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ARTICLE

The Bavadi and Their Bakhtiari Dialect

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Abstract

This paper provides a sociolinguistic and grammatical synopsis of Bavadi Bakhtiari, spoken in Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province, Iran. The results presented here are based on the collection of linguistic and cultural data through field research, including ethnographic research, recording of oral texts, elicitation of a language data questionnaire, and follow-up interviews with speakers of the language. In addition to providing a linguistic snapshot of the Bavadi variety of Bakhtiari in its social context, this study offers a novel contribution to the documentation of Iran's linguistic heritage through the presentation and analysis of culturally important oral texts of various genres. While one text belongs to the controlled and formulaic genre of the folktale, two other texts are based on free conversation among groups of speakers.

Keywords: Bakhtiari; Iranian languages; ethnolinguistics; language documentation; grammatical description; phonology; morphosyntax oral texts

Introduction[1]

The Zagros Mountains of southwest Iran, and the foothills to both sides, are the domain of the Bakhtiari tribe (B. *ēl*, P. *il*). Their homeland spans parts of several provinces of Iran: Khuzestan, with Masjed Soleymān and Izeh as major centers; Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari (henceforth C&B), where Kuhrang and Ardal have been historically important; the eastern third of Lorestan Province, where the Bakhtiari cities of Aligudarz, Aznā, and Dorud are

[1] Abbreviations used in this article are as follows: **[]**, used to fill in missing information necessary to understand the text; (), used in translations to further interpret or give literal meanings; -, morpheme boundary marker; =, clitics; **1, 2, 3**, first, second, third person; **ADJZR**, adjectivizer; **B.**, Bakhtiari; **CMP**, comparative/superlative; **COMP**, complementizer; **COP**, copula; **DEF**, definite; **DEM**, demonstrative; **DIST**, distal; **EPEN**, epenthesis; **EZ**, ezafe; **IMPV**, imperative; **INDEF**, indefinite; **IPFV**, imperfective; **NEG**, negative; **NPST**, non-past; **Ø**, null morpheme; **OBJ**, object; **OPT**, optative particle; **P.**, Persian; **PC**, pronominal clitic; **pl., PL**, plural; **PP**, past participle; **pres.**, present; **PRFCT**, perfect; **PROG**, progressive; **PROX**, proximal; **PRV**, preverb; **PST**, past; **REF**, reflexive; **SBJV**, subjunctive; **sg., SG**, singular; **cf.**, compared to.

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Figure 1. The Bakhtiari homeland and language area (based on Anonby and Asadi, 2018: 22)

located; and smaller parts of Isfahan and Markazi provinces (Figure 1). Moreover, a considerable portion of Bakhtiari people have migrated to the major cities in the western part of Isfahan Province over the past several years. Numbering over one million people,[2] the Bakhtiari are a well-organized sociopolitical confederation divided into two main branches, the Haflang (P. *haft lang*) and Chārlang (P. *čahār lang*), each of which is hierarchically divided into different parts (*bāb* or *boluk*).[3] At the heart of the Bakhtiari homeland, the district of Kuhrang in C&B Province is dominated by the Haflang, among whom the Bavadi (autonym: *bāvāδi*; P. *bābādi*) are one of the largest *bāb*.

This paper explores the Bakhtiari dialect of the Bavadi within its social and cultural context. The study opens with an account of our approach to the research, and a description of the Bavadi people in society and history. A précis of research on the wider Bakhtiari language, from the earliest work until the present, frames our investigation into the Bavadi dialect. The core of the paper consists of a grammatical description, focusing on salient aspects of phonology and morphosyntax. This description is based on our analysis of collected oral texts and complemented by a representative set of lexical and grammatical data elicited using the *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* (ALI) language data questionnaire.[4] Along with the better known and described genre of the folktale, we include two texts of a basic type, which, although arguably the most common use of spoken language, rarely features in descriptions of Iranian languages: free conversation among several speakers.

[2] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Phonology, Text, Lexicon*, 16.

[3] Digard, "Baḵtīārī Tribe."

[4] Anonby et al., "ALI Research Overview"; Anonby et al., "Linguistic Data Questionnaire"; and Anonby and Taheri-Ardali et al., *Atlas of the Languages of Iran.*

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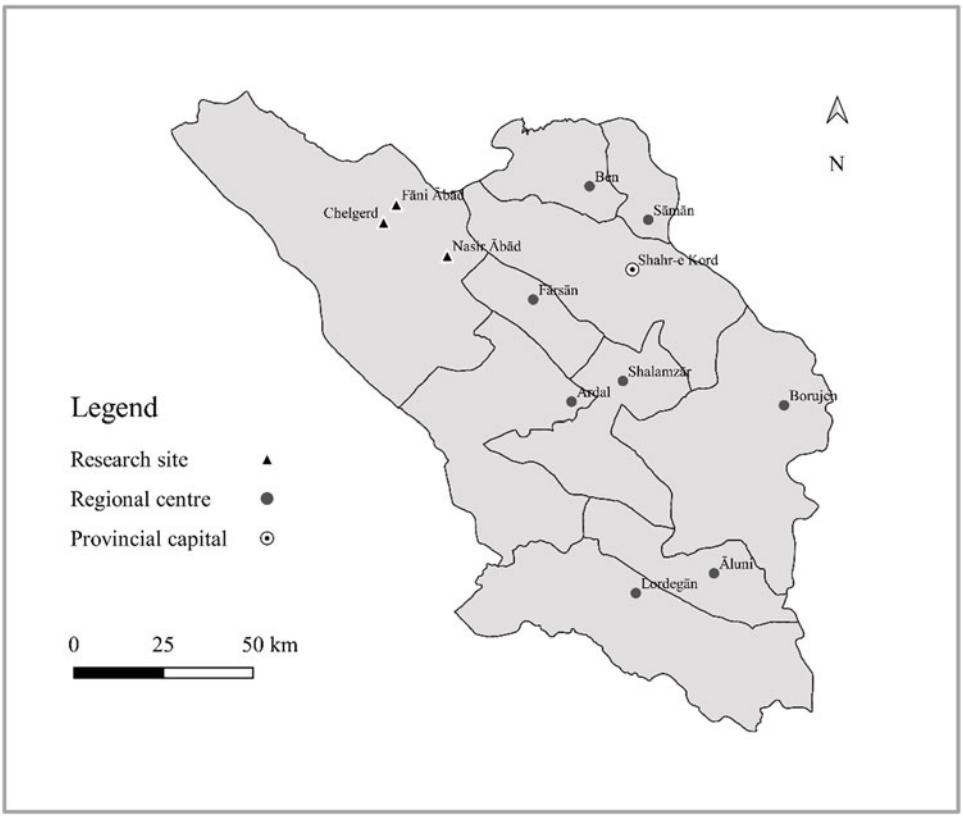


Figure 2. Research sites for this study, located in C&B Province. Map by Mortaza Taheri-Ardali, 2022.

Documentation

Our field research was conducted in the provincial sub-district (*šahrestān*) of Kuhrang, in the northwest quarter of C&B Province, in late September 2017. We visited three places: Fāni Ābād, home to 43 families and a population of 157; Nasir Ābād, home to 241 families and a population of 885; and the town of Chelgerd, the capital of Kuhrang, home to 753 families and 2,989 individuals.[5] Figure 2 depicts the research sites.

This research was conducted in the context of an ethnographic expedition organized by Dr. Mohammad Hakim-Azar, professor at the Islamic Azad University of Shahrekord, in conjunction with the local governor Mr. Ali Badri in Kuhrang. After twenty minutes travelling uphill from Shahrekord toward the northwest, we entered "the land of the Bakhtiari" (B. *xāk-e baxtiyāri*), an informal designation for an area of roughly 75,000 km^2 stretching across the Zagros range all the way to the outskirts of Dezful, Shushtar, and Rām Hormoz in Khuzestan.[6] We passed through about a dozen villages on the way to Chelgerd, itself

[5] ISC, *Sālnāmeh-ye āmār-e Irān*. In this study, we excluded data collected from Chelgerd in order to carry out our analysis with a more homogeneous set of data. Although data from these localities was uniformly collected from the Bavadi of Bakhtiari, there are some minor differences in the dialects of some sub-tribes (*tāefe*). The speakers from Nasir Ābād and Fāni Ābād confirmed this. In another example reported by our speakers, the Bavadi dialects of the Ārpanāhi (B. *ārpanāhi*) and Mir Qā'ed (B. *mir kāyeδ*) sub-branches are slightly different from those of Taqi Abdollāh (B. *taqabdelā*) or Galeh (B. *gale*) (see section 3 for more information on relationships among these sub-branches of Bavadi).

[6] The Bakhtiari homeland is comparable in size to Ireland, Czechia, or the Republic of Georgia.

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Figure 3. The Salt Valley, a source of natural salt near Chelgerd. Source: Photo © Mortaza Taheri-Ardali 2021.

the seat of Kuhrang *šahrestān*, at the source of the Zāyandeh Rud River. Bakhtiari carpets, alpine honey, wild celery, mountain leek, dairy products, and natural salt are some of the renowned souvenirs of this region. Surprisingly, despite the cold climate, the Salt Valley (B. *dare nevek*, P. *darre namak*), as shown in Figure 3, is a well-known place close to Chelgerd, which produces natural salt.

Chelgerd is an attractive town, set in a valley bounded by mountains. For centuries, it has functioned as an economic hub (along with Ardal, Izeh, Lāli, Gotvand, and Masjed Soleymān) supplying nomads with goods.[7] In Chelgerd, we walked along the main street, lined by rows of shops selling locally produced Bakhtiari goods. Nowadays, while still a center that supplies the nomads and adjacent villages, the town's economy revolves more around tourism, which thrives year-round, attracting holiday-makers from Isfahan, Khuzestan, and the rest of the nation. The Kuhrang tunnel spillway (P. ābšār-e tunel-e kuhrang) is one of the main tourist attractions in the area, as shown in Figure 4.

In Fāni Ābād and Nasir Ābād, we were welcomed by men in typical Bakhtiari clothing, as shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6: the tall rounded felt hat (B. *kolah xosravi*, P. *kolāh-e xosravi*), a straight, knee-length, sleeveless tunic of natural white wool with vertical indigo stripes (B. *čuqā*, P. *čuġā*), and wide, black pants (B. *šavlār dabit*, P. *šalvār-e dabit*).[8] Houses (*tu*) made of stone, mud, and mud bricks are still typical in these villages. We found no traditional black goat-hair tents (B. *bohovn*, P. *siyāh čādor*), but we still saw the occasional flock of sheep and goats on the mountainside pastures.[9]

[7] Digard, "Baḵtīārī Tribe."

[8] For more discussion on Bakhtiari clothing, see Digard and Karimi (1973) and Digard (1992).

[9] Although goat-hair tents are becoming less common, their absence at the time of our research may have been due to the time of year (late September), when nomads leave the summer pastures (B. *eylāġ*) in Kuhrang to move

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Figure 4. The town of Chelgerd as seen from the top of the Kuhrang tunnel spillway (P. ābšār-e tunel-e kuhrang). Source: Photo © Mortaza Taheri-Ardali 2017.



Figure 5. Conducting fieldwork with Bakhtiari people wearing traditional clothes in Nasir Ābād. Source: Photo © Mortaza Taheri-Ardali 2017.

toward the winter pastures (*qešlāq*) in Khuzestan. In addition, black tents are mostly set up in pasturing areas away from the villages and towns we visited during our fieldwork.

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Figure 6. Conducting fieldwork with Bakhtiari people wearing traditional clothes in Fāni Ābād. Source: Photo © Mortaza Taheri-Ardali 2017.

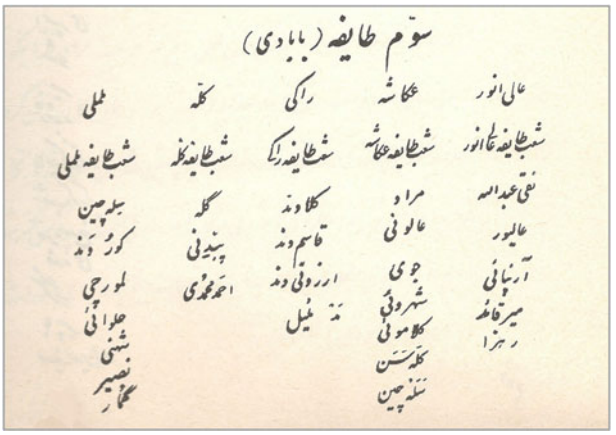


Figure 7. Internal organization of the Bavadi (Bakhtiari Sardār As'ad, 1361/1982: 534)

The settlements' names (e.g., mostly with the suffix *-ābād*) in the region nearby are relatively recent formations. Large-scale sedentarization of the nomads – forced upon the Bakhtiari by the shahs of the 20th century and continuing for economic reasons today – has deeply altered the tribes' livelihood and lifestyle. Needless to say, schooling, media, and extensive contact with larger Persian-speaking cities have affected the linguistic structures of Bakhtiari in this region.[10] However, according to our observations, among those who have retained a nomadic lifestyle, the original Bakhtiari structures are more intact.

In contrast to many areas of Iran, where villages have been emptied of young people, the villages we visited in Kuhrang were vibrant. The inhabitants were from all age groups, and many families had highly educated members working in the cities of Isfahan and Khuzestan Provinces as professionals.

[10] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Phonology, Text, Lexicon*, 15.

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Table 1. Transliteration/translation of Figure 7

The third *tāyefeh* (Bābādi)				
Āli Anvar	Akāsheh	Rāki	Galeh	Molmoli
branches of the Āli Anvar *tāyefeh*:	branches of the Akāsheh *tāyefeh*:	branches of the Rāki *tāyefeh*:	branches of the Galeh *tāyefeh*:	branches of the Molmoli *tāyefeh*:
Taqi Abdollāh	Morād	Kalāvand	Galeh	Selah Chin
Ālivar	Āluni	Qāsemvand	Pebdeni	Kurovand
Ārpanāhi	Jovi	Arzunivand	Ahmad Mahmudi	Lemurchi
Mir Qā'ed	Shahrui	Mad Molil		Halvā'i
Rahzā	Kalāmui			Shehni
	Kalasan			Nasir
	Salah Chin			Gomār

The Bavadi

Bakhtiari is renowned for its numerous hierarchical and interlocked tribal units, reflecting a substantial degree of lineal segmentation at different levels.[11] Accordingly, the tribe is comprised of two main divisions (*šāxe*), Haflang and Chārlang, each with its own distinctive linguistic features that are defined both socially and areally. After *šāxe*, from largest to smallest, *bāv, tāefe, tire, taš, korebav, bohovn*, and *māl* are considered as various levels in this highly organized ethnic group. In response to the question of *če kasi?* (who are you?), most Bakhtiari people are able to provide their lineage. Nevertheless, the groupings and labels vary in the literature as well as among the Bakhtiari population itself. Bavadi, as the primary focus of this research, is among the largest *bāb*s in Haflang. Most Bavadi have their base in Chelgerd and neighboring villages, as well as in Masjed Soleymān, Izeh, and other cities in C&B and Khuzestan provinces. According to Ali Qoli Khān Bakhtiari Sardār As'ad (1361/1982), the seminal reference in this regard, Figure 7 and the corresponding Table 1 depict the internal organization of Bavadi.

The Bavadi speak a dialect of Bakhtiari, a language grouping classified as Southwestern within the Iranian family.[12] More specifically, this language belongs to the Lori continuum in which three main high-level varieties have been identified: Northern Lori, Bakhtiari, and Southern Lori.[13] As regards Persian within Southwestern Iranian, present-day Persian is a sister – rather than a parent – to varieties such as the Lori group, Lārestāni, Bandari, Kumzari,[14] Bashkardi, Sistani,[15] the Fārs group,[16] and Garmsiri.[17]

With respect to other Bakhtiari varieties, Bavadi shows both similarities and differences in lexicon, phonology, and morphosyntax. As the intention here is to show differences with Persian, diachrony is integrated into this grammatical description.

Literature review

Well over a century ago, pioneering orientalists showed interest in the Bakhtiari language. In 1910, Oskar Mann made general remarks on Bakhtiari based on some texts, as part of

[11] Digard, "Baḵtīārī Tribe."

[12] Windfuhr, "Dialectology and Topics"; MacKinnon, "Lori Dialects"; Anonby et al., "Classification of Iran's Languages."

[13] Anonby, "Update on Luri"; Anonby, "Sociolinguistic Status of Lori."

[14] Anonby, "Kumzari."

[15] Anonby et al., "Classification of Iran's Languages."

[16] Borjian, "The Perside Language of Shiraz Jewry."

[17] Borjian, "Kerman xvi. Languages."

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a larger work in the Lori language domain.[18] Valentin Zhukovskij's extensive collection of Bakhtiari songs and poetry was published posthumously in 1922.[19] This was followed by the work of another Russian linguist, Y.N. Marr, who published short specimens of Bakhtiari literature.[20] A lion's share of early Bakhtiari documentation was carried out by the British Iranist and military officer David L.R. Lorimer (1876–1962), who published his wide-ranging collection of Bakhtiari texts with meticulous philological analyses in 1922; further unpublished materials from his collection have been made available by Vahman and Asatrian.[21] While the geographic provenance of earlier works on Bakhtiari was unclear, Lorimer's publications indicated that his data was chiefly from Masjed Soleymān in Khuzestan. This is where he served as a British officer.

After a long hiatus, the study of Bakhtiari was continued, this time within modern linguistic frameworks, through three sketch grammars in the context of overviews of the larger Lori group: Kerimova, Windfuhr, and MacKinnon.[22] All these studies rely heavily on Lorimer's data. In addition, Lecoq provided a very brief overview of Bakhtiari linguistic structures in the benchmark volume *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* in 1989.[23] In contrast, the wide-ranging *Bakhtiari Studies: Phonology, Text, Lexicon* by Anonby and Asadi (2014) is based on a substantial new dataset from a Haflang dialect in the area of Masjed Soleymān in Khuzestan.[24] In a companion volume, Anonby and Asadi elaborate a systematic orthography for Bakhtiari built on the phonological analysis of the first volume.[25] Up to that point, almost all studies had been based on the varieties of Bakhtiari spoken in Khuzestan. Anonby and Taheri-Ardali brought together previous research through a global overview of the language and, while their main focus was on Bakhtiari of Masjed Soleymān, they also included a glossed text from Bakhtiari of Ardal in C&B Province.[26]

Persian-language publications about Bakhtiari include, but are not limited to, the collections of poems, proverbs, idioms, riddles, folk tales, and glossaries by writers such as Davari, Afsar Bakhtiari, Salehi, Abdollahi Mowgu'i, Kiani Haft Lang, Madadi, Ra'isi, Sarlak, Foroutan, Khosravinia, and Ghanbari Odivi, among others.[27] So far, materials published on Bakhtiari are primarily of the Bakhtiari varieties of Khuzestan.

Since the establishment of linguistics departments at various Iranian academic institutions in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the above-mentioned works have been followed by descriptions of the linguistic structures mostly in the form of master's theses, doctoral dissertations, books, and articles. The following linguistic works on Bakhtiari are

[18] Mann, *Kurdisch-persische Forschungen* II.

[19] Zhukovskij, *Materialy dlja izučenija persidskix' narečij*. This book was translated into Persian by Maryam Shafaghi and Seyyed Mehdi Dadras in 1396/2017.

[20] Marr, "Obrazec baxtiarskoj literatury."

[21] Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani*; Lorimer, "A Bakhtiari Prose Text"; Lorimer, "The Popular Verse of the Bakhtiari"; Vahman, "Two Bakhtiārī Prose Texts"; Vahman and Asatrian, *West Iranian Dialect Materials*; and *Poetry of Baxtiārīs*.

[22] Kerimova, "Lurskie i Baxtijarskie Dialekty"; Windfuhr, "Baḵtīārī Tribe: The Baḵtīārī Dialect"; MacKinnon, "Lori Dialects."

[23] This work was translated into Persian by a team of scholars in two separate volumes. See Rüdiger, *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* [Rāhnemā-ye zabānhā-ye irāni].

[24] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*.

[25] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies II: Orthography*.

[26] Anonby and Taheri-Ardali, "Bakhtiari."

[27] Davari, *Zarb-al-masalhā-ye bakhtiāri*; Afsar Bakhtiari, *Montakhabāt-i az ash'ār-e shā'er-e farzāneh*; Salehi, *il-e bozorg-e bakhtiāri*; Abdollahi Mowgu'i, *Tarānehā va masalhā-ye bakhtiāri*; Kiani Haft Lang, *Zarb-al-masalhā-ye bakhtiāri*; Madadi, *Vāzhehnāmeh-ye zabān-e bakhtiāri*; Madadi, *Shiveh-ye negāresh-e zabān-e bakhtiāri*; Ra'isi, *Golbāng-e bakhtiāri*; Sarlak, *Vāzhehnāmeh-ye guyesh-e bakhtiāri-ye chahārlang*; Foroutan, *Ganjineh-ye masalhā-ye bakhtiāri*; Foroutan, *Chistānhā-ye bakhtiāri*; Foroutan, *Dastur zabān-e bakhtiāri*; Khosravinia, *Gowgari*; Khosravinia, *Shāhnāmeh bakhtiāri*; Ghanbari Odivi, *Adabiyyāt-e āmme-ye bakhtiāri;* Ghanbari Odivi, *Folklor-e mardom-e bakhtiāri*.

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worth mentioning: Alizadeh Gelsefidi, Eidy, Khosravi, Zolfaghari, Taheri, Rezai and Amani-Babadi, Taheri-Ardali, Aliyari Babolghani, Rezai and Shojaee, Talebi-Dastenaei and Ghatreh, Atashabparvar, Sadeghi, and Taheri-Ardali, Anonby, and Zaheri-Abdevand, among others.[28]

The Bakhtiari varieties of C&B Province are currently studied in the framework of the *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* (ALI) research program, and a number of related articles have been published.[29] Taheri's *Guyesh-e bakhtiāri-ye kuhrang*, Anonby and Asadi's *Bakhtiari Studies: Phonology, Text, Lexicon*, and Anonby and Taheri-Ardali's book chapter "Bakhtiari" are the most relevant studies to the current research. Therefore, they are mentioned in different sections of the article below.

Grammatical outline

In this section, we provide an outline of the linguistic system of Bavadi Bakhtiari. While our presentation of the system is framed by phonological and morphological paradigms, the description of syntax in particular draws heavily from the texts that follow.

Phonology: vowels

Across the Bakhtiari-speaking area, there is significant variation in the vowel inventories. In the areas where Bakhtiari has been in close contact with Persian varieties, the vowel system tends to pattern with Persian.[30] The Bakhtiari dialect in question, Bavadi, is a typical of the language and can be considered its prototype in the region. According to our data, Bavadi Bakhtiari displays a basic inventory of seven simple vowels *i ē e a ā o u*, as shown in Table 2.

All of the vowels occur in both open and closed syllables, for example, *di* "smoke," *liš* "ugly," *hird* "small," *ču* "wood," *mur* "ant," *gušt* "meat," *tē* "eye," *šēr* "lion," *bepēčn* "wrap," *se* "three," *mel* "hair," *lešk* "branch of a tree," *to* "you" (sg.), *qol* "boiling," *hošk* "dry," *na* "no," *pas* "behind," *darf* "dish," *dā* "mother," *pār* "last year," and *vāst* "wait."

The vowel *ē* is a mid-high, front unrounded vowel, which occurs in all syllable positions in the data, as in *ēl* "tribe," *ēlevār* "jaw," *mēre* "husband, man," *sēste* "hawthorn," *mēš* "ewe," and *botē* "maternal aunt." Minimal sets include *bēδ* "willow tree" vs. *biδ* "be.PST"; *sšēr* "lion" vs. *sšer* "a short while"; *čēl* "mouth"" vs. *čel* "arm"; and *sēr* "full" vs. *sir* "wild garlic, garlic." Bavadi speakers we consulted make a clear distinction between *dēr* "late, long," and *dir* "far" (cf. P. *dir* and *dur*, respectively). Furthermore, they also distinguish between *ē* and the segment *ey* (see below), e.g., *tē* "eye" vs. *tey* "before." In light of the evidence provided here, we posit that *ē* is a separate phoneme in Bavadi. This differs from the system in the Masjed Soleymān dialect of Bakhtiari, for which Anonby

[28] Alizadeh Gelsefidi, *Barresi-ye guyesh-e bakhtiāri*; Eidy, *Barresi-ye guyesh-e ardal*; Khosravi, *Guyesh-e bakhtiāri*; Zolfaghari, "Guyesh-e bakhtiāri: baqā yā zavāl"; Zolfaghari, *The Bakhtiaris: An Anthropological-linguistic Lexical Study*; Taheri, "Fe'l dar guyesh-e bakhtiāri"; Taheri, *Guyesh-e bakhtiāri-ye kuhrang*; Taheri, "Rishehshenāsi-ye vāzhehāyi az guyesh-e bakhtiāri"; Rezai and Amani-Babadi, "Nemud-e dasturi dar guyesh"; Taheri-Ardali, "Guyesh-e bakhtiāri: zavāl yā baqā"; Aliyari Babolghani, *Ganjineh-ye guyeshhā-ye irani*; Rezai and Shojaee, "Barkhi vizhegihā-ye radehshenākhti"; Talebi-Dastenaei and Ghatreh, "Barresi-ye sākhtāri va ma'nāyi"; Atashabparvar, *Farhang va guyesh-e ardal-e baxtiāri*; Sadeghi, *Guyesh-e bakhtiāri-ye masjed soleymān*; Taheri-Ardali, Anonby, and Zaheri-Abdevand, "Bahman alā'eddin va hayāt-e jāvdāneh."

[29] Taheri-Ardali, Mortaza et al., "Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province"; Anonby, Taheri-Ardali, Stone, "Toward a Picture of Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province"; Anonby, Taheri-Ardali, and Hayes, "The *Atlas of the Languages of Iran* (ALI)"; Anonby, Schreiber, Taheri-Ardali, "Balanced Bilingualism"; Taheri-Ardali, "Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province"; Taheri-Ardali et al., *The Online Atlas of the Languages of Iran*; Schreiber et al., "Contact-induced Change in the Morphosyntax."

[30] Anonby and Taheri-Ardali, "Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari"; Anonby and Taheri-Ardali, "Bakhtiari"; Anonby, Taheri-Ardali, and Stone, "Toward a Picture of Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province."

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Table 2. Vowel phonemes

	front	back
high	*i* [iˑ]	*u* [uˑ]
mid-high	*ē* [eː]	
mid	e [ɛ]	*o* [ɔ]
low	*a* [a]	*ā* [ɑ̣ˑ]

and Asadi analyze historical *ē* as a vowel-glide sequence *ey* rather than a unitary mid-high vowel *ē*. In line with Taheri, however, our data shows *ē* as a separate phoneme in Bavadi.

It is not uncommon in Bakhtiari to witness the occurrence of underlying *h* after the vowels *a, e*, and *o* within a coda. However, typically *h* is realized in this position as the length on the preceding vowel and loses its consonantal pronunciation, e.g., *kah k*[aː], "chaff," *peh p*[ɛː] "fat (n.)," *mahde/mehde m*[aː]*δe*/*m*[ɛː]*δe* "stomach," and *koh k*[oː] "mountain."[31] In all these cases, there is no phonological contrast between the form with the lengthened vowel and the form with no lengthening, including the vowel [ɛː]. In other words, despite the fact that the articulation with the phonetic long vowel in the above-mentioned cases is phonetically more usual, there is no minimal pair available to show the contrast between the long and short forms. That said, the phoneme *ē* [eː] has a phonetic quality that differs from that of *eh* [ɛː], as mentioned in the examples above. In spite of this, the occurrence of *ē* in the younger generations, whose language is directly influenced by Persian, is unstable and sometimes merges with the typical high back vowel *i*. We cannot establish a parallel underlying distinction between [oː] and [ɔ] in Bavadi, similar to the findings of Anonby and Asadi and Anonby and Taheri-Ardali.[32] The former, i.e., [oː], occurs rarely and speakers do not distinguish the two sounds perceptually. As a case in point, the second vowel in *kolo k*[ɔ]*l*[oː] "locust," when pronounced in isolation, is significantly longer than the first vowel, but this extra lengthening is based on the utterance-final position and is not phonemically distinctive. In other cases where a phonetically long "o" is heard, such as in *pohδ* [pʰoːð̞] "cooked," *lohδ* [loːð̞] "naked," *sohδ* [soːð̞] "burned," *sohr* [soːɾ] "red," and *gahp* [gaːp] "big," there is an underlying *h* in the coda. This alternation – realization of *h* in codas as length on the preceding vowel – is prevalent in Bakhtiari, as discussed above. Our finding on this matter is in contrast with Taheri (1389/2010), who considers the long mid vowel *ō* as a separate phoneme in Bakhtiari of Kuhrang. Overall, as in Middle and Early New Persian, the Bakhtiari variety under investigation has retained the long mid vowel *ē*. However, the present-day Bavadi Bakhtiari, like Persian and many other Southwestern languages, has lost historical *ō* as a separate phoneme.

Nasalized vowels are evident in Bavadi, but are not phonemically contrastive. Underlyingly, they can be considered vowel-ʊ sequences, for which the sequence *oʊ* is the most probable interpretation, such as in *hoʊe* [hõw̃ɛ] "house," *šoʊe* [ʃõw̃ɛ] "comb, shoulder," and *zoʊ* [zõːᵘ] "tongue."

Following Anonby and Asadi (2014), our data shows that vowel sequences in Bavadi are more widely available and varied than those in Persian. Nevertheless, in urban areas and areas where Bakhtiari is under the direct influence of Persian, the vowels are produced more like Persian simple vowels than Bakhtiari vowel-glide sequences. Noted vowel-glide sequences in our data, as already observed by Anonby and Asadi (2014), are *ey* (*tey* "before," *seyl* "flood"), *ay* (*say* "dog," *ay* "if"), *āy* (*pāy* "clean, all," *sarʊālāy* "steep," *fāyδe* "profit"), *oʊ*

[31] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*, 49.

[32] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*; Anonby and Taheri-Ardali, *"Bakhtiari"*

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(*hendoʊe* "watermelon", *silоʊ* "date sap," *yonoʊ* "these"), *aʊ* (*laʊ* "lip," *aʊ* "water," *aftaʊ* "sun"), and *oy* (*poy* "clean," *goy* "you said," *toyniden* "to toss").

There are some phonetic differences between Bavadi Bakhtiari and Modern Persian in the remaining vowel sounds, especially in the back low vowel *ā* [ɑˑ], which is slightly more rounded than its Iranian Persian counterpart. In the transcribed texts (see below), instability among *oʊ~un~uʊ* can be seen in a few items: *pā=soʊ* "their feet," *zāniyun* "(place name)," *ġorbatun* "the blacksmiths," *ya meyδuʊ-ē* "a circle," *xomun* "ourselves," *čārtā=sun* "four of them," *gahp=moʊ* "our leader," and *ramezoʊ* "(man's name)." This suggests that a transitional situation exists, variably capitulating to the pronunciation of their colloquial Persian counterparts: *-un, -sun*, and *-mun*, as in *meydun* "circle," *čārtā=sun* "four of them," and *bozorg=emun* "our leader," respectively. In a comparable manner, the impact of Persian at the lexical and morphological level is also evident, as other examples of instability are discernible, such as in the words *kuče* "alley" and *mēdoʊ* "s/he knew" (cf. the expected Bavadi forms *kiče* and *edoʊe*, respectively), which are produced similarly to their Persian structures in the data.

Vowel diachrony

In examining the vowel diachrony of Bavadi, several noteworthy developments distinguish its vowel system from that of Persian. This subsection focuses on the phonological changes affecting original high back vowel **ū* and low back vowel **ā*, as well as the influence of pharyngeals on vowel coloration.

An original high back vowel **ū* is fronted, most often in a pre-coronal position (cf. *mi* "hair"), as in *pil* "money," *andirin* "abdomen," *tit* "mulberry," *pine* "pennyroyal" (flower sp.), and *hin* "blood." The original low back vowel (**ā*) generally remains, e.g., in *hāga* "egg" and *bāyi* "arm," but is raised and rounded in historical pre-nasal context, as in *zamoʊ* "time, era," *heyvoʊ* "animal," and *šom* "evening." The vowel **ā* is fronted before *h*, as in *kolah* "hat," *mah* "moon," and *šah* "black," but not in *sšāh* "king," an item typically used in Persian-sensitive registers of the language.

The coloration of vowels influenced by pharyngeals in Bavadi exhibits several notable reflexes. Syllable-final *iʕ* becomes *ah* in words like *mahδe* "stomach" (< Ar. *miʕda*). Cross-syllabic *aʕ* and *aḥ* are reflected as *ā* in words such as *mālam* "teacher" (< Ar. *muʕallim*), *māhāl* (< Ar. *maḥāl*, meaning "places," as seen in the toponym *čār māhāl* "Chahar Mahal"), *amārat* (otherwise *emārat* in Persian < Ar. *ʕimārat,* meaning "building"), and *sehāv* (< Ar. *ṣāḥib,* meaning "owner").[33]

Phonology: consonants

The consonant inventory of Bavadi is detailed in Table 3. This inventory includes a range of consonantal sounds that highlight the influence of historical and regional linguistic developments to Bavadi Bakhtiari.

In Bakhtiari, the phoneme *d* is pronounced as [d] in word-initial positions (e.g., *di* "else") and in final positions following non-glide consonants such as *nd* in *jend* "jinn" and *rd* in *dard* "pain." It also occurs in clusters before a vowel, as in *gajdin* "scorpion" and *abde*, a proper name. In addition, *d* is sometimes realized as [ð̞], particularly in postvocalic positions, such as in *doδar* "girl, daughter," *diδi* "you saw," *fešnāδen* "to send," and *bāvāδi* "Bavadi." The allophone [ð̞] also appears after the glides *ʊ, y*, and *h*, as in *eyδ* "Eid," *meyδun* "plaza," *ezeyδ* "he was hitting," *zeyδom* "I hit," *ezeyδen* "they were hitting," *esteyδom* "I grabbed," and in *hδ* as found in *sohδ* "it burned," *lohd* "naked," and *sohδen* "to burn." This variation supports analyzing [ð̞] as an allophone of *d* in Bakhtiari. For clarity, we use the symbol *δ* or "Zagros d"

[33] Likewise, the coloration of vowels has been demonstrated in Isfahani Persian in the vicinity of pharyngeal consonants of Arabic loanwords. See Borjian, "Traces of Pharyngeal Consonants."

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Table 3. Consonants. The pairs of consonants are voiced and voiceless respectively

	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stops/affricates	*p b*	*t d*	*č j*	*k g*	*q ġ*	
fricatives	*f* (*v*)	*s z*	*sš*		*x*	(*h*)
nasals	*m*	*n*				
rhotics		*r*				
laterals		*l*				
glides	*v*(*v*~*w*)		*y*			*h*

in our transcription to reflect this phonological trait, which distinguishes Bakhtiari from Persian. However, we do not intend to imply that *δ* is a separate phoneme in the Bakhtiari dialect studied.

Bavadi Bakhtiari has the uvular consonants, i.e., voiced plosive *ġ* and voiceless plosive *q* as two separate phonemes.[34] The consonant *q* has frequent occurrences in the data, including *qaleh* "castle," *qarā* "sour whey," *qāli* "carpet," *qarz* "loan," *qeδim* "long past," *qaʋr* "grave," *qoyum* "hard," *qaʋl* "promise," *qaʋloq* "fabric hand-made bag," *maqāš* "tongs," *qahr* "wrath," *qoroʋ* "Qur'an," *āqel* "wise," *qāter* "mule," and *qoδu* "foal." Examples for the consonant *ġ* are as follows: *ġār* "cave," *ruġen* "ghee," *ġorbatoʋ* "blacksmiths," *šuluġ* "crowded," and *jeġele* "a child boy," and also include words spelled with ق <q> in Persian orthography, such as *ġāšoġ* "spoon," *āġā* "dad," *ġašang* "pretty," and *ġārč* "mushroom." The following examples with *ġ* prove that it is not etymological: *ġalb* "heart" (< qalb), *ġaʋz* "joy" (< z̲awq), *feġat* "only" (< faqat), *aġaʋ* "behind" (< ʕaqib), *rafiġ* "friend" *āšeġ* "in love" (< ʕāshiq), *hayġat* "truth" (< haqiqat), *etfāġan* "accidentally" (< ettefāqan).[35]

The minimal pairs are *ġor* "bell" vs. *qor* "throat," *ġil* "pitch" vs. *qil* "deep," and *qol* "boiling" vs. *ġol* in *ye ġol do ġol* "a local game played with stone." In addition, there are a couple of near minimal pairs that show that these two are separate phonological consonants in Bavadi. To name a few: *qoroʋ* "Qur'an" vs. *ġorbatoʋ* "blacksmiths," *qāli* "carpet" vs. *ġāšoġ* "spoon," *ġaʋz* "joy" vs. *qaʋloq* "fabric hand-made bag." This accords with the analysis of Anonby and Asadi (2014) but in contradiction with Taheri (2010), in which a single phoneme is proposed for both the voiced and voiceless uvular stops in Bakhtiari of Kuhrang.

In the Bavadi data, the segment [ʒ] occurs only in a few words and only as a dissimilated form of the phoneme *j* when it occurs as the first segment in a word-internal cluster. Examples include *gajdin* "scorpion," *hijdah* "eighteen," and *majma* "large tray." Hence, in contrast with Bakhtiari of Masjed Soleymān, we do not qualify *ž* as a separate phoneme in Bavadi.[36]

The phoneme *ʋ* has an allophonic range among [v], [ʊ], and [w].[37] Examples are as follows: [v]*orzā* "bull," *se*[v]*ēl* "mustache," *do*[ʊ~w]*ā* "groom, son-in-law," *bā*[ʊ~w]*ā* "father," *a*[ʊ~w]*oδ* "he came," and *a*[ʊ~w]*om* "I came." Moreover, *ʋ* forms diphthong-like sounds, most frequently *aʋ*, as in *aʋ* "water," *raʋ* "go," *daʋ* "playfield," *haʋ* "scream," *šaʋ* "night," *šaʋlār* "trousers," *raʋraʋ* "ligament," *aʋlāδ* "children," *daʋr* "around," *qaʋl* "promise," *yonoʋ* "these," *siloʋ* "date sap," etc. As a vowel-glide sequence, we find the plural morpheme *-oʋ*, e.g., *široʋ* "lions" and plural enclitic pronouns *-moʋ, -toʋ,* and *-soʋ.*

Following Anonby and Asadi (2014) and Anonby and Taheri-Ardali (2018), the glottal stop, which behaves like a glide in many languages, is not phonemic in Bavadi Bakhtiari.[38]

[34] As noted by Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies: Phonology, Text, Lexicon*, 45, the phoneme /ġ/ is classified as a stop, since it is pronounced as a voiced uvular stop [ɢ] in most positions.

[35] Cf. Borjian, "Kerman xvi. Languages."

[36] Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*, §2.2.1.

[37] Cf. Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*, §2.2.1.

[38] For behaving like a glide, see Walker, *Nasalization, Neutral Segments and Opacity.*

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Consonant diachrony

The following historical sound changes are observed in Bavadi but not Persian, helping to reduce Bavadi's intelligibility to native Persian speakers, even when cognate lexical items are used.

Original nasals shift to *ʊ* in intervocalic positions, e.g., *dovа* "groom, son-in-law" (cf. P. *dāmād*), *hove* "house" (P. *xāne*), *jove* "shirt" (P. *jāme*), *avo*(*δ*) "he came," (P. *āmad*), *hendove* "watermelon" (P. *hendavāne*), *zovi, zuvi* "knee" (P. *zānu*), *ramezoʊ* "(man's name)." This rule applies to newly borrowed words only in final position, e.g., *telefoʊ* "telephone."

**The change *š > s in isā 'you' (cf. Persian šomā) and in the third-person pronominal clitics, singular =s and plural =soʊ, are attested in the data.*

**d* softens after vowels and glides in the following ways: it becomes the interdental approximant *δ*, as in *šāδ* "happy," *esbiδ* "white," *seδā* "voice," *zeyδ* "hit.PST.3sg"; changes to *y*, as in *keyʊenu* "lady" (P. *kadbānu*) and *biy-om* "I was"; or is lost altogether, as in *zi* "soon," *dovа* "groom, son-in-law," and *xo* =*s* "him/herself."

Other stops also weaken or disappear postvocalically: *-*b- > ʊ* or is lost entirely, as in *ču* "wood," *zoʊ* "tongue," *ruvā* "fox," *sovah* "tomorrow," *keyʊenu* "lady" (P. *kadbānu*), *aʊ* "water," and *šaʊ* "night"; and *-*g-, -*k- > y,* as in *say* "dog," *jiyar* "liver," *zendeyi* "life," *poy/pāy* "clean, all" (cf. P. *pāk*), and *doyδor* "doctor."

**x* tends to weaken in certain contexts. Initial **x- > h* in some words, such as *hin, xin* "blood," *hošk* "dry," *hāga* "egg," *hiz* "jump, attack" (P. *xiz*), and *har* "donkey," but not in *xovsiδ* "sleep.PST" and *xeriδ* "buy.PST." The cluster *-xr- > hr* in *tahl* "bitter" and *sohr* "red." Medial *-xt-* weakens in *doδar* "girl" and *sohδen* "to burn," but not in *deraxt* "tree" and *baxtiyāri* "Bakhtiari."

Medial **-ft-* is subject to becoming weak in *gom* "I said" and *ra*(*h*)*δim* "we went," but not in *čaft* "knee-pit," *aftaʊ* "sun," *roftan* "to sweep," and *ʊufte* "it fell" (P. *oftād*).

Morphosyntax: noun phrase

Nouns may take the following suffixes and clitics: plural markers *-oʊ, -ā, yal/-gal*; definite marker *-*(*ek*)*e*; indefinite marker *-i, -*(*e*)*y*; object marker =(*n*)*e*; ezafe linker *-e*; pronominal clitics =*om* "1SG.PC," =*et* "2SG.PC," =*es* "3SG.PC," etc.; conjunctive =*o*/=*yo*/=*ʊo* "and"; particle =*am* "also"; and copulas =(*o*)*m,* =*i,* =*ya*, etc.

Number

There are three plural markers, all stressed: *-*(*h/ʊ/y*)*ā, -oʊ*, and *-yal/-gal*.[39] A few examples include: *ketāvā* "books," *hovehā* "houses," *gerduvā* "walnuts," *baxtiyāriyā* "Bakhtiari people," *široʊ* "lions," *loroʊ* "Lors," *ġorbatoʊ* "blacksmiths," *jeġeliyal* "children," *zangal* "women," and *bozgal* "goats." In addition, the following sentences are taken from the transcribed texts:

1. *šāh* *šir-oʊ* *mord.*
   king lion-PL die.PST.3sg
   'The king of lions died.'

2. *jeġil-i-yal* = *e* *koš.*
   child-EPEN-PL = OBJ kill.PST.3sg
   'He killed the children.'

[39] Cf. Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*, 93.

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Definite marker

In Bakhtiari, the definite marker is typically expressed as the stressed *-e*, with an allomorphic variant *-(e)ke/(e)ka*.[40] The choice between *-e* and *-(e)ke/(e)ka* depends on discoursal factors, with *-(e)ke/(e)ka* often used for emphasis or in specific syntactic environments. For example, in *mālam-eke koje-n=e?* "Where is the teacher?" (example 3), the definite marker *-eke* emphasizes the definiteness of "teacher," while in *mālam-e koje-n=e?* "Where is the teacher?" (example 4), the simpler *-e* serves the same purpose with less emphasis. Similarly, the phrase *i hove-ke gahp=e* "This house is big" (example 5) uses *-ke* to emphasize "house," while in *hove-ke gahp=e* "The house is big" (example 6), the same marker is used without the demonstrative pronoun *i* to denote definiteness more generally. These examples illustrate the flexibility of the definite marker in Bakhtiari, allowing speakers to modulate emphasis and definiteness depending on the context.

3. *mālam-eke* *koje-n = e?*
   teacher-DEF where-EPEN = is
   'Where is the teacher?'

4. *mālam-e* *koje-n = e?*
   teacher-DEF where-EPEN = is
   'Where is the teacher?'

5. *i* *hove-ke* *gahp = e.*
   this house-DEF big = is
   'This house is big.'

6. *hove-ke* *gahp = e.*
   house-DEF big = is
   'The house is big.'

The definite marker precedes the object-marking clitic *-(n)e*. This structure is seen in both present and past tense structures (examples 7, 8, 10 and 11). The interaction between the definite marker and object marker in Bakhtiari is a clear point of difference from Persian. The definite marker precedes the object marker in singular and plural nouns in Bakhtiari. However, the definite marker is absent between the plural marker and the object marker in Persian.[41] It is worth noting that the definite marker may or may not be attached to plural nouns (example 9).

7. *hey* *sēv-eka = ne* *xor-e.*
   PROG apple-DEF = OBJ eat.NPST-3sg
   'He is eating the apple.'

[40] See Taheri-Ardali, "Definiteness marking." Other definitions of this marker include: *-ke* corresponds to the topicalizer and vocative marker *ak(ū)* and the demarcative suffix *-ekū*. See Windfuhr 1988; MacKinnon 2011.

[41] Paul, "Persian", 588; Typologically, the definite marker *-(e)ke* in Bakhtiari attaches to the right periphery of the noun after the plural marker, which is in contrast to Kurdish, e.g., *dost-ak-ān* (friend-DEF-PL) "the friends" (Khan 2007; Haig and Khan 2019).

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8. *sēʋ-eka = ne* *xard.*
apple-DEF = OBJ eat.PST.3sg
'He ate the apple.'

9. *i* *hoʋe-hā* *gahp = en.*
this house-PL big = are
'These houses are big.'

10. *eney* *sēʋ-ā-ka = ne* *xor-e.*
PROG apple-PL-DEF = OBJ eat.NPST-3SG
'He is eating the apples.'

11. *sēʋ-ā = ne* *xard.*
apple-PL = OBJ eat.PST.3SG
'He ate the apples.'

In Bakhtiari, as in colloquial Persian, the definite marker can be affixed to a noun phrase that includes both a noun and an adjective, functioning to indicate definiteness across the entire phrase. This pattern is particularly interesting because it shows how definiteness is extended to the whole noun phrase, rather than just the noun itself.

12. *mālam* *jāhel-e*
teacher young-DEF
'The young teacher'

13. *hoʋe* *gahp-tar-e*
house big-CMP-DEF
'The bigger house'

14. *hoʋe* *gahp-tartar-e*
house big-SUP-DEF
'The biggest house'

Indefinite marker

Indefiniteness in the Bakhtiari dialect is often marked by an unstressed suffix *-i* attached to the noun, and is typically also accompanied by the numeral *ya* or *ye* meaning "one" preceding the noun. This construction serves to indicate that the noun is indefinite, referring to a non-specific entity.

15. *ya* *kačal-i* *bi* *ya* *paδešāh-i* *ham* *bi.*
one bald-INDEF be.PST.3SG one king-INDEF too be.PST.3SG
'There was a bald [person] and there was a king, too.'

16. *ya* *malek-e* *xeyr-i* *ya* *ensān-i.*
one angel-EZ good-INDEF one human-INDEF
'A good angel, a human.'

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17. *ya* *pāzen-i* *be-zen.*
one ibex-INDEF IMPV-hit.NPST-2SG
'Hunt an ibex!'

18. *ye* *xātere-yi*
one memory-INDEF
'a memory'

19. *men-e* *ya* *qaʋloq-i* *biδen.*
in-EZ one bag-INDEF be.PST.3PL
'They were in a fabric hand-made bag.'

Object marking

Specific direct objects are marked by =*e* or =(*e*)*ne*. The following examples (20–28) highlight how Bakhtiari marks direct objects with the enclitic =*e* or its variant =*ne*. The clitic attaches to the noun or pronoun functioning as the direct object. In general, several semantic and discoursal features play a crucial role in the occurrence of object marking, including but not limited to definiteness, specificity, animacy, topicality, and emphasis. There are distinct instances in which Bakhtiari diverges from Persian in its object marking patterns, as exemplified in example 29 below. A comprehensive analysis of these divergences could provide deeper insight into the syntactic and semantic nuances that distinguish Bakhtiari from Persian.

20. *tā* *resiδ-om,* *delak = e* *esteyδ-om.*
until arrive.PST-1SG stick = OBJ seize.PST-1SG
'As soon as I arrived, I grabbed the stick.'

21. *dar = e* *ʋāz* *kerd.*
door = OBJ open do.PST.3SG
'She opened the door.'

22. *dar = ne* *ʋāz* *kerd.*
door = OBJ open do.PST.3SG
'She opened the door.'

23. *do* *tek = s = e* *i-zeyδ.*
two calf = 3SG.PC = OBJ IPFV-hit.PST.3SG
'He hit his two calves.'

24. *kor-e* *ām* *fatali = ne* *kušt-i.*
son-EZ uncle Fatali = OBJ kill.PST-2SG
'You killed the son of [my] paternal uncle Fath-Ali.'

25. *yo* *čel-ā = ne* *i-kašiδ.*
this hand-PL-OBJ IPFV-stretch.PST.3SG
'This person stretched out his hands.'

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26. *yonoʋ ze hamo duʋoʋ ke imā = ne diδ-en*
these from that down COMP we = OBJ see.PST-3PL
'These people who saw us there from the lower part.' (i.e., they saw us as if from a long distance while they were desperate in the competition).

27. *xāst-en mo = ne zan-en.*
want.PST-3PL me = OBJ hit.NPST-3PL
'They wanted to hit me.'

28. *xo = ne loftelis kerd, ʋorostā.*
self = OBJ all_ready do.PST.3SG stand.PST.3SG
'He made himself ready and stood up.'

29. *bā tēɣ nāf-es-∅ i-bur-an.*
with razor navel-3SG.PC-∅ IPFV-cut.NPST-3pl
'They cut his/her navel string with a razor.'

The ezafe linker

As in Persian, ezafe (*-e*) acts as a link with modifiers, e.g., *kor-e gahp* "big boy" and *dar-e hoʋe* "the door of the house." In addition to nouns, ezafe is also suffixed to some prepositions, e.g., *men-e raʋraʋ-e pā=s* "within his ligament" and *jānеʋ-e xoδā* "in the direction of God." This linker is realized as zero when attached to vowel-final words: *hoʋe gahp* "big house," *šāširoʋ* "king of lions," and *piyā duši* "the man we met/saw yesterday."

30. *aʋon-e*[42] *be hami sahrā gandaʋa.*
come.PST.3pl-PRF to this.very field Gandaʋa
'They came to this very field of Gandāb.'

31. *ʋand zeyδ men-e sine āġā = m abde.*
throw.PST.3SG hit.PST.3SG in-EZ chest paternal_uncle = 1SG.PC Abde
'He threw them and hit the chest of my paternal uncle Abdeh.'

Prepositions

With the exception of the object marker, which functions as a postposition, all other adpositions in the dialect are prepositions. Frequently used prepositions include *ʋā* "with, to," *ri* "on," *si* "for, to," *tey* "before," *ze* "from," *men* "in," *be* "to," and *tā* "until." Some prepositions in Bavadi are simple and occur without an ezafe (examples 32–36). Another group of prepositions may link to their complement through an ezafe (examples 37–42). Additionally, there are prepositional expressions formed by the combination of simple prepositions, as demonstrated in example 43.

32. *on ze bāzār i-y-ā-m.*
PROG from market IPFV-EPEN-come.NPST-1SG
'I am coming from the market.'

[42] This is a contraction of *aʋoδene* (see Table 8).

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33. *ʋā* *čaqu* *boriδ-om = es.*
with knife cut.PST-1SG = 3SG.PC
'I cut it with a knife.'

34. *rah* *tey* *boʋ = s.*
go.PST.3SG before father = 3SG.PC
'He went before his father.' (P. *piš-e pedar = aš*)

35. *hiz* *i-y-ār-i* *si = s.*
attack IPFV-EPEN-bring.NPST-2SG for = 3SG.PC
'You should attack him.'

36. *yo* *fāe* *n-ār-e* *si* *imā.*
this benefit NEG-have.NPST-3SG for we
'This has no benefit for us.'

37. *ʋar-bi* *men* *ri = s.*
PRV-was in face = 3SG.PC
'He suddenly came toward him.' (P. *bar-sšod tu ru = sš*)

38. *duš* *diδ-om* *jeġel-eke* *ʋast-e* *bi* *din* *doʋar-ke.*
yesterday see.PST-1SG child-DEF fall.PST-PRF be.PST.3 G after girl-DEF
'I saw yesterday that the boy was chasing the girl.'

39. *mālam-e* *men* *madresa = e.*
teacher-DEF in school = is
'The teacher is at school.'

40. *mālam-e* *men-e* *madresa = e.*
teacher-DEF in-EZ school = is
'The teacher is at school.'

41. *nešast* *sar-e* *ču.*
sit.PST.3SG on-EZ stick
'He sat on the stick.'

42. *sar* *kuče-hā* *xāst-en* *mo = ne* *zan-en.*
right.at alley-PL want.PST-3PL me = OBJ hit.NPST-3PL
'They wanted to hit me at the entrance to the alleys.'

43. *ri* *sar-e* *deraxt*
on on-EZ tree
'on top of the tree'

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Table 4. Pronouns, verbal endings, and copulas

		subject pronouns	*object pronouns*	*pronominal clitics*	*verb endings*	*present copulas*
sg. 1		*mo*	*mone*	*=om*	*-om*	*=om*
2		*to*	*tone*	*=et*	*-i*	*=i*
3	proximal	*yo*	*yone*	*=es*	*-e, -Ø*	*=e*
	distal	*ho*	*hone*			
pl. 1		*imā*	*imāne*	*=moʊ(n)*	*-im*	*=im*
2		*isā*	*isāne*	*=toʊ(n)*	*-in*	*=in*
3	proximal	*yunoʊ*	*yunoʊ(n)*e	*=soʊ(n)*	*-en*	*=en*
	distal	*honoʊ*	*honoʊ(n)*e			

Pronouns

There are two basic sets of personal pronouns: independent and enclitic (oblique), as shown in Table 4. The object set is constructed by adding *-ne* to subject pronouns.

In Bavadi, pronominal clitics play a crucial role by marking various syntactic functions and relationships within sentences. These clitics are used to denote possession, direct and indirect objects, and the objects of prepositions, as well as to convey experiential states. The pronominal clitics may function to indicate possession and are used to mark relationships between nouns and their possessors, as illustrated in the examples 44–46.

44. *mira = s* *rahδ.*
husband = 3SG.PC go.PST.3SG
'Her husband went.'

45. *yo* *gap = moʊ* *zeyδ-e.*
this big = 1PL.PC hit.PST.3SG-PRF
'This person has beaten our leader!'

46. *manizše* *levās = ene* *si* *xo = s* *o-xo.*
Manizše piece_of_clothing = OBJ for self = 3SG.PC IPFV-want.3SG
'Manizheh wants the dress for herself.

In addition, the following examples highlight how direct objects are represented through pronominal clitics, which are attached to the verb to explicitly mark the recipient or target of the action.

47. *bi-y-o-yn* *bar-in = es.*
IMPV-EPEN-come.NPST-2PL take.NPST-3PL = 3SG.PC
'Come and take him away!'

Example 49 shows how, in Bavadi, the indirect object is indicated through pronominal clitics attached to the verb.

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48. *ġaleve* *i-xom = et.*
much IPFV-want.NPST = 2SG.PC
'I love you very much.'

49. *ya* *maqāš-i* *ham* *dā = s.*
one tongs-INDEF also give.PST = 3SG.PC
'He gave him a pair of tongs, too.'

Example 50 and 51 illustrate how prepositions in Bavadi interact with pronominal clitics to specify the objects related to the prepositional phrases.

50. *ya* *kār-i* *si = t* *kon-e.*
one task-INDEF for = 2SG.PC do.NPST-3SG
'He will be helpful to you.'

51. *ya* *nāme-yi* *ze = sov* *i-y-ār-i* *di = m.*
one letter-INDEF from = 3PL.PC IPFV-EPEN-bring.NPST-2SG give.NPST.IPFV = 1SG.PC
'You will bring me a letter from them.' (P. *mi-deh-i = am*)

Examples 52 and 53 demonstrate how Bavadi uses experiential constructions, employing clitics and copula verbs to convey the subject's relationship to the described state or event.

52. *gosno = m = e.*
hungry = 1SG.PC = COP.3SG
'I am hungry.'

53. *jang = sun* *xe* *na-biδ?*
fight = 3PL.PC that NEG-be.PST.3SG
'Wasn't it their fight?' (P. *jang = ešān ke nabud?*)

Deixis

In Bavadi, as in many other languages in the region, there are distinctions between near deixis and far deixis demonstratives. These demonstratives include *i* "this," *o* "that," *yunov* "these," and *honov* "those." As in Persian, singular demonstrative adjectives qualify plural nouns. Demonstrative adjectives are accompanied by the optional discontinuous suffix *-o*, which takes the stress;[43] the latter is similar to the definite marker *-e*. Other typical markers of deixis are *ičo* "here," *očo* "there," *hamonov* "those very," and *hamčo* "over there."

[43] Cf. Anonby and Asadi, *Bakhtiari Studies*, 72.

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54. *i* *ġorbat-oʋ* *aʋo-n* *bi.*
this blacksmith-PL come.PST-3PL be.PST
'These blacksmiths had come.'

55. *i* *hoʋe-ho* *gahp = e.*
this house-DEM big = be.NPST.3SG
'This house is big.'

56. *o* *zamān-o* *xo = am* *māšin* *na-biδ.*
that time-DEM that = too car NEG-be.PST.3SG
'At that time, there were no cars!'

57. *handā* *diye* *tā* *aʋon-e* *ičo.*
as then till come.PST.3PL-PRF here
'Right as they arrived, ...' (P. *hamin ke be injā āmadand*)

58. *ze* *ičo* *raδ-im* *u* *arusi-o.*
from here go.PST-1PL that wedding-DEM
'We went from here to that wedding.'

59. *daʋ* *učo* *šuluġ = e.*
playfield there crowded = COP.3SG
'The playfield is crowded there.'

60. *hamonoʋ* *ke* *fis* *i-kerd-en.*
they COMP joy IPFV-do.PST-3PL
'Those very people who were rejoicing.'

61. *hey* *hamčo* *ġelopel* *i-xard-im.*
PROG over_there wriggling IPFV-eat.PST-1PL
'We were wriggling around.'

Morphosyntax: verb phrase

This section explores the morphological and syntactic features that define the verb phrase, focusing on the stems and affixes in constructing various forms. We also examine the formation and use of different tenses, progressives, and the stative verbs. Additionally, this section explores how optative and modal verbs are constructed and employed within the verb phrase.

Stems

There are two verb stems in Bavadi Bakhtiari: the non-past stem serving the present-future tense in both indicative and subjunctive moods, and the past stem, which is employed in all past tenses. The following is an example: *e-n-om* (IPFV-put.NPST-1SG) "I place"; *nehāδ-om* (put.PST-1SG) "I placed."

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Affixes

The imperfective marker is the prefix *i-* or *-e*, as in *i-zeyδ* "he was hitting" and *e-zeyδ-en* "they were hitting." The subjunctive *be-* applies to the imperative, *be-zen* "hit!"; subjunctive, *be-zen-om* "I would hit"; and optative *be-zayδ-om* "may I hit." It is superseded by the negative morpheme *n*V-. There are lexical prefixes, or preverbs, including *ver-/var-* and *der-*, as in *ver-ār-* "bring forth" and *der-ār-* "bring out." Unlike Persian, the negative morpheme is followed by the preverbal element:

62.	*ču*	*ham*	*ze*	*men-e*	*pā = s*	*hani*	*na-der-avoδ-e.*
	stick	too	from	in-EZ	leg = 3SG.PC	still	NEG-der-come.PST.3SG-PRF
	'The stick was still stuck in his leg.'						

Personal endings are listed in Table 4. The third person singular ending is normally *-e* in present tenses and zero in past tenses.

Tenses

Table 5 summarizes the verb structures that occur in the data, offering an overview of the various prefixes, stems, and suffixes used across different tenses in Bavadi. This table outlines how specific morphological elements combine to form each tense, from the present indicative to the pluperfect subjunctive. For a more examples of these structures, including specific conjugations and variations, refer to the paradigms presented in Tables A1–A5 in the Appendix.

The present perfect is formed by attaching *-e* to the person marking on the past morpheme, as illustrated in examples 63 and 64. This present perfect ending carries the stress. In contrast to Persian, the suffix *-e* is added not only after the person marking but also after the pronominal clitics, as in example 65.

63.	*ya-tarke-y*	*biδ*	*hālā*	*do-tarke-y = s*	*kerd-en-e.*
	one-stick-ADJZR	be.PST	now	two-stick-ADJZR = 3SG.PC	do.PST-3SG-PRF
	'It used to be a one-hit play but they now have changed it into a two-hit play.'				

64.	*yo*	*gahp = mov*	*zeyδ-e.*
	3SG.PROX	leader = 1PL.PC	hit.PST.3SG-PRF
	'This person has beaten up our leader!'		

65.	*tā*	*avorden = es-e*	*be*	*qaleh*
	until	come.PST.3PL = 3SG.PC-PRF	to	castle
	'As they took him to the settlement (lit. castle)'			

Pluperfects are based on the past tense plus *bi*, the third person singular of "be" as shown in examples 66 and 67. This differs from the Persian pluperfect, which inflects the auxiliary "be," as Bakhtiari marks the perfect stem and leaves the auxiliary uninflected. Pluperfect may also be expressed in the Persian form, with the past participle of the main verb and inflected past copulas as in example 68.

The perfect subjunctive employs the past participle of the main verb followed by the subjunctive forms of "be" as auxiliary.

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Table 5. Verb Forms in Bavadi

	Prefix		Stem		Suffix		
Present indicative	*i-*, *e-*	+	pres. stem	+	ending		
Present subjunctive	(*be-*)	+	pres. stem	+	ending		
Optative	*be-*	+	past stem	+	ending		
Past			past stem	+	ending		
Imperfect	*i-*, *e-*	+	past stem	+	ending		
Present perfect			past stem	+	ending	+	*-e*
Pluperfect			past stem	+	ending	+	*bi*
Perfect subjunctive			PP	+	*bu-*	+	ending
Pluperfect subjunctive			PP	+	*biδ-*	+	ending

66. *xo = s* *avord* *bi.*
self = 3SG.PC bring.PST.3SG was
'He had brought [it] himself.'

67. *xeyli* *kotak* *xard-en* *bi.*
very beating eat.PST-3PL was
'They had been beaten very hard.'

68. *sar-e* *kursi* *nāδe* *biδ-en.*
on-EZ korsi put.PP be.PST-3PL
'They have been placed on the korsi (low table).'

69. *tā* *hālā* *vā* *resiδe* *bu-e.*
till now must be.SUBJ-3SG arrive.PP
'He must have arrived by now.' (P. *bāyad reside bāšad*)

Progressives

The progressives are built with an auxiliary that appears before the imperfect form. The auxiliary is often (*h*)*ey, en*, or both. Occasionally, Persian forms with the auxiliary verb *dāštan* "to have" are encountered in the data. Note that the imperfective prefix is omitted in examples 70 and 71.

70. *eney* *nov* *xor-e.*
PROG bread eat.NPST.3SG
'He is eating.'

71. *eney* *bin-om = es.*
PROG see.NPST-1SG = 3SG.PC
'I am seeing it.'

72. *xom = o* *ali* *en* *e-ri-m* *bāzār.*
myself = and Ali PROG IPFV-go.NPST-1SG market
'I am going to the market with Ali.'

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73. *on* *ze* *bāzār* *i-y-ā-m.*
PROG from market IPFV-EPEN-come.NPST-1SG
'I am coming from the market.'

74. *ey* *sēʋ* *i-xor-e.*
PROG apple IPFV-eat.NPST-3SG
'He is eating apples.'

75. *hey* *hamčo* *ġelopel* *i-xard-im.*
PROG over_there wriggling IPFV-eat.PST-1PL
'We were wriggling around.'

76. *men* *dast-o-pā = soʋ,* *niyešt-im.*
in hand-and-foot = 3PL.PC look.PST-1PL
'We were looking at their stature.'

77. *dāšt-om* *film* *e-diδ-om.*
have.PST-1SG film IPFV-see.PST-1SG
'I was watching a movie.'

Stative verbs

Unlike dynamic verbs, which are used to form progressive constructions, stative verbs are typically expressed using *be*. The following examples illustrate this construction.

78. *be* *xaʋ = e.*
to sleep = is
'He is sleeping.'

79. *be* *hoʋe* *nešaste* *biδ-en.*
to house sit.PP be.PST-3PL
'They were sitting at home.'

Optative

In the data, we were able to identify an optative form not documented elsewhere: *be-* + past stem + endings. See examples 80–82 and 87.

80. *ey.kāšš* *be-mord-i.*
OPT SBJV-die.PST-2SG
'I wish you were dead.' (P. *kāšš mi-mord-i!*)

81. *kāš* *tarest-om* *parʋāz* *be-kerd-om.*
OPT can.PST.1SG flight SBJV-do.PST-1SG
'I wish I could fly.' (P. *kāš mitavānestam parvāz kon-am*)

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82. *kāški* *ke* *ye* *jur* = *i* *bi* *či* *mah* *be-zayδ-i.*
OPT COMP one way = ADV was like moon SBJV-hit.PST-2SG
'I wish that somehow you appeared like the moon.'[44]

Another optative form in Bavadi is formed on the present stem + *ā* + ending + *bā*, the optative third person singular of "be" (cf. P. *bād*). In the data, this form occurs only in the negative and typically in the second person singular, e.g., *na-zan-ā-t bā* "may you not hit" or "I wish you didn't hit," but the morphology may be extended for other persons as well: 1sg. *na-zan-ā-m bā*, etc.[45] In the following sentence, copied from Persian, the optative mood is formally indistinct from the subjunctive:

83. *xodā* *bi-y-āmorz* = *es.*
God SBJV-EPEN-bless.NPST.3SG = 3SG.PC
'May God bless him.' (P. *xodā biāmorzad* = *aš*)

Modal verbs

Major modals in Bavadi, which are usually conjugated without modal prefixes, are: *vāske, vā* "must"; *tar-* as in *tarest-* "can"; and *xo-* as in *xāst-* "want." Modal verbs are followed by the subjunctive of the main verb. Note the subjunctive appear without the modal prefix *be-* in examples 85, 86, and 89–91.

84. *vāske/vā* *emruz* *be-ray-im* *doydor.*
must today SBJV-go.NPST-1PL doctor
'We must go to the doctor today.'

85. *tar-e* *Ø-bin-e* = *s.*
can.NPST-3SG SBJV-see.NPST-3SG = 3SG.PC
'She can see it.'

86. *tar-om* *qāli* *Ø-bahf-om.*
can.NPST-1SG carpet SBJV-weave.NPST-1SG
'I can weave carpets.'

87. *kāš* *tarest-om* *parvāz* *be-kerd-om.*
OPT can.PST.1SG flight SBJV-do.PST-1SG
'I wish I could fly.' (P. *kāš mitavānestam parvāz konam*)

[44] This example is taken from Taheri-Ardali, Anonby, and Zaheri-Abdevand (1401/2023).

[45] Cf. the optative mood formed on the present stem + *ā* in Southern Lori: Shushtari, *van-h-ā-m* "may I be placed"; Dezfuli, *ʃaziē ger-ā-t* "may mourning seize you!"; and Bakhtiari *ne ven-ā-ī tīr* "may you not fire a shot" (MacKinnon, 2011). Persian has a comparative form only in the third person singular: *bād, konād, dārād, āmorzād*.

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88. *xo-n* *si = s* *zine* *b-estov-en.*
want.NPST-3PL for = 3SG.PC wife SBJV-get.NPST-3PL
'They want to find a wife for him.'

89. *e-xo-m* *Ø-ro-m* *ko* *be* *šekāl-e* *pāzen.*
IPFV-want.NPST.1SG SBJV-go.NPST-1SG mountain to hunting-EZ ibex
'I want to go to the mountain to hunt an ibex.'

90. *ayāz* *del = es* *Ø-xās* *sovār-e* *asb* *buv-e.*
Ayāz heart = 3SG.PC SBJV-want.PST.3SG rider-EZ horse be.SBJV-3SG
'Ayaz wants to mount a horse.' (P. A. *del-aš mixwāst*)

91. (*e-*)*xāst-en* *Ø-r-en,* *pašimun vāviδ-en* *var-gašt-en.*
(IPFV-)want.PST-3PL SBJV-go.NPST.3PL regretful become.PST-3PL PVB-turn.PST-3PL
'They wanted to go but they regretted it and returned.' (P. (*mi*)*xāstand beravand, pašimān šodand bargaštand*)

Texts

Here, we present three of the oral texts collected in the course of our research on Bavadi Bakhtiari. For the first portion of each text, we provide a window into an array of its linguistic structures through full interlinear glossing. In the interest of space, the remainder of the texts are presented in a parallel Bakhtiari-English format.

Ākalbali[46] "Ākalbali man's name"

The name Ākalbali "man's name" was recorded in Fāni Ābād. The speakers are Ardeshir Parvizi, age forty-nine, who serves as the main storyteller (Speaker A), Bizhan Parvizi, age fifty-six (Speaker B), and Nowzar Farhādi, age forty-seven (Speaker C), all from the Bavadi community. The narrative describes a memory from approximately forty years previous, involving a few local villagers and a member of the literacy corps sent to educate the population. The main speaker, Ardeshir Parvizi, was an eyewitness to the event.

Speaker A:

xāter[47] *az* *lotf* *ni-bi* *di* *ya* *xātere-yi*
memory from kindness NEG-be.PST.3SG else one memory-INDEF

ze *merhum* *ākalbali = yo* *āġā = m* *abde* *bo-go-m.*
from deceased Ākalbali = and uncle = 1SG.PC Abde SBJV-say.NPST-1SG
'It is fitting (lit. not empty of kindness) to share a memory from the late Ākalbali and my paternal uncle Abdeh.'

[46] The name Ākalbali is fixed structure composed of a personal name *kalbali* and the respectful vocative epithet *ā*.
[47] Likely a reconfiguration of the Persian phrase *xāli az lotf nist* "it is not uninteresting."

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Speaker B:

jang = sun	*xe*[48]	*na-biδ?*
fight = 3PL.PC	that	NEG-be.PST.3SG

'Is it their fight that you're going to talk about?' (lit. 'Wasn't it their fight?')

Speaker A:

jang = sun	*bi,*	*etefāġan!*
fight = 3PL.PC	be.PST.3SG	coincidentally

'As a matter of fact, it was their fight!'

Speaker B:

xā!
INTJ
'Aha!'

Speaker A:

mā	*bače*	*biδ-im*	*čand-e*	*Resul*[49].
we	child	be.PST-1PL	equal-EZ	Resul

'We were just kids, the same age as Rasul.'

ya	*sepāh-dāneš*	*dāšt-im*	*esm = es*	*jahfari*	*bi.*
one	literacy.corps	have.PST-1PL	name = 3SG.PC	Jahfari	be.PST.3SG

'We had a member of literacy corps[50] whose surname was Jafari.'

Speaker C:

yo	*xātere*	*ġašang-i = ya.*
3SG.PROX	memory	pretty-INDEF = COP.3SG

'That's a nice memory!'

Speaker A:

yo,	*ey*	*xoδā,*	*na-ʊ-m*	*māl-e*	*širāz*	*bi*
3SG.PROX	O	God	NEG-know.NPST-1SG	from-EZ	Shirāz	be.PST.3SG

[48] *xe* here is equivalent to P. *ke*, an emphatic marker. They might be cognate.
[49] The speaker points to his seven-year-old son.
[50] *Sepāh-e dāneš* "literary corps" was a massive educational undertaking initiated in 1963 in the framework of Iran's White Revolution (1963–79). See: https://iranicaonline.org/articles/literacy-corps-1.

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yā	*esʋāhān*
or	Esʋāhān

'This... my God, I don't know if he was from Shiraz, or Isfahan.'

yo	*aʋoδ-e*	*be*	*čelgerd.*
3SG.PROX	come.PST.3SG-PRF	to	Chelgerd

'He had come to Chelgerd.'

o	*zamān-o*	*xo = am*	*māšin*	*na-biδ.*
that	time-DEM	that = too	car	NEG-be.PST.3SG

'At that time, there were no cars!'

aʋo	*rah*	*ham*	*baste*	*bi.*
come.PST.3SG	way	too	closed	be.PST.3SG

'He could finally arrive although the roads were closed.' (lit. He came and the roads were also closed.).

barf = am	*xe*	*mes-e*	*hālā*	*n-iy-zeyδ.*
snow-too	well	like-EZ	now	NEG-IPFV-hit.PST.3SG

'The snowfall was not [insignificant] like nowadays.'

barf = am	*i-y-aʋo*	*tā*	*be*	*kunjār*[51]*.*
snow-too	IPFV-EPEN-come.PST.3SG	till	to	waist

'It would snow as high as to the waist!'

sahδi kerden ke — āġā[52] *— ya sepāh-dāneš ze fāniābā iyā do ruz se ruz hon men čelgerd.*	A message was sent that – sir – a member of literacy corps from[53] Fāni Ābād would come and he had now been (*hon*) in Chelgerd for two or three days.
Speaker B: *biyoyn barin=es!*	Come and take him!
Speaker A: *biyoyn barin=es.*	Come and take him.
sepāh-dāneš=am ālborde[54] *ya laʋ-ʋe oštori dāšt.*	The literacy corps member had camel-like lips.

(*Continued*)

[51] The form *kunjār*, with the component *kun* "buttocks," is synonymous with *domjār*, literally meaning where the tail grows.

[52] The vocative interjection *āġā* "sir" is employed habitually as a rhetorical technique to keep the attention of the audience.

[53] One expects the corps member to have come *to* Fāni Ābād, not *from* Fāni Ābād.

[54] The compound *āl-borde* literally means "jinn-taken." It refers to a person who has no value, it would be better to be robbed by a jinn.

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(*Continued.*)

ey xoδā! navom āšeġ-e turuši biδ yā...	My God! I don't know if he loved pickles or ...
Speaker C: *av ġārč!*[55]	Mushroom soup!
Speaker A: *silov arda!*	Date sap and tahini!
Speaker C: *av ġārč!*	Mushroom soup!
Speaker A: *di navm, na, ke xo=s avord bi.*	I don't know, no, whatever he had brought with him.
Speaker C: *hā – bale!*	I see! Yes!
Speaker A: *kē ere vānā=s, kē ere vānā=s...*	Who would go to accompany him, who would go to accompany him ...
xoδā biyāmorze ā teymur=o hami ā nāser hāzerati eren...[56] *derg*[57] *basten raen vānā=s.*	The late Ā Teymur, God bless him, and Ā Nāser, who was available, they went and wore special footwear to go to accompany him.
tā avorden=es-e[58] *be qaleh yonov zi avon avone be hami sahrā gandava.*	As they took him to the settlement (lit. castle), they came early to the field of Gandāb.
šav gerē=sov.	The night caught them.
handā diye tā avone ičo, zemesov xe hamo čār=o panj aftav daraδ.	As they arrived here... it was winter, and the sun set at four or five [o'clock].
handā tāriki ovi.	Right then, it became dark.
xā, qaleh kand=o rahδ=o avon=o āġā=m abde ham vā čerāturi avoδ.	Well, the people came out, they went and arrived, and my paternal uncle Abdeh arrived with a lantern, too.
be hove nešaste biδen.	They were sitting at home.
hey pursid ogoδ, hey sepāh-dāneš! avom murdi,[59] *avom...*	He kept asking and saying "Hey, literacy corps member! – what if you die, what if..."
Speaker C: *hālu sepoyi!*	Maternal uncle literacy corps member!
Speaker A: *hālu sepoyi, ha! hālu sepoyi yo če dang=e?*	Maternal uncle literacy corps member, yes, uncle literacy corps member, what the hell have you done?
avom bačiyal morden...	What if the kids died ...
avom felān kerden...	What if such and such ...
xo=s merhum ākelbali jar=sov vufte	He himself [and] the late Ākalbali started fighting with each other.
Speaker B: *sar-e sepoyi.*	Because of the literacy corps member.
Speaker A: *sar-e sepoyi.*	Because of the literacy corps member.

(*Continued*)

[55] The literal meaning of *av ġārč* is "mushroom water," use single quotes for all glosses, including literal glosses (in sentence just above, too) – a common food in Kuhrang made of wild mushrooms.

[56] An inaudible uttering that sounds something like a slip of the tongue.

[57] A kind of ski made of goat horn or wood to avoid sinking into the snow.

[58] P. *āvardeand-aš.*

[59] P. *āmadam mordi* or *gereftam mordi* "let's assume you would die."

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(*Continued.*)

harf ez ho harf ez yo gerjom kerden.	That one said something, this one said something else (lit. word from that one, word from this one) and they quarreled.
hālā imā ham čand-e resul hey hamčo ġelopel ixardim men dass-e-pā=sou, niyeštim.	So, I (lit. we) was the same age as Rasul and I was wriggling around and watching.
ketāvā teymur=am men-e ya qavloq-ē biδen.	Teymur's books were in a hand-made fabric bag.
u qeδim igoδen qavloq.	In the past, they used to call it a *qavloġ*.
Speaker B: *hā!*	Yes!
Speaker C: *sar kursi*	On a *korsi*.[60]
Speaker A: *sar-e kursi nāδe biδen.*	They had placed [them] on the *korsi*.
xā, hamisako ke āġā=m abde gerjom kerden si bāvā=m ākelbeli...	Well, as my paternal uncle Abdeh was prepared for a fight with Ākalbali ...
bāvā=m ākelbeli ... be qavloq ... be ketava. panjom=am biδen.	My grandfather Ākalbali ... to the *qavloġ* ... to the books, they were for the fifth grade.
vand zeyδ men-e sēne āġā=m abde vo čerāturi kur oviy=o eškas.	He threw them and hit the chest of my paternal uncle Abdeh and the lantern went out and broke.
merhum bišaraf kinēδ[61] *ke vuy ākelbali be bard-e sar-e kursi*[62] *kor-e ām fatali-ne kušti.*	That late Bisharaf[63] screamed and said, "Hey, Ākalbali, you've killed the son of my paternal uncle Fath-Ali with the stone on the *korsi*."
go, na šarul; be panš-tan-e āle abā, teymur bi.	He said, "No, Sharaf,[64] I swear to the Five Holy ones it was Teymur."
go, be panš-tan-e āl-e abā, teymur zeym=es.	He said, "I swear to the Five Holy ones, I hit him with Teymur's possessions."[65]
Speaker B: *y=am xātere jālev-i bi!*	What an interesting memory!

Chubāzi "stick-play"

Chubāzi "stick-play" was recorded in Fāni Ābād. The speakers are Kurosh Farhādi as the main storyteller, age forty-seven (Speaker A), Bizhan Parvizi, age fifty-six (Speaker B), Nowzar Farhādi, age forty-seven (Speaker C), and Ardeshir Parvizi, age forty-nine (Speaker D). This text is a lively exchange about an incident that took place at a wedding ceremony about twenty years previous.

Chubāzi, literally "stick-play," is a traditional game played by Bakhtiari people at wedding ceremonies. A struggle plays out between two men: an attacker who holds a short stick (*tarke*) and a defender who holds a long, thick stick (*delak*), one-and-a-half meters long. The defender protects his legs and feet using only the long stick. Before any attack, the players

[60] *Korsi* is a wooden frame with a brazier underneath and a huge quilt tossed over it. On each of the four sides of the *korsi*, one or two people crawl under the quilt. *Korsi* used to be the primary means of keeping warm in wintertime.

[61] Apparently *kinēδ* "scream."

[62] *Bard-e sar-e kursi* "the stone on the top of *korsi*" is a heavy stone placed on the blanket over the *korsi* to keep it fixed.

[63] Originally, the name *bibi šaraf*, with the respectful epithet *bibi*, which is common before women's names.

[64] *Šarul* is a diminutive of the male name *šaraf*, which literally means "dignity, honor."

[65] He means that he hit Abdeh with Teymur's books.

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dance to the music of the drum (*dohol*) and trumpet (*karnā*). The game was traditionally a one-hit play, that is, the hitter had the chance to hit the opponent only once, but nowadays the hitter is usually allowed to attack twice in a row.

Speaker A:

āġā,	*mā = am*	*ye*	*xātere-yi*	*ze*	*bištar*	*ze*	*arusi = yo*	*čubāzi*
sir	we = too	one	memory-INDEF	from	more	from	wedding = and	stick.play

goδ-in,	*m = am*	*ye*	*xātere-yi*	*ze*	*čubāzi*	*e-go-m.*
say.PST-2PL	I = too	one	memory-INDEF	from	stick.play	IPFV-say.NPST-1SG

'Allow me to tell a memory about stick-play, as you suggested, more about weddings and stick-play.'

Speaker B:

befarmā.
command!
'Go ahead!'

Speaker A:

mā = am	*hayġat*	*donbāl*	*dav*	*čubāzi*	*xeyli*	*ziyāδ*	*biδ-im.*
we = too	truth	pursuit	playfield	stick.play	very	much	be.PST-1PL

'We used to spend a lot of time out on the stick-play field.'

ya	*daste-yi*	*biδ-im*	*dah-bis*	*nafar.*
one	group-INDEF	be.PST-1PL	ten-twenty	person

'We were a group of ten or twenty people.'

Speaker C:

albat,	*mohandes!*	*men-e*	*kalām = et!*
but	engineer	in-EZ	talk = 2SG.PC

'But, engineer! Sorry to interrupt you!'

Speaker B:

jāheli	*i-kerd-ē!*
youth	IPFV-do.PST-2SG

'You were just acting your young age!'

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na na na!	*men-e*	*kalām-e*	*kal*	*kureš,*
No no no	in-INDEF	talk-EZ	Kal	Kuresh

'No, no, no! Sorry to stop Kal[66] Kurosh's talk,

pay = šiš	*nafar*	*biδ-im*
five = six	person	be.PST-1PL

but we were five or six people.'

ardešēr	*feġat*	*zērdelak-i*[67]	*i-zey.*
Ardeshir	only	under.delak-ADJZR	IPFV-hit.PST.3SG

'Ardeshir consistently hit the defender under the longer stick.'

Speaker C:

jān-e	*Haji*[68]	*harkē*	*delak = e*	*dēr*	*i-gerēδ*
life-EZ	haji	anyone	delak = OBJ	late	IPFV-get.PST.3SG

ardešēr = e	*i-fešnāy-im*	*be*	*dav*	*zērdelaki*
Ardeshir = OBJ	IPFV-send.PST-1PL	to	playfield	zirdelaki

do	*tek = s = e*[69]	*i-zeyδ.*
two	calf = 3SG.PC = OBJ	IPFV-hit.PST.3SG

'I swear on Haji's life, anyone who would seize the *delak* with delays, we would send Ardeshir to the playfield and he would hit his (the opponent's) two calves from under the *delak*.'

mo	*feġat*	*sar-e*	*panje*	*i-zeyδ-om*
I	only	on-EZ	toe	IPFV-hit.PST-1SG

'As for me, I only would hit on the toes.'

Speaker B: *uuuf*	Ouch!
Speaker C: *har-ke ze sar-e delak irah, yo izeyδ=es čon yo čel-ā=ne ekašēδ.*	Anyone who would move backwards, this person would hit him because this person could stretch out his hands.
harčē ke irahδi aġab, dast=e irason be=t.	Whatever you moved backwards, he reached the hands to you.
to-merey![70] *har ke!*	You bet! [He would do that to] anyone!

(*Continued*)

[66] Kal is a short form of *karbalāi*, an epithet given to a person who has visited the Mesopotamian city of Karbala on pilgrimage.

[67] The action known as *zirdelaki* is a technique in which the attacker hits the defender's feet from under the longer stick.

[68] An epithet given to a person who has visited Mecca for pilgrimage.

[69] When *tarke* hits both of the defender's calves successfully, it is considered a big achievement for the hitter.

[70] An endearing expression corresponding to P. *to bemiri*, which means, loosely, "swear to your death."

[71] Inaudible utterance.

[72] Inaudible utterance.

[73] An old village (called Mahdieh today), which is now part of the city Shahr-e Kord.

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(*Continued.*)

zebiyollā ham ya nāšāδi bi ke asan čap-e-rās hēč das-ā=s naδāšten.	Zabihollāh was such a cunning [lit. naughty] that he could use his left or right hand with equal dexterity.
čār=payn nafar=moυ hame=s [υ]ābā yak.	We four or five people have been always together.
hālā eδāme xātere=t=e bego!	Now, go ahead and continue the memory.
i jaryān yo biδ ke ...[71] *erahδim ābā yak.*	This was the story – when we went around together.
Speaker A: *arusi doδar-e biyāmorzi ahmaδ be sohrko biδ.*	It was the wedding of the late Ahmad's daughter in Sorkh Kuh.
Speaker B: *ahmaδ āġā aybar.*	Ahmad, [the son] of Āqā Akbar.
Speaker C: *uuu... bale bale — bālipur*	Oh... yes, yes – Bālipur [by surname].
Speaker A: *o učo bi tā zohr-ē biδ.*	And it was there – until noon it was.
Speaker B: *si kē?*	For whom?
Speaker A: *si kor ramezoυ.*	For the son of Ramezān.
Speaker C: *dor gap=es.*	[And] Jis [Ahmad Bālipur's] eldest daughter [was the bride].
Speaker B: *xo, bale, bale.*	Okay, yes, yes.
Speaker A: *dor gap=es.*	His eldest daughter.
āġā, mā raδim u arusiy-o=ne raδim=o ...[72] *daυ čubāzi tamum υoυiδ=o ya arusi kor-e šāhmorāδ-e alifat ham be zāniyoυ biδ.*	Sir, we went to that wedding and the stick-play games were finished and there was also the wedding ceremony of the son of Shāhmorād [the son] of Ali-Fath in Zāniān.[73]
xom=o fēruz=am ze ičo raδim u arusi-yo.	Myself and Firuz went from here to that wedding.
gom, hālā biyoυ rim zāniyun.	I said: "It is time to go to Zāniān together."
daυ učo šuluġ=e;	The playfield is crowded there.
yo fāe nāre si imā.	This one here has no benefit for us [i.e., it is not as exciting as the one in Zāniān].
berim učo zaniyoυ.	Let's go there to Zāniān.
Speaker B. *fēruz āġā hāδi*	Firuz, [the son of] Āqā Hādi.
Speaker A: *fēruz ā hāδi.*	Firuz, [the son of] Ā Hādi.
učo daυ ġorbatun biδ=o baxtiyāriyā.	That place is the playfield between blacksmiths and the Bakhtiari people.
xeyli ham šuluġ biδ.	It was very crowded.
bāυar ko, ya meyδuυ-ē gerēδen bi ke punsaδ nafar daυr-e haυr-e gerē bi daυr-e čubāzi.	Believe me or not, they organized a circle with 500 people around the stick-play playfield.
ġorbatoυ υo baxtiyāriyā.	The blacksmiths and the Bakhtiari people.
āġā! mā ye kamē dēr resiδim.	We arrived a little bit late.

(*Continued*)

[74] *Hat* "trap."
[75] The speaker stopped here and changed the subject.

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(*Continued.*)

zebiyollā=ʋo zamoʋ=o ya do-se-tā di ez ham hazerāt xomun raen bi be daʋ.	Zabihollāh and Zamān and a few others from our own community [Bakhtiari people] had gone to the playfield.
āġā! — i ġorbatoʋ aʋon bi hatt[74]*=esun kerden bi daʋr-e yak.*	The blacksmiths put them under pressure [lit. had come and encircled them altogether].
hēč fāδe ham be-hāl=sun neδ[āšt].	There was no solution for them, either.
ye ču ho xard ye ču yo zeyδ=o hič fāδe neδāšt.	That one received a stick and this one struck a stick but there was no benefit [for the Bakhtiari side].
mā ya[75] *kuče hazerāt diδi xe yekami sarʋālāy biδ.*	You already saw the alley in Zāniān which is a little steep.
pā beġal biδ.	The footstep was alongside the alley.
yonoʋ ze hamo duʋoʋ ke imā-ne diδen	These people who saw us there from the down part [i.e., as they saw us from a long distance while they were desperate in the competition].
Speaker B: *xošhāli kerden!*	They rejoiced.
Speaker A: *xošhāli kerd!*	Rejoiced!
Speaker B: *beškan ezeyδen.*[76]	They have been on cloud nine!
Speaker A: *zebiyollā=am itoʋri ke[rd] zitarē beras.*	Zabihollāh did like this (the speaker gestures), [meaning] come fast!
yani xeyli kotak xarden bi.	Meaning, they had been beaten very hard.
āġā — hālā ay jānev-e xoδā ar harčē ke bi, xoδā xās mā=ne rusefiδ kone.[77]	I don't know if it was from God or whatever it was, God wanted to make us feel proud.
tā resiδom — hēč nafas=am nazeyδom —	As soon as I arrived – without a second thought [lit. I didn't breathe at all] –
tā resiδom, delak=e esteyδom.	as soon as I arrived, I grabbed the *delak*.
Speaker B: *bārikallā! ze kē esteyδi?*	Bravo! From whom did you take [it]?
Speaker A: *ze zebiyollā —*	From Zabihollāh;
ze zebiyollā delak=e esteyδom.	I grabbed the *delak* from Zabihollāh.
ya nāser ġorbati bi.	There was a certain Nāser the blacksmith.
aʋalan seʋilā=s tā hamičo.	Firstly, his moustache – up to here!
Speaker B: *xo heδ=es alān.*	Yes, he is still around.
Speaker A: *seʋilā=s tā hamičo*	His moustache – up to here
Speaker B: *heδ=es, nāser ġorbat, bini nāser ġorbat, heδ=es, bale!*	He still exists, Nāser the blacksmiths, like [lit. you may see] Nāser the blacksmith, yes, he is around.

(*Continued*)

[76] Literally, "they were snapping their fingers," showing extreme happiness.
[77] Literally, "God wanted to make us white-faced," meaning "exonerated, acquitted."
[78] The play was traditionally a one-hit play, meaning the hitter had the chance to hit the opponent only once, but nowadays the hitter has the chance to attack twice in a row.

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(*Continued.*)

Speaker A: *āġā! jeġeliyal=e koš.*	He beat [lit. killed] all the guys hard.
Speaker B: *semsāl=es=am bālā biδ.*	He was at an advanced age.
Speaker A: *hā — havʊ ker[d] si=m ču=s=e gerēm.*	Yeah, he yelled at me to hit me but I defended successfully [lit. I seized/grabbed his stick].
ya-tarkey biδ hālā do-tarkey=s kerdene.[78]	It used to be a one-hit play but they now have changed it into a two-hit play.
havʊ kerd ču=s=e gerēm.	He yelled at me to hit me but I defended successfully.
dovāre ču=s der xardom mo ya ču xāstom jomnom xeyli der=es dāδom.	Again, I turned around and I was looking for a chance to hit him with the stick, I made him turn around repeatedly.
dast=am niδā ke zanom=es.	He didn't allow me to hit him.
Speaker C: *xo čubāz biδ.*	Well, he was an [adept] stick-play player.
Speaker A: *rahm zēr dast=es hamitovri havʊ kerdom diδom ya tarke šamm-i biδ dast=om.*	I tried hitting him from under his arm, I yelled at him and saw that a flexible stick [lit. candle-like] was in my hand.
hamitovri kerdom havʊ kerdom be čap zeyyom zēr zovi=s.	I did so, yelled at him and hit under his knee to the left side.
piyā šelāl ovi men davʊ.	The man fell exhausted on the playfield [the ground].
Speaker B: *paaa'a!*	Wow!
Speaker A: *xoδa sar šāheδ=e!*	God is witness!
ču ham ze men-e pā=s hani naderavoδe.	The stick was still in his leg.
ču gir ker[d]e men-e ravrav-e pā=s.	The stick stuck in his ligaments.
Speaker C: *nešast!*	It sat!
ʊo kešēm=es be ser.	I pulled him down to the ground.
Speaker D: *gire dašt — ʊaste men šavlār=es*	It had knots, [and the knots] stuck in his trousers.
Speaker A: *na, narm ke biδ.*	No, it [the stick] was soft.
āxe zey men-e ravrav=es=e ke zeyδom.	As I hit his ligaments.
ze ravrav=es ke zeyδom, diym hamitovrey diye ču mand.	As I hit his ligaments, I saw that the stick was left there – it was stuck.
Speaker C: *nešast.*	It sat!
Speaker A: *nešast.*	It sat!
Speaker D: *čaft=es jam ovi.*	His knee-joint was folded.
Speaker A: *nešast sar-e ču.*	He sat on the stick.
ma=m kašim=es be ser men-e hamo hākāho.	I dragged him while skidding in the dusts [dusts right there].

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(*Continued.*)

āġā haji gāle zeyδen[79] *jeġeleyal har ġorbat-e xoδā miδoʊ rah be ya ʊolāt.*	Āqā Haji, the guys shouted so that each blacksmith, swear to God, left the field and went away to a place [as they felt embarrassed].
xoδā sar-e šāheδ=e rah be ya ʊolāt.	God be the witness; they went away to a place.
bahδ, aʊon be sahrā sar kučehā xāsten mone zanen.	Then, they came outside right at the entrance to the alleys to hit me.
sar kučehā xāsten mone zanen ke — āġā — yo naʊās ke nāser=e bezane.[80]	They wanted to hit me right at the entrance to the alleys, saying you shouldn't have hit the honorable Nāser!
Speaker B: *oh!*	Oh!
yo si imā xeyli tamom ʊoʊi!	It was a big shame for us! (*barāyemān [gerān] tamām shod*)
Speaker B: *yo gahp=moʊ zeyδe.*	This person has beat our leader!
Speaker A: *ya jeġeleyi aʊoδe nāsere zeyδe xeyli si imā tamom ʊoʊi.*	A young guy has come and beat Nāser, it is a big shame for us!
zamun rah tey=soʊ.	Zamān went to them.
go hamo ke nāser=e zeyδe pesarāmu mo=ne.	He said to them the guy who hit Nāser is my cousin.
xoδā-ʊakili zaniyun konom ya kās-e xin-ē aya kesi čap be=s beniyare.	God as my witness, Zaniān will be in blood if someone gives him a dirty look.
Speaker B: *zamoʊ-e aʊʊal*[81] *na zamoʊ-e hālā.*	The first Zamān not the one you see now.
Speaker A: *zamoʊ-e aʊʊal!*	The first Zamān!
tumerey, di-m ze rās xos=oʊ har kas rah si ya ʊolāt.	I tell you; I saw everyone went to his own way to his place [lit. swear to your death, from their own side, I saw everyone went to a village].

Kačal o pāδešāh "The bald vizier and the king"

Kačal o pāδešāh "The bald vizier and the king" was recorded in Nasir Ābād. The storyteller is Jahān Afruz Nasiri, age sixty. This text is a fairy tale that the storyteller heard as a child from her parents.[82] In this text, the storyteller delivers a monologue, so there are no exchanges between speakers.

ya	*kačal-i*	*bi*	*ya*	*paδešāh-i*	*ham*	*bi.*
one	bald-INDEF	be.PST.3SG	one	king-INDEF	too	be.PST.3SG

'There was a bald [vizier] and there was a king, too.'

pāδešā	*hey*	*be*	*ʊezir*	*o-go*	*raʊ*
king	PROG	to	vizier	IPFV-say.PST.3SG	IMPV.go.NPST.2SG

[79] This is a sign of victory in a competition.
[80] For P. *ke mabādā nāser-rā bezanad*.
[81] In other words, Zaman was strong at that time, but is not as strong now.
[82] Sound files for each of the three texts are available at: https://doi.org/10.5683/SP2/FVLDLZ.

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be *šekāl.*
to hunting
'The king kept telling the vizier to go hunting.'

ya	*pāzen-ē*	*be-zen*	*bi-y-ār*
one	ibex-INDEF	IMPV-hit.NPST.2SG	IMPV-EPEN-bring.NPST.2SG

be-δe = mov.
IMPV-give.NPST.2SG = 1PL.PC
'Hunt an ibex and bring and give [it] to us.'

ammā *vā* *dovar = es* *rafiġ* *bi.*
but with daughter = 3SG.PC friend be.PST.3SG
'But, [the vezier] was friends with his [the king's] daughter.'

xās *xo = s.*
want.PST.3SG self = 3SG.PC
'He wanted [her] for himself.'

hey	*baδ = es*	*i-y-avo*	*del = es*	*nē-xās*
ADV	bad = 3SG.PC	IPFV-EPEN-come.PST.3SG	heart = 3SG.PC	NEG-want.PST.3SG

ke	*vezir*	*dovar = es = e*	*xo.*
COMP	vizier	daughter = 3SG.PC = OBJ	want.NPST.3SG

'[The king] was feeling badly and he didn't want the vizier to love his daughter.'

go	*mo*	*pāδešā = m*	*pa*	*vezir*	*i-y-ā*
say.PST.3SG	I	king = COP.1SG	then	vizier	IPFV-EPEN-come.NPST.3SG

dovar	*mo = ne*	*xo*
daughter	me = OBJ	want.NPST.3SG

'He said: I am king, why the vizier should love my daughter!'

ya	*nafar*	*fešnā*	*go*	*rav*	*be*
one	person	send.PST.3SG	say.PST.3SG	go.NPST-2SG	to

vezir	*be-go*	*bi-y-av*	*kār = es*
vizier	IMPV-say.NPST	IMPV-EPEN-come.NPST-2SG	task = 3SG.PC

dār-om.
have.NPST-1SG
'He sent someone and told him to tell the vizier that I have a task for him to do.'

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isa	*ke*	*avo*	*go*	*ho*	*če = t = e.*
then	COMP	come.PST.3SG	say.PST.3SG	INTJ	what = 2SG.PC = COP.3SG

'Then as he arrived, [the vizier] said: So what do you want?'

go	*rav*	*šir-e*	*šēr*	*be*	*pust-e*
say.PST.3SG	go.NPST-2SG	milk-EZ	lion	to	skin-EZ

šēr	*be*	*kaδ-e*	*šēr*	*bi-y-ār*
lion	to	shoulder-EZ	lion	IMPV-EPEN-bring.NPST-2SG

be-δ = om.
IMPV-give.NPST-2SG = 1SG.PC
'[The king] said: Go and fetch me lion milk inside lion skin on lion shoulder.'

go,	*hey*	*xoδā,*	*mo*	*r-om*	*ze*	*kōje*
say.PST.3SG	ADV	god	I	go.NPST-1SG	from	where

šir-e = vo	*šēr-e = vo*	*pust-e*	*šēr*	*be-jur-om*
milk-EPEN = and	lion-EPEN = and	skin-EZ	lion	SBJV-find.NPST-1SG

bi-y-ār-om.
SBJV-EPEN-bring.NPST-1SG
'[The vezier] said: "O God, from where can I go, find and bring milk, a lion and the skin of a lion?'

rah	*rah*	*beyn-e*	*rah*	*ke*	*rah*	*ya*
go.PST.3SG	go.PST.3SG	middle-EZ	way	COMP	go.PST.3SG	one

malek-e	*xeyr-i*	*ya*	*ensān-i*	*var-bi*	*men*	*ri = s.*
angel-EZ	good-INDEF	one	human-INDEF	PRV-was	in	face = 3SG.PC

'He went and went and, on the way, as he was going away a good angel [in shape of] a human being came toward him suddenly.'

go	*hey*	*javān*	*xeyf = om*	*ze*	*javāni = t*
say.PST.3SG	ADV	youth	pity = 1SG.PC	from	youth = 2SG.PC

xo-y	*r-i*	*kučono?*
want.NPST-2SG	go.SBJV.NPST-2SG	where

'[The angel] said: Hey you the great young guy, where are you going?'

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go, ʋalā pāδešā be=m go, raʋ šir-e šēr be pust-e šēr be kaδ-e šēr biyār beδ=om.	He said: "Well, the king told me: 'Fetch me the milk of lions inside the skin of a lion and on the shoulder of a lion.'"
go, yo haf sāl=e šā šēroʋ ya hār-e sēste[83]*-y rahδe be pā=s bāδ-e bu kerde.*	[The angel] said: "It is seven years that the king of lions has a thorn of hawthorn in his foot which is infected.
ar rehδi hār=es=e kašiδi, beδuʋ=et bu[84] *ke ya kār-i si=t kone.*	If you go and pull his thorn, you will make sure that he [the lion] will be helpful to you."
rah sar sēste ke rasi ya maqāš-i ham dā=s.	[The vizier] went and arrived at the hawthorn tree, the angel gave him tongs, too.
go, ri hār=es=e keši, hēč netersi.	[The angel] said: "You go and pull his thorn and don't feel scared at all."
hār=e kaši, rah sar-e sēste.	He [the vizier] pulled the thorn and climbed up the hawthorn [the vizier was scared].
hālā ke rah sar-e sēste, gale=ʋo nare=ʋo dare ʋahs ʋā rah ze ʋar hēn=o čerk=o čalaʋ.	As he climbed up the hawthorn, pus and blood and many other things ran out of the injury and spread over the whole surrounding area.[85]
xo=ne loftelēs ker[d], ʋorostā.	He [the lion] made himself ready and stood up.
go, hm bu yā.	He [the lion] said: "Hmm, it smells.
bu āδomzāδ iyā,	The smell of human is coming
jend-e parizāδ iyā.	– [of] jinn and fairies are coming.
ar goy, goy,[86] *ani [i]xorom=et.*	If you [the vizier] tell, that will be fine; if not, I will eat you!"
go, na dard=et zey men joʋ=om, mon=om.	He [the vizier] said: "No – I beg you[87] – it's me."
go, biyaʋ be lam.	He [the lion] said: "Come down!"
hālā ke aʋo be lam, go če xāsti dāri? če dard-i dāri?	As he came down, [the lion] said: "What is your request, what is your problem [pain]?"
go, ʋolā pāešā be=m go, šir-e šēr be kaδ-e šēr be pust-e šēr iyāri dim; ani naʋordi ham sar=t=e borom.	He [the vizier] said: "the truth is that the king told me to fetch him the milk of lions inside the skin of a lion and on the shoulder of a lion, otherwise, I would cut off your head."

(*Continued*)

[83] *Sēste* "hawthorn" corresponds to P. *kenǰ, zālzālak*.

[84] P. *dāneste bāš!*

[85] The words *gale=ʋo nare=ʋo dare* mean "the high lands and low lands and valleys" (in a rhythmic fashion). In fact, this is an exaggeration to show the amount of "pus and blood."

[86] The word *goy* "that you say" is repeated here with different intonation. The first *goy* ends with a rising and the second one ends with a falling intonation. Cf. P. *agar gofti gofti* "if you say [it], that's fine."

[87] Literally, "your pain in my soul."

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(*Continued.*)

go, ri sar-e hamo deraxto zani ʋā mazg ke šāh šērоʋ mord.	He [the lion] said: "You will climb up that very tree and grieve [lit. would hit on the brain hard] that the king of lions has died."
go, ey boʋ=m=ey[88] *ke šāh šērоʋ mord.*	He [the vizier] said: "O my lord, the king of lions has died. "
go, harki=sun fis kerd si=m igoy.	He [the lion] said: "Just tell me anyone of them who was jubilant.
harki=sun zey ʋāmazg=am, si=m igoy.	Tell me also about any one of them who grieves."
go xeyli xo.	He [the vizier] said: "Fine!"
rah zey ʋāmazg, ke šāh šērоʋ mord.	He went and grieved [lit. hit on the brain] that the king of lions died.
ya čārtā=sun dindā hey ġaʋz ikerd.	A few [lit. four] of them [lions] became happy at the end.
hey ġaʋz kerd.	He [i.e., they – the lions] became happy.
aʋo be lam si=s.	He [the vizier] came down to go toward him.
sar yeki ze hamenun buri pust=es=am kand.	He beheaded one of them and skinned him, too.
hamonun ke fis ikerden.	Those very who were rejoicing.
pāy hame=ne doδ.[89]	He milked them all.
hame=ne doδ, por pust-e šēr kerd, dā be ʋezir.	He milked all of them and filled in the skin with the milk fully and gave it to the vizier.
baδ rah go si pāδešā.	Then, he went and said "[it is] for the king."
kaδ-e yek=sun go, hami sako eri doʋo hoʋe pāšā bennāl si=s ke betarsi.	He [the king of lions] told to one of them: "As soon as you go down to the house of the king, roar in such a way that he [the king] gets scared."
yam ze hamčo ke resi nāli si pāδešā.	This one [the lion], as he arrived, he started roaring for the king.
go, riyen be felān-i — kor dālu — bogoyn šēr=e ʋel kon.	He [the king] said: "Go and tell that person – the son of the old woman – to free the lion."
go, na, hēz iyāri si=s, bal xoʋ tarse.	He [the vizier] said: "No, you [the lion] should pretend to attack him until he gets scared much."
rah xig-e širi=ne toyni[90] *piš=es.*	He went and tossed the lion's skin before him [the king].

(*Continued*)

[88] Literally, "Oh my father." This expression is used in funeral ceremonies when someone grieves for the loss of his father.

[89] Cf. P. *pāk hame-rā dušid.*

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(*Continued.*)

šēr=am guši, rah.	He freed the lion, [and the lion] went away.
rah be šekāl, rah be šekāl...	He [the king] went hunting – went hunting...
bāz zenutare ogo, mo ar ferg-e kor dālu=ne nakerdom bu, ene jā mā.	Again, he [the king] said: "If I did not act against the son of the old woman, he would dethrone me [lit. would replace us].
poy košen=movu.[91]	They would kill us all.
avo čel=es=e bor; rah ya pāzen-ē ham zey; čel=es=am bor, rah dā=s.	He [the king] took the shoulder part.[92] He went and hunted an ibex; then took its shoulder to him [the vizier].
go, ho če=t=e?	[The vizier] said: "What do you want?"
go, dā=m=o bevo=m=o yonov=o hafpošt=om čándi sāl ke morden vā ri ya nam-i ze=sov yāri dim.	He [the king] said: "You should bring me letters from all those who have died [in our family] – my mother, father, grandparents, seven ancestors, etc."
hey xoδā vort kerd! pa yon xoδā dove kay morden!	Oh God, only God knows when these people died (with anxiety and nervousness)!
mo ze koje rom nāme...	How can I go and letters... (incomplete sentence)
rah ya verd xond, ya nam-i čan nafar jam kerd, ya čántā nāme nevеš, avord dāδ=es.	He [the vizier] went and recited an incantation and collected letters [from] a few persons and wrote a few [himself] and brought and gave [them] to him [the king] –
avord dāδ=es.	brought and gave him.
isa ke dāδ=es, pāešā ham šav setke kerd mord.	As he [the vizier] gave them to him [the king], the king had a heart failure, and died that night.
korr=o dovar nešasten be morāδā, hove-zendey kérden si xo=sov. pāešā ham mord; rah tey bov=s — mord rah tey bov=s!	The boy and the girl sat in prosperity and lived together [lit. did home-living]. The king died – went before his father [in heaven], he kicked the bucket!
matal=om rās — por dov=om mās![93]	My story [was] true - my mouth full of yogurt!

Conclusion

This paper presents the linguistic description of the Bavadi dialect of Bakhtiari spoken by the Bavadi clan in the Kuhrang district, located in the heart of the Bakhtiari homeland in Chahar Mahal va Bakhtiari Province, Iran. The analysis provided here is based mainly on three texts: one from the controlled and formulaic genre of folktales and two from free conversations among groups of speakers. By examining its phonological, morphological,

[90] Probably from *toynidan*, comparable to P. *torāndan* "to roll" or *tābāndan* "to twist."
[91] Cf. P. *mikošand=emān*.
[92] This sentence is said too early. It belongs after the hunting is performed.
[93] This is an unusual phrase to end a story with.

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and syntactic characteristics, this study highlights the unique features of Bavadi Bakhtiari and its significance within the broader context of Iranian linguistics.

Our analysis reveals several key findings: Bavadi Bakhtiari is distinguished by its seven vowels and twenty-two consonants. Phonologically, the dialect retains the long mid vowel *ē* as a distinct phoneme, while its back vowel counterpart has merged with other phonemic categories. The glottal stop does not function as a separate phoneme, but the uvular consonants, including the voiced plosive *ġ* and the voiceless plosive *q*, are distinct phonemes. The consonant [ð̣] is treated as an allophone of *d*, which we have transcribed as *δ* or "Zagros d" to reflect its unique role compared to Persian. In terms of morphosyntax, we analyzed the nominal and verbal constructions within this dialect. In particular, Bavadi exhibits an optative form (be- + past stem + endings). Also, the negative morpheme precedes the preverbal element, contrasting with Persian, as illustrated in examples such as *na-der-avoδ-e*. Furthermore, definiteness, indefiniteness, object marking, and some other aspects of verbal constructions exhibit distinctive features that set Bavadi apart from Persian and other Southwestern Iranian languages.

These findings advance our understanding of Bavadi and enrich our knowledge of the linguistic diversity within the Iranian language family. We bear in mind that Bavadi has countless linguistic patterns and features that require further exploration from both theoretical and applied perspectives. Future research could benefit from both synchronic and diachronic studies of Bavadi and other dialects within the Lori continuum, employing experimental methods and comparative analyses with related dialects. Exploring the impact of language contact and sociolinguistic factors will further illuminate the complexities of Bakhtiari and its role within the Iranian linguistic arena. Preserving such languages and dialects is crucial to maintaining linguistic diversity and cultural identity, as they embody unique historical knowledge and social practices. The loss of these dialects would mean not only the disappearance of distinctive linguistic features but also the erosion of the cultural heritage and traditions they carry.

In conclusion, this study emphasizes the importance of in-depth dialectal research to understanding the rich linguistic status of Iran and contributes to ongoing efforts to document and analyze the region's diverse dialects.

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Appendix

Table A1. Conjugation of 'see'

	Present	Subj.	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
Persian	*mibinam*	*bebinam*	*didam*	*mididam*	*dideam*	*dide budam*	*dide bāšam*	–
sg. 1	*e-bin-om*	*bi-ʋin-om*	*diδ-om*	*e-diδ-om*	*diδ-om-e*	*diδ-om bi*	*diδe buʋ-om*	*diδe biδ-om*
2	*e-bin-i*	*bi-ʋin-i*	*diδ-i*	*e-diδ-i*	*diδ-i-e*	*diδ-i bi*	*diδe buʋ-i*	*diδe biδ-i*
3	*e-bin-e*	*bi-ʋin-e*	*diδ*	*e-diδ*	*diδ-e*	*diδ bi*	*diδe bu*	*diδe biδ*
pl. 1	*e-bin-im*	*bi-ʋin-im*	*diδ-im*	*e-diδ-im*	*diδ-im-e*	*diδ-im bi*	*diδe buʋ-im*	*diδe biδ-im*
2	*e-bin-in*	*bi-ʋin-in*	*diδ-in*	*e-diδ-in*	*diδ-in-e*	*diδ-in bi*	*diδe buʋ-in*	*diδe biδ-in*
3	*e-bin-en*	*bi-ʋin-en*	*diδ-en*	*e-diδ-en*	*diδ-en-e*	*diδ-en bi*	*diδe buʋ-en*	*diδe biδ-en*

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Table A2. Conjugation of 'go'

	Present	Subj.	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
sg. 1	*e-r-om*	*be-roʊ-om*	*rahδ-om*	*e-rahδ-om*	*rahδ-om-e*	*rahδ-om bi*	*rahδe buʊ-om*	*rahδe biδ-om*
2	*e-r-i*	*be-riʊ-i*	*rahδ-i*	*e-rahδ-i*	*rahδ-i-e*	*rahδ-i bi*	*rahδe buʊ-i*	*rahδe biδ-i*
3	*e-r-e*	*be-reʊ-e*	*rahδ*	*e-rahδ*	*rahδ-e*	*rahδ bi*	*rahδe bu*	*rahδe biδ*
pl. 1	*e-r-im*	*be-riʊ-im*	*rahδ-im*	*e-rahδ-im*	*rahδ-im-e*	*rahδ-im bi*	*rahδe buʊ-im*	*rahδe biδ-im*
2	*e-r-in*	*be-riʊ-in*	*rahδ-in*	*e-rahδ-in*	*rahδ-in-e*	*rahδ-in bi*	*rahδe buʊ-in*	*rahδe biδ-in*
3	*e-r-en*	*be-reʊ-en*	*rahδ-en*	*e-rahδ-en*	*rahδ-en-e*	*rahδ-en bi*	*rahδe buʊ-en*	*rahδe biδ-en*

Table A3. Conjugation of 'come'

	Present	Subj.	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
sg. 1	*i-y-ā-m*	*bi-y-ā-m*	*ʌʊδ-om*	*i-y-ʌʊ-m*	*ʌʊδ-om-e*	*ʌʊδ-om bi*	*ʌʊδe buʊ-om*	*ʌʊδe biδ-om*
2	*i-y-ā-yi*	*bi-y-ā-y*	*ʌʊδ-i*	*i-y-ʌʊ-i*	*ʌʊδ-i-e*	*ʌʊδ-i bi*	*ʌʊδe buʊ-i*	*ʌʊδe biδ-i*
3	*i-y-ā*	*bi-y-ā*	*ʌʊδ*	*i-y-ʌʊ*	*ʌʊδ-e*	*ʌʊδ bi*	*ʌʊδe bu*	*ʌʊδe biδ*
pl. 1	*i-y-ā-ym*	*bi-y-ā-ym*	*ʌʊδ-im*	*i-y-ʌʊ-im*	*ʌʊδ-im-e*	*ʌʊδ-im bi*	*ʌʊδe buʊ-im*	*ʌʊδe biδ-im*
2	*i-y-ā-yn*	*bi-y-ā-yn*	*ʌʊδ-in*	*i-y-ʌʊ-in*	*ʌʊδ-in-e*	*ʌʊδ-in bi*	*ʌʊδe buʊ-in*	*ʌʊδe biδ-in*
3	*i-y-ā-en*	*bi-y-ā-en*	*ʌʊδ-en*	*i-y-ʌʊ-en*	*ʌʊδ-en-e*	*ʌʊδ-en bi*	*ʌʊδe buʊ-en*	*ʌʊδe biδ-en*

Table A4. Conjugation of 'hit'

	Present	Subj.	Optative	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
sg. 1	*e-zan-om*	*be-zan-om*	*be-zeyδ-om*	*zeyδ-om*	*e-zeyδ-om*	*zeyδ-om-e*	*zeyδ-om bi*	*zeyδe buʊ-om*	*zeyδe biδ-om*
2	*e-zan-i*	*be-zan-i*	*be-zeyδ-i*	*zeyδ-i*	*e-zeyδ-i*	*zeyδ-i-e*	*zeyδ-i bi*	*zeyδe buʊ-i*	*zeyδe biδ-i*
3	*e-zan-e*	*be-zan-e*	*be-zeyδ*	*zeyδ*	*e-zeyδ*	*zeyδ-e*	*zeyδ bi*	*zeyδe bu*	*zeyδe biδ*
pl. 1	*e-zan-im*	*be-zan-im*	*be-zeyδ-im*	*zeyδ-im*	*e-zeyδ-im*	*zeyδ-im-e*	*zeyδ-im bi*	*zeyδe buʊ-im*	*zeyδe biδ-im*

(*Continued*)

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Table A4. (*Continued.*)

	Present	Subj.	Optative	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
2	*e-zan-in*	*be-zan-in*	*be-zeyδ-in*	*zeyδ-in*	*e-zeyδ-in*	*zeyδ-in-e*	*zeyδ-in bi*	*zeyδe buʋ-in*	*zeyδe biδ-in*
3	*e-zan-en*	*be-zan-en*	*be-zeyδ-en*	*zeyδ-en*	*e-zeyδ-en*	*zeyδ-en-e*	*zeyδ-en bi*	*zeyδe buʋ-en*	*zeyδe biδ-en*

Table A5. Conjugation of 'sleep'

	Present	Subj.	Past	Imperfect	Pres. Perf.	Pluperfect	Perf. Subj.	Plup. Subj.
sg. 1	*e-xaʋs-om*	*be-xaʋs-om*	*xaʋsiδ-om*	*e-xaʋs-om*	*xaʋsiδ-om-e*	*xaʋsiδ-om bi*	*xaʋsiδe buʋ-om*	*xaʋsiδe biδ-om*
2	*e-xaʋs-i*	*be-xaʋs-i*	*xaʋsiδ-i*	*e-xaʋs-i*	*xaʋsiδ-i-ye*	*xaʋsiδ-i bi*	*xaʋsiδe buʋ-i*	*xaʋsiδe biδ-i*
3	*e-xaʋs-e*	*be-xaʋs-e*	*xaʋsiδ*	*e-xaʋs-e*	*xaʋsiδ-e*	*xaʋsiδ bi*	*xaʋsiδe bu*	*xaʋsiδe biδ*
pl. 1	*e-xaʋs-im*	*be-xaʋs-im*	*xaʋsiδ-im*	*e-xaʋs-im*	*xaʋsiδ-im-e*	*xaʋsiδ-im bi*	*xaʋsiδe buʋ-im*	*xaʋsiδe biδ-im*
2	*e-xaʋs-in*	*be-xaʋs-in*	*xaʋsiδ-in*	*e-xaʋs-in*	*xaʋsiδ-in-e*	*xaʋsiδ-in bi*	*xaʋsiδe buʋ-in*	*xaʋsiδe biδ-in*
3	*e-xaʋs-en*	*be-xaʋs-en*	*xaʋsiδ-en*	*e-xaʋs-en*	*xaʋsiδ-en-e*	*xaʋsiδ-en bi*	*xaʋsiδe buʋ-en*	*xaʋsiδe biδ-en*

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