The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

Texts, grammar, and lexicon

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The four authors of the book made equal contributions, with the approximate division of labor along the following lines: The actual recordings were made by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawrajū during two periods of fieldwork, September-October 2007, and October 2008. During the first stay, she was accompanied by Geoffrey Haig and Sayyid Fereidoon, a respected religious leader of the Ahl-e Haqq. Haig supervised the recordings and the initial processing of the files with the software ELAN. Mahmoudveysi undertook the initial transcription and translation of the texts, while Haig, Paul and Mahmoudveysi developed the final transcriptions.

Later Denise Bailey joined the team and undertook the task of setting up the lexicon, developing the glossing system, and collaborating with Mahmoudveysi in translating and editing the final selection of texts. Paul wrote the original grammatical sketch, based on his elicitation work in the speech community. The grammar was later extended and revised by Bailey and Haig, using material from the text corpus. Haig coordinated the different parts of the manuscript and in the final production stages, we were assisted by Maximilian Kinzler in solving a number of technical problems.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following chart shows the abbreviations used for the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses of the Gawrajūyí texts and for some lexicon definitions. These abbreviations mainly follow the standard of the Leipzig Glossing Rules, revised version of February 2008 (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). A few abbreviations have been added or modified for the Gawrajūyí language material.

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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>na-, ni-</td>
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<td>NA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD</td>
<td>additive</td>
<td>=ič (etc.)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>not analyzed</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation,</td>
<td>na-, ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP</td>
<td>bound pronoun</td>
<td>=it</td>
<td>PASS</td>
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<tr>
<td>BP.K</td>
<td>bound pronoun, as in Kurdish</td>
<td>=ay</td>
<td>PASS-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMPD</td>
<td>compound marker</td>
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<td>complementizer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>substantive</td>
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<td>interjection</td>
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<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
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Other symbols:

= ‘clitic boundary’; - ‘separates segmentable morphemes’; Ø ‘non-overt, but reconstructible morpheme’; _ ‘separates several metalanguage elements represented by a single object language element’; _ ‘separates several object language elements represented by a single metalanguage element or by a unity of several metalanguage elements’.
CHAPTER 1

1. BACKGROUND TO THE SPEECH COMMUNITY AND THE TEXTS

1.1 The village of Gawrajū

The village of Gawrajū (Persian گوراچووب; the final <b> is generally not pronounced) is located in the western part of Kermanshah province. This province lies in the westernmost part of Iran, bordering Iraq. The province has a population of about 1.9 million people, almost half of whom inhabit the province’s capital, the city of Kermanshah. The province is well known as the site of numerous archaeological sites, some of which date back to the Paleolithic Era. The most famous archaeological highlights are the magnificent monuments of the Achaemenid and Sasanian eras, including the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius the Great (521 BC at Bisotun), and the mixed Sasanian-Achaemenid edifices at Kangâvar.

The province is divided into fourteen counties (Shahrestans). Gawrajū belongs to the county of Dâlâhu (دالاوه), in the west of the province, in a region commonly called the Goran area. The name Gawrajū is used collectively to refer to a cluster of four hamlets in the Zimkân river valley: Gawr. Morâdbeyg (also called Gawr. Gawrā, and which includes the sub-hamlet Gawr. Qeshlāq), Gawr. Bâbâkaram, Gawr. Zeyd Ali, and Gawr. Safar Shah. Colloquially, the name Gawrajū is also generally used to refer to the largest of these hamlets (Gawr. Morâdbeyg), and this is what we will refer to as Gawrajū in the rest of this book. Gawrajū itself consists of about 250-300 houses, but as of 2012, only about thirty of those houses remained inhabited, for reasons outlined in the following paragraph. The nearest town is Îslâmâbâd (formerly Šâhâbâd). Gawrajū can be reached by unsealed roads; the village has electricity and a post office.

Traditionally, the populace lives from small-scale agriculture and animal husbandry. The inhabitants of the village belong overwhelmingly to the Ahl-e Haqq, or Yaresan, religious group. They speak a peculiar dialect, close to the Gorani language used for the sacred texts of this religion. However, they also use a variety of Southern Kurdish as a lingua franca, and are taught exclusively in Persian at school, so these two languages are increasingly dominant (see next section). The village language, Gawrajûyî, will almost certainly die out within one or two generations, not only because of the increasing dominance of other languages, but also because the village itself is under imminent physical threat through the construction of a dam on the Zimkân river, which will completely flood the valley. Construction work is well under way, and many of the village’s inhabitants have already left the village.

1.2 The language situation

The language situation in Kermanshah province and adjacent regions is quite complex and has never been systematically investigated. There are three main languages, or language clusters, prevalent in the region. The first is Persian (Fârsî), the official language of the state of Iran, used as the sole medium of education in state schools and for all official purposes. As a consequence of compulsory schooling and exposure to mass media, competence in Persian is on the increase among the younger people, who probably all can now speak Persian. Genetically, Persian is classified as a Southwest Iranian language.
The second important group of languages are those that are commonly referred to as ‘Kurdish’ (Kurdī), more specifically, Central and Southern Kurdish dialects. Although the term Kurdish is fraught with difficulties (see MacKenzie 1961a), the fact remains that many people of Kermanshah province consider themselves ethnically and linguistically ‘Kurdish’, and refer to their language(s) as Kurdī. Indeed, the speakers of Gawraǰū sometimes refer to their language as Kurdī. In particular, Kurdī Kermānšāhī (Kermanshah Kurdish), in its various sub-varieties, is an important lingua franca throughout the region, and it is steadily advancing at the cost of local languages such as Gawraǰūyī (see next section). The varieties of Kurdish spoken in western Kermanshah province mostly belong to the Southern group of Kurdish.

Within the Iranian languages themselves, Kurdish has been traditionally classified as “Northwest Iranian”. But in fact, despite the widespread use of the term “Kurdish”, it has yet to be convincingly demonstrated that the languages concerned really do constitute a viable (i.e., reconstructible) group within Northwest Iranian. More recently, the categorical distinction between Northwest and Southwest Iranian has been called into question (Paul 1998, Korn 2003). According to this view, the Northern and Central groups of Kurdish are transitional dialects between Northwest and Southwest Iranian, while Southern Kurdish (e.g., of Kermanshah) is closer to Southwest Iranian. Resolving these issues go beyond the scope of this book, but we hope that the data contained in this documentation may contribute to a better understanding of the complex genetic and areal relationships among the languages of the region.

Another language spoken in the region, and considered by some to be Kurdish, is Laki, though its relationship to Kurdish remains controversial in the literature (see Fattah 2000 and Anonby 2004/2005 for recent discussion). Finally, the third major influence in the region is Gorani (see next section), generally considered to be a Northwest Iranian language. The most important dialect of Gorani is Hawrami, with its main geographical centre as Paveh, in Iran. It is also spoken in the area around Halabja in Iraq. We consider Gawraǰūyī to be a dialect of Gorani.

All three of the linguistic influences in the region have more or less developed written forms, literary traditions, and conventionalized standards. Persian is the most robustly standardized language, with a rich literary tradition and high prestige throughout the country. For Kurdish, the Central Kurdish dialect of Sorani has acquired some prestige as a written language and a language used in the mass media (satellite television), and indeed, it now serves as a language of administration in the neighboring Kurdish autonomous region of Iraq. Hawrami has a written tradition and there are local initiatives towards fostering the standardized, written form. This, then, is the broad linguistic triad within which local vernaculars such as Gawraǰūyī are situated. The villagers are generally trilingual, speaking Gawraǰūyī, Persian, and a local form of Kurdish for informal interactions with local people from outside the immediate village.

1.3 The term “Gorani”

There is considerable confusion surrounding the name Gorani. In the earlier European tradition of Iranian linguistics, the term Gorani (Guranî) was used to refer to the language of the “Guran”, a people considered distinct from both the Kurds and the Persians, and inhabiting an area on the northwest fringe of the Zagros mountains close to the present-day border of Iran and Iraq. A number of other groups were also included in the Guran, for example, the Bajalan, who live as far west as Mosul in today’s Iraq.1 In part, this view of the matter is historically

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1 See the summary of earlier European scholarship in Hadank (1930).
motivated and is based on the use of “Gorani” as the written language in the principality of Ardalan, which was dominant in the region from approximately the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries. Gorani is also the name for the language of the sacred texts of the Ahl-e Haqq (or Yarësan) religion, with which the Ardalan were closely linked and which was considerably more widespread in the region than it is today. According to this account, the language Hawrami (Hawramani), spoken in the Awraman district of Iran and around Halabja in Iraq, is considered a “Görānī dialect” (MacKenzie 1966: 4). According to Hadank (1930: 76), Hawrami and the Gorani of the enclave of Kandula constitute the “core” of the Gorani language.

However, present-day usage among the inhabitants of the area is quite different. The term Gorani, if used at all as a language name, is only used to refer to the language of poetry and of the sacred texts of the Ahl-e Haqq. Otherwise, people refer rather generally to “Kurdi” for most varieties of Central and Southern Kurdish used as lingua francas throughout the region, and may even extend the term to other languages. The main distinction drawn by the people of the region is thus between Kurdi and Hawrami for the variety of Paveh. The term Gorani is therefore not part of common usage among laypeople. Recent fieldwork in Iraq (2010) by Mahmoudvaysi confirmed the existence of pockets of what we would refer to as Gorani in locations even as far as the north-west areas of the Mosul region in northern Iraq. But the speakers of these varieties refer to them with such names as Bāǰalān, Kākāyī, Šeḵānī, Šabakī, and Zangana. The name Māčo (lit. ‘he says’) is also commonly used by the speakers concerned, usually as a collective term for these Iraqi varieties.

Linguistically, there is little doubt that these now isolated pockets are quite closely related to the Gorani dialects of Iran, such as Gawraǰūyī, and in particular, to the dialect of the village of Zarde, which we are also investigating in the framework of our project, but not yet including in the present publication. We take this as indicative of an earlier, much larger area in which various forms of Gorani were once spoken, but which progressively eroded through the encroachment of Kurdish. Outside of the core regions of Hawraman, the varieties of contemporary Iraq, as well as those of Gawraǰūyī and Zardeyī, constitute more or less remnant pockets of this earlier Gorani area. Such a view was already expounded by MacKenzie (1961a). Thus our usage of the term “Gorani” evokes a historical unity of which speakers of the scattered remnant dialects today are largely unaware. It is, of course, a matter of dispute whether scientific terminology should depart from laypeople’s perceptions, but in the present case, there seems to be good reason to maintain the term “Gorani”, in particular because no other term is available. Thus, our standpoint is that languages and dialects such as Gawraǰūyī, Zardeyī, and others, which exhibit deep similarities to the comparatively well-documented “Hawrami” of Paveh and surroundings (see MacKenzie 1966), can be included in an overarching “Gorani” language (or language group), of which Hawrami is but one representative, albeit the most robust and, in terms of morphology, complex and archaic.

The genetic relationships between the individual Gorani languages remain poorly understood. However, Hawrami and the variety of Gorani spoken in the village of Kandula (north of Kermanshah) appear to be closest to each other (see Paul 2007: 291 and Hadank 1930), while that of Gawraǰū differs from these in a number of important respects (e.g., lack of gender, several differences in the paradigms of verbal agreement). Broadly speaking, Gawraǰūyī

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2 Mahmoudvaysi’s observation confirms the account provided by Hadank (1930: 43), who discusses a narrow stretch of Gorani-speaking enclaves running some 500 kilometers along a southeast-northwest axis from the border region towards Mosul. Hadank, however, refers to these “westernmost outliers of the Gûrân” as “Bāǰalān”.
appears to have undergone stronger influence from Southern Kurdish, although it may be premature to attribute the differences to contact influence. The dialect of Zarde, on the other hand, is closer to the Hawrami (Paveh) and Kandulai end of the spectrum. Mahmoudvayesi’s fieldwork in Iraq suggests that the dialects in Iraq are likewise remarkably similar to the Zarde variety, despite distances of hundreds of kilometers and a national border that separates them.

Traditionally, the small town of Gahvāre has been a cultural and administrative centre of the Gorani-speaking Ahl-e Haqq communities in the region. It lies approximately twenty kilometers northeast of Kerend, and Gahvāre is also a mere ten kilometers from Gawrajū, but the road between the two is extremely poor. When Oskar Mann visited the town in 1902, a variety of Gorani was still widely spoken there, and Mann was able to gather extensive language material, reproduced in Hadank (1930: 436-455). However, when Ludwig Paul visited the township in 2004, only three speakers remained, all over seventy years old, and having only restricted competence in the language (Paul 2007). The language has thus been almost totally abandoned in favor of the local variety of Southern Kurdish, and more recently, Persian. In fact, it appears that Gorani is still spoken in only in two villages in the entire area, Gawrajū and Zarde.

In sum, the language of Gawrajūyī represents a remnant pocket of the Gorani that was once spoken across a wide area. An overview of the traditional Gorani speech zone, showing the most important villages and towns with the names of the tribes, is provided in Map 1 on page 6. Over the past century, most Gorani speakers have shifted to Kurdish and Persian. It is only a matter of time before Gawrajūyī likewise becomes extinct.

1.4 Fieldwork procedure

The texts were recorded in situ in the village during two periods of fieldwork in October 2007 and in October 2008. The interviewer was Parvin Mahmoudvayesi, who spoke as little as possible during the interviews. She herself speaks a variety of Kurdish very close to the Kurdish vernacular widely used as a lingua franca in the region. Most of the time, she intentionally did not speak her own variety of Hawrami in order to avoid influencing the speakers in their own use of the language. On several occasions the speakers lapsed into Kurdish, at which point Parvin would politely request that they continue speaking in Gawrajūyī. Nevertheless, there was a fair amount of spontaneous and mostly unintentional or unconscious code-switching in the texts. These stretches of speech have also been transcribed but indicated as Kurdish and enclosed by curly brackets, {...}.

The recordings were made with a Zoom H2 recorder using built-in microphones to enable recordings to be made spontaneously, and to make the recording situation as unintrusive as possible. The sound was recorded using a linear WAV-format at 44 KHz frequency. Some of the recordings were subsequently processed using Adobe Audition to increase the volume, which was too low due to the less-than-ideal recording conditions and the use of the internal microphones.

A number of people of the village were recorded at the initial stage, but it soon became evident that these people differed widely in the extent to which they had active command of Gawrajūyī (or at least in the extent to which they were willing to use the language consistently). After some experimentation, two main speakers were found who were both willing and able to provide connected, spoken narratives. Our two main speakers were Arus and Alidust. Arus is a married woman of approximately thirty years of age, who had spent her entire life in the village. On the whole, out of all our informants, she speaks the most
consistent and pure form of Gawrajüyî. Alidust (AD) is a man of approximately seventy-five years of age, who is also a native of the village. In the texts, he tends to use more Kurdish elements, and he speaks a little less clearly, making some stretches difficult to analyze. Both speakers have basic school education (four to five years), and also speak Kurdish and Persian. In addition, recordings were also made with three unmarried women. As they prefer to remain anonymous, they are referred to by the abbreviations YFH, YFF, and YFN (Young Female H etc.). These texts include dialogue passages and contain fascinating insights into daily life in the village.

In the first stage following the recordings, a rough transcription and translation were produced using the software package ELAN. The details of transcription were successively modified as further texts were transcribed, and the translations were likewise modified. Due to visa restrictions and political unrest in the region in 2009, it was not possible to spend an extensive period of time in the village, so most of the work on the texts was done in Germany. A number of questions of interpretation were clarified by consulting Fereidoon Hosseini, originally of Gahvâre, who has a good active command of Gawrajüyî (though not that of a native speaker); nonetheless, some questions remain unsolved. Of the approximately twenty-five texts recorded, nine were selected for complete analysis and they appear in this book. Seven of them are also provided on the CD accompanying the book (cf. p. 79 for details of the texts). In total they amount to approximately ninety-four minutes of recordings. The texts were chosen to provide a reasonably representative cross section of speaker and topics, but criteria such as recording quality and coherency were also considered.

Once a reasonably consistent orthography had been developed, the texts were entered into the software program FLEX to facilitate analysis and glossing, and to enable production of the lexicon. This work was undertaken by Denise Bailey in collaboration with Parvin Mahmoudveysi.

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3 ELAN Linguistic Annotator, developed by Han Sloetjes at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.
4 FLEX refers to SIL FieldWorks Language Explorer, developed by SIL International.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

Map 1: Overview of the traditional Gorani-speaking area

Key to the abbreviations of tribal names and place names

**B (Bēwyānī)**  
**B1:** Sarqizil, Bardi ‘Ali Xwārū/Zūrū, Say Miṣafā, Gīrī Gīnūz, Kānī Šīma; **B2:** Bēwyān Gawra/Bičūk and about another 15 villages; **B3:** Bēwyān, Dūšamnān (their main places in this area), Sar-e Pol-e Zahāb, Dāraka, Qalama, Šāy Tōtyā, Barxu Bārānī Xwārū/Zūrū, Miǰūrī Ambar/Awbar, Tangi Ḥamām, Sarqalā

**G**  
Gawraǰū villages, Zarda (to be treated in a further volume)

**H**  
Hawrāmān area (Center Pāve and Nowsūd)

**K (Kākayī)**  
**K1:** Xānaqīn, Mēxās, Qarāmīn, Malā Ṭāṭāmān, Dārū, Qalama, ‘Ali Bāpīr, Ṭāmāzān, Taşa Ėrīm, Ḥāḏī Miṣṭafā; **K2:** Kirkūk (districts ʿAskārī, Usarāʾ al-Mafqūdīn etc.); **K3:** around Tōpzāwa (center of the Kākayī), ‘Ali Sarāy, Garja Kūyī, Maṭīq, Dāruq, Zaqar; **K4:** near Arbīl: Sufaya, Wardak, Kabarlū, Tūlabān, Gazakān

**Kn**  
Kandiča: 3 villages

---

5 In transcribing place names we have generally followed the standard procedures for Persian in Iran, and Arabic in Iraq. For places known primarily by their Kurdish names, we have been obliged to improvise, which has inevitably led to some inconsistencies.
Background to the Speech Community and the Texts

Ř (Řōžbayānī)  Ř1: Furqān; Ř2: Čamčamālī; Ř3: Arbil; Ř4: Kirkūk and Laylān (near Kirkūk)
Šb (Šabak)  Šb1: they call themselves Bājālānī, but are known as Šabak by other people
ŠrB (Šaraf Bayānī)  villages around Bāmō
Šx (Part of Šēxānī)  Šx1: villages near Qādīr Karam: Qašqa, Wēla, Šawak etc.; Šx2: Kānī Māz, Taqtaq, Sē Girdkān, Qāmiš, (Dukān, Kāya)
Z (Zangana)  Z1: Qādīr Karam; Z2: Bakragařa, Sipasar and many more (in Xānaqīn, Kalār, Kifrī (between Kalār and Tūz Xūrmātū), Arbil and surrounding area and in the surroundings of Al-Mawsīl); Z3: Tūz Xūrmātū

Map 2: The Gawraǰūyī region
2. A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF GAWRAǰŪYĪ

2.1 Introduction

This grammatical sketch was originally drawn up by Ludwig Paul on the basis of elicitation work he carried out with native speaker consultants from Gawrajū in October 2008. That data provided the framework for our description, but we have since substantially extended and revised the description using the naturalistic data taken from the text collection contained in this book. It is worth noting, however, that there is considerable variation at all levels of the language, both between individual speakers and even in the speech of individual speakers. Furthermore, the texts sometimes contain stretches of code-switching, where Gawrajūyī and varieties of Kurdish are intermingled, sometimes with words or phrases from Persian as well. Where possible, the non-Gawrajūyī material is noted, but it remains a difficult task to disentangle well-established loan words and loan constructions from more or less ad hoc code-switching. We stress that this chapter offers no more than a “sketch”; a number of points remain unresolved, but ongoing work by Denise Bailey will hopefully close many of the gaps in our knowledge.

2.2 Phonology

In the interests of consistency and reader-friendliness, we have opted to use the same set of symbols both in the text orthography and in the description of the phonology. Table 1 shows the symbols used in the orthography, and their phonetic values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i [iː]</td>
<td>p [pʰ] n [n] x [x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i [ɨ, ə]</td>
<td>b [b] ř [r] gh [ʁ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē [eː]</td>
<td>t [tʰ] r [ɾ] h [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e [ɛ]</td>
<td>d [d] f [f] h [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a [æ] (-[a])</td>
<td>k [kʰ] s [s] l [l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā [aː]</td>
<td>g [g] z [z] ĭ [ɬ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o [o]</td>
<td>q [q] ŋ [ŋ] y [j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u [u]</td>
<td>ĭ [ɬ] č [tʃʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū [uː]</td>
<td>ʔ [ʔ] ĕ [tʃʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū [y]</td>
<td>m [m] ĵ [dʒ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Symbols used in the orthography
2.2.1 Consonants

The positions of the consonant phonemes in an IPA table, where again the orthographic symbols are used, are shown here in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive (asp.)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>ğ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ng)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l, ř</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap, Vibrant</td>
<td>r, ř</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Consonant phonemes

In addition to those mentioned in Table 2, there are certain sounds that occur predominantly in loan words from Arabic (via Persian), for example /ħ/, /ʕ/ and /ʔ/, although /ħ/ also appears in a native word such as baʕd ‘seven’. Speakers vary in the extent to which they realize these sounds. In highly frequent words, such as baʕd ‘then, afterwards’, the pharyngeal sound is seldom realized, but we include it in the transcription because it preserves the traditional orthography of this word in the neighboring languages, because the vowel quality of this word is still slightly affected, and because it enables the word to be readily recognized as a loan. Further examples are given:

(1)  
hamla = š ‘attack’ = BP.3SG’ [6:96]  
šasāka = y das = iš ‘hand = EZ staff = BP.3SG’ [4:20]  
šaqd ‘engagement’ [8:199]  
baʕd ‘after’ [8:199]  
šarūsi ‘wedding’ [8:199]  
hanā taz?in makarin ‘decorate the henna’ [7N:94]

The question of whether these sounds should be considered part of the phoneme system of Gawrajūyī, or part of a loanword subsystem, cannot be readily answered. Other sounds that have uncertain status as phonemes are:

/i/ e.g., kuɾa ‘son’, řola ‘child’, hamrā(y) ‘still, yet’. It is possible that this sound is a predictable variant of /r/, occurring regularly in the environment _V. In Hawrami, the two are distinct phonemes. This still needs to be investigated for Gawrajūyī.

/gh/ In intervocalic position, this sound is often produced as more lenis, resulting in either a

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6 Thanks to Nicholas Sims-Williams for this observation.
glide [y], or zero, or it represents the barely perceptible remnant of a velar/uvular stop: aghar ‘if’, dighān ‘tooth’, bi̯ghardim ‘(that I) go around’. As it appears to occur solely in intervocalic position, it could be analyzed as a variant of /g/ (and it is historically in some cases).

/ŋ/ e.g., bižānq ‘eyelash’, māng ‘month’, māngāw ‘cow’, perhaps best analyzed as a sequence of /n/+/g/.

Another problem is the status of the bilabial velar [xʷ], as in xwār ‘sister’. In Gawrajūyī, historical [∗xʷ] is generally [w], as it is in Hawrami. Examples in Gawrajūyī include ward- ‘eat (past stem)’, weš ‘pleasant’. But in other words, it may be difficult to acoustically distinguish [x] from [xʷ], especially when that sound occurs before a back vowel.

2.2.2 Vowels

The vowel system consists of four short vowels7 and six (possibly seven) long vowels, rendered orthographically as follows: a, i, o, u (short); ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, ö, ü (long). Their approximate positions in an IPA table are given in Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ī ü</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ē ē</td>
<td>ē (ē)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>a [æ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Vowel phonemes

Notes on the vowels:

/ö/ This vowel seems to be a marginal phoneme. It is regularly heard in dō ‘two’, but elsewhere only with variant pronunciation, e.g., heyjūra/hoyjūra ‘in the same way’, mounim/moinim (< *ma-wīn-im) ‘I see’. It is not included in the transcription of the texts.

/a/ This has a broad range of realizations. It is often realized as an open [æ], but may be weakened to a schwa; an unstable /a/ is found as the initial sound in the preposition ařā [(ə)řā] ‘for, to (etc.)’, where it is often deleted, especially in fast speech.

/ɛ/, /ɨ/ The two sounds are phonetically close to each other and sometimes cannot be easily distinguished.

/ō/ The original fieldwork revealed the existence of a long /ō/. However, the subsequent text analysis suggests that it may be an allophone of /u/, or in some environments, a realization of the semi-vowel /w/, e.g.: rāw/rāō ‘hunting’, Dāw/Dāū ‘god’ (lit., ‘David’), šīyōnī/šīwnī ‘he was stirred up’. In the interests of simplicity, the

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7 Additionally, we have occasionally noted a fifth short vowel /e/, somewhat more closed than [æ], which is largely restricted to some loanwords and also to word-final contexts. For example, we regularly transcribe an ezafe particle with the symbol <e>. We still await a final analysis of this vowel.
transcriptions of the texts do not use the symbol /ö/, but instead /ū/ or /w/. In the examples in this section, however, we continue to note a vowel /ö/, because its status remains unclear and it may yet turn out to be relevant for the system as a whole (e.g., řōla or řūla ‘child’).

Examples:


2.2.2.1 Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are attested, though more detailed analysis may yield an interpretation of these as sequences of two vowel phonemes: [ei], [ou], and [au/ao], written <āw>.

2.3 Morphology of nouns and noun phrases

The morphology of Gawraǰū is more complex than that of modern Persian, but less complex than that of the ‘standard’ (Paveh) variety of Hawrami. There is both prefixing and suffixing, and there are several clitics. The clitics interact in interesting ways with each other and to some extent with affixes. The following example from the texts gives an initial impression of the kinds of complexities that can arise; details of this construction (the Past Transitive, or Agential construction) are dealt with in Section 2.4.7.2 below:

(2) řōla-k-ān = ɨs = im = ɨc  ward-č
dear.child-DEF-PL = BP.3SG = BP.1SG = ADD  eat.PST(PTCP)-3SG

‘I have eaten her dear children, too.’ [2:80]

Typical features of nominal morphology evident in this example are:

a. the use of the definiteness suffix -(a)k(a).

b. the use of the bound pronouns (BP) to indicate possessor ( = ɨs in the example), recipients and benefactors, and the transitive subject ( = im in the example).

Gawraǰū nouns distinguish number (singular and plural), and definiteness, but neither gender nor case. The latter feature distinguishes Gawraǰū from Hawrami. However, there appears to be something akin to a “case suffix”, or at least a clitic, in certain environments. The most important of these forms occurs after certain prepositions, where the ending = ay occurs: wa gard = ay ‘with, to’. However, we have generally opted to analyze this ending as part of a circumposition, a common feature of related languages, rather than as a case marker. Thus we have wa gard ... = ay, as in:

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8 In the following sections of the grammar sketch, the spelling of some material from the texts may differ from elicited material. Text material is indicated as such by the source following it or by a note. If the text spelling differs from the elicited spelling, the text spelling is also included and enclosed in square brackets. Text examples and their English translations may be full sentences or fragments. Sentence-initial capitalization of the English is usually retained as in the texts, while sentence-final punctuation is usually deleted.
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajüyi

with one = POST

‘with one (another), together’ [3:3]

(3) wa gard yak= ay

with boy = POST

‘with the youth’ [5:90]

(4) wa gard kuřa= ay

with Iran = POST

‘with / to Iran’ [5:131]

(5) wa gard ìrân= ay

‘to the Kurd(s)’ [6:161]

(6) wa gard kurd= ay

With postverbal noun phrases indicating goals, the form = ay also occurs, as in:

(7) xāw makat-ī = ya wan= šān= ay ‘they fall asleep (lit., sleep falls on them)’ [3:10]

(8) zū mašin= a pay kār= ay ‘They go to work early’ [7N:60]

See also Section 2.8 on adpositions.

The second possible candidate for an oblique case marker is -ī, which sometimes occurs after pronouns, as in the demonstratives ān-ī ‘that- (?)’, īn-ī ‘this- (?)’, īnakān-ī ‘these- (?)’, or mīn-ī ‘me- (?)’, and occasionally after nouns, such as mard-ī ‘Mard (proper name)’ [3:13]. However, the contexts of these examples do not provide consistent syntactic evidence that the -ī is an oblique ending. Some instances may be treated as reduced forms of the additive clitic =īč, while for other instances there is no current explanation. The fact that this ending occurs on pronouns and proper nouns is, of course, suggestive of something like a remnant case marker, because these types of high animacy noun phrases tend to retain case marking longer than others (Haig 2008). However, until clear evidence of a syntactic motivation (e.g., object function, transitive subject in past tenses) for this ending is found, it would be premature to call it a case marker.

2.3.1 Number marking on nouns

Singular nouns are unmarked, while plural nouns take the suffix -ān. This suffix can occur alone, as in the next example:

(9) pāɫawān-ān har ēti makarin ‘The heroes, whatever they do …’ [5:87]

It may also be followed by a bound pronoun in possessive function (see Section 2.3.5.1):

(10) didān-ān = im ‘my teeth’

It frequently occurs in combination with the definiteness suffix -aka (see next section), yielding -akān:

(11) māmīr-akān ‘the chickens’ [1:93], kawš-akān ‘the shoes’ [1:95],

kūz-akān ‘the vases’ [3:55]

When the noun concerned is indefinite, plurality may be unmarked, as in:

(12) xulāsa mwāy ḥaft ḥašt mīnāt i jūra

‘Finally, (the cat) speaks in this way to seven (or) eight children.’ [1:42]
2.3.2 Definiteness and indefiniteness

Nouns, or more precisely, noun phrases, also inflect for definiteness and indefiniteness. The definiteness suffix is -(y)aka (usually realized as -agá). The first vowel is dropped after short stem-final vowels:

(13) dit-aka ‘the girl’, šir-aka ‘the milk’, piši-yaka ‘the cat’

In general, the use of the definiteness suffix is roughly comparable to that of the definite article in English, being determined by assumed discourse recoverability, that is, if the reference of a noun phrase is considered to be known or recoverable to the hearer, it takes the definiteness suffix. Examples of the definiteness suffix are shown:

(14) (až) niwāy māšina-aka ‘in front of the car’ [elicited data]
(15) sifra-ka bināž! ‘spread(?) the sofre (the cloth on which food is served)’ [elicited data]

However, some nouns appear in discourse without the expected definiteness marker, as in pāťawānān in the first example in Section 2.3.1 above, as well is in the following example:

(16) dāwu kuřa=t na-kuš-ē ‘may God protect your son’ (lit., not kill) [elicited data]

In some contexts, variants with and without the definiteness suffix appear to be possible:

(17) ţa ţa-im-ē⁹ / ţa-aka=m-ē ‘she is my wife’ [elicited data]
(18) waš=it māy ţa-im būy? ‘would you like to become my wife?’ (lit., does your pleasure come you may become my wife?) [elicited data]

In other examples, possibly idiomatic, the variant with the definiteness suffix is apparently impossible:

(19) diš=it tang mawu? ‘are you sad / feeling lonely?’ (not: *diš-aka=t), (lit., ‘does your heart become narrow?’) [elicited data]

The conditions for the presence and absence of the definiteness suffix offer interesting possibilities for further research.

Indefiniteness is also marked on nouns. There appear to be two markers:

INDF1 Indefinite-1 -(y)ē, -(y)ēk
INDF2 Indefinite-2 -(y)ēk

Examples for the Indefinite-1 marker are:

(20) tarašta-yēk ‘a hatchet’ [1:11], daryā-yēk ‘a river’ [2:17], āsyāw-ēk ‘a mill’ [2:22], pišni-ēk ‘a small gas-cooker’ [3:86].

Notice that the Indefinite-1 marker is actually a phrasal affix, rather than part of noun morphology in the strict sense. Thus, in the following examples, it affixes to the postposed adjectives zirang and gawrā.

(21) Hāyde dit=e zirang-ēk-ē ‘H. is a bright girl’ [elicited data]
(22) Īna sēf gawrā-(y)ēk-ē ‘this is a big apple’ [elicited data]

Examples of the Indefinite-2 marker are:

⁹ Pronounced [ţan-mē], with obligatory deletion of the medial unstressed [i].
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajū

(23) ṭūrdū-yī aṛā = š makarin ‘they make a camp for him’ [5:91]

(24) ya qūr-i aṛā = m bāra ‘Bring me a jug’ [3:85]

The semantic and pragmatic difference between the two indefiniteness suffixes needs further investigation.10 Indefiniteness may also be signaled simply by the indefinite article ya (derived from yak ‘one’):

(25) ya dāya kaywānū mawu, ya bizin = iš mawu
    ‘There is an old lady (and) she has a goat’ [1:2]

(26) ya paṭaŋ = u ya tūtay = u ‘a leopard and a dog and’ [3:110]

In the following example, both ya and the indefiniteness suffix -ēk occur:

(27) maɾawē dawr ya āsyūw-ēk ‘She goes near a mill’ [2:22]

2.3.3 The demonstrative particle

The demonstrative particle = (y)a attaches to the final element of a noun phrase that is introduced by the demonstrative adjectives ā ‘that’ (also glossed as distal), or ī ‘this’ (also glossed as proximal). For example:

(28) ā ṭazā xān = a ‘that Reza Xan’ [6:100]

(29) ā tūta = y gard galam = a ‘that dog with the flock’ (lit., dog-of with flock) [3:34]

(30) ā lūla buxwārī = ya ‘that stovepipe’ [3:113]

(31) mawīnē ī dawrīš = a ‘(she) sees this dervish’ [4:30]

(32) ī qul asp = a ‘this leg (of the) horse’ [4:96]

Note that the demonstrative particle follows an additive clitic, showing that it is best seen as a phrasal affix, or clitic:

(33) ī dār = īč = a ‘this tree too’ [3:44]

(34) ā kuṛa gawrakam = īč = a ‘that older son of mine also’ [6:4]

The demonstrative particle follows the plural suffix, as in ā birā-yān = a ‘those brothers’. It may also occur following a bound possessive pronoun, as in the following:

(35) ā pūl = tān = a bitya wan = im!
    DIST money = BP.2PL = DEM give to goal = me
    ‘Give me that money of yours!’ [elicited data]

(36) ya gūf = e ī bāxča = t = a
    a rose = EZ PROX garden = BP.2SG = DEM
    ‘a rose of this garden of yours’ [4:54]

The demonstrative particle = (y)a can also be attached directly to ān and īn, as ān = a ‘that (one)’, īn = a ‘this (one)’.

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10 The Indefinite-2 marker may be due to Persian influence.
2.3.4 The Ezafe

As is well known from neighboring Persian and Kurdish, adjectives or possessors generally follow the head noun and are linked to it by means of an Ezafe vowel. Likewise in Gawraǰūyī, adjectives and possessors follow the head, but there is often no audible Ezafe vowel between the noun and the modifier. There are considerable cross-speaker differences in the extent to which Ezafes are produced, with the youngest speakers producing them most frequently. When the Ezafe is produced, there is also considerable variation in its vowel quality, though it does not appear to be systematic. In the Gawraǰūyī text transcriptions, we write the Ezafe consistently as -e (-y after stem ending in a vowel).

Examples of simple juxtaposition without the Ezafe vowel are the following:

(37) kū bīsitūn ‘mountain of Bisotun’ [4:64], ī qul asp=a ‘this leg (of the) horse’ [4:96], ā kuṟa gawr-aka = m=ič=a ‘that older son of mine also’ [6:4], ya marāsim sāda ‘a simple ceremony’ [7N:68], das min ‘my hand’ [elicited], sēf gourā-yēk ‘a big apple’ [elicited]

Examples with the Ezafe are the following:

(38) sandatalaka = y engelis ‘the seat of England’ [6:108], dita = y inā ‘the young women of this (place)’ [7N:34], ka = y kuṟaka ‘the house of the young man’ [7H:62], xānawāda = y kuṟaka ‘the family of the young man’ [7N:77], ka = y ime ‘our house’ [elicited], dita = y zirang ‘bright girl’ [elicited], kuṟaka = y tu ‘your son’ [elicited], āna birā = y gourā = m-ē ‘this is my older brother’ [elicited]\11

Phonological factors may be partly responsible for the use of the Ezafe; it is notable that nouns ending in -a generally seem to require its use. However, the exact nature of the factors that determine the presence or absence of the Ezafe particle needs closer investigation. The Ezafe also occurs in combination with certain prepositions, discussed in Section 2.8.5 below.

There is also a form, -a, which resembles an Ezafe in its usage, though its meaning is not yet entirely clear. It is provisionally glossed as a compound marker. It links a head noun to a noun or to an adjective, as shown in the following two examples:

(39) ganim-a šīra ‘the (dish of) milk and wheat’ [2:91]
(40) miš-a šal ‘the lame ram’ [2:2]

2.3.5 Bound pronouns

Gawraǰūyī has a set of clitic pronouns, and these may be hosted by both nominal and verbal elements. They are used for the following functions:

a. to indicate the possessor of a noun phrase
b. to indicate the complement of a preposition
c. to indicate the direct object of a verb in the present tense
d. to indicate the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense (see Section 2.4.7.2)
e. to indicate a recipient or benefactor (on noun phrases or verbs)

The paradigm is as follows:

---

11 In elicitation, the following example appeared with the Ezafe pronounced as -x. ya(?) ċišt = a xāsak-ē ‘it is a nice thing’
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawraǰūyī

2.3.5.1 Possessive function

The bound pronoun indicates the possessor of the noun. In many, but not all, cases, the noun concerned also takes the definiteness suffix -(y)aka (see Section 2.3.2), as in the following examples:

(41) āna žan-aka =m =ē ‘she is my wife’ [elicited data]
(42) kuřa-kā =t hey īnā =ya? ‘is your son here?’ [elicited data] (hey [hē-] is the particle of existence, also used for progressive constructions, see Section 2.4.10.1)
(43) dāwu kuřa-kā =t na-kuš-ē ‘may God protect (lit., ‘not kill’, i.e., ‘not let die’) your son’ [elicited data]
(44) až šūn-aka =t kār ma-kar-im ‘I work in your place’ [elicited data]

The bound pronoun may also follow the plural suffix, as in kuř-ak-ān =at ‘your sons’, or the indefinite suffix, as in:
(45) soʔāl-ēk = it nī-ya? ‘don’t you have (another) question?’ [elicited data]

2.3.6 Personal pronouns

Gawraǰūyī has a single set of independent personal pronouns. They may occur in any syntactic function that a full noun phrase would, but they do not inflect for case. The third person forms are basically the same as the demonstratives. The rules governing the distribution of the proximate forms (īn-) and the distal forms (ān-) are not fully understood. The paradigm is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>= (i)m</td>
<td>= mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>= (i)t</td>
<td>= tān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>= (i)š</td>
<td>= šān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Bound pronouns

In this section, only the possessive function, (a), is treated.

Examples are given here:
2.3.7 Reflexive pronoun

There is also a reflexive pronoun, īštan.\(^{12}\) This form is always followed by a bound pronoun. Examples of īštan in the possessive function are shown here (see Section 2.9.3 for an example in a full clause):

\[(47)\]  
\[\text{kuža} = y\text{ īštan} = iš ‘his own son’ [5:151]\]
\[\text{zwān kurdīyaka} = y\text{ īštan} = mān ‘our own Kurdish language’ [7H:123]\]

2.4 Morphology of verbs

Finite verbs in Gawraǰū yī are formed on the basis of either the present or past verb stem. The stem may be combined with the following prefixes: \(ma\)- (indicative, imperfective), \(bi\)- (subjunctive), or \(na\-, ni\-, ma\- (negation). Some verb forms do not require any prefix. The stem can be followed by a person and number ending or serve as a host for the bound pronouns introduced in Section 2.3.5 above. In some finite verb constructions, the stem can be followed by an additional past subjunctive marker. The attested non-finite forms are the passive participle and the infinitive, both of which are phonologically identical. They are built from the past stem and the suffix \(-a\), and have no prefix.

2.4.1 Verb stem formation

All verbs have a present and a past stem. Traditionally, verbs may be classified according to the relationship of the present to the past stem. The most regular type of formation involves an extension to the present stem, yielding the past stem. But in addition to these regular forms, less transparent couplings are also observed, and there are also some instances of suppletion.

The shape of the present stems of some verbs is further modified by the lenition of certain initial voiced consonants \(b\-, d\-, g\-, or w\-\). When preceded by the prefixes \(ma\-, na\- (negation), or \(bi\-\), these consonants become glides, [\(w\)] or [\(y\)], and the vowel of the prefix may coalesce with the stem vowel. For example, the Gawraǰūyī Present Indicative form [\(ma\text{r}\)] ‘carry, take’ results from the following development:

\[(48)\]  
\[\text{mēr} < \text{ma-yar} < *\text{ma-bar}\-\]

In our orthography, we write the conservative form \(mayar\) for this verb form, though its actual pronunciation may approach [\(ma\text{r}\)]. In most cases, the historical present stems of these verbs are not attested anywhere, but in the following list we have included them with an asterisk (e.g., *\(bar\-\)). The past stems may also take a prefix, in which case they undergo the same change, for example: \(ma\text{-yard} < *\text{ma-bard}\). However, for these verbs, we have forms of

\(^{12}\) In the texts, a form \(wē\) (as in Hawrami) also occurs twice.
the past stem without a prefix as well, so the historical forms of the stems are also attested in the data (see Section 2.4.2.1).

Many words in the lists that follow were gathered through elicitation. In most cases the elicited forms are phonologically identical to or very close to the forms attested in the texts. In cases of more dissimilarity, we include both the elicited and attested forms, with the attested forms in square brackets.

2.4.1.1 Regular present and past stems

This class contains those verbs whose past stem can be derived from the present stem through the addition of a further segment. The main types are listed below.

**Present stem + -d**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumed present stem/ finite form (if attested)</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*bar- / [me:r] ma-yr- (&lt; <em>ma-bar-)</em></td>
<td>bard / -yard</td>
<td>‘take, carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gîr- / ma-yr- (&lt; *ma(y)îr- &lt; <em>ma-gîr-)</em></td>
<td>gîrt / gîrd</td>
<td>‘bring, take, get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kar- / ma-kar-</td>
<td>kard / ka / kar</td>
<td>‘do, make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar-</td>
<td>mard</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san-</td>
<td>san(d)</td>
<td>‘buy, obtain, get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šûr-</td>
<td>šûr(d)</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war- / b-war-</td>
<td>war(d)</td>
<td>‘eat, drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

**Present stem + -t**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiš-</td>
<td>kišt [kišt]</td>
<td>‘pull, make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuš-</td>
<td>kušt</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niš-</td>
<td>ništ</td>
<td>‘sit down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

*Present stem + *-t, with an additional change of *w to *f*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ūław-</td>
<td>ūlaft</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūznaw-</td>
<td>ūzinaft</td>
<td>‘listen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8

*Present stem + *-ī*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumed present stem/finite form (if attested)</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bas-</em> / ma-yaw-* ( &lt; <em>ma-bas-</em>)</td>
<td>basī (elicited)</td>
<td>‘bind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baxš-</em> / muaxš-* (elicited, presumably from &lt; <em>ma-baxš-</em>)</td>
<td>baxšī</td>
<td>‘excuse, forgive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bīr-</em> / ma-wir-* ( &lt; <em>ma-biř-</em>)</td>
<td>bīrī</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čan- / čin-</td>
<td>čanī</td>
<td>‘pick, gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dař-</em> / ma-yař-* ( &lt; <em>ma-dař-</em>)</td>
<td>dařī</td>
<td>‘tear (to pieces)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diz-</em> / mayz-* (elicited, &lt; <em>ma-diz-</em>)</td>
<td>dizī [diz]</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dūš-</em> [wš-]/ ma-wš-* ( &lt; <em>ma-duš-</em>)</td>
<td>dūšī</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fām-</td>
<td>fāmī</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kołn-</td>
<td>kołnī</td>
<td>‘cook’ (transitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nās-</td>
<td>nāsi(^\text{13})</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūs- / bi-nūs-*</td>
<td>nūṣī</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pars- / bi-pars- (elicited)</td>
<td>parsī</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parxan-</td>
<td>parxanī</td>
<td>‘snore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīyon-</td>
<td>šīyonī</td>
<td>‘stir up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9

\(^{13}\) A past tense form, šanasī, was also elicited.
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajūyī

Table 9 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>škin-</th>
<th>šiknī</th>
<th>‘break to pieces’ (transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wan-</td>
<td>wani</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wašn-</td>
<td>wašnī</td>
<td>‘disperse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žan-</td>
<td>žanī</td>
<td>‘strike’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present stem + -is (mostly intransitive)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*biram-</td>
<td>biramis</td>
<td>‘weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mawiram-</td>
<td>*ma-biram-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daw-</td>
<td>dawis</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gard-</td>
<td>gardis</td>
<td>‘go around, wander’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mān-</td>
<td>mānis</td>
<td>‘resemble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nüř-</td>
<td>nořis</td>
<td>‘look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pař-</td>
<td>pařis</td>
<td>‘jump [cross]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-</td>
<td>ramiš</td>
<td>‘flee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūz-</td>
<td>sūzis</td>
<td>‘burn’ (intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xan-</td>
<td>xanis</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>man(a)</td>
<td>‘stay, remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny-</td>
<td>niya</td>
<td>‘put, set’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋas-</td>
<td>ŋasi</td>
<td>‘arrive, reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zān-</td>
<td>zānist</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11
2.4.1.2 Irregular present and past stems

In the irregular present and past stems, it is still possible to recognize that the forms are from
the same stem, but the past stems cannot be derived by the mere addition of a segment.

Final consonant (sibilant) of present stem is replaced by -t, yielding the past stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>furūš-</td>
<td>furūt</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāž-</td>
<td>nāt</td>
<td>‘throw’ ['take’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā(ž)-</td>
<td>wāt</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ws-</td>
<td>wit</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12

Present stem identical with past stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present stem</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kan-</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>‘dig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kat-</td>
<td>kat [kat, kawt]</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyās-</td>
<td>kyās</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san-</td>
<td>san(d)</td>
<td>‘buy, obtain’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13

Suppletive

(a) Historically ‘true’ suppletive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumed present stem/ finite form (if attested)</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āy- / māy- (&lt; *ma-āy-)</td>
<td>hāma</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>win- / pronounced [mōyn-], written ma-win-</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14
(b) Historically from the same stem, but appearing as suppletive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assumed present stem/finite form (if attested)</th>
<th>Past stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ār- / mār- (&lt; *ma-ār-)</td>
<td>(h)āwird</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rz- or z-</td>
<td>hešt</td>
<td>‘allow, let’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tī- / ma-tī-</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w- / ma-w-</td>
<td>biya</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15

2.4.1.3 Peculiarities

The present stems nā(ž)- ‘throw’ and wā(ž)- ‘say’ have an unstable -ż that may be dropped before certain verbal endings, but the ż is always found before other endings. Paradigms of the Present Indicative are as follows:

(49) ‘throw’, also ‘put, take’

*manā(ž)m* ‘I throw’

*manāy* ‘you throw’

*manāč* ‘he, she, it throws’ [elicited data]

*manā(žā)m* ‘we throw’

*manāžā* ‘you (pl.) throw’

*manā(ž)n* ‘they throw’

(50) ‘say’

*mwā(ž)m* ‘I say’

*mwāži, mwāy* ‘you say’

*mwāči, mwāy* ‘he, she, it says’

*mwā(žā)m* ‘we say’

*mwāža* ‘you (pl.) say’

*mwā(ž)n* ‘they say’

The past stems of *kard* ‘do, make’ and *ward* ‘eat, drink’ may be shortened to *ka* and *wa* or *war* in Past Perfective, third person singular. In the texts, these past stems are written in their fullest form, with the unrealized material in parentheses:

(51) \[ xāk = im \quad wa(r) \quad \text{earth} = \text{BP.1SG} \quad \text{eat.PST} \]

‘I ate earth’ [3:106]
2.4.2 Tense, aspect, mood, and negation affixes

2.4.2.1 The indicative and imperfective ma-, and subjunctive bi-

The prefix ma- occurs with both past and present stems. In its use on present stems, it simply marks the aspectually neutral, indicative form of the verb. With past stems, it adds an imperfective sense. It may also be used with the past stem to express a past, unrealized situation, as in a past subjunctive sentence. With a few verbs, the form mi- is used in alternation with ma-, though the conditions for this are not yet clear.

The prefix bi- with past and present stems expresses subjunctive mood. The prefix is also used on verbs in the imperative constructions. Verb forms based on the past stem and expressing perfective aspect take no prefix except for that of negation.

In compound (or light) verb constructions (see Section 2.4.14), the subjunctive prefix bi- may be dropped. In these constructions, the verb is preceded by a compound verb element, as in durus kar- ‘prepare’, wāz kar- ‘open’, bāwār kar- ‘believe’. The omission of the prefix bi- can be seen in the next examples (from texts):

(53) ma-w-u bi-š-i kawš ařā = š durus kar-ĩ
  IND-COP-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-2SG shoe for = BP.3SG right (SBJV-)do.PRS-2SG
  ‘you must go (and) make shoes for her’ (lit., ‘it is that you go ...’) [1:41]

(54) bara-ka wāz kar-a
  door-DEF open (SBJV-)do.PRS-IMP.PL
  ‘open the door’ (imperative, plural) [2:41]

When a present prefix (ma- or bi-) occurs on a present stem that begins with ā-, that prefix’s short vowel, a- or ĩ-, is assimilated to the stem-initial vowel. Examples of this assimilation can be seen here:

Present stem: āy- ‘come’; Present Indicative: māy-; Present Subjunctive: bāy-

Present stem: ār- ‘bring’; Present indicative: mār-; Present Subjunctive: bār-

Assimilation and contraction can also be seen when the prefixes occur on verb stems beginning with b-, d-, g-, or the semi-vowel w-, as discussed above in Section 2.4.2.1. In the following chart, this assimilation and contraction is shown with examples. The stem form of the verb remains the same, regardless of whether it is preceded by the indicative or subjunctive prefix (elicited data):
There are also stem forms that differ from each other when preceded by indicative and subjunctive prefixes. The stem marked as indicative often involves a diphthong, whereas the stem marked as subjunctive involves a long vowel (also elicited data; text data are given in square brackets if spelling differs):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reconstructed Present stem</th>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
<th>Gloss of Present stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*baxš-</td>
<td>muaxš- (&lt; *ma-baxš-)</td>
<td>buaxš-</td>
<td>‘excuse, forgive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dāř-</td>
<td>mayař- (&lt; *ma-dāř-)</td>
<td>bēř-</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wāž-</td>
<td>mwāž- (&lt; *ma-wāž-)</td>
<td>bwāž-</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wan-</td>
<td>mwan- (&lt; *ma-wan-)</td>
<td>bwan-</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*war-</td>
<td>mwar- (&lt; *ma-war-)</td>
<td>bwar-</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16

2.4.2.2 Prefixes of negation

The prefixes *ni- and *na- express negation on verbs. The prefix *ma- can also alternate with a form, *ma- (distinct from indicative or imperfective *ma-) to also express negation of the imperative, as the prohibitive (see Section 2.4.4.3).

The form *ni- is used before verbs in present-tense sentences with indicative mood. In such sentences, the *ni- prefix precedes the indicative *ma-. The *ni- and *ma- prefixes are shown in the following examples (from texts). Both trigger the lenition processes that were discussed in the preceding section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reconstructed Present stem</th>
<th>Present Indicative</th>
<th>Present Subjunctive</th>
<th>Gloss of Present stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*bīř-</td>
<td>mourī-</td>
<td>bū-</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*biram-</td>
<td>mouram-</td>
<td>būram-</td>
<td>‘weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dīz-</td>
<td>mayz-</td>
<td>bēz-</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dūš-</td>
<td>mawš-</td>
<td>būš-</td>
<td>‘milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*gīr-</td>
<td>mawīr-</td>
<td>būn-</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wīn-</td>
<td>mawīn-</td>
<td>[bwin-]</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wit-</td>
<td>maws-</td>
<td>būs-</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17
The form *na-* is used to express negation with the subjunctive mood in present-tense sentences. In such sentences, *na-* does not occur with *bi*; rather, it replaces it. For example (from texts):

(57) marg = tān na-wīn-im hargizā-y hargiz
dead = BP.2PL NEG.SBJV-see.PRS-1SG never-NA never

'may I never see your death, never, never' [1:111]

(58) hūč_waxt na-nīš-i až ānā
never NEG.SBJV-sit.PRS-2SG there

'you may never sit there' [7N:22]

Occasionally the combined form of negation and subjunctive, *ma-* is used to express negation of an imperative (prohibitive):

(59) ī qāl = a ma-ka
PROX loud.talk = DEM NEG.IMP-do.PRS(-IMP.2SG)

'Don’t talk loudly like this' [4:117]

The form *na-* also expresses negation of verb forms based on the past stem. Examples of *na-* in past-tense sentences are shown here (from texts):

(60) na-nūsi = š
NEG.PST-write.PST = BP.3SG

'(Mosaddeq) did not write it' [6:103]

(61) īna = m = a; ařā = t na-wāt
this = BP.1SG = NA for = BP.2SG NEG.PST-say.PST

'I didn’t tell you this' [4:187]

2.4.3 Agreement through person-number suffixes and bound pronouns

Most clauses in Gawrajūyī show some form of agreement with their subject, but the morphemes used to express agreement vary according to the tense and the transitivity of the verb. Because transitivity plays a role in determining the forms of the suffixes used, it is useful to introduce abbreviations for referring to the main arguments concerned (following widespread convention in typology, see Haig 2008):

- **S** = intransitive subject
- **A** = transitive subject
- **O** = transitive object

There are basically two kinds of agreement marker: genuine verbal suffixes, which are restricted to occurring only on the verb itself, and the bound pronouns, already introduced in Section 2.3.5 above. The latter may be hosted by words other than verbs, and are hence
considered to be clitics. When these bound pronouns occur on the verb itself, they resemble normal “agreement suffixes”, and in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish them from suffixes. For the sake of clarity, we nevertheless draw a distinction between “verbal suffixes”, and “bound pronouns”.

In a clause built with a present-tense verb, the subject argument (S or A) is cross-referenced on the verb through verbal suffixes. The verb can be intransitive or transitive. Alternative forms of the same endings (shown in the chart below in parentheses) are used in certain environments, though all the conditions are not yet clear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Agreement suffixes with present stems (S and A)

In clauses built with past-tense verbs, basically the same set of suffixes is used, except that the third person has zero. However, the verbal suffixes serve to cross-reference only the subject of intransitive verbs (“S”), and with certain restrictions to be discussed below, the object of transitive verbs (“O”). For the subjects of transitive verbs (“A”), the bound pronouns are used (see below). Table 19 below gives the forms of the verbal suffixes used to cross-reference S and (sometimes) the O of past-tense verb forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Agreement suffixes with past-tense verbs (S and O)

For cross-referencing the A of a past-tense verb, an agreement suffix is not used. Instead, one of the bound pronouns is used, already introduced in Section 2.3.5 above. Crucially, the bound pronoun often occurs not on the verb itself, but on a constituent preceding the verb (hence we
refer to these markers as clitics). Nevertheless, it seems that the bound pronoun is obligatory in the clause, and can therefore be considered an instance of agreement. The forms were given above in Table 4, repeated here for convenience:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=(i)m(a)</td>
<td>=mān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=(i)t</td>
<td>=tān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>=(i)š</td>
<td>=šān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20

An example of the bound pronouns agreeing with the subject is shown on the first word in the following example:

(62) \( \text{ina}=\text{m}=\text{a} \quad \text{aṛā}=\text{t} \quad \text{na-wāt} \)

this = BP.1SG = NA for = BP.2SG NEG-say.PST

‘I didn’t tell you this’ [4:187]

The syntax of past transitive constructions is dealt with in Section 2.4.7.2 below.

2.4.4 Verb forms based on the present stem

2.4.4.1 Present Indicative

The Present Indicative is formed with \( \text{ma} \)- prefixed to the present stem of the verb, followed by the appropriate person-number ending.

(63) Present stem: \( \text{kar} \)- ‘do, make’ (elicited data)

- makarim ‘I do’
- makari ‘you do’
- makarē ‘he, she, it does’
- makarām ‘we do’
- makara ‘you (plural) do’
- makarin ‘they do’

The following set of forms shows the Present Indicative built from a verb stem ending in a vowel -ī (elicited data):

(64) Present stem: \( \text{tī} \)- ‘give’

- matīm
- matī
mati-Ø (‽ or: matīya)\textsuperscript{14}
matīyām
matī (‽)
matīn

The Present Indicative is basically neutral with regard to aspectual distinctions. It expresses both situations that are ongoing at the present time and not completed, and it also expresses a situation as habitual and always holding true. Examples of the Present Indicative follow:

(65) alāna až i bāx-ān = a ka ma-wīn-i
   now in PROX garden-PL = DEM COMPL IND-see.PRS-2SG
   ‘Now, in these gardens that you see’ [7H:79]

(66) pīyā-k-ān dirāw ma-kar-īn, daskana ma-kar-īn
man-DEF-PL wheat.harvest IND-do.PRS-3PL legume.harvest IND-do.PRS-3PL
   ‘The men do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting’ [7N:37]

The Present Indicative can also express situations in narratives told about the past, and it is the tense construction often used throughout the texts, such as Text 3. Furthermore, the Present Indicative can be used to indicate situations located in future time:

(67) mīn ma-š-im
   1SG IND-go.PRS-1SG
   ‘I will go’ [5:89]

2.4.4.2 Present Subjunctive

The Present Subjunctive is formed with the addition of the prefix bi- to a present stem, followed by the appropriate person-number ending. An example paradigm is shown here:

(68) Present stem: kar- ‘do, make’
   bikarīm ‘I may do’
   bikari ‘you may do’
   bikarē ‘he, she, it may do’
   bikarām ‘we may do’
   bikara ‘you (plural) may do’
   bikarin ‘they may do’

The Present Subjunctive is used to express all kinds of situations that are not actually occurring, or cannot be reliably predicted to occur (hypothetical, but also situations that the speaker wishes would occur):

(69) jā ča bi-kar-ām
   then what SBJV-do.PRS-1PL
   ‘Then what should we do?’ [4:95]

\textsuperscript{14} The -ya may be the post-verbal directional particle commonly occurring with the stem tī- ‘give’ (see Section 2.8.6).
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(70)  ámbās-ān = a  bi-pūš-ō
those clothing-PL = DEM  SBJV-put.on.PRS-3SG
‘she (will be able to) put on those clothes’ [7H:155]

It is used after modals (see Section 2.4.11 for further examples), and also in certain subordinate clauses:

(71)  mā-tān-ām  bi-nīš-ām
IND-can.PRS-1PL  SBJV-sit.PRS-1PL
‘we can sit’ [7N:8]

(72)  sara řēk ařā = y  ištān = ŕān  haw-ma-nīš-in  nān = ŕu
on way for = EZ  REF = BP.3PL  PREV-IND-sit.PRS-3PL  bread = and
čāyī  b-war-īn
tea  SBJV-eat.PRS-3PL
‘On the way, they simply sit down (so that) they may eat bread and tea’ [3:7]

2.4.4.3 Imperative and Prohibitive

The Imperative is formed with the prefix bi- (though it may be dropped out with some compound verbs), with the present stem, followed by either -Ø indicating the addressee as second person singular, or -a indicating the addressee as second person plural.15 Examples of the Imperative with a singular addressee are given here:

(73)  dita-ka = t  kīl  bi-ka
day=DEF = BP.2SG  sending  SBJV-do.PRS(-IMP.2SG)
‘Send your daughter’ [1:36]

(74)  darwāz-aka wāz  ka
door=DEF open  (SBJV-)do.PRS(-IMP.2SG)
‘open the door’ [2:44]

Examples of the Imperative with a plural addressee are also given:

(75)  hēzīm  jam  bi-kar-ā
wood together  SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.PL
‘Gather wood’ [5:42]

(76)  ya qūrī  ařā = m  b-ār-ā
one jug for = BP.1SG  SBJV-bring.PRS-IMP.PL
‘Bring me a jug’ [3:85]

The Prohibitive (negative imperative) is also formed with the present stem and uses the same singular or plural endings as the Imperative. However, the negation prefix ma- or na- replaces the prefix bi-. For example:

(77)  ĭ  qāīl = a  ma-ka
PROX loud.talk = DEM  NEG.IMP-do.PRS(-IMP.2SG)
‘don’t talk loudly like this’ [4:117]

15 The suffix -a is identical to the second person plural suffix -a on other present tense verb constructions.
2.4.5 The present tense of the verb ‘go’

There are two common verbs meaning ‘go’ in Gawrajūyī.\(^\text{16}\) The first is present stem řaw-, past stem řawt; the second is present stem š-, with an unknown past stem.\(^\text{17}\) As exemplified here, the present stem š- has irregular endings in the third person singular, -ū / -u, and in first person plural, -ām / -ām:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(78)} & \quad \text{baru-ka ařš = š wāz na-kar-a} \\
& \quad \text{door-DEF for = BP.3SG open NEG.SBJV-do-PRS-IMP.PL} \\
& \quad \text{‘don’t open the door for him’ [2:38]}
\end{align*}
\]

2.4.6 Present tense forms of the copula and the expressions of existence / possession

We use the term ‘copula’ to refer to the formal means for linking a subject to an expression of identity (‘he is my brother’), location (‘they are at home’), or to ascribe properties (‘we are rich’). In English, such functions are generally fulfilled using a form of be. In Gawrajūyī, there are two possibilities.

The first is through a lexical verb, which we refer to as the copula verb. It is difficult to pinpoint a particular phonological shape of the stem. Historically it most probably had an initial bilabial plosive. However, when preceded by a vowel, the stem is reduced to -w-. This verb most often occurs as a clitic, where its stem is also strongly eroded. Furthermore, there is what appears to be a “past subjunctive” form of this verb (see Section 2.4.8.3), which has a different stem again. We therefore refrain from providing a particular “citation form”; instead, we refer simply to the copula verb.

This verb can be regularly inflected for person-number, tense-aspect-mood, and negation. The same verb is also used to express inchoative senses of ‘become’.

The second possibility is found only in affirmative, indicative clauses in the present tense. Here, no overt lexical verb is used; instead, a set of agreement suffixes attach directly to the predicate noun or adjective. The agreement suffixes concerned are almost identical to those used for present-tense verbs (see Table 18 above), but some minor differences or variants are attested in the texts, shown here in parentheses: 1SG -ām(-īm); 2SG -i(-yī); 3SG -ē, -yē, -a, -i (-wē, -ya, as in Hawrami -an, -n, -na?); 1PL -ām, -yām (-īm); 2PL (not found in texts); 3PL -īn (-yīn).

\[^{16}\text{Two less commonly used verbs with the meaning of ‘go’ are ř- and č-}.\text{ These are apparently due to borrowing: compare to Hawrami ř- and Kurdish č-}.\]

\[^{17}\text{Note exceptional forms: fo- mařowa [4:27]; and shortened forms possibly of řaw-: mařyā [5:59]; and mařām [6:54].}\]
A paradigm of affirmative Present Indicative with the adjective šakat ‘tired’ is provided below.

(80) šakat ‘tired’ + copula

šakat-im ‘I am tired’
šakat-i ‘you are tired’
šakat-ē ‘he, she, it is tired’
šakat-yăm ‘we are tired’
šakat-a ‘you (plural) are tired’
šakat-in ‘they are tired’

Following a vowel-final stem, the forms are as follows (gawrā ‘big’):

(81) gawrā ‘big’ + copula

gawrā-im / -yam ‘I am big’
gawrā-y ‘you are big’
gawrā-ē ‘he, she, it is big’
gawrā-yâm ‘we are big’
gawrā-ya ‘you (plural) are big’
gawrā-ya ‘they are big’

For third person singular, two other forms of the copula are occasionally used; these appear to be borrowed: -na (compare with Hawrami -na), and -a, (-ya) (likely due to Kurdish influence).

In all other environments (i.e., not affirmative, not present, not indicative), an overt form of the copula verb is required. An example with the adjective šakat ‘tired’ and the third person singular copula, past tense, follows:

(82) šakat bi ‘he, she was tired’

In the sense of ‘become’, the full verb is always required, and it shows a regular paradigm. In normal speech, the stem-initial glide -w- of the present tense coalesces with the final vowel of the indicative prefix ma- to create a diphthong: ma- + w- → [mɔɛ]. Our orthography reflects a more conservative pronunciation, which more clearly reveals the morphological structure:18

(83) ‘become’

mawim ‘I become’
mawi ‘you become’
mawu ‘he, she, it becomes’
mawām ‘we become’
mawa ‘you (plural) become’
mawin ‘they become’

---

18 Historically, the present stem presumably had an initial*₇-b-. The reasons for this assumption are (1) the past stem has *₇-b-; (2) the lenition of *₇-b- to w- in the present indicative is completely regular (due to the vowel of the present indicative prefix ma-), and can be observed in the stem-initial voiced obstruents of other verbs, as discussed above.
2.4.6.1 Negated Present Indicative of copula

For the negated copula in the present tense, a special form is used:

(84) \( n\text{iy}\text{a(y)i)m } 'I am not' \\
\( n\text{iyay } 'you are not' \\
\( n\text{iya } 'he, she, it is not' \\
\( n\text{iy(ay)i}m \ 'we are not' \\
\( n\text{iyaya } 'you (plural) are not' \\
\( n\text{iya(y)i}n \ 'they are not'

2.4.6.2 Present Subjunctive of copula

A full paradigm of the Present Subjunctive of the copula in the sense of ‘be’ is not available, though it is quite possibly identical to the forms found in the sense of ‘become’, given below; the third person singular form is certainly identical. For the (quite common) third person singular, there are two possibilities: \( b\text{u} \) and \( b\text{o} \). The form \( b\text{u} \) seems to be used rather more frequently in the texts by all the speakers:

(85) \( k\text{a } b\text{uyad } i \text{ jura } b\text{u} \) \text{because it.must PROX manner SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG}
‘because it has to be this way’ [7H:9]

(86) \( k\text{i } b\text{u} \) \text{who SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG}
‘Who could he be?’ [4:147]

The other third person singular form \( b\text{o} \) is also used, possibly more often by older speakers, though conditions are not yet clear:

(87) \( b\text{uyad } \text{adat}t\text{at } x\text{w}a \text{ bo} \) \text{must justice God SBJV.COP.PRS.3SG}
‘it must be God’s justice’ [6:45]

The Present Subjunctive forms of ‘become’ are given here (elicited data, attested forms for most cells in the paradigm are lacking):

(88) ‘become’
\( b\text{uim} \ ‘I may become’ \\
\( b\text{ui} \ ‘you may become’ \\
\( b\text{u } 'he, she, it may become’ \\
\( b\text{uum} \ ‘we may become’ \\
\( b\text{ua } 'you (plural) may become’ \\
\( b\text{uin } 'they may become’

Again it seems reasonable to assume historically *\( b\text{i-b-im} > b\text{i-w-im} > b\text{uim} \).
2.4.6.3 Expressions of existence

There is also a particle of existence, hē- ‘be there’ (emphasized), ‘existent’. We consider it a particle, rather than a verb, because it cannot take the normal verbal inflections (indicative prefix, subjunctive prefix, etc.). Nevertheless, in the Present Indicative it has a kind of paradigm indicating person and number, as shown below:

(89) ‘exist, be there’

hēm(a) ‘I am there, I exist’
hē ‘you are there, you exist’
hē ‘he, she, it is there, he, she, it exists’
hē(yā)mē ‘we are there, we exist’
heya ‘you (plural) are there, you (plural) exist’
heyn(a) ‘they are there, they exist’

For example:

(90) hēmē dile marāsim-aka
existent.1PL at celebration-DEF
‘(If) we are at such celebration(s)’ [7H:139]

(91) čünka nwār-aka hē
because cassette-DEF existent.3SG
‘because there are cassette(s)’ [7H:119]

This form hē is also used to express possession, roughly corresponding to English ‘have’. The possessor is expressed through a bound pronoun (at least no examples with full NP possessors were available in our corpus). In our corpus, the existential particle is always in the third person singular in this construction:

(92) bāwař ka ʕalāqa =m =ič hē
belief (SBJV-)do.PRS(-IMP.2SG) interest = BP.1SG = ADD existent.3SG
‘Believe me, I also have an interest’ [7H:49]

(93) jāwāhir =iš hē
jewel = BP.3SG existent.3SG
‘he has jewels’ [4:36]

To indicate possession in the past tenses, a form of the verb b- / -w- is used (see preceding sections), for example:19

(94) min īštan =im ya ʕafiq =im bē
1SG REFL = BP.1SG a friend = BP.1SG COP.PST.3SG
‘I myself had a friend’ [8:134]

To indicate lack of possession, the negated form of the existential particle is used:

---

19 It is noteworthy that the variant past tense form bē here seems to have the same ending as in present tense.
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajüyi

The form of *hé* can also used together with a finite verb construction to indicate a sense of ongoing or immediate action; see Section 2.4.10.1.

2.4.7 The morphology of past stems: stem allomorphy and person agreement

A number of tenses and moods are formed on the basis of the past stem. In this sketch, only the most important are treated; other forms involving auxiliary verbs and participles will be treated in more detail in later work. As far as the basic distinction between transitive and intransitive agreement systems is concerned, all tenses and moods follow the same pattern outlined below.

Past stems beginning with *b*-, *d*-, *g*-, *h*- and *w*-, when preceded by *ma-* (imperfective), *bi-* (subjunctive) or *na-* (negation), undergo similar changes with assimilation as do the respective present stems, as discussed in 2.4.2 above.

Past-tense verbs may also exhibit agreement with their arguments, but the system used differs somewhat from that found in present tenses, and in past tenses there is a crucial distinction between agreement patterns with transitive verbs and those with intransitive verbs. In what follows, we take the simplest past-tense forms as the basis for the description, but essentially the same system works for all past stem-based verb forms.

2.4.7.1 Intransitive verbs in the past tenses

Intransitive verbs agree obligatorily with their subject, using the set of agreement suffixes already provided in Table 19 above. A paradigm with the Past Perfective of an intransitive verb, ťaň ‘go’, is given here:

(96) ‘go’
   ťaň-im ‘I went’
   ťaň-i ‘you went’
   ťaň-Ø ‘he, she, it went’
   ťaňyám (ťaň-im?) ‘we went’
   ťaň-ja ‘you (plural) went’
   ťaň-in ‘they went’

The Past Perfective of the copula has apparently two stems, *bí* and *bíši*. The origin of the *-sí-* forms remains unclear, but it is presumably related to the *-s-* formative found in the past stems of certain other intransitive verbs.20

(97) *bí(sí)jm* ‘I was’
   *bí(sí)* ‘you were’

---

20 For example *šikya* ‘break apart’ (intransitive, present stem) > *šıkís* ‘it broke apart’ (past). Presumably in analogy to this, a kind of passive is made formed from some past transitive verbs using *-s*, though this topic requires more research.
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*bī* ‘he, she, it was’

*bī(s)yām* ‘we were’

*bī(s)i(ja) (elicited, possibly *bīsia*) ‘you (plural) were’

*bī(s)i(n) [bīsin] ‘they were’

For example:

(98)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ēma} & \text{rafiq} \\
\text{1PL} & \text{friend} \\
\text{COP.PST-1PL} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘we were friends’ [3:104]

(99)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gišt} = iš & \text{mahandis} \\
\text{all = BP.3SG} & \text{engineer} \\
\text{COP.PST-3PL} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘All of them were engineers’ [6:144]

(100)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{šaš} & \text{sāl-ān} \\
\text{six} & \text{year-PL} \\
\text{COP.PST-1SG} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I was six years old’ [6:93]

2.4.7.2 Transitive constructions in the past tenses (the Agential construction)

As mentioned, the agreement morphology for past transitive verbs differs from that of past intransitive verbs. This is a common phenomenon throughout Western Iranian, and is discussed in detail in Haig (2008) under the heading Past Transitive Construction. Other scholars have used different terminology: e.g., MacKenzie (1961b) refers to the “Agential construction”, while others refer to an “ergative” construction. The important point is that the **A** of the past transitive verb is obligatorily cross-referenced by the appropriate form of the bound pronouns. But crucially, this clitic may be hosted by an element other than the verb itself. Broadly speaking, this system is similar to that found in Central Kurdish, described in e.g., Haig (2008): the host for the clitic is the first constituent of the verb phrase, most commonly the direct object. The bound pronoun cannot be hosted by the subject itself, nor does it seem to attach to adverbs, although this needs closer investigation. If no other host is available before the verb, then the clitic will attach to the verb itself (and this is in fact quite common). However, Gawraǰūyi differs from Central Kurdish in one crucial respect: the negation prefix is not a possible landing site for the A-cross-referencing clitic in Gawraǰūyi, whereas it is in, for example, Sorani Kurdish. In Southern Kurdish, e.g., in Kurdi Kermānšāhi, the rules for clitic placement have further shifted, such that now the only available host is the verb stem itself. Thus in these dialects, the pronominal clitic resembles more closely an agreement suffix on the verb. It is possible that Gawraǰūyi is also moving in the same direction, but there are still an ample number of examples with clitics attaching to other constituents in our texts.

The following paradigms show transitive verbs in isolation, with the bound pronominal agreement attaching to the verb itself:

(101)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
wāt = im & \text{‘I said’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
wāt = it & \text{‘you said’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
wāt = iš & \text{‘he, she, it said’} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
wāt = (i)mān & \text{‘we said’} \\
\end{array}
\]
wāt = (i)tān ‘you (plural) said’
wāt = (i)šān ‘they said’

When a bound pronoun follows a past stem that ends in a vowel, the first vowel of the bound pronoun is assimilated:

\[(\text{102})\ dī = m ‘I saw’
  \begin{align*}
    dī &= t ‘you saw’ \\
    dī &= ō ‘he, she, it saw’ \\
    dī &= mān ‘we saw’ \\
    dī &= tān ‘you (plural) saw’ \\
    dī &= šān ‘they saw’
  \end{align*}\]

**Object cross-referencing on past transitive verbs**

As mentioned, the A-argument of a past transitive verb is always cross-referenced through the appropriate form of the bound pronoun. But past transitive verbs may also carry a marker indicating the person/number of the O. The details are not yet fully clear, but basically the rule is as follows:

**Rule for cross referencing the O of a past transitive verb**

If an O is third person singular, no overt cross-referencing marker is necessary (possible?). If the O is first or second person, and no full-pronoun object is otherwise present in the clause, then the O is will be cross-referenced either through the appropriate form of the bound pronoun, or through a person agreement suffix, on the first available host (often the verb itself).

What this means is that if O is first or second person, but not present in the clause as a full pronoun, and if the verb is the only available host for the cross-reference markers, then a verb may carry markers for both A and O. Generally it seems that the O-marker precedes the A-pronoun. Some examples are provided below (elicited data):

\[(\text{103})\ \text{ward}=\text{im}=\text{it} ‘you are eaten by me, I ate you up’ (= \text{i} ‘you’; = \text{im} ‘me’)\]

\[
  \begin{align*}
    \text{furūt}=\text{im}=\text{it} & ‘you sold me’ \\
    dī = m = \text{it} & ‘you saw me’ \\
    dī = m = ō & ‘he saw me’ \\
    dī = t = \text{im} & ‘I saw you’ \\
    \text{wardī}=t = \text{im} (?) & ‘I ate you up’^{21}\n  \end{align*}\]

If an earlier constituent is available before the verb, it serves as the host for the clitics:

\[(\text{104})\ \text{bar}=\text{iš}=\text{im} \text{ ka} (\prec \ast \text{bar}=\text{iš}=\text{im} \text{ ka}(\text{rd})) ‘I fired him (put him outside)’\]

The preferred hosts are preverbal particles (as in the preceding example), and direct objects. The subject (A) may also be additionally expressed with the full pronoun:

\[\text{ward}–i\text{-m} ‘you are eaten by me, I ate you up’\]

It could be possible that -\text{-t} in the form ward-\text{-t-m} is added to distinguish the two, and that it also serves as a consonant intervening to eliminate a sequence of two vowels.

\[^{21}\text{The construction ward-i-m ‘you are eaten by me, I ate you up’ is formally the same as ward-im ‘I was eaten up’. It could be possible that -t in the form ward-i-t-m is added to distinguish the two, and that it also serves as a consonant intervening to eliminate a sequence of two vowels.}\]
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

(105) (tū) dī=m=it ‘you saw me’
(ān) dī=m=iš ‘he saw me’
(min) dī=t=im ‘I saw you’

The crucial, and as yet unresolved question, is the following: Which set of markers is used to cross-reference an O? In the case of the first person singular, the bound pronoun and the agreement suffix are virtually indistinguishable, so these forms do not help us to resolve this question. In the case of the second person singular, however, they are distinct: = (i)t (bound pronoun), and -i ‘(agreement) suffix’. In the examples given above, it is the bound pronoun that is used to cross-reference the O, rather than the appropriate verbal agreement suffix (dī=t=m ‘I saw you’). In the case of the first person plural, bound pronoun and suffix are also distinct: = mān is the bound pronoun, while -yām is the verbal suffix. However, it seems that here it is the verbal suffix that is used to cross-reference the O:

(106) až áwrāyī košt-yām=it
through hunger kill.PST-1PL=BP.2SG
 ‘you let us starve (literally, you killed us through hunger/starving)’ [elicited data]

The current conclusion is therefore that it depends on the particular person/number value whether the bound pronoun is used to cross-reference the O, or an agreement suffix. Where possible we refer simply to ‘markers’ to avoid a commitment at this stage.

If the O is third person singular, no overt expression of O is required in the clause:

(107) wāt=im ‘I said (it)’
 wāt=it ‘you said (it)’
 kyās=im ‘I sent (him)’
 dī=im ‘I saw (her)’
 dī=š ‘he saw (her)’
 košt=im ‘I killed (him)’

This could of course be taken as an argument in favor of assuming that it is the agreement suffixes that cross-reference the O, because they have a zero form in the third person singular (recall Table 19 above). Thus we might assume an analysis along the following:

(108) košt=[Ø]=im ‘killed-[him]-I’.

This would be in line with MacKenzie’s (1961b) analysis of Past Transitive constructions in Sorani. However, we have seen that for second person singular at least, this analysis cannot be maintained.

More generally it must be noted that there is a crucial difference between the cross-referencing of A, and that of O: For A, the bound pronoun is always required, regardless of whether the A is otherwise present in the clause or not. For O, on the other hand, if the O is present as a full pronoun, then no further cross-referencing is required. In this sense, the O-markers are more genuinely pronominal in their function than the A-markers. That is surprising given the fact that, at least for the first person plural, the O-marker appears to be an agreement suffix, in origin at least. Elicited examples containing full pronouns in O-function are given below and demonstrate the lack of an additional cross-referencing marker for the O:
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajūyī

(109) tu min = it di ‘you saw me’ (not: *tu min = it di = m)
ān min = is di ‘he saw me’
min tu = m di ‘I saw you’
mīn tu = m dīya ‘I have seen you’ (Present Perfect)
imā ānān = imān šeknī ‘we broke them up’

Compare the following two examples. In the first, neither O nor A is expressed by a free
pronoun, but by the suffix -yām and the clitic =it respectively:

(110) arā če kyās-yām = it arā īnā?
for what send.PST-1PL = BP.2SG to here
‘What did you send us here for?’ [elicited data]

In the next example (same meaning), both A and O are expressed by free pronouns (tu and
ṣimā respectively). But only the A is additionally expressed by a bound pronoun, hosted by the
object. This example shows clearly that A-cross-referencing is best seen as agreement, while
O-cross-referencing is actually a form of anaphora.

(111) tū ařā če āma = t kyās ařā īnā
2SG for what 1PL = BP.2SG send.PST to here
‘What did you send us here for?’ [elicited data]

To conclude, the grammar of argument cross-referencing with Past Transitive verbs is quite
complex, and as yet not fully understood. The following features appear, however, to be well
established:

- An A is obligatorily cross-referenced via a clitic pronoun, attaching to the first
available constituent of the VP (including preverbs)
- An O is only cross-referenced when there is no full NP or free pronoun representing
the O otherwise in the clause. Depending on the person, either a verbal agreement
suffix is used, or a bound pronoun. When the O is third person singular, no additional
cross referencing is necessary.
- When both A and O are cross-referenced on the verb, the preferred order is
Verb = O = A

2.4.8 Verb forms based on the past stem

2.4.8.1 Past Perfective (Simple Past)

The Past Perfective, equivalent to the bare past stem plus a person agreement marker, is used
as the general form to describe situations located in past time; a sample paradigm is provided
in Section 2.4.7.1. A few examples of the use of the Past Perfective are shown here (from the
texts):

(112) ūaft-yām ařā ka = y lālo = m
go.PST-1PL to house = EZ uncle = BP.1SG
‘we went to my uncle’s house’ [2:90]
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(113) ūrūs = u dāmād hāmā- PST-3PL
‘the bride and the groom arrived’ [7N:116]

The Past Perfective is formed in different ways, depending on the transitivity of the verb. The main differences concern the way agreement with the subject is expressed: agreement with an S (for intransitive verbs) is achieved through the verbal suffixes given under Table 19 in Section 2.4.3. Agreement with an A, on the other hand, is achieved through a bound pronoun.

2.4.8.2 Past Imperfective

Besides Past Perfective, there is also Past Imperfective, in which a situation is viewed as occurring in past time, but as ongoing, or as being regularly repeated over an extended period, as habitual. The Past Imperfective is formed with the prefix ma-, the past stem, and the appropriate person-number ending, depending on the transitivity of the verb. Examples of the Past Imperfective follow:

(114) ma-řaft = a pā = y bisitūn
IPFV-go.PST = DRCT foot = EZ Bisotun
‘He was going to the foot of Bisotun (mountain)’ [4:79]

(115) mīn kār = im ma-ka(rd)
1SG work = BP.1SG IPFV-do.PST
‘I used to work’ [elicited data]

The Past Imperfective can be used to express hypothetical situations in the past, though this use appears to be rare.

2.4.8.3 Past Subjunctive

The Past Subjunctive is formed with the subjunctive prefix bi- and a form of the past stem with -(t)ā. The past stem with -(t)ā is glossed as a unified element in the nine texts. This form is then followed by the appropriate person-number ending depending on the transitivity of the verb, as with the other forms constructed with the past stem.

The Past Subjunctive form biyātā ‘was, were’ is noteworthy in that it appears to be semantically related to ‘be’, but the stem is not the expected b-/ w-. It could be considered a suppletive ‘past subjunctive’ stem.

Past Subjunctive forms are shown here, built with an intransitive verb (biyātā ‘was, were’) and then a transitive verb (bizānistā ‘were to know, would have known’) (elicited data):

(116) ‘be, become’

biyātāyim ‘(if) I were’
biyātāy ‘(if) you were’
biyātā ‘(if) he, she, it was’
biyātāyām ‘(if) we were’
biyātāya ‘(if) you (plural) were’
biyātāyin ‘(if) they were’
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrāǰū

(117) ‘know’

\[
\begin{align*}
bizānīstā &= m \quad (if \ I \ knew) \\
bizānīstā &= t \quad (if \ you \ knew) \\
bizānīstā &= s \quad (if \ he, \ she, \ it \ knew) \\
bizānīstā &= mān \quad (if \ we \ knew) \\
bizānīstā &= tān \quad (if \ you \ (plural) \ knew) \\
bizānīstā &= šān \quad (if \ they \ knew)
\end{align*}
\]

A sentence with two examples of this form is shown here:

(118) \text{xo}zgā \text{ mīn āyamīzāya biyātā-yīm}  \\
I.\text{wish} \quad 1\text{SG human.being be.PST.SBJV-1SG}  \\
ā \quad tūtā = y \quad \text{gard gala} = m = a \quad \text{bi-kuštā}  \\
that \quad \text{dog=} \text{EZ with flock=} \text{BP.1SG=} \text{DEM SBJV-kill.PST.SBJV}  \\
‘If I only were a human being, I would have killed that dog with the flock…’ [3:33-34]

2.4.9 Perfect constructions

2.4.9.1 Present Perfect

The Present Perfect is a complex construction with several elements. It is built with the past stem and the participle suffix -\text{a}, which is sometimes omitted under conditions yet to be fully understood.\textsuperscript{22} (If the past stem ends in -\text{i}s, the vowel -\text{j} is omitted.) This participle is then followed by person endings for the present tense copula, described in Section 2.4.6.

The Present Perfect forms of two intransitive verbs (\textit{wit} ‘sleep’; \textit{xans} ‘laugh’) are shown here (elicited data):

(119) ‘sleep’

\textit{witayīm} ‘I have slept’  \\
\textit{witay} ‘you have slept’  \\
\textit{witayē} ‘he, she, it has slept’  \\
\textit{witayām} ‘we have slept’  \\
\textit{witaya} ‘you (plural) have slept’  \\
\textit{witayin} ‘they have slept’

(120) ‘laugh’

\textit{xansayīm} (*\textit{xanisayīm}) ‘I have laughed’  \\
\textit{xansay} ‘you have laughed’  \\
\textit{xansē} ‘he, she, it has laughed’

\textsuperscript{22} See MacKenzie (1966: 36), who describes the Hawrami past participle as formed from the past stem and the suffix -\text{a} (stressed).
xansayām ‘we have laughed’
xansaya ‘you (plural) have laughed’
xansayin ‘they have laughed’

The Present Perfect forms with a transitive verb are shown here (elicited data). Basically, the A is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun, as already described, to which the third person singular copula ending is attached:

(121) ‘say’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wāta} &= m-\dot{e} (\ < *\text{wāta} = m \dot{e}) \text{ (alternatively}: \ldots -im \text{ wāta)} \ ‘\text{I have said’} \\
\text{wāta} &= t-\dot{e} \\
\text{wāta} &= š-\dot{e} \\
\text{wāta} &= mān-\dot{e} \\
\text{wāta} &= tan-\dot{e} \\
\text{wāta} &= ŕān-\dot{e}
\end{align*}
\]

The analysis of the perfect as a construction with the verb ‘be’, is supported by a sentence such as the next example. In this sentence, the bound pronoun = (i)š is attached to the participle as the first main constituent of the verb phrase (see Section 2.4.7.2) instead of to the verb ‘be’:

(122) řūlākān = im i gurg = a ward-a = š-\dot{e} \\
\text{dear.children} = \text{BP.1SG PROX wolf} = \text{DEM eat.PST-PTCP} = \text{BP.3SG-3SG}

‘(As for) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them’ \[2:76\]

2.4.9.2 Past Perfect (Pluperfect, Plusquamperfect)

The Past Perfect is constructed similarly to the Present Perfect, with the past stem, the participle suffix -a (sometimes omitted), and then with w- as the past stem of the verb ‘be’ and the appropriate person-number endings.

The Past Perfect is shown here. The first set is built with an intransitive verb (wit ‘sleep’) and the second set is built with the past stem of the transitive verb wāt ‘say’ (elicited data):

(123) ‘sleep’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{witawīm} & \ ‘\text{I had slept’} \\
\text{witawi} & \ ‘\text{you had slept’} \\
\text{witawē} & \ ‘\text{he, she, it had slept’} \\
\text{witawām} & \ ‘\text{we had slept’} \\
\text{witawia} & \ ‘\text{you (plural) had slept’} \\
\text{witawīn} & \ ‘\text{they had slept’}
\end{align*}
\]

(124) ‘say’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wātawīm} & \ ‘\text{I had said’} \\
\text{wātawīt} & \ ‘\text{you had said’}
\end{align*}
\]
wātawiš ‘he, she, it had said’
wātawimān ‘we had said’
wātawitān ‘you (plural) had said’
wātawīšān ‘they had said’

Examples from the texts are shown here:

(125) dita-ka nāmzad = īš kard-a-wē
young.woman-DEF engagement = BP.3SG do.PST-PTCP-COP-3SG
‘the young woman had been engaged’ [8:141]

(126) walē wāt-a-wē = ş na ghayr = e mumken = ē
but say.PST-PTCP-COP-3SG = BP.3SG no not = EZ possible = 3SG
‘But (Afrāsiāb) had said: “No, it is not possible”’ [5:70]

2.4.10 Progressive (Continuous) constructions

2.4.10.1 Present Progressive

While the Present Indicative depicts ongoing and uncompleted situations, there is a further way to express a more specific meaning of progressive. The progressive involves a sense that a situation is actual and in progress at the moment of speech. For the construction of Present Progressive, the particle of existence hē is used, which was discussed in Section 2.4.6.3. The bound pronoun can be added to the particle. The use of this particle is rare in the texts, but it is found in elicited material. A few examples are shown here:

(127) tū hē = t kār ma-kar-ī?
you existent.3SG = BP.2SG work IND-do.PRS-2SG
‘Are you (at the moment) working?’ [elicited data]

(128) čāy hē = š dam ma-kīš-ē
tea existent.3SG = BP.3SG infusion IND-pull.PRS-3SG
‘The tea is (at the moment) drawing’ [elicited data]

(129) min hē = m timāšā ma-kar-im
I existent.3SG = BP.1SG look IND-do.PRS-1SG
‘I am looking (at the moment)’ [elicited data]

2.4.10.2 Past Progressive

The Past Progressive is used to indicate an uncompleted situation occurring at a period of time in the past. This construction is not attested in the texts, but it is found in elicited data. It is formed with the Past Imperfective together with the auxiliary bī- (bē-) ‘was’:

(130) min bī-m ma-raft-i
I was-1SG IPFV-go.PST-1SG
‘I was (just) going’ [elicited data]
(131)  hīzyaka to hāma-y, yesterday you come.PST-2SG
bē-m timāša=y televizyon=im ma-ka(rd)
was-1SG look=EZ(?) television=BP.1SG IPFV-do.PST

‘Yesterday (when) you came, I was watching television’ [elicited data]

2.4.11 Modality constructions

There are several analytic constructions in Gawraǰū that express modality.²³ Meanings of volition and desire ('want') are expressed with the particle garak (ultimately a Turkish loan ‘necessary’), together with a bound pronoun and the verb 'be'. Meanings of obligation ('must, should') can also be expressed with this construction. For example:

(132)  min garak = m-ē (< *min *garak = im *ē) kār bikarim ‘I want to / I must work’
[elicited data]

A paradigm follows (elicited data):

(133)  ‘want/must’
   min garak = m-ē ‘I want/must’
   tu garak = t-ē ‘you want/must’
   ān garak = s-ē ‘he, she, it wants/must’
   īma garak = mān-ē ‘we want/must’
   šima garak = tān-ē ‘you (plural) want/must’
   ānān garak = šān-ē ‘they want/must’

Another construction is formed with the third person singular of ‘become’, mawu (often pronounced [mou]). It is also used to express ‘must’ as well as ‘want’ and is generally followed by a complement clause with the verb in the subjunctive. (Examples with a NP object are not available).

(134)  min mawu = m kār bikarim ‘I want to / must work’ (elicited data)

A full paradigm of the forms is presented here (elicited data):

(135)  min mawu = m ‘I want/must’
   tu mawu = t ‘you want/must’
   ān mawu = s ‘he, she, it wants/must’
   īma mawu = mān ‘we want/must’
   šima mawu = tān ‘you (plural) want/must’
   ānān mawu = šān ‘they want/must’

²³ See Mahmudweyssi & Haig (2009) for a description of modality in several Western Iranian languages.
²⁴ In the texts, the meaning of mawu as ‘want’ is not found.
It is also possible to use *mawu* impersonally to express obligation, in which case it occurs in clause-initial position without any bound pronoun, and is followed by a clause in the subjunctive:

(136)  

\[
\text{mawu } \tilde{a}n\tilde{i} \ bi-ti\tilde{-}O = wa
\]

must it SBJV-give.PRS-3SG = PRT  
‘You must find it’ [3:49]

Further constructions expressing ‘must, have to’, as modality of obligation, are built with the particle *majbūr* and the verb ‘be’, as well as with the particles *bāyad*, *bāyas* ‘must, should’. The verb *tān*- (also: *tāw*) ‘can, to be able to (present stem)’ and *tānis* ‘can, be able to (past stem)’ is used to express ability or potential. The verb following the modal verb is inflected as subjunctive. Possibility is expressed by lexical means, with *mumken* and the verb ‘be’.

Examples of these modalities and the constructions are shown here:

(137)  

\[
\text{āyā } \text{min } \text{wa } \text{di}l = \text{im } \text{na-w}
\]

if 1SG to heart = BP.1SG NEG.SBJV-COP  
\[
\text{majbūr-im } \text{bi-san-m } = \text{iš } \text{hā}
\]

must-1SG SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG = BP.3SG NA  
‘If I do not like it, I have to buy it’ [9:83]

(138)  

\[
\text{bāyad } \text{bi-š-i } \text{až } \text{pā = y } \text{dār } \text{wī-yaka}
\]

must SBJV-go.PRS-2SG to foot = EZ tree willow-DEF  
‘You must go to the foot of the willow tree’ [1:15]

(139)  

\[
\text{min } \text{ma-tān-im } \text{b-āy-im}
\]

1SG IND-can.PRS-1SG SBJV-come.PRS-1SG  
‘I can come’ [elicited data]

2.4.12 Summary of tense-aspect-mood constructions

The following overview contains the forms discussed in the preceding section, illustrated for the intransitive verb *řaw*-, *řaft* ‘go’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Indicative</td>
<td><em>mařawim</em></td>
<td>‘I go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfective</td>
<td><em>řaftīm</em></td>
<td>‘I went’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
<td><em>mařaftīm</em></td>
<td>‘I was going’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Subjunctive</td>
<td><em>biřawim</em></td>
<td>‘I may go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Subjunctive</td>
<td><em>biřaftīm</em></td>
<td>‘I would have gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Perfect</td>
<td><em>řaftīyim</em></td>
<td>‘I have gone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21

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25 The exact use of these particles is not yet clear.
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Table 21 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
<th>šaftawim</th>
<th>‘I had gone’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present Progressive</td>
<td>hēm mašftīm</td>
<td>‘I am going at that moment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With modal verb mawu</td>
<td>mawu biřawim</td>
<td>‘I must go’ / ‘I want to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With modal particle garak (min)</td>
<td>garakmē biřawim</td>
<td>‘I want to go’ / ‘I must go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With modal verb tānis-</td>
<td>min matānim biřawim</td>
<td>‘I can go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.13 The suffix -(i)s: past or resultative meanings

Present stems ending in -ya are usually intransitive and have a past stem in -īs, as shown here (elicited data):

(140) košya- ‘cook’ (intransitive), past košis ‘it cooked’
    šikya- ‘break apart’ (intransitive), past šikīs ‘it broke apart’
    tūrya- ‘be angry’, past tūris ‘he was angry’
    alāna min ma-wram-im ‘now I am crying’, past min hīzyaka biramisī ‘yesterday I cried’

This is surely related to the alternative past stem of the verb ‘to be’, bīsi, discussed in Section 2.4.7.1. A description of the etymology of -īs is found in Paul (2007: 291-292).

While this suffix could be simply construed as a past-tense marker, it is remarkable that the same formative occurs with the present stem of certain transitive verbs, yielding what is effectively a kind of a resultative, with passive semantics. These forms often occur together with the copula, suggesting that they are rather similar to the traditional perfect participles.

The following data were obtained through elicitation by Ludwig Paul, and later (and with a different speaker) by Parvin Mahmoudveysi:

(141) nūs- ‘write’ > nūs-īs 26 ‘it is written’, nūs-īs-ē ‘it has been written’
    nāž- ‘throw’ > nāž-īs ‘it is thrown’, nāž-īs-ē ‘it has been thrown’
    san- ‘buy’ > san-īs ‘it is bought’, san-īs-ē ‘it has been bought’

There seems to be a difference between the way -īs is conjugated with intransitive stems and transitive stems: with transitive stems, the simplest form of the third person has a zero ending; with transitive stems it seems that the third person needs a copula ending of -ē. The verbs in the last example all show conjugations with transitive stems.

Sometimes, forms with -īs may be accompanied by phonological changes to the stem, for example (elicited data):

(142) war- ‘eat’ > w(u)r-īs ‘it was eaten’
    nās- ‘know’ > šanās-īs ‘it was known’ (ša- occurring normally with past tense šanāsī only)

---

26 Forms without the copula were only elicited by LP in isolation. In the work by PM, at least all of these forms based on transitive verbs occur with the copula = ē, if they are used predicatively.
ni- ‘put, set’ > nar-īs ‘it was put, set’

ka=m īm-īs ‘my house has fallen down’

The copula can be preceded by a different participle ending, -a, and then what is presumably a reduced form of the copula, -w-, yielding a construction similar to (or actually) the Past Perfect (see Section 2.4.9.2). It is not yet clear how the endings -īs and -a interact in marking a participle.

Several examples follow here (elicited data, PM):

(143) a. min kār-ak-ān = im gišt = iś kard-a-w-ē
   I work-DEF-PL = BP.1SG all = BP.3SG do.PST-PTCP-COP-3SG
   ‘I had finished all my tasks’

b. kār-ak-ān gišt = iś kir-īs-a-w-ē
   work-DEF-PL all = BP.3SG do.PST-PASS-PTCP-COP-3SG
   ‘(my) tasks had all been finished’

(144) yakē diz(i)-ya-w-ē = š
   somebody steal.PST-PTCP-COP-3SG = BP.3SG
   ‘somebody had stolen it’ (stem: dizī)

(145) šawy-aka = y midyā diz(i)-is-a-w-ē
   dress-DEF = EZ Midyā steal.PST-PASS-PTCP-COP-3SG
   ‘the dress of Midya had been stolen’

(146) dafr-ak-ān šür-īs-ē
dish-DEF-PL wash.PST-PTCP-3SG
   ‘the dishes were washed’ (i.e., clean now)

(147) dafr-ak-ān šür-īs-a-w-ē
dish-DEF-PL wash.PST-PASS-PTCP-3SG
   ‘the dishes had been washed’

The best evidence of the participial nature of the ending -īs comes from its use as an adjectival modifier:

(148) dafr šür-īs-ak-ān
dish wash.PST-PASS-DEF-PL
   ‘the washed dishes’

The historical background, meaning, and use of this ending merits further study.

2.4.14 Compound verbs

Several types of verbs frequently occur together with an element such as a noun, adverb, or adjective. While some of these elements are independent lexical items and can appear without a verb, others never appear apart from the compound verb construction. These are listed in the lexicon as ‘compound verb elements’. The compound verb element is not marked or may only serve to host a bound pronoun. The verb is inflected, though the prefix bi- may be omitted in

---

27 The stem of this verb kir ‘do. PST’ appears as the Kurdish form, rather than Gawrajũyi kard.
some combinations (see Section 2.4.2.1). The most common verbs in these combinations found in the texts are shown (ordered here with present stem first, then past stem):

(149) \( \text{kar-}, \text{kard} \) ‘do, make’
\( \text{kiš-}, \text{kišt} \) ‘pull, make’
\( \text{w-}, \text{w} \) ‘become’
\( \text{ti-} \) (\( \text{dī-} \)), \( \text{dā} \) ‘give’

Most, if not all, the compound verb elements in the texts appear to be borrowed from Persian.

Examples of compound verbs are shown (from texts):

(150) \( \text{ǰeɫawgīrī kar-}, \text{kard} \) ‘prevent do (prevent)’
\( \text{ḥasāw kar-}, \text{kard} \) ‘count do (count)’
\( \text{šurū mawu-}, (?) \) ‘begin become (begin)’
\( \text{tūl kiš-}, \text{kišt} \) ‘prolong do (prolong)’

Two examples of compound verbs in sentences (from the texts) are given here:

(151) \( \text{dawā=}\text{ššifā=}\text{payā} \text{na-ka(rd)} \)
\( \text{medicine=}\text{BP.3SG healing=}\text{BP.3SG finding NEG-do.PST} \)
\( \text{‘his medicine did not bring about healing’} \) [3:68]

(152) \( \text{fāmil-ak-ān} \text{gišt=}\text{iš} \text{jam} \text{ma-ka-rin} \)
\( \text{relative-DEF-PL all=}\text{BP.3SG together IND-do.PRS-3PL} \)
\( \text{‘they gather all the relatives’} \) [7N:69]

2.4.15 Preverbs

Typical for Iranian languages is the use of preverbs. Preverbs are prefixes which are semantically opaque to a degree, and when they occur together a stem, they form a new lexical item. This lexical item has a different meaning from the constituent stem, though it is often semantically related to it. A common preverb in the Gawrajū texts is \( \text{haw} \) ‘up, forth, out’. In constructions with the preverb, the preverb precedes the aspect or mood prefix. In the text transcriptions, the preverb is written as attached to the verb.

In the following examples (from the texts), this preverb is shown with the present forms \( \text{mayr-} \) ‘bring’ (\( \text{hawmayr-} \) ‘take up’), \( \text{makar-} \) ‘do, make’ (\( \text{hawmakar-} \) ‘take out’), and \( \text{mayz-} \) ‘get up’ (\( \text{hawmayz-} \), also ‘get up’):

(153) \( \text{širīn sar ištān=}\text{iš} \text{haw-\text{ma-yr-ē}} \)
\( \text{Širin head self=}\text{BP.3SG up-IND-take.PRS-3SG} \)
\( \text{řū ma-ka-r-i=}\text{ya irān} \)
\( \text{towards IND-do.PRS-3SG = DRECT Iran} \)
\( \text{‘Širin goes forth without a word (and) heads towards Iran.’} \) [4:9]²⁸

²⁸ The phrase \( \text{sar ištaniš hawmayrē} \) is literally, ‘she takes up her own head.’
2.5 Adjectives

Adjectives in Gawraǰūį can be considered a lexical class. They are typically not inflected. Some adjectives are used as heads of noun phrases, however. In such uses, the adjectives may take nominal inflections: jwān ‘young’ > jwān-ān ‘young people’.

Some adjectives are formed from other words through derivational morphology, such as -i in īrān ‘Iran’ > īrānī ‘Iranian’; gawrāǰū ‘Gawraǰū (village)’ > gawrāǰūį ‘Gawraǰūį (language)’.

Adjectives can also be formed in a number of other ways, including compounding: dīl ‘heart’ + waš ‘pleasant’ > dīwaš ‘pleased’; or kurd ‘Kurd’ + zwān ‘language’ > kurdzwān ‘Kurdish-speaking’; or with the addition of the negative prefix nā to another adjective: ūḏī ‘happy, satisfied’ > nārūḏī, ūḏḥāt ‘relaxed, comfortable’ > nārūḏḥāt ‘sad, troubled, insulted’.

In a typical function, adjectives modify nouns. In a noun phrase, the adjective generally follows the head noun, linked to it by the Ezafe, such as ūḏān = e jwān ‘young woman’, or the Ezafe may be absent (see Section 2.3.4). The adjective can also be linked to the head noun by a particle -a: bizān-a šal ‘lame goat’ (see Section 2.3.4).

When occurring in predicative function, adjectives precede the appropriate form of the copula.29 For example (from texts):

(156) yākī az birā-kān kuṟ-aka nārāži-ya
one of brother-DEF-PL young.man-DEF not.satisfied-3SG

‘One of the brothers of the young man is not satisfied’ [8:175]

An adjective can also occur together with a verb such as kardan ‘do, make’, to form a compound verb construction, for example, tēz makarē ‘he sharpens’ (lit., makes sharp) [2:79]; siyā makarē ‘he blackens’ (lit., makes black) [2:47].

Common descriptive adjectives in Gawraǰūį include those which express age, dimension, color, quality, and mental and physical condition, as shown here (from texts):

āwra ‘hungry’
piř ‘old’
būčik ‘small’
qāwa ‘brown’
jwān ‘young, beautiful’
sawz ‘green’
čarma ‘white’
sir ‘full’

---

29 In certain discourse contexts, mawu (or plural mawin) can be used as the copula in this construction, without inchoative sense, as in the example, šal mawin ‘they are lame’ [2:3].
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

\*gawrā* ‘old-aged, big, important’  \*sīyā* ‘black’
\*kūna* ‘old’  \*waš* ‘pleasant’
\*marīz* ‘sick’  \*xās* ‘good, better’

2.6 Adverbs and discourse particles

Examples of adverbs in Gawraǰū include:

- \*awsā* ‘at that time’
- \*āsā* ‘then, at that time’
- \*baʕd* ‘afterwards, then’
- \*ǰā* ‘then’
- \*dī* ‘then, anymore, again, still, no longer’
- \*fra* ‘very, much, a lot, many’
- \*hargiz* (⁺ negation) ‘never’
- \*šāyad* ‘maybe’
- \*tā* ‘when’
- \*zü* ‘early’

Adverbs, or adverbial phrases, are usually placed in front of the element or elements that they modify. An adverb can modify a verb, such as \*dwāra* ‘again’ in the following example (from texts):

\(157\)
\begin{align*}
\text{waxtē}_ka & \quad \text{nān} & \quad \text{čāyí} & \quad m\text{-war-in} & \quad \text{až nān} & \quad \text{čāy-aka} = \text{šān} \\
\text{dī} & \quad \text{har}_či & \quad \text{bi-man-č} & = \text{wa} & \quad \text{dwāra} & & \\
& & & \text{then} & \text{whatever} & \text{SBJV-remain.PR-3SG} & \text{= PRT again} \\
\text{ma-yas-in} = \text{š} = \text{a} & & & \text{pišt} = (\text{š})ān & & \\
& & \text{IND-tie.PR-3PL} & \text{BP.3SG = DRCT back} & \text{BP.3PL} & & \\
& & & & & &
\end{align*}

‘When they eat the bread and tea, whatever then may remain of their bread and tea, they tie it to the ir backs again (with the cloth)’ [3:8]

Some adverbs occur at the beginning of the sentence:

\(158\)
\begin{align*}
\text{baʕd} & \quad \text{ma-niš-č} & \quad m\text{-wā-y} & \quad \text{xasraw} & & \\
\text{afterwards} & \text{IND-sit.PR-3SG} & \text{IND-say.PR-3SG} & \text{Xasraw} & & \\
& & & & & &
\end{align*}

‘Afterwards (Farhād) sits down, and says: “Xasraw!”’ [4:51]

The adverb (or particle) \*dī* is especially common and has a number of senses mostly related to time, including ‘now, then, so then’. It also has other meanings, depending on its use in the discourse. An example of its use with the meaning ‘now’ is shown here:

\(159\)
\begin{align*}
\text{ři-y} & \quad \text{ma-kar-i} = \text{ya} & \quad m\text{-wā-y} & & \\
\text{face-NA} & \text{IND-do.PR-3SG = DRCT} & \text{IND-say.PR-3SG} & & \\
\text{xwāyā} & \quad \text{mīn} & \quad \text{dī} & \quad \text{tang} = \text{m-č} & & \\
\text{God} & \text{I} & \text{now} & \text{narrow} = \text{BP.1SG-3SG} & & \\
& & & & & &
\end{align*}

‘(Rostam) turns his face (to God) (and) says: “O God, I am now in a difficult situation.”’ [5:150]

There are also a number of particles in Gawraǰūyī with other functions of structuring discourse, ‘fillers’, exclamations, signals of turn-taking, and means of expressing speakers’ attitudes to the content. These are roughly grouped together here as “discourse particles”,
though it should be evident that there is no clear dividing line between adverbs and discourse particles. A few of these particles are noted here:

- `arē` ‘yes’
- `ay` ‘well then’
- `baɫē` ‘yes’
- `bā` ‘let it be, come’
- `čirā` ‘actually, sure, yes’
- `gwā` ‘so to say’
- `na` ‘no’
- `xozū` ‘I wish’

Another common particle in Gawraǰūyī is `=ič` (sometimes pronounced as `i`, `iš`) ‘and, also, as for’, which attaches as a clitic to the element it modifies:

(160) `bāwař` (SBJV-)=ič `šaš` PRS-3SG
belief (SBJV-)do.PR.S=ič interest = BP.1SG = ADD existent.3SG
‘Believe me, I also have an interest’ [7H:49]

(161) `až ānā, siyāwaxš =ič sar ma-wē-č wale` there Siyavoš = ADD head IND-cut.PR.S-3SG but
‘And there they behead Siyavoš too, but’ [5:78]

2.7 Numerals

Attested numerals in Gawraǰūyī are shown here:

- `ya` ‘one’ / `yak` ‘one’
- `dü` ‘two’
- `sē` ‘three’
- `čwār` ‘four’
- `pan` ‘five’
- `šiš` ‘six’
- `haft` ‘seven’
- `hašt` ‘eight’
- `nu` ‘nine’
- `da` ‘ten’
- `dwānza` ‘twelve’
- `čwārda` ‘fourteen’
- `pūnza` ‘fifteen’
- `hažda` ‘eighteen’
- `bīs` ‘twenty’
- `sī` ‘thirty’
- `čil` ‘forty’
- `panjā` ‘fifty’
- `sīsad` ‘three hundred’
- `hizār` ‘thousand’

Numerals occurring in a noun phrase precede the head noun in its simple (singular) form. For example (from texts):

(162) ` dü bār` ‘two times’ [7N:17]

- `čwār čūža` ‘four days’ [3:72]
- `panj mān` ‘five months’ [4:188]

---

30 The form `šaš` (as in Kurdish) is also used in Gawraǰūyī.
31 On some nouns modified by a number, the form `-a` may be attached; further research is needed.
2.8 Adpositions

In Gawraǰūyī one finds various types of adpositions: simple prepositions, compound prepositions, absolute prepositions, and simple postpositions. There are also circumpositions, combining a simple or compound preposition with a postposition or a developing case marker.

2.8.1 Simple prepositions

Simple prepositions are listed here (elicited data, with text data in square brackets):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Some examples (elicited data)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(w)a</td>
<td>‘with; to; on, at’ (Form a often attached to a verb; see Section 2.8.6.)</td>
<td><em>min nān matim = a Ali / min wa Ali nān matim</em> ‘I give Ali the bread’ <em>wa patī</em> ‘for free’ *wa ċa mašī?’ ‘with what (kind of transportation) do you go?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arā / ařā</td>
<td>‘for; to, towards; about’</td>
<td><em>garak = ǝ-č birawē arā šār</em> ‘he must go to town’ *arā = ǝ ‘for him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až</td>
<td>‘in; from, of; at; to; on; after’</td>
<td><em>až gawraǰū ‘in Gawraǰū’</em> <em>až kay ime ‘in our house’ (Pronounced ǝš ... in rapid speech.)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw</td>
<td>‘to; at’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba, be</td>
<td>‘in, with’ (Form be= before bound pronoun, e.g., be = šān.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar</td>
<td>‘at (the door) [before; at]’</td>
<td><em>hāmeyma bar ka-kā = tān</em> (also pronounced: ka-gā = tān) ‘we have come to (the door of) your house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bā</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bān</td>
<td>‘over; upon, on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bāyn)</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bē, bi</td>
<td>‘without’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du(r)da, dard</td>
<td>‘like, as’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32 The form az is likely due to Persian influence (Gawraǰūyī is až).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dar</th>
<th>‘off, on’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dāwṛ</td>
<td>‘about; around; near; to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīlė</td>
<td>‘in, into; among; at; to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunbāṭ</td>
<td>‘after, following; for’ (Persian loan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jūr</td>
<td>‘as, like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gard</td>
<td>‘with’ (Frequently occurs with wa in texts.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žīr</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lā</td>
<td>‘to, with somebody; (only after aṛā, aẓ) from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manē</td>
<td>‘like, similar to’ (Considered a verb, but also functions as preposition.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na</td>
<td>‘on; to; from; at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāw</td>
<td>‘in; among’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niwā</td>
<td>‘in front of, before’ (In texts, nwā appears as a noun and adverb.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pišt</td>
<td>‘behind [behind; to; after]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sar</td>
<td>‘on; over; above; to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šūn</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tā</td>
<td>‘until; up to; than’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>‘than, as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa Gard</td>
<td>‘(together) with (somebody)’ (Possibly best treated as a compound preposition; mostly with = ay on NP-complements, see Section 2.3 above. A variant wā occurs, though not accepted by all speakers.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>‘on; before; in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāqay</td>
<td>‘as much as’ (Arguably not a preposition, but still included here.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waraw</td>
<td>‘to, towards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāṛfa</td>
<td>‘before’ (Temporal; not found in texts.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

A variant is: wā ṭaṭṭq-akān = im ‘together with my friends’. 

---

33 A variant is: wā ṭaṭṭq-akān = im ‘together with my friends’.
2.8.2 Compound prepositions

While a few of the simple prepositions appear to be used most often as independent forms, others appear more frequently in combinations, commonly involving (w)a, arā, or až as the first element. The second element is often a noun of location, such as lā ‘side’, or bān ‘roof, upper side’, which have been partially grammaticalized in these combinations. Generally, the meaning of such compound prepositions derives from the combined meanings of their elements, e.g., až lā =m ‘with me, in my presence’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>až bān</td>
<td>‘about (something); over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až bayn</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a žēr</td>
<td>‘under’ (direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až dīle</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až žīr</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až lā</td>
<td>‘with, in the presence of (somebody)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[až láwa]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až šün,</td>
<td>‘instead of, in the place of; after (temporal)’ (Variant: oušün.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až šün</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?) až war</td>
<td>‘because of (?)’ (Not attested in texts.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arā lā</td>
<td>‘to (somebody)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa bān</td>
<td>‘upon’ (direction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa bar</td>
<td>‘upon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war ja</td>
<td>‘before (something)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa lā</td>
<td>‘to (somebody)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa řū</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa téy</td>
<td>‘on it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa sar</td>
<td>‘upon, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa šün</td>
<td>‘instead of, in place of; [after]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of compound prepositions (elicited data):

(163) až šün nīmarūž ‘(in the) afternoon’

(164) až šün-aka = t kār makarim ‘I work instead of you’\(^{34}\)

(Examples from texts):

\(^{34}\) The form šün takes the definiteness suffix -aka, showing that it is still a noun.
2.8.3 Circumpositions

Some of the prepositions listed above occur often or always in combination with the particle \(=\text{ay}\) and thus form a circumposition. Another postposed particle, \(=\text{awa}\), is much less common and only occurs together with the preposition \(\text{wa}\). Its exact meaning is not yet clear, but this particle probably indicates accompaniment or location. The particles postposed on noun phrases could be considered to be “postpositions”, but, as they never occur by themselves, but only in combination with a preposition, it seems wiser to simply refer to them as particles. It is conceivable that \(=\text{ay}\) is a nascent case-marker, but this remains an open question.

A list of the circumpositions is shown here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(až\text{ dile }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘among, in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>((\text{di})\text{le }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘in, inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{mil }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘with’ (transportation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa dile }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘at, in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa gard }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘together with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa mil }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>(idiomatic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{wa }\ldots =\text{awa})</td>
<td>‘with, location’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{war }\ldots =\text{ay})</td>
<td>‘before, in front of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (elicited data):

(167) \(\text{wa māšǐn}=\text{ay} \) ‘with the car’

\(\text{wa her}=\text{ay} \) ‘with the donkey’

\(\text{wa xāw}=\text{ay dī} \) ‘(he, etc.) has dreamed’ (lit., ‘he saw in sleep / dream’)

\(\text{wa dār}=\text{ay mařawim} \) ‘I (even) climb a tree’

\(\text{wagard Fereydūn}=\text{ay} \) ‘together with Fereidoon’
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

wagard yak = ay ‘together’
wagard māšīn = ay ‘with the car’ (Not accepted by all speakers.)
wagard dūst-aka = t = ay / dūst-ak-ān = mān = ay ‘together with your friend / our friends’
war = m = ay ‘before me’
war māšīn-aka = m = ay ‘in front of my car’
war dam = mān = ay ‘(directly) in front of us’

2.8.4 Absolute prepositions

When the two simple prepositions (w)a ‘to’ and až ‘from, of’ are used with pronominal complements, they may take on a special form, wan and ažin (sometimes pronounced ažan), respectively. (The form ažin can be analyzed as simply having an additional -n, with an epenthetic short central vowel inserted after až.) If the pronominal complement is third person singular, no further ending is added, and the forms wan and ažin mean ‘to him/her/it’ or ‘from him/her/it’, respectively. If the complement is a pronoun of the other persons, the appropriate form of the bound pronoun can attach to the special form of the preposition.

Forms and examples are shown here (elicited data):

(168) wan = im ‘to me’ (also: wan = it, wan = iš, wan = mān, wan = tān, wan = šān)
    ažin = min ‘from me’ (also: ažin = im, ažin = it, ažin = iš, ažin = mān, ažin = tān, ažin = šān)
    bē = š = a min / bē = š = a wan = im ‘give it to me’!
    biya wan! ‘beat him!’
    ažin bipars! ‘ask him!’
    ažin = im bipars! / až min bipars! ‘ask me!’

Two more examples are given here (from texts):

(169) m-wā-y ča ma-t-i wan = im
    IND-say.PRS-3SG what IND-give.PRS-2SG to = BP.1SG
    ‘(He) says: “What will you give me?”’ [3:79]

(170) qayrēk ažin ma-kar-īy = a gūrfān = iš
    little.bit from.it IND-do.PRS-3SG = DRCT bag = BP.3SG
    ‘He puts a little bit from it into his bag’ [3:58]

2.8.5 Prepositions and the Ezafe

Some of the prepositions can occur with an Ezafe particle linking it to the following element:

(171) aṛā (aṛā = y) ‘to, for’ (Sometimes appears with an Ezafe.)
    dile ‘inside (location); in (preposition)’ (Always appears with Ezafe, though not indicated in orthography.)

35 The form wan=ɪš is elicited and not found in the texts. The normal form in the texts is wan.
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajūyī

2.8.6 The post-verbal directional particle = a

If a verb is immediately followed by a noun phrase or adpositional phrase indicating goal, recipient or addressee, the verb most often takes a clitic particle = a (variants: =wa, =ya). It seems likely that this is actually the reflex of the simple preposition (w)a, which has become cliticized to the verb. It is always the final clitic in any sequence of clitics on the verb. In certain expressions, it appears on the verb even when there is no appropriate goal constituent following the verb (in effect a kind of “preposition stranding”). This is particularly true for expressions with idiomatic meanings, such as the following example meaning ‘listen’, literally ‘give ear’:

(172) gūš ma-ti = ya
     ear IND-give.PRS.3SG = DRCT
     ‘(he) listens’ [3:28]

Some verbs with overt goals are shown in this sentence:

(173) yakī = Š rāšin ka(rd), ništ = a pišt = iš,
     one = BP.3SG start do.PST(3SG) sit.PST(3SG) = DRCT back = BP.3SG
     řaft = a āsmān, hāma = ya wār
     go.PST(3SG) = DRCT sky come.PST(3SG) = DRCT down
     ‘He started one (Phantom) up, sat behind (the control stick), went up into the sky, (and) came down.’ [6:150]

The directional is also used on a verb preceding a ‘resultant state’, treated as a goal:

(174) min bū-m = a šū = y tu
     1SG SBJV.COP.PRS.1SG = DRCT spouse = EZ 2SG
     ‘I will become your husband’ [5:112]

2.9 Syntax

2.9.1 Simple clauses with full verbs

Simple clauses contain a single main verb that exhibits obligatory agreement with an S or an A argument (see Sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.7 above). There is virtually no non-finite syntax in Gawrajūyī. Some clauses have a copula as their predicate; these are discussed below. The unmarked order of constituents in a simple clause is Subject-Object-Verb-Goal, though this is not strict. Furthermore, some elements of the clause can be left unexpressed, such as subject, or goal. Objects may also be omitted or they are expressed through bound pronouns. A goal following the verb is introduced with the directional = a ( =wa, =ya) (see Section 2.8.6 above). Examples of simple clauses with a basic constituent order are shown here (from the texts):

(175) ēma nām = iš ma-zān-ām
     1PL name = BP.3SG IND-know.PRS.1PL
     ‘we know its name’ [4:19]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

(176) \(\text{min } tu = m \) nāsī
1SG 2SG = BP.1SG recognize.PST
‘I recognized you’ [3:101] (see Section 2.4.7.2 for the syntax of the Past Transitive Construction)

A simple clause with a verb and a goal is shown here:

(177) \(\text{pīyā } = y(č) \) \(\text{ma-š-u } = \text{wa} \) bān āsyāw-aka
man = ADD IND-PR-PST-3SG = DRCT up mill-DEF
‘The man also goes up on the mill’ [3:28]

2.9.2 Clauses with copula predicates

For expressions of identity, location, property assignment/description, and possession, Gawraǰūyī generally uses the copula verb (introduced in Section 2.4.6) in combination with a non-verbal element. That could be a noun phrase, an adjective, an adpositional phrase, or other element. We term this element the copula complement. In Gawraǰūyī, the copula follows the copula complement. Examples from texts are given here:

(178) \(\text{ēma } ŵafīq bīs-yām} \)
1PL friend COP.PST-1PL
‘we were friends’ [3:104]

(179) mard nām = im-ē
Mard name = BP.1SG-3SG
‘Mard is my name’ [3:77]

An example of existential usage is shown here:

(180) ... ţünka nwār-aka hē
because cassette-DEF existent.3SG
‘... because there are cassette(s)’ [7H:119]

The existential verb is also used to express possession. The possessor is expressed via a bound pronoun, and the existential predicate agrees with the possessed, yielding literally, ‘(to) me there is …’ For example:

(181) ya kuṟa = ţ hē
one son = BP.3SG existent.3SG
‘he has a son’[5:78]

In addition to the bound pronoun, the possessor can also be expressed through a free noun phrase or pronoun placed initially in the clause, such as \(\text{min} \), as the following example shows:

(182) \(\text{min } ya \) birā = m hē
1SG one brother = BP.1SG existent.3SG
‘I have one brother’ [7N:82]

2.9.3 Reflexivity

When the subject of a Gawraǰūyī sentence has the same referent as another constituent of the same sentence (object, prepositional or possessive complement), then this constituent takes on
the form of the reflexive marker \textit{ištan}. In almost all instances, a bound pronoun, also referring to the subject, is attached to the reflexive:

(183) \textit{ištan} = \textit{iš} \quad \textit{ma-šār-ē} = \textit{wa}  
\text{REFL} = \text{BP.3SG} \quad \text{IND-hide.PRS-3SG} = \text{PRT}  
'(he) hides himself' \cite{3:22}

2.9.4 Complex clause structures

As mentioned above, there is virtually no non-finite syntax in Gawrajūyī, so there are no constructions with infinitives comparable to, for example, English modals followed by infinitives, or raising constructions, or the like. There are also virtually no auxiliary verbs. Clauses combining is thus largely loosely para tactic, with few overt signals of subordination.

2.9.4.1 Clause conjoining

Clauses can be conjoined with a conjunction such as \textit{=u}, which attaches as a clitic to the preceding element. For example (from texts):

(184) \textit{ma-gar(d-ē)} \quad \textit{ya} \quad \textit{qayr} \quad \textit{giž} \quad \textit{giyā} \quad \textit{m-war-ē} = \textit{u}  
\text{IND-look.around.PRS-3SG} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{little} \quad \text{kind} \quad \text{grass} \quad \text{IND-eat.PRS-3SG} = \text{and}  
\text{di} \quad \text{āwis} \quad \textit{ma-w-u} \quad \textit{bizin-aka}  
\text{then} \quad \text{pregnant} \quad \text{IND-become.PRS-3SG} \quad \text{goat-DEF}  
'(she looks around (and) eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then the goat becomes pregnant' \cite{2:21}

Clauses can also be conjoined with a clause conjunction that is not a clitic, but rather an independent word, such as \textit{walē} ‘but’. The connective \textit{walē} can occur at the very beginning of the sentence or conjoin two clauses in a sentence. An example with \textit{walē} is given here (from texts):

(185) \textit{walē} \textit{eštebā} \textit{ma-kar-in},  \textit{šaqd} \textit{ma-kar-in}  
\text{but} \quad \text{mistake} \quad \text{IND-do.PRS-3PL}, \quad \text{engagement} \quad \text{IND-do.PRS-3PL}  
\text{walē} \textit{eštebā} \textit{ma-kar-in}  
\text{but} \quad \text{mistake} \quad \text{IND-do.PRS-3PL}  
'But they make a mistake; they become engaged but they make a mistake' \cite{8:198}

2.9.4.2 Disjunctive clauses

Disjunctive clauses are introduced with \textit{yā} ‘either, or’, while negative disjunctive clauses are introduced with \textit{na}. An example with \textit{yā} is shown here (from texts):

(186) \textit{m-wā-y} \quad \textit{yā} \quad \textit{šim} \quad \text{Raxš} \quad \textit{b-i} = \textit{ya} \quad \textit{das} = \textit{im},  
\text{IND-say.PRS-3SG} \quad \text{either trace} \quad \text{Raxš} \quad \text{SBJV-give.PRS.2SG} = \text{DRCT} \quad \text{hand} = \text{BP.1SG}  
\textit{yā} \quad \textit{dar-āna} = \textit{u} \quad \text{hasār} \quad \textit{ma-kan-im} \quad \text{yak} \quad \text{takān}  
\text{or} \quad \text{gate-PL} = \text{and} \quad \text{courtyard} \quad \text{IND-break.down.PRS-1SG} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{blow}  
'(Rostam) says: “Either you give me the trace of Raxš, or with one blow I will break down the gates and the courtyard’' \cite{5:105}
2.9.4.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are introduced with čünka ‘because’. It can be placed at the beginning of a sentence or within it, preceding the clause expressing the semantic reason. For example (from texts):

(187) čünka wāqeʕan ʿarūsī-yaka ařā=mān mahram-ē,
    because really wedding-DEF for=BP.1PL mahram-3SG
    kas wa kas, {?! xāʕl} duxtardāyī=t-ē
    person to person daughter.uncle=BP.2SG-3SG

‘Because the wedding is really “mahram” (i.e., within the close family) for us, no-one (says) to someone else: “Is she your cousin?”’ [7H:144]

2.9.4.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses can be introduced with agar ‘if’. The verbs used in the protasis and the apodosis are either forms built with past stems and the prefix m(a) (see Section 2.4.8.3), as in the following example; or with the past stem plus -ta and the prefix bi-, as in the second example below:

(188) agar min īsa ma-zānast, ni-māma-yim
    if 1SG this IPFV-know.PST(3SG) NEG-IPFV-come.PST-1SG

‘if I had known this, I would not have come’ [elicited data]

An example of the Past Subjunctive is the following:

(189) xożgā min āyamīzāya biyātā-yim
    wish I human.being COP.PST.SBJV-1SG
    ā tūta=y gard gala=m=a bi-kušā,
    DIST dog=EZ with flock=BP.1SG=DEM SBJV-kill.PST.SBJV
    maghz-aka=s=im bar-b-āwīrdā,
    brain-DEF=BP.3SG=BP1SG PREV-SBJV-take.PST.SBJV
    bi-nyātā=m=a war war, wiškwa
    SBJV-put.PST.SBJV=BP.1SG=DRCT to sun dry
    biyātā
    become.PST.SBJV

‘If I only were a human being, I would have killed that dog with the flock, I would have taken out its brain, I would have left it out in the sun, (so) it would have become dry’ [3:33-34]

2.9.4.5 Relativization

Relative clauses are introduced with the general complementizer ka. The relativized clause immediately follows the head noun, which also usually has a particle -ē or -e attached to it.36

Some examples from texts are given here of restrictive relativization:

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36 The conditions for the choice of -ē, -e, or -Ø have not yet been researched.
A Grammatical Sketch of Gawrajūyī

(190) mināř-ān-ē ka masan hawpiřkī = šān
child-PL-NA COMPL for.example dance = BP.3PL
ařā = š kard-ē = u
for = BP.3SG do.PST-3SG = and
kas-ān-ē ka kumak piši-yaka = šān kard-ē
person-PL-NA COMPL help cat-DEF = BP.3PL do.PST-3SG
‘(as for) the children, who, for example, have danced for her, and the people who have helped the cat’ [1:107-109]

(191) dile a čamadān = e dita
in DIST suitcase = EZ young.woman
ka až ka = y bāwka bi-řaw-ē
COMPL from house = EZ father SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
‘in the suitcase of the young woman who is leaving her father’s house’ [7H:147]

2.9.4.6 Temporal clauses

The form ka can also function as a temporal conjunction, following a noun or noun phrase indicating time:

(192) ba'īd, dukut šawār ka šām m-war-in
then midnight COMPL evening.meal IND-eat.PRS-3PL
‘then, at midnight, as they are eating their evening meal’ [5:109]

The clause can also be introduced with waxtē ka lit., ‘time that’, i.e., ‘when, as’, which is particularly common and can be considered a unit:

(193) waxtē ka nān čāyī m-war-in
when bread tea IND-eat.PRS-3PL
‘When they eat the bread and tea’ [3:8]

2.9.4.7 Complement clauses

Complement clauses, those which occur as objects of another clause, are introduced with no special element; they are simply presented after the verb of utterance or perception. For example (from texts):

(194) falā-ka-y m-wā-y ay wā niya
farmer-DEF-NA IND-say.PRS-3SG well wind not.exist.3SG
‘the farmer says: “Well, there is no wind”’ [1:76]

A good example of the typical paratactic style of subordination is the following:

(195) ma-wīn-ē hūč niya b-war-ē
IND-see.PRS-3SG nothing not.exist.3SG SBJV-eat.PRS-3SG
‘(he) sees (that) there is nothing (that he) might eat.’ [3:16]
3. A SAMPLE OF A FULLY GLOSSED TEXT, TEXT 2: TĪTĪLA AND BĪBĪLA

(1) {Narrator’s child speaks: titila-u bibila} {Narrator:} titila =u bibila?
   Titila = and Bibila
   {Narrator’s child speaks:} Titila and Bibila {Narrator:} Titila and Bibila?

(2) titila = u bibila, ēma wa zwān kurdi m-wāţ-ām
   Titila = and Bibila 1PL with language Kurdish IND-say.PRS-1PL
   bizin-a šal = u miš-a šal
   goat-COMPD lame = and ram-COMPD lame
   Titila and Bibila, in the Kurdish language we say: “The lame goat and the lame ram.”

(3) ya bizin ma-w-u, ya miš ma-w-(u) šal ma-w-in
   INF goat IND-COP-3SG IND ram IND-COP-3SG lame IND-COP-3PL
   There is a goat (and) there is a ram; they are lame.

(4) wa ka = ya ma-w-in, gala ma-š-u = wa
   at house = POST IND-COP-3PL flock IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT
   kā, ānān aţ ka ma-man-in
   mountain they in house IND-remain.PRS-3PL
   They are at home; the flock goes to the mountain(s) (and) they (i.e., the goat and the ram) stay at home.

(5) inān-i bar darwāza wāz ma-w-u, bar
   they-NA front gate open IND-COP-3SG out
   ma-řaw-in aţ pača, m-wā-n bi-řaw-ām,
   IND-go.PRS-3PL of courtyard IND-say.PRS-3PL SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
   bi-řas-ām = a gala-ka
   SBJV-reach.PRS-1PL = DRCT flock-DEF
   They... The front of the gate is open; they go out of the courtyard (and) they say: “Let’s go, let’s reach the flock.”

(6) ma-š-in = a sar zimkān, gala
   IND-go.PRS-3PL = DRCT to Zimkān.river flock
   ma-š-u = wa ā das,
   IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT DIST side
   az zimkān ma-kar-i = ya ā das
   from Zimkān.river IND-do.PRS-3SG = DRCT DIST side
   They go to the Zimkān (river); the flock goes to that (other) side. From the (side of) the Zimkān (river), (the flock) crosses to that (other) side.

(7) gala ma-kar-i = ya ā das
   flock IND-do.PRS-3SG = DRCT DIST side
   The flock crosses to that side...
(8) \(\text{ya dafā-yi iūnān-ī m-wā-n,} \)
\(\text{INDF time-INDF2 they-NA IND-say.PRS-3PL} \)
\(\text{hay birā, m-wā-y ā} \)
\(\text{hey brother IND-say.PRS-3SG yes} \)

Suddenly, they (i.e., the goat and the ram) say: “Hey, brother!” (The ram) says: “Yes?”

(9) \(\text{bizin-aka, mīš-aka wa bizin-aka m-wā-y, m-wā-y} \)
\(\text{goat-DEF ram-DEF to goat-DEF IND-say.PRS-3SG IND-say.PRS-3SG} \)

The goat... (actually) the ram says to the goat, (the ram) says:

(10) \(\text{ēma man-yām = a yā(ga)-ām,} \)
\(\text{1PL remain.PST.(PTCP)-1PL = DRCT place-1PL} \)

“We have remained, we are (still in) place.

(11) \(\text{mēz ma-kar-ām = a ī āw = a, mēz-aka = y} \)
\(\text{urine IND-do.PRS-1PL = DRCT PROX water = DEM urine-DEF = EZ} \)
\(\text{har kām = mān kaf = iš gir(t)} \)

whichever = BP.1PL foam = BP.3SG get.PST

We will urinate in this water; whoever of us has urine that makes froth;

(12) \(\text{ma-řas-ām, ma-pař-ām ā das,} \)
\(\text{IND-reach.PRS-1PL IND-cross.PRS-1PL DIST side} \)
\(\text{ma-š-ām, ma-řas-ām = wa} \)
\(\text{IND-go.PRS-1PL IND-reach.PRS-1PL = DRCT} \)

we reach, we cross to that (other) side, we go, we reach to...

(13) \(\text{har kām = mān bē qīsa mēz-aka = mān} \)

whichever = BP.1PL without speech urine-DEF = BP.1PL

\(\text{kaf = iš na-ḥirt,} \)

foam = BP.3SG NEG.PST-get.PST

\(\text{āw ma-yar-ē = mān} \)

water IND-take.PRS-3SG = BP.1PL

Whoever of us—excuse me for saying this—has no froth on our urine, (then) the water will take us (i.e., that one of us) away.”

(14) \(\text{inān-ī mēz ma-kr-in = a āw,} \)
\(\text{they-NA urine IND-do.PRS-3PL = DRCT water} \)
\(\text{mēz mīš-aka kaf ma-yr-ē,} \)

urine ram-DEF foam IND-get.PRS-3SG

\(\text{mīš ma-pař-ē = wa ūa ma-řaw-ē} \)

ram IND-cross.PRS-3SG = DRCT way IND-go.PRS-3SG

\(\text{ma-řas-ī = ya gāla, ařā = y ištan = iš} \)

IND-reach.PRS-3SG = DRCT flock for = EZ REFL = BP.3SG

\(\text{ma-řaw-ē wa ūa = wa} \)

IND-go.PRS-3SG to way = POST

They urinate in the water; the ram’s urine makes froth, (so) the ram crosses over, goes (and) reaches the flock, (and) simply goes on his way.
(15) *bizin-aka-*y āw *ma-yar-*ē = ẓ
  goat-DEF-NA water IND-carry.PRS-3SG = BP.3SG
  (As for) the goat, the water carries her away.

(16) *bizin* āw *ma-yar-*ē = ẓ
  goat water IND-carry.PRS-3SG = BP.3SG
  (As for) the goat, the water carries her away,

(17) *ma-rāw-*ē kām kām *ma-kat-*ē *kinār* daryā-yēk
  IND-go.PRS-3SG little.by.little IND-fall.PRS-3SG edge body.of.water-INDF1
  (the goat) goes; she is eventually stranded at the edge of a river;

(18) ya xwāparast-ēk *m-āy-ō* až
  INDF pious.person-INDF1 IND-come.PRS-3SG from
  lā = wa, *ma-wīn-*ē = ẓ = wa
  alongside = POST IND-see.PRS-3SG = BP.3SG = PRT
  m-wā-y āy ī *bizin* = a
  IND-say.PRS-3SG oh PROX goat = DEM
  dāwu *giyān* *ma-kan-*ē gunā = ẓ-ē
  Davūd soul IND-gives up.PRS-3SG poor = BP.3SG-3SG
  a pious man comes along, finds her there, (and) says: “Oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is
dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).”

(19) mi-nā-y = ẓ = a *kinār* zimkān-aka
  IND-put.PRS-3SG = BP.3SG = DRCT edge Zimkān.river-DEF
  He takes her to the edge of the Zimkān (river).

(20) mi-nā-y = ẓ = a *kinār* zimkān-aka = u  dī
  IND-put.PRS-3SG = BP.3SG = DRCT edge Zimkān.river-DEF = and then
  ařā = y īštān = īš kām kām ya čika war-aka
  for = EZ REFL = BP.3SG little.by.little INDF bit sunlight-DEF
  ma-tr-ō = ya *wan* bizin-aka
  IND-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT on.goal goat-DEF
  hāz *ma-kat-*ī = ya wa qul = īš
  strength IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DRCT on leg(s) = BP.3SG
  zinna = wa *ma-w-*u
  alive = back IND-become.PRS-3SG
  He takes her to the edge of the Zimkān (river) and then simply, little by little, a bit of
sunlight falls on the goat; (the goat) gains strength in her legs (and) comes back to life.

(21) *ma-gar(d)-ē* ya qayr giż giyā
  INDF look.around.PRS-3SG INDF bit grass grass
  m-war-*ē* = u dī āwis *ma-w-*u bizin-aka
  IND-eat.PRS-3SG = and so.then pregnant IND-become.PRS-3SG goat-DEF
  She looks around (and) eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then the goat
becomes pregnant.
She goes near a mill; there she hides herself, herself,

then every day, she goes to graze, and also every night, she comes from there (and) simply sleeps all the time, poor creature.

Some time passes, then.

She brings Titila and Bibila (into the world).

little by little, little by little, Titila and Bibila, by God, they become strong.

Then (the goat) goes by day to the mountains, eats grass, (and) in the evenings, she comes back (and) gives them her milk.

What, Mr. Wolf comes down; evil befalls them.
A Sample of a Fully Glossed Text

(30) ažin = iš nāziḥ ma-w-u
from.source = BP.3SG direction.from.heaven.to.below IND-COP-3SG
He comes down; evil befalls them,

(31) ma-kat-ı = ya šün bizin m-āy-ē ma-wīn-ē
IND-fall.PRS-3SG = DRCT after goat IND-see.PRS-3SG IND-see.PRS-3SG
balē dü wačka = iš = iš hē
yes two offspring = BP.3SG = ADD = BP.3SG existent.3SG
(the wolf) comes after the goat; he sees (that) yes, she also has two offspring:

(32) titila = u ᛿iḇiḇiḷa
Titila = and Bibila
Titila and Bibila.

(33) īn-ı m-wā-y
this-NA IND-say.PRS-3SG
This one (i.e., the wolf) says:

(34) ina ma-zān-ı ča ma-kar-im, wa řū(ž)
it.(is) IND-know.PRS-2SG what IND-do.PRS-1SG with day
bizin-aka bi-š-u = wa kū m-āy-im pišt
goat-DEF SBV-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT mountain IND-see.PRS-1SG behind
bara-ka wan = šān m-wīn-im,
door-DEF to.goal = BP.3PL IND-close.PRS-1SG m-wār-im = šān
IND-eat.PRS-1SG = BP.3PL
“Do you know what it is that I will do? By day, when the goat goes to the mountain(s), I will come, I will close the door (and) eat them.”

(35) ma-š-in = a dile āsyāw-aka = wa
IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT into mill-DEF = POST
titila = u ᛿iḇiḇiḷa wa řū-āna
Titila = and Bibila with day-ADV
Titila and Bibila go into the mill daily.

(36) watā birā inān = ī(č) ma-š-in = a
by.God brother these = ADD IND-go.PRS-3PL = DRCT
kū, dāyka = šān
mountain mother = BP.3PL
By God, brother, these ones also go to the mountain(s); their mother...

(37) dāyka = šān ma-š-u = wa kū ya dafa
mother = BP.3PL IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT mountain IND-time
gurg-aka m-āy-Ø = a pišt(ı) bara-ka
wolf-DEF IND-see.PRS-3SG = DRCT to door-DEF
their mother goes to the mountain(s); suddenly, the wolf comes up to the door.
walē ḏāyka = šān m-wā-y ṭāla,
but mother = BP.3PL IND-say.PRS-3SG dear.child
m-wā-y baḷē, m-wā-y ḥaṛ_ka ḥāma-Ø
IND-say.PRS-3SG yes IND-say.PRS-3SG whoever come.PST-3SG
piš(t) bara-ka, bara-ka ḍā = š wāz na-kar-a
to door-DEF door-DEF for = BP.3SG open NEG.SBJV-do.PRS-IMP.PL
But their mother says: “Dear child.” (Titīla and Bībīla) say: “Yes?” (Their mother)
says: “Whoever comes up to the door, don’t open the door for him,
(39) tā ištān = im m-āy-m = wa,
until REFL = BP.1SG IND-come.PRS-1SG = back
m-wā-n bāšad
IND-say.PRS-3PL all.right
until I myself come back.” They say: “All right.”
(40) birā gurg m-āy-Ø = a piš(t) bar
brother wolf IND-come.PRS-3SG = DRCT to door
m-wā-y, ma-ti-Ø = ya wa bara-ka,
IND-say.PRS-3SG IND-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT to door-DEF
m-wā-y kī-ya kī-ya
IND-say.PRS-3SG who-3SG who-3SG
taq-a taq ma-kar-ē
knocking.sound-COMPd knocking.sound IND-do.PRS-3SG
Brother, the wolf comes to the door; he knocks on the door. (Titila and Bibila) say:
“Who is it? Who is it (who) knocks at the door?”
(41) m-wā-y mīn-im ḏāyka = tān
IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG-1SG mother = BP.2PL
bara-ka wāz ṭqc = im taqī-Ø
doors-DEF open (SBJV)-do.PRS-IMP.PL udder = BP.1SG burst.PST-3SG
(The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother; open the door, my udder is bursting!”
(42) m-wā-y na, ḏāyka = y ēma šāx = iṣ
eX -say.PRS-3SG NEG mother = EZ 1PL horn(s) = BP.3SG
ḥē, ṭu šāx = iṭ nīya
existent.3SG 2SG horn(s) = BP.2SG NEG.exist.PRS.3SG
(Titila and Bibila) say: “No! Our mother has horns; you have no horns.”
Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” He comes (and) knocks on the door, making (the sound) (lit., says) “taq taq”; (Titila and Bibila) say: “Who is it?”

(The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother, my udder is bursting, open the door that I may come in.” (Titila and Bibila) say: “No!”

You are not our mother; our mother

is black; you are brown.”

(The wolf) goes, finally, he makes himself black; he comes back (and) knocks on the door again.

(Titila and Bibila) say: “No, our mother comes back in the evenings; you are not our mother.”
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

(49) \( in = i(č) \) \( ma-š-u \) ya kuč-\( a \) qawī
PROX = ADD IND-go.PRS-3SG one stone-NA hard
\( m-ār-č \) \( ma-ti-\( Ơ \) = ya \) wa bar
IND-bring.PRS-3SG IND-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT to door
\( bar \) ma-škin-\( ě \), \( ma-š-u = wa \) dile
doctor IND-break.PRS-3SG IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT inside
This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he
breaks the door (and) goes inside.

(50) \( titīla \) \( m-war-č = u \) \( bibīla = yč \) m-war-č
Titila IND-eat.PRS-3SG = and Bibila = ADD IND-eat.PRS-3SG
He eats up Titila and he eats up Bibila, too.

(51) \( yak-č \) ya tik až xün-aka = šān hay
one-INDF1 INDF drop of blood-DEF = BP.3PL so
\( ma-ti-k-i = ya \) zamīn
IND-drop.PRS-3SG = DRCT ground
From each of them, one drop of their blood drips onto the ground.

(52) \( birā \) \( iwāra \) bizin m-āy-\( Ō \) = wa
brother evening goat IND-come.PRS-3SG = back
\( ma-wiň-č \) \( nik_nähmē \) \( řāta-k-ān = iš \) niya
IND-see.PRS-3SG hopeless dear.child-DEF-PL = BP.3SG NEG.exist.PRS.3SG
Brother, in the evening, the goat comes back; she sees, hopeless, (that) nothing is left of
her dear children.

(53) \( m-āy-č \) \( ma-kat-i = ya \) \( Ĭ \)
IND-come.PRS-3SG IND-sets.out.on.PRS-3SG = DRCT PROX
\( řāsā \) \( ma-š-u = wa = u \)
straight.direction IND-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT = and
She sets off straight down this road; she goes and

(54) \( m-wā-y \) xwiyā ča bi-kar-im \( Ĭ \) řūl-ān
IND-say.PRS-3SG O.God what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG PROX dear.child-PL
\( min = a \) ča wan-\( a \) hāma-\( Ō \)
1SG = DEM what to.goal-NA come.PST-3SG
\( ča \) ward = Ĭ, \( xirs \) ward = Ĭ, \( gurg \) ward = Ĭ
what eat.PST = BP.3SG bear eat.PST = BP.3SG wolf eat.PST = BP.3SG
she says: “O God, what will I do? These children of mine, what happened to them?
What ate them? Did a bear eat them? Did a wolf eat them?

(55) \( kamtar \) ward = Ĭ, \( ča \) ward = Ĭ
vulture eat.PST = BP.3SG what eat.PST = BP.3SG
Did a vulture eat them? What ate them?”
(56) xulāsa ma-kat-i = ya ḥā m-āy-ā
finally IND-sets out on.PRS-3SG = DRCT way IND-come.PRS-3SG
ma-š-u = wa bān ka = y xīrs
ind.go.PRS-3SG = DRCT roof house = EZ bear
Finally, she gets on the way (and) sets off for the roof of the bear’s house.

(57) ma-tī-Ω = ya wa bān-aka = š = ay m-wā-y
ind-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT to roof-DEF = BP.3SG = POST IND-say.PRS-3SG
She bangs on his roof; (the bear) says:

(58) ki-ya kī-ya, ūm-a ūm
who-3SG who-3SG loud.noise-COMP loud.noise
ma-kar-ē piř kāsa = u kučāla = y mināl = im
ind.do.PRS-3SG full bowl = and small.bowl = EZ child = BP.1SG
xāk ma-kar-ē
earth ind-do.PRS-3SG
"Who is it, who is it? Who is making loud noises? Who is making the dishes of my children full of earth?"

(59) m-wā-y mīn-im mīn-im biz bizakān-ē
ind-say.PRS-3SG 1SG-1SG 1SG-1SG goaty-goat-3SG
(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat.”

(60) dī ěwā dir-im ėjū girdakān-ē, dī šāx
two eye(s) have.PRS-1SG like walnuts-3SG two horn(s)
dir-im ėjū bitlākān-ē
have.PRS-1SG like small.spades-3SG
I have two eyes, they are like walnuts, I have two horns, they are like small spades;

(61) har ka ūfā = m = īš ward-ē,
whoever dear.child = BP.1SG = BP.3SG eat.PST.(PTCP)-3SG
jang = (īš) šāx šaytān-ē
war = BP.3SG horn(s) Satan-3SG
whoever has eaten my children—I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn)!”

(62) m-wā-y mīn ma-ward-a = m-ē
ind-say.PRS-3SG 1SG NEG.PST-eat.PST-PTCP = BP.1SG-3SG
(The bear) says: “I haven’t eaten (them).”

(63) m-āy-Ω ma-š-u = wa bān ka = y gurg.
ind-come.PRS-3SG ind-go.PRS-3SG = DRCT roof house = EZ wolf
cā zān-im ūwās
what know.PRS-1SG fox
(The goat) sets off for the roof of the wolf’s house; what do I know, the fox.

37 The rhymed forms biz bizakān, girdakān, and bitlākān are not analyzed.
The Gorani language of Gawrājū, a village of West Iran

(64)  
\[ ma-ti-O = ya \quad wa \quad bān-aka = šān = ay, \quad m-wā-y \]
IND-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT to roof-DEF = BP.3PL = POST IND-say.PRS-3SG

\[ ki-ya \quad ki-ya \quad řim-ä \quad řim \]
who-3SG who-3SG loud.noise-COMPD loud.noise

\[ ma-kar-ē \quad piř \quad kāsa = u \quad kučala = y \quad mināl = im \]
IND-do.PRS-3SG full bowl = and small.bowl = EZ child = BP.1SG

\[ xāk \quad ma-kar-ē \]
earth IND-do.PRS-3SG

She bangs on their roof; (the fox) says: “Who is it, who is it? Who is making loud noises? Who is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”

(65)  
\[ m-wā-y \quad min-im \quad min-im \quad biz_bizakān-ē \]
IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG-1SG 1SG-1SG goaty-goat-3SG

\[ dū ċāw \quad dir-im \quad jür \quad girdakān-ē, \quad dū šāx \]
two eye(s) have.PRS-1SG like walnuts-3SG two horn(s)

\[ dir-im \quad jür \quad bītakān-ē \quad har_ka \quad řāla = m = iš \]
have.PRS-1SG like small.spades-3SG whoever dear.child = BP.1SG = BP.3SG

\[ ward-ē, \quad jang \quad šāx \quad šaytān-ē \quad eat.PST.(PTCP)-3SG \quad war \quad horn(s) \quad Satan-3SG \]

(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat. I have two eyes, they are like walnuts, I have two horns, they are like small spades; whoever has eaten my children—I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn)!”

(66)  
\[ m-wā-y \quad min \quad na-ward-a = m-ē \]
IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG NEG.PST-eat.PST-PTCP = BP.1SG-3SG

(The fox) says: “I haven’t eaten them.”

(67)  
\[ ma-š-u \quad bān \quad ka = y \quad gurg \quad xulāsa, \]
IND-go.PRS-3SG roof house = EZ wolf finally

\[ ma-ti-O = ya \quad wa \quad bān-aka = š = ay, \quad m-wā-y \]
IND-give.PRS-3SG = DRCT to roof-DEF = BP.3SG = POST IND-say.PRS-3SG

\[ ki-ya \quad ki-ya \quad řim-ä \quad řim \]
who-3SG who-3SG loud.noise-COMPD loud.noise

\[ ma-kar-ē \quad piř \quad kāsa = u \quad kučala = y \quad mināl = im \]
IND-do.PRS-3SG full bowl = and small.bowl = EZ child = BP.1SG

\[ xāk \quad ma-kar-ē \]
earth IND-do.PRS-3SG

(The goat) goes to the roof of the wolf’s house, finally; she bangs on his roof. (The wolf) says: “Who is it? Who is it making loud noises, (who) is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”

(68)  
\[ m-wā-y \quad min-im \quad min-im \quad biz_bizakān-ē \]
IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG-1SG 1SG-1SG goaty-goat-3SG

\[ dū ċāw \quad dir-im \quad jür \quad girdakān-ē, \quad dū šāx \]
two eye(s) have.PRS-1SG like walnuts-3SG

(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat. I have two eyes, they are like
walnuts,

(69) *diš* šáx ‹dir-š* jür ‹bišakăn-če*
  two horn(s) have.PRS-1SG like small.spades-3SG

*har* ka řūla =m =iš* ward-če,*
whoever dear.child =BP.1SG =BP.3SG eat.PST.(PTCP)-3SG

*fang* šáx šaytān-če
war horn(s) Satan-3SG
I have two horns, they are like small spades; whoever has eaten my children—I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn).”

(70) *m-wā-y* min ward-a =m-če
IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG eat.PST-PTCP = BP.1SG-3SG
(The wolf) says: “I have eaten them.”

(71) *m-wā-y* xo ištan =it ŕmāda bi-ka(r),
IND-say.PRS-3SG well REFL = BP.2SG ready SBJV-do.PRS(-IMP.2SG)

*biš-ām=a* *jang* šáx šaytān
SBJV-go.PRS-1PL = DRCT war horn(s) Satan
(The goat) says: “Well, make yourself ready; let’s go to the war of Satan’s horn.”

(72) *m-wā-y* bāšad
IND-say.PRS-3SG all.right
(The wolf) says: “All right.”

(73) *sū* ařā =y nīmařū *fang-če*
morning for = EZ midday fight-3SG
(The goat says:) “Morning, at midday there will be war.

(74) *m-āy-im* maydān-aka *jang* ma-kar-ām,
IND-come.PRS-1SG square-DEF war IND-do.PRS-1PL

*m-wā-y* bāšad
IND-say.PRS-3SG all.right
I will come to the square (and) we will fight.” (The wolf) says: “All right.”

(75) *ān-I* m-āy-O =a,
DIST-NA IND-come.PRS-3SG = DRCT

*m-āy-O =a* lā =y lālo_pāyar
IND-come.PRS-3SG = DRCT side = EZ Lālo.Pāydar

*m-wā-y* lālo_pāyar, m-wā-y balē, bizin-aka
IND-say.PRS-3SG Lālo.Pāydar IND-say.PRS-3SG yes goat-DEF
She comes, comes to Lālo Pāydār (and) says: “Lālo Pāydār!” (Lālo Pāydār) says: “Yes, goat?”
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

(76) m-wā-y min ōka-k-ān=im i gurg=a
    IND-say.PRS-3SG 1SG dear.child-DEF-PL = BP.1SG PROX wolf=DEM
    ward-a =š-ē tu ma-w-u šāx-ān = m = a
    eat.PST-PTCP = BP.3SG-3SG 2SG IND-COP-3SG horn-PL = BP.1SG = DEM
    tēž bi-kar-i tā min šāx = im
    sharp SBJV-do.PRS-2SG so.that 1SG horn(s) = BP.1SG
    bi-ti-m = a bar gaya = y gurg
    SBJV-give.PRS-1SG = DRCT to belly=EZ wolf
    hay = iš bi-ti-m
    NA = BP.3SG SBJV-give.PRS-1SG

(The goat) says: “Me... (As for) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them; you must sharpen my horns so that I may thrust my horn(s) into the wolf’s belly {xxx}.”

(77) m-wā-y bāšad
    IND-say.PRS-3SG all.right

(Lālo Pāydār) says: “All right,

(78) wa bān čaš
    to upon eye
    at your service.”

(79) šāx = iš tēž ma-kar-ē = u
    horn(s) = BP.3SG sharp IND-do.PRS-3SG = and

He sharpens her horn(s) and

(80) gurg m-āy-Ø=a aṛa lä lālo_pāyar,
    wolf IND-come.PRS-3SG = DRCT to side Lālo.Pāydār
    m-wā-y lālo_pāyar, m-wā-y balē,
    IND-say.PRS-3SG Lālo.Pāydār IND-say.PRS-3SG yes
    m-wā-y ma-w-(u) didān-ān = im = a
    IND-say.PRS-3SG IND-COP-3SG tooth-PL = BP.1SG = DEM
    tēž bi-kar-i tā min i
    sharp SBJV-do.PRS-2SG so.that 1SG PROX
    bizin-a kut_kut bi-kar-im bizin-aka-y
    goat-DEM torn.up SBJV-do.PRS-1SG goat-DEF-NA
    b-war-im, ōka-k-ān = iš = im = ić
    SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG dear.child-DEF-PL = BP.3SG = BP.1SG = ADD
    ward-ē
eat.PST.(PTCP)-3SG

the wolf comes over to Lālo Pāydār (and) says: “Lālo Pāydār!” (Lālo Pāydār) says: “Yes?” (The wolf) says: “You must sharpen my teeth so that I may tear this goat to pieces (and) may eat the goat; I have eaten her dear children, too.”
A Sample of a Fully Glossed Text

(81) lālo_pāyār [m-wā-y] ina ensāf niya,
Lālo. Pāyār IND-say.PRS-3SG it (is) fairness NEG.exist.PRS-3SG
bāšā(d) didān tu = ye že ma-kar-im,
all.right tooth 2SG = ADD sharp IND-do.PRS-1SG
ma-niš-ē didān gurg-aka
IND-sit.PRS-3SG tooth wolf-def
 gastrointestinal

(82) didān gurg ma-kīš-ē = u m-wā-y bi-š-a
tooth wolf IND-pull.PRS-3SG = and IND-say.PRS-3SG SBJV-go.PRS-IMPL
nīmaṇā mwaʃaq b-w-a, tā bi-zān-im
midday successful SBJV-COP-2PL so.that SBJV-know.PRS-1SG
kām = tān ma-yēr-Ø = awā
which = BP.2PL IND-win.PRS-3SG = PRT
He pulls out the teeth of the wolf and says: “Go! At midday, may you be successful; so I know which of you wins.”

(83) birā ma-š-in jang ma-kar-in
brother IND-go.PRS-3PL fight IND-do.PRS-3PL
Brother, they go, they fight.

(84) ya dafa-yi gurg m-wā-y awaš kām = mān bi-ti-yām
INDF time-INDF2 wolf IND-say.PRS-3SG first which = BP.1PL SBJV-give.PRS-1PL
wa kām = mān, bizin-aka m-wā-y awaš
to which = BP.1PL goat-def IND-say.PRS-3SG first
tu das bi-šan
2SG turn SBJV-throw.PRS(-IMP.2SG)
Suddenly, the wolf says: “Which of us should strike which of us first?” The goat says: “You strike first.”

(85) m-wā-y bāšād min das ma-šan-im
IND-say.PRS-3SG all.right 1SG turn IND-throw.PRS-1SG
m-āy-Ø qap ma-nā-y naxa<y drūi-wē, hūč
IND-come.PRS-3SG bite IND-put.PRS-3SG no lie-3SG nothing
až das = iš ni-m-āy-Ø
from hand = BP.3SG NEG.PRS-IND-come.PRS-3SG
(The wolf) says: “All right, I will strike a blow.” He comes (and) bites; (he realizes) it cannot be true (lit., no, it is a lie); he is unable to do anything.

(86) dū dafa = u sē dafa ḥa(r) qap ma-nā-y = a
two time = and three time just bite IND-put.PRS-3SG = DRCT
hūč wa hūč-ē
nothing to nothing-3SG
Two times and three times he just bites, (but) it is to no avail.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

The goat says: “Hey, wolf!” (The wolf) says: “Yes?” (The goat) says: “Isn’t it my turn?” (The wolf) says: “Yes, it’s your turn, by God.”

(The goat) says: “Well then, what did you prepare in your uncle’s house? What did you bring?” They say: “(The dish of) milk and wheat.”
A Sample of a Fully Glossed Text

(92)  
\[ \text{m-wā-y} \quad \text{ay} \quad \text{baš} \quad \text{min} \quad \text{ha} \quad \text{kā-ya}, \]
\[ \text{IND-say.PRS-3SG} \quad \text{well.then} \quad \text{portion} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{NA} \quad \text{where-NA} \]
\[ \text{m-wā-y} \quad \text{kird} = \text{m} = \text{a} \quad \text{das} = \text{im}, \quad \text{das} = \text{im} \]
\[ \text{IND-say.PRS-3SG} \quad \text{do.PST} = \text{BP.1SG} = \text{DRCT} \quad \text{hand} = \text{BP.1SG} \quad \text{hand} = \text{BP.1SG} \]
\[ \text{sūz-yā,} \quad \text{kird} = \text{m} = \text{a} \quad \text{čāw} = \text{im} \]
\[ \text{burn.PST-PASS1} \quad \text{do.PST} = \text{BP.1SG} = \text{DRCT} \quad \text{eye(s)} = \text{BP.1SG} \]
\[ \text{čāw} = \text{im} \quad \text{sūz-yā} \]
\[ \text{eye(s)} = \text{BP.1SG} \quad \text{burn.PST-PASS1} \]

(The goat) says: “Well then, where is my portion?” (One of the children) says: “I put it in my hand (and) my hand was burned; I put it in my eye (and) my eye was burned.

(93)  
\[ \text{kird} = \text{m} = \text{a}y \quad \text{šawī-yaka} = \text{m}, \quad \text{šawī-yaka} = \text{m} \]
\[ \text{do.PST} = \text{BP.1SG} = \text{BP.K.3SG} \quad \text{shirt-DEF} = \text{BP.1SG} \quad \text{shirt-DEF} = \text{BP.1SG} \]
\[ \text{sūz-yā} \]
\[ \text{burn.PST-PASS1} \]

I put it in my shirt (and) my shirt was burned.

(94)  
\[ \text{xulāsa} \quad \text{kird} = \text{m} = \text{a}y \quad \text{dam} = \text{im} \quad \text{dam} = \text{im} \]
\[ \text{finally} \quad \text{do.PST} = \text{BP.1SG} = \text{BP.K.3SG} \quad \text{mouth} = \text{BP.1SG} \quad \text{mouth} = \text{BP.1SG} \]
\[ \text{sūz-yā,} \quad \text{nā} = \text{m} = \text{a}y \quad \text{tāq} = \text{wa} \]
\[ \text{burn.PST-PASS1} \quad \text{put.PST} = \text{BP.1SG} = \text{BP.K.3SG(?)} \quad \text{tāq.(niche)} = \text{POST} \]
\[ \text{pišī} \quad \text{bird-ya} \quad \text{bāx} = \text{wa} \]
\[ \text{cat} \quad \text{take.PST-NA} \quad \text{garden} = \text{POST} \]

Finally, I put it in my mouth (and) my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall (and) the cat took it away in the garden.”

(95)  
\[ \text{ay} \quad \text{dī} \quad \text{čapa} = \text{y} \quad \text{guľ} = \text{u} \quad \text{čapa} = \text{y} \quad \text{čirū} \]
\[ \text{well.then} \quad \text{so.then} \quad \text{bouquet} = \text{EZ} \quad \text{flower} = \text{and} \quad \text{bouquet} = \text{EZ} \quad \text{čirū flower} \]
\[ \text{marg} \quad \text{tu} = \text{wa} \quad \text{na-win-im} = \text{u} \quad \text{mīm} \quad \text{īrān} = \text{wa} \]
\[ \text{death} \quad \text{2SG} = \text{POST} \quad \text{NEG.SBJV-see.PRS-1SG} = \text{and} \quad \text{Auntie} \quad \text{Iran} = \text{POST} \]
\[ \text{hargiz-ā-y} \quad \text{hargiz} \]
\[ \text{never-COMPD-NA} \quad \text{never} \]

Well then: A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of čirū (flowers); may I never see your death, nor (the death of) Auntie Iran, never, never.
CHAPTER 4

4. THE TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Background to the texts

An overview of the nine texts is given in Table 23 below:

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</table>

Table 23: Nine texts

Texts 1-7 are available in WAV-format (mono) on the CD accompanying this book. The original recordings, also in WAV-format, are preserved in the MPI-archive.

The names of the speakers of Texts 7-9 have been changed to preserve the speakers’ anonymity.

The texts are presented and numbered according to sentence or intonation unit, with each having a free English translation. The bracketed figures on the right give the starting point of each sentence in minutes:seconds in the original sound file. Each text is preceded by a short introduction giving the background to the text and the recording.

Symbols and transcription conventions

The system of transcribing Gawrajīyī in these nine texts employs symbols as shown and described in Section 2.2, Table 1.

A brief discussion of Gawrajīyī phonetics and phonology is found in Section 2.2. The actual transcription used in the texts is broadly phonemic rather than phonetic. It is a system that aims at employing a single, standardized form for each grammatical or lexical morpheme. Thus, it does not represent the variation in pronunciation that different speakers may use in pronouncing the same morpheme, nor does it show the variation that a single speaker may make pronouncing the same morpheme in different contexts, such as in fast or slow speech. It also does not show differences in pronunciation which are predictable and which can be described by rules of phonology. These rules are presented in Section 2.2.
Various transcription conventions are used in the texts. These include the use of curly brackets to enclose text material that is not the object of study, such as material from other languages or dialects, as well as poetic speech. Curly brackets enclosing “xxx”, as {xxx} indicate that the sense of the material is not clear. Curly brackets enclosing “?!” and language material, as {?! …}, indicate speech errors or non-standard pronunciation. It should be noted that material in curly brackets is not glossed or found in the lexicon.

Hyphens are used to attach selected enclitics to the preceding morpheme. These enclitics are the conjunction -u ‘and’; the additive particle -ič; the Ezafe particle -e (-y); and the present tense forms of the copula. A hyphen also is used before certain morphemes that follow an enclitic, e.g., ī dār-ič-a ‘this tree too-(demonstrative)’.

Parentheses are used to enclose missing parts of words, e.g., giš(t) ‘all’.

Proper names are written consistently throughout the texts.

Words originally transferred from other languages, but which have been mostly or fully integrated into the Gawrajū phonetic and phonological systems, are written according to the Gawrajū pronunciation.

In some instances, however, some sounds present in the original source language form (written or spoken) are also written in the Gawrajū words (for example: /ʔ/; /ʕ/), even though they do not actually belong to the phoneme inventory of Gawrajū. The symbol /ħ/ is also written in many of these loanwords, but it also functions as a Gawrajū phoneme, occurring in a few Gawrajū words (see Section 2.2 for more details).

Words from other languages which have not been fully integrated into the Gawrajū phonetic and phonological systems are enclosed in curly brackets with the source language indicated, e.g., {Kurdish: řož-e}

Exceptions to these rules and more complicated instances are usually indicated in notes.

Free translation

The English free translation of these texts follows a literal model commonly used in bilingual text collections. It attempts to preserve most formal correspondences, while also providing a fairly natural sense of the Gawrajū word or phrase in English.

Conventions in the English free translation, as in the transcription, include the use of curly brackets to indicate text material that is not the object of study. Parentheses are used to enclose added information, such as implied information, information included for naturalness, and most morphemes that are not overtly expressed in the Gawrajū material.

Well-known names are written according to standard English conventions and with no special symbols: e.g., Iran, Kermanshah, Xomeini, Turan. Otherwise, proper names are written as their corresponding Persian names for wider recognition, or they are simply written as the Gawrajū form.

The punctuation of the English free translation does not correspond exactly to the punctuation of the Gawrajū transcription. In the free translation, the punctuation marks are added according to cues of intonation as well as according to cues of syntax and semantics.
Text 1: The tale of Bizbal

This text was recorded in October 2008 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawraǰū. The narrator is a woman approximately thirty years old. Her child was also present during the recording, which took place at her house. The story is a traditional children’s folk tale of the “chain story” type: The main character is given a task, for which he requires the help of various people. Each person he asks for help requires a further task of him, so that in order to fulfill the original task, a whole chain of tasks must be fulfilled. This particular story is widespread throughout the region, and versions of it are well-known all across Kurdistan, as far north as the Caucasus (in other versions the main character is sometimes a fox instead of a cat).

The story appears to be based on a Southern Kurdish original, because it contains numerous semi-formulaic stretches of speech which are in Southern Kurdish. These stretches are enclosed in curly brackets, {...}, in the text. The style of these sections could be compared to language used with children or considered similar to song. We refer to this as “children’s verse style”. It is in verse form and contains Gawraǰū and Southern Kurdish elements, as well as some Central Kurdish elements. In some of these stretches, nouns occur in a phrase with the form of a genitive relation (noun ‘of’ noun), but the meaning seems to be that of goal/benefit (noun) ‘to’ (noun) (see sentences 82 and 83, for example).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1:1)</td>
<td>dāstān bizbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:2)</td>
<td>ya dāya kaywānū mawu, ya biziniš mawu, nāmiš bizbal mawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:3)</td>
<td>dāya kaywānūwaka‑yč šīr bizinakaš mawšē, mārēša bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:4)</td>
<td>ya īwārān šawakī mašu, mawinē šīrakaš ya kučiš wiřisē, ya kučiš řišišē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:5)</td>
<td>xulāsa, dāya kaywānū mwāy, yārā i šīr mina ařa řišišē, ča wan hāmay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:6)</td>
<td>i šaw kuľ mayrē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:7)</td>
<td>i šaw kuľ mayrē, manyayša žir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

38 The word dāya ‘mother’ can also be used to address one’s mother or as used a general reference to older women.
39 On kaywānuwaka‑yč, there seems to be no audible final (č). It could be assimilated to the following consonant of šīr.
40 The term bizin refers to goats in general, but in some contexts, it can refer specifically to female goats. Another term, miš, refers to male goats (rams).
41 The phrase ya īwārān is an expression; with plural ‘evenings’, it means ‘one evening (among evenings)’.
42 The narrator corrects herself after ‘one evening’ and says ‘very early in the morning’. This term, šawakī, refers to a time period between about 5 a.m. to 8 a.m.
43 The phrase i šaw refers to ‘the following evening/night’, while the term išaw refers to ‘that/this evening’ (i.e., ‘tonight”).
GORANI | ENGLISH
---|---
quilina, mawinē bałē | the milk) under a basket; she sees, yes.
(1:8) pišik hāma, sar quilina(kašiš lā dá-u | A cat came, pushed the lid off the basket, and
(1:9) damiš niyā širaka, tā tānisīš širaka wardiš-u bāqiš-i(č) řišnī | put its mouth to the milk, drank as much as it could, and poured the rest of it out.
(1:10) xulāsa dáya kaywānū mwāy bazbarfaflat niya | Finally, the old lady says (to the cat): “You don’t have (a chance of) running away.”
(1:11) taraštyēk mārē, matīya wa mil dimišay, dimiš maqirtinē | She takes a hatchet, brings it down on its (i.e., the cat’s) tail, (and) cuts its tail off.
(1:12) dimiš maqirtinē-u | She cuts its tail off, and
(1:13) pišiyaka-yč makariya dād-u hāwār, mwāy dāya kaywānū | the cat in turn calls out for help (and) says: “Old lady,
(1:14) tu xviyiā dima kuṭakaham biya wanim, {xxx} di tikrāriš nimakarim, di nimāyim, širakat bwarim, mwāy na | by God, give my cut-off (lit., short) tail back to me, {xxx} I will never do it again, I will not come (back) anymore to drink your milk...” (The old lady) says: “No!
(1:15) bāyad biši až pā-y dār wīyaka, wī bārī | You must go to the foot of the willow tree, bring (back) willow (leaves),
(1:16) bināya war ī bizin mina bwarēš šīr bāya gwāniš | put it in front of this goat of mine, (so that) she may eat it (and) milk may come into her udder,
(1:17) širakaš bitī | (so that) she may give her milk...
(1:18) biyam ařa | (that) I may give (it) to...
(1:19) širakaš bikarma šīr birinǰ, didānim niya, i šīr birinja bwarim | (that) I may make her milk into (a dish with) milk and rice; I have no teeth, I may eat this milk and rice.”
(1:20) mwāy bāša(d), mašuwa ařa pā-yč(d) dār wī, mwāy {children’s verse style: dār wī, wī da, wī bizbal da | (The cat) says: “All right.” (The cat) goes to the foot of the willow tree (and) says: {children’s verse style, to end of sentence 21: “Willow tree, give (me) willow (leaves), give the willow (leaves) to Bizbal.
(1:21) bizbal šīr dē, šīr dáyam dē, Bizbal gives milk, she gives the milk to |

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44 The phrase dād-u hāwār ‘call out for help repeatedly’ can be compared to Persian dad-u bidad.
45 The narrator corrects herself here.
46 The name šīr birinǰ refers to a dish made with rice cooked with milk. Because it has a soft consistency, it is often served to elderly people or children.
47 The word-medial alveolar plosive in didānim is realized as a continuant with velarized quality.
48 The form of the Ezafe on pā-yč is not the common Gawraǰū ā form, but instead as in Persian.
49 The verbs in dār wī, wī da, wī bizbal da are considered imperatives, comparable to Kurdish bīdad. In the quotation (here and elsewhere), the form dē occurs. This is used as both imperative and indicative. These uses are only distinguished by context.
50 The form dáyam here and elsewhere is literally ‘my mother’.

The Texts and Translations

GORANI

dāyam dima kuɫē bū,\textsuperscript{51} bo baghdād čēt

ENGLISH

the old lady; the old lady (gives back) the (cat’s) short tail; (the cat) goes to Baghdad.”

\textsuperscript{51} In this context, the meaning of the Kurdish word bū ‘was’ is unclear, though ‘give’ seems to be implied.

(1:22) mwāy naxayr

(The willow tree) says: “No.

(01:17)

(1:23) min aɣ tu tā naʃi ɬaw hawnakari, ɬaw nāya pām nimatānim pal bikarim

Me, well, unless you go (lit., not go), take out water, (and) make the water flow to my foot (i.e., base), I cannot grow leaves.

(01:19)

(1:24) bāyad tu bīšī ɬaw aʃ hānīyaka hawbikarī,\textsuperscript{52} bāya pā-y min, min āw bwarim

You must go, take out water from the spring, (that the water) may flow to my foot, (that) I may drink the water.

(01:24)

(1:25) jā āsā pal bikarim, tu palaka bīškini, biyārī\textsuperscript{53} a bizinaka\textsuperscript{54}

Then I may grow leaves; you may break off the leaves, you may take (them) to that goat.”

(01:28)

(1:26) māy maʃuwa\textsuperscript{55} aʃ sar hānīyaka, mwāy {children’s verse style: dār wī wī dē

(The cat) sets off for the spring (and) says {children’s verse style, to end of sentence 27: “The willow tree gives willow (leaves),

(01:32)

(1:27) wī bīzbal dē, bīzbal šīr dē, šī dāyam dē, dāyam dima kuɫē bū, bo baghdād čēt

(the willow tree) gives the willow (leaves) to Bizbal; Bizbal gives milk, she gives the milk to the old lady; the old lady (gives back) the (cat’s) short tail; (the cat) goes to Baghdad.”

(01:36)

(1:28) mwāy a

(The spring) says: “Oh.”

(01:42)

(1:29) hānīyaka māya qisa mwāy

The spring starts to speak; it says:

(01:44)

(1:30) hā piʃik, mwāy baɬē, mwāy bāyad tu bīšī

“Hey, cat.” (The cat) says: “Yes?” (The spring) says: “You must go,

(01:46)

(1:31) sē čwār gila mināɬ bārī, aʃ sar-e min hawpiʃik\textsuperscript{56} bikarim

fetch three (or) four children, (so that) they may do a dance above me,

(01:49)

(1:32) tā min bitūqayim\textsuperscript{57} āw āwim bīfawē bīʃuwa\textsuperscript{58} aʃ pā-y

so that I may give forth water (and) my water may go, may go to the foot of

(01:53)

(1:33) dār wīyaka wī\textsuperscript{59} bikarē

the willow tree, (so that) it may grow willow (leaves).”

(01:56)

\textsuperscript{52} The term hānīyaka ‘the spring’ refers to a source of water just underneath the ground, which appears temporarily after a heavy rain or snow. The phrase aʃ hānīyaka hawbikarī refers to getting the water out of this spring by making a small canal that leads to the base of the tree.

\textsuperscript{53} In biyārī, a is pronounced as a short vowel but transcribed as ā.

\textsuperscript{54} The second vowel i of bizin is not pronounced in this context, followed by a suffix.

\textsuperscript{55} The construction māy maʃuwa (lit., comes-goes) here and elsewhere is usually translated as ‘sets off’.

\textsuperscript{56} The term hawpiʃik refers to a Kurdish style of dance.

\textsuperscript{57} The verb bitūqayim has a primary sense of ‘explode’.

\textsuperscript{58} Both forms, bīfawē and bīʃuwa, are translated with the same basic meaning of ‘may go’.

\textsuperscript{59} The term wī could refer to the leaves only or to all green, tender parts of the willow, including the berries, that is, parts which the goat could eat.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

(1:34) māy mašu, māy masan mwāy
(The cat) sets off, comes, for example, (and) says
(01:59)

(1:35) wa min
to me. The pronoun “me” refers to the narrator here.
(02:01)

(1:36) ūrūs, mwām bařē, mwāy ditakat kil bika
“Arus.” I say: “Yes?” (The cat) says: “Send your daughter,
(02:01)

(1:37) tā ya sāʕat hawpiʁkī aʁām bikāɾē, mīn-ī(č) mwām wa dāwu
so that she may do a dance for one hour for me.” In turn I say: “By Dāvud,
(02:04)

(1:38) kawšiš nīya mawu ya kawš aʁāš bisani
she has no shoes; you must buy a (pair of) shoes for her.”
(02:06)

(1:39) xulāsa mašu, mwāya dāyka-y ķīm, mwāy
Finally, (the cat) goes (and) says to the mother of Ķīm; (the cat) says:
(02:09)

(1:40) mīm tamina dasit dard nakay, ditakat kil bika ya sāʕat hawpiʁkī karē, ānī mwāy bikā rā
“Auntie Tahmineh, please (lit., may your hands be free of pain), send your daughter,
she should dance for one hour.” She (i.e., Auntie Tahmineh) says: “Brother,
(02:12)

(1:41) kawšiš nīya, mawu bišī kawš aʁāš durus karī, mwāy wa bān čaʃ
she has no shoes; you must go (and) make shoes for her.” (The cat) says: “At your service (lit., on the eyes).”
(02:17)

(1:42) xulāsa mwāy haʃt haʃt mināl i jūra
Finally, (the cat) speaks in this way to seven (or) eight children.
(02:20)

(1:43) dāykaʃān, yāni mwān kawʃsān nīya, mawu biʃī kawʃ aʁāʃan bisāni
Their mothers, that means, they say: “They have no shoes; you must go buy shoes for them.”
(02:23)

(1:44) tā īnka
Until then...
(02:26)

(1:45) maʃuwa aʃa lā-y usā-y64 kawʃdurškar
(The cat) goes to the master shoemaker.
(02:29)

(1:46) maʃu mwāy {children’s verse style: usā kawš dē
(The cat) goes (and) says {children’s verse style, to end of sentence 51: “The master tradesman (i.e., shoemaker) gives shoes,
(02:31)

(1:47) kawʃ bo kiča, kič65 samā kay, la sar kānī66
shoes for the girl(s), the girl(s) do a dance
(02:34)

(1:48) kānī āw dē, āw dār wī dē
at the head of the spring; the spring gives water, gives the water to
(02:37)

60 The pronoun ‘me’ refers to the narrator here.
61 Arus is the name of the narrator of this tale. In this use of vocative case, stress is placed on the first syllable of the name.
62 The name dāwu ‘Dāvud’ refers to a divine being of major significance in the Ahl-e Haqq religious tradition.
63 Auntie Tahmineh is a neighbor of the narrator and the mother of Ķīm. The term mīm is typically used to address older women.
64 The term usā refers to a master tradesman, primarily to the person who oversees the building of a house. Here it is qualified and refers to the master tradesman who is a shoemaker.
65 The form kič here is singular, but it refers to plural ‘girls’ in this context, as a kind of verse (see also sentences 58, 59).
66 The phrase la sar kānī refers to the location just above the spring, opposite the direction in which the water flows out of the spring.
The willow tree; gives willow (leaves),
gives the willow (leaves) to Bizbal;

Bizbal gives milk, gives the milk to the
old lady;

the old lady (gives back) the short tail;
(the cat) goes to Baghdad.”

The master shoemaker says: “I am hungry;
you must go,

bring eggs for me, fry (them) (so) I may
eat (them);

until I may eat my fill, then I may make
the shoes for you.”

Afterwards, (the cat) goes

(and) says: {children’s verse style, until
end of sentence 6 “O chicken, give
egg(s),

give the egg(s) to the master tradesman
(shoemaker);}

the master tradesman (shoemaker) gives
shoes, shoes for the girl(s);

the girl(s) do a dance at the head of the
spring;

the spring gives water, gives the water to
the willow tree.”

“Mama, Mama, did we have (an) egg then, that we could
give her?” {Narrator speaks;} “Willow
tree, gives willow (leaves)!

gives the willow (leaves) to Bizbal,
Bizbal...” {Narrator’s child speaks;} “So
then, so then!

Did we give her eggs?”

“No, my son,67 the
chicken gives her (an) egg.”

Finally, she goes, little by little, suddenly,

the chicken says: “Hey, well, I am hungry,

67 The narrator uses the term kuʁakam ‘my son’ to address her daughter. It is a sign of endearment in this dialect to
address one’s daughter in this manner.
The Gorani language of Gawrāǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI
ävrām-č, mawu bifawi

ENGLISH
you must go,

(1:67) ganim bāri, karya warim, min
ganim bwarim, já āsā ḥāya
bikarim, ḥāya bitima tu, biyārī
(aľā) ā usākat

fetch wheat, scatter (it) in front of me, (so
that) I may eat the wheat, then I may lay
egg(s) (and) may give the egg(s) to you
(so that) you may take (them) to that
master tradesman of yours.”

(1:68) mwāy bāša(d)
(The cat) says: “All right.”

(1:69) māy mašuwa lā-y falā
(The cat) sets off, goes to the farmer.

(1:70) mwāy {children’s verse style:}
falā dān dē
(The cat) says {children’s verse style, to
end of sentence 74: “Farmer, give (me)
grain,

(1:71) dān māmir {dē}, māmir xā {dē},
xā-y usā dē
give the grain to the chicken; the chicken
gives egg(s), gives the egg(s) to the master
tradesman;

(1:72) usā kawš dē, kawš bo kičē, kič
samā68 kay la sar kāni
the master tradesman gives shoes, gives
shoes for the girl(s); the girl(s) do a dance
at the head of the spring;

(1:73) kānī āw dē, āw dār wī dē, dār wī
wi dē
the spring gives water, water to the willow
tree; the willow tree gives willow (leaves),

(1:74) wi bizbal dē, bizbal šir dē, šir
dāyam dē}
gives the willow (leaves) to Bizbal; Bizbal
gives milk, gives the milk to the old
lady.”}

(1:75) xulāsa
Finally,

(1:76) falākay mwāy ay wā niya, min
xarmānakam šan bikarim
the farmer says: “Well, there is no wind
(that) I may winnow my piles of grain.”

(1:77) mwāy wa kunāwāka wā hawkarē
He says to the wind hole: “Bring forth
wind!”

(1:78) mašina, wā {dē}, wā-y falā {dē},
kunāwā wa
They go, (he says): “{Give} wind, {give} wind to the farmer, the wind hole to ...”

(1:79) masan lā-y xwāwan taľālā mwāy
For example, to the Lord Almighty, he
says,

(1:80) čun řijā wa lā-y xwiyā bi
because (this) request was made to God.

(1:81) mwāy xwyiyā
He says: “O God!”

(1:82) {children’s verse style: kunā wā
dē, wā-y falā dē
{children’s verse style, to end of sentence
88: Hole, give wind; it gives wind to the
farmer;

(1:83) falā dān dē, dān māmir dē
the farmer gives grain, gives the grain to
the chicken;

(1:84) xā dē, xā-y, usā dē
gives egg(s), egg(s), give egg(s) to the

68 The term samā refers here in a general sense to a lively ‘dance’. It often refers to a specific style of dance with
religious meaning.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI | ENGLISH
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(1:85) usā kawš dél, kawš bo kičē | the master tradesman gives shoes, gives shoes for the girl(s); (04:24)
(1:86) kič samā kay la sar kānī | the girl(s) do a dance at the head of the spring; (04:26)
(1:87) kānī āw dél, āw dār wī dél, dār wī wī dél, wī bizbal dél | the spring gives water, gives the water to the willow tree; the willow tree gives willow (leaves), gives the willow (leaves) to Bizbal; (04:28)
(1:88) bizbal šīr dél, šīr dāyam dél, dāyam dīma kulē, bo baghdād čē(t)} | Bizbal gives milk, gives the milk to the old lady; the old lady (gives back) the short tail; (the cat) goes to Baghdad.”} (04:32)
(1:89) baʃd | Then, (04:37)
(1:90) ya dafayī wā hawmakarē | it suddenly brings forth wind. (04:39)
(1:91) tā piʃyaka māyā laʃ y falākā, falākā xarmānaka šan makarē | Then, by the time the cat comes to the farmer, the farmer winnows his grain; (04:41)
(1:92) ya günī ganim matiya wa | he gives a sack of wheat to (04:45)
(1:93) (wa) piʃyaka mwāy biya, bikarša war māmirakān mārē makarēʃa war māmirakān, māmirakān mwarin | (to) the cat; (and the farmer) says: “Give (it), put it in front of the chickens.” (The cat takes (it), puts it in front of the chickens; the chickens eat (the wheat). (04:46)
(1:94) fawrī hāyā makarin, hāyā mārē matiya usāka | Immediately (the chickens) lay egg(s); (the cat) brings the egg(s), (and) gives (them) to the master tradesman. (04:51)
(1:95) usāka-ʃe kawšakān durus makarē, mārē makarēʃa pā-y ditakān} | The master tradesman also makes shoes for them; he takes (them), (and) puts them on the feet of the girls. (04:54)
(1:96) mayariniʃ sar kāniyaka| He takes them (lit., they take him/her) to the spring (and) they dance. (04:58)
(1:97) xulāsa hāniyaka matūqē | Finally, the spring gives forth water; (05:00)
(1:98) āw maʃuwa pā-y dār wīyaka | the water goes to the foot of the willow tree; (05:02)
(1:99) dār wīyaka wī makarē, wīyakaʃ maʃkinin, mārē manāya war bizbal | the willow tree makes willow (leaves); they break off its willow (leaves), (the cat) brings (the willow leaves), (and) puts (them) in front of Bizbal. (05:03)
(1:100) bizbal šir matiya wa dāya kaywânū, dāya kaywânū | Bizbal gives milk to the old lady; the old lady (05:08)
(1:101) širaka mawšē, mārēʃa bān | milks (the goat), brings it (i.e., the milk) (05:11)

69 It is possible to use singular forms to refer to plural non-human entities.  
70 The term ditakān can also refer to the girls in a general sense.  
71 The term kānī 'spring' is Kurdish, while hāni is Gawrajüyî.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Gorani</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1:102)</td>
<td>āsā mwāy ā pišī! mwāy baṅē, mwāy baw tā</td>
<td>then she says: “O cat!” (The cat) says: “Yes?” (The old lady) says: “Come now, so that...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:103)</td>
<td>baw tā</td>
<td>Come now, so that...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:104)</td>
<td>dimakat časb bitīma qaytay waš hāmây</td>
<td>I may stick your tail back on you (and then) our business is finished (lit., you are welcome).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:105)</td>
<td>dim pišiyaka časb matiya, pišī mašuwa aṅā baghdād</td>
<td>She sticks the cat’s tail back on (and the cat goes to Baghdad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:106)</td>
<td>ē, mwāy</td>
<td>Eh, they say,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:107)</td>
<td>mināḷānē ka masan hawpiřkiśān aṅāš kardē-u</td>
<td>(as for) the children, who, for example, have danced for her, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:108)</td>
<td>kasānē ka kumak pišiyakaśān kardē</td>
<td>the people who have helped the cat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:109)</td>
<td>mayrē, manāśāna dile āw tālā-u lira</td>
<td>(the cat) brings (them), puts them in liquid gold and coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:110)</td>
<td>libās-u mibāsśān mawu nuqra</td>
<td>Their clothes and such things become silver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1:111)</td>
<td>baẏd ē, čapa-y guł-u čapa-y narges, margtān nawīnim hargizā-y hargiz</td>
<td>Afterwards, eh: A bouquet of flowers and a bouquet of narcissus; may I never see your death, never, never.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text 2: Tītīla and Bibīla

This text was recorded in October 2008 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawrajū. The narrator is a woman of approximately thirty years of age. The recording took place at the narrator’s home, and her child was also present. The story is a traditional children’s folk tale. This particular story is widespread throughout the region, and versions of it are well-known all across Kurdistan, and as far north as the Caucasus. Possibly due to this, the story contains numerous semi-formulaic stretches of speech in Southern Kurdish (enclosed by {...} in the text).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2:1) {Narrator’s child speaks: tītīla-u bibila} {Narrator speaks:} tītīla-u bibila?</td>
<td>{Narrator’s child speaks;} Titila and Bibila {Narrator:} Titila and Bibila? (00:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tītīla-u bibila, ēma wa zwān kurdī mwāżām bizina šal-u miša šal</td>
<td>Titila and Bibila, in the Kurdish language we say: “The lame goat and the lame ram.” (00:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya bizin mawu, ya miš maw(u) šal mawin</td>
<td>There is a goat (and) there is a ram; they are lame. (00:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa kaya mawin, gala mašuwa kū, 72 ānān až ka mamanin</td>
<td>They are at home; the flock goes to the mountain(s) (and) they (i.e., the goat and the ram) stay at home. (00:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inānī bar darwāza wāz mawu, bar mařawin až pača, mwān biřawām, biřasāma galaka</td>
<td>They... The front of the gate is open; they go out of the courtyard (and) they say: “Let’s go, let’s reach the flock.” (00:15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašina sar zimkān, 73 gala mašuwa ā das, az zimkān makariya ā das</td>
<td>They go to the Zimkān (river); the flock goes to that (other) side. From the (side of) the Zimkān (river), (the flock) crosses to that (other) side. (00:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gala makariya ā das</td>
<td>The flock crosses to that side... (00:24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya dafayī inānī mwān, hay birā, mwāy ā</td>
<td>Suddenly, they (i.e., the goat and the ram) say: “Hey, brother!” (The ram) says: “Yes?” (00:26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bizinaka, mišaka wa bizinaka mwāy, mwāy</td>
<td>The goat... (actually) the ram says to the goat, (the ram) says: (00:29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēma manyāma yā(ga)-ām,</td>
<td>“We have remained, we are (still in) place. (00:31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mēz makarāma i āwa, mēzaka-y har kämmān kafiš gir(t)</td>
<td>We will urinate in this water; whichever one of us has urine that makes froth; (00:32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mašām, mašām, mašām, māšāmwa</td>
<td>we reach, we cross to that (other) side, we go, we reach to... (00:36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 The term kü refers here to high alpine pastures in the mountains, rather than to one particular mountain.
73 Zimkān is the name of a local river.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2:13) har kāmmān bē qisa(^{74}) mēzakamān kafiš nagirt, āw mayarēmān</td>
<td>Whoever of us — excuse me for saying this — has no froth on our urine, (then) the water will take us (i.e., that one of us) away.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:14) inānī mēz makařina āw, mēz mišaka kaf mayrē, miš mapařēwa fā mařawē mařašiya gala, ařā-y īštaniš(^{75}) mařawē wa řāwa</td>
<td>They urinate in the water; the ram’s urine makes froth, (so) the ram crosses over, goes (and) reaches the flock, (and) simply goes on his way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:15) bizinakay āw mayarēš</td>
<td>(As for) the goat, the water carries her away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:16) bizin āw mayarēš</td>
<td>(As for) the goat, the water carries her away,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:17) mařawē kam kam makatē kinār daryāyēk(^{76})</td>
<td>(the goat) goes; she is eventually stranded at the edge of a river;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:18) ya xwāparastēk māy až řāwa, mawinēšwa mwāy ī bizina dāwu giyān makanē gunāš-ē</td>
<td>a pious man comes along, finds her there, (and) says: “Oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:19) mināyša kinār zimkānaka</td>
<td>He takes her to the edge of the Zimkān (river).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:20) mināyša kinār zimkānaka u dī ařā-y īštaniš kam kam ya čika waraka matiya wan bizinaka hāz makatiya war quiliš zinnawa mawu</td>
<td>He takes her to the edge of the Zimkān (river) and then simply, little by little, a bit of sunlight falls on the goat; (the goat) gains strength in her legs (and) comes back to life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:21) magar(dē)(^{77}) ya qayr giyā mwarē-u dī āwis mawu bizinaka</td>
<td>She looks around (and) eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then the goat becomes pregnant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:22) mařawē dawr ya āsyāwēk až ānā īštaniš īštaniš qāyim makarē</td>
<td>She goes near a mill; there she hides herself, herself;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:23) dī wa řūžāna mašuwa lawīf-u šawāna-yē māyā až ānā īštaniš hay mawșiš ařā-y īštaniš basazwān(^{78})</td>
<td>then every day, she goes to graze, and also every night, she comes from there (and) simply sleeps all the time, poor creature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:24) tā ya mudatē wan mašu dī</td>
<td>Some time passes, then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:25) titīla-u bibila mārē</td>
<td>She brings Titila and Bibila (into the world).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:26) titīla-u bibila mārē dunyā(^{79})</td>
<td>She brings Titila and Bibila into the world;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{74}\) This expression bē qisa (lit., without speaking), translated as ‘excuse me for saying this’, is used when introducing a topic that could be considered impolite.

\(^{75}\) The phrase ařā-y īštaniš (literally, ‘for self’) is an idiom, translated here and elsewhere as ‘simply’ or ‘just’.

\(^{76}\) The term daryā can refer to any body of water, such as a sea, lake, or river.

\(^{77}\) In the verb magar(dē), the prefix may be pronounced here as mi-, and the plosive g as y.

\(^{78}\) The expression basazwān, literally, ‘closed mouth’, is used to address or refer to children and animals.

\(^{79}\) Alternately, mārē (a)w dunyā: The preposition (a)w is not audible, however. In this clause, the goal argument
(2:27) kam kam kam kam titíla-ubíbíla ūlāyā haq80 qawí mawín little by little, little by little, Titíla and Bibíla, by God, they become strong.  
(2:28) dī wa ūž in mašuíwa kū gíyā Then (the goat) goes by day to the mwarē īwārān māya šírakaš mountains, eats grass, (and) in the matiya wanšān evenings, she comes (and) gives them her milk.  
(2:29) ča, kā81 gurg ažīn nāžīl82 mawu What, Mr. Wolf comes down; evil befalls them.  
(2:30) ažīnī nāžīl mawu He comes down; evil befalls them,  
(2:31) makatiya šūn bizin māyē mawīnē (the wolf) comes after the goat; he sees baļē dū wačkaš-ič-īš hē (that) yes, she also has two offspring:  
(2:32) titíla-ubíbíla Titíla and Bibíla.  
(2:33) inī mwāy This one (i.e., the wolf) says:  
(2:34) īna mazānī ča makarim, wa ūž(ž) “Do you know what it is that I will do? By bizinaka bišuwa kū māyē mawīnē day, when the goat goes to the baraka wanšān mwinim, mwarimšān mountain(s), I will come, I will close the door (and) eat them.”  
(2:35) mašína dile āsyāwakawa titíla-ubíbíla wa ūžāná Titíla and Bibíla go into the mill daily.  
(2:36) waļā birā84 inān-ič mašína kū, By God, brother, these ones also go to the dāykāšān mountain(s); their mother...  
(2:37) dāykāšān mašuíwa kū yak da(ț) their mother goes to the mountain(s); gurgaka māya piš(t) baraka suddenly, the wolf comes up to the door.  
(2:38) walē dāykāšān mwāy ūžla,85 But their mother says: “Dear child.” mwāy balē, mwāy har ka hāma (Titíla and Bibíla) say:86 “Yes?” (Their piš(t) baraka, baraka afās wāz mother) says: “Whoever comes up to the nakara door, don’t open the door for him,  
(2:39) īnī mwāy min-īm dāykāšān until I myself come back.” They say: “All But their mother says: “Who is it? Who is it (who) knocks at the right.” door?”  
(2:40) birā gurg māya piš(t) bar mwāy, But the wolf says: “I’m me, your mother; matiya wa baraka, mwāy kī-yā open the door, my udder is bursting!” kī-yā taqa taq makarē (2:41) mwāy min-im dāykāšān baraka (The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother; wāz kara, gwānim taq87 open the door, my udder is bursting!”

may be unmarked since it occurs as a fixed expression. More study is needed.
80 The phrase alāy haq (literally, ‘to God/truth’ in Arabic) can mean ‘with God’s help’ or ‘in truth’.
81 The term of address kā is normally used with respect to older men. Here it is used in an ironic sense.
82 The expression ažīn nāžīl (literally, ‘from above to below’) is used when something evil happens to someone.
83 The word wačka refers to the offspring of animals and of human beings.
84 The narrator uses the term of address birā ‘brother’ as a friendly way to relate to her audience.
85 The form ūžla is singular, but the form can be used with plural referents, as ‘children’.
86 The form of ‘say’ is singular.
87 The verb in gwānim taq is simple past, also in sentence 44.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2:42) mwāy na, dāyka-y ēma šāxiš hē, tu šāxit niya</td>
<td>(Titīla and Bibila) say:&quot;No! Our mother has horns; you have no horns.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:43) dwāra ayzan mašu māywa, mwāy dū gila čū maniya qa-y sarišwa māy matiya baraka mwāy taq taq mwāy kl-ya</td>
<td>Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” He comes (and) knocks on the door, making (the sound) (lit., says) “taq taq”; (Titīla and Bibila) say: “Who is it?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:44) mwāy min-im dāykatān gwānim taqī darwāzaka wāz ka tā bāyma dile mwāy na</td>
<td>(The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother, my udder is bursting, open the door that I may come in.” (Titīla and Bibila) say:&quot;No!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:45) tu dāyka-y ēma nīyay, dāyka-y ēma</td>
<td>You are not our mother; our mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:46) siyā-yē tu qāwa-yī</td>
<td>is black; you are brown.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:47) mašu xulāsa ištaniš siyā makarē-u māywa dwāra matiya wa baraka</td>
<td>(The wolf) goes, finally, he makes himself black; he comes back (and) knocks on the door again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:48) mwāy na dāyka-y ēma iwārān māywa tu dāyka-y ēma nīyay</td>
<td>(Titīla and Bibila) say: “No, our mother comes back in the evenings; you are not our mother.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:49) in-i(č) mašu ya kuča qawi mārē matiya wa bar bar maškinē, mašuwa dile</td>
<td>This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he breaks the door (and) goes inside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:50) titīla mwarē-u bibila-yē mwarē</td>
<td>He eats up Titīla and he eats up Bibila, too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:51) yakē ya tik až xūnakašān hay matikiya&quot;90 zamin</td>
<td>From each of them, one drop of their blood drips onto the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:52) birā iwāra bizin māywa mawinē řūɫakāniš nīya</td>
<td>Brother, in the evening, the goat comes back; she sees, hopeless, (that) nothing is left of her dear children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:53) māyē makatiya ī řāsā mašuwa-u</td>
<td>She sets off straight down this road; she goes and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:54) mwāy xwiyā ča bikarim ī řūɫān mina ča wana hāma ča wardiš92</td>
<td>she says: “O God, what will I do? These children of mine, what happened to them? What ate them? Did a bear eat them? Did a wolf eat them?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:55) kamtār wardiš, ča wardiš</td>
<td>Did a vulture eat them? What ate them?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

88 The form of ‘say’ here is singular.  
89 The form of ‘say’ here is singular.  
90 It is possible that hay matikiya could be interpreted as hē matikiya, with progressive aspect, ‘is falling’.  
91 The exact sense of nik nāhmē is not clear here.  
92 The form wardiš ‘ate’ ends with a singular form of the pronominal suffix, but it is used here for plural referents.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2:56) xulāsā makatiya fā māyē mašuwa bān ka-y xirs</td>
<td>Finally, she gets on the way (and) sets off for the roof of the bear’s house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:57) matiya wa bānakašay mwāy</td>
<td>She bangs on his roof; (the bear) says:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:58) ki-ya ki-yə, ōmā ūmā kašuwa bān ka-y xirs</td>
<td>“Who is it, who is it? Who is making loud noises? Who is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:59) mwāy min-im min-im biz bīžakān-ē</td>
<td>(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:60) dü čāw dirim jūr gārdakān-ē, dü šāx dirim jūr bīžakān-ē</td>
<td>I have two eyes, they are like walnuts, I have two horns, they are like small spades;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:61) har ka ūfamiš95 wardē, jang(iš) šāx šāytañ-ē96</td>
<td>whoever has eaten my children — I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:62) mwāy min nawardamē</td>
<td>(The bear) says: “I haven’t eaten (them).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:63) māy mašuwa bān ka-y gurg, čū zānim ūfūwās</td>
<td>(The goat) sets off for the roof of the wolf’s house; what do I know,97 the fox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:64) matiya wa bānakašānay, mwāy ki-ya ki-yə ūmā ūmā kašuwa bān ka-y xirs</td>
<td>She bangs on their roof; (the fox) says: “Who is it, who is it? Who is making loud noises? Who is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:65) mwāy min-im min-im biz bīžakān-ē dü čāw dirim jūr gārdakān-ē, dü šāx dirim jūr bīžakān-ē har ka ūfamiš wardē, jang šāx šāytañ-ē</td>
<td>(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat. I have two eyes, they are like walnuts, I have two horns, they are like small spades; whoever has eaten my children — I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn)!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:66) mwāy min nawardamē</td>
<td>(The fox) says: “I haven’t eaten them.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:67) mašu bān ka-y gurg xulāsā, matiya wa bānakašāy, mwāy ki-ya ki-yə ūmā ūmā kašuwa bān ka-y xirs</td>
<td>(The goat) goes to the roof of the wolf’s house, finally; she bangs on his roof. (The wolf) says: “Who is it? Who is it making loud noises, (who) is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:68) mwāy min-im min-im biz bīžakān-ē dü čāw dirim jūr gārdakān-ē</td>
<td>(The goat) says: “I’m me, I’m me, it is goaty-goat. I have two eyes, they are like walnuts,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:69) dü šāx dirim jūr bīžakān-ē har ka ūfamiš wardē, jang šāx šāytañ-ē</td>
<td>I have two horns, they are like small spades; whoever has eaten my children, I’m declaring war on him (lit., his war is Satan’s horn).”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93 The form mināɫim is singular, but can refer to plural ‘children’.
94 The house has the traditional earth/clay roof, hence earth falls from the ceiling.
95 The form ūɫa is singular but can refer to plural ‘children’.
96 The sense of the idiom jang(iš) šāx šāytañ-ē is not clear.
97 The narrator corrects herself with the expression ‘What do I know?’
(2:70) mwāy min wardāmē
(The wolf) says: “I have eaten them.” (04:08)

(2:71) mwāy xo ištanit āmaða bika(ra), bišāma jang šāx Saytān
(The goat) says: “Well, make yourself ready; let’s go to the war of Satan’s horn.” (04:09)

(2:72) mwāy bāṣād
(The wolf) says: “All right.” (04:13)

(2:73) sü aṟā-y nimaʃū jang-ē
(The goat says:) “Morning, at midday there will be war.” (04:14)

(2:74) māyim maydānaka jang makarām, mwāy bāṣād
I will come to the square (and) we will fight.” (The wolf) says: “All right.” (04:18)

(2:75) ānī māya, māya lā-y lālo pāyar
She comes, comes to Lālo Pāydār (and) says: “Lālo Pāydār!” (Lālo Pāydār) says: “Yes, goat?” (04:21)

(2:76) mwāy min řūlaʃkānim i gurga wardāʃē tu mawu šāxānma tēz bikari tā min šāxim bitīma bar gaya-y gurg hayiʃ bitim
(The goat) says: “Me... (As for) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them; you must sharpen my horns so that I may thrust my horn(s) into the wolf’s belly {xxx}.” (04:25)

(2:77) mwāy bāṣād
(Lālo Pāydār) says: “All right, (04:33)

(2:78) wa bān čaʃ
at your service.” (04:34)

(2:79) šāxiʃ tēz makarē-u
He sharpens her horn(s) and (04:36)

(2:80) gurg māya aɾa lā lālo pāyar, mwāy lālo pāyar, mwāy baʃē, bizinaaka
the wolf comes over to Lālo Pāydār (and) says: “Lālo Pāydār!” (Lālo Pāydār) says: “Yes? (The wolf) says: “You must sharpen my teeth so that I may tear this goat to pieces (and) may eat the goat; I have eaten her dear children, too.” (04:38)

(2:81) lālo pāyar mwāy īna ensāf niya, bāʃa(d) didān tu-yē tēz makarim, maniʃē didān gurgaka giʃtiʃ makīʃē
Lālo Pāydār says: “This is not fair, all right, I will sharpen your teeth, too.” (So) he sits down and pulls out the wolf’s teeth, all of them. (04:46)

(2:82) didān gurg makiʃē-u mwāy biʃa nimaʃū mwafaq bwa, tā bizānim kāmṭān mayeʃrawa
He pulls out the teeth of the wolf and says: “Go! At midday, may you be successful; so I know which of you wins.” (04:52)

(2:83) birā maʃin jang makarin
Brother, they go, they fight. (04:58)

(2:84) ya dafayī gurg mwāy awaʃ kāmṭān bitiʃyām wa kāmṭān, bizinaaka mwāy awaʃ tu das biʃan
Suddenly, the wolf says: “Which of us should strike which of us first?” The goat says: “You strike first.” (04:59)

(2:85) mwāy bāṣād min das maʃanim
(05:06)

98 The object has plural reference but it is expressed in singular form.
99 The name lālo pāyar ‘Lālo Pāydār’ refers to the person hosting the narrator and audience.
100 It is possible that hayiʃ bitim is an idiom, ‘I’ll really give it to him.’
101 The wolf uses the term of endearment (‘dear children’) in řūlaʃkāniʃ-č (rather than mināʃ) in order to provoke the mother goat.
102 Here ṭa bizānim kāmṭān mayeʃrawa could be interpreted as ‘I’ll see which of you wins.’
māy qap manāya naxayr drū-wē, huč až dasiš nimāy

blow.” He comes (and) bites; (he realizes) it cannot be true (lit., no, it is a lie); he is unable to do anything.

(2:86) dü dafa-u sē dafa ha(r) qap manāya huč wa huč-ē

Two times and three times he just bites, (but) it is to no avail.

(2:87) bizin mwāy hā gurg, mwāy bašē, mwāy das min niya, mwāy bašē das tu bi waľā

The goat says: “Hey, wolf!” (The wolf) says: “Yes?” (The goat) says: “Isn’t it my turn?” (The wolf) says: “Yes, it’s your turn, by God.”

(2:88) bizin mašuwa dūrwa māywa matiya bar gaya-y gurg mayařēš

The goat goes back, returns; she strikes the belly (of the wolf) (and) rips it open.

(2:89) ya daaği mawīnē titila-u bibila bar hāman

Suddenly, she sees that Tutila and Bibila came out.

(2:90) mwāy ā řūla wa kāyay biyay řāfti wa kā, mwāy řāftiym afā ka-y lālom

She says: “O dear children, where were you? Where did you go?” They say: “We went to my uncle’s house.”

(2:91) mwāy ay čatān waš ka(rd) a(ž) ka-y lālo čatān hāwir(d), mwāy ganima šīra

(The goat) says: “Well then, what did you prepare in your uncle’s house? What did you bring?” They say: “(The dish of) milk and wheat.”

(2:92) mwāy ay baš min ha kāy, mwāy kirdma dasim, dasim sūzyā, kirdma čāwim čāwim sūzyā

(The goat) says: “Well then, where is my portion?” (One of the children) says: “I put it in my hand (and) my hand was burned; I put it in my eye (and) my eye was burned.

(2:93) kirdmay šawīyakam, šawīyakam sūzyā

Finally, I put it in my mouth (and) my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall (and) the cat took it away in the garden.”

(2:94) xulāsa kirdmay damim damim sūzyā, nāmay tāqwa pišī birdya bāxwa

I put it in my shirt (and) my shirt was burned.

(2:95) ay di čapa-y guř-u čapa-y čirū marg tuwa nawinim-u mīm īrānwa hargiz-ą-y hargiz

Well then: A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of čirū (flowers); may I never see your death, nor (the death of) Auntie Iran, never, never.

The translation of ha(r) is tentative.

The form řūla ‘dear children’ is singular here.

The translation of waš ka(rd) is tentative.

The phrase ganima šīra ‘milk and wheat’ is a dish of cooked wheat mixed with milk.

The verbs kirdma and sūzyā are as in Kurdish.

The verb birdya is as in Kurdish.

It is not clear what kind of flower čirū refers to.

The name mīm īrān ‘Auntie Iran’ refers to the wife in the family who is hosting the audience of this story.
Text 3: Mard and Nāmard

This text was recorded in October 2008 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawraǰū. The narrator is a woman who is approximately thirty years old. Her child was also present during the recording, which took place at her house. The story is a traditional folk tale.

GORANI  
ENGLISH

(3:1) xo, až kā birām, ažkā bīznawām, až dū gila ōafiq, dū piyā
Well, where should we begin, where should we hear (it), (the story) of two friends, two men.

(00:02)

(3:2) har dukšān mašina dünbaḵ kā Both of them go (looking) for work.

(00:08)

(3:3) wa gard yakay mawin, esmān mard mawu, nāmard They are together; their names are Mard (and) Nāmard.

(00:12)

(3:4) ha(r) dukšān tay qarār wa gard yakay mawasín, mwāy birā, mwāy ā, mwāy mašāma kā karda-u
Both of them make a contract together; (one) says: “Brother.” (The other) says: “Yes?” (The first one) says: “We will go (find) work to do and

(00:15)

(3:5) ya šārēk, ya yāgayēk, ya luqma nān ārā minālmān barbārām-u dubārā māyāmwa wa yakwa, mwān bāśad a town, a place, (there) we may earn a morsel of bread for our children, and we will come back again together.” They say: “All right.”

(00:22)

(3:6) až kay (n) nān-u tūša-y īštaniš mapēčiyawa, mayasīya pištšaw, ānī nān-u tūša ařā-y īštaniš mārē mayasīya pištšaw
They wrap up in a cloth their bread and other victuals from home; (one of them) ties it to his back; he (i.e., the other one) simply brings bread and victuals (and) ties it to his back.

(00:29)

(3:7) xulāsa kam mašin fra mašin tā mafasina pā-y ya dār wi(d), sara ōeki ařā-y īštānsān hawmānišin nān-u āyī bwarin Finally, they go a little way, they go a long way, until they reach the foot of a willow tree. On the way, they simply sit down (so that) they may eat bread and tea.

(00:35)

(3:8) waxtē ka nān āyī mwārin, až nān āyakasān di har ī bimanēwa dwārā mayasīnā pišt(s)ān
When they eat the bread and tea, whatever then may remain of their bread and tea, they tie it to their backs again (with the cloth).

(00:42)

(3:9) jārē hamfāy wa pištšān nayasānānā (h)e pā-y dāraka-ya Still at that time, they have not tied it to their backs; they are at that moment at the foot of the tree.

(00:48)

(3:10) sar wāmanin, xāw makatiya wanšānay They put their heads down; they fall asleep (lit., sleep falls on them).

(00:53)

111 The meaning of the verb birām ‘catch’ in this context is not entirely clear.

112 The verb mawu is singular, even though the subject is plural.

113 The form kār karda is a deverbal noun (infinitive).

114 The term tūša ‘victuals’ originally referred to a cloth in which one would wrap food and tie it up, then either tie it directly on one’s back or put a wooden stick through it, in order to carry it on a journey. It has come to refer to food in general.
Namard gets up; he sees that, yes, Mard has fallen asleep.

(Namard) takes the bread and sugar cubes and tea (and) also the belongings, and he goes.

(Namard) goes; he is not my concern any more. Finally, one hour passes after this, (and) Mard wakes up.

(Namard) takes the bread and sugar cubes and tea (and) also the belongings, and he goes.

(Namard) is not my concern anymore. Finally, (Mard) gets on his way (and) goes a little way; he goes a long way, (and) reaches a different place; he then becomes tired; he comes, sits down, (and) grows hungry.

He sees that there is absolutely nothing he may eat.

He makes lumps of earth with his open hand, (and) eats two lumps of earth.

So then he is hungry, poor man; there is nothing at all for him; he eats the two lumps of earth and finally, he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the inside of a mill, a machine.

He goes inside there; it is old, nothing anymore, for example, they do not work in it anymore.

Eh, he sits down inside there,

he hides himself; (then) he sees that yes, in the evening a bear and

a wolf and a lion come back.

(The bear, wolf, and lion) are friends of each other.

They come inside the mill.

They are tired; they simply sit down (and)

The term bīčāra (literally, ‘without solution’) is used here as a term of address.

The verb manišin is plural, apparently a mistake, since mard is a singular subject.

The final vowel in īštanšānī cannot be interpreted at this point. It is questionable if it is followed by (č).
The form mwāy is singular, but with plural reference.

The term āyamīzāya ‘offspring of human beings’ is used in stories by animals when they speak of human beings. It is also has other uses in literature. Here būy āyamīzāya mwāy is literally, ‘the scent of human offspring comes.’

Here, with jūr īsā-y mina ya naqł makarin, the narrator compares the action of the animals to her own story-telling.

The term haw is used to express joy or amazement on the part of the speaker.

The narrator refers to herself in kārim niya.

The referent of āna is unclear here.

GORANI

manīšin yakīšān mwāy118 bū-ya āyamīzāya119 mwāy (3:27)
ya gilašān magar(dē) mwāy hūč niya bāwār ka na, āyam wa ī dawray niya

(3:28)
piyā ya mašuwa bān āyamīzāya mwāy bizānim ča mwān

(3:29)
manīšin jūr īsā-y mina ya naqł makarin,120 in mwāy birā, mwāy ā, mwāy dita-y pādšā šīt biya (The animals) sit down (and) like me now, they tell a story. (The wolf) (lit., this one) says: “Brother.” (The lion and the bear) say: “Yes?” (The wolf) says: “The king’s daughter has become insane.”

(3:30)
mazāna či haľājš-č, īna gurgaka mwāy, īnakānī mwān na Do you know what the cure for her is?” It is (still) the wolf speaking. These (others) say: “No.”

(3:31)
wāy dawāšān až darmān biywā, haľājš niwāya (The wolf) says: “They tried all kinds of medicine and remedies, (but) there has not been a cure for her.

(3:32)
tūta gard galaka The dog with the flock,

(3:33)
oxozgā min āyamīzāya biyātāyim if I only were a human being,

(3:34)
ā tūta-y gard galama bikaštā, maghzašām barbāwirdā, biyātāma war war, wiskwa biyātā I would have killed that dog with the flock, I would have taken out its brain, I would have left it out in the sun, (so) it would have become dry.

(3:35)
bīyātāmwa, biyardām, damim bikardā, biyātāmwa dita-y pādšā, xās xāsaw mawu I would have ground it, I would have brought it, I would have steeped it (like tea), I would have given it to the king’s daughter, (so) she becomes completely well again.”

(3:36)
piyāka mwāy haw,121 īna yakīš, min-ič sirim až gūštakaš bwardā, galaka The man says: “Well, this is the first (of the stories).” (The wolf says:) “As for me, I would eat, be full with its meat, (of the) flock.”

(3:37)
kārim niya,122 xulāsa di āna,123 āna ya naqłīš hın makarē It is not my concern anymore, finally then, he, he tells another story, thing.

118 The form mwāy is singular, but with plural reference.
119 The term āyamīzāya ‘offspring of human beings’ is used in stories by animals when they speak of human beings. It is also has other uses in literature. Here būy āyamīzāya mwāy is literally, ‘the scent of human offspring comes.’
120 Here, with jūr īsā-y mina ya naqł makarin, the narrator compares the action of the animals to her own story-telling.
121 The term haw is used to express joy or amazement on the part of the speaker.
122 The narrator refers to herself in kārim niya.
123 The referent of āna is unclear here.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI

(3:38) šēraka makariya jwāw mwāy

The lion answers, he says:

(3:39) i dāra diyat až i bar

“Have you seen this tree outside this mill? (The tree) has become dry; it has been several years that it has brought forth fruit.

(3:40) āsyāw wīš biya, īna čan sāla bar nimayre

If only I were a human being, if I could find a way for the tree to spread its roots.

(3:41) ayyarīta min āyamīzāya biyātīyim, pākašim biyātāwa

There were three royal vases in it.

(3:42) sē küza xasrawānī wanay bē

They are full of gold and precious stones.

(3:43) taš-u ħawāhir piš-e

If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree too would have then borne fruit.”

(3:44) xozū min āyam biyātāyim, biyātāyimwa, ī dār-ič-a dī bariš magirt

If the owner would come for attending this mill, he would put it to work, it would start to work.”

(3:45) īna dwāniḥ

That is all three of them (i.e., of the stories).

(3:46) pašangakay makariya jwāw mwāy

The leopard answers, saying:

(3:47) dile hāř āsyāwaka

“Inside the mill,

(3:48) di har čašān karda, kāriš nakardē

whatever they did, it has not worked.

(3:49) mawu āni bitiwa

You must find it.

(3:50) ān-ič dū küza ā hen-e

There are also two vases in it.

(3:51) ayyar sāheb bāya diyār ī āsyāwa bināysha kār, makatiya gil

If the owner would come for attending this mill, he would put it to work, it would start to work.”

(3:52) īna har sēkiš

That is all three of them (i.e., of the stories).

(3:53) birā pīyā-yā, mard aṛā īštaniš ġuš matiya tā šawaki ūžwa mawu

Brother, as for the man, Mard, he simply listens until the early morning becomes day;

(3:54) šawaki ūžwa mawu, mašu awač dafa pā-y dāraka matiya wan, ūž hāř āsyāwaka matiya wa(n)

(as) the early morning becomes day, he goes (and) first, he gives the foot of the tree a blow; he gives the lower millstone a blow;

(3:55) küzakān bar mārē

he brings out the vases.

(3:56) küzakān bar mārē-u mwāy xwiyā bitiya wa barakat

He brings out the vases and says: “May God increase (this finding).”

ENGLISH

(3:38) The lion answers, he says:

(3:39) “Have you seen this tree outside this mill? (The tree) has become dry; it has been several years that it has brought forth fruit.

(3:40) If only I were a human being, if I could find a way for the tree to spread its roots.

(3:41) There were three royal vases in it.

(3:42) They are full of gold and precious stones.

(3:43) If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree too would have then borne fruit.”

(3:44) If the owner would come for attending this mill, he would put it to work, it would start to work.”

(3:45) That is all three of them (i.e., of the stories).

(3:46) The leopard answers, saying:

(3:47) “Inside the mill,

(3:48) whatever they did, it has not worked.

(3:49) You must find it.

(3:50) There are also two vases in it.

(3:51) If the owner would come for attending this mill, he would put it to work, it would start to work.”

(3:52) That is all three of them (i.e., of the stories).

(3:53) Brother, as for the man, Mard, he simply listens until the early morning becomes day;

(3:54) (as) the early morning becomes day, he goes (and) first, he gives the foot of the tree a blow; he gives the lower millstone a blow;

(3:55) he brings out the vases.

(3:56) He brings out the vases and says: “May God increase (this finding).”

124 The meaning of pākašim is not clear.
125 The meaning of the suffix -ay is not clear.
126 The narrator has apparently forgotten that in line 3:22 this animal was a bear.
127 The phrase ūž hāř āsyāwaka refers to the lower of the two stones used in a mill. One stone is placed on top of the other, grain is poured in through a hole in the top, and the grain is ground between the stones.
128 The expression xwiyā bitiya wa barakat is typically said when a person finds or receives something of value, with the wish that God would increase it.
Finally, he takes (them) from one place (and) puts (them) into another pit where he can recognize it (later).

He puts a little bit from it into a bag, and he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the flock.

He reaches the flock, strikes the dog, and kills it.

He strikes the dog, kills it, and takes out its brain.

He takes (it) out in that same way the wolf said; he puts it out in the sun; it becomes dry, and he grinds it and puts it into his bag.

He sets off on his way, he goes. He goes, he reaches the city, where he sees that, yes, this is it.

The king whose daughter has become insane is from this city.

Finally, he reaches there (i.e., their residence) and says;

he goes to (that place and) knocks on the door of the king’s house, and someone at the door (lit., this one) says: “Who is it?” And someone else (lit., that one) says: “Who is it?” And

You are the last one.

Well, let it be, you are welcome, it won’t work; for a long time the king has despaired.”

(Mard) says: “No, I am different from the others. You all must say to the king (that)

129 The word hašāq (here and elsewhere) appears to be a transfer of Persian ʕalāq.

130 The speaker uses a plural form of the copula with duktur here rather than singular. It is translated as singular though in this context.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI

bizänin ča mwāy

(3:72) wāya manē tā čwār řūža, panj řūža, xāswa bi, bi nawē, așā matānē kut kutim bikarē pādšā, tiča tikam karē

(3:73) pādšāy mwāy īna či-ya, mwāy waľā

(3:74) ya jwānē hāmē mwāy min haľā ditakaš makarim

(3:75) qurbān ča farmāyiš makari, mwāy bā bāya bān qay niya, waš hāmay in-ič wa bān ā dukturakān

(3:76) mwāy ā duk(tur), mwāy pādšā

(3:77) mard, mwāy baľē, mwāy nāmit ča, mwāy mard nānim-ē, mwāy ā mard, mwāy batē

(3:78) mwāy ay, tu haľāj ditakam bikari, mizānī131 ča matim wanit

(3:79) mwāy ča mati wanim, mwāy ditakam pīškaš matim waniti, ī táj-u taxt-ič-a matim wanit

(3:80) mwāy na, táj-u taxtakat pīškaš wa īštani

(3:81) walé ditakat haľāj bikarim, ditakat mawāzim, mwāy bāsad pīškašit

(3:82) xulāsa tay qarār wa āna makarin

(3:83) in-ī(č) mařawē

(3:84) kam mašuwa diyār dita

(3:85) mwāy ya qūrī arām bārā-u ya daba āw bițiya wanim-u

(3:86) piknikēk-u hūctānim dī garak niya

ENGLISH

they should know what (Mard) says:

He made a bet: (time) passes up to four days, five days, (if) she becomes well (then it’s all right); if she becomes, if she does not become (well), then the king can chop me, cut me up in pieces.”

The king says: “What is this?” (The servant) says: “By God,

a young man has come, saying: “I will cure his daughter.”

Your highness, what is your command?” (The king) says: “Let him come upstairs; no problem, he is welcome; this one too, up (like) those doctors.”

(The king) says: “Well, doctor.” (Mard) says: “O king.”

Mard, he says: “Yes.” (The king) says: “What is your name?” (Mard) says: “Mard is my name.” (The king) says: “Well, Mard.” (Mard) says: “Yes?”

(The king) says: “If you cure my daughter, do you know what I will give you?”

(Mard) says: “What will you give me?” (The king) says: “My daughter, as a gift, I will give (her) to you; I will also give this crown and my throne to you.”

(Mard) says: “No, (may) your crown and your throne be a gift to yourself.

But if I cure your {xxx} daughter, (then) I want your daughter (in marriage).” (The king) says: “So be it, may she be a gift to you.”

Finally, they make a contract there.

This one (Mard) also goes,

he goes a little way to attend to the girl.

He says: “Bring me a jug and give me a container for water and

a small gas cooker and I need nothing else from you.”

131 Pronunciation of the prefix on the verb zān ‘to know’ can vary between mi- or ma-.
For two days, three days, he makes a kind of tea from it; he gives it to her, and so he must remember what he (i.e. the wolf) said: “Make a kind of tea from this, give it to the daughter; she must drink the medicine.”

After that, for example, then, anoint her back and such with it; until she is well again; by God, after three days the girl will become (like) the cutting edge of steel.

Her insanity leaves her (and) she becomes (like) the girl of former times.

Brother, they give (it) to the girl, (and) she sets off, goes to her father, (and) says: “O father!” He says: “Yes?” She says: “I have become completely well again!”

Mard has made me completely well again.”

Brother, the king is joyful; he holds a celebration; they play seven stringed instruments and seven percussion instruments; they hold a celebration; (the king) says: “My daughter has become well again!” They pay all the expenses for the whole city.

Afterwards, (the king) says: “Well, Mard!” (Mard) says: “Yes?” (The king) says: “The gift to you... My daughter.”

He makes the daughter a gift to him; and finally then, they wed the daughter to him.

They wed the daughter (to him). Let us come to (talking) about Nāmard.

Nāmard comes to... He says: “Well, Mard.” (Mard) says: “Yes?”

(3:87) tā dü ŗ(r) zē ũū(r) až ānə makariya dam, matiya wan-u walē hā wātīš azīn bikarya dam biṭiya ditaka bwarē až dawāka

(3:88) aw šünšay masan dī

(3:89) pišt-ū ināniša wan bisāway

(3:90) wa dawāka bārya qayšay

(3:91) tā xāsва bū, wałā aw šün sē ū(r)ə dita mawu pīk puɫā

(3:92) sētiš barmašu, mawu ditaka-y jārān

(3:93) birā, matin dita, māy mašuwa lā-y bāwód mway ā bāwka, mway bātē, mway min xās xāswa biyayim

(3:94) mard xās xɑsmišwa kardē

(3:95) birā pādšāy wašī makarē, jašn mayrē matina

(3:96) haft sāz-ə haft dahol Jašn mayrin, mway ditakam xāsва bīya, xarj tamām šaraka gištiš matin

(3:97) aw šuniš mway hā mard mway bałē, mway piškašit ditakam

(3:98) dita piškašiš makarē-u xulása di dita Ŧarūsiš afāš makarin

(3:99) dita Ŧarūsiš makarin, bāyāma sar nāmard

(3:100) nāmard māya mway ā mard, mway bałē

(3:101) mway min tum nāsi

(3:102) tu mard-i wāqe’an mard-i čat ka(rd) ka wa ī pāya Ŧaṣi min ī

132 The phrase až ānə makariya dam refers to placing herbs or powder in very hot water and letting them steep to produce a kind of infusion.

133 In walē hā wātīš, the particle hā is used here as a reminder or warning not to forget what the wolf said.

134 The sense of modality is not clear in sentences 89 and 90.
Gorani

jūra wēlā wēlmē magardim har hūčma hūč nayya
this (high) position (lit., degree)? I wander about in this state without purpose; I still have achieved nothing, nothing at all.”

(3:103) mwāy tu nāmard-i īštaniṯ wa jā hāwird
(Mard) says: “You are not a good man, you have proven yourself (as this).

(3:104) ēma ʁafiq bisyām, tu īštaniṯ nānakat dizi-u ʁafṭi ʁāwa
We were friends; you yourself stole the bread and went on the way.

(3:105) ḫa-y ḫa-yēṯ-i naništī
You did not wait right at that moment (for me).

(3:106) min stdafx āwrām bē, ʁākim war(d)
I was so hungry (that) I ate earth.

(3:107) bē wiṯdān isāta-yē-a min ī ūḏwēža aṯāt makarim, biyarṣa ġūṣ (You man) without a conscience!
(You man) without a conscience! (Nevertheless), now I will also give you this advice; listen!

(3:108) min až ānāwa, i ʁwiyā bazayṣ ĥāmay wānimay, i hamkay xayrṣa kardaya damimwa
Me, from then on, this God had mercy on me, he placed this much good in front of me (lit., my mouth).

(3:109) biŋwa aṯā dile ʁṣyāwakā ġūṣa-y barz
Go into the mill, to a corner high up;

(3:110) ya paŋu-ŋ ya tūtay-u
a leopard and a dog and

(3:111) ya gila ʃēr, īwāra māyinwā qisa makarim, ġūṣ biya qisakānsān
one lion, they come back in the evening (and) they talk; listen to what they say.”

(3:112) mwāy bāšād, īnī mašu birā ya daʃayi
(Nāmard) says: “So be it.” Brother, he goes at once.

(3:113) ya lūlā buxwārīšān mawu, maʃuwu aṯā īštaniš swār ā lūlā buxwārīya ʁāḥat ʁāḥatēk mawu
They have a pipe for the stove; (Nāmard) goes and just sits up on that stovepipe (and) makes himself very comfortable.

(3:114) īwāra gurg-u ʃēr-u paŋang māyinwa, mwyā
In the evening the wolf and the lion and the leopard return; they say:

(3:115) bū-y āyamizāyā māy, manamina quliṣ mārinski wār kut kut-u tika tikaš makarim
“Here’s the scent of a human being!” They grab (Nāmard) by his leg, bring him down, (and) tear him to pieces.

(3:116) ĺa-pa ɡul-u, ća-pa narghes, margtān naynim hargizā-y hargiz
A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of narcissus, may I never see your death, never, never.
Text 4: Širin and Farhād

This text was recorded in October 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawraǰū. The narrator is a man who is approximately seventy-five years old. His child and wife were present during the narration of parts of the story. The story is a rendering of one of the episodes of the Shah-Nameh, which is known throughout the Iranian world and recounted in countless different versions. Considerable sections of this narrative are in verse form, obviously relics of storytellings that the narrator has heard earlier; these sections, which are in Kurdish, are enclosed by curly brackets, {}, in the text. There are a number of inconsistencies in the content, as the narrator is not a trained storyteller, but on the whole, his rendering is quite remarkable and reflects an earlier oral tradition of storytelling that must have been very much alive during his younger years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4:1) šīrīn armanī-yē</td>
<td>Širin is Armenian.</td>
<td>(00:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:2) až armanisān hāmaya¹³⁵</td>
<td>She came from Armenia.</td>
<td>(00:04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:3) farā(d) {?! fagh} kuṛa-y faghfūr čin biya</td>
<td>Farhād was the son of the Emperor of China;</td>
<td>(00:06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:4) pādšā-y waxt biya</td>
<td>he was the king of that time.</td>
<td>(00:09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:5) čini biya</td>
<td>He was Chinese.</td>
<td>(00:11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:6) ina wa xāway, farā(d) ĵwān-e šīrīn¹³⁶ mawinē, šīrīn wa xāw(e) ān mawinē</td>
<td>He, in (his) dream(s), Farhād sees the beautiful one, Širin; (and) Širin, in (her) dream(s), sees him (i.e., Farhād).</td>
<td>(00:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:7) ya čište ka mwān jūr yak zātē ya xwiçā ĵwānī, ya čište¹³⁷ biya,</td>
<td>Something, they say, something from God’s essence reached them; there was something,</td>
<td>(00:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:8) až bayn īštanšān, ya čitānešān, až hes-e šašumšān wa yak biya {PM: baɫē}</td>
<td>between them, there was something; they had a sixth sense for each other. {PM: Yes.}</td>
<td>(00:26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:9) šīrīn sar īštanīš hawmayrē¹³⁸ řū makariya īrān</td>
<td>Širin goes forth without a word (and) heads towards Iran.</td>
<td>(00:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:10) tā mâyā i marz-e qasira {PM: baɫē}</td>
<td>Until she reaches this border of Qasr-e Širin. {PM: Yes.}</td>
<td>(00:35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:11) až i qas(i)ra {?! xa} xasraw, dāstān xatarēk-e</td>
<td>In this (city of) Qasr-e Širin, Xasraw... It is a story of danger.</td>
<td>(00:40)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4:12) {PM: baɫē} {?! he} xasraw maʃoya fāw,</td>
<td>{PM: Yes.} Xasraw goes hunting;</td>
<td>(00:45)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹³⁵ The forms hāmaya (here) and biya (sentences 3, 4, and 5) are perfects in tense-aspect. They are translated as simple past in these contexts.
¹³⁶ The meaning of ĵwān-e šīrīn is not entirely clear.
¹³⁷ The analysis of čište is not final.
¹³⁸ The idiom sar īštanīš hawmayrē is literally, 'she takes her own head'.
among the bushes, he sees a girl, a lady, a woman.

(She) with her small waist! There has never been another woman like her.

As for Farhād, the son of the Chinese Emperor,

at that time, they say, it was the dervish era; his bag was embroidered with precious stones, as many as you can imagine.

He wore a royal robe, a “xarqay lāḥ” with rubies.

A xarqay lāḥ, I do not know (what it is), (but) we know its name.

His hand staff was gem-studded.

(As for) his shoes, at that time there was nothing like them. He put them on his feet, exactly these shoes of yours (i.e., made by you)!

They say, {poetic, to end of sentence 22: Farhād went for a couple of hours without a pause, wearing his shoes that the (tribe of) Gurān had repaired.}

He came... He searched, until the time he came to the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin.

Have you heard of the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin? {PM: Yes.}

Yes? {PM: I have heard of the four-gated (city).} Yes, the four-gated (place), that was Širin’s castle, Širin’s.

(Farhād) arrives there;

he goes up to the gate of that castle;

Here the narrator uses the Kurdish term żanēk and the Arabic term āfratēk. 139
The sense of bař is not clear.

The term kaškūlīš could refer to either his ‘bag’ or ‘cloak’.

The sense of tā bīrī dānawari is not entirely clear.

The sense of xarqay lāḥ (or: xartay lāḥ) is not clear.

Here the narrator directs his comment to his audience, PM, who is Hawrami (Gorani). The narrator treats her as a representative of the Gorani who traditionally made these special shoes.

The sense of lāyangazawa is not clear.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

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GORANI                        ENGLISH
(4:28) yakē až kanizân,        one of the maidservants,
(4:29) māya bān sariš, sar bānwa  she comes (to a place) above him (and) 
tamāša makarē                  looks down from the roof.
(4:30) mwāyš, tamāša makarē,  (The maid servant) says to him; she looks 
mawînē i                        (and) sees this dervish.
dawrîša,                        
(4:31) wasīlaš har ġi hē, hīn   His belongings, everything that he has,
dawrîš niya,                   they are not things of a dervish.
(4:32) yak kaškûliš hē piřš   He has a bag; it is full of precious items 
dâna-u                         and jewels. {PM: Em.}
jawāhir-ē {PM: em}            
(4:33) ŋasâkâ-y dasiš har   His staff is decorated with precious items 
dâna-u                         and jewels, his xarqûy lāî, thing...
jawâhir-ē, xarqa-y lâîš hîn 
(4:34) ānī mwày,               She says:
(4:35) širîn ya dawrîš hâmay,   “Širin, a dervish has come;
(4:36) ŋawâhirîš hē {unclear:  he has jewels {xxx}.”
bi sa ān di                        
wa ya}                           
(4:37) jür ya čit-e tir mwây,  She says somehow something else, she 
                  mwây ya                        says: “A dervish has come;
dawrîš hâmay                   
(4:38) jawâhir dîrē¹⁴⁷ bi sar   he has endless amounts of jewels.” {PM: 
bî sâmân                        Yes.}
{PM: baɫê}                    
(4:39) ān-ič širîn mâyä bân    She too, Širin, comes (to a place) above 
sariš,                         him;
(4:40) tamâša makarê            she looks.
(4:41) až ŋerwa manûrē¹⁴⁸ waľâ   She looks at him without raising her head. 
mawînê mwây                      By God, she sees, she says (to herself that)
(4:42) ŋaskiś¹⁴⁹ wa xâwî diyaši, she has seen his likeness in (her) dream(s); 
îna ān-ë                        this is him.
(4:43) farâ(d)-ič až ŋërwa    Farhâd also looks at her without raising 
manûrēânwa,                    his head.
(4:44) xâw-e i ŋaskâša, i iniš    (His) dream of this picture; this is what he 
diya i žané-na                  saw, it is this woman.
(4:45) {PM: baɫê} až yak ăškârā mawin  {PM: Yes.} They recognize each other.
(4:46) ānî mwây {poetic:      She says: {poetic, to end of sentence 46: 
dawrîš bifarmî, bwâ bâhl-y                  “Dervish, please come in. Behold the
xasraw bika                      Greatness of Xasraw.”}
tamâša}                          
(4:47) ānî mwây {poetic: tu čašît      He (i.e., Farhâd) says: {poetic, sentence 
{?! ča} čašît garâk-ē až hâl dawrîšân,  47, to end of 48: “What do you, (what),

¹⁴⁶ The narrator does not finish the sentence.
¹⁴⁷ The verb dîrē is as in Kurdish, meaning ‘have’. Gawraǰūyî lacks a lexical verb for ‘have’.
¹⁴⁸ The translation of až ŋerwa manûrê (here and in sentence 43) is not final. The action involves looking indirectly 
without especially raising the head.
¹⁴⁹ The form ŋaskiś is a metathesis of ŋaksîš (compare to Persian aks).
<table>
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<tr>
<td>what do want from the situation of dervishes?</td>
<td>A dervish wanders about, without family or kin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From city to city I wander as a stranger, without family or kin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There, then, they recognize each other.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afterwards (Farhād) sits down, and says: “Xasraw!” (Xasraw) says: “Yes!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Farhād) enters his (i.e., Xasraw’s) presence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Xasraw) was the king of that time in Iran.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Farhād says:) “Give me a rose from this garden of yours!”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At that time (Xasraw) had the minister (and) the lawyer. They have said: “Well, this one (what, you)...</td>
<td>was, this one) then, let him be hanged! This dervish, where has he come from, this damned one?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(One of Xasraw’s advisors) says: “No, man, don’t kill him, he is a stranger; (instead) take him an impossible task (to perform);</td>
<td>he cannot fulfill it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not let it come to killing.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Xasraw) in turn says: “I, somehow, this</td>
<td>flower from your garden,” this young woman, come, (you said) we should give (her) to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you bring water for us from Nizuwarān to this side?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Farhād) says: “Yes.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They show him the mountain of Bisotun, and (Farhād) says: “Well, you must go from France.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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150 That is, Xasraw’s garden.
151 The form of wātašē is singular.
152 Xasraw repeats what Farhād had said.
153 The name Nizuwarān refers to the area behind the mountain of Bisotun.
154 The word maw(u) could also be written as mwö.
At that time, the master was in France.

“Bring steel and bring the master,

that they make a hammer for me, so that I

may hammer this mountain for you,

(that) I may bring this water to this side,

He then recites them (i.e., verses) in the

form of a poem, then. {PM: Yes,} Yes.

Afterwards it is said:

{poetic, sentence 72, to end of 76: “They
brought steel, masses and masses; the
master was European, the steel was from
Sabzevär”.

In three hours they drew water out from
the hammer, so that they could hammer
the mountain like (one could hammer a
soft) willow in the bushes.” Yes.

From afar, it is said,

it is said, part of the night passed, whether
much or a little;

drew water from the pickaxe, the
companions and the master,

with tearful
eyes.

He was so sad; he knew what would
happen to him.

Yes. The pickaxe, it is said he took the
pickaxe on...

He was going to the foot of Bisotun
(mountain).

Bisotun, yes, he put the pickaxe on his
shoulder, at the foot of the mountain.

The mountain began to make loud cries
and laments.

{PM: Ehmm.} The mountain began to
speak. {PM: Yes,}

(The mountain) has said: {poetic, to end of
sentence 83: “Farhād, whoever tied (i.e.,

155 It is likely that the narrator really means ‘Europe’ rather than France.
156 The sense of this sentence is not clear.
The expression binčīnaš zi bin bikinya, bikanē is used as a curse that a person would not have any descendants. In that case, a king’s dynasty would be ended.

The spelling of ānakay is not final.

(4:84) (Farhād) has said: {poetic, to end of sentence 84: “(I swear) by the solidity of the mountains: May they become soft! I have made a wager; through the wager I have won Širin.”}

(4:85) {PM: Yes.} Yes. {poetic, to end of sentence 85: When (Farhād) takes the pickaxe, it comes out of (his) hand, as the lightning bolt of springtime comes from above.}

(4:86) Well, then, the pickaxe made no sound; it has penetrated the mountain (and) has shaped it.

(4:87) {PM: Yes.} Afterwards, one night, Širin, makatiya sariš bišawē sar biţiya, she wishes to go visit him (i.e., Farhād).

(4:88) (It was) nighttime (and) she was with Šabdiz, her horse, which belongs to Xasraw. (She goes) in secret.

(4:89) {PM: Ahaa.} She mounts Šabdiz (and) goes forth; she draws near to Biso tun (mountain) and paɫāšay matiya, qul šawdīz maškinē, aspakaš a rock falls (and) breaks the leg of Šabdiz, her horse.

(4:90) {PM: Ahaa.} She mounts Šabdiz (and) goes forth; she draws near to Bisotun (mountain) and ānī mwāy {poetic: dasit naʃezē usā-y hunarman, ya qul šawdizit kardi lang} (Širin) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 92: “May your hand not blacken and drop off! O master craftsman, you made one of Šabdiz’s legs lame.”}

(4:91) patlāšay matiya, qul šawdiz maʃkinē, aspakaʃ a rock falls (and) breaks the leg of Šabdiz, her horse.

(4:92) (Farhād) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 93: “May my hand blacken and fall off! I did not know that it was you; you were like a moon, suddenly appearing near me at the mountain.”}

(4:93) až ānā až yak əʃkarka mawin, There, they recognize each other; baʃd mawin jā əʃ bikarām, čuŋ, Afterwards (Širin) says: “Then what should we do? How, what will I, how...

(4:94) (Farhād) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 93: “May my hand blacken and fall off! I did not know that it was you; you were like a moon, suddenly appearing near me at the mountain.”}

(4:95) maʃ xasraw čuŋ bitim Now this leg of the horse has been broken. Now, how should we answer for this to Xasraw?”

(4:96) There, they recognize each other; Afterwards (Širin) says: “Then what should we do? How, what will I, how...
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwāy matarsa, mwāy {?! jawr},159 {poetic: ya tawr mayamda}</td>
<td>(Farhād) says: “Don’t be afraid.” He says: {?! Way}, {poetic, sentence 97, to end of 98: “One way or another I will bring you to}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawłatxāna, dāyara baʃar činat nazānē</td>
<td>to the palace, so that none of the people will notice you.”}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asp-u šīrīn-u giš(t) girta šānwa hāma ařā-y qasir</td>
<td>(Farhād) took (and carried) the horse and Širin and everything on his shoulder(s). He came to (the city of) Qsr-e Širin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āsā i bān tāqa, Ŧaatay taʃrif bardī {PM: nawaɫā, nalwāynān}</td>
<td>At that time, at this (place), Bān Tāq—have you been there?160 {PM: No, by God, I haven’t been there.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay bān tāqa, isa, alān isa pāṣgākaš-e {PM: āhā}</td>
<td>Well, at Bān Tāq, now, presently there is now the sentry station. {PM: Aha.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āna yāya-y har pāṣgā biya qadīm, āna mwān ā dawra</td>
<td>There, that place which always was the sentry station of old;161 that’s what they say (about) that time.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃd, ē āyamānē maʔmūr wātʃānē gaʃā</td>
<td>Afterwards, eh, people have called the sentries on duty the “Gaʃā”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaʃākān, mwāy yakē nāw gaʃā(k)ān, {xxx}, wātaʃē ga(h) gā(h), siyā-y sang gā(h) māyē guʃ,</td>
<td>The Gaʃā, it is said that one of the Gaʃā {xxx} said: “Sometimes one can hear the sound of stones.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waxte kiʃḵ, pāʃ dāya kiʃḵ, kiʃḵ Ŧaatay farsax, war pāʃay {PM: baʃ}</td>
<td>When a stone, his (i.e., Farhād’s) foot strikes a stone, the stone flies (the distance of one) “farsaxs”164 away from his foot. {PM: Yes.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspakay aʃ ʃānʃwa-u šīrīn-iʃ aʃ ʃānʃwa, har duʃ hawgirtaw</td>
<td>The horse is on his (i.e., Farhād’s) shoulder(s), and Širin is also on his shoulder(s); (Farhād) has picked up both of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baʃd maʃasiya, ānā, aʃ xwar māyin</td>
<td>Afterwards, (as) they reach that (place), they wake up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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159 The narrator first says ğawr; a mispronunciation of tawr, then corrects himself.
160 The name Bān Tāq is literally, ’over the recess (in the stone)’.
161 The translation of the first clause is not final.
162 It is implied that the sentry station is no longer there..
163 The spelling of gaʃā(k)ān is not final.
164 A farsax measures approximately 6240 meters.
(A Gařā) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 110: “This one, who is it at this early time (of the day), passing by on this difficult way?”}\textsuperscript{165}

(Farḥād) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 111: “This is Širin, her Highness the Queen, who has reached the summit of Tāqbastān.”}

(PM: Yes.) Well, (the Gařā) says: “Are you Farḥād?”: (Farḥād) says: “Yes.”

He (i.e., Farḥād) also says: {poetic, to end of sentence 115: “Širin, what do consider right? Shall I destroy all of the Gařā and the {xxx}, as in Kerbala?”}

She says: {poetic, to end of sentence 116: “Farḥād, what is this, this state of yours? Is there a desire for death in your mind?”}

Don’t talk loudly like this; {poetic, to end of sentence 117: through sweet speech, with kindness, a man does not make less of his manhood.”}

He (i.e., Farḥād) says: “Good.”

(His) hand... (His) hand out to the hammer...\textsuperscript{167}

He brought the pickaxe;

the European master said: “This one also has the intent {xxx}...

Yādegar Hoseyni.\textsuperscript{169}

He built a “tāqča” (i.e., small stone recess with an arch) for him.”

\textsuperscript{165} Farḥād is the one passing by.

\textsuperscript{166} The meaning of the last clause is not clear.

\textsuperscript{167} The narrator corrects himself.

\textsuperscript{168} Sense of mawdā and also of the rest of the sentence is not clear here. Sentences 121 to the end of 124 seem to be background information about the tāq.

\textsuperscript{169} The name Yādegar Hoseyni is another reference to Bābā Yādegar, a main figure in the Ahl-e Haqq religious tradition.

\textsuperscript{170} This form of the pronoun -\textit{y} appears to be as in Kurdish, instead of Gawraǰūyī -\textit{-š}. 
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

(4:124) tāqīš durus ka(rd)

So he (i.e., Farhād) built a tāq; (07:31)

(4:125) gaṟā sardas(t)ašān bī, das širīniš girt

the Gaṟā was their leader; he took Širin by the hand. (07:33)

(4:126) wāt, gaṟā das širīn girt, bard wa aw

It was said (that) the Gaṟā took Širin by the hand (and) led her to that tāq, the half tāq, the splendid small tāq; (then) (07:37)

(4:127) {poetic: das wēna-ţi̇lūs, siyā-ţi̇ y nima sūz, řawān kard parī halqa-u baqyadūz}

Hand... {poetic, sentence 128, to end of sentence 129: His mouth like a broken bowl, his bald head,} (07:47)

(4:128) das, {poetic: dam wēna-ţi̇ y kasa kal siyā-ţi̇ y sar bāyar

(Širin) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 127: his hand, like black, half-scorched wood—he reaches out towards her décolleté.} (07:43)

(4:129) řahā kar(d), parī halqa-u Jawāhir

he lays (his hand) on her décolleté and “jewels”. (07:52)

(4:130) qayamša řī damiš řür xānakal siyā biya-u, dasiš har xirāw biya, ha, gaṟā

To make things worse, his mouth was like a black {xxx}, and his hand was very bad, heh, the Gaṟā. (07:54)

(4:131) jā širīn ina mawīnē, farā(d)y nimazānē

Then Širin sees this, (but) Farhād does not know about it. (08:00)

(4:132) mwāy {poetic: farā(d) xūnakat kafan řang bikarē, gaṟā tamāšā-ţi y limo zard min bikarē}

(Širin) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 132: “Farhād, may your blood color the shroud of your corpse, should the sentry be looking at my yellow lemons.”} (08:03)

(4:133) farā(d) kī až xwar hāma, lāš kardwa, diš i qālayna,

When Farhād woke up, he turned around (and) saw this uproar. (08:10)

(4:134) naw sāʕata mwāy, har naw sāʕata,

At that moment, it is said, just at that moment, (08:15)

(4:135) xūniš ţūşā, haftmatiš dā, ya din, gaṟāš girt,

his blood boiled, he made an attack, he grabbed one of the Gaṟā, (08:19)

(4:136) dāš wa zamīn kwāniš wa huwā

he knocked him to the ground, he threw him violently into the air. (08:22)

(4:137) {poetic: gaṟā-u řādarān giš(t) kar(d) kaɫwaɫā}

{Poetic, to end of sentence 137: The (other) Gaṟā along the way, he destroyed them all, as in Kerbala.} (08:24)

(4:138) {PM: baɫē} dama sāʕatē mwā yā wxāt-u wxāya faft

{PM: Yes.} At the same moment, time passed and either the time and {xxx}... (08:27)

(4:139) hāwār hāwāršān bī, diz qatibbār ka(rd),

they were crying out for help; he murdered the thieves, (08:31)

(4:140) giššān(i)š kušt {?! hehe}

he killed all of them {?! ha ha}. (08:34)

171 The sequence of wa aw is pronounced as waw.
172 The sense of tamturāqa is not clear.
173 The meaning of this sentence is not clear.
Once again, he put Širin and Šabdiz on his shoulder(s); he carried them to the palace and that stall (for the flocks), the enclosure, and the shelter;

he pulled up a plane tree and laid it on the leg of Šabdiz.

Afterwards, it is almost time,

Bisotun, nothing (i.e., no time) remains (before Farhād) takes water to this side of Nižuwarān. {PM: Yes, yes.}

He (i.e., Xasraw or advisor of Xasraw) says: “Who can find anything negative about this man? Who could this man be, who could he be?”

One of them says: “I will give you thirty times your own weight of gold.” Another one says: “I will give you precious jewels.”

A woman says: “By God, give me thirty times my own weight of wool, (and if you do that, I swear that) I will wipe him out.”

Wool, then, do you know (what it is), {?! eh ha ha ha}? (Well...)

At that moment, he says (i.e., Xasraw or an advisor of Xasraw) says: “All right. We will give you, we will give you wool forty times your own weight. Only wool, right.”

It is said (lit., one says) that nomads were around Bisotun.

{xxx} (The woman says:) “Until I have gone there on foot, sheep and goats and... It was springtime.

No-one should tend the livestock and...

When, at the moment I reached the narrow pass of the path and by Farhād,

at that moment, in these villages, for

---

174 Here ḥā čītek namanē means that no time is left before Farhād’s deed is completed, that is, it is almost done.
175 It is not clear how the name Bisotun is connected here to the sentence.
176 The sense of the text here is not clear.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

**GORANI**
siyyā čadur dawrša bikana, bāwka ū-u\(^{178}\) dāya bī dāya-u\(^{179}\)

**(4:157)** pazi war bitīn-u biqālhē-u set the goats free, and they bleat loudly and

**(4:158)** ūnāna bū, dī naxša makīšē dī such things may happen.” So then, she is planning indeed!

**(4:159)** ya {? sā} hīn-īč, ya takya haľwā aľam bikara-u piř ya dafaq-īč xāk aľam bikara-u

“Such-and-such too, prepare me a tray with sweet pastries, and also a bag full of earth for me and...”

**(4:160)** {PM: baľē} manya bān sar-u kaywānū, wa läy läy mašu\(^{180}\) {PM: Yes.} The woman carries (the tray) on her head and (the woman) starts to lament.

**(4:161)** māfawē-u xwā qwat bi farā(d) makārē-u She goes and (says): “God gives Farhād strength,” and

**(4:162)** mwāy ān-īč tā nizik ānā mawu, fawrī dastūr matiya diákān-īč it is said, when she also is close to that place, she immediately gives the command to the other villages as well.

**(4:163)** farā(d) yānā Farhād and such...

**(4:164)** {?! eh} mwāy {poetic: dāya-y awāmana-y sāfān, i zāyafa-u ū ūwa čē aż karda}\(^{181}\) {?! ehh} (Farhād) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 164: “Old woman, this wailing and lamenting of the old women... {xxx awāmanay sāfān} What happened?”}

**(4:165)** mwāy {poetic: waľā sar tu silāmat, šīrīn mardē She says: {poetic, sentence 165, to end of sentence 166: “May you remain healthy; Širīn is dead!”

**(4:166)** inā, xāk-e tar, āth-a-y tāzaš, inā haľwāka-y war jināzaš\(^{182}\) So it is, fresh earth, her new burial stone. So it is, the sweet pastries (prepared) for her dead body.”

**(4:167)** wa drūwa hā {PM: arē} That was a lie, watch! {PM: Yes.}

**(4:168)** ānī manamya quľang mwāy {poetic: hā quľang hāmfrāz-e šaw, la sar dā bawrwa biya kilikim} He (i.e., Farhād) grasps the pickaxe (and) says (to it): {poetic, to end of sentence 168: “Hey pickaxe, my trusty companion of the night! Come back down from above (and) strike my finger.”}

**(4:169)** quľanga hawmanāy He tosses the pickaxe into the air.

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177 The sense of the text is not clear.
178 The lament bāwka ū is pronounced here with Hawrami pronunciation, rather than as Gawraǰū yū or ū. The lament bāwka ū-u dāya bī dāya is used when some misfortune takes place or when hearing about a misfortune.
179 The phrase läy läy is often sung as a lullaby, but also as a lament .
180 The meanings of the text and the transcription of karda are not clear here.
181 Here, haľwāka-y war jināzaš refers to the sweet pastry made from flour and sugar, which are distributed to the guests who have come to the funeral.
The pickaxe, the pickaxe stays (suspended) in the air, begins to speak, and says: “The woman, she is lying!”

(Farahd) grabs the woman by the leg, strikes her against the rock face of the cliff. (It is said that) yes, even now water still comes out of that rock face of the cliff.

One says, the indentation on the surface of the rock face is still there.

I myself have gone to Bisotun, but I have not looked very well at the pictures.

After that, the pickaxe comes down and kills Farhād.

Yes. That, at that time, they say, Xasraw and these others had a mirror...

Xasraw (and) Parviz, they had this “Mirror of the World”. Now they call it “satellite”. {PM: Yes.}

He had pieces of gold, all {xxx},

it is said (lit., one says) (that) {poetic, to end of sentence 178: he threw the “Mirror of the World” and the piece of gold {xxx} in the hollow of Sarāb Nilufar.}

In Sarāb Nilufar {xxx} {PM: yes}, he fell in Sarāb Nilufar.

There, he sees there are vultures.

She says: {poetic, to end of sentence 181: “Either a weak ram has died, or Farhād has injured himself again!”}

Your treasure and fortune I will bequeath to the wind!”} {Ehem.}

As for Širu, he is a son of Xasraw. {PM:}

The form we appears as in Hawrami.

The form of the reflexive we appears as in Hawrami.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI  

English  

(4:187) ah {?! xa}, inama ařat nawaθ  
Well, I didn’t tell you this (yet).  
(11:34)  

(4:188) xasraw waqte ka i žana mārē-u, i dita mārē-u, yā dū māng yā panj māng,  
Xasraw, when this woman brings and, this girl (i.e., Širin) brings, either for two or five months,  
(11:38)  

(4:189) mwāy ū make bāwkam, ū bika min-u,  
(then ) says: “Don’t marry my father; marry me and...!”  
(11:43)  

(4:190) širū-č ŋašiqiš mawu  
Širu is also in love with her.  
(11:46)  

(4:191) mwāy māθit185 naθ(i)mē, min jārē tā bizānim ča wa sarim māy  
(Širin) says: “May your house not be made desolate! Until I know what will happen (lit., comes) to me,  
(11:48)  

(4:192) ay tā tu (ji) jwāw bāwkat ču bitimwa, min manayim  
what answer should we give to your father? I have remained.”  
(11:51)  

(4:193) xo, nazarin nawya, ū bikaya bāwkasa, {PM: baθē}  
Well, she did not intend to marry his father either. {PM: Yes.}  
(11:55)  

(4:194) {PM: xob}, az ānā, mwāy bāwā bāwkam, faθē,  
{PM: Well.} Then, (Širu) says: “Father, my father, he has gone.  
(11:57)  

(4:195) wa dinyāya, paxšiš kardē, (elābe) ya čistekš la li ču,  
Everywhere he has spread the bad news, {xxx} something is from her.  
(12:02)  

(4:196) wēlgardēkš diyawa wa i jangāt-a nām, xirāwkār-e ču-a, čaw frayekiš day  
He found a wastrel from this forest, I don’t know, a good-for-nothing, he recounted many bad things {xxx} about her.”  
(12:05)  

(4:197) mwāy mazānī ča, ina di farā(d) niyana qawr-u  
She says: “Do you know what?” So this, then, they put Farhād into the grave and  
(12:11)  

(4:198) mwāy širū, mwāy baθē, mwāy tu matānī, ara qawštim bikari  
she says: “Širu?” He says: “Yes?” She says: “You can, if you do what I say.  
(12:15)  

(4:199) extiyār tām may, ay šāyīya biya min, tā čiš šaw  
Give me full power over the kingdom until forty nights (have passed)!  
(12:21)  

(4:200) ā naxša min mwām aθat, aw šūn-e min, di šū makar(i)ma tu  
That is my plan, I tell you, afterwards I, then I will marry you.”  
(12:26)  

(4:201) mwāy ča bikarim  
He says: “What should I do?”  
(12:31)  

(4:202) mwāy jārē extiyār tām biya  
She says: “First give me full power.  
(12:32)  

(4:203) eľāmiya bika, min har čim wātē, tümattim dāya i dita  
Publish an announcement (and write): “Whatever I (i.e., Xasraw) have said, I have slandered this girl.”  
(12:33)  

(4:204) āna yak  
That was the first (thing).  
(12:37)  

(4:205) {PM: baθē} ina ganj-u xazāna-yč wa tāhwit186 ina {PM: baθē}  
{PM: Yes.} This is so, he gives her (rights to) the treasury too, this is so {PM: yes},  
(12:38)  

185 The word māθit is actually pronounced here with final -d.  
186 The sense of tāhwit is not clear.


187 The sense of the text here is not clear.
188 Širin addresses her tribe and her brothers here.
189 The narrator says bāya, then corrects himself to say biya.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4:221) {PM: bałê damit waš bo, damit waš bo}, sarit waš bo</td>
<td>{PM: Yes, may your mouth be blessed, may your mouth be blessed.} May your head be blessed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text 5: Rostam and Sohrāb

This text was recorded in October 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawrajū. The narrator is a man who is approximately seventy-five years old. His child and wife were present during narration of parts of the story. The story is a rendering of one of the episodes of the Shah-Nameh, which is known throughout the Iranian world and recounted in countless different versions. Considerable sections of this narrative are in verse form, obviously relics of tellings that the narrator has heard earlier. These sections, which are in Kurdish, have been enclosed in curly brackets, {}, in the text. There are a number of inconsistencies in the content, as the narrator is not a trained storyteller, but on the whole his rendering is quite remarkable and reflects an earlier oral tradition of storytelling that must have been very much alive during his younger years.

**GORANI**

(5:1) {listener: xāɫo alidust matānī dāstān zūrāw řūsan afāsān bwāžī}

**ENGLISH**

{Listener: Uncle Alidust, can you tell the story of Sohrāb and Rostam to them?}

(00:01)

(5:2) {?! ŕū, řūsam-u zūrāw, {listener: ārī, taʃrīf bīkārī afāsān} a ay bāwkat nimazānē yānī}

Rostam and Sohrāb? {Listener: Yes, tell it to them.} Well, to explain, doesn’t your father know (this story)?

(00:05)

(5:3) {listener: tu afāsān taʃrīf ka, bāwkmā daqīq gawrajūyī nimazānē, lahja ...}

{Listener: You tell them. My father doesn’t speak Gawrajūyī very precisely. (He has an) accent.}

(00:10)

(5:4) řūsam, ya ŕū(ž) mafoya řāw aw kū (aw), ā dawra nimazānīm, pādšā-y waxt, īrān

Rostam, one day he goes to hunt, to the mountain(s) (to). That era, I don’t know (who was) the king of that time, (in) Iran.

(00:13)

(5:5) alān, až dawra-y čīte min ŋinaʃlawim, tūšāmī,190 xaɿq-u xārīj(i)yān yak kitāw tārīxšānī,191 āna dī tārīx-e jahānī wan(i)yay

Now, since the era that I had heard about, Tūšāmī, of foreign peoples, they have a historical book,

(00:22)

(5:6) īrān (yak) {xxx}191 war ja kayān(i), yakē biya, war ja kayān(i) {PM: baʃē}

anyone then who has read the history of the world (knows that).

(00:31)

(5:7) īrān (yak) {xxx}191 war ja kayān(i), yakē biya, war ja kayān(i) {PM: baʃē}

Iran (one) {xxx}, before Kiānyān,192 it was united, before Kiānyān. {PM: Yes.}

(00:33)

(5:8) sām-u tūr-u nām ɿa, čwār kuʃaʃ biya, ĵrī, ĵrī kuʃaʃ biya {PM: baʃē}

Sām and Tur and what’s his name, he had four sons. Iraʃ... Iraʃ was his son. {PM: Yes.}

(00:41)

(5:9) ĵrī kuʃaʃ biya, dāʃī, dāya jīyāzā biya

Iraʃ was his son, (but) his (i.e., Iraʃ’s) mother, she was a different mother.193

(00:49)

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190 The name tūʃāmī refers to an Ahl-e Haqq village near the narrator’s village. This name does not seem to have a clear connection to the story here.

191 The narrator corrects himself here after beginning to say pādšā.

192 According to ancient legends, Kiānyān was the name of the first dynasty in Iran. The name is also found in the Shah-Nameh.

193 That is, she was a different woman than the mother of the other sons.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

(5:10) bašē kardē, i tamām-e jahānša baš(ē) karda nāwišān
(The father of Iraj) divided up... He divided up this whole world among them (i.e., the sons).

(5:11) i īrāna katīya īrīǰ šā
This Iran was allotted to King Iraj.

(5:12) īrīǰ šā-yē, šā-y ī īrānša kardē
And King Iraj, he ruled this Iran.

(5:13) bašd āsā, sitāra-šīnās-u qāqaz māqaz nawya, ġapar biya-u, řīmilčišān biya-u inānā
Then, at that time, there were no astrologers or paper and such things; there were messengers and they had fortune-tellers and these (kinds of people).

(5:14) birā(k)ān nīštan yakwa, bāwkāšān mardē, sām, bāwkāšān biya, mardē,
The brothers... They have sat down together; their father has passed away; Sām, (who) was their father, has passed away.

(5:15) wātašē i birā(k)ān dāykašān yakē, wātašē i bāwkāmān gūlānšān dāy, baša naxtakaš dāy īrīǰ, bikuşān
They have said, these brothers of a common mother, they have said: “This father of ours, he has betrayed us. He has given the best part (of the world) to Iraj; let us kill him!”

(5:16) bičīfāmē ni sar mīmānī-u biлим bē
Let us call him to a gathering and let us have him come.”

(5:17) bašd, ānān-ič čapar makyāsin-u mwān bišū daʕwat, īrīǰ bāy, birā(k)ān daʕwatšān kardē
Afterwards, they also send a messenger and they say (to him): “Go invite (Iraj). Iraj should come; the brothers have invited him.”

(5:18) mwāy (sitāra) ġimilči-u sitāra-šīnāsān bāwā ġimil bwašin
(He) says to (the star-), to the fortune-tellers, and to the astrologists: “Hey you fellows, cast the “rimil” (to predict the future)!"

(5:19) īrīǰ bāxwar mwau, šānsiš195 bāxwar mwau
Iraj is aware, (he) is aware of his fate.

(5:20) {Kurdish: niyatēm} waxte hudūdšān niyāy, mwāy āraš kamāngār,
{Kurdish: I won’t come}, when they lay down the borders, it is said (lit., one says) (that) Āraš Kamāngār

(5:21) tīri niyā kamānaka-u mard, hudūd-e īrāniš āsā niyāy {PM: baľē}
placed an arrow in his bow and died {xxx}; he laid down the borders of Iran then. {PM: Yes.}

(5:22) žinaftālī, {PM: baľē} ā ā dī
Have you heard about it? {PM: Yes.} All right then.

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194 The term čapar refers to messengers who would carry information very long distances by horseback, as the earliest type of pony express.
195 The narrator uses šānsiš to refer to fate. In Hawrami, the term šast ‘thumb’ may be used in association with people’s knowledge of their own fate.
The narrator corrects himself here before finishing saying sitārashinās.

The narrator says the name Ardašir, but apparently he is referring to Iraǰ.

The young woman is the new young wife of Keykāvos (a different person than the woman who is the mother of Siyavoš).

The transcription of elā wa belā is not final.
(5:39) The young wife made a loud proclamation, eh: “May the kingdom and good fortune of Keykāvos be destroyed; may this happen, may such-and-such happen.

(5:40) This son of yours, he intended to rape me, what terrible words he has spoken to my face, what and...

(5:41) He (i.e., the king) says: “Well.” He says: “Man! There is no more honor left for Iran.

(5:42) Gather wood!” (The king’s people) gather a lot of wood.

(5:43) For this reason they say, this essence (or: spirit, soul) remains.

(5:44) They gather a lot of wood, and it is so, then, according to ancient legends,

(5:45) they bind Siyavoš hand and foot (and), he goes into this fire.

(5:46) (For) three nights (and) three days, until (the wood) has burned up (and) turned to ashes, Siyavoš remains like this (i.e., in the fire and not burned).

(5:47) Afterwards he gets up; he is insulted and upset (and) says: “Iran is no longer a place for me.”

(5:48) As for the king of that time, he is Afrāsiāb then, and they say that (Afrāsiāb) was in Sarpol at that time.

(5:49) His house was in Sarpol, (and) his government, his throne and such things were there.

(5:50) He (lit., this one, i.e., Siyavoş) goes there. {PM: Yes.}

(5:51) He goes to (Siya...)... Eh, well... Afrāsiāb says: “Old fellow, no longer do I have the heart for Iran, and now it is over;

(5:52) there I will not reside.”

(5:53) There, (when) he (i.e., Siyavoş) had been there some time, it is said he slanders.

200 She addresses her speech to the king here.

201 The Kurdish pronunciation of this city’s name is Sarpēl (compare to Persian Sarpol).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gorani</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5:54) dita-y matiyyay wān-u ya dikay</td>
<td>(Afrāsiāb) gives his daughter, he gives them a village, for example, a castle and such and...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masan matiyyay wān-u, qaṭāyēk-u filānēk-u</td>
<td>(04:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:55) baṭd až, ya pirān waysa-yē</td>
<td>Afterwards from, there was also one Pirān Weys, of Iranian origin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūrāni-ya ashī</td>
<td>(04:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:56) i pirān, pirān-e waysa, fatin biya,</td>
<td>This Pirān, Pirān Weys, he was a liar, he was an evil-doer. {PM: Yes.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaṛaṣīb biya {PM: baṭē}</td>
<td>(04:42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:57) šaṛiš dā, nīya īsa i dawštānā</td>
<td>He waged war, like all these countries, they all fight with each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giš(t) matiṇa giž yakay</td>
<td>(04:47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:58) ināna Jāzūsšān biya</td>
<td>These ones (i.e., countries) had spies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:59) mwāy tu ina māy mārāwī, da šaw ya dafa, bis šaw ya dafa mārīya</td>
<td>(Pirān Weys) says: “You (i.e., Siyavoš), you set off from this (place here); once in ten nights, once in twenty nights you go to the gatherings of Afrāsiāb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sar mīmāni afrāṣīyāw</td>
<td>(04:53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:60) ka asl-u jad-e tu pālāwān-in</td>
<td>Your origins and forefathers are heroes; your race is of the Kiānyān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasīhtān kāyānīyan</td>
<td>(05:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:61) pālāwānī-n, ināna bāyad wa ḥazm</td>
<td>You are heroic; these things, you must proceed in the proper heroic way; put on your heroic armor.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pālāwānīwa bišū, aspāw bipūš</td>
<td>(05:05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:62) mwāy na, mwāy eh tu wa qawwil bika, bika</td>
<td>(Siyavoš) says: “No.” (Pirān Weys) says: “Hey, do, do what I say.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:63) inī ḥazm pālāwānī mapūšē, ya das tir libās makariya bānīš</td>
<td>He (lit., this one; i.e., Siyavoš) puts on his heroic armo and pulls on other clothing over it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:64) až i lawi mārāwē mwāy, mālit bit(i)mīya afrāṣīyāw māwī</td>
<td>On the other hand, (Pirān Weys) goes, saying: “May your house be made desolate! Afrāsiāb, you must kill Siyavoš.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyāwaxš bikušī</td>
<td>(05:10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:65) {xxx} až i Ḡaw xūni(š)202</td>
<td>{xxx}203 On the other hand, (his) blood begins to boil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayrya tašt</td>
<td>(05:23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:66) mārāwē sar mīmāni, nān mwarin, ēčay mwarin, baṭd mwāy bāwā, kārīmānīt siyāwaxš</td>
<td>(Siyavoš) goes to the gathering, they eat food and drink tea. Afterwards, (Afrāsiāb) says: “Old fellow, we have business with you, Siyavoš.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:67) mwāy ča, mwāy bāwā bāyad ima tafṭīš204 tu bikaym bizānim ča-y</td>
<td>(Siyavoš) says: “What?” (Afrāsiāb) says: “Old fellow, we must keep you under observation, so I may know what you are.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:68) mawinič až žir libāsakāniš</td>
<td>(Afrāsiāb) sees that under his clothes (Siyavoš) is armed (and) has his suit of armor on. (Afrāsiāb) says: “Yes.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musala-yē-u libās-e ḥazmīš pūṣiyya, mwāy hā</td>
<td>(05:34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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202 It is not clear whose blood is referred to with xūni(š).
203 Text here is not clear.
204 The speaker pronounces tafṭīš as taṭṭīš here.
(5:69) mwāy waɫā min nazārim nawya tu bikušim
(05:44) (Siyavoš) says: “By God, it was not my intention to kill you (i.e., Afrāsiāb).

(5:70) tu kuši niyaym, walē wātawēš na ghayr-e munken-č, mawu bikušāmit
(05:48) I am not your murderer.” But (Afrāsiāb) had said: “No, it is not possible; we must kill you.”

(5:71) wātaniš, xob, xo až bān-e āw sarim būr, až bān zamīn sarim nawfi
(05:51) He (i.e., Siyavoš) said: “All right. All right, (but) cut off my head (while I am) over water; don’t cut off my head (while I am) over the ground.

(5:72) bā xūn nařīšya bān zamīn {PM: baɫē} (Do this) so that no blood falls to the ground.”

(5:73) mān až bān-e āw, tašt mayin, ya tīk xūnakaš makatiya bān-e xāk
(06:00) (Afrāsiāb’s people) come over the water; they hold out a large pan, (but) a drop of his blood falls on the soil.

(5:74) mwāy xūn-e siyāwaxš ham naw jūša, sārā-u sarzamīn sarbāz bipūšo
(06:05) It is said, the blood of Siyavoš boiled anew; all plains and fields (of the whole world) would be covered with soldiers.

(5:75) har xūn-e siyāwaxš har dam bijūšē, āng-č, Šaḏ dam matiyya
(06:11) Whenever the blood of Siyavoš boils, war, battle will come to pass.

(5:76) ā ānana xūn-e siyāwaxš
(06:15) Yes, that is the blood of Siyavoš.

(5:77) ināna zāt-e xudāyī hē wa lāšānwa
(06:17) They (lit., these ones, i.e., people like Siyavoš) have the essence of God with them.

(5:78) až ānā, siyāwaxš-č sar mawrē walē, ya kuřaš hē kaysraw-č
(06:20) And there they behead Siyavoš too, but he has a son; he is Keyxosrow.

(5:79) wa žanwa waylān mawu
(06:26) (Keyxosrow) is together with the transient woman.

(5:80) hay i bewaniža āšā mwāy daryā biya {PM: baɫē}
(06:29) Well then, this Bewanīž, at that time, one says, was a sea. {PM: Yes.}

(5:81) pālawānān jā řūsam mwāy, ay kāykwīs min ča waŋat bwām
(06:32) The heroes, then, Rostam says: “Hey Keykāvos, what shall I say to you?”

(5:82) waxtē mawinē až āyir nasūzē, di pāk-č ina di
(06:37) When he sees that he is not burned by the fire, then he is still pure.

(5:83) wātawēš {poetic: min až xwā, až nātirsim až yazdān-e pāk, či kāykwīs bō či ya mišt xāk.}
(06:41) He had said: {poetic, to end of sentence 83: “If I had no fear of a pure god, whether it be Keykāvos or a fistful of soil.”}

(5:84) afā-y min kārēkiš navē walē až i yazdān-e pāk-č, řūsam wātašē, ya
(06:46) For me it does not matter, but (I am afraid of) this pure god.” Rostam has said: “I

205 The sense of the final verb is not clear.
206 The sense of bewaniž is not clear.
207 The agent of mawinē is not clear.
208 It is not clear who is speaking here.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI

GURZ mayama mil sartay, nābūtim maka

ENGLISH

will hit you on the head with a club.” (The son says?) “You destroy me.”

(5:85) tum nimayašt, kaykāwis

“I did not allow you to be alive...”

(06:53)

(5:86) az ānā mwāy kī matānē, i mināla wa gard-e i dāyšay bar bikarē ař(āy) min

There (Keykāvos) says: “Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?”

(06:56)

(5:87) pālawānān har ċi makarin, mwān mara giw

The heroes, whatever they do, they say: “Perhaps (only) Giv.”

(07:03)

(5:88) giw arib čam, giw mwāy diw čašiš jür diw biya, waraw wār hin biya

Giv, the Arab-Eye, Giv, it is said, a giant, his eyes are huge like a giant’s, that they are directed downwards.

(07:07)

(5:89) giw wātawē min mašim, tā bizānim ċa makam

Giv had said: “I will go, so I may know what to do.”

(07:11)

(5:90) mařoya sarpēl, žan mawinēwa wa gard kufraya121212 mayzē-u121212

(Giv) goes to Sarpol (and) finds the woman; he finds (her) with (her) son, and they make a camp for him; he brings her out again, he brings her.

(07:15)

(5:91) ũrdūyi ařāš makarin, bāz ham bariš makarē, mārēš

Ah, (Giv) brings her out from the noise (and) brings her back.

(07:18)

(5:92) āh, až qāf bariš makarē, mārēšwa

This is it, it was in this way, the story of these ones. {PM: May your mouth be blessed.}

(07:22)

(5:93) dī kaykāwis mamarē (siyāwaxš manišya) hīn kāyxaśraw manišya taxt, dawra-y {?! ki}, kayānān

Then Keykāvos dies, (Siyavoš sits); there is no Keyxosrow on the throne, the time of the Kiānyān.

(07:26)

(5:94) īna, jūra biya, dāstāna īnāna {PM: damtān waš bo}

Yes, these ones, a story...

(07:32)

(5:95) ā īnāna, dāstānē

Well, afterwards, Rostam leaves; that is the time of King Šahriār.

(07:37)

(5:96) ay baďd řūsamī mawfēw, aw ċa dawra-y šālyār šā mawu

(Rostam) goes hunting, catches a zebra, and he puts it on (an) arrow, (rather) a skewer, and (then) they sleep, he falls asleep.

(07:39)

(5:97) řaw makarē, ya xargür mayrē-u matiya kamā, sīx-u mawsawin, xāw makatē wani

They say that Rostam, when he gets up, up from his sleep, he sees that {poetic, to end of sentence 98: Raxš (his horse) did not remain; he slaughtered thirty mounted soldiers.}

(07:45)

(5:98) waxte mwāy řūsam, hawšiš, na xāw hawšiš dā diś {poetic: řaxš namanawē, sar-e sī swār jangiš kanawē}

(07:52)

209 The text could alternately read as nābūtim makē

210 It is not clear who is speaking in the final clause.

211 It is not clear who is speaking.

212 Here kufraya refers to the young Keyxosrow.

213 The verbs mawinēwa and mayzē can both mean ‘see’ or ‘find’.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

**GORANI**

(5:99) sī swār jangī, laškānšān bīrīy-ū faftē

Thirty armed mounted soldiers have taken their bodies and have set off.

(5:100) ā diyaytē mwān, gāh214 az zīn, zīn wa pišt gāh gāh pišt ba zīn čā, dī wa fārsī {xxx īšinay}

Yes, have you seen it? They say, sometimes it’s one way and sometimes it’s the other way, so in Persian {Kurdish: one says}.

(5:101) zīn-ū zīn-ū zabardas-ū ūsāy māya kūlwa, magirt, zamīn ū nimatiya wan

He was taking his {xxx} and equipment and staff on his shoulder; the earth did not let him go (i.e., he was so strong).

(5:102) ū makariya dargā-ŷ xwā, mwāy {poetic: say man ūrīš spārdma xwā, īšā zamīn ūy dā wa ū}

(Rostam) turns to the gateway of God (and) says: {xxx} {poetic, to end of sentence 102: “I have dedicated strength up to {xxx} to God, then the earth cleared the way.”}215

(5:103) tā šūn ūxšiš āwirda hasār, ū ūrīš šāy šā

Until (the time) he brought Raxš to the court, in that town of King Šahriār.

(5:104) nāštayēkšiš mwāy {poetic: pišānd na ayzā-ŷ šāy, zamīniš larzi tā ū ā ūmāh}

He bellowed {poetic, to end of sentence 104: he threw (it) to the king’s people; the earth trembled even to the bull and the fish.}216

(5:105) mwāy ū ūxšiš biya dasim, ū ūxšiš darānā-ū hasār makanim yak takān

(Rostam) says: “Either you give me the trace of Raxš, or with one blow I will break down the gates and the courtyard.”

(5:106) yak gurz217 matī ā dileš, barq matī wa tēy

He gives it a blow with his club; a bolt of lightning strikes it.

(5:107) ānī mwāy, {poetic: īsaw binišām xātir šāy karām, ūxšā hawbēzām ūxšiš piyā karām}

He (i.e., the king) says: {poetic, to end of sentence 107: “This evening we will remain out of reverence for the honorable king. Tomorrow morning we will rise (and) find Raxš.”}

(5:108) šaw ē ēnā-ŷē-u

The evening they are there and {xxx}

(5:109) baď, dukut šawār ka šām mwarin dita-ŷ šāyār ū ūxšāq-e ūruš namāy mwā

then, at midnight, as they are eating their evening meal, King Šahriār’s daughter falls in love with the famous Rostam.

(5:110) māy

She comes.

(5:111) mwāy māḥt nař(i)mīya,218 min mwāy wa gard tuwa, mwāy māḥt

(Rostam) says: “May your house not be made desolate.” She says: “I want to be

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214 The speaker sometimes pronounces kāh instead of gāh.
215 The sense of the poetic section here is not clear.
216 The sense of the text here is not clear.
217 Here the word written as gurz seems to be pronounced giz.
218 The expression māḥt nař(i)mīya refers to the house of the young woman. It is a polite expression used when a speaker denies a request or contradicts someone. The speaker uses it here as he defends himself from the advances of the young woman.
with you.” He says: “May your house be made desolate! I am of the Kiānyān (dynasty); such (would be) betrayal. Such is not my business.

Go to your own bed. In the morning, if you so wish, I will become your husband; I will ask for your hand in marriage.

If he gives, (if) your father gives you to me, good, I will marry you.

And if he does not give (you to me), (then) I will go on my way; I am a guest.”

Then, in the early morning, (Rostam) asked her father for her hand. (King) Šahriār says: “She is a gift to you.”

Well, according to the custom of that time, they give her to him.

(Rostam) stays there two months or three months or four months. {PM: Yes.}

After that then, Rostam says: “Well, I no longer have any desire. I am going hunting; I cannot stay (here) longer, I’m going.”

He removes the band from around his arm.

He gives it to his wife (and) says: “Hey, dear (lit., woman).” She says: “Yes?” He says: “If it is a girl, spend it on her; if it is a boy, bind it to his arm.”

Eh, she binds the band onto her arm and goes.

Nine months and nine days later, she gives birth to a boy, Sohrāb. {PM: Yes.}

That is the story of Rostam and Sohrāb; did they tell it to you? {PM: Yes, I have heard it in Persian, well.} Well.

Have you read it already, you know (it)

then. {PM: I haven’t heard it in
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI
našnawtanim}

ENGLISH
Gawraǰūyī.

(5:127) āh, baʕd, kuṟa gawrā mawu, mawu haʕt, haʕt sīḥān, maʃoya i {?! bā} madrasa-u i lā-u, as(ī)an nimām221 madrasa yā swārī har čī

Well, then, the boy became older; he reached the age of seven, eight years (and) he goes to this school and this there and, just to school or to horse riding; whatever

(5:128) hiŋi biya,222 har nā {xxx} war biya war dasiʃ nagirt(ya)

it was, thing, nothing {xxx} could hold him back.

(5:129) in wātawē tüxma-y zoł-u ān wātawē nimayā(n)im bi bāwa-u bi dāya in {PM: baʃē}

This one had called him a bastard, and that one had said, I don't know, he was without father and without mother, this. {PM: Yes.}

(5:130) hāmaywa wā-y, xir dāykaš dā, har či kardiš wātīʃ bāwā min, bāwkat biya, walē xo, irānī-ya-u raʃtay rāwa

All the time he came asking his mother, what he did, and she said: “Man, I... You have a father, but well, he is Iranian and has gone away.”

(5:131) kārim niya, tā ya ūzi dwāra ham šalyār šā wa gard irānay girtiʃa jang

It is not my concern, until one day King Šahriār went to war again against Iran.

(5:132) tūrān jangiʃ kardaya hāmay

Turan223 waged war; (Turan) came.

(5:133) in-ič yak qāltu lāt-č paliʃ biya ā šalyār mwāy ā žana qawmēkiʃ biya, nām, kaʃ lāl biya cā biya, dāʃa das āna

This one also (i.e., the woman) had a crippled, dumb uncle; (King) Šahriār says. That woman (i.e., Rostam’s wife) had a relative, I don’t know, was he dumb or deaf or what, they put him in her hands.

(5:134) aʃ ānā, makỳşiʃa jang wa gard-e ū rasamay

Then they sent men to war against Rostam.

(5:135) māy, in {?! u} mināl-č dī

He comes; this one is still a child.

(5:136) maʃoya māyin ūrdū

They go, they come to the camp and this one, the boy says: “I will go to the battlefield.” He is (but) a child.

(5:137) inī, kuʃ mwāy min maʃoma maydān, mināl-č

Well, then, Rostam, it is said {xxx}, he goes to the battlefield and oh, Rostam, he has put a veil on.

(5:138) ā jā ūsam, mwāy (fū wa zū)224 maʃoya maydān-u āy ūsam naqāwiʃ püʃiya

The boy shouts and says: “If you are Rostam, say your name, so that on the battlefield, nothing without a head may remain.”

(5:139) kuʃ maxura-u mwāy, mwāy ayar ūsamām nām wēt225 biya nawā na maydān bimēni bē sar

(The boy) is speaking to his father, but

(5:140) wa bāwkaʃ mwāy, āxir nimazānē


221 The sense of nimām is not clear.
222 The sense of hiŋi biya is not clear here.
223 In ancient traditions, the world was composed of Iran and Turan (to the east of Iran).
224 The sense of fū wa zū is not clear.
225 The reflexive pronoun used here appears as in Hawrami, wēt, and seems to be pronounced wid.
still this child does not know it. 

(Rostam) says: (poetic, to end of sentence 142: “You immature child, many thoughts have come to you; you have fallen in a turbulent sea without end.

Should you fall into the hands of Rostam, you will never see this sweet world again.”)

Then, after that, the boy says: “All right.” They wrestle {xxx}

The boy picks him up (and) throws his father to the ground.

He throws his father to the ground (and Rostam) says: “Whoever throws the other one to the ground first should forgive him out of reverence for the pure god.

Whoever touches the ground a second time, that one must have a dagger as sharp as a diamond and cut his chest.”} {PM: Yes.}

There they leave him in peace.

After, eh, the first turn, he turns his face to the gateway of God.

That day when, when Raxš came and with his full weight trampled all over the earth {xxx}, he said (or: explained) the problem.

(Rostam) turns his face (to God) (and) says: “O God, I am now in a difficult situation.”

He throws his own son to the ground.

When he throws the boy to the ground, he takes out his sword.

(Rostam) thrusts with (his) dagger; he thrusts and (his son) says: “Yes, you killed me.”

Me, {poetic, to middle of sentence 154: my father is Rostam, my grandfather is Zāl; the sign of my father is the band on my arm.} Did you think you (i.e., Rostam) flee from them?”

When (Rostam) sees (his son}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāzüwanšē matiya mil saryay</td>
<td>Kayxusraw’s) arm, sees the band, {xxx}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:156) jā jā makyāsay lā-ya zāf {PM: bałē}</td>
<td>Then, then he (i.e., Rostam) sends someone to Zāl. {PM: Yes.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:157) zāl-i(č) mwāy, i qayamšař, ōmusam-u zūrāw ĕ duk yak birān, irān-u tūrān makarin weרān</td>
<td>Zāl then says: “This deliverer of misfortune, (if) Rostam and Zūrā both become united, Iran and Turan (will) be destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:158) gištī barq matiay gištī, hūči nimirzin {PM: bałē}</td>
<td>Everything will be burned, everything; nothing will remain.” {PM: Yes.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:159) mwāy bāwā, mawu čil šaw, ī sariš binyay bān ŧānit, tā šāyad ĕ dawā-u mawā biyan xāswa ĕ bū</td>
<td>(Zāl) says: “Old fellow, for forty nights, you (i.e., Keyxosrow’s) on your lap, so that perhaps through some medicine and such, he may become well again.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:160) ya žani makar(i)na tūšwa-u wa ya kutu diwārwa har šawāki mawu tā iwāra āž bān-e ĕ āwa manišē</td>
<td>{xxx} They send a woman to him and she has a piece of black tent cloth (in her hand) {xxx}, from early morning till dusk (the woman) crosses this water.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:161) matiay diwār-e siyā</td>
<td>{xxx} gives black tent.228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:162) baďd mawīnē ya žan, har či řūža ĕ žana har máy }</td>
<td>Afterwards, (Rostam) sees a woman. This woman always comes every day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:163) mwāy ča makuři, mwāy waľa ĕ diwāra mawu čarmawua</td>
<td>He says: “What are you doing?” She says: “By God, this black tent will become white.”229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:164) ān matiya diwār-u hīne tā dū sē řū mamanya dawr čila</td>
<td>He sleeps on the black tent {xxx} and thing until he stays three or four days in the area.230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:165) ōmusam di nār(āh)at mawu, mwāy dāwu ĕ panit {xxx} bikay, hay žan māňit bī(ī)mīya</td>
<td>Rostam is then insulted and says: “(By) Dāvud, {xxx}, hey, woman, may your house be made desolate!”231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:166) ay diwāra či siyāwa mawu, hawmawzi, žan makusšē, mwāy ay marda či zinn(a)wa mawu</td>
<td>And how can a tent become black, (Rostam) gets up (and) kills the woman. She says: “How can the dead become alive again?”232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:167) až ānā sariš sīr matiya</td>
<td>At that (Rostam) is surprised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:168) až dasiš di mafawē</td>
<td>He loses control {xxx}.233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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227 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
228 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
229 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
230 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
231 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
232 The sense of the text here is not clear.  
233 The sense of the text here is not clear.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5:169) ā jūra, ā jūra sarnigūn ânī makarē</td>
<td>That way, that way he destroyed. {PM: Yes.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{PM: baʃe}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:170) {PM: baʃe} īna i jūra biya {PM:</td>
<td>{PM: Yes.} This is so, it was this way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dastān waʃ bo, mamnūn}</td>
<td>{PM: May your hands be blessed, thank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Text 6: Recollections of the revolution

This text was recorded in October 2007 by Parvin Mahmoudveysi in the village of Gawraǰū. The narrator is a man who is approximately seventy-five years old. His child and wife were present during the narration of parts of the story. The narrator recounts his recollections of events that occurred during and after the Islamic Revolution. He also recounts his recollections of Mosaddeq’s time, about twenty-five years before the Islamic Revolution.

**GORANI**

(6:1) ā ā ā min kuřakam, eh kuṛa-y dileṛāsīnim dars aź qasir (mwānē)

(6:2) {PM: baḥē}

(6:3) wāṭšān bāwā aź qasir biya wa tazāhurīt

(6:4) šā mawu biřavē, ā kuṛa gawrākam-īc-a pāsabān bē, wa tērānay234 bē {PM: baḥē}

(6:5) wa qiziḥasāray (bē)

(6:6) eh aź ānā mināɫ madrasa wa zūr mayardšāna tazāhurīt-u ināna

(6:7) zāftašān mafa(ī)

(6:8) ya kuṛa, (āx), ā kuṛaya fāmilmāna gula dāša qušī, zaxmī bē

(6:9) ā min īštanim ḍafṭyāma qas(i)rī

(6:10) ya ū(z) nām-e dānišjūwē bē, kāzemī qasir kušīs

(6:11) dānišjū bē

(6:12) haž ā qarantīna

(6:13) tā ya pūššān nasand, nām čan-e pūl-u ya du pākat šīrīnī, jīnāza(k)ašān āsā dāwa

(6:14) pāsabānān, ā āna bē

(6:15) ā, ā dawra-y236 xās ay yāyim

(6:16) min tāzaš, dawra-y hizār-u sīsad-u sī-ū dū, ū sa, musadqi nišṭa taxt, exṭiyār tämiš bē, (hē) yāyim

**ENGLISH**

Yes, yes, yes, me, my son... Eh, my middle son (i.e., middle of the children’s ages) was studying in Qasr-e Širin.

{PM: Yes.}

They said: “Man, in Qasr-e Širin a demonstration took place.

The Shah must go!” That older son of mine also was a guard in Tehran {PM: yes.},

(he was) in (the prison of) Qezelhesār.

Eh, after that, they took schoolchildren by force to the demonstration and such things.

They were afraid.

One son, (oh), that son from our family, a bullet hit him in his leg, (and) he was wounded.

Yes, I myself, we went to Qasr-e Širin;

one day, by name of... He was a student... Kāzemī, he was killed (in) Qasr-e Širin.

He was a student.

(His dead body was kept) in quarantine.

(It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back.

The guards. Yes, that was it.

That, that time, I recall it well.

Me... And there is more... In the time of 1332 (i.e., 1953), the Shah... Mosaddeq sat on the throne; he had full powers of

234 The name tehrān is pronounced here as tērān.

235 The narrator is referring to a relative here (that is, not his son mentioned in sentence 1).

236 The speaker apparently does not complete the rest of the phrase with the Ezafē in dawra-y.
jurisdiction, I remember.

(The Shah) gave (full powers) to him (i.e., Mosaddeq), (and the Shah) said (to him): “You carry out the land reform (i.e., division of land).

I am going (away) until six months (have passed).”

That (was) in relationship to the landowner(s).

The Shah returned;

his brother, they (made) thing, yes,

who was the one we just now talked (about).

The minister for oil,

Doctor Mosaddeq.

They handed over Mosaddeq, they arrested him. {PM: Yes.}

Yes, (Mosaddeq) had the intention of overturning the Shah. {PM: Where were you, when Mosaddeq went?}

Huh? {PM: Where were you in the time of Mosaddeq, the matters of Mosaddeq?}

Mosaddeq, the (political) movement of Mosaddeq, in Kermanshah there was a demonstration; the army was helping (Mosaddeq). {PM: Yes.}

The Shah returned at once.

The Shah gave the order to the military forces, ah, the army (and) they arrested Mosaddeq. {PM: Yes.}

Yes, everywhere was occupied and they arrested Mosaddeq, yes.

Then, in the year 41 (i.e., 1341/1962), the land reform {PM: yes},

yes, the land reform that was carried out; the Shah came back and carried out the land reform.

I, from...

Sense of xūmak here is not clear.

The implied subject here is probably Mosaddeq.

Here the narrator pronounces the proper name of Mosaddeq as musandiq.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

(6:35) birāymān bē, amriš dā kasān tu. 240 {PM: kuřit waš} až kursān bē, sarbāz bē {PM: baďe}

(6:36) marīz bē, katēwa marizxāna až tērān, xulāsa dī řaft

(6:37) min-ī(č) řafīm sar bitima wan

(6:38) až ān yak gārājiš bē wa nām gārāj etminān

(6:39) sē mālik bē, mālikān-e kulyā(i)yān bīsin, amjād(i)ya-u amīrī-u nāzānim īnāna bē {PM: baďe}

(6:40) ništīn dardīšān maka(rd) {PM: baďe}

(6:41) tu mwāy wa yāyit māy, gištīš xās mazānim {PM: baďe}

(6:42) wātiš

(6:43) dwānšān fra nār(āh)at bīsin

(6:44) yakišān, i jūr qāwaxānay bē, ništīm min-īč muntazir māšin biya(m) bi řoma kursān

(6:45) eh dwānšān fra nār(āh)at bī, yakiš wātiš bāyad ſadāltat xwā bo

(6:46) ĥaq-č, bāyad bū, ar xwā-yē bāyad i ſadāltat bū {PM: baďe}

(6:47) fišū mālik, di īsa nāmīmin až ſayim ſafta, ān wātiš

(6:48) ānā wātiš ařā mwāy

(6:49) wātiš ařā nawām

(6:50) fišū mālik, di īsa nāmīmin až ſayim ſafta, ān wātiš

(6:51) sē ābādi pāča mīlkiš-č, ī sē ābādīya har či ditaš ſāya šū, awaf īštāniš ſaftiša laš

ENGLISH

We had a brother; he gives his life to your relatives {PM: May your son (be) blessed}. He was in Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj). He was a soldier. {PM: Yes.}

He was ill, he entered the hospital in Tehran, (and) in the end, then, he died (lit., went).

I also went to visit him.

At that (place), there was a bus station called Etminān Station.

They were engaged in sharing their troubles. {PM: Yes.}

You say, can you remember? I remember (lit., know) everything well. {PM: Yes.}

(One of them) said...

Two of them were very sad.

One of them {narrator gestures}, this kind of a coffee house, we were sitting down; I too was waiting for a car so I could go to Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj).

Two of them were very sad; one of them said: “It must be God’s justice. But really, I must not be sad (about this reform), (because) I too am a landowner. It is right, it must be (so); if there is a God, this justice must take place.” {PM: Yes.}

The other one said: “Why do you say (this)?”

(The first landowner) said: “Why shouldn’t I say this?”

Some landowner, but now I have forgotten his name, he said,

three villages are parts of his property (and in) these three villages, whoever gave (a) (lit., his) daughter in marriage, (it was so that) first, (the landowner) himself would

240 The expression amriš dā kasān tu is said by a speaker after a deceased person is mentioned in a conversation.
Gorani | English
---|---
(6:52) īna durus-ē? īna xwā qabūl makarē? | “Is this right? Does God accept this?”
(6:53) īna ʃadāmaf-ē? | Is this justice?”
(6:54) ā, wa ā xwāy maʃām wa diwāniʃ īna zwān ā mālika bē | Yes, I swear by that God, we go to his court, this was the speech of that land owner.
(6:55) wāt na īna nimawu, wāt na, bāyad bū | He (i.e., the first landowner) said: “It may not be.” He said (continues): “No, it must be.
(6:56) zuʃim biya | There was oppression.”
(6:57) ā, šā taqsīm arāziʃ kar (rd) | Yes, the Shah carried out the land reform.
(6:58) īnāna xo ŋaʃta ŋā | These (things), well, they happened (lit., went away).
(6:59) īna dī biya | So this, then, was (the situation).
(6:60) māliʃk242 naman, māliʃka wa Źunšay di | There were no landowners left, the landowners after this, then.
(6:61) kam kam243 i xumaynīya māliʃka be, wātiʃ taqsīm bikarim {PM: balē} | Bit by bit, this Xomeini was a landowner; (the Shah) said: “Let us do a (land) reform.” {PM: Yes.}
(6:62) īn {?! mil} hiniʃ naka (rd), emzaʃ naka (rd) | He (i.e., Xomeini) didn’t do thing, he didn’t sign it.
(6:63) eh, hiniʃ ka (rd), jūr čiʃt-e, bāzdaʃtiʃ ka (rd) aw ʃarāq | Eh, he (i.e., the Shah) did thing, like whatever, he (i.e., the Shah) arrested him (i.e., Xomeini) (and deported him) to Iraq.
(6:64) aʃ ʃarāqwa ka(r)da faransa | From Iraq (the Shah) sent (lit., caused, made) (Xomeini) to France.
(6:65) i dawltatān-ʃe-a waʃšāna řiʃim šāhī nahāma | These governments also did not like the regime of the Shah.
(6:66) ā, Ša-y(č) až bayn biyarin | Yes, they destroyed the Shah.
(6:67) īnān-ʃ(č) hiniʃn ka (rd), naxšaʃan kist ka i jūra ah ah | They too did thing; they made a plan that this way... Eh, eh...
(6:68) īmām xumaynī bininma taxt-u buwa řayis Žambūri alān har či bikarim aʃā řyʃaʃ bikarim {PM: balē} | They put Imam Xomeini on the throne, and (thus) he would become president of the republic; now anything that (these governments) do, they do. {PM: Yes.}
(6:69) ā māliʃk-ʃ(č) diʃwaʃ buwayna bisa, fra piʃtiʃwānšan ka (rd), bā i | Yes, the landowners also were very pleased; they supported him (i.e.,

241 A landowner is speaking here.
242 Here mālišk is not marked for plural, but used with a general reference, ‘landowners’.
243 The sense of kam kam here is not clear; it seems that the narrator corrects himself afterwards.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

Gorani | English
---|---
waz'ya zamīnakān matiya wanšān | Xomeini) a lot. (They thought that) under these conditions, he (would) give them (back) the lands.

(6:70) ya gaziš nīyā wanšān | (But) one square meter was not given to them (i.e., the landowners).

(6:71) mardim gištiš ba(rd) | The people took it all.

(6:72) īna wa ī bazma man | It stayed this way.

(6:73) ya dafayi šā | Suddenly the Shah...

(6:74) eh, duktur sinjāwī naxustwazīr waxtiš bē {PM: baɫē} | Eh... Doctor Sanjābī... He was his prime minister of that time. {PM: Yes.}

(6:75) źinafltati xēl ġaskar xān? {PM: sinjāwī} | Have you heard of the Askar Xan tribe? {PM: Sanjābī.}

(6:76) ā sinjāwī sar bē, naxustwazīr waxti bē | Yes, Sanjābī was the chief, he was the prime minister of that time.

(6:77) āna, wātawēš bāwā, hay šā matānī bifawī | He... He had said: “Old fellow, hey Shah, can you leave?

(6:78) bā bayn našī, mardim giš(t) hawgarsēwa-u, | May you not be destroyed. All the people are rebelling.” And

(6:79) giš(t)ī šārāna biya bikuš bikuš-u badbaxtī-u tazāhurāt-u | all these cities were becoming (places) like, kill, kill and disasters and demonstrations and

(6:80) nayrū-y nazāmī-u artaš ay qa jangiš ka(rd)-u mardim mutaɫāšī bī-u | the military forces and the army did so much fighting and the people are fleeing and

(6:81) tīfāŋ ţišis-u,244 nayrū hawāyī šikniš až ĕrān245 | rifles are in everyone’s hands and the air force defeated in Tehran.

(6:82) āna ā jangāna, gištiš xās min mazānim {PM: baɫē} | Those, those fights, all of them I remember really well. {PM: Yes.}

(6:83) ānāna di āna di xulāsa mutaɫāšī bī | Those then, those then split up in the end.

(6:84) kata baď az war i imām xumayniwa isa das-pā xirāwiš kardē | It happened after, before this Iman Xomeini, but now social welfare has destroyed (something).

(6:85) īsa āna ān farmāyištāna ān kardašī inān ā fawīsta nimawna ōrwa | Now, look, those decrees he (i.e., Xomeini) (had) made, these ones (i.e., those governing) did not put them into practice in that way.

(6:86) {PM: musadiq garakīš bē naft meli bo na?} | {PM: Mosaddeq wanted all the oil industry to be nationalized?}

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244 It is possible that the phrase tīfāŋ ţišis is an idiom (literally, ‘rifle(s) is (are) poured out’), meaning that many people had rifles in hand.

245 The sense of šikniš až ĕrān is not entirely clear.
He nationalized the oil (industry).

No, that wasn’t America.

This (was) 1318 (i.e., 1939).

No, that wasn’t America.

Eh, England disobeyed with Reza Xan, the father of the Shah; their grandfather (was) Pahlavi. {PM: Yes.}

I... So then, you know, I was born in 1310 (i.e., 1931). I was six years old, but the mind of a child is sharp. {PM: Yes.}

I remember.

Suddenly, this (town of) Bān Tāq and the soldier at that time, excuse me (for mentioning this word), with mules and the arsenal and infantry and there were no trucks, there were few, they didn’t exist, these machines, old fellow.

England attacked (so that) it could occupy Iran.

They (i.e., the English soldiers) also came to capture Bān Tāq and the soldier at that time, excuse me (for mentioning this word), with mules and the arsenal and infantry and there were no trucks, there were few, they didn’t exist, these machines, old fellow.

They took Iran.

They took Iran (and) he said to the Shah, (I mean) that Reza Xan.

At that time, his photograph was broadcast (lit., gave) two (or) three times on television then; this time of the time of his father, this son was on the throne, not now but this time of the regime.

The word (h)ē might also be interpreted as ay ‘it comes’.

The expression bē qīsa ‘excuse me’ is said in reference to qātīr ‘mule’, a word not to mention in polite conversation.

The subject referent of ‘said’ is not clear.

This word spelled as řīţīma is pronounced here as řīţīna. (The speaker apparently uses řīţīm in alternation.)
(6:102) až lažē engelīsā²⁵⁰ zindāniš kardē wātīš ya mišt xākıš wāyasawē, wāt binūs min īrānim wa jangwa girtē

(6:103) nanūṣḵā

(6:104) ažā-y engelīs mwaya mustaʃmera-y, īrān mwaya mustaʃmera-y engelīs, myardīš

(6:105) nanūṣḵā, až bayn fašt, mard, kuʃtān

(6:106) baʃd, i čwār sāhaka īrāniš girt, hargi naftu zendegī īrān bē, Žerxāku-tamām ināna jawāherāt engelīs girtē ba(rd)

(6:107) eh baʃd-ič naft-e xirūš-u, dard-e isa-y ʃaʃarām ānīš xāwanšē dī, engelīs xāwan īrān bē

(6:108) baʃd az i baynalmilala musadiq²⁵² maʃawē qin matiša bān bē qisa sandaɫīya-y engelīs

(6:109) až bān hīna-y īrān nimānišē

(6:110) mwā(y) až āna²⁵³ maʃawē až āna manišē

(6:111) mwā(y) āghā tu aʃa mil sandaʃī engelisyāna

(6:112) wātawēš tu, na

(6:113) īna tu pāni sāhaka qin dāya bān i sandaʃī ima

(6:114) i nafša ima tu ʃi jūr mayrī?

(6:115) tu haqit niya di

(6:116) až āna až baynalmilal musadiq engelīsiʃ mahkūm kard

(6:117) baynalmilal nūsšīš bāwā haq-e

²⁵⁰ The narrator uses a phrase here, až lažē engelīsā, literally, ‘from the view of England’.
²⁵¹ The subject referents of ‘said’ are not clear and could be the Shah or England.
²⁵² Here the speaker pronounces the name of musadiq as musandiq.
²⁵³ The transcription of mwā(y) až āna is not final.
The oil, then, Mosaddeq released it (i.e., from England into the control of the Iranian state).

Each person, for example, in the name of the people {xxx}, that this income should belong to the people.

It is like this, in that manner, Mosaddeq at that time took back the oil from England.

That, that manner was so difficult.

The Soviet Union, too, and England, too, {xxx} he became an ally of America.

These roads that you see, all of them, America made. Have you seen the garrison of Shahabad? America made it.

It has remained in my memory.

Well, I am old!

Then, it is not my concern (anymore).

And America, by God, people {xxx}, as far as (we know) that we are Kurds and I don't know other things between them, but they were people with honor.

They were not bad; they brought many things to Iran and

all right, (America) took a lot of oil from Iran then. {PM: Yes.}

Yes, (America) brought everything.

(America) brought the rice with the green label, first-class, a lot of vegetable oil, a lot of things, everything was cheap, everything was plentiful. {PM: Yes.}

It is not my concern.

The narrator corrects himself.
The form āyam is an Arabic plural.

Here the form ūskšān is a metathesis of ūaksšān.

Xosrow was an important figure in the Shah’s time.
Fatami was his (i.e., the Shah’s) son-in-law at that time, yes.

Yes, (the Shah) had taken Fatami as well.258

At that time, these Phantoms, F-14s, and F-whatevers and all of them, at that time, yes, they delivered (them) to him.

Xasrowdad and these (people), all of them were chiefs of each other.

But Iran, for example, all of these countries always interfere (lit., scratch).

(Iran is) like an orphaned child; (these countries) always hit us (i.e., Iranians) on the head.

It is very bad.

Yes, now Iraq {xxx}.}

Yes, oh, Iraq too, so it is... Saddam Hussein, did you see what he did?

{PM: Yes, yes, Saddam did terrible (things), both to himself and to the people and...}

{xxx} he did terrible (things) to the Kurds.

These people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them), everything chemicals, this area of the Qalxānī, that of the Dālāhu, Garmsir.

Me... Those sons of ours were there; the chemicals killed so many... So many!

258 The subject is assumed to be the Shah here.

259 The form of the third person singular copula here is as in Hawrami, -an, rather than the Gawrajūyī form -ē.

260 The sense of the beginning of the sentence is not clear.
The speakers in this text are two unmarried women from Gawraǰū village. They are talking quite frankly with the interviewer about matters of dress and conduct. Both are very good speakers of Gawraǰū yī, having spent their whole lives in the village. They also speak Kurdish and both have attended school and are literate in Persian. It is particularly notable that they frequently use Ezafé constructions and also loanwords from Persian.

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**Text 7: Women’s dress and customs**

The speakers in this text are two unmarried women from Gawraǰū village. They are talking quite frankly with the interviewer about matters of dress and conduct. Both are very good speakers of Gawraǰū yī, having spent their whole lives in the village. They also speak Kurdish and both have attended school and are literate in Persian. It is particularly notable that they frequently use Ezafé constructions and also loanwords from Persian.

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**GORANI** | **ENGLISH**
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(7:1)-H na, aw qawča ka saxt na, walē xo | No, not that difficult, but well... (00:00)

(7:1)-N wa gawraǰūyī būsay | Say it in Gawraǰūyī. (00:02)

(7:2)-H alāna, alāna garakit bo ka masan | Now, now if you want, for example, (00:02)

(7:3)-H i jūra wa mü-y sar-e luxt-e īštanit, masan isa min dawr milakam là | like this, with your own uncovered hair, for example, now, I mean headscarf... (00:05)

(7:2)-N wa laʕāz-e ča mwāżī | From what viewpoint are you talking? (00:09)

(7:4)-H masan isa bitwāym ka masan mü-y sar-e luxt | For example, now, we may want that, for example, the hair of an uncovered head... (00:09)

(7:3)-N hejāb masan | For instance, the “hejāb” (i.e., dress code). (00:13)

(7:5)-H ařā hejāb tu ka qisa makay mayar na? | (You’re talking) about the hejāb, aren’t you? (00:13)

(7:6)-H ayar garakit bo ka masan až ī ābādī ima | If you want, for example, in this village of ours, (00:16)

(7:7)-H až ābādī ima ka masan ābādī būčkalānayka garakit bo, garakit bo až inahā bīlī bar, bāy ařā ka-y ima, huč mawqeʃ nimatāni wa ī vaẓ伟大的 masan mü-y sar-e luxtē bāy | in our village, which is, for example, a small village, (and) you want, you want to go outdoors from here, you come to our house, you definitely cannot come like this, for instance, come with your hair uncovered. (00:19)

(7:8)-H bāyad dawr mīlī hamīʃa pūšida bo | You must be wearing a headscarf at all times. (00:29)

(7:9)-H až ābādiyakay ima ni ka ābādī būčik-ē, i jūra ūn masan hay ḥamayā(n), ka bāyad i jūra bū | In our village, because it is a small village, the women have always come this way, for example, because it has to be this way. (00:31)

(7:10)-H baʃd ārāyeʃ mutłaqan nimaw(u) ārāyeʃ | Then, concerning makeup, it is definitely not possible, makeup. (00:36)

(7:4)-N ārāyeʃ sāda maw(u) bū | Makeup must be plain. (00:39)

(7:11)-H ārāyeʃ, āh | Makeup, well. (00:39)

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The term *hejāb* refers to the code of modest dress for women in Iran.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI

ENGLISH

(7:12)-H
masan bāyad dar kul eslāh naw
For example, there should be, in general, no hair removal.

(7:13)-H
eslāh-e sūrat naw, dita tā waxte ka šū nakay, yā nishāna karē
No hair removal from the face (for) the young woman before she marries or gets engaged.

(7:14)-H
mutlaqan wazifa-262 ka ārāyeš-nakari, na abrū hūc, hūc
It is absolutely her duty that she not use makeup, not (do) her eyebrows, nothing, nothing.

(7:15)-H
{Kurdish: hay aw jūra ka ēzim}
{Kurdish: Well, this way, like I say.}

(7:5)-N
řang-e mü hūčiš nīya, ārāyeš nīya, řang-e müyś nīya, eslāh kardayś nīya, baʕ'd hejābīʃ fra saxt bū
Coloring one’s hair is completely impossible; there is no makeup, there is no hair coloring, there is no hair removal from the face; then, its (i.e., the village’s) hejab is very difficult.

(7:16)-H
na ...
No...

(7:6)-N
agara masan čwār gila kuṛa binišē hūwaq (haqtē) haqiš nīya bīcwa ā jamāštata ka kuṛakān ka masan ghariba-yin binišē
Suppose, for example, if four young men are sitting (somewhere). (A young woman) never has any (right) right to go to that gathering where young men, for example, where strangers may be sitting.

(7:7)-N
faqat wa gard āmūzāya, wa gard xaḥūzāya, wa gard dāyiye, pesarxalaya, pesarʕame īnāna, masan matānē binišē, dile ya jamā yat
(She) can only (sit) with her cousins on her father’s side, with her cousins on her mother’s side, with her mother’s brother, sons of her mother’s sister, sons of her father’s sister, (with) these ones, for example, she can sit in a gathering.

(7:8)-N
{xxx} ghariba-yē, wa dile řüstākayiš gištēn {?! īștan} īștanmēni-yē, matānām binišām
{xxx} is a stranger. In the village, (where) we are all (known) {?! self} ourselves, it is us ourselves, we can sit (together).

(7:17)-H
binišē
She can sit.

(7:9)-N
walē qablan masan yakī az řüstāyēk tirwā bāy nimātānām
But, earlier, for example, (if) someone comes from another village, we cannot (sit together).

(7:10)-N
īsa şima masan ā dü gila ka hē wa gard tuway, aʃa-y ima ghariba-y(n)
Now you, for example, the two who are with you: for us, they are strangers.

(7:18)-H
binišām...
We can sit...

(7:11)-N
masan piyākān, bāwka, dāyka, ejāza nimatiya, tā masan čan ū wanašān bi(fu), baʕ'd ejāza matiya ka binišām
For example, the men, father, mother, do not give permission, until, say, several days should pass (lit., gone over them), then they give permission that we may

262 The form of the copula -a here appears as in Kurdish.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI | ENGLISH
---|---
(7:12)-N | wa sar sifra ništiniš niya, masan bifawāma jamāštē ništin šuxī kardayš niya, bāyat {xxx bāyas} pūšida bū, bāyat libās | There is no sitting around the “sofra” (i.e., dining cloth) to eat; for example, if we go to a gathering (where) they (i.e., the people) are sitting, there is no making jokes; one must be covered, the clothing must {xxx}...

(7:13)-N | mü-y sar luxt naw, masan jūrāw wa pā dar nārī | The hair of one’s head cannot be (left) uncovered; for example, you do not take off your socks.

(7:14)-N | fra naxanī, čün as(l)an ānān qayaxa maka(r)in xanista | You don’t laugh much, because they completely forbid laughing.

(7:15)-H | masan | For example.

(7:16)-N | fra saxt-ē masan | It is very difficult.

(7:17)-N | ayar-ič-a, qablan masan yakī čan māng pēš masan dī bār bāya kamān, sēyamin bār ka mwāžim masan ya dī xudēmānī-ya | And if, earlier, for example, a few months ago, for example, someone comes two times to our house, (then) the third time I say, for example, he is then familiar to us (i.e., no longer a stranger to us).

(7:18)-N | bāyas wa gardšay biniši, bwāy, bixani, walē ā jūra naw ka dī as(l)an mutfaqan niya qayaxa-yē | You may sit with him, talk, laugh; but it is not like that, that it is absolutely not allowed, (that) it is forbidden.

(7:19)-N | wa dile ābādī wa pišt bar ništay as(l)an mutfaqan qayaxa-yē, pišt darwāza naniš | In the village, it is absolutely forbidden to sit (out) in front of the doorway; you don’t sit (out) on the doorstep.

(7:20)-N | wa nāw kūča naniš | You don’t sit (out) in the street.

(7:21)-N | kamtir | Less.

(7:22)-N | bīyasa masan jūr ayar jāyaylē263 ka mumken-ē čan gila pīyā, kuña binišē huć waxt naniš až ānā, ejāza nimatin | You should, for example, like, if there are places where it is possible that some men, young men may be sitting, you may never sit there; they don’t permit it.

(7:23)-N | wa jamšyayat žināna har či garak(i)-ē biniša, walē wa jamšyayat kuña bo pīyā bo naniš | At gatherings of women, you can sit as much as you wish, but at gatherings (where) men are, (where) young men are, you do not sit (i.e., take part).

(7:24)-N | jamšyayat pīyā jīyā-yē jamšyayat | The gatherings of men are separate, the

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263 The plural suffix -yayl on jāyaylē is apparently a transfer from Southern Kurdish (see also sentence 46, jawānaylē).
GATHERINGS OF WOMEN ARE SEPARATE, IN EVERY RESPECT.

Only with familiar relatives, for example, all of our relatives, we are all the same together.

All right, Tāti N, she can sit (in gatherings). It is not the case that she does not join (them)...

And (in the) village, strangers and those who have not been seen (before) are the same; for example, from the villages of Safar Šāh, Biryāxāni, Bābā Karam, Zeyd Ali, those who come, are, well, for example, (like strangers), because, for example, because Gawraǰū is large.

It is like this, Gawraǰū is large, for example, everyone comes to it.

They are subjects of the authority here; their “sayyid” (i.e., religious leader) is here, for example, for what(ever) they intend to do, they come to Gawraǰū.

Their hygiene facilities, their telephone center, the primary school, the intermediate school, it is all the same for us, there is no difference.

What was that?

In these days, these times, for example, let’s say this season, if, for example, it were another season, if we say it were summer,

Now, what do you do from summer season to autumn? Tell it to them.

If one goes to the mountains... Now,

now, for example, we get up, we do work, we especially do the cleaning.

That is one part (of it); then, for example, someone like me who actually always needs to stay with my mother. I can go out (lit., come in) to the fields,

I pick tomatoes, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini, always those tasks

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264 Sense of text is not clear.
265 The term *harakat* literally refers to ‘movement’, but here it means ‘what they intend’.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

pāizē bayad zi(d)tar anjām biyarē, ba’d bān durus bikarām, qālī(?) bikarām ī kārāna

ENGLISH

which in autumn need to be done soon. Then we prepare the roof, do the carpets {xxx}, these tasks.

(7:31)-N

dit-e inā wa gard marda hūč fārḏekiš niya

A young woman here, (compared) to a man, there is no difference at all.

(03:40)

(7:32)-N
ditakānmān, diraw makarin, daskana makarin, dāmparwari-u kišāwarzi gište jūr yakē

Our young women, they do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, looking after the livestock and farming, everything is the same.

(03:43)

(7:28)-H

ya fikr bika, kārē ka min makar(i)mēš, kārē ka min bikar(i)mēš jūr bāwkam

Just imagine, the work that I do, the work that I may do, just like my father.

(03:43)

(7:33)-N

farqiš niya wa gard mardakānay

There is no difference (when compared) to the men.

(03:50)

(7:29)-H

alāna min-u bāwkam dar ya had kār makārām, masan bāwkam diraw makarē, min wa gardšay diraw makarim, bāwkam kiša makarē, 266 min wa gardšay kiša makarim

Now my father and I, we work on the same level; for instance, my father does the wheat-harvesting, I do the wheat-harvesting with him. My father does the farming, I also do the farming with him.

(03:50)

(7:30)-H

jūr kārē niya ka bwāžām bāwkam bīrwašā diraw, min až ka bwim

There is no such task that we would say: “My father should go do the wheat-harvesting, (while) I should stay at home!”

(03:58)

(7:31)-H

ā kārāna bayad gištmān wa gard yakay

Those tasks, we all have (to do them) together.

(04:01)

(7:32)-H

čūnka alāna inā na har bāwkā-y mini 267 bažka dita ābādi gišti ā jūrāy-na

Because now, this is so that not only my father but all the girls of the village, all those ways.

(04:03)

(7:33)-H

jūre ka ni ka bwāžām bāwkam bīrwašā kār bīkārē, ēma binišām

It is not so that we should say: “My father should go do some work; let’s sit down.”

(04:08)

(7:34)-H

afāmān āxir kār fra masan muškel manišē

For us, in the end, the tasks are very problematic (i.e., difficult), for example.

(04:12)

(7:34)-N

dita-y inā, dita-ḥūstā in gawrajū, bištir wa mardakān kār makārē

The young women of this (place), the young women of the village, of this Gawrajū, they work harder than the men.

(04:14)

(7:35)-N

piyākān wa anāza-y ţinakān jafā nimakešin, zhahmatkeš nayen

The men don’t try as much as the women, they don’t make the effort.

(04:20)

(7:36)-N

ţanakān bištir zahmat makišin tā mardakān, čūnka kāršān saxt-e,

The women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult; the

266 The second instance of makarē is pronounced maka here.

267 The form mini may be oblique.
men have less work. (04:32)

Yes, sickle-making, they make it with wood, for the harvest and things. (04:41)

They do sickle-making, they go, for example, they go. (04:48)

Eh, they bring the branches from the mountains; they do woodwork; they make the “tanbur” (i.e., stringed instrument). (04:51)

Woodwork. (04:51)

Then some of them make statues at home. (04:57)

They have a lot of work; well, for example, it is not like this, that they are at leisure. (05:00)

Yes. (05:03)

They all know (how to play the tanbur). (05:05)

No. No, not all of them perfectly. (05:06)

Only the young people of today don’t know (how to play perfectly). (05:06)

Fewer, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur). Half of the young people know (how to play and) half of them do not know. (05:10)

Some (women) can (play); for instance, those whose father is a dervish, they can play. (05:21)

No... Women... (05:21)

Women, who do we have from here? (05:24)

Delkash can (play it); the daughters of that Sayyid Safar know how. (05:26)
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

(7:39)-H  až inā, až ī {?! tam}
From here, from the {?! tam}  (05:26)

(7:50)-N  tāzā baʃzēshāni aʃ(ɫ)an kaɫām makarin
What’s more, some of them sing (lit., do) the “kallām” (i.e., religious songs) as well.  (05:28)

(7:40)-H  āxīr ānāna bāwkašān hamīsha wa lāšān wa tāmūra wa gardsān-a biya
Well, those ones, their father was always with them, the tanbur was always with them.  (05:28)

(7:41)-H  yānī yakē jūr min alāna hūč mawqeq’ar sar až daftar īštāmān barmimāwrim
You know, someone like me now will never understand completely our sacred texts and books.  (05:36)

(7:42)-H  čīnka masan nawan(ī)yamānē
Some, for example, sing the kallām, we had a great sayyid, his daughters sing the kallām.  (05:40)

(7:43)-H  nəkardamē
I have not done (that).  (05:43)

(7:44)-H  masan Şayd-īc bāwkm bëzānēn, wālē wāsīsh namnē jā dīnī enqad sar barbārim
For instance, maybe my father knows (about it), but he does not like it if I understand so much of religion.  (05:44)

(7:45)-H  wālē xo anān mazānīn, birākānim mazānīn
But well, they know, my brothers know, those things.  (05:49)

(7:46)-H  tāmūra biżanin
(they know how) to play the tanbur.  (05:52)

(7:47)-H  až ī dīnaya ſra kas sar barbārin
Many people understand this religion.  (05:54)

(7:48)-H  wālē yakē jūr min yakē jūr xwarākam, tāmūra hūč mawqe’eq wa
But someone like me, someone like my sister, never with the tanbur.  (05:56)

(7:49)-H  bāwarka ſālāqam-īc hē, ſālāqam-ē yāy birīm
Believe me, I also have an interest; I am interested in learning it.  (05:59)

(7:50)-H  bāwkm čenāna saxtārī nīmakay
My father is not so strict in these matters.  (06:02)

(7:51)-H  wālē wāqeq’an yakē niya bān biniš ka nišānim biyē
But really, there is no-one who would come, be ready to show me how.  (06:04)

(7:52)-H  ān ſti bwāzmā binišē nišānit biyē, niya
The one who I say (who would) to be ready (to teach), to show you (how to play)—(that one) doesn’t exist.  (06:07)

(7:52)-N  biʃtir tā ina ka bǐɾawin masan dawr tāmūra, biʃtir maɾawina dawr xayṭiyyay, gulduziyyay ināna yāy mayrin
(But even) more (often) than going to, say, (playing) the tanbur, (girls) more often do (tasks like) sewing, embroider; they learn those things.  (06:10)

(7:53)-N  isṭa masan (bīʃ) ća ayar
Now, for example, if the men go to  (06:17)

270 The speaker is referring to the sacred texts (as manuscripts) of the Ahl-e Haqq community.
271 This expression appears to be a calque of Persian yād migirand ‘(they) learn’, lit., ‘memory grasp’.
The Texts and Translations

GORANI

piyākānī kāršān bīfawin, matānin ā dāmparwariyā yā īštanšāna edāma bidīn

(7:54)-N kāršī fir-ē masan ayar dītānē, īstāta masan āmūzāma bān, kāršī fra niya, saxtiš fir-ē

ENGLISH

(find) work, they (i.e., the young women) can continue (their own work) of caring for livestock or farming.272

There is a lot of work, for example, if the young women can, now, for example, we take on more of it, for example, with work; there is not a lot of work, a lot of difficulties.

Most of them with fifteen years (of age), most of them marry at fifteen years, at twelve years they give them to marriage.

Some of them don’t even get married at all until (they are) thirty; up to now, (some) prolong (it) until up to thirty-seven (years before) they marry.

Their marriage is possible up to thirty-seven (years of age).

I myself had a cousin (who was) thirty-two years, thirty-three years old before she got married (lit., entered her own life).

The young men among us go earlier than the young women into marriage; the young men are earlier.

They go to work early, they find a job, they go.

But our young women, no.

Yes, in Gawrajū a celebration, for example, I don’t mean that (celebration which is) when those from the young man’s household come to the young woman’s (house and) celebrate there. But (apart from this occasion), there is no celebration in the young woman’s house.

Because if one comes (and) celebrates, they say, they definitely get a bad impression.273

272 The sense of the text here is not clear.

273 The family of the young woman is perceived as giving up their daughter and losing her in a sense, so they typically do not celebrate.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

ENGLISH

(7:57)-H 
<báyad ditaka fra sāda biðawē</b>
The young woman should go unadorned (lit., very simply).

(7:58)-H 
báyad až marāsim kuɾaʃān
There should be at the celebration of their sons...

(7:59)-H 
baʕd až čena talili-u hawpiʁki biiʃtir až had xāɾib bo, bā bawka-u ďaykaʃān muxaʃefat makarin
Then, if that much joy and dancing exceed the (expected) limits, her parents are against it.

(7:60)-H 
(ya báyad nān natīn yā nānē bitin fra, fra kam až hizāriʃ yakē, bā ditakam naɾanʃiʃa)
Either they must not provide any food (i.e., not invite the guests for food); or (if) they provide food, (they must provide) a lot, a lot; (but only) one in a thousand (does that, i.e., provides food), so that our daughters are not insulted.

(7:61)-H 
mutlaqan marāsim waʃiʃ niya
The celebration is definitely not pleasant.

(7:62)-H 
mar až ka-y kuɾaka bān až ka-y ditaka marāsim birin, ā jüra-na
Only when they come from the young man’s house to the young woman’s house and celebrate there, it is that way.

(7:63)-N 
čwār gila piyā gawrā márīn
They bring four important men.

(7:64)-N 
gawrā wakū masan sin-u sālē(k) ažin guzaristawē, māyēna ka-y piyāka
{Kurdish: Important, for example, referring to mature men.} The older men bring them to the house of the man (i.e., father of the young woman).

(7:65)-N 
yā šīrini mwan, xästeɡari makarin
They bring sweets, they ask for the young woman’s hand in marriage.

(7:66)-N 
ayara ditaka bitiʃ wan, nazrī dwā matiʃ, fas(i)m-e nazriʃān ĥe
If they (agree to) give the young woman to (him), they celebrate a “nazr” (i.e., sacred meal) wedding; they have the nazr tradition.274

(7:67)-N 
šīrini matiʃ, nazr dwā matiʃ, ya niʃan ditaka makarin
They give sweets, they pray the nazr, (and) they pronounce the young woman engaged.

(7:68)-N 
wa šūniʃ baʕd kuɾaka bāywa, māyin
Then afterwards, when the young man comes back, they come.

(7:69)-N 
wa marāsim sāda mayrin-u, jaʃn mayrin-u
They celebrate a simple ceremony, they celebrate a party and

(7:70)-N 
fāmilakān giʃtiʃ ĵam makarin-u ya daʕwat makarin-u ʕaqd-u nāmzadi makarina yakē
they gather all the relatives and do invitations, and they celebrate the bride consent and the engagement together

(7:71)-N 
aʃā ʃarūSus-ʃ tamām i ābādiya giʃtiʃ daʕwat-ʃ
And for the wedding, everyone in this village is invited.

274 The tradition of nazr, according to the Ahl-e Haqq religious tradition, involves a meal that is treated as sacred, dedicated with a rite and prayer.
The keyboard, the “saz” (i.e., stringed instrument) and the “dahoɫ” (i.e., drum)—whatever there is, they bring it; they invite everyone from this village, they invite (people from) the villages in the vicinity, too.

For this celebration.

A big wedding, yes.

Most of the young women and young men are together, all are from the village itself.

Each of their expenses is shared.

Yes.

{Kurdish: Yes. No, the young man’s family covers the expenses.}

As for the young woman’s family, the young man’s family should certainly then cover the expenses for them.

The young woman’s family, that doesn’t happen very often.}

For all there is, the responsibilities for...

Sweets and... With the midday meal and sweets and sherbet and everyone is invited.

In this area, there was actually a wedding, there were two or three weddings.

but, ah, this man, this man from our village died, and afterwards, there was so much unpleasantness and the like, (so) they (i.e., the whole village) did not celebrate (i.e., weddings in general).

If they celebrate, they do it after the “čila” (i.e., tradition of observing the fortieth day after a person’s death).

The čila of the death of this man.

After the čila, it could be that most people celebrate (the wedding), sure.

There are five (or) six young men who
məkərkə az inə yoşən {xxx} xənanda mərə. (7:72-H) will marry; here one of them {xxx} will bring a singer.

You really should know what they will do after the fortieth day. (09:44)

No, by God. (09:52)

We are both single. (09:53)

I have one brother: he is married. (09:58)

Me too, my brother, we have asked for the hand of her sister for him. (10:04)

Yes. (10:16)

{Kurdish: It is not the custom here that we go separately; everyone goes together.} (10:17)

All together—boys, men, girls, and women—everyone holds hands together, and they dance, their celebration is warm, their celebration is pleasant. (10:20)

(10:24)

Now, in these gardens that you see, (the people) from Kermanshah, from Eslām Ābād (Šāh Ābād), (in) these gardens, they do (everything) separately: in one place, the women would celebrate a wedding, for example, dance (while) the young men (would celebrate) in another place. Gawraǰū is not like that. (10:27)

(In) Gawraǰū, at this foot (of the water source), on top of the water (source shelter building)... (10:37)

They set up a keyboard and young men and young women, and women and children, and villagers and strangers and acquaintances and all are in unity. (10:39)

Its (i.e., the village’s) weddings are very pleasant. (10:46)

They dance, they sit down. (10:46)

On the whole, weddings in Gawraǰū, this... (10:48)

The term mujařadyām is possibly pronounced as mujaɾatyām.
one wedding, when it comes to an end...
O God, when will it happen again that another takes the hand of a bride, that there is another wedding, another celebration for Gawrajū?

Its celebration (i.e., celebration of weddings) is pleasant.

For instance, the tribe, it’s the tribe; for instance, you never see in this tribe of ours. There is never a conflict at the wedding.

But some tribes, because of the scarf held up by the leader of the dance line, and then such things... There are conflicts, there are fights.

It isn’t allowed that it continues.

No, we also marry people who are outsiders. It is not like that.

They come from there (and) they marry the women from here.

It’s not that we say: “Gawrajū, the young women—the young men of Gawrajū always take them (as brides).” It’s not like that.

Yes, he must always belong to the “tayfe” (i.e., our group, the Ahl-e Haqq); he cannot be Shi’ite.

Our son has permission, for example, to go (and) take a Shi’ite (woman) as his bride, but we don’t give (our) daughters

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276 The copula form -a on düman-a appears as in Kurdish.
Gorani | English
---|---
(7:86)N | wa sunnī-č nimatīyām | We do not give (our daughters) to the Shi‘ite. (12:01)
(7:96)H | hūčkāmiš | None from that (group). (12:01)
(7:87)N | dita matiyā(m), dita sunnī mārām ařā kuřamān dita-y šeʃa ařā kuřamān mārām walē ditašān nimatīyāmiš šeʃa-u sunnī | We give a young woman, we take Sunni young women for our sons, we take Shi‘ite young women for our sons; but we don’t give away our daughters (in marriage) to Shi‘ites and Sunnis. (12:03)
(7:88)N | isa min īstanim ya zanʃamūm sunnīya | Now one of my own aunts (i.e., wife of father’s brother) is Sunni. (12:10)
(7:89)N | tāza bīʃtir wa īstāmān wa dinakamān eʃteqādiš hē | In spite of this, she has more faith in our religion than we ourselves (do). (12:16)
(7:90)N | bīʃtir wa ima maʃu wa ziyārat, bīʃtir wa (m) wa ima ehtirāmiš mayrē dinakamān, bīʃtir wa ima nazr-u niyāz makarē | She goes on pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do); she attends the nazr sacred meal and the ceremonies more than we (do). (12:20)
(7:91)N | wa a xātira walē ditašān biʃwa a xănawādānā nimatānē nazr-u čiʃt bikarē | For that reason, though, if our daughter(s) go to (i.e., are married into) those families, she (i.e., they) cannot attend the nazr and such things. (12:26)
(7:97)H | dar kul masan saxt-a\textsuperscript{277} | On the whole, it is a difficult matter. (12:33)
(7:98)H | alāna isa yakē až, ya gila šeʃa bāy dawā-y min bikarē, di har ařā-y awafīn barxurd bāwkim jwāwiš matiya | Now (suppose) someone, a Shi‘ite, comes (and) asks for my hand in marriage, of course, my father rejects his request, from the very first meeting. (12:36)
(7:99)H | di nimwāzē ka bizānē ka wāqeʃyan min ěa mwām, mwāy na ina šeʃ-e | Of course, he (i.e., my father) does not want to know what I really say (i.e., what my wishes are); he says: “No, this (young man) is a Shi‘ite.” (12:43)
(7:100)H | tāyfa ka šeʃa āsmān tā zamin, ... walē birākam matānē biʃrawē das ditašān birē | (Our tayfe and the Shi‘ites, (they are as far apart as) heaven (is) to earth... But my brother can go (and) marry one of their young women. (12:47)
(7:101)H | hūč mawqeʃ saxtɡirīʃ nimakarin | They (i.e., the parents) are never so strict. (12:52)
(7:102)H | xănawādāmān bwāy das may(r) | Our families would go (and ask for) the hand... (12:54)
(7:103)H | yā mwāy (bwāy) dast-e dita-y šeʃa mayrīya yā ća mwāy, nazar īštanit-e | (Our family does not) or they (do not) say: “Take the hand of a Shi‘ite girl”, or something like that; they say: “It... (12:56)

\textsuperscript{277} The copula form \textit{-a on saxt-a} is as in Kurdish.
The night of the wedding, the night that the wedding begins the next day (i.e., the night before the wedding). The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom; it is the night of the “hanābandān” (i.e., henna celebration).  

That too, for instance, one {xxx} the night, then...

They gather all the relatives together.  

(Of those) from the house of the bridegroom, they decorate the henna and bring it together with sweets to the bride’s house.

Then they celebrate; there the bride must offer that henna to all the people.

The bride must offer it and then they lay money on the (basket of) henna; it is our custom.

It is necessary, for instance, when that henna is passed around (and) comes to you, you give money. Yes, you should place money on the henna (and) you should also take (lit., give?) a bit of the henna.

For “hanā” (i.e., henna), we say “xana”.

“Xanabanān”.

We don’t say “hanā” (for henna); (instead) we say “hanā”, “xana”, we ourselves.

We say “xanabanān”.

The phrase hanā tazʔin makarin ‘decorate the henna’ possibly refers to decorating the basket that contains the henna.

Here gilawa is pronounced gilo.

The henna dye is typically a powder, which is mixed with water to make a paste. It is put in a bowl, in a basket, which is then passed around for the guests at the celebration. With its reddish coloring, it is used to decorate fingernails and the palms of one’s hands. It can also be used as lip coloring.

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280 The henna dye is typically a powder, which is mixed with water to make a paste. It is put in a bowl, in a basket, which is then passed around for the guests at the celebration. With its reddish coloring, it is used to decorate fingernails and the palms of one’s hands. It can also be used as lip coloring.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7:108)-H</td>
<td>šima mwāža hanābanān, ōma mwāžam xanabanān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:109)-H</td>
<td>arē ūan, baʕd ūan-u dita, mutlaqan kuʃa ghayr az dāmādaka kuʃamān dīle niya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:100)-N</td>
<td>muʃaʃadākān282 matānīn bāyn wa xātir masan geregušā paxš makarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:101)-N</td>
<td>arē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:102)-N</td>
<td>žan muʃaʃad-u kuʃa-y muʃaʃad matānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:103)-N</td>
<td>kuʃa muʃaʃadākān giʃtiš matānīn wa xātir inaka masan hanāka, ūarūs hanā magardinē dāmādakay e geregušā magardinē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:104)-N</td>
<td>ya bastayī maw(u) bigardinē ja {xxx} giʃti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:105)-N</td>
<td>čan gila nuqɫ-an wa gard-e ya, wa gard-e ya dāna sekiyā maniʃa dīle yak tūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:106)-N</td>
<td>ya gila guʃ tazʔiniʃ makarin, magardinēs dāmādaka284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:110)-H</td>
<td>manāʃa dīle ya gila sabad, sabadakay mayirma daswa,285 āna dāmādaka magardinēs, hanāka-yē ūarūsaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:111)-H</td>
<td>wa śun yakay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:112)-H</td>
<td>baʕd, har masan dāmādaka har kê ka b(w)īnē muʃaʃad-ē, az ūna matiʃā wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:113)-H</td>
<td>aʃa xātir ... arē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7:107)-N</td>
<td>magardinēs-u matiʃayā şānē kê muʃaʃad-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

281 The term xanabanān (Persian: hanābandān) refers to the traditional party held the night before the wedding, when the female relatives of the groom make a visit to the bride. They bring henna with them and distribute it to all the guests.
282 The word muʃaʃadākān may be pronounced muʃaʃatākān.
283 The term geregušā, literally ‘problem-opener’, refers to something that solves problems. It is a name here for a small bag made of light cloth, filled with sweets or nuts.
284 Verb suffixes and their referents are not clear here.
285 The form daswa (or das(a)wa) is pronounced here as daso.
GORANI

(7:114)-H  
haβmaγre, maβiya das  
jwānakāν-u  
He takes (from it), places it in the hand of the young men, and...

(7:115)-H  
ma-san ʔam-dile ʔa βay ʔinišē  
masan  
For example, he comes into the midst of a (small) gathering (and) sits (with them), for example,

(7:108)-N  
wa ʔiβā-u ʔanini ʔimatiya ʔaβqat wa  
mugeβadγaryakan, ʔanγa ʔa ʔa μutaʔahelī  
{?! mutlaq} mutlaqan nimatiya āna  
āna  
To the (married) men and women he does not give (a bag), only to the unmarried young men. Whoever is married, to those (people), he definitely does not give any, that...

(7:116)-H  
ʔaβ-γ, ʔaβqat wa ʔugeβad, ᵁγa-γ  
μugeβad  
For... Only the unmarried, the unmarried young men, the unmarried young women.

Gorani

ENGLISH

(14:47)

He takes (from it), places it in the hand of the young men, and...

(14:51)

For example, he comes into the midst of a (small) gathering (and) sits (with them), for example,

(14:54)

To the (married) men and women he does not give (a bag), only to the unmarried young men. Whoever is married, to those (people), he definitely does not give any, that...

(14:54)

For... Only the unmarried, the unmarried young men, the unmarried young women.

(15:07)

They sing Kurdish poetry.

(15:08)

For the dance of the hanābandān party, some of them sing in Kurdish, some of them, for example, play Persian cassettes and dance.

(15:08)

No, well, Kurdish poetry and Kurdish...

(15:15)

Mostly we dance to Kurdish (music).

(15:20)

The young women sing, they sing, but the others...

(15:22)

Yes.

(15:25)

We don’t know most of them.

(15:27)

For example, they sing: “The bride arrived.

(15:31)

The bride and groom arrived, the green tree with branches arrived.”

(15:35)

They sing many poems (songs), for example, for the bride.

(15:35)

These ones...

(15:39)

Much ... (But) particularly me, because I haven’t gone much, I haven’t taken part, I (had) difficulties... We haven’t gone to weddings, I haven’t gone much, but they went.

(15:46)

Eh, for example, among the young men, it happens less often because there are cassettes.

(15:51)

For example, when it happens that there is no cassette, yes, five (or) six young women gather together.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI                         ENGLISH

(7:121)-H áy hanābanān hanābanān-e tu-na “Ay, hanābanān, it’s your hanābanān...” (15:55)
(7:122)-H ya gila xānanda mwanē ditakān A singer sings, (and) all the young
   gīšīšan kardē wa gard women learn it by heart; we sing it
   yaka mwanāmiš together.
(7:119)-N ba kurdi mwāžin, zwān-e kurdi They sing in Kurdish, the Kurdish
   language.
(7:123)-H ha wa zwān kurdiyaka-y In our own Kurdish language.
   īštāmān
(7:124)-H áy hanābanān hanābanān-e mina “Ay, hanābanān, my hanābanān...” That
   āna ka masan xānandaka ī jūra which, for example, the singer sings this
   mwanēš ima wa zwān xānandaka way, we sing it
   mwanāmiš in the language of the
   singer.
(7:120)-N ya ūrūs ħāmay “A bride came.” (16:14)
(7:125)-H āxē min hefzim niya Oh, I can’t remember it.
(7:121)-N mayar ūrūs ħāmay nayna ē, āna So to say: “The bride came...”, that is
   ka nāmdārī mwanēš ditakān, what Nāmdār sings (i.e., the name of
   kuṭākān mwanāmiš the song), what the young women and the
   young men sing.
(7:126)-H arē nāmdār-ič ya tarākaš Yes, and Nāmdār (i.e., name of a singer)
   ĥē has a cassette track, they say, he says in
   mwanēš kurdiyaka baʕd something in Kurdish, then they commit
   kardē aʁā ī mawqʕāna it to memory for that occasion.
   ĥē mwanēš mwāžē kurdīya baʕd
   (7:127)-H mwāžē ī mawqʕānaa
   One says (i.e., sings)... (16:24)
(7:122)-N wa gawrajüyi būʃī {Kurdish: Say it in Gawrajüyi.} (16:25)
(7:128)-H {Kurdish: sē jār sē jār pā kutā} {Kurdish: “Three times, three times, she
   zawī, dāhik wa qurbān sē jākay taps her foot on the ground, may the
   wawī” mother sacrifice herself for the bride...”}
(7:129)-H {Kurdish: ūrūs hato la xānaqin,} {Kurdish: “The bride came from
   čīm la pišā la xasrawī Xanaqin, I went (to welcome her) to
   Xasraw.”}
(7:130)-H ī tarākayle ka musan nīma nīma This song that, for example, half, half...
   nīma (16:33)
(7:123)-N mazānin musan ima nimazānām They know, for example, we don’t know
   fra bwāžāmiš, ānā būʃir (how to) sing a lot; they know more,
   mwāžin, ānā ka mazānin those who know (the poems).
(7:131)-H na ī šeʕr gawrajüyi-u aʃā ūrūsī No... There are no poems in Gawrajüyi
   ka na niya and (to be sung) for the wedding, no, there are none.
(7:132)-H kam piš hāmaya It seldom happened. (16:44)
(7:133)-H až dile zwāmān piš nāmāyē ka In our language it hasn’t happened...
   bwāžām ba gawrajüyi šeʕr That we would sing in Gawrajüyi, recite

286 The sense of tarāka is not clear here and perhaps refers to a song, a CD, or a song track.
These singers sing, we learn by heart, we come to the celebrations, (and sing), mostly when, for instance, there is no electricity (and) we set up a cassette tape recorder.

Or in some situations it would be like (that), or (if) it would be among ourselves, (if) the young woman were a friend of ours, we would sing for her, for example, (if) we are happy for her, feel pride for her, in those situations.

Not in all situations!

Not at all hanābandān parties, not at every wedding.

At a wedding of strangers, we keep ourselves at some distance (i.e., behave with more reserve) than too close (i.e., bold).

(If) we are at such celebrations, we ourselves keep (ourselves at) some distance.

In that way, in that way too we would say, for example, (that) we are not comfortable.

We only are comfortable among the relatives.

It’s right that our village...

For example, if it were now the wedding (or) engagement, the wedding of Tāti N, under no circumstances, even if strangers were (present) at her engagement, would I (lit., I could not) put on a headscarf.

Just in this way that is comfortable. Believe me, for instance, my brother may say to me, he may say: “H, (do not forget) your headscarf,” no (it is not so), not only to me (i.e., he never says it to me). Then my sister, nephew and niece, male and female cousins, (are) at ease in

The term mīmzākam refers to the son or daughter of one’s aunt; duxtārxača (Persian) refers to the daughter of one’s mother’s sister; and duxtār’āma (Persian) refers to the daughter of one’s father’s sister.
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**GORANI**

(7:125)-N ayar ghariba-yē bāyā dilemān, ā ghariba dī īstanmān-ē, farqiš nīya afāmān

(7:144)-H čünkka wāqeʕan ʕarūsīyaka ařāmān mahram-ē, kas wa kas, {?! xēl} duxtardāyīt-ē,288 duxtārāyam-ē

(7:126)-N čünkka ğuzw-e ā xānāwādayna

(7:127)-N gištī wa yakē hasāw makarām, mwāzām īma dī ya xānāwāda-yām

(7:128)-N ařā dazūrānī ya das libās mayrin

(7:129)-N ayar ditaka garakiš bū kurdī, ayaɾsā garakiš bū fārsī, har jūra ka ditaka bwāzē

(7:130)-N ditaka mayrina gištī entexāb karday289

(7:145)-H āna bāyad ditaka biʃawē, ditaka entexāb karē, ditaka-u kuʃaka

(7:131)-N ařā baʃd ʃaw xanabanān-īč ayar garakiš bū dubāra libās har jūre garakiš bū, ehe kurdīs garak bū, saqizīs garak bū, fārsī, faqat bāyād ařā waqt ʃaq⋅daʃka, yā libās ʃarūs bū yā libās fārsī bikarya wariʃ

(7:146)-H mayrē-u libās entexāb ... She brings and chooses the clothes...

(7:132)-N baʃzē wa ʃarūsākāni ka ʃarūsī makarin wa ʃas(i)-m-e mahāl-i ye qaʃm mayriniʃ

(7:133)-N züṇ aʃās mayrıṇin, šawī kurdī ya ʃur-e mātina mīl sarʃay290 They (i.e., the young man’s family) sew for her (i.e., the bride) a “zün”, a Kurdish dress,291 (and) they put a veil on her head.

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288 The term *mahram* refers to the group of close family relatives with whom there is no potential for marriage. The term *duxtardāyī* refers to the daughter of one’s mother’s brother.

289 An alternate transcription for *kardē* could be *karday*.

290 The *zün* (and *kuwā*, see sentence 135) refer to a type of dress that is worn over another layer of dress. The robe-like dress typically is made of thicker, dark-colored material with sparkling decorations on it.
 Gorani | English
---|---
(7:134)-N | ehe zün har, ī yak dasay jür sečār qadimay ba'd hîn-e afa ditaka masan pūsheday pišt ditakānay
(18:40) | Eh, a zün is well, like a set of an old type of cloth (?), then a thing for the young woman, for example, covering the back of the young women.

(7:135)-N | min īsa īštanim yak das zünim ī, šima masan šima wan mwâža kuwâ
(18:48) | I myself now have a set of zün, you, for example, call it “kuwâ”.

(7:136)-N | ima mwâžâm zün, ba'd wa libâs mahaliwa
(18:53) | We call it zün, then (the bride could choose or could wear) the traditional clothing.

(7:137)-N | pišt ūrūsaka mayestâm, kulêra afaš makarin, hay wa ūs(i)m-e kurdî bîfawê
(18:56) | We stand behind the bride. They make the “kulera” (i.e., special bread) for her, still according to Kurdish tradition.

(7:138)-N | baʃzê bîstiriš di wa ūs(i)m-e kurdî mafawê
(19:00) | Some of them still celebrate (lit., go) mostly according to Kurdish tradition.

(7:147)-H | āna ūzi-e ūrûsîc-e, ūzi-e ūrûsîyeš afa dîle ā čadêm-e dîta ka až ka-y bôwka bîfawê bâyad kulêra masan durus bîkay binyay dîleš
(19:03) | So it is that, it is the wedding day, on the wedding day, in the suitcase of the young woman who is leaving her father’s house, there should be kulera bread; for instance, they make it (and) put it inside.

(7:148)-H | čan gila kulêra,292 arê
(19:12) | Several pieces of kulera bread. Yes.

(7:149)-H | baʃzêkiš-i(č) kulêra nimakarê, biži293 makarê, mazâni biži čeq?
(19:14) | And some of them do not make kulera bread; (instead), they make “biži” (i.e., another special type of bread). Do you know what biži is?

(7:150)-H | arê arê
(19:17) | Yes, yes.

(7:151)-H | biži durus makarê, až ā biži(i)ya bâyad bîfawê bîfawê dîle čadêmâna-u až anâ wâz bû
(19:20) | She makes biži bread, (and) from that biži, some must go... It must go into the suitcase and (must) be opened there.

(7:139)-N | sawqât ditaka, isa baʃzêkiš baʃzêkiš makarê, baʃzêkiš nimakarê
(19:26) | (Concerning) the “sawqât” (i.e., bride gift) for the young woman, now some of them, some of them do it (i.e., keep the practice), some of them do not do it.

(7:152)-H | isāta ūs(i)m-e pāxasûr-u294 i čîtan-îc-a hê, arê
(19:26) | Now there is the tradition of “pāxasûr” (i.e., woman who accompanies the bride) and also these things. Yes.

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292 The term kulêra refers to a type of bread with a round shape, with seeds in it and a bit thicker than normal bread. One type of kulêra is made with flour, sugar, and milk, then baked on a griddle.

293 The term biži refers to another type of bread, made from flour, milk, and sugar. The form is smaller than kulêra and has an elongated shape. It is made of flour, sugar, and milk, and then fried.

294 The term pāxasûr refers to a woman who accompanies the bride to the bridegroom’s house and who is responsible for presenting proof of the bride’s virginity to the bride’s mother. This proof is shown by a white cloth which has blood on it after the bride and groom sleep together. The pāxasûr takes the cloth and shows it to others as proof.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

(7:140)-N  baʿżē masan ba ʔas(i)m-e kurdī bīfaqāwē, makarē
Some, for instance, (who) celebrate according to Kurdish tradition, they do it.

(7:153)-H  baʿżēkiš masan mwāẓin, ā īna bāyad pāxasūrisiš bū
Some say, for example. Yes. This is so, she must have a pāxasur.

(7:154)-H  ā pāxasīra, ā čamadāna bāyad das ā pāxasīra bo, āž baʿyūd āž ā pāxasīra bo
That pāxasur, that suitcase should be in the hand of that pāxasur; after that, it should be from that pāxasur.

(7:141)-N  baʿyūd ʔarūsī kurdīya wa libās mahalīwa mayrin, tūr matina mil saršay, īna wan mwāẓām šukulatpīč
Then this Kurdish wedding that is celebrated with local dress, they put a veil on the bride’s head. We call it (i.e., the veil) the “šukulatpīč”.

(7:142)-N  arē
Yes.

(7:143)-N  āyna-u šamdān gištīš ařā-y ʔarūsaka maw(u) bū
The mirror and the candlestick, everything for the bride must be there.

(7:155)-H  arē kulēra biżī, baʿyūd ya seri libāsē ka āž ānā be, bitāné ā libāsāna barbārē-u ā libāsāna bipūšē
Yes, the kulera bread, the biżī bread, then a set of clothing that should be there, she will be able to take out those clothes and put on those clothes.

(7:156)-H  baʿyūd ē
Then, eh...

(7:144)-N  kamtir da māl ya māļiš pāxasūrisiš hē
Fewer than one in ten households has the pāxasur.

(7:157)-H  čirā, ŋasimiš manē
Oh yes. The tradition still remains.

(7:158)-H  āž... ʔaʃ̄inān gištīš {ʔiʃ̄} tūrī u ʔadīd āmādē na, āž hizāriš yakē
From... Now the kind of young men, all are modern, no, (only) one out of a thousand...

(7:159)-H  āž hizāriš yakē maʃ(u)wa mā ʕasal
Out of a thousand, (only) one goes; he goes on the “Honey Month” (i.e., honeymoon).

(7:160)-H  kamtir piš māy pāxasūrisiš bū, ču(u)nka ka ŋasim namanē
It seldom happens; there may be (the tradition of) her (i.e., the bride’s) pāxasur, something for which tradition has not remained.

(7:161)-H  ŋasimakaʃ kam lā maʃ(u)wa hawmayriya
Its tradition is gradually going by the wayside, disappearing.

(7:145)-N  tasdiq duktur mayrin faqat
Only they get the doctor’s certificate.

(7:162)-H  čirā
Oh yes.

(7:146)-N  arē, tasdiq duktur mayrin di pāxasūrisiš garak niyan
Yes, they get the doctor’s certificate; then they don’t need the pāxasur.

(7:163)-H  bāyad āna bū, niʃān bīdi qabl az
That must be so, you must show it

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295 Subject reference is not clear (‘she’ or ‘it’).
before they go on the honeymoon, that should be that they show it to those families.

At the request of the groom’s household.

The mother of the groom, or the sister or his father should go (with them).

And from the bride’s side, (from) her household, her sister and her mother and her father should go (with them).

They should go to the Office for Hygiene;

They should go to the Office for Hygiene; in the Office for Hygiene they give them a document, they go to the hospital (and) they give them a certificate.

The {?! pāxasur?} must definitely be with them.

No... Well, from... Either her aunt on her mother’s side or her aunt on her father’s side.

One man and one woman have to go together with the bride.

The first time the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom, she goes on foot with the pāxasur or in a car.

Later, a man and a woman remain who themselves made an agreement (to stay) at the house of the bride, then the rest come back by car.
Text 8: Traditions of weddings and marriage (1)
The speaker in this text continues her discussion with the interviewer about matters of weddings and marriage. She is also a very good speaker of Gawraǰūyī. She has attended elementary school and has spent her entire life in the village.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>üšim,296 ayar mawqe‘e ka bo</td>
<td>I say, if, in the case that,</td>
<td>(00:00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masan {?! nas} nařawī ařa-y</td>
<td>for example, if you didn’t go to the doctor,</td>
<td>(00:02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masan duktur ţ tasdī(q) duktura</td>
<td>for example, (if you did) not fetch the doctor’s certificate,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayri</td>
<td>you must (do that) (i.e., a young woman would find herself in that situation if), for example, if the young woman was fearful or if she were to say: “I won’t go get the doctor’s certificate” or she were afraid,297</td>
<td>(00:07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mājbur-I masan yā ditaka zālaš</td>
<td>(if she had) a kind of an excuse, whatever.</td>
<td>(00:13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīfawē yā ditaka bwāzē min</td>
<td>Eh, (in such a case) there must definitely</td>
<td>(00:15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimařawīm tasdī(q) dukturay</td>
<td>be a “pāxasur” (i.e., a woman who accompanies the bride),298 on the day of the wedding celebration.</td>
<td>(00:17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birim yā matarsē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya jūr ya bahāna har či,</td>
<td>But then, when going on the “Honey Month” (i.e., honeymoon), no (i.e., it is not necessary to have a pāxasur).</td>
<td>(00:20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eh bāyad hatman,</td>
<td>The pāxasur must be from the young woman’s side, the young woman’s family.</td>
<td>(00:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāxasūriš bo ţuz-e ţarūsī</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
<td>(00:26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di mā ţasal ᵐa fla na</td>
<td>From the young woman’s family, either the young woman’s aunt on her father’s side, or the young woman’s aunt on her mother’s side,</td>
<td>(00:27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāxasūr az taraf ditaka bāyad</td>
<td>or a close relative of the young woman, for example.</td>
<td>(00:30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīfawē, xānawāda-y dita</td>
<td>(The pāxasur) must accompany the bride,</td>
<td>(00:33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arē</td>
<td>take care of that business, then...</td>
<td>(00:35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>až xānawāda-y dita, yā ţama-y</td>
<td>{xx}, for the sake of the security of the young woman’s matters.</td>
<td>(00:37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditaka, yā xāla-y ditaka,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā masan fāmil-e nezik-e ditaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāyad wa gard ţarūsakaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīfawē,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

296 The form üšim appears as in Kurdish.
297 The narrator is describing a general situation in which a young woman would not go and get confirmation of virginity from the doctor before marriage.
298 The pāxasur is a term for an older woman who accompanies the young woman and also acts as a witness to confirm her virginity and therefore her (and the family’s) honor.
Now then, in our (village) Gawrajū, until, so they say, until exactly last year, until last year, until a few years ago, the tradition of the pāxasur hadn’t been given up. But when the doctor arrived, and they said this and that, the young people, eh, for example, they were strict with them, they talked about the honeymoon, then they abolished this tradition. {PM: Ehem.}

But then, this tradition existed in earlier times. (This tradition) existed in earlier times; without the pāxasur the young woman wasn’t supposed (to go) to the house of the bride, the house of the groom.

No. It should be kept with the young woman and the young man; her mother must look at it. It is the duty of the mother that the mother sees it, (that) she sees that doctor’s certificate about her daughter.

But well, (the certificate) must be kept with the young woman and the young man. Thus, then, that cloth as evidence of virginity must be kept with the mother of the young woman, for example; it remains (there). {PM: Ehem ehem.}

The word guftyana is as in Persian.
The form ka is sometimes pronounced ke, as in Persian.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI | ENGLISH
--- | ---
(8:33) {Kurdish: aw sāta zü minā́lţār
bīn} | {Kurdish: At that time (couples) had children quickly},
(01:51)
(8:34) čünkā wa xātir ā ārā qurs bwarin | because, for that (reason), that is why they take pills,
(01:53)
(8:35) eh qurs xwārdin masan mwān jelawgīrī aż minā́l makarē | eh, taking pills,\(^{301}\) for example, they would say, it prevents the possibility of having children.
(01:56)
(8:36) aw sāta mwātšān bāyad har fawrī hāmīţa bwi alāna na | At that time, they said, one must become pregnant immediately; now, it is not so.
(01:59)
(8:37) alāna masan baʃd až čan sāt, dü sē såt šun ūarūsīšān minā́lţār b(un) {PM: baʃe, emm} | Now, for example, after several years, two, three years after their wedding, (the couple) may have children.
(02:02)
(8:38) minā́lţār mawin | They have children.
(02:08)
(8:39) {Kurdish, to end of sentence 40: baʃd isāta yā ya minā́l yā dü minā́l bīștir na bīștir niya | {Kurdish, to end of sentence 40: Then, now, either one or two children. More, no; not more.
(02:10)
(8:40) arē has} | {PM: āh} Yes, there are.}
(02:25)
(8:41) ā dústāštana har biya ka biya alān-ič až gawraʃū ĥe {PM: ahā} | Yes, love has existed for ever and ever. There is also (love) in Gawraʃū (village).
(02:27)
(8:42) alān-ič až gawraʃū masan bwāzam dústāštānīš naw, | Now, too, in Gawraʃū, for example, we say, there is no love, (but) no, (i.e., that is not the case),
(02:31)
(8:43) na až dile jwānsān dústāštan lā nāʃftē {PM: āh} | no. Among young people, love has never disappeared. {PM: Ah.}
(02:34)
(8:44) hē masan arē waʃșān yak māy wa yak maʃasìn, baʃzēk-(i)č-ī ka | There is, for example... Yes, they like each other, they also get together as couples; some
(02:38)
(8:45) xānawādaʃān muxālefat makarē | some of their families are against (this);
(02:42)
(8:46) baʃzēk-ič-sān wa yak nimaʃasìn | some of them also do not get together (as couples).
(02:45)
(8:47) {?! xānawād} muttaqan kam piš māy xānawāda bizānē | It definitely rarely happens that the family knows about this.
(02:49)
(8:48) xānawāda bizānē be čiņ-ʊ ćırá až yā až xānawāda-y kura makuša yā až xānawāda-y dita | If the family found out (about this), it is certain that either someone from the young man’s family or from the young woman’s family would be killed.
(02:52)
(8:49) čünkā saxt mayrin | Because they are strict.
(02:58)
(8:50) āxe {?! gawra} gawraʃū ya muhitēki būčik | Because Gawraʃū is a small place.
(03:08)

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\(^{301}\) Lit., ‘pill-taking’; \(xwardin\) is a Kurdish infinitive.

\(^{302}\) The form \(ka\) is pronounced as \(če\) here.
Now you see that people come from other villages; they fall in love with young women from Gawrajū, for example; with whatever excuse, they come to the front door of the house. For example, with..., they make their love known to the young woman by means of another person. (This other person) says (to the young woman): “Some man likes you. {PM: Aha.}

If he happens to see you, speak with you, don’t be insulted.

He wants you for life...” Then, little by little...

Eh, yes, that means, believe me, even (young men) from other villages, more (of them) fall in love with young women from Gawrajū than (with young women from) any other place. {PM: Em.}

The young men) from Gawrajū, fewer.

Now, for example, in Gawrajū, we have, for ten years, twelve years, a young woman and young man: they have been waiting for each other, (but) neither the family of those is happy about this business nor the family of these (young people). {PM: Em.}

It is not that the young woman gets another husband nor that the young man takes the hand of another woman; (the situation) has just not changed. It has remained unresolved; one may learn (later) what (the situation) may be. {PM: Ehem.}

Just that way.

Me, no; for our family, it is difficult for them, being in love.

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303 The word written as dit here is pronounced düet, as in Southern Kurdish.
304 The word bizâni is pronounced here with deletion of z.
### The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gorani</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **(8:66)**  
ay dī mi(n) ā mawqaʕ masan īma birākānmān mwāżē bāyām āyam, dāstdāstan āxiriš niya | Then I, that time, for example, our brothers say, people must, love has no good ending (to it). |
| **(8:67)**  
āyam bitānē waʃ(1)ša kasē nāy, xās-ē | It is better that a human being is able to not love someone. |
| **(8:68)**  
a(ya)r waʃa kasē bāy, baʃdi birawā dile ā xānawāda, tānay ī ūžāna maksiš | If she loves someone, then she enters that family, (and then) she must suffer and put up with the fact that bad things from those (earlier) days will be said about her. |
| **(8:69)**  
mwāżē tu masan wa gard kuʃaka-y īmay ī jūrta ka(rd) ā jūrta ka(rd) | They say: “You, for example, acted in this manner and acted in that manner with our son.” |
| **(8:70)**  
alān ka āyam dita har ča sanginšar bo, wa hurmattirawa maʃwa ka-y īštaniš | Now, however much a person, a young woman, is dignified and noble, (then) she will go to her own home with that much more honor. |
| **(8:71)**  
ā jūrta sāxm mayrin | In that way they consider it strictly. |
| **(8:72)**  
ox nimatānim mwāżām ka nimakarām | Well, we cannot; we say that we won’t do (it). |
| **(8:73)**  
ā saxtgišiya nimakarin xānawādamān ka bāwā bāyad ī kāra hatman bikari | Our family does not practice such strictness, such that anyone would say: “You must absolutely do this.” |
| **(8:74)**  
yānī až xānawāda-y īma ka wāqe’ān bē | I mean, there really was (such a situation) in our family. |
| **(8:75)**  
ya xwarim ya zaʃ(1)ša {?! ah dūx} pesarʕamuwakaš nāma, | One of my sisters did not like her cousin (i.e., cousin from father’s side) the slightest bit. |
| **(8:76)**  
bwāżīm āmūzākās wa zūr {xxx} dāykim-u bāwkim dāsān wan | We say “her cousin against her will {xxx}” My mother and my father gave her to him. {PM: Em.} |
| **(8:77)**  
yānī bāwkim-u wātša īna birāzām-ē bāyad ī kāra bū | I mean, my father and... He said: “He is my nephew; this deed (i.e., the marriage) must take place.” |
| **(8:78)**  
alāna biya, sē sāl zendeğiš ka(rd), alān taʃqiš sanya hē ka-y bāwkay | Up until now, it has been the case that she lived (with him) three years, (but) now she has gotten a divorce (and) now is (back) in her father’s house. |
| **(8:79)**  
wa xātir īna ka kuʃaka ŋasabi-yē {PM: āha} | On account of this: that the young man is mentally disturbed. |
| **(8:80)**  
di natānissān zendeği bikarin | They could not live (together) after all. |

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305 The particle -awa is pronounced here as -o.

306 The speaker uses the Persian term here for cousin.
(8:81) wa xāṭir īna \{PM: chem\}

(8:82) alāna di až xānawāda-y īma biya čišt, saxtgiriš niya

(8:83) dūstdāštanī niya, saxtgiriš-(i)č-i niya

(8:84) wa bāwkam na walē matānim wa dāykam bwām

(8:85) matānim wa dāykam bwām, matānim wa birākānim bwām,

(8:86) i jūr āyamē tahqiq bikarān waš(i)ša wa min māy bizāna eh āyam xäšek-č

(8:87) baʕd masan a(ya)r awał

(8:88) dūstdāštan wan, awał har či307 kārē bikarīm baʕd wān bwām ejāza dīn, mutłaqan makušyayim

(8:89) walē a(ya)r awał dūstdāštan...

(8:90) na bāyad bwām wanšān, bāyad bwām masan dādāš i kāra bikarīm \{PM: aha\}

(8:91) i jūr āyamē waš(i)ša wa min māy pišnahādiš dāya wanim matānim wa gardšay fāhat bwīm

(8:92) matānim qisa wa gardšay bikarīm

(8:93) a(ya)r masan birākam biřawē tahqiq bikarē, di a mawqāfī muškel niya

(8:94) walē ayar \{xxx\} bedūn tahqiq ān bāya nwāwa kuľaka,

(8:95) bwā masan min-u xwārakat wašmān yak hāma, alāna hāmaymē dāwās,

(8:96) až xānawādamān bē kuštān niya

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307 The form har či is pronounced here as har či.

308 If the young woman goes to speak with the young man, and then asks her brothers for permission to have contact with him, then she could be killed for not getting their permission first.
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

GORANI ENGLISH

(8:97) na ha xānawāda-y īma, baļka až i ānawāda-y īma
Not only in our family, but (also) in this village, because it is a small village. {PM: Ehem.}
(06:19)

(8:98) pēš nahāmay
It did not happen. (06:23)
(8:99) xo xatarnā(k -ē)
Well, it is dangerous. (06:24)
(8:100) nahāman
It did not happen. (06:29)

(8:101) ā jür na, masan tā pā-y īna hāmē īnāmasa, čü(n)ka ānawāda-y īna hâmē {PM: ehem}
In that way, no. For example, it has reached this point (that) {PM: ehem}
(06:29)

(8:102) ya jang-e sāda kata baynšān-u wa sayi-u kākay-u čišt
a simple fight happened between them, and (then), with (the help of) Sayyed and Kākayī and such people,
(06:33)

(8:103) jangakašānī lā bardē naheštanšān edāmaš bo
they stopped the fight; they did not allow it to continue.
(06:36)

(8:104) arē, gawraǰū xudkušīš fir-ē
Yes, (in) Gawraǰū (village), there is a lot of suicide.
(06:45)

(8:105) eh, pāraka ya gila, pāraka na pērāraka, čan sāf pēš,
Eh, last year, one, last year, not last year, (rather) two years ago, a few years ago,
(06:49)

(8:106) ya žan až ābādimāna īštaniš sūznī
a woman from this village of ours burnt herself (to death).
(06:54)

(8:107) wa xātir...
Because...
(06:58)

(8:108) ān ka wa lā-y masan mardimwa hāqa hāmazahmatiš
That, with, for example, the people, so many difficulties {xxx},
(06:59)

(8:109) ditakamšān wa zür bāwkaš dāša
“(regarding) my daughter,” they, her father had given her, against her will,
(07:03)

(8:110) birāzā-y īštaniš, mini wa xātir īna īštanim sūznīya
(to his nephew; on account of this, I had set myself on fire.)
(07:07)

(8:111) walē xo baicaid mimard qisašān jür-e tir,
But well, afterwards, people spoke differently.
(07:12)

(8:112) jür-e tir qisašān ka(rd), wâtsâna sar āna nawya-u
They spoke differently; they said: “It wasn’t that way,” and...
(07:15)

(8:113) diür la žanaka alān ka mardē, žane e wazţiš sük biya-u ī čištâna
(The things they accused her of) far from the (normal behavior of the) woman who is now dead: that the woman was loose (i.e., in morals) and such things.
(07:18)

(8:114) arē biya, fra biya īštaniš kuštē
Yes, there were, there were many who killed themselves.
(07:23)

(8:115) ā masan ya dita wa qin dâykašay
Yes, for example, (there was) a young
(07:25)

309 The word nahāmay is pronounced as a short form: nāmay.
310 The meaning of hāmazahmatiš is not clear.
311 The narrator switches to using first-person here in referring to the woman’s daughter as “my”. In the following sentence, the narrator continues this first-person reference to the woman, “I”.
GORANI

ištaniš sūznī, ha až i kūča-y bāna

ENGLISH

woman (who) set herself on fire in defiance of her mother, just on this upper street.

(8:116) wa xātir īna, Because of this...

(8:117) wa nazarim dāykaš wa gardšay laj-u lajbažiš kardē-u In my view, her mother was a grouch and acted arbitrarily with her and...

(8:118) arē wa gard {Kurdish: ditagaya} Yes, with {Kurdish, to end of sentence 121: the young woman.

(8:119) ditaka masan wa nazarim čišmā xāstegār dāštya witiya xušim For example, I guess the young woman had a suitor; she had said: “I do not like this suitor.” Her mother wanted to (marry her off) against her will; the young woman had no father.

(8:120) i xāstegāra nīyatē, dālikī wa zür witiw bāwk nayāštya ditaka, this suitor.” Her mother wanted to (marry her off) against her will; the young woman had no father.

(8:121) dāšī wa zür, arē wa zür witūy bāyad ī kāra har bū ha bū ha bū) Her mother, against (the young woman’s) will, yes, against her will, said: “This thing must be done, it must be, it must be!”

(8:122) ditaka wātawēš min waš(i)ma i kuṭa nīmāy, zür wa ga(rd)mī makara The young woman had said: “I do not like this young man. Don’t force me (to marry him).”

(8:123) ān-ič ha zūriš kardwē, yārū ūftawē But the mother had always had forced the young woman against her will; that gal had run away.

(8:124) har či aspāw, madārik-u aspāw či ā kuṭa bū biya, Whatever things (the young woman) had from (the young man), the papers and things, whatever the young man had, has had,

(8:125) hedya ka dāšānī yak, dāšī wa kuṭaka, buďd (h)āma ištaniš sūznī the gifts that they gave each other, she gave (them) back to the young man; afterwards she came back (and) set herself on fire.

(8:126) kuṭaka-yé di hūč, īsa hā na dar wa dar As for the young man, then, nothing; now he (is) adrift.

(8:127) tā čan sāf piš das ēn nīš girt (Then) a few years ago, he took the hand of (another) woman in marriage.

(8:128) das ya gila wa nazarim bēwažanīš girtē {PM: āh} He has married a widow, I think. {PM: Ah.}

(8:129) biš, hē až gawrajū kam as(ī)an kamtir piš māy čünkā There was, there is in Gawrajū, a few, a few happen, because,

(8:130) ē biš, alāna na dústdāštan wan-ē eh, there was, there is no love in it

312 The initial biš could be either a truncated form, as Persian bištār ‘more’, or perhaps a calque of colloquial Persian būd-as ‘there was’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(8:131) āy gawraǰū fraš nābūt-ē {PM: emm}</td>
<td>Oh, (in) Gawraǰū, there is a lot of brokenness. {PM: Em.}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:132) yānī, īsāta īštanim mwāżīm</td>
<td>I mean, now I speak about myself;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:133) kas-e tir nimwām čun āyam yak-e tir bwāy gunā mwāy</td>
<td>I am not speaking about anybody else, because a person speaking about someone else is speaking sinfully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:134) min īštanim ya ūrīqīm bē</td>
<td>I myself had a friend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:135) ūrīqakam až had xarj waš(i)ša ya kuřa hāma</td>
<td>My friend liked a young man very much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:136) hamīša wanim mwāt(i)ša {h}</td>
<td>She always said to me: “{YFH},”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:137) wāt(i)šē, 313 wātiš āyar masan ī āghā hāma wa har jūr-e buva, wanim bwā</td>
<td>she has said, she said, for example: “When this gentleman comes, by all means tell me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:138) tu masan maši tak-e xāluwit ī lā ā lā,</td>
<td>For example, you go with your uncle here and there;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:139) ī kuřatā dī wanim bwā kā ī kuřa bwinim</td>
<td>when you see this young man, tell me, so I may see him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:140) mini wātim bāša(d)</td>
<td>I said: “Okay.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:141) ītemākaka nāmzadīš kardawē, dāwšāna pesarxāla-y īštaniš wa zūr</td>
<td>The young woman had been engaged; they had given her against her will to her cousin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:142) min-ič ya ūr(ž) wan wātim, wātim {?! emm}</td>
<td>And one day I said to her, I said: {?! emm}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:143) eh āxa tu nimaw, nāmzadīt kardē afā min gunāhbārī-ya bīrāwim bwāzīm</td>
<td>“Eh, you, it shouldn’t be like this: you are engaged; this is sinful for me if I go (and) say,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:144) masan dūstakat ka qadīm waštān hāmē, hāmē</td>
<td>for example, your friend who liked you in earlier times has come.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:145) ān wātīš na, bāyad bwāžī</td>
<td>She said: “No, you must say (it).”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:146) bašd īma314 ūfītim, wātim wan</td>
<td>Then we went; I said to him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:147) ūfītim315 wātim</td>
<td>I went (and) said (it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:148) kuřaka wanim wātīš, wātīš bwā wan, bwā ī dita bwā</td>
<td>The young man said to me, he said: “Say to her, say to this young woman, say…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:149) {?! muta} mutmaʕen bo, ara panj gila minātīšiš bo,</td>
<td>May she be sure (of this): even if she may have five children,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8:150) ham īštaniš makušim, ham</td>
<td>I will kill her as well as her husband.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

313 It is possible that the word wāčē can be interpreted as imperfective with prefix m-
314 Speakers tend to pronounce the first person plural pronoun as īma (as in Southern Kurdish) rather than ēma.
315 The morphology of ūfītim is as is in Southern Kurdish.
(8:151) min waš(i)ma wan māy  
I love her.”

(8:152) aw, kuʃ awaʃiʃakə, ka waʃ(i)ʃa  
ditaka hāmə, wāt(i)ʃ  
That one, the first young man who loved  
the young woman, said (this).

(8:153) min-ʃ ěʃəfim wāt(i)ʃa an, wātim  
I also went (and) I said (this) to her, I said:

(8:154) i jùr kārəkət {?! kar}, wāʃa316  
waʃ(i)ma pəʃəxāləma nīməy-u  
wāt(i)ʃa dāykaʃ  
“Such a thing you have (done), say: “I  
don’t like my cousin,” and say (this) to his  
mother.”

(8:155) kārəkaʃ šewnə  
She dissolved the engagement (lit.,  
business).

(8:156) ʃəqdiʃəni kardawə {PM: ehem}  
They had been engaged. {PM: Ehem.}

(8:157) wātʃiʃa dāyka, wāt(i)ʃa min i kārə  
nimakəm-u  
She said to her mother, she said: “I won’t  
do this and

(8:158) bwāʒi i kārə ka, alən īʃənəm  
makusim  
even if you say: “Do this,” I will now kill  
myself.

(8:159) īʃənim masūznim  
I will set myself on fire.”

(8:160) {Kurdish: ditaka wita dāhikə}  
{PM: ehem}  
{Kurdish: The young woman said (this) to  
herself.} {PM: Ehem.}

(8:161) baʃd ŋaʃta, aspāwənəniʃ jam  
ka(rd), dāʃa  
Then she went, collected her things, gave  
them to her,

(8:162) niyāʃa dile yak-u dāʃa das  
dāykaʃ wātʃiʃ i aspəwəna biyawa  
put them together, and gave them over to  
herself; she said: “Give these things back.”

(8:163) har či ʃaks-e nīmzədi-u ʃəq-d-u  
čiʃt bə giʃiʃ sūznə, nwərəkəniʃ  
ʃiʃəni  
Everything, the photos of the engagement  
and whatever there was, she burnt  
everything, she broke the cassettes.

(8:164) baʃd də jwāwiʃ də  
Then she called off the engagement.

(8:165) arə {PM: ehemm}  
Yes. {PM: Ehem.}

(8:166) {?! zaʃ} kuʃəka masan i jūrə  
muʃətiʃ bi, kuʃəka muʃətiʃ-e  
sefər bi  
For example, the young man was  
somehow addicted; the young man was a  
total addict.

(8:167) baʃd jwāwə də  
Then she called off (the engagement).

(8:168) jwāw-e dəta, jwāw kuʃəkaʃ də-u  
The young woman’s answer (i.e., that she

316 Here the imperative wāča is similar to the Hawrami wāča or bwāča, rather than to Gawraʃūyī bwāʃa.
317 A traditional marriage normally has four formal events associated with it. The first is the xəʃtəkəʃi, when  
members of the young man’s family go to the house of the young woman and formally request her hand in  
marrige. After that, the young man and young woman are considered to be engaged, as nīmzədi. After that, a  
formal ceremony, the ʃəqəd is held in the young woman’s home with a religious authority present to officiate, and  
vows are made. The young man’s family sponsors a large party and their relatives attend. Sometimes the ʃəqəd  
is combined with the actual wedding, and the young woman goes to the young man’s home after that, as his wife. If  
the wedding, the šarəsə, is not held on that day, it is given on another day. About three days or one week after  
the wedding, the young man takes his wife back to her father’s home for a visit and celebration, termed the  
dərpərədə.  


called it off), she gave her answer to the young man, and now they are also in the process of waiting.

She called it off with her cousin, and now indeed the young man, the young man and the young woman only have a relationship.

Their families know it, too, and...

The family too...

No, so then.

They did not get married; (the young man) did not officially come as a suitor either.

One of the brothers of the young man is not satisfied.

His mother is not satisfied (and) says: “This young woman should not be (with him),” because this young woman is someone (who) has been (already) engaged.

The family of the young man is now against it.

The young man says: “Don’t take a husband; I will make my family satisfied.”

So then, (the situation) hasn’t changed.

Yes.

Yes, (just like that) then.

Just that way, the young woman stays and waits for the young man and the young man also comes comfortably to their house and stretches out his legs; they sit, they laugh, they joke, comfortable just in that way.

Still, though, I think the mother of the young man is not satisfied.

Yes, she says: “This young woman had another man; we don’t accept her.”

The cousin, nothing.

Believe me: he did not take the hand of another woman in marriage; he has always remained so confused. {PM: Aha.}
Then, they said, for example, to the young woman: “Why did you call off (the engagement)?” She said: “For this (reason): he was a (drug) addict.”

Yes, yes, the cousin, yes.

Thus, he was a total addict.

Yes, agreed (?), Gawrajû is always that way.

For example, today they come to court a young woman, (then) they go through with the engagement; they immediately take vows.

But they make a mistake; they become engaged but they make a mistake.

They become engaged, then five (or) six months, one year (or) two years, they have the wedding.

They celebrate the wedding.

First the suitor, then a modest engagement.

[Kurdish: Believe (this): the way he walked made people afraid (i.e., he was so unsteady).]
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

(8:208) tä mawqeʕ-e
(8:209) masan dī marāsim īna ka ditaka bāya ka-y bāwka
(8:210) īma mwāžām darpardāna, šīma mwāža ča?
(8:211) mawqeʕe ka ditaka baʕd až {?! čwā} panj, šaš ū až ka-y kuřaka māya ka-y ditaka, māya ka-y bāwkaš
(8:212) ā marāsimtāna šīma fikr nimakarim bo
(8:213) eh mawqeʕe ka ţarūsi makarin, maľawē, baʕd až {?! čw}, baʕd až ċwār ū, panj ūn,
(8:214) eh xānawāda-y ditaka
(8:215) panj šaš nafar ya minibūs, dawr da nefar pūnza nafar
(8:216) hawmayzin maľawina ditaka mārin až ka-y īstenšān-u {PM: ahā}
(8:217) manā ka-y bwāžām bāwkaš, ānā īma wan mwāžim marāsim-e darpardāna
(8:218) arē
(8:219) baʕd ā marāsima māyim až ka šīrińi matiyām dwāra
(8:220) marāsimya hawpički waš makarām {PM: ahā}
(8:221) baʕd filmbridāri makarām čaks manāžām, ināna
(8:222) baʕd-e panj šaš ūn dwāra ka-y dāmādaka māy mayanišwa
(8:223) arē ha ā mawqaʕ ha ā mawqaʕe ka darpardāna, kādušī matiyan
(8:224) kādu bištir pūl
(8:225) arē
(8:226) pūl tä panj timan, tä da timan, pūnza timan, har käm fāmil bo tä bis timan, bīs-u panj timan i jūra

ENGLISH

until a time,
for example, then, we celebrate this: that the young woman comes back to her father’s house.
We call (this) “darpardāna”. What do you call it?
When, after five, six days, the young woman comes from the young man’s house back to her father’s house.
That celebration, I don’t think you have it.
Eh, when they have the wedding, she goes, then after, after four, five days,
eh, the family of the young woman.
Five, six people, one minibus, around ten people, fifteen people,
you get up, they go, they bring the young woman back to their own house and {PM: aha}
they leave her in the house of her father, we say, for that we say we celebrate the darpardāna.
Yes.
After that ceremony, we come back (and) at home we distribute sweets again.
A ceremony, we do a nice dance. {PM: Aha.}
Then we make a film, take photos, such things.
After five, six days, (people) come from the house of the bridegroom, they bring her back.
Yes, just at that time, just at that time that (there is) the darpardāna, they give gifts.
The gifts (are) mostly money.
Yes.
Money, up to five toman, up to ten toman, fifteen toman, whoever is a relative, up to twenty toman, twenty-five toman, this way.
Text 9: Traditions of weddings and marriage (2)

The speaker in this text continues her discussion with the interviewer about matters of weddings and marriage. She is also a very good speaker of Gawrajūyī. She has attended elementary school and has spent her entire life in the village.

**GORANI**

| (9:1)  | na xānawādān ka saxt mayrin bīštir wa xātir-e masalān kuṟ-u dīta alān masalān xwāra-y ištanim bwām |
| (9:2)  | xwāra-y ištanim xāstegāriš māy |
| (9:3)  | xwāra-y ištanim māy (As for) my own sister, when she has a suitor, |
| (9:4)  | ā bāwk-u dāyka ā ordašāna mil sar minālhšānay {?! ni} mutāqaan nimwāţa ka |
| (9:5)  | ka masan dāyka mi(n) ū kuṟama garak-ē wāqe’ān waš(i)ma ān māy, bišma aḵā-y zendeği wa gardšay bikarim, nimatānē ka bwāy |
| (9:6)  | ah wa xātir ina-yē-a nimatānē bwāy |
| (9:7)  | dāyka bāwk-a ū īnašāna wā mināţ, īnašāna wā mināţ jāī ūra āhat bu dilešānay |
| (9:8)  | baḏd-ič eh |
| (9:9)  | kuṟaka-yē wāqe’ān ayar-ič wašiš bāy, ān mwāy wašim māy |
| (9:10) | ditakay mwāy wašim māy |
| (9:11) | walē bāyad war čaš bāwk-u dāyka nāwāy wašim māy |
| (9:12) | ayar-ič bwāy |
| (9:13) | {YFH speaks:} ha bāwk-u dāyka wjūdīš nawu, maw(u) bwāče min waš(i)ma tu māy {YFF speaks:} arē |
| (9:14) | {YFH speaks:} tu biniš, min-ič manišim, bizānim qismat ča {YFF speaks:} (The young man says:) “Wait, I’ll wait too, let’s see how destiny |

**ENGLISH**

| (9:1)  | No, (as for) the families who act strictly, it is more because of the young man and the young woman; now, for example, let me speak about my own sister. |
| (9:2)  | (As for) my own sister, when she has a suitor, |
| (9:3)  | my own sister, if she likes him, |
| (9:4)  | that father and mother (of hers) have the authority over their child; they definitely do not say |
| (9:5)  | that, for example, (if she says): “Mother, I really want (to marry) this young man; I like him; I may go for life, (to live) with him.” (The young woman) cannot say this (i.e., to her parents). |
| (9:6)  | Eh, because of this (i.e., family relationship), she cannot say (such things). |
| (9:7)  | Her mother and father have not given their children permission to be at such ease with them. |
| (9:8)  | Then, eh, |
| (9:9)  | (as for) the young man, if also he likes (someone), he says: “I like her.” |
| (9:10) | The young woman says: “I like him.” |
| (9:11) | But in front of her father and mother, she should not say: “I like him.” |
| (9:12) | If also she says... |
| (9:13) | {YFH speaks:} If the father or mother is not there, she may say: “I like you.” {YFF speaks:} Yes. |
| (9:14) | *(The young man says:)* "Wait, I’ll wait too, let’s see how destiny |

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318 The word ayar may be pronounced agar or ar by different speakers.
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

makarē {YFF speaks:} arē bizānim qismat ča makarē  

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turns out.” {YFF speaks:} Yes, “let’s see how destiny turns out.”

(9:15) walē i xānawādāna But within these families,

(9:16) masan yaki gawrawā, yaki masan musen wāqe’yan for example, there may be someone (who is) old, someone, for example, (who is) elderly, truly

(9:17) ʕāqili-fahmīda ka ʕāqilī wa ina qad biṭiyya, wāqe’yan ʕāqilī ba ina biｆāsā  

wise and insightful, such that his/her wisdom about these matters has reached a certain high level, his/her wisdom has truly reached this (level);

(9:18) bwāy bāwā i dü nafara waṣšān (that person) may say: “Hey, if these two people like each other,

(9:19) bā wa yak biｆāsān, xo zendege makanin, zendege muṣṭaraksān ʰē, wāqe’yan let them get together as a couple; they will certainly live together; their lives will be as one, really.”

(9:20) ensān i ezdewājā (sa) wāqe’yan sarneweṣtsāz-a afā-y ensān (As for) human beings, this marriage is truly the maker of destiny for human beings.

(9:21) walē xānawādān, eh But (as for) families, eh,

(9:22) bištir-e mardim-e kurdzwān most of our people who speak Kurdish, ishtanmān bwāzān, bištir ha i gawrajūwa, čun ēma nimūnamān ʰē let’s say, most accurately, these (people) of Gawrajū, because we have these examples,

(9:23) až)m nimatānin ɾihat qisa-y istanšān bi酚)asnī here, they cannot speak their own words comfortably.

(9:24) ditakay ayar waṣšā bāy nimatān ɾeh war čaš bāwk-u daykašwa bwāy Regarding the daughter: if she likes (a young man), she cannot say (this) in front of her father and mother.

(9:25) matān ĵa dūṣtān wa yā kuɾfaka She can say it in a friendly way to either the young man, or for example, to her own friends, who may let her family know.

(9:26) bāwā xānawāda gūš aslan wan nimataknē But her family does not pay any attention at all to her.

(9:27) mi(n) xwāraka-y istanim waṣ(i)ʃa kasē bāy Me, if my own sister likes someone,

(9:28) bāwaɾ ka pari xānim, masaʃan bāyad bāhrā bwāzē believe me, Ms. Pari, for example, she must say it several times.

(9:29) ayar {?! way} wan biʃasā, ka šukr-e xwāy makarē naʃasā bāyad ʃāzi būy wa ɾazā-y xwāy If she gets together with him (i.e., the young man), she thanks God. If she does not get together with him, she must be satisfied that that is also the will of God.

(9:30) hūc nawāy wa gard bāwāk-u daykaya She would never say anything (about it) to her father or mother.
You know, if also accidentally... {YFH speaks:} For example, my father and brother have said, have said: “My brother” (i.e., to the young man).

{YFF speaks:} If also accidentally, for example, the young man came to court (the young woman) and sat down and spoke and

You know, if also accidentally... {YF speaks:} For example, my father and brother have said, have said: “My brother” (i.e., to the young man).

If also accidentally, for example, the young man came to court (the young woman) and sat down and spoke and

{YFF speaks:} If also accidentally, for example, the young man came to court (the young woman) and sat down and spoke and

If also accidentally, for example, the young man came to court (the young woman) and sat down and spoke and

That means in some way they will send him away or in some way, later, they will give him a negative answer.

No, no, they want (have?) their own special reasons.

They say he is an outsider... {YFF speaks:} No, let’s leave (our talk now about) the outsider aside.

The outsider, the outsider: until they thoroughly look into his background, they do not give him an answer.

At first they say: “No.”

Do everything correctly; do this and that.” This means they act strictly.

If the young man also sits down for five years and waits at a distance,

the guy will not have any more authority to say (to the family): “Believe me (lit.,
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

GORANI

ENGLISH

(9:48) čašentezär-e dam ditak-ē, ditaka mwāy min tum garak-ē

He waits (to hear) what the young woman says; the young woman says: “I want you.”

(02:39)

(9:49) kuřaka mwāy min tum garak-ē

The young man says: “I want you.”

(02:41)

(9:50) {YFH speaks:} manišē

{YFH speaks:} He waits.

(02:43)

(9:51) {YFF speaks:} manišin-u āw bār-u das (bišūr)

{YFF speaks:} They wait and make things final.

(02:43)

(9:52) yā di nimatānin qisa bikarēn, ha duro duro masātal qisān īštan(šān) wa yak bišūn

Or they cannot speak with each other anymore; (their communication is) only from a distance, for example, that they can send each other their own words.

(02:45)

(9:53) wa čaš-u wa dam matānin qisān īštan wa yak bišūn

They can cause their speech to reach each other by means of their eyes and facial expressions.

(02:49)

(9:54) walē muttaqan nimatānin bwāy, war čaš xānawāda bwān bāwā

But they definitely cannot say (even something like): “Hey there,” in the presence of their families.

(02:51)

(9:55) ayar min

If I

(02:55)

(9:56) ši nimakarim-u jwāw masātal baʃzēk xāstegār nimatim-u hamıša mwām na, wa xātir fišān āghā-yē

do not get married and for example, do not give a reply to some of my suitors, and (if I) always say: “No, it is because of a certain guy;”

(02:56)

(9:57) nimatānē, yāni i orzaša niya ditaka i qisa bikarē

she cannot, that means, the young woman does not have the courage to say this.

(03:02)

(9:58) kuţa-yē ayar nimāy mwāwa wa xātir ā saxtgr(t)īyān xānawāda-y ka-y dita-yē

As for the young man, if he does not come forward, it is because of the strictness of the young woman’s family.

(03:05)

(9:59) {YFH speaks:} yānī pari xānim ayar piš-ič bāy

{YFH speaks:} That means, Ms. Pari, if it happens,

(03:09)

(9:60) piš bāy, kuţa-u dita waʃšān wa yak bāy, ya gila xāstegāriš bāy

if it happens that the young woman and young man like each other and another suitor comes,

(03:11)

(9:61) ā xāstegāra ayar bwāžē ka masātal

that suitor, if for example, he says:

(03:14)

(9:62) waʃ(i)ma wan māy

“I like her;”

(03:17)

(9:63) ar xānawādaka rāzi bū, bāyad ā kāra bū

if the family is satisfied (with him), that business must take place.

(03:19)

(9:64) ditaka har ča bwāy mi(n) waʃim nimāy a i kāra, mi(n) i kāra nimakarim

If the young woman says: “I do not like him, I will not do this...”

(03:22)

(9:65) ìna-yē-a ka bāwk-u dāyka rāziya

This, that the father and mother are

(03:25)
GORANI

bāyad ā kāra bū

(9:66) {YFF speaks:} bāwař ka biyamāna, parī xānim masālān

(9:67) eh fiłān āghāmān fiłān xānimmān diya

(9:68) ka wāqeʕan wa gard-e ezdewāješay wa gard ī āghāya muxālefat biya

(9:69) waš(i)ma wa nimāy, yā ča yā fiłān

(9:70) wa eǰbār-e xānawāda ā kāršā kardē

(9:71) walē zendegī nāmovafaqēkiš biya, ezdewāj-e nāmovafaqīš biya

(9:72) dū sāɫ tüliš nakīštē

(9:73) bāzam wa sar ā nārāhatiša-u ā etefāqāna ka afāš katē

(9:74) ā zendegīša ha ā jūra wīt kardē, hāmaya ka-y bāwkaš ništē

(9:75) āyā ī bāwk-u dāyka masālān min

(9:76) ištanim bwāžim, gwā masālān wāqeʕan i bāwk-u dāyka wānsān ōzāy-e masālān ā ta-y dīšān waššān māy ka

(9:77) ī jūr zendegī mināšān šekast bwarē, na waššān nimāy ā bāwk-u dāy-kē-ay

(9:78) walē masālān ā ta-y dīšāna waššān nimāy-u zendegīšān ya jūrē wa bāb-e dił īštanšān

(9:79) nimačarxē-u durus nimaw(u), majbūr-in ka masālān di kār wa taʃaq bikišē

(9:80) yā tu masālān hasāwiš bikari, bwā

(9:81) bāyad majbū-r-im ī šawya bisanīm,

(9:82) ī libāsa bisanīm

(9:83) āyā min wa difīm naw,

ENGLISH

satisfied, this business must be done.

{YFF speaks:} Believe me, we had, Ms. Pari, for example.

Eh, we have seen that man, that lady.

That, really, there was resistance regarding her marriage to this man.

(The young woman said:) “I do not like him,” or this or that.

But she had an unsuccessful life, she had an unsuccessful marriage.

It didn’t last two years.

Still, with that unpleasantness and those events that have happened to her...

She has left that life of hers just that way; she has come to her father’s house and has waited there.

If this father and mother, for example, I...

I speak about myself, say, for example, truly, this father and mother are satisfied, for example, that from the bottom of their hearts, they like that.

This way, their child’s life will be unsuccessful; (if that is so:) no, certainly, the father and mother do not like that.

But, for example, they do not like this, from the bottom of their (i.e., the parents’) hearts; and in some way, their (i.e., the couple’s) life

does not go well; then, for example, they must get a divorce.

Or, for example, you calculate, so to speak...

We must buy this dress,

buy this clothing.

If I do not like it, I have to buy it; I wear
The Gorani language of Gawrājū, a village of West Iran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GORANI</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>majbūr-īm bisanmiš ḥā, mapūšimš-ič</td>
<td>it, too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:84) walē ba'īd az ｙa mudat kūna maw(u) maya'ya</td>
<td>But after a certain time period, it will be old and torn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:85) {YFH speaks:} dū dafa makar(i)mša warim {YFF speaks:} walē masaılan</td>
<td>{YFH speaks:} I wear it two times {YFF speaks:} But for example,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:86) walē masaılan min</td>
<td>but, for example, I,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:87) ayar šū bikarim, šū makarim</td>
<td>if I get married, I get married:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:88) zendegim-ē, sāya-y sarm-ē, hēyım̄ gardšay-u hawmayzim, haymanišim</td>
<td>(my husband) is my life, he is my guardian; we are united, we stand up, we sit down (together).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9:89) āyā nimawu masaılan dū wajе muštarakmān bo wa gard yakay</td>
<td>Don’t we have, for example, two points in common with each other?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Lexicon

Introduction to the lexicon

The following list is a compilation of most of the lexemes in the nine Gawraǰūyī texts. The list does not include forms labeled “Kurdish” or forms in sections labeled “poetic”.

Lexemes are arranged alphabetically according to the following order:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{a} & \text{f} & \text{l} & \text{s} & \text{y} \\
\text{ā} & \text{g} & \text{ṭ} & \text{š} & \text{z} \\
\text{ḥ} & \text{h} & \text{m} & \text{t} & \text{ž} \\
\text{b} & \text{h} & \text{n} & \text{u} & \text{ʔ} \\
\text{č} & \text{i} & \text{o} & \text{ū} & \\
\text{ḍ} & \text{j} & \text{q} & \text{w} & \\
\text{ē} & \text{k} & \text{ř} & \text{x} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Example sentences are also given for most of the entries. These example sentences are taken directly from the corpus of the nine texts. The example sentences are presented as full sentences or edited fragments of longer sentences. The full sentences have the same capitalization, spelling, and sentence-final punctuation as in the source text. In the fragments, final punctuation is usually omitted.

Following the free translation, the text-sentence reference number is given in square brackets.

Definitions which are listed with a question mark or as Not analyzed should be considered provisional.

Verbs are treated in relationship to a citation form, which is the past stem.

Entry abbreviations

The entry abbreviations are given below in alphabetical order. These abbreviations are found immediately following each entry in miniscule letters. The reader should note that some of the abbreviations used for entries in the lexicon are different than those in small capitals, used in the definitions and in the interlinear morpheme glosses of the texts.

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- **def** |  Definite article |
- **dem adj** |  Demonstrative adjective |
- **drct** |  Directional |
- **echo** |  Echo form |
- **epen** |  Epenthetic |
- **ideoph** |  Ideophone |
- **indf** |  Indefinite article |
- **inf** |  Infinitive |
- **interj** |  Interjection |
- **n** |  Noun |

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**a** interj oh; ah; well; yes *mwāy a* (The spring) says: “Oh.” [1:28]  
*a₁* | n : dem DEM *xulāsa mwāy ĥaft hašt* mināţ i jūra Finally, (the cat) speaks in this way to seven (or) eight children. [1:42]  
*a₂* | v : agr IMP.PL *mwāy ya qūrī ařām bāra-uy a daba āw bītya wanim-u* He says: “Bring me a jug and give me a container for water and” [3:85]  
*a₃* | v : agr 3SG *kuřa maxura* The boy shouts [5:139]  
*a₄* | n : compd COMPD *titila-u bibila, ēma wa zwān kurdi mwāţām bizina šal-u miša šal* Titila and Bibila, in the Kurdish language we say: “The lame goat and the lame ram.” [2:2]  
*a₅* | v : agr 2PL *šīma mwāţa hanābānān, ēma mwāţām xanabanān* You say “hanābānān”, we say “xanabanān” (i.e., for the henna party). [7H:108]  
*a₆* | v > ptcp PTCP *di mā ʕasal ʕafia na* But then, when going on the honeymoon (lit., Honey Month), no (i.e., it is not necessary to have a pāxasur). [8:7]  
*a₇* | na NA  

**abru** | n eyebrow *mutlaqan wazīfaš-a ka ārāyeš nakari, na abru hūč, hūč* It is absolutely her duty that she not use makeup, not (do) her eyebrows, nothing, nothing. [7H:14]  

**af** | nprop the letter *F* aż ānā i fántumāna, af ēwārd-u af nām ċa-ū gištīš ā dawra ā dāšān wan* At that time, these Phantoms, F-14s, and F-whatevers and all of them, at that time, yes, they delivered (them) to him. [6:153]  

**afrāsyāw** | nprop Afrāsiāb  

**agara** | (var. forms: ar; ara; ayar; ayara) conn if *agara masan ēwār gīla kuřa bīnišē* Suppose, for example, if four young men are sitting (somewhere) [7N:6]  

**ah** interj eh; well *mān-i(č) ĕnšān ka(rd), naxšān kišt ka i jūra ah ah* They too did
thing; they made a plan that this way... Eh, eh... [6:67]

*ahyānan* adv accidentally *ayar-*ī(č) *ahyānan* masātān kuña hāma xāstegārī- u nīšt- u qisašān ka(rd)-u If also accidentally, for example, the young man came to court (the young woman) and sat down and spoke and [9:32]

- *aka* n : def DEF *bizinaka, mišaka wa bizinaka mwāy* The goat... (actually) the ram says to the goat [2:9]

*alān* adv now *ay bán tāqa, isa, alān isa pāsgāka-č* Well, at Bān Tāq, now, presently there is now the sentry station. [4:101]

*alāna* adv now *alāna, masan īma hawmayzām kārān- u čišt* now, for example, we get up, we do work, we especially do the cleaning. [7H:25]

*amiri* adj Amiri

*amjād* adj Amjadi

*amr* n life span *birāymān bē, amriš dā kasān tu* We had a brother; he gives his life to your relatives [6:35]

*amrikā* nprop America

*amrikāyī* adj American

-v : agr 3SG.H *fra xirāw-an* It is very bad. [6:157]

*anāza* quant as much *wa anāza-y kāfī qisa bikari, ūxi nakari* You should speak only as much as necessary, you don’t make jokes. [7N:15]

*anjām* cve fulfill ment *nimatānim ūsarī bitīma sar* he cannot fulfill it. [4:58]

*ar* (cf: agara) conn if *ar xānawādaka ūzi bū, bāyad ā kāra bū* if the family is satisfied (with him), that business must take place. [9:63]

*ara* (cf: agara) conn if *mwāy tu matānī, ara qawlim bikari* She says: “You can, if you do what I say [4:198]

*ardašir* nprop Ardešir

*ărē* prt yes *ărē šansāzi, wa čū durusiš makarin, āfā xarmān-u čišt* Yes, sickle-making, they make it with wood, for the harvest and things. [7N:39]

*arih* nprop Arab

*arihā* conn even if *min hūč mawqe’, arihā hatā nāmzadiyašī gharība bo min nimatānim fūsarī bitima sar* under no circumstances, even if strangers were (present) at her engagement, would I (lit., I could not) put on a headscarf. [7H:142]

*armanisān* nprop Armenia

*armani* adj Armenian

*artaš* n army *musadiq, jārān musadiq až kirmāsān tazāhorāt bi, artaš kumakiš maka(rd) Mosaddeq, the (political) movement of Mosaddeq, in Kermanshah there was a demonstration; the army was helping (Mosaddeq). [6:28]

*ărā* 1) prep for *ensān i ezdewāǰa (sa) wāqeš-an sarnewešsāz-y ařā-y ensān* (As for) human beings, this marriage is truly the maker of destiny for human beings. [9:20]

2) prep to *dim pišīyaka časb matīya, pišī mašuwa ařā baghdād* She sticks the cat’s tail back on (and) the cat goes to Baghdad. [1:105]

3) prep about *ařā ī ĥeǰāb tu ka qisa makay mayar na?* (You’re talking) about the “hejab” (i.e., dress code), aren’t you? [7H:5]

4) interrog why *xulāsa, dāya kaywānī mwāy, yārā i šīr mina ařā ūšīsē, ča wan hāmay* Finally, the old lady says:

“O God, why has this milk of mine been spilled? What happened to it?” [1:5]

5) conn because

*asī* n origin *ka asī-jud-e tu pālwān-in nasītān kayānīyān* Your origins and forefathers are heroes; your race is of the Kiānyān. [5:60]

*astān* 1) adv absolutely, at all *walē xānawāda*
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gāš astan wan nimatakné. But her family does not pay any attention at all to her. [9:26]

asp n horse paftašay matiya, qul šawdzī mašknè, aspakašt a rock falls (and) breaks the leg of Šabdiz, her horse. [4:91]

aspāw n belongings, things har či aspāw, madārik-u aspāw či ā kuṭa bū biya Whatever things (the young woman) had from (the young man), the papers and things, whatever the young man had [8:124]

atrāf n vicinity tamām ī ābādīya dawat makarin, ābādīyān atrāf-ič da wat makarin they invite everyone from this village, they invite (people from) the villages in the vicinity, too. [7N:71]

aw 1 prep to mārēšwa aw qasir (Xasraw) brings her back to Qasr-e Širin. [4:15]

aw 2 pro-form that, those aw, ku waš(i)ša ditaka hāma, wāt(iš) That one, the first young man who loved the young woman, said (this). [8:152]

=aw post to až kay i(n) nān-u tūša-y ištaniš mapēčiyawa, mayasīya pištšaw They wrap up in a cloth their bread and other victuals from home; (one of them) ties it to his back; he (i.e., the other one) simply brings bread and victuals (and) ties it to his back. [3:6]


=awā n PRT wēgwardēkiš diyawa wa i jangafa-u nām, xirāwkār-e ča-u, čāw frayēkiš dāy He found a wastrel from this forest, I don’t know, a good-for-nothing, he recounted many bad things {xxx} about her.” [4:196]

=awā 2 post POST alān ka āyam dita har ča sangintar bo, wa hurmattirawa mašuwa ka-y ištaniš Now, however much a person, a young woman, is dignified and noble, (then) she will go to her own home with that much more honor. [8:70]

awaf 1) adv first šawaki ūžwa mawu, mašu awaf dafa pā-y dāraka matiya wan (as) the early morning becomes day, he goes (and) first, he gives the foot of the tree a blow [3:54]

awafin adv first aw, ku wašišakaka, ka waš(i)ša ditaka hāma, wāt(iš) That one, the first young man who loved the young woman, said (this). [8:152]

awsā adv at that time ā āna awsā mwān, ā dawra xasraw ināna jām-e Yes. That, at that time, they say, Xasraw and these others had a mirror [4:175]

ay 1 prt well then mwāy ay čatān waš ka(rd) a(ž) ka-y lãlo čatān hāwir(d) (The goat) says: “Well then, what did you prepare in your uncle’s house? What did you bring?” [2:91]

ay 2 interj 1) oh ay xwiyā īna až kā durus biya Oh God, of what is she created? [4:15]

=ay 1 n: post POST taraštayēk mārē, matiya wa mil dimišay, dimiš maqirtinē She takes a hatchet, brings it down on its (i.e., the cat’s) tail, (and) cuts its tail off. [1:11]

=ay 2 pro BP.K.3SG xulāsa kirdmay damim damim sūzyā, nāmay tāqwa pišī birdya bāxwa Finally, I put it in my mouth (and) my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall (and) the cat took it away in the garden.” [2:94]

-aya na NA

ayar (cf: agara) conn if ayar dāy, bāwkat dāyš wanam, xo maxwāzimit If he gives, (if) your father gives you to me, good, I will marry you. [5:113]
ayara (cf: agara) conn if ayara ditaka bitin wan, nazri dwâ matin If they (agree to) give the young woman to (him), they celebrate a “nazr” wedding [7N:65]

ayarita conn if ayarita min āyamizāya biyātāiyim, pākašim biyātāwa If only I were a human being, if I could find a way for the tree to spread its roots. [3:41]

-syl n : num PL K bāyasa masan jûr ayar jāyaylē ka mumken-ē čan gila pîyâ, kuřa bûnišë hûc waxt naniši aż ānā, eǰâza nîmatîn You should, for example, like, if there are places where it is possible that some men, young men may be sitting, you may never sit there; they don’t permit it. [7N:22]

ayz vi get up.PRS alâna, masan īmâ hawmayzâm kârân-e ba xusu(s) tamîsi kâm now, for example, we get up, we do work, we especially do the cleaning. [7H:25]

ayzan adv again dwâra ayzan mašu māy wa, mwây dü gila čû manîya qa-y sarišwa Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” [2:43]

az prep from waḷâ qablan masan yaki az Ŧūstâyêk tirwa bây nîmatânîm But, earlier, for example, (if) someone comes from another village, we cannot (sit together). [7N:9]

az ānā adv there az ānā mwây kî matânë, i minââa wa gard-e i dâyâqar bar bikarê aḏ(āy) mîn There (Keykâvos) says: “Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?” [5:86]

až prep 1) in mwây ay ētân waš ka(r)da a(ž) ka-y lâle ētân hâwir(d), mwây ganîma šîra (The goat) says: “Well then, what did you prepare in your uncle’s house? What did you bring?” They say: “(The dish of) milk and wheat.” [2:91] 2) from, of bâyad tu biši āw až ēnîyaka hawbikari, bâyâ pâ-y mîn, mîn āw bwarim You must go, take out water from the spring, (that the water) may flow to my foot, (and) I may drink the water. [1:24] 3) at gawrajû až i pây, bân sar āwa (In) Gawrajû, at this foot (of the water source), on top of the water (source shelter building)... [7H:80] 4) to baṭêd, har masan dâmîdîkaka har kë ka b(w)îmê mujařâd-ë, až āna matîya wan Then, well, for example, whoever the bridegroom sees who is unmarried. He gives some of it to that one. [7H:112] 5) on aspakay až šânswa-û širin-îc až šânswa, har dûš hawgîrtaw The horse is on his (i.e., Farhād’) shoulder(s), and Širin is also on his shoulder(s); (Farhād) has picked up both of them. [4:108] 6) after až ānā, quṭān bâyâ wâr, fârā(d) màkušè After that, the pickaxe comes down and kills Farhād. [4:174]

až baya adj destroyed nanîsîš, až baya ʰaft, mard, kuštšān (Mosaddeq) didn’t write (it), (and) he was destroyed, he died, (they) killed him. [6:105]

ažin prep from source qayrêk ažin makartiya girîmîš-u kam mašu, fra mašu, maţasîya galâka He puts a little bit from it into a bag, and he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the flock. [3:58]


\[\text{ā}\]

\[\text{ā₁} \quad \text{dem adj DIST jā āsā pal bikarim, tu palaka biškini, biyārī ā bizinaka} \quad \text{Then I may grow leaves; you may break off the leaves, you may take (them) to that goat.} \quad [1:25]\]

\[\text{ā₂} \quad \text{prt 1) yes bisitūn ā quilangiš girta šānwa na pā-y kā Distotun, yes, he put the pickaxe on his shoulder, at the foot of the mountain.} \quad [4:80] \quad \text{2) well}\]

\[\text{ā₃} \quad \text{variant present stem of hāma}\]

\[\text{ān} \quad \text{pro DIST ānā(d)-ič až žērwa manūfē ānwa} \quad \text{Farḥād also looks at her without raising his head.} \quad [4:43] \quad \text{ān-ič, killī xażāna matiya wan, lāt-u lūt, gišt sīr makari až xażāna} \quad \text{He also gives her the key to the treasury; she gives the homeless and tramps their fill to eat from the treasury} \quad [4:207]\]

\[\text{ā₁₃} \quad n : num PL mināfānē ka masan hawpīkišān ārāsī kardū-u (as for) the children, who, for example, have danced for her, and} \quad [1:107]\]

\[\text{ā₂₃} \quad \text{v : agr 2PL î jür āyamē tahqīq bikarān waš(i)ša wa min māy bizāna eh āyam xāṣēk-e} \quad \text{This sort of person exists; find out if he is, eh, a good person or not; he likes me.} \quad [8:86]\]

\[\text{ā₃₃} \quad \text{prt that (is) āna rūž-e šūrūšiš-ē, rūž-e šūrūšiyeš ažā dīle ā ţamadān-e dīta ka až ka-y bāwka bīťawē bāyad kulēra masan durus bikay bīnyay dileš} \quad \text{So it is that, it is the wedding day, on the wedding day, in the suitcase of the young woman who is leaving her father’s house, there should be “kulera” (i.e., a special type of bread)} \quad [7H:147] \quad \text{2) pro-form DIST āna, wātawēš bāwā, hay šā matānī biňawī He... He had said: “Old fellow, hey Shah, can you leave?} \quad [6:77] \quad \text{3) pro-form there mařasē dīle āna qadīmi masu di hūč masan kār ažīn nimakarin He goes inside there; it is...}\]
old, nothing anymore, for example, they do not work in it anymore. [3:20]

-āna $n >$ ADV mašāna dile āsyāwakawa titila- $u$ bibila $wā$ řūžāna Titila and Bibila go into the mill daily. [2:35]

ānana $pro$-form that ā $ānana$ xūn-$e$ sīyāwaxš Yes, that is the blood of Siyavoš. [5:76]

ānā $pro$-form that, those $ba$ʕzēkiš mazānē, masan ānā $ka$ bāwkašān dawrīš-$ē$, mazānin biţānī Some (women) can (play); for instance, those whose father is a dervish, they can play. [7N:48]

ānān $pro$ those, they ānāna $pro$-form those āxir ānāna bāwkašān xulāsa mař asīya ānā $u$ mwāy Finally, he reaches there (i.e., their residence) and says [3:65]

āqa $adv$ so much āqay nār(āh)ay biya $zānīst$ sar ěy mawinī He was so sad; he knew what would happen to him. [4:77]

āqara 1) quant so many ka-y pādšā, mwāy āqara dawā-$u$ duktur hāma-$u$ dārūšān āhawīr-$u$ dawāš ka(rd), dawāš šītāš payā naka(rd) (the people in) the king’s house, they say: “So many medicines and doctors came and they brought remedies, and the doctor gave medicine; his medicine did not bring about healing. [3:68] 2) $adv$ so min āqara ěwrām bē, xākim war(d) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

ār $present$ stem of āhawīr

āraš $nprop$ Āraš āraš $nprop$ Āraš āraš $nprop$ Āraš āraš $nprop$ Āraš ārāyeš $n$ makeup ēng-e mü ĕncīš niya, ārāyešīs niya, ēng-e müyš niya, eslah kardayš niya Coloring one’s hair is completely impossible; there is no makeup, there is no hair coloring [7N:5]

āsā $adv$ then, at that time āsā dawra-$y$ mwān dawrīši biya, kaškūšī tā biri dānawari kardē at that time, they say, it was the dervish era; his bag was embroidered with precious stones, as many as you can imagine. [4:17]

āsmān $n$ sky $yakīš řūšin ka(rd), ništa piššī, řaťa āsmān, hāmaya wār He started one (Phantom) up, sat behind (the control stick), went up into the sky, (and) came down. [6:150]

āsyāw $n$ mill kam mašu fra mašu mařāsīya dile ya āsyāwēk makina he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the inside of a mill, a machine. [3:19]

āškārā $adj$ recognized ěz yak āškārā mawin They recognize each other. [4:45]

āšnā $n$ acquaintance ya org manīn-$u$ kuṛa-$u$ dīta-$u$ řan-$u$ mīnāf-$u$ řūstā-$u$ gharība-$u$ āšnā-$u$ giš(t) har dile yakī They set up a keyboard and young men and young women, and women and children, and villagers and strangers and acquaintances and all are in unity. [7H:81]

āw $n$ water wātaniš, xob, xo ěz bān-$e$ ěw sarim būi, ěz bān zamin sarim nawřī He (i.e., Siyavoš) said: “All right. All right, (but) cut off my head (while I am) over water; don’t cut off my head (while I am) over the ground. [5:71]

āwāz $nprop$ Ahvaz āwird $variant$ past stem of āhawīr āwirdā $past$ subjunctive of āhawīr āwis $adj$ pregnant magar(Ď) ya qayr giţg giyā mwarȡ-$u$ dī āwis mawu bizinaka She looks around (and) eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then the goat becomes pregnant. [2:21]

āwnī $adj$ hungry min āqara ěwrām bē, xākim war(d) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth.
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1. axe, conn because āxe gawraǰū ya muhīṭkī būčēk Because Gawraǰū is a small place. [8:50]
2. axe2, interj oh āxe min hefzim niya Oh, I can’t remember it. [7H:125]
3. axir 1) adj āxirīš -ī You are the last one. [3:69]
4. axir 2) n end, ending āxir kār fra masan muškel manīšē For us, in the end, the tasks are very problematic (i.e., difficult), for example. [7H:34]
5. axir 3) prt thus, finally, well āmān āxir kār fra masan muškel manīšē For us, in the end, the tasks are very problematic (i.e., difficult), for example. [7H:34]
6. axir 4) conn but, then wa bāwkaš mwāy, āxir nimazānē ī minā (The boy) is speaking to his father, but still this child does not know it. [5:140]

1. āye1, present stem of hāma 2. āye2, interj 1) oh āy ī bizina dāwu ģīyān makanē ġunāš-ē “Oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).” [2:18] 2) well āyakān pro-form the others na, min farqim hē wa āyakān No, I am different from the others. [3:71]
3. āyam n human being, person ālān ka āyam dita har ģa sangīntar bo, wa ġurmattiraw mašuwa ka-y ģīštanīš Now, however much a person, a young woman, is dignified and noble, (then) she will go to her own home with that much more honor. [8:70]
4. āyamīzāya n human being šakat mawīn aṛā-y ģīštanšānī manīšīn yakišān mwā-y āyamīzāya māy They are tired; they simply sit down (and) one of them says: “Here’s the scent of a human being!” [3:26]
5. āyā conn if āyā min wa dīhīm naw, majbūr-im bisanmiš ġā, mapūšimš-ē If I do not like it, I have to buy it; I wear it, too. [9:83]
6. āyir n fire waxtē mawīnē až āyir nasūzē, dī pāk-ē īna dī When he sees that he is not burned by the fire, then he is still pure. [5:82]
7. āyna n mirror āyna-u Šarūsaka maw(u) bū The mirror and the “Šarūsaka” (i.e., candlestick), everything for the bride must be there. [7N:143]
8. āyšān pro they ġūnām xumaynī binīna taxt-u buwa ţavīs Jambūrī alān har ģi bikarin aṛā āyšān bikarin They put Imam Xomeini on the throne, and (thus) he would become president of the republic; now anything that (these governments) do, they do. [6:68]
9. āzād adj free naftīš dī musadiq āzādiš ka(rd) The oil, then, Mosaddeq released it [6:118]
tīlītā-u bibīla šālāy haq qawī mawin little by little, little by little; Titila and Bibila, by God, they become strong. [2:27]

Ŷama n aunt (father’s sister) až xānwādā-y dita, ū Ŷama-y ditaka, ū ū ťala-y ditaka
From the young woman’s family, either the young woman’s aunt on her father’s side, or the young woman’s aunt on her mother’s side [8:10]

 Yöqd n engagement, bride consent, vows
masan ūnā bān xāstegārīš karin, nāmzadiš bikarin, ūawrī Yöqd makarin For example, today they come to court a young woman, (then) they go through with the engagement; they immediately take vows.
[8:197]

 Yöqdi adj made vows, engaged Yöqdišāni kardawē They had been engaged [8:156]

 Yöqt n wisdom Yöqt-u xāmhāda ka Yöqtīš wa ina qad bitīya, wāqe’san Yöqtīš ba ina biqāsē wise and insightful, such that his/her wisdom about these matters has reached a certain high level, his/her wisdom has truly reached this (level) [9:17]

 Yöraq nprop Iraq
 Yörtāj nprop Arūs
 Yöṛus, n bride ba’d jāšn mayrin, až ānā, ⎡?! maqaj ⎡ Yöṛusaka bāyad ā hanā bigardinē tamām ā mardimay Then they celebrate; there the bride must offer that henna to all the people. [7N:95]

 Yöṛusi n wedding alāna masan ba’d āčān sāḥ, dū sē āhū sīn Yöṛusišān mināhdār b(un)
Now, for example, after several years, two, three years after their wedding, (the couple) may have children. [8:37]

 Yöṛusī adj mentally disturbed wa xātir ina ka kufraka Yöṛusī-yē On account of this: that the young man is mentally disturbed [8:79]

 Yösāl n honey až hizārīš yākē marawē, in mašwā mā Yösāl Out of a thousand, (only) one goes; he goes on the “Honey Month” (i.e., honeymoon) [7H:159]

 Yösāl n hand staff Yösāl-y darsiš har dānā-u jāwāhīr-ē His staff is decorated with precious items and jewels [4:33]

 Yösk (cf. šaks; metathesis: Yösk) n likeness; photograph wēm bisitīn ɾāftēm walē tamāsām ās nakardē Yöskakān I myself have gone to Bisotun, but I have not looked very well at the pictures [4:173]

 Yöskar nprop Askar
 Yöfīz adj disappointed, despaired, lā, waš hāmay, nīmawu až kaw(wa) pādšā āf Yöfīz biya Well, let it be, you are welcome, it won’t work; for a long time the king has despaired.” [3:70]

 Yöfīt adj wise Yöfīt-u xāmhāda ka Yöfītīš wa ina qad bitīya, wāqe’san Yöfītīš ba ina biqāsē wise and insightful, such that his/her wisdom about these matters has reached a certain high level, his/her wisdom has truly reached this (level) [9:17]

 Yöšiq n love bašd, dukut šawār ka šām mwarin dita-y šālyār sū Yöšiq-e ūsām nāmaw mawu then, at midnight, as they are eating their evening meal, King Šahrīr’a daughter falls in love with the famous Rostam. [5:109]

 Yöšiq n love masan wa, Yöšiqišān wa tarafē kas-e tirwa wa ditaka maṛsānī For example, with..., they make their love known to the young woman by means of another person. [8:53]

 Yöhuďa n responsibility gištīš hē Yöhuďa-y, hīn ditaka hē Yöhuďa-y ka-y bāwka-y kufraka For all there is, the responsibilities for... The things (i.e., expenses) for the young woman, the household of the father of the young man is responsible (to pay). [7N:78]

 Yözuw n member chīnka Yözuw-e ā xānwādāyana Because he is a member of
ب‌

*بته* prf yes; oh yes, indeed ānī māya, māya lā-y lālo pāyar mwāy lālo pāyar, mwāy *بته, bizinaka* She comes, comes to Lālo Pāydār (and) says: “Lālo Pāydār!” (Lālo Pāydār) says: “Yes, goat?” [2:75] makatiya ʃün bizin māyē mawinē *بته dū* wačkaš-ic-ic hē (the wolf) comes after the goat; he sees (that) yes, she also has two offspring [2:31]

*بفتکا* conn but, rather na ha xānawāda-y ima, *بفتکا i ţiştāka* Not only in our family, but (also) in this village [8:97]

*bambāwārān* n bombardment *imardina* haṭabja-y šinaša gištiš bambāwārān ka(rd), šimyāyī girişiš, i mantāqa-y qaxtānīya, hin dālāhuwa, garmasēr These people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them), everything chemicals, this area of the Qalxānī, that of the Dālāhu, Garmsir. [6:162]

*بار* 1) n front xānawāda bar-e ţiyy as(t)an nimazin kuṭaka in front of the family... They don’t allow the young man at all... [9:33] 2) prep at, to, before hāmay, garsi tā waxte hāmaya bar ēvārāqūpi qasir He came... He searched, until the time he came to the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin. [4:23] 3) n outside, outdoors až ābādi imā ka masan ābādi būčkalānayka garakīt bo, garakīt bo až ānah bāli bar, bāy aţa ka-y īma, huč mawqeš nimatānī wa i waz’ā masan mū-y sar-e luxtē bāy in our village, which is, for example, a small village, (and) you want, you want to go outdoors from here, you come to our house, you definitely cannot come like this, for
instance, come with your hair uncovered. [7H:7] **4** *adv* out, forth; outside *ya dafayī* mawīnī *titila*-u *bibila* bar ḥāman

Suddenly, she sees that Titila and Bibila came out. [2:89] **5** *n* fruit *xozū mīn āyam* biyātāyīm, biyātāyīnma, i *dār*-ič-a *di* bariš *magirt* If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree would have then borne fruit, too [3:44] **6** *cve* out, *ā tūta*-y *gard* galama bikuštā, *maghzakašim* barbāwirdā, *binyātāma* war *war, wiškwa* biyātā-īč-a *dī* bariš

If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree would have then borne fruit, too [3:44]

**7** *n* door

*bara* *n* door *dāykašān* mašūwa kū *yak daf(a)* gurgaka māya piš(t) baraka, *their* mother goes to the mountain(s); suddenly, the wolf comes up to the door. [2:37]

*barakat* *n* blessing of increase *küzkān* bar *mārē-u* mwāy *xwiya* bitīya wa *barakat* He brings out the vases and says: "May God increase (this finding)." [3:56]

*bard* variant past stem of *yard*

*bardāšt* *n* impression čünkā ayar ḏār marāsim *birin, mwāzin, as(t)an* gan bardāšt makarin Because if one comes (and) celebrates, they say, they definitely get a bad impression. [7H:56]

**bard** variant past stem of *yard*

**bardāšt** *n* impression čünkā ayar ḏār marāsim *birin, mwāzin, as(t)an* gan bardāšt makarin Because if one comes (and) celebrates, they say, they definitely get a bad impression. [7H:56]

*barq* **1** *n* lightning *yak gruz matī wa ā dileš,* *barq matī wa tēy* He gives it a blow with his club; a bolt of lightning strikes it. [5:106] **2** *n* electricity *i xānandāna mwānin ima hef(z) makarām māyama dile marāsimāna bīštirīs mawqe’ē ka mašan yā barq naw zabt binyām* These singers sing, we learn by heart, we come to the celebrations, (and sing), mostly in the situation (when), for instance, there is no electricity (and) we set up a cassette tape recorder. [TH:134] **3** *adj* burned gištī *barq* matīyay gištī, *hūči* nimarzin

Everything will be burned, everything; nothing will remain. [5:158]

*barxurd* *n* meeting, encounter *di har ařa-y awatin* barxurd bāwkim īwāši matiya of course, my father rejects his request, from the very first meeting. [7H:98]

*barz* *adj* high *bišwā ařa dile āsyāwaka* gūša-y barz Go into the mill, to a corner high up [3:109]

*basazwān* *adj* poor creature *di wa tūzāna* mašūwa lawī-l-ū *šawān*-yē māya aţ ḏār ištānīš hay mawśe ařa-y ištānīš basazwān then every day, she goes to graze, and also every night, she comes from there (and) simply sleeps all the time, poor creature. [2:23]

*basta* *n* package *ya bastayī maw(u) bigardinē* ja *{xxx}* gištī One package (i.e., the gereguš bag) they must distribute from *{xxx} everything. [7N:104]

*baš* *n* portion, share, division *bašē kardē, i tamām-e jahānša baš(ē) karda nāwišān* (The father of Iraj) divided up... He divided up this whole world among them (i.e., the sons). [5:10]

*baw* *prt* come *baw tā* Come now, so that...

[1:103]

*baxt* *n* good fortune *ē kardaša qāt, eh, taxt-u baxtī karvāwīs aţ bayn bišu* (The young wife) made a loud proclamation, eh: “May the kingdom and good fortune of Keykāvos be destroyed” [5:39]

*bayn* **1** *prep* between *aţ bayn ištānān, ya čitānešān, aţ hes-e šašūnšān wa yak biyā* between them, there was something; they had a sixth sense for each other. [4:8]

*bayn* **2** *adj* destroyed *bā bayn našī, mardim gišt(t) hawgarsewa* May you not be destroyed. All the people are rebelling.”
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

bazay n mercy min až ānāwa, i xwiya bazayš hāmay wanimay, i hankay xayrša kardaya damı̱nwa Me, from then on, this God had mercy on me, he placed this much good in front of me (lit., my mouth). [3:108]
bazbərptcp run away. PTCP xulāsa dāya karaywā气味 wāy bazbər aftat nīya Finally, the old lady says (to the cat): "You don’t have (a chance of) running away." [1:10]
bazm n manner, way īnawā, ī xwiya bazm kā(rd) It stayed this way. [6:72]
bāb n bottom walē masaɫ an ā ta-y dišāna waššān nimīy-u zendegišān ya jūrē wa bāb-e diš īṣtanšān But, for example, they do not like this, from the bottom of their (i.e., the parents’) hearts; and in some way, their (i.e., the couple’s) life [9:78]
bān n arm eh bāzı̱wan mayasa bān bāzı̱wa-u Eh, she binds the band onto her arm and [5:121]
bān, 1) n upstairs dāya kaywānı̱wu̱ka-yə šīr bızı̱nakaš mawṣ̌ē, mārēša bān The old lady also milks her goat (and) takes it (i.e., the milk) upstairs. [1:3] 2) n roof mašu bān kā-y gurg xulāsa, matiya wa bānakašay (The goat) goes to the roof of the wolf’s house, finally; she hangs on his roof. [2:67]
3) prep upon, on, up; over šayı̱rēkiš kištı̱-u niyăša bān quł sawdzı̱wa he pulled up a plane tree and laid it on the leg of Šabdız. [4:143] 4) adj above
bān, n prop Bān
bānámüsē adj honorable walē mardım bā nāmūsē bīsin but they were people with honor. [6:129]
bān tāq n prop Bān Tāq
bān-u wān n location in the field pıyākān diraw makarın, daskana makarın, maš(ü)na fālavy kār makarın, kār bān-u wān hē, šansişi hē The men do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, they go work on construction, there is work in the field, there is sickle-making. [7N:37]
bāği n 1) remaining portion damiš niyă šı̱raka, tā tānısı̱š šı̱raka wariš-u bāğiš-i(č) rı̱și̱ put its mouth to the milk, drank as much as it could, and poured the rest of it out. [1:9] 2) others dīta jwānakān mwanin mwanin walē bāği The young women sing, they sing, but the others... [7N:112]
bār n time ayar-ič-a, qablan masan yāč čan māng pēš masan dū bār bāya kamān, sēyamin bār ka mwāžim masan dī xudemu̱n-ya And if, earlier, for example, a few months ago, for example, someone comes two times to our house, (then) the third time I say, for example, he is then familiar to us [7N:17]
bārha adv several times masafan bāyad bārha bwažē for example, she must say it several times. [9:28]
bāšad prt may it be, all right māyım maydı̱naka jang makarān, mwāy bāšad “I will come to the square (and) we will fight.” (The wolf) says: “All right.” [2:74]
bāwa n father masan bāwa-u bīrakam wātan, wātan bīrakam For example, my father
and brother have said, have said: “My brother” [9:31]

bāwař cve believe bāwař kā das žan-(i)če-i nagirt Believe me: he did not take the hand of another woman in marriage [8:188]

bāwā 1) interj old fellow, man bašid mwāy bāwā, kārināni sīyāwaxš Afterwards, (Afrāsiāb) says: “Old fellow, we have business with you, Siyavoš.” [5:66]

bāwākaram aprop Bābā Karam

bāwk n father mawāy bāwkam, ţafē Then, (Širu) says: “Father, my father, he has gone [4:194]

bāwākaram aprop Bābā Karam

bāwākram aprop Bābā Karam

bāwā n father mawāy bāwākam, ţafē Then, (Širu) says: “Father, my father, he has gone [4:194]

bāwākaram aprop Bābā Karam

bāwān adj aware īriǰ bāwā mawu, ţānsiš bāxwar mwāy Iraj is aware, (he) is aware of his fate. [5:19]

bāyad prt must bāyad biši až pā-y dār wiyaka, wī bārī You must go to the foot of

the willow tree, bring (back) willow (leaves) [1:15]

bāyas prt must (may?) bāyas wa gardšay binniš, mwāy, bīxani, mawāy ā jūra naw ka di as(f)an mutlaqan niya qayaxa-yē You may sit with him, talk, laugh; but it is not like that, that it is absolutely not allowed, (that) it is forbidden. [7N:18]

bāyāsa prt must, should bāyasa masan jūr ayar jāyaylē ka mumken-ē čan gila piyā, kuţa binniše hūc wāxt nanoši až ānā, cīza nīmatin You should, for example, like, if there are places where it is possible that some men, young men may be sitting, you may never sit there; they don’t permit it. [7N:22]

bāz n time ūrdūyī aʁaš makarin, bāz ham bariš makarē, mārēš they make a camp for him; he brings her out again, he brings her. [5:91]

bāzam adv still bāzam wa sar ā nārāhatiša-u ā etefāqāna ka aʁaš katē Still, with that unpleasantness and those events that have happened to her... [9:73]

bāzdāšt cve arrest bāzdāštīš ka(rd) aw ūlaraq he (i.e., the Shah) arrested him (i.e., Xomeini) (and deported him) to Iraq. [6:63]

bāziwan n armband bāziwanaka-y bāțiš makarēwa He removes the band from around his arm. [5:119]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

bedûn prep without qaban bè, bedûn pâxasîr bêyad dita ka-y ūrîs ka-y dâmâd nāfîla (This tradition) existed in earlier times; without the pâxasur the young woman wasn’t supposed (to go) to the house of the bride, the house of the groom. [8:22]

besyârē quant a lot hēzîm besyârē jīm makarin (The king’s people) gather a lot of wood. [5:42]

bewanîž nprop Bewanîj ùn sariš biyā ī bewanîža āsā mwây dârîa biya Well then, this Bewanîj, at that time, one says, was a sea [5:80]

bē prep without kuřa maxura-u mwây, mwây aya(r) fırsûm nâm wēt biya nawî na maydân bimēnî bē sar The boy shouts and says: “If you are Rostam, say your name, so that on the battlefield, not hing without a head may remain.” [5:139]

bēvi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrām bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

bēwažan nwidow das ya gila wa nazârim bēwažaniš girtē He has married a widow, I think. [8:2]

bī vi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrâm bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

bêvi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrâm bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

bēvēsārē quant a lot hēzîm besyârē jīm makarin (The king’s people) gather a lot of wood. [5:42]

bēvēzā nbrother ùn sariš biyā ī bewanîža āsā mwây dârîa biya Well then, this Bewanîj, at that time, one says, was a sea [5:80]

bēvi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrâm bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

bīvi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrâm bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]

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bīvi COP.PST.3SG min āqara āwrâm bē, xākim wârd(î) I was so hungry (that) I ate earth. [3:106]
Then he is hungry, poor man; there is nothing at all for him; he eats the two lumps of earth [3:18]

They give them a document, they go to the hospital (and) they give them a certificate. [7N:151]

We were friends; you yourself stole the bread and went on the way. [3:104]

Money, up to five toman, up to ten toman, fifteen toman, whoever is a relative, up to twenty toman, twenty- five toman, this way. [8:226]

He was going to the foot of Bisotun (mountain). [4:79]

The women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult; the men have less work. [7N:36]

Not only in our family, but (also) in this village, because it is a small village. [8:97]

He throws his father to the ground (and Rostam) says: “Whoever throws the other one to the ground first should forgive him out of reverence for the pure god. [5:145]

Or, for example, you calculate, so to speak... [9:80]
vi go.PRS bāyad āna bū, nīšān bištī qabl az ina ka bičina mā ūsalī, āna bū ka nīšān ā xānawādānā biṭiyāyš. That must be so, you must show it before they go on the honeymoon, that should be that they show it to those families. [7H:163]

c interroga what mwāy xwiṭū ča bikarīm i rūḥān mina ča wana hāma ča wārdiš, xirs wārdiš gurg wārdiš she says: “O God, what will I do? These children of mine, what happened to them? What ate them? Did a bear eat them? Did a wolf eat them?” [2:54]

čam n eye ġīw arīb čam, ġīw mwāy dīw čašiš jūr dīw biya, waʁaw wār hīn biya Giv, the Arab-Eye, Giv, it is said, a giant, his eyes are huge like a giant’s, that they are directed downwards. [5:88]

čamadān n suitcase āna rūḵ-e ūrūšīš-e, rūḵ-e ūrūšīyeš afā dīle ā čamadān-e dīta ka až ka-y bāwka bīfawē bāyad kulēra masan durus bikāy bīnyay dīles So it is that, it is the wedding day, on the wedding day, in the suitcase of the young woman who is leaving her father’s house, there should be “kulera” (i.e., a special type of bread) [7H:147]

čan quant 1) some, several āsīyāw wišk biya, ina čan sāṭa bar nimayrē (The tree) has become dry; it has been several years that it has brought forth fruit. [3:40] 2) how much tā ya pūšān nasand, nām čan-e pūš-u ya dī pākat šīrīn, jīnāza(ḵ)ušān āsā āwā (It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back. [6:13]

čapa n bouquet ay di čapa-y guţ-u čapa-y čirū marg tuwa nawinīm-u min irāna hargizā-y hargiz Well then: A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of čirū (flowers); may I never see your death, nor (the death of) Auntie Iran, never, never. [2:95]

čapar n messenger bašd āsā, sitāra-šinās-u qāqaz māqaz nawa, čapar biya-u, rīnīčišān biya-u ināna Then, at that time, there were no astrologers or paper and such things; there were messengers and they had fortune-tellers and these (kinds of people). [5:13]

čarma adj white mwāy ča makarī, mwāy waṭā i diwarā mawuwa čaramwua He says: “What are you doing?” She says: “By God, this black tent will become white.” [5:163]

čarx vi proceed, go.PRS nimačarx-e durus nimaw(ḵ), maǰbūr-in ka masahān di kār wa tašq bīkīšē does not go well; then, for example, they must get a divorce. [9:79]

časb cve attach dimakat časb bitīma qaytay waš hāmay I may stick your tail back on you (and then) our business is finished (lit., you are welcome).” [1:104]

čādur n tent ā sāṭa až i dikān(ḵ), masan stī ġādur dawīšā bikana, bāwka ū-dāya bi dāya-u at that moment, in these villages, for example, around the black tents (and)
begin to lament: “Father has passed away, woe, woe,” and [4:156]

čāt n hole, pit xulāsā ṣayrē až ya yā tīr manyayša čāt ka baḥayiš bū Finally, he takes (them) from one place (and) puts (them) into another pit where he can recognize it (later). [3:57]

cārwā n shelter ā galaxā(na), dāmadārī-u cārwā that stall (for the flocks), the enclosure, and the shelter [4:142]

čāw n eye(s) dú čāw dirm jūr girdakān‑ē I have two eyes like walnuts [2:60]

čāy n tea makarīya nān‑u qan‑u čāyī māyakaš‑ī(č) mayarēš‑u mašu (Nāmard) takes the bread and sugar cubes and tea (and) also the belongings, and he goes. [3:12]

čārwā n shelter ā galaxā(na), dāmadārī‑u čārwā that stall (for the flocks), the enclosure, and the shelter [4:142]

čena quant that much baḏ d až čena talīl‑u hawpiḵi bištiš až had xāriš bo, až bāwka‑u dāykašān mūxālefāt makariš Then, if that much joy and dancing exceed the (expected) limits, her parents are against it. [7H:59]

či interrog what mazānā či hatāš‑ē, ina gurgaka mwāy Do you know what the cure for her is?” It is (still) the wolf speaking [3:30]

čika n bit ďi aš‑y ıştiš kam kam ya čika waraka matyā wan bīsīnaka then simply, little by little, a bit of sunlight falls on the goat [2:20]

čil num forty extiyār tām may, ay šāyīya biya min, tā čil saw Give me full power over the kingdom until forty nights (have passed)! [4:199]

čila n forty days after death custom marāsimī birin manē sūn‑e čila If they celebrate, they do it after the “čila” [7H:68]

čūn conn because kas‑e tir nimwām čūn āyam yak‑e tīr bwāy gunā mwāy I am not
speaking about anybody else, because a person speaking about someone else is speaking sinfully. [8:133]

čū₁ n wood dwāra ayzan mašu māywa, mwāy dū gila čū maniya qa-y sarišwa Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” [2:43]

čū₁ adv how ay diwāra čū sīyāwa mawu, hawmayzī, žan makušē, mwāy ay marda čū zinn(a)wa mawu
And how can a tent become black, (Rostam) gets up (and) kills the woman. She says: “How can the dead become alive again?” [5:166]

čū₂ interrog what ay tā tu (ǰi) ǰwāw bāwkat čū bitīmwa, min manayim what answer should we give to your father? I have remained.” [4:192]

čū₁ n wood arē šansāzī, wa čū durusiš makarin, ața xarmān-u čišt Yes, sickle-making, they make it with wood, for the harvest and things. [7N:39]

čūn adv how ya i quī aspa šiksīš, čūn ḟwāw xasraw ěwu bitim Now this leg of the horse has been broken. How, how should we answer for this to Xasraw?” [4:96] 2 conn because

čünkaka conn because čünkaka ayar bāy marāsim birin, mwāžin, as(č)an gan bardāšt makarin Because if one comes (and) celebrates, they say, they definitely get a bad impression. [7H:56]

čūpi n dance scarf walē baʃez dūmānē az sar-e čūpi-u ba’dan ināna jangīš hē, saʃīš hē But some tribes, because of the scarf held up by the leader of the dance line, and then such things... There are conflicts, there are fights. [7H:87]

čwār num four sām-u tūr-u nām ča, čwār kuʃeq biya, irīf Sām and Tur and what’s his name, he had four sons. Iraj... Iraj was his son. [5:8]

čwārqāpī adj four-gated hāmay, garsi tā waxhē hāmaya bar čwārqāpi qasir He came... He searched, until the time he came to the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin. [4:23]
and give me a container for water and

*dabistân* *n* intermediate school *bedâštân*, *muxâbrâštân*, *madrasa*-y *řâhnamâyi*, *dabistân*, *gîštî yakê-ya ařâ-ya ima, hüê₃* *farqiît niyâ* Their hygiene facilities, their telephone center, the primary school, the intermediate school, it is all the same for us, there is no difference. [7N:29]

*dafa* *n* time *šâskakaš dîì sê dafà dâşıît wa* *telayzün āsâ* At that time, his photograph was broadcast (lit., gave) two (or) three times on television then [6:101]

*dâftar* *n* sacred texts and books *yâni yakê ǰûr min alâna hüê₃ mawqeè̇* *sar až dafar īštanmâin barmimâwrin* You know, someone like me now will never understand completely our sacred texts and books. [7H:41]

*daho* *n* percussion instrument *haft sâz-u haft dahoût jaśn mayrin* seven stringed instruments and seven percussion instruments; they hold a celebration [3:96]

*dalîl* *n* reason *na, na ânâni dalilân xâs-e īštanšân garâk-e* No, no, they want (have?) their own special reasons. [9:35]

*dâfq* *n* (plastic) bag *ya takya haftwâ ařâm bikura-u piy wa dafq-ìc xâk ařâm bikara* prepare me a tray with sweet pastries, and also a bag full of earth for me [4:159]

*dam₂* *n* mouth *qayamštâr damišt jür xânakal siyâ biya* To make things worse, his mouth was like a black {xxx} [4:130]

*dam₃* *n* kind of tea, infusion *tâ dîì Ŧû(2) sê Ŧû(2) až āna makariya dam, matiya wan-u walê hâ wâštî ažîn bikarya dam bitiya ditaka bwarê až dawâkâ* For two days, three days, he makes a kind of tea from it; he gives it to her, and so he must remember what he (i.e., the wolf) said: “Make a kind of tea from this, give it to the daughter; she must drink the medicine.” [3:87]

*dam₁* *n* time *har xûn-e siyâwaxs har dam bjjûsê, jang-ê, šâarih matiya* Whenever the blood of Siyavos boils, war, battle will come to pass. [5:75]

*dang* *n* voice *ā di quhâng ja dang kâft, kûyês kunâ kardê tâšiyaš* Well, then, the pickaxe made no sound; it has penetrated the mountain (and) has shaped it. [4:86]

*daqîqan* *adv* exactly *tâ gũltûnândaqîqan tâ pîrârkâ, tâ pûrârkâ tâ čan sût pîs* until, so they say, until exactly last year, until last year, until a few years ago [8:16]

*dar₁ prep* 1) *off* *müy sar luxt naw, masan jûrâw wa pã dar nûri* The hair of one’s head cannot be (left) uncovered; for example, you do not take off your socks. [7N:13] 2) on *alâna min-u bâwkam dar ya had kâr makarâm* Now my father and I, we work on the same level [7H:29]

*dar₂* *n* gate *mwây yâ šûn Ŧûx biyå dasim, yâ darânuma-hâ sar makânîm yak takân* (Rostam) says: “Either you give me the trace of Raxs, or with one blow I will break down the gates and the courtyard.” [5:105]

*dar kul* *adv* in general *masan hûyad dar kul eslâh naw* For example, there should be, in general, no hair removal. [7H:12]

*dar wa dar* *adj* adrift, astray *kuřêka-yê dì hûc, īsa hâ na dar wa dar* As for the young man, then, nothing; now he (is) adrift. [8:126]

*daraja* *n* class *birinj-e mûrêk-sawzakaš mûwîrîd, daraja yak* (America) brought the rice with the green label, first-class [6:133]

*darâmâd* *n* income *sar-e masan wa nâm-e mardim ka pây sar i darâmâdša hîn mardim bo* Each person, for example, in the name of the people {xxx}, that this income
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

should belong to the people. [6:120]

dard, n pain mīm tamīna dasit dard nakay, ditakat kil bika ya sāṣat hawpīkī kāre
“Auntie Tahmineh, please (lit., may your hands be free of pain), send your daughter, she should dance for one hour.” [1:40]

dard, prep like, as kaykāwis, čašīš az das dāy- u ba’d dard-e īsa-y mīna, pīr biya, žan-e jwānēkiš wāzyā Keykāvos, he had lost his eye(sight) and then, like me, he was old (and) had married a young woman. [5:30]

dardīn troubles nīštin dardiš ūnī shān maka(rd)
They were engaged in sharing their troubles. [6:40]

dargā n gateway ūnī bar dargāy xwā, mwāy (Rostam) turns to the gateway of God (and) says [5:102]

darmān n medicine, remedy mwāy dawāšān az darmān biya, hažašiš nawya (The wolf) says: “They tried all kinds of medicine and remedies, (but) there has not been a cure for her. [3:31]

darpardāna n return visit to bride’s home manā ka-y bāwkaš, ānā īma wan mwāžim marāsim- e darpardāna they leave her in the house of her father, we say, for that we say we celebrate the darpardāna. [8:217]

dars n lesson, studies ā ā ā min kuřakam, eh kuř- a y dielešsīnīm dars az qasir (mowānē)
Yes, yes, yes, me, my son... Eh, my son right in the middle (of the children’s ages) was studying in Qasr-e Širin. [6:1]

darsi n lessons, schooling kantir, čünkā īna pay darsi mašīn, ba’d az tadrīs karda māyinawa, yāy mayrē Fewer, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur) [7N:47]

darwāza n gate īnānī bar darwāza wāz mawu They... The front of the gate is open [2:5]

daryā, n body of water hay i bewaniža āsā mwāy daryā biya Well then, this Bewanij, at that time, one says, was a sea. [5:80]

daryā, n gateway ba’d ē ka das, īnī īy makariya daryā-y xwā After, eh, the first turn, he turns his face to the gateway of God. [5:148]

das 1) n hand gištšān wa gard yakay kuřa- u pīyā- u dita- u žan- u, gištšān wa gard yakay das mayrin- u All together—boys, men, girls, and women—everyone holds hands together, and [7H:77] 2) n side mašina sar zimkān, gala mašuwa ā das, az zimkān makariya ā das They go to the Zimkān (river); the flock goes to that (other) side. From the (side of) the Zimkān (river), (the flock) crosses to that (other) side. [2:6]

das 3) n turn bizin mwāy hā gurg, mwāy bašē, mwāy das min niya, mwāy bašē das tu bi waž (The goat) says: “Isn’t it my turn?” (The wolf) says: “Yes, it’s your turn, by God.” [2:87] 4) n set ašā darzārānī ya das libās mayrin For the engagement they bring one set of clothing. [7N:128]

das-pā n social welfare kata ba’d az war i īmān xumayniwa isa das-pā xirāwiš kardē It happened after, before this Iman Xomeini, but now social welfare has destroyed (something). [6:84]

daskana n legume-harvesting ditakānnān, diraw makari, daskana makarins, dāmparwar- u kišāwarzi gishte jūr yakē Our young women, they do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, looking after the livestock and farming, everything is the same. [7N:32]

dast (cf: das) n hand

dastūr n 1) command, order mwāy ān-īč tā nizik ānā mawu, favri dastūr matiya diḵān-īč it is said, when she also is close
to that place, she immediately gives the command to the other villages as well. [4:162] 2) authority tābē dastūr-e ināyna, sayišān inā-ya, masan āna ka ha harakatē bikarīn máyin gawrajū They are subjects of the authority here; their “sayyid” is here, for example, for what(ever) they intend to do, they come to Gawrajū. [7N:28]
dawā n medicine tā dū ī (2) sē ī (2) až āna makariya dam, matiya wan-u walē hā wātiš ažīn bikarya dam bītiya dītaka bware až dawāka For two days, three days, he makes a kind of tea from it; he gives it to her, and so he must remember what he (i.e., the wolf) said: “Make a kind of tea from this, give it to the daughter; she must drink the medicine.” [3:87]
dawtāt n country; government šarrīš dā, nīya īsa ī dawtāna giš(t) matīna giž yakay He waged war, like all these countries, they all fight with each other. [5:57]
dawlatxāna n palace dwāra šīrīn‑u šawdīziš girta šānwa, bardša dawlatxāna‑u Once again, he put Širin and Šabdiz on his shoulder(s); he carried them to the palace and [4:141]
dawr 1) prep about; around ā sāšta ažī ǰīkāna(a), masan sīyā čādur dawrša bikana, bāwka ū‑u dāya bī dāya‑u at that moment, in these villages, for example, around the black tents (and) begin to lament: “Father has passed away, woe, woe;” and [4:156] 2) prep near; to maṛawē dawr ya āşyāwēk až āna īštanī īštanī qāyīm makarē She goes near a mill; there she hides herself, herself [2:22] dawr mil n headscarf ī jūra wa mü‑y sar‑e luxt‑e īštanī, masan īsa min dawr milakam lā like this, with your own uncovered hair, for example, now, I mean headscarf. [7H:3]
dawra, n place, surroundings ya gištašān magar(de) mwāy hūī nīya bāwār ka na, āyam wa i dawray nīya One of them (i.e., the others) looks around (and) says: “There is nothing, believe (me), no, there is no human being in this place.” [3:27]
dawrīš n dervish wasīlaš har ě hē, hīn dawrīš nīya His belongings, everything that he has, they are not things of a dervish. [4:31]
dawrīšī adj of dervishes āsā dawra‑y mwān dawrīšī biya, kaškāšī tā birī dānawari kardē at that time, they say, it was the dervish era; his bag was embroidered with precious stones, as many as you can imagine. [4:17]
dayšt n outside baynalmilāl nūsīš bāwā haq‑e īrān‑ē‑u bāyad {?! bike} nayrā bikišītā dayšt, wīšān bikarī The United Nations wrote: “Old fellow, it is the right of Iran, and (England) must withdraw these forces; (they) must leave (Iran) in peace.” [6:117]
dazūrānī n engagement afā dazūrānī ya das lībās mayrīn For the engagement they bring one set of clothing. [7N:128]
dā, (present stem: tī; variant present stem: d; past subjunctive: bīyātā) vt 1) give.PST gištī ūšnī dā mardim She poured out everything (and) gave it to the people. [4:208] 2) push.PST pīšēk hāma, sar quīna(k)āšīš lā dā‑u A cat came, pushed the lid off the basket, and [1:8]
dāā n mother irīj kušš biya, dāšī, dāya jīyāzā biya Iraj was his son, (but) his (i.e., Iraj’s) mother, she was a different mother. [5:9]
dād‑u āswār interj appeal for help
pišyaka-yé makariya dād-u hāwār, mwāy dāya kaywānī the cat in turn calls out for help (and) says: “Old lady [1:13]

dādāš n brother na bāyad bwām wanšān, bāyad bwām masan dādāš i kāra bikarim No, I must ask them, I must ask, for example: “Brother, should I do this?” [8:90]

dātagījān n vultures až ānā mawīnē dātagījān-ē There, he sees there are vultures. [4:180]

dāthu n prop Dālāhu dāmadārī n enclosure for livestock ā galaxā(na), dāmadārī-u čārwā that stall (for the flocks), the enclosure, and the shelter [4:142]

dāmod n bridegroom až taraʿ ka-y dāmādwa, hanā taz?na makarin wa gard širinīyay mārin aš ka-y šārus Of (those) from the house of the bridegroom, they decorate the henna and bring it together with sweets to the bride’s house. [7N:94]

dāmparwarī n livestock care ditakānmān, diraw makarin, daskana makarin, dāmparwarī-u kišāwarzī gište ǰūr yakē Our young women, they do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, looking after the livestock and farming, everything is the same. [7N:32]

dāna n precious item, gem yak kaškū ĩš hē piš dāna-u jawāhir-ē He has a bag; it is full of precious items and jewels. [4:32]

dānā n unit čan gila nuqṭ-an wa gard-e ya, wa gard-e ya dāna sekayi manishtā dīle yak tūr A few lollipops are together with one, they are put together with one coin into a cloth bag. [7N:105]

dānawari adj gem-studded ʃasāka-y dasiš dānawari biya His hand staff was gem-studded. [4:20]

dānišǰū n student dānišǰū bē He was a student. [6:11]

dār n tree xūšā kam mašin fra mašin tā maṛsinā pā-y ya dār w(d) Finally, they go a little way, they go a long way, until they reach the foot of a willow tree. [3:7]

dārū n remedy ka-y pādsā, mwāy āqara dawā-u duktur hāma-u dārūšān hāwird-u dawāš ka(rd), dawāš šīfāş payā naka(rd) (the people in) the king’s house, they say: “So many medicines and doctors came and they brought remedies, and the doctor gave medicine; his medicine did not bring about healing. [3:68]

dāstān n tale; story až ā qas(i)ra {?! xa} xasraw, dāstān xatarēk-ē In this (city of) Qasr-e Širin, Xasraw... It is a story of danger. [4:11]

dāwā n request bwā masan min-u xwārakat wašmān yak hāma, alāna hāmāyneh dāwāš For example, (the young man) may say (to the brother): “Your sister and I like each other; now I have come to ask for her hand.” [8:95]

dāwu n prop Davūd ya xwāparastēk māy až lāwa, mawīnēšwa mwāy āy ī bizina dāwu giyān makanē gunāš-ē a pious man comes along, finds her there, (and) says: “Oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).” [2:18]

dāy n mother az ānā mwāy ki matānē, ī minālā wa gard-e ī dāyšay bar bikarē aţ(āy) min There (Keykāvos) says: “Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?” [5:86]

dāya n mother irīj kuraš biya, dāši, dāya jīyāzā biya Iraj was his son, (but) his (i.e., Iraj’s) mother, she was a different mother. [5:9]

dāya-bi dāya n woe, woe ā sāfata až ī dikān(a), masan sīyā čādur dawāša bikana, bāwka ţo-u dāya-bi dāya-u at that moment,
in these villages, for example, around the black tents (and) begin to lament: “Father has passed away, woe, woe,” and [4:156]

dāya kaywānū n old lady ya dāya kaywānū mawu, ya biziniš mawu, nāmniš bizbal mawu There is an old lady (and) she has a goat; its name is Bizbal. [1:2]

dāyī n uncle (mother’s brother) faqat wa gard āmūzāya, wa gard xaɫūzāya, wa gard dāyīye, pesarxalaya, pesariame ināna, masan matānē binīšē, dāya kaywānū n old lady (She) can only (sit) with her cousins on her father’s side, with her cousins on her mother’s side, with her mother’s brother, sons of her mother’s sister, sons of her father’s sister, (with) these ones, for example, she can sit in a gathering. [7N:7]

dāyka n mother walē dāykašān mwāy rūlā, mwāy baɫē, mwāy har ka hāma piš(t) baraka, baraka aɫās wāz nakara But their mother says: “Dear child.” (Titila and Bibila) say: “Yes?” (Their mother) says: “Whoever comes up to the door, don’t open the door for him” [2:38]

didān n tooth šīrakaš bikarma šīr birinǰ, didānīm niya, i šīr birinǰa bwarim (that) I may make her milk into (a dish with) milk and rice; I have no teeth, I may eat this milk and rice.” [1:19]

dile 1) prep in, into siyāwaxš ēwār pališ mayasīn mašē dile i āyira they bind Siyavoš hand and foot (and), he goes into this fire. [5:45] 2) n inside in-(ič) mašu ya kuča qawi mārē mašīya wa bar bar maškinē, mašuwa dile This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he breaks the door (and) goes inside. [2:49] 3) prep among mutlaqan kuɾa ghayr az dānādaka kuɾamān dile niya Definitely, no young men except for the bridegroom are among us. [7H:109]

dītkaš n prop Delkash
dītwaš adj pleased a mālikān(č) dītwaš buwayna bisa, fra pištwānsān ka(rd) Yes, the landowners also were very pleased; they supported him (i.e., Xomeini) a lot. [6:69]

dim n tail tu xwiya dima kuɾakam biya wāni by God, give my cut-off (lit., short) tail back to me [1:14]

dimā n back di wa dimā nīmāy he will not come back any more [5:24]

dimātir adv later faqeq kardē qarār bē, dimātir šarāsī bika(r)in she was engaged (and) it was agreed, later they were to get married [8:194]

din n unit xuʃiʃ jūʃyā, hatmatiʃ dā, ya din, gaʃāʃ girt his blood boiled, he made an attack, he grabbed one of the Gaɾā [4:135]

dinyā n world wa dinyāyā, paxšiš kardē, (elābe) ya čištēkiš la lī čü Everywhere he has spread the bad news, {xxx} something is from her. [4:195]

diraw n (wheat, grain) harvesting alāna min-ɯ bawkm dar ya had kār makarām, masan bawkm diraw makarē, min wa gardšay
diraw makarim Now my father and I, we work on the same level; for instance, my father does the wheat-harvesting, I do the wheat-harvesting with him. [7:29]
dita n 1) daughter mwāy min hāmayim haṭāj ditašā bikarim, duktur-īm (Mard) says: “I have come to cure your daughter, I am a doctor.” [3:67] 2) young woman, girl kuṛa-yč ayar nimāy nwāwa wa xātir āxstgl(r)iŷān xānawāda-y ka-y dita-yč As for the young man, if he does not come, it is because of the strictness of the young woman’s family. [9:58]
diwār n black tent mwāy ča makarī, mwāy waɫā ī diwāra mawua čarmawua He says: “What are you doing?” She says: “By God, this black tent will become white.” [5:163]
diz vt steal.PST ēma ūfīq bīsyām, tu īštanit nānakat dizī-ū ūaftī ūa wa xulāsa We were friends; you yourself stole the bread and went on the way. [3:104]
diz n thief hāwār hāwāršān bī, diz qati ɫbār ka(rd) they were crying out for help; he murdered the thieves [4:139]
dizi n secret wa šaw wa šawdīz biya, aspakaš ūnakay xasraw wa dizīwa (It was) nighttime (and) she was with Šabdiz, her horse, which belongs to Xasraw. (She goes) in secret. [4:89]
dī 1) adv then mināyša kinār zimkānaka-u di až-y štaniš kam kam ya čikawaraka matiya wan bizinaka hāz makatiya war quliš zimnawa mawu He takes her to the edge of the Zimkān (river) and then simply, little by little, a bit of sunlight falls on the goat; (the goat) gains strength in her legs (and) comes back to life. [2:20] 2) prt so then dī āwrāsh maw(u) biččara hūč ažšiš nimawu, dī kifū xāk mwar-e-u xulāsa So then he is hungry, poor man; there is nothing at all for him; he eats the two lumps of earth and finally [3:18] 3) prt now ūray makarīya mwāy xwāyā min di tangm-č (Rostam) turns his face (to God) (and) says: “O God, I am now in a difficult situation.” [5:150] 4) adv anymore, again; still; no longer maṛasē dīle əna qadimī mawu di huč masan kār ažīn nimarkin He goes inside there; it is old, nothing anymore, for example, they do not work in it anymore. [3:20] 5) adv else piknikēk-u hūztānim di garak niya a small gas cooker and I need nothing else from you [3:86] 6) adv already (ma ma), wanyati di mazānī {xxx} Have you read it already, you know (it) [5:125] 7) prt of course, really di nimwāžē ka bīzānē ka wāqeqān min əca mwān Of course, he (i.e., my father) does not want to know what I really say (i.e., what my wishes are) [7H:99] 8) prt well na, dī až tu ..., yā xalaš yā ʕama-y dītaka. No... Well, from... Either her aunt on her mother’s side or her aunt on her father’s side. [7H:166] 9) prt indeed ināna bū, dī naxša maksiše dī such things may happen.” So then, she is planning indeed! [4:158] 
dī (present stem: wīn) vt see.PST farā(d) kī až xwar hāma, lāš kardwa, dīš ī qā ayna When Farhād woke up, he turned around (and) saw this uproar. [4:133] 
dīn n village dīt-y matiyay wān-u ya dikay masan matiyay wān-u, qatayēk-u ʕHānēk-u (Afrāsiāb) gives his daughter, he gives them a village, for example, a castle and such and... [5:54] 
dim n side i āw bārma i dinay, až niżūwarān (that) I may bring this water to this side, from Niżūwarān.” [4:69] 
din n religion až i dinaya ḫra kas sar barbārin
Many people understand this religion.

[7H:47]

dir vt have.PRS jawāhīr dīrē bi sar bi sāmān he has endless amounts of jewels. [4:38]

diw n giant giw arb ēam, giw mwāy diw čaššī jīr diw biya, waraw wār hīn biya
Giv, the Arab-Eye, Giv, it is said, a giant, his eyes are huge like a giant’s, that they are directed downwards. [5:88]

diwān n court ā, wa ā xwāy mařām wa diwāniš ina zwān ā mālikā bē Yes, I swear by that God, we go to his court, this was the speech of that land owner. [6:54]

diyār adj attending kam mašuwa dīyār dita he goes a little way to attend to the girl. [3:84]

drū n lie quṭang quṭang až āsān manišē māya zwān, mwāy drū matiya kaywānū
The pickaxe, the pickaxe stays (suspended) in the air, begins to speak, and says: “The woman, she is lying!” [4:170]

dubāra adv again ya šārēk, ya yāgayēk, ya luqma nān až mařām barbārām ‑ u dubāra māyāmwa wa yakwa a town, a place, (there) we may earn a morsel of bread for our children, and we will come back again together.” [3:5]

duktur n doctor mwāy min hāmayim haštāj ditakaš bikarim, duktur‑īm (Mard) says: “I have come to cure your daughter, I am a doctor.” [3:67]

dukut num half bašd, dukut šawār ka šām mwārin dita‑y šālyār šā ūsīqq‑e ūsām nāmay mwānu then, at midnight, as they are eating their evening meal, King Šahrīr’s daughter falls in love with the famous Rostam. [5:109]

dunbāt prep after, following, for har dūkšān mašīna dunbāt kār Both of them go (looking) for work. [3:2]

dunyā n world titila‑u bibila mārē dunyā She brings Titila and Bibila into the world [2:26]

durus 1) eve prepared, complete kawšī niya, mawu bišī kawš aḵšiš durus karī she has no shoes; you must go (and) make shoes for her [1:41] 2) adj right

durust adj right, correct durust‑a ūstākamān‑ē It’s right that our village...

[7H:141]

duxturmāna n cousin (father’s sister’s daughter) čünkā wāqe‑ṭan ūstāsiyaka arāmān mahram‑ē, kas wa kas, {?! xāḥ} duxtardāyī‑tē, duxtardāmat‑ē Because the wedding is really “mahram” (i.e., within the close family) for us, no-one (says) to someone else: “Is she your mother’s brother’s daughter, is she your father’s sister’s daughter?” [7H:144]

duxtardāyī n cousin (mother’s brother’s daughter) čünkā wāqe‑ṭan ūstāsiyaka arāmān mahram‑ē, kas wa kas, {?! xāḥ} duxtardāyī‑tē, duxtardāmat‑ē Because the wedding is really “mahram” (i.e., within the close family) for us, no-one (says) to someone else: “Is she your cousin?” [7H:144]

duxtardāxāla n cousin (mother’s sister’s daughter) ha ā jūra ka ūfāh, bāwāf ka masan birākam wa istānim bwāy, bwāy {h} ūsāryat wished na ha istānim, bašd xwārakam, xwārzākam, mīnzākam, duxtardāla, duxtardāma ha av jūra ūfāh Just in this way that is comfortable. Believe me, for instance, my brother may say to me, he may say: “H, (do not forget) your headscarf,” no (it is not so), not only to me (i.e., he never says it to me). Then my sister, nephew and niece, male and female cousins, (are) at ease in that way. [7H:143]

düst n friend matānē wa düstāna wa yā kušāka yā masan wa {?! xā} wa düst
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

*ištaniš ka biṭasnēša xānawāda* She can say it in a friendly way to either the young man, or for example, to her own friends, who may let her family know. [9:25]

düstdāšt* n* love na až dile jwānān düstdāšt lā na raftē no. Among young people, love has never disappeared. [8:43]

dū n* num* two *yā dū māng, yā sē māng, yā ēwar māng manišē* (Rostam) stays there two months or three months or four months. [5:117]

dümān* n* tribe walē baʾzē dümānē az sar-e čūpi-um baʾdan ināna jangīš hē, šařīš hē But some tribes, because of the scarf held up by the leader of the dance line, and then such things... There are conflicts, there are fights. [7H:87]

dür* adj* far kuра ayar panj sāthi(č) až a ṭiirwa būnišē entitlement bikišē If the young man sits down for five years and waits at a distance [9:46]

dūro* n* afar *yā dī nimatānin qisa bikarin, ha düro düro masaran qisān ištān(sān) wa yak biṭasnān* Or they cannot speak with each other anymore; (their communication is) only from a distance, for example, that they can send each other their own words. [9:52]

dwā* n* ritual prayer *šīrīnī matin, nazr dwā matin, ya nišān dītaka makarin* They give sweets, they pray the nazr, (and) they pronounce the young woman engaged. [7N:66]

dwān* 1)* adj* second *ina dwānīš This is the second of them (i.e., the stories). [3:45]

2) *num* two *dwānsān fra nār(āh)at bīsīn* Two of them were very sad. [6:43]

dwānza* num* twelve *da sāl dwānza sāl ya gīla dī-ū kušān entezār yak mākišān* for ten years, twelve years, a young woman and young man: they have been waiting for each other [8:61]

dwāra* adv* again *waxtē ka nān čāyi mwarin, až nān čāyakašān di har ēl bimanēwa dwāra mayasinšā pišt(š)ān* When they eat the bread and tea, whatever then may remain of their bread and tea, they tie it to their backs again (with the cloth). [3:8]

-e* na* NA

= e*prt* EZ *i jūra wa mū-y sar-e luxt-e ištānīt, masan īsa min dawr milakam lā* like this, with your own uncovered hair, for example, now, I mean headscarf... [7H:3]

efdām* eve* hang *elfānīš bikarin, i darwīs až kā ĥāmay, i šařa* then, let him be hanged [4:56]

eflāmiya* n* announcement *elfāmiya bika, mín har čīm wātē, tūmatim dáya i dītā* Publish an announcement (and write): “Whatever I (i.e., Xasraw) have said, I have slandered this girl.” [4:203]

efteqād* n* faith *tāzā bištir wa ištāmnān wa dinakamān efteqādīš hē* In spite of this, she has more faith in our religion than we ourselves (do). [7N:89]

edāma* eve* continue *isāta masan (bīš) ča ayar piyākānt kāršān biṟawin, matānin ā dāmparvariya yā kīšāwarzi ištānšāna edāma bidīn* Now, for example, if the men go to (find) work, they (i.e., the young women) can continue (their own work) of caring for livestock or farming. [7N:53]
In some situations it would be like (that), or (if) it would be among ourselves, (if) the young woman were a friend of ours, we would sing for her, for example, (if) we are happy for her, feel pride for her, in those situations. [7H:135]

In some situations it would be like (that), or (if) it would be among ourselves, (if) the young woman were a friend of ours, we would sing for her, for example, (if) we are happy for her, feel pride for her, in those situations. [7H:135]

Azerbaijani

_ereṣān n respect biṣṭir wa ima maṣu wa ziḏarat, biṣṭir wa (m) wa ima ehtirāmīš mayrē dinakamān_ She goes on pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do) [7N:90]

_Azerbaijani

_ereṣān n respect biṣṭir wa ima maṣu wa ziḏarat, biṣṭir wa (m) wa ima ehtirāmīš mayrē dinakamān_ She goes on pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do) [7N:90]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

mard mawu, nāmand They are together; their names are Mard (and) Nāmard. [5:3]

faṣlayi n labor piyākān diraw makarin, daskana makarin, maš(i)na fāṣlayi kār makarin, kār bān-u wān hē, šansāzi hē The men do the wheat-harvesting, they do the legume-harvesting, they go do labor, there is work in the field, there is sickle-making. [7N:37]

faghfūr n emperor ārā(d) (?! fagh) kuša-y faghfūr čin biya Farhād was the son of the Emperor of China [4:3]

fahmīda adj insightful ʕaqīl-u fahmīda ka ʕaqīš wa ina qad bittiya, wāqešan ʕaqīš ba ina biftasē wise and insightful, such that his/her wisdom about these matters has reached a certain high level [9:17]

fāla n farmer faškay mwašay ay wā niya, min xarmānakam šan bikarin the farmer says: “Well, there is no wind (that) I may
winnow my piles of grain.” [1:76]

**faqat** adv only *faqat jwānayl emruzā nīmazānīn* Only the young people of today don’t know (how to play perfectly). [7N:46]

**fara(g)nsa** nprop France (?)

**farangi** adj European *mawdā-y farangī wāt in-ič wa nīyāt hāsāw-e zangī, hāsāw-e zangī dar guma inānayna* the European master said: “This one also has the intent {xxx}...” [4:121]

**fara(n)prop** France (?)

**farmāyiš** n command *qurbān ča farmāyiš makarī* Your highness, what is your command?” [3:75]

**farmāyišt** n decree *īsa āna ān farmāyištāna ān kardašī* Now, look, those decrees he (i.e., Xomeini) (had) made [6:85]

**fāmīlmāna gula dāša qulšī, zaxm̄ bē** One son, (oh), that son from our family, a bullet hit him in his leg, (and) he was wounded. [6:8]

**fāntum** nprop Phantom *wātawēš ay tu hāmay biťānī, hwāpaymā, fāntum tānis ima yaki wa jāyza matiyaymē wan(īt) (Xosrow)* had said: “Hey, if you come (and) drive, passenger aircraft, Phantom, we will give you one as a gift.” [6:149]

**fīrsī** adj Persian

**fītatamī** nprop Fatami

**fīkhr** n 1) thought *ā marāsimtāna šima fīkhr nimakarim bo* That celebration, I don’t think you have it. [8:212] 2) mind

**fihān** 1) n such-and-such *ē kardašā qāř, eh,* *tāxt-u bāxtīt kaykāwis až bayn bīšū, ča bā fīhān bū* (The young wife) made a loud proclamation, eh: “May the kingdom and good fortune of Keykāvos be destroyed; may this happen, may such-and-such happen. [5:39] 2) adj a certain

**filmābārdārī** n filming *arē har až awař marāsim-e xāstegārī filmābārdārīš bē* Yes, from the beginning, we celebrate the ceremony of the request for the young woman’s hand in marriage and the filming [8:207]

**fra** 1) adv very *fra wašē färsīš* Its (i.e., the village’s) weddings are very pleasant. [7N:84] 2) quant much, a lot; many *až ī dinaya fra kas sar barbārin* Many people understand this religion. [7H:47]

**furma** n manner, so *žinaftātī, ā ā, īna, i furma* Have you heard (about that)? Yes, yes, this is it, (in) this manner. [5:36]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

**gala**  
*n* flock  
*gala mašuwa kū, ānān až ka*  
the flock goes to the mountain(s)  
(and) they (i.e., the goat and the ram) stay  
at home. [2:4]

**galaxā(na)**  
*n* stall for flocks  
*ā galaxā(na), dāmadārī-č ānān až ka*  
that stall (for the flocks), the enclosure, and the shelter  
[4:142]

**gan**  
*adj* bad, awful  
*čünka ayar bāy marāsim bīrin, mwāžin, as(ɫ)an gan bardāšt makarin*  
Because if one comes (and) celebrates, they say, they definitely get a bad impression.  
[7H:56]

**ganim**  
*n* wheat  
*ganim bārī, karya warim, min ganim bwarim,*  
fetch wheat, scatter (it) in front of me, (so that) I may eat the wheat, then I may lay egg(s)  
[1:67]

**ganǰ**  
*n* treasure  
*īna ganǰ-č ān ganǰ-č wa tāhwī*  
This is so, he gives her (rights to) the treasury too  
[4:205]

**gard**  
*1* prep with  
* zendegim-č, sāya-y sarm-č, hēymē gardšay-y hawmayzim, haymanišim*  
(my husband) is my life, he is my guardian; we are united, we stand up, we  
sit down (together). [9:88]

**gard; 1**  
*vi* wander around  
*PRS min i jīra wēla wēlmē magardin har hūčma hūč nawya*  
I wander about in this state without purpose; I still have achieved nothing,  
nothing at all [3:102]  
*2* *vt* offer around, distribute  
*PRS manāša dile ya gila sabad,*  
sabadakay mayima daswa, āna dāmadaka magardinēs, hanīka-yē ūrūskaka. They lay them (i.e., the bags with sweets) in a basket, (then) they place the basket in the hands (of the bridegroom), (and) the bridegroom offers it (to the guests), and the henna, the bride offers it. [7H:110]

**garm; 1** *adj* warm, lively  
*hawpiški makarin, marāsimšān garm-č, marāsimšān waš-č*  
they dance, their celebration is warm, their celebration is pleasant. [7H:78]

**garmesēr**  
*nprop* Garmisir

**gars** *vi* rebell  
*PRS mardin giš(t) hawgarsewa*  
All the people are rebelling [6:78]

**garsī**  
*vi* search  
*PST hāmay, garsī tā wāxtē hāmaya bar čwārqāpī qasir*  
He came... He searched, until the time he came to the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin. [4:23]

**gařa**  
*nprop* Gařā

**gawraǰū**  
*nprop* Gawrajū

**gawraǰūyī**  
*adj* Gawrajūyī na i šeďr*  
gawraǰūyī-u ařā ūrūski ka na niya*  
No... There are no poems in Gawrajūyī and (to be sung) for the wedding, no, there are none. [7H:131]
gawrā  adj  1) big, large  īna gawrajū gawrā-n, masan gištīš māyīna dīle īna  It is like this, Gawrajū is large, for example, everyone comes to it. [7N:27]  2) important  ēwār gila piyā gawrā mārin They bring four important men. [7N:62]  3) older; old, elderly  xo mīn gawrā-yām  Well, I am old! [6:127]

gaya  n  belly  bizin mašuwa dürwa māywa maṭiya bar gaya-y gurg mayarēš  The goat goes back, returns; she strikes the belly (of the wolf) (and) rips it open. [2:88]
gaz  n  square meter  ya gazīš nīyā wanšān  (But) one square meter was not given to them (i.e., the landowners). [6:70]
gāh  adv  sometimes  gā(h) gā(h), siyā-y sang  "Sometimes on one can hear the sound of stones." [4:106]
gārāǰ  n  bus station  až ān yak gārāǰiš bē wa nām gārāǰ etmīnān  At that (place), there was a bus station called Etminān Station. [6:38]

gēh  quant  every  jamīyāt piyā jīyā-yē  jamīyāt žīn jīyā-yē wa har geh lašāže  The gatherings of men are separate, the gatherings of women are separate, in every respect. [7N:24]
geregušā  n  bag with sweets or nuts  mujaʃadaʃān matānin bān wa xātir masan geregušā paxš makarin  The unmarried ones can come because, for example, the "geregušā" (i.e., bags with sweets or nuts) are distributed. [7N:100]

gharība  n  stranger, foreigner  mwaʃy na bāwa makuʃī gharīb-ča, ya palpē až in bir  (One of Xasraw’s advisors) says: "No, man, don’t kill him, he is a stranger [4:57]

gharbā  n  outsider, stranger

gayr  1)prt not  mwaʃy na, bāyad, ča elā wa belā, mwaʃy gayr-e munkēn-ča  (The young woman) says: "No, it must be, by any means." (Siyavoš) says: "That is not possible." [5:34]  2) prep except  mutlāqan kuʃa ghaʃar az dāmdakka kuʃamān dīle nīya  Definitely, no young men except for the bridegroom are among us [7:109]
gila  n  unit  čan gila kulēra  Several pieces of kulera bread [7H:148] až i dawra, čirā šarāši bē, dī sə gila šarāšiš bē  In this area, there was actually a wedding, there were two or three weddings [7H:66] sē ēwār gila mināt bārī, až sar-e min hawpišī bikarin  fetch three (or) four children, (so that) they may do a dance above me [1:31]
girdakān  n  walnuts  dū čaw dirim jūr girdakān-ča  I have two eyes, they are like walnuts [2:60]
girt  (present stem: yr; variant present stem: yir; present subjunctive: bir) vt  1)get.PST; bring, take.PST  gaʃā sardas(t)aʃān bi, das šīrīniš girt  the Gaʃā was their leader; he took Širin by the hand. [4:125]  2) arrest.PST  musadiqšān taslīm ka(rd), girtšān  They handed over Mosaddeq, they arrested him. [6:25]  3) grab.PST  xušš jūšyā, haʃmatiš dā, ya dīn, gaʃā girt  his blood boiled, he made an attack, he grabbed one of the Gaʃā [4:135]
gišt  quant  all; everything, everyone  har či šaks-e nāmzadi-u Šaq-d-u čišt bē gištīš suʃnī, nwarakānīš šiknī  Everything, the photos of the engagement and whatever there was, she burnt everything [8:163]
gizg  n  broom  tamāta biʃīniʃwa, gizg būram, kūy biyaʃramwa hay kārāna ka pāzē bāyad zu(d)tar anʃām biyarē  I pick tomatoes, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini, always those tasks which in autumn need to be done soon [7H:27]
giz  n  grass  magar(d)e ya qayr giz gilyā mwar-e dī ãwis mawu biznāka  She looks
around (and) eats a little (of) the various kinds of grass; then the goat becomes pregnant. [2:21]

**girfān** n bag qayrēk ažīn makariya girfāniš
He puts a little bit from it into a bag [3:58]

**gis** n braid ūfāt bān-e qawrakaš čila tēx, makīnayēkiš dā war gīsiš She went to his grave on the fortieth day; she cuts off her braid with a razor. [4:216]

**gīw** n prop Giv

**gīwā** n traditional cloth shoes ya kiɫāš gīwā, āsā ī gīwā nawya, kar(d)aša pā, ha ī gīwa‑y šima (As for) his shoes, at that time there was nothing like them. He put them on his feet, exactly these shoes of yours (i.e., made by you)! [4:21]

**gūl** n bullet gula dāša qulšī, zaxmī bē a bullet hit him in his leg, (and) he was wounded. [6:8]

**gulduzi** n embroidery bīštir maṟawina dwar xayātīyay, gulduziyay (girls) more often do (tasks like) sewing, to embroidery [7N:52]

**gūf** n 1) flower čapa‑y gūf‑u, čapa‑y narges, margtān nawinim hargźā‑y hargiz A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of narcissus, may I never see your death, never, never. [3:116] 2) rose ya gūf‑e i bāxcata biya min (Farhād says:) “Give me a rose from this garden of yours!” [4:54]

**gunā** adj poor ya xwāparastēk māy až láwa, mawinēšwa mwāy āy i bizina dāwu giyān makanē gunāš‑ē a pious man comes along, finds her there, (and) says: “Oh, this goat, by Dāvud, it is dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).” [2:18]

**gunāhbārī** adj sinful eh āxa tu nimaw, nāmzadt kardē ařā min gunāhbārī‑ya biřawin bwāzīm “Eh, you, it shouldn’t be like this: you are engaged; this is sinful for me if I go (and) say [8:143]

**gurg** n wolf manišē didān gurgaka gištiš makišē (So) he sits down and pulls out the wolf’s teeth, all of them. [2:81]

**gurisna** adj hungry usā kawšduruskaraka mwāy min gurisnam‑ē, bāyad bišī The master shoemaker says: “I am hungry; you must go [1:52]

**gurz** n club yak gurz mati ā dileš, barq mati wa tēy He gives it a blow with his club; a bolt of lightning strikes it. [5:106]

**gūšt** n meat min‑ič sírim až gūštakaš bwardā, galaka (The wolf says:) “As for me, I would eat, be full with its meat, (of the) flock.” [3:36]
best part (of the world) to Iraj; let us kill him! [5:15]
gūnī n sack ya gūnī ganim matiya wa he gives a sack of wheat to [1:92]
gūš n ear īsāta-yē-a min ī fāwēža aḥāt makarīm, biyarša gūš (Nevertheless), now I will also give you this advice; listen [3:107]
gūša n corner bi ṣawa a ṣā dile āṣāwaka gūša-y barz Go into the mill, to a corner high up [3:109]

h

ha (cf: hā) na NA
hah interj huh
hatabja nprop Halabja
haitāf n cure mwāy ay, tu haṭāj ditakam bikarī, mizānī ʿa matim wanit (The king) says: “If you cure my daughter, do you know what I will give you?” [3:78] mazāna ʿe haṭāf-e Do you know what the cure for her is?” [3:30]
haṭmat n attack xūniš jūšyā, haṭmaniš āā, ya ʿān, gaṭāš girt his blood boiled, he made an attack, he grabbed one of the Gařā [4:135]
haṭwā n sweet pastry ya takya haṭwā aḥām bikara-u pīr ya daq-fiṣ xāk aḥām bikara prepare me a tray with sweet pastries, and also a bag full of earth for me [4:159]
ham adv 1) again, anew mwāy xūn-e siyāwaxš ham naw jūšā, sārā-o sarzamin sarbāz bipūšo It is said, the blood of Siyavōš boiled anew; all plains and fields (of the whole world) would be covered with soldiers. [5:74] 2) too ham šawrawī ham engelis The Soviet Union, too, and England, too [6:124]
hambāz conn because ināniša bāyın, hambāz masan čünkā gawraǰū gawrā-yē those who come, are, well, for example, (like strangers), because, for example, because Gawrajū is large [7N:26]
hamīša adv always, at all times bāyad dawr mīlī hamīša pūši da You must be wearing a headscarf at all times. [7H:8]
hamka adv so much, much min aẓ ānāwa, i xwiya bazayš hāmay wanimay, i hamkay xayrša kardaya daminwa Me, from then on, this God had mercy on me, he placed this much good in front of me (lit., my mouth). [3:108]
hamrā adv still mwāy hamrāy naqš-e wa ā-y tāšawa baʃd One says, the indentation on the surface of the rock face is still there. [4:172]
hanā n henna aẓ taraʃ ka-y dāmādwa, hanā tazʔin makarīn wa gard širinīyay mārin aṭā ka-y fārūs Of (those) from the house of the bridegroom, they decorate the henna and bring it together with sweets to the bride’s house. [7N:94]
hanābanān n hanābanān ſīma mwāža hanābanān, ēma mwāžaṁ xanabanān You say “hanābanān”, we say “xanabanān”
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

hanābandān n hanābandān celebration šarūs maynā ʻā-y dāmād šāw hanābandān-ē. The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom; it is the night of the “hanābandān” (celebration). [7N:92]

hanābandān celebration ù arūs maynā ka-y dāmād šāw hanābandān-ē. The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom; it is the night of the “hanābandān” (celebration). [7N:92]

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He takes (it) out in that same way the wolf said; he puts it out in the sun; it becomes dry, and he grinds it and puts it into his bag. [3:62]

**hāyātā** vt grind.PST.SBJV biḥarāyātamwa, biyarādām, damim bikardā, biyāyātamwa dīta-y pādšā, xās xāswa mawu I would have ground it, I would have brought it, I would have steeped it (like tea), I would have given it to the king’s daughter, (so) she becomes completely well again.” [3:62]

**hašt** num eight xułasa mwāy hašt hašt mināh i jūra Finally, (the cat) speaks in this way to seven (or) eight children. [1:42]

**hatman** adv certainly, definitely bāyad hatman bū ā pāxasūriš bo Definitely, there must be a pāxasur [7H:165]

**haw** 1) prev 1 up, out, forth šīrīn sar īštaniš ū̄ makarīya īrān Širin goes forth without a word (and) heads towards Iran. [4:9] 2) PREV

**hawmayrē** ū makarīya īrān Širin goes forth without a word (and) heads towards Iran. [4:9]

**hawpi** ū kī Kurdish-style dance marāsimya hawpi ū kī waš makarām A ceremony, we do a nice dance [8:220]

**hay** 1) interj hey, well hā pišīk, mwāy bātē, mwāy bāyad tu bišī “Hey, cat.” (The cat) says: “Yes?” (The spring) says: “You must go [1:30] 2) interj hey (for warning) wa drūwa hā That was a lie, watch! [4:167] 3) prt just, exactly ha ā jūra ditaka ništīya-u entezār kuška makiš-e-u Just that way, the young woman stays and waits for the young man and [8:182] 4) interj yes matīya wa xinjār, matīya-u, mwāy a hā, tu minit kušt (Rostam) thrusts with (his) dagger; he thrusts and (his son) says: “Yes, you killed me.” [5:153]

**hām** variant past stem of hāma

**hāma** (variant past stem: hām; present stem: āy; variant present stem: ā) vi come.PST pišīk hāma, sar qulīnak)baššī īl dā A cat came, pushed the lid off the basket [1:8]

**hāmi** adj pregnant aw sāta mwātšān bāyad har fawrī hāmīta bwi alāna na At that time, they said, one must become pregnant immediately; now, it is not so. [8:36]

**hānī** n spring xułasa hānīyaka matīqē Finally, the spring gives forth water [1:97]

**hāqa** adv so many, so much ān ka wa lā-y masan mardimwa hāqa hāmazahmatīss That, with, for example, the people, so many difficulties {xxx} [8:108]

**hār** n millstone ūr hār āsyāwaka matīya wa(n) he gives the lower millstone a blow
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

hāwār: appeal for help

hāwār hāwāršān bī, diz qatībār ka(rd) they were crying out for help; he murdered the thieves [4:139]

hāwird: (variant past stem: āwird; present stem: ār; past subjunctive: āwirdā)

vt bring.PST ka‑y pādšā, mwāy āqara dawā‑u duktur hāma‑u dārūšān hāwird‑u dawāš ka(rd), dawāš šīfāš payā naka(rd) (the people in) the king’s house, they say: “So many medicines and doctors came and they brought remedies, and the doctor gave medicine; his medicine did not bring about healing. [3:68]

hāya: egg(s)

hāya n makarin, hāya mārē Immediately (the chickens) lay egg(s); (the cat) brings the egg(s) [1:94]

hāz: strength

ya čika waraka matīya wan bizinaka hāz makatīya war quliš a bit of sunlight falls on the goat; (the goat) gains strength in her legs [2:20]

hedya: gift

hedya ka dāšānī yak, dāšī wa kuřaka the gifts that they gave each other, she gave (them) back to the young man [8:125]

hefz: memory

āxe min hefzim niya Oh, I can’t remember it. [7H:125]

hes: sense

až hes‑e šašumšān wa yak biya they had a sixth sense for each other. [4:8]

hešt: leave.PST

ān‑īč, kilīl xazāna matīya wan, lāt‑u lūt, gišt sīr makarī až xazāna, mwāy hüčšān nahīšt He also gives her the key to the treasury; she gives the homeless and tramps their fill to eat from the treasury; it is said that they did not leave anything [4:207]

huwā: air

he knocked him to the ground, he threw him violently into the air. [4:136]
mutlaqan wazīfās-ā ka ārāyeš nakārī, na abru hūc, hūc It is absolutely her duty that she not use makeup, not (do) her eyebrows, nothing, nothing. [7H:14]

hūc mawqēf adv never hūc mawqēf saxtgīrīš ninakārī They (i.e., the parents) are never so strict. [7H:101]

hūckāmiš none from that (group). [7H:96]

hūcwāqt adv never hūcwāqt (حكتا) hāquš niya bīčwa ā jamāʕa ka kuřākān ka masan ghariba-yīn bīnīšē (A young woman) never has any (right) right to go to that gathering where young men, for example, where strangers may be sitting. [7N:6]

hwāpaymā n passenger aircraft wātawēš ay tu hāmāy birānī, hwāpaymā, āntum tānis ima yaki wa jāyza matīyaymē wan(it) (Xosrow) had said: “Hey, if you come (and) drive, passenger aircraft, Phantom, we will give you one as a gift.” [6:149]

had n level alāna min-u bāwkam dar ya had kār makarām, masan bāwkam diraw makarē, min wa garšay diraw makarim Now my father and I, we work on the same level; for instance, my father does the wheat-harvesting, I do the wheat-harvesting with him. [7H:29]

haft num seven xulāsa mwāy haft hašt mināt i jūra Finally, (the cat) speaks in this way to seven (or) eight children. [1:42]

hakāyat n story kayān-īc, tā hakāyat-e kayān(i)yānit bikarim Concerning Kiānyān... Let me tell you the story of Kiānyān. [5:28]

hamla n attack engelīsh haṃlaš hāwirda īrān bīrē England attacked (so that) it could occupy Iran. [6:96]

haq n right haq-e, bāyad bū, ar xwā-yē bāyad i fādātata bū (PM: baṭē) It is right, it must be (so); if there is a God, this justice must take place.” [6:47] tu haqit niya di You have no right!” [6:115]

harakat n movement ātābē dastūr-e ināyna, sayišān inā-ya, masan āna ka har harakatē bikarīn māyīn gawrajū They are subjects of the authority here; their “sayyid” is here, for example, for what(ever) they intend to do, they come to Gawrajū. [7N:28]

hasār n court, courtyard tā šūn ūsēš hāwirda hasār, ā sār sālyār šā Until (the time) he brought Raxš to the court, in that town of King Šahriār. [5:103]

hasāw cve count gištī wa yakē hasāw makarām, mwāžām ima di ya xānawāda-yām We count everyone as one; we say we are now one family. [7N:127]

hālā interj all right hālā naftša až īrān fra bardī dī all right, (America) took a lot of oil from Iran then. [6:131]

hejāb n dress code ūng-e mū hūcēš niya, ārāyešēš niya, ūng-e mūyēš niya, eslah kardayyē niya, ba dł ūjībē fī saxt bū Coloring one’s hair is completely impossible; there is no makeup, there is no hair coloring, there is no hair removal from the face; then, its (i.e., the village’s) hejāb is very difficult. [7N:5]

hatā adv even min hūc mawqēf, ariča hatā nāmzadiyakaši ghariba bo min nimatānim
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

-ūsarī bitīma sar under no circumstances, even if strangers were (present) at her engagement, would I (lit., I could not) put on a headscarf [7H:142]

-hudūd n border hudūd-e irāniš āsā nīyā he laid down the borders of Iran then [5:21]

-hurmattir adj more honored alān ka āyam dita har ča sangıntar bo, wa hurmattirawa

-hudūd - e īrāniš āsā nīyā he laid down the borders of Iran then [5:21]

-ī dem adj PROX bāyad maǰbūr-īm i šawya bisanim We must buy this dress [9:81]

-ī v : agr 2SG bāyad tu biši āw až hāniyaka hawbikari, bāyā pā-y min, min āw bwarim You must go, take out water from the spring, (that the water) may flow to my foot, (and) I may drink the water. [1:24]

-ī n : num INDF2 kārim niya, tā ya ūţī dwāra ham sāyār ūs wa gard irānay girtiša jang It is not my concern, until one day

-mašuwa ka-y iştaniš Now, however much a person, a young woman, is dignified and noble, (then) she will go to her own home with that much more honor. [8:70]

-hussyn nprop Hussein

-husayna nprop Hoseyni

-ī ei epenthetic ya gila xānanda mwanē ditakān giššān hefzišān kardē A singer sings, (and) all the young women learn it by heart [7H:122]

-im v : agr 1SG tu xwiyā dima kuškam bīya wannim, {xxx} di tikrārīš nimakarim, di nimāyim, širakat bwarim by God, give my cut-off (lit., short) tail back to me, {xxx} I will never do it again, I will not come (back) anymore to drink your milk... [1:14]

=im pro BP.1SG a(ya)r masan birākam biţawē tahqiq bikarē, di ā mawqaţ muškel niya If, for example, my brother goes (and) finds out more (about that person), then, at that time, there is no problem. [8:93]

-iš pro BP.3SG dimiš maqirtinē She cuts its tail off, and [1:12]

=it pro BP.2SG mwāy ay, tu haţāj ditakam bikari, mizānī ča matīm wanit (The king) says: “If you cure my daughter, do you know what I will give you?” [3:78]
Siyavoš too, but he has a son; he is Keyxosrow. [5:78]

-im, v: agr 1PL bīčišāmiš na sar mimāni-u bīlīm bē Let us call him to a gathering and let us have him come.” [5:16]

-im, v: agr 1SG āyā min wa dīhm naw, majbūr-im bisanmiš hā, mapūšimš-ič I do not like it, I have to buy it; I wear it, too. [9:83]

ima, pro 1PL na ha xānawāda-y ima, batka až i řūstāka, čū(n)ka řūstā-y būčikēk-e Not only in our family, but (also) in this village, because it is a small village. [8:97]

iman pro-form 1) this, these dita-y inā, dita-y řūstā in gawrajū, bīštir wa mardakān kār makarē The young women of this (place), the young women of the village, of this Gawrajū, they work harder than the men. [7N:34] 2) here až ānā māyin, až inā das Žan mayrin They come from there (and) they marry the women from here. [7H:93]

imān, nprop Imam

imīrū, adv today masan imīrū bān xāstegāriš karin, nāmzadiš bikarin For example, today they come to court a young woman, (then) they go through with the engagement [8:197]

in, pro PROX in-ič yak qāhī lāt-e pališ bīya This one also (i.e., the woman) had a crippled, dumb uncle [5:133] das-e xwār inmān aʃāš girtē we have asked for the hand of her sister for him. [7H:74]

imān pro these, they inānī bar darwāza wāz mawu, bar maʃāvin až paʃa, mawān biʃawām, biʃasāma galaka They... The front of the gate is open; they go out of the courtyard (and) they say: “Let’s go, let’s reach the flock.” [2:5]

imāna, pro these ones ā āna awsā mwān, ā dawra xasraw īmāna jām-e Yes. That, at that time, they say, Xasraw and these others had a mirror... [4:175]

iran, nprop Iran

irānī, adj Iranian bāwkat biya, walē xo, irānī-ya-u ōftay ḍāwa You have a father, but well, he is Iranian and has gone away.” [5:130]

irīf, nprop Iraj

-īs, v: voice PASS ya iwārān šawakī mašu, mawīnē Šīrakaš ya kučiš wiʃisē, ya kučiš Ő Ŧiʃisē One evening, very early in the morning, she goes (and) sees her milk; one portion of it has been consumed (and) one portion of it has been spilled. [1:4]

īsa, adv now kuʃaka-ye dī huč, īsa hā na dar wa dar As for the young man, then, nothing; now he (is) adrift. [8:126]

īsay, adv now xasraw parvīz jām-e jahānimāš(a)n biya, īsa mwān īsay māhwāray Xasraw (and) Parviz, they had
this “Mirror of the World”. Now they call it “satellite”. [4:176]

**Istāta** adv now ḫiyā-yē-ʾa min i ḡawēža ʾārāt makarim, biyārsā ǧūš now I will also give you this advice; listen! [3:107]

**Istāta** adv now kārīš fir-ē masan ayar dīta bitānē, ḫiyā-ʾa min ēmā bīyārša gūš There is a lot of work, for example, if the young women can, now, for example, we take on more of it, for example, with work [7N:54]

**Ištān** refl REFŁ alān māshān xwāraka-y ḫiyā-ʾa min ēmā bīyārša gūš now, for example, let me speak about my own sister. [9:1]

**Iwār** n evening ḡa ʾyā niwārān ḫiyā-ʾa min ēmā bīyārša gūš “No, our mother comes back in the evenings” [2:48]

**Iwāra** adv in evening ya ʾilā šēr, ḫiyā-ʾa min ēmā bīyārša gūš “A lion, they come back in the evening (and) they talk; listen to what they say.” [3:111]

**Ja** prep from, of ya bastayī maw(u) bigardinē ja {xxx} ǧišti. One package (i.e., the geregušā bag) they must distribute from {xxx} everything. [7N:104]

**Jad** n forefather; grandfather ka ast-ū ḫad-e tu pāšāwān-in nasištān kayāntīyān Your origins and forefathers are heroes; your race is of the Kiānyān. [5:60]

**Jādīd ʿāmadē** adj modern ḫa jūrē ka ʾfwānān ǧištiʔ (?!) da ḫādīd ʿāmadē ʾa, aḏ hūzūrīš yakē Now the kind of young men, all are modern, no, (only) one out of a thousand... [7H:115]

**Jafā** cve try ʾpjākān wa anāza-y ʾxinākān jafā nīmākēšin, zahmatkeš nayen The men don’t try as much as the women, they don’t make the effort. [7N:35]

**Jahān** n world bašē kardē, i tamām-e jahānā baš(e) karda nāwišān (The father of Iraj) divided up... He divided up this whole world among them (i.e., the sons). [5:10]

**Jahānnimā** n world xasraw parviz jām-e jahānnimāšā(ī) biya, ʾa māwān ēsamā māhwārāy (PM: baš(e) Xasraw (and) Parviz, they had this Mirror of the World”. [4:176]

**Jām** n gathering masan aḏ ḡile ya jām bāy binišē masan For example, he comes into the midst of a (small) gathering (and) sits (with them) [7H:115]

**Jāmīyāt** n gathering wa sar sīra ništīništī niyā, masan bīrāwāma jāmīyātē ništīn There is no sitting around the sofra” (i.e., dining cloth) to eat; for example, if we go to a gathering (where) they (i.e., the people) are sitting [7N:12]

**Jāmīyāt** n gatherings wa jāmīyāt jīnānā har ēṯ garak(ī)-ē biniša, wālē wa jāmīyāt kūfā bo pjāy bo nānīštī At gatherings of women, you can sit as much as you wish, but at gatherings (where) men are, (where) young men are, you do not sit (i.e., take part). [7N:23]

**Jāmbūrī** n republic ʾinām xumaynīn bīnīnā tuxt-u buwa ʾayīs jāmībūrī They put Imam Xomeini on the throne, and (thus) he would become president of the republic [6:68]
Jang  n  fight; war; conflict jangakašānī lä bardē nahestanšān edāmaš bo they stopped the fight; they did not allow it to continue. [8:103] marāsimiš jiýā jiýā niya, jangiš až hizāriš yakē jangiš hē Its celebration (in Gawrajū) is not divided (by conflict). One in a thousand has a conflict. [7H:85]

Jangāta  n  forest wēlgareksiš diyaw wa i jangāta-u nām, xirāwkār-ē ēr-u, ēw frayēksiš dāy He found a wasteland from this forest, I don’t know, a good-for-nothing [4:196]

Jangi  n  soldiers  ēr-u nām, xirāwkār-ē ča-ū, čaw frayēkīš dāy Thirty armed mounted soldiers have taken their bodies and have set off. [5:99]

Jaryān  n  movement musadiq, jaryān musadiq až kirmāšān tazāhurāt bī, artaš kumakiš mār Mosaddeq, the (political) movement of Mosaddeq, in Kermanshah there was a demonstration; the army was helping (Mosaddeq). [6:28]

Jašn  n  celebration birā pādšāy wašī makarē, jašn mayrē matīna  Brother, the king is joyful; he holds a celebration [3:95]

Jawāhir  n  precious stone(s), jewel yak kaškūlīš hē piš dāna-u jawāhir-ē He has a bag; it is full of precious items and jewels. [4:32]

Jā  n  1)  place bāyasa masan jūr ayar jāyaylē ka mumken-ē čan gila piyā, kuša biniše hūč waxt namiš až ānā, ejāza nimatin You should, for example, like, if there are places where it is possible that some men, young men may be sitting, you may never sit there; they don’t permit it. [7N:22] 2) sleeping place, bed  tu bičo sar jā-y ištānī Go to your own bed. [5:112]

Jā  adv  then ba’d mwāy jā ēc bikarām, čūn, mawina, min jā, čū(n) afterwards (Širin) says: Then what should we do? [4:95]

Jā āsā  adv  then jā āsā pal bikarim, tu palaka biškini, biyārī ē bizinaka Then I may grow leaves; you may break off the leaves, you may take (them) to that goat.” [1:25]

Jād  n  street amrikāyī fra wa i jāday māmin maštāt, ē ā The Americans would come (and) go a lot on these roads, yes, yes. [6:140]

Jām  n  mirror ē ānā awsā mwān, ē dawra xasraw ināna jām-e Yes. That, at that time, they say, Xasraw and these others had a mirror... [4:175]

Jānsīn  n  surrogate ba’d piš(t) sariš, mwāy māḥt bi(i)mīya, tu ḫānsīn dāyka-y min-ī Then, after that, (Siyavoš) says: May your house be made desolate! You are the surrogate of my mother [5:33]

Jār  n  time šētīš barmašu, mawu ditaka-y ḫārān Her insanity leaves her (and) she becomes (like) the girl of former times. [3:92]

Jārē  adv  1) at that time jārē hamīfāw wa piššān nayasfrānaya (h)ē pā-y dāraka-ya Still at that time, they have not tied it to their backs; they are at that moment at the foot of the tree. [3:9] 2) first mwāy jārē extīyār tām biya She says: First give me full power. [4:202]

Jāyza  n  gift wātawēš ay tu hāmay bižānī, hwāpaymā, fāntum tānis īma yakī wa jāyza matiyaymē wan(it) (Xosrow) had said: Hey, if you come (and) drive, passenger aircraft, Phantom, we will give you one as a gift.” [6:149]
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Jāzūs n spy ināna jāzūssān biya These ones (i.e., countries) had spies. [5:58]

Jetawgīrī cve prevent eh qurs xwādīn masan mwān jetawgīrī až mināl makarē eh, taking pills, for example, they would say, it prevents the possibility of having children. [8:35]

Jīft n match, pair bař mayiniš, āfrataka jīftiš har niya (She) with her small waist! There has never been another woman like her. [4:14]

Jīmāz n dead body tā ya pūšān nasand, nām čan-e pūl-a ya dū pīkak šīrīnī, jīmāzak(ja)šān āsā dāwa (It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back. [6:13]

Jīyā adj separate, divided marāsimiš jīyā jīyā niya Its celebration (in Gawraǰū) is not divided (by conflict) [7H:85]

Jīyāzāl adj different īriǰ ku āš biya, dāši, dāya jīyāzā biya Iraj was his son, (but) his (i.e., Iraj)”s mother, she was a different mother. [5:9]

Jūrāw n socks mū-y sar luxt naw, masan jūrāw wa pā dar nārī The hair of one’s head cannot be (left) uncovered; for example, you do not take off your socks. [7N:13]

Jūš, (present stem: jūš) v boil.PST xūniš jūšyā, haṭmatiš dā, ya din, gařāš girt his blood boiled, he made an attack, he grabbed one of the Gafā [4:135]

Jūš, present stem of Jūš,

Jūr 1) n manner, way až ābūdiyakay ima ni ka ābūdi būčik-č, i jūra Žin masan hay hāmayā(n), ka bāyad i jūra bū In our village, because it is a small village, the women have always come this way, for example, because it has to be this way. [7H:9] 2) n type, sort i jūr āyamē tabāq bīkarān waš(i)ša wa min māy bizāna eh āyam xāseč-č This sort of person exists; find out if he is, eh, a good person or not; he likes me.” [8:86] 3) adv somehow jūr ya čit-e tir mwāy, mwāy ya dawrīša hāmay She says somehow something else, she says: A dervish has come [4:37] 4) prep like dū ēaw dirim jūr girdakān-č, dū šāx dirim jūr bīfakān-č I have two eyes, they are like walnuts, I have two horns, they are like small spades [2:60]

Jwān 1) n young people až dile jwānān dūstāstan là nařaftē Among young people, love has never disappeared. [8:43] 2) n young man 3) adj beautiful īna wa xāway, farā(d) jwān-e šīrīn mawīnē He, in (his) dream(s), Farhād sees the beautiful one, Širin [4:6] 4) adj young žan-e jwān, šāšq i ku rá mawu The young woman falls in love with this young man (i.e., Siyavoš). [5:32]

Jwāw n answer šēraka makariya jwāw mwāy The lion answers, he says: [3:38]

ka₁ n house matānin, wa bahāna-y čitēkwa māyna bar ka with whatever excuse, they come to the front door of the house. [8:52]

ka₂ compl COMPL pādšāka ka ditakaš šit biya i šīray-na The king whose daughter has become insane is from this city. [3:64]

kaf n foam har kāmmān bē qisa mēzakamān kafīš nagirt, āw mayarēmān Whoever of
us—excuse me for saying this—has no froth on our urine, (then) the water will take us (i.e., that one of us) away.” [2:13]

**kaft** variant past stem of **kat₂ (?)**

**katăm** n religious song bażē masan katăm makarin, sayi gawrămān biya, ditakāniš katăm makarē Some, for example, sing the kallām, we had a great sayyid” (i.e., religious leader), his daughters were able to sing the kallām. [7N:51]

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**kam** 1) adv little kam mašu frā mašu mašāyiya dīle ya alsyawēk makīnā he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the inside of a mill, a machine.

[3:19] 2) quant few; less, fewer māšīn nawē, kam bē, īnān nawē there were no trucks, there were few, they didn’t exist

[6:95] mašān až dile jwānān kam pīš māy čünka nwāraka hē for example, among the young men, it is practiced less often because there are cassettes. [7H:119]

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making jokes; one must be covered, the clothing must {xxx}... [7N:12]
kardā past subjunctive of kard
kart n military service papers mwāy bāwā kartaka mayrim He says: Believe me (lit., hey, man), I will get my military service papers.” [9:42]
kaʃ adj deaf ʔa ŋaʔanə biya, nām, kaʃ ʕa biya, dāša das āna That woman (i.e., Rostam’s wife) had a relative, I don’t know, was he dumb or deaf or what [5:133]
kas n person, someone, no-one aʃ i dinaya fira kas sar barbarin Many people understand this religion. [7H:47]
kaʃkūt n bag kaʃkūtiʃ tā biri dānawari kardē his bag was embroidered with precious stones, as many as you can imagine. [4:17]
kat1 present stem of kat2
kat2 (variant past stem: kawt, kaft; present stem: kat,) vi 1) happen (fall??).PST ya ḫāng-e sādā kata baynšān-u wa sayi-u kākay-u ʃiʃi a simple fight happened between them [8:102] 2) enter.PST marīz bē, katēwa marīzxāna až tērān, xulāsa di ʃaft He was ill, he entered the hospital in Tehran, (and) in the end, then, he died (lit., went). [6:36]
kawš n shoe(s) mwān kawššān niya, mawu biʃi kawš aʃaʃān bīsanī they say: They have no shoes; you must go buy shoes for them.” [1:43]
kawšduruskar n shoemaker maʃuwa aʃa lā-y usa-y kawʃduruskar (The cat) goes to the master shoemaker. [1:45]
kawt variant past stem of kat2 (?)
Kay interrog which xwāyā kay maw(u) yakē tir das žin birē ya ʃarāsi ya marāsim tiriʃ bo gawrajū O God, when will it happen again that another takes the hand of a bride, that there is another wedding, another celebration for Gawrajū? [7H:83]
kayān n prop Kiānyān
kaykāwis n prop Keykāvos
Kaywānū n woman manya bān sar-u Kaywānū, wa lāy lāy maʃu (The woman) carries (the tray) on her head and the woman starts to lament. [4:160]
Kayxasraw n prop Keyxosrow
kā n Mr. ʔa kā gurg aʃin nāziʃ mawu What, Mr. Wolf comes down; evil befalls them. [2:29]
Kā interrog where mwāy ʔa ŋaʔa wa kāyay biyaʃ ʕaʃi wa kā, mwāy ʃaʃyːm aʃi ka-y lāloŋ She says: O dear children, where were you? Where did you go?“ They say: We went to our uncle’s house.” [2:90]
kādu n gift kādū biʃiʃr ʃīl The gifts (are) mostly money. [8:224]
kāfi adj sufficient wa anāza-y kāʃi qisa bikari, ʃāxi nakari You should speak only as much as necessary, you don’t make jokes. [7N:15]
kākay n prop Kākayi
kām pro-form which ya daʃayi gurg mwāy awat kāmmān biʃyːm wa kāmmān, bizinaka mwāy awat ta ʃisān Suddenly, the wolf says: Which of us should strike which of us first?” [2:84]
kāmiʃ adj 1) perfect, perfectly na na giʃtiʃ kāmiʃ No. No, not all of them perfectly. [7H:36] 2) complete, thorough ayaɾ fray pāʃʃāri bikarē gharibā, bāyaɾ taʃqiʃ-t-e kāmiʃ bikarīn If the outsider insists a lot (on courting the young woman), they (i.e., the young woman’s family) must do a complete look into his background. [9:39]
kāni n spring mayarinis sar kāniyarika hawpiʃki makarīn He takes them (lit., they take him/her) to the spring (and) they dance. [1:96]
kāqaz n document, paper bīʃaw(i)na bedāʃt,
In the Office for Hygiene they give them a document, they go to the hospital (and) they give them a certificate. [7N:151]

Both of them go (looking) for work. [3:2]

Both of them go (looking) for work. [3:2]

for ten years, twelve years, a young woman and young man: they have been waiting for each other, (but) neither the family of those is happy about this business [8:61]

There is no such task that we would say: My father should go do the wheat-harvesting, (while) I should stay at home!" [7H:30]

It is not my concern anymore, finally then, he, he tells another story [3:37]

Who is making the dishes of my children full of earth?" [2:64]

He distributes them and gives them to those who are unmarried. [7N:107]

Auntie Tahmineh, please (lit., may your hands be free of pain), send your daughter, she should dance for one hour." [1:40]

He makes lumps of earth with his bare hand, (and) eats two lumps of earth. [3:17]

He m[(a)]kes lumps of earth with his bare hand, (and) eats two lumps of earth. [3:17]

Now, for example, if the men go to (find) work, they (i.e., the young women) can continue (their own work) of caring for livestock or farming. [7N:53]

Now, since the era which I had heard about, Tūšāmi, of foreign peoples, they have a historical book [5:5]

Women, who do we have from here? [7H:38]

My father does the farming, I also do the farming with him. [7H:29]

My father does the farming, I also do the farming with him. [7H:29]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran
diya, amrikā kišīš These roads that you see, all of them, America made. Have you seen the garrison of Shahabad? America made it. [6:125]
kuč, n portion ya iwārān šawaki mašu, mawinē širakaš ya kučiš wišišē, ya kučiš řišīšē One evening, very early in the morning, she goes (and) sees her milk; one portion of it has been consumed (and) one portion of it has been spilled. [1:4]
kuč, n stone kučn portion ya kučiš wi ṛīsē, ya kučiš řišīsē This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he breaks the door (and) goes inside. [2:49]
kuča, n small bowl kuča in-čiš mašu ya kuča qawī mārē matīya wa bar bar maškinē, mašuwa dile This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he breaks the door (and) goes inside. [2:49]
kulēra, n kulera bread kulēra aš makarin, hay wa fas(i)m-e kurdī biawē They make the kulera" (i.e., special bread) for her, still according to Kurdish tradition. [7N:137]
kutyā, adj Kulyāi kulēra n kulera bread kulēra aš makarin, hay wa fas(i)m-e kurdī biawē They make the kulera” (i.e., special bread) for her, still according to Kurdish tradition. [7N:137]
kuyš kunā kunā āsh kunā kardē tāšīyašī Well, then, the pickaxe made no sound; it has penetrated the mountain (and) has shaped it. [4:86]
kunā, n windhole kunāwā n windhole mway wa kunāwāka wā hawkarē He says to the wind hole: Bring forth wind!” [1:77]
kurd prop Kurd kurdī adj Kurdish ašā-y raqs xanabanānaka, baʃezšān kurdī mwān baʃezkiš masan nwār farsi manēn-u maraqṣīn For the dance of the hanābandān party, some of them sing in Kurdish, some of them, for example, play Persian cassettes and dance. [7N:110]
kurdzwān adj Kurdish-speaking bišir-e mardim-e kurdzwān ḡwāzām, bišir ha i gawraǰūwa, čun čma nimūnamān hē most of our people who speak Kurdish, let’s say, most accurately, these (people) of Gawraǰū, because we have these examples [9:22]
kursān prop Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj) kuʃ, cve hide i šaw kuʃ mayrē The next evening she hides. [1:6]
kuʃ, adj short kuʃ, n prop Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj)
kuʃ, cve hide i šaw kuʃ mayrē The next evening she hides. [1:6]
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kuʃ, adj short kuʃ, n prop Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj)
kush present stem of kuʃ Kushi, I am not your murderer.” [5:70]
kush (past subjunctive: kušta; present stem: kuš) vt kill.PST ay xwar matīn bāwā farā(d) īštaniš kušt Someone gives her the news: Man, Farhād has killed himself!” [4:183]
kusta past subjunctive of kuš Kustersn n killing až xānawādamān bē kuštān niya In our family, (such a situation) does not take place without killing. [8:96]
kut vt scratch.PRS walē ĩran, masan hamīšay i dawatānā hay ĩngiš makutin But Iran, for example, all of these countries always
kut kut adj torn up; chopped wāya manē tā ēwār ūža, panj ūža, xāswa bi, bi nawē, āsā matānē kut kutim bikarē pā dšā, tīka tīkam karē He made a bet: (time) passes up to four days, five days, (if) she becomes well (then it’s all right); if she becomes, if she does not become (well), then the king can chop me, cut me up in pieces.

kut kut piece ya žanī makar (i)na tūšwa -u wa ya kuta diwārwa har šawāki mawu tā īwāra až bān-e i āwa manīšē {xxx} They sent a woman to him and she has a piece of black tent cloth (in her hand) {xxx}, from early morning till dusk (the woman) crosses this water.

kuwā n mountain kū bisitin nišāniš matin They show him the mountain of Bisotun

kü n street wa māw kūča naniš You don’t sit (out) in the street.

küna adj old wačē bašd az ya mudat kūna

kūn vi go.PRS až ābādi ima ka masan ābādi bučkalānayka garakīt bo, garakīt bo až inahā bili bar, bāy ača ka-y ima, huč mawqeš nimatāni wa i waz'ā masan mū-y sar-e luxtē bāy in our village, which is, for example, a small village, (and) you want, you want to go outdoors from here, you come to our house, you definitely cannot come like this, for instance, come with your hair uncovered.

lajāf 2 part až lajāf engelisā zindāniš kardē For its part, (England) put (Mosaddeq) in jail.

lajāf adj grouchy and arbitrarily acting wa nazarim dāykaš wa gardšay laj-u lajāzīš kardē-u In my view, her mother was a grouch and acted arbitrarily with her and...
The Gorani language of Gawrajū, a village of West Iran

lang (cf: ling) n leg kūrāka-yē rāhat māya kašān-u lang matīya the young man also comes comfortably to their house and stretches out his legs [8:183]

laš n body sī swār jangī, laškānšān biryā-u ṛatē Thirty armed mounted soldiers have taken their bodies and have set off. [5:99]

lawī n grazing dī wa tūžāna mašuwa lawī-u Sāwāna-yē māya až ānā then every day, she goes to graze, and also every night, she comes from there [2:23]

lā 1) n side, alongside; presence ya xwāparastēk māya až āwā, mawīnēšwa nwāy āy ī bīzina dāwū gīyān makanē gunāš-ē a pious man comes along, finds her there, (and) says: “Oh, this goat, by Davud, it is dying, it is poor (i.e., poor thing).” [2:18] 2) prep to (somebody) jā jā makyāsay lā-ya zā ānā Then, then he (i.e., Rostam) sends someone to Zāl. [5:156]

lā 2 interj may/let it be lā, waš hāmay, nimawu až kay(wa) pādšā dī īya Well, let it be, you are welcome, it won’t work; for a long time the king has despaired.” [3:70]

lálo n uncle mwāy ūfīyām aṛat ka-y lárom They say: We went to my uncle’s house.” [2:90]

lálo pāyar nprop Lālo Pāydār

lāt adj dumb in-ī čak qāṭū lāt-ē pališ biya This one also (i.e., the woman) had a crippled, dumb uncle [5:133]

lāt-u lūt n homeless people and tramps lāt-u lūt, gišt sīr makari až xazānā she gives the homeless and tramps their fill to eat from the treasury [4:207]

lāy lāy n lament mānya bān sar-u kaywānū, wa lāy lāy mašu (The woman) carries (the tray) on her head and the woman starts to lament [4:160]

libās n clothing aṛā dazūrānī ya das libās mayrin For the engagement they bring one set of clothing. [7N:128]

ling (cf: lang) n leg mānanya, ya ling {?! qā} kaywānū matīya qay kamarakaw (Farhād) grabs the woman by the leg, strikes her against the rock face of the cliff [4:171]

lira n lira coin(s) mayrē, manāšāna dile āw tatā-u lira (the cat) brings (them), puts them in liquid gold and coins. [1:109]

luqm n bit, morsel ya šārēk, ya yāgayēk, ya luqma nān aṛa mināthān barbārām a town, a place, (there) we may earn a morsel of bread for our children [3:5]

luxt adj uncovered mū-y sar luxt naw The hair of one’s head cannot be (left) uncovered [7N:13]

lūla n pipe ya lūla buxwārīsān mašu, mašuwa aṛa ỉstānī swār ā lūla buxwārīya They have a pipe for the stove; (Nāmard) goes and just sits up on that stovepipe [3:113]
Whatever things (the young woman) had from (the young man), the papers and things [8:124] madrasa n school  Eh až ānā mināl madrasa wa zūr mayardšāna tazāhurát-u īnā. Eh, after that, they took schoolchildren by force to the demonstration and such things. [6:6]

maghz n brains ā tīta-y gard galama bīkuštā, maghzakašim barbāwirdā I would have killed that dog with the flock, I would have taken out its brain [3:34]

mahalī adj local čünka wāqe ěm āmān mahram-e, kas wa kas, {?! xā} ěm duxtardāyīt-e, duxtaretamat-e Because the wedding is really mahram” (i.e., within the close family) for us, no-one (says) to someone else: Is she your cousin?” [7H:144]


majbūr adj present stem of mardī wašiš nīya The celebration is definitely not pleasant. [7H:61]

makina n 1) machine kam mašu fra mašu mafašiya dile ya āṣyāwēk makina he goes a little way, he goes a long way, (until) he reaches the inside of a mill, a machine. [3:19] 2) razor ṭaša bān-e qawrakaš ēlā tēx, makinaýēkiš dā war ěsiš She went to his grave on the fortieth day; she cuts off her braid with a razor. [4:216]

man1 present stem of man2 (present stem: man; variant present stem: mēn) vi remain, stay PST ina wa i bażma man It stayed this way. [6:72]

man2 v wage. PST wāya manē tā čwār ěṣa, panj ṭuṣa, xāswa bi He made a bet: (time) passes up to four days, five days, (if) she becomes well (then it’s all right) [3:72]

manē prep like, similar to

manqa n area i mardina haṭabja-y ūšmaša ěṣiš bambāwārān ka(rd), ūšmašiš girtiš, i manqa-y qalxānīya, hın dāṭahuwa, garmaser These people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them), everything chemicals, this area of the Qalxānī, that of the Dālāhu, Garmsir. [6:162]

manzīt n house wa ṭarəpəy manziš wānāya biya, pādšāyiš taxt-u maztīš wānāya biya His house was in Sarpol, (and) his government, his throne and such things were there. [5:49]

mar1 present stem of mard1, mar2 adv only mar až ka-y kufraka bān až ka-y dītaka mardāsim birin, ě jūra-na Only when they come from the young man’s house to the young woman’s house and celebrate there, it is that way. [7H:62]

mara adv perhaps pāḥwānīn har ět makarin, mwān mara gīv The heroes, whatever they do, they say: Perhaps (only) Giv.” [5:87]

marāsim n celebration mutlaqan mardāsim wašiš nīya The celebration is definitely not pleasant. [7H:61]
You are a good man, you are truly a good man; what have you done that you reached this (high) position (lit., degree)? I wander about in this state without purpose; I still have achieved nothing, nothing at all.” [3:102]

mard (present stem: mar), vi die.PST nanūsiš, až bayn ūš, mard, kuštšān (Mosaddeq) didn’t write (it), (and) he was destroyed, he died, (they) killed him. [6:105]

mard, n man żanakān bišīr zahmat makišīn tā mardakān, čīnka kāršān saxt-e The women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult [7N:36]

mardim n people gištī ūši dā mardak She poured out everything (and) gave it to the people. [4:208]

marg n death čapa-y gušt, čapa-y narges, margtān nawīnim hargiz-y hargiz A bouquet of flowers, a bouquet of narcissus, may I never see your death, never, never. [3:116]

marīz adj sick, ill marīz bē, katēwa marīzxāna až tērān He was ill, he entered the hospital in Tehran [6:36]

marz n border tā māya ī marz-e qasīra Until she reaches this border of Qas-e Šīrīn [4:10]

masalē n problem ā rūža ka, ka raxš āhāmay-u zamin say man zūriš dā wa xwā wa gard (xxx), masalēš wāt That day when, when Raxš came and with his full weight trampled all over the earth {xxx}, he said (or: explained) the problem. [5:149]

masafan prt for example āyā nimawu masafan dū waje muštarakmān bo wa gard yakay Don’t we have, for example, two points in common with each other? [9:89]

masan prt for example isa šima masan ā dū gila ka hē wa gerd tuway, afā-y īna ghariba-y(n) Now you, for example, the two who are with you: for us, they are strangers. [7N:10]

mawā echo medicine and such mawu ēšīl šaw, i sariš binyay bān ūnit, tā šayad i davā-u mawā biyān xāswa bū Old fellow, for forty nights, you (i.e., Rostam) must leave his head (i.e., Keyxosrow’s) on your lap, so that perhaps through some medicine and such, he may become well again.” [5:159]

mawāqef n times, situations yā mawāqefīn jūri bū Or in some situations it would be like (that) [7H:135]

mawdā n master mawdā-y čaranī wāt in-ič wa niyat hasāw-e zangi, hasāw-e zangi dar guma inānaya the European master said: This one also has the intent {xxx}... [4:121]

mawīzh prt must afīṣāyāw mawīzh sīyāwaxš bikušī Afrāsiāb, you must kill Siyavosh.” [5:64]

mawqaef n time; situation, circumstance na gi(št) mawqaefī Not in all situations! [7H:136]

mawqaefī adv when māyama dile marāsimānā bištirīš mawqaefī ke masan ā barq naw zābt binyām we come to the celebrations, (and sing), mostly when, for instance, there is no electricity (and) we set up a cassette tape recorder. [7H:134]

mawu prt 1) must āyən-u šamdān ġištīš afā-y ūšrāsaka maw(u) bū The mirror and the šamdān” (i.e., candlestick), everything for
mawż n wave dišān amrikā i jūra mawž makarē. They saw America this way, (that) it makes waves. [6:136]

maxsan adv particularly fra maxsan min čūnka fra nařaftayēm, širkatim nakardē. Much … (But) particularly me, because I haven’t gone much, I haven’t taken part [7N:118]

maydān n 1) square māyim maydānaka ğjang makarām, mwāy bāšad I will come to the square (and) we will fight. (The wolf) says: All right.” [2:74] 2) battlefield inī, ku’i mwāy min mafoama maydān this one, the boy says: I will go to the battlefield.” [5:137]

māmār n chicken māmiraka mwāy ay min āwrām-ē, mwau bištawī the chicken says: Hey, well, I am hungry, you must go [1:66]

māng n month aż xaw māy mawīnē baṭē ɾafqiš ráštē ūwa-u nān mānakas-īc bardē (Mard) wakes up; he sees (that) yes, his friend has gone and he has taken the bread and such things, too. [3:14]

mārē label biṟi-j-e mār-e sawzakaš

the bride must be there. [7N:143] 2) want mwāy māhit naṭ(i)mīya, min mawu wa gard tuwa (Rostam) says: May your house not be made desolate.” She says: I want to be with you.” [5:111]
māwird, daraǰa yak (America) brought the rice with the green label, first-class [6:133]
māžin n car min-či muntazir māšin biya(m)
biťoma kursān I too was waiting for a car so I could go to Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj) [6:44]
māwāz echo Ahvaz and such places až āwāz-u māwāz-či až ānāwa sanašāwa pātaxtšān gir(t)awē from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital. [6:98]
māya n belongings makariya nān-u qan-u ēy āwāz-u māwāz-īč ānāwa sanašāwā from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital.
[6:98]
mēn variant present stem of mawān, mēnīč mīšaka kaf mayrē and sugar cubes and tea (and) also the belongings, and he goes. [3:12]
mēl adj national naltiš meli ka(rd) He nationalized it, I mean, (made it) the property of the people. [6:119]
miš child is sharp. [6:93]
minādār adj child-having alāna masan bašd až ēnā sāf, dū sē sāf šin ŷariššān minādār b(un) Now, for example, after several years, two, three years after their wedding, (the couple) may have children. [8:37]
mišt n handful wātš ya mišt āxšiš wāysawē He said he had wanted a handful of earth [6:102]
mitawalid n birth min di bızān, mitawalid-e hīzār sīsad dayīm 1... So then, you know, I was born in 1310 (i.e., 1931) [6:93]
öl men nprop Auntie marg tuva nawinim-u mām īrānwa hargizā-y hargiz may I never see your death, nor (the death of) Auntie Iran, never, never. [2:95]
imānī n visit, gathering mašawē sar mīmānī, nān mwarin, ēy mwarin (Siyavoš) goes to the gathering, they eat food and drink tea. [5:66]
mitawalid-e hīzār sīsad dayīm 1... So then, you know, I was born in 1310 (i.e., 1931) [6:93]
öl men nprop Auntie marg tuva nawinim-u mām īrānwa hargizā-y hargiz may I never see your death, nor (the death of) Auntie Iran, never, never. [2:95]
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example, the young man was somehow addicted; the young man was a total addict. [8:166]

**muḍat** n time period waḷe baś'd az ya muḍat kūṇa maw(u) mayātia But after a certain time period, it will be old and torn. [9:84]

**muḥit** n place āxe (?! gawr) gawrājū ya muḥitēkī bučik Because Gawrājū is a small place. [8:50]

**muğaḏad** adj unmarried kuṟa muğaḏadakān giştis matānin wa xātir īnaka masan hanāka, īrōs hanā magardinē dāmūdakay e gereguśā magardinē All the single young men may (come) because of this, for example, the henna, the bride distributes it, the bridegroom distributes, eh, the geregušā. [7:103]

**mujasima** n statue baʕd baẓēḵšān mujasimaš dīle ka durus mākarin Then some of them make statues at home. [7:42]

**muḵasim** n prop Musadiq musala adj armed mawinē aẓ ūrī libāsakānīš musala-yē-u libās-e ūzmiš pūšiyā (Afrāsiāb) sees that under his clothes (Siyavoš) is armed (and) has his suit of armor on. [5:68]

**muṣalā** adj occupied ā dunyā muṣaxar bi-u muṣādiqšān girt, ā 'Yes, everywhere was occupied and they arrested Musaddeq, yes. [6:31]

**muṣan** adj elderly masan yakī gawrā, yakī masan musan wāqešān for example, there may be someone (who is) old-aged, someone, for example, (who is) elderly, truly [9:16]

**muṣṭaṣmera** n colony īrān mwaya muṣṭaṣmera-y engelīs Iran became a colony of England [6:104]

**muṣkēl** n difficulty, problem a(ya)r masan birākam biḥāwā tahuqīq bikarē, di ā mawqās muṣkēl nīya If, for example, my brother goes (and) finds out more (about that person), then, at that time, there is no problem. [8:93]

**muṭaḥāšʿī** adj flee, split up ānāna di ānā di xulāsa muṭaḥāšī bi Those then, those then split up in the end. [6:83]

**muṭahālēhi** adj married ānā ka muṭahālēhi {?! mutlaq} muṭaḥaṣān nīmatiya ānā ka Whoever is married, to those (people), he definitely does not give any [7N:108]

**muṭaḥaq** adv definitely, absolutely baʕd ārāyeš muṭaḥaṣān nīmaw(u) ārāyeš Then, concerning makeup, it is definitely not possible, makeup. [7H:10]

**muṭmaen** adj sure muṭmaen bo, ara paṇḍi gīla mināḥiš bo May she be sure (of this): even if she may have five children [8:149]

**muẓāḥara** n telephone center bedāštšān, muẓāḥarašān, madrasa-y ūrānamāyi, dabistān, gištīš yakī-ya āfā-y ima, hūč farqīš nīya Their hygiene facilities, their telephone center, the primary school, the intermediate school, it is all the same for us, there is no difference. [7N:29]

**muẓāḥaf** n resistance xānawāda-y kušaka isā muẓāḥafat mākarin The family of the young man is now against it. [8:177]

**mu’īn** n hair mu’ī-y sar luxt nāw The hair of one’s head cannot be (left) uncovered [7N:13]

**muwafaq** adj successful didān gurg māšīn-e muwafaq bwa He pulls
out the teeth of the wolf and says: “Go! At midday, may you be successful [2:82]

mwaya ṿ became aŋ-y engelis mwaya mustaʃmera-y, īrān mwaya mustaʃmera-y engelis, myardis. Because England became a colony, Iran became a colony of England; (England) seized it (Iran). [6:104]

na₁ prt NEG na faqat šaqd kardē No, she was only engaged. [8:193]

na₂ prep 1) on kuʃa maxura-mwāy, mwāy ayar ūšamī nām wēt biya nawā na maydān bīmēnī bē sar The boy shouts and says: “If you are Rostam, say your name, so that on the battlefield, nothing without a head may remain.” [5:139] 2) to das {?! ba}, das bar na tiʃa (His) hand... His hand out to the hammer... [4:119] 3) from waxte mwāy ūsamī nām wēt biya nawā na maydān bīmēnī bē sar... [4:80]

na₃ conn neither, nor na ditaʃay ūʃ makarē na kuʃakay das ţan mayrē, ha ā jūra manē It is not that the young woman gets another husband nor that the young man takes the hand of another woman; (the situation) has just not changed. [8:62]

na- v 1) NEG.SBJV baʃd ē, čapa-y guʃ-u Čapa-y narges, margtān nawinim hargizā-y hargiz Afterwards, eh: A bouquet of flowers and a bouquet of narcissus; may I never see your death, never, never. [1:11] 2) NEG.PST īsa-y īsa-y ĕ naniʃti You did not wait right at that moment (for me). [3:105]

-nā v : agr 3PL čiŋka alāna ina na har bāwka-y mini bāka dita ābūdi gišti ā jūray-na Because now, this is so that not only my father but all the girls of the village, all those ways. [7H:32]

-na₂ v : agr 3SG.H (?) āy hanābanān hanābanān-e tu-na “Ayy, hanābanān, it’s your hanābanān...” [7H:121]

nafar n people bāwā bāwā i dū naʃara waʃsān yak māy (that person) may say: “Hey, man, if these two people like each other [9:18]

naft n oil naftiʃ meli ka(rd) He nationalized the oil (industry). [6:87]

nahār n midday meal šīrīʃ-u, wa sarʃ nahār-u Šīrīn-u šarbat-u giʃ(ti)ʃ daʃwat-ē Sweets and... With the midday meal and sweets and sherbet and everyone is invited. [7N:79]

najēfi n woodwork ē wa qay kū kilkakaʃ mārın, najēfi makarin, tamūr a durus makarin Eh, they bring the branches from the mountains; they do woodwork; they make the “tanbur” (i.e., stringed instrument). [7N:41]

nam vt grab.PRS bū-y āyamīʃa māy, manamina qušiʃ mārınša wār kut kut-u tika tikaʃ makarin “Here’s the scent of a human being!” They grab (Nāmard) by his leg, bring him down, (and) tear him to pieces. [3:115]

naqāw n veil ā jī ūšam, mwāy (fū wa zū) maʃoya maydān-u āy ūšam naqāwiʃ pūʃya Well, then, Rostam, it is said {xxx}, he goes to the battlefield and oh, Rostam, he has put a veil on. [5:138]
(The animals) sit down (and) like me now, they tell a story. [3:29]

All of them were engineers, they were surveyors, they were politicians, they were such (people). [6:144]

All searched for her, to no avail. [4:217]

They have said, these brothers of a common mother, they have said: “This father of ours, he has betrayed us. He has given the best part (of the world) to Iraj; let us kill him! [5:15]

Yes, Sanjābi was the chief, he was the prime minister of that time. [6:76]

The military forces and the army did so much fighting and the people are fleeing and [6:80]

So my father of yours, he has betrayed us. Let us kill him! [5:15]

The willow tree) says: “No. [1:22]

No, by God. [7H:73]

I went amongst the military forces and the army did much fighting and the people are fleeing and [6:80]

They have said, these brothers of a common mother, they have said: “This father of ours, he has betrayed us. He has given the best part (of the world) to Iraj; let us kill him! [5:15]

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The military forces and the army did so much fighting and the people are fleeing and [6:80]

She goes on
pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do); she attends the nazr sacred meal and the ceremonies more than we (do). [7N:90]

nā₁ (present stem: nāz; variant present stem: nā₂) vt put.PST xulāsa kirdmay damim damim sūzyā, nāmay tāqwa pišī birdya bāxwa Finally, I put it in my mouth (and) my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall (and) the cat took it away in the garden.” [2:94]

nā₂ variant present stem of nā₁

nābūt 1) eve destroy ūsam wātašē, ya gurz mayama mil sartay, nābūtim maka Rostam has said: “I will hit you on the head with a club.” (The son says?:) “You destroy me.” [5:84]

nābūt₂ cve destroy ūsam wātašē, ya gurz mayama mil sartay, nābūtim maka Rostam has said: “I will hit you on the head with a club.” (The son says?:) “You destroy me.” [5:84] 2) n brokenness

nāatata n bellow nātatayēkiš mwāy He bellowed [5:104]

nām n name ya dāya kaywānū mawu, ya biziniš mawu, nāmiš bizbal mawu There is an old lady (and) she has a goat; its name is Bizbal. [1:2]

nāmrāzī adj not satisfied yākī az birākān kušaka nārāzi-ya One of the brothers of the young man is not satisfied. [8:175]

nāsī vt know, recognize.PST mwāy min tum nāsī (Nāmard) says: “I recognized you. [3:101]

nāw 1) prep in wa nāw kūča nanīši You don’t sit (out) in the street. [7N:20]

nāzmādi n engagement fāmilakān gištiš jam makarin-u ya daįwat makarin-u ūaqd-u nāzmādi makarina yakē they gather all the relatives and do invitations, and they celebrate the bride consent and the engagement together [7:69]

nān n bread; food, meal až kay i(n) nān-u tūša-y istaniš mapēčiyawa, mayasiya piššaw, āni nān-u tūša afā-y istaniš mārē mayasiya piššaw They wrap up in a cloth their bread and other victuals from home; (one of them) ties it to his back; he (i.e., the other one) simply brings bread and victuals (and) ties it to his back. [3:6]

nārāhat adj 1) sad, troubled eh dwānšān fra nār(āh)at bi, yakiš wātiš āyad ǰadāf xwā bo Two of them were very sad; one of them said: “It must be God’s justice. [6:45] 2) insulted ayar ahyānān ēčā qīsāš wa gar(i)tay kard, nārāhat nawī If he happens to see you, speak with you, don’t be insulted. [8:55]

nārāhati n unpleasantness bāzam wa sar ă nārāhatiša ă ētefiqāna ă aťaš katē Still, with that unpleasantness and those events that have happened to her... [9:73]

nārāhi adj not satisfied yākī az birākān kuşaka nārāzi-ya One of the brothers of the young man is not satisfied. [8:175]

nāsī vt know, recognize.PST mwāy min tum nāsī (Nāmard) says: “I recognized you. [3:101]

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comes down; evil befalls them. [2:29]

nāž present stem of nā,

ni- v NEG.PRS ja širin ina mawinē, farā(d)ly nimazānē Then Širin sees this, (but)

Farhād does not know about it. [4:131]

nīšānī v show kū bisitiin nišāniš matīn-u mwāy, xob, maw(u) bišāwi až fara(g)msa They show him the mountain of Bisotun, and (Farhād) says: “Well, you must go from France.” [4:64]

nīšānī n example šīrīnī matīn, nazr dwā matīn, ya nišānī ditaka makarin They give sweets, they pray the nazr, (and) they pronounce the young woman engaged.

[7N:66]

nīš present stem of niš

nīšānī adj hopeless birā īwāra bizin

nimūna example bīštir-e mardim-e kurdzwān īštanmān bwāžām, bīštir ha īgawraǰūwa, čun ēma nimūnamān hē most of our people who speak Kurdish, let “s say, most accurately, these (people) of Gawraǰū, because we have these examples [9:22]

nīsīvīzānī adj military šī mawānā nīšānī, nīštār nīmazānē Half of the young people know (how to play and) half of them do not know [7N:47]

nīšānī n example šīrīnī matīn, nazr dwā matīn, ya nišānī ditaka makarin They give sweets, they pray the nazr, (and) they pronounce the young woman engaged.

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[7N:66]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

are the surrogate of my mother. I am not like that, I am not one of those people.”

[5:33]

\[
\text{nīyan} \quad \text{vi} \quad \text{NEG.COP.PRS.3PL} \quad \text{arē}, \quad \text{tasdiq}
\]
duktur mayrin di pāxasūrān garak nīyan
Yes, they get the doctor’s certificate; then they don’t need the pāxasur. [7N:146]

\[
\text{nīyat} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{intention}
\]
mawdā‑y farangī wāt īn‑īč
[w]e nīyat hasāw‑e zangi, hasāw‑e zangi dar
guma inānayna the European master said:

“This one also has the intent {xxx}...”

[4:121]

\[
\text{nīyat} \quad \text{vi} \quad \text{NEG.COP.PRS.2SG}
\]
\[
\text{mwāy na}
\]
dāyka‑y ēma īwārān māy wa nīyat (Titila and Bibila) say:

“No, our mother comes back in the evenings; you are not our mother.” [2:48]

\[
\text{nīyā}
\]
(n present stem: ny; variant present stem: n; past subjunctive: nyātā) vt put
[1:9]

\[
\text{damiš nīyā šīraka, tā tānisiš šīraka wardīš‑u bāqīš‑ič) ţišnī}
\]
put its mouth to the milk, drank as much as it could, and poured the rest of it out. [1:9]

\[
\text{nīyām} \quad \text{vi} \quad \text{NEG.COP.PRS.1PL} \quad ā jūra, ā āfūr‑(i)č‑i masan bwāžām ţāhat nīyām
\]
In that way, in that way too we would say, for example, (that) we are not comfortable.
[7H:140]

\[
\text{nīyāz} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{Sacred ceremony}
\]
bīštir wa ĭma mašu wa ziyārat, bīštir wa (m) wa ĭma ehtirāmīš mayrē dinakamān, bīštir wa ĭma nazr‑u nīyāz makarē She goes on pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do); she attends the nazr sacred meal and the ceremonies more than we (do). [7N:90]

\[
\text{nu} \quad \text{num} \quad \text{nine} \quad \text{bašd nu mānga‑u nu ţū(ž)} \text{kušay}
\]
piyā mārē, zūrāv Nine months and nine days later, she gives birth to a boy, Sohrāb. [5:123]

\[
\text{nuqṭ} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{lollipop}
\]
čan gila nuqṭ‑an wa gard‑e ya, wa gard‑e ya dāna sekayi maniša dile yak tūr A few lollipops are together with one, they are put together with one coin into a cloth bag. [7N:105]

\[
\text{nuqra} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{Silver}
\]
libās‑u mibāsšān mawu nuqra Their clothes and such things become silver. [1:110]

\[
\text{nūf} \quad \text{vi} \quad \text{look, see.PRS}
\]
farā(d)‑ič až ţērwa manišē ānwa Farhād also looks at her without raising his head. [4:43]

\[
\text{nūs} \quad \text{present stem of nūsī}
\]
\[
\text{nūsī}
\]
(n present stem: nūs; vt write.PST nanūsīš, až bayn fāt, mard, kuššān (Mosaddeq) didn’t write (it), (and) he was destroyed, he died, (they) killed him. [6:105]

\[
\text{nwā} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{Front; forward}
\]
kū‑ya‑y āyar nimāy nwāwa wa xātir ā saxtgīr(i)č‑yān xānawā‑y ka‑y dīta‑yē As for the young man, if he does not come forward, it is because of the strictness of the young woman’s family. [9:58]

\[
\text{nwār} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{Cassette}
\]
masan mawqaščē ka bāy nwār naw, arē, pan(j) šaš dīta yakwa mayrē For example, when it happens that there is no cassette, yes, five (or) six girls gather together. [7H:120]

\[
\text{ny} \quad \text{present stem of nīyā}
\]
\[
\text{nyāš} \quad \text{past subjunctive of nīyā}
\]
orda n authority ā bāwku dāyka ā ordašāna mil sar mināšānay (?! ni) mutlaqan
nimwāža ka that father and mother (of hers) have the authority over their child; they definitely do not say [9:4]
go n keyboard, organ ya org manīn-u kuš-a dita-u žan-u mināl-u ūrūš-a gharib-a
āšnā-u giš(t) har diye yakī They set up a keyboard and young men and young women, and women and children, and villagers and strangers and acquaintances and all are in unity. [7H:81]

orza n 1) authority yārū di orzaš niya bwāže bāwē min ditatānim garak-ē the guy will not have any more authority to say (to the family): “Believe me (lit., hey, man), I want your daughter.” [9:47] 2) courage nimtānē, yānī i orzaša niya ditaq i qisa bikarē she cannot, that means, the young woman does not have the courage to say this. [9:57]

pača n courtyard ināni bar darwāza wāz mawu, bar mašāwin až pača They... The front of the gate is open; they go out of the courtyard [2:5]
pal n leaf jā āsā pal bikarim, tu palaka biškinti, biyārī ā biznaqaka Then I may grow leaves; you may break off the leaves, you may take (them) to that goat.” [1:25]
palp n impossible task mwāy na bāwā makuša gharib-ē, ya palpē až in bīr (One of Xasraw’s advisors) says: “No, man, don’t kill him, he is a stranger; (instead) take him an impossible task (to perform) [4:57]
pašān n leopard īwāra gurg-u šēr-u pašān māyinwa In the evening the wolf and the leopard return [3:114]
pašāsa n falling rock pašāsay matiya, qul šawdīz maškinē, aspakaš a rock falls (and) breaks the leg of Šabdiz, her horse. [4:91]
panj num five wāyā manē ū ēvār ūža, panj ūža, xāswa bi, bi nawē, āsā matānē kut kutim bikarē pādsē, tikā tikam karē He made a bet: (time) passes up to four days, five days, (if) she becomes well (then it’s all right); if she becomes, if she does not become (well), then the king can chop me, cut me up in pieces.” [3:72]
panjā num fifty alān masan až gawrajū jwānakāniš až panjā gilaš panj gilaš das-e dita gawrajūš nagirtē Now, for instance, the young men in Gawrajū: out of fifty of them, (fewer than) five have taken the hand of a Gawrajū young woman [7H:91]
parī nprop Pari
parviz nprop Parviz
pāf vi cross.PRS mašāsam, mapāšam ā das, mašām, mašāsamwa we reach, we cross to that (other) side, we go, we reach to... [2:12]
pāfū ūdata n evidence of virginity cloth āxir di ēyād ā masan parū ūdata až ē-y dāyka-y ditaq b(o) Thus, then, that cloth as evidence of virginity must be kept with
the mother of the young woman [8:31]

patik, n. wool az anā mwāy xob ča, matim wanit, čiš sangit patik matim wanit, har tu patik. At that moment, he says (i.e., Xasraw or an advisor of Xasraw) says: “All right. We will give you, we will give you wool forty times your own weight. Only wool, right.” [4:151]

paxš cve spread, distribute mujāraddakān matānin bāyn wa xātir masan geregušā paxš makarin The unmarried ones can come because, for example, the “geregušā” (i.e., bags with sweets or nuts) are distributed. [7N:100]

pay prep after zü mašina pay kāray, kārē ǰif makarin mašin They start going to work early, they find a job, they go. [7N:60]

payā cve procure, bring about ka-y pādšā, mwāy āqara dawā-u duktur hāma-u dārūsān hāwird-u dawā ka(rd), dawā šīšā payā naka(rd) (the people in) the king’s house, they say: “So many medicines and doctors came and they brought remedies, and the doctor gave medicine; his medicine did not bring about healing.” [3:68]

paz n flock of sheep and goats tā min maš(t)ma anā wa pā, na paz-u, fas̱ wahār maw(u) “Until I have gone there on foot, sheep and goats and... It was springtime. [4:153]

pā n 1) foot waxte kūčik, pāš dāya kūčik, kūčik ŋaflay farsax, war pāšay When a stone, his (i.e., Farhād’s) foot strikes a stone, the stone flies (the distance of one) “farsaxs” away from his foot. [4:107]

2) point, place ā jür na, masan tā pā-y ina hāmē’ (?! ehe) In that way, no. For example, it has reached this point (that) {?! ehe} [8:101]

pāča n part sē ābādī pāča miKhiš-e three villages are parts of his property [6:51]

pādšā n king pādšā-y waxt irān biya (Xasraw) was the king of that time in Iran. [4:53]

pālīz n autumn isa fas(ī)te tāwsān tā biya pālz ča makari Now, what do you do from summer season to autumn? [7N:30]

pāk adj pure waxte mawinē až āyir nasūzē, dī pāk-e ina dī When he sees that he is not burned by the fire, then he is still pure. [5:82]

pākat n packet tā ya piššān nasand, nām čan-e pāl-u ya dī pākat šīrīn, jināza(k)asān āsā dāwa (It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back. [6:13]

pālawān n hero ka ast-l-u jad-e tu pālawān-in nasištān kāyāniyān Your origins and forefathers are heroes; your race is of the Kiānyān. [5:60]

pālawānī adj heroic pālawānī-n, inā nāyad wa ŋazm pālawānīwa bišū, aspāw bipūš You are heroic; these things, you must proceed in the proper heroic way; put on your heroic armor.” [5:61]

pālawī n prop Pahlavi

pānza num fifteen bištiriš wa pānza sāţān, bištiriš wa pānza sāţān sā makarē Most of them with fifteen years (of age), most of them marry at fifteen years [7N:55]

pār n last year tā guftyana daqiqan tā pārāka, tā pārāka tā čan sāt piš until, so they say, until exactly last year, until last year, until a few years ago [8:16]

pāsabān n guard ā kufta gawrākam-ī-ā pāsabān bē, wa tērānay bē That older son of mine was a guard in Tehran [6:4]

pāsgā n sentry station ānā yāya-y har pāsgā biya qadīm, ānā mwān ā dawra There, that
place which always was the sentry station of old; that’s what they say (about) that time. [4:102]

pātaxt n capital až āwāz-u māwāz-ič až ānāwa sanašāwa pātaxšān gīr(t)awē from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital [6:98]

pāxasur n pāxasur (woman who accompanies bride) īč až ānāwa sanašāwa pātaxšān gir(t)awē from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital [6:98]

pāy n degree tu mard ī wāqeʕ an mard ī čat ka(rd) ka wa ī pāya asī You are a good man, you are truly a good man; what have you done that you reached this (high) position (lit., degree)? [3:102]

pesar xala n cousin (mother’s sister’s son) īč až ānāwa sanašāwa pātaxšān gir(t)awē from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital [6:98]

pesarxāla n cousin (mother’s sister’s son) īč až ānāwa sanašāwa pātaxšān gir(t)awē from Ahvaz and such; from there they had taken the capital [6:98]

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The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

Then, after that, (Siyavoš) says: [5:33]

\[5:33\]

\(\text{piyā} \) cve find \(\text{piyāšān naka(rd)}\), až ānā, dāśa īstanišī kuš They did not find her. Then she struck (herself), she killed herself. [4:218]

\(\text{piyāda} \) n infantry ya daťa i bāntāqa-u sarbāz ā dawra, bē qīsa, wa qātīr-u tūpxāna-u piyāda Suddently, this (town of) Bān Tāq and the soldier at that time, excuse me (for mentioning this word), with mules and the arsenal and infantry [6:95]

\(\text{pīk} \) adj strong and straight tā xāswa bū, wa ɫāw šün sē řü(ž)ā dita mawu pīk pu ɫā until she is well again; by God, after three days the girl will become (like) the cutting edge of steel. [3:91]

\(\text{pīknīk} \) n small gas cooker pīknīkēk-u hüchtānim dī garak nīya a small gas cooker and I need nothing else from you. "[3:86]

\(\text{pīr} \) adj old kaykāwis, čašiš až das dāy-u baš̆d īsa- īya, čašiš-e īsa- īya dāy In marriage, whoever is a relative, up to twenty toman, twenty-five toman, this way. [8:226]

\(\text{pīś} \) adv 1) forth bištir-(i)č-i pīś māy nāmzadī makarē It often happens that one has the pre-engagement [8:204] 2) ago tā čan sāť pīś das īšanī girt (Then) a few years ago, he took the hand of (another) woman in marriage. [8:127]

\(\text{pīškaš} \) n gift mwāy na, āš-u taštalkat pīškaš wa īšanīt (Mard) says: “No, (may) your crown and your throne be a gift to yourself. [3:80]

\(\text{pīšnahād} \) n proposal i īš āyamē waš(i)ša wa min māy pīšnahādī dāya wanim matānim wa gārdšay řāḥat bwim This type of person who likes me, who proposes to me... Can I act in a relaxed way around him? [8:91]

\(\text{pīštīwān} \) n support ā mālikān-i(č) dīawaš buwayna bisa, fra pīštīwānšān ka(rd) Yes, the landowners also were very pleased; they supported him (i.e., Xomeini) a lot. [6:69]

\(\text{pīyā} \) n man gīššān wa gard yakay kuša-u pīyā-u dīta-u žan-u, gīššān wa gard yakay das mayrīn All together—boys, men, girls, and women—everyone holds hands together [7H:77]

\(\text{putā} \) n steel putā bāri-u usā bāri “Bring steel and bring the master [4:66]

\(\text{pūnza} \) num fifteen pūl tā panj timan, tā da timan, pūnza timan, har kām āmīl bo tā bīs timan, bīs-u panj timan i īša Money, up to five toman, up to ten toman, fifteen toman, whoever is a relative, up to twenty toman, twenty-five toman, this way. [8:226]

\(\text{pūl} \) n money bāyad masan īsāta bāy ā hanā xīr bitīya bāya lā-y tu, tu pūl bitīyay It is necessary, for instance, when that henna is passed around (and) comes to you, you give money [7H:106]

\(\text{pūš} \) present stem of \(\text{pūšīd} \)

\(\text{pūšīd} \) (present stem: pūš) vt 1) wear, put on.PST bāyad āwārīha āmīša pūšīda bo You must be wearing a headscarf at all times. [7H:8] 2) cover.PST ehe zūn har, ī yak dasay īš ār gādīnay baš̆d hīn-e ašā dītaka masan pūšīday pūš ditakānay Eh, a zūn is well, like a set of an old type of cloth (?), then a thing for the young woman, for example, covering the young woman’s back. [7N:134]
Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” [2:43]

That must be so, you must show it before they go on the honeymoon, that should be that they show it to those families. [7H:163]

But, earlier, for example, (if) someone comes from another village, we cannot (sit together). [7N:9]

Is this right? Does God accept this? [6:52]

Some brides, when they marry, they follow old local traditions. [7N:132]

This one also (i.e., the wolf) goes, brings back a hard stone, (and) bangs on the door; he breaks the door (and) goes inside. [2:49]

He says: “Širu?” He says: “Yes?” She says: “You can, if you do what I say. [4:198]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

hēzim frē jam makarīn-u inā dī wa qawt-e qadimān. They gather a lot of wood, and it is so, then, according to ancient legends [5:44]

qawm n kin ā šālyār mwāy ā žana qawmēsiš biya, nām, kaشف biya ča biya, dāša das āna (King) Šahrīār says. That woman (i.e., Rostam’s wife) had a relative, I don’t know, was he dumb or deaf or what, they put him in her hands. [5:133]

qāyim cve ānā īštaniš īštaniš qāyim makarē, mārešwa Ah, (Giv) brings her out from the noise (and) brings her back. [5:92]

qātū n uncle ān-ic yak qātū lāt-č pališ biya. This one also (i.e., the woman) had a crippled, dumb uncle [5:133]

qāpī n gate mařowə bar qāpī ā qātū he goes up to the gate of that castle [4:27]

qīaqaz n paper ba’d āsā, setāra-setāna-u qīaqaz māqaz nawya, čapar biya-u, ņimikčišān biya-u ināna Then, at that time, there were no astrologers or paper and such things; there were messengers and they had fortune-tellers and these (kinds of people). [5:13]

qātīš n murder širū-č-i biya biya qātīš bāwkaš-u, ī dūstāna inā širūn-farā(d) i jūra biya. As for Širu {xxx}, he was the murderer of his father and this story, this is so, Širin and Farhād, it was like this. [4:220]

qātir n mule ya daftū i bāntāqa-u sarbāz ā dawra, bē qisā, wa qātir-u tābīxāna-u piyāda Suddenly, this (town of) Bān Tāq and the soldier at that time, excuse me (for mentioning this word), with mules and the arsenal and infantry [6:95]

qāwa adj brown tu qāwa-yi you are brown.” [2:46]

qāwaxānə n coffee house yakišān, ī jūr qāwaxānay bē, nīşt:yān min-ic muntażir māšin biya(n) biţoma kursān One of them {narrator gestures}, this kind of a coffee house, we were sitting down; I too was waiting for a car so I could go to Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj). [6:44]

qūyim cve hide maľawē dawr ya āsyawēk až ānā īştaniš īştaniš qūyim makarē She goes near a mill; there she hides herself, herself [2:22]

qin n rear end

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[184x764]The Gorani l
[236x764]anguage of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

[102x737]hēzim frē jam makarīn-u inā dī wa qawt-e qadimān. They gather a lot of wood, and it is so, then, according to ancient legends [5:44] 2) n wish ānām xumayni wa qawštāniš naka(rd), inā bē dī Imam Xomeini did not follow their (i.e., America’s) wishes, this is how it was then. [6:136]

qawm n kin ā šālyār mwāy ā žana qawmēsiš biya, nām, kaشف biya ča biya, dāša das āna (King) Šahrīār says. That woman (i.e., Rostam’s wife) had a relative, I don’t know, was he dumb or deaf or what, they put him in her hands. [5:133]

qay, prep on dimakat časb bitīma qaytay waš hāmay I may stick your tail back on you (and then) our business is finished (lit., you are welcome). [1:104]

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qin n rear end
qirtin vt cut off.PRS taraštayēk mārē, matiya wa mil dimišay, dimiš maqirtinē She takes a hatchet, brings it down on its (i.e., the cat’s) tail, (and) cuts its tail off. [1:11]

qisa n speech hānyaka māya qisa mwāy The spring starts to speak; it says: [1:29]

qismat n destiny tu binīš, min -īč manīšim, bizānim qismat ča makarī (The young man says:) “Wait, I’ll wait too, let’s see how destiny turns out.” [9:14]

qisla̱nx nprop Qešlāq qizi n ġasār nprop Qezelhesā (there was) a young woman (who) set herself on fire in defiance of her mother [8:115]

qul n leg(s) šāyerēkiš kīštwa -u nīyāša bān qul šawdīzwa he pulled up a plane tree and laid it on the leg of Šabdiz. [4:143]

cut off.PRS taraštayēk mārē, matiya wa mil dimišay, dimiš maqirtinē She takes a hatchet, brings it down on its (i.e., the cat’s) tail, (and) cuts its tail off. [1:11]

qulīna n basket ĵī šaw ku -ɫ mayrē, manyayša żīr qulīna The next evening she hides, puts it (i.e., the milk) under a basket [1:7]

qufāng n pickaxe aź ānā, qufāng bāya wār, fār(d) makušē After that, the pickaxe comes down and kills Farhād. [4:174]

qurbān n sacrifice (term of address) qurbān ěa farmāyiš makarī, mwāy bā bāya bān qay niya, waš hānay īn-īč wa bān ěa dukturakān Your highness, what is your command?” (The king) says: “Let him come upstairs; no problem, he is welcome; this one too, up (like) those doctors.” [3:75]

qurs n pill ěh qurs xwārdin masan mwān ģešlawgīrī aź mināt makarē eh, taking pills, for example, they would say, it prevents the possibility of having children. [8:35]

qīn n defiance ya dita wa qīn dāyaš (i)mē, min ǰārē tā bizānim ča wa sarim māy (Širin) says: “May your house not be made desolate! Until I know what will happen (lit., comes) to me [4:191]

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[9:34]

\( \text{faft} \) n friend \( xo, až kā bīrām, až kā bīznāwām, až dū gīla \text{faftī}, dū pīyā \) Well, where should we begin, where should we hear (it), (the story) of two friends, two men. [3:1]

\( \text{faft} \) (present stem: \( \text{faw} \); variant present stem: \( \text{fo} \) \( vi \) go.PST \( mwāy \) \( ʔi̞hā wa kāyay \) \( bīyay \text{faftī} \) \( wa kā, mwāy \text{faftīyām} \) \( až k-y \) \( láлом \) She says: \( \) “O dear children, where were you? Where did you go?” They say: \( \) “We went to our uncle’s house.” [2:90]

\( \text{fang} \) n color \( \text{fang-e} \) \( mī hūčīš \) \( nīya, ārāyešīš nīya, \text{fang-e} \) \( mīyūš \) \( nīya \) Coloring one’s hair is completely impossible; there is no makeup, there is no hair coloring [7N:5]

\( \text{fāqs} \) 1) \( vi \) dance.PRS \( \text{bażēkīš} \) \( \text{masan} \) \( nwār \) \( fārsī \) \( manēn-u \) \( maqāšīn \) some of them sing in Kurdish, some of them, for example, play Persian cassettes and dance. [7N:110] 2) \( n \) dance \( až-y \) \( \text{fāqs} \) \( xanabanānaka, bażēšān \) \( kurdī \) \( mwān \) \( bażēkīš \) \( \text{masan} \) \( nwār \) \( fārsī \) \( manēn-u \) \( maqāšīn \) For the dance of the hanābandān party, some of them sing in Kurdish [7N:110]

\( \text{fās} \) present stem of \( \text{fāsī} \)

\( \text{fāsim} \) n tradition, custom \( \text{isātā} \) \( \text{fāsim-e} \) \( pāxāstūr-u \) \( ē čitān-īc-a \) \( hē \) Now there is the tradition of “pāxasur” (i.e., woman who accompanies the bride) and also these things. [7H:152]

\( \text{fāsī} \) (present stem: \( \text{fās} \) \( vi \) reach, arrive.PST \( tu \) \( mard-i \) \( wāqeš̄an \) \( mard-i \) \( čat \) \( k(a)rd \) \( k-y \) \( pāyā \text{fāsī} \) You are a good man, you are truly a good man; what have you done that you reached this (high) position (lit., degree)? [3:102]

\( \text{fāsimyāt} \) n custom \( \text{ā wa} \) \( \text{fāsimyāt} \) \( ā \) \( \text{dawra, matiniš } \) \( wan \) Well, according to the custom of that time, they give her to him. [5:116]

\( \text{fāsī} \) \( vt \) cause to reach.PRS \( \text{matānē } \) \( wa \)

\( \text{dūstāna } \) \( wa \) \( yā \) \( kuřakā \) \( yā \) \( \text{masan } \) \( wa \) \( {?i} \) \( xā \) \( wa \) \( dūst } \) \( īštaniš \) \( k-a \) \( biťasneš̄a \) \( xānwādā \) She can say it in a friendly way to either the young man, or for example, to her own friends, who may let her family know. [9:25]

\( \text{fāw} \) present stem of \( \text{fāft} \)

\( \text{fāx} \) nprop \( \text{Raxī} \)

\( \text{fāyīs} \) n president \( \text{buwa } \) \( fāyīs \) \( jambūrī \) (thus) he would become president of the republic [6:68]

\( \text{fāzā} \) nprop \( \text{Reza} \)

\( \text{fāzā} \) \( n \) \( will \) \( nařasē \) \( bāyad \) \( ŋīzī \) \( būy \) \( wa \) \( ŋāz-} \) \( xwāy \) If she does not get together with him, she must be satisfied that that is also the will of God. [9:29]

\( \text{fāzm} \) n armor \( \text{pāfawānī}-n, \) \( māna \) bāyad \( \text{wā } \) \( \text{fāzm} \) \( pāfawānīwa } \) \( bīšū, \) \( \text{aspāw } \) \( \text{bipūš} \) You are heroic; these things, you must proceed in the proper heroic way; put on your heroic armor.” [5:61]

\( \text{fā} \) \( n \) \( way \) \( \text{xulāsa } \) \( makatīya } \) \( ŋī } \) \( māy } \) \( mašūwa \) \( bān } \) \( k-y } \) \( xīr \) Finally, she gets on the way (and) sets off for the roof of the bear’s house. [2:56]

\( \text{fāhat} \) 1) \( \text{adj} \) comfortable \( \text{mašūwa } \) \( āž } \) \( īštaniš } \) \( swār } \) \( ē } \) \( lūla } \) \( buxwārīya } \) \( fāhat } \) \( fāhatēk } \) \( mawu \) (Nāmard) goes and just sits up on that stovepipe (and) makes himself very comfortable. [3:113] 2) \( \text{adj} \) relaxed \( \text{i jūr } \) \( āyamē } \) \( našā } \) \( wa } \) \( mīn } \) \( māy } \) \( pīšnahādīš } \) \( dāya } \) \( wānim } \) \( matānim } \) \( wa } \) \( gār } \) \( fāhat } \) \( \text{bwin} \) This type of person who likes me, who proposes to me... Can I act in a relaxed way around him? [8:91] 3) \( \text{adv} \) only, simply \( \text{jwāw } \) \( \text{pesarxālakaš } \) \( dāya } \) \( alāna-yč-e } \) \( kuřakā, } \) \( kuřaka-u } \) \( xīrakā } \) \( wa } \) \( yakay } \) \( fāhat } \) \( \text{fābetašān } \) \( hē-u } \) She called it off with her cousin, and now indeed the young man, the young man and the young woman only have a relationship. [8:170]
۳:۱۰۷ \text{فاژی} \text{adj} \; \text{happy, satisfied} \; \text{کفاکا مواب} \; \text{تو سع} \; \text{ماکا} \; \text{خانوادمان فژی مکارم} \; \text{The young man says: “Don’t take a husband; I will make my family satisfied.”} \; \text{[۸:۱۷۸]}

۳:۶۳ \text{فژی} \text{n} \; \text{road} \; \text{مکاتیفا} \; \text{رف مارو} \; \text{مارفی} \; \text{He sets off on his way, he goes} \; \text{[۲:۶۷]}

۱:۸۰ \text{فیم} \text{ideoph} \; \text{loud noise} \; \text{مواب کی‌یا کی‌یا فیما} \; \text{فیم مکاره پی کئسا کودا‌ی مینفیم} \; \text{خک مکاره} \; \text{(The wolf) says: “Who is it? Who is it making loud noises, (who) is making the dishes of my children full of earth?”} \; \text{[۲:۶۷]}

۵:۱۸ \text{فیماتیچی} \text{n} \; \text{fortune-teller, فیملیس, کاپیره, بادی اسیا} \; \text{سیسرا سیناسا} \; \text{بوابی} \; \text{فیمیتی بواشین} \; \text{(He) says to (the star-), to the fortune-tellers, and to the astrologists: “Hey you fellows, cast the “rimil” (to predict the future)”} \; \text{[۵:۱۸]}

۵:۱۳ \text{فیسی} \text{vt} \; \text{pour out.PST.PASS} \; \text{تیفانگ ریسیس‌و} \; \text{نایری هوابی سکنی از تیران} \; \text{هافیل} \; \text{لوگرینga ta} \; \text{marim} \; \text{She poured out everything (and) gave it to the people.} \; \text{[۴:۸۱]}

۴:۲۰۸ \text{فیشی} \text{vt} \; \text{cause to pour out.PST} \; \text{گیشی فیشی دا} \; \text{مادیرم} \; \text{She poured out everything (and) gave it to the people.} \; \text{[۴:۲۰۸]}

۶:۶۵ \text{فو} \text{variant present stem of فات} \text{لة} \; \text{ہالیا اہام باری} \; \text{بکاریا دیل}
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

 ruañ, min bwarim bring eggs for me, fry (them) (so) I may eat (them) [1:53]

řuwās n fox māy mašuwa bān ka-y gurg, čū zānim řuwās (The goat) sets off for the roof of the wolf’s house; what do I know, the fox. [2:63]

řu n day eh mawqeše ka řarüşi makarin, maťawē, bašd až (?! ēw); bašd až ēwār řu, panj řu Eh, when they have the wedding, she goes, then after, after four, five days [8:213]

řu řu n lament kū dasiš karda zāyaɣu (The mountain began to make loud cries and laments. [4:81]

řu læn day h mawqeē ka∧e kārūsī makarīya, mašuwa bān ka-y gurg, čū cas yūz (The goat) sets off for the roof of the wolf’s house; what do I know, the fox. [2:63]

Řūsam nprop Rostam

řūsta n village bištirish dīta-u kuña hē yakwa, har hē řūstāka-y Ɣistanšay Most of the young women and young men are together, all are from the village itself. [7N:74]

řūsta n villagers ya org manin-u kuña-u dīta-u ŏan-u mīnāl-u řūstā-u gharība-u Ɣšān-u giš(t) har dile yakī They set up a keyboard and young men and young women, and women and children, and villagers and strangers and acquaintances and all are in unity. [7H:81]

Řūt adj naked min mayim gištī(ŝ) řūt řūt har ya šürt warešānay bē I saw (that) all (of them were) naked, naked... They only had shorts on. [6:141]

Řūwařū adj faced walē xo ditaka bāvad wa muškel, haṁis wa gard muškelay řūwařū-we But, well, if it were a young woman, (it’s) a problem. It’s always faced with difficulties. [7H:104]

Řūže n day di wa řūžāna mašuwa lašīf-u Ɣawān-yč māya až anā then every day, she goes to graze, and also every night, she comes from there [2:23]

Řwan n cooking oil birinč-e mārk-e sawzakaš māwird, darajā yak, řwan nawatī ēra (America) brought the rice with the green label, first-class, a lot of vegetable oil [6:133]
sabad

sabadakay mayirna daswa, āna dāmādaka magardinēš They lay them (i.e., the bags with sweets) in a basket, (then) they place the basket in the hands (of the bridegroom), (and) the bridegroom offers it (to the guests) [7H:110]

saddām nprop Saddam

safar nprop Safar

safarša nprop Safar Šāh

san present stem of sand

sand (present stem: san) vt get, obtain, receive.PST; take back.PST tā ya pūlšān nasand, nām čan-e pūl-u ya dū pākat šīrī, jināza(k)ašān āsā dīwa (It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back. [6:13] īna wa ā jūra musadiq wa ā tārīxa naftiš až engelis sanwa (It was) not until they received some money, I don’t know how much, and one, two packets of sweet pastries, (that) they then gave his body back. [6:13] īna wa ā jūra musadiq wa ā tārīxa naftiš až engelis sanwa It is like this, in that manner, Mosaddeq at that time took back the oil from England. [6:121]

sanda n chair, seat mwā(y) āghā tu a ţā mil sandaši engelisyāna (The representative of England) says: “Sir! Why are you (sitting) on the seat of England?" [6:111]

gang n stone i mwāy ši sang ištānīt taštā matimat, ān mwāy dāna-u jawāhir matimat One of them says: “I will give you thirty times your own weight of gold.” [4:148]

sangintar adj more dignified and noble alān ka āyam dita har ēa sangintar bo, wa hurmattirawa mašuwa ka-y ištāniš Now, however much a person, a young woman, is dignified and noble, (then) she will go to her own home with that much more honor. [8:70]

saqizī adj Saqiz-style arā bašt šaw xanabanān-ič ayar garakiš bū dubāra libās har jūre garakiš bū, ehe kurdīš garak bū, saqizīš garak bū, ţārī Then for the night of the hanābandān party, if she wants again, whatever she wants, ah, if she wishes for Kurdish (style of clothing), if she wishes for Saqiz (style), Persian (style) [7N:131]

sar, 1) n head dwāra ayzan mašu māywa, mwāy dū gila čā maniya qa-y sarišwa Once again (the wolf) goes (and) comes back; it is said that: “He has put two pieces of wood on his head.” [2:43] 2) n head of, beginning jawāhir dirē bī bār bī sāmān he has endless amounts of jewels.” [4:38] 3) prep on; over, above māya bān sariš, sar bānwa tamāšā makarē she comes (to a place) above him (and) looks down from the roof. [4:29] 4) prep to; at mašīna sar zīmkān They go to the Zīmkān (river) [2:6] 5) n chief xasrawdād-u ināna gištīš sarān-e yak bīsin Xasrowdad and these (people), all of them were chiefs of each other. [6:154]

sar, 3) n visit makanīya sariš bīrwē sar bītya she wishes to go visit him (i.e., Farhād). [4:88]

sarāw nprop Sarāb

sarbāz n soldier až kursān bē, sarbāz bē He was in Kursān (i.e., Sanandaj). He was a soldier [6:35]

sarbāzī n military service masātan sarbāziš nakardē for example, he has not done military service. [9:41]

sarbāzxāna n garrison sarbāzxāna-y sāhābātta diya Have you seen the garrison of
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Shahabad? [6:125]

sardsa(t)a n leader gaʃa sar(sa)šaʃn bi, das širin̨iʃ girt the Gaʃa was their leader; he took Širin by the hand. [4:125]
sarneweʃsāz n maker of destiny ens̨aʃ ezdeʃaʃja (sa) w̨aqeʃaʃn sarneweʃsāz-a aʃ̨aʃy ens̨aʃ (As for) human beings, this marriage is truly the maker of destiny for human beings. [9:20]
sarmigūn cve destroy, overturn āʃ̨aʃra, āʃ̨aʃra sarmigūn aʃ̨aʃy ens̨aʃ (As for) human beings, this marriage is truly the maker of destiny for human beings. [5:169]
sarpēl nprop Sarpol sarzamīn n field m̨wāʃ x̨ūn-e siy̨āwax̨sh ham naw jūʃa, sâraʃ̨a sarzamīn sarbāz bipuʃo It is said, the blood of Siyavoš boiled anew; all plains and fields (of the whole world) would be covered with soldiers. [5:74]
sawqāt n bride gift sawqāt ditaka, īsa baʃ̨ez̨ek̨iʃ baʃ̨ez̨ek̨iʃ makarē, baʃ̨ez̨ek̨iʃ nîmakarē (Concerning) the "sawqāt" (i.e., bride gift) for the young woman, now some of them, some of them do it (i.e., keep the practice), some of them do not do it. [7N:139]
sawz adj green birinʃ̨e mārke sawzakaʃ m̨awird, daraʃa yak (America) brought the rice with the green label, first-class [6:133]
saxt adj 1) difficult źanak̨a b̨iʃ̨tr zahamat makiʃ̨a t̨a mardak̨a, ʃ̨iʃ̨na k̨arʃ̨a saxt-ʃ̨, p̨iy̨a k̨amtir k̨ariʃ h̨e The women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult; the men have less work. [7N:36] 2) strict na x̨anawād̨aʃn k̨a saxt mayrin b̨iʃ̨tr wa x̨aʃ̨ir-ke m̨as̨aʃn ku-ʃ̨u d̨ita No, (as for) the families who act strictly, it is more because of the young man and the young woman [9:1]
saxtgiri n strictness d̨iʃ̨iʃ̨d̨iʃ̨aʃnîy, saxtgiri-(i)-iʃ̨îy There is no love; there is also no strictness. [8:83]
sayi 1) n religious leader, sayyid tāb̨eʃ̨ d̨astūr-e in̨aʃ̨a, sayy̨aʃn in̨a-ʃ̨a, masan ana ka har harkaʃ̨e bikarīn m̨aʃ̨in gawraʃ̨ū They are subjects of the authority here; their “sayyid” is here, for example, for what(ever) they intend to do, they come to Gawraʃ̨ū. [7N:28] 2) nprop Sayyid sâʃ̨at n hour mim tamina dasit dard nakay, ditakat k̨il bika ya sâʃ̨at hawpiʃ̨k̨i karē “Auntie Tahmineh, please (lit., may your hands be free of pain), send your daughter, she should dance for one hour [1:40]
sâda adj simple ya marâšim sâda mayrin, ʃaʃn mayrin-ʃu They celebrate a simple ceremony, they celebrate a party [7N:68]
sâheb n owner ayr̨aʃ̨eh b̨aʃa diy̨âr i ʃ̨iʃ̨aʃa b̨iʃ̨aʃa k̨ar, makatîya gil If the owner would come for attending this mill (and) put it to work, it would start to work. [3:51]
sâlem adj honorable mardim sâleʃ̨m b̨iʃ̨in, mardim h̨in nawiʃ̨in They were honorable people, they were not thing. [6:143]
sât n year ʃ̨iʃ̨aʃw wiʃk biʃa, ina ʃan sâta bar nîmayr̨e this mill? (The tree) has become dry; it has been several years that it has brought forth fruit. [3:40]
sâʃtamîʃ n tendency livestock (?) b̨uyad sâʃtamîʃ nakarin-ʃu No-one should tend the livestock and... [4:154]
sâm nprop Sâm sâmîn n end fawâhir dirē bi sar bi sâmîn he has endless amounts of jewels [4:38]
sâʃa n field, plain m̨wāʃ x̨ūn-e siy̨āwax̨sh ham naw jūʃa, sâraʃ̨a sarzamīn sarbāz bipuʃo It is said, the blood of Siyavoʃ boi̧led anew; all fields and plains (of the whole world) would be covered with soldiers. [5:74]
sât n time aw sâta mwâtsaʃn b̨uyad har fawri hâmîʃa b̨iʃ alaʃn na At that time, they said, one must become pregnant
immediately; now, it is not so. [8:36]

\texttt{sāwa} \textit{vt} anoint.PRS \textit{pišt-u inānīša wan bisāway} anoint her back and such with it [3:89]

\texttt{sāya} \textit{n} shade \textit{zendegim-č, sāya-y sarm-č, hēymē gardšay-u hawmayzim, haymanišim} (my husband) is my life, he is my guardian; we are united, we stand up, we sit down (together). [9:88]

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kills the woman [5:166]

sīywāxš nprop Siyavoş

sunni nprop Sunni

sūk adj loose (morals) dūr la žanaka alān ka mardē, žane e ważiš sūk biya-u i čištāna (The things they accused her of were) far from the (normal behavior of the) woman who is now dead; that the woman was loose (i.e., in morals) and such things.

[8:113]

sūrat n face eslāh-e sūrat naw, dita tā waxte ka sū nakay, yā nišāna karē No hair removal from the face (for) the young woman before she marries or gets engaged.

[7H:13]

sūz1 present stem: sūz2 vt burn.PST kirdmay šawīyakam, šawīyakam sūzyā I put it in my shirt (and) my shirt was burned. [2:93]

sūz2 present stem of sūz1

sūzn present stem of sūznī

sūznī (present stem: sūzn) vt cause to burn.PST har čī īaṣ-e nāmzādī-u īaqd-u čišt bē gištīš sūznī, nwārakāniš šikni Everything, the photos of the engagement and whatever there was, she burnt everything, she broke the cassettes. [8:163]

sū n morning sū ařā-y nimařā jang-e (The goat says:) “Morning, at midday there will be war. [2:73]

swā n tomorrow šaw īaṛūsī, šawīš ka swā-y īaṛūsī šawīš šurū maw(u), šawīš maynā ka-y dāmād šaw hanābdān-e The night of the wedding, the night that the wedding begins the next day (i.e., the night before the wedding). The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom; it is the night of the “hanābdān” (celebration). [7N:92]

swār adj 1) sitting upon mašūwa ařā ištāniš swār ā lūla buxwāriya (Nāmard) goes and just sits up on that stovepipe [3:113] 2) mounted sī swār jangī, laškānšān biriyya-u ūftē Thirty armed mounted soldiers have taken their bodies and have set off. [5:99]

swāri n horse-riding mafoya i (?! bā) madrasa-u i lá-u, as(ī)han nīmān madrasa yā swāri har čī he goes to this school and this there and, just to school or to horse riding; whatever [5:127]

syāsatmadār n politician gištīš mahandīs bisīn, naqšabarīdāh bisīn, syāsatmadār bisīn, inānā bisīn All of them were engineers, they were surveyors, they were politicians, they were such (people). [6:144]
kāmmān bitīyām wa kāmmān, bizinaka
*mwāy* awāf tu das bišān Suddenly, the
wolf says: “Which of us should strike
which of us first?” The goat says: “You
strike first.” [2:84]

sansāzi n sickle-making areē sansāzi, wa čū
durusīš makarin, arā xārmān-u čišt Yes,
sickle-making, they make it with wood, for
the harvest and things. [7N:39]

šarbat n sherbet širin-u, wa sarf nahār-u
širin-u šarbat-u giš(t)iš daǰwat-e Sweets
and... With the midday meal and sweets
and sherbet and everyone is invited.
[7N:79]

ša,1 adj damned di bitīya, ečdāmīš bikarin, i
dawriš až kā hāmay, i šaša then, let him be
hanged! This dervish, where has he come
from, this damned one?” [4:56]

ša,2 n 1) fight walē bažē dūmān-e az sar-e
cūpi-u ba’dan ināna jangšē hē, šašī hē But
some tribes, because of the scarf held up
by the leader of the dance line, and then
such things... There are conflicts, there are
fights. [7H:87] 2) battle har xūn-e
šiyawaxš har dam biǰūšē, jang-čē, šaš dam
matiya Whenever the blood of Siyavoš
boils, war, battle will come to pass. [5:75]
3) war šašī dā, nīya īša i dawratāna giš(t)
matina giš yakay He waged war, like all
these countries, they all fight with each
other. [5:57]

šaрайšūb n evil-doer fatin biya, šaрайšūb biya
he was a liar, he was an evil-doer. [5:56]

šas (cf: šiš) num six min maṭawim tā i šaš
mānā 1 am going (away) until six months
(have passed).” [6:18]

šasum adj sixth až bayn ištānšān, ya
ciṭānēšān, až hes-e šašumšān wa yak biya
between them, there was something; they
had a sixth sense for each other. [4:8]

šaw n night extīyār tām may, ay šāyīya biya
min, tā čil saw Give me full power over
the kingdom until forty nights (have
passed)! [4:199]

šawakī n early morning birā piyā-yēč, mard
arā ištāni giš matiya tā šawakī ružwa
mawu Brother, as for the man, Mard, he
simply listens until the early morning
becomes day [3:53]

šawār n night ba’dl, dukut šawār ka šām
mwarin dita-y šālyār šā šāšiq-e ūsam
nāmay mawu then, at midnight, as they
are eating their evening meal, King
Šahriār’s daughter fell in love with the
famous Rostam. [5:109]

šawdīz n prop Šabdīz

šawi n 1) shirt kirdnay šawiyakam,
šawiyakam suzyā I put it in my shirt (and)
my shirt was burned. [2:93] 2) dress zūnē
arāš mayūrin, šawi kurdī ya tür-e matina
mil saršay They (i.e., the young man’s
family) sew for her (i.e., the bride) a
“zūn”, a Kurdish dress, (and) they put a
veil on her head. [7N:133]

šawrawī n prop Soviet Union

šaxs n person wātawēš min šaxs-e ištānim
marānim (The Shah) had said: “I
personally will drive it myself.” [6:148]

šaytān n prop Satan

šā n 1) king ba’dl, dukut šawār ka šām
mwarin dita-y šālyār šā šāšiq-e ūsam
nāmay mawu then, at midnight, as they
are eating their evening meal, King
Šahriār’s daughter falls in love with the
famous Rostam. [5:109] 2) nprop Shah

šābāt n prop Eslem Ābād (Šāh Ābād)

šāhābāt n prop Shahabad

šāhī adj 1) royal, kingly xarqa-y lāt šāhī wa
waršay biya He wore a royal robe, a
“warqay lāt” with rubies. [4:18] 2) of the
Shah

šālyār n prop Šahriār
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

šām n evening meal baʿūd, dukut šawār ka šām mwarīn ḏita-y šālyār šā tāšiq-e ūsam nāmay mawu then, at midnight, as they are eating their evening meal, King Šahriār’s daughter falls in love with the famous Rostam. [5:109]

šān n shoulder aspakay až šānšwa-u širīn-īč až šānšwa, har dūḥ hawgirtaw The horse is on his (i.e., Farhād”)’s shoulder(s), and Širin is also on his shoulder(s); (Farhād) has picked up both of them. [4:108]

šān pro BP.3PL libās-u mibāššān mawu nuqra Their clothes and such things become silver. [1:110]

šān n fate irīf bāxwar mawu, šānsī bāxwar mawu Iraj is aware, (he) is aware of his fate. [5:19]

šār n 1) town, city tā šūn raxšīš hāwirda hāsār, ā šār šālyār šā Until (the time) he brought Raxš to the court, in that town of King Šahriār. [5:103]

šār vit hide.PRS pīyāy mašuwa bān āsyāwaka īštaniš mašārēwa gūš matīya, mwāy bizānim ča mwān The man goes up on the mill, hides himself, (and) listens; he says (to himself): “I should find out what they are saying.” [3:28]

šāx n 1) branch šārūš-u dāmād hāman, šāx-e šimšāl hāma The bride and groom arrived, the green tree with branches arrived.” [7N:116] 2) horn(s) mwāy na, dāyka-y ēna šāxiš hē, tu šāxīt nīya (Titila and Bibila) say: “No! Our mother has horns; you have no horns.” [2:42] mwāy mīn ūlahkānim i gurga wardāšū tu mawu šāxānma tēzh bikari tā mīn šāxim bitīma bar gaya-y gurg hayiš bitīm (The goat) says: “Me... (As for) my dear children, this wolf has eaten them; you must sharpen my horns so that I may thrust my horn(s) into the wolf’s belly {xxx}.” [2:76]

šāyad adv maybe masan šāyad-īč bāwkam bizānē For instance, maybe my father knows (about it) [7H:44]

šāyere n plane tree šāyēriš kištwa-u nīyāša bān qul šawdizwa he pulled up a plane tree and laid it on the leg of Šabdiz. [4:143]

šāyi n kingdom extīyār tām may, ay šāyiya biya min, tā čīl šaw Give me full power over the kingdom until forty nights (have passed)! [4:199]

šēfī n prop Shī’ite

šēfr n poetry na i šēfr gawraǰūyī-u arā šarıši ka na nīya No... There are no poems in Gawraǰūy and (to be sung) for the wedding, no, there are none. [7H:131]

šekast n defeat, non-success ī jīr zendiği mināššān šekast bwarē, na waššān nīma yā bāwk-u dāyk-īč-ay This way, their child’s life will be unsuccessful; (if that is so:) no, certainly, the father and mother do not like that. [9:77]

šēr n lion ḩawā rūg-u šēr-u patang māyīnwa, mwāy In the evening the wolf and the lion and the leopard return [3:114]

šēt n insanity šētiš barmašū, mawu ditaka-y jārān Her insanity leaves her (and) she becomes (like) the girl of former times. [3:92]

šēwnī vt dissolve.PST kārakaš šēwnī She dissolved the engagement (lit., business). [8:155]

šifā n healing dukut hāma-u dārōšān hāwird-u dawāš ka(rd), dawāš šīfāš payā naka(rd) doctors came and they brought remedies, and the doctor gave medicine; his medicine did not bring about healing. [3:68]

šik vt break.PST ya i qul aspa šīšē, čīn jwāw xasraw čīn bitīm Now this leg of the horse has been broken. How, how
should we answer for this to Xasraw?” [4:96]

šiknī 1) (present stem: škin) vt break.PST

har čī šaks-e nāmzadi-u šaqd-u čīšt bē gištiš sūzī, nwārukānī šiknī Everything, the photos of the engagement and whatever there was, she burnt everything, she broke the cassettes. [8:163] 2) adj defeated tifang šišis-u, nayrū hawāyi šiknī až tērân rifles are in everyone’s hands and the air force defeated in Tehran. [6:81]

šima pro 2PL ɨmandima halabjā-y šimasha gištiš bambāwārin ka(rd) These people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them) [6:162]

šimšā ɫn gištiš bambāwārin ka(rd) These people of your Halabja: all of them, (Saddam) bombed (them) [6:162]

šinās ɴ knower baʕd āsā, sitāra-ɨšiš-u qāqaz māqaz nawya Then, at that time, there were no astrologers or paper and such things [5:13]

šurū cve begin šaw šarūsī, šawiš ka swā-y šarūsī šurū maw(u), šaw maynā ka-y dāmād šaw hanābandān-ē The night of the wedding, the night that the wedding begins the next day (i.e., the night before the wedding). The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom; it is the night of the “hanābandān” (celebration). [7N:92]

šūxī n joke masan bišūxī kardayš nīya for example, if we go to a gathering (where) they (i.e., the people) are sitting, there is no making jokes [7N:12]

šūr vt wash.PRS manišin-u āw bār-u das (bišūr) They wait and make things final. [9:51]

šūrī n husband min šawāki a(r) tu waš(i)ta min I have no teeth, I may eat this milk and rice.” [1:19]

širin nprop Širin

širinī n sweets, sweet pastries širinī matīn, nazr dwā matīn, ya nīšān ditaka makarīn They give sweets, they pray the nazr, (and) they pronounce the young woman engaged. [7N:66]

širū nprop Širu

šīr n milk didānim nīya, ɨšiš birinǰa bwarim I have no teeth, I may eat this milk and rice.” [1:19]

šīryānī n chemical min Ća kuɾ̩amāna wānāya bē, šīryānī fraš kuşt fra Me... Those sons of ours were there; the chemicals killed so many... So many! [6:163]
mây min bûna šii-y tu daśwat makarim In the morning, if you so wish, I will become your husband; I will ask for your hand in marriage. [5:112]

šûn, n place, trace #mây yâ šûn faxš bîya dasim, yâ darâna-u hasûr makanin makarim yak takân (Rostam) says: “Either you give me the trace of Raxš, or with one blow I will break down the gates and the courtyard.”

ta n bottom ištanim bwâžim, gwâ masâfân wâqeštan i bâwk-u dáyka wânsân ţîzîy-ê masâfân â ta-y dîšân wâssân mây ka I speak about myself, say, for example, truly, this father and mother are satisfied, for example, that from the bottom of their hearts, they like that. [9:76]
tadris eve instruction kamtir, čünkâ ina pay daršî karda mâyînwa, yâ yâ mayrê Fewer, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur) [7N:47]
taftîs eve search har čî taftîššân kardâ, naxayr All searched for her, to no avail. [4:217]
tahqîq n background investigation i jûr âyâmè tahqîq bikarân waš(i)ša wa min mây bizâna eh âyâm xâsêk-ê “This sort of person exists; find out if he is, eh, a good person or not; he likes me.” [8:86]
tahqîqât n background investigation ayar fray pâšîšâri bikarè ghariba, bâyad tahqîqât-e kâmišt bikarin If the outsider insists a lot (on courting the young woman), they (i.e., the young woman’s family) must do a complete look into his background. [9:39]
tajôvûz n rape i kuṭa tuwa, xîyâhišt bê, Tajaâvîzim kay, čâ qîsa-y ganišt wa rûm kardê, čâ-u This son of yours, he intended to rape me, what terrible words he has spoken to my face, what and…” [5:40]
takân n blow #mây yâ šûn faxš bîya dasim, yâ darâna-u hasûr makanin yak takân (Rostam) says: “Either you give me the trace of Raxš, or with one blow I will break down the gates and the courtyard.”

[5:105]
takya n tray ya takya hašwâ afâm bikara-u pîr ya daq-iê xák afâm bikara prepare me a tray with sweet pastries, and also a bag full of earth for me [4:159]
talîlî ideoph joy (joyful sound) ba’d až čena talîlî-u hawpiškî bištir až had xârij bo, až bâwkâ-u dáykasân mûxâlefat makarin Then, if that much joy and dancing exceed the (expected) limits, her parents are against it. [7H:59]
tâš n gold i mây yî si sang ištanît tatâ matîmat, ân mây dâna-u jawâhir matîmat One of them says: “I will give you thirty times your own weight of gold.” Another one says: “I will give you precious jewels.” [4:148]
tatôq n divorce alâna biya, sê sâf zendeğišt ka(rd), alân taṭâqišt sanya hê ka-y bâwkay
Up until now, it has been the case that she lived (with him) three years, (but) now she has gotten a divorce (and) now is (back) in her father’s house. [8:78]

tamām quant all, whole ɪ tamām-e jahānšā baš(ē) karda nāwīšān  He divided up this whole world among them (i.e., the sons) [5:10]
tamāšā cve look ḫ tamāshā-ǰahānšā baš(ē) karda nāwīšān  I pick tomatos, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini, always those tasks which in autumn need to be done soon. [7H:27]
tamīna nprop Tahmineh
tamīsī n cleaning ḫ tamāsī šahā baš(ē) karda nāwīšān  I myself have gone to Biso tun, but I have not looked very well at the pictures. [4:173]
tamūra n tanbur instrument ɪ tamūra-ǰahānšā baš(ē) karda nāwīšān  It was said (that) the Gařā took Širin by the hand (and) led her to that tāq, the half tāq, the splendid small tāq [4:126]
tarašta n hatchet ɪ taraštayēk mārē, matīya wa mil dimišay, dimiš maqirtinē The cat’s side, (from) her household, her sister and her mother and her father should go (with them). [7N:149]
tars vi fear.PRS ī maǰbūr-ī matārī yā ditaka 痕 hefzišān kardē arā i maqīčāna Yes, and Nāmdār (i.e., name of a singer) has a cassette track, they say, he says in something in Kurdish, then they commit it to memory for that occasion. [7H:126]
woman would find herself in that situation if), for example, if the young woman was fearful or if she were to say: “I won’t go get the doctor’s certificate” or she were afraid [8:3]

tasdiq n doctor’s certificate bīfāw(i)ma
bīmārestān tasdiq bitiyan wanšān they go to the hospital (and) they give them a certificate. [7N:151]

taslim n hand over musadiqšān taslim ka(rd), girtšān They handed over Mosaddeq, they arrested him. [6:25]

타르иф n presence āsā i bān tāqa, ḫaftay taṭrif bardī At that time, at this (place), Bān Tāq—have you been there? [4:100]

tašt1 na boiling (?) {xxx} až ī lāwa xūnī(š) mayrya tašt {xxx} On the other hand, (his) blood begins to boil. [5:65]

tašt2 n large pan mān až bān e āw, tašt mayin, ya tik xūnakaš makatīya bān e xāk (Afrāsiāb”s people) come over the water; they hold out a large pan, (but) a drop of his blood falls on the soil. [5:73]

taxt1 n) throne mwāy na, tāǰ-u taxtakat piškaš wa īštānit (Mard) says: “No, (may) your crown and your throne be a gift to yourself. [3:80] 2) kingdom ā kardāša qāḥ, eh, taxt-u baxtit kayḵāvis až bāyin bīšū, ča bū fištān bū (The young wife) made a loud proclamation, eh: “May the kingdom and good fortune of Keykāvos be destroyed [5:39]

tay n agreement baʃdan ya ḥaʃ-ū ya pīyā ka īštānīn tayšān kardē ka-y īštāns manšē, baʃd bāqīš wa māšina māywa Later, a man and a woman remain who themselves made an agreement (to stay) at the house of the bride, then the rest come back by car. [7N:157]

tay qarār n contract ha(t) diḵšān tay qarār wa gard yakay mawasin, mwāy birā, mwāy ā, mwāy mašāna kār karda Both of them make a contract together; (one) says: “Brother.” (The other) says: “Yes?” (The first one) says: “We will go (find) work to do [3:4]

tazāhurāt n demonstrations musadiq, jaryān musadiq až kirmāšan tazāhurāt bī, artaš kumakšiš maka(rd) Mosaddeq, the (political) movement of Mosaddeq, in Kermanshah there was a demonstration; the army was helping (Mosaddeq) [6:28]

tazʔin eve decorate ya gila gu tazʔiniš makarin, magardinēš dāmādaka They decorate it (i.e., the bag) (with) one flower, (and) he, the bridegroom, distributes it (i.e., the bags to the guests). [7N:106]

tā 1) prep until; up to tā ka sīr bwim āsā kawš aḥāt durus bikārim until I may eat my fill, then I may make the shoes for you.” [1:54] 2) conn so that; that mwāy mīn-im dāykatān gwānim taqī darwāǰaka wāz ka tā bāyana dīle (The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother, my udder is bursting, open the door that I may come in.” [2:44] 3) conn than; as kuakānmān zūtīr tā dītakān maʃawē, edewāǰ makarē The young men among us go earlier than the young women into marriage [7N:59] 4) adv when tā kuʃa matiyya zamīni matiyya wa šimšēr When he throws the boy to the ground, he takes out his sword. [5:152]

tā inka conn until then tā inka Until then...

[1:44]

tābēf n subjects, followers tābēf dastūr-e ināyāna They are subjects of the authority here [7N:28]

tāf n crown mwāy dītakam piškaš matīm wanit, i tāǰ-u taxtın-ič-a matīm wanit (The king) says: “My daughter, as a gift, I will give (her) to you; I will also give this crown and my throne to you.” [3:79]
tām adj complete, full extīyār tām may, ay Sāyiya biyā min, tā ēl saw Give me full power over the kingdom until forty nights (have passed)! [4:199]
tān present stem of tānis = tān pro BP.2PL mwāy min-im dāykatān baraka wāz kara, gwānim taqi (The wolf) says: “I’m me, your mother; open the door, my udder is bursting!” [2:41]
tāna n taunt, bad talk about someone a(ya)r waša kasē bāy, baʕdī bi'rwa dīle ā xānawāda, tāna‑y ī ūžāna makīšē If she loves someone, then she enters that family, (and then) she must suffer and put up with the fact that bad things from those (earlier) days will be said about her. [8:68]
tānis (present stem: tān) v can.PST dī natānisšān zendegī bikarin They could not live (together) after all. [8:80]
tāq 1 n niche, wāt, gaʕā das šīrīn girt, bard wa aw tāqawa, tāq‑e nīm tāq ā加强对{T}a[q]ā It was said (that) the Gaʁā took Širin by the hand (and) led her to that tāq, the half tāq, the splendid small tāq [4:126]
tāq 2 n prop Tāq tāqat n interest, desire, patience az ānā di ʕīsam mwāy xo min di tāqatīn niyā min faw makarim, hay nimatānin binišim After that then, Rostam says: “Well, I no longer have any desire. I am going hunting; I cannot stay (here) longer” [5:118]
tāqča n small stone recess ya tāqča aʁāy duras ka(rd) He built a “tāqča” (i.e., small stone recess with an arch) for him.” [4:123]
tārīx n 1) history āna di tārīx-e jahānī wanyay anyone, then, who has read the history of the world (knows that). [5:6] 2) time īna wa ā ğūra musadiq wa ā tārīxka nafīš aẓ engelīs sanwa It is like this, in that manner, Mosaddeq at that time took back the oil from England. [6:121]
tāsī vt hammer.PRS i kūwa aʕā tu bitāsī may hammer this mountain for you [4:68]
tāsī n rock face, boulder mwāy hamrāy nāqšē wa ū-y tāsawa baʕd One says, the indentation on the surface of the rock face is still there. [4:172]
tāšīya vt has shaped ā di qutang ja dang kaft, kāyš kūnā kardē tāšīyaši Well, then, the pickaxe made no sound; it has penetrated the mountain (and) has shaped it. [4:86]
tāti nprop tāti masan istāta ūrūsī, nāmzadī ūrūsī tāti {n} bū For example, if it were now the wedding (or) engagement, the wedding of Tāti N [7H:142]
tāwsān n summer āsa fas(̣)e tāwsān tā biya pāiz ē makariż Now, what do you do from summer season to autumn? [7N:30]
tāyfa n group (i.e., Ahl-e Haqq) arē har bāyad tāyfa bū Yes, he must always belong to the “tayfe” (i.e., our group, the Ahl-e Haqq) [7H:95]
tāza 1 prt in spite of this tāza bīštir wa ištanmān wa dinakamān eʕtēqādīš hē In spite of this, she has more faith in our religion than we ourselves (do). [7N:89]
tāza 2 adv 1) more min tāzaš, dawra-y hīzār-u sīsad-u si-u dū, šā, musadiq nīšta taxt, extīyār tānisšī bē, (hē) yāyim Me... And there is more... In the time of 1332 (i.e., 1953), the Shah... Mosaddeq sat on the throne; he had full powers of jurisdiction, I remember. [6:16] 2) now baʕżēkiš as(̣)an wa si tā tāza tā si-u haftīš tūl makīšē šū makarē Some of them don’t even get married at all until (they are) thirty; up to now, (some) prolong (it) until up to thirty-seven (years before) they marry. [7N:56]
telayzūn n television ʕaskakaš dū sē dafa ḍāšīš wa telayzūn āsa, i dawra-y wa dawra-y bāwkaš At that time, his
photograph was broadcast (lit., gave) two (or) three times on television then; this time of the time of his father [6:101]

tērān nprop Tehran

tēy adj in it yak gurz matī ā dileš, barq matī wa tēy He gives it a blow with his club; a bolt of lightning strikes it. [5:106]

lālo pāyar mwāy īna ensāf nīya, bāša(d) didān tu‑yč tēž makarim Lālo Pāydār says: “This is not fair, all right, I will sharpen your teeth, too [2:81]

tifang n rifle tīfang ūšis‑u, nayrū hawāyi šik nīš až tērān rifles are in everyone’s hands and the air force defeated in Tehran. [6:81]

lālo Pāydār says: “This is not fair, all right, I will sharpen your teeth, too [2:81]

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lālo Pāydār says: “This is not fair, all right, I will sharpen your teeth, too [2:81]
makušēš He reaches the flock, strikes the dog, (and) kills it. [3:59]
tül eve prolong, last bāʾzēkēš as(t)an wa sī tā tāza tā sī-u haftīš tūl maksiš šū makarē Some of them don’t even get married at all until (they are) thirty; up to now, (some) prolong (it) until up to thirty-seven (years before) they marry. [7N:56]
tūmat n slander ešlāmiya bika, min har cīm wātē, tūmatim dāya i dita Publish an announcement (and write): “Whatever I (i.e., Xasraw) have said, I have slandered this girl.” [4:203]
tūr,1 vi become insulted and upset.PRS bāʾd hawmayzi, matūrya, mwāy mi(n) dī až īrān ništam niya Afterwards he gets up; he is insulted and upset (and) says: “Iran is no longer a place for me.” [5:47]
tūr,2 n cloth bag ēn gīla nuq-an wa gār-dē

-u v : agr is libās-u mībāsšān mawu nuqra Their clothes and such things become silver. [1:110]
= u conn and mawēy, mānāšān dīle ēw ātā-u līra (the cat) brings (them), puts them in liquid gold and coins. [1:109]

ū v : agr 3SG ī kūwa a(řā) tu bitāšū may hammer this mountain for you [4:68]
ūrdū n camp ērdūyī aṛāš makarin, bāz ham barīš makarē, mārē they make a camp for him; he brings her out again, he brings her. [5:91]
ūf vt cut.PRS tāmāta bičiṇimwa, gīzg bārām, kāy biyaṛāmwa hay kārāna ka pālīzē bāyad
There is an old lady (and) she has a goat; its name is Bizbal. [1:2]

There (Keykāvos) says: “Who is able to bring out this child together with his mother for me?” [5:86]

The woman says: “Until I have gone there on foot, sheep and goats and... It was springtime. [4:153]

Fewer, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur) [7N:47]

They (lit., these ones, i.e., people like Siyavoš) have the essence of God with them. [5:77]

At that time (Xasraw) had the minister (and) the lawyer [4:55]

The woman says: “Until I have gone there on foot, sheep and goats and... It was springtime. [4:153]

Less people, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur) [7N:47]

The woman says: “Until I have gone there on foot, sheep and goats and... It was springtime. [4:153]
tamāšām xās nakardē ūskakān I myself have gone to Bisotun, but I have not looked very well at the pictures. [4:173]

wašā int. by God wašā aw šūn sē rū(2)a dita mawu pīk pušā by God, after three days the girl will become (like) the cutting edge of steel. [3:91]

wan, prep 1) on, to;goal; at;goal ēma hāyamān dā wan Did we give our egg to her?” [1:63] 2) in;location sē küza wanay bē There were three royal vases in it. [3:42]

wan, present stem of wan(f)
wan(f) (present stem: wan,) vt read.PST āna di tārk-e jahānī wan(i)yay anyone, then, who has read the history of the world (knows that). [5:6]

waqt (cf: wakt) n time tā waqte ka āyam di i engilāba hāma Until the time that the days, then this revolution took place. [6:135]

waqte conn when, as xasraw waqte ka ī žana mawu pīk pušā by God, after three days the girl will become (like) the cutting edge of steel. [1:93]

war, n sun, sunlight barišmārē, har ā jūr(a) gurgaka wātīš, manāša war waškwa mawu He takes (it) out in that same way the wolf said; he puts it out in the sun; it becomes dry [3:62]

war, prep on; before, in front of (wa) pišīyaka mwāy biya, bikarša war māmirakān mārē makarēša war māmirakān, māmirakān mwarin (to) the cat; (and the farmer) says: “Give (it), put it in front of the chickens.” (The cat) takes (it), puts it in front of the chickens; the chickens eat (the wheat). [1:93]

war, present stem of ward
waraw prep to, towards giw arīb čam, giw mwāy dīw čašš jūr dīw biya, waraw wār hīn biya Giv, the Arab-Eye, Giv, it is said, a giant, his eyes are huge like a giant’s, that they are directed downwards. [5:88]

ward (present stem: war; past subjunctive: wardā) vt eat.PST mwāy xwīyā ča bikarim i ūthān mina ča wana āhama ča wardīš, xirs wardīš gurg wardīš she says: “O God, what will I do? These children of mine, what happened to them? What ate them? Did a bear eat them? Did a wolf eat them? [2:54]

wardā past subjunctive of ward
was vt bind.PRS ha(r) dūkšān tay qarār wa gard yakay mawasin, mwāy birā, mwāy ā, mwāy mašāma kār karda-u Both of them make a contract together; (one) says: “Brother.” (The other) says: “Yes?” (The first one) says: “We will go (find) work to do and [3:4]

wasīl n machine ya dafa i bāntāqa-u sarbāz ā dawrā, bē qisa, wa qātir-u tūpxāna-u pīyāda-u māšīn nawē, kam bē, ināna nawē, wasīlaš har čī hē, hīn dawrīš nīya His belongings, everything that he has, they are not things of a dervish. [4:31]

wasīla n belongings wasīlaš har čī hē, hīn dawrīš nīya His belongings, everything that he has, they are not things of a dervish. [4:31]

waš, adj pleasant hawpiški makarin, marāsimšān garm-ē, marāsimšān waš-ē they dance, their celebration is warm, their celebration is pleasant. [7H:78]

waš, vt cast.PRS mwāy (sitāra) ūmītči-u sitāra-šīnāšān bāwā ūmīt bwašān (He) says to (the star-), to the fortune-tellers, and to the astrologists: “Hey you fellows, cast the...
“rimil” (to predict the future)! [5:18]

wašī n happiness, joy birā pādsāy wašī makarē, jašn mayrē matina Brother, the king is joyful; he holds a celebration [3:95]

wauxt (cf: waqt) n time ā sjnāwi sar bē, naxustwazīr wauxt bē Yes, Sanjābi was the chief, he was the prime minister of that time. [6:76]

wa_xtē conn when, as waxtē küčik, pāš dāya küčik, küčik ūraftay farsax, war pāšay When a stone, his (i.e., Farhād)”s foot strikes a stone, the stone flies (the distance of one)”farsaxs” away from his foot. [4:107]

waxtē mawīnē až āyir nasūzē, dī pāk‑ē īna dī When he sees that he is not burned by the fire, then he is still pure. [5:82]

wažīfa n duty mut̲hāqan wazīfā‑a ka ārāyeš nakarī, na abrī hič, hič It is absolutely her duty that she not use makeup, not (do) her eyebrows, nothing, nothing. [7H:7]

wažīr n minister āsā wažīr wakiliš biya At that time (Xasraw) had the minister (and) the lawyer [4:55]

wāį n wind fālaḵay mwāy ay wā niya, min xarmānakam šan bikarin the farmer says: “Well, there is no wind (that) I may winnow my piles of grain.” [1:76]

wāį, ṭīrīl njoy, happiness, joy birā pādsāy wašī makarē, jašn mayrē matina Brother, the king is joyful; he holds a celebration [3:95]

wāį, ṭīrīl njoy, happiness, joy birā pādsāy wašī makarē, jašn mayrē matina Brother, the king is joyful; he holds a celebration [3:95]

wān adv to them dita‑y matiyay wān‑u ya dikay masan matiyay wān‑u, qaṭāyēk‑u ūfānēk‑u (Afrāsiāb) gives his daughter, he gives them a village, for example, a castle and such and... [5:54]

wānāya pro‑form there min ā kuṭāmanā isā wānāya bi, ūmāyri fraš kuṭt ra Me... Those sons of ours were there; the chemicals killed so many... So many! [6:163]

wāqešan adv actually, really, truly ensān i ezdwāǰa (sa) wāqešan sarneweshšāz‑a aṣā‑y ensān (As for) human beings, this marriage is truly the maker of destiny for human beings. [9:20]

wār adv down, downwards až ānā, quṭān bāya wār, farā(d) makušē After that, the pickaxe comes down and kills Farhād. [4:174]

wāt (present stem: wāž; variant present stem: wāį) vt 1) say.PST barismatē, har ā jūr(a) gurgaka wātiš He takes (it) out in that same way the wolf said [3:62] 2) talk.PST ki bī isā wātman who was the one we just now talked (about). [6:22]

wāya n 1) bet wāya manē tā ēwār ūğa, panj ūğa, xāswa bī, bī nawē, aṣā matānē kut kutim bikarē pādsā, tīka tikam karē He made a bet: (time) passes up to four days, five days, (if) she becomes well (then it’s all right); if she becomes, if she does not become (well), then the king can chop me, cut me up in pieces.” [3:72] 2) time, appointment
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wāz, adj open bižī durus makarē, āž ā biž(i)ya bāyad biţawē biţawē dile čamādānaka-a āž ānā wāz bū. She makes biji bread, (and) from that biji, some must go... It must go into the suitcase and (must) be opened there. [7H:151]

wāz, present stem of wāzī

wāzī (present stem: wāz) vt want, request.PST kaykāwis, čašiš āž ānā wāzīya Keykāvos, he had lost his eye(sight) and then, like me, he was old (and) had married a young woman. [5:30]

wē, pro REF.H wēm bīsitūn īftēm walē tamāsām xās makarē Šaskakān I myself have gone to Bisotun, but I have not looked very well at the pictures. [4:173]

wēša, adj without purpose tu mard-i wāqet-ān mard-i čā ka(r)d āwā ānā min ī jūra wēša wēm magārīn har hūčma hūč nawya You are a good man, you are truly a good man; what have you done that you reached this (high) position (lit., degree)? I wander about in this state without purpose; I still have achieved nothing, nothing at all.” [3:102]

wē, n wastrel wēgardēkīsh dīyawa wa ā jangaha-u nām, xirāckptēr-e āu-e, ēwā frayēkīsh dāy He found a wastrel from this forest, I don’t know, a good-fore-nothing, he recounted many bad things {xxx} about her.” [4:196]

wērān, adj destroyed zāl-i(c) mwāy, ī qayamšāt, ōsām-u zūrgāw ār diḵ yak bīrān, īrān-u tārnā makarēn wērān Zāl then says: “This deliverer of misfortune, (if) Rostam and Zūrā both become united, Iran and Turan (will) be destroyed. [5:157]

wī, present stem of wīn

wīn, vt close.PRS īna mazānī ča makarim, wa ţī(z) bīzina bišāwa kā māyim pišt baraka wansān mwīnim, mwārimsān “Do you know what it is that I will do? By day, when the goat goes to the mountain(s), I will come, I will close the door (and) eat them.” [2:34]

wīša, n bush až dīk wīšay, dīta mawīnē Žānek, āfratēk among the bushes, he sees a girl, a lady, a woman. [4:13]
night, she comes from there (and) simply sleeps all the time, poor creature. [2:23]  

\textit{wš} vt milk.PRS \textit{sīraka mawšē, mārēša bān} milks (the goat), brings it (i.e., the milk) upstairs [1:101]
sewing, to embroidery [7N:52]

xayr \( n \) goodness \( \text{min až ānwā, i xwiyyā bazayš ānwāy waniyay, i hamkay xayṛā kardaya damimwa} \) Me, from then on, this God had mercy on me, he placed this much good in front of me (lit., my mouth). [3:108]

xazāna \( n \) treasury \( ān-īč, kilīl xazāna matīya wan, lāt-u lūt, gišt sīr makarī až xazāna, mwāy hūčšān nahīšt \) He also gives her the key to the treasury; she gives the homeless and tramps their fill to eat from the treasury; it is said that they did not leave anything. [4:207]

xāk \( n \) earth, dirt, soil \( mān až bān-e āw, tašt mayin, ya tik xūnakaš makatīya bān-e xāk \) (Afrāsiāb "s people) come over the water; they hold out a large pan, (but) a drop of his blood falls on the soil. [5:73]

xāla \( n \) aunt (mother’s sister) \( na, dī až ta ... yā xālaš yā ʕama-y ditaka. No... Well, from... Either her aunt on her mother’s side or her aunt on her father’s side. [7H:166]

xālu \( n \) uncle (mother’s brother) \( tu masan maši tak-e xāluwit i là ā là, For example, you go with your uncle here and there [8:138]

xān \( n \) prop Xan

xānanda \( n \) singer ya gila xānanda mwanē ditakān gištīn hefzišān kardē wa gard yaka mwanāmiš A singer sings, (and) all the young women learn it by heart; we sing it together. [7H:122]

xānawāda \( n \) family gištī wa yakē ḥasāw makarām, mwāžām īma di ya xānawāda-yām We count everyone as one; we say we are now one family. [7N:127]

xānim \( n \) 1) Miss, Mrs., Ms. bāwaḵ ka parī xānim, masarān bāyad bārāhē bwāžē believe me, Ms. Pari, for example, she must say it several times. [9:28] 2) lady

xāriǰ \( \text{adj} \) outside bašd až čena talīli-u hawpīḵi bištīr až had xāriǰ bo, až bāwka-u dāykašān mxālelah makarin Then, if that much joy and dancing exceed the (expected) limits, her parents are against it. [7H:59]

xāriǰ(ī) \( \text{adj} \) foreign alān, až dawra-y čite min žinaftawim, tūšāmi, xaḵ-u xāriǰ(i)yan yak kitāw tārīxšānī Now, since the era which I had heard about, Tūšāmi, of foreign peoples, they have a historical book [5:5]

xās \( 1) \) \( \text{adj} \) well damim bikardā, biyātānawa dita-y pādšā, xās xāswa mawu I would have steeped it (like tea), I would have given it to the king’s daughter, (so) she becomes completely well again [3:35] 2) \( \text{adj} \) good, better ī ǰür āyamē tahqīq bikarān waš(i)ša wa min māy bizāna eh āyam xāsēk-ē “This sort of person exists; find out if he is, eh, a good person or not; he likes me.” [8:86] 3) \( \text{interj} \) very well, okay bašd až ēlī saw, wālē bāwkat di bikuš, min sū makar(i)ma tu, mwāy xās (Širin continues:) “After forty nights, then kill your father. I (will) marry you.” (Šīru) says: “Very well.” [4:206] 4) \( \text{adj} \) special na, na ānānī dalīlān xās-e īštanšān garak-ē No, no, they want (have?) their own special reasons. [9:35]

xāstegār \( n \) suitor Šarūšīšān naka(rd), wa xāstegār-ič-iš nāma ṭasman They did not get married; (the young man) did not officially come as a suitor either. [8:174]

xāstegāri \( n \) asking for young woman in marriage arē har až awāl marāsim-e xāstegāri filmbārdāris hé Yes, from the beginning, we celebrate the ceremony of the request for the young woman’s hand in marriage and the filming [8:207]

xātir \( n \) reason, because; benefit wa ā xātira wālē ditamān bišwa ā xānawādāna
nimatānē nazar-u čišt bīkarē For that reason, though, if our daughter(s) go (i.e., are married into) those families, she (i.e., they) cannot attend the nazar and such things. [7N:91]
x̄aw n sleep; dream x̄aw-e i ṣāsk̄a, i ināsh diya i ṣānē-na (His) dream of this picture; this is what he saw, it is this woman. [4:44]
x̄an n owner eh baṭd-ič naft-e x̄īrid firīs-u, dard-e īsya-y ūrāq amrikā x̄āwanšē dī, engelīs x̄āwan irān bē Eh, afterwards as well, the oil business and like the present Iraq... America is its owner now. England well, the oil business and like the present England was the owner of Iran. [6:107]
xeš n tribe ṣinaftatī x̄eš ṣāskar x̄ān Have you heard of the Askar Xan tribe? [6:75]
xīnjār n dagger matīya wa xīnjār, matīya-u, mwāy a hā, tu minīt kušt (Rostam) thrusts with (his) dagger; he thrusts and (his son) says: “Yes, you killed me.” [5:153]
xirāw adj 1) bad, terrible xirāw nawīsin, čišt-e fra mārīshīya irān-u They were not bad; they brought many things to Iran [6:130] 2) destroyed kata baṭd az war i imām xumaynīwa isa das-pā xirāwiš kardē It happened after, before this Iman Xomeini, but now social welfare has destroyed (something). [6:84]
xirāwkār n good-for-nothing wē'gardēkiš diyawa wa i jangāta-u nām, xirāwkār-e ča-u, čāw frayēkiš dāy He found a wastrel from this forest, I don’t know, a good-for-nothing, he recounted many bad things {xxx} about her.” [4:196]
xirīd firūs n business eh baṭd-ič naft-e xirīd firīs-u, dard-e īsya-y ūrāq amrikā x̄āwanšē dī, engelīs x̄āwan irān bē Eh, afterwards as well, the oil business and like the present Iraq... America is its owner now. England was the owner of Iran. [6:107]
xirs n bear mwāy xwiyā ča bikarim i ūrān xīnǰar, matīya, matīya, x̄āwanšē dī, engelīs x̄āwan irān bē These children of mine, what happened to them? What ate them? Did a bear eat them? [2:54]
xīyāšt n intention a xīyāšt bē, ūy bināy Yes, (Mosaddeq) had the intention of overturning the Shah. [6:26]
xīyānāt n betrayal mwāy māšt bišt(um)liya, min kayānī-yam, āh ay ināna niyam wa xīyānāt He says: “May your house be made desolate! I am of the Kiānyān (dynasty); such (would be) betrayal [5:111]
xo prī 1) well, all right walē xo bāyad va lā-y dita-u kuftakwa bo But well, (the certificate) must be kept with the young woman and the young man. [8:30]
2) certainly bā wa yak bīfāsin, xo zendeği makarin, zendeği muštarakšān bē, wāqešān let them get together as a couple; they will certainly live together; their lives will be as one, really.” [9:19]
xob prī well, good, all right kū bīsitūn nišāniš matīn-u mwāy, xob, maw(u) bištawī až fāara(g)nasa They show him the mountain of Bisotun, and (Farhād) says: “Well, you must go from France.” [4:64]
xozgā prī I wish xozgā min āyamizāya bīyātāyim If I only were a human being [3:33]
xozū prī I wish xozū min āyam bīyātāyim, bīyātāyimwa, i dār-īč-a dī baris magīrt If only I were a human being; if I would have found (it), this tree would have then borne fruit, too.” [3:44]
xud prī even, self' eh are' {?! ya} yānī bāwa' ka až xud-e ūstāyān-e tīr Eh, yes, that means, believe me, even (young men) from other villages [8:57]
xudēmānī adj of our own, familiar ayar-īč-a, gablan masan yaki čan máng peš masan dū bār bāyā kamān, sēyānīn bār ka mwāžim
lexicon

masan ya dī xudēmāni-ya And if, earlier, for example, a few months ago, for example, someone comes two times to our house, (then) the third time I say, for example, he is then familiar to us (i.e., no longer a stranger to us). [7N:17]

xudkušī n suicide

xulāsa prf finally xulāsa tay qarār wa āna makarin Finally, they make a contract there. [3:82]

xulāsa nprop suicide

xulāsa tay qarār wa āna makarin (For) three nights (and) three days, until (the wood) has burned up (and) turned to ashes, Siyavoš remains like this (i.e., in the fire and not burned). [5:46]

xumaynī nprop Xomeini

xur vi shout.PRS kuša maxura-u mwāy, mwāy ayar ūsami nām wēt biya The boy shouts and says: “If you are Rostam, say your name” [5:139]

xusu(s) adj especially alāna, masan īmā hawmayzām kārān-e ba xusu(s) tamiši kam now, for example, we get up, we do work, we especially do the cleaning. [7H:25]

xūn n blood har xūn-e siyāwaxš har dam bējūšē, ṣaft dam matiya Whenever the blood of Siyavoš boils, war, battle will come to pass. [5:75]

xwar n sleep baʿd mašāšīya, ānā, aż xwar māyiḥ Afterwards, (as) they reach that (place), they wake up. [4:109]

xwān nprop God

xwār n sister bwā masan min-u xwārakat wasmān yak ānā, alāna ānaymē dawāš For example, (the young man) may say (to the brother): “Your sister and I like each other; now I have come to ask for her hand.” [8:95]

xwārdin n taking pills eh qurs xwārdin masan mwān jēfawgīrī aż mināl makarēh, taking pills, for example, they would say, it prevents the possibility of having children. [8:35]

xwārzā n niece/nephew (sister’s child) bāwārā ka masan birākam wa īstānim bwāy, bwāy (h) ūsaramakat na ha īstānim, baʿd xwārakam, xwārzākam, mixmārkam, duxtarxāla, duxtaraʿāna har aw jūra ṭāhat Believe me, for instance, my brother may say to me, he may say: “H, (do not forget) your headscarf,” no (it is not so), not only to me (i.e., he never says it to me). Then my sister, nephew and niece, male and female cousins, (are) at ease in that way. [7H:143]

xwāwan tašalla nprop Lord Almighty

xwāy nprop God

xwāyā nprop O God

xwāz vt marry.PRS ayar dāy, bāwkat dāyś wanam, xo mxwāzīmīt If he gives, (if) your father gives you to me, good, I will marry you. [5:113]

xwiyā 1) nprop God 2) nprop O God mwāy xwiyā ʿa bikarim i ṭāḥān mina ʿa wāna ānā she says: “O God, what will I do? These children of mine, what happened to them” [2:54]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

-\(y\) v : agr 3SG
-\(y\) na NA baʃid če, čapa-y guʃ-u čapa-y narges, margvran mawiniʃ hargiz-y hargiz Afterwards, eh: A bouquet of flowers and a bouquet of narcissus; may I never see your death, never, never. [1:111]
\(=y\) pro BP.K.3SG ya tãqca aʃay durus ka(rd)
He built a “tãqca” (i.e., small stone recess with an arch) for him. [4:123]
\(\text{ya}_1\) v/ hit.PRS řisam wãtaʃč, ya gurz mayama ml sartay Rostam has said: “I will hit you on the head with a club” [5:84]
\(\text{ya}_2\) num one čan gila nuqš-an wa gard-e ya, wa gard-e ya dana sekayi maniʃa dîle yak tür A few lollipops are together with one, they are put together with one coin into a cloth bag. [7N:105]
\(-\text{ya}\) v : agr 3SG birã gurg mâyay pišt(t) bar mwây, matiya wa baraka, mwây ki-ya ki-ya taqa taq makarč Brother, the wolf comes to the door; he knocks on the door. (Titila and Bibila) say: “Who is it? Who is it (who) knocks at the door?” [2:40]
\(-\text{ya}\) na NA ḥa yāya-y har pâsgâ biya qadim, ḥa mwân à dawra There, that place which always was the sentry station of old; that’s what they say (about) that time. [4:102]
\(=\) na NA kuʃak-aʃe řahat mâyay kaʃân-u lang matriya the young man also comes comfortably to their house and stretches out his legs [8:183]
\(\text{yak}_1\) num one yak-e ya tik az xûnakaʃan hay matikiya zamin From each of them, one drop of their blood drips onto the ground. [2:51]
\(\text{yak}_2\) n someone walê yak-e jîr min yak-e jîr xwârakam, tamûra hîč mawqes’ wa But someone like me, someone like my sister, never with the tanbur. [7H:48]
\(\text{yak}_3\) recpr one another až yak aʃkârâ mawîn They recognize each other. [4:45]
\(\text{yaki}_1\) n unity ya org maniʃ-u kuʃ-u dîta-u ʃan-u mînaʃ-u řîsta-u ghariba-u aʃnã-u gišt(t) har dîle yakî They set up a keyboard and young men and young women, and women and children, and villagers and strangers and acquaintances and all are in unity. [7H:81]
\(-\text{yan}\) v : agr 3PL arê ha a mawqas’ ha a mawqas’ ka darpaɾdãna, kâduʃî matiyan Yes, just at that time, just at that time that (there is) the darpaɾdãna, they give gifts. [8:223]
\(\text{yar}\) present stem of yard yard (variant past stem: bard; Kurdish variant form: bird; present stem: yar; past subjunctive: yarda) vt take.PST eh az ânã mînaʃ madrasa wa zûr mayardâna tazûhurst-ut inãña Eh, after that, they took schoolchildren by force to the demonstration and such things. [6:6]
\(\text{yardã}\) past subjunctive of yard yaf vt 1) rip, tear.PRS bizî maʃuwa dûrwa mâyay matiya bar gaya-y gurg mayarčeh The goat goes back, returns; she strikes the belly (of the wolf) (and) rips it open. [2:88]
2) bring in (tear off’).PRS tamãta biʃinimwa, gizg bûrâm, kûy biyaʃfîmwa
hay kārāna ka pāīzē bāyad zü(d)tar anǰām biyaryē, baʾd bān durus bikarām, qāh(?) bikarām i kārāna I pick tomatoes, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini, always those tasks which in autumn need to be done soon. Then we prepare the roof, do the carpets {xxx}, these tasks. [7H:27]

yas₁ present stem of yas₂

yas₂ (present stem: yas₁) vt tie.PST ğārē hamřāy wa pištšān nayasšānaya (h)ē pā‑y dāraka‑ya Still at that time, they have not tied it to their backs; they are at that moment at the foot of the tree. [3:9]

ham řāy wa pištšān nayasšānaya (h)ē pā‑y dāraka‑ya Still at that time, they have not tied it to their backs; they are at that moment at the foot of the tree. [3:9]

yārā n O God xulāsa, dāya kaywānū mwāy, yārā i šīr mina afā ţīsē, ča wan hāmay Finally, the old lady says: “O God, why has this milk of mine been spilled? What happened to it?” [1:5]

yārū n gal, guy yārū dī orzaš nīya bwāžē bāwā min ditatānim garak‑ē the guy will not have any more authority to say (to the family): “Believe me (lit., hey, man), I want your daughter.” [9:47]

yāy n memory, mind kamtit, čūnka īna pay darsi mašin, baʾd az tadrīs karda māyinwa, yāy mayrē Fewer, because they go to school, (and) after studying (lit., instructing), they come back (and) learn (to play the tanbur). [7N:47]

yāy v : voice PASS1 xulīsa kirdmay damim damim sūzīyā, nāmay tāqwa pištī birdya bāxwa Finally, I put it in my mouth (and) my mouth was burned; I put it in the recess in the wall (and) the cat took it away in the garden.” [2:94]

yādgār nprop Yādegār

yāgā n place ya šārēk, ya yāgayēk, ya luqma nān ařā mināhīmān barbārām‑u dubāra máyāmwa wa yakwa a town, a place, (there) we may earn a morsel of bread for our children, and we will come back again together [3:5]

yānā pro-form and such fār(d) yānā Farhād and such... [4:163]

yāni prt it means wātsān ina, di šawdiz, yānī i šīyēra kardīya mil qu šawdīza šikasya They said, this is so, then Šabdiz, but that means, this plane tree fell on the leg of Šabdiz (and) broke his leg. [4:144]

yārū n gal, guy yārū di orzaš nīya bwāžē bāwā min ditatānim garak‑ē the guy will not have any more authority to say (to the family): “Believe me (lit., hey, man), I want your daughter.” [9:47]
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

yest vi stand.PRS pišť ūariasaka mayestām We stand behind the bride [7N:137]
yēr vi win.PRS didān gurg makišē-u mwāy biša nimařā mwafaq bwa, tā bizānim kāmtān mayērawa He pulls out the teeth of the wolf and says: “Go! At midday, may you be successful; so I know which of you wins.” [2:82]
yir variant present stem of girt yo pro-form one panǰ ūis gila ku ū harišū mažē až inā yošān {xxx} xānanda mārē. There are five (or) six young men who will marry; here one of them {xxx} will bring a singer. [7H:71]
yr present stem of girt yusif nprop Yusef yürn vt sew.PRS zuñē až īnā yošān {xxx} xānanda mārē. There are five (or) six young men who will marry; here one of them {xxx} will bring a singer. [7H:71]
yz vt find.PRS māfaya sarpē, żan mawinēwa wa gurd kuśaya mawyż-u Giv goes to Sarpol (and) finds the woman; he finds (her) with (her) son, and [5:90]

Z

z vt allow.PRS xānawāda bar-e ūiy as(†)an nimazīn kuţāka in front of the family... They don’t allow the young man at all... [9:33]
zabt n cassette tape recorder i xānandāna mwanin ina heż makarām māyym aniresimānah bištirū mawqêšē ka mašan yā barq naw zabt binyām These singers sing, we learn by heart, we come to the celebrations, (and sing), mostly when, for instance, there is no electricity (and) we set up a cassette tape recorder. [7H:134]
zahmat n effort, trouble žanakin biştir zahmat makišin tā mardakān, čünkā kāršānan saxt-ē The women make more effort than the men, because their work is difficult [7N:36]
zahmatkeš adj effort-making piyākān wa anāza-y žinakān faši nimakēšin, zahmatkeš nayen The men don’t try as hard as the women, they don’t make as much effort. [7N:35]

zamin n earth, ground, land; field bā i wazša zaminakān maţiya wanšān (They thought that) under these conditions, he (would) give them (back) the lands [6:69]
zanţamū n aunt (father’s brother’s wife) isa min īštanim ya zanţamūn sunniyā Now one of my own aunts (i.e., wife of father’s brother) is Sunni. [7N:88]
zarar n unpleasantness i piyā až ū ūştāmānā mardē-u başd ū zarar-u čištša diya this man from our village died, and afterwards, there was so much unpleasantness and the like [7H:67]
zaşra n slightest bit ya xwārim ya zaşra was(i)ša {?i ah dūx} pesar’amuwakaš nāma One of my sisters did not like her cousin (i.e., cousin from father’s side) the slightest bit. [8:75]
zaxmi adj wounded ya kuţa, (ōx), ā kuťaya fāmilimāna gula dāša qušši, zaxmi bē One son, (oh), that son from our family, a bullet hit him in his leg, (and) he was wounded. [6:8]

zayfali nprop Zeyd Ali zāt nprop Zāl zāňa n gall (fearful) zāňašān mařa(†) They
were afraid. [6:7]

**zān** present stem of **zānist**

**zānist** (present stem: zān) vt know.PST āqay nār(ā)bay biya zānist sar ċay mawīnī He was so sad; he knew what would happen to him. [4:77]

**zāt** n essence īnānā zāt-e xudāyī hē wa lāšānwa They (lit., these ones, i.e., people like Siyavoş) have the essence of God with them. [5:77]

**zāwā** n son- in- law fātamī ĩā zāwāš bē, ā Fatami was his (i.e., the Shah’s) son-in-law at that time, yes. [6:151]

**zāya** ān loud cries kū dasiš karda zāya ūřūřū The mountain began to make loud cries and laments. [4:81]

**zendegī** n life zendegīm-ē, sāya- y sarm-ē, hēymē gardšay- u hawmayzim, haymanīšim (my husband) is my life, he is my guardian; we are united, we stand up, we sit down (together). [9:88]

**zimkān** nprop Žimkān river

**zindān** n jail až lašūng engélisā zindāniš kardē For its part, (England) put (Mosaddeq) in jail. [6:102]

**zinna** adj alive mwāy ay marda čū zinn(a)wa mawu She says: “How can the dead become alive again?” [5:166]

**ziyārat** n pilgrimage bištir wa ima mašī wa ziyārat, bištir wa (m) wa ima ehtirāmīš mayrē dinakamān She goes on pilgrimages more than we (do); she has respect for our religion, more than we (do) [7N:90]

**zōf** n bastard in wātawēš ĥuxma-y zoľ-u ān wātawēš nimayā(n)im bi bāwa-u bi dāya ān This one had called him a bastard, and that one had said, I don’t know, he was without father and without mother, this [5:129]

**zušayxā** nprop Zuleyxā

**zuṭim** n oppression zuṭim biya There was oppression.” [6:56]

**zūrāw** nprop Sohrāb

**zū(d)tar** adv soon tanāta bičinimwa, gizg būfām, kāy biyařāmwa hay kārāna ka pāizē bāyad zū(d)tar anjām biyaryē I pick tomatoes, we make brooms, we bring in the zucchini, always those tasks which in autumn need to be done soon [7H:27]

**zūn** n Kurdish dress zūnē ařāš mayārim, šawī kurdī ya tūr-e matīna mil saršay They (i.e., the young man’s family) sew for her (i.e., the bride) a “zūn”, a Kurdish dress, (and) they put a veil on her head. [7N:133]

**zūr** n force ditaka wātawēš min waš(i)ma ī kuřa nimāy, zūr wa g(a)r(d)mī makara The young woman had said: “I do not like this young man. Don’t force me (to marry him).” [8:122]

**zütir** adv earlier kuřakānmān zūtir tā ditakān mařawē, ezdewāf makarē, kuřakān zūtir The young men among us go earlier than the young women into marriage; the young men are earlier. [7N:59]

**zwān** n language; speech ba kurdī mwāžin, zwān-e kurdī They sing in Kurdish, the Kurdish language. [7N:119]

**žan** n 1) woman wa pīyā-u žani nimatiya faqat wa mujařadyakān To the (married) men and women he does not give (a bag) [7N:108] 2) wife matiya wa žanaka, mwāy
The Gorani language of Gawraǰū, a village of West Iran

Hay žan, mwāy baḵē, mwāy ayar dita bi, xarj aḵāš bikara, ayar kuḵay bi, biyašā bān baḵiš(i). He gives it to his wife (and) says: “Hey, dear (lit., woman).” She says: “Yes?” He says: “If it is a girl, spend it on her; if it is a boy, bind it to his arm.” [5:120]

žan2 vt play (instrument).PRS baḴeḵiš mazānē, masan ānā ka bāwkašān dawriš-e, mazānin bižanin Some (women) can (play); for instance, those whose father is a dervish, they can play. [7N:48]

žandārmīrī n gendarmerie gaḵā, nām-e gaḵā biya awat, isa mwāžām žandārmīrī, āna mwān gaḵā Gaḵā, the name Gaḵā was there first; now we say “gendarmerie”. They say Gaḵā. [4:104]

žēr adv below farā(d)-iē až žērwa maniře ānwa Farhād also looks at her without raising his head. [4:43]

žērxākī n archaeological treasures baḵd, i čwār sāfaka irānīš girt, har ēi naft-u zendegi irān bē, žērxāki-u tamām ināna jāwāherāt engelīš girtiš ba(rd) Then, these four years (in which England) took Iran, whatever oil and life Iran (owned) (and) archaeological treasures and all of these jewels, England took, carried away. [6:106]

žīnaft (present stem: žīnaft) vt hear.PST čwārqāpī žīnaftī qasir Have you heard of the four-gated (city of) Qasr-e Širin? [4:24]

žūr 1) prep under mawinē až žūr libāsakāniš musala-yē-u libās-e ōzmīš pūšīya (Afrāsiāb) sees that under his clothes (Siyavōš) is armed (and) has his suit of armor on. [5:68] 2) adj lower žīnaft present stem of žīnaft
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