

THE DIALECT OF KUHPĀYA

RÉSUMÉ

Le kuhpāyi est un dialecte central parlé dans la région urbaine de Kupā et ses villages du piémont à l'est d'Ispahan. Tout en partageant beaucoup de caractéristiques avec d'autres dialectes iraniens nord-occidentaux du Plateau iranien central, le kuhpāyi possède des traits qui lui sont propres. Dans sa phonologie historique on décèle plusieurs particularités remarquables propres aux langues iraniennes sud-occidentales, par exemple dans *hass* "huit". Dans sa structure phonologique, on note la particularité de la voyelle centrale /ə/ qui s'harmonise dans les formes verbales. Les caractéristiques transitionnelles du dialecte se manifestent dans la position instable du marqueur du duratif avant le radical. Les temps passés des verbes transitifs présentent une flexion ergative, avec des affixes d'agent qui se déplacent du verbe vers le mot qui le précède, y compris le sujet — un trait qui ne se rencontre dans aucun autre dialecte central connu. Cet article présente une étude de la diachronique et de la grammaire du kuhpāyi, suivie par des textes et un glossaire établi à partir de la documentation que l'auteur a rassemblée sur ce dialecte aujourd'hui en voie de disparition.

Mots clés : dialectes du Plateau iranien central ; langues iraniennes du Nord-ouest ; Kupā ; Isfahan.

SUMMARY

Kuhpāyi is a Central Dialect spoken in Kupā township and its piedmont villages, east of Isfahan. While it shares many traits with other Northwestern Iranian dialects of the central Iranian Plateau, Kuhpāyi has many characteristics of its own. In historical phonology, it shows some remarkable Southwestern Iranian features, as in *hass* "eight." Peculiar in its phonological structure is the central vowel /ə/, which harmonizes in the verbal forms. The dialect's transitional characteristic is exemplified in the unstable position of the durative marker before the stem. The past tenses of transitive verbs have an ergative inflexion, with the agential affixes shifting from the verb to the preceding word, including the subject itself—a trait found in no other known Central Dialect. This article studies the diachronics and grammar of Kuhpāyi, followed by texts and by a glossary based on the documentation gathered by the author's on this vanishing dialect.

Keywords: Central Plateau dialects ; Northwestern Iranian languages ; Kupā ; Isfahan.

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Historically and locally known as Vir, Kuhpāya is a piedmont district east of Isfahan. It is separated from Ardestān on the north and Nā'in on the east by the extensions of the Karkas chain in central Persia. Its administrative center Ku(h)pā, resting on a desolate landscape at 1,643 m above the sea level, served as the second caravan station on the Isfahan-Yazd route and was a medium of commerce between Isfahan and some hundred hamlets along several valleys to its north and east. Currently, the *baxš* of Kuhpāya, within Isfahan *šahrestān*, consists of Tudešk, Jabal, Zefra, and Sagzi subdivisions. Kuhpāya proper is Jabal (Kuki in the local usage), which lies on the southern slopes of Fešārk and Šurayestān mountains. It has some forty settlements, including Kupā, X^wāja, Pāza, Keriči, Jaza, Mandābād, Daxrābād, Kerdābād, and 'Olunābād.¹

The dialect of Kupā/Jabal (*kukiže*) belongs to the Central Dialects, and shows the closest affinity with the other *velā(ya)ti* “provincial” idioms spoken around and east of the city of Isfahan. As one moves northwest from Kupā, the vernacular gradually approaches that of Zefra. Sagzi on the west and Qehi on the south of Kupā have distinct dialects, though not radically different from that of Kupā/Jabal. However, Tudešk, in eastern Kuhpāya, has transitional varieties closely related to the dialect of Nā'in.

Publications on Kuhpāyi are limited to a short article by Wilhem Eilers (1990) and a few words that Karl John Krahnke (1976) used in his comparative study. The following grammar is based on this author's documentation in 2004 of the dialect of Kupā,² with occasional gleaning from the data published by Eilers (Eil.). They are in general agreement though not without obvious differences, e.g. *va-nəves-/nuvus-* ~ Eil. *vā-numus-* “write,” *zūn* ~ Krahnke *zubon* “tongue.”

DIACHRONICS

Formally a member of the NW Iranian group of languages, as do other CDs, Kuhpāyi shows considerable SW traits as well.³

§D1. (1) proto-Ir. *ts > NW s: *kas* “small,” *masser* “bigger”; *dz > z: *zomā* “son-in-law,” *heze* “yesterday,” *ezme* “firewood”, *zon-* “know”; but SW *bāvu* “arm”; *del* “heart,” though *zil* “membrane of meet” may have been the original word for “heart”; *tsw > sb/šp: *esbe* “white”, *səvarz/səbarz* “spleen,” (< OIr. *spřzan, Av. *spərəzan-*),

¹ For more on the district, see Borjjan, forthcoming.

² My informants were Režā Maddāhi Kupāyi, known as Režā Darvish (at the age of 65), and his brother Bemān-‘Ali Maddāhi (about 50), and Ramazān Karimi Kupāyi.

³ Abbreviations are: Ir. (Iranian), Av. (Avestan), Pth. (Parthian), MP (Middle Persian), NP (Persian), Pers. (modern Persian), CDs (Central Dialects).

išpiš/išbiš “louse” < **spišā*; **dzw* > *zw*: *zūn* “tongue.” (2) proto-Ir. **θr* > **hr* > *r*: *pore* “son,” *dār* “sickle,” *a:r* “mill,” *ovir* “pregnant”; but *se* “three”.

- §D2. (1) OIr. **dw-* > *b*: *ber* “door,” *ibi* “other.” (2) OIr. **y-*, **vy-* > *y*: *ye* “barley,” *yā* “place; room,” *yoš* “boil” (< **yauš*); *vayā* (Pers. *jodā*) “separate,” *yād* “husband’s brother’s wife” (but *juhun* “young”). Note also *yoz-* > *yoss-* “find” (< **wi-waid-*), *yuz* “walnut” (MP *gōz*).
- §D3. (1) PIE **g(h)* > OIr. **j-* > *ž*: *žen* “woman, wife,” *žende* “alive,” *žin-* “hit,” *žār-* > *žārt-* (< **gyau-*) “chew,” *žē* “cord, string” (Pers. *zeh*, Av. *gyā-*; cf. Horn, no. 677). Therefore, *jīšt* “bad” and *jinji* “woman, wife” might be loans from other Central Dialects. (2) PIE **k(w)* > OIr. **-č-* > *ž*: *žēr* “below,” *mež-* “suck,” *riž-* “pour,” *vāž-* “say,” *tāž-* “urinate,” *tāžn-* “make run,” *až-* “cost,” *vež-* “sift,” *duž-* “sew,” and the suffixes *-že*, *-ži* (§4.1,2).⁴ Lateralized or lost in final position: *si(y)-* “burn (intr.)” (< **sūž-*, which yields the causative stem *sužn-* “burn”), *rū* “day” (cf. *ruže* “fasting”); note also *-ji* “also” (cf. Av. *ciṭ*), *peš-* “cook,” as in many other Central Dialects.
- §D4. OIr. **xr*, **fr* > **hr* > *r*: *čar* “spinning wheel,” *čare* “spring wheel,” *ta:l* “better,” *suruži* “smallpox” (hence *sorx* “red” is a loanword); *gāre* “down” (cf. Av. *gufra-*, *jafra-*), and the preverb *ha-* (§3.3) (< **fra-*), which is seen as a frozen component in *hamar-* > *hamart-* “break” (< **fra-* + **marH* “rub; crush”; cf. Cheung, p. 267), *həran-* > *həress-* “weave” (cf. Jowshaqāni *rān-* > *rāst-*, Meyma’i *heran-* > *herāst-*), *hačon* “pitchfork for wind winnowing, used after threshing” (< **fra-* + *čon* “threshing cart”, cf. NP *šāna* “hey fork” < **šan-* “scatter, shake down”; cf. Cheung, pp. 371f.). But **fr* survives in *fəraš-* > *fərāt-* “sell,” and the loan *fardā* “tomorrow.”
- §D5. (1) OIr. **xt* > *t*: *doti* “daughter, girl,” *sot-* “burn,” *sāt-* “make,” *ret-* “pour,” *vāt-* “say,” *fərāt-* “sell.” Note also *pa(a)-* “cook.” /*xt/* occurs in *baxt* “luck,” *raxt* “clothing,” and *vaxt/vaxd* “time.” (2) Retention of OIr. **ft*: *gift-* “seize,” *kaft-* “fall,” *pakāft-* “strike,” *bəraft-* “weep,” *kuft-* “pound,” *roft-* “sweep,” with the /*t/* voiced irregularly:⁵ *xofd/t-* “sleep,” *ašnofd-* “hear”; note also *ofdou* “sun,” *ofdāve* “ewer,” *mafudou* “moonlight,” *hafdom* “seventh,” *šefde/šefte* “plant louse,” but *kufter* “pigeon,” *kəloft* “thick.”

⁴ See Eilers, 1954, p. 313.

⁵ Partial voicing of /*t/* in the clusters /*xt*, *ft*, *št/* is probably due to contact with the Persian of Isfahan.

§D6. Clusters **št*, **st*. An outstanding development is **št* > SW *st* > *ss* in *hass* “eight” (but *hašdattā* “eighty”), *hess* “mud-brick” (but *xešdak* “gusset”; Pers. *xeštak*), *engosvone* “thimble” (cf. *engošter* “ring,” *enguli* “finger”), and the past stems *va-yoss-* (parallel with *va-yošt-*)⁶ “search,” *hərass-* “weave.” The doublets suggest the transitional position Kuhpāyi holds in an overlapping buffer zone for this isogloss.

Regardless of their origins, the following words occur in Kuhpāyi: (1) With /ss/: *vess-* “stand,” *der-xoss-* “throw,” *essu* “is (there),” *giz-* ɪ *gass-* “bite,” *essāre* “star,” *fəressuk* “swallow,” *āssonehā* “stairs.” — (2) With /št/: *mašt* “full,” *jīšt* “bad,” *tašt* “basin,” *bālišť* “pillow,” *pošti* “pillow,” *vašt-* “pass,” *košt-* (Eil. *kušt*) “kill,” *hašt-* “put,” *nāšt-* “seat,” *nəv/mešt* “write,” *yošt* “search,” *zonāšt-* “know.” — (3) With /šd/ < št: *pašd/t* “back,” *ošd/tor* “camel,” *vešt/der* “more,” *-šd/te-* (p. p.) “go,” *dašt-* (Eil. *dašd-*) “sew,” *nišd/t-* “sit,” *šošt-* (Eil. *šušd-*) “wash.” /šd/ is apparently a contemporary development, which could be influenced by the co-territorial Persian.

§D7. OIr. **rt* survives (in contrast to the dialect of Sedeh) in past stems: *mart-* “die,” *kart-* “do,” *bart-* “carry,” *gart-* “turn,” *žart-* “chew,” *ver-ošmārt-* “count,” and probably in *dārt-* “have” (cf. Pth. *dird-*), etc.

§D8. (1) **rz*: *bard* “spade,” *səbarz/səvarz* “spleen,” *nəmarzon* “broom (< **ni-marza-*), *darz-* “sew”; but SW *māl-* “rub,” *gil* (prepos. for Pers. *gerd-e*; may also be related to Pers. *gal* “neck”) “around,” *allō* “vulture” (< **rdufiya-* “straight flyer,” cf. Av. *ərəzīfiya*, MP, NP *āluh*, Kd. *halō* “eagle”). (2) **r* > **I** is found in *valg* “leaf,” *almun* “aspiration,” *čatl* “lock of hair.” (3) Retention of PIE **I-* (?): *lubā* “fox.”

§D9. **x^w* > **x**: *xox* “sister,” *xov* “sleep,” *xoy-* “self.” **x*, **h* are lost⁷ in *ēč* “nothing,” *üčgu* “nobody,” *ormā* “date,” *endār-* ɪ *endārt-* “send” (< **ham-tār-*, root *tar-*; Eilers, p. 224); but *hoše* “bunch,” *hurđ* “small, chopped,” *hešm* “rage,” *hošk/g* “dry,” *xo* “with, to” (< **hada?*), *himir* “dough,” *hərin-* ɪ *hərint-* “buy.”

§D10. Mid. WIr. **w-* is retained in *vā:ron* “rain,” *vafr* “snow,” *vā:* “wind,” *vəye* “willow,” *vāyom* “almond,” *vīss* “twenty,” *vače* “child,” *vəzark* “big,” *vešgi* “hunger,” *vesgi* “so much,” *vəyer-* ɪ *vašt-* “pass,” the

⁶ Cf. Krahnke, pp. 147f., who has placed Kuhpāyi in the southern group (-ss- vs. -št-), in the isoglottic distribution for this verb.

⁷ See also §1.1.3.

preverb *ver-* (for Pers. *bar-*); but *bune* “shrub, tree” (cf. Av. *van-, vanā-*), *gorg* “wolf.”

§D11. Mid. WIr. **-d-** > **y** (or zero) in *kəye* “house,” *kāye* “game,” *māye* “female,” *hərom-zāye* “bastard,” *rūye* “intestine,” *komi(n)* “which,” *pəye* “father,” *mā(y)* “mother,” *bərāy-š* “his brother,” *jāyu* “witchcraft” (note the loan *j-*), *beyār* “awake,” *vāyom* “almond,” *vəye* “willow,” *k’uyu/kūvu* “squash,” *vā:* “wind,” *so* “hundred,” *dū* “smoke; buttermilk,” *zū* “early,” *vē* “moth,” *naxou/v* (cf. MP *naxōd*) “chickpeas,” *vəyer-* “pass,” *šō-* “went” (but *d* resurfaces in *-šdé-* “gone”), *oma-* “came” (but the p. p. *omdé*), *dī* “visible,” past-stem formant *-ā* (cf. Pth. *-ād*); but *murdone* (cf. Pers. *muriāna*) “termite.”

§D12. Old labials in medial position are influenced by or absorbed into preceding vowels, yielding /av, ev, ov/ (see also §1.3):

(1) short vowel (mostly *a) + labial > [aβ] or [eβ]: *avr* “cloud,” *ausār* bridle, *nav* “new,” *navber* “first fruit,” *gavd/gavd* “deep,” *kauš* “shoe,” *bənauš* “purple,” *derauš* “awl,” *kaun-* “search,” *čaus-* “glue” (< *cavs- < *casp-); *teu/tev* “fever,” *lev* “lip,” *šeu/v* “night,” *zeur* “rough,” *sevde* “basket”; note also *sovz/souz/sōz* “green,” and the inter-syllabic: *qovā* “gown,” *suve* (Pers. *sabu*) “jar.” Parallel development is seen in *mau* “vine” (< *maδuk?).

(2) long vowel + labial > [oβ]: *ou/ov/ō* “water,” *gou/v* “cow,” *xov/xō* “sleep,” *sou/sov* “apple,” *novdon/noudon* “gutter,” *jurou* “socks,” *tou/v* “shine, twist,” *sov-* “wear away,” *rov-* “sweep,” *xous-/xovs-* “sleep,” *bovre* “brow” (metathesis?).

§D13. Other consonantal developments. (1) *p, *b, *w > m, in *asm* horse, *va-nəmes-* “write,” *fəṛāmon* “abundant,” *təlenjimin* (Pers. *taranja-bin*) “Manna of Hedysarum,” *qamvāli* (< *qavvāli*?) “dancing,” *qalmaseng* (Pers. *qollāb-sang* or *qolva-sang*) “sling.” But note the counter-example *nəve* (Pers. *namad*) “felt.” (2) *p- is changed sporadically to other labials: *baynštā* “five,” *banje* “claws” (hence the change must be very old), *fesse* “pistachio,” *fəressūk* “swallow.” (3) Initial consonants in *tel* “belly” (cf. *del* “heart”), *t-* “give,” *dōv* “mulberry,” *go* “that, which.” (4) Loss of consonants: /r/ in *ažon* “cheap,” *až-* “cost,” *gift-* “seize”; /x/ in *tom* “seed,” *mələ* “locust” (cf. §D4); /ɣ/ in *čonder* “beetroots,” *šalem* “turpid”; /t/ in *pok* “sledge hammer.” (5) *jūq* (Pers. *ju(y)*, colloquial *jub*) “ditch” is an areal feature.

§D14. Vowels:

(1) *a > e, as in *ber* “door,” *reg* “vein,” *teng* “tight,” *enjir* “fig,” *dehene* (< *dahana*) “bridle”. This development has led to the high frequency of /e/ in Kuhpāyi (see Table 1, below). — *ay > ey, as in *heyvon* “animal”.

(2) *aw > [aβ, au] (see also §D12.1): *dauri* “plate,” *hauz* “pool,” *qaul* “promise,” *četaur* “how.” Interesting are the recent loanwords such as *haule* “towel” (from modern Tehrani Pers. *howle*, not from Isf. Pers. *holle*).

(3) *āN- > oN: *ron* “thigh,” *kom* “palate,” *dōnā* “wise,” *sālōm* “salute”; also *mō* “I.” The recent loanword *čamadon* (indirectly from Russian) “baggage” suggests the currency of this trend.

(4) Mid. WIr. *majhul* vowels. The front *majhul* is generally preserved: *ěč* “none,” *žēr* “under,” *pēs* “before,” *mēs* “ewe,” *mēve* “fruit,” *gēve* “cotton shoes,” *kāvēj* “wild plum,” *deyr* “late,” *vēs/veždone* “cotton seed,” *deg* “pot,” *gež* “confused,” *reg* “pebble,” *resmon* “thread”; but *mīx* “nail,” *ti* “thorn.” Remnants of the back *majhul* is seen in *dōš-* “milk,” *gōš* “ear.” Note also *seyr* “satiated” (cf. NP *sēr* < **sagra-*), *šīr* “lion” (cf. NP *šēr* < *šagra-*).

(5) The inherited length, found in some words, is no longer phonemic, e.g. *mā:dion* “mare,” *pīr* “old,” *dūr* “far,” *hūsūd* “jealous.” The un-phonemic status of these vowels is suggested by the meter of poems (Borjian, 2004).

(6) A new class of long vowels is generated owing to the loss of adjacent consonants. Word final: *čī* “thing,” *durū* “lie,” *mālē* “locust,” *mū* “hair,” *kū* “mountain,” *pē* “footing,” *žē* “cord,” *nō* “nine,” *dē*, *yāzzē* “ten, eleven,”⁸ *ra:* “road,” *kutā:* short, *allō* “vulture,” *boz-rō* “trail,”⁹ *dīmon* “to see,” *dā:mon* “to give,” *šōmon* “to go,” *pa:mon* “to cook.” In medial position: *vāza:rter* (otherwise *vāzarkter*) “bigger,” *a:ru* “today,” *jūn* “pretty” (probably from *juhun/juvun* “young”), *zūn* “tongue” (< **zuvun*), *ša:r* “town,” *kēne* “old,” *pāra:ne* “shirt,” *na:l* “horseshoe,” *pārēyi* “day before yesterday,” *va:ter* “better” (< *vehtar?*; cf. Isf. Pers. *bā:zi* “better than” < *beh az?* *ba’ž-e?*). See also §1.4.

(7) Shift between long vowels: *mōš* (< **mūš*) “mouse,” *kō* “where is,” *jōr* (coll. Pers. *jur?*) “well, healthy.”

(8) Unexplainable long vowels include *jīšt* “ugly,” *f(ə)rā:mon* “plenty,” *bārēme* (< **bram-*) “weep,” *ja:de* (for Pers. *jāda*) “road,” which is heard as such or as *ja’de*, with the hard glottal, in rural Isfahan.

(9) Ar. ‘a- > ā-, observed in words of Arabic origin such as *ālef* “grass,” *āros* “bride,” *āmu* “uncle,” *āme* “aunt,” maybe due to

⁸ The underlying *-h* reappears when the numerals receive a suffix: *nōham* “ninth,” *dēham* “tenth.” Cf. §3.2.3.

⁹ Pers. stem *row-/raw-*, corresponding to Kuhpāyi stem *š-* “go.”

absorption of the initial glottal consonant into the vowel (see Stilo, 2008b).

(10) Harmonization into the back vowels: *pinīr* (< *panir*) “cheese,” *hūsūd* (< *hasud*) “jealous,” *kimi* (← *kem* “coarse sieve” + *-i*) “fine sieve,” *diriče* “small door/window.” The development of *si(y)-* “burn” (from **suž-*; §D3.2) follows no known pattern within the dialect. See §1.7 for synchronic harmonization.

§D15. Some words. *ou-henj-i* “irrigation” (< *θanj-*) suggests recent currency of the verb stem *hanj-* “drag.” Note *lonje* “wick” and *lonj* “mucus” which share the root but via a different development pattern. — *nirā* “stairway leading to the outlet of a *qanāt*” preserves the old prefix *ni-* “down”. — *āyn-yāve* “yawn” < OIr. **āhan-* “mouth” + **yās-* “yawn”; see Joneidi-Ja‘fari). — Old Arabic loans include *tāyer* “bird,” *biriq* (< *ebriq*) “clay ewer.” — *tammāte* “tomato” is borrowed via Isfahani Persian, but whence *sov-xāki* “potato”?

§D16. Gender. Words ending in */-e/*, such as *čomče* “spoon” and *pore* “boy,” generally follow the development *-e* < **-ak* < **-aka* (cf. §D14.1). There are however words like *pāra:ne* “shirt,” *vāyom-ta:le* “bitter almonds,” *qālāžāre* “pie, magpie,” *vāye* “willow” (< **waiti-*), whose word-final vowel might reflect an original feminine suffix (cf. Morgenstierne).

PHONOLOGY

§1.1. Consonants (see Table 2) generally correspond to those of modern Persian. */q/* stands for both *[γ]* and *[q]*, with a complex distribution similar to that of Persian, and */ng/* is *[ŋ(g)]*. The dialect lacks the glottal */h/* and */ʔ/*, as heard in many other Central Dialects.

§1.1.1. In my documentation */v/* is *[β]*, but Eil. has */v-/* and, occasionally, */w-/*: *vēž* “cotton,” *wež*, *hā-wuž-* : *wit-* “sift,” *vir-vuž-* : *vāt-* “pull out,” *wuz-* : *vāss-* “blow” (apparent inconsistency).

§1.1.2. The palatalization of */k, g/* before front vowels is so strongly marked that they are hardly distinguishable from */č, j/* (e.g. *čiže* “breast,” *kiže* “from Qehi,” *xākisser/xāčisser* “ash,” *kalak/čalak* “brazier”).¹⁰ However, */č, j/* have not shifted to */ts, dz/* as in Isfahani Persian. Before back vowels, palatalization has been noted in just a few words: *k^yu/kü* “out,” *k^yuyu/küvu* squash, *k^yune* “heel,” *k^yun-ārenj*

¹⁰ *kiri* “oven.”

“elbow,” *k^yun-ō-bend* “dragon-fly.”¹¹ The change *k* > *č* in *čučuve* (< *ču-kuve*?) “woodpecker” must be due to assimilation.

§1.1.3. /h/ shows instability at morpheme juncture: *be^hema:rā* “it broke,” *ba^haran* “weave!” *bi^hirin* “buy!”; see also §3.2.1.3.¹²

§1.1.4. Voicing between morpheme junctures occurs but occasionally: *vēš*, *veždone* “cotton seed.”

§1.2. Vowels are /i e a ə u o ā/ and possibly /ü/.¹³

§1.2.1. /ü/ is noted in just a few words: *mü/mū* “hair,” *üčgu/üčku* “nobody,” *kü/k^yu* “out,” *küvu/k^yuyu* “squash,” *dü* “two,” *küče* “alley,” *xün* “blood,” *pül* “money,” *tümen* “tumān,” *hüsüd* “jealous.” In view of the doublets, it is hard to assume a phonemic status for /ü/, even with the presence of the minimal pairs *dü* “two” vs. *dū* “smoke; buttermilk” and *kü/k^yu* “out” vs. *kū* “mountain; manure.”

§1.2.2. Even trickier is the status of /ə/, a very short vowel of not so low frequency (6 % of the vowel sounds; see Table 1), which yields no minimal pairs.

(1) It always occurs in unstressed, non-final¹⁴ positions, most systematically as the *ezāfa* marker (*mašt-ə maqz* “full of kernel”) and the durative markers (*kār-ə-kāre* “he works”). It occurs regularly in syllables immediately preceding a stressed syllable: *pəye* “father,” *kəye* “house,” *səbe* “white,” *həmā* “we,” *šəmā* “you,” *bərā* “brother,” *čərā* “light,” *vəyā* “separate,” *xədā* “God,” *dəzār* “wall,” *təlāš* “struggle,” *nəjāt* “rescue,” *vəzark* “big,” *səbarz* “spleen,” *kəloft* “thick,” *Varzəne* “Varzana,” *sārəvon* “caravan leader,” *kədxədā* “village’s head,” *xošməze* “delicious,” *montəzer* “waiting,” *əqəbat* “consequence,” *vātəmon* “to say,” *ärtəmon* “to bring.”

(2) /ə/ may also occur distant from the stressed syllable in the words with more than two syllables: *vərāver* “equal,” *vəlāti* “provincial,” *bərēme* “weep,” *nəmarzon* “broom,” *nəvardon* “ladder,” *zəmasson* “winter,” *f(ə)rāmon* “plenty,” *təqallā* “strain,” *zərəngi* “smartness,” *bəqeli* “next,” *xəsartəmon* “to catch a cold.”

¹¹ The words with the component *k^yun* “buttocks” might be borrowed from vulgar Persian spoken in Tehran and Isfahan; it is the only word carrying [k^l] before a back vowel in vulgar Tehrani and Isfahani.

¹² See §D9 for diachrony.

¹³ /ö/ occurs only in Eil. *köye/kuye* “dog,” *pöye* “man.” Eil. /i/ corresponds to my /e/ in many words (e.g. *tel* ~ Eil. *til* “belly”). I have documented [ɪ] as an allophone of /e/ in a few words, e.g. [qəllm] “shinbone.” There is also a general tendency for Eilers to document /u/ for /o/ (e.g. *šošt-* ~ Eil. *šušd-* “wash”).

¹⁴ The only occurrence of /ə/ in monosyllabic words is the preposition *də* in Eil., corresponding to *de* in my notes.

(3) /ə/ may drop before /r/: *f(ə)rāx* “wide,” *j(ə)riqqe* “vest,” *f(ə)rātamon* “to sell,” *be-b²rem* “cry!” *beb²raft* “he cried.”

(4) It seldom occurs as the result of the reduction or loss of coloring of other vowels: *bāne/bone* “tree,” *xədā/xodā* “God,” *axəhā* “men” (cf. *axe* “man”), and the enclitic pronouns, e.g. *-əš/-oš*.

(5) However, its position is generally fixed and stable: *qəlā* “crow” ~ *qəlāžāre* “magpie.”

(6) /ə/ is used to break up the three-consonant clusters in the causative stems (§3.2.1).

(7) Unlike the open and middle vowels, /ə/ forms no diphthongs.

§1.3. Diphthongs are probably /ey, āy/. There are also /eu, ou, au/, which alternate freely with /ev, ov, av/ (see §D12).

(1) /ey/ in *eyvon* “porch,” *pey* “after,” *dey* “village,” *hey* “repeatedly,” *deyr* “late,” *seyr* “satisfied,” *keyl* (measure of grain), *heyvon* “animal,” *reyhon* “basil,” *zeyton* “olive,” *veylon* “perplexed,” *seylon* “confused,” *seylov* “flood,” *seyyam* “3rd,” *šeyša* “600,” *beyšu* “it went,” *bešdeyon* “I have gone.” The existence of doublets such as *peyn/pēn* “wide” and the development of *deyr* “late” and *seyr* “satiated” (see §D14.4) calls for more data to establish the distinction between /ey/ and /ē/.

(2) /āy/ in *āyn* “mouth,” *mā:-/māy-š* “his mother,” *māytāve* “fishpan,” *kāy(ā)* “where.” Even though the paradigms are few, the high frequency of their occurrence seems sufficient to qualify /āy/ as a diphthong.

(3) /ay/. The phonemic value of this diphthong in Kuhpāyi is doubtful; the sole documented occurrence is in *hayf* “pity,” which can be a borrowing from the Persian of Isfahan. There is also *bašštā* “five,” as in common spoken Persian save the initial labial.

(4) /eu/ alternates freely with [εβ]: *teu/tev* “fever,” *lev* “lip,” *zeur* “rough,” *šeu* “night” (cf. *ševenderu* “night and day”), *ševnem* “dew,” *sevde* “basket,” *beušo/bevšo* “he went.”

(5) /ou/ is interchangeable with [oβ], and in some words with /ō/: *ou/ov/ō* “water,” *ovži* “egg-white,” *ovi* “blue,” *morqovi* “duck,” *golovi* “pear,” *šenou* “swim,” *gou* “cow,” *govzəvon* “ox-tongue,” *xov/xō* “sleep,” *sou/sov* “apple,” *yakov* “suddenly,” *kārdovni* “spider,” *pəlou* “pilaf,” *sovz/souz/sōz* “green,” *bovre* “brow,” *novdon/noudon* “gutter,” *naxou/v* “chickpea,” *jurou* “socks,” *ofdou/v* “sun,” *ofdovi* “sunny,” *tou/v* “shine, twist,” *sov-* “wear away,” *soun-* (sov- + n) “rasp,” *rov-* “sweep,” *xous-/xovs-* “sleep.”

(6) /au/ equals [aβ]: *avr* “cloud,” *ausār* bridle, *mau* “vine,” *navber* “first fruit,” *gavd/gavd* “deep,” *kauš* “shoe,” *laul* “basket,”

*čau*le/č*av*le “crooked,” *kau*če “dibble,” *bā*nauš “purple,” *de*rauš awl, *da*uri “plate,” *hau*z “pool,” *qau*l “promise,” *hau*le “towel,” *četaur* “how,” *jalaugiri* “defense,” *kaun-* “search,” *čaus-* “glue.”

- §1.4. Vowel length can be distinctive only when it is a result of consonant omission, e.g. *kene* “tick” ≠ *ke:ne* “old,” *jon* “soul” ≠ *ju:n* “pretty” (see §D14.6). Long vowels occur also on account of the sequence of the same vowel due to morphology: *ve:son* (*v-e-es-on*) “I stand.” Length may sometimes be the effect of intonation.
- §1.5 Stress. The stress patterns are similar to other Central Dialects, that is generally word-final in the nominals. In verbs, the stress is absorbed by the syllable carrying the negative morpheme, modal prefixes, preverbs, and participial element, as demonstrated in Table 4. Note also the contrasts in *čerā* “light” ≠ *čérā* “why,” *yané* “mortar” ≠ *yáne* (otherwise *háne*) “put!” *giftemón* “to take” ≠ *giftemon* “we used to take.”
- §1.6. Syllabic structure is CVCC. However, the words ending in a consonant cluster are few. Verb stems in /-r/ or /-rt/ optionally lose it when not suffixed: *beke*’ “do!” *beška*’^t “he did.” Stems ending in other consonants may also lose them: *bevā*’^z “say!” *vees*’^s “stand!” *vero*’^{ss} “rise!” (see also §3.5.2.3). Sequence of three consonants is possible provided that it is not in the same syllable (*dārt-šon ka* “they were doing”), but is disallowed morphologically in causative stems (§3.2.1).
- §1.7. The dialect has a strong tendency for vowel harmony¹⁵ in verbs: *kār-ə-kār-e* “you work” ~ *kār-u-kur-u* “he works,” *va-nəves* “write!” ~ *va-a-nuvus-u* “he writes,” *be-m-ba* “I carried” ~ *bi-m-kuft* “I pounded.” See §3.8.1 for harmonization of the copula. Note also *pəreyi* “day before yesterday,” *pəreyišev/pəreušeu* “night before last.”
- §1.8. Epenthesis -y- is inserted at the morpheme juncture between the vowel-initial suffixes and the stems/words ending in a vowel: *boma-y-on* “I came,” *bomde-y-e* “I have come,” *ha-nišde-y-ind* “they have sat,” *vessā-y-im* “we stood,” the past participles *vessā-y-e* “stood,” *paye* “cooked,” *die* [dije] “seen”; and *čučuve-y-é* “the woodpecker” (see §§2.1, 3.5, 3.8.1, 3.11.2).
- §1.9. The frequencies of vowels and consonants in the texts are listed in Tables 1 and 2. The vowels are counted irrespective of their position in diphthongs. An independent count of the diphthongs yields 21 and

¹⁵ See also §D14.10.

18 occurrences for /āy/ and /ey/, respectively. The texts¹⁶ contain *ca.* 5,700 alphabetic symbols and 309 hyphens, constituting 1,389 words. As seen in Table 1, the open vowels have a comparatively low frequency of 28 percent, while the frequency of /e/ alone is 25 percent. This can be explained by the historical changes shown in §D14.1.

Table 1

Vowel	count		percent
i	300	310	12.0
ī	10		
e	643	648	25.1
ē	5		
a	326	343	13.3
aː	17		
ā ¹⁷	383	383	14.8
o	417	436	16.9
ō	19		
u	283	309	12.0
ū	20		
ü	6		
ə	152	152	5.9
Total	2,581		100

Table 2

Consonant	count	percent	Consonant	count	percent
'	5	0.2	p	55	1.8
b	229	7.3	q	31	1.0
č	122	3.9	r	339	10.8
d	208	6.6	s	154	4.9
f	27	0.9	š	189	6.0
g	120	3.8	t	147	4.7
h	108	3.5	v	210	6.7
j	18	0.6	x	103	3.3
k	130	4.2	y	149	4.8
l	105	3.4	z	113	3.6
m	219	7.0	ž	32	1.0
n	317	10.1	Total	3,130	100

¹⁶ Excluding those of Eil. and repeated phrases in the rhyming position of the verses.

¹⁷ Including 3 occurrences of /āː/.

§1.10. In spite of the proximity to Isfahan, Kuhpāyi lacks the lax intonation of Isfahani Persian. It is quite puzzling that many new words are borrowed from Persian of Tehran rather than from Isfahan. Indeed the Persian variety spoken in the Zāyandarud valley sharply contrasts in intonation with its Median neighbors. Assuming that the entire regions once spoke Median (Borjian 2008; idem, 2009), question arises as how and when the distinct Isfahani accent came to exist.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§2. Noun phrase.

§2.1. Noun Forms. The nouns and pronouns indicate no gender or formal case. The plural ending is *-(h)ā*, as in *axehā* “men.” The suffix *-(y)é* is a definite marker, e.g. *pəra:ne-yé* “the shirt”; the indefinite markers are *yag* “a, one” and/or an unstressed *-(y)i*, e.g. *her rá:-yi šoyon* “wherever I used to go.”

§2.2. Modifiers. The *ežāfa* marker *-ə* (or, occasionally, *-i*, apparently from Isf. Pers.) is usually realized (*xox-ə kas* “younger/little sister,” *zūn-ə vəlāti* “provincial tongue,” *āyn-ə to* “your mouth,” *del-i vače* “child’s heart,” *engur(-ə) siā* “black grapes”) but may drop when the constituent ends in a vowel: *pəye hāmā* “our father,” *ye Ki* “Qehi’s barley.”

§2.3. Pronouns. There are two basic sets of personal pronouns: independent and enclitic (Table 3). Enclitics (or pronominal endings) function also as person endings in the ergative construction of transitive verbs in the past tenses (see §§3.6, 3.7). The enclitics are preceded by a vowel, usually *o*, *e*, *ə*, or none, when attached to a consonant. When functioning as the direct object, the pronominal endings can be incorporated on or into the verb: *nigind-mon* “they will take us,” *seyl bi-d-nigu* “that the flood take you,” *bəṛāy-m bi-š-vīmon* “that I see my brother,” *tā bišim un va-aš-’izim* “that we go find him.” See also §2.11.

§2.4. The reflexive *xoy/xō* receives enclitic pronouns: *xoy-em* (or *xom*), *-et*, *-eš*, *xō-mon*, *-ton*, *-šon*. They function as: (1) emphatic: *mō xoyem un ru sahrā de bimdi* “I myself saw him in the field,” *komin kəye-š xoyeš besāt?* “which house did he himself build?,” (2) possessive: *āyn-ə xoyeš vāz ukuru* “it opens its own mouth,” *vače go došmen-ə jon-i pəye vo mā xoyuš u* “the child who is the mortal enemy of his own parents,” (3) direct object: *xo(m) bi gušo de ša:r* “I must get myself to the town,” and (4) with prepositions: *čendi pul xo xoyed bārte?* “how much money have you brought with you.”

§2.5. Demonstratives are *yon* “this,” *un* “that,” *yāhā* “these,” *u(v)ā* “those,” *hemin/hemun* “this/that very (same),” *hemtin* “this much.”

§2.6. Adpositions.

§2.6.1. Prepositions are *de(r)* “to, in, into,” *ru* “in(to),” *rā* “to,” *dim* “on,” *ez* “from,” *xo* “with, to,” *žēr* “under,” *lev* “at,” *herā* “for,” *gel* “around,” *kū* “outside,” *duru* “inside,” etc. They normally require no *ezāfa*, e.g. *duru ov* “into the water.” — *de* has a similar function as Pers. *ba*, e.g. *ou de mo te!* “give me water!” *beušoyim de jengel* “we went to the forest,” *de mo-š sālōm ka* “he saluted me.” — *rā* (cf. *ra*: “road”) “to [somewhere]” is employed only for locations, overlapping the similar function of *de*, e.g. *bešde bid rā dey-i uvā* “you had gone to their village,” *bārāy-m rā madrase náašu* “my brother does not go to school,” *pore-d kiga ez madrase de rā kaye yu?* “when does your son come home from school?”

§2.6.2. Postpositions.

(1) *-de* normally forms a circumposition with a preposition: *ru sahrā de un bimdi* “I saw him in the field,” *duru ov-eš de dass-o-pā žint* “he struggled in the water,” *sovā-šon ez bāne (de) bičint* “they picked the apples off the tree,” *Vir-em de pāye-t bidi* “I saw your father in Vir/Kupā.”

(2) *-rā* “for” adds weight on the preposition *herā* “for” and may even replace it: *muži-m herā to-rā bārt* “I brought lentil for you,” *bevāžid herā mo-rā* “say (it) for me!” *āš ipāšon xoč-em rā* “I am cooking soup for myself.”

§2.7. Adjectives.¹⁸ The comparative is marked with *-ter*, e.g. *vəzarkter* “bigger,” *ažonter* “cheeper,” *kasser* “smaller” (with the assimilation *ss < s-t*).

§2.8. Numerals.

(1) Cardinals are 1 *iki*, *yag*, 2 *dü(tā)*, 3 *se(tā)*, 4 *čā:r(tā)*, 5 *baynš(tā)*, 6 *šaš(tā)*, 7 *hařd/haftā*, 8 *has(sā)*, 9 *nō(tā)*, 10 *dē(tā)*, 11 *yāzzētā*, 12 *duvāzzētā*, 13 *sinzētā*, 14 *čārdētā*, 15 *bunzētā*, 16 *šunzētā*, 17 *hivdētā*, 18 *hiždētā*, 19 *nunzētā*, 20 *vīssā*, 30 *sītā*, 40 *čaltā*, 50 *banjattā*, 60 *šassā*, 70 *hařdattā*, 80 *hašdattā*, 90 *nəvadttā*, 100 *so*, *sattā*, 200 *dəvessā*, 300 *sīsattā*, 400 *čā:rsattā*, 500 *bunsattā*, 600 *šeysattā*, 700 *hařsattā*, 800 *hašsattā*, 900 *nōsattā*, 1000 *həzā:r*.

(2) The counting unit *-tā*, used optionally with any number other than “one,” is unstressed and it geminates after *a*. The stress shifts to

¹⁸ See also §3.11.2.

-tā when the number acts as a noun, e.g. *dūtā madu* “two pitchers,” *hēmin dūtā madu* “these very two pitchers.”

(3) Ordinals are formed by the suffix *-am*, as *doyyam* “second,” *seyyam* “third,” *banjam* “fifth”; and *-omin*, as in *hafdomin* “the seventh.”

(4) Units of weight include: *xervār* (a donkey load), *man* “maund” (6 kg), *banjā* (lit. fifty) = half *cārak* (½ of 750 gr), half of which is *vissābanj* (lit. twenty-five), with the further halving *dēnār* and *baynār*, similar to the traditional measures of Isfahan.

§2.9. Adverbs include *-ji* “also,” *ibi* “other, next, else, any more,” (place) *yohon* “here,” *u(v)ā* “there”; (time) *zonon* “now”; (manner) *son* “such” (Pers. *čonin*, *čonān*); (quantity and intensity) *māli* “very, many,” *ēč* “nothing,” *üčgu* “nobody,” *her* “every”; (interrogative) *ke* “who,” *če* “what,” *komi(n)* “which,” *kāy(ā)* “where,” *kō* “where is,” *kiga* “when,” *čendi* “how much.”

§2.10. Conjunction *-vo* (*o* after consonants) “and”: *ser-o dīm* “head and face,” *si-vo-šaš* “twenty-six,” *bigi-vo vapuš!* “take [it] and put [it] on!”

§2.11. Object marking. While indirect objects are marked with adpositions (§2.6), there is no marker for the direct object, e.g. *ber hanabend!* “don’t shut the door!” *sāmā yon baladid* “you know this.” Moreover, contrary to the dialects in which the enclitic agent marks the direct object in the transitive past, in Kuhpāyi the enclitic agent has no such function (see §3.7. *Fronting*), e.g. *Hasan-eš Ali ru-bāq-de bidi* “H. saw A. in the garden.” Therefore, the distinction between the subject and the direct object is largely dependent on the SOV word order of the sentence. The word order is even more important when the subject is not distinguished by the verb person ending, that is when both the subject and the direct object are the third person singular or plural. However, the fact that the pronominal endings act also as the verb endings in the transitive past (see Set II in Table 3) leads to the ambiguities such as *un₁-eš₂ bārt* “he_{1,2} brought” or “he₂ brought it₁” (cf. *un₁-eš₂-eš₃ bārt* “he_{1,3} brought it₂”; see §3.7.7); *un-eš go seyl bārte bo* “that which the flood had brought” could be interpreted also as “he who had brought the flood” if it were semantically possible.

Table 3 : Personal Pronouns and Verb Endings

Pronouns Endings	Indep.	Enclitic	
		Set II	Set I
Sg. 1	<i>mō</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-on</i>
2	<i>to</i>	<i>-d/t</i>	<i>-e</i>
3	<i>un</i>	<i>-š</i>	<i>-u</i> (pres.), <i>-ø</i> (past)
Pl. 1	<i>həmā</i>	<i>-mon</i>	<i>-im</i>
2	<i>šəmā</i>	<i>-ton</i>	<i>-i(d)</i>
3	<i>uvā</i>	<i>-šun</i>	<i>-ind</i>

§3. Verb phrase.

§3.1. Stems. Past stems are either irregular (e.g. pres. ⅴ past *sāž-* ⅴ *sāt-* “make”) or derivable from the present stem by adding the formant *-ā* (e.g. *mež-* ⅴ *mežā-* “suck”); the process may involve slight vowel shift: *vā-xusn-* ⅴ *xosnā-* “drench.” Irregular and regular past forms coexist in many verbs: *xoft-* and *xous-ā-* “sleep,” *dī-* and *vin-ā-* “see.” Doublet past stems extend to the forms such as pres. *kār-*, past *kārt-*, *kāšt-* “sew,” with the possibility of the latter being a mere Persian loan. For the pres. stem *va-yuz-* “search, find,” there are two past stems: *va-yošt-* and *va-yoss-ā-* (with the past-stem formant) “search, find.”¹⁹ The stem’s consonants geminate in certain verbs, e.g. the stem *mər-*: *be-mmur-u* “that he die”; *parā-*: *be-pparā* “it flew” (see also §1.6).

§3.2. The Causative. The causative present stem is formed by adding *-n-* to the present stem of intransitive verbs: *pič-* ⅴ *pičā-* (intr.), *pičn-* ⅴ *pičnā-* (trans.) “twist.” Doublets occur here as well, e.g. the past stem *par-n-ā-* = *paront-*²⁰ “make fly.” For “burn” we have intr. pres. *si(y)-*, past *sot-* or *siā-*, trans. pres. *sužn-*, past *sužnā-* (see also §D3.2). Note also semantically (and etymologically) unrelated *tāž-* ⅴ *tāt-/tāžā-* “urinate,” *tāžn-* ⅴ *tāžnā-* “make run.”

§3.2.1. To avoid a sequence of three consonants (cf. §1.6) after receiving the causative formant *-n-*, the final consonant cluster of the stem may either split by an epenthetic vowel or the final consonant may drop. Exx.: *tars-* + *n* → *tars-ə-n-* “frighten,” *xend-* + *n* → *xendən-* “make laugh”; *jomb-* + *n* → *jomb^bn-*, with the past stem *jomb^bn-ā-* or *jomb-ə-n-ā-* “shake”; *čaus-* + *n* → *čausən-* or *čaun-* “stick up”: *be-čausən-e*

¹⁹ For diachronics, see §D6.

²⁰ Constructed on the Persian model *parānd-* (< *par-ān-id-*).

“stick [it] up!” *čausun-u* “he sticks up,” *be-š-čāunā* “he glued,” *čāusənāmon* “to glue.”

(2) The pres. stem *xovs-* (or *xous-*) “sleep” yields *xousən-* or *xoun-* “put to sleep,” confirming the phonological rule that equates /ou/ and /ov/ (§1.3.5).

(3) The fact that *fa:m* (<*fahm*) “understand” gives the causative *fa:mon-* “make understand,” rather than the expected **fa:mn-*, suggests that the underlying /h/ is still perceived as such and therefore the three-consonant sequence **/hmn/* is avoided. The other possibility, that *fa:mon-* is wholesomely borrowed from the Persian causative *fahmāndan*,²¹ should not be disregarded, notwithstanding the aged status of this verb in Central Dialects.

§3.3. Preverbs include:

der-/dar-: *bend-* Ț *bass-* “tie,” *girn-* Ț *girnā-* “kindle,” Eil. *giz-* Ț *gass-* “bite,” *k-* Ț *kaft-* “fall,” *mon-* Ț *mont-* “desperate,” *xos-* Ț *xoss-* “throw,” *ø-* Ț *bo-* “be in” ;

ha-: *bend-* Ț *bass-* “close,” *čin-* Ț *čint-* “arrange?,” *gir-* Ț *gift-* “buy,” *kər-* Ț *kart-* “close,” *n-* Ț *nā-* “allow, put,” *nāž-* Ț *nāšt-* “seat, set,” *nig-* Ț *nišd-* “sit,” *t-* Ț *dā-* “give,” *xous-* Ț *xoft-* “sleep” ;

va-/ve-: *bus-* Ț *busā-* “kiss,” *din-* Ț *di(y)-* “plaster,” *es(s)-* Ț *essā-* “stand/become,” *hal-* Ț *hašt-* “allow; put?,” *kər-* Ț *kart-* “open,” *nəves-* Ț *nəvešt-* “write,” *ošgāv* Ț *ošgāft-* “unpick, split,” *pars-* Ț *parsā-* “ask,” *puš-* Ț *pušā-* “put on,” *š-* Ț *šo(y)-* (aux.), *xər-* Ț *xārt-* “drink,” *yuz-* Ț *yošt-* “search, find” ;

ver-: *ašn-* Ț *ašnā-* “hear,” *čin-* Ț *čint-* “pick (off, up),” *dār-* Ț *dārt-* “weigh,” *darz-* Ț *dašt-* “sew,” *gart-* Ț *gartā-* “return” (also with *va-*), *gir-* Ț *gift-* “pick up,” *māl-* Ț *mālā-* “flee,” *oss-* Ț *ossā-* “rise,” *ošmār-* Ț *ošmārt-* “count,” *pəlas-* Ț *pəlasā-* “wither,” Eil. *vuž-* Ț *vāt-* “pull out,” *xon-* Ț *xont-* “read,” *xər-* Ț *xārt-* “encounter.”

(1) Preverbs as well as adverbs may further specify a stem:

bend- Ț *bass-*, *hā~* “close,” *der-* “tie”

čin- Ț *čint-*, *ha~* “arrange?,” *ver~* “pick (off, up)”

dār- Ț *dārt-* “have,” *ver~* “weigh”

es(s)- “be in,” *ve~* “stand; become”

gart- Ț *gartā-* “turn,” *va-/ver~* “return”

gir- Ț *gift-* “seize; buy,”²² *ha~* “buy,” *ver~* “pick up,” *taš ~* “catch fire,” *der-girn-* Ț *girnā-* “kindle”

²¹ Cf. *paront-* in the previous paragraph.

²² Eil. *hī-gīr-* Ț *gift-* “seize.”

kār- ∴ *kart-* “do,” *ha-*~ “close,” *va-*~ “open,” *vāž* ~ “call,” *max* ~ “loose” *kū* ~ “kick out”

māl- ∴ *mālā-* “rub,” *ver-*~ “flee”

mon- ∴ *mont-* “stay,” *der-* “be helpless”

nāž- ∴ *nāšt-* “extinguish,” *ha-*~ “seat, set”

š- ∴ *šo(y)-* “go,” *vīr va-*~ “forget,” *ra-*~ “walk”

xār- ∴ *xārt-* “eat,” *va-*~ “drink,” *ver-*~ “encounter”

y- ∴ *oma-* “come,” *kū* ~ “rise of the sun,” *pač* ~ “return”

(2) Aside from their lexical role, preverbs possess the grammatical function of the modal prefix *be-* (§3.4.2), and supersede the latter.

(3) Preverbs are optional in certain stems, e.g. (*ver*)-*xon-* ∴ *xont-* “read”.

(4) Preverbs make semantic distinction between the homonymous or nearly homonymous stems: *nig-* ∴ *nigt-* “carry, take away,” *ha-nig-* ∴ *ništ-* “sit”; *der-xos-* “throw,” *ha-xovs-* “sleep.”

§3.4. Modal Affixes.

§3.4.1. The durative marker appears in the present and the imperfect. The short vowel *-ə-*, which appears just before the stem, the durative marker is usually harmonized with the first vowel of the stem, otherwise with the preceding preverb or the negative marker *na-*. Exx.: *va:busu* (*va-a-bus-u*) “he kisses,” *na:kuru* (*na-a-kur-u*) “you do not,” *kār_ə-kār-e* “you work,” *kār_u-kur-u* “he works,” *vāron_u-yu* “it rains,” *čort_e-žin-e* “you snooze,” *komze-m_o-vont* “I was cutting a melon,” *dass-əš-eš derāz_a-ka* “he stretched his hand.”

The fact that the durative marker is always pronounced together with the preceding word and that it is redundant (because the perfective aspect is differentiated with *be-*) allows it to vanish when a verb without a preverb is conjugated in isolation. Thus ^ə*šon* “I go” (cf. *bešon* “that I go”) and ^ə*šoyon* “I used to go” (cf. *bevšoyon* “I went”); ^ə*vāžon* “I say” (cf. *bevāžon* “that I say”) and ^ə*vātem* “I would say” (cf. *bemvāt* “I said”).²³ Even a verb with a preverb may safely ignore the durative marker, together with the preverb, if the latter is not semantically distinctive (see §3.3.3): (*ha-a*)-*xovs-u* “he sleeps” (cf. *ha-xovs-u* “that he sleep”), (*ha-a*)-*xofd* “he would sleep” (cf. *ha-xofd* “he slept”); (*der-ə*)-*xoss-eš* “he would throw.” In the texts, we come across instances where the durative marker is omitted without causing any confusion among tenses or aspects: *be un* ^ə*rasim/rasāim* “we will/would reach him” (cf. *be-ras-im* “that we reach,” *be-mun-rasā* “we reached”), *čekār-šon* ^ə*ka?* “what were they doing?” (cf. *-šon be-*

²³ For negative forms, see §3.4.3.

ka “they did”). There are also instances where the durative short vowel may have been absorbed into the preceding vowels: *bārēme* ³*kuru* “he is weeping,” *mēve* ³*girid* “you buy fruits,” *yon kārā* ³*kāre* “you do these works,” *ez to* ³*tarson* “I fear you,” *age* ³*šoim* “if we would go.”

§3.4.2. The perfective/subjunctive prefix *b(e)-* marks the subjunctive (*b-i-on* “that I come,” *bə-xər-on* “that I eat”), the imperative (*be-xr-id* “eat ye!”), the preterit (*b-omayon* “I came,” *be-m-xārt* “I ate”), and the perfect (*b-omde-yon* “I have come,” *be-m-xārte* “I have eaten”).²⁴

§3.4.3. The negative marker *ná-*²⁵ precedes the stem or the durative marker in all present forms and in the intransitive past. Exx.: (imperative) *ve-n-es(s)* “stand not!” *ha-na-bend* “don’t shut!”; (pres.) *ná-a-n-un* “I don’t put,” *na-a-kər-e* “you do not,” *na-a-y-u* “he doesn’t come,” *vīr-ton va-na-a-š-u* “you won’t forget”; (subj.) *na-yoš-u* “it may not boil”; (pret.) *be-na-oma* “it didn’t come,” *be-nav-šo* “he didn’t go”; (imperf.) *na-a-šo-y-on* “I wouldn’t eat”; (perf.) (*ha-*)*na-xofde-y-e* “you haven’t slept,” *na-xofde bo* “he hadn’t slept,” *be-na-šde bo* “he hadn’t gone.”

In the transitive past, the combination of modal affixes with the subject marker (Table 3, Set II) lead to parallel structures (see also §3.4.4). Exx.: (pret.) *be-m-na-vāt* = *na-m-vāt* “I said not” (cf. *be-m-vāt* “I said”), *der-šon-na-girnā* “they didn’t turn on,” *hi-š-na-gift* “he didn’t take,” Eil. *to-t...be-nā-ke* “you didn’t do”; (imperf.) *na-a-vāt-em* = *na-m-ə-vāt* “I wasn’t saying” (cf. *vāt-em* “I was saying”), *na-a-xārt-em* “I wouldn’t eat,” *na-m-ə-xoss* “I would not throw”; (perf.) *bi-m-na-žinte* “I haven’t hit,” *be-š-na-xārte bo/bu* “he hadn’t/may not have eaten,” *un-em na-die* “I haven’t seen him.”

§3.4.4. The possibility of coexistence of various verb affixes is summarized in the chart below, with the following notes.

- (1) The perfective and durative markers do not coexist for the obvious reason of belonging to opposite aspects.
- (2) The perfective marker is always supplanted by the preverb when one exists.
- (3) The preverb *ha-* tend to vanish in the negative: *na-a-n-un* “I don’t put,” but *ha-n^a-a-n-ind* “they don’t let.”

²⁴ The modal prefix takes the irregular form *bev-* in the past stem *bev-šo-* (or *beušo-*) “go.” The intrusive *-v-* (or *-y-*) in this verb is a feature of the “provincial” dialects of Isfahan (see Krahnke 1976 p. 213), and occurs also in the Caspian dialect of Kalārdašt (see “Kalārestāq” in *EIr.*).

²⁵ The prohibitive *ma-* is now obsolete.

(4) The preverb and the durative marker do coexist, but they often drop together (§3.4.2), as they are not morphologically distinctive.

(5) *be-* may stay on the verb in the negative, as shown by the examples in §3.4.3. Its omission in the present subjunctive does not cause similar forms with the present indicative because the latter is marked with the duration marker. In the negative transitive past, the choice of retaining or omitting *be-* leads to considerably different structures, but in any case tenses do not fall together.

	prev.	<i>be-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-ə-</i>
preverb		–	+	+
perfective <i>be-</i>	–		+	–
negative <i>na-</i>	+	+		+
durative <i>-ə-</i>	+	–	+	

§3.5. Person endings consist of two sets, as shown in Table 3.

§3.5.1. Set I endings are used in the present indicative (*ha-a-nig-on* “I sit,” *gir-on* “I get”) and subjunctive (*ha-nig-on* “that I sit,” *bi-gir-on* “that I get”), the intransitive preterit (*ha-nišd-on* “I sat”), imperfect (*ha-a-nišd-on* “I would sit”), and perfect (*ha-nišde-y-on* “I have sat”).

§3.5.2. (1) Imperative endings are zero in the singular and *-id* in the plural: *bi-vin* “see!” *bi-vin-id* (pl.), *be-vāž* “say!” *na-vā* (neg.), *be-vāž-id* (pl.), *bexo^r* “eat!” *bexrid* (pl.), *vees^s* “stand!” *vessid* (pl.), *ha-vež* “sieve!” *be-ke^r* “do!” *be-brem* “cry!” *b-ā(r)* “bring!” *na-ā(r)* (neg.).

(2) The singular ending is *-e* for single-consonant stems: (*ha-*)*t-e* “give!” *ha-t-id* (pl.), *der-k-e* “fall!”

(3) *-e* is added also to the causative stems (*be-pparn-e* “make fly!”) to avoid them fall together with their non-causative pairs; i.e. a form like **beppa^m* (see §1.6) would have remained indistinct from *beppa^r* “fly!” This pattern has been extended to other stems ending in /Cn/: *ver-ašn-e* “hear!” but understandably not to the stems in /Vn/: *ba^haran-ø* “weave!” *bi^hirin-ø* “buy!”

(4) Irregulars include *bu* “come!”²⁶ (pres. stem *y-*), *be-šo* “go!” (pl. *bi-š-id!*).

§3.5.3. Set II endings are used in the transitive past as subject (agent) markers. They appear before the stem in the preterit (*bi-m-gift* “I got”) and perfect (*bi-m-gifte* “I have gotten”) and after the stem in the imperfect (*gift-em* “I would get”). For the movement of this “ending” through the sentence, see §3.7.

²⁶ Cf. Eil. *bō* “come!” *navu!* (neg.)

§3.6. Tenses.²⁷ Simple tenses are constructed as follows.²⁸

Pres. indicative	=	(prev.	+	-ə-)	+	pres. stem	+	Set I
Pres. subjunc.	=	be-/prev.	+			pres. stem	+	Set I
Imperative	=	be-/prev.	+			pres. stem	+	-ə/-e (sg.)
Preterit (intr.)	=	be-/prev.	+			past stem	+	Set I
Imperf. (intr.)	=	(prev.	+	-ə-)	+	past stem	+	Set I
Perfect (intr.)	=	(be-/prev.)	+			p. p.	+	Set I
Preterit (trans.)	=	be-/prev.	+	Set II	+	past stem		
Imperf. (trans.)	=	(prev.	+	-ə-)	+	past stem	+	Set II
Perfect (trans.)	=	be-/prev.	+	Set II	+	p. p.		

Notes:

(1) The semantic range of Kuhpāyi tenses is strikingly similar to that of Persian.

(2) Compound verbs are common: *bārēmu* = *bārēme kuru* “he weeps,” *yā xārtāmon* (Pers. *jā xordan*) “to be shocked,” *dim-e hem nāmon* “to pile up.” Note the compounds incorporating the noun *vīr* “memory”: *vīr-ot u* (Pers. *yād-at ast*) “you remember,” *vīr-em ə-yu* (Pers. *yād-am miāyad*) “I (can) remember,” *vīr-ton vanāāšu* (Pers. *yād-etān nemiravad*) “you won’t forget,” *vīr vaštāmon* “to forget.”

(3) Intransitive compounds with transitive auxiliary verbs receive intransitive conjugations: *pā-m gīr beka* “my foot got stuck.”

(4) The subjunctive and the imperative of certain verbs employ “be” as auxiliary: *bezombe* (i.e. *be-zon be*) “know!” (see also §3.9).

(5) “See” conjugates regularly except for the imperfect, which is the invariable noun *dī* “visible” + Set II + *bo* “was”: *dim bo*, *did bo*, *diš bo* “I, you, he would see,”²⁹ with the literal meaning “there was visibility for me, you, him.” Note also the compound verb *die* (*dī?*) *kartāmon* “to look.”

	Intransitive		Transitive	
	no preverb	with preverb	no preverb	with preverb
	go	sit	eat	throw
present	(ə-)š-u	há-a-nig-u	(ə-)xur-u	dér-ə-xos-u
subjunctive	bí-š-u	há-nig-u	bé-xur-u	dér-xos-u
imperative	bé-š-o!	há-nig!	bé-xo!	dér-xos!
preterit	bév-šo-ø	há-nišd-ø	bé-š-xā(rt)	dér-eš-xoss
imperfect	(ə-)šo-ø	há-a-nišd-ø	(ə-)xārt-eš	(dér-ə-)xoss-eš

²⁷ For the periphrastic perfective and progressive forms, see §3.8.1.1 and §3.9.1.

²⁸ For negative forms, see §3.4.3.

²⁹ Not to be confused with the pluperfect, e.g. *bi-m die bo* “I had seen.”

perfect	<i>be-šdē-ø</i>	<i>(ha-)nišdē-ø</i>	<i>be-š-xārté</i>	<i>der-eš-xossé</i>
pluperfect	<i>bešdē bo</i>	<i>nišdē bo</i>	<i>bešxārté bo</i>	<i>deršxossé bo</i>
past subj.	<i>bešdē bu</i>	<i>nišdē bu</i>	<i>bešxārté bu</i>	<i>deršxossé bu</i>
infinitive	<i>šōmón</i>	<i>nišdāmón</i>	<i>xārtāmón</i>	<i>xossāmón</i>

§3.7. Fronting.³⁰ In transitive past tenses, there is a strong tendency for the Set II enclitic agents to move off the verb onto a preceding word, which can be the direct object, an indirect object, an adverb, or, most interestingly, the subject (see also §2.11). This yields equal alternate structures such as *mo-m Vir-de pəye-t bidi* = *Vir-em-de pəye-t bidi* = *pəye-t-em Vir-de bidi* = *pəye-t Vir-de bi-m-di* “I saw your father in Vir/Kuhpāya.”

(1) The agent on the direct object:

huluži-m bexārte bo “I had eaten an/the/some apricot(s)”

to-šon ez kəye kü karte “they have kicked you out of the house”

tā zonon un-em nadie “I haven’t see him till now” (cf. *na-m-di* “I didn’t see”)

ki mo-š vāž bika? “who called me?”

bārā Ahmad-em xo xoy-em ba: “I took Ahmad’s brother with me”

yon pəra:ne jün-ed ez kāyā higift? “Where did you buy this pretty shirt from?”

kəye čužihā-t xārā:b-o-ka “you would destroy the sparrows’ nests”

aš-et bexārte bo “you had eaten soup”

(2) The agent on an indirect object:

be to-m bevāt “I said to you”

de mo-š səlōm ka “he saluted me”

de mo-šon dāye “they have given me”

(3) The agent on the subject:

mo-m ba-yoss-e “I have found”

Hasan-eš Ali ru bāq de bidi “H. saw A. in the garden”

ke-š mō sādā ka? “who called me?”

herki-š mō bidi “whoever saw me...”

seyl-eš bārte “the flood has brought”

uvā-šon dārtšon čekār -šon ka? “what were they doing when it flooded?”

iki-š be un axe bevāt “some[body] said to that man”

xādā-š berasnāye “God has delivered [it]”

mardom-šon bidi “the people saw”

³⁰ A term coined by Donald Stilo to signify the mobility of person endings in the sentence.

axe bičāre-š herči talāš beka “no matter how much the hopeless man struggled”

āros-eš mā-pore na-a-gu “the daughter-in-law does not want the son’s mother”

Eil. *yon dāvā-š dārd bekušt* “this drug killed the pain”

(4) The agent on an adverb:

tā-š mo bidi “as soon as he saw me ...”

ez-veski-š bexārte “so much he has eaten ...”

ez dur-šon naznā “from afar they knew not”

heze-m dēnār kavēj biirint “yesterday I bought *dah-nār* of wild plums”

gāšgi hemun avvel-em rāss-eš be un bevāte bo “I wish I had told him the truth at once” (cf. *be-m-vāte bo* “I had told”)

(5) The agent remains on the verb optionally (*un ru sahrā de bi-m-di* “I saw him in the field,” *vesgi be-š-xārte* “so much he has eaten...”), but necessarily so when the verb is the only word in a clause:

he-m-dā vali hi-š-na-gift “I gave but he did not take”

ver-em-ašnofde to-šon ez kavē kü karte “I have heard [that] they have kicked you out of the house”

ture-yi go karg-ə to-š binikt, bi-m-di “I saw the jackal who took away your hen”

(6) Imperfect transitive person endings (§3.5.3) are fronted voluntarily:

kavē čūžihā-t xarā:b_o-ka “you used to destroy the sparrows’ nest”

dārtem komze-m_o-vont “I was cutting the melon”

(7) Fronting to a word that already has an enclitic possessive marker is possible if the agent succeeds the pronoun:

be-š-em bevāt “I told him” (not “he told me”),

dim-ə-m-em bešošte “I have washed my face,”

enguli-m-am_ji bevont “I cut my finger as well,”

engār pavē-š-em bekošte “as if I have killed his father.”

(8) Repetition of the agent is not uncommon: *uvā-šon dārtšon čekār-šon ka?* “what were they doing?”

§3.8. Be and Become

§3.8.1. The substantive verb *bōmon* “to be” consists of the stems zero/*h*- (present), *b*- (subjunctive), and *bo(y)*- (past), conjugated with the person-endings Set I, listed in Table 3. The duration is not specified.

Present: *-on, -e, (h)-u, -im, -id, -ind*

Subjunctive: *bon, be, bu, bim, bid, bind*

Preterit: *boyon, boye, bo-ø, bo(y)im, bo(y)id, bo(y)ind*

Imperative: *be!* P. p.: *bo, bie (?)*

Although shown unattached in the texts, the copula always joins the preceding word. The 3rd sg. present often assimilates (see §1.7) with the preceding vowel: *yon sov u* “this is an apple,” *un færessuk u* “it is a swallow,” *yon kəye e [kəje:]* “this is a house,” *un axe e* “he is a man,” *yon yane e* “this is a mortar,” *un jinji i* “she is a woman,” *yohon yā ā* “here is a room.”

The copula is optionally omitted: *engur təroš mā li ná(hu)* “sour grapes is not plenty,” *yon asb səbe na* “this horse (is) not white,” *yon senduqā-yə čūi ez uvā* “these wooden trunks (are) theirs.”

Interrogative sentences employ the subjunctive copula: *yon čiči bu?* “what is this?” *yon axi ke bu?* “who is this man?”

§3.8.1.1. The periphrastic perfect tenses are formed from the past and subjunctive of “be” as the auxiliary and the past participle (§3.11.2) of the main verb:

(1) the pluperfect *bešde boyind* “they had gone,” *be-šon-vāte bo* “they had said”;

(2) the perfect subjunctive *bešde bind* “they may have gone,” *be-šon-vāte bu* “they may have said.”

§3.8.2. The locative/existential verb for animate nouns is formed from the copula and preverb *də(r)-*: *dəron, dəre, dəru/duru* “I, you, he exist(s),” *dəbe* “be in!” Exx.: *pišim kəye dəron* “I’ll be home at noon,” *bāxsure kāyā dəru?* “where is the father-in-law?” *gusbend ru lum duru* “the sheep is in the pen.” No example is available for the subjunctive and the past.

§3.8.3. The locative verb for the inanimate nouns is formed by adding the copula to the stem *ess-* (otherwise “stand; become”), attested only for the present 3rd sg.: *sart kāyā essu?* “where is the ladder?” *če čihā-yə jūn-i yohon essu* “such pretty things are here!” This moribund stem is sometimes omitted: *čərā kənār-ə dazār u* “the light is at the wall.”

§3.8.4. “Become” is expressed by two pairs of stems: *b-* ɪ *bebo-* and *ves(s)-* ɪ *ves(s)ā-* (also “stand”). My limited data fails to show all forms incorporating the durative marker. The passive is formed analytically with “become”: *pāre bebo* “is ripped off,” *max vessā* “it was lost” (cf. *max-eš beka* “he lost [it]”), *max vessu* “it will be lost,” *max ve^{ss}* “get lost!”

Examples: (pres.) *zū xasse v-e-ess-e (= xasse_e-be-e)* “you get tired quickly,” *āyn širin ve-n-es-u* “the mouth does not become sweet”; (imperat.) Eil. *jūn bō* “get well!”; (pret.) *herči-š beres, čole bebo*

“whatever he spun, it turned to raw cotton,” *tā-š mo bidi qāyem vessā/bebo* “he hid from view”; (imperf.) *rāzi na-a-bo* (= *ve-n-e-esā*) “he would not become satisfied”; (perf.) *pālon-eš avaz bebie* “its saddle has changed”; (plup.) *bīhūš vessāye boyon* “I had become unconscious.”

§3.8.4.1. *nābu* (the pres. 3rd sg. in the negative) functions as an impersonal modal: *bāhārā nabu raxt-ə garm vapušā* “one may not put on warm clothes in the summer”

§3.9. Have is irregular in that it takes no modal affixes in the affirmative, and the subjunctive and imperative forms are conjugated with “to be.” Exx.: (*na-*)*dār-u* “he has (not),” *dār bon* “I might have,” *dār b-e* “have!”; *dārt-eš* “he would have,” *be-š-dārt* “he had.” Note p. p. *dār* (instead of **dārte*), as in *dār bu* (Pers. *dāšta bāšad*) “that he have.”

§3.9.1. The progressive forms are built on “have,” modeled on colloquial Persian: *dār-e ʔbār-e* “you are carrying,” *dār-on raxtā-m va-a-pušā[yon]* “I am putting on my clothes,” *dārt_ə-larzā* “he was trembling,” *dārt-em komze-m_o-vont* “I was cutting the melon.”

§3.10. Modals.

(1) *gu* : *gā* “want; must” is conjugated in all tenses with enclitic pronouns as the agent, with the possibility of fronting.

“Want” normally appears in the imperfective aspect and is followed by the main verb in the subjunctive. The un-fronted forms are *gu-m* “I want,” *gā-m* “I wanted,” *gāye-m* (cf. Pers. *xāsta-am?*) “I have wanted,” with the respective negative forms *na-m-u-gu*, *na-m-gā*, *na-m-gāye*. Examples:

uvā gu-šon bišind “they want to go”

del-em-eš_u-gu yohon bemone “I wish (lit. my heart wants) you to stay there”

āros-eš mā-pore na-a-gu “the daughter-in-law does not want the son’s mother”

Eil. *her kāri-š_u-gū, kurū* “he does whatever he wants to”

Eil. *gū-š xub ū yā bād, ūwa-šun₁ ijaré-šon₂ gū* “may³¹ it be good or bad, they₁ want their₂ rent”

šāmā-ton_ə-gā “you wanted,” *vaxte-m_ə-gā* “when I wanted...,”

to-t vaxte_e-gā “when you wanted”

In the sense of “must,” the modal takes the perfective mood and is followed by the past stem of the main verb: *mo-m bigu šo* “I must

³¹ Lit. “want”; Pers. *x^wāh*, *x^wāhad*.

go” (cf. Classical Pers. *bāyad-am raft*), *uvā-d nagu šo* “you should not go there,” *bi-š-gu ba^r* “he must carry.”

(2) *šā* “can” appears only in the negative in the texts. It is fronted by Set II endings and is succeeded, optionally, by *bo*, the 3rd person singular of the substantive verb.

mo-m našā bo = *na-m-šā bo* “I was not able to”

na-š-šā pussin bāru “he cannot bring the sheep-skin”

age *na-d-šā bo pussin bāre* “if you are not able to bring the sheepskin”

mehmon-š mehmon našā bivinu “a guest cannot see [another] guest”

na-š-šā bo ez yā-š verossu “he cannot stand up from his place”

samā-ton našā bo yon kār bekəri “you cannot do this”

Note: The affirmative of “can” is constructed using the verb “come,” as in Persian: *šāllā ez mo o-oma herā-š kār-i bekəron* (cf. Pers. *az man (bar-)miāmad*) “I wish I would be able to do something for him.”

(3) *nābu*. See §3.8.4.1.

§3.11. Verbal nouns.

(1) The infinitive marker *-(ə)mon* is added to the past stem preceded by the preverb (if any) or optionally by the perfective prefix: *həmart-əmon*, *həmarā-mon* “to break,” *vayossā/o-mon* “to find,” *pa:mon* “to cook,” *dīmon* “to see,” *šōmon* “to go.” The Persian gerundive is expressed by the infinitive in Kuhpāyi, e.g. *sotəmon* (for Pers. *suxtān* and *suxtagi*) “to burn, burning.”

(2) The past participle (p. p.) consists of the perfective prefix (optional) or preverb (if any), the past stem, and the stressed suffix *-e*, e.g. the adjectives *həmart-e* “broken,” *der-mont-e* “desperate,” *pa-y-e* “cooked” (with the glide *y*), *bu-dāye* “roasted,” *vessāye* “standing.” The suffix may drop, as in *be-hošā* “dried.” In conjugation of the present perfect (and the periphrastic forms) the prefix is omitted optionally: *(ha)xofde* “he has slept,” *(ha)xofde bo* “he had slept,” *(ha)xofde bu* “he may have slept.” In the verbs “go” and “come,” the p. p. is irregularly formed with an intrusive *d* (see §D11) and is inseparable from the perfective prefix: *be-šdē-y-on* “I have gone,” *b-omdē-y-im* “we have come.”

(3) The present stem is used in compounds: *gon-duž* (lit. gunny-sew) “large needle,” *tāze-zā* “new-born.” Most nouns constructed on the present participle bear the suffix *-e*, e.g. *torn-e* “rolling pin,” *guli-torne* (Pers. *sergin-yaltān*) “scarab,” *duru-vāž-e* “liar,” *kāye-kāre* “playful,” *bāne-soun-e* (Pers. *dār-kub*) “woodpecker,” *čučuve* (< *ču*

kuv-e?) “id.,” *kār-tān-e* (Pers. *tār/kār-tan-ak*, Isf. Pers. *kārdown*) “spider.” There are also such nominals suffixed with *-i*: *ōhenji* “irrigation” (*henj-* is an obsolete stem), *kiri-māl-i* (lit. oven-rub) “rag used to clean the oven,” *yoš-i* “quick-tempered.” Moreover, *šū* (cf. Pers. *ravān*) “flowing” might be from the pres. stem *š-* “go.”

§4. Word formation.

- (1) The suffix *-že* in *virže* “of or related to Vir, i.e. Kuhpāya,” *kukiže* “of or related to Kuki, i.e. Jabal,” *Siži* “Sagzi,”³² etc.
- (2) Diminutive suffix *-ži* in *huluži* “unripe apricot,” *guži* “calf” (cf. *gou* “cow”), *suruži* “chickenpox,” *ovži* “egg-white,” and probably *čuži* “sparrow,” *čiže* “breast.”
- (3) Diminutive suffix *-či*, e.g. *a:rči* “hand-mill,” *čužiči* “sparrow chicken,” *poreči/poriči* “little boy,” *siāči* “grain fetter/pest.”
- (4) Compounds: *ku-žen-dere* (lit. out-hit-in?) “unripe almond,” *ho-š-vābendi* (lit. to that attaching?) “pad for placing the dough on the inner wall of the oven,” *pā-m-oš-ār* (lit. foot-me-its-bring?) “pedal.”
- (5) Compounds build on the Persian model: *kie-vāde* (Pers. *xāna-vāda*) “family,” *ču-luke* (Pers. *čub-panba*) “cork,” *sov-xāki* (Pers. *sib-zamini* < French *pomme de terre*) “potato,” *herā-in-go* (Pers. *barāye in-ke*) “because of.”

THE TEXTS ³³

I. The Flood

(1) <i>yag ru iki go bičāre bo vo bālāpuš-eš kem bo, ru vāron-de xis vessāye bo vo ez sarmā dārt_ə-larzā, dermonte bo.</i>	(1) One day a [man] who was helpless and his clothing was little had been drenched in the rain and he was trembling in the cold; he was desperate.
(2) <i>hemon vaxt yag seylov ez kuvasson ra kaft bo vo (3) dārt ez ru ruxone ʔ-šo vo yag či-yi son pussin dim ov de dārt_ə-šo.</i>	(2) Just then floodwater had begun running [down] from the mountains and (3) was flowing in the riverbed, and something like a sheepskin was moving [forward] on the water.
(4) <i>iki-š be un axe bevāt, « uvā bivin! dim ov engāri yag xeg-ə ruqen-i, pinir-i, šire-yi, či-yi—seyl-eš bārte.</i> (5) <i>šā-d bo bigire vo befrāše vo bālāpuš biirine ».</i>	(4) Some[body] said to that man, “Look at there! On the water it appears to be a leathern bag of ghee, cheese, syrup, [or] something [else] the flood has brought along. (5) You could take and sell [it] and buy [yourself some] clothes.”

³² Cf. Pers. *Sagzi*, with the original meaning “of or related to *Sag*” < OP *Saka* “Scyth, Scythian.”

³³ The informant of Texts I to V is Režā Maddāhi Kuhpāyi (see fn. 2 above).

<i>(6) iki-š bevāt, « aslan xoy-eš pussin u vo xadā-š berasnāye. (7) yag-zarre hemmat beke vo ez ov bigi vo vapuš! »</i>	(6) Someone [else] said, “It out to be a sheepskin and God has supplied [it for you]; (7) make a little effort, fetch it from the water and put it on”.
<i>(8) axe badbaxt tēma'kār bebo vo lox bebo vo duru ov parā vo (9) be-tāqallā-š xoy-eš de pussin berasnā, go ez ov bigiru.</i>	(8) The unfortunate man became greedy and got naked and jumped into the water and (9) with much struggle got himself reach the sheepskin, to take [it] from the water.
<i>(10) ammā un-eš go seyl bārte bo na pussin bo vo na xeg ruqen; (11) yag xers bo go duru ov-eš de dass-o-pā^o žint o (12) montāzer bo dass-eš de či-yi bend vessu vo xoy-eš nājāt hetu.</i>	(10) However, the thing that had been carried by flood was neither a sheepskin nor a skin full of ghee. (11) It was a bear who was writhing his limbs in the water, and (12) was waiting for its hand to seize something [in order to] save himself.
<i>(13) hemin-go axe nezzik bebo vo dass-əš-eš derāz a-ka, xers herā nājāt xoy-eš de dass-o-pā axe kaft o (14) axe bičāre-š her-či tēlāš beka go xoy-eš kēnār kašu, ez-eš benaoma.</i>	(13) As soon as the man became near and stretched his hand, the bear—to save himself—fell on the limbs of the man and (14) no matter how the hopeless man struggled to pull himself aside, he was not able to.
<i>(15) mardom-šon bidi go pussin ārtāmon māli tul bekašā vo xoy-ə axe ji dārt pey ov ə-šo vo (16) ez dur-šon naz^onā go čerā na-š-šā pussin bāru.</i>	(15) The people saw that the [act] of saving the sheepskin took so long, and the man himself was being dragged by the flood, and (16) from afar they did not know why he could (lit. “can”) not bring the sheepskin [to the shore].
<i>(17) dād-šon bekašā go « age na-d-šā bo pussin bāre, vel-eš ke vo xoy-et pač u; (18) mábādā sarmā bexāre vo seyl bi-d-nigu ».</i>	(17) They yelled that, “If you are not able to bring the sheepskin, let it go and yourself return [safely]; (18) lest you will catch a cold and the flood may take you.”
<i>(19) axe-š bevāt, « mo-m pussin vel karte, pussin mo vel náakuru ».</i>	(19) The man said, “I have let the sheepskin go; the sheepskin doesn’t let me go”.

II. SENTENCES

- (1) *yon čiči bu?* What is this?
- (2) *yon kāye(-e).* This is a house.
- (3) *yon axi ke bu?* Who is this man?
- (4) *Ali kāyā duru?* Where is Ali?

- (5) *čarā kāyā essu? čarā kənār-ə dazār u/essu.* Where is the light? The light is at the wall.
- (6) *gusbend ru lum duru.* The sheep is in the pen.
- (7) *yon asb səbe.* This horse is white.
- (8) *un axəhā vo jinjihā xob ind.* Those men and women are fine.
- (9) *engur(-ə) siā širin u.* Black grapes are (is) sweet.
- (10) *engur təroš fərāmon (= mā li) ná(hu).* Sour grapes are not plenty.
- (11) *yohon hemmiše həvā ofdovi.* Here the weather is always sunny.
- (12) *fardā še u kəye dəron.* I will be home tomorrow.
- (13) *če rū-i xāš-i!* What a nice day!
- (14) *yon golovi mā li xošməze!* How delicious is this pear!
- (15) *če čihā-yə jūn-i yohon essu!* Such pretty things are here!
- (16) *kəye mō qadd-ə kəye un na(a).* My house is not as big as his.
- (17) *yon axe ez un axe juvunter u.* This man is younger than that man.
- (18) *un bāq hāsel-ə va:ter-i dāru.* That orchard has better produce.
- (19) *šəmā ez həme pīrter e.* You are the oldest of all.
- (20) *Akbar ez bərā-š vəzargter u.* A. is older than his brother.
- (21) *amše u hāl-eš va:ter u.* Tonight he is feeling better.
- (22) *bāhār garmterin fəsl-ə sāl u.* Summer is the warmest season of the year.
- (23) *dūtā bərā vo xox-ə kas dāron.* I have two younger brother and sister.
- (24) *bərā-y-m rā madrase náašu.* My brother does not go to school.
- (25) *həme yon gūsbandā vo bozā ez mō u.* All these sheep and goats are (lit. is) mine.
- (26) *yon senduqā-yə čūi ez uvā.* The wooden trunks are theirs.
A. *fardā sahb u-šu.* A. will leave tomorrow morning.
- (27) *mō xoy-em un ru sahrā de bi-m-di.* I myself saw him in the field.
- (28) *Hasan-eš Ali ru bāq de bidi.* H. saw Ali in the garden.
- (29) *sovā-šon ez bāne (de) bičint.* They picked the apples off the tree.
- (30) *heze xo kəyevāde beušoyim de jengel.* Yesterday we went to the jungle with the family.
- (31) *šəmā bāhār vešder mēve^e girid yā zəmasson?* Do you buy fruits more in the summer or winter?
- (32) *yon pəra:né jūn-ed ez kāyā higift?* Where did you buy this pretty shirt from?
- (33) *čerā a:rū madrase benaušoye?* Why didn't you go to school today?
- (34) *četaur un náašənanase?³⁴* How come you don't know him?
- (35) *pore-d kiga ez madrase de rā kəye yu?* When does your son come home from school?
- (36) *čen rū der hafde kār ə-kəre?* How many days do you work a week?
- (37) *komin kəye-š xoy-eš besāt?* Which house did he himself build?
- (38) *ke-š mō sədā ka?* Who called me?

³⁴ Noted down as *ná:šəna:se.*

- (39) *mage un náas²nase?* How don't you know him?
- (40) *čendi pul xo xoy-et/ed bārte^e?* How much money have you brought with you?
- (41) *hāme ez kār-ə un nārāzi ind.* Everybody is displeased with his behavior.
- (42) *heze-m yak kilu bārenj biirint.* I bought one kilo of rice yesterday.
- (43) *age mō yon kār be^m-karte bu, haq dāre her-či del-et-eš_u-gū bevāže.* If I have done this, you have the right to say whatever your heart desires.
- (44) *a:rū seyyam-e xordād u.* Today is the third of Khordād.
- (45) *jom'a hafdomin rū-i hafde.* Friday is the seventh day of the week.
- (46) *vače go bārēme kuru, vešše.* The boy who is crying is hungry.
- (47) *her-ki-š mō bidi, de mo-š sālōm ka.* Whoever saw me saluted me.
- (48) *sāmā go yon balade, čerā amal náakāre?³⁵* If you know this, why don't you take action?
- (49) *vāžind go rū-yi dē saat kār_u-kuru.³⁶* It is said that he works ten hours a day.
- (50) *Hāfez hem šāer bo hem āšeq.* Hafez was both a lover and a poet.
- (51) *mō na torki baladon na kordī.* I know neither Turkish nor Kurdish.
- (52) *amšeu fəqat āš bexo.* Eat only soup tonight!
- (53) *yak livān ou de mō te.* Give me a glass of water!
- (54) *ber hanabend.* Do not shut the door!
- (55) *her ra:-yi šoyon, bārā Ahmad-em xo xoy-em ba(a).* Wherever I would go, I would take Ahmad's brother with me.
- (56) *ez perārsāl tā zonon un-em nadie.* I have not seen him since two years ago.
- (57) *tā a:rū dē bār bešdeyon Mašad.* I have visited Mashhad ten times.
- (58) *ez garmā bīhūš vessāye boyon.* I had become unconscious of [excessive] heat.
- (59) *nesf-i qazā-m bexārte bo.* I had eaten half of the meal.
- (60) *tāze haxofde boyon mo-t sādā ka.* I had just slept [that] you woke me up.
- (61) *sāmā-ton našā bo yon kār bekāri.* You cannot do this.
- (62) *šāllā ez mo_o-oma³⁷ herā-š kār-i bekāron.* I wish I could do something for him.
- (63) *bālki yon kātāb dār bon.* Maybe I have this book.
- (64) *dārtem komze-m_o-vont, enguli-m-am ji bevont.* I was cutting the melon that I cut my finger too.
- (65) *vaxti go seyl boma, uvā-šon dārtšon čekār-šon²ka?* What they were doing when it flooded?

³⁵ The 2nd person plural pronoun followed by singular conjugation is influenced by a recent colloquial style of Persian.

³⁶ Corrected for *ə-kāre* "you do".

³⁷ For *ez-ə mooma* in the original transcription.

- (66) *dāron raxtā-m va-a-pušā[yon]*. I am putting on my clothes.
- (67) *mō ez ādemā-i duruvāže aslan xāš-em nāayu*. I do not like liars and hypocrites at all.
- (68) *vīr-ot u go pārsāl be mō če bevāte?* Do you remember what you told me last year?
- (69) *yak/yag čen rū go zānuhā-m mā li dard_u-kuru*. My knees are in pain for several days.
- (70) *un axe go uvā nišde dūss-om u*. The man who is sitting there is my friend.
- (71) *čentā yūz dim³⁸ bāne de hu³⁹* How many walnuts are left on the tree?
- (72) *... [?] be qāye vāza:rterā gōš hate!* One must listen to elder's advice.
- (73) *be to-m bevāt uvā-d nagu šo*. I told you that you should not go there.
- (74) *bāhārā nabu raxt-ə garm vapušā*. One should not wear warm clothes in the summer.
- (75) *age zonon bišim, be un ^orasim*. If we go now, we will reach him.
- (76) *age zonon šoim, be un rasāim*. If we had gone [by] now, we would [have] reached him.
- (77) *age zū bešde boim, be un rasāye boim*. If we had gone early, we would have reached him.
- (78) *mage hezbišeu hanaxofdeye go zonon čort_e-žine?* Have you not slept last night that you are snoozing now?
- (79) *šāmā dussā-yi mā li dārid, mage na?* You have many friends, don't you?
- (80) *del-em-eš_u-gu yohon bemone*. My heart desires that you stay here.
- (81) *ver-em-ašnofde to-šon ez kāye kū karte*. I have heard that they have kicked you out of the house.
- (82) *be-xiāl-et go mō ez to ^otarson?* Do you think I am scared of you?
- (83) *hayf ez yon pāra:ne go pāre bebo*. What a pity that this shirt was ripped off.
- (84) *tā-š mo bidi qāyem vessā/bebo*. He hid from view as soon as he saw me.
- (85) *gāšgi hemun avvel-em rāss-eš be un bevāte bo*. I wish I had told him the truth at once.
- (86) *her či zūter kaušā-t vapuš tā bišim un va-aš-^yizim*. Put on you shoes as soon as possible, so that we go and find him.
- (87) *ez veski-š bexārte, na-š-šā bo ez yā-š verossu*. He has eaten so much that he cannot move from his place.
- (88) *yon kārā kāre go mo ez kāye-t bešon?* Do you behave in such a way that I leave your home?

³⁸ Corrected for *dimu*.

³⁹ Properly *der-u* "it exists". It is hard to tell whether *de* combines with *hu* to make the existential verb (§3.8.2) or it forms the circumposition *dim ... de* (§2.6.2.1).

- (89) *engār pāye-š-em bekošte go be ser-em dād_u-kuru.* As if I had killed his father that he shouts at me.
- (90) *vaxte-m-ə-gā mo ez āssonehā gāre šon, pā-m gīr beka, de zimi kafton.* When I wanted to come down the stairs, my foot got stuck and I fell down.
- (91) *vīr-ot u vaxti vače boye ez bāne bā:lā_ā-šoye vo kəye čūžihā-t xārā:b_o-ka?* Do you remember when you were a child you would climb trees and destroy the sparrows' nest?
- (92) *age yak bār bešde bid rā dey-i uvā, mehmondāri-i mardom-i uvā vīr-ton vanāāšu.* If you visited their village only once, you would never forget the hospitality of the people there.
- (93) *večehā lev hauz nišde boind o ō-šon de ser o dīm-i hem ʰpāšā.* The children were sitting at the pool and were splattering water on each other.
- (94) *herā-in-go to mā li tond ra: še, zū xasse veesse (= xasse_e-bee).* You get tired very quickly because you walk fast.
- (95) *mezz-e pāye-m mā-i viss-o-haf həzār o čārso vo si-vo-šaš tümen u.* My father's monthly salary is 27,436 tumans.
- (96) *hemīn amšeu xo-m bigu šo de ša:r; herā-in-go bārā-y-m bi-š-vīnon.*⁴⁰ I must get myself to the city this very night in order to see my brother.
- (97) *ager avaz-ə un tomā bu-dāye āš-et bexārte bo, zonon hāl-ed va:ter bo.* If you had eaten some soup instead of so much roasted seeds, you would have felt better now.
- (98) *xādā biāmorz ādem-i xāš-ensāf-i bo, ečvaxdi rāzi na-a-bo (= ve-ne-esā) haqq-i ādem-i bexuru.* May God bless him, he was a just person, and he would never be (lit. become) pleased to violate someone's rights.
- (99) *her kār-i del-et-oš_u-gu beke, ammā bezombe yon kārā āxer o āqəbat-ə xāš-i nadāru.* Do whatever your heart desires (i.e. do as you wish), but know that these affairs will have no good consequence.

III. PROVERBS

- (1) *āš_i-pəšon xoč-em⁴¹ rā⁴²—bone del-i vače-m rā.* I am cooking soup for myself—as if it were for my child's desire.
- (2) *age Ali sārəvon u, zonu ošdorā kayā haxovnu.* If Ali is the caravan lead, he knows where to rest the camels.

⁴⁰ The object *bārā* is repeated in the enclitic *-š-*.

⁴¹ Otherwise *xoyem* "myself".

⁴² The postposition *-rā* "for" is not common in Kuhpāyi; see §2.11.

- (3) *doti-yi go māy-š ta:rif-eš bekeru, herā āme-š xob u.* The girl who is praised by her mother is good for no purpose (lit. is good for her aunt).
- (4) *mehmon-š mehmon našā bivinu—sahab-kāye ečkom.* A guest cannot see [another] gust, the host [can see] neither.
- (5) *guži tā gā vessu, del-ə sahab-eš ov vessu.* Up until the calf [grows to] become a cow, the heart of its owner melts.
- (6) *xer hemon xer u—pālon-eš avaz bebie.* The donkey is the very same one; [only] its saddle has been changed.
- (7) *bā halvā-halvā vātamon āyn širin venesu.* Saying “halva” does not make the mouth sweet.
- (8) *herči-š beres, čole bebo.* Whatever he spun, it got undone.
- (9) *deg-i go herā mo nayošu, gu-m kalle xer ru-š beyošu.* The pot that boils not for me, may boil a donkey’s head in it.

IV. A POEM

1	<i>ādemi go āxéreš⁴³ bi-š-gu ba^r yag dū gez kafen, // hey vuzu go vayuzu pul—āxe be-d-na-vāt čerā?</i>	Mankind who in the end must take [to grave] a yard or two of shroud, runs all the time looking for money —did you not say why?
2	<i>hemsāye-yi baqeli-š vašše haxofde ammā yon // vesgi be-š-xārte beyār u—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	His next neighbor has slept hungry but this one—he has eaten so much that he has stayed awake—did you not say why?
3	<i>iki jon_u-tu herā din, iki reqz^{44-e} žen o merd // qāyem_ə-kuru gəron befrāšu—bednavāt čerā?</i>	One gives [his] life for fate, [another] one hoards the daily bread of men and women [to] market it— did you not say why?
4	<i>iki ez por-vačegi qors_u-xuru vo un iki // nazr_u-tu yag vače dār bu— āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	One who has many children takes [contraception] pills, and that one // vows offerings [so that] he might have a child—did you not say why?
5	<i>tā ādem hu, nadāru ezzat o vaxti-go bemart, // heme ser-dasti nigind- eš—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Until a man is [living] he has no esteem, and when he dies everyone holds [the coffin of] him on his hand—did you not say why?
6	<i>vače go došmen-ə jon-i pəye vo mā xoy-uš u, // čerā došmen son aziz u—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	The child who is a mortal foe of his own parents—why the enemy is so dear—did you not say why?

⁴³ “Finally”, borrowed from Persian.

⁴⁴ A corrupt form of Ar.-Pers. *rezq* “sustenance”.

7	<i>nane zahmatā kašu tā pore gondālu kunu; // āros-eš mā-pore nāgu—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	The mom toils hard to rear [her] son, [but] the daughter-in-law does not want the son's mother [i.e. her mother-in-law]—did you not say why?
8	<i>učku ez duru be éččā narasā; her-ki vine // duru ādat-ə ševenderu-š u—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Nobody gets to anywhere by telling lies, [but] whomever you see lies habitually day and night—did you not say why?
9	<i>xāleq ez gānā-yi bende vāyeru; xalq-ə xādā // bende ārom-eš⁴⁵ hananind—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Creator looks over [his] bondman's sins, [but] those created by God do not leave people in tranquility—did you not say why?
10	<i>bānehā meve hemeš⁴⁶ seng_ə-xərind o—bāne kāj // učku xo-š⁴⁷ kār-i nadāru—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Fruit trees are always struck by rock [but] the pine tree—nobody cares bothering it—did you not say why?
11	<i>zone go fesse čerā āyn-ə xoy-eš vāz_u-kuru? // čungo⁴⁸ mašt-ə maqz u āyn-eš—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Do you know why pistachio opens up its own mouth? Because its mouse is full of kernel—did you not say why?
12	<i>mage nazne dim-ə xoršīd čerā nurāni [u]? // čungo nur_u-tu be ālem—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	Don't you know why the sun's face is luminous? because it gives light to the world—did you not say why?
13	<i>zone ke qeybat-ə to kuru hemon ādemi go // peš-ə to qeybat-ə xalq_u-kuru—bednavāt čerā?</i>	Do you know that [he] who back-bites you [is] the same person who speaks unfavorably of people in your presence?
14	<i>age ez aql vaparse, «čiči va:ter ez heme?» // vāžu, «mehr u vo mahabbat»—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	If you ask Intellect, “What is the worst of all?” It will say, “It is compassion and affection”—did you not say why?
15	<i>pore derviš! age zūn-ə vālāti mā:li xāš u, // še'r-ə vālāti ez un xāšter u—āxe bednavāt čerā?</i>	O son of a dervish! If provincial tongue is so pleasant, more pleasant than it is provincial poetry—did you not say why?

⁴⁵ -š is extraneous, apparently an imitation of the colloquial Persian spoken in Tehran.

⁴⁶ *hameš* < Pers. *hama-aš* “all the [time]”.

⁴⁷ A calque for the colloquial Persian *bā-š* “with it”.

⁴⁸ Pers. influence; for Kuhpāyi **son-go, herā-in-go* “because of”.

V. A VERSIFIED GLOSSARY

1	<i>axehā vo jinjihā vo porehā vo dotihā! // yāhā-yi go mō vāžon, ager bevāžid čiči bu?</i>	Men and women and boys and girls! // Can you identify the places that I name (lit. say)?
2	<i>zun-ə virže vo kukiže vo hunuži baladid? // zun-ə Varzane vo šāturi vo kiže baladid?</i>	Do you know the idioms of Kupā and Jabal and Nohuj? // Do you know the vernacular of Varzana and those of Shātur and Qehi?
3	<i>bevāžid herā mo-rā, go a:r o arči čiči bu? // bevāžid herā mo-rā, go six o sixči čiči bu?</i>	How do you say (lit. ‘say it for me what it is’) “mill” and “hand-mill” [in Kuhpāyi]? // Tell me what are “skewer” and “oven-spit”.
4	<i>bevāžid herā mo-rā, go boz o bozči čiči bu? // pāmošār o čar o bini čiči bu?</i>	How do you say “goat”, “kid”, “pedal”, “spinning wheel”, and “reed”?
5	<i>bevāžid herā mo-rā, nirā vo nəmarzon čiči bu // gēve pāre ver-⁴⁹ darzon čiči bu</i>	How do you say the “stairs leading to the outlet of an underground channel” and the “broom”? // What is the ragged <i>giva</i> which I am sewing?
6	<i>tongi vo dizi vo šašgoši—bevāžid čiči bu // guži vo čuži vo muži čiči bu</i>	How do you say “jar” and “hexagonal (jar)”? // What are “calf” and “sparrow’s chicken” and “lentil”?
7	<i>qāye vo kāye vo sāye čiči bu // kiri-māli vo laqu yā go sepāye čiči bu</i>	What about “talk”, “game”, “shade”, “cleaning cloth”, “pan”, or “tripod”?
8	<i>poreči vo lum o lumči čiči bu // suve vo tongi vo maduči čiči bu</i>	“Little boy”, “underground sheep pen and its small variety”—what are them? // What about “pitcher”, “jar”, and “little pitcher”?
9	<i>hunuži vo huluži vo āš-o-muži čiči bu // čon o xarmen āš-ə arzen čiči bu</i>	What do you call the inhabitants of Nohuj, apricot, lentil soup, thresher, harvest, and millet soup?
10	<i>ver-ə-giru, ver-ə-dāru, ver-ə-mālu čiči bu // pač-u-yu vo pač-e-āru vo pač-u-tu čiči bu</i>	He picks up, he weighs, he runs away, // he returns, he brings back, he gives back—what are these?
11	<i>čole vo čomče vo čāre čiči bu // dāre bəre pač-e-āre čiči bu</i>	Raw cotton, spoon, ladle, // you are carrying, you give back—how do you say these all?
12	<i>bešde un de kāye Qember čiči bu // šalem o zardak o čunder čiči bu</i>	He has gone to Qanbar’s house, // turnip, carrot, beetroot—how do you say these?

⁴⁹ -rə is the Pers. postposition -rā, otherwise foreign to Kuhpāyi.

13	<i>kem o kimi vo komāždon čiči bu // a:ru avr u, go yu vāron čiči bu</i>	Coarse and fine sieve, pot, // today is cloudy, it will rain—how do you say these?
14	<i>tuturi vo ezme-i buri čiči bu // šole vo šurvā vo šuli čiči bu</i>	Poppy and yellow firewood, // thin soup, salty soup, wheat-flour soup—how do you say these?
15	<i>max o max vessā o max ve čiči bu // dāre xone, čak-o-čōne čiči bu</i>	Misplaced, it was lost, get lost! // you are reading, haggling and bargaining—how do you say these?
16	<i>yāne mager de yā nāane čiči bu // bun-ə kəyye⁵⁰-d vanadiye čiči bu</i>	How come you don't put the mortar in the room? // How come you have not plastered the house's roof?
17	<i>ez Kuki kužendere vo yuz-ə Kerdā čiči bu // ye Ki vo "sundi"⁵¹-ə Varzane — bevāžid čiči bu</i>	[Tell us] of the raw almonds of Kuki and the walnuts of Kerdābād, // the barley of Qehi and watermelons of Varzana.
18	<i>zenbel o bard o nəvardon čiči bu // veylon o heyron o seylon čiči bu</i>	Basket, spade, ladder, // perplexed, puzzled, confused—how do you say these?
19	<i>bāne dōv o šelone vo bāne ar-ar čiči bu // yak-pul o yak šili sannār čiči bu</i>	Mulberry tree, jujube, juniper, // one pul, one šāhi, sannār [these old currencies]—how do you say these?
20	<i>herā mō-rā to zərengi-t čiči bu // axe Kengi! allādengi čiči bu</i>	How is that you trick me? // [You the] Kahangi man, what is a "stone thresher"?
21	<i>kondol o kondāle vo kulu — bevāžid čiči bu // «ba''a!» vo «dür-ə bolā!»⁵² vo «dür-ə hārnon!» čiči bu</i>	Frankincense, pieces of broken ceramic, lump of earth, // [interjection], be away from evil and rabies!—how do you say all these?
22	<i>čape vo dārye, šululu čiči bu // ru dizi de mō te rende! čiči bu</i>	Clapping, round drum, ululation, // give me some scraped rice [from] inside the pot—how do you say these?
23	<i>to duru u-vāže yā rāssi, čiči bu // qolve vo səbarz o āsi čiči bu</i>	You tell lies or the truth—what is it? // The kidney, spleen, [?]-what are these?
24	<i>Rəzā Derviš! vəlāti māli xāš u be āyn-ə to // vāžehā-ye xāš-ə un bāz ji bevā to čiči bu</i>	Reza Dervish! The provincial [language] is very pleasant from your mouth // Its pleasant vocabulary—tell [us] more about them.

⁵⁰ Gemination of *y* is necessitated by the meter of the poem.

⁵¹ *sundi* means watermelon in the dialect of Varzana.

⁵² *dur_e-bolā* (?).

VI. TEXTS BY EILERS⁵³

<p>(1) <i>bəhār mārduṃ e-šīn dā sā^hrā kitīrā</i>. (2) <i>gunehā pā-š gⁱāud_ə-kerin xo ūn tīšē-i maxsūs-e yōn kār</i>. (3) <i>tīγ-eš dir_ē-bendin xo ūn tīγ-e maxsūs-e gune</i>. (4) <i>u-vāxt tā čen rū tīγ-eš dir_ē-bendin</i>. (5) <i>baad ez čen rū yind</i>⁵⁴ <i>o kitīrā-š girt hānin^d</i>. (6) <i>u-vāγ^d dūbare āz nū tīγ dā pāšd-eš_e-béndin</i>. (7) <i>tā čen rū dā pāšd-eš_e-béndin</i>. (8) <i>ūn-vāxt bāz kitīrā-š girt hānin^d</i>. (9) <i>šīr tū, bāz jī tīγ-eš dir_ēe-bendin</i>. (10) <i>āgir hīm-eš jī nā-ā-tū, baazī gunehā-š tū</i>.</p>	<p>(1) (In) spring people go to astragalus field(s). (2) You unearth at the root of the milk vetch (Pers. <i>gavan</i>) with the how made specifically for this work. (3) You cut into it vertically with the special cutter [made] for this hedge plant. (4) Then for several days you [keep] cut[ing] into it. (5) After a few days you come and collect its milk vetch. (6) Then over again you subject it to the cutter from the back. (7) For a few days you will be cutting it from the back. (8) Then again you collect its milk vetch. (9) (If) it gives sap, then again you cut into it. (10) Even if all of them don't give, some of the hedge plants give.</p>
<p>(11) <i>tā dū mā yun kār-šun</i>. (12) <i>baad ez dū mā yind o kitīrehā ez him veyā vākərin</i>. (13) <i>gūl-eš vāyā fəṛāšin. o ūn vāsāt-eš jī vāyā fəṛāšin</i>. (14) <i>āgir kitīrā-š māli bəyē, muz māli dā amalé tin</i>. (15) <i>āgir kim bəyē, kāye sīr-šun k'ū varin^{d,55} āxīr-eš jī pūl-e dərus-šun he-nā-ā-tin</i>.</p>	<p>(11) For two months this is their activity. (12) After two months they will come and you sort the (different kinds) of milk vetch. (13) They sell the best of it separately. And the average [product] you sell separately as well. (14) If its milk vetch is a lot, you give the workers high wages. (15) If it is a little bit, they play the game of wheeling and dealing on them; in the end they won't give them the right money.</p>
<p>(16) <i>ā^h-e məhal sā^hrā-šun dā her ki go bōmā ijāre kurū, āgir vinīnd iitəbār dārū, hé-š-tin be-her qeⁱmāt-ī ā^zu</i>. (17) <i>ibi ūn_u-šū, her kāri-š_u-gū, kurū</i>. (18) <i>zānān gū-š xub ū yā bād, ūwa-šun ijaré-šon gū</i>. (19) <i>ibi yon bālā bāxt-ēš</i>. (20) <i>yāg-vāγt pūl-iš go hādaye, se vərāvīr gīr-eš_e-yū; yāg-vaaxⁱ jī pūl-iš go hādayē, nīs-b-iš jī gīr-eš nāyū</i>.</p>	<p>(16) The villagers give their fields to whoever comes to lease it—when they see that he is reliable—to every price that is worth. (17) Then he [= the leaser] goes and does [with it] whatever he wants to. (18) Now, be it good or bad, they ask for their rent. (19) That is the question of luck. (20) Sometimes the money that he has put in, earns him three times [as much in return]; sometimes though the money he has put in returns him not even half.</p>

⁵³ With minor changes in punctuation and hyphenation.

⁵⁴ Correction for the original *yund*. Cf. §12.

⁵⁵ Cf. Pers. *bāzi sar-ešān dar miāvarand*.

(21) <i>kitīrā jūn birīn^d dā ham(m)ām, xo tux-mur gil-him_e-kerin o dā sīr-šun mālin^d. (22) mü-ə-šon him nārm_u-bū him barrāq.</i>	(21) They take the good astragalus to bathhouse, mix it with eggs, and they rub it on their head. (22) Their hair would be both soft and shiny.
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VII. SENTENCES (by Eilers)

- (1) *yōn jūn ū* this is good
- (2) *to-t yon kār be-nā-ke* you did not do this
- (3) *u^wā seng_e-xosīn, mo-m seng be-nā-xos(s)* they were throwing rock, I did not throw rock
- (4) *jūn bō; mo jūn bébōyūn* be well! I got well
- (5) *nāčāk bōmōn yā jōr bōnōn* [?] *her dū-š āz xodā* becoming ill or staying well—both [are] from God
- (6) *sufre pēn hākerīt/d* spread a tablecloth!
- (7) *birā ibī jī dāre?* do you have another brother too?
- (8) *pāyé-t k^yū varān!* (calque form Pers. *pedar-at-rā dar-miāvaram* “I will bring out your father”) “I will throw the book at you”
- (9) *āārū vā-e sard_e-yū* today blows (lit. comes) cold wind
- (10) *yon dāvā-š dārd bekušt* this drug killed the pain
- (11) *yōn rā^h dā tō nišān_e-tān* I will show this way to you
- (12) *ičvāxt⁵⁶ nāmuru ūn-go dil-eš žinde bebō be išq* (for the Pers. verse *hargez namirad ān-ke del-aš zenda šod ba 'ešq*) never will die one whose heart came alive with love

GLOSSARY

<i>ābru</i> respect	<i>amšeū</i> tonight
<i>age(r)</i> if	<i>āmu</i> paternal uncle
<i>akse</i> sneeze	<i>a:r</i> mill
<i>alale</i> earlap, lobe of the ear; Pers. <i>lāla-</i>	<i>a(:)rčī</i> hand-mill
<i>ye guš</i>	<i>ā(:)re</i> saw
<i>ālef</i> grass	<i>ārom</i> calm
<i>allādengi</i> tilt hammers for chaffing	<i>āros, ārus</i> bride, daughter-in-law,
and winnowing the grain	sister-in-law
<i>allāpələng</i> speckle; Pers. <i>lak-o-pis</i>	<i>ārosi</i> wedding
<i>allō</i> vulture; Pers. <i>lāšx^wor</i>	<i>a:rū</i> today
<i>ālmun</i> aspiration	<i>arvon</i> miller
<i>āme</i> paternal aunt	<i>arzan</i> millet; Pers. <i>arzan</i>
<i>amonet</i> lend	<i>āsəmon</i> sky

⁵⁶ or *ečvaxdi* “never”.

<i>āsi</i> ?; Pers. <i>lula-ye basta-ye šekamba</i>	<i>bārā</i> brother; ~-axe husband's brother,
<i>asm, asb</i> horse	~ž-en wife's brother
<i>āsse</i> slow	<i>bāra:ne</i> nude
<i>āssinče</i> oven glove; Pers. <i>dastgira</i>	<i>bārēme</i> weep, cry
<i>āsson</i> simple	<i>bārenj</i> rice
<i>āssone</i> stair, step	<i>berge(yi)</i> doorway; Pers. <i>dargāh</i>
<i>ašg</i> tear	<i>bešge</i> barrel
<i>ausār</i> bridle	<i>beyār</i> awake
<i>avāše</i> pen, coop; Pers. <i>āyol</i>	<i>biābon</i> desert
<i>avr</i> cloud, ~-i cloudy	<i>bidenjil</i> castor; Pers. <i>karčak</i>
<i>axe, axi</i> man, husband; ~-marte	<i>bini</i> weaver's reed; Pers. <i>māsura</i>
widow, ~-xox sister's husband	<i>biriq</i> clay ewer; Pers. <i>ebriq</i>
<i>āyn</i> mouth; ~-yāve yawn	<i>bix</i> root
<i>ažon</i> cheap	<i>boče</i> women's hair, ringlet; Pers. <i>gisu</i>
<i>ba''a</i> (interjection expressing	<i>borqu</i> fist; Pers. <i>mošt</i>
contempt)	<i>bovre</i> brow
<i>bābājun</i> grandfather	<i>boz</i> goat; ~če kid, ~-rō trail
<i>bādči</i> dough container; Pers. <i>zarf-e</i>	<i>bozmāže</i> lizard
<i>xamir</i>	<i>būn</i> roof
<i>bāfe</i> sheaf	<i>buri</i> firewood: yellow, flammable,
<i>bāhār</i> summer	plant used to lit the wood
<i>bāl</i> wing	<i>buxče</i> bundle, wrapping cloth
<i>bālāči</i> porch, balcony; Pers. <i>bālāxāna</i>	<i>ča:</i> well
<i>bālāpuš</i> garment	<i>čādorše(v)</i> night-cloth, wrapper
<i>bale</i> *big, in <i>bārā</i> ~ big brother	<i>čalle</i> forty-day period
<i>bālišť</i> pillow	<i>čamadon</i> baggage
<i>banjā</i> (lit. "fifty") a measure of weight	<i>čape</i> clap
(½ <i>čārak</i>)	<i>čar</i> spinning wheel
<i>banjire</i> window	<i>čārčū</i> frame
<i>bār</i> time, turn	<i>čare</i> well-wheel; Pers. <i>čarx-e čāh</i>
<i>bard</i> spade	<i>čāre</i> ladle; Pers. <i>malāqa</i>
<i>bavāsīl</i> hemorrhoid	<i>čaš</i> eye
<i>bāvu</i> arm	<i>čašme</i> spring, source
<i>bāxāje</i> grandfather	<i>čatl</i> hair, lock of hair, ringlet; Pers.
<i>baynār</i> (lit. five <i>nār</i>) a measure of	<i>zolf</i>
weight (1/16 <i>čārak</i>)	<i>čaule/čavle</i> crooked, bent; Pers. <i>kaj</i>
<i>behošā</i> dried	<i>če</i> what
<i>belarzi</i> tremor; Pers. <i>ra'ša</i>	<i>čalesme</i> mixed nuts; Pers. <i>ājil</i>
<i>bələnd</i> height, tall	<i>čəmāq</i> club
<i>bənauš</i> purple	<i>čənā</i> fat; Pers. <i>čarbi</i>
<i>bend</i> joint	<i>čend(i)</i> how much/many; Pers. <i>čand,</i>
<i>bəne/bone</i> tree	<i>čeqadr</i>
<i>bəne-soune</i> woodpecker; Pers. <i>dārkuḅ</i>	<i>čerā</i> light
<i>ber</i> door	<i>čérā</i> why
	<i>četaur</i> how

- či* thing; *bīčī* poor
čikke drop
činedon crop, mow, gizzard; Pers. *činadān, sangdān*
čiže breast
čole raw cotton
čomče spoon
čon thresher: heavy, wheeled cart drawn by animals for threshing the cereal harvest (Isf. Pers. *tsum*; Pers. *xerman-kub*); cf. *hačon*
čonder, čunder beetroot
čū wood, stick
čučuve woodpecker
ču-luke cork
čuri chicken
ču-xat score, notch; Pers. *čub-xat*
čuži sparrow; ~*či* sparrow chicken
dā'ā prayer
dahn oil-cruet, vessel; Pers. *dabba-ye rowyan*
dāi maternal uncle
dā:luj corridor; Pers. *dālān*
dār sickle
dārčini cinnamon
darre valley
das(s) hand
dasnēmā ablution before the prayer; Pers. *vozu*
dasse handle
dassi tame; Pers. *ahli*
dašt plain
dauri plate
de, der (prep., postposition) in, into
deg pot
dehene bridle
del heart
delnāgəron worry
delteng longing
dəmāq nose
demi cloth placed under the cover of a pot; Pers. *dam-kaš*
dēnār a measure of weight ($\frac{1}{8}$ *čārak*)
dende rib
dendon tooth
derauš awl; Pers. *derafš*
dermonte helpless; Pers. *darmānda*
deyr late
dəzār wall
dī visible, visibility, vision; Pers. *peydā* — see also the verb *vin-dillam* pry bar
dim (prep.) on, over
dim face
dime surface; Pers. *ruya*
diriče small door/window
divone mad, crazy
dizi ceramic pot
dokārt shears
dokon store
dom tail
dombel bump; Pers. *domal, kurak*
domen skirt
dōnā wise
donde wasp
done grain; Pers. *dāna*
došak mattress
došmen enemy
došmon curse, insult; Pers. *došnām*
doti daughter, girl; *na~* step-daughter
dōv mulberry
dū smoke
dū buttermilk; Pers. *duy*
dūk spindle
dul bucket; Pers. *dalv*
dūr far
duru (prep.) inside
durū lie
duruvāže lie teller
duvālpā tarantula; Pers. *roteyl*
dūye soot; Pers. *duda*
ēč (adv.) none, nothing
eččā (adv.) nowhere
ečkom (adv.) none, no one
ečvaxd(i) (adv.) never
engosvone thimble; Pers. *angoštāna*
engošter ring
enguli finger
engur grapes
enčil fig

- ervāre* jaw
esbānāj spinach
esbend rue; Pers. *espanđ*
esīr captive
essāre star
estekon cup
eyvon porch; Pers. *eyvān*
ez/az (prep.) from
ezme firewood
fardā tomorrow
fārā:mon plenty
fārāx wide
fāressūk swallow; Pers. *parastu*
fesse pistachio
forja stroke; Pers. *sekta*
gāle large sack; Pers. *javāl*
gāre down
garmā heat
gāšgi I wish
gaud, gavad deep
gaudāl depression
gel mud, clay
gel, gil (prep.) around
gel-hem mix(ing)
gənā sin
gendāye rotten
gendom wheat
gerdov whirlpool
gerdvā whirlwind
gərez saliva
gəron expensive
gēve light cotton shoes; Pers. *giva*
gəze bite
gež confused, giddy; Pers. *gij*
gežgeži dizziness
gilim kilim
gižgā temple; Pers. *gijgāh, šaqiqa*
go (relative pron.) that, which; Pers. *ke*
golovi pear
gondālu big
gon-duž large needle; Pers. *javāl-duz*
-gone (suffix) as in *doti~* girlish; Pers.
doxtarāna
gorg wolf; *~o-mēš* twilight
gōš ear; *~vāre* earrings
gou cow
govzəvon bugloss, ox-tongue
guli-torne scarab; Pers. *sergin-γaltān*
gusfend sheep
guš hold (~ *dāmon* to hold)
guži calf
hačon pitchfork used in wind
 winnowing to separate grain or seeds
 from husks and straw; Pers. *čangak-e*
bowjāri — cf. *čon*
hafde week
hajumet scarification, cupping
hāksi London rocket seeds
hāl fat, obese; Pers. *čāq*
hamum bathhouse
hašgembe stomach; Pers. *me'da*
haule towel
havu co-wife
hedion, hedyon delirium; Pers. *haziān*
həlāl permitted
həmā (pron.) we
hembone sack, leathern bag; Pers.
ambāna
həme all
həmin (demonstrative) this very
 (same)
hemriš husband of the wife's sister
hemsāye neighbor
hemša:ri fellow townsman
hemtin (demonstrative) this much
həmun (demonstrative) that very
 (same)
hendune watermelon
her every
herā (prep.) for
herā-in-go because
hérci whatever
hérki whoever
hərom forbidden; *~zāye* bastard,
 illegitimate child
həsīr straw, mat
hess raw brick
hešm sulk, not on speaking terms,
 variance; Pers. *qahr*
həyāt courtyard

<i>heyvon</i> animal	<i>kapak</i> mold
<i>həzārpā</i> caterpillar, millipede	<i>kapal</i> hut; Pers. <i>kapar</i>
<i>hezbiše</i> last night	<i>kārd</i> knife
<i>heze</i> yesterday	<i>kare</i> kid
<i>himir</i> dough	<i>karg/k</i> hen
<i>holoki</i> hole	<i>kargdon</i> hen-coop
<i>hoše</i> bunch, cluster; Pers. <i>xuša</i>	<i>karm</i> worm
<i>hošg/k</i> dry	<i>kārtāne, kārdovni</i> spider
<i>hošgi</i> cough	<i>kas</i> small, <i>kasser</i> smaller, <i>bəṛā-kase</i> small brother
<i>huluder</i> black prune; Pers. <i>ālu-ye</i> <i>baraqāni</i>	<i>kat</i> shoulder-blade; Pers. <i>ketf</i>
<i>huluži</i> unripe apricot	<i>kauče</i> trowel, dibble; Pers. <i>bilča</i>
<i>Hunuž</i> (toponym) Nohuj	<i>kauš</i> shoe
<i>hurd</i> small, chopped	<i>kāvu</i> lettuce
<i>hurus</i> rooster	<i>kax</i> straw, chaff; <i>~don</i> hey loft, <i>~gel</i> mix of clay and straw
<i>hūsūd</i> jealous	<i>kāy(ā)</i> (adv.) where, at what place
<i>ibi</i> (adj., adv.) other, next, else, any more; Pers. <i>digar</i>	<i>kāye</i> game; <i>~kəre</i> playful; Pers. <i>bāziguš</i>
<i>išpiš, išbiš</i> louse	<i>ke, ki</i> who
<i>ja:de</i> road	<i>kəfen</i> shroud
<i>ja:fəri</i> parsley	<i>kel</i> key
<i>jahandam</i> hell	<i>kālā</i> hat
<i>jalaugiri</i> defense	<i>kālāfe</i> skein, hank, hobble; Pers. <i>kalāf</i>
<i>jāyu</i> witchcraft, magic	<i>kələng</i> pick axe
<i>jeng</i> fight	<i>kəloft</i> thick
<i>jengel</i> forest	<i>kem</i> coarse sieve
<i>j(ə)riqqe</i> vest	<i>kem</i> a little, few
<i>ji</i> (adv.) also	<i>kəmer</i> waist; <i>~bend</i> belt
<i>jiger</i> liver	<i>kəmon</i> bow
<i>jinji</i> woman; wife; <i>~āmu</i> paternal uncle's wife, <i>~bərā</i> brother's wife, <i>~dāi</i> maternal uncle's wife, <i>~pəye</i> stepmother, <i>~pore</i> daughter-in-law	<i>kene</i> tick; Pers. <i>kana</i>
<i>jirjirak</i> cricket	<i>kēne</i> old
<i>jīšt</i> bad, ugly	<i>kənes</i> stingy
<i>jomxou</i> bedding, quilt	<i>Keng</i> (toponym) Kahang
<i>jon</i> soul, life	<i>kətāb</i> book
<i>jonāver</i> living thing	<i>kəvēj</i> wild plum; Pers. <i>zālzālak</i>
<i>jōr</i> well, healthy	<i>kəye</i> house
<i>jū(q)</i> channel, ditch, waterway	<i>kəyevāde</i> family
<i>juhun, juvun, jəvon</i> young	<i>keyl</i> a measure (for grain)
<i>jul</i> cockscomb; Pers. <i>tāj</i>	<i>kežmež</i> raisin
<i>jūn, juun</i> good, pretty, healthy	<i>Ki</i> (toponym) Qehi
<i>jurou</i> socks	<i>kiga</i> (adv.) when
<i>kaft</i> cream; Pers. <i>xāma</i>	<i>kimi</i> fine sieve
	<i>kīne</i> revenge
	<i>kiri</i> kiln, oven

<i>kiriže</i> temple; Pers. <i>gijgāh</i>	<i>lonje</i> wick; Pers. <i>fetila</i>
<i>kīse</i> bag, pocket	<i>lop</i> cheek
<i>kitirā</i> astragalus, gum tragacanth	<i>lubā, rūbā</i> fox
<i>kō</i> (independent adv.) where is/are	<i>lubi</i> bean
<i>kohon</i> hump	<i>luč</i> cross-eyed
<i>koji</i> button	<i>luke</i> cotton
<i>kolār</i> kid	<i>lum</i> underground pen, sheep cote; Pers. <i>āγol</i>
<i>kom</i> palate	<i>mā:</i> month
<i>komāždon</i> pot	<i>mā:</i> , <i>māy</i> mother; <i>na~</i> stepmother
<i>komi(n)</i> (interrogative adj. and pron.) which	<i>mā:dion</i> mare
<i>komze</i> melon; Pers. <i>xarboza</i>	<i>madu</i> pitcher, jar; Pers. <i>sabu</i>
<i>kondāle</i> pieces of broken ceramic	<i>mafdou/v</i> moonlight
<i>kondol</i> frankincense; Pers. <i>kondor</i>	<i>mah</i> mist
<i>kotre</i> child	<i>majmae</i> large round tray
<i>kū</i> mountain	<i>maknā</i> headscarf; Pers. <i>maqna'a</i>
<i>kūš</i> manure	<i>māli</i> (adv.) very
<i>kū, k^vu</i> out(side)	<i>mālmāli</i> lizard; Pers. <i>mārmulak</i>
<i>kūče</i> alley	<i>māmāče</i> midwife
<i>kučuli</i> a little	<i>mār</i> snake
<i>kufter</i> dove, pigeon	<i>martē</i> dead
<i>Kuki</i> (toponym) Jabal	<i>māss</i> yogurt
<i>kukume</i> owl	<i>masser</i> bigger
<i>kulu</i> clod of earth	<i>māš</i> vetch
<i>kulund</i> latch; Pers. <i>kolun</i>	<i>mašg</i> water skin, leathern bag
<i>kun</i> [k ^h un] — ~e heel; ~ārenj elbow; ~ō-bend dragon-fly (Pers. <i>sanjāqak</i>)	<i>mašt</i> full
<i>kutā:</i> short	<i>mau</i> vine
<i>kuvā</i> behind; Pers. <i>az pošt</i>	<i>max</i> lost
<i>kuvasson</i> mountain	<i>māye</i> female
<i>kūvu, k^vuyu</i> squash; Pers. <i>kadu</i>	<i>mā(y)i</i> fish; muscle
<i>kuye</i> dog	<i>māytāve</i> pan
<i>kužendere</i> unripe almond; Pers. <i>čoyāla-bādām</i>	<i>mālāj</i> fontanel
<i>lake</i> kick; Pers. <i>lagad</i>	<i>mālāqe</i> ladle
<i>laqu</i> pan	<i>māla:s</i> sub-acid
<i>late</i> field; Pers. <i>kart</i>	<i>mālē</i> locust, grasshopper; Pers. <i>malax</i>
<i>laul</i> basket for carrying poultry	<i>mendil</i> turban
<i>lembe</i> embryo; Pers. <i>janin</i>	<i>menqal</i> brazier
<i>lev</i> (prep.) at	<i>merd</i> man
<i>lev</i> lip	<i>mere</i> husband
<i>levxend</i> smile	<i>mēš</i> ewe
<i>lāžen</i> ooze, black mud; Pers. <i>lajan</i>	<i>meve</i> fruit
<i>long</i> loincloth	<i>mežgun</i> eyelash
<i>lonj</i> mucus of nose	<i>mili</i> cat
	<i>mīx</i> nail
	<i>mō</i> (pron.) I

<i>modbaq</i> kitchen	<i>nu</i> new
<i>mol</i> neck	<i>numze</i> fiancée
<i>monte</i> (lit. staying) still; Pers. <i>rāked</i>	<i>nun</i> bread
<i>morqovi</i> duck	<i>o, vo</i> (conjunct.) and
<i>mōš</i> mouse	<i>ofdāve</i> ewer
<i>mox</i> brain	<i>ofdou/v</i> sun, sunlight; ~- <i>zardi</i> dawn;
<i>mū</i> hair	<i>ofdovi</i> sunny
<i>murče</i> ant	<i>orčend</i> stair, step
<i>murdone</i> termite	<i>ormā</i> date
<i>mūži</i> lentil	<i>ossoxon</i> bone
<i>nā:</i> throat, larynx; Pers. <i>nāy, galu,</i>	<i>oštor, ošdor</i> camel
<i>halq</i>	<i>ov, ou, ō</i> water; ~- <i>kaš</i> strainer; ~- <i>henji</i>
<i>nāčāk</i> ill	irrigation
<i>nādon</i> ignorant	<i>ovi</i> blue
<i>nāf</i> naval	<i>ovir</i> pregnant
<i>nahāli</i> small mattress, pad, seat; Pers.	<i>ovži</i> egg-white
<i>tošakča</i>	<i>pā</i> foot
<i>na:l</i> horseshoe	<i>pač</i> behind, back
<i>na:nā</i> mint	<i>pākaše</i> piedmont
<i>nanjun</i> grandmother	<i>pālīz</i> melon-ground; Pers. <i>jālīz</i>
<i>nanni</i> cradle	<i>pālon</i> saddle of donkeys
<i>nār</i> pomegranate	<i>pa:lu</i> side
<i>natarsi</i> valor	<i>pāmošār</i> pedal of the weaving
<i>navber</i> first fruit; Pers. <i>nowbar</i>	machine
<i>naxār</i> difficult; Pers. <i>došvār</i>	<i>parpari</i> butterfly
<i>nāxon</i> nail	<i>pārsāl</i> last year
<i>naxou/v</i> chickpea	<i>pāru</i> shovel
<i>naxtou</i> spinner; Pers. <i>naxtāb, parra</i>	<i>pas-</i> (prefix) ~- <i>fardā</i> day after
<i>nāfrun</i> curse; Pers. <i>nefrin</i>	tomorrow; ~- <i>perārsāl</i> three years ago
<i>nāmā</i> prayer	<i>pa(:)sin</i> evening
<i>nāmak</i> salt	<i>paše</i> mosquito, fly
<i>nāmarzon</i> broom	<i>pašm</i> wool
<i>ner</i> male	<i>pašt, pašd</i> back
<i>nesf</i> half	<i>pāvzār</i> shoe
<i>nāvardon</i> ladder	<i>pāye-qərombu</i> thunder
<i>nāve</i> felt (overcoat; Pers. <i>čuxā</i>); <i>nevēyi</i>	<i>pā:zan</i> wild goat
made from felt	<i>pē</i> footing, foundation
<i>nāzōmi</i> brick	<i>pələng</i> leopard
<i>nezzik</i> near	<i>pəlou</i> pilaf
<i>nirā</i> stairway leading to the outlet of	<i>penhas</i> lazy
an underground channel (<i>qanāt</i>)	<i>penhon</i> hidden
<i>nīš</i> sting	<i>perārsāl</i> year before last
<i>nok</i> beak	<i>pəra:ne</i> shirt
<i>novdon, noudon</i> gutter	<i>pəreži</i> day before yesterday; <i>pas~</i>
<i>nove</i> grandchild	three days ago

<i>pəreyišeŷ, pəreušeu</i> night before last;	<i>-rā</i> (postp.) for
<i>pas</i> ~ three nights ago	<i>ra</i> : road, way; ~ <i>šāmon</i> to walk; ~- <i>rō</i>
<i>pēš, peš</i> before, front; ~ <i>ez pišim</i>	corridor
before noon	<i>raf</i> high niche
<i>pešoni</i> forehead	<i>rasāye</i> ripe
<i>pešras</i> premature	<i>rāss</i> true
<i>pəye</i> father; <i>na</i> ~ stepfather, ~- <i>axe</i>	<i>rāssə-vāžu</i> honest
husband's father, ~- <i>žen</i> wife's father	<i>refīq</i> friend
<i>pəyn, pēn</i> wide, spread	<i>reg</i> pebble
<i>pē-zard</i> cartilage, gristle; Pers. <i>γozruf</i>	<i>reg</i> vein; <i>bī</i> ~ cold-tempered
<i>pī</i> fat	<i>regvār</i> rain shower
<i>pinīr</i> cheese	<i>rem</i> startle, shy
<i>piř</i> old; <i>piremerd</i> old man; <i>pirežen</i> old	<i>rende</i> grater, plain
woman	<i>resmon</i> thread
<i>pišim</i> noon	<i>reyhon</i> basil
<i>pizi</i> anus	<i>riše</i> root
<i>pok</i> sledge, smith's hammer	<i>ron</i> thigh
<i>pore</i> son; ~ <i>či/poriči</i> small boy, <i>na</i> ~	<i>ru</i> (prep.) in, into
step-son, ~- <i>bərā</i> nephew	<i>rū, ru</i> day
<i>pošti</i> pillow	<i>ruš, rūšnā</i> light, bright; Pers. <i>rowšan</i>
<i>pune</i> pennyroyal	<i>ruxone</i> river
<i>pus(s)</i> skin	<i>rūye</i> intestine; ~ <i>giftāmon</i> constipation
<i>puz</i> muzzle	<i>ruže</i> fast
<i>qabze</i> handful	<i>saar</i> pool
<i>qalmaseng</i> sling; Pers. <i>falāxon,</i>	<i>saat</i> hour
<i>qollāb-sang</i>	<i>sahb</i> morning
<i>qapon</i> steelyard, large scale	<i>sahrā</i> field
<i>qašāvol</i> curry, comb; Pers. <i>qašu</i>	<i>sāl</i> year
<i>qaul</i> promise	<i>salle</i> nest
<i>qāye</i> speech	<i>sā:r</i> starling
<i>qālā</i> crow, raven; ~ <i>žāre</i> pie, magpie	<i>sard, sart</i> ladder
<i>qālem, qāllm</i> pen; shin, forearm	<i>sarmā</i> cold
<i>qelyon</i> hookah	<i>sābe</i> white; ~ <i>yí</i> whiteness
<i>qem</i> sorrow	<i>sālōm</i> salute
<i>qend</i> sugar cubes; ~ <i>on</i> sugar-bowl	<i>šāmā</i> (pron.) you (pl.)
<i>qasam</i> oat	<i>senduq</i> trunk
<i>qol</i> slice; Pers. <i>qāč</i>	<i>seng</i> stone
<i>qolf</i> padlock	<i>sengin</i> heavy
<i>qolve</i> kidney	<i>senje</i> eleagnus, oleaster; Pers. <i>senjed</i>
<i>qonbol</i> buttocks	<i>ser</i> head; ~- <i>ə šeu</i> evening
<i>qors</i> hard	<i>səvarz</i> spleen
<i>qovā</i> gown; Pers. <i>qabā</i>	<i>sevde</i> basket; Pers. <i>sabad-e hasiri</i>
<i>qurbāqe</i> frog	<i>seylon</i> confused; Pers. <i>parišān</i>
<i>quzek</i> ankle	<i>seyr</i> satisfied; Pers. <i>sir</i>
<i>rā</i> (prep.) toward	<i>siā</i> black

<i>siāči</i> grain fetter/pest; Pers. <i>āfat-e siāhi-e gandom</i>	<i>šone</i> comb; ~- <i>ser</i> hoopoe; Pers. <i>šānabasar</i>
<i>sibil</i> moustache	<i>šone</i> shoulder
<i>sine</i> chest	<i>šu</i> husband
<i>sohon</i> rasp, file	<i>šū</i> flowing; Pers. <i>ravān</i>
<i>solfe</i> cough	<i>šuli</i> soup made from wheat flour
<i>som</i> hoof	<i>šululu</i> ululation; Pers. <i>kel</i>
<i>sombe</i> wedge; Pers. <i>qalama-e hizom-šekani</i>	<i>šūr</i> salty
<i>son</i> (adv.) such; Pers. <i>čonin, čonān</i>	<i>šurvā</i> soup
<i>sonbonletif</i> valerian; Pers. <i>sombol-altib</i>	<i>ta:</i> end
<i>sorx</i> red	<i>table</i> stable; Pers. <i>tavila</i>
<i>sorxaki</i> bedbug; Pers. <i>sās</i>	<i>tagarg</i> hail
<i>soss</i> loose; Pers. <i>sost</i>	<i>ta:l</i> bitter
<i>sotun</i> column	<i>tammāte</i> tomato
<i>sov/sou</i> apple; ~- <i>xāki</i> potato	<i>tāpu</i> earthen through, bin; Pers. <i>toγār</i>
<i>sovok/suvok</i> light	<i>tā:rīk</i> dark
<i>sovz, sōz</i> green; ~- <i>e-quvā</i> roller, jay	<i>taš</i> fire
<i>surmei</i> dark blue	<i>tašne</i> thirsty
<i>suruži</i> chickenpox	<i>tašt</i> basin
<i>susk</i> cockroach	<i>tāve</i> pan
<i>suvār</i> rider	<i>tāvel</i> blister
<i>suve</i> pitcher, jar; Pers. <i>sabu</i>	<i>tāxče</i> niche
<i>suzon</i> needle	<i>tāyer</i> bird
<i>šalem</i> turnip	<i>tāze-zā</i> new-born, neonate
<i>šaš-goši</i> hexagonal jar for extracting starch from wheat	<i>tāž</i> urine
<i>Šātur</i> (toponym) Shātur ⁵⁷	<i>tel</i> belly
<i>šebr</i> hand-span; Pers. <i>vajab</i>	<i>tele</i> trap
<i>šefde, šefte</i> plant louse, weevil; Pers. <i>āfat, šata</i>	<i>təlenjimin</i> manna of hedysarum; Pers. <i>taranjabin</i>
<i>šeltone</i> jujube; Pers. <i>'annāb</i>	<i>tenā</i> alone
<i>šemšer</i> sword	<i>tənāf</i> rope
<i>šenou</i> swim_	<i>tenbāku</i> tobacco
<i>šeū, šev</i> night	<i>tende</i> kernel; Pers. <i>hasta</i>
<i>šəve</i> dill	<i>teng</i> narrow; file
<i>ševenderu</i> night and day	<i>tərazu</i> scale
<i>ševnem</i> dew	<i>təroš, təraš</i> sour
<i>šikar</i> sugar	<i>tərošu</i> pickles
<i>šīr</i> lion	<i>teu/tev</i> fever
<i>šīr</i> milk	<i>təver</i> axe; Pers. <i>tabar</i>
<i>širin</i> sweet	<i>tevxāl</i> fever-heat, herpes
	<i>ti</i> thorn
	<i>tifon</i> storm
	<i>tīr-kəmon</i> rainbow

⁵⁷ Renamed Emāmzāda 'Abd-al-A'zim under the Islamic regime.

<i>tiše</i> chisel	<i>vissəbanj</i> (lit. "25") a measure of weight ($\frac{1}{4}$ <i>čārak</i>)
<i>tiz</i> sharp	<i>vissi</i> sleeve
<i>tizdone</i> bladder; Pers. <i>mašāna</i>	<i>višgi</i> hunger
<i>to</i> (pron.) you (sg.)	<i>xāk</i> soil
<i>tom</i> seed, egg	<i>xākesse</i> ash
<i>tone</i> warp; Pers. <i>tār</i>	<i>xāle</i> aunt
<i>tordi</i> unripe melon	<i>xarmen</i> harvest
<i>torne</i> rolling pin; Pers. <i>vardana</i>	<i>xāš</i> pleasant
<i>tov</i> twist, spin	<i>xāš-dim</i> handsome
<i>tūr</i> net	<i>xeg</i> leathern bag
<i>ture</i> nose-bag, feed-bag; Pers. <i>tubra</i>	<i>xālā</i> toilet
<i>ture</i> jackal	<i>xende</i> smile
<i>türk</i> smallpox; Pers. <i>ābela</i>	<i>xenjer</i> dagger
<i>tutuli</i> wart, verruca; Pers. <i>zegil</i>	<i>xer</i> donkey
<i>tuturi</i> poppy; Pers. <i>gorz-e xašxāš</i>	<i>xerčeng</i> crab
<i>üčgu, üčku</i> (adv.) nobody	<i>xərəft</i> dull
<i>un</i> (pron.) that; it, he, she	<i>xervār</i> donkey load
<i>uvā</i> (pron.) those, they; (adv.) there	<i>xerxeri</i> laryngeal prominence, Adam's apple; Pers. <i>sib-e ādam</i>
<i>va, vāz</i> open	<i>xešdak</i> gusset, seat (of pants)
<i>vā:</i> wind; ~-žen fan	<i>xīreser</i> stubborn; Pers. <i>xira</i>
<i>vače</i> child; ~-xox nephew	<i>xo</i> (prep.) with, to
<i>vafīr</i> snow	<i>xō, xo(y)</i> (reflexive pron.) self
<i>valg</i> leaf	<i>xomre</i> vat, wine-jar
<i>vamonte</i> tired out, fatigued, disabled; Pers. <i>vāmānda</i>	<i>xonok</i> cool
<i>vā:ron</i> rain	<i>xore</i> epilepsy
<i>Varzəne</i> (toponym) Varzana	<i>xorjin</i> saddle-bag
<i>vašše</i> hungry	<i>xoršīd</i> sun
<i>va:ter</i> better	<i>xosru</i> wife's mother, husband's mother
<i>vāyom</i> almond; ~-ta:le bitter almond	<i>xov, xou, xō</i> sleep
<i>vāž</i> voice; ~-em ka I called	<i>xox</i> sister; ~-e axe husband's sister, ~-i jinji wife's sister, ~-mere husband's sister
<i>vē</i> moth; Pers. <i>bid</i>	<i>xūn</i> blood
<i>vəṛāver</i> equal	<i>yā</i> place; room
<i>vəre</i> lamb	<i>yād</i> sister-in-law; Pers. <i>jāri</i>
<i>vésgī</i> so much	<i>yāge</i> dishware, container; Pers. <i>zarf</i>
<i>vēš, vež-done</i> lint, cotton seed; Pers. <i>veš</i>	<i>yāhā</i> (pron.) these
<i>vešder, vešter</i> more	<i>yakov</i> suddenly
<i>vəyā</i> separate	<i>yāne</i> mortar and pestle; Pers. <i>hāvan</i>
<i>vəye</i> willow	<i>yāve</i> ⇒ <i>āyn-yāve</i>
<i>vəzark</i> big	<i>yaxe</i> collar
<i>viār</i> pica, depraved appetite	<i>ye</i> barley
<i>Vir</i> (toponym) Kuhpāya	
<i>vīř</i> memory	
<i>vīron</i> destroyed	

yohon (adv.) here
yon (pron.) this
yoši quick-tempered; Pers. *juši*
yūz walnut
zanbur bee
zarčuve turmeric
zard yellow
zardak carrot
zəmasson winter
zənaqdon chin
zenbel basket
zenjəfil ginger
zenjer chain
zəreng smart
zərəšg barberry
zeur rough
zeyton olive
zil membrane of meet; Pers. *pust-e donba*

zīlu light carpet
zimi earth, ground
zin saddle
zomā son-in-law, brother-in-law
zoni knee
zonon now
zū early, quick, fast
zuli leach; Pers. *zālu*
zūn tongue; cf. *govzəvon*
žad gum (of wild almond); Pers. *samγ*
-že (suffix) *kīže* “of or related to Ki/Qehi”
žě cord, bowstring; Pers. *zeh*
žen woman; wife
žende alive
žēr (prep.) under, below; *~pəra:ne*
undershirt; *~tomboni* underpants; *~*
zimi cellar

Verbs

ār- ∴ *ārt*-⁵⁸ (v. t.) bring — *bā(r)* bring!
ār-u he brings, *un-eš bārt*, *be-š-ārt*,
b-ārt-eš (irreg.) he brought, *bārte* (p.
p.), *ārtəmon* (infinitive.)
ašn- ∴ *ašnā-* (v. t.) recognize — *be-*
ašn-e recognize! *be-š-ašnā* he
recognized, *ašnāmon* (infinitive.)
ašn- ∴ *ašnofd-/ašnā-* ∥ *ver-~*⁵⁹ (v. t.)
hear — *ver-ašn-e* hear! *ver-ašn-u* he
hears, *ver-eš-ašnā* he heard, *ver-em-*
ašnofde I have heard, *verašnāmon*
(infinitive.)
až- ∴ *ažā-* (v. i.) cost
bend- ∴ *bass-* ∥ *der-~* (v. t.) tie;⁶⁰ *ha-~*
close
bər- ∴ *bart-* (v. t.) carry — *bebe* take!
bur-u he carries, *be-š-bart* he carried,
bart-əmon (infinitive.)

bərēm- ∴ *bəraft-* (v. i.) weep — *be-*
brem cry! *bərēm-u* he cries, *be-braft*
he cried, *bəraftəmon* (infinitive.)
bus- ∴ *busā-* ∥ *va-~* (v. t.) kiss
čak- ∴ *čakā-* (v. i.) drip
čakn-/čagn- ∴ *čaknā-/čagnā-* (v. t.)
make drip, distill — *be-čagn-e*
distill! *čakn-u* he distills, *be-š-čagnā*
he distilled, *čaknāmon* (infinitive.)
čaln- ∴ *čalnā-* (v. t.) squeeze
čārn- ∴ *čā(r)nā-* (v. t.) graze, pasture
čaš- ∴ *čašā-* (v. t.) taste
čaus- ∴ *čausā-* (v. i.) stick, glue
čau(sə)n- ∴ *čau(sə)nā-* (v. t.) stick up
— *be-čausən-e* stick [it] up! *čausun-*
u he sticks up, *be-š-čauṅā* he glued,
čausənāmon (infinitive.)
čer- ∴ *čerā-* (v. i.) graze, pasture
čin- ∴ *čint-* (v. t.) cut ∥ *ha-~* (v. t.)
arrange? ∥ *ver-~* (v. t.) pick (off, up),
pluck

⁵⁸ The present and past stems are separated with a colon.

⁵⁹ Cf. Eil. *vir-ašn-* ∴ *ašnuft-*.

⁶⁰ Cf. “hit” in Krahnke 1976, p. 211.

- dār-* ∴ *dārt-* (v. t.) have (irreg.) || *ver-*~ (v. t.) weigh — *dār be* have! *dār-u* he has, *dārt-eš* he was having, *be-š-dārt* he had, *dārtəmon* (infīn.)
- darz-* ∴ *dašt-*⁶¹/*darzā-* || *ver-*~ (v. t.) sew
ver-ə-darz-u he sews
- dern-* ∴ *dernā-* (v. t.) rip, rend, tear
- dīn-* ∴ *dī(y)-* || *va-*~ (v. t.) plaster
- doš-* ∴ *dot-/došā-* (v. t.) milk
- doz-* ∴ *dozā-* (v. t.) steal
- endār-* ∴ *endārt-* (v. t.) send — *b-endār* send!
- espār-/aspār-* ∴ *espārt-/aspārt-* (v. t.) hand over, commit, entrust
- ess-* (v. i.) be in (pres. 3rd sg. only) — *ess-u* it is there. Cf. *h-*
- es(s)-* ∴ *essā-* || *ve-*~ (v. i.) stand; become — *ve-es* become/stand! *veesu* it becomes/stands, *vessā* it became/stood, *vessāmon* (infīn.)
- fa:m* ∴ *fa:mā-* (v. i.) understand
- fa:mon-* ∴ *fa:monā-* (v. t.) make understand
- fārāš-* ∴ *fārāt-* (v. t.) sell — *be-fārāš* sell! *f(ə)rātəmon* (infīn.)
- gart-* ∴ *gartā-* (v. i.) turn, wander || *va-/ver-*~ (v. i.) return — *be-gart* turn! *va-gart* return! *ver-ə-gart-u* he returns, *ver-gartā* he returned
- gir-* ∴ *gift-* (v. t.) seize, (aux.) — *bigi* seize! *gir-u* he takes, *gəze giftəmon* to bite || *ha-*~ (v. t.) buy || *ver-*~ (v. t.) pick up — *ver-gi* pick up! *ver-ə-gir-u* he takes, *ver-eš-gift* he took, *vergiftəmon* (infīn.)
- gir-* ∴ *girā-* (v. i.) (aux.) — *taš girāmon* to catch fire
- girn-* ∴ *girnā-* || *dar-/der-*~ (v. t.) kindle
- giz-* ∴ *gass-* (Eil.) *der-*~ (v. t.) bite
- gu-* ∴ *gā-* (v. m.) want; must
- (*h-*) ∴ *bo-* (v. i.) be || *də(r)-*~ (v. i.) be in, exist
- hal-* ∴ *hašt-/halā-* || *va-*~ (v. t.) allow; put? — *va-hal!* *va-a-hal-u* he lets, *va-š-hašt* he left behind
- həma(:)r-* ∴ *həmart-/həma:rā-*⁶² (v. i., v. t.) break — *be-^hemar* break! *həma:r-u* he/it breaks, *be-ema:rā* it broke, *be-š-həma:rā* he broke, *həmartəmon*, *həmarāmon* (infīn.)
- həran-* ∴ *hərass-*⁶³ (v. t.) weave — *ba-^haran* weave! *həran-u* he weaves, *be-š-hərass* he wove, *hərass-əmon* (infīn.)
- hərin-/hirin-* ∴ *hərint-/hirint-* (v. t.) buy — *bi-^hirin* buy! *hərin-u* he buys, *bi-š-hirint* he bought, *hərintəmon* (infīn.)
- hoš-* ∴ *hošā-* (v. i.) dry
- jomb-* ∴ *jombā-* (v. i.) move, shake, wiggle
- jomn-* ∴ *jom(bə)nā-* (v. t.) shake, nod, wag
- k-* ∴ *kaft-* || *der-*~ (v. i.) fall — *der-k-e* fall! *der-ə-k-u* he falls, *der-kaft* he fell, *derkatəmon* (infīn.)
- kār-* ∴ *kārt-/kāšt-* (v. t.) sow
- kaš-* ∴ *kašā-* (v. t.) pull, drag — *be-kaš* pull! *kaš-u* he pulls
- kaun-* ∴ *kaunā-* (v. t.) search
- ken-* ∴ *kent-* (v. t.) dig — *be-ken* dig! *kun-u* he digs
- kər-* ∴ *ka(rt)-* (v. t.) do — *be-ke* do! *kəru/kuru* he does, *be-š-ka* he did, *kartəmon* (infīn.) || *ha-*~ (v. t.) shut — *ha-ke* close! || *va-*~ (v. t.) open — *va-ke* open! *va-a-kur-u* he opens, *va-š-ka* he opened, *vakartəmon* (infīn.)
- koš-* ∴ *košt-* (v. t.) kill — *be-koš* kill! *kuš-u* he kills

⁶¹ Eil. *dašd-*.

⁶² Eil. *hā-mār-* ∴ *-mārt*; the treatment of *ha-* as a preverb is unjustifiable synchronically.

⁶³ Eil. *hā-rān-* ∴ *-rāss-*, where *ha-* is treated as a preverb! Note also Eil. *rəs-* ∴ *resā-* “weave”.

- ku-?*⁶⁴ : *kuft-* (v. t.) pound — *bi-ku* pound! *kuyu?* he pounds, *bi-š-kuft* he pounded
- larz-* : *larzā-* (v. i.) tremble
- māl-* : *mālā-* (v. t.) rub || *ver-~* (v. i.) flee
- mār-* : *mart-* (v. i.) die — *be-mma'* die! *mur-u* he dies, *be-mmur-u* that he die, *be-mart* he died, *martəmon* (infin.)
- məz-* : *miss-* (Eil.) (v. i.) defecate
- mež-* : *mežā-* (v. t.?) suck — *be-mež* suck! *muž-u* he sucks
- mon-* : *mont-* (v. i.) stay || *der-~* (v. i.) desperate
- n-* : *nā-* *ha-~* (v. t.) allow; put — *ha:ne!*⁶⁵ (also *yane!*), *ha-a-n-u* he puts, *ha-n^a-a-n-īnd* they don't let/leave (IV.9)
- nāl-* : *nālā-* (v. i.) moan — *be-nāl* moan! *nā:l-u* he moans, *be-nālā* he moaned
- nāž-* : *nāšt-* (v. t.) extinguish || *ha-~* (v. t.) seat, set — *be-nāž* put off! *ha-nāž* set! *ha-a-nāž-u* he sets, *ha-š-nāšt* he seated
- nəves-/nəmes-* : *nəvešt-/nəmešt-* || *va-~* (v. t.) write⁶⁶ — *va-nəves* write! *va-a-nuvus-u* he writes, *va-š-nəvešt* he wrote
- nig-* : *ništ/d-* || *ha-~* (v. i.) sit — *ha-nig* sit! *ha-a-nig-u* he sits, *ništəmon* (infin.)
- nig-* : *nigt-/nikt-* (v. t.) carry, take away⁶⁷
- ošgāv* : *ošgā(f)-* || *va-~* un-sew, split (v. i., v. t.) — *va-ošgāu* split! *va-a-ošgāv-u* it/he splits, *va-ošgā(f)* it was split, *va-š-ošgā(f)* he split [it], *vaošgāmon* (infin.)
- ošmār-* : *ošmārt-* || *ver-~* (v. t.) count — *ver-ošmār* count! *ošmār-u* he counts, *ver-eš-ošmārt* he counted, *verošmārtəmon* (infin.)
- pak-* : *pakāft-* (Eil.) (v. t.) hit
- par-* : *parā-* (v. i.) fly⁶⁸ — *be-pa* fly! *par-u* he flies, *be-pparā* he flew, *parāmon* (infin.)
- parn-* : *paront-/parnā-* (v. t.) fly — *be-pparn-e* make fly! *pəra:nu* he makes fly, *be-š-paront-/parnā* he made [it] fly, *parontəmon*, *parnāmon* (infin.)
- pəlas-* : *pəlasā-* || *ver-~* (v. i.) wither
- peš-/pəš-* : *pa:-* (v. i., v. t.) cook — *be-peš* cook! *puš-u* it/he is cooking, *be-pa* it was cooked, *be-š-pa* he cooked [it], *pəye* cooked, *pa:mon* (infin.)
- pič-* : *pičā-* (v. i.) twist — *bi-pič* twist! *bi-pičā* it twisted
- pičn-* : *pičnā-* (v. t.) twist — *bi-pičn-e* make [it] twist! *bi-špičnā* he twisted
- pus-* : *pusā-* (v. i.) decay — *bi-pus* decay! *pus-u* it decays, *bi-pusā* it decayed, *pusāmon* (infin.)
- puš-* : *pušā-* || *va-~* (v. t.) put on
- pusn-* : *pusnā-* (v. i.) make decay
- ras-* : *rasā-* (v. i.) arrive, reach
- rasn-* : *rasnā-* (v. t.) send, deliver, escort
- res-* : [past stem?] (v. t.) spin
- rež-* : *ret-* (v. i., v. t.) pour, spill — *be-rež* spill! *ruž-u* he spills, *be-ret* it spilled, *be-š-ret* he spills, *retəmon* (infin.)
- ron-* : *ront-/ronā-* (v. i.) ride
- rov-* : *roft-* (v. t.) sweep — *be-rov* sweep! *rov-u* he sweeps
- š-* : *šō-* (p. p. *bešde-*) (v. i.) go — *bešo* go! (irreg.) *š-u* he goes, *bev-šo* he went, *bešde* he has gone, *šo:mon* (infin.), *šū* going, flowing || *va-~* (aux.) — *vīr-ton va-na-a-š-u* you won't forget

⁶⁴ For the expected *kuv-*.

⁶⁵ The vowel length is not explainable.

⁶⁶ Cf. Eil. *vā-numus-* : *-numišť*.

⁶⁷ Cf. Eil. “bring, lead; shake”.

⁶⁸ Eil. *vir-pār-*.

- šā* (v. m.) can
šal- † *šalā-* (v. i.) limb
sāž- † *sāt-* (v. t.) make
si(y)- † *sot-/siā-* (v. i.) burn — *bi-si*
 burn! *si-u* it burns, *be-sot* it burned,
sotəmon, *siāmon* (infīn.)
 **sou/v-* † *sovā-* (v. i.) wear (away) —
be-sovā it wore
soun- † *sounā-* (v. t.) grind, rasp — *be-*
š-sounā he grinded
sužn- † *sužnā-* (v. t.) burn
šur- † *šošt/d-* wash — *bi-šur* wash!
t- † *dā:-* ‖ *ha-~* (v. t.) give — (*ha-*)*t-e*
 give! *t-u* he gives, *ha-š-dā* he gave,
dā:mon (infīn.)
tak- † *takā-* (v. i.) shrink, be weakened
 (Pers. *takidan*)
takn-/tagn- † *taknā-/tagnā-* (v. t.) shake
 (off, down) — *be-čagn-e* shake off!
čakn-u he shakes, *be-š-čagnā* he
 shook, *čaknāmon* (infīn.)
tars- † *tarsā-* (v. i.) fear, be scared
tarsən- † *tarsənā-* (v. t.) frighten, scare
 — *be-tarsən-e* frighten! *tarsun-u* he
 frightens, *be-š-tarsənā* he frightened,
tarsənāmon (infīn.)
tāž- † *tāt-/tāžā-* (v. i.) urinate — *be-š-*
tāt-/tāžā he urinated
tāžn- † *tāžnā-* (v. t.) make run
tərak- † *tərakā-* (v. i.) burst, split, crack
tərakn- † *təraknā-* (v. t.) burst, explode,
 make crack — *be-trakn-e* make [it]
 burst! *be-š-təraknā* he exploded [it],
təraknāmon (infīn.)
torn- † *tornā-* (v. t.) roll
tou- † *tovā-* (v. i.) shine, spin, twist —
be-tou spin! *tov-u* he spins, *be-tovā*
 he spinned, *tovāmon* (infīn.)
toun- † *tounā-* (v. t.) make shine, spin
vāž- † *vāt-* (v. t.) say — *be-vā* say! *vāž-*
u he says
veross- † *verossā-* (v. i.) rise, stand up
 — *vero* rise! *veross-u* he rises,
verossā he rose
vəyer- † *vašt-*⁶⁹ (v. i.) pass (aux.) —
vəyer-u he looks over, forgives, *vir*
vaštəmon to forget
vež- † *vet-* (v. t.) sift
vez- † *vezā-* (v. i.) run — *vuz-u* he runs
vin- † *dī-/vinā-* (v. t.) see — *bi-vin* see!
vin-u he sees, *bi-vin-u* that he see, *bi-*
š-dī he saw, *bi-š-die* he has seen, *dī-š*
bo he would see (irreg.), *dīmon*,
vināmon (infīn.), *dī* visible
von- † *vont-* (v. t.) cut
vuz- † *vat-* ‖ *vir-~* (v. t.) pull out
xār- † *xārā-* (v. i.) itch
xārn- † *xārnā-* (v. t.) scratch
xend- † *xendā-* (v. i.) laugh
xendən- † *xendənā-* (v. t.) make laugh
 — *be-xendən-e* make laugh! *xendun-*
u he makes laugh, *be-š-xendənā* he
 made laugh, *xendənāmon* (infīn.)
xər- † *xārt-* (v. t.) eat — *be-xo'* eat!
xur-u he eats, *be-š-xā(rt)* he ate,
xārtəmon ‖ *va-~* (v. t.) drink — *va-a-*
xur-u he drinks ‖ *ver-~* encounter
xərāš- † *xərāšā-* (v. i., v. t.) grit, scratch
 — *be-xərāšā* it was gritted, *be-š-*
xərāšā he scratched
xəsar- † *xəsart-* (v. i.) catch a cold
xis- † *xisā-* (v. i.) be soaked
xisn- † *xisnā-* (v. t.) drench
xon- † *xont-* ‖ *ver-* (v. t.) read — *ver-*
xon read! *xon-u* he reads, *be-š-xont*
 he read, *xontəmon* (infīn.)
xos- † *xoss-* throw ‖ *der-~* (v. t.) id.
xou(sə)n- † *xou(sə)nā-* ‖ *ha-~* (v. t.) put
 to sleep — *ha-xou(sə)n-e* make
 sleep! *ha-xovn-u* that he make sleep,
ha-a-xousun-u he makes sleep, *ha-š-*
xou(sə)nā (infīn.)
xous-/xovs- † *xofd-/xoft-/xousā-* ‖ *ha-~*
 (v. i.) sleep — *ha-xovs* sleep! (*ha-a-*)
xous-u he sleeps, *ha-xoft/xousā* he
 slept, *xoftəmon* (infīn.)

⁶⁹ Eil. *veyēr-* † *viyašt-*.

y- ɿ *oma(:)*- (p. p. *bomde*-) (v. i.) come
— *bu* come! *y-u* he comes, *na-a-yu*
he comes not, *b-oma* he came, *bomde*
he has come, *oma:mon* (infin.)

yoš- ɿ *yošā*- (v. i.) boil

yošn- ɿ *yošnā*- (v. t.) boil

yuz-/yiz- ɿ *yošt/-yossā*- || *va*-~ (v. t.)
find, search⁷⁰ — *va-yuz* find! *va-a-*
yuz-u he finds, *va-aš-ʹizim* that we
find him, *va-š-yošt/-yossā* he found,
va-yossā/omon (infin.)

zon- ɿ *zonā(št)*- (v. i.) know — *be-zom*
be know! (irreg.) *zon-u* he knows,
zonāšt he knew, *zonāmon* (infin.)

žār- ɿ *žārt*- (v. t.) chew

žin- ɿ *žint*- (v. t.) hit, (aux.) — *bi-žin*
strike! *čort e-žine* you are snoozing,
bi-š-žint he hit, *taš žintemon* to set on
fire

ENGLISH-KUHPĀYI

ablution	<i>das-nəmā</i>	baby	<i>tāze-zā</i>
alive	<i>žende</i>	back	<i>pašt/pašd</i>
all	<i>hāme</i>	bad	<i>jīšt</i>
alley	<i>küčē</i>	bag ⇔ sack	
almond	<i>vāyom; kužendere</i> (unripe)	baggage	<i>čamadon</i>
alone	<i>tenā</i>	balcony	<i>bālāči</i>
also	<i>-ji</i>	barberry	<i>zārešg</i>
and	<i>-(v)o</i>	barley	<i>ye</i>
animal	<i>heyvon</i>	barrel	<i>bešge</i>
ankle	<i>quzek</i>	basil	<i>reyhon</i>
ant	<i>murče</i>	basin	<i>tašt</i>
anus	<i>pizi</i>	basket	<i>sevde; zenbel; laul</i>
apple	<i>sov/sou</i>	bastard	<i>hərom-zāye</i>
apricot	<i>huluži</i>	bathroom	<i>hamum</i>
arm	<i>bāvu</i>	beak	<i>nok</i>
around	<i>gel/gil</i>	bean	<i>lubi</i>
ash	<i>xākesse</i>	because	<i>herā-in-go</i>
aspiration	<i>ālmun</i>	bedbug	<i>sorxaki</i>
at	<i>lev</i>	bedding	<i>jomxou</i>
aunt	<i>xāle; āme; jinji-dāi; jinji-āmu</i>	bee	<i>zanbur</i>
awake	<i>beyār</i>	beetroot	<i>čonder/čunder</i>
awl	<i>derauš</i>	before	<i>pēš</i>
axe	<i>təver; kəleng</i>	behind	<i>kuvā</i>

⁷⁰ Cf. Eil. *vā-?- ɿ -yiss-*.

belly <i>tel</i>	camel <i>ošdor/oštor</i>
below <i>žēr</i>	captive <i>esīr</i>
belt <i>kāmerbend</i>	carpet <i>zīlu</i>
bent <i>čavle/čavle</i>	carrot <i>zardak</i>
better <i>va:ter</i>	cartilage <i>pē-zard</i>
big <i>vəzark; bale; gondālu</i>	castor <i>bidenjil</i>
bigger <i>masser, vəzarkter</i>	cat <i>mili</i>
bin <i>tāpu</i>	caterpillar <i>həzārpā</i>
bird <i>tāyer</i>	cellar <i>žer-zimi</i>
bite <i>gəze</i>	chaff <i>kax</i>
bitter <i>ta:l</i>	chain <i>zenjer</i>
black <i>siā</i>	channel <i>jū(q)</i>
bladder <i>tizdone</i>	cheap <i>ažon</i>
blister <i>tāvel</i>	cheek <i>lop</i>
blood <i>xūn</i>	cheese <i>pinīr</i>
blue <i>ovi</i>	chest <i>sine</i>
bone <i>ossoxon</i>	chicken <i>čuri</i>
book <i>kətāb</i>	chickenpox <i>suruži</i>
bow <i>kāmon</i>	chickpea <i>naxou/v</i>
bowstring <i>žē</i>	child <i>vače, kotre</i>
boy <i>pore; poreči/poriči</i>	chin <i>zənaqdon</i>
brain <i>mox</i>	chisel <i>tiše</i>
brazier <i>menqal</i>	chopped <i>hurđ</i>
bread <i>nun</i>	cinnamon <i>dārcini</i>
breast <i>čiže</i>	clap <i>čape</i>
brick <i>nəzōmi; hess</i>	clod of earth <i>kulu</i>
bride <i>āros/ārus</i>	cloud <i>avr</i>
bridle <i>ausār; dehene</i>	club <i>čəmāq</i>
bright <i>ruš, rūšnā</i>	cluster <i>hoše</i>
broom <i>nəmarzon</i>	cockroach <i>susk</i>
brother <i>bərā</i>	cockscorn <i>jul</i>
brother-in-law <i>zomā; hemriš; bərā-axe; bərā-žen; axe-xox</i>	cold <i>sarmā</i>
brow <i>bovre</i>	cold-tempered <i>bireg</i>
bucket <i>dul</i>	collar <i>yaxe</i>
bugloss <i>govzəvon</i>	column <i>sotun</i>
bump <i>dombel</i>	comb <i>šone</i>
bunch <i>hoše</i>	comb <i>qašāvol</i>
bundle <i>buxče</i>	confused <i>gež; seylon</i>
butterfly <i>parpari</i>	constipation <i>rūye gıftəmon</i>
buttermilk <i>dū</i>	container <i>yāge; bādči</i>
buttocks <i>qonbol</i>	cool <i>xonok</i>
button <i>koji</i>	cord <i>žē</i>
calf <i>guži</i>	cork <i>ču-luke</i>
calm <i>ārom</i>	corridor <i>dā:luj</i>
	cotton <i>luke; čole</i>

cough <i>hošgi; solfe</i>	dried <i>behošā</i>
courtyard <i>həyāt</i>	drop <i>čikke</i>
cow <i>gou</i>	dry <i>hošg/k</i>
co-wife <i>havu</i>	duck <i>morqovi</i>
crab <i>xerčeng</i>	dull <i>xəreft</i>
cradle <i>nanni</i>	ear <i>gōš</i>
crazy <i>divone</i>	earlap <i>alale</i>
cream <i>kafi</i>	early <i>zū</i>
cricket <i>jirjirak</i>	earrings <i>gōšvāre</i>
crooked <i>čaule/čavle</i>	earth <i>zimi</i>
crop <i>činedon</i>	egg <i>tom</i>
cross-eyed <i>luč</i>	egg-white <i>ovži</i>
crow <i>qālā</i>	elbow <i>kun-ārenj</i>
cup <i>estekon</i>	embryo <i>lembe</i>
curse <i>nəfrun; došmon</i>	end <i>ta:</i>
dagger <i>xenjer</i>	enemy <i>došmen</i>
dark <i>tā:rīk</i>	epilepsy <i>xore</i>
dark blue <i>surmeyi</i>	equal <i>vərāver</i>
date <i>ormā</i>	evening <i>pa(:)sin; ser-ə šeu</i>
daughter <i>doti</i>	every <i>her</i>
daughter-in-law <i>jinji-pore</i>	ewe <i>mēš</i>
dawn <i>ofdov-zardi</i>	ewer <i>birig; ofdāve</i>
day <i>rū</i>	expensive <i>gəron</i>
day before yesterday <i>pərəyi</i>	eye <i>čaš</i>
dead <i>martē</i>	eyelash <i>mežgun</i>
deep <i>gaud/gavd</i>	face <i>dim</i>
defense <i>jalaugiri</i>	family <i>kəyevāde</i>
delirium <i>hedion/hedyon</i>	fan <i>vā-žen</i>
depression <i>gaudāl</i>	far <i>dūr</i>
desert <i>biābon</i>	fast <i>zū</i>
desperate <i>dermonte</i>	fast(ing) <i>ruže</i>
destroyed <i>vīron</i>	fat, grease <i>pī; čənā</i>
dew <i>ševnem</i>	fat, obese <i>hāl</i>
difficult <i>naxār</i>	father <i>pəye</i>
dill <i>šəve</i>	father-in-law <i>pəye-axe; pəye-žen</i>
disabled <i>vamonte</i>	fatigued <i>vamonte</i>
dizziness <i>gežgeži</i>	felt <i>nəve</i>
dog <i>kuye</i>	female <i>māye</i>
donkey <i>xer</i>	fetter <i>siāči</i>
donkey load <i>xervār</i>	fever <i>teu/tev</i>
door <i>ber</i>	fever-heat <i>tevxāl</i>
doorway <i>berge(yi)</i>	few <i>kem</i>
dough <i>himir</i>	fiancée <i>numze</i>
down <i>gāre</i>	field <i>late; sahrā; pālīz</i>
dragon-fly <i>kun-ō-bend</i>	fig <i>enji</i>

fight <i>jeng</i>	gum <i>žad</i>
file <i>sohon</i>	gusset <i>xešdak</i>
finger <i>enguli</i>	gutter <i>novdon/noudon</i>
fire <i>taš</i>	hail <i>tagarg</i>
firewood <i>ezme; buri</i>	hair <i>mū; čatl</i>
first fruit <i>navber</i>	half <i>nesf</i>
fish <i>māyi</i>	hand <i>das(s)</i>
fist <i>borqu</i>	handful <i>qabze</i>
flowing <i>šū</i>	handle <i>dasse</i>
fontanel <i>mālāj</i>	hand-mill <i>a(:)rčī</i>
foot <i>pā</i>	handsome <i>xāš-dim</i>
footing <i>pē</i>	hard <i>qors</i>
for <i>herā</i>	harvest <i>xarmen</i>
forbidden <i>hərom</i>	hat <i>kəlā</i>
forehead <i>pešoni</i>	he <i>un</i>
forest <i>jengel</i>	head <i>ser</i>
forty-day period <i>čalle</i>	headscarf <i>maknā</i>
fox <i>lubā/rūbā</i>	healthy <i>jūn/juun; jōr</i>
frame <i>čārču</i>	heart <i>del</i>
frankincense <i>kondol</i>	heat <i>garmā</i>
friend <i>refīq</i>	heavy <i>sengin</i>
frog <i>qurbāqe</i>	heel <i>kune</i>
from <i>ez/az</i>	hell <i>jahandam</i>
front <i>pēš</i>	hemorrhoid <i>bavāsīl</i>
fruit <i>meve</i>	hen <i>karg/k</i>
full <i>mašt</i>	hen-coop <i>kargdon</i>
game <i>kāye</i>	here <i>yohon</i>
garment <i>bālāpuš</i>	herpes <i>tevxāl</i>
ginger <i>zenjəfil</i>	hey loft <i>kaxdon</i>
girl <i>doti</i>	hidden <i>penhon</i>
girlish <i>doti-gone</i>	hold(ing) <i>guš</i>
goat <i>boz</i>	hole <i>holoki</i>
goat (wild) <i>pā:zan</i>	honest <i>rāssə-vāžu</i>
good <i>jūn/juun</i>	hoof <i>som</i>
gown <i>qovā</i>	hookah <i>qelyon</i>
grain <i>done</i>	hoopoe <i>šoneser</i>
grandchild <i>nove</i>	horse <i>asm/asb</i>
grandfather <i>bābājun; bāxāje</i>	horseshoe <i>na:l</i>
grandmother <i>nanjun</i>	hour <i>saat</i>
grapes <i>engur</i>	house <i>kəye</i>
grass <i>ālef</i>	how <i>četaur</i>
grasshopper <i>mālē</i>	how much/many <i>čend(i)</i>
grater, plain <i>rende</i>	hump <i>kohon</i>
green <i>soz/sōz</i>	hunger <i>višgi</i>
gristle <i>pē-zard</i>	hungry <i>vašše</i>

husband <i>mere, šu, axe/axi</i>	lentil <i>mūži</i>
hut <i>kapal</i>	leopard <i>pələng</i>
I <i>mō</i>	lettuce <i>kāvu</i>
I wish <i>gāšgi</i>	liar <i>duruvāže</i>
If <i>age(r)</i>	lie <i>durū</i>
ignorant <i>nādon</i>	light <i>čerā</i>
ill <i>nāčāk</i>	light, glow <i>ruš, rūšnā</i>
in <i>ru; de(r)</i>	light, not heavy <i>sovok/suvok</i>
inside <i>duru</i>	lint, cotton seed <i>veš, vež-done</i>
insult <i>došmon</i>	lion <i>šīr</i>
intestine <i>rūye</i>	lip <i>lev</i>
into <i>ru; de(r)</i>	little, a little <i>kem; kučuli</i>
irrigation <i>ouhenji</i>	liver <i>jiger</i>
it <i>un</i>	living thing <i>jonāver</i>
Jabal <i>Kuki</i>	lizard <i>bozmāže; mālmalī</i>
Jackal <i>ture</i>	locust <i>mālē</i>
jar <i>madu; suve; xomre; šaš-goši</i>	loincloth <i>long</i>
jaw <i>ervāre</i>	London rocket seeds <i>hākši</i>
jealous <i>hūsūd</i>	longing <i>delteng</i>
joint <i>bend</i>	loose <i>sošs</i>
jujube <i>šeltone</i>	lost <i>max</i>
Kahang <i>Keng</i>	louse <i>išpiš/išbiš</i>
Kernel <i>tende</i>	mad <i>divone</i>
key <i>kel</i>	magic <i>jāyu</i>
kick <i>lake</i>	magpie <i>qəlāžāre</i>
kid <i>božče; kare; kolār</i>	male <i>ner</i>
kidney <i>qolve</i>	man <i>merd, axe/axi</i>
kilim <i>gilim</i>	manna of hedysarum <i>təlenjimin</i>
kiln <i>kiri</i>	manure <i>kū</i>
kitchen <i>modbaq</i>	mare <i>mā:dion</i>
knee <i>zoni</i>	mattress <i>došak; nahāli</i>
knife <i>kārd</i>	measure <i>keyl</i>
Kuhpāya <i>Vir</i>	measure of weight <i>baynār; dēnār;</i> <i>vissəbanj; banjā</i>
ladder <i>nəvardon; sard/sart</i>	melon <i>komze; tordi</i>
ladle <i>čāre; mālāqe</i>	melon-ground <i>pālīz</i>
lamb <i>vəre</i>	membrane of meet <i>zil</i>
laryngeal prominence <i>xerxeri</i>	memory <i>vir</i>
last night <i>hezbiše</i>	midwife <i>māmāče</i>
last year <i>pārsāl</i>	milk <i>šīr</i>
latch <i>kulund</i>	mill <i>a:r</i>
late <i>deyr</i>	milller <i>arvon</i>
lazy <i>penhas</i>	millet <i>arzən</i>
leach <i>zuli</i>	mint <i>na:nā</i>
leaf <i>valg</i>	mist <i>mah</i>
lend(ing) <i>amonet</i>	

mix(ing) <i>gel-hem</i>	now <i>zonon</i>
mixed nuts <i>čəlesme</i>	nowhere <i>eččā</i>
mold <i>kapak</i>	nude <i>bəra:ne</i>
month <i>mā:</i>	nuts <i>čəlesme</i>
moonlight <i>mafədou/v</i>	oat <i>qəsam</i>
more <i>vešder/vešter</i>	old (animate) <i>přř</i> ; (inanimate) <i>kēne</i>
morning <i>sahb</i>	oleaster <i>senje</i>
mortar <i>yāne; allādengi</i>	olive <i>zeyton</i>
mosquito <i>paše</i>	on <i>dim</i>
moth <i>vē</i>	ooze <i>ləžen</i>
mother <i>mā:/māy</i>	open <i>va, vāz</i>
mother-in-law <i>xosru</i>	other <i>ibi</i>
mountain <i>kū, kuvasson</i>	out(side) <i>kū/k^vu</i>
mouse <i>mōš</i>	oven <i>kiri</i>
moustache <i>sibil</i>	oven glove <i>āssinče</i>
mouth <i>āyn</i>	over <i>dim</i>
mow <i>činedon</i>	owl <i>kukume</i>
mucus <i>lonj</i>	padlock <i>qolf</i>
mud, clay <i>gel</i>	palate <i>kom</i>
mulberry <i>dōv</i>	pan <i>laqu; (māy)tāve</i>
muscle <i>māyi</i>	parsley <i>ja:fəri</i>
muzzle <i>puz</i>	pear <i>golovi</i>
nail <i>nāxon</i>	pebble <i>reg</i>
nail <i>mīx</i>	pedal <i>pāmošār</i>
narrow <i>teng</i>	pen <i>qəlem/qəllm</i>
naval <i>nāf</i>	pen <i>avəše; lum</i>
near <i>nezzik</i>	pennyroyal <i>pune</i>
neck <i>mol</i>	permitted <i>həlāl</i>
needle <i>suzon; gon-duž</i>	pest <i>siāči</i>
neighbor <i>hemsāye</i>	pica <i>viār</i>
nephew <i>pore-bārā; vače-xox</i>	pickles <i>tərošu</i>
nest <i>salle</i>	pieces of broken ceramic <i>kondəle</i>
net <i>tūr</i>	piedmont <i>pākaše</i>
never <i>ečvaxd(i)</i>	pigeon <i>kufter</i>
new <i>nu</i>	pilaf <i>pəlou</i>
niche <i>raf; tāxče</i>	pillow <i>bālišť; pošti</i>
night <i>še/šev</i>	pistachio <i>fesse</i>
night and day <i>ševenderu</i>	pitchfork <i>hačon</i>
night before last <i>pəreyišev/pəreušeu</i>	place <i>yā</i>
night-cloth <i>čādorše(v)</i>	plain <i>dašt</i>
nobody <i>ičgu/ičku</i>	plant louse <i>šefde/šefte</i>
Nohuj <i>Humuž</i>	plate <i>dauri</i>
none <i>ēč, ečkom</i>	playful <i>kāye-kəre</i>
noon <i>pišim</i>	pleasant <i>xāš</i>
nose <i>dəmāq</i>	plenty <i>fərā:mon</i>

pocket <i>kīse</i>	sack <i>mašg; xeg; kīse; gāle; ture;</i> <i>hembone; xorjin</i>
pomegranate <i>nār</i>	saddle <i>zin; pālon</i>
pool <i>saar</i>	saddle-bag <i>xorjin</i>
poor <i>bīcī</i>	saliva <i>gārez</i>
poppy <i>tuturi</i>	salt <i>nəmak</i>
porch <i>eyvon</i>	salty <i>šūr</i>
pot <i>deg; dizi; komāždon</i>	salute <i>səlōm</i>
potato <i>sov-xāki</i>	satisfied <i>seyr</i>
prayer <i>nəmā; dā'ā</i>	saw <i>ā(:)re</i>
pregnant <i>ovir</i>	scale <i>tārāzu; qapon</i>
premature <i>pešras</i>	scarab <i>guli-torne</i>
promise <i>qaul</i>	scarification <i>hajumet</i>
prune (black) <i>huluder</i>	score, notch <i>ču-xat</i>
pry bar <i>dillam</i>	seed <i>tom</i>
purple <i>bənauš</i>	self <i>xō/xo(y)</i>
Qehi <i>Ki</i>	separate <i>vəyā</i>
quick-tempered <i>yoši</i>	sharp <i>tiz</i>
quilt <i>jomxou</i>	Shātur <i>Šātur</i>
rain <i>vā:ron</i>	she <i>un</i>
rain shower <i>regvār</i>	sheaf <i>bāfe</i>
rainbow <i>tīr-kəmon</i>	shears <i>dokārt</i>
raisin <i>kežmež</i>	sheep <i>gusfend</i>
rasp <i>sohon</i>	shin <i>qəlem/qəllim</i>
red <i>sorx</i>	shirt <i>pəra:ne</i>
reed (of weavers) <i>bini</i>	shoe <i>kaus; pāvzār; gēve</i>
respect <i>ābru</i>	short <i>kutā:</i>
revenge <i>kīne</i>	shoulder <i>šone</i>
rib <i>dende</i>	shoulder-blade <i>kat</i>
rice <i>bərenj</i>	shovel <i>pāru</i>
rider <i>suvār</i>	shroud <i>kəfen</i>
ring <i>engošter</i>	sickle <i>dār</i>
ringlet <i>boče</i>	side <i>pa:lu</i>
ripe <i>rasāye</i>	sieve <i>kem; kimi</i>
river <i>ruxone</i>	simple <i>āsson</i>
road <i>ra:; ja:de</i>	sin <i>gənā</i>
rolling pin <i>torne</i>	sister <i>xox</i>
roof <i>būn</i>	sister-in-law <i>yād; jinji-bərā; xox-e axe;</i> <i>xox-mere; xox-i jinji</i>
room <i>yā</i>	skein <i>kəlāfe</i>
rooster <i>hurus</i>	skin <i>pus(s)</i>
root <i>bix; riše</i>	skirt <i>domen</i>
rope <i>tənāf</i>	sky <i>āsəmon</i>
rotten <i>gendāye</i>	sledge <i>pok</i>
rough <i>zeur</i>	
rue <i>esbend</i>	

sleep <i>xov/xou/xō</i>	stepmother <i>na-mā; jinji-pəye</i>
sleeve <i>vissi</i>	stepson <i>na-pore</i>
slice <i>qol</i>	still <i>monte</i>
sling <i>qalmaseng</i>	sting <i>nīš</i>
slow <i>āsse</i>	stingy <i>kānes</i>
small <i>kas; hurd</i>	stomach <i>hašgembe</i>
smallpox <i>türk</i>	stone <i>seŋ</i>
smart <i>zəreng</i>	store <i>dokon</i>
smile <i>xende; levxend</i>	storm <i>tifon</i>
smoke <i>dū</i>	strainer <i>oukaš</i>
snake <i>mār</i>	straw <i>kax</i>
sneeze <i>akse</i>	straw mat <i>həsīr</i>
snow <i>vafīr</i>	stroke <i>forja</i>
so much <i>vəsgi</i>	stubborn <i>xīreser</i>
socks <i>jurou</i>	sub-acid <i>məla:s</i>
soil <i>xāk</i>	such <i>son</i>
son <i>pore</i>	suddenly <i>yakov</i>
son-in-law <i>zomā</i>	sugar <i>šīkar</i>
soot <i>dūye</i>	sugar cubes <i>qend</i>
sorrow <i>qem</i>	sulk <i>hešm</i>
soul, life <i>jon</i>	summer <i>bāhār</i>
soup <i>šurvā; šuli</i>	sun <i>xoršīd; ofdou/v</i>
sour <i>təroš/təraš</i>	surface <i>dime</i>
spade <i>bard</i>	swallow <i>fəressūk</i>
span <i>šebr</i>	sweet <i>šīrin</i>
sparrow <i>čuži</i>	swim <i>šenou</i>
speckle <i>allāpələng</i>	sword <i>šemšer</i>
speech <i>qāye</i>	tail <i>dom</i>
spider <i>kārtəne, kārdovni</i>	tall <i>bələnd</i>
spin <i>tov</i>	tame <i>dassi</i>
spinach <i>esbənāj</i>	tarantula <i>duvālpā</i>
spindle <i>dūk</i>	tear <i>ašg</i>
spinner <i>naxtou</i>	temple <i>gižgā; kirīže</i>
spinning wheel <i>čar</i>	termite <i>murdone</i>
spleen <i>səvarz</i>	that <i>go</i>
spoon <i>čomče</i>	that <i>un</i>
spring, source <i>čašme</i>	that very (same) <i>hémun</i>
squash <i>kūvu/k'uyu</i>	there <i>uvā</i>
stable <i>table</i>	these <i>yāhā</i>
stair, step <i>āssone; orčend; nirā</i>	they <i>uvā</i>
star <i>essāre</i>	thick <i>kəloft</i>
starling <i>sā:r</i>	thigh <i>ron</i>
startle <i>rem</i>	thimble <i>engosvone</i>
stepdaughter <i>na-doti</i>	thing <i>či</i>
stepfather <i>na-pəye</i>	thirsty <i>tašne</i>

this <i>yon</i>	very <i>māli</i>
this much <i>hemtin</i>	vessel <i>dahn</i>
this very (same) <i>hémin</i>	vest <i>j(ə)riqqe</i>
thorn <i>ti</i>	vetch <i>māš</i>
those <i>uvā</i>	vine <i>mau</i>
thread <i>resmon</i>	vision, visibility <i>dī</i>
thresher <i>čon</i>	voice <i>vāž</i>
throat <i>nā:</i>	vulture <i>allō</i>
thunder <i>pāye-qərombu</i>	waist <i>kəmer</i>
tick <i>kene</i>	wall <i>dəzār</i>
to <i>xo; -rā</i>	walnut <i>yūz</i>
tobacco <i>tenbāku</i>	warp <i>tone</i>
today <i>a:rū</i>	wart, verruca <i>tutuli</i>
toilet <i>xəlā</i>	wasp <i>donde</i>
tomato <i>tammāte</i>	water <i>ov/oulō</i>
tomorrow <i>fardā</i>	watermelon <i>hendune</i>
tongue <i>zūn</i>	we <i>həmā</i>
tonight <i>amšeu</i>	wedding <i>ārosi</i>
tooth <i>dendon</i>	wedge <i>sombe</i>
towel <i>haule</i>	week <i>hafde</i>
trail <i>boz-rō</i>	weep <i>bərēme</i>
trap <i>tele</i>	weevil <i>šefde/šefte</i>
tray <i>majmae</i>	well <i>jōr</i>
tree <i>bəne/bone</i>	well, spring <i>ča:</i>
tremor <i>belarzi</i>	what <i>če</i>
trowel, dibble <i>kauče</i>	whatever <i>hérči</i>
true <i>rāss</i>	wheat <i>gendom</i>
trunk <i>senduq</i>	wheel <i>čare</i>
turban <i>mendil</i>	when <i>kiga</i>
turmeric <i>zarčuve</i>	where <i>kō; kāy(ā)</i>
turn, time <i>bār</i>	which <i>go</i>
turnip <i>šalem</i>	which <i>komi(n)</i>
twilight <i>gorgomēš</i>	whirlpool <i>gerdov</i>
twist <i>tov</i>	whirlwind <i>gerdvā</i>
ugly <i>jīšt</i>	white <i>səbe</i>
ululation <i>šululu</i>	who <i>ke/ki</i>
uncle <i>dāi; āmu</i>	whoever <i>hérki</i>
under <i>žēr</i>	why <i>čérā</i>
underpants <i>žēr-tomboni</i>	wick <i>lonje</i>
undershirt <i>žēr-pəra:ne</i>	wide <i>fərāx; peyn/pēn</i>
urine <i>tāž</i>	widow <i>axe-marte</i>
valerian <i>sonbonletif</i>	wife <i>jinji, žen</i>
valley <i>darre</i>	wild goat <i>pā:zan</i>
valor <i>natarsi</i>	wild plum <i>kəvēj</i>
vein <i>reg</i>	willow <i>vəye</i>

wind *vā*;
 window *banjire*
 wing *bāl*
 winter *zəmasson*
 wise *dōnā*
 with *xo*
 wolf *gorg*
 woman *jinji, žen*
 wood *čū*
 woodpecker *čučuve, bəne-soune*
 wool *pašm*
 worm *karm*

worry *delnāgəron*
 wrapper *čādorše(v)*
 wrapping cloth *buxče*
 yawn *āyn-yāve*
 year *sāl*
 year before last *perārsāl*
 yellow *zard*
 yesterday *heze*
 yogurt *māss*
 you *to; šəmā*
 young *juhun/juvun/jəvon*

Verbs

allow; put *ha-n-* ∴ *nā-* (v. t.); *va-hal-*
 ∴ *hašt-/halā-* (v. t.)
 arrange? *ha-čin-* ∴ *čint-* (v. t.)
 arrive, reach *ras-* ∴ *rasā-* (v. i.)
 be (*h-*) ∴ *bo-* (v. i.)
 be in, exist *də(r)-(h-)* ∴ *bo-*; *ess-*
 (v. i.)
 become *ve-es(s)-* ∴ *essā-* (v. i.)
 bite *der-giz-* ∴ *gass-* (v. t.)
 boil *yoš-* ∴ *yošā-* (v. i.); *yošn-* ∴
yošnā- (v. t.)
 break *həma(r)-* ∴ *həmart-/həma:rā-*
 (v. i., v. t.)
 bring *ār-* ∴ *ārt-* (v. t.)
 burn *si(y)-* ∴ *sot-/siā-* (v. i.); *sužn-* ∴
sužnā- (v. t.)
 burst *tərak-* ∴ *tərakā-* (v. i.); *tərakn-*
 ∴ *təraknā-* (v. t.)
 buy *hərin-/hirin-* ∴ *hərint-/hirint-* (v.
 t.); *ha-gir-* ∴ *gift-* (v. t.)
 can *šā* (v. m.)
 carry *bər-* ∴ *bart-* (v. t.); *nig-* ∴ *nigt-*
/nikt- (v. t.)
 catch a cold *xəsar-* ∴ *xəsart-* (v. i.)
 chew *žār-* ∴ *žārt-* (v. t.)
 close *ha-bend-* ∴ *bass-* (v. t.); *ha-kər-*
 ∴ *ka(rt)-* (v. t.)
 come *y-* ∴ *oma-* (v. i.)
 cook *peš-/pəš-* ∴ *pa-* (v. i., v. t.)
 cost *až-* ∴ *ažā-* (v. i.)
 count *ver-ošmār-* ∴ *ošmārt-* (v. t.)

cut *čin-* ∴ *čint-*; *von-* ∴ *vont-* (v. t.)
 decay *pus-* ∴ *pusā-* (v. i.); *pusn-* ∴
pusnā- (v. t.)
 defecate *məz-* ∴ *miss-* (v. i.)
 deliver, escort *rasn-* ∴ *rasnā-* (v. t.)
 desperate *der-mon-* ∴ *mont-* (v. i.)
 die *mər-* ∴ *mart-* (v. i.)
 dig *ken-* ∴ *kent-* (v. t.)
 do *kər-* ∴ *ka(rt)-* (v. t.)
 drench *xisn-* ∴ *xisnā-* (v. t.)
 drink *va-xər-* ∴ *xārt-* (v. t.)
 drip, distill *čak-* ∴ *čakā-* (v. i.); *čakn-*
/čagn- ∴ *čaknā-/čagnā-* (v. t.)
 dry *hoš-* ∴ *hošā-* (v. i.)
 eat *xər-* ∴ *xārt-* (v. t.)
 encounter *ver-xər-* ∴ *xārt-* (v.)
 entrust *espār-/aspār-* ∴ *espārt-/aspārt-*
 (v. t.)
 exist ⇔ be in
 extinguish *nāž-* ∴ *nāšt-* (v. t.)
 fall *der-k-* ∴ *kaft-* (v. i.)
 fear *tars-* ∴ *tarsā-* (v. i.); *tarsən-* ∴
tarsənā- (v. t.)
 find, search *va-yuz-/yiz-* ∴ *yošt-*
/yossā- (v. t.)
 flee *ver-māl-* ∴ *mālā-* (v. i.)
 fly *par-* ∴ *parā-* (v. i.); *parn-* ∴
paront-/parnā- (v. t.)
 give *ha-t-* ∴ *dā-* (v. t.)
 go *š-* ∴ *šō-* (v. i.)

- graze, pasture *čer-* ∴ *čerā-* (v. i.);
čǎrn- ∴ *čǎ(r)nā-* (v. t.)
- grind, rasp *soun-* ∴ *sounā-* (v. t.)
- have *dār-* ∴ *dārt-* (v. t.)
- hear *ver-ašn-* ∴ *ašnofd-/ašnā-* (v. t.)
- hit *žin-* ∴ *žint-* (v. t.); *pak-* ∴ *pakāft-*
(v. t.)
- itch *xār-* ∴ *xārā-* (v. i.)
- kill *koš-* ∴ *košt-* (v. t.)
- kindle *dar-/der-girn-* ∴ *girnā-* (v. t.)
- kiss *va-bus-* ∴ *busā-* (v. t.)
- know *zon-* ∴ *zonā(št)-* (v. i.)
- limb *šal-* ∴ *šalā-* (v. i.)
- lose ?
- make *sāž-* ∴ *sāt-* (v. t.)
- milk *doš-* ∴ *dot-/došā-* (v. t.)
- moan *nāl-* ∴ *nālā-* (v. i.)
- move, wiggle *jomb-* ∴ *jombā-* (v. i.);
jomn- ∴ *jom(bə)nā-* (v. t.)
- must ⇒ want
- open *va-kār-* ∴ *ka(rt)-* (v. t.)
- pass *vəyer-* ∴ *vašt-* (v. i.)
- pick (off, up), pluck *ver-čin-* ∴ *čint-*
(v. t.)
- pick up *ver-gir-* ∴ *gift-* (v. t.)
- plaster *va-din-* ∴ *dī(y)-* (v. t.)
- pluck ⇒ pick
- pound *ku-* ∴ *kuft-* (v. t.)
- pour, spill *rež-* ∴ *ret-* (v. i., v. t.)
- pull out *vir-vuž-* ∴ *vat-* (v. t.)
- pull, drag *kaš-* ∴ *kašā-* (v. t.)
- put ⇒ allow
- put on, wear *va-puš-* ∴ *pušā-* (v. t.)
- rasp ⇒ grind
- reach ⇒ arrive
- read *ver-xon-* ∴ *xont-* (v. t.)
- recognize *ašn-* ∴ *ašnā-* (v. t.)
- return *va-/ver-gart-* ∴ *gartā-* (v. i.)
- ride *ron-* ∴ *ront-/ronā-* (v. i.)
- rip, rend, tear *dern-* ∴ *dernā-* (v. t.)
- rise *veross-* ∴ *verossā-* (v. i.); ⇒ stand
- roll *torn-* ∴ *tornā-* (v. t.)
- rub *māl-* ∴ *mālā-* (v. t.)
- run *vez-* ∴ *vezā-* (v. i.); *tāžn-* ∴ *tāžnā-*
(v. t.)
- say *vāž-* ∴ *vāt-* (v. t.)
- scare ⇒ fear
- scratch *xārn-* ∴ *xārnā-* (v. t.); *xəṛāš-* ∴
xəṛāšā- (v. i., v. t.)
- search *kaun-* ∴ *kaunā-* (v. t.); ⇒ find
- seat, set *ha-nāž-* ∴ *nāšt-* (v. t.)
- see *vin-* ∴ *dī-/vinā-* (v. t.)
- seize *gir-* ∴ *gift-* (v. t.)
- sell *fārāš-* ∴ *fārāt-* (v. t.)
- send *endār-* ∴ *endārt-* (v. t.)
- sew *ver-darz-* ∴ *dašt-/darzā-* (v. t.)
- shake (off, down) *takn-/tagn-* ∴ *taknā-*
/tagnā- (v. t.)
- shine; spin *tou-* ∴ *tovā-* (v. i.); *toun-* ∴
tounā- (v. t.); ⇒ spin
- shrink, be weakened *tak-* ∴ *takā-* (v. i.)
- sift *vež-* ∴ *vet-* (v. t.)
- sit *ha-nig-* ∴ *ništ/d-* (v. i.)
- sleep *ha-xous-/xovs-* ∴ *xofd-/xoft-*
/xousā- (v. i.); *ha-xou(sə)n-* ∴
xou(sə)nā- (v. t.)
- smile *xend-* ∴ *xendā-* (v. i.); *xendən-* ∴
xendənā- (v. t.)
- soak *xis-* ∴ *xisā-* (v. i.)
- sow *kār-* ∴ *kārt-/kāšt-* (v. t.)
- spin *res-* ∴ ? (v. t.); ⇒ shine
- split *va-ošgāv* ∴ *ošgā(ft)-* (v. i., v. t.)
- squeeze *čaln-* ∴ *čalnā-* (v. t.)
- stand *ve-es(s)-* ∴ *essā-* (v. i.); ⇒ rise
- stay *mon-* ∴ *mont-* (v. i.)
- steal *doz-* ∴ *dozā-* (v. t.)
- stick, glue *čaus-* ∴ *čausā-* (v. i.);
čau(sə)n- ∴ *čau(sə)nā-* (v. t.)
- suck *mež-* ∴ *mežā-* (v. t.?)
- sweep *rov-* ∴ *roft-* (v. t.)
- taste *čaš-* ∴ *čašā-* (v. t.)
- throw *der-xos-* ∴ *xoss-* (v. t.)
- tie *der-bend-* ∴ *bass-* (v. t.)
- tremble *larz-* ∴ *larzā-* (v. i.)
- turn *gart-* ∴ *gartā-* (v. i.)
- twist *pič-* ∴ *pičā-* (v. i.); *pičn-* ∴ *pičnā-*
(v. t.)
- understand *fa:m* ∴ *fa:mā-* (v. i.);
fa:mon- ∴ *fa:monā-* (v. t.)
- urinate *tāž-* ∴ *tāt-/tāžā-* (v. i.)

want; must <i>gu-</i> ∴ <i>gā-</i> (v. m.)	weigh <i>ver-dār-</i> ∴ <i>dārt-</i> (v. t.)
wash <i>šur-</i> ∴ <i>šošt-</i> (v. t.)	wiggle ⇔ move
wear (away) <i>*sou/v-</i> ∴ <i>sovā-</i> (v. i.)	wither <i>ver-pālas-</i> ∴ <i>pālasā-</i> (v. i.)
weave <i>hāran-</i> ∴ <i>hārass-</i> (v. t.)	write <i>nāves-/nāmes-</i> ∴ <i>nāvešt-/ nāmešt-</i>
weep <i>bārēm-</i> ∴ <i>bārāft-</i> (v. i.)	(v. t.)

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