

Bamberg Studies in Kurdish Linguistics 2

Sara Belelli

The Laki variety of Harsin

Grammar, texts, lexicon



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Foreword

Southern Kurdish, with its multiple varieties and disputed boundaries, remains the least well-researched group within the traditional tripartite classification of ‘Kurdish’. Sara Belelli’s rich documentation of Harsini Laki constitutes a highly significant contribution to a better understanding of the complex relationship between Southern Kurdish and the Laki group, and will be welcomed by Kurdologists, Iranianists, and all scholars interested in the rich ethno-linguistic heritage of the region. In accordance with our aim of ensuring maximum accessibility and accountability of linguistic data, the original texts and sound files included in this book are being made available as part of the Multi-CAST portfolio of language resources hosted at the Department of General Linguistics in Bamberg:

<https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/kurdish/#laki>

Sara Belelli’s association with the Department of General Linguistics in Bamberg goes back many years, and we are very proud to be able to include her study as number two of *Bamberg Studies in Kurdish Linguistics*. We would also take the opportunity of thanking the staff at University of Bamberg Press for handling the manuscript and the providing the technical infrastructure for the online publication.

Bamberg, September 2021

Geoffrey Haig, editor-in-chief of *BSKL*

Acknowledgements

The present book is a revised and updated version of my Ph.D. dissertation entitled “*A Study on Language and Folklore in the City of Harsin (Kermānshāh Province, West Iran): Sketch Grammar with Texts and Lexicon*”, submitted to and defended at “L’Orientale” University of Naples, Italy, in 2016. The research project, carried out between 2013 and 2015 under the supervision of Adriano V. Rossi as doctoral supervisor, was aimed at documenting and describing the language spoken by the inhabitants of Harsin, as one of the many lesser-known linguistic varieties of Kermānshāh Province of western Iran.

The completion of this challenging task would not have been possible without the help and cooperation of many people. First and foremost, I express my deepest gratitude to the language consultants who welcomed me into their homes, providing hospitality during fieldwork sessions and devoting their time and energy in support of my efforts for documenting their mother tongue. Naming all of them here would be impossible, but I feel deeply grateful and indebted to each and every one of them. I hope they will benefit from this contribution. (= Fariborz Hamzeh'ee)

I am also grateful to Prof. Mohammad Rezā (Fariborz) Hamze'i and Dr. Akram Bināyān of the Rāzi University of Kermānshāh, who trusted me without hesitation, took on the burden of responsibility of introducing me to the Harsini speech community and provided help and assistance to solve many logistical issues. The same share of gratitude is due to Salman Aliyari Babolghani, who took charge of finding a safe place for me in the city of Kermānshāh. He introduced me to the Rahimizāde, Pormehr and Rashidpur families, who provided hospitality and support in the time-consuming effort of finding consultants and organizing fieldwork sessions. I sincerely thank the Jahānbakhshi family for their assistance in a very critical moment of my research. Their unconditional help has been fundamental.

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I also register my deepest gratitude to Daniele Guizzo, for having introduced me to Iranian linguistics and Kurdish studies at the very beginning of my undergraduate career, piquing my curiosity about Southern Kurdish and Laki varieties in the first place. I feel equally grateful to Gerardo Barbera, who gave me access to his personal library and provided essential suggestions and input for the advancement of my research.

This book is ultimately dedicated to my family and to Salvatore, for their constant love and encouragement.

Sara Belelli, Naples, 2021.

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Notes on transcription

The symbols used for the transcription of Harsini texts, words and example sentences have been maintained as uniformly as possible. The chosen orthography, however, remains provisional and minor inconsistencies might persist. Only further research will clarify unsettled issues and allow for the elaboration of a more stable transcription system.

Table 1 contains an overview of the chosen conventions. The table is arranged in columns, with each symbol on the left corresponding to its core phonetic value expressed by an International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbol on the right. Further information on phonetic variants and (morpho)phonological processes is contained in the dedicated sections of Chapter 2.

Table 1: Symbols used in the transcription of Harsini

Vowels		Consonants					
<i>ī</i>	[i]	<i>p</i>	[p]	<i>ʔ</i>	[ʔ]	<i>ž</i>	[ʒ]
<i>i</i>	[ə]	<i>b</i>	[b]	<i>m</i>	[m]	<i>x</i>	[x]
<i>e</i>	[e]	<i>t</i>	[t]	<i>n</i>	[n]	<i>h</i>	[h]
<i>a</i>	[a]	<i>d</i>	[d]	<i>ŋ</i>	[ŋ]	<i>l</i>	[l]
<i>ā</i>	[ɑ]	<i>k</i>	[k]	<i>ř</i>	[r]	<i>t</i>	[t̪]
<i>o</i>	[o]	<i>g</i>	[g]	<i>r</i>	[r̥]	<i>γ</i>	[j]
<i>ö</i>	[ø]	<i>ġ</i>	[ɣ]	<i>s</i>	[s]	<i>w</i>	[w]
<i>u</i>	[u]	<i>q</i>	[q]	<i>z</i>	[z]		
<i>ü</i>	[y]	<i>ʕ</i>	[ʕ]	<i>š</i>	[ʃ]		

The romanization of Persian orthography follows the conventions summarized in Table 2. This graphic notation is over-differentiated in comparison to the phonology of modern literary Persian (Fārsi) and several graphemes may represent a single Persian phoneme: e.g. <š>, <s>, <ş> [s]. Nonetheless, the system has the advantage of allowing for a globally accurate and unambiguous representation of the standard orthography of the language.

Table 2: Transliteration of Persian orthography

ا	<i>a, e, o</i> (word initially);	ز	<i>z</i>	ل	<i>l</i>
	<i>ā</i> (word medially)	ژ	<i>ž</i>	م	<i>m</i>
آ	<i>ā</i>	س	<i>s</i>	ن	<i>n</i>
ب	<i>b</i>	ش	<i>š</i>	و	<i>v, u, ow, o;</i>
پ	<i>p</i>	ص	<i>s̰</i>		<i>va</i> (conjunction)
ت	<i>t</i>	ض	<i>ž</i>	ه	<i>h, e</i>
ث	<i>s̰</i>	ط	<i>t̰</i>	ی	<i>i, y, ey</i>
ج	<i>j</i>	ظ	<i>ž</i>	ؤ ئ ا ء	'
چ	<i>č</i>	ع	<i>ʿ</i>	و ا ء	<i>o, a, e</i>
ح	<i>h</i>	غ	<i>g̰</i>	أ	<i>an</i>
خ	<i>x</i>	ف	<i>f</i>	ای	<i>i</i> (word initially)
د	<i>d</i>	ق	<i>q</i>	خو	<i>x^w</i> (before <i>ā, o</i>)
ذ	<i>z̰</i>	ک	<i>k</i>		
ر	<i>r</i>	گ	<i>g</i>		

The romanization of sporadic Arabic words and sentences occurring in this study follows well-established conventions, by and large corresponding to those in Table 2 with the exception of the four additional graphemes of the Persian inventory (پ <p>, چ <č>, ژ <ž>, گ <g>). The main differences concern the notation of Arabic long vowels و <ū> and ی <ī> (instead of Persian <u> and <i>) and of Arabic short vowels <u> and <i> (instead of Persian <o> and <e>).

The difficulties in choosing a uniform system for the romanization of proper nouns (i.e. proper names, toponyms, ethnonyms), as well as titles and quotations from reference works in Persian, Arabic or Kurdish, are well known to anyone acquainted with the transcription of languages employing Arabic-based scripts.

For the representation of proper nouns, a globally consistent system has been adopted. In the case of place names, the English exonym has been preferred if considered to be sufficiently conventionalized and of common use in the English language (e.g. Iran, Iraq, Baghdad, Tehran, Zagros). For lesser-known toponyms, the institutional name has been transcribed according to the conventions in Table 2, with the following differences: ث <s>; ص <s>; ض <z>; ذ <z>; ط <t>; ح <h>; چ <ch>; خ <kh>; ژ <zh>;

ش <sh>. The presence of آ <ā>, ء <ʾ>, and ع <ʿ> has been noted in transcription in all positions.

The few local place names differing from the official toponym are reported inside parentheses on their first occurrence and preceded by an abbreviation specifying the source language (Lak. for Laki; SK for Southern Kurdish; CK for Central Kurdish). In the case of Laki and Southern Kurdish, the chosen transcription follows the conventions in Table 1; for Central Kurdish the transcription follows the conventions in Blau (2000).

Ethnonyms and names of languages have been treated in the same way as toponyms: the labels of wider usage in the literature (e.g. Sorani, Kurmanji, Gorani etc.) have been kept in their simplest form, without any diacritical mark. Otherwise, a broad transcription has been adopted.

Proper names of Iranian authors have been kept as they were reported in roman script in their printed works. In the remaining cases, they have been transcribed according to the conventions used for toponyms, ethnonyms and names of languages.

Quoted words and sentences were normally kept as they were found in the original source. Only the transcription of example sentences from Fattah (2000) has been normalized and adapted to the transcription conventions employed in this study, in order to simplify reading and comparison. If a term was attested only in an Arabic-based script (e.g. a word from Karimpour 1382/2003), it has been tentatively transcribed. In many cases, arbitrary choices had to be made and this may have led to some minor inconsistencies and inaccuracies.

Abbreviations and symbols

Table 3 below contains the set of conventional abbreviations and symbols used for the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing of example sentences in Part II and the Harsini text in Chapter 6 of this book. Except for a few modifications, they follow the standards established in the Leipzig Glossing Rules in their revised version of May 2015 (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>, accessed Sept. 2021). The abbreviations of names of languages are also listed below.

Table 3: List of abbreviations and symbols

Gloss	Definition	Gloss	Definition
1	first person	INDF1	indefinite suffix 1
2	second person	INDF2	indefinite suffix 2
3	third person	INF	Infinitive
ADD	additive	INTJ	interjection
BP	bound pronoun	NA	not analyzed
C	consonant	NEG	negation
CMPD	compound marker	NMLZ	nominalizer
CMPR	comparative	PART	verbal particle
COMPL	complementizer	PASS	passive
COP	copula	PL	plural
DEF	definite	POST	postposition
DEM	demonstrative particle	PROX	proximal
DIM	diminutive	PRS	Present
DIST	distal	PST	Past
DRCT	directional particle	PTCP	Participle
EU	euphonic	REL	relative particle
EZ	ezäfe particle	RFLX	reflexive
IMP	Imperative	SBJV	Subjunctive
IMPF	Imperfect	SG	singular
IND	indicative particle	VOC	vocative
IND-	indicative marker	V	vowel
INDF	indefinite quasi-article	?	doubtful

-
- = The equals sign is used before enclitic morphemes to highlight the boundary between them and their host.
 - Hyphens separate segmentable morphemes, both in example sentences and in the corresponding glosses.
 - . Periods separate multiple metalanguage elements (words or abbreviations) corresponding to a single object language element.
 - _ Underscores separate multiple object language elements corresponding either to a single metalanguage element, or to a unity of several metalanguage elements.
-

- Ar. = Arabic (i.e. literary Arabic)
 - Pers. = Persian (i.e. modern literary Fārsi)
 - Turk. = Turkic
 - Har. = Harsini
 - Lak. = Laki of Lorestān
 - Gor. = Gorani
 - SK = Southern Kurdish
 - CK = Central Kurdish
-

Part I

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Overview

The present work is a description of Harsini, the language variety spoken by the people of Harsin, a small urban centre located in south-east Kermānshāh Province, western Iran. When I decided to engage in this project of language documentation, I was motivated by the feeling that it was urgent to provide the academic community with a larger and more reliable amount of data from the many underdocumented varieties spoken at the southernmost edges of the Kurdish-speaking region of the Middle East. Indeed, at the moment of writing, most of them are still lacking a corpus of spoken samples and published texts, which represent an essential starting point for any well-grounded linguistic analysis, let alone for a serious attempt at dialectological classification.

The elaboration of the grammatical description of the target language has been largely data-driven and is mostly based on the linguistic material I collected during a series of field trips in the Province of Kermānshāh between January and April 2014. The study is divided into four main sections:

Part I (Chapter 1) is an introduction to the speech community and research methodology. The chapter provides basic information on the physical and human geography of Harsin, an overview of the linguistic situation in the city and its wider area, and some remarks on data collection.

Part II (Chapters 2-4) provides a concise grammatical description of Harsini. The three chapters are respectively dedicated to phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, and lexis. The format chosen for organizing the grammatical sketch, with the exception of a few adjustments, follows the publications by Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013) on Gorani. The reason for this choice lays in the intention of facilitating comparison and cross-reference between those works and the present one. Other useful models for organizing the grammatical

description were MacKenzie (1961a), Lazard (1992a), Paul (1998a), and Barbera (2005).

Part III (Chapters 5-6) includes the corpus of transcribed and translated texts. Each of the seven texts in Chapter 5 is preceded by a brief introduction, providing some information on language consultants and the recording situation. The texts are also supplemented by a synthesis of the narrative content, including some notes on folktale typology. In line with standard practice in contemporary documentary linguistics, the audio recordings for this study are freely available at:

<https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/kurdish/#laki>

This allows readers to verify the analysis of the transcribed texts, and to identify possible inconsistencies or mistakes. Chapter 6 contains the morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing of a sample text.

Part IV (Chapter 7) is a comprehensive glossary of lexical forms and bound morphemes occurring in the grammar and the textual corpus, followed by an English-Harsini index.

1.1 The geography of Harsin

The city of Harsin (34° 16' N, 47° 35' E) is the main administrative centre of the eponymous county (Pers. *šahrestān-e Harsin*), located at the south-eastern edge of Kermānshāh Province¹ (Pers. *ostān-e Kermānshāh*) in western Iran.

The County of Harsin has an overall extension of 1,082.7 km² and is bounded to the west by the Kermānshāh County (Kermānshāh Province), to the north and east by the Sahne County (Kermānshāh Province) and to the south by the Delfān County (Lorestān Province).

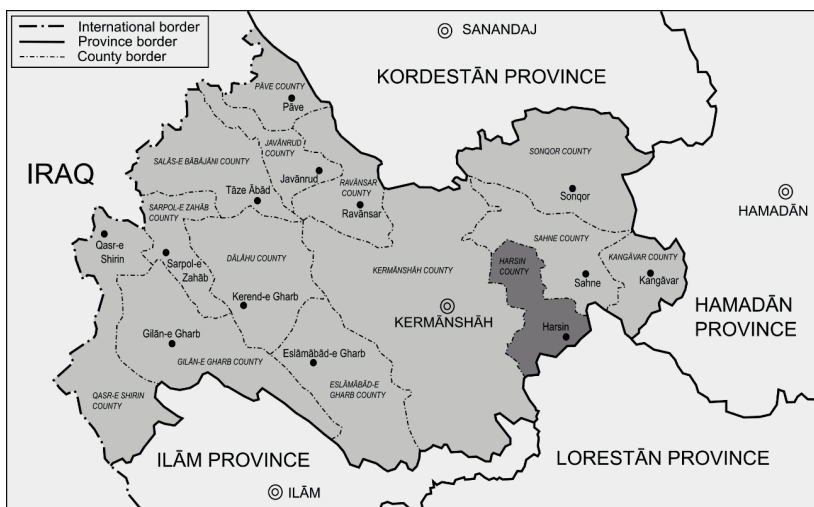
According to the latest administrative partition of the Islamic Republic of Iran,² the County of Harsin includes two districts (Pers. *baxš*): Bisotun,

¹ The Province of Kermānshāh, also known as Kermānshāhān or Bākhtarān, is divided into fourteen counties: Pāve, Salās-e Bābājāni, Javānrud, Ravānsar, Sarpol-e Zahāb, Qasr-e Shirin, Dālāhu, Gilān-e Gharb, Eslāmābād-e Gharb, Kermānshāh, Sonqor, Sahne, Harsin, and Kangāvar.

² The data concerning physical and political geography, population and society were mostly drawn from the Statistical Yearbook of Kermānshāh Province (Pers. *sāl-nāme-ye āmāri-ye ostān-e Kermānshāh*, latest version at <https://mpo-ksh.ir/fa/blog/2020/03/26/سالنامه-اماری-سال-26>).

and Markazi (i.e. ‘Central’). Each is in turn divided into two rural districts (Pers. *dehestān*): Chamchamāl³ and Shizar in the District of Bisotun; Cheshme Kabud and Howme in the Central District. The county includes 148 villages (Pers. *ābādī*), of which 132 are currently inhabited. Harsin and Bisotun (SK *Bisitūn*), respectively located in the Central District and in the District of Bisotun, are mentioned as the county’s major urban centres.

Figure 1: Map of Kermānshāh Province with county subdivisions



The city of Harsin lays 44 km southeast of Kermānshāh city (SK *Kirmāšān*), at an altitude of about 1,550 m above sea level. It is located within one of the many intermontane valleys that characterize the geomorphology of the Zagros range, a major mountain system extending in northwest-southeast direction over much of western Iran, and encompassing Kermānshāh Province. The alluvial plain of Harsin opens up to the south of the Parrāw uplands, a mountainous ridge reaching a

استان-کرمانشاه ۱۳۹۷، accessed Sept. 2021), and from the National Population and Housing Census, year 1395/2016 (Pers. *saršomāri-ye ʿomumi-ye nofus-o maskan*, <http://www.amar.org.ir/> سرشماری-عمومی-نفس-و-مسکن/نتایج-سرشماری accessed Sept. 2021). Other useful information was drawn from Jaʿfari (1379/2000) and Borjjan (2014).

³ Occasionally reported as Chamjamāl or Chamchāl.

maximum height of 3,385 m and stretching for 62 km, up to the famous Mt. Bisotun (2,805 m). The city leans against the southern slope of Mt. Divāngah (1,850 m) and is surrounded by other elevations, including Mt. Shiraz⁴ (2,693 m) in the north and Mt. Zarrin (about 2,500 m) in the south.

The hydrography of the region is marked by the presence of numerous springs and watercourses. The most important river crossing the county is the Gāmāsyāb (or Gāmāsāb), originating about 23 km south-east of Nahāvand (Hamadān Province) and merging with the river Qarasu about 60 km south-east of Kermānshāh city.

The climate of the county, as that of the whole Kermānshāh Province, is classifiable as hot semi-arid/steppe.⁵ However, the proximity of mountain areas of considerable elevation and the presence of winds blowing from the Mediterranean Sea substantially influence average temperatures and precipitations, such that Harsin and its surroundings are included in the cold region (Pers. *sardsir* or *yeylāq*) of the province. The climate is generally mild in spring/early summer and cold in winter,⁶ with moderate rainfalls during non-summer months. Summers are usually drier and hotter, while winters are characterized by frequent, often heavy snowfalls.⁷

These climatic conditions, added to a sufficient water supply, make the plain of Harsin particularly suitable for agriculture and lead to a verdant and lush landscape, especially during springtime. In the past, forests of shrubs and trees used to cover most of the county's foothills and plains, but long and intensive human activity has caused their progressive shrinking and the decline of the once thriving wild fauna of deer, goats, sheep, wild pigs, leopards, and foxes (Borjian 2014).

In geo-historical perspective, the County of Harsin and the south-eastern area of Kermānshāh Province where it is located can be

⁴ Reported as Shirez in Ja'fari (1379/2000: 369).

⁵ Type 'BSh' of the Köppen-Geiger climate classification.

⁶ The average temperatures registered in the city of Harsin for the year 1397/2018-2019 reached a maximum of 29.6°C in the month of *mordād* (July 23rd – August 22nd) and a minimum of 4.3°C in the month of *dey* (December 22nd – January 20th), with a record high of 42°C in summer and a record low of -7°C in winter.

⁷ In his travel notes, Rawlinson (1839: 99) mentions that "The road from Khorram-ábád to Kirmánsháh [...] leads by the plains of Alishtar and Khawah to Harsín; but this is impracticable in winter from the deep snow [...]".

considered as the northernmost prolongation of a contiguous highland territory of the Zagros range, traditionally known as Lorestān (or Luristan). Indeed, in its broader geographic definition, this term applies to a much wider area than the one included in present-day Lorestān Province, extending on a northwest/southeast axis from Kermānshāh and Hamadān in the north to Ahvāz and the Persian Gulf in the south, and from the border territories of Iraq in the west to Isfahan and Shiraz in the east (Fattah 2000: 41).

Since the later Middle Ages (12th century) the territories of historical Lorestān were divided into two semi-independent principalities ruled by two *atabeg* dynasties: *Lor-e Kuchek* (i.e. ‘Little Lorestān’) in the north and *Lor-e Bozorg* (i.e. ‘Great Lorestān’) in the south. After the fall of the Lor-e Bozorg principality (15th century), the term Lorestān underwent a semantic restriction, being thereafter used to indicate only the Lor-e Kuchek territories (also known as *Lorestān-e Feyli*), in turn divided into two distinct geographic entities: *Pish-e Kuh* (the ‘cismontane’ territories on the eastern slope of the Kabir Kuh) and *Posht-e Kuh* (the ‘tramontane’ territories on the western slope of the Kabir Kuh). In addition to these labels, the term *Bālā Gerive* is commonly applied to the highland region stretching to the south and east of Khorramābād city.

These traditional designations remained in use long after the whole area was brought under the central government’s authority of Persia between the 18th and the 19th century and Pish-e Kuh and Posht-e Kuh were respectively converted into the present-day administrative Provinces of Lorestān and Ilām. Since these categories permeate virtually all descriptions of the ethno-linguistic landscape of central-west Iran, from the earliest accounts to most recent scholarship, it is important to keep in mind their polysemous nature for a correct identification of their intended referents in each context.

1.2 Populace and social composition

Due to its favourable location and ecology, the region of Harsin boasts a long history of human presence. Long-time and virtually uninterrupted human activity in the area is attested by robust evidence since Paleolithic

times⁸ and several archaeological vestiges of pre-Islamic Iran⁹ bear witness of the long-lasting importance of these territories in antiquity, by virtue of their proximity to one of the ancient routes linking the Iranian Plateau to Mesopotamia.

Both in pre-modern and modern times, the area of Harsin hosted populations of sedentary peasants devoted to agriculture and small-scale cattle breeding. However, as historical sources and place names attest, the region has long been exploited – alongside the close-by rural districts of Kākāvand and Khāve¹⁰ – as summer quarters (Pers. *sardsir* or *peylāq*) by a section of the Lak Kākāvand tribe and related groups of mobile pastoralists, traditionally dwelling in northern regions of present-day Lorestān (historical Pish-e Kuh).¹¹

Mentions of Lak tribes of northern Lorestān are found throughout the abundant exploration literature of the late 19th and early 20th century.¹² Many of these accounts include lists of local tribes and tribal partitions, generally dividing Laks into two main groups: the *Delfān*, dwelling between the plains of Kuhdasht and Holeyān up to Harsin and the territories north of Nurābād, and the *Selsele*, dwelling north of Khorrāmābād, in the plain of Aleshtar up to Nahāvand. Although the names and number of tribes attributed to each subgroup may vary, the

⁸ Remains of human occupation dating to Middle Paleolithic have been discovered in the Bisotun cave, cf. Trinkaus & Biglari (2006).

⁹ Among these, stand out the Achaemenid monumental inscriptions of Darius I at Bisotun and the Sasanian site of Tāq-e Bustān, on the outskirts of present-day Kermānshāh city. Archaeological artifacts dating to the Sasanian era, among which an unfinished rock monument, an artificial water basin and the ruins of a fort, locally known as Fortress of Garshāsp (Pers. *qalʿe-ye Garšāsp*), are also present in the city of Harsin. On these, see Huff (1985).

¹⁰ Both locations are found in the Delfān County, northern Lorestān Province. The district (Pers. *baxš*) of Kākāvand includes the rural districts (Pers. *dehestān*) of Itivand-e Shomālī, Itivand-e Jonubi, Kākāvand-e Gharbi and Kākāvand-e Sharqi, while the two rural districts of Khāve-ye Shomālī and Khāve-ye Jonubi are currently part of the Central district of the Delfān County.

¹¹ At the beginning of the 19th century Rousseau (1813: 88) quoted the *Kakewend* (Kākūwand in Minorsky 1986) alongside the *Horseni* (Harsinī in Minorsky 1986) among nomadic Lak tribes dwelling in the region of Kermānshāh. More than a century later, Field (1939: 179) notes that Kākāvands, in the process of becoming sedentary at that time, “lived near Harsin on the border of the province”. See Oberling (2010).

¹² See, among others, Rousseau (1813: 88-89); Rawlinson (1839: 107); Sheil (1856: 401-402); Houtum-Schindler (1879: 85-88); Curzon (1892: 275); Mann (1904: 1176); Wilson (1912: 2, 14-15, 18-36); Rabino (1916: 30-36); Edmonds (1922: 343-346); Field (1939: 173-184).

Kākāvand tribe is consistently included within the Delfān division (see also §1.3.2).

Starting from the early 20th century, the Kākāvand peoples and related Lak groups of northern Lorestān began to sedentarize, as a result of the modernizing policy promoted by the Pahlavi ruling dynasty, wishing to solve the “tribal problem” in every possible way, including enforced settlement and military coercion.¹³ This abrupt sedentarization process brought about considerable changes in the social fabric of Harsin and nearby areas, challenging the capability of traditionally sedentary inhabitants to integrate the newly-settled tribal households, with which they had been competing for the exploitation of the same ecological niche. The shift from seasonal to permanent cohabitation rekindled deep-rooted frictions, which often persist and resurface today in the form of reciprocal bias and scepticism.¹⁴

If a complete and permanent eradication of mobile lifestyles proved impossible to achieve through coercive means, from the mid-20th century the voluntary abandonment of nomadism in west Iran increased steadily, encouraged by new opportunities offered by expanding urban centres and their growing industrial economy. Nowadays, Kākāvand Laks are mainly installed in the County of Harsin and the city itself, but sizeable communities tracing back to closely related Lak tribes such as the ʿOsmānavand, Jalālavand and Zardalān (Fattah 2000: 22, 56) are also present in the region, as again reflected in toponymy.¹⁵

Until the last few decades, the city of Harsin has confirmed itself as one of the primary destinations of migration flows from nearby rural villages and northern Lorestān. This movement of people has helped compensate for the progressive displacement of the city’s inhabitants towards major urban centres – especially Kermānshāh and Tehran – to receive higher education, or seek better working conditions.¹⁶

¹³ See Black-Michaud (1974) on this subject.

¹⁴ The episode of a fight between a Kākāvand tribesman and the inhabitants of Harsin reported by the British explorer Freya Stark (1934: 58-59) gives a vivid testimony of the state of conflict that came along with the progressive settlement of Lak tribes in the area.

¹⁵ Two rural districts named Jalālvand and ʿOsmānvand are part of the Firuzābād District in Kermānshāh County.

¹⁶ According to the latest available data, the city of Harsin has a population of 44,146 individuals, which represents over 56% of the county’s total. Nonetheless, a comparison of the data for the year 2016 with those of the previous three censuses (2011: 49,967; 2006:

As mentioned earlier, small-scale agriculture and pastoralism has long been the backbone of the region's economy, but the institution of the Bisotun sugar-refining factory in the early 1960s and of the Kermānshāh oil refinery about a decade later attracted large sections of the available workforce. Another important productive activity has traditionally been the manufacture of *gelims*, a kind of flat rug for which the city is well-known, both locally and internationally. Unfortunately, during the last century, traditional handicrafts and related cultures, habits and techniques have experienced a considerable decline and are now on the verge of disappearance.

Concerning religious beliefs, the prevailing creed in Harsin is Shia Islam. It shall be remarked, however, that the Lak tribes settled in the region are described in historical accounts as originally adhering to the Ahl-e Haqq creed,¹⁷ before they converted for the most part to Twelver Shiism (Field 1939: 175). Even in the absence of specific statistics, it can be assumed that the number of Ahl-e Haqq believers currently residing in the County of Harsin or in the city itself is not negligible, considering also the relative proximity of important centres of this faith, above all the town of Sahne (SK *Sahana*).

1.3 Linguistic milieu

The linguistic situation observed in Harsin (§1.4) cannot be duly described or understood without some background knowledge of the linguistic geography characterizing the wider region of west Iran where the city is located.

The Province of Kermānshāh, alongside large sections of Ilām Province and adjoining areas of Iraq, constitutes the core speech zone of Southern Kurdish varieties (§1.3.1.3), which together represent the majority language spoken in the region. However, the whole SK speech area is characterized by long-time and pervasive intra-family and extra-

51,636; 1996: 55,088) highlights the outcomes of a progressive depopulation process, which appears to be a destiny shared by many peripheral population centres in Iran.

¹⁷ The terms *Ahl-e haqq* (lit. 'People of truth'), *Yāresān*, *Kākā'i* or '*Ali elāhi*', reported here in their Pers. notation, refer to a religious community adhering to a syncretistic or – according to some believers and scholars – Islamic esoteric cult related to the tradition of Shia heterodoxy (Ar. *ḡulāt*). For the relevant bibliography, see van Bruinessen (2009).

family language contact, with the presence of sizeable groups speaking other West Iranian varieties – Central Kurdish (§1.3.1.2); Laki (§1.3.2); Lori (§1.3.3); Gorani (§1.3.4); local Persian vernaculars and mixed Persian-Kurdish creoles¹⁸ – as well as non-Iranian languages – particularly Turkic, Neo-Aramaic and Arabic vernaculars.¹⁹

Extensive and all-encompassing influence of dominant standard languages – Persian in Iran and Arabic and Sorani Kurdish in Iraq²⁰ – also plays a crucial role on local dynamics of language change and shift. Various forms and degrees of bilingualism (local variety/dominant language) and multilingualism (local varieties/dominant languages) are the norm among virtually all speaking communities.

¹⁸ Several scholars have underlined the partial fallacy of the traditional Southwestern/Northwestern Iranian distinction (see Paul 1998b; Korn 2003, 2016) and the linguistic pertinence of these categories is currently open to questioning. Nonetheless, they are still very current in scholarship and their usefulness for simplified taxonomic classifications continues to be recognised.

¹⁹ Turkic varieties are spoken alongside local CK and SK varieties in Bijār, Qorve and nearby districts (Kordestān Province), cf. the language map of Kordestān Province in Anonby et al. (2015-2019). Speakers of Turkic dialects are also the majority in the city of Sonqor (Kermānshāh Province) and a minority in the largely SK-speaking cities of Kangāvar (Kermānshāh Province) and Asadābād (Hamadān Province), see Fattah (2000: 2-3, 5, 17-19). North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) varieties are spoken by Jewish communities in several spots of the core SK-speaking area (e.g. Bijār, Kerend, Khānaqīn, Qare Hasan, and Qasr-e Shirin), where they have long lived in close symbiosis with local CK, SK, Gorani and Turkic varieties. These parlanges, together with the Neo-Aramaic vernaculars of Bukān, Saʿīn Qalʿe, Sanandaj, Saqqez and Takāb, spoken in the core CK-speaking region, are part of the so-called ‘Western Iranian’ (Khan 2009: 5-11), ‘trans-Zab’ (Khan 2011), or ‘Eastern’ (Fassberg 2015: 100ff.) subgroup of Jewish NENA dialects. After a mass migration outside Iran in the 20th century, however, only a few families of native NENA speakers are still found in the area. SK is also in contact with the Arabic parlanges of east Iraq and with a pocket of Arabic speakers in northwestern Ilām Province, cf. the language map of Ilām Province in Anonby et al. (2015-2019).

²⁰ Persian (Fārsi) is classified as a Southwestern Iranian language and is currently the only official language of administration and education in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Competence in written and spoken Persian (often regional Persian varieties, showing phenomena of interference with local languages and dialects) is the norm in the region, although it may vary considerably according to individual levels of literacy. Arabic and Kurdish are the official languages of Iraq. Competence in Arabic (particularly the spoken Iraqi vernacular) is thus presumably common among SK speakers living on the Iraqi side of the border and to some degree also among those inhabiting adjoining areas of Iran. Basic knowledge of literary Arabic, taught as a compulsory subject in public schools and largely used as the language of religion, is also widespread in the rest of Iran.

In such a complex scenario, a few explicatory remarks may clarify the general picture. The following paragraphs are intended to provide basic information on languages and groups of Iranian varieties with which Harsini has some linguistic affinity or has been in areal contact. The approach is essentially synchronic, with only sporadic references to genetic affiliations. Traditional and current language labels will also be discussed, in order to avoid perpetuating common misunderstandings and terminological inaccuracies. The need for a synthesis imposed to overlook many details, for which reference to basic bibliography will be made.

1.3.1 Kurdish

The Kurdish language is probably best described as a bundle or continuum of closely related varieties, traditionally classified in the Northwestern group of the Iranian language family, in turn part of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European.²¹ Types of Kurdish are spoken by an estimated 20 to 40 million native speakers²² mainly inhabiting a vast mountainous territory of the Middle East unofficially known as Kurdistan.

The region populated by Kurds is not politically unified and is currently divided by the administrative boundaries of five countries: Turkey, Syria, Armenia, Iraq and Iran. Sizeable Kurdish-speaking communities are also found outside this continuous stretch of land, particularly in eastern Anatolia, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan,

²¹ The so-defined Kurdish languages have traditionally been observed as occupying an intermediate position between Northwestern and Southwestern Iranian (SK being the closest to Southwestern Iranian). Lecoq (1989c) includes Kurdish alongside the Central Plateau dialects in the 'Carmanian' group of West Iranian (opposed to a 'Medo-Caspian' and a 'Hyrcanian' group) based on the analysis of a selected set of phonological and morphological traits.

²² No reliable statistics on the number of Kurdish speakers is currently available and the figures reported in the literature may vary considerably. Therefore, all the estimates quoted hereafter should be taken with due caution.

in the Khorāsān, Māzandarān and Sistān va Baluchestān Provinces of Iran,²³ and in various destination countries of the Kurdish diaspora.²⁴

The most widely accepted linguistic classification of Kurdish languages recognizes a Northern, a Central and a Southern (or Southeastern) group (MacKenzie 1986: 479; Blau 1989a: 327-328; Schmitt 2000: 76-77; Fattah 2000: 2-4), although a twofold distinction of a Northern (or Northwestern) and a Southern (or Southeastern) group is occasionally adopted in the literature (Oranskij 1973: 149; McCarus 1997: 691). The genetic relationship between Kurdish linguistic clusters is widely recognized on account of historical phonology,²⁵ but it has always proved difficult for scholars to delineate the outer contours of the language, as well as those of its internal subgroupings.

In fact, no linguistic predecessor of any Kurdish variety is currently known and the short diachronic span of Kurdish literary history²⁶ prevents any far-reaching insight into the development of this bundle of Iranian parlances over time.

Besides this, widespread language contact and various kinds of areal phenomena (e.g. population movements with complex mutual influences across the groups in contact) variously impacted inherited linguistic distinctions, thus obscuring genealogical relationships.²⁷ The differences between or even within individual groups of contemporary Kurdish varieties are often considerable enough to impede mutual intelligibility.

²³ Most Kurdish speakers of Khorāsān, Māzandarān and Sistān va Baluchestān trace back to the communities of Kurds forcibly resettled by the Safavid ruler Shāh ʿAbbās I (late 16th - early 17th century) as a countermeasure against the pressure of Turkic invaders on the northern and eastern borders (Blau 1989a: 327).

²⁴ Between 1 and 2 million Kurds are documented as living in the diaspora (according to figures updated to 2016 at <https://www.institutkurde.org/en/info/kurdish-diaspora-1232550988>, accessed Sept. 2021). Kurdish exile communities are present in several European countries (e.g. Germany, France, Sweden), in Middle Eastern countries (e.g. Israel, Lebanon, Jordan), as well as in Kazakhstan, the USA, Canada and Australia.

²⁵ See MacKenzie (1961b) and Paul (2008) on this topic.

²⁶ One of the earliest known written records in a variety of NK is a small monophysete liturgical prayer in Armenian script dating to the 15th century, while the oldest known manuscripts written in Arabic script date to the 16th-17th century. See Asatrian (2009: 15-16) and Öpengin (2021).

²⁷ For a recent attempt to define a relative chronology for selected grammatical features of Kurdish see Jügel (2014).

In the absence of a unitary normative standard, several regional substandards based on different scripts and orthographies have emerged for written purposes. At present, the Kurdish continuum appears to be settling on a bi-standard NK-CK norm, with SK lagging behind the other two groups in the process of standardization.²⁸

Dimli/Zazaki²⁹ and Gorani/Hawrami varieties (§1.3.4), traditionally regarded and studied as part of the Kurdish language complex, are now treated by most scholars as languages in their own right, although native speakers may consider themselves ethnically and linguistically Kurds.

1.3.1.1 Northern Kurdish

Varieties of NK (Kurmanji) are the mother tongue of slightly more than half of the Kurdish-speaking population (ca. 20 million according to McCarus 2009: 587). They are spread over a vast area extending from the southern and eastern provinces of Turkey, and the northernmost provinces of Iraq up to the Armenian capital Yerevan, and including the north-eastern edge of Syria, and the territories west of Lake Orumiye in the Iranian Province of Āzerbāijān-e Gharbi (West Azerbaijan). NK dialects are also spoken by communities installed in eastern Anatolia, the southern Caucasus and Central Asia, by Kurds historically residing in the Iranian Provinces of Khorāsān and Sistān va Baluchestān, as well as by most exile communities of the Kurdish diaspora.

Notwithstanding some relevant differences in phonology,³⁰ the main traits distinguishing NK from the Central and Southern groups concern morphosyntax. Overall, NK shows a richer and more conservative morphology, with the retention of case distinctions (direct/oblique) for nouns and pronouns and gender oppositions (masculine/feminine) for singular nouns in the oblique case and for the annexation particle (ezāfe). Typical NK features are also the absence of a definite marker and of pronominal clitics (bound pronouns), both of which exist in other varieties of Kurdish.

²⁸ On language standardization and language policies in Kurdistan, see Hassanpour (1992).

²⁹ The endonym Dimli and the exonyms Zaza or Zazaki (originally derogatory in nature but largely used in western scholarship) apply to a group of dialects spoken in eastern Anatolia, at the north-western edges of the NK-speaking area. See Paul (2009).

³⁰ See Blau (1989a: 329) and McCarus (2009: 628) for an overview.

A few other differences are also traceable in the verbal system of NK, with the presence of periphrastic passives, and an additional periphrastic causative construction, contrasting with the morphological constructions of CK and SK dialects. NK varieties are also unique in possessing a modal particle for future reference (McCarus 2009: 630).³¹ NK has drawn the attention of typologists for its complex forms of morphosyntactic agreement in the conjugation of transitive verbs in the past, which in some dialects approximates canonical ergativity.³²

Concerning NK dialectology, a subdivision into a western (Kurmanji “proper”) and an eastern branch³³ has been proposed by MacKenzie (1986: 479) and Blau (1989a: 327-328). A recent assessment of Kurmanji-internal variation can be found in Öpengin & Haig (2014) and Haig & Öpengin (2018).

1.3.1.2 Central Kurdish

CK (Sorani) is the second-largest group of Kurdish varieties by number of speakers (ca. 5 million, according to McCarus 2009: 587), spoken over a long stretch of land set on both sides of the Iraq-Iran border. The varieties spread on the Iraqi side, particularly in the Governorates of Kirkuk (CK *Kerkûk*), Erbil (CK *Hewlêr*) and Sulaymāniya (CK *Silêmanî*),³⁴ are known as Sorani “proper”, while those spoken on the Iranian side, in southern West Azerbaijan Province and in Kordestān Province, are generally referred to as ‘Mukri’ or simply ‘Kurdi’. The term ‘Sine’i’ (also spelled Sina’i) is occasionally employed as specific denomination of the CK

³¹ Note, however, that some SK varieties of Iraq exceptionally possess a calqued future construction involving the particle *rāh* of Iraqi Arabic (Fattah 2000: 374 fn. 143).

³² Canonical ergativity is characterized by a marked Agent (in the Oblique case), an unmarked Object (in the Direct case) and a verb agreeing with the Object (Haig 2008: 214). However, many NK dialects are recognized as being in a stage of transition, with agreement patterns deviating from prototypical ergativity (e.g. high frequency double oblique constructions, verbs agreeing in number with the Agent). See Haig (2008: 201-275) for a detailed discussion of this subject.

³³ The first group includes the varieties of Turkey, Syria and Iran, while the second includes those spoken in Central Asia and the southern Caucasus, akin to the Bahdinani (also Badinani or Badini) dialect spoken in the Iraqi Governorates of Dohuk and Nineve (up to Mosul) and in the Hakkāri Province of Turkey.

³⁴ Since 1991, these regions and the Governorate of Dohuk (CK *Dihok*) constitute the autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq, also known as Iraqi Kurdistan or Southern Kurdistan (CK *Kurdistānî bâşûr*).

dialect(s) spoken in and around the city of Sanandaj (CK *Sine*),³⁵ while the label ‘Southern Jāfi’ used by Fattah (2000: 3) specifically identifies the CK dialect(s) spoken across the Iranian Provinces of Kordestān and Kermānshāh. Tiny pockets of CK speakers are also present in the Māzandarān and Khorāsān Provinces of Iran.

While in CK and SK morphology shared traits clearly outnumber distinctive features, the break between the Central group and its Northern kin is far more sharply defined. Proceeding from NK to CK, case and gender distinctions are progressively lost. Typical CK features are the presence of a definite marker, a generalized *ezāfe* morpheme, morphological passives and causatives and the so-called ‘open compound’ (MacKenzie 1961a: 64, 1961b: 83) or ‘free compound’ construction (i.e. *composé libre* in Blau 1989b: 337; Lecoq 1989c: 254).

As mentioned earlier, the presence of bound pronouns constitutes a salient isogloss bundling CK and SK together, with NK (and, incidentally, Zazaki) excluded. Bound pronouns play a crucial role in CK grammar, especially for the conjugation of transitive verbs in the past: CK varieties preserve a transitive/intransitive and present/past split in alignment patterns, but having largely lost nominal case they mark the Agent of past transitive verbs by obligatorily indexing it via an appropriate bound pronoun. Overall, CK can be seen as exemplifying a more advanced stage in the ideal (but clearly non-linear) process of “loss of ergativity” (Bynon 1979: 211) characterizing Iranian languages in diachrony, and in some ways synchronically reflected in different Kurdish varieties.

1.3.1.3 Southern Kurdish

The bundle of closely related SK varieties is spoken by a minority of the Kurdish-speaking population.³⁶ In addition to the label ‘Southern Kurdish’, current in the literature, other cover terms (e.g. Kakhori, Kermānshāhi, Palawāni, Feyli) are occasionally applied to this dialect cluster. In general, native speakers of SK refer to individual dialects simply as ‘Kurdish’ (SK *kordî*, *kwirdî* etc.). For the sake of distinctness *vis-*

³⁵ Information on *Sine’i* Kurdish can be found in De Morgan (1904) and Christensen & Barr (1939: 198-234).

³⁶ Ca. 3 million according to Fattah (2000: 4), but this figure is probably overstated, as it seems to include Laki speakers in the count.

à-vis neighbouring groups, they may add a reflexive marker (e.g. *kordî xomân*, *kwirdî wižmân* ‘our own Kurdish’), or a tribal/geographic specifier (e.g. *kordî kalhorî* ‘Kalhori Kurdish, the Kurdish spoken by Kalhors’, *kordî kirmāšānî* ‘Kermānshāhi Kurdish, the Kurdish spoken in Kermānshāh city/area/Province’) to the generic language label.

Compared to the Northern and the Central clusters, which have always occupied a dominant position in linguistic scholarship on Kurdish, SK has so far received little attention, attesting itself as “the weakest link in any classification of Kurdish languages” (Haig 2008: 202 fn. 1). Indeed, until the relatively recent publication of Fattah’s survey in 2000, only cursory passages addressing the SK group could be found in major reference works and Kurdological literature in European languages.³⁷ Fattah’s monograph currently represents the most detailed reference for SK dialectology, notwithstanding some limits concerning the methods of data collection³⁸ and the admittedly burdensome access to a vast amount of comparative data (Fattah 2000: 11).³⁹

Despite Fattah’s research efforts, our knowledge of the dialects spoken at the southernmost Kurdish periphery is still largely inadequate and there is no full consensus on what SK ultimately consists of. A particularly problematic case is that of Laki (§1.3.2), often listed among SK varieties but whose position with respect to Kurdish and in the West Iranian context as a whole is still open to debate. In this study, the narrowest possible definition of SK will be adopted, with Laki “proper” (§1.3.2) being provisionally taken as a separate cluster.

³⁷ Some notable exceptions are Querry (1896) on the dialect of Bijār; De Morgan (1904) and Christensen & Barr (1939: 235-284) on the SK varieties of Bijār and Kermānshāh; and Soane’s (1909) study of a SK folksong. The comparative lexicon by Houtum-Schindler & Justi (1884) features a few Kalhori and Zangane words. More recently, a type of SK (Badre’i) has been described in Blau (1989c) and an elegiac poem from Posht-e Kuh has been published by Dehqan (2009). The literature in Persian is much wider, although not always readily available, with a large number of published and unpublished theses, articles and books. Among these are well-known works, such as Karimi Doostan (1380/2001) on Badre’i.

³⁸ The texts in Fattah’s corpus (Fattah 2000: 859-910) are word-for-word translations of a single folktale originally recorded in the Zebiri/Zürî dialect of SK. Moreover, several dialects treated in the description, among which is Harsini, are not represented in the collection.

³⁹ Documentation of SK is recently being revived by new research projects, working at the assemblage of corpora of language data and other kinds of linguistic and bibliographic information, cf. Anonby et al. (2015-2019); Matras et al. (2016).

Figure 2: Linguistic map of SK areas (based on Fattah 2000: vi)



Speakers of SK inhabit a vast region, mostly comprised within the borders of present-day Iran and roughly delimited by the County of Qorve (Kordestān Province) in the north and by the Counties of Ābdānān and Dehlorān (Ilām Province) in the south (cf. Fig. 2). The SK domain also includes, in the west, a narrow stretch of land on the Iraqi side of the border (roughly between the District of Khānaqīn and the territories north and east of Al-Kūt, Al-Wāsiṭ Governorate) and reaches, in the east, the Iranian County of Tuyserkān (about 50 km far from Hamadān city, Hamadān Province). The SK enclave of Bījār, located a few kilometres north of the town of Qorve, in a mostly CK-speaking environment, constitutes the northernmost outpost of the SK-speaking area.

While NK and CK have seen the early emergence of more or less prestigious literary forms, later developed into broadly normative written standards, SK is still lacking a common orthography and its use is for the most part restricted to everyday oral communication. This condition has historically contributed to the persistence of a high degree of surface diversity, as already noted by MacKenzie (1961b: 79). At a closer look, however, SK varieties reveal themselves as a rather compact dialect continuum, bound by a fair degree of mutual intelligibility and grounded in a series of shared phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical traits.

As outlined in §1.3.1.2, the differences between SK and CK are less pronounced than those separating them from NK: in addition to several phonological commonalities, SK shares with CK the presence of a definite marker (*-aka/-aga/-a* and variants), a set of bound pronouns, the so-called ‘free compound’ construction and morphological passives and causatives. SK dialects are also characterized by the absence of gender and case distinctions and by a patchy distribution of the *ezāfe* morpheme.

On the other hand, they are unique in possessing a collective morpheme *-ayl/-el/-al/-yal/-gal* (Windfuhr 1989b: 258; Paul 2008) as default plural marker, differing from the plural morphemes commonly used in the other two groups.⁴⁰ The most striking feature characterizing SK with respect to NK and CK on one side, and Laki on the other, however, is the lack of ergativity/agentiality in the conjugation of transitive verbs in the past: all SK dialects show a straightforward accusative (or ‘neutral’, as in Haig 2008: 303) alignment throughout their verbal system, meaning that all core arguments (Subject, Agent and Object) are morphologically unmarked and the Agent/Subject of any verb, irrespective to transitivity and tense, is normally cross-referenced via an agreement suffix on the verb, ultimately deriving from the set of bound pronouns reanalyzed as agreement markers (Haig 2008: 300).

A series of minor differences distinguish SK dialects from one another, but these do not seem deep enough to compromise mutual intelligibility. The dialects spoken at the fringes of the continuum are characterized by phenomena of convergence with neighbouring languages and dialects, contributing to blend language boundaries. Very

⁴⁰A comparable morpheme exists in some CK dialects, but its use is much more restricted (see Christensen & Barr 1939: 232; MacKenzie 1961a: 54 fn. 1).

often, variation follows the rifts traced by religious and tribal affiliations and knowledge of these proves fundamental for a better understanding of the spatial distribution and interaction between different SK varieties.

Fattah (2000: 9) proposed a preliminary classification of SK into seven dialect subgroups (summarized below from north to south).⁴¹ Leaving the enclave of Bijār aside, the dialects pertaining to the second, third and fourth groups are centred in Kermānshāh Province and adjoining areas of Kordestān, Hamadān and Iraq, while the dialects pertaining to the last three groups are uniformly spoken in Ilām Province and adjoining areas of Iraq (i.e. historical Posht-e Kuh):

1. **Bijāri**: also known as ‘Garrusi’ (Querry 1896; De Morgan 1904; Christensen & Barr 1939: 291-331), is spoken in the southern part of Bijār County (former Garrus, Kordestān Province).

2. **Kolyā’i**: is spoken in the district of Chahārduli-ye Gharbi (Qorve County, Kordestān Province), as well as in the northern and eastern areas of Kermānshāh Province (an exception here is the town of Kandule, where a Gorani dialect is spoken, cf. §1.3.2). This group also includes the SK dialects spread in the Counties of Asadābād, Hamadān, Tuyserkān and Malāyer (Hamadān Province). Further south, SK varieties make way for Northern Lori dialects (§1.3.3).

3. **Laki-Kermānshāhi**: includes the varieties spread in the Rural Districts of Dorudfarāmān and Miyāndarband (Central District, Kermānshāh County),⁴² as well as in the Counties of Sahne and Harsin, with the exception of most villages of the Rural District of Chamchamāl, where Kalhori-Sanjābi-Zangane varieties are namely spoken. Despite being considered by Fattah as part of the SK cluster, Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties can be considered as transitional between SK and Laki “proper”, for they share many features with Laki varieties of Lorestān (cf. §1.3.2;

⁴¹ For further details on the distribution of dialects up to village level see Fattah (2000: 5-39). Additional observations on internal classification and labelling of SK varieties in Kordestān Province can be found in Anonby et al. (2019). For a secondary assessment of SK language data in dialectological perspective see Belelli (2019).

⁴² Following Fattah (2000), in future occurrences the varieties spoken in districts of Dorudfarāmān and Miyāndarband populated by ethnic Pāyrvand will be collectively referred to as ‘Pāyrvand’.

§1.4). The variety of Harsin described in this study is included in this group.

4. Kalhori-Sanjābi-Zangane: seemingly, the largest cluster of SK dialects. Kalhori varieties are spread in the territories occupied by ethnic Kalhors, roughly delimited to the north by the city of Eslāmābād-e Gharb (former Shāhābād), to the south by the city of Eyvān (Ilām Province), to the west by the Iraqi city of Khānaqin and to the east by the Rural District of Harasam, which is the domain of Zangane vernaculars. Varieties akin to Kalhori are prevailing in the territories beyond the Iraqi border, roughly from the area of Khānaqin to Wārmizyār and Zurbātiya (District of Badra, Al-Wāsiṭ Governorate). The dialects spoken in the regions historically occupied by ethnic Arkavāz, between the cities of Eyvān and Ilām (Ilām Province), are also ascribed to this group. The same applies to the varieties spoken in the Counties of Shirvān and Chardāvol (to the west of Eyvān) with the exception of the ‘Khezel’ variety, classified by Fattah (2000: 28) as a Laki dialect. The ‘Zebiri’ variety (SK *zūri*, also Southern Shirvāni) apparently intermediate between the Kalhori-Sanjābi-Zangane and Badre’i groups of SK, is spoken south of the valley of Shirvān and was among the dialects spoken in the historical SK-speaking community of Baghdad.

5. Malekshāhi: or rather ‘Ilāmi’. this branch includes the dialects spread in the region to the north and west of Badre (Ilām Province), occupied by ethnic Malekshāhi and Mishkhās.⁴³ Varieties ascribable to this group are also spoken in the district of Sālehābād (Mehran County, Ilām Province) and in the Iraqi region of Zurbātiya (District of Badra, Al-Wāsiṭ Governorate), alongside a Lori variety termed ‘Shuhāni’ or ‘Rusyāna’ (Fattah 2000: 36). Dialects ascribable to the Malekshāhi branch were also spread among the SK-speaking community of Baghdad, and contributed, together with the Zebiri and Badre’i varieties, to the formation of the interdialectal ‘Feyli’ *koiné* of the city.⁴⁴

⁴³ Reported as Myaxās in Fattah (2000). The group roughly combines the ‘Ilāmi’ and ‘Malekshāhi’ subgroups in Aliakbari et al. (2014: 7).

⁴⁴ As geographic denomination, the term ‘Feyli’ was traditionally applied to the principality of Lor-e Kuchek (‘Lorestān-e Feyli’), and particularly to Posht-e Kuh (Fattah 2000: 41). Some scholars have later adopted the term to denote various peoples and languages of those

6. Badre’i: (SK *bayray* in Fattah 2000) is spoken in the district of Badre (Darre Shahr County, Ilām Province). The Badre’i vernacular of the SK-speaking community of Baghdad contributed to the formation of the SK *koiné* of the city. For a description of Badre’i see Blau (1989c) and Karimi Doostan (1380/2001).

7. Kordali: the Kordali varieties are spoken at the southernmost limits of the SK-speaking area, in the Counties of Dehlorān and Ābdānān (Ilām Province) inhabited by ethnic Kordali. Kordali varieties are also spread north-east of Al-Kūt, in the Iraqi Governorate of Al-Wāsiṭ. Kordali dialects show a high degree of similarity with neighbouring Laki varieties of Darre Shahr and with Northern Lori dialects spoken further east and south (especially in lexicon, cf. Belelli 2019: 88).

Fattah’s classification marks an important starting point for a group-internal classification of SK, but the groups he identified, mainly on ethnic grounds, should not be taken as clear-cut, sharply defined bundles of dialects. In fact, besides the varieties more clearly ascribable to one group or the other, we witness the presence of several transitional idioms possessing mixed characters, which makes their attribution to either group problematic.

Dialect blending is particularly common in major urban centres (e.g. Kermānshāh, Qasr-e Shirin, Ilām) where linguistic convergence is facilitated by constant interaction between inhabitants of various geographic origins and linguistic backgrounds.⁴⁵ This is why only further documentation activity may allow for a definite assessment on the dialectology of SK.

territories (e.g. Mann 1910; Anonby 2003, using this denomination for Northern Lori varieties and their speakers) and at times applied it to the whole of SK. According to Fattah (2000: 70-74), however, the term has been used as self-denomination only by the historical SK-speaking community of Baghdad. The inherent ambiguity of this term makes it a rather infelicitous choice as broader language label and its cautious use in dialectological descriptions is therefore highly advisable.

⁴⁵ A paradigmatic case is that of Kermānshāh city, attracting considerable migratory flows from neighbouring rural areas. Kermānshāh is now a multilingual city, hosting speakers of different SK dialects and other regional varieties (e.g. CK, Lori, Laki and Gorani). The SK vernacular of the city (described in Christensen & Barr 1939: 235-284, 342-358) is being progressively supplanted by a local Persian vernacular, largely influenced by Kurdish in phonology and morphosyntax, on which see Guizzo (2007).

1.3.2 Laki

The term Laki (also Lakki) collectively refers to the dialects spoken by Laks, a large and historically mobile ethnic group traditionally occupying the north-eastern areas of historical Lorestān (i.e. Pish-e Kuh). In addition to the Lak tribes of the Delfān and Selsele divisions⁴⁶ already mentioned in §1.2, several sources relate the presence of sizeable groups of Lakophones among Northern Lori-speaking tribes of Pish-e Kuh.⁴⁷

At present, Laki dialects are spread in a region wedged between the SK and the Lori ethno-linguistic blocs, unofficially known as Lakestān. This territory includes the Counties of Kuhdasht, Delfān, Selsele, Borujerd and Khorramābād (up to Khorramābād city) in present-day Lorestān Province, and stretches northwards and eastwards to comprise the Lak communities settled in southeastern Kermānshāh Province and southern Hamadān Province. Groups of Laki speakers are also present in Ilām Province, especially in the County of Darre Shahr, in the northern part of the Counties of Shirvān and Chardāvol⁴⁸ and in the District of Badre.⁴⁹

Beyond this rather compact core, minor Laki-speaking islands are reported in northern Iranian provinces (e.g. Gilān, Khorāsān and Māzandarān).⁵⁰ Small pockets of Laki speakers are also located beyond the

⁴⁶ The three major tribes of the Delfān division are the Kākāvand, Mumivand and Ivativand. Important tribes of the Selsele division are the Hasanvand, Kulivand and Yusufvand (among others, cf. Rawlinson 1839: 107; Edmonds 1922: 343). A more recent account can be found in Amanolahi (1370/1991: 165-169).

⁴⁷ The members of the Beyrānvand tribe of the Bālā Gerive confederacy are said to speak a Laki dialect (Rabino 1916: 6; Mann 1910: xxiii; Edmonds 1922: 340; Blau 1993: 93). The Tarhān division is also reported as largely Laki-speaking in Mann (1910: xxiii). This observation is partly confirmed by Amanolahi (1370/1991: 55), who accounts for the presence of Laki-speaking groups within the Tarhān division, although they are not described as the majority.

⁴⁸ The ‘Khezel’ vernacular, classified by Fattah (2000: 7, 28) as a variety of Laki, is spoken in this region.

⁴⁹ According to Fattah (2000: 7), a dialect akin to Laki is spoken by a section of the Hendemini tribe inhabiting the area of Badre.

⁵⁰ Lak tribes were forcibly resettled in the northern Iran during Nāder Shāh Afshār’s rule (1736–1747). Hamze’i (2015) relates the presence of Lak speakers in Manjil (Gilān Province), Kalāt and Dargaz (Khorāsān-e Razavi Province) and Kalārdasht (Māzandarān Province). Izady (1992: 78-85) provides a detailed list of Laki-speaking tribes inhabiting these regions. Mircherāghi (1369/1990) is a description of the Laki dialect of Kalārdasht, known as *Kh^wājavandi*. According to Fattah (2000: 57), besides Laki, a section of the population of Kalārdasht speaks a variety of SK.

Iraqi border (particularly around Khānaqin and Kifri), nearby Kāshān and Qom, in Fārs, in Sistān va Baluchestān and as far as Anatolia (Izady 1992: 78-85), although the actual association of these groups to the Laki ethnolinguistic complex needs to be checked more carefully. The total number of Laki-speakers has been estimated at around a million people (Fattah 2000: 4, 10), but this figure is probably overstated.⁵¹

Some early accounts on Laki come from the 19th and early 20th century reports of travellers, explorers and political officers, who generally recognise it as a language distinct from Lori.⁵² Ever since, no major advances in our knowledge of Laki dialects have been made and the question of the genetic affiliation of Laki, and of its relationship with other West Iranian languages and dialects, remains for the most part unanswered.⁵³

Most scholars agree in considering Laki as a Northwestern Iranian variety (or group of varieties), constituting the southernmost cluster of the Kurdish language group.⁵⁴ However, only some of these explicitly regard Laki dialects as varieties of SK. Others maintain a more cautious approach, admitting the possibility of classifying Laki as a Kurdish dialect, yet underlining that several commonalities with Northern Lori would allow to call it a mixed language, transitional between the Kurdish and Lori language blocs.⁵⁵ Alternative and perhaps not sufficiently investigated views, such as Izady's (1992: 174-175), assert a closer affinity of Laki to Gorani/Hawrami dialects.

Indeed, Laki shows commonalities with other Kurdish dialects, in particular with the CK and SK groups. These include phonological features (e.g. phonemic opposition between /l/ and /ɭ/ and /r/ and /ʁ/;

⁵¹ It is possible that the number of speakers of Laki as primary language does not exceed the hundreds of thousands (<https://www.ethnologue.com/language/lki>, accessed Sept. 2021).

⁵² See, for instance, Edmonds (1922: 340): "Two distinct though related dialects are spoken in Luristan, Luri by the tribes of Bala Gariveh except the Bairanavand, Lakki by the Bairanavand and the tribes of Pish-i-Kuh. I have not the erudition necessary to discuss these dialects, but I would class Luri as a dialect of modern Persian, while Lakki has much in common with modern Kurdish". A similar statement is reported in Edmonds (2010: 186).

⁵³ See Shahsavari (2010) and Aliyari Babolghani (2019).

⁵⁴ See Minorsky (1943: 75); Windfuhr (1989a: 248, 1989c: 294); Blau (1989a: 328, 1993: 93); Lazard (1992: 215); Schmitt (2000: 77); Fattah (2000: 55-62); Asatrian (2009: 12).

⁵⁵ See the discussion in Anonby (2004-2005).

common realization of the group *ng* as [ŋ]),⁵⁶ morphological features (e.g. presence of a definite marker *-a/-ka* and of an ‘open compound construction’) and lexical traits. As with SK, they are characterized by the presence of a plural collective marker *-al*.

On the other hand, typically Laki seem to be the form (=a) *ma-* of the indicative marker, the form *wiž* of the reflexive marker, a series of particular postverbs paralleling common Kurdish preverbs, the presence of particular postpositions and verbal endings, as well as a series of peculiar vocabulary items (Fattah 2000: 61-62). Moreover, Laki differs from both its northern and southern neighbours (i.e. SK and Lori) in its alignment patterns, showing forms of agentiality in the conjugation of past transitive verbs. Much like CK, these involve the obligatory cross-reference of an Agent via a bound pronoun.⁵⁷

As I personally observed, mutual intelligibility between Laki and most SK varieties is possible, although it may require a certain degree of effort and acclimatization, especially on the part of SK speakers. This degree is certainly lower for speakers of so-called Laki-Kermānshāhi and Kordali varieties which, despite being devoid of any form of agentiality as most SK dialects, share additional features with neighbouring Laki parlances.

Unfortunately, we still know very little about Laki internal variation. A tentative dialect distinction into Pish-e Kuh and Posht-e Kuh Laki, respectively spoken “in the Luristan province of Iran and adjacent areas” and “in the Ilam and Kermanshahan provinces of Iran, and in an area in Iraq across the border from Ilam” has been proposed by Anonby (2004-2005: 11). However, this suggestion seems somehow at odds with the information on dialect distribution provided by Fattah (2000), who asserts that varieties of Laki are almost exclusively spoken in northern Lorestān (i.e. historical Pish-e Kuh), with only a few Laki-speaking islands occupying the easternmost counties of Ilām Province (i.e. historical Posht-

⁵⁶ Note, however, that these features also characterize varieties of Gorani/Hawrami, and possibly other varieties in the region. Therefore, it is unclear whether they are good diagnostics for dialectological attributions, or should rather be considered as broader areal phenomena.

⁵⁷ For a more thorough discussion of alignment patterns in Laki, see Dabir-Moghaddam (1392/2013).

e Kuh), still on the eastern slope of the Kabir Kuh. The Posht-e Kuh region is otherwise reported as mainly SK-speaking (see §1.3.1.3).⁵⁸

As for the thorny question of the Laki speakers' self-perception raised in Anonby (2004-2005), it shall be kept in mind that, as van Bruinessen (1992: 37) aptly stated, "ethnicity is a fluid thing and, to some extent, at least voluntaristic. It is not nature-given, one does not necessarily belong unambiguously to a specific ethnic group. Everyone has a number of partially overlapping identities, and it depends on the situation which ones he or she will emphasize or deemphasize". The observation that the Laki speakers of Pish-e Kuh preferably identify themselves as Lor, while Laki speakers of Posht-e Kuh identify alternatively as Lor or Kurds (Anonby 2004-2005: 8) should be considered in view of the above.

Based on my own experience among speakers of Kākāvandi Laki, I can safely assert that most of them define themselves primarily as Laks, without specifying if this has any implication in considering themselves part of the Lori or Kurdish ethnocultural complexes. It appeared to me that the Laki ethno-linguistic identity usually supersedes any other "higher-ranking" or broader identity. Nonetheless, Laki speakers are well aware of occupying an "intermediate" position (be it geographic, ethnic, linguistic, etc.) between the Kurdish and Lori continua⁵⁹ and shifting self-definitions, varying according to different communicative situations and interlocutors, should not be surprising at all. Even so, the Laki speakers consulted typically perceive their mother tongue as a peculiar kind of Kurdish.

Concerning social prestige, my observations on Laki largely coincide with Anonby's (2004-2005). Due to the high level of social bias surrounding Laki-speaking communities of Kermānshāh Province, outsiders tend to associate Laki vernaculars (and by extension also Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties, showing typical Laki features) with "cultural

⁵⁸ Only few historical sources (e.g. De Morgan 1904: 4) and contemporary studies (e.g. Windfuhr 1989c: 294; Amanolahi 1370/1991: 57) make reference to the presence of sizeable groups of Laki speakers in Posht-e Kuh.

⁵⁹ This general awareness is attested by a recurrent pseudo-etymology of the ethnonym 'Lak', often explained by native speakers as being formed by the 'L' of Lor and the 'K' of Kurd. This ethnic name, however, is most likely related to the Indic numeral for 100,000, used in Safavid historical sources and administrative documents to count tribal households (numbered by *lak* of families), see Potts 2016: 248ff.

conservativism, rurality and economic deprivation” (Anonby 2004-2005: 14). Although Laki parlanges do not seem to be critically endangered in the communities I observed, negative attitudes possibly emerging among native speakers due to external bias may be detrimental for their survival in the long term, encouraging Laki speakers to avoid passing on linguistic knowledge to younger generations of speakers.

Early accounts and notes on Laki dialects (particularly concerning lexicon) can be found in De Morgan (1904) and Soane (1921). More recent resources include dictionaries and glossaries in Persian (Karimpour 1382/2003; Kiyāni Kulivand 1390/2011; Izadpanāh 1391/2012), a wordlist in Anonby (2003) and a few isolated words in Kiā (1390/2011). Lazard (1992b) and Aliyari Babolghani (1396/2017) are two descriptions of Laki varieties of the Delfān area.⁶⁰ Mohammadirad (2020) contains a typological description of pronominal clitics in Laki Kākāvandi and Harsini. Belevi (2020) is a grammatical sketch of Kākāvandi Laki with a textual appendix. Many studies on Laki society, culture and folklore, occasionally providing additional linguistic information, are also available in Persian (e.g. Hamze’i 1385/2006).

1.3.3 Lori

In its broader linguistic definition, the term ‘Lori’ applies to a series of related Iranian varieties spoken by both settled and nomadic people inhabiting the area of the Zagros range more or less coinciding with the territorial span of historical Lorestān. According to the political geography of present-day Iran, the Lori-speaking area can be said to extend from the territories south of Nahāvand city (Hamadān Province) and south of Khorramābād city (Lorestān Province), to encompass large sections of the present-day Provinces of Khuzestān, Esfāhān, Chahārmahāl va Bakhtiāri and Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad, up to northern Fārs.

The varieties of the Lori language continuum are commonly classified, alongside Persian, within Southwestern Iranian.⁶¹ As for their internal

⁶⁰ Besides the description of a Laki variety of the Delfān region, Aliyari Babolghani’s comparative study includes three Lori dialects (Haft Lang Bakhtiāri, Darre Jozāni and Sagvand), two SK dialects (Kalhori and Gahvāre’i) and a Gorani dialect (i.e. Gawrajuji).

⁶¹ Specifically, they form with Shushtari-Dezfuli, Davāni, Sivandi and other Fārs dialects the ‘Perside’ group of Southwestern Iranian (Windfuhr 2009: 13).

classification, two (MacKinnon 2011) or three (Anonby 2003) dialect groups are generally distinguished. The main isogloss, roughly coinciding with the course of the river Āb-e Dez, runs between a Northern group (i.e. Lori “proper”, Lorestāni or less frequently Feyli) including all the varieties spoken in historical Lor-e Kuchek,⁶² and a Southern group including the dialects spoken in historical Lor-e Bozorg.⁶³ The Southern group is seen by Anonby (2003) as divided into Bakhtiāri, with about a million speakers, and a smaller group of remaining varieties, themselves labelled as Southern Lori.

Northern Lori dialects are spoken alongside Laki by many ethnic groups of historical Pish-e Kuh.⁶⁴ They are almost uniformly spread east, west and south of the Laki speaking areas, from Nahāvand (Hamadān Province), Borujerd and Khorramābād (Lorestān Province), up to Andimeshk (Khuzestān Province) and west of Kuhdasht up to the easternmost counties of Ilām Province.

In addition to the Lori-speaking Hendemini population of the counties of Badre and Darre Shahr (eastern Ilām Province), Lori-speaking islands are reportedly found on both sides of the Iraq-Iran border, in a region roughly comprised between Salehābād in the north and Dehlorān in the south (Fattah 2000: 7). However, the belonging of these parlances to Lori rather than to SK has never been verified in the field. Furthermore, Fattah (2000: 5, 42) accounts for the presence of historical Lori-speaking communities in Kermānshāh Province, particularly in the city of Kangāvar and in a few villages in the County of Eslāmābād-e Gharb (Fattah 2000: 7).

Prolonged Laki-Lori contact in northern Lorestān has led to convergence between these two language clusters, especially concerning lexicon,⁶⁵ eventually shaping them as two opposing yet symbiotic interfaces between contemporary Northwestern and Southwestern

⁶² These include the Gyāni (or Gioni), Khorramābādi, Chagani and Bālā-Gerive’i dialects.

⁶³ These include the Boyer-Ahmadi, Mamasani and Kohgiluyeh dialects, with the optional addition of Bakhtiāri.

⁶⁴ The Bālā Gerive (inhabiting the mountainous region south of Khorramābād and north of Andimeshk in Khuzestān Province) and Tarhān people (inhabiting the western and south-western regions of present-day Lorestān, on the edge of Posht-e Kuh) are the main ethnic groups of historical Pish-e Kuh, speaking Lori dialects.

⁶⁵ As revealed also by the lexicostatistic analysis in Anonby (2003).

Iranian. So far, little linguistic research has been carried out on most Northern Lori varieties and many of them are still awaiting documentation and description.⁶⁶

1.3.4 Gorani

The last major language group historically spoken in the region is Gorani/Hawrami. The core-area of diffusion of so-called Gorani/Hawrami dialects is the Awrāmān region, including the territories around Pāve and Nowsud, on the north-western tip of Kermānshāh Province, and some adjoining areas east of Halabja, on the Iraqi side of the border.⁶⁷

Besides the dialects spoken there, usually referred to as ‘Hawrami’ or ‘Hawramani’ proper, Gorani varieties are also spoken around Gahvāre, Kerend, Qasr-e Shirin and Sarpol-e Zahāb, as well as in the enclaves of Kandule, north of Kermānshāh city, and Qorve, in Kordestān Province (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 2). Beyond the Iraqi border, pockets of Gorani-speakers are found nearby Khānaqīn, Kirkuk, Koy Sanjaq and Mosul, in an area inhabited by ethnic Bajalān, Shabak, Sārli and related groups (Fattah 2000: 63-64; MacKenzie 2002).⁶⁸ No reliable estimate on the number of Gorani/Hawrami speakers is currently available, but sources speak of several tens of thousands (Leezenberg 1993: 6).

On strictly linguistic grounds, Gorani is currently classified by most scholars as a Northwestern Iranian language independent from Kurdish. However, as so often in the area of west Iran we are dealing with, linguistic taxonomies can be at odds with native speakers’ self-perceptions and most speakers of Gorani/Hawrami dialects would not hesitate to define themselves as Kurds in ethno-linguistic terms.⁶⁹ It should also be emphasized that the label Gorani, applied here and elsewhere as a cover

⁶⁶ For further bibliography see MacKinnon (2011).

⁶⁷ The city is sadly remembered for the atrocities (systematic destructions of villages, massive deportations and resettlements, poison gas attacks against the civil population) of the Anfal campaign, carried out by the Baathist government in the final stages of the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988).

⁶⁸ According to Fattah (2000: 63) the Shabak and Sārli groups pertain to the Kākā’i confederacy. Maps showing the distribution of Gorani varieties are contained in Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012: 6) and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013: 6).

⁶⁹ See Leezenberg (1993) for a discussion of this topic.

term for this group of present-day dialects, does not seem very current among native speakers and neighbouring communities⁷⁰ and its overall appropriateness is a matter of debate.

Concerning the current distribution of Gorani/Hawrami dialects, many scholars are prone to thinking that the sparse Gorani “speech islands in a sea of Kurdish” (MacKenzie 1961b: 73) we observe today, might be the remnants of an earlier, wider area of diffusion of Gorani, that was later overlaid and eroded by the progressive spread of Kurdish parlances. The Gorani substratum would thus underlie observable differences characterizing the CK and SK groups as compared with NK. The question cannot be further pursued here, but possible alternatives to this scenario have been put forward.⁷¹

The relationships among individual Gorani/Hawrami varieties are still poorly understood.⁷² It is generally agreed upon that Hawrami represents the most conservative form of Gorani, retaining a more complex morphology in comparison to other dialects. With its estimated 23,000 native speakers in the year 2000, Hawrami is classified as ‘definitely endangered’, with children no longer learning the language as mother tongue (Moseley 2010).⁷³

Besides indicating a bundle of contemporary Iranian varieties, however, the term ‘Gorani’ has also been used in the literature to refer to ‘literary Gorani’ (or ‘Gorani *koiné*’). In this sense, the term denotes the

⁷⁰ Speakers of Gorani varieties, as those of other local dialects, usually refer to their vernacular simply as *kurdi* ‘Kurdish’, even if they are generally aware that “their Kurdish” differs considerably from neighbouring varieties. Other endonyms used for Gorani dialects are tied to tribal (e.g. *Kākā’i*, *Shabaki*, *Bājalāni*) or geographic labels (e.g. *Kandulai*, *Hawrami*). Outsiders may refer to the Gorani-speakers of Iraq as *Mācho(zuwān)*, from Gor. *māčō* ‘He says’ (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 3; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 2 fn. 8).

⁷¹ See MacKenzie (1961b); Windfuhr (1975); Leezenberg (1993); Jügel (2014); and Haig (2018) on this topic.

⁷² See Bailey (2018: 551ff.) for a preliminary investigation on internal variation in Gorani.

⁷³ Note, however, that this level of endangerment might not apply uniformly to all Gorani/Hawrami speaking communities: for instance, intergenerational language transmission is still very common in the area of Pāve and Nowsud (Masoud Mohammadirad p.c.). Standard references for Gorani/Hawrami dialectology are Mann & Hadank (1930) and MacKenzie (1966). More recently, the efforts for the documentation of Gorani varieties have been resumed by the project “Documentation of Gorani, an endangered language of West Iran” of the DoBeS (Dokumentation Bedrother Sprachen) program, which resulted in the publication of two monographs on the Gorani varieties of Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012) and Zarda (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013).

language of written and oral transmission of the sacred scriptures (*kalām*) of the Ahl-e Haqq religious community, as well as a closely related literary language that emerged as a common written medium for poetic expression at the court of the Ardalān principality (centred in present-day Sanandaj) between the 14th and the 19th century A.D.⁷⁴ The promotion of Gorani literature by the Ardalān court fostered the diffusion of this literary medium in central west Iran, where it is still used and understood by native speakers of various regional vernaculars.

The composite character of literary Gorani led scholars to describe it as a *koiné* or continuum, differing to a varying extent in morphology and syntax from all existing dialects (MacKenzie 2002), yet being equally “intelligible to speakers of a range of ‘Zagrosian’ languages” (Kreyenbroek & Chamanara 2013: 151). As MacKenzie (1965: 258) observed, speakers of different vernaculars often attribute the phonetic values of their own dialects to the written Gorani texts while performing them orally,⁷⁵ a fact that contributes to strengthen speakers’ perception of this language as “their own” traditional idiom for poetry, epics and (in the case of the Ahl-e Haqq communities) sacred literature. This sense of close affinity between literary Gorani and local vernaculars is clearly reflected in Izadpanāh’s attribution of the label ‘Laki’ to a text composed in a form of literary Gorani (Izadpanāh 1990; 1384/2005).

Research on the diffusion of literary Gorani in the central and northern Zagros area is still scanty and only a small number of literary Gorani texts have been fully edited and studied.⁷⁶ At the present stage of knowledge, there is no full answer to the crucial question of how this common literary language contributed to shape the linguistic geography of present-day central west Iran, although there is broad consensus that this has been the case.

⁷⁴ Literary Gorani was eventually superseded by CK (Sorani), which rose and became widespread at the nearby court of the Bābān principality, with capital in present-day Sulaymāniya.

⁷⁵ Oral recitations of literary Gorani texts, particularly episodes of the *Shāhnāme* (‘The Book of Kings’), the Iranian national epic, can still be heard in central-west Iran, but this time-honoured tradition is currently preserved only by a small number of (mostly elderly) performers.

⁷⁶ These include Mokri (1956; 1966; 1967; 1977). Two recent contributions on epics in literary Gorani are Chamanara (2013; 2015).

1.4 Classification of Harsini

The variety described in this study, hereafter referred to as Harsini,⁷⁷ is spoken as mother tongue by the native inhabitants of the city of Harsin. Moreover, despite the scanty documentation of the linguistic situation in rural areas, it can confidently be stated that varieties akin to Harsini are spoken in other localities of Harsin County, as attested by the data available from the villages of Parive and Sarmāj-e Hosseinkhāni.⁷⁸

According to the classification proposed by Fattah (2000) and outlined in §1.3.1.1, Harsini is included within the Laki-Kermānshāhi group of SK, together with the vernaculars of Bisotun, Sahne, Chehr and Pāyравand. As it will be illustrated in Part II, however, this variety can be better recognised as intermediate between SK dialects of the Kermānshāh area and Laki “proper” (as defined in §1.3.2), proving in many ways closer to the latter than to geographically more distant SK varieties (such as, for instance, Kalhori varieties spoken in the west of Kermānshāh Province). Indeed, as Fattah (2000: 10) acknowledges, the Laki-Kermānshāhi and Kordali groups stand out for their additional commonalities with neighbouring Laki dialects as compared to other SK groups, particularly in morphology and lexicon.

In the case of Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties, common morphological features include the form (=a) *ma-* of the indicative marker, the form *homa* of the second person plural free pronoun, a series of peculiar complex prepositions and postverbal particles and the form *wiž* of the reflexive marker. Fattah (2000:13) observes that due to this overall closeness to Laki, speakers of other SK dialects normally need to invest more time and effort in verbal interactions with speakers of Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties (Fattah 2000: 13); still, the level of mutual intelligibility remains globally high.

Fattah (2000: 23) further states that a certain gradation in the presence of typical Laki features is observable within the Laki-Kermānshāhi group:

⁷⁷ Harsini is the common endonym used by speakers to refer to this variety. The label is attested in Text [1:12], as further specification for *kwirdi* ‘Kurdish’. However, native speakers may equally refer to this vernacular as ‘Laki’ if the communicative situation allows it, as happens in the DoBeS Archive materials.

⁷⁸ The variety of Parive is exemplified by Text 1 and Text 7 of the corpus in Part III, while that of Sarmāj-e Hosseinkhāni is documented by the DoBeS Archive materials.

proceeding from Harsin and Chehr northwards and westwards, typical Laki traits progressively decrease, while the similarities with neighbouring SK varieties increase. Harsin and Sahne are at the opposite ends of the spectrum, with the first possessing the highest number of commonalities with Laki “proper” (including some additional lexical items, cf. §7.1) and the second more often aligning with common SK features.⁷⁹

On the other hand, all Laki-Kermānshāhi dialects differ from Laki in the use of certain verbal endings (the 2SG and 2PL endings in the case of Harsini) and bundle together with the rest of SK in alignment patterns, showing straightforward accusative (or ‘neutral’) alignment throughout their verbal system. The latter feature has been taken by Fattah (2000) as the primary isogloss distinguishing SK varieties from Laki, as well as the main reason for including Harsini and related Laki-Kermānshāhi vernaculars within the SK dialect group.

Overall, the evidence from Harsini presented in this study confirms the data provided by Fattah (2000), which depict this vernacular as intermediate between SK and Laki “proper”. It has never been specified in the literature, however, that Harsini is not the only (and perhaps not even the majority) linguistic variety spoken in Harsin. In fact, as already outlined in §1.2, a considerable share of the city and the county’s inhabitants is of Lak – particularly Kākāvandi Lak – origin and speaks a dialect akin to other Laki varieties of Lorestān. This crucial information on linguistic diversity within the city is overlooked in both Fattah (2000) and Mirdehghan & Moradkhani (2010).

The general impression is that those two varieties, symbiotically spoken in the city, have been kept more or less distinct by the relative independence of the originally sedentary vs. originally mobile components of the population, reflected also in their occupation of different neighbourhoods, and ultimately deriving from the troubled relationship they have established with each other starting from the mass sedentarization of the Kākāvand tribal households in the area.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Exemplary is the use, in the dialect of Sahne, of the indicative marker *a-* instead of the common Laki and Laki-Kermānshāhi form (=a) *ma-*.

⁸⁰ A study addressing the contexts of use of each variety and the accommodation strategies (especially in relation to alignment patterns) adopted by Harsini and Kākāvandi speakers in communicative interactions, might be an interesting topic for future investigations.

When it comes to group identity and self-representation, Harsini speakers tend to draw a rather sharp dividing line between themselves and neighbouring communities of Laki speakers, even if they seem less categorical in distinguishing their own linguistic variety from Laki as a whole. In fact, Harsini speakers were found to refer to their language both as Kurdish and as Laki, without manifesting any clear preference for any of these labels.

Concerning linguistic vitality, one can observe an increasing tendency among native speakers to neglect teaching Harsini to younger generations. In general, they tend to perceive Persian or other regional varieties as more profitable in a perspective of social advancement, while their attitudes towards the variety they speak are often negative.⁸¹ Finding young people with a good active command of Harsini is becoming rarer, even if passive competence is still quite common among younger people. Overall, the use of the vernacular in family and social environments is shrinking at a high rate, a situation that exposes Harsini to a concrete risk of extinction in the foreseeable future.

Furthermore, lacking a written norm and any well-grounded literary tradition, Harsini is not normally used for writing purposes. Occasional attempts at representing the language in written form are found in a few printed booklets of poetry and in conversations across the new media (e.g. websites, blogs, forums, social networks). In the majority of cases, the writing system employed is Arabic-based and most often consists in an adaptation of Persian orthographic conventions. In a few instances, it is possible to witness the application of the Arabic-based script used for Kurdish.

The general impression concerning Kākāvandi Laki, whose study goes beyond the scope of this book,⁸² is that it preserves a higher degree of vitality in comparison to Harsini. The Kākāvandi dialect is still normally passed on to younger generations, who use it in everyday interactions with family and peers. A good amount of resources in Kākāvandi and closely related Laki varieties are available on the internet, and movies and other types of audio-visual material are easily accessible.

⁸¹ Many Harsini speakers manifested perplexity regarding my interest for their dialect, which they perceived as unimportant and silly.

⁸² See Belelli (2020) for further information on this Laki dialect.

This does not mean necessarily that Kākāvandi is immune from processes of linguistic decay. Negative attitudes towards this vernacular and Laki varieties in general on the part of neighbouring social groups might represent a risk factor for the vitality of these idioms in the medium and long term, discouraging their transmission to future generations. Before this happens, they need to be thoroughly documented and described and, in this respect, provide a wide and open field for future research.

1.5 Fieldwork procedure

Field research for the completion of this documentation project was carried out during three individual journeys in Kermānshāh Province and northern Lorestān. The trips were made between January and April 2014 at a distance of one or two weeks from one another, and lasted two months in total.

The fieldwork produced a corpus of more than two hours of connected speech,⁸³ recorded from native speakers of various spots of the County of Harsin (i.e. Bisotun, Chālābe, Harsin and Parive), as well as a number of samples in the Kākāvandi Laki of Darb-e Gonbad (Lak. *dargoma*, Kuhdasht County, Lorestān Province). The recorded material mostly consists of traditional folktales and anecdotes, representative of the oral narrative repertoire of the region. For the aims of the present study, I selected only the materials collected in Harsin from speakers native to the city and the neighbouring village of Parive.

The first visit to the Province of Kermānshāh was planned for the beginning of 2014. During the first trip (January 2014), I mostly stayed in the city of Kermānshāh, where I met language consultants from Sahne and Harsin. During daily visits, I could collect spoken samples in the village of Chālābe and the city of Bisotun. Towards the end of my stay, thanks to the assistance of Prof. Mohammad Rezā (Fariborz) Hamze'i, I was introduced to Dr. Akram Bināyān, who agreed to host me in Harsin and helped me with the arrangement of the first interviews with Harsini and Kākāvandi speakers in the city. At an initial stage, the recordings were

⁸³ By 'connected speech' is intended a naturalistic spoken text spontaneously performed by the informant(s) without any restriction or direction imposed by the researcher.

carried out at Dr. Bināyān's private house. However, I soon perceived that consultants were more disposed to speak spontaneously in a familiar environment and this persuaded me to start carrying out daily visits to their private homes, where Texts 1, 3, 4 and 7 were collected.

During the second visit (February 2014), I could spend more time in Harsin thanks to the kind hospitality of the Jahānbakhshi family. During my stay at their house I could focus more on direct elicitation of words and sentences, and I was able to record Texts 5 and 6.

During the third and last visit to Kermānshāh (March 2014), I was hosted by the Sheikhi family in Kermānshāh. On that occasion, I started working on a parallel collection of Kākāvandi Laki speech samples, while devoting the remaining time to a preliminary transcription and translation of the Harsini texts already gathered. I could also spend some days in the village of Darb-e Gonbad (northern Lorestān), where additional Kākāvandi Laki materials were collected.

All recordings were made in a linear WAV-format at 44KHZ frequency, using an Olympus LS-11 recorder with built-in microphones. The use of this tool could assure that the recording sessions were held in a spontaneous and relatively unintrusive situation. The language used in my interactions with language consultants was Persian. I tried to intervene as little as possible while recording, in order to avoid interrupting or influencing their flow of speech. However, this cautious approach could not forestall the presence of sporadic cases of code-mixing and code-switching to Persian, which are nonetheless an expected phenomenon in the context under study.

Seven Harsini texts were finally selected to be included in this work on the basis of content, quality of recording and fluency of speech. Their total duration is 58:53 minutes. For all of them, a rough transcription and an English translation could be produced in situ. Uncertain passages were later checked and modified once back in Italy, consulting native speakers whenever necessary.

The software Adobe Audition was used to process the recordings, reduce ground noise, delete unmeaningful silences and adjust volume. After the development of a consistent transcription system based on the Latin script, the texts were entered into the software program FLEx

(FieldWorks Language Explorer)⁸⁴ to be glossed and analyzed, although a good part of this work has been done manually. In parallel, a basic lexicon was created, to be later integrated with the linguistic forms contained in the grammatical sections.

Only at a late stage of the research, at the beginning of October 2015, I could access the audio files stored in the DoBeS archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, containing some unprocessed language materials collected by Dr. Parvin Mahmoudveysi in Kermānshāh Province, while working on the project “Documentation of Gorani, an endangered language of West Iran”.⁸⁵ The recordings, labelled as laki_conv_1 and laki_conv_2, consist of two interviews of 21:18 and 45:50 minutes and later revealed themselves as good samples of two different varieties of the so-called ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ group. The first (laki_conv_1) is a conversation with a thirty-six year-old female speaker born and raised in the village of Sarmāj-e Hosseinkhāni,⁸⁶ while the second (laki_conv_2) is a conversation with a male speaker from the region north and east of Kermānshāh city, where so-called Pāyrvand vernaculars are spoken.

Considering the close proximity of the variety exemplified by laki_conv_1 to the vernacular of Harsin, I have deemed it appropriate for the purposes of this study. After having completed a summary transcription and translation of the text, I selected a few excerpts to include as example sentences in the grammatical description.

⁸⁴ FLEx is an open source software developed by SIL International. The software is designed to help field linguists perform many common language documentation and analysis tasks, e.g. eliciting and recording lexical information, creating dictionaries, interlinearizing texts, analyzing discourse features and studying morphology.

⁸⁵ The recordings are available at https://archive.mpi.nl/islandora/object/tla%3A1839_00_0000_0000_0018_03DC_B (Accessed Sept. 2021). I wish to thank Parvin Mahmoudveysi for allowing the use of the DoBeS materials in my research.

⁸⁶ This village is located in the Shizar Rural District (District of Bisotun, Harsin County).

1.6 Research limitations and shortcomings

Although the decision to focus solely on Harsini might appear limiting, the documentation and description of a virtually unknown variety revealed itself as a challenging task for a single researcher in the field. Hence, this study suffers from more or less unavoidable shortcomings the reader should be aware of from the very beginning.

First, the need for rapid collection of linguistic information, added to a few restrictions in my freedom of movement and interaction with local residents, especially at the beginning of my stay, impeded a more balanced selection of consultants on the basis of significant sociolinguistic traits (e.g. age, gender, education level, social group). The availability of texts with a greater degree of diversity regarding those parameters could have improved the description considerably. However, luckily enough, I could rely on few but good consultants, who were representative of both genders, had a good command of their own vernaculars and were both willing and capable to provide spontaneous speech samples, as well as supplementary linguistic information.

Another evident limit concerns the typological uniformity of the textual samples. The Harsini corpus on which the linguistic analysis is based consists mostly of traditional narratives and folktales in the form of monologues. Other categories of texts (e.g. everyday conversations, media broadcasts, descriptions of real-life events or local customs and crafts) are essentially lacking. Underdiversified linguistic material is likely to affect and compromise the quality and quantity of available data sets, particularly concerning vocabulary, and eventually return a partial image of the language under study. If the recourse to direct elicitation from a lexical questionnaire has been of utmost importance to enrich the attested lexicon, the availability of the DoBeS materials was crucial for clarifying difficult aspects of grammar and to complement the study with examples and types of linguistic structures otherwise unattested in the primary Harsini texts.

An additional problem concerned the lack of adequate acoustic analyses of spoken samples. The transcriptions and the phonological description were compiled relying primarily on my capability of hearing and distinguishing sounds. Future laboratory measurements and/or a double check with the help of trained native speakers will enable the

amendment of remaining mistakes and idiosyncrasies. Most of the problems described so far could have been overcome, or at least mitigated, if the time spent on the field would have been longer. Still, Dimmendaal (2001: 68) points out that there are always limitations in the results of fieldwork, however long or intensive it may be.

Part II

Chapter 2: Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Consonants

The Harsini phonemic inventory includes 24 consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, č, j, f, v, s, z, š, ž, x, h, m, n, ŋ, l, ɭ, r, ř/ (among which /ŋ, ɭ, ř/ are of uncertain phonemic status), two semi-vowels /w, y/, and three marginal phonemes /ʔ, ġ, ʕ/. They are summarized in Table 4 according to their normal point and manner of articulation:

Table 4: Consonant inventory ⁸⁷

	Labial	Dental/ alveolar	Post-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops/Affricates							
Voiceless	p	t	č	k	q		(ʔ)
Voiced	b	d	j	g			
Fricatives							
Voiceless	f	s	š	x			h
Voiced	v	z	ž	(ġ)		(ʕ)	
Nasals	m	n		*ŋ			
Laterals							
Plain		l					
Dark		*ɭ					
Vibrants							
Tap		r					
Trill		*ř					
Semivowels	w		y				

⁸⁷ An asterisk * marks consonants of uncertain phonemic status. Parentheses () mark marginal phonemes.

2.1.1 Notes on the realization of consonant phonemes

Many Harsini consonant phonemes exhibit a range of phonetic realizations. The core phonetic value is reported on the left, with some considerations on conditioned variation on the right. Unless otherwise stated, the phonemes occur in word-initial, medial and final positions:

- i. **Marginal phonemes.** The three marginal consonant phonemes of Harsini occur predominantly in loanwords.⁸⁸ They are unevenly realized throughout the texts recorded, very much depending on the sociolinguistic history and literary background of the speaker:

/ğ/ [ɣ] Voiced (post-)velar fricative. The nature and status of this sound in the Harsini consonant system is problematic, as its contrastive value is not supported by unambiguous minimal pairs, except perhaps word-initially (§2.1.2). It may occur in both borrowed Iranian words and loans of ultimate Turkic or Arabic origin, e.g. *ğazā* [ɣa'za:] 'fate, destiny' (Pers. *qazā*).⁸⁹ Harsini speakers, however, rarely produce this sound in items having /ğ/ in Persian, as its normal Harsini counterpart is /q/ (see below). Variation in such cases is likely related to register and/or the degree of literacy in Persian. This is suggested also by the occurrence of *duğ* [du:ɣ] 'buttermilk' and *duruğ* [du'ru:ɣ] 'lie' in a case of code-switching (cf. [5:54]), instead of *duq* [du:q], *duru* [du'ru:] (cf. [6:191]).

/ʕ/ [ʕ] Voiced pharyngeal fricative. E.g. *ʕarus* [ʕa'ru:s] 'bride'. This phoneme is marginal in the system, being realized word-initially only in a small number of words (generally of Arabo-Persian origin). It is usually dropped in medial

⁸⁸ In all of the cases we observed in the data, loanwords of Arabic origin found in Harsini are also attested in Persian. The large majority of them likely entered Harsini via Persian and can thus be considered as Persian loans of Arabic origin. Whenever a term of non-Iranian origin is quoted in its Persian form for comparison with a Harsini equivalent, it will consistently be marked as 'Pers.', regardless of its ultimate origin.

⁸⁹ Persian /ğ/, as its counterpart in Harsini, is characterized by a high degree of conditioned variability. On a diachronic level, it results from the convergence of an inherited voiced velar fricative [ɣ], of Arabic voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] (written as *ghayn*) and voiceless uvular stop [q] (written as *qāf*), and of Turkic *g* and *k* before back vowels. See Windfuhr (1979: 138-139; 1997: 682).

position, almost systematically triggering the compensatory lengthening of a preceding vowel: e.g. *baʕd* [ba:d] ‘after’. It can hardly be considered part of the phonological system of Harsini. Its presence in transcription does not invariably indicate a realization [ʕ]. Most often, <ʕ> is just a graphic notation facilitating the identification of the original Persian and Arabic lexeme in orthography (as in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 10; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 9), meanwhile drawing the reader’s attention on “the possibility of related phonological effects in the transferred form” (Bailey 2018: 56).

- /ʔ/ [ʔ] Glottal stop, as in Pers. *soʔāl* ‘question’. Its occurrence is limited. It is sometimes realized in careful delivery of loans of Arabo-Persian origin, especially in intervocalic position. It is usually absent in more phonetically integrated loans: e.g. *qwirān* [qwə'ra:n] ‘Quran’ (Pers. *qor'ān*). It can be substituted by a glide in words such as *fāyīda* [fə:ji'da] ‘benefit’ (Pers. *fā'ede*, *fāyede*).

ii. Stops/Affricates:

- /p/ [p] Voiceless bilabial plosive, as in Pers. *panj* ‘five’. E.g. *čap* [čap] ‘left’. This phoneme is pronounced as slightly aspirated [p^h] in syllable-initial position before vowels, e.g. *pül* [p^hy:l] ‘money’, *matape* [mata'p^he:] ‘he/she strikes’.
- /b/ [b] Voiced bilabial plosive, as in Pers. *bābune* ‘chamomile’. E.g. *bül* [by:l] ‘ash, dust’, *ābādī* [a:ba:'di:] ‘village’, *qorub* [qo'ru:b] ‘sunset’. /b/ can have a lower degree of sonority in word-final position. Historical *b* shows a tendency towards lenition in intervocalic and post-vocalic positions: e.g. *xavar* [xa'va:r] ‘news’ (Pers. *xabar*), *čuwīn* [ču'wi:n] ‘wooden’ (Pers. *čubīn*), *birdin* ['bərdən] ‘they took/carried away’ vs. **mabirim* > **mawirim* > *mōwrim* [møw'rəm] ‘I take/carry away’. This phenomenon is nevertheless inconsistently applied, with attested cases of full stop preservation (e.g. *ābādī* [a:ba:'di:] ‘village’) and cases where preservation and lenition co-occur in different contexts in the same word (e.g. *kabāw* [ka'bøw] ‘kebab’).

- /t/ [t] Voiceless dental-alveolar plosive, as in Pers. *tut* ‘berry’. E.g. *tašī* [tʰaˈʃiː] ‘spindle’, *kwilfatī* [kwɒlfaˈtʰiː] ‘housekeeping’, *vilāt* [vɒˈlaːt] ‘region’. It is pronounced as a slightly aspirated [tʰ] in syllable-initial position before vowels: e.g. *tašī* [tʰaˈʃiː] ‘spindle’. It is frequently dropped or just weakly pronounced in original word-final clusters: e.g. *bīs* [biːs] ‘twenty’, *haf(t)* [haˈf/haft] ‘seven’.
- /d/ [d] Voiced dental-alveolar plosive, as in Pers. *dozd* ‘thief’. E.g. *dōz* [dɒːz] ‘thief’, *andāza* [andaːˈza] ‘size’, *agard* [aˈgard] ‘with’. /d/ can have a lower degree of sonority in word-final position. Historical *d* shows a tendency towards lenition:⁹⁰ e.g. *dā* [daː] ‘he gave’ vs. *nyāma* [ˈnjaːma] ‘I haven’t given’, **madōzī* > **mayōzī* > *mōwzī* [mɒwˈziː] ‘he/she steals’, **nadirī* > **nayirī* > *nerī* [ˈneːriː] ‘he/she doesn’t have’. The range of possible outcomes vary from full plosive retention, to approximant, to zero phonetic value. Frequent alternation of pairs such as *ādīm/āyim* [aːˈdɐm/aːˈjɐm] ‘human being’ is observed synchronically. In some words (e.g. *xwidā* [xwɒˈdaː] ‘God’, *čādir* [čaːˈdɐr] ‘chador, tent’, notably found also in Persian) full plosive /d/ is preserved in all attested instances, but this might be an accidental feature of the available language material. The tendency of a word-final *d* to be dropped is revealed by instances of cluster simplification, e.g. *dōz* ‘thief’ (Pers. *dozd*), *ban* ‘lace’ (Pers. *band*), *čan* ‘how much/many?’ (Pers. *čand*), as well as in instances of full drop, e.g. *nama* ‘felt’ (Pers. *namad*).
- /k/ [k] Voiceless velar plosive, as in Pers. *kučak* ‘small’. E.g. *kilkawāna* [kʰɐlˌkʰawaːˈna] ‘ring’, *kilik* [kʰɐˈlɐk] ‘finger’. This sound can be pronounced as slightly aspirated [kʰ] in syllable-initial position before a vowel. A palatal realization [kʲ] is occasionally heard before front unrounded vowels and in word-final position (as in spoken Persian). The apparent free variation of this phoneme with the voiced velar plosive in the realization of the complementizer *ki/gi* [kɐ/gɐ] is

⁹⁰ This phenomenon is generally referred to as ‘Zagros-*d*’ (Windfuhr 1989b: 254; McCarus 2009: 591).

evident, but the phonological conditions determining this alternation have not been investigated in detail.

/g/ [g]

Voiced velar plosive, as in Pers. *gorg* ‘wolf’. E.g. *gwiĵar* [gʷəˈdʒaːr] ‘small’, *agard* [aˈgɑrd] ‘with’, *kānig* [kʰɑːˈnəg] ‘fireplace’. A slightly palatal realization [gʲ] is occasionally heard before front unrounded vowels and in word-final position (as happens consistently in spoken Persian). Word-final /g/ can be pronounced with a lower degree of sonority. Historical *g* shows a tendency towards lenition: e.g. *agar* [aˈgaːr] > **ayar* > *ar* [aːr] ‘if’, *agard* [aˈgɑrd] > **ayard* > *ard* [aːrd] ‘with’. Possible outcomes vary from full plosive retention to zero phonetic value. Theoretical intermediate stages⁹¹ are unrepresented in the available data. The phenomenon is often inconsistently applied, with the synchronic alternation of pairs such as *agard/ard* ‘with’, *agar/ar* ‘if’, as well as cases in which the plosive is retained in all the attested occurrences: e.g. *āgir* [ɑːˈgʊr] ‘fire’.

/q/ [q]

Voiceless uvular plosive, as in Pers. *qorʿān* ‘Quran’. E.g. *qwiṛbāqa* [qʷərbaːˈqa/qʷərbaːˈχa] ‘frog’. This phoneme constitutes the normal Harsini outcome of sounds of various origin, as it is found in both Iranian words and loans of ultimate Arabic and Turkic origin, e.g. *qazān* ‘pot’ (CK *qazān*, Pers. *qazgān*). It is normally realized as voiceless plosive in word-initial position (sometimes slightly aspirated before vowels): e.g. *qorub* [qoˈruːb] ‘sunset’ (Pers. *ġorub*), *qār* [qʰɑːr] ‘cave’ (Pers. *ġār*), where it contrasts with /x/ (§2.1.2). This sound can be pronounced with a higher degree of sonority (as happens consistently in spoken Persian), particularly before low vowels. In intervocalic and postvocalic word-final position, it gives way to fricative variants approaching the phonetic field of /x/, e.g. *čāq/čāx* [čɑːq/čɑːx] ‘fat’ (Pers. *čāq*). These instances of variation have been regularly signalled in transcription. The high degree of variability in the realization of this sound is particularly

⁹¹ Fricative and approximant realizations of /g/ in similar contexts are attested in both SK and Gorani varieties, cf. Fattah (2000: 101); Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013: 13).

evident in words like *āqā* [a:qa:/a:χa:], occasionally also [a:ya:] under the influence of high-register Persian pronunciations (see /ġ/ above).

- /č/ [tʃ] Voiceless post-alveolar affricate, as in Pers. *čupān* ‘shepherd’. E.g. *čirāwā* [tʃɔra:‘wa:] ‘horse’, *büčkata* [by:tʃka‘ta] ‘tiny’, *hüč* [hy:tʃ] ‘nothing’.
- /j/ [dʒ] Voiced post-alveolar affricate, as in Pers. *jājim* ‘small carpet’. E.g. *juwān* [dʒu‘wa:n] ‘youngster’, *gwiĵar* [gwə‘dʒa:r] ‘small’, *ganĵ* [gandʒ] ‘treasure’.

iii. Fricatives:

- /f/ [f] Voiceless labiodental fricative, as in Pers. *ferferi* ‘curly’. E.g. *farš* [farʃ] ‘carpet’, *badqīyāfa* [badqiʃa:‘fa] ‘ugly’, *harf* [harf] ‘word(s)’.
- /v/ [v] Voiced labiodental fricative, as in Pers. *vaqt* ‘time’. E.g. *vāveylā* [va:vej‘Λa:] ‘lamentation, lament’, *līva* [li:‘va] ‘crazy’. The phonemicity of /v/ in Harsini is suggested by the presence of near-minimal pairs (§2.1.2). In some occurrences, this sound results from lenition of an original *b* in intervocalic/postvocalic position: e.g. *xavar* [xa‘va:r] (Pers. *xabar*) ‘news’ (see /b/ above).
- /s/ [s] Voiceless dental fricative, as in Pers. *susk* ‘beetle’. E.g. *sūr* [sy:r] ‘marriage’, *šōso* [ʃø‘so] ‘(early) morning, the next day/morning, tomorrow’, *das* [das] ‘hand’.
- /z/ [z] Voiced dental fricative, as in Pers. *zelzele* ‘earthquake’. E.g. *zuwān* [zu‘wa:n] ‘tongue’, *nizīk* [nə‘zi:k] ‘near’, *bāz* [ba:z] ‘falcon’.
- /š/ [ʃ] Voiceless post-alveolar fricative, as in Pers. *šoš* ‘lung’. E.g. *šiš* [ʃi:ʃ] ‘six’, *pišī* [pʰəʃi:] ‘cat’. In Harsini, it alternates with the voiced counterpart in several occurrences of the additive morpheme =iš [i:ʃ] ‘also, too’, realized as =iž [i:ʒ] especially (but not exclusively) in environments characterized by a higher degree of sonority (e.g. before words beginning with voiced stops/affricates).
- /ž/ [ʒ] Voiced post-alveolar fricative, as Pers. *žāpon* ‘Japan’. E.g. *žīr* [ʒi:r] ‘under’, *bowažin* [bo‘waʒən] ‘step-mother’, *řuž* [ru:ʒ]

- ‘day’. In isolated items, we observe some alternation with the voiced dental fricative, e.g. *ruž/ruz* [ru:ʒ/ru:z] ‘day’, probably conditioned by Persian influence and/or register.
- /x/ [x] Voiceless (post-)velar fricative, as in Pers. *xub* ‘good, fine’. E.g. *xavar* [xa'va:r] ‘news’; *xiftelīxiftān* [xəf.te:li xəf.ta:n] ‘name of a magic dress’. Of rare occurrence in word-final position, where it can be the outcome of an original *q* in words such as *čāx* [čɑ:x] ‘fat’ (see /q/ above). Fattah (2000: 127) suggests that in Harsini this phoneme is often weakened to /h/ in word-initial position, both alone and in the group /xw/. In the available language material, however, this phenomenon does not seem to apply as extensively as Fattah observed (§2.1.4).
- /h/ [h] Voiceless glottal fricative, as in Pers. *hodhod* ‘hoopoe’. E.g. *řāhat* [ra:'ha:t] ‘calm, comfortable’, *har* [har] ‘just, exactly’. This phoneme is generally stable in initial and intervocalic positions, but frequently deleted in medial position, almost systematically triggering the compensatory lengthening of a previous vowel (as in spoken Persian) or the intervention of a glottal stop: e.g. *ša(h)r* [ʃɑ:r] ‘city’ (Pers. *šahr*), *la(h)za* [laʔ'za] ‘moment’ (Pers. *lahze*). It is usually unpronounced in final position. In this case, a preceding vowel sound is realized as long: e.g. *šā(h)* [ʃɑ:] ‘king’.

iv. Nasals:

- /m/ [m] Voiceless bilabial nasal, as in Pers. *mum* ‘wax’. E.g. *mardim* [mar'dəm] ‘people’, *mīmī* [mi:'mi:] ‘paternal aunt’.
- /n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal, as in Pers. *nane* ‘mother, grandmother’. E.g. *nīšān* [ni'ʃɑ:n] ‘show, display’, *šāna* [ʃɑ:'na] ‘comb’. In a limited series of words, /n/ tends to be dropped in post-vocalic final position: e.g. *zamī(n)* [za'mi:] ‘ground’. Before the velar stop /g/, /n/ has a predictable velar realization [ŋ]. The group /ng/ is almost systematically reduced to [ŋ] in word-final position (see /ŋ/ below). In the group /ānz/ occurring in a small series of numerals, the phonetic outcome of /n/ is often just a nasalization of the

preceding vowel /ā/. The nasalization occurs consistently in the numerals *pānza* [p^hã:ˈza] ‘fifteen’ and *šānza* [ʃã:ˈza] ‘sixteen’, and is variably present in the numerals *γā(n)za* [jã:ˈza/ja:ˈza] ‘eleven’ and *dwā(n)za* [dwã:ˈza/dwa:ˈza] ‘twelve’.

- /ŋ/ [ŋ] Voiced velar nasal. E.g. *katīŋ* [k^haˈtəŋ] ‘big’,), *māŋ* [maˈŋ] ‘moon’. This sound has uncertain phonemic status and a defective distribution, never occurring in word-initial position. Its phonemicity might be suggested by isolated contrasting pairs (§2.1.2), although the sound is perhaps better analysed as predictable allophone of /n/ before homorganic consonants (/k/ and /g/) and predictable outcome of a sequence /ng/, especially in word-final position. The longstanding debate on the status of [ŋ] in Kurdish and related varieties⁹² has evident consequences on transcriptional choices. In this study, we have preferred the traditional notation as <ŋ> (as in MacKenzie 1961a; McCarus 2009) whenever the group *ng* appears to be completely reduced to [ŋ] in medial and final positions, with the aim of reflecting the phonetic salience of this phenomenon in the Harsini data: e.g. *ziriŋ* [zəˈrəŋ] ‘intelligent’ (Pers. *zerang*), *qašaŋ* [qaˈʃaŋ] ‘beautiful’ (Pers. *qašang*), *jaŋ* [dʒaŋ] ‘war’ (Pers. *jang*), *tifaŋ* [t^həˈfaŋ] ‘rifle’ (Pers. *tofang*). The transcription <ng> has been adopted in the few remaining cases.

v. Laterals:

- /l/ [l] Voiced alveolar lateral, as in Pers. *lule* ‘tube, pipe’. E.g. *lūlakašī* [ɫy:ˌlak^haˈʃi:] ‘plumbing’, *pūl* [p^hy:l] ‘money’. In Harsini, as in Laki varieties and in some Gorani dialects (§2.1.3), the voiced alveolar lateral /l/ is sometimes articulated as (more or less audibly) palatal. This realization is common for the plural suffix *-al*, and well attested in words such as *gila* [gəˈɫa] ‘unit’, *kwil* [kwəɫ] ‘all’, *maʃlūm* [maˈɫy:m] ‘clear, evident’, *lā* [ɫa:] ‘beside’.

⁹² See MacKenzie (1961a: 4) for a discussion on the same issue in CK.

/ɮ/ [ɮ] Lateral approximant ('dark l'). E.g. *kaɮiŋ* [kʰa'ɮŋ] 'big, huge', *māɮ* [ma:ɮ] 'house'. This phoneme does not occur in word-initial position. Its phonemic status is suggested by the minimal or near-minimal pairs listed in §2.1.2, but a cautious approach to this question needs to be kept due to its apparent instability in Harsini.

vi. Vibrants:

/r/ [r] Voiced alveolar flap, as in Pers. *gorur* 'pride, vanity'. E.g. *farār* [fa'ra:r] 'escape, break'. This phoneme cannot occur in word-initial position, where only the voiced alveolar trill is found.

/ʀ/ [r] Voiced alveolar trill. E.g. *řuž* [ru:ʒ] 'day', *ařā* [a'ra:] 'for', *kwiř* [kwər] 'boy'. This sound may be seen as a complementary positional variant of /r/ word-initially. Nonetheless, its phonemic status in other contexts is demonstrated by the minimal or near-minimal pairs listed in §2.1.2.

vii. Semivowels:

/y/ [j] Voiced palatal approximant, as in Pers. *yād* 'memory'. E.g. *yak* [jak] 'one', *pyā* [pjɑ:] 'man', *miney* [mɐ'nej] 'after'. This sound can result from the lenition of an original *d* (see /d/ above).

/w/ [w] Voiced labio-velar approximant. E.g. *wiž* [wɐʒ] 'self', *bowa* [bo'wa] 'father', *šōw* [ʃøw] 'night'. This sound can result from the lenition of an original *b* (see /b/ above). In these cases, it can alternate with the voiced labiodental fricative in words like *āw/āv* [ɔ'w/a:v] (Pers. *āb*) 'water'.

2.1.2 Minimal pairs

The following minimal or near-minimal pairs, available from the language materials at hand, demonstrate phonemic contrasts between the consonant sounds listed above, to the degree possible based on the data:

i. Voicing contrasts:

/p/ - /b/	<i>pül</i> 'money'	<i>bül</i> 'ash'
	<i>pā</i> 'foot'	<i>bā</i> 'come!'
/t/ - /d/	<i>tīr</i> 'arrow'	<i>dīr</i> 'late'
	<i>tā</i> 'until'	<i>dā</i> 'mother'
	<i>tō</i> 'you'	<i>dō</i> 'two'
/k/ - /g/	<i>kuł</i> 'back'	<i>guł</i> 'deceit, trick'
/č/ - /j/	<i>ču</i> 'wood'	<i>ju</i> 'canal'
	<i>čam</i> 'eye'	<i>jam</i> 'assembly, together'
/f/ - /v/	<i>farq</i> 'difference'	<i>vark</i> 'lamb'
/s/ - /z/	<i>sard</i> 'cold'	<i>zard</i> 'yellow'
	<i>sar</i> 'head'	<i>zar</i> 'gold'
/š/ - /ž/	<i>šīr</i> 'milk'	<i>žīr</i> 'under'

ii. Place contrasts:

/p/ - /t/	<i>pā</i> 'foot'	<i>tā</i> 'until'
/t/ - /č/	<i>tū</i> 'berry'	<i>čū</i> 'how?'
/č/ - /k/	<i>čam</i> 'eye'	<i>kam</i> 'little'
	<i>čuł</i> 'empty'	<i>kuł</i> 'back'
/k/ - /q/	<i>kār</i> 'work'	<i>qār</i> 'cave'
	<i>eškāt</i> 'complication'	<i>ešqāt</i> 'rubbish'
/b/ - /d/	<i>bār</i> 'load'	<i>dār</i> 'tree'
/d/ - /j/	<i>dā</i> 'mother'	<i>jā</i> 'place'
	<i>dām</i> 'I gave'	<i>jām</i> 'cup, goblet'
/j/ - /g/	<i>jā</i> 'place'	<i>gā</i> 'cow, calf'
/f/ - /s/	<i>haf</i> 'seven'	<i>has</i> 'there is'
/f/ - /š/	<i>pift</i> '(animal) lung'	<i>pišt</i> 'cat'
/s/ - /š/	<i>sā</i> 'shadow'	<i>šā</i> 'king'
	<i>bus</i> 'stop!'	<i>buš</i> 'say!'
/š/ - /x/	<i>šā</i> 'king'	<i>xā</i> 'egg, testicle'

/x/ - /h/	<i>xar</i> ‘donkey’	<i>har</i> ‘each, every’
/v/ - /z/	<i>var</i> ‘in front, before’	<i>zarš</i> ‘gold’
/z/ - /ž/	<i>nāz</i> ‘delicate, sweet’	<i>nāž</i> ‘don’t throw!’
/m/ - /n/	<i>šām</i> ‘dinner’	<i>šān</i> ‘shoulder’
	<i>mān</i> ‘they come’	<i>nān</i> ‘bread’

iii. Stop/affricate-fricative contrasts:

/t/ - /s/	<i>tā</i> ‘until’	<i>sā</i> ‘shadow’
/d/ - /z/	<i>dī</i> ‘then’	<i>zī</i> ‘quickly’
	<i>bād</i> ‘wind’	<i>bāz</i> ‘falcon’
/č/ - /š/	<i>čū</i> ‘how?’	<i>šū</i> ‘husband’
/k/ - /x/	<i>ku</i> ‘where?’	<i>xu</i> ‘well, fine’
/g/ - /x/	<i>gā</i> ‘ox, cow, calf’	<i>xā</i> ‘egg, testicle’
	<i>āgir</i> ‘fire’	<i>āxir</i> ‘finally’
/q/ - /x/	<i>qār</i> ‘cave’	<i>xār</i> ‘thorn’

iv. Nasal-stop contrasts:

/m/ - /b/	<i>mār</i> ‘snake’	<i>bār</i> ‘load’
	<i>mīmī</i> ‘aunt’	<i>bībī</i> ‘old lady’
/n/ - /d/	<i>bān</i> ‘upper part, top’	<i>bād</i> ‘wind’

v. Vibrant-lateral contrasts:

/ř/ ~ /l/	<i>pař</i> ‘feather’	<i>pal</i> ‘leaf’ (also ‘feather’)
	<i>kwiř</i> ‘boy’	<i>kwil</i> ‘all’
/r/ ~ /l/	<i>bār</i> ‘load’	<i>bāt</i> ‘wing’
	<i>gur</i> ‘tomb’	<i>guł</i> ‘deceit, trick’

vi. Other contrasts:

/q/ - /g/	<i>qazā</i> ‘food’	<i>gāzā</i> ‘fate, destiny’
/r/ - /ř/	<i>parī</i> ‘fairy’	<i>pařī</i> ‘he/she/it jumped’
	<i>hur</i> ‘hour’	<i>huř</i> ‘saddlebag’
/l/ - /l̥/	<i>kwil</i> ‘all’	<i>gwil̥</i> ‘flower’
/n/ - /ŋ/	<i>mān</i> ‘they come’	<i>māŋ</i> ‘moon, month’
	<i>tan</i> ‘body’	<i>taŋ</i> ‘narrow, tight’
	<i>dan</i> ‘they shall give’	<i>daŋ</i> ‘call’
/m/ - /ŋ/	<i>dam</i> ‘mouth’	<i>daŋ</i> ‘call’
/g/ - /ŋ/	<i>sag</i> ‘dog’	<i>saŋ</i> ‘stone’

2.1.3 Some comparative remarks

Interesting observations emerge if we compare the consonant inventory of Harsini with that of other known Laki and SK varieties:

i. A shift of an initial /x/ to /h/ in word-initial position, both in isolation and in the group /xw/, is said by Fattah (2000: 125ff.) to be common in Harsini, in the variety of Bisotun and in the dialects of the Kordali group. Conversely, Fattah does not identify this phenomenon in the varieties of Sahne, Chehr and Pāyравand, that align with the majority of SK dialects in the consistent preservation of /x/. The loss of obstruction in word-initial (post-)velar fricatives is again motivated, according to Fattah (2000: 127), by close contact with Laki. While this is of course likely, it must be observed that similar phenomena are also attested in Northern Lori⁹³ and in Gorani dialects.⁹⁴ Even so, checking Fattah's findings against the primary Harsini data in the present study, this tendency proves to be much less developed than expected. Words like *xamīr* 'dough', *xasūra* 'father-in-law, mother-in-law', *xwirī* 'wool', *xwordin* 'to eat', *xwandin* 'to read' have not been attested with an initial glottal fricative in Harsini. The exception to this are rare: *hātu* 'maternal uncle' and possibly (*h*)*wāz*- (PRS stem of *xwāstin* 'to request/claim as wife'). In the second case, however, /x/ is uniformly dropped, rather than weakened. On the other hand, the loss of friction is prevalent in Kākāvandi and other Laki varieties: e.g. *hamīr* 'dough', *hwārdin* 'to eat', etc.⁹⁵

ii. Palatal features are occasionally heard in the pronunciation of clear /l/ in a limited series of Harsini words. Palatalization of /l/ is equally attested, but far more sharply audible in Kākāvandi Laki and other Laki varieties (cf. Lazard 1992b: 216). Anonby (2004-2005: 16) suggests that a palatal pronunciation [ɭ] might have emerged in Laki due to the need for a clearer acoustic distinction between the lateral /l/ and the lateral approximant /ɭ/. This is of course possible, but one should not disregard other factors (such as contact and interference between neighbouring

⁹³ Cf. the examples 72, 86, 133, 136, 156, 166, 167, 168 and 198 of the comparative wordlist compiled by Anonby (2003: 186-197).

⁹⁴ See MacKenzie (2002).

⁹⁵ Cf. some lexical items from the Laki of Aleshtar reported in Lazard (1992b: 223): *hwēan*- /*hwēan*- 'to read'; *hword*- 'to eat'; *hwost*- /*hwoz*- 'to marry'.

varieties) that could have been at play in this development on an areal scale. Note that the presence of palatal features in the realization of /l/ in comparable contexts has been observed for the Gorani of Zarda and Dawra (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 13) and seems hinted at in the literature on the Northern Lori varieties of Khorramābād and the Bālā Gerive area (cf. MacKinnon 1977: 213; Amanolahi & Thackston 1986: 199; MacKinnon 2002: 107).

iii. Other elements of interest stand out if Harsini is checked against the set of phonological features first selected by Mackenzie (1961b) as capable of defining Kurdish in the context of West Iranian.

Evidence from Harsini acquires more significance if compared with the data available from other regional languages and dialects. The clearest result is that those features apply unevenly to Harsini, as to the SK dialect group where deviations from expected “Kurdish-like” developments are very frequent (particularly, as it seems, in southernmost varieties, i.e. those of Ilām Province).

Nonetheless, Harsini presents a few additional divergences from prevailing SK forms, that project it closer to Laki. The few examples below are illustrative, but insufficient to capture the extent of the complexity observed in the area. For a more detailed account, reference to the existing literature on the topic should be made:⁹⁶

“Kurdish-like” development: postvocalic *m, *šm, *xm > v/w

	SK	Har.	Lak.	Gor.
‘you (PL)’	<i>īwa</i>	<i>homa</i>	<i>homa</i>	<i>šima</i>
‘ground’	most SK <i>zawī</i> , <i>zaü</i> , but e.g. Ilām <i>zamī(n)</i>	<i>zamī(n)</i>	<i>zamī(n)</i>	<i>zamīn</i>

⁹⁶ See Fattah (2000: 152-163) for SK; Anonby (2004-2005: 18-19), Shahsavari (2010), Aliyari Babolghani (2019) for Laki; and MacKenzie (2002) for Gorani. The data in the table have been obtained from these sources, and from Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013).

“Kurdish-like” development: postvocalic *m, *šm, *xm > v/w

	SK	Har.	Lak.	Gor.
‘groom’	most SK <i>zāwā</i> , but e.g. Ilām <i>zāmā</i> . Kermānshāh also <i>dāmā</i> (<i>d</i>) (← Pers.); Kordali also <i>domā</i> (prob. ← Lori)	<i>zāmā</i> , also <i>dāmād</i> (← Pers.)	<i>zāmā</i>	Zarda <i>zāmā</i> ; Gawraju <i>zāwā</i>
‘eye’	most SK <i>čaw</i> , <i>čow</i> , but e.g. Ilām <i>č(γ)am</i>	<i>čam</i>	<i>čam</i>	<i>čam</i>

But note:

	SK	Har.	Lak.	Gor.
‘seed’	<i>töm</i> , <i>tum</i> , <i>tüam</i> , <i>tyam</i> , rarely <i>tox(o)m</i> (← Pers.)	<i>töm</i>	<i>töm</i> , <i>tüm</i>	Gawraju <i>tüxm</i>

“Kurdish-like” development: initial *x > k

	SK	Har.	Lak.	Gor.
‘laugh PST’	<i>xanī</i> -, only Bijār <i>kanī</i> -	<i>xanī</i> -	<i>xanī</i> -	<i>xanist</i> -
‘donkey’	<i>xar</i>	<i>xar</i>	<i>xar</i>	<i>har</i>

As underlined also by Fattah (2000: 153), if these observations do not have immediate implications for genetic affiliations, they certainly give evidence of the multiple and often overlapping patterns of historical development and contact-induced change involving virtually all languages spoken in central west Iran (e.g. Kurdish, Lori, Laki, Gorani, Persian), in ways that are not always predictable or easily explained.

2.1.4 Consonant Gemination

A geminated pronunciation of certain consonants is attested in Harsini language materials, but gemination does not seem to have a straightforward distinctive role in the system. The only exception might be the voiced alveolar flap /r/, whose “long” or trilled counterpart /ř/ has been identified as a distinct phoneme in Harsini: e.g. *xořamī* ‘joy’ (Pers. *xorramī*), *pař* ‘feather’ (Pers. *parr*).

In general, gemination is mostly found in loans of Arabic origin or in words that are commonly geminated in Persian, and seems to affect some consonants more than others. Among the most recurrently doubled consonants are /s, m, l, j, q/. A strong tendency towards simplification of geminates is observed in most cases, especially in integrated loans: e.g. *aval* ‘first’ (Pers. *avval*), *mama*(*d*) ‘Mohammad’ (Pers. *mohammad*), *šalāq* ‘whip’ (Pers. *šallāq*), *kala* ‘head, skull’ (Pers. *kalle*). Sequences of an identical consonant can occur at a morpheme boundary (“fake gemination”), e.g. between a word ending in /t/ and the form *-tir*: *dīt-tir* [dəˈtːɪr] ‘another girl’.

Sometimes, the doubling of consonants seems to meet a need for emphasis. This kind of ‘pragmatic’ gemination is also observed in loanwords whose consonants are not originally doubled: e.g. *masaṭan* ‘for instance’ [masaˈlaːn/masːaˈlaːn] (Pers. *maṣalan*), *āfarīn* ‘well done!’ [aːfaˈriːn/ˈaːfːariːn] (Pers. *āfarin*).

The apparent absence of straightforward minimal pairs distinguished only by consonant length may not justify the marking of gemination in transcription. However, the general rule adopted in this study allows for the double marking of a consonant in transcription if that was heard as doubled in most or all attested occurrences – e.g. *najjār* ‘carpenter’ (Pers. *najjār*), *mitavajje*(*h*) ‘aware, attentive’ (Pers. *motavajjeh*), *galla* ‘flock’ (Pers. *galle*), *mijassama* ‘statue’ (Pers. *mojassame*) – or if the gemination resulted from assimilation processes, e.g. *maččit* ‘mosque’ (cf. *masčit*, laki_conv_1, 4:34-4:35, 4:43-4:44; Pers. *masjed*). Nonetheless, the marking of a geminated consonants in a specific word by no means implies that the consonant is pronounced as such by Harsini speakers in all utterances of that word.

To the detriment of an immediate identification of the concerned lexical items, the graphic notation of word-final doubled consonants in

loanwords such as *haq* ‘right’ (Pers. *haqq*), *řad* ‘trace, track, footprint’ (Pers. *radd*) has been avoided. In these cases, the chosen transcription generally agrees with the actual phonetic realization.

2.2 Vowels

The Harsini vowel system includes nine phonemes /ī, ü, u, i, e, ö, o, a, ā/. In addition, two vowel sounds qualitatively close to /e/ and /o/ (also represented by <e> and <o> in transcription) occur as marginal phonemes in less integrated Persian loanwords (as illustrated in §2.2.1 below).

Harsini vowels show a complex pattern of open/close features and various degrees of pitch and length, although they seem to be better distinguished qualitatively rather than quantitatively. Indeed, as it is true for most varieties of Kurdish and related languages, their difference in length is not as straightforwardly contrastive as that of timbre. For this reason, length has not been overtly marked in the representation of core phonetic values of vowel phonemes (e.g. in Table 1 above, and §2.2.1 below), but has been tentatively represented in phonetic transcriptions.

Table 5: Vowel inventory

	front	central	back
high	ī ü		u
		i	
mid	(e) ö		(o)
low		a	ā

2.2.1 Notes on the phonetic realization of vowel phonemes

While the complexity of the Harsini vowel inventory would call for a more in-depth acoustic analysis, the vowel phonemes identified so far are listed below, alongside their core phonetic value and some information on possible patterns of vowel length and other instances of variation (all deserving further study):

- /ī/ [i] Close front unrounded vowel, as in Pers. *bībī* ‘old lady’. E.g. *īma* [i:ˈma] ‘we, us’, *mīmī* [mi:ˈmi:] ‘paternal aunt’. This vowel is typically long, but permits shorter pronunciations in open unstressed syllables and word-finally. /ī/ is often hard to distinguish from allophones of /e/ (see below), due to the proximity of their phonetic ranges. Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that the identity of /ī/ and /e/ has been accurately reflected in the transcription of all occurrences.
- /ü/ [y] Close front rounded vowel. E.g. *pül* [p^{hy}:l] ‘money’, *šü* [ʃy:] ‘husband’. This phoneme does not occur in initial position. It is usually long in closed stressed syllables. /ī/ and /ü/, despite contrasting phonemically (§2.2.2), seem to occur in free variation in the pronunciation of some words, e.g. *mü/mī* [myˈmi:] ‘hair’, *hüč* [hy:ʧ] ‘nothing’ vs. *hīčka* [hi:ʧˈka] ‘nobody, no one’. In transcription, <ü> is also used to represent a labio-palatal approximant [ɥ].⁹⁷
- /u/ [u] Close back rounded vowel, as in Pers. *tutun* ‘tobacco’. E.g. *kuč* [ku:ʧ] ‘back’, *maču* [maˈču:] ‘he/she goes’. This vowel is typically long, but permits shorter pronunciations in open unstressed syllables and word-finally. It is very rare (if not absent) in word-initial position.
- /i/ [ə] (Close-mid/near-close) central unrounded vowel. E.g. *kil* [kəl] ‘dispatch’, *mi* [mə] ‘I’, *ism* [əsm] ‘name’, shipping’. This vowel has a range of phonetic realizations [i ə ə] slightly diverging in height (from near-close to mid). It can be short or extremely short. It is also very unstable and usually deleted in

⁹⁷ The correlation between /ü/ and the labio-palatal approximant [ɥ] (represented as <w> in Fattah 2000: 110) is attested by the fact that the SK dialects lacking the first also miss the second. The existence of a separate semivocalic phoneme /w/ [ɥ], as Fattah (2000: 110) postulates, is possible but dubious. I provisionally take the labio-palatal approximant [ɥ] as a development of /w/, produced by a series of coarticulatory processes involving an original group /wī/ following /a/ (§2.3).

- unstressed syllables bordering a stressed syllable: e.g. *pād(i)šāh* [pɑːdəˈʃɑː/pɑːdˈʃɑː] ‘king’.
- /e/ [e] Close-mid front unrounded vowel, as in Pers. *čērā* ‘why’. E.g. *era* [eːˈra] ‘here’, *vere* [veːˈreː] ‘to, towards’. This vowel is typically long, but permits shorter pronunciations in open unstressed syllables and word-finally. A slightly diphthongized (or perhaps just more tense) [eʲ] sound is also present in Harsini, but its nature and status are problematic. Fattah (2000: 115) accounts for a phoneme /è/ and describes it as an evolution, a change in timbre of the vowel /ī/ in a list of basic words including almost 200 units. Lazard (1992b: 216) identifies a similar form *eʷ* (represented as [e, eʲ]) in the Laki of Aleshtar, stating that this vowel should be phonemically distinguished from *e*, but probably not from *eɣ*. In the absence of clearly contrasting pairs, [e] and [eʲ] have provisionally been kept together under a single phoneme /e/, whose phonetic field can approximate (and overlap with) that of /ī/ in distributionally unpredictable positions. A vowel segment with similar [e] quality but typically lax (as in Persian), is also found as marginal phoneme in less integrated loanwords, e.g. *ezdevāj* [ɛzdɛˈvaːdʒ] ‘marriage’, *ejāza* [ɛdʒɑːˈza].
- /ö/ [ø] Close-mid front rounded vowel. Usually half-long or short. This phoneme has a very restricted occurrence, being attested only in a small number of monosyllabic words, e.g. *döz* [døːz] ‘thief’, *öw* [øw] ‘he/she’, *tö* [tø] ‘you’.
- /o/ [o] Close-mid back rounded vowel, as in Pers. *bolbol* ‘nightingale’. E.g. *xargoł* [xarˈgoˈɫ] ‘thistle’, *šōso* [ʃøˈso] ‘(early) morning, the next day/morning, tomorrow’. In principle, it is realized as close-mid, but has a phonetic range varying from [o] to [ʊ]. It can be either half-long or short, but is usually short in word-final position. The diphthongized realization [wə] of this phoneme is very

common in word-medial position, and seems to be the rule in many cases after a syllable-initial velar /k, g, x/ or uvular /q/: e.g. *kwil* [kwəl/kwəɫ] ‘all’ (never attested as **kol* [koːl]), *qwirān* [qwəːrɑːn] ‘Quran’ (never attested as **qorʔān* [qoːrʔɑːn]), *xwišk* [xwəšk] (never attested as **xošk* [xoːšk]). However, the degree of diphthongization varies in pairs like *kwiř/koř* [kwər/kʰoːr] ‘boy’, *gwił* [gwəl] ‘flower’ vs. *gołkāri* [goːłkaːˈriː] ‘floriculture’.

/a/ [a]

A vowel segment with similar [o] quality but typically lax (as in Persian) is also found as marginal phoneme in less integrated loans, e.g. *ostoxān* ‘bone’ [oʃtoːˈxaːn]. Open front unrounded vowel, as in Pers. *namad* ‘felt’. E.g. *agard* [aˈgard] ‘with’, *hałqa* [hałˈqa] ‘ring’. This vowel is usually short, but permits longer pronunciations in closed stressed syllables. Its pronunciation may vary slightly in height. This phoneme is very unstable and is frequently weakened in unstressed position, preceding a stressed syllable: e.g. *āylal* [ɔːjˈɫɑːl] ‘children’ > *āylila* [ɔːjɫəˈla] ‘the children’. It is predictably raised in contact with semivocalic sounds at morpheme boundary (§2.5.1, v-vii).

/ā/ [ɑ]

Open back unrounded vowel, as in Pers. *āmāde* ‘ready’. E.g. *āgir* [ɑːˈgɛr] ‘fire’, *dā* [daː] ‘mother’. This vowel is usually long, but permits shorter variants in open unstressed syllables, word-finally and in the groups /āy/ and /āw/. Its pronunciation may vary slightly in the degree of rounding. Especially in the context of a semivocalic or nasal sound, it is pronounced as a rounded (or perhaps further raised) allophone [ɔ], [o] approaching the phonetic field of /o/: e.g. *xāw* [xɔːw/xoːw] ‘dream, sleep’, *nām* [nɔːm/nəːm] ‘inside’.

2.2.2 Minimal pairs

The following minimal or near-minimal pairs attest for most phonemic vowel oppositions discussed in the preceding paragraph:

i. Height contrasts:

/ī/ - /e/	šīr ‘milk’	šer ‘lion’
/ü/ - /ö/	dü ‘smoke’	dö ‘two’
/ī/ - /a/	līvī ‘colostrum milk cheese’	līva ‘crazy’
/e/ - /a/	vere ‘towards’	vera ‘(to/from) here’
/u/ - /o/	guť ‘trick, deceit’	goťkāřī ‘flower-growing’

ii. Backness contrasts:

/ü/ - /u/	čü ‘how?’	ču ‘wood’
	kü ‘mountain’	ku ‘where?’
/ö/ - /o/	bōwī ‘bride’	bowe ‘his/her father’
/a/ - /ā/	jamŕ ‘assembly, together’	jām ‘goblet’

iii. Roundness contrasts:

/ī/ - /ü/	dīr ‘late’	dūr ‘far’
	kī ‘who?’	kü ‘mountain’
/e/ - /ö/	de ‘he/she/it may give’	dö ‘two’

iv. Other contrasts:

/i/ - /ī/	dīr ‘out’	dīr ‘late’
	sī ‘three’	sī ‘thirty’ (also ‘black’)
/i/ - /e/	si ‘three’	se ‘black’
/i/ - /o/	si ‘three’	so ‘morning’
/i/ - /a/	piř ‘full’	pař ‘feather’
/ü/ - /a/	sūr ‘marriage’	sar ‘head’
/ö/ - /a/	dōm ‘tail’	dam ‘mouth’
/o/ - /a/	koťiŕ ‘pickaxe’	kaťiŕ ‘big, elder’
/ī/ - /ā/	žīr ‘under’	žār ‘poor’
/ü/ - /ā/	dūr ‘far’	dār ‘tree’
/ö/ - /ā/	lō ‘(river)bank’	lā ‘side’
/o/ - /ā/	so ‘morning’	sā ‘shadow’

2.3 Diphthong-like sequences

In Harsini, some sequences of two sounds might be interpreted either as formed by two vowels (V+V) or by a vowel and a semivowel (V+C; C+V).

Although their interpretation as diphthongs is possible in principle, the absence of unambiguous vowel sequences (except across morpheme boundaries) in the language suggests to treat them as VC and CV clusters, and adopt a broader transcription.

Even if some of these (notably /ey/ and /wi/) may convey semantic differences when compared to other vocalic segments, in the present study they will not be analysed as separate phonemes.

i. Descending sequences:

- /ey/ *səyr* ‘gaze, look’
- /āy/ *čāy* ‘tea’
- /āw/ *xāw* ‘sleep’
- /ow/ *qowt* ‘promise’
- /öw/ *šöw* ‘night’

ii. Ascending sequences:

- /wi/ *gwim* ‘lost’
- /wo/ *gwozar* ‘pass’
- /wa/ *gwar* ‘calf’
- /wā/ *xwā* ‘salt’
- /yā/ *pyā* ‘man’

The treatment of the sequence [øy] or [øɥ], indicated in transcription as <öü>, is particularly problematic. It is seemingly produced by a series of coarticulatory processes concerning an original group /wī/ following /a/, in words such as **tawīla*> *töüla* [tøɥ'la] or in the conjugation based on the Present stem of the verb ‘to see’ (PST *dī*-/PRS **bī*-> **wīn*-> *ün*-): e.g. **ma-bīn-im*> **ma-wīn-im*> *möünim* [møɥ'nəm] ‘I see’.

It has been difficult to reach a satisfying solution for the graphic representation of these developments. The chosen semi-phonemic transcription aims at reflecting perceived phonetic realizations, but has to be taken as largely provisional.

2.4 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

Vowels (V) and consonants (C) combine in the structure of Harsini syllables in the following patterns:

Table 6: Syllables

i.	V	<i>a</i> ‘that’
ii.	VC	<i>āš</i> ‘soup’
iii.	VCC	<i>asr</i> ‘teardrop’
iv.	CV	<i>lā</i> ‘beside’
v.	CVC	<i>māt</i> ‘house’
vi.	CVCC	<i>siłm</i> ‘fear, dread’

The most frequently attested types are CV and CVC. In addition to the basic patterns listed above, the marginal types CVCCC (e.g. *deyšt* ‘outside’), CCV (e.g. *pyā* ‘man’), CCVC (e.g. *xwor* ‘down’) and CCVCC (e.g. *gwing* ‘wolf’), all of which involve semivowels, might be included in the list.

Harsini syllables may occur with or without an onset and with or without a coda. There are, however, a series of phonotactic constraints on the type of consonant clusters allowed to occur as onsets or codas, as well as minor limitations on the distribution of vowels and consonants.

Overall, syllables constituted by a single vowel are uncommon. All vowels except /ü/ (with /u/ and /ö/ being very rare) can occur at the beginning of a word and are attested at least once as the nucleus of V, VC and VCC syllables. A non-phonemic glottal stop [ʔ] is normally realized before a syllable beginning with a vowel after a pause. All vowels may occur as the nucleus of syllables with an onset.

The frequency of syllables and consonant clusters including /h/ is very low, since this consonant is unstable and only rarely preserves consonantal features in pronunciation. Some examples of CC clusters allowed to occur as onsets and codas in different positions of the word are provided in the following two paragraphs. The clusters formed by doubled consonants are excluded from the discussion, as they have been treated already in §2.1.3.

2.4.1 Initial clusters

Consonant clusters are in principle disallowed as onsets of word-initial syllables, except under deletion of an unstressed vowel (usually /i/) in rapid delivery. The attested clusters of this type most often include a stop or fricative as C₁ and a liquid, vibrant or more rarely a fricative/affricate as C₂:

/br/	<i>birā</i> [bə'ra:/bra:] 'brother'	/pt/	<i>ptāsīkī</i> [p ^h ə'ta:si:'ki:/p'ta:si:'ki:] 'plastic'
/dr/	<i>duru</i> [du'ru:/dru:] 'lie'	/kl/	<i>kilik</i> [k ^h ə'lək/klək] 'finger'
/pr/	<i>pirīzī</i> [p ^h ə'ri:'zi:/pri:'zi:] 'bundle'	/gt/	<i>gītī</i> [gə'ti:/għi:] 'earthen'
/tr/	<i>tirāzī</i> [t ^h ə'ra:'zi:/tra:'zi:] 'scale'	/ft/	<i>fitān</i> [fə'ta:n/f'ta:n] 'such-and-such'
/kr/	<i>kirās</i> [k ^h ə'ra:s/kra:s] 'shirt'	/pf/	<i>piḡtī</i> [p ^h ə'fi:/pfi:] '(animal) lung'
/fr/	<i>fira</i> [fə'ra/fra] 'very'	/pš/	<i>pišī</i> [p ^h ə'ʃi:/pʃi:] 'cat'

Clusters involving a consonant plus the semivocalic segment of a CV sequence (§2.3) are also observed in this position:

/gw/	<i>gwar</i> 'calf'
/nw/	<i>nwā</i> 'in front of, before'
/py/	<i>pyā</i> 'man'
/gy/	<i>gyān</i> 'soul, life'

Nonetheless, several cases of ambiguity between Cw/Cuw (or Caw) and Cy/Ciy, chiefly before low vowels, occur in the available materials: e.g. *zuwān* [zwa:n/zu'wa:n] 'tongue', *řuwāt* 'side, direction, path' [rwa:t/ru'wa:t], *čwār* [tʃwa:r/tʃu'wa:r] 'four', *piyāz* [pja:z/p^hə'ja:z] 'onion', *pyā* [pja:/p^hə'ja:] 'man'. Since this aspect and related phenomena of glide insertion have not been investigated in detail, transcriptions generally aim at representing perceived pronunciations in each occurrence.

Semivowels cannot occur as onset of a word-initial consonant cluster. Groups of three or more consonants are not allowed as syllable onsets.

2.4.2 Medial and final clusters

Consonant clusters allowed as syllable codas are numerous and their composition is less restricted than that observed in syllable onsets.

Virtually all classes of consonants can combine in this position, although some sequences are more common than others. The most frequently attested clusters include a lateral, a sibilant, a nasal or a vibrant as C₁:⁹⁸

/rd/	<i>zard</i> ‘yellow’	/sb/	<i>asb</i> ‘horse’
/rg/	<i>gwrīg</i> ‘wolf’	/st/	<i>šast</i> ‘sixty’
/rk/	<i>ba.la.mirk</i> ‘elbow’	/sr/	<i>asr</i> ‘teardrop’
/rq/	<i>mirq</i> ‘chicken’	/zr/	<i>nazr</i> ‘offering, vow’
/rx/	<i>čarx</i> ‘wheel’	/xt/	<i>baxt</i> ‘luck’
/rf/	<i>harf</i> ‘word(s)’	/xs/	<i>šaxs</i> ‘person’
/rs/	<i>xirs</i> ‘bear’	/ft/	<i>jift</i> ‘couple’
/rš/	<i>farš</i> ‘carpet’	/fl/	<i>qoql</i> ‘lock’
/rz/	<i>darz</i> ‘hole’	/bl/	<i>qabl</i> ‘before’
/rm/	<i>bad.fōrm</i> ‘ugly’	/kr/	<i>fikr</i> ‘thought’
/rč/	<i>qarč</i> ‘crunch’	/kl/	<i>šekl</i> ‘shape’
/rj/	<i>xarj</i> ‘expense’	/km/	<i>hōkm</i> ‘command’
/lk/	<i>vilk</i> ‘flank, kidney’	/ks/	<i>maks</i> ‘stop’
/lq/	<i>daṭq</i> ‘packet’	/tr/	<i>mitr</i> ‘meter’
/lm/	<i>siṭm</i> ‘dread, fear’	/mr/	<i>šomr</i> ‘life’
/št/	<i>xišt</i> ‘brick’	/ms/	<i>šims</i> ‘bar’
/šk/	<i>ā.rišk</i> ‘burp’	/nj/	<i>panj</i> ‘five’

Another type of consonant cluster occurring as syllable coda is formed by the semivocalic segment of a VC sequence (§2.3) plus a consonant:

/wr/	<i>dōwr</i> ‘around’	/yf/	<i>heyf</i> ‘pity’
/wł/	<i>qōwł</i> ‘saying, promise’	/yr/	<i>seyr</i> ‘look, glance’
/wš/	<i>kōwš</i> ‘shoe’	/yn/	<i>beyn</i> ‘between’

Consonant clusters including /h/ are uncommon, considering that this phoneme is rarely realized as a consonant in pronunciation. However, clusters like /hr/ in words like *zo(h)r* ‘noon’ or *ša(h)r* ‘city’ might be

⁹⁸ On the possible cluster /ng/, not included in the list, cf. /n/ and /ŋ/ in §2.1.

analyzed as occurring syllable-finally. Clusters of three consonants, though very rare, can occur as syllable coda, in which case they consist of a glide-continuant-stop sequence: e.g. *deyšt* ‘outside’.

In word-medial position, sequences of two consonant are almost systematically split into separate syllables, in compliance to a general tendency to avoid empty onsets. This is observed also in the re-syllabification of consonant clusters at syllable boundaries, when e.g. a vowel-initial morpheme is attached:

<i>čirk</i> ‘dirt’	<i>čir.kin</i> ‘dirty’
<i>kord</i> ‘Kurd’	<i>kwir.dī</i> ‘Kurdish’
<i>češm</i> ‘eye’	<i>češ.ma</i> ‘spring’
<i>haš(t)</i> ‘eight’	<i>haš.tā(d)</i> ‘eighty’

Word-internal sequences of various kinds, including those less common or disallowed as syllable onsets and codas, can derive from processes of word compounding or are found at morpheme boundaries (e.g. *viṭ.gard* ‘stray’, *höz.ča* ‘fountain’), while others result from morphophonological processes (§2.5.3).

Sequences of three consonant are rare, both as syllable codas (with the only attested case of *deyšt* ‘outside’) and in secondary contact: whenever present, they must contain at least one continuant, e.g. *qwi.rān.xwan* ‘reader of the Quran’.

2.5 Some morphophonological processes

2.5.1 Vowel coarticulation and coalescence

In Harsini, several vocalic sounds are subject to conditioned changes when occurring next to each other, before certain consonant sounds or at a morpheme boundary. In such cases, their treatment depends primarily on the quality of the vowels involved and, in the case of vowel groups found at a morpheme juncture, on the nature of the concerned morpheme.

Coarticulatory processes are frequent when the modal prefixes *ma-* and *bi-* or the negative morpheme *na-* precede a verbal stem beginning with certain sounds. The presence of those morphemes leads to the deletion of an initial /h/ or the lenition of /v/, /b/ and /d/ in intervocalic

position (for a list of such verbal forms see §3.13.1). The resulting vowels or semivowels often trigger secondary changes in the vowel sound of the combined morphemes.

Some instances of coarticulation are listed below. Additional information on variation of specific morphemes when preceding or following vowels and semivowels will be provided in the relevant sections addressing morphology:

i. $V \text{ (except } /i/) + /i/ \rightarrow /Vy/$

This happens when morphemes beginning with or consisting in a vowel $/i/$ (such as the form $=i$ of the 3SG bound pronoun; a 2SG, 1 PL, 2PL Present copula; the additive morpheme $=i\check{s}/=i\check{z}$; the relative particle $=i$; the indefinite suffix $-i/-ik$) occur after a word-final vowel:

- (1) $d\bar{a}=y\check{s}=i=a$ $m-u\check{s}-e$
 mother=ADD=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘his mother, too, says’ [1:71]

ii. $/i/ + /i/ \rightarrow /i/$

This happens when morphemes beginning with or consisting in a vowel $/i/$ (as those listed above) follow a base ending in $/i/$ (e.g. $k\bar{i}$ ‘who’). In these cases, the resulting vowel can be uttered as extra-long:

- (2) $b-\ddot{u}n-im$ $t\ddot{o}$ $k\bar{i}=(\bar{i})t$ [ki::t]
 SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 2SG who=COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘Let me see who you are’ [2:103]

iii. $/a/ + /e/ \rightarrow /e/$

This occurs, for instance, when a word ending in $/a/$ (e.g. $halqa$ ‘ring’) is followed by the form $=e$ of the 3SG bound pronoun or the indefinite suffix $-e$:

- (3) $bowe=y\check{s}=i$ $halqe$ $a\check{r}=e$
 father=ADD=BP.3SG ring.INDF2 for=BP.3SG
 $san-i=a$
 buy.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Her father has bought a ring for her’ [1:56]

iv. /a/ + /a/ → /a/

This happens when morphemes beginning with or consisting in a vowel /a/ (e.g. the plural marker *-al*; the demonstrative and directional particles *=a*; the definite suffix *-a*) attach to a word ending in /a/ (e.g. *halqa* ‘ring’):

- (4) *ī hatqa*
 PROX ring.DEM
 ‘this ring’ [1:78]

v. /a/ + /y/ → /ey/

This happens, for instance, when a word ending in /a/ (e.g. a noun carrying the definite suffix *-a/-ka*) is followed by the additive morpheme *=īš/=īž*, or when the morphemes *ma-* and *na-* precede a verbal stem beginning in /ī/ (in both cases, /ī/ becomes a semivowel under the effect of the rule illustrated in point i. above):

- (5) *pyā-ke=yš=a m-uš-e*
 man-DEF=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘also the husband says’ [1:16]

- (6) *me-yl-īm=e*
 IND-leave.PRS-1PL=BP.3PL
 ‘We will leave him’ [7:53]

- (7) *ne-yl-ø*
 NEG-let.PRS-IMP.2SG
 ‘don’t let (him)’ [5:21]

vi. /a, i/ + /w(i)/ → /öw/
 /a/ + /w(u)/ → /ow/

This happens when the prefixes *ma-*, *na-* or *bi-* precede a verbal stem beginning with /w/, generally as a consequence of the lenition of a stem-initial /b, v/:

- (8) *šöw sar har_dö kwiř=a *ma-w(i)ř-ī* [møw’ ri:]
 night head both son=IND IND-cut.PRS-3SG
 ‘At night, he slaughters both sons’ [1:102]

- (9) *gīs=it* **bi-w(i)ř-ir-e* ['bøwrəre:]
 braid=BP.2SG SBJV-Cut.PRS-PASS-3SG
 'May your braids be cut off' [1:90]
- (10) *mar* *tō* **na-w(i)t-ī* ['nøwti] *ya*
 isn't_it 2SG NEG-say.PST-2SG PROX
šiša_ǵomr=im=a?
 bottle.of.life=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 'You have said "this is my bottle of life", haven't you?' [2:61]
- (11) *šekl=e* *maǵlüm* **na-wu* [now]
 form=BP.3SG clear NEG-become.PRS.3SG
 'her shape would not be evident' [1:83]

vii. /a/ + /wī/ → /öü/

This occurs when the prefixes *ma-* and *na-* precede a verbal stem beginning with the group /wī/, further contracted to /ü/ in pronunciation:

- (12) **ma-wīn-in* [møq'nən]
 IND-see.PRS-1PL
 'They see' [2:75]
- (13) **na-wīn-ītin?* ['nøqni:tən]
 NEG-see.PRS-2PL
 'Don't you see?' [7:21]

Some of these phenomena complicate the choice of a satisfactory transcription and glossing system. In order to preserve the readability of example sentences and texts, the use of parentheses to include elided vowels has been usually avoided, and most instances of vowel coarticulation and coalescence have not been transcribed analytically. However, it is beyond doubt that further research is needed before a more consistent solution for their graphic representation can be found.

2.5.2 Epenthesis

A hiatus deriving from the suffixation of a 2SG Imperative verb ending in /a, ā/ with a bound pronoun or a clitic particle is commonly avoided by the insertion of a /t/ sound:⁹⁹

- (14) *bi-ka-t=ā!*
 SBJV-do.PRS.IMP.2SG-EU?=PART
 ‘défais!, ouvre! [unpack!, open!]’ (Fattah 2000: 460)

This epenthetic consonant might be considered as extraneous to the 2SG Imperative ending (which is commonly -∅ in Harsini) although a final /t/ is often realized in 2SG verbal agreement, especially in the presence of further suffixation. In fact, it is possible that this feature came about in analogy to the reappearance of final /t/ sounds in 2SG and 3SG verbal endings and copula forms, when occurring in similar contexts:

- (15) *m-e* *ye_dafʕa* *bi-xw-et=e*
 IND-want.PRS.3SG suddenly SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
bi-kwiš-et=e
 SBJV-kill.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘(he) is on the point of eating him, killing him’ [2:15]

- (16) *na-firut=üt=e*
 NEG-sell.PST=COP.PST.3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘He had not sold/he would not have sold’ [laki_conv_1, 31:24-31:25]

A nasal /n/ is inserted (or perhaps retained, in the case of personal pronouns) to break a vowel sequence resulting from the suffixation of certain personal pronouns, prepositions and occasionally numerals:

- (17) *tō-n=īž=a* *ma-xw-e*
 2SG-EU?=ADD=IND IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘He’s going to eat you as well’ [4:151]

⁹⁹ This constitutes a difference with respect to the majority of SK varieties, inserting a /r/ sound instead: e.g. *bikare!* ‘Do it!’, *naware!* ‘Don’t take!’, *buāre!* ‘Knead it!’ (cf. Fattah 2000: 219-220; 285-287).

- (18) *mi va-n=ī movāzibat bi-ka-m*
 1SG to-EU? =BP.3SG care SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I would take care of it’ [2:58]

- (19) *har si-n=īš kwiř=in*
 each/every three-EU? =ADD boy=COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘all three, well, are boys’ [laki_conv_1, 3:20]

2.5.3 Deletion

The short, central vowel /i/ is particularly unstable and is usually deleted in unstressed position between consonants. This commonly affects the realization of pronominal clitics, person markers and verbal stems in contexts like the following:

- (20) *xwaš=(i)m=a=γān=a* [ˈxwāˈfmaˌjaːna] *m-āy*
 good=BP.1SG=DRCT=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘I like them!’ [1:120]

- (21) *tö hawās=(i)t=a* [haˈwaːsta] *darpeykar-il-a*
 2SG attention=BP.2SG=DRCT door.and.structure-PL-DEF
bu
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Pay attention to the house’ [6:168]

- (22) *āwird-īm(i)n=a* [vˈwərˈdiːmna]
 bring.PST-1PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘We have brought’ [2:24]

- (23) *ma-š(i)k-an-in=ī* [maˈʃkaˈnəniː]
 IND-break.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3PL=BP.3SG
 ‘They break it’ [2:76]

2.6 Stress patterns

In Harsini, the position of lexical stress is largely predictable. Each word has a primary stress (marked by ´ in the following examples). The syllable carrying the stress is typically characterized by greater amplitude and length. Monomorphemic lexical words and proper names formed by more than one syllable are generally stressed on the last syllable:

nizík ‘near’
bowá ‘father’
mamá ‘Mohammad’

An exception is represented by a few disyllabic adverbs and function words that are normally stressed on the first syllable. In these cases, word-initial stress denoting focus overrides the default (word-final) lexical stress:

yáʕnī ‘that is to say’
váli ‘but’
báte ‘yes’

The same applies to words used as vocatives:

bábā ‘Dad!’ [5:21]
āqā ‘Mister!, Sir!’ [6:147]

Compound words may have a secondary stress (marked as ˘ in the examples that follow), occurring on the last syllable of the first element: e.g. *qwirān.xwán* ‘reader of the Quran’.

Polymorphemic words have different stress patterns, depending on the morpheme added to the stem. The definite suffix *-a/-ka* (e.g. *kwiř-á* ‘the boy’), the plural marker *-al* (e.g. *dīt-ál* ‘the girls’), the comparative and superlative suffixes *-tír/-tīrīn* (e.g. *bādmaza-tír* ‘more disgusting’), the form *tír* attaching to nominals with the meaning ‘another’ (e.g. *dīt-tír* ‘another daughter’) and the suffix *-im/-om* forming ordinal numbers (e.g. *dōwīm* ‘second’) attract primary stress. When multiple morphemes potentially carrying the stress attach to the same phonological word, the stress falls on the last available host:

kōwš-il-á ‘the shoes’
maxār-ál-ī-tír ‘some other caverns’

On the other hand, the indefinite suffix *-e/-ī(k)* (e.g. *žín-ī* ‘a woman’), the indicative particle *=a* (e.g. *dirīs=a makám* ‘I prepare’), the demonstrative particle *=a* (e.g. *a kás=a* ‘that person’), the cliticized prepositions (e.g. *mān=a māl* ‘they come home’), the bound personal pronouns (e.g. *sār=mān* ‘our head’), the enclitic copula (e.g. *badbáxt=im* ‘I am miserable’), the additive morpheme *=iš/=īž* (e.g. *dīt=iš* ‘the girl, too’), the conjunction *=ō* (e.g. *mīn=ō tō* ‘me and you’), the ezāfe particle *=i* (e.g. *āšk=i mirwārī* ‘pearly tear’) and the compounding element *=a* (e.g. *dīt=a būčkatā* ‘the younger girl’) are unstressed.

In verbal forms, stress patterns show a higher degree of variability. In Infinitives, the primary stress generally falls on the last syllable (e.g. *kirdín* ‘to do’). As a rule, the indicative marker *ma-* does not attract primary stress. Therefore, Present and Imperfect verbal forms are either stressed on personal endings (e.g. *magīrdī* ‘he/she/it turns’, *makirdīm* ‘I was doing’) or on the root if the person agreement is not syllabic (e.g. *maxwám* ‘I eat’, *makírd* ‘he/she/it was doing’). The negative prefix *ni-* usually attracts primary stress (e.g. *nímakirdīm* ‘I wasn’t doing’).

As the indicative marker, the subjunctive marker *bi-* is usually unstressed. Verbal forms built with this morpheme are stressed on the verbal stem or on personal endings (e.g. *bikám* ‘I would do’, *bixwé* ‘he/she/it would eat’). The negative prefix *na-* does not appear to attract stress in subjunctive forms. However, both *bi-* and *na-* may carry the stress in Imperative forms: e.g. *bíka!* ‘do!’, *náka!* ‘don’t do!’. In the Preterite, primary stress normally falls on the stem, rather than on personal endings (e.g. *kírdin* ‘they did’). In Perfect verbs, stress generally falls on the syllable preceding the Present clitic copula (e.g. *kird-ím=a*). On the contrary, the stress falls on the Past clitic copula intervening in the formation of the Pluperfect (e.g. *xaft=ū* ‘he had slept’).

In some cases, stress can be distinctive:

<i>kirdín</i> ‘to do’	vs.	<i>kírdin</i> ‘they did’
<i>badbaxtí</i> ‘misfortune’	vs.	<i>badbáxtī</i> ‘you are miserable’
<i>kārī</i> ‘hard-working’	vs.	<i>kāri</i> ‘a job’

Chapter 3: Morphosyntax

3.1 Nouns and the noun phrase

The lexical class of nouns includes words referring to concrete and physical entities (e.g. *das* ‘hand’; *kwičik* ‘stone’) or to abstract concepts and imaginary entities (e.g. *xwašī* ‘happiness’, *parī* ‘fairy’), as well as words pertaining to more restricted subclasses, such as proper names (e.g. *mama xān* ‘Mohammad Khān’) and classifiers (e.g. *gila* ‘unit’; *man* ‘measure corresponding to three kilos’).

Harsini nouns can be simple, as well as compound. Prototypical noun words inflect according to number (singular vs. plural) and can carry markers for definiteness and indefiniteness, but are not grammatically distinguished either for gender or for case.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, they can be accompanied by other particles indicating grammatical relations. The main grammatical functions of a prototypical noun are subject/agent, predicate, direct or indirect object, adverb and qualifier.

In the following sections basic information concerning the structural characteristics of Harsini nouns and noun phrases will be given, while the mechanisms of nominal composition and derivation will be specifically addressed in the paragraphs on word formation (Chapter 4). Whenever certain aspects of phonology, syntax or lexis are alluded to in the description, there will be cross-references to the sections where those subjects are treated in more detail.

3.1.1 Gender

In Harsini, grammatical gender is not morphologically distinguished. Biological gender on the other hand (male or female) may be differentiated through the availability of lexical pairs, particularly in terms referring to human beings or higher animals:

¹⁰⁰ With the possible exception of the hypothetical oblique and vocative markers discussed in §3.1.3.1.

[+ feminine]	[+ masculine]
<i>žin</i> ‘woman, wife’	<i>pyā</i> ‘man, husband’
<i>dit</i> ‘girl, daughter’	<i>kwiř</i> ‘boy, son’
<i>dā</i> ‘mother’	<i>bowa</i> ‘father’
<i>xwišk</i> ‘sister’	<i>birā</i> ‘brother’
<i>dat</i> ‘female dog’	<i>gamāt</i> ‘male dog’

Some of the gender-specific lexical items contrast with corresponding gender-neutral (generic) words:

[gender-marked]	[generic]
<i>māyn</i> ‘female horse’	<i>asb, čirāwā</i> ‘(generic) horse’
<i>miḡā</i> ‘female cow’	<i>gā</i> ‘(generic) ox, cow, calf’
<i>dat</i> ‘female dog’	<i>sag</i> ‘(generic) dog’
<i>gamāt</i> ‘male dog’	<i>sag</i> ‘(generic) dog’

Another device used to convey information related to gender, in the absence of specialized terms, consists in placing the qualifying adjectives *ner* (more rarely *nař*) ‘male’ or *mā* ‘female’, either after or before the generic noun.

When the adjective precedes the noun, the two elements are usually joined by means of the vocalic linker *-a-*. In the case of female canines, the term *dat* ‘female dog’ is usually preferred to the adjective *mā* and placed before the noun:

[+ feminine]	[+ masculine]
<i>piši mā</i> ‘female cat’	<i>piši ner</i> ‘male cat’
<i>mā xar</i> ‘female donkey’	<i>neraxar</i> ‘male donkey’
<i>datagwirg</i> ‘female wolf’ (Fattah 2000: 239)	

This system is mostly used with terms referring to animals, but it can be applied to other entities as well:

nařadō ‘male demon’ [7:22]

In the case of humans, a gender-neutral nominal can be specified for feminine or masculine gender by preposing a gender-marked noun in apposition:

žin hamsāya ‘female neighbour, woman next door’ [6:19]

3.1.2 Unmarked nouns

An unmarked noun, that is a noun in its simplest form, is formally singular and can be interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on discourse recoverability and pragmatic context:

- (24) *bowa m-uš-e=a dit*
 father IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT girl
 ‘the father says to the daughter’ [1:24]

- (25) *pīrhan aṛā=m b-ār-ø=ō čādir*
 shirt for=BP.1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2SG=CONJ chador
 ‘Bring me a shirt, and a *chador*’ [2:4]

Unmarked nouns may have generic meaning, referring to an undetermined plurality, a class of items, or an abstract concept:

- (26) *kwiř n-er-ī*
 son NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 ‘he doesn’t have sons’ [5:20]

- (27) *hanā=ō yānala m-ar-in aṛā řarus=ō*
 henna=CONJ PROX.PL IND-bring.PRS-3PL for bride=CONJ
dāmād xiř=a m-e-n=ō řarus
 groom turn=IND IND-give.PRS-3PL=CONJ bride
aṛā žin xiř=a m-e
 for woman turn=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG
dāmād aṛā pyā xiř=a m-e
 groom for man turn=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG
 ‘they bring the henna and such things for the bride and the groom (to) pass it along, and the bride distributes it among women, (while) the groom distributes it among men.’
 [laki_conv_1, 5:41-5:48]

The definite suffix coalesces with the final vowel of words ending in /a/, whose definiteness can only be inferred from the context:

- (33) *kalá ma-xw-e*
 head IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘(he) eats the head’ [2:48]

The allomorph *-ka* is used after words ending in /ā/:

- (34) *tīx-a ma-n-ī=a nām gīs dā-ka*
 blade-DEF IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside braid mother-DEF
 ‘He puts the blade among the mother’s braids’ [1:102]

- (35) *ařā_xātir titā-ka*
 because.of gold-DEF
 ‘for the sake of the gold’ [2:71]

At least in one case, the final vowel of the noun *čirāwā* ‘horse’ is deleted before the definite suffix *-ka*:

- (36) *čirāw-ka siłm=a ma-k-e*
 horse-DEF fear=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘the horse gets scared!’ [1:43]

The definite suffix seems to be optionally realized with nouns followed by a bound pronoun in possessive function. If the definite suffix is present, it might meet a need for further emphasis. It should be noted that the vowel of the suffix *-ka* is dropped before the bound pronoun *=yān*:

- (37) *har dā-k=yān bī=a*
 just mother-DEF=BP.3PL be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘It was their mother(’s fault)!’ [1:105]

- (38) *bāad qowt bī-ø si dit-a=t*
 must promise be.PST-3SG three daughter-DEF=BP.2SG
b-e-γ=a ma
 SBJV-give.PRS-2SG=DRCT 1SG
 ‘You have to promise you will give me your three daughters’
 [2:17]

Overall, the definite suffix seems to be optional and often missing, even when semantics would call for its presence. Its omission is probably related to the fact that, under precise discourse and pragmatic conditions, unmarked nouns also can be interpreted as inherently definite (§3.1.2).

Despite the general validity of the rules described so far, problematic cases exist. For the examples presented below, a conclusive solution has not been found yet:

- (39) *ye kale kala yā gusfand-a yā gā-ya*
 INDF head.INDF2 head or sheep-? or calf-?
 ‘A head, (it is) a sheep or a calf’s head’ [2:33]

- (40) *va jang=i pādišā-ya*
 to/at war=EZ king-?
 ‘(he is) at the king’s war’ [3:25]

An interpretation of the sequences *gāya* and *pādišāya* as nouns followed by a definite suffix *-a* separated from the hosting noun by a glide /y/ is unlikely, considering that the allomorph *-ka* normally follows nouns ending in /ā/. =*ya* might rather be analysed as a 3SG clitic copula occurring after /ā/, although no further examples involving this form in similar contexts are available, and textual evidence suggests that the 3SG copula form =*sa* is generally used after /a/ (§3.13.11.1).

A third possibility would be to postulate the existence of an oblique marker *-a* (*-ya* following /ā/ and possibly other vowels), of very rare occurrence and akin to the one attested in the Gorani of Zarda (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 23). However, such a morpheme is never mentioned in Fattah (2000) and the available data are insufficient to validate this hypothesis.

The definite suffix *-a/-ka* is frequently used as a vocative marker, optionally following a noun employed as a term of address:

- (41) *kwiř-a*
 son-VOC
 ‘O son!’ [1:49], [1:86]

- (42) *birā-ka=m*
 brother-VOC=BP.1SG

‘My friend! [lit. my brother]’ [7:71]

Fattah (2000: 260) refers to an allomorph *-aka* of the definite suffix (marginal in the ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ group, but common in other SK varieties) which might occasionally function as a vocative marker in Harsini: e.g. *gyānakam!* ‘ma vie! [my life, my dear!]’. This observation, however, is not supported by additional examples from the Harsini corpus.

In the absence of explicit discourse particles (interjections) such as *ay*, *eγ* ‘O!, hey!’ (§3.10) explicitly pointing to the vocative function of a noun, this function can be signalled through stress. When a noun is used as a term of address, the stress shifts away from its usual position (that is, on the last syllable) to the first syllable of the noun.

3.1.3.2 Indefinite marker: *-e/-ī(k)*

Indefiniteness, and occasionally singularity, can be marked on nouns and noun phrases by means of the (unstressed) indefinite suffixes *-e* or *-ī*:

- (43) *hā-m=a* *nām* *put-ī*
 exist.PRS-1SG=DRCT inside bin-INDF1
 ‘I am in a bin’ [2:42]

- (44) *dīt-ī* *m-ār-ī=ō* *kwiř-ī*
 girl-INDF1 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=CONJ son-INDF1
 ‘she gives birth to a daughter and a son’ [4:112]

- (45) *mādar-e* *dir-īmin*
 mother-INDF2 have.PRS-1PL
 ‘we have a mother’ [1:121]

Following terms ending in /a/, the indefinite suffix merges with the final vowel of the word, yielding /e/:

- parda* ‘curtain’ → *parde* ‘a curtain’ [1:126]
jařba ‘box’ → *jařbe* ‘a box’ [2:73]
kala ‘head’ → *kale* ‘a head’ [2:33]

In the Harsini texts, the forms *-e* and *-ī* of the indefinite suffix seem to occur in free variation. The form *-ī* is slightly more frequent, but further

research is needed to clarify possible differences or constraints in their respective use. Precise rules of distribution cannot be determined at this stage.

On the other hand, the allomorph *-ik* (*-k* following /i/) is commonly used when the indefinite suffix is followed by another suffixing element (e.g. the conjunction =*ö*, the clitic copula, an enclitic preposition):

- (46) *dit-ik=a* *māṭ* *dir-in*
 daughter-INDF1=DRCT house have.PRS-3PL
 ‘they have a daughter at home’ [1:20]

- (47) *yāru* *naṛadö-ik=a*
 fellow male.demon-INDF1=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The fellow is a male demon’ [7:31]

Differently from some SK varieties, CK and Gorani,¹⁰¹ in Harsini the final consonant of the indefinite suffix cannot be optionally kept in the absence of additional suffixation. Vice versa, the suffix *-ī* may substitute the expected form *-ik* in the presence of further suffixing elements:

- (48) *dit-ī=a* *māṭ* *dir-in*
 daughter-INDF1=DRCT house have.PRS-3PL
 ‘they have a daughter at home’ [1:21]

If an indefinite noun is followed by a modifier, the indefinite suffix attaches after the modifier, ultimately behaving as a phrasal affix:

- (49) *piṣṭ* *gwiṣṭin-e* *dir-ī*
 cat little-INDF2 have.PRS-3SG
 ‘She has a little kitten’ [2:44]
- (50) *jawān=i* *bīkāṛ-ī*
 youngster=EZ unemployed-INDF1
 ‘an unemployed young man’ [5:6]

¹⁰¹ See Fattah (2000: 241) for SK; MacKenzie (1961a: 52ff.) for CK; and Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012: 14), Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013: 20) for Gorani.

- (51) *xišt=i tiā-īk=a*
 ingot=EZ gold-INDF1=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘It is a gold ingot’ [6:49]

Another way to express indefiniteness or singularity consists in placing the indefinite quasi-article *ye* ‘one, a’ (derived from the numeral *yak* ‘one’) before a noun or noun phrase:

- ye kūza* ‘a jug’ [5:32]
ye qāšoq řün ‘a spoon of butter’ [5:33]

Most frequently, the indefinite article *ye* is used in combination with an indefinite suffix to reinforce the idea of indefiniteness or singularity:

- (52) *ye žin-īk=ō ye pyā-ī*
 INDF woman-INDF1=CONJ INDF man-INDF1
 ‘a woman and a man’ [7:1]

- (53) *ye keywānu-e m-āy*
 INDF old.lady-INDF2 IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘an old woman comes’ [7:6]

Indefinite suffixes occur also in combination with certain indefinites and quantifiers (e.g. *hüč* ‘any’, *čan* ‘some’, *har* ‘every, whichever’) in contexts that do not necessarily imply singularity, as well as with the interrogative or exclamatory adjective *če* ‘what?, what a...!’ (§3.5, §3.6):

- (54) *hüč xwidā-ī n-er-im*
 any God-INDF1 NEG-have.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m wretched! [lit. I don’t have any God]’ [7:8]

- (55) *čan midat-ī*
 some moment-INDF1
 ‘Some time’ [1:95]

- (56) *har āw-ī*
 whichever water-INDF1
 ‘whichever (kind of) water’ [4:44]

- (57) *če hōsn-ī dir-ītin homa?*
 what virtue-INDF1 have.PRS-2PL 2PL
 ‘What virtue do you have?’ [4:86]

Against Fattah’s (2000: 243) observation that indefinite suffixes cannot combine with plural markers (§3.1.4), we might adduce counter-examples like the one below, providing that the vocalic sound before *-tir* ‘other, another’ can be analysed as an indefinite suffix (cf. §3.6.1 on this issue):

- (58) *ma-ws-e va maxār-al-ī-tir*
 IND-wait.PRS-3SG at cave-PL-INDF1?-CMPR
 ‘He waits in some other caverns’ [4:141]

3.1.4 Plurality

As we have seen so far, Harsini speakers can express singular number in different ways: unmarked nouns can be interpreted as singulars or generic plurals according to context (§3.1.2), or rather be marked for singularity through the indefinite markers described in §3.1.3.2.

So-called mass or uncountable nouns referring to collective, unitary or abstract entities normally do not occur in the plural. On the other hand, plurality is marked on a countable noun or element used in a substantive sense by means of the (stressed) suffix *-al* (allomorph *-l* after /ā/ and /a/), probably originating as a collective marker (Windfuhr 1989b: 258):

- (59) *āyl-al hardik mird-in=a*
 child-PL both die.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘both children are dead [lit. have died]’ [1:103]

- (60) *čirāwā-l āw=a ma-xwa-n*
 horse-PL water=IND IND-eat.PRS-3PL
 ‘the horses drink water’ [1:48]

The use of this suffix as generalized plural marker stands out as a typical trait of SK dialects, when compared to NK and CK.¹⁰² Similar suffixes are

¹⁰² A similar suffix *-gal* (with variants *-al*, *-ayl*) is occasionally attested in Sorani after names of animals with the collective meaning ‘herd, flock of ...’ (Mackenzie 1961a: 54 fn. 1), but the regular plural suffix in CK dialects is *-ān*. The Sine’i variety of CK is exceptional, reportedly

also used as regular plural markers in the Laki varieties of Lorestān, in a few dialects of south-western Iran and in some varieties of the Tāfresh group of Central Plateau dialects.¹⁰³

A marginal variant *-el* of the plural suffix seems to occur in Text 2 and Text 4, substantiating Fattah's (2000: 248) observation that different forms of this suffix can coexist in the idiolect of one and the same speaker. In the available material, the allomorph *-el* is apparently found only in combination with bound pronouns, but the data are too limited to allow for an identification of possible rules for such variation:

- (61) *m-uš-e=a* *dit-el=e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT daughter-PL=BP.3SG
 'He says to his daughters' [2:3]

- (62) *žin-el=yān=a* *ma-kwiš-in*
 wife-PL=BP.3PL=IND IND-kill.PRS-3PL
 'They kill their wives' [4:165]

The plural suffix frequently occurs in combination with the definite suffix *-a*, forming definite plurals. Since the definite suffix attracts word stress, the vowel /a/ of the plural suffix comes to be reduced to /i/:

- (63) *sar* *āyl-il-á* *biři=a*
 head child-PL-DEF cut.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 'he slaughtered the kids' [1:134]

In Harsini, the plural suffix followed by a morpheme *-a* (akin to the demonstrative marker described in §3.1.6.2) intervenes in the formation of the plural demonstrative pronouns *yānala* 'these ones' and *awānala* 'those ones' (§3.4.2).

using a suffix *-gal* in free alternation with *-ān* to form the plural of any noun (Christensen & Barr 1939: 232).

¹⁰³ In particular, this plural marker exists in Chagani (Blau 1993: 96; MacKinnon 2011), in some southern varieties of the Lori continuum, in some Fārs dialects and in Sivandi (see Lecoq 1989b: 342, 344, 346). Among the Central Plateau dialects, Lecoq (1989a: 314) relates the existence of an analogous plural marker in the Āshtiāni and Āmore'i dialects of the Tāfresh group.

In the structure of the noun phrase, the plural suffix is said by Fattah (2000: 250) to attach to the head and not to the modifier, but contradictory evidence emerges from the linguistic material at our disposal:

- (64) *e zamān-al=i qadīm=a*
 PROX time-PL=EZ ancient=DEM
 ‘these old times’ [6:54]

vs.

- (65) *lebās čuwīn-al*
 clothes wooden-PL
 ‘the wooden clothes’ [2:82]

Persian-like and Arabic-like plural suffixes are used in a limited set of words:

- atrāfi-ān* ‘entourage, courtiers’ [2:106]
mowq-āt ‘moments’ [1:4]
edāra-jāt ‘offices’ [6:54]

The Persian plural marker *-hā* (mostly used with inanimate or non-human nouns in literary Persian, but joined to any noun in colloquial Persian), is attested in the available Harsini material after nouns pertaining to the semantic field of time:

- māḡ-(h)ā* ‘(for) months’ [1:73]
modat-(h)ā ‘times, (for) some/a long time’ [4:68]

In fact, like the comparable Persian morpheme, this suffix shows the supplementary characteristics of an adverbial marker. It might be considered as partially productive in Harsini, being also attested in combination with non-borrowed words, such as *māḡ* ‘month’ above. In rapid delivery, the suffix generally loses the glottal fricative segment.

The Persian plural suffix *-ān* (regularly used in literary Persian with nouns designating humans or, more rarely, animals) occurs only once in the data, in *atrāfiān* ‘entourage, courtiers’. It is probable that in this case the suffix has been borrowed together with the base, with which it forms a lexicalized unit.

Some words of Arabic origin ending in /a/ form their plural by means of the suffixes *-āt* (regular feminine plural in Arabic) or *-jāt* (a Persian

innovated form of the Arabic suffix). In [1:4], however, the suffix is used in an instance of code-switching to Persian.

Only a few examples of Arabic broken plurals are attested in the available material. They are always found in lexicalized forms, most likely adopted via Persian: e.g. *hawās bīn* ‘to be attentive, to pay attention’ (Pers. *ḥavās*, from Ar. *ḥawāss*, broken plural of *ḥāssa* ‘sense’); *hödudan* ‘approximately’ (Pers. *hodudan*, from Ar. *ḥudūd* plural of *ḥadd* ‘limit, boundary’) and *řasmřosüm* ‘customs and traditions’ (Pers. *rosum*, from Ar. *rusüm*, broken plural of *rasm* ‘tradition, custom’).

3.1.5 Ezāfe and compounding

3.1.5.1 Ezāfe particle: =i

In Harsini, as many other West Iranian languages, a variety of different modifier types can be linked with the head noun in a construction traditionally termed ‘ezāfe construction’. The ezāfe is normally described as an enclitic vocalic morpheme attaching to the head of a noun phrase and linking it to a dependent modifier, usually with a specifying function.

The dependent element following the head can be another nominal, an adjective, a Participle, a numeral, an adverb or adverbial phrase, a pronoun or a prepositional phrase. Depending on the nature of its constituents, the ezāfe construction can express a wide variety of semantic relationships (e.g. qualification, possession, affiliation, specification, location).

Fattah (2000: 261-265) relates that the use of the ezāfe particle is not a generalized feature of SK varieties, clearly stating that the dialects of the Laki-Kermānshāhi branch (which Harsini is part of) lack a specific grammatical marker for this construction. However, from the analysis of the available data this observation turns out to be somewhat inaccurate for the variety under study.

It is surely true that in Harsini a head can be linked to its determiner through simple juxtaposition, and this is in fact the dominant tendency among Harsini speakers:

dīt dōwim ‘the second daughter’ [2:40]

kwiř pādīšā ‘the king’s son’ [1:41]

dīt kařin ‘the elder daughter’ [2:7]

kilik wižī ‘her own finger’ [1:58]
kwirdī harsīnī ‘Harsini Kurdish’ [1:12]

However, a generalized ezāfe particle =*i* is available, even though native speakers rarely realize it in speech:

dit=i dōwim ‘the second daughter’ [2:40]
kwiř=i pādšā ‘the king’s son’ [4:51]
dit=i kaṭiṇ ‘the elder daughter’ [4:102]
kāwiř=i zīyād ‘many sheep’ [5:16]
xišt=i titā ‘a gold ingot’ [6:66]

Reasons for the sizable cross-speaker and within-speaker variation in producing the ezāfe particle are yet to be determined. Hypotheses on the significance of factors concerning phonology or sociolinguistic variables have been proposed for the same phenomenon in Gorani (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 16). Some influence of the comparable Persian construction on the frequency of use of the ezāfe morpheme may also be envisaged.¹⁰⁴

The addition of adnominal modifiers in the noun phrase is recursive. A theoretically infinite number of elements can be connected in a chain of annexation, either by simple juxtaposition or by means of the ezāfe particle:

dāstān badbaxti wižim ‘the story of my own misfortune’ [1:1]
hōkm=i siṭeymān=i peqambar ‘Prophet Solomon’s command’ [7:78]

The ezāfe particle never occurs with expressions of quantity (§3.8) or with noun phrases expressing partitive relations:

dō gila huř birsāq ‘two saddlebags of fritters’ [1:67]
ye qāšoq řün ‘a spoon of butter’ [5:33]

Finally, it should be noted that an allomorph =*e*, akin to the Persian ezāfe particle, occurs at least once in the Harsini corpus, linking the borrowed prepositional form *mes(t)* (Pers. *mesl* ‘like’) to its dependent nominal:

mese řusarī ‘like a headscarf’ [2:44]

¹⁰⁴ Lecoq (1989a: 318, 320, 322; 1989c: 254) attributes the irregular presence of an ezāfe morpheme in the Central Plateau dialects to Persian influence.

In a second case, it might be involved as linker in an intensive reduplicated construction formed by the adjective *dür* ‘far’, with a superlative sense (§4.2):

va düredür ‘from afar’ [1:124]

In both cases, the linking morpheme seems to have been borrowed as a fixed unit with the element it is attached to. This suggests that the Persian-like *ezāfe* particle =*e* is not productive in Harsini. Nonetheless, it may occur in occasional instances of code-switching and code-mixing.

3.1.5.2 Compound marker: =*a*

The morpheme =*a* intervenes in another type of construction, usually referred to as ‘open compound’ (MacKenzie 1961a: 64, 1961b: 83) or ‘free compound’ construction (i.e. *composé libre*: Blau 1989b: 337; Lecoq 1989c: 254). This construction exists in SK, CK and Gorani/Hawrami,¹⁰⁵ but not in NK.

Its canonical structure involves a head noun followed by a determiner (either an attributive adjective or, more rarely, a noun) and linked to it by means of a compound marker =*a*. The definite marker -*a/-ka* follows the formed noun phrase, conferring on it a definite sense:

- (66) *dit=a* *büčk-at-a*
 girl=CMPD little-DIM-DEF
 ‘the younger daughter’ [7:20]

The behaviour of the particle =*a*, linking a head noun to its modifier, is largely comparable to that of the *ezāfe* morpheme. However, the semantic and grammatical conditions triggering its occurrence instead of the *ezāfe* particle are still unclear. Definiteness is probably a relevant factor in determining the preferential use of the compound marker =*a*. The construction with =*a* is also found in the presence of the demonstrative adjectives *ī/e* ‘this, these’ and *a* ‘that, those’.

The perceived degree of semantic integration of the elements involved might also be significant in this sense. The open compound construction

¹⁰⁵ See Fattah (2000: 268) for SK; MacKenzie (1961a: 64-65; 1961b: 83) for CK; and MacKenzie (1961b: 83, 1966: 18), Blau (1989b: 337), Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012: 16), Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013: 27-28) for Gorani/Hawrami.

seems in fact related to the mechanism of word compounding by means of the morphological linker *-a-*, forming complex lexemes characterized by a high degree of structural and semantic cohesion: e.g. *māṇašōw* ‘moonlight night’, *pīražin* ‘old woman’ (§4.3.2). In this type of compound, however, the order of head and modifier is generally reversed, with the head following the modifier. Moreover, the so-formed compounds can be followed by indefinite suffixes, which is not the case for noun phrases formed with the compound marker *=a*.

3.1.6 Other morphemes pertaining to nouns and noun phrases

3.1.6.1 Relative particle: *=ī*

An enclitic particle *=ī* (*=γ* before /a/ and /ā/, not realized after /ī/, cf. Fattah 2000: 708) can mark a noun or noun phrase functioning as the head of a restrictive (or determinative) relative clause introduced by a complementizer (§3.14.2.2):

- (67) *nām qār-al=ī gi dir-in*
 inside cave-PL=REL COMPL have.PRS-3PL
 ‘into the caves that they have’ [4:126]

Nonetheless, the relative marker appears to be optional and most frequently omitted. For instance, it is normally absent when the head of a restrictive relative clause is accompanied by a demonstrative adjective.

The morpheme marking the head of a relative clause is formally indistinguishable from the indefinite marker *-ī* and from the 3SG bound pronoun *=ī*. In the example below, the /ī/ after *šotori zař* might in principle be analysed as a relative particle following the noun phrase ‘woman with the gold camel’, but this option would appear less likely if we consider the relative clause that follows as non-restrictive:

- (68) *žin agard šotor=i zař-ī ki*
 woman with camel=EZ gold-INDF1/REL? COMPL
hāt-ī=as ařā dar hasā(r)
 come.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG to door courtyard
 ‘the wife with a camel (full) of gold, who has come to the courtyard’s threshold’ [6:110]

3.1.6.2 Demonstrative particle: =a

A particle =a (unstressed) attaches to the end of a noun or noun phrase determined by a demonstrative adjective (§3.4.1). The demonstrative particle coalesces with a word-final /a/ (and possibly with other vowels, too), as in the following example involving the word *kūza* ‘jug’:

ī kūza ‘this jug’ [5:36]

The demonstrative particle is also formally indistinguishable from the 3SG Present copula, the Indicative particle and the so-called ‘directional particle’ (when these are realized as =a). Usually, but not always, these homophonous forms can be distinguished on the basis of context.

When a demonstrative adjective modifies a noun phrase, the demonstrative particle attaches to the last element of the phrase. If the phrase includes a bound pronoun, an additive morpheme or both, the particle =a attaches after these clitics:

(69) *ī kōwš-al=t=a*
 PROX shoe-PL=BP.2SG=DEM
 ‘these shoes of yours’ [1:15]

(70) *a damād=ī=a*
 DIST groom=BP.3SG=DEM
 ‘that groom of hers’ [3:82]

(71) *e jawān=i vetgard=īš=a*
 PROX youngster=EZ vagrant=ADD=DEM
 ‘this vagrant boy, too’ [5:18]

In at least one attested case, the demonstrative particle seems to attach to the end of a clause (after a 3PL enclitic Present copula) rather than to the last element of the noun phrase, but the hesitations in the speech characterising this passage make the analysis uncertain:

(72)	<i>až</i>	<i>žin=ō</i>	<i>až</i>	<i>pyā=ō</i>	<i>až</i>	
	from	woman=CONJ	from	man=CONJ	from	
	<i>hin=a</i>		<i>nām</i>	<i>hīn</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>zindānī</i>
	thingummy=DRCT		inside	thingummy	PROX	prisoner

ī *dīv=n=a*
 PROX demon=COP.PRS.3PL?=DEM
 ‘from men, to women, to thingummy are among what-do-you-
 call-them, these demon’s prisoners’ [2:66]

As a rule, the demonstrative particle =*a* is obligatorily realized after any nominal preceded by a demonstrative adjective. However, counter-examples exist in the available material, all involving a proximal demonstrative. Moreover, in all cases the terms concerned end in a vowel (either /ī/ or /ā/):¹⁰⁶

ī pīrīzī ‘this bundle’ [1:74]
e lebās tatāʔī ‘this golden dress’ [2:84]
ī eždehā ‘this dragon’ [3:78]

Due to the scantiness of data, it is hard to determine the reason for this irregularity, which might be attributed to the presence of the proximal demonstrative, to the word-final vowel, or perhaps to neither of these.

The same applies for the exceptions listed below, where the absence of the demonstrative particle might be ascribed either to the presence of a conjunction =*ō*, or to the fact that the morpheme’s dedicated host ends in a vowel:

(73) *a* *tašī=ō* *xwīrī*
 DIST spindle=CONJ wool
 ‘that spindle and (that) wool’ [6:19]

(74) *a* *āw=ō* *keynī=ō* [...]
 DIST water=CONJ spring= CONJ [...]
 ‘that water(course) and (that) spring and [...]' [3:17]

Finally, the demonstrative particle is omitted when the demonstrative adjectives are used in opposition to each other. In this respect, the primary Harsini data support similar observations in Fattah (2000: 316):

¹⁰⁶ Similar exceptions are noted by Lazard (1992b: 217) for the Laki of Aleshtar.

- (75) *čihel šöw ařā ī xwišk=im čihel=īš ařā a*
 forty night for PROX sister=BP.1SG forty=ADD for DIST
xwišk
 sister
 ‘Forty nights for this sister of mine, forty for that sister too’ [2:53]

3.2 Adjectives

The lexical class of adjectives is not inflected for gender and number. Prototypical adjectives can express various properties of the noun they modify, e.g. colour, quality, shape, mental or physical state. They can be simple or formed through derivational morphology and compounding processes (Chapter 4).

In noun phrases, attributive adjectives generally follow the head noun they modify and are linked to it through simple juxtaposition, by means of the *ezāfe* particle (§3.1.5.1) or through the annexation construction involving the compound marker *=a* (§3.1.5.2). In some cases, the attributive adjective can precede the noun it modifies. In this position, a linking vowel *-a-* is realized between the adjective and the noun.

Two or more adjectives in coordination can be either juxtaposed or joined by means of a linking morpheme (i.e. the *ezāfe* particle or the enclitic conjunction *=ö*):

- ye pīražine kasīf=i badfōrm* ‘a dirty, bad-shaped old woman’ [4:18-19]
češma qašaṇ=ö xui ‘a beautiful and good spring’ [4:66]

When the adjective has a predicative function, it precedes the appropriate form of the copula or a conjugated form of the verb ‘to be, become’ (§3.13.11):

- (76) *dīt gwijīn fira dānā=ö bāhuš=a*
 daughter small very wise=CONJ intelligent=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The younger daughter is very wise and intelligent’ [2:23]
- (77) *dīt xeylī badfōrm=a mow*
 girl very bad.shaped=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG
 ‘The girl becomes very ugly’ [4:47]

The boundary between the lexical classes of adjectives and nouns is particularly labile. Adjectives may act as nouns and be inflected accordingly, and nouns often occur in adjectival function. In the first two examples below, the words *bīčāra* ‘poor, hopeless’ and *mirwārī* ‘pearl, pearly’ are used as nouns, while in the other two they function as adjectives:

- (78) *bīčāra* *ma-č-u*
 poor.person IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘The poor (girl) goes’ [1:105]

- (79) *mirwārī=a* *čam=e* *b-āy*
 pearl=DRCT eye=BP.3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘Pearls would come out from his eyes’ [4:98]

- (80) *bīčāra=m*
 hopeless=COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m hopeless’ [7:8]

- (81) *ašk=i* *mirwārī=a* *čam=e=a* *m-āy*
 tear=EZ pearly=DRCT eye=BP.3SG=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘Pearly tears come out from his eyes’ [4:114]

Adjectives can also be used as adverbs, as *xās* ‘good, fine, well’ in the second of the examples below:

- (82) *dā=t* *xās* *bowa=t* *xās*
 mother=BP.2SG well father=BP.2SG well
 ‘(may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well’ [7:34]

- (83) *xās* *řaxs=a* *ma-k-e*
 well dance=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘she dances properly’ [1:58]

Adjectives intervene in the formation of complex predicates (§3.13.2.1).

3.2.1 Degrees of comparison

In Harsini, the comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are derived through suffixation. The comparative is formed by means of the (stressed) suffix *-tir*. Fattah's (2000: 271-343) observation that an allomorph *-tirik* is used in the region of Harsin is confirmed by the data from the DoBeS Archive:¹⁰⁷

- (84) *lak=i lořisān masan hin īma nīya,*
 laki=EZ Lorestān for.example thing 1PL NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
bi-zān-īmin bīštir=ī. awāna la(h)ja
 SBJV-know.PRS-1PL most=BP.3SG 3PL accent
dir-in, īma la(h)ja n-er-īm. ar lak=i
 have.PRS-3PL 1PL accent NEG-have.PRS-1PL if Laki=EZ
sāda qissa ma-ka-n awāna la(h)ja-l=yān
 plain speech IND-do.PRS-3PL 3PL accent-PL=BP.3PL
kam-ī qōl-tirik=a, īma xu
 little-INDF1 coarse-CMPR=COP.PRS.3SG 1PL well
ni-ma-fa(h)m-īm.
 NEG-IND-understand.PRS-1PL
 'the Laki of Lorestān, for instance, is not (like) ours, (that) we
 would know most of it. They have an accent; we don't have any
 accent. If they speak plain Laki, their accents are a bit coarser, we
 don't understand well' [laki_conv_1, 1:54-2:08]

The comparative adjective might be preceded by an adverbial qualifier such as *fira* 'very', *xeylī* 'very', *kamī* 'a little'. The standard of comparison is commonly introduced by the prepositions *va* or *až* 'from' and can either precede or follow the comparative adjective. If the reference to a standard is lacking, the comparative has an intensive or attenuating value:

- (85) *wiž=ī badmaza-tir nīya*
 RFLX=BP.3SG bad.tasting-CMPR NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
 '(The water) itself does not taste that bad [lit. is not worse-tasting]'
 [4:63]

¹⁰⁷ This passage has been reported in full because it gives interesting information on folk perceptions on dialect boundaries between Harsini and the Laki of Lorestān.

In a comparison of equality, the adjective is in its basic form and the standard is introduced by the prepositions *jür* (or possibly *čü*) ‘like, as’:

- (86) *pyā-ke=yš jür mi sāde=a*
 man-DEF=ADD like 1SG simple=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The man, well, is simple like me’ [6:34]

- (87) *ye nafar jür mi dānā*
 INDF person like 1SG wise
 ‘A person as wise as me’ [6:58]

The superlative of an adjective is formed by the (stressed) suffix *-tirīn* (further segmentable as the comparative suffix *-tir* plus a suffix *-īn*): e.g. *nizīktirīn* ‘closest’, *dūrtirīn* ‘furthest’. The superlative adjective is placed before the nominal head without the intervention of the ezāfe particle.

Unfortunately, the available materials offer scant examples of superlative adjectives. The only occurrence is an irregular form *be(h)tarīn* ‘best’, which is both suppletive (with no corresponding basic adjective) and formed by means of a variant form *-tarīn* (akin to Pers. *-tarīn*) of the suffix:

be(h)tarīn ři ‘the best way’ [6:137]

Some comparatives and superlatives preserve two alternative forms, one of which is formed through the addition of the suffix *-tir/-tirīn* to an inherited comparative base, never occurring independently in contemporary language:

- xu/xās* ‘good, fine, well’:
 i. *xutir/xāstir* ‘better’, *xutirīn/xāstirīn* ‘best’
 ii. *be(h)tir* ‘better’, *be(h)tirīn* ‘best’
 (from an inherited base *beh* ‘better’)

- zīyād* ‘much, many, a lot’/*fira* ‘very, much’:
 i. *zīyātir/firatir* ‘more, further’
 ii. *bīštir* ‘more, further’
 (from an inherited base *bīš* ‘more’)

The absolute superlative is expressed by the basic form of the adjective preceded by adverbs such as *fira* ‘very’ and *xeylī* ‘very’:

- (88) *xeylī tamis=a xeylī xu=a sar=it*
 very clean=COP.PRS.3SG very good=COP.PRS.3SG head=BP.2SG
 ‘Your head is very clean; it is very good’ [4:22]

Alternatively, a superlative or intensive sense can be conveyed through the reduplication of an adjectival base:

- zīzī* ‘very quickly, at full speed’ [7:21]
düredür ‘afar, far away’ [1:124]

3.3 Personal Pronouns

3.3.1 Independent personal pronouns

Harsini has two sets of personal pronouns: independent and bound. Both sets distinguish number (singular and plural) and person (first, second and third), but are otherwise invariable. The independent personal pronouns are summarized in Table 7:

Table 7: Independent personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>mi(n), ma</i>	<i>īma</i>
2	<i>tō(n)</i>	<i>homa</i>
3	<i>ōw</i>	<i>awāna</i>

The usual form of the 1SG independent pronoun is *mi(n)*, but a variant form *ma* is also attested:

- (89) *mi bi-č-im*
 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘I shall go’ [1:72]
- (90) *min ī nama diris kird-im=a*
 1SG PROX felt right do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘I made this felt’ [1:132]
- (91) *ī xwirī=a ařā ma ma-řis-ī?*
 PROX wool=DEM for 1SG IND-spin.PRS-2SG

‘will you spin this wool for me?’ [6:32]

1SG and 2SG pronouns have an optional final /n/. They are most frequently realized without the final nasal, except when followed by another morphological element (e.g. the enclitic copula, the additive morpheme, the conjunction):

- (92) *ya hin min=a*
 PROX thing 1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘this is mine’ [2:63]

- (93) *tōn=iž=a ma-xw-e*
 2SG=ADD=IND IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘He’s going to eat you as well’ [4:151]

As in most Iranian languages, Harsini does not have a dedicated personal pronoun for the third person. In fact, the 3SG and 3PL independent pronouns largely overlap in form and function with the distal demonstrative pronouns. In the singular, *ōw* can alternate with the more common form *awa* of the distal demonstrative, while the plural form *awāna* is indifferently used as anaphoric or demonstrative pronoun (§3.4.2).

The 2PL form *homa* stands out in the Harsini set of independent personal pronoun, as one of the features characterizing the so-called ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ subgroup with respect to the rest of SK (Fattah 2000: 21):

- (94) *če hōsn-ī dir-ītin homa?*
 what virtue-INDF1 have.PRS-2PL 2PL
 ‘What virtue do you have?’ [4:86]

Indeed, the Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties share this pronominal form with Laki dialects of Lorestān (Lazard 1992b: 217; Mirdehghan & Moradkhani 2010: 516), other SK dialects having a common form *īwa* (and variants, see Fattah 2000: 275-277).

In Harsini, there is no distinction between formal and informal pronouns, although Fattah (2000: 279) signals a recent trend to use the 2PL as a form of courtesy, under the influence of Persian. This observation, however, is not supported by examples in our materials.

Independent personal pronouns function much as nominals and can occur in any syntactic function that is commonly taken on by noun phrases. In particular, full pronouns can function as:

- i. **The subject of a verb.** In Harsini, the subject is always indexed by an appropriate agreement suffix attached to the verb and this makes the presence of an explicit pronominal subject redundant. If a full pronoun is present, it generally complies with a need for emphasis or contrast:

(95) *īma m-uš-īm kalāsyāw*
 1PL IND-say.PRS-1PL old.mill
 ‘we call (it) ‘old mill’ [6:78]

- ii. **The expressed referent of a pronominal clitic.** In this function, independent pronouns are found in right and left dislocations (which are very frequent in Harsini) and are used, similarly to the redundant pronominal subjects above, for the sake of clarity or to emphasize or define a topic:

(96) *awāna bad=γān=a m-āy*
 3PL bad=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘they dislike her’ [4:117]

(97) *bad=γān=a m-āy awāna*
 bad=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG 3PL
 ‘they dislike her’ [4:117]

- iii. **The direct object of a transitive verb,** in both Present and Past tenses:

(98) *har tō dir-im*
 just 2SG have.PRS-1SG
 ‘you’re the only one I have’ [2:61]

- iv. **The complement of a prepositional phrase.** In this function, the independent pronouns can express a wide variety of semantic roles (Instrumental, Comitative, Source, Goal, Recipient):

(99) *mi bi-wāz-im=a tō, vagard mi ʕarusī*
 1SG SBJV-request.PRS-1SG=DRCT 2SG with 1SG marriage

bi-ke-γ

SBJV-do.PRS-2SG

‘I shall claim you (as my wife), you shall marry me’ [2:32]

- v. **The second element of an annexation construction** (§3.1.5.1), usually expressing possession, affiliation or a partitive relation:

(100) *hidīya mi bi-gir-ø*

present 1SG SBJV-take.PRS-IMP.2SG

‘Take my present’ [2:92]

In functions iii., iv. and v., independent pronouns alternate with the set of bound pronouns (described in §3.1.2 below), of which they are essentially pragmatically-determined variants, chosen to express a higher degree of contrast and topic switch.

3.3.2 Bound personal pronouns

Harsini bound pronouns are summarized in Table 8. These personal markers attach as enclitics to various lexical classes, e.g. nouns, reflexive markers, verbs, adpositions, numerals, quantifiers:

Table 8: Bound personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	= <i>im</i> [=m]	= <i>mān</i>
2	= <i>it</i> [=t]	= <i>tān</i>
3	= <i>ī</i> /= <i>ē</i> [=γ]	= <i>γān</i>

The allomorphs =*m* and =*t* of the 1SG and 2SG bound pronouns occur after vowels:

(101) *bowa=m ī jūrī xwišk-il-a=m ī jūrī*
 father=BP.1SG PROX way sister-PL-DEF=BP.1SG PROX way
 ‘my father such and such, my sisters such and such’ [2:104]

(102) *dā=t xās bowa=t xās*
 mother=BP.2SG well father=BP.2SG well
 ‘(may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well’ [7:34]

- (103) *b-e-∅* *damřii=t*
 SBJV-hit.PRS-IMP.2SG face=BP.2SG
 ‘splash it on your face’ [4:62]
- (104) *mīmī=t* *bi-mir-e*
 aunt=BP.2SG SBJV-die.PRS-3SG
 ‘as I live and breathe! [lit. may your aunt die]’ [7:7]

The vocalic sound /i/ is usually dropped when the bound pronoun is followed by another clitic, according to the morphophonological rule described in §2.5.3:

- (105) *xwaš=(i)m=a=yān=a* *m-āy*
 good=BP.1SG=DRCT=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘I like them!’ [1:120]
- (106) *tō* *hawās=(i)t=a* *darpeykar-il-a*
 2SG attention=BP.2SG=DRCT door.and.structure-PL-DEF
bu
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Pay attention to the house’ [6:168]

After consonants, the 3SG pronominal clitic has two attested forms: =*ī* and =*e*. These variants seem to alternate freely throughout the Harsini texts, but possible reasons for this alternation need to be investigated further:¹⁰⁸

- (107) *xišt* *tiṭā-ka* *dā-m=as=a* *bin=ī*
 ingot gold-DEF give.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG
 ‘I gave him the gold ingot’ [6:72]
- (108) *dōgila* *qazā* *m-e-n=a* *bin=e*
 again food IND-give.PRS-3PL=DRCT to=BP.3SG
 ‘They give her the food once again’ [2:102]

¹⁰⁸ The examples that follow might suggest that these allomorphs could be remnants of a gender distinction, but counter-examples are too numerous to take a stand on this matter.

Following certain vowels, the 3SG bound pronoun is susceptible to the morphophonological processes described in §2.5.1. After a word ending in /ā/ it is normally realized as =γ:

- (109) *m-uš-e=a* *dā=γ*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT mother=BP.3SG
 ‘he says to his mother’ [1:79]

After a word ending in /a/, such as *bowa* ‘father’ in the example below, the 3SG bound pronoun supersedes the final vowel of the noun:

- (110) *bow=e=a* *m-uš-e*
 father=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘her father says’ [2:45]

Following other vowels, the 3SG bound pronoun =*e* does not seem to undergo modifications. If the analysis is correct, both realizations =*e* and =γ are permitted when the bound pronoun is followed by another vocalic clitic (e.g. the indicative particle =*a*):

- (111) *kačat=a* *šü=e*
 bald=COP.PRS.3SG husband=BP.3SG
 ‘her husband is bald’ [3:44]
- (112) *pišī=e* *kala* *ma-xw-e*
 cat=BP.3SG head IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘Her cat eats the head’ [2:48]
- (113) *šü=e=a* *m-uš-e*
 husband=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘her husband says’ [4:167]
- (114) *šü=γ=a* *ma-č-u*
 husband=BP.3SG=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘her husband goes’ [3:24]

Bound pronouns alternate with independent pronouns in many of the functions listed in §3.3.1. In particular, they can express:

- i. **The direct object of a transitive verb** (either simple or complex), both in Present and Past tenses:

- (115) *m-ār-et=e* *ařā* *māt*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house
 ‘(he) brings him to (his) house’ [1:101]

In this function, the bound pronouns are often preceded by a vowel sound /a/ (glossed as NA, not analyzed), instead of being suffixed directly to the verb:¹⁰⁹

- (116) *mō-ün-in-a=m*
 IND-see.PRS-3PL-NA=BP.1SG
 ‘they will see me’ [2:71]

- ii. **The complement of a preposition** (either simple or complex):

- (117) *ča* *ařā=tān* *b-ār-im?*
 what for=BP.2PL SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG
 ‘What shall I bring (for) you?’ [2:3]

- iii. **The Possessor** of a possessed noun phrase or second element of a partitive relation:

- (118) *xwirī-a=t* *hā-ø* *ku?*
 wool-DEF=BP.2SG exist.PRS-3SG where
 ‘Where is your wool?’ [6:28]

- (119) *kwil=γān* *āzād=a* *ma-k-e*
 all=BP.3PL free=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘She sets all of them free’ [2:66]

When the pronoun denotes a Possessor, the possessed nominal is frequently (but not always) specified by a definite suffix. As suggested by Fattah for SK (2000: 283) and by MacKenzie for other Kurdish dialects

¹⁰⁹ Fattah (2000: 284) noticed this phenomenon in many SK varieties, but excluded its presence in Laki-Kermānshāhi dialects. At least for Harsini, this assumption should be revised. The nature of this morpheme, however, remains unclear: it might be interpreted as a directional particle, as a euphonic element as in the case of 2SG Imperatives (§3.13.6.3), or as part of the bound pronoun itself, if we assume that “Persian-like” pronunciations are possible, cf. *mādaram* in [1:122].

(1961a: 80-81), the definite marker is more frequent when 1. actual (alienable) possession, or 2. personal connection – including kinship relations with one’s siblings, spouse and children¹¹⁰ – is implied:

- (120) *kām=yān* *birā-ka=t=a?*
 which=BP.3PL brother-DEF=BP.2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘lequel d’entre eux est ton frère? [which of them is your
 brother?]' (Fattah 2000: 682)

It is most often lacking when a relation of inalienable or natural possession holds between the Possessor and the possessed item – including body parts and kinship terms on the direct ascending line, e.g. *dā* ‘mother’, *bowa* ‘father’ – as well as when terms of relationship are used idiomatically with non-kins.

- iv. **An indirect participant**, such as a Benefactor or Experiencer.¹¹¹
 These roles are performed by bound pronouns in more or less fixed expressions indicating a physical or mental state (§3.13.14).

3.3.3 Reflexive and reciprocal forms

In addition to the two series of independent and bound pronouns, Harsini has a reflexive marker *wiž* ‘self, own’.¹¹² This form is equally attested in the Laki varieties of Lorestān (Dabir-Moghaddam 1392/2013: 895-896) and has been identified as a typical feature of so-called ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ dialects.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ The assimilation of some kinship terms with alienable possession might seem in contradiction with the common perception of blood relatives as naturally (thus inalienably) related to an individual. Note, however, that kinship relations on the collateral or descending blood line may in fact be considered as alienable (e.g. through marriage in the case of siblings and children, or divorce in the case of one’s spouse), and not given once and for all as that with ancestors. It should not be forgotten, however, that we are dealing here with a language use, which might just be arbitrary and not comply with this kind of considerations.

¹¹¹ See Haig (2008: 107ff.) for a detailed discussion of this topic.

¹¹² Fattah (2000: 291) registers a variant *vij* of the reflexive marker in Harsini, but this form never occurs in the available corpus.

¹¹³ Other SK dialects have the form *xwa/xo* instead (Fattah 2000: 291). We observe the form *wē* in the Gorani of Zarda (Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 32-33, 77) and the form *ištan* in Gawrajuji (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 18), even though *wē* is occasionally attested in the latter dialect, too. In Lori varieties, the reflexive marker is *xo*.

The reflexive marker *wiž* is generally followed by an appropriate form from the set of bound pronouns (Table 8), further specifying it for person. The pronominal clitic is optional only for the third person singular. The whole set is given in Table 9 below:

Table 9: Reflexive markers

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>wiž=im</i>	<i>wiž=mān</i>
2	<i>wiž=it</i>	<i>wiž=tān</i>
3	<i>wiž(=ī)</i>	<i>wiž=yān</i>

As a rule, reflexives must be coreferential with the syntactic subject (or subjects) of the clause. Like other personal pronouns or full noun phrases, they can fulfil several functions, e.g. the direct object of a transitive verb with a reflexive sense, the complement of an adposition (as in the first example below) or the Possessor in an annexation construction, with or without an expressed linking particle *=a*:¹¹⁴

- (121) *lebās čuwīn-al var wiž=ī=a*
 clothes wooden-PL on RFLX=BP.3SG=IND
m-ār-e=r
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART
 ‘she takes off the wooden clothes’ [2:82]

- (122) *ōw=š dāstān wiž=ī kwil taʕrīf=a*
 3SG=ADD story RFLX=BP.3SG all description=IND
ma-k-e
 IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘She, then, tells her whole story’ [2:104]

¹¹⁴ In the two attested cases where the reflexive is linked to its head by means of an explicit linking morpheme ([1:76]; [7:55]), the compound marker *=a* is used instead of the ezāfe particle *=i*. However, the acceptability of the ezāfe morpheme in such instances should be checked against a larger data set.

- (123) *bi-č-in ařā ābādī=a wiž=yān*
 SBJV-go.PRS-3PL to village=CMPD RFLX=BP.3PL
 ‘to go (back) to their own village’ [7:55]

The rule requiring coreference with the subject is apparently straightforward, but interesting counter-examples occur in the material at our disposal. Reflexive markers are occasionally used as subjects themselves, despite the coreferentiality rule (Haig 2008: 219):

- (124) *wiž=yān=a m-ā-n=a māṭ*
 RFLX=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS-3PL=DRCT house
 ‘they themselves come back home’ [4:122]

In such cases, the reflexives have an emphatic value, and can in fact be accompanied by a coreferential noun or independent pronoun:

- (125) *tō wiž=it ni-ma-zān-ī*
 2SG RFLX=BP.2SG NEG-IND-know.PRS-2SG
 ‘tu ne (le) sais pas toi même [you don’t know (it) yourself]’
 (Fattah 2000: 292)

Finally, there is a marked tendency to extend the use of *wiž* to cases of coreference with a topic, rather than with a subject:

- (126) *saṇ wiž=im xwirī b-e-ø bin=im*
 stone RFLX=BP.1SG wool SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG to=BP.1SG
 ‘Give me as much wool as my own weight [lit. my own weight of wool]’ [6:141]

- (127) *ařā wiž=im kār=a ma-ke-y yā*
 for RFLX=BP.1SG work=IND IND-do.PRS-2SG or
ařā wiž=it?
 for RFLX=BP.2SG
 ‘Tu travailles pour moi ou pour toi-même ? [Do you work for me or for yourself?]’ (Fattah 2000: 617)

Fattah (2000: 292) mentions the existence of an invariable reciprocal pronoun *yaktir(ik)ī* ‘one another’, unattested in our Harsini material.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, a reciprocal use of the numeral *yak* with the meaning of ‘one another, each other’ has been observed in both the DoBeS Archive recordings and the textual corpus from Harsin:

- (128) *vit-in=a=m* *šīrin=ö* *far(h)ād* *dö* *nafar*
 say-3PL=DRCT=BP.1SG Shirin=CONJ Farhād two person
bī-n=a, *xwaš=(γ)ān=a* *yak*
 be.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG good=BP.3PL=DRCT one.another
hāt-ī=a *gi* *masan* *va*
 come.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG COMPL for.example to
yak *na-řasī-n=a*
 one.another NEG-reach.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘they’ve told me Shirin and Farhād were two people who loved each other (but) who, for example, didn’t reach out for each other’ [laki_conv_1, 14:57-15:01]

- (129) *m-anjin-et=e=a* *mil* *yak=arā*
 IND-smash.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG=DRCT on one.another=POST
 ‘He smashes her again and again [lit. on one another]’ [6:75]

3.4 Demonstratives

Harsini has two sets of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns: one for proximal and one for distal deixis.

3.4.1 Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives are illustrated in Table 10:

Table 10: Demonstrative adjectives

Proximal	Distal
<i>ī/e</i>	<i>a</i>

¹¹⁵ In the only occurrence of *yaktirī* from the textual corpus [7:54], this form does not seem to have reciprocal meaning, functioning in fact as an indefinite pronoun ‘another one’ (see §3.6).

The forms *e* and *ī* of the proximal adjectives seem to alternate freely, *ī* being used in the slight majority of the occurrences:

- (130) *e* *pül=i* *kalān=a*
 PROX money big=DEM
 ‘This big amount of money’ [5:43]

- (131) *ī* *kwil* *pül=a*
 PROX all money=DEM
 ‘all this money’ [7:10]

The demonstrative adjectives are invariable for number and are placed immediately before the noun or noun phrase they modify (either singular or plural). As a rule, the nominal is followed by a demonstrative particle =*a*, which in the case of noun phrases is placed at the end of the phrase (§3.1.6.2):

- (132) *ī* *dit=a*
 PROX girl=DEM
 ‘this girl’ [1:55]

- (133) *a* *dit=a*
 DIST girl=DEM
 ‘that girl’ [2:88]

- (134) *ī* *dit-al=a*
 PROX girl-PL=DEM
 ‘these girls’ [7:14]

- (135) *a* *dit-al=a*
 DIST girl-PL=DEM
 ‘those girls’ [4:81]

The demonstrative adjectives intervene in the formation of adverbs of manner (§3.9.1).

3.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are illustrated in Table 11:

Table 11: Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal	Distal
Singular	<i>ya</i>	<i>ava</i>
Plural	<i>yāna, yānala</i>	<i>awāna, awānala</i>

Differently from demonstrative adjectives, demonstrative pronouns do not contrast only in terms of near and distant reference, but also for number (singular and plural):

- (136) *ya* *čī=a?*
PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG
‘what is this?’ [1:92]
- (137) *tö* *yāna* *bi-xwe-y*
2SG PROX SBJV-eat.PRS-2SG
‘you shall eat these’ [2:34]
- (138) *ma-niš-e=a* *bān* *sar* *ava*
IND-sit.PRS-3SG=DRCT on head DIST
‘it perches on the head of that one’ [3:38]
- (139) *awāna* *ni-ma-kwiš-in*
DIST NEG-IND-kill.PRS-3PL
‘those ones don’t kill (anything)’ [3:54]

Plural demonstrative pronouns can be further specified by number by the plural suffix *-al*, yielding the variants *yānala* ‘these’ and *awānala* ‘those’:

- (140) *yānala?*
‘these ones?’ [laki_conv_1, 8:16]
- (141) *yānala=ö* *awānala* *birā=n*
PROX.PL=CONJ DIST.PL brother=COP.PRS.3PL

‘ceux-ci et ceux-là sont frères [these ones and those ones are brothers]’ (Fattah 2000: 250)

As already mentioned in §3.3.1, the distal demonstrative pronouns and the 3SG and 3PL personal pronouns can alternate in the same functions. The plural distal pronoun *awāna* is formally indistinguishable from the 3PL independent personal pronoun, while the 3SG pronoun *ōw* can alternate with the singular demonstrative *ava* with slight or no difference in meaning:

- (142) *ya m-uš-e šamsʿali ōw=a m-uš-e*
 PROX IND-say.PRS-3SG ShamsʿAli 3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
ruzīʿalī
 RuziʿAli
 ‘This one says ShamsʿAli, that one says RuziʿAli’ [6:58]

The proximal demonstratives *ya* and *yāna* are also occasionally used instead of 3SG and 3PL independent personal pronouns.

The boundary between demonstrative pronouns and third person independent pronouns is as labile as that between demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. In fact, the proximal (*ī/e*) and distal (*a*) demonstrative adjectives occasionally substitute the singular demonstrative pronouns *ya* ‘this one’ and *ava* ‘that one’ in pronominal function:

- (143) *ī=š kala m-ār-e m-e=a*
 PROX=ADD head IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT
pišī=e
 cat=BP.3SG
 ‘This one, then, brings the head (and) gives it to her cat’ [2:48]
- (144) *e bīlā va_ʿonwān kolfat-ī era kār*
 PROX let as servant-INDF1 here work
bi-k-e
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘let her work here as a servant’ [2:78]

- (145) *a m-uš-e nōwruzʕalī*
 DIST IND-say.PRS-3SG Nowruz^cAli
 ‘that one says Nowruz^cAli’ [6:58]

3.5 Interrogatives

In Harsini, interrogative words include pronouns (most of which can also be used as adjectives) and adverbs. All of these can occur in both direct and indirect questions.

Interrogatives and indefinites (§3.6) are the only two lexical classes partially retaining an inherent animacy distinction (*kī* ‘who?’ vs. *ča/čī* ‘what?’ and related compound forms). The interrogative words attested in the available material are:

kī ‘who?’

- (146) *kī sar āyl-il-a mō-w(i)ř-ī?*
 who head child-PL-DEF IND-cut.PRS-3SG
 ‘Who (could) slaughter the children?’ [1:105]

- (147) *b-ün-im tō kī=t*
 SBJV-see.PRS-1SG 2SG who=COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘Let me see who you are’ [2:103]

ča, če, čī ‘what?’, ‘which?’. *ča* is an interrogative pronoun, while *če* is an adjective. A nominal preceded by the adjective *če* is normally followed by an indefinite suffix. The pronominal form *čī* is attested only before the enclitic 3SG copula =*a*:

- (148) *ča me-yt-ī=a nām=im?*
 what IND-want.PRS-2SG=DRCT name=BP.1SG
 ‘What do you want from my name?’ [6:59]

- (149) *če hōsn-ī dir-ītin homa?*
 what virtue-INDF1 have.PRS-2PL 2PL
 ‘What virtue do you have?’ [4:86]

- (150) *ya čī=a?*
 PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG

‘what is this?’ [1:92]

The adjective *če* can have exclamatory value. Even in this case, the modified nominal is normally followed by an indefinite suffix:

- (151) *če āw xu-īk=a ya!*
 what water good-INDF1=COP.PRS.3SG PROX
 ‘What a good water is this!’ [4:62]

čü ‘how?’:

- (152) *ī šotor=a čü dözi-t=a?*
 PROX camel=DEM how steal.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘How have you stolen this camel?’ [6:176]

- (153) *āxir řarusān čü nān=a ma-xw-e?*
 well doll how bread=IND IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘Well, how (could) a doll eat?’ [1:129]

čijürī ‘how?’:

- (154) *sar=im čijürī=a?*
 head=BP.3SG how=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘How is my head?’ [4:40]

čan(ī) ‘how much/many?’:

- (155) *b-ün-im čanī me-yt-ī*
 SBJV-see.PRS-1SG how.much IND-want.PRS-3SG
 ‘I see how much she wants’ [6:138]

ku, kura ‘where?’:

- (156) *xwiri-a=t hā-ø ku?*
 wool-DEF=BP.2SG exist.PRS-3SG where
 ‘Where is your wool?’ [6:28]

- (157) *dīt hā-ø kura?*
 girl exist.PRS-3SG where
 ‘Where is the girl?’ [1:71]

key ‘when?’:

- (158) *ni-ma-zān-im* [...] *key* *ver(a)* *hāt-ø*
 NEG-IND-know.PRS-1SG [...] when to.here come.PST-3SG
 ‘I don’t know [...] when she came (back) here’ [4:124]

ařā ‘why?’:

- (159) *tō* *ařā* *īqira* *pakar=ī?*
 2SG why this.much sad=COP.PRS.2SG
 ‘Why are you so sad?’ [2:22]

- (160) *ařā* *kār* *ni-ma-ke-γ?*
 why work NEG-IND-do.PRS-2SG
 ‘Pourquoi ne travailles-tu pas? [Why don’t you work?]' (Fattah 2000: 687)

In addition to the interrogatives listed above, one can add the form *kām* ‘which (one)?’ occurring in a single Harsini example:

- (161) *kām=γān* *birā-ka=t=a?*
 which=BP.3PL brother-DEF=BP.2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘lequel d’entre eux est ton frère? [which of them is your brother?]' (Fattah 2000: 682)

There is also a single occurrence of the particle *mar* ‘isn’t it true that...?’, introducing rhetorical questions¹¹⁶ and connoting surprise, indignation or possibility (roughly translating as an English question tag):

- (162) *mar* *tō* *nō-w(i)t-ī* *ya*
 but 2SG NEG-say.PST-2SG PROX
šīša_šomr=im=a?
 bottle.of.life=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘You have said “this is my bottle of life”, haven’t you?’ [2:61]

¹¹⁶ The comparable Persian particle *magar* can fulfil several functions: it is used as a modal particle of possibility meaning ‘may, might’, as a preposition of exception meaning ‘except’, as a conditional conjunction meaning ‘unless, except if; not unless, only if’, and as an interrogative adverb introducing rhetorical questions. In the available Harsini material, this particle is not attested in the first function.

Certain interrogative words can be preceded by prepositions, specifying a spatial relation or providing additional meaning to the corresponding simple forms:

ařā ku, ařā kura ‘whither?’:

- (163) *ařā ku=a ma-č-ī?*
 to where=IND IND-go.PRS-2SG
 ‘Where are you going?’ [2:86]

- (164) *bi-č-īm ařā kura?*
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL to where
 ‘Where shall we go?’ [7:39]

vere ku, vere kura ‘whither, in which direction?’:

- (165) *vere ku?*
 towards where
 ‘dans la direction d’où, dans quelle direction?’ [in which direction?’] (Fattah 2000: 686)

- (166) *vere kura?*
 towards where
 ‘Going where?’ [6:175]

va ku ‘where from/to?’:

- (167) *tö va ku hāt-ī?*
 2SG from where come.PST-2SG
 ‘Where did you come from?’ [2:86]

va kī ‘from/to who?’:

- (168) *va kī?*
 from who
 ‘de qui?’ [from who?’] (Fattah 2000: 690)

ařā ča ‘what for?’, ‘why?’:

- (169) *ařā ča bi-č-īmin?*
 for what SBJV-go.PRS-1PL

‘Why shall we go?’ [7:38]

va pey če ‘what for?’, ‘after what?’:

- (170) *va_ pey če mirād-ī hāt-ī=a?*
 after what purpose-INDF1 come.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘For what purpose have you come?’ [4:57]

3.6 Indefinites

Indefinites in Harsini include pronouns and adjectives, both simple and complex. Indefinite pronouns and adjectives often have equal or similar forms and many of them can also function as adverbs or relative pronouns.

As certain interrogatives, indefinites can contrast for animacy (e.g. *kasī* ‘somebody’ vs. *hinī* ‘something’; *har čī/har če* ‘whatever, anything’ vs. *har kī/har ke* ‘whoever, anybody, anyone’). Some of them can occur in combination with the indefinite suffixes *-e* and *-ī(k)* (§3.1.3.2), attaching directly to the indefinite pronoun or, in the case of indefinite adjectives, to the noun or noun phrase the adjective relates to. Indefinite adjectives normally precede the nominal they modify. A more or less exhaustive list of Harsini indefinites is provided below:

kas(ī) (pronoun) ‘one, somebody, someone’; ‘nobody, no one’ (in negative sentences):

- (171) *mi dī kas n-er-im*
 1SG then person NEG-have.PRS-1SG
 ‘Well, I have nobody’ [2:61]

- (172) *kas-ī b-āy b-öwr-et=e*
 person-INDF1 SBJV-come.PRS.3SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘someone would come and take it’ [5:36]

ahad(ī) is entirely comparable to *kas(ī)* in meaning and function. In the texts, it is attested only in combination with the form *hüč/hīč* ‘nothing, anything, none, any, no’, forming complex indefinites (see below).

yak(ī), *yek*(ī) (pronoun) ‘one, somebody, someone’:

- (173) *yak-ī* *m-uš-e*
 one-INDF1 IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘one says’ [2:9]

- (174) *yak-īk=yān=a* *ma-wāz-ī*
 one-INDF1=BP.3PL=IND IND-request.PRS-3SG
 ‘He wants to marry one of them’ [4:82]

- (175) *yek-ī* *m-āγ*
 one-INDF1 IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘someone comes’ [3:16]

The indefinite *yak* can also function as a distributive pronoun ‘each (one)’ or have a reciprocal sense (§3.3.3):

- (176) *bā(a)d* *hatman* *ařā=t* *dī* *yak-ī* *ye*
 must absolutely for=BP.2SG then one-INDF1 INDF
čī *diris* *ke-γmin*
 thing right do.PRS-1PL
 ‘So, each one (of us) absolutely has to make one thing for you’
 [2:68]

fitān(ī) (pronoun and adjective) ‘such-and-such, so-and-so, certain’. While *fitān* is used both pronominally and adjectivally, *fitānī* is invariably used as a pronoun:

- (177) *šām-ī* *čāγ* *fitān-ī*
 dinner-INDF1 tea.INDF1 such-and-such-INDF1
 ‘a dinner, a tea, something’ [6:69]

- (178) *γa* *fitān=a?*
 PROX such-and-such=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Is this such-and-such?’ [1:92]

- (179) *γe* *dīv-ī* *ka* *hā-ø* *fitān*
 INDF demon-INDF1 COMPL exist.PRS-3SG such-and-such

kü *ava* *dir-ī*
 mountain DIST have.PRS-3SG
 ‘A demon, who is on such-and-such mountain, has that’ [2:9]

yāru (pronoun) ‘one, such-and-such person, fellow’:

(180) *yāru* *naṛadō-īk=a*
 fellow male.demon-INDF1=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘The fellow is a male demon’ [7:31]

(*ye*) *čī* (pronoun) ‘something’. Preceded by the quasi-article *ye* ‘a, an’, the word *čī* ‘thing’ takes on the function of the indefinite pronoun ‘something’:

(181) *pā=γ=a* *ma-xw-e=a* *qe* *ye* *čī*
 foot=BP.3SG=IND IND-hit.PRS-3SG=DRCT shape INDF thing
sangīn-ī
 heavy-INDF1
 ‘her foot hits the shape of something heavy’ [6:44]

(*ye*) *hin(ī)* (pronoun) ‘something, this and that’. Like *čī* above, the term *hin* indicates an indefinite entity, as English ‘thingy, thingummy, what-do-you-call-it’ and the like. When it is preceded by the quasi-article *ye* and/or followed by an indefinite suffix, it translates as an indefinite pronoun ‘something’:

(182) *aṛā=mān* *hin* *āwird-ī=a*
 for=BP.3PL thingy bring.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘He has brought us this and that’ [2:20]

(183) *va* *ye* *hin-ī* *mese* *ṛusarī*
 with INDF thing-INDF1 like headscarf
 ‘with something like a headscarf’ [2:44]

The pronominal form *hin* is also employed in a possessive construction (akin to CK (*h*)*ī*, *γī* + Possessor, and Pers. *māl* + *eẓāfe* + Possessor) meaning ‘that/those of’ or ‘belonging to’:

(184) *ya* *hin* *min=a*
 PROX thing 1SG=COP.PRS.3SG

‘Whoever sits down runs away’ [4:109]

har kām ‘whichever, whoever, anything, anyone, each one:

- (191) *dī har_kām {xxx} ma-nīš-in*
 then each.one {xxx} IND-sit.PRS-3PL
 ‘then, each one {xxx} sits down’ [4:177]

- (192) *ar fārsī har_kām=iš=a m-uš-in*
 if Persian anyone=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL
masxare=a
 ridiculous=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘if anyone, well, tells (it in) Persian, it’s ridiculous’ [laki_conv_1, 2:57-3:00]

hardik, *har dō* (pronoun and adjective) ‘both’. The form *hardik* seems to occur both as a pronoun and as an adjective, while the form *har dō* (akin to Pers. *har do* ‘both’) is attested only once in adjectival function. Due to the scantiness of data, it is unclear whether *har dō*, as its Persian equivalent, can also be used in pronominal function. The noun modified by these indefinite adjectives is normally in the singular (as happens with numerals, §3.7.1), though the verb shows plural agreement:

- (193) *mō-ün-ī hardik kat-in=a*
 IND-see.PRS-3SG both fall.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘She sees that both have fallen’ [1:91]

- (194) *hardik āyl-a ma-nīšt-in=a qiy=ava*
 both child-DEF IND-sit.PST-3PL=DRCT rear=POST?
 ‘Both children were sitting on (their) rears once again’ [1:112]

- (195) *šōw sar har_dō kwiř=a mō-w(i)ř-ī*
 night head both son=IND IND-cut.PRS-3SG
 ‘At night, he slaughters both sons’ [1:102]

hüč (pronoun and adjective) ‘nothing, anything, none, any, no’. When used as an indefinite adjective, *hüč* normally requires the presence of the indefinite suffix after the modified nominal:

- (196) *hüč n-uš-ø*
 nothing NEG-say.PRS-IMP.2SG
 ‘Shut up’ [4:139]

- (197) *a si gila dit hüč xwidā-γ n-er-in*
 DIST three unit girl no God-INDF1 NEG-have.PRS-3PL
 ‘those three girls are wretched [lit. those three girls don’t have any God]’ [7:2]

The indefinite adjective *hüč* is largely used to form complex indefinites.

hüčka, *hüč kas* (pronoun) ‘nobody, no one’:

- (198) *hüčka ni-mö-ün-īt=ī*
 nobody NEG-IND-see.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘Nobody sees it’ [4:129]

- (199) *hüč_kas nīya šü bi-k-e=a*
 no.one NEG.COP.PRS.3SG husband SBJV-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT
bin=ī
 to=BP.3SG
 ‘there is no one that could marry him’ [1:18]

hüč/hüč ahad(ī) (pronoun) ‘nobody, no one’:

- (200) *hüč_ahad-ī nīya*
 no.one-INDF1 NEG.COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘there is nobody’ [3:14]

(h)ame (pronoun and adjective) ‘everybody, everyone, all’. The indefinite *(h)ame* is attested once in adjectival function, instead of the more common *kwil*. However, as its Persian equivalent, *(h)ame* can likely occur both in pronominal and adjectival function:

- (201) *mā(h) řamazān (h)ame mardim řuža bi-gir-in*
 month Ramadan all people fast SBJV-take.PRS-3PL
 ‘During the month of Ramadan all people would fast’ [6:4]

tamām (adjective) ‘all, whole’. Like *(h)ame* above, *tamām* is occasionally used in adjectival function, instead of the more common *kwil*:

- (202) *tamām=i šīša_ʕomr*
 all=EZ bottle.of.life
 ‘all the bottles of life’ [2:64]

kwil (pronoun and adjective) ‘everybody, everyone, all’:

- (203) *kwil dir-in řaxs=a ma-ka-n*
 everybody have.PRS-3PL dance IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘everybody is dancing’ [2:84]

- (204) *kwil=yān āzād=a ma-k-e*
 all=BP.3PL free=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘she sets all of them free’ [2:66]

kwil čī (pronoun) ‘everything’:

- (205) *a(ž) köwš až kwil_čī*
 from shoe from everything
 ‘from the shoes to everything (else)’ [2:69]

čān(ī) (pronoun and adjective) ‘some, a few’. When used as an adjective, *čān(ī)* precedes the nominal in the singular (as happens with numerals, §3.7.1) and implies an indefinite plurality. With the form *čān*, the modified nominal is optionally followed by an indefinite suffix:

- (206) *čān šabānaruz=a ma-č-in*
 some night.and.day=IND IND-go.PRS-3PL
 ‘they travel for some days and nights’ [2:94]
- (207) *čān-ī mardim zindānī kird-ī=a*
 some-INDF1 people captive do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘(the demon) has made some people captive’ [2:66]
- (208) *čān midat-ī*
 some moment-INDF1
 ‘Some time’ [1:95]

zīyād (adjective-adverb) ‘much, many, a lot’:

- (209) *kāwiř=i zīyād dir-ī*
 sheep=EZ many have.PRS-3SG
 ‘he has many sheep’ [5:16]

kam(ī) (adjective-adverb) ‘few, a bit, a little’:

- (210) *kam-ī xamīr=a bin=ī=a ma-sīn-ī*
 little-INDF1 dough=DRCT from=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG
 ‘She gets a bit of dough from her’ [1:68]

Other quantifiers, such as *qirī* ‘a bit’ and *fira* ‘much’ might be added to the list. Being attested only in adverbial function in the Harsini corpus, they will be discussed in the section on adverbs (§3.9.4).

3.6.1 The form *tir* ‘other, another, else’

The English indefinites ‘another, other, else’ are expressed in Harsini by means of an element of the form *tir* (having a variant *tirik*, as reported in Fattah 2000: 343 and attested in the materials from the DoBeS Archive), which prosodically attaches to a noun and creates the meaning ‘other, else’ etc. in relation to that noun.

This suffix (glossed as -CMPR for simplicity) is evidently connected to the homophonous morpheme forming comparative adjectives (§3.2.1), presumably via a semantic extension of the comparative meaning ‘more X’ to ‘(an)other X’:

- (211) *hašār=ī ka-n va jā-γ-tir*
 hidden=BP.3SG do.PRS-IMP.2PL in place-INDF1?-CMPR
 ‘Hide him elsewhere’ [3:39]

- (212) *ma-w(i)s-e va maxār-al-ī-tir*
 IND-wait.PRS-3SG at cave-PL-INDF1?-CMPR
 ‘He waits in some other caverns’ [4:141]

- (213) *wiž=a mow sā ye dit-tir*
 self=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG owner INDF1 daughter-CMPR
 ‘she herself becomes mother of another daughter’ [4:12]

- (214) *dīt-ī-tir=iž=a* *māt* *dir-ī*
 daughter-INDF1?-CMPR=ADD=DRCT house have.PRS-3SG
 ‘She has also another daughter at home’ [4:49]

- (215) *dō* *āyl-tirik* *dir-im*
 two child-CMPR have.PRS-1SG
 ‘I have two other children’ [laki_conv_1, 2:38-2:39]

This indefinite intervenes in the formation of complex pronouns, such as *yaktirī/yakītir* ‘another one, someone else’ or *yaktir(ik)ī* ‘one another, each other’ (§3.3.3):

- (216) *yak-tir-ī* *wiž=i* *ma-kiř-in-ī*
 one-CMPR-INDF1? RFLX=BP.3SG IND-scrape.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG
 ‘she herself drags another one’ [7:54]

- (217) *yak-ī-tir* *kitās=i* *yā(n)ze=a*
 one-INDF1?-CMPR class=EZ eleven=COP.PRS-3SG
 ‘another one [i.e. son] is in eleventh grade’ [laki_conv_1, 3:22-3:24]

The specificity of this indefinite with respect to those listed in the previous paragraph poses some additional questions, that deserve a separate discussion.

The literature treats this form in different ways: Fattah (2000: 343) opts for interpreting SK *-tir* as an enclitic particle attaching directly to the determined element, while similar indefinites in neighbouring varieties (CK, Gorani) are usually analysed as free forms.¹¹⁷ In this study, however, the indefinite *-tir* has been tentatively considered as a (stressed) phrasal affix attaching to the element it determines (either singular or plural). This analysis might be supported by examples such as (214), where the additive *=iž* does not split *-tir* from its base.

We may in fact be dealing here with an extension of use of the homophonous morpheme forming comparatives. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Persian and other Iranian languages, where the suffix

¹¹⁷ Cf. *tar* in Hawrami (MacKenzie 1966: 22); *tir* the Gorani of Gawraju (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 262) and in Sorani Kurdish (MacKenzie 1961a: 68; Thackston 2006: 232).

forming comparative adjectives can occasionally follow words and phrases with locative or temporal meaning: e.g. Pers. *pīš-tar* ‘before’, *ān ʔaraf-tar* ‘over there, further’ (Lazard 1989: 277-278).

A related problem concerns the nature of the vocalic sound /ī/ (/y/ after /ā/ and /a/) which is usually (though not always) inserted between the determined element and *-tir*. Fattah (2000: 343) informs us that this vowel has been at times equated with the ezāfe particle, or interpreted as an indefinite marker. Even if Fattah seems to prefer the first hypothesis, the second option would fit the Harsini case better considering that the ezāfe is only rarely realized in this variety and, whenever present, it never has the vowel quality /ī/ (cf. §3.1.5). Moreover, an interpretation of the /ī/ vowel as indefinite affix might be suggested also by the interchangeable position of *-tir* and *-ī* in *yaktīrī/yakītīr* ‘another one, someone else’.

3.7 Numerals

3.7.1 Cardinal

A list of Harsini cardinal numerals is given below. The forms attested in the corpus are signalled by references to their position in the texts. The list has been complemented with the data obtained through direct elicitation and the DoBeS Archive materials:¹¹⁸

<i>sifr</i>	‘zero’		<i>hižda</i>	‘eighteen’	
<i>yak</i>	‘one’	[1:98]	<i>nuzda</i>	‘nineteen’	
<i>dō</i>	‘two’	[1:66]	<i>bīs</i>	‘twenty’	[1:73]
<i>si</i>	‘three’	[1:107]	<i>sī</i>	‘thirty’	
<i>čwār</i>	‘four’	[4:127]	<i>č(ih)el</i>	‘forty’	[2:53]
<i>panj</i>	‘five’		<i>panjā</i>	‘fifty’	
<i>šaš/šīš</i>	‘six’	[7:65]; [4:127]	<i>šas(t)</i>	‘sixty’	
<i>haf(t)</i>	‘seven’	[1:93]	<i>haftā(d)</i>	‘seventy’	
<i>haš(t)</i>	‘eight’		<i>haštā(d)</i>	‘eighty’	[2:53]
<i>nō</i>	‘nine’		<i>navad</i>	‘ninety’	
<i>da</i>	‘ten’		<i>sad</i>	‘hundred’	
<i>γā(n)za</i>	‘eleven’		<i>dōūs</i>	‘two hundred’	
<i>dwā(n)za</i>	‘twelve’		<i>sīsad</i>	‘three hundred’	
<i>sinza</i>	‘thirteen’		<i>čwārsad</i>	‘four hundred’	
<i>čwārda</i>	‘fourteen’		<i>pānsad</i>	‘five hundred’	[4:93]
<i>pānza</i>	‘fifteen’		<i>hizār</i>	‘thousand’	[4:88]
<i>šānza</i>	‘sixteen’		<i>hizār hizār/</i>	‘million’	
<i>hivda</i>	‘seventeen’		<i>milyān</i>		

The numeral *yak* ‘one’ has an alternative form *ye*, used as an indefinite quasi-article (§3.1.3.2). In compound numerals, the elements follow each

¹¹⁸ A list of numbers from one to twenty is found in laki_conv_1 [29:30-29:44].

other (the larger coming first) and are joined by means of a conjunction =ō: e.g. *sī-ō-šaš* ‘thirty-six’ [laki_conv_1, 3:47]. In rapid delivery, however, the conjunction is often reduced to an indefinite vocalic sound /i/ or even dropped completely:

- (218) *čwārsadpanjā māṭ dir-ī*
 four_hundred_fifty house(hold) have.PRS-3SG
 ‘it [i.e. the village] has four hundred fifty house(hold)s’
 [laki_conv_1, 4:35-4:36]

Cardinal numbers precede the nominal they qualify without ezāfe. The counted nominal follows the numeral in the singular:

- haštād ruž* ‘eighty days’ [2:53]
čihel šōw ‘forty nights’ [2:53]
haf(t) kwinā ‘seven holes’ [1:93]

An “enumerative” word or classifier can be inserted between the numeral and the counted noun (§3.8). Approximation is conveyed by placing the indefinite article *ye* before a numerical expression, which may or not be modified by an indefinite suffix *-e/-ī(k)*: e.g. *ye haštād ruž* ‘about eighty days’ [2:53]. An approximate value can be expressed also by a sequence of successive numbers, followed or not by a classifier:

- dō si ruž* ‘two or three days’ [2:56]
dō si gila dit ‘a couple of daughters’ [5:19], [5:20]
si čwār gila āyl ‘three or four children’ [5:45]

These two methods are not mutually exclusive and can be cumulated.

Distributive expressions are formed through the repetition of a numeral, usually with an interposed particle =*a*.¹¹⁹

- (219) *yaka_yak=a ma-xwa-m=yān*
 one_by_one=IND IND-eat.PRS-1SG=BP.3PL
 ‘I’ll eat them one by one’ [7:61]

The numeral ‘two’ can be modified by the Persian-like plural suffix *-ān*, conferring on it the partitive sense ‘two (of a whole)’. In at least one of the

¹¹⁹ The use of the preposition *va* in similar instances is possible (see Fattah 2000: 749), but unattested with numerals in the available materials.

available examples, however, a partitive interpretation is unlikely and the form *duān* seems to be used as a simple variant of *dō* ‘two’:

- (220) *ye dit=a m-ār-ī ye kwiř=a*
 INDF daughter=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG INDF son=IND
m-ār-ī duān
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG two
 ‘She gives birth to a baby girl and a baby boy, two of them’ [3:28]

- (221) *a duān=a vazīr=ō vakīl=in*
 DIST two=DEM minister=CONJ delegate=COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘Those two are a minister and a delegate’ [3:43]

The meaning ‘half’ is conveyed by the word *nism*.

3.7.2 Ordinal

Ordinal numerals are formed by means of the suffix *-im*, occasionally taking the form *-om*. In the case of compound numerals, the suffix attaches to the end of the last element:

- dit dōwim* ‘second daughter’ [2:40]
ye māhi čārdahome ‘a moon of the fourteenth (night)’ [4:31]

The ordinal ‘first’ is expressed either by the forms *yakim/yakom* or by the borrowed form *awał* of Arabic origin. The ordinal of *si* ‘three’ is *siwim*. After numerals ending in /a/ or /ā/, a glottal fricative is realized between the numeral and the suffix:

- čārdahim/čārdahom* ‘fourteenth’
panjāhim/panjāhom ‘fiftieth’

With numerals ending in /ō/ and /ī/, a homorganic glide is inserted to avoid the hiatus:

- dōwim/dōwom* ‘second’
sīyim/sīyom ‘thirtieth’

Ordinals are used as adjectives or adverbs. In adjectival function, they follow the nominal they determine (with or without *ezāfe*).

Fattah (2000: 304) quotes a second series of ordinals, formed by attaching the supplementary suffix *-īn* to the suffix *-im/-om*:

haftimīn/haftomīn ‘seventh’

Contrarily to the first series, these ordinals cannot be used as adverbs, are placed before the noun they modify and indicate the unity that completes a series, instead of expressing a simple numerical rank. None of these forms, however, is attested in the available material.

3.8 Classifiers and measure words

A certain number of “enumerative” words or classifiers can be inserted between a numeral or the indefinite adjective *čan* ‘some’ and a counted noun. Different classifiers are used for specific semantic classes of nouns. They are inserted between the numeral and the counted noun in the singular. Despite the fact that classifiers are semantically nouns, they functionally resemble uninflected particles. They are thus incompatible with the *ezāfe* particle and may be omitted without any significant change of meaning.

The only classifier attested in the Harsini corpus is *gila* ‘piece, unit’. It occurs frequently with nouns referring to small objects and occasionally with animals and humans. Fattah (2000: 323) relates that this form is far more common than the comparable classifier *dāna* ‘grain’ (Pers. *dāne*), which is nonetheless occasionally used in other varieties of the region, such as the vernacular of Pāyrvand:

dō gila huř birsāq ‘two saddlebags of fritters’ [1:67]

si gila dit ‘three daughters’ [7:1], [7:2]

si čwār gila āyl ‘three or four children’ [5:45]

The classifiers listed below are quoted in Fattah (2000: 321ff.) with reference to Harsini, but are all unattested in our samples:

sar ‘head’: is used to count cattle. Alongside its diminutive variant *sarik/sarig* or *sarka* ‘small head’, *sar* can be used to count small vegetables or objects.

sīx ‘spit (to roast meat)’: occurs almost exclusively in relation to the word *kabāw* ‘roasted meat’.

liḡ ‘leg’: indicates single objects of a pair, especially in reference to items of clothing.

lam ‘stomach, belly’: is typical of the Laki-Kermānshāhi group of dialects, other SK dialects having *zik*, *iškam* (and variants) instead. It is used in reference to childbirth:

- (222) *panj* *lam* *āyl* *āwird-ø*
 five belly child bring.PST-3SG
 in ‘elle à donné naissance à cinq enfants [she gave birth to five children]’ (Fattah 2000: 324)

das ‘hand’: is a generalized classifier used to count items of clothing or objects in a collection.

The following classifiers are said by Fattah to have entered the vernaculars of the region quite recently, under the pressure of Persian. None of these is attested in the available material:

tak ‘single unit’: is equivalent to *liḡ*, indicating one item of a pair.

tā ‘unit’: is a generalized classifier used with any countable noun.

naḡar ‘person’: is used to count humans.

tan ‘body’: is used to count humans.

Classifiers are related to measure words (e.g. *man* ‘measure of weight, approx. three kilos’, *kīlu* ‘kilo’, *mitr* ‘meter’, *qāšoq* ‘spoon’). They share the same syntax, being inserted between the numeral and the (singular) counted noun without the *ezāfe* particle:

- ye man xwirī* ‘a man of wool’ [1:28]
ye qāšoq řün ‘a spoon of butter’ [5:33]

As a rule, classifiers and measure words are mutually exclusive and cannot be used in one and the same expression of quantity. The expression *dō gila huř birsāq* ‘two saddlebags of fritters’ [1:67], however, stands out as a counter-example.

3.9 Adverbs

The class of adverbs is very loosely defined: it includes adjectives and nouns used adverbially, as well as a large number of adverbial expressions. Formally, the class of adverbs has much in common (and indeed frequently overlaps) with that of prepositions (§3.11).

Semantically, adverbs can express a wide range of concepts. They can be classified as adverbs of manner, adverbs of time, adverbs of place, or adverbs of quantity and degree. Other adverbial forms, which do not fit in the categories just mentioned, are treated in the paragraph dedicated to discourse particles (§3.10).

Adverbs can be simple or compound. They generally function at the clause or discourse level, but some of them are also used to modify adjectives or other adverbs. Adjectives can be used adverbially, providing that the quality they express can be applied not only to objects, but also to processes conveyed by verbs. Adverbs of this sort can be labelled ‘adjective-adverbs’ and usually translate as adverbs of manner. Some of them can be followed by the comparative marker *-tir*.

On the other hand, several adverbs of time and place (but also a few adverbs of manner) possess typical nominal features. These ‘adverb-nouns’ can be accompanied by prepositions and demonstratives (either a currently used form *e/ī* ‘this, these’ or *a* ‘that, those’ or the unproductive proximal form *im* ‘this, these’). They can be followed by the *ezāfe* or be marked as plural.

The class of adverbs is particularly permeable to borrowing and in Harsini it incorporates various items of Persian and Arabic origin. Some adverbs of Persian origin carry the ending *-āna* or *-akī*, while some of those of Arabic origin are characterized by the adverbial suffix *-an*.

3.9.1 Manner

Most adverbs of manner are adjective-adverbs: e.g. *qašan* ‘properly, well’ [2:96]; *xās* ‘good, fine, well, properly’ [1:111]; *ṛās* ‘right’ [2:62]; *amānatī* ‘on deposit’ [6:61]; *zū* ‘quickly’ [2:36]; *nāxwidāgā(h)* ‘unwittingly, accidentally’ [6:44].

Less frequently, adverbs of manner are formed with demonstratives (e.g. *ijürī/ejürī* ‘this way, like this’ [2:40], [2:60]; *ajürī* ‘that way, like that’ [2:29]) or indefinites (e.g. *har nuṣ* ‘in every way’ [7:98]).

Some adverbs of manner are borrowed forms of Arabic origin: e.g. *hatman* ‘surely’ [2:68]; *ṣamdan* ‘intentionally’ [3:46]; *kwil(l)an* ‘totally, completely, overall’ [laki_conv_1, 0:24]; *hödudan* ‘approximately, more or less’ [laki_conv_1, 4:37].

Some adverbs of manner are formed through mechanisms of reduplication. Reduplicated adverbial expressions generally have an intensifying or distributive connotation: e.g. *zīzī* ‘very quickly, at full speed’ [7:21]; *töntön* ‘very quickly’ [laki_conv_1, 0:41]; *yaka yak* ‘one by one’ [7:61].

Another adverbial construction consists in placing the preposition *va* (or its cliticized equivalent =a) before an abstract noun: e.g. *va/=a xwiš(h)ātī* ‘happily’ [2:107].

3.9.2 Time

A few adjectives can function as adverbs of time (e.g. *zū* ‘early’ [1:63]; *dūr* ‘late’ [2:106]), while others possess features of nouns, being formed either with clearly discernible or opaque deictics (e.g. *īmšōw* ‘tonight’ [7:59]; *ila* ‘this time, then’ [6:88]; *anjā* ‘then’ [3:76]; *iska* ‘now’ [6:112]).

Many adverbs of time are of Arabic origin: e.g. *alʔān* ‘now’ [2:61]; *hālā* ‘now’ [laki_conv_1, 0:36]; *awat* ‘at first, initially’ [4:60]; *āxir* ‘at last, finally’ [2:9]; *baʕd* ‘then’ [2:6]; *baʕdan* ‘then, afterwards’ [1:16]; *belaxara* ‘finally’ [5:7].

Other attested adverbial expressions of time are *pas* ‘then’ [4:59]; *dī* ‘then’ [1:92]; *dögila* ‘(once) again’ [4:143]; *duwāra* ‘(once) again’ [1:63]; *so/sob(h)* ‘the next day/morning, tomorrow’ [1:103], [4:128]; *šōso* ‘the next day/morning, tomorrow’ [1:41]; *ye daʕʕa* ‘suddenly’ [2:15]; *har* ‘repeatedly, continuously, again and again, [1:119].¹²⁰

¹²⁰ The form *har* has three functions in Harsini: it can be an indefinite adjective akin to Pers. *har* ‘whatever, each, every’ (see §3.6), an intensifying discourse particle meaning ‘exactly, just’ (see §3.10) or an emphatic adverbial particle (comparable to Pers. *hey*), stressing the reiteration of the process expressed by a verb. The third function seems to fit some occurrences of Gor. *ha(r)* (cf. Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 95, where the particle is consistently translated as ‘just’). A repetitive meaning of this particle is only hinted at in Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013: 194), where it has been translated as ‘always’.

A few adverbs of time include a Persian-like plural suffix *-hā*, behaving as an adverbial marker: e.g. *modat(h)ā* ‘for some/a long time’ [4:68]. A comparable function can be fulfilled by the Harsini plural marker *-al*: e.g. *zim(is)sānal* ‘in wintertime’ (Fattah 2000: 654).

3.9.3 Place

Adjectives are occasionally used as adverbs of place. However, this class is mostly formed by noun-adverbs, some of which include demonstratives (e.g. *ilā* ‘this way/side’ [3:81]; *alā* ‘that way/side’ [3:81]) or indefinites (e.g. *har je* ‘wherever’ [2:8]). Some of them can be introduced by prepositions. A great number of adverbs of place used as prepositions themselves (§3.11.2) or intervene in the formation of complex predicates (§3.13.2.1).

Some attested adverbs of place are: *aṛyā/aṛya* ‘back’ [4:137],[1:79]; *aṛer* ‘(to) here’ [4:151]; *aṛetā* ‘back’ [4:150]; *dīm* ‘behind’ [1:126]; *era* ‘here’ [2:78]; *vera* ‘(to/from) here’ [7:7]; *wira* ‘there’ [1:49]; *va/=a deṣt* ‘outside’ [2:42]; *va/=a dimā* ‘back’ [1:73]; *va/=a sar* ‘up(wards)’ [2:99]; *va/=a nām* ‘inside’ [1:131]; *va/=a nwā* ‘before, over’ [6:184]; *va/=a xwor* ‘down(wards)’ [1:44]; *maqrib* ‘west(wards)’ [2:86].

The plural marker *-al* can intervene in the formation of adverbs of place, giving a sense of approximation to the derived form: *wirala* ‘thereabout’ [1:115]. Adverbs like *va/=a düredür* ‘from afar’ [1:124] are formed through reduplication.

3.9.4 Quantity and degree

Adverbs of quantity can precede adjectives to form absolute superlatives (§3.2.1). Some adverbs of quantity are formed with demonstratives (e.g. *eqira* ‘this much’ [6:151]; *aqira* ‘that much’ [6:85]) or indefinites (e.g. *har ċi* ‘however much’ [6:136]). Other adverbs pertaining to this class are *qirī* ‘a bit’ [2:85]; *ye zaṛe* ‘a bit’ [3:66] and *fira* ‘much’ [2:100]. Some adverbs of quantity and degree are borrowed forms of Arabic origin: e.g. *lāaqaṭ* ‘at least’ [6:166]; *faqaṭ* ‘only’ [6:54].

3.10 Discourse particles

Discourse particles include nouns, adjectives, adverbs, interjections, clitics and complex expressions. Many of them are borrowed forms of Arabo-Persian origin. This miscellaneous class of ‘fillers’ is substantially different from other lexical classes. They provide contextual clues to the hearer and can be associated with a large number of pragmatic values, involving the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, the utterance or the whole text. Their multiple pragmatic values often impede a clear definition of their literal meaning. Some of the most common discourse particles occurring in Harsini texts are:

āfarīn ‘well done!’ [4:22]; *anü* ‘then, but’ [1:130]; *anü ča* ‘just so, exactly’ [1:70]; *āxir* ‘well, then’ [1:129]; *čü āxir* ‘why then?, how then?’ [3:39]; *bi har hāt* ‘anyway, however’ [6:144]; *dī* ‘so, then, well, anymore, thus, indeed’ [1:9]; *hin (dī)* ‘thing, thingy, etc.’ [1:107]; *har* ‘just, only, exactly’ [1:52]; *xutāsa* ‘finally, briefly, in short’ [2:107]; *řāsī* ‘by the way, truth be told’ [2:57]; *bigir* ‘you would say’ [1:69]; *guyā* ‘apparently, it seems’ [2:80]; *yaśnī* ‘that is to say’ [1:81]; *mas(at)an* ‘for example, for instance’ [5:13], [1:32]; *fiṭān* ‘etcetera’ [1:104]; *yāna, (ya)hāna* ‘etcetera, this is it, and such things’ [2:61], [1:122], [2:104]; *tōmarz (naka)* ‘fancy that!’ [7:9]; *heyf* ‘what a pity!’ [7:58]; *zinhār* ‘alas!’ [7:6]; *bāša(d)* ‘fine, alright, may it be’ [2:11]; *sa* ‘so, then, well’ [2:17]; *sa xu* ‘fine’ [2:12]; *xu* ‘well, fine’ [1:6]; *xu dī* ‘well then’ [2:18]; *a, ārī, āre, baṭe* ‘yes, fine, ok’ [1:10]; [1:77], [2:63], [5:40]; *na* ‘no’ [6:26]; *xeyr* ‘no’ [6:37]; *āf, uf* ‘wow!’ [4:62]; *hī, hu* ‘oh!’ [4:41], [1:82]; *ā, āy* ‘oh!, eh!, huh!’ [1:57], [4:9]; *ey, ay* ‘O!, hey!’ [1:107], [7:8].

Expressions invoking God are also common: e.g. *xwidā, xwidāyā* ‘oh God!’ [1:19], [1:103]; *valā* ‘by God, well, then’ [1:27]; *bi xwidā* ‘by God, for God’s sake’ [7:16]; *va xwidā* ‘by God, for God’s sake’ [6:85]; *aytān xwidā* ‘for God’s sake, please’ [1:67].

3.10.1 Additive particle: =īš

The clitic particle =īš (more rarely =īž) functions as a discourse marker, variously translating as ‘and, also, even, as for, indeed’. It can attach to several categories of words (e.g. nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, verbs) and is extremely frequent in discourse. It can highlight a change of topic or function as an additive focus particle:

- (223) *ye dit=iš kačat=a šü=e*
 INDF girl=ADD bald=COP.PRS.3SG husband=BP.3SG
 ‘One of the daughters, well, her husband is bald’ [3:44]

- (224) *pedar=iž=a m-āy*
 father=ADD=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘The father, too, comes’ [3:8]

The additive particle is normally realized as =*γš*/=*γž* after /a/ (which is in turn realized as /e/ under the effect of the morphophonological rule described in §2.5.1). After /ö/, /ī/ and /y/, the allomorph =*š*/=*ž* is normally used. After /w/ both =*iš*/=*iž* and =*š*/=*ž* are possible, while after /e/ both =*γš*/=*γž* and =*š*/=*ž* may occur.

Occasionally, but only after consonants, the consonant of the particle may be dropped, yielding =*i*:

- (225) *ye tifaŋ šak-ī b-e-n=a*
 INDF rifle half-INDF1 SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2PL=DRCT
min=i(š) tā min=i(š) bi-č-im
 1SG=ADD so.that 1SG=ADD SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 ‘Give me a worn-out rifle, so that I may go as well’ [3:53]

The comparable Persian form (*h*)*am* (also interpretable as clitic =(*h*)*am*) can occur instead of or in combination with the additive particle =*iš*:

- (226) *modat-(h)ā ham ři=a ma-k-e*
 period-PL too road=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘He walks for some time, too’ [4:68]

The additive particle intervenes in the formation of particular forms with pragmatic function, which are used anaphorically or help the speaker to play for time. Such forms (transcribed as *γōwš*, *ōwš*, etc.) are formally and functionally comparable to Pers. *in(h)am* and have been tentatively interpreted as a combination of the 3SG personal pronoun *ōw* and the additive particle, optionally preceded by the proximal demonstrative *ya*:

- (227) *a γ-ōw=iš=a m-āy m-uš-e*
 INTJ PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘Yes, she [i.e. the mother] arrives, too, (and) says’ [1:90]

- (228) *öw=š xu dī heywān-īk=a*
 3SG=ADD well then animal-INDF1=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Well then, it is an animal’ [6:26]

3.11 Adpositions

In Harsini, the class of adpositions is rich and diversified. It includes ‘primary’ prepositions, ‘secondary’ prepositions and a small number of circumpositions. Prepositions can be simple as well as complex (involving a noun, an adjective or an adverb in combination with a primary preposition or the *ezāfe* particle).

Fattah (2000: 583) considers this lexical class particularly important for the geolinguistic definition of the so-called ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ group. Indeed, the presence or absence of certain prepositions in common with Laki distinguishes those varieties from the rest of SK.

3.11.1 Primary prepositions

Primary prepositions are relatively few in Harsini and are generally simple. Most of them are polysemous and can express several types of complements. An exhaustive list of the attested forms is provided below:

va ‘from, to, at, in, with, by, (made) of’: when denoting a spatial relation, this preposition expresses position, provenience and direction. Figuratively, it can introduce a Source/Origin or a Goal/Recipient/Addressee:

- (229) *va tārīkī ma-nīš-e*
 in darkness IND-sit.PRS-3SG
 ‘In the darkness, she sits’ [6:80]

- (230) *va harsīn*
 from Harsin
 ‘From Harsin’ [1:53]

- (231) *xana va xana*
 smile to smile
 ‘(from) smile to smile’ [1:99]

In addition, it can express Manner, Means, Instrument or Material:

- (232) *va pař bi-sā-ø bin mil=yān*
 with feather SBJV-rub.PRS-IMP.2SG under neck=BP.3PL
 ‘rub (it) with the feathers under their neck’ [1:108]

- (233) *ye lebās-e va ču*
 INDF dress-INDF2 of wood
 ‘a dress (made) of wood’ [2:72]

The preposition *va* intervenes in the formation of several complex prepositions (§3.11.2). Most often, it is cliticized to a preceding element and realized as =*a*.

In the literature, this clitic form has been variously labelled as ‘linker’ (i.e. *ligateur* in Lazard 1992a: 220), ‘linking vowel’ (Thackston 2006: 66), ‘allative clitic’ (McCarus 2009: 600) or ‘directional particle’ (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 63; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 57). Following Mahmoudveysi et al. (2012) and Mahmoudveysi & Bailey (2013), the particle has been glossed as =DRCT throughout the present study, even when it expresses Source/Origin or, more rarely, Location.

The particle =*a* normally attaches to the verb preceding a complement,¹²¹ but may also attach to non-verbal elements. It usually introduces a Goal, but may also precede a Source/Origin or a complement expressing a ‘resultant state’:

- (234) *bařd ki dīv=a ma-č-u=a kü*
 after COMPL demon=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT mountain
 ‘After the demon has gone to the mountain’ [2:36]

- (235) *šar=a šar vilāt=a vilāt*
 city=DRCT city region=DRCT region
 ‘From town to town, from region to region’ [1:99]

- (236) *dīv=a kü=a m-ā=a xwor*
 demon=DRCT mountain=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT down

¹²¹ Unless, of course, if the complement is a prepositional phrase involving a different preposition, e.g. *ařā*, *bi* (see below).

‘The demon comes down from the mountain’ [2:37]

- (237) *mow=a* *šōw*
 IND.become.PRS.3SG=DRCT night
 ‘the night comes’ [4:133]

The directional particle might have a variant *=ar* (*=r* after vowels), e.g. *bašd=ar māḡ-hā* ‘after (several) months’ [1:73]. Note that an identical form is used to specify the semantics ‘to hit, beat, strike’ on the verb *dā-/de-* ‘to give’:

- (238) *kīš=a* *m-ār-ī* *b-e=ar* *āyl*
 extension=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG SBJV-hit.PRS.3SG=PART child
m-et=e=r *kūza*
 IND-hit.PRS=BP.3SG=PART jug
 ‘he swings it to beat the child (but) he hits the jug’ [5:50]

až ‘from’: this preposition is occasionally used instead of *va*, mainly indicating a Provenience/Source/Origin. The consonant element of the preposition *až* can be dropped in pronunciation, which makes the resulting form hard to distinguish from the directional particle *=a*:

- (239) *a(ž)* *kōwš* *až* *kwił_čī*
 from shoe from everything
 ‘from the shoes to everything (else)’ [2:69]

It intervenes in the formation of complex prepositions (§3.11.2).

ařā ‘to, for’: is used to introduce a Goal or Recipient/Benefactive:

- (240) *va* *harsīn* *bi-č-īt* *ařā* *parīva*
 from Harsin SBJV-go.PRS-2SG to Parive
 ‘(as if) you would go from Harsin to Parive’ [1:53]

- (241) *sūr-ī=a* *ma-k-e* *ařā* *kwiř-a*
 marriage-INDF1=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG for boy-DEF
 ‘She prepares a wedding for the boy’ [1:94]

čū ‘as, like’: this preposition is attested only once in the available material, apparently expressing Manner, but the interpretation of the passage in which it occurs is dubious:

- (242) *čü* *šarusī*
 like wedding
 ‘like (they do at) weddings’ [1:58]

bī ‘without’: this preposition expresses privation, but the context in which it occurs is unclear:

- (243) *bī_dam=a* *wira* *ma-kat-ī*
 speechless=DRCT there IND-fall.PRS-3SG
 ‘{? (he) remains there helpless}’ [2:88]

az ‘from’: this form is attested only once, instead of *až*. It should be considered an occasional variant, perhaps determined by Persian influence:

- (244) *dīt-ī* *dir-ī* *az* *a* *žin=a*
 daughter-INDF1 have.PRS-3SG from DIST woman=DEM
 ‘He has a daughter from that woman’ [4:13]

bi ‘to, by’: this preposition has probably entered Harsini under Persian pressure and is occasionally used instead of *va* to introduce a Goal/Recipient/Addressee. It occurs also in a few fixed expressions employed as discourse markers (§3.10):

- (245) *m-uš-in* *bi* *xwišk*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL to sister
 ‘They say to the sister’ [4:119]

bā ‘with’: as in the previous case, this preposition is probably a borrowing from Persian. It is found instead of the most common form *vagard* denoting accompaniment:

- (246) *šarus* *bā* *ī* *šū=a*
 bride with PROX husband=DEM
 ‘The bride with this groom’ [1:33]

dar ‘in’: this preposition, most likely a borrowing from Persian, is attested once in the available texts:

- (247) *dar* *zamān=i* *qadīm*
 in time=EZ ancient

‘In ancient times’ [5:29]

Simple prepositions undergo slight modifications when they occur in combination with bound pronouns. In the case of the preposition *va*, a nasal /n/ is realized between the preposition and the pronominal clitic:

- (248) *mi va-n=ī movāzibat bi-ka-m*
 1SG to-EU?=BP.3SG care SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I would take care of it’ [2:58]

The same phenomenon also occurs with the cliticized form *=a* of the preposition, which in the concerned examples expresses a Source/Origin or a Means/Instrument:

- (249) *damřü=t=a-n=ī bi-šur-ø*
 face=BP.2SG=DRCT-EU?=BP.3SG SBJV-clean.PRS-IMP.2SG
 ‘clean your face with it’ [4:62]

- (250) *bowažin=ī bad=ī=a-n=ī=a*
 stepmother=BP.3SG bad=BP.3SG=DRCT-EU?=BP.3SG=IND
*m-āy*¹²²
 IND=come.PRS.3SG
 ‘Her stepmother dislikes her’ [3:6]

The preposition *ařā* is regularly followed by the appropriate form from the set of bound pronouns occurring after vowel (§3.3.2). In the case of the 3SG bound pronoun, both *aře* and *ařāy* seem to be acceptable:

- (251) *kwilfatī ařā=γ bi-k-e*
 housekeeping for=BP.3SG SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘to do the housework for her’ [3:20]

- (252) *gwinī xwirī ař=e=a ma-sīn-ī*
 sack wool for=BP.3SG=IND IND-buy.PRS-3SG
 ‘He buys her a sack of wool’ [6:11]

The deletion of the final vowel of the preposition *ařā* is also consistently attested when the preposition is followed by the 3PL bound pronoun *=yān*.

¹²² For the sake of comparison, the colloquial Pers. equivalent of this sentence would be *zanpedaraš, azaš badeš miād*.

The group is always realized as *ařyān* ([1:52], [2:91], [7:17]), never as **ařāyān*.

3.11.2 Secondary prepositions

Secondary prepositions include nouns, adjectives, adverbs and other expressions of location (including borrowed forms) grammaticalized as prepositions. Secondary prepositions can combine with primary prepositions to form complex prepositions.

A first group involves a noun-adverb or an adverb-adjective followed by a preposition, usually *až* or *va* (or possibly its cliticized equivalent =*a*). These forms have temporal meaning in all the attested instances:

var až ‘before’:

- (253) *var_až* *ava*
 before DIST
 ‘before that’ [1:61]

qabl a ‘before’:

- (254) *qabl_a* *kwil=yān=a* *m-āy*
 before all=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘she comes (back) before all of them’ [2:87]

bašd a ‘after’:

- (255) *bašd_a* *modat-ī*
 after moment-INDF1
 ‘after some time’ [2:80]

A second category involves a noun-adverb or an adverb-adjective preceded by a preposition, usually *va* (or its cliticized equivalent =*a*) or *ařā*. Most frequently, they denote a spatial relation. If both *va/=a* and *ařā* (or *vere*) are available, *ařā* (or *vere*) is generally used to put emphasis on movement. In some cases, the omission of the preposition introducing the adverbial element is possible:

va/=a bān ‘on, over’:

- (256) *yak-ī* *ma-niš-e=a* *bān* *sar* *kwiř* *vazīr*
 one-INDF1 IND-sit.PRS-3SG=DRCT on head son minister

‘one perches on the head of the minister’s son’ [3:33]

va/=a bin ‘under, on the bottom of; to, from’. It can denote a spatial relation, a Goal/Recipient or a Source/Origin:

- (257) *ma-s-e=a bin mil=yān*
 IND-rub.PRS-3SG=DRCT under neck=BP.3PL
 ‘(she) rubs (them) under their necks’ [1:111]

- (258) *piř gwinī xwirī=a m-e=a bin=e*
 full sack wool=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG
 ‘(she) gives him a sack full of wool’ [1:61]

- (259) *kam-ī xamīr=a bin=ī=a ma-sīn-ī*
 little-INDF1 dough=DRCT from=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG
 ‘She gets a bit of dough from her’ [1:68]

va/=a diř ‘in, inside, into’

va/=a dombāt ‘after, in search of’:

- (260) *bi-č-u va mašriq va_dombāt diř*
 SBJV-go.PRS-3SG to east after girl
 ‘to go to the east in search of the girl’ [2:90]

va/=a döwr ‘around’:

- (261) *ya ejürī=a döwr=ī xiř=a*
 PROX this.way=DRCT around=BP.3SG turn=IND
m-ār-e
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG
 ‘She turns around it this way’ [2:60]

va/=a lā, ařā lā, vere lā ‘beside, at the presence of, near, at’:

- (262) *b-öwr-et=e=a lā pādišā*
 SBJV-take.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG=DRCT side king
 ‘in order to take him before the king’ [6:162]

- (263) *b-ā-n ařā _lā mi*
 SBJV-come.PRS-2PL to.side 1SG

‘Come to my place’ [7:10]

- (264) *vere _lā pādišā*
 to.side king
 ‘before the king’ [6:175]

va/=a mil ‘on, at’:

- (265) *m-e=a mil ʕarus=ī*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT at bride=BP.3SG
 ‘She places it on his bride’ [1:32]

va/=a nām, ařā nām ‘in, inside, into, among’:

- (266) *tīx-a ma-n-ī=a nām gīs dā-ka*
 blade-DEF IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside braid mother-DEF
 ‘(he) puts the blade among the mother’s braids’ [1:102]

- (267) *ma-č-u ařā nām kalāsyāw*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG to inside old.mill
 ‘She goes inside the old mill’ [6:79]

va/=a nwā ‘before, in front of’:

- (268) *ma-kat-e=a nwā dā_zarā=ō*
 IND-fall.PRS-3SG=DRCT front Dā.Zahrā=CONJ
mamūla=ō si gila dit
 Mohammad.DIM=CONJ three unit girl
 ‘(she) sets off before Dā Zahrā, Mohammad and the three girls’
 [7:12]

va/=a ʕonwān ‘as, acting as’:

- (269) *va_ʕonwān kolfat-ī*
 as servant-INDF1
 ‘as a servant’ [2:78]

va/=a peγ ‘after’: is attested only once, before the interrogative adjective *če* (§3.5).

va/=a pišt ‘behind’:

- (270) *ma-č-u=a* *pišt* *dar-a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT back door-DEF
 ‘She goes behind the door’ [2:23]

va/=a sar ‘on, over, for, to’:

- (271) *ī=a* *sar* *mil* *žin-a* *ma-pař(-e)=ör*
 PROX=DRCT on neck woman-DEF IND-jump.PRS(-3SG)=PART
 ‘This one jumps up onto the woman’s neck’ [5:46]

va/=a šān ‘next to’:

- (272) *ye* *ādim* *dōwtaman=īš-ī* *hā-ø* *šān=ī*
 INDF man rich=ADD-INDF1 exist.PRS-3SG next.to=BP.3SG
 ‘next to them there is also a very wealthy man’ [5:12]

va/=a šun ‘after, in search of’:

- (273) *mi* *bi-č-im=a* *šun=e*
 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG=DRCT after=BP.3SG
 ‘I shall go in search of her’ [2:90]

va/=a tah ‘in/to/from the bottom of, under’. In its only occurrence in the available material, the preposition seems to be followed by the *ežāfe* particle:

- (274) *birsāq* *ma-n-ī=a* *tah=i* *ī* *gwinī=a*
 fritter IND-put.PRS=DRCT bottom=EZ PROX sack=DEM
 ‘(she) lays (it) on the bottom of this sack’ [2:93]

va/=a tu ‘in, inside, into’:

- (275) *ma-n-ī=a* *tu* *datq-e*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT into packet-INDF2
 ‘She puts it in a packet’ [1:68]

va/=a var ‘on, in front of, before’:

- (276) *ma-n-e=a* *var* *das=yān*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT before hand=BP.3PL
 ‘She puts (it) at their disposal [lit. in front of their hands]’ [7:14]

va/=a žīr ‘under’:

- (277) *ma-n-e=a žīr sar=e*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT under head=BP.3SG
 ‘(he) puts it under his head’ [5:38]

ařā xātīr ‘because of, for the sake of’:

- (278) *ařā _xātīr tiļā-ka*
 because.of gold-DEF
 ‘for the sake of the gold’ [2:71]

A third category includes prepositional forms apparently derived from the combination of two elements (one of which is a preposition) lexicalized as a unit. The elements forming this kind of complex forms are most often barely transparent:

vagard, agard, ard ‘with’:

- (279) *vagard īma bī*
 with 1PL COP.PST.3SG
 ‘she was with us’ [4:124]
- (280) *mi agard tō řarusī bi-ka-m*
 1SG with 2SG marriage SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I shall get married with you’ [2:52]

- (281) *e kwiř=m=a č(a) ard=e hāt-ø?*
 PROX son=BP.1SG=DEM what with=BP.3SG come.PST-3SG
 ‘What happened to my son?’ [1:90]

varin, arin ‘from, to, with, for, after’. This form with final /n/ is found only in combination with bound pronouns, as observed for *va* above. It can express a Source/Origin, a Goal/Recipient or a Means/Instrument:

- (282) *č(a) (h)āt-ø arin=e?*
 what come.PST-3SG to=BP.3SG
 ‘What’s the matter?’ [1:101]
- (283) *arin=ī bi-xwa-ø*
 from=BP.3SG SBJV-drink.PRS-IMP.2SG

‘drink from it’ [4:62]

- (284) *e kalkaxirāwa varin=i=a ma-sāz-ī*
 PROX ancient.ruins with=BP.3SG=IND IND-build.PRS-3SG
 ‘he (re)builds the ruins with it’ [5:43]

vere ‘towards, to’. This preposition seems to denote a movement forward, just like the comparable Gorani preposition *waraw* (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 264; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 212). In the available material, it is attested only in combination with the noun *lā*, forming a complex preposition meaning ‘to the presence of’ (see above) or with the interrogative *ku/kura* (§3.5).

Other secondary prepositions (probably occasional Persian loans) are:

jūr ‘like, as’:

- (285) *ye nafar jūr mi dānā*
 INDF person like 1SG wise
 ‘A person as wise as me’ [6:58]

mes(i)e ‘like, as’:

- (286) *mese řusarī*
 like headscarf
 ‘like a headscarf’ [2:44]

3.11.3 Circumpositions

Circumpositions are formed by a preposition (simple or complex) as their first element and a clitic element (glossed as =POST) attaching to the end of the modified nominal. Most of the semantics of the circumposition is provided by the preposition, while the postposed particle emphasizes movement or gives a “figurative sense” to the deriving form (Fattah 2000: 637).

The attested combinations are *va/=a...=(a)rā*; *va/=a...=(i)rā*; *va/=a mil...=arā*; and *va/=a...=ā* (with a possible variant *va/=a...=ava* in [1:61] and [1:112], where the SK postposition =*ava* appears to be used instead of Harsini =*ā*):

- (287) *dō das=ī=a m-e=a mil sar*
 two hand=BP.3SG=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on head
wiž=arā
 RFLX=POST
 ‘He puts both his hands on his head’ [5:52]

- (288) *dā-n=as-a=m=a āw=irā*
 give.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG-NA= BP.1SG=DRCT water=POST
 ‘they threw me in the water’ [2:78]

- (289) *bi-č-īm=a mašad=irā*
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL=DRCT Mashhad=POST
 ‘Let’s go to Mashhad’ [1:116]

- (290) *mi=a šōso=rā nīšt-im=a tā*
 1SG=DRCT morning=POST sit.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG until
al?ān
 now
 ‘I’ve been sitting since morning until now’ [6:71]

- (291) *dīv=a mow=a xavar=ā*
 demon=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG=DRCT awareness=POST
 ‘the demon wakes up’ [2:14]

Occasionally, the postposed particle occurs alone, but its function in such cases is unclear:

- (292) *ī lā=rā ma-č-ī*
 PROX side=POST IND-go.PRS-3SG
 ‘you go down this way’ [4:68]

- (293) *sar=arā bi-xwa-m*
 head=POST SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG
 ‘I shall eat (your) head’ [7:67]

The forms *=(i)rā*, *=(a)rā* and *=ā*, intervening in the formation of circumpositions are presumably related to the verbal particles described in §3.13.2.2, though the nature of this relationship is opaque.

3.12 Conjunctions

Several terms of the same rank (words, phrases, but also clauses and sentences) can be joined by means of conjunctions. The most frequent coordinating element is the clitic conjunction =*ö* ‘and’:

- (294) *dā_zarā=ö mamūla=ö si gila dit*
 Dā.Zahrā=CONJ Mohammad.DIM=CONJ three unit girl
 ‘Dā Zahrā, Mohammad and the three girls’ [7:12]

The general tendency in Harsini consists in repeating the conjunction after each term of an enumeration. However, the simple juxtaposition of items, spaced out by a pause with the optional insertion of the clitic conjunction before the last term, is a viable alternative:

- (295) *ī kwil xarj=a, ī kwil pül=a, ī*
 PROX all expense=DEM PROX all money=DEM PROX
kwil birinj=a ī kwil [...] kāwiri=ö miṇā
 all rice=DEM PROX all [...] sheep=CONJ cow
 ‘all these purchases, all this money, all this rice, all these [...] sheep and cows’ [7:10]

The conjunction can be further reinforced by the additive particle =*iš* ‘too’:

- (296) *žin=ö pyā=yš maxlut=in*
 woman=CONJ man=ADD mixed=COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘Women and men are mixed’ [laki_conv_1, 4:19-4:21]

The following copulative conjunctions are also used to link coordinated terms. The presence of a clitic conjunction =*ö* between them is optional:

(*h*)*am* ... (= *ö*) (*h*)*am* ‘both ... and’:

- (297) *ham dit ham kwiř*
 both girl and boy
 ‘Both the girl, and the boy’ [1:89]

či ... (= *ö*) *či* ‘whether ... or’, ‘both ... and’:

- (298) *či harsīn či sahana*
 what Harsin what Sahne

‘whether it is Harsin or Sahne’ [laki_conv_1, 18:34-18:35]

na ... (=ø) na ‘neither ... nor’

The disjunctive conjunction *yā* ‘or’ can be used alone or repeated to form the copulative conjunction *yā ... (=ø) yā* ‘either ... or’:

- (299) *baṣdan=a ma-č-in ařā sahana yā harsin*
 then=IND IND-go.PRS-3PL to Sahne or Harsin
 ‘Then, they go to Sahne or (to) Harsin’ [laki_conv_1, 5:15-5:18]

- (300) *yā řün=a m-e yā har_če*
 or butter=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG or whatever
 ‘(he) gives butter or whatever’ [5:29]

The coordinating and subordinating conjunctions functioning at the clause level are further discussed in §3.14.

3.13 Verbs

The class of verbs denotes events, processes and states. Verbs can either be simple (§3.13.1) or complex (§3.13.2). Generally speaking, the verbal system of Harsini is based on the binary opposition between a Present (PRS) and a Past (PST) stem. On these stems, the system of tenses (Present/Future, Past), moods (Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative) and aspects (Perfective, Imperfective) is built, with the intervention of modal affixes (§3.13.3), negative prefixes (§3.13.4) and personal endings (§3.13.5).

The Present stem is used to form the Present Indicative, the Present Subjunctive and the Imperative/Prohibitive. The Past stem is the basis for the formation of the Preterite (Simple Past), the Imperfect and the Past Subjunctive. Moreover, the Past stem can combine with the Present and Past copula to form the Present Perfect and the Pluperfect (Past Perfect).

In addition to the finite forms, two non-finite (nominal) forms, the Infinitive and the Past Participle, are built from the Past stem. Even if dictionaries generally list verbs in their Infinitive form, the Past stem has been conventionally chosen as the main quotation form throughout the present study.

3.13.1 Verbal stems

A verb's Past stem can be inferred from the Infinitive (§3.13.9.1), while the form of the Present stem is not easily predictable neither from the Past stem, nor from the Infinitive (and vice versa).

In addition, when preceded by modal or negative prefixes, verbal stems beginning with certain consonants are subject to morphophonological changes, which contribute to blur the basic form of the original stem even more. In particular, stems beginning in /b/ or /d/ are subject to phenomena of lenition (§2.1.1) with secondary coalescence of the vowel of the prefix with the resulting glide. An initial /v/ generally becomes a glide /w/ while an initial /h/ is normally deleted after modal and negative prefixes, producing secondary phenomena of vowel coalescence.

The theoretical intermediate or underlying stages of these changes, leading to the attested forms of Present stems, are obviously not evident in spoken language, but have been tentatively reconstructed and included inside parentheses in the list, preceded by an asterisk. It must be stressed that Past stems undergo analogous phonological processes when preceded by prefixes, but in this case we normally have the chance to compare the modified form with the form without the prefix.

Unfortunately, only few Past stems are attested in the available corpus. The unattested forms have been deduced from comparable verbs or secondary literature. The unattested stems shall be considered provisional and are conveniently signalled by an asterisk.

3.13.1.1 Predictable stems

The following empirical rules of derivation of a verb's Present and Past stems apply to Harsini:

- i. When the Past stem ends in /ī/ or /y/, the Present stem is normally equal to the Past stem without /ī/ or /y/:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
<i>dōzī-</i>	* <i>dōz-</i>	* <i>mōwzī</i>	‘to steal’
(> <i>yōzī-</i>)	(> * <i>yōz-</i>)	IND PRS 3SG	
<i>vārī-</i>	* <i>vār-</i>	* <i>mawārī</i>	‘to rain’
(> <i>wārī-</i>)	(> <i>wār-</i>)	IND PRS 3SG	
<i>biřī-</i>	* <i>biř-</i>	<i>mōwřī</i> [1:102]	‘to cut’
(> * <i>w(i)řī-</i>)	(> * <i>w(i)ř-</i>)	IND PRS 3SG	
(<i>h</i>) <i>eγwāy-</i>	<i>eγwā-</i>	<i>meγwāy</i> [6:87]	‘to escape, run away’
		IND PRS 3SG	
PST	PRS	Meaning	
<i>namī-</i>	<i>nam-</i>	‘to grab, catch’	
<i>xiřī-</i>	<i>xiř-</i>	‘to buy’	
<i>řasī-</i>	<i>řas-</i>	‘to arrive, reach’	
* <i>pazī-</i>	<i>paz-</i>	‘to cook’	
* <i>xanī-</i>	<i>xan-</i>	‘to laugh’	
* <i>jurī-</i>	<i>jur-</i>	‘to search’	
* <i>tapī-</i>	<i>tap-</i>	‘to knock’	
* <i>gīrdī-</i>	<i>gīrd-</i>	‘to go round, search’	
* <i>pařī-</i>	<i>pař-</i>	‘to jump’	
* <i>kuī-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	‘to crush, mash’	
* <i>šurī-</i>	<i>šur-</i>	‘to wash, clean’	
* <i>sāy-</i>	<i>sā-</i>	‘to rub’	
* <i>zāy-</i>	<i>zā-</i>	‘to deliver, give birth’	

- ii. Similarly to the preceding group, when a verb has a Past stem ending in *-γā-*, the Present stem is normally equal to the Past stem without the vocalic segment *-γā-* (except for the morphological passives described in §3.13.1.4). If the Present stem includes a weak vowel /i/, this is normally deleted in unstressed position:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
*šikyā-	š(i)k-	maškī [5:51] IND PRS 3SG	‘to break’
*čikyā-	č(i)k-	mačkī [4:108] IND PRS 3SG	‘to stick, become entangled’
*řimyā-	ř(i)m-	biřme [7:38] SBJV PRS 3SG	‘to be destroyed, fall apart’
*řišyā-	ř(i)š-	mařše [2:100] IND PRS 3SG	‘to pour, spill, drop’
*(h)usyā- ¹²³	us-	busī [1:109] SBJV PRS 2SG	‘to stop, stand’

PST	PRS	Meaning
kīšyā-	kīš-	‘to drag, draw’
*turyā-	tur-	‘to get angry’
nyā-	n-	‘to put, place’

- iii. When the Past stem ends in /d/ or /t/, the Present stem is normally equal to the Past stem without /d/ or /t/:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
bird- (> *w(i)rd-)	*bir- (> *w(i)r-)	mōwrī [2:32] IND PRS 3SG	‘to take’

PST	PRS	Meaning
mird-	mir-	‘to die’
girt-/gird-	gir-	‘to take, get’
kwišt-	kwiš-	‘to kill’
nīšt-	nīš-	‘to sit’
xaft-	xaf-	‘to sleep’

¹²³ Fattah (2000: 348) attributes a Past stem *visā-* and a Present stem *vis-* to this Harsini verb. Lazard (1992b: 223) reports a Past stem *husī-* and a Present stem *us-* for the verb ‘to wait’ in the Laki of Aleshtar. In primary Harsini data, the Past stem of this verb is attested only once (*nusyāy* ‘you didn’t stop’ [7:101]) with a negative prefix unfortunately obscuring the basic form of the stem. Therefore, the form reported above remains hypothetical.

PST	PRS	Meaning
* <i>bāft</i> - ¹²⁴	<i>bāf</i> -	‘to weave’

iv. When the Past stem ends in *-is(t)-* or *-s(t)-*, the Present stem is normally equal to the Past stem without *-is(t)-* or *-s(t)-*. The /t/ of the Past stem is generally omitted, but it might be realized in very careful pronunciations:

PST	PRS	Meaning
<i>zānis(t)-</i>	<i>zān</i> -	‘to know’
<i>xās(t)-</i>	<i>xā</i> - ¹²⁵	‘to want’
* <i>tūnis(t)-</i>	<i>tūn</i> -	‘to be able, can’

But note:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
* <i>bas(t)-</i>	* <i>bas</i> -	<i>mōwse</i> [2:73]	‘to tie’
(> * <i>was(t)-</i>)	(> * <i>was</i> -)	IND PRS 3SG	
* <i>řis(t)-</i>	<i>řis</i> -		‘to spin’

Finally, there are a few verbs showing a high degree of variability in neighbouring SK dialects, where they are attested with Past stems ending in *-ī-*, *-d-* or *-is(t)-*. The scant attestation of these verbs in our corpus complicates the definition of their Past stem form. However, from an observation of the available occurrences and according to the information provided in Fattah (2000: 350 fn. 109) and Lazard (1992b: 222ff.), it can confidently be stated that in Harsini the Past stem of these verbs coincides with their Present stem:

¹²⁴ The verb *bāftin* ‘to weave’ does not seem to undergo the changes normally involving verbal stems beginning with /b/, as shown in [4:87], but the reason for this irregularity is unclear.

¹²⁵ This form of the verb ‘to want’, probably modelled on its Persian equivalent *x^wāstan*, is attested only once in primary Harsini data. All other instances of the verb ‘to want’ are regularly expressed by the Present stem *eyt-/e-*, whose corresponding past stem is uncertain (§3.13.1.2).

PST	PRS	Meaning
<i>kan-</i>	* <i>kan-</i>	‘to dig’
* <i>xwan-</i>	<i>xwan-</i>	‘to read’

3.13.1.2 Unpredictable stems

Several unpredictable couplings of Present and Past stems exist in Harsini. They include instances of variation of the stem vowel, contraction of the Past stem and suppletion. Many basic verbs (e.g. to give, to be, to go, to come, to do, to have, to say, to see) belong to this category:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
<i>bī-</i> (> <i>wī-</i>)	<i>bu-</i> (> * <i>wu-</i>)	<i>mow</i> [1:1] IND PRS 3SG	‘to be, become’
<i>dī-</i>	* <i>bīn-</i> (> * <i>wīn-</i>)	<i>mōūnī</i> [1:88] IND PRS 3SG	‘to see’
<i>dā-</i> (> <i>yā-</i>)	<i>de-</i> (> * <i>ye-</i>)	<i>me</i> [2:93] IND PRS 3SG	‘to give’
<i>dāšt</i> (> * <i>yāšt-</i>)	<i>dir-</i> (> * <i>y(i)r-</i>)	<i>nerī</i> [1:50] IND PRS 3SG	‘to have’
* <i>(h)īšt-</i>	<i>īl-</i> (> <i>yl-</i>)	<i>meylīm</i> [1:108] IND PRS 1PL	‘to leave, let’
* <i>dažī-</i> , <i>dažyā-</i> (> * <i>yžī-</i> , <i>yžyā-</i>) (?)	<i>īž-</i> (> <i>yž-</i>)	<i>meyžī</i> [7:81] IND PRS 3SG	‘to hurt’
PST	PRS	Meaning	
<i>xās(t)-</i> , <i>xwāst-</i> , <i>twāst-</i> (?) ¹²⁶	<i>eyt-/e-</i>	‘to want’	
<i>xwāst-</i>	<i>wāz-</i>	‘to request/claim (as wife)’	

¹²⁶ The only Past stem form meaning ‘to want’ attested in the texts is *xās(t)-*, but its connection to the Present stem *eyt-/e-* is doubtful. The etymologically related Past stem *xwāst-* is attested only with the meaning ‘to request/claim (a woman as wife), propose marriage, marry (said of men)’. Fattah (2000: 363) attributes a Past stem *twāst-* to the Present stem *ēt-* in Harsini, while Lazard (1992b: 223-224) attributes a Past stem *hēst-* to the Present stem *eʷ-* ‘to want’ in the Laki of Aleshtar.

PST	PRS	Meaning
<i>vit-</i> (> *w(i)t-)	<i>uš-</i>	‘to say’
<i>(h)āt-</i>	<i>ā(γ)-</i>	‘to come’
<i>čī-</i>	<i>č-</i>	‘to go’
<i>man-/mān-</i>	<i>mīn-</i>	‘to stay’
<i>san-</i>	<i>sīn-</i>	‘to get, obtain, buy’
<i>āwird-</i>	<i>ār-/ar-</i>	‘to bring’
<i>āyšt-</i>	<i>āž-</i>	‘to throw’
<i>kird-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	‘to do, make’
<i>xword-</i>	<i>xwa-</i>	‘to eat, drink’
<i>forut-</i>	<i>*firuš-</i>	‘to sell’
<i>šinaft-</i>	<i>šinōw-</i>	‘to hear’
<i>gwozašt-</i>	<i>gwizar-</i>	‘to pass’
<i>kat-</i>	<i>kat-</i>	‘to fall, happen’
<i>žan-</i>	<i>žan-</i>	‘to throw’

3.13.1.3 Causatives

In Harsini, the causative form of simple verbs is expressed through a secondary conjugation. The causative Present stem is derived from the original Present stem of the verb by addition of a morpheme *-in-*, to which corresponds a Past stem in *-ān-*. The so-formed verbs are always transitive and have a regular conjugation:

	PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
	<i>*gīrdī-</i>	<i>gīrd-</i>	<i>magīrdī</i> [1:73] IND PRS 3SG	‘to go round, search’
Caus.	<i>*gīrdān-</i>	<i>gīrdin-</i>	<i>magīrdine</i> [1:17] IND PRS 3SG	‘to bring around, turn’

Note, however, that not every verb with such ‘causative’ form has a properly factitive meaning. Many of these are simply transitive counterparts of intransitive verbs with intrinsic passive or reflexive sense. This clearly reveals that the primary function of the *-n-* formative of so-called ‘causatives’ is in fact that of a ‘transitivizing’ morpheme:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
*šikyā-	š(i)k-	<i>maškī</i> [5:51] IND PRS 3SG	‘to break’ (intr.)
šikān-	š(i)kin-/š(i)kan- ¹²⁷	<i>maškane</i> [2:64] IND PRS 3SG	‘to break’ (tr.)

Other such verbs are:

PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
*biršān- (> *w(i)ršān-)	*biršin- (> *w(i)ršin-)	<i>mōwršīne</i> [1:68] IND PRS 3SG	‘to roast, fry’
*hanjān-	<i>anjīn-</i>		‘to smash’
*kiřān-	<i>kiřīn-</i>		‘to drag’
*takān-	<i>takin-</i>		‘to shake’

It should also be noted that the verbs with unpredictable stems in §3.13.1.2 generally lack a counterpart with ‘causative’ form. Indeed, not all verbs are allowed to participate in the derivational process described here, as valency-changing strategies notoriously operate in between morphology and lexicon. In the case of complex verbs, for instance, changes in the valency of the verb can be conveyed through the choice of the appropriate light verb (§3.13.2.1).

3.13.1.4 Passives

Passive forms are scantily attested in the available Harsini corpus. It is clear, however, that the passive voice of simple transitive verbs is formed through a secondary conjugation. The passive Present stem of a verb is derived from the Present stem of the active verb by means of a morpheme *-ir-*,¹²⁸ to which corresponds a Past stem ending in *-yā-*. Passive verbs conjugate regularly:

¹²⁷ A variant *-an-* of the Present stem formant is attested once for the verb ‘to break’, but the reasons for this variation have not been investigated in detail.

¹²⁸ This morpheme forming passive Present stems is specific to the Laki-Kermānshāhi group of dialects. It is also found in a few other SK dialects (see Fattah 2000: 492ff.), but the majority of these form Present passive stems by means of a morpheme *-ya-*.

	PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
Active	<i>biř-</i> (> * <i>w(i)ř-</i>)	* <i>biř-</i> (> * <i>w(i)ř-</i>)	<i>mōwř</i> [1:102] IND PRS 3SG	‘to cut’
Passive	<i>biřyā-</i> (> * <i>w(i)řyā-</i>)	* <i>biřir-</i> (> * <i>w(i)řir-</i>)	<i>bōwřire</i> [1:90] SBJV PRS 3SG	‘to be cut’

Fattah (2000: 491ff.) suggests that a small number of basic verbs form their passive stems in a slightly different way: they incorporate the passive formant *-ir-* also in their Past stem, which thus ends in *-iryā-*. Even if we cannot support this statement in the light of additional data, Fattah’s assumption might fit the occurrence of the Harsini verb ‘to put, place’ as follows:

	PST	PRS	Examples	Meaning
Active	<i>nyā-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>mane</i> [1:93] IND PRS 3SG	‘to put, place’
Passive	* <i>niryā-</i>	<i>nir-</i>	<i>manire</i> [4:30] IND PRS 3SG	‘to be put, appear’

Fattah (2000: 502) further states that in the Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties (including Harsini) and in some other SK dialects, the passive Past stem in *-iryā-* is occasionally extended also to verbs normally having passive Past stems in *-yā-*. Unfortunately, this observation cannot be validated on the basis of primary data.

As for causatives, the passive form of complex verbs is not formed morphologically but lexically, through the choice of an appropriate light verb (§3.13.2.1).

3.13.2 Complex verbs

In addition to the simple verbs described so far, there is a large number of complex verbs, either composed by a nominal element followed by a simple (‘light’) verb, or formed through the combination of a simple verb with a preverb or a postverbal particle.

3.13.2.1 Verbs with nominal components

The nominal component of a complex verb can be a noun (an action noun, an abstract noun denoting a state or quality, a concrete noun denoting an Instrument), an adjective, an adverb or a prepositional phrase. These ‘complex verb components’ (signalled as *cvc* in the glossary in Chapter 7) carry most of the semantics of the resulting complex verbal form. The light verb with which they combine generally loses most of its original meaning and retains the main function of conferring a verbal character on the whole construction.

This mechanism of lexical formation is very productive in Harsini and complex verbs are numerous, frequently involving borrowed items of Arabo-Persian origin. The most common light verbs intervening in the formation of complex verbs are the following:

PST *kird*-/PRS *ka*- ‘to do, make’:

kār ~ ‘to work’; *daŋ* ~ ‘to call’; *šū* ~ ‘to marry’; *eṣlām* ~ ‘to announce’; *azīat* ~ ‘to disturb’; *pāk* ~ ‘to clean’; *āzād* ~ ‘to free’; *tamām* ~ ‘to complete’; *gwim* ~ ‘to lose’.

PST *bī* (> *wī*)/PRS *bu*- (> *wu*-) ‘to become’ (forms verbs often functioning as passives or intransitive counterparts to transitive verbs formed with *kird*-/*ka*- ‘to do, make’):

tamām ~ ‘to end’; *řad* ~ ‘to pass’; *gwim* ~ ‘to get lost’.

PST *āwird*-/PRS *ār*- ‘to bring’:

šāns ~ ‘to be lucky’; *xiř* ~ ‘to turn around’; *va/=a gīr* ~ ‘to find’.

PST *hāt*-/PRS *ā(γ)*- ‘to come’ (forms verbs often functioning as passives or intransitive counterparts to transitive verbs formed with *āwird*-/*ār*- ‘to bring’):

va/=a gīr ~ ‘to be found’.

PST *kat*-/PRS *kat*- ‘to fall’:

va/=a gīr ~ ‘to be found by chance’; *va/=a miney* ~ ‘to follow, go in search of’; *va/=a řī* ~ ‘to start, set out’; *eteřāq* ~ ‘to happen’.

PST *dā-* (> *yā-*)/PRS *dē-* (> *e-*) ‘to give’:

sar ~ ‘to visit’; *guš* ~ ‘to listen’; *diru* ~ ‘to lie’; *xafat* ~ ‘to despise, humiliate’; *āgir* ~ ‘to set (on) fire, burn’; *edāma* ~ ‘to continue’; *sidā* ~ ‘to call’; *qarār* ~ ‘to establish; place’; *va/=a gīr* ~ ‘to catch, imprison’.

PST *girt-*, *gird-*/PRS *gir-* ‘to take, get’ (forms verbs often functioning as passives or intransitive counterparts to transitive verbs formed with *dā-/de-* ‘to give’):

bāt ~ ‘to take flight’; *āzīyatī* ~ ‘to be in mourning’; *va/=a nwā* ~ ‘to block’.

PST *xword-*/PRS *xwa-* ‘to eat’ (forms verbs often functioning as passives or intransitive counterparts to transitive verbs formed with *dā-/de-* ‘to give’):

guł ~ ‘to be deceived’.

PST *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*)/PRS *dir-* (> *γ(i)r-*) ‘to have’:

dus ~ ‘to like’; *fāyīda* ~ ‘to avail, be of use’.

PST *čī-*/PRS *č-* ‘to go’:

va/=a beyn ~ ‘to be destroyed’; *va/=a das* ~ ‘to lose, be lost’.

PST *nyā-*/PRS *n-* ‘to put, place’:

va/a= dār ~ ‘to cook, put on the stove’; *va/a= řuwāt* ~ ‘to chase’.

PST *dī-* (> *γī-*)/PRS *bīn-* (> *wīn-*) ‘to see’:

xāw ~ ‘to dream’.

PST *kišyā-*/PRS *kīš-* ‘to draw’:

teγ ~ ‘to mop’.

PST *āyšt-*/PRS *āž-* ‘to throw’:

řü ~ ‘to demand, urge’.

Morphologically, these verbs behave exactly like simple verbs and their verbal component is regularly inflected. The only peculiarity is that the modal prefix *bi-*, obligatory with simple verbs, is optionally omitted with complex verbs.

3.13.2.2 Verbs with verbal particles

A second category of complex verbs is formed by means of verbal particles. Verbal particles are semantically opaque morphemes attaching to a simple verb and conferring on it a particular shade of meaning, usually concerning the space or manner in which the action or event is performed.

The use of postverbal particles instead of common Kurdish preverbs appears to be one of the distinguishing features of the Laki-Kermānshāhi dialect subgroup (with the partial exception of the vernacular of Sahne) with respect to other SK varieties. Indeed, most particles listed below have parallels in the Laki dialects of Lorestān (see Lazard 1992b: 221-222). For the sake of comparison, the corresponding preverbs used in the majority of SK dialects have been signalled:

=*ör* (usually emphasizes a movement upwards, cf. the SK preverb (*h*)*aŋ*):

- (301) *ī=a sar mil žin-a ma-pař(-e)=ör*
 PROX=DRCT on neck woman-DEF IND-jump.PRS(-3SG)=PART
 ‘This one jumps up onto the woman’s neck’ [5:46]

- (302) *řün-a ma-gir-e=ör=ī*
 butter-DEF IND-take.PRS-3SG=PART=BP.3SG
 ‘He puts the butter aside [lit. picks the butter up]’ [5:28]

=(*e*)*r* (perhaps with a variant =(*a*)*r*, emphasizes a movement outwards, cf. the SK preverb *dar*):

- (303) *min=īř bowe āwird-im=as=er=e*
 1SG=ADD father.BP.3SG bring.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=PART=BP.3SG
 ‘I even cursed her [lit. I brought her father out]’ [6:48]

Fattah (2000: 434ff.) points out that a preverb *dir*, akin to the common SK preverb *dar* and indicating a movement outwards, is seldom used in Harsini (e.g. *dir čī(i)n* ‘to exit, go out’, *dir hātin* ‘to come out’, *dir āwirdin* ‘to bring/take out, extract’):

- (304) *dir ni-ma-č-in*
 PREV NEG-IND-go.PRS-3PL

‘ils ne sortent pas, ils ne s’extraient pas [they do not go out, they do not exit]’ (Fattah 2000: 436)

- (305) *dir=a ma-č-in*
 PREV=IND IND-go.PRS-3PL
 ‘ils sortent [they go out, they exit]’ (Fattah 2000: 437)

- (306) *dir ā(wi)r-ø!*
 PREV bring.PRS-IMP.2SG
 ‘extrais! [take (it) out!]’ (Fattah 2000: 442)

This suggestion, however, is not supported by additional examples from the primary data at our disposal.

=*(i)rā*/=*(a)rā* (usually emphasizes a movement downwards or around, cf. the SK preverb *dā*):

- (307) *māt-a gird-im=e=rā*
 house-DEF take.PST-1SG=BP.3SG=PART
 ‘la maison, je l’ai assiégée; la maison, je l’ai cernée [the house, I have besieged it; the house, I have encircled it] (Fattah 2000: 448)

=*ā* (usually emphasizes a movement backwards, repetition or change of state, cf. SK =*aw(a)*, =*awā*, =*ava*, =*ow* and variants):

- (308) *hāt-im=as=ā*
 come.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=PART
 ‘I have come back’ [6:113]

- (309) *bi-ka-t=ā!*
 SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG-EU?=PART
 ‘défais!, ouvre! [unpack!, open!]’ (Fattah 2000: 460)

In addition to the listed forms, a particle =*(a)r* often specifies the semantics ‘to hit, beat, strike’ on the verb *dā-/de-* ‘to give’. Finally, a particle =*ow* seems to be used once in combination with the verb *kird-/ka-* ‘to do’, with the resulting meaning ‘to open’. This postverb is normally absent in so-called ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ varieties, having =*ā* instead, but is common in other SK varieties:

- (310) *dar qār kird-ø=ow*
 door cave do.PST-3SG=PART
 ‘he opened the entrance of the cave’ [4:134]

Some of these postverbs have possible counterparts among the particles intervening in the formation of circumpositions (§3.11.3).

3.13.3 Modal prefixes

The following modal prefixes are used for the conjugation of Harsini verbs:

ma- (*m-* before vowels): Indicative Present and Imperfect. This form is shared with Laki “proper” by all Laki-Kermānshāhi varieties (except for the vernacular of Sahne), and represents one of the clearest distinctive traits of that group of varieties in comparison to SK dialects.¹²⁹ Preceding the Present stem of a verb, this prefix forms the Present Indicative: e.g. *ma-ka-m* ‘I do’. When prefixed to the Past stem, it forms the Imperfect: e.g. *ma-kird-im* ‘I was doing’. In both cases, an enclitic particle *=a* (glossed as =IND) is required after the element preceding the verb that carries the morpheme *ma-*:¹³⁰

¹²⁹ The variety of Sahne has a prefix *a-* (similarly to the CK of Sulaymāniya). In a small group of SK dialects, mostly spoken in the south-western edge of the SK-speaking area, a prefix *di-* (akin to the one found in Kurmanji Kurdish and in some CK dialects) is used. However, the large majority of SK dialects form the Present Indicative (and some of them also the Imperfect) without a modal prefix.

¹³⁰ Lazard (1992b: 218-219 fn. 1) assumes that this clitic *=a*, which he defined as a unique trait among Kurdish dialects and Iranian languages in general, might be a relic of a ‘durative’ morpheme comparable to those found in other Kurdish dialects, which has been reinforced and later superseded by the prefix *ma-*, perhaps under the influence of Persian. However, it is difficult to envisage how the Persian-like form could have intruded into a construction supposed to involve already another morpheme with a similar function. As suggested by Geoffrey Haig p.c., direct borrowing of *ma-* from Persian looks even more improbable considering that Pers. *mi-* is stressed, has a different vowel quality, and does not trigger the kinds of morphophonological lenitions commonly associated with *ma-*. Note that analogous morphemes *mi-/ma-* exist also in Gorani/Hawrami dialects (see MacKenzie 1966: 32, Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 24, Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 40). In some varieties of Balochi, a clitic *=a* (described as marking Imperfective aspect) attaches to the element immediately preceding the verb. In Koroshi, a clitic *=a* (optionally realized as a proclitic *a=* on the verb) alternates with the Imperfective morpheme *ma-*, but these never occur in combination (see Jahani et al. 1390/2011; Noorzai & Jahani 2013).

- (311) *kār=a ma-k-e*
 work=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘She works’ [2:80]

- (312) *surāx=a ma-kird-ø*
 hole=IND IND-do.PST-3SG
 ‘It was making holes’ [6:188]

The particle is absent if the preceding element ends in /a/ or /ā/:

- (313) *pišī=e kala ma-xw-e*
 cat=BP.3SG head IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘Her cat eats the head’ [2:48]

- (314) *dā m-āy=a nām*
 mother IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT inside
 ‘the mother comes in’ [1:131]

With antecedents ending in other vowels (especially /ī/), the morpheme =a seems to be optional (without any apparent semantic correlate), but the reasons for this variation have not been investigated in detail:

- (315) *tō ye ču-ī m-e-γ=a das dit*
 2SG INDF wood-INDF1 IND-give.PRS-2SG=DRCT hand girl
 ‘You will put a wooden stick in the girl’s hands’ [2:27]

- (316) *ye dit-ī=a m-uš-e*
 INDF girl-INDF=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘A daughter says’ [2:4]

The morpheme (=a) *ma-* is incompatible with the verb *dāštin* ‘to have’. As a rule, *ma-* does not attract primary stress.

bi- (*b-* before vowels and semivowels): Subjunctive and Imperative. It is frequently omitted with complex verbs and proves incompatible with the verb *dāštin* ‘to have’. This prefix and the negative prefixes are mutually exclusive.

All the prefixes described so far undergo modifications and trigger secondary changes in verbal stems beginning with /b/, /d/, /h/, /w/ and /y/, as already illustrated in §2.5.1.

3.13.4 Negative prefixes

Negation is indicated on simple verbs and on the verbal components of complex verbs by means of the following negative prefixes:

ni-: this negative marker combines with the modal prefix *ma-* to negate a Present Indicative or Imperfect verb:

- (317) *ni-ma-ka-m*
 NEG-IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t do’

- (318) *ni-ma-kird-im*
 NEG-IND-do.PST-1SG
 ‘I wasn’t doing/I didn’t do’

The presence of the negative prefix rules out that of the morpheme =*a*, normally accompanying the modal prefix *ma-* in affirmative contexts.

na- (*n-* before vowels and semivowels): negates all other tenses and moods. Its presence excludes that of *bi-*. Preceding verbal stems beginning with /b/, /d/, /h/, /w/ and /y/, the prefix *na-* undergoes modifications and/or triggers secondary changes in the stems concerned, as already illustrated in §2.5.1.

In the available material there is no occurrence of the negative prefix *ma-* used in many neighbouring varieties to form the Prohibitive, but its absence in Harsini cannot be decisively excluded.

3.13.5 Personal endings

As a premise, it shall be emphasized that Harsini, as the rest of SK, shows a straightforward neutral alignment throughout its verbal system. This typological trait has been identified by Fattah (2000) as one of the most important features bundling the varieties of the ‘Laki-Kermānshāhi’ group together with SK dialects. The absence of any tense/transitivity split

in Harsini is in fact a powerful isogloss, substantially distinguishing SK from many neighbouring varieties (Laki, Gorani/Hawrami and CK), all showing various forms and degrees of Tense-Sensitive Alignment.

In Harsini, a series of personal endings are used to express agreement of a verb with its Subject or Agent arguments. The endings used to form present tenses (Present Indicative and Subjunctive) are summarized in Table 12:

Table 12: Personal endings used for Present tenses

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-im</i> [- <i>m</i>]	<i>-īm(in)</i> [- <i>ym(in)</i>]
2	<i>-ī(t)</i> [- <i>γ(t)</i>]	<i>-ītin</i> [- <i>ytin</i>]
3	<i>-e(t)/-ī(t)</i> [- <i>γ(t)</i>]	<i>-in</i> [- <i>n</i>]

The suffixes used after stems ending in a vowel (inside square brackets) are slightly different from those occurring after stems ending in a consonant. In the case of the 3SG, the form in square brackets is restricted to stems ending in /ā/:

- (319) *miṇā=γān ki ma-zā-γ*
 COW=BP.3PL COMPL IND-deliver.PRS-3SG
 ‘when their cow delivers’ [7:18]

With stems ending in /a/, the ending *-e(t)/-ī(t)* simply supersedes the final vowel of the stem:

- (320) *pišī=e kala ma-xw-e*
 cat=BP.3SG head IND-eat.PRS-3SG
 ‘Her cat eats the head’ [2:48]

The final /t/ of the 2SG and 3SG endings is uniformly realized when the verb is followed by a clitic element. On the other hand, it is commonly absent when occurring at the end of the word. The only attested instances of preservation involve the 2SG ending:

- (321) *va das=e=a ma-sīn-īt=e*
 from hand=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘He gets it from her hands’ [6:65]

- (322) *kam-ī* *xamīr=a* *bin=ī=a* *ma-sīn-ī*
 little-INDF1 dough=DRCT from=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG
 ‘She gets a bit of dough from her’ [1:68]
- (323) *kwil* *ī* *dit-el=a* *čāx* *ka-ø* *tā*
 all PROX girl-PL=DEM fat make.PRS-IMP.2SG as.much.as
ma-tün-īt
 IND-can.PRS-2SG
 ‘Make all these girls fat, as much as you can’ [7:14-7:15]

The following personal endings are used for the Imperative/Prohibitive:

Table 13: Personal endings used for the Imperative/Prohibitive

	Singular	Plural
2	-ø	- <i>in</i> / - <i>an</i> [- <i>n</i>]

A variant form *-an* is attested for the 2PL of the Imperative/Prohibitive. With stems ending in /ā/ or /a/ the variant inside square brackets is employed.

The endings used for Past-tense verbs (Table 14) are largely comparable with those used in Present tense clauses (Table 12), with the exception of the 3SG, whose Past suffix is zero. They are used without distinction to cross-reference the Subject of an intransitive verb or the Agent of a transitive verb in the Past:

Table 14: Personal endings used for Past tenses

	Singular	Plural
1	- <i>im</i> [- <i>m</i>]	- <i>īm(in)</i> [- <i>ym(in)</i> , - <i>min</i>]
2	- <i>ī(t)</i> [- <i>γ(t)</i> , - <i>t</i>]	- <i>ītin</i> [- <i>γtin</i> , - <i>tin</i>]
3	-ø	- <i>in</i> [- <i>n</i>]

The suffixes used after stems ending in a vowel (inside square brackets) are slightly different from those occurring after stems ending in a

consonant. In the case of the 2SG, 1SG and 2PL suffixes, the first variant inside brackets applies to stems ending in /ā/:

- (324) *dā-ym(in)*
 give.PST-1PL
 ‘we gave’ (Fattah 2000: 476)

With stems ending in /ī/ or /y/, the vowel of the suffix generally coalesces with the vowel of the stem:

- (325) *čī-min ařā bāq*
 go.PST-1PL to garden
 ‘we went to the garden’ [6:30]

- (326) *řasī-tin*
 arrive.PST-2PL
 ‘you arrived’ (Fattah 2000: 486)

- (327) *heywāy-min*
 escape.PST-1PL
 ‘we ran away’ [7:108]

With stems ending in /ī/, the final /t/ of the 2SG suffix is normally realized even in the absence of further suffixation:

- (328) *mitavajje(h) bī-t?*
 attentive become.PST-2SG
 ‘did you understand?’ [6:9]

The personal endings listed in Table 14 are identical to the forms intervening in the formation of the Present Perfect (§3.13.8.1), with the only exception of the 3SG.

3.13.6 Simple verbal constructions based on the present stem

3.13.6.1 Present Indicative

The Present Indicative is formed as follows: modal prefix (=a) *ma-* + PRS stem + personal endings (Table 12).

As an example, the Present Indicative of the verbs *nīšt-* (PRS *nīš-*) ‘to sit’, *kird-* (PRS *ka-*) ‘to do’, *dā-* (PRS *de-> e-*) ‘to give’, *(h)āt-* (PRS *ā(γ)-*) ‘to come’ and *dāšt-* (PRS *dir-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>manīšim</i>	<i>makam</i>	<i>mem</i>	<i>mām</i>	<i>dirim</i>
2SG	<i>manīšī(t)</i>	<i>makey(t)</i>	<i>mey(t)</i>	<i>māy(t)</i>	<i>dirī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>manīše(t)/manīšī(t)</i>	<i>make(t)</i>	<i>me(t)</i>	<i>māy(t)</i>	<i>dirī(t)</i>
1PL	<i>manīšim(in)</i>	<i>makeym(in)</i>	<i>meymin</i>	<i>māym(in)</i>	<i>dirīm(in)</i>
2PL	<i>manīšītin</i>	<i>makeytin</i>	<i>meytin</i>	<i>māytin</i>	<i>dirītin</i>
3PL	<i>manīšin</i>	<i>makan</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>mān</i>	<i>dirin</i>

As we have seen, the modal prefix does not apply to the Present Indicative of the verb *dāštīn* ‘to have’, which has an irregular conjugation. The verb ‘to go’ has an irregular 3SG form, ending in /u/:

	‘to go’
1SG	<i>mačim</i>
2SG	<i>mačī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>maču</i>
1PL	<i>mačīm(in)</i>
2PL	<i>mačītin</i>
3PL	<i>mačīn</i>

The verbal element of a complex verb is conjugated regularly, with the morpheme =*a* attaching to the nominal component, except when ending in /*a*/ or /*ā*/. The morpheme =*a* is optional when the nominal component ends in other vowels. Postverbs normally follow personal endings.

The Present indicative is negated by means of the negative morpheme *ni-*, attaching to the modal prefix *ma-*. The verb *dāštīn* ‘to have’ forms the negative Present Indicative preposing the particle *na-* to the present stem *dir-* (> **yir-*) yielding *ner-* + personal endings:

‘to have’	Negative
1SG	<i>nerim</i>
2SG	<i>nerī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>nerī(t)</i>
1PL	<i>nerīm(in)</i>
2PL	<i>nerītīn</i>
3PL	<i>nerin</i>

The Present Indicative is most frequently used to express an ongoing or habitual event, to describe a fact happening at the very moment of speaking or to communicate generic truths, as in the case of present verbs in the following passage:

- (329) *piyāz=yān masan ambār=a ma-ka-n.*
 onion=BP.3PL for.instance storage=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL
har_ke n-āyšt=ü ma-firuš-et=e.
 whoever NEG-throw.PST=COP.PST.3SG IND-sell.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
har_kī=š=ī ki kamdas-e=ö hin
 whoever=ADD=REL COMPL poor-INDF2=CONJ thingummy
bu, e(h)tīāž dir-ī, ma-fir(uš-e).
 be.PRS.SBJV. need have.PRS-3SG IND-sell.PRS-3SG
 3SG
har_ke now ambār=e=a
 whoever NEG.be.PRS.SBJV.3SG storage=BP.3SG=IND
ma-k-e tā girān=ā bu
 IND-do.PRS-3SG until expensive=PART become.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Their onions, for instance, they store them. Whoever had not
 planted them, sells them [i.e. those of the previous harvest].
 Whoever doesn’t have (money) sells them. Whoever is poor
 and so on, whoever is in need, sells them. Whoever is not
 stores them, so that/until they become more expensive’
 [laki_conv_1, 43:52-44:04]

In the absence of a proper Future form in Harsini, the Present Indicative can refer also to a situation located in future time:

- (330) *mi šü=a ma-ka-m=a bin=ī*
 1SG husband=IND IND-do.PRS-1SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG

‘I will marry him’ [1:15]

The Present Indicative is also commonly used as a narrative Present with Past-time reference.

3.13.6.2 Present Subjunctive

The Present Subjunctive is formed as follows: modal prefix *bi-* + PRS stem + personal endings (Table 12).

As an example, the Present Subjunctive of the verbs *nīš-* (PRS *nīš-*) ‘to sit’, *kird-* (PRS *ka-*) ‘to do’, *dā-* (PRS *de-> e-*) ‘to give’ and *(h)āt-* (PRS *ā(γ)-*) ‘to come’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’
1SG	<i>binišim</i>	<i>bikam</i>	<i>bem</i>	<i>bām</i>
2SG	<i>biniši(t)</i>	<i>bikey(t)</i>	<i>bey(t)</i>	<i>bāy(t)</i>
3SG	<i>biniše(t)/biniši(t)</i>	<i>bike(t)</i>	<i>be(t)</i>	<i>bāy(t)</i>
1PL	<i>binišim(in)</i>	<i>bikeym(in)</i>	<i>beym(in)</i>	<i>bāym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>binišitin</i>	<i>bikeytin</i>	<i>beytin</i>	<i>bāytin</i>
3PL	<i>binišin</i>	<i>bikan</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>bān</i>

In the case of complex verbs with nominal components, the modal prefix attaching to the verbal element is facultative and most often omitted:

- (331) *mi ařā=t ča diris ka-m?*
 1SG for=BP.2SG what right do.PRS-1SG
 ‘What shall I make for you?’ [2:70]

The forms of the Present Subjunctive are negated by means of the negative prefix *na-*, superseding the modal prefix *bi-*:

- (332) *tā ī bowa das=e=a mi*
 so.that PROX father hand=BP.3SG=DRCT 1SG
na-řas-e
 NEG-reach.PRS-3SG
 ‘so that the hands of this father (of mine) wouldn’t reach out for me’ [1:132]

Preceding verbal stems beginning in /b/, /d/, /h/, /w/ and /y/, this negative prefix undergoes modifications and/or triggers secondary changes in the stems concerned (§2.5.1).

The Present Subjunctive of the verb *dāštin* ‘to have’ is irregular. It is formed by the Past stem followed by the appropriate form of the Past clitic copula (§3.13.11.1). This form is indistinguishable from the Pluperfect (§3.13.8.2). It is regularly negated by means of the prefix *na-*, whose presence triggers the lenition (or rather the complete deletion) of the initial consonant of the stem:

‘to have’	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>dāštüm</i>	<i>n(γ)āštüm</i>
2SG	<i>dāštüt</i>	<i>n(γ)āštüt</i>
3SG	<i>dāštü(t)</i>	<i>n(γ)āštü(t)</i>
1PL	<i>dāštümin</i>	<i>n(γ)āštümin</i>
2PL	<i>dāštütin</i>	<i>n(γ)āštütin</i>
3PL	<i>dāštün</i>	<i>n(γ)āštün</i>

(333)	<i>jihāz</i>	<i>māmān=iš=e,</i>	<i>dā =γ</i>	<i>b-uš-im,</i>
	dowry	mom=ADD=BP.3SG	mother=BP.3SG	SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
	<i>īma</i>	<i>m-uš-īm</i>	<i>dā=γ,</i>	<i>har_če</i>
	1PL	IND-say.PRS-1PL	mother=BP.3SG	whatever
	<i>dāšt=ü</i>		<i>m-e</i>	<i>bin=ī,</i>
	have.PST=COP.PST.3SG		IND-give.PRS.3SG	to=BP.3SG
	<i>šaš</i>	<i>bāliš</i>	<i>dāšt=ü</i>	<i>šaš</i>
	six	pillow	have.PST=COP.PST.3SG	six
	<i>dāšt=ü</i>		<i>qālī</i>	<i>har_ke</i>
	have.PST=COP.PST.3SG	carpet	whatever	<i>va</i>
	<i>wiž=ī</i>			<i>tawānāy</i>
	self=BP.3SG			power
		<i>m-e</i>		<i>bin=e</i>
		IND-give.PRS.3SG		to=BP.3SG

‘the dowry, her mom [Pers.], I should say her mother [Har.], we say her mother, she gives her [i.e. the bride] whatever she might have: (if) she has six pillows, (if) she has six bed sheets (or) a carpet, she gives her whatever (is) in her own power’ [laki_conv_1, 20:51-21:01]

In independent clauses, the Subjunctive is used to express all kinds of events which are not actually taking place and whose realization is uncertain, possible, doubtful, desired or conditional. Moreover, it can express injunction in the third person or obligation and exhortation to oneself in the first person:

- (334) *bi-č-īm=a* *mašad=irā* *bi-č-īm*
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL=DRCT Mashhad=POST SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
zīyārat-ī *bi-ke-ymin*
 pilgrimage-INDF1 SBJV-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘Let’s go, let’s go to Mashhad, let’s go on a pilgrimage’ [1:116]

In interrogative clauses, the Subjunctive expresses obligation, intention, exhortation or potentiality:

- (335) *ča* *bi-ka-m?*
 what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘What shall I do?’ [1:19]
- (336) *ča* *aṛā=tān* *b-ār-im?*
 what for=BP.2PL SBJV-bring.PRS-1SG
 ‘What shall I bring for you?’ [2:3]
- (337) *bi-č-īm* *aṛā* *kura?*
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL to where?
 ‘Where shall we go?’ [7:39]

The Subjunctive mood is mostly used in dependent clauses, whenever a nuance of eventuality, potentiality, necessity, obligation, volition or doubt is expressed. It is normally required after modal expressions of necessity, possibility or volition (§3.13.13).

3.13.6.3 Imperative and Prohibitive

The Imperative has only two persons: 2SG and 2PL. It is formed as follows: Modal prefix *bi-* + PRS stem + personal endings (Table 13).

As an example, the Imperative of the verbs *nīšt-* (PRS *nīš-*) ‘to sit’, *kird-* (PRS *ka-*) ‘to do’, *dā-* (PRS *de-> e-*) ‘to give’ and *(h)āt-* (PRS *ā(y)-*) ‘to come’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’
2SG	<i>binīš</i>	<i>bika</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bā</i>
2PL	<i>binīšin/binīšan</i>	<i>bikan</i>	<i>be(a)n</i>	<i>bān</i>

As for the Subjunctive, the modal prefix is optionally omitted with complex verbs:

- (338) *dō huř diris ka-n*
 two saddlebag right do.PRS-IMP.2PL
 ‘Prepare two saddlebags’ [1:66]

In all cases, the prefix *bi-* is superseded by the negative prefix *na-* forming the Prohibitive. As an example, the Prohibitive of the verbs *nīšt-* (PRS *nīš-*) ‘to sit’, *kird-* (PRS *ka-*) ‘to do’, *dā-* (PRS *de-> e-*) ‘to give’, *(h)āt-* (PRS *ā(γ)-*) ‘to come’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’
2SG	<i>nanīš</i>	<i>naka</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nā</i>
2PL	<i>nanīšin/nanīšan</i>	<i>nakan</i>	<i>n(e)an</i>	<i>nān</i>

It is not always easy to discern a 2PL Imperative/Prohibitive from a 3PL Subjunctive. Sometimes this choice can only be made on the basis of context. The Imperative/Prohibitive is used to express injunctions, suggestions and prayers:

- (339) *hüč n-uš-ø tō bi-ču*
 nothing NEG-say.PRS-IMP.2SG 2SG SBJV-go.PRS.IMP.2SG
 ‘Shut up, go away!’ [4:139]

In the third person, injunctions, suggestions and prayers are expressed by the Subjunctive (§3.13.6.2). When the Imperative/Prohibitive is followed by a clitic (most frequently a bound pronoun), the clitic is normally separated from the verbal stem by a dental consonant /t/ if the stem ends in a vowel or by a vowel /a/ if the stem ends in a consonant:

- (340) *bi-ka-t=e!*
 SBJV-do.PRS.IMP.2SG-EU?=3SG

‘fais-le! [do it!]’ (Fattah 2000: 286)

(341) *na-kwiš-a=m!*

NEG-kill.PRS.IMP.2SG-EU?=BP1SG

Don’t kill me! [2:16]

It is unclear whether these elements should be analysed as simply euphonic (see the discussion on epenthetic /t/ in §2.5.2, and on the /a/ preceding pronominal direct objects in §3.3.2 and footnote no. 109). Note also that some SK dialects (e.g. Qorve, Bijār) normally use a personal ending *-a* for the 2PL of the Imperative/Prohibitive (Fattah 2000: 468).

3.13.7 Simple verbal constructions based on the past stem

3.13.7.1 Preterite (Simple Past)

The Preterite (Simple Past) is formed as follows: PST stem + personal endings (Table 14).

As an example, the Preterite of the verbs PST *nīšt-* ‘to sit’, PST *kird-* ‘to do’, PST *dā-* (> *yā-*) ‘to give’, PST *(h)āt-* ‘to come’ and PST *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>nīštim</i>	<i>kirdim</i>	<i>dām</i>	<i>hātim</i>	<i>dāštim</i>
2SG	<i>nīštī(t)</i>	<i>kirdī(t)</i>	<i>dāy(t)</i>	<i>hātī(t)</i>	<i>dāštī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>nīšt</i>	<i>kird</i>	<i>dā</i>	<i>hāt</i>	<i>dāšt</i>
1PL	<i>nīštīm(in)</i>	<i>kirdīm(in)</i>	<i>dāym(in)</i>	<i>hātīm(in)</i>	<i>dāštīm(in)</i>
2PL	<i>nīštītin</i>	<i>kirdītin</i>	<i>dāytin</i>	<i>hātītin</i>	<i>dāštītin</i>
3PL	<i>nīštin</i>	<i>kirdin</i>	<i>dān</i>	<i>hātin</i>	<i>dāštin</i>

The Preterite is negated by means of the negative prefix *na-*:

(342) *na-zānīs-im*

NEG-know.PST-1SG

‘I didn’t know’ [4:158]

Preceding verbal stems beginning with /b/, /d/, /h/, /w/ and /y/, this negative prefix undergoes modifications and/or triggers secondary changes in the stems concerned (§2.5.1).

The Preterite is used to express already accomplished events at the moment of speaking. One of its main functions is expressing events that took place in the past:

- (343) *tō qwitqwitkara kil kird-ī*
 2SG Cackle.cackle sending do.PST-2SG
 ‘You sent Cackle-cackle’ [6:112]

However, in Harsini, the Present Perfect (§3.13.8.1) is generally preferred in this function, especially if the moment in the past when the concerned event has taken place is not specified.

The Preterite can be used to express events that are seen as accomplished at the very moment of speaking or, occasionally, to anticipate an event which will take place or be accomplished in the immediate future:

- (344) *ī āw=a gi hāt-ø sī*
 PROX water=DEM COMPL come.PST- 3SG black
hāt-ø daŋ na-ka-ø
 come.PST-3SG call NEG-do.PRS-IMP.2SG
 ‘As soon as this water comes, if it comes out black, don’t call (me)’ [4:24]

3.13.7.2 Imperfect

The Imperfect is formed as follows: modal prefix (=a) *ma-* + PST stem + personal endings (Table 14). This Imperfect construction is specific to the Laki-Kermānshāhi dialect group, if compared with other SK varieties.¹³¹

As an example, the Imperfect of the verbs PST *nīšt-* ‘to sit’, PST *kird-* ‘to do’, PST *dā-* (> *yā-*) ‘to give’, PST (*h*)*āt-* ‘to come’ and PST *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

¹³¹ Many SK dialects form the Imperfect by means of a ‘durative’ infix *-(y)ā-*, inserted between the Past stem and personal endings, or with a different modal prefix. Other SK dialects lack a specific Imperfect form and express Imperfective aspect periphrastically or by means of other Past tenses.

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>manīštim</i>	<i>makirdim</i>	<i>meṡām</i>	<i>mātim</i>	<i>meṡāštim</i>
2SG	<i>manīštī(t)</i>	<i>makirdī(t)</i>	<i>meṡāy(t)</i>	<i>mātī(t)</i>	<i>meṡāštī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>manīšt</i>	<i>makird</i>	<i>meṡā</i>	<i>māt</i>	<i>meṡāšt</i>
1PL	<i>manīštim(in)</i>	<i>makirdim(in)</i>	<i>meṡāym(in)</i>	<i>mātim(in)</i>	<i>meṡāštim(in)</i>
2PL	<i>manīštītin</i>	<i>makirdītin</i>	<i>meṡāytin</i>	<i>mātītin</i>	<i>meṡāštītin</i>
3PL	<i>manīštin</i>	<i>makirdin</i>	<i>meṡān</i>	<i>mātin</i>	<i>meṡāštin</i>

Fattah (2000: 376) states that the Imperfect of verbs with Past stems ending in /ī/ and /y/ is formed by means of a ‘double affixation’. Indeed, in addition to the modal prefix *ma-*, an infix *-ā-* is inserted between the stem and personal endings. In the case of stems ending in /ī/, the stem vowel is realized as the corresponding semivowel /y/:

- (345) *ma-rasy-ā-m*
 IND-arrive.PST-IMPF-1SG
 ‘j’arrivais, j’atteignais [I was arriving, I was reaching]’ (Fattah 2000: 378)

Despite the scant occurrence of verbs in the Imperfective, this construction might be reflected in at least one additional example from the Harsini corpus, involving the verb *vārīn* (PST *vārī-> wārī-*) ‘to fall (said of precipitations)’:¹³²

- (346) *tōwirg=a ma-wāry-ā-∅*
 hail=IND IND-rain.PST-IMPF?-3SG
 ‘It was hailing hailstones’ [6:186]

The imperfect considers the event expressed by the verb in its duration or repetition and indicates that its realization is prolonged, continuous or habitual in the past. It roughly translates as an English Past Progressive:

¹³² Note, however, that the zero ending of the 3SG leaves open the possibility of considering the /ā/ here as a postverbal particle =*ā* stressing repetition (‘it was hailing again and again’, cf. §3.13.2.2), or rather as an exclamatory particle (‘it was hailing, indeed!’), corresponding to colloquial Pers. *ā* with the same usage. It might also be analysed as part of the verbal stem.

- (347) *zamānī* *mi* *dōzī-m=a* *ī* *šotor*
 when 1SG steal.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG PROX camel
tō=a *tōwīrg=a* *ma-wāry-ā-ø*, [...] *surāx=a*
 2SG=DEM hail=IND IND-rain.PST-IMP? -3SG [...] hole=IND
ma-kird-ø
 IND-do.PST-3SG
 ‘when I stole this camel of yours, it was hailing hailstones [...] (the hail) was making holes’ [6:186-188]

3.13.7.3 Past Subjunctive

Fattah (2000: 389) relates the existence of a Past Subjunctive form in Harsini, formed as follows: modal prefix *bi-* + PST stem + infix *-ā-* + personal endings (Table 14).

As an example, the Past Subjunctive of the verbs PST *nīšt-* ‘to sit’, PST *kird-* ‘to do’, PST *dā-* (> *yā-*) ‘to give’, PST *(h)āt-* ‘to come’ and *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>biništām</i>	<i>bikirdām</i>	<i>byām</i>	<i>bātām</i>	<i>byāštām</i>
2SG	<i>biništāy(t)</i>	<i>bikirdāy(t)</i>	<i>byāy(t)</i>	<i>bātāy(t)</i>	<i>byāštāy(t)</i>
3SG	<i>biništā</i>	<i>bikirdā</i>	<i>byā</i>	<i>bātā</i>	<i>byāštā</i>
1PL	<i>biništāym(in)</i>	<i>bikirdāym(in)</i>	<i>byāym(in)</i>	<i>bātāym(in)</i>	<i>byāštāym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>biništāytin</i>	<i>bikirdāytin</i>	<i>byāytin</i>	<i>bātāytin</i>	<i>byāštāytin</i>
3PL	<i>biništān</i>	<i>bikirdān</i>	<i>byān</i>	<i>bātān</i>	<i>byāštān</i>

With complex verbs in the Past Subjunctive, the modal prefix is expectedly optional. In all cases, the Past Subjunctive is negated by means of the negative prefix *na-*, superseding the modal prefix *bi-*, if present. The negative prefix undergoes modifications and/or triggers secondary changes before verbal stems beginning with /b/, /d/, /h/, /w/ and /y/ (§2.5.1).

Having past-time reference, the Past Subjunctive cannot express orders, suggestions and prayers. It is a counterfactual tense, restricted in use and mainly occurring in the protasis (‘if’ clause) of conditional

sentences expressing irreality in the past (§3.14.2.4). Indeed, comparable tenses attested in other Kurdish varieties are labelled as Past Conditional in the literature:¹³³

- (348) *a(ga)r* *bi-zānis(t)-ā-m=a* *ma-hāt-im*
 if SBJV-know.PST-PST.SBJV-1SG=IND IND-come.PST-1SG
 ‘si j’avais su, je serais venu [If I had known, I would have come]’
 (Fattah 2000: 763)

Unfortunately, the available material lacks further examples of verbs in the Past Subjunctive. Thus, the information reported in this paragraph shall be taken as provisional.

3.13.8 Compound verbal constructions

In Harsini, two compound verbal constructions, labelled here as Perfect (Present Perfect) and Pluperfect (Past Perfect) are formed periphrastically, respectively by means of the Present and the Past clitic copula (§3.13.11.1). While in many SK dialects, the participial nature of the verbal base combining with the copula to form the Perfect and the Pluperfect is evident (Fattah 2000: 380), in Harsini the form of the main verb is generally identical to the Past stem, which nonetheless historically derives from a resultative Participle.¹³⁴

3.13.8.1 Perfect (Present Perfect)

The Perfect is formed as follows: PST stem + personal endings (Table 14) + 3SG present clitic copula (§3.13.11.1).

As an example, the Perfect of the verbs PST *nīšt-* ‘to sit’, PST *kird-* ‘to do’, PST *dā-* (> *yā-*) ‘to give’, PST (*h*)*āt-* ‘to come’ and PST *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>nīštima</i>	<i>kirdima</i>	<i>dāma</i>	<i>hātima</i>	<i>dāštima</i>
2SG	<i>nīšti(t)a</i>	<i>kirdi(t)a</i>	<i>dāy(t)a</i>	<i>hāti(t)a</i>	<i>dāšti(t)a</i>
3SG	<i>nīštīa</i>	<i>kirdīa</i>	<i>dāya</i>	<i>hātīa</i>	<i>dāštīa</i>

¹³³ See MacKenzie (1961a: 137); Thackston (2006: 61) for a comparable tense in CK.

¹³⁴ Cf. Haig (2008: 117-129) on this topic.

1PL	<i>nīštīm(in)a</i>	<i>kirdīm(in)a</i>	<i>dāym(in)a</i>	<i>hātīm(in)a</i>	<i>dāštīm(in)a</i>
2PL	<i>nīštītina</i>	<i>kirdītina</i>	<i>dāytina</i>	<i>hātītina</i>	<i>dāštītina</i>
3PL	<i>nīština</i>	<i>kirdina</i>	<i>dāna</i>	<i>hātina</i>	<i>dāština</i>

In the 3SG, a vowel /ī/ is realized between a Past stem ending in a consonant and the Present clitic copula. The nature of this vocalic sound (probably akin to the morpheme forming Past Participles, §3.13.9.2) is debatable and has been marked as not analyzed. In all persons, the final /s/ of the 3SG clitic copula is realized only in presence of further suffixation:

(349) *dī-m=as=e*

see.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG

‘I have seen her’ [2:106]

The Present Perfect is commonly used to express events that took place in the past, but whose consequences are still appreciated in the present. However, in Harsini this form is normally preferred to the Preterite (Simple Past) for any kind of past-time event, especially when the temporal reference is not sufficiently specified:

- (350) *min* *ī* *nama* *diris* *kird-im=a*,
1SG PROX felt right do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
kird-im=as=a *var=im* [...]
do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT on=BP.1SG [...]
hāt-im=a, *iska*
come.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG now
kat-ī=as=a *šun=im* [...]
fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT after=BP.1SG [...]
vit-ī=a [...] *kat-ī=as=a*
say.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG [...] fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT
šun=im [...] *tā* *pyā=m* *kird-ī=a*
after=BP.1SG [...] until found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
iska *gi* *pyā=m* *kird-ī=a*
now COMPL found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
sar *āyl-il-a* *biř=a*
head child-PL-DEF cut.PST=COP.PRS.3SG

‘I made this felt, I wore it [...] I came (here) [...] at that moment, he started looking for me. He said [...] he started looking for me, until he found me. As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids’ [1:132-134]

3.13.8.2 Pluperfect (Past Perfect)

The Pluperfect is formed as follows: PST stem + conjugated Past clitic copula (§3.13.11.1).

As an example, the Pluperfect (Past Perfect) of the verbs PST *nīšt-* ‘to sit’, PST *kird-* ‘to do’, PST *dā-* (> *yā-*) ‘to give’, PST (*h*)*āt-* ‘to come’ and PST *dāšt-* (> *yāšt-*) ‘to have’ is given below:

	‘to sit’	‘to do’	‘to give’	‘to come’	‘to have’
1SG	<i>nīštüm</i>	<i>kirdüm</i>	<i>dāüm</i>	<i>hātüm</i>	<i>dāštüm</i>
2SG	<i>nīštüt</i>	<i>kirdüt</i>	<i>dāüt</i>	<i>hātüt</i>	<i>dāštüt</i>
3SG	<i>nīštü(t)</i>	<i>kirdü(t)</i>	<i>dāü(t)</i>	<i>hātü(t)</i>	<i>dāštü(t)</i>
1PL	<i>nīštümin</i>	<i>kirdümin</i>	<i>dāümin</i>	<i>hātümin</i>	<i>dāštüm(in)</i>
2PL	<i>nīštütin</i>	<i>kirdütin</i>	<i>dāütin</i>	<i>hātütin</i>	<i>dāštütin</i>
3PL	<i>nīštün</i>	<i>kirdün</i>	<i>dāün</i>	<i>hātün</i>	<i>dāštün</i>

The Pluperfect is used to locate the event in a time preceding the moment in the past expressed by a Preterite (functioning as its implicit or explicit temporal reference):

(351) *kat=ün*

fall.PST=COP.PST.3PL

‘ils étaient tombés [they had fallen]’ (Fattah 2000: 379)

(352) *gwisn(a)=e* *bü,* *howl*

hungry=BP.3SG become.PST.COP.PST.3SG scared

bü, *xwird=ü* *mird=ü*

become.PST.COP.PST.3SG die.PST=COP.PST.3SG eat.PST=COP.PST.3SG

‘she had become hungry, she had become scared, she had eaten (it and) she had died’ [laki_conv_1, 31:19-31:21]

Some of the Pluperfect forms attested in the Harsini material seem to translate as Past Subjunctives. It is the case of the verbs occurring in the protasis of conditional sentences expressing possibility (whenever the event in the protasis is ideally preceding the one described in the apodosis), or in other verbal constructions requiring the Subjunctive (e.g. the expressions of modality described in §3.13.13), whenever these have past-time reference:

- (353) *ar har_čī=a bin=im kird=ün žin=a*
 if whatever=DRCT to=BP.1SG do.PST=COP.PST.3PL wife=DRCT
māt-a nega(h)dārī bi-k-e
 house-DEF care SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘whatever they might do to me, at least (my) wife would take
 care of the house’ [6:166]

3.13.9 Non-finite verbal forms

In addition to the finite verbal forms described so far, the verbal system of Harsini is provided with two non-finite (nominal) forms based on the Past stem: the Infinitive and the Past Participle.

3.13.9.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed with the Past stem of the verb plus a suffix *-(i)n*, whose vowel is realized only after stems ending in consonant. Being a verbal noun, the Infinitive has all the properties of nouns and can in principle be followed by any of the suffixes attaching to nouns, as well as by bound pronouns in possessive function. The infinitive can also fulfil all grammatical functions normally performed by nouns (e.g. subject, direct or indirect object) and can be accompanied by complements:

- (354) *āyl āwird-in za(h)mat=a*
 child bring.PST-INF effort=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘L’accouchement (litt. apporter un enfant) est une peine
 [Delivering a child is hard work]’ (Fattah 2000: 513)

In Harsini, Infinitives seem to occur as the main verb of adverbial clauses of purpose (§3.14.2.3).

3.13.9.2 Past Participle

Fattah (2000: 385ff.) states that in Harsini the Past Participle is formed through the addition of particular suffixes to the Past stem of a verb. The suffixes *-ī/-e* occur after stems ending in a consonant, *-ā* is used after stems ending in /y/, while there is no suffix after stems ending in a vowel, whose Past Participle formally coincides with the bare Past stem.

The Past Participle normally works as an adjective, but it may also function as a noun. As for the Infinitive, Past Participles may be accompanied by complements and forms a semantically tied unit with them. The frequency of Past Participles in the available material is low (some examples are found in [5:43]). In one of the few attested occurrences, the Past Participle has in fact the value of a Present Gerund (used as an epithet):

- (355) *a* *xanī* *gwiṭ=a* *dam=e=a*
 DIST laugh.PST.PTCP flower=DRCT mouth=BP.3SG=IND
 m-āy
 IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘that one who laughs and flowers come out from her mouth’
 [4:179]

3.13.10 Summary of the verbal system

The tense-mood-aspect system of the Harsini verb can be summarized as follows:

Finite forms	
Based on the Present stem	
Present Indicative	1SG <i>mafirušim</i> 'I sell'
Present Subjunctive	1SG <i>bifirušim</i> 'I would sell'
Imperative	2SG <i>bifiruš</i> 'Sell!'
	2PL <i>bifirušin/bifirušan</i> 'Sell!'
Based on the Past stem	
Simple:	
Preterite (Simple Past)	1SG <i>firutim</i> 'I sold'
Past Subjunctive	1SG <i>bifirutām</i> 'I would have sold'
Imperfect	1SG <i>mafirutim</i> 'I was selling'
Compound:	
Perfect (Present Perfect)	1SG <i>firutima(s)</i> 'I (have) sold'
Pluperfect (Past Perfect)	1SG <i>firutüm</i> 'I had sold'
Non-finite forms	
Infinitive	<i>firutin</i> 'to sell'
Past Participle	<i>firute/firutī</i> 'sold'

3.13.11 Copula forms and other expressions of existence

3.13.11.1 Clitic copula

The Present clitic copula has the following forms:

1 SG	= <i>im</i>	[= <i>m</i>]
2 SG	= <i>ī(t)</i>	[= <i>γ(t)</i> , = <i>t</i>]
3 SG	= <i>a(s)</i>	[= <i>s(a)</i>]/= <i>γa?</i>]
1 PL	= <i>īmin</i>	[= <i>γmin</i> , = <i>min</i>]
2 PL	= <i>ītin</i>	[= <i>γtin</i> , = <i>tin</i>]
3 PL	= <i>in</i>	[= <i>n</i>]

The first form inside square brackets is used after words ending in /a/ or /ā/. In the 3SG after /a/, the attested form is =*sa*, and not =*γa* as in Fattah (2000: 515-516). The form =*γa* may occur after /ā/, although no conclusive examples are available (cf. [2:33]; [3:25] and the discussion in §3.1.3.1):

- (356) *masaṭan hamsāda ī kalkaxirāwa=sa*
 for.instance neighbour PROX ancient.ruins=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘for example, he is a neighbour of these ruins’ [5:13]

- (357) *γa har ava=sa ki mi*
 PROX just DIST=COP.PRS.3SG COMPL 1SG
dī-m=as=e
 see.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘this is exactly the one I have seen’ [2:106]

The second forms reported inside square brackets for the 2SG, 1PL and 2PL clitic copula are used after words ending in all vowels except /a/ and /ā/. In the 1SG and 3PL, after vowels other than /a/ and /ā/, the general tendency is that of preserving the vowel /i/ of the copula, although it may also be dropped in rapid delivery. Variant forms with an initial /a/ are attested for the 1SG and 3PL Present clitic copula, but the reasons for this variation have not been investigated in detail:

- (358) *žin.šū=an*
 wife.husband=COP.PRS.1SG

‘(they) are wife and husband’ [1:14]

- (359) *na jin=am*
 neither sprite=COP.PRS.1SG
na āyimīzā-γk=am
 nor human.being-INDF1=COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m neither a sprite nor a human being’ [1:46]

The clitic copula normally conveys the idea of ‘being’:

- (360) *lak harsīnī=t, lak kure=yt?*
 Lak Harsini=COP.PRS.2SG Lak where=COP.PRS.2SG
m-uš-in. m-uš-im lak harsīnī=min īma
 IND-say.PRS-3PL IND-say.PRS-1SG Lak Harsini=BP.1PL 1PL
 ‘«Are you a Lak of Harsin? You are a Lak (coming) from
 where?», they ask. I say: «We are Laks of Harsin»’ [laki_conv_1,
 1:39-1:43]

As mentioned above, the 3SG Present copula intervenes in the formation of the Perfect (§3.13.8.1). The negative Present Indicative copula is not enclitic and has the following forms:

1SG	<i>nī(i)m</i>
2SG	<i>nī(t)</i>
3SG	<i>nīγa</i>
1PL	<i>nīmin</i>
2PL	<i>nītin</i>
3PL	<i>nī(i)n</i>

The Past clitic copula is used to form the Pluperfect (§3.13.8.2):

1SG	<i>=ūm</i>
2SG	<i>=ūt</i>
3SG	<i>=ū(t)</i>
1PL	<i>=ūmin</i>
2PL	<i>=ūtīn</i>
3PL	<i>=ūn</i>

While the Present clitic copula can occur as the main verb of copula clauses expressing the idea of ‘being’, the forms of the Past clitic copula are never attested in this function, at least in the available material. Instead, the full forms of the Preterite of the verb *bīn* ‘to be, become’ are used in affirmative and negative copula clauses in the past.

3.13.11.2 The verb ‘to be, become’

The sense of ‘becoming’, but also that of ‘being’, is conveyed by the verb *bīn* (PST *bī-*/PRS *bu-*), having a regular conjugation. It shall be recalled that the initial stop /b/ of the stems undergoes lenition (PST *wī-*/PRS **wu-*) when it is preceded by modal and negative morphemes, producing additional assimilation phenomena.

On the basis of the few attested occurrences of this verb in the Harsini material and of the information provided by Fattah (2000: 522ff.), the full conjugation has been reconstructed and summarized below. Examples are provided whenever possible, but the many unattested forms should be double-checked with native speakers. It is, for instance, largely unclear to what degree the cluster /wī/ occurring in certain forms is further contracted to /ü/ in pronunciation.

The Present Indicative has the following forms:

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>mowim</i>	<i>nimowim</i>
2SG	<i>mowī(t)/moü(t)</i>	<i>nimowī(t)/nimoü(t)</i>
3SG	<i>mow(t)</i>	<i>nimow(t)</i>
1PL	<i>mowīmin/moümin</i>	<i>nimowīmin/nimoümin</i>
2PL	<i>mowītin/moütin</i>	<i>nimowītin/nimoü(t)in</i>
3PL	<i>mowin</i>	<i>nimowin</i>

Since the idea of ‘being’ in the Present Indicative is normally conveyed by the Present clitic copula (§3.13.11.1), the forms above are only used to express the sense of ‘becoming’. As the Present Indicative of other verbs, the Present Indicative of *bīn* may also express future events:

- (361) *mow-(i)n=a* *āyl-il=a* *duwāra*
 IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT child-PL-DEF again
 ‘they will become (living) children again’ [1:108]
- (362) *qoü=a* *mow-in,* *mow-(i)n=a*
 strong=IND IND.become.PRS-3PL IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT
yak-ī *ye* *qwirānxwan*
 each-INDF1 INDF Quran.reader
 ‘they become strong, each of them becomes a reader of the
 Quran’ [1:115]

The Present Subjunctive has the following forms:

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>bu(i)m</i>	<i>nowim</i>
2SG	<i>buy(t)</i>	<i>nowī(t)/noü(t)</i>
3SG	<i>bu(t)</i>	<i>now(t)</i>
1PL	<i>buymin</i>	<i>nowimin/noümin</i>
2PL	<i>buytin</i>	<i>nowītin/noütin</i>
3PL	<i>bu(i)n</i>	<i>nowin</i>

These forms are used to express both the idea of ‘being’ and of ‘becoming’:

- (363) *m-e* *bu-yt=a*
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG be/become.PRS.SBJV-2SG=DRCT
hin *imām_řizā*
 thingummy Imam_Rezā
 ‘You have to be(come) Imam Rezā’s what-do-you-call-it’ [1:109]
- (364) *b-e-ø=a* *bin=(γ)ān* *tā*
 SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT to=BP.3PL so.that
bi_xwidā *čāx* *bu-in*
 by_God fat become.PRS.SBJV-3PL
 ‘Give them (food) so that, by God, they become fat’ [7:16]

- (365) *xīyāt= it řāhat bu*
 mind=BP.2SG relaxed be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘don’t worry [lit. may your mind be relaxed]’ [6:170]

In some cases, the Present Subjunctive is apparently used instead of the Preterite (Simple Past), possibly under the influence of the Persian Preterite forms *budam*, *budi*, etc. of the verb ‘to be’:

- (366) *kwiř vazīr=ō vakīl bu-in*
 son minister=CONJ delegate be.PRS.SBJV-3SG
 ‘(They) were the minister and the delegate’s sons’ [3:49]

The Imperative/Prohibitive forms are *bu*/*now* for the 2SG and *buin*/*nowin* for the 2PL.

The Preterite (Simple Past) has the following forms:

	Affirmative	Negative
1 SG	<i>bī(i)m</i>	<i>nōüm</i>
2 SG	<i>bī(t)</i>	<i>nōü(t)</i>
3 SG	<i>bī</i>	<i>nōwī/nōü</i>
1 PL	<i>bīmin</i>	<i>nōümin</i>
2 PL	<i>bītin</i>	<i>nōütin</i>
3 PL	<i>bī(i)n</i>	<i>nōün</i>

These forms can convey both the idea of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’. They are frequently used as the main verb of copula clauses with past-time reference:

- (367) *ča bī-ø?*
 what become.PST-3SG
 ‘What happened?’ [2:99]

- (368) *xāla qwiřbāqa xavar=a-n=ī nōwī?*
 aunt frog news=DRCT-EU?=BP.3SG NEG.be.PST.3SG
 ‘Wasn’t there any news of aunt frog?’ [6:47]

The Imperfect of the verb ‘to be, become’ is never attested in the Harsini corpus. However, according to the information provided by other sources, its conjugation should be as follows:¹³⁵

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>mōwyām</i>	<i>nīmōwyām</i>
2SG	<i>mōwyāy(t)</i>	<i>nīmōwyāy(t)</i>
3SG	<i>mōwyā(t)</i>	<i>nīmōwyā(t)</i>
1PL	<i>mōwyāym(in)</i>	<i>nīmōwyāym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>mōwyāytin</i>	<i>nīmōwyāytin</i>
3PL	<i>mōwyān</i>	<i>nīmōwyān</i>

The Past Subjunctive of the verb ‘to be, become’ is also unattested in the available Harsini material, but should in principle be conjugated as follows:

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>bīām</i>	<i>nōwyām</i>
2SG	<i>bīāy(t)</i>	<i>nōwyāy(t)</i>
3SG	<i>bīā(t)</i>	<i>nōwyā(t)</i>
1PL	<i>bīāym(in)</i>	<i>nōwyāym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>bīāytin</i>	<i>nōwyāytin</i>
3PL	<i>bīān</i>	<i>nōwyān</i>

The Perfect (Present Perfect) has the following forms:

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>bīma</i>	<i>nōūma</i>
2SG	<i>bī(t)a</i>	<i>nōūta</i>

¹³⁵ Fattah (2000: 528) indicates the form <*mawām*> for the 1SG Imperfective in Harsini. A full conjugation is reported in Fattah (2000: 551-552) for the closely related varieties of Bisotun and Pāyравand.

	Affirmative	Negative
3SG	<i>bīa</i>	<i>nōüa</i>
1PL	<i>bīm(i)na</i>	<i>nōüm(i)na</i>
2PL	<i>bītina</i>	<i>nōütina</i>
3PL	<i>bīna</i>	<i>nōüna</i>

These forms are used to express both the idea of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’:

- (369) *a mōwqa sāda bī-n=a mardim*
DIST time simple be.PST-3PL=COP.3SG people
‘At that time, people were simple’ [7:93]

- (370) *čirkin bī=a*
filthy become.PST.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
‘(she) has become filthy’ [4:140]

- (371) *edāra-jāt nōü=a*
office-PL NEG.be.PST.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
‘there weren’t offices’ [6:54]

The Pluperfect (Past Perfect) has the following forms:

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>büm</i>	<i>nōüm</i>
2SG	<i>bü(t)</i>	<i>nōü(t)</i>
3SG	<i>bü</i>	<i>nōü</i>
1PL	<i>büm(i)n</i>	<i>nōümin</i>
2PL	<i>bütin</i>	<i>nōütin</i>
3PL	<i>bün</i>	<i>nōün</i>

- (372) *gwisn(a)=e bü,*
hungry=BP.3SG become.PST.COP.PST.3SG
howl bü,
scared become.PST.COP.PST.3SG

‘she had become hungry, she had become scared’ [laki_conv_1, 31:19-3]

As for other verbs, the Pluperfect forms of the verb ‘to be, become’ can be used in conditional sentences with Subjunctive meaning:

- (373) *īma bāx ī čī ni-ma-gir-īmin magar*
 1PL garden PROX thing NEG-IND-take.PRS-1PL unless
kas-ī ki har=a šar bū
 person-INDF1 COMPL just=DRCT city be.PST.COP.PST.3SG
masan ābādī jā n-(y)āšt=ū
 for.instance village place NEG-have.PST=COP.PST.3SG
 ‘We don’t rent [lit. take] gardens and such things, unless
 someone who is just from the city, for instance, would not have
 a place (in) the village’ [Laki_conv_1, 4:02-4:09]

If we acknowledge that the cluster /wī/ is contracted to /ü/ in the pronunciation of all negative Preterite (Simple Past) forms of the verb ‘to be, become’, these would be formally identical to those of the negative Pluperfect (Past Perfect). However, this assumption needs to be checked against a larger data set, the available examples being inconclusive:

- (374) *fira gwisn(a)=e nōü*
 very hungry=BP.3SG NEG.be.PST.3SG
 ‘She wasn’t/had not been very hungry’ [laki_conv_1, 31:13-31:15]
- (375) *xāla qwiřbāqa xavar=a-n=ī nōwī?*
 aunt frog news=DRCT-EU?=BP.3SG NEG.be.PST.3SG
 ‘Wasn’t there any news of aunt frog?’ [6:47]

In the tenses and moods where the meanings of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ are not morphologically distinguished (e.g. Present Subjunctive and Preterite), a particle =*ā* (§3.13.2.2) is optionally used in order to emphasize the development of the event or the change of state: *garm bī* ‘il a été chaud [it was hot]’ vs. *garmā bī* ‘il est devenu chaud [it became hot]’ (Fattah 2000: 525, 529):

- (376) *kasīf=ā bī=ö čirkin bī=a*
 dirty=PART become.PST=CONJ filthy become.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘(she) has become dirty and filthy’ [4:140]
- (377) *ambār=e=a ma-k-e tā girān=ā*
 storage=BP.3SG IND-do.PRS-3SG so.that/until expensive=PART
bu
 become.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘(he) stores them so that/until they become more expensive’
 [laki_conv_1, 44:01-44:04]

3.13.11.3 Other expressions of existence

Two additional verbal forms are used in existential clauses to assert the generic existence or presence of something in a particular place or time. The forms built on the stem *hā-* are generally used to express the locative-existential meaning ‘being (in a place/state)’ in the Present Indicative:

1SG	<i>hām</i>
2SG	<i>hāy(t)</i>
3SG	<i>hā</i>
1PL	<i>hāym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>hāytin</i>
3PL	<i>hān</i>

As a rule, these forms are accompanied by expressions of location, obligatorily placed after the verb of existence:

- (378) *xwirī-a=t hā-ø ku?*
 wool-DEF=BP.2SG exist.PRS-3SG where
 ‘Where is your wool?’ [6:28]
- (379) *hā-m=a deyšt,*
 exist.PRS-1SG=DRCT outside
hā-m=a nām put-ī
 exist.PRS-1SG=DRCT inside bin-INDF1
 ‘I am outside, I am in a bin’ [2:42]

- (380) *kwil hā-n=a nām hasār*
 all exist.PRS-3PL=DRCT inside courtyard
 ‘everybody is in the courtyard’ [2:75]

The negative equivalent of these forms is the negative Present copula. For all other tenses and moods, both in affirmative and in negative existential clauses, the idea of ‘being in a place’ is expressed by the verb *bīn* ‘to be, become’ accompanied by a locative expression. In this case, the locative expression can either precede or follow the verb, though its anteposition seems usually preferred.

The forms built on the stem *ha-* are used to express the idea of ‘being there, existing’ in the Present Indicative:

1SG	<i>ham/hasim</i>
2SG	<i>hey(t)</i>
3SG	<i>has</i>
1PL	<i>heym(in)</i>
2PL	<i>heytin</i>
3PL	<i>han</i>

A 1SG form *hasim* is attested once in the Harsini texts, but this is too little evidence to ascertain the existence of a parallel conjugation formed on a stem *has-* (akin to the Persian forms *hastam*, *hasti* etc.) in Harsini. Further research is needed to clarify this point:

- (381) *mi has-im!*
 1SG be.there-1SG
 ‘I’ll be here!’ [6:170]

In all other tenses and moods, the idea of ‘being there, existing’ is expressed by the verb *bīn* ‘to be, become’. As for the forms based on the stem *hā-*, the negative counterpart of the conjugation based on the stem *ha-* is the negative Present copula:

- (382) *har a lak-al=a kwilan lak īma=n*
 just DIST Lak-PL=DEM overall Lak 1PL=COP.PRS.3PL
dī [...] čī harsīn čī sahana čamčamāt=a
 then [...] what Harsin what Sahne Chamchamāl=IND

m-uš-in, *masan* *m-uš-in* *baxš=i*
 IND-say.PRS-3PL for.instance IND-say.PRS-3PL district=EZ
čamčamāt. *īma* *baxš* *dīnavar* *nīmin*
 Chamchamāl. 1PL district Dinavar NEG.COP.PRS.1PL
valī *baxš* *čamčamāt* *he-γmin*
 but district Chamchamāl be.there.PRS-1PL
 ‘Well, all those Laks are Laks (like) us, then [...] whether it be
 Harsin or Sahne, they say Chamchamāl, for instance, they say
 the district of Chamchamāl. There aren’t Laks like us [lit. we do
 not exist] in the district of Dinavar but there are [lit. we exist] in
 the district of Chamchamāl.’ [laki_conv_1, 18:31-18:44]

3.13.12 Progressive periphrasis and other phrasal constructions

We have already seen that Imperfect verbs commonly express progressive meaning. Alternatively, a periphrastic construction can be used in Harsini to emphasize the development of an event in the present or in the past.

As for the comparable Persian Progressive construction, this periphrasis is formed with the verb *dāštin* ‘to have’ (functioning as an auxiliary) followed by a conjugated form of the main verb. If the event is seen in its progress in the present, both verbs are in the Present Indicative (§3.13.6.1):

- (383) *dir-ī* *m-āy*
 have.PRS-3SG IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘(she) is coming’ [6:179]

- (384) *mi* *al?ān* *dir-im* *movāzibat=γān=a* *ma-ka-m*
 1SG now have.PRS-1SG care=BP.3PL=IND IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘Now I’m taking care of them’ [2:61]

- (385) *dir-im* *kār=a* *ma-ka-m*
 have.PRS-1SG work=IND IND-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘je suis en train de travailler [I am working]’ (Fattah 2000: 505)

If the event is seen in its progress in the past, the auxiliary is in the Preterite (§3.13.7.1), while the main verb is in the Imperfect (§3.13.7.2):

- (386) *dāšt-im* *kār=a* *ma-kird-im*
 have.PST-1SG work=IND IND-do.PST-1SG
 ‘j’étais en train de travailler [I was working]’ (Fattah 2000: 505)

The progressive periphrasis does not permit negation.

The repetition of an event or an action in the present or in the past can also be expressed by means of the emphatic adverbial particle *har* ‘repeatedly, continuously, again and again’, prefixed to the main verb:

- (387) *har=a* *m-uš-e*
 repeatedly=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
 ‘he keeps saying’ [1:119]
- (388) *har=a* *ma-paz-ī*
 continuously=IND IND-cook.PRS-3SG
 ‘she cooks and cooks’ [7:17]

On the other hand, the idea of ‘being about to do something, on the point of doing something’ can be expressed by preposing the conjugated form of the verb ‘to want’ to the main verb in the Subjunctive, as in Persian:¹³⁶

- (389) *m-e* *b-āy*
 IND-want.PRS.3SG SBJV-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘he is about to come back’ [2:13]

Instances of verb serialization with *āwirdin*, PRS *ār-/ar-* ‘to bring’ (as in [1:114], [2:13], etc.) and perhaps *girtin*, PRS *gir-* ‘to take’ (as in [5:18]) have also been observed to convey additional aspectual (inchoative) semantics, but these instances have not been investigated in detail.

3.13.13 Expressions of modality

In Harsini, modality is expressed by several types of verbal constructions involving modal verbs with fully regular conjugations or fixed forms of verbal origin, functioning as modal adverbs. All of them require the use of a Subjunctive verb in the dependent clause.

¹³⁶ For the sake of comparison, the colloquial Persian equivalent of the example that follows would be *mix^wād biād* (literary Pers. *mix^wāhad biāyad*).

In order to express obligation, necessity or possibility, Harsini employs a series of modal particles. Since these forms are impersonal, in the absence of an explicit personal pronoun the subject or agent can only be revealed by the personal ending on the dependent verb. Negation is also expressed on the dependent verb:

bāad, *bās* ‘to have to, be necessary, must’:

- (390) *mi tō bāad bi-wāz-im*
 1SG 2SG must SBJV-request.PRS-1SG
 ‘I have to marry you’ [2:32]

- (391) *bās b-e-γ=a das ava*
 must SBJV-give.PRS-2SG=DRCT hand DIST
 ‘You have to give it to her [lit. in her hands]’ [1:61]

šāad ‘maybe, perhaps, to be possible’:

- (392) *šāad qismat=ī va γa bu=a*
 maybe destiny=BP.3SG to PROX be.SBJV=NA
 ‘Maybe her destiny is (to be) with this one’ [3:41]

An impersonal construction expressing possibility or capability is formed by a 3SG conjugated form of the verb *bīn* ‘to be, become’, accompanied or not by a verb in the Subjunctive:

- (393) *dāstān badbaxti wiž=im b-uš-im,*
 story misfortune RFLX=BP.1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
mow?
 IND.become.PRS.3SG
 I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible? [1:1]

- (394) *šarusān ni-mow nān bi-xw-e*
 doll NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG bread SBJV-eat.PRS.3SG
 ‘Dolls can’t eat’ [1:129]

To express capability, a conjugated form of the verb *tūnis(t)-* (PRS *tūn-*) ‘can, to be able to’ is used:

- (395) *ma-tūn-ī b-ār-ī*
 IND-can.PRS-2SG SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG

‘You can take it’ [2:10]

- (396) *har_ ke ma-č-u ni-ma-tün-ī ī eždehā*
 whoever IND-go.PRS-3SG NEG-IND-can.PRS-3SG PROX dragon
bi-kwiš-e
 SBJV-kill.PRS-3SG
 ‘Whoever goes cannot kill this dragon’ [3:78]

In the available material, volition is apparently expressed by two different present stems, *xā-* and *eyt-/e-*, both of which are conjugated regularly. The first form (probably modelled on the colloquial Persian verb ‘want’) is attested only once in the available corpus, the second being used in all the remaining cases:

- (397) *mi das ya ni-ma-xā-m*
 1SG hand PROX NEG-IND-want.PRS-1SG
 ‘I don’t want (anything from) the hands of this one’ [3:66]

- (398) *mi har a dīt=a m-eyt-im*
 1SG exactly DIST girl=IND IND-want.PRS-1SG
 ‘I want exactly that girl’ [2:88]

On the other hand, only the Past stem *xās(t)-* ‘to want’ is attested in the available material:

- (399) *na-xās(t)-im=a dī edāma*
 NEG-want.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG then continuation
b-e-m
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 ‘I didn’t want to continue’ [1:99]

The form *me*, corresponding to the 3SG Present Indicative of the verb ‘to want’, is not only used to stress the imminent realization of an event (§3.13.12), but also as a fixed form expressing necessity or obligation. The dependent verb is conjugated in the Subjunctive:

- (400) *me bi-č-ī=a tamūsī imām_řizā*
 must SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT cleaning Imam_Rezā
 ‘you have to go cleaning at the Imam Rezā (shrine)’ [1:108]

The form *bīlā*, derived from the verb PST *hīšt-* (PRS *īl-*) ‘to leave, let’, functions as a fixed particle expressing the idea of ‘letting, allowing’ (hortative meaning). The same meaning is also conveyed by the conjugated forms of the same verb. In both cases, the dependent verb is in the Subjunctive:

- (401) *e bīlā va_ʕonwān kolfāt-ī era kār*
 PROX let as servant-INDF1 here work
bi-k-e
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘let her work here as a servant’ [2:78]

- (402) *bīlā min=īš bi-č-im=a ʕarusī-a*
 let 1SG=ADD SBJV-go.PRS-1SG=DRCT wedding-DEF
 ‘let me go to the wedding too’ [2:81]

- (403) *ne-yl-ø era bi-xaf-e*
 NEG-let.PRS-IMP.2SG here SBJV-sleep.PRS-3SG
 ‘Don’t let him sleep here!’ [5:21]

3.13.14 Expressions of physical, mental and emotional states

Some verbal expressions indicating physical, mental or emotional states have a particular construction: the logical subject (i.e. the Experiencer) is represented by a bound pronoun, while the verb of the construction agrees with the state or condition, behaving as grammatical Subject. Nonetheless, the bound pronoun referring to the Experiencer can be accompanied by a coreferential noun phrase or full pronoun, being in fact analysable as a non-canonical Subject. The main verb of the construction is frequently a copula or a conjugated form of the verb ‘to become’. The attested constructions of this type convey the following meanings:

‘to dislike’:

- (404) *awāna bad=yān=a m-āy bad=yān=a*
 1PL bad=BP.3SG=IND IND -come.PRS.3SG bad=BP.3SG=IND

m-āy *awāna*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG 1PL
 ‘They dislike her. They dislike her’ [4:117]

(405) *bowažin=ī* *bad=ī=an=ī=a*
 stepmother=BP.3SG bad=BP.3SG=DRCT=BP.3SG=IND
m-āy
 IND=come PRS.3SG
 ‘Her stepmother dislikes her’ [3:6]

‘to like, love’:

(406) *xwaš=(i)m=a=yān=a* *m-āy*
 good=BP.1SG=DRCT=BP.3PL=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘I like them!’ [1:120]

(407) *xwaš=(y)ān=a* *yak* *hāt-ī=a*
 good=BP.3PL=DRCT one.another come.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘They liked each other’ [Laki_conv_1, 15:00-15:01]

‘to be hungry’, ‘to be thirsty’:

(408) *gwisna=s=ī* *tešna=s=ī*
 hungry=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG thirsty= COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘she is hungry (and) thirsty’ [3:13]

‘to pay attention, take care’:

(409) *tö* *hawās=(i)t=a* *darpeykar-il-a*
 2SG attention=BP.2SG=DRCT door.and.structure-PL-DEF
bu
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Pay attention to the house’ [6:168]

‘to understand’:

(410) *lakī* *hālī=(y)ān=a* *mow* *valī*
 Laki understood=BP.3PL=IND IND.become.PRS but
ni-ma-tün-in *b-uš-in*
 NEG-IND-can.PRS-3PL SBJV-say.PRS-3PL

‘they understand Laki but cannot speak (it)’ [laki_conv_1, 2:39-2:41]

3.14 Notes on Syntax

3.14.1 Coordination

The conjunctions already described in §3.12 for the coordination of words and phrases are equally used to join grammatically equivalent clauses and sentences:

=*ö* ‘and’:

- (411) *kwič(i)k-a m-e=a dar=i=ö*
 stone-DEF IND-give.PRS=DRCT door=BP.3SG=CONJ
ma-č-u
 IND-go.PRS.3SG
 ‘He places the rock at its entrance and goes away’ [4:136]

na ... (=ö) na ‘neither ... nor’:

- (412) *na jin=am*
 neither sprite=COP.PRS.1SG
na āyimīzā-yk=am
 nor human.being-INDF1=COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’m neither a sprite nor a human being’ [1:46]

či ... (=ö) či ‘whether ... or’, ‘both ... and’:

- (413) *či bi-gir-in či na-gir-in, ī*
 what SBJV-get.PRS-3PL what NEG-get.PRS-3PL PROX
řasm=a bās dāšt=ün
 tradition=DEM must have.PST=COP.PST.3PL
 ‘whether they get it [i.e. a medical certificate] or not, they must maintain this [i.e. the *pāxasūr*] tradition’¹³⁷ [laki_conv_1, 6:57-6:59]

¹³⁷ The *pāxasūr* is the custom of sending older female relatives of the bride and/or the groom to take receipt of the blood-stained linen after the wedding night, as proof of the bride’s virginity before marriage.

γā ‘or’, *γā ... (=ö)* *γā* ‘either or’:

- (414) *γā* *da* *māt=in*
 either ten house=COP.PRS.3PL
γā *dwā(n)za* *māt=in*
 or twelve house=COP.PRS.3PL
 ‘they are (composed by) ten or twelve house(hold)s’
 [laki_conv_1, 11:08-11:10]

In addition to the conjunctions listed above, adversative connectives such as *valī* ‘but, however’ are used to join clauses and sentences of the same rank:

- (415) *agar* *si* *dit-a=t* *b-e-γ*
 if three girl-DEF=BP.2SG SBJV-give.PRS-2SG
ni-ma-kwiš-(i)m-a=t *valī* *xu* *dī* *ar*
 NEG-IND-kill.PRS-1SG-NA=BP.2SG but well then if
n-e-γ *ma-xwa-m-a=t*
 NEG-give.PRS-2SG IND-eat.PRS-1SG-NA=BP.2SG
 ‘If you’ll give (me) your three daughters I won’t kill you but,
 well then, if you won’t give them (to me) I’ll eat you’ [2:18]

After a more or less appreciable pause, the conjoining of clauses and sentences can also be fulfilled through discourse particles and adverbs such as *=iš* ‘too’, *anü* ‘then’, *faqat* ‘only, just’, *āxir* ‘at last, finally’, *řāsī* ‘by the way’, *γařnī* ‘that is to say’ (§3.10). Coordinated clauses may also be simply juxtaposed and separated or not by an appreciable speech pause:

- (416) *mö-w(i)rš-in-e* *ma-n-ī=a* *tu*
 IND-fry.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside
datq=e *m-āž-e=a* *bin* *xwirjīn*
 packet-INDF2 IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT bottom saddlebag
 ‘She fries it, puts it in a packet (and) throws it to the bottom of
 the saddlebag’ [1:68]

3.14.2 Subordination

Subordinating link-words include simple conjunctions as well as complex conjunctions. All of them are used to signal the subordination of a dependent clause with respect to the main clause.

The generalized complementizer *ki* (and its variants *ka*, *gi*, *ga*) is by far the most frequent of these particles. It can introduce subject and object clauses (§3.14.2.1), relative clauses (§3.14.2.2), as well as other adverbial clauses with temporal, causal or consecutive meaning (§3.14.2.3). Moreover, it occurs in combination with other elements (other conjunctions, pronominal forms, adverbs, prepositions) to form a large number of conjunctive phrases marking various types of subordination.

However, subordinating elements are often omitted, resulting in the pure and simple juxtaposition (parataxis) of the clauses involved. In these cases, the existence and the nature of the relationship of subordination can only be inferred from the context.

Regarding verb concordance, the general rule is that Subjunctive verbs occur whenever there is a shade of eventuality, contingency or uncertainty, while the Indicative is used whenever reality is expressed. The Imperfect normally expresses irreality. In general, the choice of tenses is semantically motivated, instead of being governed by precise rules of agreement.

3.14.2.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses (Subjective or Objective) are either introduced by the complementizer *ki* (or one of its variants) or constructed in parataxis, when the complementizer is omitted. After verbs expressing a statement, an observation, a verification, a belief or a feeling, the verb of the dependent clause is normally in the Indicative:

- (417) *ma-zān-im* (*ki*) *kwil=yān* *kār=a*
 IND-know.PRS-1SG (COMPL) all=BP.3PL work=IND
 ma-ka-n
 IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘je sais qu’ils travaillent tous [I know that they all work]’ (Fattah 2000: 701)

- (418) *mardim m-uš-in (ki) Hasan čwār māt*
 people IND-say.PRS-3PL (COMPL) Hasan four house
dir-ī
 have.PRS-3SG
 ‘les gens disent que Hassan a quatre maisons [people say that Hasan has four houses]’ (Fattah 2000: 701)
- (419) *šinaft-im=a e dīv-al=a šīša_ŝomr*
 hear.PST-1SG=DRCT PROX demon-PL=DEM bottle.of.life
dir-ītin
 have.PRS-3PL
 ‘I’ve heard from these demons that you have bottles of life’
 [2:58]

The Subjunctive is preferred if the verb of the main clause expresses doubt, but also with verbal expressions of necessity, hope, decision, habit, etc.:

- (420) *ī jūr etefāq-ī na-kat-e=a*
 PROX kind event-INDF1 NEG-happen.PST-3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
valī entezār kīšyā-n=a ki
 but expectation drag.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG COMPL
bi-kat-e na-kat-e=a
 SBJV-happen.PRS-3SG NEG-happen.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘An event like this has not happened, but they expected it to happen, (however) it has not happened’ [Laki_conv_1, 8:38-8:43]
- (421) *dī haq n-er-ī b-us-ī era*
 then right NEG-have.PRS-3SG SBJV-stay.PRS-3SG here
 ‘You don’t have the right to stay here anymore’ [1:109]

A verb in the Subjunctive is also the norm after impersonal expressions indicating a supposition, a necessity, a decision or a judgement (e.g. *qarāra* ... ‘it is agreed’, *xua* ... ‘it is good’, *heyfa* ... ‘it’s a pity’, *ŝeyb dirī* ... ‘it is not fine’, *ŝeyb nerī* ... ‘it is fine’). However, if the event is seen as already accomplished or there is a need to stress its certainty, the Indicative can be used. As already seen in §3.13.13, the Subjunctive is normally required

in completive clauses following expressions of modality. When the dependent clause has a counterfactual value, the verb is generally in the Imperfective.

The complementizer may also introduce an instance of direct speech, preceded by an introductory verb implying the idea of ‘saying’ or ‘thinking’. The declarative verb may also be implicit:

- (422) *pyā* *girt-ī=as=a* *žīr* *šalāq*
 man take.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT under whip
arin=e *ki* *pedar_suxte* *ī* *šotor=a* *čū*
 to=BP.3SG COMPL bastard PROX camel=DEM how
dōzī-t=a?
 steal.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘(he) has put the man under the whip, (saying): «Bastard, how have you stolen this camel?»’ [6:176]

3.14.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ki* (or one of its variants) and follow their antecedent. The antecedent can in turn be repeated or cross-referenced by a pronominal form (personal pronoun or demonstrative) within the dependent clause:

- (423) *a* *kwiř=a* *ki* *dī-t=e*
 DIST boy=DEM COMPL see.PST-2SG=BP.3SG
birā=m=a
 brother=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘ce garçon-là que tu as vu est mon frère [that boy you have seen is my brother]’ (Fattah 2000: 710)

Relative clauses can be classified as restrictive (also called determinative), if they define their nominal head, or as non-restrictive (also called appositive or descriptive), if they function as appositions, providing supplementary information on the modified nominal.

As already mentioned in §3.1.6.1, the head of a restrictive relative clause is optionally introduced by the relative marker *=ī*. Alternatively, the head can be accompanied by a demonstrative adjective, normally ruling out the presence of the relative marker:

- (424) *nām qār-al=ī gi dir-in*
 inside cave-PL=REL COMPL have.PRS-3PL
 ‘into the caves that they have’ [4:126]

- (425) *a āw qadīm=a gi istifāda*
 DIST water old=DEM COMPL use
kird-in=a vit-in=a angat
 do.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG say.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG parasite
dir-ī
 have.PRS-3SG
 ‘the old water that they used, they’ve said it has parasites’
 [laki_conv_1, 10:22-10:26]

At least in one case, however, both the demonstrative adjective and the relative marker (apparently superseding the demonstrative particle =*a*) are present:

- (426) *ma-řas-ī=a māt a žin=ī gi*
 IND-reach.PRS-3SG=DRCT house DIST woman=REL COMPL
a dit-al=a dir-ī
 DIST daughter-PL=DEM have.PRS-3SG
 ‘(he) reaches the house of that woman who has those daughters’
 [4:81]

It shall be recalled that the relative particle is formally indistinguishable from an indefinite marker or a 3SG bound pronoun:

- (427) *va viāt-ī ki tō vazīr bu-γ,*
 in country-INDF1 COMPL 2SG minister be.PRS.SBJV-2SG
a viāt=a jā mi nīya
 DIST country=DEM place 1SG NEG.COP.3SG
 ‘dans un pays o tu serais ministre, je n’aurais pas ma place
 (litt. «dans un pays que tu sois ministre, ce pays-là n’est pas ma place») [In a country where you would be minister, I would not have a place (lit. that country is not my place)] (Fattah 2000: 714)

In the case of restrictive relative clauses, the complementizer is closely joined to the nominal head in pronunciation, ultimately behaving as a

clitic. On the other hand, in non-restrictive clauses the head is separated from the relative by a short pause and is never overtly marked:

- (428) *dit sivom, ki dī xavar dir-ī ya*
 girl third COMPL then news have.PRS-3SG PROX
aṛā ku=a ma-č-u, pišī gwijīn-e
 to where=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG cat little-INDF2
dir-ī
 have.PRS-3SG
 ‘The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going,
 has a little kitten’ [2:44]

A third, intermediate type is constituted by relative clauses providing essential information to the sentence, though being non-restrictive. It is the case of cleft constructions built with a copula. In this type of sentences, the main verb can be inserted between the head and the dependent relative:

- (429) *ya har ava=sa ki mi*
 PROX just DIST=COP.PRS.3SG COMPL 1SG
dī-m=as=e
 see.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 ‘this is exactly the one I have seen’ [2:106]

- (430) *zamīn=iš-ī has-ø ki masan*
 field=ADD-INDF1 be.there.PRS-3SG COMPL for.instance
hin sōwzījāt=a
 thingy vegetables=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘There is a field, too, which, for instance, is (planted with)
 vegetables’ [laki_conv_1, 9:51-9:55]

Indefinite relative clauses can be introduced by indefinite pronominal forms such as *har ke/har kī* ‘whoever’, *har čī* ‘whatever, whichever’, *har kām* ‘each one’ *har je* ‘wherever’ or by any noun accompanied by the indefinite *har*. These expressions can in principle be followed by the complementizer, although it is most often omitted:

- (431) *har_kī ma-nīš-ī farār=a ma-k-e*
 whoever IND-sit.PRS-3SG escape=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG

‘Whoever sits down runs away’ [4:109]

The choice of the dependent verb follows the general rules described above: the verb is in the Indicative if the clause expresses a matter of fact, while the Subjunctive is preferably used whenever a shade of contingency or doubt is present.

3.14.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can take on various functions, expressing relations of time, purpose, consequence, cause, concession, and comparison. They may be introduced by simple conjunctions or by complex conjunctions formed by a nominal element and a complementizer *ki* (often implicit).

Adverbial clauses of time can be simply introduced by the complementizer *ki*, placed after one of the nominal terms (subject, nominal predicate, object, adverb or adverbial phrase) present in the subordinate clause. This construction denotes concomitance:

- (432) *šōw ki ma-xaf-e xāw=a mō-ün-ī*
 night COMPL IND-sleep.PRS-3SG dream=IND IND-see.PRS-3SG
 ‘when he sleeps at night, he dreams’ [5:40]

The conjunction *tā* (rarely followed by the complementizer *ki*) introduces adverbial clauses of time with the meaning ‘until, as long as, while’:

- (433) *tā ī haštād řuž=a tamām now*
 until PROX eighty day=DEM finished NEG.become.PRS.3SG
šarusī ni-ma-ke-ym
 marriage NEG-IND-do.PRS-1PL
 ‘Until these eighty days won’t be over, we won’t get married’
 [2:54]

tā may also have the more abstract meaning ‘as much as, as far as’:

- (434) *kwil ī dit-el=a čāx ka-ø tā*
 all PROX girl-PL=DEM fat make.PRS-IMP.2SG as.much.as
ma-tün-īt
 IND-can.PRS-2SG
 ‘Make all these girls fat, as much as you can’ [7:14-7:15]

Adverbial clauses of time can also be introduced by conjunctive phrases such as:

iska (ki) ‘as soon as’ (denotes immediate succession):

- (435) *iska gi pyā=m kird-ī=a sar*
 now COMPL found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG head
āyl-il-a biṛī=a
 child-PL-DEF cut.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids’ [1:134]

baʿd (a ya) ki ‘after’:

- (436) *baʿd ki kišāvarzī tamām=a mow*
 after COMPL agriculture finished=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG
m-uš-e [...]
 IND-say.PRS-3SG [...]
 ‘After he has finished farming [lit. farming is finished], he says [...] [2:3]

- (437) *baʿd_a ya gi hanābandān=yān tamām*
 after PROX COMPL henna-ing.ceremony=BP.3PL finished
bī dā dit bās ye gwinī birsāq
 become.PST.3SG mother girl must INDF sack fritter
bi-k-e
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘After their henna-ing ceremony is over, the girl’s mother has to make a sack of fritters’ [laki_conv_1, 22:13-22:18]

Some adverbial clauses of time are introduced by conjunctive phrases formed by a noun expressing time, optionally followed by the complementizer:

vaxtī (ki) ‘when’:

- (438) *vaxt=ī ma-č-u dīv hā-ø xāw*
 time=REL IND-go.PRS-3SG demon exist.PRS-3SG sleep
 ‘When he goes, the demon is asleep’ [2:12]

- (439) *vaxt=ī gi šü=e va ra(h)mat xwidā*
 time=REL COMPL husband=BP.3SG to mercy God
čī=a iñār bowa wiž=im=a
 go.PST.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG as.if father self=BP.1SG=DRCT
ra(h)mat xwidā čī=a
 mercy God go.PST.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘When her husband died, (it was) as if my own father had died’
 [laki_conv_1, 25:04-25:10]

zamānī (ki) ‘when’:

- (440) *zamān=ī mi dōzī-m=a ī šotor*
 time=REL 1SG steal.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG PROX camel
tō=a tōwirg=a ma-wāry-ā-ø
 2SG=DEM hail=IND IND-rain.PST-IMP?>3SG
 ‘when I stole this camel of yours, it was hailing hailstones’
 [6:186-188]

These conjunctive phrases can further combine with prepositions (e.g. *až vaxtī (ki)* ‘since’, *tā vaxtī (ki)* ‘until’, *tā zamānī (ki)* ‘until’, *tā mōwqey (ki)* ‘until’):

- (441) *až vaxt=ī m-āy [...] tā vaxt=ī*
 from time=REL IND-come.PRS.3SG [...] until time=REL
gi ma-č-u ařetā
 COMPL IND-go.PRS-3SG back
 ‘from the moment he comes until the moment he goes back (again)’ [4:150]
- (442) *tā zamān=ī daŋ hin=a ma-ka-n=a*
 until time=REL call thingummy=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL=DRCT
šarusī
 wedding
 ‘until they invite what’s-his-name to a wedding’ [1:52]

Temporal clauses may also be constructed in parataxis. In the following example, the event expressed by the temporal clause ideally precedes that of the main clause and is therefore expressed by a verb in the Pluperfect:

- (443) *agar šāns b-ār-ī bi-č-ī ava*
 if luck SBJV-bring.PRS-2SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG DIST
xaft=ü
 sleep.PST=COP.PST.3SG
 ‘If you will be lucky (enough) to go when he is already sleeping’
 [2:9]

The verb of the temporal clause may be in the Subjunctive, if eventuality or uncertainty has to be stressed.

Adverbial clauses of purpose can be introduced by the complementizer *ki* or by the conjunction *tā* (possibly, but not usually followed by the complementizer). The verb of the dependent clause is always in the Subjunctive:

- (444) *šōso kwiř pādišā m-āy ki čirāwā*
 morning son king IND-come.PRS.3SG COMPL horse
āw d-e
 water give.PRS-3SG
 ‘The next morning, the king’s son comes to give water to the horse’ [1:41]

- (445) *āyl-al-a b-īl-ø=a jā tā*
 child-PL-DEF SBJV-leave.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT place so.that
bi-č-īm bi-gīrd-īmin
 SBJV-go.PRS-1PL SBJV-turn.PRS-1PL
 ‘Leave the children here so that we may go (and) have a walk’
 [4:120]

Some clauses of purpose seem to involve a verb in the Infinitive:

- (446) *ma-nīš-ī=a hin šāna kird-in*
 IND-sit.PRS-3SG=DRCT thingamajob comb do.PST-INF
 ‘She sits down, what-do-you-call-it, combing’ [1:63]
- (447) *ma-č-in šaxdōmaxd kird-in*
 IND-go.PRS-3PL marriage.contract_etc. do.PST-INF

‘they go sign the marriage contract and such’ [laki_conv_1, 3:21-3:27]

- (448) *piyāz āyšt-in=a. wiž=im dī*
 onion throw.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SC self=BP.1SG then
čī-m=as=a piyāz kan-in
 go.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT onion pull.out-INF
 ‘They have planted onions, I myself went to pick onions’
 [laki_conv_1, 9:03-9:06]

Adverbial clauses of consequence can be introduced by the complementizer *ki*, by conjunctive phrases such as *va jūrī (ki)* ‘in a way that’ or be constructed in parataxis:

- (449) *ī šū=a aqira*
 PROX husband=DEM that.much
kwišt-e=as-a=m [... ni-m-ā-m
 beat.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG-NA=BP.1PL [...] NEG-IND-come.PRS-1SG
 ‘this husband (of mine) has beaten me so much (that) [...] I
 won’t come (back)’ [6:85-86]

According to the general rule, the verb of the dependent clause is in the Subjunctive if the clause expresses a nuance of eventuality.

Adverbial clauses of cause can be introduced simply by the complementizer *ki* (and variants):

- (450) *har_ke a lā=rā ma-č-u sad tōman*
 whoever DIST side=POST IND-go.PRS-3SG hundred toman
dōūs tōman m-e-n=a bin=ī gi
 two.hundred toman IND-give.PRS-3PL=DRCT to=BP.3SG COMPL
das xālī haq n-er-ī
 hand empty right NEG-have.PRS-3SG
bi-č-īt=a nām
 SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT inside
 ‘Those who pass thereby give him a hundred *toman*, two
 hundred *toman*, because you don’t have the right to go inside
 empty-handed’ [laki_conv_1, 12:55-13:00]

However, this kind of adverbial clause are more frequently introduced by conjunctions and conjunctive phrases such as *čū(n) (ki)* ‘since, because’, *aṛā (ya ki)* ‘for, because’, *bi xātir (ya ki)* ‘for, because’:

- (451) *čūn gi šū kird-ī=a*
 because COMPL husband do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
bi-č-im a šū=y=a bi-kwiš-im
 SBJV-go.PRS.1SG DIST husband=BP.3SG=DEM SBJV-kill.PRS-1SG
 ‘Since she got married, I shall go (and) kill this husband of hers’
 [laki_conv_1, 15:25-15:28]

- (452) *bi_xātir ya gi mardim pīšraft*
 because.of PROX COMPL people progress
kird-in=a šōw hanābandān=iš
 do.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG night henna-ing.ceremony=ADD
ī hanā tazīn=a ma-ka-n dī
 PROX henna decoration=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL then
iska baʔed= in tazīn=a ma-ka-n
 now capable=COP.PRS.3PL decoration=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL
 ‘Since people have improved, the night of the henna-ing ceremony they decorate this henna too, now they are able (to) decorate (it)’ [laki_conv_1, 5:33-5:41]

The few attested clauses with concessive value are introduced by the indefinite relative expression *har čī* ‘whatever, however much, much as’. This conjunctive phrase can be optionally followed by the complementizer (which is nonetheless absent in all attested occurrences):

- (453) *pādišā har_čī ma-gīrd-ī va gīr*
 king however.much IND-turn.PRS-3SG to grab
ni-m-āy
 NEG-IND-come.PRS.3SG
 ‘however much the king might search, (the camel) wouldn’t be found’ [6:136]

The Subjunctive is used in the dependent clause if the event is seen as eventual. No adverbial clauses of comparison are attested in the available Harsini material.

3.14.2.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are most frequently introduced by the conjunction *a(ga)r* ‘if’. The choice of the appropriate verb in the apodosis (main clause) and in the protasis (dependent clause expressing the condition) varies on the basis of the semantics of each conditional sentence:

- i. If the condition expressed by the protasis is realizable or possible in the present or in the immediate future, the subordinate verb is normally in the Present Subjunctive, while the main verb is either in the Present Indicative (having a future or habitual value) or in the Imperative:

- (454) *agar si dit-a=t b-e-γ*
 if three girl-DEF=BP.2SG SBJV-give.PRS-2SG
ni-ma-kwiš-(i)m-a=t vali xu dī ar
 NEG-IND-kill.PRS-1SG-NA=BP.2SG but well then if
n-e-γ ma-xwa-m-a=t
 NEG-give.PRS-2SG IND-eat.PRS-1SG-NA=BP.2SG
 ‘If you’ll give (me) your three daughters I won’t kill you but,
 well then, if you won’t give them (to me) I’ll eat you’ [2:18]

The same applies when the protasis states a condition whose realization will surely trigger the event expressed by the main clause:

- (455) *agar šavaz=ī na-ka-n kišt*
 if change=BP.3PL NEG-do.PRS-3PL crop
ni-m-e
 NEG-IND-give.PRS.3SG
 ‘If they don’t change it [i.e. cultivation], it [i.e. the field] does
 not yield crop’ [laki_conv_1, 10:06-10:11]

The use of the Present Indicative in the protasis is rare but seemingly possible:

- (456) *ar fārsī har_kām=īš=a m-uš-in*
 if Persian anyone=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL
masxare=a
 ridiculous=COP.PRS.3SG

‘if anyone, well, tells (it in) Persian, it’s ridiculous’ [laki_conv_1, 2:57-3:00]

In a future context, if the (realizable) condition expressed by the protasis is ideally anterior to the event expressed by the main clause, the subordinate verb is in a Past tense (generally the Preterite or the Pluperfect, functioning in fact as a Past Subjunctive):

- (457) *agar kas-ī hāt-ø b-öwr-ī vagard*
 if person-INDF1 come.PST-3SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG with
ī ču=a, ču bi-n-ī=an=ī
 PROX wood=DEM wood SBJV-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT=BP.3SG
ne-yl-ī
 NEG-let.PRS-3SG
 ‘if someone would have come to take it, with this club, he would hit him with the club and wouldn’t let him (take it)’ [5:39]

- (458) *ar mi ešdām bī-m ar sar-im*
 if 1SG execution become.PST-1PL if head=BP.1SG
biřā-ø ar har_čī=a bin=im
 cut.PST.PASS-3SG if whatever=DRCT to=BP.1SG
kird=ün žin-a māt-a nega(h)dārī
 do.PST=COP.PST.3PL wife-DEF house-DEF care
bi-k-e
 SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
 ‘if I would be executed, if my head would be cut off, whatever they might do to me, at least (my) wife would take care of the house’ [6:166]

- ii. If the condition expressed by the protasis was realizable or possible in the past but it didn’t come true (i.e. counterfactual hypothesis), the subordinate verb is in the Past Subjunctive and the main verb is in the Imperfective:

- (459) *a(ga)r bi-zānis(t)-ā-m=a ma-hāt-im*
 if SBJV-know.PST-PST.SBJV-1SG=IND IND-come.PST-1SG
 ‘si j’avais su, je serais venu [If I had known, I would have come]’
 (Fattah 2000: 736)

It is unclear, however, if the Imperfective can be used in the protasis instead of the Past Subjunctive, as in Persian. If this is possible in Harsini, the following sentence in Fattah (2000: 735) may either express reality in the past or refer to a counterfactual event:

- (460) *a(ga)r* *dīr=a* *ma-xaft-in* *īme=yš*
 if late=IND IND-sleep.PST-3PL 1PL=ADD
dīr=a *ma-xaft-īmin*
 late=IND IND-sleep.PST-1PL
 ‘s’ils dormaient tard, nous aussi dormions tard [If they were sleeping late, we were sleeping late too/If they would have slept late, we would have slept late too]’ (Fattah 2000: 735)

Other types of conditional clauses can be constructed by means of conjunctive phrases such as the following.

va šartī (ki) ‘on the condition that’:

- (461) *ma-č-im* *va šart=ī* *ki* *tōn=īš*
 IND-go.PRS-1SG at condition=REL COMPL 2SG=ADD
bi-č-ī
 SBJV-go.PRS-2SG
 ‘Je pars, à condition que toi aussi tu partes [I’ll go, on the condition that you go too]’ (Fattah 2000: 738)

ma(ga)r (ya ki) ‘unless’:

- (462) *dī* *bās* *b-ar-et=yā* *magar* *ye*
 then must SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG=PART except INDF
čī *gi* *dāmād* *b-uš-e* *masan* *kār*
 thing COMPL groom SBJV-say.PRS-3SG for.instance work
wiž=im *bī=a* *dī* *řāzī=im*
 self=BP.1SG be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG then in.accord=COP.PRS.1SG
dī *a* *ni-m-ar-in=e*
 then DIST NEG-IND-bring.PRS-3PL=BP.3SG
 ‘Then he [i.e. the bride’s father] has to take her [i.e. the bride] back unless the groom says, for instance, “It was my own fault, so I’m fine with it”. If so, they do not take her (back)’ [laki_conv_1, 8:20-8:29]

arā na ‘if not, otherwise’:

- (463) *mi* *ejāza* *mādar=am* *bi-sīn-im*
 1SG permission mother=BP.1PL SBJV-get.PRS-1SG
 arā_na *nī-mow*
 if.not NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG
 ‘I shall get my mother’s permission, otherwise it’s not possible’
 [1:122]

Chapter 4: Word formation

Several mechanisms are used by Harsini speakers to form new words. We have already touched upon the possibility that a lexical item belonging to a specific class undergoes a change of lexical category. Such transpositions include the nominalization of adjectives and the adjectivization of nouns (§3.2), as well as the adverbialization of nouns and adjectives (§3.9). New lexical items are also formed through the affixation and compounding processes described in following paragraphs.

4.1 Derivation

In Harsini, quite a few suffixes are used to derive nouns, adjectives and (less frequently) adverbs. However, only a limited number of these are productive. Some of the most common derivational suffixes are listed below:

-ī generally forms nouns from nouns or adjectives. The derived nouns can either have abstract meaning, or denote concrete entities:

dōz ‘thief’ → *dōzī* ‘theft’

šarus ‘bride’ → *šarusī* ‘wedding’

xwaš ‘good, happy’ → *xwašī* ‘happiness’

dirīž ‘long’ → *dirīžī* ‘length’

xu(b) ‘good’ → *xubī* ‘benefit’

tawānā ‘powerful, strong’ → *tawānāy* ‘strength, power, means’

Following names of trade, this suffix forms words designating a function or activity:

kwilfat ‘housekeeper, maid’ → *kwilfatī* ‘housekeeping’

The suffix *-ī* can also attach to complex words, formed through composition or by means of other affixes (e.g. the suffix *-man* below):

dōwłaman ‘rich, wealthy’ → *dōwłamanī* ‘richness’

A suffix *-ī* is also used to form adjectives of relationship (be it of kind or origin). This type of derivation is extremely productive and the suffix can attach to virtually any noun:

harsīn ‘Harsin’ → *harsīnī* ‘pertaining to Harsin’

maša(d) ‘Mashhad’ → *mašey* ‘pertaining to Mashhad; someone returned from the pilgrimage to Mashhad’

As a variant of the suffix *-īn*, it forms adjectives of material or colour (see below).

-ī(n) forms adjectives of material or colour from nouns. It occurs both with and without the final nasal:

zař ‘gold’ → *zařī* ‘golden’

taṭā ‘gold’ → *taṭāřī* ‘golden’

nama(d) ‘felt’ → *nameyn* ‘felt-made’

ču ‘wood’ → *čuwī(n)* ‘wooden’

The derived adjective may have a figurative meaning:

saŋ ‘stone’ → *sangīn* ‘made of stone, heavy’

-in forms adjectives from nouns, adjectives or adverbs:

bān ‘top, upper part’ → *bānin* ‘upper’

čirk ‘dirt’ → *čirkin* ‘dirty’

-a forms derivate nouns with concrete meaning from nouns, adjectives and numerals:

sifid ‘white’ → *sifida xā* ‘egg white’

č(ih)el ‘forty’ → *čil(l)a* ‘period of forty days (usually related to mourning or childbirth)’

This suffix can occur together with the suffix *-īn*, as in the following examples:

čuwīn ‘wooden’ → *čuwīna* ‘wooden thing’

nameyn ‘felt-made’ → *nameyna* ‘felt-made thing’

zard ‘yellow’ → *zardīna xā* ‘egg yolk’

Moreover, it can be applied to verbal stems to form action nouns:

xan- ‘PRS to laugh’ → *xana* ‘laughter, smile’

It can follow complex lexemes formed with elements of verbal origin to create concrete words with a highly descriptive value, used as epithets, names of animals, plants, diseases, etc.

In the available material, several suffixes formed with the consonants /l/, /t/, /k/, /č/ and /j/ attach to nouns or (to a lesser degree) adjectives, forming diminutives, hypocoristic expressions and terms of endearment (especially with proper names). Among the most frequent ones, are:

-aṭa, *-üla*, *-ik/-ka*, *-ak*, *-ča*, *-čik/-čka*, *-jik*:

büčik ‘small’ → *büčkata* ‘tiny, smaller, younger’

mama(d) ‘Mohammad’ → *mamüla* hypocoristic for ‘Mohammad’

sar ‘head’ → *sarik*, *sarka* ‘small (animal) head, classifier for small vegetables’

pā ‘foot’ → *pāčik*, *pāčka* ‘small (animal) foot’

pā ‘foot’ → *pāča* ‘valley’

qālī ‘carpet’ → *qālīča* ‘small carpet, rug’

In many cases, the basic lexeme cannot occur independently from the “diminutive-like” suffix and the resulting complex form, always concrete, possesses hardly any diminutive connotation:

činjik ‘core, kernel’

malüčik ‘sparrow’

tütik ‘puppy’

mārmülik ‘lizard’

xirtīnik ‘cartilage’

tatik ‘pelvis’

qomqomak ‘crocodile’

žiržirnak ‘cricket’

mamak ‘breast’

Many other derivational suffixes are traceable in the lexicon of Harsini, though most of them are either scarcely productive or analysable as occasional morphological borrowings, which have entered Harsini together with their lexical base:

-gar, *-či* (of Turkic origin) form nouns of trade and profession or agent nouns from nouns or verbal stems:

zar ‘gold’ → *zargar* ‘goldsmith’

qāčāq ‘smuggling’ → *qāčāxčī* ‘smuggler’

In addition to these, Fattah (2000: 814) quotes the almost unproductive suffix *-(a)vān* (related to a verbal base ‘to protect, guard’) forming nouns of profession with the meaning ‘guardian of X’:

gā ‘ox, cow, calf’ → *gāvān* ‘cattle breeder’

bāq ‘garden’ → *bāqavān* ‘gardener’

-(i)ssān (related to a verbal base ‘to place, set’) forms nouns commonly indicating the place where the item expressed by the base is located:

bīmārissān ‘hospital [lit. place for sick people]’

lakissān ‘Lakestān [lit. region inhabited by Laks]’

loṛissān ‘Lorestān [lit. region inhabited by Lors]’

This suffix occurs in the following names of seasons:

zim(is)sān ‘winter’

tāw(is)sān ‘summer’

-dā(n) forms nouns of container from nouns:

āyl ‘child’ → *āyldā(n)* ‘womb’

-man indicates possession of the item or quality expressed by the base:

dōwla(t) ‘richness’ → *dōwlaman* ‘rich’

-sān indicates similarity with the item expressed by the base:

šarus ‘bride’ → *šarusān* ‘doll [lit. bride-like]’

-wāna, *-wānik* (related to a verbal base ‘to bind, tie’) form a limited number of nouns indicating accessories and jewellery:

kilik ‘finger’ → *kilkawāna* ‘ring’

mil ‘neck’ → *milwānik* ‘necklace’

-ar, *-ān* (the second probably from Persian) form agent and action nouns from the Present stem of verbs. The resulting items generally intervene in the formation of complex lexemes by further suffixation and/or composition:

- kar* ‘doer’
- dar* ‘giver’
- xwar* ‘eater’
- gīrān* ‘taking’
- banān* ‘application, blockage’

-*ānī* forms nouns from nouns:

lif ‘(member of a) couple, joined, similar’ → *lifānī* ‘twin’

-(y)*atī* forms a small number of nouns from nouns:

āzīyatī ‘mourning’

-*āna* forms both nouns and adjective-adverbs:

čaq ‘snap’ → *čaqāna* ‘finger snapping’

The first element of the complex adverbial lexeme *šabānaruz* ‘night and day’ is formed with this suffix.

-*akī* forms adjectives or adverbs from nouns, adjective or adverbs:

šow ‘night’ → *šowakī* ‘at night’

In addition to the forms listed above, other suffixes occur in occasional borrowings and are unproductive in Harsini: e.g. *-ā* forming adjectives as *dānā* ‘wise’; *-īya*, of Arabic origin, forming nouns as *hōseyṇīya* ‘place for the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Hossein’; *-an*, of Arabic origin, forming adverbs as *astan* ‘absolutely’.

Prefixation is less widespread and the number of prefixes involved in lexical derivation is smaller than that of suffixes. In general, derivate words formed through prefixation pertain to the same lexical class of their base. The main derivational prefixes are:

hām- indicates that the shared possession of the quality expressed by the base word (usually a noun):

sā ‘shadow’ → *hāmsā* ‘neighbour [lit. one who shares the (same) shadow]’

zāmā ‘groom’ → *hāmzāmā* ‘brother-in-law (husband of one’s wife’s sister)’

bōwī ‘bride’ → *hāmbōwī* ‘sister-in-law (wife of one’s husband’s brother)’

A Persian-like variant *ham-* of this suffix is attested in words such as *hamsāda*, *hamsāya* ‘neighbour’.

nā- has a ‘negative’ or ‘opposite’ sense and forms adjectives expressing privation of the item or quality indicated by the base:

xwaš ‘good, happy’ → *nāxwaš* ‘sick’

řahat ‘comfortable, calm’ → *nāřahat* ‘uncomfortable, upset’

The comparable prefix *lā-* (of Arabic origin) occurs in occasional, highly lexicalized loans:

aqat ‘least’ → *lāaqat* ‘at least’

Some complex lexemes have the form of prepositional phrases and consist of a prefixing prepositional element attaching to a nominal base. The most frequent cases involve the prepositions *bī-* ‘without’ and *bā-* ‘with’. This type of complex lexemes could also be analyzed as copulative compounds (§4.2.1):

kār ‘work, job’ → *bīkār* ‘unemployed’

čāra ‘solution, remedy’ → *bīčāra* ‘hopeless, miserable’

xavar ‘news’ → *bāxavar* ‘informed, aware’

huš ‘mind, intelligence’ → *bāhuš* ‘intelligent, smart, clever’

4.2 Reduplication

Other complex lexemes (mostly adjectives and adverbs, but also nouns) are formed through reduplication of a base. These compounds usually convey a nuance of repetition, distribution or intensity. The two repeated elements can follow each other in simple juxtaposition:

tōn ‘quick, quickly’ → *tōntōn* ‘very quickly’

zū/zī ‘early’ → *zīzī* ‘very early’

A subgroup of this compound type is constituted by onomatopoetic words, formed through reduplication of terms indicating sounds and noises:

taktak ‘knock’
čičir ‘drip’
wāpwāp ‘bow-wow’
qwitqwit ‘cluck-a-luck’
myowmyow ‘meow-meow’

Alternatively, the reduplicated terms can be linked by means of a vocalic morpheme (usually a linking vowel *-a-* or a conjunction =*ō*):

kiz ‘burning sensation’ → *kizakiz* ‘(continuous or intense) burning sensation’
qwit ‘cackle, cluck’ → *qwitōqāt* ‘(continuous or intense) cackling’

In one attested case the linker is realized as *-e-*, but it is unclear whether this morpheme can be assimilated to the Persian *ezāfe* =*e*, or should just be considered an occasional variant of the *-a-* morpheme, perhaps determined by the specific phonological context:

dūr ‘far’ → *dūredūr* ‘afar, far away’

A few reduplicated compounds have the Arabic broken plural of the base as their second term:

ṭasm ‘tradition’ → *ṭasmṛōsūm* ‘customs and traditions’

Sometimes reduplication involves a change in the vowel of the base (most frequently to /ā/) or in its initial consonant (most frequently to /m/), with or without an intervening vowel linker. The reduplicated compounds involving a change to /m/ of the initial consonant often have a generic plural sense (roughly translatable as ‘X and the like’, ‘X and such things’ ‘X etcetera’):

xitimitī ‘tickle’
taṭā, zaṛ ‘gold’ → *taṭāmaṭā, zaṛōmaṛ* ‘gold and the like’
ṣaxd ‘marriage contract’ → *ṣaxdōmaxd* ‘marriage contract and the like’
qāčāq ‘smuggling’ → *qāčāqōmāčāq* ‘smuggling and the like’
jaṇ ‘war’ → *jaṇimaṇ* ‘fight, turmoil’
kišmiš ‘raisin’ (?)

Echoic reduplication is very productive. It creates neologisms and plays on words, such as the words *xiftilixiftān* and *nāzilīnāzān* attested in the Harsini texts.

Complex lexemes formed by two repeated words conjoined by means of a clitic =*a* (usually interpretable as a directional particle) express a distributive sense:

māta māt ‘from house to house’
vitāta vitāt ‘from village to village’
šara šar ‘from town to town’
sarbāna sarbān ‘from roof to roof’
yaka yak ‘one by one’

Fattah (2000: 749) quotes cases of preservation of a full preposition *va* between the repeated terms:

žīr ‘under(side)’ → *žīr va žīr* ‘secretly, discreetly’

This observation is confirmed by a single example from our Harsini corpus. Here, however, the use of the preposition *va* might depend on the final -*a* of the repeated term, that would otherwise obscure the presence of a clitic =*a*:

xana va xana ‘from smile to smile’ [1:99]

4.3 Compounding

In Harsini, as in many other Iranian languages, compounding is the most productive mechanism of lexical innovation. The number of complex lexemes formed through compounding processes is extremely vast and diversified. Compounds can be ideally divided into ‘copulative’ and ‘descriptive’.

4.3.1 Copulative compounds

Copulative compounds consist of two elements (usually nouns or adjectives) joined in coordination, both of which are semantic heads. The elements are often synonyms or complementary and the resulting complex lexeme or ‘binomial’ usually indicates a unity or a totality. The

most common type of copulative compound consists in a pure and simple juxtaposition of two lexical elements. The attested combinations are:

i. Noun + Noun forming nouns or, less frequently, adverbs:

dam ‘mouth’ + *řü* ‘face’ → *damřü* ‘face’

žin ‘wife’ + *šü* ‘husband’ → *žinšü* ‘wife and husband, married couple’

dar ‘door’ + *peykar* ‘shape, frame’ → *darpeykar* ‘whole door, whole house’

šow ‘night’ + *so* ‘morning’ → *šoso* ‘(early) morning, the next day/morning, tomorrow’

das ‘hand, arm’ + *pā* ‘foot, leg’ → *daspā* ‘arms and legs, hands and feet’ (?)

ii. Adjective + Adjective forming adjectives or adverbs:

tak ‘single, alone’ + *tanyā* ‘alone’ → *taktanyā* ‘all alone’

kam ‘little’ + *kwitī* ‘piecemeal’ → *kamkwitī* ‘in part, partially’

In the available material, there are no attested cases involving members of verbal origin (i.e. Participles, Infinitives or verbal stems). Sometimes, the two terms (be they nouns or adjective-adverbs) are linked by a conjoining vocalic element (usually the clitic conjunction =*ö*):

fit ‘numerous, many’ + *fāmīl* ‘relatives’ → *fitöfāmīl* ‘(whole) family, relatives’

qāč ‘foot, leg’ + *qwīl* ‘leg’ → *qāčöqwīl* ‘(whole) leg’

At least in some cases, the presence of the conjunction is optional. The variant forms with and without the linking element alternate freely, without significant differences in meaning:

damřü ‘face’ ~ *damöřü* ‘face’

Other morphemes of prepositional origin can intervene in the formation of a smaller number of complex lexemes, as in the example below:

(*gwiṭ* ‘flower’ +) *bar* ‘in front of, towards’ + *aftāw* ‘sun’¹³⁸ → (*gwiṭ*)
baraftāw ‘sunflower’

4.3.2 Determinative compounds

Determinative compounds can be classified as ‘dependent’ or ‘descriptive’.

Dependent determinative compounds express a case relationship (usually of genitival type) between the qualified semantic head (a noun, an adjective or a verbal stem) and its qualifier (a noun, an adjective or an adverb). This group includes a large number of kinship and anatomical terms. The qualifier can either precede or follow the qualified element and the two members are hardly ever conjoined by a vocalic linker (e.g. a compounding morpheme *-a-* or a linking vowel *-ā-*). The so-formed complex lexemes can be further modified by derivational affixes (§4.1). The attested combinations are:

i. Noun (or noun-adverb) + Noun:

(a) Qualifier + Qualified

šū ‘husband’ + *birā* ‘brother’ → *šūbirā* ‘brother-in-law (husband’s brother)’

birā ‘brother’ + *žin* ‘wife’ → *birāžin* ‘sister-in-law (brother’s wife)’

bowa ‘father’ + *žin* ‘wife’ → *bowažin* ‘stepmother (father’s wife)’

hātu ‘maternal uncle’ + *žin* ‘wife’ → *hātužin* ‘aunt (maternal uncle’s wife)’

mamu ‘paternal uncle’ + *žin* ‘wife’ → *mamužin* ‘aunt (paternal uncle’s wife)’

A subgroup of this type is constituted by complex lexemes having *gā(h)* ‘place’ and *xāna* ‘house’ as their head. These compounds are often described as cases of nominal derivation, with *gā(h)* and *xāna* being analyzed as actual suffixes:

tafrī(h) ‘amusement, leisure’ + *gā(h)* ‘place’ → *tafrīgā(h)* ‘place of leisure’

¹³⁸ The usual Harsini word for ‘sun’ is *xwar*. The forms *āftāw*, *aftāw* and variants (cf. Pers. *āftāb*) are nonetheless attested in other SK dialects of the region.

mirda ‘dead’ + *šur-* present stem of ‘to wash’ + *xāna* ‘house’ → *mirdašurxāna* ‘mortuary, morgue (where dead bodies are washed before the funeral)’

(b) Qualified + Qualifier

kwiř ‘son’ + *pādišā* ‘king’ → *kwiř pādišā* ‘prince, king’s son’

kaf ‘flat surface’ + *kōwš* ‘shoe’ → *kaf kōwš* ‘sole (of shoe)’

kaf ‘flat surface’ + *das* ‘hand’ → *kaf das* ‘palm’

mič ‘wrist’ + *das* ‘hand’ → *mič das* ‘wrist’

kwinā ‘hole’ + *pit* ‘nose’ → *kwinā pit* ‘nostril’

ban ‘band, joint’ + *kilik* ‘finger’ → *ban kilik* ‘knuckle’

pišt ‘back’ + *čam* ‘eye’ → *pišt čam* ‘eyelid’

žīr ‘under’ + *baqał* ‘space located between or under the arms’ → *žīr*

baqał ‘armpit’

sar ‘head, origin’ + *čupī* ‘traditional Kurdish dance’ → *sarčupī* ‘person who leads a row of dancers’

sar ‘head, origin’ + *āw/āv* ‘water’ → *sarā* ‘spring(head)’

A subgroup of this type is constituted by compounds having *sā* or its less integrated variant *sāhib* ‘owner’ (cf. Pers. *sāheb*) as their head:

māl ‘house’ → *sā māl* ‘owner of the house, master of the house’

šazā ‘mourning’ → *sāhib šazā* ‘relative of the deceased in charge of organizing the funeral’

ii. **Noun, Adjective or Adverb + Verbal element** (Present or Past stem, action noun):

šīr ‘milk’ + *-xwar* agent noun from the verb ‘to eat’ → *šīrxwar* ‘newborn, nursling’

fāta ‘opening chapter (Ar. *sūra*) of the Quran’ + *-kar* agent noun from the verb ‘to do’ → *fātakar* ‘person who celebrates a funeral’

xana ‘henna’ + *-banān* action noun from the verb ‘to block, tie, apply’ → *xanabanān* ‘henna-ing ceremony’¹³⁹

zīla ‘gallbladder’ + *tirik-* present stem of the verb ‘to explode, break’ → *zītatirik* ‘fear, dread, terror [lit. explosion of the gallbladder]’

¹³⁹ A Persian-like variant *hanābandān* is attested in the material from the DoBeS Archive.

A subgroup of this type is constituted by compound kinship terms having the Past stem *zā-* ‘to give birth’ as their second element. Some of these have a form *-r* (an old oblique marker attaching to relationship terms)¹⁴⁰ suffixed to the first element of the compound:

hātu ‘maternal uncle’ → *hātuzā* ‘cousin (maternal uncle’s son or daughter)’

āmu borrowed form for ‘paternal uncle’ (cf Pers. ‘*amu*’)¹⁴¹ → *āmuzā* ‘cousin’ (paternal uncle’s son or daughter)’

mīmī ‘(paternal or maternal) aunt’ → *mīmzā* ‘cousin (aunt’s son or daughter)’

pīš ‘before’ → *pīšazā* ‘son or daughter a man has from a previous marriage’

birā ‘brother’ → *birārzā* ‘nephew (brother’s son), niece (brother’s daughter)’

dit ‘daughter’ → *ditarzā* ‘grandchild (daughter’s son or daughter)’

kwiř ‘son’ → *kwiřarzā* ‘grandchild (son’s son or daughter)’

The (borrowed) form *nōwzā(d)* ‘newborn’ can also be added to the above list. The forms built with an agent noun can be followed by the suffix *-a*, forming concrete nouns (§4.1):

qwitqwit ‘cackle, cluck’ + *-kar* agent noun from the verb ‘to do’ + *-a* → *qwitqwitkara* ‘cackling thing, Cackle-cackle’

māl ‘house’ + *hātu* ‘uncle’ + *nīšān* ‘show, display’ + *-dar* agent noun from the verb ‘to give’ + *-a* → (*māl*)*hātunīšāndara* ‘ladybird [lit. the one who shows the uncle(’s house)]’

Some complex forms built with elements of verbal origin are further modified by the derivational suffix *-ī*:

das ‘hand’ + *-gīrān* ‘taking’ + *-ī* → *dasgīrānī* ‘engagement’

nām ‘name’ + *zad-* (Pers.) present stem of the verb ‘to hit, strike’ + *-ī* → *nāmzadī* ‘engagement’

¹⁴⁰ A comparable morpheme, labelled “Kinship-*r*” in Paul (2009: 548), is also present in Dimli/Zazaki (see Paul 1998b: 171) and in Gorani varieties of Kermānshāh Province (see Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 23).

¹⁴¹ The usual Harsini term for ‘paternal uncle’ is *mamu*.

In descriptive compounds, the head noun is accompanied by a noun in apposition or a qualifying adjective. The two elements can either be linked through the compound marker *-a-* or not. Most descriptive determinative compounds are nouns, but a few complex adjectives with possessive meaning also fit in this category. The qualifier can either precede or follow the qualified noun, with or without a compounding morpheme *-a-*. The attested combinations are:

i. Noun + Noun:

(a) Qualifier + Qualified

das 'hand' + *birā* 'brother' → *dasabirā* 'half-brother, best friend'

māṇj 'moon' + *šōw* 'night' → *māṇjašōw* 'moonlight night'

(b) Qualifier + Qualified

kala 'head' + *šer* 'lion' → *kalašer* 'rooster [lit. lion-head]'

ii. Noun + Adjective:

(a) Qualifier + Qualified

dā 'mother' + *katiṇj* 'big' → *dā katiṇj* 'grandmother'

bowa 'father' + *katiṇj* 'big' → *bowa katiṇj* 'grandfather'

In the following instance, a suffix *-a* is apparently attached to the end of the compound:

zuwān 'tongue' + *gwiṇar* 'small, little' + *-a* → *zuwān gwiṇ(i)ra* 'uvula [lit. small tongue]'

(b) Qualified + Qualifier

kal 'old, ruined' + *āsyāw* 'mill' → *kalāsyāw* 'old mill'

bīva 'widowed' + *žin* 'woman' → *bīvažin* 'widow'

pīr 'old' + *mard* 'man' → *pīramard* 'old man'

pīr 'old' + *žin* 'woman' → *pīražin* 'old woman, old lady'

kam 'bit, little' + *das* 'hand' → *kamdas* 'poor'

xwaš 'good, happy' + *hāt* 'state' → *xwiš(h)āt* 'happy'

bad 'bad' + *baxt* 'luck' → *badbaxt* 'poor, miserable'

řiš 'beard' + *čarmī* 'white' → *řičarmī* 'old man'

lam 'belly, stomach' + *piř* 'full' → *lampiř* 'pregnant'

Part III

Chapter 5: Texts in transcription and translation

5.1 Overview

This section contains a selected Harsini textual corpus, on which the grammatical description in Part II is mostly based. Each text has been given a title, which was either provided by the narrator at the moment of recording, or chosen arbitrarily on the basis of the narrative's content. A synopsis of the seven texts contained in this chapter is given below:

Table 15: Synopsis of the Harsini texts

Text	Speaker	Sex	Age	Genre	min:sec
1. <i>Nameyna</i> (The felt-made girl)	M.G./ S.S.	F/ F	50/ 62	Tale of magic (version 1)	10:00
2. <i>Čuwina</i> (The wooden girl)	F.P.	F	46	Tale of magic (version 2)	10:11
3. <i>Šü kačat</i> (The bald groom)	S.S.	F	62	Tale of magic	04:45
4. <i>Mā(h) pīšānī</i> (Moon-forehead)	S.S.	F	62	Tale of magic	09:30
5. <i>Mardi xīyāṭpardāz</i> (The dreaming man)	M.J.	M	50	Anecdote/joke	04:26
6. <i>Žin liva</i> (The crazy wife)	M.J.	M	50	Anecdote/joke	14:17
7. <i>Mīmī naṛadō</i> (The demonic aunt)	M.G.	F	50	Tale of magic	05:44
Total					58:53

The arrangement of the seven texts included in this chapter follows a standardised format. Each of them is preceded by a few introductory paragraphs containing relevant information on the narrator and the recording situation. The introduction is followed by a summary of the narrative's content, containing also basic information on the folktale's typology according to Marzolph (1984) and Uther (2004).¹⁴²

The texts in transcription and translation have been divided into numbered paragraphs or annotation units, structured as follows:

[1:12] S.S. *kwirdī harsinī!* Harsini Kurdish! (00:20)

The segmentation was mainly based on semantic cues and speech pauses. Each unit is identified by two numbers in square brackets on the left side, respectively indicating the text number and the paragraph number: e.g. [1:12]. Only in Text 1, where more than one consultant intervenes in the narration, the speaker's initials have been indicated for each utterance: e.g. S.S. Every annotation has a univocal correspondence with a section of the audio file, indicated by a reference to the beginning time expressed in minutes and seconds: e.g. (00:20).

Transcription conventions are summarized in Table 1 at the beginning of this work. The adopted representation is broadly phonemic, with some instances of phonetic rendering, which have been signalled and motivated in the sections on Harsini phonetics and phonology (Chapter 2). Unresolved problems concerning certain sounds might have caused the persistence of incongruities, which will hopefully be clarified and amended by future research.

I have tried to represent speech pauses, errors, fragments and hesitations as accurately as possible, in order to give an idea of the complex style of the elocution. For this purpose, the conventional symbols in Table 16 have been used.

¹⁴² Marzolph's classification is ultimately based on the Aarne & Thompson's (1961) index of international folktales (usually abbreviated as AT or ArTh), which attributes an alphanumeric code to folklore motifs and tale types. Uther (2004, abbreviated as ATU) is a revised and updated version of AT.

Table 16: Symbols used in transcriptions and translations

{ }	Curly brackets include not-analyzed language material, usually representing instances of code-switching to Persian or utterances pronounced by non-native speakers, both in transcription and in translation. These do not include integrated loans or occasional lexical borrowings.
{xxx}	The symbol 'xxx' included in curly brackets substitutes linguistic strings that are not clear in sense or form, both in transcription and in translation.
{? }	Uncertain passages, whose transcription or interpretation is provisional, are included in curly brackets and preceded by a question mark.
{# }	Possible speech errors, hesitations and speech fragments are preceded by an asterisk and included in curly brackets, both in transcription and in translation.
[...]	Three dots in square brackets might indicate a silence, an intentional omission or an interruption in discourse. Whenever present, these phenomena are signalled by the same symbol in translation.
[]	Square brackets including language material are used for several reasons. In transcription, they occur whenever the speaker addresses the listener directly, uttering sentences that have little or nothing to do with the narrative plot. In translation, they contain clarifications, preceded by the abbreviation 'i.e.' in the case of unspecified referents, or by 'lit.' in the case of necessary literal rephrasing, explaining idioms or other unusual forms in English.
()	Parentheses are used to enclose missing language material or unpronounced parts of words in transcription. In translation, they identify the supplemental linguistic material added to the English rendering in order to make the translation comprehensible.

The transcription of Harsini texts is paralleled by a free English translation. In the English version, the primary intent was to preserve a clear correspondence between word and meaning. Punctuation largely follows the standards of written English. In order to help the reader identify correspondences between the Harsini transcription and the English translation, punctuation has also been added to the transcribed text. The punctuation marks in transcription and translation correspond for the most part, but occasional differences might be observed. Further remarks on form or content are contained in footnotes.

Text 1: *Nameyna* (The felt-made girl)

Text 1 has been recorded in Harsin on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392). The main consultant (M. G.) was approximately fifty years old at the time of recording. She is native of the rural village of Parive, but has lived in the city of Harsin since her early marriage. She has not received elementary schooling. The traditional folktale she narrates has been recorded during a session held in the private house of her female neighbour (S. S.), who is also the narrator of Text 3 and Text 4. As the secondary speaker of this text, S. S. intervenes sixteen times, interrupting M. G.'s monologue and uttering brief sentences, either in Harsini or in Persian, to ask the main speaker to clarify specific passages or comment on the general development of the plot. A third speaker utters only one sentence in Persian at the beginning of the recording.

Summary: this folk narrative is representative of a genre commonly labelled as *Tale of Magic* or *Wonder Tale*. The complex schema of this narrative combines Marzolph's (1984) types *510B *Cinderella*¹⁴³ and 706 *Defamation: Mother allegedly kills her own children*¹⁴⁴. The second part of the narrative is akin to the version in Eshkevari (1352/1974: 140-143), as summarised in Marzolph (1984: 134).

A man and his wife exchange the promise that, if one of them would die, the other would be allowed to marry only a person fitting the deceased spouse's shoe. The wife eventually dies, and the man starts looking for a woman to marry. Yet, after a long quest, he cannot find anybody whose foot is the right size. In despair, he goes home, where he had left his daughter. As the girl tries the shoes on, her father realizes he should marry her (*510B I b/706 I a). The girl escapes to avoid incest (*510B I a/706 I): she asks a feltmaker to make a tunic under which she may hide (*510B II a), substitutes herself with a statue at the wedding, and runs away from home. During the night, she sleeps on the crown of a tree, nearby a spring. The next morning, a prince passes by and brings her to

¹⁴³ Cf. ATU 510B *Peau d'Asne* (previously *The Dress of Gold, of Silver and of Stars* [Cap 'o Rushes]).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. ATU 706C *The Father who Wanted to Marry His Daughter* (previously *Lecherous Father as Queen Persecutor*).

the royal palace. The girl, still in disguise, becomes his maidservant (*510B II b). On the occasion of a wedding, the girl leaves the palace in secret and shows herself to the boy without the felt tunic. After dancing with the beautiful girl, the prince falls in love (*510B II c) and the two exchange their rings. Before the end of the ceremony, the girl wears the felt tunic, goes back to the palace and sits combing wool. The prince decides to go in search of the mysterious girl and asks the maidservants to prepare some provisions. The girl hides the ring the prince had given her at the wedding into one of the fritters and places it at the bottom of his saddlebag. After a long quest, the prince eats the last fritter and finding the ring in it (*510B III a) he understands that the girl must be among his maidservants. Back to the palace, he asks the girl to bring him food and compels her to reveal her true identity (*510B III b). They get married (*510B IV/706 III a) and the girl gives birth to twins (706 III b). Meanwhile, the girl's father keeps looking for her. When he finds out that the girl has become the wife of a prince, he goes to the palace at night, slaughters the children, and slips the bloody knife among the girl's hair locks (706 III c). When the prince wakes up, he blames the girl for murdering the children and chases her away. Carrying the children's bodies (706 III e), she arrives at the foot of a tree where she meets three magic birds. The birds raise the children from death (706 IV a) on the condition that the woman becomes a sweeper at the Imam Rezā shrine. She goes to Mashhad, where the children grow up and become Quran readers. After some time, both the prince and the father go on a pilgrimage to Mashhad, where they meet the two boys. Feeling sympathy for them, both men ask to visit their mother (706 V a). The woman invites them for dinner. The meal becomes the occasion for the final revelation. The prince is persuaded of the woman's innocence (706 V b) and the two are reconciled (706 V c). As a punishment, the prince orders the girl's father to be burned alive (706 V d).

Transcription and Translation:

	Harsini	English	
[1:1] M.G.	<i>dāstān badbaxtī wižim bušim, mow?</i>	I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible?	(00:00)
[1:2] A.B.	{Pers. <i>čerā nemīše? har če mīxāhad dele tangat, begu</i> }.	{Why wouldn't it be possible? Tell whatever your gloomy heart wants}.	(00:02)
[1:3] 8S.S.	<i>biču, biču, tō {xxx} čāye bār.</i>	Go, go, you {xxx} bring a tea.	(00:08)
[1:4] S.S.	{Pers. <i>ma(n) kwirdī bāš harf mīzanam baʕzī mowqāt</i> }.	{Sometimes I speak Kurdish with her}.	(00:11)
[1:5] M.G.	<i>birā,¹⁴⁵ hin dī, {xxx} aře bušim.</i>	My friend, well then, I would tell her {xxx}.	(00:13)
[1:6] S.S.	<i>xu,</i>	fine,	(00:14)
[1:7] S.S.	<i>xu, buš aře.</i>	fine, tell her.	(00:15)
[1:8] M.G.	<i>birā ya [...]</i>	My friend, this [...]	(00:16)
[1:9] M.G.	{xxx} <i>bi zuwān wižim, dī [...]</i>	{xxx} in my own language, then [...]	(00:17)
[1:10] S.S.	<i>a! kwirdī,</i>	Yes! Kurdish,	(00:19)
[1:11] M.G.	<i>a!</i>	Yes!	(00:19)
[1:12] S.S.	<i>kwirdī harsinī!</i>	Harsini Kurdish!	(00:20)
[1:13] M.G.	<i>ya žinīk-ō pyāy</i>	This, a woman and a man	(00:20)

¹⁴⁵ The narrator uses this term to address the speaker in a friendly way. It literally means 'brother', but the term can be used as term of affection regardless of the addressee's sex (only women were attending this particular recording session).

[1:14]	žinšüan.	are wife and husband.	(00:23)
M.G.			
[1:15]	{# šüa} muše: «ar tö	{# The husband} says:	(00:24)
M.G.	bimirī, ī kōwšalta andāza	«If you die, whoever's	
	pā har ke bu, mi ava bās	foot will be the size of	
	[...] mi šüa makama	these shoes of yours,	
	binī», žina muše.	that one I will have to	
		[...] I will marry him»,	
		the woman says.	
[1:16]	bašdan pyākeyša muše:	Then, also the husband	(00:32)
M.G.	«minīž kōwšila tö andāza	says: «Me too, the one	
	pā har ke bu, mi [...] ava	whose foot will be the	
	šü bikea ma».	size of these shoes of	
		yours I [...] She will	
		marry me».	
[1:17]	pyāka kōwšila mare viātā	The man carries the	(00:37)
M.G.	viāt, šara šara	shoes from region to	
	magīrdine,	region, he brings them	
		around from town to	
		town (but)	
[1:18]	hüč kas nīya šü bikea	there is no one that	(00:42)
M.G.	binī.	could marry him.	
[1:19]	muše: «xwidā! ča	He says: «God, what	(00:44)
M.G.	bikam?».	shall I do?».	
[1:20]	tīr bar ġazā! ¹⁴⁶ ditīka	By chance, they have a	(00:45)
M.G.	māt dirin.	daughter at home.	
[1:21]	ditīa māt dirin, mārea	They have a daughter at	(00:48)
M.G.	māt, dit kōwšila makea	home, he brings (the	
	pā [...]	shoes) home, the	
		daughter puts the shoes	
		on [...]	
[1:22]	dit wižī?	His own daughter?	(00:52)
S.S.			

¹⁴⁶ This expression of surprise may be compared to Pers. *dast bar qazā* 'by chance, accidentally, it happens that...' (Lazard 1990: 319).

[1:23]	<i>a! dit wižī, kōwšila</i>	Yes, his own daughter,	(00:52)
M.G.	<i>makea var.</i>	she wears the shoes.	
[1:24]	<i>muše: «tō bāsa šū bikeya</i>	He says: «You have to	(00:53)
M.G.	<i>ma», bowa mušea dit.</i>	marry me», the father	
		says to the daughter.	
[1:25]	<i>yōwš: «aγ xwidā! ča</i>	Then she (says): «Oh	(00:58)
M.G.	<i>bikam, čü bikam?».</i>	God! What shall I do?	
		How can I do (that)?».	
[1:26]	{Pers. <i>āfarīn maryam,</i>	{Well done Maryam,	(01:00)
S.S.	<i>xeylī xub}</i> .	very good}.	
[1:27]	<i>a! yōwša valā,</i>	Yes! And she, well,	(01:01)
M.G.			
[1:28]	<i>dita maču, ye man¹⁴⁷</i>	the girl goes (and) gives	(01:03)
M.G.	<i>xwirī, masatan, mea</i>	a <i>man</i> of wool, for	
	<i>mama xān, žīr maččīt.</i>	example, to Mohammad	
		Khān, down the	
		mosque.	
[1:29]	<i>muše: «ya aṛām bika</i>	She says: «Make this	(01:08)
M.G.	<i>nameynī, faqat ye čame</i>	into a (piece of) felt for	
	<i>dīyār bu».</i>	me, (so that) just one	
		eye would be visible».	
[1:30]	<i>valā, mare makete name-</i>	Well, she brings it,	(01:12)
M.G.	<i>ö šōw mijassame māre</i>	makes it into a felt and,	
	<i>manea jā wižī,</i>	at night, she takes a	
		statue and puts it in her	
		own place,	
[1:31]	{? <i>lā sā ye kutā¹⁴⁸ qadīm}</i>	{? under the shade of an	(01:19)
M.G.	<i>wižmān [...] mea miliārā.</i>	old canopy} (like) ours	

¹⁴⁷ The word *man* refers to a measure for dry goods, roughly corresponding to three kilos.

¹⁴⁸ This passage is unclear, but it seems to contain the word *kutā* 'canopy, hut, sunshade'. The word *kula* is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 933) with the meaning 'summer sunshade built with branches and leaves of trees and plants'. Edmonds (1922: 340, 2010: 186, 332) quotes the *kula* or *kulā* as a bower of branches or a hut of boughs in connection to Lak nomads. Demant-Mortensen (1993: 85-86) provides a detailed description of the object as 'a hut with a roof of leafy branches, supported by twelve or sixteen forked posts arranged in parallel rows, and with walls and sometimes divisions – from the *siah chador* [i.e. black tent] – along three or four sides'. Note, however, the semantics of Balochi *killā* 'tent for a

		[...] she places (that) on it [i.e. the statue].	
[1:32]	<i>mea mil farusī, masan.</i>	She places it on his	(01:22)
S.S.		bride, for instance.	
[1:33]	<i>a! mea mil farusī. farus</i>	Yes! She places it on his	(01:23)
M.G.	<i>bā ī šūa, bā ī [...] bowase, iska.</i>	bride. The bride with this groom, with this [...] he is her father, then.	
[1:34]	<i>bowase.</i>	He is her father.	(01:26)
S.S.			
[1:35]	<i>bowase.</i>	He is her father.	(01:27)
M.G.			
[1:36]	<i>ya, dita maču, nameyna</i>	So, the girl goes, she	(01:28)
M.G.	<i>makea var, tā bān pā, ye čame dīyāra, řūa šar-ō [...] pišta šar-ō řūa bīawāna maču.</i>	puts the felt on, up to the feet, one eye is visible, heading towards the city and [...] (turning her) back on the city and heading towards the plain, she goes.	
[1:37]	<i>maču, maču, maču tā</i>	She goes and goes and	(01:38)
M.G.	<i>xwidā {# ki} xwidā dārī bike¹⁴⁹ maču.</i>	goes until the end of the world, she goes.	
[1:38]	<i>nām ye dōgalān dārī ka</i>	Inside the crotch of a	(01:42)
M.G.	<i>šōwanīa māy, mačua nām dāra,</i>	tree, when the night falls, she goes into (the crown of) the tree,	
[1:39]	<i>mačua nām dāra.</i>	she goes into (the crown of) the tree.	(01:47)
M.G.			
[1:40]	<i>šōwa maxafē.</i>	She sleeps (there) for	(01:48)
M.G.		the night.	

newly-wedded couple, in which they stay for 3 days', *killagara* 'veil, bridal curtain', besides *kul(l)* hut.

¹⁴⁹ This expression seems to equate Pers. *tā xodā xodā ast* or *tā xodā xodā'i mikonad*, translated by Lazard (1990: 156) as 'fam. jusqu'à la fin du monde [until the end of the world]'. Perhaps compare also *xodā xodā dāštan (kardan)* 'To take refuge with God' in Steingass (1963: 448), although this expression seems to be used mainly to ask for God's mercy/help.

[1:41] M.G.	<i>maxafe. šoso kwiř pādišā</i> <i>māy ki čirāwā āw de.</i>	She sleeps. The next morning, the king's son comes to give water to the horse.	(01:49)
[1:42] M.G.	<i>muše: «xwidā!</i>	He says: «Oh God!	(01:53)
[1:43] M.G.	<i>har čī make, čirāwka</i> <i>siłma make!¹⁵⁰ sā ha</i> <i>nām mil āwa».</i>	Whatever he does, the horse gets scared! There is a shadow on the water surface».	(01:55)
[1:44] M.G.	<i>muše: «birā,</i> <i>jinī,¹⁵¹parī,¹⁵²</i> <i>ādimīzādī? bāa xwor,</i>	He says: «My friend, are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being? Come down,	(01:58)
[1:45] M.G.	<i>tā īma [...] ī čirāwā āw</i> <i>bixwe».</i>	so that we [...] this horse may drink water».	(01:59)
[1:46] M.G.	<i>ōwš muše: «valā, na</i> <i>jinam, na</i> <i>āyimīzāykam».</i>	She says: «By God, I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being».	(02:05)
[1:47] M.G.	<i>māya xwor,</i>	She comes down,	(02:08)
[1:48] M.G.	<i>māya xwor, āw [...]</i> <i>čirāwāl āwa maxwan-ō</i> <i>marete ařā māł.</i>	she comes down, the water [...] the horses drink water and he brings her home.	(02:09)
[1:49] M.G.	<i>marete ařā māł, dāya</i> <i>muše: «kwiřa, ya čīa wira</i> <i>e nameyna alājūa</i> <i>āwirdīa?».</i>	He brings her home, his mother says: «O son, why have you brought	(02:13)

¹⁵⁰ The word *siłm*, reported as *silm* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011:750), means 'fear and dread along with circumspection in animals; hesitation and doubt along with caution. To be cautious in any action. To fear and flinch when seeing someone or something. To be afraid while standing still'.

¹⁵¹ *jinn*s (from Ar. *jinnī* pl. *jinn*) are supernatural creatures, either evil or benevolent, but capable of interacting physically with humans and objects in this world.

¹⁵² Already known to old Iranian mythology as a female demonic being or (evil) sorceress, the *Pari* (Pers. *pari*) progressively lost her negative attributes, becoming the prototype of a benign, fairy-like creature in later Iranian traditions.

		this weird piece of felt from there?». (02:17)
[1:50] M.G.	<i>öwša muše: «ar bül bin känig¹⁵³ aṛta mārer, dā, č(a) (h)āt arine? kārī aṛta make». muše: «ŕeyb nerī».</i>	He says: «If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you, mother, what's the problem? He is going to do some housework for you». She says: «That's fine».
[1:51] M.G.	<i>ya [...]</i>	This [...] (02:23)
[1:52] M.G.	<i>dī dīt har nameyna hā māl-ö aṛyān kārībār ī čia make, tā zamānī daṇ hina makana ŕarusī.</i>	then, the girl made of felt stays at the house and does the housework and such things for them, until they invite what's-his-name to a wedding. (02:26)
[1:53] M.G.	<i>dang šüa makana ŕarusī. masaṭan, va harsīn bičīt aṛā parīva.</i>	They invite the husband to a wedding. For instance, (as if) you would go from Harsin to Parive. (02:35)
[1:54] M.G.	<i>maču aṛā parīva.</i>	He goes to Parive. (02:39)
[1:55] M.G.	<i>yöwša [...] xwidā nīšt, ī dita diris kirdā!¹⁵⁴</i>	Then he [...] God sat down and created this girl (with great care)! (02:41)

¹⁵³ The word *känig*, reported as *konik* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 921), refers to a 'pit or fire-container on which the *sāj* [i.e. round and convex piece of metal used to bake bread] is placed. Combustible material that accumulates after burning. The act of taking it out is called *konik*'. The same word in 'Askari 'Ālam (1384/2005: 189) is glossed as 'a piece of wood placed under the *sāj* for baking bread'. Note that the connection of the main character with the ashes of the fireplace equates this story with more popular 'Cinderella' tales.

¹⁵⁴ This metaphor is used to underline the uncommon beauty of the girl.

[1:56] M.G.	<i>maču, boweγšī hatqe aře sanīa, {# jūr} nāmzadī.</i>	She goes, her father has bought a ring for her, {# like} an engagement.	(02:44)
[1:57] S.S	<i>āy badbaxt!</i>	Oh, poor (girl)!	
[1:58] M.G.	<i>yōwša maču. valā, nameyna manīa žīr kwičikī, mačua nām, čū šarusī xās řaxsa make, das kwiřeyša magirī, hatqa kilik wižī makea kilik kwiřa.</i>	She goes, too. Well, she puts the piece of felt under a rock, she goes inside, she dances properly like (they do at) weddings, she also takes the boy's hand (and) slips the ring from her own finger on to the boy's finger.	(02:54)
[1:59] M.G.	<i>{? čuxitea}¹⁵⁵ mārīar, mear deγšt.</i>	She takes {? her little (felt) cloak} out and goes away.	(02:58)
[1:60] S.S.	<i>če ziriγī kirdīa, ava!</i>	What a clever trick she has made!	(03:01)
[1:61] M.G.	<i>a! mear deγšt, mear deγšt, māy, nameyna makea kuł [...] a, mān, dāke var až ava piř gwinī xwirīa mea bine muše: «bās beya das</i>	Yes! She goes away, she goes away, she comes, she puts the piece of felt on her shoulders [...] oh, it remained (to say that),	(03:08)

¹⁵⁵ Probably a diminutive form of the word *čux(ā)*, reported as *chuwex* or *chuxa* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 451) and described as 'a gown or mantle worn by priests'. In 'Askari 'Ālam (1384/2005: 90), the word is defined as 'a particular tunic worn by distinguished people, a gown'. An idea of the form and appearance of this item of clothing can be drawn from four pictures of cloaks (named *cura*, *cuga* or *cugha*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 317-398). According to Ingham (2005: 175), "a prestigious item is the *čōxah* or *jūxah* which is a jacket of varying length often highly decorated, bearing the same name as its material *jūx* 'broad-cloth', which has also a secondary development *mjawwax* 'brocaded' [...]. This item would seem to have been introduced from the north perhaps in Turkish times. A similar item called *cōxa* is universally worn as an item of national dress in the Caucasus. This is an outer garment, like an extended jacket with long sleeves in black with cartridge cases on the breast. The word *cōxa* has no meaning in the Caucasian languages but it denotes 'heavy felt' in Turkish (T. *čuha*). A dress of a similar type to the *cōxa* is also worn in India known there as *cōgān*".

	<i>ava, kwilī</i> {? <i>bīa</i> <i>šānava</i> }».	before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool (and) says: «You have to give it to her and all of it {? has to be combed}».	
[1:62] S.S.	<i>xu.</i>	Fine.	(03:12)
[1:63] M.G.	<i>yōwša zū māy, duwāra</i> <i>nameyna makea kut-ō</i> <i>dara mačua nām-ō</i> <i>manīšīa hin šāna kirdin.</i> <i>kwiṛa māy, dītea matape.</i> <i>muše: «mi har a kasa</i> <i>meytīm, mi har ava</i> <i>meytīm».</i> <i>mačīna šarusī,</i> <i>daŋyāna makan.</i>	Then, she comes back early, she wears the piece of felt again, she enters the house and she sits down, what-do you-call-it, combing. The boy arrives, his heart beats. He says: «I want only that person, I want only that one». They go to the wedding, they invite them.	(03:26)
[1:64] S.S.	<i>mazānim, mušin: [...]</i>	I know, they say: [...]	(03:27)
[1:65] M.G.	<i>«xwidā ča bikeym? ava</i> <i>hā ku?».</i>	«God, what shall we do? Where is she?».	(03:28)
[1:66] M.G.	<i>muše: «hin aṛām bikan,</i> <i>birsāq¹⁵⁶ aṛām bāran, dō</i> <i>hur¹⁵⁷ diris kan tā mi</i>	(The prince) says: «Do (this) thing for me, bring me fritters,	(03:30)

¹⁵⁶ The word *birsāq* or *beži* refers to a traditional dessert, usually cooked during the New Year's holidays or on the occasion of weddings. It is a type of fritter, oblong in shape, prepared with flour, sugar, animal fat (typical of the Kermānshāh region), cumin and turmeric (see Hamze'i, 1391/2012: 219-220). Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 12) defines the word *bersāq* as 'a particular type of bread, whose dough is prepared with wheat flour, milk and cumin, made into pieces and fried in some kind of fat. In the past, this bread was brought as provisions during long travels with quadrupeds'. Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 144) defines the word *bersāq* as a 'crispbread prepared with flour, egg, milk and sugar, fried in a local animal fat (*dān*) for long travels, because it goes bad late and is very energizing'.

¹⁵⁷ According to Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 476), the word *hur* refers to 'a big saddlebag (Pers. *xorjīn*), a sack of woven or plaited wool, having two wings or two horizontal pockets,

	<i>bičim, miney dita bikam».</i>	prepare two saddlebags so that I may go and look for the girl».	
[1:67] M.G.	<i>nōwkarala māžea šun-ō dō gila huř birsāq [...] yōwš hara muše: «ay, aytān xwidā! dā keywānu, tikaṭe be! aytān xwidā!».</i>	He sends the servants and two saddlebags of fritters [...] (The felt- made girl) keeps saying: «Oh, oh, for God's sake! Old lady, give (me) a small piece (of it)! For God's sake!».	(03:39)
[1:68] M.G.	<i>kamī xamīra binīa masīnī. kilkawāna maču, manīa nāme. mōwršīne, manīa tu daṭqe, māžea bin xwirjīn.</i>	She gets a bit of dough from her. She goes and puts the ring into it. She fries it, puts it in a packet (and) throws it to the bottom of the saddlebag.	(03:48)
[1:69] S.S.	<i>har aṛā a sā māṭa, bigir.</i>	You would say it is just for the master of the house.	(03:54)
[1:70] M.G.	<i>anū ča, har dita nameyna!</i>	Just so, exactly the felt- made girl!	(03:56)
[1:71] M.G.	<i>yōwša mačīn, dinyā magīrdīn, dīt hā ku? čtā ku? dāyšīa muše: «ṛuṭa, ya parī bīa, ya jinī bīa. {# dā} hā ku? dīt hā kura? līva, ku bīta?»</i>	Then they go, they travel all over the world, where is the girl? Where has she gone? His mother, too, says: «My dear, this one was a fairy, she was a sprite. Where is {# the mother}? Where is the	(03:58)

used to tie a load to the back of quadrupeds'. ⁶Askari ⁶Ālam (1384/2005: 96) defines the word *hurr* as 'a big saddlebag of woven wool for the transportation and preservation of agricultural products'. In Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 47), the word *hur/xur* has the meaning of 'a tool of woven wool, having two wings and used to transport wheat and the like'. An idea of the shape of these items of harness can be drawn from the pictures of saddlebags (*hurdj/hurdg/hurdjin/hurjak* and *hur/xorc*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 165-183).

		girl? Crazy (girl), where have you been?»	
[1:72]	<i>muše: «šey(b) nerī, mi</i>	He says: «It doesn't	(04:10)
M.G.	<i>bičim».</i>	matter, I shall go».	
[1:73]	<i>valā, maču, magīrdī,</i>	Well, he goes, he goes	(04:11)
M.G.	<i>bašdar māṅhā, bīs šōw, ye</i>	around, after (several)	
	<i>mā(h), māya dimā [...]</i>	months, twenty nights,	
	<i>hin mān dī [...] xu hin,</i>	one month, he comes	
	<i>tamāma mow āzāqa.</i>	back (and) [...] well, it	
		remained (to say) [...] well then, the provisions	
		finish.	
[1:74]	<i>āzāqa tamāma mow,</i>	The provisions finish,	(04:21)
M.G.	<i>dasa makea mil ī pirīzī</i>	he gets his hands on	
	<i>hā bin xwījīna.</i>	this bundle, which is	
		inside the saddlebag.	
[1:75]	<i>māretere, manete žīrī, a</i>	He takes it [i.e. the	(04:24)
M.G.	<i>[...] qarč! kilkawāna</i>	fritter] out, puts it under	
	<i>kazāya!</i>	(his teeth), yes [...] Crunch! It's the	
		aforesaid ring!	
[1:76]	<i>qarčea māy, kilkawānī</i>	A crunch-sound comes	(04:29)
M.G.	<i>šavazbadaṭa make. hina</i>	out, he exchanges his	
	<i>wižīa me, hina ōw(=a</i>	ring, he gives his own	
	<i>māre), a.</i>	(ring away and takes)	
		hers, yes.	
[1:77]	<i>ārī, ārī [...]</i>	Yes, yes [...]	(04:31)
S.S.			
[1:78]	<i>{# mā(re)} [...] māre</i>	{# He tak(es)} [...] He	(04:34)
M.G.	<i>muše: «a ki hā bin māṭ</i>	takes (hers and) says:	
	<i>wižīma», a diṭ wižīa</i>	«She's the one who's in	
	<i>muše, «bičīm aṛya ī</i>	my own house», he says	
	<i>haṭqa».</i>	to himself, «We shall go	
		back (in search of) this	
		ring».	

[1:79] M.G.	<i>valā, mān, mān aṛya, mān aṛya, muṣea dāy, muše: «nāxwašim, āš řište aṛām bika».</i>	Well, they come, they come back, they come back, he says to his mother, he says: «I'm sick, prepare a noodle soup for me».	(04:39)
[1:80] M.G.	<i>ōwša muše: «beya nameyna, bāre». muše: «mājirā řišt bigire!¹⁵⁸ nameyna čü ditla makīše?». muše: «bāša».</i>	He also says: «Give it to the felt to carry». She says: «May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want the felt (to carry it)?». She says: «Fine».	(04:42)
[1:81] S.S.	<i>namīne yaʕnī namad kirdāsa sarī?</i>	Does 'Namine' mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head?	(04:52)
[1:82] M.G.	<i>anü ča, hu! tā bān pā [...]</i>	Oh yes! Up to the feet [...]	(04:53)
[1:83] S.S.	<i>šekle maʕlüm now [...] ārī.</i>	(So that) her shape would not be evident [...] yes.	(04:55)
[1:84] M.G.	<i>a, maʕlüm now ča hā žīrī!</i>	Yes, (so that) it would not be clear what is under it!	(04:55)
[1:85] M.G.	<i>ya mārī [...] muše: «āš řišta bika bea nameyna aṛām bārī».</i>	This one brings [...] he says: «Prepare the noodle soup and give it to the felt (so that) he may bring it to me».	(04:59)
[1:86] M.G.	<i>ōwša muše: «kwiṛa! nameyna čü, āxir? mājirā řišt bigire! čü</i>	She says: «O son! How (comes) the felt, then? May something (bad)	(05:07)

¹⁵⁸ The verb řišt *girtin* is reported as *reish gerten* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 653), meaning 'a misadventure or a trouble involving or happening to someone'. The expression can be compared also with Pers. řiš-e *kaš be dast āvordan* meaning 'to have someone in one's control, to dominate'.

- dīta makīše?», muše: «va tō ča?».* happen to you! How could you want (this)?», He says: «What (has it to do) with you?».
- [1:87] *mea bine, marea nām* She [i.e. the prince's (05:10)
M.G. *dara, dara qofta make.* mother] gives it [i.e. food] to her, she [i.e. the girl] carries it inside the room [lit. door] and he [i.e. the prince] locks the door.
- [1:88] *hina [...] čaqua māžea* He throws a thingy [...] a (05:13)
M.G. *nameyna, möüni, huri¹⁵⁹* knife at the felt-made
kata deyšt va žīr nama. girl (and) sees (that) a
har dityāna matape. houri came out [lit. fell out] from under the felt. Their hearts beat wildly.
- [1:89] *ham dit, ham kwiř.* Both the girl, and the (05:21)
S.S. boy.
- [1:90] *a, yōwša māy, muše:* Yes, she [i.e. the (05:21)
M.G. *«gīsīt bōwřire,¹⁶⁰ būnim* mother] arrives, too,
ča dī va e kwiřma kird! ey (and) says: «May your
xwidā xafate be! e braids be cut off! Let me
kwiřma č(a) arde hāt?». see what he [i.e. the felt]
vaxtī maču [...] did to this son of mine, then! Oh, may God despise him [i.e. the felt]! What happened to my son?». When she goes [...]

¹⁵⁹ According to Islamic traditions, the houris (from Ar. *ḥaurā'* pl. *ḥūr*, or *ḥūriyya* pl. *ḥūriyyāt*) are the heavenly virgins whose company will be granted to male Muslim believers in the afterlife.

¹⁶⁰ This idiomatic expression, lit. 'may your braids be cut off', refers to the women's custom of cutting their hair as public expression of mourning for the death of a beloved person. It is used here as an exclamation of rage or surprise. Cf. *geis* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1014).

[1:91] M.G.	<i>vaxtī maču, möünī hardik katina,¹⁶¹ hurika žīr ī nama bīsa.</i>	when she goes, she sees that both of them have fallen (to the ground), a houri was (hidden) under that felt.	(05:31)
[1:92] M.G.	<i>māretyāna wižyān, muše: «ya čā? ya fiṭāna?». öwš dī day nimake.</i>	She wakes them up (and) says: «What is this? Is this such-and- such?». Then, she doesn't speak anymore.	(05:37)
[1:93] M.G.	<i>haft sāz-ö haft řuž sür ařea mane,</i>	She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him,	(05:43)
[1:94] M.G.	<i>{# ařa dita} [...] sürīa make ařa kwiřa, make ařa kwiřa.</i>	{# for the girl} [...] she prepares a wedding for the boy, she does it for the boy.	(05:45)
[1:95] M.G.	<i>čan midatī makatīa nām, xwidā jiftī kwiřa mea bine, doqolu.</i>	Some time passes, God gives her a couple of sons, twins.	(05:50)
[1:96] M.G.	<i>xwidā jiftea mea bine, bowa {# ku bi} [...] ku {? bičite}? bowa makatea mineye.</i>	God gives her a couple (of sons), (but) the father, {# where} [...] where {? does he go}? The father sets out to find her.	(05:58)
[1:97] S.S.	<i>makatea miney dita.</i>	He sets out after the girl.	(06:02)
[1:98] M.G.	<i>diteyř yak e dinānalīa sea, a.</i>	The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black, yes.	(06:02)
[1:99] M.G.	<i>muše «hāy?» xana va xana, šara šar, viṭāta viṭāt mineya make.</i>	He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile, from town to	(06:05)

¹⁶¹ The verb *katin* 'to fall' here implies a sexual intercourse.

[1:100]	<i>muše «hāy?» xana va</i> M.G. <i>xana. yōwša muše:</i> <i>«xwidā ča bi(kam?)»,</i> <i>har čī muše [...]</i>	town, from region to region, he looks for her. He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile. Then, he says: «God, what shall (I do?)», whatever he says [...]	(06:09)
[1:101]	<i>kwiřa maču mārete ařā</i> M.G. <i>māt. muše kwiř: «e</i> <i>badbaxtika! č(a)(h)āt</i> <i>arine?».</i>	The boy goes and brings him to (his) house. The boy says: «Oh this miserable one! What's the matter?».	(06:15)
[1:102]	<i>dita möünī, muše: «a ki</i> M.G. <i>wižīase!».</i> ¹⁶² <i>šōw sar</i> <i>hardō kwiřa mōwřī, tīxa</i> <i>manīa nām gīs dāka,</i> <i>šōw.</i>	He sees the girl and says: «Oh, it's her!». At night, he slaughters both sons (and) puts the blade among the mother's braids, at night.	(06:19)
[1:103]	<i>yōwša muše: «xwidāyā!».</i> M.G. <i>šōso, so gi hiza magirī</i> <i>möünī āylal hardik</i> <i>mirdina.</i>	She says: «Oh my God!». The next day, when she wakes up in the morning, she sees that both children are dead.	(06:29)
[1:104]	<i>yakī mea ī bātīš yakī a</i> M.G. <i>bātīše, makate arine,</i> <i>muše: «biču, fiṭān</i> <i>fiṭān».</i> ¹⁶³	She puts one of them under this arm of hers, the other under that arm of hers, too, (while her husband) runs after her, saying: «Go away, such-and-such».	(06:34)

¹⁶² There seem to be two 3SG clitic pronouns in *wižīase*, one of which is redundant.

¹⁶³ Here *fiṭān fiṭān* 'such-and-such, so-and-so' implies the insults the prince addresses to the girl, while chasing her away from the palace.

- [1:105] *bowa muše: «har dākyān* The father says: «It was (06:38)
M.G *bīa! kī sar āylila mōwřī?* their mother(’s fault)!
har dāka bīa». bičāra Who (could) slaughter
maču, maču, maču ařā the children? It was
pā ye dārī, keynī-ō dār surely the mother». The
kazāy. poor (girl) goes and goes
and goes to the foot of a
tree, the aforesaid
spring and tree.
- [1:106] *maču ařā pā a dāra,* She goes at the foot of (06:50)
M.G *muše: «xwidā gi tō va pā* that tree (and) says:
ī dāra, ya {xxx} iskeyš «God, you who {xxx} at
nijātī pyā kam, e řū ī the foot of this tree, now
bowama se kam». let me find redemption,
let me destroy [lit.
blacken the face of] this
father of mine».
- [1:107] *si hina mān, si kamutar,* Three what-do-you-call- (07:00)
M.G *muše:*¹⁶⁴ *«īma bibī hur,* them, three doves come.
bībī nur, bibī They say: «We are Lady
*sešameymīn.*¹⁶⁵ *ey* Houri, Lady Light and
badbaxt, nameyna Lady Tuesday. Hey
badbaxt!

¹⁶⁴ This verb has singular form, but plural meaning.

¹⁶⁵ These are three supernatural entities closely tied to the female ritual of the *sofre* (lit. ‘tablecloth’) described, among others, in Atkinson 1832: 25-29; Massé 1938: 302-303; Torab 1998: 183-188, 2007: 115-138; Kalinock 2004: 531-546; Omidshar 2006. These rituals are usually performed on Tuesdays and involve a sacred meal prepared and consumed by women in order to fulfil a vow (Pers. *nazr*), be granted a wish or escape a misfortune. During the ceremony, stories and prayers are recited to bless the foodstuff, which is shared within the congregation, or distributed to the poor of the community. The stories told on these occasions usually deal with female difficulties. As explained by Kalinock (2004), the roots of this ritual might be grounded in pre-Islamic and even pre-Zoroastrian traditions, but it later became popular among Shia Muslim communities as well. Over time, the ritual incorporated Islamic beliefs and the *Bibis*, whose ultimate origins remain obscure, came to be identified as various female personalities of Shiite Islam (see Beveridge 1902: 144; Kalinock 2004: 542; Torab 1998: 179). Some sources describe them as pious and heroic women related to the events of Imam Hossein’s death at Karbalā’ (see Atkinson 1832: 25-29), while Massé (1938: 302-303) presents them as fictional characters, identified with the sisters of the King of fairies (Pers. *šāh-e pari*).

		poor, poor felt-made girl!	
[1:108]	<i>si gila paṛa meylīma jā, ī</i>	We will leave three	(07:11)
M.G	<i>dāra bār biku, va paṛ bisā</i>	feathers here, take this	
	<i>bin milyān, a nazr</i>	tree and crush it, rub (it)	
	<i>xwidā, mowna āylila</i>	with the feathers under	
	<i>duwāra. me bičīa [...] valī</i>	their neck, as God's gift	
	<i>me bičīa tamūsī imām</i>	they will become (living)	
	<i>řizā.</i>	children again. But you	
		have to go [...] you have	
		to go cleaning at the	
		Imam Rezā (shrine).	
[1:109]	<i>me bičīa nām imām řizā,</i>	You have to enter Imam	(07:26)
M.G	<i>dī buyta hin imām řizā.</i>	Rezā (shrine), and then	
	<i>dī haq nerī busī era».</i>	be(come) Imam Rezā's	
		what-do-you-call-it. You	
		don't have the right to	
		stay here anymore».	
[1:110]	<i>yōwš, valā, kamutaral fiṛ</i>	And then, well, the	(07:31)
M.G	<i>bāta magirin, si pala¹⁶⁶</i>	doves take flight, they	
	<i>meylina jā.</i>	leave tree feathers there.	
[1:111]	<i>maču, galā dāra māre,</i>	She goes, she brings the	(07:32)
M.G	<i>xāsa makue, masea bin</i>	leaves of the tree, she	
	<i>milyān.</i>	crushes (them) properly,	
		(and) rubs (them) under	
		their necks.	
[1:112]	<i>hardik āyla manīština</i>	Both children were	(07:39)
M.G	<i>qijava.</i>	sitting on their rears	
		once again.	
[1:113]	<i>māžetyāna šān, me aṛā</i>	She puts them on her	(07:42)
M.G	<i>[...] maču aṛā mašad,</i>	shoulders, she sets off	
	<i>{xxx} māy,</i>	towards [...] she goes to	

¹⁶⁶ The word *pal* seems to be used here as a variant of *paṛ*, with the meaning 'feather, plumage'. However, *pæl* is also reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 276-277) with the meaning 'branch, leaf, blossom', which would equally fit the context. In the latter sense the word is attested in Gorani (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 241; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 202-203).

		Mashhad, {xxx} she arrives,	
[1:114]	<i>marin māžine</i> ¹⁶⁷ <i>mašad</i> ,	they hit the road to	(07:48)
M.G	<i>masaṭan</i> .	Mashhad, for example.	
[1:115]	<i>dī mowa hin wirala</i> [...]	Then, she becomes	(07:50)
M.G	<i>āylala māre šamaṭ, qöüa mowin, mowna yakī ye qwirānxwan, masaṭan</i> .	thingummy there [...]	
		she brings up the children, they become strong, each of them becomes a reader of the Quran, for instance.	
[1:116]	<i>tā bowa, šüa muše:</i>	Until the father, the	(07:57)
M.G	<i>«bičīma, bičīma mašadirā, bičīm zīyārati bikeymīn». pyākeyž hara mamīnea wira, bowa,</i>	husband says: «Let's go, let's go to Mashhad, let's go on a pilgrimage». The man keeps staying there [i.e. at the prince's palace] as well, the father,	
[1:117]	<i>pīramird</i> .	the old man.	(08:05)
S.S.			
[1:118]	<i>anü ča dī, mačīn ařā</i>	Exactly, they go to	(08:05)
M.G	<i>mašad</i> .	Mashhad.	
[1:119]	<i>hara muše</i> [...] <i>xün ī</i>	He keeps saying [...] the	(08:08)
M.G	<i>āylila juša māre</i> , ¹⁶⁸ <i>bowa</i> .	children awaken a feeling of closeness in the father [lit. make the father's blood boil].	

¹⁶⁷ Serial verb constructions involving the verb *āwirdin*, PRS *ār-/ar-* 'to bring' (and possibly *girtin*, PRS *gīr-* 'to take') do not always have purely semantic content, but may convey additional aspectual (inchoative) values broadly paralleling Italian constructions with *prendere e...*, *prendere a...* + main verb. Their translation throughout the texts is provisional.

¹⁶⁸ This expression, lit. 'to bring the blood to boiling', is comparable to Pers. *xun be juš āmadan* 'to get excited, to lose control'. Karimpour (1382/2003: 238), under the entry *juš* 'inclination; some sort of internal attraction', quotes the verb *xün juš hātīn* with the meaning 'to have a feeling of closeness to a counterpart, both from the point of view of emotions and of blood relations'.

- [1:120] *hara muše: «xwidā!*
M.G *xwašmayāna māy! tō*
binīš, qwirān aṛā mi
bixwan». qwirāna
maxwane,
He keeps saying: «Oh (08:12)
God! I like them! You,
sit and read the Quran
for me!». He reads the
Quran for him,
- [1:121] *muše: «ča kāreytin? ča*
M.G *{xxx}?». mušin: «hüč,*
mādare dirīmin, aṛā
imām řizā teya makīše,
kāra make. imeyša sīqa
sar imām řizā, nānī
maxweymin».
He says: «What's your (08:17)
job? What {xxx}?». They
say: «Nothing, we have
a mother, she mops, she
works for (the shrine of)
Imam Rezā. We, too,
earn a living thanks to
our sacrifices for Imam
Rezā».
- [1:122] *yahāna. muše: «now*
M.G *daſvatī {xxx} aṛā māt?».*
öwša mušin: «mi ejāza
mādaram bisīnim, aṛā na
nimow».
And so on. He says: (08:27)
«Isn't it possible an
invitation {xxx} to (your)
house?». They say: «I
shall get my mother's
permission, otherwise
it's not possible».
- [1:123] *yöwša muše: «valā, a dö*
M.G *naſarin, hara mušin*
“bāym aṛā māt”»,
mušina dāka, «ča
bikam?».
Then, he says: «Well, (08:35)
there are those two
people (who) keep
saying “we shall come to
(your) house”», they say
to the mother, «What
shall I do?».
- [1:124] *dāyša va düredür maču*
M.G *möünī bowa kazāy-ö šüe.*
The mother, then, from (08:42)
afar, goes and sees the
aforesaid father and her
(own) husband.
- [1:125] *yöwša muše: «ſarusānī*
M.G *bisīnin, bāran, ſarusān*
ptāsīkīe».
Then she says: «Buy (08:47)
and bring a doll, a
plastic doll».

[1:126]	<i>mārin, sifra māžin-ö</i>	They bring (it), they lay	(08:52)
M.G	<i>parde dirī, a žina ha dīm.</i>	the tablecloth and there's a curtain, that woman is behind it.	
[1:127]	<i>muše: «dākam!», muše:</i>	He says: «Oh mother!». (08:57)	
M.G	<i>«buša dāt, buš [...] buša māmānat, buš “bā-ö nān bixwa!”».</i>	(The girl's father) says. «Tell your mother, tell [...] tell your mom, tell (her to) come and eat!».	
[1:128]	<i>muše: «na, buša e</i>	She says: «No, tell this	(09:02)
M.G	<i>šarusāna, buš “nān bixwa!”».</i>	doll, tell (her) to eat!».	
[1:129]	<i>yōwša muše: «āxir</i>	He says: «Well, how	(09:05)
M.G	<i>šarusān čü nāna maxwe? šarusān nimow nān bixwe».</i>	(could) a doll eat? Dolls can't eat!».	
[1:130]	<i>muše: «anü dā čü sar āyl</i>	She says: «Then, how	(09:09)
M.G	<i>wiža möwřī? mādar dīta sar farzand wižī bōwře?».</i>	(could) a mother slaughter her own children? Have you (ever) seen a mother slaughtering her own children?».	
[1:131]	<i>muše [...] dā māya nām,</i>	He says [...] the mother	(09:14)
M.G	<i>dā māya nām, dāstān muše: «ya bowama, šāšiq mi bīa,</i>	comes in, the mother comes in (and) tells the story: «This is my father, he was in love with me,	
[1:132]	<i>min ī nama diris</i>	I made this felt, I wore	(09:20)
M.G	<i>kirdima, kirdimasa varim tā ī bowa dasea mi nařase.</i>	it so that the hands of this father (of mine) wouldn't reach out for me.	
[1:133]	<i>hātima, iska, katīasa</i>	I came (here and), at	(09:25)
M.G	<i>šunim. až e [...] vitīa [...]</i>	that moment, he started	

	<i>katīasa šunim, tā pyām kirdīa.</i>	looking for me. From this [...] he said [...] he started looking for me, until he found me.	
[1:134] M.G	<i>iska gi pyām kirdīa, sar āylila biṛīa».</i>	As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids».	(09:31)
[1:135] M.G	<i>pādišā, kwiṛ pādišā muše: «{# ha} [...] haft {# kū} [...] hin haft [...] xar pyā kan, hīzam bāran, kua bikan.¹⁶⁹ bowa binina milī, āgirī dan, hara imām řizā».</i>	The king, the prince says: «Find {# sev(en)} [...] seven {# braz(iers)} [...] thingy, seven [...] donkeys, bring some firewood (and) make the stack. Place the father on it (and) burn him, right at (the) Imam Rezā (shrine)».	(09:34)
[1:136] M.G	<i>haft kūra hina māran, bowa manina milī, nafta makea milī, āgirīa mean.</i>	They bring seven braziers (to) such-and-such (place), they place the father on top, he pours gasoline on him (and) they burn him.	(09:47)
[1:137] M.G	<i>āgirīa mean. das āylila magirī, bowa, mān aṛā māt.</i>	They burn him. The father takes the children by the hand (and) they go back home.	(09:53)
[1:138] M.G	<i>mān aṛā māt. tamām bī.</i>	They go back home. This was the end.	(09:56)

¹⁶⁹ The word *ku* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 687) with the meaning of ‘collection, pile, stack’ (= Pers. *kume*).

Text 2: *Čuwīna* (The wooden girl)

Text 2 was recorded in Harsin on the 24th of January 2014 (4th of Bahman 1392). The consultant (F. P.) is a forty-six year old woman, native of Harsin and living in the city at the time of recording. She has received elementary school education. The folktale has been recorded in the private house of one of her relatives in Harsin.

Summary: this folk narrative fits into the category of *Tales of Magic* and displays a composite narrative schema: the prologue is comparable to Marzolph's (1984) type *311A *Namaki and the Div*,¹⁷⁰ while the content of the second part overlaps with that of the story of *Nameyna* (Text 1), i.e. Marzolph's (1984) type *510B *Cinderella*.¹⁷¹ A similar tale is included in Amanolahi & Thackston (1986: 64-70, 156-157):

A farmer and his wife have three daughters. Before going to town, he asks them what they need. The wife and the older daughters ask for clothes, while the youngest asks for a *xiftīlīxiftān*. The man looks for the imaginary dress without success. Finally, he overhears that a demon living on a mountain has it. The man goes there, but indulges in eagerness. While he is stealing the *xiftīlīxiftān* and other precious objects, the demon wakes up and tries to eat him. The creature has mercy upon the man on condition that he hands his three daughters over to him. The man accepts and goes back home, where he tells the matter to his wife. The youngest daughter eavesdrops the conversation. On a Friday night, the demon kidnaps the elder daughter (*311A II c). Back at the cave, he gives her a cattle's head to eat but, as soon as the demon leaves the cave, she throws it away. Later, the demon checks if the girl has eaten the head and discovers the fraud (*311A III a). The same happens with the second daughter (*311A III b). The last daughter, aware of the situation, ties a cat around her waist. When the demon gives her the head to eat, she gives it to the cat. The girl, with a play on words, convinces the demon that she has eaten the head and makes him content (*311A III c). With a second trick, she discovers the place where the "bottles of life" of the demons are

¹⁷⁰ Cf. ATU 311 *Rescue by the sister* (previously AT 311A* *Escape in Glass Gourd*).

¹⁷¹ Cf. ATU 510B *Peau d'Asne* (previously *The Dress of Gold, of Silver and of Stars* [*Cap 'o Rushes*]).

stored. She destroys them and sets other captives free. Among them, are a goldsmith and a carpenter, who give her a golden dress and a wooden box (*510B II a). They put her in the box and let her go with the river flow. The box arrives at the king's palace, where the girl becomes a maidservant (*510B II b). At this point, the narration follows the events in Text 1. The girl shows herself off at a wedding and the prince falls in love with her (*510B II c). The two exchange their rings. The prince sets out in search of the girl. The girl hides the ring into a fritter. The prince eventually finds it and understands the truth (*510B III a). Once back home, he asks the wooden girl to bring him food and compels her to reveal her true identity (*510B III b). They finally get married (*510B IV).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[2:1]	<i>ya pyāyk-ō žinī si gila dīt dirin.</i>	A man and his wife have three daughters.	(00:00)
[2:2]	<i>ī si dita [...] pyāka kišāvarza.</i>	These three girls [...] the man is a farmer.	(00:05)
[2:3]	<i>bašd ki kišāvarzī tamāma mow, muše: «mi bičima šar», xarīd bike. mušea ditele, muše: «ča aṛātān bārim?».</i>	After he has finished farming [lit. farming is finished], he says: «I am going to the city», he would do some shopping. He says to his daughters, he says: «What shall I bring for you?».	(00:09)
[2:4]	<i>ye dītīa muše, masatan: «aṛām, řusarī, kōwš». ī dīt vasata muše: «pīrhan aṛām bār-ō čādir».</i>	A daughter says, for instance: «For me, a headscarf, shoes». This middle daughter says: «Bring me a shirt, and a chador».	(00:17)

[2:5]	<i>dit gwiĵar muše: «aṛā mi xiftelīxiftān bār».</i>	The younger daughter says: «Bring me a <i>xiftilīxiftān</i> ». ¹⁷²	(00:26)
[2:6]	<i>muše: «bāšad». bašd pyā mačua nām šar.</i>	He says: «Fine». Then the man goes to the city.	(00:31)
[2:7]	<i>mačua nām šar, xarīd aṛā dit kaṭiḡ-ö vasat-ö žinea make.</i>	He goes to the city (and) buys things for the elder daughter, the middle (daughter) and his wife.	(00:33)
[2:8]	<i>bašd har je maču, muše: «xiftilīxiftān?».</i> <i>«xiftilīxiftān», mušin, «nīya».</i>	Then, wherever he goes, he says: «The <i>xiftilīxiftān</i> ?». «There is no <i>xiftilīxiftān</i> », they say.	(00:37)
[2:9]	<i>āxirī, yakī muše: «xiftilīxiftān, valā, ye dīvī ki hā fiṭān kü ava dirī. agar šāns bārī bičī ava xaftū,</i>	Finally, one says: «The <i>xiftilīxiftān</i> , well, a demon, who is on such-and-such mountain, has that. If you will be lucky (enough) to go when he is already sleeping,	(00:42)
[2:10]	<i>matünī bārī. valī tamaš nagirtit ā! har, har a xiftilīxiftāna bārī, bāy».</i>	you can take it. But don't get carried away by greed, ah! You (should) take only, only that <i>xiftilīxiftān</i> (and) come back».	(00:51)
[2:11]	<i>pyā muše: «bāšad», maču.</i>	The man says: «Fine» (and) goes (away).	(00:57)

¹⁷² There is no appropriate translation for the term *xiftilīxiftān* or *xiftelīxiftān*, referring to an imaginary piece of clothing. The word is built through reduplication of the term *xiftān* (Pers. *xaftān*) 'kaftan, woman's short velvet jacket' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 310). In the version of this tale contained in Amanolahi & Thackston (1986: 65, 156), the term used is *jumai xudkan u khudbāz*, tentatively translated as 'a dress that automatically undresses and opens'. As stated there, it is likely that such terms "once had meaning but have survived only in similar expressions tied to particular stories" (Amanolahi & Thackston 1986: 65). The indefinite nature of the term is functional in producing the misunderstanding that underlies the narrative plot.

- [2:12] *maču. vaxtī maču dīv hā xāw. muše: «sa xu».* He goes. When he goes, the demon is asleep. He says: «Very good!». (00:59)
- [2:13] *māre tamaš magirete,¹⁷³ har čī če qašang va wira has-ō ī xiftīlīxiftāna makea nām gwinī. ka me bāy,* He begins to get carried away by greed, he puts any beautiful thing there may be and this *xiftīlīxiftān* in his sack. When he is about to come back, (01:02)
- [2:14] *dīva mowa xavarā.* the demon wakes up. (01:08)
- [2:15] *dīva mowa xavarā, me ye dašā bixwete, bikwišete.* The demon wakes up, and suddenly is on the point of eating him, killing him. (01:11)
- [2:16] *muše: «ya ašā dita möwrim, atān xwidā nakwišam!», yahāna.* He says: «I am taking it for (my) daughter, by God don't kill me!», and such things. (01:14)
- [2:17] *muše: «sa, bāad qowt bī si ditat beya mi.* He says: «Fine, you have to promise you'll give me your three daughters. (01:19)
- [2:18] *agar si ditat bey nimakwiš(i)mat, valī xu dī, ar ney maxwama(t)».* If you'll give (me) your three daughters I won't kill you but, well then, if you won't give them (to me) I'll eat you». He says: «That's fine, my three daughters (will be) for you». (01:22)
- [2:19] *pyā māy, bāra mārīa māt, žin xwašīa make, dital fira xwašīa makan,* The man comes back, he brings the load home, the wife cheers (01:29)

¹⁷³ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

[2:20]	<i>muše: «ařāmān hin āwirdīa».</i>	up, the daughters cheer up very much, she says: «He has brought us this and that».	(01:35)
[2:21]	<i>baʕd [...] valī pyāka fira pakara, bowa.</i>	Then [...] but the man, the father, is very sad.	(01:38)
[2:22]	<i>žinea muše: «tō ařā īqira pakarī? ī kwil čīa xiřīta, āwirdīta!».</i>	His wife says: «Why are you so sad? You have bought and brought all these things!».	(01:40)
[2:23]	<i>dīt gwijīn fira dānā-ō bāhuša, mačua pišt dara, guša me.</i>	The younger daughter is very wise and intelligent, she goes behind the door (and) listens.	(01:45)
[2:24]	<i>muši: «ya xiün ī ditalmānasa! ya āwirdīm(i)na, ī ditalmāna dī bāad beym(i)na jāy».</i>	He says: «This is (worth) our daughters’ blood! We have brought this, and now we have to give our daughters in return».	(01:49)
[2:25]	<i>ōwiš fira nāřāhata mow.</i>	She becomes very upset, too.	(01:54)
[2:26]	<i>baʕd, dīva muše: «šōw jomša mām, jūr girmhār.</i>	Then, the demon says: «On Friday night I will come, like a thunderbolt.	(01:56)
[2:27]	<i>tō ye čuī meya das dīt [...] ye gila dītilat muši “biču a gāwa ka deyšt”,</i>	You will put a wooden stick in the girl’s hands [...] you will say to one of your daughters “go and bring that cow outside”,	(02:00)
[2:28]	<i>ki dī minā mōwrimē».</i>	and then I will carry her away».	(02:06)

- [2:29] *öwīš qabula make. dī, har
ajūrti, šōw jomša mow,
girmhāra mow,* So, he accepts. Then, (02:07)
exactly like that, it
comes Friday night,
there comes a
thunderbolt,
- [2:30] *dita makea deyšt. «biču,
řuła, biču a gāva ka
deyšt».* he leads the daughter (02:11)
outside. «Go, my dear,
go (and) bring that cow
outside».
- [2:31] *dīva mōwrete.* The demon carries her (02:15)
away.
- [2:32] *dīv ki dit katiņa mōwrī,
maču ye daffa, muše:
«mi tō bāad biwāzim»,
dīva muše: «mi biwāzima
tō, vagard mi řarusī
bikey».* When the demon (02:17)
kidnaps the elder
daughter, he goes and
suddenly says: «I have
to marry you», the
demon says: «I shall
claim you (as my wife),
you shall marry me».
- [2:33] *diteyš dī hüč nimuše.
muše [...] ye kale, kala yā
gusfanda yā gāya [...]* The girl doesn't say (02:25)
anything, anymore. He
says [...] (it is) a head, a
sheep or a calf's head
[...]
- [2:34] *muše: «yāna, masan [...] tō
mi hātimā va kü, tō
yāna bixwey».* he says: «These ones, (02:31)
for example [...] until I
come back from the
mountain, you shall eat
these».
- [2:35] *öwīš muše: «bāšad».* She says: «Fine». (02:35)
- [2:36] *bařd ki dīva mačua kü,
īša muše: «agar
bixwame!». zū māre
māžetea nām ye ešqāti.* After the demon has (02:37)
gone to the mountain,
this one says: «Of
course I won't eat it!».
She quickly takes it and

- throws it among some rubbish.
- [2:37] *dīva kūa māa xwor,*
muše: «xwordī?». *muše:*
«a!». *muše: «buš “gyān*
tō”!». *muše: «gyān tō».*
bašd muše: «kala, kala!». The demon comes down from the mountain (and) says: «Did you eat?». She says: «Yes!». He says: «Say “(I swear) to your soul”!». She says: «(I swear) to your soul». Then, he says: «Head, head!». (02:42)
- [2:38] *kala qissa make, muše:*
«hāma nām ešqāṭi». The head speaks (and) says: «I am in the garbage». (02:48)
- [2:39] *ava makwiše, dīv. muše:*
«ya dī duru dā-ō [...]». The demon kills that one. He says: «Well, this one lied and [...]». (02:52)
- [2:40] *tā diti dōwim. dīt*
dōwimīš hara t̃jūrī
mōwre. ōwīš duwāra
muše: «ī kala bixwa»,
muše: «bāšad». Until (it comes to) the second daughter. He kidnaps the second daughter like this, too. So, he says again: «Eat this head». She says: «Fine». (02:56)
- [2:41] *mačua kū, māya muše:*
«xwordī?». *muše: «a!».*
muše: «buš “gyān tō”»,
muše: «gyān tō». He goes to the mountain, he comes (back and) says: «Did you eat?», she says: «Yes!». He says: «Say “(I swear to) your soul”», she says: «(I swear to) your soul». (03:01)
- [2:42] *bašd ōwša ham kala*
hanā make, muše: Then, he calls the head, too, (and the head) says: (03:06)

	<i>«hāma deyšt, hāma nām putī».</i>	«I am outside, I am in a bin».	
[2:43]	<i>ōwša makwiše.</i>	He kills her, too.	(03:11)
[2:44]	<i>dit sīvom, ki dī xavar dirī ya aṛā kua maču, pišt gwijīne dirī. pišta va ye hinī mese řusarī mōwsete kamarī. mōwsete kamarī-ō [...]</i>	The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going, has a little kitten. She ties the cat to her waist with something like a headscarf. She ties it to her waist and [...]	(03:13)
[2:45]	<i>bowea muše: «řuṭa biču, a gāva ka deyšt». maču.</i>	her father says: «My dear, go (and) bring that cow outside». She goes.	(03:22)
[2:46]	<i>dīva mōwrete-ō [...]</i>	The demon kidnaps her and [...]	(03:24)
[2:47]	<i>muše: «mi biwāzima tō». ijūrī muše, hūč nimuše, muše: «mačima kü, māmā, bāad ī kala bixwey». muše: «bāšad».</i>	says: «I shall marry you». He talks like this, (she) doesn't say anything, he says: «I am going to the mountain, (when) I come back you must eat this head». She says: «Fine».	(03:27)
[2:48]	<i>īš kala māre, mea pište. pište kala maxwe. ism pišteyši nāzīlīnāzāna.¹⁷⁴</i>	This one, then, brings the head (and) gives it to her cat. Her cat eats the head. Her cat's name is Sweetie.	(03:34)
[2:49]	<i>duwāra mōwsetea kamarī. dīva māy, muše: «kala xwordī?». muše:</i>	She ties it to her waist again. The demon comes (and) says: «Did	(03:41)

¹⁷⁴ The term *nāzīlīnāzān*, translated here as 'Sweetie' and used as proper name for the animal helper, is built on the term *nāz* 'beautiful, pretty, delicate, sweet' (cf. Pers. *nāz, nāzanīn, nāzu, nāzān*) with the intended meaning of 'the most beautiful, the most delicate, the sweetest (of all)'. As it is the case of the word *xiftīlīxiftān*, the term *nāzīlīnāzān* causes a misunderstanding, that is useful for the development of the plot.

- «a!». *muše*: «*buš “gyān tō”*», *muše*: «*gyān tō*»,
 you eat the head?». She says: «Yes». He says: «say “(I swear) to your soul”». She says: «(I swear) to your soul».
- [2:50] *muše*: «*kala, kala!*»,
muše: «*hāma nām dīt nāzīlīnāzān!*». He calls: «Head, head!» (03:46)
 (and the head) says: «I’m inside Sweetie’s belly!».
- [2:51] *dīv fira xoš(h)āta, muše*:
 «*va ʿalī, a dī duru nyā. har īa mawāzime*». The demon is very (03:50)
 happy, he says: «By ʿAli, that one didn’t lie, then. It is this one I will marry».
- [2:52] *muše*: «*mi agard tō ʿarusī bikam*». *īša muše*:
 «*na, tō xwiškilam hardō kwištīta*. He says: «I shall get (03:54)
 married with you». This one says: «No, you have killed both of my sisters.
- [2:53] *is(k)a čihel šow aṛā ī xwiškim, čihelīš aṛā a xwišk, ʿe haštād ruž mi āzīyatī bigirim!* Now, forty nights for (04:01)
 this sister of mine, forty for that sister too, I shall be in mourning for about eighty days!
- [2:54] *tā ī haštād řuža tamām now, ʿarusī nīmakeym*. Until these eighty days (04:06)
 won’t be over, we won’t get married». The demon, who knows that this (girl) is honest etc., says: «Fine».
- [2:55] *ī č(ih)el řuža dī dīt kārī make, nāzīlīnāzān. masan, dīv vanīa maṛase, qazā aṛe dirisa make, lebāsea mašure, sarea majurī dīval-ō yāna,* During these forty days, (04:13)
 then, the girl, (his) Sweetie, does some housework. For example, she takes care of the demon, she

- [2:56] *tā dō si řu(ž) manīa dī
haštād řuž tamām bu.* prepares food for him,
she washes his clothes,
she delouses his head,
the demons etc., until two or three days (04:24)
are left for the eighty
days to be over.
- [2:57] *bašd mušea dīva, muše:
«řāsi, šiša řomr¹⁷⁵ tō hā
ku?»* Then, she says to the (04:27)
demon, she says:
«Right! Where is your
bottle of life?»
- [2:58] *dīv nārāhata muše:
«ařā?».* muše: «āxar,
šinaftima e dīvala šiša
řomr diritin. hūč, mi vanī
movāzibat bikam».
- The demon (becomes) (04:32)
upset (and) says:
«Why?». She says:
«Well, I've heard from
these demons that you
have bottles of life.
Nothing, I would take
care of it».
- [2:59] *dīvīš a duru muše: «ī
hōzča šiša řomr mina».* The demon, lying, says: (04:39)
«This fountain is my
bottle of life».
- [2:60] *bašd, ditiša mazāne ya
nīya. soa māy, gofkārī
dōwr hōzča make, čirāq
řušana make, ya ejūrīa
dōwrī xiřa māre.* Then, the girl knows it (04:43)
is not. The (next)
morning she comes,
she plants flowers
around the fountain,
she lights lamps, she
turns around it this way.
- [2:61] *dīva kūa māy, muše: «ya
čīa?».* muše: «mar tō
nōw(i)tī “ya šiša
řomrima”?. mi alʔān The demon comes from (04:50)
the mountain (and)
says: «What is this?». She says: «You have

¹⁷⁵ The term *šiša řomr*, translated here as ‘bottle of life’ and reported in Lazard (1990: 268) as ‘flacon de vie (d'un génie) [bottle of life (of a genie)]’, refers to the container where the demon’s external soul is stored.

- dirim movāzibatyāna*
makam. min, tō [...] mi dī
kas nerim, har tō dirim»,
yāna.
- [2:62] *diviš gula maxwe, muše:*
«ya ki šiša ſomr wižim
řasī nīšānī nāma tūrīa
make, agar řasīa nīšān
dam dī ča make?».
- [2:63] *ařea muše, muše: «āre,*
šiša ſomrim bā(a)d
nīšānit dam. hā era, seyr
bika, ya hin mina, ava
hin kīan? [...]». har čī
fāmīlīš dirī hā lā ī dīva.
- [2:64] *pyā ki [...] dīv ki mačua*
kū, yawāšīž ditiša mārī
tamāmi šiša ſomr
kwilyāna maš(i)kane.
.
- [2:65] *šiša ſomr kwilyān ki*
šikān, kwila mowna
čapčapa tüta-ō¹⁷⁶ mačina
āsīmān.
- said “this is my bottle of life”, haven’t you? Now I’m taking care of them [i.e. the bottles]. I, you [...] well, I have nobody, you’re the only one I have», and so forth.
- The demon, then, is deceived (and) says: «This (girl), to whom I didn’t show my bottle of life correctly, is doing this. What would she do, then, if I show her the right one?
- He says to her: «Ok, I have to show you my (real) bottle of life. It is here, you see, this is mine, whose are those ones? [...]». (The bottle of) any relative he has is next to this demon(’s bottle), too.
- When the man [...] when the demon goes to the mountain, the girl quietly takes all the bottles of life, she breaks them all.
- When she has broken all of their bottles of life, they all become
- (04:58)
- (05:06)
- (05:15)
- (05:22)

¹⁷⁶ The meaning of the (adverbial?) expression *čapčapa tüta* is unclear and the translation of this passage is tentative. The form *čapčapa* is comparable to the adverb *čepæh čepæh* ‘in

- [2:66] *baʕd, ditiša māy, möünī*
dī tanyā mow, āzāda
mow. seyrī nām māt hina
make, dīva, čanī čī has-ō
yāna. maču, ye dar vāza
make, möünī čanī
mardīm zindānī kirdā.
až žin-ō až pyā-ō až hina
nām hin ī zindānī ī
dīvna. kwilyān āzāda
make. handfuls of dust and go
 (up) to the sky.
 Then, the girl comes (05:29)
 and sees that she is
 finally alone, she is free.
 She takes a look at
 what's-his-name, the
 demon's house, (to see)
 how many things are
 there and so on. She
 goes, she opens a door
 (and) sees that (the
 demon) has made some
 people captive. From
 men, to women, to
 thingummy are among
 what-do-you-call-them,
 these demon's
 prisoners. She sets all of
 them free.
- [2:67] *kwilyān āzāda make.*
baʕd, va nām ī
zindānīala yakī zargara,
yakī najjāra. She sets all of them (05:46)
 free. Then, among these
 prisoners, one is a
 goldsmith and one is a
 carpenter.
- [2:68] *mušina dit, mušin: «birā,*
tō īma āzād kirdā, haqa
milmān dirī.¹⁷⁷ bā(a)d
hatman aʕāt dī yakī ye čī
diris keymin». They say to the girl, they (05:51)
 say: «My friend, you
 have set us free, we owe
 it to you. So, each one
 (of us) absolutely has to

handfuls, in groups' (Kulivand 1390/2011: 412). The sense of *tūta* is hard to determine, but generally conveys the idea of something small (cf. *tūta* 'little finger' in Karimpour 1382/2003: 191; *tuwei* 'dust, extremely small piece of something' and *tuweit* 'piece or small quantity of something, such as earth, tea, flour, rice and the like' in Kiyāni Kulivand 1390/2011: 365).

¹⁷⁷ This verb literally means 'to have a right to someone's neck' but is used idiomatically with the meaning 'to be in debt to someone for doing something; to owe something to someone'. It is equivalent to Pers. *haqq be gardan-e kasi dāstan*.

- make one thing for you».
- [2:69] *zargara muše: «mi ye lebāse tamām zař, taťa ařāt dirisa makam, a (ž) köwš až kwil čī».* The goldsmith says: «I will make you a dress all of gold, from the shoes to everything (else)». (05:58)
- [2:70] *najjāra muše: «mi ařāt ča diris kam?».* The carpenter says: «What shall I make for you?».
- [2:71] *dita muše: «mi ki ī lebās zařa bikama varim bičima deyšt, xu, kwil dī, hina makan. nimow, möüninam-ō har ařā xātir tiťaka bīa čīa sarma mārin.* The girl says: «When I will wear this golden dress to go outside, well then, everybody will do such and such a thing. It's not possible, they will see me and they will cause me a lot of trouble just for the sake of the gold. (06:07)
- [2:72] *ye lebāse va ču ařām diris ka, vagard ye jařbeyšī va ču andāza wižim diris ka. bāžima āw, ki būnam e sa(r)nivišt mina va ku. bana mow e sarnivišt mi ařā kua maču».* Make me a dress (made) of wood, make (it) with a wooden box of my own size, too. Throw me in the water, so I see where my destiny leads. It will become bound where this destiny of mine leads». (06:21)
- [2:73] *ōwša muše: «bāšad». lebāsi čuwīne aře dirisa make-ō ye jařba čuwīš aře dirisa make. māžetea nām-ō dare möwse, metea ābi řavān, bi qowť mařruf.* He, then, says: «Fine». He makes her a wooden dress and he also makes a wooden box for her. He puts (her) inside (it), he closes its lid and (06:30)

- [2:74] *ī āvi řavāna maču maču
tā mařasīa nām māt ye
pādišāyka.*¹⁷⁸ leaves it into the water
flow, as they say.
This running water (06:39)
goes and goes, until it
reaches the house of a
king.
- [2:75] *pādišā a řuža ye nazrī
dirin, kwil hāna nām
hasār-ō mōūnin ye jařbe
dirī āwa māre.* That day there is a ritual (06:44)
banquet at the king('s
palace), everybody is in
the courtyard and they
see that the water is
carrying a box.
- [2:76] *mušin: «a čua bār ki
bišķanin, ařā žīr āgīr
qazā dirisa makan xua».
maš(i)kaninī, mōūnin ye
diti hā nāme.* They say: «Take that box (06:50)
and let them break it. It
is good for (being put)
under the fire (on
which) they are cooking
food». They break it
(and) see there is a girl
inside.
- [2:77] *mušin: «čīa? tō era ča
makey?».* They say: «What is this? (06:58)
What are you doing
here?».
- [2:78] *muše: «hūč, badbaxtim,
ījūrī dī dānasama āwirā-
ō yāna». muše: «řeyb
nerī, e bīlā va řonwān
kolfatī era kār bike».* She says: «Nothing, I'm (07:00)
miserable, they threw
me in the water like
this, and so on» He
says: «Ok, let her work
here as a servant».
- [2:79] *mušin: «īsmī čīa?»,
muše: «īsmim čuwīnea».* They say: «What's your (07:08)
name?». She says: «My
name is Wooden».
- [2:80] *bařd ī kāra makea wira,
tā modatī. bařd a modatī,* Then, she works there (07:11)
for some time. After

¹⁷⁸ The nature of the final /a/ here is unclear. It might be analyzed as an oblique marker (see §3.1.3.1).

- guṃā kwiř vazīr řarusī
dirin, kwil huz pādišā
yāna mačīn řarusī kwiř
vakīl, ī taktanyā manīšea
nām māł.*
- some time, apparently,
there is the wedding of
the minister's son. The
whole royal family etc.
goes to the wedding of
the delegate's son,
(while) this one [i.e. the
wooden girl] sits all
alone in the house.
- [2:81] *bařd a modatī fikra
make, muše: «va řalī, bīlā
minīř bičīma řarusīa».* (07:24)
After some time she
thinks (and) says: «By
‘Ali, let me go to the
wedding too».
- [2:82] *māy, lebās čuwīnal var
wižīa mārer-ō lebās
tałāřī-ō zařī,* (07:28)
She comes, she takes off
the wooden clothes and
(with) the golden dress,
- [2:83] *hara sarbāna sarbān
maču ařā māł vazīr.* (07:33)
from roof to roof she
goes to the minister's
house.
- [2:84] *maču. vaxtī mōūnī kwil
dirin řaxsa makan-ō
yāna, iř ye dařa maču
qirī řaxsa makear e lebās
tałāřī. dit fira xořgiřī
bīa.* (07:37)
She goes. When she
sees that everybody is
dancing etc., suddenly
she goes, too, and
dances a bit, with this
golden dress (on). She
was also a very beautiful
girl.
- [2:85] *mū sar parīřān-ō boland-
ō [...] kwiř pādišāyša māy
agarde qirī řaxsa make.
řāřiq ī dita mow.* (07:46)
(With her) ruffled and
long hair and [...] then,
the prince comes and
dances with her a bit.
He falls in love with this
girl.
- [2:86] *muše: «xu, tō va ku hātī?
ařā kua mačī?» muše:* (07:52)
He says: «Well, where
did you come from?
Where are you going?».

- «*mi maqrib hātima, aṛā mašriqa mačim*».
- [2:87] *dit ki ye la(h)za manīa masan marāsim tamām bu, qabl a kwilyāna māy, maču aṛā māt. duwāra lebās čuwīnila makea var-ō manīše.*
- [2:88] *yānīša mačina māt. kwiř pādišā, bi qowl mašruf, {? bī dama wira makatī},¹⁷⁹ šāšiq bīa. muše: «mi har a dita meytim».*
- [2:89] *kwila mušin: «āxir awa ku hātīa? va ku čīa?»*
- [2:90] *tō nimatūnī [...]». muše: «na, mi bičīma šune». sardār-ō sipā kwil jamša men ki biču va mašriq, va dombāt dit.*
- [2:91] *dā-ō {xxx} mušin: «bīlā ye kamī birsāq aṛyān diris bikeym, aṛā nām řī».*
- She says: «I have come from the west and I'm going to the east».
- The girl, when just a moment, for instance, has remained for the ceremony to be over, she comes (back) before all of them (and) goes home. She wears the wooden dress again and she sits down.
- Those ones go home, too. The prince, as they say, {? remains there helpless}, he is in love. He says: «I want exactly that girl».
- Everybody say: «Well, where has she come from? Where has she gone?»
- You can't [...]. He says: «No, I shall go in search of her». They gather all the generals and the army to go to the east in search of the girl.
- The mother and {xxx} say: «Let's prepare a few fritters for (them to eat) on the way».

¹⁷⁹ The meaning of *bī dam* (lit. 'speechless', cf. *dam* 'mouth, breath') is unclear in this context. In Jaliliyān (1385/2006: 136), under the entry *bē dam(-u zuwān)* 'shy, timid', the expression *bē dam(-u zuwān) kaft-* is glossed as idiomatic 'to be helpless' (Pers. *nātavān*).

- [2:92] *mi dī ya nōw(i)timī:
angoštarišī kwiř pādišā
mea dita. muše: «ya hin
mi, bigir. hidīya mi bigir
ařā tō».* Well, I didn't tell this: (08:29)
the prince gives the girl
a ring. He says: «This is
mine, take it. Take my
present for you».
- [2:93] *ditīš ki is(k)a birsāq
dirisa makan, angoštara
me va nām ye gila birsāq
manīa tahi ī gwinīa.* The girl, while they are (08:36)
preparing fritters, puts
the ring inside a fritter
and lays (it) on the
bottom of this sack.
- [2:94] *baſdī fira řā(h) tülānī
čan šabānaruza mačīn,
šakata mowin, dī faqat
birsāqīš har manīasa
yakī. mušin: «beyma kwiř
pādišā».* Then, they travel a very (08:43)
long way for some days
and nights, they get
tired and finally only
one fritter is left. They
say: «Let's give it to the
prince».
- [2:95] *kwiř pādišā ki birsāqa
maxwe, angoštara
mōūnī.* When the prince eats (08:51)
the fritter, he sees the
ring.
- [2:96] *angoštara mōūnī, qašan,
dī, bāxavara mow, ya har
kī has avasa ki {# tā} [...]
hātīasa māte.* He sees the ring (and) (08:55)
then he becomes well
aware that whoever she
is, she must be the one
who {# until} [...] has
come to his house.
- [2:97] *muše: «bargašta
makeym».* He says: «We will go (09:00)
back».
- [2:98] *mušin: «kwiřa ča bī?».
muše: «na, dī nimeytim,
māym ařā māte».* They say: «Boy, what (09:02)
happened?». He says:
«No, I don't want (her)
anymore, we go back
home».
- [2:99] *mā ařā māte-ö, kwil
xwiš(h)āt: «ča bī?».
muše: «hüč, naxās(t)ima* He goes home and (09:05)
everybody (is) happy:
«What happened?». He

- dī edāma bem. mādar,
qazā har čī dirī bea
čuwīna aṛām bārea
sar».*¹⁸⁰
- [2:100] *iš qazā mea čuwīna,
mārea sar. čuwīna ki dī
fira mazāne dinyā hā das
kī, čua [...] hin qazāka
dasea mař(i)še.*
- [2:101] *muše: «ya daspā
čuwīnīka, ya dī čuwīnea,
ya ki nimatūnī qazā aṛā
tō bāre!», muše: «na, ʕeyb
nerī, dōgila¹⁸¹ beana
bine»,*
- [2:102] *dōgila qazā mena bine,
mārea sar.*
- [2:103] *mārea sar-ō kwiř pādišā
mič dasea magirī. muše:
«buš, řāse aṛām buš.*
- says: «Nothing, I didn't
want to continue.
Mother, whichever food
you may have, give it to
Wooden (so that) she
may bring it to me
upstairs».
- So, she gives the food to (09:14)
Wooden, she brings it
upstairs. Wooden, who
knows well in whose
hands the world is, lets
the wood [...] thingy, the
food drop from her
hands.
- (The mother) says: (09:22)
«This is a wooden
servant, she is made of
wood indeed, she is not
able to bring you the
food!». He says: «No, it
doesn't matter, give her
(the food) once again».
- They give her the food (09:27)
once again and she
brings it upstairs.
- She brings it upstairs (09:30)
and the prince grabs her
wrist. He says: «Tell
me, tell me the truth.
Let me see who you are.

¹⁸⁰ The verb *sar āwirdin* has been translated here as 'to bring upstairs', interpreting the particle *sar* as an adverb of place, but this analysis remains provisional.

¹⁸¹ *dōgila* here and in [2:102] is used adverbially with the meaning 'once again, another time', and not as a quantifier *dō gila* 'two units (of X)'. The meaning is not 'give her two (plates of) food', but rather 'give her (the food) once again', i.e. give her another dish, in substitution to the one dropped.

- bünim tö kīt. har čī has, hā žīr sar tö,*¹⁸² *ya tōnī*». Whatever it is, you are responsible for it, that's you».
- [2:104] *ōwš dāstān wižī kwil tašrīfa make, muše: «tjūrī bīasa, bowam tjūrī, xwiškilam tjūrī, haqīqat minī hāna*». She, then, tells her whole story (and) says: «It happened like this, my father such and such, my sister such and such, this is my truth». (09:39)
- [2:105] *muše: «xu». bašd lebās čuwīna varea mārēr-ō [...]* He says: «Fine». Then, she takes off the wooden dress and [...] (09:46)
- [2:106] *atrāfīān pādīšāyž möünī ča bī a dīr hāt. dara meylina {? vāz}, möünī ya hā gard ī firišta, bigir hurīka aqira qašanga, hāna. muše: «dā, ya har avasa ki mi dīmase*». The king's entourage, too, (go to) see what happened that he is (so) late. They leave the door {? open}, (the courtiers) see that this one is with this angel, you would say she is a houri, according to her beauty, and so on. He says: «Mother, this is exactly the one I have seen». (09:49)
- [2:107] *ī xutāsa, va xwiš(h)ātī šarusī agardīa make. maču bowa-ō dāyša möünī, māre, muše: «{# dī agard, dī agard}» bi qowt mašruf, šādī-ō xořamī šarusīa makan*. In the end, he happily marries her. He goes, he meets the father and the mother too, he takes (her as wife) and says: «{# Together, together}». As they say, (with) happiness and joy they get married. (10:00)

¹⁸² This expression seems comparable to Pers. *zir-e sar-e kasi budan* (lit. to be under someone's head), meaning 'to be responsible for something, to have a hand in something'.

Text 3: *Šü kačať* (The bald groom)

Text 3 was recorded in Harsin on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392). The narrator is S.S., a 62 year-old housewife, born and raised in Harsin and living in the city at the time of recording. She has not received elementary schooling. This consultant frequently uses Persian in everyday interactions with her children (who have passive command of Harsini) and younger relatives, but usually switches to Harsini when speaking to peers. The folktale she narrates has been recorded at her private house, during the session in which Text 1 was also performed.

Summary: this narrative belongs to the *Tales of Magic* genre. It combines different tale types in a patchy monologue, nonetheless containing interesting elements in terms of language and narrative content. The introductory episodes recall the incipit of Text 1, probably because this recording was carried out shortly after the story of *Nameyna* was told. At some point, the initial course of events is abandoned in favour of a different storyline, which largely pertains to Marzolph's (1984) type 550 *The envious brothers*¹⁸³ and parallels the final part of the story in Blau (1989c):

A man and his wife have a daughter. After the death of his wife, the man marries another woman. The woman dislikes the stepdaughter and compels the man to chase the girl out of the house. He gives the girl some food and closes her in a barrel tied to a walnut tree, telling her to wait until she hears him knocking on the barrel. His real intention, however, is to let her starve to death. At night, the wind strikes the barrel. The girl, thinking that her father is knocking, comes out and realizes she has been abandoned. The next morning, a boy passes by and brings her to his house. They eventually get married. Soon after, the boy goes to war and the girl gives birth to twins. At this point, the narrator introduces the figure of a king, who has three daughters and no sons. In order to choose an heir to the throne, the king decides to make three falcons fly. The men on whose head the falcons would perch will marry the three princesses. Two falcons perch on the head of the king's minister's son and the king's

¹⁸³ Cf. ATU 550 *Bird, Horse and Princess* (previously *Search for the Golden Bird*).

delegate's son, while the third perches on the head of a bald, ugly man (who is a beautiful man in disguise). The king is perplexed, but in the end he agrees to give his daughter in marriage to the bald man. After some time, the king becomes blind. He sends his sons-in-law in search of a prey with healing powers (550 I a). The minister's son and the delegate's son plan to set out on their quest alone, but then agree to let the bald groom join them. In the end, those two don't catch any prey, while the minister's son kills two preys (550 II d). The minister's son and the delegate's son take the flesh of the bald groom's preys and bring it to the king. The king eats it, but to no avail (550 III). Finally, the king's younger daughter, who married the bald boy, convinces her father to eat some flesh from the prey's head, which is still in the hands of the bald boy. The king is healed and the bald groom becomes his heir (550 V a). The two envious brothers-in-law are punished (550 V b). Sometime later, the citizenry asks the boy to kill a demon. The boy kills the demon, taking a second revenge on his competitors.

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[3:1]	<i>yekī mow</i>	There is one,	(00:00)
[3:2]	<i>ye öwš (h)am, t̃jürī,</i> <i>mādarī pedarī dirī.</i>	a person, too, like this, has a mother, a father.	(00:02)
[3:3]	<i>pedara žina mawāze.</i>	The father marries a woman.	(00:05)
[3:4]	<i>pedar žina mawāze,</i>	The father marries a woman,	(00:07)
[3:5]	<i>ditī va jeya mamīnī, va jā</i> <i>mādara gi mirdīa.</i>	(and) his daughter remains at her place, at the place of the mother who died.	(00:10)
[3:6]	<i>dita mārīn [...] zan bowe,</i> <i>bowažinī badīanīa māy,</i> <i>azīatīa make.</i>	They take the girl [...] her father's wife, her stepmother dislikes her, she torments her.	(00:14)

- [3:7] *muše: «yā jā ya me bu, yā jā mi bu va e māta».*¹⁸⁴ She says: «There must be either a place for her, or for me in this house». (00:20)
- [3:8] *pedariža māy, ye kamī aře tanaqolāt dirisa make, manea ye putī, mōwre agard, makea qe dār gird [...] girdakānī.* The father, too, comes, he prepares some sweets for her, he puts her in a barrel, he takes it and ties it to the trunk of a walnut tree. (00:30)
- [3:9] *mušea dite, muše: «tō binīš, bān čamit bōws tā qorubī mi e ī girdakāna matakiniṁ,* He says to his daughter, he says: «You, sit down, close your eyes until at down I shake this walnut tree, (00:33)
- [3:10] *tō {xxx} binīš aṛā wižit».*¹⁸⁵ {xxx} sit down for yourself». (00:39)
- [3:11] *bāda mea put, taqea māy, dita muše: «ya girdakāna matakiniṁ,* The wind strikes the barrel, a ‘bang’ sound comes out, the girl says: «He is shaking the walnut tree, (00:42)
- [3:12] *bowam».* (it’s) my father». (00:48)
- [3:13] *girdakān [...] dī qoruba mow, seyra make, dī gwisnasī tešnasī,* the walnut tree [...] then dusk comes, then she is hungry (and) thirsty, (00:49)
- [3:14] *bān čame bāza make, seyra make, šōwa, hīč ahadī nī(ya).* she opens her eyes, she looks, it’s night (and) there is nobody. (00:54)

¹⁸⁴ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

¹⁸⁵ *aṛā wiž* + bound pronoun (lit. ‘for oneself’) is an idiomatic expression, occurring in virtually all varieties of the region (cf. Gorani *aṛā-y ištaniš* translated as ‘simply, just’ in Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 90). It is used to express the general idea of ‘benefiting from one’s own actions’. Here and elsewhere, the idiom has been translated literally as ‘for oneself, for one’s own sake/benefit’, even if in most cases it is redundant and could as well remain untranslated.

[3:15]	<i>mačua nām dārī manīšī,</i> <i>ōwža. mačua nām dārī,</i> <i>manīšī tā so.</i>	She goes into (the crown of) a tree and sits down. She goes into (the crown of) a tree (and) sits until morning.	(00:58)
[3:16]	<i>so mow, ʔekī māy, řada</i> <i>mow-ō</i>	It gets light, someone comes, passes by and	(01:02)
[3:17]	<i>va e pā a āw-ō keynī-ō [...]</i> <i>gwozara make,</i>	he crosses that water(course) and (that) spring by foot, and [...]	(01:05)
[3:18]	<i>dita möwrī ařā māl.</i>	brings the girl to (his) house.	(01:09)
[3:19]	<i>dita möwrī ařā māl.</i> <i>mādarī [...]</i>	He brings the girl to (his) house. His mother [...]	(01:10)
[3:20]	<i>kwilfatī ařāy bike,</i>	to do the housework for her,	(01:13)
[3:21]	<i>kwilfatī bike.</i>	to do the housework.	(01:15)
[3:22]	<i>dita möünin qašaj-ō dit</i> <i>kārī-ō dit ziriŋīka,</i>	They see that the girl is a pretty, hardworking and intelligent girl,	(01:16)
[3:23]	<i>ezdevāja makan agardī,</i> <i>mawāzete.</i>	they marry, he marries her.	(01:20)
[3:24]	<i>mawāzete, maču, maču,</i> <i>šüya mačua,</i>	He marries her, he goes and goes, her husband goes,	(01:23)
[3:25]	<i>masaŋan, jaŋ, va jangi</i> <i>pādišāya.</i>	for example, to war, (he is) at the king's war.	(01:27)
[3:26]	<i>šüya meylīa jā, hāmītea</i> <i>dita.</i>	The husband leaves her, (while) the girl is pregnant.	(01:31)
[3:27]	<i>tā šüa māa dimā, dō gila</i> <i>kwiř-ō dita mārī.</i>	By the time the husband has come back, the girl has delivered two children.	(01:34)

[3:28]	<i>ye dita mārī, ye kwiṛa mārī, duān.</i>	She gives birth to a baby girl and a baby boy, two of them.	(01:37)
[3:29]	<i>mārī, šüa mačua wira.</i>	She delivers, the husband goes (back) there.	(01:40)
[3:30]	<i>{# šüa} [...] pādišā si gila dit dirī. muše:</i>	The husband [...] the king has three daughters. He says:	(01:43)
[3:31]	<i>«bāzpaṛāna¹⁸⁶ me bikeymīn.</i>	«We have to make the falcon fly.	(01:46)
[3:32]	<i>ī bāza binīšea bān sar har ke,</i>	On whoever's head this falcon would perch,	(01:48)
[3:33]	<i>ī dit pādišā meymīn ava».</i> <i>yakī manīšea bān sar kwiṛ vazīr,</i>	we will give the king's daughter (in marriage) to that one». One perches on the head of the minister's son,	(01:51)
[3:34]	<i>yakī manīšea bān sar kwiṛ vakīl,</i>	one perches on the head of the delegate's son,	(01:56)
[3:35]	<i>yakīž ī kwiṛa [...]</i>	one, too, (on the head of) this boy [...]	(01:58)
[3:36]	<i>hāṭati [...]</i>	(whose) condition (is) [...]	(02:00)
[3:37]	<i>masaṭan, nōwkar-ō, ča dirisa make wižī? kačat-ō {# bad} [...] masaṭan, badqīyāfa.</i>	for instance, (that of) a servant and, what does he do? (He is) bald and {# bad} [...] for instance, bad-looking.	(02:01)
[3:38]	<i>bāz hara mōwrīn, manīšea bān sar ava, aṛā diti gwiṛarī.</i>	They bring the falcon, it perches on the head of that one, for his younger daughter.	(02:07)

¹⁸⁶ Karimpour (1382/2003: 81) quotes a comparable term *bāz qapān* with the meaning 'a falcon that, in old times, they used to make fly and perch on the head of the person that they should appoint as king'.

- [3:39] *pedara māy, mušī: «ya bōwrin va era, hašārī kan va jāytir ki ya nizīk now. mi [...] čū āxir dīt pādīšā mena ya?».* The father comes (and) says: «Take him away from here, hide him elsewhere, so that he cannot get close. I [...] Well, how could anyone give the king's daughter (in marriage) to this one?» (02:13)
- [3:40] *xulāsa, vazīri {xxx} badguna muše: «ey pādīšā, qobla šalām salāmat,¹⁸⁷* In short, the {xxx} mean minister says: «Oh king, may His Highness be blessed, (02:20)
- [3:41] *šāad qīsmatī va ya bua.¹⁸⁸* maybe her destiny is (to be) with this one. (02:27)
- [3:42] *bā(a)d betē binī, eškāt nerī».* You have to give her to him, it doesn't matter». (02:29)
- [3:43] *dita mea binī, dita mea binī. a duāna vazīr-ō vakīlin,* He gives the girl to him, he gives the girl to him (in marriage). Those two are a minister and a delegate, (02:31)
- [3:44] *awāna [...], ye dītīš kačata šūe,* they [...], one of the daughters, well, her husband is bald, (02:35)
- [3:45] *badfōrma, badqīyāfea.* he is bad-shaped, he is ugly. (02:38)
- [3:46] *badqīyāfa ki nīya, wižī kirdīa, samdan.* Well, he is not ugly, he has done it himself, on purpose. (02:40)

¹⁸⁷ This title, comparable to Pers. *qeble-ye šalām* 'Qibla of the world, divine centre of the world' and translated here as 'His Highness', was historically attributed to Nāseroddin Shāh Qājār, ruler of Persia from 1848 to 1895.

¹⁸⁸ The nature of the final /a/ of this verbal form is unclear.

[3:47]	<i>xulāsa, ye ruž pādišā čamalī kura mow.</i>	In short, one day the king's eyes become blind.	(02:43)
[3:48]	<i>čame kura mow, dāmād, zāmā katingī vagard zāmā</i>	His eyes become blind, the son-in-law, his older son-in-law with the son- in-law	(02:47)
[3:49]	<i>dōwimī gi kwiř vazīr-ō vakīl buin</i>	his second (one), who were the minister and the delegate's sons,	(02:51)
[3:50]	<i>mačina kü šikār bikwišin</i>	go to the mountain to kill a prey	(02:54)
[3:51]	<i>bārin ařāy.</i>	to bring him.	(02:57)
[3:52]	<i>kwiři kačatiža muše: «minī(š)a mačim.</i>	And the bald boy says: «I'll go, as well.	(02:58)
[3:53]	<i>ye tifaŋ šakī bena minī(š) tā minī(š) bičim».</i>	Give me a worn-out rifle, so that I may go, as well».	(03:01)
[3:54]	<i>awāna nimakwišin, ya dō gila šikāra makwiši,</i>	Those ones don't kill (anything), this one kills two preys,	(03:04)
[3:55]	<i>guštelea mea</i>	he gives their flesh to	(03:07)
[3:56]	<i>a dō bājenāqa, a dō hāmzāmā.</i>	those two brothers-in- law, those two whose wives are his wife's sisters.	(03:10)
[3:57]	<i>mōwrin, mačin awāna.</i>	They take (the flesh) and go away.	(03:13)
[3:58]	<i>awāna mačin,</i>	They go,	(03:14)
[3:59]	<i>ya kale faqata mōwri,</i>	(while) this one takes only a head,	(03:15)
[3:60]	<i>kala šikāra mōwri.</i>	he takes the head of the prey.	(03:18)
[3:61]	<i>awāna mena pādišā-ō har čī makan mōūnī pādišā</i>	They give (the flesh) to the king (but) whatever	(03:19)

		they might do, you see,	
		the king	
[3:62]	<i>aštan</i>	absolutely	(03:23)
[3:63]	<i>xubī nerī.</i>	doesn't get (any) benefit	(03:24)
		(from it).	
[3:64]	<i>diti gwijar gi bowe řāzī</i>	The younger daughter,	(03:26)
	<i>nōūa dāse ya,</i>	whose father wasn't	
		willing to give her (in	
		marriage) to him,	
[3:65]	<i>maču, muše: «ey pedar, ey</i>	goes (and) says: «Hey	(03:30)
	<i>bowa, bīl minīž ye kamī</i>	father, hey father let me,	
	<i>ařāt [...]</i>	too, a little bit for you [...]	
[3:66]	<i>šūa minī(š) āwirdīa bema</i>	(let me) give you (what)	(03:34)
	<i>binit». muši: «na, mi das</i>	my husband has	
	<i>ya nimaxām».</i> ¹⁸⁹ <i>muše:</i>	brought». He says: «No,	
	<i>«gwozašte, ye zaře</i>	I don't want (anything	
	<i>bixwa».</i>	from) the hands of this	
		one». She says: «The	
		past is past, eat (just) a	
		bit».	
[3:67]	<i>kalī gi ava manea dār,</i>	When she cooks the	(03:40)
		head,	
[3:68]	<i>kwiř gwijar, dit gwijar [...]</i>	the younger boy, the	(03:42)
		younger daughter [...]	
[3:69]	<i>mārin-ō mena pādišā,</i>	they bring it and give it	(03:44)
		to the king,	
[3:70]	<i>pādišā čamalī hardik xua</i>	both king's eyes get well.	(03:46)
	<i>mow.</i>		
[3:71]	<i>pādišā čamalī xua mow,</i>	The king's eyes get well,	(03:48)
[3:72]	<i>maču, {# vazīr-ō vakīl}</i>	he goes, {# the minister	(03:51)
	<i>[...] kwiř vazīr-ō kwiř</i>	and the delegate} [...] the	
	<i>vakīl, hardika me [...]</i>	minister's son and the	
		delegate's son, he beats	
		both of them [...]	

¹⁸⁹ The Persian-like form *nimaxām* (Pers. *nemix^uā(ha)m*) of the verb 'to want' is used here.

[3:73]	<i>makwišin ki kotā(h) nyāsa¹⁹⁰ sar ya.</i>	they kill (them) for having cheated on this one.	(03:56)
[3:74]	<i>ava mārī makea jānešin wižī, jānešin ava qarārea me.</i>	(The king) takes that one (and) makes him his own successor, he establishes him as his own successor.	(03:59)
[3:75]	<i>qarārea me dit va xwašī-ō vazf zindagī xu,</i>	He appoints the daughter (as queen), happily and with a good lifestyle,	(04:04)
[3:76]	<i>va anjā¹⁹¹ awāna mōwse tā baʿd mušin: «ye āwī,</i>	then he installs them, until, later, they say: «A water(course),	(04:08)
[3:77]	<i>na(h)rī dirīmin. ye eždehāy hātīa ī āwa jilōwī girdīa, nwāy girdīa.</i>	we have a river. A dragon has come (and) has blocked this water(course), he has obstructed it.	(04:13)
[3:78]	<i>ča bāad bikeymīn? har ke maču nimatiūnī ī eždehā bikwiše, eždehā maxwete».</i>	What shall we do? Whoever goes cannot kill this dragon, the dragon eats him».	(04:19)
[3:79]	<i>{# eždehā} [...] ya maču, muše: «šimšīrī bena dasim.</i>	{# the dragon} [...] this one goes (and) says: «Give me a sword.	(04:25)
[3:80]	<i>šimšīr dō dasa magirī, mačua nām dam eždehā, eždehā va vasata makea dō nism.</i>	He takes the sword with two hands, he goes into the dragon's mouth (and) cuts the dragon in	(04:28)

¹⁹⁰ The verb here should be in the plural.

¹⁹¹ The sense of the term *anjā* is not clear. Comparable forms *anjā*, *enjā* and *jā* are attested in the Gorani varieties of Kermānshāh Province with the temporal meaning 'then' (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 223; Mahmoudveysi & Bailey 2013: 61, 183). However, a locative meaning 'there', equivalent to Pers. *ānjā*, would equally fit this context.

- [3:81] *eždehā gi nisma make, ye
nisme māžī īlā-ō yekī va
alā.* two halves, (right) in the
middle.
After he has cut he (04:35)
dragon in half, he
throws a half (of it) this
way and another (half)
that way.
- [3:82] *kwiř pādišā dō gila
fat(h)a make ava, a
dāmādīa.* The prince gains two (04:40)
victories, that groom of
hers.

Text 4: *Mā(h) pīšānī* (Moon-forehead)

Text 4 was recorded in Harsin on the 26th of January 2014 (6th of Bahman 1392). It was narrated by the same consultant (S.S) who performed Text 3 and intervened during the narration of Text 1, in her private house in Harsin.

Summary: this narrative can be classified as a *Tale of Magic*. Similarly to Text 3, performed by the same consultant, Text 4 has a composite narrative structure: the first part can be compared with Marzolph's (1984) type 480 *Moon-forehead*,¹⁹² while the second has much in common with his type 707 *The calumniated girl is vindicated*.¹⁹³ A similar version is included in the collection of Kurdish folktales published by Darvishyān (1380/2001: 200-205). Comparable motifs are also traceable in the tale of the girl with golden feet in Fattah (2000: 859ff.):

A man and his wife have a daughter. After the death of the woman, the man takes a second wife, who has another daughter (480 I c). The new wife favours her natural child and torments her stepdaughter (480 II a). One day, the two stepsisters are sent to a river to take water. The man's daughter meets an old, ugly woman sitting on the riverbank. The lady asks her to take a look at her head and judge its cleanliness. Even if the lady's head is dirty and full of louses, the girl says that her head is clean and tidy (480 III b). The woman tells the girl to call her when the water of the river becomes yellow. The girl does what she is told, and the magic lady throws her in the water. When the girl comes out, her appearance has changed: she has become beautiful and a star and a moon have appeared on her forehead (480 III c). When the girl returns home, the envious step-mother orders her to bring her natural daughter to that magic place. This time, the stepsister behaves unkindly to the lady (480 III d), who throws her into black water and makes her extremely ugly (480 III e). At this point the narrator introduces two additional characters: a third sister and a prince. The prince dreams of a beautiful girl (who is in fact Moon-forehead), falls in love with her and wants to find her. During his quest, he meets Prophet

¹⁹² Cf. ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls* (previously *The Spinning-Women by the Spring. The Kind and the Unkind Girls*).

¹⁹³ Cf. ATU 707 *The Golden Children* (previously *The Three Golden Sons*).

Khezr, who asks him to accomplish two tasks before he can show him the path to the girl's house. The prince does what he is told and finally finds the girl, who is living with her two older sisters. The prince marries her, while the sisters are given in marriage to the minister and the delegate's sons. The three girls are asked to give a demonstration of their qualities: the first tells she can weave a one-meter carpet that would accommodate a hundred people (707 I a); the second tells she can cook a *man* of rice that would feed five hundred people (707 I b); and the third (the prince's wife) says she will give birth to two children: one will cry pearls and the other will laugh flowers (707 I c). The first two fail the test, while the third is successful. The envious sisters plot to abandon her in the desert and let her starve to death. The girl wanders around until a demon takes her captive. After some time, her husband finds her and sets her free. The mean sisters are killed (707 IV b).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[4:1]	{Pers. <i>āmāda</i> , <i>āmāda</i>	{Ready, ready	(00:00)
[4:2]	<i>yekī bud</i> , <i>ye</i>	Once upon a time, an	(00:03)
[4:3]	<i>pīrazan bud</i> ,	old woman there was,	(00:06)
[4:4]	<i>ye pīrazan</i>	an old woman (who)	(00:07)
[4:5]	<i>ye doxtarī dāšt</i> .	had a daughter.	(00:09)
[4:6]	<i>baʕd az modatī</i>	After some time,	(00:11)
[4:7]	<i>mādarā mīmīra</i> . <i>mādar</i>	the mother dies. The	(00:13)
	<i>mīmīra</i> ,	mother dies,	
[4:8]	<i>bābāš mīre ye zan dīge</i>	her father goes and	(00:16)
	<i>mīgīra</i> .	takes another wife.	
[4:9]	<i>ā, fārsī goftam! kordī [...]</i>	Oh, I said it in Persian!	(00:18)
	<i>bebaxšī(d)</i> }.	Kurdish [...] sorry}.	
[4:10]	<i>maču ye žina mawāze</i> ,	He goes, he marries a	(00:22)
		woman,	
[4:11]	<i>žina mawāze</i> ,	marries the woman,	(00:23)
[4:12]	<i>wiža mow sā ye dittir</i> .	she herself becomes	(00:25)
		mother of another	
		daughter.	

[4:13]	<i>ditī dirī az a žina, ditīža mārī ī žine.</i>	He has a daughter from that woman (and) this woman of his gives birth to a daughter, too.	(00:28)
[4:14]	<i>dital hardika mačīn aṛā lō</i>	Both girls go to the bank	(00:32)
[4:15]	<i>juī āw bārin, masan,</i>	of a canal to take water, for instance,	(00:34)
[4:16]	<i>lūlakašt nōūa {xxx} [...] āw bārin.</i>	plumbing didn't exist [...] to take water.	(00:36)
[4:17]	<i>qazāna¹⁹⁴ mōwrin āw bārin.</i>	They take a pot (with them) to take water.	(00:38)
[4:18]	<i>seyra make ye pīražine</i>	She looks (and sees that) an old woman, dirty, bad-shaped and	(00:40)
[4:19]	<i>kasīfi badfōrm-ō</i>	whose locks, hair are	(00:44)
[4:20]	<i>ka gīse, müale kasīfi fitān, nīštīa.</i>	dirty etc., is sitting.	(00:47)
[4:21]	<i>muši: «tō seyr nām ī sar mina bika. būn sarim xua, būn {xxx} dasit bea nām sarim».</i>	She says: «You, take a look at this head of mine. See (if) my head is fine, see {xxx} run your hands through my hair [lit. put your hands in my head]».	(00:51)
[4:22]	<i>dita muše: «āfarīn! xeylī tamisa, xeylī xua sarit!».</i>	The girl says: «Well done! Your head is very clean; it is very good!».	(00:57)
[4:23]	<i>muše: «xu», muše, «biču binīša lō āwa.</i>	She says: «Good», she says, «go and sit next to the water.	(01:01)

¹⁹⁴ The word *qazān*, reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 647) as *qazyān*, refers to some sort of container, a kettle, a bucket, a jerry can or a cooking pot (French 'marmite' in Fattah 2000: 229). The word is equivalent to CK *qāzān*, *qazān*, Pers. *qazgān*, *qazqān*, *qāzqān*, Turk. *kazan* all meaning 'big pot, cauldron'.

[4:24]	<i>ī āwa gi hāt, sī hāt daŋ naka.</i>	As soon as this water comes, (if) it comes out black don't call (me).	(01:04)
[4:25]	<i>sifid hāt daŋ naka. qirmis hāt t(ō) (h)üč nuš.</i>	(If) it comes out white, don't call (me). (If) it comes out red, don't say anything.	(01:07)
[4:26]	<i>vaxtī bīa zard,</i>	When it becomes yellow,	(01:10)
[4:27]	<i>buša ma!».</i>	tell me!».	(01:12)
[4:28]	<i>öwža manīšī, muše: «dā keywānu, āwa bīa zard».</i>	Then she sits down and says: «Granny, the water became yellow».	(01:14)
[4:29]	<i>mažanītīa nām āw, mažanītīa nām āw, māretirī, mowa mā(h) pišānī.</i>	She throws her in the water, she throws her in the water, she brings her out (and the girl) becomes Moon-forehead.	(01:18)
[4:30]	<i>mā(h) manīrea nām pišānī-ō sitāreyž, hardik.</i>	A moon appears on (her) forehead and also a star, both of them.	(01:23)
[4:31]	<i>ava mowa ye, ye māhi čārdahome.¹⁹⁵</i>	She becomes (like) a (full) moon (on the) fourteenth (night).	(01:29)
[4:32]	<i>tā d(ī) ī maču ařā māš.</i>	Until, finally, this (girl) goes back home.	(01:33)
[4:33]	<i>bowažinī gi dirī, muše: «tō čī ča kirdī?».</i>	The stepmother that she has, says: «What have you done?».	(01:35)

¹⁹⁵ According to lunar calendars (e.g. the *hejri* Islamic calendar), each month starts with the new moon and the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the lunar month corresponds to the full moon. Metaphorical expressions equating the beauty of a woman with the full moon are very common in Iranian folklore. Cf. Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 36, 141, 142, 146); MacKenzie (1966: 23, 80-81); Darvishyān (1380/2001: 201); and Lazard (1992a: 244).

[4:34]	<i>muše: «mi, ĩjürĩ, va lõ ĩ āwa</i>	She says: «I, this way, on the side of this water(course)	(01:37)
[4:35]	<i>nĩštĩm-ō [...]</i> »,	I sat and [...]	(01:40)
[4:36]	<i>nĩšt va lõ ĩ āwa, «ĩ žina hāt, ĩjürĩa binim vit, minĩ(š) [...]</i>	She sat next to this water, «This woman came, she talked like this to me (and) I [...]	(01:42)
[4:37]	<i>ĩ hāna žanama nām āwa, ĩjürĩa sarim hāt».</i> ¹⁹⁶	this one, then, threw me in the water (and) so and so happened to me».	(01:45)
[4:38]	<i>muši: «xu, ĩ dit minĩža bāad bōwri».</i>	(The stepmother) says: «Fine, you have to take my daughter there, too».	(01:49)
[4:39]	<i>dita āwa maču. dit žin, bowažinĩ.</i>	Her daughter goes to the water(course), too. The woman's daughter, her stepmother's.	(01:50)
[4:40]	<i>mačua wira-ō seyrĩa make, muši: «āw ki sĩ hāt-ō¹⁹⁷ [...] sarim čijürĩa? dasi(t) bea nām sarim».</i>	She goes there, (the old woman) looks at her and says: «A black water came out and [...] how is my head? Run your hands through my hair [lit. put your hands in my head]».	(01:54)
[4:41]	<i>muši: «hĩ! kasĩfi tō! mi nimāma nizikit</i>	She says: «Oh! You are dirty! I won't come close to you,	(01:59)
[4:42]	<i>bu sarta māy, fiłānĩ».</i>	your head stinks, you're such-and-such».	(02:02)
[4:43]	<i>muši: «biču, binĩša lõ ĩ āwa. agar [...]</i>	She says: «Go, sit on the bank of this river. If [...]	(02:04)

¹⁹⁶ The transcription and translation of this passage are provisional.

¹⁹⁷ The passage is not clear and its transcription and translation are provisional.

[4:44]	<i>ā, har āwī hāt nuša mi, sī hāt buša mi».</i>	hey, whichever (kind of) water comes out, don't tell me, (whenever) black (water) comes, tell me».	(02:07)
[4:45]	<i>muše: «bāšad».</i>	She says: «That's fine».	(02:10)
[4:46]	<i>dita manīa nām āw,</i>	(The old woman) throws her in the water (and)	(02:12)
[4:47]	<i>dit xeylī badfōrma mow, badfōrma mow, sīa mow.</i>	the girl becomes very ugly, she becomes very bad-looking, she becomes black.	(02:14)
[4:48]	<i>tā si gila dit,</i>	Until the three girls,	(02:18)
[4:49]	<i>dititiriža māt dirī,¹⁹⁸</i>	she has also another daughter at home,	(02:20)
[4:50]	<i>ye řuži mačin-ō</i>	one day (they) go and	(02:22)
[4:51]	<i>kwiři pādiša</i>	the prince	(02:23)
[4:52]	<i>muše: «mi xāw dīma, ijūrī ditī va nām xāwim hātīa,</i>	says: «I had a dream, a girl like this came into my dream,	(02:25)
[4:53]	<i>mīna me bičīma sorāq ī dita bārim».</i>	I have to go in search of this girl (and) I shall bring her (here)».	(02:30)
[4:54]	<i>maču gwozara gwozar,</i>	He goes from district to district,	(02:33)
[4:55]	<i>ābādīa ābādī, maču mařasea biyawānī,</i>	from village to village, he goes and reaches a plain	(02:35)
[4:56]	<i>xizri zin(d)a, xizr alyāsa wira ništīa.¹⁹⁹</i>	Khezr the living, Khezr- Elijah is sitting there.	(02:39)

¹⁹⁸ The logical subject here may be either the girl's father or the stepmother.

¹⁹⁹ The transcription of this passage is not final, but its meaning is overall clear. The supernatural figure of the prophet Khezr ('the green') has the characters of a guide for strained travellers. If the interpretation is correct, the epithet *zin(d)a* 'living' attributed to him alludes to the quality of immortality he possesses. Khezr is indeed linked to the motif of the Water of Life and is often quoted in relation to other immortal figures, among which the prophet Elijah (Pers. *Elyās*), which stands out as his most usual alter-ego. These two

- [4:57] *muši: «va pey çe mirādī hātīa?», muši: «valā mi a haqīqat ī xāw dīma-ō va nām xāwīm* He says: «For what purpose have you come?», he says: «By God, to tell the truth, I dreamed this dream, in my dream (02:43)
- [4:58] *ījūrī diti dīma, me bičima sorāq ī dīta».* I have seen a girl like this, I have to go in search of this girl». (02:49)
- [4:59] *muše: «pas mačī,* (Khezer) says: «Then, you go, (02:52)
- [4:60] *avaṭa mačī, barxorda makeyte ye keynī,* at first you go, you will come across a spring. (02:55)
- [4:61] *keynīa āwī xeylī kasīf-ō badbu-ō fiṭān,* The spring, it's water is very dirty and stinky and such-and-such, (02:58)
- [4:62] *arinī bixwa, be damrūt, damrūtānī bišur, buš: “āf uf uf,²⁰⁰ çe āw xuīka ya!* drink from it, splash it on your face, clean your face with it (and) say: “Wow! What a good water is this! (03:03)
- [4:63] *a āwa zotātā!”».* *maxwe-ō āw {# bad} [...] wižī badmazatir nīya,* That water is really clear!”». He drinks and then, the water {# bad} [...] itself does not taste that bad. (03:09)
- [4:64] *maxwe-ō seyra make möüni āw kasīf-ō badbua,* He drinks, he takes a look (and) sees that the water is dirty and stinky, (03:13)

spiritual characters are often described as being doubles of one another, twin brothers or two friends closely bound together (Krasnowolska 2009). Here, as well, their names appear in juxtaposition as to form the double name *xizr alyās* ‘Khezer-Elijah’. A remark on popular beliefs concerning the presence of Khezer in the region of Harsin is found in Massé (1938: 228) who informs us that “A Koh-è Parow (environs de Kirmanchah), une source jaillit, dit-on, froide d’un côté de la montagne, chaude de l’autre côté, parce que Khidr (H’edr) le prophète s’est caché dans ce mont jusq’au Jugement dernier”.

²⁰⁰ According to Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 119), the interjection *ouf ouf!* is comparable to Pers. *bah bah!*, *če xub!* ‘How nice!’ and is used to express appreciation.

[4:65]	<i>muše: «āwa xeylī xua!».</i>	he says: «The water is very good!».	(03:17)
[4:66]	<i>āwa mowa češma qašaŋ-ö xuī,</i>	The water becomes a beautiful and good spring,	(03:20)
[4:67]	<i>{? až jārān}, bi xwidā!</i>	{? from (the way it was) before}, by God!	(03:22)
[4:68]	<i>muše: «xu pas, ī lārā mači, biču». modat(h)ā ham řīa make,</i>	He says: «Well then, you go down this way, go». He walks for some time, too.	(03:24)
[4:69]	<i>šabānaruz, do řuz, si řuž ham řīa make tā mařasīa [...]</i>	He walks day and night, two days, three days until he reaches [...]	(03:30)
[4:70]	<i>muše: «mařasīta ye asbī,</i>	He says: «You'll reach a horse,	(03:34)
[4:71]	<i>asbī-ö sagī.²⁰¹</i>	a horse and a dog.	(03:36)
[4:72]	<i>biču, saga</i>	Go, the dog,	(03:38)
[4:73]	<i>kahka nyānasa varī,</i>	they have put straw in front of it,	(03:40)
[4:74]	<i>kah gi ařā e heywāna.</i>	the straw, which is for this animal.	(03:42)
[4:75]	<i>asba ostoxān nyānasa varī.</i>	The horse, they have put bones in front of it.	(03:44)
[4:76]	<i>ostoxāna bina var saga,</i>	Put the bones in front of the dog (and)	(03:47)
[4:77]	<i>kah var saga bina var asba,</i>	put the straw, (which) is in front of the dog, in front of the horse,	(03:49)
[4:78]	<i>bařda mači».</i>	then you go away».	(03:52)
[4:79]	<i>maču, mařasī-ö kah māre</i>	He goes, he arrives (there) and he takes the straw,	(03:54)

²⁰¹ The motif of the straw for the horse and the bones for the dog has a parallel in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 28-30).

[4:80]	<i>asba [...] kahka manīa var asb-ō ostoxāna manīa var sag,</i>	the horse [...] he puts the straw in front of the horse and the bones in front of the dog,	(03:56)
[4:81]	<i>tā maču mařasīa māl a žinī gi a ditala dirī,</i>	until he goes and reaches the house of that woman who has those daughters,	(04:00)
[4:82]	<i>si gila dit. mušī: «mi» [...] koř pādišā yakīkyāna mawāzī, a gwijira.</i>	three daughters. He says: «I [...] the king's son wants to marry one of them, the younger one.	(04:04)
[4:83]	<i>dō gilatirīž dirī.</i>	She has two more.	(04:10)
[4:84]	<i>a dōeyža yakī kwiř vakīla mawāzī, yakī kwiř {# vakīl} [...] vazīr</i>	Those two, as well, the delegate's son marries one of them and the {# delegate's} [...] minister's son (marries the other) one.	(04:12)
[4:85]	<i>mawāzī-ō māretyān, muše:</i>	He marries her, they take them (as wives), (and) he says:	(04:16)
[4:86]	<i>«če hōsnī dirītin homa?», īma mušīm, ta(h) silāt ča dirī, madrak ča dirī?».</i>	«What virtue do you have?», we say, «What kind of education do you have, which qualification do you have?».	(04:19)
[4:87]	<i>muše: «mi qālīče mabāfīm ye mitr,</i>	She says: «I'll weave a one-meter rug,	(04:24)
[4:88]	<i>hizār nafāra bāne jā me».</i>	that would accommodate a thousand people [lit. on it]».	(04:28)

[4:89]	<i>muše: «bāšad dī, ya tō».</i>	He says: «Fine, then, that's (what concerns) you».	(04:30)
[4:90]	<i>diti dōwimīža muše [...]</i>	And the second girl says [...]	(04:32)
[4:91]	<i>kaṭiṭīža muše: «mi,</i>	the elder one says: «I	(04:34)
[4:92]	<i>birinjī dirisa makam, ye</i>	will cook rice, a <i>man</i> of	(04:36)
[4:93]	<i>man birinj,</i>	rice,	
[4:93]	<i>pānsad nafaranī bixwe».</i>	that five hundred man would eat from it».	(04:39)
[4:94]	<i>ōwža muše: «tō».</i>	He, then, says: «(That is what concerns) you».	(04:41)
[4:95]	<i>gwiṭjara muše: «ča</i>	He says (to) the younger	(04:42)
	<i>makey?»</i> , <i>gwiṭjariža muše:</i>	one: «What (can) you do?».	
	<i>«mi,</i>	And the little one says: «I	
[4:96]	<i>dō gila āyla mārīm.</i>	will give birth to two children.	(04:45)
[4:97]	<i>kaṭiṭa, kwiṭra,</i>	The elder one, the boy,	(04:47)
[4:98]	<i>gīrva bike, mirwārīa čame</i>	when he weeps, pearls	(04:50)
	<i>bāy,</i>	would come out from his eyes.	
[4:99]	<i>dita bixane, qah qah²⁰²</i>	The girl would laugh	(04:53)
	<i>gwiṭ va dame bāer».</i>	(and) flowers would keep coming out from her mouth».	
[4:100]	<i>xuṭāsa, mawāzī, dita</i>	In short, he marries, he	(04:56)
	<i>mawāzī-ō</i>	marries the girl and	
[4:101]	<i>mārīn-ō mačīn-ō</i>	they take, they go and	(05:00)
[4:102]	<i>diti kaṭiṭ gi viṭīa birinj</i>	the elder daughter who	(05:01)
	<i>dirisa makam, ye man</i>	said she would cook	
	<i>birinj dirisa make.</i>	rice, cooks a <i>man</i> of rice.	

²⁰² *qah* is an onomatopoeic word comparable to Pers. *qey* 'vomit'. it is used here to convey the idea of bunches of flowers coming out from the girl's mouth.

[4:103]	<i>šurīa make, va qarārī nimaka makea nāmī²⁰³</i>	She makes it salty, she puts salt in it in a way	(05:06)
[4:104]	<i>ki hizār nafarīž bixwe, nimatūnī ye bišqāw bixwe,</i>	that (even if) a hundred people would eat it, they wouldn't be able to eat even a plate of it,	(05:10)
[4:105]	<i>ava ava.</i>	that's that.	(05:15)
[4:106]	<i>yakīža muše:</i>	One (of them), too, says:	(05:16)
[4:107]	<i>«mi faršī dirisa makam».</i>	«I will weave a carpet».	(05:17)
[4:108]	<i>suzana mārī mač(i)kīā²⁰⁴ nāme.</i>	A needle eventually gets stuck in it [i.e. in the carpet].	(05:19)
[4:109]	<i>har kī manīšī farāra make,</i>	Whoever sits down runs away.	(05:22)
[4:110]	<i>ōwž, ōwž ava dirisa make.</i>	She, she does this.	(05:24)
[4:111]	<i>tā dit gwijar. dit gwijar gi hāmiṭa mow,</i>	Until (it comes to) the younger daughter. When the younger daughter gets pregnant,	(05:27)
[4:112]	<i>ditī mārī-ō kwiṛī.</i>	she gives birth to a daughter and a son.	(05:30)
[4:113]	<i>ditī mārī kwiṛī. kwiṛa mowa gīrva,</i>	She gives birth to a daughter and a son. The baby boy starts weeping	(05:31)
[4:114]	<i>aški mirwārīa čamea māy.</i>	(and) pearly tears come out from his eyes.	(05:35)
[4:115]	<i>dīta maxanī, gwiṭa damea māy.</i>	The baby girl laughs (and) flowers come out from her mouth.	(05:37)
[4:116]	<i>dī, xwiškal gi dirī,</i>	Then, the sisters that she has,	(05:41)

²⁰³ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

²⁰⁴ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

- [4:117] *hasüdü agardīa makan,* they envy her, they (05:43)
badȳāna māy, awāna. dislike her. They dislike
awāna badȳāna māy, her,
[4:118] *mān,* they come, (05:47)
[4:119] *dita möwrin, mušin bi* they take the girl and (05:48)
xwišk: «bičīma tafri(h) they say to the sister:
ařa wižmān. «Let's go have fun, for
our own sake.
[4:120] *āylala bīla jā tā bičīm* Leave the children here (05:53)
bigirdimin». so that we may go (and)
have a walk».
[4:121] *mačin, möwrine ye* They go, they bring her (05:55)
bīawānī, vetea makan. to a desert (and) leave
her (there).
[4:122] *va bīawān vetea makan,* They abandon her in the (05:59)
wižȳāna māna māt. desert (while) they
īwāra šūa muše: themselves come back
home. In the evening
the husband says:
[4:123] *«ča binī kirdīa?»²⁰⁵ anū* «What have you done to (06:03)
žinamā hā ku, ī āylala her? Hey, where is my
nimowna gīrva?»²⁰⁶ wife, then, (so that)
muše: these babies don't start
crying?» She says:
[4:124] *«valā, vagard īma bī.* «Well, she was with us. (06:07)
nimazānim ča binī hāt, I don't know what
key ver(a) hāt»²⁰⁷ happened to her (or)
when she came (back)
here».
[4:125] *xuřāsa, maču, qorubī gi* In short, (the girl) goes, (06:11)
mow, mowa tārikanī, dīvī at sunset, it becomes
māy. dark in there, a demon
comes.

²⁰⁵ The verb here is in the singular, instead of the expected plural.

²⁰⁶ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

²⁰⁷ The transcription and translation of *key ver(a) hāt* are not final.

[4:126]	<i>dīva māy, mōwretea nām qār, nām qāralī gi dirin.</i>	The demon comes, he brings her into a cave, into the caves that they have.	(06:16)
[4:127]	<i>čan midatī, šīs mā(h), čwār mā(h), si mā(h), dit va nām ava gīra me.</i>	For some time, six months, four months, three months, he traps the girl inside it.	(06:22)
[4:128]	<i>sob(h) gi maču, kwičikī mea dar qāra,</i>	When he goes out in the morning, he places a rock at the entrance of the cave,	(06:27)
[4:129]	<i>hīčka nimöünitī tā šow gi mā aṛā māṭ.</i>	nobody sees it until night, when (the demon) comes back home.	(06:32)
[4:130]	<i>kāri dīvi dīvārūna dirī.</i>	The demon has devilish work to do.	(06:35)
[4:131]	<i>qorubī gi mow, šūya [...] čū dōwrež²⁰⁸ sara manīa bīawān, va dāqi žin.</i>	At sunset, her husband [...] takes a look around the desert, too, anguished for (his) wife.	(06:38)
[4:132]	<i>maču, magīrdī, tifaṇī mōwrī, kūala magīrdī.</i>	He goes, he goes around, he takes a rifle and searches all over the mountains.	(06:45)
[4:133]	<i>kūala magīrdī. ye ruža maču, mowa šow [...] qorubī. mōünī dīvi hāt, dīvi hāt-ō</i>	He searches all over the mountains. One day, he goes, the night comes [...] the sunset. He sees that a demon came, a demon came,	(06:48)

²⁰⁸ The exact meaning of *čū dōwrež* (lit. 'like a circle, too') in this context is not clear.

[4:134]	<i>dar qār kirdow,</i> ²⁰⁹ <i>čā nām.</i>	opened the entrance of the cave (and) went inside.	(06:54)
[4:135]	{xxx} <i>mōünī yakī hā nāma lāy.</i> ²¹⁰	{xxx} he sees there is someone inside, next to him [i.e. to the demon].	(06:57)
[4:136]	<i>kwič(i)ka mea darī-ō maču.</i>	He [i.e. the demon] places the rock at its [i.e. the cave's] entrance and goes away.	(07:00)
[4:137]	<i>maču tā šōso gi dīva maču aṛyā, šōso gi dīva maču aṛyā.</i>	He goes (away) until the next morning, when the demon goes back, when the next morning the demon goes back.	(07:02)
[4:138]	<i>muše {xxx} muše, žin muše, seyra make tu darzī, muše: «ya čā vera?».</i>	She says {xxx} she says, the woman says, she looks inside a fissure (and) says: «What's there?».	(07:08)
[4:139]	<i>muše: «hüč nuš, tō biču».</i>	He says: «Shut up, go away!».	(07:13)
[4:140]	<i>nimazāne žina wižasī ka kasīfā bī-ō čirkin bīa.</i>	He doesn't know it's his own wife, who has become dirty and filthy.	(07:15)
[4:141]	<i>mawse va maxāralītir, öwīž jā magirī aṛā wižī va ašt(ah)a wižī-ō</i>	He waits in some other caverns, he finally finds a place for himself with his weapon and	(07:19)
[4:142]	<i>mawse. šōso gi mow,</i>	he waits. When the morning comes,	(07:24)

²⁰⁹ The verbal form used here is akin to the common SK one (verb 'to do' + the postverbal particle =*awa*, =*ow* and variants). Elsewhere the verb used with the meaning 'to open' is *vāz kirdin*.

²¹⁰ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

[4:143]	<i>dīva maču aṛyā dōgila.</i>	the demon goes back again.	(07:26)
[4:144]	<i>dīva maču,</i>	The demon goes,	(07:28)
[4:145]	<i>pyāka maču ki seyr bike büne ya kī hā nāme.</i>	the man goes to have a look and see who is in there.	(07:30)
[4:146]	<i>vaxtī möüni žina wižase, kasif,</i>	When he sees it's his own wife, dirty,	(07:33)
[4:147]	<i>čirkin gīsale, müale, sürate,</i>	(whose) locks, hair, face (are) filthy,	(07:36)
[4:148]	<i>muši: «ya vera ča makey?». muši: «ya čan māha mi [...]</i>	he says: «What are you doing here?». She says: «It has been some months now that I [...]	(07:40)
[4:149]	<i>sari ī dīva</i>	the head of this demon	(07:44)
[4:150]	<i>až vaxtī māy hā bān {xxx} pām tā vaxtī gi maču aṛetā²¹¹</i>	is at my feet from the moment he comes until the moment he goes back (again),	(07:46)
[4:151]	<i>giriṭār hātima. tōniža maxwe, nāy aṛer!». </i>	I've been taken prisoner. He's going to eat you as well, don't come here!».	(07:51)
[4:152]	<i>maču, mawse, mawsea kamīn, dita möwrī, dita möwrī, žin wižī, maču ast(ah)a hā dasī muše: «agar hāt,</i>	He goes away, he waits, he waits in ambush, he takes the girl, he takes the girl, his own wife, and he goes away, the weapon is in his hands (and) he says: «If he comes,	(07:54)

²¹¹ The sense of this passage is unclear and its translation provisional.

[4:153]	<i>mi makwišimī, mi tifaḥ dirim», «durua dī biču {xxx}».²¹²</i>	I'll kill him, I have a rifle» (but the woman says): «It's a lie, go away».	(08:02)
[4:154]	<i>dita mōwrī maču aṛā māt. dita mōwrī maču aṛā māt-ō [...]</i>	He takes the girl and goes back home. He takes the girl and goes back home and [...]	(08:05)
[4:155]	<i>xwiškala me,</i>	he beats the sisters,	(08:09)
[4:156]	<i>hardik xwiškali dit. mušin.²¹³ «homa čū e sar īa āwirdūt(i)na?».</i> «na» <i>mušin, «valā, īma nōūmina, wižī [...], žinea maču, muši: «ā!»²¹⁴</i>	both of the girl's sisters. They say: «What have you done to this one?». «No», they say, «By god, it wasn't us, she herself [...]. His wife goes (and) says: «Oh!»,	(08:11)
[4:157]	<i>muši: «na, valā! yāna mi birdīna bīawān, veīm kirdīn,</i>	she says, «No, by God! These ones took me to the desert, they abandoned me,	(08:18)
[4:158]	<i>bīa tārīk, nazānisim čīnas(a) aṛā ku.</i>	it became dark, I didn't know where they had gone.	(08:22)
[4:159]	<i>va wirala,</i>	There,	(08:24)
[4:160]	<i>mi giriftār hātima vagard ī dīvā, dī šiš mā(h), valā dīv manīa».</i>	I became prisoner of this demon, then, by God, for six months the demon has stayed (there)».	(08:25)

²¹² The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative. The second sentence has been interpreted as if it was pronounced by the woman, but lacks logical consequentality in either case.

²¹³ The logical subject here should be the girl's husband, but the plural form of the verb is incongruous.

²¹⁴ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

[4:161]	<i>xuṭāsa, dital mān aṛā māt, dital mān aṛā māt-ō [...] a [...]</i>	In short, the girls go back home, the girls go back home and [...] that [...]	(08:32)
[4:162]	{# šü [...]	{# husband [...]	(08:36)
[4:163]	<i>dīt vakīl} [...] kwiṛ vakīl,</i>	of the delegate's daughter} [...] the delegate's son,	(08:38)
[4:164]	<i>kwiṛ vazīr,</i>	the minister's son,	(08:40)
[4:165]	<i>magirin hardik žinyān bikwišin. žinelyāna makwišin,</i>	they take both their wives to kill them. They kill their wives,	(08:41)
[4:166]	<i>mamīne ī žina dī vagard āylele. vagard āylelea mān.</i>	Then, this woman remains, with her children. They come, with her children [...]	(08:45)
[4:167]	<i>baṣd az modat(h)ā, šüea muše: «mina me bōwr(i)mit aṛā māt dāt,</i>	After some time, her husband says: «I have to take you to your mother's house,	(08:50)
[4:168]	<i>bičimin sar bey.</i>	let's go so that you may visit her.	(08:54)
[4:169]	<i>bičimin aṛā māt dāt sar beymin».</i>	Let's go to your mother's house to visit her».	(08:56)
[4:170]	<i>maču sara me, va wirala āylelea mōwrī-ō</i>	She goes, she visits (her), she takes her children there and	(08:58)
[4:171]	<i>dā muše:</i>	the mother says:	(09:02)
[4:172]	<i>«anü a ditilam ča binyān kirdina? anü a ditam hā ku?».</i>	«What have they done to my daughters, then? So, where is that daughter of mine?».	(09:03)
[4:173]	<i>muši: «valā, a ditila [...] hāṭōqazīya ījūri [...] hāna va sar mi āwirdina,</i>	She says: «By God, those girls [...] the situation is like this [...]	(09:06)

		they did this and that to me,	
[4:174]	<i>ijūrī [...] ī pīna dāna sar mi,</i> ²¹⁵	like this [...] they harmed me,	(09:12)
[4:175]	<i>šüelyān kwišteasyān».</i> ²¹⁶	their husbands have killed them».	(09:15)
[4:176]	<i>va wira,</i>	There,	(09:17)
[4:177]	<i>dī har kām {xxx} manīšin,</i>	then, each one {xxx} sits down	(09:18)
[4:178]	<i>dīt-ō žin-ō šü-ō dō āyl mirwārī-ō</i>	the girl, the woman, the husband and the two children, the pearly one and,	(09:20)
[4:179]	<i>nimazānim, a xanī gwiṭa damea māy,</i>	I don't know, that one who laughs and flowers come out from her mouth,	(09:24)
[4:180]	<i>dī řāhata mowin ařā wižyān.</i>	and finally they are relieved, for their own benefit.	(09:26)

²¹⁵ This idiomatic expression seems comparable to Pers. *balā'ī rā be sar-e kasi āvardan* 'to harm someone, cause something bad to happen to someone'. The verb *pan wa sar hāwirdin* is reported by Karimpour (1382/2003: 166) with the same meaning.

²¹⁶ Here we find the verb in its singular form, instead of the expected third person plural.

Text 5: *Mardi xīyātpardāz* (The daydreamer)

This text was recorded in Harsin on the 27th of February 2014 (8th of Esfand 1392). At the time of recording, the speaker (M. J., who is also the narrator of Text 6) was a fifty year-old man, born and raised in Harsin and living in the city with his family. He served in the Iranian army during the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988) and later retired as a wartime veteran. He has received elementary schooling. As it might become clear from the listening of the recordings, the physical characteristics of the consultant's vocal apparatus make him an imperfect candidate for a dialectological survey. However, his good command of the Harsini vernacular and his fluency of speech, added to the interest of the narratives he performed, dictated their inclusion in the present study.

Summary: this tale, as many oral narratives from male narrators' repertoires, can be classified as an *Anecdote/Joke* or *Novella*. The story begins with a young vagrant boy looking around for a place to stay for the night. He eventually finds shelter in an abandoned place nearby a shepherd's house. The shepherd has two daughters. As soon as the girls realize that a stranger is sleeping at the ruins, they inform their father. The man decides to hire the boy as a watchperson in exchange for food and accommodation. Two times a day, the shepherd gives the boy some ghee with a half loaf of bread as a salary. The boy eats the bread and leaves the ghee aside until he fills up a whole jar, which he plans to sell at the market. The boy, afraid of thieves, keeps a wooden club under his pillow to beat whoever might come and steal the jar. At night, he dreams that he has sold the ghee and has made a lot of money from it. He imagines he has rebuilt the ruins and has married a woman, who has given birth to several children. In his dream, the children behave naughtily and start annoying their mother. While he is dreaming to beat one of his sons with a club, he unconsciously takes the real club from under his pillow and hits the jar. The jar goes to pieces and the ghee spills on the ground. When the boy wakes up and sees he has lost the ghee, understands that "the one who wishes to grab all, takes little".

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[5:1]	<i>e dāstāna</i> [...] {Pers. <i>čiz barāt migam</i> }[...]	This story [...] {I'll tell you thing [...]	(00:03)
[5:2]	<i>čāa?</i>	What is it?	(00:08)
[5:3]	<i>mardī xīyātpardāz:</i>	The dreaming man:	(00:10)
[5:4]	<i>ya</i> [...]	this [...]	(00:17)
[5:5]	<i>ye jawāne,</i>	a young man,	(00:22)
[5:6]	<i>ye jawāni bīkārī,</i>	an unemployed young man,	(00:27)
[5:7]	<i>belaxara,</i>	in the end,	(00:31)
[5:8]	<i>sāzmānda (h)ī nerī, jā-ö māt-ö makān nerī. ī jawāna,</i>	he doesn't have an accommodation, he doesn't have a place, a house, a place to stay.	(00:34)
[5:9]	<i>xutāsa magīrdea ī kalīküčala tā</i>	This youngster, in short, wanders about these old alleys until	(00:39)
[5:10]	<i>maṛasea ye</i>	he reaches some	(00:45)
[5:11]	<i>xirāwe, maṛasea xarāwe, kalka xarāwe.</i> ²¹⁷	ruins, he reaches some ruins, some ancient ruins.	(00:47)
[5:12]	<i>başd ī kalkaxirāwa, ye ādim dōwtamanişī hā şānī,</i>	Then, these ancient ruins, next to them there is also a very wealthy man,	(00:52)

²¹⁷ The term *kal xirowa* or *kala xirowa* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 720) with the meaning 'ruins in Laki Kurdish'. The same dictionary reports the words *kaṭ* 'ruins in Lori' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 720), *kalka* 'half destroyed in Laki Kurdish' and *kallik* 'ruins in Laki Kurdish' (Karimpour 1382/2003: 721). Izadpanāh (1391/2012: 103, 104) lists the words *katt* 'ruins, half destroyed', *kaṭ xerowé* 'ruins', *kaṭtek* 'ruins and remains of a village or a city' and *kalka* 'half destroyed'. Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 897, 903, 905, 908) reports the terms *kæl* 'ruins, remains of a building, ruins and ancient fortresses, walls of ruins', *kal xerawoæh* 'ancient ruins, ancient broken walls, remains of an ancient tower or rampart' and *kæleg* or *kæleg* 'ruins, remains of ancient monuments'.

[5:13]	<i>masaṭan hamsāda ī kalka xarāwasa, ādim dōwtamanika.</i>	for example, he is a neighbour of these ruins, he is a wealthy man.	(00:57)
[5:14]	<i>bašd galla dirī, gusfandi zīyād,</i>	Then, he has some flocks, many sheep,	(01:02)
[5:15]	<i>kāwiř,</i>	sheep,	(01:06)
[5:16]	<i>kāwiři zīyād dirī. (v)a kāwiřa mušin gusfand, fārsī.</i>	he has many sheep. They call the sheep <i>gusfand</i> , (in) Persian.	(01:07)
[5:17]	<i>kāwiři zīyādī dirī,</i>	He has a lot of sheep,	(01:13)
[5:18]	<i>bašd, xuṭāsa, e juwāni veṭgardīša nām a kala magirī maxafe.²¹⁸</i>	then, in short, this vagrant boy goes and sleeps inside those ruins.	(01:16)
[5:19]	<i>e ādim tājira dō si gila ditīš dirī.</i>	This merchant has also a couple of daughters.	(01:24)
[5:20]	<i>bašd, xuṭāsa, kwiř nerī, har dō si gila dit xwidā dāsa binī.</i>	Then, in short, he doesn't have sons. God gave him only this couple of daughters.	(01:28)
[5:21]	<i>pas, xuṭāsa ī jawāna wirala ki maxafe, e āylila mušin: «bābā, ya dōza ya», masaṭan, «neyl era bixafe», fitān. muše: «na, kwiřa, řeyb nerī,</i>	Then, in short, while this boy is sleeping there, these children say: «Dad, this is a thief!», for example, «Don't let him sleep here!», and so on. He says: «Don't worry, girls.	(01:34)
[5:22]	<i>īma ki sag ī řī nerīmin,</i>	We don't have a (watch)dog and such things,	(01:44)
[5:23]	<i>ya nega(h)bānīa pasala me».</i>	he will guard the goats».	(01:48)

²¹⁸ This might be an instance of verb serialization with additional aspectual value, on which cf. footnote no. 167.

[5:24]	<i>xuṭāsa, ružān gīlī ye kwit nān vagard kame řūni heywānī</i>	In short, each day half (a loaf of) bread with some animal fat	(01:52)
[5:25]	<i>mōwřin miney, ī juwāna maxwe.</i>	they bring him (and) this youngster eats it.	(02:00)
[5:26]	<i>ī juwāna nāna maxwe,</i>	This boy eats the bread	(02:03)
[5:27]	<i>řūna magireōrī.</i>	(and) puts the butter aside.	(02:06)
[5:28]	<i>řūna magireōrī, xuṭāsa,</i>	He puts the butter aside, in short,	(02:09)
[5:29]	<i>kūza gīlī va gīra māre, mačua bāzār yā řūna me yā har če. dar zamāni qadīm dādibisad bīa.</i>	he takes a clay jug, he goes to the market and gives butter, or whatever. In ancient times, there was the barter.	(02:12)
[5:30]	<i>masan řūn dāya</i>	For example, you gave butter	(02:20)
[5:31]	<i>kūza dānasa binit, řūn dāya masaṭan nān dānasa binit, dādibisad bīa.</i>	and they gave you a jug, you gave butter and they gave you bread, for example, there was the barter.	(02:24)
[5:32]	<i>xuṭāsa, ye kūza masīnī. ye řuzgāra²¹⁹ masaṭan so,</i>	In short, he purchases a jug. At a (certain) time, for example, in the morning,	(02:30)
[5:33]	<i>ye qāšoq řūn vagard kamī nān, zo(h)r ye qāšoq řūn vagard kamī nān, šōw ye qāšoq řūn agard nān,</i>	a spoon of butter with a bit of bread, at noon a spoon of butter with a bit of bread, in the evening a spoon of butter with bread,	(02:35)

²¹⁹ Instead of an expected indefinite morpheme =e/=ī, here we find a final /a/, whose nature in this context is unclear.

- [5:34] *ya e řüna jamǵa make,* he gathers this butter, he (02:42)
jamǵa make, zamānī gathers it, there comes a
mařasī, time (when)
- [5:35] *piř küza mow.* the jug becomes full. (02:46)
- [5:36] *piř küza mow, xutāsa, kār* The jug becomes full, in (02:49)
nerīmin, ī juwāna ye šōw short, it is not of our
seyr ī küza make piřa, concern, one night this
muše: «ya now ye mōwqe young man sees that this
kasī bāy bōwrete, bowl is full and says:
 «God forbid someday
 someone would come
 and take it,
- [5:37] *bīlā [...]».* let (me) [...]». (03:00)
- [5:38] *čuī mōwre manea žīr sare,* He takes a wooden stick (03:01)
ču a qirenī.²²⁰ and puts it under his
 head, a club that big.
- [5:39] *manea žīr sare, agar kasī* He puts it under his (03:05)
hāt bōwrī vagard ī čua, ču head, if someone would
binīanī, neylī. come to take it, with this
 club, he would hit him
 with the club and
 wouldn't let him (take
 it).
- [5:40] *xutāsa, šōw ki maxafē,* In short, when he sleeps (03:12)
xāwa mōünī, baře, e řüna at night, he dreams, yes,
forutīase, that he has sold this
 butter,
- [5:41] *pül kalāne kirdīa.* he has made a lot of (03:19)
 money,
- [5:42] *māre ča?* What does he get? (03:22)
- [5:43] *e pūli kalāna e* This big amount of (03:25)
kalkaxirāwa varinīa money, he (re)builds the
masāzī. xāwa mōünī ā! ruins with it. He
xāwa mōünī, forute ī dreams, huh! He dreams
kalkaxirāwa sāxte-ō that he has sold it, he

²²⁰ This passage was accompanied by a hand gesture indicating the size of the wooden stick.

		has (re)built these ruins and	
[5:44]	<i>bašd žiniš xwāstea.</i>	then he has married a woman, too.	(03:33)
[5:45]	<i>bašd va ī žina bāsa sā si čwār gila āyl.</i>	Afterwards, he has had three or four children from this woman.	(03:37)
[5:46]	<i>xuṭāsa, ī āylala azīata makan. īa sar mil žina mapař(e)ör, öwa mear žina.</i>	In short, these children are annoying. This one jumps up onto the woman's neck, that one beats the woman.	(03:42)
[5:47]	<i>žineyš hawāra make, mušī: «pyāka</i>	And the woman calls for help, she says: «Husband,	(03:49)
[5:48]	<i>ī āylala neyl, ya čīa azīata makan?».</i>	don't let these children (do that)! Why are they bothering (me)?».	(03:52)
[5:59]	<i>yöwša nām ī xāwa dasa mōwrī,</i>	Then, in this dream, he takes (the club) in his hand,	(03:55)
[5:50]	<i>ču hiza me, kīša mārī bear āyl, meter küza, řün šiplāy.</i>	he lifts the club, he swings it to beat the child (but) he hits the jug and the butter splashes.	(03:59)
[5:51]	<i>küza řüna maš(i)kī, mařasīa zamīn.</i>	The jug of butter breaks (and) falls to the ground.	(04:06)
[5:52]	<i>vaxtī mowa xavarā dö dasīa mea mil sar wižarā.</i>	When he wakes up, he tears his hair out [lit. He puts both his hands on his head].	(04:08)
[5:53]	<i>řüneyš va dasea maču.</i>	And the butter is lost.	(04:14)
[5:54]	<i>{Pers. bālā raftīm duğ bud, pāyīn āmadīm</i>	{we went up, there was buttermilk, we came down, there was a bugle	(04:18)

*bux*²²¹ *bud*, *har čī goftīm* (call), whatever we said
duruġ bud}. *was a lie*}.²²²

²²¹ The *q* of Pers. *buq* ‘bugle’ is uttered as a velar fricative [x] and rhymes with the *ġ* of Pers. *duġ* and *doruġ* (realized as velar fricative [ɣ]). The translation as ‘bugle (call)’ is suggested by the fact that the sentence is uttered in Persian. Note, however, that the word *buq* is attested in Laki with the meaning ‘turkey’, as “contraction of [Pers.] *buqalamun*” (Kiyāni Kulivand 1390/2011: 212). It is impossible to determine the speaker’s intended referent here.

²²² This kind of closing formulas, usually consisting in a nonsense rhyming sentence, have the function of bringing the hearer back to reality by stressing the fictional nature of the narrative (Cf. Marzolph 2010: 220ff.). In this instance, the formula is pronounced in Persian, while at the end of Text 6 we find the Harsini version *ilā vitīm řās bī, alā vitīm duru bī, har čī vitīm duq bī* ‘What I said here was true, what I said there was false, whatever I said was buttermilk’ [6:191].

Text 6: *Žin līva* (The crazy wife)

Text 6 was recorded in Harsin on the 26th of February 2014 (7th of Esfand 1392) at the narrator's private house. The consultant (M. J.) is the same person who performed Text 5.

Summary: this narrative is the longest recorded. As the previous text, it can be classified as an *Anecdote/Joke* or *Novella*. It combines Marzolph's (1984) types 1541 *Saving gold for the Holiday*,²²³ *1381B *The rain of meatballs*²²⁴ and 1009 *Taking care of the door*.²²⁵ A similar version is found in Darvishyān (1380/2001: 134-143):

A man has a foolish wife. During Ramadan, the month of Islamic fasting, he buys a sack of wool for his wife to spin. The woman sits spinning in the courtyard. After a while, a neighbour comes and invites her for a walk. She accepts and takes the wool and the spindle to the spring. The crazy woman asks a frog to spin the wool for her. She takes the frog's croaking for a positive answer and leaves the wool and the spindle on the waterfront. Once back home, her husband wants to know where the wool is. When he understands that the woman has left it at the spring, he tells her to go and get it back. At the spring, the woman looks for the frog in vain. Finally, she decides to dive into the pond and search for the spindle and the wool. After a while, she hits something hard, takes it out, and sees it looks like a yellow rock. She takes the yellow rock to her husband, who recognizes it as a gold ingot. When the husband says "That's for (the expenses of the month of) Ramadan!", the crazy woman mistakes the name of the month for a proper name and starts looking for a person named Ramazān (1541 I). Someone named Ramazān eventually passes by and the woman gives the ingot to him. When her husband returns, he gets mad at her and chases her away from home (*1381B I). The woman takes shelter in an abandoned place, where she meets some animals: a chicken (*1381B I d), a cat (*1381B I b), and a dog (*1381B I a). She thinks that her husband is sending those animals to convince her to return. In the meantime, the King's camel with a load of gold gets lost.

²²³ Cf. ATU 1541 *For the Long Winter*.

²²⁴ Cf. ATU 1381 *The Talkative Wife and the Discovered Treasure*.

²²⁵ Cf. ATU 1009 *Guarding the Store-Room Door*.

When the woman sees the camel approaching, she is persuaded to go back home (*1381B I e). The husband lets her in, slaughters the camel and hides the gold (*1381B II a). Then, he prepares a camel kebab for his wife and hides the remaining flesh in the basement. In the meantime, the King is looking for his lost pack animal. He asks an old woman to find it in exchange for a big amount of wool. The lady arrives at the foolish woman's house and pretends she needs some camel meat to accomplish a vow. The crazy woman gives her the meat and reveals the secret. The King's guards accuse the woman's husband of theft. Before the man is carried by the guards, he asks his crazy wife to take care of the house. The woman takes her husband's request too literally. After a while, she decides to go to the king's palace to ask for her husband's whereabouts. She unhinges the house's front door and carries it on her shoulders (1009). The king, seeing the woman approaching with a door on her back and hearing her talking nonsense, is eventually persuaded of the woman's craziness and the man's innocence. The man is finally released (*1381B II c).

Transcription and translation:

	Harsini	English	
[6:1]	<i>ya mowa ye žine pyāy,</i>	Once upon a time, there was a woman (and) a man.	(00:00)
[6:2]	<i>mā(h) řamazāna,</i>	It's the month of Ramadan,	(00:06)
[6:3]	<i>[mā(h) řamazān {Pers. mīdānī} {xxx}ʔ]</i>	[[you know] the month of Ramadan {xxx}ʔ]	(00:09)
[6:4]	<i>mā(h) řamazān (h)ame mardim řuža bigirin,</i>	during the month of Ramadan all people would fast,	(00:11)
[6:5]	<i>zuwān bōwsin, zuwān.</i>	they would stop eating [lit. they would tie the tongue, the tongue].	(00:15)
[6:6]	<i>řuža ařā xwidā bigirin.</i>	They would fast for the sake of God.	(00:18)

[6:7]	<i>pyāka muṣea žina, muše: «ye man xwiri bisīnim</i>	The husband says to the wife, he says: «I would buy a <i>man</i> [i.e. three kilos] of wool	(00:20)
[6:8]	<i>biṛisīe,</i>	for you to spin,	(00:25)
[6:9]	<i>[mitavajje(h) bīt?] biṛisīe».</i>	[did you understand?], for you to spin».	(00:28)
[6:10]	<i>bašd žineyša muše: «bisīn!».</i>	Then, the wife, too, says: «Buy it!».	(00:31)
[6:11]	<i>gwinī xwiri aṛea masīnī- ō vagard taštī-ō</i>	He buys her a sack of wool with a spindle and	(00:36)
[6:12]	<i>[taštīž avasa {Pers. ke tjūri čarx mīzanī,²²⁶</i>	[the spindle is that thing {you spin like this,	(00:41)
[6:13]	<i>mīša nax}]</i>	and it becomes a rope}]	(00:45)
[6:14]	<i>biṛisīe,</i>	you would spin (it),	(00:47)
[6:15]	<i>muše: «bisīn». masīnī, gwinī-ō xwiri aṛea masīnī-ō xuṭāsa,</i>	she says: «Buy it!». He buys it, he buys her the sack and the wool and, in short,	(00:50)
[6:16]	<i>žin va māṭ agard taštī manīštī-ō</i>	the woman sits in the house with the spindle and	(00:56)
[6:17]	<i>ye řuž-ō dō řuža maṛise. řuži sivom hāmsāka muše:</i>	she spins for one or two days. The third day the neighbour says:	(01:00)
[6:18]	<i>«nimāy bičīm aṛā sarā bigīrdīmin?».</i> <i>muše: «xu, bičīm!».</i>	«Won't you come (so that) we may go to the spring to stroll about?». She says: «Fine, let's go!».	(01:05)

²²⁶ The passage was accompanied by a hand gesture imitating the spinning movement.

[6:19]	<i>maname a tašt-ō xwirī,</i> <i>vagard žin hamsāya,</i> <i>mean maču²²⁷ aṛā sarā,</i>	She grabs that spindle and (that) wool, with the woman next door, they go out (and) she goes to the spring,	(01:10)
[6:20]	<i>maṛasina ju āwī.</i>	they reach a water channel.	(01:17)
[6:21]	<i>belaxara,</i>	Finally,	(01:22)
[6:22]	<i>ye sidāy qwiṛbāqa hiza</i> <i>magirī qwiṛ qwiṛ! tǰürī</i> <i>sidā me.</i>	a cry of frogs rises, croak croak! It sounds like this.	(01:26)
[6:23]	<i>žina muše: «xāla</i> <i>qwiṛbāqa»,</i>	The woman says: «Aunt frog!».	(01:31)
[6:24]	<i>ōwža muše: «qwiṛ!».</i>	(The frog), then, says: «Croak!».	(01:35)
[6:25]	<i>muše: «damāqit</i> <i>čāqa?»²²⁸ muše:</i> <i>«qwiṛ!».</i> <i>muše: «ī sirī</i> <i>xwirī mina aṛā ma</i> <i>maṛisī?».</i>	She says: «Are you doing well? [lit. Is your nose fat?]». It says: «Croak!». She says: «This time, will you spin my wool for me?».	(01:38)
[6:26]	<i>ōwš xu dī, heywānīka,</i> <i>zuwān ki nerī masan</i> <i>buše a yā na, muše:</i> <i>«qwiṛ!».</i>	Well then, it is an animal, it doesn't possess language, for example, to say yes or no, it says: «Croak!».	(01:47)
[6:27]	<i>xwirī-ō tašt kwila mea</i> <i>dam āw-ō maču-ō</i>	She puts all the wool and the spindle on the waterfront, she goes away and	(01:53)
[6:28]	<i>yawāšt qoruba mow, mā</i> <i>aṛā māt, pyāka muše:</i>	slowly dusk comes, she comes back home and	(01:58)

²²⁷ Here, the simple verb *dān* 'to give' takes on the meaning 'to exit, go out/away', otherwise expressed by the complex verb *dān..=ar deyšt* (= Pers. *zadan birun*). This verb simplification might be due to the presence of a serialized construction with the following verb *maču*.

²²⁸ This expression exists also in Pers. with the meaning 'to do well, be well-off', cf. Lazard (1990: 188).

	«anü, xwiriat hā ku?», muše: «valā! dāmase xāla qwirbāqa,	the husband says: «Where is your wool, then?». She says: «For God's sake, I gave it to aunt frog,	
[6:29]	aṛām biṛisite».	to spin it for me». (02:07)	
[6:30]	muše: «xāla qwirbāqa ku bī?», muše. «xāla qwirbāqa, čimin aṛā bāq,	He says: «Where was aunt frog?». She says: «Aunt frog, we went to the garden,	(02:10)
[6:31]	dīme,	I saw her,	(02:15)
[6:32]	vitim “ī xwirīa aṛā ma maṛisi?”, vit “a”,	I said “will you spin this wool for me?”. She said “yes”,	(02:17)
[6:33]	dāmase binī».	I gave it to her». (02:22)	
[6:34]	pyākeyš jūr mi sādea, muše: «hatman dāse žinī aṛe biṛisite».	The man, well, is simple like me, he says: «Surely, she has given it to a woman to spin it for her».	(02:23)
[6:35]	modatī magwizare, muše: «ey žin». mušea muše: «čtā? [...] anü xwirīa ča bī? načita šune?», muše: «xu, soa mačim».	Some time passes, he says: «Hey wife!». He says, he says: «What is it? [...] Then, what happened to the wool? Didn't you go to get it back?», she says: «Fine, I'm going tomorrow».	(02:29)
[6:36]	soa mow maču aṛā dam ju āwa, muše: «xāla qwirbāqa», mōūnī xavare nīya.	The morning comes, she goes to the bank of the watercourse and says: «Aunt frog!». She sees that there isn't any news from her.	(02:38)
[6:37]	a xāla qwirbāqa, xeyr, qwirbāqa hā kura?	That aunt frog, no, where is the frog?	(02:44)

[6:38]	yöwša muše: « <i>pedarit</i> <i>bār(i)merī!</i> ²²⁹	Then, she says: «Damn you! (02:49)
[6:39]	<i>bāad bičima nām ī āwa</i> <i>bigīrdim,</i>	I have to go into this (02:53) water (and) search,
[6:40]	<i>kwičik bān dūke</i> ²³⁰ <i>pyā</i> <i>bikam bārim».</i>	to find the whorl on top (02:57) of the spindle and take it (back)».
[6:41]	<i>kwičik bān dūke,</i> ²³¹	The whorl on top of the (03:02) spindle,
[6:42]	<i>kwičkal a girenīka</i> ²³² <i>manina bān ī dūkala.</i>	it's (one of) those rocks (03:05) this big that they put on top of these spindles.
[6:43]	<i>ya mačua nām ī āwa,</i> <i>hara magīrde.</i>	This (woman) dives (03:09) into this water and keeps searching.
[6:44]	<i>xutāsa, nāxwidāgā (h)</i> <i>pāya maxwea qe ye čī</i> <i>sangīnī,</i>	In short, accidentally, (03:12) her foot hits the shape of something heavy,
[6:45]	<i>dasa makea nām āw,</i>	she slips her hands (03:19) into the water
[6:46]	<i>ye sangi zardī peydā</i> <i>make,</i>	(and) finds a yellow (03:24) rock.
[6:47]	<i>peydā make, magirīa</i> <i>das, mōwrī, maču aṛā</i> <i>māt. šōwa mow,</i> <i>pyāka</i> ²³³ <i>muše: «pyā</i>	She finds it, grabs it (03:30) with the hand, takes it and goes back home. The night comes, the

²²⁹ This idiomatic (and more or less insulting) expression, is comparable to Pers. *pedar-e kasi rā dar āvardan* (lit. 'to bring someone's father out'). It is used to convey the idea of someone having a hard time, making a big effort or going through a lot of difficulties because of something or someone.

²³⁰ The word *dūk* refers to the traditional hand spindle. For an idea of the shape of this spinning tool, cf. the images of spindles (*dik*) in Demant-Mortensen (1993: 290, 293, 313). The expression *kwičik bān dūk* 'the stone on top of the spindle' refers to the wooden (or possibly stone) whorl screwed at one end of the tapering spindle rod.

²³¹ The speaker pronounces *dūk* as *düg* here.

²³² The passage was accompanied by a hand gesture indicating the size of the object.

²³³ The intended subject is the wife.

	<i>valā čīm», «xāla qwirbāqa xavarani nōwī?»</i> ,	husband says: «Husband, by God, I went!», «Wasn't there any news of aunt frog?»	
[6:48]	<i>«miniš bowe āwirdimasere,²³⁴ namīmasa kwičik bān dūke, āwirdima».</i>	«I even cursed her. I grabbed the whorl on top of the spindle (and) I brought it (home)».	(03:39)
[6:49]	<i>muše: «hā kura? nišāna me», muše: «e». «ey žin», muše. ōw muše, «ya xišti tiłāyka!».²³⁵</i>	He says: «Where is it? Show it to me!». She says: «Here it is». «Hey, wife!», he says. He says: «This is a gold ingot!».	(03:45)
[6:50]	<i>[xišti tiłā {Pers. ke midānī čī as(t), šimsi tałā}]</i> .	[A gold ingot, {you know what it is, then! A gold bar}].	(03:54)
[6:51]	<i>muše: «ya xišti tiłāyka!</i>	He says: «This is a gold ingot!	(03:58)
[6:52]	<i>ya aṛā ṛamazān!».</i>	This is for Ramadan!».	(04:02)
[6:53]	<i>xuṭāsa,</i>	In short,	(04:07)
[6:54]	<i>pyāyš, xu, dar e zamānali qadīma a nōūa, edārajāt nōūa faqat kāri kišāwarzī bī-ō žin-ō pyāy kišāwarzī kirdina.</i>	the husband, then, in these old times there weren't those (things), there weren't offices, there was only agriculture and men and women, too, used to farm the land.	(04:11)
[6:55]	<i>pyā mačua kišāwarzī, žinīš, ṛuža mow,</i>	The husband goes to farm (the land) and,	(04:20)

²³³ On this expression, cf. footnote no. 229.

²³⁵ A translation of this term as 'gold nugget' would better fit this context. However, the words *xišt* (Pers. *xešt*) and *šims* (Pers. *šemš*) mean '(gold) ingot, bar' in Persian. The term '(gold) nugget' usually translates as Pers. *qeṭ'e-ye ṭalā*.

		when it's getting light, his wife, too,	
[6:56]	<i>maču manīšea dar (h)asāra.</i>	goes and sits on the courtyard's threshold.	(04:26)
[6:57]	<i>har ke māy maču, hara muše: «mašey,²³⁶ nāmit kīa?»</i>	Whoever comes and goes, she keeps asking: «What's your name, Sir?».	(04:29)
[6:58]	<i>ya muše šamsʿalī, ōwa muše řuzīʿalī, a muše nōwruzʿalī. ye nafar jūr mi dānā</i>	This one says ShamsʿAli, that one says RuziʿAli, that one says NowruzʿAli. A person as wise as me comes and passes by.	(04:36)
[6:59]	<i>māy řad bu, muše: «mašey, nāmit kīa?» muše: «ařā? ča meytī [...] ča meytīa nāmim?».</i>	She says: «What's your name, Sir?». He says: «Why? What do you want [...] What do you want from my name?».	(04:44)
[6:60]	<i>muše: «valā, mi miney řamazāna makam». muše: «xu, ma řamazān».</i>	He says: «By God, I'm looking for Ramazān». He says: «Well, I'm Ramazān».	(04:50)
[6:61]	<i>«a», muše, «tö řamazānī». muše: «a!». «sa bus, tā ya amānatī šüam dāya beme binit».</i>	«Ok», she says, «you are Ramazān». He says: «Yes!». «Well, wait (because) my husband has entrusted this (to me, so that) I would give it to you».	(04:56)
[6:62]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	Finally,	(05:03)

²³⁶ The term *mašey* (Pers. *mašhadī*) 'pertaining to the city of Mashhad' does not necessarily denote geographical origin, but may be used as an honorary title attributed to any person who has accomplished the pilgrimage to the holy city of Mashhad or to elderly, respectable people in general. It is translated here as 'Sir, Mister'.

[6:63]	öwša maksa ²³⁷ make-ö žina mačua nām, maname a xišti tiṭā-ö šimsi tiṭā māre muše: «hā, ya!	he stands (there) and the woman goes inside, she grabs that gold ingot and brings the gold bar, (and) says: «Here it is!	(05:05)
[6:64]	šūam vit “ya xišti tiṭāyka bete řamazān”».	My husband said “this is a gold ingot, you should give it to Ramazān”».	(05:14)
[6:65]	va dasea masīnīte-ö muše: «xeylī mamnunim, tašakor! ya hin mi bīa, dāmasea das [...] nyāmase lā šūa tō».	He gets it from her hands and says: «Thank you so much, thanks! This was mine, I gave it to [...] I left it at your husband’s».	(05:19)
[6:66]	xuṭāsa, kārī nerīmin, xišti tiṭā mea dasī mōwre, maču.	In short, it doesn’t matter, she leaves the gold ingot in his hands, he takes it (and) goes away.	(05:28)
[6:67]	mōwre, maču-ö	He takes it, he goes away and	(05:33)
[6:68]	qoruba mow, šōwa mow, pyā māy mōūnī žin har hūč diris nakirdā.	dusk comes, the night comes. The husband comes back and sees (that) his wife hasn’t prepared anything.	(05:37)
[6:69]	muše: «ey žin, šāmī, čāy, fītānī [...]».	He says: «Hey wife, a dinner, a tea, something [...]».	(05:42)
[6:70]	xuṭāsa,	In short,	(05:47)
[6:71]	muše: «ča? šām-ö čāy-ö ča? řa(h)mata pedar! mia šösorā ništima tā	she says: «What? Dinner, tea, and what? (May God have) mercy	(05:49)

²³⁷ The indicative particle =a seems to be realized here as a weak vowel /i/.

	<i>alʔān, tā řamazān</i> <i>hātīa,</i>	on (your) father! I've been sitting since morning until now, until Ramazān has come.	
[6:72]	<i>xišt titāka dāmasa binī».</i>	I gave him the gold ingot».	(05:59)
[6:73]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	In short,	(06:05)
[6:74]	<i>pyā magire žina</i> <i>manjinea mil yakarā.²³⁸</i>	the husband starts to smash his wife again and again [lit. on one another].	(06:08)
[6:75]	<i>žina manjinetē mil</i> <i>yakarā. šōw, ī</i> <i>mōwqalasa, žina</i> <i>mature,</i>	The wife, he smashes her again and again [lit. on one another]. In the afternoon, by this time, the woman gets angry,	(06:13)
[6:76]	<i>manamea čādira makea</i> <i>sarī-ō, mačua ařā [...]</i>	she takes the <i>chador</i> and wears it on her head, she goes to [...]	(06:18)
[6:77]	<i>nām kalī</i>	to (the outskirts of) some ruins,	(06:24)
[6:78]	<i>īma mušīm kalāsyāw,</i>	we call (it) 'old mill'.	(06:26)
[6:79]	<i>maču ařā nām</i> <i>kalāsyāw,</i>	She goes inside the old mill,	(06:29)
[6:80]	<i>va tārīkī manīše ařā</i> <i>wižī.</i>	in the darkness, she sits by herself.	(06:32)
[6:81]	<i>manīši, va ī mōwqa</i> <i>mōūnī</i>	She sits, at that point she sees	(06:35)

²³⁸ The exact meaning of *manjinea mil yakarā* in this context is unclear. The verb *hanjāndin/hanjānin* is glossed as 'to crush, grind, mince' (Pers. *xord kardan*) in Karimpour (1382/2003: 1061). A similar semantics is attributed to *hænjunen* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1256) and *(an)jīnīn* in MacKenzie (1961a: 226). If the meaning of the verb itself is not particularly problematic, the idea conveyed by the prepositional phrase *=a mil yakarā* 'on one another' is doubtful, although probably referring to a repeated or prolonged action of beating. The passage might also contain an instance of verb serialization, as those described in footnote no. 167.

[6:82]	<i>mirqī dirī²³⁹ [...] řī gwim kirdīa,</i>	a hen is [...] has lost its track (and)	(06:38)
[6:83]	<i>dirī nizīk žina māy.</i>	is coming towards the woman.	(06:44)
[6:84]	<i>žineyša²⁴⁰ muše: «xāla qwitqwitkara,</i>	The woman, then, says: «Aunt Cackle-cackle,	(06:46)
[6:85]	<i>va xwidā ī šūa aqira kwišteasam</i>	by God, this husband (of mine) has beaten me so much (that),	(06:52)
[6:86]	<i>řū nāž, nimām».</i>	don't push me, I won't come (back)».	(06:56)
[6:87]	<i>manea řuwāt mirq, mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy.</i>	She chases the hen, the hen cackling runs away.	(06:58)
[6:88]	<i>mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy. īla piši māy, muše: «myow!».</i>	The hen cackling runs away. This time a cat comes (and) says: «Meow!».	(07:03)
[6:89]	<i>muše: «xāla myowmyowkara, xāla qwitqwitkareyš hāt, vagardī nātim».</i>	She says: «Aunt Meow-meow, aunt Cackle-cackle came (but) I didn't go [lit. come] with her».	(07:07)
[6:90]	<i>manea řuwāt piši, pišiža meywāy.</i>	She chases the cat (and) the cat runs away, too.	(07:15)
[6:91]	<i>(y)e gila sagī māy,</i>	This time, a dog comes.	(07:18)
[6:92]	<i>muše: «xāla wāpwāpkara,</i>	She says: «Aunt Bow-wow,	(07:21)
[6:93]	<i>bi jāni tō, xāla qwitqwitkara-ō xāla myowmyowkara hātina,</i>	by your soul, aunt Cackle-cackle and aunt	(07:24)

²³⁹ Here the speaker wanted to use a progressive construction built by means of the verb *dāšt-* 'to have', but then opts for the Present Perfect *gwim kirdīa*.

²⁴⁰ The vowel /e/ does not seem to express a bound pronoun here, which would indeed be devoid of a logical referent. It more probably represents the raising of the vowel sound /a/ of the definite marker before the additive morpheme =īš.

		Meow-meow have come	
[6:94]	<i>nātima.</i>	(but) I didn't go [lit. come].	(07:30)
[6:95]	<i>bičua šun tōnīš,²⁴¹ nimām». manea řuwāt sagīš.</i>	You go on your way too, I won't come». She chases the dog.	(07:32)
[6:96]	<i>manea řuwāt sagī(š), sagīša meḡwāy. dōma manea nām pištī,</i>	She chases the dog (and) the dog runs away, too. He puts his tail between his legs [lit. his back],	(07:36)
[6:97]	<i>alfarār!</i>	(and went on) the run!	(07:40)
[6:98]	<i>xutāsa va ī mōwqa, dī, mowa sāḡatal nismi šōw.</i>	In short, at this point, there come the midnight hours.	(07:43)
[6:99]	<i>šotori pādišā,</i>	The king's camel,	(07:47)
[6:100]	<i>šotori pādišā va bāri zařā, gwima mow, va bāri zařā gwima mow-ō xutāsa</i>	the king's camel with a load of gold gets lost. It gets lost with the load of gold and, in short,	(07:51)
[6:101]		the camel with a load of gold arrives at those ruins.	(07:58)
[6:102]	<i>šotora bāri zařā sara manea a kala.</i>	the camel with a load of gold arrives at those ruins.	(08:01)
[6:103]	<i>žini dīwāney ča?</i>	His crazy wife, what (about her)?	(08:06)
[6:104]	<i>iska gi mōüinī šotora ī dirīžī-ō va mili dirīž hātīa,</i>	When she sees (that) a camel that tall and with a long neck has come,	(08:09)
[6:105]	<i>muše: «xāla {Pers. gardandirāza},</i>	she says: «Aunt Long- neck,	(08:15)
[6:106]	<i>xāla wāpwāpkara, xāla mḡowmḡowkara, xāla</i>	aunt Bow-wow, aunt Meow-meow and aunt Cackle-cackle {came	(08:17)

²⁴¹ This passage is unclear and its transcription is provisional.

- [6:107] *qwitqwitkara* {Pers. *āmadan*, *nayāmadam*.
hālā, *čun tō xāla*
gardandirāzei myām},
a». (but) I didn't go [lit.
come] back. (08:26)
- [6:108] *vagardi xāla*
gardandirāza makatea
řĩ. Now, because you're
aunt Long-neck, I'll
come}, yes». (08:32)
- [6:109] *maču ařā dar māt*. She arrives at the front
door of the house. (08:36)
- [6:110] *taktak mea dar-ö xutāsa*,
vaxtĩ pyā seyra make
möüni, *baŕe*, *žin agard*
šotori zařĩ ki hātĩas ařā
dar hasā(r). Knock, knock, she
knocks at the door and
then, when the
husband looks, he sees,
yes, the wife with a
camel (full) of gold,
who has come to the
courtyard's threshold. (08:39)
- [6:111] *maču, dara bāza make*,
muše: «žina, ȳa čĩa?»,
muše: «řa(h)mata
pedarit! He goes, opens the
door and says: «Hey
wife, what is this?»,
She says: «(May God
have) mercy on your
father! (08:48)
- [6:112] *tō qwitqwitkara kil kirdĩ*,
myowmyowkara kil
kirdĩ, *wāpwāpkara kil*
kirdĩ, *iska xāla*
gardandirāza hātea, You sent Cackle-cackle,
you sent Meow-meow,
you sent Bow-wow,
now aunt Long-neck
has come (08:53)
- [6:113] *hātĩmasā»*. (and) I have come
back». (09:02)
- [6:114] *muše: «bāa nām*,
řa(h)mata pidarit, bāa
nām». He says: «Come in,
(may God have) mercy
on your father! Come
in». (09:04)

[6:115]	<i>dara bāza make, šotor mōwrea nām-ō</i>	He opens the door, he carries the camel inside and	(09:08)
[6:116]	<i>xutāsa,</i>	finally,	(09:12)
[6:117]	<i>žina makea nām utāq-ō</i>	he brings the wife into the room	(09:14)
[6:118]	<i>šotor hara nām tōūla-ō nām hasār-ō tōūla-ō har čī has,</i>	and the camel just in the stable, in the courtyard, in the stable, whatever it is,	(09:16)
[6:119]	<i>sara mōwři.</i>	(and) he cuts (its) head.	(09:20)
[6:120]	<i>gušti šotoriš, xu dī xeyli lazīza, a gīr nimāy.</i>	Camel meat, well then, it is very tasty, it is not (easily) found.	(09:22)
[6:121]	<i>xutāsa, kār nerīm,</i>	In short, it is not our concern,	(09:26)
[6:122]	<i>bāri zařiš,</i>	the load of gold too,	(09:29)
[6:123]	<i>va haf(t) kwinā hašāra make</i>	he hides (it) in seven holes,	(09:31)
[6:124]	<i>mōwkam.</i>	well-sealed.	(09:34)
[6:125]	<i>bašd,</i>	Then,	(09:36)
[6:126]	<i>ye kabāwi depšiši²⁴² va gušti šotor aṛā</i>	a tasty kebab of camel meat, too,	(09:38)
[6:127]	<i>xānim līva dirisa make bixwe.</i>	he prepares for the crazy lady to eat.	(09:44)
[6:128]	<i>bašd, mušea bine, muše: «gušteyš nyāmasa</i>	Then, he tells her, he says: «I have put the meat	(09:47)
[6:129]	<i>žīr zamī(n)</i>	underground.	(09:51)
[6:130]	<i>čāt kanima, nyāmase čāt. har vaxt dus dāštī</i>	I dug a pit (and) I put it in the pit. Whenever you like, bring the	(09:53)

²⁴² The core meaning of the Pers. adjective *debš* is ‘acid, sour, pungent’, but the word seems used here to express the general idea of something particularly tasty. It is notable that sour flavours (e.g. that of the sumac, a spice used to season roasted meat) very much suit Iranian food tastes.

	<i>gušti šotor bār, aṛā wižit bixwa».</i>	camel's meat (out and eat it for yourself».	
[6:131]	<i>sirvatiš xu katīasa gīre. dī zaṛōmaṛiš katīasa gīrī.</i>	Well, he got his hands on (many) riches, too. Finally, he got his hands on gold and silver, too.	(10:00)
[6:132]	<i>xuṭāsa, pādišāyš har čī ešlāma makea šar, āqā.²⁴³</i>	In short, however much the king might proclaim to the city, my friend:	(10:04)
[6:133]	<i>«šotor mina bāri zaṛ gwim bīa.</i>	«My camel got lost with a load of gold.	(10:09)
[6:134]	<i>har ke diase-ō bārete,²⁴⁴</i>	Whoever sees it and brings it (back),	(10:12)
[6:135]	<i>jāyīza mema binī».</i>	I'll give him a reward».	(10:16)
[6:136]	<i>kār nerīm, pādišā har čī magīrdī, va gīr nimāy.</i>	It is not our concern, however much the king might search, (the camel) wouldn't be found.	(10:18)
[6:137]	<i>māy, ča make? muše: «be(h)tarīn řīasa mi ye pīražinī va gīr bārim,</i>	He comes and what does he do? He says: «The best way is that I find an old woman	(10:23)
[6:138]	<i>būnim čanī meytī</i>	(and) I see how much she wants	(10:30)
[6:139]	<i>tā ī šotora aṛā mi yā zindea gīr bārī yā mirdea gīr bārī, guštea gīr bārī».</i>	in order to find this camel alive or dead for me, to find its meat».	(10:32)

²⁴³ Here, the epithet *āqā* 'Mister, Sir' is used to address the (female) listener. Like the term *birā* 'brother' in Text 1, it can be used as a generic, gender-unmarked term of address to express respect for the referent.

²⁴⁴ The transcription of this passage is provisional.

[6:140]	<i>xuṭāsa, keywānuī jūr bibī zeynowa makatea gīre.</i>	In short, he comes across an old woman like Bibi Zeynab.	(10:40)
[6:141]	<i>muše: «saṇ wižim²⁴⁵ xwirī be²⁴⁶ binim</i>	She says: «Give me as much wool as my own weight [lit. my own weight of wool]	(10:46)
[6:142]	<i>tā šotor aṛāt pyā bikam.</i>	to find the camel for you,	(10:49)
[6:143]	<i>yā zinda yā gušte aṛāt pyā (bikam)».</i>	to find it alive or to find its meat for you».	(10:51)
[6:144]	<i>bi har hāt,</i>	Anyway,	(10:55)
[6:145]	<i>pādišā qabula make-ō muše: «xānim,</i>	the king accepts and says: «Lady,	(10:57)
[6:146]	<i>bikata miney, gīr bār».</i>	go in search of it (and) find it».	(11:01)
[6:147]	<i>makatea miney, āqā. māṭa māṭ, māṭa māṭ tā mā aṛā māṭ</i>	She sets out after it, my friend. From house to house, from house to house until she reaches the house	(11:03)
[6:148]	<i>xānim.</i>	of the lady.	(11:09)
[6:149]	<i>mā aṛā māṭ xānim, muše: «val(ā)a haqīqat duwā kirdīma.</i>	She arrives at the lady's house and says: «By God, indeed, I made a vow.	(11:11)
[6:150]	<i>ṛi duwām gušti šotor hātea.²⁴⁷</i>	For my vow, camel meat is needed.	(11:15)

²⁴⁵ The word *saṇ* 'stone, weight' alludes to the stones used as weights for old scales.

²⁴⁶ A directional particle =a should be expected to occur before the preposition *bin*, but it is absent here.

²⁴⁷ The word *ṛi duwā*, reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 651) as *rei dowa*, refers to '1. an amount of payment (either material or pecuniary) they give to the fortune-teller, the soothsayer and the sorcerer 2. the thing that fortune-tellers and sorcerers consider necessary for the addressee in order to complete the prediction or spell (such as incense, grains, green myrtle)'.

[6:151]	<i>ar bu, aqira kamī gušti šotor beyna binim aṛā ři duwā». Žina muše: «har eqira?».</i>	If it's possible, give me that little camel meat for the offering». The woman says: «Just this much?».	(11:18)
[6:152]	<i>maču, qad manāne, qad baqaṭe gušti šotora māre mea bine, muše: {xxx}</i>	She goes, she brings (out) a one man-container, an armful of camel meat, and gives it to her, she says: {xxx}	(11:26)
[6:153]	<i>«böwr, bika ři duwā».</i>	«Take (it), make the offering».	(11:33)
[6:154]	<i>mare,</i>	She brings it,	(11:36)
[6:155]	<i>keywānuša möwre, qašaṇ</i>	the old woman takes it and, properly,	(11:38)
[6:156]	<i>manetea nām das pādišā.</i>	puts it in the king's hands.	(11:41)
[6:157]	<i>manetea nām das pādišā, pādišāyša muše:</i>	She puts it in the king's hands, the king says:	(11:45)
[6:158]	<i>«böwr, hasāra nīšān dāruqa be». a möwqa va maṭmur vitina dāruqa.</i>	«Take it and show the courtyard to the police officer». At that time, they called the police officer <i>dāruqa</i> .	(11:48)
[6:159]	<i>«nīšān dāruqa be».</i>	«Show it to the officer».	(11:54)
[6:160]	<i>nīšān dāruqa men, āqā.</i>	They show it to the officer, my friend.	(11:56)
[6:161]	<i>dāruqa pyā magire qadbasta make.</i>	The officer takes the husband and arrests him.	(11:59)
[6:162]	<i>qadbastea make böwretea lā pādišā.</i>	He arrests him in order to take him before the king.	(12:04)
[6:163]	<i>{# dāruqeyša muše: «āqā»} [...] pyāyša muše: «āqā», {# va dāruqa</i>	{# And the officer says: «Mister»} [...] And the man says: «Mister», {#	(12:07)

	<i>muše</i> [...] <i>va maʔmura</i> <i>muše, muše: «āqā,</i>	he says to the officer} [...] he says to the policeman, he says: «Mister,	
[6:164]	<i>har ejāza be sefāriš māla</i> <i>bikama žina»</i>	just allow me to entrust the house to (my) wife».	(12:12)
[6:165]	[<i>moltafiti?</i>]	[are you attentive?].	(12:16)
[6:166]	<i>«sefāriš māla bikama</i> <i>žina lāaqaṭ ar mi eṣdām</i> <i>bīm, ar sarim biṟyā, ar</i> <i>har čīa binim kirdūn,</i> <i>žina māla nega(h)dārī</i> <i>bike».</i>	«I would entrust my house to (my) wife so that, if I would be executed, if my head would be cut off, whatever they might do to me, at least (my) wife would take care of the house».	(12:17)
[6:167]	<i>xuṭāsa, muše: «eṟ žin»,</i> <i>muše, «mi dī dirim</i> <i>mačim,</i>	Finally, he says: «Hey wife», he says, «well, I'm going.	(12:27)
[6:168]	<i>tō hawāsta</i> <i>darpeykarila</i> ²⁴⁸ <i>bu ā!</i>	Pay attention to the house, eh!	(12:31)
[6:169]	<i>va beyn načun ī</i> <i>darpeykaral».</i>	May this house not be destroyed».	(12:34)
[6:170]	<i>muše: «na! pyā, xīpātīt</i> <i>ṟāhat bu, biču! ma</i> <i>hasim!».</i>	She says: «No! Husband, don't worry [lit. may your mind be relaxed], go! I'll be here!».	(12:38)
[6:171]	<i>pyā mean ma [...]</i> <i>mōwrinea deyšt</i> ²⁴⁹	The man, they go and [...] drag him out of the	(12:43)

²⁴⁸ The compound form *darpeykar* (Pers. *dar-o peykar*) literally means 'the door and the structure' and is used in colloquial language as a synecdoche to indicate the whole house, from door, to walls, to ceiling. This is where the misunderstanding between the man and his wife arises. The man uses this term to allude to the whole house, while his wife takes it literally as meaning 'door jambs, doorframe'.

²⁴⁹ See [6:19] and footnote no. 227 for a verb serialization similar to *mean mōwrinea deyšt*.

	<i>hasā(r). žiniša makea</i> [...] <i>tavara īma-ō vagard</i> <i>kofīja</i> , ²⁵⁰	courtyard. The woman, too, does [...] The axe, (like) ours, with the pickaxe,	
[6:172]	<i>jā manea ī darala,</i>	she places them on these (door) jambs	(12:51)
[6:173]	<i>mār(e)tyāneri</i> ²⁵¹	and pulls them out.	(12:53)
[6:174]	<i>tanāfa māže arine,</i> <i>mōwsete qašāna māžea</i> <i>kuṭ.</i>	She throws a rope around [lit. to] it [i.e. the door], she tightens it properly and she puts it on her back.	(12:55)
[6:175]	<i>vere kura? vere lā pādišā.</i>	Going where? Going before the king.	(13:00)
[6:176]	<i>xuṭāsa pādišā, pyā</i> <i>girtīasa žīr šalāq arinī</i> <i>ki: «pedar suxte</i> , ²⁵² <i>ī</i> <i>šotorā čū dōzīta?».</i>	In short, the king has put the man under the whip, (saying): «Bastard, how have you stolen this camel?».	(13:04)
[6:177]	<i>a, ōwša [...]</i>	Yes, well he [...]	(13:12)
[6:178]	<i>hā žīr šalāqa dirī {xxx}</i> <i>seyra make mōiūnī žina</i> <i>darpeykara kwil nyāsa</i> <i>kuṭ,</i>	He is under the whip and he is {xxx} he sees (that) the wife has put the whole door on her shoulders (and)	(13:14)
[6:179]	<i>dirī māy.</i>	is coming.	(13:22)
[6:180]	<i>muše: «qobla ſālam</i> , ²⁵³ <i>mi</i>	He says: «His Highness, I	(13:23)
[6:181]	<i>šotor tō nyōzīma.</i>	haven't stolen your camel.	(13:26)

²⁵⁰ The transcription and translation of this passage is provisional.

²⁵¹ The nature and function of /ī/ after the postverb =*er* 'out' are unclear. It could be interpreted as redundant 3SG bound pronoun referring to the subject of the verb or, as suggested by Ergin Öpengin (p.c.), as a fossilized oblique suffix.

²⁵² This insulting Pers. expression literally means 'burned father'.

²⁵³ On this title, cf. footnote no. 187.

[6:182]	{xxx} <i>a žin līvamasa, ya darpeykara girtīasa kuṭ, dirī māre.</i>	{xxx} that is my crazy wife, she has taken the whole door on her shoulders and she is carrying it.	(13:29)
[6:183]	<i>ava dōzīa».</i>	She has stolen it».	(13:35)
[6:184]	<i>muše: «xu pas bīlā bāa nwā»</i>	He says: «Well, let her come in, then».	(13:37)
[6:185]	<i>mačua nwā, muše: «ey žin!», muše: «bale». muše: «šotor mina čü dōzīte?».</i>	She gets closer, he says: «Hey, woman!». She says: «Yes». He says: «How have you stolen my camel?».	(13:40)
[6:186]	<i>muše: «qobla šalām, zamānī mi dōzīma²⁵⁴ ī šotor tōa tōwīrga mawāryā,</i>	She says: «His Highness, when I stole this camel of yours, it was hailing hailstones	(13:46)
[6:187]	<i>jūr xā gwīnit,</i>	as (big as) your testicles,	(13:53)
[6:188]	<i>surāxa makīrd jūr surāx qījīt». a.</i>	(the hail) was making holes as big as your rear's». Yes.	(13:55)
[6:189]	<i>muše: «āqā, ī žina har līvea, vete dan,</i>	He says: «Man, this woman is just crazy, let her go.	(13:59)
[6:190]	<i>āqā, pyāyš tabra kan. ya līvea».</i>	Mister, release the man, too. She's crazy».	(14:04)
[6:191]	<i>ilā vitīm rās bī, alā vitīm duru bī, har čī vitīm duq bī.²⁵⁵</i>	What I said here was true, what I said there was false, whatever I said was buttermilk.	(14:09)

²⁵⁴ Here the copula seems to be fronted to /e/, possibly under the effect of the following proximal demonstrative ī.

²⁵⁵ On this formula, cf. footnote no. 222.

Text 7: *Mīmī nařadö* (The demonic aunt)

Text 7 was recorded in Harsin, on the 10th of January 2014 (20th of Dey 1392), during the same recording session when Text 1 and Text 3 were collected. The speaker is M. G., the same person performing Text 1. She is a fifty year-old woman, native of the rural village of Parive. She has lived in the city of Harsin for most of her life and has not received elementary schooling.

Summary: this story can be classified as a *Tale of Magic*. The plot is compatible with Marzolph's (1984) type *333 B *The Aunt is a Wolf*²⁵⁶ and shows similarities with the tales in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 104-107) and Blau (1989c):

A man, his wife, and their daughters are so poor they survive by eating spontaneous herbs collected in the fields. One day, they meet a rich old woman, who pretends to be the man's aunt. The lady informs them that the village has been abandoned. She asks them to come over to her house to take the goods that were left behind by former inhabitants. The family moves to the lady's house. Day by day, the lady compels the woman to fatten her daughters, until one day one of the girls realizes the lady is a cannibalistic monster. At night, the mother and the daughters prepare some provisions. They take some salt, a needle, and a knife with them and run away, while the distrustful husband stays the lady's house. The next morning, the demonic aunt decides to eat the woman and the girls. When she finds out that they have escaped, she eats the man and starts chasing the fugitives. As soon as the monster reaches the woman, she throws the needle at him, which by magic becomes a mountain of needles. The demonic aunt overcomes the obstacle, but her feet start bleeding. This time, the woman throws salt, which becomes a mountain of salt. The demonic aunt overcomes the obstacle, but her feet start burning. The woman throws the blade at the demon, but to no avail. The woman prays for a watercourse to appear and block the demon. Two water channels

²⁵⁶ Cf. ATU 334 *Household of the Witch* (previously AT 333B *The cannibal godfather/godmother*).

appear, the demon is not able to cross them, and the woman with her daughters return safe and sound to their own village.

Transcription and Translation:

	Harsini	English	
[7:1]	<i>ava, ye žinīk-ō ye pyāy si gila dit dirin.</i>	So, a woman and a man have three daughters.	(00:00)
[7:2]	<i>si gila dit mea si gila kwiř, valī a si gila dit hüč xwidāy nerin, jür īma. āyimal žār, badbaxtīkan.</i>	He gives the three daughters to three boys, but those three girls are wretched [lit. they don't have any God], like ourselves. They are poor, miserable people.	(00:04)
[7:3]	<i>mačin ařā pāča parīva īma, masaťan, paqāza²⁵⁷ bikan.</i>	They go to the foothill of our Parive, for example, to pick herbs.	(00:10)
[7:4]	<i>paqāza bikan,</i>	To pick herbs,	(00:14)
[7:5]	<i>bārin, bixwan, binina dār-ō āylal bixwan.</i>	(so that) they would bring (them), eat (them), cook (them) for the children to eat.	(00:17)
[7:6]	<i>ya, ye keywānue māy, keywānu zinhār zinhāri²⁵⁸ muše,</i>	Then, an old woman comes, an old woman, «Alas, alas!», she says,	(00:20)

²⁵⁷ The word *paqāza* is reported as *paqāzh* (perhaps a misprint of *paqāzæh*) in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 276) and is defined as '[...] a spontaneous herbaceous plant, annual or perennial, pertaining to the family of *Umbelliferae*, with a pronged trunk, between 15 and 60 cm high, having dark green leaves, with three small leaves, similar to goosefoot [Pers. *pā-ye gāz*], a spindle-shaped trunk, yielding white and pink flowers and with seeds similar to black sesame. Sometimes its wide green leaves, which become reddish in spring, are cooked and eaten with rice, being very good (to cure) kidney stones and backaches'.

²⁵⁸ It is not clear if the word *zinhār* is used here in apposition to *keywānu*, as an adverb or as an interjection. The function of the final /i/ is also unclear. In Persian, the word *zenhār* 'protection, refuge, mercy' can be used as an interjection, meaning 'beware!, alas!'. The sense of this paragraph remains uncertain and its translation tentative.

- [7:7] *mušea pyāka, muše: «ey mamūla, mīmīt bimire!²⁵⁹ vera ča makey?».* she says to the man, she says: «Mohammad, as I live and breathe! What are you doing here?» (00:25)
- [7:8] *ōwša muše: «ay mīmī, hūč xwidāy nerim! ya seyr si gila dit mi badbaxtin, bīčāram».* He says: «O auntie, I'm wretched! Look, my three daughters are miserable, I'm hopeless». (00:32)
- [7:9] *tōmarz naka,²⁶⁰ mīmī ābādī čuť kirdīa.²⁶¹* Fancy that! The auntie has emptied the village. (00:39)
- [7:10] *muše: «bān ařā lā mi, va xwidā, kī bixwe ī kwil xarja, ī kwil pūla, ī kwil birinja, ī kwil [...]* She says: «Come to my place, by God, who is going to eat all these purchases, all this money, all this rice, all these [...]
- [7:11] *kāwiř-ō miğā? kwil ī čuťa. bān!».* sheep and cows? All of this is (now) abandoned. Come!» (00:50)
- [7:12] *yōwš muše, ya muši: «bān agard tā bar(i)matān». keywānu {? qwiltāqwil} makatea nwā dā zarā-ō mamūla-ō si gila dit.* She says, this one says: «Come together, so that I bring you (there)». The old woman {? with a limp} sets off before Dā (00:52)

²⁵⁹ This idiomatic expression (lit. 'may your aunt die') is used to denote surprise and disbelief at the sight of someone or something. It broadly compares to English 'as I live and breathe!', 'well, blow me down!', 'well, I'll be darned!'.

²⁶⁰ The expression *tōmarz naka* is used idiomatically to convey surprise and astonishment (perhaps with a note of sarcasm). In Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 352) the word *tumarz* is explained as 'an adverb for the expression of surprise [...]', while Fattah (2000: 698) renders *tomarz* and its variants as 'en fin de compte, finalement, il s'avère que'. Perhaps related to Pers. *šarz kardan* 'to illustrate, say', thus Har. *tō=m šarz na-ka-ø* 'don't tell me'. In this case, the expression would be equivalent to English 'you do not say!' or 'don't even tell me!'.

²⁶¹ The word *čut* is reported in Karimpour (1382/2003: 271) with the meaning of 'an empty and silent place. This word in Persian has taken on the meaning of desert'. In Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 432, 453) the words *čowel* and *čuoł* are defined as '1. empty, vacant 2. uninhabited desert'. Here, the verb *čut kirdin* refers to the fact that the lady (who is a cannibalistic monster) has emptied the village by killing all the inhabitants.

		Zahrā, Mohammad and the three girls.	
[7:13]	<i>mare aṛā ābādīa.</i>	She takes (them) to the village.	(01:01)
[7:14]	<i>mare aṛā ābādīa, ye ruž muše: «dā zarā». māre manea var dasyān, muši: «ya, kwil ī ditela čāx ka,</i>	She takes (them) to the village, one day she says: «Dā Zahrā». She brings (food) and puts (it) at their disposal [lit. in front of their hands], saying: «Make all these girls fat,	(01:04)
[7:15]	<i>tā matūnīt.</i>	as much as you can.	(01:09)
[7:16]	<i>bea bin(γ)ān, tā bi xwidā čāx buin».</i>	Give them (food) so that, by God, they become fat».	(01:10)
[7:17]	<i>yōwša maču, māre aṛyān, hara mapaze, dā zarā xavare hūč nerī.</i>	She goes, she brings them (food), she cooks and cooks, Dā Zahrā doesn't have a clue about anything.	(01:12)
[7:18]	<i>ye řu(ž) miṇyāyān ki mazāy,</i>	One day, when their cow delivers,	(01:17)
[7:19]	<i>līvīa²⁶² makan, šīr makana līvī,</i>	they make <i>livi</i> , they make the milk into <i>livi</i> ,	(01:20)
[7:20]	<i>mea dita būčkata, muše: «ya bar, bea mīmīmān a (h)asār bānīna», masan, a (h)asār īma bārī aṛā era.</i>	she gives it to the younger daughter (and) says: «take this and give it to our auntie, (on) that upper courtyard», for example, (as) you would	(01:23)

²⁶² The word *līvī* denotes a dairy product from the colostrum milk of cows or sheep. The word is reported as *luwe* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 1052, 1054) with the meaning 'milk of a cow or a sheep that has just delivered. They put it on the stove and stir it very much, until it becomes a cream, which they call *luwe* [...]'. The word *luwe* is also found in Karimpour (1382/2003: 803) with the meaning 'sheep milk that becomes semisolid as a result of boiling'.

[7:21]	<i>vaxtī maču, nōūnītin ha mīmī piř dīa kirdīasa pāčka, sarka žin, pyā, zīzī mārea damirā.</i>	bring it from our courtyard, up to here. When she goes, don't (01:32) you see, there's the aunt (who) has filled (everything) with the smoke of legs and heads of men and women, and quickly brings (them) to (her) mouth.
[7:22]	<i>nařadōika.</i>	She is a demon. (01:37)
[7:23]	<i>yōwša dit mačirīkine,²⁶³ jāma hawā me.</i>	Then, the girl shrieks (01:39) (and) throws the cup in the air. ²⁶⁴
[7:24]	<i>jāma hawā me, duwāra nařadō mowa mīmī,</i>	She throws the cup in (01:43) the air (and) the male demon becomes the auntie again,
[7:25]	<i>mowa keywānu, va dāyāka.</i>	she becomes the old (01:46) woman, the old lady.
[7:26]	<i>māy, dita mārīa wižī, muše: «mīmīt bimirī,²⁶⁵ ča dīt tō?</i>	She comes, brings the (01:48) girl round (and) says: «Oh gosh, what have you seen?»
[7:27]	<i>hūč nīya, čīa?».</i>	There's nothing, what's (01:51) there?»

²⁶³ The semantics of this verb is unclear, although certainly related to the word *čirika* denoting a woman's sudden shriek. The forms *čirīkunin* and *čirīkyāyn* are cited under *cherekæh* in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 420) with the meaning 'to slap someone in the face'. If we attribute the verb a causative sense, as its form would suggest, it might be interpreted as 'to make (sb.) scream'. Note, however, the CK parallel in Mackenzie (1961a: 227) with the meaning 'to shriek (tr.)'.

²⁶⁴ The subjects of both verbs in the passage are unclear and the translation remains tentative. Possible alternatives are '(the demon) shrieks at the girl (and) blows the cup away' or '(the demon) shrieks at the girl/slaps the girl, and (the girl) throws the cup in the air'.

²⁶⁵ On this expression, cf. footnote no. 257.

[7:28]	<i>mištī taṭāmaṭā daspā žinila {xxx}</i>	She gives her a handful of gold and silver (from) the feet and hands of the women {xxx}	(01:55)
[7:29]	<i>makea nām jāme, muše: «va fiṣān lā dā zarā!».</i>	she puts it [i.e. the jewellery] in her cup (and) says: «Quickly (go back) to Dā Zahrā!»	(01:56)
[7:30]	<i>sārā maču aṛā lā dā zarā,</i>	Sara ²⁶⁶ goes to Dā Zahrā,	(01:59)
[7:31]	<i>muše: «dā nōünī, načītā! yāru naṛadōīka.</i>	she says: «Mother, don't see, don't go back! The fellow is a male demon.	(02:01)
[7:32]	<i>{# žin}, mīmī keywānu nīya!». muši: «va če?», muše: «naṛadōīka».</i>	{# The woman}, the auntie is not an old woman!». She says: «Then, what (is she)?». (The girl) says: «She's a male demon».	(02:05)
[7:33]	<i>muše: «sa, ey(b) nerī». hūč nušin, «bāra makeym, řuta,²⁶⁷ šōw mačīm aṛyā, mačīmin».</i>	She says: «Well, it doesn't matter». They don't say anything, «We will load (our things), dear children, (and) at night we'll go back, we will go (away)».	(02:35)
[7:34]	<i>har čī muše: «mamūla, dāt xās, bowat xās, ditila neyma kwišt vera».</i>	Much as she says: «Mohammad, (may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well, we shall not let the girls be killed here».	(02:15)
[7:35]	<i>muše: «na, biču</i>	He says: «No, you go.	(02:20)

²⁶⁶ Probably as an audience engagement strategy, the narrator named this character as one of the listeners (myself, in the specific instance).

²⁶⁷ The word *řuta* is formally singular, but it can be used to address more than one person.

[7:36]	<i>nimačim», mušī: «tō {xxx} dimārā.</i>	I'm not going», he says, (02:22) «You that {xxx} back.
[7:37]	<i>ya kwil ī ganja dirīm maxweymin, č(a) (h)āt?²⁶⁸</i>	We have all this wealth, (02:23) we eat, what's wrong?
[7:38]	<i>ařā ča bičīmin? mātit biř(i)me!²⁶⁹ a kwil kāwiřa bār, saray bōwř, bixwa.</i>	Why shall we go? May (02:33) your house fall apart! Bring all those sheep, slaughter them and eat them.
[7:39]	<i>kāwiř sara mōwřīmin, {xxx} bičīm ařā kura?». </i>	We will slaughter the (02:38) sheep, {xxx} where shall we go?».
[7:40]	<i>ya,</i>	This, (02:41)
[7:41]	<i>dā</i>	the mother (02:42)
[7:42]	<i>māre²⁷⁰</i>	starts (02:43)
[7:43]	<i>xargōta²⁷¹ make. piř huř ī čī ka make, māžea kuł xararā,</i>	picking thistles. When (02:45) she has filled the saddlebag etc., she throws it on the donkey's back,
[7:44]	<i>valā,</i>	by God, (02:49)
[7:45]	<i>šōw, nismi šōw, māņašōwa,</i>	at night, at midnight, it (02:50) is a moonlight night,

²⁶⁸ The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

²⁶⁹ This exclamation is very frequent in colloquial speech to express surprise, disapproval or disagreement. With the negative form of the verb, it is used as polite reply to the denial of a request.

²⁷⁰ On this kind of serial verb constructions, cf. footnote no. 167.

²⁷¹ The word *xar xuoel* (also *xar kuol*) is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 495, 497) with the meaning 'a plant having one rhizome, plurennial, thorny, with a maximum height of 2.5 meters. It has a stalk similar to the sunflower's, with leafy, purple coloured flowers. The external layer of this plant's stalk has the fuzz and fibres of an artichoke, with secondary branches departing from the main branch [...]'.

[7:46]	<i>ye xwā manīa wižī,</i> <i>gwinuža manīa wižī,</i> <i>tīxiš.²⁷²</i>	she takes some salt with her, she takes a big needle with her, and a blade, too.	(02:52)
[7:47]	<i>va māṭ dā zarā hin mušī</i> [...]	At home, Dā Zahrā says [...]	(02:57)
[7:48]	« <i>naṛadō e čī e</i> [...] <i>ṛuṭa,</i> <i>mačua xāw</i> ».	«The male demon, this thing, this [...] my dear, goes to sleep».	(02:59)
[7:49]	<i>e čī, e {? ṛuteyl}</i> ²⁷³ <i>bīdāra,</i> <i>pāčka mea dinān ava,</i>	This thing, this {? tarantula}, is awake, she is biting legs,	(03:01)
[7:50]	<i>pāčka ādimīzāda.</i> ²⁷⁴	human legs.	(03:03)
[7:51]	<i>yōwša maču, muše,</i>	Then, she goes (and) says,	(03:05)
[7:52]	<i>yawāše muše: «dital hiz</i> <i>girin, {# naṛadō} nimāya</i> <i>darak! {# hin</i> <i>mamūla}.</i> ²⁷⁵	she says it quietly: «Girls, wake up, {# the male demon} won't come! I don't care! {# What's-his-name, Mohammad}.	(03:08)
[7:53]	<i>meylīme jā, mačīmin</i> ».	We will leave him here (and) we will go (away)».	(03:12)
[7:54]	<i>yawāša mačin, ditala</i> <i>magirīa (kuṭ) [...] dōa</i> <i>manīa kuṭ xara-ō yaktirī</i> <i>wižī makiṛīnī,</i> ²⁷⁶	Quietly, they go, she takes the girls on (her shoulders)) [...] she puts two of them on the	(03:14)

²⁷² The motif that follows, concerning the multiplication of magic objects and their use against the demon, has a parallel in Lorimer & Lorimer (1919: 31-32).

²⁷³ The interpretation of the word *ṛuteyl* is tentative.

²⁷⁴ The final /a/ of *ādimīzāda* might be analyzed as an oblique marker (see §3.1.3.1).

²⁷⁵ The right sentence would be *mamūla nimāya darak!* 'Mohammad won't come (with us)! I don't care!', but the narrator mistakenly says *naṛadō* 'male demon'. When she realizes the mistake, she corrects herself saying *hin, mamūla* 'what's-his-name, Mohammad'.

²⁷⁶ The sense of the causative verb *kiṛānin* in this context is not completely clear. It may refer to the mother's action of carrying one of the daughters and it might be related to the verb *kiṛānin*, reported in Karimpour (1382/2003:673) with the meaning 'dragging something along the ground'.

		donkey's back, and she herself drags another one.	
[7:55]	<i>meywān, bičīn aṛā ābādīa wižyān.</i>	(and) they flee, to go (back) to their own village.	(03:21)
[7:56]	<i>vaxtī mowa xavar, muše: «dā zarā čāxit kirdim [...]»</i> ,	When (the demon) wakes up, he says: «Dā Zahrā, I fattened you [...]»	(03:23)
[7:57]	{xxx}	{xxx}	(03:27)
[7:58]	<i>muše: «čāxit kirdim, lařit kirdim, heyf!</i>	He says: «I made you fat, I made you thin, it's a pity!	(03:32)
[7:59]	<i>bičīm dī, nōwbatyāna īmšōw,</i>	I shall go, then, tonight it's their turn,	(03:35)
[7:60]	<i>zītatirikyān bikam,</i>	I shall scare them to death ²⁷⁷	(03:36)
[7:61]	<i>bašd yaka yaka maxwamyān».</i>	(and) than I will eat them one by one».	(03:38)
[7:62]	<i>ya vaxtī māy, mōūnī kas nīya, mamūla matapea nām kanūa.</i> ²⁷⁸	When he goes [lit. comes], she sees that there's nobody. Mohammad hits the inside of the jar.	(03:40)
[7:63]	<i>mačua nām kanū gičina, mamūla.</i>	Mohammad goes into the earthen jar.	(03:46)
[7:64]	<i>bīčāra mamūla.</i>	Poor Mohammad.	(03:48)
[7:65]	<i>bīa dōa, marīa wižyarā, kanū mowa šaš kwit,</i>	(The old woman) becomes a demon, she	(03:50)

²⁷⁷ The verb *zītatirik kirdin* translated here as 'to scare to death', literally means 'to make the gallbladder explode' (Fattah 200: 144, 150). The term *zelā terraq* is reported in Kiyāni Kulivand (1390/2011: 674) with the meaning 'to be terrified, become fearful, be seized by fear and dread; explosion or rupture of the gallbladder due to fear'.

²⁷⁸ The word *kanū*, equivalent to Pers. *kandar*, *kanvar* or *kandu*, is defined in Karimpour (1382/2003: 728) as 'an earthen container where wheat or flour is stored'. It can be big enough to accommodate a man, as shown by a picture in Hamze'i (1391/2012: 113).

		grabs it (and) the jar breaks into six pieces.	
[7:66]	<i>kanüa maš(i)ke.</i>	the jar breaks.	(03:55)
[7:67]	<i>kanüa maš(i)ke, {# mamüla}²⁷⁹ muše: «sararā bixwama mīā va bināguš».</i>	The jar breaks (and) [i.e. the demon] says {# to Mohammad}: «I shall eat your head from the hair to the back of the ear».	(03:56)
[7:68]	<i>ōwša muše: «ar sar bixweya mīā va bināguš, harfi dā zarā nagirdim va guš.²⁸⁰</i>	He says: «If you eat (my) head from the hair to the back of the ear, (it means that) I didn't give ear to Dā Zahrā's words.	(04:00)
[7:69]	<i>bās bičim aga(rd) dā zarā»</i>	I have to go with Dā Zahrā». ²⁸¹	(04:05)
[7:70]	<i>dī fāyīda nerī.</i>	Then, it is to no avail.	(04:07)
[7:71]	<i>ya, birākam,</i>	Well, my friend,	(04:09)
[7:72]	<i>mamüla nīmaxwara make,</i>	he [i.e. the demon] eats half of Mohammad,	(04:10)
[7:73]	<i>makatīa šun awāna.</i>	(and) sets out after them.	(04:12)
[7:74]	<i>vaxtī möünī</i>	When she [i.e. Dā Zahrā] sees	(04:13)
[7:75]	<i>dī nařadōa va zur dīyāra²⁸²</i>	(that) finally the demon is hardly in sight,	(04:15)
[7:76]	<i>yōwša muše,</i>	she says,	(04:17)
[7:77]	<i>dā zarā muše:</i>	Dā Zahrā says:	(04:18)
[7:78]	<i>«va hōkmi sičeymāni peqambar», gwinuža māžī, «ya bua kü gwinuž».</i>	«By Prophet Solomon's command», she throws the needle, «let this one gwinuž».	(04:20)

²⁷⁹ The intended subject here seems to be the demon.

²⁸⁰ The transcription and interpretation of this rhyming passage are provisional.

²⁸¹ The meaning of the text from paragraph [7:67] to [7:69] is not entirely clear.

²⁸² The transcription and translation of this passage are tentative.

		become a mountain of needles».	
[7:79]	{Ar. <i>allahumma sale ṣalā mihammad va āle mihammad</i> } ²⁸³	{Oh Allah, send blessings upon Mohammad and the family of Mohammad}	(04:26)
[7:80]	<i>mowa dō gila kü gwinuž.</i>	it becomes two mountains of needles.	(04:28)
[7:81]	<i>nařadō har zuwāna meyžī, pā wižī har xūna māy.</i>	The male demon's tongue hurts very much (and) blood keeps coming out from his feet.	(04:30)
[7:82]	<i>čir čir čir mačua pāyarā.</i>	Drip, drip, drip, it pours out of his feet,	(04:33)
[7:83]	<i>hara māy.</i>	it keeps coming out.	(04:35)
[7:84]	<i>īla duwāra muštī: «va hōkmi siṭeymāni peqambar bua dō gila xwā, kü xwā,</i>	This time, again, she says: «By Prophet Solomon's command, (let it) become two salts, mountains of salt,	(04:36)
[7:85]	<i>tā šur bu,</i>	so that (the demon) becomes salty	(04:41)
[7:86]	<i>kizakiz bike».</i>	and (his wounds) would burn».	(04:42)
[7:87]	<i>a dōša řada make.</i>	He overcomes those two (mountains), too.	(04:44)
[7:88]	<i>īla, īla tīxa māže.</i>	This time, this time she throws the blade.	(04:45)
[7:89]	<i>tīxa māže, tīxiš řada make,</i>	She throws the blade, he avoids the blade, too.	(04:48)
[7:90]	<i>māy,</i>	He comes,	(04:50)
[7:91]	<i>īla muše:</i>	This time she says:	(04:51)

²⁸³ The transcription of this passage follows the pronunciation of the informant. The blessing formula addressed to Prophet Mohammad corresponds to Ar. *allahumma ṣalli ʿalā muḥammad(in) wa āli muḥammad(in)*.

[7:92]	«hökmi sileymāni peqambar, ya bua daryāy, naʔadō natūinī biʔase īma».	«(By) Prophet Salomon's command, let this become a river, so that the male demon cannot reach us».	(04:53)
[7:93]	va jāni mi xwidā! a mōwqa sāda bīna mardīm.	I swear, by God! At that time, people were simple.	(04:58)
[7:94]	har čī a xwidā xāsta ²⁸⁴ bīa,	Whatever they would ask from God, it would come true,	(05:01)
[7:95]	valī alʔān na.	but not now.	(05:03)
[7:96]	mowa daryā, mowa daryā, vaxtī mōūinī {xxx}.	It becomes a river, it becomes a river, when he sees {xxx}	(05:04)
[7:97]	si {# dō} sina ju řezā make dīyārin. ²⁸⁵	Rezā has made three, {# two}, three canals appear.	(05:09)
[7:98]	muše: «ey dā zarā, har nuš	She says: «Hey Dā Zahrā, in every way	(05:12)
[7:99]	čāxit kirdīm, masit kirdīm.	I fattened you, I made you drunk.	(05:14)
[7:100]	busī, bixwamatān»,	Stop (so that) I may eat you»,	(05:17)
[7:101]	ila duwāra mowa keywānua muše: «dā zarā, dāt xās, bowat xās ařā ča nusyāy?».	This time, she becomes the old woman again (and) says: «Dā Zahrā, (may) your mother (be) well, (may) your father (be) well, why didn't you stop?»	(05:18)
[7:102]	muše [...]	She says [...]	(05:23)

²⁸⁴ The word transcribed here as *xāsta* seems to be pronounced as *gāsta*.

²⁸⁵ The transcription and translation of this passage are not final.

- [7:103] *dī hüč nimušin. mačīn,* well, they don't say (05:24)
mačīn, {xxx} pāka anything. They go and
makan-ō go, they clean {xxx} and
- [7:104] *{xxx} dirin, pākea* they have {xxx}, they (05:29)
makan. clean it.
- [7:105] *{# maču, muše} [...]* She goes and says [...] (05:32)
- [7:106] *hāmsāla mān, mušin:* The neighbours come (05:33)
«dā zarā, māfit biř(i)me! (and) say: «Dā Zahrā,
a kura bīta?» may your house be
ruined! Where have you
been?»
- [7:107] *muše: «ay, hüč nuš,* She says: «Oh, don't say (05:36)
mamūla kārīa sarmān anything, Mohammad
āwird! got us into such a
trouble [lit. brought a
matter on our head]!
- [7:108] *{xxx} xward nařadō* {xxx} the demon ate (05:39)
{xxx} wižmān {xxx}, (and) we ran
heywāymīn». away».

Chapter 6: A fully glossed text

Text 1: *Nameyna* (The felt-made girl)

1. *dāstān badbaxtī wiž=im b-uš-im,*
story misfortune RFLX=BP.1SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
mow
IND.become.PRS.3SG
2. {Pers. *čērā nemīše? har če mīxāhad dele tangat, begu*}.
{no gloss}
{Why wouldn't it be possible? Tell whatever your gloomy heart wants}. I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible?
3. *bi-ču-ø bi-ču-ø tō {xxx} čāy-e*
SBJV-go.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-go.PRS-IMP.2SG 2SG {xxx} tea-INDF2
b-ār-ø
SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2SG
Go, go, you {xxx} bring a tea.
4. {Pers. *ma(n) kwirdī bāš harf mīzanam baʕzī mowqāt*}
{no gloss}
{Sometimes I speak Kurdish with her}.
5. *birā hin dī {xxx} ař=e b-uš-im*
brother thing then {xxx} to=BP.3SG SBJV-say.PRS-1SG
My friend, well then, I would tell her {xxx}.
6. *xu*
fine
fine,
7. *xu b-uš-ø ař=e*
fine SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG to=BP.3SG
fine, tell her.

8. *birā ya [...]*
 brother PROX [...]
 My friend, this [...]
9. {xxx} *bi zuwān wiž=im dī [...]*
 {xxx} in language RFLX=BP.1SG then [...]
 {xxx} in my own language, then [...]
10. *a kwirdī*
 INTJ Kurdish
 Yes! Kurdish,
11. *a*
 INTJ
 Yes!
12. *kwirdī harsīnī*
 Kurdish of.Harsin
 Harsini Kurdish!
13. *ya žin-īk=ö pyā-γ*
 PROX woman-INDF1=CONJ man-INDF1
 This, a woman and a man
14. *žinšü=an*
 wife.husband=COP.PRS.3PL
 are wife and husband.
15. {# šü-a} *m-uš-e ar tō bi-mir-ī ī*
 husband-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG if 2SG SBJV-die.PRS-2SG PROX
kōwš-al=t=a andāza pā har_ke bu
 shoe-PL=BP.2SG=DEM size foot whoever be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
mi ava bās [...] mi šü=a ma-ka-m=a
 1SG DIST must [...] 1SG husband=IND IND-do.PRS-1SG=DRCT
bin=ī žin-a m-uš-e
 to=BP.3SG woman-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG

{# The husband} says: «If you die, whoever's foot will be the size of these shoes of yours, that one I will have to [...] I will marry him», the woman says.

16. *baſdan* *pyā-ke=γš=a* *m-uš-e* *min=iž*
 then man-DEF=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG=ADD
kōwš-il-a *tō* *andāza* *pā* *har_ke* *bu*
 shoe-PL-DEF 2SG size foot whoever be. PRS.3SG
mī [...] *ava* *šü* *bi-k-e=a* *ma*
 1SG [...] DIST husband SBJV-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT 1SG
 Then, also the husband says: «Me too, the one whose foot will be the size of these shoes of yours I [...] She will marry me».

17. *pyā-ka* *kōwš-il-a* *m-ar-e* *vitāt=a*
 man-DEF shoe-PL-DEF IND-carry.PRS-3SG region=DRCT
vitāt *šar=a* *šar=a* *ma-gīrd-in-e*
 region city=DRCT city=IND IND-turn.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG
 The man carries the shoes from region to region, he brings them around from town to town (but)

18. *hüč_kas* *nīya* *šü* *bi-k-e=a*
 no.one NEG.COP.PRS.3SG husband SBJV-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT
bin=i
 to=BP.3SG
 there is no one that could marry him

19. *m-uš-e* *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ka-m*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG God what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 He says: «God, what shall I do?».

20. *tīr* *bar* *gāzā* *dit-ik=a* *māt*
 arrow on destiny daughter-INDF1=DRCT house
dir-in
 have.PRS-3PL
 By chance, they have a daughter at home.

21. *dit-ī=a* *māṭ* *dir-in*
 daughter-INDF1=DRCT house have.PRS-3PL
m-ār-e=a *māṭ* *dit* *kōwš-il-a*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=DRCT house daughter shoe-PL-DEF
ma-k-e=a *pā* [...]
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT foot [...]
 They have a daughter at home, he brings (the shoes) home,
 the daughter puts the shoes on [...]
22. *dit* *wiž=ī*
 daughter RFLX=BP.3SG
 His own daughter?
23. *a* *dit* *wiž=ī* *kōwš-il=a*
 INTJ daughter RFLX=BP.3SG shoe-PL=IND
ma-k-e=a *var*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on
 Yes, his own daughter, she wears the shoes.
24. *m-uš-e* *tō* *bās=a* *šū* *bi-ke-γ=a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG 2SG must=DRCT husband SBJV-do.PRS-2SG=DRCT
ma *bowa* *m-uš-e=a* *dit*
 1SG father IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT daughter
 He says: «You have to marry me», the father says to the daughter.
25. *γ-ōw=š* *ay* *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ka-m* *čū*
 PROX-3SG=ADD INTJ God what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG how
bi-ka-m
 SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 Then she (says): «Oh God! What shall I do? How can I do (that)?».
26. {Pers. *āfarīn maryam, xeylī xub!*}
 {no gloss}
 {Well done Maryam, very good}.

27. *a* *γ-ōw=š=a* *valā*
 INTJ PROX-3SG=ADD=NA INTJ
 Yes! And she, well,
28. *dit=a* *ma-č-u* *ye* *man* *xwirī* *masatan*
 girl=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG INDF *man* wool for.instance
m-e=a *mama_xān* *žīr* *maččit*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT Mohammad.Khān under mosque
 the girl goes (and) gives a *man* of wool, for example, to
 Mohammad Khān, down the mosque.
29. *m-uš-e* *ya* *ařā=m* *bi-ka-ø*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG PROX for=BP1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG
nameyn-ī *faqat* *ye* *čam=e* *dīyār* *bu*
 of.felt-INDF1 only INDF eye=BP.3SG visible be.PRS.3SG
 She says: «Make this into a (piece of) felt for me, (so that) just one
 eye would be visible».
30. *valā* *m-ar-e* *ma-k-et=e* *nam(a)-e=ö*
 INTJ IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-do.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG felt-INDF2=CONJ
šōw *mijassam(a)-e* *m-ār-e*
 night statue-INDF2 IND-bring.PRS-3SG
ma-n-e=a *jā* *wiž=ī*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT place RFLX=BP.3SG
 Well, she brings it, makes it into a felt and, at night, she takes a
 statue and puts it in her own place,
31. {? *lā* *sā* *ye* *kuṭā* *qadīm*} *wiž=mān* [...] *mil=ī=arā*
 beside shade INDF canopy old RFLX=BP.2PL [...] on=BP.3SG=POST
 {? under the shade of an old canopy} (like) ours [...] she places
 (that) on it [i.e. the statue].
32. *m-e=a* *mil* *šarus=ī* *masan*
 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on bride=BP.3SG for.instance

She places it on his bride, for instance.

33. *a m-e=a mil ʕarus=ī ʕarus bā*
 INTJ IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT on bride=BP.3SG bride with
ī šü=a bā ī [...] *bowa=s=e*
 PROX husband=DEM with PROX [...] father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
iska
 now

Yes! She places it on his bride. The bride with this groom, with this [...] he is her father, then.

34. *bowa=s=e*
 father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 He is her father.

35. *bowa=s=e*
 father=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
 He is her father.

36. *ya dit=a ma-č-u nameyn-a*
 PROX girl=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG of.felt-NMLZ
ma-k-e=a var tā bān pā ye čam-e
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on until top foot INDF eye-INDF2
dīyār=a řü=a šar=ö [...] *pišt=a*
 visible=COP.PRS.3SG face=DRCT city=CONJ [...] back=DRCT
šar=ö řü=a bīawān=a ma-č-u
 city=CONJ face=DRCT plain=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG

So, the girl goes, she puts the felt on, up to the feet, one eye is visible, heading towards the city and [...] (turning her) back on the city and heading towards the plain, she goes.

37. *ma-č-u ma-č-u ma-č-u tā*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG until
xwidā [...] *ki xwidā_dārī bi-k-e ma-č-u*
 God [...] COMPL God.having SBJV-do.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG
 She goes and goes and goes until the end of the world, she goes.

38. *nām ye dögalān dār-ī ka*
 inside INDF crotch tree-INDF1 COMPL
šōw=an=ī=a m-āy ma-č-u=a
 night=DRCT=BP.3SG=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām dār-a
 inside tree-DEF
 Inside the crotch of a tree, when the night falls, she goes into (the crown of) the tree,
39. *ma-č-u=a nām dār-a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside tree-DEF
 She goes into (the crown of) the tree.
40. *šōw=a ma-xaf-e*
 night=IND IND-sleep.PRS-3SG
 She sleeps (there) for the night.
41. *ma-xaf-e šōso kwiř_pādišā m-āy*
 IND-sleep.PRS-3SG morning king's_son IND-come.PRS.3SG
ki čirāwā āw d-e
 COMPL horse water give.PRS-3SG
 She sleeps. The next morning, the king's son comes to give water to the horse.
42. *m-uš-e xwidā*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG God
 He says: «Oh God!
43. *har_čī ma-k-e čirāw-ka siřm=a ma-k-e*
 whatever IND-do.PRS-3SG horse-DEF fear=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
sā ha-ø nām mil āw-a
 shadow be.there.PRS-3SG inside on water-DEF
 Whatever he does, the horse gets scared! There is a shadow on the water surface».

44. *m-uš-e* *birā* *jin=ī* *parī*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG brother sprite=COP.PRS.2SG fairy.COP.2SG
ādīmīzād=ī *b-ā-ø=a* *xwor*
 human.being=COP.PRS.2SG SBJV-come.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT down
 He says: «My friend, are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being?
 Come down,
45. *tā* *īma [...]* *ī* *čirāwā* *āw* *bi-xw(a)-e*
 so.that 1PL [...] PROX horse water SBJV-drink.PRS-3SG
 so that we [...] this horse may drink water».
46. *ōw=š* *m-uš-e* *valā* *na* *jin=am*
 3SG=ADD IND-say.PRS-3SG INTJ neither sprite=COP.PRS.1SG
na *āyimīzā-īk=am*
 nor human.being-INDF1=COP.PRS.1SG
 She says: «By God, I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being».
47. *m-āy=a* *xwor*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT down
 She comes down,
48. *m-āy=a* *xwor* *āw* [...] *čirāwā-l* *āw=a*
 IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT down water [...] horse-PL water=IND
ma-xwa-n=ō *m-ar-et=e* *aṛā* *māl*
 IND-drink.PRS-3PL=CONJ IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house
 she comes down, the water [...] the horses drink water and he
 brings her home.
49. *m-ar-et=e* *aṛā* *māl* *dā=y=a*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house mother=BP.3SG=IND
m-uš-e *kwiř-a* *ya* *čī=a* *a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG son -VOC PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG from
wira e *nameyn-a* *alājū=a*
 there PROX of.felt-NMLZ strange=DEM
āwird-ī=a
 bring.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG

He brings her home, his mother says: «Son, why have you brought this weird piece of felt from there?».

50. *öw=š=a* *m-uš-e* *ar* *bül* *bin* *kānig*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG if ash under fire.place
ař=t=a *m-ār-e=r* *dā* *č(a)*
 for=BP.2SG=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART mother what
(h)āt-ø *arin=e* *kār-ī* *ař=t=a*
 come.PST-3SG to=BP.3SG work-INDF1 for=BP.2SG=IND
ma-k-e *m-uš-e* *šeyb* *n-er-ī*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG fault NEG-have.PRS-3SG
 He says: «If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you, mother, what's the problem? He is going to do some housework for you». She says: «That's fine».

51. *ya* [...]
 PROX [...]
 This [...]

52. *dī* *dit* *har* *nameyn-a* *hā-ø* *māt=ø*
 then girl just of.felt-NMLZ exist.PRS-3SG house=CONJ
ař=yān *kārībār* *ī* *čī=a* *ma-k-e*
 for=BP.3PL housework PROX thing=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
tā *zamān-ī* *daŋ* *hin=a* *ma-ka-n=a*
 until time-INDF1 call thingummy=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL=DRCT
šarusī
 wedding
 then, the girl made of felt stays at the house and does the housework and such things for them, until they invite what's-his-name to a wedding.

53. *dang* *šü=a* *ma-ka-n=a* *šarusī*
 call husband=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL=DRCT wedding
masaŋan *va* *harsīn* *bi-č-īt* *ařā* *parīva*
 for.instance from Harsin SBJV-go.PRS-2SG to Parive

They invite the husband to a wedding. For instance, (as if) you would go from Harsin to Parive.

54. *ma-č-u* *ařā* *parīva*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG to Parive
 He goes to Parive.

55. *γ-ōw=š=a* [...] *xwidā* *nīšt-ø* *ī* *dit=a*
 PROX-BP.3SG=ADD=NA [...] God sit.PST-3SG PROX girl=DEM
diris *kird-ī=a*
 right do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 Then he [...] God sat down and created this girl (with great care)!

56. *ma-č-u* *bowe=γš=e* *haṭq(a)-e* *ař=e*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG father=ADD=BP.3SG ring-INDF2 for=BP.3SG
san-ī=a {# *jür*} *nāmzadī*
 buy.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG like engagement
 She goes, her father has bought a ring for her, {# like} an engagement.

57. *āy* *badbaxt*
 INTJ miserable
 Oh, poor (girl)!

58. *γ-ōw=š=a* *ma-č-u* *valā* *nameyn-a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG INTJ of.felt-NMLZ
ma-n-ī=a *žīr* *kwičik-ī* *ma-č-u=a*
 IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT under stone-INDF1 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām *čü* *šarusī* *xās* *řaxs=a* *ma-k-e*
 inside like wedding well dance=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
das *kwiř-e=γš=a* *ma-gir-ī* *haṭqa* *kilik*
 hand boy-DEF=ADD=IND IND-take.PRS-3SG ring finger
wiž=ī *ma-k-e=a* *kilik* *kwiř-a*
 RFLX=BP.3SG IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT finger boy-DEF
 She goes, too. Well, she puts the piece of felt under a rock, she goes inside, she dances properly like (they do at) weddings, she

also takes the boy's hand (and) slips the ring from her own finger on to the boy's finger.

59. {? *čux-it=e=a*} *m-ār-ī=ar*
 tunic-DIM=BP.3SG=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART
m-e=ar *deγšt*
 IND-strike.PRS.3SG=PART outside
 he takes {? her little (felt) cloak} out and leaves.

60. *či ziriγī kird-ī=a ava*
 what cleverness do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG DIST
 What a clever trick she has made!

61. *a m-e=ar deγšt m-e=ar*
 INTJ IND-Strike.PRS.3SG=PART outside IND-strike.PRS.3SG=PART
deγšt m-āγ nameyn-a ma-k-e=a
 outside IND-come.PRS.3SG of.felt-NMLZ IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT
kuť [...] *a mān-ø dā-k=e var_až*
 back [...] INT remain.PST-3SG mother-DEF=BP.3SG before
ava piř gwinī xwirī=a m-e=a bin=e
 DIST full sack wool=IND IND-give.3SG=DRCT to=DRCT
m-uš-e bās b-e-γ=a das ava
 IND-say.PRS-3SG must SBJV-give.PRS-2SG=DRCT hand DIST
kwil=ī {? bī=a šāna=(a)va}
 all=BP.3SG become.PST.3SG=DRCT comb=POST?

Yes! She goes away, she goes away, she comes, she puts the piece of felt on her shoulders [...] oh, it remained (to say that), before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool (and) says: «You have to give it to her and all of it {? has to be combed}».

62. *xu*
 fine
 Fine.

63. *γ-ōw=š=a* *zū* *m-āy* *duwāra*
 PROX-BP.3SG=ADD=NA early IND-come.PRS.3SG again
nameyn-a *ma-k-e=a* *kut=ō* *dar=a*
 of.felt-NMLZ IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT back=CONJ door=IND
ma-č-u=a *nām=ō* *ma-nīš-ī=a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside=CONJ IND-sit.PRS-3SG=DRCT
hin *šāna* *kird-in* *kwiř=a* *m-āy*
 thingamajob comb do.PST-INF boy=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG
dit=e=a *ma-tap-e* *m-uš-e*
 heart=BP.3SG=IND IND-beat.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
mi *har* *a* *kas=a* *m-eyt-im* *mi* *har*
 1SG just DIST person=DEM IND-want.PRS-1SG 1SG just
ava *m-eyt-im* *ma-č-in=a* *šarusī*
 DIST IND-want.PRS-1SG IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT wedding
daŋ=yān=a *ma-ka-n*
 call=BP.3PL=IND IND-do.PRS-3PL

Then, she comes back early, she wears the piece of felt again, she enters the house and she sits down, what-do you-call-it, combing. The boy arrives, his heart beats. He says: «I want only that person, I want only that one». They go to the wedding, they invite them.

64. *ma-zān-im* *m-uš-in* [...]
 IND-know.PRS-1SG IND-say-3PL [...]
 I know, they say [...]
65. *xwidā* *ča* *bi-ke-ym* *ava* *hā-ø* *ku*
 God what SBJV-do.PRS-1PL DIST exist.PRS-3SG where
 «God, what shall we do? Where is she?».
66. *m-uš-e* *hin* *ařā=m* *bi-ka-n*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG thingamajob for=BP.1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2PL
birsāq *ařā=m* *b-ār-an* *dō* *huř*
 fritter for=BP.1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL two saddlebag
diris *ka-n* *tā* *mi* *bi-č-im*
 right do.PRS-IMP.2PL so.that 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG

miney dit-a bi-ka-m
 after girl-DEF SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
 (The prince) says: «Do (this) thing for me, bring me fritters,
 prepare two saddlebags so that I may go and look for the girl».

67. *nöwkar-al=a m-āž-e=a šun=ö dö gila*
 servant-PL=IND IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT after=CONJ two unit
huř birsāq [...] γ-öw=š har=a m-uš-e
 saddlebag fritter [...] PROX-3SG=ADD just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG
ay ay=tān xwidā dā_keywānu tika-t-e
 INTJ INTJ=BP.2PL God mother_old.woman piece-DIM-INDF2
b-e-ø ay=tān xwidā
 SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG INTJ=BP.2PL God
 He sends the servants and two saddlebags of fritters [...] (The felt-
 made girl) keeps saying: «Oh, oh, for God's sake! Old lady, give
 (me) a small piece (of it)! For God's sake!».

68. *kam-ī xamūr=a bin=ī=a ma-sīn-ī*
 little-INDF1 dough=DRCT from=BP.3SG=IND IND-get.PRS-3SG
kilkawāna ma-č-u ma-n-ī=a
 ring IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām=e mō-w(i)rš-in-e ma-n-ī=a
 inside=BP.3SG IND-fry.PRS-CAUS.PRS-3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
tu datq-e m-āž-e=a bin
 inside packet-INDF2 IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT bottom
xwirjīn
 saddlebag
 She gets a bit of dough from her. She goes and puts the ring into
 it. She fries it, puts it in a packet (and) throws it to the bottom of
 the saddlebag.

69. *har ařā a sā_māt=a bi-gir-ø*
 just for DIST owner_house=DEM SBJV-take.PRS-IMP.2SG
 You would say it is just for the master of the house.

70. *anü ča har dit-a nameyn-a*
 then what just girl-DEF of.felt-NMLZ
 Just so, exactly the felt-made girl!
71. *γ-öw=š=a ma-č-in dinyā ma-gīrd-in*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-go.PRS-3PL world IND-turn.PRS-3PL
dit hā-ø ku čī=ā ku
 girl exist.PRS-3SG where go.PST.3SG=PART where
dā=yš=ī=a m-uš-e řuṭa ya parī
 mother=ADD=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG son PROX fairy
bī=a ya jin-ī bī=a
 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG PROX sprite-INDF1 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 {#dā} hā-ø ku dit hā-ø kura
 mother exist.PRS-3SG where girl exist.PRS-3SG where
līva ku bī-t=a
 crazy where be.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG
 Then they go, they travel all over the world, where is the girl?
 Where has she gone? His mother, too, says: «My dear, this one
 was a fairy, she was a sprite. Where is {# the mother}? Where is
 the girl? Crazy (girl), where have you been?»
72. *m-uš-e řey(b) n-er-ī mi bi-č-im*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG fault NEG-have.PRS-3SG 1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
 He says: «It doesn't matter, I shall go».
73. *valā ma-č-u ma-gīrd-ī bařd=ar māñ-hā*
 INTJ IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-turn.PRS-3SG after=DRCT month-PL
bīs šōw ye mā(h) m-āy-a
 twenty night INDF month IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT
dimā [...] hin mān-ø dī [...] xu hin
 back [...] thingy remain.PST-3SG then [...] well thingy
tamām=a mow āzāqa
 finished=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG provisions
 Well, he goes, he goes around, after (several) months, twenty
 nights, one month, he comes back (and) [...] well it remained (to
 say) [...] well then, the provisions finish.

74. *āzāqa* *tamām=a* *mow* *das=a*
 provisions finished=IND IND.become.PRS.3SG hand=IND
ma-k-e=a *mil* *e* *pirīzī*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on PROX bundle
hā-ø *bin* *xwīrjīn-a*
 exist.PRS-3SG inside saddlebag-DEF
 The provisions finish, he gets his hands on this bundle, which is
 inside the saddlebag.

75. *m-ār-et=er=e* *ma-n-et=e*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=PART=BP.3SG IND-put.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG
žīr=ī *a* [...] *qarč* *kilkawāna*
 under=BP.3SG INTJ [...] crunch ring
kazāy=a
 aforesaid=COP.PRS.3SG
 He takes it [i.e. the fritter] out, puts it under (his teeth), yes [...]
 Crunch! It's the aforesaid ring!

76. *qarč-e=a* *m-āy* *kilkawān(a)=ī*
 crunch-INDF2=IND IND-come. PRS.3SG ring=BP.3SG
šavazbadat=a *ma-k-e* *hin=a* *wiž=ī=a*
 exchange=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG thing=CMPD RFLX=BP.3SG=IND
m-e-ø *hin=a* *öw(=a m-ār-e)* *a*
 IND-give.PRS-3SG thing=CMPD 3SG(=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG) INTJ
 A crunch-sound comes out, he exchanges his ring, he gives his
 own (ring away and takes) hers, yes.

77. *ārī* *ārī* [...]
 INTJ INTJ [...]
 Yes, yes [...]

78. {# *m-ā(r-e)*} [...] *m-ār-e* *m-uš-e* *a*
 {#IND-bri(ng.PRS-3SG)} [...] IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG DIST
ki *hā-ø* *bin* *māt* *wiž=im=a*
 COMPL exist.PRS-3SG in house RFLX=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG

a *diť* *wiž=ī=a* *m-uš-e* *bi-č-īm*
 to heart RFLX=BP.3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
ařya *ī* *haťqa*
 back PROX ring

{# He tak(es)} [...] He takes (hers and) says: «She's the one who's in my own house», he says to himself, «We shall go back (in search of) this ring».

79. *valā* *m-ā-n* *m-ā-n* *ařya*
 INTJ IND-come.PRS-3PL IND-come.PRS-3PL back
m-ā-n *ařya* *m-uš-e=a* *dā=y*
 IND-come.PRS-3PL back IND-say.PRS-3SG=DRCT mother=BP.3SG
m-uš-e *nāxwaš=im* *āš_řišt(a)-e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG sick=COP.PRS.1SG noodle_soup-INDF2
ařā=m *bi-ka-ø*
 for=BP.1SG SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG

Well, they come, they come back, they come back, he says to his mother, he says: «I'm sick, prepare a noodle soup for me».

80. *ōw=š=a* *m-uš-e* *b-e-ø=y=a*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG=BP.3SG=DRCT
nameyn-a *b-ār-e* *m-uš-e* *mājirā*
 of.felt-NMLZ SBJV-carry.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG misadventure
řiš=it *bi-gir-e* *nameyn-a* *čū*
 beard=BP.2SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG of.felt-NMLZ how
diť=t=a *ma-kīš-e* *m-uš-e* *bāša*
 heart=BP.2SG=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG fine

He also says: «Give it to the felt to carry». She says: «May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want the felt (to carry it)?». She says: «Fine».

81. *namīn(a)-e* *yaʕnī* *namad* *kird-ī=as=a*
 of.felt-NMLZ means felt do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT
sar=ī
 head=BP.3SG

Does 'Namine' mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head?

82. *anü ça hu tā bān pā [...]*
 then what INTJ until top foot [...]
 Oh yes! Up to the feet [...]
83. *šekl=e maʃlüm now [...]* *ārī*
 form=BP.3SG evident NEG.become.PRS.3SG [...] INTJ
 (So that) her shape would not be evident [...] yes.
84. *a maʃlüm now ça hā-ø*
 INTJ clear NEG.become.PRS.3SG what exist.PRS-3SG
žīr=ī
 under=BP.3SG
 Yes, (so that) it would not be clear what is under it!
85. *ya m-ār-ī [...]* *m-uš-e* *āš_řišta*
 PROX IND-bring.PRS-3SG [...] IND-say.PRS-3SG noodle_soup
bi-ka-ø b-e-ø=a
 SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-give.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT
nameyn-a ařā=m b-ār-ī
 felt.made-NMLZ for=BP.1SG SBJV-bring.PRS-3SG
 This one brings (it) [...] he says: «Prepare the noodle soup and give it to the felt (so that) he may bring it to me».
86. *öw=š=a m-uš-e kwiř-a nameyn-a čü*
 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG son-VOC felt.made-NMLZ how
āxir mājirā řiš=it bi-gir-e čü
 finally misadventure beard=BP.2SG SBJV-take.PRS-3SG how
dił=t=a ma-kış-e m-uš-e va
 heart=BP.2SG=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG to
tö ça
 2SG what
 She says: «O son! How (comes) the felt, then? May something (bad) happen to you! How could you want (this)?», He says: «What (has it to do) with you?».

87. *m-e-a* *bin=e* *m-ar-e=a*
 IND-give.PRS-3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG IND-carry.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām dar-a dar-a qoft=a ma-k-e
 inside door-DEF door-DEF lock=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG
 She [i.e. the prince's mother] gives it [i.e. food] to her, she [i.e. the girl] carries it inside the room [lit. door] and he [i.e. the prince] locks the door.

88. *hin=a* [...] *čaqu=a* *m-āž-e=a* *nameyn-a*
 thingy=IND [...] knife=IND IND-throw.PRS-3SG=DRCT of.felt-NMLZ
mō-ün-ī hur-ī kat-ø=a deyšt va žīr
 IND-see.PRS-3SG angel-INDF1 fall.PST-3SG out from under
nama har diť=yān=a ma-tap-e
 felt just heart=BP.3PL=IND IND-beat.PRS-3SG
 He throws a thingy [...] a knife at the felt-made girl (and) sees (that) a houri came out from under the felt. Their hearts beat wildly.

89. *ham diť ham kwiř*
 both girl and boy
 Both the girl, and the boy.

90. *a* *γ-ōw=š=a* *m-āy* *m-uš-e*
 INTJ PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-come.PRS.3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
gīs=it bō-w(i)ř-ir-e b-ün-im ča
 braid=BP.2SG SBJV-cut.PRS-PASS-3SG SBJV-see.PRS-1SG what
dī va e kwiř=m=a kird-ø ey xwidā
 then to PROX son=BP.1SG=DEM do.PST-3SG INTJ God
xafat=e b-e e kwiř=m=a č(a)
 contempt=BP.3SG SBJV-give.3SG PROX son=BP.3SG=DEM what
ard=e hāt-ø vaxtī ma-č-u [...]
 with=BP.3SG come.PST-3SG when IND-go.PRS-3SG [...]
 Yes, she [i.e. the mother] arrives, too, (and) says: «May your braids be cut off! Let me see what he [i.e. the felt] did to this son of mine, then! Oh, may God despise him [i.e. the felt]! What happened to my son?». When she goes [...]

91. *vaxtī ma-č-u mō-ün-ī hardik*
 when IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG both
kat-in=a hur-ik=a žīr ī
 fall.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG angel-INDF1=DRCT under PROX
nama bī=sa
 felt be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 when she goes, she sees that both of them have fallen (to the ground), a houri was (hidden) under that felt.

92. *m-ār-et=yān=a wiž=yān m-uš-e*
 IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3PL=DRCT RFLX=BP.3PL IND-say.PRS-3SG
ya čī=a ya fitān=a
 PROX what=COP.PRS.3SG PROX such-and-such=COP.PRS.3SG
ōw=š dī daŋ ni-ma-k-e
 3SG=ADD then call NEG-IND-do.PRS-3SG
 She wakes them up (and) says: «What is this? Is this such-and-such?». Then, she doesn't speak anymore.

93. *haft sāz=ō haft řūž sūr ař=e=a*
 seven instrument=CONJ seven day wedding for=BP.3SG=IND
ma-n-e
 IND-put.PRS-3SG
 She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him,

94. {# *ařā dit-a*} [...] *sūr-ī=a ma-k-e ařā*
 for girl-DEF [...] wedding-INDF1=IND IND-do.PRS-3SG for
kwiř-a ma-k-e ařā kwiř-a
 boy-DEF IND-do.PRS-3SG for boy-DEF
 {# for the girl} [...] she prepares a wedding for the boy, she does it for the boy

95. *čan midat-ī ma-kat-ī=a nām xwidā*
 some moment-INDF1 IND-fall.PRS-3SG=DRCT inside God
jiřt-ī kwiř=a m-e=a bin=e doqolu
 couple-INDF1 son=IND IND-give.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG twin

Some time passes, God gives her a couple of sons, twins.

96. *xwidā jift-e=a m-e=a bin=e*
 God couple-INDF2=IND IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT to=BP.3SG
bowa ku {# bi-} [...] ku {? bi-č-īt=e}
 father where {# SBJV-} [...] where SBJV-go.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG
bowa ma-kat-e=a miney=e
 father IND-fall.PRS.3SG=DRCT after=BP.3SG
 God gives her a couple (of sons), (but) the father, {# where} [...] where {? does he go}? The father sets out to find her.

97. *ma-kat-e=a miney dit-a*
 IND-fall.PRS.3SG=DRCT after girl-DEF
 He sets out after the girl.

98. *dit-e=yš yak e dinān-al=ī=a*
 girl-DEF?=ADD one PROX tooth-PL=BP.3SG=DEM
se=a a
 black=COP.PRS.3SG INTJ
 The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black, yes.

99. *m-uš-e hā-γ xana va xana šar=a*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG exist.PRS.2SG smile to smile city=DRCT
šar viāt=a viāt miney=a ma-k-e
 city region=DRCT region after=IND IND-do.PRS.3SG
 He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile, from town to town, from region to region, he looks for her.

100. *m-uš-e hā-γ xana va xana*
 IND-say.PRS.3SG exist.PRS.2SG smile to smile
γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e xwidā ča
 PROX.3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS.3SG God what
bi-(ka-m) har_čī m-uš-e [...]
 SBJV(-do.PRS.1SG) whatever IND-say.PRS.3SG [...]

 He says «Are you there?» from smile to smile. Then, he says: «God, what shall (I do?)», whatever he says [...]

101. *kwiř=a ma-č-u m-ār-et=e ařā māł*
 boy=IND IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-bring.PRS-3SG=BP.3SG to house
m-uš-e kwiř e badbaxt-ik=a č(a)
 IND-say.PRS-3SG boy PROX miserable-INDF1=DEM what
(h)āt arin=e
 come.PST-3SG to=BP.3SG

The boy goes and brings him to (his) house. The boy says: «Oh this miserable one! What's the matter?».

102. *dit=a mö-ün-ī m-uš-e a ki*
 girl=IND IND-see.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG DIST COMPL
wiž=ī-as=e šöw sar har_dö
 RFLX=BP.3SG=COP.PRS.3SG=BP.3SG night head both
kwiř=a mö-w(i)ř-ī tix=a ma-n-ī=a
 boy=IND IND-cut.PRS-3SG blade=IND IND-put.PRS-3SG=DRCT
nām gīs dā-ka šöw
 inside braid mother-DEF night

He sees the girl and says: «Oh, it's her!». At night, he slaughters both sons (and) puts the blade among the mother's braids, at night.

103. *γ-öw=š=a m-uš-e xwidāyā šöso*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG oh.God morning
so gi hiz=a ma-gir-ī mö-ün-ī
 morning COMPL up=IND IND-take.PRS-3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG
āyl-al hardik mird-in=a
 child-PL both die.PST-3PL=COP.PRS.3SG

She says: «Oh my God!». The next day, when she wakes up in the morning, she sees that both children are dead.

104. *yak-ī m-e=a ī bāt=iš*
 one-INDF1 IND-give.PRS.3SG=DRCT PROX arm=ADD
yak-ī a bāt=iš=e ma-kat-e
 one-INDF1 DIST arm=ADD=BP.3SG IND-fall.PRS-3SG
arin=e m-uš-e bi-č-u filān
 after=BP.3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG such-and-such

fitān

such-and-such

She puts one of them under this arm of hers, the other under that arm of hers, too, (while her husband) runs after her, saying: «Go away, such-and-such».

105. *bowa m-uš-e har dā-k=γān*
 father IND-say.PRS-3SG just mother-DEF=BP.3PL
bī=a kī sar āyl-il-a
 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG who head child-PL-DEF
mō-w(i)ř-ī har dā-ka bī=a
 IND-cut.PRS-3SG just mother-DEF be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
bīčāra ma-č-u ma-č-u ařā pā ye
 poor IND-go.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG to foot INDF
dār-ī keynī=ō dār kazāγ
 tree-INDF1 spring=CONJ tree aforesaid

The father says: «It was their mother('s fault)! Who (could) slaughter the children? It was surely the mother». The poor (girl) goes and goes and goes to the foot of a tree, the aforesaid spring and tree.

106. *ma-č-u ařā pā a dār=a m-uš-e*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG to foot DIST tree=DEM IND-say.PRS-3SG
xwidā gi tō va pā ī dār=a
 God COMPL 2SG at foot PROX tree=DEM
γa {xxx} iske=γš nijāt=ī pyā ka-m
 PROX {xxx} now=ADD redemption=3SG found do.SBJV-1SG
e řü ī bowa=m=a se ka-m
 PROX face PROX father=BP.1SG=DEM black do.SBJV-1SG

She goes at the foot of that tree (and) says: «God, you who {xxx} at the foot of this tree, now let me find redemption, let me destroy [lit. blacken the face of] this father of mine».

107. *si hin=a m-ā-n si kamutar*
 three thingy=IND IND-come.PRS-3PL three dove

<i>m-uš-e</i>	<i>īma</i>	<i>bībī_hur</i>	<i>bībī_nur</i>
IND-say.PRS-3SG	1PL	Lady_Houri	Lady_Light
<i>bībī_sešame=ymin</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>badbaxt</i>	<i>nameyn-a</i>
Lady_Tuesday=COP.PRS.1PL	INTJ	poor	of.felt-NMLZ
<i>badbaxt</i>			

poor

Three what-do-you-call-them, three doves come. They say: «We are Lady Hourī, Lady Light and Lady Tuesday. Hey poor, poor felt-made girl!

108. *si gila pař=a me-yl-īm=a jā ī*
 three unit feather=IND IND-leave.PRS-1PL=DRCT place PROX
dār=a b-ār-ø bi-ku-ø va
 tree=DEM SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-crush.PRS-IMP.2SG with
pař bi-sā-ø bin mil=yān a
 feather SBJV-rub.PRS-IMP.2SG under neck=BP.3PL from
nazr xwidā mow-in=a āyl-il-a duwāra
 gift God IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT child-PL-DEF again
m-e bi-č-ī=a [...] valī
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT [...] but
m-e bi-č-ī=a tamūsī
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT cleaning
imām_řizā

Imam_Rezā

We will leave three feathers here, take this tree and crush it, rub (it) with the feathers under their neck, as God's gift, they will become (living) children again. But you have to go [...] you have to go cleaning at the Imam Rezā (shrine).

109. *m-e bi-č-ī=a hin imām_řizā*
 IND-have.to.PRS.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG=DRCT thingy Imam_Rezā
dī bu-yt=a hin imām_řizā dī
 then become.PRS-2SG=DRCT thingummy Imam_Rezā then
haq n-er-ī b-us-ī era
 right NEG-have.PRS-2SG SBJV-stay.PRS-2SG here

You have to enter Imam Rezā (shrine), and then be Imam Rezā's what-do-you-call-it. You don't have the right to stay here anymore».

110. *γ-ōw=š* *valā* *kamutar-al* *fiř* *bāt=a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD INTJ dove-PL flap wing=IND
ma-gir-in *si* *pal=a* *me-yl-in=a*
 IND-take.PRS-3PL three feather=IND IND-leave.PRS-3PL=DRCT
jā
 place
 And then, well, the doves take flight, they leave tree feathers there.

111. *ma-č-u* *gaṭā* *dār-a* *m-ār-e* *xās=a*
 IND-go.PRS-3SG leaf tree-DEF IND-bring.PRS-3SG good=IND
ma-ku-e *ma-s-e=a* *bin* *mil=yān*
 IND-crush.PRS-3SG IND-rub.PRS-3SG=DRCT under neck=BP.3PL
 She goes, she brings the leaves of the tree, she crushes (them) properly (and) rubs (them) under their necks.

112. *hardik* *āyl-a* *ma-nīšt-in=a* *qiy=ava*
 both child-DEF IND-sit.PST-3PL=DRCT rear=POST?
 Both children were sitting on (their) rears once again.

113. *m-āž-et=yān=a* *šān* *m-e*
 IND-throw.PRS-3SG=BP.3PL=DRCT shoulder IND-strike.PRS.3SG
ařā [...] *ma-č-u* *ařā* *mašad*
 to [...] IND-go.PRS-3SG to Mashhad
 {xxx} *m-āy*
 {xxx} IND-come.PRS.3SG
 She puts them on her shoulders, she sets off towards [...] she goes to Mashhad, {xxx} she arrives,

114. *m-ar-in* *m-āž-in=e* *mašad*
 IND-bring.PRS-3PL IND-throw.PRS-3PL=BP.3SG Mashhad

masaʔan

for.example

They hit the road to Mashhad, for example.

115. *dī* *mow=a* *hin* *wira-l-a*
 then IND.become.PRS-3SG=DRCT thingummy there-PL-DEF
 [...] *āyl-al=a* *m-ār-e* *ʕamaʔ* *qöü=a*
 [...] child-PL=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG growth strong=IND
mow-in *mow-(i)n=a* *yak-ī*
 IND.become.PRS-3PL IND.become.PRS-3PL=DRCT each-INDF1
ye *qwirānxwan* *masaʔan*
 INDF Quran.reader for.instance
 Then, she becomes thingummy there [...] she brings up the
 children, they become strong, each of them becomes a reader
 of the Quran, for instance.

116. *tā* *bowa* *šü-a* *m-uš-e*
 until father husband-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG
bi-č-īm=a *bi-č-īm=a* *mašad=irā*
 SBJV-go.PRS-2PL=DRCT SBJV-go.PRS-2PL=DRCT Mashhad=POST
bi-č-īm *zīyārat-ī* *bi-ke-ymīn*
 SBJV-go.PRS-2PL pilgrimage-INDF1 SBJV-do.PRS-2PL
pyā-ke=yž *har=a* *ma-mīn-e=a* *wira* *bowa*
 man-DEF=ADD just=IND IND-stay.PRS-3PL=DRCT there father
 Until the father, the husband says: «Let's go, let's go to Mashhad,
 let's go on a pilgrimage». The man keeps staying there [i.e. at the
 prince's palace] as well, the father,

117. *pīramird*
 old.man
 the old man.

118. *anü* *ča* *dī* *ma-č-in* *ařā* *mašad*
 then what then IND-go.PRS-3PL to Mashhad
 Exactly, they go to Mashhad.

119. *har=a m-uš-e [...] xün ī āyl-il=a*
 just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG [...] blood PROX child-PL=DEM
juš=a m-ār-e bowa
 boiling=IND IND-bring.PRS-3SG father
 He keeps saying [...] the children awaken a feeling of closeness
 in the father [lit. make the father's blood boil].

120. *har=a m-uš-e xwidā xwaš=(i)m=a=yān=a*
 just=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG God good=BP.1SG=DRCT=BP.3PL=IND
m-āy tö bi-niš-ø qwirān aṛā
 IND-come.PRS.3SG 2SG SBJV-sit.PRS-IMP.2SG Quran for
mi bi-xwan-ø qwirān=a ma-xwan-e
 1SG SBJV-read.PRS-IMP.2SG Quran=IND IND-read.PRS-3SG
 He keeps saying: «Oh God! I like them! You, sit and read the
 Quran for me!». He reads the Quran for him,

121. *m-uš-e ča kār-e=ytin ča {xxx}*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG what job-NMLZ=BP.3PL what {xxx}
m-uš-in hüč mādar-e dir-īmīn aṛā
 IND-say.PRS-3PL nothing mother-INDF2 have.PRS-1PL for
imām_řizā tey=a ma-kīš-e kār=a
 Imam_Rezā cleaning=IND IND-pull.PRS-3SG work=IND
ma-k-e īme=yš=a sīqa sar imām_řizā
 IND-do.PRS-3SG 1PL=ADD=DRCT sacrifice on Imam_Rezā
nān-ī ma-xwe-ymin
 bread-INDF1 IND-eat.PRS-1PL
 He says: «What's your job? What {xxx}?». They say: «Nothing,
 we have a mother, she mops, she works for (the shrine of) Imam
 Rezā. We, too, earn a living thanks to our sacrifices for Imam
 Rezā».

122. *yahāna m-uš-e now dašvat-ī*
 etcetera IND-say.PRS-3SG NEG.become.PRS.3SG invitation-INDF1
{xxx} aṛā māt ōw=š=a m-uš-in mi
{xxx} to house 3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL 1SG

ejāza mādar=am bi-sīn-im arā_na
 permission mother=BP.1SG SBJV-get.PRS-1SG if.not
ni-mow
 NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG

And so on. He says: «Isn't it possible an invitation {xxx} to (your) house?». They say: «I shall get my mother's permission, otherwise it's not possible».

123. *γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e valā a dö*
 PROX-3SG=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG INTJ DIST two
nafar=in har=a m-uš-in
 person=COP.PRS.3PL just=IND IND-say.PRS-3PL
b-ā-ym aṛā māṭ m-uš-in=a
 SBJV-come.PRS-1PL to house IND-say.PRS-3PL=DRCT
dā-ka ča bi-ka-m
 mother-DEF what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG

Then, he says: «Well, there are those two people (who) keep saying “we shall come to (your) house”», they say to the mother, «What shall I do?».

124. *dā=γš=a va düre_dür ma-č-u*
 mother=ADD=NA from afar IND-go.PRS-3SG
mō-ün-ī bowa kazāγ=ō šü=e
 IND-see.PRS-3SG father aforesaid=CONJ husband=BP.3SG
 The mother, then, from afar goes and sees the aforesaid father and her (own) husband.

125. *γ-ōw=š=a m-uš-e farusān-ī*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND IND-say.PRS-3SG doll-INDF1
bi-sīn-in b-ār-an farusān
 SBJV-buy.PRS-IMP.2PL SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL doll
plāsikī-e
 plastic-INDF2

Then she says: «Buy and bring a doll, a plastic doll».

126. *m-ār-in* *sifra* *m-āž-in=ö*
 IND-bring.PRS-3PL tablecloth IND-throw.PRS-3PL=CONJ
pard-e *dir-ī* *a* *žin=a*
 curtain-INDF2 have.PRS-3SG DIST woman=DEM
ha-ø *dīm*
 be.there.PRS-3SG behind
 They bring (it), they lay the tablecloth and there's a curtain, that
 woman is behind it.

127. *m-uš-e* *dā-ka=m* *m-uš-e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG mother-VOC=BP.1SG IND-say.PRS-3SG
b-uš-ø=a *dā=t* *b-uš-ø*
 SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT mother=BP.2SG SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG
 [...] *b-uš-ø=a* *māmān=at*
 [...] SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT mom=BP.2SG
b-uš-ø *b-ā-ø=ö* *nān*
 SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG SBJV-come.PRS-IMP.2SG=CONJ bread
bi-xwa-ø
 SBJV-eat.PRS-IMP.2SG
 He says: «Oh mother!». (The girl's father) says. «Tell your
 mother, tell [...] tell your mom, tell (her to) come and eat!»

128. *m-uš-e* *na* *b-uš-ø=a* *e*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG NEG SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG=DRCT PROX
ʕarusān=a *b-uš-ø* *nān* *bi-xwa-ø*
 doll=DEM SBJV-say.PRS-IMP.2SG bread SBJV-eat.PRS-IMP.2SG
 She says: «No, tell this doll, tell (her) to eat!».

129. *γ-öw=š=a* *āxir* *ʕarusān* *čü* *nān=a*
 PROX-3SG=ADD=IND finally doll how bread=IND
ma-xw(a)-e *ʕarusān* *ni-mow* *nān*
 IND-eat.PRS-3SG doll NEG-IND.become.PRS.3SG bread
bi-xw(a)-e
 SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG
 He says: «Well, how (could) a doll eat? Dolls can't eat!».

130. *m-uš-e* *anü* *dā* *čü* *sar* *āyl* *wiž=a*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG then mother how head child RFLX=IND
mō-w(i)ř-ī *mādar* *dī-t=a* *sar*
 IND-cut.PRS-3SG mother see.PST-2SG=COP.PRS.3SG head
farzand *wiž=ī* *bō-w(i)ř-e*
 progeny RFLX=BP.3SG SBJV-cut.PRS-3SG

She says: «Then, how (could) a mother slaughter her own children? Have you (ever) seen a mother slaughtering her own children?».

131. *m-uš-e* [...] *dā* *m-āy=a* *nām*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG [...] mother IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT inside
dā *m-āy=a* *nām* *dāstān*
 mother IND-come.PRS.3SG=DRCT inside story
m-uš-e *ya* *bowa=m=a* *šāšiq* *mi*
 IND-say.PRS-3SG PROX father=BP.1SG=COP.PRS.3SG in.love 1SG
bī=a
 be.PST=COP.PRS.3SG

He says [...] the mother comes in, the mother comes in (and) tells the story: «This is my father, he was in love with me,

132. *min* *ī* *nama* *diris* *kird-im=a*
 1SG PROX felt right do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG
kird-im=as=a *var=im* *tā* *ī* *bowa*
 do.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT on=BP.1SG so.that PROX father
das=e=a *mi* *na-řas-e*
 hand=BP.3SG=DRCT 1SG NEG-reach.PRS-3SG

I made this felt, I wore it so that the hands of this father (of mine) wouldn't reach out for me.

133. *hāt-im=a* *iska* *kat-ī=as=a*
 come.PST-1SG=COP.PRS.3SG now fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT
šun=im *až* *e* [...] *vit-ī=a* [...]
 after=BP.1SG from PROX [...] say.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG [...] [...]
kat-ī=as=a *šun=im* *tā*
 fall.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG=DRCT after=BP.1SG until

pyā=m *kird-ī=a*
 found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
 I came (here and), at that moment, he started looking for me.
 From this [...] he said [...] he started looking for me, until he
 found me.

134. *iska* *gi* *pyā=m* *kird-ī=a*
 now COMPL found=BP.1SG do.PST-NA=COP.PRS.3SG
sar *āyl-il-a* *biř=a*
 head child-PL-DEF cut.PST=COP.PRS.3SG
 As soon as he found me, he slaughtered the kids».
135. *pādišā* *kwiř_pādišā* *m-uš-e* {# *ha(ft)*} [...] *haft*
 king king's_son IND-say.PRS-3SG {# sev(en)} [...] seven
 {# *kü(ra)*} [...] *hin* *haft* [...] *xar*
 {#brazier} [...] thingy seven [...] donkey
pyā *ka-n* *hīzam* *b-ār-an*
 found do.PRS-IMP.2PL firewood SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.2PL
ku-a *bi-ka-n*
 mountain-DEF SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.2PL
bowa *bi-n-in=a* *mil=ī* *āgīr=ī*
 father SBJV-put.PRS-IMP.2PL=DRCT on=BP.3SG fire=BP.3SG
d-an *har=a* *imām_řizā*
 give.PRS-IMP.2PL just=DRCT Imam_Rezā
 The king, the prince says: «Find {# sev(en)} [...] seven {#
 braz(iers)} [...] thingy, seven [...] donkeys, bring some firewood
 (and) make the stack. Place the father on it (and) burn him, right
 at (the) Imam Rezā (shrine)».

136. *haft* *kūra* *hin=a* *m-ār-an* *bowa*
 seven brazier thingy=IND IND-bring.PRS-3PL father
ma-n-in=a *mil=ī* *naft=a*
 IND-put.PRS-3PL=DRCT on=BP.3SG gasoline=IND
ma-k-e=a *mil=ī* *āgīr=ī=a*
 IND-do.PRS-3SG=DRCT on=BP.3SG fire=BP.3SG=IND

m-e-an

IND-give.PRS-3PL

They bring seven braziers (to) such-and-such (place), they place the father on top, he pours gasoline on him (and) they burn him.

137. *āgir=ī=a* *m-e-an* *das* *āyl-il-a*
 fire=BP.3SG=IND IND-give.PRS-3PL hand child-PL-DEF
ma-gir-ī *bowa* *m-ā-n* *aṛā* *māṭ*
 IND-take.PRS-3SG father IND-come.PRS-3PL to house
 They burn him. The father takes the children by the hand (and) they go back home.

138. *m-ā-n* *aṛā* *māṭ* *tamām* *bī-ø*
 IND-come.PRS-3PL to house finished become.PST-3SG
 They go back home. This was the end.

Part IV

Chapter 7: Lexicon

7.1 Some remarks on the lexicon of Harsini

For its interest in throwing light on the history and development of any linguistic variety, the lexical repertoire would deserve a dedicated treatment, which unfortunately goes beyond the scope of this work. The present paragraph contains a few observations on the still limited evidence available for Harsini.

As virtually any other Iranian language, the lexicon of Harsini has been heavily influenced, at some point of its history, by dominant non-Iranian languages (first and foremost Arabic and Turkic). It is likely, however, that most Arabic and Turkic loans traceable in Harsini, as it is the case for other local Iranian varieties, entered through the mediation of Persian, which later acquired and has kept hitherto the role of dominant language of literature, education and administration.

The use of (mostly Persian/Harsini) bilingual synonyms is a striking feature of the textual material at our disposal. Speakers seem to replace very easily Harsini words with borrowed equivalents and vice versa, even at a distance of a couple of sentences or in one and the same sentence. Some examples are listed below:

<i>asr</i>	~	<i>ašk</i>	(Pers. <i>ašk</i>)	‘teardrop’
<i>bowa</i>	~	<i>pidar</i>	(Pers. <i>pedar</i>)	‘father’
<i>böwi</i>	~	<i>šarus</i>	(Pers. <i>šarus</i>)	‘bride’
<i>damřü</i>	~	<i>sūrat</i>	(Pers. <i>šurat</i>)	‘face’
<i>dā</i>	~	<i>mādar</i>	(Pers. <i>mādar</i>)	‘mother’
<i>hāmzāmā</i>	~	<i>bājenāq</i>	(Pers. <i>bājenāq</i>)	‘son-in-law’
<i>kāwiř</i>	~	<i>gusfand</i>	(Pers. <i>gusfand</i>)	‘sheep’
<i>keynī</i>	~	<i>češma</i>	(Pers. <i>češme</i>)	‘spring’
<i>kilkawāna</i>	~	<i>angoštar</i>	(Pers. <i>angoštar</i>)	‘ring’
<i>kilkawāna</i>	~	<i>haṭqa</i>	(Pers. <i>ḥalqe</i>)	‘ring’
<i>pit</i>	~	<i>damāq</i>	(Pers. <i>damāğ</i>)	‘nose’
<i>sūr</i>	~	<i>šarusī</i>	(Pers. <i>šarusi</i>)	‘wedding’

<i>xwā</i>	~	<i>nimak</i>	(Pers. <i>namak</i>)	‘salt’
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Speakers frequently opt for less integrated Persian loans or “persianizing” pronunciations, even if fully integrated forms or native equivalents are available:

<i>āyim</i>	~	<i>ādim</i>	(Pers. <i>ādam</i>)	‘human being’
<i>dirāž</i>	~	<i>dirāz</i>	(Pers. <i>derāz</i>)	‘long’
<i>gyān</i>	~	<i>jān</i>	(Pers. <i>jān</i>)	‘life, soul’
<i>hāmsā</i>	~	<i>hamsāya</i> , <i>hamsāda</i>	(Pers. <i>hamsāye</i>)	‘neighbour’
<i>qurwāq</i>	~	<i>qwiṛbāqa</i>	(Pers. <i>qurbāge</i>)	‘frog’
<i>ṛuž</i>	~	<i>ṛuz</i>	(Pers. <i>ruz</i>)	‘day’
<i>soxān</i>	~	<i>ostoxān</i>	(Pers. <i>ostox^wān</i>)	‘bone’
<i>xana</i>	~	<i>hanā</i>	(Pers. <i>hanā</i>)	‘henna’
<i>xanabanān</i>	~	<i>hanābandān</i>	(Pers. <i>hanābandān</i>)	‘henna-ing ceremony’
<i>zāmā</i>	~	<i>dāmād</i>	(Pers. <i>dāmād</i>)	‘groom, son-in-law’
<i>žin</i>	~	<i>zan</i>	(Pers. <i>zan</i>)	‘woman’

The easy switch to and from Persian is a good indicator of the all-encompassing pressure that Persian exerts to the detriment of the native lexicon of Harsini.

This pervasive influence also emerges from the observation of the lexical class of verbs. We have already seen in §3.13.2.1 that Harsini, as most Iranian languages, makes use of a very productive device of verbal derivation, consisting in the addition of a verbal form functioning as auxiliary to a nominal base (e.g. adverb, noun, adjective or nominal form of a verb), very often being a borrowed item. The resulting complex verb usually emerges to fill a semantic void, but in a few cases the newly coined complex is observed in parallel to a native verbal form. As in the last of the following examples, the resulting complex verb might also be totally unknown to literary Persian:

<i>(h)eywāy-</i>	~ <i>farār kird-</i>	(Pers. <i>farār kardan</i>) ‘to escape’
<i>nwā girt-</i>	~ <i>jilōw girt-</i>	(Pers. <i>jelow gereftan</i>) ‘to block’
<i>šū kird-, žin</i>	~ <i>ezdevāj</i>	(Pers. <i>ezdevāj kardan</i>) ‘to marry’
<i>xwāst-</i>	<i>kird-</i>	
<i>va/=a dimā hāt-</i>	~ <i>bargašt</i>	(Pers. <i>bargaštan</i>) ‘to return,
<i>hāt- ... =ā</i>	<i>kird-</i>	come/go back’
<i>ařyā/ařya čī-</i>		

The inherited lexicon of Harsini, as other aspects of its grammar, attests for the closer affinity of this variety to the Laki dialects of Lorestān, if compared with most SK dialects. This closeness is attested by numerous lexical items (often pertaining to the ‘basic lexicon’ of the language)²⁸⁶ unknown to the rest of SK, but shared with Laki. Some examples are listed below:

Har. (= Lak.)	SK	
<i>pit</i>	<i>lūt</i> (and variants)	‘nose’
<i>lam</i>	<i>zik</i> (and variants), <i>iskam</i>	‘stomach’
<i>gwisna</i>	<i>birsī</i> (and variants)	‘hungry’
<i>čī, če</i>	<i>čīšt</i>	‘thing’
<i>āyl</i>	<i>mināt</i> , ²⁸⁷ <i>zāru</i>	‘child’
<i>gwiĵar, gwiĵīn</i>	<i>būčīk</i> ²⁸⁸	‘small, little’
<i>āyšt- (PRS āž-)</i>	<i>xist-</i>	‘to throw’

²⁸⁶ The ‘basic lexicon’ or ‘core vocabulary’ of a language is understood as a limited set of lexical items, “typically including words for body parts, salient and frequent natural phenomena, verbs for basic activities such as “eat”, pronouns, and numerals under 10” (Öpengin & Haig 2014: 149), that are considered to be more stable and less susceptible to borrowing and/or influence from neighbouring varieties. Typically such lists are based on a variant of the ‘Swadesh’ list, either in the 100 or 200 item version.

²⁸⁷ The word *mināt*, as many other common items, is nonetheless part of the ‘shared’ repertoire of SK speakers. Even if Harsini consultants would not choose it as first designation for ‘child’, they are able to retrieve it when interacting with people speaking other regional varieties using this word, as demonstrated by the exchange in laki_conv_1 [2:08-2:14].

²⁸⁸ Only the diminutive form *būčkata* is attested in Harsini, cf. [7:20].

Vice versa, a smaller number of items (many of which verbs) bundle Harsini together with most SK dialects and distinguish it from Laki:²⁸⁹

Har. (= SK)	Lak.	
<i>hātin</i> (PST <i>hāt-</i> , PRS <i>ā-</i>)	<i>hatin</i> (PST <i>hat-</i> , PRS <i>ā-</i>)	‘to come’
<i>katin</i> (PST <i>kat-</i> , PRS <i>kat-</i>)	<i>kōwtin</i> (PST <i>kōwt-</i> , PRS <i>kōw-</i>)	‘to fall’
<i>pāraka</i>	<i>pārna</i>	‘last year’
<i>xaftin</i> (PST <i>xaft-</i> , PRS <i>xaf-</i>)	<i>hwatin</i> (PST <i>hwat-</i> , PRS <i>as-</i>)	‘to sleep’
<i>xwordin</i> (PST <i>xword-</i> , PRS <i>xwa-</i>)	<i>hwārdin</i> (PST <i>hwārd-</i> , PRS <i>ar-</i>)	‘to eat’

The degree of lexical similarity with other Kurdish clusters (especially with CK) appears to be high, but the question has not been assessed in detail. An interesting subject to be left for future research is the evaluation of the degree of lexical similarity with Gorani/Hawrami dialects on one hand, and with Northern Lori on the other. A more circumstantial study would surely shed new light on the complex patterns of substrate and/or contact induced change historically involving virtually all linguistic varieties spoken at the southernmost edges of the Kurdish continuum.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ Interestingly, some of the listed Laki forms are also attested in the Kordali varieties of SK, spoken in close proximity to the Laki of Darre Shahr (Ilām Province).

²⁹⁰ Two articles addressing the question of the relationship between literary Gorani and the ‘Zagrosian’ languages of west Iran are Leezenberg (1993) and Kreyenbroek & Chamanara (2013).

7.2 Introduction to the glossary

The Harsini glossary consists of three sections: the first is a tendentially complete inventory of all lexical items (including interjections, onomatopoeic words and idiomatic expressions) occurring in the grammar and the Harsini textual corpus; the second contains a list of the most relevant bound morphemes occurring in Harsini and their allomorphs; while the third is an English-Harsini index.

In the first two, the Harsini headwords are arranged according to the following order: *a, ā, ʕ, b, č, d, e, f, g, h, i, ī, j, k, l, m, n, o, ō, p, q, ř, s, š, t, u, ü, v, w, x, y, z, ž*. The items of the English-Harsini index are arranged according to the English alphabetical order.

The structure of a typical entry of the Harsini glossary is as follows:

hamsāda (variants: *hamsāya*) *n* neighbour | *hamsāda* *ī kalkaxirāwasa* He is a neighbour of these ruins [5:13]; *vagard žin hamsāya* With the woman next door [6:19] — Pers. *hamsāye* همسایه (cf. Har. *hāmsā*)

The headword (main citation form) appears in bold italic font at the beginning of the entry, followed by all attested variants inside parentheses. Variants are also found as separate entries in the glossary, containing a cross-reference to the primary headword (e.g. *hamsāya* → *hamsāda*). The appropriate abbreviation from Table 17 (e.g. *n* ‘noun’) indicates the grammatical category or function of the lexeme. When the lexeme has more than one grammatical function, each function is identified by a progressive number.

In the case of polysemous or homophonous forms, the decision of treating them under a single or different entries was taken independently from etymological considerations: they have been grouped under a single entry if their meanings (identified by progressive numbers) were considered to be close enough, otherwise they have been treated under separate entries, distinguished by a subscript number.

The meaning(s) of each word are given in English. Example sentences (or fragments of sentences) are given for most entries, along with their free translation and a cross-reference (inside square brackets) to their position in the texts. When the lexeme occurs in isolation in the texts, only its position is indicated. The exemplified form is identified by an underline, in order to make its identification easier. The absence of

examples or cross-references to the texts implies that the form is not attested in the Harsini texts even if it may occur in other sources (e.g. other recorded texts; Fattah 2000; DoBeS Archive materials) or have been collected through direct elicitation.

The Persian equivalent²⁹¹ of the headword is reported at the end of the entry, both in transcription and in Persian script. It is preceded by the symbol — and the abbreviation ‘Pers.’ (irrespective of the term’s ultimate Iranian, Arabic or Turkic origin). The quotation of a Persian counterpart of any Harsini word by no means implies that we are dealing with an instance of direct borrowing, although this might be true in some cases.

When a form having a Persian cognate is used alongside a native Harsini term with analogous meaning but apparently no clear Persian counterpart, a cross-reference to the native Harsini form has been included in round brackets at the end of the entry, preceded by the abbreviation ‘cf. Har.’.

The expressions derived from Arabic and formed with elements unknown to Harsini syntax (e.g. *alfarār* ‘on the run’) have been treated simply as lexical units. Nouns are generally quoted in their unmarked singular forms, except for a few lexicalized plurals (e.g. *atrāfiān* ‘courtiers’). The chosen citation form of verbs is uniformly the Past stem, even in those cases where only the Present stem is attested in primary data. Unattested or dubious forms are identified by an asterisk. The present stem of each verb is reported inside parentheses in the body of the entry.

²⁹¹ For ‘Persian’, modern literary Persian (Fārsi) is intended. Local spoken varieties of Persian, which may differ in phonology and lexis from the standard literary language and the Tehrani-based colloquial language, are also used in the region where Harsini is spoken, but they are not represented in the glossary. The main references for Persian have been Lazard (1990) and Grünbaum & Coletti (2006). Steingass (1963) has been occasionally consulted.

Table 17: Abbreviations and symbols used in the glossary

Gloss	Definition	Gloss	Definition
1	First person	<i>n:indef</i>	Indefinite suffix
2	Second person	<i>nmlz</i>	Nominalizing suffix
3	Third person	<i>n:pl</i>	Plural suffix
<i>adj</i>	Adjective	<i>n.prop</i>	Proper name
<i>adjvz</i>	Adjectivizing suffix	<i>num</i>	Numeral
<i>adv</i>	Adverb	<i>onom</i>	Onomatopoeia
<i>class</i>	Classifier	<i>part</i>	Particle
<i>compl</i>	Complementizer	PL	Plural
<i>comp prep</i>	Complex preposition	<i>post</i>	Postposition
<i>conj</i>	Conjunction	PRS	Present
<i>cvc</i>	Complex verb component	<i>prep</i>	Preposition
<i>dem adj</i>	Demonstrative adjective	<i>pro</i>	Personal pronoun
<i>dem pro</i>	Demonstrative pronoun	<i>pro-form</i>	Pronominal form
<i>epith</i>	Epithet	PST	Past
<i>idiom</i>	Idiomatic expression	<i>quant</i>	Quantifier
<i>indef</i>	Indefinite	SG	Singular
<i>interj</i>	Interjection	<i>v:asp</i>	Aspectual marker
<i>interrog</i>	Interrogative	<i>v:caus</i>	Causative marker
<i>n</i>	Noun, Noun Phrase	<i>v:part</i>	Verbal particle
<i>n:cmpd</i>	Compound marker	<i>v:pass</i>	Passive marker
<i>n:def</i>	Definite suffix	<i>v:mood</i>	Modal prefix
<i>n:dem</i>	Demonstrative suffix	<i>v:agr</i>	Agreement marker
<i>n:dim</i>	Diminutive suffix	<i>v</i>	Verb, Verb Phrase

| introduces example sentences.

|| separates the headword from idioms or other forms related to the headword.

~ substitutes the headword in the body of the entry.

(+) indicates that the lexeme (most frequently a verb) occurs in combination with the form (most frequently a preposition) included inside parentheses.

(?) indicates uncertain or provisional forms and definitions.

/ separates the variants of a single lexeme in the English-Harsini index.

Lexical forms:

a

a *interj* yes, fine, ok | «*a*», *muše*,
«*tö řamazānī*». *muše*: «*a!*»
«Ok», she says, «you are
Ramazān». He says: «Yes!»
[6:61]

*a*₁ *dem adj* that, those | *a gāva ka*
deγšt Bring that cow outside
[2:30]

*a*₂ → *až*; *va*

agar → *ar*

agard → *vagard*

ahad *pro-form* one, (+ *indef*)
someone, somebody, (+ *neg*)
nobody — Pers. *aḥad*(ī)
(احد)

alā → *lā*

alājü *adj* strange, weird | «*kwiřa*,
ya čīa wira e nameyna alājüa
āwirdīa?» «O son, why have
you brought this weird piece
of felt from there?» [1:49]

alʔān *adv* now | *mi alʔān dirim*
movāzibatyāna makam Now
I'm taking care of them [2:61]
— Pers. *alʔān* الآن (cf. Har.
iska)

alfarār *idiom* on the run | [6:27]
— Pers. *alfarār* الفرار

alyās *n.prop* Elijah | *xizr alyāsa*
wira ništīa Khezer-Elijah is
sitting there [4:56] — Pers.
elyās الياس

amānati 1. *adj* deposited,
entrusted 2. *adv* on deposit,
in trust | *ya amānati šüam*
dāya My husband has
entrusted this (to me) [6:61]
— Pers. *amānati* امانتى

andāza *n* size | *andāza wižim* Of
my own size [2:72] — Pers.
andāze اندازه (cf. Har. *qe*)

angat *n* parasite — Pers.
angal انگل

angoštar *n* ring | *angoštara me va*
nām ye gila birsāq She puts
the ring inside a fritter [2:93]
— Pers. *angoštar* انگشتر (cf.
Har. *kilkawāna*)

anjā *adv* then, there (?) | *va anjā*
awāna mōwse Then, he
installs them [3:76]

anü *interj* then, so, well, but,
indeed | «*anü a ditalam ča*
binyān kirdina? anü a ditam
hā ku?» «What have they
done to my daughters, then?
So, where is that daughter of
mine?» [4:172] || ~ *ča* *interj*
just so, exactly, indeed | *anü*
ča, har dita nameyna! Just so,
exactly the felt-made girl!
[1:70]

aqira *adv* that much, so much | *ī*
šüa aqira kwišteasam This
husband (of mine) has

beaten me so much [6:85] —

Pers. *ānqadr* آنقدر

ar (variants: *agar*) *conj* if | *ar* *mi* *ešdām* *bīm* If I would be executed [6:166]; *agar* *šāns* *bārī* If you will be lucky [2:9] — Pers. *agar* اگر || *~ā na* *adv* otherwise, if not, or else | *arā* *na* *nimow* Otherwise it's not possible [1:122] — Pers. *agarna*, *vagarna* وگرنه، اگرنه

ard → *vagard*

arin → *varin*

ař → *ařā*

ařā (variants: *ař* before 3SG and 3PL bound pronouns) 1. *prep* for, to | *mi ařāt ča diris kam?* What shall I make for you? [2:70]; *maču ařā māť vazīr* She goes to the minister's house [2:83]; *bīlā ye kamī birsāq ařyān diris bikeym* Let's prepare a few fritters for them [2:91] 2. *interrog* why | *tō ařā īqira pakari?* Why are you so sad? [2:22] || *~ ča* *interrog* why | *ařā ča bičimin?* Why shall we go? [7:38]; *~ ku(ra)* *interrog* where, whither | *ařā kūa mačī?* Where are you going? [2:86]; *bičīm ařā kura?* Where shall we go? [7:39]

ařer *adv* (to) here (?) | *tōnīža maxwe, nāy ařer!* He's going to eat you as well, don't come here! [4:151]

ařetā *adv* back | *tā vaxtī gi maču ařetā* Until the moment he goes back (again) [4:150]

ařya → *ařyā*

ařyā (variants: *ařya*) *adv* back | *dīva maču ařyā dōgila* The demon goes back again [4:143]; *mān ařya* They come back [1:79]

asb *n* horse | *mařasīta ye asbī* You'll reach a horse [4:70] — Pers. *asb* اسب (cf. Har. *čirāwā*)

ašt(ah)a *n* weapon | *ašt(ah)a hā dasī* The rifle is in his hands [4:152] — Pers. *aslahe* اسلحه

astan *adv* absolutely, at all | *astan xubī nerī* Absolutely, he doesn't get any benefit [3:62-63] — Pers. *aşlan* اصلاً

asr *n* tear, teardrop

ašk *n* tear, teardrop | *aški mirwārīa čamea māy* Pearly tears come out from his eyes [4:114] — Pers. *ašk* اشک (cf. Har. *asr*)

atrāfiān *n* entourage, courtiers | *atrāfiān pādīšāyž mōūnī* The king's entourage, too, (go to) see [2:106] — Pers. *aṭrāfiān* اطرافیان

ava *dem* pro-form that, that one | *ava makwiše, dīv* The demon kills that one [2:39]

avať 1. *num* first 2. *adv* at first, initially | *avaťa mačī* At first

you go [4:60] — Pers. *avval*
اول

awāna 1. *pro* 3PL they, them,
their | *awāna mačīn* They go
[3:58] 2. *dem pro-form*
(variants: *awānala*) those,
those ones | *awāna*
nimakwišin Those ones don't
kill (anything) [3:54]

awānala → *awāna*

ay (variants: *ey*) *interj* O, hey | *ay*
mīmī, *hüč xwidāy nerim!* O,
auntie, I'm wretched! [7:8]; *ey*
badbaxt, *nameyna badbaxt!*
Hey poor, poor felt-made
girl! [1:107] — Pers. *ey* ای

az *prep* from | *ditī dirī az a žina*
He has a daughter from that
woman [4:13] — Pers. *az* از
(cf. Har. *až*, *va*)

aziāt 1. *n* bother, annoyance,
disturb 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST*
(PRS *aziāt ka-*) to bother,
annoy, disturb | *ī āylala*
aziātata makan These children
are annoying [5:46] — Pers.
aziyat (*kardan*) اذیت کردن

až (variants: *a*) *prep* from | *a(ž)*
kōwš až kwil čī From the
shoes to everything (else)
[2:69]; *bašd a modatī* After
some time [2:81]

ā

ā *interj* oh!, eh!, huh! | *žinea*
maču, *mušt*: «*ā!*» His wife

goes (and) says: «Oh!»
[4:156]; *xāwa möünī ā!* He
dreams, huh! [5:43]

āb → *āw*

ābādī *n* village | *aṛā ābādīa*
wižyān To their own village
[7:55] — Pers. *ābādī* آبادی

ādim → *āyim*

ādimīzād → *āyimīzā*

āf (variants: *uf*) *interj* wow,
wonderful | *āf uf uf, če āw*
xuika ya! Wow! What a good
water is this! [4:62]

āfarīn *interj* well done! | *āfarīn!*
xeylī tamisa, *xeylī xua sarit!*
Well done! Your head is very
clean; it is very good! [4:22]
— Pers. *āfarīn* آفرین

āgir 1. *n* fire | *aṛā žīr āgir ki qazā*
dirisa makan, *xua* It is good
for (being put) under the fire
(on which) they are cooking
food [2:76] 2. *cvc* ~ **dā-** *v.PST*
(PRS *āgir de-> e-*) to set (on)
fire, burn | *āgirīa mean* They
burn him [1:136]

āmāda *adj* ready [4:1] — Pers.
āmāde آماده

āmuzā *n* cousin (paternal
uncle's son or daughter) —
Pers. *āmuzāde* عموزاده

āqā 1. *n* Mister 2. *epith* Mister,
Sir | *pyāyša muše*: «*āqā*» And
the man says: «Mister»
[6:163] — Pers. *āqā* آقا

āre → *ārī*

ārišk *n* burp

ārī (variants: *āre*) *interj* yes, fine, ok | *šekle mašlūm* now [...] *ārī* Her shape would not be evident [...] yes [1:83]; *āre, šiša šomrim bā(a)d nīšānit dam* Ok, I have to show you my bottle of life [2:63] — Pers. *āre, āri* آره، آری (cf. Har. *a*)

āsīmān *n* sky | *mačina āsīmān* They go (up) to the sky [2:65] — Pers. *āsemān* آسمان

āš *n* soup || ~ **řišta** *n* noodle soup | *āš řišta bika* Prepare the noodle soup [1:85] — Pers. *āš(-e rešte)* آش (رشته)

āv → *āw*

āw (variants: *āv, āb*) *n* water | *čirāwāl āwa maxwan* The horses drink water [1:48]; *ī āvi řavāna maču* This running water goes [2:74]; *metea ābi řavān* he leaves it into the water flow [2:73] — Pers. *āb* آب

āwird- *v.PST* (PRS *ār-, ar-*) 1. to bring, carry | *ī kwil čīa xirīta, āwirdīta!* You have bought and brought all these things! [2:22]; *mārea māt* He brings (it) home [1:21]; *kōwšila mare viłāta viłāt* The man carries the shoes from region to region [1:17] 2. to give birth, deliver | *ye dita mārī, ye kwiřa mārī* She gives birth to a baby

girl and a baby boy [3:28] || ~...=**er/=(a)r** *v.PST* (PRS *ār-...=er/=(a)r*) to bring/take out, take off (clothes) | *āwirdimasere* I brought him out [6:48]; *lebās čuwīna varea mārēr* She takes off the wooden dress ; ~...=**ā** *v.PST* (PRS *ār-...=ā*) to bring/take back — Pers. *āvardan* آوردن

āxir 1. *adj* last 2. *n* end 3. *adv* finally, at last | *āxirī, yakī muše* Finally, one says [2:9] 4. *interj* well, then, so, but, indeed | *āxir šarusān čū nāna maxwe?* Well, how (could) a doll eat? [1:129] — Pers. *āxar, āxe* آخر، آخه

āy *interj* oh! | *āy badbaxt!* Oh, poor (girl)! [1:57]

āyim (variants: *ādim*) *n* person, human being | *āyimal žār badbaxtikan* They are poor, miserable people [7:2]; *ādim dōwtamanīka* he is a wealthy man [5:13] — Pers. *ādam* آدم

āyimīzā (variants: *ādimīzād*) *n* human being | *na jinam, na āyimīzāykam* I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being [1:46]; *jinī, parī, ādimīzādī?* Are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being? [1:44] — Pers. *ādamizād* آدميزاد

āyl *n* child | *dō gila āyla mārīm* I will give birth to two children

[4:96] — Pers. ^ʿayāl, ^ʿā'ele
عیال، عائله

āyldā(n) *n* womb

āyšt- *v*.PST (PRS āž-) to throw |
čaquā māžea nameya He
throws a knife at the felt-
made girl [1:88]

āzād 1. *adj* free 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (>
āzād wī-) *v*.PST (PRS āzād bu-
> wu-) to become free, be
freed | āzāda mow She is free
[2:66]; ~ **kird-** *v*.PST (PRS āzād
ka-) to set free | kwilyān āzāda
make She sets all of them free
[2:66] — Pers. āzād (*kardan*)
آزاد (کردن)

āzāqa *n* provisions | tamāma
mow āzāqa The provisions
finish [1:73] — Pers. āzuqe
آذوقه

āzīyatī 1. *n* mourning, grief 2.
cvc ~ **girt-/gird-** *v*.PST (PRS
āzīyatī gir-) to mourn, be in
mourning | ye haštād ruž mi
āzīyatī bigirim! I shall be in
mourning for about eighty
days! [2:53]

Ş

şalī *n.prop* ^ʿAli || **va** ~ *interj* by
^ʿAli | va şalī, *a dī duru nyā* By
^ʿAli, that one didn't lie, then
[2:51] — Pers. ^ʿalī علی

şamať 1. *n* development 2. *cvc*
va/=a ~ **āwird-** *v*.PST (PRS
va/=a şamať ār-) to produce,

grow, bring up (a child) |
āylala māre şamať She brings
up the children [1:115] —
Pers. (*be*) ^ʿamal (*āvardan*)
(به) عمل (آوردن)

şamdan *adv* on purpose,
intentionally | wižī kirdīa,
şamdan He has done it
himself, on purpose [3:46]
— Pers. ^ʿamdan عمداً

şarus *n* bride | şarus *bā ī šūa* The
bride with this groom [1:33]
— Pers. ^ʿarus عروس (cf. Har.
bōwī)

şarusān *n* doll | şarusānī bisīnin,
bāran, şarusān pītāsīkīe Buy
and bring a doll, a plastic doll
[1:125]

şarusī 1. *n* wedding, marriage
ceremony | mačīna şarusī
They go to the wedding [1:63]
2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v*.PST (PRS *şarusī*
ka-) to marry, get married |
mi agard tō şarusī bikam I
shall get married with you
[2:52] — Pers. ^ʿarusī (*kardan*)
(عروسی کردن) (cf. Har. *sūr*)

şavaz 1. *n* exchange — Pers.
^ʿavaz عوض

şavazbadat 1. *n* exchange 2. *cvc* ~
kird- *v*.PST (PRS *şavazbadat*
ka-) to exchange, switch |
kilkawānī şavazbadatā make
He exchanges his ring [1:76]
— Pers. ^ʿavaz-o badal
(کاردن) عوض و بدل (کردن)

ṣaxd *n* marriage contract —

Pers. ^{عقد} *‘aqd*

ṣaxdōmaxd *n* marriage contract and related things

ṣāšiq 1. *n* lover 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (> *ṣāšiq wī-*) *v*.PST (PRS *ṣāšiq bu-> wu-*) to fall in love | *ṣāšiq ī dita mow* He falls in love with this girl [2:85] — Pers. ^{عاشق} *‘āšeq* (*šodan*)

ṣeyb 1. *n* fault, flaw, defect || ~ **nerī** *idiom* That’s fine, It doesn’t matter | *muše: «ṣeyb nerī»* She says: «That’s fine» [1:50]

ṣomr *n* life, age

ṣonwān 1. *n* title, guise, manner 2. *comp prep* (+ *va*) as, in the guise of | *e bīlā va ṣonwān kolfatī era kār bike* Let her work here as a servant [2:78] — Pers. (*be*) ^{عنوان} *‘onwān* (*به*)

b

baṣd 1. *adv* then, afterwards | *baṣd, dīva muše* Then, the demon says [2:26] 2. *cmpd prep* (+ *a(ž)/=a* ?) after | *baṣd a modatī* After some time [2:81] — Pers. ^{بعد} *ba^cd* (*az*) (*از*)

baṣdan *adv* then, afterwards | *baṣdan pyākeyša muše* Then, also the husband says [1:16] — Pers. ^{بعداً} *ba^cdan*

bad 1. *adj* bad 2. *cvc* ~ **hāt-** *v*.PST (PRS *bad ā(γ)-*) (+ BP) to dislike | *bowažinī badīanīa māy* Her stepmother dislikes her [3:6] — Pers. *bad* (*āmadan*) (*بد آمدن*)

badat *n* exchange — Pers. *badal* بدل

badbaxt *adj* unlucky, poor, miserable | *ey badbaxt, nameyna badbaxt!* Hey poor, poor felt-made girl! [1:107] — Pers. *badbaxt* بدبخت

badbaxtī *n* misfortune | *dāstān badbaxtī wižim bušim, mow?* I shall tell the story of my own misfortune, is it possible? [1:1] — Pers. *badbaxti* بدبختی

badbu *adj* stinky, smelly | *āw kasīf-ō badbua* The water is dirty and stinky [4:64] — Pers. *badbu* بدبو

badfōrm *adj* ugly, bad-shaped | *dit xeylī badfōrma mow* The girl becomes very ugly [4:47]

badguna *adj* mean | *vazīri {xxx} badguna muše* The {xxx} mean minister says [3:40]

badmaza *adj* tasting bad, disgusting | *āw [...] wižī badmazatir nīya* The water [...] itself does not taste that bad [4:63] — Pers. *badmaze* بدمزه

badqīyāfa (variants: *badqīyāfe* before a clitic =a) *adj* ugly, bad-looking | *badqīyāfa* *ki nīya* Well, he is not ugly [3:46]; *badfōrma*, *badqīyāfea* He is bad-shaped, he is ugly [3:45] — Pers. *badqīyāfe* بدقیافه

badqīyāfe → *badqīyāfa*

balamirk *n* elbow

bale *interj* yes, ok | *muše*: «*bale*» She says: «Yes» [6:185] — Pers. *bale* به

bated *adj* capable, able — Pers. *balad* بلد

ban 1. *n* band, strip, lace, joint 2. *cvc* ~ *bī-* (> *ban wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *ban bu-* > *wu-*) to be bound, be established | *bana mow e sarnivišt mi aṛā kua maču* It will become bound where this destiny of mine leads [2:72] — Pers. *band* (šodan) بند (شدن)

ban kilik *n* knuckle

baqaṭ *n* armful, embrace (space between the arms) | *qad baqaṭe gušti šotora māre* She brings (out) an armful of camel meat [6:152] — Pers. *baḡal* بغل

baraftāw → *gwiṭ baraftāw*

bargašt 1. *n* return, comeback 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *bargašt ka-*) to go back, come back, return | *bargašta makeym* We will go back [2:97] — Pers.

bargašt برگشت , *bargaštan* برگشتن (cf. Har. *dimā*, *aṛyā*)

barxord 1. *n* clash, impact, encounter 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *barxord ka-*) to clash, hit, encounter, come across | *barxorda makeyte ye keynī* You will come across a spring [4:60] — Pers. *barx^word* (kardan) برخورد (کردن)

***bas(t)-** (> *was(t)-*) *v.PST* (PRS **bas-* > **was-*) 1. to tie, close | *bān čamit bōws* Close your eyes [3:9] 2. to install | *va anjā awāna mōwse* Then, he installs them [3:76] — Pers. *bastan* بستن

baxš *n* district

bā *prep* with | *šarus bā ī šūa* The bride with this groom [1:33] — Pers. *bā* با (cf. Har. *vagard*)

bāad *v* must, have to, shall, should | *ča bāad bikeymīn?* What shall we do? [3:78] — Pers. *bāyad* باید (cf. Har. *bās*)

bābā *n* dad | *bābā, ya dōza ya!* Dad, this is a thief! [5:21] — Pers. *bābā* بابا (cf. Har. *bowa*)

bād *n* wind | *bāda mea put* The wind strikes the barrel [3:11] — Pers. *bād* باد

***bāft-** *v.PST* (PRS *bāf-*) to weave | *mi qālīče mabāfim* I'll weave a rug [4:87] — Pers. *bāftan* بافتن

bāhuš *adj* intelligent, smart, clever | *dit gwijn fira dānā-ō bāhuša* The younger daughter is very wise and intelligent [2:23] — Pers. *bāhuš* باهوش (cf. Har. *zirij*)

bājenāq *n* brother-in-law | *a dō bājenāqa* Those two brothers-in-law [3:56] — Pers. *bājenāq* باجنق (cf. Har. *hāmzāmā*)

bāt 1. *n* wing, arm 2. *cvc* ~ *girt-/gird-* *v.PST* (PRS *bāt gir-*) to take flight, take wing | *kamutaral fiṣ bāta magirin* The doves take flight [1:110] — Pers. *bāl* بال

bān 1. *n* top, upper part 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) on, over, on top of | *hizār nafara bāne jā me* It would accommodate a thousand people [lit. on it] [4:88]

bān čam *n* eyelid | *bān čamit bōws* Close your eyes [3:9]

bānin *adj* upper, above | *a (h)asār bānina* That upper courtyard [7:20]

bāq *n* garden, park | *čimin aṛā bāq* We went to the garden [6:30] — Pers. *bāg* باغ

bāqavān *n* gardener — Pers. *bāgbān* باغبان

bār 1. *n* load | *va bāri zaṛā gwima* mow It gets lost with the load of gold [6:101] 2. *cve* ~ *kird-*

v.PST (PRS *bār ka-*) to pack, load | *bāra makeym* We will load (our things) [7:33] — Pers. *bār* (kardan) بار (کردن)

bās *v* must, have to | *bās beya das ava* You have to give it to her [1:61]

bāša(d) *interj* fine, alright, may it be | *pyā muše: «bāšad»* The man says: «fine» [2:11]; *muše: «bāša»* She says: «Fine» [1:80] — Pers. *bāšad*, *bāše* باشد, باشه

bāxavar *adj* informed, aware | *qašan, dī, bāxavara* mow Then he becomes well aware [2:96] — Pers. *bāxabar* باخبر

bāz *n* falcon | *ī bāza binīšea bān sar har ke* On whoever's head this falcon would perch [3:32] — Pers. *bāz* باز

bāz → *vāz*

bāzār *n* bazaar, market | *mačua bāzār* He goes to the market [5:29] — Pers. *bāzār* بازار

bāzpaṛān *n* falcon's flight | *bāzpaṛāna me bikeymīn* We have to make the falcon fly [3:31]

be(h)tarin *adj* best | *be(h)tarīn ṛīsa mi ye pīražinī va gīr bārim* The best way is that I find an old woman [6:137] — Pers. *behtarin* بهترین

belaxara *adv* finally, at last | *belaxara ye sidāy qwiṛbāqa*

hiza magirī Finally, a cry of frogs rises [6:21-22] — Pers. *belaxare* بلاخره

beyn 1. *prep* among 2. *cvc va/=a ~ čī-* v.PST (PRS *va/=a beyn ču-*) to be destroyed | *va beyn načun ī darpeykaral* May this house not be destroyed [6:169] — Pers. (*az*) *beyn* (از) بین (رفتن) (*raftan*)

bi *prep* to | *mušin bi xwišk* They say to the sister [4:119] — Pers. *be* به (cf. Har. *va*)

bigir → *girt-*

bin 1. *n* lower part, bottom, end 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) in, into, inside, under, on the bottom of | *ar büil bin kânig aṛta mārēr* If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you [1:50] 3. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) to, from | *dögila qazā mena bine* They give her the food once again [2:102]

bināguš *n* earlobe, back of the ear | *sararā bixwama mīā va bināguš* I shall eat (your) head from the hair to the back of the ear [7:67] — Pers. *banāguš* بناگوش

birā 1. *n* brother 2. *epith* my friend, my dear | *birā, tō īma āzād kirdīa* My friend, you have set us free [2:68]

birārzā *n* nephew, niece (brother's son or daughter)

birāžin *n* sister-in-law (brother's wife)

bird- (> *wird-*) v.PST (PRS *bir-> wir-*) to take (away), carry (away) | *yāna mi birdīna bīawān* These ones took me to the desert [4:157]; *ya aṛā dita mōwrim* I am taking it for (my) daughter [2:16] — Pers. *bordan* بردن

birinj *n* rice | *ye man birinj* A man of rice [4:102] — Pers. *berenj* برنج

birsāq *n* fritter | *birsāq aṛām bāran* Bring me fritters [1:66]

biršān- (> *wiršān-*) v.PST.caus (PRS *biršin-> wiršin-*) to roast, fry | *mōwṛšīne* She fries it [1:68] — Pers. *berēstan* برشتن

biṛī- v.PST (PRS *biṛ-> wiṛ-*) to cut | *sar āylila biṛīa* He slaughtered the kids [1:134]; *mādar dīta sar farzand wiṛī bōwṛē?* Have you (ever) seen a mother slaughtering her own children? [1:130] — Pers. *boridan* بریدن

bišqāw *n* dish, plate | *nimatūnī ye bišqāw bixwe* They wouldn't be able to eat even a plate of it [4:104] — Pers. *bošqāb* بشقاب

bī *prep* without | *bī dama wira makatī* (He) remains there helpless [2:88]

bī- (> *wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *bu-> wu-*) to be, become, happen | *ča bī?* What happened? [2:99]; *ōwīš fira nāřāhata mow* She becomes very upset, too [2:25]

biawān *n* desert, plain | *va biawān vetea makan* They abandon her in the desert [4:122] — Pers. *biābān* بیابان

bībī *n* lady, old woman, grandmother | *keywānuī jūr bībī zeynowa* An old woman like Bibi Zeynab || ~ **hur** *n.prop* Lady Hourī [1:107]; ~ **nur** *n.prop* Lady Light [1:107]; ~ **sešama** *n.prop* Lady Tuesday [1:107] — Pers. *bibi* بیبی

bičāra 1. *adj* poor, hopeless | *bičāra mamūla* Poor Mohammad [7:64] 2. *n* poor, miserable person: *bičāra maču* The poor (girl) goes [1:105] — Pers. *bičāre* بیچاره

bidār *adj* awake | *bidāra* It is awake [7:49] — Pers. *bidār* بیدار

bikār *adj* unemployed | *ye jawāni bikārī* An unemployed young man [5:6] — Pers. *bikār* بیکار

bilā → *hišt-*

bīmārissān *n* hospital — Pers. *bimārestān* بیمارستان

bīs *num* twenty | *bašdar māñhā, bīs šow, ye mā(h), māya dimā*

After (several) months, twenty nights, one month, he comes back [1:73] — Pers. *bist* بیست

bištir *adj* more, further, most — Pers. *bištar* بیشتر

bīwa *adj* widowed — Pers. *bive* بیوه

bīvažin *n* widow

boland *adj* long, tall | *mū sar parišānō boland* (With her) ruffled and long hair [2:85] — Pers. *boland* بلند

bowa *n* father | *valī pyāka fira pakara, bowa* But the man, the father, is very sad [2:21]

bowa kañij *n* grandfather

bowažin *n* stepmother (father's wife) | *bowažinī gi dirī* The stepmother that she has [4:33]

bōwī *n* bride

bu *n* smell, stink | *bu sarta māy* Your head stinks [4:42] — Pers. *bu* بو

büčkata *adj* younger, small, little | *dita büčkata* The younger daughter [7:20]

bül *n* dust, ash | *bül bin kaniğ* The ash on the bottom of the fireplace [1:50]

č

ča (variants: *če, čī*) *interrog* what | *ča ařātān bārim?* What shall I bring for you? [2:3]; *ismit ča?*

What's your name? [2:79] 2. *interj* what a ...! čē ziriṅī kirdīa, *ava!* What a clever trick she has made! [1:60] || *va pey* ~ *interrog* for what, after what *va pey čē mirādī hātīa*? For what reason have you come? [4:57] — Pers. *či, čē* چی، چه

čam *n* eye | *ye ruž pādišā čamalī kura* *mow* One day the king's eyes become blind [3:47] — Pers. *čašm, čašm* چشم

čamčamāl *n.prop* Chamchamāl (rural district in the County of Harsin) — Pers. *čamčamāl* چمچمال

čan (variants: *čanī*) 1. *quant* some | *čan šabānaruza mačīn* They travel for some days and nights [2:94]; *mōūnī čanī mardīm zindānī kirdīa* She sees that (the demon) has made some people captive [2:66] 2. *interrog* how much, how many | *seyrī nām māť hina make dīva čanī čī hasō yāna* She takes a look at thing, the demon's house, (to see) how many of these things are there and so on [2:66] — Pers. *čand(i)* چند(ی)

čanī → *čan*

čap 1. *n* left 2. *adj* left — Pers. *čap* چپ

čapa *n* handful || *čap~ adv* in handfuls (?) | *kwila mowna čapčapa tūta-ō mačīna āsimān* They all become handfuls of dust and go (up) to the sky [2:65]

čaq *onom* snap (sound of snapping)

čaqāna *n* finger snapping

čaqu *n* knife | *čaquā māžea nameyna* He throws a knife at the felt-made girl [1:88] — Pers. *čāqu* چاقو

čarx *n* wheel — Pers. *čarx* چرخ

čādir *n* chador, tent | *pīrhan aṛām bārō čādir* Bring me a shirt, and a chador [2:4] — Pers. *čādor* چادر

čāt *n* cavity, hole, pit | *čāt kanima, nyāmase čāt* I dug a pit (and) I put it in the pit [6:130] — Pers. *čāl* چال

čāq → *čāx*

čārdahom *num* fourteenth | *ye māhi čārdahome* A (full) moon (on the) fourteenth (night) [4:31] — Pers. *čahārdahom* چهاردهم

čāx (variants: *čāq*) *adj* fat | *ya kwil ī ditela čāx ka* Make all these girls fat [7:14]; *damāqit čāqa?* Are you doing well? [lit. Is your nose fat?] [6:25] — Pers. *čāq* چاق

čāy *n* tea | *šām-ō čāy-ō ča?*

Dinner, tea, and what? [6:71]

— Pers. *čāy* چای

če → *ča*

češma *n* source, spring | *āwa*

mowa češma qašaq-ō xuī The

water becomes a beautiful

and good spring [4:66] —

Pers. *češme* چشمه (cf. Har.

keynī)

č(ih)el *num* forty | *čihel šow aṛā ī*

xwiškim, čiheliš aṛā a xwišk

Forty nights for this sister of

mine, forty for that sister too

[2:53]; *ī č(ih)el řuža* During

these forty days [2:55] —

Pers. *čehl* چهل

čijūri *interrog* how | *sarim čijūrīa?*

How is my head? [4:40] —

Pers. *čejuri* چجوری

***čikyā-** *v.PST.caus* (PRS *č(i)k-*) to

get stuck, catch, become

entangled | *suzana mārī*

mač(i)kīa nāme A needle

eventually gets stuck in it

[4:108]

činjik *n* core, kernel

čirāq *n* lantern, lamp | *čirāq*

řušana make She lights

lamps [2:60] — Pers. *čērāg*

چراغ

čirāwā *n* horse | *čirāwāl āwa*

maxwan The horses drink

water [1:48]

***čirīkān-** *v.PST.caus* (PRS *čirīkin-*)

to shriek, (make) scream,

slap (?) | *yōwša dit mačirīkine*

Then, the girl shrieks [7:23]

čirkin *adj* dirty, filthy | *žina*

wižasī ka kasīfā bī-ō čirkin bīa

It's his own wife, who has

become dirty and filthy

[4:140] — Pers. *čerkin* چرکین

čir *onom* drip (sound of

dripping) | *čir čir čir mačua*

pāyarā Drip, drip, drip, it

pours out of his feet [7:82]

čī 1. *n* thing, object | *ī kwil čīa*

xirīta, āwirdita! You have

bought and brought all these

things! [2:22] 2. *pro-form* (+

indef) something | *pāya*

maxwea qe ye čī sangīnī Her

foot hits the shape of

something heavy [6:44] —

Pers. *čiz* (ī) چیز (ی)

čī → *ča*

čī- *v.PST* (PRS *č-*) to go | *nazānisim*

čīnas(a) aṛā ku I didn't know

where they had gone [4:158];

mačua pišt dara She goes

behind the door [2:23]

ču 1. *n* wood | *ye lebāse va ču aṛām*

diris ka Make me a dress

(made) of wood [2:72] 2. *n*

wooden stick, club, cudgel |

ču hiza me He lifts the club

[5:50] — Pers. *čub* چوب

čuť 1. *adj* empty, desert,

abandoned | *kwil ī čuťa* All of

this is (now) abandoned

[7:11] 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS

čul ka-) to empty, abandon |
mīmī ābādī čul kirdā The
 auntie has emptied the
 village [7:9] — Pers. چول

čuwī → *čuwīn*

čuwīn (variants: *čuwī*) *adj*
 wooden | *duwāra lebās*
čuwīnila makea varō manīše
 She wears the wooden dress
 again and she sits down
 [2:87]; *ye jašba čuwīš aře dirisa*
 make He also makes a
 wooden box for her [2:73] —
 Pers. چوبی، چوبین

čuwīna (variants: *čuwīne* before a
 clitic =a) *n.prop* Wooden,
 wooden girl | *bea čuwīna*
ašām bārea sar Give it to
 Wooden (so that) she may
 bring it to me upstairs [2:99];
ismim čuwīnea My name is
 Wooden [2:79]

čuwīne → *čuwīna*

čux *n* (felt) cloak, gown, tunic (?)
 | {? *čuxītea*} *māriar, mear*
deyšt She takes {? her little
 (felt) cloak} out and goes
 away [1:59]

čū 1. *interrog* how | *anū dā čū sar*
āyl wiža mōwīt? Then, how
 (could) a mother slaughter
 her own children? [1:130] 2.
prep as, like | *čū šarusī xās*
řaxsa make She dances
 properly like (they do at)

weddings [1:58] — Pers.

čun چون

čwār num four | *čan midatī, šiš*
mā, čwār mā, si mā For some
 time, six months, four
 months, three months
 [4:127] — Pers. چهار

čwārda num fourteen — Pers.
 چهارده

čwārpā n quadruped — Pers.
 چارپا، چارپا

čwārsad num four hundred —
 Pers. چهارصد

d

da num ten — Pers. ده

dašvat n invitation | *dašvatī ašā*
māl An invitation to (your)
 house [1:122] — Pers. *da^cvat*
 دعوت

dašfa n time, turn || *ye ~ adv*
 suddenly | *iš ye dašfa maču*
 Suddenly she goes, too [2:84]
 — Pers. (yek) *dašfe* (یک)

dašt n female dog

daštagwīrg n female wolf

dašq n (plastic) bag, packet |
manīa tu dašqe She puts it in
 a packet [1:68]

dam 1. *n* mouth | *gwiša damea*
māy Flowers come out from
 her mouth [4:115] 2. *n* breath
 || *bī ~ adj* speechless, shy,
 timid; *bī ~ kat-* v.PST (PRS id.)
idiom to be helpless | *bī dama*
wira makatī (He) remains

- there helpless [2:88] — Pers. (bī) *dam* دم (بی)
- dam** *n* side, edge, bank | *maču ařā dam ju āwa* She goes to the bank of the watercourse [6:36] — Pers. *dam* دم
- damāq** *n* nose || ~ *čāx/čāq bī-* (> *wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *bu-> wu-*) *idiom* to do well, be well-off | *damāqit čāqa?* Are you doing well? [lit. Is your nose fat?] [6:25] — Pers. *damāg* دماغ (cf. Har. *pit*)
- damōřü** → *damřü*
- damřü** (variants: *damōřü*) *n* face | *be damřüt, damřütanī bišur* Splash it on your face, clean your face with it [4:62]
- daŋ** 1. *n* voice, sound, call, cry 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *daŋ ka-*) to speak, call, invite | *daŋyāna makan* They invite them [1:63]
- dar** 1. *n* door | *mačua pišt dara* She goes behind the door [2:23] — Pers. *dar* در
- dar** *prep* in, at | *dar zamāni qadīm dādibisad bīa* In ancient times, there was the barter [5:29] — Pers. *dar* در (cf. Har. *va*)
- darak** *n* hell || *va/=a* ~ *interj* I don't care!, to hell! | *nimāya darak!* He won't come! I don't care! [7:52] — Pers. (be) *darak* درک (به)

- darpeykar** 1. *n* whole door, door and jambs | *ya darpeykara girtiasa kuř* She has taken the whole door on her shoulders [6:182] 2. whole house | *tō hawāsta darpeykarila bu ā!* Pay attention to the house, eh! [6:168] — Pers. *dar-o peykar* در و پیکر
- daryā** *n* river, sea, lake, stretch of water | *ya bua daryāy* Let this become a river [7:92] — Pers. *daryā* دریا
- darz** *n* crack, fissure, small hole | *seyra make tu darzī* She looks inside a fissure [4:138] — Pers. *darz* درز
- das** 1. *n* hand, arm | *tō ye čuī meya das dit* You will put a wooden stick in the girl's hands [2:27] 2. *class* (used to count items of clothing or objects in a collection) 3. *cvc* *va/=a* ~ *čī-* *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a das ču-*) to be lost | *řüneyš va dasea maču* And the butter is lost [5:53] — Pers. (az) *dast* (raftan) (از) دست (رفتن)
- dasabirā** *n* step-brother, best friend
- dasgīrānī** *n* engagement
- daspā** 1. *n* servant (at weddings) (?) 2. *n* arms and legs, hands and feet (?)
- *dažī-, dažyā-** (> **γžī-/γžyā-*) (?) *v.PST* (PRS *iž-> γž-*) to hurt |

- naṛadō har zuwāna meẏžī*
The male demon's tongue
hurts very much [7:81]
- dā** *n* mother | *bowaō dāyša möüni*
He meets the father and the
mother, too [2:107]
- dā-** (> *yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *de-> e-*) to
give | *har dō si gila dīt xwidā*
dāsa binī God gave him just
this couple of daughters
[5:20]; *agar si ditat bey*
nimakwišmat If you'll give
(me) your three daughters I
won't kill you [2:18] — Pers.
dādan دادن || usually
~...=(*a*)*r* *v.PST* (PRS *de-...=(a)r*
> *e-...=(a)r*) to hit, beat, strike
| *kīša mārī bear āyl, meter*
kūza He swings it to beat his
child (but) he hits the jug
[5:50]
- dādibisad** *n* barter, commerce,
exchange | *dādibisad bīa*
There was the barter [5:31] —
Pers. *dād-o setad* دادوستد
- dā kaṭiṇ** *n* grandmother
- dāmād** *n* groom, son-in-law | *a*
dāmādīa That groom of hers
[3:82] — Pers. *dāmād* داماد (cf.
Har. *zāmā*)
- dānā** *adj* savant, wise | *ye nafar*
jūr mi dānā A person as wise
as me [6:58] — Pers. *dānā* دانا
- dāq** 1. *n* brand, cauterization 2. *n*
heartbreak, anguish,
affliction | *va dāqi žin*

- Anguished for (his) wife
[4:131] — Pers. *dāg* داغ
- dār** 1. *n* tree | *bīčāra maču, maču,*
maču arā pā ye dārī, keynīō
dār kazāy The poor (girl)
goes and goes and goes to the
foot of a tree, the aforesaid
spring and tree [1:105] 2. *n*
fireplace, fire, stove 3. *cvc*
va/=a ~ nyā- *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a*
dār n-) to put on the stove,
cook | *bārin, bixwan, binina*
dār-ō āylal bixwan They
would bring (them), eat
(them), cook (them) for the
children to eat [7:4-5]
- dāruqa** *n* officer, policeman |
nīšān dāruqa be Show it to the
officer [6:159] — Pers. *dāruge*
داروغه
- dāstān** *n* story, tale | *ōwš dāstān*
wižī kwil tašrīfa make She,
then, tells her whole story
[2:104] — Pers. *dāstān* داستان
- dāšt-** (> *yāšt-*) *v.PST* (PRS *dir-> er-*)
to have | *mi dī kas nerim, har*
tō dirim Well, I have nobody,
you're the only one I have
[2:61] — Pers. *dāštan* داشتن
- dāyā** *n* grandmother, old
woman, old lady | *mowa*
keywānu, va dāyāka She
becomes the old woman, the
old lady [7:25]
- deps̄** *adj* sour, tasty | *ye kabāwi*
deps̄šī va gušti šotor A tasty

kebab of camel meat [6:126]

— Pers. *debš* دبش

deyšt 1. *n* exterior, outside 2. *adv* (+ *va/=a*) outside, out | *hurī kata deyšt va žīr nama* A houri came out [lit. fell out] from under the felt [1:88]

diṭ 1. *n* heart, belly, stomach, entrails | *hāma nām diṭ nāzīlīnāzān!* I'm inside Sweetie's belly! [2:50] 2. *n* interior, inside 3. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) in, into, inside || *va/=a ~ wiž* *idiom* inside/to oneself | *a diṭ wižīa muše* He says to himself [1:78] — Pers. *دل* *del*

dimā 1. *adv* (+ *va/=a*) back 2. *cvc* *va/=a ~ hāt-* *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a* *dimā ā(γ)-*) to come back, go back, return | *tā šūa māa dimā* By the time the husband has come back [3:27]

dinān *n* tooth | *diteyš yak e dinānalīa sea, a* The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black, yes [1:98] — Pers. *dandān* دندان

dinyā *n* world | *dinyā magīrdin* They travel all over the world [1:71] — Pers. *donyā* دنیا

dir *cvc* out — Pers. *dar* در

dirāz *adj* long — Pers. *derāz* دراز (cf. Har. *dirīž*)

diris 1. *adj* right, correct 2. *cvc ~*

kird- *v.PST* (PRS *diris ka-*) to make, prepare | *pyā māy mōūnī žin har hūč diris nakirdīa* The husband comes back and sees (that) his wife hasn't prepared anything [6:68]; *qazā aře dirisa make* She prepares food for him [2:55] — Pers. *dorost* (کردن) درست

dirīž *adj* long | *šotora ī dirīžī-ō va mili dirīž* A camel that tall and with a long neck [6:104]

dirīžī *n* length | *šotora ī dirīžī-ō va mili dirīž* A camel that tall and with a long neck [6:104]

dit *n* girl, daughter | *ya pyāyk-ō žine si gila diṭ dirin* A man and his wife have three daughters [2:1]

ditarzā *n* grandchild, grandson, granddaughter (daughter's son or daughter)

dī 1. *interj* then, so, well, but, indeed | *ya dī čuwīnea* She is made of wood indeed [2:101] 2. *adv* anymore, again, still, no longer, finally | *diteyš dī hūč nimuše* The girl doesn't say anything, anymore [2:33] — Pers. *digar, dige* دیگر، دیگه

dī- (yī-) *v.PST* (PRS *bīn-> ün-*) to see | *ya har avasa ki mi dīmase* This is exactly the one have seen [2:106]; *būnim tō kīt* Let

me see who you are [2:103]

— Pers. *didan* دیدن

dīm 1. *n* side 2. *adv* (+ *va/=a*) behind, on the other side | *a žina ha dīm* That woman is behind it [1:126]

dīnavar *n.prop* Dinavar (district and rural district in the County of Sahne) — Pers. *dinavar* دینور

dīr 1. *adv* late | *atrāfiān pādšāyž möüni ča bī a dīr hāt* The king's courtiers, too, (go to) see what happened he is (so) late [2:106] — Pers. *dīr* دیر

dīv *n* demon, monster, fiend | *dīva mowa xavarā* The demon wakes up [2:14] — Pers. *dīv* دیو

dīvāna *adj* crazy, foolish | *žini dīvāney ča?* His crazy wife, what (about her)? [6:103] — Pers. *divāne* دیوانه (cf. Har. *līva*)

dīvārūna *adj* demon-like, devilish (?) | *kāri dīvi dīvārūna dirī* The demon has devilish work to do [4:130]

dīyār *adj* clear, evident, visible | *ye čame dīyāra* One eye is visible [1:36]

dombāt *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) after, for | *va dombāt dit* In search of the girl [2:90] — Pers. *donbāl-e* دنبال (cf. Har. *miney, šun, řuwāt*)

doqolu *n* twin | *xwidā jiftī kwiřa mea bine, doqolu* God gives her a couple of sons, twins [1:95] — Pers. *dogolu* دوغلو (cf. Har. *lifānī*)

dō *num* two | *dō gila āyla mārīm* I will give birth to two children [4:96] — Pers. *do* دو

dōgalān *n* crotch (of a tree trunk, of trousers) | *nām ye dōgalān dārī* Inside the crotch of a tree [1:38]

dōgila → *gila*

dōm *n* tail | *dōma manea nām pištī* It puts its tail between its back (legs) [6:96] — Pers. *dom, domb* دم، دمب

dōūs *num* two hundred — Pers. *doivist* دویست

dōwim *num* second | *dit dōwimīš hara iūrī mōwre* He kidnaps the second daughter like this, too [2:40] — Pers. *dovvom* دوم

dōwtaman *adj* wealthy, rich | *ādīm dōwtamanīka* He is a wealthy man [5:13] — Pers. *dowlatmand* دولتمند

dōwtamanī *n* richness, wealth — Pers. *dowlatmandī* دولتمندی

dōwr 1. *n* circle, turn | *čū dōwrež sara manīa bīawān* He takes a look around the desert [4:131] 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) around | *ya ejūrīa dōwri xiřa māre* She turns around it this

- way [2:60] — Pers. *dowr(-e)*
دور
dōz *n* thief | *bābā, ya dōza ya!*
Dad, this is a thief! [...] [5:21]
— Pers. *dozd* دزد
dōzī *n* theft — Pers. *dozdī* دزدی
dōzī- *v.PST* to steal (PRS *dōz->*
yōz-) | *šotor mina čū dōzīte?*
How have you stolen my
camel? [6:185] — Pers.
dozdidan دزدیدن
duān *pro-form* both, two of them
| *a duāna vazīr-ō vakīlīn*
Those two are a minister and
a delegate [3:43]
duq *n* buttermilk | *har čī vitim*
duq bī Whatever I said was
buttermilk [6:191] — Pers.
duḡ دوغ
duru 1. *n* lie 2. *adj* false | *ilā vitim*
řās bī, alā vitim duru bī What
I said here was true, what I
said there was false [6:191] 3.
cvc ~ dā- (> *duru yā-*) *v.PST*
(PRS *duru de-> e-*) to lie | *ya dī*
duru dā-ō [...] Well, this one
lied and [...] [2:39] — Pers.
doruḡ (*goftan*) دروغ (گفتن)
dus 1. *n* friend 2. *cvc ~ dāšt-* (> *dus*
yāšt-) *v.PST* (PRS *dus dir-> er-*)
to like, love | *har vaxt dus*
dāštī gušti šotor bār Whenever
you like, bring the camel's
meat (out) [6:130] — Pers.
dust (*dāštan*) دوست (داشتن)

- duwā** *n* prayer, wish, vow |
val(ā)a haqīqat duwā kirdima
By God, indeed, I made a
vow [6:149] || *řī ~ n* offering
(for a prediction or a spell) |
kamī gušti šotor beyna binim
ařā řī duwā Give me that little
camel meat for the offering
[6:151] — Pers. *doʿā* دعا
duwāra *adv* (once) again,
another time: *duwāra*
mōwsetea kamarī She ties it to
her waist again [2:49] —
Pers. *dobāre* دباره (cf. Har.
dōgila)
dūk *n* (hand) spindle | *kwičikal a*
qirenīka manina bān ī dūkala
It's (one of) those rocks this
big that they put on top of
these spindles [6:42] — Pers.
duk دوک (cf. Har. *taštī*)
dūr *adj* far || *~edūr* *adv* afar, far
away; *va/=a ~edūr* *adv* from
afar | *dāyša va dūredūr maču*
The mother, then, from afar
goes [1:124] — Pers.
dur(edur), *dur(ādur)*
دور(دور)، دور(ادور)
dwā(n)za *num* twelve — Pers.
davāzdah دوازده

e

e → *ī*

- ešdām** 1. *n* capital execution 2.
cvc ~ bī- (> *ešdām wī-*) *v.PST*
(PRS *ešdām bu-> wu-*) to be

executed | *ar mi eḏām bīm* If I would be executed [6:166] — Pers. *eḏām* (šodan) اعدام (شدن)

eḏlām 1. *n* announcement, proclamation 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *eḏlām ka-*) to announce, proclaim | *pādišāyš har čī eḏlāma makea šar* However much the king might proclaim to the city [6:132] — Pers. *eḏlām* (kardan) اعلام (کردن)

edāma 1. *n* continuation 2. *cvc* ~ **dā-** (> *edāma yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *edāma de-> e-*) to continue, go on | *naxās(t)ima dī edāma bem* I didn't want to continue [2:99] — Pers. *edāme* (dādan) ادامه (دادن)

edāra *n* office | *edārajāt nōūa* There weren't offices [6:54] — Pers. *edāre* اداره

ejāza 1. *n* permission, authorization 2. *cvc* ~ **dā-** (> *ejāza yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *ejāza de-> e-*) to give permission, allow, consent, let | *har ejāza be sefāriš mātabikama žina* Just allow me to entrust the house to (my) wife [6:164]; ~ **san-** *v.PST* (PRS *ejāza sīn-*) to get permission | *mi ejāza mādaram bisīnim* I shall get my mother's permission

[1:122] — Pers. *ejāze* (dādan, gereftan) اجازه (دادن، گرفتن)

ejūri → *jūr*

entezār 1. *n* expectation, anticipation 2. *cvc* ~ **kīšyā-** *v.PST* (PRS *entezār kīš-*) to expect, foresee — Pers. *entezār* (kešidan) انتظار (کشیدن)

eqira → *qir*

era *adv* here | *tō era ča makey?* What are you doing here? [2:77] || **vera** (= *va era*) (to, from) here | *vera ča makey?* What are you doing here? [7:7]

eškāt 1. *n* complication, difficulty, obstacle || ~ **nerī** *idiom* It doesn't matter, that's fine | [3:42] — Pers. *eškāl* (nadārad) اشکال (ندارد)

ešqāt *n* rubbish, garbage | *zū māre māžetea nām ye ešqāti* She quickly takes it and throws it among some rubbish [2:36] — Pers. *āšgāl* آشغال

ettefāq 1. *n* event, incident 2. *cvc* ~ **kat-** *v.PST* (PRS *id.*) to happen — Pers. *ettefāq* (oftādan) اتفاق (افتادن)

ey → *ay*

ezdevāj 1. *n* marriage 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *ezdevāj ka-*) to marry, get married | *ezdevāja makan* They marry [3:23] —

Pers. *ezdevāj* (*kardan*) ازدواج (کردن) (cf. Har. *šū kird-*)
eždehā *n* dragon | *mačua nām*
dam eždehā, eždehā va vasata
makea dō nism He goes
 inside the dragon's mouth
 (and) cuts the dragon in two
 halves, (right) in the middle
 [3:80] — Pers. *eždehā* اژدها

f

**fa(h)mī-* *v.PST* (PRS *fa(h)m-*) to
 understand — Pers.
fahmidan فهمیدن

faqat *adv* only, just | *dī faqat*
birsāqīš har manīasa yakī
 Finally only one fritter is left
 [2:94] — Pers. *faqat* فقط

farār 1. *n* escape, flight 2. *cvc* ~
kird- *v.PRS* (PRS *farār ka-*) to
 escape, flee, run away | *har kī*
manīšī farāra make Whoever
 sits down runs away [4:109]
 — Pers. *farār* (*kardan*) فرار
 (کردن)

far(h)ād *n.prop* Farhād — Pers.
farhād فرهاد

farš *n* carpet, rug | *mi faršī dirisa*
makam I will weave a carpet
 [4:107] — Pers. *farš* فرش

farzand *n* progeny, children |
mādar dīta sar farzand wižī
bōwře? Have you (ever) seen
 a mother slaughtering her
 own children? [1:130] —
 Pers. *farzand* فرزند

fat(h) 1. *n* victory, conquest,
 achievement, feat | *kwiř*
pādišā dō gila fat(h)a make
 The prince gains two
 victories [3:82] — Pers. *fath*
 فتح

fāmil *n* relatives, family | *har čī*
fāmilīš dirī hā lā ī diva (The
 bottle of) any relative he has
 is next to this demon('s
 bottle), too [2:63] — Pers.
fāmil فامیل

fārsī *n* Persian language | (*v*)*a*
kāwiřa mušin gusfand, fārsī
 They call the sheep *gusfand*
 (in) Persian [5:16] — Pers.
fārsī فارسی

fāta *n* opening chapter (Ar. *sūra*)
 of the Quran (customarily
 read during funerals) —
 Pers. *fātehe* فاتحه

fātakar *n* person who celebrates
 a funeral

fāyīda 1. *n* advantage, benefit 2.
cvc ~ *dāšt-* (> *fāyīda yāšt-*)
v.PST (PRS *fāyīda dir-> er-*) to
 avail, be of use | *dī fāyīda nerī*
 Then, it is to no avail [7:70] —
 Pers. *fāyede* (*dāštan*) فایده
 (داشتن)

fikr 1. *n* thought, thinking,
 reasoning 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST*
 (PRS *fikr ka-*) to think | *bašd a*
modatī fikra make After some
 time she thinks [2:81] —
 Pers. *fekr* (*kardan*) فکر (کردن)

fitān 1. *pro-form* such-and-such, so-and-so, what's his name | *ya fitāna?* Is this such-and-such? [1:92] 2. *pro-form* (+ *indef*) something | *šāmī, čāy, fitānī* [...] A dinner, a tea, something [...] [6:69] 3. *adj* certain, such-and-such | *ye divī ki hā fitān kū ava dirī* A demon, who is on such-and-such mountain, has that [2:9] 4. *interj* etcetera, and so on | *keynā āwī xeylī kasīf-ō badbu-ō fitān* The spring, it's water is very dirty and stinky and so on [4:61] — Pers. *felān, folān* فلان

fira *adv* very, much | *dit fira xošgitiš bīa* She was also a very beautiful girl [2:84]

firišta *n* angel | *ya hā gard ī firišta* This one is with this angel [2:106] — Pers. *ferešte* فرشته

fir 1. *n* flutter 2. *onom* flap (sound of taking wing) | *kamutaral fir bāta magirin* The doves take flight [1: 110]

firān (+*va*/=*a*) *adv* quickly, rapidly | *va firān lā dā zarā* Quickly (go) back to Dā Zahra [7:29]

fit *adj* numerous

fitōfāmīl *n* (whole) family, relatives

forut- *v.PST* (PRS *firuš-*) to sell | (*e* *řūna forutiase* He has sold

this butter [5:40] — Pers. *foruxtān* فروختن

g

galla *n* flock | *bašd galla dirī* Then, he has some flocks [5:14] — Pers. *galle* گله

gaṭā *n* leaf | *gaṭā dāra māre* She brings the leaves of the tree [1:111]

gamāt *n* male dog

ganj *n* treasure, wealth | *ya kwil ī ganja dirīm* We have all this wealth [7:37] — Pers. *ganj* گنج

gard → *vagard*

gardan *n* neck — Pers. *gardan* گردن (cf. Har. mil)

gardandirāza *n.prop* Long-neck | *vagard xāla gardandirāza makatea ři* She sets out with aunt Long-neck [6:108]

gā (variants: *gāv*) *n* ox, cow, calf, cattle | *ye kale, kala yā gusfānda yā gāya* A head, (it is) a sheep or a calf's head [2:33]; *a gāva ka deyšt* Bring that cow outside [2:27] — Pers. *gāv* گاو

gāv → *gā*

gāvān *n* cattle breeder, cowherd — Pers. *gāvbān* گاوبان

gi → *ki*

gila *class* piece, unit, item (to count object, animals and humans) | *ya pyāykō žinī si gila dit dirin* A man and his

wife have three daughters
[2:1] || *dō~* adv (once) again,
another time | *diva maču aṛyā*
dōgila The demon goes back
again [4:143]

giṭi (variants: *giṭin*) adj earthen,
clay | *kūza giṭi va gīra māre*
He finds a clay jug [5:29];
mačua nām kanū giṭina,
mamūla Mohammad goes
into the earthen jar [7:63] —
Pers. *geli* گلی

giṭin → *giṭi*

gird- → *girt-*

girdakān n walnut, walnut tree |
ya girdakāna matakinī He is
shaking the walnut tree
[3:11]

girištār 1. adj captured, caught,
trapped 2. *cvc* ~ *hāt-* v.PST
(PRS *girištār ā(y)-*) to be
captured, be caught, be
trapped, be taken prisoner |
girištār hātima I've been
taken prisoner [4:151] —
Pers. *gereštār* (*šodan*) گرفتار
(شدن)

girmhār n thunderbolt | *šōw*
jomʿa mām, jūr girmhār On
Friday night I will come, like
a thunderbolt [2:26]

girt- (variants: *gird-*) v.PST (PRS
gir-) to take, get | *ya*
darpeykara girtīasa kuṭ She
has taken the whole door on
her shoulders [6:182] || *bigir*

idiom you would say | *har aṛā*
a sā māta, bigir You would
say it is just for the master of
the house [1:69] — Pers.
gereftan گرفتن

gīr 1. n grab, obstacle 2. *cvc va/=a*
~ *āwird-* v.PST (PRS *va/=a gīr*
ār-) to find | *kūza giṭi va gīra*
māre He finds a clay jug
[5:29]; ~ *dā-* (> *gīr yā-*) v.PST
(PRS *gīr de-> e-*) to imprison,
trap | *dit va nām ava gīra me*
He traps the girl inside it
[4:127]; *va/=a* ~ *hāt-* v.PST
(PRS *va/=a gīr ā(y)-*) to be
found | *pādišā har čī magīrdī*,
va gīr nimāy However much
the king might search, (the
camel) wouldn't be found
[6:136]; *va/=a* ~ *kat-* v.PST
(PRS id.) to be found by
chance, get one's hands on
something | *sirvatīš xu*
katīasa gīre. dī zařōmařš
katīasa gīri Well, he got his
hands on (many) riches, too.
Finally he got his hands on
gold and silver, too [6:131];
keywānuī jūr bibī zeynowa
makatea gīre He comes
across an old woman like
Bibi Zeynab [6:140] — Pers.
gir (*dādan*, *āmādan*,
oftādan) گیر (دادن، آمدن، افتادن)
gīrdan- v.PST.caus (PRS *gīrdin-*) to
bring around, spin, turn |

šara šara magirdine He brings them around from town to town [1:17] — Pers. gardāndan, gardānidan گرداندن، گردانیدن

*girdi- v.PST (PRS gird-) to search, go around, tour | maču, magirdi, tifanī möwri küala magirdi He goes, he goes around, he takes a rifle and searches all over the mountains [4:132] — Pers. gardidan, gaštan گردیدن، گشتن

gırva 1. n crying, weeping | kwiřa mowa gırva The baby boy starts weeping [4:113] 2. *cvc* ~ **kird**- v.PST (PRS gırva *ka*-) to cry, weep | gırva bike, mirwāria čame bāy When he weeps, pearls would come out from his eyes [4:98]

gīs n lock of hair, braid | tīxa manīa nām gīs dāka He puts the blade among the mother's braids [1:102] — Pers. gis گیس

gīžniž n coriander — Pers. gešniz گشنیز

goṭkāri 1. n flower-growing, floriculture, floral decoration 2. *cvc* ~ **kird**- v.PST (PRS goṭkāri *ka*-) to plant flowers, decorate with flowers | goṭkāri dōwr hōzča make She plants flowers around the fountain

[2:60] — Pers. golkāri (گلکاری) (کردن)

guṭ 1. n deception, trick, fraud 2. *cvc* ~ **xword**- v.PST (PRS guṭ *xwa*-) to be deceived | dīvīš guṭa maxwe The demon, then, is deceived [2:62] — Pers. gul (xordan) گول (خوردن) gur n tomb, grave — Pers. gur گور

gusfand n sheep | bařd galla dirī, gusfandi zīyād Then, he has some flocks, many sheep [5:14] — Pers. gusfand گوسفند (cf. Har. kāwir)

guš 1. n ear 2. *cvc* ~ **dā**- (> guš *yā*-) v.PST (PRS guš *de*-> *e*-) to listen | maču pišt dara, guša me She goes behind the door (and) listens [2:23] — guš (dādan) گوش (دادن)

gušt n meat | gušti šotor bār Bring the camel's meat (out) [6:130] — Pers. gušt گوشت

guyā *idiom* apparently, it seems | guyā, kwiř vazīr řarusī dirin Apparently, there is the wedding of the minister's son [2:80] — Pers. guyā گویا

gwar n calf, baby cow

gwiĵar *adj* little, small, younger | dit gwiĵar gi hāmiṭa mow When the younger daughter gets pregnant [4:111]

gwiĵin *adj* little, small | dit gwiĵin fira dānā-ō bāhuša The

younger daughter is very wise and intelligent [2:23]

gwiŋ *n* flower | *dita maxanī, gwiŋa damea māy* The baby girl laughs (and) flowers come out from her mouth [4:115] — Pers. گل

gwiŋ baraftāw (variants: *baraftāw*) *n* sunflower

gwin 1. *adj* lost 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *gwin ka-*) to lose | *ŕi gwin kirdīa* He has lost its track [6:82]; ~ **bī-** (> *gwin wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *gwin bu-> wu-*) to get lost | *šotori pādīšā va bāri zaŕā, gwima mow* The king's camel with a load of gold gets lost [6:100] — Pers. *gom (kardan, šodan)* گم کردن، شدن

gwin *n* scrotum, testicles | *jūr xā gwinit* As (big as) your testicles [6:187] — Pers. *gond* گند

gwinī *n* sack | *piŕ gwinī xwirīa mea bine* She gives him a sack full of wool [1:61] — Pers. *guni* گونی

gwinuž *n* big needle | *gwinuža māžī* She throws the needle [7:78]

gwiŕg *n* wolf — Pers. *gorg* گرگ

gwisna *adj* hungry | *dī gwisnasī tešnasī* Then she is hungry (and) thirsty [3:13] — Pers. *gorosne* گرسنه

gwozar 1. *n* pass, district, neighbourhood | *maču gwozara gwozar* He goes from district to district [4:54] 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *gwozar ka-*) to cross, pass (by) | *va e pā a āw-ō keynī-ō [...]* *gwozara make* He crosses that water(course) and (that) spring by foot [3:17] — Pers. *gozar (kardan)* گذر کردن

gwozašt- *v.PST* (PRS *gwizar-*) to pass | *midatī magwizare* Some time passes [6:35] — Pers. *gozaštan* گذشتن

gwozašte *n* past | *gwozašte, ye zaŕe bixwa* The past is past, eat (just) a bit [3:66] — Pers. *gozašte* گذشته

gyān *n* soul, life || ~ **tō** *idiom* By your soul | *buš “gyān tō”!* Say “(I swear) to your soul”! [2:37]

ğ

ğazā *n* verdict, fate, destiny | *tīr bar ğazā! ditika māt dirin* By chance, they have a daughter at home [1:20] — Pers. *qazā* قضا

h

ha- (variants: *has-*) *v.PRS* to be there | *sā ha nām mil āwa* There is a shadow on the

water surface [1:43]; *har* čī *če qašaŋ va wira* has Any beautiful thing there may be [2:13]

haf(t) num seven | *va haf(t) kwinā hašāra make* He hides (it) in seven holes [6:123]; *haft sāzō haft ruž sūr aṛea mane* She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him [1:93] — Pers. *haft* هفت

haftā(d) num seventy — Pers. *haftād* هفتاد

haṭqa n ring | *haṭqa kilik wižī makea kilik kwiṛa* She slips the ring from her own finger on to the boy's finger [1:58] — Pers. *ḥalqe* حلقه

ham 1. *adv* also, too | *modat(h)ā ham ṛīa make* He walks for some time, too [4:68] || **ham** ... (=ō) **ham** *conj* both ... and | *ham dit, ham kwiṛ* Both the girl, and the boy [1:89] — Pers. *ham* هم

hame *quant* all | *mā(h) ṛamazān (h)ame mardim ruža bigirin* During the month of Ramadan all people would fast [6:4] — Pers. *hame* همه (cf. Har. *kwil*)

hamsāda (variants: *hamsāya*) n neighbour | *hamsāda ī kalkaxirāwasa* He is a neighbour of these ruins

[5:13]; *vagard žin hamsāya* With the woman next door [6:19] — Pers. *hamsāye* همسایه (cf. Har. *hāmsā*)

hamsāya → *hamsāda*

hanā 1. n shout, yell, call 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** v.PST (PRS *hanā ka-*) to call | *kala hanā make* He calls the head [2:42]

hanā₁ n henna — Pers. *ḥanā* حنا (cf. Har. *xana*₁)

hanābandān n henna-ing ceremony — Pers. *ḥanābandān* حنابندان (cf. Har. *xanabanān*)

***hanjān-** v.PST.caus (PRS *anjīn-*) to chop, mince, smash | *žina manjīnete mil yakarā* The wife, he smashes her again and again [lit. on one another] [6:75]

haq n right | *dī haq nerī busī era* You don't have the right to stay here anymore [1:109] — Pers. *haqq* حق

haqīqat n truth | *haqīqat minīš hāna* And so, this is my truth [2:104] — Pers. *haqīqat* حقیقت

har 1. *adv part* only, just, exactly | *har, har a xiftīlixiftāna bārī, bāy* You (should) take only, only that *xiftīlixiftān* (and) come back [2:10] 2. *adv part* repeatedly, continuously, again and again | *hara*

magīrde She keeps searching
[6:43]

harī 1. *quant* each, every 2. *adj*
whichever, whatever, any |
har āwī hāt nuša mi
Whichever (kind of) water
comes out, don't tell me
[4:44] — Pers. *har* هر || ~ *čī* 1.
(variants: *har če*) *pro-form*
whatever, anything | *har čī a*
xwidā xāsta bīa Whatever
they would ask from God, it
would come true [7:94]; *yā*
řūna me yā har če (He) gives
butter or anything else [5:29]
2. *adj* whatever, whichever,
any | *har čī fāmīlīš dirī hā lā ī*
dīva (The bottle of) any
relative he has is next to this
demon('s bottle), too [2:63] 3.
conj however much, much as
| *pādišā har čī magīrdī, va gīr*
nimāy However much the
king might search, (the
camel) wouldn't be found
[6:136] — Pers. *har čī, har če*
هرچی، هرچه; ~ *dik, ~ dō pro-*
form both | *hardik xwiškali dit*
Both of the girl's sisters
[4:156]; *na, tō xwiškilam har*
dō kwištīta No, you have
killed both of my sisters
[2:52] — Pers. *har do* هر دو; ~
je adv wherever | *bašd har je*
maču, muše Then, wherever
he goes, he says [2:8] — Pers.

har jā هر جا; ~ *kām pro-form*
each one, whichever,
whoever, anything, anyone |
dī har kām {xxx} manīšin
then, each one {xxx} sits
down [4:177] — Pers. *har*
kodām هر کدام; ~ *ke* (variants:
har kī) *pro-form* whoever,
anyone, anybody | *ī bāza*
binīsea bān sar har ke On
whoever's head this falcon
would perch [3:32]; *har kī*
manīši farāra make Whoever
sits down runs away [4:109]
— Pers. *har ke* هر که

hardik → *har*

harf *n* word(s) | *harfi dā zarā*
nagirdim va guš I didn't give
ear to Dā Zahrā's words
[7:68] — Pers. *harf* حرف

harsīn *n.prop* Harsin | *masatan,*
va harsīn bičīt ařā parīva For
instance, (as if) you would go
from Harsin to Parive [1:53]
— Pers. *harsīn* هرسین

harsīnī *adj* pertaining to Harsin,
Harsini | *kwirdī harsīnī!*
Harsini Kurdish! [1:12] —
Pers. *harsīnī* هرسینی

has- → *ha-*

hasār *n* courtyard | *masan, a*
(h)asār īma bārī ařā era For
example, (as) you would
bring it from our courtyard,
up to here [7:20] — Pers.
hešār حصار

hasāra *n* star

hasūdī 1. *n* envy, jealousy 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *hasūdī ka-*) to envy | *hasūdī agardīa makan* They envy her [4:117] — Pers. *hasudi* (کردن) حسودی

hašār 1. *adj* lying down, stretched, hidden 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *hašār ka-*) to lay, hide | *va haf(t) kwinā hašāra make* He hides (it) in seven holes [6:123]

hašt(t) *num* eight — Pers. *hašt* هشت

haštā(d) *num* eighty | *ye haštād řuž mi āzīyatī bigirim!* I shall be in mourning for about eighty days! [2:53] — Pers. *haštād* هشتاد

hatman *adv* surely, of course, absolutely | *bāad hatman ařāt dī yakī ye čī diris keymin* So, each one (of us) absolutely has to make one thing for you [2:68] — Pers. *hatman* حتماً

hawā 1. *n* air 2. *cvc* *va/=a ~ dā-* (> *va/=a hawā yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a hawā de-> e-*) to throw in the air, blow away | *jāma hawā me* She throws the cup in the air [7:23] — Pers. *havā* هوا

hawār 1. *n* shout, yell, call, cry for help 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST*

(PRS *hawār ka-*) to scream, call for help | *žineyš hawāra make* And the woman calls for help [5:47]

hawās 1. *n* attention, care 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (> *hawās wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *hawās bu-> wu-*) (+ BP) to take care, pay attention | *tō hawāsta darpeykarila bu ā!* Pay attention to the house, eh! [6:168] — Pers. *havās(s)* حواس

hā- *v.PRS* to be (in a place/state), stay | *hāma nām ešqātī* I am in the garbage [2:38]

hālā *adv* now — Pers. *hālā* حالا

hālī 1. *adj* understandable, actual 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (> *hālī wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *hālī bu-> wu-*) (+ BP) to understand — Pers. *hālī* (šodan) حالی (شدن)

hāt 1. *n* state, situation, condition || **bi har ~ interj** anyway | *be har hāt, pādīšā qabula make* Anyway, the king accepts [6:144-145] — Pers. (*be har*) *hāl* حال (به هر)

hālat *n* state, situation, condition | *hātati, masařan, nōwkar* (Whose) condition (is), for instance, (that of) a servant [3:36-37] — Pers. *hālat* حالت

hātōqazīya *n* state of affairs, situation, circumstances | *hātōqazīya ijūrī* The situation is like this [4:173]

hātu *n* maternal uncle

hātunišāndara →

māthātlunišāndara

hātuzā *n* cousin (maternal uncle's son or daughter)

hātužin *n* aunt (maternal uncle's wife)

hāmbōwī *n* sister-in-law (wife of one's husband's brother)

hāmīta (variants: *hāmīte* before a clitic =a) *adj* pregnant | *dit gwijar gi hāmīta mow* When the younger daughter gets pregnant [4:111]; *šūya meylia jā, hāmītea dita* The husband leaves her, (while) the girl is pregnant [3:26] — Pers. *hāmele* حامله

hāmīte → *hāmīta*

hāmsā *n* neighbour | *hāmsālamān mušin* Our neighbours say [7:106]

hāmzāmā *n* brother-in-law (husband of one's wife's sister) | *a dō bājenāqa, a dō hāmzāmā* Those two brothers-in-law, those two, whose wives are his wife's sisters [3:56]

hāna → *yahāna*

hāt- *v*.PST (PRS *ā(y)*-) to come | *tō va ku hātī?* Where did you come from? [2:86]; *dīva kūa māy* The demon comes from the mountain [2:61]

heyf 1. *n* injustice, shame, pity 2. *interj* what a pity!, what a shame! | *čāxit kirdim, lařit kirdim, heyf!* I made you fat, I made you thin, it's a pity! [7:58] — Pers. *heyf* حیف

heywān *n* animal | *kah gi aṛā e heywāna* The straw which is for this animal [4:74] — Pers. *heyvān* حیوان

heywānī *adj* animal | *ye kwit nān vagard kame řüni heywānī* Half (a loaf of) bread with some animal fat [5:24] — Pers. *heyvānī* حیوانی

heywāy- *v*.PST (PRS *eywā-*) to flee, run away | *heywāymin* We ran away [7:108] *meywān, bičin aṛā ābādīa wižyān* They flee, to go (back) to their own village [7:55]

hidīya *n* gift, present | *hidīya mi bigir aṛā tō* Take my present for you [2:92] — Pers. *hediye* هدیه

hin 1. *n* thing, thingy, thingummy, what's-his/her/their-name, what-do-you-call it | *si hina mān, si kamutar* There come three what-do-you-call-them, three doves [1:107] 2. *pro-form* (+ *indef*) something | *pišīa va ye hinī mese řusarī mōwsete kamarī* She ties the cat to her waist with something like a

- headscarf [2:44] || (+ Possessor) *pro-form* belonging to | *ya hin mina, ava hin kian?* This is mine, whose are those ones? [2:63]
- *hišt-** *v.PST (PRS il-/yl-) to allow, let, leave* | *neyl era bixafe* Don't let him sleep here! [5:21] || **bilā** *interj* let's | *bilā miniš bičima šarusiā* Let me go to the wedding too [2:81]
- hivda** *num* seventeen — Pers. *hefdah* هفده
- hiz** *cvc (movement upwards) ~ dā-* (> *hiz yā-*) *v.PST (PRS hiz de-> e-) to lift* | *ču hiza me* He lifts the club [5:50]; ~ **girt-/gird-** *v.PST (PRS hiz gir-) to wake up, rise* | *ye sidāy qwiřbāqa hiza magiri* A cry of frogs rises [6:22]
- hizār** *num* thousand | *hizār nafara bāne jā me* It would accommodate a thousand people [lit. on it] [4:88] — Pers. *hezār* هزار
- hizār hizār** *num* million
- hižda** *num* eighteen — Pers. *hejdah* هجده
- hī** *interj* oh! | *hī! kasifi tō!* Oh! You are dirty! [4:41]
- hič** → *hüč*
- hička** → *hüč*
- hīzam** *n* firewood | *hīzam bāran* Bring some firewood [1:135] — Pers. *hizom* هيزم

- homa** *pro* 2PL you, your | *če hōsnī dirītin homa?* What virtue do you have? [4:86]
- howl** 1. *n* fear, dread, terror, fright 2. *adj* scared, frightened, terrified 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (> *howl wī-*) *v.PST (PRS howl bu-> wu-) to get scared* — Pers. *howl (xordan)* هول (خوردن)
- hōdudan** *adv* approximately, more or less — Pers. *hōdudan* حدوداً
- hōsn** *n* beauty, virtue, quality | *če hōsnī dirītin homa?* What virtue do you have? [4:86] — Pers. *hosn* حسن
- hōseyniya** *n* *hosseiniye* (place dedicated to the commemoration of the martyrdom of Imam Hossein and to other religious ceremonies) — Pers. *hosseyniye* حسينية
- hōzča** *n* small fountain, pool | *goṭkāri dōwr hōzča make* She plants flowers around the fountain [2:60] — Pers. *howžče* حوضچه
- hu** *interj* oh! | *anū ča, hu!* Oh yes! [1:82]
- hur** *n* angel, houri | *hurī kata deyšt* A houri came out [lit. fell out] [1:88] — Pers. *huri* حوری

huř *n* saddlebag | *dō huř diris kan*
Prepare two saddlebags
[1:66]

***husyā-** (?) *v.* PST (PRS *us-*) to stay,
stop, wait | *ařā ča nusyāy?*
Why didn't you stop? [7:101];
dī haq nerī busī era You don't
have the right to stay here
anymore [1:109]

huz *n* family, lineage | *kwil huz*
pādišā yāna mačīn řarusī kwiř
vakīl The whole royal family
etc. goes to the wedding of
the delegate's son [2:80]

hüč 1. (variants: *hič*) *pro-form*
nothing, anything | *diteyř dī*
hüč nimuše The girl doesn't
say anything, anymore [2:33]
2. *quant* any, no — Pers. *hič*
هیچ || ~ **kas(ī)** (variants:
hička) *pro-form* nobody, no
one | *hüč kas nīya šü bikea*
binī There is no one that
could marry him [1:18]; *hička*
nimōünītī Nobody sees it
[4:129]; ~ **ahad(ī)** *pro-form*
nobody, no one | *hič ahadī*
nī(ya) There is nobody [3:14]
— Pers. *hičkas(i)*,
hički هیچکی (ی), *hič*
ahad(ī) هیچ احدی (ی)

i

imām *n* Imam, religious leader |
valī me bičīa tamūsī imām
řizā You have to go cleaning

at the Imam Rezā (shrine)
[1:108] — Pers. *emām* امام

iska *adv* now | *iska xāla*
gardandirāza hātea Now aunt
Long-neck has come [6:112]
|| ~ **gi** *conj* when, as soon as |
iska gi pyām kirdīa, sar āylila
biřīa As soon as he found
me, he slaughtered the kids
[1:134]

ism *n* name | *ism piřīeř*
nāzīlīnāzāna Her cat's name
is Sweetie [2:48] — Pers. *esm*
اسم

istifāda 1. *n* use, usage,
employment 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-**
v. PST (PRS *istifāda ka-*) to use,
employ — Pers. *estefāde*
(*kardan*) استفاده (کردن)

ī

ī 1. (variants: *e*) *dem adj* this,
these | *ī xiftīlixiftāna makea*
nām gwinī He puts this
xiftīlixiftān in his sack [2:13];
e ādim tājira dō si gila ditiř dirī
This merchant has also a
couple of daughters [5:19] 2.
pro-form this one | *īa sar mil*
žina mapař(e)ör, öwa mear
žina This one jumps up onto
the woman's neck, that one
beats the woman [5:46]

ijürī → *jür*

īla *adv* this time | *īla duwāra*
mowa keywānua This time,

she becomes the old woman again [7:101]

ilā → *lā*

īma pro 1PL we, us, our | *tō īma āzād kirdā* You have set us free [2:68]

īmšōw adv tonight | *nōwbatyāna īmšōw* Tonight it's their turn [7:59] — Pers. *emšab* امشب

iqira → *qir*

j

jašba n box | *ye jašba čuwš aře dirisa* make He also makes a wooden box for her [2:73] — Pers. *jašbe* جعبه

jam 1. n assembly, collection, total 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* v.PST (PRS *jam ka-*) to gather, collect | *ya e rūna jamfa* make He gathers this butter [5:34] — Pers. *jam*^c (*kardan*) جمع (کردن)

jan n war | *šūya mačua, masatan, jan* Her husband goes, for example, to war [3:24-25] — Pers. *jang* جنگ

janima n fight, turmoil

jawān (variants: *juwān*) 1. n youngster | *ye jawāni bīkārī* A young unemployed man [5:6]; *ī juwāna nāna maxwe* This boy eats the bread [5:26] 1. *adj* young — Pers. *jawān* جوان

jā 1. (variants: *je*) n place | *jā-ō māṭ-ō makān nerī* He doesn't have a place, a house, a place to stay [5:8] 2. *cvc* ~ *dā-* (> *jā* *γā-*) v.PST (PRS *jā de-> e-*) to accommodate | *hizār nafara bāne jā me* It would accommodate a thousand people [lit. on it] [4:88]; *va/=a* ~ *hišt-* v.PST (PRS *va/=a jā īl-> yl-*) to abandon, leave in a place | *āylala bīla jā tā bičīm bigīrdīmin* Leave the children here so that we may go (and) have a walk [4:120] — Pers. *jā* جا

jām n cup, goblet | *jāma hawā me* She throws the cup in the air [7:23] — Pers. *jām* جام

jān n soul, life || *bi/va/=a* ~... idiom I swear, by somebody's soul | *va jāni mi xwidā!* I swear, (by) God! [7:93]; *bi jāni tō* By your soul [6:93] — Pers. *jān* جان (cf. Har. *gyān*)

jānešin n heir, successor | *ava mārī makea jānešin wižī* (The king) takes that one (and) makes him his own successor [3:74] — Pers. *jānešin* جانشین

jārān adv then, at that time, before, in the past | {*?* *až jārān*} {*?* from (the way it was) before} [4:67]

jāyīza *n* prize, reward | *jāyīza mema binī* I'll give him a reward [6:135] — Pers. *jā'eze*, جائزه, جایزه

je → *jā*

jift *n* pair, couple | *xwidā jiftī kwiṛa mea bine* God gives her a couple of sons [1:95] — Pers. *joft* جفت

jihāz *n* dowry — Pers. *jahāz* جهاز

jilōw 1. *n* front 2. prep in front of, before 3. *cvc* ~ *girt-/gird-* *v.PST* (PRS *jilōw gir-*) to block, obstruct, impede | *ye eždehāy hātīa ī āwa jilōwī girdīa* A dragon has come (and) has blocked this water(course) [3:77] — Pers. *jelow, jolow (gereftan)* جلو (گرفتَن) (cf. Har. *nwā*)

jin *n* jinn, sprite | *birā, jinī, parī, ādimīzādī?* My friend, are you a sprite, a fairy, a human being? [1:44] — Pers. *jenn* جن

jomša *n* Friday | *šōw jomša mām* On Friday night I will come [2:26] — Pers. *jome* جمعه

ju *n* canal, channel, watercourse | *maṛasina ju āwī* They reach a water channel [6:20] — Pers. *ju* جو

***jurī-** *v.PST* (PRS *jur-*) to search, rummage, delouse | *sarea majurī* She delouses his head [2:55] — Pers. *juridan* جوریدن

juš 1. *n* boiling 2. *cvc* *va/=a* ~ *āwird-* *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a juš ār-*) to make boil, excite || *xün va/=a* ~ *āwird-* *idiom* to awaken a feeling of closeness | *xün ī āylila juša māre, bowa* The children awaken a feeling of closeness in the father [lit. make the father's blood boil] [1:119]

juwān → *jawān*

jür 1. *n* way, manner, type 2. *prep* as, like | *keywānuī jür bibī zeynow* An old woman like Bibi Zeynab [6:140] — Pers. *jur(ī)* جور(ی) || *ī-ī* (variants: *ejürī*) *adv* this way, like this | *dit dōwimīš hara ijürī mōwre* He kidnaps the second daughter like this, too [2:40]; *ya ejürīa dōwri xiṛa māre* She turns around it this way [2:60] — Pers. *injuri* اینجوری

k

ka → *ki*

kabāw *n* kebab | *ye kabāwī depšīṭi va gušti šotor* A tasty kebab of camel meat [6:126] — Pers. *kabāb* کباب

kačaṭ *adj* bald | *kačaṭa šüe* Her husband is bald [3:44] — Pers. *kačal* کچال

kafdas *n* palm — Pers. *kaf-e dast* کف دست

kafköwš *n* sole, bottom of shoe

kah *n* straw | kah gi aṛā e heywāna

The straw which is for this animal [4:74] — Pers. *kāh*, *kah* کاه

kal 1. *n* ruins | e juwāni vetgardīša

nām a kala magirī maxafe
This vagrant boy goes and sleeps inside those ruins, too [5:18]

kala *n* head, skull | ye kale, kala

yā gusfānda yā gāya A head, (it is) a sheep or a calf's head [2:33] — Pers. *kalle* كله

kalān *adj* big, huge | pūl kalāne

kirdīa He has made a lot of money [5:41] — Pers. *kalān* کلان (cf. Har. *kaṭiṭ*)

kalāsyāw old mill | īma mušīm

kalāsyāw We call (it) 'old mill' [6:78]

kalikūča *n* old alley | magīrdea ī

kalikūčala He wanders about these old alleys [5:9]

kalkaxirāwa (ancient) ruins | ī

kalkaxirāwa sāxte He has (re)built these ruins [5:43]

kaṭašer *n* rooster

kaṭiṭ *adj* big, elder | xarīd aṛā dit

kaṭiṭ-ō vasat-ō žinea make He buys things for the elder daughter, the middle (daughter) and his wife [2:7]

kam 1. *quant* a few, a bit, a little | bilā ye

kamī birsāq aṛyān diris bikeym Let's prepare a few

fritters for them [2:91] 2. *adv*

little — Pers. *kam* کم

kamar *n* belt, waist | pišta va ye

hinī mese řusarī möwsete
kamarī She ties the cat to her waist with something like a headscarf [2:44] — Pers. *kamar* کمر

kamdas *adj* poor

kamīn *n* ambush | mawsea kamīn

He waits in ambush [4:152] — Pers. *kamin* کمین

kamkwitī *adv* in part, partially

kamtār *n* hyena — Pers. *kaftār*

کفتار

kamutar *n* dove | si kamutar

Three doves [1:107] — Pers. *kabutar* کبوتر

kan- *v*.PST (PRS **kan-*) to dig | čāt

kanima I dug a pit [6:130] — Pers. *kandan* کندن

kanū *n* jar | mačua nām kanū

giṭīna, mamūla Mohammad goes into the earthen jar [7:63] — Pers. *kandu* کندو

kas 1. *n* person | mi har a kaša

meytim I want only that person [1:63] 2. *pro-form* one, (+ *indef*) somebody, someone, (+ *neg*) nobody, no one | ya now ye möwqe kasī
bāy bōwrete God forbid someday someone would come and take it [5:36]; mi dī kas nerim Well, I have

- nobody [2:61] — Pers. *kas(i)* (کس)
- kasif** *adj* dirty, filthy | *žina wižasī ka kasifā bi-ō čirkin bia* It's his own wife, who has become dirty and filthy [4:140] — Pers. *kašif* کثیف (cf. Har. *čirkin*)
- kat-** *v.PST* (PRS *kat-*) 1. to fall | *hurī kata deyšt* A houri came out [lit. fell out] [1:88] 2. to happen
- kazāy** *adj* above-mentioned, aforesaid | *keynī-ō dār kazāy* The aforesaid spring and tree [1:105] — Pers. *kazā'i* کزائی
- kānig** *n* fireplace | *ar būl bin kānig ařta mārēr [...]* If he cleans out the ash from the bottom of the fireplace for you [...] [1:50]
- kār** 1. *n* work, job, business, matter | *kāri dīvi dīvārūna dirī* The demon has devilish work to do [4:130] 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *kār ka-*) to work | *bašd ī kāra makea wira, tā modatī* Then, she works there for some time [2:80] ~ **dāšt-** (> *kār yāšt-*) *v.PST* (PRS *kār dir-> er-*) to be busy, matter, be of one's business, be of one's concern | *kār nerīmin* It is not of our concern [5:36] — Pers. *kār* (dāštan, kardan) کار (داشتن، کردن)
- kārī** *adj* hardworking | *dita möünin qašaŋ-ō dit kārī-ō dit ziriŋika* They see that the girl is a pretty, hardworking and intelligent girl [3:22] — Pers. *kāri* کاری
- kāribār** *n* work, business, housework | *ařyān kāribār ī čīa make* She does the housework and such things for them [1:52] — Pers. *kār-o bār* کاروبار
- kāwiř** *n* sheep | *kāwiři zīyād dirī* He has many sheep [5:16]
- key** *interrog* when | *nimazānim ča binī hāt, key ver(a) hāt* I don't know what happened to her (or) when she came back here [4:124] — Pers. *key* کی
- keynī** *n* source, spring | *barxorda makeyte ye keynī* You will come across a spring [4:60]
- keywānu** *n* old lady, old woman | *mīmī keywānu nīya!* The auntie is not an old woman! [7:32] — Pers. *kadbānu* کدبانو
- ki** (variants: *gi, ka*) 1. *compl* that | *dit sivom ki dī xavar dirī ařa kua maču* The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going [2:44]; *diti kařin gi vitīa birinj dirisa makam* the elder daughter who said she would

cook rice [4:102] 2. *conj* when | *dīv ki dit kaṭiṇa mōwri* When the demon kidnaps the elder daughter [2:32]; *piř huř ī čī ka make, māžea kuṭ xararā* When she has filled the saddlebag etc., she throws it on the donkey's back [7:43] — Pers. *ke* که

kil 1. *n* dispatch, shipping 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *kil ka-*) to send, ship, dispatch | *tō qwitqwitkara kil kirdī, myowmyowkara kil kirdī, wāpwāpkara kil kirdī* You sent Cackle-cackle, you sent Meow-meow, you sent Bow-wow [6:112]

kilik *n* finger | *haṭqa kilik wiži makea kilik kwiřa* She slips the ring from her own finger on to the boy's finger [1:58]

kilkawāna *n* ring | *qarč! kilkawāna kazāya!* Crunch! It's the aforesaid ring! [1:75]

kitās *n* class — Pers. *kelās* کلاس

kirās *n* shirt

kird- *v.PST* (PRS *ka-*) to do, make | *agar řasīa niřān dam dī ča make?* What would she do, then, if I show her the right one? [2:62] || ~...=*ow* *v.PST* (PRS *ka-...=ow*) to open | *dar qār kirdow* He has opened the entrance of the cave [4:134] — Pers. *kardan* کردن

***kiřān-** *v.PST* (PRS *kiřin-*) to drag | *dōa manīa kuṭ xara-ō yaktiri wiži makiřinī* She puts two of them on the donkey's back, and she herself drags another one [7:54]

kiřāvarz *n* farmer | *pyāka kiřāvarza* The man is a farmer [2:22] — Pers. *keřāvarz* کشاورز

kiřāvarzī (variants: *kiřāwarzī*) *n* agriculture, farming | *bařd ki kiřāvarzī tamāma mow* After he has finished farming [lit. farming is finished] [2:3]; *faqat kāri kiřāwarzī bī* There was only agriculture [6:54] — Pers. *keřāvarzi* کشاورزی

kiřāwarzī → *kiřāvarzī*

kiřmiř *n* raisin — Pers. *keřmeř* کشمش

kiz 1. *n* burning sensation 2. *cvc* ~ **akiz kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *kizakiz ka-*) to burn | *kizakiz bike* It would burn [7:86]

kī *interrog* who | *pyāka maču gi seyr bike būne ya kī hā nāme* The man goes to have a look and see who is in there [4:145] — Pers. *ki* کی

kīlu *n* kilo — Pers. *kīlo, kīlu* کیلو

kīř 1. *n* elastic, extension, stretching 2. *cvc* ~ **āwird-** *v.PST* (PRS *kīř ār-*) to extend, stretch, swing | *kīřa mārī* bear āyl, meter kūza He swings it

to beat his child (but) he hits the jug [5:50] — Pers. *keš* کش
kīšyā- v.PST (PRS *kīš-*) to pull, drag, draw — Pers. *kešidan* کشیدن

kolfat *n* housekeeper | *e bīlā va sonwān kolfatī era kār bike* Let her work here as a servant [2:78] — Pers. *kolfat* کلفت

koṭā(h) 1. *n* hat || ~ *va sar nyā-cvc* idiom v.PST (PRS *koṭā(h) va sar ne-*) to deceive, cheat | *koṭā(h) nyāsa sar ya* He has cheated on this one [3:73] — Pers. *kolāh* کلاه

koṭij *n* pickaxe | *tavara īma-ō vagard koṭija* The axe, (like) ours, with the pickaxe [6:171] — Pers. *kolang* کلنگ

koř → *kwiř*

kōwš *n* shoe | *pyāka kōwšila mare viṭāta viṭāt* The man carries the shoes from region to region [1:17] — Pers. *kafš* کفش

ku interrog where | *ava hā ku?* Where is she? [1:65] — Pers. *ku* کو

*ku*₁ *n* pile, stack | *kua bikan* Make the stack [1:135]

**ku-* v.PST (PRS *ku-*) to crush, mash | *gaṭā dāra māre, xāsa makue masea bin milyān* She brings the leaves of the tree, she crushes (them) properly (and) rubs (them) under

their necks [1:111] — Pers. *kubidan* کوبیدن

kuṭ *n* shoulder, back | *ya darpeykara girtiāsa kuṭ* She has taken the whole door on her shoulders [6:182]

kuṭā *n* canopy, hut (?) | {? *lā sā ya kuṭā*} {? under the shade of an old canopy} [1:31]

kur adj blind | *ye ruž pādišā čamalī kura* mow One day the king's eyes become blind [3:47] — Pers. *kur* کور

kura interrog where | *qwiřbāqa hā kura?* Where is the frog? [6:37]

kū *n* mountain | *tā mi hātimā va kū, tō yāna bixwey* Until I come back from the mountain, you shall eat these [2:34] — Pers. *kuh* کوه

kūra *n* brazier | *haft kūra* Seven braziers [1:136] — Pers. *kure* کوره

kūza *n* jug, vase | *kūza giṭi va gīra māre* He finds a clay jug [5:29] — Pers. *kuze* کوزه

kwičik *n* stone, rock | *kwičikī mea dar qāra* He places a rock at the entrance of the cave [4:128]

kwil 1. adj whole 2. quant all | *ī kwil čia xiřta, āwirdita!* You have bought and brought all these things! [2:22] 3. pro-form all, everybody, everyone

| *kwila mowna čapčapa tūta-ö mačina āsimān* They all become handfuls of dust and go (up) to the sky [2:65] — Pers. *koll* کل

kwilfatī 1. *n* housekeeping, housework 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *kwilfatī ka-*) to do the housework | *kwilfatī aṛāy bike* To do the housework for her [3:20] — Pers. *kolfati* (kardan) کلفتی (کردن)

kwil(l)an *adv* totally, completely, overall — Pers. *kollan* کلاً

kwina *n* hole, cavity, pit | *haf(t) kwina hašāra make* He hides (it) in seven holes [6:123]

kwina pit *n* nostril

kwirdī 1. *adj* Kurdish 2. *n* Kurdish language | *kwirdī harsinī!* Harsini Kurdish! [1:12] — Pers. *kordi* کردی

kwiṛ (variants: *koṛ*) *n* boy, son | *kwil huz pādišā yāna mačin šarusī kwiṛ vakīl* The whole royal family etc. goes to the wedding of the delegate's son [2:80] || ~ **pādišā** *n* prince, king's son | *koṛ pādišā yakikyāna mawāzi* The king's son wants to marry one of them [4:82]

kwiṛarzā *n* grandson, granddaughter, grandchild (son's son or daughter)

kwišt *n* killing (?) | *ditila neyma kwišt va era* We shall not let the girls be killed here [7:34] — Pers. *košt* کشت

kwišt- *v.PST* (PRS *kwišt-*) 1. to kill, beat | *tō xwiškilam har dō kwištita* You have killed both of my sisters [2:52]; *ava makwiše, div* The demon kills that one [2:39] — Pers. *koštan* کشتن

kwit *n* piece, half | *ye kwit nān vagard kame řūni heywānī* Half (a loaf of) bread with some animal fat [5:24]; *kanū mowa šaš kwit* The jar breaks into six pieces [7:65]

kwitī *adj* piecemeal

1

la(h)ja *n* accent, dialect — Pers. *lahje* لهجه

la(h)za *n* moment, instant | *ye la(h)za manā masan marāsim tamām bu* Just a moment, for instance, has remained for the ceremony to be over [2:87] — Pers. *lahze* لحظه

lak 1. *n* Lak 2. *n* Laki language — Pers. *lak* لک

lakissān *n* Lakestān, region inhabited by Laks — Pers. *lakestān* لکستان

lakī *n* Laki language — Pers. *laki* لکی

lam 1. *n* belly, stomach 2. *class* (to count newborn children and animals)

lampiř *adj* pregnant

lař *adj* thin | *čāxit kirdim, lařit kirdim* I made you fat, I made you thin [7:58] — Pers. *lāgar* لاغر

laziz *adj* delicious, tasty | *gušti šotoriš, xu dī xeylī lazīza* Camel meat, well then, it is very tasty [6:120] — Pers. *laziz* لذیذ

lā 1. *n* side 2. *comp prep* (+ *va*=*a*, *ařā*) by, beside, before, in the presence of | *kadbastea make bōwreteā lā pādišā* He arrests him tin order to take him before the king [6:162] || *ī~* *adv* here, this way; *a~* *adv* there, that way | *ilā vitim řās bī, alā vitim duru bī* What I said here was true, what I said there was a lie [6:191]

lāaqat *adv* at least | *lāaqat ar mi eřdām bīm, ar sarim biřyā, ar har čā binim kirdün, žina māta nega(h)dārī bike* If I would be executed, if my head would be cut off, whatever they might do to me, at least (my) wife would take care of the house [6:166] — Pers. *lāaqall* لااقل

lebās *n* clothes , article of clothing, dress | *lebāsea*

mašure She washes his clothes [2:55] — Pers. *lebās* لباس

lič *n* lip

lif 1. *adj* joined, similar 2. *n* member of a couple, partner, couple — Pers. *laf(f)* لف

lifānī *n* twin

l(ih)āf *n* bed sheet — Pers. *lahāf* لحاف

lij *class* leg (one item of a pair, esp. of clothing) — Pers. *leng* لنگ

līva (variants: *līve* before a clitic =*a*) 1. *adj* crazy, foolish | *a žin līvamasa* That is my crazy wife [6:182]; *ī žina har līvea, vete dan* This woman is just crazy, let her go [6:189] 2. *n* crazy person | *līva, ku bīta?* Crazy (girl), where have you been? [1:71]

līve → *līva*

līvī *n* *livi* dairy product from the colostrum of a sheep or a cow | *līvīa makan, šir makana līvī* They make *livi*, they make the milk into *livi* [7:19]

loř *n* Lor — Pers. *lor* لر

lořissān *n* Lorestān, region inhabited by Lors — Pers. *lorestān* لرستان

lō *n* bank | *dital hardika mačin ařā lō juī āw bārin* Both girls go to the bank of a river to

take water [4:14-15] — Pers.
lab لب

lülakaši *n* plumbing, tubing |
lülakaši *n*owa Plumbing
didn't exist [4:16] — Pers. *lule*
keši لوله کشی

m

ma → *min*

mašlüm *adj* clear, evident | *šekle*
mašlüm *n*ow Her shape
would not be evident [1:83]
— Pers. *mašlum* معلوم (cf.
Har. *diyār*)

mašmur officer, policeman | *va*
mašmura muše He says to the
officer [6:158] — Pers.
ma'mur مأمور

maččit (variants: *maščit*) *n*
mosque | *žir maččit* Down
the mosque [1:28] — Pers.
masjed مسجد

madrak *n* document,
qualification, title | *ta(h)silāt*
ča dirī, madrak ča dirī? What
kind of education do you
have, which qualification do
you have? [4:86] — Pers.
madrak مدرک

magar → *mar*

makān *n* place | *jā-ö māč-ö makān*
nerī He doesn't have a place,
a house, a place to stay [5:8]
— Pers. *makān* مکان

maks 1. *n* pause, stop, stay 2. *cvc*
~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *maks ka-*) to

stay, stand, stop | *öwša maks*
make He stands (there) [6:63]
— Pers. *maks* (*kardan*) مکث
(کردن)

malüčik *n* sparrow

mamak *n* breast

mama xān *n.prop* Mohammad
Khān | *dita maču, ye man*
xwirī, masatan, mea mama
xān The girl goes (and) gives
a *man* of wool, for example,
to Mohammad Khān [1:28]

mamnun *adj* grateful | *xeylī*
mamnunim Thank you so
much! [6:65] — Pers.
mamnun ممنون

mamu *n* paternal uncle

mamužin *n* aunt (paternal
uncle's wife)

mamüla *n.prop* diminutive of
Mohammad | *mačua nām*
kanü gitiña, mamüla
Mohammad goes into the
earthen jar [7:63]

man *n* three kilos, *man* | *ye man*
xwirī A *man* of wool [1:28] —
Pers. *man* من

man- (variants: *mān-*) *v.PST* (PRS
mīn-) to stay, remain, be left |
dī faqat birsāqış har manīasa
yakī Finally only one fritter is
left [2:94]; *mamīne ī žina dī*
vagard āylele Then, this
woman remains, with her
children [4:166]; *a, mān dāke*
var až ava, piř gwinī xwirīa

mea bine Oh, it remained (to say that), before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool [1:61] — Pers. *māndan* ماندن

manāna *n* one *man* container (?) | *maču, qad manāne, qad baqale gušti šitora māre mea bine* She goes, she brings (out) a one *man*-container, an armful of camel meat, and gives it to her [6:152]

mar (variants: *magar*) 1. *interrog* (equivalent to English question tags) isn't it true that | *mar tō nōwiti* “*ya šiša ſomrima*”? You have said “this is my bottle of life”, haven't you? [2:61] 2. *prep* except 3. *conj* unless — Pers. *مگر*

marāsim *n* ceremony | *ye la(h)za manīa masan marāsim tamām bu* Just a moment, for instance, has remained for the ceremony to be over [2:87] — Pers. *marāsem* مراسم

mard *n* man, person | *mardi xīyātpardāz* The daydreamer [5:3] — Pers. *mard* مرد (cf. Har. *pyā*)

mardim *n* people | *a mōwqa sāda bīna mardim* At that time, people were simple [7:93] — Pers. *mardom* مردم

mas *adj* drunk | *masit kirdim* I made you drunk [7:99] — Pers. *mast* مست

masaṭan (variants: *masan*) *adv* for example, for instance | *masaṭan hamsāda ī kalkaxirāwasa* For example, he is a neighbour of these ruins [5:13]; *zuwān ki nerī masan buše a yā na* It doesn't possess language, for example, to say yes or no [6:26] — Pers. *masalan* مثلاً

masan → *masaṭan*

masčit → *maččit*

masxara *adj* ridiculous — Pers. *masxare* مسخره

mašad *n.prop* Mashhad | *maču aṛā mašad* She goes to Mashhad [1:113] — Pers. *mašhad* مشهد

mašey 1. *adj* pertaining to Mashhad 2. *epith* Mister, Sir | *mašey, nāmit kīa?* What's your name, Sir? [6:59] — Pers. *mašhadi* مشهدی

mašriq *n* east | *mi maqrib hātima, aṛā mašriqa mačim* I have come from the west and I'm going to the east [2:86] — Pers. *mašreq* مشرق

maxlut *adj* mixed — Pers. *maxluṭ* مخلوط

mā *adj* female — Pers. *māde* ماده

mā(h) 1. *n* month | *mā(h) řamazān (h)ame mardim*

žuža bigirin During the month of Ramadan all people would fast [6:4] 2. moon | *mā(h)* *manirea nām pišānī* A moon appears on (her) forehead [4:30] — Pers. *māh* ماه (cf. Har. *māḡ*)
mājirā *n* adventure, misadventure, event | *mājirā* *rišit bigire!* May something (bad) happen to you! [1:80] — Pers. *mājarā* ماجرا
māt *n* house(hold), home | *bāra mārīa māt* He brings the load home [2:19]
māthātunīšāndara (variants: *hātunīšāndara*) *n* ladybird
māmān *n* mom, mother | *buša māmānat* Tell your mom [1:127] — Pers. *māmān* مامان (cf. Har. *dā*)
mān- → *man-*
māḡ 1. *n* month | *baḡdar māḡhā* After (several) months [1:73] 2. moon
māḡašōw *n* moonlight night | *māḡašōwa* It is a moonlight night [7:45]
mār *n* snake — Pers. *mār* مار
mārmūlik *n* lizard — Pers. *mārmulak* مارمولک
mā xar *n* female donkey
māyn *n* female horse — Pers. *mādyān* ماديان
me → *xās(t)-*

mese *prep* like, as | *pišia va ye hinī mese* *ṛusarī mōwsete kamarī* She ties the cat to her waist with something like a headscarf [2:44] — Pers. *mesl(-e)* مثل
mi → *min*
mič das n wrist | *kwiṛ pādišā mič dasea* *magirī* The prince grabs her wrist [2:103] — Pers. *moč-e dast* مچ دست
midat (variants: *modat*) *n* moment, period of time | *midatī magwizare* Some time passes [6:35]; *modat(h)ā ham ṛia* *make* He walks for some time, too [4:68] — Pers. *moddat* مدت
mijassama *n* statue | *šōw mijassame māre manea jā wižī* At night she takes a statue and puts it in her own place [1:30] — Pers. *mojassame* مجسمه
mil 1. *n* neck | *va paṛ bisā bin milyān* Rub (it) with the feathers under their neck [1:108] 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) on, over, on top of | *bowa binina milī* Place the father on it [1:135]
milwānik *n* necklace
milyān *num* million — Pers. *milyun* میلیون (cf. Har. *hizārhezār*)

min (variants: *ma*, *mi*) *pro* 1SG I, me, mine | mina *mōwime* I will carry her away [2:28]; *ī sirī*, *xwirī* *mina aṛā* *ma maṛist*? She says: This time, will you spin my wool for me? [6:25]; *ya har avasa ki* *mi dīmase* This is exactly the one I have seen [2:106] — Pers. *man* من

miney 1. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) after, for 2. *cvc va/=a ~ kat-v.PST* (PRS id.) to follow, go in search of | *bowa* *makatea mineye* The father sets out to find her [1:96]; ~ *kird-v.PST* to look for, search (PRS *miney ka-*) *viṭāta viṭāt* *mineya make* From region to region, he looks for her [1:99]

miṇā *n* female cow | *kāwiṛ-ō* *miṇā* Sheep and cows [7:11]

mirād *n* wish, purpose, aim | *pey če* *mirādī hātīa*? For what purpose have you come? [4:57] — Pers. *morād* مراد

mird- *v.PST* (PRS *mir-*) to die | *āylal hardik* *mirdina* Both children are dead [1:103]; *ar tō* *bimirī* If you die [1:15] — Pers. *mordan* مردن

mirda → *morda*

mirdašurxāna *n* mortuary, morgue (place where dead bodies are washed before the

funeral) — Pers. *mordešurxāne* مرده شورخانه

mirq *n* chicken, hen | *manea* *ṛuwāt mirq*, *mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy* She chases the hen, the hen cackling runs away [6:87] — Pers. *morğ* مرغ

mirwārī 1. *n* pearl | *mirwārīa čame bāy* Pearls would come out from his eyes [4:98] 2. *adj* pearly, made of pearl | *aški* *mirwārīa čamea māy* Pearly tears come out from his eyes [4:114] — Pers. *morvārid* مروارید

mišt *n* fist, handful | *mištī tatāmatā* A handful of gold and silver [7:28] — Pers. *mošt* مشت

mitavajje(h) 1. *adj* aware, attentive 2. *cvc ~ bī-* (> *mitavajje(h) wī-*) (PRS *mitavajje(h) bu-> wu-*) to become aware, understand | *mitavajje(h) bīt*? Did you understand? [6:9] — Pers. *motavajje* (šodan) متوجه (شدن)

mitr *n* meter | *mi qālīče* *mabāfim* *ye mitr* I'll weave a one-meter rug [4:87] — Pers. *metr* متر

mī → *mü*

mīmī *n* aunt (paternal or maternal) | *duwāra naṛādō* *mowa* *mīmī* The male demon becomes the auntie again [7:24]

mīmzā *n* cousin (aunt's son or daughter)

modat → *midat*

moltafit *adj* attentive, aware | moltafiti? Are you attentive? [6:165] — Pers. *moltafet* ملتفت

morda (variants: *mirda*) *adj* dead | *tā ī šotora aṛā mi yā zindea gīr bārī yā mordea gīr bārī* In order to find this camel alive or dead for me [6:139] — Pers. *morde* مرده

movāzibat 1. *n* attention, care 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v*.PST to take care, pay attention (PRS *movāzibat ka-*) | *mi vanī movāzibat bikam* I would take care of it [2:58] — Pers. *movāzebat* (kardan) مواظبت (کردن)

mōwkam *adj* tight, well-sealed | *va haf(t) kwinā hašāra make, mōwkam* He hides (it) in seven holes, well-sealed [6:123-124] — Pers. *mohkam* محکم

mōwqa *n* moment, time | *a mōwqa sāda bīna mardim* At that time, people were simple [7:93] — Pers. *mowqe* موقع

mū (variants: *mī*) *n* hair | *čirkin gīsale, müale, sūrate* (Whose) locks, hair, face (are) filthy [4:147]; *sararā bixwama mīā va bināguš* I shall eat (your) head from the hair to the

back of the ear [7:67] — Pers. *mu* مو

m̄yow *onom* meow (cat sound) | *īla pišt māy, muše: «m̄yow!»* This time a cat comes (and) says: «meow!» [6:88] — Pers. *m̄yow* میو

m̄yowm̄yowkara *n.prop* Meow-meow | *xāla m̄yowm̄yowkara* Aunt Meow-meow [6:89]

n

na 1. *interj* no | *muše: «na, mi bičima šune»* He says: «No, I shall go in search of her» [2:90] || **na... (=ō)** **na** *conj* neither...nor | *na jinam, na āyimīzāykam* I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being [1:46] — Pers. *na* نه

nafar *n* person | *ye nafar jūr mi dānā* A person as wise as me [6:58] — Pers. *nafar* نفر

naft *n* gasoline | *nafta makea milī* He pours gasoline on him [1:136] — Pers. *naft* نفت

na(h)r *n* canal, river, watercourse | *na(h)rī dirīmīn* We have a canal [3:77] — Pers. *nahr* نهر

najjār *n* carpenter | *najjāra muše* The carpenter says [2:70] — Pers. *najjār* نجار

nama(d) *n* felt | *min ī nama diris kirdima* I made this felt [1:132]; *namīne yašnī namad*

kirdiāsa sarī? Does ‘Namine’ mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head? [1:81] — Pers. *namad* نمد

namī- v.PST (PRS *nam-*) to grab, catch | *namīmāsa kwičik bān dūke* I grabbed the whorl on top of the spindle [6:48] *maname a tašt-ō xwirī* She grabs that spindle and (that) wool [6:19]

nameyn *adj* felt-made — Pers. *namadin* نمدين

nameyna (variants: *namīne*) *n* felt-made thing, felt-made girl | *čaqua māžea nameyna* He throws a knife at the felt-made girl [1:88]; *namīne yašnī namad kirdiāsa sarī?* Does ‘Namine’ mean that she has put (a piece of) felt on her head? [1:81]

namīne → *nameyna*

nař *adj* male — Pers. *nar* نر (cf. Har. *ner*)

nařadō *n* male demon | *yāru nařadōika* The fellow is a male demon [7:31] — Pers. *narre div* نره ديو

navad *num* ninety — Pers. *navad* نود

nazr 1. *n* vow, offering, gift | *a nazr xwidā, mowna āylila duwāra* As God’s gift, they will become (living) children again [1:108] 2. *n* ritual

banquet, sacred meal ceremony | *pādišā a řuža ye nazrī dirin* That day there is a ritual banquet at the king(’s palace) [2:75] — Pers. *nazr* نذر

nām 1. *n* inside, interior | *maču ařā nām kalāsyāw* She goes inside the old mill [6:79] 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) in, into, inside, among | *zū māre māžetea nām ye ešqāfi* She quickly takes it and throws it among some rubbish [2:36]

nām₁ *n* name | *mašey, nāmit kīa?* What’s your name, Sir? [6:59] — Pers. *nām* نام

nāmzadī *n* engagement | *boweyšt hałqe aře sanīa, {# jūr} nāmzadī* Her father has bought a ring for her, {# like} an engagement [1:56] — Pers. *nāmzadī* نامزدی (cf. Har. *dasgīrānī*)

nān 1. *n* bread, food | *nān dānasa binit* They gave you bread [5:31] 2. *cve* ~ **xword-** v.PST (PRS *nān xwa-*) to eat — Pers. *nān* نان

nāřahat *adj* uncomfortable, upset | *ōwīš fira nāřahata mow* She becomes very upset, too [2:25] — Pers. *nāřahat* ناراحت

nāxwaš *adj* sick | *nāxwašim, aš řište ařām bika* I’m sick,

- prepare a noodle soup for me
[1:79] — Pers. *nāx^woš* ناخوش
nāxwidāgā(h) *adv* accidentally,
unwittingly | *nāxwidāgā(h)*
pāya maxwea qe ye čī sangīnī
Accidentally, her foot hits the
shape of something heavy
[6:44] — Pers.
nāx^wodāgāh ناخودآگاه
nāz *adj* beautiful, pretty,
delicate, sweet — Pers. *nāz*
ناز
nāzīlīnāzān *n.prop* Sweetie (the
sweetest of all) | *ism pišīeš*
nāzīlīnāzāna Her cat's name
is Sweetie [2:48]
nega(h)bānī 1. protection, guard
2. ~ *dā-* (> *nega(h)bānī yā-*)
v.PST (PRS *nega(h)bānī de-*
-> *e-*) to guard | *ya nega(h)bānīa*
pasala me He will guard the
goats [5:23] — Pers.
negahbāni (kardan) نگهداری
(کردن)
nega(h)dārī 1. protection, care 2.
cvc ~ ***kird-*** *v.PST* (PRS
negahdārī kird-) to take care,
protect | *žina māta*
nega(h)dārī bike (My) wife
would take care of the house
[6:166] — Pers. *negahdāri*
(*kardan*) نگهداری (کردن)
ner *adj* male
neraxar *n* male donkey

- nijāt*** *n* redemption | *nijātī pyā*
kam Let me find redemption
[1:06] — Pers. نجات
nimak *n* salt | *nimaka makea*
nāmī She puts salt in it
[4:103] — Pers. *namak* نمک
(cf. Har. *xwā*)
nism *n* half | *eždehā va vasata*
makea dō nism He cuts the
dragon in two halves, (right)
in the middle [3:80] — Pers.
nešf نصف
nizīk *adj* near, close | *hašārī kan*
va jāytir ki ya nizīk now Hide
him elsewhere, so that he
cannot get close [3:39] —
Pers. *nazdik* نزدیک
nīmaxwar *adj* half-eaten |
mamūla nīmaxwara make
She eats half of Mohammad
[7:72] — Pers. *nime x^wor* نیمه
خور
nīšān 1. display 2. *cvc* ~ *dā-* (>
nīšān yā-) *v.PST* (PRS *nīšān de-*
-> *e-*) to show, display | *ya ki*
šīša šomr wižim řāsī nīšānī
nāma This (girl), to whom I
didn't show my bottle of life
correctly [2:62]; *hasāra nīšān*
dāruqa be Show the courtyard
to the police officer [6:158] —
Pers. *nešān (dādan)* نشان
(دادن)
nīšt- *v.PST* (PRS *nīšt-*) to sit | *mia*
šōsorā nīštima I've been
sitting since morning [6:71];

ī taktanyā manīšea nām mā
This one sits all alone in the
house [2:80] — Pers. *nešastan*
نشستن

nō *num* nine — Pers. *noh* نه

nōwbat *n* turn | *nōwbatyāna*
īmšōw Tonight it's their turn
[7:59] — Pers. *nowbat* نوبت

nōwkar *n* servant | *hātati*,
masaṭan, *nōwkar* (Whose)
condition (is), for instance,
(that of) a servant [3:36-37] —
Pers. *nowkar* نوکر

nōwruz^{alī} *n.prop* Nowruz^{alī} | *a*
muše nōwruz^{alī} That one
says Nowruz^{alī} [6:58] —
Pers. *nowruz^{alī}* نوروز علی

nōwzā(d) *n* newborn — Pers.
nowzād نوزاد

nuš *n* type, way, manner | *har*
nuš čāxit kirdim In every way
I fattened you [7:98] — Pers.
nowš نوع

nuzda *num* nineteen — Pers.
nuzdah نوزده

nwā 1. *n* front 2. *comp prep* (+
va/=a) in front of, before |
makatea nwā dā zarā-ō
mamūla-ō si gila dit She sets
off before Dā Zahrā,
Mohammad and the three
girls [7:12] 3. *cvc* ~ **girt-/gird-**
v.PST (PRS *nwā gir-*) to block,
obstruct, impede | *nwāy*
girdīa He has obstructed it
[3:77]

nyā- v.PST (PRS *n-*) to put, lay,
leave | *žina darpeykara kwil*
nyāsa kut The wife has put
the whole door on her
shoulders [6:178]; *ostoxāna*
bina var saga Put the bones in
front of the dog [4:76] —
Pers. *nehādan* نهادن

O

ostoxān *n* bone | *asba ostoxān*
nyānasa varī The horse, they
put bones in front of it [4:75]
— Pers. *ostox^wān* استخوان (cf.
Har. *soxān*)

Ö

öw 1. *pro* 3SG he/she/it,
him/her/it, his/hers/its | *öwš*
dāstān wižī kwil tašrīfa make
She, then, tells her whole
story [2:104] 2. *dem pro-form*
that, that one | *īa sar mil žina*
mapař(e)ör, öwa mear žina
This one jumps up onto the
woman's neck, that one
beats the woman [5:46] —
Pers. *u* او

P

pal 1. *n* feather | *si pala meylina*
jā They leave tree feathers
there [1:110] 2. *n* branch, leaf,
blossom

panj num five — Pers. *panj* پنج
panjā num fifty — Pers. *panjāh*

پنجاه

pakar adj sad | *tō aṛā iqira pakarī?*
 Why are you so sad? [2:22]

paqāza n goosefoot,
 spontaneous herb | *paqāza*
bikan To pick herbs [7:3] —
 Pers. *pāy-e gāz* پای غاز

parda n curtain | *parde dirī*
 There's a curtain [1:126] —
 Pers. *parde* پرده

parī n fairy | *ya parī bīa* This one
 was a fairy [1:71] — Pers. *parī*
 پری

parišān adj messy, ruffled | *mū*
sar parišān-ō boland Ruffled
 and long hair [2:85] — Pers.
parišān پریشان

parīva n.prop Parive (a village
 nearby Harsin) | *mačīn aṛā*
pāča parīva īma They go to
 the foothill of our Parive [7:3]
 — Pers. *parive* پریوه

pař n feather | *va pař bisā bin*
milyān Rub (it) with the
 feathers under their neck
 [1:108] — Pers. *parr* پر (cf.
 Har. *pal*)

**pařī-* v.PST (PRS *pař-*) to jump ||
 ~...=*ōr* v.PST (PRS *pař*-...=*ōr*) |
īa sar mil žina mapař(e)ōr
 This one jumps up onto the
 woman's neck [5:46] — Pers.
paridan پریدن

pas n goat | *ya nega(h)bānīa*
pasala me He will guard the
 goats [5:23]

pası adv then, afterwards | *pas*
mači Then, you go [4:59] —
 Pers. *pas* پس

paxšakura n fly, mosquito

**pazī-* v.PST (PRS *paz-*) to cook |
hara mapaze She cooks and
 cooks [7:17]

pā 1. n foot | *tā bān pā* Up to the
 feet [1:63] | — Pers. *pā* پا

pāča n valley, foothill | *mačīn aṛā*
pāča parīva īma They go to
 the foothill of our Parive [7:3]
 — Pers. *pāče* پاچه

pāčik (variants: *pāčka*) n foot, leg,
 paw | *pāčka ādimīzāda* They
 are human legs [7:50] —
 Pers. *pāče* پاچه

pāčka → *pāčik*

pādišā n king | *pādišā qabula*
make The king accepts
 [6:145] — Pers. *pādešāh* پادشاه

pāk 1. adj clean, pure 2. *cvc* ~
kird- v.PST (PRS *pāk ka-*) to
 clean | *pākea makan* They
 clean it [7:104] — Pers. *pāk*
 (kardan) پاک (کردن)

pānsad num five hundred |
pānsad nafaranī bixwe Five
 hundred man would eat
 from it [4:93] — Pers.
pānšad پانصد

pāxasūr n virginity testing
 ceremony

pedar *n* father | *pedara žina mawāze* The father marries the woman [3:3] — Pers. *pedar* پدر (cf. Har. *bowa*)

peqambar *n* prophet | *va hōkmi sileymāni peqambar* By Prophet Solomon's command [7:84] — Pers. *peygambar* پیغمبر

pey *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) after, for | *va pey če mirādī hātīa?* For what purpose have you come? [4:57] — Pers. (*dar*) *pey-e* پی (در)

peydā 1. *adj* found 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *peydā ka-*) to find | *ye sangi zardī peydā make* She finds a yellow rock [6:46] — Pers. *peydā* (*kardan*) پیدا (کردن) (cf. Har. *pyāi*)

pifti *n* lung

pin *cvc* ~ *va/=a sar dā* (> *pin va/=a sar yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *pin va sar de-> e-*) to do evil, harm (?) | *ī pīna dāna sar mi* They harmed me [4:174]

pirīzī *n* bundle | *dasa makea mil ī pirīzī* He gets his hands on this bundle [1:74]

piř *adj* full | *piř kūza mow* The jug becomes full [5:35] — Pers. *por* پر

pišgił *n* (animal) excrement — Pers. *peškel* پشگل

piši *n* cat | *piši gwijīne dirī* She has a little kitten [2:44]

pišt 1. *n* back | *pišta šar-ō řüa biāwāna maču* (Turning her) back on the city and heading towards the plain, she goes [1:36] 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) behind | *maču pišt dara* She goes behind the door [2:23] — Pers. *pošt* پشت

pišt čam *n* eyelid

pit *n* nose

piyāz *n* onion — Pers. *piyāz* پیاز

pīr *adj* old — Pers. *pīr* پیر

pīramird *n* old man | [1:117] — Pers. *piremard* پیرمرد

pīražin *n* old woman | *behtarīn řasa mi ye pīražinī va gīr bārim* The best way is that I find an old woman [6:137] — Pers. *pirezan* پیرزن

pīrhan *n* shirt | *pīrhan ařām bār-ō čādir* Bring me a shirt, and a *chador* [2:4] — Pers. *pīrāhan* پیراهن (cf. Har. *kirās*)

piřazā *n* stepchild, stepson, stepdaughter (son or daughter a man has from a previous marriage)

piřānī *n* forehead | *mā(h) manirea nām piřānī* A moon appears on (her) forehead [4:30] — Pers. *piřānī* پیشانی (cf. Har. *töl*)

piřraft 1. *n* advancement, progress 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *piřraft ka-*) to progress,

advance — Pers. *pišraft*
(*kardan*) پیشرفت (کردن)

ptāsikī *adj* plastic | *šarusān*
ptāsikīe A plastic doll [1:125]

— Pers. *pelāstiki* پلاستیکی

put *n* barrel, bin | *hāma nām putī*
I am in a bin [2:42] — Pers.
pit پیت

pūl *n* money | *pūl kalāne kirdā*
He has made a lot of money
[5:41] — Pers. *pul* پول

pyā *n* man | *ya pyāykō žine si gila*
dit dirin A man and his wife
have three daughters [2:1]

pyā 1. *adj* found 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-*
v.PST (PRS *pyā ka-*) to find |
katīasa šunim, tā pyām kirdā
He started looking for me,
until he found me [1:133]; *tā*
šotor aṛāt pyā bikam To find
the camel for you [6:142]

q

qabl *prep* (+ *a(ž)/=a ?*) before |
qabl a kwilyāna māy She
comes (back) before all of
them [2:87] — Pers. *qabl az*
قبل از

qabul 1. *n* acceptance, consent 2.
cvc ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *qabul*
ka-) to accept | *ōwīš qabula*
make So, he accepts [2:29] —
Pers. *qabul* (*kardan*) قبول
(کردن)

qad 1. *n* figure, shape, height,
dimensions — Pers. *qad(d)*

قد (cf. Har. *qe*) 2. *n* quantity,
amount | *qad manāne, qad*
baqate gušti šotor A one man-
container, an armful of
camel meat [6:152] — Pers.
qadr قدر (cf. Har. *qir*)

qadbasta 1. *adj* tied 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-*
v.PST (PRS *qadbasta ka-*) to tie,
arrest, handcuff | *dāruqa pyā*
magire qadbasta make The
officer takes the husband
and arrests him [6:161]

qadīm *adj* ancient, old | *dar*
zamāni qadīm dādibisad bīa
In ancient times, there was
the barter [5:29] — Pers.
qadīm قدیم

qah 1. *n* vomit 2. *onom* (sound of
throwing up) | *qah qah gwił va*
dame bāer Flowers would
keep coming out from her
mouth [4:99] — Pers. *qey* قی

qarār 1. *n* stability, decision, base
|| *va* ~ *conj* in such a way
(that) | *va qarārī nimaka*
makea nāmī ki hizār nafarīž
bixwe, nimatūnī ye bišqāw
bixwe She puts salt in it in
such a way that (even if) a
hundred people would eat it,
they wouldn't be able to eat
even a plate of it [4:103-104]
2. *cvc* ~ *dā-* (> *qarār yā-*) *v.PST*
(PRS *qarār de-> e-*) to
establish, appoint | *jānešin*
ava qarārea me He

establishes him as his own successor [3:74] — Pers. *qarār* (*dādan*) قرار (دادن)
qarč *onom* crunch (sound of biting) | *qarč!* *kilkawāna kazāya!* Crunch! It's the aforesaid ring! [1:75]
qašanj 1. *adj* beautiful, pretty | *āwa mowa češma qašan-ō xu!* The water becomes a beautiful and good spring [4:66] 2. *adv* properly | *tanāfa māže arine, mōwsete qašana māžea ku!* She throws a rope around [lit. to] it [i.e. the door], she tightens it properly and she puts it on her back [6:174] — Pers. *qašang* فشنگ
qazā *n* food | *čua [...]* *hin qazāka dasea mař(i)še* (She) lets the wood [...] thingy, the food drop from her hands [2:100] — Pers. *qazā* غذا
qazān *n* pot, cauldron | *qazāna mōwrin āw bārin* They take a pot (with them) to take water [4:17] — Pers. *qazgān* قرغان
qazīya *n* case, question, problem — Pers. *qazīye* قضیه
qāč *n* foot, leg
qāčāq *n* smuggling — Pers. *qāčāq* قاچاق
qāčāqōmāčāq *n* smuggling and similar things

qāčāxči *n* smuggler — Pers. *qāčāqči* قاچاقچی
qāčōqwil *n* (whole) leg
qālī *n* carpet, rug — Pers. *qālī* قالی
qālīča *n* small carpet, rug, mat | *mi qālīče mabāfīm ye mitr* I'll weave a one-meter rug [4:87] — Pers. *qālīče* قالیچه
qār *n* cave | *mōwretea nām qār, nām qārālī gi dirin* He brings her into a cave, into the caves that they have [4:126] — Pers. *qār* غار
qāšōq *n* spoon | *ye qāšōq řün vagard kamī nān* A spoon of butter with a bit of bread [5:33] — Pers. *qāšōq* فاشق
qe *n* figure, shape, height, dimensions | *pāya maxwea qe ye čt sangīnī* Her foot hits the shape of something heavy [6:44]
qij *n* rear, bottom, buttocks | *surāxa makird jūr surāx qijit* It was making holes as big as your rear's [6:188]
qir 1. *n* quantity, amount 2. *adv* (+ *indef*) a bit | *kwiř pādšāyša māy agarde qirī řaxsa* make Then, the prince comes and dances with her a bit [2:85] — Pers. *qadr* قدر || *ī-a* (variants: *eqira*) *adv* this much, so much | *tō arā iqira pakarī?* Why are you so sad? [2:22];

- har eqira?* Just this much? [6:151] — Pers. *enqadr* انقدر
- qirmis* *adj* red | *qirmis* *hāt*, *t(ō)* (*h*)üč nuš If it comes out red, don't say anything [4:25] — Pers. *qermez* قرمز
- qiržij* *n* crab — Pers. *xarčang* خرچنگ
- qismat* 1. *n* share, part 2. *n* destiny | *šāad qismatī va ya bua* Maybe her destiny is (to be) with this one [3:41] — Pers. *qesmat* قسمت
- qissa* 1. *n* discourse, story 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *qissa ka-*) to speak *kala qissa make* The head speaks [2:38] — Pers. *qešše* قصه
- qofl* 1. *n* lock 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *qofl ka-*) to lock | *dara qofla make* (He) locks the door [1:87] — Pers. *qofl* (kardan) قفل
- qomqomak* *n* crocodile
- qorub* *n* sunset, dusk | *dī qoruba mow* Then dusk comes [3:13] — Pers. *gorub* غروب
- qowl* *n* saying, word, promise | *bāad qowl bī si ditat beya mi* You have to promise you will give me your three daughters [2:17] || *bi* ~ *mašruf* *idiom* As they say [2:73] — Pers. (*be*) *qowl(-e mašruf)* قول (به) (معروف)
- qöl* *adj* 1. deep, coarse

- qöü* *adj* strong | *qöüa mowin* They become strong [1:115] — Pers. *qavi* قوی
- qurwāq* (variants: *qurwāx*) *n* frog
qurwāx → *qurwāq*
- qwil* *n* leg
- qwiltāqwīl* *adv* with a limp (?)
- qwirān* *n* Quran | *qwirāna maxwane* He reads the Quran for him [1:120] — Pers. *qor'ān* قرآن
- qwirānxwan* *n* reader of the Quran | *mowna yakī ye qwirānxwan* Both become readers of the Quran [1:115] — Pers. *qor'ān x'wān* قرآن خوان
- qwiř* *onom* croak (frog sound) | *qwiř qwiř, t̄jūrī sidā me* Croak croak! It sounds like this [6:22]
- qwiřbāqa* *n* frog | *dāmase xāla qwiřbāqa* I gave it to aunt frog [6:28] — Pers. *qurbāge* قورباغه (cf. Har. *qurwāq*)
- qwit* *onom* cackle, cluck (chicken sound)
- qwitōqāt* *adv* cackling | *mirqa qwitōqāta meywāy* The hen cackling runs away [6:87]
- qwitqwitkara* *n.prop* Cackle-cackle | *tō qwitqwitkara kil kirdī* You sent Cackle-cackle [6:112]

ř

řad 1. *n* track, trace, footprint 2. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (*řad wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *řad bu-> wu-*) to cross, pass by | so mow, *yeḱī māy*, *řada mow* It gets light, someone comes, passes by [3:16]; ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *řad ka-*) to pass over, overcome, avoid | *a dōša řada make* He avoids those two (mountains), too [7:87] — Pers. *radd* (*šodan*, *kardan*) رد (شدن، کردن)

řa(h)mat *n* mercy | *řa(h)mata pedarit!* (May God have) mercy on your father! — Pers. *raḥmat* رحمت

řamazān 1. *n* Ramadan, month of fasting | *māh řamazān (h)ame mardim řuža bigirin* During the month of Ramadan all people would fast [6:4] 2. *n.prop* Ramazān | *mi miney řamazāna makam* I'm looking for Ramazān [6:60] — Pers. *ramazān* رمضان

řasī- *v.PST* (PRS *řas-*) to reach, arrive | *ī āvi řavāna maču maču tā mařasīa nām māt ye pādišāyka* This running water goes and goes, until it reaches the house of a king [2:74] — Pers. *residan* رسیدن

řavān *adj* flowing, running | *ī āvi řavāna* This running water [2:74] — Pers. *ravān* روان

řaxs 1. *n* dance 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *řaxs ka-*) to dance | *vaxtī mōünī kwil dirin řaxsa makan-ö yāna, iš ye dařa maču qirī řaxsa make* When she sees that everybody is dancing etc., suddenly she goes, too, and dances a bit [2:84] — Pers. *raqs* (*kardan*) رقص (کردن)

řā(h) *n* street, track, way | *fira řā(h) tülānī čan šabānaruza mačīn* They travel a very long way for some days and nights [2:94] — Pers. *rāh* راه (cf. Har. řī)

řahat *adj* comfortable, relaxed, relieved | *pyā, xiyālit řahat bu, biču!* Husband, don't worry [lit. may your mind be relaxed], go! [6:170] — Pers. *rāhat* راحت

řās 1. *adj* correct, right, true | *ilā vitim řās bī, alā vitim duru bī* What I said here was true, what I said there was a lie [6:191] 2. *adv* rightly, correctly | *ya ki šīša šomr wižim řāsī nīšānī nāma* This (girl), to whom I didn't show my bottle of life correctly [2:62] — Pers. *rāst* راست

- řāsgu** *adj* honest, sincere | *dīviš ki mazāne ya dī řāsgu-ō yāna muše*: «bāšad» The demon, who knows that this (girl) is honest etc., says: «Fine» [2:54] — Pers. *rāst gu* راست گو
- řāsī** *interj* by the way, right! | *řāsī, šīša šomr tō hā ku?* Right! Where is your bottle of life? [2:57] — Pers. *rāstī* راستی
- řāzī** 1. *adj* satisfied, happy, consenting, willing | *diti gviyar gi bowe řāzī nōiua dāse ya* The younger daughter, whose father wasn't willing to give her (in marriage) to him [3:64] — Pers. *rāzī* راضی
- *řimyā-** *v.PST.pass* (PRS ř(i)m-) to be destroyed, be ruined, fall apart || **māt** ~ *idiom* (to express surprise, disapproval or disagreement) | *mālit biř(i)me, a kura bīta?* May your house be ruined! Where have you been? [7:106]
- *řis(t)-** *v.PST* (PRS řis-) to spin | *ye řuž-ō dō řuža mařiše* She spins for one or two days [6:17] — Pers. *ristan, reštan* رستن، رشتن
- řišta** *n* filament, noodle | *āš řište ařam bika* Prepare a noodle soup for me [1:79] — Pers. *rešte* رشته
- *řšyā-** *v.PST.pass* (PRS ř(i)š-) to spill, pour, drop | *qazāka*

dasea mař(i)še (She) lets the food drop from her hands [2:100] — Pers. *rixtan, rixte šodan* ریختن، ریخته شدن

řizā *n.prop* Rezā | *me bičīa nām imām řizā* You have to enter Imam Rezā (shrine) [1:109] — Pers. *režā* رضا

řī 1. *n* street, track, way | *řī gwīm kirdīa* He has lost its track [6:82] 2. *cvc va/=a ~ kat-* *v.PST* (PRS id.) to start, set out | *vagard xāla gardandirāza makatea řī* She sets out with aunt Long-neck [6:108]; ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS řī ka-) to travel, walk | *modat(h)ā ham řīa make* He walks for some time, too [4:68]

řičarmī *n* old man

řī **duwā** *n* offering (for a prediction or a spell) | *kamī gušti šotor beyna binim ařā řī duwā* Give me that little camel meat for the offering [6:151]

řiš 1. *n* beard 2. *cvc ~ girt-/gird-* *v.PST* (PRS řiš gir-) to happen, occur (of a misadventure, a trouble) | *mājirā řišit bigire!* May something (bad) happen to you! [1:80] — Pers. *riš* ریش

řuľa *epith* dear son, dear daughter, dear child | *řuľa biču, a gāva ka deyšt* My dear,

go (and) bring that cow
outside [2:45]

řusarī *n* headscarf | *pišia va ye*
hinī mese řusarī *mōwsete*
kamarī She ties the cat to her
waist with something like a
headscarf [2:44] — Pers.
rusari روسری

řušān 1. *adj* bright, light, clear 2.
cvc ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *řušān ka-*
) to light, turn on | *čirāq*
řušana make She lights
lamps [2:60] — Pers. *rowšan*
(*kardan*) روشن کردن

řuteyl *n* tarantula (?) | *e* {? *řuteyl*}
bīdāra This {? tarantula} is
awake [7:49] — Pers. *roteyl*
رتیل

řuwāt 1. *n* side, direction, path 2.
(+ *va/=a*) *comp prep* after, for
3. *cvc* ***va/=a* ~ nyā-** *v.PST* (PRS
va/=a řuwāt n-) to chase,
follow | *manea řuwāt mirq*
She chases the hen [6:87]

řuz → *řuž*

řuzgār *n* era, epoch, age, period
of time | *ye řuzgāra masatan*
so At a (certain) time, for
example, in the morning
[5:32] — Pers. *ruzgār* روزگار

řuziʿalī *n.prop* RuziʿAli | *ōwa*
muše řuziʿalī That one says
RuziʿAli [6:58] — Pers.
ruziʿalī روزیعلی

řuž (variants: *řuz*) *n* day | *ye*
haštād řuž mi āzīyatī bigirim!

I shall be in mourning for
about eighty days! [2:53];
šabānaruž, do řuz, si řuž ham
řīa make He walks day and
night, two days, three days
[4:69] — Pers. *ruz* روز

řuža *n* fasting | *mā(h) řamazān*
(*h*)*ame mardim řuža bigirin*
During the month of
Ramadan all people would
fast [6:4] — Pers. *ruze* روزه

řü 1. *n* face 2. *cvc* ~ ***āyšt-*** *v.PST*
(PRS *řü āž-*) to demand, urge,
push | *řü nāž, nimām* Don't
push me, I won't come
(back) [6:86] — Pers. *ru*
(*andāxtan*) رو انداختن || ~ ***se***
kird- *v.PST* (PRS *řü se ka-*)
idiom to destroy, ruin (a
person) | *e řü ī bowama se*
kam Let me destroy [lit.
blacken the face of] this
father of mine [1:106]

řün *n* butter, oil, fat | *ye kwit nān*
vagard kame řūni heywānī
Half (a loaf of) bread with
some animal fat [5:24] —
Pers. *rowgan* روغن

S

sa *interj* fine, well, then (possibly
a contracted form of *iska*) |
muše: «sa ey(b) nerī» She
says: «Well, it doesn't
matter» [7:33]

sad num hundred — Pers. *šad*
صد

sag n dog | *ostoxāna bina var saga*
Put the bones in front of the
dog [4:76] — Pers. *sag* سگ

sahana n.prop Sahne — Pers.
šahne صحنه

san- v.PST (PRS *sīn-*) to buy, get,
obtain | *boweyšī hatqe aře*
sanīa Her father has bought
a ring for her [1:56]; *kamī*
xamīra binīa masīnī She gets
a bit of dough from her [1:68]

sang → *saŋ*

sangīn adj heavy | *pāya maxwea*
qe ye čī sangīnī Her foot hits
the shape of something
heavy [6:44] — Pers. *sangin*
سنگین

saŋ (variants: *sang*) 1. n stone,
rock | *ye sangi zardī peyda*
make She finds a yellow rock
[6:46] 2. weight (stone used
as a weight for scales) —
Pers. *sang* سنگ (cf. Har.
kwičik)

sar 1. n head, top, upper part,
origin | *būn sarim xua, būn*
{xxx} *dasit bea nām sarim* See
(if) my head is fine, see {xxx}
run your hands through my
hair [lit. put your hands in
my head] 2. class (used to
count cattle) 2. comp prep (+
va/=a) on, on top of, over, to,
for | *īa sar mil žina*

mapař(e)ör, öwa mear žina
This one jumps up onto the
woman's neck, that one
beats the woman [5:46] 3. adv
(+ *va/=a*) up(wards), upstairs
(?) | *bea čuwīna ařām bārea*
sar Give it to Wooden (so
that) she may bring it to me
upstairs [2:99] 4. *cvc va/=a ~*
hāt- v.PST (PRS *va/=a sar*
ā(y)-) to happen | *ījūrīa sarim*
hāt so and so happened to
me [4:37] 5. *cvc ~ dā-* (> *sar*
γā-) v.PST (PRS *sar de-> e-*) to
visit | *bičīmin ařā māt dāt sar*
beymin Let's go to your
mother's house to visit her
[4:169] — Pers. *sar* (*zadan*)
سر (زدن)

sarā n spring, also the name of a
neighbourhood in Harsin |
maču ařā sarā She goes to the
spring [6:19] — Pers. *sarāb*
سرآب

sarbān n roof | *hara sarbāna*
sarbān maču ařā māt vazīr
And from roof to roof she
goes to the minister's house
[2:83]

sarčūpi n leader of a row of
dancers

sardār n general, military chief |
sardār-ö sipā kwil jamša men
They gather all the generals
and the army [2:90] — Pers.
sardār سردار

sarik (variants: *sarka*) 1. *n* little (animal) head 2. *class* (to count some vegetables and small objects)

sarka → **sarik**

sarnivišt *n* destiny | *bana mow e sarnivišt mi ařā kua maču* It will become bound where this destiny of mine leads [2:72] — Pers. *sarnevešt* سرنوشت

sā *n* shadow, shade | *sā ha nām mil āwa* There is a shadow on the water surface [1:43] — Pers. *sāye* سایه

sā₁ *n* owner | *bašd va ī žina bīasa sā si čwār gila āyl* Afterwards, he has three or four children from this woman [5:45]

sāfat *n* hour | *mowa sāfatāl nismi šōw* There comes a midnight hour [6:98] — Pers. *sāfat* ساعت

sāda (variants: *sāde* before a clitic =*a*) *adj* simple, plain | *a mōwqa sādā bīna mardim* At that time, people were simple [7:93]; *pyākeyš jūr mi sādea* The man, well, is simple like me [6:34] — Pers. *sāde* ساده

sāde → **sāda**

sāhib *n* owner — Pers. *šāheb* صاحب (cf. Har. *sā*)

sāhib *šazā* *n* relative of the deceased who is in charge of organizing the funeral

sā māt *n* owner of the house, master of the house | *har ařā a sā māta, bigir* You would say it is just for the master of the house [1:69]

sārā *n.prop* Sara | *sārā maču ařā lā dā zarā* Sara goes to Dā Zahrā [7:30] — Pers. *sārā* سارا

sāxt- *v.PST* (PRS *sāz-*) to build | *ī kalkaxirāwa sāxte* He has (re)built these ruins [5:43]; *e kalkaxirāwa varinā masāzī* He (re)builds the ruins with it [5:43] — Pers. *sāxtan* ساختن

sāy- (PRS *s(ā)-*) *v.PST* to rub | *xāsa makue masea bin milyān* She crushes (them) properly (and) rubs (them) under their necks [1:111] — Pers. *sā'idan* سائیدن

sāz *n* musical instrument | *haft sāz-ō haft ruž sūr ařea mane* She prepares seven musical instruments and seven days of wedding for him [1:93] — Pers. *sāz* ساز

sāzmānda(h)ī *n* organization, accommodation | *sāzmānda(h)ī nerī* He doesn't have an accommodation [5:8] — Pers. *sāzmāndehi* سازماندهی

se (variants: *sī*) *adj* black | *diteyš yak e dinānalia sea* The girl, one of these teeth of hers is black [1:98]; *sī hāt, daŋ naka* If it comes out black, don't call (me) [4:24]

sefāriš 1. *n* entrustment, recommendation 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *sefāriš ka-*) to entrust, recommend | *har ejāza be sefāriš māta bikama žina* Just allow me to entrust the house to (my) wife [6:164] — Pers. *sefāreš (kardan)* سفارش (کردن)

seyr 1. *n* look, gaze, glance 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *seyr ka-*) to look | *seyra make tu darzī* She looks inside a fissure [4:138]

si *num* three | *ya pyāyk-ō žinī si gila dit dirin* A man and his wife have three daughters [2:1] — Pers. *se سه*

sidā 1. *n* call, cry, sound, voice | *ye sidāy qwirbāqa hiza magiri* A cry of frogs rises [6:22] 2. *cvc* ~ *dā-* (> *sidā yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *sidā de-> e-*) to sound, make a sound | *qwiř qwiř, ijūrī sidā me* Croak, croak! It sounds like this [6:22] — Pers. *šedā (dādan)* صدا (دادن) (cf. Har. *daŋ*)

sifid *adj* white | *sifid hāt, daŋ naka* If it comes out white, don't

call (me) [4:25] — Pers. *sefid سفید*

sifr *num* zero — Pers. *sefr صفر*

sifra *n* tablecloth | *sifra māžin* They lay the tablecloth [1:126] — Pers. *sofre سفره*

siteymān *n.prop* Solomon | *va hōkmi siteymāni peqambar* By Prophet Solomon's command [7:84] — Pers. *soleymān سليمان*

siłm 1. *n* fear, dread 2. *cvc* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *siłm ka-*) to get scared, hesitate | *har čī make, čirāwka siłma make!* Whatever he does, the horse gets scared! [1:43]

sinza *num* thirteen — Pers. *sizdah سیزده*

sipā *n* army | *sardār-ō sipā kwil jamša men* They gather all the generals and the army [2:90] — Pers. *sepāh سپاه*

siri *n* series, time | *ī sirī, xwirī mina ařā ma mařisī?* This time, will you spin my wool for me? [6:25] — Pers. *seri سری*

sirvat *n* riches, wealth | *sirvatīš xu katīasa gīre* Well, he got his hands on (many) riches, too. [6:131] — Pers. *servat, sarvat ثروت*

sitāra *n* star | *mā(h) manirea nām pišānīō sitāreyž, hardik A* moon appears on (her)

forehead and also a star, both of them [4:30] — Pers. *setāre* ستاره (cf. Har. *hasāra*)

sivom num third | *dit sivom ki dī xavar dirī aṛā kua maču, pišt gwijīne dirī* The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going, has a little kitten [2:44] — Pers. *sevvom* سوم

sī num thirty — Pers. *sī* سی

sī → *se*

sīā n black | *sīā* mow She becomes black [4:47] — Pers. *sīāh* سیاه (cf. Har. *se*)

sīqa n sacrifice | *īmeyša sīqa sar imām řizā, nānī maxweymin* We, too, earn a living thanks to our sacrifices for Imam Rezā [1:121] — Pers. *šiḡe* صیغه

sīsad num three hundred — Pers. *sišad* سیصد

sīx class spit (to roast meat) — Pers. *sīx* سیخ

so 1. n morning 2. adv tomorrow, next day | *manīštī tā so* She sits until morning [3:15]

sob(h) 1. n morning 2. adv tomorrow, next day | *sob(h) gi maču, kwičikī mea dar qāra* When he goes out in the morning, he places a rock at the entrance of the cave [4:128] — Pers. *šobh* صبح (cf. Har. *so*)

sorāq 1. n research, quest 2. *cvc va/=a ~ čī-* v.PST (PRS *va/=a sorāq* č-) to search, look for | *mina me bičīma sorāq ī dita* I have to go in search of this girl [4:58] — Pers. *sorāg* (raftan) سراغ (رفتن)

soxān n bone

surāx n hole, cavity, pit | *surāxa makird jūr surāx qinīt* It was making holes as big as your rear's [6:188] — Pers. *surāx* سوراخ (cf. *kwinā*)

suzan n needle | *suzana mārī mač(i)kīa nāme* A needle eventually gets stuck in it [4:108] — Pers. *suzan* سوزن

sūr n wedding, marriage ceremony | *sūrīa make aṛā kwiṛa* She prepares a wedding for the boy [1:94]

sūrat n face | *čirkin gīsale, müale, sūrate* (Whose) locks, hair, face (are) filthy [4:147] — Pers. *šurat* صورت (cf. Har. *damrū, řū*)

Š

šabānaruz 1. n full day | *fira řā(h) tülānī čan šabānaruzā mačīn* They travel a very long way for some days and nights [2:94] 2. adv day and night | *šabānaruz, do řuz, si řuž ham řīa make* He walks day and night, two days, three days

- [4:69] — Pers. *šabāneruz*
شبانۀ روز
šak 1. *n* half, piece 2. *adj* worn-out (?) | *ye tifaŋ šakī bena minī(š)* Give me a worn-out rifle [3:53] — Pers. *šaq(q)* شق
šakat *adj* tired | *šakata mowin* They get tired [2:94]
šalāq *n* whip | *pyā girtiasa žīr šalāq* The king has put the man under the whip [6:176] — Pers. *šallāq* شلاق
šamsfalī *n.prop* Shams^cAli | *ya muše šamsfalī* This one says Shams^cAli [6:58] — Pers. *šams^calī* شمسعلی
šar *n* city | *mi bičima šar* I am going to the city [2:3] — Pers. *šahr* شهر
šas(t) *num* sixty — Pers. *šašt* شصت
šaš (variants: *šīš*) *num* six | *kanū mowa šaš kwit* The jar breaks into six pieces [7:65]; *čan midatī, šīš mā(h)* For some time, six months [4:127] — Pers. *šeš, šīš* شش، شیش
šaxs *n* person, individual — Pers. *šaxš* شخص
šāad *v* maybe | *šāad qismatī va ya bua* Maybe her destiny is (to be) with this one [3:41] — Pers. *šāyād* شاید
šām *n* dinner | *šāmī, čāy, fiṭānī* [...] A dinner, a tea,

- something [...] [6:69] — Pers. *šām* شام
šān 1. *n* shoulder | *māžetyāna šān* She puts them on her shoulders [1:113] 2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) next to | *ye ādim dōwtamanīšt hā šānī* Next to them there is also a very wealthy man [5:12] — Pers. *šāne* شانه
šāna 1. *n* comb 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *šāna ka-*) to comb | *manīšīa šāna kirdin* She sits down combing [1:63] — Pers. *šāne (kardan)* شانه (کردن)
šāns 1. *n* luck 2. *cvc* ~ **āwird-** *v.PST* (PRS *šāns ār-*) to be lucky | *agar šāns bārī bičt ava xaftū* If you will be lucky (enough) to go when he is already sleeping [2:9] — Pers. *šāns (āvardan)* شانس (آوردن)
šānza *num* sixteen — Pers. *šānzdah* شانزده
šekl *n* shape, figure | *šekle mašlūm now* Her shape would not be evident [1:83] — Pers. *šekl* شکل
šer *n* lion — Pers. *šīr* شیر
šikān- *v.PST.caus* (PRS *š(i)kan-*) to break | *šīša ōmr kwilyān ki šikān* When she has broken all their bottles of life [2:65]; *kwilyāna maš(i)kane* She breaks them all [2:64] —

- Pers. *šekastan*, *šekāndan*
شکستن، شکاندن
šikār *n* prey | *mačina kü šikār*
bikwišin They go to the
mountain to kill a prey [3:50]
— Pers. *šekār* شکار
**šikyā-* *v.PST.pass* (PRS *š(i)k-*) to
break | *küza řüna maš(i)kī*,
mařasīa zamīn The jug of
butter breaks (and) falls to
the ground [5:51] — Pers.
šekastan, *šekaste šodan*, شکسته شدن
šims *n* ingot, bar | *šimsi titā māre*
She brings the gold bar [6:63]
— Pers. *šemš* شمش
šimšīr *n* sword | *šimšīr dō dasa*
magirī He takes the sword
with two hands [3:80] —
Pers. *šamšīr* شمشیر
šinaft- *v.PST* (PRS **šinōw-*) to hear
| *šinaftima e dīvala šiša ʕomr*
dirītin I've heard from these
demons that you have bottles
of life [2:58] — Pers. *šenidan*
شنیدن
šiptāy *onom* splash, splat (sound
of a liquid striking a surface)
(?) | *meter küza, řün šiptāy* He
hits the jug and the butter
splashes [5:50]
šin *n* mourning, lament,
lamentation — Pers. *šivan*
شیون

- šīr* *n* milk | *šīr makana livī* They
make the milk into *livi* [7:19]
— Pers. *šīr* شیر
šīrin *n.prop* Shirin — Pers. *šīrin*
شیرین
šīrxwar *n* newborn, nursling —
Pers. *šīrx^wār*, *šīrxor*, شیرخوار
شیرخور
šiš → *šaš*
šiša *n* glass, bottle — Pers. *šīše*
شیشه
šiša ʕomr *n* bottle of life (bottle
containing the life or soul of
a demon) | *řāsī, šiša ʕomr tō*
hā ku? Right! Where is your
bottle of life? [2:57] — Pers.
šīše-ye ʕomr شیشه عمر
šotor *n* camel | *šotori pādīšā va*
bāri zařā The king's camel
with the load of gold [6:100]
— Pers. *šotor* شتر
šōso 1. *n* (early) morning, dawn |
šōso gi mow When the
morning comes [4:142] 2. *adv*
the next day/morning,
tomorrow | *šōso kwiř pādīšā*
māy The next morning, the
king's son comes [1:41]
šōw 1. *n* night | *mowa šōw* the
night comes [4:133] 2. *adv* at
night | *šōw ki maxafe* When
he sleeps at night — Pers.
šab شب
šōwakī *adv* at night

šun *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) after, for
| *makatīa šun awāna* She goes
after them [7:73]

šur *adj* salty | *šurīa make* She
makes it salty [4:103] — Pers.
شور

***šurī-** *v.PST* (PRS *šur-*) to clean,
wash | *lebāsea mašure* She
washes his clothes [2:55] —
Pers. *شستن*

šū 1. *n* husband | *šūilyān*
kwišteasyān their husbands
have killed them [4:175] 2. *cve*
~ **kird-** *v.PST* to marry (said of
women) | (PRS *šū ka-*) *mi šūa*
makama binī I will marry
him [1:15] — Pers. *شوهر*

šūbirā *n* brother-in-law
(husband's brother)

t

tašrif 1. *n* description, definition
2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *tašrif*
ka-) to describe, tell | *ōwš*
dāstān wižī kwil tašrifā make
She, then, tells her whole
story [2:104] — Pers. *tašrif*
(*kardan*) تعریف

tabra 1. *n* absolution, pardon,
release 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST*
(PRS *tabra ka-*) to absolve,
pardon, release | *āqā, pyāyš*
tabra kan Mister, release the
man, too [6:190] — Pers.
tabre'e (*kardan*) تبرئه

tafrīgā(h) *n* place of leisure,
resort — Pers. *tafrihgāh*
تفریگاه

tafri(h) *n* amusement,
recreation, leisure | *bičīma*
tafri(h) Let's go have fun
[4:119] — Pers. *tafrih* تفریح

tah 1. *n* bottom, end, lower part
2. *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*)
in/on/from/to the bottom of
| *manīa tahi ī gwinīa* She lays
(it) on the bottom of this sack
[2:93] — Pers. *tah* ته (cf. Har.
bin)

ta(h)silāt *n* education, studies |
ta(h)silāt ča dirī, madrak ča
dirī? What kind of education
do you have, which
qualification do you have?
[4:86] — Pers.
tahsilāt تحصیلات

tak 1. *adj* alone, single 2. *class*
(item of a pair) — Pers. *tak*
تک

tak₁ (variants: *taq*) *onom* knock,
bang (sound of knocking or
striking) | *taktak mea dar*
Knock, knock, she knocks at
the door [6:110]; *bāda mea*
put, taqea māy The wind
strikes the barrel, a 'bang'
sound comes out [3:11] —
Pers. *taq* تق

***takān-** *v.PST.caus* to shake (PRS
takin-) *ya girdakāna matakinī*
He is shaking the walnut tree

[3:11] — Pers. *tekāndan*,
 تکاندن، تکان دادن *tekān dādan*
taktanyā *adj* all alone | *ī taktanyā*
manīšea nām māt This one
 sits all alone in the house
 [2:80] — Pers. *tak(-o tanhā)*
 تک و تنها

taṭā → *tiṭā*

taṭāʔi *adj* golden | *e lebās taṭāʔi*
 This golden dress [2:84] —
 Pers. *ṭalāʔi* طلائی

taṭāmaṭā *n* gold and similar
 things, gold and silver

tamaʕ *n* greed, avidity | *valī*
tamaʕ nagirtit, ā! But don't
 get carried away by greed, ah!
 [2:10] — Pers. *ṭamaʕ* طمع

tamām 1. *adj* whole, complete |
ye lebāse tamām zaʕ A dress
 all of gold [2:69] 2. *quant* all |
tamāmi šīša ʕomr, kwilyāna
maš(i)kane All the bottles of
 life, she breaks them all
 [2:64] 3. *cvc* ~ **bī-** (> *tamām*
wī-) *v.PST* (PRS *tamām bu->*
wu-) to be finished, be over,
 end | *tamām bī* This was the
 end [1:138]; *tā ī haštād ruža*
tamām now, ʕarusī nimakeym
 Until these eighty days won't
 be over, we won't get married
 [2:54] — Pers. *tamām* (šodan)
 تمام (شدن)

tamīs *adj* clean | *xeylī tamīsa*,
xeylī xua sarit! Your head is

very clean; it is very good!

[4:22] — Pers. *tamīz* تمیز

tamūsī *n* cleaning,
 housekeeping, housework |
valī me bičta tamūsī imām
řizā You have to go cleaning
 at the Imam Reza (shrine)
 [1:108] — Pers. *tamīzi* تمیزی

tan 1. *n* body, person 2. *class*
 person, individual (to count
 humans) — Pers. *tan* تن

tanaqolāt *n* sweets, snacks | *ye*
kamī aře tanaqolāt dirisa
make He prepares some
 sweets for her [3:8] — Pers.
tanaqolāt تنقلات

taŋ *adj* narrow, tight — Pers.
tang تنگ

***tapī-** *v.PST* (PRS *tap-*) to beat,
 knock | *dītea matape* His
 heart beats [1:63] — Pers.
tapidan تپیدن

taq → *takī*

tasbī(h) *n* prayer beads — Pers.
tasbīh تسبیح

tašakor *interj* thanks | *xeylī*
mamnunim, tašakor! Thank
 you so much, thanks! [6:65]
 — Pers. *tašakkor* تشکر

tašī *n* (hand) spindle | *gwinī xwiri*
aře masīnī-ō vagard tašī He
 buys her a sack of wool with
 a spindle [6:11]

tatik *n* pelvis

tavar *n* axe, hatchet | *tavara īma-*
ō vagard koṭiṇa The axe, (like)

- ours, with the pickaxe [6:171]
— Pers. *tabar* تبر
- tawānā** *adj* powerful, strong —
Pers. *tavānā* توانا
- tawānāy** *n* strength, power,
means — Pers.
tavānā توانائی
- tazīn** 1. *n* decoration 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-**
v.PST (PRS *tazīn ka-*) to
decorate — Pers. *tazyin*
(*kardan*) تزین (کردن)
- tā** 1. *conj* until | *tā mi hātimā va*
kū, tō yāna bixwey Until I
come back from the
mountain, you shall eat these
[2:34] 2. *conj* so that, in order
to | *āylala bīla jā tā bičīm*
bigīrdīmin Leave the children
here so that we may go (and)
have a walk [4:120] 3. *prep*
until, up to | *tā diti dōwim*
Until (it comes to) the second
daughter [2:40] — Pers. *tā* تا
- tā** *class* item, unit, piece (to
count any countable item) —
Pers. *tā* تا
- tājir** *n* merchant | *e ādim tājira dō*
si gila ditiš dirī This merchant
has also a couple of
daughters [5:19] — Pers. *tājer*
تاجر
- tārik** *adj* dark | *qorubī gi mow,*
mowa tārīkanī At sunset, it
becomes dark in there [4:125]
— Pers. *tārik* تاریک

- tārikī** *n* darkness | *va tārīkī*
manīše aṛā wižī In the
darkness. she sits by herself
[6:80] — Pers. *tāriki* تاریکی
- tāw(is)sān** *n* summer — Pers.
tābestān تابستان
- tešna** *n* thirsty | *dī gwisnasī tešnasī*
Then she is hungry (and)
thirsty [3:13] — Pers. *tešne*
تشنه
- tey** 1. *n* squeegee, mop 2. *cvc* ~
kīšyā- *v*.PST (PRS *tey kīš-*) to
mop | *aṛā imām řizā teya*
makīše, kāra make She mops,
she works for the Imam Reza
(shrine) [1:121] — Pers. *tey*
(*kešidan*) تی (کشیدن)
- tifaṇ** *n* rifle | *tifaṇī mōwrī* He
takes a rifle [4:132] — Pers.
tofang تفنگ
- tiṭā** (variants: *taṭā*) *n* gold | *ya*
xišti tiṭāyka This is a gold
ingot [6:64]; *mi ye lebāse*
tamām zař, taṭā aṛāt dirisa
makam I will make you a
dress all of gold [2:69] —
Pers. *ṭalā* طلا
- tirāzī** *n* scale — Pers. *tarāzu*
ترازو
- tirik** *n* explosion, rupture —
Pers. *tarak* ترک
- tika** *n* piece, morsel | *dā*
keywānu, tīkate be! Old lady,
give (me) a small piece (of it)!
[1:67] — Pers. *tike* تیکه

tīr *n* arrow || ~ **bar qazā** *idiom* by chance, coincidentally | **tīr bar qazā!** *ditika māl dirin* By chance, they have a daughter at home [1:20] — Pers. *tīr* تیر

tīx *n* blade | *tīxa māže, tīxīš řada make* She throws the blade, he avoids the blade, too [7:89] — Pers. *tīg* تیغ

tō (variants: *tōn*) *pro* 2SG you, your | *tō ařā īqira pakarī?* Why are you so sad? [2:22]; *tōnīža maxwe* He's going to eat you as well [4:151] — Pers. *to* تو

töl *n* forehead

tōman *n* toman (official currency of Iran) — Pers. *tumān* تومان

tōmarz (naka) *idiom* fancy that, don't tell me | *tōmarz naka, mīmī ābādī čuť kirdīa* Fancy that! The auntie has emptied the village [7:9]

tōn → *tō*

tōn 1. *adj* quick, rapid 2. *adv* quickly, rapidly || **tōntōn** *adv* very quickly, very rapidly — Pers. *tond (tond)* تند

tōūla *n* stable | *žina makea nām otāq-ō šotor hara nām tōūla-ō nām hasār-ō tōūla-ō har čī has* He brings the wife into the room, and the camel just in the stable, in the courtyard, in the stable, whatever it is [6:118] — Pers. *tavile* توله

tōwirg *n* hail, hailstone | *tōwirga mawāryā* It was hailing hailstones [6:186] — Pers. *tagarg* تگرگ

tu *prep* in, inside, into | *seyra make tu darzī* She looks inside a fissure [4:138] — Pers. *tu(-ye)* تو (ی) (cf. Har. *nām*)

***turyā-** *v.PST.pass* (PRS *tur-*) to get angry, protest | *žina mature* The woman gets angry [6:75]

tūi *n* berry — Pers. *tut* توت

tūlānī *adj* long | *fira řā(h) tūlānī* A very long way [2:94] — Pers. *ṭulāni* طولانی

***tūnis(t)-** *v.PST* to be able, can (PRS *tūn-*) *matūnī bārī* You can take it [2:10] — Pers. *tavānestan* توانستن

tūta *adv* small piece (?) | *kwila mowna čapčapa tūta* They all become handfuls of dust [2:65]

tütik *n* puppy

u

uf → *āf*

utāq *n* room | *žina makea nām utāq* He brings the wife into the room [6:117] — Pers. *otāq* اتاق

V

- va** (variants: =a, =(a)r; *van*/=*a*n before bound pronouns) *prep* 1. to | *va mašriq* to the east [2:90]; (*v*)*a kawiṛa mušin gusfand, fārsī* They call the sheep *gusfand* (in) Persian [5:16]; *mi vanī māvāzibat bikam* I would take care of it [2:58] 2. from | *va kū* From the mountain [2:34] 3. in, at | *va biawān vetea makan* They abandon her in the desert [4:122] 4. with | *va ye hinī mese ṛusarī* With something like a headscarf [2:44] 5. by | *va ʿAlī* By ʿAlī [2:51]
- va₁** *conj* and | *mušī: «va če?»* She says: «And what (is she)?» [7:32] — Pers. *va* و
- vagard** (variants: *agard, gard, ard*) *prep* with | *vagard mi ʿarusī bikey* You shall marry me [2:32]; *möünin ya hā gard ī firišta* This one is with this angel [2:106]; *e kwiṛ(i)ma č(a) arde hāt?* What happened to my son? [1:90]
- vakīl** *n* delegate, representative, lawyer | *kwil huz pādišā yāna mačīn ʿarusī kwiṛ vakīl* The whole royal family etc. goes to the wedding of the delegate's son [2:80] — Pers. *vakīl* وکیل

valā *interj* by God, I swear, well, then | *valā, ye divī ki hā fiṭān kū ava dirī* Well, a demon, who is on such-and-such mountain, has that [2:9] — Pers. *vallāh* والله

valī *conj* but | *valī tamaš nagirtit, ā!* But don't get carried away by greed, ah! [2:10] — Pers. *valī* ولی

van → *va*

var 1. *comp prep* (+ *va*/=*a*) in front of, on | *ostoxāna bina var saga* Put the bones in front of the dog [4:76] 2. *comp prep* (+ *až*) before | *dāke var až ava, piṛ gwinī xwirīa mea bine* Before that, his mother gives him a sack full of wool [1:61] 3. *cvc va*/=*a* ~ *kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *va*/=*a* *var ka-*) to wear, put on | *nameyna makea var* She puts the felt on [1:36] — Pers. *bar, var* بر، وړ

varin (variants: *arin*) *prep* 1. from | *arinī bixwa* Drink from it [4:62] 2. to | *tanāfa māže arine* She throws a rope around [lit. to] it [6:174] 3. with | *e kalkaxirāwa varinīa masāzī* He (re)builds the ruins with it [5:43] 4. after, for | *makate arine* He runs after her [1:104]

vark *n* lamb

vasat 1. *n* middle | *eždehā va vasata makea dō nism* He cuts the dragon in two halves, (right) in the middle [3:80] 2. *adj* middle | *xarid aṛā dit kaṭiṭ-ō vasat-ō žinea make* He buys things for the elder daughter, the middle (daughter) and his wife [2:7] — Pers. *vasaṭ* وسط

vaxt *n* time — Pers. *vaqt* وقت

vaxtī *conj* when | *vaxtī maču dīv hā xāw* When he goes, he demon is asleep [2:12] — Pers. *vaqti* وقتی

vazf *n* situation, state, condition | *va xwašī-ō vazf zindagī xu* Happily and with a good lifestyle [3:75] — Pers. *vazf* وضع

vazīr *n* minister | *maču aṛā māṭ vazīr* She goes to the minister's house [2:83] — Pers. *vazīr* وزیر

vāri- (> *wārī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *wār-*) to rain | *tōwirga mawāryā* It was hailing hailstones [6:186] — Pers. *bāridan* باریدن

vāveylā 1. *interj* what a tragedy! (to express desperation for a loss) 2. *n* lament, lamentation — Pers. *vāveylā* واوېلا

vāz (variants: *bāz*) 1. *adj* open 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *vāz/bāz ka-*) to open | *ye dar vāza*

make She opens a door [2:66]; *dara bāza make* He opens the door [6:111] — Pers. *bāz* (kardan) باز (کردن)

vet 1. *adj* free, detached 2. *cvc* ~ **dā-** (> *vet yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *vet de-* > *e-*) to free, let go | *veṭe dan* Let her go [6:189]; ~ **kird-** *v.PST* (PRS *vet ka-*) to leave, abandon | *veṭim kirdin* They abandoned me [4:157]; *va bīawān veṭea makan* They abandon her in the desert [4:122] — Pers. *vel* (kardan) ول (کردن)

velgard *adj* stray, vagrant | *e juwāni velgardīša nām a kala magirī maxafe* This vagrant boy goes and sleeps inside those ruins, too [5:18] — Pers. *velgard* ولگرد

vera → *era*

vere *prep* to, towards | *vere kura?* *vere lā pādīšā* Going where? Going before the king [6:175]

vilk *n* flank, kidney

vitāt *n* region | *pyāka kōwšila mare vitāta vitāt* The man carries the shoes from region to region [1:17] — Pers. *velāyat* ولایت

vīt- (> *w(i)t-*) *v.PST* (PRS *uš-*) to say, tell | *diti kaṭiṭ gi vītā birinj dirisa makam, ye man birinj dirisa make* The elder daughter who said she would

cook rice, cooks a *man* of rice [4:102]; *muše*: «*buš*, *řāse ařām buš* [...]» He says: «Tell me, tell me the truth [...]» [2:103]

W

wāp *onom* bow-wow (sound of barking)

wāpwāpkara *n.prop* Bow-wow | *wāpwāpkara kil kirdī* You sent Bow-wow [2:112]

wīra *adv* there | *har čī če qašaŋ va wīra* *has* Any beautiful thing there may be [2:13]

wiž 1. *pro* self | *ōwš dāstān wižī kwil tašrifa* *make* She, then, tells her whole story [2:104] 2. *cvc va/=a ~ āwird-* *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a wiž ār-*) to bring round, wake up | *māretyāna wižyān* She wakes them up [1:92]

X

xafat 1. *n* disdain, contempt, humiliation 2. *cve ~ dā-* (> *xafat yā-*) *v.PST* (PRS *xafat de-* > *e-*) to despise, humiliate | *ey xwidā xafate be!* Oh, may God despise him! [1:90] — Pers. *xeffāt (dādan)* خفت (دادن)

xaft- *v.PST* (PRS *xaf-*) to sleep | *agar šāns bārī bičī ava xaftū* If you will be lucky (enough) to go when he is already sleeping [2:9]; *e juwāni*

vetgardīša nām a kala magirī maxafe This vagrant boy goes and sleeps inside those ruins, too [5:18] — Pers. *x^wābidan* خوابیدن

xamīr *n* dough | *kamī xamīra binīa masīnī* She gets a bit of dough from her [1:68] — Pers. *xamīr* خمیر

xana *n* smile | *xana va xana* From smile to smile [1:99] — Pers. *xande* خنده

*xana*₁ *n* henna

xanabanān *n* henna-ing ceremony

xanī *adj* laughing | *a xanī gwīta damea māy* That one who laughs and flowers come out from her mouth [4:179] — Pers. *xandān* خندان

**xanī-* *v.PST* (PRS *xan-*) to laugh | *dita maxanī* The baby girl laughs [4:115] — Pers. *xandidan* خندیدن

xar *n* donkey | *māžea kuš xararā* She throws it on the donkey's back [7:43] — Pers. *xar* خر

xarāwa → *xirāwa*

xargoł *n* thistle | *xargoła* *make* She picks thistles [7:43] — Pers. *golxār* گل خار

xarīd 1. *n* purchase, shopping 2. *cvc ~ kird-* *v.PST* (PRS *xarīd ka-*) to go shopping | *xarīd ařā dit kaŋ-ō vasat-ō žinea* *make* He buys things for the elder

daughter, the middle (daughter) and his wife [2:7] — Pers. *xarid* (*kardan*) خرید (کردن)

xarj *n* expense, purchase | *kī bixwe ī kwil xarja, ī kwil pūla, ī kwil birinja, ī kwil* [...] Who is going to eat all these purchases, all this money, all this rice, all these [...] [7:10] — Pers. *xarj* خرج

xasūra *n* mother-in-law, father-in law

xavar 1. *n* news, information | *xavare nīya* There isn't any news from her [6:36] 2. *cvc va/=a ~ =ā bī-* (> *va/=a xavarā wī-*) *v.PST* (PRS *va/=a xavarā bu-> wu-*) to wake up, come round | *dīva mowa xavarā* The demon wakes up [2:14]; ~ **dāšt-** (> *xavar yāšt-*) *v.PST* (PRS *xavar dir-> er-*) to be informed, be aware | *dit sīvom kī dī xavar dirī aṛā kua maču* The third daughter, who is finally aware of where she is going [2:44] — Pers. *xabar* (*šodan, dāštan*) خبر (شدن، داشتن)

xā *n* 1. *n* egg 2. testicle | *jūr xā gwīnit* As (big as) your testicles [6:187] — Pers. *xāye* خایه

xāla *epith* aunt | *vagardi xāla gardandirāza makatea ři* She

sets out with aunt Long-neck [6:108] — Pers. *xāle* خاله (cf. Har. *mīmī*)

xānim 1. *n* lady, woman | *mā aṛā māl xānim* She arrives at the lady's house [6:149] 2. *epith* Lady | *pādišā qabula makeō muše: «xānim* [...] The king accepts and says: «Lady [...] [6:145] — Pers. *xānom* خانم

xār *n* thorn — Pers. *xār* خار

xās 1. *adj* good, fine 2. *adv* fine, well, properly | *xāsa makue* She crushes (them) properly [1:111] — Pers. *xāš* (š) خاص

xās(t)- *v.PST* (PRS *xā-*, *eyt-/e-*) to want, ask | *naxās(t)ima dī edāma bem* I didn't want to continue [2:99]; *mi das ya nimaxām* I don't want (anything from) the hands of this one [3:66]; *mi har ava meytīm* I want only that one [1:63] || **me** *v* have to, must, shall, should | *mīna me bičīma sorāq ī dīta* I have to go in search of this girl [4:58] — Pers. *xāstan* خواستن

xātīr 1. *n* thought, reason 2. *comp prep* (+ *aṛā*) for, for the sake of, because of | *har aṛā xātīr titāka* Just for the sake of the gold [2:71] — Pers. (*be*) *xāṭer* (به) خاطر

xāw 1. *n* sleep, dream | *ījūrī dītī va nām xāwīm hātīa* A girl

like this came into my dream
[4:52] 2. *cvc* ~ **di-** *v.PST* (PRS
xāw bīn-> ün-) to dream | *ī*
xāw dīma I dreamed this
dream [4:57]; *xāwa möünī ā!*
He dreams, huh! [5:43] —
Pers. *x^wāb (didan)* (خواب دیدن)
xeylī *adv* very, much | *xeylī*
tamisa, *xeylī xua sarit* Your
head is very clean; it is very
good! [4:22] — Pers. *xeyli* خیلی
(cf. Har. *fira*)
xeyr *interj* no | *a xāla qwiṛbāqa*,
xeyr, *qwiṛbāqa hā kura?* That
aunt frog, no, where is the
frog? [6:37] — Pers. *xeyr* خیر
xiftān *n* kaftan — Pers. *xaftān*
خفتان
xiftelixiftān → *xiftilixiftān*
xiftilixiftān (variants:
xiftelixiftān) *n* *xiftilixiftān*
(imaginary kaftan, magic
item of clothing) | *ī*
xiftilixiftāna makea nām
gwinī He puts this
xiftilixiftān in his sack [2:13]
xirāwa (variants: *xarāwa*) *n* ruins
| *maṛasea ye xirāw(a)-e* [5:10-
11]; *maṛasea xarāw(a)-e*,
kalka xarāw(a)-e He reaches
some ruins, some ancient
ruins [5:11] — Pers. *xarābe*
خرابه
xirs *n* bear — Pers. *xers* خرس
xirtinik *n* cartilage

xiṛ 1. *n* turn 2. *cvc* ~ **āwird-** *v.PST*
(PRS *xiṛ ār-*) to turn around,
rotate | *ya ejūrīa dōwri xiṛa*
māre She turns around it this
way [2:60]; ~ **dā-** *v.PST* (PRS *xiṛ*
de-> e-) to turn, spin
xiṛī- *v.PST* (PRS **xiṛ-*) to buy | *ī*
kwil čia xiṛīta, āwirdita! You
have bought and brought all
these things! [2:22] — Pers.
xaridan خریدن (cf. Har. *san-*)
xišt *n* ingot, bar, brick | *xišti*
tiṭāyka This is a gold ingot
[6:49] — Pers. *xešt* خشت
xitimiti *n* tickle
xizr *n.prop* Khezzr | *xizri zin(d)a*
xizr alyāsa wira ništīta Khezzr
the living, Khezzr-Elijah is
sitting there [4:56] — Pers.
xežr خضر
xiyāl *n* thought, imagination,
intention | *xīyālit ṛāhat bu*,
biču! Don't worry [lit. may
your mind be relaxed], go!
[6:170] — Pers. *xiyāl* خیال
xiyālpardāz *adj* dreaming,
imaginative | *mardi*
xīyālpardāz The dreaming
man [5:3] — Pers.
xiyālpardāz خیال پرداز
xoṛamī *n* joy, happiness | *šādō*
xoṛamī šarusīa makan (With)
happiness and joy they get
married [2:107] — Pers.
xorrami خرمی

xošgīt *adj* pretty, beautiful | *dit*
fira xošgītīšī *bīa* She was also
a very beautiful girl [2:84] —
Pers. *x^wošgel* خوشگل

xoš(h)āt → *xwiš(h)āt*

xu 1. *adj* good, fine | *būin sarim*
xua See (if) my head is fine
[4:21] 2. *adv* fine, well 3. *interj*
fine, well | *muše*: «*xu*» He
says: «Fine» [2:105] — Pers.
xub خوب

xubī *n* virtue, benefit, advantage
| *xubī nerī* He doesn't get any
benefit [3:63] — Pers.
xubi خوبی

xutāsa *adv* finally, briefly, in
short | *xutāsa, mawāzī, dita*
mawāzī In short, he marries,
he marries the girl [4:100] —
Pers. *xolāše* خلاصه

xūn *n* blood | *pā wiži har xūna*
māy Blood keeps spilling out
from his feet [7:81] — Pers.
xun خون

***xwan-** *v.PST* (PRS *xwan-*) to read
| *qwirāna maxwane* He reads
the Quran for him [1:120] —
Pers. *x^wāndan* خواندن

xwar *n* sun

xwaš 1. *adj* good, happy, pleasant
2. *cvc* ~ **hāt-** *v.PST* (PRS *xwaš*
ā(γ)-) to like, love |
xwašmāyāna māy! I like
them! [1:120] — Pers. *x^woš*
(*āmadan*) خوش (آمن)

xwašī 1. *n* joy, happiness | *va*
xwašī-ō vazš zindagī xu
Happily and with a good
lifestyle [3:75] 2. *cvc* ~ **kird-**
v.PST (PRS *xwašī ka-*) to
rejoice, cheer up | *žin xwašīa*
make, dital fira xwašīa makan
The wife cheers up, the
daughters cheer up very
much [2:19] — Pers. *x^woši*
خوشی

xwā *n* salt | *bua dō gila xwā, kū*
xwā (Let it) become two salts,
mountains of salt [7:84]

xwāst- *v.PST* (PRS *wāz-*) to
request/claim (as wife),
propose marriage, marry
(said of men) | *mi tō bāad*
biwāzim I have to marry you
[2:32] — Pers. *x^wāstan* خواستن

xwidā *n* God | *har dō si gila dit*
xwidā dāsa binī God gave
him only this couple of
daughters [5:20] || *bi/va* ~
interj by God [7:16]; *aytān* ~
interj for God's sake, please
[1:67] — Pers. (*torā be*) *xodā*
خدا (ترا به)

xwidāyā *interj* oh God | *yōwša*
muše: «*xwidāyā!*» She says:
«Oh my God!» [1:103] —
Pers. *xodāyā* خدایا

xwirī *n* wool | *ye man xwirī* A
man of wool [1:28]

xwirjin *n* saddlebag | *māžea bin*
xwirjin She throws it to the

bottom of the saddlebag
[1:68] — Pers. *xorjin* خرجین
(cf. Har. *huř*)

xwiš(h)āt (variants: *xoš(h)āt*)
happy | *kwil xwiš(h)āt*
everybody (is) happy [2:99];
dīv fira xoš(h)āta The demon
is very happy [2:51] — Pers.
x^wošhāl خوشحال

xwiš(h)ātī *n* happiness, joy | *ī*
xuṭāsa, va xwiš(h)ātī šarusī
agardīa make In the end, he
happily marries her [2:107]
— Pers. *x^wošhālī* خوشحالی

xwišk *n* sister | *tō xwiškīlam har*
dō kwištīta You have killed
both of my sisters [2:52]

xwor 1. *adv* below, down 2. *cvc*
va/=a ~ hāt- *v.PST* (PRS *xwor*
ā(y)-) to descend, come
down | *dīva kūa māa xwor*
The demon comes down
from the mountain [2:37]

xword- *v.PST* (PRS *xwa-*) 1. to eat |
xwordī? Did you eat? [2:37]; *ī*
kala bixwa Eat this head
[2:40] 2. (+ *va/=a*) to hit | *pāya*
maxwea qe ye čī sangīnī Her
foot hits the shape of
something heavy [6:44] —
Pers. *x^wordan* خوردن

y

ya (variants: *ī*) *dem pro-form* this,
this one | *ya daspā čuwīnīka,*
ya dī čuwīnea, ya ki nimatūnī

qazā aṛā tō bāre! This is a
wooden servant, she is made
of wood indeed, she is not
able to bring you the food!
[2:101]; *īš qazā mea čuwīna*
So, she gives the food to
Wooden [2:100]

yašnī *interj* that is to say, namely
| *namīne yašnī namad*
kirdīasa sarī? Does ‘Namine’
mean that she has put (a
piece of) felt on her head?
[1:81] — Pers. *ya^cni* یعنی

yahāna (variants: *yāna, hāna*)
interj etcetera, and so on, this
is it | *yahāna* And so on
[1:122]; *dīvīš ki mazāne ya dī*
ṛāsguō yāna muše: «*bāšad*»
The demon, who knows that
this (girl) is honest etc., says:
«Fine» [2:54]; *bigir hurīka*
aqira qašaṇa hāna You would
say she is a houri, according
to her beauty, and so on
[2:106]

yak (variants: *yek*) 1. *num* one |
yak e dinānalīa sea One of
these teeth of hers is black
[1:98] 2. *pro-form* (+ *indef*)
one, someone, somebody,
each | *yakī zargara, yakī*
najjāra One is a goldsmith
and one is a carpenter [2:67];
yekī māy, ṛada mow Someone
comes, passes by [3:16]; *bāad*
hatman aṛāt dī yakī ye čī diris

keymin So, each one (of us) absolutely has to make one thing for you [2:68] 3. *pro-form* one another, each other | *žina manjinete mil yakarā* The wife, he smashes her again and again [lit. on one another] [6:75] || *~a yak adv* one by one | *bašd yaka yaka maxwamyān* [7:61] — Pers. *yek* یک

yakītir → *yaktirī*

yaktirī 1. (variants: *yakītir*) *pro-form* another one | *yaktirī wižī makirīnī* She herself drags another one [7:54] 2. (variants: *yaktirikī*) *pro-form* one another, each other

yawāš 1. *adj* slow 2. *adv* slowly, quietly | *yawāšīž dišša mārī tamāmi šīša šomr, kwilyāna maš(i)kane* The girl quietly takes all the bottles of life, she breaks them all [2:64] — Pers. *yavāš* یواش

yā conj or || *yā...yā conj* or...or | *kala yā gusfanda yā gāya* (It is) a sheep or a calf's head [2:33] — Pers. *yā* یا

yāna (variants: *yānala*) 1. *dem pro-form* these ones | *yāna, masan [...] tā mi hātimā va kü, tō yāna bixwey* These ones, for example [...] until I come back from the mountain, you shall eat these [2:34]

*yāna*₁ → *yahāna*

yānala → *yāna*

yā(n)za num eleven — Pers. *yāzdah* یازده

yāru 1. *n* fellow, guy 2. *pro-form* such-and-such, so-and-so, what's his/her name | *yāru nařadōika* The fellow is a male demon [7:31] — Pers. *yāru* یارو

ye n:indefa, an | *tō ye čui meya das dit* You will put a wooden stick in the girl's hands [2:27] — Pers. *yek, ye* یک، یه

yekī → *yak*

Z

za(h)mat 1. *n* effort, hard work, trouble 2. *adj* hard, tiring, troublesome — Pers. *zaḥmat* زحمت

zamān n time | *dar zamāni qadīm* In ancient times [5:29] — Pers. *zamān* زمان

zamānī conj when | *zamānī mi dōzīma ī šotor tōa tōwirga mawāryā* When I stole this camel of yours, it was hailing hailstones [6:186] — Pers. *zamān* زمانی

zamī(n) *n* earth, ground, land | *kūza řūna maš(i)kī, mařasīa zamīn* The jug of butter breaks (and) falls to the ground [5:51] — Pers. *zamin* زمین

zan *n* woman, wife — Pers. *zan* زن (cf. Har. *žin*)

zan bowa | *zan bowe*, *bowažini* *badīanīa māy* Her father's wife, her stepmother dislikes her [3:6] — Pers. *zanpedar* زن پدر (cf. Har. *bowažin*)

zard *adj* yellow | *āwa bīa zard* The water became yellow [4:28] — Pers. *zard* زرد

zardīna xā *n* egg yolk

zargar *n* goldsmith | *yakī zargara*, *yakī najjāra* One is a goldsmith and one is a carpenter [2:67] — Pers. *zargar* زرگر

zař *n* gold | *ye lebāse tamām zař* A dress all of gold [2:69] — Pers. *zarr* زر

zařa *n* slightest bit 2. *quant* (+ *indef*) a bit, a little | *ye zaře bixwa* Eat (just) a bit [3:66] — Pers. *zarre* زره

zařī *adj* golden | *lebās tařāđī-ō zařī* the golden dress [2:82] — Pers. *zarrin* زرین

zařōmař *n* gold and similar things, gold and silver | *zařōmařīš katīasa gīrī* He got his hands on gold and silver [6:131]

zāmā *n* groom, son-in-law | *zāmā katingī* His older son-in-law [3:48]

zānis(t)- *v*.PST (PRS *zān*-) to know | *nazānisim čīnas(a) ařā ku* I

didn't know where they had gone [4:158]; *diřša mazāne ya niya* The girl knows it is not [2:60] — Pers. *dānestan* دانستن

zāy- *v*.PST (PRS *zā*-) to give birth, deliver | *miñāyān ki mazāy* When their cow delivers [7:18] — Pers. *zā'idan* زائیدن

zeynow *n*.prop Zeynab | *keywānuī jūr bībī zeynowa* An old woman like Bibi Zeynab [6:140] — Pers. *zeynab* زینب

zīta *n* gallbladder — Pers. *zahre* زهره

zītatirik 1. *n* fear, dread, terror, fright (lit. explosion of the gallbladder) 2. *adj* scared, frightened, terrified 3. *cvc* ~ **kird**- *v*.PST (PRS *zītatirik ka*-) to scare, frighten, terrify | *zītatirikyān bikam* I shall scare them to death [7:60] — Pers. *zahretarak* زهره ترک

zim(is)sān *n* winter — Pers. *zemestān* زمستان

zin(d)a *adj* alive, living | *yā zīnda yā gušte ařāt pyā (bikam)* To find it alive or to find its meat for you [6:143]; *xizri zin(d)a xizr alyāsa wira ništīa* Khezr the living, Khezr-Elijah is sitting there [4:56] — Pers. *zende* زنده

zīdagī *n* life | *vazf zīdagī xu* A good lifestyle [3:75] — Pers. *zendegi* زندگی

zindānī 1. *n* prisoner | *va nām ī zindānīāla* Among these prisoners [2:67] 2. *cvc ~ kird-* v.PST (PRS *zindānī ka-*) to arrest, imprison, capture | *čanī mardīm zindānī kirdā* He has made some people captive [2:66] — Pers. *zendāni (kardan)* زندانی (کردن)

zinhār 1. *n* protection, refuge, mercy (?) 2. *interj* beware, alas (?) | [7:6] — Pers. *zenhār* زنهار

ziriṅ *adj* intelligent, smart, clever | *dita möünin qašaq-ō dit kārī-ō dit ziriṅka* They see that the girl is a pretty, hardworking and intelligent girl [3:22] — Pers. *zerang* زرنگ

ziriṅī *n* intelligence, cleverness | *če ziriṅī kirdā, ava!* What a clever trick she has made! [1:60] — Pers. *zerangī* زرنگی

zīyād *quant* much, many, a lot | *kāwiři zīyādī dirī* He has many sheep [5:17] — Pers. *ziyād* زیاد

zīyārāt *n* pilgrimage | *zīyārātī bikeymīn* Let's go on a pilgrimage [1:116] — Pers. *ziyārat* زیارت

zīzī → *zū*

zo(h)r 1. *n* noon, midday 2. *adv* at noon | *zo(h)r ye qāšoq řün vagard kamī nān* At noon a

spoon of butter with a bit of bread [5:33] — Pers. *zohr* ظهر

zotāt *adj* pure, clear | *a āwa zotātā!* That water is really clear! [4:63] — Pers. *zolāl* زلال

zur 1. *n* strength 2. (+ *va/=a*) *adv* hardly (?) | *dī nařadōa va zur dīyāra* Finally the demon is hardly in sight [7:75] — Pers. *zur* زور

zuwān *n* language, tongue | *nařadō har zuwāna meyži* The male demon's tongue hurts very much [7:81] — Pers. *zabān* زبان

zuwān gwij(i)ra *n* uvula — Pers. *zabān-e kučak* زبان کوچک

zū (variants: *zī*) 1. *adj* early 2. *adv* early, quickly | *yōwša zū māy* Then, she comes back early [1:63] || *zīzī* *adv* very quickly, at full speed | *zīzī mārea damirā* She quickly brings (them) to (her) mouth [7:21] — Pers. *zud* زود

ž

žan- v.PST (PRS *žan-*) to throw, hurl | *ī hāna žanama nām āwa* This one, then, threw me in the water [4:37]; *mažanītīa nām āw* She throws her in the water [4:29]

žār poor | *āyimal* **žār**,
badbaxtikan They are poor,
 miserable people [7:2]

žin 1. *n* woman, wife | *ya pyāykō*
žinī si gila dit dirin A man
 and his wife have three
 daughters [2:1] 2. *cvc* ~ *xwāst-*
v.PST (PRS *žin wāz-*) to
 request/claim a woman as
 wife, propose marriage,
 marry (said of men) | *bašd*

žinīš xwāstea Then he has
 married a woman, too [5:44]
žīr *comp prep* (+ *va/=a*) under,
 below | *čuī mōwre manea žīr*
sare He takes a wooden stick
 and puts it under his head
 [5:38] — Pers. *zīr* زیر

žīr baqaš *n* armpit — Pers. *zīr-e*
bağal زیر بغل

žīržīrnak *n* cricket

List of bound morphemes:

a

-a (variants: *-ka*) 1. *n:def* | *mačua pišt dara* She goes behind the door [2:23]; *pyāka kišāvarza* The man is a farmer [2:2] 2. *n:voc* | *kwiřa* O son! [1:49]; *birākam* My friend! [lit. my brother] [7:71]

-a1 (variants: *-e* before a clitic *=a*) *nmlz* | *nameyna* felt-made girl [1:52]; *ismim čuwīnea* My name is Wooden [2:79]

=a *n:dem* | *a āwa zolātā!* That water is really clear! [4:63]

=a1 (variants: *=an* before bound pronouns; (?) *=(a)r*) *part* 1. to | *mi bičima šar* I am going to the city [2:3]; [5:50] 2. from | *pānsad nafaranī bixwe* Five hundred man would eat from it [4:93]; (?) *bašdar mānhā* After (several) months [1:73] 3. at, in | *mowa tārīkanī* It becomes dark in there [4:125] 4. with *damřūtanī bišur* Clean your face with it [4:62]

=a2 *part* Indicative particle, attaches to the element preceding a verb carrying the indicative morpheme *ma-* | *dital fira xwašīa makan* The

daughters cheer up very much [2:19]

=a3 *n:cmpd* | *dita büčkata* She gives it to the younger daughter [7:20]

=a4 (variants: *=as*, *=sa*, *=s*; (?) *=ya*) *v COP.PRS.3SG* he/she/it is | *pyāka kišāvarza* The man is a farmer [2:2]; *a žin livamasa* That is my crazy wife [6:182]; *har dō si gila dīt xwidā dāsa binī* God gave him only this couple of daughters [5:20]; (?) *va jangi pādišāya* (he is) at the king's war [3:25]

-al (variants: *-el*; *-il* in unstressed position; *-l* after /ā/ and /a/) *n:pl* | *dital hardika mačin* Both girls go [4:14]; *mušea ditele* He says to his daughters [2:3]; *ye gila ditilat* one of your daughters [2:27]; *čirāwāl āwa maxwan* The horses drink water [1:48]

-at *n:dim* | *mea dita büčkata* She gives it to the younger daughter [7:20]

-am *v:agr* 1SG → *-im*

=am *pro* 1SG → *=im*

=am1 *v COP.PRS.1SG* → *=im1*

-an *v:agr* 2PL.IMP → *-in*

-an- *v:caus* PRS → *-in-*

=an *v COP.PRS.3PL* → *=in*

=**ar** *part* (?) → =*a*₁

=**ar**₁ *v:part* (?) → =*er*

=**arā** (variants: =(i)rā) 1. *post* | *čir* | *čir čir mačua pāyarā* Drip, drip, drip, it pours out of his feet [7:82]; *bičima mašadirā* Let's go to Mashhad [1:116]; *dimārā* back [7:36] 2. *v:part* movement downwards or around

=**ava** *post* (?) | *hardik āyla manīština qirava* Both children were sitting on their rears once again [1:112]

=**as** *v* COP.PRS.3SG → =*a*₄

=**at** *pro* 2SG → =*it*

ā

=**ā** 1. *post* | *diva mowa xavarā* The demon wakes up [2:14] 2. *v:part* movement backwards, repetition, change of state | *hātīmasā* I have come back [6:113]; *kasīfā bī* She has become dirty [4:140]

-**ā-** *v:asp* (?) forms the Imperfective of verbs with stems ending in /ī/ | *tōwirga mawāryā* It was hailing hailstones [6:186]

-**ān** *n:pl* Persian-like plural suffix | *atrāfiān pādšā* The king's entourage [2:106]

-**āt** (variants: *jāt*) *n:pl* Arabic-like plural suffix | *ye kamī aʿe tanaqolāt dirisa* make He

prepares some sweets for her [3:8]; *edārajāt nōua* There weren't offices [6:54]

b

b- *v:mood* → *bi-*

bi- (variants: *b-* before vowels and semivowels) *v:mood* forms the Subjunctive and the Imperative | *ī kala bixwa* Eat this head [2:40]; *buš, řāse ařām buš. būnim tō kīt* Tell me, tell me the truth. Let me see who you are [2:103]

č

-**ča** *n:dim* | *mi qālīč(a)-e mabāfim ye mitr* I'll weave a one-meter rug [4:87]

e

-**e** (variants: *-ī, -īk*) *n:indef* | *pišt gwijīne dirī* She has a little kitten [2:44]; *hāma nām putī* I am in a bin [2:42]; *ādīm dōwtamanīka* He is a wealthy man [5:13]

-**e**₁ (variants: *-et, -ī(t), -y(t)*) *v:agr* 3SG | *qazāka dasea mař(i)še* (She) lets the food drop from her hands [2:100]; *me ye dařa bixwete, bikwišete* Suddenly (he) is on the point of eating

him, killing him [2:15]; *ŝeyb nerī* It doesn't matter [2:101]

-e2 *nmlz* → *-a1*

=e (variants: *=ī*, *=y*) *pro* 3SG | *ya pyāyk-ō žine* A man and his wife [2:1]; *ōwš dāstān wižī kwil taŝrīfa make* She, then, tells her whole story [2:104]; *mušea dāy* He says to his mother [1:79]

-el *n:pl* → *-al*

=er (variants: (?) *=(a)r*) *v:part* movement outwards, off | *miniš bowe āwirdimasere* I even cursed her [lit. I brought her father out] [6:48]; (?) *mārīar* She takes (it) out [1:59]

-et *v:agr* 3SG → *-e1*

h

-(h)ā *n:pl* Persian-like plural suffix | *baŝd az modat(h)ā* After some time [4:167]

i

=i *part* ezāfe | *aški mirwāria čamea māy* Pearly tears come out from his eyes [4:114]

-il *n:pl* → *-al*

-im (variants: *-am*, *-m*) *v:agr* 1SG | *būnim tō kīt* Let me see who you are [2:103]; *šīša ŝomrim bā(a)d nišānit dam* I have to show you my (real) bottle of

life [2:63]; *šōw jomŝa mām* On Friday night I will come [2:26]

-im1 (variants: *-om*) suffix forming ordinals | *dīt dōwim* Second daughter [2:40]; *ye māhi čārdahome* a moon of the fourteenth (night) [4:31]

=im (variants: *=m*, *=am*) *pro* 1SG | *ya šīša ŝomrima* This is my bottle of life [2:61]; *mi ejāza mādaram bisīnim* I shall get my mother's permission [1:122]

=im1 (variants: *=am*, *=m*) *v* COP.PRS.1SG | *badbaxtim* I'm miserable [2:78]; *na jinam, na āyimizāykan* I'm neither a sprite, nor a human being [1:46]; *řāse ařām buš* Tell me the truth [2:103]

-imīn (variants: *-omīn*) forms ordinals

-in (variants: *-an*, *-n*) *v:agr* 2PL.IMP | *dōgila beana bine* Give her (the food) once again [2:101]; *hin ařām bikan* Do (this) thing for me [1:66]

-in1 (variants: *-n*) *v:agr* 3PL | *ya pyāyk-ō žinī si gila dīt dirin* A man and his wife have three daughters [2:1]; *ŝarusīa makan* They get married [2:107]

-in2 forms the Infinitive → *-n*

-in₃ *adjvz* forms adjectives from nouns, adjectives and adverbs | *čirkin* *bīa* She has become filthy [4:140]

-in- (variants: *-an-*) *v:caus* PRS | *šara šara magīrdine* He brings them around from town to town [1:17]; *kwilyāna maš(i)kane* She breaks them all [2:64]

=in *v* COP.PRS.3PL (variants: *=an*) | *valā, a dō nafarin* Well, there are those two people [1:123]; *žinšūan* They are wife and husband [1:14]

-ir *v:pass* PRS | *gīsīt bōwřire* May your braids be cut off! [1:90]

=irā *post*; *v:part* → *=arā*

=it (variants: *=t*, *=at*) *pro* 2SG | *šīša ſomrim bā(a)d nīšānīt dam* I have to show you my (real) bottle of life [2:63]; *bāad hatman ařāt dī yakī ye čī diris keymin* So, each one (of us) absolutely has to make one thing for you [2:68]; *buša māmānat* You're your mom [1:127]

I

-ī (variants: *-īt*, *-t*, *-γ(t)*) *v:agr* 2SG | *matūnī bārī* You can take it [2:10]; *ī kwil čīa xiřīta, āwirdīta!* You have bought and brought all these things! [2:22]; *mālīt biřime, a kura*

bīta? May your house be ruined, where have you been? [7:106]; *barxorda makeyte ye keynī* You will come across a spring [4:60]

-ī₁ *v:agr* 3SG → *-e₁*

-ī₂ *n:indef* → *-e*

-ī₃ *nmlz* forms nouns from nouns and adjectives | *če ziriñī kirdīa, ava!* What a clever trick she has made! [1:60]

-ī₄ *adjvz* forms adjectives of relation or adjectives of colour and material | *kwirdī harsīnī* Harsini Kurdish [1:12]; *lebās tałāṛī-ö zařī* The golden dress [2:82]

=ī (variants: *=t*, *=yt*) *v* COP.PRS.2SG | *tō ařā iqira pakarī?* Why are you so sad? [2:22]; *būnim tō kīt* Let me see who you are [2:103];

=ī₁ *n:rel* marks a noun or noun phrase functioning as the head of a restrictive relative clause | *nām qāralī gi dirin* Into the caves that they have [4:126]

=ī₂ *pro* 3SG → *=e*

=ī₃ *part* → *=īš*

-īk *n:indef* → *-e*

-īm *v:agr* 1PL → *-īmin*

-īmin (variants: *-īm*, *-ym*, *-γmin*, *-min*) *v:agr* 1PL | *bičīm bigīrdīmin* We may go (and)

have a walk [4:120]; *bāym aṛā māṭ* We shall come to (your) house [1:123]; *bāad hatman aṛāt dī yakī ye čī diris keymīn* So, each one (of us) absolutely has to make one thing for you [2:68]; *čīmīn aṛā bāq* We went to the garden [6:30]

=*īmīn* (variants: =*ymin*, =*min*) *v* COP.PRS.2PL | *īma bībī hur, bībī nur, bībī sešameymīn* We are Lady Houri, Lady Light and Lady Tuesday [1:107]

-*īn* (variants: -*yn*) *adjvz* forms adjectives of colour or material | *lebās čuwīnal* The wooden clothes [2:82]; *har dita nameyna!* Exactly the felt-made girl! [1:70]

=*iš* (variants: =*ī*, =*iž*, =*yš*, =*yž*, =*š*, =*ž*) *part* also, too | *öwīš fira nāṛāhata* mow She becomes very upset, too [2:25]; *ye tifaṇ šakī bena minī(š) tā minī(š) bičīm* Give me a worn-out rifle, so that I may go as well [3:53]; *öwīž jā magirī aṛā wižī* He finally finds a place for himself [4:141]; *iš kala māre* This one, then, brings the head [2:48]; *īmeyša siqa sar imām řizā, nānī maxweymīn* We, too, earn a living thanks to our sacrifices for Imam Rezā [1:121]; *atrāfiān*

pādišāyž mōünī The king's entourage, too, see [2:106]; *öwž ava dirisa make* She does this [4:110]

-*īt* *v:agr* 2SG → -*ī*

-*īt*₁ *v:agr* 3SG → -*e*₁

-*ītin* (variants: -*ytin*, -*tin*) *v:agr* 2PL | *če hōsnī dirītin homa* What virtue do you have? [4:86]

=*ītin* (variants: =*ytin*, =*tin*) *v* COP.PRS.2PL | *ča kāreytin?* He What's your job? [1:121]

=*iž* *part* → =*iš*

j

-*jāt* *n:pl* → -*āt*

k

-*ka* *n:def; n:voc* → -*a*

l

-*l* *n:pl* → -*al*

m

m- *v:mood* → *ma-*

-*m* *v:agr* 1SG → -*im*

=*m* *pro* 1SG → =*im*

=*m*₁ *v* COP.PRS.1SG → =*im*₁

ma- (variants: *m-* before vowels) *v:mood* forms the Present Indicative and the Imperfective | *matūnī bārī*

You can take it [2:10]; *muše*
 He says [2:105]
ma-2 *v:neg* forms the Prohibitive
 (?)
=mān *pro* 1PL | *aṣāmān hin*
āwirdīa He has brought us
 this and that [2:20]
-mīn *v:agr* 1PL → *-īmīn*
=mīn *v* COP.PRS.2PL → *=īmīn*

n

-n (variants: *-in* after stems
 ending in consonant) forms
 the Infinitive | *manīšīa šāna*
kirdīn She sits down
 combing [1:63]
-n₁ *v:agr* 2PL.IMP → *-in*
-n₂ *v:agr* 3PL → *-in₁*
n- *v:neg* → *na-*
na- (variants: *n-* before vowels)
v:neg negates all tenses and
 moods except for those
 negated by *nī-* | *valī tamaṣ*
nagirtit, ā! But don't get
 carried away by greed, ah!
 [2:10]; *a dī duru nyā* That one
 didn't lie, then [2:51]
nī- *v:neg* attaches to the prefix
ma- to negate the Present
 Indicative and the Imperfect
 | *nīmazānim* I don't know
 [4:124]

o

-om forms ordinals → *-imī*

-omīn forms ordinals → *-imīn*
=ow *v:part* movement
 backwards, repetition,
 change of state | *dar qār*
kirdow He opened the
 entrance of the cave' [4:134]

ö

=ö *conj* and | *ya pyāyk-ö žinī si*
gila dīt dirīn A man and his
 wife have three daughters
 [2:1]
=ör *v:part* movement upwards |
īa sar mil žina mapā(e)ör
 This one jumps up onto the
 woman's neck [5:46]

r

=r *v:part* → *=er*
=rā *post; v:part* → *=arā*

s

=s *v* COP.PRS.3SG → *=a₄*
=sa *v* COP.PRS.3SG → *=a₄*

š

=š *part* → *=iš*

t

-t *v:agr* 2SG → *-ī*
=t *pro* 2SG → *=it*
=t₁ *v* COP.PRS.2SG → *=ī*
-tarīn *adj:mod* → *-tirīn*

=*tān* *pro* 2PL | *ča aṛātān bārim?*

What shall I bring for you?

[2:3]

-*tin* *v:agr* 2PL → -*itin*

=*tin* *v* COP.PRS.2PL → =*itin*

-*tir* (variants: -*tirik*) 1. *adj:mod*
forms comparatives | *wižī*
badmazatir nīya (The water)
itself doesn't taste that bad
[4:63] 2. *adj* another, other |
dititirīža māt dirī She has
also another daughter at
home [4:49]

-*tirik* *adj:mod* → -*tir*

-*tirīn* (variants: -*tarīn*) *adj:mod*
forms superlatives |
be(h)tarīn řī 'the best way'
[6:137]

ü

=*ü* (variants: =*üt*) *v* COP.PST.3SG

=*üm* *v* COP.PST.1SG

=*üt* *v* COP.PST.2SG

=*üt*₂ *v* COP.PST.3SG → =*ü*

=*ümin* *v* COP.PST.1PL

=*ün* *v* COP.PST.3PL | *ar har čā*
binim kirdün Whatever they
might do to me [6:166]

=*ütün* *v* COP.PST.2PL

y

-*y* *v:agr* 2SG → -*ī*

-*y*₁ *v:agr* 3SG → -*e*₁

=*y* *pro* 3SG → =*e*

=*ya* *v* COP.PRS.3SG (?) → =*a*₄

=*yān* *pro* 3PL | *mi alḡān dirim*
māvāzibatyāna makam Now
I'm taking care of them
[2:61]

-*ym* *v:agr* 1PL → -*imin*

-*ymin* *v:agr* 1PL → -*imin*

=*ymin* *v* COP.PRS.2PL → =*imin*

-*yn* *adjvz* → -*in*

-*yt* *v:agr* 2SG → -*ī*

-*yt*₁ *v:agr* 3SG → -*e*₁

-*ytin* *v:agr* 2PL → -*itin*

=*ytin* *v* COP.PRS.2PL → =*itin*

=*yš* *part* → =*iš*

=*yt* *v* COP.PRS.2SG → =*ī*

=*yž* *part* → =*iš*

ž

=*ž* *part* → =*iš*

English-Harsini index:

a

a n:indef (an) *ye*

abandon, to v (to empty) *čut kird*;
(to leave) *veŧ kird*-; (to leave in
a place) *va/=a jâ hišt*-

abandoned adj (empty, desert)
čut

a bit quant (a little) *qirî, ye zaře*;
(few) *kam(î)*

able adj (capable) *bated* || (to be
~, can) v **tûnis(t)*-

above adj (upper) *bânin*

above-mentioned adj (aforesaid)
kazây

absolutely adv (at all) *astan*; (of
course, surely) *hatman*

absolution v (release, pardon)
tabra

absolve, to v (to release, pardon)
tabra kird-

accent n (dialect) *la(h)ja*

accept, to v *qabul kird*-

acceptance n (consent) *qabul*

accidentally adv (unwittingly)
nâxwidâgâ(h)

accommodate, to v *jâ dâ*-

accommodation n
(organization) *sâzmânda(h)î*

achievement n (conquest, feat,
victory) *fat(h)*

actual adj (understandable) *hâlî*

advance, to v (to progress) *pîšraft*
kird-

advancement n (progress) *pîšraft*

advantage n (benefit) *fâyida*;
(virtue) *xubî*

adventure n (misadventure,
event) *mâjirâ*

afar adv (far away) *düredür* ||
(from ~) adv *va/=a düredür*

affliction n (anguish,
heartbreak) *dâq*

aforesaid adj (above-mentioned)
kazây

after prep *baŧd a(ž)/=a*; (for)
va/=a miney, va/=a dombât,
va/=a pey, va/=a řuwât, va/=a
šun, varin/arin || (~ what, for
what) interrog *va pey če*

afterwards adv (then) *anjâ (?)*,
anü, baŧd, baŧdan, pas

again adv (once ~, another time)
dögila, duwâra || (~ and ~,
repeatedly) adv part *har*

age n (life) *šomr*; (epoch, era,
period of time) *řuzgâr*

agriculture n (farming)
kišâvarzî/kišâwarzî

aim n (purpose, wish) *mirâd*

air n *hawâ* || (to throw in the ~,
blow away) *va/=a hawâ dâ*-

alas interj (beware) *zinhâr*

°**Ali** n.prop *šalî* || (by ~) idiom *va*
šalî

a little quant (a bit) *qirî, ye zaře*;
(few) *kam*

alive adj (living) *zin(d)a*

all 1. quant *kwil*, *hame*, *tamām* 2. pro-form (everybody, everyone) *kwil*

alley || (old ~) n *kalīkūča*

allow, to v (to consent, let, give permission) *ejāza dā-*; (to leave) **hišt-*

alone adj (single) *tak*; (lonely) *tanyā* || (all ~) adj *taktanyā*

alright interj (fine, may it be) *bāša(d)*

also adv (too) = (*ī*)š/=(*ī*)ž/=yš/=yž/=ī, *ham*

ambush n *kamīn*

among prep *beyn*

amount n (quantity) *qir*, *qad*

amusement n (recreation, leisure) *tafrī(h)*

an n:indef (a) *ye*

ancient adj (old) *qadīm*

and conj =ō, *va*

and so on adv (etcetera) *fiṭān*, *yahāna/yāna/hāna*

angel n *firišta*; (hour) *hur*

anguish n (affliction, heartbreak) *dāq*

animal 1. n *heywān* 2. adj *heywānī*

announce, to v (to proclaim) *eṣlām kird-*

announcement n (proclamation) *eṣlām*

annoy, to v (to bother, disturb) *azīat kird-*

annoyance n (bother, disturb) *azīat*

another adj (other) *-tir* || (one ~, each other) pro-form *yak*, *yaktirī/yaktirikī* (?)

another one pro-form *yaktirī/yaktir*

anticipation n (expectation) *entezār*

any 1. quant (no) *hüč/hič* 2. adj *har*, *har čī/har če*

anybody pro-form (whoever) *har ke/har kī*; (anyone, whichever) *har kām*

anyone pro-form (whoever) *har ke/har kī*; (anybody, whichever, whoever) *har kām*

anything pro-form (nothing) *hüč/hič*

anyway interj *bi har hāt*

apparently interj (it seems) *guyā*

appoint, to v (to establish) *qarār dā-*

approximately adv (more or less) *hödudan*

arm n *bāt*; (hand) *das* || (~s and legs, hands and feet) n *daspā* (?)

armful n (embrace) *baqaṭ*

armpit n *žīr baqaṭ*

army n *sipā*

around prep *va/=a dōwr* || (to bring ~, spin, turn) *gīrdān-*; (to go ~, search, tour) **gīrdī-*

arrest, to v (to imprison, capture) *zindānī kird-*; (to handcuff) *qadbasta kird-*

arrive, to v (to reach) **rašī-*

arrow n *tīr*
as prep (like) *čü, jür, mese*; (in the guise of) *va šonwān*
assembly n (collection, total) *jamš*
ash n (dust) *bül*
as soon as conj (when) *iska gi*
at prep *va/van*, =a/=an, =ar/=r; (in) *dar*
at all adv (absolutely) *aštan*
at first adv (initially) *avaš*
at last adv (finally) *āxir, belaxara*
at least adv *lāaqaš*
at night adv *šōwakī*
attention n (care) *hawās, movāzibat* || (to pay ~, take care) v *hawās bī-, movāzibat kird-*
attentive adj (aware) *mitavajje(h), moltafit*
aunt 1. n (paternal or maternal) *mīmī*, (maternal uncle's wife) *hātužin*, (paternal uncle's wife) *mamužin* 2. epith *xāla* || (~'s son or daughter, cousin) n *mīmzā*
authorization n (permission) *ejāza*
avail, to v (to be of use) *fāyīda dāšt-*
avidity n (greed) *tamaš*
avoid, to v (to overcome, pass over) *řad kird-*
awake adj *bīdār*
aware adj (attentive) *mitavajje(h), moltafit;*

(informed) *bāxavar* || (to become ~, understand) v *mitavajje(h) bī-*; (to be ~, be informed) v *xavar dāšt-*
axe n (hatchet) *tavar*, (~axe) *košin*

b

back 1. n *pišt*; (shoulder) *kuš* || (~ of the ear, earlobe) n *bināguš*
 2. adv *ařetā, ařya/ařyā, va/=a dimā* || (to come/go ~) v *va/=a dimā hāt-*
bad adj *bad*
bad-looking adj (ugly) *badqīyāfa*
bad-shaped adj (ugly) *badförm*
bag n (plastic ~, packet) *dašq*
bald adj *kačat*
band n (joint, lace, strip) *ban*
bang onom (knock) *tak/taq*
bank n *lō*; (edge, side) *dam*
bar n (ingot) *šims*; (brick) *xišt*
barrel n (bin) *put*
barter n (commerce, exchange) *dādibisad*
base n (decision, stability) *qarār*
bazaar n (market) *bāzār*
be, to v (to become, happen) *bī-*; (~ there) *ha-, has-*; (~ in a place/state) *hā-*
be able, to v (can) **tūnis(t)-*
bear n *xirs*
beard n *řiš*
beat, to v (to kill) *kwišt-*; (to knock) **tapī-*; (to hit, strike) *dā...=(a)r*

beautiful adj (pretty) *qašan*,
xošgīt; (delicate, sweet) *nāz*

beauty n (quality, virtue) *hōsn*

be aware, to v (to be informed)
xavar dāšt-

be bound, to v (to be established)
ban bī

be captured, to v (to be taken
prisoner, be caught, be
trapped) *girištār hāt-*

be caught, to v (to be taken
prisoner, be captured, be
trapped) *girištār hāt-*

because of prep (for, for the sake
of) *aṛā xātir*

become, to v (to be, happen) *bī-*

become entangled, to v (to catch,
get stuck) **čikyā-*

become free, to v (to be freed)
āzād bī-

be deceived, to v *gut xword-*

be destroyed, to v *va/=a beyn čī-*;
(to be ruined, fall apart) v
**řimyā-*

bed sheet n *l(ih)āf*

be established, to v (to be bound)
ban bī-

be executed, to v *eřdām bī-*

be finished, to v (to be over)
tamām bī-

before prep *qabl a(ž)/=a, var až*;
(by, beside, in the presence
of) *va/=a lā, aṛā lā*; (in front
of) *va/=a nwā*; (on) *va/=a var*

be found, to v *va/=a gīr hāt-*, (~
by chance, to get one's hands
on something) *va/=a gīr kat-*

be freed, to v (to become free)
āzād bī-

be helpless, to v *bī dam kat-*

be informed, to v (to be aware)
xavar dāšt-

be lucky, to v *šāns āwird-*

be over, to v (to be finished, end)
tamām bī-

berry n *tü*

beside prep (by, before, in the
presence of) *va/=a lā, aṛā lā*

be taken prisoner, to v (to be
captured, be caught, be
trapped) *girištār hāt-*

be there, to v *ha-, has-*

behind 1. prep *va/=a pišt* 2. adv
(on the other side) *dīm*

be left, to v (to stay, remain)
man-/mān-

belly n (stomach) *lam*; (entrails,
heart) *dišt*

belonging to adj *hin* + Possessor

be lost, to v *va/=a das čī-*

below 1. prep (under) *va/=a žīr*
2. adv (down) *xwor*

belt n (waist) *kamar*

benefit n (advantage) *fāyīda*;
(virtue) *xubī*

be ruined, to v (to be destroyed,
fall apart) **řimyā-*

best adj *be(h)tarīn*

beware interj (alas) *zinhār*

be well-off v (to do well) *damāq*
čāx/čāq bī-

big adj (elder) *kafiṭ*; (huge) *kalān*

bin n (barrel) *put*

birth v (to give ~) *āwird-*, *zāy-*

bit (slightest ~) *zaṛa* || (a ~, a
little) quant *qirī*, *ye zaṛe*; (few)
kam(ī)

bitch n (female dog) *dat*

black adj *se/sī*, *sīā*

blade n *tīx*

blind adj *kur*

block, to v (to impede, obstruct)
jilōw girt-/gird-, *nwā girt-/gird-*

blood n *xūn*

blossom n (branch, leaf) *pal*

blow away, to v (to throw in the
air) *va/=a hawā dā-*

body n (person, individual) *tan*

boiling adj *juš*

bone n *soxān*, *ostoxān*

both pro-form *hardik*, *hard dō*;
(two of them) *duān* || (~ ...
and) conj *ham ... (=ō) ham*

bother n (annoyance, disturb)
azīat

bother, to v (to annoy, disturb)
azīat kird-

bottle n (glass) *šīša* || (~ of life) n
šīša šomr

bottom n (end, lower part) *bin*,
tah, (buttocks, rear) *qin* || (~
of shoe, sole) n *kaf kōwš*; (on
the ~ of) prep *va/=a tah*; (in,
into, inside, under) *va/=a bin*

bound || (to be ~, be established)
v *ban bī-*

bow-wow onom *wāp* || n.prop
wāpwāpkara

box n *jašba*

boy n (son) *kwiṛ*

braid n (lock of hair) *gīs*

branch n (leaf, blossom) *pal*

brand n (cauterization) *dāq*

brazier n *kūra*

bread n (food) *nān*

break, to v *šikān-*, **šikyā-*

breast n *mamak*

breath n (mouth) *dam*

breeder || (~ breeder, cowherd) n
gāvān

brick n (ingot, bar) *xišt*

bride n *bōwī*, *šarus*

briefly adv (finally, in short)
xutāsa

bright adj (light, clear) *rušan*

bring, to v (to carry) *āwird-*

bring around, to v (to spin, turn)
gīrdān-

bring back, to v (to take back)
āwird-...=ā

bring out, to v (to take out)
āwird-...=er/(a)r

bring up, to v (to grow, produce)
va/=a šamaš āwird-

brother n *birā* || (step~, best
friend) n *dasabirā*

brother-in-law n (husband of
one's wife's sister)
hāmzāmā, *bājenāq*;
(husband's brother) *šūbirā*

build, to v *sāxt-*

bundle n *pirīzī*

burn, to v *kizakiz kird-*; (to set (on) fire) *āgir dā-*

burning || (~ sensation) n *kiz*

business n (job, matter, work) *kār*; (housework) *kārībār* || (to be of one's ~, to be of one's concern, to care) v *kār dāšt-*

but 1. conj *valī* 2. interj *anü, āxir, dī*

buttermilk n *duq*

buttocks n (rear, bottom) *qin*

buy, to v *xirī-*; (to get, obtain) *san-*

by prep *va/van, =a/=an, =ar/=r*; (before, beside, in the presence of) *va/=a lā, aṛā lā*

by ^cAli interj *va falī*

by chance idiom (coincidentally) *tīr bar qazā*

by God interj (well, then) *valā, bi/va xwidā*

by the way interj *ṛāsī*

C

cackle onom (cluck) *qwit* || (Cackle-cackle) n.prop *qwitqwitkara*

cackling adv *qwitöqāt*

calf n (baby cow) *gwar*; (ox, cow) *gā/gāv*

call n (sound, voice, cry) *daṇ, sidā*; (shout, yell) *hanā*; (cry for help) *hawār*

call, to v *hanā kird-*; (to speak, invite) *daṇ kird-*; (~ for help, scream) *hawār kird-*

camel n *šotor*

can v (to be able) **tūnis(t)-*

canal n (channel, watercourse) *ju*; (river, watercourse) *na(h)r*

canopy n (hut) *kuṭā*

capable adj (able) *bated*

capture, to v (to arrest, imprison) *zindānī kird-*

captured adj (caught, trapped) *giriṭār* || (to be ~, be caught, be trapped, be taken prisoner) v *giriṭār hāt-*

care n (attention) *hawās, movāzibat*; (protection) *nega(h)dārī* || (to take ~, pay attention) v *hawās bī-*, *movāzibat kird-*; (to protect) v *nega(h)dārī kird-*

care, to v (to be of one's business, to be of one's concern) *kār dāšt-* || (I don't ~, to hell) interj *va/=a darak*

carpenter n *najjār*

carpet n (rug) *farš, qālī* || (small ~, mat, rug) *qālīča*

carry, to v (to bring) *āwird-*; (~ away, take away) *bird-*

cartilage n *xirtīnik*

case n (question, problem) *qazīya*

cat n *pišt*

catch, to v (to become entangled, to get stuck) *čikyā-

cattle n *gā/gāv* || (~ breeder, cowherd) n *gāvān*

caught adj (captured, trapped) *giriftār* || (to be ~, be captured, be trapped, be taken prisoner) v *giriftār hāt-*

cauldron n (pot) *qazān*

cauterization n (brand) *dāq*

cave n *qār*

cavity n (hole, pit) *čāt, kwinā*

ceremony n *marāsim* || (marriage ~, wedding) n *sūr, šarusī*; (henna-ing ~) n *xanabanān, hanābandān*; (virginity testing ~) *pāxasūr*; (sacred meal ~, ritual banquet) n *nazr*

certain adj (such-and-such) *fiṭān*

chador n *čādīr*

Chamchamāl n.prop *čamčamāt*

chance || (by ~, coincidentally) idiom *tīr bar qazā*

channel (canal, watercourse) *ju*

chase, to v (to follow) *va/=a řuwāt nyā-*

cheer up, to v (to rejoice) *xwašt kird-*

chicken n (hen) *mirq*

chief n (military ~, general) *sardār*

child n *āyl* || (step ~) n *pīšazā*; (dear ~) epith *řuṭa*

children n (progeny) *farzand*

chop, to v (to mince, smash) *hanjān-

circle n (turn) *dōwr*

circumstances n (state of affairs, situation) *hātōqazīya*

city n *šar*

claim, to || (~ as wife, request as wife, propose marriage, marry) v (*žin*) *xwāst-*

clash n (encounter, impact) *barxord*

clash, to v (to hit, come across, encounter) *barxord kird-*

class n *kitās*

clean adj *tamīs*; (pure) *pāk*

clean, to v *pāk kird-*; (to wash) *šurī-

cleaning n (housekeeping, housework) *tamūsī*

clear adj (visible) *dīyār*; (evident) *mašlūm*; (bright, light) *řušan*; (pure) *zoṭāt*

clever adj (intelligent, smart) *ziriņ, bāhuš*

cleverness n (intelligence) *ziriņī*

cloak || (felt~, gown, tunic) n *čux* (?)

close adj (near) *nizīk*

close, to v (to tie) *bas(t)-

closeness || (to awaken a feeling of ~) idiom *xūn va/=a juš āwird-*

clothes n (article of clothing, dress) *lebās*

clothing || (article of ~, clothes, dress) n *lebās*; (imaginary

- item of ~, magic kaftan) n
xiftlīxiftān/xiftelīxiftān;
 (item of ~, item of a
 collection) class *das*
- club** n (cudgel, wooden stick) *ču*
- coarse** adj (deep) *qōl*
- coincidentally** idiom (by chance)
tīr bar qazā
- collect, to** v (to gather) *jamʕ kird-*
- collection** n (assembly, total)
jamʕ
- colostrum** || (dairy product from
 the ~) n *līvī*
- comb** n *šāna*
- comb, to** v *šāna kird-*
- come, to** v *hāt-*
- come across, to** v (to clash,
 encounter, hit) *barxord kird-*
- comeback** n (return) *bargašt*
- come back, to** v (to go back,
 return) *va/=a dimā hāt-*,
bargašt kird-
- come down, to** v (to descend)
va/=a xwor hāt-
- come round, to** v (to wake up)
va/=a xavarā bī-
- comfortable** adj (relaxed,
 relieved) *řāhat*
- commerce** n (barter, exchange)
dādibisad
- complete** adj (whole) *tamām*
- completely** adv (overall, totally)
kwil(l)an
- complication** n (difficulty,
 obstacle) *eškāt*
- concern** || (to be of one's ~, be of
 one's business, care) v *kār*
dāšt-
- condition** n (situation, state) *hāt*,
hālat, vazʕ
- conquest** n (achievement, feat,
 victory) *fat(h)*
- consent** n (acceptance) *qabul*
- consent, to** v (to allow, give
 permission, let) *ejāza dā-*
- consenting** adj (willing,
 satisfied, happy) *řāzī*
- container** || (one man ~)
manāna (?)
- contempt** n (disdain,
 humiliation) *xafat*
- continue, to** v (to go on) *edāma*
dā-
- continuation** n *edāma*
- continuously** adv part *har*
- contract** || (marriage ~) n *ʕaxd*;
 (marriage ~ and related
 things) n *ʕaxdōmaxd*
- cook, to** v **pazī-*; (to put on the
 stove) *va/=a dār nyā-*
- core** n (kernel) *činjik*
- coriander** n *gīžnīž*
- correct** adj (right) *diris*; (true) *řās*
- correctly** adv (rightly) *řās*
- couple** n (pair) *jift*; (member of a
 ~, partner) n *lif*
- courtiers** n (entourage) *atrāfiān*
- courtyard** n *hasār*
- cousin** n (paternal uncle's son or
 daughter) *āmuzā*; (maternal
 uncle's son or daughter)

hātuzā; (aunt's son or daughter) *mīmzā*
cow n (ox, calf, cattle) *gā/gāv*;
 (female ~) *miyā*; (baby ~, calf)
 n *gwar*
cowherd (cattle breeder) n *gāvān*
crab n *qiržij*
crack n (fissure, small hole) *darz*
crazy 1. adj (foolish) *līva*, *dīwāna*
 2. n (~ person) *līva*, *dīwāna*
cricket n *žiržirnak*
croak onom *qwiř*
crocodile n *qomqomak*
cross, to v (to pass by) *řad bī-*,
gwozar kird-
crotch n *dōgalān*
crunch onom *qarč*
crush, to v (to mash) **kuī-*
cry n (voice, call, sound) *daŋ*,
sidā; (shout, yell) *hanā*; (~ for
 help) n *hawār*
cry, to v (to weep) *gīrva kird-*
crying n (weeping) *gīrva*
cudgel n (club, wooden stick) *ču*
cup n (goblet) *jām*
curtain n *parda*
cut, to v *biřī-*

d

dad n *bābā*
dance n *řaxs*
dance, to v *řaxs kird-*
dark adj *tārīk*
darkness n *tārīkī*
daughter n (girl) *dit* || (step~,
 stepchild) n *pīšazā*;

(brother's ~, niece) n *birārzā*;
 (paternal uncle's ~, cousin) n
āmuzā; (maternal uncle's ~,
 cousin) n *hātuzā*; (aunt's ~,
 cousin) n *mīmzā*;
 (daughter's ~, grand~) n
ditarzā
dawn n (early morning) *šōso*
day n *řuž, řuz*; (full ~) *šabānaruz*
 || (~ and night) adv
šabānaruz; (next ~,
 tomorrow) adv *so, sob(h)*, *šōso*
dead adj *mirda/morda*
dear || (my ~, my friend) epith
birā; (~ child, ~ daughter, ~
 son) epith *řuła*
deceived || (to be ~) v *guł xword-*
deception n (trick, fraud) *guł*
decision n (base, stability) *qarār*
decorate, to v *tazīn kird-* || (~
 with flowers, plant flowers) v
gotkārī kird-
decoration n *tazīn* || (floral ~,
 flower-growing, floriculture)
 n *gotkārī*
deep adj (coarse) *qōl*
defect n (fault, flaw) *řeyb*
definition n (decription) *tařřif*
delegate n (representative,
 lawyer) *vakīl*
delicate adj (beautiful, pretty,
 sweet) *nāz*
delicious adj (tasty) *lazīz*
deliver, to v (to give birth) *āwird-*
, zāy-

delouse, to v (to rummage, search) **jurī-*

demand, to v (to urge, push) *řü āyšt-*

demon n (monster, fiend) *dīv*;
(male ~) *nařadō* || (~-like, devilish) adj *dīvāruna* (?)

deposit || (on ~, in trust) adv *amānatī*

deposited adj (entrusted) *amānatī*

descend, to v (to come down) *va/=a xwor hāt-*

describe, to v (to tell) *tařrīf kird-*

description n (definition) *tařrīf*

desert 1. n (plain) *bīāwān* 2. adj (abandoned, empty) *čut*

despise, to v (to humiliate) *xafat dā-*

destiny n *sarnivišt, qismat*; (fate, verdict) *ğazā*

destroyed || (to be ~) v *va/=a beyn čī-*, (to be ruined, fall apart) v **řimyā-*

detached adj (free) *vet*

development n (growth) *řamat*

devilish adj (demon-like) *dīvāruna* (?)

dialect n (accent) *la(h)ja*

die, to v *mird-*

difficulty n (complication, obstacle) *eškāt*

dig, to v *kan-*

Dinavar n.prop *dīnavar*

dinner n *šām*

direction n (side, path) *řuwāt*

dirty adj (filthy) *čirkin, kasīf*

discourse n (story) *qissa*

disdain n (contempt, humiliation) *xafat*

disgusting adj (tasting bad) *badmaza*

dish n (plate) *bišqāw*

dislike, to v *bad hāt-*

dispatch n (shipping) *kil*

dispatch, to v (to send, ship) *kil kird-*

display n *nīšān*

display, to v (to show) *nīšān dā-*

district n *baxš*; (neighbourhood, pass) *gwozar*

disturb n (annoyance, bother) *azīat*

disturb, to v (to annoy, bother) *azīat kird-*

do, to v (to make) *kird-*

document n (qualification, title) *madrak*

do evil, to v (to harm) *pin va/=a sar dā-* (?)

dog n *sag*; (female ~) *dat*; (male ~) *gamāt*

doll n *řarusān*

donkey n (ass) *xar*; (male ~) *neraxar*

door n *dar*; (whole ~, ~ and jambs) n *darpeykar*

dough n *xamīr*

dove n *kamutar*

do well, to v (be well-off) *damāq čāx/čāq bī-*

down adv (below) *xwor*

dowry n *jihāz*
drag, to v (to drag, draw) *kīšyā-*,
**kiřān-*
dragon n *eždehā*
draw, to v (to drag, pull) *kīšyā-*
dread n (fear) *siłm*; (terror,
 fright) *ziłatirik*, *howl*
dream n (sleep) *xāw*
dream, to v *xāw dī-*
dreaming adj (imaginative)
xīyāłpardāz
dress n (clothes , article of
 clothing) *lebās*
drip onom *čir*
drop, to v (to fall, pour, spill)
**riřyā-*
drunk adj *mas*
dusk n (sunset) *qorub*
dust n (ash) *būl*

e

each 1. quant (every) *har* 2. pro-
 form (~ one) *har kām*, *yakī* ||
 (~ other, one another) pro-
 form *yak*, *yaktirī*/*yaktirikī* (?)
each other pro-form (one
 another) *yak*, *yaktirī*/*yaktirikī*
 (?)
ear 1. n *guš* || (back of the ~,
 earlobe) n *bināguš*
earlobe n (back of the ear)
bināguš
earth n (ground, land) *zamī(n)*
earthen adj *giłi*/*giłin*
east n *mašriq*
eat, to v (*nān*) *xword-*

edge n (bank, side) *dam*
education n (studies) *ta(h)sīlāt*
effort n (hard work, trouble)
za(h)mat
egg n *xā* || (~ yolk) n *zardīna xā*
eh interj *ā*
eight num *haš(t)*
eighteen num *hižda*
eighty num *haštā(d)*
elastic n *kīš*
elbow n *balamirk*
elder adj (big) *kałiñ*
eleven num *yā(n)za*
Elijah n.prop *alyās*
embrace n (armful) *baqał*
employ, to v (to use) *istifāda kird-*
employment n (usage, use)
istifāda
empty adj (abandoned, desert)
čut
empty, to v (to abandon) *čut kird-*
encounter n (clash, impact)
barxord
encounter, to v (to clash, come
 across, hit) *barxord kird-*
end n *āxir*; (lower part, bottom)
bin
end, to v (to be finished, be over)
tamām bī-
engagement n *dasgīrānī*,
nāmzadī
entangled || (to become ~, catch,
 get stuck) v **čikyā-*
entourage n (courtiers) *atrāfīān*
entrails n (belly, heart, stomach)
dił

entrust, to v (to recommend)
sifāriš kird-

entrusted adj (deposited)
amānatī

entrustment n
(recommendation) *sifāriš*

envy n (jealousy) *hasüdü*

envy, to v *hasüdü kird-*

epoch n (era, age, period of time)
řuzgār

era n (epoch, age, period of time)
řuzgār

escape n (flight) *farār* || (on the run) idiom *alfarār*

escape, to v (to flee, run away)
farār kird-, (h)eywā-

establish, to v (to appoint) *qarār dā-*

established || v (to be ~, be bound) *ban bī-*

etcetera interj
yahāna/γāna/hāna; (and so on) fiṭān

event n (incident) *etefāq;*
(adventure, misadventure)
mājirā

every quant (each) *har*

everybody pro-form (everyone, all) *kwil*

everyone pro-form (everybody, all) *kwil*

evident adj (clear, visible) *dīyār;*
(clear) *maʿlūm*

evil v (to do ~, to harm) *pin va/=a sar dā- (?)*

exactly 1. adv part (just, only) *har*
2. interj (just so, indeed) *anü ča*

example adv (for ~, for instance)
masalan/masan

except prep *mar/magar*

exchange n *řavaz, řavazbadař, badař;* (barter, commerce)
dādibisad

exchange, to v (to switch)
řavazbadař kird-

excite, to v (to make boil) *va/=a juš āwird-*

excrement || (animal ~) n *pišgiř*

extend, to v (to stretch, swing) *kīř āwird-*

extension n (stretching) *kīř*

execution n *eřdām*

executed || (to be ~) v *eřdām bī-*

expect, to v (to foresee) *entezār kīřγā-*

expectation n (anticipation)
entezār

expense n (purchase) *xarj*

explosion n (rupture) *tirik*

exterior n (outside) *deyřt*

eye n *čam* || (~lid) n *bān čam, piřt čam*

eyelid n *bān čam, piřt čam*

f

face n *řü, damřü/damöřü, sūrat*

fairy n *parī*

falcon n *bāz* || (~'s flight) n
bāzpařān

fall, to v *kat-*; (to drop, pour, spill) **řišyā-*

fall apart, to v (to be ruined, be destroyed) **řimyā-*

fall in love, to v *řāšiq bī-*

false n *duru*

family n (relatives) *fāmīl*; (whole ~) *fitōfāmīl*; (lineage) *huz*

fancy that idiom (don't tell me) *tōmarz (naka)*

far 1. adj *dūr* 2. adv (~ away, afar) *düredür*

Farhād n.prop *far(h)ād*

farmer n *kišāvarz*

farming n (agriculture) *kišāvarzī/kišāwarzī*

fasting n *řuža* || (month of ~, Ramadan) n *řamazān*

fat 1. adj *čāq/čāx* 2. (oil, butter) *řün*

fate n (verdict, destiny) *ğazā*

father n *bowa, pedar* || (~in-law) n *xasūra*; (grand~) n *bowa kařin*

fault n (defect, flaw) *řeyb*

fear n (dread) *siřm*; (terror, fright) *zitatirik, howl*

feat n (achievement, conquest, victory) *fat(h)*

feather n *pař, pal*

fellow n (guy) *yāru*

felt n *nama(d)*; (~ cloak, gown, tunic) *čux (?)*

felt-made adj *nameyn* || (~ thing, ~ girl) n *nameyna/namīne*

female adj *mā* || (~ dog) n *dat*; (~ wolf) n *dařagwirg*; (~ horse) n *māyn*; (~ cow) n *miğā*

few quant (a bit, a little) *kam*

fiend n (fiend, monster) *dīv*

fifty num *panjā*

fight n (turmoil) *jařiman*

figure n (dimensions, height, shape) *qad, qe, šekl*

filthy adj (dirty) *čirkin, kasīf*

finally adv (at last) *āxir, belaxara*; (briefly, in short) *xuřāsa*

find, to v *pyā kird-*, *va/=a gīr āwird-*

fine 1. adj (good) *xu, xās* 2. adv (well) *xu*; (properly) *xās* 3. interj (yes, ok) *a, āri*; (alright, may it be) *bāša(d)*; (well, then) *sa, xu* || (that's ~, it doesn't matter) idiom *řeyb nerī, eškāt nerī*

finger n *kilik*

finger snapping n *čaqāna*

finished || (to be ~, be over, end) v *tamām bī-*

fire n *āgīr* || (~place, stove) n *dār*; (to set (on) ~, burn) v *āgīr dā-*

fireplace n *kānig*; (fire, stove) n *dār*

firewood n *hīzam*

first 1. num *avař* 2. adv (at ~, initially) *avař*

fissure n (crack, small hole) *darz*

fist n (handful) *miřt*

five num *panj*

five hundred num *pānsad*

flank n (kidney) *vilk*

flap onom *fiř*

flaw n (defect, fault) *ŕeyb*

flee, to v (to escape, run away)

farār kird-, (h)eywā-

flight n (escape) *farār* || (falcon's

~) n *bāzpařān*; (to take ~, to take wing) v *bāt girt-/gird-*

flock n *galla*

floral decoration n (flower-growing, floriculture) *gotkārī*

floriculture n (flower-growing, floral decoration) *gotkārī*

flower n *gwił* || (~-growing, floral decoration,

floriculture) n *gotkārī*; (to plant ~s, to decorate with ~) v *gotkārī kird-*; (sun~) n (*gwił*) *baraftāw*

flower-growing n (floriculture, floral decoration) *gotkārī*

flowing adj (running) *řavān*

flutter n *fiř*

fly n (mosquito) *paxšakura*

follow, to v (to go in search of)

va/=a miney kat-; (to chase)

va/=a řuwāt nyā-

food n *qazā*; (bread) *nān*

foolish adj (crazy) *līva, dīwāna*

foot n (leg) *pā, qāč*; (paw) *pāčik/pāčka*

foothill n (valley) *pāča*

footprint n (trace, track) *řad*

for prep *ařā*; (after) *va/=a miney,*

va/=a dombāt, va/=a pey,

va/=a řuwāt, va/=a řun,

varin/arin; (on, on top of, over, to) *va/=a sar*; (because of, for the sake of) *ařā xātir*; (~ what, after what) interrog *va pey če*

forehead n *töl, piřānī*

foresee, to v (to expect) *entezār kiřyā-*

for example adv (for instance) *masaťan/masan*

for instance adv (for example) *masaťan/masan*

for the sake of prep (because of, for) *ařā xātir*

forty num *č(ih)el*

found adj *pyā, peyđā* || (to be ~) v *va/=a gīr hāt-*; (to be ~ by chance, to get one's hands on something) v *va/=a gīr kat-*

fountain n (small ~, pool) *hözča*

four num *čwār*

four hundred num *čwārsad*

fourteen num *čwārda*

fourteenth num *čārdahom*

fraud n (deception, trick) *guť*

free adj *āzād*, (detached) *veť* || (to become ~, be freed) v *āzād bī-*; (to set ~) v *āzād kird-*; (to let go) v *veť dā-*

Friday n *jomša*

friend n *dus* || (best ~, stepbrother) n *dasabirā*; (my ~, my dear) epith *birā*

fright n (dread, fear, terror) *ziťatirik, howl*

frighten, to v (to scare, terrify)

ziṭatirik kird-

frightened adj (scared, terrified)

ziṭatirik, howl

fritter n *birsāq*

frog n *qurwāq/qurwāx, qwiṛbāqa*

from prep *a(ž), az, va/van,*

=a/=an, =ar/=r, varin/arin,

va/=a bin

from afar adv *va/=a düredür*

front n *nwā, jilōw* || (in ~ of,

before) prep *va/=a nwā, jilōw;*

(on) *va/=a var*

fry, to v (to roast) *birsān-*

full adj *piṛ*

funeral || (person who

celebrates a ~) n *fātakar*

further adj (more, most) *bīštir*

g

gallbladder n *zita*

garbage n (rubbish) *ešqāt*

garden n (park) *bāq*

gardener n *bāqavān*

gasoline n *naft*

gather, to v (to collect) *jamʕ kird-*

gaze n (glance, look) *seyr*

general n (military chief) *sardār*

get, to v (to take) *girt-/gird-;* (to

buy, obtain) *san-*

get angry, to v (to protest) **turyā-*

get lost, to v *gwm bī-*

get married, to v (to marry)

ʕarusī kird-, ezdevāj kird-

get permission, to v *ejāza san-*

get scared, to v *howl bī-;* (to
hesitate) *siṭm kird-*

get stuck, to v (to become
entangled, catch) **čikyā-*

gift n (present) *hidīya;* (offering,
vow) *nazr*

girl n (daughter) *dit*

give, to v *dā-*

give birth, to v (to deliver) *āwird-
, zāy-*

give permission, to v (to allow,
consent) *ejāza dā-*

glance n (gaze, look) *seyr*

glass n (bottle) *šīša*

go, to v *čī-*

go around, to v (to search, tour)
**gīrdī-*

goat n *pas*

go back, to v (to come back,
return) *va/=a dimā hāt-,
bargašt kird-*

goblet n (cup) *jām*

God n *xwidā* || (by ~) interj *bi/va
xwidā;* (for ~'s sake, please)
interj *aytān xwidā;* (oh ~)
interj *xwidāyā*

gold n *tiṭā/taṭā, zaṛ* || (~ and
similar things, ~ and silver)
taṭāmaṭā, zaṛōmaṛ

golden adj *taṭā?ī, zaṛī*

goldsmith n *zargar*

good adj (fine) *xu, xās;* (happy,
pleasant) *xwaš*

go on, to v (to continue) *edāma
dā-*

goosefoot n (spontaneous herb)
paqāza

gown n (~ cloak, tunic) *čux* (?)

grab n (obstacle) *gīr*

grandchild n (grandson,
granddaughter, daughter's
son or daughter) *đitarzā*;
(grandson, granddaughter,
son's son or daughter)
kwiřarzā

granddaughter n (daughter's
daughter) *đitarzā*; (son's
daughter) *kwiřarzā*

grandfather n *bowa kañj*

grandmother n *dā kañj*; (old
woman) *dāyā, bibī*

grandson n (daughter's son)
đitarzā; (son's son) *kwiřarzā*

grateful adj *mamnun*

grave n (tomb) *gur*

greed n (avidity) *tamař*

grief n (mourning) *āzīyatī*

groom n (son-in-law) *zāmā*,
dāmād

ground n (earth, land) *zamī(n)*

grow, to v (to bring up, produce)
va/=a řamat āwird-

growth n (development) *řamat*

guard n (protection) *nega(h)bānī*

guard, to v *nega(h)bānī dā-*

guise n (manner) *řonwān* || (in
the ~of, as) prep *va řonwān*

h

hail n (hailsone) *tōwirg*

hailstone n (hail) *tōwirg*

hair n *mü/mī* || (lock of ~) n *gīs*

half n *nism*; (piece) *kwit*

half-eaten adj *nīmaxwar*

hand n (arm) *das* || (~s and feet,
arms and legs) n *daspā* (?); (to
get one's ~s on something,
be found by chance) v *va/=a*
gīr kat-

handcuff, to v (to arrest, tie)
qadbasta kird-

handful n *čapa*; (fist) *miřt* || (in
~s) adv *čapčapa* (?)

happen, to v *kat-, etefāq kat-*,
va/=a sar hāt-; (to be,
become) *bī-*

happiness n (joy) *xwařī, xořamī*,
xwiř(h)āřī

happy adj *xwiř(h)āř/xoř(h)āř*;
(good, pleasant) *xwař*;
(consenting, willing,
satisfied) *řāzī*

hard adj (tiring, troublesome)
za(h)mat

hard work n (effort, trouble)
za(h)mat

hardworking adj *kārī*

harm, to v (to do evil) *pin va/=a*
sar dā- (?)

Harsin n.prop *harsīn* ||
(pertaining to ~, Harsini) adj
harsīnī

hat n *kořā(h)*

hatchet n (axe) *tavar*

have, to v *dāřt-*

have to, to v (must, shall, should)
bāad, bās, me

he pro *öw*

head n (top, upper part, origin)

sar, (skull) *kala*

headscarf n *řusarĩ*

hear, to v *řinaft-*

heart n (belly, entrails, stomach)

diř || (~break, affliction, anguish) n *dāq*

heartbreak n (affliction, anguish) *dāq*

heavy adj *sangĩn*

height n (dimensions, figure, shape) *qad*, *qe*

heir n (successor) *jāneřĩn*

hell n *darak* || (to ~, I don't care) interj *va/=a darak*

helpless || (to be ~) v *bĩ dam kat-*

hen n (chicken) *mirq*

henna n *xana*, *hanā* || (~ing ceremony) n *xanabanān*, *hanābandān*

her pro *öw*, =*e/=ĩ/=y*

herb || (spontaneous ~, goosefoot) n *paqāza*

here adv *era*; (to, from ~) *vera*; (to ~) *ařer* (?); (this way) *ĩlā*

hesitate, to v (to get scared) *siřm kird-*

hey interj (O) *ay/ey*

hide, to v (to lay) *hařār kird-*

hidden adj (lying down, stretched) *hařār*

him pro *öw*

his pro *öw*, =*e/=ĩ/=y*

hit, to v *xword-*; (to beat, strike) *dā-...=(a)r*; (to clash, come

across, encounter) *barxord kird-*

hole n (cavity, pit) *čāt*, *kwinā*, *surāx*, (small ~, crack, fissure) *darz*

home n (household) *māt*

honest adj (sincere) *řāsgu*

hopeless adj (poor) *bĩčāra*

horse n *asb*, *čĩrāwā*; (female ~) *māyn*

hospital n *bĩmārissān*

hosseiniye n (place for religious ceremonies) *hōseyntiya*

hour n *sāřat*

hourī n (angel) *hur*

house n (home, ~hold) *māt*; (whole ~) *darpeykar*

housekeeper n *kolfat/kwilfat*

housekeeping n (housework) *kwilfatĩ*; (cleaning) *tamüřĩ*

housework n *kwilfatĩ*; (cleaning) *tamüřĩ*; (work, business) *kārĩbār* || (to do the ~) v *kwilfatĩ kird-*

how interrog *čjũrĩ*, *čũ* || (~ much, ~ many) interrog *čān/čānĩ*

however much conj (much as) *har čĩ*

how many interrog (how much) *čān/čānĩ*

how much interrog (how many) *čān/čānĩ*

huge adj (big) *kalān*

huh interj *ā*

human being n (person)

āyim/ādim,

āyimīzā/ādimīzād

humiliate, to v (to despise) *xafat*

dā-

humiliation n (disdain,

contempt) *xafat*

hundred num *sad*

hungry adj *gwisna*

hurl, to v (to throw) *žan-*

hurt, to v **dīžī-* (?)

husband n *šü*; (man) *pyā* || (~ of

one's wife's sister, brother-

in-law) n *bājenāq, hāmzāmā;*

(-s brother) n *šūbirā*

hut n (canopy) *kuṭā*

hyena n *kamtār*

i

I pro *min/ma/mi*

if conj *ar/agar*

if not adv (or else, otherwise)

arāna

imagination n (thought,

intention) *xīyāt*

imaginative adj (dreaming)

xīyātpardāz

Imam n (religious leader) *imam*

impact n (clash, encounter)

barxord

impede, to v (to block, obstruct)

nwā girt-/gird-, jilōw girt-/gird-

imprison, to v (to trap) *gīr dā-*; (to

arrest, capture) *zindānī kird-*

in prep *va/van, =a/=an, =ar/=r;*

(at) *dar*; (inside, into) *va/=a*

diṭ, tu; (among) *va/=a nām;*

(on the bottom of, under)

va/=a bin

incident n (event) *etefāq*

indeed inerj *anū, anū ča, āxir, dī*

individual 1. n (person) *šaxs, tan*

2. class (person) *tan*

information n (news) *xavar*

informed adj (aware) *bāxavar* ||

(to be ~, be aware) v *xavar*

dāšt-

in front of prep (before) *va/=a*

nwā, jilōw; (on) *va/=a var*

ingot n (bar) *šims*; (brick) *xišt*

initially adv (at first) *avaṭ*

injustice n (pity, shame) *heyf*

in order to conj (so that) *tā*

in part adv (partially) *kamkwitī*

in short adv (briefly, finally)

xuṭāsa

inside 1. n (interior) *diṭ, nām* 2.

prep (in, into) *va/=a diṭ, tu;*

(among) *va/=a nām*; (on the

bottom of, in, into, under)

va/=a bin

install, to v **bas(t)-*

instance adv (for ~, for example)

masaṭan/masan

instant n (moment) *la(h)za*

instrument (musical) n *sāz*

in such a way that conj *va/=a*

qarārī

intelligence n (cleverness) *ziriṇī*

intelligent adj (clever, smart)

ziriṇ, bāhuš

intention n (thought, imagination) *xīyāʔ*
intentionally adv (on purpose) *ʕamdan*
interior n (inside) *diʔ, nām*
into prep (in, inside) *va/=a diʔ, tu*; (among) *va/=a nām*; (on the bottom of, in inside, under) *va/=a bin*
invitation n *daʕvat*
invite, to v (to call, speak) *day kird-*
it pro *öw*
item class (unit, piece) *gila, tā*; (~ of clothing, ~ of a collection) *das*; (~ of a pair) *liḡ, tak*; (~ of cattle) *sar, sarik/sarka*
its pro *öw, =e/=ī/=y*

j

jar n *kanü*
jealousy n (envy) *hasüdi*
jinn n (sprite) *jīn*
job n (work, business, matter) *kār*
joined adj *lif*
joint n (band, lace, strip) *ban*
joy n (happiness) *xoʕamī*
jug n (vase) *küza*
jump, to v **paʕt-*
just 1. adv (only) *ʕaqat*; (exactly) adv part *har* || (~ so, exactly, indeed) interj *anü ça*
just so (exactly, indeed) interj *anü ça*

k

kaftan n *xiftān*; (imaginary item of clothing) *xiftilixiftān/xiftelixiftān*
kebab n *kabāw*
kernel n (core) *činjik*
Khezr n.prop *xizr*
kidney n (flank) *vilk*
kill, to v (to beat) *kwišt-*
killing n *kwišt (?)*
kilo n *kilu* || (three ~s) n *man*
king n *pādišā* || (~'s son, prince) n *kwiʕ pādišā*
knife n *čaqu*
knock onom (bang) *taq/tak*
knock, to v (to beat) **tapī-*; (to hit) *dā-*
know, to v *zānis(t)-*
knuckle n *ban kilik*
Kurdish 1. adj *kwirdī* 2. n (~ language) *kwirdī*

l

lace n (band, joint, strip) *ban*
lady n (woman) *xānim*; (old ~, old woman) *keywānu, pīražin*; (grandmother) *dāyā, bībī* || (~ Houri, ~ Light, ~ Tuesday) n.prop *bībī hur, bībī nur, bībī sešama*
ladybird n (*māt*) *hātunīšāndara*
Lak n *lak*
lake n (river, sea, stretch of water) *daryā*

Lakestān n.prop (region inhabited by Laks) *lakissān*

Laki n (~ language) *lak, lakī*

lamb n *vark*

lament n (lamentation) *vāveylā*; (mourning) *šin*

lamentation n (lament) *vāveylā*, (mourning) *šin*

lamp n (lantern) *čirāq*

land n (earth, ground) *zamī(n)*

language n (tongue) *zuwān*

lantern n (lamp) *čirāq*

last 1. adj *āxir* 2. adv (at ~, finally) *āxir, belaxara*

late adv *dīr*

laugh, to v **xanī-*

laughing adj *xanī*

lawyer n (delegate, representative) *vakīl*

lay, to v (to put, leave) *nyā-*; (to hide) *hašār kird-*

leader || (religious ~, imam) n *imam*; (~ of a row of dancers) n *sarčupī*

leaf n *gaṭā*; (blossom, branch) n *pal*

leave, to v (to allow, let) **hišt-*; (to abandon) *vet kird-*; (~ in a place) v *va/=a jā hišt-*; (to lay, put) v *nyā-*

left 1. n (direction) *čap* 2. adj *čap* || (to be ~, stay, remain) v *man-/mān-*

leg n *qāč, qwil*, (whole ~) *qāčōqwīl*, (foot) *pā*, (paw) *pāčik/pāčka* || (arms and ~s,

hands and feet) n *daspā* (?); (one item of a pair) class *liṅ*

leisure n (amusement, recreation) *tafrī(h)* || (place of ~, resort) n *tafrīgā(h)*

length n *dirīžī*

let, to v (to allow, to consent, to give permission) *ejāza dā-*; (to leave) **hišt-*

let go, to v (to free) *vet dā-*

let's interj *bīlā*

lie n *duru*

lie, to v *duru dā-*

life n *zindagī*; (age) *šomr*; (soul) *gyān, jān*

lift, to v *hiz dā-*

light adj (bright, clear) *rušan*

light, to v (to turn on) *rušan kird-*

like prep (as) *čū, jūr, mese* || (~ this, this way) adv *tjūrī/ejūrī*

like, to v (to love) *dus dāšt-*

like this adv (this way) *tjūrī/ejūrī*

limp || (with a ~) adv *qwiltāqwīl*

lineage n (family) *huz*

lion n *šer*

lip n *lič*

listen, to v *guš dā-*

little adj (small, younger) *gwiṭar, gwiṭīn, būčkaṭa* || (a ~, a bit) quant *qirī, ye zaṛe*; (few) *kam*

lizard n *mārmūlik*

load n *bār*

load, to v (to pack) *bār kird-*

lock n *qofl* || (~ of hair, braid) *gīs*

lock, to v *qofl kird-*

long adj *dirīž*, *dirāz*, *tūlānī*; (tall)
boland || (~~neck) n.prop
gardandirāza

Long-neck n.prop *gardandirāza*

look n (gaze, glance) *seyr*

look, to v *seyr kird-*

look for, to v (to search) *miney*
kird-, *va/=a sorāq čī-*

Lor n *loř*

Lorestān n.prop (region
inhabited by Lors) *lořissān*

Lose, to v *gwm kird-*

lost adj *gwm* || (to be ~) v *va/=a*
das čī-; (to get ~) v *gwm bī-*

love || (to fall in ~) v *šāšiq bī-*

love, to v (to like) *dus dāšt-*, *xwaš*
hāt-

lover n *šāšiq*

lower || (~ part, bottom, end) n
bin

luck n *šāns*

lucky || (to be ~) v *šāns āwird-*

lung n *pift*

lying down adj (stretched,
hidden) *hašār*

m

make, to v (to do) *kird-*; (to
prepare) v *diris kird-*

make boil, to v (to excite) *va/=a*
juš āwird

make scream, to v **čirīkān-* (?)

male n *ner*, *nař* || (~ dog) n
gamāt; (~ donkey) n *neraxar*;
(~ demon) n *nařadö*

man n (husband) *pyā*; (person)
mard || (old ~) n *pīramird*,
řčarmi

manner n (type, way) *jür*, *nuř*

many adj (numerous) *fit*

market n (bazaar) *bāzār*

marriage n *ezdevāj* || (~
ceremony, wedding) n *sür*,
šarusī; (~ contract) n *šaxd*; (~
contract and related things)
n *šaxdömaxd*; (to propose ~)
v (*žin*) *xwāst-*

marry, to v (to get married)
šarusī kird-, *ezdevāj kird-*;
(said of men: to
request/claim as wife,
propose marriage) (*žin*)
xwāst-; (said of women) *šü*
kird-

Mashhad n.prop *mašad* ||
(pertaining to ~) adj *mašey*

master || (~ of the house, owner
of the house) n *sā māt*

mat n (rug, small carpet) *qālīčā*

matter n (business, job, work)
kār

matter, to || (it doesn't ~, that's
fine) idiom *šeyb nerī*, *eškāt*
nerī

maybe n *šāad*

may it be interj (alright, fine)
bāša(d)

me pro *min/ma/mi*,
=im/=m/=am

mean n *badguna*

means n (power, strength)
tawānāy

meat n *gušt*

meow onom *myow*

merchant n *tājir*

mercy n *ra(h)mat*; (refuge, protection) *zinhār*

messy adj (ruffled) *parišān*

meter n *mitr*

midday n (noon) *zo(h)r*

middle 1. n *vasat* 2. adj *vasat*

milk n *šīr*

million num *hizār hizār, milyān*

mince, to v (to chop, smash)
**hanjān-*

minister n *vazīr*

misadventure n (adventure, event) *mājirā*

miserable adj (poor, unlucky)
badbaxt

misfortune n *badbaxtī*

Mister 1. n *āqā* 2. epith (Sir) *āqā, mašey*

mixed adj *maxlut*

Mohammad n.prop
(diminutive) *mamūla*

Mohammad Khān n.prop *mama xān*

mom n (mother) *māmān*

moment n (time) *mōwqa*;
(instant) *la(h)za*; (period of time) *modat/midat*

money n *pūl*

monster n (demon, fiend) *dīv*

month n (moon) *mān, mā(h)* ||
(~ of fasting, Ramadan) n
řamazān

moon n (month) *mān, mā(h)*

moonlight night n *mānšašow*

mop n (squeegee) *tey*

mop, to v *tey kišyā-*

more adj (further, most) *bīštir*

more or less adv (approximately)
hōdudan

morgue n (mortuary)
mirdašurxāna

morning n *so, sob(h)* || (early ~, dawn) n *šōso*

morsel n (piece) *tīka*

mortuary n (morgue)
mirdašurxāna

mosque n *maččit/masčit*

mosquito n (fly) *paxšakura*

most adj (further, more) *bīštir*

mother n *dā, (mom) māmān* ||
(~ in law) n *xasūra*; (grand~) n *dā kaṭij*; (grand~, old woman) n *dāyā, bibī*; (step~, father's wife) n *bowažin*

mother-in-law n (father-in-law)
xasūra

mountain n *kū*

mourn, to v (to be in mourning)
āzīyatī girt-/gird-

mourning n (grief) *āzīyatī*;
(lamentation, lament) *šin* ||
(to be in ~, to mourn) v

āzīyatī girt-/gird-

mouth n (breath) *dam*

much 1. quant (many, a lot)
zīyād 2. adv (very) *fira*, *xeylī*
much as conj (however much)
har čī
must v (to have to, shall, should)
bāad, bās, me
my adj *min/ma/mi*,
=im/=m/=am

n

name n *ism, nām*
namely interj (that is to say)
yaʕnī
narrow adj (tight) *taṭ*
near adj (close) *nizīk*
neck n *mil, gardan* || (Long--)
 n.prop *gardandirāza*
necklace n *milwānik*
needle n *suzan*; (big ~) *gwinuž*
neighbour n *hāmsā*,
hamsāda/hamsāya
neighbourhood n (district, pass)
gwozar
neither || (~ ... nor) conj *na*
 ... (=ō) *na*
nephew n (brother's son) *birārzā*
newborn n (nursling) *nōwzā(d)*
news n (information) *xavar*
next to prep *va/=a šān*
niece n (brother's daughter)
birārzā
night n *šow* || (moonlight ~) n
māṇašow; (~ and night) adv
šabānaruz; (at ~) adv *šowakī*
nine num *nō*
nineteen num *nuzda*

ninety num *navad*
no 1. interj *na*, *xeyr* 2. quant
 (any) *hič/hič*
nobody pro-form (no one) *hička*,
(hič/hič) kas(ī), *(hič/hič)*
ahad(ī)
noodle n (filament) *rišta* || (~
 soup) n *āš rišta*
noon n (midday) *zo(h)r*
no one pro-form (nobody) *hička*,
(hič/hič) kas(ī), *(hič/hič)*
ahad(ī)
nose n *pit, damāq*
nostril n *kwinā pit*
nothing pro-form (anything)
hič/hič
now adv *iska*, *alʔān*
Nowruz^cAli n.prop *nōwruzʕalī*
numerous adj *fit*
nursling n (newborn) *nōwzā(d)*

o

O 1. interj *ay/eṭ* 2. n:voc *-a/-ka*
object n (thing) *čī*
obstacle n (complication,
 difficulty) *eškāč*; (grab) *gīr*
obtain, to v (to buy, to get) *san-*
of course adv (absolutely, surely)
hatman
offering n (vow, gift) *nazr*; (~ for
 the completion of a
 prediction or a spell) n *ri*
duwā
office n *edāra*
officer n (policeman) *dāruqa*,
maʔmur

oh interj *ā, āy, hī, hu*

ok interj (yes) *a, āre/ārī, baṭe*

old adj *pīr*; (ancient) *qadīm* || (~ man) n *pīramird, řičarmī*; (~ woman, ~ lady) *keywānu, pīražin*; (grandmother) *dāyā, bībī*

on prep (in front of, before) *va/=a var*; (~ top of, over) *va/=a bān, va/=a mil*; (to, for) *va/=a sar*; (~ the bottom of) *va/=a tah*; (in, into, inside, under) prep *va/=a bin*

once again adv (another time) *dōgila, duwāra*

one 1. num *yak/yek* 2. pro-form (someone, somebody) *ahad(ī), kasī*, (each ~, each) *har kām, yakī/yekī* || (no ~, nobody) pro-form *hīčka*; (*hüč/hīč*) *kas(ī)*, (*hüč/hīč*) *ahad(ī)*; (another ~) pro-form *yaktirī/yakitirī*; (one ~, each other) pro-form *yak, yaktirī/yaktirikī* (?); (~ by ~) adv *yaka yak*

one another pro-form (each other) *yak, yaktirī/yaktirikī* (?)

onion n *piyāz*

only adv (just) *faqat*; (exactly) *har*

on purpose adv (intentionally) *ʕamdan*

open adj *vāz/bāz*

open, to v *vāz/bāz kird-, kird- ...=ow*

or conj *yā* || (either ... ~) conj *yā ... yā*

or else adv (if not, otherwise) *arāna*

organization n (accommodation) *sāzmānda(h)ī*

origin n (top, upper part) *sar*

other adj (another) *-tir* || (each ~, one another) pro-form *yak, yaktirī/yaktirikī* (?)

otherwise adv (if not, or else) *arāna*

our pro *īma, =mān*

out adv (outside) *va/=a deyšt*; cvc *dir*

outside 1. n (exterior) *deyšt* 2. adv (out) *va/=a deyšt*

over prep (on, on top of) *va/=a bān, va/=a mil*; (to, for) *va/=a sar* || (to be ~, end, finish) *tamām bī-*

overall adv (completely, totally) *kwil(l)an*

overcome, to v (to avoid, pass over) *řad kird-*

owner n *sā, sāhib* || (~ of the house, master of the house) *n sā māʔ*

P

pack, to v (to load) *bār kird-*

packet n (plastic bag) *daṭq*

pair n (couple) *jift*

palm n *kaf das*

parasite n *angaf*

pardon n (absolution, release)

tabra

pardon, to v (to absolve, release)

tabra kird-

Parive n.prop *parīva*

park n (garden) *bāq*

part n (share) *qismat* || (in ~,

partially) adv *kamkwitī*

partially adv (in part) *kamkwitī*

partner n (member of a couple,

couple) *lif*

pass n (district, neighbourhood)

gwozar

pass, to v *gwozašt-*

pass by, to v (to cross) *řad bī-*,

gwozar kird-

pass over, to v (to avoid,

overcome) *řad kird-*

past n *gwozašt*

path n *řuwāt*

pause n (stay, stop) *maks*

paw n (foot, leg) *pāčik/pāčka*

pay attention, to v (to take care)

hawās bī-, movāzibat kird-

pearl n *mirwārī* || (made of ~,

pearly) adj *mirwārī*

pearly adj *mirwārī*

pelvis n *tatik*

people n *mardim*

period n (~ of time, moment)

modat/midat; (age, epoch,

era) *řuzgār*

permission n (authorization)

ejāza || (to get ~) v *ejāza san-*

; (to give ~, allow, consent,

let) v *ejāza dā-*

Persian (~ language) n *fārsī*

person 1. n *nafar, kas;*

(individual) *šaxs, tan;*

(human being) *ādim/āyim,*

āyimīzā/ādimīzād; (man)

mard 2. class (individual) *tan*

pickaxe n *kořij*

piece 1. n (half) *kwit;* (morsel)

tika; (small ~) *tūta* (?) 2. class

(item, unit) *gila, tā*

piecemeal adj *kwitī*

pile n (stack) *ku*

pilgrimage n *zīyārāt*

pit n (cavity, hole) *čāt, kwīnā*

pity n (mercy) *zinhār;* (injustice,

shame) *heyf* || (what a ~,

what a shame) interj *heyf*

place n *jā/je, makān*

plain 1. n (desert) *bīāwān* 2. adj

(simple) *sāda*

plastic adj *ptāsikī* || (~ bag) n

datq

plate n (dish) *bišqāw*

pleasant adj (good, happy) *xwaš*

plumbing n (tubing) *lūlakašī*

policeman n (officer) *dāruqa,*

maḏmur

pool n (small fountain) *hōzča*

poor adj *kamdas, žār;*

(miserable, unlucky)

badbaxt; (hopeless) *bīčāra*

pot n (cauldron) *qazān*

pour, to v (to drop, fall, spill)

**řišyā-*

power n (means, strength)

tawānāy

powerful adj (strong) *tawānā*
prayer n (wish, vow) *duwā*
prayer beads n *tasbī(h)*
pregnant adj *hāmīta*, *lampīř*
prepare, to v (to make) *diris kird-*
presence || (in the ~ of, by, before, beside) prep *va/=a lā*, *ařā lā*
present n (gift) *hidīya*
pretty adj (beautiful) *qašan*, *xošgīt*; (delicate, sweet) *nāz*
prey n *šikār*
prince n (king's son) *kwiř pādīšā*
prisoner n *zindānī* || (to be taken ~, be captured, be caught, be trapped) v *giriřtār hāt-*
prize n (reward) *jāyīza*
problem n (case, question) *qazīya*
proclaim, to v (to announce) *eřlām kird-*
produce, to v (to grow, bring up) *va/=a řamat āwird-*
progeny n (children) *farzand*
progress n (advancement) *pīřraft*
progress, to v (to advance) *pīřraft kird-*
promise n (saying, word) *qowť*
properly adv *qašan*; (fine, well) *xās*
prophet n *peqambar*
protect, to v (to take care) *nega(h)dārī kird-*
protection n (guard) *nega(h)bānī*; (care)

nega(h)dārī; (refuge, mercy) *zinhār*
protest, to v (to get angry) **turyā-*
provisions n *āzāqa*
pull, to v (to drag, draw) *kīřyā-*
puppy n *tütik*
purchase n (shopping) *xarīd*; (expense) *xarj*
pure adj (clean) *pāk*; (clear) *zotāt*
purpose n (wish, aim) *mirād* || (on ~, intentionally) adv *řamdan*
push, to v (to demand, urge) *řü āyšt-*
put, to v (to lay, leave) *nyā-*
put on, to v (to wear) *va/=a var kird-*

Q

quadruped n *čwārpā*
qualification n (document, title) *madrak*
quality n (beauty, virtue) *hōšn*
quantity n (amount) *qir*, *qad*
quest n (search) *sorāq*
question n (case, problem) *qazīya*
quick adj (rapid) *tōn*; (early) *zū/zī*
quickly adv (rapidly) *tōn*, *fiřān*; (early) *zū/zī*; (very ~, very rapidly) *tōntōn*; (very early) *zīzī*
quietly adv (slowly) *yawāř*

Quran n *qwirān* || (reader of the
~) *qwirānxwan*; (opening
chapter of the ~) n *fāta*

r

rain, to v *vārī-*

raisin n *kīšmīš*

Ramadan n (month of fasting)
řamazān

Ramazān n.prop *řamazān*

rapid adj (quick) *tōn*; (early)
zū/zī

rapidly adv (quickly) *tōn*, *fīřān*;
(early) *zū/zī*; (very ~, very
quickly) *tōntōn*; (very early)
zīzī

read, to v **xwan-*

ready adj *āmāda*

rear n (bottom, buttocks) *qiy*

reason n (thought) *xātir*

reasoning n (thinking, thought)
fikr

recommend, to v (to entrust)
sifāriš kird-

recommendation n
(entrustment) *sifāriš*

recreation n (amusement,
leisure) *tafrī(h)*

red adj *qirmis*

redemption n *nijāt*

refuge n (mercy, protection)
žinhār

region n *viāt*

rejoice, to v (to cheer up) *xwašt*
kird-

relative || (~s, family) n *fāmīl*;
(~s, whole family) n *fitōfāmīl*;
(~ of the deceased who is in
charge of organizing the
funeral) n *sāhib řazā*

relaxed adj (comfortable,
relieved) *řāhat*

release n (absolution, pardon)
tabra

release, to v (to absolve, pardon)
tabra kird-

relieved adj (comfortable,
relaxed) *řāhat*

remain, to v (to be left, stay)
man-/mān-

repeatedly adv (again and again)
har

representative n (delegate,
lawyer) *vakīl*

request, to v (~ as wife, claim as
wife, propose marriage,
marry) (*žin*) *xwāst-*

resort n (place of leisure)
tafrīgā(h)

return n (comeback) *bargašt*

return, to v (to come back, go
back) *va/=a dimā hāt-*,
bargašt kird-

reward n (prize) *jāyīza*

Rezā n.prop *řizā*

rice n *birinj*

rich adj (wealthy) *dōwtaman*

riches n (wealth) *sirvat*

richness n (wealth) *dōwtamanī*

ridiculous adj *masxara*

rifle n *tifař*

right 1. adj (correct) *diris*; (true) *řās* 2. n *haq* 3. interj (by the way) *řāsī*

rightly adv (correctly) *řās*

ring n *kilkawāna*, *haṭqa*, *angoštar*

rise, to v (to wake up) *hiz girt-/gird-*

ritual banquet n (sacred meal ceremony) n *nazr*

river n (canal) *na(h)r*; (lake, sea, stretch of water) *daryā*

roast, to v (to fry) *biršān-*

rock n (stone) *kwičik*, *saṇ/sang*

roof n *sarbān*

room n *utāq*

rooster n *katašer*

rotate, to v (to turn around) *xiř āwird-*

rub, to v *sāy-*

rubbish n (garbage) *ešqāṭ*

ruffled adj (messy) *parišān*

rug n (carpet) *farš*, *qālī*; (mat, small carpet) *qālīča*

ruined || (to be ~, be destroyed, fall apart) v **řimyā-*

ruins n *kal*, *kalkaxirāwa*, *xirāwa/xarāwa*

rummage, to v (to delouse, search) **jurī-*

run away, to v (to escape, flee) *farār kird-*, *(h)eywā-*

running adj (flowing) *řavān*

rupture n (explosion) *tirik*

Ruzi°Ali n.prop *řuzīšālī*

S

sack n *gwinī*

sacrifice n *sīqa*

sad adj *pakar*

saddlebag n *huř*, *xwirjīn*

Sahne n.prop *sahana*

sake || (for the ~ of, because of, for) prep *ařā xātir*

salt n *xwā*, *nimak*

salty adj *šur*

Sara n.prop *sārā*

satisfied adj (consenting, happy, willing) *řāzī*

savant adj (wise) *dānā*

say, to v (to tell) *vit-* || (you would ~) idiom *bigir*; (as they ~) idiom *bi qowṭ mašruf*

saying n (word, promise) *qowṭ*

scale n *tirāzī*

scare, to v (to frighten, terrify) *zitatirik kird-*

scared adj (frightened, terrified) *zitatirik*, *howl* || (to get ~) v *howl bī-*, (to hesitate) *siṭm kird-*

scream, to v (to shriek) **čirīkān-* (?)

scrotum n (testicles) *gwin*

sea n (lake, river, stretch of water) *daryā*

search n (quest) *sorāq* || (to go in ~ of, follow) v *va/=a miney kat-*

search, to v (to look for) *miney kird-*, *va/=a sorāq čī-*; (to go

around, tour) **gīrdī*;- (to rummage, delouse) **jurī*-
second num *dōwim*
see, to v *dī*-
seem, to || (it ~s, apparently) idiom *guyā*
self pro *wiž*
sell, to v *forut*-
send, to v (to dispatch, ship) *kil kird*-
series n (time) *sirī*
servant n *nōwkar*; (at weddings) *daspā* (?)
set (on) fire, to v (to burn) *āgir dā*-
set free, to v *āzād kird*-
set out, to v (to start) *va/=a ři kat*-
seven num *haft(t)*
seventeen num *hivda*
seventy num *haftā(d)*
shade n (shadow) *sā*
shadow n (shade) *sā*
shake, to v **takān*-
shall v (to have to, must, should) *bāad, bās, me*
shame n (injustice, pity) *heyf* || (what a ~, what a pity) interj *heyf*
Shams^cAli n.prop *šamsšālī*
shape n (dimensions, figure, height) *qad, qe, šekl*
share n (part) *qismat*
she pro *ōw*
sheep n *kāwīř, gusfand*
sheet (bed ~) n *l(ih)āf*

ship, to v (to dispatch, send) *kil kird*-
shipping n (dispatch) *kil*
Shirin n.prop *šīrin*
shirt n *kirās, pīrhan*
shoe n *kōwš* || (bottom of ~, sole) n *kafkōwš*
shopping n (purchase) *xarīd* || (to go ~) v *xarīd kird*-
should v (to have to, must, shall) *bāad, bās, me*
shoulder n *šān*; (back) *kuł*
shout n (yell, call) *hanā*; (cry for help) *hawār*
show, to v (to display) *nīšān dā*-
shriek, to v (to scream) **čīrīkān*-(?)
shy adj (timid, speechless) *bī dam*
sick adj *nāxwaš*
side n *lā, dīm*; (bank, edge) *dam*; (direction, path) *řuwāt* || (on the other ~, behind) adv *dīm*
simple adj (plain) *sāda*
sincere adj (honest) *řāsgu*
single adj (alone) *tak*
Sir epith (Mister) *āqā*
sister n *xwišk*
sister-in-law n (wife of one's husband's brother) *hāmbōwī*
sit, to v *nīšt*-
situation n (state, condition) *hāt, hālat, vazř*; (state of affairs, circumstances) *hātōqazīya*
six num *šaš/šīs*
sixteen num *šānza*

sixty num *šas(t)*
size n *andāza*
skull n (head) *kala*
sky n *āsīmān*
slap, to v **čirīkān-* (?)
sleep n (dream) *xāw*
sleep, to v *xaft-*
slow adj *yawāš*
slowly adv (quietly) *yawāš*
small adj (little, younger) *gwiĵar*,
gwiĵin, *büčkala*
smart adj (clever, intelligent)
ziriĵ, *bāhuš*
smash, to v (to chop, mince)
**hanjān-*
smell n (stink) *bu*
smelly adj (stinky) *badbu*
smile n *xana*
smuggler n *qāčāxčī*
smuggling n *qāčāq* || (~ and
similar things) n
qāčāqōmāčāq
snacks n (sweets) *tanaqolāt*
snake n *mār*
snap n *čaq*
snapping || (finger ~) n *čaqāna*
so interj *anü*, *āxir*, *dī* || (just ~)
interj *anü ča*; (and ~ on,
etcetera) adv *fiṭān*; (~ that)
conj *tā*
so-and-so pro-form (such-and-
such, what's-his/her-name)
fiṭān, *yāru*
sole n (bottom of shoe) *kafköwš*
Solomon n.prop *siṭeymān*
some quant *čan/čani*

somebody pro-form (one) *kas*,
ahad, *yakī/yeḳī*
someone pro-form (one) *kas*,
ahad, *yakī/yeḳī*
something pro-form *ye čī*, (*ye*)
hini, *fiṭānī*
so much adv (that much) *aqira*
son n (boy) *kwiř* || (step~,
stepchild) n *pīšazā*; (dear ~)
epith *řula*; (brother's ~,
nephew) n *birārzā*; (paternal
uncle's ~, cousin) n *āmuzā*;
(maternal uncle's ~, cousin)
n *hātuzā*; (aunt's ~, cousin) n
mīmzā; (daughter's ~,
grand~) n *ditarzā*; (son's ~,
grand~) n *kwiřarzā*; (king's ~,
prince) n *kwiř pādīšā*
son-in-law n (groom) *dāmād*,
zāmā
so that conj (in order to) *tā*
soul n (life) *gyān*, *jān* || (I swear,
by somebody's soul) idiom
bi/va/=a jān ...
sound n (call, cry, voice) *daĵ*,
sidā || (to make a ~) v *sidā dā-*
; (~ of snapping, snap) onom
čaq; (~ of dripping, drip)
onom *čīř*; (~ of taking wing,
flap) onom *fiř*; (cat ~, meow)
onom *myow*; (~ of throwing
up, vomit) onom *qah*; (~ of
biting, crunch) onom *qarč*;
(frog ~, croak) onom *qwiř*;
(chicken ~, cackle, cluck)
onom *qwiṭ*; (~ of a liquid

striking a surface, splash, splat) onom *šiptāy* (?); (~ of knocking or striking) onom *tak/taq*; (~ of barking, bow-wow) *wāp*
sound, to v (to make a sound) *sidā dā-*
soup n *āš* || (noodle ~) n *āš řišta*
sour adj (tasty) *depš*
source n (spring) *keynī, češma*
sparrow n *malüčik*
speak, to v *qissa kird-*; (to call, invite) *daŋ kird-*
speechless adj (shy, timid) *bī dam*
spill, to v (to drop, fall, pour) **řišyā-*
spin, to v **řis(t)-*; (to bring around, turn) *gīrdān-*
spindle n (hand ~) *taši, dük*
splash onom *šiplāy* (?)
splat onom *šiplāy* (?)
spoon n *qāšoq*
spring n *sarā*; (source) *češma, keynī*
sprite n (jinn) *jin*
squeegee n (mop) *tey*
stability n (decision, base) *qarār*
stable n *töüla*
stand, to v (to stay, stop) *maks kird-*
star n *hasāra, sitāra*
start, to v (to set out) *va/=a ři kat-*
state n (situation, condition) *hāt, hālat vazf*; (~ of affairs,

situation, circumstances) *hātöqazīya*
statue n *mijassama*
stay n (pause, stop) *maks*
stay, to v (to be in a place/state) *hā-*; (to stand, stop) *maks kird-*; (to be left, remain) *man-/mān-*
steal, to v *döž-*
stepchild n (stepson, stepdaughter) *pīšazā*
stepbrother n (best friend) *dasabirā*
stepdaughter n (stepchild) *pīšazā*
stepmother n (father's wife) *boważin, zan bowa*
stepson n (stepchild) *pīšazā*
stick n (wooden ~, club, cudgel) *ču*
stink n (smell) *bu*
stinky adj (smelly) *badbu*
stomach n (belly) *lam*; (entrails, heart) *diť*
stone n (rock) *kwičik, saŋ/sang*
stop n (pause, stay) *maks*
stop, to v (to stay, to stand) *maks kird-*
story n (tale) *dāstān*; (discourse) *qissa*
stove n (fireplace, fire) *dār* || (to put on the ~, cook) v *va/=a dār nyā-*
strange adj (weird) *alājü*
straw n *kah*
stray adj (vagrant) *vetgard*

stream n (river, watercourse) *ju*
street n (track, way) *ři/řā*
strength n *zur*; (power, means) *tawānāy*
stretch || (~ of water, lake, river, sea) n *daryā*
stretch, to v (to extend, swing) *kīš āwird-*
stretched adj (hidden, lying down) *hašār*
stretching n (extension) *kīš*
strike, to v (to hit, beat) *dā-...=(a)r*
strip n (band, joint, lace) *ban*
strong adj *qōū*; (powerful) *tawānā*
stuck || (to get ~, become entangled, catch) v *čikyā-
studies n (education) *ta(h)sīlāt*
successor n (heir) *jānešin*
such-and-such 1. pro-form (so-and-so, what's-his/her-name) *fitān*, *yāru* 2. adj (certain) *fitān*
suddenly adv *ye dafʿa*
summer n *tāw(is)sān*
sun n *xwar*
sunflower n *baraftāw, gwiṭbaraftāw*
sunset n (dusk) *qorub*
surely adv (absolutely, of course) *hatman*
swear, to || (I ~, by God, well, then) interj *valā*; (by somebody's soul) idiom *bi/va/=a jān*

sweet adj (beautiful, pretty, sweet) *nāz* || (the ~est of all, Sweetie) n.prop *nāzīlīnāzān*
sweets n (snacks) *tanaqolāt*
swing, to v (to extend, stretch) *kīš āwird-*
switch, to v (to exchange) *šavazbadat kird-*
sword n *šimšīr*

t

tablecloth n *sifra*
tail n *dōm*
take, to v (to get) *girt-/gird-*; (~ away, carry away) *bird-*
take back, to v (to bring back) *āwird-...=ā*
take care, to v (to pay attention) *hawās bī-, movāzibat kird-*
take off, to v *āwird-...=er/=(a)r*
take out, to v (to bring out) *āwird-...=er/=(a)r*
take flight, to v (to take wing) *bāt girt-/gird-*
tale n (story) *dāstān*
tall adj (long) *boland*
tarantula n *řuteyl (?)*
tasting bad adj (disgusting) *badmaza*
tasty adj (delicious) *lazīz*; (sour) *depš*
tea n *čāy*
tear n (teardrop) *asr, ašk*
teardrop n (tear) *asr, ašk*
tell, to v (to say) *vit-*; (to describe) *taʿrif kird-* || (don't ~ me,

fancy that) idiom *tōmarz*
(*naka*)
ten num *da*
terrified adj (scared, frightened)
zīlatirik, howl
terrify, to v (to scare, frighten)
zīlatirik kird-
terror n (dread, fear, fright)
zīlatirik, howl
testicle n (egg) *xā*
testicles n (scrotum) *gwin*
thanks interj *tašakor*
that 1. dem adj (those) *a* 2. dem
 pro-form (~ one) *ava* 3.
 compl *ki/ka/gi*
that is to say interj (namely)
yaʕnī
that much adv (so much) *aqira*
that one dem pro-form (that)
ava, ōw
that way adv (there) *alā*
the n: def -a/-ka
theft n *dōzī*
their pro *awāna, =yān*
them pro *awāna*
then 1. adv (afterwards) *anjā* (?),
baʕd, baʕdan, pas 2. interj
anū, āxir, dī; (fine, well) *sa,*
xu; (by God, I swear) *valā*
there adv *wira, anjā* (?); (that
 way) *alā*
these 1. dem adj (this) *ī, e* 2. dem
 pro-form (~ ones)
yāna/yānala
these ones dem pro-form (these)
yāna/yānala

they pro *awāna*
thief n *dōz*
thin adj *lař*
thing n (object) *čt* || (thingy,
 thingummy, what's-
 his/her/their-name, what-
 do-you-call-it) *hin*
think, to v *fīkr kird-*
thinking n (reasoning, thought)
fīkr
third num *sivom*
thirsty adj *tešna*
thirteen num *sinza*
thirty n *sī*
this 1. dem adj (these) *ī, e* 2. dem
 pro-form (~ one) *ya, ī*
this is it interj
yahāna/yāna/hāna
this much adv (so much)
eqira/īqira
this one dem pro-form (this) *ya,*
ī
this time adv *īlā*
thistle n *xargoł*
this way adv (like this) *ījūrī/ejūrī*;
 (here) *īlā*
thorn n *xār*
those 1. dem adj (that) *a* 2. dem
 pro-form (~ ones)
awāna/awānala
those ones dem pro-form (those)
awāna/awānala
thought n *xātīr*; (reasoning,
 thinking) *fīkr*; (imagination,
 intention) *xīyāl*
thousand num *hizār*

three num *si* || (~ kilos) n *man*
three hundred num *sīsad*
throw, to v *āyšt-*; (to hurl) *žan-*; (~ in the air) *va/=a hawā dā-*
thunderbolt n *girmhār*
tickle n *xitīmitī*
tie, to v (to close) **bas(t)-*; (to arrest, handcuff) *qadbasta kird-*
tied adj *qadbasta*
tight adj (well-sealed) *mōwkam*; (narrow) *taṇ*
time n *vaxt*, *zamān*; (moment) *mōwqa*; (turn) *daṣṭa*; (series) *sirī* || (another ~, again) adv *dōgila*, *duwāra*; (this ~) adv *īla*
timid adj (shy, speechless) *bī dam*
tired adj *šakat*
tiring adj (hard, troublesome) *za(h)mat*
title n *sonwān*; (document, qualification) *madrak*
to prep *va/van*, *=a/=an*, *=ar/=r*, *varin/arīn*, *aṛā*, *bi*, *va/=a bin*; (on, on top of, over, for) *va/=a sar*; (towards) *vere*
toman n (Iranian currency) *tōman*
tomb n (grave) *gur*
tomorrow adv (next day) *so*, *sob(h)*, *šōso*
tongue n (language) *zuwān*
tonight adv *īmšōw*
too adv (also) *=(ī)š/= (ī)ž/=yš/=yž/=ī*, *ham*

tooth n *dinān*
top n (upper part) *bān*; (head, origin) *sar* || (on ~ of, on, over) prep *va/=a bān*, *va/=a mil*, *va/=a sar*
total n (assembly, collection) *jamʿ*
totally adv (completely, overall) *kwil(l)an*
tour, to v (to go around, search) **gīrdī-*
towards prep (to) *vere*
trace n (footprint, track) *řad*
track n (footprint, trace) *řad*; (street, way) *řī/řā*
tragedy || (what a ~) interj *vāveylā*
trap, to v (to imprison) *gīr dā-*
trapped adj (captured, caught) *girištār* || (to be ~, be captured, be caught, be taken prisoner) v *girištār hāt-*
travel, to v (to walk) *rī kird-*
treasure n (wealth) *ganj*
tree n *dār* || (walnut ~) n *girdakān*
trick n (deception, fraud) *guł*
trouble n (effort, hard work) *za(h)mat*
troublesome adj (hard, tiring) *za(h)mat*
true adj (right, correct) *řās* || (isn't it ~ that) interrog *mar/magar*
trust || (in ~, on deposit) adv *amānati*

truth n *haqīqat*
tubing n (plumbing) *lūlakašt*
tunic n (felt cloak, gown) *čux* (?)
turmoil n (fight) *jaḡiman*
turn n *nōwbat*; (time) *daḡḡa*;
 (circle) *xiř, dōwr*
turn, to v (to spin) *xiř dā-*; (to
 bring around) *gīrdān-*; (~
 around, to rotate) *xiř āwird-*
turn on, to v (to light) *řušan kird-*
twelve num *dwā(n)za*
twenty num *bīs*
twin n *lifānī, doqolu*
two num *dō* || (~ of them) pro-
 form *duān*
two hundred num *dōūs*
type n (manner, way) *jūr, nuř*

U

ugly adj (bad-shaped, bad-
 looking) *badfōrm, badguna,*
badqīyāfa
uncle n (maternal ~) *hātu*;
 (paternal ~) *mamu*
uncomfortable adj (upset)
nāřāhat
under prep (below) *va/=a žīr*;
 (on the bottom of, in, into,
 inside) *va/=a bin*
understand, to v *hālī bī-*,
**fa(h)mī-*; (to become aware)
mitavajje(h) bī-
understandable adj (actual) *hālī*
unemployed adj *bikār*
unit class (item, piece) *gila, tā*
unless conj *mar/magar*

until conj (up to) *tā*
unwittingly adv (accidentally)
nāxwidāgā(h)
up adv (upstairs, upwards) *va/=a*
sar || (~ to) conj *tā*
upper adj (above) *bānin* || (~
 part, top) n *bān*; (head,
 origin) n *sar*
upset adj (uncomfortable)
nāřāhat
upstairs adv (up, upwards) *va/=a*
sar
up to conj (until) *tā*
upwards adv (up, upwards)
va/=a sar
urge, to v (to push, demand) *řū*
āyšt-
us pro *īma*
usage n (use, employment)
istifāda
use n (usage, employment)
istifāda || (to be of ~, to avail)
v fāyīda dāšt-
use, to v (to employ) *istifāda kird-*
uvula n *zuwān gwij(i)ra*

V

vagrant adj (stray) *vetgard*
valley n (foothill) *pāča*
vase n (jug) *kūza*
verdict n (destiny, fate) *gāzā*
very adv (much) *fira, xeylī*
victory n (achievement, feat,
 conquest) *fat(h)*
village n *ābādī*

virtue n (beauty, quality) *hösn*;
 (benefit) *xubī*
visible adj (clear) *dīyār*
visit, to v *sar dā-*
voice n (call, cry, sound) *sidā*,
daŋ
vomit n *qah* || (sound of
 throwing up) onom *qah*
vow n (prayer, wish) *duwā*; (gift,
 offering) *nazr*

W

wake up, to v (to rise) *hiz girt-*
/gird-; (to come round) *va/=a*
xavarā bī-
walk, to v (to travel) *rī kird-*
walnut n *girdakān* || (~ tree)
girdakān
want, to v (to ask) *xās(t)-*
war n *jaŋ*
wash, to v (to clean) **šurī-*
water n *āw/āv/āb* || (stretch of ~,
 lake, river, sea) n *daryā*
watercourse n (canal, channel)
ju; (canal, river) *na(h)r*
way n (street, track) *řī/řā*;
 (manner, type) *jūr, nuŝ* ||
 (this ~, like this) adv
ijūrī/ejūrī
wealth n (richness) *dōwtamanī*;
 (riches) *sirvat*; (treasure) *ganj*
we pro *īma*
wealthy adj (rich) *dōwtaman*
weapon n *ašt(ah)a*
wear, to v (to put on) *va/=a var*
kird-

weave, to v **bāft-*
wedding n (marriage ceremony)
sūr, ſarusī
weep, to v (to cry) *gīrva kird-*
weeping n (crying) *gīrva*
weight n *saŋ/sang*
weird adj (strange) *alājū*
well 1. adv (fine) *xu*; (properly)
xās 2. interj *anū, āxir, dī*;
 (fine, then) *sa, xu*; (by God)
valā || (to do ~, be well-off)
 idiom *damāq čāq bī-*
well done interj *āfarīn*
well-off || (to be ~) idiom *damāq*
čāq bī-
well-sealed adj (tight) *mōwkam*
what interrog *ča, če/čī* || (~ a ...!)
 interj *ča, če/čī*; (for ~, after ~)
 interrog *va pey če*
whatever 1. adj (whichever) *har*,
har čī 2. pro-form (anything)
har čī/har če; (whoever, such-
 and-such) *fiṭān*
what-do-you-call-it n (thing,
 thingy, thingummy) *hin*
what's-his/her/their-name 1. n
 (thing, thingy, thingummy,
 what-do-you-call-it) *hin* 2.
 pro-form (such-and-such, so-
 and-so) *fiṭān, yāru*
wheel n *čarx*
when 1. interrog *key* 2. conj
ki/ka/gi, vaxtī, zamānī; (as
 soon as) *iska gi*
where interrog *ku, kura*;
 (whither) *aṛā ku(rā)*

wherever adv *har je*

whichever 1. adj (whatever, any)

har 2. pro-form (whoever, anybody, anyone) *har kām*

whip n *šalāq*

white adj *sifid*

whither (where) interrog *aṛā ku(rā)*

who interrog *kī*

whoever pro-form *har ke/har kī*; (whichever, anybody, anyone) *har kām*; (whatever, such-and-such) *fiṭān*

whole adj *kwil*; (complete) *tamām*

why interrog *aṛā ča*

widow n *bīvažin*

widowed adj *bīva*

wife n (woman) *žin, zan* || (brother's ~) n *birāžin*; (father's ~, stepmother) n *bowažin, zan bowa*; (maternal uncle's ~) n *hāṭužin*; (paternal uncle's ~) n *mamužin*

willing adj (consenting, happy, satisfied) *ṛāzī*

wind n *bād*

wing n *bāt* || (to take ~) v *bāt girt-/gird-*; (sound of taking ~, flap) onom *fiṛ*

winter n *zim(is)sān*

wise adj (savant) *dānā*

wish n (aim, purpose) *mirād*; (prayer, vow) *duwā*

with prep

vagard/agard/gard/ard,

va/van, =a/=an, =ar/=r, varin/arin, bā

wolf n *gwig*; (female ~) *daṭagwig*

woman n (wife) *žin, zan*; (lady) *xānim*; (old ~, old lady) *dāyā, bībī, keywānu, pīražin*

womb n *āyldā(n)*

wonderful interj (wow) *āf/uf*

wood n *ču*

wooden adj *čuwī/čuwīn* || (~ girl, Wooden) n.prop *čuwīna*; (~ stick, club, cudgel) n *ču*

wool n *xwirī*

word n *harf*; (saying, promise) *gowt*

work n (business, job, matter) *kār* || (house~) n *kāribār*

work, to v *kār kird-*

world n *dinyā*

wow (wonderful) interj *āf/uf*

wrist n *mič das*

y

yell n (call, shout) *hanā*; (cry for help) *hawār*

yellow adj *zard*

yes interj (ok) *a, āre/ārī, baṭe*

yolk (egg ~) n *zardīna xā*

you 1. SG pro *tō/tōn, =it/=t/=at* 2. PL pro *homa, =tān*

younger adj (small, little) *gwigar, gwigīn, būčkaṭa*

youngster n *jawān/juwān*

your 1. SG pro *tö/tön*, =it/=t/=at
 2. PL pro *homa*, =tān

Z

zero num *sifr*

Zeynab n.prop *zeynow*

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This book presents a documentation and analysis of Harsini, the language variety spoken by the people of Harsin, a small urban centre located in south-east Kermānshāh Province, western Iran. The main features of phonology and morphosyntax are outlined, and an extensive corpus of transcribed spoken texts, recorded in situ, is also provided, together with a lexicon. The book also includes comparative notes and discussion of the place of Harsini within Laki, and its relationship to Southern Kurdish. The sound files from the text corpus are available online at <https://multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/resources/kurdish/#laki>.

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