

Gerardo Barbera 

Italy | barberagerardo@gmail.com

The Cannibal Sister: Linguistic Annotation of a South Bashkardi Folktale

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

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

1 Introduction

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

¹ The form ‘Bashkard’ is local and has the same range of uses as the official ‘Bashāgerd’, which is based on ‘Bashākerd’ or ‘Bashākard’, a toponym of uncertain origin. This latter, however, is generally considered to be ‘wrong’ by my local consultants. Note also that ‘Bashkardi’, a derivative noun or adjective, may refer to both the geographical entity ‘Bashkard’ and the people, dialects and cultures of the same region.

² The juncture area between these two ranges or even the whole of the Western Bashāgerd mountains is probably what has often been referred to in western scholarly works as the ‘Mārz range’. In modern geographic terminology, Mārz is a rural agglomeration (*dehestān*)



spreads roughly east of the Biyābān plain in the Strait of Hormuz and north of the Oman Sea coast. This is a remote, difficult to access region that has therefore been the object of relatively few modern studies.

The two individual dialect groups found in Bashāgerd are known as North and South Bashkardi in scholarly literature and, locally, as Mārzīgāl and Molkīgāl respectively. The total number of Bashkardi speakers probably approximates 40,000.³ Today, with such a small number of speakers facing increasingly economic difficulties and emigration, Bashkardi is vulnerable to quick disappearance, although

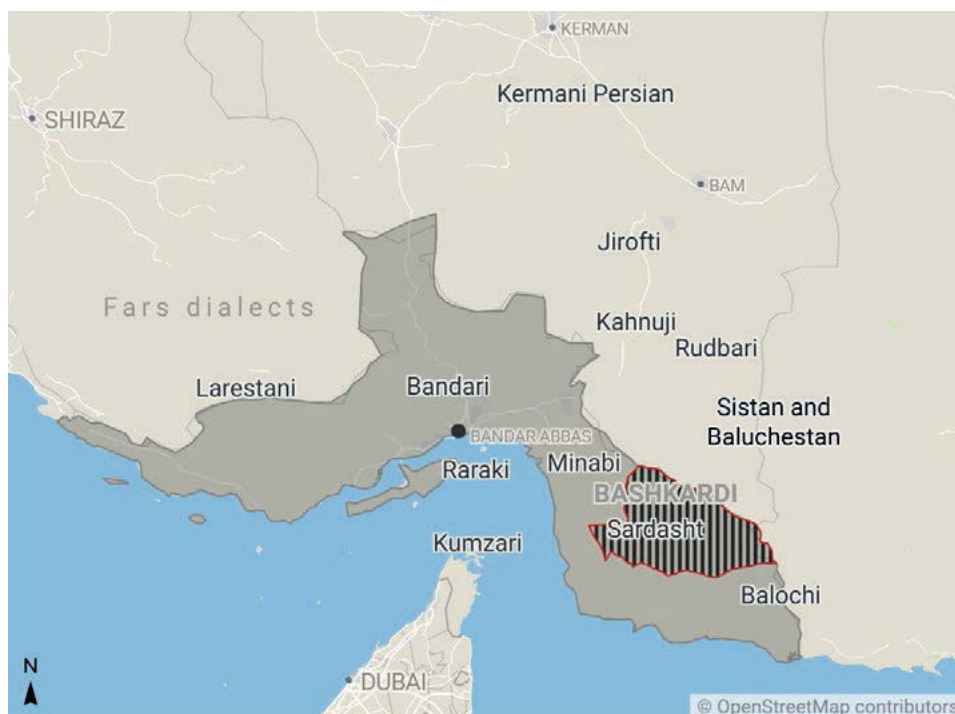


Figure 1. Languages of Southeast Iran
(map by Gerardo Barbera, made with *Datawrapper*)

in the district (*bakhsh*) of Chāhkhodā in Qal'e-ye Ganj sub-province of Kermān province, on which Bashāgerd borders at its northwestern end.

³ See Voskanián and Boyajian-Sureniant (2007: 122, fn. 8), who were the first to make references to the Bashkardi endonyms mentioned above. What little is known about the history and the exploration of Bashāgerd is summarised in Spooner (1988). In 2008, Bashāgerd, with an area of 9,200 km², was established as a sub-province (*shahrestān*) of Hormozgān province. It currently comprehends three districts (*bakhsh-hā*), namely Markazi, with the rural agglomerations (*dehestān-hā*) of Jakdān and Sardasht, Gohrān, with the rural agglomerations of Dar Ābsar and Gohrān, and Gāfr and Pārmun, with the homonymous rural agglomerations, respectively. It consists of some 150 permanently inhabited

long-term survival is a possibility. There is, in fact, no lack of intergenerational transmission recorded, while numerical weakness could one day lead to greater group solidarity with positive implications for language maintenance.

From a historical point of view, both North and South Bashkardi have been conjectured as being a so-called Southwest sub-branch of Iranian.⁴ However, South Bashkardi diverges considerably from North Bashkardi and the dialects adjacent to the north and west of it in both historical phonology and grammar, joining in different respects Balochi, which is in close contact with both Bashkardi groups, but is a so-called Northwest sub-branch of Iranian.⁵

villages (*abādi-hā*) and its capital is Sardasht. See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 24, 68) (based on the 2011 census). Note that Angurān, Anguhrān, Angohrān are more commonly used forms than Gohrān.

⁴ See Skjærvø (1988: 846); Windfuhr (2009: 13). In particular, Windfuhr provides a chart in which ‘Southwest Iranian’ is portrayed as incorporating, beside Persian, the ‘Perside groups, Southern Zagros and Fars’, and the ‘non-Perside groups, Larestan and Gulf’. The Gulf group in its turn includes Bandari, Minābi, Bashkardi, and Kumzari on the Masandam peninsula in Oman.

⁵ See Korn (2017: 80; 2021: 302–303) for a critical hint on North and South Bashkardi as a genetic entity; see also Korn (2022), where the possibility of Bashkardi representing a ‘mini-Sprachbund’ (‘convergence of Iranian varieties of different origin’) is briefly assessed. Gershevitch (1970: 163) calls North and South Bashkardi ‘two distinct language groups, a northern and a southern’, or ‘two languages’. Later, however, Gershevitch (1992: 74) will state that Bashkardi and Balochi are ‘two Iranian languages that differ from each other no more, but also not much less, than Spanish, for example, differs from Italian’. Thus, it seems that here, Gershevitch considers Bashkardi as one language, when compared to Balochi as a distinct language (unless he had in mind South Bashkardi exclusively). Also note Voskani and Boyajian-Surenians’ (2007: 122) field observations that ‘[t]hough the extant materials on these dialects are still limited, they do not seem to be dialect variations of the same language, but, rather, build two distinct language groups, unified—regardless their genetic characteristics—under one conventional name (Baškardi) merely on the basis of territorial coverage’. In Barbera (2021), I reviewed the lexical isoglosses in the dialect continuum across Hormozgān and southern Kermān provinces as this continuum was outlined in Borjian (2017: 306–313) (where Kumzari was excluded from grouping). Data from Balochi were also added. A cross-dialectal 40-item word list of the ‘Automated Similarity Judgment Programme Database’ (Wichmann, Holman, and Brown 2020) was provided to show how both Bashkardi dialect groups are distinctly closer to the dialects in southern Kermān province (i.e. Jirofti, Kahnui, Rudbāri, Manujāni) than they are to ‘Bandari’ dialects (i.e. Bandarabbāsi, also known as Bandari itself, Minābi, etc.). Note that Borjian (2017: 306) groups Manujāni with Minābi and Bandari. Research also revealed (also probably due to contact phenomena) consistent sharing of characteristic lexical isoglosses between dialects in southern Kermān province and Bashāgerd on the one hand, and Balochi on the other hand, with respect to all other dialects along the coast and inland from the Strait of Hormuz. The linguistic collocation of Kumzari and its variant form known as Rāraki on Lārak island offshore from Bandar Abbās deserves a separate discussion. For succinct and up-to-date information on recent research on Bashkardi see Korn (2021b: 301–302). Brief and perceptive historical descriptions

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

The text analysed in this article is a sample of documentary linguistic materials from the Bashkardi dialect of Garu, a village of about 2,000 people⁶ lying outside Bashāgerd proper, about 40 km southeast of Mināb on the southwest spurs of the Western Bashāgerd mountains. By its very position, Garu falls administratively within the rural agglomeration (*dehestān*) of the district (*bakhsh*) of Senderk, which is one of the four subdivisions of the sub-province (*shahrestān*) of Mināb.⁷ Most of this territory was until quite recently governed alternatively as a rural agglomeration or a district under the name of ‘Western Bashāgerd’.

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

People’s main occupation in Garu is agriculture, but there are here as elsewhere also many workers who migrate seasonally to Mināb, Bandar Abbās or more permanently to the Arabian Peninsula, especially Oman and Qatar.

mainly elaborated on from I. Gershevitch’s dispersed references to Bashkardi (Gershevitch was the first linguist to carry out fieldwork in the area in 1956), were made available in two classic contributions in Skjærvø (1988; 1989).

⁶ They numbered 1420 in a report by the National Geographic Organization of the Iranian Armed Forces (2004: 126), containing data from the 1996 census.

⁷ See Statistical Centre of Iran (2013: 18, 28).

2 Phonology

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

2.1 Consonants

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

	Labial	Alveolar	Postal- veolar/ palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>k g</i>		(ʔ)
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
Fricative	<i>f v</i>	<i>s z</i>	<i>š (ž)</i>		<i>x ɣ</i>	<i>h</i>
Affricate			<i>č ĵ</i>			
Trill		<i>r</i>				
Approximant	(<i>w</i>)		<i>y</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>				

Table 1. Consonants

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

2.2 Vowels

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

	Front	Central	Back
Close	<i>ī</i> (<i>ĩ</i>)		<i>ũ</i>
	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>ē</i>		<i>ō</i>
	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
		<i>ə</i>	
Open		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>

Table 2. Vowels

There is undoubted instability along the front and the back axes. This is probably due to pressure from Standard Persian, which favours a more economic phonological system. *ə* is found in *dərūh*, *dərūst* ‘to say’, and sometimes also in *bərūt* ‘brother’, which some speakers pronounce as *berūt*, some others as *borūt*, too; *ĩ*, which is probably not an independent phoneme, is found here as an allophone of *ũ*, especially when following a palatal sound: e.g. *šũ*, *šĩ* ‘husband’, *jūt*, *jĩt* ‘to eat’.

Note that *ē* and *ī*, as well as *ō* and *ũ*, appear to have phonetically similar allophones and can often interchange, even in one and the same speaker (as is the case with the narrator of this text). Both pairs also show phonetic tendencies to diphthongise to *ie* and *ue* respectively. Diphthongization is, however, a highly irregular process in the dialect of Garu.

2.3 Stress

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

3 Morphosyntax

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

3.1 Definiteness

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

3.2 Indefiniteness

Markers of indefiniteness are numeral adjective *yow* ‘one’ and indefinite and specific enclitic marker = *ō*, which are either both combined together or used separately from each other: e.g. *yow ešter*, *yow ešter=ō*, *ešter=ō* ‘a camel’, with small nuances of meaning (as if they were, more or less, English ‘a/one camel’, ‘some camel or other’, ‘any camel’ respectively). Note the following partitive construction implying that the classifier *tū* (a numerative noun with an associated sense of ‘unit’) is used as a pronoun:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----------|------|-------------------------|
| (1) | <i>yow</i> | <i>tū</i> | [Ø] | <i>ešter-an</i> [or -Ø] |
| | one | CLASS/PRO | [EZ] | camel-PL |
| | ‘one camel/one of the camels’ | | | |

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

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (2a) | <i>yow tū</i> | <i>ešter-an</i> | <i>kam</i> | <i>bīt</i> | |
| | one CLASS/PRO | camel-PL | few | become.PST-3S | |
| | ‘one of the camels was missing’ (preterit) | | | | Text, § 2 |
| | | | | | |
| (2b) | <i>yow tū</i> | <i>ešter-an...</i> | <i>kam</i> | <i>a-bīt-en</i> | |
| | one CLASS/PRO | camel-PL | few | DUR-become.PST-3PL | |
| | ‘one of the camels was missing’ (imperfect) | | | | Text, § 2 |

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

expected perfect stem *goč*, on which pluperfect *goč-at* is based. The past stems are also used as infinitives in my documentation. Progressive present and past tenses consist of the copula and a ‘predicate’ locution formed by the preposition *be* ‘to, at’ (treated hereafter as a prefix) and the past stem (or the infinitive): e.g. *be-tavent* = *ū* ‘you are falling’, lit. ‘in to-fall you are’. Progressive formations are negated by negating the copula: e.g. *be-tavent neh* = *ū* ‘you are not falling’.

3.5 Verbal prefixes

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

3.6 Personal endings

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

	Present	Past
1S	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>
2S	<i>-ex/-e</i>	<i>-ū/-ūx</i>
3S	<i>-et</i>	$\emptyset$
1P	<i>-an</i>	<i>-om</i>
2P	<i>-oht/-aht</i>	<i>-oht</i>
3P	<i>-en</i>	<i>-en</i>

Table 4. Personal endings

3.7 Moods and tenses

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

	Present-future	Preterit	Imperfect	Perfect	Pluperfect
1S	<i>a-p-în</i>	<i>vot-în</i>	<i>a-vot-în</i>	<i>vo-x-în</i>	<i>vo-x-at-în</i>
2S	<i>a-p-e/ex</i>	<i>vot-û/ûx</i>	<i>a-vot-û/ûx</i>	<i>vo-x-û/ûx</i>	<i>vo-x-at-û/ûx</i>
3S	<i>a-ptl⁹</i>	<i>vot</i>	<i>a-vot</i>	<i>vo-x</i>	<i>vo-x-at</i>
1P	<i>a-p-om</i>	<i>vot-om</i>	<i>a-vot-om</i>	<i>vo-x-om</i>	<i>vo-x-at-om</i>
2P	<i>a-p-oht</i>	<i>vot-oht</i>	<i>a-vot-oht</i>	<i>vo-x-oht</i>	<i>vo-x-at-oht</i>
3P	<i>a-p-en</i>	<i>vot-en</i>	<i>a-vot-en</i>	<i>vo-x-en</i>	<i>vo-x-at-en</i>

Table 5. Selected indicative paradigms of *vot/p-* 'to come'

3.8 Ergative alignment

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

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

- (5a) *yow jŭšk = ō = e* *kerxat* *der* *hamā* *manjal*
 one.sparrow = INDEF = PC.3 Smoke.PPF in same pot

⁹ Regular ending: *-et*.

- (5b) *yow jūšk = ō kerxat = e der hamā mañjal*
 one.sparrow = INDEF make. PPF = PC.3S in same pot
 ‘he had put a sparrow in the same pot’

3.9 Cliticisation

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

	set-1	set-2
1S	= <i>om</i>	<i>m</i> =
2S	= <i>et</i>	<i>t</i> =
3S	= <i>e</i>	<i>h</i> =
1P	= <i>an</i>	<i>n</i> =
2P	= <i>ox</i>	<i>x</i> =
3P	= <i>eš</i>	<i>š</i> =

Table 6. Pronominal clitics

Both sets appear to be in partial complementary distribution. In addition to the function of agent markers (5a, 5b, 6 and 7), they can also be employed in direct object (8) and oblique (9) functions, and generally—but particularly as far as set-1 clitics are concerned—as possessive pronouns. Set-2 clitics are single consonant particles. They syllabify as the onset of the following vowel in the verb that hosts them, and they are never found in a position different from this. There is no segmental pause interlexically between the particle and the verb, which would bar resyllabification at a syntagmatic level. Provided that the most common vowel onset is the indicative durative marker *a-*, set-2 clitic particles are characteristically (although not exclusively) associated to the formation of the indicative present and imperfect tenses: e.g.

- (6) *a-kert = e = h = a-kert*
 DUR-do.PST = PC.3S = PC.3S = DUR-do.PST
 ‘he was doing, he used to do’
- (7) *ziād latākotā š = a-kert*
 a.lot nervous.excitement PC.3P = DUR-do.PST
 ‘[the dogs] were moving about a lot nervously’ Text, § 17

- (8) *rīzrīz* *h = a-kan-în*
 smashed PC.3S = DUR-do.PRS-1S
 'I smash him'

- (9) *šīr = e* *h = adūt*
 milk = PC.3S PC.3S = give.PST
 'she gave her milk'¹⁰

Text, § 4

3.10 Clitics and endings in the past domain of transitive verbs

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

- (10) *maš* *a-šūt-în = e*
 mosquito DUR-eat.PST-1S = PC.3S
 'a mosquito was eating (= stinging) me'¹¹

¹⁰ Note that in *adūt*, *a°* belongs to the stem. It is not the indicative durative marker *a-*.

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

4 Text

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

The text narrates the story of the youngest daughter in a family of seven male children, who soon reveals herself to be a monster¹⁵ and will eat her family’s livestock and properties, her parents and all of her siblings, except the youngest brother; this latter will have his sister killed by his dogs and will free everyone and everything from her breasts, eventually.

¹² Ethnolinguistic information regarding Mr. B. Mirshekāri: exposed to first language, Molkigāl Bashkardi, from birth; exposed to second language, Persian, at school, at work, and through the mass media; ethnicity: Bashkardi, Bandari, Iranian; education: up to high school; language under investigation: Molkigāl Bashkardi (Garu’i), spoken fluently as first language, language of ethnic identification, used at home, in the neighbourhood, with friends and other members of the same ethnolinguistic group.

¹³ A second trip to Garu was not authorised at SOAS, London, as it would unfortunately have coincided with the period of turmoil following the re-election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2009.

¹⁴ This text, in particular, was archived with the following identification marks: molkigal-barbera-0389 B1, bundle name ‘The dorōñ monster’, molki_texts005, narrator Bejār Mirshekāri, place Garu, Hormozgān, Iran. It was recorded with a Marantz PMD671 audio recorder and an Audio-Technica AT 825 microphone that had been loaned from ELAR. The combination of these two (otherwise excellent) equipment tools did not prove to be particularly helpful on that occasion. Mr. B. Mirshekāri also helped in the transcription process and with the Persian translation. In March 2022, Mahmoud Mahmoudi received via Whatsapp a copy of the transcribed Bashkardi text. He should have recorded his own reading of the transcription, conforming to his own sub-dialect, but detaching himself from the original as little as possible (e.g. if he happened to be unaware of a particular expression). Mahmoud sent me his recording one month later and then, though in a too syncopated manner, we began to discuss various issues, especially as regards pronunciation.

¹⁵ Referred to in the text as *dorōñ*, see § 5, Glossary, *sub voce*. As regards the origin of this word, Marco Fattori (personal communication) has suggested, only preliminarily and with lots of caution, an intriguing etymology, by pointing to a Middle Iranian type **darrāñj*, possibly < Old Iranian **darna-ānačī-*, literally ‘she who tears’, derived < *dar-* ‘to tear, tear to pieces, split’, and the well-attested feminine suffix found in New Eastern Iranian languages, for which see Morgenstierne (1962). The *o* in the first syllable is, according to this scholar, perhaps explained as an obscuration of **a* in a closed syllable; see Skjærvø (1988: 847) (‘Vowels’).

4.1 Basic summary and typology

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Here, at this point, there is the following alternative content: ‘At a king’s court every night someone devours horses. The elder princes who keep watch fail, but the youngest shoots the monster. He recognizes his baby sister as the cannibal because one of her fingers has been shot off. The youth is driven away [as a liar] or flees [sometimes together with his mother or elder sister]’. See Uther (2004 1: 203).

¹⁷ See Marzolph (1984: 70–71) for variations with respect to the basic summary. There does not seem to be any geographically significant distribution of themes and motifs, as

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

4.2 South Bashkardi and other versions

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

texts from the same area sometimes appear to display greater differences between each other than each of them does with respect to texts from other areas. Life tokens are present in most of these versions, such as falling stones and rotting oranges (in texts from Māzanderān), water becoming blood or milk becoming blood (in texts from Khorāsān and Markazi respectively). Marzolph (1984: 71) provides an additional final episode (found in both texts from Māzanderān and the ones from Boyer Ahmad and Markazi) involving a leaf, or something similar, having grown out of a drop of blood, which will help the brother to become rich in one way or another.

¹⁸ Note also the 'Comparative notes on Pashai folklore' by the Norwegian folklorist Reidar Th. Christiansen apud Morgenstierne (1973: xviii–xxviii), especially on pp. xix–xxi. Christiansen ascribes the folktale to 'The magic flight'. This corresponds to ATU 313 and also stands as one of the combinatory versions of ATU 315A; see Uther (2004 1: 194–197, 203). It was previously considered as being an episode (or motif) of [AT] 315A in Aarne and Thompson (1961: 310–311), where it referred to the fact that the brother flees, leaving behind objects that slow down or prevent his sister's pursuit. In the South Bashkardi

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

Pashai version (Morgenstierne 1973: 22¹⁹):

He was pondering about this, when his sister appeared and said: 'My brother, how many legs has your horse?' He answered: 'It has four'. She ate two of its legs, and in a moment she ate the whole horse.

Lori version (Loeffler–Friedl 2007: 71):

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

South Bashkardi version (see also § 4.5, text §§ 12-13):

She said, 'My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle while I go and give water to your horse'. When she went, she tore the horse apart piece by piece. Back home she says, 'My brother, has your horse become three-legged?'—She had just devoured a leg. Then she says again, 'Has your horse come on two legs?' He says, 'Yes, it has come on two legs'. He himself knew that she is a *dorōñ* monster and has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes', he replied.

version, as well as in many other versions, there is no magic flight (the brother finds refuge from his sister climbing up seven palm trees in succession, which he had himself previously planted).

¹⁹ Termed as Tagau version, i.e. from Lauṛōwan in the Kauṭi district in the upper Tagau valley, northeast of Kabul; see Morgenstierne (1973: ix).

4.3 Transcription and translation of the text²⁰

1. *Yow zen = o mūš = ō heš-at-en, nazdik be yow hašt tū koterk = eš heš-at. Ba 'd i bāmard nazdik = e sad tū gōx-e heš-at, sad tū ešter = e heš-at, sad tū asp = e heš-at, sad tū kar = e heš-at, sad tū pah = e heš-at, sad tū miš = e heš-at. Merg = e heš-at. Hama čiz = eš heš-at. Vaz = e ham xèylō xob = at. Lahar = eš heš-at. Yenan der yow deh = ō zendegī š = a-kert, der yow mahall = ō, ābādī = ō.*

There was a woman and a man, who had next to eight children (i.e. they were about to have their eighth child). Then the man owned about a hundred cows, he owned a hundred camels, he owned a hundred horses, he owned a hundred donkeys, he owned a hundred goats, he owned a hundred sheep. He owned poultry. They had everything. Their situation was very good. They had a home. They were living in a certain village, in a certain locality, [in] a certain hamlet.

2. *Ba'd i haft tū koterk = e ke heš-at, ba'd dāzan upes bit, yow dek-ak = ō = e bit. Ī dek-ak = e bit. Ey res = ō ke i dek bit, har res = ō yow tū ešter-an deh deh kam a-bit-en. Ba'd hamā bap = e, šū = e dāzan a-dārūh = e, šū = e dāzan a-dārūh = e, bap koterk-an, ke, 'ī pah-an xo-y = an gār be-bit-en. Yow tū ešter-an kam bit'. Kam kam do ešter, se ešter, čūr tū tā nazdik bist tū ešter kam a-bit. Har šep = ō yow tū gār a-bit-en.*

Following the seven male children that she had had, then the woman got pregnant [and] gave birth to a baby girl. This, her baby girl, was born. From the day when this girl was born, every single day, little by little, there was one of the camels missing. Later, her husband, the woman's husband, the father of those children began to say, 'Our goats are disappearing. There is [also] one of the camels missing'. Little by little two camels, three camels, four, up to about twenty camels were missing. Every night one was disappearing.

3. *Ba'd hamā yow tū berūt-an kūčak-ter yow šep = ō ādam dunā-y = at: gerūt = e i kelenč xo-y = e šakānt, šakānt ke bīdār bī. Dārūh-e, 'Aya ne-šakān-in = e? Tak ne-kan-in kelenč xo?' Xoy tīy = e gerūt, šakānt = e. Xū = e zat = o sar = e nūt ru bālešt xo. Xob! Der = e xāv na-rowt.*

Then, one night, one of the brothers, the youngest [who] was brainy, took his finger and injured [it] so he would stay awake. He said, '[What] if I injure it, split my finger in two?' He grabbed [it] with a blade, [and] split [it] open. He put some salt [on it] and placed his head on his pillow. Nice! He did not fall asleep.

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

4. Čehm = e zīl = at. Bīdār = at deh tā dum. Dīt = e hamā xūrx = e ke der gahvāra = at narmiakā iĵkent, rowt lard. Ye = ham dombāl = e narmī narmī rowt. Rowt der ešter-an, yow ester = e jūt. Yow gōx = e jūt. Baʿd vot der gahvāra, daḡa tavent. Zat = e xwan, mūt = e boland bīt, šīr = e h = adūt, xāvānt = e.

His eyes were wide open. He stayed awake [from] the day before until dawn. [Then] he saw that his sister, who was in the cradle, softly jumped out [and] went outside. He also very quietly followed her. [He saw that] she went among the camels [and] ate a camel. She ate a cow. After that she came [back] into the cradle [and] fell asleep again. She cried [and] her mother got up, suckled her [and] put [her back] to sleep.

5. Sahargāh hamā čok ke dā xo-y = e šakān-x-at dīt = e xūrx = e der gahvāra dar tavent, rowt, ešter = e jūt = o gōx = e jūt, rowt be mūt xo-y = e dārūh = e, 'Nena! Ī xūrx yamah, hamī dek to, ī dorōnj = ō-y = e. Men dōš kelenč xo, be-dīt = ū? Šakān-x = om, bīdār bī-x-in ke ye a der gahvāra iĵeken-x, rowt: ī ešter = e jū-x = o ī gōx = e jū-x. Alʿān šomah rav-aht, sār k-oht!'

[In] the morning, the son who had split his hand²¹ [and] watched [that] his sister got out of the cradle, went [and] ate a camel and ate a cow, went to talk to his mother, 'Mummy! This sister of ours, this your daughter, this is a monster! Last night, my finger, are you seeing it? I split it open [and] stayed awake until when she jumped out from inside the cradle [and] went: she has eaten this camel and has eaten this cow. Go, right now, have a look!'

6. Āan rowt-en, sār = eš kert. Sār = eš kert: yow gōx nah = at, yow ešter nah = at. Baʿd mūt = e bad = e vot, bap = e hālī = e kert. Čun haft tū berūt = at-en, yow dek = ō bī-x-at, xēylō be ī dek š = a-vāhent, dōst = eš a-bīt. Baʿd gerūt = e, ba ā čok xo-y = e gerūt, zat bāmard, dar = e pāyd. Ows-e, 'Šomah hālā ba men dar be-pāyd = oht. Bāle, eškāl = e ne!'

They went [and] had a look. They had a look: there was not one cow, there was not one camel. Then his mother had hard feelings [and] informed his father. Since they were seven brothers, [when] one baby girl had been born, they loved this girl a lot, they were fond [of her]. Then he took [him], the man took his own child and beat [him and] cast [him] out. [The child] says, 'You are now getting rid of me. All right, there's no problem with that!'

7. Baʿd hamā berūt = e rowt ba yow safar dīr = ō, safar dīr = o derāz = ō. Rowt, hamā mahalla kert = e kār, zen = e kert. Zen = e kert. Yow, do tū sax = e dārent, kočak jādū. Yaʿnī sax-an = e dūnā = e dārent. Baʿd deh deh xorāk adūt-en, parvareš adūt-en = o felān h = a-kert-en tā nazdīk = e čand sūr. Sax-an zīād dūnā-y = at-en.

²¹ In § 3, it was said it was a 'finger'.

Afterwards, that brother of hers went on a long journey, a distant, long journey. He went away [and, in] the same neighbourhood [where] he worked, he took a wife. He took a wife. He owned one, two dogs, puppies that were [real] magicians. In other words, he owned [really] clever dogs. Then he was feeding them little by little, he was training them, he was doing such-and-such [a thing]²² for them for about a few years. The dogs were very clever.

8. *Ba'd a yow dah sūr, pānzdah sūr gozašt, dārūh = e, 'Men a-re-in hālā hamā mahall ke bap = o mūt = om bī-x-en, sar = ō a-zan-in, bap = o mūt = om zende-y = en, zenda neh = en, če towr = en'. Ī berūt-ak ke jeyn = e a-rowt, ba ye-h = eš ke dar pāyd, ā xūrx a der gahvāra har šep eyjekent, har šep = ō yow ešter = o yow asp h = a-jūt, yow ešter = o yow gōx h = a-jūt, yow gōx = o yow asp h = a-jūt, pah h = a-jūt, miš h = a-jūt, merg h = a-jūt tā, ya'nī, tamām = e ī čī-an = e jūt. Ī heyvūn-an = e jūt dam lahar = at-en.*

After some ten [or] fifteen years passed, he said, 'Now I will go to the same place where my father and mother have been [living], I will pay a flying visit [and see] if my father and mother are alive, they are not alive, how they are'. [At the time] when this little brother was leaving his place [because] they cast him out, that sister was [keeping on] jumping out from inside the cradle every night, every single night she was devouring a camel and a horse, she was devouring a camel and a cow, she was devouring a cow and a horse, she was devouring goats, she was devouring sheep, she was devouring the poultry until, in other words, she finished all of these things off. She devoured these animals [that] were at home.

9. *Ba'd šorū = e kert berūt-an xo, ā šeš tū ke hamārd = at-en, jūt-en = e koll. Bey mūt xo-y = e jūt, bey bap xo-y = e jūt. Ba'd yow šū = e kert. Dorōñj = ō-y = at. Yow šū = e kert, hič ke nah = at. Šū = e ker-x-at, yow koterk = ō = e bī-x-at. Ī berūt = e ke za-x-at dar = eš pāy-x-at, ba'd az pānzdah, bist sūr hālā vot ke ya'nī sar = ō zī ke bap = o mūt = e zende-y = en yā na.*

Then she began on her own brothers, all those six that were there, she ate them all. [Then] she ate her own mother, she ate her own father. Then she married someone. She was a *dorōñj* monster. She married one, [even though there] was no one [that would marry her].²³ She had got married [and] had had a child. This her brother [whom] they had beaten and thrown out, after fifteen [or] twenty years, now he came [back], in other words to pay a flying visit, [to see] if his parents were alive or not.

²² The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolectal ellipsis of *čiz* 'thing', i.e. as *felān [čiz] h = a-kert-en*. See fn. 24.

²³ Translation uncertain. Another possibility is 'she married one that was a no-one', i.e. a man of no importance.

10. *Vaxt=ō vot hamā mahall=ō ke bap=o mūt=e neš-x-at-en, yow kaleng=ō heš-at, yow xarābe-y=ō hamārd heš-at. Dərūh=e, ‘Xodā-yā! Ī bap=o mūt men ke ī pah=o ešter-an ke ī mahall=eš koll goč-at kōh=en? Ešter-an kōh=en=o pah-an kōh=en=o xūne-y=an, zendegī=an kōh=en? Tamām ey beyn row-x-en, hič=e ne. Xarāb bī-x-en. Ī, če balā-y=ō čak yenan īvo-x? Čī=eš bī-x?’*

When he arrived where his parents had lived, there was a place covered with rubble, there was a place covered with ruins there. He said, ‘Oh God! Where are the father and mother of mine, who owned sheep and camels [and] possessed this whole locality? Where are the camels and where are the sheep and where are our home and our livestock? They have been destroyed, there is nothing [left]. They have been wiped out. What calamity is this, [which] has fallen upon them? What has happened to them?’

11. *Ye xo dūnent=e ke ya’nī hamā xūrx=eš ke dorōnj=e ba ī zendegī, tamām=e ī māl=o amvāl yenan=e jū-x. Ba’d ye xoy asp=ō sovār=at, vot hamārd. Dar=e zat, yāllāh yāllāh=e kert. Ba’d vot der hamā, dīt=e hamā xūrx=e ben gahvāra neš-x, yow koterk-ak=ō be-jomānt=e.*

He himself realised that, in other words, their sister, who is a *dorōnj* monster, has devoured the livestock, the whole of their property. Then he was riding a horse [and] arrived there. He knocked at the door [and] said hello. Then he came inside there [and] saw that that sister of his has taken a seat below a (hanging) cradle [and] is rocking a little child.

12. *Ba’d vot. Xūrx=e der=e xwaš bīt. Pū bīt, ‘Kōh bī-x-ū, berūt=om? Felān bī-x-ū?’ Dərūh=e, ‘Berūt=om! To nen hamērd, gahvāra jomānt ke men a-re-in, asp=et yāp a-deh-in’. Tā rowt asp=e vāyd. Ows-e, ‘Berūt-om, asp=e to selenge bī-x?’—Yow leng=ō=e jū-x-at. Ba’d ows-e daṡa, ‘Asp=e to be do leng vo-x?’ Ows-e, ‘Honk, be do leng vo-x’.*

Then he came in. His sister’s heart rejoiced. She stood up [and said], ‘Where have you been, my brother? What have you been up to?’²⁴ She said, ‘My brother! Sit down here, rock the cradle [while] I go and give water to your horse’. When she went, she tore the horse apart [piece by piece]. [Back home], she says, ‘My brother, has your horse become three-legged?’—She had [just] devoured a leg. Then she says again, ‘Has your horse come [on] two legs?’ He says, ‘Yes, it has come [on] two legs’.

13. *Ye xo a-dūnent=e ke ye dorōnj=ō=e, asp=e jū-x. Ba’d asp=e koll jūt. Ows-e, ‘Berūt=om, to piāda vo-x-ū?’ ‘Honk’. Ba’d ī berūt=e ba hamā zen xo-y=e hālī*

²⁴ Lit. ‘have you been such-and-such (or so-and-so)?’ The South Bashkardi sentence is also possibly to be intended with an idiolecal ellipsis of *jā*, i.e. as *felān [jā] bī-x-ū?*, therefore meaning ‘have you been [in] such-and-such [a place]?’ See fn. 22.

kert, 'Har vaxt = *ō* to dīt = et ī sax-an latākotā-y = eš kert, ī sax-an vel e-ken to!' Dar hamā asnā-y = *ō* ke ye ey hamā mahallad = eš ba ye-h = eš dar ne-pāyd ke a-rowt, sar yow ābsār = *ō* haft tū kal = e zat, haft tū kuv = e būv = e kārent. Ya'nī nazdīnk hamē kārent = e.

He himself knew (lit., was knowing) that she is a *dorōñj* monster [and] has devoured the horse. Then she ate the whole horse. She says, 'My brother, have you come on foot?' 'Yes' [he replied]. Then this her brother [had] already warned his own wife, 'Any time you see [that] these dogs move (lit. moved) about nervously, you free these dogs!' [Moreover,] in the space of time when he was about to leave and they had not yet cast him out from their neighbourhood, he dug seven holes in a garden [and] planted seven date palm stones. In other words, he planted about this [number of stones].

14. *Ī zaman* = *ō* ke ye a ā meyl bar ne-gohtent, hamā būv-an bī-x-at-en hor haft tū pāk, ker-x-at-en tamīz tamīz. Yow banda xodā-y = *ō* ke hamājudan sāhobī = e ker-x-at-en, balāh bī-x-at-en. Vot sar hamā būv-an, sār = e kert. Ā jeyn = e zat, rowt hamā lahar xūrx = e ke asp = e jūt. Ba'd dūtūn-an = e mot = at-en. Ba'd bey berūt xo-y = e dārūh, 'To, ī kāšox = *ō* uger, ahtī talangtalang zen ru tās ke ī koterk men ya'nī xwan ne-zī'. Ye nešt bey zat ru-y = e talangtalang; talangtalang talangtalang zat = e ru hamā kāsa.

[During] the time when he [still] did not walk back there from where he was (lit. from that direction), the same palms, all seven, had become fine [trees], they made them shapely and shapely. [In fact,] a poor man had taken care of them [and] they had grown. He got to the palms [and] had a look. [Then] he left immediately [and] went to the very home of his sister, who ate the horse. Then her teeth were blunt. Then she said to her own brother, 'You, pick up this one spoon [and] clang on the bowl this way so my child, in other words, would not cry'. He sat down to produce a clang on it; he clanged and clanged on the bowl.

15. Ba'd yow mešk-ak = *ō* hamārd = at. Hamā mešk-ak dar vot, ba hamā yārū = e dārūh, ows-e, 'Badbaxt! Ye al'ān row-x dūtūn-an xo tēz e-kī, dūtūn-an tēz e-kī ke ba to e-jū, ba to e-jū. Pa to če kār e-ken? To jeyn e-zen, ra! Men xoy dīm xo a-zan-in ru kāsa ke telengteling kī ke ye vāš-et ke ya'nī to hamērd-ūx tā ījā'. Ba'd yārū-ak harakat = e kert, hamā berūt hamā dorōñj harakat = e kert, vot, ā dov = e kert = o dov = e kert, vot tā lek būv bīt.

Then, there was a little mouse there. That little mouse came out [and] said to the man, it says, 'Poor wretch! She's now gone to sharpen her teeth, to sharpen her teeth so she can devour you, she can devour you. What action do you want to take then? Leave immediately, go! I will hit on the bowl with my own tail so it will tinkle [and] she will hear, in other words [she will understand] that you are here up to now'. Then, this left, the very brother of the very *dorōñj* monster left, went, ran and ran, until he got there [and] climbed a palm.

16. *Rasent be būv, lek bīt. Ā mešk-ak tā dorōņj vot, dīt = e mešk a-zat = e dīm xo. Vot, ā koterk-ak xo-y = e jūt, kučent = e, ā mešk-ak = e jūt. Harakat = e kert dombāl berūt xo. Harakat = e kert dombāl berūt xo, vot ben hamā būv. Ye sar būv = at. Ā būv = e berint, vur = e adūt. Berūt = e kop = e čent sar būv = e dovomī. Ā būv = e xoy dūtūn-an xo berint, kop = e čent sar būv = e sevomī.*

He came up to the palm [and] climbed [it]. [As to] that little mouse, as soon as the *dorōņj* monster came, she saw the mouse was hitting [the bowl with] his tail. She arrived, ate her own child [and] scratched [and] ate that little mouse. [Then] she left in search of her own brother. She left in search of her brother [and] came to the foot of that palm. He was on the top of the palm. She cut down that palm [and] threw [it] away. Her brother jumped forward on the top of the second palm. She cut down that palm with her own teeth [and] he jumped forward onto the third palm.

17. *Amahī tā būv = e avalī berint. Būv = e dovomī = e ke berint sax-an hamā yārū ke der lahar = at-en kaš = e zen = e ziād latākotā š = a-kert. Dāzan, zen = e hamī yārū, vel = e kert sax-an. Sax-an dov = eš kert, kakart = eš = o vot-en. Vot-en tā būv = e āx-erī-y = at hālā. Ī xūr x hālā a-berint = e ke būv itoč, bey berūt xo jū.*

[It was] so when she cut down the first palm. When she cut down the second palm, the dogs of the man that were inside his dwelling were moving about a lot nervously beside his wife. The woman, the wife of this very man, released the dogs. The dogs ran, moved rapidly, and arrived [there]. They arrived when he was now on the last palm. This sister was now cutting [through the trunk], so that the palm would fall [and] she would devour her own brother.

18. *Sax-an rasent-en. Ba sax-an = e tovār = e kert, dārūh = e, ‘Tamām ī jān h = e-ĵ-oht! Šomah fakat do tū pestūn-an xūrx = e men mū-ĵ-oht!’ Ba’d ā sax-an xo a-dūnent = eš. Ba’d hamā koll = e lāše-y = e xūrx, xūrx yārū = eš jūt, hama. Fakat do tu pestūn = eš kār na-dūt.*

His dogs arrived. He called his dogs [and] said, ‘Eat up the whole of her body! You, only the two breasts of my sister, do not eat [them] up!’ Then his own dogs were understanding. Then the whole of his sister’s body, the sister of this man, they ate it all. Only her two breasts they did not tear off.

19. *Pestūn-an = e yārū vāyd, berint, ā gūše-y = e nūt. Yow pestūn rūst = e gerūt, šakānt, berūt = o mūt = o bap = e dar vot-en. Yow pestūn = e ham šakānt, māl = o amvāl = -o zendegī = ō = e ke heš-at dar tavent, māl = e bap = e. Ba’d hamā bap = o mūt = e vot-en kaš hamā čok xo, ozrxāhī = eš kert. Ows-e, ‘Yamah ne-dūnent = an! Gap to-y = an gōš ne-kert! Ba’d az in ke to row-x-ūx tamām = e māl = o zendegī yamah = e jū-x tā āxer rasen-x ba yamah dī = e jū-x’.*

[Afterwards] he tore away [at] her breasts, cut them [and] placed [them] in that corner [of the field]. [Then] he took one breast, the right one, split [it and] his

brother[s], his mother and father came out. He also split the other breast and [all] the properties and livestock that were [in the past] came out, his father's wealth. Then his father and mother came up beside their own child [and] apologised. [His father] says, 'We did not know [then]! We didn't listen to your words! After you had gone, she has eaten up the whole of our properties and livestock until, in the end, she has got down to devouring us, too'.

20. *Ba'd yenan, xo, ā xūrx = eš sax-an jūt = en ā. Yenan daɣa nešt-en ba hamā zen-degī kert. Xo, mes = e hamā kadīm pah-an heš, gōx-an heš. Hama ī meyl ā meyl = e a-kert. Yow nafar = ō ke zen hamī yārū-y = at ezāfat ba yenan. Ba'd uvert = e zen xo kaš = e bāi-o kākū xo. Nowk-an = o ian vot-en. Daɣa nešt-en bey zen-degī kert.*

< *Ī hekāyat = e men tamām šod.* >

Afterwards, well, the dogs ate the sister, that one. Then they stayed to live the same life [as in the past]. Well, as in those old days there were sheep, there were cows. He was setting them all [in] this direction [and] that direction. A person that was the wife of this man [was] an addition to them. Then he took his wife to his [children's] grandfather's and grandmother's place. The grandchildren and these came. Then they stayed there to live.

< My tale came to an end. > (In Persian)

5 Glossary

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

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

To make the presentation of the lexicon more complete, and as homogeneous as possible, the individual (most usually non-verbal) elements of a compound verb that are not independently found in the text as well as nouns whose usage as prepositions is only found in the text are also added up as entry words with autonomous meaning, whenever their independent forms and primary senses are also attested elsewhere in South Bashkardi. Exceptions are preverbs whose sepa-

rate meaning can only be conjectured (see symbol *). For verb forms quoted with the bracketed segment (-en), see -en₂. Words in compounds or locutions other than those representing the headword are more closely examined under their respective entries.

Entries with headwords followed by variants in brackets point to free variation and alternative approximate pronunciation, which is not specifically indicated in the transcription of the text.

a /prep/ from, *az*: 5, 8, 14; see *az*, *ba'd*, *ey*.

a- /v pref/ ind dur marker, forming pres and impf from pres and pst stems, *mi-*: 1S pres *a-deh-in* 12, *a-re-in* 8, *a-zan-in* 8, 15; 3S impf *a-berint*=*e* 17, *a-bīt* 2, 6, *a-dārūh*=*e* 2², *a-dūnent*=*e* 13, *h*=*a-ĵūt* 8⁶, *a-kert* 20, *h*=*a-kert(-en)* 7, *a-rowt* 8, 13, *a-zat*=*e* 16, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2, *a-dūnent*=*eš* 18, *š*=*a-kert* 1, 17, *š*=*a-vāhent* 6; see *e*₂-.

adūt <eydeh-in> /v/ I give, *dādan*: 3S pret *h*=*adūt* 4, =*e adūt* 16, 3P pret *adūt(-en)* 7² [w cl ell].—II light v.—*parvareš* ~ train: 3S pret *parvareš adūt(-en)* [w cl ell] 7; *šīr* ~ /v/ breastfeed, suckle: 3S pret *šīr*=*e h*=*adūt* 4.—*vur* ~ /v/ throw away: 3S pret *vur*=*e adūt* 16.—*xorāk* ~ /v/ feed: *xorāk adūt(-en)* [w cl ell] 7; see *dūt*.

aṡa /conj/ if, *agar*: 3.

-aht /v end/ 2S pres, -id: *rav-aht* 5.

ahti /adv/ so, in this way, *in ĵur*: 14; syn *amahti*.

-ak /n suff/ evaluative marker: 1 referential meaning, dir anaphoric: *berūt-ak* 8, *dek-ak* 2, *koterk-ak* 11, *mešk-ak* 15 (*hamā mešk-ak*), 16², *yārū-ak* 15; 2 diminutive meaning [within an indef context]: *dek-ak*=*ō* 2, *mešk-ak*=*ō* 15.

al'ān /adv/ right now, *al'ān*: 5, 15; syn *ijā*, *hālā*.

amahti /adv/ so, in this very way, *hamin ĵur*: 17; syn *ahti*.

amvāl see *māl*.

=**an** /cl pro/ 1P.—1 ag: =*an gōš ne-kert* 19.—2 poss, =*emān*: *xo-y*=*an* 2, *xūne-y*=*an* 10, *zendegī*=*an* 10.

-an /n and pro suff/ P marker, -ān, -hā: *ā-an* 6, *berūt-an* 3, 9, *būv-an* 14², *čī-an* 8, *dūtūn-an* 14, 15², 16, *ešter-an* 2², 4, 10², *gōx-an* 20, *heyvūn-an* 8, *ī-an* 20, *koterk-an* 2, *nowk-an* 20, *pah-an* 10, 20, *pestūn-an* 18, 19, *sax-an* 7², 13², 17³, 18³.

asnā /n/ space of time, *asnā*: 13.

asp /n/ horse, *asb*: 1, 8², 11, 12⁴, 13², 14.

=**at** /cop/ pst tense, *bud*: 3S [w Ø end] =*at* 1, 3, 4³, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 3P =*at-en* 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 17.—3S neg *nah*=*at* 6², 9; see -*at*, -*x-at*, *nah*=.

-at /v suff/ formally the same as =*at*: 1 forming the ppf stem; see -*x-at* and *goč-at*.—2 forming the general pst tense; see *heš*.

avali /num adj/ first, *avvali*: 17.

az /prep/ from, *az*; see *a*, *ey*.—*ba'd* ~ /prep/ after, *bād az*: 9.—*ba'd* ~ *in* *ke* /conj/ after, when, *ba'd az in ke*: 19.

ā I /dem adj/ that, those, *ān*: 6, 8, 9, 14 (*ā meyl*), 16⁵, 18, 20².—II /dem pron/ that one, he, him, etc, *ān*: 14 (*ā jeyn=e zat*), 15, 20 (*jūt=eš ā*).—P *ā-an* (Pers *ānhā*): 6. ↔ *i*, *i-an*; see *ye* (3S pers pro), *yanan* (3P pers pron).

ā-an see **ā**.

ābādī /n/ hamlet, *ābādi*: 1; syn *deh*.

ābsār /n/ garden, oasis, *bāq*, *vāhe*: 13.

ādam /n/ human being, person, *ādam*: 3.

āxer /adv/ in the end, *āxer*: 19.

āxerī /adj/ last, *āxeri*: 17.

ba /prep/ 1 to, at, on (spatial), *be*: 7; syn *sar* (prep 2).—2 for, *be*, *barā=ye*: 20 (*ba hamā zendegī kert*).—3 spec dir obj marker: 6², 8, 11, 13², 15² (*ba to*), 19.—4 indir obj marker, to, *be*: 15 (*ba hamā yārū*), 20 (*ba yenan*); see *be*, *bey*.

bad /adj/ bad, *bad*.— ~ *vot* /v/ have hard feelings [w cl pron for indir obj], *bad āmadan* [*az čiz=i* or *kas=i*]: 6.

badbaxt /n/ poor wretch, *badbaxt*: 15.

ba'd /adv/ afterwards, later, then, *ba'd*: 1, 2³, 3, 4, 6², 7², 9², 11², 12², 13², 14², 15², 18², 19², 20²; syn *pa*.— ~ *a* or *az* /prep/ after, *ba'd az*: 8 [w *a*], 9 [w *az*].— ~ *az in ke* /conj/ after, when, *ba'd az in ke*: 19.

balā n calamity, *balā*: 10.

balāh /adj/ big, *bozorg*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ grow, *bozorg šodan*: 3P ppf *balāh bī-x-at-en* 14.

bāle /adv/ all right, yes, *bāle*: 6; syn *honk*.

banda xodā [or *bande-ye xodā*] /n/ poor man, poor woman, *bande-ye xodā*: 14.

bap /n/ dad, father, *bābā*, *pedar*: 2, 6, 9, 19; cpart *mūt*.— ~ = *o mūt* /n/ father and mother, parents, *pedar-o mādar*, *vāledeyn*: 8², 9, 10², 19.— *mūt=o* ~ *idem*: 19.

bar /prev/ *back, *bar*.— ~ *gohtent* /v/ walk back, *bar gaštan*: 3P pret neg *bar ne-goht-en* 14.

bāi /n/ grandfather, *pedarbozorg*: 20; cpart *kākū*.

bālešt /n/ pillow, *bāleš*: 3.

bāmard /n/ adult male, man; this (or that) man, *mard*; *felāni*: 1, 6; cpart *dāzan*; syn *mūš*, *yārū*.

be /prep/ 1 to, *be*: 16; syn. *sar* (prep 2).—*nazdik* ~ /prep/ almost, next to, *nazdik be*: 1.—2 with, on (manner), *be*, *bā*: 12².—3 spec dir obj marker: 6, 17.—4 indir obj marker, to, *be*: 5; see *ba*, *bey*.

be- /v pref/ formally the same as *be*, forming pres and pst prog w inf and cop:
2S *be-dīt*=*ū* 5, 3S *be-ḵomānt*=*e* 11, 2P *be-pāyd*=*oht* 6, 3P *be-bīt*=*en* 2.

ben /n/ base, bottom, *bon*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ at the foot of, below, *pā*=*ye*: 11, 16.

berint <a-ber-īn> /v/ cut, cut down, *boridan*: 3S pret = *e berint* 16², 17², 19; 3S impf *a-berint*=*e* 17.

berūt /n/ brother, *barādar*: 6, 7, 8, 9², 12³, 13², 14, 15, 16³, 17, 19; cpart *xūrx*.

bey /prep/ 1 for [w inf], *barā*=*ye*: 14 (*bey zat*), 20.—2 spec dir obj marker: 9², 17.—3 indir obj marker, to, *be*: 14 (*bey berūt xo*); see *ba*, *be*.

beyn /n/ interval, space, *beyn*, *fāsele*.—*ey* ~ rowt /v/ be destroyed, *az beyn raftan*: 3P pf *ey beyn row-x-en* 10; syn *xarāb bīt*.

bī see **bīt**.

bīdār /adj/ awake, *bidār*: 4.— ~ *bīt* /v/ stay awake, *bidār šodan*: 3S subj ~ *bī* 3; 1S pf *bīdār bī-x-īn* 5.

bīst /num adj/ twenty, *bist*: 2, 9.

bīt <1S a-b-īn, 2S a-b-ex, 3S a-b-ī, 1P a-b-om, 2P a-b-oht, 3P a-b-en> /v/ I, 1 be, become, *budan*, *šodan*: 3S pret *bīt* 15 (*lek būv bīt*); 2S pf *bī-x-ū* 12², 3P pf *bī-x-en* 8.—2 be born, *be donyā āmadan*: 3S pret *bīt* 2³; 3S ppf *bī-x-at* 6, 9.—3 be, happen, *ettefāq šodan*: 3S pf *bī-x* 10.—II light v.—*balāh* ~ /v/ grow: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14.—*bīdār* ~ /v/ stay awake: 3S subj *bī* 3.—*boland* ~ /v/ get up, stand up: 3S pret *bīt* 4.—*dōst* ~ /v/ be fond: 3S impf *a-bīt* 6.—*gār* ~ /v/ disappear: 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2.—*kam* ~ /v/ be less, be missing: 3S impf *a-bīt* 2, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2.—*lek* ~ /v/ climb up: 3S pret *bīt* 16.—*pāk* ~ /v/ become fine: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14.—*pū* ~ /v/ stand up: 3S pret *bīt* 12.—*upes* ~ /v/ get pregnant: 3S pret *bīt* 2.—*xarāb* ~ /v/ be ruined, be wiped out: 3P pf *bī-x-en* 10.—*xwaš* ~ /v/ rejoice: 3S pf. *bīt* 12. Summary: 3P pres prog *be-bīt*=*en* 2; 3S subj *bī* 3; 3S pret *bīt* 2⁵, 4, 12, 16; 3S impf *a-bīt* 2, 6, 3P impf *a-bīt-en* 2²; 2S pf *bī-x-ū* 12², 3S pf *bī-x* 10, 3P pf *bī-x-en* 8, 10; 3S ppf *bī-x-at* 6, 9, 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14².

boland I /adj/ high, *boland*.—II /adv/ aloft, *bālā*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ get up, stand up, *boland šodan*, *pā šodan*: 3S pret *boland bīt* 4; syn *pū bīt*.

būv /n/ date palm, *naxl*, *deraxt-e xormā*: 13, 14², 15, 16⁷, 17⁴.

čak [EZ] /prep/ on, upon, *ru*=*ye*, *bar*: 10; syn *ru*.

čand /indef adj/ some, *čand*: 7; syn *yow* (II).

če /int adj/ what, *če*: 10, 15.— ~ *towr* /int adv/ how, *če towr*: 8; see *towr*; see *či*.

čehm /n/ eye, *čašm*: 4.

čent <a-čin-īn> /v/ collect, *čidan*.—*kop* ~ jump forward: 3S pret *kop*=*e čent* 16²; syn *ḵekent*.

či /int pro/ what, *če*: 10; see *če*.

či, čiz /n/ thing, *čiz*: 8 (*či-an*).—*hama* ~ /indef pro/ everything, *hame čiz*: 1 (*čiz*); see *hama*.

čiz see **či**.

čok /n/ boy, child, son, *bačče*, *pesar*: 5, 19; cpart *dek*; syn *koterk*.

čun /conj/ because, since, *čun*: 6.

čūr /num adj/ four, *čahār*: 2.

daɣa /adv/ again, then, *digar*: 4, 12, 20²; syn *dī*.

dah /num adj/ ten, *dah*: 8.

dam [EZ] /prep/ at, to, *dam* = *e*: 8; syn *kaš*.

dar /prep/ *out, *dar*.— ~ *pāyd* /v/ cast out, get rid of, *be dar kardan*, *birun kardan*: 2P pres prog *dar be- pāyd* = *oht* 6; 3S pret *dar* = *e pāyd* 6, 3P pret = *eš dar pāyd* 8, 3P pret neg = *eš dar ne-pāyd* 13; 3P ppf *dar* = *eš pāy-x-at* 9.— ~ *tavent* /v/ come out, *dar āmadan*, *birun āmadan*: 3S pret *dar tavent* 5, 19.— ~ *vot* /v/ come out, *birun āmadan*, *dar āmadan*: 3S pret *dar vot* 15, 3P pret *dar vot-en* 19.

dar /prep/ in, inside, *dar*: 13; syn *der*.

dar /n/ door, *dar*: 11.

dā /n/ hand, *dast*: 5.

dārent /v/ <a-dār-in> have, own, possess, *dāstan*: 3S pret = *e dārent* 7²; syn *heš* [w cl pron].

dāzan /n/ adult female, woman; this (or that) woman, *zan*; *felāni*: 2³, 17; cpart *bāmard*; syn *zen*, *yārū*.

deh1 /n/ village, *deh*: 1; syn *ābādī*.

deh2 /adv/ day before, yesterday, *diruz*: 4.

deh- see **dūt**.

deh deh /adv/ little by little, gradually, *kam kam*, *be tadriž*: 2, 7; syn *kam kam*.

dek /n/ daughter, girl, *doxtar*: 2³, 5, 6; cpart *čok*.

der /n/ 1 heart, *del*: 12.—2 inner part, inside, *darun*, *dāxel*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ in, into, inside, among (also figuratively), *dar*, *dāxel* = *e*: 1, 3, 4², 5³, 8, 17; syn. *dar*, *sar* (2).

derāz /adj/ long (lasting), *derāz*: 7.

dərūh, **dərūst** <1S a-bes-in, 3S a-bes-et, ows-e> /v/ say, *goftan*: 3S pres ows-e 6, 12³, 19; 3S pret *dərūh* = *e* 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 18, = *e dərūh* 14, 15; 3S impf *a-dərūh* = *e* 2² [uncertain if ows-e is pres or pst, and if ^h belongs to the pst stem; see also -h].

dim /n/ tail, *dom*; 15, 16.

dir /adj/ distant, far, *dur*: 7.

dī /adv/ again, then, *digar*: 19; syn. *daya*.

dīt <a-bin-in> /v/ see, watch, *didan*: 2S pres prog *be-dīt* = *ū* 5; 2S pret *dīt* = *et* 13, 3S pret *dīt* = *e* 4, 5, 11, 16.

do /num adj/ two, *do*: 2, 7, 12², 18².

dombāl [EZ] /prep/ behind, in search of, *dombāl*=e: 16².— ~ [EZ + n] *rowt* /v/ follow, *dombāl*(=-e *kas*=i) *raftan*: 3S pret *dombāl*=e [...] *rowt* 4.

dorōnj /n/ monster, an imaginary being which is said to manifest itself in the form of a ferocious woman, *hayulā*=i *ke xod-rā dar qāleb*=e *yek zan*=e *vahši nešān dehad*: 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16.

dov /n/ race, running, *dow*.— ~ *kert* /v/ run, *dauidan*: 3S pret *dov*=e *kert* 15², 3P pret *dov*=eš *kert* 17.

dovomī /num adj/ second, *dovvomi*: 16, 17.

dōst /n/ friend, *dust*.— ~ *bīt* [be] /v/ be fond [of], *dust dāštan* [-rā]: 3S impf *dōst*=eš *a-bīt* 6.

dōš /adv/ last night, *dīšab*: 5.

dum /n/ dawn, *dam-e sobh*, *bāmdād*: 4.

dūnā /adj/ brainy, clever, *bāhuš*, *dānā*, *zerang*: 3, 7².

dūnent <a-dūn-in> /v/ know, realize, *dānestan*: 3S pret *dūnent*=e 11, 1P pret neg *ne-dūnent*=an 19; 3S impf *a-dūnent*=e 13, 3P impf *a-dūnent*=eš 18.

dūt <a-deh-in> /v/ I give, *dādan*: 1S pres *a-deh-in* 12.—II light v.—*kār* ~ /v/ tear off: 3S pret neg *kār na-dūt* 18.—*yāp* ~ /v/ give water, water: 1S pres *yāp a-deh-in* 12; see *adūt*.

dūtūn (**dūtūn**) /n/ tooth, *dandān*: 14 15², 16.

=e₁ /cl pro/ 3S.—1 ag: pret *dārūh*=e 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 18, *dūt*=e 4, 5, 11, 16, *dūnent*=e 11, *gerūt*=e 3, 6, *jūt*(-en)=e 9, *kert*=e 7, *kučent*=e 16, *šakānt*=e 3, *uvert*=e 20, *xāvānt*=e 4, *zat*=e 4, 14; 3S pret [w cl pron fronting the v] =e *adūt* 16, =e *berint* 16, =e [...] *berint* 16, 19, =e *čent* 16², =e *dārent* 7, 8, =e *dārūh* 14, 15, =e *gerūt* 3, 6, 19, =e *jūt* 4², 5², 8², 9², 14, 16², =e [...] *jūt* 13, =e *kārent* 13, =e *kert* 6, 7², 9³, 11, 14, 15⁴, 16², 17, 18, =e [...] *kert* 13, =e *nūt* 3, 19, =e *pāyd* 6, =e *šakānt* 3, =e [...] *šakānt* 19, =e *vāyd* 12, =e [...] *vāyd* 19, =e *zat* 3, 11, 13, 14; 3S pf =e *jū-x* 5², 11, 13, 19²; 3S ppf =e *jū-x-at* 12, =e *ker-x-at* 9, =e *šakān-x-at* 5; *ker-x-at*(-en) 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf *a-berint*=e 17, *a-dārūh*=e 2², *a-dūnent*=e 13, =e *a-kert* 20, *a-zat*=e 16; within a rel context: =e *ke berint* 17, =e *ke heš-at* 19, =e *ke za-x-at* 9.—2 dir/indir functions, =aš: dir *ne-šakān-in*=e 3; indir *šir*=e *h*=*adūt* 4, *dek-ak*=*ō*=e 2, *dombāl*=e 4, *hič*=e *ne* 10, *ru-y*=e 14.—3 poss, =aš: *bap*=e 2, 6, 19, *bap*=*o* *mūt*=e 9, 10, 19, *berūt*=e 7, 16, *berūt*=*o* *mūt*=*o* *bap*=e 19, *čehm*=e 4, *dek-ak*=e 2, *der*=e 12, *dūtūn-an*=e 14, *eškāl*=e 6, *jejn*=e 8, *mūt*=e 4, 6, *mūt xo-y*=e 5, *sax-an*=e 18, *xūrx*=e 5, 11, 12, *zen*=e 17; within a rel context: *hamā lahar xūrx*=e *ke* 14, *koterk*=e *ke* 2, *hamā xūrx*=e *ke* 4; see *h*=.

=e₂ /EZ/ ezāfe, genitive-like particle (alternating w Ø), =e: *asp*=e *to* 12², *būv*=e *avalī* 17, *būv*=e *āxerī* 17, *būv*=e *dovomī* 16, 17, *būv*=e

sevomī 16, *der* = *e xāv* 3, *hekāyat* = *e men* 20, *kaš* = *e bāi* 20, *kaš* = *e zen* 17, *koll* = *e lāše-y* = *e xūrx* 18, *māl* = *e bap* 19, *mes* = *e hamā kadīm* 20, *nazdik* = *e čand sūr* 7, *sax-an* = *e dūnā* 7, *šū* = *e dāzan* 2², *tamām* = *e ī čī-an* 8, *tamām* = *e ī māl* = *o amvāl* 11, *tamām* = *e māl* = *o zendegī* 19, *zen* = *e hamī yārū* 17, *xūrx* = *e men* 18.

= **e₃** /cop/ 3S pres, = *ast*: *dorōnj* = *ō-y* = *e* 5, 13, *dorōnj* = *e* 11; pres prog *be-žomānt* = *e* 11; see = *at* (pst).

-**e** /v end/ 3S pres: *ows-e* 6, 12³, 13, 15, 19 [uncertain, see *dārūst*]; see -*et*.

-**e** /v pref/ mod marker, forming subj and imp from pres stem (alternating w Ø), *be-* (Pers also alternating w Ø): 3S subj *e-žū* 15², *e-kī* 15³; 2S imp *e-ken* 13, 15, *e-zen* 18, 2P imp *h* = *e-ž-oht* 18.

= **en** /cop/ 3P pres, = *and*: *če towr* = *en* 8, *kōh* = *en* 10⁴, *zende-y* = *en* 8; neg *neh* = *en* 8, see *neh* = ; pres prog *be-bīt* = *en* 2.

-**en₁** /v end/ 3P pres and pst (vi), -*and*: pret *nešt-en* 20², *resent-en* 18, *vot-en* 17², 19², 20; pf *bī-x-en* 8, 10, *row-x-en* 10; ppf *bī-x-at-en* 14², *neš-x-at-en* 10; impf *a-bīt-en* 2²; cop pst = *at-en* 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 17; general pst *heš-at-en* 1.

-**en₂** /v end/ 3P w obl function in the pst of vt; dir: 3S pret *žūt-en* = *e* 9, 3S ppf *ker-x-at-en* 14²; indir: 3S pret *adūt-en* 7², 3S impf *h* = *a-kert-en* 7.

= **eš** /cl pro/ 3P.—1 ag: pret. *žūt* = *eš* 20, = *eš žūt* 18, *kakart* = *eš* 17, = *eš kert* 6², 13, 17, 19, = *eš [...]* *na-dūt* 18, = *eš [...]* *dar pāyd* 8, = *eš dar ne- pāyd* 13; ppf = *eš [...]* *goč-at* 10, *dar* = *eš pāy-x-at* 9; impf *a-dūnent* = *eš* 18.—2 (dir/indir) obj, = *ešān*: pf. *čī* = *eš bī-x* 10; impf *dōst* = *eš a-bīt* 6; pst of exst = *eš heš-at* 13.—3 poss, = *ešān*: *mahal-lad* = *eš* 13, *xūrx* = *eš* 11, 20; see *š* = .

eškāl /n/ problem, *eškāl*: 6.

ešter /n/ camel, *šotor*: 1, 2⁵, 4², 5², 6, 8², 10².

= **et** /cl pro/ 2S.—1 ag: pret *dīt* = *et* 13.—2 poss, = *at*: *asp* = *et* 12.

-**et** /v end/ 3S pres, -*ad*; subj *vāš* = *et* 15.

ezāfat /n/ addition, *ezāfat*, *ezāfe*: 20.

ey /prep/ from, *az*: 2, 10, 13; see *a*, *az*.

eyjekent see *ijekent*.

fakat /adv/ only, *faqat*: 18².

felān /pro or adj/ so-and-so, such-and-such a place or thing, *felān*, *felān čiz*, *felān jā*: 7, 12 [idiolectally restricted in the last senses].

gahvāra /n/ cradle, *gahvāre*: 4², 5², 8, 11, 12.

gap /n/ word, utterance, *harf*: 19.

gār /adj/ disappeared, *gom*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ disappear, *gom šodan*: 3P pres prog *gār be-bīt* = *en* 2; 3P impf *gār a-bīt-en* 2.

gerūt, pf stem *goč*, ppf stem *goč-at* <*a-ger-in*> /v/ grab, seize, take, *gereftan*: 3S pret *gerūt* = *e* 3, 6, = *e gerūt* 3, 6, 19; 3P ppf = *eš [...]* *goč-at* 10.

goč-at see **gerūt**.

gohtent /v/ <a-gard-in> walk, *gaštan*.—*bar* ~ walk back: 3P pret neg *bar ne-goht-en* 14.

gozašt (Pers) passed = 3S pret *godarent* [not in this text]: 8.

gōš /n/ ear, *guš*.— ~ *kert* /v/ listen, *guš dādan*: 1P pret neg = *an gōš ne-kert* 19; syn. *vāšint*.

gōx /n/ cow, *gāv*: 1, 4, 5², 6, 8², 20.

gūša /n/ corner, *guše*: 1.

h = /cl pro/ 3S.—1 ag: *h* = *adūt* 4, *h* = *a-ĵūt* 8⁶, *h* = *a-kert(-en)* 7.—2 dir obj, = *aš*: *h* = *e-ĵ-oht* 18; see = *e*₁.

-h /hi/ glide: *ye-h* = *eš* 8, 13 [*h* in *dərūh* also possibly a glide]; see *nah* =, *neh* =.

haft /num adj/ seven, *haft*: 1, 6, 13², 14.

= **ham** /adv/ also, too, = *ham*: 4, 19.

ham /indef pro/ both, *ham*: 1.

hama I /indef pro/ all, everything, *hame*: 18, 20; see *hič* (I).—**II** /indef adj/ all, *hame*; syn *har*, *hor*; see *hič* (II).— ~ *čiz* /indef pro/ everything, *hame čiz*: 1; see *čiz*.

hamā₁ /dem adj/ that (or those) same (or very), *hamān*: 2, 3, 4, 5, 7², 8, 10, 11², 13³, 14³, 15⁴, 16, 17, 18 [uncertain, see *hamā₂*], 19², 20²; cpart *hamē*.

hamā₂ /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānjā*: *der hamā* (= in there) 11, 18 [uncertain, see *hamā₁*]; syn *hamāĵudan*. ↔ *hamērd*; see *hamārd*.

hamāĵudan /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānjā*: 14; syn *hamā₂*, *hamārd*.

hamārd /adv/ there, in that same (or very) place, *hamānjā*: 9, 10, 11, 15; syn *hamāĵudan*. ↔ *hamērd*; see *hamā₂*.

hamē /dem pro/ this same (or very) one, *hamin*: 13. ↔ *hamā₁*; see *hamī* [in this text as adj].

hamērd /adv/ here, in this same (or very) place, *haminĵā*: 12, 15. ↔ *hamā*, *hamārd*.

hamī /dem adj/ this (or these) same (or very), *hamin*: 5, 17, 20; see *hamē* [in this text as pron].

har /indef adj/ every, *har*: 2, 8², 13; syn *hama* (II), *hor*; see *hič* (II).

harakat /n/ movement, *harakat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ leave, *harakat kardan*: 3S pret *harakat* = *e kert* 15², 16²; syn *ĵeyn zat*.

hašt /num adj/ eight, *hašt*: 1.

hālā /adv/ now, *hālā*: 6, 8, 9, 17²; syn *al'ān*, *iĵā*.

hālī /adj/ informed, warned, *mottale'*.— ~ *kert* /v/ inform, warn, *mottale' kardan*, *xabar dādan*: 3S pret *hālī* = *e kert* 6, 13.

hekāyat /n/ tale, *hekāyat*: 20 [in the final Pers sentence].

heš, pst **heš-at** /exst/ 1 there is (or are), *hast*: S/P pres *heš* 20²; 3S pst *heš-at* 10², 3P pst *heš-at-en* 1.—2 have, own, possess [w cl pron in poss function, w or w'out num agreement]: 3S pst = *e heš-at* 17, 2, 19, 3P pst = *eš heš-at* 13; syn *dārent*. ↔ *ne*.

heyvūn /n/ animal, *heyvān*: 8.

hič I /indef pron/ nothing, *hič*: 10.—II /indef adj/ no, *hič*.— ~ *ke* no one, *hič kas*: 9.

honk /adv/ all right, yes, *bāle*: 12, 13; syn *bāle*.

hor /indef adj/ all, every, *hame*, *har*: 14; syn *hama*, *har*.

ī I /dem adj/ this, these, the, *in*: 1, 2³, 3, 5³, 6, 8³, 9, 10⁵, 11, 13³, 14², 17, 18, 20².—II /dem pro/ this one; he, him, etc, *in*: 5 (*ī dorōn* = *ō* = *e*), 10 (*ī, če balā-y* = *e*).—P *ī-an* (Pers *inhā*): 20. ↔ *ā*, *ā-an*; see *ye*, *yenan*.

ī-an see **ī**.

ijā /adv/ now, this time, *in vaqt*: 15; syn *al'ān*, *hālā*.

ijekent /v/ <eyjek-in> jump out, *birun jāstan*: 3S pret *ijekent* 4; 3S pf *ijeken-x* 5; 3S impf *eyjekent* 8; syn *kop čent*.

-in1 /v end/ 1S pres and pst (vi), -am: *a-deh-in* 12, *a-re-in* 8, 12, *a-zan-in* 8, 15, *ne-šakān-in* 3, *ne-kan-in* 3, *bī-x-in* 5.

in (Pers) only in *ba'd az in ke* /conj/ after, when: 19.

itavent <1S indic *eytav-in*, 3S subj *itoč*> /v/ collapse, fall, *be zamin oftādan*: *itoč* 17; syn *ivot*, *tavent*.

itoč see **itavent**.

ivot <eyp-in> /v/ come down, fall (from the upper surface of s'th), *pāin āmadan*, *az sar* = *e čiz* = *i oftādan*; 3S pf *ivo-x* 10; syn *tavent*, *itavent*; see *vot*.

j- see **jūt**.

jādū /n/ magician, *jādu*: 7.

jān /n/ body, *badan*, *tan*: 18; syn *lāša*.

jeyn /n/ place, *jā*: 8; syn *mahall*.— ~ *zat* /v/ flee, leave immediately, *farār kardan*, *az jā* = *i fowri raftan*: 2S imp *jeyn e-zen* 15; 3S pret *jeyn* = *e zat* 14; syn *harakat kert*.

jomānt <a-jomān-in> /v/ rock, *jombāndan*, *šik dādan*: 3S pres prog *bejomānt* = *e* 11; 2S imp *jomānt* 12.

jū see **jūt**.

jūt (**jūt**) <1S a-jū-n, 2S a-j-ūx, 3S a-jū, 1P a-j-om, 2P a-j-oht, 3P a-j-en> /v/ devour, eat, eat up, finish off, *xordan*: 3S subj *jū* 15², 17; 2P imp *h* = *e-j-oht* 18, 2P imp neg *mū-j-oht* 18; 3S pret = *e jūt* 4², 5², 8², 9², 14, 16², = *e* [...] *jūt* 13, *jūt(-en)* = *e* 9, 3P pret *jūt* = *eš* 20, = *eš jūt* 18; 3S pf = *e jū-x* 5², 11, 13, 19²; 3S ppf = *e jū-x-at* 12; impf *h* = *a-jūt* 8⁶.

jū-x see **jūt**.

jū-x-at see **jūt**.

k see **kert**.

kadīm /n/ old days, *qadīm*: 20.

kakart <a-kakarān-in [uncertain]> /v/ cover a distance with rapidity, move rapidly, *tamām masāfat=i=rā be sorʔat tey kardan*: 3P pret *kakart=eš* 17 [w cl pro].

kal /n/ hole in the ground, *surāx dar zamin*: 13.

kaleng /n/ place covered with rubble, rubble, *āvār*: 10; syn *xarāba*.

kam /indef adj/ few, little, *kam*.— ~ *bit* /v/ be less, be missing, *kam šodan*: 3S pret *kam bit* 2; 3S impf *kam a-bit* 2, 3P impf *kam a-bit-en* 2; see *kam kam*.

kam kam /adv/ little by little, gradually, *kam kam, be tadriḡ*: 2; syn *deh deh*; see *kam*.

kan see **kert**.

kaš /n/ flank, side, *kenār, pāhlu*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ at (or to) s'one's place, beside, *kenār=e, pāhlu=ye*: 17, 19, 20; syn *dam*.

kākū /n/ grandmother, *mādarbozorg*: 20; cpart *bāi*.

kār₁ /n/ work; action, deed, *kār*.— ~ *kert* /v/ 1 work, *kār kardan*: 3S pret *kert=e kār* 7.—2 take an action, *kār kardan, raftār kardan*: 2S subj *kār e-ken* 15.

kār₂ /prev/ *off.— ~ *dūt* /v/ tear off, *birun kešidan, kandan*: 3S pret neg *kār na-dūt* 18; syn *vāyd*.

kārent <a-kār-in> /v/ plant, *kāstan*: 3S pret = *e kārent* 13, *kārent=e* 13.

kāsa /n/ bowl, *kāse, tās*: 14, 15; syn *tās*.

kāšox /n/ spoon, *qāšeq*: 14.

ke₁ /conj/ general complementizer, *ke*: 1 dir speech, that: *a-dārūh=e* [...] *ke* 2.—2 obj, that: *dūnent=e ke* [...] 11, *a-dūnent=e ke* [...] 13, *vāš-et ke* [...] 15.—3 final, in order to, to [w inf], so, so that: *ke bīdār bī* 3, *ke ya'nī sar=ō zī* 9, *ke* [...] *xwan ne-zī* 14, *ke ba to e-ḡū* 15, *ke telengtēleng kī* 15, *ke būv ītoč* 17.—4 temp, until, when: *ke ye* [...] *īḡeken-x* 5, *ke berint* 17.—5 dub, if, whether: *ke bap=o mūt=e zende-y=en yā na* 9.—6 conc, therefore: *ke men a-re-in* 12.—7 introducing a rel clause: who, which, that, in which, during which, etc, *ke: koterk=e ke heš-at* 2, *res=ō ke* 2, *xūrx=e ke* 4, *čok ke* 5, *berūt-ak ke* 8, *ba ye-h=eš ke* 8, *šeš tū ke* 9, *i berūt=e ke* 9, *bap=o men ke* 10, *i pah=o ešter-an ke* 10, *banda xodā-y=ō ke* 14, *xūrx=e ke asp=e ḡūt* 14, *yārū ke* 17, *māl=o amvāl=o zendegī=ō=e ke* 19, *naḡar=ō ke* 20; temp meaning, during which, when: *asnā-y=ō ke* 13, *zaman=ō ke* 14, *būv=e dovomī=e ke berint* 17; spatial meaning, where: *mahall ke* 8, *mahall=ō ke* 10.—*ba'd a* or *az in* ~ /conj/ when, after, *ba'd az in ke*: 19.

ke₂ /indef pron/ somebody, one, *kas*.—*hič* ~ /indef pron/ no one, *hič kas*: 9; see *hič*.

kelenč /n/ finger, *angošt*: 3², 5.

ken see **kert**.

ker see **kert**.

kert <1S a-kan-īn, 2S a-ken, 3S a-kī, 1P a-kan-an, 2P a-k-oht, 3P a-kan-en> /v/ I, 1 do, make, *kardan*: 3S *h = a-kert* 7. 2 place, set, *gozāstan*: 3S impf = *e a-kert* 20; syn *nūt*.—II make, render, *kardan*.—*hālī* ~ /v/ inform, warn: 3S pret = *e kert* 6, 13.—*tamīz* ~ /v/ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely): 3S ppf = *e ker-x-at(-en)* [w cl ell] 14 (*tamīz tamīz*).—*tēz* ~ /v/ sharpen: 3S subj *e-kī* 15².—*vel* ~ /v/ free, release: 2S imp *e-ken* 13; 3S pret = *e kert* 17.—III light v.—*dov* ~ /v/ run: 3S pret = *e kert* 15².—*gōš* ~ /v/ listen: 1P pret neg = *an [...]* *ne-kert* 19.—*harakat* ~ /v/ leave: 3S pret = *e kert* 15², 16².—*hālī* ~ /v/ inform, warn.—*kār* ~ /v/ work; take an action: 2S imp *e-ken* 15; 3S pret *kert = e*.—*latākotā* ~ /v/ move about nervously: 3P impf *š = a-kert* 17.—*ozrxāhī* ~ /v/ apologise: 3P pret = *eš kert* 19.—*sāhobī* ~ /v/ take care: 3S ppf = *e ker-x-at(-en)*.—*sār* ~ /v/ have a look: 2P imp *k-oht* 5; 3S pret = *e kert* 14, 3P pret = *eš kert* 6².—*šorū* ~ /v/ begin: 3P pret = *e kert* 9.—*šū* ~ /v/ get married (to a man), take a husband: 3S pret = *e kert* 9²; 3S ppf = *e ker-x-at*.—*telengtėleng* ~ /v/ clang, give out a loud sound: 3S subj *kī*.—*tak* ~ split in two: 1S subj neg *ne-kan-īn*.—*tovār* ~ /v/ call: 3S pret = *e kert*.—*yāllāh yāllāh* ~ /v/ greet, say hello: 3S pret = *e kert* 11.—*zen* ~ /v/ get married (to a woman), take a wife: 3S pret = *e kert* 7².—*zendegī* ~ /v/ live: inf *kert* 20². Summary: 1S subj neg *ne-kan-īn* 3, 3S subj *kī* 15; 2P imp *k-oht*; 3S pret = *e kert* 6, 7², 9³, 11, 13, 14, 15⁴, 16², 17, 18, *kert = e* 7, 3P = *eš kert* 19; 1P pret neg = *an [...]* *ne-kert* 19; 3S ppf = *e ker-x-at* 9, = *e ker-x-at(-en)* 14, *ker-x-at(-en)* 14 [w cl ell]; 3S impf *h = a-kert* 7, = *e a-kert* 20, 3P impf *š = a-kert* 1, 17; inf *zendegī kert* 20².

ker-x see **kert**.

ker-x-at see **kert**.

kī see **kert**.

kočak /n/ puppy, baby dog, *tulesag*: 7.

koll I /n/ whole, *koll*: 18; syn *tamām* (I).—II /adj/ whole, all, *koll*: 9, 10, 13; syn *tamām* (II, 1).

kop /n/ jump, leap, *pareš*.— ~ *čent* /v/ jump forward, *paridan be jelow*: 3S pret *kop = e čent* 16²; syn *ījekent*.

koterk /n/child, *bačče*: 1, 2², 9, 11, 14, 16; syn *čok*.

kōh /int adv/ where, *kojā*: 10⁴, 12.

kučent <a-kuč-īn> /v/ scratch, *xāridan*: 3S pret *kučent = e* 16.

kuv /n/ stone of fruit (date, etc), *haste = ye xormā va amsāl = e ān*: 13.

kūčak /adj/ small, young, *kuček*, *javān*: 3.

lahar /n/ dwelling, home; also, a traditional hut in Bashāgerd (having an elongated, low and hemispherical beehive-like structure), *xāne, manzel; ālunak* = *e sonnati* = *e Bašāgerd*: 1, 8, 14, 17; syn *xūna*.

lard /adv/ outside, *birun*: 4.

latākotā /n/ nervous excitement, *hayaĵān* = *e asabi*.— ~ *kert* /v/ move about nervously, *in taraf va ān taraf raftan bā hālat* = *e asabi*: 3P pret *latākotā-y* = *eš kert* 13; 3P impf *latākotā š* = *a-kert* 17.

lāša /n/ body, *badan, tan*: 18; syn *ĵān*.

lāše-y- ∞ phon *lāša* + *y*.

lek /adj/ climbing up, *bālā-ravande*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (having climbed up s'th), *bālā* = *ye: lek būv bīt* 15; see *sar* (prep 1).— ~ *bīt* /v/ climb up, *bālā raftan*: 3S pret *lek bīt* 16.

leng /n/ leg, paw, *leng*: 12⁴; syn *pū*.

mahall /n/ locality, spot, *mahall*: 1, 10²; syn *ĵeyn*; see *mahalla, mahallad*.

mahalla /n/ neighbourhood, *mahalle, mahallat*: 7; syn *mahallad*; see *mahall*.

mahallad /n/ neighbourhood, *mahalle, mahallat*: 13; syn *mahalla*; see *mahall*.

māl, P **amvāl** /n/ property, wealth, *māl*: 19².— ~ = *o amvāl* /n/ idem, *māl* = *o amvāl*: 11, 19.

men /pers pro/ 1S, I, me, *man*: 5², 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20.

merg /n/ bird, poultry, *parande, morq, morq* = *o xorus*: 1, 8.

mešk /n/ mouse, *muš*: 15², 16³.

meyl /n/ direction, *taraf*: 14, 20².

mīš /n/ sheep, *mīš, gusfand* = *e māde*: 1, 8.

mot /adj/ blunt (not sharp), *kond*: 14.

mū- /v pref/ neg imp marker, *ma-*: 2P *mū-ĵ-oht* 18; see *na-*, *ne-*.

mūš /n/ man, *mard*: 1; cpart *zen*; syn *bāmard*.

mūt /n/ mother, *mādar*: 4, 5, 6, 9; cpart *bap*; see *nena*.—*bap* = *o* ~ /n/ father and mother, parents, *pedar* = *o mādar, vāledēyn*: 8², 9, 10², 19.— ~ = *o bap* idem: 19.

na-I /v pref/ neg indic marker, *na-*: 3S pret *na-rowt* 3, = *eš* [...] *kār na-dūt* 18; see *mū-*, *ne-*.—**II** self-standing with fused hi: 3S pst cop *nah* = *at* 6², 9; see *neh* = , -*h*.

nafar /n/ person, *nafar*: 20.

nah = **at** see **na-**.

narmiākā /adv/ softly, quietly, *be narmi, āheste*: 4; syn *narmī narmī*.

narmī narmī /adv/ very softly, very quietly, *ārām ārām, āheste āheste*: 4; syn *narmiākā*.

nazdik /adj/ near, *nazdik*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, *nazdik* = *e*: 1, 2, 7.— ~ *be* idem: 1; see *nazdink*.

nazdink /adj/ near, *nazdik*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ about, next to, *nazdik* = *e*: 13; see *nazdik*.

ne /exst/ neg pres, there is (or are) not: 6, 10 [also possibly *nē*]. ↔ *heš*.

ne- I /v pref/ neg marker, *na-*; 3S pret *ne-gohtent* 14, 1P pret *ne-dūnent* = *an* 19, = *an* [...] *ne-kert* 19, 3P pret = *eš* [...] *ne-pāyd*; subj: 1S *ne-šakān-in* 3, *ne-kan-in* 3, 3S *ne-zī* 14; see *mū*, *na-*.—**II** self-standing with fused hi: 3P neg pres cop *neh* = *en* 8; see *nah* = , -*h*.

neh = see **ne-**.

nen see **nešt**.

nena /n/ mummy [dir address], *māmā*: 5; see *mūt*.

nešt <a-nen-in/a-nin-in> /v/ 1 sit down, take a seat, *nešastan*: 2S imp *nen* 12; 3S pret *nešt* 14; 3S pf *neš-x* 11.—2 stay, *māndan*: 3P pret *nešt-en* 20²; 3P ppf *neš-x-at-en* 10.

nowk /n/grandchild, *nave*: 20.

nūt <a-nes-om> /v/ place, set, *gozāštan*: 3S pret = *e nūt* 3, 19; syn *kert* (I, 2).

= **o** /coord conj/ and, = *o*, *va*; connecting more than one n or adj: *bap* = *o mūt* 8, 9, 10², 19, *bāi* = *o kākū* 20, *berūt* = *o mūt* = *o bap* 19, *dir* = *o derāz* = *ō* 7, *māl* = *o amvāl* 11, *māl* = *o amvāl* = *o zendegī* 19, *māl* = *o zendegī* 19, *pah* = *o ešter-an* 8, *zen* = *o mūš* 1; yow ester = *o yow asp* 8, yow ester = *o yow gōx* 8, yow gōx = *o yow asp* 8; connecting clauses: *adūt-en* = *o felān h* = *a-kert-en* 7, *dov* = *e kert* = *o dov* = *e kert* 15, *ester* = *e jūt* = *o gōx* = *e jūt* 5, *i ester* = *e jū-x* = *o i gōx* = *e jū-x* 5, *ešter-an kōh* = *en* = *o pah-an kōh* = *en* = *o xūne-y-an* [...] *kōh* = *en* 10, *kakart* = *eš* = *o vot-en* 17, *xū* = *e zat* = *o sar* = *e nūt* 3.

= **oht** /cop/ 2P pres, = *id*: pres prog *be-pāyd* = *oht* 6.

-**oht** /v end/ 2P pres and pst (vi): -*id*: imp *k-oht* 5, *h* = *e-ĵ-oht* 18; imp neg *mū-ĵ-oht* 18.

= **om** /cl pro/ 1S.—1 ag: pf *šakān-x-om* 5.—2 poss, my, = *am*: *bap* = *o mūt* = *om* 8², *berūt* = *om* 12³, 13.

orāt, pres stem *uġer* <oger-in> /v/ pick up, *bar dāštan*: 2S imp *uġer* 14.

ows-e see **dārūh**, **dārūst**.

ozrxāhi /n/ apology, *ozrxāhi*.—~ *kert* /v/ apologise, *ozrxāhi kardan*: 3P pret *ozrxāhi* = *eš kert* 19.

= **ō₁** /indef part/ 1 a, one, = *i*: *asp* = *ō* 11, *ābādī* = *ō* 1, *balā-y* = *ō* 10, *dorōñj* = *ō* 5, 13, *i kāšox* = *ō* 14, *safar* [...] *derāz* = *ō* 7, *sar* = *ō* 8, 9.—2 spec meaning: a, one, a certain, w n preceded by yow, Pers *yek* + n = *i*: yow + *ābsār* = *ō* 13, *deh* = *ō* 1, *dek* = *ō* 6, *dek-ak* = *ō* 2, *kaleng* = *ō* 10, *koterk* = *ō* 9, *koterk-ak* = *ō* 11, *leng* = *ō* 12, *mahall* = *ō* 1, *mešk-ak* = *ō* 15, *nafar* = *ō* 20, *safar dir* = *ō* 7, *šep* = *ō* 3, *xarābe-y* = *ō* 10, *zen* = *o mūš* = *ō* 1.—3 a single, w n preceded by har, Pers *har* + n = *i*: *har res* = *ō* 2, *har šep* = *ō* 2, 8, *har vaxt* = *ō* 13; see *har*, yow.

= **ō₂** /rel part/ w restrictive meaning, = *i*; = *ō* ke: *asnā-y* = *ō* ke 13, *mahall* = *ō* ke 10, *zendegī* = *ō* = *e* ke 19, *res* = *ō* ke 2, *vaxt* = *ō* [w'out ke] 10, yow *banda xodā-y* = *ō* ke 14, yow *nafar* = *ō* ke 20, *i zaman* = *ō* ke 14.

pa /adv/ then, *pas*: 15; syn *ba*'d.

pah /n/ goat, *boz*: 1, 2, 8, 10², 20.

parvareš /n/ training, *parvareš*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ train, *parvareš dādan*: 3S pret *parvareš adūt(-en)* [w cl ell] 7.

pāyd <a-pāz-īn> /v/ cast, throw, *andāxtan*.—*dar* ~ /v/ cast out, get rid of, *birun kardan*, *be dar kardan*: inf [forming 2P pres prog] *dar be-pāyd* = *oht* 6; 3S pret *dar* = *e pāyd* 6, 3P pret = *eš dar pāyd* 8, 3P pret neg = *eš dar ne-pāyd* 13; 3P ppf *dar* = *eš pāy-x-at* 9.

pāk /adj/ fine, *pāk*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ become fine, *pāk šodan*: 3P ppf *bī-x-at-en* [...] *pāk* 14.

pānzdah /num adj/ fifteen, *pānzdah*: 8, 19.

pāy-x-at see **pāyd**.

pestūn /n/ breast, tit, *pestān*: 18², 19³.

piāda /adv/ on foot, *piāde*: 13.

pū /n/ foot, leg, *pā*; syn *leng*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ stand up, *boland šodan*, *pā šodan*: 3S pret *pū bīt* 12; syn *boland bīt*.

ra see **rowt**.

rasent <a-ras-īn> /v/ arrive, come up to, get at, *residan*: 3S pret *rasent* 16, 3P pret *rasent-en* 18; 3S pf *rasen-x* 19; syn *vot*.

rav see **rowt**.

re see **rowt**.

res /n/ day, *ruz*: 2².

rowt <1S a-re-īn, 2S a-re-y-ex, 3S a-rū, 1P a-ra-m, 2P a-rav-aht, 3P a-re-y-en> /v/ go, go away, *raftan*: 1S pres *a-re-īn* 8, 12; 2S imp *ra* 15, 2P imp *rav-aht* 5; 3S pret *rowt* 4³, 5², 7², 12, 14, 3S pret neg *na-rowt* 3, 3P pret *rowt-en* 6; 2S pf *row-x-ūx* 19, 3S pf *row-x* 15, 3P pf *row-x-en* 10; 3S impf *a-rowt* 8, 13.—*ey beyn* ~ /v/ be destroyed: 3P pf *row-x-en* 10.—*dombāl* [EZ + n] ~ /v/ follow: 3S pret ~ = *e* [...] *rowt* 4.—*der* [EZ] *xāv* ~ /v/ fall asleep: 3S pret neg *der* = *e xāv na-rowt* 3.

ru /n/ face, surface, *ru*.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ on (the surface of), *ru=ye*: 3, 14³, 15; syn. *čak*; see *sar* (prep 1).

rūst /adj/ right (not left), *rāst* (*motazādd* = *e čap*): 19.

sad /num adj/ hundred, *sad*: 1⁶.

safar /n/ journey, *safar*: 7².

sahargāh /n/ morning, *sobh*: 5.

sar /n/ 1 head, *sar*: 3.—2 flying visit, *didār* = *e kutāh*.— ~ *zat* /v/ pay a flying visit, *sar zadan*: 1S pres *sar* = *ō a-zan-īn* 8; 3S subj *sar* = *ō zī* 9.— ~ [EZ] /prep/ 1 on (the top of), *sar* = *e*, *bālā* = *ye*: *sar būv* 16³; see *lek*, *ru*.—2 at (or to) the head of, in, to, *sar* = *e*, *dar*, *be*: *sar yow ābsār* = *ō* 13, *sar hamā būv-an* 14; syn *ba*, *be*, *der*.

sax /n/ dog, *sag*: 7³, 13², 17³, 18³, 20.

- sāhobī** /n/ ownership, *mālekiyat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ take care, *mavāzebat kardan*, *morāqebat kardan*: 3S ppf *sāhobī* = *e ker-x-at(-en)* 14.
- sār** /n/ look, *negāh*.— ~ *kert* /v/ have a look, *negāh kardan*: 2S imp *sār k-oht* 5; 3S pret = *e kert* 14, 3P pret = *eš kert* 6².
- se** /num adj/ three, *se*: 2, 12.
- selenge** /adj/ three-legged, *dārā* = *ye se pā*: 12.
- sevomī** /num adj/ third, *sevvomī*: 16.
- sovār** /adj/ riding, mounted on, *savār*: 11.
- sūr** /n/ year, *sāl*: 7, 8², 9.
- š** = /cl pro/ 3P, ag: impf *š* = *a-kert* 1, *š* = *a-vāhent* 6, *š* = *a-kert* 17; see = *eš*.
- šakānt** < *a-šakān-in* > /v/ break, split; injure, *šekastan*, *šekāf dādan*: 1S subj neg *ne-šakān-in* 3; 3S pret *šakānt* = *e* 3, = *e šakānt* 3, *šakānt* 3, 19² [w cl ell]; 1S ppf *šakān-x* = *om* 5 [w cl ell], 3P ppf = *e šakān-x* = *at* 5, 19.
- šep** /n/ night, *šab*: 2, 3, 8².
- šeš** /num adj/ six, *šeš*: 9.
- šir** /n/ milk, *šir*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ breastfeed, suckle, *šir dādan*: 3S pret *šir* = *e h* = *adūt* 4.
- šod** (Pers) became = 3S pret *bīt*: 20.
- šomah** /pers pro/ 2P, you, *šomā*: 5, 6, 18.
- šorū** /n/ beginning, *šoru*¹.— ~ *kert* /v/ begin, *šoru*¹ *kardan*: 3S pret *šorū* = *e kert* 9.
- šū** (*šū*) /n/ husband, *šowhar*: 2²; cpart *zen* (2).— ~ *kert* /v/ get married (to a man), take a husband, *šowhar kardan*: 3S pret *šū* = *e kert* 9²; 3S ppf *šū* = *e ker-x-at* 9; cpart *zen kert*.
- tak** /n/ half, part, *qesmat*.— ~ *kert* /v/ split in two, *do qesmat kardan*, *nesf kardan*: 1S subj neg *tak nekanin* 3.
- talangtalang, telengteling** /n/ clang, noise produced by striking metal objects, *telengteling*, *dangdang*.— ~ *kert* /v/ clang, give out a loud sound (like pieces of metal struck together), *dangdang* (or *telengteling*) *kardan*: *telengteling kī* 15.— ~ *zat* /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects, *dangdang* (or *telengteling*) *be sedā dar āvordan*: inf *zat* [...] *talangtalang* 14; 2S imp *talangtalang zen* 14; 3S pret *talangtalang talangtalang zat* = *e* 14 [reduplication for emphasis].
- tamām** I /n/ whole, *tamām*: 8, 10, 11, 18, 19; syn *koll* (I).—II /adj/ 1 whole, *tamām*; syn *koll* (II).—2 complete, having come to an end, *tamām*: *tamām šod* (Pers) 20.
- tamīz** /adj/ beautiful, shapely, *qašang*, *xoštarkib*.— ~ *kert* /v/ make [s'th] beautiful (or shapely), *qašang kardan*, *xoštarkib kardan*: 3S ppf *ker-x-at(-en) tamīz tamīz* 14 [reduplication for emphasis].
- tavent** < 1S *a-tav-in*, 3S *a-toč* > /v/ 1 fall, *oftādan*; syn *ivot*, *itavent*.—2 sleep, *xābidan*: 3S pret *tavent* 4.—*dar* ~ /v/ come out, *birun āmadan*, *dar āmadan*: 3S pret *dar tavent* 5, 19; syn *dar vot*; see *itavent*.

tā I /prep/ for, until, up to, *tā*: 2, 4, 7, 15 (*tā iġā*).—**II** /conj/ as soon as, until, until when, when, *tā*: 8, 12, 15 (*tā lek būv bīt*), 16, 17², 19.

tās /n/ bowl, *kāse*, *tās*: 14; syn *kāsa*.

telengteling see **talangtalang**.

-ter /comp and sup suff/ more, most, *-tar*, *-tarin*: *kūčak-ter* 3.

tēz /adj/ sharpened, *tiz*, *nowktiz*.— ~ *kert* /v/ sharpen, *tiz kardan*: 3S subj *tēz e-kī* 15².

tīγ /n/ blade (sharp edge of knife), *tiq*: 3.

to /pers pro/ 2S, you, *to*: 5, 12³, 13², 15⁵, 19.

tovār /n/ call, voice, *sedā*.— ~ *kert* /v/ call, *sedā kardan*, *sedā zadan*: 3S pret *tovār = e kert* 18.

towr /n/ manner, *towr*.—*če* ~ /int adv/ how, *če towr*: 8; see *če*.

tū I /class/ num class for humans, animals and things understood as concrete, *tā*: 1⁷, 2⁵, 3, 6, 7, 13², 18².—**II** /num pro/ one (or two, or three, etc) of a series in the partitive phrase, *tā*: *yow tū* 2², *ā šeš tū* 9, *hor haft tū* 14.

uġer see **orāt**.

upes /adj/ pregnant, *hāmele*.— ~ *bīt* /v/ get pregnant, *hāmele šodan*: 3S pret *upes bīt* 2.

uvert <ovor-īn> /v/ bring, *āvordan*: 3S pret *uvert = e* 20.

= *ū*, = *ūx*, /cop/ 2S pres, = *i*: [*hamerd*] = *ūx* 15; [forming 2S pres prog] *be-dīt = ū* 5.

-*ū*, -*ūx* /v end/ formally the same as = *ū*, = *ūx*, 2S pres and pst (vi), -*i*: *bī-x-ū* 12², *vo-x-ū* 13, *row-x-ūx* 19.

vaxt /n/ time, *vaqt*: 10, 13; syn *zamān*.

vaz /n/ condition, *vaz*²: 1.

vāhent <1S a-vāh=om, 2S a-vāh=et, 3S a-vāh=e, 1P a-vāh=an, 2P a-vāh=oht, 3P a-vāh=eš [pres tense built w a cl pron]> /v/ 1 want, *xāstan*.—2 love, *mahabbat kardan*: 3P impf *š = a-vāhent* 6.

vāyd <a-vāz-īn> /v/ tear apart, *az ham jodā kardan*: 3S pret *asp = e vāyd* 12; syn *kār dūt*.

vāšint <a-vāš-īn> /v/ hear, *šenidan*: 3S subj *vāšet* 15; syn. *gōš kert*.

vel /adj/ free, released, *vel*.— ~ *kert* /v/ free, release, *vel kardan*: 2S imp *vel e-ken* 13; 3S pret *vel = e kert* 17.

vot <1S a-p-īn, 2S a-p-ex, 3S a-p-ī, 1P a-p-om, 2P a-p-oht, 3P a-p-en> /v/ arrive, come, come in, *āmadan*: 3S pret *vot* 4, 6, 9, 10, 11³, 12, 14, 15², 16³, 3P pret *vot-en* 17², 19², 20; 3S pf *vo-x* 12²; syn *rasent*.—*dar* ~ /v/ come out, *dar āmadan*, *birun āmadan*: 3S pret *dar vot* 15, 3P pret *dar vot-en* 19; syn *dar tavent*.—*bad* ~ /v/ dislike, *bad āmadan*: 3S pret *bad = e* [= 3S cl pron] *vot* 6; see *ivot*.

vo-x see **vot**.

vur /prev/ *away (from subject), *dur*.— ~ *adūt* /v/ throw away, *dur andāxtan*: 3S pret *vur = e adūt* 16.

-x /v suff/ forming the pf stem [after elision of °t in the pst stem]: 1S *bī-x-īn* 5, *šakān-x-om* 5, 2S *bī-x-ū* 12, *row-x-ūx* 19, *vo-x-ū* 13, 3S [w Ø end] *bī-x* 10, 12, = *e jū-x* 5², 11, 13, 19², *ījekn-x* 5, *ivo-x* 10, *neš-x* 11, *rasen-x* 19, *row-x* 15, *vo-x* 12², 3P *bī-x-en* 8, 10, *row-x-en* 10; see *-x-at*.

-x-at /v suff/ forming the ppf stem [after elision of °t in the pst stem]: 3S *bī-x-at* 6, 9, = *e jū-x-at* 12, = *e ker-x-at* 9, *ker-x-at(-en)* 14, = *e ker-x-at(-en)* 14, = *e šakān-x-at* 5, *za-x-at* 9, 3P *bī-x-at-en* 14², *neš-x-at-en* 10, = *eš pāy-x-at* 9; see *-x*, *-at*.

xarāb /adj/ ruined, wiped out, *xarāb*.— *~ bīt* /v/ be ruined, be wiped out, *xarāb šodan*: 3P pf *xarāb bī-x-en* 10; syn *ey beyn rowt*.

xarāba /n/ place covered with ruins, ruins, *xarābe*: 10; syn *kaleng*.

xarābe-y ∞ phon *xarāba* + *y*.

xāv /n/ sleep, *xāb*.—*der* [EZ] *~ rowt* /v/ fall asleep, [*be*] *xāb raftan*: 3S pret neg *der* = *e xāv na-rowt* 3; see *rowt*.

xèylō /adv/ a lot, very, *xèyli*: 1, 6; syn *ziād*.

xo₁ /refl pron/ 1 mine, yours, his, etc, *xod*: 3², 5, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 [usually enclitic]. 2 marking identity w cl pro: myself, my own, etc, *xod*: *xo-y* = *e* [w 3S cl pro] 3, 5², 6, 9², 13, 16, 14, *xo-y* = *an* [w 1P cl pro] 2.

xo₂ see **xob**

xob I /adj/ good, *xub*, *xob*: 1.—II also *xo* /intj/ well, nice, *xob*: *xob* 3, *xo* 20².

xodā-yā /intj/ oh God, *xodā-yā*: 10.

xorāk /n/ food, *xorāk*.— *~ adūt* /v/ feed, *xorāk dādan*: 3S pret *xorāk adūt(-en)* [w cl ell] 7.

xāvānt <a-xāv-īn> /v/ put to sleep, *xābāndan*: 3S pret. *xāvānt* = *e* 4.

xoy [EZ] /prep/ by means of, with (instrument and company), *bā*, *be va-sile* = *ye*: 3, 11, 15, 16.

xū /n/ salt, *namak*: 3.

xūna /n/ dwelling, home, *xāne*, *manzel*: 10; syn *lahar*.

xūne-y ∞ phon *xuna* + *y*.

xūrx /n/ sister, *xāhar*: 4, 5², 8, 11², 12, 14, 17, 18³, 20; cpart *berūt*.

xwan /n/ crying, weeping, *gerye*.— *~ zat* /v/ cry, weep, *gerye kardan*: 3S subj neg *xwan ne-zī* 14; 3S pret *zat* = *e xwan* 4.

xwaš /adj/ joyful, *xoš*.— *~ bīt* /v/ rejoice, *xoš šodan*: 3S pret *xwaš bīt* 12.

y /hi/ glide: *asnā-y* = *ō* 13, *balā-y* = *ō* 10, *banda xodā-y* = *ō* 14, *dūnā-y* = *at* 3, *dūnā-y* = *at-en* 7, *latākotā-y* = *eš* 13; *gūše-y* = *e* 19, *lāše-y* = *e* 18, *xune-y* = *am* 10, *zende-y* = *en* 9; *āxerī-y* = *at* 17; *to-y* = *an* 19, *xo-y* = *an* 2, *xo-y* = *e* 3, 5², 6, 9², 13, 16, 14; *dorōnǰ* = *ō-y* = *at* 9, *dorōnǰ* = *ō-y* = *e* 5; *ru-y* = *e* 14; *yārū-y* = *at* 20.

yamah /pers pro/ 1P, we, us, *mā*: 5, 193.

ya'nī /adv/ namely, in other words, *ya'nī*: 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15.

yāllāh /intj/ greeting, hello (said upon entering s'one's home), *yāllāh, yā allāh*.— ~ ~ idem.— ~ ~ *kert* /v/ greet, say hello (upon entering s'one's home), *yāllāh yāllāh kardan*: 3S pret *yāllāh yāllāh* = *e kert* 11.

yāp /n/ water, āb.— ~ *dūt* /v/ give water, water, *āb dādan*: 1S pres *yāp a-deh-in* 12.

yārū /n/ the one spoken about, this (or that) man, this (or that) woman, *yāru*: 15², 17², 18, 19, 20; syn *bāmard, dāzan*.

ye /pers pro/ 3S, he, she, it, him, her, it, *u*: 4, 5, 8, 11², 13², 14², 15, 16; see *ī, yenan*.

yenān /pers pro/ 3P, they, them, *išān, ānhā*: 1, 10, 11, 20³; see *ā-an, ī-an, ye*.

yow I /num adj/ one, *yek*: *yow, do tū sax* 7, *yow ešter* 6, *yow gōx* 6, *yow pestūn* 19², *yow šū* 9².—*yow tū* [partitive], one of: 2², 3.—II /indef adj/ some, *čand*: *yow hašt tū koterk* 1, *yow dah sūr* 8; syn *čand*.—III /indef art/ a, an, *yek*: 4², 8⁶, 9²; also w n followed by = *ō*₁: 1³, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20.

zamān /n/ time, *zaman*: 14; syn *vaxt*.

zan see *zat*.

zat <1S a-zan-in, 2S a-zen, 3S a-zī S, 1P a-z-om, 2P a-z-oht, 3P a-zan-en>: /v/ I 1 beat, hit, strike, *zadan*: 1S pres *a-zan-in* 15; 3S pret. *zat* 6 [w cl ell]; 3S impf. *a-zat* = *e* 16.—2 knock, *zadan*: = *e zat* 11.—3 dig, *kandan*: 3S pret = *e zat* 13.—II light v.—*ĵeyn* ~ /v/ flee, leave immediately: 2S imp *ĵeyn e-zen* 15; 3S pret *ĵeyn* = *e zat* 14; syn *harakat kert*.—*sar* ~ /v/ pay a flying visit: 1S pres *sar* = *ō azan-in* 8; 3S subj *sar-ō zī* 9.—*talangtalang* ~ /v/ clang, produce a clang by striking metal objects: inf *zat* [...] *talangtalang* 14; 2S imp *talangtalang zen* 14; 3S pret *talangtalang talangtalang zat* = *e* 14.—*xwan* ~ /v/ cry, weep: 3S pret *zat-e xwan* 4. Summary: inf *zat* 10; 1S pres. *a-zan-in* 15; 2S imp *zen* 14, *e-zen* 15; 3S subj *zī* 9; 3S pret *zat* 6 [w cl ell], = *e zat* 11, 13, 14, *zat* = *e* 4, 14; 3S impf *a-zat* = *e* 16.

zen see *zat*.

zen /n/ 1 woman, *zan*: 1; cpart *mūš*; syn *dāzan*.—2 wife, *zan*: 13, 17², 20²; cpart *šū*.— ~ *kert* /v/ get married (to a woman), take a wife, *zan gereftan*: 3S pret *zen* = *e kert* 7²; cpart *šū kert*.

zenda /adj/ alive, *zende*: 8, 9.

zende-y ∞ phon *zenda* + *y*.

zendegī /n/ 1 life, *zendegī*.— ~ *kert* /v/ live, *zendegī kardan*: inf *zendegī kert* 20²; 3P impf *zendegī š* = *a-kert* 1.—2 livestock, *dām, heyvānāt* = *e ahli*: 10, 11, 19².

ziād /adv/ a lot, very, *ziād*: 7, 17; syn *xèylō*.

zīl /adj/ wide-open; lit, *kāmelan bāz*; *barrāq*: 4.

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ORCID

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

Symbols and abbreviations

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

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

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