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

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CHAPTER FIVE NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

5 NOUN

The noun in Bakhtiari can occur as subject, object and peripheral nominal arguments and is inflected for number. It can take determiners (5.2 and 5.7), the definite object marker **-(n)e** (5.4) and the definite suffix **-ke** (5.2.1). Nouns can also be modified by a noun and/ or adjectives in a N+ ezafe+ adjective construction (5.3). Both the syntactic and semantic functions of the noun phrase are expressed by prepositions (5.5) and through word order, which is generally SOV. They can also be classified further according to number and definiteness.

5.1 NUMBER

The singular noun is expressed by the unmarked form of the noun and this form can be used as the basis for plural formation. Examples are:

- (1) *æwr* ‘cloud’, *beu* ‘father’, *da* ‘mother’

The plural noun, unlike the singular, is marked by several different morphemes which are suffixed to the noun, as will be demonstrated below.

5.1.1 The plural suffix **-a** / **-ha**

The most frequent plural suffix in Bakhtiari is **-a** with the allomorph **-ha**. Every new word which enters the language will be pluralized by using the morpheme **-a** or **-ha**.²¹⁵ Words ending in a consonant or high vowel will be inflected by **-a** and the other vowel-final words take **ha** in their plural form, as shown in the examples below.

215. I have encountered only one case where a new word, *tefri*, ends in another plural morpheme **-yæl**. In recent years the Bakhtiari nomads, living in Kohrang, have coined a word to refer to the tourists coming to see the natural attractions of their area. They call them *tefriyæl* which is derived from the Persian noun *tæfrih* ‘promenade, recreation’, itself derived from Arabic root فرح */fræḥæ/* ‘joy, delight’.

(2) Suffix *-a*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>zə/āmin</i>	<i>zəmin-a</i>	‘land, ground’
b)	<i>deræxt</i>	<i>deræxt-a</i>	‘tree’
c)	<i>gænǝm</i>	<i>gænǝm-a</i>	‘wheat’
d)	<i>šotor</i>	<i>šotor-a</i>	‘camel’
e)	<i>ley</i>	<i>ley-a</i>	‘a kind of hand-woven rug’
f)	<i>mobail</i>	<i>mobail-a</i>	‘mobile phone’
g)	<i>nǝw</i>	<i>nǝw-a</i>	‘bread’
h)	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu-a</i>	‘room’
i)	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti-y-a</i>	‘eye’

(3) Suffix *-ha*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>pa</i>	<i>pa-ha</i>	‘foot/leg’
b)	<i>tela</i>	<i>tela-ha</i>	‘gold’
c)	<i>sorfe</i>	<i>sorfe-ha</i>	‘table cloth/ cough’
d)	<i>Zantia</i>	<i>Zantia -ha</i>	‘a new brand of auto’

The historically informed analysis would be to consider *-ha* as the original form (as in written Persian) descending from Middle Persian *-thā* (Tafazoli-Amuzegar 1996:67) with the allomorph *-a* (in Bakhtiari as well as in spoken Farsi Persian) for the consonant-final words. It seems that in the older stages of the language, inanimate nouns usually took *-a/-ha* in their plural form while animate nouns were pluralized by other plural suffixes, to which I will now turn.

5.1.2 The plural suffix *-gæl/-yæł*²¹⁶

This morpheme has lost almost all of its productivity. The many words that have their plural formed by this morpheme, however, are quite frequent everyday words. It is an almost closed set that belongs to some old important semantic domains, such as kinship terms, animal husbandry terminology and a number of adjectives functioning as nouns. The examples below will further clarify this

216. In addition to these forms, there are some words, usually ending in *-g*, which have their plural forms made by adding the suffix *-æł*, a very frequent plural suffix in the Lori variety of the southern neighboring language of Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad province (or [*ko^hgilu beiræmet*] as they call themselves). There are very few plural forms in Bakhtiari using this suffix: *behig* → *behigæl* ‘bride’; *borg* → *borgæl* ‘eyebrow’.

point²¹⁷. This plural morpheme has two allomorphs, in the sense that *-gæl* comes after words ending in a consonant, whereas *-yæl* attaches to vowel-final words, as shown in the two following sets of examples:

(4) Suffix *-gæl*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>zæn</i>	<i>zængæl</i>	‘woman’
b)	<i>dor</i>	<i>dorgæl</i>	‘girl’
c)	<i>kor</i>	<i>korgæl</i>	‘boy, son’
d)	<i>boz</i>	<i>bozgæl</i>	‘goat’
e)	<i>hær</i>	<i>hærgæl</i>	‘donkey’
f)	<i>gær</i>	<i>gærgæl</i>	‘calf’

Some examples of words, almost entirely kinship terms, which have their plural forms in *-yæl*, are as follows:

(5) Suffix *-yæl*

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>aqɑ</i>	<i>aqayæl</i>	‘paternal uncle’
b)	<i>bæče</i>	<i>bæčiyæl</i>	‘kid, baby’
c)	<i>beu</i>	<i>beuyæl</i>	‘father’
d)	<i>bivi</i>	<i>biviyæl</i>	‘respected/ elderly lady’
e)	<i>botiə</i>	<i>botiyæl</i>	‘maternal aunt’
f)	<i>da</i>	<i>dayæl</i>	‘mother’
g)	<i>dalɑ</i>	<i>daluyæl</i>	‘old woman’
h)	<i>deðu</i>	<i>deðuyæl</i>	‘sister’
i)	<i>dowa</i>	<i>dowayæl</i>	‘son/brother-in-law’
j)	<i>geu</i>	<i>geuyæl</i>	‘brother’
k)	<i>halɑ</i>	<i>haluyæl</i>	‘maternal uncle’
l)	<i>homsɑ</i>	<i>homsayæl</i>	‘neighbor’
m)	<i>jeqele</i>	<i>jeqeliyæl</i>	‘young boy’
n)	<i>kiči</i>	<i>kičiyæl</i>	‘paternal aunt’

217. Interestingly, the words and terms related to agriculture do not have these morphemes in their plural but have *-ɑ* and the collective plural suffix *-un* (5.1.3 below). Does it reveal anything about the sociolinguistic history of this people? Can it be interpreted as a hint that, in comparison with herding and nomadic life, agricultural activities are a later development in their community?! Or, in an opposite analysis: if we consider *-ɑ* as the original plural form and *-yæl/-gæl* a later adaptation, can we conjecture that these people were in the beginning settlers with agricultural activities and then became familiar with herding and pastoral nomadism through contact with neighboring Turkish tribes and have adopted some of their herding terminologies (Digar 1981).

o)	<i>aðom</i>	<i>aðomiyæł</i>	‘people, man’
p)	<i>tate</i>	<i>tatiyæł</i>	‘old man’
q)	<i>pia</i>	<i>piayæł</i>	‘man’
r)	<i>kor</i>	<i>korgæł/</i> <i>kor(i)yæł</i>	‘boy, son’

The last example is an exception. It seems, however, that one of the two forms is older since Bakhtiari nomads whose language is less affected by standard Persian, as well as old people, tend to use *koryæł*²¹⁸ more often than the other form.

As mentioned above, there are several adjectives that, when used as nouns, i.e. as heads of the NPs, have the same plural suffixes:

(6)	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss.
a)	<i>morðe</i>	<i>morðiyæł</i>	‘the dead ones’
b)	<i>live</i>	<i>liviyeł</i>	‘the mad, crazy ones’
c)	<i>lemi</i>	<i>lemiyæł</i>	‘the bottom ones’
d)	<i>bâlâhi</i>	<i>bâlâhiyæł</i>	‘the top ones’
e)	<i>eylaq</i>	<i>eylaqiyæł</i>	‘people of the cold lands’
f)	‘ <i>alborðe</i> ²¹⁹	<i>alborðiyæł</i>	‘the ones who have been possessed by an Al’ ²²⁰
g)	<i>ǰengereiðe</i>	<i>ǰengereiðiyæł</i>	‘people who have been possessed by a Jen’ ²²¹

There are cases where after the addition of the plural suffix, we see a phonological change²²² not just in the final vowel but also in the root morpheme:

(7)	<i>miðre</i> → <i>mirgæł</i>	‘husband’
(8)	<i>sæy</i> → <i>sæyæł</i>	‘dog’
(9)	<i>big</i> → <i>biyæł</i>	‘goat kid’

5.1.3 The collective plural suffix *-un*²²³

This plural ending (which is cognate with the prevailing Persian plural suffix *-an*) is a continuation of the older genitive plural ending. This suffix is usually pronounced as *-ðw*. As we see in the examples, words pluralized in this manner convey the concept of collectiveness:

218. Also mentioned in Vahman & Asatrian (1995:70).

219. The mark (‘) indicates that the following syllable is stressed, but as Bakhtiari words are canonically stressed on the final syllable, I will only indicate the stress when it deviates from the default rule.

220. a demonic being.

221. a demon, one who behaves erratically.

222. *sæy* + *-yæł* > *sæyyæł* > *sæyæł*; *big* + *-gæł* > *biggæł* > *biyæł*.

223. This ending is usually pronounced as [ðw] (see 4.2.6).

(10) Suffix -un

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>ĵend</i>	<i>ĵendun</i>	‘a group of Jens; genie’
b)	<i>lor</i>	<i>lorun</i>	‘Bakhtiaris or Lors in general’
c)	<i>hæqdar</i>	<i>hæqdarun</i>	‘one who is right and justified’
d)	<i>ĵahel</i>	<i>ĵahelun</i>	‘lad, ignorant, young’
e)	<i>morq</i>	<i>morqun</i>	‘hen’
f)	<i>til</i>	<i>tilun</i>	‘chicken’
g)	<i>gusend</i>	<i>gusendun</i>	‘sheep’
h)	<i>χers</i>	<i>χersun</i>	‘bear’
i)	<i>gorg</i>	<i>gorgun</i>	‘wolf’
j)	<i>šiær</i>	<i>šiærun</i>	‘lion’
k)	<i>æsb</i>	<i>æsbun</i>	‘horse’
l)	<i>pel</i>	<i>pelun</i>	‘young ox’
m)	<i>qater</i>	<i>qaterun</i>	‘mule’
n)	<i>miəš</i>	<i>mišun</i>	‘ewe’

Moreover, the tribe names are generally pluralized using this ending:

(11) Tribe names

	Sg.	Pl.	Gloss
a)	<i>Bavaði</i>	<i>Bavaðun</i>	‘members of Bavadi tribe’
b)	<i>Monjezi</i>	<i>Monjezun</i>	‘members of Monjezi tribe’
c)	<i>Šeiχ</i>	<i>Šeiχun</i>	‘members of Sheix tribe’
d)	<i>Bosak</i>	<i>Bosakun</i>	‘members of Bosak tribe’
e)	<i>Zærasvænd</i>	<i>Zærasvænðun</i>	‘members of Zarasvand tribe’

But:

f)	<i>Hæmule</i>	<i>Hæmulyæl</i>	‘members of Hamule tribe’
g)	<i>Gændeli</i>	<i>Gændeliyæl</i>	‘members of Gandeli tribe’
h)	<i>Muzærmuni</i>	<i>Muzærmuniyæl</i>	‘members of Muzarmuni tribe’

5.2 DEFINITENESS

An uninflected noun can *always* be generic, indefinite or definite/specific. It depends on what is intended by the speaker.

- (12) *gænðom men-e χærmen=e*
wheat in-EZ threshing ground=COP.3SG
'The wheat is on the threshing ground.'
- (13) 1. *čâi rext si mændes* But : 2. *čâi=ne rext men-e sini*
tea pour.PST.3SG for engineer tea=OM pour.PST.3SG in-EZ tray
'(S/he) poured tea for (the) engineer.' '(S/he) poured the tea in the tray!'
- (14) *barð^w si qæle χuw=e*
rain for crop good=COP.3SG
'Rain is good for (the) crops.'

There are, however, several ways by means of which a noun can be made definite or indefinite in Bakhtiari, as follows:

5.2.1. Definite suffix *-ke*

This suffix comes after a noun and like a definite article adds the quality of definiteness to its preceding noun. It is, however, comparable to suffix *-e/-æ* in spoken Persian, which according to Mahootian (1997:201), 'optionally attaches to any singular proper or common NP subject, direct object, indirect object and other cases to indicate definiteness':

- (15) *pia-ke čænde čaq=e!*
man-DEF how.much fat=COP.3SG
'How fat the guy is!'
- (16) *ketav-(e)-ke=ne čænde esteið-i?*
book-(E²²⁴)-DEF=OM how.much buy.PST-2SG
'How much did you buy the book for?'
- (17) *pil-a=ne be doðær-(e)-ke dað-i?*
money-PL=OM to girl-(E)-DEF give.PST-2.SG
'Did you give the money to the girl?'
- (18) *zæn-gæl-(e)-ke čænde ver-e-zæn-en*
woman-PL-(E)-DEF how.much chat-DUR-hit.PRS-3PL
'How much the women prattle!'

224. Here and in other examples that will follow, we regularly see the occurrence of an epenthetic vowel (e) between two consonants. This additional vowel has been put between parentheses because it is optional and you would quite often hear the same utterance without this.

5.2.2 Definite suffix *-e*

This definite marker can easily be mistaken for the indefinite marker or an Ezafe (5.3). This specific stressed definite suffix only marks a noun in an adjectival compound:

- (19) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e ši kerd*
 daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF husband DO.PST.3SG
 ‘The biggest daughter of all, married.’

The same utterance can be said using a direct object marker added to the same definite noun:

- (20) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e=ne da(ð) be ši*
 daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF=OM give.PST.3SG to husband
 ‘S/he gave, the biggest daughter of all, to marry.’

- (21) *šæv dinda-i-e dið-om=es*
 night next-ATTR-DEF see.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
 ‘The next night, (I) saw him/her/ it.’

- (22) *æwr-e=ne e-bin-i?*
 cloud-DEF=OM DUR-see.PRS-2SG
 ‘Do you see the cloud?’

5.2.3 Definite suffix *-o*

I agree with Moradi (2000: 48) that, as a rule, when the demonstrative adjectives (5.7.1) come before a noun, that noun will receive a final *o*, which can be considered as a definite marker.²²⁵ He mentions these examples to support his point:

- (23) 1. *i kor-o* ‘this boy’
 2. *u doðær-o* ‘that girl’
 3. *hæm qælæm-o* ‘this one pen’
 4. *hæm jær-o* ‘that one dispute’

225. As mentioned above (2.5), there are many regional varieties of Bakhtiari that, if considered as well, can complicate the linguistic analysis. Here, to be able to give a coherent description of the language, I only focus on the Hamule version of Bakhtiari to which I feel most affinity. In the Hamule variety the expressions in (23) would be like: ‘*i kor-e-ke*’, etc. Moradi’s examples, however, are also very frequent, therefore, they are discussed here, as well.

5.2.4 Indefinite suffix *-i*

This particle follows a noun and marks it as indefinite, as in below example which is one line from a popular Bakhtiari song²²⁶:

- (24) *sowar-i ze dir i-y-a-ø ordi=s be dinda*
 rider-INDF from far DUR-E-come.PRS-3SG corps=BP.3SG to behind
 ‘A horse-man is coming from a far, his troops, at the back!’

5.2.5 Indefinite article *yæ*

yæ, ‘one’ and also a numeral is used as the indefinite article that comes before noun:

- (25) *yæ pia gæp ‘veyd=e be mal*
 one/a man big come.PST=is to camp/ house
 ‘A big man has come to the camp house.’

5.2.6 Combination of both indefinite article and particle *yæ* + *-i*

The third way of marking indefiniteness is to add the unstressed suffix *-i* right after the same word which is already a qualified indefinite noun by means of a preceding *yæ* ‘one, a’²²⁷:

- (26) *yæ pia-h-i vaba=s eveyð-ø*
 one/a man-E-INDF with=BP.3SG come.PST-3SG
 ‘A man came with him/her.’

5.3 EZAFE CONSTRUCTION

The Ezafe, an Arabic loan word literally meaning ‘addition; attached’, is a very productive way of modifying a noun in many Iranian languages, including Bakhtiari. There is extensive literature²²⁸ on the subject, therefore, it is not specific to the language of our concern and the interested reader is referred to the sources cited in the footnotes for a more detailed discussion on the subject. Here some main functions of the Ezafe are listed to show how this grammatical marker works in the context of Bakhtiari. As a general rule, the Ezafe links a modifier to a head noun. This modifier can be an adjective or a noun or a participle, in which case the quality of the head noun will be expressed through this relation:

- (27) 1. *bærð-e gæp* 2. *æyom-e jæðʷni* 3. *ruzegar-e goðæšt-æ*
 stone-EZ big time-EZ youth days-EZ pass.PST.3SG-PTCP
 ‘a big stone’ ‘youth (lit.days of youth)’ ‘the days gone by’

226. Bakhtiari, Masoud: Hallu Zal song in Mal- Kanun Album.

227. Yarshater (1969: 65) has mentioned the same process in Southern Tati languages and thinks that this *-i* is “apparently a borrowing of the Persian *ya-e vahdat*”.

228. Samiiian (2008:339-363); Mahootian (1997: 150) and Lazard (1992: 66-71), among others.

Modification by a proper noun signifies the concept of possession:

- (28) 1. *kor-e qoli* 2. *šær-e ævaz*
 son-EZ Gholi city-EZ Ahvāz
 ‘Gholi’s son’ ‘The city of Ahwaz’

A noun modifier can also indicate the origin or the material of the head noun:

- (29) 1. *gæñðom-e eilaq* 2. *pust-e boz*
 wheat-EZ cold.region skin-EZ goat
 ‘The wheat of the cold region’ ‘Goat’s skin’

The Ezafe can also link a preposition of nominal origin to its adjunct noun:

- (30) 1. *ziær-e bohun* 2. *sær-e koh*
 under-EZ tent head-EZ mountain
 ‘under the black-tent’ ‘on the mountain’

Also, an alternative way to express possession with the enclitic suffixes is by the use of the Ezafe construction and a full pronoun: “The possessor can be any NP, including a personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun. Neither possessor nor possessed is otherwise morphologically marked (Mahootian 1997:150)”.

- (31) 1. *ketav-e mo* 2. *ketav-e xo=m*
 book-EZ I/me book-EZ self=BP.1SG
 ‘My book’ ‘My own book’

The Ezafe particle drops when the head noun ends in a vowel:

- (32) 1. *tela da=m* 2. *horma guzestō^w*
 gold mother=BP.1SG dates Khuzestan
 ‘my mother’s gold’ ‘the dates of Khuzestan’

In certain compound nouns, an inversion in the order of the noun and adjective makes the use of Ezafe unnecessary. In such cases, the whole NP can act as a substantive, capable of taking the role of the predicate of a sentence:

- (33) 1. *ma-ga* 2. *tile-zæn* 3. *širin-æw*
 female-cow small-woman sweet-water
 ‘female cow’ ‘a tiny/young woman’ ‘fresh water’

- (34) *ma-ga-i=e* *si-χo=s!*
female-cow-INDF=COP.3SG *for-self=BP.3SG*
 ‘She is a unique (lit.for herself) strong woman!’

5.4 DEFINITE OBJECT MARKER *-e/-(n)e*

When a definite noun is the direct object of a verb, it is followed by the enclitic *=(n)e*. When the definite object noun ends in a vowel the allomorph *=ne* is used, otherwise *=e* appears.²²⁹

- (35) *čeraq=e* *kur* *kerd-ø*
lamp=OM *blind* *do.PST-3SG*
 ‘(S/he) turned off the lamp.’

- (36) *ga=ne* *e-bin-i?*
cow=OM *DUR-see.PRS-2SG*
 ‘Do you see the cow?’

As is shown below, the object marker appears after the plural morpheme or any other modifying suffix:

- (37) *dærf-a=ne* *šošt-ø*
dish-PL=OM *wash.PST-3SG*
 ‘(S/he) washed/has washed the dishes.’

- (38) *jeqe-le-ke=ne* *i-y-æšn-om*
lad-DEF=OM *DUR-E-recognize.PRS-1SG*
 ‘I know this lad.’

- (39) *doðær* *ze* *hæmæ* *gæp-tær-e=ne* *da(ð)-ø* *be* *ši*
daughter *from* *all* *big-COMPR-DEF=OM* *give.PST.3SG* *to* *husband*
 ‘S/he gave, the biggest daughter of all, to marry.’

When the object is a compound or a conjoined noun phrase, consisting of two or more nouns, the object marker appears only once, after the final one:

- (40) *ja-nōw-i-ne* *borð-ø*
place-bread-ATTR-OM *take.PST-3SG*
 ‘S/he took the bread container.’

- (41) *ketav=o* *qælæm=o* *dæftær=ene* *lešt-ø* *be* *gel=o* *dævnið-ø* *ræhð-ø*
book-CONJ *pen-CONJ* *notebook=OM* *leave.PST-3SG* *on earth-CONJ* *run.PST-3SG* *go.PST-3SG*
 ‘S/he put the book, pen and notebook on the ground and ran away.’

229. Windfuhr (1988: 560), however, mentions *-æ* as the object marker, which seems to be either because his consultant spoke a different dialect or it is *his* phonetic interpretation of what others generally perceive as the suffix *-e*.

5.5 PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are particles, words or phrases that precede a noun and can be divided into three major groups: basic, derived and complex. Each group will be explained in their respective sections.

5.5.1 Basic prepositions

These constitute a very small category of prepositions. They are particle-like words with different backgrounds that come before a noun and help to convey different semantic roles.

- (42) 1. *be mænzel* 2. *ta šæw* 3. *bi dæs* 4. *ba das*
 to home until night without hand with sickle
 ‘into/towards home’ ‘until night’ ‘without hand’ ‘with a sickle’

The prepositions in this group do not participate in an Ezafê construction. A list of these with their relative meanings²³⁰ is provided in table (5.1) below:

Table 5.1: Basic prepositions

<i>ba</i>	with	instrumental function
<i>vaba</i>	with	comitative function
<i>va</i>	with	circumstance
<i>bi</i>	without	non-availability, deficiency, absence
<i>be</i>	to; in; into; on; with	direction, location; manner; instrument
<i>či</i>	like	similarity
<i>ri</i>	on, above, over, on top of	locative superiority; direction
<i>si</i>	for, for the sake of	the benefactive case or purpose
<i>ta</i>	until	distance (time and place); the end purpose
<i>ze</i>	from, of, belong, made of	origin

Now, the above prepositions are explained separately, accompanied by examples to portray them pragmatically.

Bakhtiari expresses instrumentality by the use of *ba*:

230. Bakhtiari shares many of these prepositions with Persian. Their exact meaning, however, are not always the same.

- (43) *zeiḡ-ḡ* *sær=es=e* *ba* *bærd* *eškænḡ-ḡ*
 hit.PST-3SG head=BP.3SG=OM with stone break.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) hit and broke his/her head with a stone.’

To express the comitative function the compound form **vaba** is usually used:

- (44) *vaba* *bæči-yæl* *ræ-n* *be* *koh*
 with kid-PL go.PST-3PL to mountains
 ‘(They) went to the mountains with the kids.’

To express the semantic function of circumstance, the preposition **va** is used:

- (45) *pia-ke* *va* *seviæl-a* *deraz=es* *owra=im* *kærḡ-ḡ*
 man-DEF with mustache-PL long=BP.3SG fear= BP.1SG do.PST-3SG
 ‘The guy made me scared with his long mustachios.’

The preposition **bi** ‘without’ expresses the lack of a quality or the absence of an entity or action:

- (46) *bi* *dong* *ham-o-čö* *nešæst-ḡ*
 without sound EMPH- DIST-place sit.PST.3SG
 ‘She sat right there without (saying) a word.’
- (47) *gæza-ke* *bi* *tom=e*
 food-DEF without taste= COP.3SG
 ‘The food is tasteless.’
- (48) *bi* *χodafezi* *vel-kerḡ-ḡ* *ræhḡ-ḡ*
 without farewell free-do.PST-3SG go.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he left without saying goodbye.’
- (49) *geiz* *kerḡ-ḡ* *bi* *māši* *ræhḡ-ḡ*
 angry do.PST-3SG without car go.PST-3SG
 ‘(She) became angry and left without the car.’
- (50) *geiz* *kærḡ-ḡ* *bi* *bæči-yæl* *ræhḡ-ḡ*
 angry do.PST-3SG without kid-PL go.PST-3SG
 ‘(She) became angry and left without the kids.’

The main use of **be** ‘to; in; into’ is to indicate ‘motion toward’ or the dative.

- (51) *bæči-yæl-ke* *pây* *ræhḡ-en* *be* *mærese*
 kid-PL-DEF all go.PST-3PL to school
 ‘All the kids went to school.’

Another usage of **be** is to indicate ‘being in a location’:

- (52) *ima heni be eylaq=im*
 we still in Eylaq= COP.1PL
 ‘We are still in Eylaq.’

The example below shows another specific meaning of *be* in Bakhtiari, i.e. ‘covered with’ or ‘into’:

- (53) *dæst=om be hevīr=e, næ-tær-om bi-y-a-m*
 hand=BP.1SG into dough= COP.3SG NEG-can.PRS-1SG SBJV-E-come.PRS-1SG
 ‘My hands are covered with dough, I can’t come.’

The next example shows the use of *be* with an instrumental meaning:

- (54) *be ču zeīd-om=es*
 with wood hit.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I hit him/her/it with a stick.’

The preposition *be* is also one strategy for marking the addressee (see also *si* below)

- (55) *be da=om gođ-om*
 to mum=BP.1SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I said to my mum.’

či ‘as, like’ in this role should not be confused with the noun *či* meaning ‘thing, an object’ (see 5.6.3 below).

- (56) *či pæləng næhræ kæšiđ-ø, či šiər goromniđ-ø*
 lik panther yell pull.PST-3SG lik lion roar.PST-3SG
 ‘(He) yelled like a panther and roared like a lion.
 (Vahman, F& G.S. Asatrian 1995:76)’

si ‘for, for the sake of’ is a basic preposition to express the benefactive or the purpose of an action:

- (57) *čai si=t rast kerđ-om*
 tea for=BP.2SG upright do.PST-1SG
 ‘I made (prepared) tea for you.’

This same preposition, however, can join another noun to make a compound preposition *si del* with the same meaning and then behaves more like a noun (see below).

As the preposition *be* above, *si* is also another strategy for marking the addressee.

- (58) *bi-y-aw ta xo=m si=t bo-g-om*
 SBJV-come. PRS.2SG until myself=BP.1SG for=BP.2SG SBJV-say. PRS-1SG
 ‘Come, so I tell you, myself.’

ta ‘until’, in its primary role, conveys the temporal and spatial distance:

- (59) *ta sohva va be-nišin-im*
 till dawn should SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
 ‘We should stay up till dawn.’
- (60) *ronđ-om=es ræhđ-om ta čelgerd*
 drive.PST-1SG=BP.3SG go.PST-1S till Chelgerd
 ‘I drove it off to/ till Chelgerd.’

In its secondary role, however, it can indicate the purpose or the result of an action, as shown above in (60).

In its most basic function, *ze* ‘from, of, belong, made of’ indicates origin of location, time or source (61-3). It is also used in comparative and superlative constructions (5.7.1.2), or to denote the material that things are made of (64).

- (61) *ze i-čo ta be šæ(h)r*
 from PROG -place till to city
 ‘from here to the city’
- (62) *ze hala ta pesin*
 from now till afternoon
 ‘from now till afternoon’
- (63) *(yo) ze ki=n-e?*
 (PROG) from who=E-COP.3SG
 ‘(This) belongs to whom?’
- (64) *yo ze tela=h-e*
 (PROG) from gold=E-COP.3SG
 ‘This is made of gold.’

ze can also appear in compound preposition forms, sometimes with a change in its vowel (see 87-91 below).

The preposition that is used with superlative adjectives is *ze* ‘from, of, belong’:

- (65) *gæf-tær ze hæmæe*
 big-COMPR from all
 ‘the biggest’

5.5.2 Derived prepositions

Besides the above prepositions, there are a number prepositions that also function as nouns and adjectives. The most frequent ones are:

ri ‘on, above, over, on top of’ can also be considered to have an original nominal function, and it still does, meaning ‘face’, ‘surface’ and ‘top’; but it can behave as a preposition:

- (66) *gæle* *ræhǫ-ø* *ri* *koh!*
 herd go.PST-3SG over/on top of mountain
 ‘The herd went over on the top of the mount!’

- (67) *æw* *be-riz* *ri=s*
 water SBJV-pour.PRS.2SG on=BP.3SG
 ‘Pour water on it!’

It seems that the change of this word’s role from a noun to a preposition is due to Persian influence, since older Bakhtiaris use **sær** ‘head; top’ more often. As an example, the above sentence (67) if uttered by an elderly Bakhtiari, would be like (68):

- (68) *æw* *bo-ko(n)* *sær-e=s*
 water SBJV-do. PRS.2SG head-EZ=BP.3SG
 ‘Pour (do) water on it!’

sær, ro(h), nok ‘on, above, over, on top of’, they all indicate locative superiority:

- (69) *gæle-ke* *ræhǫ-ø* *ono* *roh* *zærde!*
 herd- DEF go.PST-3SG DIST on top of Zarde
 ‘The herd went over there, on the top of the mount Zarde!’

They can be used together for emphasis and each carrying the Ezafe marker separately:

- (70) *kelæws-a=ne* *sær-e* *nok-e* *koh* *čič-om.*
 wild celery-PL=OM top-EZ peak-EZ mount pick.PST-1SG
 ‘(I) have picked up the wild celery from the the very top of the mountain!’

men²³¹ ‘in, inside’. Although it does not exist today as a separate noun, we could assume that etymologically it may have been a noun²³². In the present state of the language, the only word that I could find having this morpheme in its structure is **menjoga** ‘in the middle’ and its variant **menja** in Bakhtiari and Northern Lori with the same meaning.

231. This is of the words that distinguishes the dialect of Mouri tribe from other Bakhtiaris, as it is pronounced with the front-high and long vowel **mīn**.

232. Like Middle Persian **mayān** ‘middle, among, between’ (Mackenzie 1971:55) and Modern Persian **miyān**.

- (71) *ǰæŋ* *væst-ø* *men-e* *mal*
 fight fall.PST-3SG in-EZ camp-site
 ‘A fight broke in the camp-site.’

- (72) *men=es* *če=ne?*
 in=BP.3SG what=COP.3SG
 ‘What’s in it?’

daxel ‘in, into, at, inside’ is an Arabic loan word, meaning the same as **men**. Both words indicate interior location, i.e. ‘within, inside’:

- (73) *boz-gæl* *daxel-e* *gaš=en*
 goat-PL in-EZ pen=are
 ‘Goats are in the pen!’

The only difference is that **daxel** can also be used adverbially, as illustrated in (74):

- (74) *pæ* *bi-y-aw* *daxel* *næ-va-st* *birun*
 then SBJV-come.PRS.2SG inside, NEG-PRV-stand.PRS.2SG outside
 ‘Come inside, then! Don’t wait outside!’

bal, **kel**, **pæ(h)li**, **tey** ‘next to, beside, by’, they all indicate locative laterality:

- (75) *keter*²³³*i-ne* *be-n-e* *bal-e* *tæš*
 kettle=OM SBJV.put.PRS-2SG beside-EZ fire
 ‘Put the kettle by the fire!’

- (76) *bi-y-æw* *pæli* *χo=mbe-nešin!*
 SBJV-E-come.PRS beside self=BP.1SG SBJV-sit.2SG
 ‘Come and sit next to myself!’

ziar ‘under’ shows locative inferiority:

- (77) *ziar-e* *ǰa* *χowsið=e*
 under-EZ bedding sleep.PST=COP.3SG
 ‘She is sleeping under the bedding.’

ǰelæw ‘in front of, ahead of’, conveys locative anteriority, when attached to an Ezafe marker, an epenthetic *v* intervenes:

- (78) *ǰelæw-v-e* *ima*
 in front-E-EZ us
 ‘in front of us’

233. It is borrowed from English **kettle** (Zolfaghari, 2003:125)

neheng ‘near, close’, shows locative closeness:

- (79) *neheng-e gæle*
 near-EZ herd
 ‘near the herd’

pošt, æqæb ‘back, behind’ indicate locative posteriority.

- (80) *vorias pošt-e bohun vænd=e!*
 rope behind-EZ tent throw.PST=COP.3SG
 ‘The rope is thrown behind the black tent!’

qælb, piš ‘before’ will indicate the temporal and spatial distance:

- (81) *qælb-e šæš očo biđ-om*
 before-EZ six DIST be.PST-1SG
 ‘I was there, before six.’
- (82) *qælb-e mo va-stađ-e biđ*
 before-EZ me PRV-stand.PST-PTCP be.PST.3SG
 ‘He was standing behind me.’
- (83) *yo piš nešæst-e bi, ho qælb=es*
 this front sit.PST-PTC be.PST.3SG that back=BP.3SG
 ‘S/he was sitting in front, that one at his (her) back.’

dinda and *bæð* both mean ‘after, next’:

- (84) *bi-y-æw dinda mo*
 SBJV-E-come.PRS after me
 ‘Come after me!’
- (85) *ævæl dærf-a-ne be-šur, bæð lævas-a(-ne)*
 first dish-PL-OM SBJV-wash.PRS next cloth-PL(-OM)
 ‘First wash the dishes and next the clothes!’

5.5.3 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions here refer to prepositional phrases that consist of a noun, an adverb or an adjective, sometimes joined together by an Ezafe and accompanied by a basic preposition. The basic preposition usually precedes the compound, but in the case of *ze* it usually follows it. The most frequent of these phrases are listed below:

si del ‘for, for the sake of’; in which *del* means ‘heart’, but the whole compound indicates the benefactive case or purpose. Compare the two sentences below for

the usage of a basic and a compound preposition with almost the same meaning:

- (86) 1. *yo=ne* *daǾ-Ǿ* *si* *χo=m*
 this=OM give. PST-Ǿ for self=BP.1SG
 ‘(She) gave this for myself!’
2. *gerevest-om* *si* *del=e to!*
 cry.PST-1SGS for heart-EZ you
 ‘I have cried for the sake of you.’

In the following example the compound preposition ***dir ze*** shows the distance:

- (87) *dir ze gæle*
 far from herd
 ‘far from the herd’

(***be***) ***geir ze/ geirza*** ‘except for’; these compounds indicate the omission of certain members of a group. Note the phonological change of the final vowel in *ze*. The use of the first preposition is optional and it is closer to Persian, but if used, it will not have an emphatic or any other semantic role.

- (88) *heš-ke(s)* *næ-tær-e* *zur=es,* *geir-za* *χo=m*
 none-who NEG-can.PRS-3SG power=BP.3SG except-from self=BP.1SG
 ‘No one can move it, except for me.’

birun ze ‘out of’, a noun plus preposition combination that expresses the locative exteriority.

- (89) *birun ze mal!*
 out of camping site
 ‘out of the camping site!’

piš ze ‘before (lit. before from)’; which is a combination of a noun and the preposition *ze*

- (90) *piš-ze* *mo* *zeiǾ-Ǿ* *be* *dær*
 before-from me hit.PST-3SG to door
 ‘(She) went out in front of me.’

The preposition ***bæǾ*** ‘after’ (example 85 above) has also a compound form ***bæǾ ze*** ‘after from’ with its shorter manifestation ***bæze*** ‘after’:

- (91) *bæze* *nahar* *i-y-a(-h-e)*
 after lunch DUR-E-COME.PRS(-3SG)
 ‘(S/he) comes after the lunch.’

Sometimes, more than one preposition can combine in an Ezafe construction:

- (92) *ze* *pošt-e* *sær* *hæpærð^w* *æworð-ø* *si=s*
 from behind-EZ head attack bring.PRS-3SG for=BP.3SG
 ‘(S/he) attacked him/her from behind.’

5.6 PRONOMINAL WORDS

Pronominals in Bakhtiari belong to a closed class and their singular and plural forms are separate lexical items. They can occur as subject, object and complement and can take the object marker *=(n)e* (see 5.4). Pronominals canonically occur before the verb. In addition, they cannot be modified and do not take the definite marker *-ke* (see 5.2.1).

5.6.1 Personal Pronouns

Bakhtiari personal pronouns can be further categorized as either free (independent) or bound morphemes (enclitics). Both these categories have two sets of singular and plural forms in three persons, which will be separately described below.

5.6.1.1 Free personal pronouns

Free pronouns are used in all persons and numbers as subjects, objects, indirect objects, parts of comparative constructions, etc. Bakhtiari is, however, a pro-drop language and usually omits the subject pronoun of all persons and numbers. Personal pronouns can be divided based on person and number.

Table 5.2: Personal Pronouns

‘I, you, he,...’, ‘me, you, him,...’	
1s	<i>mo</i>
2s	<i>to</i>
3s	<i>ho</i>
1p	<i>ima</i>
2p	<i>isa</i>
3p	<i>honð^w/honon/hono/ono</i>

As can be seen from the table, in the third person singular, Bakhtiari distinguishes no gender or animate/ inanimate differences. The third person singular and plural pronouns are the same as the distal demonstrative pronouns (5.6.5 below). It should be also noted that the third plural pronoun *ono* is more frequently used for objects than for people. Note that the second person plural pronoun only indicates

the plurality of the second person and is not used to convey respect or any socio-linguistic register. Examples in (93) shows the first singular pronoun in subject and object position:

- (93) 1. *(mo) siəv-a=ne χærǫ-om* 2. *da=m mo=ne šošt-ø*
 (I) apple-PL=OM eat.PST-1SG mother=BP.1SG me=OM wash.PST-3SG
 ‘I ate the apples.’ ‘My mother washed me.’

Some more examples from other pronouns in different roles:

- (94) 1. *be honǫ^w hæm daǫ-en* 2. *honon=e daǫ-en*
 to them also give.PST-3PL them =OM give.PST-3PL
 ‘(They) gave them, too.’ ‘Did (they) give them?’²³⁴
3. *ze ima esteiǫ-ø* 4. *isa če men=e ho did-in?*
 from us buy.PST-3SG you what in=OM him/her see.PST-2SG
 ‘(S/he) bought/ took (it/ them) from us.’ ‘What did you see in her/him/it?’

As shown in (94) prepositions can precede the personal pronouns and assign different semantic roles to them.

5.6.1.2 Bound personal pronouns (enclitics)

In addition to the verbal set of PAM²³⁵s (See 6.3.1 below), Bakhtiari also uses a second set of PAMs, the possessive/oblique enclitics, which are illustrated in table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Pronominal enclitics

‘my, me; your, you; his, him, etc.’		
	after -C	after -V
1s	= <i>om</i>	= <i>m</i>
2s	= <i>et</i>	= <i>t</i>
3s	= <i>es</i>	= <i>s</i> /= <i>š¹</i>
1p	= <i>emǫ^w</i>	= <i>mǫ^w</i>
2p	= <i>etǫ^w</i>	= <i>tǫ^w</i>
3p	= <i>esǫ^w</i>	= <i>sǫ^w</i> ~ = <i>šǫ^w</i>

¹ The pronunciation of *š* is the Persianized version of these pronouns.

When enclitic pronouns are attached to a consonant-final word, a connective vowel may precede them. This connective vowel is generally *-e-*, save before *-m*

²³⁴ It can also be interpreted as: ‘Have (they) been given (something/ that thing)?’

²³⁵ PAM stands for Person Agreement Markers which are a set of six agreement suffixes that attach to a verb to indicate person and number (See 6.3.1 below).

of the first person singular, where *-e-* is frequently replaced by *-o-*. These enclitics have several functions and may indicate:

Possession, by replacing the free pronoun (5.6.1.1) in a genitive construction:

(95)

<i>pil=om</i> ²³⁶ money=BP.1SG 'my money'	<i>pil=mō^w</i> money=BP.1PL 'our money'
<i>pil=et</i> money=BP.2SG 'your money'	<i>pil=tō^w</i> money=BP.2PL 'your money'
<i>pil=es</i> money=BP.3SG 'his/her money'	<i>pil=sō^w</i> money=BP.3PL 'their money'

Direct objects, by encliticizing to a verb:

(96)

<i>borǾ=om</i> take.PST.3SG=BP.1SG 'S/he took me.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-mō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.1PL 'S/he took us.'
<i>borǾ=e-t</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.2SG 'S/he took you.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-tō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.2PL 'S/he took you.'
<i>borǾ=e-s</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.3SG 'S/he took her/him/it.'	<i>borǾ=(e)-sō^w</i> take.PST.3SG=E-BP.3PL 'S/he took them.'

These enclitics, when attached to a conjugated verb, such as the first person singular in the example below, should not be mistaken for the verb endings, because in this case (97, 2-3), the two sets of endings (the inflectional suffix *-om* and the enclitic personal pronoun =om) are identical:

(97)	1. <i>zeiǾ=es</i> hit.PST=BP.3SG '(S/he) hit it.'	2. <i>zeiǾ-om=es</i> hit.PST-1SG=BP.3SG 'I hit it.'	3. <i>zeiǾ=om-e</i> hit.PST=BP.1SG-3SG '(S/he) has hit me.'
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236. The other possibility to convey the same meaning is to use the free pronouns in an Ezafe construction such as:

pil=e mo 'my money'.

In addition to this, there is another, rarer structure in the language whereby three arguments can attach to the verb. The verbs that can function in this structure are, to my knowledge, only two, the prototypical verbs that encode Recipient and Addressee, i.e., *daðen* ‘to give’ and *goðen* ‘to say, to tell’, respectively, as illustrated below:

- (98) 1. *dað-om=et=es* 2. *næ-dað-om=et=es?!
 give.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG NEG-give.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I gave it to you.’ ‘Didn’t I give it to you?!’*

Here the second person singular enclitic *=et* is the indirect object of the ditransitive verb *dað*, while the direct object is represented by third person singular enclitic *=es*:

- (99) 1. *goð-om=et=es* 2. *næ-goð-om=et=es?!
 say.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG NEG-say.PST-1SG=BP.2SG=BP.3SG
 ‘I told you that.’ ‘Didn’t I tell you that?!’*

5.6.1.3 Full and Short forms of nominal pronouns

Pronouns in peripheral functions appear either as full forms of pronouns or as pronominal enclitics attached to the prepositions.²³⁷

The prepositions in the examples below are *be*, *ze* and *si* which mean ‘to’, ‘from’ and ‘for’ respectively; although other prepositions such as *men* ‘in’ and *ba/va* ‘with’ can also be used in this context:

Table 5.4: Full and Short forms of nominal pronouns

PREP+ Free PRON ‘to me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>be mo</i>	<i>be=m</i>
2s <i>be to</i>	<i>be=t</i>
3s <i>be ho</i>	<i>be=s</i>
1p <i>be ima</i>	<i>be=mð^w</i>
2p <i>be isa</i>	<i>be=tð^w</i>
3p <i>be honð^w</i>	<i>be=sð^w</i>

- (100) *pil* *be=sð* *dað-ø*
 money to=BP.3PL give.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) gave money to them.’

Pronouns in peripheral functions appear either as full forms of pronouns or as pronominal enclitics attached to the prepositions.²³⁸

237. The Peculiar structures (6.6.1.3 below) are of course exceptions to this rule.

238. The Peculiar structures (6.6.1.3 below) are of course exceptions to this rule.

Table 5.5: ‘from’+ pronoun

PREP+ Free PRON ‘from me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>ze mo</i>	<i>ze=m</i>
2s <i>ze to</i>	<i>ze=t</i>
3s <i>ze ho</i>	<i>ze=s</i>
1p <i>ze ima</i>	<i>ze=mō^w</i>
2p <i>ze isa</i>	<i>ze=tō^w</i>
3p <i>ze honō^w</i>	<i>ze=sō^w</i>

- (101) *ze=s* *pors* *næ-kerǫ-om*
 from=BP.3SG inquiry NEG- do.PST -1SG
 ‘I didn’t ask her/him.’

Table 5.6: ‘for’+ pronoun

PREP+ Free PRON ‘for me, ...’	PREP+ clitic
1s <i>si mo</i>	<i>si=m</i>
2s <i>si to</i>	<i>si=t</i>
3s <i>si ho</i>	<i>si=s</i>
1p <i>si ima</i>	<i>si=mō^w</i>
2p <i>si isa</i>	<i>si=tō^w</i>
3p <i>si honō^w</i>	<i>si-sō^w</i>

- (102) 1. *si=m* *če* *esteiǫ-i?* 2. *yæ* *či* *χu* *esteiǫ -om* *si=t*
 for=BP.1SG what buy.PST -2SG a thing good buy.PST-1SG for=BP.2SG
 ‘what did you buy for me?’ ‘I bought you something nice.’

5.6.2 Reflexive pronouns

In Bakhtiari only one reflexive pronoun *χo* is used in all persons and numbers. It functions in both reflexive and emphatic senses. Generally, reflexive pronouns are followed by an enclitic pronoun (105-108), which indicates the person referred to. As the direct object of a verb, however, the reflexive can stand without these enclitics but may host the direct object marker enclitic (103-4).

Table 5.7: Reflexive with pronominal enclitics

‘myself, yourself, ...’	
1s	$\chi o = m$
2s	$\chi o = t$
3s	$\chi o = s$
1p	$\chi o = m\tilde{o}^w$
2p	$\chi o = t\tilde{o}^w$
3p	$\chi o = s\tilde{o}^w$

χo as direct object, in the reflexive sense:

- (103) *ho* $\chi o = ne$ *košt-ø*
 she self=OM kill.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he killed her/himself.’²³⁹
- (104) *to seil (bo-)ko četæw* $\chi o = ne$ *zæn-e!*
 you look (SBJV-)do.PRS.2SG how self=OM hit.PRS-3SG
 ‘Just look; how (S/he) his/ beats himself/ herself!’²⁴⁰

The direct object marker, **=(n)e**, when it comes after the reflexive pronoun plus the personal enclitics, will appear in a short enclitic form **=e**:

- (105) *(mo)* $\chi o = m = e$ *košt-om*
 (I) self=BP.1SG=OM kill.PST-1SG
 ‘I killed myself! (Cried or mourned deeply!)’
- (106) *(to)* $\chi o = t = e$ *zeið-i?*
 (you) self=BP.2SG=OM hit.PST-2SG
 ‘Did you hit yourself?’
- (107) *honð* $\chi o = sun = e$ *biððar* *kerð-en*
 they self=BP.3PL=OM hide do. PST-3PL
 ‘They hid themselves.’
- (108) *zæn-gæl* $\chi o = s\tilde{o}^w$ *ræhð-en*
 woman- PL self=BP.3PL go.PST-3PL
 ‘The women, themselves, went/ have gone. (Nobody took them or accompanied them.)’

239 This utterance usually is used in the context of a funeral and actually means that somebody has cried a lot or showed a very dramatic way of mourning like scratching the face, screaming and pulling out her or his hair out of pain and sorrow.

240. By working or crying excessively!

Example of *χo* in the emphatic sense:

- (109) *to χo=t yo=ne goḏ-i*
 You self=BP.2SG this=OM say.PST-2SG
 ‘You, yourself, said this.’

Another way of expressing emphasis is to add the enclitic particle (5.6.5) *hæm* to the already inflected reflexive pronoun:

- (110) *mo χo=m=hæm qæleve be=s goḏ-om*
 I self=BP.1SG=too very to=BP.3SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I myself told him/her, too.’

This enclitic particle can be used in a short form which then will be encliticized to the reflexive pronoun:

- (111) *mo χo=m=æm qæleve be=s goḏ-om*
 I self=BP.1SG=too very to=BP.3SG say.PST-1SG
 ‘I myself told him/her, too.’

To put more emphasis on the doer of an action, a reduplication of the reflexive pronoun can be used:

- (112) *baxtiar χo=s χo=s=e bæḏbæxt kerḏ-ḏ²⁴¹*
 Baxtiar self=BP.3SG self=BP.3SG=OM unfortunate do. PST-3SG
 ‘Baxtiar (himself) made him unfortunate.’

- (113) *ze nârâhæti χo=m χo=m=e χærḏ-om*
 from stress self=BP.1SG self=BP.1SG=OM eat.PST-1SG
 ‘I was biting myself out of stress!’

There is still another way of emphasis, and that is to use the words *tæn* ‘body’ or *šæsg* ‘person/ character’ linked to the reflexive pronoun *χo*, by an Ezafe:

- (114) *Question: ki goḏ-ḏ? Answer: hæm-i tæm-e χo=t!*
 who say.PST-3SG EMPH-DIST body-EZ self=BP.2SG
 ‘Who said (that)?!’ ‘You, yourself! (lit. this very body of yourself)’
- (115) *mo χo=m, šæsg -e χo=m i-y-a-m ba=t*
 I self=BP.1SG person-EZ self=BP.1SG IND-E-COME.PRS-1SG with=BP.2SG
 ‘I myself, my own person, will come with you!’

241. This is a saying referring to the fate of Shapuhr Bakhtiar, the last prime minister under Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, just before the 1979 Islamic revolution. Bakhtiaris, to this day, think that he should not have accepted this post at that critical time and this choice led him to exile in France and his fatal assassination in 1991. They respect him and feel very sorry for his destiny.

5.6.3 Indefinite pronouns

There are two sets of indefinite pronouns; those that can stand independently in a sentence and the ones that need to attach to other words. The independent indefinite pronouns are:

- (116) 1. *hiž* ‘nothing’:
hiž *næ-gođ-en*
 nothing NEG-say.PST-3PL
 ‘They didn’t say anything. (Lit. Nothing they said.)’

2. *pây* ‘all’:
pây *χæhr-est-en*
 all eat.PASS-PST-3PL
 ‘All have been/ were eaten.’

3. *hæmæ/e* ‘all’:
hæme *ræhđ-en*
 all go.PST-3PL
 ‘Everyone left.’

4. *čī* ‘something’:
čī *χærđ-en=o* *ræhđ-en*
 something eat.PST-3PL= AND go.PST-3PL
 ‘(They) ate something and went.’

The other group either attach to question words *ki* ‘who’ or *čī* ‘what’ or simply to another word, such as *kæs* ‘person’, *šæsg* ‘person’, *zæmō* ‘time’, *ja* ‘place’; examples are:

- (117) 1. *hær-ki* ‘whoever’
hær-ki *gođ-ø,* *si* *χo=s* *gođ-ø!*
 every-who say.PST-3SG, for self=BP.3SG say.PST-3SG
 ‘Whoever said that, said it for himself! (‘It doesn’t count as valid!’)

2. *hær-čī* ‘whatever’
hær-čī *del=es* *e-χo-ø,* *be-l* *bo-go-ø!*
 every-thing/what heart=BP.3SG DUR-want.PRS-3SG, SBJV.LET.PRS SBJV.SAY.PRS-3SG
 ‘Whatever his/ her heart wants (s/he wants), let him/her say it!’

3. *hær-kæs* ‘everyone’
hær-kæs *ne-bu* *hem-i* *kar=e* *e-kon-e*
 every-person NEG- SBJV.BE.PRS.3SG thus-PROX work=OM DUR-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘(giving the situation) Everybody will do the same thing.’

4. *čono-či*

čono-či be ti næ-diǰ-om bi-ø
 thus-thing to eye NEG-see.PST-1SG be.PST-3SG
 ‘(I) had not seen a thing like this with my eyes.’

5.6.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Bakhtiari has one reciprocal pronoun, *yekidiaer* ‘each other’, which is used for all persons. It consists of two parts, *yeki* ‘one’ and *diaer* ‘other’. It functions as object with an anaphoric reference to the subject. This pronoun takes a direct object marker or preposition depending on their syntactic or semantic role in the sentence.

- (118) *doǰær=o jeqele yek-i-diaer=e dus dar-en*
 girl-and boy each-INDF-other=OM love have.PRS-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy love each other.’

This pronoun has a shorter form, *yæk*, which usually comes after the prepositions, *ba*, *vaba*²⁴² ‘with’ or *ze* ‘from’, as shown below:

- (119) *doǰær=o jeqele vaba yæk ræhǰ-en*
 girl-and boy with each other go.PST-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy went with each other.’

- (120) *doǰær=o jeqele ze yæk ræǰ n-i-bu-n*
 girl-and boy from each other away NEG-DUR-become.SBJV-3PL
 ‘The girl and the boy don’t go away from each other.’

5.6.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Bakhtiari basically has two demonstrative pronouns *yo* ‘this’, to specify an object near to the speaker, and *ho* ‘that’, to refer to a distant object. These pronouns have plural and emphatic forms which are summarized in the table below:

Table 5.8: Demonstrative pronouns

	Near ‘this’/‘this very thing’	Far ‘that’/‘that very thing’
Singular	<i>yo/ i</i>	<i>ho/ o</i>
Emphatic	<i>hæm-(i)yo</i>	<i>hæm-ho</i>
	Near ‘these’/‘these very things’	Far ‘those’/‘those very things’
Plural	<i>yond̃^w/yono/yonon</i>	<i>hoñ^w/honon/oñ^w/ono</i>
Emphatic	<i>hæmiñ^w/hæmino(n)</i>	<i>hæmonon/hæmoñ^w</i>

242. for an exact function of these prepositions see (5.5.1).

- (121) *yo ze ki-n=e?*
 PROX from who-E=COP.3SG
 ‘Whose is this?’
- (122) *yono=ne ki ævorǫ-ø?*
 PROX.PL=OM who bring.PST-3SG
 ‘Who has brought these?’
- (123) *ho če χeif=e*
 DIST what nice=COP.3SG
 ‘How nice is that!’
- (124) *honon če-n=en?*
 DIST.PL what-E=COP.3PL
 ‘What are those?’

As has been shown in table 5.1, these forms can also be used as third person personal pronoun. There is another form of demonstrative pronouns in Bakhtiari. This compound form consists of an emphatic enclitic particle *hæm* plus the singular or plural form of the demonstrative pronouns:

- (125) *hæm-yo ze ki-n=e?*
 EMPH-PROX from who(m)-E=COP.2SG
 ‘Whose is this thing?’
- (126) *mo ze hæm-onon e-χo-m*
 I from EMPH-DIST.PL DUR-want.PRS-1SG
 ‘I want some of (exactly) those things.’

It should be noted that the singular form of demonstrative pronouns and their emphatic equivalents are also used as demonstrative adjectives.

- (127) *hæm-i doǫær ze hæme bištær be dærǫ=om e-χor-e*
 EMPH-PROX girl from all more to pain=BP.1SG DUR-eat.PRS-2SG
 ‘This girl is helping me more than all the others.’

5.6.6 Interrogative pronouns and other question words

To change a sentence into a question form in Bakhtiari, there is a set of interrogative pronouns and several other question words, as discussed in the following sections:

5.6.6.1 *ki* ‘who/whom’

The interrogative pronoun *ki* is a full pronoun in the sense that it can replace the subject or object of a statement and stand alone in an interrogative sentence:

- (128) *ki dærf-a=ne šošt-ø?*
 who dish-PL=OM wash.PST-3SG
 ‘Who washed the dishes?’

- (129) *pil-a=ne be ki dað-i?*
 money-PL=OM to whom give.PST-2SG
 ‘To who(m) did you give money?’

5.6.6.2 *če* ‘what’

če basically behaves like *ki*, i.e. it can replace both the subject and the object of a statement, in whichever position that they can occur:

(130)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>če men-e qalome-y=e?</i>
what in-EZ pot-E= COP.3SG
‘What is in the pot?’ | 2. <i>men-e qalome če-n=e?</i>
in-EZ pot what-E= COP.3SG
‘What is in the pot?’ |
|--|--|

(131)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>če ævorð-i si=m?</i>
what bring.PST-2SG for= BP.1SG
‘What did you bring for me?’ | 2. <i>si=m če ævorð-i?</i>
for=BP.1SG what bring.PST-2SG
‘What did you bring for me?’ |
|--|---|

5.6.6.3 *si-če* ‘why, for what’

si-če is actually a compound word consisting of the preposition *si* ‘for’ and the question word *če* ‘what’:

(132)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>pæ to si-če ræhð-i?</i>
then you for-what go.PST-2SG
‘Then why did you go?’ | 2. <i>si-če ‘ræhð-i to pæ?</i>
for-what go.PST-2SG you then
‘Then why did you go?’ |
| 3. <i>si-če ‘to ræhð-i pæ?</i>
for-what you go.PST-2SG then
‘Then why did you go?’ | |

5.6.6.4 *kei* ‘when’

kei is a temporal adverbial, i.e. is used to ask about the time of an event:

- (133) *kei jæŋg kerð-en?*
 when fight do.PST-3PL
 ‘When did they fight?’

5.6.6.5 *četaew* ‘how’

četaew is an interrogative manner adverb, i.e. it asks how an action happened or was performed:

(134)

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. <i>da=s</i> | <i>četaew</i> | <i>evei(ð)-ø?</i> | 2. <i>četaew</i> | <i>bi-ø</i> | <i>da=s?</i> |
| mother=BP.3SG | how | come.PST-3SG | how | be.PST-3SG | mother=BP.3SG |
| ‘How did his/her mom come?’ | | | ‘How was his/her mom/mother?’ | | |

5.6.6.6 *koye*, *kōje*/*koj* and *ko* ‘where’

koye ‘where’ is an interrogative locative adverb, but *kōje*, with exactly the same meaning, is the Mouri and Babadi tribes version of the same word. Compared with *koye*, *kōje* is a step closer to Persian *koja*. The reason to mention it here is that it is one of the few words in Bakhtiari that contain a long *o*. It is also one of the characteristic words that distinguish members of these tribes from other Haft Lang speakers. Since these two tribes are very active in trading, this word is often heard in the cities and villages which are the main market places of the Bakhtiaris and is useful to know:

(135)

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. <i>koye</i> | <i>ræhð-e</i> | <i>bið-i?</i> | 2. <i>ræhð-e</i> | <i>bið-i</i> | <i>koye?</i> |
| where | go.PST-PTCP | be.PST-2SG | go.PST-PTCP | be.PST-2SG | WHERE |
| ‘Where did you go?’ | | | ‘Where did you go?’ | | |

ko, on the other hand, seems to be the basic word to ask about location, and it is only used with the copula.

- (136) *pæ ko-n=e pia=ke?*
 then where-E= COP.3SG man=DEF
 ‘Where is the man?’

It should be noted that this *ko* ‘where’ should not be confused with *ko* ‘which’, discussed in the next section:

5.6.6.7 *ko/ko-yeki* ‘which, which one’

- (137) *ko-yek-i=sun=e* *e-χo-y*^{243?}
 which-one-INDF=BP.3PL=OM DUR-want.PRS-2SG
 ‘Which one of them do you want?’

5.6.6.8 *čæn(d)/čænde* ‘how much’

- (138) *čænde* *pil* *dar-i?*
 how much money have.PRS-2SG
 ‘How much money do you have?’

- (139) *čæn-ta* *kor* *dar-i?*
 how-NCL²⁴⁴ boy/son have.PRS-2SG
 ‘How many sons do you have?’

5.7 MODIFIERS

5.7.1 Adjectives

To distinguish a category of adjectives can at times be problematic. The reason is, as Payne (1997:63) puts it; “... there is no semantically definable class of concepts that universally falls into a category that we want to call adjectives; rather adjectives stand ‘between’ nouns and verbs, lexicalizing properties or characteristics that are indeterminate or variable in terms of time stability” (Payne, 1997: 63). Bakhtiari, however, does have lexical items that express the properties of age, dimension, value, colour, shape, speed and human feelings or physical characteristics, i.e. the properties that a morphosyntactically distinct class of adjectives should be able to convey (examples 138:1-8 below). Nevertheless, there are some other concepts that can only be expressed by constructions which bring the adjectives closer to nouns or verbs (See 6.2 below). Bakhtiari adjectives belong to an open class.

In this section, first the plain attributive adjectives and their morphosyntactic behaviour are described. The degrees of comparison will follow (5.7.1.2).

5.7.1.1 Attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives come after the head noun and are linked to it in an Ezafe construction (140: 1-8):

243. *e-χo-i* > *e-χo-y*

244. Numeral classifier, see 5.7.2.1, example 164-5 below.

- (140) 1. *boz-e* *pir* (age)
 goat-EZ old
 ‘An old goat’
2. *doðær-e* *bolond=o* *gæp* (dimension)
 girl-EZ tall=and big
 ‘The tall and big/ grown up girl’
3. *del-e* *χu-v=o* *hærf-e* *liš* (value)
 heart-EZ good-E-and talk-EZ bad
 ‘A nice heart and bad word(s)’
4. *hær-e* *gæz* (color)
 donkey-EZ whitish.gray
 ‘A whitish-gray donkey’
5. *siəvil-e* *nit.nit-i* (physical characteristics)
 mustache-EZ sparse-ATTR
 ‘sparse mustache’
6. *sær-e* *gerð=o* *ti-a b* *peg* (shape)
 head-EZ round=and eye-E-PL protruding
 ‘round head and protruding eyes’
7. *kor-e* *tænbæl* (human propensity)
 boy-EZ lazy
 ‘A lazy boy’
8. *æsp-e* *tiəz* (speed)
 horse-EZ fast
 ‘A swift horse’

When the preceding noun ends in a vowel the Ezafe marker drops:

- (141) *dalū* *pir*
 oldwoman old
 ‘An oldwoman’

There are, however, rare cases in which the adjective precedes the noun.

- (142) *χu* *hærf-i* *zeið-i*
 good word-INDF hit.PST-2SG
 ‘That was a good thing that you said.’

The other word class that precedes a noun is the demonstrative adjective:

- (143) *i zemin-a*
 PROX land-PL
 ‘these lands’

- (144) *hæm-i pia-ke*
 EMPH-PROX man-the
 ‘this very man’

Indefinite adjectives, traditionally, refer to indefinites like *hær*, *hiž*, and *hæmæ*, preceding a noun or a pronoun:

- (145)
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>hær</i> ‘every’ | <i>hær ru wo hær šæw</i> ‘every day and every night’ |
| 2. <i>hiž</i> ‘no, none’ | <i>hiž xævær-i ne-bi</i> ‘there was no news.’ |
| 3. <i>hæmæ/e</i> ‘all’ | <i>hæme-ferge ađom-i eveiðe bi</i> ‘All sorts of people have come.’ |

Adjectives in Bakhtiari do not take number marking:

- (146)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>doðær-e</i> | <i>χu</i> | 2. <i>dor-gæl-e</i> | <i>χu</i> |
| girl-EZ | good | girl-PL-EZ | good |
| ‘a good girl’ | | ‘good girls’ | |

Quantifiers can only precede the noun or the adjective that they modify, such as *qelili* ‘few’ and *xeile* ‘very’ in the example below:

- (147) *yæ qelil-i ze dor-gæl-o xeile porru va-biəð-en-e*
 one few-INDF from girl-PL-DEF very rude become.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Some of these girls, have become very impudent.’

Furthermore, the adjectives can be modified by adverbs:

- (148) *xeile gæp*
 very big
 ‘very big’

To pluralize a noun plus adjective compound, only the last constituent of the compound receives the plural suffix.

- (149)
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>ma-ga-yæl=e</i> | <i>forohð-ø</i> | 2. <i>dor-χoşgel-a</i> | <i>e-veið-en</i> |
| female-cow-PL=OM | sell.PST-3SG | girl-beautiful-PL | DUR-co me.PST-3PL |
| ‘S/he sold the female cows.’ | | ‘The beautiful girls came.’ | |

Interestingly, in Ezafe constructions, the Ezafe marker drops and the whole compound acts as a single unit²⁴⁵:

- (150) *šir-e særd e-χo-ø*
 milk-EZ cold DUR-want.PRS-3SG
 ‘S/he wants cold milk.’

- (151) *šir-særd-e=ne χærǰ-ø*
 milk-cold-DEF=OM eat.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he ate/ drank the cold milk.’

The other characteristic of Bakhtiari adjectives is that they can appear as the first element in a compound verb:

- (152) *sohr-va-biǰ-en*
 red-PVB-be.PST-INF
 ‘to change colour/ to blush’

Unlike Persian, in Bakhtiari superlative adjectives, too, come after the noun, as will be discussed in the section (5.7.1.2) below.

In practice, there is no special ordering for the sequence of adjectives; the priority depends on the intended semantic emphasis of the speaker:

- (153) 1. *yæ jeqele deraz-e laqær-e liš-i vaba=s e-veiǰ-ø*
 a boy long-EZ skinny-EZ ugly-INDF with=BP.3SG DUR-come.PST-3SG
 ‘An ugly lanky boy has come along with him.’

2. *yæ doǰær-e χošgel=o espiǰ=o teng=o-reng esteiǰ-ø*
 a girl-EZ pretty-CONJ white-CONJ fit-CONJ-quick buy.PST-3SG
 ‘(He) married a beautiful, fair, fit and active girl.’

In (153:1), the sequence of adjectives qualify each other, while in (153:2) they are coordinated to qualify the same noun.

5.7.1.2 Comparative and superlative

Adjectives can occur in comparative forms. The suffix *-tær* is employed for comparison, e.g.:

245. Donald Stilo (p.c.): “These are two different constructions. Perhaps there are two constructions in Bakhtiari (like Vafsi): one with an Ezafe linking morpheme and one without, that is, simply juxtaposed. There are many Central Plateau Dialects in the Esfahan area that have no Ezafe. It could even be that the Baxtiari Ezafe (like Vafsi) is borrowed from Persian and is not native to Bakhtiari.”

- (154) 1. *gæp/f-tær*
big-COMPR
'bigger'
2. *doðær-e gæp/f-tær*
girl-EZ big-COMPR
'bigger daughter/girl'

The preposition *ze* 'from' is used to link the two objects of comparison:

- (155) *bæd-bæx-tær ze xo-m, xo-m=om*
bad-fortune-COMPR from self-BP.1SG, self-BP.1SG=COP.1SG
'The person less fortunate than me is me!'

For expressing the superlative, the comparative suffix is used in a *from all* + *ADJ-COMPR* construction, as shown below:

- (156) 1. *ze hæmæ gæf-tær or gæf-tær ze hæmæ*
from all big-COMPR big-COMPR from all
'the biggest of all' 'the biggest of all'
2. *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e da(ð)-ø be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF give.PST-3SG to husband
'S/he gave, the daughter, the biggest of all, to marry.'

This construction can also be followed by a pronoun and pronominal suffix:

- (157) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-om=e dað-om be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-BP.1SG=OM give.PST-1SG to husband
'I gave my eldest daughter in marriage.'
- (158) *doðær ze hæmæ gæp-tær-e mo ræhð-ø be ši*
daughter from all big-COMPR-DEF me go.PST-3SG to husband
'My eldest daughter got married'

5.7.2 NUMERALS

Numerals also usually precede the noun they modify and show the number of the noun in cardinal and ordinal usage. The ordinal numbers in this role, however, may also appear in an Ezafe construction and following the noun:

- (159) 1. *čar kor* 2. *mar-e hæft sær*
four boy snake-EZ seven head
'four boys' 'A seven-headed snake (a kind of legendary creature)'

In the example below, note the interesting difference in semantics, in the sense that the preposed ordinal selects and the postponed one, modifies the noun:

(160)

1. *šiš-om-i kor=es*
 SIX-ORD-ATTR son=BP.3SG
 ‘the sixth son of his’
2. *kor-e šiš-om=es*
 son-EZ SIX-ORD=BP.3SG
 ‘his sixth son’

5.7.2.1 Cardinal numbers

Table 5.9 provides a list of the cardinal numbers:

Table 5.9: Cardinal numbers

0 = ∅	<i>serf</i>	11 = ʌʌ	<i>yāzæ</i>	22 = ʌʌ	<i>bis=o do</i>	200 = ʌ∅∅	<i>divist</i>
1 = ʌ	<i>yæk</i>	12 = ʌʌ	<i>duwa:zæ</i>	30 = ʌ∅	<i>si</i>	300 = ʌ∅∅	<i>si-sæd</i>
2 = ʌ	<i>do</i>	13 = ʌʌ	<i>sinz(d)æ</i>	31 = ʌʌ	<i>si=vo yæk</i>	400 = ʌ∅∅	<i>čar-sæd</i>
3 = ʌ	<i>se</i>	14 = ʌʌ	<i>čardæ</i>	40 = ʌ∅	<i>čel</i>	500 = ʌ∅∅	<i>pun-sæd</i>
4 = ʌ	<i>čar</i>	15 = ʌʌ	<i>punzæ</i>	41 = ʌʌ	<i>čel=o yæk</i>	600 = ʌ∅∅	<i>šiš-sæd</i>
5 = ʌ	<i>pænʃ</i>	16 = ʌʌ	<i>šunz(d)æ</i>	50 = ʌ∅	<i>pænʃa(h)</i>	700 = ʌ∅∅	<i>hæp-sæd</i>
6 = ʌ	<i>šæš</i>	17 = ʌʌ	<i>hæbdæ</i>	60 = ʌ∅	<i>šæs(t)</i>	1000 = ʌ∅∅∅	<i>hæzar</i>
7 = ʌ	<i>hæft</i>	18 = ʌʌ	<i>hæždæ</i>	70 = ʌ∅	<i>hæf/ptað</i>	1001 = ʌ∅∅ʌ	<i>hæzar=o yæk</i>
8 = ʌ	<i>hæšt</i>	19 = ʌʌ	<i>nunzæ</i>	80 = ʌ∅	<i>hæšdað</i>	100000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅	<i>sæð-(h) ezar</i>
9 = ʌ	<i>no</i>	20 = ʌ∅	<i>bis(t)</i>	90 = ʌ∅	<i>nævæð</i>	1000000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅∅	<i>(yæ) mælyð^w</i>
10 = ʌ∅	<i>dæ</i>	21 = ʌʌ	<i>bis yæk</i>	100 = ʌ∅∅	<i>sæd</i>	2000000 = ʌ∅∅∅∅∅∅	<i>do mælyð^w</i>

Compound numerals are formed by a sequence of numbers, using the enclitic conjunction **=(v)o** ‘and’:

- (161) 1. *čel=o yæk* ‘forty-one’ 2. *hæzar=o si-sæð=o hæptað=o šæš* ‘1376’
 3. *si=vo yæk*²⁴⁶ ‘thirty one’ 4. *pænʃah=o šæš* ‘fifty six’

Sometimes, especially during quick counting, the enclitic conjunction can be dropped:

- (162) 1. *bis yæk* ‘twenty one’ 2. *čel pænʃ* ‘forty five’

Cardinal numbers precede the modified noun, which is usually in its singular form:

246. *si-yo yæk/ do/ se* ... can be heard as a Persian effect.

- (163) *hæf(t) šæv=o hæf ru tošmal be kar bi-ø*
 seven night-CONJ seven day Toshmal to work be.PST-3SG
 ‘Toshmal was busy (playing) for seven days and nights.’²⁴⁷

When the counted noun is definite, it can pluralized:

- (164) *hær do ta ga-yæl-e=sun-e forohð-ø*
 each two CLASS COW-PL-DEF=BP.3PL-OM sell.PST-3SG
 ‘(S/he) sold both their cows.’

Notice the use of *hær* as a modifier/ determiner before the compound and also the enclitic use of the personal pronoun =*sun* after it. Example (164) also shows that the whole numeral plus noun (NP), here acts as a direct object of the sentence.

Cardinal numbers, also seen in (164), are usually accompanied by a nominal classifier, the most common of which are *dðwe* ‘grain’ for the numeral ‘one’ and *ta* ‘piece’ for numerals above ‘one’. Note that *dðwe* only refers to things while *ta* is a generic term referring to all animate and inanimate nouns :

- (165) *yæ dðwe gerdu, do ta siæv*
 one grain walnut two CLASS apple
 ‘One walnut, two apples.’

- (166) *do ta tošmal ævorð-en bi-ø*
 two CLASS Toshmal bring.PST-3PL be.PST-3SG
 ‘They have brought two teams of Toshmals (for the ceremony).’

Other classifiers include: *dðwe* ‘grain’ for things; *tæn* ‘body’, *næfær* ‘person’ and *sær* ‘head’ for people. The generic term for all animate and inanimate objects is *ta* ‘piece’.

A sequence of numbers is used to express the concept of approximation:

- (167) *hæf hæš dæh ru diyær iya-ø*
 seven eight ten day other come. PRS-3SG
 ‘(S/he) will come some seven to ten days later.’

5.7.2.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are made by addition of the suffix *-om* to the cardinal numbers. The first ordinal number, *ævæl* ‘first’, is taken from Arabic, as well as *axer*

247. Toshmal refers both to the traditional local musicians and their instruments which consists of a drum *dohol* and a wind pipe *saz*; and playing seven days and nights is the ultimate manner of festivities.

‘last’. When the number ends in a vowel, the epenthesis of /w/ or /y/ takes place:

- (168) 1. *do-v-om* or *do-y-om* ‘the second’
 2. *se-v-om* or *se-y-om* ‘the third’

In compounds, this suffix is attached to the last word:

- (169) 1. *si-y=o šiš-om* ‘the thirty-sixth’
 2. *divist=o šæst=o hæft-om* the two hundred and sixty-seventh’

Ordinals follow a noun and play the role of an adjective:

- (170) *gær do-v-om-i si mo*
 calf two-E-ORD-ATTR for me
 ‘The second calf is for me.’

They can also enter into an Ezafe construction:

- (171) *yo bar-e ævæl=es=e*
 this time-EZ first=BP3SG=COP.3SG
 ‘This is her/his first time.’

5.8 DIVERSE NUMERICAL EXPRESSIONS

There are some words and expressions to denote some fractions of numbers. The frequent use of these terms in everyday life and their significance in the life-style of the pastoral-herd breeding nomads justify the following list:

Table 5.10: Diverse numerical expressions

1	<i>(yæ) gæz</i>	‘the unit of length equal to almost 100 cm, figuratively it means ‘a lot’’
2	<i>(yæ) mæn</i>	‘the unit of weight equal to 7 kilos, figuratively it means ‘very much’
3	<i>belest</i>	‘the unit of length equal to the width of hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger being wide open (almost 20 cm)’
4	<i>čar ængust</i>	‘the unit of length equal to the width of four fingers held together’
5	<i>čaræk</i>	‘a quarter’
6	<i>do/se bištær</i>	‘twice, triple’
7	<i>dune</i>	‘grain’
8	<i>feng/ finge/ finj(e)</i>	‘very little amount, as big as the tip of the finger’
9	<i>golo</i>	‘a piece; a big piece’
10	<i>golop</i>	‘gulp, sip; bite’

11	<i>kot</i>	‘some, a few’
12	<i>nesf/nim</i>	‘half’
13	<i>nim gæz</i>	‘half a ‘gæz’
14	<i>orš⁷</i>	‘one tenth’
15	<i>pænȳæk</i>	‘one fifth, a term used in the harvesting contracts’
16	<i>pendelake</i>	‘very few, tiny’
17	<i>pert/ perteke</i>	‘a piece, a little bit’
18	<i>perze</i>	‘one little piece, a little’
19	<i>por</i>	‘very much, full, many’
20	<i>qæleve</i>	‘very much’
21	<i>qelil</i>	‘sort, type, kind; very little’
22	<i>tælape</i>	‘a handful, as big as the palm of the hand’
23	<i>tolom</i>	‘a few, a group (of sheep)’
24	<i>yæ tok</i>	‘one drop, very little’
25	<i>zorbe</i>	‘full, abundant’
26	<i>χ/qæl</i>	‘piece’
27	<i>χeile</i>	‘very’

These are nouns that may come after the cardinal numbers:

- (172) *ze* *χošali* *do* *gæz* *eveið-ø* *sær=om*
 from happiness two Gaz come.PST-3SG on=BP.1SG
 ‘I grew taller out of happiness. (lit. from happiness 2 meters came on me!)’

A numerative can modify a noun without the Ezafe marker:

- (173) *do* *gæz* *parče* *esteið-ø*
 two Gaz fabric buy.PST-3SG
 ‘S/he bought two Gaz (2 meters) of fabric.’

The quantifiers can be accompanied by indefinite markers:

- (174) *yæ* *χæl* *ze=s* *b=om* *bæ-ð-e*
 a piece from=BP.3SG to=BP.1SG SBJV-give.PRS-2SG
 ‘Give me a tiny piece of it!’
- (175) *yæ* *qelil-i* *ze* *i* *mardom-a* *qæleve* *bæð* *fe’l=en*
 a sort-INDF from PROX people-PL very much bad manner=COP.3PL
 ‘Some of these people are very misbehaved.’

5.9 ADVERBS

Adverb is considered here as a word that modifies a verb, an adjective, a phrase, a determiner or even another adverb. Some of the adverbs that are used in Bakhtiari are Arabic loans such as, *ævælaen* ‘firstly’ or *ælaenaen* ‘openly’. In fact, most of the adverbs in Bakhtiari that correspond to adverbs in other languages are basically either nouns such as *šæw* ‘night’, or adjectives such as *tazæ* ‘fresh, new; right now’ or a combination of both, like. Sometimes they are connected by a preposition, e.g. *æftæw-be-zærd* ‘lit. sunshine-to-yellow’ meaning ‘sunset time’. They can also be combined with a participle, as in *æmšæw-goðæštæ* ‘lit. this night- the past one’ meaning ‘last night’, and they can build an Ezafe construction with or without the Ezafe marker, *jeng-e zohr* ‘middle of the day’ (See 178 below).

There are, however, some specific operations for deriving adverbs, such as the addition of the suffix *-ðw* to a present stem, *æftæw-zæn-ðw* (sunshine-hit.PRS-SUFFIX) ‘early morning’, and the reduplication of certain adjectives and nouns with a preposition like *ta* or an epenthetic vowel *-a-* in between, *χæl-a-χæl* ‘in a crooked way’, *por-ta-por* ‘full/ fully’. Adverbs made by reduplication are generally describing the intensity of an action (See 5.9.2 below). There are also some words that act like a prefix to make compound adverbs of time, such as *pæri* or *pærir* ‘two (units of time) ago’ as in *pæri-šæw* ‘two nights ago’; or *piāš* ‘ago, before’ as in *piāš-pærir* ‘three days ago’ (179) and *pæs* ‘later’ as in *pæs-tæri* ‘the day after tomorrow’.

In the following sections, the adverbs are categorized according to their meaning into adverbs of time, manner, direction or location and evidential or epistemic adverbs (Payne, 1995: 69-70).

5.9.1 Adverbs of time

Most of the words used as adverbs of time, are basically nouns and behave like a noun. They can take the plural suffix, the Ezafe marker and they can be accompanied by a preposition or by demonstratives, as shown in the examples below.

- (176) *ze soveinum-e zi ta hæm-i dæm-ðw dašt-im nðw e-pohð-im*
 from morning-EZ early till EMPH-PROX minute-ADV have.PST-1P bread DUR-cook.PST-1PL
 ‘From early morning till just now, we were baking bread.’

- (177) *sohv-a vo pesin-ðw ga-yæl-e bær-e sær-e æw*
 morning-PL and evening-PL cow-PL-OM take.PRS-3SG head-EZ water
 ‘S/he takes cows to the spring/ river in the mornings and in the evenings.’

5.9.1.1 Some expressions related to parts of the day

- (178) 1. *soveinum/ soveinðw-zi* ‘early morning’, *soveino/ sohwðw* ‘morning time’, *sohm/ sohv/ sovæh* ‘morning, tomorrow’, *sohv-pes-*

- in/sohv pesinō* ‘tomorrow evening’, *sov-tærin* ‘the day after’, *pæs-tæri sovæh* ‘three days later’, *bengešt-zænō* ‘early morning’, *pæh-sovæh* ‘two days later’, *tarik-sohv* ‘dawn’, *æftæw-zænō* = *tile-sohv* ‘sun-rise time’, *tazæ* ‘right now’
2. *chast* ‘mid-day, around 10 o’clock’, *zohr* ‘noon’, *ǰeng-e zohr* ‘middle of the day’, *ruz* ‘day’
3. *o/æftæw-be-zærd/ æftæw-nešin/ æftæw- dæraew* ‘sun-set time’
4. *bong-e šæw* ‘the beginning of the night’, *šæw* ‘night’, *pæsin* ‘evening’, *pæsinō* ‘the evening time’, *dæm-tariki* ‘the beginning of the night’

5.9.1.2 Some expressions related to the calendar

- (179) *tarik* ‘date’, *æm-ru* ‘today’, *æm-šæw* ‘tonight’, *æmšæw-goðæštæ* ‘last night’, *pæri-šæw* ‘two nights ago’, *duš* ‘yesterday’, *duš-pes-in* ‘yesterday afternoon’, *væxt/ meǰal* ‘time’, *diar-meǰal* ‘late’, *borǰ* ‘month’, *sær-e borǰ* ‘the beginning of the month’, *æm-sal* ‘this year’, *par/ par sal* ‘last year’, *pærir/ pæriar/ pæri-ru* ‘two days ago’, *bahar* ‘spring’, *tæwestō* ‘summer’, *pāhiz/ pāizō* ‘autumn’, *zemetsō* ‘winter’, *tæræk-e bahar* ‘the beginning of spring’, *pæs-pærir/ piāš-pærir* ‘three days ago’, *pæs-tæri* ‘two days later’, *pæs-tæri sovæh* ‘three days later’, *piās/š-ze-goðe* ‘earlier than expected’, *piāš-ze-ho* ‘before that’, *piās/š-ze-yo* ‘before this’, *šænbed*²⁴⁸ ‘Saturday’, *ye(k)/ do/ se/ čar/ pæn šænbed* ‘Sunday-Thursday’, *ǰome* ‘Friday’

Bakhtiari nomads use their own special terminology, instead of the official names of the months, to refer to different parts of the year, such as:

- (180) *šæst-om-e bahar* ‘sixtieth day of the new year (after vernal equinox), when the spring migration starts’, *čele gæpæ* ‘forty first days of winter’, *čele kučire* ‘twenty days after the big čele’, *šæš-e dalu* ‘old woman’s six: the first six days of the last month before Noruz’, *mah-šæhr-i* ‘Esfand, the last month of the lunar year’, *čel=o pænǰ-e tæwestō* ‘forty five days after the beginning of summer, the hottest time of the year’

248. The pronunciation of this word with a *d* at the end was thought to be a Bakhtiari addition to its Persian cognate *šænbe*; but Desmond Durkin Meisterernst informed me that “... the *d* is just the normal Iranian development from *t*, as in Hebrew *šabat* etc. The Manicheans do use the Christian day-names, so there are attestations in Manichaean Middle Persian and parthian, e.g. Middle Persian *ykšmbd* and *yqšmbt*, with earlier *t* and later *d* (personal correspondence)”.

5.9.2 Adverbs of manner

As mentioned above (5.9), many adverbs of manner are made by reduplication of adjectives, nouns or pronouns using *-a-* or the preposition *ta* as a link between the two parts, such as:

- (181) *χæl-a-χæl* ‘in a crooked way’, *kel-a-kel* ‘sideways’, *χo-m-a-χo-m* ‘by myself’, *pošt-a-pošt* ‘on a backside way’, *por-ta-por* ‘full, to the brink’, *kend-a-kend* ‘in a sitting position’, *ǰæld-a-ǰæld* ‘swift’

An aspect of repetition or emphasis underlies in the actions that these adverbs modify.

5.9.3 Adverbs of direction/ location

The main adverbs of place are:

- (182) *bala/roh* ‘up’, *dæhðʷ/læm* ‘down’, *ičo* ‘here’, *očo* ‘there’, *zumba (ze-u-ba)* ‘the other side’, *daxel/ men* ‘inside, in’, *birðʷ* ‘outside’, *ziwal(e/æ)* ‘this side’, *zowal(e/æ)* ‘that side’

The last two compounds consist of three words *ze i wal(e/æ)* ‘lit.from-PROX-side’ and *ze u wal(e/æ)* ‘lit.from-DIST-side’ which have undergone some sound changes probably due to frequent use:

- (183) *mal=sun ziwale bið-ø, æman duš ræ-n zowalæ.*
camp=BP.3PL this side be.PST-3SG, but yesterday go.PST-3PL that side.
 ‘Their camp was located this side (of the river/ valley/ spring...), but yesterday they went to that side.’

5.9.4 Evidential/epistemic adverbs

- (184) *hadman* ‘certainly’, *labod* ‘probably’, *manom* ‘I guess’, *šayat/ šat* ‘maybe’, *gas* ‘possibly’

5.10 CONJUNCTIONS

The associative conjunction ‘and’ in Bakhtiari is *vo* and its enclitic form *=o* as shown in the following examples:

- (185) *χo=m=o* *χo=t* *vaba-yæk* *e-r-im*
 self=BP-1SG=CONJ self=BP-2SG together-one go.PRS-1PL
 ‘Me and you, ourselves, will go together.’

- (186) *mæmnevi vo kor eveyð-en*
 Mamnevi and son come.PST-3PL
 ‘Mamnevi and son came.’

The following compounds are also used as conjunctions. They are a combination of a noun and the preposition *ze* plus *i* as the proximal demonstrative adjective and the subordinating particle *ke*.

qalb ze i-ke, *piš ze i-ke* or its contracted form *piš zike* ‘before (lit.before from)’:

- (187) *piš-ze* *i-k* *nōw* *bo-χor-e* *zeið-ø* *be* *dær*
 before-from PROX-REL bread SBJV-eat.PRS -3SG hit.PST-3SG to out
 ‘(She) went out before eating food.’

The same combination is possible with some other prepositions like *si*, thus *si i-ke/ sike* ‘for, for this reason, because of’:

- (188) *ræhð-om* *sike* *del=om* *χast-ø*
 go.PST-1SG because heart=BP.1SG want.PST-3SG
 ‘I went, because I wanted to!’

Similarly, *bæz(i-ke)* ‘after’ is a compound consisting of prepositions *bæð* ‘after’+ *ze* ‘from’ + *i* ‘this’+ the relative pronoun *ke* ‘that’:

- (189) *bæzi-ke* *ræð-en*, *ræ-m* *æw* *æworð-om*
 after-that go.PST-3PL go.PST-1SG water bring-.PST-1SG
 ‘After they had gone, I went to fetch water.’

