Habib Borjian and Maryam Borjian

The Last Gâlesb Herdsman: Ethno-linguistic Materials from South Caspian Rainforests

This article includes part of the linguistic material we documented in 2002 from a gâlesb ranch in central-eastern Mazandaran. It transcribes, translates, and glosses two texts related by a patriarch on his long, eventful life: the dramatic elopement with the girl he married, his successful family life and career as a pastoral nomad, and his long resistance against the laws forcing the gâlesb families to evacuate the forest for good. Notwithstanding our dialectological purpose, namely documentation of the largely understudied language of Mazandaran within the long-standing tradition of Iranian philology, the article may also provide raw material for the anthropologist, sociologist, and historian, as it relays an unrecorded tradition just before its total disappearance.

Despite its size (four million inhabitants) and distinct language and culture, Mazandaran province; on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, is quite poorly represented in the scholarship.¹ The early work in the nineteenth century by Western travelers, diplomats, and scholars in documenting the language of the province, impressive as it was, was all but abandoned in the following century, and the anthropological and linguistic materials published by local enthusiasts are quite limited.² This has happened while the language, traditional culture and economy of Mazandaran have been fading away at an accelerating pace that matches that of the enormous socio-economic changes of the last half-century, and it goes without saying that there is little hope for any survival in the era of globalization. This process is exemplified by the documentation given below on the life story of the last nomadic herdsman in the forests south of the city of Sârî.

The extensive linguistic material we have collected since 1998 from east-central Mazandaran contains several anthropologically precious pieces.³ We owe this

¹We are grateful to the hospitable residents of Kherimesar, Kordkheyl and Geleleka who cooperated in every possible way in the process of documentation of their dialect and customs. We are indebted to Mr Hoseyn Mahamudi, who guided us to the site, introduced us to the informants, and assisted us in translating the texts into Persian. Ms Dorothy Staub and Dr Sassan Pejhan were kind enough to read the entire manuscript and suggest improvement. The anonymous reader of the manuscript for Iranian Studies was very helpful in his or her critiques.


achievement not only to our perseverance but also to being privileged to having been viewed as insiders to some degree. This ultimately won us the trust of our informants and made them comfortable enough to share their intimate thoughts and beliefs with us. Among the more dramatic accounts we documented are those appearing below on the life story of the last galesh resident of the nearby forest. The additional data we collected from this and other professional herdsmen on the material and spiritual culture, and above all on the cattle economy, including the stages of naming and renaming the cow throughout her life will appear in a future publication.

Galesh Herders

Galesh is a term used throughout the Caspian provinces of Mazandaran and Gilan to signify the professional cattle herders who lived until recently in the jungles located on the north foothills of the Alborz (Elburz) mountain range.4 Most galesh households led a nomadic life with seasonal migration between cool highlands and warm lowlands, where they would summer and winter, respectively. There were also settled galesh communities who cultivated the reclaimed forestland and hired out their herds to the specialist shepherds called nimikā ‘one who shares’. These would graze the cattle deep into the forest, spending the night in the encampments, with a capacity for dozens of cowboys. The nomadic galesh families lived in individual summer and winter ranches surrounded by the woodland.

The galesh pasturalists lived on dairy and meat and rice, the rich diet that led to their well-being and good looks. They also contrasted with the lowlanders for their valor, manliness, and simplicity. Galesh women were less limited compared to typical urban females and had a salient role in the economy. The dairy produce would be sold in village and town markets in exchange for clothing, rice, sugar, tea, and tobacco. Many families were involved in the lucrative coal production from trees, the practice of which was banned, though not entirely abandoned, after nationalization of forests in 1963, slowing down the destruction of forests.5 The galesh way of life practically came to an end after the Revolution of 1979, when the forest dwellers were forced to resettle in villages. This perhaps has added to the number of toponyms carrying their name: Gâlesh-kelā, Gâlesh-mahalla,

---


5It appears that extensive reforms of the Reza Shah period in Mazandaran did not reach the galesh way of life, but this subject needs further clarification.
Gâlesh-kheyl, etc., throughout the south Caspian littoral. Noteworthy are the differences between the Caspian galesh and the nomadic tribes of the Plateau, such as the Bakhtiaris and Qashqa’is: cattle vs. sheep as primary livestock; wooden huts vs. tents; a-few-day journeys vs. several weeks in seasonal migrations; looser vs. more elaborate tribal organization, among others.

The Informant

The galesh ranch we visited was known as Kherimesar, the last survival of its kind in the region. It was an hour or two uphill walk away from Kordkheyl, a village located at the edge of the hilly forestlands, where they meet the cultivated plains some 30 miles south of the Caspian shore. Kherimesar was situated on top of a hill surrounded by forest (Photo 1). The ranch consisted of a few acres of farmland encircled by a timber fence. In the middle of the field stood a small barn near a single-room cottage, which was humbly furnished. The compartment attached to the hut housed a young calf, away from the rest of the herd that was kept in a barn deeper in the jungle. We were fortunate though to find the old herdsman home upon our arrival.

Ali Khorshidiân, known also as Se(y)d-Ali Galesh, was 90 years old when we interviewed him in 2002. Thinly built but still healthy-looking and robust enough to take care of his cows unaided, the patriarch was then the sole resident of the ranch, though frequently visited by his offspring who took good care of the crop (Photo 2 at end of this paper). Some years before they had been all living together on the property during the cold months and would take a four-day journey southward across the thick forest to reach their summer hamlets in the uplands of Dodânga.

6For a list of toponyms, see H. L. Rabino, Mazandaran and Astarabad (London, 1928; repr. Karachi, 1980).
7The village Kordkheyl is located at the end of a rural road connecting it to the city of Sari through Rudposht, Talubâgh, Pâtin Sangriza, and Mîârud.
8A historical account on the very same region is found in the tenth-century Hodud al-‘Alam, showing a remarkable cultural continuity in the course of the past millennium. This includes animal husbandry as the chief occupation of the inhabitants and the tradition of bride kidnapping. Note also the correspondence between Perrim below and Perim (Text I, line 8). Here is the passage and its English translation; the transliteration-transcription pertains to the tenth century Persian.

The mountainous Qāren is a district which has more than 10,000 villages. Its king is called the Sepahbad of Shahriārkuh. This district is prosperous and most of its people are Zoroastrians. From the [beginning of] Muslim times the kings of this district have been from the descendants of Bāv. (2) Perrim is the chief place of this district, while the seat of the sepahbads is at the military camp situated half a parasang [up to about 9 miles/14 km] from the town. In [Perrim?] live Muslims, mostly strangers, [namely] artisans and merchants, because the inhabitants of this district are exclusively soldiers and husbandmen. (3) Every fifteen days a market is held there, and from all the region men, girls, and young men come there dressed up, frolic, organize games, play on the lute, and make friends. The custom of this province is such that each man who loves a girl beguiles her, carries her away, and for three days does with her as he likes. Then he sends someone to her father that he should give her in marriage. (4) In the districts of Qāren mountain there are springs of water to which several times in the year most of the people of the district repair, dressed up, with wine, music, songs, and dances. There they pray God for their needs, considering this as a sort of worship; they pray for rain when they need it and the rain comes [down] (Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, ed. M. Sotuda [Tehran, 1951]; V. Monorsky, Hudūd al-ʿĀlam. The Regions of the Word [Cambridge, 1937]: 135–136).

We found Mr Khorshidian a gifted storyteller who spoke Mazandarani quite richly with comparatively little Persian influence. He also knew Persian very well partly because of his grandchildren. He related his accounts in a fluent, natural manner without resorting to the affected speech of more “learned” informants; thus offering subtle linguistic data in addition to the ethnographically rich content. An intelligent informant, he was quick in realizing what we wanted to hear and began telling his eventful life story into the audio recorder. He began with the circumstances that led to his marriage, then played his flute (Photo 3) for a while and sang some songs (Text I), after which he continued relating the rest of his private and professional life as a galesh and concluded with his interpretation of how the galesh way of life was interrupted by external social forces (Text II).

The two texts that appear below are transcribed from the audio-recorded material. The process of transcription and translation was long and tedious, partly because of the speedy speech of the informant—not unusual for a speaker of Mazandaraní relating his most passionate recollections. Many otherwise unintelligible words were elucidated through playing the tape recorder to other informants. (Mr Khorshidían was no longer accessible to us after the interview.) Notwithstanding these efforts, there remain several ambiguities shown by

Figure 2. A son and daughter-in-law helping with the crop.
Figure 3. Ali Khorshidian playing his *laleva*. 
question marks both in the texts and their translation. The process of editing also required exclusion of some extraneous words and sentences, often caused by interruptions by the other people present.

A Summary of the Accounts

Text I. The informant began with the most dramatic event of his lifetime: his elopement with Baji, whom he married. As many other teenagers of those days, Ali begins his career as a ranch worker at the estate of his relative Mash(t)i Rajab on a low wage. Showing his diligence and capabilities he gets a better offer and joins Mash Gholām Hoseyn’s ranch, where the young cowboy gets acquainted with the landlord’s daughter Baji. Realizing the amity between the two youngsters, the proprietor and his wife give the impression that the marriage between Baji and Ali is in their plans. As soon as they move to the summer camp, however, an affluent suitor comes with plenty of gifts, and the Mashti tries to force his daughter into marriage with the son of the headman of Varend. As the girl refuses the offer, the father beats her up and threatens to fire Ali, who had counteracted by paying the head of his village to woo Baji for him. Thus the two lovers are forced into an elopement. In their long run-off journey through the mountains they lose the track and come across two bandits, Bābāli and Sahand, who surprise them by offering their horse as a sign of chivalry. Eventually they arrive at a settlement where they meet a chief herdsman named Vandād, who writes them a letter of support; then they find a clergyman to conclude their marriage contract. Six months later reconciliation is reached between Ali and his stubborn father-in-law through the mediation of Ali’s former boss Mash Rajab. The story concludes with a mention of the current condition of Baji: having had an eye surgery, she is staying at her son’s residence in Sari, waiting to join Ali in their forest hut as soon as she recovers.9

Text II. The second account is an expression of the galesh’s fondness for the forest, to which he owes his long, healthy life, and his agony for the destruction of such a way of life in the era of great social changes. Through hard work he managed to establish a prosperous family together with Baji, who bore him twelve children. Their residence in Kherimesar was inherited from Ali’s parents, as tradition mandated the youngest son to maintain the parental estate when his brothers had left the family upon marriage. Kherimesar was the winter camp where the family would spend half the year. Then they would move their livestock to Dŏdănga and would summer at several encampments

---

9Elopement or bride kidnapping, also known as marriage by abduction or marriage by capture, is a form of marriage still practiced in a few traditional cultures. It is widely practiced in Kyrgyzstan and among some Turkic tribes of Central Asia as well as in parts of the Caucasus and Africa. This tradition used to be practiced widely in Mazandaran (see the note above) and is alluded to in the Bible: “If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel’s father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife; because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days.” (King James Bible /Deuteronomy 22: 28–29).
in highlands. In those days the galesh households would keep between 50 and 400 head of cattle. They would churn the milk into various dairy produce and sell the butter in the city for a good price.

The state of affairs began to change in the 1960s. The reforms carried out under the White Revolution included the land reforms and nationalization of forests. Its implications were that the galesh families were released from paying the feudal landowners; instead, they had to rent the grassland from the state. Although the informant is appeased by the fact that the rent was collected only once, he had some quarrel with foresters, apparently over the law that banned destruction of the woodland for fuel. The worst was yet to come after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, when the government began forcing the herdsmen out of the forest. The Khorshidians abandoned their nomadic way of life and the sons resettled in the nearby towns and villages. Only the patriarch resisted the compensation and kept staying at Kherimesar despite the recurrent pressure by the officials who took a vacillating position in enforcing the law because of his advanced age.10

Text I 11

1. xedā in āšeqi-re bēnā nākerd bo 
   esā ke hākerde, jedā nākerd bo
2. ēttā dār bāěs baie. dār ēttā āđem-e belēndi bie. kolefī — ande kolefī. 
   ezzār bie.
3. mēn Maš Rajeb-e pali qērār bime. burdēme Maš Qolm Hosan-e sere 
   sirsuzi vesse. Xānbājī-re xedā biāmēræ!—Rajeb-e zenā—vēne burdēme. 
4. vešune melk hamin-je bie. emā hemsāye bimi. vēne kijā-re diārigiri hej 
   badi bime? nā, me" še numze dāštēme. zan-širini baxērd bime. 
5. mēn o Rajeb-e zenā burdēmi vešune sere. Maš Qolm Hosan o vēne zenā 
   dāni bine. vešun, zenā-mardi, burd bine šar. badime ēttā pīrzenā dare. 
   bâute, "Bājīl!" bâute, "bāle?" bâute, "beru! in bērār sirsuzi bēxāse." 
6. Bājī, Maš Qolm Hosan-e kijā, daie bākkelê pate. ve intī miss-e bazuë 
   bākkel-r-e, bâute, "bait!" bâute, "čēči ë?" bâute, "bākkel-e, baxor-ā! 
   bapēte hasse. xāmbe dakenem āš," bâute, "nā," bâute, "bēlā-re 
   baxor, bēlā-re baxor!"
7. mēn xale fekr hākerdēme. [še-re] bâute, "čēči baie? mēn vēne vēne 
   das-je bai bi bōšem-ā!"

10In 2005 we were informed that Ali Khorshidian finally conceded to the compensation payment 
and gave up Kherimesar ranch to settle down in the city of Sari. However, we have been informed 
lately that not having been able to put up with town life, he returned to Kherimesar in April 2007, 
ignoring the repeated warning messages on trespassing issued by the forest authorities.
11The transcription principles used here are the same as those explained in H. Borjians, “A Mazan- 
hyphenation of the oblique marker -e, postpositions -(r)e and -(je), and other postpositions when 
the oblique marker is absent. Inflected forms of the personal pronouns are shown without hyphen (e.g. 
ēšē ‘with her’) because they sometimes coalesce with the endings.
8. باذ از عن برد منه بلال، یعسن سئئا گلش عن جن داين. دايدم دار دارن یارن. دار صناديل به، قد نايت یعسنر. خاسنن تاش هکنن. من بارتمن، "مادلی! اتئه پیش یاک مسسه بار! سیبزی بارتمن، دار سمبه." بارت، "من ياک بهمراه. نیا باندی مه از مه بایکدیم کنه؟" بارتمن، "ار."  
9. مه" ترکه بازومه یه منیون—دیار میون—مادلی بارت، "یاری راس هکنن!" بارتمن، "من یشیه راس یک هکردمه، بهمراه؛ ایه ناونسدن، که هچی."  
10. یه سیه هرحمه، راس خکردمه. دیار بیسته یق دیه-ئ سار. بارتمن،  "یم بیلند هکنن." بارتمن، "نیا! یم دیه یق بیلند هکین، که من یشیه یارنده نیمه."  
11. تکون هدمه بیسته یق دیه، دیگه دام ام یار نازومه. بردنه. انده بردیم پی، که کارت-رکه دم هدماهی.  
13. یه بفامدیم، که مادلی قلم پوران یهن زنای نه مس فیم وامونه سیه. بارت، "مادلی! کاریل-ئ کی بیارد؟" بارت، "یم." بارتمن، "یم بیاردی که نارنی یق بیلند هکننی؟" بارت، "یاده، بایی! یق کی بیارد؟" بارت، "یم تئی کیکلی-داره ریکا. یه مس ظرفیت بایسه. و بیمو" یکه یسیبزی یسه. یه بایتم بیاردنه." بارت، "ینتی ایه هاسه. بیمو مادلی قلم پوران."  
14. مه ساردار-ئ پر رسایم. خاسنامه یاک بایرم. [مادلی قلم پوران] بارت، "ینجی بیری!" بارت، "یی یکیلی-ئر لی بیری!" بارتمن، "یی حیشرت-ئر ابباس! کن بیاردنه."  
15. یکیلی-رئ لی بردنه. یاک یشیه یکه یسیه داوسسه، یک یشیه می-سیه.  
16. مه سیکر دار-بیاردنه، سیکر بکهسیم. بارت، "یه نیاکی؟" بارتمن، "مادلی قلم پورانی-ئر کیرواریم." بارت، "یه کیرار هاسی، یکه تئم مس دننی؟" بارتمن، "اندی نادنی." بارت، "یینکی پرنیا یکه تئم مس دیه مس یپرکه مه راکن دیمو تاتوری دیمو یکه لوکس-ئر تئم دیمو؛ بیره می پاری!"  
17. مادلی قلم پورانی-ئر مکه چئید یانه؟ سی سال دایم. سی یکه تئم مس هداه.  
18. مه بردنمو یه منیون پالی یو، یسیا مه د سیو. سی سیو، یکه بایکتیمو. یک یکه مه بایکت نایم. که بیدار بایم. دايدم زنای-مادری یار بانن. که "یم بیلند یکه بایریم، یم بیلند یارن هادیم او یکه ام پالی داو.وک یکه کیرگری." بارتمن، "یکه یداهی! مه نکه نیمه دارمه؛ یعسن یسی این."  
20. bar-dagerdessë šo dakelem. erbàb-e num Dorri bie. ve ettà zenà dàste. asilan gálesà-e sere jodà bie. age šo dakek bon, še nazdiki niard bine.
22. bemumi manzel sar. nim sàet šo burd bie. pirzenà bâute, "Maš Qolm Hosan!" bâute, "hë!" bâute, "ve nàma-rem bie. ve me bàll-e demàssë. mere duš hàite. mere baxsëni ya nà?" men esà li burd bime, xàssëme baxosëm. bâute, "ve me vàcëe. vêre xàmbi zan hàdim, nà, te nàráhât navos."
25. vèşun tà alàn bàutëne vèrè zan hàdim, esà pasìmûn baine. in bàcs baië men belënd hàkerdëme. kijà unà-re "are" nèdàë. "are" nairëne vèşun.
27. telem burdëm bazënim, badime ke me sar dass-e baië, mere niëste telem bazënen. telem-re ke bazeë demàssë çù-re. kijà-re benà be baroštën. bapàressëme vènë dass-e çù-re pij bàzumë baiëmë.
28. kijà-re zûe ke "te çe unje "are" nèdëi ke ve inje xàskàr baressëi?" kijà bûte ke "jàn-e pierë! men bamerdëmi—xàk-ë ñëme. age darme, Alì-ë ñëme. te mere çècci-ssë zandi?" 
31. me kàmr kàrd daio me das kajej. bàdime ve dar ñunë. dass-e inti hàkerè tekun bedàë. men ëm rà dakelem. lâtt-e bàutëme ke "vèşun ràss baine,
biamune ame dembál, bāur Kiāsar-vari burdene. mēn in-vari burdeme, vešunne bāur un-vari burdene. vešunne rat hāken!”

32. vešun šē nāhār-māhār baxerdeno baxetene, emā burdemi. burdemi, Pešēkū12 dar-bemuńi.


35. bapperesse asb-e peš-je bene bemuń. bāute, “sevār bavos! sevār hāken vere! vene ling-e sang baverde.”—bārikjāl, yāqi em bie!


38. bāute, “xā, hamin rā-re demāssin. mēn dar šumbe šē ser.” bāute, “natsars, bur!” mēn šē pali baieteme, “xā, ve mēre rat hākerde, xānne dembāl-sar ādem baressende, zann-e me das-je baire.”—nakerde, bārikjāl!


41. ruz bene hāte. dige tā ūm nakerd bimi. mēn vene sāxesar li burd bime. ande mēre hāli bie, ke jelōter nexāmbe burem. vene haminti baverd bime, sālem dāsteene.

42. tē xedmet arz hākenem, ferdā sevāi bemumi pāinter, rā-e dele. ande burdemi tā baresimi ēttā ābādi. unje Torkmałe bie. derāz-e qevā dānne, enne Māzenderun.


---

12 Or peš-e ku “the backside of the mountain”; but the true Mazandarani form would be ku-e pešā.
44. خدای میرزاق قریب باش. میرزاق‌اول مسیح و مسیحیان او مسیح بود که در تنماویه مسیح‌ی و مسیح‌ی دیگر به کار خود پرداخته بود. گاهی بزه، “اره رکا! تا کیا به تن کردی?” بازعمه، “اره!” و باز، “اقال! ات‌نامه بانه اقای پالی، و زان‌های قای که. به تن! یکنن.”. میرزاق‌اول مسیح و مسیحیان او پشت بانه‌جست باز، “رکا! وی سی نداست بو؟” بازعمه، “نام!” و باز، “کیا! تا سی نداست که؟” باز، “نام، مسیح بیمه.”
45. وینه نامه‌رای باردارمی اقای پالی. اقای خدا باز. باز، “وینه جهید که، ویع؟ تا جهید کات ویه پالی. وی جهید ندانه؟” بازعمه، “اقال! ویه که داد مشترکه مه. ویه سالم بازدارمه مه. ویه ناماری بازدارمه. اقای! تا زدن داره.”. این بازعمه، باز اقای بازداردو بازه، “خا، وینه جهیده ای باز! اقای بازدارنی، وینه جهیدهی دادنی، وینه جهید بهانه.”
46. مسیح بیمه خدا بازیه. ویه مسیحیان ویه خدا بشوره. دادیه مه ویه باز ویه که “ام‌پسر!” ویه کسی مسیح مسیحیان ویه خدا، اسم ای بانه‌پیه اقای بازدم.".
47. اسی پان‌شیش فاشه برد بیه. اسم بازدمی. مسیح مسیحیان داده که، قالیون کاسه. ویشون شت‌ت، حار ده، عیال بازدارمه. ویه اسی باریم نیش بیمه.
48. زن‌مار بامومه ویه پالی ویه باز، “ویه تزند، عیال ناشی!” بازعمه، “بازند مه بازنه، ویه زاننده نیه. ویه تاب زامب وینه داش‌هائی هرما دارمه. نیله‌نمه مه بازنه.”
49. ات‌اک ای وینه پالی هنیشتمه. خا، مسیح بیمه تارزمودیه باز ویه “من بامومه آله بازدارمه ویه پالی.” بازعمه، “یکه پالی نیزین ویه! خا، زن‌ی بیه که بازردو. نامبمه ویه بازدم.” بازعمه، “ویه بازدارمه اقای بازردو.”. بازعمه، “نام، موهال ای، موهال ای، موهال.”
50. دلر بیمه‌ی تد دور بازدزیم تد بد بازدارمه. تد زوس ایبل مه زان واده هسته. تد بیسته پی‌ئه تد گناب بازدارمه. گناب بازدارمه، مه بدند بازدارمه.
51. مه بازدزیم وینه بازردو اک ای بازردو بازدارمه، "مهیگرین؟
 گزرنی که گزرنی، ناهیم چیه؟" هنیشته. هنیشمه بازمدی 
 گزرمی ای قصر معزه معزه معزه معزه معزه معزه. هرچه!
52. مهی مسوم عالی‌ارسم دسته. خا، اولی وینه ابرو برد حی، ویسی معه ساری کلای 
 بیه، وینه سار کلای برده.
53. سار اکه بطند شد شن‌یه‌یه مکان. 
 نایماد کاکزه یانیه‌یه مکان.
 نایماد کاکزه ای مک مبیمی، 
 یه‌کرگد لدیه دیوانیه‌یه مکان.14
54. آلم وینه سار کپسی ایل بازدارمه. حار کپسی داره سار ای بازردو 
 سینه عینی ویه بازدم، اسم، "پل! ته حاضه؟ ته مهی؟ که 
 ناورنیه سینه؟" گنه، "نام، همین‌یه داوه، ویشون ته پریSDKای 
 بازدهنی."
55. esā men biqam ēme. šasʰ-heftād gēsbēnd-e—in āqā badie—verg merdāl hākerde. bāūtēme, “fedā-ye sar-e me zan o me vačun! age mēn zende hasēme, bāzh jaim kembe. age nīmē, dige heččī. xēdā ruzi-resāne.”

56. ašun qasd hākerd bimo bēm te pali
asb bazuʰ bēnē o bāl baie geli
dass-e davēsēme dīngume gali
hamun bēskesse das embē te pali

57. nemāšunesarā narm-narm-e vàreš
gō biamuʰ xāse nedānne gāleš
efrā-ye telem-re dakešem xāreš
detā par hādešm bēsun-e gāleš

The Galesh Elopes with his Beloved Bāji\(^{15}\)

1. May Lord had never created love,
   Now that He did, may He never part [lovers].
2. A tree was the cause. The tree was as tall as two men. How thick?—this thick. It was an elm.
3. I worked as a hired hand for Mash Rajab. [On one occasion] I went to Mash Gholam Hoseyn’s house for the potherb. May God bless the soul of Khanbaji, Mash Rajab’s wife—with her I set off.
4. Their estate was right here; we were neighbors. Had I ever seen her daughter face-to-face before? No, I had a fiancée indeed and had been engaged.
5. Mash Rajab’s wife and I went to their house. Mash Gholam Hoseyn and his wife were not home. The couple had gone to the town. I saw an old woman [there]. “Baji!” she said. “Yes,” she replied. “Come [here], this brother needs potherb.”
6. Baji, Mash Gholam Hoseyn’s daughter, was cooking beans. She took a handful of beans and offered me. “What is it?” I asked. She answered: “Beans, just eat! It is cooked and I want to make a soup [with it].” I said: “No.” “Eat outrage!” she replied.
7. I thought a lot. Then I told [myself]: “What happened? I should have taken her offer.”
8. After that I went up[hill]. There were three herders there. I noticed that they were bringing a tree [trunk]. The tree was too hefty for their strength. They needed [it] for fuel. I said: “O Mamdali, fetch me a load of tree-moss (a kind of fodder), I’ve got the potherb, I am about to go.” He said: “I’ll get the tree-moss. Can you carry this (the trunk) by the fire?” “Yes,” I replied.
9. [When] I struck the ax in the middle of it—the tree—Mamdali said: “Let’s make it upright.” I said: “If I make it straight, I will carry it; if not, let it be so.”

\(^{15}\)Missing words are placed in square brackets, and explanations are in parentheses.
10. I hugged it and made it stand. I put the ax on my shoulder. They said: “[let] us lift it.” I said: “No, if you want to lift it, then I am not going to carry.”

11. I jigged it and put it on my shoulders. I did not even take a breath. I [just] carried it. I took it so far as [by the fireplace], where I tossed it.

12. Baji came out of the door and said: “You worthless! Did you not come apart? How did you bring it? My father told them for a whole month [to do the job], [but] they did not bring it.” I said: “Well, I just brought it.” [Then] I took the tree-moss and left.

13. Later I realized that Mash Gholam Hoseyn and his wife had come home in the evening. He said: “Mamdali, who brought the trunk?” “We [did],” he replied. “How did you bring it when you cannot lift it?” [Then] he asked: “[My] child, Baji, [you tell me] who brought it.” She said: “There is a boy with a tuft of hair—wavy hair—who came here for the potherb. He fetched [the trunk].” He said: “This is Ali. He has joined Mash Rajab [as a farm worker].”

14. [Some time later] I was standing by the gate. I wanted to get tree-moss. Mash Gholam Hoseyn said: “Come here, climb this iron tree.” I told [myself], “Oh Saint, lucky am I!”

15. I climbed the tree [and] threw down the tree-moss. He tied a load for himself and one for me.

16. I took out cigarettes [and] smoked one. He said: “Won’t you come over to stay with me?” I said: “I am staying with Mash Rajab as a hired hand.” He said: “If you’re a hired hand, how much are you paid?” “Not much,” I replied. “I’ll pay you annually fifty tumans [500 rials] and a maund [3 kg/6.6 lb] of cooking oil and soap and clothing; [so] come over and stay with me!”

17. How much did I earn working for Mash Rajab? I was there three years [and] he paid me thirty tumans [300 Rials]. Then—I would say—this proposal made me happy. I calculated the time I had stayed with Mash Rajab. [Finally] he paid me off and I left.

18. I went to stay with him (Mash Gholam Hoseyn), and now I had been sleeping there two or three nights. One night I was not [yet fully] asleep; I was [still] awake. I noticed that the spouses were chatting: “we [should] take him as our son-in-law, offer him a wife, and that he would stay with us. He is hard-working.” I told [myself]: “O God, I’m engaged; what are they talking about?”

19. Bringing [the rest of the story] to your notice, [one day] Mash Gholam Hoseyn’s wife and I—God’s peace be upon her—went to the town. We had carried ghee. She had a horse but would not load it with the ghee. Each of us carried five maunds [15 kg/33 lb] of ghee; she on the head and I on shoulders. We handed it over at the landlord’s residence.

16For xāne-xerāb “one whose house is ruined”, expressed in an endearing tone.
20. Returning home, nightfall came upon us. The landlord’s name was Dorri. He had a wife [who was strict on keeping] the galesh’s quarter separate as a rule. If [the guest herders arrived] at night, they would not be invited to the house.17

21. Anyway, when we were taken by the night, we were desperate. [Having come across a fence,] I noticed that the old woman (i.e. Mash Gholam Hoseyn’s wife) could not keep up. I carried the load across the fence and left it [there], [then] I grabbed the old woman’s arm, with one hand threw her on my shoulders, carried her across and put her down.

22. [Finally] we came to the residence. It was half an hour after the darkness. The old woman said: “Mash Gholam Hoseyn!” “What,” he replied. She said: “He (Ali) is a stranger. He took hold of my arm, and put me on his shoulders. Do you forgive me or not?” Now [in the next room] I had been lying down, trying to sleep. He said: “He is [like] a child of mine. We want to give him [our daughter as a] wife. No, don’t you worry!”

23. When we went to the summer camp, a suitor came for Baji. The suitor who came was called Nad-Ali. May peace be upon his soul—he is dead [now]. He was the village head of Varand. He came here taking with him ten maunds [33 kg/66 lb] of rice, and sugar and tea. He stayed with him (i.e. Mash Gholam Hoseyn) for a month. [But] the daughter said: “No, I don’t want [to marry the son of Varand’s headman].”

24. I gave ten tumans to the son of our village head, saying: “Go court the girl [for me]!” [Her parents] told the girl: “That man [from Varand] owns cattle, sheep and horses. He (i.e. Ali the galesh) has nothing. He is a stranger.”

25. They had said until then that “We will give him a wife”, but now they were regretful. This caused me to kidnap [her]. The girl did not give them an affirmative answer; they got no positive reply.

26. The girl, Baji, had three brothers. All the three brothers were summoned. They came. In the morning, [when] I was going to milk the cows, I saw that [Mash Gholam Hoseyn] took away the bucket from me. “Why are you taking the bucket from me?” I said. “Don’t milk my cow!” he replied. “I shouldn’t milk [it]? Sure, I won’t”. I was distressed beyond imagination.18

27. Trying to churn in the barrel, I saw that he held me by the wrist and did not let me churn. When he finished churning, he took hold of the stick and started beating the girl. I jumped and grabbed and twisted his hand.

28. He would beat the girl [saying]: “Why didn’t you give an affirmative answer, so] that he (the galesh) has sent us a suitor?” The girl said:

17“They wouldn’t bring them to their presence.”
18Lit. “you should no more say or ask.”
“Dear father, had I died, I’d be soil; [if] I stay, I’ll be Ali’s. What are you beating me for?”

29. The brothers came. May his soul be in peace—Ali said: “Sister, pour water and wash my head and body.” When she did, she said: “Brother, they promised him a wife. I said that he was a stranger and I won’t marry him (lit. “I won’t go to his room”). Their deeds encouraged me to be sympathetic to him (lit. “that I stuck to his body”). They woke up a sleeping person. If I die, I’ll be earth; if I stay, I’ll be his.”

30. God is the witness—O God, O Lord—I had ten tumans in cash [which] I wasted (i.e. gave away to the suitor). Now what do I do? I said: “Baji!” “What,” she replied. I said: “I’m going to Ilatkhel. There I’ll be waiting [for you]. You take two buckets and go by the spring. I’ll come [there].”

31. There was a knife on my belt and a club in my hand. I saw her going [toward the spring], posing her hand like this and making a gesture. I too hit the road [to meet her]. I told the Ilat,19 “[When] they wake up and come after us, tell them that they went toward Kiasar. I will go this way and you tell them that they went that way. Lead them astray.”

32. [As] they ate their lunch and went for a nap, we got going. We went [until] we reached Peshteku.

33. [On the way we encountered] Sahand and Babali [who] were rebels. They carried rifles on shoulders. Sahand said: “Boy, whose daughter have you kidnapped?” I said: “She is my cousin and her brother is lost, and we are on the lookout for the brother.” He said: “She is barefoot. You are lying. You have kidnapped her.”


35. He jumped down from the horseback and said: “Mount and help her mount! Her leg is wounded (lit. ‘taken’) by the rock.” Good job, so he was a rebel!

36. I took the girl’s hand. God is the witness, I saw that the girl does not [want to] mount. “Girl, mount!” I said and got hold of her shinbone and helped her mount, [then] I took the horse’s bridle (lit. ‘head’), and we set off. Babali and I were walking ahead and kept talking. Sahand went his own way.

37. He said: “I won’t take you to Mahalla,20 for if I do, the gentlemen will recognize [us?] and they will expect a [wedding] feast. Do you have [any] money?” I said: “I have none, I am not well-off.”

19 Ila-t can be interpreted as the residents of Ilatkhel, stated in the previous paragraph, or a gypsy. Ilatkhel may simply be a gypsy camp.

20 Mahalla, treated here as a proper toponym, is used also throughout Mazandaran and Gilan as a suffix signifying any small settlement, e.g. Tork-mahalla in paragraph 42.
38. He said: “Good, keep on going along this same road. I am going home.” He added: “Don’t worry, [just] go!” I told myself: “Well, having led me astray, he plans to send people after [us] and get the woman out of my hands.”—He did not, well done!

39. She and I went on until we happened upon a mountain. This time we realized that it was not possible to carry on. It had gotten dark [already]. The trail was a bit downhill. We had lost the goddamn road.

40. I said: “O Baji, you stay awake. I want to drop off.” I lay down and fell asleep. While sleeping she took off her kerchief from her head and covered mine. When I woke up, I said: “Your head without a cover in this [unsafe] roadway?” She said: “No way, you were sleeping, you would catch a cold. I stayed awake.”

41. The day came out. We hadn’t even made a fire. I was lying on her lap. All I could understand was that I [should] want not to go any further. In the same way as I had taken her, I kept her intact.

42. Let it be known to you that the next morning we moved downhill onto the road. We kept going until we reached a hamlet. That was Tork-mahalla, [which] has long-gowned [residents], who come to Mazandaran21 [in winters].

43. There was a single qeran in my pocket. I took the coin and told a woman: “Sister, we are hungry; what kind of warm food do you have?” She brought [us] tandouri bread. I said: “Any soup, sour milk, yogurt—nothing is here? We can’t eat plain [bread].” [Her] husband said: “Make soup and bring it for them.” She fetched [us] soup. We ate soup and bread. We ate and left.

44. May Mirza Aqa’s soul rest in peace! Mirza Aqa Vandad and Mash Rajab and some fifteen horsemen came. Mash Rajab was then the chief shepherd of Vandad. He cried: “So, boy, you kidnapped and brought the girl?” “Yes,” I answered. He [Mash Rajab] told [Vandad]: “Sir, write a letter to the clergyman, [telling him it is alright] to conclude a marriage contract. [If not,] no contract will be made.” On horseback Vandad wrote [the letter] and said: “Boy, she doesn’t have a husband, does he?” “No,” I replied. “Girl, don’t you have a husband?” “No, I am (lit. ‘was’) single,” she replied.

45. We took his letter to the clergyman. May his soul be in peace, he said: “Where is her birth certificate, child? Your birth certificate is in my possession, has she got none?” I said: “Sir, I haven’t laid a hand on her. I have brought her to you safe and sound to marry her. I didn’t behave unmanly. Sir, [now] it’s your turn.” When I said it this way, he concluded the marriage contract and said: “Good, fetch [me] her birth certificate later. When you come into terms [with bride’s family]. I must see her documents.”

21Mazandaran in this sense means the lowlands of the province.
46. Mash Rajab was a valiant man. My father-in-law and he were close friends. I saw that he told me: “Cousin, I’ll go to Mash Gholam Hoseyn to reunite you [two], the son-in-law and father-in-law.”

47. Now some six months had elapsed. We set off. Mash Gholam Hoseyn was inside smoking a water pipe. The two men went in. I was sitting outside.

48. The mother-in-law came to me and said: “He will hit you, don’t go in!” I said: “He can’t hit me, he has no nerve to hit [somebody]. I’ll grasp his hand and hold it. I won’t let [him] hit me.”

49. I sat next to her for a while. Well, Mash Rajab began saying that “I have brought Ali to you.” He said: “Don’t bring him to me! Right, there was a woman and he took her. I can’t see him [any more].” [Mash Rajab] said: “I brought him for a reconciliation.” “No, it’s absolutely impossible.”

50. I was brave—O dear! He did wrong himself. He himself promised me a wife in the outset. He himself destroyed [his] self-made bridge. He destroyed, I rectified.22

51. I went and hugged his neck and said: “Do you forgive me? If you do, you do; if not, let it be so.” I sat down and saw tears were running down in drops [from] the man’s eyes. He was crying.

52. The man was well known. Well, this way his reputation faded. He tried to cheat me; he ended up being the loser.

53. The tip of the lofty mountain became my abode. No letter came from my beloved. No letter reached me to read, For my heart to rest in peace.

54. Now I have a surgical operation performed on her eyes. Both eyes. She is in the town staying with my son. [When] I go there to visit her, she says: “Ali, is it you? Why don’t you take me home?” I say: “No, stay here for they take good care of you.”

55. Now I have no sorrow. Wolves killed some seventy sheep [of mine]—this gentleman is an eyewitness. I told [myself]: “May it be considered as a ransom for the head of my wife and children! If I stay alive, I’ll begin saving once more; if not, may it be so! God is the supplier.”

56. Last night I had decided to come to your visit. The horse threw me off and my hand was injured. I hanged my arm around my neck, With the broken arm I’ll come to your presence.

57. Drizzle in the evening. The cattle came to the ranch without the herder. I’d beat up the churning barrel made from acer [type of wood]. I’d bring [the barrel] moan like the galesh [himself].

22 Or “I abducted [her].”
Text II


2. jengelban biamue inje, bate, "te sen cand e?" bateau, "te naved navoni, te sarhal i." bateau ke "men binjkariki dani bime, til me ling-e baxore. men go-e taze mass-e xordemo, venekare-re xordemo, sarhir xordemo."

3. vesun benah be xande bakerdan. bateau, "xande nedanne! men rahat bime, rahati dasteme." arz hakanem, ruz-i haft peste, haft peste vash geiteme gug vesse yarde. on-moque sad-ta, debis-ta go dasteme. men varzeshkar bime.

4. devazda-ta olad xeda mere hed każdego, panst-ta rikha hassene, car-ta kijan-no-ta. se-ta xak hedame. de-ta pesre xak hedame, ettah kijah. esah hame me pali-je burdene. car-ta Sari dareme, de-ta Kerdexel. in ettah kijah me pali bamundesse. on-moque hame ettah ja daimi. hame ba-ham daimi. peserun zan ke vardenpeier-jesevahine. ettah rika pier-ta pali mundesse.

5. arz hakanem, emsal penjah o panl sal e ke in melk darembe—xerimesarse. pier o mar-e hame-re xeda biamerze o sheme raftegan-e. vesun hamin Sayde Qasem darenne. vesune melk em hamin-je bie. hamin-je daine.


7. eslahat-teri baie, Sae-xeda vere biamerze—ve erbaban-e das-je zaminare-baxrie. erbaban-rayeti az-heyn burde. ay erbaban emare bateau, "ame vesse dige kare niarin! age bairin shemare vene pul hadim. melk-e ame das-je baintane."

8. arz hakanem, ema sheyma inje daimi. inje ame qeslaq bie. zemessun inje daimi, ay ambessun simi Dedonge—yelaq. se so, car so, ra xet bimi, rahame jengel bie. car sabenderuz, piade ba mal o zan o vacon, hame piade simi. Ferim-sare ra-re geitemi, simi Ferim-sarar, Pajmiune. unje ser-zendegi dastemi. yeck ma unje daimi, heva ke garm bie, simi Tupsere, Goxarun, Sangsru—inan talar-e esm hasse.


10. tur-re kasimi. tur-terazi dastemi. Sari, ettat Mammed yaxi bie. vere xeda biamerze, candexar-e mardi bie! bateau, "te asb-bar checi e?" bateau,


12. sad o bis men kare bie sad o bis temen. esä hesab haken çand säl-e piš hasse. alan yek kilo kare hasse se-hezär temen. in se-hezär temen esä qand-çai navone. un sad o bis temenn-e men si dafa qand-çai g’itemo, ay ezæfe emu’e. esä zemune xerab baie.

13. arz hakenem, xässemi burim yelq. in telar hamin-je daie. ay kerdexliä emune inti-je xerab kerdene. vënë çä-mü-re gëitenë, táš-e vesse.


15. arz hakenem, säl-e çel o de, ame ra:bar o inë hakeredene jengell-e mill. milli ke hakeredene dore-ye Şâ, bäutene, “açayon! gö-e cär-temen o panl'zär emäre bâj hädin!—gesbond ponza-zär. in melk şemeses hasse. çera-e şeme dom.”

16. temom baie dige. çär-temen o panl’zär bairtene. dige kas-i haq nedaște bie ameje bâj bexâ’. mäl-e emâ baie. in çär-temen o panl’zär ezâfe ham naie. hamun että dafe bairtene—zamon-je Şâ. in melk-e em ame es’m sabt hakerdeno emäre parväne hedâne.


23. In ame harf baio me sargozeest!


The Galesh Resists Evacuation of the Forest

1. I am Ali Khorsidian, a galesh, a livestock owner. I would like to bring it to your attention that I am ninety this year. When Reza the bully came and took the kingship from Ahmad Shah’s hand and sent him abroad,23 I was fifteen. You may figure now [how old I am].

2. A forester came here and said: “How old are you?” “Ninety,” I replied. He said: “You don’t look ninety, you are robust.” I said: “I was not in the business of planting the rice [so] that the mud would eat up my feet [in the fields]. I ate fresh cow yogurt, its butter and heavy cream.”

3. They began to laugh. I said: “Why [are you] laughing? I was comfortable; I had comfort.” I should say that every day I would [gather] seven or eight loads of fodder and bring it for the cattle. Those days I had a couple of hundred cows. I was a sportsman.

4. God gave me twelve children, five sons and four daughters—nine altogether. I have given three to the earth—two sons and one daughter. They have all left. Four are in Sari, two in Kordkheyl. This one daughter has stayed with me. Those times we were all living together. As the sons married they would leave Father; [only] one son would stay with Father.

5. I should add that this year is the 55th year since I am in this property: the estate of Kherimesar. May God pardon everyone’s parents—as well as your deceased ones. They (my parents) are [right] here, [buried] in Sayd Qasem [cemetery]. Their estate too was here. They were right here.

---

23Ahmad Shah was dethroned by the Constituent Assembly in December 1925 and Reza Shah’s coronation was in April 1926. Despite the fact that Reza Shah is referred to in this paragraph with the derogatory title Reza qoldor, the speaker praises him throughout the rest of the account.
6. We were originally from Pajimāna, [in the district of] Dodānga—we were Dodanga’is. We used to come to Mazandaran, and we would rent [the forest] here from the landowners. From the very same property—I would say—I would pay the landlords twelve maunds\(^24\) of butter and twelve pots of yogurt, topped with butter and cream [each year].

7. When the Land Reforms came to pass, the Shah—may God bless his soul—bought the lands from the landowners. Serfdom was abolished. Then the landlords told us: “Don’t bring us butter any more; if you do so, we have to pay you [in return]. The lands are confiscated from our hands.”

8. We would stay here for six months. Our winter camp was here; we would spend winter here. Then again we would summer in Dodanga, the summer camp. We would spend three to four nights along the road which passed through the forest. Four days and nights, on foot with kith and kin, we would all walk along the paths. We would take the road to Ferim\(^25\) and would go to Ferimsarā, Pajimiana. There we had a dwelling. We would spend a month there and as the air would turn warm we would set off for Tup-sere, Gokhārun, and Sangshur. These are all the names of the herdsmen’s stations.

9. Each household had 200, 300, or 400 cows, [but] none had less than fifty. We would just sell butter. We churned the milk and extracted butter. We would harden the sour milk, take it to, and sell it in Sari. The road was very long and we could not sell yogurt and milk. It is the same way now without any change.

10. We would weigh with the axe. We had “axe”-weighing scales. There was a certain Mohammad Yakhi [in] Sari. May God bless his soul—how good a man he was! Once he told [me]: “What is your horse-load?” “Butter,” I replied. “Won’t you give [it to] me?” “I have brought to sell it,” I said. “Unload it,” he demanded. I did so, and it was two sheepskin loads, five maunds [15 kg/33 lb] each. As soon as I went to the stable to tie my horse, in my return I saw that he had weighed the ten maunds of ghee.


12. A 120 maunds [660 kg/792 lb] of butter cost 120 tumans, now figure how many years ago it was. Now a kilo [2.2 lb] of butter costs 3,000 tumans [30,000 Rials], and this amount does not even buy sugar and tea. Those 120 tumans would be more than enough for me to buy sugar and tea thirty times. Times are tough now.

13. As I was saying, [when] we wanted to move to the summer camp, [we had to leave behind] this hut right here. Then the villagers from Kodkheyāl would come and destroy it, just to take away its wood for fuel.

---

\(^24\) A maund is 3 kg/6.6 kg.

\(^25\) Lit. “the seat of Ferim”; cf. Perrim in the *Hodud*. 
14. [Since] the Revolution [of 1979] I have not moved from here. I have stayed here [all these years]. I did not stay in Pajimiana, [my birthplace]. Over there is not our habitat. It snowed a lot, thus we could not stay there long. We ended up residing here for good.

15. [In the Persian] year of [13]42 (i.e. 1963), our leader and his people nationalized the forests. Having done so, they told [the herders]: “Gentlemen! Pay us a fee of four tumans and five rials (i.e. 4 1/2 tumans) for every head of cattle; for a sheep—15 rials. [After all] this is your land, the pasture of your livestock.”

16. [Once we paid the fee,] it was over. They collected 4 1/2 tumans [per head of cattle]. No one had the right to come and ask for a fee any longer. It (i.e. the lot in the forest) became ours. The [fee of] 4 1/2 tumans was not even increased [afterwards]. They collected only that very first time—in the Shah’s era. This estate was registered under our names and we were granted the permit [for grazing our livestock].

17. They came here in the same Shah’s reign—he was [king]. They came aiming to cut off the woods. I said: “Give me [at least] fifty hectares [123.5 acres] of land; I’ll sell my cattle and keep the sheep [just to] hand-feed them [instead of letting them eat the trees].” “All right,” they said. They planted alder trees on the lower [wooded] areas, but I didn’t let [them sow] here. They did run bulldozers, [but] I didn’t let them plant.

18. Now, the gentlemen—the Islamic Republic—have visited time after time to force me out [of the forest]. “I am not the type of person who would leave,” I said. “Should you wish to kill me, do it right here, in this same hut. Let it collapse over me—we the husband and wife are going to die right here. We are not going anywhere.”

19. They (the foresters) filed a lawsuit against me and brought auditors from Tehran. When they did so, I said: “Son, father, brother! What do you want from me?” He said: “Why don’t you go? Your son has gone, why don’t you?”

20. I said: “[My] son had neither a permit nor anything else. I brought him to stay with me and gave him so much land. Right, you came and expelled him; you offered five million [tumans and then] ten million [100 million Rials], and he left. I won’t go. I don’t want the money. All I want is this land. I want to stay right here. I kept (lit. ‘made’) five sons illiterate for the livestock—and four daughters. Had my children stayed in school, they could have been superior even to you and I would not become confined as I am.”

21. I noted that the chief [auditor] told them (i.e. the forest rangers): “Gentlemen! You said he was imposing on us. His words are logical and he says it nicely.”

22. Now they wanted to obtain my consent. “OK, how much does your consent cost [us]?” I said: “I am a twelver Shiite; I will receive twelve million [120 million Rials] and will go.” “Now how much are you asking for?” he said. “Now that you kindly paid a visit, I would get 25
million [250 million Rials] and go," I replied. He said: “All right, gentle-
men! Attain his consent [or] let him stay here.”

23. Our words came to here, my life story.

At the end, we asked the galesh to play his flute, the lalevā. He played a bit, then he
said:

24. I am already out of breath. Those days when there was a wedding cer-
emony, and the groom was taken from Kordkheyl to Sari [for the
bathing ceremony], I would keep the flute on my lips all the way down
to Sari’s public bathhouse. [While] the groom was washing his body
and getting dressed, I kept playing the flute nonstop. On our way back to
Kordkheyl, I wouldn’t stop. I wouldn’t let go, walking along. Where
were motorcars those days! May God bless Reza Shah and his son, who
caus[ed this nation] [to] progress.26

Glossary

Excluded are most words which are the same as Persian or have pronunciation only
slightly different than in the Persian.27 Verbs are listed under present and past
stems,28 separated by a semicolon, followed by all conjugations attested in the
texts. Nominals are listed under the nominative case, followed by their inflected
forms. The glosses are not meant to be semantically exact; they are rather intended
to identify forms, especially the conjugated verb forms. The numbers in paren-
theses refer to the text and paragraph numbers.29 Abbreviations are as follows.

| aux. | auxiliary (verb) |
| id. | same as before |
| pers. | person(al) |
| Pers. | Persian |
| pl. | plural |
| postp. | postposition |
| pres. | present |
| p.p. | past participle |
| pron. | pronoun |
| sg. | singular |
| v. | verb |

26Mazandaranis show a particular pride toward Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was born in Alāsht, an
upland village in Mazandaran, and launched extensive reforms throughout the province.
27E.g. Maz. bó̂ndi ~ Pers. bolandi ‘height’, sàh(i) ~ šāh(i) ‘king(ship)’, dəvāzdar ~ dəvāzdarab
‘twelve’, olād ~ ovlād “offspring”.
28Some verb stems appear in two variants, with a when the stem is stressed and e when it is not.
The vowel variation in the stems ge- ~ go-, xēr- ~ xēr-, xēt- ~ xēt- implies a mix of dialects.
29The alphabetical order of the entries is as follows: ā/a, b, cˇ, d, e/ɛ, ě, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, ń/a, p, q,
r, s, ʃ, t, ʊ/ʊ, v, ɕ, y, z.
ā O! (I.8, 40)
-ā (emphatic) as in baxor-ā! (I.6), bait bibošem-ā! (I.7)
abbel first (I.50)
ābru dignity (I.52)
ambes thick(en) (II.9)
áme → ēmā
am-peser cousin (I.46)
ánande so much (I.2, 11, 41–42, II.20), not much (I.16), so long (I.17)
anjili iron tree (I.14, 15)
a¬r- ya¬r- (I.35–36)); ba¬v-o- (subj. pres.) that it becomes (II.18); na¬v-o¬n¬i you become not (II.2), vo¬n¬e he becomes (I.34), na¬v¬o¬n¬e she becomes not (I.36, II.12); bai¬me I became (I.17–18, 40, II.14), nai¬me I was/ became30 not (I.18), bai¬e it became (I.2, 7, 25, 33, 43, 56, II.7, 11–12, 14, 16),
ba¬io id. (II.23), nai¬e31 it became not (II.14, 16), bai¬n¬e they became (I.25, 31); ŝō bai bi¬e (plup.; lit. “the night had become”) it was already night (I.39); nai bi bo¬ni (subj. plup.) I would not have become (II.20)

bair-, bai¬t- → (g)ir-
baj tax (II.15, 16)
bākkel fava beans (I.6)
bāl arm I.21, 22, 56
bapetneni cooked meal (I.43). See also paj-
bar-da¬gerd- (v.) return—bar-dagerd¬es¬en (infinitive) in [our] way back (I.20). See also gerd-
ba¬ur-, bāut- → ge-
bax¬ (v.) forgive—bax¬en¬i you forgive (I.22)
en¬a be begin with—kija¬r¬e ∼ baroste¬n (I.27), ∼ xande bakerd¬en (II.3)
be¬ne ground (I.21, 56); ∼ ōmen¬e he dismounted (I.35); ru¬z ∼ bai¬e (lit. “the day seized the ground”) the daylight began (I.41)
ber¬ār brother (I.5, 26, 29, 33, II.19), ber¬ārun brothers (I.29)
berim outside, out (I.47, II.18)
ber¬me weeping (I.51)
ber¬u → e-

---

30 The verbs to be and to become merge in the negative past.
31 naie is the negative for both bai¬ “it became” and bii¬ “it was” (→ bi¬).
besun similar, like, as (I.57)
bi-, nai-; vo-/bo(s)– (v.) be (also auxiliary in peripharastic tenses)—bāš (in bidār bāš stay awake!) be! (I.40), na-voš be not! (I.22); bi-me I was (I.3–4, 14,22,40–41,44,47,50, II.2–3), bi-i you were (I.40), bi-e was (I.2,4,8,20,22–23,35,39,41–42,44,46–47,49, II.5,8–10,12,24), bi-mi we were (I.4, II.6,8), bi-ne they were (I.3,4,6, II.4,10); nai-me I was/became not (I.18), nai-e it was not (II.14); bo- e (subj. pres. 3rd sg.) (I.1,44), bo-n (subj. pres. 3rd pl.) (I.20, II.20); bi bosˇ (subj. past) I should have (I.7); bi bo-n (subj. past) they would have been (II.20)
biámerze (Persian form) may he bless (I.45, passim)
brd- → bi-, bai-
bur-, šu-; burd-, ši- (v.) go (or aux.)—bur go! (I.14,24,30,38), na-šu go not! (I.48); bur-em that I go (I.42), bur-im that we go (II.13), bur-ën that they go (II.17); šu-me I go (I.30,54, II.22), šumbo id. (I.46), na-šu-me I go not (I.29, II.18,20), dar šu-me I am going (I.8,38), na-šu-ni you don’t go (II.19), šu-ne he goes (I.51), dar šu-ne (I.31) she is going; ši-mi we used to go (II.8); burd-eme I went (I.3,8,11–12,15,17,21,31,40, II.10), burdemo id. (I.18,51), burd-i you went (I.30), burd-e he went (I.36,52, II.7,20), burdo id. (II.19), burd-emí we went (I.5,19,23,32,36,39,42–43,47), burd-ene they went (I.31,47, II.4); burd bi-me I had gone (aux.) (I.22,41), burd bi-e he had gone (I.22,47), burd bi-ne they had gone (I.5) || (v. aux.) burd-im bažen-im we were about to beat (I.25). See also dār-bur-
čak shinbone (I.36)
čánde how much (I.16,17, II.22), so much (II.10). Also Pers. ěand how much (II.2)
čarx rotation—bær̄-~darembi we are searching for [the] brother (I.33)
čaš fine, okay! (I.26)
če why I.26,28,54, II.19
čeči what (I.6,7,18,43, II.10,19), which (I.34), ~-ssé for what reason (I.28)
češ eye (I.51,54)
četi how (I.12,13)
čine curl—čine-baže curl (of hair) (I.13). See also żan-
ču wood (I.27), ~-mů wood and the kind (II.13)
da, d(e)- (preverb) → i(n)gu-, ken-, kár-, kaf-, máss-, puš-, vend-
da: ten (I.44, passim)
dai → dar-
dái-peser cousin (I.34)
dam breath (I.11)
dān → dār-
dār tree (I.2,9,10)
dār-; dāst- (v.) have—dār-ne I have (I.18), ne-dār-me I have not (I.37), ne-dār-e mebi id. (I.24), dān-ni (← dār- + -ni) you have (I.43), dān-ne it has (I.24,42), ne-dān-ne she has not (I.24,45,57, II.3), dār-enni you have (I.37); dāst-eme I had (I.4,30, II.1,3), ne-dāst-i you had not (I.44), dāst-e it had (I.19,20,26,52 II.9), ne-dāst-e it had not (II.,16,20), dāst-emi we had (II.8,10); ne-dāst bo (subj. past, Pers. nadašta bāšad) she might not have (I.44) || hold—dār-me I hold/keep (I.48, II.17), dāst-eme I held (I.41)

dar-; davo-; dai- (v.) be in, exist (existential/locative verb)—da vošt be in! (I.54); da vo-ß-em that I exist (II.20), da vo-ß-e that he be in (I.18, II.22); dar-ëmbë I exist, I am in (I.29, II.1,5), dar-me I exist (I.28), dar-e it is in (I.5,45,54), dar-ëmbi we are in (I.33), dar-ënnë they are in (II.4,5); dai-me I was in/there (I.17), dai-ë it/he was in (I.23,33,43,47, II.13,17), dai-mi we were in (II.4,8), dai-ëne they were in (I.8, II.5); dai-ë bi-ë (plup.) it had been there (II.24), dai ni-me32 I was not in (II.2), dai bi-ne they were not there (I.5) || aux. in progressive formation33—dar shú-mbë I am going (I.8,38), dar shú-ne he is going (I.31), dar-ne yår-[en]ne they are bringing (I.8); dai-ë ... pat-ë she was coockig (I.6), dai-ë varde-ëne they were carrying (II.24)

dar-ăr-; ãrd- (v.) pull out—dar bi-ãrd-ëme I took out (I.16). See also ãr-dar-bur- (v.) go out—dárd-bur-im that we go out (I.39). See also bur-dar-ë; emu (v.) come in/out—dar-b-ëmu-mi we came out (I.32) || (aux. verb) dar-b-ëmu-ë bântë (for Pers. dar-ãmad goft) he said unexpectedly (I.49). See also e-
das(s) hand (I.38, passim); ye k-~i one handed (I.21)
dašt- → dār-
davo- → dar-
de(t)à two (I.2, passim)
de-; dá- (v.) give—hå dë-in give ye! (II.15,17); hå d(ë)-ß-em that I give (I.46,57), hå d-ëm that we give (I.18,22,25, II.7); de-ß-më I give (II.17), dembo id. (I.16), na-de-ni you (sg.) give not (II.10), de-ß-bi we give (I.29), na-de-ß-ne they pay (not) (I.16); dâ-me I used to give (II.6), dâ-ne they would give (I.17); he-ß-me I gave (I.10–11,24,30, II.4,20), ne-ß-dâ-i you gave not (I.28), he-ß-ë (e) he gave (I.17,50, II.4), ne-ß-dâ-e he gave not (I.25), he-ß-dâ-mi we gave (I.19), he-ß-dâ-ni you (pl.) gave (II.20), he-ß-dâ-ne they gave (I.29, II.16) || aux. (without preverb)—ba-ß-im that we give (I.49); be-ß-me I gave (I.21), be-ß-ë it gave (I.31)
debis two hundred (II.3,9)
De ðonge (toponym) Dodânga, mountainous district located south of Sâri (II.6,8), ~i of or related to D. (II.6)

32 dai ni-me is the negative for both dai-me (preterit) and dai-bi-me (pluperfect).
33 Note that the main verb always conjugates (in the present or preterit tenses), while the conjugation of the auxiliary is optional.
dele inside (I.47,48)
- dele (postp.) in, inside (I.40,42, II.18)
deler I.50
dem— ~ bedâme I tossed (I.11,21)
-dembâl (postp.) after (I.26), looking after (I.31)
dembâl-sar chasing (I.38)
dem-be-dem time after time (II.18)
deru lie— ~ zandi you are lying (I.33)
dereter daughter (I.33, II.20)
diârigiri from afar (I.4)
dim face, side, in un- across (I.21)
dom livestock (II.15,20)
domâd groom (II.24)
dû sour milk (I.43, II.9)
dun rice (I.23)
dusˇ shoulder (I.10,11,33)
dusˇ- (v.) milk—
dandûsˇ-1m that I milk (I.26),
dandûsˇ-1m that I milk not (I.26),
dandûsˇ-1mb that I don’t milk (I.26)
e → bass-
eg → -(r)e
-ê (indefinite suffix) one, a—gô-ê a cow (II.15), kalke-ê each head (I.19), âš-ê, dü-ê,
mâss-ê any soup, sour milk, yogurt (I.43). Cf. -i
e; emu- (v.) come—beru (irregular) come! (I.5,14,16); be-em/biem that I come (I.56, II.10), bi-e that she comes (I.21, II.16), embe I come (I.30,56),
eni-ni you come not (I.16), enne they come (I.42); emu- e it would come (I.12), emu-mi we would come (II.4,24), emu-ne they would come (II.13); bi-amu-me I came (I.49), b-emu-me id. (II.17,18), bi-amu(-e) he came (I.13,48,57, II.1,2), b-emu(-e) id. (I.12,13,23,35), b-emu-mi we came (I.22,42), b-emu-ni you came (II.20), bi-amu-ne they came (I.13,26,31,44, II.17), b-emu-ne id. (I.29). See also dar-e-
efrâ maple/acer tree (I.57)
el.; est- (v.) allow—bi el-in let ye! (II.18,22); ni-el-embe I let not; bi-ešt-
emo I allowed (I.21), ni-ešt-emel I did not let (II.17), ni-ešt-e he did not let (I.27) || place—bi-ešt-e that he puts (I.52); bi-ešt-emel I placed (I.10,11,21)
e-em (emphatic) too, also (I.13,31,35,41, II.5,9,16)
emâ (pers. pron.) we (I.4,10,13,18,32,33,43,47, II.6,8,9,16), emâre (accusative) (I.43,II.7,15,16); ame (possessive) our (I.18,24,31, II.7,8,14–16,23);
amâje (locative) from us II.16
emel → bass-
erbâbun landowners (II.6,7)
essa now (I.1,18,22,25,47,55, II.1,4,9,12,14,18,22)
essa standing; ~ bime I was standing (I.14)
The Last Gâlesh Herdsman 393

- (e)sse  →  svese

esken; eskess- (v.) break—b-eskess-e (p.p.) broken (I.56)
esnâs- (v.) know, recognize—esnâs-embe I know (I.34), esnâs-eni you
know (I.34); b-esnâs-emne that they recognize (I.37)
ettâ one (I.2, passim), ettâ-kam a bit (I.39), ettâ-kami for a while (I.49)
ezâr elm tree (I.2)
fam.; famess- (v.) understand—be-famess-emne I realized (I.13)
Ferim (toponym) sub-district in Dodânga (II.8); ~-sarâ region in Ferim (II.8)
gab speech—~ zumi we were chatting (I.36), ~ zanne they are talking (I.18)
gâles herder (I.8,57, II.1), ~a herders (I.20)
gali throat (I.56)

gel, bâur; get, bût (v.) say—bâur say! (I.31), nâtr say not! (I.26);
gembe I say (I.54), gene (s)he says (I.54, II.21), ge-no id. (II.21),
genne they say (I.18); get-emne they would say; bût-emne I said (I.6–
10,12,14,16,18,24,26,29–31,34,36–38,40,43–44,46,49,54, II.2–3,8–9,14–
17,22), bût-em he said (I.5, passim), bût-emni you said (II.21), bût-emne
they said (I.10,24–25, II.7,15,17)
gendeligg round and heavy (I.8)
ger-, ir; (ge)ji (v.) get, take, seize—bair get! (I.6,8,30, II.10), bai' biår
fetch! (I.43,45); bair-em that I get (I.14), bair-e that he takes (I.38),
bair-im that we get (I.18); gembe I get (I.8,II.22), gerembo id. (I.48),
geri- 34 you get (II.22); geit-emne I used to get (II.3), git-emo
id. (II.12), geit-emni we would take (II.8–9), geit-emne they would take
(II.13); bait-emne I got (I.8,27,36,43, II.10), baitemo id. (I.12,36),
ba-it-i you got (I.26), ba-it-i biârdi you fetched (you took [and] brought [it])
(II.22), ba-it-e he got (or aux.) (I.13, 26–27, II.1), baito id. (I.23,40),
ba-it-o/e biârdâ she fetched (I.43), qod nait-e rešumê (lit. ‘the power
did not get them’) they had not enough strength (I.8), ba-it-emne they
got (II.7,16) nait-emne they got not (I.25); baibi boš-em I should
have taken (I.7) || aux. — ba-it-e aqd bâkerdo he proceeded with concluding
the marriage (I.45) || (aux. v. with the preverb bâ-)—lahe-tek ha-it-emne I
took the flute to my lips (II.24), sar ha-it-e she took [it] on the head (I.19),
duš ha-it-emni he (we) took [it] on the shoulder (I.19,22), be-ne ha-it-e
(→ be-ne) (I.41)
ger- (v.) turn—ba-gerd-em I turn around (I.50). See also bar-da-gerd-
gebend sheep (I.24,55, II.15,17)
gevâ witness (I.30,36)
gô cow, cattle (I.24,26,57, II.2,3,9,15,17)
Goxârun (toponym; with the components gô “cow” + xûr “eat” + suffix –m)
summer hamlet in highlands if Dodânga (II.8)

34For the irregularity, see H. Borjani, “Personal endings in Eastern Mâzandârânî verbs” (in
gozer- (v.) forgive—gozer-ni you forgive (I.51), na-gozer-ni you forgive not (I.51)
gug calf (II.3)
gum lost (I.33,39)
hā- (preverb) → de-, ger-, kēn-
hālī sober (I.41)
hambom bathhouse (II.24)
hamin this same (I.38, passim); ~ jē right here (I.4,54, II.5,14,18,20,22)
haminti the same way (I.41); casually (II.18); continually, repeatedly, nonstop (I.36, II.24)
hass-, o- (v.) be (copula pres.)— - (1)
im I am (I.16,55, II.22), - i you are (II.2), - e is (I.16,18,22,24,30,33,36,43,45,49,55, II.2,5,10–11)— hass- e me I am (I.55, II.1), hass-i you are (I.34,54), hass- e he is (I.6,13,29, II.8–9,12,15,22), hasso id. (I.33), hass- e me they are (II.4)— nī- me I am not (I.10,37,55, II.18), nī- e he is not (I.48)
he yes!, what! (I.22,30)
hecčči nothing, none (I.9,24,43,37,51,55, II.20)
hej any, none (I.4, II.9) ~ jā nowhere (II.18)
hers torment— mērē ~ baite I was suffering (I.26)
i → hars-
i- one, a (indefinite marker) (I.16,29,49, II.3,6,9,16,21). Cf. -ē
i(n)gu- (v.) place— d-ingu-me I placed (I.56), d-igu - ē she placed (I.40)
in (pron.) this (I.1, passim), ~ tā this one (I.8,13, II.13)
inān these (II.8)
inje here (I.13,14,23,28, II.2,6,8,14,17)
inti thus, such, this way (I.6,17,26,31,44–45,52, II.20)
ir-; it- → ger-
jā place (II.4); hej~ nowhere (II.18). See also - jē
-jē place → injē, unnē, kejē, hamin
-jē (postp.) from (I.1,4,6,7,10,11,14,16,19,24, II.12,35,38,39); with (I.3)
jer under, below— ~ bākerdēme I threw (lit. “did”) down (I.15)
jif pocket (I.43)
jole bucket (I.26,30, II.6)
kadxedā village head (I.23–24)
kaf-; kāt/kēt- (v.) fall, lie (mostly aux.)— rā da-ket- ē me I hit the road (I.31), sō da-ket- ē mi (lit. “we fell into the night”) nightfall came upon us (I.20), sō ke da-ket bi- mi when we had encountered nightfall (I.21), sō da-ket bo- n had nightfall come upon them (I.20); (p.p. forms) kāt e it is (lying) there (I.45), nā-ket e it is not there (I.43)
kajek club, mace (I.31)
kākoli forelock; ~ dare crested, emblazoned with crest (I.13)
kālmesera stable (II.10)
kār- (v.) sow— de-kār- e n that they plant (II.17)
kāreger worker, hard-working person (I.18)
kaš-; kaši-(v.) weigh—kāši-mi we would scale (II.10); ba-keši-me I weighed (II.11), ba-keši-e he weighed (II.10) || smoke—kaši-e he was smoking (I.47); ba-keši-me I smoked (I.16)

kaše bosom, armful—~ dakerdನ to hold in arms (I.51)
katel stomp of a tree (I.11,13)
ke that, which (I.21, passim); (empatic) (I.44)
keje where (II.24); kejāi provenance of (someone) (I.34). See also -je, jā
ken-; kerd- (v.) (with the preverb da-) poor in; put into—da-ken pour!
(1.29,43); da-ken-em that I put/pour into (I.6,57); da-kerd-e she poured (1.29), kaš da-kerd-emo I hugged (I.51) || (with the preverb hā- or with no preverb) do (often used as an auxilary)—hā-ken do! (I.31,35, II.1,11–12), hā-ken-in do ye! (II.22); hā-ken-em that I do (I.17,30,42,45, II.1,3,5–6,8–9,13,15,20), hā-ken-e that he does (I.44), hā-ken-im that we do (I.9–10), hā-ken-in that you do (I.10,13), hā-ken-en that they do (I.8,54, II.18,22); ke*n-mbe I do (I.55), na-ke*n-mne they do not (I.44); na-kerd-em I would not do (II.24), kerd-e it was doing (I.51, II.14), na-kerd-e he would not do (I.19), kerd-em I would do (II.6,9), kerd-em we would do (II.13); hā-kerd-emo I did (I.7,9–10,15,17,25,50,54, II.20), hākerdemo id. (I.36), na-kerd-emo I did not (I.45), hā-kerd-i you did (I.33,44), hā-kerd-e he did (I.1,31,38,50,55, II.1), hākerdo id. (I.45), na-kerd-e he did not (I.38, II.9), hā-kerd-eni you did not (I.45, II.20), hā-kerd-ene they did (I.26,29, II.15,24,29), hākerdeno id. (II.16,19); hā-kerd bi-mo I had done (I.56), ba-kerd bi-mi we had done (I.39), na-kerd bimi we had not done (I.41); na-kerd bo (subj. past 3rd sg.) (I.1); ba-kerd-en to do (II.3)

-kenär (postp.) by, near (I.8)

kene whose (I.33)
kerät a tree with thorn used in fencing (I.21)
keš(i)- → kaš-
et- → kaf-
ki who (I.13,34)
Kiásar (toponym) village name (I.31)
kijā girl, daughter (I.4,6,23,25–28,33,36,44, II.4)
ku where is (I.45)
kū mountain (I.39)
kuš- (v.) kill—ba-kuš-in kill ye! (II.18)
lale flute (II.24)
li lying—~ burden to lie, recline (I.22,40–41)
ling leg (I.35, II.2)
lu—~ bur climb! (I.14), ~ burdene I climed (I.15)
mā month (I.23,47, II.8)
małe small settlement; toponym suffix, as in Tork-~ (I.42)
måldår livestock owner (II.1)
mår mother (I.34,48, II.5)
Mardi man, husband (I.24,43,51–52, II.10)
Máss- (v.) stick—de-máss-in you stick to! (I.38), de-máss-eme I stuck to (I.21,29,36), de-máss-í he grabbed (I.22,27)
Mázhenderun (toponym) the rainforest of the northern slopes of Alborz and the plain of Mazandaran (I.6,42)
Mekéná head scarf, wimple (I.40)
Mén (pers. pron.) I (I.3, passim); mé my (I.12,16,22–27,29,31,33–34,40,43,45–46,48–49,52,54–55 II.2,4,18–19,22–23); mére me (I.17, passim), méje from me (II.19), méssé for me (I.8), mé-vesse id. (I.15)
Mén maund (I.16, passim)
Merdál dead (body), corpse (I.55)
Méz(z) wage (I.16,17)
Mír; mér- (v.) die—bamberim that we die (II.18); bamerd-eme I died (I.28–29), bamerd-í he died (I.23). See also merdál
Miss fist (I.6)
-miun (postp.) in the middle (I.9)
Moxtábád head shepherd (I.44)
Mund-; mundess- (v.) stay—bamund-im that we stay (II.14); mundess-í he would stay (II.4); bamundess-eme I stayed (II.4,14), namundess-eme I didn’t stay (II.14); mundegár one who stays (II.14)
Ná no (I.4,6,10,22,23,39,40,44,49,54, II.20)
Nai- → bi-, bai-
Náleš moaning (I.57)
Nemášun evening (I.13), nemášunesará in the evening (I.57)
Nevis-; nevešt- (v.) write—ba-névis write! (I.44); ba-nevéšt-o he wrote (I.44)
Ni- → bas-
Nišer-; ništ- (v.) sit—nišer-emebe I sit, I will be sitting (I.30); hennešt-eme  I sat (I.51), henštëme id. (I.49); ništ bi-me I was sitting (I.47)
Nó nine (II.4)
Noss- → ves(ẹnd)-
Num name (I.200)
Numze fiancée (I.4,18)
-O and (I.5, passim)
Ó water (I.29)
On-móqe then, that time (I.3,44, II.4,24). See also un
Paj-; pat- (v.) cook—pát-í she was cooking (I.6); ba-pet-í (p.p.) cooked (I.6); ba-pet-í cooked meal (I.43)
Pájímiun(ẹ) (toponym) village in Dodánga (I.34, II.6,8,14)
-Pali (postp.) near, next to, to (I.3,13,16–18,23,38,44–46,48–49,56, II.4,20); me ~je (=Pers. az pablú-ye man) from my presence (II.4)
Par paddle, sale of a churning barrel (Pers. parra)—~bádeém I beat [the churning barrel] (I.57)
par short hedge (Pers. *parūn*)— *bazūn* to hedge, shed (I.21)

**pe** (postp.) at the foot of (I.14)

*per-*, *peress-* (v.) jump— *bap-pereess-* *em* I jumped (I.27), *ba-pereess-*

he jumped (I.35)

*pers-* (v.) ask— *na-pers* ask not! (I.26)

*peser* son (I.34, II.4,19,20), *peserun* sons (II.4)

*-pešt* (postp.) back (I.35, 44)

*pešte* load (I.8,15, II.3)

*piade-piade* walking (II.24)

*pier* father (I.12,28, II.4,5,19)

*piz* (v.) jump— *bap-piz* I jumped (I.27), he jumped (I.38)

*piz-er* (v.) ask— *na-piz* ask not! (I.26)

*ponza* fifteen (I.44, II.1,15)

*pus-; pusī-* (v.) put on— *da-pusī-no* they put on (II.24)

*qaron* rial, the unit of currency equal to a tenth of a tuman (I.43)

*qar-r* hired hand, ranch worker (I.3,16)

*qarv* gown (I.42)

*qod* strength (I.8)

*ra* away, move— *baker* lead astray!, move away! (I.31), *baker* he led astray (I.38)

-(r) *e* accusative marker (mostly); dative marker (I.1, passim); e.g. *te lebās-* *te-re* *dembo* I will give you your clothing (I.16), *emā-re* vešūna baie. we were hungry (I.43), *qod naie* _vešūni_ baie. we were hungry (I.43), *anjil-i-re* lu *budāme* I climbed the *anjili* (tree) (I.15)

*res-*; *resi-* (v.) arrive— *ba-resi-* *mi* we arrived at (I.42)

*ress-*; *ressi-* (v.) send— *ba-ressi-* *e* he sent (I.28)

*ressend-*; *ressendi-* (v. causative) send— *ba-ress-* *end-* *e* that he sends (I.38)

*rikā* boy, son (I.24,33,44,54, II.4)

*roš-*; *rošt-* (v.) beat — *ba-rošt-* *en* to beat (I.27)

*ruš-*; *rut-* (v.) sell — *ba-ruš-* *em* that I sell (II.10), *ba-ruš-* *im* that we sell (II.9); *ruš- *embe* I'll sell (II.17); *rut-* *em* we would sell (II.9)

*Sangsür* (toponym) summer camp in highlands if Doda-ngā (II.8)

*sar* (postp.) on, at, by, on top of (I.10,21–22,30, II.6) || (prep.?) _me_ ~ *dass-* *bait* e he took me by the wrist (I.27)
sardar gate, doorway (I.14)
sargozest biography (II.23)
sara- tan head and body, entire body (I.29)
sat- (v.) make—besat-ė (p.p.) built (I.50)
sax-e-sar knee (I.41)
sejeld birth certificate (I.45)
sene chest (I.10)
se re house (I.3, 5, 13, 19–20, 38, 54); ~ zendegi home (II.8)
sevā separate (II.4)
sevāi morning (I.26, 42)
sirsuzi pootherb (I.3, 5, 8, 13)
-ss -veste
šabenderuz day and night (II.8)
še (reflexive and pers. pron.) self—myself (I.4, 9), (by) himself (I.36, 50); my (I.10–11, 21, 38, II.17, 20), his, her (I.40, 50); ~ pali to (the presence of) myself (I.38, II.20), ~ vesse for himself (I.15), ~ nazdiki to (stay with) them (I.20)
šemā (pers. pron.) you (I.10, passim); šeme (possessive case) (I.29, II.5, 15); šemeje from you (II.20); šemesse for you, yours (II.15)
šeme I belong to (I.28)
ši husband (I.44)
ši- → bur-
šo night (I.18, 20, 22, 39, II.8)
šor-; šoss- (v.) wash — bašor wash! (I.29); bašoss-o he washed (II.24)
šu- → bur-
šuns luck (I.14)
tab— ~ zambe I grasp (I.48)
tansuri soap (I.16)
tars- (v.) fear—na tars fear not! (I.38)
taš fire (I.8, 41, II.13)
te (pers. pron.) you (I.8, 12, 16, 22, 26, 28, 30, 33–34, 40, 44, 54, II.2, 11, 19, 22), te your (I.16, 40, 42, 45, 49–50, 56, II.2, 10, 19), ~ čči “what relative of yours” (I.34); tere (accusative/dative case) (I.16, 29, 37, 48, 54)
tek lip (II.24)
telar ranch (II.13, 18)
telām wooden barrel (I.16, 27, 57), ~ bazra to churn (II.9)
temom all, end (II.16)
tendir oven (I.43)
terazi scale (II.10–11)
til mud (II.2)
tisā plain (I.43)
tisāpe barefooted (I.33)

35 A Persian form for Maz, darsear.
tun-; tuness- (v. modal) can—na·tu²n·mbe I cannot (I.49), ba·tun·di³⁶ you can (I.8), bā·tun·de³⁷ (s)he cannot (I.21,48), na·tu²n·mbi we cannot (I.39,43), na·tu²n·nni you cannot (I.13); na·tu·nes·səni we could not (II.9,14) || natunəssən³⁸ [if] I were not able to (I.9)

Tupserē (toponym) summer camp in highlands of Dodānga (II.8)
tur axe (I.9–10, II.10–11)
turukke drop — ⊕ in drops (I.51)
tuska- alder tree (II.17)
un (pron.) that (I.8, passim), una- they (I.25); ⊕ the other side, across (I.21). See also on-
unje there (I.8,18,28,54, II.8,14)
vačē child (I.13,22,45, II.24); vačun children (I.55, II.8,20)
vang voice, call (I.44)
vār-/ver-; vard- (v.) carry—bā·ver-i that you take away (I.8), ba·ver·en that they carry (II.24); vār·embe I carry (I.9), nā·ver·embe I carry not (I.37), na·ven·ni ( ← ver- + -ni)³⁰ you (sg.) carry not; vard·em we would take (II.9), vard·ene they would carry (II.4), da·ne vard·ene they were carrying (II.24); ba·ver·d·em we carried (II.9,14), ba·ver·d·em we would carry (II.24), ba·ver·d·em I carried (I.21,37, II.24), ba·ver·d·em it took away (I.35), baverd·do id. (I.49), ba·ver·d·em we carried (I.45); ba·ver·d·bi·me I had carried (I.41), ba·ver·d·bi·mi we had carried (I.19); va·r·endé (pres. participle) one who is capable of carrying (I.10)

Varend toponym village name (I.23)
vārəs rain (I.57)
varf snow (II.14); ~ kerde it would snow
-var- (postp.) toward (I.31), in-~ this way (I.31), un-~ that way (I.31)
vāš tree-moss, a kind of fodder for the cattle grown on upper branches of forest trees (I.8,12,14–15, II.3)
ve (pers. pron.) he, she, it (I.6, passim); vére (accusative case) (I.9, passim);
véne (possessive) his, her, its (I.4–5,7,9,13,18,23,27,29,33,35–36,41,45,48–49,52,54, II.2,6,13,22,24); vénje with her (I.3)
vel letting go— ~ nakerd·emē I didn’t let go (II.24)
ve·νe; ve·s·s- (v.) tie—da·ve·νe·mē that I tie (II.10), da·ve·s·e·mē I tied (I.56), da·ve·νe·mē he tied (I.15)
ve·nē → νe
véne (v. modal) must, should (I.7,44, II.7)
verg wolf (I.55)
ves(s)- (v.) rupture — noss-ī (negative of bosī) you won’t come apart (I.12)

³⁶Note the dissimilation of the n of the ending into d when attached to tun-.
³⁷Note that bātunād is a synonym of na·tunād “he cannot”, the negative forms of tunād “he can”.

The verb tunessηn carries the preverb irregularly.
³⁸Pers. form for Maz. age natunēm.
³⁹The r in the stem assimilates into the n of the ending.
ves\(\text{s}\)end\(-\); ves\(\text{s}\)endi- (v. causative) rupture, tear, rip — nos\(\text{s}\)endi-me I did not pause (II.24)
vešná hungry (I.43)
-(v)esse (postp.) for (I.3,13,15,23, II.3,7,13; short form I.8,15,28,43). See also men, šemá
vešun (pers. pron.) they (I.5, passim); vešunne (I.31), vešunre (I.8,12, II.21); vešune (I.4,5,33, II.5); vešunesse for them (I.43)
vin-; di- (v.) see—
vo- \(\rightarrow\) bi-, bar-, dar-
xá; xáss- (v. modal) want to, etc. — be-xá — e that he ask for (II.16); xá-mbe I wish (I.6,40, II.20), ne-xá-mbe I wish not (I.23,41, II.20), xá-mbi we want to (I.22), xá-nni you want to (I.10, II.18-19), xá-nne they want to (I.37-38, II.18); xáss-eme I was about to (I.14,22,26), xáss-e he tried to (I.52), xáss-emí we wished (II.13), xáss-emē they wished (I.8, II.22); be-xássse he wished (?) (I.5)

40 Two variants of the stem (xer-, xor-) cannot be explained morphologically but as a result of dialect mixture.

xos; xot-/xet- (v.) sleep—**ba-**xos-**ēm** that I sleep (I.22,40); **ba-**xot-**ēme** I slept (I.40), **ba-**xet-**emo** id. (I.18), **ba-**xet-**ēne** they slept (I.32); **ba-**xet-**ē** nai-me I was not asleep (I.18), **ba-**xot-**ē bi-i** you were asleep (I.40), **xet** bi-mi we would sleep (II.8);  
**ba-**xet-**ē** (p.p.) slept (I.29)

**xun-; xundess-** (v.) read—**ba-**xundess-**ē bo-n** had they studied (II.20)

yâr-; yârd- (v.) bring—**bi-**yâr bring! (I.43, 45), **ni-**yâr-in bring not (pl.)! (I.49, II.7); **bi-**yâr-**ēm** that I bring (I.57), **bi-**yâr-in that you bring (II.7); **dar-ne** yâr-ne they are bringing (I.8); yârd-**ēme** I would bring (II.3); **bi-**yârd-**ēme** I brought (I.12,14,45,49, II.10,20), **bi-**yârd-i you brought (I.12,44, II.22), **bi-**ârd-**ē** he brought (I.13,43), **bi-**yârd-**ēni** they brought (III.19), **ni-**yârd-**ēne** they did not bring (I.12); **ni-**yârd bi-**ne** they had not brought (I.20)

**yelâq** summer camp (I.23, II.8,13)

**yor** upper; the other side (of the house or field); out(doors)— ~ bâkerdeni you threw out (II.20)

**zamon** time (II.16,24)

**zan** wife (I.18, passim); ~-piër father-in-law (I.46), ~-mar mother-in-law (I.48); ~-shiriși engagement (I.4)

**zan-; zu-** (v.) hit (aux. for many verbs)—ba-zen strike! (I.46); ba-zen-**ēm** that I hit (I.27), ba-zen-**e** that he hits (I.48), ba-zen-im that we hit (I.27), ba-zen-**ēn** that they hit (II.17); za**n-**mbe I'll strike (I.48), zan-**di** you are hitting (I.28,33), zan-de he strikes (I.48, II.21), za**n-**nne they hit (I.18); zu**ē** he would strike (I.28), zu-**mi** we would hit (I.36, II.9); ba-zu-**me** I hit (I.9,27, II.24), na-**zu-me** I hit not (I.11), ba-**zu-**e(-) he hit (I.6,27,44,56), ba-**zu-**mi we hit (I.21), ba-**zu-ne/o** they hit (II.17); zan-**ndé** (pres. part.) one who is capable of striking (I.48); čme-ba-**e** (p.p.) curl (of hair) (I.13)

**zen-** → za-**n-**

**zenā** wife, woman (I.3,5,13,19,20,43); ~-mardi wife and husband (I.5,18, II.18)

**zist** habitat (II.14)

---

42 The last three paradigms are treated as pluperfect forms, constructed on the past participle and the past conjugation of the copula verb: basēt-e nai-me, basēt-e bi-i, zot-e bimi. Note the last case lacks the verbal prefix ba-, which is unusual; the expected form is the imperfect xer-e me “we would/used to sleep.” The alternative approach would be to treat basēt-e as an adjective (p.p.); this conjecture is supported by the contrast between basēt-e and bidār in basēt-e nai-me, ke bidār baim-e (I.18).

43 Expected form: dar-ne yâr-e me.