Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Zolfaghari, S.

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

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/62921

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The following handle holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation:
http://hdl.handle.net/1887/62921

Author: Zolfaghari, S.
Title: The Bakhtiaris: an anthropological-linguistic lexical study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran
Issue Date: 2017-10-18

CHAPTER FOUR
PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

4 INTRODUCTION

The phonology of Bakhtiari is the only section of the language that has been fortunate to receive some attention by a number of Iranists and philologists of the twentieth century (Mann 1904, 1910; Lorimer, 1922, 1930, 1954, 1964; Zhukovskij 1923; Windfhur 1988). Lorimer's is the most extensive discussion, but it cries out for revisions and perhaps for an updated presentation.

In the present analysis, the phonology of the Haft Lang variety of the Bakhtiari language will be described in three sections: Consonants 4.1 and Vowels 4.2, and then in section 4.4 the syllable structure of the language will be discussed in some detail.

Bakhtiari speech sounds are all produced by the pulmonic egressive airstream[206]. The phonemic system of Bakhtiari comprises twenty-three consonants, not including the glottal stop ***ʔ*** (See Note, after 4.1.8 below) and one semivowel ***y***, seven vowels and six diphthongs. The majority of segments are illustrated by the IPA symbols, but in order to avoid visual complexity, I have chosen to use ***č*, *ǰ*** for affricates and ***š*, *ž*** for palatal fricatives and finally ***y*** for palatal approximant. Furthermore, to illustrate the exact nature of an allophone of ***d***, I have assigned a new symbol [***ð̩***] (4.2.4) which does not exist in the IPA chart as such, but it is a combination of the symbol for the voiced dental fricative plus the diacritic used for a 'lowered' feature. In the case of vowels, I have decided to show the rounded low back vowel consistently as ***a*** and its specific Bakhtiari allophone as [***å***] whose exact audible equivalents in IPA chart is shown by /ɔ/. These details, along with some others, will be mentioned again under their respective descriptions in the section (4.2). For the same visual reason, I have reserved the slashes // only for the introduction of a phoneme and in the head entries of the examples. Having said that, in order not to obscure phonetic facts completely, I have found it valuable to indicate the specific Bakhtiari allophones ([***ð̩***], [***å***]) in my otherwise phonemic transcription.

In analysing the phonological system of Bakhtiari, a 'phoneme' is considered to be a phonological reality. Therefore, to extract phonemes, the distribution of the segments is analysed and their realization as minimal pairs are examined. The

206. There is only one pulmonic ingressive interjection which can be described as alveolateral fricative. This sound is used in conversation to show affirmation and emphasis on the previously said statement and as such it is not used for distinction in lexical and grammatical morphemes and ONLY as paralinguistic expression. It has a pragmatic function as the Persian emphatic word /*valla*/, 'I swear to God'.

majority of words are based on Maddadi (1996); some examples have been added and/or checked by two of my main consultants [207] and myself as native speakers. Each phoneme will be examined, ideally, in the initial, medial and final position. The major phonetic realisations of each segment will also be discussed under the relevant section.

4.1 CONSONANT DESCRIPTION

Table 4.1: Bakhtiari consonants

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d		*k g*	*q ɢ*	*(ʔ)*[208]
Affricative			č ǰ			
Fricative	*f v*	*s z*	*š ž*		χ	h
Nasal	m	n				
Liquid		r l				
Approximant			y			

STOPS

Voiceless stops /***p, t, k, q***/ are mildly aspirated in syllable-initial position, the aspiration is weaker in pre-consonantal and final positions.

4.1.1 /***p***/ voiceless bilabial stop is pronounced with aspiration. The phonological status of this phoneme can be determined through the following minimal pairs:

(1) /***p***/ **-** /***b***/

/*pæl*/ ‘braid, plait’
/*bæl*/ ‘a sheep with long and wide hanging ears’

/*læpæk*/ ‘the iron edge of a plough’
/*læbæk*/ ‘a sweet and bitter taste’

(2) /***p***/ **-** /***m***/

/*pel*/ ‘a young ox’
/*mel*/ ‘hair’

/*kælpit*/ ‘turning and twisting; a big and strong knot’

207. Homa Ardeshiri and Huri Taheri (see 2.5 above).
208. See 4.1.9 below.

/*kælmit*/ ‘wild boar’s tooth, tusk’
/*kep*/ ‘a short breath’
/*kem*/ ‘the smell of wet, mouldy cloth’

(3) **/*p*/ - /*f*/**

/*perg*/ ‘twig’
/*ferg*/ ‘thought’

/*tæpæl*/ ‘slow-footed’
/*tæfæl*/ ‘membrane between skin and flesh’

/*kæp*/ ‘breath; soul’
/*kæf*/ ‘foam’

(4) **/*p*/ - /*t*/**

/*pælm*/ ‘paw; a slap with the palm’
/*tælm*/ ‘swamp; mud’

/*pærpin*/ ‘talisman, blessed (of things)’
/*pærtin*/ ‘deformed (of body)’

/*kop*/ ‘side; a heap’
/*kot*/ ‘a few’

4.1.2 **/*b*/** voiced bilabial stop, which is pronounced like Persian and English ***b*** in initial position. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***p*** (4.1.1) and through the following minimal pairs:

(5) **/*b*/-/*v*/**

/*bæng*/ ‘call, cry’
/*væng*/ ‘weak and feeble’

/*læbæk*/ ‘a taste (neither sweet nor bitter)’
/*lævæk*/ ‘horrible tasting and smelly’

Since ***b*** appears as ***v*** or ***w*** in syllable coda, I could not find a minimal pair for the above phonemes in the final position. There are, however, a few cases in the language that are either loanwords from other languages or onomatopoeic words in which the final [b] does not change to ***v*** or ***w***; such as [b] in the loanword /*bab/* in example 7 and in the onomatopoeic word /*ɢeb-ɢeb*/ in example 6 below.

(6) /***b***/-/***m***/

/*bal*/	‘sleeve’
/*mal*/	‘a group of several nomadic black tents; household’
/*nægbe*/	‘to give encouragement’
/*nægme*/	‘an angry exclamation (in response to *næ* ‘no’)’
/*ɢeb-ɢeb*/	‘heart beat’
/*ɢem-ɢem*/	‘mumbling and complaining’

(7) /***b***/-/***d***/

/*bok*/	‘upright, not flat’
/*dok*/	‘dispute, argument’
/*šiər-bæng*/	‘hunters’ cry to inform each other’
/*šiər-dæng*/	‘a decorative colourful band with beads and ethnic motifs for decorating a room, a tent or a cradle.’
/*bab*/	‘a term to tag a social division of a tribe’
/*bad*/	‘wind’

4.1.3 **/*t*/** voiceless alveo-dental stop, which is pronounced like Persian ***t***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***p*** (4.1.1) and through the following pairs:

(8) /***t***/-/***d***/

/*tæk*/	‘alone; half’
/*dæk*/	‘trembling’
/*’beteng*/	‘Jump! Move it!’
/*be’deng*/	‘well behaved’
/*bæt*/	‘duck’
/*bæd*/	‘bad’

(9) /***t***/-/***k***/

/*tal*/	‘string, thread’
/*kal*/	‘black’
/*rete*/	‘a short, fast-walking person’
/*reke*/	‘stubbornness’

/*rot*/	'a wooden nail fixing the iron edge of a plough'
/*rok*/	'upright; (figuratively) a very quick, sharp and sometimes rude person'

(10) **/*t*/-/*n*/**

/*ta*/	'half a pair'
/*na*/	'neck, throat'
/*kætæk*/	'a humble house; a shade'
/*kænæk*/	'a net to carry a crop with two wooden sticks at each end'
/*gut*/	'hill'
/*gun*/	'cow's udder;breast'

4.1.4 **/*d*/** voiced alveo-dental stop is pronounced like Persian ***d*** in intial position, and the status of which can be established by comparison with ***t*** (4.1.3) and through the pairs below:

(11) **/*d*/-/*n*/**

/*dæk*/	'turn; time'
/*næk*/	'powder'
/*modæt*/[209]	'help'
/*menæt*/	'putting a person in your debt by performing a favour'
/*pahid*/	'3rd singular past of *pahidæn*, 'to keep, to watch out'
/*pahin*/	'down'

(12) **/*d*/-/*g*/**

/*das*/	'sickle'
/*gas*/	'would that! I wish!'
/*bordæ*/	'taken'
/*borgæ*/	'the edge of a hill, mountain or wall that is close to falling down'
/*bænd*/	'rope, string'
/*bæng*/	'cry, call'

209. To my knowledge, gemination in Persian and Arabic words does not occur in Bakhtiari.

In Bakhtiari there is a quite frequent allophone of ***d*** which has been described (Sadeghi 1989: 3) as post-dental, voiced fricative[210]. I agree with the place of articulation, but to me it sounds more like a voiced approximant[211]. This segment, represented in the present research by [***ð̟***], does not create a semantic distinction and usually occurs in intervocalic position or word finally. Examples:

(13) [*ræ:ð̟en*] 'to go'; [*ǰušnið̟en*] 'to boil'; [*χårniəð̟*] 'S/he scratched'

As can be seen in the examples, at the beginning of the word the occurrence of ***d*** is prevalent. In addition, the younger generations and the educated people use [***d***] more than [***ð̟***].

4.1.5 **/*k*/** voiceless velar plosive which is pronounced like Persian ***k***. To be more precise, it is dorso-velar, the articulation of which varies according to its phonetic environment: preceding front vowels it becomes more palatalized and in front of back vowels it has a more dorsal nature; in word-final position after a vowel except /*i*/, however, the palatalization of the voiceless stop may go one step farther and usually changes to **/*y*/**, for example: ***/šæk/*** > ***/šæy/*** 'doubt'. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be distinguished by comparison with ***t*** (4.1.3) and through following pairs:

(14) /***k***/-/***g***/

/*kæl*/	'a mountain goat'
/*gæl*/	'a herd'
/*tænki*/	'a barrel, a tank'
/*tængi*/	'hardship, poverty'
/*mækeniden*/	'bleating of a goat'
/*mægeniden*/	'to blight, to wither'
/*dik*/	'a spindle'
/*dig*/	'a cooking pot'

(15) /***k***/-/ɢ/

/ɢor/	'a small bell'
/*kor*/	'a boy, son'
/*leke*/	'an old and cheap piece of cloth'

210. Ali Ashraf Sadeghi (1989) thinks that its pronunciation is comparable to the one of ذ in classical Persian.

211. Donald Stilo (2014: p.c.) also thinks that this sound is an approximant and not a fricative.

/*leɢe*/	‘flightiness, inappropriateness’
/*lik*/	‘scream, cry’
/*liəɢ*/	‘leg; height, lanky’

4.1.6 ***/g/*** Voiced velar stop which is pronounced like Persian ***g*** word initially. Like ***k***, the pronunciation of ***g*** can vary from velar to palatal according to its phonetic surrounding. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***d*** (4.1.4) and ***k*** (4.1.5).

4.1.7 ***/q/*** Voiceless uvular plosive, can be seen in words like *qæwr* ‘tomb’, *qæwale* ‘a contract’ and generally in Arabic loanwords. In some cases there is uncertainty regarding the voice aspect of this segment, which I assign to variation among different dialects. The chance of finding minimal pairs that can show the contrast between this phoneme with others is very low, one of such possible pairs is provided below:

(16) /***q***/-/ɢ/

/*qæl*/	‘half; a piece of something’
/*ɢæl*/	‘embrace, hug’

Windfuhr (1988:559) mentions another ‘sporadic’ change of *χ* > *q* and *q* > *χ* and his examples are*: χurōs* > *qurūs* ‘rooster’, Arabic *qæhr* > *χæhr* ‘anger’. I personally have never heard *qurūs,* but the most relevant example that I can provide to prove this point is: *χuzestan* > *ɢuzestõv* ‘the Iranian southwestern province of Khuzestan’ (See 4.1.8 below).

4.1.8 ***/ɢ/*** Voiced uvular plosive whose status can be examined by comparison with ***k*** (4.2.5) and the following pairs:

(17) /***ɢ***/-/***χ***/

/*ɢæl*/	‘embrace, hug
/*χæl*/	‘crooked; not straight’
/*næɢš*/	‘colourful images (also: *næšɢ* and *næšxæ*)’
/*næχš*/	‘corpse’
/*boɢ*/	‘frowning, ill- tempered’
/*boχ*/	‘rotten egg’

4.1.9 ***/ʔ/*** To conclude the section on Stops, it is necessary to discuss the role **of** the voiceless glottal stop *ʔ* in this language. It is pronounced like standard Persian *Hamze*. In Bakhtiari, as in Persian, hamze is produced naturally before any initial

vowel but does not have the characteristic of a phoneme anymore. Its effect can be observed in compensatory lengthening in some words. In non-initial position, and especially in Arabic loanwords, this phoneme is usually realized not as a glottal stop, but rather as a lengthening of the preceding or following vowel or else it is replaced by ***h*** as can be seen in the following examples:

[*moæ:læm*] 'teacher' (Ar. *moʔællem*); [*mæ:mur*] 'agent' (Ar. *mæʔmur*); [*sehiḍ*] 'proper noun, celebrated' (Ar. *sæʔid*)[212].

This compensatory lengthening can also be observed after dropping of voiceless glottal fricative in words such as:

[*lohr*] > [*lo:r*] 'a very severe cold'; [*gohš*] > [*go:š*] 'open! (Imperative verb)'; [*koh*] > [*ko:*] 'mountain'.

The difference between ***ʔ*** and ***h*** is that, the latter can occasionaly surface in some words or compounds, such as:

[*ræ:ḍen*] 'to go' > [*ræhd*] 'S/he went'; [*ko:*] > [*kohyar*] 'proper male name'

AFFRICATES

4.1.10 **/*č*/** Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, which is pronounced like English and Persian *č*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved through following pairs:

(18) ***/č/-/ǰ/***

/*čæft*/	'shin bone'
/*ǰæft*/	'the internal bark of a walnut tree used for dying hair or wool'
/*seče*/	'railroad crossing'
/*seǰe*/	'insistence, stubbornness'
/*koč*/	'a deep bowl'
/*koǰ*/	'(short form of /*koǰe*/) where'

(19) **/*č*/-/*š*/**

/*čiər*/	'a short wall of un-cemented stones'
/*šiər*/	'lion'
/*æwčæ*/	'well water'
/*æwšæ*/	'thyme'
/*særkæč*/	'ill- tempered'

212. See also Anonby (2014:26)

/*særkæš*/ ‘a goat that goes ahead of the herd’

4.1.11 ***/ǰ/*** Voiced alveo-palatal affricate which is pronounced like Persian ***ǰ***. It can be identified by comparison with ***č*** (4.1.9), ***ž*** **(below in 4.1.16)** and through following pairs:

(20) ***/ǰ/-/z/***

/*ǰængæl*/ ‘forest’
/*zængæl/* ‘women’

/*seǰe*/ ‘(in the compound: *seǰe bæsten*): emphasis, in sisting on something’
/*seze*/ ‘weary, upset’

/*kæǰ*/ ‘crocked’
/*kæz*/ ‘the fine hair under the belly of a goat which is used to make a special kind of clothing called *kordin*’

(21) ***/ǰ/-/y/***

/*ǰar*/ ‘cry, shout’
/*yar*/ ‘companion, beloved’

/*paǰom*/ ‘punishment, upshot’
/*payom*/ ‘I will keep / watch for (1st.sg. pres.)’

/*baǰ*/ ‘tribute’
/*båy*/ ‘fear, defect’

FRICATIVES

4.1.12 ***/f/*** voiceless labiodental fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian ***f***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***p*** 4.2.1) and through following pairs:

(22) ***/f/-/v/***

/*fer*/ ‘to fly; fly up suddenly’
/*ver*/ ‘Stand up! Move it! (imperative)’

/*dæfæk*/ ‘a device made by heaping colourful pieces of cloth or patching them to a stick and putting them

	by springs to attract partridges'
/*dævæk*/	'a plot land to be watered'
/*saf*/	'bright; clean; upright'
/*sav*/	'(=/*saheb*/) the owner'

(23) /***f***/-/***s***/

/*fend*/	'manner, habit'
/*send*/	'age'
/*qofæ*/	'a basket made by fine twigs for keeping bread, etc.'
/*qosæ*/	'sorrow'
/*kæf*/	'bottom'
/*kæs*/	'family; relatives'

4.1.13 **/*v*/** voiced labiodental fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian ***v*** in the initial position. The status of this phoneme can be shown by comparison with ***b*** (4.1.2) and ***f*** (4.1.11). It is worth mentioning, however, that some of the **v** sounds that exist in today's Bakhtiari are etymologically ***b***, as mentioned earlier (4.1.1, under ***b - v***), for instance:

(24) *ketab* > *ketav* 'book'; *læb* > *læw* 'lip', and in compound: *læbdar* > *læwdar* 'having lips; dented'

Windfuhr (1988:559) also mentions some phonological changes that are typically Bakhtiari, i.a. intervocalic ***m* > *w,*** e.g. *dāmād* > *dūwā* 'son-in-law' and *āmad* > *oweid* 'came'. This second example has a more widespread form in many of the Haft Lang dialects, viz. ***eveyḏ*** instead of ***oweid*****,** therefore, it seems that the above rule is better to be rewritten as: intervocalic ***m* > *w/v.***

4.1.14 **/*s*/** voiceless alveolar fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian ***s***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***f*** (4.1.11) and through following minimal pairs:

(25) /***s***/-/***z***/

/*sal*/	'year'
/*zal*/	'white, fresh celery'
/*æwsar*/	'yoke'
/*æwzar*/	'tools'
/*kæs*/	'family, relatives'
/*kæz*/	'the fine hair under the belly of a goat which is

used to make a special kind of clothing
called *kordin*'

(26) /***s***/-/*š*/

/*sever*/	'patient, dignified'
/*šever*/	'hanging, loose'
/*gusti*/	'it seems…'
/*gušti*/	'fat and well-fed animal'
/*eis*/	'photo'
/*eiš*/	'fun, entertainment'

4.1.15 **/*z*/** voiced alveolar fricative which is pronounced like English and Persian ***z***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***s*** (4.1.13) and through the following minimal pairs:

(27) /***z***/-/***v***/

/*zæng*/	'bell'
/*væng*/	'feeble and weak'
/*åzoḍi*/	'health, comfort and tranquillity'
/*åvoḍi*/	'a village, inhabited place'
/*taz*/	'fresh (short form of *taze*)'
/*tav*/	'endurance, capacity'

4.1.16 **/*š*/** voiceless paleto-alveolar fricative, the phonological identity of which can be achieved by comparison with ***č*** (4.1.9) and ***s*** (4.1.13) and through following pairs:

(28) /***š***/-/*ž*/

/a***ž***/	'poor, penniless'
/*aš*/	'Ash, a traditional Iranian porridge'

4.1.17 **/*ž*/** voiced palato-alveolar fricative which is pronounced like Persian *ž*. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***š*** (4.1.15) and through the minimal pairs below, but since ***ž*** is a phoneme with low functional load, not many contrastive examples can be identified:

(29) /*ž*/-/***r***/

/*qo**ž***/	'sudden madness'
/*qor*/	'a small bell with a furrow in the middle'

(30) /*ž*/-/***q***/

/*žil*/	'messy'
/*qil*/	'very deep'

4.1.18 **/*χ*/** voiceless uvular fricative which is pronounced like Persian ***χ***[213]. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with *ɢ* (4.1.7**)** and through the following pairs:

(31) /***χ***/-/***h***/

/*χar*/	'humiliated; insignificant'
/*har*/	'thorn, thistle'
/*tæχt*/	'bed'
/*tæht*/	'a big, flat rock; comfortable, flat and even'
/*koχ*/	'a little crustacean living in springs that looks like a shrimp'
/*koh*/	'a mount, mountain, clump, and small stone'

4.1.19 **/*h*/** Voiceless glottal fricative, the phonological identity of which can be achieved by comparison with */χ/* (4.1.17).

NASALS

4.1.20 **/*m*/** voiced bilabial nasal which is pronounced like English and Persian ***m***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***p*** (4.1.1) and ***b*** (4.1.2) and through following pairs:

(32) /***m***/-/***n***/

/*mil*/	'an iron rod'

213. In Bakhtiari there are some cases in which /χ/ and */h/* alternates, such as: *χorma* > *horma* 'dates', *χær* > *hær* 'donkey', on the one hand, and in examples like *heif* > *χeif* 'pity; good', *hæst* > *χæst* 'pit, core', on the other hand. This change happens even with the proper name *χattæmi* > *hattæmi*. There is also one example (See4.1.7 above) which I encountered during my field work where /χ/ is changed to /ɢ/, mostly by people who don't speak Persian: *χuzestan* > *ɢuzestõ*^{w} 'the Iranian southwestern province of Khuzestan'.

/*nil*/	‘blue colour; a horse with a bluish white colour’
/*komar*/	‘complex; sadness’
/*konar*/	‘the tree and the fruit of Sisyphus’
/*gilim*/	‘kilim, a kind of floor covering’
/*gilin*/	‘skirt, lower part a dress’

4.1.21 **/*n*/** voiced alveolar nasal. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***t*** (4.1.3), ***d*** (4.1.4) and ***m*** (4.1.19). It is worth mentioning that ***n*** preceding back consonants will undergo a process of assimilation to its following consonants, as summarized below:

(33) /*n*/ > [*ŋ*] /V_*g*# as in /*sæng*/ > [*sæŋg*] ‘stone’

(34) /n/ > [*ŋ*]/V_ *g*V as in /*sengin*/ > [*seŋgin*] ‘heavy’

Final ***n*** is only retained after front vowels. (See 4.2.6 below for the behaviour of ***n*** word finally after back vowels.)

LIQUIDS

4.1.22 **/*r*/** voiced alveolar flap, with a trilled allophone, which is pronounced like Persian ***r***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***l*** in following pairs:

(35) /***r***/-/***l***/

/*rek*/	‘column, foundation’
/*lek*/	‘twig, branch’
/*derœk*/	‘a wooden pen for animals’
/*delœk*/	‘tremble, a knock’
/*neher*/	‘stupid, not very clever’
/*nehel*/	‘mud, mire’

4.1.23 **/*l*/** Voiced alveolar lateral approximant which is pronounced like Persian ***l***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***r*** (4.1.21).

SEMIVOWELS

4.1.24 **/y/** voiced palatal approximant which is pronounced like Persian ***y***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved in comparison with ***ǰ*** (4.1.10).
4.1.25 **/w/** I had a difficult time to decide whether I should include ***w*** in the consonant table as a separate phoneme or not. ***w*** does not occur in this variety of Bakhtiari as an independent phoneme. A faint labial glide, however, is generally realized at the end of the phoneme ***o*** as in ***bow*** 'father' (to be paired with ***bu*** 'smell'), but the fact is that the major realization of this segment is after the vowel ***æ*** as will be discussed in more detail in (4.2.9). See also (4.2.6) and (4.1.12).

4.2 VOWEL DESCRIPTION

Bakhtiari has seven vowels which are as follows:

Table 4.2: Bakhtiari vowels

	Front		Back
close	*i*		*u*
		o (ʊ)	
close-mid			*õ*
open-mid	*e (**ɛ**)*	[*å(ə)*]	
	æ		
open	*a*		

These vowels will be described in the following seven sections and then in section (4.2.9) we will focus on the Bakhtiari diphthongs. [*å(ə)*] represent an allophone of **/*a*/** as will be explained in (4.2.8) below, and it is put here in the chart between brackets not to be confused as a phoneme and just to illustrate its exact place of articulation. It should be noted that in the examples provided below, a glottal stop in front of every Bakhtiari word beginning with a vowel has been taken for granted and as such it is not indicated in the transcription.

4.2.1 **/*i*/** a close front unrounded vowel; the phonological identity of this phoneme can be established through following examinations:

(36) **/*i*/-/*e*/**

/*pir*/ 'old, a holy figure'
/*per*/ 'a lighted piece of wood used to take fire from a fireplace to another'

/*vir*/ ‘memory’
/*ver*/ ‘talk’

(37) /***i***/-/***e***/

/*tær*/ ‘wet’
/*nil*/ ‘blue, a white-bluish horse’
/*nal*/ ‘horseshoe’

(38) /***i***/-/***iə***/

/*sir*/ ‘garlic’
/*siər*/ ‘full, not hungry’

/*šir*/ ‘milk’
/*šiər*/ ‘lion’

/*dir*/ ‘far, faraway’
/*diər*/ ‘late (time)’

(39) /***i***/-/***a***/

/*riz*/ ‘tiny’
/*raz*/ ‘secret’

/*pik*/ ‘empty’
/*pak*/ ‘clean’

(40) /***i***/-/***u***/

/*si*/ ‘for’
/*su*/ ‘light, glint’

/*nit*/ ‘hair lock’
/*nut*/ ‘a money note (an English loan word); a straw dish for keeping palm dates’

(41) /***i***/-/***o***/

/*pir*/ ‘old’
/*por*/ ‘full’

/*di(d)*/ ‘smoke’
/*do*/ ‘two’

4.2.2 **/*e*/** an open-mid front unrounded vowel which is represented in IPA chart by ɛ, but for practical reasons, I have decided to represent it by ***e***. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***i*** (4.2.1) and through following pairs:

(42) **/*e*/-/*æ*/**

/*kel*/	‘on its side’
/*kæl*/	‘mountain goat’
/*kole*/	‘short; tiny’
/*kolæh*/	‘hat’

(43) **/*e*/-/*a*/**

/*tel*/	‘stomach, belly’
/*tal*/	‘rope, thread’
/*kæle*/	‘head’
/*kæla*/	‘crow’

(44) **/*e*/-/*iə*/**

/*šer*/	‘one moment, a short while’
/*šiər*/	‘lion’
/*pel*/	‘an ox’
/*piəl*/	‘strain; an angry look’
/*ser*/	‘secret’
/*siər*/	‘full, not hungry’

(45) **/*e*/-/*u*/**

/*kel*/	‘side; next to’
/*kul*/	‘dry, crispy’
/*ser*/	‘mystery’
/*sur*/	‘salty’

(46) **/*e*/-/*o*/**

/*gel*/	‘mud’
/*gol*/	‘flower’
/*tek*/	‘the calf (the muscle of the back of the leg)’
/*tok*/	‘a drop’

4.2.3 **/æ/** a near-open front unrounded vowel; it contrasts with ***i*** (4.2.1), ***e*** (4.2.2) and the following vowels:

(47) **/æ/-/a/**

/*æra*/	‘mold’
/*ara*/	‘(gerund) one who brings’
/*χæl*/	‘bent, crooked’
/*χal*/	‘beauty mark; mole’
/*qælæ(e)*/	‘crop; grain and barley’
/*qæla*/	‘crow’

(48) **/æ/-/o/**

/*kæp*/	‘the palm of hand’
/*kop*/	‘a pile’
/*kotæl*/	‘a mountainous path full of turns and ups and downs’
/*kotol*/	‘a short person’
/*kolæ*/	‘a hat; the special place for keeping the poultry’
/*kolo*/	‘a grasshopper’

4.2.4 **/u/** a close back rounded vowel. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be achieved by comparison with ***i*** (4.2.1), ***e*** (4.2.2), ***æ*** (4.2.3) and through following contrasts:

(49) **/u/-/o/**

/*kur*/	‘blind’
/*kor*/	‘boy, son’
/*kul*/	‘back and shoulders’
/*kol*/	‘short, not sharp’
/*kolu*/	‘a filly (a baby female horse)’
/*kolo*/	‘a grasshopper’

(50) **/u/-/a/**

/*suz*/	‘burning; sever sorrow’

/*saz*/	‘trumpet’
/*hævu*/	‘co-wife, the relationship between two wives of a man’
/*hæva*/	‘air’

4.2.5 **/*o*/** a near-close near-back rounded vowel. The IPA symbol which corresponds to this sound is ʊ. Its realisation, however, varies from ***ʊ*** to ***o*** based on its phonetic environment. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***i*** (4.2.1), ***e*** (4.2.2), ***æ*** (4.2.3), ***u*** (4.2.4) and below:

(51) **/*o*/-/*a*/**

/*dor*/	‘a girl; daughter’
/*dar*/	‘a tree’
/*do*/	‘two’
/*da*/	‘mother’

4.2.6 **/*õ*/** back, round, middle and nasalized. This vowel is actually the result of the transformation of either ***u*** + ***n*** as the plural suffix or ***a*** + ***n*** as part of the word. Here are examples of both cases:

(52) *æsp* > *æsp* + *-un* > *æspõ*^{w} ‘horses’

and:

(53)

/*no*/	‘new’
/*nõ*^{w}/	‘bread’
/*ǰo*/	‘barley’
/*ǰõ*^{w}/	‘life, spirit’

Lorimer (1922:18) has also listed this as a separate vowel; therefore, regardless of its origin or its process of formation, we can claim that this phoneme has already existed in the language for at least a century. It is difficult to find an entirely satisfactory representation for this sound. It consists of two elements: a nasalazied vowel resulting from the loss of the underlying nasal consonant followed by a faint labial off-glide ***w***. I have chosen to represent it by a combination of a nasalized ***o*** and a bilabial glide ***w***. It seems that the omission of ***n*** is assimilated into the vowel and this weak ***w*** is there to amplify the roundness of the vowel. The actual process, however, can be represented as this sequence: ***nan > nun > nõ*^{w} / *nõw***.

4.2.7 **/*a*/** an open back unrounded vowel. The phonological identity of this phoneme can be established by comparison with ***i*** (4.2.1), ***e*** (4.2.2), ***æ*** (4.2.3), ***u*** (4.2.4) and ***o*** (4.2.5).

It has an allophone, i.e. */å/* an open-mid central rounded vowel which in IPA chart is represented as ɔ. To my knowledge, this vowel never appears in monosyllables or in the last syllable of a polysyllable.

(1)

zåmin	'land, ground'
åḏom	'people, man'
bålåi	'the top ones'
måši(n)	'auto, machine'
båzi	'play'
råi	'a passenger'
måi	'fish'

4.2.8 Diphthongs

There are several combinations in Bakhtiari which resemble diphthongs, but the path to analyzing them as a diphthong or simply as a combination of a vowel plus a glide is not a smooth one. From a phonetic point of view the continuous movement of the speech apparatus from one vowel towards the other, the vowels below are certainly diphthongs. From a phonological point of view, however, a combination of two vowels can produce a diphthong only if the two parts act like one vowel, in other words, the second part should not be distinguished from the first one in syllable parsing (Samare 1368:119)[214]. Below, some of these combinations are listed and the ones that have characteristics more similar to diphthongs will be presented:

(54) /***oy***/

/*oynæ*/	'a mirror'
/*poy*/	'all, altogether, completely (originally *pak*)'

(55) /***æy***/

/*æy*/	'if'
/*mæy*/	'except for'
/*šæy*/	'doubt (Arabic loan word *šæk*)'
/*χæyf*/	'good'

(56) /***ey***/

/*gey*/	'turn, time to do something'
/*ley*/	'a kind of hand-woven rug'

214. Iranian linguists have not reached a consensus about the existence of diphthongs in some Iranian dialects and languages. Some think that the above mentioned phonetic forms are simply a combination of two phonemes such as (o+y), (e+y) or (æ+w) but others consider them as diphthongs (Mahootian, 1997: 286).

/*eveyḏen*/	‘to come, they have come, they came’
/*χeyr*/	‘goodness, happiness, good omen (Arabic loan word خير)’
/*pey*/	‘trace, foot print’

(57) ***/æw/***

/*æwlaḏ*/	‘the children, the descendants, a tribal branch (Arabic loan word اولاد)’
/*šæwlar*/	‘trousers, the skirt of a traditional female dress’
/*pæwzar*/	‘shoes’
/*χæw*/	‘sleep’
/*næwhæt*/	‘a strange and awkward person, not fine, not having a pleasant appearance’
/*kelæws*/	‘wild celery’

(58) ***/ow/***

/*owsi*/	‘mystery’
/*bow*/	‘dad, father’

(59) ***/iə/***

/*siər*/	‘full, not hungry’
/*šiər*/	‘lion’,
/*diər*/	‘late’
/*piər*/	‘old’
/*piəl*/	‘an angry look’

From the above combinations, ***iə*** seems to have the major characteristics of a diphthong. First we can find sufficient minimal pairs, such as:

(60)

/*sir*/	‘garlic’
/*sur*/	‘salty’
/*sær*/	‘head’
/*siər*/	‘full, not hungry’
/*šir*/	‘milk’
/*šær*/	‘evil’
/*šiər*/	‘lion’
/*dir*/	‘far, far away’
/*diər*/	‘late (time)’

/*pil*/ ‘money’
/*piəl*/ ‘an angry look’

Moreover, the ***iə*** combination is not separable in other phonological processes, consider following examples:

(61) *šiər + -a > šiə.ra* ‘lions’, *piəl + =om > piə.l=om* ‘my money’

The same reasoning holds true for the combinations ***oy, æy, ey***, ***æw***, and ***ow***, as shown in the examples below:

(62) *poy + -bær > poy.bær* ‘one who takes everything altogether’

(63) *šæy +-kon(-a) > šæy.kon(-a)* ‘doubtful, one who doubts a lot’

(64) *pey + =s > peys* ‘his/ her trace’

Phonologically speaking, the rule is that when a consonant-initial suffix attaches to a consonant-final word, an ***e*** is inserted to prevent consonant clusters. This is a proof that the second vowel in above examples does not act like a consonant, hence the combinations can be regarded as diphthongs.

(65) *æw + -a > æw. a* ‘waters’

(66) *bow + -gæl > bow.yæl* ‘fathers’

The Bakhtiari plural suffix ***-gæl*** changes to ***-yæl*** when attached to a vowel final word. I conclude, accordingly, that we can distinguish six diphthongs in this variety of Bakhtiari.

4.3 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable in Bakhtiari contains a vowel as its nucleus, but no consonant clusters are allowed in the onset. Depending on the number and distributional pattern of consonants, the following syllable types are distinguished in Bakhtiari:

1. V — ***a*** ‘master’; ***i*** ‘this’; ***u*** (***ho***) ‘that’
2. VC — ***al*** ‘a demonic creature’; ***eis*** ‘photo’
3. VCC — *æs**p*** ‘horse’; ***ard*** ‘flour’
4. CV — ***na*** ‘strength’; ***ri*** ‘face’
5. CVC — ***hak*** ‘soil, land’; ***kæs*** ‘person, family’
6. CVCC — ***tæht*** ‘a big, flat rock; comfortable, flat and even’; ***pæng*** ‘palm of the hand’

These constitute the basic syllable structures, some combination of these, however, are very prevalent, such as:

(67)

1.	V.CVC	***a.baḍ*** ‘prosperous’
2.	VCC.CVC	*æng.d**ar*** ‘ashamed’;
3.	CV.CV	***bæ.***č*e*** ‘child’, ***kæ.le*** ‘head’
4.	CV.CVC	***ho.var*** ‘smooth’; ***ko.nar*** ‘a kind of fruit’
5.	CVC.CV	***bæn.de*** ‘slave, servant’; ***mær.ze*** ‘savory’
6.	CVC.CVC	***pær.var*** ‘fat, chubby’; ***ker.dar*** ‘manner’
7.	CVCC.CVCC	***dærd.mænd*** ‘somebody who has pain (emotionally and physically), poor’

As hinted at in the above examples, all the possible syllable coda clusters are the following:

-ft; *-ht*; *-χt*; *-hḍ*; *-nḍ*; *-ng*; *-nk*; *-ns*; *-nt*; *-rč*, *-rǰ*; *-rḍ*; *-rd*; *-rg*; *-rɢ*; *-rk*; *-rm*; *-rs*; *-rt*; *-rχ*; *-rz*; *-rš*; *-lg*; *-lɢ*; *-lχ*; *-lt*; *-hl*; *-sk*; *-sɢ*; *-sm*; *-sn*; *-sp*; *-sr*; *-st*; *-šk*; *-šm*; *-šn*; *-št*; *-tr*; *-zg*; *-zm*; *-zr*; *-ɢs*; *-hš*; *-hm*
Examples for these clusters are:

(68) ***noft*** ‘nose’; ***tæht*** ‘flat, smooth’; ***reχt*** ‘’; ***ræhḍ*** ‘went’; ***šæng*** ‘a herb’; ***šans*** ‘chance’; ***berč*** ‘shine’, ***borǰ*** ‘month’; ***terḍ*** ‘burning’; ***mærd*** ‘man’; ***mærg***‘death’; ***bærɢ*** ‘electricity’; ***merk*** ‘elbow’; ***nærm*** ‘soft’; ***hærs*** ‘tear’; ***mært*** ‘skin’; ***čærχ*** ‘wheel’; ***nærz*** ‘vow’; ***orš*** ‘one-tenth’; ***bælg*** ‘leaf’; ***šolɢ*** ‘job’; ***estælχ*** ‘pool’; ***bolt*** ‘screw, bolt (English loan word)’; ***tæhl*** ‘bitter’; ***æsk*** ‘photo’; ***nosɢ*** ‘defect, fault’; ***esm*** ‘name’; ***hosn*** ‘virtue’; ***æsp*** ‘horse’; ***æsr*** ‘evening’; ***rest*** ‘stench’; ***mæšk*** ‘water bag’; ***pæšm*** ‘wool’; ***ǰæšn*** ‘feast, party’; ***hæšt*** ‘eight’; ***ketr*** ‘kettle’(English loan word); ***mæzg*** ‘brain’; ***ræzm*** ‘battle’; ***χezr*** ‘a saint’; ***ræɢs*** ‘dance’; ***ræhš*** ‘black and white’; ***zæhm*** ‘wound, sore’.