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

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Citation

Zolfaghari, S. (2017, October 18). *The Bakhtiaris: an anthropological-linguistic lexical study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/62921>

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Issue Date: 2017-10-18

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 ḡorzemar-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-ḡaste* ‘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 *mondeni/ mændeni* '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>kiċi 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>kiċi 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>kiċi</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. *Kiċi* 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)

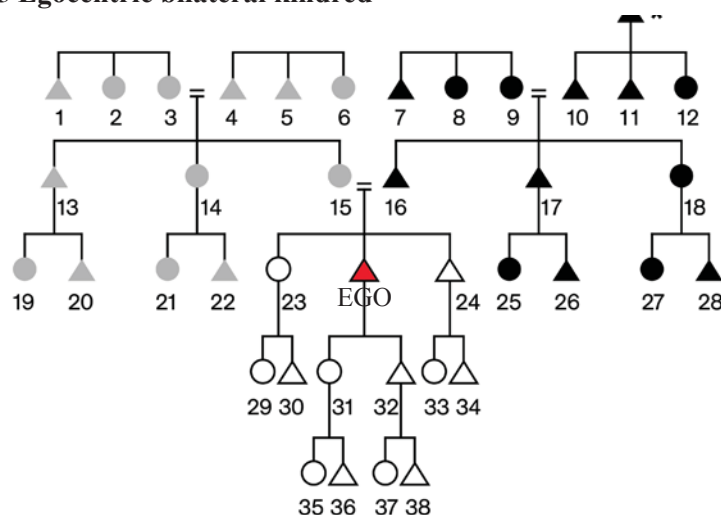
In a conversation such as:

- (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: *botiə beu/bæve*; called: *botiə, botiə=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-χajə, ba-χajə, 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: *botiə*; called: *botiə, botiə=m X*
15. M: *da, dayə*
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 botiə*; called: *X, doḡær-e botiə=m*
22. MZS: *kor-e botiə*; called: *X, kor-e botiə=m*
23. Z: *deðu, deði, dəḡe/ə, də*
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*

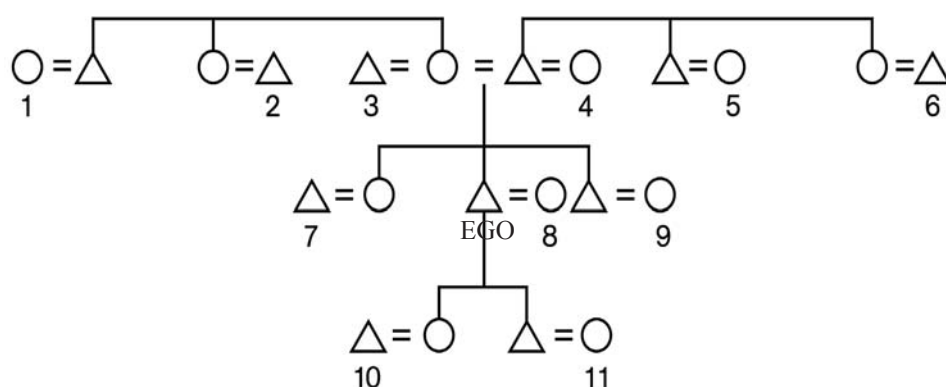
36. DS: *bæče doðær*, *kor-e doðær*; called: *X*, *kor=om*

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 *jar* 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>siræ̌t</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>tiə</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>dohōʷ</i>
<i>dōʷ</i>	‘mouth’	
<i>puz/æ/e</i>	‘mouth’	also <i>puzæ, puze</i>
<i>čīəl</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>mælaʒ</i>	‘palate’	
<i>niəšt</i>	‘front teeth’	
<i>zæG</i>	‘palate’	
<i>zōʷ</i>	‘tongue’	
<i>dənφōʷ</i>	‘tooth’	
<i>iəlevar¹³¹</i>	‘jaw’	
<i>šælæk/ šælækæ</i>	‘jaw’	
<i>kæčə</i>	‘chin’	
<i>seviəl</i>	‘moustache’	
<i>riəš</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>kæmæɾ</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>naɸ</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 hostəχōw* ‘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 vāsten* ‘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 *ĵð*” *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-ŋin</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) bæcæl 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 Witkowsky (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.

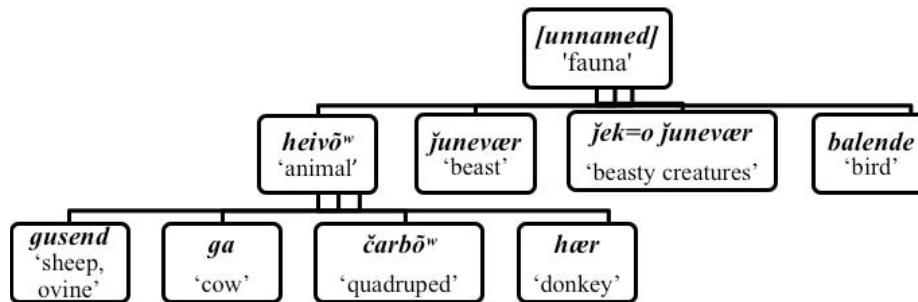


Figure 17 Bakhtiari taxonomy of fauna

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 *koχ* ‘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

	brown and white body'	lit.white front-EZ-white
<i>čal-pæl</i>	'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>golu</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>tælundæ</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 foreheaded
<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 *heivō* 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 *heivō*.

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*, Bakhtiaris 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 zeiḡæ ‘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.

hærgelō ‘lit.donkey- PL- *ō*’ means a ‘donkey herder’. Here the suffix *-ō* 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>χοφu/ guφu</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 palō</i> ^w	‘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>jir-jir-æk</i>	‘cricket’	lit. <i>jir-jir-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-zærð* (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-zð* (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(ð)</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 kælæ</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>hē kerðen</i>	‘to run off/ shoo a donkey’	lit.hē(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>ǵær</i>	‘leather’	
<i>ǵæwǵǵō^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>čarbō^w</i> ’	
<i>koriāz</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>liǵwǵō^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>heivenǵō^w</i> ’	
<i>peškel</i>	‘ovine’s dung’	
<i>riǵgal</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>siǵl</i>	‘the skin under an ewe’s tail’	
<i>somat</i>	‘donkey and <i>čarbō^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>heivenǵō^w</i> ’	
<i>tæpalæ</i>	‘cow dung’	
<i>terat</i>	‘gallop’	
<i>til/ tile</i>	‘baby animal’	
<i>tælgeniǵæ</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 dæstǵō^w</i>	‘a dog ready for mating’	lit.in- <i>dæstǵō^w</i>
<i>čærme pust</i>	‘a skinny <i>heivenǵō^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</i> ^w	‘the long-tailed <i>heivenō</i> ^w ’	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>riǫwær-za</i>	‘a newly bred ovine + <i>heivō</i> ^w ’	lit. <i>riǫwær</i> -give birth.PRS.
<i>riǫ-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</i> ^w 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.

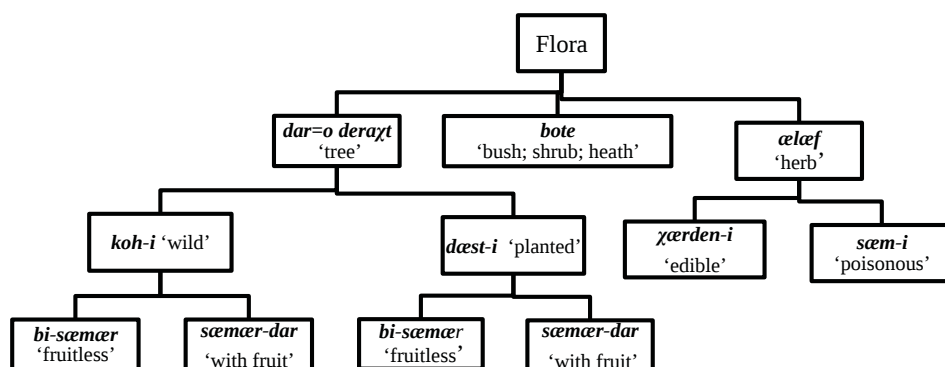


Figure 18 First version of Bakhtiari floral taxonomy

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 *koh-i* and *dæst-i*. 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.

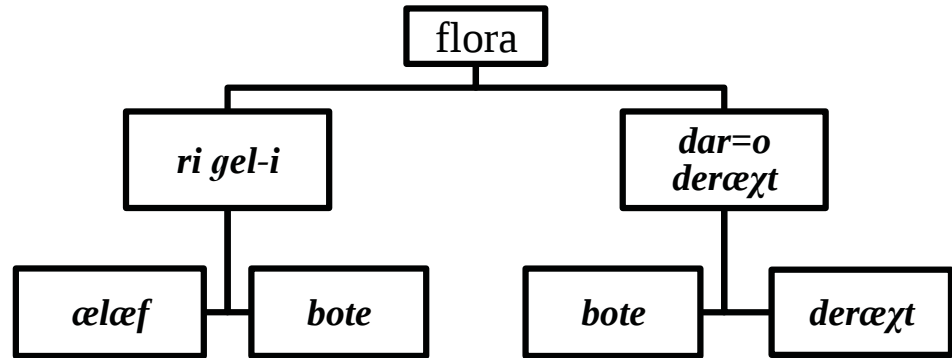


Figure 19 Second version of Bakhtiari floral taxonomy

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: *ælfæf* ‘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 Bakhtiar 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 Bakhtiaris’ 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 Bakhtiaris 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>piǰæ</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*

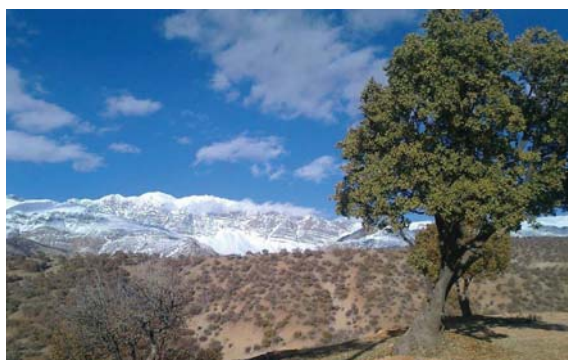
The Bakhtiari term	Meaning	Other Information
<i>æsom</i>	‘a metal tool to collect the hot acorns under the fire’	also: <i>mæqaš</i>
<i>gedeli</i>	‘a special bag hanging from the neck for collecting acorn’	also: <i>turbæ</i>
<i>ǰeke</i>	‘chopped acorn’	also: <i>ǰæfkæ</i>
<i>ǰeld</i>	‘a long piece of wood 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 kænðen</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

