Gerardo Barbera<br>Italy | barberagerardo@gmail.com

# The Cannibal Sister: Linguistic Annotation of a South Bashkardi Folktale 


#### Abstract

This article provides a lexical and morphemic analysis of a folktale in the so far undocumented South Bashkardi dialect of Garu village, Hormozgān province, Iran. The text, which belongs to ATU 315A tale type about the so-called 'Cannibal sister', is presented with a tentative phonological transcription, an English translation, and a detailed glossary.


Keywords language documentation and description, Iranian linguistics, Iranian studies, Bashkardi, Strait of Hormuz, Oriental studies, Folk literature, ATU 315A

## 1 Introduction

Bashkardi is the conventional name of two linguistically proximate Iranian dialect groups that are both found across the historical geographical region of Bashkard, officially Bashāgerd, ${ }^{1}$ at the western end of the Makrān zone and inland from the Strait of Hormuz in Iran. The total landscape of the region is hilly to mountainous and it is primarily characterised by a mountain system consisting of two ranges that meet at an acute angle (Eastern Bashāgerd mountains and Western Bashāgerd mountains), converging to the northwest. ${ }^{2}$ To the south, Bashāgerd

[^0]
© 2023 The Author(s). This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.
spreads roughly east of the Biyābān plain in the Strait of Hormuz and north of the Oman Sea coast. This is a remote, difficult to access region that has therefore been the object of relatively few modern studies.

The two individual dialect groups found in Bashāgerd are known as North and South Bashkardi in scholarly literature and, locally, as Mārzigāl and Molkigāl respectively. The total number of Bashkardi speakers probably approximates $40,000 .^{3}$ Today, with such a small number of speakers facing increasingly economic difficulties and emigration, Bashkardi is vulnerable to quick disappearance, although


Figure 1. Languages of Southeast Iran (map by Gerardo Barbera, made with Datawrapper)
in the district (bakhsh) of Chāhkhodā in Qal'e-ye Ganj sub-province of Kermān province, on which Bashāgerd borders at its northwestern end.
${ }^{3}$ See Voskanian and Boyajian-Sureniants (2007: 122, fn. 8), who were the first to make references to the Bashkardi endonyms mentioned above. What little is known about the history and the exploration of Bashāgerd is summarised in Spooner (1988). In 2008, Bashāgerd, with an area of $9,200 \mathrm{~km}^{2}$, was established as a sub-province (shahrestān) of Hormozgān province. It currently comprehends three districts (bakhsh-hā), namely Markazi, with the rural agglomerations (dehestān-hā) of Jakdān and Sardasht, Gohrān, with the rural agglomerations of Dar Ābsar and Gohrān, and Gāfr and Pārmun, with the homonymous rural agglomerations, respectively. It consists of some 150 permanently inhabited
long-term survival is a possibility. There is, in fact, no lack of intergenerational transmission recorded, while numerical weakness could one day lead to greater group solidarity with positive implications for language maintenance.

From a historical point of view, both North and South Bashkardi have been conjectured as being a so-called Southwest sub-branch of Iranian. ${ }^{4}$ However, South Bashkardi diverges considerably from North Bashkardi and the dialects adjacent to the north and west of it in both historical phonology and grammar, joining in different respects Balochi, which is in close contact with both Bashkardi groups, but is a so-called Northwest sub-branch of Iranian. ${ }^{5}$
villages (abādi-hā) and its capital is Sardasht. See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 24, 68) (based on the 2011 census). Note that Angurān, Anguhrān, Angohrān are more commonly used forms than Gohrān.
${ }^{4}$ See Skjærvø (1988: 846); Windfuhr (2009: 13). In particular, Windfuhr provides a chart in which 'Southwest Iranian' is portrayed as incorporating, beside Persian, the 'Perside groups, Southern Zagros and Fars', and the 'non-Perside groups, Larestan and Gulf'. The Gulf group in its turn includes Bandari, Minābi, Bashkardi, and Kumzari on the Masandam peninsula in Oman.
${ }^{5}$ See Korn (2017: 80; 2021: 302-303) for a critical hint on North and South Bashkardi as a genetic entity; see also Korn (2022), where the possibility of Bashkardi representing a 'mini-Sprachbund' ('convergence of Iranian varieties of different origin') is briefly assessed. Gershevitch (1970: 163) calls North and South Bashkardi 'two distinct language groups, a northern and a southern', or 'two languages'. Later, however, Gershevitch (1992: 74) will state that Bashkardi and Balochi are 'two Iranian languages that differ from each other no more, but also not much less, than Spanish, for example, differs from Italian'. Thus, it seems that here, Gershevitch considers Bashkardi as one language, when compared to Balochi as a distinct language (unless he had in mind South Bashkardi exclusively). Also note Voskanian and Boyajian-Sureniants' (2007: 122) field observations that ' $[t]$ hough the extant materials on these dialects are still limited, they do not seem to be dialect variations of the same language, but, rather, build two distinct language groups, unified-regardless their genetic characteristics-under one conventional name (Baškardī) merely on the basis of territorial coverage'. In Barbera (2021), I reviewed the lexical isoglosses in the dialect continuum across Hormozgān and southern Kermān provinces as this continuum was outlined in Borjian (2017: 306-313) (where Kumzari was excluded from grouping). Data from Balochi were also added. A cross-dialectal 40 -item word list of the 'Automated Similarity Judgment Programme Database' (Wichmann, Holman, and Brown 2020) was provided to show how both Bashkardi dialect groups are distinctly closer to the dialects in southern Kermān province (i.e. Jirofti, Kahnuji, Rudbāri, Manujāni) than they are to 'Bandari' dialects (i.e. Bandarabbāsi, also known as Bandari itself, Minābi, etc.). Note that Borjian (2017: 306) groups Manujāni with Minābi and Bandari. Research also revealed (also probably due to contact phenomena) consistent sharing of characteristic lexical isoglosses between dialects in southern Kermān province and Bashāgerd on the one hand, and Balochi on the other hand, with respect to all other dialects along the coast and inland from the Strait of Hormuz. The linguistic collocation of Kumzari and its variant form known as Rāraki on Lārak island offshore from Bandar Abbās deserves a separate discussion. For succinct and up-to-date information on recent research on Bashkardi see Korn (2021b: 301-302). Brief and perceptive historical descriptions

It is not known to what extent North and South Bashkardi are mutually intelligible. From what little could be extemporaneously noted, it turned up that North Bashkardi native speakers could only superficially understand audio-recorded speech data in South Bashkardi, except when, reportedly, they had been exposed to previous learning (usually at home). On the contrary, and apparently quite aside from any secondary effect from acquisition, South Bashkardi native speakers were manifestly at more ease with North Bashkardi speech data, either recorded or momentarily uttered. This is probably because 'North Bashkardi is closer to Persian in terms of historical phonology, verbal endings and pronominal clitics, which could contribute to its being more intelligible to South Bashkardi speakers than vice-versa' (Agnes Korn, personal communication).

The text analysed in this article is a sample of documentary linguistic materials from the Bashkardi dialect of Garu, a village of about 2,000 people ${ }^{6}$ lying outside Bashāgerd proper, about 40 km southeast of Mināb on the southwest spurs of the Western Bashāgerd mountains. By its very position, Garu falls administratively within the rural agglomeration (dehestān) of the district (bakhsh) of Senderk, which is one of the four subdivisions of the sub-province (shahrestān) of Mināb. ${ }^{7}$ Most of this territory was until quite recently governed alternatively as a rural agglomeration or a district under the name of 'Western Bashāgerd'.

The dialect of Garu represents consequently a South Bashkardi language pocket in a Minābi-to-North Bashkardi dialect continuum. This is reportedly the result of a centennial migration of the ancestors of the current population from a zone in the rural agglomeration of Gāfr (or its vicinity) in southern Bashāgerd. Precisely how long ago they migrated is not easy to ascertain. According to an old military colonial report, a certain 'Lieutenant Galindo' of the Sussex Regiment in India travelled through the area in 1888, and noted that 'Garū' is 'a village in Bashākard, on the Mīnāb-Bint road, 5 miles south-east of Talang. It is now in ruins' (Government of India 1910: 205). Seeing that Talang in the report is very likely today's Talang-e Sarātak village, approximately 10 km from Garu on the road to Mināb, or was located nearby anyway, probably the current Bashkardi population set itself up here after that date.

People's main occupation in Garu is agriculture, but there are here as elsewhere also many workers who migrate seasonally to Mināb, Bandar Abbās or more permanently to the Arabian Peninsula, especially Oman and Qatar.
mainly elaborated on from I. Gershevitch's dispersed references to Bashkardi (Gershevitch was the first linguist to carry out fieldwork in the area in 1956), were made available in two classic contributions in Skjærvø (1988; 1989).
${ }^{6}$ They numbered 1420 in a report by the National Geographic Organization of the Iranian Armed Forces (2004: 126), containing data from the 1996 census.
${ }^{7}$ See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 18, 28).

## 2 Phonology

The following succinct description of the phonology of the dialect of Garu can certainly be subject to future revision, given the relatively small number of items on which it is based. The transcription of the text is tendentially phonemic, but some phonetic peculiarities have been noticed as well.

### 2.1 Consonants

Overall, South Bashkardi resembles Standard Persian. Consonants are outlined in Table 1 below.

|  | Labial | Alveolar | Postal- <br> veolar/ <br> palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Plosive | $p \quad b$ | $t \quad d$ |  | $k g$ |  | $(\jmath)$ |
| Nasal | $m$ | $n$ |  |  |  |  |
| Fricative | $f v$ | $s z$ | $\check{s}(z)$ |  | $x \gamma$ | $h$ |
| Affricate |  |  | $\check{c} \check{j}$ |  |  |  |
| Trill |  | $r$ |  |  |  |  |
| Approximant | $(w)$ |  | $y$ |  |  |  |
| Lateral |  | $l$ |  |  |  |  |

Table 1. Consonants

The glottal plosive is only very marginally phonemic: it can be realised as such, i.e. as $/ 1 /$, whereas its loss, which is most common, tends to produce the compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel. The Standard Persian uvular phoneme $q$ (conditionally [G]) is absent and in words from Persian (whatever the varieties of language) it is often replaced by $/ \mathrm{k} / . \check{z}$ does not seem to be an independent phoneme; it can replace $\mathrm{a} / \mathrm{j} /$ that has lost its dental element in a few words. $w$ appears to be /u/ after vowels or can be sometimes articulated as /v/ before vowels.

### 2.2 Vowels

The Bashkardi vowel system embodies more vowels than the Standard Persian system does. Vowels can be provisionally represented as in Table 2 below.

|  | Front |  | Central | Back |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Close | $\bar{i}$ | $(\bar{u})$ |  | $\bar{u}$ |
|  |  | $i$ |  | $u$ |
| Mid | $\bar{e}$ |  | $\bar{o}$ |  |
|  |  | $e$ |  | $o$ |
|  |  | $\partial$ |  |  |
| Open |  | $a$ |  |  |

Table 2. Vowels

There is undoubted instability along the front and the back axes. This is probably due to pressure from Standard Persian, which favours a more economic phonological system. a is found in darūh, darūst 'to say', and sometimes also in barūt 'brother', which some speakers pronounce as berūt, some others as borūt, too; $\bar{u}$, which is probably not an independent phoneme, is found here as an allophone of $\bar{u}$, especially when following a palatal sound: e.g. šū, šūu 'husband', j̄ūt, juüt 'to eat'.

Note that $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{i}$, as well as $\bar{o}$ and $\bar{u}$, appear to have phonetically similar allophones and can often interchange, even in one and the same speaker (as is the case with the narrator of this text). Both pairs also show phonetic tendencies to diphthongise to ie and ue respectively. Diphthongization is, however, a highly irregular process in the dialect of Garu.

### 2.3 Stress

Nouns and adjectives are stressed on the last non-enclitic syllable. Verbs are normally stressed on the endings, or, in the absence of endings, on the stem. Progressive tenses are stressed on the last syllable of the infinitive (or past stem, see $\S 3.4$ ). The negative verbal prefixes, ne- and $n a$ - (see also § 3.5), generally shift stress away from final position: e.g. rowt-óm 'I went', ne-rówt-om 'I did not go'.

## 3 Morphosyntax

The following information illustrates a few points that can be practical to present in a more explicit way than is done in the glossary. ${ }^{8}$

### 3.1 Definiteness

Definiteness is marked by means of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. These are: ì 'this', plural ī-an, or ye 'idem', plural ye-n-an (= personal pronouns, see § 3.3); $\bar{a}$ 'that', plural $\bar{a}-a n / \bar{a}-y$-an. Demonstratives that are associated to possessives in the noun phrase may acquire discourse functions aimed at singling out a more definite pragmatic scope in the marked referent: e.g. ì koterk men 'this my child' (§ 14), $\bar{i}$ berūt $=e$ 'this her brother' (§ 9), ī pah-an xo-y=an 'these our own goats' (§ 2), etc.

### 3.2 Indefiniteness

Markers of indefiniteness are numeral adjective yow 'one' and indefinite and specific enclitic marker $=\bar{o}$, which are either both combined together or used separately from each other: e.g. yow ešter, yow ešter $=\bar{o}$, ešter $=\bar{o}$ 'a camel', with small nuances of meaning (as if they were, more or less, English 'a/one camel', 'some camel or other', 'any camel' respectively). Note the following partitive construction implying that the classifier $t \bar{u}$ (a numerative noun with an associated sense of 'unit') is used as a pronoun:

```
(1) yow t̄̄ [Ø] ešter-an [or -Ø]
    one CLASS/PRO [EZ] camel-PL
    'one camel/one of the camels'
```

The partitive construction may trigger equally singular and plural agreement on the verb, with no change whatsoever in meaning: e.g.

| (2a)yow tū <br> one CLASS/PRO <br> 'ose of the camels was missing' <br> camel-PL | kam <br> few <br> (preterit) | bīt <br> become.PST-3S |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | ešter-an... | kam | Text, § 2 |

[^1]in which the verb takes the plural agreement by attraction from ešter-an; cf. also

| (3)yow $\quad t \bar{u}$ $g \bar{a} r$ $a$-bīt-en <br> one CLASS/PRO   <br> 'one was disappearing'   | disappeared | DUR-become.PST-3PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  | Text, § 2 |

with plural verb agreement by projection from implicit-but known within discourse—plural ešter-an 'camels'. When non-partitive tū behaves as a numerative noun, it always requires the classified noun to be singular: e.g.

| (4)yow $d o$ $t \bar{u}$ $s a x=e$ | dārent <br> one | two | CLASS | $\operatorname{dog}=$ PC. 3 S |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

'he owned one, two dogs'
Text, § 7

### 3.3 Personal pronouns

Free standing personal pronouns are presented in Table 3 below.

| $1 S$ | men |
| :---: | :--- |
| $2 S$ | to |
| $3 S$ | ye |
| $1 P$ | yemah |
| $2 P$ | šomah |
| $3 P$ | yenan |

Table 3. Personal pronouns

### 3.4 Present and past stems

Verbs have present and past stems. Regular past stems are built from present stems by means of suffixes structured as vowel $+n t$. e.g. tav-ent 'to fall'. As a result of different historical morphophonological changes, other stems show ūt. e.g. adūt 'to give', gerūt 'to take'; or āt. e.g. orāt 'pick up'; or st. e.g. derūst 'say', or d: e.g. pāyd 'cast, throw', vāyd 'tear apart'. The perfect and pluperfect tenses are formed by respectively suffixing $-x$ and $-x$-at (i.e. $-x$ plus the past stem of the copula) to the past stem, deprived of its dental consonant: e.g. tavent $>$ taven- $\{x$-at $\}$; or clusters such as st. e.g. derūst $>$ derū- $\{x-a t\}$. The verb gerūt 'to take' has synchronically un-
expected perfect stem goč, on which pluperfect goč-at is based. The past stems are also used as infinitives in my documentation. Progressive present and past tenses consist of the copula and a 'predicate' locution formed by the preposition be 'to, at' (treated hereafter as a prefix) and the past stem (or the infinitive): e.g. be-tavent $=\bar{u}$ 'you are falling', lit. 'in to-fall you are'. Progressive formations are negated by negating the copula: e.g. be-tavent neh $=\bar{u}$ 'you are not falling'.

### 3.5 Verbal prefixes

The modal-aspectual prefixes are: indicative durative $a$-, used to build the present and imperfect tenses on the present and past stems respectively: e.g. a-kuč-in 'I scratch', $a$-kučent-inn 'I was scratching, I used to scratch'; modal $e$-, used to build the subjunctive and imperative on the present stems. This latter prefix appears to be in a state of retrogression and very often alternates with $\emptyset$ in many different contexts. The negative prefixes are interchangeably ne- and na- (see also § 2.3), which do not always seem to be phonologically conditioned allomorphs, but free phonetic variant forms. In the indicative present and imperfect tenses, the negation is inserted as $-n$ - between the prefix $a$ - and the stem: e.g., $a$-bes-om 'I say', $a$-n-bes-om 'I do not say'. The negative prefix suppresses the modal prefix $e$-. (For prefix be-, see § 3.4.)

### 3.6 Personal endings

Personal endings are used in the present tense of transitive and intransitive verbs and in the preterit, perfect and pluperfect tenses of intransitive verbs. They can be displayed as in Table 4 below (but variations are several):

|  | Present | Past |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1 S$ | $-i n$ | $-i n$ |
| $2 S$ | $-e x /-e$ | $-\bar{u} /-\bar{u} x$ |
| $3 S$ | $-e t$ | $\emptyset$ |
| $1 P$ | $-a n$ | $-o m$ |
| $2 P$ | $-o h t /-a h t$ | $-o h t$ |
| $3 P$ | $-e n$ | $-e n$ |

Table 4. Personal endings

### 3.7 Moods and tenses

Moods include indicative, subjunctive, imperative. The following indicative tenses make up the temporal system: present-future ('I do', 'I will do'), imperfect ['I was doing', I used to do'], preterit ['I did'], perfect ['I have done'], pluperfect ['I had done']. They are all, except the present tense, formed on the past stems. Table 5 below illustrates tense formation in the intransitive verb.

|  | Present-future | Preterit | Imperfect | Perfect | Pluperfect |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1S | $a-p-i n$ | vot-īn | $a-v o t-i ̄ n$ | $v o-x$-īn | vo-x-at-īn |
| 2S | $a-p-e / e x$ | vot-ū/ūx | $a-v o t-\bar{u} / \bar{u} x$ | $v o-x-\bar{u} / \bar{u} x$ | $v o-x-a t-\bar{u} / \bar{u} x$ |
| 3S | $a-p i^{9}$ | $v o t$ | $a-v o t$ | vo-x | $v o-x-a t$ |
| 1P | $a-p-o m$ | vot-om | $a$-vot-om | vo-x-om | vo-x-at-om |
| 2P | $a-p-o h t$ | vot-oht | $a$-vot-oht | vo-x-oht | vo-x-at-oht |
| 3P | $a-p-e n$ | vot-en | $a$-vot-en | vo-x-en | vo-x-at-en |

Table 5. Selected indicative paradigms of $v o t / p$ - 'to come'

### 3.8 Ergative alignment

Bashkardi shows a 'post-ergative' alignment pattern in the past domain of transitive verbs, wherein pronominal clitics as outlined in Table 6 below (§ 3.9) are systematically employed to represent the agents, cross-referencing the logical subjects. Pronominal clitics (with the exception of set-2 clitics in Table 6, § 3.9) are mobile and they normally attach to the left of the stem, starting from the subject position. In purely functional terms, pronominal clitics in South Bashkardi behave like verbal endings and must therefore co-occur even with an overt subject (either noun or pronoun).

Pronominal enclitics slotting on either in front of the verb or following the past stem can be seen in the following examples:

| (5a) | yow jū̄šk $=\bar{o}=e$ | kerxat | der | hamā | anǰal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | one.sparrow $=$ INDEF $=\mathrm{PC} .3$ | Smake.PPF | in | same | pot |

[^2](5b) yow ǰūšk $=\bar{o} \quad$ kerxat $=e$ one. sparrow $=$ INDEF make. $\mathrm{PPF}=\mathrm{PC} .3 \mathrm{~S}$ 'he had put a sparrow in the same pot'
der hamā manǰal
in same pot -

### 3.9 Cliticisation

The enclitic pronouns (set-1) and proclitic pronominal particles (set-2) are displayed in Table 6 below.

|  | set-1 | set-2 |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 1 S | $=o m$ | $m=$ |
| 2 S | $=e t$ | $t=$ |
| 3 S | $=e$ | $h=$ |
| 1 P | $=a n$ | $n=$ |
| 2 P | $=o x$ | $x=$ |
| 3 P | $=e \check{s}$ | $\check{s}=$ |

Table 6. Pronominal clitics
Both sets appear to be in partial complementary distribution. In addition to the function of agent markers ( $5 \mathrm{a}, 5 \mathrm{~b}, 6$ and 7), they can also be employed in direct object (8) and oblique (9) functions, and generally-but particularly as far as set1 clitics are concerned-, as possessive pronouns. Set-2 clitics are single consonant particles. They syllabify as the onset of the following vowel in the verb that hosts them, and they are never found in a position different from this. There is no segmental pause interlexically between the particle and the verb, which would bar resyllabification at a syntagmatic level. Provided that the most common vowel onset is the indicative durative marker $a$-, set- 2 clitic particles are characteristically (although not exclusively) associated to the formation of the indicative present and imperfect tenses: e.g.
(6) $a$-kert $=e \quad=\quad h=a$-kert

DUR-do. PST $=$ PC. $3 \mathrm{~S}=\quad \mathrm{PC} .3 \mathrm{~S}=\mathrm{DUR}$-do.PST
'he was doing, he used to do'

| ziād | latākotā | $\check{s}=a$-kert |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| a.lot | nervous.excitement | PC.3P = DUR-do.PST |

'[the dogs] were moving about a lot nervously'
Text, § 17

| (8)rizrīzz $h=a-$ kan-īn <br> smashed PC.3S = DUR-do.PRS-1S <br>  'I smash him' |  |
| :--- | :--- |

(9) $\quad s ̌ i z r=e$
milk $=\mathrm{PC} .3 \mathrm{~S} \quad \mathrm{PC} .3 \mathrm{~S}=$ give.PST
'she gave her milk'10
Text, § 4

### 3.10 Clitics and endings in the past domain of transitive verbs

Characteristically for Bashkardi, with respect to all other languages in southern Iran, the verbal endings may show up with a change in function when employed with a transitive verb in the past domain, retaining their morphosyntactic property of being suffixed immediately after the stem (as with intransitive verb stems, see Table 4, § 3.7). In this position, they become indexing markers of direct objects (also possibly of any oblique form), while pronominal clitics, which must be attached either after the endings or in a position fronting the stem (see § 3.9), will keep indexing the agent, or the logical subject, in the same domain: e.g.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { maš } & a \text {-ǰūt-īn }=e  \tag{10}\\
\text { mosquito } & \text { DUR-eat.PST-1S }=\text { PC. } 3 \mathrm{~S} \\
\text { 'a mosquito was eating }(=\text { stinging }) \text { me' }^{11}
\end{array}
$$

[^3]
## 4 Text

The text was recorded on 20 July 2008 from Mr. Bejār Mirshekāri, a local civil servant, ${ }^{12}$ during a rapid, overall 7-day field linguistic survey. In such a very short span of time documentation efforts suffered from different shortcomings resulting in a lot of frustration. ${ }^{13}$ Materials from this fieldtrip were subsequently archived at the 'Endangered Languages Archive Repository' (ELAR), see Barbera (2015). ${ }^{14}$

The text narrates the story of the youngest daughter in a family of seven male children, who soon reveals herself to be a monster ${ }^{15}$ and will eat her family's livestock and properties, her parents and all of her siblings, except the youngest brother; this latter will have his sister killed by his dogs and will free everyone and everything from her breasts, eventually.

[^4]
### 4.1 Basic summary and typology

The tale is a variant of ATU (Aarne-Thompson-Uther index) tale type 315A relating to the 'tales of magic' and, specifically, to the so-called 'cannibal sister'. The overall South Bashkardi tale's plot closely mirrors the basic summary, i.e. the minimal framework describing the central structure, contents, and most important characters of this type as found in Aarne and Thompson (1961: 110-111), but, especially, as the basic summary was rewritten in Uther (2004 1: 203). The latter runs as follows:


#### Abstract

A woman (queen) who has only sons gives birth to a daughter. The girl first devours the animals, then her brothers and parents, and finally the inhabitants of the village (city). Only one brother escapes [...] ${ }^{16}$ The youth marries, gives his wife a life token, leaves his dogs (young lions, panther) behind, and returns home. He finds everything devastated. His sister devours his horse and threatens to devour him, too. While she is sharpening her teeth, the youth must play an instrument to prove he is still there. A mouse takes his place and he flees. The youth escapes and climbs three trees in succession which his sister gnaws down. Warned by the life token, his dogs come to save him and kill the cannibal sister.


The main similarities and variations with respect to the South Bashkardi version are briefly as follows: the mother is not a queen, but she is however a rich woman; the sister does not devour the inhabitants of the village; the brother does not escape by his choice, but he is driven away as a liar by his father because he accuses his sister of being a cannibal; the animals left behind are dogs; there is no concrete life token (i.e. any magic object that signals if its owner is in fatal danger) given to the brother's wife, but the signal for her to release the dogs to come to his aid is any strong state of agitation shown by them; the brother has to make a tinkling noise on a bowl with a spoon; trees are seven.

Versions of ATU 315A tale type as found in seven Iranian dialect folk texts from Boyer Ahmad (today's Kohgiluye and Boyer Ahmad), Markazi, Khorāsān, Khuzestān, Māzanderān provinces of Iran were analysed in Marzolph (1984: 70-71). Marzolph's basic summary is particularly close to what can be sketched out from the Bashkardi version (and at least in part it may quite likely have also influenced the description of the basic summary in Uther [2004 1: 203]). ${ }^{17}$

[^5]The South Bashkardi version is especially remarkable for its final additional episode, wherein on the orders of the brother the dogs tear apart his sister's body, sparing her breasts. Then, by splitting one breast open, the brother will make the livestock and property of the past come out, and by splitting the other breast open as well, he will have his family rescued alive. Humans eaten by a monster-like being and later saved can easily be found in folk literature, such as famously in the case of little red riding hood and her grandmother devoured by a wolf whose belly is finally cut open by a hunter (ATU 333; see Uther [2004 1: 224-225]). To my knowledge, however, no such episode as the South Bashkardi one is to be found in folktales of this type, nor are similar motifs traceable in Thompson's (1955-1958) motif-index. On the other hand, breast cutting in general is a known form of female corporal punishment, especially in religious contexts (see Schenda [1979]). However, one of the anonymous reviewers of this article has actually informed me that 'the motif of cutting off the breasts as a kind of punishment is also known in the pre-Islamic Iranian religious tradition, e.g. in the Middle Persian Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag'. See especially Ardā Wīrāz, K20, 39.8-9: 'And I saw the soul of a woman who was cutting her chest and breast with an iron comb' (as a form of self-punishment for a woman who despised her husband in the world) (Vahman 1986: 215).

### 4.2 South Bashkardi and other versions

To the several versions from different areas in Asia, including the Near and Middle East and India, Africa and the Americas, and rarely also Europe indicated in the literature in Uther (2014 1: 203), two versions in particular, in Pashai (an Indo-Aryan language from northeastern Afghanistan), must be added. They were recorded by Morgenstierne (1973: 18-25) and are entitled 'The cannibal girl'. ${ }^{18}$

[^6]There are several points of contact between these two versions (which nevertheless contain life tokens) and the South Bashkardi version, such as the fact that there are seven brothers. Particularly interesting (and amusing) is the motif of the youngest brother's horse whose legs are eaten by the cannibal sister in the night when he comes back after many years. The sister asks her brother if his horse, which is in her stable, has three or two legs, or even one leg as she goes back and forth from the stable and eats them one by one. The resigned brother confirms that it is just as she says. This motif is not traced in Marzolph (1984: 70-71), but it is certainly present in one of the texts analysed by him from Boyer Ahmad (see now Loeffler-Friedl [2007: 71]). The related passages from the three aforementioned versions are worth citing in full.

Pashai version (Morgenstierne 1973: 22 ${ }^{19}$ ):
He was pondering about this, when his sister appeared and said: 'My brother, how many legs has your horse?' He answered: 'It has four'. She ate two of its legs, and in a moment she ate the whole horse.

Lori version (Loeffler-Friedl 2007: 71):
'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come on two legs?' In the morning she ate yet another leg and said, 'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come on one foreleg?' He was afraid of her and said, 'Yes'. At noon she ate the last leg and said, 'Brother, welcome, welcome! Your horse has come without a leg?' And for dinner she ate the rest of the horse.

South Bashkardi version (see also § 4.5, text §§ 12-13):
She said, 'My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle while I go and give water to your horse'. When she went, she tore the horse apart piece by piece. Back home she says, 'My brother, has your horse become three-legged?'-She had just devoured a leg. Then she says again, 'Has your horse come on two legs?' He says, 'Yes, it has come on two legs'. He himself knew that she is a dorōny monster and has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes', he replied.

[^7]
### 4.3 Transcription and translation of the text ${ }^{20}$

1. Yow zen=o mūš =ō heš-at-en, nazdīk be yow hašt tū koterk=eš heš-at. Ba'd i bāmard nazdīk = e sad tū gōx-e heš-at, sad tū ešter=e heš-at, sad tū asp=e heš$a t$, sad t̄̄ $k a r=e ~ h e s ̌-a t, ~ s a d ~ t \bar{u} ~ p a h=e ~ h e s ̌-a t, ~ s a d ~ t u ̄ ~ m i s ̌=e ~ h e s ̌-a t . ~ M e r g=e ~ h e s ̌-a t . ~$ Hama čīz=eš heš-at. Vaz=e ham xèylō $x o b=a t . L a h a r=e s ̌ ~ h e s ̌-a t . ~ Y e n a n ~ d e r ~ y o w ~$ deh $=\bar{o}$ zendegi $\check{s}=a$-kert, der yow mahall $=\bar{o}, \bar{a} b \bar{a} d \bar{\imath}=\bar{o}$.
There was a woman and a man, who had next to eight children (i.e. they were about to have their eighth child). Then the man owned about a hundred cows, he owned a hundred camels, he owned a hundred horses, he owned a hundred donkeys, he owned a hundred goats, he owned a hundred sheep. He owned poultry. They had everything. Their situation was very good. They had a home. They were living in a certain village, in a certain locality, [in] a certain hamlet.
2. Ba'd ī haft tū koterk =e ke heš-at, ba'd dāzan upes bīt, yow dek-ak= $\bar{o}=e$ bit. $\bar{I}$ dek$a k=e$ bīt. Ey res $=\bar{o}$ ke ī dek bīt, har res $=\bar{o}$ yow tū ešter-an deh deh kam a-bït-en. Ba'd hamā $\operatorname{bap}=e, s ̌ \bar{u}=e$ dāzan $a-d \partial r u ̄ h=e, s ̌ \bar{u}=e ~ d a ̄ z a n ~ a-d ə r u ̄ h=e$, bap koterk-an, ke, ‘İ pah-an xo-y =an gār be-bīt-en. Yow tū ešter-an kam bīt'. Kam kam do ešter, se ešter, čūr tū tā nazdīk bist tū ešter kam a-bīt. Har šep = ō yow tū gār a-bīt-en.
Following the seven male children that she had had, then the woman got pregnant [and] gave birth to a baby girl. This, her baby girl, was born. From the day when this girl was born, every single day, little by little, there was one of the camels missing. Later, her husband, the woman's husband, the father of those children began to say, 'Our goats are disappearing. There is [also] one of the camels missing'. Little by little two camels, three camels, four, up to about twenty camels were missing. Every night one was disappearing.
3. Ba'd hamā yow tū berūt-an kūčak-ter yow šep $=\bar{o} \bar{a} d a m ~ d u n a \bar{a}-y=a t: ~ g e r u ̄ t=e$ i kelenč xo-y =e šakānt, šakānt ke bīdār bī. Dərūh-e, 'A $\begin{gathered}\text { ra ne-šakān-īn }=e \text { ? Tak ne- }\end{gathered}$ kan-īn kelenč xo?' Xoy tī $=e$ gerūt, šakānt $=e . X \bar{u}=e ~ z a t=o ~ s a r=e ~ n u ̄ t ~ r u ~ b a ̄ l e s ̌ t ~ x o . ~$ Xob! Der = e xāv na-rowt.
Then, one night, one of the brothers, the youngest [who] was brainy, took his finger and injured [it] so he would stay awake. He said, '[What] if I injure it, split my finger in two?' He grabbed [it] with a blade, [and] split [it] open. He put some salt [on it] and placed his head on his pillow. Nice! He did not fall asleep.

[^8]4. Čehm = e zīl=at. Bīdār=at deh tā dum. Dīt=e hamā xūrx=e ke der gahvāra=at narmīakā īǰekent, rowt lard. Ye = ham dombāl = e narmī narmī rowt. Rowt der ešteran, yow ester = e ǰūt. Yow gōx = e ǰūt. Ba'd vot der gahvāra, da a tavent. Zat = e xwan, $m u \bar{t}=e$ boland bīt, šīr $=e h=a d \bar{u} t, x \bar{a} v a \bar{n} t=e$.
His eyes were wide open. He stayed awake [from] the day before until dawn. [Then] he saw that his sister, who was in the cradle, softly jumped out [and] went outside. He also very quietly followed her. [He saw that] she went among the camels [and] ate a camel. She ate a cow. After that she came [back] into the cradle [and] fell asleep again. She cried [and] her mother got up, suckled her [and] put [her back] to sleep.
5. Sahargāh hamā čok ke dā xo-y=e šakān-x-at dīt=e xūrx=e der gahvāra dar tavent, rowt, ešter $=e$ ǰūt $=o$ gōx $=e ~ j ̌ u ̄ t$, rowt be mūt $x o-y=e d \partial r u ̄ h=e$, 'Nena! Ī xūrx yamah, hamī dek to, ì dorōnǰ= $\bar{o}-y=e$. Men dōš kelenč xo, be-dīt $=\bar{u}$ ? Šakān- $x=o m$, bīdār bī-x-īn ke ye a der gahvāra ī̌eken-x, rowt: ī ešter $=e$ ǰū-x $=o$ ī gōx $=e ~ j ̌ u ̄-x$. Al'ān šomah rav-aht, sār $k$-oht!'
[In] the morning, the son who had split his hand ${ }^{21}$ [and] watched [that] his sister got out of the cradle, went [and] ate a camel and ate a cow, went to talk to his mother, 'Mummy! This sister of ours, this your daughter, this is a monster! Last night, my finger, are you seeing it? I split it open [and] stayed awake until when she jumped out from inside the cradle [and] went: she has eaten this camel and has eaten this cow. Go, right now, have a look!'
6. Āan rowt-en, sār = eš kert. Sār = eš kert: yow gōx nah =at, yow ešter nah=at. $B a^{\prime} d m u ̄ t=e ~ b a d=e ~ v o t, ~ b a p=e ~ h a ̄ l \bar{~}=e ~ k e r t . ~ C ̌ u n ~ h a f t ~ t u ̄ ~ b e r u ̄ t=a t-e n, ~ y o w ~ d e k=\bar{o}$ bī-x-at, xèylō be ī dek š = $a$-vāhent, dōst=eš $a-b i ̄ t . ~ B a ' d ~ g e r u ̄ t=e, ~ b a ~ a ̄ ~ c ̌ o k ~ x o-y=e ~$ gerūt, zat bāmard, dar =e pāyd. Ows-e, 'Šomah hālā ba men dar be-pāyd=oht. Bàle, $e s ̌ k a ̄ l=e n e!’$
They went [and] had a look. They had a look: there was not one cow, there was not one camel. Then his mother had hard feelings [and] informed his father. Since they were seven brothers, [when] one baby girl had been born, they loved this girl a lot, they were fond [of her]. Then he took [him], the man took his own child and beat [him and] cast [him] out. [The child] says, 'You are now getting rid of me. All right, there's no problem with that!'
7. Ba'd hamā berūt =e rowt ba yow safar dir $=\bar{o}$, safar $\operatorname{dir}=o$ derāz $=\bar{o}$. Rowt, hamā mahalla kert $=e ~ k \bar{a} r, z e n=e ~ k e r t . ~ Z e n=e ~ k e r t . ~ Y o w, ~ d o ~ t \bar{u} ~ s a x=e ~ d a ̄ r e n t, ~ k o c ̌ a k ~$ j̄ādū. Ya'nī sax-an =e dūnā =e dārent. Ba'd deh deh xorāk adūt-en, parvareš adūten $=o$ felān $h=a$-kert-en tā nazdīk $=e$ čand sūr. Sax-an ziād dūnā-y=at-en.

[^9]Afterwards, that brother of hers went on a long journey, a distant, long journey. He went away [and, in] the same neighbourhood [where] he worked, he took a wife. He took a wife. He owned one, two dogs, puppies that were [real] magicians. In other words, he owned [really] clever dogs. Then he was feeding them little by little, he was training them, he was doing such-and-such [a thing] ${ }^{22}$ for them for about a few years. The dogs were very clever.
8. Ba'd a yow dah sūr, pānzdah sūr gozašt, dorūh $=e$, 'Men a-re-īn hālā hamā mahall $k e ~ b a p=o \quad m u ̄ t=o m \quad b \bar{i}-x-e n, s a r=\bar{o} a-z a n-i \bar{n}, b a p=o \quad m u \bar{t}=o m$ zende- $y=e n$, zenda neh $=e n$, če towr $=$ en'. İ berūt-ak ke ǰeyn = e a-rowt, ba ye-h=eš ke dar pāyd, $\bar{a}$ xūrx a der gahvāra har šep eyǰekent, har šep $=\bar{o}$ yow ešter $=o$ yow asp $h=a$-ǰūt, yow ešter $=0$ yow gōx $h=a$-j̄ūt, yow gōx = o yow asp $h=a$-ǰūt, pah $h=a$-ǰūt, mīs $h=a$-ǰūt, merg $h=a$ ǰūt tā, ya'nī, tamām = e i čī-an = e ǰūt. İ heyvūn-an = e ǰūt dam lahar=at-en.
After some ten [or] fifteen years passed, he said, 'Now I will go to the same place where my father and mother have been [living], I will pay a flying visit [and see] if my father and mother are alive, they are not alive, how they are'. [At the time] when this little brother was leaving his place [because] they cast him out, that sister was [keeping on] jumping out from inside the cradle every night, every single night she was devouring a camel and a horse, she was devouring a camel and a cow, she was devouring a cow and a horse, she was devouring goats, she was devouring sheep, she was devouring the poultry until, in other words, she finished all of these things off. She devoured these animals [that] were at home.
9. $B a^{\prime} d$ šorū $=e$ kert berūt-an xo, $\bar{a}$ šeš tū ke hamārd=at-en, ǰūt-en=e koll. Bey mūt $x o-y=e ~ j ̄ u ̄ t, ~ b e y ~ b a p ~ x o-y=e ~ y ̌ u ̄ t . ~ B a ' d ~ y o w ~ s ̌ u ̄ ~=e ~ k e r t . ~ D o r o ̄ n j ̌=\bar{o}-y=a t . Y o w ~ s ̌ u ̄=e$ kert, hič ke nah =at. $\check{S} \bar{u}=e ~ k e r-x-a t$, yow koterk $=\bar{o}=e$ bī-x-at. $\bar{I}$ berūt $=e ~ k e z a-x$-at dar $=e s ̌$ sāy-x-at, ba'd az pānzdah, bīst sūr hālā vot ke ya'nī sar=ō zī ke bap=o $m u ̄ t=e$ zende $-y=$ en yā na.
Then she began on her own brothers, all those six that were there, she ate them all. [Then] she ate her own mother, she ate her own father. Then she married someone. She was a dorōnǰ monster. She married one, [even though there] was no one [that would marry her]. ${ }^{23}$ She had got married [and] had had a child. This her brother [whom] they had beaten and thrown out, after fifteen [or] twenty years, now he came [back], in other words to pay a flying visit, [to see] if his parents were alive or not.

[^10]10. Vaxt $=\bar{o}$ vot hamā mahall $=\bar{o}$ ke bap $=o \quad m \bar{t} t=e$ neš- $x$-at-en, yow kaleng $=\bar{o}$ heš-at, yow xarābe-y=ō hamārd heš-at. Dorūh=e, ‘Xodā-yā! İ bap=o mūt men ke i pah $=o$ ešter-an ke ì mahall=eš koll goč-at $k o ̄ h=e n ?$ Ešter-an $k o ̄ h=e n=o$ pah-an $k o ̄ h=e n=o$ xūne- $y=a n$, zendegi = an kōh=en? Tamām ey beyn row-x-en, hič =e ne. Xarāb bī-x-en. İ, če balā-y=ō čak yenan īvo-x? Čī =eš bī-x?'
When he arrived where his parents had lived, there was a place covered with rubble, there was a place covered with ruins there. He said, 'Oh God! Where are the father and mother of mine, who owned sheep and camels [and] possessed this whole locality? Where are the camels and where are the sheep and where are our home and our livestock? They have been destroyed, there is nothing [left]. They have been wiped out. What calamity is this, [which] has fallen upon them? What has happened to them?'
11. Ye xo dūnent $=e$ ke ya'nī hamā xūrx =eš ke dorōnǰ=e ba ì zendegī, tamām=e i $m a \bar{l}=o ~ a m v a \bar{l}$ yenan $=e ~ j ̄ u ̄-x . B a^{\prime} d$ ye xoy $a s p=\bar{o}$ sovār=at, vot hamārd. Dar=e zat, yāllāh yāllāh=e kert. Ba'd vot der hamā, dīt =e hamā xūrx=e ben gahvāra neš-x, yow koterk-ak $=\bar{o}$ be-ǰomānt $=e$.
He himself realised that, in other words, their sister, who is a dorōny monster, has devoured the livestock, the whole of their property. Then he was riding a horse [and] arrived there. He knocked at the door [and] said hello. Then he came inside there [and] saw that that sister of his has taken a seat below a (hanging) cradle [and] is rocking a little child.
12. Ba'd vot. Xūrx=e der=e xwaš bīt. Pū bīt, 'Kōh bī-x-ū, berūt=om? Felān bī-$x$-ū?' Dərūh $=e$, 'Berūt=om! To nen hamērd, gahvāra ǰomānt ke men a-re-īn, asp =et yāp a-deh-īn'. Tā rowt asp =e vāyd. Ows-e, 'Berūt-om, asp =e to selenge bī-x?'-Yow leng $=\bar{o}=e$ ǰū-x-at. Ba'd ows-e daүa, 'Asp =e to be do leng vo-x?' Ows-e, 'Honk, be do leng vo- $x$ '.
Then he came in. His sister's heart rejoiced. She stood up [and said], 'Where have you been, my brother? What have you been up to?'24 She said, 'My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle [while] I go and give water to your horse'. When she went, she tore the horse apart [piece by piece]. [Back home], she says, 'My brother, has your horse become three-legged?'-She had [just] devoured a leg. Then she says again, 'Has your horse come [on] two legs?' He says, 'Yes, it has come [on] two legs'.
13. Ye xo $a$-dūnent $=e$ ke ye dorōnǰ $=\bar{o}=e$, asp $=e ~ \check{u} \bar{u}-x . B a^{\prime} d$ asp $=e$ koll ǰūt. Ows-e, 'Berūt $=o m$, to piāda vo-x-ū?' 'Honk'. Ba'd ì berūt $=e$ ba hamā zen xo-y $=e$ hālī

[^11]kert, 'Har vaxt $=\bar{o}$ to dīt $=$ et $\bar{i}$ sax-an latākotā-y=eš kert, ī sax-an vel e-ken to!' Dar hamā asnā-y=ō ke ye ey hamā mahallad =eš ba ye-h=eš dar ne-pāyd ke a-rowt, sar yow $\bar{a} b s a \bar{r}=\bar{o}$ haft tū kal $=e ~ z a t$, haft tū $k u v=e ~ b u \bar{v}=e ~ k a ̄ r e n t . ~ Y a ' n i ̄ ~ n a z d i ̄ n k ~ h a m e \bar{~}$ $k a ̄ r e n t=e$.
He himself knew (lit., was knowing) that she is a dorōnj monster [and] has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes' [he replied]. Then this her brother [had] already warned his own wife, 'Any time you see [that] these dogs move (lit. moved) about nervously, you free these dogs!' [Moreover,] in the space of time when he was about to leave and they had not yet cast him out from their neighbourhood, he dug seven holes in a garden [and] planted seven date palm stones. In other words, he planted about this [number of stones].
14. $\bar{I}$ zaman $=\bar{o}$ ke ye a $\bar{a}$ meyl bar ne-gohtent, hamā būv-an bī-x-at-en hor haft tū pāk, ker-x-at-en tamīz tamīz. Yow banda xodā-y=ō ke hamājudan sāhobī =e ker-x-at-en, balāh bī-x-at-en. Vot sar hamā būv-an, sār=e kert. $\bar{A}$ ǰeyn $=e$ zat, rowt hamā lahar xūrx $=e ~ k e ~ a s p=e ~ j ̌ u ̄ t . ~ B a ' d ~ d u ̄ t u ̄ n-a n ~=e ~ m o t=a t-e n . ~ B a ' d ~ b e y ~ b e r u ̄ t ~ x o-y=e ~$ dorūh, 'To, ì kāšox =ō uger, ahtī talangtalang zen ru tās ke ì koterk men ya'nī xwan ne-zì. Ye nešt bey zat ru-y=e talangtalang; talangtalang talangtalang zat=e ru hamā kāsa.
[During] the time when he [still] did not walk back there from where he was (lit. from that direction), the same palms, all seven, had become fine [trees], they made them shapely and shapely. [In fact,] a poor man had taken care of them [and] they had grown. He got to the palms [and] had a look. [Then] he left immediately [and] went to the very home of his sister, who ate the horse. Then her teeth were blunt. Then she said to her own brother, 'You, pick up this one spoon [and] clang on the bowl this way so my child, in other words, would not cry'. He sat down to produce a clang on it; he clanged and clanged on the bowl.
15. Ba'd yow mešk-ak=ō hamārd=at. Hamā mešk-ak dar vot, ba hamā yārū =e dərūh, ows-e, 'Badbaxt! Ye al'ān row-x dūtūn-an xo tēz e-kī, dūtūn-an tēz e-kī ke ba to e-ǰū, ba to e-ǰū. Pa to če kār e-ken? To ǰeyn e-zen, ra! Men xoy dìm xo a-zan-īn ru kāsa ke telengteleng kī ke ye vāš-et ke ya'ni to hamērd-ūx tā ī̄̄̄̄. Ba'd yārū-ak har$a k a t=e ~ k e r t, ~ h a m a ̄ ~ b e r u ̄ t ~ h a m a ̄ ~ d o r o ̄ n j ̌ ~ h a r a k a t ~=e ~ k e r t, ~ v o t, ~ \bar{a} d o v=e ~ k e r t=o ~ d o v=e$ kert, vot tā lek būv bīt.
Then, there was a little mouse there. That little mouse came out [and] said to the man, it says, 'Poor wretch! She's now gone to sharpen her teeth, to sharpen her teeth so she can devour you, she can devour you. What action do you want to take then? Leave immediately, go! I will hit on the bowl with my own tail so it will tinkle [and] she will hear, in other words [she will understand] that you are here up to now'. Then, this left, the very brother of the very dorōnj monster left, went, ran and ran, until he got there [and] climbed a palm.
16. Rasent be būv, lek bīt. $\bar{A}$ mešk-ak tā dorōnǰ vot, dīt = e mešk $a-z a t=e ~ d i ̄ m ~ x o . ~ V o t, ~$ $\bar{a}$ koterk-ak $x o-y=e$ ǰūt, kučent $=e$, ā mešk-ak = e j̄ūt. Harakat =e kert dombāl berūt xo. Harakat $=e$ kert dombāl berūt xo, vot ben hamā būv. Ye sar $b \bar{v} v=a t . \bar{A} b u \bar{v}=e$ berint, vur =e adūt. Berūt=e kop=e čent sar būv=e dovomī. $\bar{A} b u \bar{v} v=e$ xoy dūtūn-an xo berint, kop = e čent sar $b \bar{u} v=e ~ s e v o m i ̄ . ~$
He came up to the palm [and] climbed [it]. [As to] that little mouse, as soon as the dorōnǰ monster came, she saw the mouse was hitting [the bowl with] his tail. She arrived, ate her own child [and] scratched [and] ate that little mouse. [Then] she left in search of her own brother. She left in search of her brother [and] came to the foot of that palm. He was on the top of the palm. She cut down that palm [and] threw [it] away. Her brother jumped forward on the top of the second palm. She cut down that palm with her own teeth [and] he jumped forward onto the third palm.
17. Amahtī tā būv=e avalī berint. Būv=e dovomī=e ke berint sax-an hamā yārū ke der lahar $=a t-e n ~ k a s ̌=e ~ z e n=e ~ z i a ̄ d ~ l a t a ̄ k o t a ̄ ~ \check{s}=a-k e r t . ~ D a ̄ z a n, ~ z e n=e ~ h a m i ̄ ~ y a ̄ r u ̄, ~$ $v e l=e$ kert sax-an. Sax-an dov=eš kert, kakart=eš=o vot-en. Vot-en tā būv=e āx-erī-y = at hālā. İ xūrx hālā $a$-berint $=e$ ke būv ītoč, bey berūt xo ǰū.
[It was] so when she cut down the first palm. When she cut down the second palm, the dogs of the man that were inside his dwelling were moving about a lot nervously beside his wife. The woman, the wife of this very man, released the dogs. The dogs ran, moved rapidly, and arrived [there]. They arrived when he was now on the last palm. This sister was now cutting [through the trunk], so that the palm would fall [and] she would devour her own brother.
18. Sax-an rasent-en. Ba sax-an =e tovār =e kert, dərūh=e, 'Tamām ī j̄ān h=e-ǰ-oht! Šomah fakat do tū pestūn-an xūrx = e men mū-ǰ-oht!' Ba'd a a sax-an xo a-dūnent=eš. Ba'd hamā koll=e lāše-y=e xūrx, xūrx yārū =eš j̄ūt, hama. Fakat do tu pestūn=eš $k a ̄ r ~ n a-d u ̄ t$.
His dogs arrived. He called his dogs [and] said, 'Eat up the whole of her body! You, only the two breasts of my sister, do not eat [them] up!' Then his own dogs were understanding. Then the whole of his sister's body, the sister of this man, they ate it all. Only her two breasts they did not tear off.
19. Pestūn-an = e yārū vāyd, berint, $\bar{a}$ gūše- $y=e ~ n u ̄ t . ~ Y o w ~ p e s t u ̄ n ~ r u ̄ s t ~=e ~ g e r u ̄ t, ~ s ̌ a k a ̄ n t, ~$ berūt=o mūt=o bap=e dar vot-en. Yow pestūn=e ham šakānt, māl=o amvāl=-o zendegī $=\bar{o}=e$ ke heš-at dar tavent, $m a \bar{l}=e$ bap $=e . B a^{\prime} d$ hamā $b a p=o ~ m u ̄ t=e ~ v o t-e n ~$ kaš hamā čok xo, ozrxāhī= eš kert. Ows-e, 'Yamah ne-dūnent =an! Gap to-y = an gōš ne-kert! Ba'd az in ke to row-x-ūx tamām =e māl=o zendegī yamah =e ȳū-x tā āxer rasen-x ba yamah dī=e $\bar{\jmath} \bar{u}-x^{\prime}$.
[Afterwards] he tore away [at] her breasts, cut them [and] placed [them] in that corner [of the field]. [Then] he took one breast, the right one, split [it and] his
brother[s], his mother and father came out. He also split the other breast and [all] the properties and livestock that were [in the past] came out, his father's wealth. Then his father and mother came up beside their own child [and] apologised. [His father] says, 'We did not know [then]! We didn't listen to your words! After you had gone, she has eaten up the whole of our properties and livestock until, in the end, she has got down to devouring us, too'.
20. Ba'd yenan, xo, $\bar{a} x u \bar{r} x=e s ̌ ~ s a x-a n ~ j ̌ u ̄ t=e n ~ \bar{a}$. Yenan daүa nešt-en ba hamā zendegì kert. Xo, mes = e hamā kadim pah-an heš, gōx-an heš. Hama ì meyl à meyl=e $a-k e r t$. Yow nafar $=\bar{o}$ ke zen hamī yārū-y=at ezāfat ba yenan. Ba'd uvert $=e$ zen xo $k a s ̌=e ~ b a ̄ i ̄-o ~ k a ̄ k u ̄ ~ x o . ~ N o w k-a n=o ~ i ̄ a n ~ v o t-e n . ~ D a \gamma a ~ n e s ̌ t-e n ~ b e y ~ z e n d e g i ~ k e r t . ~$ $<\bar{I}$ hekāyat = e men tamām šod.>
Afterwards, well, the dogs ate the sister, that one. Then they stayed to live the same life [as in the past]. Well, as in those old days there were sheep, there were cows. He was setting them all [in] this direction [and] that direction. A person that was the wife of this man [was] an addition to them. Then he took his wife to his [children's] grandfather's and grandmother's place. The grandchildren and these came. Then they stayed there to live.
$<$ My tale came to an end. > (In Persian)

## 5 Glossary

The basic structure of an entry includes the headword followed by part-of-speech labelling between slashes, English translations and, separated by a comma, Standard Persian translations in italics wherever possible (usually unmarked; sometimes Pers[ian] was added to avoid equivocation with South Bashkardi). Headwords comprehend both lexemes and morphemes, which are cross-referenced to their matches in the paragraphs of the text. Cross-references to a paragraph can be followed by additional context in brackets to distinguish different uses of the same lexeme or morpheme within the same paragraph.

Verbs are entered in their past stem followed by their present stem, which is in angle brackets and refers to the first singular person of the indicative present in regular verbs if not otherwise indicated, and this and other persons of the indicative present in case of multiple present stems or for a subset of verbs with overall irregular paradigms (regardless of whether these forms are present or not in the text).

To make the presentation of the lexicon more complete, and as homogeneous as possible, the individual (most usually non-verbal) elements of a compound verb that are not independently found in the text as well as nouns whose usage as prepositions is only found in the text are also added up as entry words with autonomous meaning, whenever their independent forms and primary senses are also attested elsewhere in South Bashkardi. Exceptions are preverbs whose sepa-
rate meaning can only be conjectured (see symbol *). For verb forms quoted with the bracketed segment (-en), see -en ${ }_{2}$. Words in compounds or locutions other than those representing the headword are more closely examined under their respective entries.

Entries with headwords followed by variants in brackets point to free variation and alternative approximate pronunciation, which is not specifically indicated in the transcription of the text.
a /prep/ from, $a z: 5,8,14$; see $a z, b a^{\prime} d$, ey.
a- /v pref/ ind dur marker, forming pres and impf from pres and pst stems, mi-: 1 S pres $a$-deh-īn 12, a-re-īn 8, $a$-zan-īn 8, 15; 3 impf $a$-berint $=e 17$, $a$-bīt $2,6, a$-dərū $=e 2^{2}, a$-dūnent $=e 13, h=a$-j̄ūt $8^{6}$, $a$-kert 20, $h=a$-kert(-en) 7, $a$-rowt 8, 13, $a$-zat $=e 16$, 3P impf $a$-bit-en 2 , $a$-dūnent $=e \check{s} 18, \check{s}=a$-kert $1,17, \check{s}=a$-vāhent 6 ; see $e_{2}$ -
adūt <eydeh-īn> /v/ I give, dādan: 3S pret $h=a d u ̄ t 4$, $=e$ adūt 16, 3P pret adūt(-en) $7^{2}$ [w cl ell].-II light v.—parvareš $\sim$ train: 3S pret parvareš adūt(-en) [w cl ell] 7; šīr ~ /v/ breastfeed, suckle: 3S pret šǐr = e $h=a d \bar{t} t 4 . — v u r \sim / v /$ throw away: 3S pret vur $=e$ adūt 16.—xorāk ~ /v/ feed: xorāk adūt(-en) [w cl ell] 7; see dūt.
a $\gamma \mathbf{a} /$ conj/ if, agar: 3.
-aht /v end/ 2 S pres, -id: rav-aht 5.
ahtī /adv/ so, in this way, in ǰur: 14; syn amahtī.
-ak /n suff/ evaluative marker: 1 referential meaning, dir anaphoric: berūt-ak 8, dek-ak 2, koterk-ak 11, mešk-ak 15 (hamā mešk-ak), 16², $y \bar{a} r u ̄-a k$ 15; 2 diminutive meaning [within an indef context]: dek$a k=\bar{o} 2, m e s ̌ k-a k=\bar{o} 15$.
al'ān /adv/ right now, al'ān: 5, 15; syn ī̌ā, hālā.
amahtī /adv/ so, in this very way, hamin ǰur: 17; syn ahtī.
amvāl see māl.
$=\mathbf{a n} / \mathrm{cl}$ pro/ 1P.-1 ag: = an gōš ne-kert 19.-2 poss, = emān: $x o-y=a n 2$, $x u \overline{n e}-y=$ an 10 , zendegī $=$ an 10.
-an /n and pro suff/ P marker, -ān, -hā: $\bar{a}$-an 6, berūt-an 3, 9, būv-an $14^{2}$, čī-an 8 , dūtūn-an 14, $15^{2}, 16$, ešter-an $2^{2}, 4,10^{2}$, gōx-an 20, heyvūn-an 8 , ī-an 20, koterk-an 2, nowk-an 20, pah-an 10, 20, pestūn-an 18, 19, $\operatorname{sax}$-an $7^{2}, 13^{2}, 17^{3}, 18^{3}$.
asnā /n/ space of time, asnā: 13.
asp /n/ horse, asb: $1,8^{2}, 11,12^{4}, 13^{2}, 14$.
$=\mathbf{a t} / \mathrm{cop} / \mathrm{pst}$ tense, bud: 3S [w Ø end] =at 1, 3, $4^{3}, 9,11,15,16,17$, $20,3 \mathrm{P}=$ at-en $6,7,8,9,14,17 .-3 S$ neg nah $=$ at $6^{2}, 9$; see $-a t,-x-a t$, $n a h=$.
-at /v suff/ formally the same as =at. 1 forming the ppf stem; see - $x$-at and goč-at. $\mathbf{2}$ forming the general pst tense; see heš.
avalī /num adj/ first, avvali: 17.
az /prep/ from, $a z$; see $a$, ey.—ba'd $\sim /$ prep/ after, bảd $a z: ~ 9 . — b a^{\prime} d \sim$ in ke /conj/ after, when, ba'd az in ke:19.
à I /dem adj/ that, those, ān: 6, 8, 9, 14 ( $\bar{a}$ meyl), $16^{5}, 18,20^{2}$.-II /dem pron/ that one, he, him, etc, ān: 14 ( $\bar{a}$ ǰeyn $=e$ zat), 15, 20 (ǰūt=eš $\bar{a}$ ). -P $\bar{a}-a n(P e r s ~ a ̄ n h a ̄): ~ 6 . ~ ↔ i, ~ i ̀-a n ; ~ s e e ~ y e ~(3 S ~ p e r s ~ p r o), ~$ yenan (3P pers pron).
$\bar{a}$-an see $\overline{\text { an }}$.
ābādī /n/ hamlet, ābādi: 1; syn deh.
ābsār /n/ garden, oasis, bāq, vāhe: 13.
ādam $/ \mathrm{n} /$ human being, person, ādam: 3.
āxer /adv/ in the end, āxer: 19.
āxerī /adj/ last, āxeri: 17.
ba /prep/ 1 to, at, on (spatial), be: 7; syn sar (prep 2). $\mathbf{2}$ for, be, barā=ye: 20 (ba hamã zendegi kert). -3 spec dir obj marker: $6^{2}, 8,11,13^{2}, 15^{2}$ (ba to), 19.-4 indir obj marker, to, be: 15 (ba hamā yārū), 20 (ba yenan); see be, bey.
bad /adj/ bad, bad.— ~vot /v/ have hard feelings [w cl pron for indir obj], bad àmadan [az čiz=i or $k a s=i]: 6$.
badbaxt /n/ poor wretch, badbaxt: 15.
ba'd /adv/ afterwards, later, then, ba'd: 1, $2^{3}, 3,4,6^{2}, 7^{2}, 9^{2}, 11^{2}, 12^{2}$, $13^{2}, 14^{2}, 15^{2}, 18^{2}, 19^{2}, 20^{2}$; syn pa.- $\sim a$ or $a z /$ prep/ after, ba'd $a z: 8$ [w a], 9 [w $a z] . — \sim a z$ in $k e / c o n j /$ after, when, $b a^{\prime} d a z$ in ke: 19.
balā $n$ calamity, balā: 10.
balāh /adj/ big, bozorg.— ~bit /v/ grow, bozorg šodan: 3P ppf balāh bī-$x$-at-en 14.
bàle /adv/ all right, yes, bàle: 6; syn honk.
banda xodā [or bande-ye xodā] /n/ poor man, poor woman, bande-ye xodā: 14.
bap /n/ dad, father, bābā, pedar: 2, 6, 9, 19; cpart mūt.— ~ =o mūt /n/ father and mother, parents, pedar-o mādar, vāledeyn: $8^{2}, 9,10^{2}, 19 .-$ $m \bar{u} t=o \sim$ idem: 19.
bar /prev/ *back, bar.—~gohtent /v/ walk back, bar gaštan: 3P pret neg bar ne-goht-en 14.
bāī /n/ grandfather, pedarbozorg: 20; cpart kākū.
bālešt /n/ pillow, bāleš: 3.
bāmard /n/ adult male, man; this (or that) man, mard; felāni: 1, 6; cpart dāzan; syn $m u \bar{s}$, yārū.
be /prep/ 1 to, be: 16; syn. sar (prep 2).—nazdik ~ /prep/ almost, next to, nazdik be: $1 .-2$ with, on (manner), $b e, b \bar{a}: 12^{2}$. -3 spec dir obj marker: 6, 17.-4 indir obj marker, to, be: 5; see ba, bey.
be- /v pref/ formally the same as be, forming pres and pst prog winf and cop: $2 S$ be-dīt = ū 5, 3S be-ǰomānt $=e 11,2 \mathrm{P}$ be-pāyd $=$ oht 6, 3P be-bīt $=$ en 2.
ben $/ \mathrm{n} /$ base, bottom, bon.— $\sim[\mathrm{EZ}] / \mathrm{prep} /$ at the foot of, below, $p \bar{a}=y e$ : 11, 16.
berint <a-ber-īn>/v/ cut, cut down, boridan: 3 S pret $=e$ berint $16^{2}, 17^{2}$, 19; 3S impf $a$-berint $=e 17$.
berūt /n/ brother, barādar: $6,7,8,9^{2}, 12^{3}, 13^{2}, 14,15,16^{3}, 17,19$; cpart $x u \bar{r} x$.
bey /prep/ 1 for [w inf], barā=ye: 14 (bey zat), 20.-2 spec dir obj marker: $9^{2}, 17 .-3$ indir obj marker, to, be: 14 (bey berūt $x o$ ); see $b a$, be.
beyn /n/ interval, space, beyn, fāsele.-ey ~rowt /v/ be destroyed, az beyn raftan: 3P pf ey beyn row-x-en 10; syn xarāb bīt.
bī see bīt.
bīdār /adj/ awake, bidār: 4.— ~ bīt /v/ stay awake, bidār šodan: 3S subj $\sim b i ̄ 3 ; 1 S$ pf bīdār bī-x-īn 5.
bīst /num adj/ twenty, bist: 2, 9.
bīt <1S a-b-īn, 2S a-b-ex, 3S a-bī, 1P a-b-om, 2P a-b-oht, 3P a-b-en > /v/ I, 1 be, become, budan, šōdan: 3S pret bīt 15 (lek būv bīt); 2S pf bī-x-ū $12^{2}$, 3P pf bī-x-en $8 .-2$ be born, be donyā āmadan: 3S pret bīt $2^{3}$; 3S ppf bī-x-at 6, 9.-3 be, happen, ettefāq šodan: 3S pf bī-x 10.-II light v.—balāh ~/v/ grow: 3P ppf bī-x-at-en 14.—bīdār ~/v/ stay awake: 3S subj bī 3.-boland ~ /v/ get up, stand up: 3S pret bīt 4.—dōst $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ be fond: 3S impf $a$-bīt $6 .-g \bar{a} r \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ disappear: 3P impf $a$-bīten 2.—kam ~/v/ be less, be missing: 3S impf $a$-bīt 2, 3P impf $a$-bīt-en 2.—lek $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ climb up: 3S pret bīt 16.—pāk $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ become fine: 3P ppf bī-x-at-en 14.—pū $\sim / v /$ stand up: 3S pret bīt 12 .—upes $\sim / v /$ get pregnant: 3S pret bit $2 .-x a r a \bar{b} \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ be ruined, be wiped out: 3P pf bī-x-en 10.—xwaš~/v/ rejoice: 3S pf. bīt 12. Summary: 3P pres prog be-bīt = en 2; 3S subj bī 3; 3S pret bìt $2^{5}, 4,12,16 ; 3 S$ impf $a$-bīt 2, 6, 3P impf $a$-bīt-en $2^{2}$; $2 \mathrm{~S} \operatorname{pf} b i \bar{i}-x-\bar{u} 12^{2}, 3 S$ pf $b i ̄-x 10,3 P \operatorname{pf} b i ̄-x$-en 8, 10; 3S ppf bī-x-at 6, 9, 3P ppf bī-x-at-en $14^{2}$.
boland I /adj/ high, boland.-II /adv/ aloft, bālā.— ~ bīt /v/ get up, stand up, boland šodan, pā šodan: 3S pret boland bīt 4; syn pū bīt.
būv /n/ date palm, naxl, deraxt-e xormā: 13, $14^{2}, 15,16^{7}, 17^{4}$.
čak [EZ] /prep/ on, upon, ru=ye, bar: 10; syn ru.
čand /indef adj/ some, čand: 7; syn yow (II).
če /int adj/ what, če: $10,15 . — \sim$ towr /int adv/ how, če towr: 8; see towr; see či.
čehm /n/ eye, čašm: 4.
čent <a-čin-īn>/v/ collect, čidan.—kop ~jump forward: 3S pret $k o p=e$ čent $16^{2}$; syn ǐjekent.
či /int pro/ what, če: 10; see če.
čī, čǐz /n/ thing, čiz: 8 (čī-an).—hama ~ /indef pro/ everything, hame čiz:
1 (čiz); see hama.
čǐz see čī.
čok /n/ boy, child, son, bačče, pesar: 5, 19; cpart dek; syn koterk.
čun /conj/ because, since, čun: 6.
čūr /num adj/ four, čahār: 2.
da $\gamma \mathbf{a} / \mathrm{adv} /$ again, then, digar: 4, 12, $20^{2}$; syn dī.
dah /num adj/ ten, dah: 8.
dam [EZ] /prep/ at, to, dam =e: 8; syn kaš.
dar /prev/ *out, dar.—~ pāyd/v/ cast out, get rid of, be dar kardan, birun kardan: 2P pres prog dar be- pāyd =oht 6; 3S pret dar =e pāyd 6, 3P pret $=e s ̌$ dar pāyd 8, 3P pret neg =eš dar ne-pāyd 13; 3P ppf dar $=e$ š pāy-x-at $9 . — \sim$ tavent $/ \mathrm{v} /$ come out, dar āmadan, birun āmadan: 3S pret dar tavent 5, 19.— $\sim$ vot $/ \mathrm{v} /$ come out, birun āmadan, dar ämadan: 3S pret dar vot 15, 3P pret dar vot-en 19.
dar /prep/ in, inside, dar: 13; syn der.
dar $/ \mathrm{n} /$ door, dar: 11.
dā /n/ hand, dast. 5.
dārent $/ \mathrm{v} /$ <a-dār-īn > have, own, possess, dāštan: 3 S pret $=e$ dārent $7^{2}$; syn heš [w cl pron].
dāzan /n/ adult female, woman; this (or that) woman, zan; felāni: $2^{3}, 17$; cpart bāmard; syn zen, yārū.
deh1 /n/ village, deh: 1 ; syn ābādī.
deh2 /adv/ day before, yesterday, diruz: 4.
deh- see dūt.
deh deh /adv/ little by little, gradually, kam kam, be tadrǐ: 2, 7; syn kam kam.
dek /n/ daughter, girl, doxtar: $2^{3}$, 5, 6; cpart čok.
der /n/ 1 heart, del: 12.-2 inner part, inside, darun, dāxel.- ~ [EZ] / prep/ in, into, inside, among (also figuratively), dar, dāxel $=e: 1,3$, $4^{2}, 5^{3}, 8,17$; syn. dar, sar (2).
derāz /adj/ long (lasting), derāz: 7.
dərūh, dərūst <1S a-bes-īn, 3S a-bes-et, ows-e > /v/ say, goftan: 3S pres ows-e $6,12^{3}, 19 ; 3$ pret darūh $=e 3,5,8,10,12,18$, =e daū̄h 14, $15 ; 3 S$ impf $a$-darūh $=e 2^{2}$ [uncertain if ows-e is pres or pst, and if ${ }^{\circ} h$ belongs to the pst stem; see also $-h$ ].
$\operatorname{dim} / \mathrm{n} /$ tail, dom; 15, 16.
dir /adj/ distant, far, dur: 7.
dī /adv/ again, then, digar: 19; syn. daya.
dīt <a-bin-īn> /v/ see, watch, didan: 2 S pres prog be-dīt=ū 5; 2S pret $d \bar{i} t=e t 13,3$ pret $d i \bar{t}=e 4,5,11,16$.
do /num adj / two, do: 2, 7, $12^{2}, 18^{2}$.
dombāl [EZ] /prep/ behind, in search of, dombāl=e: $16^{2} .-\sim[E Z+n]$ rowt /v/ follow, dombäl(=-e kas=i) raftan: 3S pret dombāl=e [...] rowt 4.
dorōny /n/ monster, an imaginary being which is said to manifest itself in the form of a ferocious woman, hayul $\bar{a}=i$ ke xod-rā dar qāleb $=e$ yek

dov $/ \mathrm{n} /$ race, running, dow. $-\sim$ kert /v/ run, davidan: 3S pret dov $=e$ kert $15^{2}$, 3P pret dov=eš kert 17.
dovomī /num adj/ second, dovvomi: 16, 17.
dōst /n/ friend, dust.— ~ bït [be] /v/ be fond [of], dust dāštan [-rā]: 3S impf dōst =eš $a$-bït 6 .
dōš /adv/ last night, dišab: 5.
dum /n/ dawn, dam-e sobh, bāmdād: 4.
dūnā /adj/ brainy, clever, bāhuš, dānā, zerang: 3, $7^{2}$.
dūnent <a-dūn-īn> /v/ know, realize, dānestan: 3 S pret dūnent $=e 11$, 1 P pret neg ne-dūnent=an 19; 3S impf $a$-dūnent $=e$ 13, 3P impf $a$-dūnent $=e s ̌ 18$.
dūt <a-deh-īn> /v/ I give, dādan: 1S pres $a$-deh-īn 12.-II light v.-kār ~/v/ tear off: 3S pret neg kār na-dūt 18.-yāp ~ /v/ give water, water: 1S pres yāp a-deh-īn 12; see adūt.
dūtūn (dǖtūn) /n/ tooth, dandān: 14 15², 16.
$=\mathbf{e}_{1} / \mathrm{cl}$ pro/ 3S. -1 ag: pret $d ə r u ̄ h=e 3,5,8,10,12,18$, $d i \bar{t}=e 4,5,11$, 16 , dūnent $=e 11$, gerū $=e 3,6$, $\mathfrak{u} u t(-e n)=e ~ 9, k e r t=e 7$, kučent $=e 16$, šakānt $=\mathrm{e} 3$, uvert $=e 20$, xāvānt $=e 4, z a t=e 4,14 ; 3$ Sret $[\mathrm{w} \mathrm{cl}$ pron fronting the v$]=e$ adūt $16,=e$ berint $16,=e[\ldots]$ berint $16,19,=e$ čent $16^{2},=e$ dārent $7,8,=e$ darūh $14,15,=e ~ g e r u ̄ t ~ 3, ~ 6,19,=e ~ j ॅ u ̄ t ~ 42, ~$ $5^{2}, 8^{2}, 9^{2}, 14,16^{2}$, =e [...] j̄ūt 13, =e kārent $13,=e$ kert $6,7^{2}, 9^{3}, 11$, $14,15^{4}, 16^{2}, 17,18,=e[\ldots]$ kert 13 , =e nūt $3,19,=e$ pāyd $6,=e$ šakānt $3,=e$ [...] šakānt $19,=e$ vāyd $12,=e[\ldots]$ vāyd $19,=e$ zat 3 , $11,13,14 ; 3 S \mathrm{pf}=e$ yū-x $5^{2}, 11,13,19^{2} ; 3 S \mathrm{ppf}=e$ 兮 $u-x-a t 12$, $=e$ ker-$x$-at 9 , = ešakān-x-at 5; ker-x-at(-en) 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf $a$-berint $=e$ $17, a$-dərūh $=e 2^{2}$, $a$-dūnent $=e 13$, $=e \quad a$-kert $20, a-z a t=e 16$; within a rel context: $=e$ ke berint 17, =e ke heš-at 19, =e ke za-x-at 9.-2 dir/indir functions, $=a \check{\text { s.; }}$ dir ne-šakān-īn $=e 3$; indir šir $=e h=a d u \bar{t} 4$, $d e k-a k=\bar{o}=e 2$, dombāl $=e 4$, hič $=e ~ n e ~ 10, r u-y=e 14 .-3$ poss, $=a \check{\text { : }}$ bap $=e 2,6,19$, $b a p=o \quad m u \bar{t} t=e 9,10,19$, berūt $=e 7,16$, berūt $=o$ $m u ̄ t=o \quad b a p=e 19$, čehm $=\mathrm{e} 4, d e k-a k=e 2$, der $=e 12$, dūtūn- $a n=e 14$, $e s ̌ k \bar{a} l=e 6$, ǰeyn $=e 8, m u \bar{t}=e 4,6, m u \bar{t} t x o-y=e 5, s a x-a n=e 18, x \bar{u} r x=e$ $5,11,12$, zen $=e 17$; within a rel context: hamā lahar $x \bar{u} r x=e k e 14$, koterk $=e$ ke 2, hamā $x u \bar{u} r x=e$ ke 4 ; see $h=$.
$=\mathbf{e}_{2} / \mathrm{EZ} /$ ezāfe, genitive-like particle (alternating w $\emptyset$ ), $=e:$ asp $=e$ to $12^{2}, b u \bar{v}=e$ avalī $17, b u \bar{v}=e ~ a \bar{x} x e r i ̄ 17, b u ̄ v=e ~ d o v o m i ̄ ~ 16, ~ 17, ~ b u ̄ v=e$
sevomī 16, der =e xāv 3, hekāyat=e men $20, k a \check{s}=e ~ b a \bar{u} 20, k a \check{s}=e z e n$ 17, koll $=e ~ l a \bar{a} s ̌-y=e ~ x u ̄ r x 18, m a \bar{l}=e ~ b a p 19, ~ m e s=e ~ h a m a ̄ ~ k a d i ̄ m ~ 20, ~$ nazdīk $=e$ čand sūr 7 , sax-an $=e$ dūnā 7 , šū $=e$ dāzan $2^{2}$, tamām $=e$ i čī-an 8, tamām = e ì māl=o amvāl 11, tamām = e māl=o zendegī 19, zen $=e$ hamī yārū 17, xūrx=e men 18.
$=\mathbf{e}_{3} / \mathrm{cop} / 3 \mathrm{~S}$ pres, $=$ ast: dorōnǰ $=\bar{o}-y=e 5,13$, dorōnǰ $=e 11$; pres prog be-ǰomānt =e 11; see =at (pst).
-e /v end/ 3S pres: ows-e $6,12^{3}, 13,15,19$ [uncertain, see dorūst]; see -et.
e- /v pref/ mod marker, forming subj and imp from pres stem (alternating w Ø), be- (Pers also alternating w Ø): 3S subj e-ǰū 15², e-kī 153; 2S imp e-ken 13, 15, e-zen 18, 2P imp $h=e$-ǰ-oht 18.
$=\mathbf{e n} / \mathrm{cop} / 3 \mathrm{P}$ pres, =and: če towr $=$ en $8, k o ̄ h=$ en $10^{4}$, zende- $y=$ en 8 ; neg neh $=$ en 8 , see neh $=$; pres prog be-bit =en 2.
-en $1_{1} / \mathrm{v}$ end/ 3P pres and pst (vi), -and: pret nešt-en $20^{2}$, resent-en 18, vot-en $17^{2}, 19^{2}, 20$; pf bī-x-en 8,10 , row-x-en 10; ppf bī-x-at-en $14^{2}$, neš- $x$-aten 10; impf $a$-bit-en $2^{2}$; cop pst $=$ at-en $6,7,8,9,14,17$; general pst heš-at-en 1.
$-e n_{2} / v$ end/ 3P w obl function in the pst of vt; dir: 3S pret ǰūt-en $=e 9$, 3S ppf ker-x-at-en $14^{2}$; indir: 3S pret adūt-en $7^{2}$, 3S impf $h=a$-kert-en 7.
$=$ eš /cl pro/ 3P.-1 ag: pret. ǰūt=eš 20, =eš ǰūt 18, kakart =eš 17, =eš kert $6^{2}, 13,17,19,=e s ̌[\ldots]$ na-dūt 18, =eš [...] dar pāyd 8, =eš dar ne- pāyd 13; ppf =eš [...] goč-at 10, dar=eš pāy-x-at 9; impf $a$-dūnent $=e s ̌ 18 .-2$ (dir/)indir obj, =ešān: pf. čī =eš bī-x 10; impf dōst = eš a-bīt 6; pst of exst =eš heš-at 13.-3 poss, = ešān: mahal$l a d=e s ̌ 13, x u \bar{r} x=e s ̌ 11,20$; see $\check{s}=$.
eškāl /n/ problem, eškāl: 6.
ešter $/ \mathrm{n} /$ camel, šotor: $1,2^{5}, 4^{2}, 5^{2}, 6,8^{2}, 10^{2}$.
$=$ et $/ \mathrm{cl}$ pro/ $2 \mathrm{~S} .-1$ ag: pret dit=et $13 .-2$ poss, $=a t:$ asp $=$ et 12 .
-et /v end/ 3S pres, -ad; subj vā̄̌=et 15.
ezāfat /n/ addition, ezāfat, ezāfe: 20.
ey /prep/ from, $a z: 2,10,13$; see $a, a z$.

## eyjekent see ījekent.

fakat /adv/ only, faqat: $18^{2}$.
felān /pro or adj/ so-and-so, such-and-such a place or thing, felān, felān čiz, felān ǰā: 7, 12 [idiolectally restricted in the last senses].
gahvāra /n/ cradle, gahvāre: $4^{2}, 5^{2}, 8,11,12$.
gap /n/ word, utterance, harf: 19.
gār /adj/ disappeared, gom.— ~bīt /v/ disappear, gom šodan: 3P pres prog $g \bar{a} r$ be-bīt = en 2; 3P impf $g \bar{a} r a$-bitten 2.
gerūt, pf stem goč, ppf stem goč-at <a-ger-īn> /v/ grab, seize, take, gereftan: 3S pret gerūt $=e 3,6,=e$ gerūt $3,6,19 ; 3 \mathrm{P} \operatorname{ppf}=e s ̌ \quad[\ldots]$ goč-at 10.
goč-at see gerūt.
gohtent /v/ <a-gard-īn> walk, gaštan.-bar ~ walk back: 3P pret neg bar ne-goht-en 14.
gozašt (Pers) passed $=3$ S pret godarent [not in this text]: 8.
gōš /n/ ear, guš.—~kert /v/ listen, guš dādan: 1P pret neg =an gōš nekert 19; syn. vāšint.
gōx /n/ cow, gāv: 1, 4, $5^{2}, 6,8^{2}, 20$.
gūša /n/ corner, guše: 1.
$\mathbf{h}=/ \mathrm{cl}$ pro $/ 3 \mathrm{~S} .-1 \mathrm{ag}: h=a d u \bar{t} 4, h=a$-jüt $8^{6}, h=a$-kert(-en) 7. $\mathbf{2} \operatorname{dir} \mathrm{obj}$, $=a s ̌: ~ h=e-j$-oht 18 ; see $=e_{1}$.
-h /hi/ glide: ye-h=eš 8, 13 [ $h$ in dorūh also possibly a glide]; see nah=, neh $=$.
haft /num adj/ seven, haft: 1, 6, $13^{2}, 14$.
= ham /adv/ also, too, =ham: 4, 19.
ham /indef pro/ both, ham: 1.
hama I /indef pro/ all, everything, hame: 18, 20; see hič (I).-II /indef adj/ all, hame; syn har, hor; see hič (II).— ~čizz /indef pro/ everything, hame čiz: 1; see čiz.
hamā ${ }_{1} / \mathrm{dem} \mathrm{adj}$ / that (or those) same (or very), hamān: $2,3,4,5,7^{2}, 8$, $10,11^{2}, 13^{3}, 14^{3}, 15^{4}, 16,17,18$ [uncertain, see hama $\bar{a}_{2}$ ], 192, $20^{2}$; cpart hame .
hamā ${ }_{2} / \mathrm{adv} /$ there, in that same (or very) place, hamānj̄ā: der hamā (= in there) 11, 18 [uncertain, see hama $\bar{a}_{1}$; syn hamäjudan. $\leftrightarrow$ hamērd; see hamārd.
hamāǰudan /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, hamānjā: 14; syn hama $\bar{a}_{2}$, hamārd.
hamārd /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, hamānjā: 9, 10, 11, 15; syn hamājudan. $\leftrightarrow$ hamērd; see ham $\bar{a}_{2}$.
hamē /dem pro/ this same (or very) one, hamin: 13. $\leftrightarrow$ hamā1; see hamī [in this text as adj].
hamērd /adv/ here, in this same (or very) place, haminǰā: $12,15 . \leftrightarrow$ hamā, hamārd.
hamī /dem adj/ this (or these) same (or very), hamin: 5, 17, 20; see hame [in this text as pron].
har /indef adj/ every, har: $2,8^{2}, 13$; syn hama (II), hor; see hïč (II).
harakat /n/ movement, harakat.-~ kert /v/ leave, harakat kardan: 3S pret harakat $=e$ kert $15^{2}, 16^{2}$; syn ǰeyn zat.
hašt /num adj/ eight, hašt: 1.
hālā /adv/ now, hālā: 6, 8, 9, 17²; syn al'ān, iǰā.
hālī /adj/ informed, warned, mottale'.—~kert /v/ inform, warn, mottale' kardan, xabar dādan: 3S pret hālī=e kert 6, 13.
hekāyat /n/ tale, hekāyat: 20 [in the final Pers sentence].
heš, pst heš-at /exst/ 1 there is (or are), hast: S/P pres heš $20^{2}$; 3 S pst hešat $10^{2}$, 3P pst heš-at-en 1.-2 have, own, possess [w cl pron in poss function, w or w'out num agreement]: 3 S pst $=e$ heš-at 17, 2, 19, 3P pst $=e$ š heš-at 13 ; syn dārent. $\leftrightarrow$ ne.
heyvūn /n/ animal, heyvān: 8.
hīč I /indef pron/ nothing, hič: 10.-II /indef adj/ no, hič.— ~ ke no one, hič kas: 9.
honk /adv/ all right, yes, bàle: 12, 13; syn bàle.
hor /indef adj/ all, every, hame, har: 14; syn hama, har.
i I /dem adj/ this, these, the, in: $1,2^{3}, 3,5^{3}, 6,8^{3}, 9,10^{5}, 11$, $13^{3}, 14^{2}, 17,18,20^{2}$.-II /dem pro/ this one; he, him, etc, in: 5 (ī dorōnǰ= $=\bar{o}=e$ ), 10 ( $\overline{\text {, }}$ če balā-y =ee).—P ī-an (Pers inhā): 20. $\leftrightarrow \bar{a}$, $\bar{a}-a n$; see ye, yenan.
ì-an see ì.
ījā /adv/ now, this time, in vaqt: 15; syn al'ān, hälā.
ījekent /v/ <eyǰek-īn> jump out, birun J̌astan: 3S pret ǐ̌ekent 4; 3S pf ǐjeken-x 5; 3S impf eyjekent 8 ; syn kop čent.
-inn /v end/ 1S pres and pst (vi), -am: a-deh-in 12, a-re-in 8, 12, a-zan-in 8, 15, ne-šakān-īn 3, ne-kan-īn 3, bī-x-ìn 5.
in (Pers) only in ba'd az in ke /conj/ after, when: 19.
ītavent $<1$ S indic eytav-inn, 3S subj ītoč> /v/ collapse, fall, be zamin oftādan: îtoč 17; syn ivot, tavent.
ītoč see ītavent.
ivot <eyp-īn>/v/ come down, fall (from the upper surface of s'th), päin àmadan, $a z$ sar $=e$ čiz $=i$ oftādan; 3S pf $\bar{i} v o-x$ 10; syn tavent, itavent; see $v o t$.
ǰ- see ǰūt.
ǰādū /n/ magician, ǰādu: 7.
jān /n/ body, badan, tan: 18; syn lāša.
ǰeyn /n/ place, j̄ā: 8; syn mahall.—~zat/v/ flee, leave immediately, farār kardan, az ǰā=i fowri raftan: 2S imp ǰeyn e-zen 15; 3S pret ǰeyn=e zat 14; syn harakat kert.
ǰomānt < a-ǰomān-īn> /v/ rock, ǰombāndan, šik dādan: 3S pres prog bejomānt $=\mathbf{e} 11 ; 2 \mathrm{~S}$ imp ǰomānt 12.
j̄ū see jūūt.
jॅūt (j̄üt) < 1S a-j̄ū-n, 2S a-jॅ-ūx, 3S a-jū, 1P a-jॅ-om, 2P a-jॅ-oht, 3P a-jॅ-en> $/ \mathrm{v}$ / devour, eat, eat up, finish off, xordan: 3 S subj j̄ū $15^{2}, 17$; 2P imp $h=e$-ǰ-oht $18,2 \mathrm{P} \mathrm{imp}$ neg $m \bar{u}$-j-oht 18; 3S pret $=e$ ǰūt $4^{2}, 5^{2}, 8^{2}, 9^{2}$, $14,16^{2}$, =e [...] j̄ūt 13, juūt(-en) =e 9, 3P pret j̄ūt = eš 20 , =eš jūt 18 ;
 jū̄-x see ǰūt.
jū̄-x-at see ǰūt.
k see kert.
kadīm /n/ old days, qadim: 20.
kakart <a-kakarān-īn [uncertain]> /v/ cover a distance with rapidity, move rapidly, tamām masāfat $=i=r a \bar{a}$ be sor'at tey kardan: 3P pret kakart = eš 17 [ $\mathrm{w} \mathrm{cl} \mathrm{pro]}$.
$\mathbf{k a l} / \mathrm{n} /$ hole in the ground, surāx dar zamin: 13.
kaleng / $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{place}$ covered with rubble, rubble, $\bar{a} v a ̄ r: 10$; syn xarāba.
kam /indef adj/ few, little, kam.— ~ bit /v/ be less, be missing, kam šodan: 3S pret kam bīt 2; 3S impf kam a-bīt 2, 3P impf kam a-bit-en 2; see kam kam.
kam kam /adv/ little by little, gradually, kam kam, be tadrǐ: 2; syn deh deh; see kam.
kan see kert.
kaš /n/ flank, side, kenār, pahlu.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ at (or to) s'one's place, beside, kenār $=e$, pahlu $=y$ e: 17, 19, 20; syn dam.
kākū /n/ grandmother, mādarbozorg. 20; cpart bāi.
 kert =e kār 7.-2 take an action, kār kardan, raftār kardan: 2S subj kār e-ken 15.
kār ${ }_{2}$ /prev/ *off.—~dūt /v/ tear off, birun kešidan, kandan: 3S pret neg kār na-dūt 18; syn vāyd.
kārent <a-kār-īn> /v/ plant, kāštan: 3S pret =e kārent 13, kārent=e 13.
kāsa /n/ bowl, kāse, tās: 14, 15; syn tās.
kāšox /n/ spoon, qāšeq: 14.
$\mathbf{k e}_{1} / \mathrm{conj} /$ general complementizer, $k e$ : $\mathbf{1}$ dir speech, that: $a$-dərūh=e [...] ke 2.-2 obj, that: dūnent $=e$ ke [...] 11, $a$-dūnent $=e ~ k e$ [...] 13, vāš-et ke [...] 15.-3 final, in order to, to [w inf], so, so that: ke bīdār bì 3, ke ya'nì sar $=\bar{o} z i ̄ 19$, ke [..] xwan ne-zī 14, ke ba to e-j̄ū 15, ke telengteleng kī 15, ke būv ìtoč 17.-4 temp, until, when: ke ye [...] ījeken-x 5, ke berint 17.-5 dub, if, whether: $k e$ bap $=o$ mūt $=e$ zende-y = en yā na 9.-6 conc, therefore: ke men a-re-in 12.-7 introducing a rel clause: who, which, that, in which, during which, etc, ke: koterk=e ke heš-at 2 , res $=\bar{o}$ ke 2 , xūrx $=e$ ke 4 , čok ke 5 , berūt-ak ke 8 , ba ye-h=eš ke 8 , šeš tū ke 9 , ì berūt=e ke 9 , bap=o men ke 10, ì pah =o ešter-an ke 10, banda xodā-y=ō ke 14 , xūrx $=e$ ke asp =e ȳūt 14, yārū ke 17, māl =o amvāl=o zendegi= $\bar{o}=e$ ke 19, nafar $=\bar{o}$ ke 20; temp meaning, during which, when: asnā-y $=\bar{o}$ ke 13, zaman $=\bar{o}$ ke 14, bū $v=e$ dovom $\bar{i}=e$ ke berint 17; spatial meaning, where: mahall ke 8 , mahall $=\bar{o}$ ke $10 .-b a^{\prime} d a$ or $a z ~ i n ~ \sim ~ / c o n j / ~$ when, after, ba'd az in ke: 19.
$\mathbf{k e}_{2}$ /indef pron/ somebody, one, kas.-hič ~ /indef pron/ no one, hič kas: 9; see hič.
kelenč/n/ finger, angošt: $3^{2}, 5$.
ken see kert.
ker see kert.
kert <1S a-kan-inn, 2S a-ken, 3S a-kī, 1P a-kan-an, 2P a-k-oht, 3P a-kanen >/v/I, 1 do, make, kardan: $3 \mathrm{~S} h=a$-kert 7.2 place, set, gozāštan: 3S impf =e a-kert 20; syn nūt.-II make, render, kardan.-hālī $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ inform, warn: 3S pret $=e$ kert 6, 13.-tamiz $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely): $3 \mathrm{~S} \mathrm{ppf}=e$ ker-x-at(-en) [w cl ell] 14 (tamìz tamizz).—tēz ~/v/ sharpen: 3S subj e-kī $15^{2} .-v e l \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ free, release: 2 S imp e-ken 13; 3 S pret $=e$ kert 17 .-III light v.-dov $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ run: 3 S pret $=e$ kert $15^{2} .-g \bar{o} \bar{s} \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ listen: 1P pret neg $=a n$ [...] ne-kert 19.-harakat ~ /v/ leave: 3S pret $=e$ kert $15^{2}, 16^{2} .-$ hāli $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ inform, warn. $-k \bar{a} r \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ work; take an action: 2 Simp $e$-ken 15; 3S pret kert $=e$.-latākotā $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ move about nervously: 3P impf $\check{s}=a$-kert 17.-ozrxāhī ~ /v/ apologise: 3P pret $=e s ̌ ~ k e r t ~$ 19.-sāhobī $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ take care: $3 \mathrm{~S} \mathrm{ppf}=e$ ker-x-at(-en).-sār $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ have a look: 2P imp $k$-oht 5; 3S pret $=e$ kert 14, 3P pret $=e s ̌ ~ k e r t ~$ $6^{2}$.-šorū $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ begin: 3P pret $=e$ kert 9.-šū $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ get married (to a man), take a husband: 3 S pret $=e$ kert $9^{2} ; 3 \mathrm{Sppf}=e$ ker-x-at.telengteleng $\sim / \mathrm{v}$ / clang, give out a loud sound: 3S subj kī.-tak $\sim$ split in two: 1S subj neg ne-kan-īn.-tovār $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ call: 3 S pret $=e$ kert.-yälläh yälläh ~ /v/ greet, say hello: 3S pret $=e$ kert 11.-zen $\sim / \mathrm{v} /$ get married (to a woman), take a wife: 3 S pret $=e$ kert $7^{2} .-$ zendegi ~ /v/ live: inf kert $20^{2}$. Summary: 1S subj neg ne-kan-in 3, 3 S subj kī 15; 2P imp $k$-oht; 3 S pret $=e$ kert $6,7^{2}, 9^{3}, 11,13,14,15^{4}$, $16^{2}, 17,18$, kert $=e 7,3 \mathrm{P}=$ eš kert 19; 1P pret neg $=$ an [...] ne-kert 19; 3S ppf =e ker-x-at 9, =e ker-x-at(-en) 14, ker-x-at(-en) 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf $h=a$-kert 7, $=e a$-kert 20, 3P impf $\check{s}=a$-kert 1, 17; inf zendegi kert $20^{2}$.
ker-x see kert.
ker-x-at see kert.
kī see kert.
kočak /n/ puppy, baby dog, tulesag: 7.
koll I /n/ whole, koll: 18; syn tamām (I).-II /adj/ whole, all, koll: 9, 10, 13; syn tamām (II, 1).
kop /n/ jump, leap, parě̌.-~ čent /v/ jump forward, paridan be ǰelow: 3S pret $k o p=e$ čent $16^{2}$; syn ǐjekent.
koterk /n/child, bačče: $1,2^{2}, 9,11,14,16$; syn čok.
kōh /int adv/ where, kojā: $10^{4}, 12$.
kučent <a-kuč-īn> /v/ scratch, xāridan: 3S pret kučent $=e 16$.
$\mathbf{k u v} / \mathrm{n} /$ stone of fruit (date, etc), haste $=$ ye xormā $v a \operatorname{amsā}=e \bar{a} n: 13$.
kūčak /adj/ small, young, kuček, ǰavān: 3.
lahar / $\mathrm{n} /$ dwelling, home; also, a traditional hut in Bashāgerd (having an elongated, low and hemisperical beehive-like structure), xāne, manzel; älunak $=e$ sonnati $=\mathrm{e}$ Bašăgerd: 1, $8,14,17$; syn $x u \overline{n a}$.
lard /adv/ outside, birun: 4.
latākotā /n/ nervous excitement, hayajān=e asabi. $-\sim$ kert /v/ move about nervously, in taraf va ān taraf raftan bā hālat=e asabi: 3P pret latākotā- $y=$ eš kert 13; 3P impf latākota $\check{s}=a$-kert 17.
lāša /n/ body, badan, tan: 18; syn j̄ān.
lāše-y- $\infty$ phon lāša $+y$.
lek /adj/ climbing up, bālā-ravande.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (having climbed up s'th), bālā =ye: lek būv bìt 15; see sar (prep 1).—~bït /v/ climb up, bālā raftan: 3S pret lek bït 16.
leng $/ \mathrm{n} /$ leg, paw, leng: $12^{4}$; syn $p \bar{u}$.
mahall $/ \mathrm{n} /$ locality, spot, mahall: $1,10^{2}$; syn jeynn; see mahalla, mahallad.
mahalla /n/ neighbourhood, mahalle, mahallat: 7; syn mahallad; see mahall.
mahallad /n/ neighbourhood, mahalle, mahallat: 13; syn mahalla; see mahall.
māl, P amvāl /n/ property, wealth, māl: $19^{2} .-\sim=o a m v a ̄ l / n /$ idem, $m a \bar{l}=o$ amvāl: 11, 19.
men /pers pro/ 1S, I, me, man: $5^{2}, 6,8,12,14,15,18,20$.
$\operatorname{merg} / \mathrm{n} /$ bird, poultry, parande, morq, morq $=o$ xorus: 1,8 .
mešk /n/ mouse, muš: $15^{2}, 16^{3}$.
meyl $/ \mathrm{n} /$ direction, taraf: 14, $20^{2}$.
mīs /n/ sheep, miš, gusfand $=e$ māde: $1,8$.
mot /adj/ blunt (not sharp), kond: 14.
mū- /v pref/ neg imp marker, ma-: 2P mū-j-oht 18; see na-, ne-.
mūš /n/ man, mard: 1 ; cpart zen; syn bāmard.
mūt $/ \mathrm{n} /$ mother, mādar: $4,5,6,9$; cpart bap; see nena.-bap $=o \sim / \mathrm{n} /$ father and mother, parents, pedar $=o$ mādar, vāledeyn: $8^{2}, 9,10^{2}, 19 .-$ ~ = o bap idem: 19.
na- I /v pref/ neg indic marker, na-: 3S pret na-rowt 3 , =eš [...] kār na-dūt 18; see $m \bar{u}-$-, ne-.-II self-standing with fused hi: 3 S pst cop nah=at $6^{2}, 9$; see neh $=,-h$.
nafar /n/ person, nafar: 20.
nah = at see na-.
narmiakā /adv/ softly, quietly, be narmi, āheste: 4; syn narmī narmī.
narmī narmī /adv/ very softly, very quietly, ārām ārām, āheste āheste: 4;
syn narmiakāa.
nazdīk /adj/ near, nazdik. $\sim$ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, nazdik $=e: 1$, 2, 7.-~ be idem: 1; see nazdīnk.
nazdīnk /adj/ near, nazdik.— $\sim$ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, nazdik $=e$ : 13; see nazdīk.
ne /exst/ neg pres, there is (or are) not: 6,10 [also possibly nē]. $\leftrightarrow$ heš.
ne- I /v pref/ neg marker, na-; 3S pret ne-gohtent 14, 1P pret ne-dūnent=an 19, = an [...] ne-kert 19, 3P pret = eš [...] ne- pāyd; subj: 1S ne-šakānin 3, ne-kan-īn 3, 3 S ne-zī 14; see mū, na-.-II self-standing with fused hi: 3P neg pres cop neh =en 8; see nah $=,-h$.
neh $=$ see ne-.
nen see nešt.
nena /n/ mummy [dir address], māmā: 5 ; see $m u \bar{t}$.
nešt <a-nen-īn/a-nin-īn>/v/ 1 sit down, take a seat, nešastan: 2 Simp nen 12; 3 S pret nešt $14 ; 3 \mathrm{~S}$ pf neš- $x$ 11.-2 stay, māndan: 3 P pret nešten $20^{2}$; 3P ppf neš-x-at-en 10.
nowk /n/grandchild, nave: 20.
nūt <a-nes-om> /v/ place, set, gozāštan: 3S pret =e nūt 3, 19; syn kert (I, 2).
$=\mathbf{o} /$ coord conj/ and, $=o, v a$; connecting more than one n or adj: $b a p=o$
 $\operatorname{derāz}=\bar{o} 7, m a \bar{l}=o \quad a m v a \bar{l} 11, m \bar{a} l=o \quad a m v a \bar{l}=o \quad z e n d e g i ~ 19, ~ m a \bar{a}=o$ zendegi 19, pah=o ešter-an 8 , zen =o mūš 1; yow ester =o yow asp 8 , yow ester $=0$ yow gōx 8 , yow gōx $=0$ yow asp 8 ; connecting clauses: adūt-en=o felān $h=a$-kert-en $7, \operatorname{dov}=e ~ k e r t=o ~ d o v=e ~ k e r t ~ 15, ~$
 an $k o ̄ h=e n=o$ pah-an $k o ̄ h=e n=o \quad x u \overline{n e-y-a n ~[. . .] ~ k o ̄ h=e n ~} 10$, kakart $=e \check{s}=o$ vot-en $17, x \bar{u}=e z a t=o$ sar $=e ~ n u ̄ t ~ 3 . ~$
$=$ oht $/ \mathrm{cop} / 2 \mathrm{P}$ pres, $=i d$ : pres prog be- pāyd $=$ oht 6 .
 $m \bar{u}-\mathrm{j}$-oht 18.
$=\mathbf{o m} / \mathrm{cl}$ pro/ 1S.-1 ag: pf šakān-x-om 5.-2 poss, my, =am: bap=o $m \bar{u} t=o m 8^{2}$, berūt $=o m 12^{3}, 13$.
orāt, pres stem uger <oger-īn > /v/ pick up, bar dāštan: 2 S imp uger 14 .
ows-e see dərūh, dərūst.
ozrxāhī /n/ apology, ozrxāhi.— ~ kert /v/ apologise, ozrxāhi kardan: 3P pret ozrxāhī = eš kert 19.
$=\overline{\mathbf{o}}_{1}$ /indef part/ $\mathbf{1}$ a, one, $=i:$ asp $=\bar{o} 11$, $\bar{a} b \bar{a} d \bar{i}=\bar{o} 1$, bal $\bar{a}-y=\bar{o} 10$, dorōň̄ $=\bar{o} 5$, 13, í kāšox $=\bar{o} 14$, safar [...] derāz $=\bar{o} 7$, sar $=\bar{o} 8$, 9.-2 spec meaning: a, one, a certain, w n preceded by yow, Pers yek $+\mathrm{n}=i$ : yow $+\bar{a} b s a \bar{r}=\bar{o} 13$, deh $=\bar{o} 1$, dek $=\bar{o} 6$, dek-ak $=\bar{o} 2$, kaleng $=\bar{o} 10$, koterk $=\bar{o} 9$, koterk-ak $=\bar{o} 11$, leng $=\bar{o} 12$, mahall $=\bar{o} 1$, mešk $-a k=\bar{o} 15$, nafar $=\bar{o} 20$, safar dir $=\bar{o} 7$, šep $=\bar{o} 3$, xarābe- $y=\bar{o} 10$, $z e n=o m u \bar{s}=\bar{o} 1 .-3$ a single, w n preceded by har, Pers har $+\mathrm{n}=i$ : har res $=\bar{o} 2$, har šep $=\bar{o} 2,8$, har vaxt $=\bar{o} 13$; see har, yow.
$=\overline{\mathbf{o}}_{2} / \mathrm{rel}$ part/ w restrictive meaning, $=i$; $=\bar{o}$ ke: $a s n \bar{a}-y=\bar{o}$ ke 13, mahall $=\bar{o}$ ke 10 , zendeg $\overline{=}=\bar{o}=e ~ k e ~ 19, ~ r e s ~=\bar{o} k e ~ 2, ~ v a x t ~=\bar{o}[w ' o u t ~ k e] ~ 10, ~$ yow banda xodā-y=ō ke 14, yow nafar=ō ke 20, ì zaman=ō ke 14 .
pa /adv/ then, pas: 15; syn ba'd.
pah /n/ goat, boz: 1, 2, 8, 10², 20.
parvareš $/ \mathrm{n} /$ training, parvareš.- ~ adūt $/ \mathrm{v}$ / train, parvareš dādan: 3 S pret parvareš adūt(-en) [w cl ell] 7.
pāyd <a-pāz-īn> /v/ cast, throw, andāxtan.-dar ~ /v/ cast out, get rid of, birun kardan, be dar kardan: inf [forming 2P pres prog] dar bepāyd $=$ oht 6; 3S pret dar $=e$ pāyd 6, 3P pret =eš dar pāyd 8, 3P pret neg =eš dar ne- pāyd 13; 3P ppf dar=eš pāy-x-at 9 .
pāk /adj/ fine, pāk.—~bīt /v/ become fine, pāk šodan: 3P ppf bī-x-at-en [...] pāk14.
pānzdah /num adj/ fifteen, pānzdah: 8, 19.
pāy-x-at see pāyd.
pestūn /n/ breast, tit, pestān: $18^{2}, 19^{3}$.
piāda /adv/ on foot, piāde: 13.
pū /n/ foot, leg, pā; syn leng.— ~bīt /v/ stand up, boland šodan, pā šodan: 3 S pret pū bit 12; syn boland bit.
ra see rowt.
rasent <a-ras-in > /v/ arrive, come up to, get at, residan: 3S pret rasent 16, 3P pret rasent-en 18; 3S pf rasen-x 19; syn vot.
rav see rowt.
re see rowt.
res /n/ day, ruz: $2^{2}$.
rowt <1S a-re-inn, 2S a-re-y-ex, 3S a-rū, 1P a-ra-m, 2P a-rav-aht, 3P a-re-y-en>/v/ go, go away, raftan: 1S pres a-re-in 8, 12; 2 S imp ra $15,2 \mathrm{Pimp}$ rav-aht 5 ; 3 S pret rowt $4^{3}, 5^{2}, 7^{2}, 12,14,3$ pret neg na-rowt 3, 3P pret rowt-en 6; 2S pf row-x-ūx 19, 3S pf row-x 15, 3P pf row-x-en 10; 3 S impf a-rowt 8, 13.-ey beyn $\sim / \mathrm{v}$ / be destroyed: 3P pf row-x-en 10.—dombāl [EZ + n] ~ /v/ follow: 3S pret $\sim=e$ [...] rowt 4.-der [EZ] $x \bar{a} v \sim / \mathrm{v} /$ fall asleep: 3S pret neg $\operatorname{der}=e x \bar{a} v$ na-rowt 3.
ru /n/ face, surface, ru. - ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (the surface of), $r u=y e: 3$, $14^{3}, 15$; syn. čak; see sar (prep 1).
rūst /adj/ right (not left), rāst (motazādd =e čap): 19.
sad /num adj/ hundred, sad: $1^{6}$.
safar /n/ journey, safar: $7^{2}$.
sahargāh /n/ morning, sobh: 5.
sar /n/ 1 head, sar: 3.-2 flying visit, didār=e kutāh.— ~zat /v/ pay a flying visit, sar zadan: 1S pres sar=ō a-zan-īn 8; 3S subj sar $=\bar{o} z i \bar{c}$ $9 .-\sim[\mathrm{EZ}] / \mathrm{prep} / 1$ on (the top of), sar=e, bālā=ye: sar būv $16^{3}$; see lek, ru.-2 at (or to) the head of, in, to, sar =e, dar, be: sar yow $\bar{a} b s a \bar{r}=\bar{o} 13$, sar hamā būv-an 14; syn ba, be, der.
sax /n/ dog, sag: $7^{3}, 13^{2}, 17^{3}, 18^{3}, 20$.
sāhobī /n/ ownership, mālekiyat.— ~kert /v/ take care, mavāzebat kardan, morāqebat kardan: 3S ppf sāhobī=e ker-x-at(-en) 14.
sār /n/ look, negāh.—~kert /v/ have a look, negāh kardan: 2 Simp sār $k$-oht 5; 3S pret $=e$ kert 14, 3P pret $=e \check{~ k e r t ~} 6^{2}$.
se /num adj/ three, se: $2,12$.
selenge /adj/ three-legged, dārā= ye se pā: 12 .
sevomī /num adj/ third, sevvomī: 16.
sovār /adj/ riding, mounted on, savār: 11.
sūr /n/ year, sāl: 7, 82, 9 .
$\check{s}=/ \mathrm{cl}$ pro/ 3P, ag: impf $\check{s}=a$-kert $1, \check{s}=a$-vāhent $6, \check{s}=a$-kert 17; see $=e s ̌$.
šakānt <a-šakān-īn> /v/ break, split; injure, šekastan, šekāf dādan: 1S subj neg ne-šakān-inn 3; 3S pret šakānt=e 3, =e šakānt 3, šakānt $3,19^{2}[\mathrm{w} \mathrm{cl}$ ell]; 1S ppf šakān-x=om 5 [w cl ell], 3P ppf $=e$ šakān- $x=$ at $5,19$.
šep /n/ night, šab: $2,3,8^{2}$.
šeš /num adj/ six, šě̌: 9 .
šīr /n/ milk, šir.—~adūt /v/ breastfeed, suckle, šir dādan: 3S pret šir $=e$ $h=a d \bar{u} t 4$.
šod (Pers) became $=3$ pret bit: 20.
šomah /pers pro/ 2 P , you, šomā: $5,6,18$.
šorū $/ \mathrm{n} /$ beginning, šoru'. $\sim \sim$ kert $/ \mathrm{v} /$ begin, šoru' kardan: 3S pret šorū $=e$ kert 9.
šū (šūu) /n/ husband, šowhar: $2^{2}$; cpart zen (2).—~kert /v/ get married (to a man), take a husband, šowhar kardan: 3S pret $\check{s} \bar{u}=e$ kert $9^{2}$; 3S ppf $\check{s} \bar{u}=e ~ k e r-x$-at 9; cpart zen kert.
tak /n/ half, part, qesmat.- ~ kert /v/ split in two, do qesmat kardan, nesf kardan: 1S subj neg tak nekanīn 3.
talangtalang, telengteleng / n / clang, noise produced by striking metal objects, telengteleng, dangdang. $\sim$ kert /v/ clang, give out a loud sound (like pieces of metal struck together), dangdang (or telengteleng) kardan: telengteleng ki 15.—~ zat /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects, dangdang (or telengteleng) be sedā dar āvordan: inf zat [...] talangtalang 14; 2S imp talangtalang zen 14; 3S pret talangtalang talangtalang zat $=e 14$ [reduplication for emphasis].
tamām I /n/ whole, tamām: 8, 10, 11, 18, 19; syn koll (I).-II /adj/ $\mathbf{1}$ whole, tamām; syn koll (II).-2 complete, having come to an end, tamām: tamām šod (Pers) 20.
tamīz /adj/ beautiful, shapely, qašang, xoštarkib.— ~ kert /v/ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely), qašang kardan, xoštarkib kardan: 3S ppf ker-x-at(-en) tamiz tamiz 14 [reduplication for emphasis].
tavent $<1 \mathrm{~S}$ a-tav-īn, 3 S a-toč> /v/ $\mathbf{1}$ fall, oftādan; syn īvot, îtavent.-2 sleep, xābidan: 3S pret tavent 4.-dar ~ /v/ come out, birun āmadan, dar āmadan: 3S pret dar tavent 5, 19; syn dar vot; see ittavent.
tā I /prep/ for, until, up to, tā: 2, 4, 7, 15 ( $t \bar{a} \bar{i} \bar{j} \bar{a})$.-II /conj/ as soon as, until, until when, when, $t \bar{a}: 8,12,15$ ( $t \bar{a} l e k ~ b u ̄ v ~ b i t t), 16,17^{2}, 19$.
tās /n/ bowl, kāse, tās: 14; syn kāsa.

## telengteleng see talangtalang.

-ter /comp and sup suff/ more, most, -tar, -tarin: kūčak-ter 3.
tēz /adj/ sharpened, tiz, nowktiz.—~ kert/v/ sharpen, tiz kardan: 3S subj tēzz e-kī $15^{2}$.
tī $\gamma / \mathrm{n} /$ blade (sharp edge of knife), tiq: 3.
to /pers pro/ 2 S , you, to: $5,12^{3}, 13^{2}, 15^{5}, 19$.
tovār $/ \mathrm{n} /$ call, voice, sedā.— ~ kert /v/ call, sedā kardan, sedā zadan: 3S pret tovār $=e$ kert 18.
towr /n/ manner, towr.-če ~ /int adv/ how, če towr: 8; see če.
tū I /class/ num class for humans, animals and things understood as concrete, $t \bar{a}: 1^{7}, 2^{5}, 3,6,7,13^{2}, 18^{2}$.-II /num pro/ one (or two, or three, etc) of a series in the partitive phrase, tā̆: yow $t \bar{u} 2^{2}, \bar{a} \check{s} e \check{~ s ̌ u} 9$, hor haft tū 14.
uger see orāt.
upes /adj/ pregnant, hāmele.— ~bit /v/ get pregnant, hāmele šodan: 3S pret upes bit 2 .
uvert <ovor-īn> /v/ bring, āvordan: 3S pret uvert=e 20.
$=\overline{\mathbf{u}},=\overline{\mathbf{u}} \mathbf{x}, / \mathrm{cop} / 2 \mathrm{~S}$ pres, $=i:$ [hamerd] $=\bar{u} x 15$; [forming 2 S pres prog] $b e-d i t=\bar{u} 5$.
$-\bar{u},-\bar{u} x / v$ end/ formally the same as $=\bar{u},=\bar{u} x, 2 \mathrm{~S}$ pres and pst (vi), $-i: b \bar{i}-$ $x-\bar{u} 12^{2}$, vo-x-u 13 , row- $x-\bar{u} x 19$.
vaxt / $\mathrm{n} /$ time, vaqt: 10, 13; syn zamān.
vaz / $\mathrm{n} /$ condition, $v a z$ : 1 .
vāhent $<1 \mathrm{~S}$ a-vāh=om, 2 S a-vāh=et, 3 S a-vāh=e, 1 P a-vāh=an, 2P $\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{vāh}=\mathrm{oht}, 3 \mathrm{P} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{vāh}=\mathrm{eš}$ [pres tense built w a cl pron] $>/ \mathrm{v} / 1$ want, xāstan.-2 love, mahabbat kardan: 3P impf $\check{s}=a-v a ̄ h e n t ~ 6 . ~$
vāyd <a-vāz-īn> /v/ tear apart, az ham ǰodā kardan: 3S pret asp=e vāyd 12; syn kār dūt.
vāšint <a-vāš-in> /v/ hear, šenidan: 3S subj vāšet 15; syn. gōš kert.
vel /adj/ free, released, vel.— ~ kert /v/ free, release, vel kardan: 2S imp vel e-ken 13; 3S pret vel=e kert 17.
vot $<1 \mathrm{~S}$ a-p-īn, 2S a-p-ex, 3S a-pī, 1P a-p-om, 2P a-p-oht, 3P a-p-en > /v/ arrive, come, come in, ämadan: 3S pret vot $4,6,9,10,11^{3}, 12,14$, $15^{2}, 16^{3}, 3 \mathrm{P}$ pret vot-en $17^{2}, 19^{2}, 20 ; 3 \mathrm{~S}$ pf vo-x $12^{2}$; syn rasent.-dar ~/v/ come out, dar āmadan, birun āmadan: 3S pret dar vot 15, 3P pret dar vot-en 19; syn dar tavent.-bad ~ /v/ dislike, bad āmadan: 3S pret bad $=e[=3 \mathrm{~S}$ cl pron] vot 6 ; see ivot.

## vo-x see vot.

vur /prev/ *away (from subject), dur.— ~adūt /v/ throw away, dur andāxtan: 3S pret $v u r=e$ adūt 16.
$-\mathrm{x} / \mathrm{v}$ suff/ forming the pf stem [after elision of ${ }^{\circ} t$ in the pst stem]: 1S $b i$ i-x-in 5, šakān-x-om 5, 2S bī-x-ū 12, row-x-ūx 19, vo-x-ū 13, 3S [w Ø end]
 sen-x 19, row-x 15, vo-x 12 ${ }^{2}$, 3P bī-x-en 8, 10, row-x-en 10; see $-x$-at.
-x-at /v suff/ forming the ppf stem [after elision of ${ }^{\circ} t$ in the pst stem]: 3 S bī-x-at 6, 9, =e $\bar{\jmath} u-x$-at 12, $=e ~ k e r-x-a t ~ 9, ~ k e r-x-a t(-e n) ~ 14, ~=e ~ k e r-x-~$ at(-en) 14, =e šakān-x-at 5, za-x-at 9, 3P bī-x-at-en 142, neš-x-at-en 10 , = eš pāy-x-at 9 ; see $-x$, -at.
xarāb /adj/ ruined, wiped out, xarāb.— ~ bitt /v/ be ruined, be wiped out, xarāb šodan: 3P pf xarāb bī-x-en 10; syn ey beyn rowt.
xarāba $/ \mathrm{n} /$ place covered with ruins, ruins, xarābe: 10; syn kaleng.
xarābe-y $\infty$ phon xarāba $+y$.
xāv /n/ sleep, xāb.-der [EZ] ~ rowt /v/ fall asleep, [be] xāb raftan: 3S pret neg der $=e$ xāv na-rowt 3 ; see rowt.
xèylō /adv/ a lot, very, xèyli: 1, 6; syn ziād.
xo $_{1} /$ refl pron/ 1 mine, yours, his, etc, xod: $3^{2}, 5,9,13,15,16,17,18$, 19, 20 [usually enclitic]. 2 marking identity w cl pro: myself, my own, etc, xod: $x o-y=e$ [w $3 S \mathrm{cl}$ pro] $3,5^{2}, 6,9^{2}, 13,16,14, x o-y=a n$ [w 1P cl pro] 2.
$\mathbf{x o}_{2}$ see xob
xob I /adj/ good, xub, xob: 1.-II also xo /intj/ well, nice, xob: xob 3, xo $20^{2}$.
xodā-yā /intj/ oh God, xodā-yā: 10.
xorāk /n/ food, xorāk.- ~adūt /v/ feed, xorāk dādan: 3S pret xorāk adūt(-en) [w cl ell] 7.
xāvānt <a-xāv-īn>/v/ put to sleep, xābāndan: 3 S pret. $x a \bar{a} v a ̄ n t=e 4$.
xoy [EZ] /prep/ by means of, with (instrument and company), $b \bar{a}$, be $v a$ sile $=y e: 3,11,15,16$.
xū /n/ salt, namak: 3.
xūna / $\mathrm{n} /$ dwelling, home, xāne, manzel: 10; syn lahar.
xūne-y $\infty$ phon xuna $+y$.
xūrx $/ \mathrm{n} /$ sister, xāhar: $4,5^{2}, 8,11^{2}, 12,14,17,18^{3}, 20$; cpart berūt.
xwan /n/ crying, weeping, gerye.—~zat /v/ cry, weep, gerye kardan: 3S subj neg xwan ne-zi 14; 3 S pret zat=e xwan 4.
xwaš /adj/ joyful, xoš.—~bīt /v/ rejoice, xoš šodan: 3S pret xwaš bīt 12. y /hi/ glide: asn $\bar{a}-y=\bar{o} 13$, balā- $y=\bar{o} 10$, banda $x o d \bar{a}-y=\bar{o} 14$, dūnā- $y=a t$ 3, dūn $\bar{a}-y=a t-e n ~ 7, ~ l a t a ̄ k o t a ̄-y=e s ̌ ~ 13 ; ~ g u ̄ s ̌ e-y=e ~ 19, ~ l a ̄ s ̌ e-y=e ~ 18, ~$ xune- $y=a m 10$, zende $-y=$ en $9 ;$ äxeri- $y=$ at 17 ; to- $y=a n 19, x o-y=a n$ $2, x o-y=e 3,5^{2}, 6,9^{2}, 13,16,14 ;$ dorōnǰ $=\bar{o}-y=$ at 9 , dorōn $\check{=}=\bar{o}-y=e$ 5; $r u-y=e ~ 14 ; ~ y \bar{r} r \bar{u}-y=$ at 20.
yamah /pers pro/ 1P, we, us, mā: 5, 193.
ya'nī /adv/ namely, in other words, ya'nī: 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15.
yāllāh /intj/ greeting, hello (said upon entering s'one's home), yāllāh, yā allāh. $-\sim \sim$ idem. $-\sim \sim$ kert /v/ greet, say hello (upon entering s'one's home), yāllāh yālläh kardan: 3S pret yāllāh yāllāh $=e$ kert 11 .
yāp /n/ water, āb.—~dūt /v/ give water, water, āb dādan: 1S pres yāp $a-d e h-i n 12$.
yārū $/ \mathrm{n} /$ the one spoken about, this (or that) man, this (or that) woman, yāru: $15^{2}, 17^{2}, 18,19,20$; syn bāmard, dāzan.
ye /pers pro/ 3S, he, she, it, him, her, it, $u: 4,5,8,11^{2}, 13^{2}, 14^{2}, 15,16$; see $\mathbf{i}$, yenan.
yenan /pers pro/ 3P, they, them, išān, ānhā: 1, 10, 11, 203; see $\bar{a}-a n, i-a n, ~ y e . ~$
yow I /num adj/ one, yek: yow, do tū sax 7 , yow ešter 6 , yow gōx 6 , yow pestūn 19², yow šū $9^{2}$.-yow tū [partitive], one of: $2^{2}$, 3.-II /indef adj/ some, čand: yow hašt tū koterk 1, yow dah sūr 8; syn čand.-III / indef art/ a, an, yek: $4^{2}, 8^{6} ; 9^{2}$; also wn followed by $=\bar{o}_{1}: 1^{3}, 2,3,6$, $7,9,11,12,13,14,15,20$.
zamān /n/ time, zaman: 14; syn vaxt.
zan see zat.
zat <1S a-zan-īn, 2S a-zen, 3S a-zī S, 1P a-z-om, 2P a-z-oht, 3P a-zanen >: /v/ I 1 beat, hit, strike, zadan: 1S pres $a-z a n-i n n 15 ; 3 S$ pret. zat 6 [w cl ell]; 3S impf. $a-z a t=e$ 16. -2 knock, zadan: $=e$ zat 11. -3 dig, kandan: 3 pret $=e$ zat 13 .-II light v.-ǰeyn $\sim / \mathrm{v}$ / flee, leave immediately: 2S imp ǰeyn e-zen 15; 3S pret ǰeyn=e zat 14; syn harakat kert.-sar ~/v/ pay a flying visit: 1S pres sar =ō azanīn 8; 3S subj sar-ō zi 9.-talangtalang ~ /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects: inf zat [...] talangtalang 14; 2 S imp talangtalang zen 14 ; 3 pret talangtalang talangtalang zat $=e 14 .-x w a n \sim / v /$ cry, weep: 3 S pret zat-e xwan 4 . Summary: inf zat 10; 1S pres. a-zan-īn 15; 2 Simp zen 14, e-zen 15; 3S subj zī 9; 3S pret zat 6 [ $\mathrm{w} \mathrm{cl} \mathrm{ell]}, \mathrm{=} \mathrm{e} \mathrm{zat}$ $11,13,14, z a t=e 4,14 ; 3 S$ impf $a-z a t=e 16$.
zen see zat.
zen /n/ 1 woman, zan: 1 ; cpart müš; syn dāzan.-2 wife, zan: 13, $17^{2}, 20^{2}$; cpart sūu. - ~kert /v/ get married (to a woman), take a wife, zan gereftan: 3S pret zen $=e$ kert $7^{2}$; cpart šū kert.
zenda /adj/ alive, zende: 8,9 .
zende-y $\infty$ phon zenda $+y$.
zendegī /n/ 1 life, zendegi.—~kert /v/ live, zendegi kardan: inf zendegi kert $20^{2} ; 3 \mathrm{P}$ impf zendegi $\check{s}=a$-kert $1 .-2$ livestock, dām, heyvānāt $=e$ ahli: 10, 11, $19^{2}$.
ziād /adv/ a lot, very, ziād: 7, 17; syn xèylō.
zīl /adj/ wide-open; lit, kāmelan bāz; barrāq: 4.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Funding

Research on Bashkardi was funded by the 'Endangered Languages Documentation Programme', Department of Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2007-2009 (award reference number ELDP IPF0126/SOAS 9480 EP25), while I was a Hans Rausing Postodoctoral Fellow in Language Documentation and Description. I would like to thank Salman Aliyari Babolghani, Maurizio Borriello, Marco Fattori, Daniele Guizzo, Agnes Korn, Jahanbakhsh Looragi, and Adriano V. Rossi for their constructive comments on some drafts of this paper. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading and valuable suggestions. A special thank you goes to Mahmoud Mahmoudi, who recently helped me to manage some linguistic elements of the text.

## ORCID

Gerardo Barbera © https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8160-628X

## Symbols and abbreviations

| $\sim$ | replace tilde with headword | ell | ellipsis |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\leftrightarrow$ | opposite | end | ending |
| $*$ | ad hoc working meaning for | exst | existential |
|  | non-autonomous words | EZ | ezāfe |
| $\infty$ | juncture | fin | final |
| - | segmentable morphemes | hi | hiatus filler |
| $=$ | clitic boundaries | imp | imperative |
| adj | adjective | impf | imperfect |
| adv | adverb | indef | indefinite |
| ag | agent-subject indexer | indic | indicative |
| art | article | indir | indirect |
| cl | clitic | inf | infinitive |
| class | classifier | int | interrogative |
| coord | coordinating | intj | interjection |
| conc | conclusive | lit | literally |
| conj | conjunction | mod | modal |
| cop | copula | n | noun, nominal |
| cpart | counterpart | neg | negative |
| dem | demonstrative | num | numeral, numerative |
| dir | direct | obj | object, objective |
| dub | dubitative | obl | oblique |
| dur | durative | P | plural |


| part | particle | rel | relative |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pc | pronominal clitic | S | singular |
| pers | personal | s | some |
| Pers | Persian | spec | specific |
| poss | possessive | s'th | something |
| pf | perfect | subj | subjunctive |
| phon | phonetic | suff | suffix |
| ppf | pluperfect | sup | superlative |
| predic | predicate | syn | synonym or near-synonym |
| pref | prefix | temp | temporal |
| prep | preposition | th | thing |
| pres | present | v | verb, verbal |
| pret | preterit | vi | intransitive verb |
| prev | preverb | vt | transitive verb |
| pro | pronoun, pronominal | w | with |
| prog | progressive | wout | without |
| pst | past | $1,2,3$ | first, second, third person |
| refl | reflexive |  |  |

## References

Aarne, Antti, and Stith Thompson. 1961. The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography. 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
Barbera, Gerardo. 2015. An Archive of Language and Folk Literature from the Bashkardi People of Garu (Hormozgān, Iran). Endangered Languages Archive. Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Accessed 16 April 2023.
Barbera, Gerardo. 2021. 'Bashkardi and the Languages of Southeast Iran’. Paper presented at the Ninth International Conference on Iranian Linguistics, Institute of Iranian Studies, Vienna, 19 August 2021.
Barbera, Gerardo. Forthcoming. 'Language and Folk Literature in the Bashkardi Borderlands'.
Borjian, Habib. 2017. 'Kerman, xvi. Languages'. Encyclopæedia Iranica 16 (3): 301-315.
Gershevitch, Ilya. 1970. 'The Crushing of the Third Singular Present'. In W. B. Henning Memorial Volume, edited by Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch, 161-174. London: Lund Humphries.
Gershevitch, Ilya. 1992. 'Linguistic Geography and Historical Linguistics'. In La posizione attuale della linguistica storica nell'ambito delle discipline linguistiche. Atti del Convegno Lincei, Roma 26-28 marzo 1991, 165-181. Atti Convegni Lincei 94. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
Government of India. 1910. Gazetteer of Persia: Volume 4 [ = Military Report on Southeast Iran]. Simla: Government Monotype Press.
Haig, Geoffrey. 2017. 'Deconstructing Iranian Ergativity'. In The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity, edited by Jessica Coon, Diane Massam, and Lisa deMena Travis, 465-500. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Jügel, Thomas. 2009. ‘Ergative Remnants in Sorani Kurdish?’. Orientalia Suecana 58: 142-158.
Korn, Agnes. 2017. 'Notes on the Nominal System of Bashkardi'. Transactions of the Philological Society 115 (1): 79-97.
Korn, Agnes. 2021a. 'Greeting a Guest in Bashkardi'. Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştrmalar. Special Edition 1: 301-323.

Korn, Agnes. 2021b. 'A Bashkardi Version of the Chain Tale ATU 2034: The Jackal Retrieves His Tail'. Rodnoy Yazyk 2021 (1): 368-383.
Korn, Agnes. 2022. 'Areal Features in the Languages of South Iran: Focus on Balochi and Baskhardi'. Paper presented at Iranian Languages and Linguistics Lecture Series, University of Toronto, 25 March 2022. Accessed 16 April 2023. https://halshs.archives-ou-vertes.fr/halshs-03622909/document.
Loeffler-Friedl, Erika. 2007. Folk Tales from a Persian Tribe: Forty-Five Tales from Sisakht in Luri and English. Collected, Transcribed, Translated, Commented. Contributions to the Cultural History of the Islamic Orient 37. Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde.
Marzolph, Ulrich. 1984. Typologie des persischen Volksmärchens. Beiruter Texte und Studien 31. Beirut and Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Morgenstierne, Georg. 1962. 'Iranian Feminines in či'. In Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown, edited by Ernest Bender, 160-164. American Oriental Series 47. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
Morgenstierne, Georg. 1973. Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages: Volume 3. The Pashai Language: Part 2. Texts and Translations. With Comparative Notes on Pashai Folktales by Reidar Th. Christiansen. 2nd ed. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie B: Skrifter 40. Oslo, Bergen, and Tromsö: Universitetsvorlaget.
National Geographic Organization of the Iranian Armed Forces. 2004 (1383). Farhang-e jogrāfiāi-ye ābādihā-ye ostān-e Hormozgān: Šahrestān-e Mināb. Tehrān: Vezārat-e defā’ va poštibāni-ye niruhā-ye mosallah.
Schenda, Rudolf. 1979. 'Brust, Brüste'. In Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung: Volume 2, edited by Kurt Ranke, cols. 957-963. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
Skjærvø, Prods O. 1988. ‘Baškardì'. Encyclopæedia Iranica 3 (8): 846-850.
Skjærvø, Prods O. 1989. 'Languages of Southeast Iran: Lārestānī, Kumzārī, Baškardī'. In Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum, edited by Rüdiger Schmitt, 363-369. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
Spooner, Brian. 1988. ‘Bašākerd'. Encyclopæedia Iranica 3 (8): 841-843.
Statistical Centre of Iran. 2013 (1392). Sālnāme-ye āmāri-ye ostān-e Hormozgān, 1391. Tehrān and Bandar Abbās: Edāre-ye koll-e sabt-e ahvāl-e šahrestān-e Hormozgān.
Thompson, Stith. 1955-1958. Motif-Index of Folk Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends, revised and enlarged ed., 6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Uther, Hans-Jörg. 2004. The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. 3 vols. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
Vahman, Fereydun. 1986. Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian 'Divina Commedia'. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 53. London and Malmo: Curzon Press.
Voskanian, Vardan, and Vahe Boyajian-Sureniants. 2007. 'Lexical Gleanings from Bašākard'. Iran and the Caucasus 11 (1): 121-125.
Wichmann, Søren, Eric W. Holman, and Cecil H. Brown. 2020. The ASJP Database. Accessed 16 Aril 2023. https://asjp.clld.org/.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The form 'Bashkard' is local and has the same range of uses as the official 'Bashāgerd', which is based on 'Bashākerd' or 'Bashākard', a toponym of uncertain origin. This latter, however, is generally considered to be 'wrong' by my local consultants. Note also that 'Bashkardi', a derivative noun or adjective, may refer to both the geographical entity 'Bashkard' and the people, dialects and cultures of the same region.
    ${ }^{2}$ The juncture area between these two ranges or even the whole of the Western Bashāgerd mountains is probably what has often been referred to in western scholarly works as the 'Mārz range'. In modern geographic terminology, Mārz is a rural agglomeration (dehestān)

[^1]:    ${ }^{8}$ Aspects of the Bashkardi nominal system, including number markedness, marking of objects and direction, and possessive constructions were examined in Korn (2017). For more information on South Bashkardi morphosyntax, see Barbera (forthcoming).

[^2]:    ${ }^{9}$ Regular ending: -et.

[^3]:    ${ }^{10}$ Note that in adūt, $a^{\circ}$ belongs to the stem. It is not the indicative durative marker $a$-.
    ${ }^{11}$ And not 'I was eating a mosquito' as one would get impressionistically from an Iranian language; note 'mosquito' also possibly in a hanging-topic position. A situation similar to the Bashkardi one, implying change of function in the personal markers (pronominal clitics and endings), can be found in Sorani Kurdish; see Jügel (2009: 155), for an explanation. For divergences between Sorani Kurdish and South Bashkardi, see Barbera (forthcoming). In South Bashkardi, pronominal clitics referring to the agent of a transitive verb in the past domain must be systematically used (as happens in the Minābi dialect), with only very few exceptions found in my documentation (wherein, for example, there can be found clitic ellipsis in cases in which the clitic is attached to the past stem of the first or the last verb in a sequence of transitive verbs). As far as North Bashkardi is concerned, Korn (2021a: 304) is more cautious about the exclusive usage of pronominal clitics as agent markers in past tenses of transitive verbs (also probably on the basis of the cases found in the text analysed in Korn [2021b]). Note that, according to Haig (2017: 482), in describing Sorani Kurdish alignment the use of terms such as 'ergative' or 'accusative' are of no importance from a theoretical point of view, even though in his analysis an 'ergative' labelling is preferable.

[^4]:    ${ }^{12}$ Ethnolinguistic information regarding Mr. B. Mirshekāri: exposed to first language, Molkigāl Bashkardi, from birth; exposed to second language, Persian, at school, at work, and through the mass media; ethnicity: Bashkardi, Bandari, Iranian; education: up to high school; language under investigation: Molkigāl Bashkardi (Garu'i), spoken fluently as first language, language of ethnic identification, used at home, in the neighbourhood, with friends and other members of the same ethnolinguistic group.
    ${ }^{13}$ A second trip to Garu was not authorised at SOAS, London, as it would unfortunately have coincided with the period of turmoil following the re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2009.
    ${ }^{14}$ This text, in particular, was archived with the following identification marks: molkigal-barbera-0389 B1, bundle name 'The dorōny monster', molki_texts005, narrator Bejār Mirshekāri, place Garu, Hormozgān, Iran. It was recorded with a Marantz PMD671 audio recorder and an Audio-Technica AT 825 microphone that had been loaned from ELAR. The combination of these two (otherwise excellent) equipment tools did not prove to be particularly helpful on that occasion. Mr. B. Mirshekāri also helped in the transcription process and with the Persian translation. In March 2022, Mahmoud Mahmoudi received via Whatsapp a copy of the transcribed Bashkardi text. He should have recorded his own reading of the transcription, conforming to his own sub-dialect, but detaching himself from the original as little as possible (e.g. if he happened to be unaware of a particular expression). Mahmoud sent me his recording one month later and then, though in a too syncopated manner, we began to discuss various issues, especially as regards pronunciation.
    ${ }^{15}$ Referred to in the text as dorōnj, see § 5, Glossary, sub voce. As regards the origin of this word, Marco Fattori (personal communication) has suggested, only preliminarily and with lots of caution, an intriguing etymology, by pointing to a Middle Iranian type *darrāny̌, possibly < Old Iranian *darna-ānačī-, literally 'she who tears', derived < dar- 'to tear, tear to pieces, split', and the well-attested feminine suffix found in New Eastern Iranian languages, for which see Morgenstierne (1962). The $o$ in the first syllable is, according to this scholar, perhaps explained as an obscuration of * $a$ in a closed syllable; see Skjærvø (1988: 847) ('Vowels').

[^5]:    ${ }^{16}$ Here, at this point, there is the following alternative content: 'At a king's court every night someone devours horses. The elder princes who keep watch fail, but the youngest shoots the monster. He recognizes his baby sister as the cannibal because one of her fingers has been shot off. The youth is driven away [as a liar] or flees [sometimes together with his mother or elder sister]'. See Uther (2004 1: 203).
    ${ }^{17}$ See Marzolph (1984: 70-71) for variations with respect to the basic summary. There does not seem to be any geographically significant distribution of themes and motifs, as

[^6]:    texts from the same area sometimes appear to display greater differences between each other than each of them does with respect to texts from other areas. Life tokens are present in most of these versions, such as falling stones and rotting oranges (in texts from Māzanderān), water becoming blood or milk becoming blood (in texts from Khorāsān and Markazi respectively). Marzolph (1984: 71) provides an additional final episode (found in both texts from Māzanderān and the ones from Boyer Ahmad and Markazi) involving a leaf, or something similar, having grown out of a drop of blood, which will help the brother to become rich in one way or another.
    ${ }^{18}$ Note also the 'Comparative notes on Pashai folklore' by the Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen apud Morgenstierne (1973: xviii-xxviii), especially on pp. xix-xxi. Christiansen ascribes the folktale to 'The magic flight'. This corresponds to ATU 313 and also stands as one of the combinatory versions of ATU 315A; see Uther (2004 1: 194-197, 203). It was previously considered as being an episode (or motif) of [AT] 315A in Aarne and Thompson (1961: 310-311), where it referred to the fact that the brother flees, leaving behind objects that slow down or prevent his sister's pursuit. In the South Bashkardi

[^7]:    version, as well as in many other versions, there is no magic flight (the brother finds refuge from his sister climbing up seven palm trees in succession, which he had himself previously planted).
    ${ }^{19}$ Termed as Tagau version, i.e. from Laurōowan in the Kauṭī district in the upper Tagau valley, northeast of Kabul; see Morgenstierne (1973: ix).

[^8]:    ${ }^{20}$ Transcription from min. 00.18 of recording; what precedes in the audio file is as follows: hekāyat, hamā kesse- $y=e$ be in sūrat $=e$ ke yow xānevāde $-y=\bar{o}$ heš '(this is) a story, the tale that there is a certain family'. As I am dealing with a veritable unknown language, the English translation of the text will be mostly a literal translation of it, even at the sacrifice of elegance and modern English usage. The glossary is detailed enough to compensate for any loss of information when the translation becomes rather free.

[^9]:    ${ }^{21}$ In § 3, it was said it was a 'finger'.

[^10]:    ${ }^{22}$ The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolectal ellipsis of čizz 'thing', i.e. as felān [čiz] $h=a$-kert-en. See fn. 24.
    ${ }^{23}$ Translation uncertain. Another possibility is 'she married one that was a no-one', i.e. a man of no importance.

[^11]:    ${ }^{24}$ Lit. 'have you been such-and-such (or so-and-so)?' The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolecal ellipsis of $\check{j a}$, i.e. as felān $[\bar{j} \overline{]}] b i \bar{i}-x-\bar{u}$ ?, therefore meaning 'have you been [in] such-and-such [a place]?' See fn. 22.

