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

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

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

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

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

[2]See H. Borjian, "Mazandaran: Language and People: The State of Research," *Iran and the Caucasus* 8 (2004): 289–328.

[3]Published materials include: M. Borjian, "Mazandarani Poems of Aqa Mir" (in Persian) *Iranshenasi* 14 (2002): 634–644; M. Borjian and H. Borjian, "Three Mazandarani Folk Poems" (in Persian),

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

Galesh Herders

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

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

in *Yasht-e Farzānagi*, Tehran, 2005: 427–434; idem, "The Story of Rostam and the White Demon in Mazandarani," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 5/1-2 (2006): 107–116; "Marriage Rites in South Caspian Villages: Ethnographic and Linguistic Materials from Mazandaran," *Archiv Orientální* 75/2 (2007): 191–214; "[Mysterious Memories of a Woman:] Ethno-Linguistic Materials from Rural Mazandaran," *Iran and the Caucasus* 11/2 (2007): 226–254; "Twenty-five Māzandarāni quatrains," in *Nawabi Memorial Volume*, Tehran, 2008: in press.

[4]For an account of the culture of the galesh in the Shahsavār district of Mazandaran, see 'Alā'-al-Din Āzari-Demirji, "Gāleshā", *Honar o mardom*, no. 100 (1970): 28–30.

[5]It appears that extensive reforms of the Reza Shah period in Mazandaran did not reach the galesh way of life, but this subject needs further clarification.

Gālesh-kheyl, etc., throughout the south Caspian littoral.[6] Noteworthy are the differences between the Caspian galesh and the nomadic tribes of the Plateau, such as the Bakhtiaris and Qashqa'is: cattle vs. sheep as primary livestock; wooden huts vs. tents; a-few-day journeys vs. several weeks in seasonal migrations; looser vs. more elaborate tribal organization, among others.

The Informant

The galesh ranch we visited was known as Kherimesar, the last survival of its kind in the region. It was an hour or two uphill walk away from Kordkheyl, a village located at the edge of the hilly forestlands, where they meet the cultivated plains some 30 miles south of the Caspian shore.[7] Kherimesar was situated on top of a hill surrounded by forest (Photo 1). The ranch consisted of a few acres of farmland encircled by a timber fence. In the middle of the farm stood a small barn near a single-room cottage, which was humbly furnished. The compartment attached to the hut housed a young calf, away from the rest of the herd that was kept in a barn deeper in the jungle. We were fortunate though to find the old herdsman home upon our arrival.

Ali Khorshidiān, known also as Se(y)d-Ali Galesh, was 90 years old when we interviewed him in 2002. Thinly built but still healthy-looking and robust enough to take care of his cows unaided, the patriarch was then the sole resident of the ranch, though frequently visited by his offspring who took good care of the crop (Photo 2 at end of this paper). Some years before they had been all living together on the property during the cold months and would take a four-day journey southward across the thick forest to reach their summer hamlets in the uplands of Dodānga.[8]

[6]For a list of toponyms, see H. L. Rabino, *Mazandaran and Astarabad* (London, 1928; repr. Karachi, 1980).

[7]The village Kordkheyl is located at the end of a rural road connecting it to the city of Sari through Rudposht, Talubāgh, Pātin Sangriza, and Miānrud.

[8]A historical account on the very same region is found in the tenth-century *Hodud al-'Ālam*, showing a remarkable cultural continuity in the course of the past millennium. This includes animal husbandry as the chief occupation of the inhabitants and the tradition of bride kidnapping. Note also the correspondence between Perrim below and Ferim (Text I, line 8). Here is the passage and its English translation; the transliteration-transcription pertains to the tenth century Persian. (1) *kōh-i Qārin nāhīat-ē ª st ki mar-ō-rā dah-hazār u čīz-ē dēh ast. u pāδšāh-i ō-rā "sipahpaδ-i Šahryār kōh" xʷānand. u īn nāhīat-ē ª st ābāδān, u bēštar-i mardumān-i way gabrakān and. u az rōzagār-i musulmānī bāz pāδšāyī-yi īn nāhīat andar farzandān-i Bāw ast.* (2) *Pirrīm qasaba-yi īn nāhīat ast u mustaqarr-i sipahbaδān; ba lašgargāh-ē ª st bar nēm farsang az šahr. u andar way musulmānān, u bēštar [-i ĝarībān] pēšawar u bāzargān, zērā ki mardumān-i īn nāhīat juz lašgarī u barzīgar nabāšand.* (3) *u ba-har pānzdah rōz-ē andar way rōz-i bāzār bāšaδ. u az hama-yi īn nāhīat mardān u kanēzakān u ĝulāmān ārāsta ba-bāzār āyand, u bāzī kunand u rūδ zanand u dōstī gīrand. u rasm-i īn nāhīat čunān ast ki har mard-ē ki kanēzak-ē-rā dōst gīraδ, ō-rā bifirēbaδ u bibaraδ, u se rōz bidāraδ, har-čūn ki xʷāhaδ. āngah ba bar-i piδar-i kanēz kas firistaδ, tā ō-rā ba-zanī ba way dihaδ.* (4) *u andar nawāhī-yi way čašmahā-yi āb ast, ki ba-yak-sāl-andar čandēn bār bēštar-i mardum-i īn nāhīat ānjā šawand, *ārāsta, bā nabīδ u rūδ u surōδ o pāy-kōftan. u ānjā hājathā xʷāhand az xuδāy — u ān-rā čōn ta'abbud-ē dārand — u bārān xʷāhand ba-waqt-ē ki-šān bibāyaδ; u ān bārān biāyaδ.*

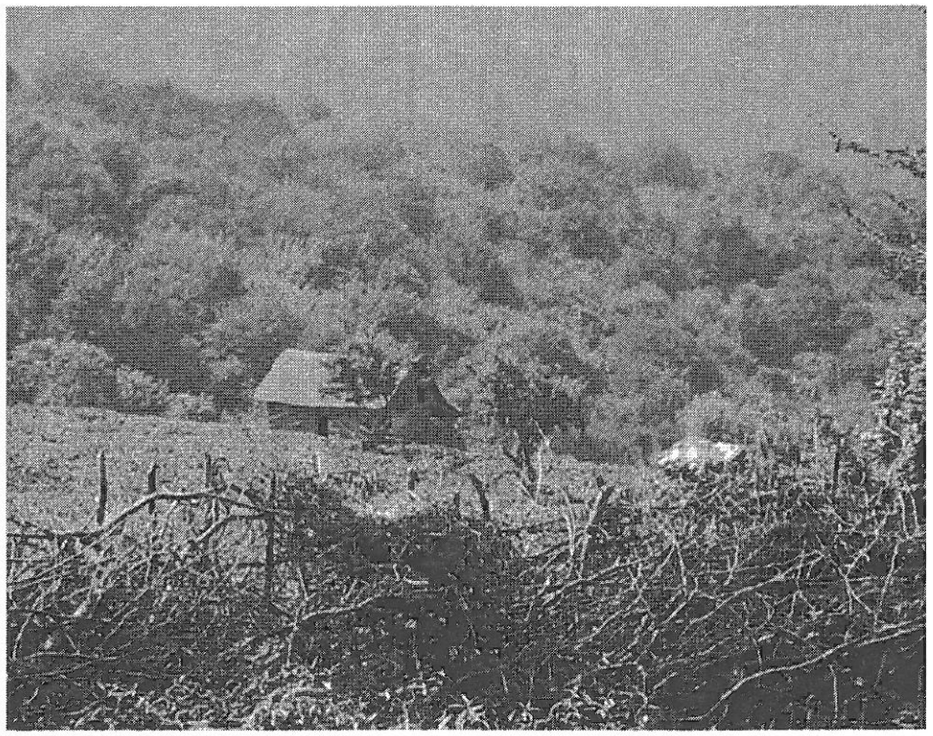


Figure 1. The Kherimesar ranch

(1) The mountainous Qāren is a district which has more than 10,000 villages. Its king is called the Sepahbad of Shahriārkuh. This district is prosperous and most of its people are Zoroastrians. From the [beginning of] Muslim times the kings of this district have been from the descendants of Bāv. (2) Perrim is the chief place of this district, while the seat of the sepahbads is at the military camp situated half a parasang [up to about 9 miles/14 km] from the town. In [Perrim?] live Muslims, mostly strangers, [namely] artisans and merchants, because the inhabitants of this district are exclusively soldiers and husbandmen. (3) Every fifteen days a market is held there, and from all the region men, girls, and young men come there dressed up, frolic, organize games, play on the lute, and make friends. The custom of this province is such that each man who loves a girl beguiles her, carries her away, and for three days does with her as he likes. Then he sends someone to her father that he should give her in marriage. (4) In the districts of Qāren mountain there are springs of water to which several times in the year most of the people of the district repair, dressed up, with wine, music, songs, and dances. There they pray God for their needs, considering this as a sort of worship; they pray for rain when they need it and the rain comes [down] (*Hodūd al-'Ālam*, ed. M. Sotuda [Tehran, 1951]; V. Monorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam. The Regions of the World* [Cambridge? 1937]: 135–136).
For further information on the historical geography of Mazandaran, see H. Borjian, "Historical Geography of Tabarestan in the Early Islamic Centuries" (in Persian), in *Sotuda-nāma*, in the series: Pazhuheshhā-ye Irānshenāsi: Nāmvāra-ye Dr Mahmud Afshār, XV, ed. Iraj Afshar and Karim Esfahanian (Tehran, 2005): 148–157.



Figure 2. A son and daughter-in-law helping with the crop.

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

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

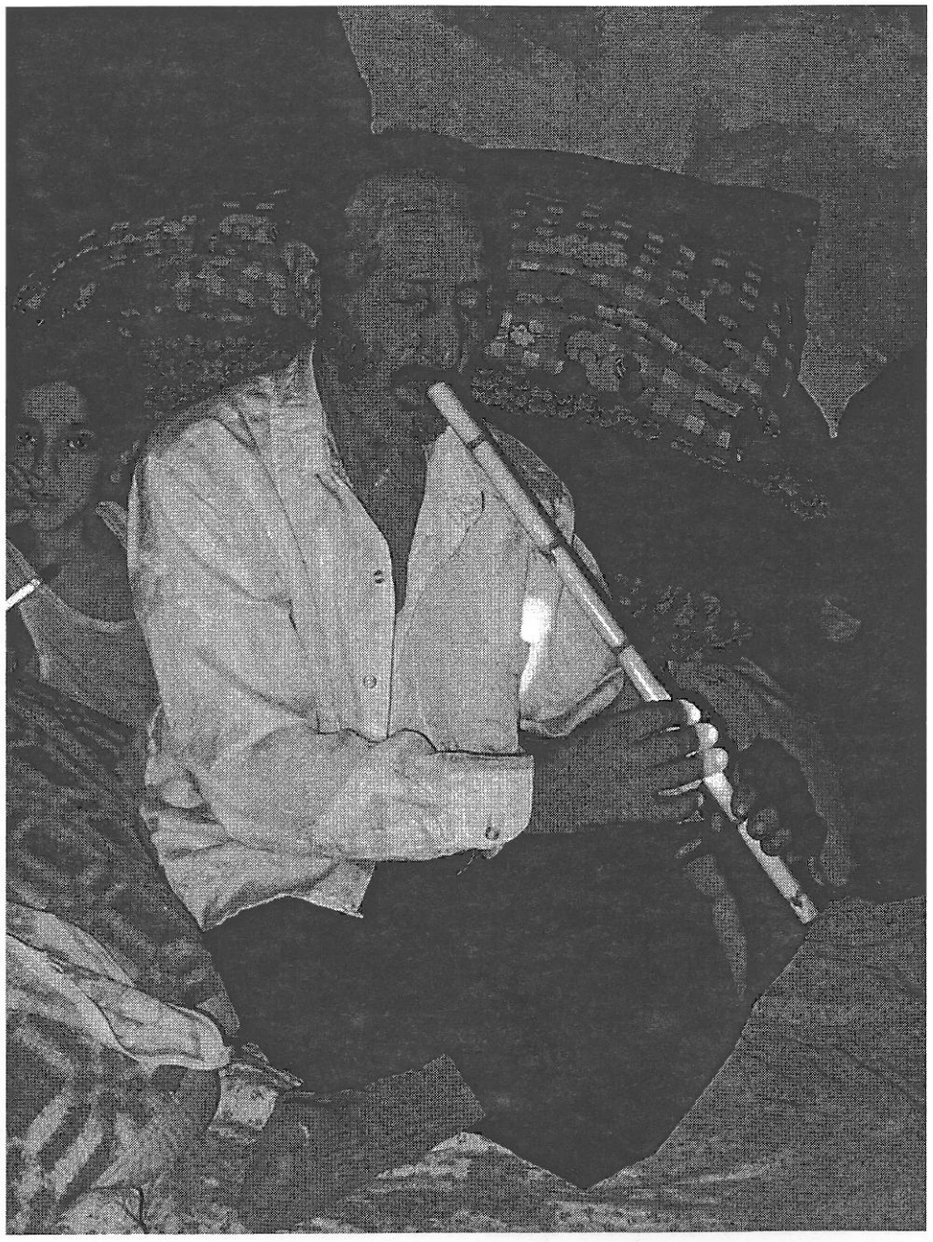


Figure 3. Ali Khorshidian playing his *laleva*.

question marks both in the texts and their translation. The process of editing also required exclusion of some extraneous words and sentences, often caused by interruptions by the other people present.

A Summary of the Accounts

Text I. The informant began with the most dramatic event of his lifetime: his elopement with Bāji, whom he married. As many other teenagers of those days, Ali begins his career as a ranch worker at the estate of his relative Mash(ti) Rajab on a low wage. Showing his diligence and capabilities he gets a better offer and joins Mash Gholām Hoseyn's ranch, where the young cowboy gets acquainted with the landlord's daughter Baji. Realizing the amity between the two youngsters, the proprietor and his wife give the impression that the marriage between Baji and Ali is in their plans. As soon as they move to the summer camp, however, an affluent suitor comes with plenty of gifts, and the Mashti tries to force his daughter into marriage with the son of the headman of Varend. As the girl refuses the offer, the father beats her up and threatens to fire Ali, who had counteracted by paying the head of his village to woo Baji for him. Thus the two lovers are forced into an elopement. In their long run-off journey through the mountains they lose the track and come across two bandits, Bābali and Sahand, who surprise them by offering their horse as a sign of chivalry. Eventually they arrive at a settlement where they meet a chief herdsman named Vandād, who writes them a letter of support; then they find a clergyman to conclude their marriage contract. Six months later reconciliation is reached between Ali and his stubborn father-in-law through the mediation of Ali's former boss Mash Rajab. The story concludes with a mention of the current condition of Baji: having had an eye surgery, she is staying at her son's residence in Sari, waiting to join Ali in their forest hut as soon as she recovers.[9]

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

[9]Elopement or bride kidnapping, also known as marriage by abduction or marriage by capture, is a form of marriage still practiced in a few traditional cultures. It is widely practiced in Kyrgyzstan and among some Turkic tribes of Central Asia as well as in parts of the Caucasus and Africa. This tradition used to be practiced widely in Mazandaran (see the note above) and is alluded to in the Bible: "If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found; Then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife; because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days." (King James Bible /Deuteronomy 22: 28–29).

in highlands. In those days the galesh households would keep between 50 and 400 head of cattle. They would churn the milk into various dairy produce and sell the butter in the city for a good price.

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

Text I [11]

1. xɛdā in āšeqi-rɛ bɛnā nakɛrd bo
   ɛsā ke hākɛrdɛ, jɛdā nakɛrd bo
2. ɛttā dār bāes baiɛ. dār dɛtā ādɛm-e bɛlɛndi biɛ. kolɛfti — ande kolɛfti. ezzār biɛ.
3. mɛn Maš Rajɛb-e pali qɛrār bimɛ. burdɛmɛ Maš Qolm Hosan-e sɛre sirsuzi vesse. Xānbāji-rɛ xɛdā biāmɛrze!—Rajɛb-e zenā—vɛnje burdɛmɛ.
4. vɛšune melk hamin-je biɛ. ɛmā hɛmsāyɛ bimi. vɛne kijā-rɛ diārigiri hej badi bimɛ? nā, mɛ^{n} še numzɛ dāštɛmɛ. zan-širini baxɛrd bimɛ.
5. mɛn o Rajɛb-e zenā burdɛmi vɛšune sɛre. Maš Qolm Hosan o vɛne zenā dani binɛ. vɛšun, zenā-mardi, burd binɛ ša:r. badimɛ ɛttā pirzenā darɛ. bāutɛ, "Bāji!" bāutɛ, "ba:le?" bautɛ, "beru! in bɛrār sirsuzi bɛxāssɛ."
6. Bāji, Maš Qolm Hosan-e kijā, daiɛ bākkelɛ patɛ. vɛ inti miss-ɛ bazu^{ɛ} bākkelɛ-rɛ, bāutɛ, "bair!" bāutɛmɛ, "čeči ɛ?" bāutɛ, "bākkelɛ, baxor-ā! bapɛtɛ hassɛ. xāmbɛ dakɛnɛm āš." bāutɛmɛ, "nā." bāutɛ, "bɛlā-rɛ baxor, bɛlā-rɛ baxor!"
7. mɛn xale fekr hākɛrdɛmɛ. [še-rɛ] bāutɛmɛ, "čeči baiɛ? mɛn vɛnɛ vɛne das-je bait bi bošɛm-ā!"

[10] In 2005 we were informed that Ali Khorshidian finally conceded to the compensation payment and gave up Kherimesar ranch to settle down in the city of Sari. However, we have been informed lately that not having been able to put up with town life, he returned to Kherimesar in April 2007, ignoring the repeated warning messages on trespassing issued by the forest authorities.

[11] The transcription principles used here are the same as those explained in H. Borjian, "A Mazandarani account of the Babi Incident at Shaikh Tabarsi," *Iranian Studies* 39 (2006): 381–400. Note the hyphenation of the oblique marker *-e*, postpositions *-(r)ɛ* and *-je*, and other postpositions when the oblique marker is absent. Inflected forms of the personal pronouns are shown without hyphen (e.g. *vénje* 'with her') because they sometimes coalesce with the endings.

8. ba:d ɛz un burdɛmɛ bālā. vɛšun sɛtā gāleš unjɛ dainɛ. badimɛ dār darnɛ yārnɛ. dār gɛndɛlig biɛ, qod naitɛ vɛšunrɛ. xāssɛnɛ taš hākɛnɛn. mɛn bāutɛmɛ, "ā Mamdali! ɛttā pɛštɛ vāš messe bair! sirsuzi baitɛmɛ, dar šumbɛ." bāutɛ, "mɛn vāš gɛrɛmbɛ. tɛ batundi intā-rɛ bavɛri taš-e kenār?" bāutɛmɛ, "are."
9. mɛ^{n} tur-rɛ ke bazumɛ vɛne miun—dār-e miun—Mamdali bāutɛ, "vɛrɛ rāss hākɛnim!" bāutɛmɛ, "mɛn age še rāss hākɛrdɛmɛ, varɛmbɛ; age natunessɛm, ke hečči."
10. vɛrɛ senɛ hɛdāmɛ, rāss hākɛrdɛmɛ. tur-rɛ biɛštɛmɛ še duš-e sar. bāutɛnɛ, "ɛmā bɛlɛnd hākɛnim." bāutɛmɛ, "nā! šemā age xānni vɛrɛ bɛlɛnd hākɛnin, ay mɛn vɛrɛ varɛndɛ nimɛ."
11. tɛkun hɛdāmɛ biɛštɛmɛ še duš. dige dam ɛm nazumɛ. burdɛmɛ. ande burdɛmɛ piš, ke katɛl-rɛ dɛm hɛdāmɛ.
12. Bāji dar-je bɛmu^{ɛ} birun. bāutɛ, "ay xānɛ-xɛrāb! tɛ nossi? tɛ četi biārdi? me piɛr yɛk māh-e tɛmum vɛšunrɛ bāutɛ; vɛšun niārdɛnɛ." bāutɛmɛ, "xāb, biārdɛmɛ dige." vāš-rɛ baitɛmo burdɛmɛ.
13. ay bɛfamessɛmɛ, ke Maš Qolm Hosan vɛne zenā nɛmāšun biamunɛ sɛre. bāutɛ, "Mamdali! katɛll-ɛ ki biārdɛ?" bāutɛ, "ɛmā." bāutɛ, "šɛmā četi biārdɛni ke natunni vɛrɛ bɛlɛnd hākɛnin?" bāutɛ, "vačɛ, Bāji! vɛrɛ ki biārdɛ?" bāutɛ, "ɛttā kākoli-darɛ rikā. vɛne zɛlf činɛ-bazɛ hassɛ. vɛ biamu^{ɛ} injɛ sirsuzi vesse. vɛ baitɛ biārdɛ." bāutɛ, "intā Ali hassɛ. bɛmu^{ɛ} Maš Rajɛb-e pali."
14. mɛn sardar-e pe essā bimɛ. xāssɛmɛ vāš bairɛm. [Maš Qolm Hosan] bāutɛ, "injɛ beru!" bāutɛ, "in anjili-rɛ lu bur!" bāutɛmɛ, "yā Hazrat-e Abbās! šuns biārdɛmɛ."
15. anjili-rɛ lu budɛmɛ. vāš-rɛ jer hākɛrdɛmɛ. yɛk pɛštɛ še vesse davessɛ, yɛk pɛštɛ me-vesse.
16. mɛn sikār dar-biārdɛmɛ, sikār bakɛšimɛ. bāutɛ, "me pali neni?" bāutɛmɛ, "mɛn Maš Rajɛb-e pali qɛrār ɛmɛ." bāutɛ, "tɛ qɛrār hassi, čande tɛrɛ mɛz dennɛ?" bāutɛmɛ, "ande nadennɛ." bāutɛ, "tɛrɛ sāl-i pɛnjā tɛmɛn mɛz dembo yɛk mɛn rāqun dembo tansuri dembo te lɛbāss-ɛ tɛrɛ dembo; beru me pali!"
17. Maš Rajɛb-e pali mɛrɛ čande dānɛ? sɛ sāl daimɛ, si tɛmɛn mɛrɛ hɛdā^{ɛ}. ba:d—arz hākɛnɛm—inti bāutɛ, mɛn rāzi baimɛ. hesāb-ketāb hākɛrdɛmɛ ande Maš Rajɛb-e pali daimɛ, mɛrɛ mɛz hɛdā^{ɛ} o mɛn burdɛmɛ.
18. mɛn burdɛmo vɛne pali o, ɛsā mɛn dɛ šō, sɛ šō, unjɛ baxɛtɛmo. yɛk šō mɛn baxɛtɛ naimɛ, ke bidār baimɛ, badimɛ zenā-mardi gab zannɛ, ke "ɛmā vɛrɛ xeš bairim, vɛrɛ zan hādim o vɛ ame pali davoe. vɛ kāregɛrɛ." bāutɛmɛ, "xɛdāyā! mɛn ke numzɛ dārmɛ; vɛšun čeči gɛnnɛ?"
19. arz hākɛnɛm, mɛn o Maš Qolm Hosan-e zenā—xɛdā biāmɛrze—burdɛmi ša:r. rāqun bavɛrd bimi. asb dāšte. asb-e rāqun bār nakɛrdɛ. kallɛ-ē pan^{j} (pā^{nj}) mɛn rāqun duš hāitɛmi burdɛmi. vɛ sar hāitɛ mɛn duš. ɛrbāb-e sɛre hɛdāmi.

20. bar-dagɐrdessɐn šō dakɐtɐmi. ɐrbāb-e num Dorri biɐ. vɐ ɐttā zenā dāštɐ. aslan gālešā-e sɐre jodā biɐ. age šō dakɐt bon, še nazdiki niārd binɐ.
21. arz hākɐnɐm, šō ke dakɐt bimi. par bazumi tɐmum-e kɐrāt. badimi pirzenā bátundɐ bie. bār-rɐ bavɐrdɐmɐ un-dim bieštɐmo pirzenā-e bāll-e dɐmāssɐmɐ, yɐk-dassi tɐkun bɐdāmɐ bieštɐmɐ še duš-e sar. dɐm bɐdāmɐ še duš-e sar o burdɐmɐ un-dim, bɐnɐ bieštɐmɐ.
22. bɐmumi manzɐl sar. nim sāɐt šō burd biɐ. pirzenā bā^{u}tɐ, "Maš Qolm Hosan!" bāutɐ, "hɐ!" bāutɐ, "vɐ nāma:rɐm biɐ. vɐ me bāll-e dɐmāssɐ. mɐrɐ duš hāitɐ. mɐrɐ baxšɐni yā nā?" mɐn ɐsā li burd bimɐ, xāssɐmɐ baxosɐm. bāutɐ, "vɐ me vačɐɐ. vɐrɐ xāmbi zan hādim. nā, tɐ nārāhāt navoš."
23. yelāq ke burdɐmi, xāskārči bɐmu^{ɐ} Bāji vesse. xāskārči ke bɐmuɐ, Nād-Ali gɐtɐnɐ. xɐdā biāmɐrze— bamɐrdɐ. kadxɐdā biɐ Varɐnd-ɐ. bɐmuɐ. da: mɐn dunɐ baito qand čāi baito bɐmuɐ injɐ. vɐne pali daiɐ yɐk mā. kijā bāutɐ, "nā, mɐn nɐxāmbɐ."
24. mɐn da: tɐmɐn hɐdāmɐ ame kadxɐdā-ye rikā-rɐ. bāutɐmɐ, "bur xāskāri!" [piɐr-mār] kijā-rɐ bāutɐnɐ, "un mardi gō dānnɐ, gɐsbɐnd dānnɐ, asb dānnɐ. vɐ hečči nɐdānnɐ. vɐ qaribɐ."
25. vɐšun tā alān bāutɐnɐ vɐrɐ zan hādim, ɐsā pašimun bainɐ. in bāɐs baiɐ mɐn bɐlɐnd hākɐrdɐmɐ. kijā unā-rɐ "are" nɐdā^{ɐ}. "are" naitɐnɐ vɐšun.
26. kijā—Bāji—vɐ sɐ-tā bɐrār dāštɐ. har sɐ-tā bɐrār-e dɐmbāl ādɐm rāi hākɐrdɐnɐ. vɐšun biamunɐ. sɐvāi mɐn xāssɐmɐ gō badušɐm, badimɐ [Maš Qolm Hosan] me dass-e jolɐ-rɐ baitɐ. bāutɐmɐ, "tɐ me dass-e jolɐ-rɐ če baiti?" bāutɐ, "naduš me gō-rɐ!" bāutɐmɐ, "nadušɐm? čaš, nadušɐmbɐ." inti mɐrɐ hɐrs baitɐ ke dige nā^{u}r o napɐrs.
27. tɐlɐm burdim bazɐnim, badimɐ ke me sar dass-ɐ baitɐ, mɐrɐ niештɐ tɐlɐm bazɐnɐm. tɐlɐm-rɐ ke bazu^{ɐ}, dɐmāssɐ čū-rɐ. kijā-rɐ bɐnā bɐ baroštɐn. bapperɐssɐmɐ vɐne dass-e čū-rɐ pij bazumɐ baitɐmɐ.
28. kijā-rɐ zuɐ ke "tɐ če unjɐ "are" nɐdāi ke vɐ injɐ xāskār baressiɐ?" kijā bāutɐ ke "jān-e piɐr! mɐn bamɐrdɐmɐ—xāk-e šɐmɐ. age darmɐ, Ali-^{ɐ} šɐmɐ. tɐ mɐrɐ čɐči-sse zandi?"
29. bɐrārun bɐmunɐ. Ali-rɐ xɐdā biāmɐrze, bāutɐ, "xāxɐr, ō dakɐn, me sar-tan-ɐ bašor!" ō ke dakɐrdɐ, bāutɐ, "bɐrār! vɐšun vɐrɐ qōl hɐdānɐ, "tɐrɐ zan dembi." mɐn bāutɐmɐ, "vɐ qarib hassɐ. mɐn vɐne xānɐ našumbɐ." vɐšun kār-i hākɐrdɐnɐ ke mɐn vɐne tan dɐmāssɐmɐ. baxɐtɐ-ādɐm-rɐ bidār hākɐrdɐnɐ. bamɐrdɐmɐ—xāk-e šɐmɐ; darɐmbɐ—vɐne šɐmɐ."
30. xɐdā gɐvā ɐ—xodāyā! xodāvandā!—mɐn da: tɐmɐn pul dāštɐmɐ, vɐrɐ bād hɐdāmɐ. čikār hākɐnɐm? bāutɐmɐ, "Bāji!" bā^{u}tɐ, "hɐ?" bāutɐmɐ, "mɐn šumbɐ Ilātxɐl. Ilātxɐl nišɐrɐmbɐ. tɐ dɐ-tā jolɐ-rɐ bair o bur češmɐ-sar! češmɐ-sar burdi, mɐn embɐ."
31. me kamɐr kārd daio me das kajɐk. badimɐ vɐ dar šunɐ. dass-ɐ inti hākɐrdɐ tɐkun bɐdā^{ɐ}. mɐn ɐm rā dakɐtɐmɐ. Ilātt-ɐ bāutɐmɐ ke "vɐšun rāss bainɐ,

biamunɐ ame dɐmbāl, bāur Kiāsar-vari burdɐnɐ. mɐn in-vari burdɐmɐ, vɐšunnɐ bāur un-vari burdɐnɐ. vɐšunnɐ rat hākɐn!"
32. vɐšun še nāhār-māhār baxɐrdɐno baxɐtɐnɐ, ɐmā burdɐmi. burdɐmi, Pɐšteku[12] dar-bɐmumi.
33. Sahɐnd o Bābali yāqi binɐ. vɐšune duš tɐfɐng daiɐ. Sahɐnd bāutɐ, "rikā! tɐ kɐne kijā-rɐ bɐlɐnd hākɐrdi?" bautɐmɐ, "vɐ me xāl-dɐtɐr hasso vɐne bɐrār gum baiɐ; ɐmā b^{ɐ}rār$^{-ɐ}$ čarx darɐmbi." bāutɐ, "vɐ tisāpeɐ. tɐ dɐru zandi. bɐlɐnd hākɐrdi."
34. bāutɐ, "tɐ kɐjāi hassi?" bāutɐmɐ, "pājimiuni." bāutɐ, "Pājimiun ki-rɐ ešnāsɐni?" bāutɐmɐ, "hamɐ-rɐ ešnāsɐmbɐ." bāutɐ, "Maš Rajɐb te čɐči vone?" bāutɐmɐ, "me mār-e dāi-pesɐr."
35. bapperɐssɐ asb-e pešt-je bɐnɐ bɐmu^{ɐ}. bāutɐ, "sɐvār bavoš! sɐvār hākɐn vɐrɐ! vɐne ling-ɐ sang bavɐrdɐ."—bārikɐllā, yāqi ɐm biɐ!
36. kijā-e dass-e baitɐmɐ. xɐdā gɐvā ɐ—badimɐ kijā sɐvār navonɐ. bāutɐmɐ, "kijā, sɐvār bavo!" dɐmāssɐmɐ vɐne čakk-ɐ baitɐmo sɐvār hākɐrdɐmo asb-e sar-rɐ baitɐmo burdɐmi. mɐn o Bābali jelō, haminti gab zummi o burdɐmi. Sahand še burdɐ.
37. bāutɐ, "mɐn tɐrɐ Ma:lɐ navɐrɐmbɐ. Ma:lɐ bavɐrdɐmɐ, in āqāyun bešnāsɐnɐ, širini xānnɐ. pul dārɐnni?" bāutɐmɐ, "hečči nɐdārmɐ. mɐn puldār nimɐ."
38. bāutɐ, "xā, hamin rā-rɐ dɐmāssin. mɐn dar šumbɐ še sɐre." bāutɐ, "natars, bur!" mɐn še pali bāutɐmɐ, "xā, vɐ mɐrɐ rat hākɐrdɐ, xānnɐ dɐmbāl-sar ādɐm baressɐndɐ, zann-e me das-je baire."—nakɐrdɐ, bārɐkɐllā!
39. mɐn o vɐ burdɐmi. burdɐmi ɐttā kū-je baxordɐmi. badimi—nā dige—natumbi dar-burim. šō bai biɐ. rā ɐttā-kam pāintɐr biɐ. bessāb-e rā-rɐ gum bakɐrd bimi.
40. mɐn bāutɐmɐ, "ā Bāji! tɐ—xɐlāsɐ—bidār bāš! mɐn xāmbɐ baxosɐm." mɐn li burdɐmɐ, baxotɐmɐ. mɐn ke baxotɐmɐ, vɐ še sar-rɐ mɐkɐnā-rɐ baito me sar digu^{ɐ}. rāss ke baimɐ, bāutɐmɐ, "tɐ sar bi-mɐkɐnā o in rā-e dɐlɐ?" bāutɐ, "nā dige. tɐ baxotɐ bii, sɐrmā xɐrdi. mɐn bidār bimɐ."
41. ruz bɐnɐ hāitɐ. dige taš ɐm nakɐrd bimi. mɐn vɐne sāxɐsar li burd bimɐ. ande mɐrɐ hāli biɐ, ke jelōtɐr nɐxāmbɐ burɐm. vɐrɐ haminti bavɐrd bimɐ, sālem dāštɐmɐ.
42. tɐ xɐdmɐt arz hākɐnɐm, fɐrdā sɐvāi bɐmumi pāintɐr, rā-e dɐlɐ. ande burdɐmi tā baresimi ɐttā ābādi. unjɐ Torkma:lɐ biɐ. dɐrāz-e qɐvā dānnɐ. ɐnnɐ Māzɐndɐrun.
43. ɐttā qaron pul me jif daiɐ. in qaron-rɐ baitɐmɐ, ɐttā zenā-rɐ bāutɐmɐ, "xāxɐr! ɐmārɐ vɐšnā baiɐ. bapɐtɐni čɐči dānni?" tɐndir-e nun baito biārdɐ. bāutɐmɐ, "āš-ē, dū-ē, māss-ē—hečči nakɐt ɐ? tisā natumbi baxɐrim." mardi bāutɐ, "āš dakɐn, bai^{r} biār vɐšunesse!" āš baitɐ biārdɐ. ɐmā āš o nun baxɐrdɐmi. baxɐrdɐmi o burdɐmi.

[12]Or *pɐšt-e kɐ* "the backside of the mountain"; but the true Mazandarani form would be *kɐ-e pɐšt*.

44. xɛdā Mirzā:qā-rɛ biāmɛrze. Mirzā:qā Vandād o Maš Rajɛb o da:-ponza-tā sɛvār biamunɛ. Maš-Rajɛb on-mōqe Vandād-e moxtābād biɛ. vang bazuɛ, "are rikā! tɛ kijā-rɛ bɛlɛnd hākɛrdi biārdi?" bāutɛmɛ, "are!" vɛ bāutɛ, "āqā! ɛttā nāmɛ ban^{ɛ}vis āqā-e pali, vɛ zann-ɛ aqd hākɛnɛ. inti venɛ[13] vɛ zan aqd nakɛnnɛ." Mirzā:qā Vandād asb-e pɛšt banevešto bāutɛ, "rikā! vɛ ši nɛdāšt bo?" bāutɛmɛ, "nā." bāutɛ, "kijā! tɛ ši nɛdāšti kɛ?" bāutɛ, "nā, mɛn azɛb bimɛ."
45. vɛne nāmɛ-rɛ bavɛrdɛmi āqā-e pali. āqā-rɛ xɛdā biāmɛrze. bāutɛ, "vɛne sejeld ku, vačɛ? te sejeld kat ɛ me pali. vɛ sejeld nɛdānnɛ?" bāutɛmɛ, "āqā! mɛn vɛrɛ das nakɛrdɛmɛ. vɛre sālem biārdɛmɛ te pali, tā vɛrɛ aqd hākɛnɛm. mɛn nāmardi nakɛrdɛmɛ. āqā! te gɛrdɛn darɛ." inti bāutɛmɛ, baitɛ aqd hākɛrdo bā^{u}tɛ, "xā, vɛne sejeld-e ay bai^{r} biār! āšti hākɛrdɛni, mɛn vɛne sejeld-ɛ bavinɛm."
46. Maš Rajɛb xale bazɛn biɛ. me zan-piɛr o vɛ xale duss binɛ. badimɛ vɛ mɛrɛ bāutɛ ke "am-peser! mɛn šumbo Maš Qolm Hosan-e pali, šɛmā xeš o zanpiɛr-ɛ āšti hādɛm."
47. ɛsā pan^{j}-šiš mā fāsele burd biɛ. ɛmā burdɛmi. Maš Qolm Hosan daiɛ dele, qalyon kašiɛ. vɛšun dɛ-tā, har dɛ, dele burdɛnɛ. mɛn ɛsā berim ništ bimɛ.
48. zan-mār biamuɛ me pali o bāutɛ, "vɛ tɛrɛ zandɛ, dele našu!" bāutɛmɛ, "bátunde mɛrɛ bazɛne. vɛ zanɛndɛ niɛ. mɛn tab zambɛ vɛne dass-ɛ gɛrɛmbo dārmɛ. nielɛmbɛ mɛrɛ bazɛne."
49. ɛttā-kami vɛne pali hɛništɛmo. xā, Maš Rajɛb dar-bɛmuɛ bāutɛ ke "mɛn biamumɛ Ali-rɛ biārdɛmɛ te pali." bāutɛ, "me pali niārin vɛrɛ! xā, zan-i biɛ ke bavɛrdo. natumbɛ vɛrɛ bavinɛm." bāutɛ, "vɛrɛ biārdɛmɛ āšti badim." bāutɛ, "nā, mohāl ɛ, mohāl ɛ, mohālɛ."
50. delɛr bimɛ—te dor bagɛrdɛm—še bad hākɛrdɛ. še ruz-e abbɛl mɛrɛ zan va:dɛ hɛdā^{ɛ}. še bɛsātɛ-pɛll-ɛ še xɛrāb hākɛrdɛ. xɛrāb hākɛrdɛ, mɛn bɛlɛnd hākɛrdɛmɛ.
51. mɛn burdɛmo vɛne gɛrdɛnn-ɛ kašɛ dakɛrdɛmo bāutɛmɛ, "mɛrɛ gozɛrni? gozɛrni ke gozɛrni, nagozɛrni ke hečči." hɛništɛmɛ. hɛništɛmɛ badimɛ mardi-e češ asli turukkɛ-turukkɛ šunɛ. are! bermɛ kɛrdɛ.
52. mardi esm-o-rasm dāštɛ. xā, inti, vɛne ābru burdɛ; xāssɛ me sar-ɛ kɛlā biele, vɛne sar kɛlā burdɛ.
53. sar-e kuh-e bɛlɛnd šod xānɛ-ye man.
    nayāmad kāqaz-e jānānɛ-ye man.
    nayāmad kāqaz o tā mɛn bɛxānɛm,
    qɛrār girɛd del-e divānɛ-ye man.[14]
54. alān vɛne sar češš-ɛ amɛl hākɛrdɛmɛ. har dɛ češš-ɛ. darɛ ša:r me rikā-ye sɛre. šumbɛ unjɛ vɛrɛ bavinɛm, gɛnɛ, "Ali! tɛ hassi? tɛ mɛrɛ če navɛnni sɛre?" gɛmbɛ, "nā, hamin-jɛ davoš, vɛšun tɛrɛ paressāri hākɛnɛn."

[13]The syntactic role of *vɛnɛ* "must" is obscure in this sentence.
[14]This *do-beyti* is in Persian.

55. ɛsā mɛn biqam ɛmɛ. šas^{s}-hɛftād gɛsbɛnd-ɛ—in āqā badiɛ—vɛrg mɛrdāl hākɛrdɛ. bāutɛmɛ, "fɛdā-ye sar-e me zan o me vačun! age mɛn zendɛ hassɛmɛ, bāz ja:m kɛmbɛ. age nimɛ, dige hečči. xɛdā ruzi-rɛsānɛ."
56. ašun qasd hākɛrd bimo bɛɛm te pali
    asb bazu^{ɛ} bɛnɛ o bāl baiɛ geli
    dass-ɛ davɛssɛmɛ dingumɛ gali
    hamun beškessɛ das embɛ te pali
57. nɛmāšunesarā narm-narm-e vāreš
    gō biamu^{ɛ} xāsɛ nɛdānnɛ gāleš
    efrā-ye telɛm-rɛ dakɛnɛm xāreš
    dɛtâ par hâdɛɛm bɛsun-e gāleš

The Galesh Elopes with his Beloved Bāji[15]

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

[15]Missing words are placed in square brackets, and explanations are in parentheses.

10. I hugged it and made it stand. I put the ax on my shoulder. They said: "[let] us lift it." I said: "No, if you want to lift it, then I am not going to carry."
11. I jiggled it and put it on my shoulders. I did not even take a breath. I [just] carried it. I took it so far as [by the fireplace], where I tossed it.
12. Baji came out of the door and said: "You worthless![16] Did you not come apart? How did you bring it? My father told them for a whole month [to do the job], [but] they did not bring it." I said: "Well, I just brought it." [Then] I took the tree-moss and left.
13. Later I realized that Mash Gholam Hoseyn and his wife had come home in the evening. He said: "Mamdali, who brought the trunk?" "We [did]," he replied. "How did you bring it when you cannot lift it?" [Then] he asked: "[My] child, Baji, [you tell me] who brought it." She said: "There is a boy with a tuft of hair—wavy hair—who came here for the potherb. *He* fetched [the trunk]." He said: "This is Ali. He has joined Mash Rajab [as a farm worker]."
14. [Some time later] I was standing by the gate. I wanted to get tree-moss. Mash Gholam Hoseyn said: "Come here, climb this iron tree." I told [myself], "Oh Saint, lucky am I!"
15. I climbed the tree [and] threw down the tree-moss. He tied a load for himself and one for me.
16. I took out cigarettes [and] smoked one. He said: "Won't you come over to stay with me?" I said: "I am staying with Mash Rajab as a hired hand." He said: "If you're a hired hand, how much are you paid?" "Not much," I replied. "I'll pay you annually fifty tumans [500 rials] and a maund [3 kg/6.6 lb] of cooking oil and soap and clothing; [so] come over and stay with me!"
17. How much did I earn working for Mash Rajab? I was there three years [and] he paid me thirty tumans [300 Rials]. Then—I would say—this proposal made me happy. I calculated the time I had stayed with Mash Rajab. [Finally] he paid me off and I left.
18. I went to stay with him (Mash Gholam Hoseyn), and now I had been sleeping there two or three nights. One night I was not [yet fully] asleep; I was [still] awake. I noticed that the spouses were chatting: "we [should] take him as our son-in-law, offer him a wife, and that he would stay with us. He is hard-working." I told [myself]: "O God, I'm engaged; what are they talking about?"
19. Bringing [the rest of the story] to your notice, [one day] Mash Gholam Hoseyn's wife and I—God's peace be upon her—went to the town. We had carried ghee. She had a horse but would not load it with the ghee. Each of us carried five maunds [15 kg/33 lb] of ghee; she on the head and I on shoulders. We handed it over at the landlord's residence.

[16]For *xānɛ-xɛrāb* "one whose house is ruined", expressed in an endearing tone.

20. Returning home, nightfall came upon us. The landlord's name was Dorri. He had a wife [who was strict on keeping] the *galesh*'s quarter separate as a rule. If [the guest herders arrived] at night, they would not be invited to the house.[17]
21. Anyway, when we were taken by the night, we were desperate. [Having come across a fence,] I noticed that the old woman (i.e. Mash Gholam Hoseyn's wife) could not keep up. I carried the load across the fence and left it [there], [then] I grabbed the old woman's arm, with one hand threw her on my shoulders, carried her across and put her down.
22. [Finally] we came to the residence. It was half an hour after the darkness. The old woman said: "Mash Gholam Hoseyn!" "What," he replied. She said: "He (Ali) is a stranger. He took hold of my arm, and put me on his shoulders. Do you forgive me or not?" Now [in the next room] I had been lying down, trying to sleep. He said: "He is [like] a child of mine. We want to give him [our daughter as a] wife. No, don't you worry!"
23. When we went to the summer camp, a suitor came for Baji. The suitor who came was called Nad-Ali. May peace be upon his soul—he is dead [now]. He was the village head of Varand. He came here taking with him ten maunds [33 kg/66 lb] of rice, and sugar and tea. He stayed with him (i.e. Mash Gholam Hoseyn) for a month. [But] the daughter said: "No, I don't want [to marry the son of Varand's headman]."
24. I gave ten tumans to the son of our village head, saying: "Go court the girl [for me]!" [Her parents] told the girl: "That man [from Varand] owns cattle, sheep and horses. He (i.e. Ali the galesh) has nothing. He is a stranger."
25. They had said until then that "We will give him a wife", but now they were regretful. This caused me to kidnap [her]. The girl did not give them an affirmative answer; they got no positive reply.
26. The girl, Baji, had three brothers. All the three brothers were summoned. They came. In the morning, [when] I was going to milk the cows, I saw that [Mash Gholam Hoseyn] took away the bucket from me. "Why are you taking the bucket from me?" I said. "Don't milk my cow!" he replied. "I shouldn't milk [it]? Sure, I won't". I was distressed beyond imagination.[18]
27. Trying to churn in the barrel, I saw that he held me by the wrist and did not let me churn. When he finished churning, he took hold of the stick and started beating the girl. I jumped and grabbed and twisted his hand.
28. He would beat the girl [saying]: "Why didn't you give an affirmative [answer, so] that he (the galesh) has sent us a suitor?" The girl said:

[17]"They wouldn't bring them to their presence."
[18]Lit. "you should no more say or ask."

"Dear father, had I died, I'd be soil; [if] I stay, I'll be Ali's. What are you beating me for?"

29. The brothers came. May his soul be in peace—Ali said: "Sister, pour water and wash my head and body." When she did, she said: "Brother, they promised him a wife. I said that he was a stranger and I won't marry him (lit. "I won't go to his room"). Their deeds encouraged me to be sympathetic to him (lit. "that I stuck to his body"). They woke up a sleeping person. If I die, I'll be earth; if I stay, I'll be his."
30. God is the witness—O God, O Lord—I had ten tumans in cash [which] I wasted (i.e. gave away to the suitor). Now what do I do? I said: "Baji!" "What," she replied. I said: "I'm going to Ilatkhel. There I'll be waiting [for you]. You take two buckets and go by the spring. I'll come [there]."
31. There was a knife on my belt and a club in my hand. I saw her going [toward the spring], posing her hand like this and making a gesture. I too hit the road [to meet her]. I told the Ilat,[19] "[When] they wake up and come after us, tell them that they went toward Kiasar. I will go this way and you tell them that they went that way. Lead them astray."
32. [As] they ate their lunch and went for a nap, we got going. We went [until] we reached Peshteku.
33. [On the way we encountered] Sahand and Babali [who] were rebels. They carried rifles on shoulders. Sahand said: "Boy, whose daughter have you kidnapped?" I said: "She is my cousin and her brother is lost, and we are on the lookout for the brother." He said: "She is barefoot. You are lying. You have kidnapped her."
34. [Then] he said: "Where are you from?" "From Pajimiana," I answered. "Whom do you know there?" he asked. "I know everybody," I replied. "How do you relate to Mash Rajab?" "He is my mother's maternal cousin."
35. He jumped down from the horseback and said: "Mount and help her mount! Her leg is wounded (lit. 'taken') by the rock." Good job, *so* he was a rebel!
36. I took the girl's hand. God is the witness, I saw that the girl does not [want to] mount. "Girl, mount!" I said and got hold of her shinbone and helped her mount, [then] I took the horse's bridle (lit. 'head'), and we set off. Babali and I were walking ahead and kept talking. Sahand went his own way.
37. He said: "I won't take you to Mahalla,[20] for if I do, the gentlemen will recognize [us?] and they will expect a [wedding] feast. Do you have [any] money?" I said: "I have none, I am not well-off."

[19] *Ilāt* can be interpreted as the residents of Ilātkhel, stated in the previous paragraph, or a gypsy. Ilātlkhel may simply be a gypsy camp.

[20] Mahalla, treated here as a proper toponym, is used also throughout Mazandaran and Gilan as a suffix signifying any small settlement, e.g. Tork-mahalla in paragraph 42.

38. He said: "Good, keep on going along this same road. I am going home." He added: "Don't worry, [just] go!" I told myself: "Well, having led me astray, he plans to send people after [us] and get the woman out of my hands."—He did not, well done!
39. She and I went on until we happened upon a mountain. This time we realized that it was not possible to carry on. It had gotten dark [already]. The trail was a bit downhill. We had lost the goddamn road.
40. I said: "O Baji, you stay awake. I want to drop off." I lay down and fell asleep. While sleeping she took off her kerchief from her head and coverd mine. When I woke up, I said: "Your head without a cover in this [unsafe] roadway?" She said: "No way, you were sleeping, you would catch a cold. I stayed awake."
41. The day came out. We hadn't even made a fire. I was lying on her lap. All I could understand was that I [should] want not to go any further. In the same way as I had taken her, I kept her intact.
42. Let it be known to you that the next morning we moved downhill onto the road. We kept going until we reached a hamlet. That was Tork-mahalla, [which] has long-gowned [residents], who come to Mazandaran[21] [in winters].
43. There was a single *qeran* in my pocket. I took the coin and told a woman: "Sister, we are hungry; what kind of warm food do you have?" She brought [us] tandouri bread. I said: "Any soup, sour milk, yogurt — nothing is here? We can't eat plain [bread]." [Her] husband said: "Make soup and bring it for them." She fetched [us] soup. We ate soup and bread. We ate and left.
44. May Mirza Aqa's soul rest in peace! Mirza Aqa Vandad and Mash Rajab and some fifteen horsemen came. Mash Rajab was then the chief shepherd of Vandad. He cried: "So, boy, *you* kidnapped and brought the girl?" "Yes," I answered. He [Mash Rajab] told [Vandad]: "Sir, write a letter to the clergyman, [telling him it is alright] to conclude a marriage contract. [If not,] no contract will be made." On horseback Vandad wrote [the letter] and said: "Boy, she doesn't have a husband, does he?" "No," I replied. "Girl, don't you have a husband?" "No, I am (lit. 'was') single," she replied.
45. We took his letter to the clergyman. May his soul be in peace, he said: "Where is her birth certificate, child? Your birth certificate is in my possession, has she got none?" I said: "Sir, I haven't laid a hand on her. I have brought her to you safe and sound to marry her. I didn't behave unmanly. Sir, [now] it's your turn." When I said it this way, he concluded the marriage contract and said: "Good, fetch [me] her birth certificate later. When you come into terms [with bride's family]. I must see her documents."

[21] Mazandaran in this sense means the lowlands of the province.

46. Mash Rajab was a valiant man. My father-in-law and he were close friends. I saw that he told me: "Cousin, I'll go to Mash Gholam Hoseyn to reunite you [two], the son-in-law and father-in-law."
47. Now some six months had elapsed. We set off. Mash Gholam Hoseyn was inside smoking a water pipe. The two men went in. I was sitting outside.
48. The mother-in-law came to me and said: "He will hit you, don't go in!" I said: "He can't hit me, he has no nerve to hit [somebody]. I'll grasp his hand and hold it. I won't let [him] hit me."
49. I sat next to her for a while. Well, Mash Rajab began saying that "I have brought Ali to you." He said: "Don't bring him to me! Right, there was a woman and he took her. I can't see him [any more]." [Mash Rajab] said: "I brought him for a reconciliation." "No, it's absolutely impossible."
50. I was brave—O dear! He did wrong himself. He himself promised me a wife in the outset. He himself destroyed [his] self-made bridge. He destroyed, I rectified.[22]
51. I went and hugged his neck and said: "Do you forgive me? If you do, you do; if not, let it be so." I sat down and saw tears were running down in drops [from] the man's eyes. He was crying.
52. The man was well known. Well, this way his reputation faded. He tried to cheat me; he ended up being the loser.
53. The tip of the lofty mountain became my abode.
    No letter came from my beloved.
    No letter reached me to read,
    For my heart to rest in peace.
54. Now I have a surgical operation performed on her eyes. Both eyes. She is in the town staying with my son. [When] I go there to visit her, she says: "Ali, is it you? Why don't you take me home?" I say: "No, stay here for they take good care of you."
55. Now I have no sorrow. Wolves killed some seventy sheep [of mine]—this gentleman is an eyewitness. I told [myself]: "May it be considered as a ransom for the head of my wife and children! If I stay alive, I'll begin saving once more; if not, may it be so! God is the supplier."
56. Last night I had decided to come to your visit.
    The horse threw me off and my hand was injured.
    I hanged my arm around my neck,
    With the broken arm I'll come to your presence.
57. Drizzle in the evening.
    The cattle came to the ranch without the herder.
    I'd beat up the churning barrel made from acer [type of wood].
    I'd bring [the barrel] moan like the galesh [himself].

[22]Or "I abducted [her]."

Text II

1. bandɛ, Ali-e Xoršidiān, gāleš hassɛmɛ, māldār hassɛmɛ. mɛn — arz hākɛnɛm — emsāl navɛd darɛmbɛ. Rezā qoldor biamuɛ A:mɛd Šā-e das-je šāi-rɛ baitɛ o vɛrɛ rāi hākɛrdɛ xārejɛ, mɛn ponza sāl dāštɛmɛ. ɛsā hesāb hākɛn!
2. jɛngɛlbān biamuɛ injɛ, bā^{u}tɛ, "te sen čand ɛ?" bāutɛmɛ, "navɛd." bāutɛ, "tɛ navɛd navoni, tɛ sarhāl i." bāutɛmɛ ke "mɛn binjkari dani bimɛ, til me ling-ɛ baxore. mɛn gō-e tāzɛ māss-ɛ xordɛmo, vɛne karɛ-rɛ xordɛmo, saršir xordɛmo."
3. vɛšun bɛnā bɛ xandɛ bakɛrdɛn. bāutɛmɛ, "xandɛ nɛdānnɛ! mɛn rāhāt bimɛ, rāhāti dāštɛmɛ." arz hākɛnɛm, ruz-i haft pɛštɛ, hašt pɛšte vāš geitɛmɛ gug vesse yārdɛmɛ. on-mōqe sad-tā, debis-tā gō dāštɛmɛ. mɛn varzeškār bimɛ.
4. dɛvāzda:-tā olād xɛdā mɛrɛ hɛdā^{ɛ}, panš-tā rikā hassɛnɛ, čār-tā kijā—nō-tā. sɛ-tā xāk hɛdāmɛ. dɛ-tā pesɛr xāk hɛdāmɛ, ɛttā kijā. ɛsā hamɛ me pali-je burdɛnɛ. čār-tā Sāri darɛnnɛ, dɛ-tā Kɛrdɛxel. in ɛttā kijā me pali bamundessɛ. on-mōqe hamɛ ɛttā jā daimi. hamɛ bā-ham daimi. pesɛrun zan ke vardɛnɛ piɛr-je sɛvā binɛ. ɛttā rikā piɛr-e pali mundessɛ.
5. arz hākɛnɛm, emsāl pɛnjāh o pan^{j} sāl ɛ ke in melk darɛmbɛ—Xɛrimɛsarsɛre. piɛr o mār-e hamɛ-rɛ xɛdā biāmɛrze o šɛme raftɛgānn-ɛ. vɛšun hamin Saydɛ Qāsem darɛnnɛ. vɛšune melk ɛm hamin-jɛ biɛ. hamin-jɛ dainɛ.
6. ɛmā asl-ɛš māl-e Pājimiunɛ bimi—Dɛdongɛ. Dɛdongɛi bimi. emumi Māzɛndɛrun. injɛ-rɛ kerāyɛ kɛrdɛmi ɛrbābun-je. mɛn hamin melk—arz hākɛnɛm—sāl-i dɛvāzda: mɛn karɛ o dɛvāzda:-tā māss jolɛ ɛrbābun-rɛ dāmɛ, bā saršir o bā karɛ vɛne sar dāmɛ ɛrbābun-rɛ.
7. eslā^{h}āt-e arzi baiɛ, Šā—xɛdā vɛrɛ biāmɛrze—vɛ ɛrbābun-e das-je zaminā-rɛ baxriɛ. ɛrbāb-rayɛti az-beyn burdɛ. ay ɛrbābun ɛmārɛ bāutɛnɛ, "ame vesse dige karɛ niārin! age biārin šɛmārɛ venɛ pul hādim. melk-ɛ ame das-je baitɛnɛ."
8. arz hākɛnɛm, ɛmā šeš mā injɛ daimi. injɛ ame qešlāq biɛ. zɛmɛssun injɛ daimi, ay tābɛssun šimi Dɛdongɛ—yelāq. sɛ šō, čār šō, rā xɛt bimi, rā hamɛ jɛngɛl biɛ. čār šabɛndɛruz, piādɛ bā māl o zan o vačun, hamɛ piādɛ šimi. Fɛrim-sarā rā-rɛ geitɛmi, šimi Ferim-sarā, Pājimiunɛ. unjɛ sɛre-zendɛgi dāštɛmi. yɛk mā unjɛ daimi, hɛvā ke garm biɛ, šimi Tupsɛre, Goxārun, Sangšur—inān tɛlār-e esm hassɛ.
9. har xānɛvār-i—arz hākɛnɛm—debis-tā, sisad-tā, čārsad-tā gō dāštɛ. az pɛnjā-tā kamtɛr kas-i nɛdāštɛ. ɛmā faqɛt karɛ rutɛmi. šir-rɛ tɛlɛm zumi, karɛ geitɛmi. dū ambes kɛrdɛmi, vardɛmi Sāri rutɛmi. rā xale dur biɛ, natunessɛmi māss o šir barušim. ɛsā ɛm hamun hassɛ, hej farq nakɛrdɛ.
10. tur-je kašimi. tur-tɛrāzi dāštɛmi. Sāri, ɛttā Mammɛd yaxi biɛ. vɛrɛ xɛdā biāmɛrze, čande xār-e mardi biɛ! bāutɛ, "te asb-e bār čeči ɛ?" bāutɛmɛ,

"karɛ." bāutɛ, "mɛrɛ nadeni?" bāutɛmɛ, "biārdɛmɛ barušɛm." bāutɛ, "bār bair!" bār ke baitɛmɛ, dɛ-tā panʲ-mɛn-e xik binɛ. mɛn tā burdɛmɛ kālɛmsɛrā asb-ɛ davɛndɛm beɛm, badimɛ vɛ da: mɛn rāqunn-ɛ bakɛšiɛ.

11. bāutɛ, "čand mɛn ɛ?" bāutɛmɛ, "da: mɛn." bāutɛ, "da: mɛn o nim baiɛ." bāutɛmɛ, "tur-tɛrazi-je bakɛšimɛ! tɛ hamun da: mɛn hesāb hākɛn. nim mɛn tɛ."
12. sad o bis mɛn karɛ biɛ sad o bis tɛmɛn. ɛsā hesāb hāken čand sāl-e piš hassɛ. alān yɛk kilo karɛ hassɛ sɛ-hɛzār tɛmɛn. in sɛ-hɛzār tɛmɛn ɛsā qand-čāi navonɛ. un sad o bis tɛmɛnn-ɛ mɛn si dafɛ qand-čāi g^{e}itɛmo, ay ezāfɛ emu^{e}. ɛsā zɛmunɛ xɛrāb baiɛ.
13. arz hākɛnɛm, xāssɛmi burim yelāq. in tɛlār hamin-jɛ daiɛ. ay kɛrdɛxeliā emunɛ intā-rɛ xɛrāb kɛrdɛnɛ. vɛne čū-mū-rɛ geitɛnɛ, taš-e vesse.
14. enqelāb baiɛ tā ɛsā mɛn injɛ-je tɛkun naxɛrdɛmɛ. hamin-jɛ bamundesseme. Pājimiunɛ namundesseme. unjɛ ame zist naiɛ. varf xale kɛrdɛ. varf kɛrdɛ natunessɛmi unjɛ bamundim. hamin-jɛ mundɛgār baimɛ.
15. arz hākɛnɛm, sāl-e čel o dɛ, ame ra:bar o inā hākɛrdɛnɛ jɛngɛll-ɛ milli. milli ke hākɛrdɛnɛ dōre-ye Šā, bāutɛnɛ, "āqāyon! gō-e čār-tɛmɛn o panʲ-zār ɛmārɛ bāj hādin!—gɛsbɛnd ponza-zār. in melk šɛmesse hassɛ. čerā-e šɛme dom."
16. tɛmom baiɛ dige. čār-tɛmɛn o panʲ-zār baitɛnɛ. dige kas-i haq nɛdāštɛ bie ameje bāj bɛxā^{e}. māl-e ɛmā baiɛ. in čār-tɛmɛn o panʲ-zār ezāfɛ ham naiɛ. hamun ɛttā dafɛ baitɛnɛ— zamon-e Šā. in melk-ɛ ɛm ame es^{m} sabt hākɛrdɛno ɛmārɛ parvānɛ hɛdānɛ.
17. bɛmunɛ injɛ—hamun Šā-e dōre, vɛ daiɛ. biamunɛ burɛn injɛ jɛngɛll-ɛ bazɛnɛn. bāutɛmɛ, "pɛnjā hektār zamin mɛrɛ hādin! mɛ^{n} še gō-rɛ rušɛmbɛ; gɛsbɛnd-ɛ dārmɛ, dassi xɛrāk dɛmbɛ." vɛšun bāutɛnɛ, "xayle xāb!" pāinn-ɛ tuskā bazuno, dige injɛ-rɛ nieštɛmɛ. bazunɛ—boldezer bazunɛ, nieštɛmɛ dɛkāren.
18. mɛrɛ, ɛsā, āqāyon—Jum^{h}uri Eslāmi—bɛmunɛ dɛm-bɛ-dɛm, xānnɛ ke mɛrɛ berim hākɛnɛn. bāutɛmɛ, "mɛn raftɛgār nimɛ. haminti age xānni mɛrɛ bakušin, hamin tɛlār dele mɛrɛ bakušin. bielin me sar xɛrāb bavo^{e}. zɛnā-mardi hamin-jɛ bamirim. hej-jā našumbɛ!"
19. vɛšun me das šekāyɛt hākɛrdɛno Tirun-je bāzras biārdɛnɛ. bāzras ke biārdɛnɛ, bāutɛmɛ, "pesɛr, piɛr, bɛrār! meje čeči xānni?" bāutɛ, "če našuni? te pesɛr burdo tɛ našuni?"
20. bāutɛmɛ, "pesɛr nā parvānɛ dāštɛ, nā—arz hākɛnɛm—hečči nɛdāštɛ. mɛn vɛrɛ biārdɛmɛ še pali. in ande zaminn-ɛ hɛdāmɛ vɛrɛ. xā, šɛmā bɛmuni o vɛrɛ yor hākɛrdɛni. da: melyun, panʲ melyun, pul hɛdāni, vɛ burdɛ. mɛn našumbɛ. mɛn pul nɛxāmbɛ. mɛn hamin zaminn-ɛ xāmbɛ. hamin-jɛ xāmbɛ davoɛm. panš-tā pesɛr-rɛ bisɛvād hākɛrdɛmɛ bɛrā-ye dom. čār-tā dɛtɛr-rɛ bisɛvād hākɛrdɛmɛ bɛrā-ye dom. me vačun age dars baxundess^{e} bon, šāyɛd šɛmeje bālātɛr bi bon, mɛn inti asir nai bi bom."

21. badimɛ rais vɛšunrɛ bāutɛ, "āqāyon! šɛmā bāutɛni vɛ zur gɛno. vɛ harf-i zandɛ az ru mantɛq-i zandɛ. qašeng gɛnɛ."
22. xā, ɛsā, me rezāyɛtt-ɛ xāssɛnɛ hāsel hākɛnɛn. "xā, ɛsā, tɛ rezāyɛt čande hassɛ?" bāutɛmɛ, "mɛn dɛvāzda:-emāmi mɛ. dɛvāzda: melyon gɛrɛmbɛ šumbɛ." bāutɛ, "ɛsā čand geini?" bāutɛmɛ, "ɛsā tɛ tašrif baiti biārdi, ɛsā biss o panʲ melyon gɛrɛmbɛ šumbɛ!" bāutɛ, "xa, āqāyon, vɛne rezāyɛt-rɛ hāsel hākɛnin! vɛrɛ bielin hamin-jɛ davoe."
23. in ame harf baio me sargozešt!
24. dige nafɛs nɛdārɛmbɛ. on-mōqe, domād hākɛrdɛnɛ, dainɛ vardɛnɛ Kɛrdɛxel-je Sāri, bavɛrɛn hambom, Kɛrdɛxel lalɛ-rɛ tek hāitɛmɛ, bavɛrdɛmɛ Sāri-e hambom. domād tann-ɛ bašosso vɛne tannɛ lebās dapušino, mɛn haminti bazumɛ, lalɛ bazumɛ. ay emumi tā Kɛrdɛxel, nossendimɛ. assɛn vel nakɛrdɛmɛ, haminti piādɛ-piādɛ. un zamon māšin kɛjɛ dai biɛ! xɛdā biāmɛrze Rezā Šā o vɛne vačɛ-rɛ ke mamlɛkett-ɛ obād hākɛrdɛnɛ.

The Gālesh Resists Evacuation of the Forest

1. I am Ali Khorshidian, a galesh, a livestock owner. I would like to bring it to your attention that I am ninety this year. When Reza the bully came and took the kingship from Ahmad Shah's hand and sent him abroad,[23] I was fifteen. You may figure now [how old I am].
2. A forester came here and said: "How old are you?" "Ninety," I replied. He said: "You don't look ninety, you are robust." I said: "I was not in the business of planting the rice [so] that the mud would eat up my feet [in the fields]. I ate fresh cow yogurt, its butter and heavy cream."
3. They began to laugh. I said: "Why [are you] laughing? I was comfortable; I had comfort." I should say that every day I would [gather] seven or eight loads of fodder and bring it for the cattle. Those days I had a couple of hundred cows. I was a sportsman.
4. God gave me twelve children, five sons and four daughters—nine altogether. I have given three to the earth—two sons and one daughter. They have all left. Four are in Sari, two in Kordkheyl. This one daughter has stayed with me. Those times we were all living together. As the sons married they would leave Father; [only] one son would stay with Father.
5. I should add that this year is the 55th year since I am in this property: the estate of Kherimesar. May God pardon everyone's parents—as well as your deceased ones. They (my parents) are [right] here, [buried] in Sayd Qasem [cemetery]. Their estate too was here. They were right here.

[23] Ahmad Shah was dethroned by the Constituent Assembly in December 1925 and Reza Shah's coronation was in April 1926. Despite the fact that Reza Shah is referred to in this paragraph with the derogatory title *Rezā qoldor*, the speaker praises him throughout the rest of the account.

6. We were originally from Pajimiāna, [in the district of] Dodānga—we were Dodanga'is. We used to come to Mazandaran, and we would rent [the forest] here from the landowners. From the very same property—I would say—I would pay the landlords twelve maunds[24] of butter and twelve pots of yogurt, topped with butter and cream [each year].
7. When the Land Reforms came to pass, the Shah—may God bless his soul—bought the lands from the landowners. Serfdom was abolished. Then the landlords told us: "Don't bring us butter any more; if you do so, we have to pay you [in return]. The lands are confiscated from our hands."
8. We would stay here for six months. Our winter camp was here; we would spend winter here. Then again we would summer in Dodanga, the summer camp. We would spend three to four nights along the road which passed through the forest. Four days and nights, on foot with kith and kin, we would all walk along the paths. We would take the road to Ferim[25] and would go to Ferimsarā, Pajimiana. There we had a dwelling. We would spend a month there and as the air would turn warm we would set off for Tup-sere, Gokhārun, and Sangshur. These are all the names of the herders' stations.
9. Each household had 200, 300, or 400 cows, [but] none had less than fifty. We would just sell butter. We churned the milk and extracted butter. We would harden the sour milk, take it to, and sell it in Sari. The road was very long and we could not sell yogurt and milk. It is the same way now without any change.
10. We would weigh with the axe. We had "axe"-weighing scales. There was a certain Mohammad Yakhi [in] Sari. May God bless his soul—how good a man he was! Once he told [me]: "What is your horse-load?" "Butter," I replied. "Won't you give [it to] me?" "I have brought to sell it," I said. "Unload it," he demanded. I did so, and it was two sheepskin loads, five maunds [15 kg/33 lb] each. As soon as I went to the stable to tie my horse, in my return I saw that he had weighed the ten maunds of ghee.
11. "How may maunds is it?" he asked. "Ten maunds," I answered. "It turned out to be ten and a half maunds." I said: "I weighed using the axe-scale. You just pay for the ten maunds; the [extra] half maund [be] you[rs]."
12. A 120 maunds [660 kg/792 lb] of butter cost 120 tumans, now figure how many years ago it was. Now a kilo [2.2 lb] of butter costs 3,000 tumans [30,000 Rials], and this amount does not even buy sugar and tea. Those 120 tumans would be more than enough for me to buy sugar and tea thirty times. Times are tough now.
13. As I was saying, [when] we wanted to move to the summer camp, [we had to leave behind] this hut right here. Then the villagers from Kodkheyl would come and destroy it, just to take away its wood for fuel.

[24]A maund is 3 kg/6.6 kg.
[25]Lit. "the seat of Ferim"; cf. Perrim in the *Hodud*.

14. [Since] the Revolution [of 1979] I have not moved from here. I have stayed here [all these years]. I did not stay in Pajimiana, [my birthplace]. Over there is not our habitat. It snowed a lot, thus we could not stay there long. We ended up residing here for good.
15. [In the Persian] year of [13]42 (i.e. 1963), our leader and his people nationalized the forests. Having done so, they told [the herders]: "Gentlemen! Pay us a fee of four tumans and five rials (i.e. 4 1/2 tumans) for every head of cattle; for a sheep—15 rials. [After all] this is *your* land, the pasture of your livestock."
16. [Once we paid the fee,] it was over. They collected 4 1/2 tumans [per head of cattle]. No one had the right to come and ask for a fee any longer. It (i.e. the lot in the forest) became ours. The [fee of] 4 1/2 tumans was not even increased [afterwards]. They collected only that very first time—in the Shah's era. This estate was registered under our names and we were granted the permit [for grazing our livestock].
17. They came here in the same Shah's reign—he was [king]. They came aiming to cut off the woods. I said: "Give me [at least] fifty hectares [123.5 acres] of land; I'll sell my cattle and keep the sheep [just to] hand-feed them [instead of letting them eat the trees]." "All right," they said. They planted alder trees on the lower [wooded] areas, but I didn't let [them sow] here. They did run bulldozers, [but] I didn't let them plant.
18. Now, the gentlemen—the Islamic Republic—have visited time after time to force me out [of the forest]. "I am not the type of person who would leave," I said. "Should you wish to kill me, do it right here, in this same hut. Let it collapse over me—we the husband and wife are going to die right here. We are not going anywhere."
19. They (the foresters) filed a lawsuit against me and brought auditors from Tehran. When they did so, I said: "Son, father, brother! What do you want from me?" He said: "Why don't you go? Your son has gone, why don't you?"
20. I said: "[My] son had neither a permit nor anything else. *I* brought him to stay with me and gave him so much land. Right, you came and expelled him; you offered five million [tumans and then] ten million [100 million Rials], and he left. I won't go. I don't want the money. All I want is this land. I want to stay right here. I kept (lit. 'made') five sons illiterate for the livestock—and four daughters. Had my children stayed in school, they could have been superior even to you and I would not become confined as I am."
21. I noted that the chief [auditor] told them (i.e. the forest rangers): "Gentlemen! You said he was imposing on us. His words are logical and he says it nicely."
22. Now they wanted to obtain my consent. "OK, how much does your consent cost [us]?" I said: "I am a twelver Shiite; I will receive twelve million [120 million Rials] and will go." "Now how much are you asking for?" he said. "Now that you kindly paid a visit, I would get 25

million [250 million Rials] and go," I replied. He said: "All right, gentlemen! Attain his consent [or] let him stay here."

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

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

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

Glossary

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

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

[26]Mazandaranis show a particular pride toward Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was born in Alāsht, an upland village in Mazandaran, and launched extensive reforms throughout the province.

[27]E.g. Maz. *bɛlɛndi* ~ Pers. *bolandi* 'height', *šā(i)* ~ *šāh(i)* 'king(ship)', *dɛvāẓda*: ~ *davāẓdah* 'twelve', *olād* ~ *owlād* "offspring".

[28]Some verb stems appear in two variants, with *a* when the stem is stressed and ɛ when it is not. The vowel variation in the stems *gɛ-* ~ *go-*, *xɛr-* ~ *xor-*, *xɛt* ~ *xot-* implies a mix of dialects.

[29]The alphabetical order of the entries is as follows: *ā/a, b, č, d, e/ɛ/ē, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o/ō, p, q, r, s, š, t, u/ū, v, x, y, ẓ*.

ā O! (I.8, 40)
-ā (emphatic) as in *baxor-ā!* (I.6), *bait bibošem-ā!* (I.7)
abbɛl first (I.50)
ābru dignity (I.52)
ambes thick(en) (II.9)
áme → *ɛmā*
am-peser cousin (I.46)
ánde so much (I.2,11,41–42, II.20), not much (I.16), so long (I.17)
anjili iron tree (I.14,15)
ār- → *yār-*
áre yes, so (I.8,25,28,44,51)
asli tear (I.51)
assen never (II.24)
ašun last night (I.56)
ay then, then again, after, later (I.7,10,13,45, II.7–8,12–13,24) || O! (I.12)
bai-; **vo-** (v.) become (and aux.)—**ba-vo(š)** become!, be! (in *sɛvār bavo(š)* mount! (I.35–36)); **ba-vo-e** (subj. pres.) that it becomes (II.18); **na-vo-ni** you become not (II.2), **vo-ne** he becomes (I.34), **na-vo-nɛ** she becomes not (I.36, II.12); **bai-mɛ** I became (I.17–18,40, II.14), **nai-mɛ** I was/became[30] not (I.18), **bai-ɛ** it became (I.2,7,25,33,43,56, II.7,11–12,14,16), **baio** id. (II.23), **nai-ɛ**[31] it became not (II.14,16), **bai-nɛ** they became (I.25,31); *šō* **bai bi-ɛ** (plup.; lit. "the night had become") it was already night (I.39); **nai bi bo-m** (subj. plup.) I would not have become (II.20)
bair-, **bait-** → *(g)ir-*
bāj tax (II.15,16)
bākkelɛ fava beans (I.6)
bāl arm I.21,22,56
bapɛtɛni cooked meal (I.43). See also *paj-*
bar-da-gɛrd- (v.) return—**bar-dagɛrdess-én** (infinitive) in [our] way back (I.20). See also *gɛrd-*
bāur-, **bāut-** → *gɛ-*
baxš- (v.) forgive—**baxš-ɛni** you forgive (I.22)
bɛnā be begin with—*kijā-rɛ* ~ *barošt*ɛ*n* (I.27), ~ xandɛ bakɛrdɛn (II.3)
bɛnɛ ground (I.21,56); ~ *bɛmu*^{ɛ} he dismounted (I.35); *ruẓ* ~ *hāit*ɛ (lit. "the day seized the ground") the daylight began (I.41)
bɛrār brother (I.5,26,29,33, II.19), **bɛrārun** brothers (I.29)
berim outside, out (I.47, II.18)
bermɛ weeping (I.51)
beru → *e-*

[30]The verbs to be and to become merge in the negative past.

[31]*naie* is the negative for both *bai*ɛ "it became" and *bi*ɛ "it was" (→ *bi-*).

bɛsun similar, like, as (I.57)

bi-, **nai-**; **vo-/bo(š)-** (v.) be (also auxiliary in peripharastic tenses)—**bāš** (in *bidār bāš* stay awake!) be! (I.40), **na-voš** be not! (I.22); **bi-mɛ** I was (I.3–4, 14,22,40–41,44,47,50, II.2–3), **bi-i** you were (I.40), **bi-ɛ** was (I.2,4,8,20,22–23,35,39,41–42,44,46–47,49, II.5,8–10,12,24), **bi-mi** we were (I.4, II.6,8), **bi-nɛ** they were (I.33,46, II.4,10); **nai-mɛ** I was/became not (I.18), **nai-ɛ** it was not (II.14); **bo** – ^{ɛ} (subj. pres. 3rd sg.) (I.1,44), **bo-n** (subj. pres. 3rd pl.) (I.20, II.20); **bi boš-ɛm** (subj. past) I should have (I.7); **bi bo-n** (subj. past) they would have been (II.20)

biāmɛrze (Persian form) may he bless (I.45, passim)

bie → *e-*

binjkari rice cultivation (II.2)

bo- → *bi-*, *bai-*

bur-, **šu-**; **burd-**, **ši-** (v.) go (or aux.)— **bur** go! (I.14,24,30,38), **na-šu** go not! (I.48); **bur-ɛm** that I go (I.42), **bur-im** that we go (II.13), **bur-ɛn** that they go (II.17); **šu-mbɛ** I go (I.30,54, II.22), **šumbo** id. (I.46), **na-šu-mbɛ** I go not (I.29, II.18,20), **dar šú-mbɛ** I am going (I.8,38), **na-šu-ni** you don't go (II.19), **šu-nɛ** he goes (I.51), **dar šú-nɛ** (I.31) she is going; **ši-mi** we used to go (II.8); **burd-ɛmɛ** I went (I.3,8,11–12,15,17,21,31,40, II,10), **burdɛmo** id. (I.18,51), **burd-i** you went (I.30), **burd-ɛ** he went (I.36,52, II.7,20), **burdo** id. (II.19), **burd-ɛmi** we went (I.5,19,23,32,36,39,42–43,47), **burd-ɛnɛ** they went (I.31,47, II.4); **burd bi-mɛ** I had gone (aux.) (I.22,41), **burd bi-ɛ** he had gone (I.22,47), **burd bi-nɛ** they had gone (I.5) || (v. aux.) **burd-im** *bazɛn-im* we were about to beat (I.25). See also *dár-bur-*

čak shinbone (I.36)

čánde how much (I.16,17, II.22), so much (II.10). Also Pers. *čand* how much (II.2)

čarx rotation—*bɛrār*$^{-ɛ}$*~darɛmbi* we are searching for [the] brother (I.33)

čaš fine, okay! (I.26)

če why I.26,28,54, II.19

čeči what (I,6,7,18,43, II.10,19), which (I.34), *~-sse* for what reason (I.28)

češ eye (I.51,54)

četi how (I.12,13)

činɛ curl—*činɛ-bazɛ* curl (of hair) (I.13). See also *zan-*

čū wood (I.27), *~-mū* wood and the kind (II.13)

da, **d(e)-** (preverb) → *i(n)gu-*, *kɛn-*, *kār-*, *kaf-*, *māss-*, *puš-*, *vɛnd-*

da: ten (I.44, passim)

dai- → *dar-*

dāi-pesɛr cousin (I.34)

dam breath (I.11)

dān- → *dār-*

dār tree (I.2,9,10)

dār-; **dāšt-** (v.) have—**dār-mɛ** I have (I.18), **nɛ-dār-mɛ** I have not (I.37), **ne-dār-ɛmbɛ** id. (II.24), **dān-ni** (← *dār-* + *-ni*) you have (I.43), **dān-nɛ** it has (I.24,42), **nɛ-dān-nɛ** she has not (I.24,45,57, II.3), **dār-ɛnni** you have (I.37); **dāšt-ɛmɛ** I had (I.4,30, II.1,3), **nɛ-dāšt-i** you had not (I.44), **dāšt-ɛ** it had (I.19,20,26,52 II.9), **nɛ-dāšt-ɛ** it had not (II.,16,20), **dāšt-ɛmi** we had (II.8,10); **nɛ-dāšt bo** (subj. past, Pers. *nadāšta bāšad*) she might not have (I.44) || hold—**dār-mɛ** I hold/keep (I.48, II.17), **dāšt-ɛmɛ** I held (I.41)

dar-; **davo-**; **dai-** (v.) be in, exist (existential/locative verb)—**da-voš** be in! (I.54); **da-vo-ɛm** that I exist (II.20), **da-vo-e** that he be in (I.18, II.22); **dar-ɛmbɛ** I exist, I am in (I.29, II.1,5), **dar-mɛ** I exist (I.28), **dar-ɛ** it is in (I.5,45,54), **dar-ɛmbi** we are in (I.33), **dar-ɛnnɛ** they are in (II.4,5); **dai-mɛ** I was in/there (I.17), **dai-ɛ** it/he was in (I.23,33,43,47, II.13,17), **dai-mi** we were in (II.4,8), **dai-nɛ** they were in (I.8, II.5); **dai-**^{ɛ} **bi-ɛ** (plup.) it had been there (II.24), **dani bi-me**[32] I was not in (II.2), **dani bi-nɛ** they were not there (I.5) || aux. in progressive formation[33]—**dar** *šú-mbɛ* I am going (I.8,38), **dar** *šú-nɛ* he is going (I.31), **dar-nɛ** *yār-*[ɛ*n*]*nɛ* they are bringing (I.8); **dai-ɛ** ... *pat-ɛ* she was coockig (I.6), **dai-nɛ** *vard-ɛnɛ* they were carrying (II.24)

dar-ār-; **-ārd-** (v.) pull out—**dar-bi-ārd-ɛmɛ** I took out (I.16). See also *ār-*

dar-bur- (v.) go out—**dár-bur-im** that we go out (I.39). See also *bur-*

dar-e-; **-emu-** (v.) come in/out—**dar-b-ɛmu-mi** we came out (I.32) || (aux. verb) **dar-b-ɛmu-ɛ** *bāut*ɛ (for Pers. *dar-āmad goft*) he said unexpectedly (I.49). See also *e-*

das(s) hand (I.38, passim); *yɛk-~i* one handed (I.21)

dāšt- → *dār-*

davo- → *dar-*

dɛ(tā) two (I.2, passim)

de-; **dā-** (v.) give—**hā-d**^{ɛ}**-in** give ye! (II.15,17); **hā-d(e)-ɛm** that I give (I.46,57), **hā-d-im** that we give (I.18,22,25, II.7); **de-mbɛ** I give (II.17), **dembo** id. (I.16), **na-de-ni** you (sg.) give not (II.10), **de-mbi** we give (I.29), (**na-**)**de-nnɛ** they pay (not) (I.16); **dā-me** I used to give (II.6), **dā-nɛ** they would give (I.17); **hɛ-dā-mɛ** I gave (I.10–11,24,30, II.4,20), **nɛ-dā-i** you gave not (I.28), **hɛ-dā-(ɛ)** he gave (I.17,50, II.4), **nɛ-dā-**^{ɛ} he gave not (I.25), **hɛ-dā-mi** we gave (I.19), **hɛ-dā-ni** you (pl.) gave (II.20), **hɛ-dā-nɛ** they gave (I.29, II.16) || aux. (without preverb)—**ba-d-im** that we give (I.49); **bɛ-dā-mɛ** I gave (I.21), **bɛ-dā-**^{ɛ} it gave (I.31)

debis two hundred (II.3,9)

Dɛdongɛ (toponym) Dodānga, mountainous district located south of Sāri (II.6,8), *~i* of or related to D. (II.6)

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[32] *dani-bim*ɛ is the negative for both *daim*ɛ (preterit) and *dai-bim*ɛ (pluperfect).

[33] Note that the main verb always conjugates (in the present or preterit tenses), while the conjugation of the auxiliary is optional.

dele inside (I.47,48)
-dele (postp.) in, inside (I.40,42, II.18)
deler I.50
dɛm— ~ *hɛdāmɛ* I tossed (I.11,21)
-dɛmbāl (postp.) after (I.26), looking after (I.31)
dɛmbāl-sar chasing (I.38)
dem-be-dem time after time (II.18)
dɛru lie— ~ *ẓandi* you are lying (I.33)
dɛtɛr daughter (I.33, II.20)
diārigiri from afar (I.4)
dim face, side, in *un-*~ across (I.21)
dom livestock (II.15,20)
domād groom (II.24)
dū sour milk (I.43, II.9)
dunɛ rice (I.23)
duš shoulder (I.10,11,33)
duš- (v.) milk—**na-duš** milk not! (I.26), **ba-duš-ɛm** that I milk (I.26), **na-duš-ɛm** that I milk not (I.26), **na-duš-ɛmbɛ** I don't milk (I.26)
ɛ → *hass-*
-ɛ → -(*r*)ɛ
-ē (indefinite suffix) one, a—*gō-ē* a cow (II.15), *kall*ɛ*-ē* each head (I.19), *āš-ē*, *dū-ē*, *māss-ē* any soup, sour milk, yogurt (I.43). Cf. *-i*
e-; **emu-** (v.) come—**beru** (irregular) come! (I.5,14,16); **b-e-ɛm/biɛm** that I come (I.56, II.10), **bi-e** that she comes (I.21, II.16), **e-mbɛ** I come (I.30,56), **n-e-ni** you come not (I.16), **e-nnɛ** they come (I.42); **emu-**^{ɛ} it would come (II.12), **emu-mi** we would come (II.4,24), **emu-nɛ** they would come (II.13); **bi-amu-mɛ** I came (I.49), **b-ɛmu-mɛ** id. (II.17,18), **bi-amu(-ɛ)** he came (I.13,48,57, II.1,2), **b-ɛmu(-ɛ)** id. (I.12-13,23,35), **b-ɛmu-mi** we came (I.22,42), **b-ɛmu-ni** you came (II.20), **bi-amu-nɛ** they came (I.13,26,31,44, II.17), **b-ɛmu-nɛ** id. (I.29). See also *dar-e-*
efrā maple/acer tree (I.57)
el-; **ešt-** (v.) allow—**bi-el-in** let ye! (II.18,22); **ni-el-ɛmbɛ** I let not; **bi-ešt-ɛmo** I allowed (I.21), **ni-ešt-ɛmɛ** I did not let (II.17), **ni-ešt-ɛ** he did not let (I.27) ‖ place—**bi-el-e** that he puts (I.52); **bi-ešt-ɛmɛ** I placed (I.10,11,21)
-ɛm (emphatic) too, also (I.11,31,35,41, II.5,9,16)
ɛmā (pers. pron.) we (I.4,10,13,18,32,33,43,47, II.6,8,9,16), **ɛmāre** (accusative) (I.43,II.7,15,16); **āme** (possessive) our (I.18,24,31, II.7,8,14–16,23); **āmeje** (locative) from us II.16
ɛmɛ → *hass-*
ɛrbābun landowners (II.6,7)
ɛsā now (I.1,18,22,25,47,55, II.1,4,9,12,14,18,22)
essā standing; ~ *bim*ɛ I was standing (I.14)

-(e)sse → *-vesse*
eškɛ**n-**; **ešk**ɛ**ss-** (v.) break— **b-ešk**ɛ**ss-é** (p.p.) broken (I.56)
ešnās- (v.) know, recognize—**ešnās-ɛmbɛ** I know (I.34), **ešnās-ɛni** you know (I.34); **b-ešnās-ɛnɛ** that they recognize (I.37)
ɛttā one (I.2, passim), **ɛttā-kam** a bit (I.39), **ɛttā-kami** for a while (I.49)
ezzār elm tree (I.2)
fam-; **famess-** (v.) understand—**bɛ-famess-ɛmɛ** I realized (I.13)
Fɛrim (toponym) sub-district in Dodānga (II.8); ~*-sarā* region in Fɛrim (II.8)
gab speech— ~ *ẓumi* we were chatting (I.36), ~ *ẓann*ɛ they are talking (I.18)
gāleš herder (I.8,57, II.1), ~*ā* herders (I.20)
gali throat (I.56)
gɛ-, **bāur-**; **gɛt-**, **bāut-** (v.) say— **bāur** say! (I.31), **nā**^{u}**r** say not! (I.26); **gɛ-mbɛ** I say (I.54), **gɛ-nɛ** (s)he says (I.54, II.21), **gɛ-no** id. (II.21), **gɛ-nnɛ** they say (I.18); **gɛt-ɛnɛ** they would say; **bāut-ɛmɛ** I said (I.6–10,12,14,16,18,24,26,29–31,34,36–38,40,43–44,46,49,54, II.2–3,8–9,14–17,22), **bāut-ɛ** he said (I.5, passim), **bāut-eni** you said (II.21), **bāut-ɛnɛ** they said (I.10,24–25, II.7,15,17)
gɛndɛlig round and heavy (I.8)
gɛr-, **ir-**; **(ge)it-** (v.) get, take, seize—**ba-ir** get! (I.6,8,30, II.10), **ba-i**^{r} *biār* fetch! (I.43,45); **ba-ir-ɛm** that I get (I.14), **ba-ir-e** that he takes (I.38), **ba-ir-im** that we get (I.18); **gɛr-ɛmbɛ** I get (I.8,II.22), **gɛrɛmbo** id. (I.48), **gei**^{r}**-ni**[34] you get (II.22); **geit-ɛmɛ** I used to get (II.3), **g**^{c}**it-ɛmo** id. (II.12), **geit-ɛmi** we would take (II.8–9), **geit-ɛnɛ** they would take (II.13); **ba-it-ɛmɛ** I got (I.8,27,36,43, II.10), **baitɛmo** id. (I.12,36), **ba-it-i** you got (I.26), **ba-it-i** *biārdi* you fetched (you took [and] brought [it]) (II.22), **ba-it-ɛ** he got (or aux.) (I.13, 26–27, II.1), **baito** id. (I.23,40), **ba-it-o/ɛ** *biārd*ɛ she fetched (I.43), *qod* **na-it-ɛ** *v*ɛ*šunr*ɛ (lit. 'the power did not get them') they had not enough strength (I.8), **ba-it-ɛnɛ** they got (II.7,16) **na-it-ɛnɛ** they got not (I.25); **ba-it bi boš-ɛm** I should have taken (I.7) ‖ aux. — **ba-it-ɛ** *aqd hāk*ɛ*rdo* he proceeded with concluding the marriage (I.45) ‖ (aux. v. with the preverb *hā-*)—*lal*ɛ*-r*ɛ *tek* **hā-it-ɛmɛ** I took the flute to my lips (II.24), *sar* **hā-it-ɛ** she took [it] on the head (I.19), *duš* **hā-it-ɛ(mi)** he (we) took [it] on the shoulder (I.19,22), *b*ɛ*n*ɛ **hā-it-ɛ** (→ *b*ɛ*n*ɛ) (I.41)
gɛrd- (v.) turn—**ba-gɛrd-ɛm** I turn around (I.50). See also *bar-da-gɛrd-*
gɛsbɛnd sheep (I.24,55, II.15,17)
gɛvā witness (I.30,36)
gō cow, cattle (I.24,26,57, II.2,3,9,15,17)
Goxārun (toponym; with the components *gō* "cow" + *xār* "eat" + suffix *-un*) summer hamlet in highlands if Dodānga (II.8)

[34]For the irregularity, see H. Borjian, "Personal endings in Eastern Māzandarāni verbs" (in Persian), *Dialectology/ Guyesh-shenāsi* 2.1 (2005): 13–19, esp. para. 7.1.

gozer- (v.) forgive—**gozɛr-ni** you forgive (I.51), **na-gozɛr-ni** you forgive not (I.51)
gug calf (II.3)
gum lost (I.33,39)
hā- (preverb) → *de-*, *ger-*, *kɛn-*
hāli sober (I.41)
hambom bathhouse (II.24)
hamin this same (I.38, passim); ~*-jɛ* right here (I.4,54, II.5,14,18,20,22)
haminti the same way (I.41); casually (II.18); continually, repeatedly, nonstop (I.36, II.24)
hass-, **ø**- (v.) be (copula pres.)— -(ɛ)**mɛ** I am (I.16,55, II.22), -**i** you are (II.2), -ɛ is (I.6,18,22,24,30,33,36,43,45,49,55, II.2,5,10–11)—**hass-ɛmɛ** I am (I.55, II.1), **hass-i** you are (I.16,34,54), **hass-ɛ** he is (I.6,13,29, II.8–9,12,15,22), **hasso** id. (I.33), **hass-ɛnɛ** they are (II.4)—**ni-mɛ** I am not (I.10,37,55, II.18), **ni-ɛ** he is not (I.48)
hɛ yes!, what! (I.22,30)
hečči nothing, none (I.9,24,43,37,51,55, II.20)
hej any, none (I.4, II.9) ~*jā* nowhere (II.18)
hɛrs torment— *mɛrɛ* ~*baitɛ* I was suffering (I.26)
i → *hass-*
-**i** one, a (indefinite marker) (I.16,29,49, II.3,6,9,16,21). Cf. *-ē*
i(n)gu- (v.) place—**d-ingu-mɛ** I placed (I.56), **d-igu** – ^{ɛ} she placed (I.40)
in (pron.) this (I.1, passim), ~*tā* this one (I.8,13, II.13)
inān these (II.8)
injɛ here (I.13,14,23,28, II.2,6,8,14,17)
inti thus, such, this way (I.6,17,26,31,44–45,52, II.20)
ir-; **it-** → *gɛr-*
jā place (II.4); *hej-*~ nowhere (II.18). See also *-jɛ*
-**jɛ** place → *injɛ*, *unjɛ*, *kɛjɛ*, *hamin*
-**je** (postp.) from (I.1,4,6,7,10,11,14,16,19,24, II.12,35,38,39); with (I.3)
jer under, below— ~ *hākɛrdɛmɛ* I threw (lit. "did") down (I.15)
jif pocket (I.43)
jolɛ bucket (I.26,30, II.6)
kadxɛdā village head (I.23–24)
kaf-; **kát-/kɛt**- (v.) fall, lie (mostly aux.)— *rā* **da-kɛt-ɛmɛ** I hit the road (I.31), *šō* **da-kɛt-ɛmi** (lit. "we fell into the night") nightfall came upon us (I.20), *šō ke* **da-kɛt bi-mi** when we had encountered nightfall (I.21), *šō* **da-kɛt bo-n** had nightfall come upon them (I.20); (p.p. forms) **kát ɛ** it is (lying) there (I.45), **ná-kɛt ɛ** it is not there (I.43)
kajɛk club, mace (I.31)
kākoli forelock; ~*-darɛ* crested, emblazoned with crest (I.13)
kālmɛsɛrā stable (II.10)
kār- (v.) sow—**de-kār-ɛn** that they plant (II.17)
kāregɛr worker, hard-working person (I.18)

kaš-; **kaši**- (v.) weigh—**káši-mi** we would scale (II.10); **ba-kɛši-mɛ** I weighed (II.11), **ba-kɛši-ɛ** he weighed (II.10) ‖ smoke—**kaši-ɛ** he was smoking (I.47); **ba-kɛši-mɛ** I smoked (I.16)
kašɛ bosom, armful— ~ *dakɛrdɛn* to hold in arms (I.51)
katɛl stump of a tree (I.11,13)
ke that, which (I.21, passim); (empatic) (I.44)
kɛjɛ where (II.24); **kɛjāi** provenance of (someone) (I.34). See also *-jɛ*, *jā*
kɛn-; **kɛrd**- (v.) (with the preverb *da-*) poor in; put into— **da-kɛn** pour! (I.29,43); **da-kɛn-ɛm** that I put/pour into (I.6,57); **da-kɛrd-ɛ** she poured (I.29), *kašɛ* **da-kɛrd-ɛmo** I hugged (I.51) ‖ (with the preverb *hā-* or with no preverb) do (often used as an auxialary)—**hā-kɛn** do! (I.31,35, II.1,11–12), **hā-kɛn-in** do ye! (II.22); **hā-kɛn-ɛm** that I do (I.17,30,42,45, II.1,3,5–6,8–9,13,15,20), **hā-kɛn-ɛ** that he does (I.44), **hā-kɛn-im** that we do (I.9–10), **hā-kɛn-in** that you do (I.10,13), **hā-kɛn-ɛn** that they do (I.8,54, II.18,22); **kɛ^{n}-mbɛ** I do (I.55), **na-kɛ^{n}-nnɛ** they do not (I.44); **na-kɛrd-ɛmɛ** I would not do (II.24), **kɛrd-ɛ** it was doing (I.51, II.14), **na-kɛrd-ɛ** he would not do (I.19), **kɛrd-ɛmi** we would do (II.6,9), **kɛrd-ɛnɛ** they would do (II.13); **hā-kɛrd-ɛmɛ** I did (I.7,9–10,15,17,25,50,54, II.20), **hākɛrdɛmo** id. (I.36), **na-kɛrd-ɛmɛ** I did not (I.45), **hā-kɛrd-i** you did (I.33,44), **hā-kɛrd-ɛ** he did (I.1,31,38,50,55, II.1), **hākɛrdo** id. (I.45), **na-kɛrd-ɛ** he did not (I.38, II.9), **hā-kɛrd-ɛni** you did not (I.45, II.20), **hā-kɛrd-ɛnɛ** they did (I.26,29, II.15,24,29), **hākɛrdeno** id. (II.16,19); **hā-kɛrd bi-mo** I had done (I.56), **ba-kɛrd bi-mi** we had done (I.39), **na-kɛrd bimi** we had not done (I.41); **na-kɛrd bo** (subj. past 3rd sg.) (I.1); **ba-kɛrd-ɛn** to do (II.3)
-**kenār** (postp.) by, near (I.8)
kɛne whose (I.33)
kɛrāt a tree with thorn used in fencing (I.21)
kɛš(i)- → *kaš-*
kɛt- → *kaf-*
ki who (I.13,34)
Kiāsar (toponym) village name (I.31)
kijā girl, daughter (I.4,6,23,25–28,33,36,44, II.4)
ku where is (I.45)
kū mountain (I.39)
kuš- (v.) kill — **ba-kuš-in** kill ye! (II.18)
lalɛ flute (II.24)
li lying — ~ *burdɛn* to lie, recline (I.22,40–41)
ling leg (I.35, II.2)
lu — ~ *bur* climb! (I.14), ~ *burdɛmɛ* I climed (I.15)
mā month (I.23,47, II.8)
ma:lɛ small settlement; toponym suffix, as in *Tork-*~ (I.42)
māldār livestock owner (II.1)
mār mother (I.34,48, II.5)

mardi man, husband (I.24,43,51–52, II.10)
māss- (v.) stick—**dɛ-māss-in** you stick to! (I.38), **dɛ-māss-ɛmɛ** I stuck to (I.21,29,36), **dɛ-māss-ɛ** he grabbed (I.22,27)
Māzɛndɛrun (toponym) the rainforest of the northern slopes of Alborz and the plain of Mazandaran (I.6,42)
mɛkɛnā head scarf, wimple (I.40)
mɛ(**n**) (pers. pron.) I (I.3, passim); **me** my (I.12,16,22,26–27,29,31,33–34,40,43,45–46,48–49,52,54–55 II.2,4,18–19,22–23); **mérɛ** me (I.17, passim), **méje** from me (II.19), **mésse** for me (I.8), **mé-vesse** id. (I.15)
mɛn maund (I.16, passim)
mɛrdāl dead (body), corpse (I.55)
mɛz(**z**) wage (I.16,17)
mir-; **mɛrd**- (v.) die—**ba-mir-im** that we die (II.18); **ba-mɛrd-ɛmɛ** I died (I.28-29), **ba-mɛrd-ɛ** he died (I.23). See also *mɛrdāl*
miss fist (I.6)
-miun (postp.) in the middle (I.9)
moxtābād head shepherd (I.44)
mund-; **mundess**- (v.) stay—**ba-mund-im** that we stay (II.14); **mundess-ɛ** he would stay (II.4); **ba-mundess-ɛmɛ** I stayed (II.4,14), **na-mundess-ɛmɛ** I didn't stay (II.14); **mundɛgār** one who stays (II.14)
nā no (I.4,6,10,22,23,39,40,44,49,54, II.20)
nai- → *bi-, bai-*
nāleš moaning (I.57)
nɛmāšun evening (I.13), **nɛmāšunesarā** in the evening (I.57)
nɛvis-; **nɛvɛšt**- (v.) write—**ba-n^{ɛ}vis** write! (I.44); **ba-nɛvɛšt-o** he wrote (I.44)
ni → *hass-*
nišer-; **ništ**- (v.) sit—**nišer-ɛmbɛ** I sit, I will be sitting (I.30); **hɛ-ništ-ɛmɛ** I sat (I.51), **hɛništɛmo** id. (I.49); **ništ bi-mɛ** I was sitting (I.47)
nō nine (II.4)
noss- → *vɛss*(*ɛnd*)-
num name (I.200)
numzɛ fiancée (I.4,18)
-o and (I.5, passim)
ō water (I.29)
on-mōqe then, that time (I.3,44, II.4,24). See also *un*
paj-; **pat**- (v.) cook—**pāt-ɛ** she was cooking (I.6); **ba-pɛt-é** (p.p.) cooked (I.6); **ba-pɛt-ɛn-í** cooked meal (I.43)
Pājimiun(**ɛ**) (toponym) village in Dodānga (I.34, II.6,8,14)
-pali (postp.) near, next to, to (I.3,13,16–18,23,38,44–46,48–49,56, II.4,20); *me* ~*-je* (=Pers. *az pahlu-ye man*) from my presence (II.4)
par paddle, sale of a churning barrel (Pers. *parra*)— ~ *hâdeɛm* I beat [the churning barrel] (I.57)

par short hedge (Pers. *parčin*)— ~ *bazɯɛn* to hedge, shed (I.21)
parɛssāri nursing (I.54)
-pe (postp.) at the foot of (I.14)
pɛr-; **pɛress**- (v.) jump—**ba-ppɛress-ɛmɛ** I jumped (I.27), **ba-ppɛress-ɛ** he jumped (I.35)
pɛrs- (v.) ask—**na-pɛrs** ask not! (I.26)
pesɛr son (I.34, II.4,19,20), **pɛserun** sons (II.4)
-pɛšt (postp.) back (I.35, 44)
pɛštɛ load load (I.8,15, II.3)
piāde-piāde walking (II.24)
piɛr father (I.12,28, II.4,5,19)
pij twist(ing)— ~ *bazumɛ* I twisted (I.27)
pirzenā old woman (I.5,21,22)
ponza fifteen (I.44, II.1,15)
puš-; **puši**- (v.) put on—**da-puši-no** they put on (II.24)
qaron rial, the unit of currency equal to a tenth of a tuman (I.43)
qɛrār hired hand, ranch worker (I.3,16)
qɛvā gown (I.42)
qod strength (I.8)
rā way, road (I.38–39,42); ~ *dakɛtɛn* to set on (I.31). See also *rāi*
raftegār (pres. participle) one who goes II.18
rāhāt comfortable (II.3), ~*i* comfort (II.3)
rāi on the road (II.1); ~ *hākɛrdɛn* to send (someone) (I.26). See also *rā*
rāqun ghee, fat, cooking oil (I.16,19, II.10)
rāss streight— ~ *baimɛ* I woke up (I.40), ~ *bainɛ* (I.31) they woke up; ~*hākɛnim* that we make streight (I.9), ~ *hākɛrdɛmɛ* I made [it] stay erect (I.9–10)
rat away, move— ~ *hākɛn* lead astray!, move away! (I.31), ~ *hākɛrdɛ* he led astray (I.38)
-(r)ɛ accusative marker (mostly); dative marker (I.1, passim); e.g. *te lɛbāss-^{r}ɛ tɛ-rɛ dembo* I will give you your clothing (I.16), *ɛmā-rɛ vešnā baiɛ* we were hungry (I.43), *qod naitɛ vɛšun-rɛ* they had no strength (I.8), *anjili-rɛ lu budɛmɛ* I climbed the *anjili* (tree) (1.15)
res-; **resi**- (v.) arrive— **ba-resi-mi** we arrived at (I.42)
ress-; **ressi**- (v.) send— **ba-ressi-ɛ** he sent (I.28)
ressend-; **ressendi**- (v. causative) send— **ba-ress-ɛnd-e** that he sends (I.38)
rikā boy, son (I.24,33,44,54, II.4)
roš-; **rošt**- (v.) beat — **ba-rošt-én** to beat (I.27)
ruš-; **rut**- (v.) sell — **ba-ruš-ɛm** that I sell (II.10), **ba-ruš-im** that we sell (II.9); **ruš-ɛmbɛ** I'll sell (II.17); **rut-ɛmi** we would sell (II.9)
Sangšur (toponym) summer camp in highlands if Dodānga (II.8)
-sar (postp.) on, at, by, on top of (I.10,21–22,30, II.6) ‖ (prep.?) *me* ~ *dass-ɛ baitɛ* he took me by the wrist (I.27)

sardar gate, doorway (I.14)[35]
sargozɛšt biography (II.23)
sar-tan head and body, entire body (I.29)
sāt- (v.) make—**bɛ-sāt-é** (p.p.) built (I.50)
sāx-ɛ-sar knee (I.41)
sejeld birth certificate (I.45)
senɛ chest (I.10)
sɛre house (I.3,5,13,19–20,38,54); ~*-zendɛgi* home (II.8)
sevā separate (II.4)
sevāi morning (I.26,42)
sirsuzi potherb (I.3,5,8,13)
-sse → *-vesse*
šabendɛruz day and night (II.8)
še (reflexive and pers. pron.) self—myself (I.4,9), (by) himself (I.36,50); my (I.10–11,21,38, II.17,20), his, her (I.40,50); ~ *pali* to (the presence of) myself (I.38, II.20), ~ *vesse* for himself (I.15), ~ *nazdiki* to (stay with) them (I.20)
šɛmā (pers. pron.) you (I.10, passim); **šéme** (possessive case) (I.29, II.5,15); **šɛmeje** from you (II.20); **šɛmesse** for you, yours (II.15)
šemɛ I belong to (I.28)
ši husband (I.44)
ši- → *bur-*
šō night (I.18,20,22,39, II.8)
šor-; **šoss-** (v.) wash — **ba-šor** wash! (I.29); **ba-šoss-o** he washed (II.24)
šu- → *bur-*
šuns luck (I.14)
tab— ~ *ʒambɛ* I grasp (I.48)
tansuri soap (I.16)
tars- (v.) fear—**na-tars** fear not! (I.38)
taš fire (I.8,41, II.13)
tɛ (pers. pron.) you (I.8,12,16,22,26,28,30,33–34,40,44,54, II.2,11,19,22), **te** your (I.16,40,42,45,49–50,56, II.2,10,19), ~ *čeči* "what relative of yours" (I.34); **tɛ́rɛ** (accusative/dative case) (I.16,29,37,48,54)
tek lip (II.24)
tɛlār ranch (II.13,18)
tɛlɛm wooden barrel (I.16,27,57), ~ *baʒuɛn* to churn (II.9)
tɛmom all, end (II.16)
tɛndir oven (I.43)
terazi scale (II.10–11)
til mud (II.2)
tisā plain (I.43)
tisāpe barefooted (I.33)

[35]A Persian form for *Maz. darɛsar*.

tun-; **tuness-** (v. modal) can—**na-tu^{n}-mbɛ** I cannot (I.49), **ba-tun-di**[36] you can (I.8), **bá-tun-dɛ**[37] (s)he cannot (I.21,48), **na-tu^{n}-mbi** we cannot (I.39,43), **na-tu^{n}-nni** you cannot (I.13); **na-tuness-ɛmi** we could not (II.9,14) ‖ **natunessɛm**[38] [if] I were not able to (I.9)
Tupsɛre (toponym) summer camp in highlands of Dodānga (II.8)
tur axe (I.9–10, II.10–11)
turukkɛ drop — ~-~ in drops (I.51)
tuskā alder tree (II.17)
un (pron.) that (I.8, passim), **unā** they (I.25); ~*-dim* the other side, across (I.21). See also *on-*
unjɛ there (I.8,18,28,54, II.8,14)
vačɛ child (I.13,22,45, II,24); **vačun** children (I.55, II.8,20)
vang voice, call (I.44)
vár-/vɛr-; **vard-** (v.) carry—**bá-vɛr-i** that you take away (I.8), **ba-vɛr-ɛn** that they carry (II.24); **vár-ɛmbɛ** I carry (I.9), **ná-vɛr-ɛmbɛ** I carry not (I.37), **na-vɛn-ni** (← *vɛr-* + *-ni*)[39] you (sg.) carry not; **vard-ɛmi** we would take (II.9), **vard-ɛnɛ** they would carry (II.4), **dai-nɛ vard-ɛnɛ** they were carrying (II.24); **ba-vɛrd-ɛmɛ** I carried (I.21,37, II.24), **ba-vɛrd-ɛ** it took away (I.35), **bavɛrdo** id. (I.49), **ba-vɛrd-ɛmi** we carried (I.45); **ba-vɛrd bi-mɛ** I had carried (I.41), **ba-vɛrd bi-mi** we had carried (I.19); **var-ɛndé** (pres. participle) one who is capable of carrying (I.10)
Varɛnd (toponym) village name (I.23)
vāreš rain (I.57)
varf snow (II.14); ~ *kerde* it would snow
-vari (postp.) toward (I.31), *in-*~ this way (I.31), *un-*~ that way (I.31)
vāš tree-moss, a kind of fodder for the cattle grown on upper branches of forest trees (I.8,12,14–15, II.3)
vɛ (pers. pron.) he, she, it (I.6, passim); **vére** (accusative case) (I.9, passim); **véne** (possessive) his, her, its (I.4–5,7,9,13,18,23,27,29,33,35–36,41,45,48–49,52,54, II.2,6,13,22,24); **vénje** with her (I.3)
vel letting go— ~ *nakɛrdɛmɛ* I didn't let go (II.24)
vɛnd-; **vɛss-** (v.) tie—**da-vɛnd-ɛm** that I tie (II.10), **da-vɛss-ɛmɛ** I tied (I.56), **da-vɛss-ɛ** he tied (I.15)
vɛne → *vɛ*
vénɛ (v. modal) must, should (I.7,44, II.7)
vɛrg wolf (I.55)
vɛs(s)- (v.) rupture — **noss-i** (negative of *bossi*) you won't come apart (I.12)

[36]Note the dissimilation of the *n* of the ending into *d* when attached to *tun-*.
[37]Note that *bátundɛ* is a synonym of *nátundɛ* "he cannot", the negative forms of *tundɛ* "he can". The verb *tunessɛn* carries the preverb irregularly.
[38]Pers. form for Maz. *age natunɛm*.
[39]The *r* in the stem assimilates into the *n* of the ending.

vɛs(s)ɛnd-; **vɛsɛndi-** (v. causative) rupture, tear, rip — **nos(s)ɛndi-mɛ** I did not pause (II.24)
vešnā hungry (I.43)
-(v)esse (postp.) for (I.3,13,15,23, II.3,7,13; short form I.8,15,28,43). See also *mɛn*, *šɛmā*
vɛšun (pers. pron.) they (I.5, passim); **vɛšunnɛ** (I.31), **vɛšunrɛ** (I.8,12, II.21); vɛšune (I.4,5,33, II.5); **vɛšunesse** for them (I.43)
vin-; **di-** (v.) see—**ba-vin-ɛm** that I see (I.45,49,54); **ba-di-mɛ** I saw (I.5,8,18,26,27,31,36,46,51, II.10,21), **ba-di-ɛ** he saw (I.55), **ba-di-mi** we saw (I.21,39); **ba-di bi-mɛ** I had seen (I.4)
vo- → *bi-*, *bai-*, *dar-*
xā okey, well! (I.38,45,49,52, II.20,22)
xā-; **xāss-** (v. modal) want to, etc.—**bɛ-xā – ᵉ** that he ask for (II.16); **xā-mbɛ** I wish (I.6,40, II.20), **nɛ-xā-mbɛ** I wish not (I.23,41, II.20), **xā-mbi** we want to (I.22), **xā-nni** you want to (I.10, II.18-19), **xā-nnɛ** they want to (I.37-38, II.18); **xāss-ɛmɛ** I was about to (I.14,22,26), **xāss-ɛ** he tried to (I.52), **xāss-ɛmi** we wished (II.13), **xāss-ɛnɛ** they wished (I.8, II.22); **bɛ-xāssɛ** he wished (?) (I.5)
xāb fine, okey! (I.12), *xayle* ~ all right! (II.17)
xāl-dɛtɛr cousin (I.33)
xāle very (I.7,46, II.9,14)
xānɛ house (I.29)
xār fine (II.10)
xāreš roar, shout (Pers. *xoruš*) (I.57)
xāsɛ ranch enclosed within wooden fence (I.57)
xāskār suitor (I.28), ~*či* id. (I.23); ~*i* suiting (I.24)
xāxɛr sister (I.29,43)
xɛdā God (I.44, passim)
-xel (toponym suffix) *Ilātxel* (I.30), *kɛrdɛxeliā* residents of Kɛrdɛxel (II.13)
xɛr-/xor-; **xɛrd-/xord-**[40] (v.) eat (and aux.)—**ba-xor** eat! (I.6); **ba-xor-e** that it eats (II.2), **ba-xɛr-im** that we eat (I.43); **xord-ɛmo** I would eat (II.2), **xɛrd-i** (aux. imperfect 2nd sg.) (I.40); **na-xɛrd-ɛmɛ** (aux. past 1st sg.) (II.14), **ba-xord-ɛmi** we faced (I.39), **ba-xɛrd-ɛmi** we ate (I.43), **ba-xɛrd-ɛno** they ate (I.32); **ba-xɛrd bi-mɛ** I had eaten (I.4)
xɛr-; **xɛri-** (v.) buy—**ba-xᵉri-ɛ** he bought (II.7)
Xerimɛsar-sɛre (toponym) winter ranch near Sāri (II.5); **xerim** parasol[41]
xeš son-in-law (I.18,46)
xik sheep or goat skin used for preserving dairy produce (II.10)

[40]Two variants of the stem (*xɛr-*, *xor-*) cannot be explained morphologically but as a result of dialect mixture.
[41]Cf. خرمه رز, cited in the 13th-century *Tārikh-e Tabarestān*, probably reads *xɛrɛma raz* "fresh green garden," cf. Pers. *xorram* "fresh green" (S. Kiā, *Vāžhanāma-ye tabari*, Tehran 1948: 238).

xos-; **xot-/xɛt-** (v.) sleep—**ba-xos-ɛm** that I sleep (I.22,40); **ba-xot-ɛmɛ** I slept (I.40), **ba-xɛt-ɛmo** id. (I.18), **ba-xɛt-ɛnɛ** they slept (I.32); **ba-xɛt-ɛ nai-mɛ** I was not asleep (I.18), **ba-xot-ɛ bi-i** you were asleep (I.40), **xɛt bi-mi** we would sleep (II.8);[42] **ba-xɛt-é** (p.p.) slept (I.29)
xun-; **xundess-** (v.) read—**ba-xundess-ɛ bo-n** had they studied (II.20)
yār-; **yārd-** (v.) bring—**bi-ʸār** bring! (I.43, 45), **ni-ʸār-in** bring not (pl.)! (I.49, II.7); **bi-ʸār-ɛm** that I bring (I.57), **bi-ʸār-in** that you bring (II.7); **dar-nɛ yār-nɛ**[43] they are bringing (I.8); **yārd-ɛmɛ** I would bring (II.3); **bi-ʸārd-ɛmɛ** I brought (I.12,14,45,49, II.10,20), **bi-ʸārd-i** you brought (I.12,44, II.22), **bi-ārd-ɛ** he brought (I.13,43), **bi-ʸārd-ɛni** you brought (I.13), **bi-ʸārd-ɛnɛ** they brought (III.19), **ni-ʸārd-ɛnɛ** they did not bring (I.12); **ni-ʸārd bi-nɛ** they had not brought (I.20)
yelāq summer camp (I.23, II.8,13)
yor upper; the other side (of the house or field); out(doors)—~ *hākerdeni* you threw out (II.20)
zamon time (II.16,24)
zan wife (I.18, passim); ~*-piɛr* father-in-law (I.46), ~*-mār* mother-in-law (I.48); ~*-širini* engagement (I.4)
zan-; **zu-** (v.) hit (aux. for many verbs)—**ba-zɛn** strike! (I.46); **ba-zɛn-ɛm** that I hit (I.27), **ba-zɛn-e** thet he hits (I.48), **ba-zɛn-im** that we hit (I.27), **ba-zɛn-ɛn** that they hit (II.17); **zaⁿ-mbɛ** I'll strike (I.48), **zan-di** you are hitting (I.28,33), **zan-dɛ** he strikes (I.48, II.21), **zaⁿ-nnɛ** they hit (I.18); **zuɛ** he would strike (I.28), **zu-mi** we would hit (I.36, II.9); **ba-zu-mɛ** I hit (I.9,27, II.24), **na-zu-mɛ** I hit not (I.11), **ba-zu**(-ɛ) he hit (I.6,27,44,56), **ba-zu-mi** we hit (I.21), **ba-zu-nɛ/o** they hit (II.17); **zan-ɛndé** (pres. part.) one who is capable of striking (I.48); *čin*ɛ-**baz-é** (p.p.) curl (of hair) (I.13)
zen- → *zan-*
zenā wife, woman (I.3,5,13,19,20,43); ~*-mardi* wife and husband (I.5,18, II.18)
zist habitat (II.14)

[42]The last three paradigms are treated as pluperfect forms, constructed on the past participle and the past conjugation of the copula verb: *baxɛtɛ naimɛ*, *baxotɛ bii*, *xɛtᵉ bimi*. Note the last case lacks the verbal prefix *ba-*, which is unusual; the expected form is the imperfect *xɛtɛmi* "we would/used to sleep." The alternative approach would be to treat *baxɛt(ɛ)* as an adjective (p.p.); this conjecture is supported by the contrast between *baxɛtɛ* and *bidār* in *baxɛtɛ naimɛ*, *ke bidār baimɛ* (I.18).
[43]Expected form: *dar-nɛ yār-ɛnnɛ*.