1846; Safinezhad, 1368 and 1381; Amirahmadian, 1378 and Garthwaite, 1970).

Evaluation:

Accepting the above explanation requires us to accept that this social system basically exists because the central government wanted the Bakhtiari to be divided in this way; whereas this tribal social structure is very integrated into and has a huge impact on the Bakhtiari cultural, social, linguistic and historical life. Therefore, believing that it is an imported or imposed structure leaps out as utterly unrealistic.

Besides, if it is true, then several questions need to be answered, such as: why should just the Bakhtiari be divided or be named after their tax duties and not for example the Qashqai or the Shahsavan tribes? Why is there no such term as Yek Lang 'One Leg' to name the third party who came to live under the shelter of Bakhtiari community?

Moreover, the concept of Haft Lang being richer is not valid because the prosperity of each party has always been tightly related to some temporal factors such as their terms with the central government or the situation of trade in their respective territories and the like. To put it differently, their financial and social status was always changing.

46. The interested reader can consult Karimi (1973: 46)

The most important fact here is the existence of this division even before the establishment of the aforementioned tax system. In other words, as the story goes, there were already two groups of Bakhtiari, one richer than the other, and then, the tax duties were assigned according to their respective wealth. This is a very clear indication that this binary division should have been older than the Safavid era if the story were right.

2.2.3 Linguistic Analysis

The important point to mention here is the fact that /*læng*/ and /*leng*/ are minimal pairs both in Bakhtiari and in Modern Persian. /*læng*/ means ‘to lag/ fall behind’ in the compound verb /*læng kerdən*/ or as an adjective it means ‘lame’, while as mentioned earlier, /*leng*/ means ‘leg’ and also ‘one part of a pair’. The proponents of the *Lang* = *leng* notion argue that the ancestors of the Bakhtiari changed the pronunciation of /*leng*/ to /*læng*/ for euphemistic reasons, to make it sound more pleasing and not to convey the meaning of /*leng*/ or /*leg*/ which is somehow pejorative (Asad, 1383:154-155).

This method of argumentation, I believe, is an urban and modern way of looking at Bakhtiari culture and has nothing to do with the nature of a nomadic culture which is tightly geared to nature and its basic elements. In other words, there is no such euphemistic tendency among the Bakhtiari nomads who are the present-day representatives of their ancestors. Living in a mostly untamed environment they have to be very quick, straightforward in conveying what they mean; otherwise they will lose the simple but practical way of communicating with each other which is so critical for their harsh life style. As a vivid example, they use some words that are considered as taboo for an Iranian urban mind-set, to name different herbs or plants simply because of the obvious resemblance of, for instance, a flower to an animal genitals. They call it without feeling shy or embarrassed, unlike what the urban and more educated members of the tribe would feel. Therefore, the thought of the Bakhtiari feeling shy to use a word which means ‘leg’ is very romantic and this rationalization is imposed by later, more intellectual members of the society with no basis in their popular culture.

The other important point is that by living and working closely with Bakhtiari nomads, one will never hear someone saying *læng* instead of *leng*, even casually, simply because it will sound absolutely wrong. *leng*, obviously, is used every day in a variety of situations and in different combinations such as:

jegele leng deraz ‘the long-legged lad’; in addressing a tall young boy in a not very friendly way. *leng-a=s=e soft beger!* ‘Grab its legs tightly!’; in a goat-milking session, for instance.

leng-a=t=e bešown! ‘Move your legs (up and down)’; giving instruction to someone who is trying to cross the river by swimming.

To conclude this section, I would like to add that although the phonological shift from /æ/ to /e/ is probable in the Bakhtiari language, as in Modern Persian, especially in word-final position/syllable (See 2.3 below), like *χændæ* > *χænde* ‘smile/laugh’, still, in my opinion, the word *Lang* can by no means be a simple phonological variant of “leng”.

2.2.4 A proposed new etymology for Lang

In the search for a meaningful interpretation of *Lang*, my attention was drawn to some Iranian toponyms such as: **Lang-rud**, a city by Caspian sea; **Lang āb**, a village near Bojnurd in the east; **Lang ābād**, a village near Shurāb in the vicinity of Qom in the central part of Iran; **Bandar-e Lenge**, by the Persian Gulf in the south; **Lenjān**, Arabic pronunciation of Lang-ān, near Esfahān and close to the Bakhtiari territory, **Cheshme Langān**⁴⁷ in the Central District of Fereydunshahr County, Esfahān Province; and probably **Lankarān**, in today’s Azarbaijān and **Pālangān**, in Kordestān province. In the neighboring border areas, **Sālang**, a northern mountain and **Yakāvlang**, a city, in Afghanistan can also be mentioned. This list can probably be extended more but the point here is that the existence of this recurrent term cannot be accidental. Actually it is quite common to see the repetition of a certain word or morpheme in toponyms and in some other words which one can trace in different Iranian city names, such as the ones listed below:

- *gerd/jerd*, ‘city’ as in: Susan-gerd, Chel-gerd, Dast-j/gerd, Boru-jerd, Farhād-gerd
- *kæng*, ‘fortress’, as in: Kang-ān, Kang-dezh, Kang-āvar
- *deh*, ‘village’, as in: Deh-dez, Deh-lorān, Deh-dasht
- *dæšt*, ‘field’, as in: Marv-dasht, Kuh-dasht, Kelār-dasht, Deh-dasht
- *rud*, ‘river’, as in: Lang-rud, Hasht-rud, Rud-sar
- *sær*, ‘head/ end’, as in: Rām-sar, Bābol-sar
- *šæhr*, ‘city’, as in: Pirān-shar, Khoram-shahr
- *šah*, ‘king’, as in: Shah-savar, Shāh-rud
- *abad*, ‘prosperous’, as in : Ābād-ān, Khoram-ābād, Ābād-e
- *ærdæ/e*, ‘righteous’, as in: Arda-bil, Arde-stān, Arda-kān
- *χor/χur*, ‘sun’, as in: Khur, Khur-āsgān, Khur-zoq, Khur-moj, Ākhore, Khor-be
- *čoga*, ‘mound, hill’ as in: Choqā-zanbil, Choqā-khor, Choqā-sorkhe, Choqā-bal, Sar-Choqā

Therefore, one can conclude that, similarly, there has to be an exact definition for the repetitive morpheme *Lang* in the above mentioned toponyms.

In the next step a search began for existing meanings of this morpheme in Bakhtiari or other Iranian languages. In a survey of Bakhtiari words, I came across the word *æw-læng* meaning ‘pasture’ (Maddadi, 1996:29).

47. Available at URL (14-06-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheshmeh_Langan_Rural_District

I have been informed that in Mashhad, a city in northeastern Iran, the same meaning is expressed by the word *ow-læng*. In these two words the first part means ‘water’ but to get to the meaning of ‘pasture’, what can the *Lang* part mean: ‘land’, ‘field’ or ‘grass’?

Later I found out that in the Chahar Lang dialect of Bakhtiari, there is the word *lengi*, which means ‘half of the land which a pair of ox can plough’ (Sarлак, 1386:243).

In the preface of a book on the Bakhtiari (Amiri, 1385) it is mentioned that there was a word in pre-Islamic Bakhtiari, pronounced as *lænk* which meant ‘river’ and the author concludes that *Lang* is the same word with a voicing change in the final consonant.

On the whole, *Lang*, whether meaning ‘river’ or ‘a piece of land’ is compatible with the geographic distribution of the Haft and Chahar Lang tribes. Their territories can be assumed as having seven pastures or pieces of land for the Haft Lang and four for the Chahar Lang. There are several rivers in the region and considering the passage of time which certainly has changed the course and volume of the existing rivers and streams, still we can name seven rivers/streams in the Haft Lang area and four in the Chahar Lang.

In my quest to find a reasonable etymology for *Lang*, I presented and discussed my data and hypotheses with Prof. A. Lubotsky, all of which reminded him of a word in Sanskrit which means ‘plough’, although with an unknown origin. Mayrhofer (1994:477) writes about it:

“*lāṅgala-* n. Pflug (RV+) ... – Mi., ni., *pā. naṅgala*, pkt. *laṅgala-*, *ṇaṅgala-*, *ṇaṅgara-* n., hi. *nāṅgal* m. (u.a.) Pflug (Tu [Add] 11006, Tu 11008). Unklar; Fremdwort?”.

It seems attractive to assume that Vedic Sanskrit *lāṅgala-* ‘plough’ is related to *læng*, in spite of the fact that its origin is unknown. Both can be due to borrowing from another unknown language.

A tradition in Bakhtiari culture can be used in support of this hypothesis, and that is the use of *hiḍš* ‘plough’ and other agricultural terms for divisions of land. Some of these terms that are taken from Maddadi (1996) are worthy of notice here:

pa ‘the bottom of everything’; a measuring unit equal to 12/5 *mæn* ‘seven kilograms’. The Bakhtiari measure a piece of land based on the amount of wheat or barley that they can sow in it. One *mæn* means a piece of land that has the capacity to grow seven kilos. Each 12/5 *mæn* equals one *pa*, every four *pa* equals one *ga* ‘cow’ and every two *ga* equals one *hiḍš*. Therefore, one plough/ *hiḍš* of land means a piece of land that has the capacity to grow a hundred *mæn* or seven hundred kilograms of crop.

Prof. Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst also generously shared his thoughts on the subject as follows:

The Bactrian term βαγολαγγο /βaγlāng/ has been derived by N. Sims-Williams from *baga-dēna-ka meaning ‘container of the gods’ and therefore ‘sanctuary’, a place where the gods stay or where their images or statues or insignia are stored. If Yakub Lang is formed in the same way that would suggest that Lāng alone has the meaning ‘sanctuary’ and that the first part of the compound a reference to whose sanctuary it is, the gods’ or Yakub’s, etc. Land belonging to the sanctuary or dedicated to a god might use the term Lāng. The word has a specific Bactrian sound change from *d > *δ > l. βaγlāng is attested for example in the Bactrian inscription at Surkh Kotal and in line 1 there.

The other interesting word is οαβολανζο /wēšlanz/ or /wēšlanj/ in document 66 or **ci** in Sims-Williams’ Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan II, 2007. There in line 6 it refers to a ‘hay field’, wēš ‘hay’ and lanz/j ‘field’ which in the second part might supply a term related to lāng ‘container’ here referring to ‘field’. (Personal communication, July 2015)

To conclude, we can assume that the word *læng* was used from the beginning to divide, distribute or administer fields or pastures, in the case of the Bakhtiari with a long history of pastoral life. To this day, the distribution of pastures in both divisions of the tribe corresponds to seven and four proportions.

There is no need to say that this is an open question and requires more investigation and begs new thoughts and ideas from others interested in the subject. My aim here is to encourage a new way of doing research in the field of Bakhtiari, avoiding the repetition of previous scholars and questioning the notions which for decades were taken as granted.

2.2.5 Hamule tribe: Chahar Lang or Haft Lang?

As mentioned above (2.2.1), some sources classify the Hamule tribe under the Haft Lang tribes and some under the Char Langs. The Hamule people themselves also think that initially they belonged to Char Lang parties and then moved to Haft Lang. That intrigued me to take on a reading odyssey in search of a historical evidence for this relocation, which finally got me to the passage below from Layard’s memoirs:

The Suhuni⁴⁸ is a large tribe of I’liyat⁴⁹; the chief, Shefi’ Khan, is a liberal and able man, and was the wezir of Mohammed Taki⁵⁰. Having been long accustomed

48. Suhuni is interpreted by locals as *se huni* ‘the three households’, because it is a cover term which refers to the combination of three tribes: Hamule, Baversad and Kahyash.

49. Referring to nomads in older literature which is constructed by adding an Arabic plural suffix *-at* and the Iranian attributive suffix *-i* to *il*, with the epenthesis of *-y-* in the middle. The remnants of this bizarre or mixed-method plural formations still exists in Persian words such as *sæbzijāt* ‘vegetables’ or *karḫane jāt* ‘factories’, but the grammatical tradition is obsolete now.

50. */mohæmmæd tægil/* was the paramount Khan of the Chahar Lang which was Layard’s host and

to collect the annual tribute of the tribes, and to devote his attention to their internal polity, he was better acquainted with the state and history of the Bakhtiaris than any other man I met within the country. Although the Chief of the tribe, he is not a member of it, but of an Afshar family long settled in the mountains. He was for some years in Teheran and served as major in Bakhtiari regiment disciplined by Major Hart. The Garmesirs of the Suhuni were originally in Andakau⁵¹ and Shimbār to the north of the Karun, but being strongly attached to Mohammed Taki, they crossed the river and settled in Gulgir and Asemari. This tribe has both good horse and matchlock men. They cultivate corn and barley, to the growth of which the land they occupy is particularly favorable. Since the fall of Mohammed Taki, the Suhuni have recrossed the Karun, and placed themselves under Mohammed Meti and Jafer Kuli⁵². Shefi', their chief, is now a fugitive in the mountains. (Layard, 1846: 12).

Hamule has four *tæš*, namely *tiæzgærð*, *ærdešqeriv*, *šeiχ* and *dæwmæmeð*. It is very customary in Bakhtiari to attribute some character or even totem-like tags (Elima, 1995: 21-25) to one and every tribe or *tæš*, sometimes in a pejorative way. For example they call the people of the Bamedî tribe as *bameð* *χers*⁵³, and the Monjezi people are known as *monjezi goraz*⁵⁴. The Hamule are called *musir-čîn* 'shallot-pickers', apparently because in their summer quarters, the land is rich in wild growing shallots, and this is one of the main activities and sources of income for the women of the tribe, which sometimes provokes some jealousy in the neighboring tribes who do not possess as rich or fertile land.

From the four *tæš* of the tribe, *tiæzgærdun* 'the members of Tizgard clan' are known as *feng* 'seditive', starting many unwanted disputes and fights between the other members of the tribe, especially in the older times when the *kælantær* (See 2.2.1 above) of the tribe was chosen from their *tæš*. Some of these *kælantærs*, who were supposed to supervise the affairs of the tribe and act as a link between the Hamule and the Ilkhan, and eventually, the government, would act not quite based on honesty. For instance, in matters concerning the purchase or distribution of the allocated lands and pastures to their own subjects, there were times that they did some mischief such as selling a certain piece of land to several families, the dispute over which continues to this day, even years after they have all passed away.

ærdešqerivun, to which my *æwlad* belong, are called *æχe espiæð* 'white-colored', apparently because the speakers or representatives of the tribe were chosen from them, believing that they are *meilesi* 'sociable or conciliar'. Interestingly, they are also known as *seng-seng-kon* 'one who takes his time to do a job, sometimes in an excessive way'! After 1925, when Reza Shah Pahlavi ordered the issuing of Identity Cards for all the population, many people belonging to this *tæš* chose Ardeshiri as their family name.

they developed a very close friendship. He passed away in 1851 in Nasser uldin Shah-e Qajar's prison.

51. Andeka /ændeka/ and Shimbār are still the winter quarters of Hamule tribes.

52. /*Mæmæd meiti*/ and /*ǰæfær goli*/ were Haft Lang chiefs of the time.

53. bear-like.

54. boar-like.

The *šeixun* are known being stubborn and quarrelsome. Sometimes also called *šeix-e goraz*, pejoratively, apparently for the same qualities, they were known as the best gunmen of the *Khāns*. My paternal grandmother, Shirin, belonged to this *tæš*, and had to marry my grandfather as part of a *hin-bæs* ‘stop bloodshed’ tradition, to put an end to a severe conflict and bloodshed aroused by the incident of the death of my grandfather’s brother, allegedly being shot by Shirin’s father.

The *dæwmæmidun* were notorious for being not very tidy and there are even some sayings in the tribe referring to the reluctance of other tribes to reside even temporarily on their encampment grounds. Ironically, this *tæš* are now known to have the most highly educated population of the Hamule, one of them has even become a member of the parliament for some years and now because of the higher social status, the *šora* ‘the council of the community under the Islamic administration’ is located in their village of Dime and one of them acts as the head of this council.

It should be noted that these are the attributes that the four *tæš* of Hamule give to each other, while other tribes may give them different names, based on their shared past experiences and also according to their hostile or amicable relationship.

The summer pastures and territory of the Hamule are located in Chahar Mahal-o Bakhtiari province, starting from the vicinity of La Hoshk and Dime, a village locating in the rural district of Shurab of the central division (*bæχš*) of Kuhrang county (Coordinates: 32°30’32”N50°13’10”E⁵⁵); spreading northward, on two sides of the road at the skirt of mounts locally called *kolong-e hæ-r-e næ-r*, *keft-e gorgōæk*, *mol-e zærð* and *sælæ tor* towards *χorbe* and *dæšt-e lale*⁵⁶ fields, *bænæw-esteki* and *tuf-espiðð* villages. Their tents are also scattered according to *tæš* and *æwlad* divisions all around this area and also on the both banks of the river called *æw-e χorbe*. Their winter quarters are more dispersed, but are all located in the Khuzestān province, mainly in and around the cities of Masjed soleimān, Lāli, Andekā and their surrounding fields, mountains and areas such as *asemari*, *bætevaen*, *šelal* and *sær gæč-e gændom-kal*

55. Available at URL (17-09-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deymeh,_Chaharmahal_and_Bakhtiari.

56. The field of Crown imperial or Kaiser’s Crown in *χorbe* is one of the major touristic attractions of Iran. The major part of this field by inheritance belongs to the Hamule tribe but is now claimed as a national resource.

2.3 THE BAKHTIARI LANGUAGE

Bakhtiari is classified as a southwestern Iranian language. Historically, it is geographically adjacent to New Persian, which explains much about the linguistic similarities of the two languages from both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. There are, however, some elements in Bakhtiari that single it out from the other southwestern Iranian languages.

In phonology, for example, some of the changes from the Middle Persian to New Persian seem to take a different path in Bakhtiari. An example is the change of intervocalic **m* to *w* as in *āmad* > *oweid* ‘came’. On the other hand, there are also changes within New Persian that did not happen in Bakhtiari, such as the metathesis of *-hl* > *-lχ*: Bakhtiari and Middle Persian *tahl* versus New Persian *talχ* ‘bitter’ (Windfuhr 1988: 560).

In addition, Bakhtiari kinship terminology contains some words that are different from all the other Iranian languages; examples include *kiči*, ‘father’s sister’ and *geu*, ‘brother’ (See section 3.1.1 below).

There are some words that seem to have not gone through almost no changes from Middle Persian and are inherited by Bakhtiari, such as MP *bāhi* > Bakh. *bāhi* ‘arm’ or MP=Bakh *angust* ‘finger’ (See section 3.1.1 below).

As for grammar, the passive suffix *-ih* of Middle Persian did not survive in New Persian, but left its trace in some Bakhtiari verbs, such as *χærđæn* ‘to eat’, *χæhrestæn* ‘to be eaten’; or *e-der-i-s*, ‘you’ll tear it’ and the passive form *e-der-eh-e*, ‘it will be torn’ (See section 6.9 below).

Moreover, there are some structures, not productive but frequently used, that represent a more complex syntactic treatment in the language: *næ-god-om-et-es?* (NEG-SAY.PST-1SG-BP.2SG-BP.3SG) ‘Didn’t I tell you that?’. This involves a sequence of three arguments which is not possible in Persian, i.e.: *-om=et=es*, that is, a suffix and two enclitics (See examples 97 and 98 in the section 5.6.1.2).

In the main Bakhtiari speaking regions, some other Iranian and non-Iranian languages are also frequently in use by non-Bakhtiari ethnic groups of the area. In Ahvāz, for example, the central city of Khuzestān province⁵⁷ with a population of over one million, and as is expected, a multi-ethnic city, approximately 36% of the inhabitants are Arabic speakers. Khuzestāni Arabic, as MacKinnon (2014) points out, is ‘of the Persian Gulf type, not fundamentally different from Kuwaiti Arabic’. The Bāzār, one of the major business sections of this very old, historic and now major industrial city, has always been run in the main by the Shushtari, the Beh-

57. Before the large-scale immigration that took place during the 20th century and afterwards, the population of Khuzestan consisted for the most part of two linguistic groups: speakers of Arabic, who lived in the area stretching from the Persian Gulf and the Shatt al-Arab (Šatt al-‘Arab) river inland to the city of Ahvāz, and speakers of Iranian dialects, who inhabited the area to the northwest and the foothills and mountains of the Zagros range (Mac Kinnon 2014).

bahāni and the Dezfuli merchants and salespersons. While these groups migrated from their respective towns to Ahvāz centuries ago, many of them have kept their dialects, apparently for sociolinguistic reasons.

These three ethnic groups are known by the Bakhtiari, firstly, for their *zown-e čæp* ‘distorted language’⁵⁸ and, secondly, for being very cunning and artful traders which in the eyes of a Bakhtiari nomad is not a virtue. To be so concerned about money or materialistic values at the expense of being kind or truthful to people, is not considered to be moral and the Bakhtiari culture detests it.

Some Turkic nomads also live among the Bakhtiari, some in villages like Khuygān-e Olyā⁵⁹ and some in semi-pastoral families which are scattered among the nomadic areas. One family of them, whom I met and spoke to in one of my visits to Mahnesa’s mal (see below 2.5.1), erects their tent every year in *tištærdun*, near the Hamule families. There are also some villages in the Fereydan⁶⁰ region of the Esfahān province that even have Armenian and Georgian speakers. The Georgian or Gorji people, as Iranians call them, live in several villages of Fereydan or Fereyduṣṣhar County, but they only have Lori/ Bakhtiari⁶¹ neighbors mainly in the two villages of Choqyort⁶² and Nehzatābād⁶³ in Cheshmeh Langān Rural District, in the Central District of Fereyduṣṣhahr County, Esfahān Province. Armenians live mainly in the village of Zarne⁶⁴, in the Yeylaq Rural District, in the Central District of Buin va Miāndasht County, Esfahān Province and also in Khuygān-e Olyā.

The socio-linguistic situation of these mixed villages seems to be a perfect subject for contact linguists, since, to my knowledge, no source is available about the effects of these languages on each other over the centuries of contact. The same is true of the Arabic dialects of Khuzestān and their probable borrowings from the Iranian languages of the area and vice versa. I am particularly curious about the language of a Bakhtiari tribe that, supposedly because of decades of living in Arabic-speaking regions, are called Arab Kamari. The attire of this tribe’s women still has some Bakhtiari touches but mostly resembles the Arabic attire. Working on each one of these languages in relation to Bakhtiari is also a desideratum to be fulfilled in the future.

58. This is how Bakhtiaris usually express their impression vis-à-vis languages that are similar to theirs; i.e. other Southwestern languages, but which they cannot understand fully.

59. Available at URL (24-12-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khuygan-e_Olya

60. Available at URL (14-10-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fereydan

61. Because I personally have not been to this area, I cannot define what exactly the Wikipedia page means by Lurish dialects of the area. I will certainly ratify this problem in my future trips to the area.

62. Available at URL (17-10-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Choqyurt

63. Available at URL (02-01-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nehzatabad,_Fereyduṣṣhahr

64. Available at URL (22-10-2016): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zarneh,_Isfahan

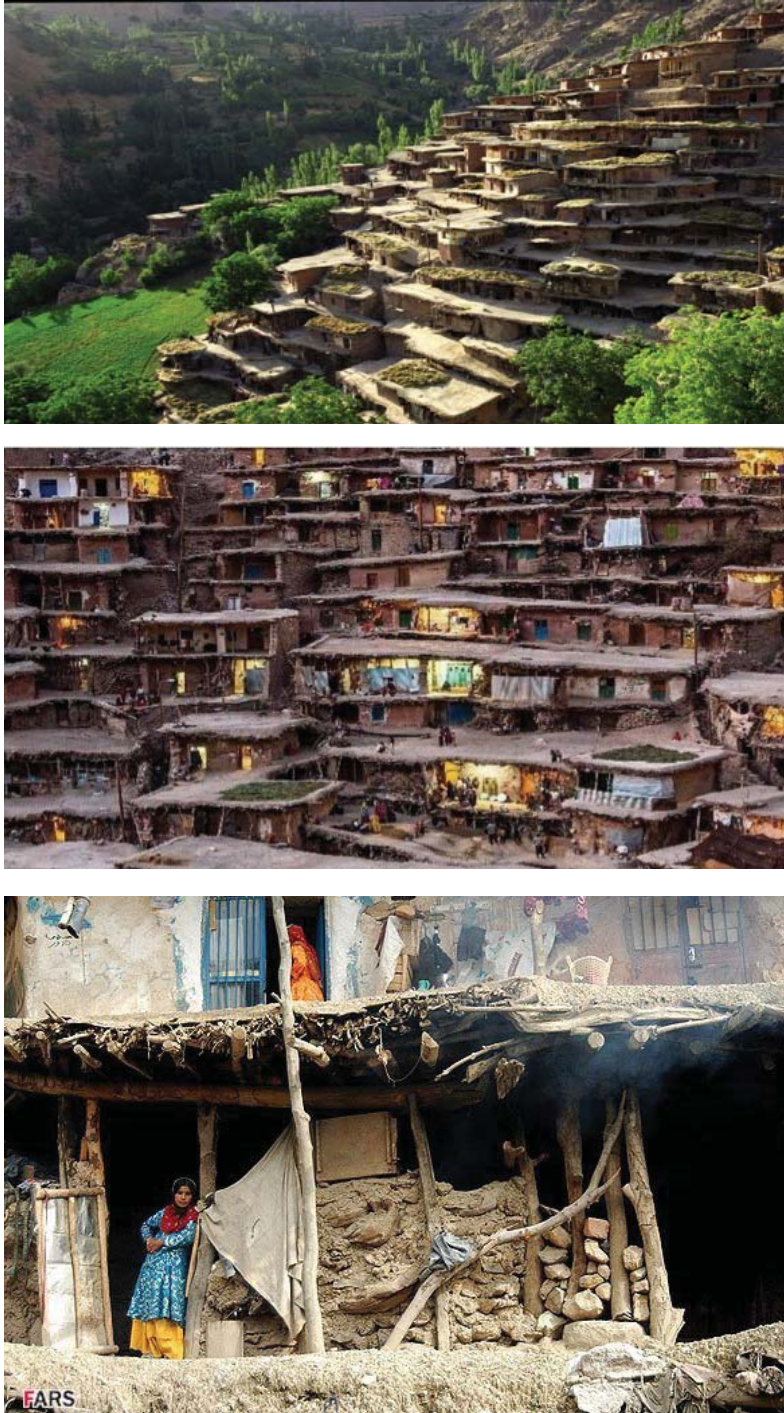


Figure 9 a,b,c: Sar-e Āqā Seyed village with its unique architecture and people

The closest relatives of Bakhtiari, however, continues to be the variety of Kohgiluyeh-o Boirumadi. Several attempts have been made by scholars to draw a meaningful divide between the languages in the so-called Lori/ Luri continuum. MacKinnon and Amānolāhi, believe that the first line should be drawn between Northern Lori and Southern Lori, in the former's terminology Mac Kinnon (2011) and Lori-e Bākhtari and Khāvari 'Western and Eastern Lori' in the latter's Amanollahi (1991:52). They are spoken, respectively, by the Lor-e Kuchak of the Lorestān province and by the Lor-e Bozorg (the Bakhtiari and the Kohgiluyeh-o Boirumadi). Anonby (2003-b), not quite satisfied by this distinction, suggested a more refined distinction in the continuum, because he found it "...important from the viewpoint of structure, lexicon, and inter-intelligibility to make an additional distinction between Baktiāri and the remaining varieties to the south". He introduced the three-layered category of Northern Lori, Bakhtiari and Southern Lori. I can only add that as a native speaker of Bakhtiari, the variety spoken by the Bakhtiari and the Kohgiluyeh-o Boirumadi can easily be considered as two dialects of the same language, based on the hands-on criterion of mutual intelligibility while the so-called Northern Lori, for a Haft Lang Bakhtiari is as distinct as Persian. For the Char Lang Bakhtiari living in cities and villages closer to Khoramābād in Lorestān, the degree of mutual understanding is probably higher.

Within the Bakhtiari itself, the locals would mention two major dialects, Haft Lang and Char Lang, and within Haft Lang variety, they think that the *Māwri* and *Bavadi* tribes speak another variation. In my field visits, I did not notice major differences within *Bavadi*. The dialect that struck me as very special, however, was the one that is spoken in a very old and remote village called *sār-e āga seyed*⁶⁵, in which the shrine of one the Shi'a Imāmzade, Āqā Seid is located. He is among one of the most sacred *pirun*⁶⁶ of the Bakhtiari, especially for the Haft Lang. I have some recordings of this variety but unfortunately I have not yet had the time to work on it.

It is worthy of note that I have also heard the mention of a secret language, *tošmali*, used and spoken only by Toshmali who are the local musicians.

To conclude this section, I would like to mention the phenomenon of a rather abrupt and widespread borrowing from English that started almost at the same time of as the appearance of the oil and the British in the Bakhtiari region until approximately the Islamic Revolution of 1979 when the Americans, Hindi⁶⁷ and other English speaking employees of the Oil Company and related corporations

65. **Sar Aqa Seyyed** is a village in Miankuh-e Moguyi Rural District, in the Central District of Kuhrang County, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari Province, Iran. At the 2006 census, its population was 1,360, in 208 families. Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sar_Aqa_Seyyed

66. *pir* is the term that Bakhtiaris and some other Iranian peoples use to refer to their sacred figures. In Bakhtiari the word Imāmzade or Emāmzade 'born by an Imam, descendant of an Imam' is not used. Every tribe affiliates itself with a pir, the most popular ones include: pir-e boveir; Soltun Bereim; aqa Seid; Bava zeid. To learn more about sacred places in Bakhtiari see Brooks (2002).

67. At that time, Hindi doctors were employed to work on very remote villages and towns.

and organizations were forced to leave the country. This borrowing is very significant because the loan words and expressions are used specifically in this area and not in other parts of Iran. In 1996, while still an M.A. student, I did a relatively thorough research on this subject, and collected a list of about 350 loan words and published them in the linguistic quarterly of The Iranian Academy of Language and Literature (Zolfaghari, 2002). The article was in Persian, but I have added a shorter and translated list here in Appendix 1. In the next section, parts of this research will be presented in the body of a choronological sociolinguistic overview of the language.

2.4 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

In 1996, as part of my master's thesis, I started a field work investigation to see whether the Bakhtiari language, which at that time I was advised to call a dialect, is in danger of extinction, and whether the speakers were shifting to Persian or would maintain their language. This was the first research of its kind to be conducted on the Iranian languages. Therefore, I had no model to follow. With the guidance of the supervisors⁶⁸ of the project, I devised a questionnaire, containing some 32 open and multiple-choices questions, incorporating all the relevant factors concerning language use in different social domains. Around a hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed among women and men of five age and three educational groups⁶⁹ in the city of Masjed Soleimān, which has over 90 percent of Bakhtiari speakers. The interviews and collecting the data took around six months, and then the results were processed using SPSS software. Some of the results were unexpected and did not support the initial hypothesis of the project, but in general a decline of 0,4% per decade of the use of Bakhtiari was calculated. This we considered to be an optimistic result and we realized that the variety of Bakhtiari used in Masjed Soleimān could not be considered endangered, mainly due to the robust attitude of its speakers towards their culture, language and traditions (Zolfaghari, 1997, 2001, 2003). Some of the tables and charts are reproduced here as representative of the research.

As I will explain in the following paragraphs, the results of my MA research, carried out nearly two decades ago, may now be considered to be outdated. Not only the socio-linguistic factors in favor of their language use have not changed during the past two decades, but they have also been intensified by the introduction of new technology and media facilities. As an example, when in 2009 I started to look for online sources on Bakhtiari to consult for my present research, I was completely astonished by the number of Bakhtiari or Lori blogs, webpages and sites

68. Prof. Yahya Modarressi, a prominent Iranian socio-linguist and Prof. M. Dabir Moqaddam, an internationally credited Iranian typologist and linguist.

69. Age groups: 19<, 20-29; 30-39; 40-49 and 50>.

Educational groups: illiterate- primary school (Year 6); year 7-high school diploma and university level.

propagating the language and the culture, each in its own professional or amateur way. Nowadays, one of the most amusing hobbies of the young Bakhtiari is producing funny text messages, incorporating old and traditional verses and sayings in a modern context, like changing the old complaint of a lover to his beloved for not glancing at him while passing each other on the migration route, by substituting it with his complaint of her not responding to his WhatsApp smilies or text messages⁷⁰!

On Facebook there are hundreds of different ethnic pages. I am aware of some 30 different Bakhtiari alone, almost all of them are trying to promote the language, the music, the history and the culture in general. Stand-up comedians, short videos, music video clips, documentaries, pop and even rap songs are among all the different contemporary ethnic Iranian reproductions of their cultural interests.

There are numerous books, mainly poetry and proverbs, written and published every month. Last year we even witnessed the birth of a Bakhtiari Encyclopedia of 700 pages, compiled and written by only one author without bibliographical references⁷¹! Recently another Bakhtiari encyclopedia has been published, its title, *Bakhtiarica*⁷², modeled after the prestigious *Iranica* or perhaps *Britannica*.

It is worth mentioning that these more passionate and less scholarly activities are not limited to the Bakhtiari, but can be seen more or less from nearly every other Iranian ethnic group. The exact reasons behind these vigorous representations of interests and sometimes prejudices about one's ethnic origins in Iran are hard to find and explain and it certainly requires a thorough sociological investigation which is beyond the scope of the present research. One incident, however, may indicate the idea that a major factor involved here is a fight for identity which sometimes is felt to be under attack by the mainstream Persian culture. In 2014, a TV series was produced and broadcast by the national TV called *Sarzamin-e Kohan* 'The Ancient Land', following a story which began around the WWI. In the fourth episode, a Persian who is involved in a dispute with the family of one of the prominent Bakhtiari Khans⁷³, accuses him of being a puppet in the hands of the British

70. ær bin-i zæng ni-zæn-om, ni-d-om pæyam-i/ dir-a-dir dus=et dar-om, hæz do tiy=am-i 'If I don't send you an SMS, I love you from a far, as much as my two eyes', where the words for SMS (*pæyam-i*) rhymes with 'my eyes' (*tiyam-i*).

71. The author is a Hamule from *dæwmamedî tæš*. I was very eager to see and read this book, because in one of her interviews the author claimed that this book is a joint production of her father and her own and she was trying to transfer his knowledge and information to the next generations. I have met her late father, who was one of the respected *riš sæfids* 'respected elderly member' of the tribe and that made me have high expectations from the book. When I finally received the book via post, my expectations turned out to be unrealistic. This young author has apparently chosen to follow the existing practice of the local scholars, compiling the fragmented information in a non-scientific or scholarly manner.

72. I haven't seen the book yet, and only saw the book cover on one of the Bakhtiari Facebook pages.

73. A portrait of Sardar Assad, the second, hung on this family's living room wall, indicating their affinity with the so-called great Ilkhans. Later, the director of the film, to ratify this unexpected reaction, claimed that all the personages are fictional and do not represent any historical figure, but this one portrait was enough for the Bakhtiari mob not to believe him.

and a traitor to the country. The next day, there were thousands of Bakhtiari in the streets of Esfahān, Ahvāz and some other cities, protesting against the national TV, the film and its director, accusing them of a conspiracy against the Bakhtiari. They continued the demonstrations and protests, backed by some open letters of prominent Bakhtiari poets, writers and scholars to the point that the authorities decided to prevent the series from being broadcast. Now, the point is, I was sure that most of those protestors in the streets had not even watched the film, and I even called some Bakhtiari relatives to check this. It turned out to be true. They, however, joined the crowd for the simple reason that they felt the Bakhtiari should always be united against an outsider's attack. Almost the same reaction can be seen every time there is an election in the country. They will vote for a Bakhtiari candidate, no matter how incompetent he is, chanting a Bakhtiari saying: *liš-e xom-un bæh ze xuv-e mærdom=e* 'Our own bad is better than the others' good one'!

From a linguistic point of view, we can only conjecture that this rigorous solidarity can at least play a positive role in preserving the Bakhtiari language and lead to the production of more cultural materials. Having this socio-cultural introduction in mind, now we can consider and interpret the following charts more conveniently.

The first chart shows the percentage of Persian and Bakhtiari monolinguals in the research community:

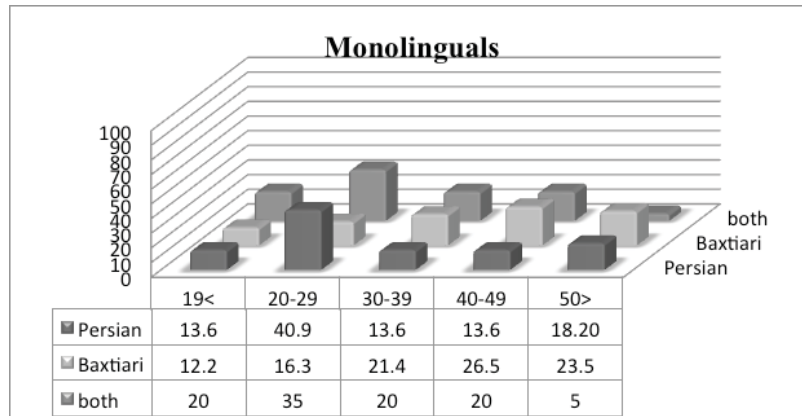


Figure 10: Percentage of monolinguals in Persian or Bakhtiari

As can be seen in figure 10 above, in 1996, the percentage of Persian monolinguals in the younger group was less than in the age group of 20-29 and equal to older groups of 30-49 and 40-49. This was unexpected and at the same time promising for the maintenance of the language. The reason that the age group of 20-29 had more Persian monolinguals and at the same time the highest percentage of Bakhtiari-Persian bilinguals (35%) was the result of the migration of this group to Persian speaking cities during their teenage years and younger, due to Iran-Iraq war.

In the next diagram, we tried to figure out what languages people are multilingual in and to what degree. The question was: Which language did you learn as your first language?

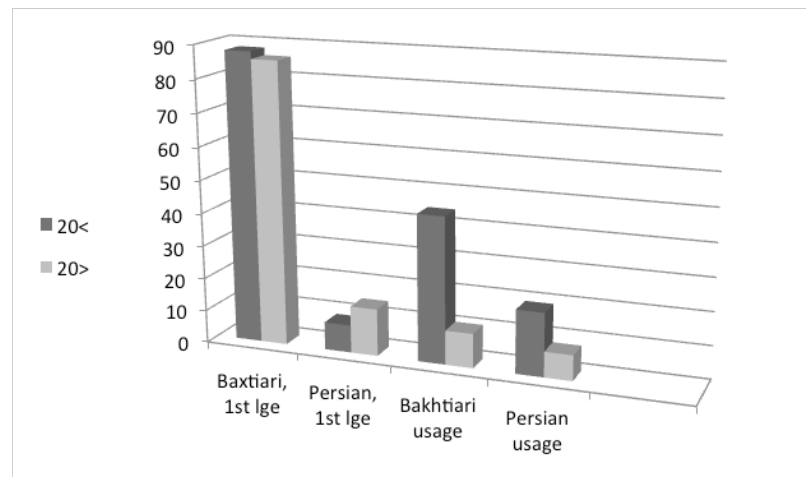


Figure 11: Percentage of the first language (Persian or Bakhtiari)

A high percentage of both age groups of younger than 20 and older, still considered Bakhtiari their first language (87,9% and 85,7% for Bakhtiari versus 8,6% and 14,3% for Persian, respectively). As expected, the younger group used Persian more than Bakhtiari (fourth pairs of columns 19,2% versus 7,7%). Contrary to the hypothesis, though, the younger generation used Bakhtiari more as well (44,3% versus 10,4%). It means that the children younger than 20 years of age learned and used Bakhtiari four times more and Persian around three times more than the older group, which is a very good indication for the survival of a language (Zolfaghari, 1996: 202).

In the next step, women and men were asked about their language choice in domestic domains. The hypothesis was that women, being less sociable and busier at home use Bakhtiari more than Persian. The results in figure 12, however, followed:

language use				
gender		Persian	Bakhtiari	both
male		08,0	79,5	9,1
		31,8	71,4	40,0
female		26,8	50,0	21,4
		68,2	28,6	60,0

Figure 12: Percentage of the language choice in domestic domains

Both groups chose Bakhtiari over Persian (79,5% for men and 50,0% for women). However, men used Bakhtiari almost twice as much as women, while women use Persian at home almost twice as much as men (68,2 % versus 31,8%). Therefore, the related hypothesis which assumed a higher usage of Bakhtiari in a domestic domain, was not supported. One explanation for this unexpected result could be the more active role of women in the literacy of the children.

Another question was whether they try to hide their Bakhtiari accent while speaking Persian (answer indicated by Yes) or not (No) and give reasons for each choice. We assumed that the positive answer to this question can be an indication of low esteem in using their mother tongue which is not promising for the maintenance of the language. Figure 13 shows the results:

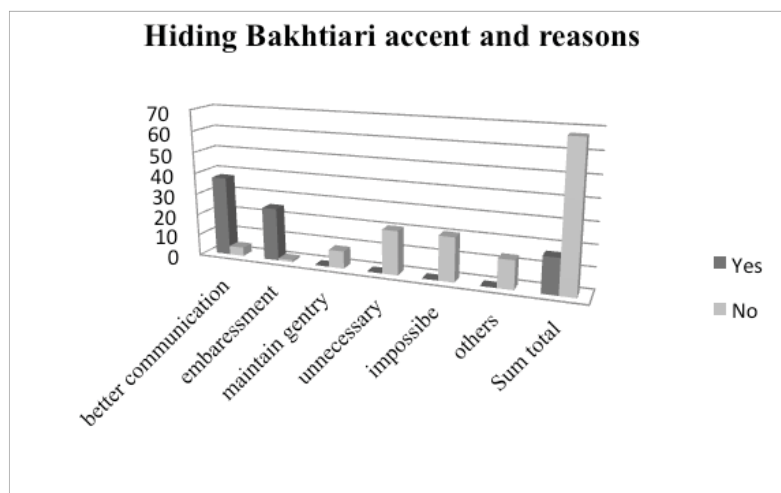


Figure 13: Percentage of hiding Bakhtiari accent and reasons for doing or not doing it

In the sum total columns we can see that 67,4% of them did not hide their accents as opposed to 16,7% who did. The major reasons were because they found it unnecessary or impossible to do so (both with 20,6% frequency). The people who were trying to hide their accent, however, were doing it only 25% out of embarrassment, but more than 37,5% for maintaining better communication, both of which are promising for the survival of the language.

To end this section, I will present yet another diagram which relates to the much debated issue of the effect of the media on language use and its maintenance. Diagram 14 sums up the usage status of media in Masjed Soleimān and its interaction with people.

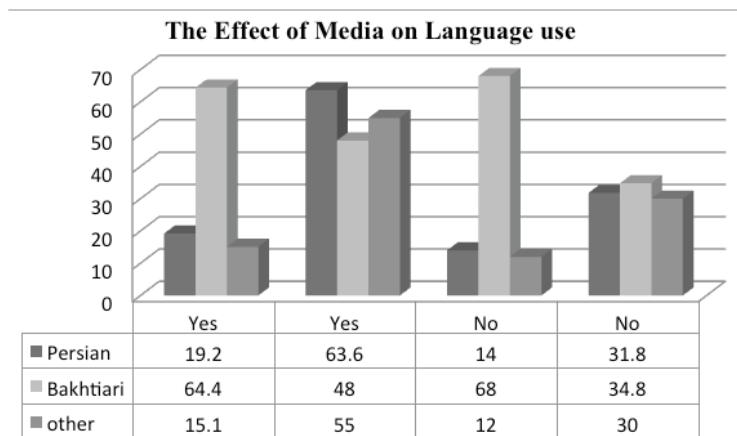


Figure 14: Percentage of the effect of media on language use

The participants of the research were asked whether there are Bakhtiari Radio and Television broadcasting in their town and how it affects the usage of Persian and Bakhtiari. The ones with a positive answer used Bakhtiari in a higher rate at home (64,4% versus 19,2% Persian), while in the group with the negative answer, again the usage of Bakhtiari is higher than Persian (68% versus 14%). The positive group also used Persian at home more than Bakhtiari (63,6% against 31,8%)! This was another case where we didn't receive the expected results, i.e. the fact that the media affects the usage of the native and local languages negatively. Instead we found that in Masjed Soleimān, the media did not have any direct effect on the language use.

Presenting all the results of the 1996 research is not the goal here, because there are just too many charts, diagrams and statistics involved to investigate the usage of the Bakhtiari in different social domains by different age and gender groups with different educational backgrounds. The final results, however, were of importance since they showed that in 1996, in the main Bakhtiari city of Iran, the practical situation of Bakhtiari was not endangered and as mentioned above, a decline of 0,4% per decade could be diagnosed between consecutive generations. It would be very useful to repeat this investigation now to see whether this prediction was true or only desired.

2.5 CONSULTANTS

Six out of seven consultants of the present research belong to the Hamule tribe, the first five from *tæš-e ærdešgæriv*, and the last one from *tæš-e tiəzgærd*. The last one, Maddadi, is also a Haft Lang but from *almæhmiædi* tribe.

1. Mahnesa Zolfaghari-Ardeshiri, 61, widow, housewife/herder.



Our great-grandfathers were paternal cousins and hence the same family name indicates a shared ancestor, Zolfaghar /*zolfægar*/. She married another *ærdešgæriv* member who unfortunately passed away 19 years ago and left her to raise their 13 children single-handedly, the oldest still being a teenager at the time. This astonishingly beautiful lady is one of the smartest and most courageous women that I have ever seen in my life. She has a profound knowledge of the nomadic, herd-breeding lifestyle and when asked, she is very generous in sharing her expertise with others. I met her for the first time some twenty ago, during her father's funeral, found her very strong and intelligent and through years we were able to develop a very deep friendship of mutual understanding. She was my host and closest companion through the very difficult and dangerous migration route in autumn 2007. Mahnesa, together with Homa (5. below) are my main gates access to the world of nomad women and only they can answer my questions that are related to the community's realm of taboo. Mahnesa has never lived in a city and in all her life has just seen five major Iranian cities, namely Ahvāz, Masjed Soleiman, Esfahān, Shahrekord and Tehran and some in-between smaller ones. Interestingly she is not unfamil-

iar with other continents, having traveled to countries such as Spain, Mali and Thailand to attend conferences and workshops on nomadic societies organized by IUCN CEESP⁷⁴ to share her local knowledge and experiences as a representative of Iranian nomads.⁷⁵

2. Esfandiar Ardeshiri, 39, married, herder and driver.



He is Mahnesa's oldest son and now the head of family. He is a very smart and resilient young man, being weakened for many years by addiction to opium, but was always treated by Mahnesa as the most respected and trustworthy son, which I could not fully comprehend, considering his severe condition. Five years ago, however, he decided to get rid of the addiction, and in one go, came out clean and healthy, got married and in my last trip in December 2014, I saw him as a loving fa-

74. From their website: "IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature, helps the world find pragmatic solutions to our most pressing environment and development challenges" and "CEESP, the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy, is an inter-disciplinary network of professionals whose mission is to act as a source of advice on the environmental, economic, social and cultural factors that affect natural resources and biological diversity and to provide guidance and support towards effective policies and practices in environmental conservation and sustainable development. Available at URL (25-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.iucn.org/about/union/commissions/ceesp/

75. During 2005-8, I cooperated with CENESTA (Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.cenesta.org/) an Iranian NGO linked to IUCN, and introduced them to Bakhtiari tribes and helped them to initiate one of their preservation projects in the Hamule tribe territories: Available at URL (07-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.cenesta.org/?page_id=2150.

ther of his beautiful daughter, and only then I realized why his wise mother always loved and respected him for his strength and reliability. His van has always been a source of income and transportation for the family, but the main source of income for this extended family has always been their herds of sheep and goats. He now lives with his new family in a tent next to his mother's. The last time I was their guest on New Year's Eve of 2014, he kindly stayed up all the night, taking over the role of his mom who answered my questions until 3 in the morning.

3. Omidvar Ardeshiri, 37, single, student, B.A in Civil Engineering.



He is Mahnesa's second son and is regarded as her *kor-e šæhr-i* 'urban son'. He regulates the family's affairs in the city, and supervises his younger siblings' schooling and accommodation in a village near Masjed Soleimān during the school year. He is also now an active member in CENESTA preserving project in the Bakhtiari area. He is my connecting consultant through social media and other new technological facilities, calling and texting him through Viber, WhatsApp or Facebook to ask questions which he either answers directly or after consulting Mahnesa or others in the tribe.

4. Negahdar Ardeshiri, 31, single, herder.



He is Mahnesa's third son who has always lived as a nomad. Genetically, his eyes have a dropped-lid condition, which was one of the reasons that he had never wanted to go to school, probably in fear of being bullied. But despite his physical condition, he is very high-spirited, lively, big-hearted and a bundle of laughs. He is always at the center of late night gatherings around the hearth, singing local songs, playing his handmade Ney⁷⁶, or recounting or even making very funny stories. Everybody loves him and sometimes people from other tents decide to come all the way up to the top of the *tištærdun* mount and valley, where their tent is located, to stay a night or two in the joyful and heart-lightening company of Negahdar. One of the most memorable and hilarious nights was one summer night in 2013 when I was working on the calling systems of shepherds and per my demand, he produced, one by one, all the sounds and voices that one can hear from the domestic animals in different situations (being hungry, angry, thirsty, mating, crying, ...) and performed all the different whistles, shouts and interjections that are normally used by the nomads to communicate with their herds. He performed all these with great mastery and enthusiasm and sometimes we even had to witness some competition between other members of the family to either correct Negahdar or show off their own more skillful performances, which in the end all of them failed in combat with Negahdar and they only created the most hilarious scenes that almost split our sides laughing.

76. A traditional wind instrument: Available at URL (14-09-2017): http://web.archive.org/web/*/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ney

5. Homa Ardeshiri, 57, married, housewife, high school diploma.



Homa was born and raised in Masjed Soleimān, therefore she has always been a city girl, but because her father, the late Gharib Ardeshiri⁷⁷, was a self-learned man and for many years was respected as a *riš saʿfid* of the *tæš*, she has learned a lot about the Bakhtiari tradition, rituals and social dynamics. She is married to my first cousin, and that made her very approachable and close to me. On my field trips she usually is kind enough to accompany me and acts as a mediator when asking a question that can be tricky for cultural reasons, and this very intelligent and witty lady helps me to get the right answer without creating any inconvenient situations.

6. Huri Taheri-Zolfaghari, 65, widow, housewife, primary school education.



She is my aunt, my father's brother's wife. She lived as a nomad until she married my uncle, an employee in the National Oil Company. She has lived most of her life in Masjed Soleimān and at present lives in Ahvāz. She is my main consultant in regard to questions related to Bakhtiari customs and socio-cultural history. With her sharp memory and rich mental lexicon, she can remember how things were in the past or how they used to be called or performed. She is also very smart, and after moving to the city, taught herself how to read and write to a level that could help her children with their school work. She is my role model with her resilience and hard work and while I was

active in the nomadic areas to help them with their issues with governmental organizations, she was and is my most trusted advisor. She is usually the first one to contact, when I have a burning question in my office in Leiden, sending my questions to her daughters or sons through different mobile applications or Facebook, and most of the time she can provide me with a definitive answer. From a year ago,

77. To my knowledge, he was the only one in Hamule tribe who knew the *Shahname* by heart and could read or recite it in the traditional Bakhtiari way.

she has started writing her memoirs, and has shared her worries and doubts about her level of literacy with me, but when I assured her that I will edit them with great pleasure, she has become more encouraged to continue. Now I am enthusiastically waiting for her work, knowing that they will contain very precious and original information about the everyday and social life of the Bakhtiari from at least the second part of the previous century to the present.

7. Zohrab Maddadi, 65, married, retired teacher, B.A. in Persian literature.



In addition to his book, *Vazhe Name-ye Zaban-e Bakhtiari*, which has been my main reference book from the beginning of my research on Bakhtiari since 1996, he has always been very generous and helpful in answering mainly my grammatical questions. When in doubt about my analysis, I could either call him directly or receive an answer through email and mostly through his daughter's (Pouye Maddai) Facebook page. Among many Iranian researchers or interested locals writing on the subject, I have found only Maddadi's work to be a solid, reliable source, mainly due to the honesty, perseverance and precision that he applies to his work.



2.6 A TYPICAL SUMMER DAY IN *eilag-e xorbe*

The following paragraphs attempt to illustrate a typical day in the life of a nomad family in the area related to this study. This description is based on my participatory observations during several years of facilitatory activities among these families while they were in their summer campsites in the *xorbe* area east of Kuhrang county in Charmahal-o Bakhtiari province. Their activities, concerns, relationships, livelihood and hobbies may differ from other Bakhtiari nomads even in the remaining countryside of Kuhrang. For instance, in this community handicrafts are rarely practiced, while among Mauwri or Arpanahi tribes who reside in the West and North-west areas of Kuhrang, some women spend the major part of their day weaving carpets, kilims or other weaving crafts. *musir čini* ‘shallot picking and processing’, on the other hand, is almost exclusively done by women of Hamule tribe.

A typical day in our nomads’ household begins with the ding-donging of the herd bells in the dawn mingled with a variety of noises and whistles that the watch dogs and the shepherds produce to direct the herd in certain directions. In every nomad’s household, based on the size of the herd and man force, the herding will be taken up by two or three male and rarely young female and adolescent female members of the family. In some cases the family can afford to hire a shepherd. These members, who, as mentioned before, are usually very young boys, are the first to get up and with an admirable commitment, leave their bedding very early, in spite of constant vigilance of the previous night in fear of a wolf or thief attack, start their daily routine energetically and with great sense of responsibility. They begin the day by *beinaet kerden* and *ču zeiden* of the herd; both mean the counting of the herd. Then they grab a *torbe* ‘a small cotton bag’ and lead the herd towards the pasture.

The lady or mother of the family gets up at dawn, wakes the lads up and after the herd has left, she goes back to bed for some warmth in the cold mornings of *eylag*. Not long after, she will be the one to make the first fire of the day in the *čale* ‘the fire place dug in the ground’, then grabs the twenty-liter plastic containers, which nowadays have substituted the traditional *mæšk* ‘goat-skin water container’, and alone or accompanied by girls of the neighboring households, walks towards the nearest spring to fetch the water necessary for the first half of the day. The weather in *eylag* can get very cold during the summer nights and early mornings and the springs of the area are also known for their freezing cold water. Therefore, for a woman dressed in rather worn-out clothes, carrying two heavy water containers on a rugged path which causes splashing of the water on her feet and dress is not always a very pleasant daily routine. In the early mornings, however, sitting under a *bohun* ‘the black tent made out of goat hair’ and looking out, one can see a usually smiling girl/woman coming back from *sær-e æw*⁷⁸, without even being asked directly to do such a troublesome task.

78. literally ‘on the head of water’ which means a stream or spring mouth.



ISNA / PHOTO: Mohammad Mohammad ali pour





Then it's time for *hevir šešniden* 'kneading of wheat dough' and *čâ(h)i rast-kerden* 'making tea'. Many of the elderly Bakhtiari are used to drinking *čâ(h)i našta*⁷⁹ and after two or three cups of tea with several sugar cubes, the daily chores begin. One of the female members, usually the mother or the grandmother gets ready for baking the quintessential part of a Bakhtiari diet, i.e. the *tiri*⁸⁰ bread, a very fine, round and almost transparent kind of bread. She will spread the baking table cloth and put *tæwsi* 'a round and low wooden table-like board on which the dough is spread' in the middle of it and the special rolling pin *tir* (hence the name *tir-i* for the bread) on the baking board. A round, convex-formed piece of iron, *tæwe*, will be placed on the fire pit to make a sort of open air oven. Then it's time for *moče kerdn* 'making small ball-like pieces' of the dough which has now rested enough, cutting it into rolled pieces, the size of a small ball.



79. *našta* 'fasting' so *čâhi našta* means drinking tea before eating bread or breakfast.

80. The name is taken from the device, *tir*, that is used to make it.

The dough balls will be rolled out on the board using the rolling pin and then the most difficult part, *tir zeiden* begins, which distinguishes a professional baker from an amateur; that is, turning the bread on the *tir* and beating it against the board several times to make it bigger and wide enough to match the size of the *tæwe* (see the pictures below),



and then the bread will be rolled down on the *tæwe*.⁸¹



In the meantime, the sun has risen and the rest of the family has gotten up; one is looking for a jar of water to wash his or her face, the other is on the way to a far and hidden place to use as toilet (in case they have not made a camping toilet), whereas another one is running to shoo a *čarbō* ‘quadruped’ or *heyvō* ‘donkey or mare/ horse’ that erratically wandered into the crops to graze.

When the bread is ready, everybody gathers around the breakfast tablecloth for *nō* *χærden* ‘bread-eating /eating in general’. Bread, yoghurt, honey, homemade butter, kebab, *toxm* ‘egg’ and *tære lori*⁸² fried in animal fat and rarely cheese are the items served as breakfast, based on the season and the wealth of the family.

If the family is in possession of a dairy cow, it should be milked before the breakfast. Milking the cow is always a woman’s job, only in rare occasions when

81. Available at URL (26-01-2017): https://web.archive.org/web/*/https://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/دِهسټان_کُښکَنان

82. *tære* is a dark green herb that is very popular in Iranian cuisine, but not very known in Europe. It is apparently from the family of *Allium ampeloprasum*, but the so-called by Bakhtiari *lori* species grow wild and picked up by women, dried and powdered to be served with some food and drinks.

for some reason no woman is present in the *mal*⁸³, a male member will take over this role. Therefore, if in a family, the lady of the house has both responsibilities of baking and milking, she will then get the baking dough ready on the previous night in order to have time to do both of these very quintessential daily jobs in the morning. After milking the cow, the milk is put on the hearth to boil, then after it cools down, they will add *čir*⁸⁴ to it to make yoghurt out of it. *du zeiden* ‘making yoghurt drink’ is also one of the morning’s chores.



During breakfast, the family members will talk about the day’s program and the division of duties among each other and then everyone sets off to do her or his allocated job. The girls and women get busy with washing *daelfa*⁸⁵ ‘dishes’ and collecting *ja-ha*⁸⁶, tidying up their *bohun* and *hive čiden* ‘firewood-picking’.

The men and boys gussy themselves up and get ready to go to town, in this case to Chelgerd, for the daily shopping, going to *jahad*⁸⁷ to hand in a request for their agricultural needs, such as fertilizer or technical help with the machinery, going to the communication office to call their relatives in the *gærmesir*⁸⁸ ‘the warm lands/cities’ for those few people who still do not have mobile phones and doing other domestic chores.

83. *mal* refers to either one tent and its members, several tents with members that are relatives or in a more abstract sense, to the area where these tents are erected.

84. Starter, a spoonful yoghurt added to the pot of milk to change it to yoghurt.

85. From Arabic *zærf* ‘container’ plus the plural suffix *-a*, but with a dissimilation in the last consonant cluster!

86. Literally, place-PL but bed and bedding in general.

87. *edare-ye jahad-e kešavarzi* ‘The office of Agricultural Jihad’; so are named the Agriculture offices after the Islamic Revolution.

88. As opposed to *særdsir* or *eylag* which means the cold areas.



Women often go to the town for *hæb gerehden*⁸⁹ ‘pill getting’ or *sizen zeiden* ‘needle-hit /vaccination’ in the health center and buying fabrics or other personal necessities. If there are several young girls in the *mal*, usually the more *šæhr-i*⁹⁰ ‘urban’ ones who are literate, volunteer to go to the town to take care of the affairs of all the other female members of the family.

In each *mal*, there exists one vehicle, most frequently a Nissan, Zamyad or Toyota van, belonging to one of the male family members and at the service of the whole *mal*, not necessarily free for all, though. Sometimes there is just one vehicle for several *mal*, then there would be an unspoken agreement that every morning, at a certain time, all the women and men of the surrounding tents get up early, do their morning chores fast and quickly to gather together by the car on time, to go to the city/ town.

At the time of harvest, the rest of the family, young and old, get together for *deræw kerdén* ‘harvest-doing’. Harvesting starts from early morning, before sunrise and goes till the sun sets. Usually, one or two women and elderly people stay at the *mal* for *zor rast kerdén*⁹¹ ‘noon-make-do /to prepare lunch’ and to take the food and water or tea to the fields for everybody. If the fields are not very far from the *bonevar* ‘the seat of the tent’, the harvesters will come back to their tents, eat lunch around noon, take a nap and drink some cups of tea, and then go back to continue harvesting.

89. pill-receiving, which means to get contraceptives for free from the birth control advisors in the *beh-dašt* ‘the health center’.

90. city-attributive suffix.

91. *zor* is a loan from Arabic *zohr* ‘midday’.



In our community under research, the end of May till the end of July is the time for picking and processing wild shallots. Therefore, many women, especially in the afternoon hours after finishing their daily chores, will be busy boiling, chopping, sweetening and drying the shallots to make them ready for the market. When a fair amount of clean and dried shallots are ready, then one or two of the women and girls take them to sell in the shops that they usually do business with. Sometimes they sell *musir-e golo*, the unprocessed shallots, i.e. the wild shallot bulbs, at a significantly lower price. As an example, in 2006 the price of one kilogram of dried shallots was approximately six thousands Tomans,⁹² while the price of one kilogram of shallot bulbs was only five hundred Tomans, i.e. 12 times cheaper than the dried ones.

So pass mornings and early noon hours. If the family is in possession of a small inherited garden, then somebody should take care of that, too, water it, usually in a traditional way by making furrows on the course of a stream to lead the water towards the garden.

By noon, and before lunch, the herd comes back from grazing on the mountain pastures for *čast xæws* 'mid-day rest/ sleep'. The *biyæl* 'goat-kids' and the *bæriyæl* 'lambs' which are kept in the *kolæ čomčit*⁹³ 'pen', are set free to join their mothers to be breast fed. This act which is called *bære mendal*, is one of the cutest scenes in a nomad's world, and the spectator can be amused for quite a while and enjoy witnessing how babies find their moms by special calling sounds. The scene of kids and lambs that have lost their moms, either because they are sold or slaughtered, can also be very sad and hearing their whining and moaning is very heart-breaking. Then it is time for *gæle be dōw zeiden*,⁹⁴ and the goats are milked. If the lambs

92. In today's exchange rate around 1,5 Euros but in 2006 around 4 Euros per Kilo.

93. a place made with straws to keep the little kids and lambs.

94. Literally, herd-to- place-hit which means leading the herd towards the milking place.

are already sold, the *mišun* ‘the ewes’ are also milked, if not, the lambs are still allowed to be fed by their moms. Then the whole herd rests for a while, and some time after lunch they will again *kænen be koh* ‘move towards the mountains’.



In this community, for several years, arrangements were made with the help of the Ministry of Agriculture, The Organization of Nomads Affairs and The Organization of Techniques and Crafts Education, to have some sewing and carpet weaving training courses in their campsites for about two months. The instructors, the materials and the equipment were provided by the above-mentioned organizations and were set up in a white tent among the nomads black tents. Most of the women and girls attended these courses and did the final exams to attain their diplomas. Some of them could later get loans by presenting these diplomas to the Agricultural Bank to start their own small businesses.

In the evenings, immediately after the return of the herds, the animals are milked again, and the procedure of processing the milk starts all over again. The women start *tæš va-kerden* ‘fire-open-do /to make fire’ again, bring water and firewood, make dinner ready, and clean the dishes and the tents and other chores. After dinner, the members of two or three tents get together around the hearth for a chat or just to pass time under an incredibly beautiful, starry sky. They are especially fond of the moonlit nights when they can enjoy the moon light and spare some gas or oil by turning off their lanterns. *toxmaek eškaenden*⁹⁵ and playing cards are among the most favorite pastime activities.

*šæw keni*⁹⁶ is the last important chore to be done at midnight, and after about an hour, the herd is taken back and let towards the *gaš*⁹⁷ ‘pen’ and afterwards: sleep.

95. seed-breaking that refers to eating pumpkin or sunflower seeds; a very popular snack.

96. night-breaking ‘the late night grazing of the herds’.

97. a pen surrounded by a stone or wooden wall to keep the herds.

CHAPTER THREE

LEXICON

3 LEXICAL SEMANTIC FIELDS

This section will investigate the Bakhtiari lexicon, in an attempt to understand a Bakhtiari nomad's cognitive picture of the world through his lexical reservoir and the way he classifies his natural environment. The theoretical basis of this investigation has been summarized in the following questions from Majid (2006: 241):

How people categorise the world is one of the fundamental issues faced by researchers in linguistics, psychology, anthropology, and cognitive science. Is categorisation the same between individuals, either as a result of innate concepts, or regularities in the perceptual array? Or, is human categorisation arbitrary—a matter of cultural or linguistic convention?

The word lists presented in this section can be divided into two groups. The first group (3.1) consists of those semantic fields that are usually required and included in descriptive works, suggested by scholars like Comrie & Smith (1977) or Snider & Roberts (2004). The tables provide Bakhtiari terms for general concepts such as kinship terminology, and body parts. These concepts and their relevant vocabulary are shared by almost all languages and communities. Here I have organized the presentation in order to cover the Bakhtiari view of these concepts.

The second group of words (3.2), however, are more specific and they are probably only shared by communities with the same lifestyle, geography and livelihood as Bakhtiari nomads. The Bakhtiari land has very diverse flora and fauna which constitute a quintessential part of the nomads' world view and lexicon, which they have built up during centuries in which they have lived in this area. These features of nature are closely interwoven into their everyday needs and aspirations and are frequently reflected in their different genres of songs, rituals and ceremonies.

The main point I want to stress is that the way in which Bakhtiari nomads see and categorize different animals or plants can be completely different from a biological or scientific one. For example, there is no way to convince a nomad that a mouse, being a mammal but a very insidious and harmful one, can be put into the same category of 'mammals' next to a goat or sheep, i.e., the most important livestock in the world of a Bakhtiari nomad. The mouse is categorized as 'Jek-o Junevar', roughly translated as 'noxious and malefic creatures', which also includes snakes, lizards, beetles and so on (table 3.2.1.6 below).

Another interesting example is that there are over thirty different words to name different parts and usages of acorn, which has always been a source of complementary food for the nomads, especially in times of famine (table 3.2.3).

As for the nomadic nomenclature, there are hundreds of different words and expressions which are used to denominate the minute differences in domestic animals, plants and the environment which surrounds them. The shepherds or herders have a fascinating system of calling or giving commands to them and of communicating with each other and their animals. This system deserves to be documented with special care and precision. If the ongoing governmental projects will succeed in settling the nomads, a veritable lexical treasure will disappear, together with the storage of their old, rich knowledge of the Bakhtiari lexical and ethnical roots. In addition to strong governmental pressures on nomads to take on a sedentary way of life, climate change and excessive, unsystematic use of the pastures have also put many wild plants and vegetables as well as birds and other animals of prey on the verge of extinction.

To summarize, this section of the present research is an attempt to extract and document as much as possible of this information and to categorize and present it in the context of the Bakhtiari nomads' cosmology and traditions.

3.1 GENERAL WORD CATEGORIES

In this section, two sets of words are presented: Kinship terms (3.1.1) and Body parts (3.1.2). As mentioned above, these are the lists that can commonly be found in language descriptions. Tables, such as 3.1.1 are organized based on the practical requirement to present the diversity of the terms as clearly as possible.

At the beginning of every table some introductory notes will be presented for a better understanding of the contents.

Some of the tables have page numbers which refer to Maddadi (1996). Many of the words are not mentioned in his book and hence no page number is given (-). For tables 3.1.2 to 3.1.7, Maddadi is not mentioned as the source because the words were provided by myself or through fieldwork and were only checked later in Maddadi's book for a printed reference. Tables are listed alphabetically or based on semantic domains. This will be explained at the beginning of each individual table.

Two more tables that can be considered as general word categories, namely Cooking terminology and Basic vocabulary, are presented in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5, respectively. They are organized based on the questionnaire in Comrie & Smith (1977), but still require more investigation and field work, hence their location in the Appendices section.

3.1.1 Kinship terms

Family and tribal relationships are of paramount importance for Bakhtiari, hence the abundance of vocabulary and terms for addressing these relationships with precision. In comparison with six established kinship basic patterns⁹⁸ that anthropologists have observed among various cultures around the world, I noticed that the Bakhtiari system shares the most with the Sudanese kin classification. This system is the most descriptive of all, in the sense that, it assigns a distinct term to each and every member of this network. A quick survey of the table below reveals a diversity of the terms.

In theory, to show the exact relationship of two persons in Bakhtiari, the Ezafe construction can be used as many times as necessary. Therefore, hearing a structure like item (53) in table 3-1 below or the example (1) below is not only possible but frequent as well:

- (1) *doḡær-e* *χorzemar-e* *zin-e* *kor-e* *tate-za=m*
 daughter-EZ maternal cousin-EZ wife-EZ son-EZ paternal uncle-born.PRS=BP.1SG
 ‘the daughter of the maternal cousin of the wife of the son of my paternal cousin’

As can be seen in the last word of the above example, the present participle of the verb *zaiḡen* ‘to give birth’ is used frequently as a suffix *-za* to show consanguineal relations.

Not surprisingly, in view of the existence of a patrilinear descent system, to have a baby boy is paramount to happiness for parents. Boys are the ones who keep the lineage running and let the name and the hereditary properties of the family survive. Therefore, whereas there are several girls’ names referring to girls as being unwanted or superfluous, such as *dor-bæs* or *doḡær-bæs*, literally meaning ‘daughter-enough’, *heim-bæs* ‘this one-enough’ or even *næ-χaste* ‘un-wanted’, no such terms exist for boys. A man or woman who has several daughters is attributed as *doḡær be bar* ‘loaded with daughters’ and a woman who has only daughters is called *doḡær-za* ‘one who only gives birth to girls’.

Other reasons behind this preference for boys, in my opinion, are the traditional descent system and also Islamic laws of inheritance, which entitle only male children to a share of the hereditary land. This logic also propagates the marriage between parental parallel cousins, in the hope that the shared properties stays in the father’s family.

The same concern dictates a widow to either stay with her children in her deceased husband’s household or marry his older or younger brother,⁹⁹ a levirate

98. These six systems are: Sudanese, Hawaiian, Eskimo, Iroquois, Omaha and Crow (Schwimmer 2001).

99. Vahman & Asatrian. (1995:27) have found this tradition as:

“... reminiscent of a sort of *čakarīh* marriage institution among the South-West Iranian tribes as a far remote past ... In the Zoroastrian family law of the Sasanian period, as it is well known, if the husband died without leaving male off-spring, his successorship developed upon his authorized

marriage in anthropological terminology. If she wishes to marry to another man, she has to abandon her children and leave her late husband's family altogether. A widowed woman, in case she doesn't have a child, will return to her father's or brother's house and it is not acceptable, by any means, to live on her own.

As mentioned above, a child is recognized by his father's lineage and will receive his family name; by the same token, a girl keeps her family name even after marriage.

A maternal uncle, however, has a very high status in kinship relations and swearing on his life is a common practice. An old and widowed mother will normally go to her eldest son's house and if she does not have a son, it is first and foremost her brother's duty to take care of her and not, if applicable, the task of her daughter or her son-in-law.

When the parents are afraid of losing a child, as they have experienced before, or for any other reason such as genetic complications, they will give names such as *mondēni/ mēndēni* 'one that stays' to the boys and *be-muni* 'may you live' to the girls. These fearful parents may even call their children with pejorative or at times, meaningless names such as *qete* 'a piece', *ronjoki* 'dwarf', in hope that their vulnerable children will not be noticed by evil spirits such as *Al* and will not be harmed by them.

It is considered a shame to raise your child on other people's *sorfe* 'eating floor spread; table', i.e. to leave this responsibility to others. Having said that, it was not rare (and can still be seen to happen), that a child, usually one of nomads and almost always a boy, is not living with his family but with a relative in the town or city, for the sake of schooling or just because his parents are poor and unable to feed him or to take care of him. The relatives who act as a guardian for such a child are not necessarily wealthy. They rather do this out of mercy or kindness, *del soxten* (heart burning) 'to mercy', and also because they share a tribal pride that prevents them from ignoring a fellow tribesman in adversity. This foster child will in turn help the host family with their chores. These children are also likely to have a dire kind of life, being forced to work hard (like a servant) and being fed and dressed sparsely. Girls rarely leave their families, even if this means that they will be deprived of education or a decent and comfortable life.

Marriage, as mentioned above, is encouraged between cousins, especially between parental parallel cousins but also between cross cousins. Most of the marriages used to be arranged by parents and they still are to some extent. Some parents start this arrangement very early, and chose their son's future bride right after

(*pātixšāyihā*) wife, i.e. she was obliged to institute a levirate marriage (or marriage with one of the near agnates of her late husband) in order that the begotten *čakarīhā*-son might maintain his deceased father's lineage and name, administer his property, and in the long run, to help the soul of his 'institutional' father cross the *činvat-puhl* for entering the Paradise. The roots of this rite are hidden in remote past, going back to the time of Avesta and even earlier (in detail: Perikhanian 1983: 94-98)."

her birth. They would buy a present *ger* or *nešō* 'sign, mark' for the new-born and make her their son's *naf-bor*¹⁰⁰ 'engaged' fiancée. Tribal marriages have always served as a means in the hands of the tribal decisions makers to strengthen the bounds with other tribes and, later, with governmental authorities.

A very significant form of marriage, is called *hin-bæs*, literally 'enough bloodshed'. This kind of marriage is executed when a male kin kills somebody, accidentally or on purpose, and as a consequence, bloodshed erupts between the two families and tribes. Sometimes it can permeate to other related *tæšes* and *æwlad*s. To stop it, the sister or daughter of the killer will be chosen to marry the son or the brother of the deceased one. Such a girl will not have a joyous wedding or a happy prospect among her husband's family and will always be teased and remembered of the unfortunate incident that bound her to her spouse.

Another specific form of marriage is called *ga be ga*¹⁰¹. It is when a boy and his sister marry a girl and her brother. Put differently, this boy's future wife will also be her sister's husband's sister.

Each marriage starts with sending presents, *nešō nahaden* 'to put a mark' or *ger nahaden* 'to assign' by the groom's mother or other close female relatives. Then male elders of the groom's family and some other *pia gæp* 'respected men' chosen from their relatives will go to the bride's father for *daes-busō* 'kissing-hands' and *belke borō* 'to cut fabrics'. During this *meiles* 'gathering' they try to gain the consent of the bride's father. This will include at times very lengthy discussions on the bride's worth or payment, which in Bakhtiari has two forms. The first one is called, *šir bai* 'milk-price' or *hæq-e šir* 'the right of the breast-feeding' to be paid to the bride's mother to thank her for breast-feeding her daughter. This money is usually spent for the bride's *pæšai* 'dowry' which is limited to some bedding, kitchen utensils and some presents for the groom's immediate family. Then a *pageri*¹⁰² 'contract' or *surat meiles* 'report of the meeting' is prepared by the members of the gathering, listing all the items that the bride's family wishes to be purchased and prepared before the wedding. This normally includes all the furniture and other items that consists of the dowry of an urban Iranian girl.

Another kind of bride payment is called *mehriye* which is an Islamic tradition. It is a price that the groom owes to the bride and should pay her any time per her demand. But in practice, *mehriye* will only be an issue when a couple decide to end a marriage.

In addition, all the wedding expenses are covered by the groom's family. The groom's father is mostly responsible to cover all these expenses, but other rela-

100. *naf* means navel and *bor* is the present stem of the verb *boriden* 'to cut'. The ceremony is that when the midwife wants to cut the umbilical cord of the baby girl, the mother of a boy is present there and gives a present to the girls' family and announces her son as the future husband of the new born girl.

101. The folk etymology of this term states that *ga* here means cow, hence *ga be ga* 'cow to cow' means a mutually beneficial business. I, however, think that one should not be misled by the immediate meaning of *ga*, and it may be the same component as the one in *gagrive* (see footnote 125 below).

102. *pa-ger-i* 'foot-hold-ATTR'

tives, based on their resources, will also give a share. Practically, these payments and bridal rights and expenses are acting as an obstacle for polygamy, which is allowed by Shari'a, but is relatively rare among Bakhtiari.

To help covering the wedding costs, the groom's brother or one of his male relatives will start gathering the donations, which is called *owzi* or *æwzi*, approximately, one week before the wedding. Almost all the tribe members will be invited to the wedding ceremony, some bring their share of *owzi*, a sheep, money, or the less fortunate ones, a bag of wheat flour to the feast. A local Molla, if one exists in the area,¹⁰³ would read the special verses from the Qor'an and will announce them Hallal to each other. Even to this day, there are couples in the nomadic areas that do not have a marriage certificate issued by a wedding notary.

The following paragraphs, tables and diagrams will illustrate the Bakhtiari kinship system. Table 3.1.1 consists of six columns and four sections: Column 1 is for numbering the words. Words with the same meanings will not get separate numbers but are specified by sub-numbering; such as 2-a and 2-b below, in which case they can be used interchangeably without semantic differences, but with pragmatic implications.

Column 2 contains Bakhtiari kin terms. These terms can be just one word or a compound with or without using Ezafe suffix *-e*.¹⁰⁴ The kinship terms in this table are organized in four categories: Lineal Kin, Collateral Kin, Affinial Kin and Other Related Kin Terms, explained in paragraphs below.

Column 3 represents the kin types, i.e. abbreviations that are common in anthropological studies to show the basic kinship relations: M (mother), F (father), B (brother), Z (sister), C (child), H (husband), W (wife). The sequence of these types expresses a relationship. For example, MM, means: mother's mother 'maternal grandmother'.

Column 4 has the English equivalents or translations of the words.

Column 5 is kept for extra information such as an alternative term (2-b); the literal meaning of the word (18-b) or to provide some cultural background information (118).

Column 6 shows the page number of Maddadi (1996), where the word can be found but the meanings may not match precisely. The items without a page number are my additions.

The first two sections of the table are classified according to lineal and collateral kinship networks. These two terms should be explained here. Based on Brian Schwimmer (2003: 6):

103. Finding a clergy or a learned man who can perform the wedding lock was a challenge in the older times, when literacy rate was low and in the absence of roads and modes of communication, the nomadic areas were not practically accessible. Nowadays, these are obviously not an issue.

104. To learn more about Ezafe in Bakhtiari, see (5.3) below.

Lineal kin are either the direct ancestors or descendants of a particular Ego. Collateral kin are composed of Ego's siblings and their descendants and the siblings and his/her lineal kin of ascending generations and their descendants as well.

Lineal kin is an important group, forming the *kor=o beu* and *æwlad* levels of the aforementioned (2.2.1) tribal structure. Collateral kindred, however, has a very significant social and cultural (previously also political) role (See 2.2.1 above). This is actually a corporate group that comes first to help for a wedding, funeral or harvest, among other social activities, even in settled urban Bakhtiari communities.

After these two sections of consanguineous relations, the third section of the table refers to affinal relations or, in other words, to relations that are attained through marriage.

The last section contains words and expressions that may not be directly related to a kin system, but frequently are used and play an important role in clarification of the status of a human relationship.

Two figures 15 and 16 will follow the table to further clarify this kinship system and the usage of its terms.

It is noteworthy that from the kin terms in lineal and collateral relationships, the simplex ones and the two-parts ones are the actual words that are used to call the designated relationship. In other words, they are not explanation of a certain relationship, but they are the terms that are used to tag the relationship. As an example, *doḡær-e botiā* 'mother's sister's daughter' is an established term that one can use to address his mother's sister's daughter in an every day conversation, in a way that is expressed in the examples at the end of this section, and in constructions such as:

- (2) *doḡær-e botiā pæ to bi-y-æw*
 daughter-EZ aunt then you SBJV-E-come.PRS
 'Aunt's daughter, come on, then!'

The more complex terms, i.e. the ones consisting of two or more Ezafe constructions, such as *kor-e doḡær-e kiči* 'the son of the daughter of the father's sister' are more descriptive and are not used for direct addressing; however, it is not impossible to hear a sentence such as the example below:

- (3) *kor-e doḡær-e kiči=m pæ to bi-y-æw*
 son-EZ daughter-EZ aunt=BP.1SG then you SBJV-E-come.PRS
 'My aunt's daughter's son, come on, then!'

As for the affinal kin terms, they are both addressive and descriptive. It means that although they all describe a relationship, some of them can also be used for addressing the related person. These terms are items 84-100.

From the terms in the table of other related kin terms, only the term *bibi/bivi* is used to address an elderly respectable lady, the rest are terms to describe a relationship.

Table 3.1.1: Kinship terms

No.	Bakhtiari kin terms	Kin type	English meaning	comments	p.
Lineal Kin					
1	<i>dalū</i>	MM/ FM	grandmother	lit.old woman	118
2-a	<i>mama</i>	MM	mother's mother		-
2-b	<i>dalū da</i>	MM	mother's mother	also: <i>næne da/ næne</i> lit.oldwoman-mother	118
3-a	<i>da bæve</i>	FM	father's mother	lit.mother-father	118
3-b	<i>dalū papa</i>	FM	father's mother	lit.oldwoman-father	-
4	<i>ba ba-χajæ</i>	FFF	great-grandfather	only paternal lit.grandfather(short form)-grandfather-repected oldman	-
5-a	<i>bava</i>	FF	grandfather		35
5-b	<i>ba-χajæ</i>	FF	grandfather	only paternal lit.grandfather(short form)-repected oldman	33
5-c	<i>bava-χajæ</i>	FF	grandfather	only paternal lit.grandfather-repected old man	33
5-d	<i>bava beu-i</i>	FF	father's father	lit.grandfather-father- attributive suffix	-
6	<i>beu-da</i>	MF	mother's father	also: <i>bow/bava da-i</i> lit.father-mother	-
7	<i>da, dayæ</i>	M	mother		118
8	<i>bæve, beu, bow, bæwe</i>	F	father		35
9	<i>doḡær</i>	D	daughter; girl		118
10	<i>dor</i>	D	daughter; girl	the shorter form of no. 9	118
11	<i>kor</i>	S	son; boy		188
12	<i>bæče</i>	C	kid; child		36
13	<i>owlaḡ</i>	C	child	Arabic loan	29
14	<i>næve</i>	CC	grandchild	also: <i>bæče-bæče</i>	-
15	<i>bæče-kor</i>	SC	son's child	lit.child-son	-
16	<i>bæče-doḡær</i>	DC	daughter's child	lit.child-daughter	-

17	<i>netiĵe</i>	CCC	great-grandchild	lit.result	-
18	<i>neġiġe</i>	CCCC	great-great-grandchild	lit.not seen	-
Collateral Kin					
19	<i>halu da</i>	MMB	mother's mother's brother	lit.uncle-mother	-
20	<i>botiā da</i>	MMZ	mother's mother's sister	lit.aunt-mother	-
21	<i>tate da</i>	MFB	mother's father's brother	lit.oldman-mother	-
22	<i>kiči da</i>	MFZ	mother's father's sister	lit.aunt-mother	-
23	<i>halu beu</i>	FMB	father's mother's brother	lit.uncle-father	-
24	<i>botiā beu</i>	FMZ	father's mother's sister	lit.aunt-father	-
25	<i>tate beu</i>	FFB	father's father's brother	lit.oldman-father	-
26	<i>kiči beu</i>	FFZ	father's father's sister	lit.aunt-father	-
27	<i>hālu</i>	MB	mother's brother	27 and 28 are dialectal and/ or personal variations	261
28	<i>dāi</i>	MB	mother's brother	the Persian word for mother's brother	-
29	<i>botiā</i> ¹⁰⁵	MZ	mother's sister		36
30	<i>tate</i>	FB	father's brother	30 and 31 and 32 are dialectal and/ or personal variations.	69
31	<i>āqa</i>	FB	father's brother		17
32	<i>kaka</i>	FB	father's brother		186
33	<i>geu beu</i>	FB	the brother of father	also: <i>amu</i> Persian loan	206
34	<i>kiči</i> ¹⁰⁶	FZ	father's sister		203
35	<i>halu-za</i>	MBC	cousin: mother's brother's child	also: (<i>doġær/kor</i>)- <i>e</i> <i>halu</i> lit.uncle-give birth.PRS.	261
36	<i>doġær-e halu</i>	MBD	mother's brother's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-uncle	-

105. To my knowledge, this word is unique in Iranian languages to refer to mother's sister.

106. *Kiči* meaning father's sister is also exclusively used in Bakhtiari.

37	<i>kor-e halu</i>	MBS	mother's brother's son	lit.child-EZ-son	-
38	<i>halu xor-za</i>	-	the relationship between mother's brother and his nieces and nephews	lit.uncle-sister-give birth.PRS.	261
39	<i>xor.ze.mar</i>	MZC	cousin: mother's sister's child	also: (<i>doðær/kor</i>)- <i>e botiā</i> lit.sister-from-mother	112
40	<i>doðær-e botiā</i>	MZD	mother's sister's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-aunt	-
41	<i>kor-e botiā</i>	MZS	mother's sister's son	lit.son-EZ-aunt	-
42	<i>deðu, deði</i>	Z	sister		118
43	<i>dæðe/æ, dæ</i>	Z	sister		118
44	<i>geu</i>	B	brother	<i>gehu, gewu, gæge</i> Dialectal variations of the same term	206
45	<i>tate-za</i>	FBC	cousin: father's brother's child	lit.parental uncle-give birth.PRS. also: (<i>doðær/kor</i>)- <i>e tate</i> lit. (daughter/ son)-EZ-parental uncle	69
46	<i>doðær-e tate/aqa</i>	FBD	father's brother's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-oldman/sir	-
47	<i>kor-e tate/aqa</i>	FBS	father's brother's son	lit.son-EZ-oldman/sir	-
48	<i>tate-za vaza</i>	-	paternal cousins' relationship	Short form: <i>ta-za va</i> ¹⁰⁷ - <i>za</i> lit.oldman-give birth.PRS.-?-give birth.PRS.	69
49	<i>keči-za</i>	FZC	cousin: father's sister's child	Note it is not <i>kiči</i> but <i>keči</i> lit.aunt-give birth.PRS.	188
50	<i>doðær-e kiči</i>	FZD	father's sister's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-aunt	-
51	<i>kor-e kiči</i>	FZS	father's sister's son	lit.son-EZ-aunt	-

107. So far, I could not find any explanation for *va* in this compound.

52	<i>bæče halu-za</i>	MBCC	mother's brother's grandchild	lit.child-uncle-give birth.PRS.	-
53	<i>doðær-e doðær-e halu</i>	MBDD	mother's brother's grand daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-daughter-EZ-uncle	-
54	<i>kor-e doðær-e halu</i>	MBDS	mother's brother's grandson	lit.son-EZ-daughter-EZ-uncle	-
55	<i>doðær-e kor-e halu</i>	MBSD	mother's brother's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-son-EZ-uncle	-
56	<i>kor-e kor-e halu</i>	MBSS	mother's brother's grandson	also: <i>næve halu</i> lit.son-EZ-son-EZ-uncle	-
57	<i>bæče xorzemar</i>	MZCC	mother's sister's grandchild	lit.child-sister-from -mother	-
58	<i>doðær-e doðær-e botiā</i>	MZDD	mother's sister's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-daughter-EZ-aunt	-
59	<i>kor-e doðær-e botiā</i>	MZDS	mother's sister's grandson	lit.son-EZ-daughter-EZ-aunt	-
60	<i>doðær-e kor-e botiā</i>	MZSD	mother's sister's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-son-EZ-aunt	-
61	<i>kor-e kor-e botiā</i>	MZSS	mother's sister's grandson	lit.son-EZ-son-EZ-aunt	-
62	<i>vaza</i>	FBCC	uncle's grandchild	lit.?-give birth.PRS.	252
63	<i>bæče tate-za</i>	FBCC	father's brother's grandchild	lit.child-oldman-give birth.PRS.	-
64	<i>doðær-e doðær-e aqa/tate</i>	FBDD	father's brother's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-daughter-EZ-sir/oldman	-
65	<i>kor-e doðær-e tate/aqa</i>	FBDS	father's brother's grandson	lit.son-EZ-daughter-EZ-oldman /sir	-
66	<i>doðær-e kor-e aqa/tate</i>	FBSD	father's brother's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-son-EZ-sir/oldman	-
67	<i>kor-e kor-e aqa/tate</i>	FBSS	father's brother's grandson	lit.son-EZ-son-EZ-sir/oldman	-
68	<i>bæče keči-za</i>	FZCC	father's sister's grandchild	lit.child-aunt-give birth.PRS.	-
69	<i>doðær-e doðær-e kiči</i>	FZDD	father's sister's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-daughter-EZ-aunt	-
70	<i>kor-e doðær-e kiči</i>	FZDS	father's sister's grandson	lit.son-EZ-daughter-EZ-aunt	-

71	<i>doðær-e kor-e kiči</i>	FZSD	father's sister's granddaughter	lit.daughter-EZ-son-EZ-aunt	-
72	<i>kor-e kor-e kiči</i>	FZSS	father's sister's grandson	lit.son-EZ-son-EZ-aunt	-
73	<i>xor-za</i>	ZC	sister's child	also: <i>bæçe deðu</i> lit.sister-give birth.PRS.	112
74	<i>kor-e deðu</i>	ZS	sister's son	lit.son-EZ-sister	-
75	<i>doðær-e deðu</i>	ZD	sister's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-sister	-
76	<i>kor-e geu</i>	BS	brother's son	lit.son-EZ-brother	-
77	<i>doðær-e geu</i>	BD	brother's daughter	lit.daughter-EZ-brother	-
Affinial kins					
78	<i>χosi mahe</i>	MLA	mother-in-law	lit.parent -in-law-fe-male	112
79	<i>χosi nære</i>	FLA	father-in-law	also: <i>beusire</i> with a very limited usage lit.parent.in.law-male	112
80	<i>miære kiči</i>	FZH	father's sister's husband	lit.husband-aunt	-
81	<i>miære botið¹⁰⁸</i>	MZH	mother's sister's husband	also: <i>miære da</i> lit.husband-aunt	-
82	<i>bavere</i>	MH	stepfather		35
83	<i>deðu zine</i>	WZ	wife's sister	lit.sister-wife	-
84	<i>χosi</i>	M/FLA	parent -in-law		112
85	<i>χošiær</i>	HZ	husband's sister	contracted form of <i>χor-šohær</i> lit.sister-husband	113
86	<i>zin-aqa</i>	FBW	father's brother's wife	also: <i>zin-tate, zin-kaka</i> lit.wife-sir	-
87	<i>zin beu</i>	FW	stepmother	lit.wife-father	145
88	<i>dowa</i>	ZH	sister's husband	also: <i>duma</i>	127
89	<i>ziðne</i>	W	wife		145
90	<i>miære</i>	H	husband		238
91	<i>zin geu</i>	BW	brother's wife	lit.wife-brother	49
92	<i>dowa</i>	DH	daughter's husband	also: <i>duma</i>	127
93	<i>be(h)ig</i>	SW	son's wife		49

108. See also the last paragraph of this section, following figure 16: Primary affinal network.

94	<i>zin-(h)ālu</i>	MBW	mother's brother's wife	lit.wife-uncle	-
95	<i>berar zæn</i>	WB	wife's brother	also: <i>berar zianæ</i> lit.brother-wife	37
96	<i>berar-šær</i>	HB	husband's brother	also: <i>berar-mire</i> lit.brother-husband	37
97	<i>zin-berar-šær</i>	HBW	husband's brother's wife	lit.wife-brother-husband	142
98	<i>hom-riāš</i>	WZH	wife's sister's husband	lit.same-beard	268
99	<i>hom-ærus</i>	HBW	husband's brother's wife	lit.same-bride	142
100	<i>hævu</i>		co-wife		-
other related kin terms					
101	<i>bav-gōw</i>		father's family	lit.father-group(collective suffix)	35
102	<i>beu-bavere</i>		ancestors	lit.father-bavere	-
103	<i>bibi/ bivi</i>		the oldest wife of a chief, a respectable elderly lady		49
104	<i>bon-ku</i> ¹⁰⁹		the relatives who share land or live next to each other.	lit.stem-group(collective suffix)	43
105	<i>doðær-e xošær</i>		the daughter of the sister of husband	lit.daughter-EZ-husband's sister	-
106	<i>hōw-e-dōw</i>		family, household, clan	lit.house-place(suffix)	270
107	<i>kor-e deðu-zin-berar-šær</i>		the son of the sister of the wife of the brother of husband	lit.son-EZ-sister-wife-brother-husband	-
108	<i>mal-e miære</i>		husband's family and relatives	lit.mal(relatives)-EZ-husband	230
109	<i>næ-deðu-i</i>		stepsister	lit.no-sister-ATTR	-
110	<i>næ-geu-i</i>		stepbrother	lit.no-brother-ATTR	-
111	<i>netar</i>		ancestors		242

109. This term is more frequent in Kohgiluyeh and Boiramaadi variety of the language.

112	<i>nuri</i>		the first child (son)	lit.light-ATTR	246
113	<i>pa-guri</i>		a child who is born after his or her father's death	lit.foot-grave-ATTR	55
114	<i>pæs-pedær/ pæs-piær</i>		a child who is born after his or her father's death	lit.after-father	55
115	<i>piǎš</i>		relatives	also: <i>piǎš-tær</i> 'close relatives' lit.front-COMPR	66
116	<i>piǎš-za</i>		stepson/ step-daughter/ step-child	only for women lit.front-give birth.PRS.	66
117	<i>qom=o xiǎš</i>		relatives	also: <i>χom=o xiǎš</i> lit.self-CONJ-relatives	184
118	<i>sogoli</i>		the favorite wife	in a polygamous relationship	-
119	<i>tate-za-h-i</i>		cousinhood	lit.oldman-give birth. PRS.E.ATTR	69
120	<i>xiǎš</i>		relatives		-
121	<i>zæn-zæ-χast</i>		courting, asking for the hand in marriage	lit.wife-from-want.PST.	142

In Bakhtiari, the extended bilateral relationships, kindred, constitutes a recognized social group. The functions of this recognized group have been discussed above (2.2.1) and in the introductory remarks of the present section (3.1.1). Figure 15 below is presented here to show this kindred network in more detail and clarity.

In Figure 15 the kindred terms are numbered followed by their explanations which are presented according to their frequency. In other words, in front of each number, the first term is used more often, followed by other frequent terms. The diversity of terms are usually due to dialectal and not semantic variations. These are the terms used to clarify the relationship. In calling or addressing each other, however, different forms or only the name of the addressee is used. For example, to refer to mother's uncle (relationship 1 below), Ego can simply call him with the first part of the kin term (uncle) or can attach this first part of the kin term to a bound personal pronoun, in this case *=m* which is the first person singular:

- (4) 1. MMB: *halu da*; called: *halu* or more frequently: *halu=m Noruz*
 uncle=my (his name)

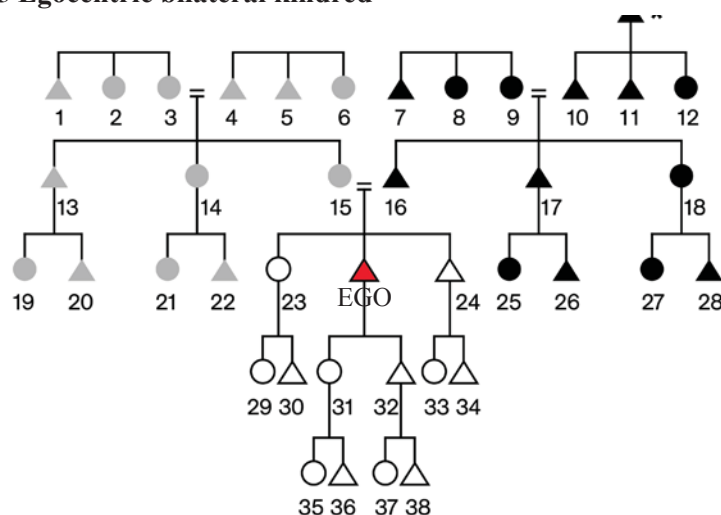
In a conversation such as:

- (5) *halu=m Noruz, hal=et četæwr-e?*
 uncle=my Noruz, feelings=you how-is
 ‘My uncle Noruz, how are you?’

To use the form with a bound personal pronoun, can be interpreted as a way to express respect, endearment and also intimacy with the addressee.

In the below list, if the term has a different calling form, this information is provided after it. Instead of (his/her name), I will use X.

Figure 15 Egocentric bilateral kindred¹¹⁰



EGO=



* FFF: *ba ba-χajæ*; this term is exclusively used in a patrilineal genealogy, therefore, no specific term for MFF, but the compound: *beu beu da*.

1. MMB: *halu da*; called: *halu, halu=m X*
2. MMZ: *botiə da*; called: *botiə, botiə=m X*
3. MM: *dalu, mama, næne, næne da, dalu da, da da*; called: *dalu, mama, næne, mama=m X, næn=om X*
4. MF: *beu-da, bava da-i*; called: *bava, bava=m, bava=m X*
5. MFB: *aqa da*; called: *aqa, aqa=m X*
6. MFZ: *kiči da*; called: *kiči, kiči=m X*
7. FMB: *halu beu/ halu bæve*; called: *halu, halu=m X*

110. Circles represent female members, triangles, male members and the red triangle represents Ego.

8. FMZ: *botiā beu/bæve*; called: *botiā, botiā=m X*
9. FM: *dalū, mama, næne, dalū papa, dalū bæve*; called: *dalū, mama, næne, mama=m X, næn=om X*
10. FF: *bava, ba-χajē, ba-χajæ, bava beu-i*; called: *bava, bava=m X*
11. FFB: *tate beu, geu bava*; called: *tate, aqa=m X*
12. FFZ: *kiči beu/bæve, deðu bava*; called: *kiči, kiči=m X*
13. MB: *hālu, dāi*; called: *halu, halu=m X*
14. MZ: *botiā*; called: *botiā, botiā=m X*
15. M: *da, dayæ*
16. F: *beu, bæve, bow, bæwe*
17. FB: *tate, kaka, aqa, geu beu*; called: *tate, kaka=m/aqa=m X*
18. FZ: *kiči*; called: *kiči, kiči=m X*
- 19-20. MBC: *halu-za*
19. MBD: *doḡær-e halu*; called: *X, doḡær-e halu=m*
20. MBS: *kor-e halu*; called: *X, kor-e halu=m*
- 21-22. MZC: *χorzemar*
21. MZD: *doḡær-e botiā*; called: *X, doḡær-e botiā=m*
22. MZS: *kor-e botiā*; called: *X, kor-e botiā=m*
23. Z: *deðu, deḡi, dæḡe/æ, dæ*
24. B: *geu*
- 25-26. FBC: *tate-za*
25. FBD: *doḡær-e aqa, doḡær-e tate*; called: *X, doḡær-e aqa=m doḡær-e tat=om*
26. FBS: *kor-e aqa, kor-e tate*; called: *X, kor-e aqa=m, kor-e tat=om*
- 27-28. FZC: *keči-za*; note it is not *kiči* but *keči*.
27. FZD: *doḡær-e kiči*; called: *X, doḡær-e kiči=m*
28. FZS: *kor-e kiči*; called: *X, kor-e kiči=m*

Note: In regard to naming cousins, there is only one cover term to refer to maternal aunt's children (MZC: *χorzemar*). For the rest, the compound with suffix *-za* is used: *halu-za* 'MBC', *tate-za* 'FBC', *keči-za* 'FZC'. On the other hand, there are two terms to describe the mutual relationship between siblings' children with their uncles, i.e. *halu-χor-za*, the relationship between sister's children with their maternal uncle; *tate-za va za*, to refer to the relationship between brother's children with their paternal uncle and his children.

- 29-30. ZC: *χorza*
29. ZD: *doḡær -e deðu*; called: *X, doḡær-e deðu=m*
30. ZS: *kor-e deðu*; called: *X, kor-e deðu=m*
- 31, 32. C: *bæče, owlaḡ*
31. D: *doḡær, dor*
32. S: *kor*
33. BD: *doḡær-e geu*; called: *X, doḡær-e geu=m*
34. BS: *kor-e geu*; called: *X, kor-e geu=m*

Note: while there is a cover term for sister's children, *xorza*, no such a term exists for brother's children. It is also noteworthy that gender of siblings does not play a role in the way sibling's children are addressed.

35-38. CC: *næve*, *bæče-bæče*, *bæče kor*, *bæče doðær*

35. DD: *doðær-e doðær*; called: *X*, *doðær=m*

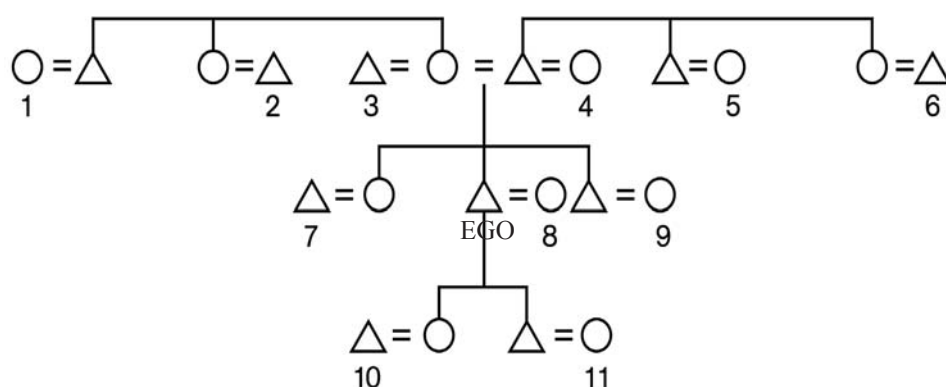
36. DS: *bæče doðær*, *kor-e doðær*; called: *X*, *kor=om*

37. SD: *bæče kor*, *doðær-e kor*; called: *X*, *doðær=om*

38. SS: *bæče kor*, *kor-e kor*; called: *X*, *kor=om*

Figure 16 shows the primary affinal network. Here it is called primary, because it presents the terms for spouses of only the first sanguine relatives and not, for instance, a father's brother's son's wife.

Figure 16 Primary affinal network



1. MBW: *zin-(h)ālu*

2. MZH: *miære botiā*

3. MH: *miære da* (Only when a mother remarries after divorce from or death of the father.)

4. FW: *zin beu*

5. FBW: *zin aqa/tate*

6. FZH: *miære kiči*

7. ZH: *dowa/ duma*

8. W: *ziāne*, in case Ego is female H: *miære*

9. BW: *zin geu*

10. DH: *dowa/ duma*

11. SW: *behig*

To address MZH or FZH, if he is a paternal relative, *tate* or *aqa* is used and in case he is from maternal side, he will most probably be called *halu* or *dai*. If he is not a relative, a complete stranger before the marriage, the above terms (*tate*, *aqa*, *halu*, *dai*) can be used sporadically. Unlike other more conservative Iranian cultures, also in comparison with urban Persian families of just one or two past generations, Bakhtiari spouses feel no constraint in calling each other by the first name, even in the presence of absolute strangers. Other forms and compounds may also be heard, though, especially when the wife is much younger than the husband; compounds such as: *da bæčiyæl* 'mother of the children'; *beu bæčiyæl* 'father of the children'; *da/ beu X*, in which X is usually the name of their first born son.

3.1.2 Body Parts

In this section body parts terminology and their categorization by Bakhtiaris will be explored. The related data were extracted from Maddadi (1996) and also by eliciting data in actual and virtual¹¹¹ fieldwork. In the early stages of the research, body part terms were listed in a very general order, into categories of Head, Torso and the lower part of the body, Arm and hand, Leg and foot and General (Appendix 3)¹¹².

Later, I learned about the work done by Asifa Majid and her research team¹¹³, published in *Language Sciences* 28 (2006). The aim of that study was to ‘... to understand the relative impact of universal versus culture specific principles of categorization’ (Majid, 2006: 242). The authors further express their specific questions ‘concerning categorization and linguistic/conceptual segmentation of the body’ as follows: “How do languages conventionally segment the body into parts? Does the set of body part terms constitute a structured system in all languages? Is there a universal, cross-linguistically consistent way of categorizing the body?” (Enfield et al. 2006: 138).

By focusing on Punjabi¹¹⁴ data, Majid elaborates on this point further as:

“Unlike many other objects, the body is the same around the world So, we might expect that categories for parts of the body would be the same everywhere. But Punjabi speakers show some interesting differences in how parts of the body are categorized in comparison with other languages... suggesting that body part categorization is not universal. (Majid 2006: 242)”

I decided to adapt this approach and therefore, rearranged my data to comply with the above-mentioned framework. As mentioned in the introductory remarks of this section, the following discussion will also draw on other important and relevant sources on lexical semantics, such as: Andersen (1978), Brown (1976) and Brown & Witkowski (1981). In regard to body parts, Brown (1976) designed a research plan based on the “naming behavior” of forty-one globally distributed languages¹¹⁵ and accordingly she drew “twelve general principles of classification

111. By virtual fieldwork I mean data collecting through Facebook and different mobile applications. This turned out to be a very practical and effective method of data collection.

112. I have decided to keep the original formatting of the body parts table as an appendix for two practical reasons: Firstly, because not everybody is familiar with the semantic frameworks used in this lexical field, therefore, as a quick reference this hands-on categorization may be more useful. Secondly, in the table the Middle Persian equivalent of many words is provided. This information, too, may be interesting from a philological point of view.

113. In the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

114. An Indo-European language spoken in Pakistan.

115. These languages consist of twelve Amerindian languages, ten European, five sub-Saharan African, five Southeast Asian, two Chinese, two Micronesian and four Mideastern and Western Asian languages (including Farsi). Surprisingly, in footnote 8 (page 422), when she lists her sources of the languages, there is no mention of her Persian/ Farsi source (text or consultant). In her other work with Witkowski (1981), however, she mentions Pahlavi by MacKenzie (1971) as the only Persian

and nomenclature in human anatomical partonomy". Andersen (1978), in turn, used Brown's data, added by a few more languages,¹¹⁶ calculated nine principles of categorization shared as universals in lexical fields. The studies on color terms terminology, child psychology and language acquisition support the notion that 'the basis for lexico-semantic universals lies in the way people universally categorize perceptual information and organize their conceptual knowledge' (Anderson 1978: 340). These principles are not discussed in the present research, and only if the Bakhtiari data do not conform, the related principle will be mentioned here.

A significant part of the discussion in the aforementioned sources is related to partonomy and its distinction with taxonomy.¹¹⁷ This subject, too, will not be covered here, due to the need for further investigation.

Bakhtiari has a relatively abundant terminology of body parts. One manifestation of this characteristic is the existence of multiple words for the same part of the body, sometimes with no obvious difference in their meanings, registers or style. Some of these similar terms are the result of borrowing from the dominant Persian language, but many others, plausibly, have been acquired through centuries of contact with neighboring languages and cultures within the borders of the present day Iran and beyond. Majid has also encountered the same phenomenon in Punjabi and she inferred that it possibly is 'a function of the pervasive multi-dialecticism of Punjabi speakers' (2006: 242).

The other reason for this diversity, in my opinion, lies in the special lifestyle of Bakhtiari nomads. Brown & Witkowski (1981: 207) talk about the 'intervening cultural variable' in polysemy development and loss: "While intrinsic perceptual salience is relatively constant across languages, cultural significance can vary greatly". As a pastoral, herd-breeder, it is crucial for a Bakhtiari nomad to be able to define and explain different parts of his animals' body with precision. This is because generation after generation, they themselves were responsible for taking care of their animals in case of any accident, delivery or disease. Also in order to trade their animals they should be able to define all the physical characteristics of the livestock. This attention to animal body parts is a probable explanation for developing a detailed vocabulary to define different human limbs and organs.¹¹⁸

reference. The fact that her Persian data are from Middle Iranian, and not from a Modern Iranian language, may explain why some of the present data does not conform to her principles. These deviations from Brown's formulated principles will be discussed accordingly.

116. These additional languages include Pocomchi, Czech, Hebrew, Finnish, Moghamo and Hausa (Andersen 1978: 347).

117. As a quick reference: Andersen (1978: 348) defines this distinction as 'kind of relationships' association for taxonomy (a rose is a kind of flower), while partonomic classification is associated with 'part of' relationships (a fingernail is a part of finger).

118. There is yet another probable historical reason for these multiple forms that harks back to the dominant pre-Islamic Zoroastrianism on the Iranian plateau. In Zoroastrian cosmology, the whole of creation was divided into two parties: Angra Mainyu "evil spirit/mind/thought" as opposed to Sepanta Mainyu "bounteous spirit" associated with Ahura Mazda, the Creator. Based on these ideas, in some cases, two sets of words and terms were used to refer to things associated with these two op-

Having said that, there are words in English or Persian body parts terminology that do not have an equivalent in Bakhtiari. A very striking example is English *muscle* or Persian *mahi-če* ‘lit. fish-small’. To be more scrutinizing in eliciting data, the consultants were asked: “how do you order a sheep muscle in a butcher shop?” The answer revealed the fact that, for the purpose of consumption, people cut a sheep or a cow in different proportions from those that are generally applied in city butchery. For instance, the muscles are always included in a leg, an arm or a shoulder piece, and not separated as an entity. Therefore, there is no need to have a word for a part that does not exist by itself.¹¹⁹

The body, on the other hand, is labeled by several terms. The principle word for body is *laš*, which is shared between people and animals. *æñqom*¹²⁰ is used exclusively for people, as well as *tæn*. The latter, however, has two more functions. One is in a physical sense, to refer more specifically to the trunk of a human. The other sense of *tæn* refers to the concept of man as a being or a person, hence its emphatic role with the reflexive pronoun *xo* in an Ezafe construction (See 5.6.2 example 114). The polysemous behavior of *tæn* is not restricted to Bakhtiari and it seems to be a cross-linguistic feature. Majid quotes Evans and Wilkins (2001) and Wilkins (1996): “...terms denoting the body are diachronically unstable, and that these terms are often polysemous, being used to refer to skin, trunk, and person, as well as to body” (Majid, 2006: 143). To refer to a dead body, the Arabic loan *mæyet/q* is used, and it is when *jō* ‘soul, spirit’ leaves the *laš*.

The body is symmetrically divided into two parts by *domjār*, the waist line: *domjār be bala* ‘lit.waist line-to-up’ and *domjār be zīār* ‘lit.waist line-to-down’. *dom*, in itself, means the string that holds the trousers, but *jār* does not exist as a separate lexeme.¹²¹ One of the main consultants thinks that it actually is *domja*, consisting of *dom* ‘tail, end’ and *ja* ‘place, location’, hence the place of tail.

The simplex verb *pušiḡen* ‘to cover’ and the complex verb¹²² *vær-kerḡen* ‘lit. on-to do’ are used in general to convey the meaning ‘to dress’ and ‘to put on’. When putting on a hat or any head cover, however, the verb *sær-kerḡen* ‘lit.head-to do’ is used. Likewise, for putting on shoes or socks *pa-kerḡen* ‘lit.foot-to do’ is

posing concepts. For examples there were two different words to refer to the mouth, one that belongs to a creature associated with Angra Mainyu and the other for the league of Sepanta Mainyu. This distinction dissolved in the course of time, especially by the dominance of Islam, which vanquished the prevailing Zoroastrianism. Reminiscences of these pairs can be found now, used with almost identical meaning, in different Iranian languages.

119. It seems that Persian acquired the word for muscle later in its development, since as confirmed by Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst (personal communication), no such term is attested in any Middle Iranian languages.

120. From Middle Persian *handām* ‘member, limb’

121. Maddadi (1996: 126) has given two more meanings for *domjār*: one is the top margin of a trouser where the waistband is passed through; the second meaning is a special pocket in a trouser to situate male genitals.

122. For a detailed discussion on these categories of verbs, see 6.1.1 below.

used, as well as for wearing trousers. This shows that the word *pa* is also polysemous and means both ‘foot’ and ‘leg’.

Interestingly, body parts are also widely represented in Bakhtiari love songs and in mourning lyrics describing corporal merits of the beloved one or of the lovely deceased person:

- (6) *pæs-e pa penir*¹²³ *penir, sine qælæmriəz/ čal-e naf=et hæwz-e Kowsær, molk-e Tabriəz*
 (back-EZ leg cheese cheese, chest pen worked/ hollow-EZ navel-your pool-EZ Kowsar, land-EZ Tabriz)
 ‘The backs of your ankles (are white as) cheese, (smooth as) cheese, your bosom is tattooed (with veins)/ The hollow of your navel is Hawz-e Kowsar,¹²⁴ the land of Tabriz’ (Vahman & Asatryan, 1995:35)

A line from a popular *gagrive*¹²⁵ runs:

- (7) *dein=om be na=t ey mar-e mur-i/ næ-χor-i ti-a sia, tišni boluri*
 (religious duties=my on neck=your oh snake-ez ant-attr not-eat-you eye-pl black, neck long and white)
 ‘I beg you, oh snakes and ants/ don’t eat the black eyes and the long and bright neck (of my beloved)’

The corporal esthetics associated with some body parts will be brought into focus in their due place.

Some parts of the body are associated with emotions. *jiyær* ‘liver’, *del* ‘heart’ and *tišni* ‘throat’ are the place where emotional pain accumulates. The excessive pain turns the heart or liver into blood, hence, *χin be del* ‘blood-to-heart= full of blood’, which is an expression of ultimate pain that can lead to death:

- (8) *kor-e-ke guš va=m ni-ger-e, χin be del=om kerø*
 ‘The boy, doesn’t listen to me, turned my heart into blood! (He is killing me).’

χin be jiyær ‘lit. blood-to-liver; blood covered liver’ is also used in this context, but it probably is copying the Persian expression *χun be jægær*.

To be struck in the *tišni* ‘throat’ with too much pain, is considered fatal; hence curses such as:

123. *Penir* ‘cheese’: “Persian cheese, being very white and smooth in texture, is a constant metaphor among Baxtiārīs as well as other Iranian nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples (Kurds, Gūrūns, Balūcs, etc.), denoting the beloved’s breast, legs, belly, etc. (Vahman & Asatryan 1995:161)”

124. *hæwz-e Kowsær* ‘a fountain and reservoir of nectar in Paradise’ Vahman & Asatryan (1995:161).

125. *gagrive* as a noun refers to the funeral songs and as a verb to singing such songs. The popular folk etymology divides the word into *ga* ‘cow’ and *grive* ‘crying’, hence ‘crying and moaning like a cow’. Another folk etymology relates *ga* to the same root as Avestan *gaθaa* and deduces the meaning of ‘singing and crying’. I am not certain about the first part, but I find it quite plausible that the second part is from MP *grīw* ‘throat’ (see NO 49, table 3-3, Appendix 3 below) with *-e* as an attributive suffix

- (9) *dærd=om men-e tišni-t zen-a-he*
 ‘May my pain strike you in the throat!’

del ‘heart’, in itself, has other emotional importance. It is the seat of love, hope, courage, desire, volition and patience. All these are manifested in the creation of several *del*-related compounds and expressions, a few of which are presented here:

1. *be del biðen* ‘to-heart-to be = agree; choose’;
2. *tæš-e del kur kerðen* ‘fire-heart-blind-to do = to soothe, to pacify’;
3. *koræw-e del poiniðen* ‘blister-heart-EZ-to chap = to soothe by revenge’;
4. *del æw-abiðen* ‘heart-water-to become = to suffer’;
5. *del æw-kerðen* ‘heart-water-to do = to make suffer; to make somebody’s mouth watery’;
6. *del be æw zeiðen* ‘heart-to-water-to strike = to risk’;
7. *del bi del kerðen* ‘heart-without-heart-to do = to hesitate’; *del del kerðen* ‘heart-heart-do = to hesitate’;
8. *del del zeiðen* ‘heart-heart-beat = to doubt’;
9. *del dašten* ‘heart-to have = to be determined; willing to do something’;
10. *del di kerðen* ‘heart-smoke-to do = to pity, to have mercy’;
11. *del soxten* ‘heart-to burn = to pity, to have mercy’;
12. *del=o kol æw kerðen* ‘heart-and-intestines-water-to do = to cause nausea’;
13. *del nahaðen* ‘heart-to put down = to become disappointed’;
14. *nom-e del* ‘fit/just-EZ heart = appropriate; desirable’;
15. *dag-e del-i* ‘burn-EZ-heart-ATTR = vengeance’;
16. *del-ḡah-i* ‘heart-want-ATTR = arbitrariness; with pleasure’;
17. *del-ræhm* ‘heart-mercy = kind’;
18. *del-rušen* ‘heart-bright = happy, optimist’;
19. *del-sost-e* ‘heart-languid = faint-hearted’;
20. *del-saf* ‘heart-pure = naïve’;
21. *del-gonde* ‘heart-hefty = patient’;

Although *del* outnumbers all the other organs in creating expressions, other parts of the body (External or Internal) also play their share in expressing emotional states; some examples are:

22. *zæhle pokesten* ‘gall bladder-to burst = bursting of the gall bladder’ caused by extreme fear which can be fatal.
23. *zuni boriðen* ‘knee-to cut = unable to stand on the knees out of fear and worries’
24. *ze zuni væsten* ‘from-knee-to fall = unable to stand on the knees out of fatigue’
25. *tænge ḡariðen* ‘palm-to scrach = itching of the hand palm’ which is interpreted as announcing good luck and receiving a lot of money.

3.1.2.1 The organization of the tables

In previous cross-linguistic works on folk taxonomy, a consensus has developed that the cognitively more salient concepts (here body parts) are generally labeled with an ‘unanalyzable primary lexeme’ (Brown, 1976: 405); ‘basic terms’ (Berlin and Key 1969) or simplex terms (Enfield et al, 2006: 140). In the organization of Bakhtiari body parts, too, words are divided into two categories of simplex and complex terms. In each table, first the simplex terms are listed and the complex terms will follow. Each complex term is supported by a word-for-word gloss in the third column to provide a more vivid idea of the conceptual meaning of each term.

Several morphological processes are used to make the complex terminology, such as suffixation, reduplication and compounding but the major one is the Ezafe construction (see 5.3 below).

From an inventory of 306 body parts terms only 94 terms are complex (approximately 30.7 %) and the rest are morphologically simple lexemes that are all commonly known.

The body parts are categorized into five groups: Face, External, Internal, Bodily products and Animal body parts. An additional category, Configuration parts of the body, is also presented here. It is modeled on Majid (2006: 250-252), the similarity of the concepts and the forms were too intriguing to be ignored.

The present inventory is classified according to the Bakhtiari perception of body parts and their spatial distribution. Therefore, the following body parts are more considered as belonging to the face than internal organs: *gir* ‘canine tooth, Cuspid’, *kakili* ‘molar tooth’, *milom* ‘gum’, *mælaz* ‘palate’, *zæg* ‘palate’, *zõ* ‘tongue’, *dænqõ* ‘tooth’ and *niāšt* ‘front teeth’.

Each table has three columns. In the first column, the Bakhtiari terms are listed, wherever applicable, from the uppermost part of the body to the lowest part. The words related to the same body parts are listed together, in a sequence. The second column contains the closest English equivalent of the terms. In column three some extra information is provided, especially for each complex term, its constituents are glossed as a perceptual guide.

3.1.2.2 Face and its Parts

Table 3.3.1 indicates the Bakhtiari terms referring to face, which can roughly be explained as the area in the front of the head, not covered by women’s traditional headgear.¹²⁶ Therefore, it does not include the ears and neck. The default word for face, used in everyday speech, is *ri*, equivalent to Modern Persian *ru* and both

126. See the photo in footnote 134, related to the word *torne*.

from Middle Persian *rōy*.¹²⁷ In the Arabic loan *siræť* ‘form, face’, the same change is evident (compare to Persian *suræť*). This word is usually heard in conversations highly infused with Persian words and expressions. *šelg* and *belešť*, on the other hand, refer to the face as a unit, not so much as a physical entity:

26. *to xu šelg=es=e did-i*
 you well face=BP.3SG=DEF see.PST-2SG
 ‘Did you get a good look at her/his face?’

In the above example, *šelg* can also mean ‘appearance’. If one refers to the somebody’s appearance in a pejorative way, the expression in the example below is usually used:

27. *belešť-e adom-i næ-dar-e men-i*
 look=EZ human-ATTR NER-have.PRS-3SG suppose-.PRS-2SG
 ‘His/ her face doesn’t look human!’

Related to this concept of complexion as a whole is the term *šiava* which can be roughly translated as ‘similarity in complexion’:

28. *be šiava da=t ævord-om=et be ja*
 TO-ŠIØVA MOTHER=BP.2SG BRING.PRS-1SG=BP.2SG TO PLACE
 ‘I recognized you based on your mother’s complexion!’

There is another word *feis*, in some Southern Iranian language varieties, which is thought to be an English loan (face).¹²⁸ In Bakhtiari it is used usually in a pejorative manner:

29. *sei feis=es*
 LOOK.PRS FACE=BP.3SG
 ‘Look at her/his face!’

rext ‘complexion, look’ has the same usage as *feis*.

127. This pattern of phonological change from the Middle Persian to Bakhtiari and Modern Persian can be traced in other body part words, as well:

Middle Persian	Modern Persian	Bakhtiari
mōy	<i>mu</i>	<i>mi</i> ‘hair’
xōn	<i>xun</i>	<i>χin</i> ‘blood’
rōdig	<i>rude(h)</i>	<i>re/ivin</i> ‘intestines’
galōg	<i>gælu</i>	<i>ge/ili</i> ‘throat’
zānūg	<i>zanu</i>	<i>zuni</i> ‘knee’
pahlūg	<i>pæhlu</i>	<i>pæhli</i> ‘side’

It should be noted that this phenomenon is not exclusively for body part terms and can also be found in other vocabularies.

128. For a discussion on English loan words in Bakhtiari see and appendix

tiḡ ‘forehead’ is a very prominent body part, since it is believed that everyone’s destiny is written on their forehead. A high and wide forehead is esthetically more pleasant; the broader the forehead, the higher would be the chance of a good fortune.

As for the eye, the principle word is *ti/ tiā*. Although there are some complex words to describe different parts of eye, such as *kase ti* ‘eyeball’; *toḡm-e ti* ‘center of the eye’ or *puren(d)-e ti* ‘eyelid’, in practice the detailed segmentation of the eye seems not to be conceptually very salient since *ti/ tiā* is the only word usually used to refer to all the parts of the eye. This lack of salience becomes more apparent considering the term *toḡm-e ti* which literally means the seed of the eye and it includes both the cornea and the pupil. It was quite a challenge to find a specific term that refers solely to the pupil of the eye. The majority of Bakhtiari use only *ti*, while others have *toḡm-e ti* in their lexicon, as well. Very few Bakhtiari, only one out of more than twenty people that I asked specifically, are aware of the existence of the word *binæk/bivinæk* ‘the thing that sees, the pupil’ (Maddadi 1996: 51).

This phenomenon is apparently not language specific. Brown and Witkowski (1981: 600) report that out of 118 languages under survey, only 69 had a label for the pupil and concluded that the pupil has a marked status which is ‘low in salience and infrequent’ cross-linguistically. Their other finding was that ‘slightly over one third of the languages of the world equate the pupil with a human or humanlike object.’ The second cross-linguistic frequent expression for the pupil (11 out of 69) equates the pupil with ‘a seed or similar object (e.g. a kernel or acorn)’. Unlike Brown and Witkowski (1981: 601), who inferred ‘A seed/pupil analogy draws on shape and perhaps size similarity’, I think that in the case of Bakhtiari, the centrality of this part is the reason behind its denomination.

The other two terms *binæk/bivinæk* ‘pupil’ and *šæ-h-i ti* ‘blackness of the eye’, however, seem to be more uncommon. *bivinæk* and its shorter form *binæk* consists of the present stem of the word ‘to see’ *vin-/bin* (and in case of *bivinæk* plus the imperative/ subjunctive prefix *bi-*) plus a suffix *-æk*. In several Iranian languages *-æk* is considered as a diminutive suffix, like the relevant example of Persian *mærdom-æk* ‘pupil’ which literally means ‘people-little’.

In Bakhtiari, however, the predominant diminutive suffixes are *-ul* and *-uli/-ule*. The meaning of *-æk* is not very easy to interpret. Lazard (1992: 268) in the discussion of this suffix in another southwestern language, Persian, describes – as “It ... forms, from nouns or adjectives, derivatives with a concrete meaning.” In Bakhtiari there are instances where it can mean ‘like’ with an underlying diminutive interpretation as in the word: *kæfšæk* ‘the outer part of a hoof’ which can literally be glossed as shoe-small or in *ænær-æk* ‘femoral head’, *-æk* means ‘like’, suggesting the similarity of the femoral head to a pomegranate. In some other words it is lexicalized as in *guzæk* ‘ankle’, therefore, the whole word is considered as a simplex. But in many other words it seems to be something close to the ‘agent’ of an action.

In regard to *binæk/bivinæk*, the exact meaning is not, as one expects, ‘a small human that sees’, but rather ‘something that sees’.¹²⁹

šæ-h-i ti ‘the blackness of the eye’, on the other hand, conforms to only two of the languages from the Brown and Witkowski collection that have expressions for pupil with embedded concept of color: in Thai ‘the black child of the eye’ and in Doyla ‘dark father of the eye’ (1981: 599).

To conclude the discussion of the eye, it is worth mentioning that green and blue eyes are not rare among Bakhtiari, but it is big and bright eyes that are most favored; combined with fair skin, blond hair and white teeth, they representing the ultimate beauty, especially for women.

The word *noft*, apart from its core meaning ‘nose’, has spatial meanings, as well ‘in front/ peak’, as e.g. in *rast-e noft=et* ‘in front of your nose = straight’ or *noftæ* ‘peak of a mountain’.

A long, bony nose is considered to be a more beautiful one, as opposed to a short and flat nose, which is considered as incomplete and very ugly.

From several terms for mouth, *mer* has the most limited function. I personally heard it only in the expression *mer be æw nahaden* ‘mouth-to-water-put’, i.e. the most favorable Bakhtiari posture for drinking water, in which one squats by aspring or stream of water, then lean on his hands and immerse his lips and mouth into the water.¹³⁰

From 51 terms related to the face, 33 (almost 65%) are monomorphemic. It should be noted that the complex words are used as a lexical unit in everyday con-

129. Agnes Korn (2017: 85) has also noticed a similar suffix *-æk* in her description of Bašgardî, another southwest language:

2.4. The suffix *-ak*

Various instances are found of a suffix *-ak*, which recalls the Persian diminutive suffix of the same form. In some words, it seems to be lexicalized (e.g. *čârak* ‘fourth (quantity entity)’ from *čâr* ‘four’), or to be the diminutive suffix (e.g. *manjalak* ‘pot’, *čokak* ‘boy’ vs. *manjal*, *čok* id’.). In a small number of instances, however, a diminutive interpretation (either literal or in the sense of endearment or familiarity) does not seem possible, cf. *mâstakûn* in (9) (vs. instances of *mâst(ûn)* elsewhere in the same text):

(9) *tûla=i xwara=i hamî mâstakûn mon a-xwar-ed mō če-kâr be-kan-ō.*
 jackal=EZ accustomed=IND DEM yoghurt-?-PL I IPFV-eat.PRS-3SG I what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘A jackal who knows my house keeps eating this yoghurt of mine. What can I do?’ (NBš_A4t3: 12f.)

While it is difficult to exclude that a given instance of *-ak* is a diminutive, cases such as (9) where a diminutive interpretation does not suggest itself are remarkable since Seddiqi Nezhad 2010 suggests the possible existence of a definite marker *-ak* (see Section 6), which recalls the definite article */-aka/* of Central and Southern Kurdish.

130. This action is more popular among men than women.

versions and they are listed as such in Maddadi (1996), as well. In each table, an attempt is made to list the words, whenever possible, from the more general parts (body, face ...) to the smaller parts, and from the topmost part to the lowest located on the body or face.

Table 3.1.2: Face and its parts

The Term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>ri</i>	‘face’	
<i>siræ̃t</i>	‘face’	
<i>šelg</i>	‘complexion’	
<i>belešt</i>	‘complexion’	
<i>rext</i>	‘complexion, look’	
<i>tig</i>	‘forehead’	
<i>šišgæ</i>	‘temple’	
<i>borg</i>	‘eyebrow’	
<i>ti</i>	‘eye’	also <i>tia</i>
<i>merzeng</i>	‘eyelash’	
<i>gop</i>	‘cheek’	
<i>golop</i>	‘area from cheekbone to the lower jaw’	
<i>lop</i>	‘cheek’	Persian loan
<i>noft</i>	‘nose’	
<i>dæmag</i>	‘nose’	also <i>dæmaχ</i>
<i>læw/ læp</i>	‘lip’	also <i>dohō</i> ^w
<i>dō</i> ^w	‘mouth’	
<i>puz/æ/e</i>	‘mouth’	also <i>puzæ</i> , <i>puze</i>
<i>čial</i>	‘mouth and lips’	
<i>mer</i>	‘mouth; snout’	
<i>gir</i>	‘canine tooth, cuspid’	
<i>kakili</i>	‘molar tooth’	
<i>milom</i>	‘gum’	
<i>mælaɹ</i>	‘palate’	
<i>niāšt</i>	‘front teeth’	
<i>zæɹ</i>	‘palate’	
<i>zō</i> ^w	‘tongue’	
<i>dənōdō</i> ^w	‘tooth’	
<i>iālevar</i> ¹³¹	‘jaw’	
<i>šælæk/ šælækæ</i>	‘jaw’	
<i>kæčā</i>	‘chin’	
<i>seviāl</i>	‘moustache’	
<i>riāš</i>	‘beard’	

131. In Bakhtiari, a glottal stop is produced naturally and before any initial vowel. For more discussion see 4.1.9 below.

• Complex

<i>dærz-e tig</i>	‘the middle line of the forehead’	lit.opening-of-forehead
<i>din-e šišgæh</i>	‘the edge of temple’	lit.tail- of-temple
<i>puren(d)-e ti</i>	‘eyelid’	lit.cover-of-eye
<i>bin-æk/bi-vin-æk</i>	‘eye pupil’	lit.see-doer
<i>kase ti</i>	‘eyeball’	lit.bowl-eye
<i>tox̣m-e ti</i>	‘cornea and pupil; center of the eye	lit.seed-of-eye
<i>šæ-h-i ti</i>	‘pupil’	lit.black-h-ATTR-eye
<i>spiad-i ti</i>	‘white part of the eye’	lit.white-h-ATTR-eye
<i>peræk-e noft</i>	‘ala of the nose’	lit.leaf-of -nose; = <i>pær-e noft</i>
<i>tiaχ-e noft</i>	‘nose blade’	lit.blade-of-nose
<i>silā noft</i>	‘nostril’	lit.hole-nose
<i>dānqōḏ^w zær-i</i>	‘permanent tooth’	lit.tooth-gold-ATTR
<i>dānqōḏ^w-gir</i>	‘cuspid’	lit.tooth-hold
<i>dānqōḏ^w morwari</i>	‘milk tooth’	lit.tooth-pearl
<i>dānqōḏ^w gi-ga-h-i</i>	‘milk tooth’	lit.tooth-turd-cow- h-ATTR ¹³² .
<i>pa zolf-i</i>	‘side-burn’	lit.foot-hair-ATTR
<i>čal-e kæče</i>	‘chin cleft; dimple’	lit.hollow-of-chin
<i>din-e šælækæ</i>	‘end of jaw’	lit.tail-of-jaw

3.1.2.3 External parts of the body

The major portion of the words in the present inventory (almost 43%) belongs to the external parts of the body. Out of the 129 terms, 91 are monomorphemic (74%). In several cases, the complex terms refer to exactly the same body part as the simplexes, but they clarify more details, e.g. *merk* ‘elbow’ and *kel-e merk* ‘side-of-elbow = elbow’.

To refer to the left or right side of the body, the modifier comes after the body term, preceded by an Ezafe marker *-e*, e.g. *dæst-e rast* with the literal meaning ‘hand-of-right’. In some marked cases the definite marker comes after the modifier, e.g. *kelek kučir-e* ‘finger-small-the’. The whole compound acts as a lexical unit.

Body is referred to in a number of ways, as discussed in the introductory section of the body parts.

There are two words to refer to the head; *sær* and *kæle*, both shared with animals, but the second one can have a pejorative meaning when referring to humans. *sær* has also the spatial meaning of ‘top’ or ‘the beginning’. *mælaz-gæ(h)* ‘palate-place= anterior fontanelle’ is the exterior part right above the internal part *mælaz* ‘palate’. A big head is considered as a sign of lordship and grandeur

132. It indicates the ritual of buryin fallen milk tooth into the fresh turd of a cow.

whereas big feet are sign of adversity and mishap.¹³³ It is worth mentioning that *sær-šur* basically means ‘head-wash’, which indicates the religious and cultural habit of going to the bath (washing heads) only when the menstrual period ends.

Multiple words are in use to refer to different kinds of hair. *mi* is used to refer to the hair on the head. *mel*, on the other hand, refers to animal hair and the body hair of humans. A woman is respected more with long hair. The braided hair and also the *torne* (see footnote 134 below) of a woman is considered as a sacred entity. *torne* is actually a hair style, a bunch of the front hair twisted on the both sides of the face.¹³⁴ Therefore, cutting braids with scissors or a knife and compiling them on the grave is a sign of extreme mourning and paying respect to the deceased one. To scold a woman, one may call her *pæl terašte* ‘shaven-headed’. *pæ(h)l* is used more in the sense of tress or braid.

A number of terms describe the neck, in its multiple appearances and functions. *gærðe(n)* is the default word for the neck. *na* seems to be more specific for the lower part of the neck, where a necklace, *na-bænd(e)* ‘neck-fastener’, is usually worn. *boluri* is the most problematic term and the consultants could not agree on its real meaning. Some even said it means like *bolur* ‘cristal, glass ware’, but this interpretation is probably affected by the Persian words *bolur* and its attributive form *boluri* ‘white, shiny, transparent’. *tišni* can be both external and internal, because on the one hand it indicates the point where an animal’s throat is cut, and on the other hand, as mentioned earlier, it is considered to be the point where pain and sorrow accumulates and can consequently become fatally swollen.

Shoulders and their segments are also referred to by multiple simplex and complex terms: *šō* ‘shoulder’, *mol* ‘shoulder blade’, *hæst-e čæmbær* ‘shoulder blade’, *mol=o šō* ‘shoulder’ and *for=o mol* ‘upper back and shoulders’. A distinction should be made here. To shoulder something or some responsibility is expressed by *mol* ‘shoulder blade’ and not by *šō* ‘shoulder’. Being tall and broad shouldered with a sturdy body is a privilege for both men and women, helping them to have prominence and more stamina and vivacity.

In Table 3.3.2, after the terms for shoulder, the terms for arm and hand are presented and the terms for the rest of the trunk will follow.

133. A proverb describing this view goes as:

sær-e gæp nemæt-e, pa gæp nekbæt-e

‘a big head is a gift, a big foot is a misfortune’

134. Here are photos showing this typical Bakhtiari women hair style:



Although both *ængost* and *kelek* can have the general meaning of digits, their more salient referents are hand fingers, and to refer to toes, the Ezafe construction is used *kelek-e pa* or *ængost-e pa* both meaning ‘finger-of-foot’.

nexō^w also belongs to both the hand and foot, although here again, the primary referent is fingernail. Long nails are thought of as demonic when combined with *ti pelegniðe* ‘bulging eyes’ and long yellow teeth, they are the true personification of Satan.

To refer to arms and its different sections several simplex words are used, almost interchangeably, such as *čolog* ‘armpit’, *bægæl* ‘armpit, the side of the body’, *dæs(t)* ‘arm and hand’, *čel* ‘upper arm’, *bāhi* ‘upper arm’ as well as the complex term *ziar-čel* ‘armpit’. It would be a good idea to apply the Body coloring method, introduced by Van Staden and Majid (2006), to designate the exact extension of multiple terms for armpit, side of the body and back. This will certainly be done for this inventory in the future field trips.

Generally, thick and stout limbs, wrist and ankle are more favored since they are thought to increase the chance of survival along the perilous and calamitous migration routes.

There are also multiple terms to refer to leg and foot. *pa* is a cover term that refers to both, while *leng* primarily means ‘leg’. *liag* is mostly used to refer to long legs in a not very favorable way.

Some words such as *eškæm* and *kom* can mean both ‘stomach’ and ‘belly’, therefore, they can be categorized as both internal and external body parts.

The different terms for male genitals are probably regional and dialectal varieties. Interestingly for female genitals there is only one word used which is used in many other Iranian languages including Persian.

From the three different words for skin, *pust* ‘skin’ also although an old word,¹³⁵ can be a loan from Persian. *tu* ‘skin’, however, is the default Bakhtiari word for human and animal skin as well as the bark of a tree. *mært* ‘skin; layer’ although can be used for outer skin, it basically means the membrane of the internal organs, as in the expression: *mært-e del=om ræhð* ‘my heart is peeled’ to illustrate the intensity of fearful situation that the person has experienced.

Table 3.1.3: External parts of the body

The Term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>laš</i>	‘body’	
<i>tæn</i>	‘body’	
<i>bæðæn</i>	‘body’	

<i>ænðo/am</i>	‘body’	
<i>kæle</i>	‘head’	shared between people and animals
<i>sær</i>	‘head’	
<i>mi</i>	‘hair’	
<i>mel</i>	‘body hair, hair’	
<i>pæ(h)l</i>	‘hair’	
<i>torne</i>	‘the decorative bunch of hair on both side of a woman’s face’	
<i>nit</i>	‘a hair thread’	
<i>denʃal</i>	‘temple hair’	
<i>giəs</i>	‘tress’	
<i>kakol</i>	‘crest/ tuft hairstyle’	
<i>golale</i>	‘crown, sinciput’	
<i>čæk</i>	‘crown; vertex; parting’	
<i>guš</i>	‘ear’	
<i>bælək</i>	‘earlobe’	
<i>gærðe(n)</i>	‘neck’	
<i>na</i>	‘neck, throat’	
<i>boluri</i> ¹³⁶	‘neck, throat, Sternal notch’	
<i>kolmate</i>	‘back of the neck’	
<i>tišni</i>	‘throat’	the area right down from the Adam’s apple, Sternal notch
<i>šōʷ</i>	‘shoulder’	
<i>mol</i>	‘shoulder blade’	
<i>čolog</i>	‘armpit’	
<i>bægæl</i>	‘armpit, the side of the body’	
<i>dæs(t)</i>	‘arm and hand’	
<i>čel</i>	‘upper arm’	
<i>bāhi</i>	‘upper arm’	
<i>areng</i>	‘elbow’	
<i>merk</i>	‘elbow’	
<i>moč</i>	‘wrist’	
<i>ængost</i>	‘finger/ toe’	
<i>kelek</i>	‘finger/ toe’	
<i>količ</i>	‘the little finger’	
<i>most</i> ¹³⁷	‘fist’	
<i>tænge/æ</i>	‘palm of the hand’	
<i>pæng(e)</i>	‘five hand fingers’	
<i>pælm</i>	‘palm plus five fingers when open’	
<i>pængal(e)</i>	‘palm plus five hand fingers’	
<i>nexōʷ</i>	‘nail’	
<i>sine</i>	‘chest’	

136. *boluri-s kelæws-e zal=e*

137. See image three from table 3.3.6 below.

<i>ǰor</i>	‘hump, hunch’	
<i>kok</i>	‘hunch’	
<i>pestōʷ</i>	‘breast’	
<i>ǰōʷ/gun</i>	‘breast; udder’	
<i>mæme</i>	‘breast’	
<i>tel</i>	‘belly’	
<i>kæmær</i>	‘back’	back, lower back, waist
<i>pošt</i>	‘back’	
<i>kul</i>	‘upper back’	
<i>teriǰz</i>	‘the indented part of the spine’	
<i>mohr</i>	‘vertebra’	
<i>aleme</i>	‘groin, thigh’	
<i>pa</i>	‘foot, leg’	
<i>leng</i>	‘leg’	
<i>liǰ</i>	‘leg length’	
<i>guv/we</i>	‘hip joint’	
<i>rōʷ</i>	‘thigh’	
<i>zuni/zōʷi</i>	‘knee’	
<i>čæft</i>	‘shank’	
<i>tek</i>	‘calf’	
<i>guzæk</i>	‘ankle’	
<i>bot</i>	‘buttocks’	
<i>kend</i>	‘buttocks, bottom’	
<i>lombæ</i>	‘buttocks’	
<i>gorde</i>	‘the area in the back where kidneys are located internally’	
<i>naʃ</i>	‘navel, belly button’	
<i>eškæm</i>	‘stomach, belly’	
<i>kom</i>	‘stomach; belly’	
<i>tel</i>	‘belly’	
<i>pæ(h)li</i>	‘sides of the belly to the back’	covering kidney parts with the spine as the borderline
<i>kæø</i>	‘waist, loins, small of back’	
<i>maze</i>	‘spine’	
<i>riǰǰal</i>	‘the fine skin under belly’	the starting point of pubic hair growth
<i>qin</i>	‘anus’	this word is actually pronounced with a nasalized/i/, thus [qĩ]
<i>sil</i>	‘anus’	
<i>kēr</i> ¹³⁸	‘penis’	
<i>māmele</i> ¹³⁹	‘penis’	

138. This word illustrates one of the few occurrences of a long vowel in Bakhtiari.

139. The length of the vowel in this word compensates for the loss of the glottal stop in the originally

<i>sændæl</i>	‘penis’	also <i>šondæl</i>
<i>gond</i>	‘testicles’	
<i>kos</i>	‘vulva, vagina’	
<i>čort</i>	‘pubes’	
<i>rom</i>	‘pubes’	
<i>mo</i>	‘wart’	
<i>pust</i>	‘skin’	
<i>tu</i>	‘skin’	
<i>mært</i>	‘skin; layer’	
• Complex		
<i>mælaz-gæ(h)</i>	‘anterior fontanelle’	lit. palate-place
<i>kase sær</i>	‘skull’	lit. bowel-head
<i>boluri tišni</i>	‘the length of the neck’	lit. whiteness-neck/throat
<i>jit-e na</i>	‘bottom part of the neck/ throat’	lit. end-of-neck
<i>din-æw-ger</i>	‘flank’	lit. tail-water-hold.PRS
<i>hæst-e čæmbær</i>	‘shoulder blade’	lit. bone-of-twisted horns
<i>mol=o šō^w</i>	‘shoulder’	lit. shoulder bla de-and-shoulder
<i>jor=o mol</i>	‘upper back and shoulders’	lit. hump-and- shoulder balde
<i>nok-e pestō^w</i>	‘nipple’	lit. tip-of-breast
<i>sær-e pestō^w</i>	‘nipple’	lit. head-of-breast
<i>miā-gō^w</i>	‘between the breasts’	lit. mid-breast
<i>kel-e merk</i>	‘elbow’	lit. side-of-elbow
<i>ziār-čel</i>	‘armpit’	lit. below-upper arm
<i>kelek kučir-e</i>	‘little finger’	lit. finger-little-the (the little finger)
<i>kelek nit-e</i>	‘little finger’	lit. finger-hair thread/ small-the
<i>kelek gæp-e</i>	‘thumb’	lit. finger-big-the
<i>kelek</i>	‘knuckle’	lit. knot-of-finger
<i>tænge dæs</i>	‘middle of the palm’	lit. palm-hand
<i>teriāz-e maze</i>	‘the indented part of the spine’	lit. hollow/ notch-of-spine
<i>mohr-e pošt</i>	‘vertebra’	lit. lumbar vertebra-of-back
<i>domjar</i>	‘waist line’	the parting line of the body into <i>domjar be ziār</i> ‘waist line and lower’ and
<i>domjar be bala</i>	‘waist line and upper’	
<i>buz-din</i>	‘tail bone, coccyx’	lit. goat-tail
<i>pæs-e</i>	‘buttocks’	lit. back-the

Arabic word.

<i>χaye-bæxt</i>	‘testicles’	lit.egg-fortune
<i>gæł=o gond</i>	‘testicles and penis’	lit.hanging-and-testicle
<i>ræw ræw</i>	‘back part of the upper leg’	lit.go-go
<i>kæšk-e zuni</i>	‘kneecap’	lit. <i>kæšk</i> ¹⁴⁰ -of-knee
<i>gor/ ger-e zuni</i>	‘kneecap, patella’	lit.joint-of-knee
<i>χæl-i čæft</i>	‘knee pit/ pop’	lit.bent-ATTR-knee
<i>ziar-tek</i>	‘the lower calf’	lit.below-of-lower leg
<i>gond-e tek</i>	‘gastrocnemius muscle; the prominent part of the calf’	lit.testicle-of-lower leg
<i>gondole tek</i>	‘gastrocnemius muscle’	lit.bump-of-lower leg
<i>pænĵ-e</i>	‘five toes’	lit.five-the
<i>pænĵ-e pa</i>	‘five toes’	lit.five-the-foot
<i>kend-e pa/ kæče pa</i>	‘heel’	lit.bottom-of-foot/ chin-of-foot
<i>kelek-e pa</i>	‘toe’	lit.finger-of-foot
<i>tænge pa</i>	‘inside the foot arch’	lit.palm-foot

3.1.2.4 Internal parts of the body

The internal terms consist around 14% of the present data. The interesting point is that the simplex and complex terms are very close in number (24 versus 17). These statistics illustrate the fact that the internal organs and parts are less salient, which may be simply because they are not visible.

Most of the terms are shared between humans and animals, as with all the other tables. The list could be more extensive if the body parts of non-domesticated animals were included.

Sometimes the complex words seem to be redundant, giving the same meaning as their simplex counterparts, as in the case of *mæzg* ‘brain’ and *mæzg-e sær* ‘brain’. Here, for instance, the real meaning of *mæzg* is ‘marrow’ as indicated in the expression *mæzg-e hostəχðw* ‘the marrow of the bone’, as well as its cognate in the Middle Persian *mazg* ‘brain, marrow’ (Mackenzie 1971: 55).

An interesting concept is related to the navel, which seems to be shared by other peoples of the region.¹⁴¹ It is related to a seemingly imaginary body part that lies right behind the navel. When this organ drops or falls, Bakhtiari *naḡ væsten* ‘navel-to fall’, the affected person will experience pain and weakness. The remedy is to relocate the navel in its allocated place. In Bakhtiari it is done by a ritual-like manoeuvre, usually by an elderly woman.

140. dried yoghurt balls kept for later consumption.

141. Compare Punjabi *ਕੌਡੀ* in Majid (2006: 250) and Hawrami *naha* in Abbasi (2012: 329).

Table 3.1.4: Internal parts of the body

The Term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>mæzg</i>	‘brain’	This form is less frequently used than its complex form <i>mæzg-e sær</i> .
<i>kæläse</i>	‘skull’	
<i>geli/ gili</i>	‘throat’	
<i>zæhle</i>	‘gall bladder’	
<i>del</i>	‘heart, belly’	
<i>qælb</i>	‘heart’	
<i>pof</i>	‘lungs’	
<i>ænderin</i>	‘inside’	intra-abdominal viscera
<i>ruin/ revin/rivin</i>	‘intestines’	
<i>kol</i>	‘intestines’	
<i>gæðe</i>	‘stomach’	usually for animals, for people in a pejorative sense
<i>kom</i>	‘stomach; belly’	
<i>eškæm</i>	‘stomach; belly’	
<i>gordale</i>	‘kidney’	
<i>jïyær/ jær</i>	‘liver’	
<i>esbol</i>	‘spleen’	also: inflammation of the spleen (cholecystitis)
<i>ka</i>	‘pelvis’	
<i>e/osteχðʷ</i>	‘bone’	
<i>hæst</i>	‘bone’	
<i>hostæχðʷ</i>	‘bone’	
<i>kovar</i>	‘skeleton’	fig: a very skinny person
<i>pið(h)</i>	‘fat’	
<i>gušt</i>	‘flesh’	
<i>gor</i>	‘joint’	
<i>ræg/y</i>	‘vein’	
<i>mært</i>	‘membrane’	
• Complex		
<i>čærb-i</i>	‘fat’	lit.oily-ATTR
<i>mæzg-e sær</i>	‘brain’	lit.brain-of-head
<i>χor-χor-i(n)</i>	‘Esophagus’	lit.eat-eat- ATTR
<i>ær-osteχðʷ</i>	‘bones and ribs’	lit.ær ¹⁴² -bone

142. The first part of this combination does not have any special meaning.

<i>kurč-kurč-æk</i>	‘cartilage’	lit. <i>kurč-kurč</i> ¹⁴³ -little doer ¹⁴⁴
<i>gend-e mohr</i>	‘lumbar vertebra’	lit.piece of vertebra
<i>bænd-e maze</i>	‘spinal cord’	lit.rope-of-spine
<i>ĵiyær-e espiðð</i>	‘lungs’	lit.liver-the white
<i>ĵiyær/ĵær šæ(h)</i>	‘liver’	lit.liver-black
<i>pof-in</i>	‘lungs’	lit.puff-ATTR
<i>pof espiðð</i>	‘lungs’	lit.puff-white
<i>dæs čæp</i>	‘spleen’	lit.hand-left ¹⁴⁵
<i>ænar-æk</i>	‘femoral head’	lit.pomegranate-like also: <i>ænaræ/ænar</i>
<i>ger ger</i>	‘joint’	lit.knot-knot
<i>ger-hæst-e dæst</i>	‘humerus or forelimb’	lit.joint-bone-hand/arm
<i>ger-hæst-e pa</i>	‘femur’	lit.joint-bone-leg/foot
<i>kælase sær</i>	‘skull’	lit.bowel?! ¹⁴⁶ -head
<i>meste-ðð</i> ”	‘bladder’	lit.urine-container
<i>vær-kar</i>	‘flesh/fat on the belly’	lit.front/cover ¹⁴⁷ -work?!
<i>čar-bæst-e ka</i>	‘joints of the pelvis’	lit.four-holder-of-pelvis
<i>del-o kol</i>	‘inside (stomach plus intestines)’	lit.heart-and-intestines/all

3.1.2.5 Bodily products

Table 3.3.4 contains words and terms that are not parts of the body *per se* but are related to the semantic domain of body parts. It is noteworthy that out of an inventory of 34 words, only 9 are complex which is an indication of high conceptual salience of these terms. These nouns can combine with certain verbs to express the related action. For example *æræχ* means ‘sweat’ but ‘to sweat’ is expressed by the help of the verb *kerðen* ‘to do’ hence *æræχ kerðen*. Other examples are *ĵō*” *daðen* ‘lit.soul-to give= to die’; *guz kæðen* ‘lit.fart-to dig= to fart’; *næfæs zeiðen* ‘lit. breath-to hit= to breathe’.

It should be noted that the table is formed based on human bodily products, although some of the terms such as *æræχ* ‘sweat’ or *čerk* ‘pus’ can also be used for animals.¹⁴⁸ The animal bodily products are included in the following table 3.3.5, which is designed exclusively to represent body parts of animals.

143. The first two parts of this compound are onomatopoeic words. The same lexeme exists in verbs such as *koručniden* or *koruč koruč kerdn*, both meaning ‘to chomp’.

144. For more information regarding this suffix, see 3.1.2.2 above.

145. It is referred to in a sentence such as: *tir χærd be dæs čæp-es* ‘the bullet hit its spleen.’

146. This word does not exist separately. The provided meaning is just a guess based on the similarity of the words *kase* ‘bowel’ with *kælase* and the shape of the skull which is like a bowl than contains the brain.

147. Not sure about its meaning here.

148. This is an example showing how the same terms are used for the animals:

æsb=om æræχ kerðe ‘My horse has sweated.’

Table 3.1.5: Bodily products

The Term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>ærx</i>	‘sweat’	
<i>bælgæm</i>	‘sputum’	
<i>čerk</i>	‘pus’	
<i>dæm</i>	‘gas; edema’	
<i>jōw</i>	‘soul, spirit’	
<i>tof</i>	‘spittle’	
<i>fizer</i>	‘big infected boil’	
<i>šekofte</i>	‘vomit’	
<i>gi</i>	‘excrement’	
<i>go(h)</i>	‘excrement’	
<i>sende</i>	‘excrement’	
<i>guz</i>	‘fart’	
<i>ter</i>	‘fart’	
<i>tos</i>	‘gas/ wind’	
<i>ker</i>	‘wrinkle’	
<i>meste</i>	‘urine’	
<i>miəz</i>	‘urine’	
<i>mo</i>	‘wart’	
<i>mof</i>	‘snot’	
<i>næfæs</i>	‘breath’	
<i>kæf</i>	‘foam (mouth)’	
<i>keverč</i>	‘dandruff’	
<i>koræw</i>	‘blister’	
<i>tohm</i>	‘seed’	
<i>hin</i>	‘blood’	also <i>χin</i>
• Complex		
<i>æx=o tof</i>	‘catarrh’	lit.interjection-and-spittle
<i>æw-e kamar</i>	‘semen’	lit.water-of-back/loins
<i>æw-e tohm</i>	‘semen’	lit.water-of-seed/testicle
<i>čerk-e guš</i>	‘ear wax’	lit.pus-of-ear
<i>gærm-i</i>	‘rashes’	lit.warm-ATTR
<i>piəš-æw</i>	‘urine’	lit.front-water
<i>sær-šur</i>	‘menses’	lit.head-wash
<i>adet¹⁴⁹-i</i>	‘menses’	lit.habit-ATTR
<i>zærd-æw</i>	‘bile’	lit.yellow-water

149. Arabic loan

3.1.2.6 Additional body parts and products of animals

The animal parts that are included in the table 3.3.5 mainly belong to the domesticated animals of Bakhtiari nomads. The list could be more extensive if the body terms of non-domesticated animals were included, words such as, *kælm* and *kælmīt* which both mean ‘tusk’. This table contains bodily products of the animals, as well.

The salient parts that are not mentioned here, such as head, hand or foot, are shared by humans and can be found in the above tables of this section.

Table 3.1.6: Additional body parts for animals

The Term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>bal</i>	‘wing’	
<i>čærm</i>	‘skin of animal’	
<i>čor</i>	‘urine’	
<i>došbol</i>	a fat gland under the skin of the animals	
<i>jaer</i>	‘leather’	
<i>jaewōḍ^w</i>	‘the molars of the quadrupeds’	
<i>joq</i>	‘birds’ crop’	
<i>gaerčæk</i>	‘the low-fat and thin tail of a sheep’	
<i>gō^w/gun</i>	‘udder’	
<i>kærčæk</i>	‘the low-fat and thin tail of a sheep’	
<i>kæz</i>	‘the fluffy hair of a goat belly’	
<i>kagenat</i>	‘ovine placenta’	
<i>kelezne</i>	‘tailbone of a sheep’	
<i>liawō^w</i>	‘placenta of <i>heivō^w</i> ¹⁵⁰ ’	
<i>lif</i>	‘teats’	
<i>mærae</i>	‘bean-like glands under the skin of a goat’	
<i>mel</i>	‘hair (e.g. goat, wolf)’	
<i>momba</i>	‘cow’s white discharge at the time of mating’	
<i>niškæw</i>	‘half of the body; one-half of a cow or ovine’s body’	
<i>nok</i>	‘beak’	
<i>pær</i>	‘feather’	
<i>pæšm</i>	‘wool’	
<i>peger</i>	‘powder/ crushed manure of ovine, horse, donkey and bovine’	
<i>peškel</i>	‘ovine’s dung’	
<i>qenč</i>	‘antenna; twisted tail (e.g. scorpion)’	
<i>riagal</i>	‘the dried out watery stool stuck to the sheep wool and hair’	

150. *heivō^w* refers to a category of animals consisting of sheep, goat, cow, horse and donkey. For a more detailed discussion on animal classification see 3.2.1 below.

<i>šaχ</i>	‘horn’
<i>soro</i>	‘horn’
<i>siəl</i>	‘the skin under an ewe’s tail’
<i>somat</i>	‘donkey and horse dung’
<i>sombolik</i>	‘the little hoof of a cow + ovine’
<i>tækæ(e)</i>	‘dried dung horse, donkey and bovine’
<i>tælnunæ</i>	‘dewlap of a cow and ewe’
<i>tæpalæ</i>	‘cow dung’
<i>tart</i>	‘watery faeces of animals’
<i>yal</i>	‘mane’
<i>zehe</i>	‘female animals’genitals’

• Complex

<i>čel-gæz-be-gi</i>	‘the small intestine of all the animals’	lit.40-meters-to-stool
<i>gir-e sæg</i>	‘a dog’s cuspid’	lit.cuspid-EZ-dog
<i>kæš kæš</i>	‘ovine’s small intestine’	lit.pull.PRS-pull.PRS
<i>kæwš-æk</i>	‘the outer part of a hoof’	lit.shoe-small/like
<i>pær-pær-i</i>	‘the stomach of ovine/ horse and bovine’	lit. feather-feather-ATTR
<i>riə-zæhlæ-k</i>	‘the green watery stool of ovine or cow caused by an inflated gall bladder’	lit.stool-gall bladder-doer
<i>sir-silæwæ</i>	‘tripe (all animals)’	lit.full-?
<i>šir-šir-æk</i>	‘small brown glands in the stomach of ovines’	lit.milk-milk-doer
<i>yal-φin</i>	‘horsehair’	lit.mane-tail

3.1.2.7 parts of the body for measurement

Majid (2006: 250) raises the issue of body part terms in Punjabi that express a hand configuration. The outstanding similarity of these terms with their Bakhtiari cognates encouraged the idea of including Table 3.3.6 in this section. It contains 11 photos showing diverse hand configurations that Bakhtiaris use as measurements. It should be noted that these words, except for *most*, are not considered as a body part, therefore, they are not included in above tables. But since for configuring these measurement units, body parts such as hand, fingers and arms are used, the inclusion of this table is justified.

In the paragraphs following the table, each picture and the related term will be explained.

It should be noted that these are not the only possible meaningful hand configurations in Bakhtiari, but here a preference is made to just represent the ones that are used for measurements.

Table 3.1.7: Configuration parts of the body

The term	measurement	Other Information
<i>belest</i>	‘~ 20 cm’	
<i>tælope</i>	‘a handful’	
(<i>yæ) most</i>	‘lit.one-fist=two cupped hands’	
<i>čar ængost</i>	‘lit.four-finger= the length of 4 fingers (~5-6 cm)’	
<i>nok-e kelek</i>	‘lit.tip-of-finger= one knuckle (~ 2cm)’	

(yæ) gend

‘lit.(one) piece= as big as two knuckles’



pendelake

‘a little’



(yæ) gæz

‘lit.(one)-gæz; ~ 100 cm’



nim gæz

‘lit.(half)-gæz; ~ 50 cm’



(yæ) bægæl

‘lit.one-armful= as big as the area shown’



(yæ) gilin

‘lit.one-skirt= a lap-full’



The first picture represents the configuration that is used to measure the breadth. *belest* is comparable to *cappa* in Punjabi (Majid 2006: 252). To measure the breadth of something the hand is placed on it as shown in the picture. In the next move, the little finger stays firm, the thumb is moved towards it; when it reaches it, then the thumb will stay and the little finger moves along the piece that is measured. Each *belest* is approximately 20 centimeters, measured from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger, as marked in the photo.

tælope and *most* are used to measure entities such as grains and seeds. The interesting point is that the two cupped hands configuration is not called *do tælope* ‘two-*tælope*’ but a *most*, while the primary meaning of this word is ‘fist’.

čar ængost ‘four fingers’ is also used to measure the breadth or length of something. As marked in the photo, the distance between the tip of the index finger till the tip of the little finger is counted, which is approximately 7-8 centimeters.

nok-e kelek ‘tip-of-finger’ is used to measure liquids, such as the amount of water that must be on top of uncooked rice in a pot.

gend is specifically used to measure pieces of meat.

Not all the consultants could agree on the exact meaning of *pendelake* ‘a little’. There was just one consensus, viz that it means something insignificant. Examples included ‘a fast and small child’. For the same configuration, the terms *hæm-godær* ‘this-much’ was also mentioned.

gæz and *nim gæz* are both used to measure the length or breadth of a piece of fabric. As illustrated in the photos, from the tip of an outstretched arm to the tip of the nose, while the face is also outstretched to the opposite direction of the arm, is considered to be one meter. To measure 50 centimeters of a piece of fabric, one end is held tight in the extended hand and the other end will be placed right in the middle of the arm, the hollow point opposite of the elbow.

(yæ) bægæl is usually used to measure harvested crops; indicating the amount that can be placed between the clenched hands, while the arms are outstretched from the body, i.e. an armful.

gilin ‘skirt’ is the only term in the above table that by no means can be considered a body part. By the involvement of the hands and arms, however, it can be used to measure solid objects such as collected acorns or grains, as shown in the photo. It is also comparable to *cadar* ‘large shawl’ in Punjabi (Majid 2006: 252).

3.2 SPECIFIC TERMINOLOGY FOR FAUNA AND FLORA (Ethnobiology)

The aim of this section is to explore the ways in which Bakhtiari nomads see, perceive and categorize their natural surroundings. This area of research, known as Ethnobiology, is relatively new¹⁵¹ and the first cognitively oriented works on the subject dates back to 1950s. The pioneer figure who tried to conceptualize all the research done in the field is Brent Berlin (1972, 1973, 1976 and 1992), see also Berlin, Dennis E. Breedlove and Peter H. Raven (1973, 1974).

These works were exploring the fundamental similarities between the seemingly diverse folk biosystematics. By formalizing the possible principles that underlie folk taxonomies, scholars strive to understand the conceptual basis of these classifications in the human mind. Berlin et al (1973: 214-216) present nine principles that they believe were proven by the data that have been gathered in what was admittedly a small number of societies.

These principles were used in the analysis of the Bakhtiari data. As will be explained below, the Bakhtiari data do not always match the proposed principles. The core of Berlin's research is the concept of hierarchy in the ethnobiological classifications that are found in the world's languages and cultures¹⁵². This hierarchy and its related terminology is summarized in Berlin et al (1973: 240):

- (1) There are at least five, perhaps six, taxonomic ethnobiological categories which appear to be highly general if not universal in folk biological science. They may be named as unique beginner, life form, generic, specific and varietal. A category called "intermediate" is suggested but further data will be required to establish it firmly. Generally, the category exhibiting the largest number of taxa is the generic. Generic taxa mark the most salient conceptual groupings of organisms in any folk taxonomy and represent the fundamental units in ethnobiological classification.
- (2) The five ethnobiological categories are arranged hierarchically and taxa assigned to each rank are mutually exclusive. Taxa of the same ethnobiological category characteristically, though not invariably, occur at the same level in any folk taxonomic structure.
- (3) The naming of taxa, which occur as members of the ethnobio-

151. The idea of classifying the natural world is by no means new and can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle, as well as to the ancient Chinese, Persian (partly discussed further below) and Indian civilizations. The scientific study of systematic classification among different human communities, i.e. Ethnobiology, however, is comparatively a young area of research. Nevertheless, even the ranked classification of nature and binomial nomenclature, as developed and practiced today as a scientific endeavor, can also be considered to have roots in the *Systema Naturae* (1735) by Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), the Swedish botanist, zoologist and physician known as 'the father of modern taxonomy'.
 152. This idea was later challenged by several scholars, most notably by Cecil H. Brown (1974, 1978), Stanly Witkowski (1978) and Eugen Hunn (1975).

logical categories, can be reduced to a small number of nomenclatural principles which are essentially identical in all languages. Life form and generic taxa tend to be labeled by primary lexemes; specific and varietal taxa tend to be labeled by secondary lexemes. The unique beginner is rarely named, but if so, its label will be a primary lexeme. While recognizing that nomenclature and category membership must be analyzed separately, there seems to be strong evidence that the linguistic structure of a plant or animal name is usually a good mirror of the taxonomic status of the category which it represents.

The fundamental questions in this field, therefore, are what elements of nature are selected and have received a taxon by pre-scientific or traditional communities and why they are categorized in the way they are.

Two main criteria can be found in the literature to propose an answer to the above enquiries; namely, an intellectual and a utilitarian one. Proponents of intellectualism, such as Scott Atran, propose, in Brown's (1993: 80) words "that biological organisms are categorized and named by folk independent of the practical values and uses species may possess for them."

Brown further states that Berlin in his intellectualist view thinks, "ethnobiological knowledge is fundamentally cognitively motivated, entailing perception of organism salience in local environments and judgments concerning relative degrees of similarity and differences among species."

Utilitarianists such as Eugene Hunn, on the other hand, "... argue that folk classification of plants and animals is a means for human beings to adjust to their environments by classifying and assigning names just to those species that have important, practical consequences for human existence (Brown 1993: 79)."

Both Berlin and Brown believe that in traditional societies, only plants and animals that are highly salient will receive a name, but this salience does not necessarily correspond to their usefulness. Salience can be either intrinsic or cultural. Intrinsic salience refers to some innate features of an organism that help it to stand out and to be noticed, features such as bright colors or a big size. The cultural salience refers to the role of an organism in forming and at the same time representing the cultural aspects of human communities. In describing this cultural significance, Berlin (1992) sometimes refers to the utilitarian aspects of plants and animals to prove their cultural significance. This is interpreted as a paradox in Berlin's argumentation and Brown (1993: 80) reacts to this point:

... it seems reasonable to conclude that utilitarianist considerations sometimes do indeed figure into the development of systems of folk biological classification and naming. Given

that Berlin recognizes cultural importance as a component of salience, it is curious that he does not reach this conclusion.

As for the Bakhtiari data, there exists certain categorical and nomenclatural behavior that, as I will argue below, does not support either the intellectualistic or the utilitarian approach to ethnobiology as it is represented in the literature. This lack of conformity may be interpreted as a result of ignoring the systematics of ancient taxonomies such as the Iranian one: "In most of the histories of science, biology and zoology, the Iranian evidence is ignored (Schmidt 1980: 211)."

Another important factor that seems to be overlooked in the process of formulation of the existing taxonomical theories is the role and importance of religious beliefs in shaping peoples' world view and the way they classify its natural and physical beings. The Bakhtiari classification, especially the categorization of fauna, as will be explained in the next section, seems to have roots in pre-Islamic, and more specifically, in Zoroastrian beliefs as presented in some Avestan and Middle Persian sources (See 3.2.1 below).

This taxonomic topic has received only scant attention in Iranian linguistic and anthropological studies. The present work is an attempt to represent the relatively numerous Bakhtiari terminology of flora and fauna (around a thousand terms, including 416 especially for fauna and 664 words and expressions related to flora).¹⁵³ The data were first extracted from Maddadi (1997), and were later checked in the field by local consultants. Maddadi's work turned out to be not very reliable when it comes to the definitions of fauna and flora, more specifically in regard to the minute differences in the referents of the terms related to domestic animals and animal husbandry terminology. The information requires specialized knowledge that, most probably, was not accessible to Maddadi at the time of his data collection.

The definition of flora is also vague in many instances and as will be explained in the relevant section, checking with locals in the field proved not to be the solution towards a definitive explanation.

In the general list of Appendix 7, however, the page numbers in Maddadi's book are mentioned, just to document a written source for the data. The words that do not have a page number were added by me during the fieldwork. It is also notable that the original extracted list from Maddadi included more than 480 terms related to fauna, but it was reduced to 416, simply because the other terms were not known by my consultants from the Haflang nomads. Whether they are used by the Charlangs or other neighboring nomads, is not clear to me, and Maddadi himself, when asked, could not remember the exact time and place of their collection.

153. Another corpus of 333 landscape words and expressions is collected during my field works. The work on this corpus requires more investigation and fieldwork to understand the possible existing taxonomy of topographical elements in the nomads' environment. Therefore, the data is not included in the present work.

The following two sections on fauna and flora start with presenting the taxonomical charts elicited from prolonged discussions with nomads, and more specifically during many years of living and working with them. As expected with herd breeding pastoral nomads, the section on fauna contains more detailed information, and the taxonomical system is more grounded than the section on flora. These differences are discussed in their due sections.

3.2.1 Classification of fauna

The specific way of categorizing fauna employed by the Bakhtiari nomads, caught my attention in later years of my direct contact with them; more specifically during the autumn migration of 2007 in which I accompanied them.

During the seasonal migration, team work becomes crucial. Every early morning shepherds should take the responsibility of guiding a certain group of herds of ovine and start moving towards the next stop, long before the whole camp (people and packed animals) start their daily walk. These early groups usually take indeterminate routes; wandering as far and away as possible with the intention of letting their herds fully enjoy grazing the free pastures and verdure of the area. The rest of the camp, however, follows them towards the next stop by choosing one of the five established migration routes. Each one of these routes has long been assigned to certain tribes, and these rules and agreements are respected to the present time.¹⁵⁴

When the elders were dividing the herd between shepherds, I noticed that they distributed the animals into categories different from what is generally known as scientific taxonomy. For instance, cows were not grouped as quadrupeds to be put into the same team as horses or mules. Bakhtiari nomads treat animals differently, some receive more attention and others, less, and it seems that there exists a hierarchy of interest in and respect towards their herds. Ewes are the elite of the domestic animals in such a way that being appointed as *bærgelō* 'the lamb shepherd' will honor the favorite child. In the second order are goats and the third level belongs to horse and mule. Cows are kept by few families, mostly for their milk to make dairy products, their meat is used very rarely and sometimes in sacrificial rituals.¹⁵⁵ Donkey, although of prime importance for transportation of household loads, is always mentioned with the apologetic expression *bæla nesbæt*¹⁵⁶ roughly translatable as 'be away from you' as an apology for mentioning its name in the presence of people. Scientific categories like mammals or insects and the like are non-existent.

These utilitarian or cultural considerations, however, are not necessarily reflected in the way that Bakhtiaris classify the animal kingdom. This can be interpreted

154. These routes are called: 1. *tænge fale* 2. *dez-part* 3. *hezar-čæme* 4. *kuh espiəd* 5. *taraz-kuh*. The Hamule tribe usually does its migration through *taraz-kuh*.

155. See 3.2.1.2 below.

156. Arabic loan literally meaning 'without relation/ proportion'.

as an indication that their taxonomical system is originated based on different criteria rather than the practical importance of the animals in their life.

Figure 17 shows the hierarchical classification of fauna in Bakhtiari.

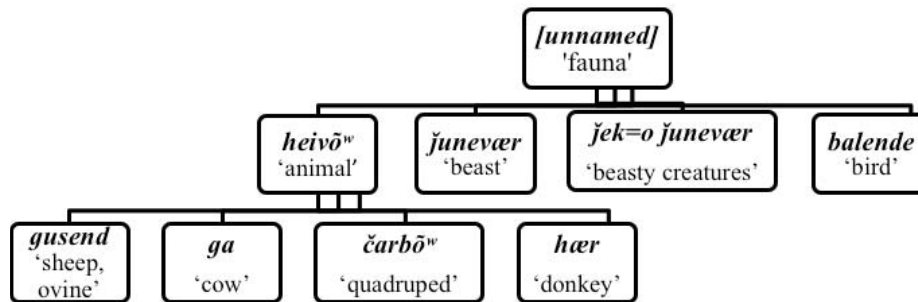


Figure 17 Bakhtiari taxonomy of fauna

To begin with, this system has only three levels of hierarchy (in Berlin's terminology: unique beginner, life form and generic) for three out of four of its life forms. The class with the most levels is *heivōw* 'animal' which also has the so-called specific level. This fact does not conform with Berlin's first principle mentioned above and repeated here: "(1) There are at least five, perhaps six, taxonomic ethnobiological categories which appear to be highly general if not universal in folk biological science. They may be named as unique beginner, life form, generic, specific and varietal", Berlin et al (1973: 240).

There exists no term corresponding to English Animal Kingdom or Plants, or to Persian Heyvanat/ Janeværan 'animals' or Giyahan 'plants'. This is not uncommon, as quoted in the third generalization above from Berlin et al (1973: 240), since the first level of taxonomical hierarchy, the unique beginner, is universally rarely named.

All the fauna is classified into four life forms: *heivōw* 'animal', *junevær* 'beast', *jek=o junevær* 'beasty creatures', and *balende* 'bird'. These are the core meanings of the terms and not their actual referent. In other words, although birds are universally considered as animals, they are not included in the Bakhtiari category, which actually means animal, i.e. *heivōw*. This is in line with Berlin et al. (1973: 217) findings that although "the overwhelming body of evidence now in hand suggests that nomenclature is often a near perfect guide to folk taxonomic structure", what may be observed in some folk systemics is that "no isomorphic correspondence is claimed to exist between nomenclature (i.e., names given to classes of plants and animals) and classification (i.e., the cognitive relationships that hold between classes of plants and animals)."

There are two peculiar issues about life form level of the classification in Bakhtiari. First, there is no category such as fish or sea animals unlike in generally known systematics. This is difficult to understand, because the two biggest rivers of Iran, namely Karun and Dez, originate from what is locally called the Bakhtiari mountains, near Kuhrang, and they flow all through the Bakhtiari territory. Therefore, Bakhtiaris are not alien to sea life or better to say, to river life and its creatures. In fact there are terms to name different aquatic creatures such as *mahi* ‘fish’, *mar-mahi* ‘eel’, *ga-mahi* ‘a kind of big fish’ and *mahi-derar* ‘heron’; but they do not have a separate category in mind for them. Generally, one can say, Bakhtiaris are not very keen on eating fish even nowadays when several fish-breeding ponds are running in their territories and some of the Bakhtiaris have found expertise by working in these centers¹⁵⁷. During our talks about animal categories, and when I insisted on finding a place for fish, Negahdar wittingly said: “Let’s put it next to *gusendō*” ‘ovine’ because we’ll eventually eat them!” This comment may indicate that the utilitarian view was not originally decisive in forming Bakhtiari taxonomy; otherwise, edibility of the animals should have been a decisive categorical criterion and consequently they would have a category for other edible creatures as fish. Some other aquatic creatures, such as *kox* ‘a shrimp-like aquatic creature’ and *ker-ze-leng* ‘crab’, are grouped in *jek=o junevær* ‘beasty creatures’ as undesirable and maleficent animals.

The absence of aquatic creatures cannot be attributed to any previous attested mode of classification in the Iranian culture. Schmidt (1980: 219) in his discussion of ancient Iranian classification of animals, mentions the Avestan term *upāpa* and its Middle Persian equivalent *ābig* both meaning ‘living in the water’ as one major class in any tripartite or quintuple classification that is attested in our sources.¹⁵⁸ Berlin et al (1973: 217) suggest that in cases such as the above, a semantic change might be a possible explanation.

The second deviation from the proposed principles lies in the name of the category *jek=o junevær* ‘beasty creatures’. According to Berlin’s proposed principles, taxa in the level known as life form, are universally tagged by a primary lexeme, whereas *jek=o junevær* is obviously a compound formed by the head noun *junevær* ‘animal/ beast’ juxtaposed to *jek* ‘something small, tiny’ by the conjunction *=o* ‘and’ or sometimes without it, simply pronounced as *jek junevær*. This is difficult to explain, because the category itself, unlike fish, can be traced back to ancient Iranian classifications and one would expect a specific simplex word for naming it.

The definition of the *jek=o junevær* category which includes all the maleficent creatures from insects to reptiles and from rodents to amphibians, is a reminder

157. After the revolution, Jahad-e Sazandegi (previously known as the ministry of agriculture) funded these ponds in different rural areas in Iran as providing the locals with jobs and a form of sustainable livelihood.

158. Schmidt’s main sources are Bundahišn (mostly the Iranian version of Anklesaria 1956) and different versions of Zādspram.

of a very distinct category in pre-Islamic classification of the animal kingdom, namely the category of *xeræfstær*. Moazami (2015)¹⁵⁹ summarizes the notion of *xeræfstær* as interpreted by several scholars:

The word *xrafstar* (Av. *xrafstra-*, MP. *xrafstar*), evil animal, has been variously interpreted, and its exact meaning is much disputed. According to the traditional interpretation Zarathushtra used it in the *Gāthās* (Y. 28.5; 34.5) pejoratively for “the enemies of the religion” (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* col. 538). Some scholars see in it a reference to evil animals whom Zarathushtra chose to exclude from the sacred place of worship and hence symbolically from the whole good creation (Humbach, 1991, pt. I, pp.118, 140; pt. II, pp. 24, 107). H. W. Bailey suggested that the term is a derivation of an Indo-European verbal base **√(s)ker*; *(s)kerp-*, *(s)krep-* “to bite, sting, cut” which looks promising (Bailey, 1970, pp. 25-28). But, the *krt* suffix *-tra-* is never formed on an *s*-extension. There is a great likelihood that there were two different terms in Iranian *daevic* vocabulary, as we have **prystr* in MMPers., and *plstl* is attested in the *Bundahišn* (TD2, fol.73v.9). Therefore, the term can be derived from *fra-pt-tar*, “things that fly-creep” (Gershevitch, 1954, 62, 246; Moazami, 2005, p. 302). Jean Kellens proposed that the term approximately means “affreux, sauvage” (Kellens and Pirart, 1990, II, p. 231).

The category of *jek=o junevær*, too, as is presented in table 3.2.6 below, contains all the creatures that bite, crawl, creep and fly and are considered undesirable, but in comparison with ancient Zoroastrians, Bakhtiaris do not feel that they should eliminate them fervently, but only when they cause danger, such as when a poisonous snake approaches the household. They even think that some of these creatures should be treated with care and respect. This will be discussed in more detail in the due section (see 3.2.1.5 below).

In the following sections seven tables (3.2.1-7), containing taxa related to each part of the taxonomical system, will be presented. The order of the presentation begins with a discussion on the first life form category, *heivō* ‘animal’, and all its sub-group tables, *gusenō* ‘ovine’, *ga* ‘cow’, *čarbō* ‘quadruped’ and *hær* ‘donkey’ (tables 3.2.1-4). The other three life form categories will be presented subsequently (tables 3.2.5-7).

In addition, seven more tables (tables 3.2.7-14) are added to illustrate the depth and variety of linguistic manifestation of this lifestyle. For instance, table 3.2.8 contains 97 verbs and phrasal expressions (around 23% of our data) that are directly related to animal husbandry practices. A list of legal terms that are usually

159. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mammals-03-in-zoroastrianism>

related to the use of shared pastures (table 3.2.9); a variety of interjections, whistling sounds and other voices that are produced by humans and animals as crucial communication means in a nomadic herd breeding lifestyle (table 3.2.10); tools used for herding (table 3.2.11); animal diseases (table 3.2.12) and a list of terms that show the relation of humans to animals (Table 3.2.13) will follow. This section will end by a list of other taxa that includes animal body parts, some adjectives and other words that exist in Bakhtiari lexicon in relation to fauna (table 3.2.14).

In each table, taxa are divided into simplex and complex forms. In glossing the words and expressions, when the exact meaning of a constituent was not clear to me or it was presented previously as a term, the Bakhtiari word is repeated without any change; examples are: *šæh-lal* where *lal* does not have a separate meaning; hence the gloss: lit.black-*lal*, whereas in *boz-e pæł*, *pæł* has been explained before so the term is also glossed as: lit.goat-EZ-*pæł*).

In many taxa there is a suffix *-æk*, as in the case of body parts,¹⁶⁰ which in many cases, especially in regard to bird names, seems to be lexicalized. Therefore, these words are considered to be simplex. In other words, where it conveys a diminutive meaning or has a meaning close to ‘like’, it is considered as a suffix and as a consequence, the word containing it is listed as a complex word. When a term refers to more than one category, it is repeated in all the related categories, such as: *tælunæ* ‘dewlap of a cow and of an ewe’.

3.2.1.1 *gusenǎ* ‘ovine’

In Bakhtiari, the majority of taxa is related to the category of *gusenǎ* ‘ovine’ which includes 71 terms of the present data.

The word *gusenǎ* etymologically means ‘holy cow’ from Avestan *gao spānta-*. The sheep, however, was called *anumaya* ‘bleater’, but as Mary Boyce (1990: 82) states in relation to Zoroastrian practice of small animal offering: “... in Young Avestan the old generic term for cattle, *pasu*, came also to be used specifically for it (together with goats), evidently as the most numerous and hence representative of the Iranians’ livestock.” All the small animals and large animals (*staora* including cattle-bovines, horses, camels and donkey) were considered as the creatures of “Vahu Manah/ Bahman(q.v.) and hence ritually “clean” and acceptable for sacrifice, but each was evidently dedicated by standard Avestan formulas as *gav-spānta-*, the “holy cow,” as if it were indeed a cow, the ideal offering... The priests presumably customarily asked the laity for the “*gaospānta*,” and this term came in time to be used as a name for the animal most regularly produced, i.e., the sheep (Pers. *gōsfand*). (Boyce, 1990: 82)”

An interesting fact about this category is the inclusion of supposedly wild animals such as *pazen* ‘mountain she-goat’ and *kæl* ‘mountain goat’. Their inclusion

160. For a discussion on different manifestation of this suffix see 3.2.3.1.above.

may be explained by referring to the afore mentioned Zoroastrian cosmology, in which these two animals were grouped together with sheep and goat as *pasu* or the small clean animals suitable for offerings.

The following taxa, which constitute approximately 18 % of the data, are equally divided into simplex (36) and complex (36) words. The related taxa represent the animals in a variety of sex (ex: *čæpeš*), age (ex: *kæve*), color (ex: *æwzæ*), physical characteristics (such as the shape of their ear, ex: *bæl*), whereas others refer to their functions and roles in the flock (ex: *nia ræw*) or other attributes (*čæper*).

Table 3.2.1: Taxa for *gusenð* ‘ovine’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>ælo</i>	‘a white and brown ewe’	
<i>æwoki</i>	‘an ovine which goes from one herd to another one without being claimed by the owner of the second herd’	
<i>æwzæ</i>	‘a two-colored wool goat’	
<i>bæhðæ</i>	‘a two-year old male goat’	
<i>bæl</i>	‘a goat with long, wide and hanging ears’	
<i>bære</i>	‘lamb’	
<i>big</i>	‘kid’	
<i>boz</i>	‘goat’	
<i>čæper</i>	‘an ovine or cow whose kid is dead’	
<i>čæpeš</i>	‘a yearling goat; a he-goat’	
<i>gæši</i>	‘1. The Arabic species of ewe, a non-Bakhtiari species of ovine; 2. A goat which has a tuft under its lower jaw’	
<i>gæzal</i>	‘a small and beautiful white lamb’	
<i>gusenð</i>	‘sheep/ ovine’	
<i>huli</i>	‘a hornless goat’	
<i>jælaw</i>	‘a yearling castrated ovine’	
<i>kæl</i>	‘mountain goat’	
<i>kæmbili</i>	‘a sheep that has stool stuck to its wool’	
<i>kærčæk</i>	‘the thin and not fatty tail of a sheep’	
<i>kæve</i>	‘lamb between six months to one year’	
<i>kelær</i>	‘kid or lamb after its infancy’	
<i>kori</i>	‘a black goat with small folded ears’	
<i>lori</i>	‘a big-eyed, woolly-headed and fat-tailed sheep’	
<i>mendal</i>	‘a suckling kid’	
<i>miəš</i>	‘ewe’	
<i>næžði</i>	‘a non-Bakhtiari species of goat which breeds twins’	
<i>pazen</i>	‘mountain she-goat’	
<i>ræhš</i>	‘a goat with white and black hair’	
<i>riəwær</i>	‘a new-born/ milking lamb/ kid/ calf’	
		=riwær

<i>sehis</i>	‘a goat that walks ahead of the herd and leads the rest’	
<i>šišæk</i>	‘a two-year old sheep that has bred once’	
<i>tæ’us</i>	‘a sheep with flat and wide ears’	also: <i>tæhus/tæhvus</i>
<i>tæge</i>	‘a two-year old male’	goat= <i>tištær</i>
<i>tæhæ</i>	‘a dark brown cow or ewe’	
<i>tælundæ</i>	‘dewlap of a cow and ewe’	
<i>tir</i>	‘fat and healthy (ovine/ cattle)’	
<i>tištær</i>	‘a yearling she-goat before breeding’	also: <i>tištøær</i>
<i>værændil</i>	‘a three-year old ewe’	rarely used

• Complex

<i>ælo-piāsæ</i>	‘an ewe with wool in different colors’	lit.white-colorful
<i>bæræ-gučī</i>	‘a lamb kept only for mating’	lit.lamb- <i>guči</i>
<i>bahar za</i>	‘an ovine which is born in spring’	lit.spring-give birth.PRS.
<i>big-e piāš vænŋ-e</i>	‘a pre-termed kid’ ¹⁶¹	lit.kid-EZ-fore-fall.PST-PTC
<i>big-e bahar-e</i>	‘a kid born in spring’	lit.kid-EZ-spring-ATTR
<i>big-e do-bor-i</i>	‘a well and nicely shaped kid that is kept for breeding’	lit.kid-EZ-two-cut?.PRS-ATTR
<i>big-e do-mar</i>	‘a kid fed by two goats’	lit.kid-EZ-two-mother
<i>big-e særbare</i>	‘a kid given as share for a funeral costs’ ¹⁶²	lit.kid-EZ- <i>særbare</i>
<i>big-e tæge</i>	‘a male kid which is older than two years’	lit.kid-EZ- <i>tæge</i>
<i>big-e væng-e</i>	‘a weak and feeble kid’ ¹⁶³	lit.kid-EZ-weak-ATTR
<i>boz-e pæl</i>	‘a goat with long and horizontal horns’	lit.goat-EZ- <i>pæl</i>
<i>do-bær-i</i>	‘a sheep that breeds twice a year;	
	a sheep that breeds twins	lit.two-lamb-ATTR
<i>do-bor</i>	‘a two-year old goat’	lit.two-cut?.PRS-
<i>do-mar</i>	‘a kid or calf which has been fed by another ewe besides its mother’	lit.two-mother
<i>do-rōʷ</i>	‘a ram which has mated for the second time with the group of ewes in the flock’	lit.two-thigh
<i>do-som-e</i>	‘ovine or cow which have two-parted hoofs’	lit.two-hoof-ATTR
<i>do-za</i>	‘a twice-bred ovine’	lit.two-give birth.PRS.
<i>čal-e ælo</i>	‘a white-fronted horse or ewe with a	

161. fig: weak and feeble

162. fig: a very skinny goat

163. also pejoratively for humans

<i>čal-pæl</i>	brown and white body'	lit.white front-EZ-white
	'a goat with a white front and horns hanging	
	towards its shoulder'	lit.white front-hanging
<i>jelæw-kæš</i>	'the ovine that moves ahead of the herd' ¹⁶⁴	
		lit.front- pull.PRS.
<i>jelæw ræw</i>	'the ovine that moves ahead of the herd'	
		lit.front-go.PRS.
<i>kal piāsæ</i>	'a sheep with black and white wool'	
		lit.brown-colorful
<i>kor</i> ¹⁶⁵ <i>æwzæ</i>	'a black and white goat with small ears'	
		lit.short-dotted
<i>kor-i sia</i>	'a goat that is completely black'	lit.short-ATTR-black
<i>mæn-mæn-u</i>	'the sheep that walks the last'	lit.stay.PRS-stay.PRS-ATTR
<i>miāš-e kal</i>	'a black ewe'	lit.ewe-EZ-black
<i>miāš-e koh-i</i>	'a mountain ewe'	lit.ewe-EZ-mountain-ATTR
<i>nær miāš</i>	'a male sheep'	lit.male-ewe
<i>nia ræw</i>	'an ovine that walks in front of a herd while the rest	
	follow it'	lit.front-go.PRS.
<i>pæs-æs-til</i> ¹⁶⁶	'a goat that has bred twice; a three-year old sheep that	
	has bred once'	lit.after-of-til
<i>pæs-tir</i>	'a goat that has bred twice'	lit.after-tir
<i>tir-e boz</i>	'a two year-old fat goat'	lit.tir-ATTR-goat
<i>sær-kæš</i>	'the lead goat of the herd' ¹⁶⁷	lit.head-pull.PRS.
<i>sehis-e nia-ræw</i>	'a goat that walks ahead of the herd and leads the rest' ¹⁶⁸	
		lit.sehis-EZ-front-go.PRS.
<i>šæh-lal</i>	'a goat with big, wide ears and very black hair'	
		lit.black-lal
<i>tišt/øtær-be-gæle</i>	'a sheep that has gone to another herd' ¹⁶⁹	
		lit.tištær-in-herd

It is noteworthy that apart from the physical differences of the animals that are used for naming, some of these animals have special roles in the herd. For instance, *bæhðæ* 'a two-year old male goat' is used for *zat keš-i* 'lit.quiddity/ nature-pull. PRS-ATTR; breeding'. When castrated it is called *do-bor*, *sehis* or *sehis-e nia ræw* 'lit.sehis-the front-go.PRS' as a more frequent term, and is used to lead the herd. They usually carry a big metal bell on their neck so that the rest of the herd can hear their direction while their heads are down grazing. One of the wise environmental practices that are seen rarely today, was that a cloth bag full of barley or clover

164. =*dobor/ sehis*

165. *kor* in general means short, but in reference to animals it indicates the small or twisted ears.

166. also: *pæs-ta-til*; *pæs-da-sill*; *pæs-ta-sil*

167. =*do-bor*

168. =*do-bor*

169. fig: a person who has left his tribe residing in another tribe

seeds used to be hung to the neck of the *sehis-e nia ræw*. The bag had a hole in it, so that the seeds would drop on the ground and the herd would trample on and push them into the ground. In this way the nomads could preserve their pastures and guarantee some fresh verdure on their way back for the next seasonal migration.

3.2.1.2. *ga* ‘cow’

As mentioned before, is not a favorable animal to keep for a nomad. To feed a cow is more expensive than sheep and goat, its meat is rarely used and it is a very slow animal to keep up the pace on the migration route. Very few nomads keep one or two cows, mostly for their milk. Decades ago, however, cow and especially oxen were used both for carrying loads as well as for ploughing.

Having this in mind, one should look for another reason for the existence of a separate category of cow in the Bakhtiari nomads’ taxonomy.

The physical salience cannot be the only reasonable explanation, since camels are also used by some neighboring tribes such as Qashqais and therefore, Bakhtiaris are aware of the existence of some other big animals but they do not assign a separate category to them. Here again, it seems that some explanation can be found in the role and status of cow in pre-Islamic worldview.

As mentioned above, in ancient Iranian society, a cow was considered as an ideal offering to deities (Boyce, 1990: 82).¹⁷⁰ This sacrificial practice continues to exist in several contemporary Iranian societies, including among the Bakhtiaris. A major manifestation of this same belief can be observed in the case of sacrificing a cow when several members of the tribe die, for any reason, but within a short span of time. It seems that in a dire situation such as this, a sheep or goat will not suffice to prevent the harm and a cow should be slaughtered and its meat should be distributed among at least seven households as an offering to the god/ spirits to prevent further deaths.

The word *ga* by itself has other diverse meanings in the language, ranging from ‘big’ as in *ga-din* ‘a kind of big scorpion; lit.cow-tail’ and *ga-mahi* ‘a big fish; lit.

170. Skjaervø (2006: xiii), too, in his course on Avestan introduces The Cow as one of the key concepts that one should have in mind before embarking any study of Avestan texts: “The cow plays an extremely important role in the world of the Old Avestan poet, as she represents his subsistence, providing many of the things necessary for his and his family’s survival, as well as for the ritual. Having many cows is a guarantee of well-being and a symbol of being favored by the gods. Hence, the object of revitalizing *Armaiti* is to ensure peace and pasture, without which no stable human community is possible. The cow was created by Ahura Mazda, but, as we are told in 1.29, no special ratu- was provided for her within the original scheme of Order established during the first state, hence she has no human protector and provider of forage, only the heavenly Ahura Mazda himself. For this reason Zarathustra, Ahura Mazda’s favorite poet-sacrificer, is instituted as her master and protector and provider of forage. According to the poet, the cow was thus created and intended for the followers of Order. Social disorder and conflict is therefore to a large extent apparently based upon the fact that those whom the poet considers to be followers of the Lie are frequently those who actually own the most cows and controls the pastures. By these the cow is obviously mistreated, fettered, and even killed, as reflected in 1.29, 32.14 and in various YAv. text passages (Y.12.2, Yt.10.38, 86, V.3.11, 5.37, 18.12)”

cow-fish', 'a ploughing measurement' signifying a piece of land equal to 50 Man (Man= 7 kilos); to the name of a star: *ga be mal* 'the sign of evening; lit. cow-to-camp' signifying the time when the whole herd (not the cows) should have returned to the campsite. The cows are usually kept in or very close to the camp for grazing; therefore, it is not clear how to interpret the word *ga* in this compound. Other ambiguous usages of *ga* were discussed above in relation to the funeral songs *gagrive* (3.1.3 above footnote 123) and the special kind of marriage *ga be ga* (3.1.1 above, footnote 96).

Whatever the significance of cow in the past or present of the Bakhtiari culture, 30 terms exists in the lexicon that are related to cow, i.e. almost 7.5 % of our data. They contain 13 simplex and 17 complex words. These terms express a whole range of meanings, signifying different colors, roles and growth stages of the animal as are depicted in table 3.2.2. below:

Table 3.2.2: Taxa for *ga* 'cow'

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>gær/ guwær</i>	'calf until one year'	
<i>golū</i>	'a three to four months old calf'	an endearing term
<i>hæšuwe</i>	'a baby buffalo'	
<i>parine</i>	'a year old female calf'	
<i>pel</i>	'a young male calf'	
<i>pelu</i>	'a one-year old ox'	
<i>šængol</i>	'a two years old she-calf'	
<i>šul</i>	'a white-tailed cow'	
<i>tæhæ</i>	'a dark brown cow or ewe'	
<i>tælunæ</i>	'dewlap of a cow and ewe'	
<i>tir</i>	'fat and healthy (ovine/cattle)'	
<i>vorza</i>	'a castrated ox'	
<i>zærø</i>	'a beige cow'	
• Complex		
<i>do-bænø</i>	'an ox which has performed ploughing for two successive years'	
		lit.two-belt/ fasten
<i>do-mar</i>	'a kid or calf which has been fed by another ewe besides its mother'	lit.two-mother
<i>do som</i> ¹⁷¹ -e	'ovine or cow which have two-parted hoofs'	lit.two-hoof-ATTR

171. Classifying the animals based on their hoof shapes as round-hoofed or double-hoofed is also a very ancient method of categorization that is attested in some Old and Middle Iranian texts (Schmidt 1980: 219-225).

<i>ga-hiš-i</i>	‘a ploughing ox’	lit.cow-plough-ATTR
<i>ga-long</i>	‘a cow that doesn’t stop eating and eats everything (even plastic,...)’	lit.cow-long
<i>ga mæ-kal</i>	‘a lazy ox that doesn’t plough’	lit.cow-NEG-plant.PRS.
<i>ga matul</i>	‘a cow and its calves; a cattle herd’	lit.cow-matul
<i>ga mal</i>	‘cowherd’	lit.cow-mal
<i>ga miāš</i>	‘buffalo’	lit.cow-ewe
<i>ga-pæł</i>	‘a cow with horizontal horns pointed towards the earth’	lit.cow-pæł ‘hanging’
<i>ga-piāsæ</i>	‘a black and white cow; a two-colored cow’	lit.cow-piāsæ
<i>ga telin</i>	‘a lean cow that has a huge belly = ugly’	lit.cow-belly-ATTR
<i>ma ga</i>	‘she-cow’	lit.female-cow
<i>nu wænø</i>	‘a young cow that has just reached the age of ploughing’	lit.new-belt/fasten
<i>šæh-čal</i>	‘a black (cow) with a white forehead’ ¹⁷²	lit.black-white forheaded
<i>zulæk-za</i>	‘an animal (cow) that starts breeding early in life’	lit.zulæk-give birth.PRS.
<i>vorza hiš-i</i>	‘an ox suitable for plowing’	lit.castrated ox-plough-ATTR

3.2.1.3 *čarbō* ‘quadruped’

čarbō is the next subdivision of the life form category *heivō*. Quadruped is actually not an exact equivalent of this word, because quadruped includes all the animals walking on their four feet, but *čarbō* does not include quadrupeds such as ovine, cattle and donkey. The word itself consists of two parts, namely *čar* ‘four’ and *bō* the meaning of which is not directly accessible. *=bō* and its variant *=pō* can be considered as a suffix meaning ‘keeper’ as in words *bac=bō* ‘lit.garden-keeper=gardener’ *ga=pō* ‘lit.cow-keeper=cowherd’. Another possible interpretation of *čarbō* might be as *čar=b=ō* in which *čar* means ‘four’, *=b-* is etymologically *pa* ‘foot’ and *=ō* is the adverbial suffix meaning having a quality or a profession, here ‘having four feet’.

There is another possibility to consider *=ō* as the plural suffix (See 5.1.3 below), hence the translation quadrupeds.

This category, however, consists of horses of different age, color and sex including *qater* ‘mule’ which is fathered by a donkey.

Here a distinction should be made between two different forms of animal

172. *=ga-čal*

groups. *gæle* only refers to a flock or herd of ovine while *ræme* means a team of horses, a stud of mares, a span of mules and a herd of donkeys, altogether. The compound *gæle ræme*, however, means the whole group of animals in a camp, including the drove of cows.

The possession of a big *ræme* is the sign of wealth and prosperity, therefore, *ræme-dar* ‘lit.*ræme*-have.PRS’, one who has a *ræme*, equals being rich.

Table 3.2.3 consists of 20 taxa for this category, 13 simplex and 7 complex, which constitute almost 4.8 percent of the whole data.

Table 3.2.3: Taxa for čarbǝw ‘quadruped’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>æsb</i>	‘horse’	
<i>čærme</i>	‘a white horse’	
<i>kæhær</i>	‘a plain black horse’	
<i>kol</i>	‘a two-year old foal’	
<i>kolu</i>	‘mare foal’	
<i>komiat(ǝ)</i>	‘brownish-red (horse)’	
<i>maǝǝw</i>	‘mare’	also: <i>mǝw</i>
<i>nil</i>	‘blue, a white-bluish horse’	
<i>qater</i>	‘mule’	
<i>ræšxo</i>	‘a beautiful and shapely horse’	
<i>sæmænd</i>	‘a yellowish horse’ ¹⁷³	
<i>yabu</i>	‘a horse old enough to be saddled; a castrated riding horse’	
<i>yagi</i>	‘unruly horse’	
• Complex		
<i>čal-e ælo</i>	‘a white-fronted horse or ewe with a brown and white body’	lit.white front-EZ-whit
<i>be-ǝæw</i>	‘an attribute for horse in general’	lit.to-run.PRS.
<i>bur-čal</i>	‘a reddish brown horse with a white forehead.’	lit.brownish red-white forehead
<i>kæhær čal</i>	‘a black horse with a white patched forehead’	lit.black horse-white forehead
<i>nu zin</i>	‘a horse ready to be saddled’	lit.new-saddle
<i>nu-z-ǝin</i>	‘a two-year old mare foal’	lit.new-from-tail
<i>yorgæ ræw</i>	‘a horse that prances’	lit.prance-go.PRS.

173. This definition is from Maddadi (1996); my consultants, however, think that a *sæmænd* is either white or gray.

3.2.1.4 *hær* ‘donkey’

The last sub-category of *heivð* is *hær* ‘donkey’. This animal is quintessential for a nomadic life style, but it is not treated with favor and much care. As mentioned earlier, it is even considered rude and impolite to mention it in the presence of others, especially guests or respected people. This reluctance is effective in regard to all the taxa in the table related to donkey, and maybe to a lesser degree in regard to all the life form category of *heivð*.

There are some expressions and compounds that are worth mentioning here. *nær-hær-be-ræme* ‘lit.male-donkey-in-herd’ or the shorter form *hær-be-ræme* refers to a male donkey foal which is separated from his mother immediately after birth and is fed with a mare’s milk. He will be kept in and adopted by the team of horses and when old enough is mated with a mare to breed a mule. Mules are stronger and more resilient than donkeys, but are sterile. Therefore, there should always be a *hær-be-ræme* in the herd to be able to breed *qater* which is a very useful load animal. Usually a whole tribe has three to four *hær-be-ræme*, and they can be borrowed for breeding mules.

Interestingly, although *qater* belongs to the category of donkey, it is the most expensive animal of all in a herd, even more expensive than the luxurious horses and the beloved ewes. This is simply because a *qater* is more useful and practical. Here again we see a clear example that shows that a utilitarian criterion cannot fully explain the logic behind a chosen taxonomy. In other words, based on a utilitarian approach, considering the outmost usefulness and practicality of a *qater*, Bakhtiari should have assigned a separate or higher category to it, as is the case with horse, sheep and donkey, but unlike the useless cow, it does not have a category of its own.

hær-e xorma rin ‘lit.donkey-EZ-dates-shit.PRS’; a donkey that excretes dates!’ figuratively means a turbulent situation and has an apocalyptic connotation.

hær gilū zeiḩæ ‘a rolled in the dust donkey’ can be used pejoratively to a person with very dirty clothes. Donkeys usually roll themselves in the dust when they are unloaded.

hærgelð ‘lit.donkey- PL- ḩ’ means a ‘donkey herder’. Here the suffix *-ḩ* shows the profession.

One indication of the practical importance of donkeys in a Bakhtiari nomad’s world can be the number of words and expressions related to this animal, 11 in total, which are more than half the expressions related to the family of horse with all its cultural prestige and grandeur. This stresses the fact that the concept of salience, either intrinsic or cultural, as is focused in the literature, is not always an insightful criterion towards understanding Bakhtiari folk taxonomy. Because as discussed above, horse with both cultural and practical salience has no separate category, while donkey does.

The relatively high number of taxa for useful animals, however, shows the effectiveness of the utilitarian criterion in developing a rich nomenclature by traditional communities such as the Bakhtiari. These terms are divided into 6 simplex and five complex words as presented in table 3.2.4 below:

Table 3.2.4: Taxa for *hær* ‘donkey’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>diæze</i>	‘a gray donkey or mule’	
<i>gæzæ</i>	‘a white-grayish donkey, a silver donkey’	
<i>hær</i>	‘donkey’	
<i>hæwli</i>	‘donkey foal’	= <i>guðu</i>
<i>mače</i>	‘female donkey’	
<i>χοφύ/ guðu</i>	‘donkey foal’	
• Complex		
<i>gæzæ-ðjæzæ</i>	‘a gray donkey with a black muzzle’	
		lit.silver-gray (donkey)
<i>ma hær</i>	‘female donkey’	lit.female-donkey
<i>nær-æk</i>	‘a young male donkey’	lit.male- <i>æk</i> ¹⁷⁴
<i>nær-hær-be-ræme</i>	‘a male donkey that is kept in the team to mate with a horse and breed a mule’ ¹⁷⁵	
		lit.male-donkey-in-team
<i>nu palðʷ</i>	‘a female donkey or mule which is now old enough for carrying loads’	
		lit.new-packsaddle

3.2.1.5 *ǰunevær* ‘beast’

The second life form category is called *ǰunevær* ‘beast’, which includes all the animals that are generally known as wild and some that are not usually considered as wild and are even domestic in other communities, such as cat, rabbit and dog. Some of these animals are edible, like *guraz* ‘wild boar’ and *hær-guš* ‘rabbit’, but they are very rarely eaten. Only if a hunter succeeds in shooting them, they will be shared with others. Most people are reluctant to eat *guraz*, because it is considered as Haram based on the Islamic rules.

The word *ǰunevær* consists of two parts *ǰun* ‘soul, life, spirit’ and the suffix *-vær* meaning ‘having or practicing a quality’ with an epenthetic vowel *-e-* in between. Therefore, the whole word can mean ‘the one who has soul’ or ‘the one who is alive’. Here again, we see that the literal meaning of the category cannot directly

174. Here it is diminutive suffix. For more information about this suffix see 3.1.3.2 above.

175. Fig. a bully and stupid person, good-for-nothing

guide us towards its content.

Table 3.2.5. can be more extensive, but I just included the most frequent and everyday words that are relevant to the life of a nomad. The wild life in Zagros mountains, like in many other places in Iran and around the world, is endangered, so nowadays there are many young Bakhtiari that have never seen a lion, a tiger, a cheetah or a panther in their whole life. But they have certainly heard many stories from the tribe elders about wild animals attacking the camps especially in winter when prey is harder to find in the wild.

Among all the wild animals, *gorg* ‘wolf’ has several manifestations in their daily life. First a piece of wolf’s hair *mel-e gorg* ‘hair-EZ-wolf’ is used as a means to prevent the evil eye, therefore, it is interwoven in or pinned to the decorative bands, *æršerdæng*, that are usually hanging across a black tent, or above a nomadic cradle, *tæhqe*¹⁷⁶. It can also be attached to a very small amulet bag, which is usually pinned to a child’s clothing on the shoulder area. A wolf cuspid or any other tooth can be used in the same way to scare the evil spirit, Al or Jen, away. When somebody is scared or if a child startles, especially in its sleep, they would ceremonially say: *besmella gorg* ‘In the name of God, wolf!’ apparently to justify the cause of fear to a real creature and not to an evil spirit, and therefore, to calm the child and ease their own mind. The other reason behind saying this expression is that they think even a jinn or evil spirit is afraid of a wolf, so by calling wolf, they would go away along with their potential harm.

The general belief is that Imam Ali, the Prophet’s cousin and successor according to Shia’, will visit the true believers incarnated as a yellow lion.

The lion has always been a very important figure in Iranian culture in general, as is depicted in the stone carvings of Persepolis, and it is also prevalent in the Bakhtiari cultural activities such as in lamentations, carpets and other handicrafts motifs. It has been an old tradition to put stone lion sculptures, *baerd-e šir*¹⁷⁷ ‘lit.stone-EZ-lion’ as a tombstone on the grave of the tribe’s heroes or of respectable tribe members such as *khans* ‘chiefs’ or warriors to immortalize their greatness. The carved motifs on the body of the lion would have been a sword, a rifle, a dag-

176. This kind of cradle is relatively small and light, so that mothers can carry them on their back on the migration route. While in the camp, they will fasten the child for the most part of the day to *tæhqe*, without diapers, but use a piece of reed called *bolur* that is adjusted to the child’s genitals, so that urine be directed to a tin that is attached to the foot of the cradle.

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ger or similar items that symbolize the bravery and grandeur of the deceased one.¹⁷⁸ This practice survived to the present, although it has not been very popular for many decades in the twentieth century. The recent tendencies to regain a unique identity among other neighboring ethnics encouraged the new generations of Bakhtiari to retain this specially Bakhtiari old practice in the last almost two decades. The only difference is that the new stone lions are less symbolic and look more realistic¹⁷⁹.

The dog is also a very important animal for a nomad and every household has at least one or two that help the shepherds with managing the herd, but most importantly to keep the household safe from casual robbers and thieves during the dark nights in the wild. Unlike the pre-Islamic grand status of a dog in religious rituals, Islam considers dog as *næjes* ‘unclean’, as a result the nomads are very careful to make sure that their dogs’ muzzle would not touch anything near the household and always do their best to keep the dogs as far from the tent as possible, sometimes in a harsh manner like throwing a stone at them.

Boars in different sex and age, foxes, hedgehogs and jackals are among the most frequent visitors of nomadic camps. I personally have seen all of them during my visits to the field, but have never seen a panther, lion or bear.

Table 3.2.5 contains 23 taxa, 16 simplex and 7 complex, which consist around 5.5 percent of the data. It is notable that some animals may have different names, such as Cheetah that can be called *yuz* in Bakhtiari or be called by an attributive name such as *sær-kæn* ‘the head cutter’.

Table 3.2.5: Taxa for *junevær* ‘beast’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>čule</i>	‘hedgehog’	
<i>gorbe</i>	‘cat’	
<i>gorg</i>	‘wolf’	
<i>guraz</i>	‘wild boar’	
<i>jonge</i>	‘boar pup’	
<i>meimin</i>	‘monkey’	
<i>pelæng</i>	‘panther’	

178. The interested reader is advised to consult Khosronejad (2008), an Iranian anthropologist with a focus on visual traditions who has done a thorough research and has made a documentary on stone lions in Bakhtiari.

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<i>risom</i>	‘beech marten’
<i>rosi/ rosin</i>	‘sable’
<i>ruva</i>	‘fox’
<i>sæy</i>	‘dog’
<i>semur</i>	‘marten’
<i>šiar</i>	‘lion’
<i>ta</i>	‘male boar’
<i>turæ(e)</i>	‘jackal’
<i>χers</i>	‘bear’
<i>yuz</i>	‘cheetah’

• **Complex**

<i>dar-dæwn/ dar-dom</i>	‘squirrel’	lit.tree-down/ tree-tail
<i>gur-kæn</i>	‘European badger (<i>Meles meles</i>)’	
		lit.grave-dig.PRS. (diger)
<i>ma-χi</i>	‘female hog’	lit.female-hog
<i>sæy æw-i</i>	‘seal’	lit.dog-water-ATTR
<i>sæy-gorg</i>	‘wolf dog’	lit.dog-wolf
<i>sær-kæn</i>	‘cheetah’	lit.head-cut ¹⁸⁰ .PRS. (cutter)
<i>χ/hær-guš</i>	‘rabbit’	lit.donkey(big)-ear

3.2.1.6 *jek=o junevær* ‘beasty creatures’

jek=o junevær is the third life form of our taxonomical system. In the introductory paragraphs of this section (3.2.1) a thorough discussion of this category is presented, repetition of which seems redundant here.

An interesting concept, however, seems worth mentioning and that is the division of snakes into two types: *mosalmun* ‘Moslem’ and *kafær* ‘pagan’. To kill a Moslem beast is a great sin, because that animal is not going to harm anybody. The harmless snake has a khaki color and striped skin. When such a snake encounters humans or animals, it will only show its tongue but will not attack.

Once I also observed a kind of fortune telling by using a dead snake. They dropped it from a certain height and said if it falls down on its back, the pregnant woman in the camp will deliver a baby boy. But if the dead snake falls on its stomach, the baby will be a girl.

Most of these annoying creatures exist in the hot areas of *gærmesir* ‘the winter camping sites’. The species that are shared in both summer and winter camping areas differ in their degree of harmfulness. In other words, the creatures of *gærmesir* are more poisonous and fierce and their attacks can be fatal in comparison with

180. The verb *kændæn* has diverse meanings equivalent to English ‘to dig’, ‘to cut’, ‘to pick up’, ‘to pull’, and ‘to pluck’.

their *eylag-i* counterparts. This is another reason the nomads love *eylag* so much more than *gærmesir*.

An interesting point is the inclusion of an imaginary or legendary animal *oždoha* ‘dragon’ in this category. This term exists in other dialects as *oha* or *ohiya*, as well (Maddadi 1997: 20; 30). It can also mean a very big snake.

The ladybug is used for wishing a dear one to come back. If they find a lady bug around, they will pick it up and put it on their hand and start repeating its name *halum bia, halum bia*, having somebody in mind or heart that they wish to come and visit them. They keep doing this until the ladybug flies towards, they suppose, the wished-for person.

A peculiar member of this category is the honeybee, *pæxše asæl* (lit. fly-honey) or *pæhšæ asæl*. The consultants believe that honeybee is in this group not because it is harmful or undesired but only because it is a tiny animal, a *jek*. Therefore, it seems that our initial explanation of this category should be modified to justify the presence of harmless but tiny creatures like honeybee and ladybug.

Table 3.2.6 contains a considerable 70 taxa, almost 18% of the data, which are equally divided into simplex and complex ones.

In cases that several taxa exists for a single creature, dialectal variety may be a possible explanation; such as the case with ‘tadpole’ which has three different words: *kæmčæ*, *kæwčeliāz* and *kasulæk*.

The complex taxa are mostly formed by reduplication, often of two onomatopoeic constituents ending in an attributive suffix, such as *čer-čer* or *feč-feč-u*, which both refer to reptiles. The onomatopoeic parts are imitations of the sounds the animals are assumed to produce while crawling or jumping. The familiar suffix *-æk* (3.1.3.2 above) can be seen in some of the simplex taxa, but because it is considered to have been lexicalized, the term is included in the simplex list. Some other complex taxa are formed by juxtaposition of an adjective and a noun, such as *ga-din* ‘a big scorpion’ in which *ga* means ‘big’ and not a cow; or by juxtaposition of two nouns, such as *ga-misæ* ‘stable fly’, which actually refers to the flies that bother cows and other big animals.

Table 3.2.6: *jek=o junevær* ‘beasty creatures’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>bæg/bæχ</i>	‘frog’	
<i>potol</i>	‘dung beetle’	
<i>čendake</i>	‘a kind of locust’	
<i>čenj</i>	‘Black mole cricket’	
<i>čim</i>	‘moth’	

<i>ga</i>	‘Sawtooth Grain Weevil ¹⁸¹ , a kind of tiny bug’	
<i>gendal</i>	‘louse’	
<i>gerzæ(e)</i>	‘rat’	
<i>gonj</i>	‘wasp’	
<i>hæfi</i>	‘adder, a kind of snake’	
<i>kæmčæ</i>	‘tadpole’	
<i>kænvæk</i>	‘goat lice’	
<i>kæwčæk</i>	‘taenia, a kind of worm’	
<i>kæwčeliāz</i>	‘tadpole’	
<i>kasulæk</i>	‘tadpole’	
<i>keik</i>	‘flea’	
<i>kolo</i>	‘locust’	
<i>kor</i>	‘a baby locust (hopper)’	
<i>koχ</i>	‘a shrimp-like aquatic creature’	
<i>lelek</i>	‘goat’s parasite which looks like a tailless scorpion’	
<i>mæyæs</i>	‘housefly’	
<i>mar</i>	‘snake’	
<i>mošk</i>	‘mouse’	
<i>mur</i>	‘ant’	
<i>oždoha</i>	‘dragon’	
<i>pæχšæ</i>	‘fly’	also: <i>pæhšæ</i> and <i>pæχ/hšæ</i>
<i>pertæk</i>	‘butterfly’	
<i>raz</i>	‘queen bee’	
<i>remiz/rewiz</i>	‘termite’	
<i>rešk</i>	‘louse egg (nit)’	
<i>šeitō^w</i>	‘spider’	
<i>sen</i>	‘Eurygaster integriceps, a kind of shield bug’	
<i>sesbu</i>	‘a bee-like insect that in spring lays eggs in human eye or nose and causes a disease’	
<i>suz</i>	‘a kind of fly with a very painful bite’	
<i>zæhle</i>	‘leech’	

• Complex

<i>bað-kæmn</i>	‘a dangerous snake’	lit.wind-breath
<i>bæzgi-mar</i>	‘desert snake’	lit.dry land-ATTR-snake
<i>boz-moj</i>	‘Varanidea, a kind of reptile’	lit.goat-moj
<i>čer-čer</i>	‘a yellow venomous kind of lizard’	lit.čer-čer
<i>do-zō^w</i>	‘a reptile with a bifurcate tongue’	lit.two-tongue
<i>feč-feč-u</i>	‘a jumping snake’	lit.feč-feč-ATTR
<i>ga-din</i>	‘a big scorpion’	lit.cow-tail

181. *Oryzaephilus surinamensis*

<i>ga misæ</i>	‘stable fly ¹⁸² / dog fly’	lit.cow- <i>misæ</i>
<i>gær-gærak</i> ¹⁸³	‘a kind of lizard living among rocks’	lit.rock?!- <i>gærak</i>
<i>gæž-din</i>	‘scorpion’	lit.crooked-tail
<i>gendal-guš-ræw</i>	‘a tiny sort of millipede’	lit. <i>gendal</i> -ear-go.PRS
<i>gi astaræ</i>	‘glow-worm’	lit.stool-star
<i>gond-bor</i>	‘taratula, a kind of hairy spider’	lit.testicle-cut.PRS
<i>gonj-biwi</i>	‘a big and yellow bee’	lit.bee-oldlady
<i>gonj-šiær</i>	‘a big bee with colorful strips (bumblebee!)’	lit.bee-lion
<i>hær gæz</i>	‘a green and yellow colored fly that bites donkeys’	lit.donkey-bit.PRS
<i>halu-m-bia</i>	‘ladybug’	lit.uncle-my-come.PRS
<i>žir-žir-æk</i>	‘cricket’	lit. <i>žir-žir-æk</i>
<i>ju-bor</i>	‘mole cricket’	lit.gutter-cut.PRS
<i>kasæ-pošt</i>	‘Mediterranean Spur-thighed Tortoise (Testudo graeca)’	lit.bowel-back
<i>kerm tatal-i</i>	‘a hairy worm with brown dots which exists abundantly in spring in the warm areas (<i>gærmesir</i>)’	lit.worm- <i>tatal</i> -ATTR
<i>ker-ze-leng</i>	‘crab’	lit.bent-from-leg
<i>kole-mar</i>	‘a sort of short, briskly moving and very dangerous snake’	lit.short-snake
<i>leh-leh</i>	‘gecko’	lit. <i>leh-leh</i>
<i>muriaz</i>	‘small ant’	lit.ant-small (<i>mur+riaz</i>)
<i>pa duwal</i>	‘crab’ ¹⁸⁴	lit.foot-band
<i>pæhšæ(e) kur-e</i>	‘mosquito’	lit.fly-blind-ATTR
<i>pæχšæ asæl</i>	‘bee’	lit.fly-honey
<i>rofte-mar</i>	‘a kind of snake’	lit.sweep.PST.PTC-snake
<i>sær-bæstekō</i> ^w	‘a gray lizard, smaller than a chameleon, with black dots’	
<i>šir-mæst</i>	‘a striped kind of lizard’	lit.top-furniture
<i>tærke-mar</i>	‘a thin and long snake’	lit.lion-drunken
<i>tæš-tæš</i>	‘millipede’	lit.thin-snake
<i>tite-mar-i</i>	‘a small and thin snake’	lit.fire-fire
<i>tor-tor-u</i>	‘woodlouse’	lit.tiny-snake-ATTR lit.roll.PRS.roll.PRS.ATTR

182. *Stomoxys calcitrans*183. http://aks.akkasee.com/files/gallery/_DSC6870ww.jpg.184. = *ker-ze-leng*

3.2.1.7 *balende* ‘bird’

balende is the last life form category of our taxonomic chart. Bakhtiari are not very keen on differences between the birds. To them, all the creatures with feather are birds, including hen and rooster that cannot fly.

Anonby (2006) has done a detailed study of the birds among neighboring “... speakers of the Mamasani dialect of Southern Luri, an Indo-European language with approximately one million speakers in southwestern Iran.”¹⁸⁵ In this study Anonby has succeeded in extracting a relatively detailed taxonomy of the birds of the region. It is curious that despite the cultural and geographical vicinity of Bakhtiari and Mamasani peoples, and the similarity of bird nomenclature in both cultures, no clear Ornithological taxonomy can be deduced from my prolonged discussion with and field observation of Bakhtiari nomads. They are well aware that some of the birds are edible and some not, some are wild and some domestic, some are big and some are very small, etc; but none of these characteristics creates a cognitive categorization for them.

The word *balende* is formed by the name of a body part *bal* ‘wing’ and the suffix *-ende/ -ænde* which conveys the meaning of ‘one who has or one who does’; such as Persian words *dæv-ænde* ‘one who runs’ or *pær-ænde* ‘one who flies; bird’. *balende* in Bakhtiari actually means a creature that has wings.

The bird names frequently show the nominal derivational morpheme *-æk* (3.1.3.2 above). Some of them have become lexicalized, therefore the words containing them have been listed as simplex; examples being words such as *fatulæk* ‘turtledove’ the first part **fatul* does not have any specific meaning in Bakhtiari or *næræk* in which the first syllable *nær* can mean ‘male’ but it does not signify any direct relation to the actual meaning of the bird which is ‘a kind of sparrow’. But in a word like *zærð-æk*, since the meaning of the first part of the word *zærð-* ‘yellow’ is reflected in the bird’s name ‘yellow-breasted bunting’, *-æk* has been considered as a suffix with a vague meaning that ranges between ‘like’, ‘diminutive’ to an agentive meaning ‘doer’; hence its place in the complex group of terms.

Another interesting point regarding of birds’ names is the sparse usage of onomatopoeic words, the only example in a total of 62 being *ko-ko-væng* (lit.*ko-ko*-call) ‘owl’.

On the other hand, many of birds’ names are made, interestingly, with verb formatives explaining their actions; such as *šō"-gul-zæn-æk* (lit.shepherd-deceit-hit.PRS-æk) which is a kind of bird that is believed to distract a shepherd; or *du-χær* (lit.yoghurt drink-eat/drink.PRS) ‘white-necked vulture’; in which the white neck of the

185. The author provides a description of bird physiology and an inventory of cognitive distinctions that speakers use to differentiate bird types. A comprehensive taxonomy of bird knowledge in Southern Luri is presented in a diagram of bird families followed by a semantically organized list of the 84 terms for bird types found in the language, along with the meanings of these terms. Farsi, English, and scientific labels accompany descriptive notes (from the abstract of Anonby 2006).

bird is assumed to be a result of drinking the white *du* or the traditional yoghurt-drink.

Other prevalent characteristics of bird nomenclature are the existence of body parts and color terms in their constructions; such as: *din deraz* (lit.tail-long) ‘long-tailed, a bird like sparrow’ or *din zærd* (lit.tail-yellow) ‘yellow-tailed’ or *sinæ-zærø* (lit.breast-yellow) ‘yellow-breasted bunting’.

Other adjectives, apart from colors, are also used in making birds’ nomenclature; sometimes with the help of attributive adjectives, and at other times in a combination of other nouns or verbal morphemes. Examples are *ǰaz-e-hezar-zō* (lit.ǰaz-EZ-thousand-tongue) or ‘hoopoe’ in which *ǰaz* can refer to a kind of plant with pointed leaves, combining it with the imagery of thousand tongued is probably an attempt to refer to the comb-like crown of this bird. Another example is *kæla bærf-i* (lit.crow-snow-ATTR) ‘a white crow’, which is made by using two nouns, the second one of which has been changed to an adjective by the help of the attributive suffix *-i*.

The list of birds contains 63 words, almost 15% of the whole data, divided into 30 simplex and 33 complex one as shown below in table (3.2.7) below:

Table 3.2.7: *balende* ‘bird’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>bæt</i>	‘duck’	
<i>barinæ</i>	‘chicken and duckling’	
<i>barni</i>	‘chicken and duckling’	= <i>guǰu</i>
<i>bengešt(ø)</i>	‘sparrow’	
<i>čosonæk</i>	‘a very small sparrow’ ¹⁸⁶	
<i>dal</i>	‘vulture’	
<i>fatulæk</i>	‘turtledove’	
<i>gæla</i>	‘crow’	
<i>gærin</i>	‘a bird like sparrow that lives between rocks’	
<i>ǰazæk</i>	‘a bird like sparrow’	
<i>kæga</i>	‘a kind of bird’	
<i>kæla</i>	‘crow’	
<i>kæwg</i>	‘partridge’	
<i>lasæk</i>	‘a bird with black feet and beige feathers’	
<i>leilag</i>	‘stork’	
<i>lil</i>	‘a kind of bird’	
<i>melič</i>	‘sparrow’	
<i>næræk</i>	‘a kind of sparrow’	
<i>peleštuk</i>	‘swallow’	
<i>piəsæk</i>	‘a kind of bird’	
<i>qæwa</i>	‘Roller, Coraciidae; a colorful bird like a crow’	

186. Unlike sparrow, *čosonæk* is categorized as *harram-gušt*, so not edible.

	in size and build'	
<i>šæbim</i>	'owl!'	
<i>šaraz</i>	'a bird that announces rain and good days'	
<i>šatitæk</i>	'a kind of bird'	
<i>šuk</i>	'owl'	
<i>siæræ</i>	'goldfinch?!'	
<i>til</i>	'chick'	
<i>titæk</i>	'a kind of bird'	
<i>tohið</i>	'see-see partridge'	
<i>toseni</i>	'hummingbird'	
• Complex		
<i>bæčæ kælae</i>	'crow chicks'	lit.child-crow
<i>bah-kæmn</i>	'falcon or shorebird'	lit. <i>bah</i> -breath
<i>dær-som</i>	'woodpecker'	lit.tree. <i>som</i>
<i>dar-ku</i>	'woodpecker'	lit.tree.beat.PRS
<i>dið-om-æk</i>	'a kind of bird'	lit.see.PAST-1SG-æk
<i>din deraz</i>	'long-tailed, a bird like sparrow'	lit.tail-long
<i>din zærd</i>	'yellow-tailed'	lit.tail-yellow
<i>du-χær</i>	'white-necked vulture'	lit.yoghurt drink-eat/drink.PRS
<i>gaz-geleng</i>	'stork'	lit.goose- <i>geleng</i>
<i>gepi-geči</i>	'cuckoo'	lit. <i>gepi-geči</i>
<i>jaz-e-hezar-zō</i> ¹⁸⁷	'hoopoe'	lit. <i>jaz</i> -EZ-thousand-tongue
<i>kæla bærf-i</i>	'a white crow'	lit.crow-snow-ATTR
<i>kæla-jik</i>	'a red-billed crow'	lit.crow- <i>jik</i> (small?)
<i>kæla-piəsæ</i>	'a black and white crow'	lit.crow-black and white
<i>kæp-ænjir</i>	'a kind of bird'	lit. <i>kæp</i> -fig
<i>kæwg-e der</i>	'a big kind of partridge'	lit.partridge-EZ-height
<i>kæwg-e-pur</i>	'quail'	lit.paetidge-EZ-full?
<i>ko-ko-væng</i>	'owl'	lit. <i>ko-ko</i> -call
<i>kol-doz</i>	'a bird like a sparrow' ¹⁸⁷	lit.shorttailed faol-thief
<i>kol-kæmæ-r-i</i>	'a kind of swallow that makes nest on mountain walls'	lit.shorttailed-mount-ATTR
<i>kur-kur-æk</i>	'jackdaw'	lit.blind-blind-æk
<i>mahi der-ar</i>	'heron'	lit.fish-out-bring.PRS.
<i>morg-e seleimōw-i</i>	'quail'	lit.bird-EZ-Solomon-ATTR
<i>mur bæ-r</i>	'ant-carrier, a kind of bird'	lit.ant-take.PRS.
<i>pa pæhn</i>	'duck'	lit.foot-wide
<i>šæh-nær-æk</i>	'black starling'	lit.black-male-æk
<i>šæh-tæp</i>	'starling'	lit.night-tæp

187. Legend says this bird misled and stole Imam Reza's horse.

<i>sær sia</i>	‘black-headed, a kind of bird’	
		lit.head-black
<i>sæwz-qæwa</i>	‘Roller, Coraciidae, a colorful bird that resembles a crow in size and build’	lit.green.cassock
<i>šæw-gærd</i>	‘bat’	lit.night-wander.PRS.
<i>sinæ-zærð</i>	‘yellow-breasted bunting’	
		lit.breast-yellow
<i>šǫw-gul-zæn-æk</i>	‘a kind of bird’ ¹⁸⁸	lit.sheperd-deciet-hit.PRS-æk
<i>zærð-æk</i>	‘yellow-breasted bunting’	
		lit.yellow-æk

The following lists (3.2.1.8-14) do not contain taxa related to fauna but rather terms and expressions that are either directly related to animals such as table (3.2.12) which contains the terms of animal disease, or table (3.2.14) which presents other terms that are referring to herding activities or animal adjectives related to fauna. These lists are made in an attempt to reflect the diversity of Bakhtiari vocabulary and to portray how deeply their lifestyle, habitat and their everyday concerns have been interwoven into their lexicon.

3.2.1.8 Verbs and phrasal formants related to fauna

In table 3.2.8, 99 verbs or derivative phrasal formants are listed that are directly (*korniðen* ‘blaring of a sheep’) or indirectly (*beinæt* ‘the act of counting the herd’) related to fauna.

In the listing of the data, prefixed infinitives are considered as simplex, such as: *wærgetehesten* ‘rolling in the dust caused by a dog attack’. Several helping verbs are involved in making these terminologies, the most frequent ones are *kerðen* ‘to do’ and *zeiðen* ‘to hit’ and to a lesser degree *χærðen* ‘to eat’ and *næhaðen* ‘to put’.

The table of verbs contains the majority of data, almost 24%, comprising 22 simplex and 77 complex verbs and phrasal formants.

In the construction of these terms, the same methods of using onomatopoeic words, color terms, descriptive adjectives, conjoining of nouns and verbs, juxtaposition of several words with different morphological functions and reduplication have been employed, as can be seen in the following table:

Table 3.2.8: Verbs and phrasal formants related to fauna

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>beinæt</i>	‘the act of counting the herd’	
<i>čarniðen</i>	‘to graze the animals’	

188. Known as a shepherd deceiver.

<i>dašt</i>	‘keeping a cow or sheep to use its produce for the domestic use ¹⁸⁹ ’	
<i>keten</i>	‘fastening ovine + <i>heivenō</i> together into a line’	
<i>korīaz</i>	‘lining up of the ovine + <i>heivenō</i> ’	
<i>korniðen</i>	‘blaring of a sheep’	
<i>lerniðen</i>	‘to baa’	
<i>mækeniðen</i>	‘to baa’	
<i>nizniðen</i>	‘to yap (a dog)’	
<i>peræiniðen</i>	‘the sneezing of a goat’	also: pejoratively for humans
<i>refniðen</i>	‘coughing of a sheep’	
<i>šehniðen</i>	‘to neigh’	
<i>tælgeniðen</i>	‘to chase, to ferret’	
<i>taresten</i>	‘going away from the herd (ovine)’	
<i>tičēšten</i>	‘straying quickly from the herd (ovine and cattle)’	
<i>tikenīðen</i>	‘milking cow and ovine’	
<i>wærgerniðen</i>	‘rumbling of a dog before attack’	
<i>wærgetehesten</i>	‘rolling in the dust caused by a dog attack’	
<i>wærtizgeniðen</i>	‘to buck, to kick (donkey or <i>Hærom-gušt</i>)’	
<i>χerniðen</i>	‘to growl’	
<i>zarniðen</i>	‘to bray’	
<i>zikniðen</i>	‘the sound which a horse utters while another horse is passing by or when he is hungry’	
• Complex		
<i>æw ræšō^w kerðen</i>	‘to groom and currycomb a horse or a mare’	lit.water-ræšō ^w -to do
<i>bæhr χærðen</i>	‘to become conceived’ ¹⁹⁰	lit.share-to eat
<i>bar kerðen</i>	‘to load the quadrupeds; to get ready for the migration’	lit.load-to do
<i>bar-war</i>	‘to bring down the load of a quadruped; migration’	lit.load-war
<i>beinæt kerðen</i>	‘to count the herd’	lit.counting-to do
<i>bok=o bæ-r-i</i>	‘the act of sniffing of a cow by an ox as a preparation for mating (also goats)’	lit.bok=o bæ-r-GER
<i>bor zeiðen</i>	‘scattering of the herd’	lit.bor-to hit
<i>boz-wa-bor-ō^w</i>	‘the weaning time of a kid’	lit.goat-should-cut.PRS.ADV

189. This term can be used in a sentence like *dašt-i-e ya košt-i?* (lit.had-ATTR-or-killed-ATTR-is; ‘Is it for keeping or for slaughtering?’) in reference to an enquiry over the decision of a herd owner for an specific ovine.

190. It can also be used for humans in a pejorative way.

<i>ču zeiðen</i>	‘the counting of the herd’	lit.wood-hit.PRS
<i>da-bor-i</i>	‘the act of separating a baby animal from its mother to stop the breast feeding by sending them to another herd’	lit.mother-cut.PRS-GER
<i>da-bor-i kerðen</i>	‘to separate a baby animal from its mother to stop the breast feeding by sending them to another herd’	lit.mother-cut.PRS-ATTR- to do
<i>dæs maze kerðen</i>	‘examining the fat of an ovine by touching its back’	lit.hand-maze-to do
<i>deze wabiðen</i>	‘combining of two herds; boxed’	lit.deze-to become
<i>din-din kerðen</i>	‘to wag the tail (a dog)’	lit.tail-tail-to do
<i>do-dæs kerðen</i>	‘fastening the legs of an animal using <i>do-dæs</i> ’	lit.two-hand-to do
<i>gælæ nahaðen</i>	‘to buy and establish an ovine herd’	lit.herd-to put
<i>gæšð^w kerðen</i>	‘to curry’	lit.gæšð ^w -to do
<i>gæwæ zeiðen</i>	‘to make a pen for sheep’	lit.gæwæ-to hit
<i>ga-hešð</i>	‘rumination’	lit.cow-hešð
<i>ga-teliš kerðen</i>	‘to skin an ovine in a way that its skin will remain in one piece as a cow’s leather’	lit.cow-pieces-to do
<i>ga-χærðen</i>	‘the sucking of a calf before the milking of a cow’	lit.cow-to eat
<i>goč zeiðen</i>	‘to butt (ovine)’	lit.goč-to hit
<i>gun kerðen</i>	‘the floating of a cow’s udder as a sign of immediate delivery’	lit.udder-to do
<i>hækelešt/ð kerðen</i>	‘to bark’	lit.hækelešt-to do
<i>hælekešt kerðen</i>	‘to bark’	lit.hælekešt-to do
<i>hær-gilu</i>	‘rolling of a donkey in the dirt/ dust’	lit.donkey-rolling
<i>hær-gilu zeiðen</i>	‘to roll in the dust (a donkey)’	lit.donkey-rolling-to hit
<i>hẽ kerðen</i>	‘to run off/ shoo a donkey’	lit.hẽ(interjection)-to do
<i>ǰælaw čær-i</i>	‘the act of taking the herd for grazing’	lit.herd-graze.PRS.GER
<i>ǰol æwsar kerðen</i>	‘to put the blanket on the back of the pack animals and drag them along’	lit.covering-bridle-to do
<i>ǰol puš kerðen</i>	‘to cover the pack animals with special blankets’	lit.covering-wear.PRS-to do
<i>ǰol šal kerðen</i>	‘to cover the chest of pack animals’	lit.covering-shawl-to do

<i>keleng zeiðen</i>	‘to sit on hands (dog)’	lit. <i>keleng</i> . to do
<i>kope čera kerðen</i>	‘the mass grazing of the herd in a rich pasture’	lit.group-grazing- to do
<i>koriaz kerðen</i>	‘to line up (sheep)’	lit. <i>koriaz</i> . to do
<i>kor=o kær</i>	‘blaring of a sheep, at the time of mating and givin birth’	lit. <i>kor</i> =and <i>kær</i> (italics: interjection)
<i>kor=o ler kerðen</i>	‘(sheep) to walk around her lamb while licking’	lit. <i>kor</i> =and-turning-to do
<i>lær-kæš</i>	‘taking care of feeble ovine’	lit.thin-pull.PRS
<i>lun nahaðen</i>	‘to deliver a baby’	lit. <i>lun</i> -to put
<i>mængæw zeiðen</i>	‘an animal affected by flu’	lit. <i>mængæw</i> -to hit
<i>mæše kerðen</i>	‘the entangling of a rope around the leg of a <i>čarbō^w</i> ’	lit. <i>mæše</i> -to do
<i>na-bim-i kerðen</i>	‘to act uneasy in the cold weather of the highlands (ovine + <i>čarbō^w</i>)’	lit.NEG-rest-ATTR-to do
<i>nim burniðen</i>	‘to moo in a broken way (on the occasion of mourning for another cow)’	lit.half- to moo
<i>niz naz kerðen</i>	‘to snuffle’	lit. <i>niz naz</i> (interjections)-to do
<i>niz niz kerðen</i>	‘to whine or to yap (a dog)’	lit. <i>niz niz</i> (interjections)-todo
<i>pærčæl-bor kerðen</i>	‘the cutting of ovine’s wool, short enough just to protect him against hot weather’	lit.dirty-cut.PRS-to do
<i>paven kerðen</i>	‘to spin goat hair hank’	lit. <i>paven</i> -to do
<i>pey zeiðen</i>	‘the exhaustion of the pack animals under the load during the seasonal migration’	lit.track-to hit
<i>ræm xærðen</i>	‘to escape; scattering of a herd by a thief or wolf attack’	lit.scare-to eat
<i>riagal kerðen</i>	‘affecting of a sheep by diarrhea’	lit. <i>riagal</i> -to do
<i>ria-gerehðen</i>	‘affecting of a sheep by diarrhea’	lit.diarrhea-to take
<i>sær-kæn kerðen</i>	‘the movement of the herd towards grazing without the shepherd’s awareness’	lit.head-take off.PRS-to do
<i>sær-som zeiðen</i>	‘The hoofing of a mule (trampling with the hoof on the ground) which people think is a sign of a thiefbeing around’	lit.head-hoof-to hit
<i>šæw be koh</i>	‘staying the night in the mountain, night grazing’	lit.night-to-mountain
<i>šæw čær</i>	‘night grazing’	lit.night-graze.PRS
<i>šæw kæn</i>	‘going for night grazing’	lit.night-take off.PRS
<i>šæw-kæn-i</i>	‘going for night grazing’	lit. night-take off.PRS-GER
<i>šæw-kæn-i kerðen</i>	‘to take the herd out for grazing in the night’	lit.night-take off.PRS-GER-to do

<i>sæy-niyæhr kerðen</i>	‘staring like a dog’	lit.dog-look-to do
<i>sal-beh kerðen</i>	‘every-other-year breeding of ovines + <i>heivenð^w</i> ’	lit.year-better?!-to do
<i>šoge zeiðen</i>	‘the bumping of the animals’ load into the stones on the side of the path/ road’	lit. <i>šoge</i> -to hit
<i>šohaz gerehðen</i>	‘listening to the sounds in distance, like the sounds produced by animals, specially walking of a horse’	lit. <i>šohaz</i> -to take
<i>šohaz veiðen</i>	‘hearing of a sound similar to walking of a passerby or footsteps of a horse’	lit. <i>šohaz</i> -to come
<i>songe-mus kerðen</i>	‘dog’s sniffing of food or things’	lit. <i>songe-mus</i> -to do
<i>tæke čiðen</i>	‘collecting of the dried <i>heivenð^w</i> dung’	lit. <i>tæke</i> -to pick up
<i>tæng zeiðen</i>	‘to fasten an animal’s load using <i>tæng</i> ’	lit. <i>tæng</i> .to hit
<i>terat kænðen</i>	‘to gallop’	lit. <i>terat</i> -to take off
<i>terið kerðen</i>	‘to fasten the kids in a row using <i>terið</i> ’	lit. <i>terið</i> .to do
<i>tič wabiðen</i>	‘straying from the herd’	lit.seperate-to become
<i>tir-be-ger</i>	‘choosing the best ovine/ cattle’	lit.fat-SBJV-take.PRS
<i>tir-zæwin kerðen</i>	‘to separate fat and lean ovine/ cattle and <i>heivenð^w</i> from each other’	lit.fat-weak-to do
<i>tok daðen</i>	‘the first help from the shepherd to a new born lamb or kid to start sucking milk’	lit.drop-to give
<i>tur wabiðen</i>	‘to become wild (of a quadruped)’	lit.wild-to become
<i>wa duš kerðen</i>	‘twice milking of a cow or <i>Hællal-gušt</i> at a time’	lit.re-milk-PRS-to do
<i>wahei kerðen</i>	‘to push a cow ahead’	lit. <i>wahei</i> -to do
<i>yal kæšiðen</i>	‘to stop’ fig. ‘to be condemned’; ‘to remain silent’	lit.mane-to pull
<i>yorgæ ræhðen</i>	‘to prance’	lit. <i>yorgæ</i> - to go

3.2.1.9 Legal terms

The eight terms in table 3.2.9 are representative of the terms that Bakhtiaris use in their talks and mostly in their disputes over their pastures and herds. This list could probably be more extensive.

Table 3.2.9: Legal terms

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>dæwlæt</i>	‘the team of <i>čarbō</i> ^{W+} donkey; the herd; wealth’	
<i>deze</i>	‘partnership in herding’	
• Complex		
<i>ælæf-čær</i>	‘the grazing-right (for the owner of the herd)ç	lit.grass-graze.PRS.
<i>ælæf-gar</i>	‘the fee that herd-owners have to pay to the owners of pastures’	
<i>bæræ-mezō-i</i>	‘paying the shepherd based on the number of sheep’	lit.grass-gar
<i>gælæ-deze</i>	‘a shared herd’	lit.lamb-wage-GER
<i>hom-deze</i>	‘sharing a herd; partner’	lit.herd-shared
<i>nim-e dar-i</i>	‘a contract according to which one accepts taking care of another person’s herd on the condition that one will receive half of its profits’	lit.together-shared
		lit.half-ATTR-have.PRS-ATTR

3.2.1.10 Animal sounds and animal directed speech

Nomads have very fascinating ways to communicate with their animals, including whistling, shouting, and singing and even playing a reed pipe. It would be ideal to record all of these voices and provide an audio file next to each term. This proves very necessary especially in regard to animal directed sounds such as *sešew* ‘a special whistle to move the animals’, the attempted written form of which cannot give us any clue to the actual sound.

Observing the way that animals react to these voices was one of my most fascinating field experiences. Documenting this system and comparing it with the other nomadic societies around the world is a future desideratum.

Since most of the complex terms are just a reduplication or juxtaposition of some onomatopoeic words, writing their literal meanings seemed redundant and the descriptive meanings that are provided provides sufficient information about each term.

Table 3.2.10: Animal sounds and animal directed speech

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>æləmbur</i>	‘yowl’	
<i>ærešt</i>	‘braying of a donkey’	
<i>borešt</i>	‘moo’	
<i>borniðen</i>	‘to moo, to low’	
<i>dæru</i>	‘an interjection used by a farmer to lead the animal down the field’	
<i>deti</i>	‘an interjection to keep away a dog’	
<i>hækelešt/ð</i>	‘barking of a dog’	
<i>haš</i>	‘an interjection to stop a <i>Hærom-gušt</i> ’	
<i>hē</i>	‘an interjection to run off/ shoo a donkey’	
<i>hohæ</i>	‘an interjection to run off/ shoo a cow’	
<i>koč</i>	‘interjection to call a dog’	
<i>lerešt</i>	‘baaing’	
<i>sešew</i>	‘a special whistle to move the animals’	
<i>šənešt</i>	‘neighing of a horse or mare’	
<i>šohaz</i>	‘a sound, like a horse or somebody walking in distance’	
<i>wæhæ/wahei</i>	‘an interjection to run a cow’	
<i>wæhš</i>	‘an interjection to run off/ shoo a goat’	
<i>wuru</i>	‘an interjection used by a farmer to make the ploughing animal go up the field’	
<i>ɣalur</i>	‘yap (dog)’	
<i>yeɣ</i>	‘an interjection to run off/ shoo a goat/ kid’	
<i>zikniðen</i>	‘the sound which a horse utters while another horse is passing by or when he is hungry’	
• Complex		
<i>bæri-bæri</i>	‘a melody which the shepherd plays for lambs’	
<i>bok=o-bæhr</i>	‘the mating sound of a goat’	
<i>bor bor</i>	‘moo’	
<i>boz-be-dō</i> ”	‘an utterance that the milker sings to encourage the goats come to the milking place’	
<i>hæke likæ</i>	‘fast and continuous barking by seeing a fight or a wild ßanimal’	
<i>hælæk hælæk</i>	‘panting of a dog out of thirst, hunger and heat’	
<i>hæwr=o zæw</i>	‘the braying of a <i>Hærom-gušt</i> at the mating period’	
<i>helek helek</i>	‘a short barking when a dog smells/senses the approach ing of a man or wild animal’	

<i>hol-ei ha</i>	‘an interjection to make donkeys or mules walk during thrashing’
<i>iš-ǰǝw</i>	‘an interjection, produced while milking a cow or a goat’
<i>keri keri</i>	‘interjection to send the sheep away’
<i>kuč-kuč</i>	‘interjection for calling a dog to come or to go’
<i>ler-ler</i>	‘a continuous baaing’
<i>roh-šæh</i>	‘an interjection used to encourage a donkey for mating’
<i>ti-ti</i>	‘a special sound to call a kid’
<i>zar=o-zik</i>	‘braying of a donkey + <i>heivǝw</i> ’
<i>zik-e-zak</i>	‘the sound of a horse or mule calling for food’

3.2.1.11 Tools used for herding

This section provides a list of tools that the nomads use on a daily basis to be able to carry on their pivotal task of herding.

Not surprisingly these tools have not been changed or fundamentally modernized, when compared with some drawings and pictures that have been taken by mostly Western travelers at the end of nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. One of the few added activities to this very ancient pastoral life is the introduction of syringes and the act of injection of medicine to the animals. Some local governmental veterinarians visit the nomadic communities on an annual basis and instruct or guide them to take necessary measures especially in the case of some epidemic animal disease.

The terms for tools include 16 simplex and 14 complex words, almost 7% of the data.

Table 3.2.11: Tools used for herding

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>ængele</i>	‘The feet part of a goat-skin container which is fastened by a rope’	
<i>čitæ</i>	‘a reed fence for the lambs and kids’	
<i>čomčitæ</i>	‘a reed fence for the lambs and kids’	= <i>kolæ čomčitæ</i>
<i>dag</i>	‘a metal tool that when heated is used for branding/	marking’
<i>dærag</i>	‘the big bell of the bellwether’	also for camel, loan word from neighboring Qashqai tribes
<i>gælaǰæ</i>	‘a bridle; a collar; the woven rein of a horse’	
<i>gaš</i>	‘pen, a surrounded piece of land to gather ovine’	

<i>ǰol</i>	‘a thick covering for the animals’
<i>kæwor</i>	‘a device used for weaning/ to prevent a kid from suckling; it is a piece of wood which will be placed in the mouth of the kid, with two strings on its both sides that will be fastened to its horns.’
<i>kolæh</i>	‘a place to keep lambs and kids’
<i>mæčīlæ</i>	‘a thin beaded rope to put on a calf neck’fig. very thin
<i>rofiəðæ</i>	‘a piece of felt to be placed under the tail of quadrupeds’
<i>rošgin</i>	‘the ring of a saddle which is placed below the tail’
<i>tæng</i>	‘a rope that is used to fasten the load or the saddle on the back of an animal’
<i>terīə</i>	‘a rope to fasten the kids in a row’
<i>zængol</i>	‘the big bell of the bellwether’ also called: <i>zængol-e dobor</i> ‘lit.bell-EZ dobor’
<i>zin</i>	‘saddle’

• Complex

<i>din-æwsar</i>	‘the rope of a horse’s rein’	lit.tail-bridle
<i>dag-derišom</i>	‘the sign or mark of an animal’	lit.brand-scar
<i>do-dæs</i>	‘a chain with a lock used to fasten the legs of an animal; a padlock’	lit.two-hand
<i>gaš-e gælæ/e</i>	‘the mountain slope which is surrounded by branches and foliage to keep ovine’	lit. <i>gaš</i> -EZ-herd
<i>gol æwsar</i>	‘the pom-pom of the bridle’	lit.flowe-bridle
<i>gun-bændø</i>	‘a covering for the udder to prevent lambs and kids from suckling’	lit.udder-PRS.PTC.fasten
<i>ǰa ga-yæl</i>	‘the cattle (cow) barn’	lit.place-cow-PL
<i>ǰol šal</i>	‘a special covering for the animals’ chest’	lit.covering-shaul
<i>kolæh-comečīt</i>	‘a pen made of reed to keep lambs and kids’	lit.pen- <i>comečīt</i>
<i>nal øag</i>	‘a horseshoe form of brand for making animals’	lit.horseshoe-brand
<i>šæw-χoft</i>	‘an special felt coat with closed sleeve holes used by shepherds’ ¹⁹¹	lit.night-PST.PTC.sleep
<i>tæng-e zin</i>	‘a special belt under a mare or mule’s belly to support the saddle’	lit.belt-EZ-saddle



<i>zænĵir-æwsar</i>	‘the metal nose-gear of <i>heivenð^w</i> ’ lit. chain-bridle
<i>zir-din-i</i>	‘a rope that passes under the tail to fasten the two sides of an animal covering together’ lit. under-tail-ATTR

3.2.1.12 Words for animal diseases

The following table is a list of almost all the known diseases that represent a constant challenge for the nomads.¹⁹²

An interesting point worth mentioning is the use of some of these words and expressions for swearing and cursing one another, either as an individual word, such as *sispu!* or by using an optative verb (6.7 below) in a construction such as below:

<i>renĵ-i</i>	<i>men-e</i>	<i>kakili-y-a=t</i>	<i>zen-a-h-e</i>
<i>renĵ</i> -INDF	in-EZ	tooth-E-PL=BP.2SG	hit.PRS-OPT-E-3SG
‘May a renĵ strikes your molar teeth!’			

Another way of swearing using these terms is to use them with a past participle and make an adjective:

<i>kō^w</i>	<i>gerehd-e!</i>
<i>kō^w</i>	take.PST-PTCP
‘ <i>kō^w</i> -stricken! (Somebody who is affected by <i>kō^w</i>)’	

Table 3.2.12: Taxa for diseases

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex		
<i>dewiər</i>	‘a disease of quadrupeds’ ¹⁹²	
<i>gærčæk</i>	‘a disease that lessens the fat of a sheep tail’	
<i>geme</i>	‘a disease that makes goat unable to walk’	
<i>kerne</i>	‘tick; deer tick shared with ovine, <i>heivenð^w</i> , human, birds and dog’	
<i>kō^w</i>	‘a disease that inflates a donkey’s palate’. To cure it, they need to pierce the resulting gland. Also for <i>Hærom-gušt</i> and <i>čarbð^w</i> ’	
<i>marmi</i>	‘a disease that is caused by a white and thin parasite in the lung of all animals and even birds’	
<i>mængæw</i>	‘1. cattle’s flu; 2. dizziness of <i>Hærom-gušt</i> and <i>čarbð^w</i> ’	
<i>mæræ</i>	‘bean-like glands under the skin of a goat which has eaten too much acorn’	
<i>renĵ</i>	‘a disease for <i>heivenð^w</i> ’	
<i>šeške</i>	‘a kind of parasite that sucks ovine + <i>heivenð^w</i> or dog’s blood and makes them weak and emaciated.’	

¹⁹² the term is also used as a curse to refer to people

- **Complex**

<i>bælæk-šæh</i>	‘a disease which affects the spleen of a goat’	lit. <i>bælæk</i> -black
<i>big-e leleki</i>	‘a kid affected by a certain parasite, <i>lelek</i> ’	lit.kid-EZ- <i>lelek</i> -ATTR
<i>ga-mir</i>	‘The bubonic plague’	lit.cow-PRS.die
<i>kæ’uw-æk</i>	‘a parasite that affects weak and feeble ovines + <i>heivenðʷ</i> ’	lit.livid-æk
<i>kæwš-æk</i>	‘the outer part of a hoof; the growth of an ovine’s hoof’	lit.shoe-æk
<i>koh-mir</i>	‘The bubonic plague of sheep’	lit.mountain-die.PRS.
<i>læw-riðšæ</i>	‘blisters around lips and mouth of kid or lamb’	lit.lip-root
<i>lelek-i</i>	‘affected by <i>lelek</i> ’	lit. <i>lelek</i> -ATTR
<i>lōr-i</i>	‘dying of ovine or <i>heivenðʷ</i> caused by severe cold’	lit.severe cold-ATTR
<i>mof-æk</i>	‘ovine’s running nose’	lit.snot-æk
<i>zæhm-derišom</i>	‘cut or wound mark on an ovine or <i>heivenðʷ</i> body’	lit.wound-scar
<i>sæy-nas</i>	‘a fatal disease of dogs’	lit.dog-death
<i>zæhle gæp</i>	‘an ovine or cattle-disease (Atrokenin)’	lit.gal bladder-big

3.2.1.13 Expressions showing the relation of human and animals

Table 3.2.13 contains terms and compounds that are mostly professions related to herding. As can be seen this list has no simplex words, most of them are made by compounding an animal name with a present stem of a verb, ending in an adverbial suffix. The most frequent adverbial suffix in this regard is *-ðʷ* with an approximate meaning of ‘one who does’. There exists one other suffix *-χðʷ*, the exact meaning of which is not clear to me.

Table 3.2.13 Relation of human and animals

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex - • Complex		
<i>bær-gel-ðʷ</i>	‘a sheep-shepherd’	lit.lamb-PL-ADV
<i>boz-bor-ðʷ</i>	‘the shearing time of goats’	lit.goat-cut.PRS-ADV
<i>boz-čarn</i>	‘a goatherd’	lit.goat-graze.PRS.
<i>boz-čarn-i</i>	‘the act of goat herding’	lit.goat-graze.PRS-PTC

<i>boz-gel-ōʷ</i>	‘a goatherd’	lit.goat-PL-ADV
<i>ga-čarn</i>	‘cowherd, one who takes cows for grazing’	lit.cow-graze.PRS.
<i>ga-gel-ōʷ</i>	‘cowherd’	lit.cow-PL-ADV
<i>ga-pōʷ</i>	‘cowherd, one who takes care of cows’	lit.cow-keep.PRS.
<i>guwær-gel-ōʷ</i>	‘calfherd’	lit.calf-PL-ADV
<i>hær-ga wær-gæn</i>	‘one who runs the cattle back, cattleherd’ ¹⁹³	lit.donkey-cow-PRF-turn. PRS.
<i>hær-gel-ōʷ</i>	‘a donkeyherd’	lit.donkey-PL-ADV
<i>ǰælaw čarn</i>	‘a paid grazier, shepherd’	lit.herd-graze.PRS.
<i>ræmæ χōʷ</i>	‘hostler; a shepherd of <i>čarbōʷ</i> ’	lit.herd-χōʷ?! lit.herd-have.PRS.
<i>ræmæ dar</i>	‘one who has a herd; a rich person’	

3.2.1.14 Other words related to fauna

Table 3.2.14 contains 77 words (48 simplex and 29 complex), which constitutes 18,5 % of the data. These are a variety of terms such as body parts; cover terms for all animals, bodily products and some adjectives that are used specifically to describe animals. As with regard to body parts, the terms were previously organized in a separate table (3.3.5 above), but they are repeated here to show the exact distribution of words in different semantic domains.

Table 3.2.14: Other Taxa

	The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• Simplex			
<i>čal</i>	‘an ovine with a white front’		also for poultry
<i>čarbōʷ</i>	‘the category of horse plus mare and mule’		
<i>čor</i>	‘urine’		
<i>došbol</i>	‘a fat gland under the skin of the animals’		
<i>gæl</i>	‘a herd of animals; an ovine herd’		
<i>gælæ</i>	‘a herd of animals; an ovine herd’		
<i>gærčæk</i>	‘the low-fat and thin tail of a sheep’		
<i>gæšæ</i>	‘a pen for ovine’		
<i>gæwæ/e</i>	‘a pen for ovine’		
<i>gōʷ</i>	‘udder, a cow’s breast’		
<i>hæšam</i>	‘livestock’		
<i>heiwōʷ</i>	‘domestic animals’		
<i>hile</i>	‘an animal or human with a beautiful chubby body’		

193. fig.a good-for-nothing person

<i>ǰær</i>	‘leather’	
<i>ǰæwǰǰ^w</i>	‘the molars of the quadrupeds’	
<i>kæz</i>	‘the fluffy hair of a goat belly that is used to make a shepherd’s coat’	
<i>kagenat</i>	‘ovine placenta; Bakhtiaris fill it with foremilk and cook it.’	
<i>kelezne</i>	‘tailbone of a sheep’	
<i>koheil</i>	‘a name for an old and noble <i>čarbǰ^w</i> ’	
<i>korǰaz</i>	‘queuing of the ovine’	
<i>las</i>	‘female animal’	
<i>laz</i>	‘a piece of a ovine’s wool which has a different color’	
<i>liǰwǰ^w</i>	‘placenta of animals’	
<i>lif</i>	‘animal breast’	
<i>lun</i>	‘ready for delivering baby’	
<i>met</i>	‘lambs and kids excrement before starting to graze’	
<i>nil/nilæ</i>	‘a white-bluish <i>Hærom-gušt</i> ’	
<i>niškæw</i>	‘half of the body; one-half of a cow or ovine’s body’	
<i>paven</i>	‘a bunch of unsleaved goat hair for later spinning’	
<i>peger</i>	‘powder/ crushed manure of <i>heivenǰ^w</i> ’	
<i>peškel</i>	‘ovine’s dung’	
<i>riǰgal</i>	‘the dried out watery stool stuck to the sheep wool and hair’	
<i>segæt</i>	‘death of the non-Hallal animals and dogs’	
<i>siǰl</i>	‘the skin under an ewe’s tail’	
<i>somat</i>	‘donkey and <i>čarbǰ^w</i> ’s dung’	
<i>sombolik</i>	‘the little hoof of a cow + ovine’	
<i>soro</i>	‘horn’	
<i>šotor</i>	‘camel’	
<i>sule</i>	‘pieces of dough to feed dogs’	
<i>tækæ(e)</i>	‘dried dung <i>heivenǰ^w</i> ’	
<i>tæpalæ</i>	‘cow dung’	
<i>terat</i>	‘gallop’	
<i>til/ tile</i>	‘baby animal’	
<i>tælgeniǰæ</i>	‘a separated ovine/ cattle from the herd’	
<i>tolom</i>	‘a number of ovines’	
<i>tul</i>	‘A puppy’	= <i>tile sæy</i>
<i>yal</i>	‘mane’	
<i>yorgæ</i>	‘a charming way of walking by a horse’	
<i>zehe</i>	‘female animals’ genitals’	

• Complex

<i>bar-kæš</i>	‘pack animal’	lit.load- pull.PRS.
<i>be bæhr</i>	‘aroused, ready for mating’	lit.in- <i>bæhr</i>
<i>be dæstǰ^w</i>	‘a dog ready for mating’	lit.in- <i>dæstǰ^w</i>
<i>čærme pust</i>	‘a skinny <i>heivenǰ^w</i> ’	lit.leatherly-skin

<i>čar-wa</i>	‘the category of horse plus mare’	lit.four- <i>wa</i>
<i>bu hælæk-hælæk</i>	‘the special scent of a he-goat ready for mating’	lit.smell- <i>hælæk-hælæk</i>
<i>čel-gæz-be-gi</i>	‘the small intestine of all the animals’	lit.forty-meter-to-stoel
<i>din-dera-zō^w</i>	‘the long-tailed <i>heivenō^w</i> ’	lit.tail-long-PL
<i>gælæ ræmæ</i>	‘a herd of ovine and cattle’	lit.herd-herd
<i>gir-e sæg</i>	‘a dog’s cuspid’	lit.cuspid-EZ-dog
<i>hælal-gušt</i>	‘ovine + cow’	lit. <i>Hælal</i> -meat
<i>kæš kæš</i>	‘ovine’s small intestine’	lit.pull.PRS.
<i>košt-i</i>	‘an ovine, cow and <i>Hællal-gušt</i> that is kept to be used for its meat’	lit.kill.PST.PTC-ATTR
<i>kut-gæh</i>	‘manure dump’	lit.dung-place
<i>laz-ǫar</i>	‘spotted’	lit. <i>laz</i> .PRS.have
<i>mel ga-h-i</i>	‘a ball made of cow’s hair’	lit.hair-cow-h-ATTR
<i>miaš be koriaz</i>	‘following each other (ovines)’	lit.ewe-to- <i>koriaz</i>
<i>pær-pær-i</i>	‘the stomach of ovine/ horse and cattle’ ¹⁹⁴	lit.feather-feather-ATTR
<i>pof-ešpiǫ</i>	‘lung’	lit.puff-white
<i>riawær-za</i>	‘a newly bred ovine + <i>heivō^w</i> ’	lit. <i>riawær</i> -give birth.PRS.
<i>riā-zæhlæk</i>	‘the green watery stool of ovine or cow caused by an inflated gall blader’	lit.watery stoel-gallblad der-æk
<i>sær-čær</i>	‘ovine and other grazing animals’	lit.head-graze.PRS.
<i>sæy-gorg</i>	‘jackal; wolfdog’	lit.dog-wolf
<i>sæy-las</i>	‘a she-dog, a bitch’	lit.dog-female
<i>sæwa za</i>	‘an ovine + <i>heivenō^w</i> which just has given birth’	lit. separate-give birth.PRS.
<i>sir-silæwæ</i>	‘tripe (all animals)’	lit.full- <i>silæwæ</i>
<i>šir-šir-æk</i>	‘small brown glands in the stomach of ovine’	lit.milk-milk-æk
<i>tare tič</i>	‘an animal that stampede’	lit. <i>tare-tič</i>
<i>žoš-ræw</i>	‘a quick and light-footed animal’	lit.nice-go.PRS.
<i>yæ somæ</i>	‘one-hoofed; an animal with a round hoof such as <i>Hærom-gušt</i> ’	lit.one-hoof-ATTR
<i>yal-ǫin</i>	‘horse hair’	lit.mane-tail

194. shared by all grazing animals

3.2.2 Classification of flora

The study of flora in Bakhtiari presents several challenges, mostly due to the geographical dispersion of the plants and to a lesser degree of their importance for the nomads as compared to fauna. In other words, the bond between a nomad and his herd is unbreakable and his animals are an integral part of his daily life. In contrast, most of the species of plants play only a marginal role in a nomad's world, his major concern being only the plants that he can use as fodder and forage to feed his livestock.

In addition, the animals are always with them but the vegetation is dispersed and different throughout the Bakhtiari habitat. Therefore, to check the tropical plants by showing them to the consultant you should be in that area, *gærmesir*, in the right time when the targeted plant has already grown or before it has dried out. The same goes for the plants in *eylaq*; i.e. the non-tropical ones. All these make checking the flora more time consuming.

Moreover, people are not as attentive to the surrounding vegetation as they are towards their animals. Very few people can name all the species that are growing in a certain habitat. Men are generally aware of the kind of vegetation that can be used to feed the herd and women know some very popular medicinal herbs.

There are, however, plants that are very popular¹⁹⁵ and they are used daily as food or medicine, such as *pinæ* 'pennyroyal, a kind of mint' *musir* 'shallot' or *æwšo* 'thyme'. One important aspect of Bakhtiari culture is that the border between food and medicine is very blurred. Based on this nutritious philosophy, whatever you eat can cause a turbulence inside the body, or harmonize and heal it. Therefore, these medicinal/ nutritious herbs play a very eminent role in the Bakhtiaris' and especially the nomads' everyday life; hence almost everybody, even the younger generation, are familiar with medicinal plants.

Certain herbs that only grow in *eylaq* are used as souvenirs to be taken to *gærmesir* for relatives who do not have a nomadic life. These can be found in the local shops, can be very expensive, and include herbs such as *tære* 'wild spring onion', *gol-berenjas* 'sagebrush', *bærge kelæws* 'dried leaves of mountain celery'; *bosohr* 'a kind of wild red spring onions' and *liæle*, a herb that is used to cure the common cold.

There are many plants and herbs such as *liæle* for which my consultants and I do not even know the Persian equivalents, which made finding their English or

195. There is a Hamule man, in his forties, Hamid Ardeshiri, an Ardeshtariv, who is according to the whole tribe, an expert in this regard and he is teaching his teenage daughter all about herbs and plants. I had the chance to walk with him once in Tishtardun, making photos and asking him the names of all the plants that we would encounter. Recently he has also sent me some audio files through the mobile application, Telegram, answering some of my latest questions and helping me to modify my second preliminary floral taxonomy (see below).

scientific names impossible. I have collected pictures of many of them, a small collection of which can be found in Appendix 7.

Many of the species are endangered, such as *musir* ‘shallot’, *qarč* ‘wild mushrooms’ and *kelæws-e panje* ‘lit.celery-EZ hand palm= a wild palm-like celery’, due to unsystematic use of the land, converting pastures to agricultural fields and orchards and other ecological disasters. During the past century some plants have become extinct, therefore, many of the herbs or trees are not known by the present generation and their names do not ring a bell in the mind of a young nomad.

Maddadi’s definitions of plants are not always helpful either, since in many cases he only mentions: ‘a kind of tree’ or ‘a kind of plant’. Sometimes there are several meanings for a single term, such as *kaeto*.

All these considerations led to the conclusion to present the data on Bakhtiari flora here as a general overview. A deeper theoretical discussion and a comparative study with other botanical systems is only possible after prolonged fieldwork, by walking inch by inch through the Bakhtiari habitat in *eylaq* and *gærmesir*, taking photos and recording all the names and medicinal or nutritious features of each and every plant. An extensive list of flora, however, is presented in Appendix 6. This list contains 664 words, including names of different plants, verbs related to plants and also tools and terms used in agriculture and horticulture.

In this section, therefore, the focus will mainly be on presenting the first hand observations and the results of the discussions that I have had in the course of the research till now with diverse consultants on the subject of botanical taxonomy. At the end of this section 3.2.3, a part is assigned for a discussion on the oak tree and acorn. This tree and its fruit enjoy a very prominent socio-cultural status among Bakhtiaris, as will be explained below, therefore, they deserve to be presented with some detail and depth.

Two broad classifications has emerged through many hours of conversation with two separate groups of consultants who were all from the Ardeshqariv branch of the Hamule tribe. This lack of consensus over one unified classification of flora is another indication showing that nomads are not as meticulous about distinguishing different plants as they are towards the animals.

The first draft of this preliminary classification of plants presented in the chart below has emerged during a field trip in December 2013, in Tishtardun, among Mahnesa’s family. Figure 19 represents this first taxonomical chart. Here again, as in the case of fauna, we see conformity with the general tendency in the world’s taxonomical systems, as expressed in the third generalization of Berlin et al (1973: 240), that is to say, the first level of taxonomical hierarchy, the unique beginner, does not have a name.

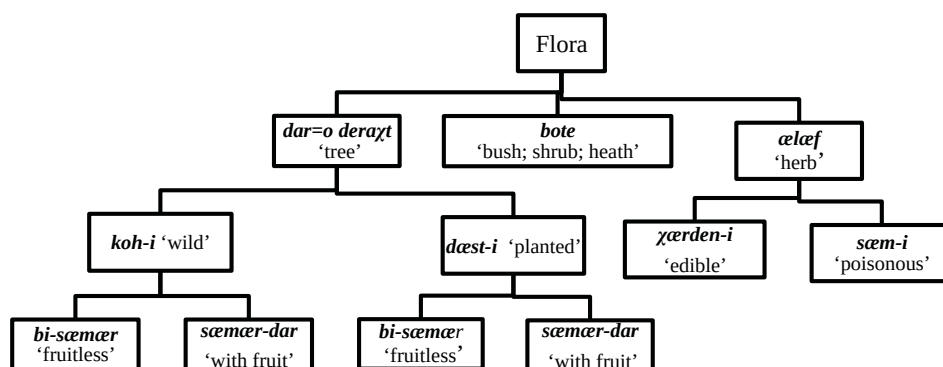


Figure 18 First version of Bakhtiari floral taxonomy

Based on this classification, all the plants can be grouped into three life forms, namely *dar=o deraxt* 'lit.tall wood=and-tree'; *bote* which covers all the species that the words bush, shrub and heath signify in English; and *aelæf*. In Persian the latter word can only mean weed or verdure but in Bakhtiari it can mean herb, grass, weed and even grains and flowers. The life form *bote* ends here, but the other two life forms have also the generic level.

The category of *aelæf* is divided into two unequal sub-groups in the sense that the first group *xærden-i* 'lit.to eat.ATTR= edible' has numerous taxa covering all the grains and herbs that are used for nutritious or medicinal purposes and also all other wild plants such as weeds or grass that can be used as fodder or forage for the animals. Whereas for the second category *sæm-i* 'lit.poison-ATTR= poisonous' the consultants could only provide three taxa. These will be discussed in more detail in the relevant section.

The generic level of *dar=o deraxt* also has two generic groups, i.e. *koh-i* 'lit. mountain-ATTR= wild' and *dæst-i* 'lit. hand-ATTR= planted or cultivated'.

The life form *dar=o deraxt* can be further categorized to include a specific level of fruitful or fruitless trees for both generic groups of *kohi* and *dæsti*. The related taxa of these groups will be presented in the related section 3.2.2.1 below.

The second suggested taxonomy, however, has only two life forms *ri gel-i* 'lit. on-ground-ATTR= touching the ground' and *dar=o deraxt* as presented in figure 3.2.2.2 below.

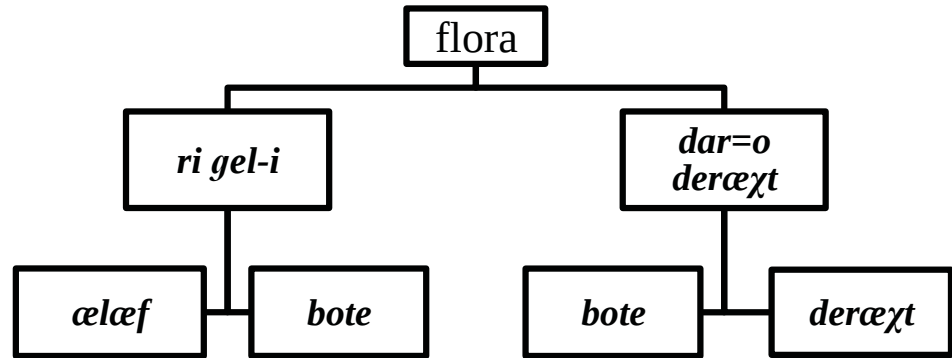


Figure 19 Second version of Bakhtiari floral taxonomy

This second chart has emerged through prolonged virtual field work, text messaging and exchanging of voice messages through different mobile applications with another group of consultants who are now settled in a village, but had lived the major part of their lives as a nomad and they have a reputation of knowing everything about the plants (See footnote 190 above).

The questions and answers with them brought several interesting points to the surface. First, the significance of the word *dar* compared to the now more common word *deræxt* in both Bakhtiari and Persian. *Dar* refers to every tall tree and also any long piece of wood including, for example, the wooden beams that are used in a rug-weaving loom. *Deræxt* can refer to any short or tall tree.

Here the overlap between the referents of trees and bushes begins. To Bakhtiari the difference between a bush and a tree is certainly not the height but rather the shape of the trunk. A tree is usually the one with a unified and strong trunk. But then when a short wild tree has not been pruned and has developed several thick branches over time, they may refer to it by both terms *bote* and *deræxt*, especially when they are not very familiar with its species.

The new term in this taxonomy is *ri gel-i* which refers to all the plants that grow near the surface of the ground, both from the top and from the underground. In other words, root plants as well as all the other plants that grow above the ground are considered *ri gel-i* if they do not grow very high from the surface of the soil. To clarify a criterion for this height they mentioned another term *sær deræxt-i* ‘lit. head-tree-ATTR=on tall trees’ as opposed to *ri gel-i* plants that are generally not very high plants, the tallest of which should not exceed the chest of a mid-height man.

The other characteristic of this second taxonomy is that both its life forms have a category of *bote* at the generic level. The immediate thought would be that maybe *bote* should be promoted to the life form level, but the consultants strongly rejected the idea, arguing that ‘No, *bote* is a *ri gel-i*, as it is a kind of tree!’ This

ambiguity in the definition of *bote*, in my opinion, is because it's a cover term, the taxa of which, as mentioned above, can be all the species of the categories that are referred to in English as bush, shrub and heath.

Another very interesting observation is that the consultants, while talking about plants, were repeatedly referring to the animals and after mentioning every plant, the next utterance would be whether it is good or bad for this or that animal. They even mentioned, several times, a saying which shows how in their minds they evaluate plants based on their usage for the herding:

ærzen,¹⁹⁶ *gorz*, *bayom boz*, *miälæw miäš*
ærzen mace; almond, goat; *miälæw*, ewe

By this they mean that *ærzen* that is a kind of wild almond tree with a very hard wood is just suitable to make a mace, a very important defensive tool for a nomad. *bayom* 'almond tree' is a coarse tree, its branches are suitable to make sticks to guide a flock of tough animals like goats. *miälæw* has very delicate and fragrant branches, therefore, it is nice enough to touch their beloved ewes. They even think that it is *movarek* 'blessed' to delicately strike a sheep with *miälæw* and it will cause abundance in their number and weight.

An important observation regarding the flora nomenclature is that almost all the taxa have a primary lexeme without any clear meaning. In other words, the simplex names of the flora do not guide us towards any description of their appearance or usage, contrary to for example, many bird names. From the list below, for instance, only the name of the tree 'Populus alba' refers to the color of the tree trunk, i.e. *kewuðæ/e* 'lit.livid-DEF', which can be interpreted as 'the one with dark bluish gray color'. Also in *čendar* the second part, is obviously *dar* which refers to the very tall trunk of this tree,¹⁹⁷ but the meaning of the first part remains unclear, although it seems to be the same lexeme as the Persian word for the plane tree, *čenar*.

In both taxonomical charts above we see no mention of fruits and vegetables such as watermelon, cucumber, tomato, potato, aubergine, zucchini and the like. When asked about their place in the category the shared answer was: "They are *baq-i* 'lit.garden-ATTR= cultivated in a garden'. They have nothing to do with us." This is contrary to the fact that nowadays many nomads have a small garden beside their tents for growing tomatoes, peppers, aubergines, cucumbers and similar vegetables that they use on a daily basis. However, the fact that they have learned gardening from *eylaq-i-yæl* 'lit.eylaq-ATTR-PL= the residents of the cities and vil-

196. *Amygdalus haussknechtii*

197.



lages of *eylaq*', makes this category as something imported and not originated in their own culture.

In the following sections a selected number of taxa from the first taxonomical chart is represented. The reason for this choice is that the first chart has all the categories included in the second chart but not *vice versa*. Some of the taxa listed here such as *beram belit*, cannot be found in the original list of flora (Appendix 6) because they have come up during the long and informal discussions with the consultants in the later stages of the research.

3.2.2.1 *dar=o deræxt*

Table 3.2.15 contains a list of the most frequently seen or used trees in the Bakhtiari area. It is noteworthy that when a tree is considered as *bi-sæmæ*r or fruitless, it only means that the fruit of that tree is not edible for humans.

Nowadays, some of the wild trees have changed their status from being wild into being planted. The fruit trees are obviously cultivated for their fruits, the most popular ones in *eylaq* being peach, apple, apricot, walnut and almond. In *gærmesir*, however, the only recently cultivated tree is the olive tree which is not originally from that area but was advised by the governmental agricultural experts to be planted there to prevent soil loss and also as a source of income for some locals. From the fruitless trees, the fast growing willow and *populus alba* are frequently planted for their shade and also to mark the borderline of the orchards and other pieces of lands. This explains why these trees are mentioned in both *koh-i* 'mountain/ wild' and *dæst-i* 'handy/ cultivated' categories.

Table 3.2.15: *deræxt* 'tree'

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• <i>Koh-i</i> 'wild; lit.mountain-ATTR'		
○ <i>bi-sæmæ</i> r		
<i>keikom</i>	'montpellier maple'	<i>acer monspessulanum</i>
<i>šen</i>	'honeysuckle'	<i>lonicera nummulariifolia</i>
<i>gæz</i>	'tamarisk, salt cedar'	<i>tamarisk</i>
<i>tag</i>	'a tree with an olive-like fruit'	
<i>miælæw</i>	'a kind of wild tree'	
<i>čendar</i>	' <i>platanus</i> '	<i>platanus orientalis</i>
<i>kærre</i>	'wild fig'	
<i>biəd/ā</i>	'willow'	<i>salix babylonica</i>
○ <i>sæmæ</i> r- <i>dar</i>		
<i>gerdu/ girdi</i>	'walnut'	
<i>ænĵir</i>	'fig'	

<i>konar</i>	‘ziziphus’	<i>rhamnaceae</i>
<i>ærzen</i>	‘a kind of wild tree’	
<i>belit</i>	‘oak’	
<i>siste(n)</i>	‘may-tree’	
<i>kelxong</i>	‘mastic’	<i>pistacia lentiscus</i>
<i>ben</i>	‘Persian turpentine tree’	<i>pistacia atlantica</i>
<i>tenges(t)</i>	‘wild almond’	
<i>bayom</i>	‘almond’	

- *dæst-i* ‘planted; lit.hand-ATTR’

- *bi-sæmær*

<i>biad/ð</i>	‘willow’	
<i>kewuðæ/e</i> ¹⁹⁸	‘populus alba’	<i>salicaceae</i>
<i>bænyæw</i>	‘European ash’	<i>fraxinus excelsior</i>

- *sæmær-dar*

<i>gerdu/ girdi</i>	‘walnut’
<i>ænĵir</i>	‘fig’
<i>ænar</i>	‘pomegranate’
<i>siäv</i>	‘apple’
<i>bayom</i>	‘almond’
<i>hulu</i>	‘peach’
<i>zærd-ali/u</i>	‘apricot’
<i>gilas</i>	‘cherry’
<i>hermu</i>	‘pear’

3.2.2.2 *bote*

As mentioned above, the category of *bote* is the most problematic one, consisting of a variety of plants from heaths to shrubs and from bushes to short and small trees. The list below can be much longer and many species of *bote* are included in the list of Appendix 6. The taxa listed here are among the most popular and widespread ones. As can be seen, even the grapevine is considered a *bote* whereas in many botanical taxonomies a separate category is considered for the vine (Witkowski and Brown 1978: 434).

The names for the taxa in this category are also mostly simplex. A curious name is *beram belit* in which the second part of the compound name means ‘oak’ or ‘acorn’, but this plant, according to the consultants has no affinity with an oak tree, neither in its appearance nor in its socio-cultural role (See 3.2.3 below). The meaning of the first part is not precisely known.

198. Commonly known as white poplar, belongs to the family of the salicaceae (willow family); (http://en.hortipedia.com/wiki/White_poplar).

The seeds of *dinešt* ‘wild rue’ are used in rituals to prevent the evil eye, and its smoke is believed to have disinfection effects.

Among the most widespread and seen bushes in *eylaq* are *gine* ‘milk vetch’ and *šux* ‘a kind of bush with red berries’. Their branches are used to make temporary dwellings for small animals or for making shelters against the burning summer sun. The dried branches are also used as firewood.

Different animals have different behaviour towards plants, therefore, with naming each plant, my consultants would mention, almost immediately, the name of the domestic animal that eats that plant. This extra information was not helpful for classifying the plants and consequently is not added here.

Table 3.2.16: *bote* ‘bush’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
<i>beram belit</i>	‘a kind of bush’	
<i>boriaχ</i>	‘a kind of wild plant’	
<i>dinešt</i>	‘esfand, wild rue, Syrian rue’	
<i>ginæ/e</i>	‘milk vetch’	
<i>kevir</i>	‘a kind of bush’	
<i>mow</i>	‘grapevine’	
<i>murt</i>	‘myrtle’	
<i>toto</i>	‘sumac’	
<i>zeru</i>	‘tropical <i>astragalus</i> that does not have sap’	
<i>šux</i>	‘a kind of bush with red berries’	
<i>har-e šæ</i>	‘a thorny bush with palm-like leaves and pink flowers; when dried and crushed it, is used as fodder’	lit. thorn-EZ-black
<i>har zul</i>	‘a kind of thorn bush that is used for fodder and resin’	
<i>gerdu koh-i</i>	‘wild walnut tree which is shorter and smaller than cultivated one.’	lit. walnut-mountain-ATTR
<i>bayom bote-i</i>	‘a bush-like wild almond’	lit. almond-bush-ATTR

3.2.2.3 *ælæf*

The last category of plants is the very comprehensive life form of *ælæf*. As mentioned in the description of the taxonomical chart above, this category includes all the weeds, herbs, grass and wild flowers such as Camomile or the famous upside down Imperial tulips of *eylaq* and the short and red anemone of *gærmesir*. Even grains are considered to be *ælæf* in spite of the fact that the rest of the members of this category are wild and not cultivated. The nomads divide this diverse category on a utilitarian basis in only two generic sections: *χærdeni* i.e. edible by either humans or animals and *sæmi* ‘poisonous’. The latter has only three members, viz. the three plants that if eaten are fatal to animals and humans alike.

Table 3.2.17: *ælf* ‘grass, herb, ...’

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
• <i>χærden-i</i>	‘edible; lit.to eat-ATTR’	
<i>æwšo</i>	‘thyme used to cure common cold	
<i>bavinæ</i>	‘chamomile’	
<i>kængær</i>	‘spear thistle’	
<i>kardi</i>	‘a non-tropical sour plant that looks like spring onion’	
<i>kelæws</i>	‘wild celery’	
<i>pincæ</i>	‘pennyroyal’	
<i>qarč</i>	‘mushroom’	
<i>riwas</i>	‘rhubarb’	
<i>tære</i>	‘ <i>allium ampeloprasum</i> ’	
<i>tule</i>	‘malva’	
<i>čevil</i>	‘a fragrant plant that has two kinds in tropical and non-tropical areas.’	
<i>hæftu</i>	‘the bulb and flower of <i>fritillaria imperialis</i> ’	lit.seven-peel
<i>kærso</i>	‘a kind of herb that its powder is served with kabab’	
<i>gol berenjas</i>	‘yarrow’	lit.flower-rice?-as?
<i>liæle</i>	‘a kind of medicinal herb’	
<i>riwas</i>	‘rhubarb’	
<i>šæng-e šir</i>	‘two kinds of plant, one edible and the other is used for its sap’	lit.šæng-EZ-milk
• <i>sæm-i</i>	‘poisonous; lit.poisen-ATTR’	
<i>hælæwæ</i>	‘a poisonous plant’	
<i>hær-zæhle</i>	‘oleander’	lit.donkey-gall
<i>χæyar-gorg</i>	‘colocynth, bitter apple, bitter cucumber, desert gourd, egusi, or vine of Sodom’	lit.cucumber-wolf

Many other taxa from Appendix 6 can be added to the tables 3.2.15-17, the ones presented here are examples of the most widely seen, grown and used by the Bakhtiaris.

3.2.3 *belit* ‘acorn; oak tree’

The Zagros Mountains are considered to be the main home of oak trees (*Quercus Brantii*) in Iran, although currently degraded through overgrazing and deforestation. Being in the homeland of the Bakhtiari for centuries long, these trees have become a quintessential part of Bakhtiari culture and language. There are more than twenty words in the language just to refer to different parts of the tree and its fruit, both called *belit* in Bakhtiari, and even verbs describing the process of making special bread from acorn. The oak wood, thanks to its solidity and high resistance is one of the most substantial materials for the Bakhtiari nomads’ basic tools and devices.

Apart from the physical prevalence of *belit* in Bakhtiari everyday life, it is equally present in almost all manifestations of their oral traditions, such as lamentations, wedding songs, folk tales and many proverbs and sayings, and even in their names. This vast usage portrays the Bakhtiari’s strong dependence on the tree and its fruit. Acorn in general has always been a source of complementary nutrition for the nomads, especially in the times of famine.

In this section I will describe this intensive interaction between the Bakhtiari nomads and their natural surroundings through delving into their vocabulary and oral literature. To achieve this, I will present all the words and their exact meanings and function. I will also give some exemplary verses which portray the way Bakhtiari convey their deepest feelings, using the connotations related to the oak tree, as they have built up through the centuries of life under its benevolent and graceful shadow.

The original extracted list from Maddadi (1996) contains 39 words and terms (Appendix 8), but it was reduced to 24 as presented in tables 3.2.18 and 3.2.19 below. This reduced list contains all the words that are known by the Hamule consultants and is divided into two tables. The first one represents all the words and expressions related to the oak tree and acorn and their parts. The second table 3.2.19 contains all the tools that are used to harvest acorn or to process it and also the names of the products made from the processed acorn.

As can be noticed, as with the previous lists of plants above, most of the words are simplexes. The literal meanings of the compound words are provided whenever the meanings of the constituents were clear.

Table 3.2.18 *belit* and its parts

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
<i>belit</i>	‘acorn/oak tree’	
<i>dar bælitæk</i>	‘oak tree’	lit.tall wood.acorn-æk
<i>gæmu</i>	‘the skin of oak’	
<i>guzæ</i>	‘the cap of the acorn’	

<i>ǰæft</i>	‘the inner skin of the acorn’	
<i>keykæ</i>	‘acorn core without <i>rebge</i> , but still with or without <i>ǰæft</i> ’	
<i>pifæ</i>	‘the rotten core of the oak tree’ ¹⁹⁹	
<i>rebge</i>	‘the green or outer skin of the acorn’	
<i>šil</i>	‘a long branch’	
<i>šil-e belit-i</i>	‘a branch of oak tree’	Blit. <i>šil</i> -EZ-acorn-ATTR

Table 3.2.19 Tools and products related to *belit*

The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
<i>æsom</i>	‘a metal tool to collect the hot acorns under the fire’	also: <i>mæqaš</i>
<i>gedeli</i>	‘a special bag hanging from the neck for collecting acorn’	also: <i>turbæ</i>
<i>ǰeke</i>	‘chopped acorn’	also: <i>ǰæfkæ</i>
<i>ǰeld</i>	‘a long piece of wood used to shake off acorn from the tree’	also for all kinds of trees
<i>kælg</i>	‘acorn flour; acorn paste’	
<i>kælg-e dæst-i</i>	‘acorn bread’	lit. <i>kælg</i> -EZ-hand-ATTR
<i>kælg-kombizæ</i>	‘a method of cooking <i>kælg</i> ’ ²⁰⁰	
<i>kælg-pætir</i>	‘a mixture of wheat flour and acorn paste’	
<i>lehe</i>	‘cooking of acorn on a flat piece of stone with fire underneath’	
<i>læm-lur</i>	‘cooking of the acorn’	
<i>læm-lur kerðen</i>	‘cooking of the acorn on direct fire’	
<i>regu</i>	‘the cloth on which the acorn paste is spread for later cooking’	
<i>rebge kændæn</i>	‘to skin an acorn’	
<i>tælu</i>	‘mashed acorn or any other grain or fruit’	
<i>tæw kerðen</i>	‘a sweetening process by soaking acorns in the water in <i>sæle</i> to let it, as they say, ‘get fever’	

The following pictures²⁰¹ show parts of the Zagros mountains and the distribution of oak trees in that habitat.

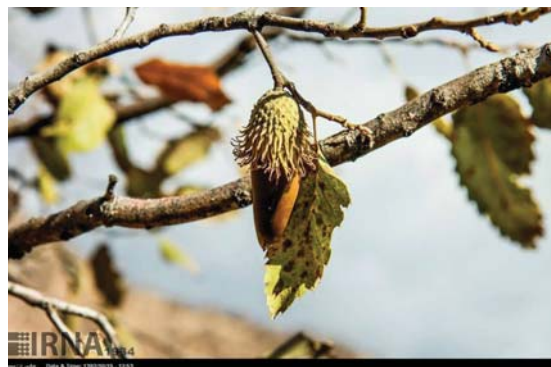
199. It is used with a mixture of gun powder and fire stone to light fire.

200. In this method they make a small ball of *kælg* paste and will put it under the ashes in the fire place. When cooked they eat it with added salt.

201. These pictures can be found on the internet(google image). Fortunately some of them indicate their source (ISNA, IRNA as indicated at the bottom of the photos) but for the rest my effort to find their original source was not successful.



The species of Zagross acorns and the way they are gathered are represented in the pictures below. Some of the tools and the terminology that are mentioned in the related tables above can be seen and understood by the help of these pictures.





Oak trees are not used only for their fruit, but they are most wanted for their strong wood to be used for making some necessary tools and also as fire wood. Making coal out of oak wood is an illegal activity in some villages almost on the border between *eylaq* and *gærmesir* that has caused several environmental disasters such as burning forests and land slide and eventually endangering the oaks.



The last three pictures show the process of making acorn bread. There was a time that this bread was the only staple food that the nomads had, but after the introduction of the processed wheat flour, *nōw-e kaelg* 'lit.bread-EZ-*kælg*= acorn bread', its usage is limited for its medicinal effects which they think it has on the digestive system.²⁰²



202. One of the studies that have been done on the medicinal effects of acorn can be found in Mo-saddeqgh et al (2012).



As mentioned above, there are a variety of verses in the form of lamentations, songs or proverbs that reflect the importance of the *belit* for the nomads as well as their dependence on this tree and its fruit especially in hard times. One example is the verse below which shows how they can be satisfied living independently and without any need of a central authority, relying only on their acorns and their goats' dairy products:

kal belit-om be-ger-e, boz-om be-za-h-e
green acorn-1SG SBJV-ripe. PRS-3SG.OPT, goat-1SG SBJV-give birth.PRS-3SG.OPT

kælg=o du-m yæk be-ger-e, če mennæt-om be šah-e
Kalg bread and yoghurt drink-1SG eachother SBJV-get. PRS-3SG.OPT, what demand-1SG e to king-is

The verse can be translated as when the green acorns ripe and my goat gives birth to her kids, then I will have my *kalg* bread and the yoghurt drink, and that's all I won't need the favor of the king. Verses such as this were probably composed

to encourage the rebellious Bakhtiaris who at many occasions in history were not obedient to the king's demand for taxes and were running an independent life, safe guarded by their inaccessible mountainous habitat.

The next proverb is used to convey the concept of cause and effect in the life:

hærcē boz wa pust-e belit kerð, belit vær-gæšt wa pust-e boz kerð.
 whatever goat with skin-EZ oak do.PST.3SG acorn PRV-turn.PST.3SG with skin-EZ goat do.PST.3SG
 "Whatever goat did with skin of the oak tree, acorn returned with the skin of the goat."

The first part of this proverb refers to the passion of goats to chew the bark of the oak trees that may eventually make them dry and fall. The second part, however, refers to making a *mæšk* 'the goat-skin container', in the process of which the hard peel of acorn is used to rub the inner side of the skin to remove all its fat.

The following three verses are from a *ga-grive* 'mourning song':

"Come, let's hold each other tight, like the branches of an oak;
 Let's keep our heads together, like the rain clouds of spring"²⁰³

Oak trees are the symbol of strength and resistance for Bakhtiaris, hence this imagery of holding tight together during hardships and grievance.

"I have heard a tall oak (tree) has fallen, roots out;
 The owner of the oak, is the one with veins and roots"²⁰⁴

In this verse, the death of a revered man is compared to the fall of a tall oak tree, and his honor and respectable blood and vein to the strong and deep roots of an oak.

"A woman, a tiny young woman, with blond hair;
 She is sitting on the edge of the valley, under the shadow of an oak"²⁰⁵

The last verse of the *gagrive* describes a vulnerable young woman, probably the young wife or the daughter of the deceased person, seeking support in her grievance by leaning to the strong oak tree, a situation that may be portrayed by the image below:

203. The original verse is: بیو که چی دار بلیط به یک بنیم پَر چی بارون باهار به یک بنیم سَر

204. The original verse is: شنیدم دار گچی وسته ز ریشه صاحاو دار یگوین بارگ و ریشه

205. The original verse is: یه زنه تیله زنی ثرنه هلیکه (بور) سیرسته ل و دره سایه بلیطه



But grief is not the only occasion that reminds a Bakhtiari of *belit*, it can appear in the love songs, as well:

mo lor-e belit xor-om sængær neshin-om
 I lor=EZ acorn eat.PRS-1SG trench sit.PRS-1SG
donya-ne n-om ziær-e pa ta to-ne be-vin-om
 world-OM put.PRS-1SG under=EZ foot till you-OM SBJV-see.PRS-1SG

‘I am a Lor, an acorn eater, the dweller of the trenches and mountains, (I am a tough man) I will search the whole world to have a glance of you!’

Here the toughness and the resilient of the lover is attributed to his staple food, i.e. to the acorn. No other plant has such a prominent presence in the Bakhtiari literature, the only competing natural figure is *Zærd kuh*, one of the high peaks of the Zagros that marks the border line between their summer and winter pastures, and which is considered as a godfather that is observing and protecting them all year round.

SECTION TWO
GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

CHAPTER FOUR

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

4 INTRODUCTION

The phonology of Bakhtiari is the only section of the language that has been fortunate to receive some attention by a number of Iranists and philologists of the twentieth century (Mann 1904, 1910; Lorimer, 1922, 1930, 1954, 1964; Zhukovskij 1923; Windfhr 1988). Lorimer's is the most extensive discussion, but it cries out for revisions and perhaps for an updated presentation.

In the present analysis, the phonology of the Haft Lang variety of the Bakhtiari language will be described in three sections: Consonants 4.1 and Vowels 4.2, and then in section 4.4 the syllable structure of the language will be discussed in some detail.

Bakhtiari speech sounds are all produced by the pulmonic egressive airstream²⁰⁶. The phonemic system of Bakhtiari comprises twenty-three consonants, not including the glottal stop ʔ (See Note, after 4.1.8 below) and one semivowel *y*, seven vowels and six diphthongs. The majority of segments are illustrated by the IPA symbols, but in order to avoid visual complexity, I have chosen to use *č*, *ǰ* for affricates and *š*, *ž* for palatal fricatives and finally *y* for palatal approximant. Furthermore, to illustrate the exact nature of an allophone of *d*, I have assigned a new symbol [*ḏ*] (4.2.4) which does not exist in the IPA chart as such, but it is a combination of the symbol for the voiced dental fricative plus the diacritic used for a 'lowered' feature. In the case of vowels, I have decided to show the rounded low back vowel consistently as *a* and its specific Bakhtiari allophone as [*ḁ*] whose exact audible equivalents in IPA chart is shown by /ə/. These details, along with some others, will be mentioned again under their respective descriptions in the section (4.2). For the same visual reason, I have reserved the slashes // only for the introduction of a phoneme and in the head entries of the examples. Having said that, in order not to obscure phonetic facts completely, I have found it valuable to indicate the specific Bakhtiari allophones ([*ḏ*], [*ḁ*]) in my otherwise phonemic transcription.

In analysing the phonological system of Bakhtiari, a 'phoneme' is considered to be a phonological reality. Therefore, to extract phonemes, the distribution of the segments is analysed and their realization as minimal pairs are examined. The

206. There is only one pulmonic ingressive interjection which can be described as alveolateral fricative. This sound is used in conversation to show affirmation and emphasis on the previously said statement and as such it is not used for distinction in lexical and grammatical morphemes and ONLY as paralinguistic expression. It has a pragmatic function as the Persian emphatic word /*valla*/, 'I swear to God'.

majority of words are based on Maddadi (1996); some examples have been added and/or checked by two of my main consultants ²⁰⁷ and myself as native speakers. Each phoneme will be examined, ideally, in the initial, medial and final position. The major phonetic realisations of each segment will also be discussed under the relevant section.

4.1 CONSONANT DESCRIPTION

Table 4.1: Bakhtiari consonants

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d		k g	q ɢ	(ʔ) ²⁰⁸
Affricative			č ʝ			
Fricative	f v	s z	š ž		χ	h
Nasal	m	n				
Liquid		r l				
Approximant			y			

STOPS

Voiceless stops /*p*, *t*, *k*, *q*/ are mildly aspirated in syllable-initial position, the aspiration is weaker in pre-consonantal and final positions.

4.1.1 /*p*/ voiceless bilabial stop is pronounced with aspiration. The phonological status of this phoneme can be determined through the following minimal pairs:

(1) /*p*/ - /*b*/

/pæll/ ‘braid, plait’
/bæll/ ‘a sheep with long and wide hanging ears’

/læpæk/ ‘the iron edge of a plough’
/læbæk/ ‘a sweet and bitter taste’

(2) /*p*/ - /*m*/

/pel/ ‘a young ox’
/mel/ ‘hair’

/kælpit/ ‘turning and twisting; a big and strong knot’

207. Homa Ardeshtiri and Huri Taheri (see 2.5 above).

208. See 4.1.9 below.

<i>/kælmɪt/</i>	‘wild boar’s tooth, tusk’
<i>/kep/</i>	‘a short breath’
<i>/kem/</i>	‘the smell of wet, mouldy cloth’

(3) */p/ - /f/*

<i>/perg/</i>	‘twig’
<i>/ferg/</i>	‘thought’
<i>/tæpæɫ/</i>	‘slow-footed’
<i>/tæfæɫ/</i>	‘membrane between skin and flesh’
<i>/kæp/</i>	‘breath; soul’
<i>/kæf/</i>	‘foam’

(4) */p/ - /t/*

<i>/pælm/</i>	‘paw; a slap with the palm’
<i>/tælm/</i>	‘swamp; mud’
<i>/pærpin/</i>	‘talisman, blessed (of things)’
<i>/pærtin/</i>	‘deformed (of body)’
<i>/kop/</i>	‘side; a heap’
<i>/kot/</i>	‘a few’

4.1.2 */b/* voiced bilabial stop, which is pronounced like Persian and English **b** in initial position. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with **p** (4.1.1) and through the following minimal pairs:

(5) */b/ - /v/*

<i>/bæng/</i>	‘call, cry’
<i>/væng/</i>	‘weak and feeble’
<i>/læbæk/</i>	‘a taste (neither sweet nor bitter)’
<i>/lævæk/</i>	‘horrible tasting and smelly’

Since **b** appears as **v** or **w** in syllable coda, I could not find a minimal pair for the above phonemes in the final position. There are, however, a few cases in the language that are either loanwords from other languages or onomatopoeic words in which the final [b] does not change to **v** or **w**; such as [b] in the loanword */bab/* in example 7 and in the onomatopoeic word */geb-geb/* in example 6 below.

(6) /b/-/m/

/bal/	‘sleeve’
/mal/	‘a group of several nomadic black tents; house- hold’
/nægbe/	‘to give encouragement’
/nægme/	‘an angry exclamation (in response to <i>næ</i> ‘no’)’
/geb-geb/	‘heart beat’
/gem-gem/	‘mumbling and complaining’

(7) /b/-/d/

/bok/	‘upright, not flat’
/dok/	‘dispute, argument’
/šiər-bæng/	‘hunters’ cry to inform each other’
/šiər-dæng/	‘a decorative colourful band with beads and eth- nic motifs for decorating a room, a tent or a cradle.’
/bab/	‘a term to tag a social division of a tribe’
/bad/	‘wind’

4.1.3 /t/ voiceless alveo-dental stop, which is pronounced like Persian *t*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with *p* (4.1.1) and through the following pairs:

(8) /t/-/d/

/tæk/	‘alone; half’
/dæk/	‘trembling’
/’beteng/	‘Jump! Move it!’
/be’deng/	‘well behaved’
/bæt/	‘duck’
/bæd/	‘bad’

(9) /t/-/k/

/tal/	‘string, thread’
/kal/	‘black’
/rete/	‘a short, fast-walking person’
/reke/	‘stubbornness’

/rot/	‘a wooden nail fixing the iron edge of a plough’
/rok/	‘upright; (figuratively) a very quick, sharp and sometimes rude person’

(10) /t/-/n/

/ta/	‘half a pair’
/na/	‘neck, throat’
/kætæk/	‘a humble house; a shade’
/kænæk/	‘a net to carry a crop with two wooden sticks at each end’
/gut/	‘hill’
/gun/	‘cow’s udder; breast’

4.1.4 /d/ voiced alveo-dental stop is pronounced like Persian *d* in initial position, and the status of which can be established by comparison with *t* (4.1.3) and through the pairs below:

(11) /d/-/n/

/dæk/	‘turn; time’
/næk/	‘powder’
/modæt/ ²⁰⁹	‘help’
/menæt/	‘putting a person in your debt by performing a favour’
/pahid/	‘3 rd singular past of <i>pahidæn</i> , ‘to keep, to watch out’
/pahin/	‘down’

(12) /d/-/g/

/das/	‘sickle’
/gas/	‘would that! I wish!’
/bordæ/	‘taken’
/borgæ/	‘the edge of a hill, mountain or wall that is close to falling down’
/bænd/	‘rope, string’
/bæng/	‘cry, call’

209. To my knowledge, gemination in Persian and Arabic words does not occur in Bakhtiari.

In Bakhtiari there is a quite frequent allophone of *d* which has been described (Sadeghi 1989: 3) as post-dental, voiced fricative²¹⁰. I agree with the place of articulation, but to me it sounds more like a voiced approximant²¹¹. This segment, represented in the present research by [ɖ], does not create a semantic distinction and usually occurs in intervocalic position or word finally. Examples:

- (13) [ræ:ɖen] ‘to go’; [juʃniɖen] ‘to boil’; [χårniɖɖ] ‘S/he scratched’

As can be seen in the examples, at the beginning of the word the occurrence of *d* is prevalent. In addition, the younger generations and the educated people use [d] more than [ɖ].

4.1.5 /k/ voiceless velar plosive which is pronounced like Persian *k*. To be more precise, it is dorso-velar, the articulation of which varies according to its phonetic environment: preceding front vowels it becomes more palatalized and in front of back vowels it has a more dorsal nature; in word-final position after a vowel except /i/, however, the palatalization of the voiceless stop may go one step farther and usually changes to /y/, for example: /ʃæk/ > /ʃæy/ ‘doubt’. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be distinguished by comparison with *t* (4.1.3) and through following pairs:

- (14) /k/-/g/

/kæʎ/	‘a mountain goat’
/gæʎ/	‘a herd’
/tænki/	‘a barrel, a tank’
/tængi/	‘hardship, poverty’
/mækeniden/	‘bleating of a goat’
/mægeniden/	‘to blight, to wither’
/dik/	‘a spindle’
/dig/	‘a cooking pot’

- (15) /k/-/g/

/gor/	‘a small bell’
/kor/	‘a boy, son’
/leke/	‘an old and cheap piece of cloth’

210. Ali Ashraf Sadeghi (1989) thinks that its pronunciation is comparable to the one of ځ in classical Persian.

211. Donald Stilo (2014: p.c.) also thinks that this sound is an approximant and not a fricative.

/lege/	‘flightiness, inappropriateness’
/lik/	‘scream, cry’
/liəg/	‘leg; height, lanky’

4.1.6 /g/ Voiced velar stop which is pronounced like Persian *g* word initially. Like *k*, the pronunciation of *g* can vary from velar to palatal according to its phonetic surrounding. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with *d* (4.1.4) and *k* (4.1.5).

4.1.7 /q/ Voiceless uvular plosive, can be seen in words like *qæwr* ‘tomb’, *qæwale* ‘a contract’ and generally in Arabic loanwords. In some cases there is uncertainty regarding the voice aspect of this segment, which I assign to variation among different dialects. The chance of finding minimal pairs that can show the contrast between this phoneme with others is very low, one of such possible pairs is provided below:

(16) /q/-/g/	
/qæ/	‘half; a piece of something’
/gæ/	‘embrace, hug’

Windfuhr (1988:559) mentions another ‘sporadic’ change of $\chi > q$ and $q > \chi$ and his examples are: *χurōs* > *qurūs* ‘rooster’, Arabic *qæhr* > *χæhr* ‘anger’. I personally have never heard *qurūs*, but the most relevant example that I can provide to prove this point is: *χuzestan* > *guzestōv* ‘the Iranian southwestern province of Khuzestan’ (See 4.1.8 below).

4.1.8 /g/ Voiced uvular plosive whose status can be examined by comparison with *k* (4.2.5) and the following pairs:

(17) /g/-/χ/	
/gæ/	‘embrace, hug’
/χæ/	‘crooked; not straight’
/nægʃ/	‘colourful images (also: <i>næšg</i> and <i>næšxæ</i>)’
/næχʃ/	‘corpse’
/bog/	‘frowning, ill-tempered’
/boχ/	‘rotten egg’

4.1.9 /ʔ/ To conclude the section on Stops, it is necessary to discuss the role of the voiceless glottal stop ʔ in this language. It is pronounced like standard Persian *Hamze*. In Bakhtiari, as in Persian, hamze is produced naturally before any initial

vowel but does not have the characteristic of a phoneme anymore. Its effect can be observed in compensatory lengthening in some words. In non-initial position, and especially in Arabic loanwords, this phoneme is usually realized not as a glottal stop, but rather as a lengthening of the preceding or following vowel or else it is replaced by *h* as can be seen in the following examples:

[*moæ:læm*] ‘teacher’ (Ar. *moʔællem*); [*mæ:mur*] ‘agent’ (Ar. *mæʔmur*); [*sehið*] ‘proper noun, celebrated’ (Ar. *sæʔid*)²¹².

This compensatory lengthening can also be observed after dropping of voiceless glottal fricative in words such as:

[*lohr*] > [*lo:r*] ‘a very severe cold’; [*gohš*] > [*go:š*] ‘open! (Imperative verb)’;
[*koh*] > [*ko:*] ‘mountain’.

The difference between *ʔ* and *h* is that, the latter can occasionally surface in some words or compounds, such as:

[*ræ:ðen*] ‘to go’ > [*ræhd*] ‘S/he went’; [*ko:*] > [*kohyar*] ‘proper male name’

AFFRICATES

4.1.10 /č/ Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, which is pronounced like English and Persian *č*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved through following pairs:

(18) /č/-/ʃ/

/čæft/	‘shin bone’
/ʃæft/	‘the internal bark of a walnut tree used for dying hair or wool’
/seče/	‘railroad crossing’
/seʃe/	‘insistence, stubbornness’
/koč/	‘a deep bowl’
/koʃ/	‘(short form of /koʃe/) where’

(19) /č/-/š/

/čiər/	‘a short wall of un-cemented stones’
/šiər/	‘lion’
/æwčæ/	‘well water’
/æwšæ/	‘thyme’
/særkæč/	‘ill-tempered’

212. See also Anonby (2014:26)

/særkæš/ 'a goat that goes ahead of the herd'

4.1.11 /j/ Voiced alveo-palatal affricate which is pronounced like Persian *ǰ*. It can be identified by comparison with *č* (4.1.9), *ž* (below in 4.1.16) and through following pairs:

(20) /j/-/z/

/jængæ/ 'forest'
/zængæ/ 'women'

/seje/ '(in the compound: *seje bæsten*): emphasis, in
sisting on something'
/seze/ 'weary, upset'

/kæj/ 'crooked'
/kæz/ 'the fine hair under the belly of a goat which is
used to make a special kind of clothing called
kordin'

(21) /j/-/y/

/jar/ 'cry, shout'
/yar/ 'companion, beloved'

/pajom/ 'punishment, upshot'
/payom/ 'I will keep / watch for (1st.sg. pres.)'

/baj/ 'tribute'
/bây/ 'fear, defect'

FRICATIVES

4.1.12 /f/ voiceless labiodental fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian *f*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with *p* (4.2.1) and through following pairs:

(22) /f/-/v/

/fer/ 'to fly; fly up suddenly'
/ver/ 'Stand up! Move it! (imperative)'

/dæfæk/ 'a device made by heaping colourful pieces of
cloth or patching them to a stick and putting them

<i>/dævæk/</i>	by springs to attract partridges' 'a plot land to be watered'
<i>/saf/</i>	'bright; clean; upright'
<i>/sav/</i>	'(=/saheb/) the owner'
(23) <i>/f/-/s/</i>	
<i>/fend/</i>	'manner, habit'
<i>/send/</i>	'age'
<i>/qofæ/</i>	'a basket made by fine twigs for keeping bread, etc.'
<i>/qosæ/</i>	'sorrow'
<i>/kæf/</i>	'bottom'
<i>/kæs/</i>	'family; relatives'

4.1.13 */v/* voiced labiodental fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian *v* in the initial position. The status of this phoneme can be shown by comparison with *b* (4.1.2) and *f* (4.1.11). It is worth mentioning, however, that some of the *v* sounds that exist in today's Bakhtiari are etymologically *b*, as mentioned earlier (4.1.1, under *b - v*), for instance:

- (24) *ketab* > *ketav* 'book'; *læb* > *læw* 'lip', and in compound: *læbdar* > *læw-dar* 'having lips; dented'

Windfuhr (1988:559) also mentions some phonological changes that are typically Bakhtiari, i.a. intervocalic **m* > *w*, e.g. *dāmād* > *dūwā* 'son-in-law' and *āmad* > *oweid* 'came'. This second example has a more widespread form in many of the Haft Lang dialects, viz. *eveyø* instead of *oweid*, therefore, it seems that the above rule is better to be rewritten as: intervocalic **m* > *w/v*.

4.1.14 */s/* voiceless alveolar fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian *s*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with *f* (4.1.11) and through following minimal pairs:

- (25) */s/-/z/*
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>/sal/</i> | 'year' |
| <i>/zal/</i> | 'white, fresh celery' |
| <i>/æwsar/</i> | 'yoke' |
| <i>/æwzar/</i> | 'tools' |
| <i>/kæs/</i> | 'family, relatives' |
| <i>/kæz/</i> | 'the fine hair under the belly of a goat which is |

used to make a special kind of clothing
called *kordin*'

(26) /s/-/š/

/sever/	'patient, dignified'
/šever/	'hanging, loose'
/gusti/	'it seems...'
/gušti/	'fat and well-fed animal'
/eis/	'photo'
/eiš/	'fun, entertainment'

4.1.15 /z/ voiced alveolar fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian *z*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *s* (4.1.13) and through the following minimal pairs:

(27) /z/-/v/

/zæng/	'bell'
/væng/	'feeble and weak'
/āzođi/	'health, comfort and tranquillity'
/āvođi/	'a village, inhabited place'
/taz/	'fresh (short form of <i>taze</i>)'
/tav/	'endurance, capacity'

4.1.16 /š/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative, the phonological identity of which can be achieved by comparison with *č* (4.1.9) and *s* (4.1.13) and through following pairs:

(28) /š/-/ž/

/až/	'poor, penniless'
/aš/	'Ash, a traditional Iranian porridge'

4.1.17 /ž/ voiced palato-alveolar fricative which is pronounced like Persian *ž*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *š* (4.1.15) and through the minimal pairs below, but since *ž* is a phoneme with low functional load, not many contrastive examples can be identified:

(29) /ž/-/r/

<i>/qoʒ/</i>	‘sudden madness’
<i>/qor/</i>	‘a small bell with a furrow in the middle’

(30) */ʒ/-/q/*

<i>/ʒil/</i>	‘messy’
<i>/qil/</i>	‘very deep’

4.1.18 */χ/* voiceless uvular fricative which is pronounced like Persian *χ*²¹³. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *g* (4.1.7) and through the following pairs:

(31) */χ/-/h/*

<i>/χar/</i>	‘humiliated; insignificant’
<i>/har/</i>	‘thorn, thistle’
<i>/tæχt/</i>	‘bed’
<i>/tæht/</i>	‘a big, flat rock; comfortable, flat and even’
<i>/koχ/</i>	‘a little crustacean living in springs that looks like a shrimp’
<i>/koh/</i>	‘a mount, mountain, clump, and small stone’

4.1.19 */h/* Voiceless glottal fricative, the phonological identity of which can be achieved by comparison with */χ/* (4.1.17).

NASALS

4.1.20 */m/* voiced bilabial nasal which is pronounced like English and Persian *m*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *p* (4.1.1) and *b* (4.1.2) and through following pairs:

(32) */m/-/n/*

<i>/mil/</i>	‘an iron rod’
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213. In Bakhtiari there are some cases in which */χ/* and */h/* alternates, such as: *χorma* > *horma* ‘dates’, *χær* > *hær* ‘donkey’, on the one hand, and in examples like *heif* > *χeif* ‘pity; good’, *hæst* > *χæst* ‘pit, core’, on the other hand. This change happens even with the proper name *χattæmi* > *hattæmi*. There is also one example (See 4.1.7 above) which I encountered during my field work where */χ/* is changed to */g/*, mostly by people who don’t speak Persian: *χuzestan* > *guzestōw* ‘the Iranian southwestern province of Khuzestan’.

/nil/	‘blue colour; a horse with a bluish white colour’
/komar/	‘complex; sadness’
/konar/	‘the tree and the fruit of Sisyphus’
/gilim/	‘kilim, a kind of floor covering’
/gilin/	‘skirt, lower part a dress’

4.1.21 /n/ voiced alveolar nasal. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with **t** (4.1.3), **d** (4.1.4) and **m** (4.1.19). It is worth mentioning that **n** preceding back consonants will undergo a process of assimilation to its following consonants, as summarized below:

(33) /n/ > [ŋ] /V_g# as in /sæng/ > [sæŋg] ‘stone’

(34) /n/ > [ŋ] /V_gV as in /sengin/ > [sɛŋgin] ‘heavy’

Final **n** is only retained after front vowels. (See 4.2.6 below for the behaviour of **n** word finally after back vowels.)

LIQUIDS

4.1.22 /r/ voiced alveolar flap, with a trilled allophone, which is pronounced like Persian **r**. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with **l** in following pairs:

(35)	/r/-/l/	
	/rek/	‘column, foundation’
	/lek/	‘twig, branch’
	/deræk/	‘a wooden pen for animals’
	/delæk/	‘tremble, a knock’
	/neher/	‘stupid, not very clever’
	/nehel/	‘mud, mire’

4.1.23 // Voiced alveolar lateral approximant which is pronounced like Persian **l**. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with **r** (4.1.21).

SEMIVOWELS

4.1.24 /y/ voiced palatal approximant which is pronounced like Persian *y*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved in comparison with *ǰ* (4.1.10).

4.1.25 /w/ I had a difficult time to decide whether I should include *w* in the consonant table as a separate phoneme or not. *w* does not occur in this variety of Bakhtiari as an independent phoneme. A faint labial glide, however, is generally realized at the end of the phoneme *o* as in *bow* ‘father’ (to be paired with *bu* ‘smell’), but the fact is that the major realization of this segment is after the vowel *æ* as will be discussed in more detail in (4.2.9). See also (4.2.6) and (4.1.12).

4.2 VOWEL DESCRIPTION

Bakhtiari has seven vowels which are as follows:

Table 4.2: Bakhtiari vowels

	Front	Back
close	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
		<i>o (ʊ)</i>
close-mid		<i>õ</i>
open-mid	<i>e (ɛ)</i>	<i>[ɑ̃(ɐ)]</i>
	<i>æ</i>	
open		<i>a</i>

These vowels will be described in the following seven sections and then in section (4.2.9) we will focus on the Bakhtiari diphthongs. *[ɑ̃(ɐ)]* represent an allophone of */a/* as will be explained in (4.2.8) below, and it is put here in the chart between brackets not to be confused as a phoneme and just to illustrate its exact place of articulation. It should be noted that in the examples provided below, a glottal stop in front of every Bakhtiari word beginning with a vowel has been taken for granted and as such it is not indicated in the transcription.

4.2.1 /i/ a close front unrounded vowel; the phonological identity of this phone-me can be established through following examinations:

- (36) */i/-/e/*
- | | |
|--------------|---|
| <i>/pir/</i> | ‘old, a holy figure’ |
| <i>/per/</i> | ‘a lighted piece of wood used to take fire from a fireplace to another’ |

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--|
| | <i>/vir/</i> | ‘memory’ |
| | <i>/ver/</i> | ‘talk’ |
| (37) | <i>/i/-/e/</i> | |
| | <i>/tæɹ/</i> | ‘wet’ |
| | <i>/nil/</i> | ‘blue, a white-bluish horse’ |
| | <i>/nal/</i> | ‘horseshoe’ |
| (38) | <i>/i/-/iə/</i> | |
| | <i>/sir/</i> | ‘garlic’ |
| | <i>/siəɹ/</i> | ‘full, not hungry’ |
| | <i>/šir/</i> | ‘milk’ |
| | <i>/šiəɹ/</i> | ‘lion’ |
| | <i>/dir/</i> | ‘far, faraway’ |
| | <i>/diəɹ/</i> | ‘late (time)’ |
| (39) | <i>/i/-/a/</i> | |
| | <i>/riz/</i> | ‘tiny’ |
| | <i>/raz/</i> | ‘secret’ |
| | <i>/pik/</i> | ‘empty’ |
| | <i>/pak/</i> | ‘clean’ |
| (40) | <i>/i/-/u/</i> | |
| | <i>/si/</i> | ‘for’ |
| | <i>/su/</i> | ‘light, glint’ |
| | <i>/nit/</i> | ‘hair lock’ |
| | <i>/nut/</i> | ‘a money note (an English loan word); a straw dish for keeping palm dates’ |
| (41) | <i>/i/-/o/</i> | |
| | <i>/pir/</i> | ‘old’ |
| | <i>/por/</i> | ‘full’ |
| | <i>/di(d)/</i> | ‘smoke’ |
| | <i>/do/</i> | ‘two’ |

4.2.2 /e/ an open-mid front unrounded vowel which is represented in IPA chart by ϵ , but for practical reasons, I have decided to represent it by *e*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *i* (4.2.1) and through following pairs:

(42) /e/-/æ/

/kel/	‘on its side’
/kæ/	‘mountain goat’
/kole/	‘short; tiny’
/kolæh/	‘hat’

(43) /e/-/a/

/tel/	‘stomach, belly’
/tal/	‘rope, thread’
/kæle/	‘head’
/kæla/	‘crow’

(44) /e/-/iə/

/šer/	‘one moment, a short while’
/šiər/	‘lion’
/pel/	‘an ox’
/piəl/	‘strain; an angry look’
/ser/	‘secret’
/siər/	‘full, not hungry’

(45) /e/-/u/

/kel/	‘side; next to’
/kul/	‘dry, crispy’
/ser/	‘mystery’
/sur/	‘salty’

(46) /e/-/o/

/gel/	‘mud’
/gol/	‘flower’
/tek/	‘the calf (the muscle of the back of the leg)’
/tok/	‘a drop’

4.2.3 /æ/ a near-open front unrounded vowel; it contrasts with *i* (4.2.1), *e* (4.2.2) and the following vowels:

(47) /æ/-/a/

/æra/	‘mold’
/ara/	‘(gerund) one who brings’

/χæɫ/	‘bent, crooked’
/χal/	‘beauty mark; mole’

/qæɫæ(e)/	‘crop; grain and barley’
/qæla/	‘crow’

(48) /æ/-/o/

/kæp/	‘the palm of hand’
/kop/	‘a pile’

/kotæɫ/	‘a mountainous path full of turns and ups and downs’
/kotoɫ/	‘a short person’

/kolæ/	‘a hat; the special place for keeping the poultry’
/kolo/	‘a grasshopper’

4.2.4 /u/ a close back rounded vowel. The phonological identity of this phone-me can be achieved by comparison with *i* (4.2.1), *e* (4.2.2), *æ* (4.2.3) and through following contrasts:

(49) /u/-/o/

/kur/	‘blind’
/kor/	‘boy, son’

/kul/	‘back and shoulders’
/kol/	‘short, not sharp’

/kolu/	‘a filly (a baby female horse)’
/kolo/	‘a grasshopper’

(50) /u/-/a/

/suz/	‘burning; sever sorrow’
-------	-------------------------

/saz/	‘trumpet’
/hævu/	‘co-wife, the relationship between two wives of a man’
/hæva/	‘air’

4.2.5 /*o*/ a near-close near-back rounded vowel. The IPA symbol which corresponds to this sound is *ʊ*. Its realisation, however, varies from *ʊ* to *o* based on its phonetic environment. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *i* (4.2.1), *e* (4.2.2), *æ* (4.2.3), *u* (4.2.4) and below:

(51)	/o/-/a/	
	/dor/	‘a girl; daughter’
	/dar/	‘a tree’
	/do/	‘two’
	/da/	‘mother’

4.2.6 /*õ*/ back, round, middle and nasalized. This vowel is actually the result of the transformation of either *u* + *n* as the plural suffix or *a* + *n* as part of the word. Here are examples of both cases:

(52)	<i>æsp</i> > <i>æsp</i> + <i>-un</i> > <i>æspõ^w</i> ‘horses’
------	---

and:

(53)	/no/	‘new’
	/nõ ^w /	‘bread’
	/jõ/	‘barley’
	/jõ ^w /	‘life, spirit’

Lorimer (1922:18) has also listed this as a separate vowel; therefore, regardless of its origin or its process of formation, we can claim that this phoneme has already existed in the language for at least a century. It is difficult to find an entirely satisfactory representation for this sound. It consists of two elements: a nasalized vowel resulting from the loss of the underlying nasal consonant followed by a faint labial off-glide *w*. I have chosen to represent it by a combination of a nasalized *o* and a bilabial glide *w*. It seems that the omission of *n* is assimilated into the vowel and this weak *w* is there to amplify the roundness of the vowel. The actual process, however, can be represented as this sequence: *nan* > *nun* > *nõ^w* / *nõw*.

4.2.7 /*a*/ an open back unrounded vowel. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *i* (4.2.1), *e* (4.2.2), *æ* (4.2.3), *u* (4.2.4) and *o* (4.2.5).

It has an allophone, i.e. /*ǣ*/ an open-mid central rounded vowel which in IPA chart is represented as *ɐ*. To my knowledge, this vowel never appears in monosyllables or in the last syllable of a polysyllable.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|
| (1) | <i>zāmin</i> | ‘land, ground’ |
| | <i>āḡom</i> | ‘people, man’ |
| | <i>bālāi</i> | ‘the top ones’ |
| | <i>māši(n)</i> | ‘auto, machine’ |
| | <i>bāzi</i> | ‘play’ |
| | <i>rāi</i> | ‘a passenger’ |
| | <i>māi</i> | ‘fish’ |

4.2.8 Diphthongs

There are several combinations in Bakhtiari which resemble diphthongs, but the path to analyzing them as a diphthong or simply as a combination of a vowel plus a glide is not a smooth one. From a phonetic point of view the continuous movement of the speech apparatus from one vowel towards the other, the vowels below are certainly diphthongs. From a phonological point of view, however, a combination of two vowels can produce a diphthong only if the two parts act like one vowel, in other words, the second part should not be distinguished from the first one in syllable parsing (Samare 1368:119)²¹⁴. Below, some of these combinations are listed and the ones that have characteristics more similar to diphthongs will be presented:

- | | | |
|------|--------|--|
| (54) | /oy/ | |
| | /oynæ/ | ‘a mirror’ |
| | /poy/ | ‘all, altogether, completely (originally <i>pak</i>)’ |
| (55) | /æy/ | |
| | /æy/ | ‘if’ |
| | /mæy/ | ‘except for’ |
| | /šæy/ | ‘doubt (Arabic loan word <i>šæk</i>)’ |
| | /χæyʃ/ | ‘good’ |
| (56) | /ey/ | |
| | /gey/ | ‘turn, time to do something’ |
| | /ley/ | ‘a kind of hand-woven rug’ |

214. Iranian linguists have not reached a consensus about the existence of diphthongs in some Iranian dialects and languages. Some think that the above mentioned phonetic forms are simply a combination of two phonemes such as (o+y), (e+y) or (æ+w) but others consider them as diphthongs (Mahootian, 1997: 286).

/eveyðen/	‘to come, they have come, they came’
/χeyr/	‘goodness, happiness, good omen (Arabic loan word خير)’
/pey/	‘trace, foot print’

(57) /æw/

/æwlað/	‘the children, the descendants, a tribal branch (Arabic loan word اولاد)’
/šæwlar/	‘trousers, the skirt of a traditional female dress’
/pæwzar/	‘shoes’
/χæw/	‘sleep’
/næwhæt/	‘a strange and awkward person, not fine, not having a pleasant appearance’
/kelæws/	‘wild celery’

(58) /ow/

/owsi/	‘mystery’
/bow/	‘dad, father’

(59) /iə/

/siər/	‘full, not hungry’
/šiər/	‘lion’,
/diər/	‘late’
/piər/	‘old’
/piəl/	‘an angry look’

From the above combinations, *iə* seems to have the major characteristics of a diphthong. First we can find sufficient minimal pairs, such as:

(60)	/sir/	‘garlic’
	/sur/	‘salty’
	/sær/	‘head’
	/siər/	‘full, not hungry’
	/šir/	‘milk’
	/šær/	‘evil’
	/šiər/	‘lion’
	/dir/	‘far, far away’
	/diər/	‘late (time)’

/pɪl/	‘money’
/piəl/	‘an angry look’

Moreover, the *iə* combination is not separable in other phonological processes, consider following examples:

- (61) *šiər* + *-a* > *šiə.ra* ‘lions’, *piəl* + *=om* > *piə.l=om* ‘my money’

The same reasoning holds true for the combinations *oy*, *æy*, *ey*, *æw*, and *ow*, as shown in the examples below:

- (62) *poy* + *-bær* > *poy.bær* ‘one who takes everything altogether’

- (63) *šæy* + *-kon(-a)* > *šæy.kon(-a)* ‘doubtful, one who doubts a lot’

- (64) *pey* + *=s* > *peys* ‘his/ her trace’

Phonologically speaking, the rule is that when a consonant-initial suffix attaches to a consonant-final word, an *e* is inserted to prevent consonant clusters. This is a proof that the second vowel in above examples does not act like a consonant, hence the combinations can be regarded as diphthongs.

- (65) *æw* + *-a* > *æw.a* ‘waters’

- (66) *bow* + *-gæl* > *bow.yæl* ‘fathers’

The Bakhtiari plural suffix *-gæl* changes to *-yæl* when attached to a vowel final word. I conclude, accordingly, that we can distinguish six diphthongs in this variety of Bakhtiari.

4.3 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable in Bakhtiari contains a vowel as its nucleus, but no consonant clusters are allowed in the onset. Depending on the number and distributional pattern of consonants, the following syllable types are distinguished in Bakhtiari:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1. V | <i>a</i> ‘master’; <i>i</i> ‘this’; <i>u</i> (<i>ho</i>) ‘that’ |
| 2. VC | <i>al</i> ‘a demonic creature’; <i>eis</i> ‘photo’ |
| 3. VCC | <i>æsp</i> ‘horse’; <i>ard</i> ‘flour’ |
| 4. CV | <i>na</i> ‘strength’; <i>ri</i> ‘face’ |
| 5. CVC | <i>hak</i> ‘soil, land’; <i>kæs</i> ‘person, family’ |
| 6. CVCC | <i>tæht</i> ‘a big, flat rock; comfortable, flat and even’;
<i>pæng</i> ‘palm of the hand’ |

These constitute the basic syllable structures, some combination of these, however, are very prevalent, such as:

(67)

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1. V.CVC | <i>a.baǫ</i> ‘prosperous’ |
| 2. VCC.CVC | <i>æng.dar</i> ‘ashamed’; |
| 3. CV.CV | <i>bæ.čē</i> ‘child’, <i>kæ.le</i> ‘head’ |
| 4. CV.CVC | <i>ho.var</i> ‘smooth’; <i>ko.nar</i> ‘a kind of fruit’ |
| 5. CVC.CV | <i>bæn.de</i> ‘slave, servant’; <i>mær.ze</i> ‘savory’ |
| 6. CVC.CVC | <i>pær.var</i> ‘fat, chubby’; <i>ker.dar</i> ‘manner’ |
| 7. CVCC.CVCC | <i>dærd.mænd</i> ‘somebody who has pain
(emotionally and physically), poor’ |

As hinted at in the above examples, all the possible syllable coda clusters are the following:

-ft; -ht; -χt; -hǫ; -nǫ; -ng; -nk; -ns; -nt; -rč; -rj; -rǫ; -rd; -rg; -rG; -rk; -rm; -rs; -rt; -rχ; -rz; -rš; -lg; -lG; -lχ; -lt; -hl; -sk; -sG; -sm; -sn; -sp; -sr; -st; -šk; -šm; -šn; -št; -tr; -zg; -zm; -zr; -Gs; -hš; -hm

Examples for these clusters are:

- (68) *noft* ‘nose’; *tæht* ‘flat, smooth’; *rext* ‘;’; *ræhǫ* ‘went’; *šæng* ‘a herb’; *šans* ‘chance’; *berč* ‘shine’; *borj* ‘month’; *terǫ* ‘burning’; *mærd* ‘man’; *mærg* ‘death’; *bærg* ‘electricity’; *merk* ‘elbow’; *nærm* ‘soft’; *hærs* ‘tear’; *mært* ‘skin’; *čærχ* ‘wheel’; *nærz* ‘vow’; *orš* ‘one-tenth’; *bælg* ‘leaf’; *šolg* ‘job’; *estælx* ‘pool’; *bolt* ‘screw, bolt (English loan word)’; *tæhl* ‘bitter’; *æsk* ‘photo’; *nosG* ‘defect, fault’; *esm* ‘name’; *hosn* ‘virtue’; *æsp* ‘horse’; *æsr* ‘evening’; *rest* ‘stench’; *mæšk* ‘water bag’; *pæšm* ‘wool’; *ǵæšn* ‘feast, party’; *hæšt* ‘eight’; *ketr* ‘kettle’ (English loan word); *mæzg* ‘brain’; *ræzm* ‘battle’; *χezr* ‘a saint’; *rægs* ‘dance’; *ræhš* ‘black and white’; *zæhm* ‘wound, sore’.

CHAPTER FIVE NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

5 NOUN

The noun in Bakhtiari can occur as subject, object and peripheral nominal arguments and is inflected for number. It can take determiners (5.2 and 5.7), the definite object marker **-(n)e** (5.4) and the definite suffix **-ke** (5.2.1). Nouns can also be modified by a noun and/ or adjectives in a N+ ezafe+ adjective construction (5.3). Both the syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrase are expressed by prepositions (5.5) and through word order, which is generally SOV. They can also be classified further according to number and definiteness.

5.1 NUMBER

The singular noun is expressed by the unmarked form of the noun and this form can be used as the basis for plural formation. Examples are:

- (1) *æwr* ‘cloud’, *beu* ‘father’, *da* ‘mother’

The plural noun, unlike the singular, is marked by several different morphemes which are suffixed to the noun, as will be demonstrated below.

5.1.1 The plural suffix **-a** / **-ha**

The most frequent plural suffix in Bakhtiari is **-a** with the allomorph **-ha**. Every new word which enters the language will be pluralized by using the morpheme **-a** or **-ha**.²¹⁵ Words ending in a consonant or high vowel will be inflected by **-a** and the other vowel-final words take **ha** in their plural form, as shown in the examples below.

215. I have encountered only one case where a new word, *tefri*, ends in another plural morpheme **-yæl**. In recent years the Bakhtiari nomads, living in Kohrang, have coined a word to refer to the tourists coming to see the natural attractions of their area. They call them *tefriyæl* which is derived from the Persian noun *tæfrih* ‘promenade, recreation’, itself derived from Arabic root فرح */fræḥæ/* ‘joy, delight’.

(2) Suffix *-a*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>zə/āmin</i>	<i>zəmin-a</i>	‘land, ground’
b)	<i>deræxt</i>	<i>deræxt-a</i>	‘tree’
c)	<i>gænǰom</i>	<i>gænǰom-a</i>	‘wheat’
d)	<i>šotor</i>	<i>šotor-a</i>	‘camel’
e)	<i>ley</i>	<i>ley-a</i>	‘a kind of hand-woven rug’
f)	<i>mobail</i>	<i>mobail-a</i>	‘mobile phone’
g)	<i>nō^w</i>	<i>nō-w-a</i>	‘bread’
h)	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu-a</i>	‘room’
i)	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti-y-a</i>	‘eye’

(3) Suffix *-ha*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa-ha</i>	‘foot/leg’
b)	<i>tela</i>	<i>tela-ha</i>	‘gold’
c)	<i>sorfe</i>	<i>sorfe-ha</i>	‘table cloth/ cough’
d)	<i>Zantia</i>	<i>Zantia -ha</i>	‘a new brand of auto’

The historically informed analysis would be to consider *-ha* as the original form (as in written Persian) descending from Middle Persian *-thā* (Tafazoli-Amuzegar 1996:67) with the allomorph *-a* (in Bakhtiari as well as in spoken Farsi Persian) for the consonant-final words. It seems that in the older stages of the language, inanimate nouns usually took *-a/-ha* in their plural form while animate nouns were pluralized by other plural suffixes, to which I will now turn.

5.1.2 The plural suffix *-gæl/-yæł*²¹⁶

This morpheme has lost almost all of its productivity. The many words that have their plural formed by this morpheme, however, are quite frequent everyday words. It is an almost closed set that belongs to some old important semantic domains, such as kinship terms, animal husbandry terminology and a number of adjectives functioning as nouns. The examples below will further clarify this

216. In addition to these forms, there are some words, usually ending in *-g*, which have their plural forms made by adding the suffix *-æł*, a very frequent plural suffix in the Lori variety of the southern neighboring language of Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad province (or [*ko^hgilu beiræmet*] as they call themselves). There are very few plural forms in Bakhtiari using this suffix: *behig* → *behigæl* ‘bride’; *borg* → *borgæl* ‘eyebrow’.

point²¹⁷. This plural morpheme has two allomorphs, in the sense that *-gæl* comes after words ending in a consonant, whereas *-yæl* attaches to vowel-final words, as shown in the two following sets of examples:

(4) Suffix *-gæl*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>zæn</i>	<i>zængæl</i>	‘woman’
b)	<i>dor</i>	<i>dorgæl</i>	‘girl’
c)	<i>kor</i>	<i>korgæl</i>	‘boy, son’
d)	<i>boz</i>	<i>bozgæl</i>	‘goat’
e)	<i>hær</i>	<i>hærgæl</i>	‘donkey’
f)	<i>gær</i>	<i>gærgæl</i>	‘calf’

Some examples of words, almost entirely kinship terms, which have their plural forms in *-yæl*, are as follows:

(5) Suffix *-yæl*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>aqɑ</i>	<i>aqayæl</i>	‘paternal uncle’
b)	<i>bæče</i>	<i>bæčiyæl</i>	‘kid, baby’
c)	<i>beu</i>	<i>beuyæl</i>	‘father’
d)	<i>bivi</i>	<i>biviyæl</i>	‘respected/ elderly lady’
e)	<i>botiə</i>	<i>botiyæl</i>	‘maternal aunt’
f)	<i>da</i>	<i>dayæl</i>	‘mother’
g)	<i>dalɑ</i>	<i>daluyæl</i>	‘old woman’
h)	<i>deðu</i>	<i>deðuyæl</i>	‘sister’
i)	<i>dowa</i>	<i>dowayæl</i>	‘son/brother-in-law’
j)	<i>geu</i>	<i>geuyæl</i>	‘brother’
k)	<i>halɑ</i>	<i>haluyæl</i>	‘maternal uncle’
l)	<i>homsɑ</i>	<i>homsayæl</i>	‘neighbor’
m)	<i>jeqele</i>	<i>jeqeliyæl</i>	‘young boy’
n)	<i>kiči</i>	<i>kičiyæl</i>	‘paternal aunt’

217. Interestingly, the words and terms related to agriculture do not have these morphemes in their plural but have *-ɑ* and the collective plural suffix *-un* (5.1.3 below). Does it reveal anything about the sociolinguistic history of this people? Can it be interpreted as a hint that, in comparison with herding and nomadic life, agricultural activities are a later development in their community?! Or, in an opposite analysis: if we consider *-ɑ* as the original plural form and *-yæl/-gæl* a later adaptation, can we conjecture that these people were in the beginning settlers with agricultural activities and then became familiar with herding and pastoral nomadism through contact with neighboring Turkish tribes and have adopted some of their herding terminologies (Digar 1981).

o)	<i>aðom</i>	<i>aðomiyæł</i>	‘people, man’
p)	<i>tate</i>	<i>tatiyæł</i>	‘old man’
q)	<i>pia</i>	<i>piayæł</i>	‘man’
r)	<i>kor</i>	<i>korgæł/</i> <i>kor(i)yæł</i>	‘boy, son’

The last example is an exception. It seems, however, that one of the two forms is older since Bakhtiari nomads whose language is less affected by standard Persian, as well as old people, tend to use *koryæł*²¹⁸ more often than the other form.

As mentioned above, there are several adjectives that, when used as nouns, i.e. as heads of the NPs, have the same plural suffixes:

(6)	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>morðe</i>	<i>morðiyæł</i>	‘the dead ones’
b)	<i>live</i>	<i>liviyeł</i>	‘the mad, crazy ones’
c)	<i>lemi</i>	<i>lemiyæł</i>	‘the bottom ones’
d)	<i>bâlâhi</i>	<i>bâlâhiyæł</i>	‘the top ones’
e)	<i>eylaq</i>	<i>eylaqiyæł</i>	‘people of the cold lands’
f)	‘ <i>alborðe</i> ²¹⁹	<i>alborðiyæł</i>	‘the ones who have been possessed by an Al’ ²²⁰
g)	<i>ǰengereiðe</i>	<i>ǰengereiðiyæł</i>	‘people who have been possessed by a Jen’ ²²¹

There are cases where after the addition of the plural suffix, we see a phonological change²²² not just in the final vowel but also in the root morpheme:

(7)	<i>miðre</i> → <i>mirgæł</i>	‘husband’
(8)	<i>sæy</i> → <i>sæyæł</i>	‘dog’
(9)	<i>big</i> → <i>biyæł</i>	‘goat kid’

5.1.3 The collective plural suffix *-un*²²³

This plural ending (which is cognate with the prevailing Persian plural suffix *-an*) is a continuation of the older genitive plural ending. This suffix is usually pronounced as *-ðw*. As we see in the examples, words pluralized in this manner convey the concept of collectiveness:

218. Also mentioned in Vahman & Asatrian (1995:70).

219. The mark (‘) indicates that the following syllable is stressed, but as Bakhtiari words are canonically stressed on the final syllable, I will only indicate the stress when it deviates from the default rule.

220. a demonic being.

221. a demon, one who behaves erratically.

222. *sæy* + *-yæł* > *sæyyæł* > *sæyæł*; *big* + *-gæł* > *biggæł* > *biyæł*.

223. This ending is usually pronounced as [ðw] (see 4.2.6).

(10) Suffix -un

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>ĵend</i>	<i>ĵendun</i>	‘a group of Jens; genie’
b)	<i>lor</i>	<i>lorun</i>	‘Bakhtiaris or Lors in general’
c)	<i>hæqdar</i>	<i>hæqdarun</i>	‘one who is right and justified’
d)	<i>ĵahel</i>	<i>ĵahelun</i>	‘lad, ignorant, young’
e)	<i>morq</i>	<i>morqun</i>	‘hen’
f)	<i>til</i>	<i>tilun</i>	‘chicken’
g)	<i>gusend</i>	<i>gusendun</i>	‘sheep’
h)	<i>χers</i>	<i>χersun</i>	‘bear’
i)	<i>gorg</i>	<i>gorgun</i>	‘wolf’
j)	<i>šiær</i>	<i>šiærun</i>	‘lion’
k)	<i>æsb</i>	<i>æsbun</i>	‘horse’
l)	<i>pel</i>	<i>pelun</i>	‘young ox’
m)	<i>qater</i>	<i>qaterun</i>	‘mule’
n)	<i>miəš</i>	<i>mišun</i>	‘ewe’

Moreover, the tribe names are generally pluralized using this ending:

(11) Tribe names

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>Bavaði</i>	<i>Bavaðun</i>	‘members of Bavadi tribe’
b)	<i>Monjezi</i>	<i>Monjezun</i>	‘members of Monjezi tribe’
c)	<i>Šeiχ</i>	<i>Šeiχun</i>	‘members of Sheix tribe’
d)	<i>Bosak</i>	<i>Bosakun</i>	‘members of Bosak tribe’
e)	<i>Zærasvænd</i>	<i>Zærasvænðun</i>	‘members of Zarasvand tribe’

But:

f)	<i>Hæmule</i>	<i>Hæmulyæl</i>	‘members of Hamule tribe’
g)	<i>Gændeli</i>	<i>Gændeliyæl</i>	‘members of Gandeli tribe’
h)	<i>Muzærmuni</i>	<i>Muzærmuniyæl</i>	‘members of Muzarmuni tribe’

5.2 DEFINITENESS

An uninflected noun can *always* be generic, indefinite or definite/specific. It depends on what is intended by the speaker.

- (12) *gænðom men-e χærmen=e*
wheat in-EZ threshing ground=COP.3SG
'The wheat is on the threshing ground.'
- (13) 1. *čâi rext si mændes* But : 2. *čâi=ne rext men-e sini*
tea pour.PST.3SG for engineer tea=OM pour.PST.3SG in-EZ tray
'(S/he) poured tea for (the) engineer.' '(S/he) poured the tea in the tray!'
- (14) *barð^w si qæle χuw=e*
rain for crop good=COP.3SG
'Rain is good for (the) crops.'

There are, however, several ways by means of which a noun can be made definite or indefinite in Bakhtiari, as follows:

5.2.1. Definite suffix *-ke*

This suffix comes after a noun and like a definite article adds the quality of definiteness to its preceding noun. It is, however, comparable to suffix *-e/-æ* in spoken Persian, which according to Mahootian (1997:201), 'optionally attaches to any singular proper or common NP subject, direct object, indirect object and other cases to indicate definiteness':

- (15) *pia-ke čænde čaq=e!*
man-DEF how.much fat=COP.3SG
'How fat the guy is!'
- (16) *ketav-(e)-ke=ne čænde esteið-i?*
book-(E²²⁴)-DEF=OM how.much buy.PST-2SG
'How much did you buy the book for?'
- (17) *pil-a=ne be doðær-(e)-ke dað-i?*
money-PL=OM to girl-(E)-DEF give.PST-2.SG
'Did you give the money to the girl?'
- (18) *zæn-gæl-(e)-ke čænde ver-e-zæn-en*
woman-PL-(E)-DEF how.much chat-DUR-hit.PRS-3PL
'How much the women prattle!'

224. Here and in other examples that will follow, we regularly see the occurrence of an epenthetic vowel (e) between two consonants. This additional vowel has been put between parentheses because it is optional and you would quite often hear the same utterance without this.

5.2.2 Definite suffix *-e*

This definite marker can easily be mistaken for the indefinite marker or an Ezafe (5.3). This specific stressed definite suffix only marks a noun in an adjectival compound:

- (19) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e ši kerd*
 daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF husband DO.PST.3SG
 ‘The biggest daughter of all, married.’

The same utterance can be said using a direct object marker added to the same definite noun:

- (20) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e=ne da(ð) be ši*
 daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF=OM give.PST.3SG to husband
 ‘S/he gave, the biggest daughter of all, to marry.’

- (21) *šæv dinda-i-e dið-om=es*
 night next-ATTR-DEF see.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
 ‘The next night, (I) saw him/her/ it.’

- (22) *æwr-e=ne e-bin-i?*
 cloud-DEF=OM DUR-see.PRS-2SG
 ‘Do you see the cloud?’

5.2.3 Definite suffix *-o*

I agree with Moradi (2000: 48) that, as a rule, when the demonstrative adjectives (5.7.1) come before a noun, that noun will receive a final *o*, which can be considered as a definite marker.²²⁵ He mentions these examples to support his point:

- (23) 1. *i kor-o* ‘this boy’
 2. *u doðær-o* ‘that girl’
 3. *hæm qælæm-o* ‘this one pen’
 4. *hæm jær-o* ‘that one dispute’

225. As mentioned above (2.5), there are many regional varieties of Bakhtiari that, if considered as well, can complicate the linguistic analysis. Here, to be able to give a coherent description of the language, I only focus on the Hamule version of Bakhtiari to which I feel most affinity. In the Hamule variety the expressions in (23) would be like: ‘*i kor-e-ke*’, etc. Moradi’s examples, however, are also very frequent, therefore, they are discussed here, as well.

5.2.4 Indefinite suffix *-i*

This particle follows a noun and marks it as indefinite, as in below example which is one line from a popular Bakhtiari song²²⁶:

- (24) *sowar-i ze dir i-y-a-ø ordi=s be dinda*
 rider-INDF from far DUR-E-come.PRS-3SG corps=BP.3SG to behind
 ‘A horse-man is coming from a far, his troops, at the back!’

5.2.5 Indefinite article *yæ*

yæ, ‘one’ and also a numeral is used as the indefinite article that comes before noun:

- (25) *yæ pia gæp ‘veyd=e be mal*
 one/a man big come.PST=is to camp/ house
 ‘A big man has come to the camp house.’

5.2.6 Combination of both indefinite article and particle *yæ* + *-i*

The third way of marking indefiniteness is to add the unstressed suffix *-i* right after the same word which is already a qualified indefinite noun by means of a preceding *yæ* ‘one, a’²²⁷:

- (26) *yæ pia-h-i vaba=s eveyð-ø*
 one/a man-E-INDF with=BP.3SG come.PST-3SG
 ‘A man came with him/her.’

5.3 EZAFE CONSTRUCTION

The Ezafe, an Arabic loan word literally meaning ‘addition; attached’, is a very productive way of modifying a noun in many Iranian languages, including Bakhtiari. There is extensive literature²²⁸ on the subject, therefore, it is not specific to the language of our concern and the interested reader is referred to the sources cited in the footnotes for a more detailed discussion on the subject. Here some main functions of the Ezafe are listed to show how this grammatical marker works in the context of Bakhtiari. As a general rule, the Ezafe links a modifier to a head noun. This modifier can be an adjective or a noun or a participle, in which case the quality of the head noun will be expressed through this relation:

- (27) 1. *bærð-e gæp* 2. *æyom-e jæðʷni* 3. *ruzegar-e goðæšt-æ*
 stone-EZ big time-EZ youth days-EZ pass.PST.3SG-PTCP
 ‘a big stone’ ‘youth (lit.days of youth)’ ‘the days gone by’

226. Bakhtiari, Masoud: Hallu Zal song in Mal- Kanun Album.

227. Yarshater (1969: 65) has mentioned the same process in Southern Tati languages and thinks that this *-i* is “apparently a borrowing of the Persian *ya-e vahdat*”.

228. Samiiian (2008:339-363); Mahootian (1997: 150) and Lazard (1992: 66-71), among others.

Modification by a proper noun signifies the concept of possession:

- (28) 1. *kor-e qoli* 2. *šær-e ævaz*
 son-EZ Gholi city-EZ Ahvāz
 ‘Gholi’s son’ ‘The city of Ahwaz’

A noun modifier can also indicate the origin or the material of the head noun:

- (29) 1. *gæñðom-e eilaq* 2. *pust-e boz*
 wheat-EZ cold.region skin-EZ goat
 ‘The wheat of the cold region’ ‘Goat’s skin’

The Ezafe can also link a preposition of nominal origin to its adjunct noun:

- (30) 1. *ziær-e bohun* 2. *sær-e koh*
 under-EZ tent head-EZ mountain
 ‘under the black-tent’ ‘on the mountain’

Also, an alternative way to express possession with the enclitic suffixes is by the use of the Ezafe construction and a full pronoun: “The possessor can be any NP, including a personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun. Neither possessor nor possessed is otherwise morphologically marked (Mahootian 1997:150)”.

- (31) 1. *ketav-e mo* 2. *ketav-e xo=m*
 book-EZ I/me book-EZ self=BP.1SG
 ‘My book’ ‘My own book’

The Ezafe particle drops when the head noun ends in a vowel:

- (32) 1. *tela da=m* 2. *horma guzestō^w*
 gold mother=BP.1SG dates Khuzestan
 ‘my mother’s gold’ ‘the dates of Khuzestan’

In certain compound nouns, an inversion in the order of the noun and adjective makes the use of Ezafe unnecessary. In such cases, the whole NP can act as a substantive, capable of taking the role of the predicate of a sentence:

- (33) 1. *ma-ga* 2. *tile-zæn* 3. *širin-æw*
 female-cow small-woman sweet-water
 ‘female cow’ ‘a tiny/young woman’ ‘fresh water’

- (34) *ma-ga-i=e* *si-χo=s!*
female-cow-INDF=COP.3SG *for-self=BP.3SG*
 ‘She is a unique (lit.for herself) strong woman!’

5.4 DEFINITE OBJECT MARKER -e/ -(n)e

When a definite noun is the direct object of a verb, it is followed by the enclitic **=(n)e**. When the definite object noun ends in a vowel the allomorph **=ne** is used, otherwise **=e** appears.²²⁹

- (35) *čeraq=e* *kur* *kerd-ø*
lamp=OM *blind* *do.PST-3SG*
 ‘(S/he) turned off the lamp.’

- (36) *ga=ne* *e-bin-i?*
cow=OM *DUR-see.PRS-2SG*
 ‘Do you see the cow?’

As is shown below, the object marker appears after the plural morpheme or any other modifying suffix:

- (37) *dærf-a=ne* *šošt-ø*
dish-PL=OM *wash.PST-3SG*
 ‘(S/he) washed/has washed the dishes.’

- (38) *jeqe-le-ke=ne* *i-y-æšn-om*
lad-DEF=OM *DUR-E-recognize.PRS-1SG*
 ‘I know this lad.’

- (39) *doðær* *ze* *hæmæ* *gæp-tær-e=ne* *da(ð)-ø* *be* *ši*
daughter *from* *all* *big-COMPR-DEF=OM* *give.PST.3SG* *to* *husband*
 ‘S/he gave, the biggest daughter of all, to marry.’

When the object is a compound or a conjoined noun phrase, consisting of two or more nouns, the object marker appears only once, after the final one:

- (40) *ja-nōw-i-ne* *borð-ø*
place-bread-ATTR-OM *take.PST-3SG*
 ‘S/he took the bread container.’

- (41) *ketav=o* *qælæm=o* *dæftær=ene* *lešt-ø* *be* *gel=o* *dævnið-ø* *ræhð-ø*
book-CONJ *pen-CONJ* *notebook=OM* *leave.PST-3SG* *on earth-CONJ* *run.PST-3SG* *go.PST-3SG*
 ‘S/he put the book, pen and notebook on the ground and ran away.’

229. Windfuhr (1988: 560), however, mentions **-æ** as the object marker, which seems to be either because his consultant spoke a different dialect or it is *his* phonetic interpretation of what others generally perceive as the suffix **-e**.

5.5 PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are particles, words or phrases that precede a noun and can be divided into three major groups: basic, derived and complex. Each group will be explained in their respective sections.

5.5.1 Basic prepositions

These constitute a very small category of prepositions. They are particle-like words with different backgrounds that come before a noun and help to convey different semantic roles.

- (42) 1. *be mænzel* 2. *ta šæw* 3. *bi dæs* 4. *ba das*
 to home until night without hand with sickle
 ‘into/towards home’ ‘until night’ ‘without hand’ ‘with a sickle’

The prepositions in this group do not participate in an Ezafe construction. A list of these with their relative meanings²³⁰ is provided in table (5.1) below:

Table 5.1: Basic prepositions

<i>ba</i>	with	instrumental function
<i>vaba</i>	with	comitative function
<i>va</i>	with	circumstance
<i>bi</i>	without	non-availability, deficiency, absence
<i>be</i>	to; in; into; on; with	direction, location; manner; instrument
<i>či</i>	like	similarity
<i>ri</i>	on, above, over, on top of	locative superiority; direction
<i>si</i>	for, for the sake of	the benefactive case or purpose
<i>ta</i>	until	distance (time and place); the end purpose
<i>ze</i>	from, of, belong, made of	origin

Now, the above prepositions are explained separately, accompanied by examples to portray them pragmatically.

Bakhtiari expresses instrumentality by the use of *ba*:

²³⁰ Bakhtiari shares many of these prepositions with Persian. Their exact meaning, however, are not always the same.

- (43) *zeiḡ-ø sær=es=e ba bærd eškænḡ-ø*
 hit.PST-3SG head=BP.3SG=OM with stone break.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) hit and broke his/her head with a stone.’

To express the comitative function the compound form **vaba** is usually used:

- (44) *vaba bæči-yæl ræ-n be koh*
 with kid-PL go.PST-3PL to mountains
 ‘(They) went to the mountains with the kids.’

To express the semantic function of circumstance, the preposition **va** is used:

- (45) *pia-ke va seviäl-a deraz=es owra=im kærḡ-ø.*
 man-DEF with mustache-PL long=BP.3SG fear= BP.1SG do.PST-3SG
 ‘The guy made me scared with his long mustachios.’

The preposition **bi** ‘without’ expresses the lack of a quality or the absence of an entity or action:

- (46) *bi dong ham-o-čo nešæst-ø*
 without sound EMPH- DIST-place sit.PST.3SG
 ‘She sat right there without (saying) a word.’
- (47) *gæza-ke bi tom=e*
 food-DEF without taste= COP.3SG
 ‘The food is tasteless.’
- (48) *bi ḡodafezi vel-kerḡ-ø, ræhḡ-ø*
 without farewell free-do.PST-3SG go.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he left without saying goodbye.’
- (49) *geiz kerḡ-ø bi mǎši ræhḡ-ø*
 angry do.PST-3SG without car go.PST-3SG
 ‘(She) became angry and left without the car.’
- (50) *geiz kærḡ-ø bi bæči-yæl ræhḡ-ø*
 angry do.PST-3SG without kid-PL go.PST-3SG
 ‘(She) became angry and left without the kids.’

The main use of **be** ‘to; in; into’ is to indicate ‘motion toward’ or the dative.

- (51) *bæči-yæl-ke pǎy ræhḡ-en be mærese*
 kid-PL-DEF all go.PST-3PL to school
 ‘All the kids went to school.’

Another usage of **be** is to indicate ‘being in a location’:

- (52) *ima heni be eylaq=im*
 we still in Eylaq= COP.1PL
 ‘We are still in Eylaq.’

The example below shows another specific meaning of *be* in Bakhtiari, i.e. ‘covered with’ or ‘into’:

- (53) *dæst=om be hevîr=e, næ-tær-om bi-y-a-m*
 hand=BP.1SG into dough= COP.3SG NEG-can.PRS-1SG SBJV-E-come.PRS-1SG
 ‘My hands are covered with dough, I can’t come.’

The next example shows the use of *be* with an instrumental meaning:

- (54) *be ču zeîđ-om=es*
 with wood hit.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I hit him/her/it with a stick.’

The preposition *be* is also one strategy for marking the addressee (see also *si* below)

- (55) *be da=om gođ-om*
 to mum=BP.1SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I said to my mum.’

či ‘as, like’ in this role should not be confused with the noun *či* meaning ‘thing, an object’ (see 5.6.3 below).

- (56) *či pæləng næhræ kæšiđ-ø, či šiær goromniđ-ø*
 lik panther yell pull.PST-3SG lik lion roar.PST-3SG
 ‘(He) yelled like a panther and roared like a lion.
 (Vahman, F& G.S. Asatrian 1995:76)’

si ‘for, for the sake of’ is a basic preposition to express the benefactive or the purpose of an action:

- (57) *čai si=t rast kerđ-om*
 tea for=BP.2SG upright do.PST-1SG
 ‘I made (prepared) tea for you.’

This same preposition, however, can join another noun to make a compound preposition *si del* with the same meaning and then behaves more like a noun (see below).

As the preposition *be* above, *si* is also another strategy for marking the addressee.

- (58) *bi-y-aw ta xo=m si=t bo-g-om*
 SBJV-come. PRS.2SG until myself=BP.1SG for=BP.2SG SBJV-say. PRS-1SG
 ‘Come, so I tell you, myself.’

ta ‘until’, in its primary role, conveys the temporal and spatial distance:

- (59) *ta sohva va be-nišin-im*
 till dawn should SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘We should stay up till dawn.’
- (60) *ronđ-om=es ræhđ-om ta čelgerd*
 drive.PST-1SG=BP.3SG go.PST-1S till Chelgerd
 ‘I drove it off to/ till Chelgerd.’

In its secondary role, however, it can indicate the purpose or the result of an action, as shown above in (60).

In its most basic function, *ze* ‘from, of, belong, made of’ indicates origin of location, time or source (61-3). It is also used in comparative and superlative constructions (5.7.1.2), or to denote the material that things are made of (64).

- (61) *ze i-čo ta be šæ(h)r*
 from PROG -place till to city
 ‘from here to the city’
- (62) *ze hala ta pesin*
 from now till afternoon
 ‘from now till afternoon’
- (63) *(yo) ze ki=n-e?*
 (PROG) from who=E-COP.3SG
 ‘(This) belongs to whom?’
- (64) *yo ze tela=h-e*
 (PROG) from gold=E-COP.3SG
 ‘This is made of gold.’

ze can also appear in compound preposition forms, sometimes with a change in its vowel (see 87-91 below).

The preposition that is used with superlative adjectives is *ze* ‘from, of, belong’:

- (65) *gæf-tær ze hæmæe*
 big-COMPR from all
 ‘the biggest’

5.5.2 Derived prepositions

Besides the above prepositions, there are a number prepositions that also function as nouns and adjectives. The most frequent ones are:

ri ‘on, above, over, on top of’ can also be considered to have an original nominal function, and it still does, meaning ‘face’, ‘surface’ and ‘top’; but it can behave as a preposition:

- (66) *gæle* *ræhǫ-ø* *ri* *koh!*
 herd go.PST-3SG over/on top of mountain
 ‘The herd went over on the top of the mount!’

- (67) *æw* *be-riz* *ri=s*
 water SBJV-pour.PRS.2SG on=BP.3SG
 ‘Pour water on it!’

It seems that the change of this word’s role from a noun to a preposition is due to Persian influence, since older Bakhtiaris use *sær* ‘head; top’ more often. As an example, the above sentence (67) if uttered by an elderly Bakhtiari, would be like (68):

- (68) *æw* *bo-ko(n)* *sær-e=s*
 water SBJV-do. PRS.2SG head-EZ=BP.3SG
 ‘Pour (do) water on it!’

sær, ro(h), nok ‘on, above, over, on top of’, they all indicate locative superiority:

- (69) *gæle-ke* *ræhǫ-ø* *ono* *roh* *zærde!*
 herd- DEF go.PST-3SG DIST on top of Zarde
 ‘The herd went over there, on the top of the mount Zarde!’

They can be used together for emphasis and each carrying the Ezafe marker separately:

- (70) *kelæws-a=ne* *sær-e* *nok-e* *koh* *čič-om.*
 wild celery-PL=OM top-EZ peak-EZ mount pick.PST-1SG
 ‘(I) have picked up the wild celery from the the very top of the mountain!’

*men*²³¹ ‘in, inside’. Although it does not exist today as a separate noun, we could assume that etymologically it may have been a noun²³². In the present state of the language, the only word that I could find having this morpheme in its structure is *menjoga* ‘in the middle’ and its variant *menja* in Bakhtiari and Northern Lori with the same meaning.

231. This is of the words that distinguishes the dialect of Mouri tribe from other Bakhtiaris, as it is pronounced with the front-high and long vowel *mīn*.

232. Like Middle Persian *mayān* ‘middle, among, between’ (Mackenzie 1971:55) and Modern Persian *miyān*.

- (71) *ǰæŋ* *væst-ø* *men-e* *mal*
 fight fall.PST-3SG in-EZ camp-site
 ‘A fight broke in the camp-site.’

- (72) *men=es* *če=ne?*
 in=BP.3SG what=COP.3SG
 ‘What’s in it?’

daxel ‘in, into, at, inside’ is an Arabic loan word, meaning the same as **men**. Both words indicate interior location, i.e. ‘within, inside’:

- (73) *boz-gæl* *daxel-e* *gaš=en*
 goat-PL in-EZ pen=are
 ‘Goats are in the pen!’

The only difference is that **daxel** can also be used adverbially, as illustrated in (74):

- (74) *pæ* *bi-y-aw* *daxel* *næ-va-st* *birun*
 then SBJV-come.PRS.2SG inside, NEG-PRV-stand.PRS.2SG outside
 ‘Come inside, then! Don’t wait outside!’

bal, **kel**, **pæ(h)li**, **tey** ‘next to, beside, by’, they all indicate locative laterality:

- (75) *keter²³³i-ne* *be-n-e* *bal-e* *tæš*
 kettle=OM SBJV.put.PRS-2SG beside-EZ fire
 ‘Put the kettle by the fire!’

- (76) *bi-y-æw* *pæli* *χo=mbe-nešin!*
 SBJV-E-come.PRS beside self=BP.1SG SBJV-sit.2SG
 ‘Come and sit next to myself!’

ziar ‘under’ shows locative inferiority:

- (77) *ziar-e* *ǰa* *χowsið=e*
 under-EZ bedding sleep.PST=COP.3SG
 ‘She is sleeping under the bedding.’

ǰelæw ‘in front of, ahead of’, conveys locative anteriority, when attached to an Ezafe marker, an epenthetic *v* intervenes:

- (78) *ǰelæw-v-e* *ima*
 in front-E-EZ us
 ‘in front of us’

233. It is borrowed from English **kettle** (Zolfaghari, 2003:125)

neheng ‘near, close’, shows locative closeness:

- (79) *neheng-e gæle*
 near-EZ herd
 ‘near the herd’

pošt, æqæb ‘back, behind’ indicate locative posteriority.

- (80) *vorias pošt-e bohun vænd=e!*
 rope behind-EZ tent throw.PST=COP.3SG
 ‘The rope is thrown behind the black tent!’

qælb, piš ‘before’ will indicate the temporal and spatial distance:

- (81) *qælb-e šæš očo biđ-om*
 before-EZ six DIST be.PST-1SG
 ‘I was there, before six.’
- (82) *qælb-e mo va-stađ-e biđ*
 before-EZ me PRV-stand.PST-PTCP be.PST.3SG
 ‘He was standing behind me.’
- (83) *yo piš nešæst-e bi, ho qælb=es*
 this front sit.PST-PTC be.PST.3SG that back=BP.3SG
 ‘S/he was sitting in front, that one at his (her) back.’

dinda and *bæð* both mean ‘after, next’:

- (84) *bi-y-æw dinda mo*
 SBJV-E-come.PRS after me
 ‘Come after me!’
- (85) *ævæl dærf-a-ne be-šur, bæð lævas-a(-ne)*
 first dish-PL-OM SBJV-wash.PRS next cloth-PL(-OM)
 ‘First wash the dishes and next the clothes!’

5.5.3 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions here refer to prepositional phrases that consist of a noun, an adverb or an adjective, sometimes joined together by an Ezafe and accompanied by a basic preposition. The basic preposition usually precedes the compound, but in the case of *ze* it usually follows it. The most frequent of these phrases are listed below:

si del ‘for, for the sake of’; in which *del* means ‘heart’, but the whole compound indicates the benefactive case or purpose. Compare the two sentences below for

the usage of a basic and a compound preposition with almost the same meaning:

- (86) 1. *yo=ne* *daǾ-Ǿ* *si* *χo=m*
 this=OM give. PST-Ǿ for self=BP.1SG
 ‘(She) gave this for myself!’
2. *gerevest-om* *si* *del=e to!*
 cry.PST-1SGS for heart-EZ you
 ‘I have cried for the sake of you.’

In the following example the compound preposition ***dir ze*** shows the distance:

- (87) *dir ze gæle*
 far from herd
 ‘far from the herd’

(*be*) ***geir ze/ geirza*** ‘except for’; these compounds indicate the omission of certain members of a group. Note the phonological change of the final vowel in *ze*. The use of the first preposition is optional and it is closer to Persian, but if used, it will not have an emphatic or any other semantic role.

- (88) *heš-ke(s)* *næ-tær-e* *zur=es,* *geir-za* *χo=m*
 none-who NEG-can.PRS-3SG power=BP.3SG except-from self=BP.1SG
 ‘No one can move it, except for me.’

birun ze ‘out of’, a noun plus preposition combination that expresses the locative exteriority.

- (89) *birun ze mal!*
 out of camping site
 ‘out of the camping site!’

piš ze ‘before (lit. before from)’; which is a combination of a noun and the preposition *ze*

- (90) *piš-ze* *mo* *zeiǾ-Ǿ* *be* *dær*
 before-from me hit.PST-3SG to door
 ‘(She) went out in front of me.’

The preposition ***bæǾ*** ‘after’ (example 85 above) has also a compound form ***bæǾ ze*** ‘after from’ with its shorter manifestation ***bæze*** ‘after’:

- (91) *bæze* *nahar* *i-y-a(-h-e)*
 after lunch DUR-E-COME.PRS(-3SG)
 ‘(S/he) comes after the lunch.’

Sometimes, more than one preposition can combine in an Ezafe construction:

- (92) *ze* *pošt-e* *sær* *hæpærð^w* *æworð-ø* *si=s*
 from behind-EZ head attack bring.PRS-3SG for=BP.3SG
 ‘(S/he) attacked him/her from behind.’

5.6 PRONOMINAL WORDS

Pronominals in Bakhtiari belong to a closed class and their singular and plural forms are separate lexical items. They can occur as subject, object and complement and can take the object marker **=(n)e** (see 5.4). Pronominals canonically occur before the verb. In addition, they cannot be modified and do not take the definite marker **-ke** (see 5.2.1).

5.6.1 Personal Pronouns

Bakhtiari personal pronouns can be further categorized as either free (independent) or bound morphemes (enclitics). Both these categories have two sets of singular and plural forms in three persons, which will be separately described below.

5.6.1.1 Free personal pronouns

Free pronouns are used in all persons and numbers as subjects, objects, indirect objects, parts of comparative constructions, etc. Bakhtiari is, however, a pro-drop language and usually omits the subject pronoun of all persons and numbers. Personal pronouns can be divided based on person and number.

Table 5.2: Personal Pronouns

‘I, you, he,...’, ‘me, you, him,...’	
1s	<i>mo</i>
2s	<i>to</i>
3s	<i>ho</i>
1p	<i>ima</i>
2p	<i>isa</i>
3p	<i>honð^w/honon/hono/ono</i>

As can be seen from the table, in the third person singular, Bakhtiari distinguishes no gender or animate/ inanimate differences. The third person singular and plural pronouns are the same as the distal demonstrative pronouns (5.6.5 below). It should be also noted that the third plural pronoun **ono** is more frequently used for objects than for people. Note that the second person plural pronoun only indicates

the plurality of the second person and is not used to convey respect or any socio-linguistic register. Examples in (93) shows the first singular pronoun in subject and object position:

- (93) 1. *(mo) siav-a=ne χærǫ-om* 2. *da=m mo=ne šošt-ø*
 (I) apple-PL=OM eat.PST-1SG mother=BP.1SG me=OM wash.PST-3SG
 ‘I ate the apples.’ ‘My mother washed me.’

Some more examples from other pronouns in different roles:

- (94) 1. *be honō^w hæm daǫ-en* 2. *honon=e daǫ-en*
 to them also give.PST-3PL them =OM give.PST-3PL
 ‘(They) gave them, too.’ ‘Did (they) give them?’²³⁴
3. *ze ima esteiǫ-ø* 4. *isa če men=e ho did-in?*
 from us buy.PST-3SG you what in=OM him/her see.PST-2SG
 ‘(S/he) bought/ took (it/ them) from us.’ ‘What did you see in her/him/it?’

As shown in (94) prepositions can precede the personal pronouns and assign different semantic roles to them.

5.6.1.2 Bound personal pronouns (enclitics)

In addition to the verbal set of PAM²³⁵s (See 6.3.1 below), Bakhtiari also uses a second set of PAMs, the possessive/oblique enclitics, which are illustrated in table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Pronominal enclitics

‘my, me; your, you; his, him, etc.’		
	after -C	after -V
1s	= <i>om</i>	= <i>m</i>
2s	= <i>et</i>	= <i>t</i>
3s	= <i>es</i>	= <i>s</i> /= <i>š^l</i>
1p	= <i>emō^w</i>	= <i>mō^w</i>
2p	= <i>etō^w</i>	= <i>tō^w</i>
3p	= <i>esō^w</i>	= <i>sō^w</i> ~ = <i>šō^w</i>

1 The pronunciation of *š* is the Persianized version of these pronouns.

When enclitic pronouns are attached to a consonant-final word, a connective vowel may precede them. This connective vowel is generally *-e-*, save before *-m*

234. It can also be interpreted as: ‘Have (they) been given (something/ that thing)?’

235. PAM stands for Person Agreement Markers which are a set of six agreement suffixes that attach to a verb to indicate person and number (See 6.3.1 below).

of the first person singular, where *-e-* is frequently replaced by *-o-*. These enclitics have several functions and may indicate:

Possession, by replacing the free pronoun (5.6.1.1) in a genitive construction:

(95)

<i>pil=om</i> ²³⁶ money=BP.1SG 'my money'	<i>pil=mō^w</i> money=BP.1PL 'our money'
<i>pil=et</i> money=BP.2SG 'your money'	<i>pil=tō^w</i> money=BP.2PL 'your money'
<i>pil=es</i> money=BP.3SG 'his/her money'	<i>pil=sō^w</i> money=BP.3PL 'their money'

Direct objects, by encliticizing to a verb:

(96)

<i>borǾ=om</i> take.PST.3SG=BP.1SG 'S/he took me.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-mō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.1PL 'S/he took us.'
<i>borǾ=e-t</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.2SG 'S/he took you.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-tō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.2PL 'S/he took you.'
<i>borǾ=e-s</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.3SG 'S/he took her/him/it.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-sō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.3PL 'S/he took them.'

These enclitics, when attached to a conjugated verb, such as the first person singular in the example below, should not be mistaken for the verb endings, because in this case (97, 2-3), the two sets of endings (the inflectional suffix *-om* and the enclitic personal pronoun *=om*) are identical:

(97)	1. <i>zeiǾ=es</i> hit.PST=BP.3SG '(S/he) hit it.'	2. <i>zeiǾ-om=es</i> hit.PST-1SG=BP.3SG 'I hit it.'	3. <i>zeiǾ=om-e</i> hit.PST=BP.1SG-3SG '(S/he) has hit me.'
------	---	---	---

236. The other possibility to convey the same meaning is to use the free pronouns in an Ezafe construction such as:

pil=e mo 'my money'.

In addition to this, there is another, rarer structure in the language whereby three arguments can attach to the verb. The verbs that can function in this structure are, to my knowledge, only two, the prototypical verbs that encode Recipient and Addressee, i.e., *daðen* ‘to give’ and *goðen* ‘to say, to tell’, respectively, as illustrated below:

- (98) 1. *dað-om=et=es* 2. *næ-dað-om=et=es?!
 give.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG NEG-give.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I gave it to you.’ ‘Didn’t I give it to you?!’*

Here the second person singular enclitic *=et* is the indirect object of the ditransitive verb *dað*, while the direct object is represented by third person singular enclitic *=es*:

- (99) 1. *goð-om=et=es* 2. *næ-goð-om=et=es?!
 say.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG NEG-say.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I told you that.’ ‘Didn’t I tell you that?!’*

5.6.1.3 Full and Short forms of nominal pronouns

Pronouns in peripheral functions appear either as full forms of pronouns or as pronominal enclitics attached to the prepositions. ²³⁷

The prepositions in the examples below are *be*, *ze* and *si* which mean ‘to’, ‘from’ and ‘for’ respectively; although other prepositions such as *men* ‘in’ and *ba/va* ‘with’ can also be used in this context:

Table 5.4: Full and Short forms of nominal pronouns

PREP+ Free PRON ‘to me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>be mo</i>	<i>be=m</i>
2s <i>be to</i>	<i>be=t</i>
3s <i>be ho</i>	<i>be=s</i>
1p <i>be ima</i>	<i>be=mð^w</i>
2p <i>be isa</i>	<i>be=tð^w</i>
3p <i>be honð^w</i>	<i>be=sð^w</i>

- (100) *pil* *be=sð* *dað-ø*
 money to=BP.3PL give.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) gave money to them.’

Pronouns in peripheral functions appear either as full forms of pronouns or as pronominal enclitics attached to the prepositions. ²³⁸

237. The Peculiar structures (6.6.1.3 below) are of course exceptions to this rule.

238. The Peculiar structures (6.6.1.3 below) are of course exceptions to this rule.

Table 5.5: ‘from’+ pronoun

PREP+ Free PRON ‘from me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>ze mo</i>	<i>ze=m</i>
2s <i>ze to</i>	<i>ze=t</i>
3s <i>ze ho</i>	<i>ze=s</i>
1p <i>ze ima</i>	<i>ze=mō^w</i>
2p <i>ze isa</i>	<i>ze=tō^w</i>
3p <i>ze honō^w</i>	<i>ze=sō^w</i>

- (101) *ze=s* *pors* *næ-kerǫ-om*
 from=BP.3SG inquiry NEG- do.PST -1SG
 ‘I didn’t ask her/him.’

Table 5.6: ‘for’+ pronoun

PREP+ Free PRON ‘for me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>si mo</i>	<i>si=m</i>
2s <i>si to</i>	<i>si=t</i>
3s <i>si ho</i>	<i>si=s</i>
1p <i>si ima</i>	<i>si=mō^w</i>
2p <i>si isa</i>	<i>si=tō^w</i>
3p <i>si honō^w</i>	<i>si-sō^w</i>

- (102) 1. *si=m* *če* *esteiǫ-i?* 2. *yæ* *či* *χu* *esteiǫ -om* *si=t*
 for=BP.1SG what buy.PST -2SG a thing good buy.PST-1SG for=BP.2SG
 ‘what did you buy for me?’ ‘I bought you something nice.’

5.6.2 Reflexive pronouns

In Bakhtiari only one reflexive pronoun *χo* is used in all persons and numbers. It functions in both reflexive and emphatic senses. Generally, reflexive pronouns are followed by an enclitic pronoun (105-108), which indicates the person referred to. As the direct object of a verb, however, the reflexive can stand without these enclitics but may host the direct object marker enclitic (103-4).

Table 5.7: Reflexive with pronominal enclitics

‘myself, yourself, ...’	
1s	$\chi o = m$
2s	$\chi o = t$
3s	$\chi o = s$
1p	$\chi o = m\tilde{o}^w$
2p	$\chi o = t\tilde{o}^w$
3p	$\chi o = s\tilde{o}^w$

χo as direct object, in the reflexive sense:

- (103) *ho* $\chi o = ne$ *košt-ø*
 she self=OM kill.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he killed her/himself.’²³⁹
- (104) *to* *seil* *(bo-)ko* *četæw* $\chi o = ne$ *zæn-e!*
 you look (SBJV-)do.PRS.2SG how self=OM hit.PRS-3SG
 ‘Just look; how (S/he) his/ beats himself/ herself!’²⁴⁰

The direct object marker, **=(n)e**, when it comes after the reflexive pronoun plus the personal enclitics, will appear in a short enclitic form **=e**:

- (105) *(mo)* $\chi o = m = e$ *košt-om*
 (I) self=BP.1SG=OM kill.PST-1SG
 ‘I killed myself! (Cried or mourned deeply!)’
- (106) *(to)* $\chi o = t = e$ *zeið-i?*
 (you) self=BP.2SG=OM hit.PST-2SG
 ‘Did you hit yourself?’
- (107) *honð* $\chi o = sun = e$ *biððar* *kerð-en*
 they self=BP.3PL=OM hide do. PST-3PL
 ‘They hid themselves.’
- (108) *zæn-gæl* $\chi o = s\tilde{o}^w$ *ræhð-en*
 woman- PL self=BP.3PL go.PST-3PL
 ‘The women, themselves, went/ have gone. (Nobody took them or accompanied them.)’

239 This utterance usually is used in the context of a funeral and actually means that somebody has cried a lot or showed a very dramatic way of mourning like scratching the face, screaming and pulling out her or his hair out of pain and sorrow.

240. By working or crying excessively!

Example of *χo* in the emphatic sense:

- (109) *to χo=t yo=ne goḏ-i*
 You self=BP.2SG this=OM say.PST-2SG
 ‘You, yourself, said this.’

Another way of expressing emphasis is to add the enclitic particle (5.6.5) *hæm* to the already inflected reflexive pronoun:

- (110) *mo χo=m=hæm qæleve be=s goḏ-om*
 I self=BP.1SG=too very to=BP.3SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I myself told him/her, too.’

This enclitic particle can be used in a short form which then will be encliticized to the reflexive pronoun:

- (111) *mo χo=m=æm qæleve be=s goḏ-om*
 I self=BP.1SG=too very to=BP.3SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I myself told him/her, too.’

To put more emphasis on the doer of an action, a reduplication of the reflexive pronoun can be used:

- (112) *baxtiar χo=s χo=s=e bæḏbæxt kerḏ-ḏ²⁴¹*
 Baxtiar self=BP.3SG self=BP.3SG=OM unfortunate do. PST-3SG
 ‘Baxtiar (himself) made him unfortunate.’

- (113) *ze nârâhæti χo=m χo=m=e χærḏ-om*
 from stress self=BP.1SG self=BP.1SG=OM eat.PST-1SG
 ‘I was biting myself out of stress!’

There is still another way of emphasis, and that is to use the words *tæn* ‘body’ or *šæsg* ‘person/ character’ linked to the reflexive pronoun *χo*, by an Ezafe:

- (114) *Question: ki goḏ-ḏ? Answer: hæm-i tæm-e χo=t!*
 who say.PST-3SG EMPH-DIST body-EZ self=BP.2SG
 ‘Who said (that)?!’ ‘You, yourself! (lit. this very body of yourself)’

- (115) *mo χo=m, šæsg -e χo=m i-y-a-m ba=t*
 I self=BP.1SG person-EZ self=BP.1SG IND-E-COME.PRS-1SG with=BP.2SG
 ‘I myself, my own person, will come with you!’

241. This is a saying referring to the fate of Shapuhr Bakhtiar, the last prime minister under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, just before the 1979 Islamic revolution. Bakhtiaris, to this day, think that he should not have accepted this post at that critical time and this choice led him to exile in France and his fatal assassination in 1991. They respect him and feel very sorry for his destiny.

5.6.3 Indefinite pronouns

There are two sets of indefinite pronouns; those that can stand independently in a sentence and the ones that need to attach to other words. The independent indefinite pronouns are:

- (116) 1. *hiž* ‘nothing’:
hiž *næ-gođ-en*
 nothing NEG-say.PST-3PL
 ‘They didn’t say anything. (Lit. Nothing they said.)’

2. *pây* ‘all’:
pây *χæhr-est-en*
 all eat.PASS-PST-3PL
 ‘All have been/ were eaten.’

3. *hæmæ/e* ‘all’:
hæme *ræhđ-en*
 all go.PST-3PL
 ‘Everyone left.’

4. *čī* ‘something’:
čī *χærđ-en=o* *ræhđ-en*
 something eat.PST-3PL= AND go.PST-3PL
 ‘(They) ate something and went.’

The other group either attach to question words *ki* ‘who’ or *čī* ‘what’ or simply to another word, such as *kæs* ‘person’, *šæsg* ‘person’, *zæmō* ‘time’, *ja* ‘place’; examples are:

- (117) 1. *hær-ki* ‘whoever’
hær-ki *gođ-ø,* *si* *χo=s* *gođ-ø!*
 every-who say.PST-3SG, for self=BP.3SG say.PST-3SG
 ‘Whoever said that, said it for himself! (‘It doesn’t count as valid!’)

2. *hær-čī* ‘whatever’
hær-čī *del=es* *e-χo-ø,* *be-l* *bo-go-ø!*
 every-thing/what heart=BP.3SG DUR-want.PRS-3SG, SBJV.LET.PRS SBJV.SAY.PRS-3SG
 ‘Whatever his/ her heart wants (s/he wants), let him/her say it!’

3. *hær-kæs* ‘everyone’
hær-kæs *ne-bu* *hem-i* *kar=e* *e-kon-e*
 every-person NEG- SBJV.BE.PRS.3SG thus-PROX work=OM DUR-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘(giving the situation) Everybody will do the same thing.’

4. *čono-či*

čono-či be ti næ-diǰ-om bi-ø
 thus-thing to eye NEG-see.PST-1SG be.PST-3SG
 ‘(I) had not seen a thing like this with my eyes.’

5.6.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Bakhtiari has one reciprocal pronoun, *yekidiaer* ‘each other’, which is used for all persons. It consists of two parts, *yeki* ‘one’ and *diaer* ‘other’. It functions as object with an anaphoric reference to the subject. This pronoun takes a direct object marker or preposition depending on their syntactic or semantic role in the sentence.

- (118) *doǰær=o jeqele yek-i-diaer=e dus dar-en*
 girl-and boy each-INDF-other=OM love have.PRS-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy love each other.’

This pronoun has a shorter form, *yæk*, which usually comes after the prepositions, *ba*, *vaba*²⁴² ‘with’ or *ze* ‘from’, as shown below:

- (119) *doǰær=o jeqele vaba yæk ræhǰ-en*
 girl-and boy with each other go.PST-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy went with each other.’

- (120) *doǰær=o jeqele ze yæk ræǰ n-i-bu-n*
 girl-and boy from each other away NEG-DUR-become.SBJV-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy don’t go away from each other.’

5.6.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Bakhtiari basically has two demonstrative pronouns *yo* ‘this’, to specify an object near to the speaker, and *ho* ‘that’, to refer to a distant object. These pronouns have plural and emphatic forms which are summarized in the table below:

Table 5.8: Demonstrative pronouns

	Near ‘this’/‘this very thing’	Far ‘that’/‘that very thing’
Singular	<i>yo/ i</i>	<i>ho/ o</i>
Emphatic	<i>hæm-(i)yo</i>	<i>hæm-ho</i>
	Near ‘these’/‘these very things’	Far ‘those’/‘those very things’
Plural	<i>yond̃^w/yono/yonon</i>	<i>hoñ^w/honon/oñ^w/ono</i>
Emphatic	<i>hæmiñ^w/hæmino(n)</i>	<i>hæmonon/hæmoñ^w</i>

242. for an exact function of these prepositions see (5.5.1).

- (121) *yo ze ki-n=e?*
 PROX from who-E=COP.3SG
 ‘Whose is this?’
- (122) *yono=ne ki ævorǫ-ø?*
 PROX.PL=OM who bring.PST-3SG
 ‘Who has brought these?’
- (123) *ho če χeif=e*
 DIST what nice=COP.3SG
 ‘How nice is that!’
- (124) *honon če-n=en?*
 DIST.PL what-E=COP.3PL
 ‘What are those?’

As has been shown in table 5.1, these forms can also be used as third person personal pronoun. There is another form of demonstrative pronouns in Bakhtiari. This compound form consists of an emphatic enclitic particle *hæm* plus the singular or plural form of the demonstrative pronouns:

- (125) *hæm-yo ze ki-n=e?*
 EMPH-PROX from who(m)-E=COP.2SG
 ‘Whose is this thing?’
- (126) *mo ze hæm-onon e-χo-m*
 I from EMPH-DIST.PL DUR-want.PRS-1SG
 ‘I want some of (exactly) those things.’

It should be noted that the singular form of demonstrative pronouns and their emphatic equivalents are also used as demonstrative adjectives.

- (127) *hæm-i doǫær ze hæme bištær be dærǫ=om e-χor-e*
 EMPH-PROX girl from all more to pain=BP.1SG DUR-eat.PRS-2SG
 ‘This girl is helping me more than all the others.’

5.6.6 Interrogative pronouns and other question words

To change a sentence into a question form in Bakhtiari, there is a set of interrogative pronouns and several other question words, as discussed in the following sections:

5.6.6.1 *ki* ‘who/whom’

The interrogative pronoun *ki* is a full pronoun in the sense that it can replace the subject or object of a statement and stand alone in an interrogative sentence:

- (128) *ki dærf-a=ne šošt-ø?*
 who dish-PL=OM wash.PST-3SG
 ‘Who washed the dishes?’

- (129) *pil-a=ne be ki dað-i?*
 money-PL=OM to whom give.PST-2SG
 ‘To who(m) did you give money?’

5.6.6.2 *če* ‘what’

če basically behaves like *ki*, i.e. it can replace both the subject and the object of a statement, in whichever position that they can occur:

(130)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>če men-e qalome-y=e?</i>
what in-EZ pot-E= COP.3SG
‘What is in the pot?’ | 2. <i>men-e qalome če-n=e?</i>
in-EZ pot what-E= COP.3SG
‘What is in the pot?’ |
|--|--|

(131)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>če ævorð-i si=m?</i>
what bring.PST-2SG for= BP.1SG
‘What did you bring for me?’ | 2. <i>si=m če ævorð-i?</i>
for=BP.1SG what bring.PST-2SG
‘What did you bring for me?’ |
|--|---|

5.6.6.3 *si-če* ‘why, for what’

si-če is actually a compound word consisting of the preposition *si* ‘for’ and the question word *če* ‘what’:

(132)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>pæ to si-če ræhð-i?</i>
then you for-what go.PST-2SG
‘Then why did you go?’ | 2. <i>si-če ‘ræhð-i to pæ?</i>
for-what go.PST-2SG you then
‘Then why did you go?’ |
| 3. <i>si-če ‘to ræhð-i pæ?</i>
for-what you go.PST-2SG then
‘Then why did you go?’ | |

5.6.6.4 *kei* ‘when’

kei is a temporal adverbial, i.e. is used to ask about the time of an event:

- (133) *kei jæŋg kerð-en?*
 when fight do.PST-3PL
 ‘When did they fight?’

5.6.6.5 *četaew* ‘how’

četaew is an interrogative manner adverb, i.e. it asks how an action happened or was performed:

(134)

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. <i>da=s</i> | <i>četaew</i> | <i>evei(ð)-ø?</i> | 2. <i>četaew</i> | <i>bi-ø</i> | <i>da=s?</i> |
| mother=BP.3SG | how | come.PST-3SG | how | be.PST-3SG | mother=BP.3SG |
| ‘How did his/her mom come?’ | | | ‘How was his/her mom/mother?’ | | |

5.6.6.6 *koye*, *kōje*/*koj* and *ko* ‘where’

koye ‘where’ is an interrogative locative adverb, but *kōje*, with exactly the same meaning, is the Mouri and Babadi tribes version of the same word. Compared with *koye*, *kōje* is a step closer to Persian *koja*. The reason to mention it here is that it is one of the few words in Bakhtiari that contain a long *o*. It is also one of the characteristic words that distinguish members of these tribes from other Haft Lang speakers. Since these two tribes are very active in trading, this word is often heard in the cities and villages which are the main market places of the Bakhtiaris and is useful to know:

(135)

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. <i>koye</i> | <i>ræhð-e</i> | <i>bið-i?</i> | 2. <i>ræhð-e</i> | <i>bið-i</i> | <i>koye?</i> |
| where | go.PST-PTCP | be.PST-2SG | go.PST-PTCP | be.PST-2SG | WHERE |
| ‘Where did you go?’ | | | ‘Where did you go?’ | | |

ko, on the other hand, seems to be the basic word to ask about location, and it is only used with the copula.

- (136) *pæ ko-n=e pia=ke?*
 then where-E= COP.3SG man=DEF
 ‘Where is the man?’

It should be noted that this *ko* ‘where’ should not be confused with *ko* ‘which’, discussed in the next section:

5.6.6.7 *ko/ko-yeki* ‘which, which one’

- (137) *ko-yek-i=sun=e* *e-χo-y*^{243?}
 which-one-INDF=BP.3PL=OM DUR-want.PRS-2SG
 ‘Which one of them do you want?’

5.6.6.8 *čæn(d)/čænde* ‘how much’

- (138) *čænde* *pil* *dar-i?*
 how much money have.PRS-2SG
 ‘How much money do you have?’

- (139) *čæn-ta* *kor* *dar-i?*
 how-NCL²⁴⁴ boy/son have.PRS-2SG
 ‘How many sons do you have?’

5.7 MODIFIERS

5.7.1 Adjectives

To distinguish a category of adjectives can at times be problematic. The reason is, as Payne (1997:63) puts it; “... there is no semantically definable class of concepts that universally falls into a category that we want to call adjectives; rather adjectives stand ‘between’ nouns and verbs, lexicalizing properties or characteristics that are indeterminate or variable in terms of time stability” (Payne, 1997: 63). Bakhtiari, however, does have lexical items that express the properties of age, dimension, value, colour, shape, speed and human feelings or physical characteristics, i.e. the properties that a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives should be able to convey (examples 138:1-8 below). Nevertheless, there are some other concepts that can only be expressed by constructions which bring the adjectives closer to nouns or verbs (See 6.2 below). Bakhtiari adjectives belong to an open class.

In this section, first the plain attributive adjectives and their morphosyntactic behaviour are described. The degrees of comparison will follow (5.7.1.2).

5.7.1.1 Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives come after the head noun and are linked to it in an Ezafe construction (140: 1-8):

243. *e-χo-i* > *e-χo-y*

244. Numeral classifier, see 5.7.2.1, example 164-5 below.

- (140) 1. *boz-e* *pir* (age)
 goat-EZ old
 ‘An old goat’
2. *doðær-e* *bolond=o* *gæp* (dimension)
 girl-EZ tall=and big
 ‘The tall and big/ grown up girl’
3. *del-e* *χu-v=o* *hærf-e* *liš* (value)
 heart-EZ good-E-and talk-EZ bad
 ‘A nice heart and bad word(s)’
4. *hær-e* *gæz* (color)
 donkey-EZ whitish.gray
 ‘A whitish-gray donkey’
5. *siəvil-e* *nit.nit-i* (physical characteristics)
 mustache-EZ sparse-ATTR
 ‘sparse mustache’
6. *sær-e* *gerð=o* *ti-a b* *peg* (shape)
 head-EZ round=and eye-E-PL protruding
 ‘round head and protruding eyes’
7. *kor-e* *tænbæl* (human propensity)
 boy-EZ lazy
 ‘A lazy boy’
8. *æsp-e* *tiəz* (speed)
 horse-EZ fast
 ‘A swift horse’

When the preceding noun ends in a vowel the Ezafe marker drops:

- (141) *dalū* *pir*
 oldwoman old
 ‘An oldwoman’

There are, however, rare cases in which the adjective precedes the noun.

- (142) *χu* *hærf-i* *zeið-i*
 good word-INDF hit.PST-2SG
 ‘That was a good thing that you said.’

The other word class that precedes a noun is the demonstrative adjective:

- (143) *i zemin-a*
 PROX land-PL
 ‘these lands’

- (144) *hæm-i pia-ke*
 EMPH-PROX man-the
 ‘this very man’

Indefinite adjectives, traditionally, refer to indefinites like *hær*, *hiž*, and *hæmæ*, preceding a noun or a pronoun:

- (145)
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>hær</i> ‘every’ | <i>hær ru wo hær šæw</i> ‘every day and every night’ |
| 2. <i>hiž</i> ‘no, none’ | <i>hiž xævæ-r-i ne-bi</i> ‘there was no news.’ |
| 3. <i>hæmæ/e</i> ‘all’ | <i>hæme-ferge ađom-i eveiðe bi</i> ‘All sorts of people have come.’ |

Adjectives in Bakhtiari do not take number marking:

- (146)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>doðær-e</i> | <i>χu</i> | 2. <i>dor-gæl-e</i> | <i>χu</i> |
| girl-EZ | good | girl-PL-EZ | good |
| ‘a good girl’ | | ‘good girls’ | |

Quantifiers can only precede the noun or the adjective that they modify, such as *qelili* ‘few’ and *χeile* ‘very’ in the example below:

- (147) *yæ qelil-i ze dor-gæl-o χeile porru va-biəð-en-e*
 one few-INDF from girl-PL-DEF very rude become.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Some of these girls, have become very impudent.’

Furthermore, the adjectives can be modified by adverbs:

- (148) *χeile gæp*
 very big
 ‘very big’

To pluralize a noun plus adjective compound, only the last constituent of the compound receives the plural suffix.

- (149)
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>ma-ga-yæl=e</i> | <i>forohð-ø</i> | 2. <i>dor-χoşgel-a</i> | <i>e-veið-en</i> |
| female-cow-PL=OM | sell.PST-3SG | girl-beautiful-PL | DUR-co me.PST-3PL |
| ‘S/he sold the female cows.’ | | ‘The beautiful girls came.’ | |

Interestingly, in Ezafe constructions, the Ezafe marker drops and the whole compound acts as a single unit²⁴⁵:

- (150) *šir-e særd e-χo-ø*
 milk-EZ cold DUR-want.PRS-3SG
 ‘S/he wants cold milk.’

- (151) *šir-særd-e=ne χærǰ-ø*
 milk-cold-DEF=OM eat.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he ate/ drank the cold milk.’

The other characteristic of Bakhtiari adjectives is that they can appear as the first element in a compound verb:

- (152) *sohr-va-biǰ-en*
 red-PVB-be.PST-INF
 ‘to change colour/ to blush’

Unlike Persian, in Bakhtiari superlative adjectives, too, come after the noun, as will be discussed in the section (5.7.1.2) below.

In practice, there is no special ordering for the sequence of adjectives; the priority depends on the intended semantic emphasis of the speaker:

- (153) 1. *yæ jeqele deraz-e laqær-e liš-i vaba=s e-veiǰ-ø*
 a boy long-EZ skinny-EZ ugly-INDF with=BP.3SG DUR-come.PST-3SG
 ‘An ugly lanky boy has come along with him.’

2. *yæ doǰær-e χošgel=o espiǰ=o teng=o-reng esteiǰ-ø*
 a girl-EZ pretty-CONJ white-CONJ fit-CONJ-quick buy.PST-3SG
 ‘(He) married a beautiful, fair, fit and active girl.’

In (153:1), the sequence of adjectives qualify each other, while in (153:2) they are coordinated to qualify the same noun.

5.7.1.2 Comparative and superlative

Adjectives can occur in comparative forms. The suffix *-taer* is employed for comparison, e.g.:

245. Donald Stilo (p.c.): “These are two different constructions. Perhaps there are two constructions in Bakhtiari (like Vafsi): one with an Ezafe linking morpheme and one without, that is, simply juxtaposed. There are many Central Plateau Dialects in the Esfahan area that have no Ezafe. It could even be that the Baxtiari Ezafe (like Vafsi) is borrowed from Persian and is not native to Bakhtiari.”

- (154) 1. *gæp/f-tær*
big-COMPR
'bigger'
2. *doðær-e gæp/f-tær*
girl-EZ big-COMPR
'bigger daughter/girl'

The preposition *ze* 'from' is used to link the two objects of comparison:

- (155) *bæd-bæx-tær ze xo-m, xo-m=om*
bad-fortune-COMPR from self-BP.1SG, self-BP.1SG=COP.1SG
'The person less fortunate than me is me!'

For expressing the superlative, the comparative suffix is used in a *from all* + *ADJ-COMPR* construction, as shown below:

- (156) 1. *ze hæmæ gæf-tær or gæf-tær ze hæmæ*
from all big-COMPR big-COMPR from all
'the biggest of all' 'the biggest of all'
2. *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e da(ð)-ø be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF give.PST-3SG to husband
'S/he gave, the daughter, the biggest of all, to marry.'

This construction can also be followed by a pronoun and pronominal suffix:

- (157) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-om=e dað-om be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-BP.1SG=OM give.PST-1SG to husband
'I gave my eldest daughter in marriage.'
- (158) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e mo ræhð-ø be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF me go.PST-3SG to husband
'My eldest daughter got married'

5.7.2 NUMERALS

Numerals also usually precede the noun they modify and show the number of the noun in cardinal and ordinal usage. The ordinal numbers in this role, however, may also appear in an Ezafe construction and following the noun:

- (159) 1. *čar kor* 2. *mar-e hæft sær*
four boy snake-EZ seven head
'four boys' 'A seven-headed snake (a kind of legendary creature)'

In the example below, note the interesting difference in semantics, in the sense that the preposed ordinal selects and the postponed one, modifies the noun:

(160)

1. *šiš-om-i kor=es*
 SIX-ORD-ATTR son=BP.3SG
 ‘the sixth son of his’
2. *kor-e šiš-om=es*
 son-EZ SIX-ORD =BP.3SG
 ‘his sixth son’

5.7.2.1 Cardinal numbers

Table 5.9 provides a list of the cardinal numbers:

Table 5.9: Cardinal numbers

0 = ∅	<i>serf</i>	11 = ʌʌ	<i>yāzæ</i>	22 = ʌʌ	<i>bis=o do</i>	200 = ʌ∅∅	<i>divist</i>
1 = ʌ	<i>yæk</i>	12 = ʌʌ	<i>duwa:zæ</i>	30 = ʌ∅	<i>si</i>	300 = ʌ∅∅	<i>si-sæd</i>
2 = ʌ	<i>do</i>	13 = ʌʌ	<i>sinz(d)æ</i>	31 = ʌʌ	<i>si=vo yæk</i>	400 = ʌ∅∅	<i>čar-sæd</i>
3 = ʌ	<i>se</i>	14 = ʌʌ	<i>čardæ</i>	40 = ʌ∅	<i>čel</i>	500 = ʌ∅∅	<i>pun-sæd</i>
4 = ʌ	<i>čar</i>	15 = ʌʌ	<i>punzæ</i>	41 = ʌʌ	<i>čel=o yæk</i>	600 = ʌ∅∅	<i>šiš-sæd</i>
5 = ʌ	<i>pænʃ</i>	16 = ʌʌ	<i>šunz(d)æ</i>	50 = ʌ∅	<i>pænʃa(h)</i>	700 = ʌ∅∅	<i>hæp-sæd</i>
6 = ʌ	<i>šæš</i>	17 = ʌʌ	<i>hæbdæ</i>	60 = ʌ∅	<i>šæs(t)</i>	1000 = ʌ∅∅∅	<i>hæzar</i>
7 = ʌ	<i>hæft</i>	18 = ʌʌ	<i>hæždæ</i>	70 = ʌ∅	<i>hæf/ptað</i>	1001 = ʌ∅∅ʌ	<i>hæzar=o yæk</i>
8 = ʌ	<i>hæšt</i>	19 = ʌʌ	<i>nunzæ</i>	80 = ʌ∅	<i>hæšdað</i>	100000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅	<i>sæð-(h) ezar</i>
9 = ʌ	<i>no</i>	20 = ʌ∅	<i>bis(t)</i>	90 = ʌ∅	<i>nævæð</i>	1000000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅∅	<i>(yæ) mælyð^w</i>
10 = ʌ∅	<i>dæ</i>	21 = ʌʌ	<i>bis yæk</i>	100 = ʌ∅∅	<i>sæd</i>	2000000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅∅	<i>do mælyð^w</i>

Compound numerals are formed by a sequence of numbers, using the enclitic conjunction *=(v)o* ‘and’:

- (161) 1. *čel=o yæk* ‘forty-one’ 2. *hæzar=o si-sæð=o hæptað=o šæš* ‘1376’
 3. *si=vo yæk*²⁴⁶ ‘thirty one’ 4. *pænʃah=o šæš* ‘fifty six’

Sometimes, especially during quick counting, the enclitic conjunction can be dropped:

- (162) 1. *bis yæk* ‘twenty one’ 2. *čel pænʃ* ‘forty five’

Cardinal numbers precede the modified noun, which is usually in its singular form:

246. *si-yo yæk/ do/ se* ... can be heard as a Persian effect.

- (163) *hæf(t) šæv=o hæf ru tošmal be kar bi-ø*
 seven night-CONJ seven day Toshmal to work be.PST-3SG
 ‘Toshmal was busy (playing) for seven days and nights.’²⁴⁷

When the counted noun is definite, it can pluralized:

- (164) *hær do ta ga-yæl-e=sun-e forohð-ø*
 each two CLASS COW-PL-DEF=BP.3PL-OM sell.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) sold both their cows.’

Notice the use of *hær* as a modifier/ determiner before the compound and also the enclitic use of the personal pronoun =*sun* after it. Example (164) also shows that the whole numeral plus noun (NP), here acts as a direct object of the sentence.

Cardinal numbers, also seen in (164), are usually accompanied by a nominal classifier, the most common of which are *dðwe* ‘grain’ for the numeral ‘one’ and *ta* ‘piece’ for numerals above ‘one’. Note that *dðwe* only refers to things while *ta* is a generic term referring to all animate and inanimate nouns :

- (165) *yæ dðwe gerdu, do ta siæv*
 one grain walnut two CLASS apple
 ‘One walnut, two apples.’

- (166) *do ta tošmal ævorð-en bi-ø*
 two CLASS Toshmal bring.PST-3PL be.PST-3SG
 ‘They have brought two teams of Toshmals (for the ceremony).’

Other classifiers include: *dðwe* ‘grain’ for things; *tæn* ‘body’, *næfær* ‘person’ and *sær* ‘head’ for people. The generic term for all animate and inanimate objects is *ta* ‘piece’.

A sequence of numbers is used to express the concept of approximation:

- (167) *hæf hæš dæh ru diyær iya-ø*
 seven eight ten day other come. PRS-3SG
 ‘(S/he) will come some seven to ten days later.’

5.7.2.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are made by addition of the suffix *-om* to the cardinal numbers. The first ordinal number, *ævæl* ‘first’, is taken from Arabic, as well as *axer*

247. Toshmal refers both to the traditional local musicians and their instruments which consists of a drum *dohol* and a wind pipe *saz*; and playing seven days and nights is the ultimate manner of festivities.

‘last’. When the number ends in a vowel, the epenthesis of /w/ or /y/ takes place:

- (168) 1. *do-v-om* or *do-y-om* ‘the second’
 2. *se-v-om* or *se-y-om* ‘the third’

In compounds, this suffix is attached to the last word:

- (169) 1. *si-y=o šiš-om* ‘the thirty-sixth’
 2. *divist=o šæst=o hæft-om* ‘the two hundred and sixty-seventh’

Ordinals follow a noun and play the role of an adjective:

- (170) *gær do-v-om-i si mo*
 calf two-E-ORD-ATTR for me
 ‘The second calf is for me.’

They can also enter into an Ezafe construction:

- (171) *yo bar-e ævæl=es=e*
 this time-EZ first=BP3SG=COP.3SG
 ‘This is her/his first time.’

5.8 DIVERSE NUMERICAL EXPRESSIONS

There are some words and expressions to denote some fractions of numbers. The frequent use of these terms in everyday life and their significance in the life-style of the pastoral-herd breeding nomads justify the following list:

Table 5.10: Diverse numerical expressions

1	<i>(yæ) gæz</i>	‘the unit of length equal to almost 100 cm, figuratively it means ‘a lot’’
2	<i>(yæ) mæn</i>	‘the unit of weight equal to 7 kilos, figuratively it means ‘very much’
3	<i>belest</i>	‘the unit of length equal to the width of hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger being wide open (almost 20 cm)’
4	<i>čar ængust</i>	‘the unit of length equal to the width of four fingers held together’
5	<i>čaræk</i>	‘a quarter’
6	<i>do/se bištær</i>	‘twice, triple’
7	<i>dune</i>	‘grain’
8	<i>feng/ finge/ finj(e)</i>	‘very little amount, as big as the tip of the finger’
9	<i>golo</i>	‘a piece; a big piece’
10	<i>golop</i>	‘gulp, sip; bite’

11	<i>kot</i>	‘some, a few’
12	<i>nesf/nim</i>	‘half’
13	<i>nim gæz</i>	‘half a ‘gæz’
14	<i>orš⁷</i>	‘one tenth’
15	<i>pænȳæk</i>	‘one fifth, a term used in the harvesting contracts’
16	<i>pendelake</i>	‘very few, tiny’
17	<i>pert/ perteke</i>	‘a piece, a little bit’
18	<i>perze</i>	‘one little piece, a little’
19	<i>por</i>	‘very much, full, many’
20	<i>qæleve</i>	‘very much’
21	<i>qelil</i>	‘sort, type, kind; very little’
22	<i>tælape</i>	‘a handful, as big as the palm of the hand’
23	<i>tolom</i>	‘a few, a group (of sheep)’
24	<i>yæ tok</i>	‘one drop, very little’
25	<i>zorbe</i>	‘full, abundant’
26	<i>χ/qæl</i>	‘piece’
27	<i>xeile</i>	‘very’

These are nouns that may come after the cardinal numbers:

- (172) *ze* *χošali* *do* *gæz* *eveið-ø* *sær=om*
 from happiness two Gaz come.PST-3SG on=BP.1SG
 ‘I grew taller out of happiness. (lit. from happiness 2 meters came on me!)’

A numerative can modify a noun without the Ezafe marker:

- (173) *do* *gæz* *parče* *esteið-ø*
 two Gaz fabric buy.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he bought two Gaz (2 meters) of fabric.’

The quantifiers can be accompanied by indefinite markers:

- (174) *yæ* *χæl* *ze=s* *b=om* *bæ-ð-e*
 a piece from=BP.3SG to=BP.1SG SBJV-give.PRS-2SG
 ‘Give me a tiny piece of it!’
- (175) *yæ* *qelil-i* *ze* *i* *mardom-a* *qæleve* *bæð* *fe’l=en*
 a sort-INDF from PROX people-PL very much bad manner=COP.3PL
 ‘Some of these people are very misbehaved.’

5.9 ADVERBS

Adverb is considered here as a word that modifies a verb, an adjective, a phrase, a determiner or even another adverb. Some of the adverbs that are used in Bakhtiari are Arabic loans such as, *ævælaen* ‘firstly’ or *ælaenaen* ‘openly’. In fact, most of the adverbs in Bakhtiari that correspond to adverbs in other languages are basically either nouns such as *šæw* ‘night’, or adjectives such as *tazæ* ‘fresh, new; right now’ or a combination of both, like. Sometimes they are connected by a preposition, e.g. *æftæw-be-zærd* ‘lit. sunshine-to-yellow’ meaning ‘sunset time’. They can also be combined with a participle, as in *æmšæw-goðæštæ* ‘lit. this night- the past one’ meaning ‘last night’, and they can build an Ezafe construction with or without the Ezafe marker, *jeng-e zohr* ‘middle of the day’ (See 178 below).

There are, however, some specific operations for deriving adverbs, such as the addition of the suffix *-ð^w* to a present stem, *æftæw-zæn-ð^w* (sunshine-hit.PRS-SUFFIX) ‘early morning’, and the reduplication of certain adjectives and nouns with a preposition like *ta* or an epenthetic vowel *-a-* in between, *χæl-a-χæl* ‘in a crooked way’, *por-ta-por* ‘full/ fully’. Adverbs made by reduplication are generally describing the intensity of an action (See 5.9.2 below). There are also some words that act like a prefix to make compound adverbs of time, such as *pæri* or *pærir* ‘two (units of time) ago’ as in *pæri-šæw* ‘two nights ago’; or *piāš* ‘ago, before’ as in *piāš-pærir* ‘three days ago’ (179) and *pæs* ‘later’ as in *pæs-tæri* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

In the following sections, the adverbs are categorized according to their meaning into adverbs of time, manner, direction or location and evidential or epistemic adverbs (Payne, 1995: 69-70).

5.9.1 Adverbs of time

Most of the words used as adverbs of time, are basically nouns and behave like a noun. They can take the plural suffix, the Ezafe marker and they can be accompanied by a preposition or by demonstratives, as shown in the examples below.

- (176) *ze soveinum-e zi ta hæm-i dæm-ð^w dašt-im nð^w e-pohð-im*
 from morning-EZ early till EMPH-PROX minute-ADV have.PST-1P bread DUR-cook.PST-1PL
 ‘From early morning till just now, we were baking bread.’

- (177) *sohv-a vo pesin-ð^w ga-yæl-e bær-e sær-e æw*
 morning-PL and evening-PL cow-PL-OM take.PRS-3SG head-EZ water
 ‘S/he takes cows to the spring/ river in the mornings and in the evenings.’

5.9.1.1 Some expressions related to parts of the day

- (178) 1. *soveinum/ soveinð^w-zi* ‘early morning’, *soveino/ sohwð^w* ‘morning time’, *sohm/ sohv/ sovæh* ‘morning, tomorrow’, *sohv-pes-*

- in/sohv pesinō* ‘tomorrow evening’, *sov-tærin* ‘the day after’, *pæs-tæri sovæh* ‘three days later’, *bengešt-zænō* ‘early morning’, *pæh-sovæh* ‘two days later’, *tarik-sohv* ‘dawn’, *æftæw-zænō* = *tile-sohv* ‘sun-rise time’, *tazæ* ‘right now’
2. *chast* ‘mid-day, around 10 o’clock’, *zohr* ‘noon’, *ǰeng-e zohr* ‘middle of the day’, *ruz* ‘day’
3. *o/æftæw-be-zærd/ æftæw-nešin/ æftæw- dæraew* ‘sun-set time’
4. *bong-e šæw* ‘the beginning of the night’, *šæw* ‘night’, *pæsin* ‘evening’, *pæsinō* ‘the evening time’, *dæm-tariki* ‘the beginning of the night’

5.9.1.2 Some expressions related to the calendar

- (179) *tarik* ‘date’, *æm-ru* ‘today’, *æm-šæw* ‘tonight’, *æmšæw-goðæštæ* ‘last night’, *pæri-šæw* ‘two nights ago’, *duš* ‘yesterday’, *duš-pes-in* ‘yesterday afternoon’, *væxt/ meǰal* ‘time’, *diar-meǰal* ‘late’, *borǰ* ‘month’, *sær-e borǰ* ‘the beginning of the month’, *æm-sal* ‘this year’, *par/ par sal* ‘last year’, *pærir/ pæriar/ pæri-ru* ‘two days ago’, *bahar* ‘spring’, *tæwestō* ‘summer’, *pāhiz/ pāizō* ‘autumn’, *zemetsō* ‘winter’, *tæræk-e bahar* ‘the beginning of spring’, *pæs-pærir/ piāš-pærir* ‘three days ago’, *pæs-tæri* ‘two days later’, *pæs-tæri sovæh* ‘three days later’, *piās/š-ze-goðe* ‘earlier than expected’, *piāš-ze-ho* ‘before that’, *piās/š-ze-yo* ‘before this’, *šænbed*²⁴⁸ ‘Saturday’, *ye(k)/ do/ se/ čar/ pæn šænbed* ‘Sunday-Thursday’, *ǰome* ‘Friday’

Bakhtiari nomads use their own special terminology, instead of the official names of the months, to refer to different parts of the year, such as:

- (180) *šæst-om-e bahar* ‘sixtieth day of the new year (after vernal equinox), when the spring migration starts’, *čele gæpæ* ‘forty first days of winter’, *čele kučire* ‘twenty days after the big čele’, *šæš-e dalu* ‘old woman’s six: the first six days of the last month before Noruz’, *mah-šæhr-i* ‘Esfand, the last month of the lunar year’, *čel=o pænǰ-e tæwestō* ‘forty five days after the beginning of summer, the hottest time of the year’

248. The pronunciation of this word with a *d* at the end was thought to be a Bakhtiari addition to its Persian cognate *šænbe*; but Desmond Durkin Meisterernst informed me that “... the *d* is just the normal Iranian development from *t*, as in Hebrew *šabat* etc. The Manicheans do use the Christian day-names, so there are attestations in Manichaean Middle Persian and parthian, e.g. Middle Persian *ykšmbd* and *yqšmbt*, with earlier *t* and later *d* (personal correspondence)”.

5.9.2 Adverbs of manner

As mentioned above (5.9), many adverbs of manner are made by reduplication of adjectives, nouns or pronouns using *-a-* or the preposition *ta* as a link between the two parts, such as:

- (181) *χæl-a-χæl* ‘in a crooked way’, *kel-a-kel* ‘sideways’, *χo-m-a-χo-m* ‘by myself’, *pošt-a-pošt* ‘on a backside way’, *por-ta-por* ‘full, to the brink’, *kend-a-kend* ‘in a sitting position’, *ǰæld-a-ǰæld* ‘swift’

An aspect of repetition or emphasis underlies in the actions that these adverbs modify.

5.9.3 Adverbs of direction/ location

The main adverbs of place are:

- (182) *bala/roh* ‘up’, *dæhðʷ/læm* ‘down’, *ičo* ‘here’, *očo* ‘there’, *zumba (ze-u-ba)* ‘the other side’, *daxel/ men* ‘inside, in’, *birðʷ* ‘outside’, *ziwal(e/æ)* ‘this side’, *zowal(e/æ)* ‘that side’

The last two compounds consist of three words *ze i wal(e/æ)* ‘lit.from-PROX-side’ and *ze u wal(e/æ)* ‘lit.from-DIST-side’ which have undergone some sound changes probably due to frequent use:

- (183) *mal=sun* *ziwale* *bið-ø*, *æman* *duš* *ræ-n* *zowalæ*.
camp=BP.3PL *this side* *be.PST-3SG*, *but* *yesterday* *go.PST-3PL* *that side*.
 ‘Their camp was located this side (of the river/ valley/ spring...), but yesterday they went to that side.’

5.9.4 Evidential/epistemic adverbs

- (184) *hadman* ‘certainly’, *labod* ‘probably’, *manom* ‘I guess’, *šayat/ šat* ‘maybe’, *gas* ‘possibly’

5.10 CONJUNCTIONS

The associative conjunction ‘and’ in Bakhtiari is *vo* and its enclitic form *=o* as shown in the following examples:

- (185) *χo=m=o* *χo=t* *vaba-yæk* *e-r-im*
 self=BP-1SG=CONJ self=BP-2SG together-one go.PRS-1PL
 ‘Me and you, ourselves, will go together.’

- (186) *mæmnevi vo kor eveyð-en*
 Mamnevi and son come.PST-3PL
 ‘Mamnevi and son came.’

The following compounds are also used as conjunctions. They are a combination of a noun and the preposition *ze* plus *i* as the proximal demonstrative adjective and the subordinating particle *ke*.

qalb ze i-ke, *piš ze i-ke* or its contracted form *piš zike* ‘before (lit.before from)’:

- (187) *piš-ze* *i-k* *nōw* *bo-χor-e* *zeið-ø* *be* *dær*
 before-from PROX-REL bread SBJV-eat.PRS -3SG hit.PST-3SG to out
 ‘(She) went out before eating food.’

The same combination is possible with some other prepositions like *si*, thus *si i-ke/ sike* ‘for, for this reason, because of’:

- (188) *ræhð-om* *sike* *del=om* *χast-ø*
 go.PST-1SG because heart=BP.1SG want.PST-3SG
 ‘I went, because I wanted to!’

Similarly, *bæz(i-ke)* ‘after’ is a compound consisting of prepositions *bæð* ‘after’+ *ze* ‘from’ + *i* ‘this’+ the relative pronoun *ke* ‘that’:

- (189) *bæzi-ke* *ræð-en*, *ræ-m* *æw* *æworð-om*
 after-that go.PST-3PL go.PST-1SG water bring-.PST-1SG
 ‘After they had gone, I went to fetch water.’

CHAPTER SIX VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

6 THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

The verbal system of Bakhtiari is based on two stems: present and past (6.2), two numbers, three persons and four moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative (6.6 and 6.7). Various tenses are formed by prefixing Tense-Aspect-Mood markers, henceforth TAM and Person-Agreement Markers, henceforth PAM, suffixed to present or past stems (6.3 and 6.4). The non-finite forms are the past/ passive participle (6.2.1 & 6.9) and the infinitive, which can both be made from the past stem by the addition of the suffix *-e/-æ* to form the participle (*χærǫ-* + *-e* > *χærǫe* ‘eaten’) and the suffix *-en* to form the infinitive (*χærǫ-* + *-en* > *χærden* ‘to eat’). The passive voice (6.9) and the causative (6.8) are marked by special formations, but in conjugation they are identical to active verbs.

In the following sections, first the Bakhtiari verbs/ infinitives are classified according to their formal structures (6.1). Then the building blocks of finite verb forms are introduced, beginning by past and present stem formations (6.2), followed by presenting agreement suffixes (6.3) and modal affixes (6.4). A detailed presentation of all verb forms, with their respective tables, will come after these introductory sections.

6.1 THE CLASSIFICATION OF BAKHTIARI VERBS/ INFINITIVES

In traditional Iranian grammars, the section on verbs begins with a discussion on different infinitive forms or *mæsdær* ‘source, root, exporter’, as it is called in Persian.²⁴⁹ I follow this tradition, because in practice, dictionaries list verbs under their infinitive forms and then the present and past stems of each individual verb are mentioned. Therefore, to work with existing dictionaries or word lists, one should be able to first and foremost distinguish different infinitive forms, from which the past stem is easily extracted (6.1.2). Then, by applying the rules to extract present stems from the past stems, it is usually possible to construct all the regular verb forms. Some verb forms, though, are irregular.

249. The name and the tradition is Arabic-based and has been in use from the classical time (Perry 2005:177).

6.1.1 Formal classification

Formally, Bakhtiari verbs can be divided into three major groups: simplex, complex and compound verbs. By simplex verbs I mean one-word plain verbs:

- Simplex verbs:
1. *ešmarðen* ‘to count’ (اِشماردن)
 2. *zæhesten* ‘to become injured, to be beaten’ (زَهستن)
 3. *pâhiðen* ‘to watch’ (پَاهیدن)
 4. *χârniðen* ‘to scratch’ (خارنیدن)
 5. *χæwniðen* ‘to put to sleep’ (خُونیدن)
 6. *gerevesten* ‘to cry’ (گيرِوستن)

Complex verbs, on the other hand, are formed by prefixing a directional pre-verb of adverbial or prepositional origin to the simplex verbs:

- Complex verbs:
1. *dær-gæšten* ‘to capsize’ (درگشتن)
 2. *vær-holofniðen* ‘to worry, becoming upset’ (ورهُلُفَنِیدن)
 3. *der-ævorðen* ‘to take out’ (دراوردن)
 4. *ver-ævorðen* ‘to bring up; to raise’ (وراوردن)
 5. *vor-dašten* ‘to pick up’ (ورداشتن)
 6. *va-dašten* ‘to block; to encourage’ (واداشتن)

Compound verbs, however, are mainly two-part verbs, consisting of a non-verbal element (NVE) such as a noun or adjective plus a simplex verb such as *kerðen* ‘to do’, *vâbiðen* ‘to become’, *zeiðen* ‘to hit’, *dašten* ‘to have’, *vænðen* ‘to throw’, among the most frequent ones:

- Noun + verb:**
1. *seil kerðen* > look + to do = ‘to look’ (سِيل کردن)
 2. *lik zeiðen* > scream + to strike = ‘to scream, to cry’ (لِیک زیدن)
 3. *tiā dašten* > eye + to have = ‘to expect’ (تِيَّيه داشتن)
 4. *tiā vænðen* > eye + to throw = ‘to look’ (تِيَّيه وندن)
 5. *tiā wor-dašten* > eye + to pick up = ‘to be hit by the evil eye’ (تِيَّيه وُرداشتن)
- Adj. + verb:**
1. *gæp vâbiðen* > big + to become = ‘to grow up’ (گَپ وَايیدن),
 2. *gæp kerðen* > big + to do = ‘to raise (children); enlarge (an item)’ (گَپ کردن)

It is possible, however, for the NVE of compound verbs to have more than two parts or to be a phrase, in which case the different grammatical parts of speech are grouped in different arrangements:

- (190) 1. *va-piš vænðen* ‘to advance, to have a preterm birth’ (to-ahead/fore+throw): preposition – adjective (a phrase) + verb (واپیش وندن)

2. *bor=o-band kerðen* ‘to slander, to ridicule’ (cut – and – paste + do):
 verbal noun=conj-verbal noun + verb (بُر و بند کردن)
 3. *niz²⁵⁰=o-naz kerðen* ‘coquetry, whimpering (of a dog)’ (howl – and –
 coquetry + do): noun = conj-noun + verb (نیز و ناز کردن)

This hands-on formal division of verbs, as simple and practical as it may be, does not give us much information about the semantic properties of verb classes or their morpho-syntactic behaviour. In the next section, I turn to the widespread practice in the western scholarship of presenting the verbs in terms of present and past root/stems. This division considers the infinitive form as a non-verbal form, and it identifies the verb stems as the main morpho-semantic part of any finite verb.

6.1.2 Past versus present stem formation

The present and past stems are the basis for conjugation and therefore provide a solid point for classifying verbs. The past stem is more regular and always ends in the post-dental approximant *-ð* after vowels, */n/* and */r/*²⁵¹, and otherwise in *-t*, as the examples below illustrate. In cases where there is a */h/* in the stem, the */h/* drops and vowel lengthening occurs; hence the appearance of *ð* at the end of the stem:

- (191) 1. *ezmaið*- ‘tested’ 2. *ræht->ræð*- ‘went’ 3. *kænð*- ‘dug’ 4. *ešmarð*- ‘counted’
 1. *bæft*- ‘weaved’ 2. *dašt*- ‘had’ 3. *rext*- ‘poured’ 4. *bæst*- ‘fastened’

The present stem is more complicated and its formation follows different patterns. In the following sections the stems have been divided according to the regularity or irregularity of their formations. A table, consisting of very frequent verbs is provided for each group.

6.1.2.1 Regular formation

In search for a pattern to explain the various past and present stem formations in Bakhtiari, Prods Oktor Skjærvø’s description of parthian and Middle Persian verbs (Skjærvø 2009)²⁵² proved to be applicable, since the patterns which he identified at the Middle Iranian stage are still valid for Bakhtiari. In other words, it can be said that in Bakhtiari, as in the Middle Persian and parthian, verbs with past stems end-

250. *niz* is a short form of the noun *nizešt* ‘howling of pain, sighing and moaning’:

<i>hæme</i>	<i>æmšæw</i>	<i>goðæšt-e</i>	<i>nizešt=es koš=mōw</i>
all	tonight	pass.PST=PTCP	howling=BP.3SG kill.prs=bp.1pl

The whole lastnight, we couldn’t sleep because of his/ her/ its howling/ moaning!

251. The class of phonemes called as [+ sonorant].

252. “Verbs with past stem ending in *-ist*, *-īd* (not parthian), or *-ād* (rare in Middle Persian, common in parthian) are ‘regular’, and the present stem is found by removing these endings, e.g. *dwār-/dwār-ist* ‘run’; *purs-īd* ‘ask’; *frēst- īd* ‘send’; *est-ād* (*ēst-ād*) ‘stand’ (Skjærvø 2009: 213).

ing in **-est**, **-ið** and **-að** are regular. In order to form the present stem, it is enough to remove these endings. It should also be noted that there are some regular instances in the group of irregular verbs ending in **-t** and **-ð**. These regular verbs of the second category follow the pattern of the first regular category, as indicated in below table (numbers 15-18):

Table 6.1: Regular present and past stems

Regular present and past stems				
No.	Infinitive	Past stem	Present stem	Gloss
1	<i>pok-est-en</i>	<i>pok-est-</i>	<i>pok-</i>	to explode
2	<i>ænĵ-est-en</i>	<i>ænĵ-est-</i>	<i>ænĵeh-</i>	to be cut into pieces
3	<i>baz-est-en</i>	<i>baz-est-</i>	<i>baz-</i>	to dance
4	<i>baz-ið-en</i>	<i>baz-ið-</i>	<i>baz-</i>	to dance
5	<i>burn-ið-en</i>	<i>burn-ið-</i>	<i>burn-</i>	to moo; to low
6	<i>kuz-ið-en</i>	<i>kuz-ið-</i>	<i>kuz-</i>	to chew
7	<i>romb-ið-en</i>	<i>romb-ið-</i>	<i>romb-</i>	to collapse
8	<i>æšn-ið-en</i>	<i>æšn-ið-</i>	<i>æšn-</i>	to listen
9	<i>bahš-ið-en</i>	<i>bahš-ið-</i>	<i>bahš-</i>	to give, to forgive
10	<i>dærgen-ið-en</i>	<i>dærgen-ið-</i>	<i>dærgen-</i>	to turn over
11	<i>feš-n-að-en</i>	<i>feš-n-að-</i>	<i>feš-n-</i>	to send
12	<i>ænĵen-að-en</i>	<i>ænĵen-að-</i>	<i>ænĵen-</i>	to cut into pieces
13	<i>ešken-að-en</i>	<i>ešken-að-</i>	<i>eškæn-</i>	(cause to) break
14	<i>ferešn-að-en</i>	<i>ferešn-að-</i>	<i>ferešn-</i>	to send
15	<i>košt-en</i>	<i>košt-</i>	<i>koš-</i>	to kill
16	<i>eškaf-t-en</i>	<i>eškaf-t-</i>	<i>eškaf-</i>	to split
17	<i>kæn-ð-en</i>	<i>kæn-ð-</i>	<i>kæn-</i>	to dig
18	<i>ešmar-ð-en</i>	<i>ešmar-ð-</i>	<i>ešmar-</i>	to count

For an extensive list of regular present and past stems see Appendix 1.

6.1.2.2 Irregular formation

Verbs with past stems ending in only **-ð** or **-t** are generally irregular and have unpredictable present stems. In example (192), the past stem of some verbs in **-ð/-t** is presented, followed by their irregular present stem form:

- (192)
- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>dað-</i> / <i>d-</i> | ‘to give’ |
| 2. <i>kerð-</i> / <i>kon-</i> | ‘to do’ |
| 3. <i>dašt-</i> / <i>dar-</i> | ‘to have’ |
| 4. <i>væst-</i> / <i>of-</i> | ‘to fall’ |

These two variants are phonologically conditioned in the sense that *-ð* appears after vowels and voiced consonants and *-t* after the voiceless consonants as illustrated in the above examples (192). Tables 6.2 and 6.3 provide a list of irregular present and past stems in Bakhtiari. The general tendency in these two classes of verbs is that the present stem is not predictable from its past form and it can have a completely different appearance (examples 2, 25 and 38 below). The change, however, is usually limited to a vowel change or the deletion, addition or modification of one or two phonemes:

Table 6.2: Irregular present stems of past stems ending in *-ð*

Past stems ending in <i>-ð</i> with irregular present stems			
No.	Past stem	Present stem	Gloss
1	æšnæhð-	æšn-	to know, to recognize
2	æworð-	ar-	to bring
3	behð-	biz-	to sieve
4	biəð-	heð-	to be
5	borð-	bær-	to carry, to take
6	dað-	d-	to give
7	esteið-	estun-	to take, to buy
8	eveið-	a-	to come
9	gerehð-	ger-	to grab, to buy, to take
10	kerð-	kon-	to do
11	morð-	mir-	to die
12	pohð-	pæz-	to cook
13	ræhð-	re/æv-/r-	to go
14	ronð-	run-	to drive; to push
15	zeið-	zæn-	to beat, to hit
16	χærð-	χor-/χær-	to eat

There is a small minority, as mentioned earlier, that have regular formations. To form their present stem, it is enough to drop the last phoneme (*-t* or *-ð*) from the past stem:

- (193)
- | | | | |
|------------|---|--------|--|
| 1. ærð- | > | ær- | ‘to grind, to mill’ |
| 2. eškarð- | > | eškar- | ‘to thank’ |
| 3. ešmarð- | > | ešmar- | ‘to count’ |
| 4. kænð- | > | kæn- | ‘to dig; plough; migrate; attack; loot; abort’ |

As stated above, when the penultimate phoneme of the past stem is */s/*, */š/*, */χ/* or */f/*, then it will end in */t/* as illustrated in the below table:

Table 6.3: Irregular present stems of past stems ending in -t

Irregular Past stems ending in -t			
No.	Past stem	Present stem	Gloss
21	<i>bæst-</i>	<i>bænd-</i>	to close, to fasten
22	<i>dær-gæšt-</i>	<i>dær.gæn-</i>	to capsize, to become upside down
23	<i>dašt-</i>	<i>dar-</i>	to have
24	<i>dux̣t-</i>	<i>duz-</i>	to sew
25	<i>ešnaχt-</i>	<i>æšn-</i>	to know, to recognize
26	<i>gæšt-</i>	<i>gærǫ-</i>	to search; to roam
27	<i>gæšt-</i>	<i>gærǫ-</i>	to turn; to inherit
28	<i>gæšt-</i>	<i>gæz-</i>	to bite
29	<i>kešt-</i>	<i>kar-</i>	to grow, to plant
30	<i>kof̣t-</i>	<i>kuv-</i>	to beat, to pound; to play the drum
31	<i>mest-</i>	<i>miz-</i>	to urinate
32	<i>nešæst-</i>	<i>nešin-</i>	to sit
33	<i>nevešt-</i>	<i>nivis-</i>	to write
34	<i>reχt-</i>	<i>riz-</i>	to pour
35	<i>roft-</i>	<i>ruv-</i>	to sweep
36	<i>šošt-</i>	<i>šur-</i>	to wash
37	<i>va-dašt-</i>	<i>va-dar-</i>	to keep, to stop
38	<i>væst-</i>	<i>of-</i>	to fall

Among the regular past to present stem formations with this ending are:

- (194) 1. *bæft-* > *bæf-* ‘to knit’
 2. *košt-* > *koš-* ‘to kill’

The stems presented in tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 will provide the basis upon which diverse tenses can be constructed. These stems can further be combined with some preverbs to form complex or preverbal verbs (6.1) with extended or completely different meanings; or they may be grouped as a compound verb with other verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs or a combination of non-verbal elements to convey semantics not predictable from the building parts; or eventually be affixed by different aspect, mood and agreement prefixes and suffixes to express different TAM forms. To begin the presentation of the finite verb, one has to know its building blocks. These will be introduced in the following sections, beginning with a discussion of the participles, the incorporation of which is essential in the formation of several finite verbs.

6.2 PARTICIPLES

participles can be considered as gerundives and as such are non-finite verbal forms, that is, they behave like an adjective or an adverb. There are two main forms of participles, one based on the past stem, and the other based on the present stem; each has its own structure and function which are explained in the following two sections

6.2.1 Past participle

The past participle is used for making passives (6.9) and certain tenses (6.6.2). It is formed by attaching an unstressed suffix *-e* or by *-æ* (the latter is used by elderly Bakhtiaris or in certain tribal varieties of the language) to the end of the past stem. The resulting form has an adjectival meaning. In (194: 1) the past participle is used to make a perfect subjunctive tense, while in (194:2) it is a verbal adjective with a passive meaning:

- (195) 1. *hala* *va* *resiḡ-e* *bu-Ø*
 now must ripen.PST-PTCP be.SBJV.PST.3SG
 ‘(It) must have ripened by now.’

2. *hala* *va* *resiḡ-e* *bu-Ø*
 now must ripen.PST-PTCP be.SBJV.PST-3SG
 ‘(It) must be ripe by now. (a fruit)’

Although the (194:1) and (194:2) look the same in their surface structure, they are in fact quite different in their underlying structure and represent two totally different grammatical structures: the former is a Perfect Subjunctive form (an analytic tense paradigm) of an intransitive verb in 195.1. On the other hand, in 194.2 we have an independent copula (not an AUX) and the participle is used adjectivally. Note that the two forms, although identical on the surface, have contrasting meanings ‘It must have ripened.’ vs. ‘It must be ripe.’

6.2.2 Present participle

The present participle is formed by attaching a stressed suffix *-a* to the present stem. It modifies its preceding noun in an Ezafé construction and conveys the meaning of ‘having the habit of doing something’:

- (196) 1. *yo* *kend-e* *nešin-a* *næ-dar-e*
 this bottom-EZ sit.PRS-PRS.PTCP NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 ‘S/he cannot sit! (lit. She doesn’t have a sitting bottom!²⁵³)’

253. This expression is used in reference to people who are always active and busy with something.

2. *i doğær ši kon-a niəð-ø*
 this girl husband do.PRS-PRS.PTCP NEG.be.PRS-3SG
 ‘This girl will not marry²⁵⁴!’

There is another way of making a present participle in Bakhtiari, and that is by using the suffix *-ð^w*, comparable to Persian *-an*, suffixed to the present stem. This participle, combined with the preceding noun has an adverbial sense expressing the way in which an action is performed:

- (197) *gale zæn-ð^w e-veið-en*
 shout hit.PRS-PRS.PTCP IND-come.PST-3PL
 ‘They came, shouting (and rejoicing)!’

6.3 AGREEMENT

6.3.1 Agreement suffixes

A set of six Person Agreement Markers (PAM) attach to a verb to indicate person and number. These suffixes are the same for the present and past tense, except for the third person singular where the suffix is zero in the past. Table 6.4 shows these suffixes in three persons and two numbers:

Table 6.4: Agreement suffixes

	Singular	Plural
Present-tense verbs		
1st	<i>-om</i>	<i>-im</i>
2nd	<i>-i</i>	<i>-in</i>
3rd	<i>-e</i>	<i>-en</i>
Past-tense verbs		
1st	<i>-om</i>	<i>-im</i>
2nd	<i>-i</i>	<i>-in</i>
3rd	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-en</i>

Since Bakhtiari is a pro-drop language (hence the subject pronouns can be omitted), these endings are crucial for distinguishing the subject of an intransitive and the agent of a transitive verb:

- (198) 1. *e-χor-om* 2. *e-χor -e*
 DUR.eat.PRS-1SG DUR.eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘(I) eat.’ ‘(He) eats.’

254. In other words, ‘She is not a marrying type of girl!’

- (199) 1. *kæwš-a=m=e* *kænǫ-om* 2. *kæwš-a=m=e kænǫ-ø*
 shoe-PL=BP.1SG=OM take out.PST-1SG shoe-PL=BP.1SG=OM take out.PST-3SG
 ‘(I) took my shoes off.’ ‘(S/he) took my shoes off.’

The pronominal enclitics (table 6.4. above) can also be suffixed to a finite verb, but only after the agreement suffixes, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (200) 1. *kænǫ-om=sun*
 take out.PST-1SG=3PL
 ‘(I) took them off.’
2. *kor-e-ke* *n-i-l-e* *be-χæws-om*
 boy-DEF-DEF NEG-DUR-let.PRS-3SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
 ‘The boy doesn’t let me sleep.’
3. *kor-e-ke* *n-i-l=om* *be-χæws-om*
 boy-DEF-DEF NEG-DUR-let.PRS=BP.1SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
 ‘The boy doesn’t let me sleep.’

6.3.2 Copula enclitics past and present

The substantive meaning ‘to be’ of the copula is usually expressed by means of enclitics that attach to the end of a noun, a pronoun or an adjective. These *enclitics* are identical in form to the present tense agreement suffixes mentioned above (Table 6.4), except for the fact that when attached to vowel-final words, an excrescent epenthetic consonant *-n-*, *-h-* or *-y-* (E), appears to prevent hiatus (200:1-9), below:

Table 6.5: Copula enclitics

	Singular	Plural
1p	= <i>om</i> , = <i>m</i>	= <i>im</i>
2p	= <i>i</i>	= <i>in</i>
3p	= <i>e</i>	= <i>en</i>

Note that the first person singular enclitic copula is not to be mistaken with the enclitic possessive pronoun equivalent since they coincidentally look alike, while in other persons they are distinct; examples: *doǫær=om* ‘my daughter’; *doǫær=et* ‘your daughter’

- (201) 1. *doǫær=om* 2. *če* *kæs=i?* 3. *doyǫor=e*
 girl=COP.1SG what person=COP.2SG doctor=COP.3SG
 ‘I am a girl.’ ‘To which tribe do you belong?’ ‘S/he is a doctor.’

4. <i>ima χæste(-h)=im</i> we tired=COP.1PL 'We are tired.'	5. <i>āđom=in?</i> human=COP.2PL 'Are you human?!'	6. <i>ono lor=en</i> they Lor=COP.3PL 'They are Lors/ nomads.'
7. <i>ba ima-n=in?</i> with us-E=COP.2PL 'Are you talking to us?!'	8. <i>šæ-h=i</i> black-E=COP.2SG 'You are black.'	9. <i>hæmule-y=om</i> Hamule-E=COP.1SG 'I am from Hamule tribe.'

The epenthesis of the glide *-y-* is expected, but why do *-n-* or *-h-* show up in these contexts? They seem to be epenthetic but their existence may have a diachronic explanation. With copula verbs, *-h-* usually appears before the verb ending. Since in the Middle Persian the copula is attested as *h-* [HWE-] (MacKenzie 1971: 39) and in Modern Persian the infinitive form of copula is *hæstæn*²⁵⁵ with the paradigm (sg. *hæst-æm*, *hæst-i*, *hæst-ø*; pl. *hæst-im*, *hæst-id*, *hæst-ænd*), therefore, it may be more reasonable to consider *-h-* in this situations not as an epenthesis, but as the reappearance of a pre-existing phoneme. Comparing examples (200: 4, 200: 8) with (200: 9), however, reveals another behavior of the copula, i.e. it seems that *-h-* appears only to prevent a hiatus between a [-high] and a [+high] vowels, but in the case of a [-high] and a [-high] context, the epenthesis of the glide (*-y-*) is what happens. As for *-n-*, it will be called an epenthesis here, until further investigation reveals its true reality.

The two columns in (202: 1-2) are presented for further clarification of the usage of these clitics and suffixes:

(202)	1. Enclitic copular forms	2. Suffixal Person Agreement Markers
	<i>dođ ær=om</i> 'I am a girl.'	<i>e-χor-om</i> '(I) eat.'
	<i>dođ ær=i</i> 'You a girl.'	<i>e-χor-i</i> '(You) eat.'
	<i>dođ ær=e</i> 'S/he is a girl.'	<i>e-χor-e</i> '(S/he) eats.'
	<i>dođ ær=im</i> 'We are girls.'	<i>e-χor-im</i> '(We) eat.'
	<i>dođ ær=in</i> 'You are girls.'	<i>e-χor-in</i> '(You) eat.'
	<i>dođ ær=en</i> 'They are girls.'	<i>e-χor-e</i> '(They) eat.'

Note that the first person singular enclitic copula is not to be mistaken with the *pronominal enclitic* equivalent (table 5-6 above) since they coincidentally look alike, while in other persons they are distinct; examples: *dođ ær=om* 'my daughter'; *dođ ær=et* 'your daughter'

255. The other manifestation of the verb copula is the verb *budæn*.

6.4 MODAL AFFIXES

To be able to build some of the finite verbs, two verbal prefixes are required:

6.4.1 Prefix *e-/i-*

To add a durative value to a verb, the prefix *e-* or *i-* attaches to the present and past stems of the verb in the present or imperfect paradigms respectively, but it can be easily omitted from the present verb, without affecting its semantics:

- (203) 1. *e-dun-om/ dun-om* 2. *e-vær-gærð -om* 3. *e-vær-gærð-om*
DUR-know.PRS-1SG DUR-PRF-return.PRS-1SG DUR-eat.return.PST-1SG
 ‘(I) know.’ ‘(I) will come back.’ ‘(I) was eating.’

As we see from the above example (203:2), the present tense can also indicate the near future. Also, example (203:2) shows that this prefix precedes the preverb in the complex verbs. In the compound verbs, however, it can only attach to the verbal element, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (204) 1. *mæn-om*²⁵⁶ *zivær* *va-piš* *e-væn-e*²⁵⁷
guess-1SG Zivær PRV-front DUR-throw.PRS-3SG
 ‘I guess Zivar will have a preterm delivery.’
2. *ima-n=æm* *hævær* *e-kon-en*
we-E=too news DUR-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘They will inform/ call us, too.’

The prefix *i-* is used more frequently before stems beginning with a low vowel; i.e. /æ/ or /a/ such as:

- (205) 1. *æšn-om* > *i-æšn-om/ i(y)æšn-om* ‘I hear.’
 2. *i(y)-a-m* ‘I (will) come.’
 3. *ærz-e/ i(y)-ærz-e* ‘It is worth it.’
 4. *i(y)-ær-e-sun* ‘He will sift them.’

In addition, *i-* is more frequent in dialects closer to Southern Lori.

When combined with the negation prefix *næ-* it will result in the form *n-i-* as in: *n-i(y)-æšn-om* ‘I don’t hear’ or *n-i(y)-a-m* ‘I don’t/ won’t come.’

256. In Bakhtiari this form is the only occurrence of the Old Iranian root **man-* ‘to think, consider’ as described in (Cheung, 2007: 262).

257. *væn-e va piš* is another possible form of this utterance which is as frequent.

6.4.2 Prefix *bV-*

6.4.2.1 Subjunctive

To express the subjunctive mood, the prefix *bV-* is added to the present stem and the vowel of this prefix may assimilate to the phonological requirements of the following stem, as illustrated in below examples:

- (206)
- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>va</i> | <i>be-kæn-om</i> |
| must | SBJV-dig.PRS-1SG |
| 'I must dig (it).' | |
| 2. <i>vaske</i> | <i>be-kerđ-om</i> |
| must.PST | SBJV-do.PST-1SG |
| '(I) should have done it.' | |
| 3. <i>e-χo-m</i> | <i>be-stun-om=es</i> |
| DUR-want.PRS-1SG | SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG |
| 'I want to buy it.' | |
| 4. <i>χast-om</i> | <i>bo-χun-om=es</i> |
| want.PST-1SG | SBJV-read.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG |
| 'I wanted to read it.' | |
| 5. <i>ni-χast-om</i> | <i>bo-koš-om=es</i> |
| NEG-want.PST-1SG | SBJV-kill.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG |
| 'I didn't want to kill her/ him/ it.' | |
| 6. <i>kaš</i> | <i>bi-(y)-a-he</i> |
| wish | SBJV-come.PRS-3SG |
| 'I wish he comes.' | |
| 7. <i>bi-mir-om</i> | <i>si=t</i> |
| SBJV-die.PRS-1SG | for =BP.2SG |
| 'Wish I could die for you!' ²⁵⁸ | |
| 8. <i>va</i> | <i>bi-vin-i</i> ²⁵⁹ |
| must | SBJV-see.PRS-2SG |
| 'You should see!' | |

258. An expression to show sympathy in pain or loss!

259. Notice the change of consonant /v/ > /b/ in this example: *bin-* > *vin-*.

6.4.2.2 Imperative

In Bakhtiari the imperative verbs have two constructions. Only one form is constructed by the use of the same subjunctive prefix *be-* that attaches to a present stem (For the second form and more discussion on Imperatives, see 6.6.1.2.2 below). Both constructions address only the second person, in its singular and plural forms. To address the second person plural, the inflectional ending *-in* will be needed. As in the case of the subjunctive marker, here also the prefix will assimilate to the vowel of the present stem, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (207) 1. *be-teng*
 SBJV-jump.PRS.2SG
 ‘Jump! (Dance!)’
 2. *bo-χor-in*
 SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL
 ‘Eat! (you all)’

In cases where the stem has a lexical preverb, the subjunctive is not licensed :

- (208) 1. *vor-i*
 PRV-stand.PRS.2SG
 ‘Stand up!’
 2. *vor-dar*
 PRV-have.PRS.2SG
 ‘Take!; Go away!’
 3. *vor-gærd*
 PRV-turn.PRS.2SG
 ‘Come back!’
 4. *der-ar=es*
 PRV-bring.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘Take it out!’
 5. *vor-ar=es*
 PRV-bring.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘Build it up!’
 6. *vo-lah=es*
 PRV-massage.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘Massage it!’
 7. *dær-gæn=es*
 PRV-turn over.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘Turn it over!’

6.4.3 Progressive particle *ono*

This progressive particle (PROG) resembles the third plural personal pronoun (table:5.2. above) and has other manifestations such as: *hono*, *hone* or *ono*. At this stage of the research I cannot pinpoint the geographical distribution of these forms. In general, they are used with the durative paradigms to express the imminence or progress of an action:

- (209) 1. *hono i(y)-a-m*
 PROG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am coming.’

2. *ono i(y)-oft-e*
 PROG DUR-fall.PRS-3SG
 ‘It is falling (going to fall).’

Ono can only precede a present verb.

6.4.4 Repetition particle *hey*

The repetition particle (REP), as the name signifies, is used to express a repetitive action. It precedes durative and imperative verbs, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (210) 1. *si xo=s hey e-r-e, ni-vast-e*
 for SELF=BP.3SG REP DUR-go.PRS -3SG NEG-stop.PRS-3SG
 ‘(S/he) keeps going (for herself), does not stop!’

2. *hey vola-h=es*
 REP message.PRS-E =BP.3SG
 ‘Keep massaging it!’

If used simultaneously with the progressive particle *ono*, the ongoing action will be emphasized:

- (211) *dið-om=es ono hey (e-)giriv-e!*
 see.PST-1SG=BP.3SG PROG REP (DUR-)cry.PRS-3SG
 ‘(I) saw him/ her crying and crying!’

Unlike *ono*, *hey* can be used with a past verb showing ongoing action in the past:

- (212) *ræhð-om tey=s hey e-giriv-est*
 go.PST-1SG to=BP.3SG REP DUR-cry.PST.3SG
 ‘I went to her, she was crying and crying!’

6.4.5 Optative affixes

The optative mood is used to express a wish, a lament, and most of all, a curse. It is based on two stems, present and past, and two affixes are used to form it. The suffix **-a** attaches to the end of a present stem to express a desire or a wish to be fulfilled in the present or the future. It can optionally be followed by another suffix **-e**, in which case an epenthetic phoneme will appear between these two suffixes:

- (213) *xoḡa* *pir=et* *kon-a-h²⁶⁰-e/ kon-a-y-e* (a wish)
 god old=BP.2SG do.PRS-OPT-E-OPT
 ‘May god make you old! (May you have a long life!)’
- (214) *xoḡa be* *kul=et* *row-a(-h-e)/ row-a(-y-e)* (blasphemous utterance)
 god on back= BP.2SG go.PRS-OPT(-E-OPT)
 ‘May you carry god on your back!
 (May God come down from its Omnipotent status!)’

The use of the second suffix in this context seems, in my opinion, to be more euphonic or expressive than structural. In other words, to extend an optative verb with suffixing another vowel to it, can be interpreted as a phonetic tool, phonesthesia or phonosemantics²⁶¹ that helps the speakers to release more emotions both at the times of anger and rage or when expressing a desire or hope! Yarshater’s²⁶² mentioning of a similar phenomenon in some Southern Tati languages indicates the probability of the existence of possible phonosemantic element in some Iranian languages.

To express the optative mood in the past, however, only the second suffix, **-e**, functions as the optative marker in combination with a past subjunctive verb as shown in (215) below:

- (215) *xoḡey* *xoḡey* *barō^w* *be-zeiḡ-i-e*
 oh god, oh god rain SBJV-hit.PST-2SG-OPT
 ‘Pray to God, would that you poured some rain!’

For a thorough discussion on optative verbs in Bakhtiari see 6.7 below.

260. Because the epenthetic phonemes **-h-** and **-y-** can be used here interchangeably, the choice between the two seems dialectal to me.

261. It refers to the idea that vocal sounds or phonemes carry meaning in and of themselves.

262. Yarshater (1969: 212-213 § 298) talks about the existence of a **Euphonic -a/-e** as ‘an unstressed front vowel that frequently occurs suffixed to the endings of ...’ some verbs. He believes: ‘No clear rule can be derived from the available material for the occurrence of this **-a/-e**. When it occurs, it seems to be preferred rather than necessary.’

6.5 COPULA AND OTHER USES OF ‘to be’

Since a conjugated form of the copula is required for the formation of several other tenses and constructions, and since the copula itself has different manifestations, we now turn to discuss different forms of the copula. There are two infinitives *heḡ-en* ‘to be, to exist’ and *niaḡ-en* ‘to be, to become’ that serve as a copula in different tenses.

6.5.1 Present forms of the copula

The substantive meaning ‘to be’ is expressed in two ways in the present tense: independently or as a set of enclitics as explained separately below (6.5.1.2):

6.5.1.1 Independent forms of the copula

Table 6.6 shows the present indicative of the copula as independent forms. Pragmatically, these forms are very rare and they can only be heard as an emphatic expression of presence or existence, as shown in (216) below:

- (216) *bak-e=t ne-bu, ʒo=m heḡ-om zæft=et*
e-kon-om
 fear-EZ=BP.2SG NEG-be.SBJV.2SG self=BP.1SG be.PRS-1SG nursing=BP.2SG
 DUR=do.PRS-1SG
 ‘Don’t worry, I, myself, am here to take care of you.’

Table 6.6: Independent forms of the PRS.COP

‘I am’, etc.	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>heḡ-om</i>	<i>heḡ-im</i>
2nd	<i>heḡ-i</i>	<i>heḡ-in</i>
3rd	<i>heḡ-ø</i>	<i>heḡ-en</i>

The negative form of both this verb and the enclitic form below is *niaḡ-*:

- (217) *kor-yæł-ke i-čo niaḡ-en*
 boy- PL-DEF PROX-here NEG.COP.PRS-3PL
 ‘The boys are not here.’

6.5.2 Present subjunctive of the copula

Present subjunctive forms of copula are used to express a counterfactual meaning (218 below). These forms never receive the prefix *bV-*.

Table 6.7: PRS.SBJV.COP.

‘May I be’, etc.	
1s	<i>bu-om/ bu-m</i>
2s	<i>bu(w)-i</i>
3s	<i>bu-ø</i>
1p	<i>bu(w)-im</i>
2p	<i>bu(w)-in</i>
3p	<i>bu(w)-en/ bu-n</i>

- (218) *vaske ta hala mord-e bu-m ze tærs*
 must.PST till now die.PST.3SG-PTCP be.SBJV-1SG from fear
 ‘I should have been dead by now, out of fear.’

The paradigm in (table 6.7.) which represents the present subjunctive of the copula *biəð-en* ‘to be’, is structurally the same as the present optative of the copula to be discussed in (6.7.1) below:

- (219) *χoðey hæm-o-čo bu-om, hæm-so ke ze ræh i-ya-he*
 oh god EMPH-DIST-there be.SBJV-1SG EMPH-then that from road DUR-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘Pray to God, wish I’ll be right there, right at the time when he arrives!’

The other verb that can be used in this context is *vabiəð-en* ‘to become’, with the paradigm shown in (220):

- (220) *sg: va-bu-om; va-bu-i; va-bu-ø*
pl: va-bu-im; va-bu-in; va-bu-n

6.5.3 Preterite of the copula

The preterite is used regularly as an independent verb as well as the auxiliary verb in forming various tenses. This form does not admit the durative prefix *e-/ -i*.

Table 6.8: PST.IND.COP.

‘I was’, etc.	
1s	<i>biəð-om/ bi-m</i>
2s	<i>biəð-i</i>
3s	<i>biəð-ø/ bi-ø</i>
1p	<i>biəð-im</i>
2p	<i>biəð-in</i>
3p	<i>biəð-en/ bi-n</i>

Note the short form of the first person singular and the third person singular and plural. The negative form of the above verbs would be *ne-biəǾ-om/-i/-ø/*, etc.

6.5.4 Present perfect of the copula

This form is peculiar in the sense that, to form the present perfect, the past participle suffix does not attach to the past stem, as expected, but instead it is affixed to the finite past simple form of the verb:

Table 6.9: PRS. PRF.COP.

‘I have been’, etc.	
1s	<i>biəǾ-om=e</i>
2s	<i>biəǾ-i=e</i>
3s	<i>biəǾ=e</i>
1p	<i>biəǾ-im=e</i>
2p	<i>biəǾ-in=e</i>
3p	<i>biəǾ-en=e / bi-n=e</i>

The negative form of the above verbs would be *ne-biəǾ-om=e*, *ne-biəǾ-i=e* / *ne-biəǾ-ø=e*, etc.

6.5.5 Past perfect of copula

These forms and the past perfect of other verbs in Bakhtiari (6.6.3.2) can be considered as an irregular construction, since it is the main verb that is conjugated and the auxiliary verb remains the same:

Table 6.10: PST.PRF.COP.

‘I had been’, etc.	
1s	<i>biəǾ-om bi</i>
2s	<i>biəǾ-i bi</i>
3s	<i>biəǾ-e bi</i>
1p	<i>biəǾ-im bi</i>
2p	<i>biəǾ-in bi</i>
3p	<i>biəǾ-en bi</i>

To negate this construction, the language uses *ne-biəǾ-om bi*, *ne-biəǾ-i bi*, etc

6.6 FINITE VERBS

To form various tenses, Bakhtiari employs two stems, the present and the past stem, as described above, and the set of PAM suffixes presented in (6.3.1). The present and the past stems are used both as the basis for the formation of durative paradigm, subjunctive, and optative moods and to express the perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects. There is no difference in the behavior of transitive and intransitive verbs in the past tense (see example 246 below). In the following sections, first different tenses which are made based on the present stem will be presented (6.6.1); some peculiar formations will conclude the present tense section (6.6.1.4). Tenses based on the past stem will follow (6.6.2). The perfect forms will be presented in (6.6.3) and forms with progressive aspect will be discussed in (6.6.4). The tenses mentioned above tenses will be illustrated in the form of paradigms, tables, and carefully chosen example sentences that can portray, to some extent, the context and pragmatics of the language.

6.6.1 Forms based on the present stem

Finite verbs based on the present stem, can express actions or states in the indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative. The present indicative can also be employed to express an action which refers to the future or near future (225 below).

6.6.1.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is formed by adding the durative prefix *e-* (or *i-* in some southern dialects) to the present stem of the verb, followed by the appropriate PAM suffixes. Below are the present indicative forms of the verb *dunestaen* ‘to know’ and *girivesten* ‘to cry’:

Table 6.11: PRS. IND.

‘I know’, etc. ‘I cry’, etc.		
1s	<i>e-dun-om</i>	<i>e-giriv-om</i>
2s	<i>e-dun-i</i>	<i>e-giriv-i</i>
3s	<i>e-dun-e</i>	<i>e-giriv-e</i>
1p	<i>e-dun-im</i>	<i>e-giriv-im</i>
2p	<i>e-dun-in</i>	<i>e-giriv-in</i>
3p	<i>e-dun-en</i>	<i>e-giriv-en</i>

Verbs in this form can be used to express habitual situations (221), a routine or even a job or profession (222) and also an action which is in the process or going to happen very soon (223):

- (221) *hemiše e-hænd-e!*
 always DUR-smile.PRS-3SG
 ‘S/he is always smiling!’
- (222) *e-r-om mæ:rese/ danešga*
 DUR-go.PRS-1SG school/ university
 ‘I attend the school/ university. (i.e., I’m a student.)’
- (223) *taze æxe xo=m=e e-der-om ze daq=e to*
 right now collar self=BP.1SG=OM IND-tear.PRS-1SG from sorrow=EZ you
 ‘I am going to tear my collar apart out of the rage that you have caused me!’

6.6.1.2 Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive is formed by adding the prefix *be-* to the present stem, followed by the appropriate person-number endings. It is noteworthy, however, that as explained above (6.4.2.1), the vowel of the subjunctive prefix may undergo some phonological assimilation to the following vowel of the present stem, such as the change of *be-* > *bo-* in the second column below:

Table 6.12: Pres. subj.

	‘I may beat’, etc.	‘I may eat’, etc.
1s	<i>be-zæn-om</i>	<i>bo-χor-om</i>
2s	<i>be-zæn-i</i>	<i>bo-χor-i</i>
3s	<i>be-zæn-e</i>	<i>bo-χor-e</i>
1p	<i>be-zæn-im</i>	<i>bo-χor-im</i>
2p	<i>be-zæn-in</i>	<i>bo-χor-in</i>
3p	<i>be-zæn-en</i>	<i>bo-χor-en</i>

The present subjunctive, apart from its typical usage to express hypothetical situations, can also be used for wishful statements:

- (224) *hala χuv=e će bo-kon-om?*
 now good=is what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘What should I do now?! (What is good to do now?!)’

It can also be used after modals, expressing obligation, permission and ability:

- (225) *diye va be-rev-im (obligation)*
 further/ next must SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
 ‘Now, we must go.’

- (226) *e-l-in* *be-rev-om*²⁶³? (permission)
 DUR-let.PRS-2PL SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
 'Do you let me go?'
- (227) *del=om* *e-χo* *bo-χor-om=es* (aspiration)
 heart=BP.1SG DUR-want.PRS.3SG SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG
 'My heart wants to eat it.'
- (228) *χo=mun* *ter-im* *be-vin-im* (ability)
 self=1PL can-1PL SBJV-see.PRS-1PL
 'We, ourselves, can see (it).'

6.6.1.2.1 Modality constructions

There are three verbs in Bakhtiari that act as modal verbs, expressing different functions such as ability, desire, permission and obligation. These verbs are: *tæresten* 'to be able'; *lešten/ nahaðen* 'to permit/ to let'; *χasten* 'to want'. They are used before a subjunctive verb and both verbs will be inflected as shown in the examples below:

- (229) *ter-i* *be-zæn-i=s?*
 can.PRS-2SG SBJV-hit.PRS-2SG=BP.3SG
 'Can you hit him?'
- (230) *χast-en* *bæçi-yæl=e* *bu-(v)ær-en*
 want.PST-3PL kid-PL=OM SBJV-take.PRS-3PL
 'They wanted to take the kids.'

To express obligation, Bakhtiari usually uses *va* (mostly in present sentences) or *vaske*, (mostly to express an obligation in the past) which can be considered as an impersonal verb with only 3rd singular forms; they do, however, get the negative prefix *næ-*:

- (231) 1. *va* *be-r-om* 2. *næ-va* *be-r-om*
 should SBJV-go.PRS-1SG NEG-should SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 'I should go.' 'I should not go.'
- (232) 1. *vaske* *be-ræhð-im* 2. *næ-vaske* *be-ræhð-im*
 should SBJV-go.PST-1PL NEG-should SBJV-go.PST-1PL
 'We should have gone.' 'We should have not gone.'

6.6.1.2.2 Imperative

The imperative forms in Bakhtiari address the second person singular and plu-

263. The other form of this utterance can be: *e-l-in=om be-rev-om?*

ral. To form an imperative verb, the subjunctive prefix *be-* will attach to a present stem and no verbal ending is used. To address the second person plural, the ending *-in* will be needed. As with the case of subjunctive marker, here also the prefix will assimilate to the vowel of the present stem, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (233) 1. *be-teng!* 2. *bo-χor-in*
 SBJV-jump.PRS.2SG SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL
 ‘Jump! (Dance!)’ ‘Eat! (you all)’

When a simple verb starts with /w/, the imperative/ subjunctive prefix usually drops:

- (234) 1. *vola-h=es!* 2. *væn=esun*
 massage.PRS-E=BP.3SG drop.PRS=BP.3PL
 ‘Massage it!’ ‘Drop them!’

With preverbal verbs, the subjunctive/ imperative prefix usually drops, it can, however, remain and be used for emphasis as in (235: 3) below:

- (235) 1. *va vor-dar=es*
 must PRV-have.PRS=BP.3SG
 ‘(S/he) should take it!’
2. *der-ar=es*
 PRV-bring.PRS=BP.3SG
 ‘Bring it out!’
3. *be-der-ar=es*
 SBJV-PRV-bring.PRS=BP.3SG
 ‘Bring it out!’

- (236) *gæp=et=e vor-ar; kičir=et vor-ævorđ-e* (Davari 1965: 9)
 big=BP.2SG=OM SBJV-PRV-bring.PRS little=BP.2SG PRV-bring.PST-PTCP/COP.3SG
 ‘Bring up your elder child properly, your little one will certainly be well-behaved! (A proverb)’

The following example is an illustration of the vowel change of the stem /zæn/ > /zen/, which is assimilated to the following morpheme /-i-/, and the corresponding assimilation of /næ-/ > /ne-/. The place of an object pronoun is also shown in this construction:

- (237) 1. *be-zæn=es!* > 2. *ne-zen-i=s!* / *mæ-zen-i=s*
 SBJV-hit.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG NEG-hit.PRS-2SG=BP.2SG
 ‘Hit him/her/it!’ ‘Don’t it him/her/it!’

Sometimes a short form of the imperative verb, i.e. the nominal part of a compound verb, is enough to convey a command:

- (238) 1. *dong mæ-ð-e* > *dong!*
 sound NEG-give.PRS-2SG
 ‘Don’t talk!’ ‘Don’t talk/ Shut up!’
2. *be-ræw daχel!* > *daχel!*
 SBJV-go.PRS-2SG inside
 ‘Go inside (the room/ house)!’ ‘Inside!’

Pragmatically, swear words (curses) can also be used as a prohibitive command:

- (239) *koh-mir!*
 mountain-die.PRS.2SG
 ‘Lit.Mountain death/ May you die in the mountains!’, but pragmatically: ‘Shut up!’

Another form, the first person plural imperative, is also possible. Examples are:

- (240) 1. *be-r-im* 2. *bo-χor-im* 3. *be-šur-im*
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL SBJV-wash.PRS-1PL
 ‘Let’s go!’ ‘Let’s eat!’ ‘Let’s wash!’

There are some irregular imperative verbs, the construction of which does not follow the norm:

- (241) 1. *eveiðen* > *bi-yæw!* *bi-yo-h=in!*
 ‘Come!’ ‘You all come!’
2. *lešten* > *biə-l/be-h-l!* *biə-l-in/ be-h-l-in!*
 ‘Let (it be)!’ ‘Allow (you all)!’
3. *nahaðen* > *ben/ben=e!* (no plural form is used!)
 ‘Put!’

To negate an imperative, the prohibitive prefixes *næ-/mæ-* are used (242), and will be explained in more detail below in (6.10):

- (242) 1. *mæ-χor* 2. *mæ-r-in*
 NEG-eat.PRS.2SG NEG-go.PRS-2PL
 ‘Don’t eat!’ ‘Don’t go! (you all)’

6.6.1.3 Peculiar present tense forms

The present tense of some verbs: *ræhðen* ‘to go’; *χærðen* ‘to eat’; *goðen* ‘to say’; *diðen* ‘to see’; *nahaðen* ‘to put’; *lešten* ‘to let, to permit’; *χasten* ‘to want’ and *daðen* ‘to give’ shows some irregularity in its indicative and subjunctive forms and therefore require special attention here. To limit the size of this section, only one

of these verbs (*ræhðen* ‘to go’) will be fully presented here, whereas some forms of the other verbs are included in examples (245, 1-7). The normal indicative paradigm of ‘to go’ is presented in table (6.14). In actual speech, the present stem can be minimized to a single consonant (second column of the table); furthermore, the modal prefix can also be omitted (third column below):

Table 6.13: Peculiar present tense forms

‘I go, etc.			
1s	<i>e-rev-om</i>	<i>e-r-om</i>	<i>r-om</i>
2s	<i>e-rev-i</i>	<i>e-r-i</i>	<i>r-i</i>
3s	<i>e-rev-e</i>	<i>e-r-e</i>	<i>r-e</i>
1p	<i>e-rev-im</i>	<i>e-r-im</i>	<i>r-im</i>
2p	<i>e-rev-in</i>	<i>e-r-in</i>	<i>r-in</i>
3p	<i>e-rev-en</i>	<i>e-r-en</i>	<i>r-en</i>

- (243) $di\check{\phi}=o-m$ $di\check{\phi}=e-m\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=E-BP.1SG see.PST=E-BP.1PL
 ‘S/he saw me.’ ‘S/he saw us.’
- $di\check{\phi}=e-t$ $di\check{\phi}=e-t\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=E-BP.2SG see.PST=E-BP.2PL
 ‘S/he saw you.’ ‘S/he saw you.’
- $di\check{\phi}=e-s$ $di\check{\phi}=e-s\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=E-BP.3SG see.PST=E-BP.3PL
 ‘S/he saw her/him/it.’ ‘S/he saw them.’

The more frequent construction, however, is the following, in which both the root verb and the enclitics are shortened:

- (244) $di=m$ $di=m\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=BP.1SG see.PST=BP.1PL
 ‘S/he saw me.’ ‘S/he saw us.’
- $di=t$ $di=t\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=BP.2SG see.PST=BP.2PL
 ‘S/he saw you.’ ‘S/he saw you.’
- $di=s$ $di=s\tilde{o}^w$
 see.PST=BP.3SG see.PST=BP.3PL
 ‘S/he saw her/him/it.’ ‘S/he saw them.’

There are a few other verbs, which can be shortened in the same manner as shown in the following examples:

- (245) 1. *(e-)χ-om* *(be-)r-om* *hune=sō^w*
 (DUR-)want.PRS-1SG (SBJV-)go.PRS-1SG house=BP.3PL
 'I want to go to their house.'

2. *va* *be-ǰ-om* *be=s*
 must SBJV-give.PRS-1SG to=BP.3SG
 'I should give (it) to him/ her.'

3. *di* *hiči* *n-i-g-om*
 ADV nothing NEG-DUR-say.PRS-1SG
 'I won't say anything, anymore.'

4. *kor-e-ke* *ni-l-e* *be-χæws-om*
 boy-DEF-DEF NEG-let.PRS-3SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
 'The boy doesn't let me sleep.'

5. *pia=ne* *lešt* *be-r-e*
 man=OM let.PST.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
 'S/he let the guy go!'

6. *be-l* *r-om*²⁶⁴
 SBJV-let.PRS.2SG go.PRS-1SG
 'Let me go!'

7. *šir=e* *e-n-om* *sær-e* *tæš*
 milk=OM DUR-put.PRS-1SG head-EZ fire
 'I put/ am going to put the milk on the fire.'

This peculiar behavior of some of these verbs can create ambiguous situations and at the same time offers the opportunity for making some puns. For example, consider the verb *daǰen* 'to give'. The short form of its present stem would be *da-*, which resembles the noun for 'mother'. The ambiguity becomes even greater by the fact that the person/ number endings and the pronominal enclitics also look the same in the first singular (*-om/m* and *=om/m*). Therefore, a sentence like (246), when heard, can be interpreted in the two ways explained below:

- (246) *be* *da=m* *da-m*
 to mother= BP.1SG give.PRS-1SG
 'I gave (it) to my mom.'

264. This sentence can also be expressed in the following forms: *be-l be-r-om/ biā-l-om be-r-om*.

This same sentence can also mean ‘To my mom, my mom!’ as an emphatic answer to a question like: ‘To whom, did you give it?!’. It is obvious that the context can clarify the exact meaning, but there exist several puns and linguistic jokes, taking advantage of the peculiar behavior of this group of verbs and their ambiguities.

6.6.2 Forms based on the past stem

6.6.2.1 Past Perfective (Simple Past)

This form expresses a completed action in the past. It is made by attaching the past person-number endings to the past stem of the verb:

Table 6.14: PST.PRF. (Simple Past)

‘I ate, etc. ‘I slept’, etc.		
1s	<i>χærð-om</i>	<i>χæwsið-om</i>
2s	<i>χærð-i</i>	<i>χæwsið-i</i>
3s	<i>χærð-ø</i>	<i>χæwsið-ø</i>
1p	<i>χærð-im</i>	<i>χæwsið-im</i>
2p	<i>χærð-in</i>	<i>χæwsið-in</i>
3p	<i>χærð-en</i>	<i>χæwsið-en</i>

- (247) *æmšæw goðæst-æ²⁶⁵ hiž šom næ-χærð-om / hiž næ-χæwsið-om*
 tonight pass.PST-PTCP none dinner NEG.eat.PST-1SG / none NEG.sleep.PST-1SG
 ‘Last night, I didn’t eat any dinner!’ or ‘Last night, I didn’t sleep at all!’

In the example (247), two verbs, a transitive and an intransitive one, are used simultaneously to indicate the fact that there is no difference in the behavior of these two categories of the verbs in Bakhtiari past tense constructions (see also 6.6 above).

6.6.2.2 Imperfect

This construction expresses an action in the past which continued as a habit or at least for a certain period of time. It is formed by attaching the durative prefix *e-* to the past stem followed by appropriate verb endings:

- (248) *e-χærð-om; e-χærð-i; e-χærð-ø; e-χærð-im; e-χærð-in; e-χærð-en*

- (249) *ǰæwun ke biəð-om qæleve e-χærð-om*
 young that be.PST-1SG very DUR-eat. PST-1SG
 ‘When I was young, I used to eat a lot.’

265. This is a peculiar way of time-reference. To say ‘last night’, Bakhtiaris say ‘tonight, the passed one’!

An imperfect verb can be used in the apodosis of conditional sentences to show a hypothetical situation (see also 255 below: ‘I wouldn’t let him do that.’):

- (250) *ær* *tær-est-ø* *bištær* *e-χærǫ-ø*
 if can- PST-3SG more DUR-eat. PST-3SG
 ‘He would eat more if he could.’

6.6.2.3 Past subjunctive

When the subjunctive prefix *be-/bo-* attaches to a past stem followed by past verb endings, it can express a wishful or unreal statement in the past:

- (251) *be-kerǫ-om*; *be-kerǫ-i*; *be-kerǫ-ø*; *be-kerǫ-im*; *be-kerǫ-in*; *be-kerǫ-en*;;

- (252) *næ-vaske* *i* *kar=e* *be-kerǫ-om*
 NEG-must.PST this work=OM SBJV-do.PST-1SG
 ‘I shouldn’t have done this.’

6.6.3 Perfect forms

Perfect constructions in Bakhtiari have a special formation that makes them distinct from Persian and some other Iranian languages, in the sense that the verbal endings attach to the main verb and not to the auxiliary verb.

6.6.3.1 Present perfect

The present perfect expresses an action which has taken place in the past, but its effect continues to the present. It is formed by cliticizing the third person singular form of the copula *=e* to a past tense already inflected by person-number endings:

Table 6.15: PRS.PRF.

‘I have eaten.’, etc. ‘I have slept.’, etc.	
1s	<i>χærǫ-om=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-om=e</i>
2s	<i>χærǫ-i=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-i=e</i>
3s	<i>χærǫ-ø=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-ø=e</i>
1p	<i>χærǫ-im=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-im=e</i>
2p	<i>χærǫ-in=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-in=e</i>
3p	<i>χærǫ-en=e</i> <i>χæwsiǫ-en=e</i>

To negate a verb in the present perfect tense, the negative suffix will simply attach to the beginning of the structure: *næ-χærǫ-om=e* ‘I haven’t eaten.’

6.6.3.2 Past perfect

The past perfect is formed by combining the past stem of a verb already inflected by person-number endings with the third person singular of the verb *biəðen* ‘to be’:

Table 6.16: Past perfect

‘I had eaten.’, etc. ‘I had slept.’, etc.				
1s	<i>χærð-om</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-om</i>	<i>bi</i>
2s	<i>χærð-i</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-i</i>	<i>bi</i>
3s	<i>χærð-ø</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-ø</i>	<i>bi</i>
1p	<i>χærð-im</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-im</i>	<i>bi</i>
2p	<i>χærð-in</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-in</i>	<i>bi</i>
3p	<i>χærð-en</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>χæwsið-en</i>	<i>bi</i>

- (253) *ær χo=m ræhð-om bivaba=s, ni-lešt-om=es i kar=e bo-kon-e*
 if self=1SG go.PST-1SG was with=him, NEG-let.PST-1SG=BP.3SG this work=OM
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘If I had gone with him, I wouldn’t let him do that.’

The younger generations may use a structure like (254) which is affected by Persian:

- (254) *χærð-e biəð-om* ‘I had eaten.’

6.6.3.3 Subjunctive perfect

- (255) *oso ke e-veið -ø, vaske i kar=e be-kerð-om bi*
 the time which DUR-come.PRS-3SG must.PST this work=OM SBJV-do.PST-1SG be.PST
 ‘I should have done this, before he came.’

6.6.4 Progressive forms

6.6.4.1 Present progressive

The present progressive shows an action which is taking place either at the present moment (256-257) or in the near future (257:1-3):

- (256) *dar-im e-bor-im=es*
 have.PRS-1PL DUR-cut.PRS-1PL=BP.3SG
 ‘We are cutting it.’

- (257) *dar-om e-r-om, di ni-χo hey bo-go-i*
 have.PRS-1SG DUR-go.PRS-1SG further NEG.want.PRS. 3SG REP SBJV-say.PRS-2SG
 'I am going, you don't need to keep saying (Go!).'

The other way to show an action in progress is using the progressive adverb/particle **ono** (PROG) before the verb (see above: 6.4.3). As explained before, this particle resembles the plural personal pronoun (table:5.1 above) and has other manifestations such as: **hono**, **hone** or **one**:

- (258) 1. *hono i-(y)-a-m* 2. *ono i-(y)-oft-e*
 PROG DUR-come.PRS-1SG PROG DUR-fall.PRS-3SG
 'I am coming.' 'It is falling (going to fall).'
3. *hono-n=sō^w e-r-en*
 PROG-E=BP.3PL DUR-go.PRS-3PL
 'There, they are going!'

In Persian, the same concept is expressed by means of a helping verb: *daštæn* 'to have' as in:

- (259) *dar-æm mi-a-m*
 have.PRS-1SG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
 'I'm coming.'

Therefore, constructions like (260) can be heard in the Bakhtiari spoken by the younger generations influenced by Persian:

- (260) *dar-om i-(y)-a-m*
 have.PRS-1SG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
 'I'm coming.'

6.6.4.2 Past progressive

The past progressive, as the name signifies, expresses an action which was going for some time in the past. It can be used alone (261), for example as an answer to: 'What were you doing?', but it is usually followed by another statement like in (262):

- (261) *dašt-om e-ræhð-om*
 have.PST-1SG DUR-go.PST-1SG
 'I was going.'
- (262) *dašt-om e-ræhð-om ke pia=ke resi(ð)-ø b=om!*
 have.PST-1SG DUR-go.PST-1SG that man=DEF reach.PST-3SG to=BP.1SG
 'I was about to go that the man caught up with me.'

6.7 OPTATIVES

The optative mood has more diverse and frequent manifestations in Bakhtiari compared to Persian. The optative is used to express a wish, a lament, and most of all, a curse. It is noteworthy that unlike Persian, the optative has considerable daily usage, mostly in blasphemous utterances that are expressed out of despair or as a means of showing one's discontent with hardships and unlucky fate in life. These expressions, at times, can be very dramatic and not presentable because they contain several taboo words and expressions. This practice is very old and has not lessened even under the rule of the Islamic Republic!

The optative is formed based on two stems, present and past, with slightly different structures each.

6.7.1 The Present-stem-based optative

To express a desire for the present or the future, Bakhtiari uses the present optative. It is formed from a present stem plus the special optative suffix *-a* which attaches directly to the present stem, followed by a second suffix *-e* at the end of the optative stem. Of these two morphemes, *-a* is essential to form a present optative stem whereas the use of *-e* is optional:

- (263) *xoḡa pir=et kon-a(-h-e)/kon-a(-y-e)* (wish)
 god old=BP.2SG do.PRS-OPT-E-3SG
 'May god make you old! (You'll be able to live long!)'
- (264) *xoḡa be kul=et row-a(-h-e)/row-a(-y-e)* (blasphemous utterance)
 god on back=BP.2SG go.PRS-OPT(-E-3SG)
 'May you carry god on your back!
 (May god come down from his Omnipotent status!)'

Note, above, the alternative epenthetic phonemes (*-h* and *-y-*) to prevent hiatus. The choice between the two seems dialectal to me. The negative prefix will precede the optative stem as illustrated in (267) below, which is a proverb, and also in (268):

- (265) *nei-ḡ-e²⁶⁶ ne-bin-a keimand næ-kon-a ši*
 NEG-see.PST-PTCP NEG-see.PRS-OPT spinster NEG-do.PRS-OPT husband
 'May the one who hasn't seen, see nothing and a spinster never marry!'²⁶⁷
- (266) *ze=s be dær næ-row-a-h-e* (curse)
 from=BP.3SG to out NEG-go.PRS-OPT-E-OPT
 'May s/he not get well! (lit. May s/he not get out of it!)'

266. A case of suppletion where the underlying form is: *næ-ḡiḡ-e!* NEG-see.PST-PTCP.

267. In other words: 'The underprivileged people do not have the capacity of happiness!'

The bound pronouns can attach directly to the optative verb, between its two markers. They can be agentive as **=m** in *bin-a=m-e* or objective as **=t** in *erusi=t=e* in below example (267):

- (267) *xoðey*²⁶⁸, *xoðey* *erusi=t=e* *bin-a=m-e*
 oh god, oh god wedding=BP.2SG=OM see.PRS-OPT=BP.1SG-OPT
 ‘Pray to God, May I live long to see your wedding!’

In (268) a typical daily curse is presented, usually expressed by angry mothers to their kids, and then in (269) the whole paradigm of the same verb *zeiden* ‘to hit’ will be presented. In (270) the paradigm of another typical curse with the verb *borden* ‘to take’ is shown, where only the first optative marker is used. The important point is, as seen in the plural examples, that the final optative marker is NOT used in the present optative PLURALS:

- (268) *peri*²⁶⁹ *zen-a=t-e*
 Pari hit.PRS-OPT=BP.2SG-OPT
 ‘May You be hit by a Pari!’
- (269) Sg: *zen-a=m-e*; *zen-a=t-e*; *zen-a=s-e*
 Pl: *zen-a=mun*; *zen-a=tun*; *zen-a=sun*
- (270) Sg: *al bær-a=m*; *al bær-a=t*; *al bær-a=s* ‘May Al take me; you; s/he!’
 Pl: *al bær-a=mun*; *al bær-a=tun*; *al bær-a=sun* ‘May Al take us; you; they!’

6.7.2 Past-stem-based optative

To express the optative mood in the past, the past subjunctive will be used plus the second optative marker, i.e. the **-e**²⁷⁰ suffix as shown in the examples below. The use of the optative suffix, however, is optional: *mesale ro avaz konam*

- (271) *xoðey* *xoðey* *barð*^w *be-zeið-i-e*
 oh god, oh god rain SBJV-hit.PST-2SG-OPT
 ‘Pray to God, wish you poured some rain!’
- (272) *kaškay* *hæm-o-čo* *bið-om-e*
 wish EMPH-DIST-there be.PST-1SG-OPT
 ‘I wish I were right there!’

268. *xoðey* is probably a combination of the word *xoða* ‘god’ and the interjection *hey* ‘oh’.

269. From MP. *parīg* and Av. *pairikā-* ‘demonic angel, who follows all the heroes and immortals to seduce them to bad behavior and sinful actions’; it has completely lost its negative meaning in Persian and it is now synonymous with ‘angel’, but the form and its pre-Islamic concept has survived in Bakhtiari.

270. A suffix *-ē* (BGr *-ay*) is attached to verbs expressing unrealizable wishes: Šuš: *kāš ke mory-ī bīd-om-ē*, *andar havāb perhess-om-ē* ‘I wish I were a bird, [that] I could fly into the air’ (MacKinnon, 2011).

Below (273) is a complete past optative paradigm of the verb *morðen* ‘to die’:

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (273) | <i>Sg: be-mord-om-e</i> | ‘I wish I were dead!’ |
| | <i>be-mord-i-(y)e</i> | ‘I wish you were dead!’ |
| | <i>be-mord-ø-e(y)</i> | ‘I wish s/he were dead!’ |
| | <i>Pl: be-mord-im-e</i> | ‘I wish we were dead!’ |
| | <i>be-mord-in-e</i> | ‘I wish you all were dead!’ |
| | <i>be-mord-en-e(y)</i> | ‘I wish they were dead!’ |

In (276:1) an advice or a wish is expressed, while in (274:2) by using the past modal *vaske* ‘ought to’, the same advice has changed into an obligation:

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (274) | 1. <i>si</i> | <i>χo=m</i> | <i>be-goð-i-e</i> |
| | for self=BP.1SG | SBJV-say.PST-2SG-OPT | |
| | ‘You should have told me!’ | | |
| | 2. <i>vaske</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>χo=m</i> |
| | must.PST | for self=BP.1SG | SBJV-say.PST-2SG-OPT |
| | ‘You should have told me, myself!’ | | |

6.8 CAUSATIVES

Causative constructions can be expressed in different ways. I follow Payne (2008:176) and divide causatives into three types: lexical, morphological and analytic.

6.8.1 Lexical causatives

Payne (2008:177) claims that “Most, if not all, languages have some lexical causatives. There are at least three subtypes of what we will term lexical causatives. The unifying factor behind all of these types is the fact that in each case the notion of cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself. It is not expressed by any additional operator.” The three types are:

No change in verb:

Non-causative > Causative

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|---------------|---|------------------------|---------------|
| (275) | <i>qæza</i> | <i>pohð-ø</i> | > | <i>goli qæza=ne</i> | <i>pohð-ø</i> |
| | food | cooked | > | Goli food=OM | cooked |
| | ‘Food (is) cooked.’ | | > | Goli cooked the food.’ | |

Some idiosyncratic change in verb:

Non-causative > Causative

- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------|---|------------------------|---------------|
| (276) | <i>deræxt</i> | <i>væst-ø</i> | > | <i>goli deræxt=ene</i> | <i>vænð-ø</i> |
| | tree | fall.PST-3SG | > | Goli tree=OM | throw.PST-3SG |
| | ‘The tree fell.’ | | > | Goli felled the tree.’ | |

Different verb:

Non-causative > Causative

- (277) *goli ræhð-ø šæhr* > *æli goli=ne borð-ø šæhr*
 Goli went city > Ali Goli=OM took city
 ‘Goli went to the city.’ > ‘Ali took Goli to the city.’

- (278) *goli morð-ø* > *æli goli=ne košt-ø*
 Goli died > Ali Goli=OM killed
 ‘Goli died.’ > ‘Ali killed Goli.’

6.8.2 Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb (Payne, 2008:177). This change should act as a rule and be applicable ‘to many other verbs in the language’²⁷¹ as well. In Bakhtiari the causative present stem is formed by adding the causative morphemes **-n-/ -on-**, an infix in character, to the present stem of the verb:

Non-causative > Causative

- (279) *šiše eškæ-st-ø* > *æli šiše=ne eškæ-n-ð-ø*
 glass break.PRS-3SG > Ali glass=OM break.PRS-CAUS-PST-3SG
 ‘The glass broke.’ > ‘Ali broke the glass.’

- (280) *šiše eškæh-e* > *bæče šiše=ne eškæ-n-e*
 glass break.PRS-3SG > kid glass=OM break.PRS-CAUS-3SG
 ‘The glass breaks/ will break.’ > ‘The kid breaks the glass.’

In Table 6.17, different verbs (intransitive, inchoative and transitive) are listed with their causative forms. The purpose of making this list was to generalize the causative formation in each and every of the above mentioned categories of verbs. By examining the data, we see that in the transitive group, in four examples out of five, the **-on-** form of the causativizer is used to make the present stem of the causative form (items 13, 15, 16 and 17 below). The same infix **-on-**, however, is used to change the intransitive verb *lærzesten* to its causative form (item 2) which creates a counter example to the possible general rule that says: to change an intransitive verb to a causative form it is enough to add the **-n-** to the end of the present stem. As for the second group, the inchoatives, they also present regularity in the sense that their causatives form by adding **n-** to the end of their present stem. The only difference that the two groups of intransitives and inchoatives exhibit, compared to the transitive one, is due to some phonological changes in the present stem, as illustrated in the examples 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12 below. Therefore, it becomes appar-

271. *ibid.*

ent that there are some prevalent tendencies in each group, but to state a pervasive generalization about all the verb groups seems out of reach.

Table 6.17: Causativization of different infinitives

	Intransitive	Pres. stem	Gloss	Causative	Pres. stem	Gloss
1	<i>eškæsten</i>	<i>eškæ(h)-</i>	to break	<i>eškaŋə</i>	<i>eškæ-n-</i>	cause to break
2	<i>lærzesten</i>	<i>lærz-</i>	to shiver, tremble	<i>lærzonə</i>	<i>lærz-on-</i>	cause to shiver
3	<i>pokesten</i>	<i>pok-</i>	to explode	<i>pokonə</i>	<i>poy-n-</i>	(cause) explode
4	<i>ræhə</i>	<i>ræw-/ r-</i>	to go	<i>ronə</i>	<i>ru-n-</i>	to drive, to push
5	<i>χæwsiə</i>	<i>χæws-</i>	to lie down/ sleep	<i>χæwnə</i>	<i>χæw-n-</i>	to incubate
	Inchoatives	Pres. stem	Gloss	Causative	Pres. stem	Gloss
6	<i>ænjesten</i>	<i>ænje(h)-</i>	to split into pieces	<i>ænjeniə</i>	<i>ænje-n-</i>	to cut into pieces
7	<i>eškæsten</i>	<i>eškæ(h)-</i>	to break	<i>eškaŋiə</i>	<i>eškæ-n-</i>	to (make) break
8	<i>masesten</i>	<i>mas-</i>	to harden	<i>masniə</i>	<i>mas-n-</i>	cause to harden; make yoghurt from milk
9	<i>peškesten</i>	<i>peške(h)-</i>	to splash/ sprinkle	<i>peškiə</i>	<i>peške-n-</i>	to (make)
10	<i>pokesten</i>	<i>pok-</i>	to flourish	<i>poyniə</i>	<i>poy-n-</i>	(cause) to open
11	<i>sohə</i>	<i>sus-</i>	to burn	<i>suzniə</i>	<i>suz-n-</i>	cause to burn
12	<i>χæwsiə</i>	<i>χæws-</i>	to sleep	<i>χæwniə</i>	<i>χæw-n-</i>	to put to sleep
	Transitive	Pres. stem	Gloss	Causative	Pres. stem	Gloss
13	<i>fæhmesten</i>	<i>fæhm-</i>	to understand	<i>fæhmonə</i>	<i>fæhm-on-</i>	help to understand
14	<i>gerehə</i>	<i>ger-</i>	to go	<i>fe(re)šnaə</i>	<i>fe(re)š-n-</i>	to send
15	<i>kæšiə</i>	<i>kæš-</i>	to pull	<i>kæšonə</i>	<i>kæš-on-</i>	help to move
16	<i>sāhiə</i>	<i>sā(h)-</i>	to grate, to rub	<i>sāhonə</i>	<i>sāh-on-</i>	grate, rub
17	<i>zāhiə</i>	<i>zā(h)-</i>	to give birth	<i>zāhonə</i>	<i>zāh-on-</i>	help to give birth

There are also a number of verbs, all containing a morpheme-like element **-gen-**, which convey a causative meaning: *dargeniðen* ‘turn upside down, inside out’, *šægeniðen* ‘to shake’ or *tozgeniðen* ‘to put out a burning stick; to blink’. Some of these verbs have other forms, with meanings at times the same or very similar, but in some cases opposite of each other (283: 2, below), in which the /g/ of the mentioned element has undergone phonological changes such as devoicing to /k/ or palatalization to /y/ or being omitted altogether. So, it is perhaps possible to infer that, in the previous stages of the language, there was another causative morpheme **-gen** which later dissolved into other forms or disappeared completely.

The list in (281) contains verbs that have **-gen** with transitive or causative meaning in their structure:

(281)

1. *gefgeniðen* ‘to ruffle; to decompose; to make somebody angry’ > *gefniðen* ‘to twist’
2. *gešgeniðen* ‘to bat out wool with the hands’ > *gešniðen* ‘to spin’
3. *pergeniðen* ‘to scatter’ > *perniðen* ‘to set a bird free (make it fly)’
4. *tezgeniðen* = ‘to disassemble, to distort’
tijniðen
5. *možgeniðen* = ‘to squeeze, to press’
možniðen
6. *kergeniðen* = ‘to pucker; to make somebody upset’
kerkeniðen
7. *tifgeniðen* = ‘diffuse, scatter’
tifniðen
8. *perægniðen* = ‘to sneeze (of a sheep)’
perækniðen =
peræyniðen
9. *pešgeniðen* = ‘to scatter’
peškeniðen
10. *šogniðen* = ‘to frighten’
šokniðen =
šoyniðen
11. *šængeniðen* = ‘to rummage, to decompose; to winnow the crop’
šæng kerðen

There are, however, verbs having the same structure but with an intransitive sense, as shown in (282) below:

(282)

1. *čelengeniðen* ‘to howl’
2. *gorongeniðen* ‘to roar, to squall’

3. *fengeniðen* 'to snatch'
4. *hæwgeniðen* 'breaking of the egg in a bird's belly'
5. *berčeniðen* 'to shine'
6. *pelârniðen* 'to have a slip of the tongue'
7. *pofniðen* 'to swell; to demolish'

6.8.3 Analytic causatives

The third formation of causatives involves the usage of another verb, which in Bakhtiari is mainly *nahaðen* 'to put', but also *vænðen* 'to drop, to throw into' and *kerðen*, 'to do'.

Non-causative > Causative

- (283)
1. *mæryæm gerev-est-ø*
Maryam cry-PST-3SG
'Maryam cried.'
 2. *mæryæm nah-að-ø va²⁷² gereve*
Maryam put.PRS-PST-3SG into cry
'Maryam started to cry.'
 3. *æli mæryæm=e nah-að-ø va gereve*
Ali Maryam=OM put.PRS-PST-3SG into cry
'Ali made Maryam cry.' / 'Ali put M. into cry.'
- (284)
1. *zivær hænd-est-ø*
zivar laugh-3sg.pst
'Zivar laughed.'
 2. *zivær væ-st-ø va hænde*
zivar fall.PST-3SG into laughter
'Zivar fell into laughter.'
 3. *kerim zivær=e væn-d-ø va hænde*
kerim zivar=OM fall.PRS-3SG.PST into laughter
'Kerim put Zivar into laughter.'

In the above examples, the first form of the so-called causatives is an example of an inchoative, since it expresses a change of state and the causer and the causee

²⁷² directional- locational particle?!

are one and the same person. On the other hand, in the same examples, we do not see a valence-increasing operation, therefore, they can also be analyzed as reflexive constructions.

6.9 PASSIVES

Based on Payne's (2008: 204-209) categorization of passives, in Bakhtiari I distinguish morphological, analytic and impersonal passives. In the following sections, each type will be explained and then examples will be provided.

6.9.1 Morphological passives

One way of expressing the passive voice in Bakhtiari is by suffixing the passive morpheme *-(e/i) h*²⁷³ to the active present tense of the verb. The past stem is then formed by adding *-est/-ist* to the present passive stem:

<u>Active present stem</u>	<u>Present Passive</u>	<u>Past Passive</u>
(285) <i>χær-</i> 'eat'	<i>χær-eh-</i>	<i>χæhr-est-</i> 'be eaten'
1. <i>čænde qæza χor-e!</i> how much food eat.PRS-3SG 3PL 'S/he eats so much!'	2. <i>i qæza ta šæv χær-eh-e</i> PROX food till night eat.PRS-PASS-3SG 'This food is/ will be eaten by night.'	3. <i>mivæ-ha-ke χæhr-est-en!</i> fruit-PL-DEF eat.PRS.PASS-PST-3PL 'The fruits were eaten altogether!'
(286) <i>bor-</i> 'cut'	<i>bor-eh-</i>	<i>bohr-est-</i> 'be cut'
1. <i>e-bor-om=es</i> IND-cut.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG 'I (will) cut it.'	2. <i>šir-ekē bor-eh-e</i> milk-DEF clot.PRS-PASS-3SG 'The milk will be clotted/ curded.'	3. <i>tænaf bohr-est-ø</i> rope cut.PRS.PASS-PST-3SG 'The rope was cut.'
(287) <i>eškæn-</i> 'break'	<i>eškæh-</i>	<i>eškæh-est-</i> 'be broken'
1. <i>peste be-škæn!</i> Pistachios SUBJ-break.PR 'Shell some pistachios!'	2. <i>va ima n-i-škæh-e</i> with we NEG-IND-beak.PASS.PRS-3SG 'We can not handle it.' (Maddadi 1996: 21)	3. <i>toxm-a eškæh-est-en bi-ø</i> egg-PL break.PRS.PASS-PST-3PL was-3SG 'The eggs had been broken.'
(288) <i>der-</i> 'tear'	<i>der-eh-</i>	<i>dehr-est-</i> 'be torn'
1. <i>derø-i=s?</i> tear.PST-2SG=BP.3SG 'Did you tear it?'	2. <i>χo=s der-he-e</i> SEFL=BP.3SG tear.PRS-PASS-3SG 'It gets torn all by itself.'	3. <i>jove-ke dehr-est</i> dress-DEF tear.PASS.PRS-PST 'The dress got torn.'
(289) <i>kæn-</i> 'dig'	<i>kæh(n)-</i>	<i>kæhn-est-</i> 'be dug'
1. <i>i bærq=e ter-i kæ/en-i?</i> stone=OM can.PRS-2SG dig.PRS-2SG this/ it 'Can you dig out this stone?'	2. <i>yo ni-kæh-e</i> it NEG-dig.PRS-3SG 'This (one) cannot be dug out.'	3. <i>yo χo=s kæhn-est-e</i> PROX it self=BP.3SG dig.PASS.PRS-PST-PTCP 'It hasbeen dug all by itself!'

273. I agree with some scholars (Maddadi 1994, Taheri 2012) who believe that this morpheme is the same as the passive marker morpheme *-th* in the Middle Persian, which is lost in New Persian, but has survived in Bakhtiari (Zolfaghari 1996).

6.9.2 Analytical Passives

The second way of expressing the passive voice in Bakhtiari is by using the past participle plus the verb *vabiðen/ abiðen* ‘to become’. Different forms of *vabiðen* will be used to show the modal, aspectual differences as well as various tenses. The past participle, as mentioned above (4.2.1), is formed by adding the participle formant *-e* to the past stem:

- (290) 1. *dærf-a šošt-e* *vabið*
 dish-PL wash.PST-PTCP become.PST
 ‘The dishes were washed.’
2. *pia-yæł* *pây* *košt-e* *vabið-en*
 man-PL all die.PST-PTCP become.PST-3PL
 ‘All the men were killed.’

As can be seen in the above example (290: 1), when the subject is inanimate, agreement with the verb is not obligatory. The different forms of *vabiðen/ abiðen* are as follows:

Present Indicative : *i-bu-om*, *i-bu-i*, *i-bu* *-(h)e*, *i-bu-im*, *i-bu-in*, *i-bu* *-(h)en*

Present Subjunctive: *vabu-om*, *vabu-i*, *vabu-e*, *vabu-im*, *vabu-in*, *vabu-en*

Past Perfective: *vabið*, *vabið-i*, *vabið*, *vabið-im*, *vabið-in*, *vabið-en*

Present Perfect: *vabið-om-e*, *vabið-i-e*, *vabið-e*, *vabið-im-e*, *vabið-in-e*, *vabið-en-e*

Past Perfect: *vabið-om bi*, *vabið-i bi*, *vabið-e bi*, *vabið-im bi*, *vabið-in bi*, *vabið-en bi*

6.9.3 Impersonal Passives

The impersonal passive, according to Payne, are essentially the same as the basic passives in the sense that: “... they downplay the centrality of an AGENT.” (Payne, 2008: 206) There is, however, one difference between the two: “... impersonal passives can be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs” (ibid). Some examples of impersonal passives in Bakhtiari are:

- (291) *e-χo* *ǰæng* *vabu!*
 DUR-want.PRS.3SG fight become.SBJV.3SG
 ‘A fight is going to start!’
- (292) *hæmi* *čo* *hin* *ris-est-ø*
 this here blood pour-PST-3SG
 ‘Blood was shed on this very place.’

6.10 NEGATION AND PROHIBITION

To express negation, the prefix *næ-* is used before the tense/ mood prefixes and the preverbs. Its distribution is as follows:

To negate a verb which is prefixed with an durative or imperfective marker, the two prefixes will combine and result in *n-i-*, as shown in the following formula:

$$næ- + e-/i- > n-i-$$

- (293) $næ- + e-go-m > n-i-go-m$
 NEG- + DUR-say.PRS-1SG > NEG-DUR-say.PRS-1SG
 'I don't/ won't say.'

To negate a subjunctive verb, however, the form *næ-* replaces the subjunctive prefix. For a thorough illustration of the usage of *næ-* with different allomorphs of the subjunctive marker, all the examples in (206:1-8) are repeated below as (294:1-8) in a negated form:

- (294) 1. $næ- + be-kæn-om > næ-kæn-om$
 2. $næ-ker\check{c}-om$
 3. $næ-stun-om=es$
 4. $næ- + bo-\chi un-om=es > næ-\chi un-om=es$
 5. $næ-koš-om=es$
 6. $næ- + bi-yå-he > næ-yå-he$
 7. $næ-mir-om$
 8. $næ/e-bin-i^{274}$

To be more precise, when the vowel of the stem is /i/, the negative prefix can assimilate to *ne-* as well, thus:

- (295) 1. $ne-mir-om, ærusi=t=e$ $bi-vin-om$ 2. $ne-miz$
 NEG-die.PRS-1SG wedding=BP.2SG=OM SBJV- see.PRS-1SG NEG -piss.PRS.2SG
 'May I'll be alive to see your wedding!' 'Don't piss!'

When the main verb is preceded by a modal verb, the negative prefix will not attach to the subordinate verb; therefore, the subjunctive prefix remains in its place:

- (296) Aff: $va be-r-om$ > Neg: $næ-va be-r-om$ 'I shouldn't go.'

The past subjunctive is usually negated by attaching the form *næ-* to the preceding modal verbs:

274. Notice the change of consonant /v/ > /b/ in examples (206: 8 and 293: 8): *bi-vin-i* > *næ/e-bin-i*.

- (297) 1. *næ-vaske be-χærð-om=es* 2. *ni-χast-om bo-koš-om=es*
 NEG-must.PST SBJV-eat.PST-1SG=BP.3SG NEG-want.PST-1SG SBJV-kill.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I shouldn’t have eaten it!’ ‘I didn’t want to kill it.’

In example (298), which is a Bakhtiari proverb, the negation of an individuating and a subjunctive verb is illustrated:

- (298) *ta doðær næ-bu-ø razi, kor n-i-kon-e bus-bazi* (Davari 1965: 26)
 until girl NEG-be.SBJV-3SG willing, boy NEG-DUR-do.PRS-3SG kiss-play
 ‘A boy dares to kiss a girl only when she begins flirting.’

Sometimes, the negating element *næ* acts like a separate word and negates a clause (299) or a whole sentence (300):

- (299) *ær næ si del-e to bi-ø, hi n-i-veið-om*
 if not for heart-EZ you be.PST-3SG, nothing NEG-DUR-come.PST-1SG
 ‘If it was not for your sake, I would never come!’

- (300) *næ si χater-e to i kar-e kerð-om?*
 not for sake-EZ you PROX work=OM do.PST-1SG
 ‘Wasn’t that for your sake, that I did this?!’

To negate an imperative verb, the prefix *næ-* will replace the imperative prefix in its different forms *be-* / *bo-* / *bi-*:

- (301) 1. *be-zæn* > *næ-zæn* ‘Hit!’ > ‘Don’t hit’
 2. *bo-koš* > *næ-koš* ‘Kill!’ > ‘Don’t kill!’
 3. *bi-mir* > *næ/e-mir*²⁷⁵ ‘Die!’ > ‘Don’t die!’

To express prohibition, the prefix *mæ-* is used. It is an original Bakhtiari prohibitive prefix since it is used more by the older generation and it can be heard in the old wedding or funeral songs. *næ-* is used more under the influence of Persian:

- (302) 1. *bo-go* > *mæ-go* ‘Say (it)!’ > ‘Don’t say (it)’
 2. *(bo-) ræw* > *mæ-ræw* ‘Go!’ > ‘Don’t go’

275. There are also peculiar negative forms like *næ"-n-om* instead of expected * *næ-e-dun-om* > *ni-dun-om* ‘I don’t know.’ the phonological changes of which I am not going to discuss further in the present work.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 English loan words in Bakhtiari

No	Bkh. loan word	Original English word	Meaning of borrowed word
1	<i>erkandišen</i>	air conditioner	=
2	<i>ælokeitkar</i>	allocate car	
3	<i>ælovans/ ælovæns</i>	allowance	
4	<i>ængelan</i>	angle iron	
5	<i>bækpei</i>	back pay	
6	<i>jabalon</i>	baloon	
7	<i>beis</i>	base	
8	<i>bim</i>	beam	
9	<i>bent</i>	bent	
10	<i>belæklist</i>	black list	
11	<i>bolof</i>	bluff	
12	<i>beilær</i>	boiler	
13	<i>beilærsut</i>	boiler suit	
14	<i>bolt</i>	bolt	
15	<i>buk</i>	book (V)	
16	<i>buking</i>	booking	
17	<i>barium/ boirum</i>	boyroom	
18	<i>bængele</i>	bungalow	
19	<i>bæs</i>	bus	
20	<i>boš buš</i>	bush	
21	<i>baišans</i>	by chance	
22	<i>kæmp</i>	camp	
23	<i>kæmelæb</i>	camp+lab	
24	<i>kart</i>	card	
25	<i>sæmænt</i>	cement	
26	<i>senterbolt</i>	center bolt	
27	<i>senterestor</i>	center store	
28	<i>čarter</i>	charter	

29	<i>čer</i>	checker	
30	<i>čekmæn</i>	checkman	
31	<i>kelæm/ skalams</i>	climp clip	
32	<i>kolup/ kelæp</i>	club	
33	<i>kaler</i>	collar	
34	<i>kompani</i>	company	
35	<i>compelet</i>	complete	
36	<i>kankelit/ kænkit</i>	concrete	
37	<i>konterat/ qomterat</i>	contract	
38	<i>keren/ kerend</i>	crane	
39	<i>kop</i>	cup	
40	<i>sekel</i>	cycle; bicycle	
41	<i>selender/ selend</i>	cylinder	
42	<i>deis</i>	die/ dice?	
43	<i>doidor</i>	doctor	
44	<i>dažbal</i>	dodge ball	
45	<i>deres kærdæn</i>	dress (V)	
46	<i>dereivel/ deræivel</i>	driver	
47	<i>doram</i>	drum	
48	<i>diuti</i>	duty	
49	<i>emerjensi</i>	emergency	
50	<i>eksčenĵ</i>	exchange	
51	<i>feis</i>	face	
52	<i>fens</i>	fence	
53	<i>fitus</i>	feydos	
54	<i>fenešt</i>	finished	fired from work
55	<i>faresteišen</i>	fire station	
56	<i>ferstkelas/ fæstgelas</i>	first class	
57	<i>fiter/ fitær</i>	fitter	
58	<i>felait</i>	flight	
59	<i>fol</i>	fool	
60	<i>fut</i>	foot	
61	<i>formæn</i>	foreman	
62	<i>ferænšip/ frænšib</i>	friendship	
63	<i>ferničer</i>	furniture	
64	<i>fiuz</i>	fuse	

65	<i>jiteip</i>	G-type	
66	<i>gerač/garaž</i>	garage	
67	<i>geis</i>	gas	
68	<i>geit</i>	gate	
69	<i>ǵaleǵis</i>	geologist	
70	<i>getpas</i>	get pass	
71	<i>gilas</i>	glass	
72	<i>gulup</i>	globe lamp	
73	<i>gereid</i>	grade	
74	<i>gestows</i>	guest house	
75	<i>hedmæn</i>	head man	
76	<i>hedners</i>	head nurse	
77	<i>hiter</i>	heater	
78	<i>holder</i>	holder	
79	<i>hospital</i>	hospital	
80	<i>aidentiti</i>	idensity	
81	<i>inkuveiri</i>	inquiry	
82	<i>espektor/espæktor</i>	Inspector	bus/ factory
83	<i>æntærnaš</i>	international	
84	<i>ke<tr></tr></i>	kettle	
85	<i>leberlari</i>	labor lorry	
86	<i>leberafis</i>	labor office	
87	<i>landeri</i>	laundry	
88	<i>lik</i>	leak	
89	<i>limunad/ limunat</i>	lemonade	
90	<i>leit</i>	light	
91	<i>lein</i>	line	
92	<i>lari</i>	lorry	
93	<i>emayes</i>	M.I.S	
94	<i>empi</i>	m.p.	
95	<i>mæckine</i>	machine	
96	<i>meinlæin/ leilænd</i>	main line	
97	<i>meinafis/ menafis</i>	main office	
98	<i>mæš</i>	marsh	
99	<i>mætron</i>	matron	
100	<i>medical</i>	medical	

101	<i>enaiosī</i>	N.I.O.C.	
102	<i>læmbærdæ</i>	number-10	a district name
103	<i>ners</i>	nurse	
104	<i>ners hastel</i>	nurse hostile	
105	<i>nersing</i>	nursing	
106	<i>af</i>	off	
107	<i>hæfiz</i>	office	
108	<i>afisboy</i>	office boy	
109	<i>ankal</i>	on call	
110	<i>ot</i>	out	
111	<i>overteim/ overtaim</i>	overtime	
112	<i>parteim/ partaim</i>	part time	
113	<i>peirol</i>	pay roll	
114	<i>persenel</i>	personnel	
115	<i>petrol</i>	petrol	
116	<i>pikab</i>	pickup	
117	<i>pim</i>	pin	
116	<i>pišto/ pištæw</i>	pistol	
117	<i>pelæin</i>	plane	
118	<i>gæčpelænd</i>	plant	
119	<i>peleit</i>	plate	
120	<i>pelag/ pelak</i>	plug	
121	<i>potate</i>	potato	
122	<i>pomp/ pæmp</i>	pump	
123	<i>pæmphaws</i>	pump house	
124	<i>bæmbæw/ pæmpæw</i>	pump+ æw 'water'	
125	<i>kuwarter/ kuater</i>	quarter	
126	<i>ræn</i>	ram	
127	<i>ræšæn/ ræšænd</i>	ration	
128	<i>ræšændpul</i>	ration pool	
129	<i>firiĵ</i>	refrigerator	
130	<i>raport</i>	report; rapport	
131	<i>rezerveišen</i>	reservation	
132	<i>rest</i>	rest	
133	<i>restowz</i>	rest house	
134	<i>rol</i>	role	

135	<i>rebel</i>	rubber	
136	<i>eskiu</i>	S.Q.	the letters in front of the N.I.O.C. complex houses, ex: S.Q. 2203
137	<i>seiving</i>	saving	
138	<i>eskerab/eskeraf</i>	scrape	
139	<i>seloteip</i>	sealing tape solo tape	
140	<i>sinior/sinier</i>	senior	
141	<i>šit</i>	sheet;shout	
142	<i>šift</i>	shift	
143	<i>šift esfane</i>	shift spanner	
144	<i>šit</i>	shoot	
145	<i>šut</i>	shoot	
146	<i>šart/šarti</i>	short shortage	
147	<i>silu</i>	silo	
148	<i>selak</i>	slack	
149	<i>saket</i>	socket	
150	<i>eskurespane</i>	square spaner	
151	<i>estæfstor</i>	staff store	a store that only the company employers could shop there
152	<i>estæmp</i>	stamp	
153	<i>estændbay</i>	stand by	
154	<i>estart</i>	start	
155	<i>esteytment</i>	statement	
156	<i>čiti</i>	statement	
157	<i>esteišen</i>	station	
158	<i>estor/ ostor</i>	store	
159	<i>sepertas</i>	supper tass	
160	<i>suwič/siwič</i>	switch	
161	<i>teil</i>	tail/ tile	
162	<i>tanki/ tenki</i>	tank	
163	<i>teisi</i>	taxi	
164	<i>tenisboi</i>	tennis boy	
165	<i>tæmbær</i>	timbre	
166	<i>teim</i>	time	
167	<i>tæmate/ temate</i>	tomato	
168	<i>tereinig</i>	training	

169	<i>tencæsport</i>	transport	
170	<i>tirip</i>	trip	
171	<i>valf</i>	valve	
172	<i>dæbelusi</i>	W.C.	
173	<i>veiter</i>	waiter	
174	<i>varnig</i>	warning	
175	<i>vašer</i>	washer	
176	<i>veld</i>	weld	
177	<i>velding</i>	welding	
178	<i>vaier</i>	wire	
179	<i>vorækšap/ vorokša</i>	work shop	
180	<i>ramseid</i>	wrong side	

Appendix 2 Color terms

Color terms section was supposed to be part of chapter three of the present research. The collected data, however, appeared to be not convenient enough in order to reach to a thorough analysis based on the existing findings, especially the theories presented by Berlin and Key (1969) and other later findings. Therefore, in this appendix only some general information and a preliminary classification of Bakhtiari color terms will be presented. A more detailed and analytic treatment of the subject is due to more investigation and data collection among other Bakhtiari communities that are carpet or kilim weavers or know other crafts that require a more detailed description of color terms.

In Bakhtiari the word *ræŋg* means both ‘color’ and ‘paint’. As a verb, it is part of the compound verbs *ræŋg kerðen* or *ræŋg zeiðen*, literally ‘to do paint’ and ‘to strike paint’, respectively.

There is another word *waše* as in the compound *espiəð waše*, ‘having fair complexion, having fair body skin’, which refers only to the skin color. Maddadi (1996: 253) thinks that it is comparable to the Persian suffix *-wæš* ‘like, as’.

To ask about the color of something, the following construction is used, in which *-i* is an attributive suffix:

- (1) *če ræŋg-i-e/en?*
 what color- ATTR -is/are’
 ‘What color is/are it/they?’

One of the most interesting aspects of color terms in Bakhtiari is that most of them are tightly associated with a certain domestic animal. In other words, they are basically terms to describe the differences between animals and not plants or people. Among such terms are items 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 33, 34, 36, 38 below. These colors are not used to describe people or things.

The terms can also be categorized as basic terms such as: *sohr* ‘red’, *zærd* ‘yellow’, *sæwz* ‘green’... and derived terms from objects or natural things like *tel-lah-i* ‘gold-like, golden’, *sæwz-inæ* ‘grass-like, green; tan’, *qæve-h-i* ‘coffee-like, brown’ and *äv-i* ‘water-like, blue’ that all end in one of the attributive affixes *-i*, *-inæ*, *-e*. These colors can be used to describe people and objects.

It is important to mention that the concept of colors in a Bakhtiari nomad’s world is not necessarily compatible with the standard urban or scientific color descriptions. For example, the very frequent word *keu* may cover a range of colors we normally call blue, dark blue, marine, gray, amethystine, dark turquoise and many other varieties of blue, purple and red and black combinations. In the same way, *ga zærd-mure*, to my eyes was a light brown or an ochre cow and not a yellow one. On the other hand, what I call orange, to a nomad is either yellow or red

according to its degree of orangeness.

These are the original and the most frequent Bakhtiari terms. There are, however, borrowed terms from Persian in use, usually by younger generations, such as *qæve-h-i* ‘brown’, *suret-i* ‘pink’ and *narenj-i* ‘the color of a sour orange; orange’. These words are not listed in Maddadi 1996; therefore, in the below list, the words that do not have a page number reference are my additions to the list.

Table 2 has five columns. The Bakhtiari words are presented in the second column in an alphabetical order. The English meanings are provided in the third column and the forth column is kept for some extra historical or cultural notes. The majority of words can also be found in Maddadi (1996) by the page number provided in the last column.

Table 2: Color terms

No	Bakhtiari word	English meaning	comments	p.
Basic Colors				
1	<i>esp/biəð, espi</i>	white		20
2	<i>ælus</i>	white	MP ærus	23
	<i>šæ(h)/sia</i>	black		168
3	<i>sohr</i>	red		157
4	<i>sæwz</i>	green	<i>tiə-ræw</i> : green-eyed	-
5	<i>zærd</i>	yellow; Korend (horse or mule)	<i>zærd-kol</i> : a short-tailed horse	
6	<i>benæwš</i>	purple		44
	<i>āv-i</i>	blue	like water	136
7	<i>qæveh-i</i>	brown	lit.coffee-ATTR	-
8	<i>hiəl</i>	brown	ex. <i>ti-hiəl</i> : brown-eyed	272
9	<i>kəu</i>	bluish, dark blue		186
10	<i>kal</i>	black	<i>tiə-kal</i> : black-eyed beauty (people) <i>miəš-kal</i> : a black ewe	
11	<i>hælu</i>	a brownish white		267
Colors with patterns associated with animals				
12	<i>ælo piəse</i>	a sheep with colorful wool		23
13	<i>bur</i>	red, reddish brown	<i>bur-čal</i> : a reddish brown horse with a white forehead.	44
14	<i>laz</i>	a part of sheep wool that has a different color	<i>laz-dar</i> : marked	221

15	<i>æwzæ</i>	a sheep with two colors	ex: <i>bæl æwzæ</i> : a black and white sheep with long, wide and hanging ears. Also: <i>piæse</i> .	28
16	<i>čal</i>	a white patch on the forehead of animals	ex. <i>čal-e ælo</i> : a white and brown sheep with a white patch on the forehead	100
17	<i>čel-gol</i>	colorful	literary meaning: forty- flowers	103
18	<i>ðiazæ</i>	black, reddish-black (donkey)		131
19	<i>čærme</i>	white (horse)		101
20	<i>gæzæ</i>	whitish- gray (donkey), silver	<i>gæzæ ðiazæ</i> : a gray donkey with a black muzzle	211
21	<i>hil</i>	fair; pretty	<i>hile mal</i> : a white sheep with a pretty shape	272
22	<i>šæ piæse</i>	black and white		168
23	<i>kal espiəð</i>	a sheep with a black back and a white belly		186
24	<i>kal piæse</i>	a sheep with colorful wool	= <i>ælo piæse</i>	186
25	<i>kau piæse</i>	bluish white		186
26	<i>komiat(ə)</i>	brownish-red (horse)		198
27	<i>mæwre</i>	yellow (cow)		237
28	<i>narek</i> ²⁷⁶	a sheep or goat with two brown patches on both sides of the face	<i>narek-æwzæ</i> : a black and white sheep or goat with brown cheeks	283
29	<i>nil</i>	blue; a horse with a whitish blue color		248
30	<i>norqeh-i</i>	silver	lit.silver-ATTR	-
31	<i>piæse</i>	black and white		66
32	<i>ræ(h)š</i>	high-lighted, a goat with different lines of color; parallel colorful lines like a rain bow		137
33	<i>ælo</i>	white and brown (sheep)		23
34	<i>sæwz-inæ</i>	tan	lit.green-ATTR	156
35	<i>sia-tæwæ</i>	dark skinned	lit.black-colored	157

276. This word is taken from the second edition of the Bakhtiari glossary; so the page number refers to Maddadi (2013).

36	<i>tæh(e)</i>	dark brown, plain-colored animal	ex. <i>tæhe zæh-e</i> : looks brown. <i>tæh-čal</i> : a cattle with brown body and white forehead	84
37	<i>tæh-řowzi</i>	colorful (an animal)	?	84
38	<i>tellah-i</i>	golden	lit.golden-ATTR	-
39	<i>zærd-meleg</i>	pale	lit.yellow- <i>meleg</i>	141
40	<i>zærd-muri</i> (<i>mure</i>)	golden (cow)	lit.yellow- <i>muri</i>	141

Appendix 3 Body parts

Table 3 is arranged in five sections: Head, Torso and the lower part of the body, Arm and hand, Leg and foot and General. The words in a section may overlap with another section, such as *bægæl* ‘armpit’, presented here as part of the torso, because it also means ‘the side of the body from armpit to the waist line’. However, it can also be listed in the arm and hand section. To keep the tables as concise as possible, such overlapping words are not repeated in different sections and are presented but once. The words are mainly extracted from Maddadi (1996) mentioned here with their relative number in the book. The words with no page number are my additions to the list. Some of the words are not parts of the body in the strictest sense, such as *keverč* ‘dandruff’ or *gias* ‘tress’, however, they are listed here with the intention to present as much Bakhtiari vocabulary as possible. In each section the words are listed alphabetically according to their English equivalent. In the fourth column, apart from some usual extra information, the Middle Persian equivalents of the words are provided. These are presented here just to emphasise the fact that the language has preserved a substantial reservoir of words and terms which makes it also interesting from a philological and historical linguistic point of view.

Table 3: Body parts

No.	Bakhtiari word	English meaning	comments	p.
Head				
1	<i>peræk-e noft</i>	ala of the nose	= <i>pær-e noft</i>	58
2	<i>kolmate</i>	back of the neck		195
3	<i>riāš</i>	beard	MP <i>rēš</i>	138
4	<i>mæzɡ</i>	brain	MP <i>mazg</i>	233
5	<i>gir</i>	canine tooth, Cuspid		218
6	<i>gop</i>	cheek		206
7	<i>golop</i>	the area from cheek bone to the lower jaw		213
8	<i>kæčə</i>	chin	<i>čal-e kæče</i> : chin cleft/dimple	100
9	<i>kakol</i>	crest/ tuft hairstyle		186
10	<i>golale</i>	crown, Sinciput		212
11	<i>čæk</i>	crown; vertex; parting		102
12	<i>keverč</i>	dandruff		200
13	<i>guš</i>	ear	MP <i>gōš</i>	217
14	<i>bælæk</i>	earlobe		42
15	<i>xorχoi(n)</i>	Esophagus		112

16	<i>ti/ tiə</i>	eye	MP <i>tīdag</i> (pupil)	85
17	<i>binæk/bivinæk</i>	eye pupil		51
18	<i>kase ti</i>	eyeball		-
19	<i>ti</i>	eyeball		85
20	<i>borg</i>	eyebrow	MP <i>burg</i>	39
21	<i>merzeng</i>	eyelash		232
22	<i>puren(d)-e ti</i>	eyelid		-
23	<i>šelg</i>	face, complexion		165
24	<i>kæf</i>	foam (mouth)	MP <i>kaf</i>	-
25	<i>tig</i>	forehead	<i>dærz-e tig</i> : the middle line of the forehead	89
26	<i>milom</i>	gums		239
27	<i>mi</i>	hair	MP <i>mōy</i>	238
28	<i>pæ(h)l</i>	hair	<i>pæ(h)l</i> is used more in the sense of tress or braid.	61
29	<i>torne</i>	hair	<i>torne</i> is actually a hair style, a bunch of the front hair twisted on the both sides of the face. ²⁷⁷	72
30	<i>kæle</i>	head	shared between people and animals	196
31	<i>sær</i>	head	MP <i>sar</i>	148
32	<i>kælase</i>	skull	often: <i>kælase sær</i>	193
33	<i>iəlevar</i>	jaw	MP <i>ērwärāg</i> ‘cheek’	31
34	<i>šelæk/ šælækæ</i>	jaw	<i>din-e šælækæ</i> ‘end of jaw’	165
35	<i>læw/ læp</i>	lip	MP <i>lab</i>	225
36	<i>kakili</i>	molar tooth		186
37	<i>dōʷ/ dohōʷ</i>	mouth		127

277. Here is a photo showing this typical Bakhtiari women hair style:



38	<i>puz/æ/e</i>	mouth	usually for animals ('snout'), for people in a pejorative sense MP pōz(ag)	64
39	<i>čial</i>	mouth and lips		107
40	<i>mer</i>	mouth; snout		231
41	<i>gærðe(n)</i>	neck	MP garden, grīw	208
42	<i>dæma/χ</i>	nose		123
43	<i>noft</i>	nose		245
44	<i>mælaz</i>	palate		235
45	<i>zæG</i>	palate		142
46	<i>kase sær</i>	skull		-
47	<i>mof</i>	snot		234
48	<i>din-e šiſgæh</i>	the edge of temple	lit. the tail of temple	132
49	<i>geli</i>	throat	MP galōg, grīw	214
50	<i>tišni</i>	throat	the area right down the Ad- am's apple, Sternal notch	75
51	<i>boluri</i>	throat, Sternal notch, neck	= <i>tišni</i>	42
52	<i>na</i>	throat/ neck		241
53	<i>jit-e na</i>	bottom part of the throat/ neck		96
54	<i>zōw</i>	tongue	MP uzwān	143
55	<i>dənðōw</i>	tooth		126
56	<i>giəs</i>	tress	MP gēs	219
Torso and lower body				
57	<i>qin</i>	anus	this word is actually pro- nounced with a nasalized/i/, thus [qĩ]	-
58	<i>sil</i>	anus		158
59	<i>bægæl</i>	armpit and the side of the body		41
60	<i>kæmær</i>	back	back, lower back, waist MP kamar	-
61	<i>pošt</i>	back	MP pušt	60
62	<i>gæðe</i>	belly	usually for animals, for people in a pejorative sense	21

63	<i>tel</i>	belly		77
64	<i>miā-gun</i>	between the breasts		277
65	<i>meste-dō^w</i>	bladder		233
66	<i>bæþæn</i>	body	also: <i>tæn</i> , <i>ænðo/am</i>	-
67	<i>ær-osteχð^w</i>	bones and ribs		19
68	<i>pestō^w</i>	breast		60
69	<i>lif</i>	breast (animals)		227
70	<i>gð^w/gun</i>	breast; udder		217
71	<i>bot</i>	buttocks		36
72	<i>pæse</i>	buttocks		60
73	<i>kend</i>	buttocks, bottom		198
74	<i>kurč-kurčæk</i>	Cartilage		200
75	<i>gi</i>	excrement	= <i>goh</i> , MP <i>gūh</i>	207
76	<i>go(h)</i>	excrement	= <i>gi</i> , MP <i>gūh</i>	216
77	<i>sende</i>	excrement		155
78	<i>guz</i>	fart		-
79	<i>ter</i>	fart		71
80	<i>din-æw-ger</i>	flank		132
81	<i>vær-kar</i>	flesh/fat on the belly		256
82	<i>zæhle</i>	gall bladder	MP <i>zahrag</i>	144
83	<i>tos</i>	gas/ wind	flatulence	73
84	<i>qælb</i>	heart		-
85	<i>del</i>	heart, belly	MP <i>dil</i>	124
86	<i>jør</i>	hump, hunch		92
87	<i>kok</i>	hunch		193
88	<i>ænderin</i>	inside, intra-abdominal viscera	= <i>del=o kol</i>	24
89	<i>ruin/ revin</i>	intestines	MP <i>rōdīg(ān)</i>	137
90	<i>kol</i>	intestines		193
91	<i>gordale</i>	kidney		208
92	<i>gorde</i>	kidney	MP <i>gurdag</i>	209

93	<i>domjar</i>	waist line	the parting line of the body into: <i>domjar be ziar</i> ‘waist line and lower’ and <i>domjar be bala</i> ‘waist line and upper’	126
94	<i>jiyar</i>	liver	MP jagar	96
95	<i>teriaz</i>	lumbar curve		73
96	<i>gend-e mohr</i>	Lumbar vertebra	lit. piece of vertebra	218
97	<i>jiyar-e espiāḡ</i>	lungs		-
98	<i>pof/ pofin</i>	lungs	also: <i>pof espiāḡ</i>	61
99	<i>naf</i>	navel, belly button	MP nāfag	242
100	<i>kēr</i> ²⁷⁸	penis	MP kēr	203
101	<i>māmele</i> ²⁷⁹	penis		230
102	<i>sændæl</i>	penis		155
103	<i>čort</i>	pubes		101
104	<i>rom</i>	pubes		-
105	<i>denḡe</i>	rib		-
106	<i>tohm</i>	seed	MP tōhmag/ tōm	71
107	<i>pæ(h)li</i>	sides of the stomach	MP pahlūg	64
108	<i>maze</i>	spine		229
109	<i>dæs čæp</i>	spleen		122
110	<i>esbol</i>	spleen	also: inflammation of the spleen (cholecystitis), MP spul	20
111	<i>eškæm</i>	belly, stomach	MP aškamb/ aškom(b)	21
112	<i>kom</i>	belly, stomach		198
113	<i>buz-din</i>	tail bone, coccyx		45
114	<i>gond</i>	testicles	MP gund	218
115	<i>meste</i>	urine	MP mēšag verb: <i>mesten</i> MP mistan, gōmēz	233
116	<i>miāz</i>	urine	verb: / <i>miāzesten</i> MP mistan, gōmēz	238

278. This word illustrates one of the few occurrences of a long vowel in Bakhtiari.

279. The length of the vowel in this word is to compensate the dropping of the glottal stop in an originally Arabic word.

117	<i>mohr</i>	vertebra	MP muhr(ag)	238
118	<i>mohr-e pošt</i>	vertebra	lit.lumbar vertebra of back	237
119	<i>kos</i>	vulva, vagina		-
120	<i>kæþ</i>	waist, loins, small of back		188
Arm and Hand				
121	<i>čolog</i>	armpit		103
122	<i>ziar-čel</i>	armpit	lit.below armpit	145
123	<i>areng</i>	elbow	MP āranj	16
124	<i>kel-e merk</i>	elbow		195
125	<i>merk</i>	elbow		232
126	<i>ængost</i>	finger	MP angust	24
127	<i>kelek</i>	finger/ toe		194
128	<i>most</i>	fist	MP mos/št	233
129	<i>dæs(t)</i>	hand	MP dast	122
130	<i>kelek kučir-e</i>	little finger	lit.finger-little-the (the little finger)	-
131	<i>neχōw</i>	nail	MP nāxun	243
132	<i>tænge/ æ</i>	palm of hand		81
133	<i>pælm</i>	palm; five fingers		62
134	<i>пәһһә</i>	palm; five fingers		63
135	<i>čel</i>	shoulder		103
136	<i>šōw</i>	shoulder	MP šānæg	-
137	<i>hæst-e čæmbær</i>	shoulder blade		264
138	<i>mol</i>	shoulder blade		234
139	<i>količ</i>	the little finger		197
140	<i>bāhi</i>	upper arm		36
141	<i>moč</i>	wrist		-
Leg and Foot				
142	<i>guzæk</i>	ankle		217
143	<i>ræw ræw</i>	back part of the upper leg		136
144	<i>tek</i>	calf		76

145	<i>ziar-tek</i>	calf	lit. below calf	144
146	<i>ænaræk</i>	femoral head	also: <i>ænaræ/ænarð^w</i>	24
147	<i>pa</i>	foot, leg	MP <i>pāy</i>	54
148	<i>gond-e tek</i>	gastrocnemius muscle		215
149	<i>aleme</i>	groin, thigh		17
150	<i>kend-e pa/ kæče pa</i>	heel	lit. bottom of foot/ chin of foot	199
151	<i>guy/we</i>	hip joint		217
152	<i>zuni</i>	knee	MP <i>zānūg</i>	143
153	<i>kæšk-e zuni</i>	knee cap		-
154	<i>gor-e zuni</i>	knee cap, Patella		209
155	<i>χæli čæft</i>	knee pit/ poplit	popliteal fossa	113
156	<i>leng</i>	leg		225
157	<i>liag</i>	leg		227
158	<i>čæft</i>	shank, leg		102
159	<i>rð^w</i>	thigh	MP <i>rān</i>	136
160	<i>kelek-e pa</i>	toe	lit. finger of foot	-
General				
161	<i>hin/ χin</i>	blood	MP <i>xōn</i>	272
162	<i>tæn</i>	body	MP <i>tan</i>	-
163	<i>ænðom</i>	body shape	MP <i>handām</i>	24
164	<i>mel</i>	body hair; hair		234
165	<i>e/ostexð^w</i>	bone	MP <i>astuxān</i>	20
166	<i>hæst</i>	bone	MP <i>ast(ag)</i>	264
167	<i>hostaxð^w</i>	bone		-
168	<i>belešt</i>	complexion; form	<i>belešt-e adomi</i>	42
169	<i>čærbi</i>	fat	MP <i>čarbišn</i>	-
170	<i>piə(h)</i>	fat	MP <i>pīh</i>	-
171	<i>gušt</i>	flesh	MP <i>gōšt</i>	-
172	<i>ger ger</i>	joint		209
173	<i>gor</i>	joint		207
174	<i>kovar</i>	skeleton		200
175	<i>pust</i>	skin	MP <i>pōst</i>	64

176	<i>tu</i>	skin	MP tōz	82
177	<i>mært</i>	skin; layer, membrane		231
178	<i>ræg/y</i>	vein	MP rag/ rahag	135
179	<i>mo</i>	wart		237

Appendix 4 Cooking terminology

It is worth mentioning that for Bakhtiari food is considered as medicine and vice versa. In other words, based on a much older and broader Iranian tradition, formulated by ancient Iranian scientists such as Rhazes (865-925 AD) and Avenenna (c. 980-1037CE), all edible entities are either cold or warm and also either dry or moist. They can also be a combination of two or more of the above states.²⁸⁰ Humans, on the other hand, are divided according to their humours, i.e. based on the fluids that dominates their body: blood, phlegm, yellow bile or black bile. These fluids or humours are in turn based on the four elements that make up the whole universe: earth, air, fire and water. Each body type needs certain food with a specific temperament. In order to remain healthy, one should keep the balance between his or her elements, otherwise losing this equilibrium, will end up in a disease.

This knowledge is handed in by word of the mouth, generation after generation, and now is deeply rooted in the Iranian everyday eating habits and cuisine. The temperments can also be changed by geographic location, season and age. The geographic change is considered mainly effective by drinking a different water, hence the expression: *ab be ab šodæn* (Bakhtiari: *æw be æw wabiden*) ‘lit. water to water become; becoming sick due to drinking a different kind of water.’

Bread, especially Tiri bread is the staple food of the Bakhtiari nomads so much as the verb *nō* *χærden* ‘eating bread’ is used to refer to the general act of dining. Tea is consumed abundantly with sugar cone. This kind of sugar is actually the only daily sweet food that is available. Children will put them in folded Tiri bread, instead of jam or marmalade and consume them as pastry or cookie.

Votive food offerings are practiced frequently. Noteworthy in this regard is *æləfe*, a dish of Halva that is made and will be distributed among at least seven households, on the last Thursday of the year, before Noruz (20-12 March). This is

280. “According to the philosophy of the period, the universe is made up of four main elements: fire, air, water and earth. These are the basic substances that make up all inanimate and animate objects. The four elements are not material but express characteristics of mass and energy. These elements have hot, cold, moist or dry qualities, described as their “state” (keyfiyet). These qualities are inherent and described as “nature” (tabiat). For example, the nature of a human being is defined as hot blooded and that of grass as cold. Earth has a cold and dry nature; water, cold and moist; air, hot and moist; fire, hot and dry. Not only human beings but all animate and inanimate entities are under the influence of one or a combination of the above-mentioned four qualities. The essential substance of any object is characterised by these qualities, each being hot, cold, moist or dry. Each object has a hotter, colder, drier or moister nature in comparison to others. Organs also have these characteristics. For example, the heart has the tendency to be hot and moist; the liver hot and dry; the brain moist and cold; the spleen dry and cold. These natural qualities are also present to a greater or lesser extent in every food or medicament. For example, a food or medicament might be hot in the first, second, third or fourth degrees, and hence the heating effect of that food or medicament varies according to the degree it possesses that characteristic. The combination of qualities in a food or medicament determines the balance in the body of the person who consumes it.” Available: <http://web.archive.org/save/http://muslimheritage.com/article/food-medicine-muslim-civilization>

the day that according to a pre-Islamic belief and tradition, the soul of the deceased ones will return home for blessings and they should be fed and respected by this sweet and nutritious meal.

Sharing food *kase bahr-e* ‘bowel sharing’ is almost a daily practice, especially when a pregnant woman is living closely to be able to smell your food. If you do not give part of your food to a pregnant woman who has cravings for it, is considered to be sinful.

Table 3.4 is organized in four sections: General terms, Utensils and dishes, Verbs related to cooking and Typical food. The first three sections are listed alphabetically, based on the English glosses. The last section which contains the names of the typical Bakhtiari food, is listed alphabetically according to Bakhtiari names.

Table 4: Cooking terminology

No.	Bakhtiari word	gloss
general terms(food, spices, vegetables, etc.)		
1	<i>æw-kæšk</i>	a kind of cold soup by adding water to dried kurd
2	<i>æræχ</i>	alcohol
3	<i>bamjōʷ</i>	aubergine
4	<i>lubi</i>	beans
5	<i>nōʷ</i>	bread
6	<i>kære</i>	butter
7	<i>du</i>	buttermilk/ yoghurt drink
8	<i>hel</i>	cardamon
9	<i>penir</i>	cheese
10	<i>morg/jijæ</i>	chicken
11	<i>darčîn</i>	cinnamon
12	<i>gæve</i>	coffee
13	<i>χæyar</i>	cucumber
14	<i>šivit</i>	dill
15	<i>toχ/hm</i>	egg
16	<i>peh</i>	fat
17	<i>kæšk</i>	fermented yogurt
18	<i>mâhi</i>	fish
19	<i>art/d</i>	flour
20	<i>nōʷ</i>	food
21	<i>qit/ qut</i>	food
22	<i>χorak</i>	food

23	<i>čez</i>	fried animal fat
24	<i>sir</i>	garlic
25	<i>mæšk</i>	goatskin liquid container
26	<i>sowzi</i>	herbs
27	<i>pesχō"i</i>	leftovers
28	<i>genđi/æðæs</i>	lentils
29	<i>gušt</i>	meat
30	<i>šiər</i>	milk
31	<i>næna</i>	mint
32	<i>bære</i>	mutton
33	<i>rigen/ rugen</i>	oil
34	<i>noχo(ð)</i>	peas
35	<i>pinæ</i>	pennyroyal
36	<i>felfel</i>	pepper
37	<i>siəv</i>	potato
38	<i>berenj</i>	rice (cooked and uncooked)
39	<i>golav</i>	rosewater
40	<i>nemek</i>	salt
41	<i>musir</i>	shallot
42	<i>æduve</i>	spices
43	<i>esfenaǰ</i>	spinach
44	<i>šekær</i>	sugar
45	<i>χænð/ qænð</i>	sugar cube
46	<i>čāhi</i>	tea
47	<i>estekam</i>	tea glass
48	<i>zærčuve</i>	tumeric
49	<i>siəv-piaz</i>	vegetables
50	<i>serke</i>	vinegar
51	<i>šærav</i>	wine
Utensils and dishes		
52	<i>baðæ</i>	big bowl
53	<i>kase</i>	bowl
54	<i>ašpal</i>	colander
55	<i>komač/ komači</i>	copper pot/ small copper pot
56	<i>cop</i> ²⁸¹	cup

281. English loan word.

57	<i>čengal</i> ²⁸²	fork
58	<i>mâtæve</i>	frying pan
59	<i>čæxu</i>	knife
60	<i>kæmče</i>	ladle
61	<i>hævæn(g)</i>	mortar
62	<i>pošxav</i>	plate
63	<i>qalome/ diæg</i>	pot
64	<i>tæwe</i>	round griddle
65	<i>nælbeki</i>	saucer
66	<i>siæx</i>	skewer
67	<i>kæfger</i>	spatula
68	<i>qašoχ</i>	spoon
Verbs related to cooking		
69	<i>čit zeiðen</i>	to add starter
70	<i>kævav (rast) kerðen</i>	to barbeque
71	<i>jušniðen</i>	to boil
72	<i>qol zeiðen</i>	to burble out, to boil
73	<i>sohðen</i>	to burn
74	<i>h/xird kerðen</i>	to chop; to cut
75	<i>temis kerðen</i>	to clean
76	<i>pohðen</i>	to cook
77	<i>boriðen</i>	to cut
78	<i>tik tike kerðen</i>	to cut
79	<i>moče kerðen</i>	to cut and shape a pirce of dough into small balls
80	<i>torošesten</i>	to ferment
81	<i>palniðen</i>	to filter
82	<i>sohr kerðen</i>	to fry
83	<i>ærðen</i>	to grind
84	<i>hevir šešniðen/ šešten</i>	to knead dough
85	<i>tæš va kerðen</i>	to make fire
86	<i>du zeiðen</i>	to make yoghurt drink
87	<i>ras(t) kerðen</i>	to make/ prepare
88	<i>perzeniðen</i>	to mix
89	<i>pus(t)/ tu kænðen</i>	to peel
90	<i>koften</i>	to pound

282. Fork is not used much in nomadic household.

91	<i>reχten</i>	to pour
92	<i>berezniðen</i>	to roast
93	<i>be hæm zeidēn</i>	to simmer
94	<i>ševniðen</i>	to simmer
95	<i>terdeniðen</i>	to singe ²⁸³
96	<i>dæm kerðen</i>	to stew; to brew
Typical food		
97	<i>æw- piyâzi</i>	a kind of soup made of onion/ spices/tomato ...
98	<i>æw-beriaz</i>	fried meat cooked with pomegranate sauce
99	<i>æw-garč</i>	wild mushrooms cooked
100	<i>æw-kæšk</i>	a kind of cold soup made of water and <i>kæšk</i>
101	<i>æw-toruši</i>	a kind of soup made by dried pomegranate seeds
102	<i>æw-tulæ</i>	fried malva with onions and pomegranate seeds
103	<i>art-e konar</i>	<i>konar</i> powder that can be used by yughort
104	<i>bereštuk</i>	a sweet, soft and nutritious pastry usually given to women after giving birth, to help her recover.
105	<i>aš-bælg</i>	a kind of pottage made of beans, herbs and wheat noodles
106	<i>aš-e kardin/m</i>	a kind of pottage made of beans and <i>kardin</i>
107	<i>čengal</i>	bread crumbs fried in ghee and serve with sugar
108	<i>duwa</i>	a kind of thick soup made of beans and yughort
109	<i>gændom-kelχong</i>	a mixture of roasted wheat seeds and <i>kelχong</i>
110	<i>gemne</i>	broken wheat grains cooked with tomato and spices
111	<i>gerde</i>	a kind of round and thick bread cooked under cinder
112	<i>gever</i>	a kind of bread made by a coarse flour which is prepared by a quern (a hand mill) and cooked on a <i>tæve</i>
113	<i>hælva</i>	Halva
114	<i>kači</i>	a dish similar to Halva but more diluted
115	<i>kævav</i>	Kebab, the most popular Bakhtiari food
116	<i>musir</i>	shallot
117	<i>piā be jīær</i>	barbequed liver covered by fatty membrane
118	<i>ræn ræn/ boræn</i>	crusty rice at the bottom of pot
119	<i>rego</i>	acorn bread

283. To burn off the feathers or bristles of (a carcass of a bird or animal) by subjecting briefly to flame.

120	<i>siəv-tæmate</i>	a mixture of fried tomato and potato
121	<i>tæmate-bamjõ^w</i>	a mixture of fried tomato and aubergine
122	<i>tilike musir</i>	yoghurt and shallots mix
123	<i>towčiri</i>	a kind of sweet bread like pancake
124	<i>toxm ba tære lori</i>	scrambled egg with dried wild leek powder

Appendix 5 Basic vocabulary

The Bakhtiari basic vocabulary is formed based on Comrie and Smith (1997). All the words are listed alphabetically according to English words on the third column.

Table 5: Basic vocabulary

No.	Bakhtiari words	gloss
1	<i>hame/ hamæ/pây</i>	all
2	<i>o / vo</i>	and
3	<i>heyvō^w</i>	animal
4	<i>hol/ χakeštær</i>	ashes
5	<i>be</i>	at (locative)
6	<i>pošt</i>	back
7	<i>bað/ liš</i>	bad
8	<i>pust-e deræxt</i>	bark/ skin of tree
9	<i>čon/ čenake</i>	because
10	<i>eškæm/ kom</i>	belly
11	<i>gæp</i>	big
12	<i>bâhenðæ</i>	bird
13	<i>gæm (zeiðæn)</i>	(to) bite
14	<i>šæ(h)</i>	black
15	<i>hîn/χin</i>	blood
16	<i>hof kerðæn</i>	(to) blow
17	<i>hæst/hosteχō^w</i>	bone
18	<i>pestō^w/ gun / gō^w</i>	breast
19-a	<i>næfæs</i>	breath
19-b	<i>næfæs (kešiðæn) (intrans)</i>	to breathe
20-a	<i>sohðæn</i>	to burn
20-b	<i>teši kærðæn/ tæš nahaðæn (trans)</i>	to put into fire
21	<i>bæče</i>	child
22	<i>pænǰæ/peng/ pælm/ pænǰul</i>	claw
23	<i>æwr</i>	cloud
24	<i>særd</i>	cold
25	<i>eveiðæn</i>	to come
26	<i>ešmârðæn</i>	to count
27	<i>boriðæn</i>	to cut
28	<i>ruz</i>	day
29	<i>morðæn</i>	to die
31	<i>kesif/čul</i>	dirty

32	<i>sæy</i>	dog
33	<i>vorasniðan/ χærðan</i>	to drink
34-a	<i>hošk</i>	dry
34-b	<i>hošk kerðan (trans)</i>	to dry
34-c	<i>hošk vabiðan (intrans)</i>	to dry
35-a	<i>kol</i>	dull (tool)
35-b	<i>χeng</i>	dull (human)
36	<i>hak/ hol/ gærte lile</i>	dust
37	<i>guš</i>	ear
38-a	<i>zomin</i>	earth (land)
38-b	<i>hak</i>	earth (dust/ soil)
38-c	<i>gel</i>	earth (mud)
39	<i>χærðan</i>	to eat
40-a	<i>χåye/håye</i>	egg
40-b	<i>toχm/tohm</i>	egg
41	<i>ti</i>	eye
42	<i>væstān</i>	to fall
43	<i>dir</i>	far
44-a	<i>čac/</i>	fat
44-b	<i>koloft</i>	fat/ thick
45	<i>bæve/ beu</i>	father
46	<i>tærs</i>	fear
47	<i>pær</i>	feather
48	<i>kæm/ yæ kæm/ yæ zere</i>	few
49	<i>ǰæng kerðan</i>	to fight
50	<i>tæš</i>	fire
51	<i>måhi</i>	fish
52	<i>pænš</i>	five
53	<i>mæl χærðen</i>	to float
54	<i>ræwun abiðan</i>	to flow
55	<i>gol</i>	flower
56	<i>fer zeiðan</i>	to fly
57	<i>ker</i>	fog
58	<i>pa</i>	foot
59	<i>čar</i>	four
60-a	<i>rečestān</i>	to freeze

60-b	<i>yæχ zeiðan (intrans)</i>	to freeze
61	<i>mivæ</i>	fruit
62	<i>por</i>	full
63	<i>daðan</i>	to give
64	<i>χu/ χæif/ χeif</i>	good
65	<i>ælæf</i>	grass
66	<i>sæwz/sowz</i>	green
67	<i>men eškemi/ ruin</i>	guts
68	<i>mel/ mi</i>	hair
69	<i>dæst/dæs</i>	hand
70	<i>ho</i>	he/she
71	<i>sær</i>	head
72	<i>ešniðan</i>	to hear
73	<i>del/ qælþ</i>	heart
74	<i>sengin</i>	heavy
75	<i>ičo</i>	here
76	<i>zeiðan</i>	to hit
77	<i>geraðan</i>	to hold
78-a	<i>šaχ</i>	horn (animals)
78-b	<i>šeipur/ bug</i>	horn (instrument)
79	<i>četæw</i>	how
80	<i>šekal(kerðan)</i>	to hunt
81	<i>miræ/miære</i>	husband
82	<i>mo</i>	I
83	<i>yæχ</i>	ice
84	<i>ær/ æyær</i>	if
85	<i>men</i>	in
86	<i>koštān</i>	to kill
87	<i>zuni</i>	knee
88	<i>dunestān</i>	to know
89	<i>(derya)!</i>	lake
90-a	<i>χendiðen</i>	to laugh
90-b	<i>χæhnesten</i>	to laugh
90-c	<i>χænde/ æ kerðan</i>	to laugh
91	<i>bærg</i>	leaf
92	<i>čæp</i>	leftside

93	<i>leng/ pā</i>	leg
94	<i>deraz kešiðan</i>	to lie
95	<i>zendei kerðan</i>	to live
96	<i>ĵiyær</i>	liver
97	<i>deraz</i>	long
98	<i>šeš</i>	louse
99	<i>merd/ mærd/ð/ piya</i>	man
100	<i>qælevæ/ qæleve/ xeileh</i>	many
101	<i>gušt</i>	meat/flesh
102	<i>mæh</i>	moon
103	<i>da/ dayæ</i>	mother
104	<i>koh/ kohsar</i>	mountain
105	<i>dohun/ dō^w</i>	mouth
106	<i>num/esm</i>	name
107	<i>bārik</i>	narrow
108	<i>nezdik/ neheng</i>	near
109	<i>gærðan</i>	neck
110	<i>næw/ tâze/ jeði(ð)/ nu</i>	new
111	<i>šæw</i>	night
112	<i>noft</i>	nose
113	<i>næ</i>	not
114-a	<i>pir (person)</i>	old
114-b	<i>kohne/æ (inanimate item)</i>	old
115	<i>yæk</i>	one
116	<i>diyær</i>	other
117	<i>šæsg/ næfær/âðom</i>	person
118	<i>bāzi</i>	to play
119	<i>kešiðan</i>	to pull
120	<i>hol dāðan</i>	to push
121	<i>bārð^w</i>	rain
122	<i>sohr</i>	red
123	<i>rast/ dorost</i>	right
124	<i>rast</i>	right side
125	<i>ruð</i>	river
126	<i>ĵāðe/ ræh</i>	road
127	<i>riše/æ</i>	root
128	<i>tænaf</i>	rope

129	<i>gænd zeieðe</i>	rotten
130	<i>gerd</i>	round
131	<i>sâhiðan</i>	to rub
132	<i>nemek</i>	salt
133	<i>šen</i>	sand
134	<i>godðan</i>	to say
135	<i>χârniðan</i>	to scratch
136	<i>derya</i> ²⁸⁴	sea
137-a	<i>diðan</i>	to see
137-b	<i>seil kerðan</i>	to watch
138	<i>tohm</i>	seed
139	<i>dohðan</i>	to sew
140	<i>tîaz</i>	sharp
141	<i>kuta/ kotol</i>	short
142	<i>χonðan</i>	to sing
143	<i>nešæstân</i>	to sit
144	<i>pust/ tu</i>	skin
145	<i>asemō</i> ^w	sky
146	<i>χæw/ χowsiðan</i>	to sleep
147	<i>kučir / χ/hird</i>	small
148	<i>bu/ bu kerðan</i>	to smell
149-a	<i>di</i>	smoke
149-b	<i>di kerðan</i>	to smoke
149-c	<i>segar kešiðan</i>	to smoke cigarette
150	<i>saf</i>	smooth
151	<i>mar</i>	snake
152	<i>bærf</i>	snow
153	<i>bæzi/ yæ χa</i>	some
154	<i>tof / tof vænðan</i>	spit/to spit
155	<i>šæq/ joða kerðan</i>	to split
156	<i>možgeniðan</i>	to squeeze
157	<i>pare/ sila kerðan</i>	to stab/ pierce
158	<i>vastaðan</i>	to stand
159	<i>astaræ/e</i>	star
160	<i>siæχ</i>	stick

283. The word for river and sea are the same. There is no sea in the traditional Baxtiari territory.

161	<i>bærd/ð</i>	stone
162	<i>rast/ saf</i>	straight
163	<i>mek zeiðan</i>	(to) suck
164	<i>χoršið/ oftæw</i>	sun
165	<i>ba kerðan</i>	(to) swell
166	<i>melæ kerðan</i>	(to) swim
167	<i>din</i>	tail
168	<i>hæmo/ ho</i>	that
169	<i>očo</i>	there
170	<i>onon/ honon / honðʷ</i>	they/ them
171	<i>koloft</i>	thick
172	<i>nazok</i>	thin
173-a	<i>ferk</i>	think
173-b	<i>ferk kerðan</i>	to think
174	<i>yo</i>	this
175	<i>to</i>	thou
176	<i>se</i>	three
177	<i>vænðan/ pert kerðan</i>	(to) throw
178	<i>bæstæn</i>	(to) tie
179	<i>zðʷ</i>	tongue
180	<i>denððʷ</i>	tooth
181	<i>dar/ deræxt</i>	tree
182	<i>torniðan/ der χærðan</i>	(to) turn
183	<i>do</i>	two
184-a	<i>šokufe/ estefrag</i>	vomit
184-b	<i>šokufe zeiðan/ estefrag kerðan</i>	to vomit
185	<i>ræh /ræh ræðan</i>	walk, to walk
186	<i>gærm</i>	warm
187	<i>šoštæn</i>	(to) wash
188	<i>æw</i>	water
189	<i>ima</i>	we
190	<i>χis/ tær</i>	wet
191	<i>če(n)</i>	what
192	<i>kei</i>	when
193	<i>koyæ/e</i>	where
194	<i>espiæð</i>	white

195	<i>ki</i>	who
196	<i>pæhm</i>	wide
197	<i>ziəne</i>	wife
198	<i>baǾ</i>	wind
199	<i>bal</i>	wing
200-a	<i>temis/pak</i>	wipe
200-b	<i>temis/pak kerǾn</i>	to wipe
201	<i>ba/ vaba</i>	with
202	<i>ziəne</i>	woman
203	<i>ču/ biǾše</i>	woods
204	<i>kerm</i>	worm
205	<i>ha/ bæle</i>	yes
206	<i>sal</i>	year
207	<i>zærd/Ǿ</i>	yellow

Appendix 6 List of words and expressions related to all domestic mammals in general

Table 6: Domestic mammals

No.	Bakhtiari word	English meaning	comments	p.
1	<i>ælæf-čær</i>	the grazing-right (for the owner of the herd)		175
2	<i>ælæfgar</i>	the fee that herd-owners have to pay to towners of pastures		175
3	<i>ælæmbur</i>	yowl		23
4	<i>ælo</i>	a white and brown ewe		23
5	<i>ælo-piāsæ</i>	an ewe with wool in different colors		23
6	<i>ængele</i>	The feet part of a goat-skin container which is fastened by a rope		24
7	<i>ærešt</i>	braying of a donkey		175
8	<i>æw ræšd^w kerðen</i>	to groom and currycomb a horse or a mare		27
9	<i>æwoki</i>	an ovine which goes from one herd to another one without being claimed by the owner of the second herd		29
10	<i>æwzæ</i>	a two-color wool goat		28
11	<i>bæhðæ</i>	a castrated goat		46
12	<i>bæhr χærðen</i>	to become conceived		46
13	<i>bæl</i>	a goat with long, wide and hanging ears		41
14	<i>bælæk- šæh</i>	a disease which affects the spleen of a goat		42
15	<i>bæræ</i>	a lamb		39
16	<i>bæræ-guči</i>	a lamb kept only for mating		40
17	<i>bæræ-mezði</i>	paying the shepherd based on the number of sheep		40
18	<i>bærgelð^w</i>	a sheep-shepherd		39
19	<i>bæri-bæri</i>	a melody which the shepherd plays for lambs.		37
20	<i>bahar za</i>	an ovine which is born in spring		36
21	<i>bar kerðen</i>	to load the quadrupeds: to get ready for the migration		34

22	<i>bar war</i>	to bring down the load of a quadruped; migration		34
23	<i>bar-kæš</i>	pack animal		34
24	<i>be bæhr</i>	aroused, ready for mating		45
25	<i>be dæstō</i> "	a dog ready for mating		121
26	<i>be-ðæw</i>	a mare		37
27	<i>beinæt</i>	the act of counting of the herd		51
28	<i>beinæt kerðen</i>	to counting the herd		51
29	<i>Beram big</i>	A goat kid		50
30	<i>big-e</i> <i>piðš vænðe</i>	a pre-termed kid	= weak and feeble	50
31	<i>big-e bahare</i>	a kid born in spring		50
32	<i>big-e do-bori</i>	a well and nicely shaped kid that is kept for breeding		50
33	<i>big-e do-mar</i>	a kid fed by two goats		50
34	<i>big-e leleki</i>	a kid affected by a certain parasite, <i>lelek</i>		50
35	<i>big-e sær-bare</i>	a kid given as share in a funeral costs	fig: a very skinny goat	50
36	<i>big-e tæge</i>	a male kid which is older than two years		50
37	<i>big-e vænge</i>	a weak and feeble kid	also pejoratively for humans	50
38	<i>bok=o-bæhr</i>	the mating sound of a goat		41
39	<i>bok=o-bæri</i>	the act of sniffing of a cow by an ox as a preparation for mating (also goats)		45
40	<i>bor bor</i>	moo		37
41	<i>bor zeiðen</i>	scattering of the herd		38
42	<i>borešt</i>	moo		45
43	<i>borniðen</i>	to moo, to low		45
44	<i>boz</i>	goat		40
45	<i>boz-be-dō</i> "	an utterance that the milker sings to encourage the goats come to the milking place		40
46	<i>boz-borō</i> "	the shearing time of goats		40
47	<i>boz-čarn</i>	a goatherd		40

48	<i>boz-čarni</i>	the act of goat herding		40
49	<i>boz-e pæl</i>	a goat with long and horizontal horns		62
50	<i>boz-wa-borō^w</i>	the weaning time of a kid		40
51	<i>bu hælæk-hælæk</i>	the special scent of a he-goat ready for mating		45
52	<i>bur-čal</i>	a red/brownish mare or ewe with a white patch on its forehead		45
53	<i>čæper</i>	an ovine or cow whose kid is dead		100
54	<i>čæpeš</i>	a yearling goat; a he-goat		100
55	<i>čærme pust</i>	a skinny <i>heivenō^w</i>		-
56	<i>čal</i>	an ovine with a white front	also for poultry	99
57	<i>čal-e ælo</i>	a white-front horse or ewe with a brown and white body		100
58	<i>čal-pæl</i>	a goat with a white front and hanging horn towards shoulder		100
59	<i>čarbō^w</i>	the category of horse plus mare and mule		99
60	<i>čarniðen</i>	to graze the animals		99
61	<i>čar-wa</i>	the category of horse plus mare		99
62	<i>čel-gæz-be-gi</i>	the small intestine of all the animals	= <i>kæš-kæš</i>	101
63	<i>čitæ</i>	a reed fence for the lambs and kids	= <i>kolæ čomčitæ</i>	106
64	<i>čomčitæ</i>	a reed fence for the lambs and kids		-
65	<i>čor</i>	urine		101
66	<i>ču zeiðen</i>	the counting of the herd	= <i>beinæt kerðen</i>	276
67	<i>da-bori</i>	the act of separating a baby animal from its mother to stop the breast feeding by sending them to another herd		113
68	<i>da-bori kerðen</i>	to separate a baby animal from its mother to stop the breast feeding by sending them to another herd		117
69	<i>dæru</i>	an interjection used by a farmer to lead the animal downwards the field		118
70	<i>dæs mæze kerðen</i>	examining the weight/ fat of an ovine by touching its back		122

71	<i>dæwlæt</i>	the team of <i>čarbō^{w+}</i> donkey; the herd; wealth		128
72	<i>dag</i>	a metal tool that when heated is used for branding/ marking		118
73	<i>dag-derišom</i>	the sign or mark of an animal		118
74	<i>darag</i>	the big bell of the bellwether	also for camel	69
75	<i>dašt</i>	keeping a cow or sheep to use its produce for the domestic use	dašt-i-e ya košt-i?	117
76	<i>deti</i>	an interjection to keep away a dog		118
77	<i>dewiār</i>	a disease of quadrupeds; the term is also used as a curse to refer to people		129
78	<i>deze</i>	partnership in herding		120
79	<i>deze wabiðen</i>	combining of two herds; boxed		121
80	<i>diəzæ</i>	a gray donkey or mule		129
81	<i>din-æwsar</i>	the rope of a horse's rein		131
82	<i>din-derazō^w</i>	the long-tailed <i>heivenō^w</i>		132
83	<i>din-din kerðen</i>	to wag the tail (a dog)		132
84	<i>do-bænø</i>	an ox which has performed ploughing for two successive years		127
85	<i>do some</i>	ovine or cow which have two-part-ed hoofs	ovine + cow = <i>hæ-lal-gušt</i>	128
86	<i>do-bæri</i>	an ovine that breeds twice a year		127
87	<i>do-bor</i>	a two-year old goat		125
88	<i>do-dæs</i>	a chain with a lock used to fasten the legs of an animal; a padlock		128
89	<i>do-dæs kerðen</i>	fastening the legs of an animal using <i>do-dæs</i>		128
90	<i>do-mar</i>	a kid or calf which has been fed by another ewe besides its mother		129
91	<i>do-rō^w</i>	a ram which has mated for the second time with the group of ewes in a the flock		128
92	<i>došbol</i>	a fat gland under the skin of the animals		123
93	<i>do-za</i>	a twice-bred ovine		128
94	<i>ga</i>	cow		203

95	<i>ga be mal</i>	the name of a star	=the sign of evening	206
96	<i>ga mækal</i>	a lazy ox that doesn't plough		206
97	<i>ga matul</i>	a cow and its calves; a cattle herd		206
98	<i>ga telin</i>	a lean cow that has a huge belly	= ugly	205
99	<i>ga-čarn</i>	cowherd, one who takes cows for grazing		205
100	<i>gæl</i>	a group of animals; an ovine herd		211
101	<i>gælaðæ</i>	a bridle; a collar; the woven rein of a horse		212
102	<i>gælæ</i>	a group of animals; an ovine herd		213
103	<i>gælæ næhaðen</i>	to buy and establish an ovine herd		214
104	<i>gælæ ræmæ</i>	a herd of ovine and cattle		214
105	<i>gælæ-deze</i>	a shared herd		214
106	<i>gær</i>	calf until one year		206
107	<i>gærčæk</i>	the low-fat and thin tail of a sheep		189
108	<i>gærčæk</i>	a disease that lessens the fat of a sheep tail		206
109	<i>gæšæ-gæwæ/e</i>	a pen for ovine		217
110	<i>gæši</i>	1. the Arabic species of ewe, a non- Bakhtiari species of ovine; 2. A goat which has a tuft under its lower jaw		179
111	<i>gæšð" kerðen</i>	to curry		183
112	<i>gæwæ zeiðen</i>	to make a pen for sheep		217
113	<i>gæzæ</i>	a white-grayish donkey, a silver donkey		208
114	<i>gæzæ-ðiazæ</i>	a gray donkey with a black muzzel		211
115	<i>gæzal</i>	a small and beautiful white lamb		178
116	<i>gagelð"</i>	cowherd		206
117	<i>ga-hešð</i>	rumination		206
118	<i>ga-hiši</i>	a ploughing ox		206
119	<i>ga-long</i>	a cow that doesn't stop eating and eats everything (plastic, ...)		206
120	<i>ga-mahi</i>	a big fish; cow-fish		206
121	<i>ga-mir</i>	The bubonic plague		206

122	<i>ga-pæl</i>	a cow with horizontal horns pointed towards the earth		205
123	<i>ga-piəsæ</i>	a black and white cow; a two-colored cow		205
124	<i>gapō^w</i>	cowherd, one who takes care of cows		62
125	<i>gaš</i>	pen, a surrounded piece of land to gather ovines		177
126	<i>gaš-e gælæ/e</i>	the mountain slope which is surrounded by branches and foliage to keep ovines		177
127	<i>ga-telišn kerðen</i>	to skin an ovine in a way that its skin will remain in one piece as a cow's leather		205
128	<i>ga-χærðen</i>	the sucking of a calf before the milking of a cow		205
129	<i>geme</i>	a disease that makes goat unable to walk		214
130	<i>gir-e sæg</i>	a dog's cuspid		237
131	<i>goč zeiðen</i>	to butt (ovines)		183
132	<i>gol æwsar</i>	the pom-pom of the bridle		212
133	<i>gō^w</i>	udder, a cow's breast		215
134	<i>gulu</i>	a three-four months calf	an endearing term	213
135	<i>gun kerðen</i>	the floating of a cow's udder as a sign of immediate delivery		217
136	<i>gun-bænð</i>	a covering for the udder to prevent lambs and kids from suckling		215
137	<i>gusenð</i>	sheep/ ovine		215
138	<i>guwær</i>	calf till one year		217
139	<i>guwær-gelō^w</i>	calfherd		217
140	<i>hæke likæ</i>	fast and continuous barking by seeing a fight or a wild animal		266
141	<i>hækelešt/ð</i>	barking of a dog		264
142	<i>hækelešt/ð kerðen</i>	to bark		265
143	<i>hælæk hælæk</i>	panting of a dog out of thirst, hunger and heat		266
144	<i>hæle kešt kerðen</i>	to bark		267

145	<i>hær</i>	donkey		262
146	<i>hær be ræmæ</i>	a donkey special for mating a mare;	fig. a bully and stupid person, good-for-nothing	262
147	<i>hær gilu</i>	rolling of a donkey in the dirt/ dust		263
148	<i>hær gilu zeiðæ</i>	a rolled in the dust donkey		263
149	<i>hær gilu zeiðen</i>	to roll in the dust (a donkey)		263
150	<i>hær-e xorma rin</i>	a donkey that excretes dates!	fig. a turbulent situation	262
151	<i>hær-ga wærgæn</i>	one who runs the cattle back, cattleherd;	fig. a good-for-nothing person	263
152	<i>hærgelð^w</i>	a donkeyherd		263
153	<i>hæšam</i>	livestock		263
154	<i>hæšuwe</i>	a baby buffalo		263
155	<i>hæwli</i>	a donkey's foal	= <i>guðu</i>	270
156	<i>hæwr o zæwr</i>	the braying of a <i>Hærom-gušt</i> at the mating period		269
157	<i>haš</i>	an interjection to stop a <i>Hærom-gušt</i>		260
158	<i>hẽ</i>	an interjection to run off/ shoo a donkey		268
159	<i>hẽkerðen</i>	to run off/ shoo a donkey		268
160	<i>heiwð^w</i>	domestic animals		107
161	<i>helek helek</i>	a short barking when a dog smells/ senses the approaching of a man or wild animal		266
162	<i>hæwli</i>	a donkey foal		269
163	<i>hile</i>	an animal or human with a beautiful chubby body		270
164	<i>hohæ</i>	an interjection to run off/ shoo a cow		270
165	<i>hol-ey ha</i>	an interjection to make donkeys or mules walk during thrashing		267
166	<i>hom deze</i>	sharing a herd; partner		267
167	<i>huli</i>	a hornless goat		266
168	<i>iš-ðð^w</i>	an interjection, produced while milking a cow or a goat	iš-ðð ^w boko, bozgæl bian mene ðð ^w	31
169	<i>ja gayæl</i>	the cattle (cow) barn		91

170	<i>ǵælaw</i>	a yearling castrated ovine	<i>yæ čudari eveið yæ ǵælawi ǵærið=ō borð</i>	93
171	<i>ǵælaw čæri</i>	the act of taking the herd for grazing		93
172	<i>ǵælaw čarn</i>	a paid grazier, shepherd		93
173	<i>ǵær</i>	leather		93
174	<i>ǵæwðō^w</i>	the molars of the quadrupeds		95
175	<i>ǵælæw ræw</i>	the ovine that moves ahead of the herd		94
176	<i>ǵælæw-kæš</i>	the ovine that moves ahead of the herd	<i>= dobor/ sehis</i>	94
177	<i>ǵol</i>	a thick covering for the animals		93
178	<i>ǵol æwsar kerðen</i>	to put the blanket on the back of the pack animals and drag them along		94
179	<i>ǵol puš kerðen</i>	to cover the pack animals with special blankets		94
180	<i>ǵol šal</i>	a special covering for the animals' chest		94
181	<i>ǵol šal kerðen</i>	to cover the chest of pack animals		94
182	<i>kærčæk</i>	the thin and not fatty tail of a sheep		189
183	<i>kæ'uwæk</i>	a parasite that affects weak and feeble ovines + <i>heivenð^w</i>		186
184	<i>kæmbili</i>	a sheep that has stool stuck to its wool		198
185	<i>kæš kæš</i>	ovine's small intestine		192
186	<i>kæwæ</i>	a sheep of six month to one year old		203
187	<i>kæwor</i>	a device used for weaning/ to prevent a kid from suckling; it is a piece of wood which will be placed in the mouth of the kid, with two strings on its both sides which will be fastened to its horns.		202
188	<i>kæwšæk</i>	the outer part of a hoof; the growth of an ovine's hoof		201
189	<i>kæz</i>	the fluffy hair of a goat belly that is used to make a shepherd's coat (kordin)		191

190	<i>kagenat</i>	ovine placenta; Bakhtiaris fill it with foremilk and cook it.	185
191	<i>kal piðšæ</i>	a sheep with black and white wool	186
192	<i>kelær</i>	a kid or lamb after its infancy	194
193	<i>keleng zeiðen</i>	to sit on hands (dog)	195
194	<i>kelezne</i>	tailbone of a sheep	194
195	<i>keri keri</i>	interjection to send the sheep away	191
196	<i>kerne</i>	tick; deer tick shared with ovine, <i>heivenð^w</i> , human, birds and dog	190
197	<i>keten</i>	fastening ovine + <i>heivenð^w</i> together into a line	187
198	<i>koč</i>	interjection to call a dog	188
199	<i>koheil</i>	a name for an old and noble <i>čarbð^w</i>	203
200	<i>koh-mir</i>	The bubonic plague of sheep	201
201	<i>kol</i>	a two-year old faol	193
202	<i>kol</i>	mare foal	195
203	<i>kolæh</i>	a place to keep lambs and kids	196
204	<i>kolæh-comečit</i>	a pen made of reed to keep lambs and kids	197
205	<i>komiat(ð)</i>	a red-brownish horse or mare	198
206	<i>kop-e čera kerðen</i>	the mass grazing of the herd in a rich pasture	186
207	<i>kor-æwzæ</i>	a goat with small ears and two-colored spotted wool	189
208	<i>kor-æwzæ</i>	a black and white goat with small ears	190
209	<i>kori</i>	a black goat with small folded ears	191
210	<i>kor-i sia</i>	a goat that is completely black	-
211	<i>koriæz</i>	lining up of the ovine + <i>heivenð^w</i>	191
212	<i>koriæz kerðen</i>	to line up (sheep)	191
213	<i>korniðen</i>	blaring of a sheep	190
214	<i>kor=o-kær</i>	to blare, at the time of mating (sheep) and giving birth	200
215	<i>kor=o-ler kerðen</i>	(sheep) to walk around her lamb while licking	190
216	<i>košti</i>	an ovine, cow and <i>Hællal-gušt</i> that is kept to be used for its meat	191

217	<i>kō^w</i>	a disease that inflamates a Donkey's palate and to cure it, they need to pierce the resulating gland. Also for <i>Hærom-gušt</i> and <i>čarbō^w</i>		201
218	<i>kuč-kuč</i>	interjection for calling a dog to come or to go		200
219	<i>kut gæh</i>	manure dump		-
220	<i>lær-kæš</i>	taking care of feeble ovines		222
221	<i>læw-riāšæ</i>	blisters around lips and mouth of kid or lamb		226
222	<i>las</i>	cow dung that is framed in a square or circle shape		70
223	<i>las</i>	female		221
224	<i>laz</i>	a piece of a ovine's wool which has a different color		218
225	<i>laz-ŋar</i>	spotted		221
226	<i>leleki</i>	affected by <i>lelek</i>		224
227	<i>lerešt</i>	baaing		221
228	<i>ler-ler</i>	a continous baaing		222
229	<i>lerniŋen</i>	to baa		222
230	<i>liəwō^w</i>	placenta of animals		227
231	<i>lif</i>	animals breast		226
232	<i>lori</i>	a big-eyed, wooly-head and fat-tailed sheep		223
233	<i>lōri</i>	dying of ovines or <i>heivenō^w</i> caused by severe cold		225
234	<i>lun</i>	ready for delivering baby		226
235	<i>lun nahaŋen</i>	to deliver		-
236	<i>ma ga</i>	female cow		229
237	<i>ma hær</i>	female donkey		230
238	<i>ma- xi</i>	female hog		229
239	<i>mače</i>	female donkey or any female <i>Hærom-gušt</i>		228
240	<i>mæčilæ</i>	a thin beaded rope to put on a calf neck	fig.: very thin	230
241	<i>mækeniŋen</i>	to baa		234

242	<i>mængæw</i>	1. cattle's flu; 2. dizziness of <i>Hærom-gušt</i> and <i>čarbō^w</i>		236
243	<i>mængæw zeiðen</i>	an animal affected by flu		236
244	<i>mænmaenu</i>	the sheep that walks the last		-
245	<i>mæræ</i>	bean-like glands under the skin of a goat which has eaten acorn excessively		232
246	<i>mæše kerðen</i>	the entangling of a rope around the leg of a <i>čarbō^w</i>		232
247	<i>mar mi</i>	a disease that is caused by a white and thin parasite in the lung of all animals and even birds		229
248	<i>mel gahi</i>	a ball made of cow's hair		234
249	<i>mendal</i>	a suckling kid		236
250	<i>met</i>	lambs and kids excrement before starting to graze		235
251	<i>miāš</i>	ewe		238
252	<i>miāš be koriāz</i>	following each other (ovines)		238
253	<i>miāš-e kal</i>	a black ewe		238
254	<i>miāš-e kōhi</i>	a mountain ewe		238
255	<i>mofæk</i>	ovine's running nose		234
256	<i>mō^w</i>	mare		237
257	<i>na bimi kerðen</i>	to act uneasy in the cold weather of highlands (ovine + <i>čarbō^w</i>)		238
258	<i>nær miāš</i>	a male sheep, special for breeding		243
259	<i>næræk</i>	a young male donkey		242
260	<i>næžði</i>	a non-Bakhtiari species of goat which breeds twines		243
261	<i>nal ðag</i>	a horseshoe form of brand for making animals		241
262	<i>nia ræw</i>	an ovine that walks in front of a herd and the rest follow him		-
263	<i>nil/nilæ</i>	a white-bluish <i>Hærom-gušt</i>		248
264	<i>nim burniðen</i>	to moo in a broken way (on the occasion of mourning for another cow)		248

265	<i>nime dari</i>	a contract according to which one accepts taking care of another person's herd on the condition that will receive half of its profits		248
266	<i>niškæw</i>	half of the body; one-half of a cow or ovine's body		248
267	<i>niz naz kerðen</i>	to snuffle		248
268	<i>niz niz kerðen</i>	to whine or to yap (a dog)		248
269	<i>nizniðen</i>	to yap (a dog)		248
270	<i>nu palð^w</i>	a female donkey or mule which is now old enough for carrying load		244
271	<i>nu wænð</i>	a young cow that has just reached the age of ploughing		246
272	<i>nu zin</i>	a horse ready to be saddled		246
273	<i>nu-z-ðin</i>	a two-year old mare foal (lit. new-from-tail)		246
274	<i>pærçæl-bor kerðen</i>	the cutting of ovine's wool, short enough just to protect him against hot weather		57
275	<i>pær-pæri</i>	the stomach of ovine/ horse and cattle	all grazing animals	57
276	<i>pæs-æs-til</i>	a three-year old sheep that has bred once	= <i>pæs-ta-til</i> = <i>pæs-da-sill</i> = <i>pæs-ta-sil</i>	60
277	<i>pæs-tir</i>	a goat that has bred twice		60
278	<i>parine/ pârne</i>	a year old female calf		54
279	<i>paven</i>	a bunch of unsleaved goat hair for later spinning	mia boz-e paven kon	56
280	<i>paven kerðen</i>	to spin goat hair hank		56
281	<i>peger</i>	powder/ crushed manure of <i>heivenð^w</i>		61
282	<i>pel</i>	a young male calf		61
283	<i>pel-e men-e gærgæl</i>	an ox that stays more with calves;	fig.: an elderly man who prefers the company of lads	61
284	<i>pelu</i>	a one year old ox		62

285	<i>peræiniðen</i>	the sneezing of a goat	also pejoratively for humans	59
286	<i>peškel</i>	ovine's dung		61
287	<i>pey zeiðen</i>	the exhaustion of the pack animals under the load during the seasonal migration		66
288	<i>pof-ešpiað</i>	lung		61
289	<i>ræhš</i>	a goat with white and black hair		137
290	<i>ræm xærðen</i>	to escape; scattering of a herd by a thief or wolf attack		135
291	<i>ræma xð^w</i>	hostler	a shepherd of <i>čarbð^w</i>	
292	<i>ræmæ dar</i>	one who has a herd; a rich person		136
293	<i>ræšxo</i>	a beautiful and shaply horse		135
294	<i>refniðen</i>	cuffing of a sheep		135
295	<i>rekav</i>	the pedal of a saddle		135
296	<i>renj</i>	a disease for <i>heivð^w</i>		136
297	<i>riagal</i>	the dried out watery stool stuck to the sheep wool and hair		139
298	<i>riagal kerðen</i>	affecting of the sheep by diarrhea		139
299	<i>riā-gerehðen</i>	affecting of the sheep by diarrhea		139
300	<i>riawær</i>	a new-born/ milking lamb/ kid/ calf	=riwær	139
301	<i>riawær-za</i>	a newly bred ovine + <i>heivð^w</i>		139
302	<i>riā-zæhlæk</i>	the green watery stool of ovine or cow caused by an inflated gall bladder		138
303	<i>rofiðæ</i>	a piece of felt to be placed under the tail of quadrupeds		135
304	<i>roh-šæh</i>	an interjection used to encourage a donkey for mating		137
305	<i>rošgin</i>	the ring of a saddle which is placed below the tail		134
306	<i>šæh-čal</i>	a black cow with a white forehead	=ga-čal	168
307	<i>šæh-lal</i>	a goat with big, wide ears and very black hair		168
308	<i>šængol</i>	a two years old she-calf		166
309	<i>sær-čær</i>	ovine and other grazing animals		150

310	<i>sær-kæn kerðen</i>	the movement of the herd towards grazing without the shepherd's awareness		
311	<i>sær-kæš</i>	the lead goat of the herd	= <i>do-bor</i>	151
312	<i>sær-som zeiðen</i>	The hoofing of a mule (trampling with the hoof on the ground) which people think is a sign of a thief being around		151
313	<i>šæw be koh</i>	staying the night in the mountain, night grazing		166
314	<i>šæw čær</i>	night grazing		166
315	<i>šæw kæn</i>	going for night grazing		167
316	<i>sæwa za</i>	an ovine + <i>heivenð</i> ^w which just has given birth		155
317	<i>šæw-kæni</i>	going for night grazing		167
318	<i>šæw-kæni kerðen</i>	to take the herd out for grazing in the night		167
319	<i>šæw-χoft</i>	an special felt coat with closed sleeve holes used by sheperds 		166
320	<i>sæy-gorg</i>	jackal; wolfdog		-
321	<i>sæy-las</i>	a she-dog, a bitch		158
322	<i>sæy-nas</i>	a fatal disease of dogs		158
323	<i>sæy-niyæhr kerðen</i>	staring like a dog		156
324	<i>sal-beh kerðen</i>	every-other-year breeding of ovines + <i>heivenð</i> ^w		147
325	<i>se</i>	a special sound to move the animals		156
326	<i>segæt</i>	death of the non-Hallal animals and dogs		153
327	<i>sehis-e niaræw</i>	a goat that walks ahead of the herd and leads the rest	= <i>do-bor</i>	-
328	<i>šehniðen</i>	to neigh		168

329	<i>šeške</i>	a kind of parasite that sucks ovine + <i>heivenō^w</i> or dog's blood and makes them weak and emaciated.		163
330	<i>sial</i>	the skin under an ewe's tail		64
331	<i>šianešt</i>	neighing of a horse or mare		169
332	<i>sir-silæwæ</i>	tripe (all animals)		151
333	<i>šir-širæk</i>	small brown glands in the stomach of ovines		169
334	<i>šišæk</i>	a two-year old ewe that has bred once		169
335	<i>šoge zeiðen</i>	the bumping of the animals' load into the stones on the side of the path/ road		164
336	<i>šohaz</i>	a sound, like a horse or somebody walking in distance.		276
337	<i>šohaz gerehðen</i>	listening to the sounds in distance, like the sounds produced by animals, specially walking of a horse		276
338	<i>šohaz weiðen</i>	hearing of a sound similar to walking of a passerby or footsteps of a horse		276
339	<i>somat</i>	donkey and <i>čarbō^w</i> 's dung		154
340	<i>sombolik</i>	the little hoof of a cow + ovine		154
341	<i>song-e-mus kerðen</i>	dog's sniffing of food or things		155
342	<i>soro</i>	horn		152
343	<i>šotor</i>	camel		162
344	<i>šul</i>	a white-tailed cow		167
345	<i>sule</i>	pieces of dough to feed dogs		158
346	<i>tæ'us/ tæhus/ tæhvus</i>	a sheep with flat and wide ears		70
347	<i>tæge</i>	two years old male goat= <i>tištær</i>	<i>bæhðe</i> =schis/ big-e <i>tæge</i>	77
348	<i>tæhæ</i>	a dark brown cow or ewe		85
349	<i>tækæ(e)</i>	dried dung <i>heivenō^w</i>		77
350	<i>tæke čiðen</i>	gathering of the dried <i>heivenō^w</i> dung		77
351	<i>tælgeniðæ</i>	a separated ovine/ cattle from the herd		78

352	<i>tælgenniðen</i>	to chase, to ferret	næ-tælgæn ze yæk	78
353	<i>tælungæ</i>	dewlap of a cow and ewe		79
354	<i>tæng zeidæn</i>	to fasten an animal's load using <i>tæng</i>		81
355	<i>tæng-e zin</i>	a special belt under a mare or mule's belly to support the saddle		81
356	<i>tæpalæ</i>	cow dung		70
357	<i>tare tič</i>	an animal that stampede		69
358	<i>taresten</i>	going away from the herd (ovine)		69
359	<i>terat</i>	gallop		71
360	<i>terat kæniðen</i>	to gallop		71
361	<i>teriā</i>	a rope to fasten the kids in a row		73
362	<i>teriā kerðen</i>	to fasten the kids in a row using <i>teriā</i>		73
363	<i>tič wabiðen</i>	straying from the herd	tič wabið ræhd	87
364	<i>tičešten</i>	straying quickly from the herd (ovine and cattle)		87
365	<i>tikenidæn</i>	milking cow and ovine		89
366	<i>til/ tile</i>	baby animal		89
367	<i>tir</i>	fat and healthy (ovine/cattle)		87
368	<i>tir-beger</i>	choosing the best ovine/ cattle		87
369	<i>tire boz</i>	a two year-old fat goat		87
370	<i>tir-zæwin kerðen</i>	to separate fat and thin ovine/ cat- tle and <i>heivenō^w</i> from each other		87
371	<i>tišt/ðær</i>	a yearling she-goat not having a kid yet		88
372	<i>tišt/ðær-be- gæle</i>	a sheep that has gone to another herd	fig: a person who has left his tribe residing in another tribe	88
373	<i>ti-ti</i>	a special sound to call a kid		86
374	<i>tok daðen</i>	the first help from the shepherd to a new born lamb or kid to start sucking milk	ræw bærese tok bede	76

375	<i>tolom</i>	a number of ovines		78
376	<i>tul</i>	A puppy	= <i>tile sæy</i>	77
377	<i>tur wabiþen</i>	to become wild (of a quadruped)		83
378	<i>vorza hiši</i>	a prepared ox for plowing		
379	<i>wa duš kerþen</i>	twice milking of a cow or <i>Hæl-lal-gušt</i> at a time		249
380	<i>wæhæ</i>	an interjection to run a cow		260
381	<i>wæhš</i>	an interjection to run off/ shoo a goat		260
382	<i>wærændil</i>	a three-years old ewe	rarely used	256
383	<i>wærgerniþen</i>	rumbling of a dog before attack		256
384	<i>wærgetehesten</i>	rolling in the dust caused by a dog attack		256
385	<i>wærtizgeniþen</i>	to buck, to kick (donkey or <i>Hærom-gušt</i>)		254
386	<i>wahæ</i>	an interjection to run a cow		254
387	<i>wahei kerþen</i>	to push a cow ahead		253
388	<i>worza</i>	a castrated ox		255
389	<i>wuru</i>	an interjection used by a farmer to make the ploughing animal go towards up-field		259
390	<i>yabu</i>	a castrated riding horse		270
391	<i>yæ somæ</i>	one-hoofed; an animal with a round hoof such as <i>Hærom-gušt</i>		273
392	<i>yagi</i>	unruly horse		272
393	<i>yal</i>	mane		273
394	<i>yal kæšiþen</i>	fig. to be condemned; to remain silent		273
395	<i>yalþin</i>	horsehair		273
396	<i>yeχ</i>	an interjection to run off/ shoo a goat/ kid		262
397	<i>yeχ</i>	an interjection to run off/ shoo a goat and kid		273
398	<i>yorgæ</i>	a charming way of walking by a horse		273
399	<i>yorgæ ræhþen</i>	to prance		273
400	<i>yorgæ ræw</i>	a horse that prances		273

401	<i>zæhle gæp</i>	an ovine or cow-disease (Atro-kenin)		142
402	<i>zæhm-derišom</i>	cut or wound mark on an ovine or <i>heivenð^w</i> body		142
403	<i>zænĵir-æwsar</i>	the metal nose-gear of <i>heivenð^w</i>		142
404	<i>zærϕ</i>	a beige cow		141
405	<i>zarniϕen</i>	to bray		141
406	<i>zar=o-zik</i>	braying of a donkey + <i>heivð^w</i>		142
407	<i>zehe</i>	female animals' genitals		143
408	<i>zik-e-zak</i>	the sound of a horse or mule calling for food		144
409	<i>zikniϕen</i>	the sound which a horse utters while another horse is passing by or when he is hungry		144
410	<i>zin</i>	saddle		145
411	<i>zir-dini</i>	a rope that passes under the tail to fasten the two sides of an animal covering together		144
412	<i>zulæk-za</i>	a cow that starts breeding early in life		143
413	<i>χalur</i>	yap (dog)		252
414	<i>χerniϕen</i>	to growl		111
415	<i>χoϕu/ guϕu</i>	a donkey's foal		110
416	<i>χoš-ræw</i>	a quick and light-footed animal		112

Appendix 7 List of words and expressions related to plants

The meanings that are separated here by ; in Maddadi's is separated by different numbers

Table 7: Plants

	pronunciation	English meaning	comments	p.
1	<i>æbol</i>	Scots pine	Pinus sylvestris	19
2	<i>ælæf</i>	grass; herb; fodder; weed		-
3	<i>ælæf holong</i>	grass		175
4	<i>ælæfe hur-der</i>	a kind of weed that tears nomadic carpet bags		-
5	<i>ælæf-e tæw-siæk</i>	a herb that is used to cure Malaria		175
6	<i>ælæf-tæhlæ</i>	a bitter herb that grows in the cold areas		175
7	<i>æliæg</i>	coarse grinded barley that is used as fodder		175
8	<i>ændæšt</i>	a herb that looks like garlic chive and is used to cure constipation, has a strong bitter taste that brings tears into eyes		24
9	<i>ængir</i>	grape		25
10	<i>ænĵir</i>	fig		-
11	<i>æw lele</i>	herb, brewed for chest pain.		29
12	<i>æwændul</i>	an anti-bloating wild herb, cooked in yoghurt and then eaten.	Photo in Appendix 8	30
13	<i>æw-čirn</i>	herb, brewed for cold.		27
14	<i>æwrešom</i>	thyme	Photo in Appendix 8	27
15	<i>æwrišom</i>	thyme		28
16	<i>æwšæ bæle</i>	A plant similar to <i>æwšo</i> but with wider and hairy leaves		28
17	<i>æwšo</i>	Thyme used to cure common cold.		28
18	<i>agulæ</i>	Hanging fruit; a tree full of fruit		17
19	<i>aličæ</i>	plum		17
20	<i>ardæk</i>	A stage in the growth of grains (wheat and barley) when the seeds are still powder-like.		15
21	<i>ærgon</i>	A kind of plant		20
22	<i>æržen</i>	millet		20
	<i>ærzen</i>	a kind of wild tree		-

23	<i>asæl</i>	honey, resin		175
24	<i>asæl ginæ</i>	the sap of milk vetch		175
25	<i>baðbæri</i>	A cold-region plant that moves with the wind		33
26	<i>baðiyun</i>	anise		34
27	<i>bæč kerðen</i>	to blossom		36
28	<i>bæhmen</i>	A barley-like wild herb. The sheperds should be careful that their ovine not to eat a lot of this plant, otherwise they'll get sick.		48
29	<i>bæhmen piäč</i>	<i>Stipa capensis</i>	Photo in Appendix 8	48
30	<i>bæhmeni</i>	<i>bæmen</i> -stricken, an animal that is sick due to eating too much <i>bæhmen</i> .		48
31	<i>bæhmeni wabiðen</i>	Becoming sick or dying due to eating too much <i>bæhmen</i> .		48
32	<i>bækælu</i>	Watercress	<i>Nasturtium officinale</i> Photo in Appendix 8	41
33	<i>bælbælu</i>	Lamb's ear, it is also called <i>pæšminæ</i> or <i>bælbæl-e guš</i> . It has flat, hairy leaves and grows along streams.	<i>Stachys byzantina</i> Photo in Appendix 8	42
34	<i>bælg</i>	leaf		42
35	<i>bæn</i>	wild pistachio	Photo in Appendix 8	43
36	<i>bæne-kone-nu</i>	the first harvest of the new crop		44
37	<i>bænyæw</i>	A kind of tree with very strong wood, Ash or European Ash.	<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i> Photo in Appendix 8	44
38	<i>bæræ-čær</i>	A broad and spread forage that is used as fodder for the herd.		40
39	<i>bærbim</i>	sap; the sap of <i>kelxong</i> tree.		37
40	<i>bærkæt</i>	The harvest without straw		39
41	<i>bærkæt zeiðen</i>	To compile the clean grains of the harvest without straw in the stack		39
42	<i>bærziær</i>	cultivator, farmer, sower		38
43	<i>bæzgi</i>	non-irrigated harvest		40
44	<i>bæzræk</i>	Linseed; <i>Linum usitatissimum</i>		40

45	<i>bafæ(e)</i>	a bunch of harvested wheat or barley		35
46	<i>bagelæ</i>	broad bean		35
47	<i>baham</i>	almond		36
48	<i>baharæ</i>	spring planting		36
49	<i>baleng</i>	cucumber		35
50	<i>balengæk</i>	A kind of plant		35
51	<i>balengō^w</i>	A herb that is used to cure lung infection. Usually the seeds are used.	Photo in Appendix 8	35
52	<i>baom</i>	almond		35
53	<i>baomjō^w</i>	aubergin		-
54	<i>bartæng</i>	Plantain	Photo in Appendix 8	34
55	<i>bawine</i>	Camomille		36
56	<i>bayinæ</i>	a branch that is thicker than the rest		36
57	<i>bayom</i>	almond		36
58	<i>bayom do- bo-lunæ</i>	twin almonds		36
59	<i>bayom tæhlæ</i>	unsweetened almond		36
60	<i>bayom-šeri</i>	sweetened almond		36
61	<i>belæ</i>	the dried body of a wild celery		41
62	<i>bele</i>	the dried branches of some short and sparse bushes		43
63	<i>belher</i>	a celery-like plant which is smelly and bitter		43
64	<i>belit</i>	acorn; Oak tree		43
65	<i>beram belit</i>	‘a kind of bush’		-
66	<i>berenj pikæ</i>	roasted rice		39
67	<i>berenj sohr</i>	red rice, a kind of cold-region plant used to cure diarrhea		39
68	<i>berenjsuri</i>	a pasture plant with edible seeds used to prepare a food	Photo in Appendix 8	-
69	<i>berenjas</i>	yarrow	Photo in Appendix 8	39
70	<i>berenj-kali</i>	paddy (rice-plantation)		39
71	<i>bereze/beriæze</i>	a kind of resin similar to chewing gum		38
72	<i>beseð</i>	coral		40
73	<i>biæð/ð</i>	willow		49
74	<i>biæšæ</i>	grove, thicket		50

75	<i>bokote</i>	the dried root of a fallen tree		41
76	<i>bone</i>	bush		44
77	<i>bone bæsten</i>	spreading of a plant on the ground (such as cucumber or tomato plants)		44
78	<i>bone wænðen</i>	spreading roots; growing of the grains		44
79	<i>bone-kæn</i>	to uproot		44
80	<i>bone-kæn kerðen/ wabiðen</i>	to become uprooted		44
81	<i>bonjo kohi</i>	a plant that is used for its sap		43
82	<i>bor</i>	the un-harvested crop		37
83	<i>boriš</i>	a kind of wild plant		40
84	<i>bosohr</i>	a cold-region plant like red spring onion, used to cure common cold	Allium haemanthoides Photo in Appendix 8	40
85	<i>bote</i>	bush		36
86	<i>bote zæri</i>	A kind of bush with golden flowers used as fodder.		36
87	<i>botolmæ</i>	The trunk of a tree; the dried trunk of a tree		36
88	<i>boz-bor</i>	A kind of herb similar to <i>tære kohi</i>		40
89	<i>bu-bu marð^w</i>	Yarrow or Common Yarrow	Achillea millefolium	44
90	<i>bugænðæ</i>	Ferula		45
91	<i>bukele</i>	a vase-like container for oil, ... made of <i>zerešk</i> leaves		45
92	<i>but</i>	An empty trunk of a tree used for watering the herd or leading water towards a mill.		44
93	<i>čaðeri</i>	bran, crust		99
94	<i>čæmænð</i>	grass		104
95	<i>čæræk čæræk</i>	A pasture plant with bag-like flowers that when dried and pressed can sound something like <i>čæræk čæræk</i>	onomatopoeic word Photo in Appendix 8	-
96	<i>čæwil</i>	A fragrant plant that has two kinds in tropical and non-tropical areas. Nomads, cover meat by <i>čæwil</i> and keep it for later use on the next day.	Photo in Appendix 8	106
97	<i>čæwk</i>	A plant, its powder is served with yughort drink.		106

98	<i>čæxæl</i>	an unripe fruit		101
99	<i>čal-čalæk</i>	a kind of plant		100
100	<i>čar-beðu</i>	an edible plant		99
101	<i>čawok</i>	A cold-region plant		100
102	<i>čai kōhi</i>	Mountain tea.	They brew and drink it.	-
103	<i>čeðerwa</i>	Aleo vera		101
104	<i>čel-čel æworð</i>	a purple flower which grows in crops.	It is used to heal wounds.	103
105	<i>čen-čen</i>	ailanthus		104
106	<i>čenðar</i>	Oriental Plane	Platanus orientalis	104
107	<i>čeng čolofte</i>	dried and powder-like forage		105
108	<i>čert</i>	tree buds		101
109	<i>češm mizæ</i>	a herb that is used for eye infection		101
110	<i>čez</i>	known popularly as felty german der ²⁸⁵	Teucrium polium It is used as anti-diarrhea and for the treatment of stomach ailments. Photo in Appendix 8	101
111	<i>čiðer</i>	a grass-like plant		107
112	<i>čolulæ</i>	chaff		103
113	<i>ču-mæčæk</i>	Almond tree wood		106
114	<i>čurčome</i>	turmeric		106
115	<i>dægæl</i>	meadow; abundant crop		123
116	<i>dænge</i>	unripe, raw		127
117	<i>dærweniðen</i>	to reap, to cut plants		121
118	<i>dæsæ</i>	bunch, a bunch of harvested wheat/barely		123
119	<i>dæw-dæwi</i>	bush of thorns moving around with wind		128
120	<i>dal</i>	lentil dahl		118
121	<i>dar</i>	tree		117
122	<i>dar bælutæk</i>	Oak tree		117

285. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teucrium_polium.

123	<i>dar bengeštōw</i>	Viscum	It is used to treat wounds	117
124	<i>dar-dik</i>	a tall tree		117
125	<i>dar-dik kerðen</i>	to cut a tree branches and leaves		117
126	<i>das dæwn</i>	a short and sparse crop		117
127	<i>das ger</i>	a full grown crop		118
128	<i>dasæ</i>	Wheat and barley blade		118
129	<i>deker</i>	a bifurcation branch that is used to separate <i>bafæ</i> from <i>rivæ</i>		124
130	<i>der</i>	thorn bush, meadow		119
131	<i>deræw</i>	harvesting		120
132	<i>derale</i>	a thorny weed that grows in between grain crops and sticks to human body		119
133	<i>dere</i>	bush		121
134	<i>dere dōw</i>	a thicket		121
135	<i>dežgalæ</i>	big straw		121
136	<i>difæ</i>	a thin and filed reed		131
137	<i>din-be-kæh</i>	a beaten stack, not completely separated from straw		131
138	<i>dinešt</i>	Esfand, wild rue, Syrian rue	Peganum harmala	132
139	<i>din-hil</i>	a verticillate plant with tiny white flowers		132
140	<i>do šohme</i>	bi-ploughed, a piece of land that has been ploughed twice		128
141	<i>do-bælg</i>	stripling wheat or barley with two leaves		127
142	<i>dōw-kæwg</i>	a plant with tiny seeds that are partridges' food		128
143	<i>dole</i>	unripe (cucumber, ...)		125
144	<i>do-mular</i>	withered, semi-dried		129
145	<i>dong zeiðen</i>	ripening of <i>kelxong</i> ; turning of the <i>kelxong</i> 's color to livid		126
146	<i>don-gol</i>	the seed of a flower		126
147	<i>dornæ</i>	half-beaten		120
148	<i>dornæk</i>	beaten rice, rice crumb		120
149	<i>dunit</i>	a cold-region bush that is used as fodder		129

150	<i>e/ænar</i>	pomegranate		24
151	<i>eškæm-derdæ(e)</i>	<i>Capparis spinosa</i> , the caper bush, also called Flinders rose	= <i>legeji</i> Photo in Appendix 8	21
152	<i>espidar</i>	poplar		20
153	<i>espiduš</i>	a kind of wildling		20
154	<i>fæsxil</i>	a pasture plant with yellow flowers and white sap	Photo in Appendix 8	-
155	<i>fag</i>	branch		181
156	<i>faš</i>	blossom		181
157	<i>faš kerðen</i>	to blossom		181
158	<i>fenje</i>	seed		182
159	<i>fenje-sia</i>	a kind of herb (lit. black seed)	It is a herb that is supposed to protect people from an evil eye. ²⁸⁶	182
160	<i>fiyale</i>	a kind of wild plant	= <i>fiyalæ</i>	182
161	<i>gænðom-čar-tohm</i>	a sort of wheat with a quadrilateral spikelet and white floret and seed		216
162	<i>g.-gæræ</i>	sparse wheat crop		216
163	<i>g.-huši</i>	a sort of wheat with a quadrilateral spikelet and white Awn and seed		216
164	<i>g.-kakayi</i>	a sort of wheat with black Awn and Palea and yellow seed		216
165	<i>g.-kori</i>	= <i>ša-pesænð</i> wheat		216
166	<i>g.-šæh-das</i>	a sort of wheat with a quadrilateral spikelet and black Awn and seed		216
167	<i>g.-šæti</i>	a kind of wheat with full and uniform seed		216
168	<i>g.-saf-huš</i>	a wheat with full grown spikelet		216
169	<i>g.-ša-pesænð</i>	a sort of wheat which does not have amns		216
170	<i>g.-sohræ</i>	a kind of wheat with narrow and red-dish grains		216
171	<i>g.-tia-be-yæk</i>	a kind of wheat without the middle line		216
172	<i>g.-zær-ðong</i>	a sort of wheat with narrow and quadrilateral spikelet and yellow Awn and beige seeds		216

286. They sew it in a corner of the clothes of a person who is suspected to have such a harmful look/ eye.

173	<i>g.-ziri</i>	a sort of wheat with narrow spikelet, tiny beige seeds, rough and strong stems. The flour of this kind of wheat has a better quality than <i>gænðom-tohmi</i>		216
174	<i>gabore</i>	a kind of pasture plant usually called <i>ælæf-e gabore</i>		-
175	<i>gæhræ</i>	a thin and low-grown crop; a newly grown grain crop		218
176	<i>gælæ</i>	cultivated wheat and barely; grains		179
177	<i>gælæblæb</i>	a bush with wide and thick leaves		179
178	<i>gænðæl</i>	a kind of plant used to dying strings yellow		216
179	<i>gænðom-muri</i>	a kind of plant that grows near ants nest		216
180	<i>gænðom-tohm-i</i>	a grainy kind of wheat with blavk awns		216
181	<i>gærðen-χæl</i>	a kind of plant		208
182	<i>gære</i>	a sparce crop		210
183	<i>gære-mændæk</i>	a kind of bush that grows in cold regions		178
184	<i>gærme-ru</i>	growing of the grass after the rain and subsequent sunshine		210
185	<i>gæšæ(e)</i>	the seprated branches of trees		212
186	<i>gæwðæ</i>	a bunch of wheat and barley; wheat stem		179
187	<i>gæwðæ zeiðen</i>	to grow; to cut wheat and barley from the stem		179
188	<i>gæyag</i>	a grass used as fodder		180
189	<i>gæz</i>	manna; a tree with thorns		211
190	<i>gæzær</i>	a spring plant with wide leaves that is eaten with yoghurt when cooked.		211
191	<i>gæž-dinæk</i>	a seed that its initial stages of growing has stopped in the ground		211
192	<i>gæž-dinæk kerðen</i>	growth failure of the crop		211
193	<i>gæz-gæzük</i>	nettle		211
194	<i>gagiðle</i>	a kind of plant		206
195	<i>ga-giærðe</i>	the circular furrows at the end of plough		206
196	<i>ga-lisæ</i>	a kind of herb		206

197	<i>geč</i>	a young and ; a newly grown twig	207
198	<i>gečel</i>	bush; a low growth tree; a thin twig	207
199	<i>geḡir</i>	a kind of plant	207
200	<i>gefe</i>	a bush of twisted thorns used to make fire	212
201	<i>gelæk</i>	a poisonous plant like <i>lopo</i>	213
202	<i>giæle</i>	a non-tropical bitter plant like <i>berenj-suri</i>	219
203	<i>gel-e bæṛḡ</i>	mountain Henna; Lichens	213
204	<i>gelhær</i>	a non-tropical plant with wide and poisonous leaves	214
205	<i>gel-pok</i>	a kind of mushroom that breaks the soil to grow	213
206	<i>gel-wor-mol</i>	kind of mashroom	214
207	<i>gemæk</i>	smoked rice	215
208	<i>genḡi</i>	lentil	216
209	<i>genḡi doz</i>	tiny lentils	277
210	<i>genḡi šæh</i>	mung bean	216
211	<i>genḡi tæhlæ</i>	wild asparagus with bitter quadrilateral seed	216
212	<i>gereh kelur</i>	stem node of wheat and barley	210
213	<i>gešniz-kohi</i>	a kind of wild coriander that is used to make a groom	212
214	<i>gešniz-pikæk</i>	a kind of herb, probably belonging to coriander family	212
215	<i>giḡf</i>	a thorny plant	219
216	<i>giæs mar</i>	a kind of herb, similar to green parts of a shallot	219
217	<i>gilæk</i>	a poisonous plant for <i>yæ some</i> animals	219
218	<i>ginæ</i>	Milk vetch	219
219	<i>ginæ ga mur</i>	a short milk vetch	219
220	<i>girḡu</i>	walnut	-
221	<i>gohræ</i>	harvested wheat	218
222	<i>gol rowgæni</i>	an orange, wild and edible flower that they mix with yoghurt or yoghurt drink	213
223	<i>gol xæni</i>	roselle	213
224	<i>gol zærḡi</i>	a non-tropical flower like saffron used as food spice	213
225	<i>gol-bawinæk</i>	Chamomile	213

226	<i>gol-berenjas</i>	yarrow	213
227	<i>gol-e ga</i>	cow's flower, a kind of plant	213
228	<i>gol-e gerðæ</i>	a thorny bush with long stems and purple flowers that is said to cause night-blindness	213
229	<i>gole-zæn kerðen</i>	surface harvesting of the crop	214
230	<i>gol-golin</i>	flowery	213
231	<i>gond-e kæwæ</i>	a plant with oily bulbs and raddish-like leaves	215
232	<i>gond-e sægu</i>	a widling	215
233	<i>gora</i>	abundant harvest; a vast agricultural field; to share fields for more harvest	177
234	<i>goræ</i>	a bunch of harvested crop	210
235	<i>goræ zeiðen</i>	to harvest the crop in bunches	210
236	<i>gorgas</i>	a plant with bitter and brown seed as big as barley	209
237	<i>got-got</i>	a kind of plant that is edible if cooked.	207
238	<i>guzæ</i>	the head of an acorn; the skin of a walnut	180
239	<i>guzærmō</i> ^w	Borage	217
240	<i>hæftu</i>	the bulb and flower of <i>Fritillaria imperialis</i>	263
241	<i>hælæm</i>	millet	267
242	<i>hælæwæ</i>	a poisonous tree; poison	267
243	<i>hær čengal</i>	a hairy palnt that sticks to the wool and hair of ovines	263
244	<i>hæræ-kal</i>	cultivating rice in the mud	264
245	<i>hæretil</i>	a tropical plant like <i>din-hil</i>	264
246	<i>hær-kuz</i>	a plant like milk vetch but without thorn that grows in the middle of rocks	263
247	<i>hær-zæhle</i>	Oleander	263
248	<i>har</i>	thorn; thorn bush	261
249	<i>har dere</i>	a thorny bush	261
250	<i>har kængær</i>	Spear Thistle	261
251	<i>har pærzin</i>	a thorny bush	261
252	<i>har šæh</i>	the black thorn; it is a thorny bush with palm-like leaves and pink flowers that when dried and crushed, is used as fodder.	261

253	<i>har se kot</i>	triquetrous thorn which usually grows in the fields		261
254	<i>har tele</i>	the Spear Thistle bush that is a favorite fodder for donkeys.		261
255	<i>har zæŕø</i>	a yellowish kind of thorn		261
256	<i>har zul</i>	a kind of thorn bush that is used as fodder; its rasin is also used.		261
257	<i>har zut</i>	a non-tropical thorn		261
258	<i>har-dar</i>	thorny		261
259	<i>har-dong</i>	thorn seed		261
260	<i>har-e ke'o</i>	a pasture plant; fodder		-
261	<i>helahel</i>	a poisonous plant		266
262	<i>herkul</i>	a non-tropical plant used as fodder when dried. The fresh ones can be fatal.		263
263	<i>hermu</i>	pear		264
264	<i>hešmurd</i>	an Astragalus-like bush with a bitter taste by which they cover the roof of buildings.		265
265	<i>hei be dæŕæ</i>	an aperient herb		271
266	<i>hiæzō^w</i>	the beginning of thr growth of a plant		271
267	<i>hiwæ</i>	firewood		272
268	<i>holær</i>	a non-tropical bush with pea-like triquetrous seed which is Flatulence-inducing; Vetch		266
269	<i>holeng</i>	a kind of grass		267
270	<i>horma</i>	dates		263
271	<i>hormoĵi</i>	a kind of plant		264
272	<i>hormorzi</i>	a broad bean-like vegetable		264
273	<i>hošgaræ</i>	dried branches		264
274	<i>howši</i>	a kind of wheat with long and thin grains		270
275	<i>huš</i>	inflore; cluster		269
276	<i>huš dašten/ kerðen</i>	to grow/ have inflore		269
277	<i>huš-do-sær</i>	twin inflore		269
278	<i>ĵæft</i>	the inside peel of acorn		93
279	<i>ĵærg</i>	the bud or blossom of a tree; twig		92
280	<i>ĵærg</i>	branches of a kind of tree		92
281	<i>ĵaz</i>	a kind of bush that grows a lonside of streams and rivers		91

282	<i>ǵazestō</i> ʷ	a place where <i>ǵaz</i> grows		91
283	<i>ǵeke</i>	chopped acorn		93
284	<i>ǵekel</i>	low-growth plant; small or sparse grown		93
285	<i>ǵiǵe</i>	an aquatic plant with which they make sheds and baskets		96
286	<i>ǵiǵer</i>	a grass-like plant		96
287	<i>ǵo</i>	barely; a measurement unit that equals one-sixteenth of the land		95
288	<i>ǵo čar-næræ</i>	a quadrilateral gutter		95
289	<i>ǵo ǵizō</i> ʷ	fried picked barley used as nuts		95
290	<i>ǵo kaka</i>	black barley		95
291	<i>ǵo kore</i>	fried picked barley used as nuts		95
292	<i>ǵo peygom-bær-i</i>	a kind of barley that is similar to wheat	lit.barley-prophet- ATTR	95
293	<i>ǵo šæš-næræ</i>	a kind of barley with hexagonal ear		95
294	<i>ǵo širæ</i>	unripe barley		95
295	<i>ǵo šō</i> ʷe	a kind of barley that its inflorescence looks like shoulders		95
296	<i>ǵoke</i>	greenery and grass; a small tree		93
297	<i>ǵowz</i>	a fragrant herb that is put into cheese water		95
298	<i>kæ:rræ</i>	a fig-like tree		191
299	<i>kæh</i>	straw, chaff		202
300	<i>kæh-be-ǵær</i>	wind blowing the harvest		202
301	<i>kæh-be-dæst(ǵ)</i>	compiled harvest		202
302	<i>kæh-beh</i>	collecting the grainless straw from the harvest		202
303	<i>kæhre</i>	wild fig	kærre	202
304	<i>kæmo</i>	a non-tropical plant		196
305	<i>kængær</i>	Spear Thistle		-
306	<i>kærso</i>	a kind of herb that its powder is served with Kabab		189
307	<i>kæškela</i>	a thorny bush with a spherical fruit with a edible core		192
308	<i>kæweli</i>	a tropical plant that grows in summer		201
309	<i>kæwuǵæ</i>	Aspen tree		201
310	<i>kæzeræk</i>	a kind of plant		191

311	<i>kaka</i>	a sort of wheat		186
312	<i>kakol zeiðen</i>	tied wheat branches		186
313	<i>kal=o bæhš kerðen</i>	to cultivate a land everyother year		186
314	<i>kala</i>	planter; farmer; crop		186
315	<i>kalniðen</i>	to plough; to cultivate		186
316	<i>kal=o-wora</i>	to plant and harvest crop		186
317	<i>kal=o-wora kerðen</i>	to plant and harvest; to do agriculture		186
318	<i>karðin</i>	a non-tropical sour plant that looks like spring onion	kardi	185
319	<i>kase-kisen</i>	a pasture plant with bag and bowel like appendices, they use it to cure tooth- ache		
320	<i>kasulæk</i>	a kind of plant		185
321	<i>kat</i>	decayed acorn		185
322	<i>kazul</i>	a tropical autumn plant that is used for its sap		185
323	<i>keði/kiði</i>	courgette		188
324	<i>kef-kefi</i>	a kind of triquetrous thorn		193
325	<i>kelæws</i>	wild celery		196
326	<i>kelur</i>	stubble, the stems of harvested wheat and barley left in the field; the seat of a harvested crop		196
327	<i>kelur kal kerðen</i>	to plough in a field that has stubble		196
328	<i>kelχong</i>	a tree with the same name that has dark green and oily fruit eaten in combina- tion with fried wheat and <i>ben</i>		194
329	<i>ker-pelik</i>	thorn bush; small tree		189
330	<i>kesen</i>	ervil or bitter vetch	Vicia ervilia	191
331	<i>keikæ</i>	the core of acorn without <i>ræwgæ</i> and still with <i>ǵæft</i>		203
332	<i>keikæ-dō^w</i>	a place to keep the peeled acorns		203
333	<i>keikom</i>	Maple tree		203
334	<i>kiær-sægi</i>	a wild flower that mostly grows in An- dika		203
335	<i>koh ru</i>	a tree that grows on the mountains; a short and low-growth tree		277
336	<i>kolæwæ</i>	cap; sepal, the first peel of a fruit		196

337	<i>kolæwæ gænðu</i>	a kind of plant		196
338	<i>kole</i>	small pieces of wood		196
339	<i>kolk</i>	tree leaves		194
340	<i>kolor</i>	a plant like spring onion with under-ground bulb that is eaten by fox, birds and jackal		194
341	<i>konar</i>	Ziziphus tree and its fruit		199
342	<i>konðæ</i>	tree roots		199
343	<i>konðæ zeidæn</i>	to cut the tree roots; to uproot the roots		199
344	<i>konðelu</i>	tree trunk		199
345	<i>konji</i>	Sesame		199
346	<i>kor-čæl</i>	barley and wheat stem nodes; the remaining of wheat and barley stems and clusters that obstructs the winnowing of threshold		189
347	<i>koruk</i>	a small kind of Pomegranate		190
348	<i>kot</i>	the peduncle that connects a fruit to the branch		187
349	<i>kotke</i>	a peeled acorn		187
350	<i>kotō</i> ^w	cotton; a kind of plant		188
351	<i>kotol</i>	tree trunk		187
352	<i>kotolu</i>	tree trunk		187
353	<i>kučen</i>	a bush with non-edible seeds		200
354	<i>kuler</i>	a kind of grass		201
355	<i>kuræk</i>	a kind of wheat pest that makes the grains black		200
356	<i>kuzær</i>	wheat seeds that keep their crust after threshing		200
357	<i>lægom</i>	a kind of plant that grows alongside waters		223
358	<i>lægom</i>	a tropical plant that is used to make sheds		224
359	<i>læhæ/lehe</i>	cooking acorn on a rock that is placed on the fire		227
360	<i>læle</i>	bush, bosk		224
361	<i>læm-lur</i>	cooking acorn		225
362	<i>læm-lur kerðæn</i>	to cook acorn on a fire that is made by burning thorns		225

363	<i>læwæ</i>	measurement unit for counting thorn or <i>konar</i> bundles; a bed or shed made of reed and straw; a herb like <i>ændæšt</i> that is one of the ingredients of <i>ašh-e dug</i> (yoghurt thick soup)		226
364	<i>læwæ-pæliz</i>	shallot leaves and bush		226
365	<i>lal</i>	tulip		221
366	<i>legeji</i>	a bush with a small melon-like fruit	Photo in Appendix 8	224
367	<i>lek</i>	tree branch		224
368	<i>leli-sohr</i>	a kind of lili		224
369	<i>ler</i>	grove		222
370	<i>lešk lešk</i>	branch by branch		223
371	<i>lešk/læšk</i>	aa tree branch		223
372	<i>lete</i>	the outer peel of fresh almond; a tree like <i>ærzæn</i> with cherry-like fruit		222
373	<i>lewø</i>	a thin branch (almond tree)		226
374	<i>liæle</i>	sagebrush		-
375	<i>litor</i>	a small bulb		227
376	<i>log kerðen</i>	decay of seeds		223
377	<i>lopo</i>	an edible, non-tropical herb		222
378	<i>lort</i>	a bunch of dates		222
379	<i>mæčæk</i>	wild almond		231
380	<i>mæker</i>	sparse crop		234
381	<i>mæmu</i>	a corriander-like herb with anti-bloating use		236
382	<i>mærg</i>	green grass		232
383	<i>mæwr</i>	grass		237
384	<i>mamasur</i>	a herb like Saffron but with a salty taste		230
385	<i>mat</i>	the amount of crop to be harvested in one go		229
386	<i>mati</i>	an attribute for a farmer who can not harvest a <i>mat</i> on time		229
387	<i>mati wabiðen</i>	to become a <i>mati</i> , a loser		229
388	<i>maçari</i>	the first plough of the field		229
389	<i>mehlæw</i>	<i>Cerasus Mahaleb</i> that is used by women for its fragrance	Photo in Appendix 8	238
390	<i>mekehesten</i>	to be come withered		234
391	<i>melal</i>	a tropical tree with dark red bark		235

392	<i>melmelas</i>	a plant with wide and slimy leaves		235
393	<i>menj</i>	a newly grown grass		236
394	<i>menj zeiðen</i>	sprouting of grass		236
395	<i>merð-bor</i>	a poisonous and mushroom-like plant		232
396	<i>merzi</i>	a kind of grain similar to mung bean		232
397	<i>mes-mestæk</i>	an edible plant		232
398	<i>mezu</i>	Licorice		232
399	<i>milow</i>	a kind of wild tree		
400	<i>miyæs</i>	a tree on which a bee-hive is attached		239
401	<i>mo/mæw</i>	grapevine		237
402	<i>močæ</i>	a herb similar to mint		231
403	<i>mojurtæ</i>	abundant grass by the edge of a field		231
404	<i>molarniðen</i>	to wither		234
405	<i>mug</i>	a plant with edible roots		237
406	<i>mulahesten</i>	to become withered		237
407	<i>murt/ð</i>	myrtle	MP: mōrd	237
408	<i>musir</i>	shallot	Photo in Appendix 8	-
409	<i>nærmæ</i>	the beaten harvest ready for winnowing		243
410	<i>næruk</i>	the new grown branch and stem of plants that grow straight upwards		243
411	<i>næruk daðen</i>	the flourishing of plants in a way that branches grow straight upwards		243
412	<i>nar-ðong</i>	pomogranat seed, a pickled souce made by thses		241
413	<i>narenj</i>	sour orange		241
414	<i>nešxar</i>	big straw		244
415	<i>nei</i>	reed		247
416	<i>nimbul</i>	lemon		248
417	<i>nišg</i>	lentil		248
418	<i>nok zeiðen</i>	the sprouting of a plant		245
419	<i>noxo</i>	pea		243
420	<i>noχð"æk</i>	Trigonella grandiflora Boiss, its fruit looks like a cut nail	Photo in Appendix 8	243
421	<i>nu-renð</i>	a newly grown branch		246
422	<i>nu-renð zeiðen/kerðen</i>	to germinate, to sprout, to grow new branches		246
423	<i>nur-tuwal</i>	pommegranate peel		246

424	<i>nuše-wa</i>	the first harvested wheat crop		246
425	<i>olg</i>	dried grass		23
426	<i>pa kuta(h)</i>	a short and scarce crop		55
427	<i>pælgar kerðen</i>	to grind wheat		62
428	<i>pæliz</i>	shallot leaf		62
429	<i>pær</i>	leaf		57
430	<i>pær be sær</i>	crop not grow enough to harvest		57
431	<i>pær gæwg</i>	a letus-like wild plant		58
432	<i>pær keluri</i>	the first person on the right side of a row of harvestmen; the last person on the left side is called <i>mir mat</i>		58
433	<i>pær torošæk</i>	Sorrel, a herb with wide leaves and sour taste	Rumex acetosa cultivar	57
434	<i>pær wa men kerðen</i>	to collect the harvested bunch of crop from around the field in the middle		59
435	<i>pær-e piðš</i>	brushwood; dried leaves; dried thorns and branches		57
436	<i>pærk kerðen</i>	the sprouting of the trees in the spring		58
437	<i>pærkasulæk</i>	a herb that is used to heal the toothache		58
438	<i>pærpelðʷ</i>	trees foliage		57
439	<i>pærwænð</i>	a kind of plant used as fodder		59
440	<i>pærz</i>	thorn shrubs and dried branches of trees		57
441	<i>pærz gerehðen</i>	to surround a place or thing with <i>pærz</i>		58
442	<i>pærzin</i>	thornbush; hedge; a place surrounded by thorns and dried foliage		58
443	<i>pærzīnestōʷ</i>	a place where a lot of <i>pærzin</i> grows		58
444	<i>pærz=o-pelðʷ</i>	foliage and thornbushes		58
445	<i>pæšminæk</i>	a wild plant with wide and hairy leaves		61
446	<i>pæxtar</i>	pruning of the trees		56
447	<i>pæxtar kerðen</i>	to prune the trees		56
448	<i>patawæ</i>	a plant used as fodder		54
449	<i>pa-χa</i>	to crush with foot: the harvested crop is divided into several bundles and then pound or beat them with foot and count them as the first <i>pa-χa</i> , second <i>pa-χa</i> , ...		54
450	<i>payi</i>	one-fifth of the harvest given as fare to cultivators		56
451	<i>pelite</i>	a bud		62

452	<i>per</i>	arranging the harvested barley in a circular way in the harvest ground	57
453	<i>per gerehðen</i>	to germinate, growing of the new leaves of the trees	58
454	<i>per zeiðen</i>	arranging the harvested barley in a circular way in the harvest ground	58
455	<i>perč</i>	a kind of plant that is used to make broom; it is also used to make sheds or ropes	57
456	<i>perčæk</i>	a very thin reed that grows in the water	57
457	<i>perčelæk</i>	tree branch	57
458	<i>perčelō"</i>	a place where <i>perč</i> grows	57
459	<i>perg</i>	a newly grown branch	58
460	<i>perk</i>	spring blossom, fresh grown leaves	58
461	<i>peχæl</i>	a mixture of grain and straw that is left at the end of winnowing the harvest and is given to animals as fodder	56
462	<i>pičæk</i>	ivy	65
463	<i>piac-pičæk</i>	a weed that grows in the crop and prevents harvesting	65
464	<i>piðš-kal</i>	early tillage; an earlier than planted tillage	67
465	<i>piðš-kali</i>	to start an early cultivating	67
466	<i>piſæ</i>	a wildling with small bushes, the leaves of which are powdered and then mixed with gunpowder and fired with flint; the rotten core of an oak tree that is mixed with gunpowder to make fire using a flint	67
467	<i>piçæ</i>	hay straw	67
468	<i>pinæ</i>	pennyroyal	67
469	<i>pirewō"</i>	a plant like mushroom that grows under oak trees. They cook it under ash and eat it.	66
470	<i>piš</i>	rice straw	66
471	<i>piar</i>	dried forage	65
472	<i>piaz ruwa</i>	a wildling	65
473	<i>pizor</i>	a small <i>konar</i>	66
474	<i>pizor-gia</i>	a herb that is used to cure burn injuries	66
475	<i>pokesten</i>	to sprout	61
476	<i>poiniðen</i>	to sprout, to germinate	64

477	<i>purenð-e gænðom</i>	wheat chaff		63
478	<i>pust-tuwal</i>	pomegranate peel		64
479	<i>qælænðær</i>	a non-tropical plant that looks like celery		184
480	<i>qænðerð"</i>	Turpentine		184
481	<i>qæsil</i>	unripe wheat and barley used as fodder for ovines		184
482	<i>qæwa-ðer</i>	a plant like <i>bæmen</i> but bigger		184
483	<i>qæzi-yagi</i>	a non-tropical plant that is used in making Ash Reshte, a traditional thick soup		183
484	<i>qafele-koš</i>	a plant like <i>zerru</i> that grows in sunny places		183
485	<i>qarč</i>	wild white mushrooms that grow on the mountains of Bakhtiari <i>eilag</i> . These are used both as food and medicine. They keep them dry and use a mixture of mushroom powder and milk to remove parasites from human intestines.		-
486	<i>qoðumæ</i>	a plant with herbal seeds		183
487	<i>ræg-muri</i>	a wild flower with oily seeds smaller than peas		134
487	<i>ræz-e ru</i>	a grapes like tree with a fruit that is not edible		134
488	<i>rebge</i>	the core of an acorn, a peeled acorn		133
489	<i>rebjel</i>	acorn's peel		133
490	<i>rengæh</i>	abundant spring flowers		136
491	<i>rewge</i>	The middle peel of acorn, under the acorn cap and above <i>jaft</i>		136
492	<i>rey kerðen</i>	amplification, the unexpected increase of the product		138
493	<i>riæmelek</i>	a tree like <i>konar</i> with a smaller and sour fruit		139
494	<i>riðšæ</i>	root		138
495	<i>riðwas</i>	Rhubarb		-
496	<i>rišæ be koh</i>	a dill-like plant with a sharp taste consumed with bread		-
497	<i>rišulæk</i>	root		138
498	<i>riwæ(e)</i>	the circular arrangement of harvested barley		139
499	<i>riwæ(e) dašten</i>	to arrange the harvested bunches of barley in a circle		139

500	<i>ročolæk</i>	the growing of grass	133
501	<i>rojol</i>	the surface peel of the acorn	133
502	<i>rokolok</i>	abortive crop; frostbitten	135
503	<i>rokolok kerðen</i>	growth failure, to be bitten by frost	135
504	<i>ronje kerðen</i>	to peel acorns	136
505	<i>šæ-das</i>	a kind of wheat with a quadrilateral cluster and big grains and black awn	168
506	<i>šæl</i>	the combination of several bunches of harvested crop	164
507	<i>šæl zeiðen</i>	to arrange the bunches of harvested crop in the threshold	164
508	<i>šælæm</i>	the sap of plants	165
509	<i>šælæm zeiðen</i>	the end of blossoming which indicates the end of season for bees	165
510	<i>šæl-beh kerðen</i>	to beat the harvested bunches of wheat in the threshold	164
511	<i>šæltok</i>	rice shell	164
512	<i>šæn</i>	a non-tropical plant	166
513	<i>šæng kerðen</i>	to rummage the harvest at the time of threshing	166
514	<i>šæng-e-šir</i>	two kinds of plant, one edible and the other is used for its sap	166
515	<i>šæræ</i>	a net that is used to carry the crop from fields to the threshold	161
516	<i>sær-beh</i>	to collect somebody else's crop alongside one's own for a wage	149
517	<i>sær-ðasi</i>	some food product such as flour and sugar given to harvestmen at the beginning of harvest	150
518	<i>sær-hær-gæzi</i>	a stage in the growth of grains that is big enough for grazing	153
519	<i>sær-hiðš</i>	a kind of help to Toshmals at the end of harvest	153
520	<i>šær=o-šohm</i>	to plough the field without grains to reinforce the land	162
521	<i>sæwl</i>	cedar	156
522	<i>sær-χærmen</i>	the time of harvesting	150
523	<i>šæti</i>	a wheat with a narrow and long Awn	162
524	<i>šæwðær</i>	clovers	166

525	<i>sæwzæ</i>	grass, the dried fodder		156
526	<i>sæwzæ zeiden</i>	the cutting of the grass		156
527	<i>sæwzæpa</i>	the guardian of the meadow		156
528	<i>sæwzæwar</i>	The meadow		156
529	<i>sæwzæwarð^w</i>	a green place full of grass		156
530	<i>sæwzæzar</i>	The meadow		156
531	<i>sæwzelð^w</i>	The meadow		156
532	<i>ša-pesænð</i>	a kind of good wheat		161
533	<i>ša-tæræ</i>	an edible herb like raddish		161
534	<i>se pestð^w</i>	Common names include Lasura, Assyrian Plum, Pidar, Panugeri, Naruvilli, Geduri, Spistan, and Burgund dulu wanan	Cordia myxa	156
535	<i>šeft(ð)</i>	the dried tree leaves		163
536	<i>šefte-čin kerðen</i>	arranging the harvest for threshing		163
537	<i>šekærte</i>	a limited area of crop; a small field		163
538	<i>šen</i>	a tall tree that grows in rocky land		169
539	<i>sena</i>	a kind of plant		154
540	<i>senjet(ð)</i>	silver berry, oleaster, Russian olive, or wild olive	Elaeagnus angustifolia	154
541	<i>šente</i>	the pile of crop- bunches in the thresh-old		166
542	<i>siðlæ kerðen</i>	to make <i>siðlæ</i>		158
543	<i>siðlæ/silæ</i>	the roasted unripe wheat grains to eat		158
544	<i>siðlæ-čin kerðen</i>	the harvesting of the unripe grains		158
545	<i>siðw</i>	apple		159
546	<i>siðw zomini</i>	potato		159
547	<i>siðwe kerðen</i>	to put the harvested crop in the stack		159
548	<i>šiðl</i>	a long branch		169
549	<i>šiðl ronðen</i>	to sprout; growing of a new branch		169
550	<i>šir-bengeštð^w</i>	a plant with small seeds;	Vitex agnus-castus!	168
551	<i>šire-masniðen</i>	the hardening of the soft seeds of wheat		169
552	<i>šir-kohi</i>	wild garlic that grows in the grain fields		157
553	<i>šir-širæk</i>	a herb with a milk-like sap		169
554	<i>širt kæšiðen</i>	the growth of plants		169
555	<i>sisæmbol</i>	Breckland thyme, Thymus serpyllum		158

556	<i>sisten</i>	hawthorn, thornapple, May-tree, whitethorn, orhawberry	Crataegus = <i>sistæ/ sise/ sisen</i>	158
557	<i>sohðen</i>	withering of grass before growing fully		156
558	<i>sohræ</i>	a kind of wheat		157
559	<i>sohrō^w</i>	a piece of land with red flowers and without grass		157
560	<i>sohrō^wi</i>	a not very vast <i>sohrō^w</i>		157
561	<i>sok-pinæ kerðen</i>	the sprouting of a plant		153
562	<i>šomi</i>	water melon		166
563	<i>šoχ</i>	a kind of bush		162
564	<i>šoχešten</i>	to plough		162
565	<i>sufalæ</i>	the wheat stem		156
566	<i>sur-æw</i>	a kind of plant of cold areas		155
567	<i>sust(ð)</i>	bran		156
568	<i>šuχ</i>	a kind of plant		166
569	<i>tæftalæ</i>	dried apricot		75
570	<i>tæg</i>	a wild tree with a fruit similar to cherry		77
571	<i>tæhlæ</i>	a kind of grass used as fodder		85
572	<i>tæk-e tein kerðen</i>	shaking of a tree to pick up its fruits		76
573	<i>tæmata/e</i>	tomato	English loan	79
574	<i>tæmriχ</i>	a kind of plant		80
575	<i>tænezu</i>	a kind of plant of cold areas		82
576	<i>tæp</i>	almond twig		70
577	<i>tær bor</i>	to cut unripe plants/ grains		71
578	<i>tæræ/e</i>	Allium ampeloprasum		-
579	<i>tæræ kōhi</i>	wild leek		73
580	<i>tærke</i>	twig, a newly grown branch		72
581	<i>tærχō^w</i>	Tarragon	Artemisia dracunculus	71
582	<i>tag</i>	a tree with an olive-like fruit		70
583	<i>telænjewin</i>	Manna		78
584	<i>tengest</i>	a kind of tree		81
585	<i>teten</i>	tobacco		71
586	<i>tiðe-mari</i>	a kind of thorny plant with small seeds		87
587	<i>tiðere</i>	wild raspberries		87

588	<i>tiað</i>	berry		87
589	<i>tiað</i>	berry tree		-
590	<i>tif</i>	the freshly grown wheat and barley		88
600	<i>tif zeiaðen</i>	sprouting of wheat and barley		88
601	<i>tif-e ru</i>	good harvest		88
602	<i>tilæ piaz</i>	small onion		89
603	<i>tim</i>	the young bush plant ready to be transplanted		89
604	<i>tim dašten</i>	to have transplantation		89
605	<i>timæ</i>	transplantation		89
606	<i>timæ nahaðen</i>	to plant the freshly grown transplantation		89
607	<i>timððʷ</i>	the place to plant grains		89
608	<i>tohm kerðen</i>	to grow seeds; the increase of the planted seeds at the time of harvest		85
609	<i>tohm rehðen</i>	to sow, to plant		85
610	<i>tohmær</i>	the share of each partner from the harvest after threshing; the amount of harvest increase known after threshing	tohm-mær	85
611	<i>tohmi</i>	a grainy wheat with black awn		85
612	<i>tolg</i>	log; firewood, a broken long branch		78
613	<i>tolom</i>	acorn blossom		78
614	<i>tong</i>	tree trunk		81
615	<i>tongo</i>	spiky seed; thorn bush		81
616	<i>tongo petæwæ</i>	a kind of spiky seed and bush		81
617	<i>tongo pæšma-lu</i>	roud seeds with plenty of spikes		81
618	<i>tongo pičpičæk</i>	an spiral kind of thorn		81
619	<i>tongo χersi</i>	a kind of spiky seed that resembles a bear		81
620	<i>tongo χæli/</i>	a kind of crescent-like thorn seed		81
621	<i>tongo katō</i>	a sphere-like thorn bush		81
622	<i>tongo holeki</i>	an spiky and sphere-like seed		81
623	<i>tongohi</i>	a bush with spiky seeds; a thorny bush		81
624	<i>torb-e ga</i>	a wild grown plant	Photo in Appendix 8	71

625	<i>torob</i>	raddish		71
626	<i>tor-toru</i>	black and round seeds found among grains, especially mixed with wheat grains		71
627	<i>toruk</i>	grape berry; an unripe grape		73
628	<i>toruk kerðen</i>	to separate grape berries from a bunch (inflorescence)		73
629	<i>toruk wabiðen</i>	the separation of grape berries from a bunch (inflorescence)		73
630	<i>toto</i>	sumac	Photo in Appendix 8	82
631	<i>totom</i>	sumac		82
632	<i>tule</i>	malva	Photo in Appendix 8	83
633	<i>tu-wal</i>	the dried peel of a pomegranate		84
634	<i>wær boriðen</i>	to cut; picking up the plants		254
635	<i>waho kerðen</i>	the growth of the plants, the beginning of plant growing		254
636	<i>vez</i>	a kind of bush		258
637	<i>vezg</i>	a kind of non-tropical tree		258
638	<i>χærð</i>	coarse-grinded barely; fodder		112
639	<i>χærmen</i>	harvest		112
640	<i>χærmen bæhre</i>	the share of the harvest that goes to players of Toshmal		112
641	<i>χærmenja</i>	threshold		112
642	<i>χæsil</i>	unripened wheat		112
643	<i>χæyar</i>	cucumber		114
644	<i>χæyar-gorg</i>	colocynth, bitter apple, bitter cucumber, desert gourd, egusi, or vine of Sodom	Citrullus colocynthis Photo in Appendix 8	114
645	<i>χar-χæsæk</i>	a three-pointed thorn that grows in the fields		111
646	<i>χar-χosbæk</i>	a kind of thorn that grows flat on the ground		111
647	<i>χončæ</i>	bud		113
648	<i>yonjo</i>	alfalfa	medicago sativa	-
649	<i>yonjo bæzgi</i>	dryland farmed alfalfa		-
650	<i>yonjo kohi</i>	mountain-barely/ wild barely		-

651	<i>zægut</i>	a tree with a bitter fruit, considered to be from hell		142
652	<i>zæhr-mari</i>	a kind of plant		144
653	<i>zær-æwi</i>	a fragrant herb with spread and pointed leaves that is used as anti-bloating		142
654	<i>zærðali</i>	apricot		-
655	<i>zær-ðong</i>	a yellow wheat grain		141
656	<i>zal</i>	a newly grown wild celery		141
657	<i>zai</i>	Alum		141
658	<i>zeði</i>	gum tragacanth; the sap of a tree called <i>bada</i>		141
659	<i>zerešk</i>	a plant that its leaves are used to make a <i>bukele</i>		142
660	<i>zeru</i>	tropical Astragalus that doesn't have sap		142
661	<i>ziər-dasi</i>	a short and under-grown crop		145
662	<i>zð" ga</i>	a plant that is grown in the gardens.		143
663	<i>zome</i>	moss; the greeneries that grow on moisty places		142
664	<i>zozo</i>	a poisonous mushroom		143
665	<i>zul</i>	a thorny plant that is edible for humans and animals and they also extract its rasin for use.		143

Appendix 8 Pictures related to plants

The following pictures are related to some of the plants listed in table 7 of Appendix 7.

Table 7, no.12 *æwændul* “



Table 7.14
æwrešom ‘Thyme’



Table 7.29
bæhmen piāč ‘Stipa capensis’



Table 7.32
bækælu ‘Watercress’



Table 7.33
bælbælu ‘Lamb’s ear’



Table 7.35
bæn ‘wild pistachio’



Table 7.37
bænyæw ‘Ash’



Table 7.51
balengō^w



Table 7.54
bartæng



Table 7.68
berenjsuri



Table 7.69
berenjas ‘yarrow’



Table 7.84
bosohr



Table 7.94
čæræk čæræk



Table 7.96
čæwil



Table 7.110
čez



Table 7.151
eškæm-derdæ(e)



Table 7.154
fæsxil



Table 7.366
legejī



Table 7.389
mehlæw



Table 7.408
musir 'shallot'



Table 7.420
noχō"æk



Table 7.624
torb-e ga



Table 7.630
toto 'sumac'



Table 7.632
tule ‘malva’



Table 7.644
χæyar-gorg ‘colocynth’



Appendix 9 Words and terms related to oak tree and acorn

Table 9 below is the original extracted list from Maddadi (1996) that contains 39 words and terms related to *belit*, but it was reduced to 24 as presented in table 3.2.18 and 3.2.19 of the book (see section 3.2.3). The reduced list contains all the words that are known by the Hamule consultants where as some of the words in this appendix may also be used by other Bakhtiari communities

Table 9: *belit* (acorn/ oak tree)

No.	Bakhtiari word	English meaning	comments	p.
1	<i>æsom</i>	a metal tool to collect the hot acorns under the fire	mæqaš	21
2	<i>belit</i>	acorn/oak tree		43
3	<i>beram belit</i>	a kind of bush		-
4	<i>dar baelitæk</i>	oak tree		117
5	<i>gæmu</i>	the skin of oak		215
6	<i>gedeli</i>	a special bag hanging to the neck for collecting acorn	turbæ	207
7	<i>guzæ</i>	the cap of the acorn		180
8	<i>ǰæft</i>	the inner skin of the acorn		93
9	<i>ǰeke</i>	chopped acorn	ǰæfkæ	93
10	<i>ǰeld/t</i>	a long piece of wood used to shake off acorn from the tree	for all tree	94
11	<i>kælg</i>	acorn flour. Acorn paste.		195
12	<i>kælg-e tæk-tæku</i>	acorn paste, rapped into a special cloth ready to be baked.		195
13	<i>kælg-dæsti</i>	acorn bread		195
14	<i>kælg-hævir</i>	the sweetened acorn paste		195
15	<i>kælg-kombizæ</i>	the <i>kælg</i> paste when it is formed like a small ball to be baked under hot ashes and consumed with salt.		195
16	<i>kælg=o regu</i>	Special acorn bread baked while rapped in a cloth.	regu	195
17	<i>kælg-e pænǰulæ</i>	acorn paste baked in the manner of making <i>towčiri</i> (another local bread)		195
18	<i>kælg-pætir</i>	a mixture of wheat flour and acorn paste		195
19	<i>kælg-sa</i>	a special stone for grinding acorn		195
20	<i>kat</i>	a rancid acorn		185
21	<i>keykæ</i>	acorn core without <i>rebge</i> , but still with or without <i>ǰæft</i>		203

22	<i>keykæ-dō"</i>	a place for keeping peeled acorns	<i>sælæ</i>	203
23	<i>kot-e belit</i>	Peduncle: <i>Botany</i> : The stalk of an inflorescence or a stalk bearing a solitary flower in a one-flowered inflorescence.		187
24	<i>kotke</i>	a peeled acorn		187
25	<i>læhæ lehe</i>	cooking of acorn on a flat piece of stone with fire underneath.		227
26	<i>læm-lur</i>	cooking of the acorn		225
	<i>læm-lur kerðen</i>	cooking of the acorn on direct fire		225
27	<i>mus</i>	a ball of acorn paste		237
28	<i>pifæ</i>	the rotten core of the oak tree	It is used with a mixture of gun powder and fir stone to light fire.	67
29	<i>rebge</i>	the green or outer skin of the acorn		133
30	<i>rebjel</i>	the outer skin of the acorn		133
31	<i>regu</i>	the cloth on which the acorn paste is spread for later cooking.	= <i>kælge belit</i>	135
32	<i>revge</i>	the main and middle skin		136
33	<i>rebge kænðen</i>	to skin an acorn		276
34	<i>rojol</i>	the outer skin of the acorn		133
35	<i>ronje kerðen</i>	peeling of the acorn		136
36	<i>šil</i>	a long branch		169
37	<i>tælu</i>	mashed acorn	be hamechi egon	78
38	<i>tæw kerðen</i>	a sweetening process by soaking acorns in the water in <i>sæle</i> to let it get 'fever'.		83
39	<i>tolom</i>	oak bloom		78

Appendix 10 Bakhtiari verb classes

Past stems ending in <i>-est</i>			
No	Past stem	Present stem	Gloss
1	<i>ænjeh-est-</i>	<i>ænjeh-</i>	to mince
2	<i>ænĵ-est-</i>	<i>ænjeh-</i>	to be cut into pieces
3	<i>ærz-est-</i>	<i>ærz- / iærz-</i>	to cost
4	<i>bændæh-est-</i>	<i>bændæh-</i>	to be cut, to clot
5	<i>bæšġ-est-</i>	<i>bæšġ-</i>	to be forgiven
6	<i>bal-est-</i>	<i>bal-</i>	to grow, to go up
7	<i>bar-est-</i>	<i>bar-</i>	to rain
8	<i>bateh-est-</i>	<i>bateh-</i>	to swell
9	<i>baz-est-</i>	<i>baz-</i>	to dance
10	<i>belaz-est-</i>	<i>belaz-</i>	to shine (fire), to blaze
11	<i>beris-est-</i>	<i>beriz-</i>	to become roasted
12	<i>bohr-est-</i>	<i>bor-</i>	to break, to give up
13	<i>bureh-est-</i>	<i>bureh-</i>	to grow
14	<i>derdeh-est-</i>	<i>derdeh-</i>	be torn
15	<i>deteh-est-</i>	<i>deteh-</i>	to become worried; to become messed up
16	<i>ĵom-est-</i>	<i>ĵom-</i>	to move quickly
17	<i>fič-est-</i>	<i>fič-</i>	to bound, to spring
18	<i>kæhn-est-</i>	<i>kæhn-</i>	to be dug
19	<i>kerčeh-est-</i>	<i>kerčeh-</i>	to become wrinkled; to curdle; crestfallen
20	<i>kuh-est-</i>	<i>kuh-</i>	to be beaten, to be bruised
21	<i>kulah-est-</i>	<i>kulah-</i>	to be clotted (of blood)
22	<i>lærz-est-</i>	<i>lærz-</i>	to shiver, to tremble
23	<i>lerteh-est-</i>	<i>lerteh-</i>	to be burnt (hair/ skin)
24	<i>paš-est-</i>	<i>paš-</i>	to sprinkle, to spray
25	<i>pazeh-est-</i>	<i>pazeh-</i>	cracking of the skin due to cold or other causes
26	<i>pelah-est-</i>	<i>pelah-</i>	to become withered
27	<i>perbel-est-</i>	<i>perbel-</i>	to tatter, to break into pieces
28	<i>pergeh-est-</i>	<i>pergeh-</i>	to walk fast (out of anger); to wither
29	<i>peškeh-est-</i>	<i>peškeh-</i>	to become scattered; to become widespread
30	<i>pezuh-est-</i>	<i>pezuh-</i>	to melt; atrophy (laqar shodan!)
31	<i>pok-est-</i>	<i>pok-</i>	to explode; to blossom
32	<i>polof-est-</i>	<i>polof-</i>	to collapse, to burst

33	<i>šokeh-est-</i>	<i>šokeh-</i>	to be startled; to be afraid
34	<i>šureh-est-</i>	<i>šureh-</i>	to be washed away
35	<i>terik-est-</i>	<i>terik-</i>	to get goosbumps
36	<i>tozgeh-est-</i>	<i>tozgeh-</i>	to chip off; to break bones
37	<i>varkoluh-est-</i>	<i>varkoluh-</i>	to be bruised; to be twisted (of bones)
38	<i>volah-est-</i>	<i>volah-</i>	to massage; to be massaged
39	<i>zæh-est-</i>	<i>zæh-</i>	to be beaten; to be wounded
40	<i>χæhr-est-</i>	<i>χæhr-</i>	to be eaten
Past stems ending in -ið			
41	<i>ængen-ið-</i>	<i>ængen-</i>	to beg
42	<i>ænjen-ið-</i>	<i>ænjen-</i>	to cut into pieces
43	<i>ærn-ið-</i>	<i>ær-</i>	to grind
44	<i>æšn-ið-</i>	<i>æšn-</i>	to listen
45	<i>bahš-ið-</i>	<i>bahš-</i>	to give, to forgive
46	<i>berčen-ið-</i>	<i>berčen-</i>	to shine
47	<i>berezn-ið-</i>	<i>berezn-</i>	to roast, to barbeque
48	<i>burn-ið-</i>	<i>burn-</i>	to moo; to low
49	<i>dærgen-ið-</i>	<i>dærgen-</i>	to turn over
50	<i>ga-ið-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	to screw
51	<i>gelež/sn-ið-</i>	<i>gelež/sn-</i>	to swallow
52	<i>jošn-ið-</i>	<i>jošn-</i>	to boil
53	<i>kæš-ið-</i>	<i>kæš-</i>	to pull, carry; weigh; spread; help cow mating
54	<i>kemn-ið-</i>	<i>kemn-</i>	to eat, to swallow, to devour
55	<i>kuz-ið-</i>	<i>kuz-</i>	to chew
56	<i>lern-ið-</i>	<i>lern-</i>	to rotate/spin; to baa, bleat (lamb and ewe)
57	<i>nal-ið-</i>	<i>nal-</i>	to groan, to complain
58	<i>pâh-ið-</i>	<i>pâ-</i>	to eye, to watch
59	<i>pâln-ið-</i>	<i>pâln-</i>	to filter
60	<i>pazen-ið-</i>	<i>pazen-</i>	to crack, to split
62	<i>pelârn-ið-</i>	<i>pelârn-</i>	to have a slip of the tongue
61	<i>perækn-ið- / peræin-ið-</i>	<i>perækn- / peræy-</i>	to sneeze (a sheep)
63	<i>pergen-ið-</i>	<i>pergen-</i>	to scatter
64	<i>pergen-ið-</i>	<i>pergen-</i>	to help to escape
65	<i>pern-ið-</i>	<i>pern-</i>	(cause to) jump, to fling
66	<i>perzen-ið-</i>	<i>perzen-</i>	to mix, to mingle
67	<i>pešken-ið-</i>	<i>pešken-</i>	to scatter; to spread rumors

68	<i>pofn-iǫ-</i>	<i>pofn-</i>	to swell; to demolish
69	<i>pogn-iǫ-</i>	<i>pogn-</i>	growling of bear; unreflective utterance
70	<i>ræs-iǫ-</i>	<i>ræs-</i>	to reach; to arrive
71	<i>romb-iǫ-</i>	<i>romb-</i>	to collapse, to turn to ruin
72	<i>šæl-iǫ-</i>	<i>šæl-</i>	to limp
73	<i>såh-iǫ-</i>	<i>så-</i>	to grate, rub
74	<i>šaš-iǫ-</i>	<i>šaš-</i>	to piss, to urinate
75	<i>tasen-iǫ-</i>	<i>tasen-</i>	to break seeds and nuts with teeth
76	<i>var-ma-liǫ-</i>	<i>var-mal-</i>	to massage, to rub; to roll back the sleeves
77	<i>wola-iǫ-</i>	<i>wola-</i>	to massage
78	<i>zå-h-iǫ-</i>	<i>zå-</i>	to give birth
79	<i>χænd-iǫ-</i>	<i>χænd-</i>	to laugh, to smile
80	<i>χær-iǫ-</i>	<i>χær-</i>	to buy; to accept
81	<i>χæws-iǫ-</i>	<i>χæw-</i>	to sleep
Past stems ending in -aǫ			
82	<i>ænjen-aǫ-</i>	<i>ænjen-</i>	to cut into pieces
83	<i>ešken-aǫ-</i>	<i>eškaen-</i>	(cause to) break
84	<i>ferešn-aǫ-</i>	<i>ferešn-</i>	to send
85	<i>fešn-aǫ-</i>	<i>fešn-</i>	to send
86	<i>nah-aǫ-</i>	<i>nah-/ -n-</i>	to put
87	<i>suzn-aǫ-</i>	<i>suzn-</i>	cause to burn, to put on fire
88	<i>wašken-aǫ-</i>	<i>wašken-</i>	mating of a rooster and a hen; to massage one's back by pressing hard
89	<i>χæwn-aǫ-</i>	<i>χæwn-</i>	to put to sleep

SAMENVATTING IN HET NEDERLANDS

Dit proefschrift gaat over het Bakhtiari, een Iraanse taal uit het zuidwesten van Iran. Op basis van veldwerk en interviews wordt er een grammatica (klank- en vormleer) en een semantische analyse van verschillende betekenisvelden in het Bakhtiari gepresenteerd.

In hoofdstuk 1 worden de redenen voor de keuze van het Bakhtiari als onderwerp van onderzoek besproken. Daarnaast worden de achtergrondstudies van dit onderzoek behandeld, evenals de methoden die werden gebruikt om dit onderzoek uit te voeren. In het laatste gedeelte van dit hoofdstuk worden verschillende ideeën voor verder onderzoek aangedragen. Hoofdstuk 2 bevat een kritische discussie van de sociohistorische achtergrond van de Bakhtiaris, op basis van participatieve observatie. De hierin verkregen nieuwe inzichten spreken soms de bestaande opvattingen over dit onderwerp tegen. Hoofdstuk 3 presenteert een semantische studie die op deze manier nog voor geen enkele Iraanse taal was uitgevoerd. Er bestond geen model om dit onderzoek te doen en daarom was het een onderzoek vol uitdagingen. Het hoofdstuk bestaat uit twee delen. In het eerste deel worden de semantische velden van verwantschap termen en lichaamsdelen bestudeerd op basis van de bestaande theorieën van taalkundige universalia en woordcategorieën. Het tweede deel is een nieuwe studie van de Bakhtiari fauna en flora en zet de manieren uiteen waarop Bakhtiari nomaden hun natuurlijke omgeving classificeren (Ethno-taxonomie). De studie van etnische taxonomieën of, zoals het gewoonlijk wordt genoemd, de ethno-biologie, is relatief nieuw en tot op heden is er geen aandacht besteed in de Iraanse taalkunde. De nieuwe bevindingen die soms in strijd zijn met universalia gaan vergezeld van nieuwe verklaringen die zijn gebaseerd op de culturele geschiedenis van de nomaden. Hoofdstukken 4 tot 6 vormen het taalkundige gedeelte van de studie. In hoofdstuk 4 wordt een korte inleiding gegeven in het foneemsysteem van het hedendaagse Haftlang-lect van het Bakhtiari. Dit hoofdstuk dient als gids bij het bestuderen van het grootste deel van de woorden en zinnen in dit boek. Hoofdstuk 5 bestaat uit een uitgebreide discussie over nominale morfologie. Alle verschillende nominale categorieën worden besproken met voorbeelden verkregen tijdens talrijke periodes van participatieve observatie. Hoofdstuk 6 is een diepgaande beschrijving van de werkwoorden van het Bakhtiari. Er wordt een nieuwe classificatie van de werkwoordgroepen geïntroduceerd. Deze classificatie is ontwikkeld met behulp van hedendaagse en historische data. De tien bijlagen bevatten woordlijsten waarvan de inhoud gedeeltelijk (1, 8) of volledig (2, 5, 6, 8 en 10) in het proefschrift voorkomt. De overige woordenlijsten (3, 4 en 9) worden niet in het boek besproken. Deze woordlijsten bevatten belangrijke onderzoek data die gebruikt kunnen worden in toekomstige antropologische of filologische studies.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Sima Zolfaghari is born in Gachsaran in southwest Iran in 1967. After graduating in experimental science from Hazrate Fatemeh (Anahita) high school in Ahvaz, she moved to Tehran to start her Bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature at Shahid Beheshti university. After obtaining her B.A. degree she started working as a freelance translator for National TV and several cultural magazines and also teaching English at different language institutes. She then turned her attention to Linguistics and in 1996 received her Master's degree (completed cum laude) in General linguistics from Allameh Tabatabai university. Her work on Bakhtiari language and people has started from the MA period and has continued to the present time. She then moved to the United States to follow her PhD in UCSD university but after a couple of months she had to return back to Iran due to her family situation. After a year of working as a translator and studying Sanskrit in the Society of Philosophy and Wisdom (Anjoman-e Hekmat-o Falsafe), she got the first rank in the competitive entrance exam of Tehran university and started her second MA in Ancient Iranian Languages and Cultures. Since 1995 she has also started a series of humanitarian and cultural activities among Bakhtiari nomads through which she has become familiar and attracted to Anthropological studies, hence cooperation with the Anthropological Society of Iran ever since. In 2007 she was awarded a scholarship to attend a conference and a summer school on Documenting Endangered Iranian Languages in Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany. In the same year she attended the second Leiden summer school in Languages and Linguistics where she met her future promoter (Alexander Lubotsky) and supervisor (Michiel de Vaan). In 2008 she moved to The Netherlands with her family to pursue a PhD degree. In September 2009 she started her PhD in the Indo-European department of Leiden university center of Linguistics (LUCL) which resulted in the present dissertation: *The Bakhtiaris: An Anthropological-linguistic study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran*. Since September 2016 she gives Persian language lessons at the Academisch Talencentrum of Leiden university.

STELLINGEN

behorend bij het proefschrift

The Bakhtiari: An Anthropological-linguistic study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran

van

Sima Zolfaghari

1. The assumed hierarchical structure of the Bakhtiari tribe is not a genealogical branching of this people, but rather a socio-political organisation that was created not earlier than the 19th century by the appointed chiefs and the central government of the time (*Section 2.2.1 of this dissertation*).

2. The study of Bakhtiari flora and fauna reveals certain categorical and nomenclatural behavior that does not support either the intellectualistic or the utilitarian approach to ethnobiology as it is represented in the literature. In the existing taxonomies the role and importance of religious beliefs in shaping peoples' world view and the way they classify all natural and physical beings tends to be overlooked. The Bakhtiari classification, especially the categorization of fauna, seems to have roots in pre-Islamic, and more specifically, in Zoroastrian beliefs as presented in some Avestan and Middle Persian sources (*Section 3.2 of this dissertation*).

3. Family and tribal relationships are of paramount importance for the Bakhtiaris, hence the abundance of vocabulary and terms for addressing these relationships with precision. In comparison with six established basic kinship patterns that anthropologists have observed among various cultures around the world, the Bakhtiari system shares the most with the Sudanese kin classification. This system is the most descriptive of all, in the sense that it assigns a distinct term to each and every member of this network (*Section 3.3.1 of this dissertation*).

4. The word *Lang* in the important Bakhtiari terms Char Lang and Haft Lang does not mean 'leg', but probably has the same meaning as the lexeme in toponyms such as Langrud (a city in Northern Iran), Langān (central Iran), Sālang (Afghanistan) to name just a few. The lexeme signifies a meaning related to pasture, ploughing, location or river, the exact meaning of which needs further investigation (*Section 2.2.2 of this dissertation*).

5. In Bakhtiari, there is a quite frequent allophone of *d* which has been described (Sadeghi 1989: 3) as post-dental, voiced fricative. Sadeghi thinks that its pronunciation is comparable to the one of *ḏ* in classical Persian. I agree with the place of articulation,

but in the speech of most of my informants it sounds more like a voiced approximant. This segment, represented in the present research by [ɖ], does not create a semantic distinction and usually occurs in intervocalic position or word finally. Findings such as this in other Iranian languages can be used in reconstruction of the inventory of the Proto-Iranian language.

6. In order to explain the various past and present stem formations in Bakhtiari, Prods Oktor Skjærvø's description of Parthian and Middle Persian verbs (Skjærvø 2009: 213) proves to be applicable, since the patterns which he identified at the Middle Iranian stage are still valid for Bakhtiari. In other words, it can be said that in Bakhtiari, as in the Middle Persian and Parthian, verbs with past stems ending in *-est*, *-ið* and *-að* are regular. In order to form the present stem, it is enough to remove these endings.

7. The Bakhtiari passive morpheme *-(e/i) h-* can be suffixed to the active present tense of the verb. The past stem is then formed by adding *-est/-ist* to the present passive stem. This morpheme *-(e/i) h-* is historically the same as the passive marker morpheme *-ih* in the Middle Persian, which was lost in New Persian. This shows that Bakhtiari and other Modern Iranian languages are relevant for the reconstruction of earlier stages of Iranian.

8. The terms Lor, Kurd and Baluch do not signify any specific ethnic groups. These tags were probably first used, as indicated in Ferdowsi's *Shahname*, to label different forms of nomadism such as pastoral, agro-pastoral and transhumance nomadic lifestyles, that were practiced by different peoples on the Iranian plateau.

9. Many spiritual teachers advocate the importance of silence as the only way towards THE TRUTH. This is not new information as it has been repeatedly preached in different languages all through the human history. One of the most beautiful phrasing of the same concept is manifested in Rumi's below verses:

حرف و صوت و گفت را بر هم زنم -
تا که بی این هر سه با تو دم زنم

I shall dissolve letters, sounds and words
To converse with Thee, deprived of all those
(Rumi; my translation)

The acceptance of this fact is very disheartening for linguists who have spent all their lives studying letters, sounds and words!