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# Update on Luri: How many languages?

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## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Luri is an Indo-Iranian language cluster with over four million speakers.<sup>2</sup> The Luri ethnic area is found in southwestern Iran and southeastern Iraq, although smaller numbers of speakers have emigrated to elsewhere in Asia and a number of cities in the West.<sup>3</sup>

I have set the linguistic scene with a brief précis of the historical origins of the Lurs. It will become clear that this section is of key importance in an understanding of language boundaries, especially on the ends of the continuum that shoulder varieties of Kurdish and Farsi.

After providing this historical sketch, I present a long-overdue update of the ensemble of comparative research that has been done on Luri, especially as pertains to work from the

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to acknowledge the input and assistance of the following individuals and to express ardent thanks to: Christina Anonby, Sekandar Amanollahi, Farid Armanieh, Joyce Blau, Barrie Evans, Jeff Green, Zahed Hafiflang, Parisa Nur, Rick Rahim and Bruce Wiebe. Within the 'language area', the assistance of many speakers was invaluable:

یه سلام گرم تشی و تون ای دیم. ایخیم و همی ایشا لر ل و دوسلمون آقایل فتاح، عادل، دادله، هالو

احمد و حسین علی محمدی و رضا فاضلی بگیم دستون درد نکنه سی ای که مردونگیتون مهلی بی.

دردتون من جونمون و سی همیشه چا کرتیم. علی جون ۱۳۸۱

<sup>2</sup> This population figure is further discussed below. See especially footnote 7.

<sup>3</sup> The author of this article has established the existence of small communities of Lurs in Turkey, Germany, Denmark, Norway, the UK, Canada and the United States. Amanollahi also mentions that there are groups of Lurs living in Afghanistan, but does not specify details of location, population or ethnic affiliation with other Luri groups. See S. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* [The Lur Family] (Tehran, 1991), pp. 48 ff.

period since the Iranian Islamic Revolution. The primary focus of this survey addresses the question of how many languages comprise the Luri language continuum.

Traditionally, Luri has been categorised as a single language. However, opinions are varied. On the one hand, a few scholars have argued in keeping with the conservative view held by the Persian majority population that Luri is only a *lahjeh* 'dialect' of Farsi. On the other hand, an increasing number of researchers are supporting the division of the Luri continuum into more than one language. The identity of Laki, a language spoken by Lurs in one part of the ethnic area, is also briefly considered.

After reviewing opinions expressed in the literature, I pursue the central question of the article by appealing to linguistic and sociolinguistic data. Observation of speakers, sociolinguistic interviews and wordlists from various language areas are used to propose the division of Luri into three language areas: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. A map of the language continuum illustrates the conclusions of the article.

### Research background

This article is a synthesis of, and a review of, the literature on the subject and also original linguistic research. It summarizes the scattered and difficult to locate comparative research which is available on Luri,<sup>4</sup> and addresses some of the gaps, inconsistencies and controversies which are found there. Many of these challenges are due more to the inaccessibility and diffuse organisation of the Luri ethnic area than to lack of endeavour in previous research.

This given, I am still disappointed to say that Luri has not received its due share of attention for it is the language of a people numbering over 4 million with a rich culture as well as a complex linguistic and sociolinguistic situation. Perhaps it has been unjustly overshadowed by research on its neighbours Farsi and Kurdish, since speakers of those languages have published from a wide spectrum of universities, including those in the West. The language of scholarship on Luri presents an additional obstacle: literature available in Farsi has for the most part remained untapped by western scholars (and conversely, Iranian scholars working on Luri are at times unaware of research published in the West). However, Farsi-language resources are an indispensable component in an understanding of Luri, and I have endeavoured to search out and profit from all those which are available. Although they are not numerous, they are key to an understanding of the linguistic situation which reconciles the perceptions of 'insiders' with those of 'outsiders'.

Where our understanding still remains insufficient after the review of the literature is completed, I have found it necessary to investigate the linguistic situation directly. It is to this end that I employed sociolinguistic data and lexicostatistic analysis to address the central

<sup>4</sup> Blau's bibliography makes the strongest contribution to this area and Redard's bibliography is also helpful, but a number of works on Luri have appeared since their publication. See J. Blau, 'Lori', in *Studia Iranica* XXII (1993), pp. 93–119; G. Redard, 'Other Iranian Languages', in *Current Trends in Linguistics, VI: Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 97–135. Other important works on comparative Luri studies are: C. MacKinnon, 'The Dialect of Xorramābād and Comparative Notes on Other Lor Dialects', in *Studia Iranica* XXXI (2002), i, pp. 103–38; and the more general overview in G. Windfuhr, *The Iranian Languages* (London, 2003).

question in this article, namely that of how many languages comprise the Luri language continuum.

The original data given in this article were for the most part collected in Iran during a nine-month period in 2000–1. It is limited in that I was permitted to gather linguistic data in only one section of the Luri ethnic area, that of Mamasani (Southern Luri).<sup>5</sup> However, I was able to gather a significant amount of first-hand linguistic and sociolinguistic data from speakers from other parts of the ethnic area who were visiting or living in Shiraz, where my wife and I were based. Finally, remaining questions from the data were clarified through discussion with members of the Luri community in North America.

### The Lurs

The Lurs are members of an Iranian (Indo-European) ethnic family which they refer to as *iyl-a Luriy* “the Luri ethnic group”. More accurately, this family is a loosely-connected group of several more cohesive subgroups also known as *iylāt* “ethnic groups” or, variously, *qabāyal* “sub-groups”. The best-known of these groups are the Feyli (Lor-e Kuchek), Bakhtiāri, Bowyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani (the latter four groups being Lor-e Bozorg). Feyli is further divided into Posht-e Kuh and Pish-e Kuh. There are a number of other smaller groups of Lurs.<sup>6</sup> Altogether, there are well over four million members of the Luri *iyl*, the vast majority of whom speak Luri language varieties.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to a small population (approx. 80,000) in southeastern Iraq, the Lurs are distributed over a number of provinces in Iran. The ethnic area spans a large portion of the Zagros Mountains and one extension of the area spreads southeast into the heart of Mesopotamia (see Figure 1 below). In Iran, the greatest concentrations of Lurs are found in the provinces of Luristān, Khuzestān, Chahārmahāl va Bakhtiāri and Boyerahmad va Kohgiluyeh. Significant populations of Lurs also live in contiguous areas of Ilām, Esfahān and Fārs provinces. Additionally, there are exile populations in several other provinces. Although the array of provinces which make up the homeland of the Lurs is impressive, few of the provincial boundaries correspond to ethnic divisions. Rather, they seem designed to decentralize the larger clans within the Luri ethnic family. An example of this is the geographic division of the once-powerful Bakhtiāri among four different provinces; in three of these four provinces, political affairs are directed from urban centres dominated by the majority-culture Persians.

<sup>5</sup> Other works by the present author which were carried out during this same period of fieldwork include *A Phonology of Southern Luri* (Munich, 2003) and *Bāhendayal: Bird Classification in Luri* (forthcoming, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> G. R. Fazel, ‘Lur’, in *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, ed. R. V. Weekes (Westport, 1984), pp. 446–447; S. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* (Tehran, 1991), p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677. S. Amanollahi (private correspondence 2000), who has calculated the population of the Luri ethnic group by province and *shahrestān* ‘municipality’ estimates the current population of Lurs in Iran at five million (up from his figure of three million as calculated on an Iranian census; see Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor* (Tehran, 1991), p. 8); however, my own calculation, which is based on the 1998 Iranian census, totals 4.2 million Lurs. A corresponding estimate of Luri speakers at over four million (see abstract) takes into account the existence of non Luri-speaking minorities living in the Luri homelands and language shift, among other details.



Fig. 1. Luri ethnic area in Iran and Iraq.<sup>8</sup>

In Iraq, the political situation is even less favourable toward the Lurs.<sup>9</sup> Since 1975, political factors have resulted in the mass migration of most Iraqi Lurs to Iran, where they share a greater degree of ethnic and religious affinity with the national population.<sup>10</sup>

### Origins of the Lurs

A Feyli man from Khorramābād recounts the well-known story that long ago there were three brothers whose descendants became the Kurds, the Lurs, and the Bakhtiāri.<sup>11</sup> This

<sup>8</sup> Fig. 1 is based on my synthesis of a wide variety of sources (see: fn. 7 and 8) as well as personal research.

<sup>9</sup> The distribution of the Luri language and ethnic group in Iraq is uncertain at best. J. Blau (private correspondence 2001) and B. Evans (private correspondence 2002) have highlighted the complexity of the situation and suggest that language varieties used by the inhabitants of this area do not always correspond with the same ethnic labels, or even with labels that are applied to similar language varieties in other parts of the Luri and Kurdish ethnic areas. Throughout his massive work, I. K. Fattah maintains that the variety spoken in Iraq and the extreme west of Iran called “Lori” is actually a variety of Southern Kurdish. See I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> J. Blau (private correspondence 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Anonymous (private correspondence 2001). This speaker considered the Southern Lurs (Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani) to be part of the Bakhtiāri division of these descendants.

account, though simple, is an appropriate introduction to the more detailed historical account found in the literature.

Scholars consider that it is likely that the Lurs are descended from the group of Aryan tribes that made their way from Central Asia, passing north of the Caspian Sea through the Caucasus and into what is known today as Iran. Other Indo-Iranian groups such as Persians and Kurds are also descendants of such migrants.<sup>12</sup> Lurs, like many other Iranians, have been part of a massive integration with other groups: both the early inhabitants of Iran such as the Elamites, and later Indo-Iranian invaders.<sup>13</sup>

Among the many Iranian ethnic groups, the Lurs are most closely associated linguistically with Kurdish- and Farsi-speaking Iranians. While some scholars maintain that the Lurs are descended from the Kurds, others maintain that since “early times” they have been an autonomous group which has, however, been influenced by both of its close cultural neighbours.<sup>14</sup> The linguistic influence of both of these groups is evident in the data presented later in this paper (see especially Figure 2 and the appendices).<sup>15</sup>

### Excursus: Where does the term *Luri* come from?

A number of similar descriptors have been used to identify the Lurs (Luri, Lurī, Lori, Lurish, Lōri, Lüri, Luriy, Ruliy),<sup>16</sup> but of these “Luri” is the most common. From a phonological standpoint, the name is appropriately written *Lurī* or *Luriy*.<sup>17</sup>

According to several Luri speakers from Yāsuj, the name ‘Luri’ means *qerātmand* “zealous” or *bozorg* “big, great”. These speakers indicated that the term comes from the place name in the mountain pass where the Timurids (Tamarlane’s forces) first came through the Luri homelands when they were pressing west through Persia (c. AD 1400).

### Genetic affiliation of Luri

Although Luri’s linguistic relation to Farsi is evident, specialists are divided as to whether Luri and Farsi varieties diverged during the period when Old Persian was spoken, or during that of Middle Persian.<sup>18</sup> Luri is also related to Kurdish; this relationship is most evident in

<sup>12</sup> cf. Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup> G. R. Fazel, ‘Lur’, in *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, ed. R. V. Weekes (Westport, 1984), p. 446.

<sup>15</sup> The linguistic influence of Kurdish is especially evident in Luristāni varieties of Luri. Compare these lists as well as the Laki data with the wordlists presented throughout I. K. Fattah’s work: *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> A number of these terms are listed in B. Grimes (ed.), *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677. Some of the terms (Lurish, Lōri, Lüri) are used in early European descriptions of the language; the term ‘Ruliy’ is used by some, especially older, speakers of the Southern Luri variety.

<sup>17</sup> While both of these transcriptions are accurate in that they show distinctions of phonological length, the second one (Luriy) follows the phonological roman orthography that I have set out in my book, *A Phonology of Southern Luri* (Munich, 2003).

<sup>18</sup> The issue is actually more complex than I have presented it here; for a detailed discussion of pre-modern Iranian languages, consult the articles found in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. R. Schmitt (Weisbaden, 1990), pp. 25–165. For further discussion on the historical relation between Farsi and Luri, see also: Thackston in Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 53; and A. Hemmati, *Farhang-e tatbiqi-ye vāzhegān-e guyesh-e Lori-ye Mamasani bāvāzhegān-e Fārsi-ye Now va Miyāna* [Comparative Lexicon of Words from the Dialect of Luri-Mamasani with Words from New and Middle Persian] (Shiraz, 1990).

the northern varieties of Luri.<sup>19</sup> In the following section, I will seek to demonstrate that the Luri varieties form a continuum of languages between the Farsi and Kurdish language blocs.

According to a number of sources, Luri is a single language classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, and Western and Southwestern, Luri.<sup>20</sup> According to Grimes, the Luri subgroup also includes one other language, Kumzari, which is spoken by 3,000 people in Oman; however, evidence is lacking to support this hypothesis.<sup>21</sup> Other Southwestern languages include Fars, Lari, Aimaq, Bukharic, Darwazi, Dehwari, Dzhidi, Eastern Farsi, Western Farsi, Hazaragi, Pahlavani, Tajiki, Judeo-Tat, Muslim Tat and possibly Bashkardi. Laki is classified by Grimes as a variety of Luri, but Windfuhr classifies it (along with Kurdish varieties) as a Northwestern language.<sup>22</sup>

The information summarised in these sources presents current categories in existing research on Luri, but a review of the data reveals several difficult issues that must be addressed: the relationship of Kumzari and Laki to Luri, the existence of Lurs that speak Farsi as a mother tongue, and the unity of Luri.

The status of Kumzari and Laki varieties under the umbrella of the Luri language cluster is one difficult issue, and I have provided evidence for an alternative point of view elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> For the purposes of this article, I am assuming that although Kumzari belongs to the Southwestern group of Iranian languages, there is no basis for its association with Luri in particular. Concerning Laki, I accept Fattah's argument for Laki's affiliation with Kurdish rather than Luri although it is largely typological rather than historical in nature.<sup>24</sup>

The existence of ethnic Lurs who speak Farsi as a mother tongue is a second issue which has been raised but never fully documented.<sup>25</sup>

The additional issue of the linguistic unity of Luri proper is also complex. A discussion of this question forms the substance of the rest of this paper, and it is to this which we now turn our attention.

### How many languages comprise the Luri continuum?

Most of the research on Luri is descriptive rather than comparative. Because of this, the relatedness of different varieties of Luri is largely undefined. However, a few authors address

<sup>19</sup> See data tables below as well as note 9 above. Joyce Blau (personal correspondence 2001) notes that Luri and Kurdish are not always strictly differentiated in the transitional area between the two languages. An example of one interesting 'Kurdish' feature which occurs as far south as Southern Luri is the use of *-gal/al* as a plural marker.

<sup>20</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), 'Luri', in *Ethnologue* (13th edition) (Dallas, 1996), p. 677; M. Ruhlen, *A Guide to the World's Languages* (Stanford, 1991), p. 327.

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion and accompanying notes in the following paragraphs.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*; G. Windfuhr, 'New West Iranian languages', in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, ed. R. Schmitt (Weisbaden, 1990), p. 248, and in the same volume, G. Windfuhr, 'Western Iranian Dialects', pp. 294–295; B. Grimes and J. Grimes (eds.), *Ethnologue: Language Family Index* (Dallas, 1996), pp. 56–57. The seemingly random nature of this list reflects the incompleteness of academic understanding on the internal classification of the Southwestern group.

<sup>23</sup> E. J. Anonby, 'Was Kumzari Ever Part of Luri?' (ms.), (2002); 'Laki's Mistaken Identity: The Pull between Kurdish and Luri?' (ms.), (2002). The second paper provides a brief historical analysis based on algorithms for classification outlined in I. Oranskij, *Les langues iraniennes* (Paris, 1970).

<sup>24</sup> I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> Some groups, especially in central Fārs Province, appear to have used Farsi for at least a century; other groups may have shifted due to forced settlement in non-Luri areas. See Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 47.

the unity of the Luri language area. I have selected several sources which reflect viewpoints represented in the literature.

#### *Luri as a dialect of Farsi*

Western researchers, and more recently a small body of Iranian scholars, have worked on Luri language varieties over the past century. There is still a widely-held perception among Farsi-speaking Iranians that Luri is simply an “accent” or “dialect” of Farsi. However, linguistic and sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that Luri may indeed be considered language in its own right.<sup>26</sup> In other words, it shows a great deal of differentiation from Farsi in the areas of phonology, morphology, grammatical and semantic structure as well as lexicon; and speakers are aware of this distinctness. Furthermore, the two varieties are not inherently intelligible with one another, a fact which is obscured by a high degree of bilingualism in Farsi among the Luri population. Because of these factors, there is little academic literature that presently supports the classification of Luri as a Farsi dialect.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Luri as a single language*

The *Ethnologue* is representative of the prevailing view that Luri is a single language, and that all Luri varieties are dialects of that language.<sup>28</sup> This view is not supported with evidence but is perhaps rather a “received” view, and has been challenged recently by several scholars. As will be discussed below, the authors of *Peoples of Iran* and Amanollahi both recognize the existence of distinct languages in the Luri language cluster.<sup>29</sup>

#### Peoples of Iran: *Luri and Bakhtiāri*

Early twentieth century researchers quickly noticed that Luri and Bakhtiāri were quite different from one another. This distinction is summarized in the highly detailed map of *Peoples of Iran (Ethnolinguistic Groups)*.<sup>30</sup> On the map, the Luri language area is found in two segments, between which the Bakhtiāri area is located. This map’s separation of Bakhtiāri is accurate. For one thing, the Bakhtiāri consider themselves apart: that they are first Bakhtiāri (a sub-group of the Luri ethnic complex), and then Luri. The same may be said about their language: Bakhtiāri is the only variety of Luri which speakers themselves sometimes consider to be a *zawn* or “distinct language”.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> cf. D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiāri, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian* (London, 1922); B. Grimes (ed.), ‘Luri’, p. 737; Z. Madadi, *Vāzhehnāma-ye zabān-e Bakhtiāri [Lexicon of the Bakhtiāri Language]* (Tehran/Esfahan, 1996); Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 54; H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e Lori [Lexicon of Luri]* (Tehran, 1964); H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e Laki [Lexicon of Laki]* (Tehran, 1978).

<sup>27</sup> In Windfuhr’s list of the Western group of Iranian languages, he affirms the unity of Luri (his “Perside”) but seems to designate it as a dialect group within Persian, although he may in fact intend to be neutral on its linguistic status. See G. Windfuhr, ‘New West Iranian languages’, p. 295.

<sup>28</sup> B. Grimes (ed.), ‘Luri’.

<sup>29</sup> Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, pp. 52, 55; *Peoples of Iran* (Austin, 1982), available at: <[www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/iran-peoples\\_82.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iran-peoples_82.jpg)>.

<sup>30</sup> *Peoples of Iran*, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Z. Madadi, *Vāzhehnāma-ye zabān-e Bakhtiāri [Lexicon of the Bakhtiāri Language]* (Tehran/Esfahan, 1996).

However, speakers of the Bakhtiāri “language” still acknowledge their language variety as a type of Luri (in the same way that Italian is a type of Romance). The linguistic data presented in the section below<sup>32</sup> indicate that Bakhtiāri is in fact a distinct language variety which is, however, transitional between the northern (Feyli) and southern (Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh, Mamasani etc.) Luri areas shown on the *Peoples of Iran* map. In other words, the two Luri linguistic areas are more closely related to the intermediate variety Bakhtiāri than they are to one another. Consequently, the division of the language cluster into two “related” or “equivalent” Luri areas and a “distinct” Bakhtiāri area is inadequate as presented on this map.

#### Amanollahi: *Western Luri and Eastern Luri*

Like *Peoples of Iran*, Amanollahi argues for the recognition of two distinct Luri languages. However, his divisions contrast with those shown on the map. When he presents his classification of Luri within the Western, Southwestern group, Amanollahi follows Oranskij.<sup>33</sup> However, as regards the subdivision of Luri he is responsible for the innovative recognition of two distinct Luri languages: *Bākhtri* “Western” (not to be confused with Bakhtiāri) and *Khāvāri* “Eastern” Luri.<sup>34</sup> Because he is himself a Lur, Amanollahi’s categorisation is especially notable. In Western Luri he includes the dialects Luri, Borujerdi, Nahāvandi and “others”. Amanollahi’s Western Luri corresponds to the Luri area which is to the north of the Bakhtiāri area on the *Peoples of Iran* map. In Eastern Luri he includes Bakhtiāri as well as the language varieties spoken in Dezful and Shushtar.<sup>35</sup> Although he does not mention it in the same work, he also considers the major Luri varieties spoken in Boyerahmad, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani as belonging to Eastern Luri.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Three Luri languages?*

The data presented below support Amanollahi’s distinction between Eastern and Western Luri. However, they also suggest that Eastern Luri may itself be divided into two distinct languages: Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. Southern Luri corresponds to the Luri area to the south of Bakhtiāri on the *Peoples of Iran* map.

While living in the Mamasani district of Fārs Province, it came to my attention that Mamasani speakers used Farsi, not Luri, to communicate with Lurs from other parts of the

<sup>32</sup> See the section entitled, Reinterpretation of language boundaries.

<sup>33</sup> The work from which Amanollahi draws is probably Oranskij’s 1970 publication on Iranian languages. This is uncertain because I have been unable to locate a reference to his source. However, the information is almost identical to Oranskij’s work mentioned here. See I. Oranskij, *Les langues iraniennes* (Paris, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> Amanollahi, *Qom-e Lor*, p. 52.

<sup>35</sup> The relationship between Dezfuli, Shushtari and the Luri cluster is still unclear, and deserves further investigation. For some discussion, see J. M. Unvala, ‘Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology: The Luri and Dezfuli Dialects’, in *Indo-Iranic*(1955), pp. 1–15; C. MacKinnon, *The Phonology and Morphology of Dizfuli and Shushtari: A Study in West Persian Dialectology* (Ann Arbor, 1974).

<sup>36</sup> S. Amanollahi (personal correspondence 2000).



Luri ethnic area, namely Bakhtiāri and Western Luri areas. Because of this, I decided to research, measure and document differences.

Existing literature in Farsi indicated that Southern Luri is distinct from other Luri varieties.<sup>37</sup> The Southern Luri language area is comprised principally of three groups known as Boyerahmadi, Kohgiluyeh and Mamasani.

### Reinterpretation of language boundaries

In order to test the language boundary hypotheses outlined in the sections above, I employed several tools: observation of intelligibility between varieties, speaker perception of intelligibility between varieties, and lexicostatistic analysis.<sup>38</sup>

For a definition of what constitutes a language, I am assuming mutual intelligibility as a key component. In cases where cultural cohesion is very high but intelligibility between varieties is low enough to make communication difficult (as in the case of Chinese language varieties, for example), I have been more hesitant to make linguistic differentiations. It is within this line of thinking that I have interpreted the results of my data gathering.

None of the tools discussed below is in itself a conclusive measure for defining language boundaries; however, taken together and in light of previous research they provide fairly clear indications of where such boundaries might lie.

#### *Observed intelligibility*

Although observed intelligibility may be a fairly accurate indicator, there were relatively few instances where speakers from distant parts of the Luri language area encountered one another in natural situations that I was able to observe. Of those situations that I observed, Southern Luri and Bakhtiāri speakers switched to Farsi to communicate with one another because they were unable to understand each other using their own language varieties; in the same way, Luristāni (Western Luri)<sup>39</sup> and Southern Luri speakers also switched to Farsi to communicate with each other. I did not observe Luristāni and Bakhtiāri speakers communicating with one another. Within the language areas which I have proposed, speakers of related dialects did not switch to Farsi or another dialect to communicate.

<sup>37</sup> See especially A. Moqimi, *Barrasi-ye guyesh-e Boyerahmad va ...* [Study of the Speech of Boyerahmad and ...] (Shiraz, 1994); A. Mosalmi, *Mamasani va Behesht-e Gomshoda* [Mamasani and Behesht-e Gomshoda] (Shiraz, 1990).

<sup>38</sup> Ideally, I would have liked to use recorded text testing as a more reliable indicator of dialect intercomprehension, as I have done in other language areas. See, for example, E. J. Anonby and E. Johnson, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan* (N'Djaména, Chad, 1999). However, I was not given governmental permission to perform these tests. Comparison of grammatical structures would also have been extremely valuable in defining the character of the language continuum, but detailed analysis would have to be performed on each of the varieties before relevant patterns could be isolated and catalogued. Thus, grammatical comparison is outside the scope of this paper in which the initial distinctions put forth need to be tested by other such indicators of linguistic relation.

<sup>39</sup> Herein I will use the term Luristāni in place of Western Luri, since it was the term in common use in the language area. This term "Luristāni" was originally applied to the whole Luri ethnic area. However, a present drawback to this term is that it is now associated with the province of Luristān, where a large proportion, but not all, of Luristāni speakers live.

*Perceived intelligibility*

Although the accuracy of any one speaker's perception of intelligibility between varieties may be questionable, a wide cross-section of subjects from a variety of language areas helped to inform results gathered using other instruments.

In my interactions with Luri speakers, I asked over 200 subjects questions about perceived intelligibility with other varieties.<sup>40</sup> Speakers from the Luristāni language area argued that Luristāni varieties were intelligible, whereas other varieties such as Bakhtiāri and the Laki varieties spoken by some Lurs were difficult or impossible to understand. Only a handful of subjects from the Luristāni language area had heard of the Southern Luri area (under any of its names), and all these subjects said that they could not understand the language spoken there.

Many Bakhtiāri speakers said that the variety of Bakhtiāri spoken in Chelgerd and Kohrang was very difficult to understand; otherwise, all varieties of Bakhtiāri were easily understood. For those who had had contact with speakers of Luristāni and Southern Luri, they maintained that these varieties were difficult to understand.

Very few Southern Luri speakers had had contact with speakers of Luristāni or Bakhtiāri. Among those that had, they maintained that Bakhtiāri was difficult and Luristāni was impossible to understand. Within the language area, speakers from other parts of the Southern Luri language area had some difficulty understanding speakers of Kohgiluyeh. Kohgiluyeh speakers, however, said that other varieties were easy to understand. Although many factors are involved here, I believe this reflects the fact that Kohgiluyeh speakers are bidialectal in other varieties of Southern Luri.

Further, it should be noted that subjects speaking intermediate dialects close to language boundaries often indicated a greater level of understanding of neighbouring "languages" than did those well within the language areas.

*Lexicostatistic analysis*

Lexicostatistic analysis (wordlist comparison) is instructive in that it is the only objective measure used in this study to measure relatedness between language varieties. However, with it come several weaknesses. For one thing, it tests only one small area of the language (the lexicon) and thus may not be directly correlated with mutual intelligibility. Secondly, there is no exact point at which a dialect may be defined as a language, or vice versa. Rather, varieties which are within the 70–90% lexical similarity threshold may *or* may not be considered as belonging to the same language.<sup>41</sup> Languages with over

<sup>40</sup> The questions that I asked of subjects related to language distribution, use, intelligibility and attitudes. A full presentation of the interview form is available in E. J. Anonby and E. Johnson, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Zaghawa (Beria) of Chad and Sudan* (N'Djaména, Chad, 1999). Of the data I gathered on Luri, only that which is relevant is summarised in the present article. One limitation to these informal interviews was that interviewees were almost exclusively male. Also, northern varieties of Luri were not as well represented as southern varieties.

<sup>41</sup> See T. G. Bergman, 'Summarizing and Drawing Conclusions from the Numbers in a Language Survey', in *Survey Reference Manual*, ed. T. G. Bergman (Dallas, 1989), section 8.1.5.

Farsi-Shirāzi Formal																		
77	Farsi-Bushehri																	
70	75	Luri-Mamasani 1																
76	79	89	Luri-Mamasani 2															
79	82	86	89	Luri-Boyerahmadi														
63	71	78	83	90	Luri-Kohgiluyeh*													
76	74	75	81	86	84	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Haftlang 1												
72	74	75	79	79	75	84	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Haftlang 2											
79	76	75	78	82	78	87	82	Luri-Bakhtiāri-Chahārlang										
80	74	73	75	73	71	72	73	74	Luri-Luristāni rural									
73	66	66	69	74	68	73	70	76	78	Luri-Luristāni "mixed"								
82	74	70	64	71	61	67	66	71	77	71	Luri-Luristāni-Borujerdi 1*							
85	85	69	77	81	NDA	81	85	81	60	65	67	Luri-Luristāni-Borujerdi 2*						
85	79	70	75	81	71	78	75	78	79	79	78	77	Luri-Luristāni-Khorramābādi					
70	65	61	65	70	67	66	67	66	69	73	67	77	78	Laki mixed				
70	64	61	65	69	63	65	67	66	69	73	66	65	78	92	Laki-Aleshtar			

Fig. 2. Percentages of lexical similarity between varieties of Luri.<sup>44 45</sup>

90% lexical similarity, on the other hand, will generally be considered dialects of a single language.<sup>42</sup>

For this study, I gathered twelve wordlists of 225 items (if possible) in most major dialect areas of all three proposed Luri language areas (see Figure 2).<sup>43</sup> As a control and to help define the boundaries of the Luri cluster, I gathered four supplementary wordlists (two Farsi varieties, two Laki varieties). Varieties were chosen based on cultural and linguistic centres found in the literature and given by speakers in the sociolinguistic interviews. Those marked with an asterisk indicate a lower reliability for a value because not enough words were compared to ensure statistical significance. Wordlists are transcribed in Appendix Two.

In the table Fig 2 above, a number of patterns are evident. The most striking pattern is **the presence of a continuum** from Farsi, through Luri, to Laki.<sup>46</sup> The varieties are arranged geographically from southeast to northwest. This continuum is evident, for example, in the percentages of lexical similarity between Luri-Mamasani and other varieties, where geographically more distant varieties become increasingly dissimilar. A number of lexical items in the wordlists also underline – with *justesse* – the validity of such a continuum. In

<sup>42</sup> Of course, this is a conservative interpretation of wordlist results considering that most of the western Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, French, Langue d'Oc, Corsican, Italian etc.) are over 90% lexically similar, yet are considered by many Western scholars to be distinct languages.

<sup>43</sup> This wordlist is based on Swadesh's well-known 100-item wordlist. The modified version was supplied by the Société Internationale de Linguistique in N'Djaména, Chad.

<sup>44</sup> This table is taken from an unpublished manuscript: E. J. Anonby, *Iranian Wordlists* (2001). Similarity with Farsi and Laki varieties is given for comparison.

<sup>45</sup> "Mixed" indicates that speakers had lived in more than one segment of a dialect area.

<sup>46</sup> Fattah's extensive Southern Kurdish and Laki wordlists confirm that the language continuum that begins with Farsi extends right through to Kurdish varieties. See I. K. Fattah, *Les dialectes kurdes méridionaux: Étude linguistique et dialectologique* (Louvain, 2000).

Appendix Two, one interesting lexical continuum (though not perfect) is as follows for item 13, “finger”:<sup>47</sup>

(Farsi:	<b>angušt)</b>
Southern Luri, Mamasani:	<b>tiyluw</b>
Southern Luri, Kohgiluyeh:	<b>čilyj</b>
Southern Luri, Boywerahmadi:	<b>kilyč</b>
Bakhtiāri, Haflang:	<b>kilyj</b>
(Bakhtiāri, Chārlang:	<b>anguliy)</b>
Luristāni, mixed:	<b>kilyk</b>
Luristāni, Khorramābādi and Laki:	<b>kilik</b>

Other eye-catching continua in Appendix Two are instantiated, for example, by items 24 “bone”, 148 “run” and 212 “near”.

The heightened percentage of all varieties’ similarity with Farsi is indicative of a second pattern, widespread **lexical borrowing from Farsi**.<sup>48</sup>

A further pattern informs **the division of Luri into three languages**: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri. These language groupings are bounded by the black line in the table; 80 % forms an approximate threshold for language divisions.<sup>49</sup> For researchers familiar with wordlist analysis, the precision of the language boundaries is notable, with the exception of Luristāni (where internal variation is higher).

Geographical proximity of adjacent varieties (such as Luristāni with Laki, or Bushehri Farsi with Southern Luri) is associated with greater lexical similarity whether or not the varieties are associated with the same language. This highlights **gradation at language boundaries**, even where ethnic boundaries are precise.

A list of Luri languages and their component dialects, based on the literature and the data presented above, is given in Appendix One.

### Conclusion: Luri as a continuum of three languages

Based on existing literature as well as the data presented in the previous sections, I have proposed that Luri is best classified as a language continuum between Kurdish and Farsi varieties, and is itself composed of three distinct languages: Luristāni, Bakhtiāri and Southern Luri (see Figure 3).

<sup>47</sup> I have here attempted to interpret the items phonologically in order not to obscure the underlying structural pattern of the continuum, but further analysis is needed as regards the northern varieties. For phonetic transcription of these items, see Appendix Two.

<sup>48</sup> This is evident because many varieties show a higher level of lexical similarity to Farsi than to some other languages in the Luri cluster, even though they are genetically more closely related to Luri varieties. This pattern does not occur with any other language variety in the data besides (Modern Standard) Farsi.

<sup>49</sup> 80 % may seem an arbitrary value at which to define language boundaries. In fact, any such figure is by nature arbitrary. However, this figure is descriptive (rather than prescriptive) in nature and its main value lies in the correlation between sociolinguistic indicators discussed earlier and a stable lexicostatistical value. Wordlist analysis may be used only as an initial indicator of language affinity groupings, and needs to be interpreted with reference to other indicators, as I have attempted to do in the present study.



Fig. 3. Division of the Luri ethnic area of Iran into language areas.

©2002 Erik John Anonby. Based on information given in Fattah (2000), Anonby (2002), Amanollahi (1991) and University of Texas at Arlington (1981).

**Notes:**

- 1) Although Laki speakers do not comprise part of the Luri language cluster, they are ethnically Luri and are shown on the same map for interest's sake.
- 2) Part of the population in Kermānshāhān and Ilām Provinces claims Luri ethnicity, but it seems that at least some of these individuals speak Southern Kurdish. The same is likely true across the Iraqi border from this area. This is a topic which deserves further investigation (see note 8); consequently, I have not delineated linguistic affiliation of this area on the map.
- 3) A small part of the southwestern section of the Southern Luri language area is shared with speakers of Qashqā'i (Turkic).
- 4) There are small enclaves of Luri speakers who have been forcibly settled in many of the provinces of western and central Iran in addition to the larger areas shown.

## Appendix One: List of Luri languages and major component dialects

<i>LANGUAGE</i>	<i>DIALECT</i>	<i>DIALECT CENTRES</i>
<b>Luristāni:</b>	Khorramābādi	Khorramābad
	Borujerdi	Borujerd
	Nahāvandi	Nahāvand
	Luri of Andimeshk	Andimeshk
	Rural dialects	(various)
<b>Bakhtiāri:</b>	Haflang (Haftlang)	Masjed-e Soleimān, Shahr-e Kord
	Chārlang (Chahārlang)	Shahr-e Kord, Dowrud
	Chelgerd	Chelgerd
	Kohrang	Kohrang
<b>Southern Luri:</b>	Boyerahmadi	Yāsuj
	Kohgiluyeh	Dehdasht
	Mamasani	Nurābād
	Shuli	Shul

### Appendix Two: Wordlists

These wordlists are taken from an unpublished manuscript: E. J. Anonby, 'Iranian Wordlists' (2001). Similarity with Farsi and Laki varieties is given for the sake of comparison, since I refer to these varieties in this article. The Luristāni-Rural wordlist is not from my own research, but is based on the glossary found in S. Amanollahi and W. Thackston, *Tales from Luristan* (Boston, 1986).

As is standard in current language data gathering, IPA (the International Phonetic Alphabet) is used for transcription of all lists. Since there are more than one hundred symbols which make up this alphabet, I will not provide a key here. Instead, I will refer the reader to the diagram in P. Ladefoged and I. Maddieson's book, *The Sounds of the World's Languages* (Oxford, 1996), p. 426.

I have chosen to provide phonetic, rather than phonemic, transcriptions (including that of the formal Shirazi dialect of Farsi). This is because insufficient work has been conducted in most of the varieties in question; several researchers who have attempted a phonemicization of data in the Luri languages without conducting sufficient phonological research have provided an inaccurate picture of the sound systems they describe (especially as pertains to vowel system processes and inventories), and I do not wish to repeat the same mistake here. If readers desire to learn more about the phonemic inventory of certain varieties and their phonetic correlates, they may consult the references provided in the endnotes. Another reason I have limited myself to phonetic transcriptions is that phonetic innovations in language communities may provide indicators of genetic structure among the languages in question.

In my following wordlist the abbreviation 'n/a' indicates that no data was available for a given item. An asterisk indicates information which I believe to be incorrect after having confirmed lists with other speakers in the same area. Phonetic stress is word-final unless otherwise indicated. Statistics for lexical similarity were generated using a computer programme: J. Wimbish, WORDSURV (Dallas, 1991).

In my article, 'Iranian Wordlists', I have recorded the following additional information for each wordlist: reliability, speaker's sex and age, date and location of elicitation, and other comments on the wordlists. The lists are also available on disk in WORDSURV format, along with decisions regarding the proposed cognate sets, should other researchers wish to compare these wordlists with data which they have themselves collected. Access to this information is available from the author at: <anonby@kastanet.org.>

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi-Bushehri	S Luri-Mamasani 1	S Luri-Mamasani 2	S Luri-Boyerahmadi	S Luri-Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari-Hafiang 1	Bakhtiari-Hafiang 2
1	head	saɣ	sar	saɣ	saɣ	sar, k'ala	sar	sar, kala	k'ala
2	hair	nu	mɪð	mɪɸ	mɪɸ	mi, mol	mi	mɪɸ	mi
3	eye	tʃiɾiŋ	tʃiɟ	tija	tija	tija	tija	tije	ti
4	nose	bini, damoɣ	damoɣ, puz	nɔɸi	nɔɸt	nɔɸɟ	nɔɸɟ	damoɣ, nɔɸɟ	nɔɸt
5	ear	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ	guɟ
6	mouth	dahun, dahan	da:m	k'ap <sup>a</sup>	k'ap	k'ap, tʃiɟ	cap, ts <sup>ɟ</sup> il	dihú	dəhon
7	tooth	dandan	dandan	dandan	dandan	dɛndɛn	dɛndũ	dɛndũ	dandɔ
8	tongue	zaban	zabun	zawn	zawn	zawn	zawn	zəβũ	zɔ
9	neck	g'ardan	g'ardan	bɔɟ	g'ardan	g'ardã	g'arda	g'arda	n/d
10	throat	galu	bot, qorqorɪɟ	biɣo:zi	boɟ	gɪlu, bot	qorut	bot	xɛɛ
11	arm	bozu (upper)	kul	biɣal (arms/bosom)	bɔzu (upper)	bɔzu (upper)	das	bɔzu (upper), das	boi
12	hand	dast	das	das:	das, mɔɟidas	das:	das, mɔɟ	das	das:
13	finger	aggoɟt	aggoɟt	pɛ:ndɔɟ	aggoɟt, tilu	k'ilitɪs	tselidz	kelidɔ	aggoɟt
14	nail	naxon	noxon	nɔxon	nɔxũ	nɔxũ	nɔxũ	nɔxũ	nɔxɔ
15	breast	pestan	n/d	pisun	pis:un	pɛs:ũ	n/d	pe:so, golun	pesto
16	stomach (belly)	ʃek'am	kom	ʃek'am, kɔm, mɛ:ɟɟ	kɔm	kom	kom	kom	kɔm
17	navel	nof	nof	nof	nof	nof	nof	nof	nof
18	back	poɟt	poɟt, kamar	poɟt <sup>a</sup> , k'amar	poɟt, k'amar	poɟt, moza	camar	poɟt, k'amar	poɟt
19	buttocks	k'afal	n/d	k'ulɔm	bɛsend	guk	n/d	kende	qim
20	leg	pa	pɔ	pɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ	pɔ	pɔ	pɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ
21	knee	zanu	zuni	zwni	zwni	zuni	zuni	zwni	zuni
22	foot	pa	n/d	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ	'mɔɟɟipɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ	pɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ɔ
23	skin	pust	pus	pus	pus	pus:	pus	pus	pus
24	bone	ʔostoxun	n/d	has	has	has:axũn	has	ʔosoxũ, xas	n/d
25	blood	xun	xin	xun	xun	xĩ	xin	xĩ	xĩ
26	urine	ʔedraq	n/d	ʃoɟ	ʃoɟ	mesa	n/d	meste	mestar
27	heart	dɛl, qalb	qalb	dɛɸ, qalb	dɛɟ, qalb	qalb	qalb	dɛɸ, qabl	dɛl, qalb
28	man	mæ:rd, ʔodam	mæ:rd, mardak	mæ:ɟɟ	merd	merd	merd, piɟo	piɟo	piɟo
29	woman	zan	zeneku	zan	zan	zan, zina	zina	zina	zina
30	child	batʃɛ	batʃaku	batʃ'a, ruð (dear child)	batʃa	batʃa, ru	batsa, ru (dear child)	batʃa, ru	batʃa
31	father	peɟaɟ	buwo	baw	baw	baw	baw	baw	baβa
32	mother	mɔɟaɟ	dej, nana	d'ɛɟ	d'ɛɟ	dej	dɔɟ, dɔɟ	dɔ, dɔɟ	dɔ, dɔɟa
33	brother	barodaɟ	koko	k'akɔ	kakɔ	kakɔ, g'awɾ	ɟaw	g'aw	g'aw
34	sister	xahaf	dɛðe	ɟaɟa	daða	deja	n/d	daj	daðu
35	uncle (maternal)	dai	xolu	hoβu, xoβu	hoɸ'u	hoβu	n/d	hoβu	hoβu
36	name	ʔesɾɟ, nam	num	nam	num	nũ	n/d	nũ	nom
37	chief (tribal)	xan	xon	xɔn	xɔn	xɔn	n/d	xɔn	xɔn
38	dog	sag <sup>ɟ</sup>	sag	sag <sup>ɟ</sup>	sag <sup>ɟ</sup>	kɔtu	n/d	kɔtu	kutu
39	goat	boz	boz	boɟ	boz	boz	n/d	boɟ	boz, biɟ <sup>a</sup>
40	chicken	morɛ	dɟidɟe	mɔriɟ	morɛ	dɟidɟa	n/d	mɔɾɟ, dɟidɟa	morɛ
41	bovine (cow-bull)	gav	gawa	gaw	gɔ	gow	n/d	gɔ	gɔ



Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
1	sar, kale	sar, kala, kalōsa	sar, kapu	n/d	k'ala	sar, kala	sar, kal'ā	kal'ā
2	mi	mi	mi	n/d	mu	mu	mī	mī
3	tije	tʃaf, tija	tija	n/d	tʃef	tʃaf	tʃ'am	tʃ'am
4	nəft	pət, nuq	pət	n/d	pət	daməy	pīt	pīt
5	guf	guf	guf	n/d	guf	guf	guf	guf
6	dohū	qap, dam	dam	n/d	dīun	dahan	dam	dam
7	dēndū	dandū	dənon	n/d	denū	danō	dənōw	dənōw
8	zovū	zawə	zaβu	n/d	zun	zaβo, zəw	zuo	zuo
9	g'ardā	gardā, mal:	mel	n/d	n/d	garde	məel	məel
10	gilu	halq	qorqora, halq	n/d	n/d	halq	tʰini	tʰini
11	k'at	bowi	pəl	n/d	n/d	bozu (upper)	bozu (upper)	bozu (upper)
12	das	das:	matʃ	n/d	n/d	das	das	das
13	əngoli	əngəft, kilik	kəelik	n/d	n/d	kələg	kələek	kələek
14	nəxəw	n/d	nəxə	n/d	n/d	nəxo	nəxo	nəxo
15	pəš:ū	n/d	pəšə	n/d	pesu	pəso	pə:soʰ	maɲek
16	ʔəfʃkam	ʔiʃkam, gada, dil, nuqdi	mɛ:ɟ, gada	n/d	ʔəfʃkam	gijə	g'ija, læm	g'ija
17	nəf	nəfa	nəf	n/d	n/d	nəfa	nəf	nəf, nəfa
18	gorde	pəft, gorda, kul, bō	məza, gorda	n/d	n/d	pəf	pəʰft	pə:ft
19	kende	n/d	qaj	n/d	n/d	naʃimanga	su, kɪpʰ	su, kɪpʰ
20	pə, ləgg	lɪp	səyuru, qəl	n/d	pə	pə	pə	pə
21	zuni	zuni	zuni, tʃaft	n/d	n/d	zaʰnoʰ	zə:wni	zə:wni
22	pə	pə	mutʃapə	n/d	pə	pə	pə	pə
23	pus	pus:	pʰus, tuk	n/d	n/d	pus	pus	pus
24	haš, ʔəsoxū	n/d	s:əxo	n/d	n/d	ʔostəxo	s'əxo	s'əxo
25	xī	n/d	xi	n/d	xū	xun, xu	xi	x'ɪ
26	meste	zarəw, tʃur	tʃər	n/d	ji, lbs	tʃərka	gi, tʃ'ər	tʃ'ər
27	qalb	dil	dəl	n/d	dət	qalb	qalb	də:l, qalb
28	n/d	mard, piyo, ʔədam	piyo	n/d	n/d	mard	piyo	piyo
29	zine	zan, zyna	zina	n/d	n/d	zan	ʒan	ʒan
30	dʒə'ale	batsa, batʃ, rula	terpetil	n/d	ru (dear child)	hatʃa	ʔowil	ʔowilʰ
31	bəuw	pɪdər, bua	buwa	n/d	bawa	buwa	buwa	buwa
32	nana	dəlakə, də:	də:	n/d	də, dɔja, nənə	də	də, dɔləkə	də
33	kəkə	gijə	bərə(r), gijə	n/d	bərər	bərər	bərə	bərə
34	dəbi	x'ar	x'ar, dādə	n/d	x'ər	x'ar	xowə	xweja
35	dəi	həlu	həlu	n/d	xəlu	həlu	həlu	həlu
36	nū	ʔisnɪ	num	n/d	nū	nom	nə:m	nə
37	xən	n/d	xən, xu	n/d	xən	xən	xən	xən
38	saj	saj	seji	n/d	sej	sej	sej	səg, gəməl
39	boz	boz	boz	n/d	boz	boz	boz	bəz
40	dʒidʒə	murɪ	dʒidʒə	n/d	n/d	dʒidʒə	dʒidʒə	dʒ'ɪdʒək
41	gə	gəw	gəw	n/d	gəw	gəw	gəw	gəw

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi- Bushehri	S Luri- Mamasani 1	S Luri- Mamasani 2	S Luri- Boyerahmadi	S Luri- Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiāri- Haflang 1	Bakhtiāri- Haflang 2
42	horn (cow)	fəx	fəx	fəχ	fəχ	fəx	n/d	fəx	fəx
43	tail	dom	dom	dəm	dəmb	dom	n/d	domb, din	dom
44	camel	fətər	fəstər	fətər	fətor	fətor	n/d	fətor	fəstər
45	lion	fir	fir	fir	fir	fir	n/d	fir	fir
46	snake	mər	mər	mər	mər	mər	n/d	mər	mər
47	fish	mohi	mohi	mohi	mohi	mohi	n/d	mohi, gəlar (spec.?)	mohi
48	bird	parandə	bonda	parandə, bohəndə	bohənda	bohənda	n/d	bohənda	paranda
49	ant	murtjə	muri	muri	muri	muri	n/d	muri	muri
50	spider	fəngk'abət	fəfəf	gəndər	fə'binək', rəstə'it'	gondor	n/d	fə'tū	fə'tū
51	scorpion	fəqrab	fəqrab	fəqrab	fəqrab	fəqrab	n/d	guwi	bədi
52	louse	fəfəf	fəf	fəf	fəf	fəf	n/d	fəf	fəfəf
53	tree	daraxt	daraxt	dəraxt	dər	dər, daraxt	n/d	dər, daraxt	dər
54	branch	fəxə	fəxə	ləyā	ləkəgā	ləyā, ləifjā	n/d	fəxə, ləxt	fəx
55	leaf	bərg	bəlg	bərg	pər	pər	n/d	pər	bəlg
56	bark	pustədaraxt	pūs	kuot	kuot	pustidaraxt	n/d	pustidaraxt, pusidor	pustidor
57	root	rifə	rifə	rifa	rifa	rifa	n/d	rifa	səq
58	flower	gol	gol	gəf	gol	gol	n/d	gol	gol
59	seed	toxm, dənə, bazr	t'əox	duq	toxm	toxm	n/d	toxm	toxm, duna, bazr
60	grass	fəlaləf	fəlaləf	fəlaləf	fəlaləf	fəlaləf	n/d	fəlaləf, carnā	fəlaləf
61	sky	fəseman	fəsoəmən	həv	fəsamən	fəsamən	n/d	fəsamən	fəsimən
62	cloud	fəbər	fəwər	fəwər	fəwər	fəwər, fəbr	n/d	fəwər	fəwər
63	sun	fəftəb	fəftəw	gə'fərmən	fəftəw	fəftəw	n/d	fəftəw	fəftəw
64	moon	māh	moh	mə	mə	mə	n/d	māh	mə, mā
65	night	fəb	fəw	fəw	fəw	fəw	n/d	fəw	fəw
66	star	setərə	setərə	sitorə	sitorə	sitorə	n/d	setərə, fəstərə	fəstərə
67	wind	bəd	bəd	bəf	bəf	bəf	n/d	bəd	bəd
68	earth (material)	zamin	zəmən	zamin	zamin	zamin	n/d	zimin	zimin
69	hill	təpə	təl	təf	təl	təl	n/d	təpə, tof	təl
70	rock (large, 1m)	səng	səng	bə'əd	səng', bərd, kit'ək', kətor, kər	kətor	n/d	bərd	bərd
71	sand	məsə, fən	məsə	məsə	məsə	məsə	n/d	məsə	məsə
72	dust	xək	gəl	g'ət	g'ət, xəl	gəl	n/d	g'ət	g'ət
73	pebble	rīg	rīg	bə'əd	riz	riz, təngər	n/d	rīg	rīg
74	water	fəb	fəw	fəw	fəw	fəw	n/d	fəw	fəw
75	dew	fəbnəm	nəm	fəwnəm	fəwnəm	fəwnā	n/d	fəwnā	fəwnā
76	river (- course)	rədxənə	dərə	fəw	ru	fəw	n/d	ru, gəl	rū
77	fire	fətef	təf	təf	təf	təf	n/d	təf	təf
78	smoke	dud	dəd	dəf	dəd	dəf	n/d	dəf	dəf
79	ember	zəkələsər	xərən	xərən	xərən	xərən	n/d	zəkələsər	fəg'ət
80	year	səl	səl	sət	səl	səl	n/d	səl	səl
81	summer	təbətən	təwəsən	tə'əwəsən	təwəsən	təwəsən	n/d	təwəsən	tə'əwəsən

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlāng	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni-mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
42	fɒx	doq	fɒx	fɒx	fɒx	fɒx	fɒx	fɒx
43	dom	dum	d <sup>l</sup> əm	dom	dəm	dym	dum	d <sup>l</sup> əm
44	fɔtor	fɔtor	fɪtɛr	dʒamal	ʔɛfɪtɛr	fɔtɛr	fɔtɛr	f <sup>l</sup> ɔtɛr
45	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr	fɪr
46	mɔr	hafi	mɔr	mɔr	mɔr	mɔr	mɔr	mɔr
47	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi	mɔi
48	paranda	bolana	parana	n/d	n/d	paranda	n/d	paranda
49	muri	n/d	mɛrɪʒa	murtʃa	mɛrtʃa	mɛrɪʒ	mɛrɪʒ	mɪrɪʒ
50	ʔaŋk'abut	n/d	ʔaŋk'abut	zalıpa	kɔrtɔna	ʔaŋk'abut	fɛitɔn	fɛito
51	gaʒdi	n/d	kazdɛm	ʔarqab	n/d	ʔayrɛ	ʔagrɛ, dymmarkul	dymmarkul, kulɔʒdɛm
52	fɛʃ	n/d	fɛʃ	fɛpɛʃ	rɛʃk	fɛʃ	fɛʃ	fɛʃ
53	dɔr	dɔr, daraxt	dɔr, dɔraxt	dɔr, daraxt	diraxt	dɔr, daraxt	dɔr	dɔr
54	fɔxa	falt, tʃal, tʃokal	tarka	fɔx	fɔxa	fɔxa	fɔxa	fɔxa
55	bag	bag	balg	banak <sup>l</sup> *	bag	balg	balg, varg	balg
56	pusidor	n/d	tukɛdɔr	pusidor	pusidiraxt	pusidaraxt	pusidor	pusidor
57	rɪʃa	rɪʃa, bɪx	rɪʃa, bɪx	sɔq	rɪʃa	rɪʃa	bɛn <sup>*</sup>	rɪʃa
58	gol	gul	g <sup>w</sup> əl	gol	gəl	gol	gol	guwil
59	baz	dɛna	tɔ:m	tɔxŋ, bazɪ	dū	tɔxŋ	t <sup>l</sup> ɪm	t <sup>l</sup> ɪm
60	ʔalaf	n/d	sə <sup>w</sup> zi, sowzilakoni	ʔalaf	ʔalef	caman, gija	gija	gija
61	ʔosamū	havɔ	ʔosɛmɔ	ʔosɛmɔ	ʔosɛmū	ʔosimū	ʔosimɔw	ʔosimɔw
62	ʔawr	ʔawr	ʔɔwr	ʔɔwr	n/d	ʔɔwr	ʔɔwr	ʔɔwr
63	ʔaftɔw	ʔaftɔw, kur	ʔaftɔw	ʔaftɔw, g'armi	n/d	ʔaftɔw	ʔaftɔw, hɔqar	hɔqar
64	mah	mɔ	ma	mɔ, ma	n/d	n/d	mɔh	mɔq
65	fɔw	fɔw	fɔw	fɔw	n/d	fɔɛ	fɔ	fɔ
66	setɔra	ʔosarɔ	ʔosɔrɔ	setɔra	n/d	setɔra	ʔosɔrɔ	sitɔra, ʔosɔrɔ
67	bɔj	bɔq	bɔq	bɔɔ	n/d	bɔq	vɔ	vɔ
68	zimi	zamin, xɔk	zemi	zamia	n/d	zimi	ziml, zamin	ziml
69	tapa, tol	tapa	n/d	n/d	n/d	tapa	tapa	tapa
70	bærd	sajɪ, bard	sæjɪ, bærd	n/d	n/d	saxra, bard	bærd	bærd
71	mɔsa	n/d	mɔsa	n/d	n/d	mɔsa	fɛn	mɔsa
72	hɔk <sup>l</sup>	tuz	xɔkituz	n/d	n/d	xɔk	xɔk	xɔk
73	rig	galu	ris	n/d	n/d	driy	ris	ris, kutʃɛk
74	ʔɔw	ʔɔw	ʔɔw	n/d	n/d	ʔɔw	ʔɔw	ʔɔw
75	fəwnā	n/d	fawnam	n/d	n/d	fɔnim	fɔman	fɔnɛm
76	ruhuna	galɔl, darʒɔ	rudx <sup>w</sup> ɔna, gelul	n/d	n/d	gelal	ru	ru
77	taf	n/d	taf	n/d	n/d	taf	ʔɔgɔr	ʔɔgɔr
78	di	dy	diɔ	n/d	n/d	di	di	dqi
79	xɔrɛŋ <sup>l</sup>	n/d	tɛʃpara	n/d	n/d	ʔazgel	piriskə	mɔz
80	sɔl	sɔl	sɔl	n/d	n/d	sal	sal	sal
81	towesū	n/d	tawesu	n/d	n/d	towaso	towesow	towesow

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi-Bushehri	S Luri-Mamasani 1	S Luri-Mamasani 2	S Luri-Boyerahmadi	S Luri-Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiāri-Hafiang 1	Bakhtiāri-Hafiang 2
82	winter	zemeston	zemsun	zimisʷən	zimisə	zimes:ū	n/d	zemesū	zemesto
83	village	dēh, rusta, ʔabadi	dē	məl	dē, rustə, ʔəbədī	dē, rustə, məl, ʔəbədī	n/d	rustə, xərɔn	məl
84	field (plain)	dəʃt, sahra	bijobun	gʷəʃ	dəʃt	dəʃt, sarə	n/d	sarə, lawa	sarə
85	path	dʒade, rah	dʒade	dʒəɔdə, ra	dʒəɔdə, xata, kiʃara	dʒada	n/d	dʒəɔdə, rah	dʒəɔdə, ra
86	house	xone	xune	tʰuw	həna	huna	n/d	hone, həwʃə	hona
87	bed	taxt	taxt	tʰaxtʰ	taxt	taxtixəws	n/d	dʒəɔdʒəp (mat)	taxt
88	hole	surax	silby	sʷime	sima	sima (in wall), tʃa, tʃəla, gowd	n/d	tʃa, tʃəla (in ground), god	silə
89	rubbish (piece)	ʔəʃxəl	ʔəʃyəl	rəʃiʔfakʲ	rəʃiʔfakʲ, zəβəla	ʔəʃxəl, xilarəf	n/d	ʔəʃxəl	ʔəʃqəl, roʃerə
90	clothing (piece)	lɛbas	lɛβəs	libəs	libəs	libəs, dʒəsuma (shirt)	n/d	rext (bedding)	raxtʰ (bedding)
91	saddle	zin	zin	zi	zīn	zī	n/d	zin	tark
92	pot (metal)	digʲ	pətil	digʲ	dizi, pətil	pətil, fətil	n/d	diŋ	koməʃ
93	meat	guʃt	guʃt	gʷuʃt	guʃ	guʃt	n/d	guʃt	guʃt
94	salt (edible)	namakʲ	namakʲ	nɛmɛkʲ	nɛmɛkʲ	nimekʲ	n/d	nemek	nemekʲ
95	oil	rowšan	ruyan	rəgʷə	ruwə	rowyā	n/d	ruyɛ	rowšā
96	egg (chicken)	toxɪ	xəg	xəgʲ	xəgʲ	xəgʲ	n/d	toxɪ, xəje	xəjə
97	milk	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	ʃir	n/d	ʃir	ʃir
98	hunger	gərsnəgʲi	gəʃnei	gərsnei	gərsnei	gərsnei	n/d	gərsnə (adj)	gərsnə (adj)
99	thirst	tʃnəgʲi	təʃnə (adj)	tʃnəi	tʃnəi	tʃnəi	n/d	tʃnə (adj)	tʃnə (adj)
100	rope	tənəb, rismən, bənd	bən	bənɔ	bənd	bənd	n/d	vəris	tənəf, bənd
101	iron (metal)	ʔəhan	ʔəhən	ʔəhā	ʔəhən	ʔəhē	n/d	ʔəhē	ʔəhən
102	knife (small)	tʃəku	kʰərd	tʃəku, tʃəqu	tʃəku	tʃəku	n/d	tʃəqu	tʃəku
103	war	dʒəngʲ	dʒəŋ	dʒəŋ	dʒəŋ	dʒəngʲ, dʒəŋ	n/d	dʒəŋ	mərəfə
104	one	jekʲ	jek	ja, jikʲ	jekʲ, ja	jekʲ, jak	n/d	jak	jakʲ
105	two	də	də	də	də	də	n/d	də	də
106	three	sə	sə	sə	sə	sə	n/d	sə	sə
107	four	tʃəhəʃ	tʃəʃ	tʃəʃ	tʃəʃ	tʃəʃ	n/d	tʃəʃ	tʃəʃ
108	five	pəŋdʒ	pəŋdʒ	pəŋdʒ	pā	pəŋdʒ	n/d	pəŋ	pā
109	six	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃiʃ	ʃəʃ, ʃuʃ	n/d	ʃəʃ	ʃəʃ
110	seven	həʃ	həʃ	həʃ	həʃ	həʃ	n/d	həʃ	həʃ
111	eight	həʃt	həʃ	həʃ	həʃ	həʃ	n/d	həʃ	həʃ
112	nine	nə	nə	nəh	nə	nəh	n/d	nə	nə
113	ten	də	də	də	də	dəh	n/d	də	də
114	eleven	ʒəzə	ʒəzə	ʒəzə	ʒəzə	ʒəzə	n/d	ʒəzə	ʒəzə
115	twenty	bist	bist	bist	bis	bis	n/d	bis	bist
116	one hundred	səd	səd	səd	səd	səj	n/d	səd	səd
117	much	zidə, xəʲli	xəʲli	n/d	zidə, jəkəli, məli	zidə, jəkəli, məli, jətəl	n/d	zidə, jəkəli, məli	jekuli
118	little (amount)	kʰəm	kʰəm	kʰəm	kʰəm	kʰəm, zərə, pitʃə	n/d	kəm	kʰəm
119	all	həmə, kəli	həmə	həmə	həmə	həmə	n/d	həmə	həmə
120	good	xuw	xuw	xuʃ	xuw	xuʃ	n/d	xuw	xuw
121	bad	bəd	bəd	bəd	bəd	bəj	n/d	bəj	bəd

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerd 1	Luristāni-Borujerd 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
82	zemesū	zimisū	zemesu	n/d	n/d	zemasū	z'emesow	z'emesow
83	de:, ?oboi	dy	rəwəq, ?əβodi	n/d	n/d	de, dea, ?əβodi	?obodi	dy
84	sarə	majdū	bifa	n/d	n/d	bijabū	howmri	dajt, howmri
85	dʒada, rah	rah, ra, rah, lu:, sara*	dʒada	n/d	n/d	dʒada	dʒada	dʒada
86	hone	huna	hona	n/d	n/d	hona, xona	hona	mol
87	dʒoldʒo (mat)	taxt	raxtixəw (mattress)	n/d	n/d	tax	taxt	taxt
88	tʃa, tʃola (in ground), god	n/d	silo	n/d	n/d	silo, tʃola (in ground), god	sijlo	kəno
89	?əfχol	n/d	?əfχol, pertol	n/d	n/d	?əfχol	?əfχol	?əfχol
90	rext (bedding)	libos, dʒarda, puʃin, partu, partol	dʒoma	n/d	n/d	labos	labos	labos
91	zin	n/d	zin	n/d	n/d	zin	zin	zin
92	dig	potil, dasador, tos	potil	n/d	n/d	dik, potil, tətʃa	potil	potil, tælama
93	gujt	gujt	gujt	n/d	n/d	gujt	gujt	gujt
94	nemek	namak	nəmak	n/d	n/d	nimak	xuwo	xuwo
95	ruya	rawyā	rəyu	n/d	n/d	reyo	rin	rin
96	toxm	xoja	toxmox, xoja	n/d	n/d	toxm, ter	xoja	xoja, xo
97	fir	n/d	fir	n/d	n/d	fir, feir	fir	fir
98	gosna (adj)	gusnai	gosna (adj)	n/d	n/d	gosna (adj)	versəni	versəni
99	tefna (adj)	tʃna (adj)	tʃna (adj)	n/d	n/d	tefna (adj)	tini	tini
100	band	ban, navər	tanəw	n/d	n/d	band	rasan, ban	tənoʃ, rasan
101	?əhē	n/d	?əhē	n/d	n/d	?əhe	?əhəen	?əhəen
102	kərq	kərtʃu	tʃaqu	n/d	n/d	tʃayu	tʃaku	tʃaku
103	dʒær	dʒaʃ, masof	qi	n/d	n/d	dʒaʃ	dʒaʃ, marofa	dʒaʃ, marofa
104	jak	jak, je	jak	n/d	n/d	jak	jak	jak
105	do	du	d'əw	n/d	n/d	dʋ	dœ	dœ
106	se	se	sa	n/d	n/d	sœ	si	si
107	tʃər	tʃər	tʃər	n/d	n/d	tʃər	tʃər	tʃər
108	pəʃj	pəʃdʒ	pəʃj	n/d	n/d	pəʃdʒ	pəʃdʒ	pəʃdʒ
109	ʃaʃ	ʃaʃ	ʃaʃ	n/d	n/d	ʃaʃ	ʃaʃ	ʃaʃ
110	haʃ	haʃt	haʃ	n/d	n/d	haʃ	haʃt	haʃt
111	haʃ	haʃt	haʃ	n/d	n/d	haʃ	haʃ	haʃ
112	no	noh	n'əw	n/d	n/d	nəw	ny	ny
113	da	da	da	n/d	n/d	da	d'a	d'a
114	joza	n/d	joza	n/d	n/d	joza	joza	joza
115	bis	n/d	bis, 'dad'əw	n/d	n/d	bis:	bis	bis
116	sad	sad	sad	n/d	n/d	saʃ	sad	sad
117	zijo, jəkəli	n/d	zijaʃ	n/d	xe'li	zijaʃ	fara	fara
118	kam	kam, dʒaxtv, qary	kam, quli, hida	n/d	n/d	kam	k'am	kam
119	hama	hama, kul, jamin, taməm	hama	n/d	ham:a	hama	kolʃ	kœʃ
120	xuw	xu:	xuw	n/d	xuw	xuw	xuw	xuw
121	bəʃ	bad	gan	n/d	n/d	baʃ	bad	bad, gand

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi-Bushehri	S Luri-Mamasani 1	S Luri-Mamasani 2	S Luri-Boyerahmadi	S Luri-Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari-Haftang 1	Bakhtiari-Haftang 2
122	old (thing)	kohne	lek'e	nimdoɣ	kona, nimdoɣ	kona, nimdoɣ	n/d	kona	kona
123	new	no, dʒedid	no, toza	nɔw	nu	nɔw	n/d	nɔw	nu
124	hot	daɹ	sɔrx	g'arɲ	g'ærm	doɣ	n/d	daɹ	doq
125	cold	særd	sar	særdɟ	særd	sarɟ, xənok	n/d	særd	xənokʲ
126	tall	qadboland	bolan	he'k'æj	bəland, g'æpu	he'kal, gonda, dəroz, ʃəlaɪ	n/d	qabolæ, bolæqa, ræj, he'kal	bəlan
127	short (height)	qadkuta	kutʃikʲ	kut'ɔ	kut'ɔ, koʃku, koʃkəlu	kəʃləj, koʃku, xordəlu	n/d	kutoqa	kut'ɔ, fiʃqeni
128	long	dəroz, boland	bolan	ʃolanɟ	bəland	dəroz, bɔrikʲ	n/d	bolæ	bəleɲ
129	short (length)	kuta, kutʃek	kutʃikʲ	kut'ɔ	kuto	kəʃləj, dʒəmdʒur	n/d	kutʃir	fiʃqeni
130	heavy	səng'in	səngin	səng'i	səng'i	səng'i	səg'i	səngi	səng'i
131	light	səbokʲ	sifokʲ	s'əbəkʲ	səbokʲ	səbokʲ	səbokʲ	səvek	sifəkʲ
132	full	pɔr	pɔɣ	p'ɔɟ	p'ɔr	p'ɔr	pɔr	pɔr	pɔr
133	empty	xoli	xoli	xoli, paʃi	xoli, paʃi	xoli	xoli	holi, pati	pati
134	clean	təmis	t'əmis, p'ɔkʲ	pɔkʲ	pɔkʲ	təmis, pɔk	pɔc	təmis, pɔk	pɔkʲ
135	dirty	k'asif	tʃəpəl	g'ændɟ	g'ændɟ, tʃerku	k'əsif, g'ənd, tʃerku	cesif, peləʃt	kesif, tʃerɟ	nədʒest
136	dry	xoʃk	xəʃk	xɔʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk	xɔʃ	hoʃk	xoʃk
137	red	qərməz, sɔrx	sɔrx	sɔɟɣ	sɔɟɣ	sɔrx	sɔrx	sɔr	sɔr
138	black	sia, məʃki	sjo	sij	si	se	sə', məʃki	ʃa	ʃa
139	white	səfid	səfid	səfid	səfid	səfi	səfid	ʔəsby	ʔəspid
140	leave (3s past)	rəft	rɛ	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə
141	come	ʔəmad	ʔume	ʔuma	ʔuma	ʔuma	ʔo'mad	ʔoʊe, ʔəʊo	ʔeʊe
142	arrive	resid	ʔume	resi	resi	resi	rasi	rasi	resi
143	get up	bolandʃəd	rəsəwi	varis'ɔ	variso	bəlandoʃi, variso	vari	viriso	veristo
144	sit	nəʃəst	nəʃɟ	nəʃəst	nifəs:	nifəs:	nifəs	nəʃəʃ	nəʃəst
145	lie down	dərazk'ʃid	xəwsi	χəwsi	xəwsi	dərozziʃi	dərozziʃi	xəwsi	xəwsi, ləmdo
146	fall	ʔəftud	ʔəfto	n/d	ʔəftos	ʔəfto	ʔəfto, vɛrxə	vas	vəst
147	walk	qadəzəd, pijədək'ærd	xolike	n/d	vareira	pijəziʃi	pijəziʃi	pijəjeke	rə
148	run	dəvid	gɔrɔt	dʒikisʲ	dʒikes	doʃes, dʒəkəs	docs	dəwni	dəwni
149	swim	ʃənk'ærd	ʃənoke	məlakʲ	məlakʲ	məlakʲ	məlakʲ	məlakʲ	məlakʲ
150	fly (bird)	pərid, parvəz'g'ereft	gəʃte	bol'g'ɔ	b'olk'ɟ	bol'k'ɟ	bolc	pəres	vɛrən(d), dʒest
151	see	did	di	diɟ	di	dij	dij	di	dij
152	hear	ʃənid	ʔəʃnoft	ʔifnəwʃt	ʔifnəwʃt	ʔəʃnoft	ʔəʃnoft, ʃənoft	ʔəʃni	ʔəʃnoft
153	smell (scent)	buid	bujuma	buʔifnəwʃt	bukʲ	bukʲ	n/d	buke	bu
154	give birth	zəid	zəj	ze, z'ʊej	zəj	zəʃes	n/d	zəit	zəst, zəʊɔr
155	die	mord	mord	mɔɟɟ	mɔrd	mɔɟɟ	n/d	mɔɟɟ	mord
156	sleep	xəbid	xəwsi	xəwsi	xəwsi	xəwsi	n/d	xəwsi	xəwsi
157	blow (on)	fuk'ærd	hoʃke	hɔʃk'ærd	hoʃk'ɟ	hoʃk'ɟ	n/d	həʃk'ɟ	hoʃk'ed
158	whistle (with mouth)	sutəd	fikedo	ʃitəzəd	futəzə, futəzə	futəzə	n/d	ʃitəzi	ʃitəz
159	swell	vəram'ərd, mələvərəmʃəd	bəŋke	p'ɔfk'ɟ	p'ɔfk'ɟ	bəŋk'ɟ	n/d	bəŋk'ɟ	pɔfk'ɟ

Item	Bakhtiari-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorrābādi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
122	kona	kuhne, tʃnq	kona	n/d	n/d	k'ena	kona	kʷena
123	now	nu, tar, toza	nu, toza	n/d	n/w	næʷ	n/w	n/w
124	dəq	n/d	dəq	n/d	dəq	dəy	dəq	dəq
125	særd	saɾd	sar	n/d	særd	saɾd	særd, hənek	særd
126	qabolə, boləq, rəf, he'kal	bolan	bələng	n/d	dərdz	bolanʷad	dəriʒ	dəriʒ
127	kutəqa	galil	kəl	n/d	n/d	kuto, kotʃe	kol	kʷəl
128	bolə	n/d	dərdz, bələn	n/d	dərdz	daraz, bəlan	dəriʒ	dəriʒ
129	kutʃir	kuto, galil, kul	k'əɹ	n/d	n/d	kotʃek	koj	gərdʒar, k'əɹ
130	sapgi	saɾi	saɾi	n/d	n/d	saɾi	sapgi, saqal	saɾi, saqal
131	səvək	n/d	səvək	n/d	n/d	səvək	sə'ək	sə'ək
132	por	por	p'or	n/d	n/d	por	pær	pær
133	holi	holi, pati, piki	ho'li	n/d	xoli	xoli, pati	hoʃi	hoʃi
134	təmiz, pək	tamiz	tamiz, pək	n/d	tamiz, pəkʷ	tamiz, pək	tamiz, pək	tamiz, pək
135	kesif, tʃerk	katʃal	kasif, napək	n/d	pis	tʃerku, tʃerku	kesif, tʃerku, nadʒes, nopək	kesif, nadʒes, nopək, tʃerku
136	hoʃk	xoʃk, hoʃk, sabaq	xoʃk, hoʃk	n/d	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk	xoʃk
137	sor	sur	s'ər	n/d	sorx	sərx	svr	sər
138	ʃa	sv, sijo, tymā	sə	n/d	sjo	sjo, si	sʷi	sʷi
139	ʔespi	ʔisvi, lakar	safid, ʔespi	n/d	sefid	ʔespi	ʔespi	ʔespi
140	ra	ratə (verbs are infinitive)	ratə (verbs are infinitive)	n/d	rat	rat	rat	ʃi
141	ʔima	ʔumodā	ʔo'moʃ	n/d	ʔomo	ʔoma	ho'it	jeħet
142	resi	n/d	rasis	n/d	reses	rases	راسي	rasi
143	virisə	n/d	riphesoje, verisə	n/d	n/d	varisə	hizgəf	hizgəf
144	neʃaf	nifasə	neʃas	n/d	n/d	nifas	nifi	nif
145	xowsi	n/d	dərdzəkʃije	n/d	n/d	darozbi	diro'zbi	kætel'ə
146	vas	ʔiftodā	zemihardi	n/d	ʔeftos	ʔofto	kat	kat
147	pijojeke	n/d	qadamzaji, rarət	n/d	n/d	pijobi	pijobi	pijodabi
148	downit	krədavadaw	dawis	n/d	dʒekəs	dəqes	rami	not'ədy
149	malak'e	n/d	mal'okardi	n/d	ʃənokərd	maləβonikərd	mal'akərdə	miləβonikərd
150	peres	parisā	pəris	n/d	paris	parəs	vozgərt, voldərt	vozgərti
151	di	didā	dije	n/d	n/d	di	di	di
152	ʔijnəft	ʔi'naftā	ʔejnaft, famasi	n/d	jenəft	ʔejnaft	ʔejnaft	jenafiti
153	buke	n/d	bukərd	n/d	bues, bumekərd	bumijo, bukarʃ	buka	bukərti
154	zəit	borihamalrodā	zəi	n/d	zəes	zəas	zəi	zəi
155	mərd	mərd	mərd	n/d	mərd	mərd	mərd	mərd
156	xowsi	xow(n), hofidā	hofti, xawis	n/d	n/d	hofti	hofti	ħət
157	hofk'e	poʃkrdā	poʃkərd	n/d	n/d	poʃkərd	poʃkərd	poʃkərd
158	ʃitza	n/d	ʃitza	n/d	n/d	ʃitza	ʃitza	ʃitdoti
159	bədk'e	n/d	βədkərd	n/d	n/d	βədkərd, huʃkərd	vəkərd	pafalakkərd, vəkərd

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi-Bushehri	S Luri-Mamasani 1	S Luri-Mamasani 2	S Luri-Boyerahmadi	S Luri-Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari-Hafiang 1	Bakhtiari-Hafiang 2
160	suck (finger)	mek'ɨd	meqzɛ	n/d	mekano	mekza	n/d	mekzei	metine
161	spit	tofandaxt	tofke	tʰofkʰɛ	tʰofkʰɛ	tofkʰɛ	n/d	tofkʰɛ	tofkʰɛ
162	cough	sarfekʰæ:d	kofake	kifaza	kifaza	kifaza, kifakʰɛ	n/d	kofni	kofakʰɛ
163	vomit	?estefraukʰæ:d	bolobɔ	həʃukʰɛ	həluukʰɛ	holuukʰɛ, ?buordbɔ	n/d	?avordbɔ, qesijike	hofesbijok - xard
164	bark (dog)	parskʰæ:d	vakke	pʰorskʰɛ	porsikʰɛ	porskʰɛ	n/d	porskʰɛ	poskʰɛ
165	bite (animal)	gozgerɛft	kalmze	dandəŋgʰɛrɔ	gʰiɾɔ	gozgero	n/d	gamzaj	gamzaj
166	eat	xord	xɔ	xarɔ	xa	xa	n/d	xarɔ	xard
167	drink	xord, nufid	xɔ	xarɔ	xa	xa	n/d	xarɔ	xard
168	want	xost	xds:	xosɿ	xos:	xos:	n/d	xos:	xost
169	fear	tærsid	zala:fra	zala:fra	tarsi	zala:fra	n/d	tarsi, zalesra	zalesra, verhelbsɛst
170	know (something)	dænst, baladbud	fami	dunes:	dunes:	dunes	n/d	dunes:	dunest
171	think	fekʰkʰæ:d	fek:ɛ	fekrkʰɛ	fekʰkʰɛ, husokʰɛ	fek:ɛ	n/d	fekʰɛ	fek:ɛr
172	count	femord	?ɛfmord	ʃimɔrɔ	ʃimɔrɔ	?ɛfmard	n/d	?ɛfmor	ʃimarɔ
173	suffer, have pain (body)	dædkʰæ:d	darɔke	dardikʰɛ	dardikʰɛ, fahmi	dardikʰɛ, dardgʰero	n/d	darɔke	dardkʰɛ
174	laugh	xandekʰæ:d, xandid	xandes	xandɛsʰ	xandes	xandes	n/d	xandes	xandest
175	cry	gʰerjekʰæ:d	gerjekʰɛ	gʰɛriβɛsʰ	gʰiɾives, gʰiɾivokʰɛ	gʰiɾiβɛs	n/d	geriβɛs	gʰiɾivest
176	say	goft	gɔ	gɔ, goɿ	gɔʰ	go	n/d	go	god
177	ask	porsid, suilkæ:d	parsi	pʰorsʰikʰɛ	pʰorsikʰɛ	porskʰɛ	n/d	porsid, porskʰɛ	parsi
178	sing	?avəzxənd	ʃɛrxon	bɛitʰxənd	?avəzxənd, deibal(n) - xənd	?avəzxūn, ʃɛrxun	n/d	?vəvəxənd	?avəvəxɔ
179	dance	rəxsid	rəxsi	rəqəskʰɛ	raqskʰɛ, varboxt	raqəbɛs	n/d	raqsis, bozes	rasvɛɟ
180	play (child)	bozikʰæ:d	bozike	bozikʰæ:ɔ	bozikʰɛ	bozikʰɛ	n/d	bozikæ:ɔ	bozikʰɛ
181	give	dad	dəð	dəɔ	də	də	n/d	də	də
182	show	nɛfəndəd	nufundo	nɛʃunɛfəndəd	nifundo	nifundo	n/d	nɛʃunɛfəndəd	nɛʃɔ
183	send	fərəstəd	bisike	βəʃɔdɔ	fərəstə	bisikʰɛ	n/d	fɛʃnɔ	fɛʃnɔ
184	buy	xarid	xeri	mompɿfɛkʰɛ, saɔ	xiri	?es:a	n/d	?estɛj	xari
185	marry	?æzɛvəɔzɔkʰæ:d, ?arusikʰæ:d	?ɛrusike, zəgɛrɛt	ʃikʰɛ	?arusikʰɛ	ʃikʰɛ (woman), zanes:a (man)	n/d	?arusikʰɛ, ʃikʰɛ (woman)	?arusikʰɛ
186	fight (war)	dʒəŋgʰid	dʒarke	dzʰærkʰɛ	dʒærkʰɛ	dzarkʰɛ	n/d	dʒarkeʃi	morofakʰɛ
187	kill	kəft	kəft	kʰəʃt	kʰəʃt	kʰəʃt	n/d	kəft	kʰəʃt
188	steal	dəzdid	dəzi:ð	dizʰi	dizikʰɛ	dəzi	n/d	dozi	dəzi
189	take	gʰɛrɛft	?ese	gʰɛrɔ	gʰəɾɔ	gərot	n/d	gɛrɛʃɛɔɛs	gere
190	bring	?avæ:d	?əvɔ	?əvɔʰ	?buord	?əvəɾɔ	n/d	?əvəɔrɔ	?əvəɾɔ
191	look for	dʒəstɛdʒukʰæ:d, pejɛgʰəʃt	pejdʒurəβi	dʒəst	dʒəst	vadinsʃgəʃt	n/d	gəʃadins	porskʰɛ
192	find	pɛ'dakʰæ:d	vɛj	dijɛʃ	diðiʃ	dijɛʃ, dʒəseʃ	n/d	dʒəstɛs	pejdokʰɛ, dʒəst
193	push	holdəd	holdəð	hələʃnɪh	hələʃnohɔ	holdə, hələʒdɔ	n/d	holɛsdə	holdə
194	pull	kʰɿʃid	keʃi	kʰɿʃi	kʰɿʃi	kʰɿʃi	n/d	kəʃi	kʰɿʃi



Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlāng	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābādī	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
160	mekest	n/d	mekza	n/d	n/d	mexno	mak'i, maʒi	mak'i, miʒdo
161	tofk'e	tofkirdā	tofvani	n/d	n/d	tofvand	tofvān	tofkærđ
162	kofni	n/d	kotakardi	n/d	n/d	kotakærđ*	koti	koti
163	ʔaorodbolō, qes ijūke	n/d	ʔestefrovkærđ	n/d	n/d	ʔastafrovkærđ	qejkærđ*	ʔesæfraykærđ, qejkærđ*
164	vaqvaqk'e	pos (n)	porskærđ, valvalkærđ	n/d	n/d	poskærđ	sejposkærđ	porskærđ
165	gamza	karuʒnidā	gazagręte	n/d	n/d	gazgeret	gazagærft	gazagærfti
166	xarđ	hard	harde	n/d	n/d	hard	hard	h'ærđi
167	xarđ	n/d	harde	n/d	n/d	hard	hard	h'ærđi
168	xos:	hos:ā	host	n/d	n/d	xuw, xuwa	ho"st	hæst
169	tarsi, zalesra	tars (n)	zalaʒrat, zartaloybi	n/d	n/d	zalaʒrat, bidʒyrat	zaliʒfi	zalaʒfti
170	dunes:	dunis:ā, balalvydā*	dōnisi	n/d	n/d	dones	fami	fami
171	fek'e	fik'kardā, manisā	n/d	n/d	n/d	fek'kærđ, xijōkærđ	fekkæ	fækkiræ
172	ʔeʒmord	famardā	n/d	n/d	n/d	ʔeʒmard, fomord	fōmor	fōmordi
173	darđke, fahmi	dard (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	darđkærđ	fami, zawnes*	d'æʒkærđ
174	xandes	xansā	xansasi	n/d	n/d	xanes	xani	xani
175	girβes	nɒlakirdā	girivasi	n/d	n/d	geriβes	gyri	gyri
176	go	guwtā	got	n/d	n/d	got	go"t, væt	go"t, væti
177	pærsid, porsk'e	pærsidā, stol'kirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	pærsiđ	pærsi	pærsiti
178	ʔavosxund	n/d	đapvani	n/d	n/d	ʔavozhand	daŋgkærđ	ʔavozxwani, daŋgxwani
179	raqsi, bozes	boxtā	boxt	n/d	n/d	rauses	raxsi, dasgæræd, bozikærđ	raxsi, dasgæræd, bozikærđ
180	bozikærđ	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	bozikærđ	bozibakæ	bozikærđ
181	do	dadā	daji	n/d	n/d	dod, da	da	doti
182	neʒuneʒdōd	ntjūdādā	n/d	n/d	n/d	neʒo:do	nijoda	nijodoti
183	fereʒno	farisnōdā	færisno	n/d	n/d	farisan	kælkærđ	kælkærđ, rekærđ
184	xeri, ʔestej	xaridā, sadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	xari	xari	xariti
185	ʔarusik'e, jik'e (woman)	xos:ā, nikōkirdā, jikirdāva	jikerđ	n/d	n/d	zangeret (man)	surkærđ	ʔarusikærđ, surkærđ, ʒanwasti (man)
186	dʒarkeʒi	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	dʒanes	marofakærđ	dʒanjærđ, marofakærđ
187	koʒt	kufitā, dʒaxalōs kirdā	k"oʒti	n/d	n/d	koʒt	za	k"æʒ
188	dozi	dōzidā	n/d	n/d	n/d	dōzi	bario	dōziti, βærđ
189	gereʒes	giritā, sadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	geret	gærft	gærfti
190	ʔvorđ	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	ʔvorđeʒ	ʔvard	ʔvardi
191	gaʒtadines	dʒostā, taluvanā, manikirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	saraykærđ	dʒæst, sironkærđ, mænejkærđ	dʒæst, sironkærđ, mænejkærđ
192	dʒostes	paidokirdā	n/d	n/d	n/d	pejdoʒkærđ	pejokærđ	pejokærđ, kærđadi
193	holesdo	hawlzadā, hawlakdadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	hæltjda	hælda	dalakdo
194	kafi	kasjidā	n/d	n/d	n/d	kafi	kafi	k'ij

Item	Gloss	Farsi-Shirazi formal	Farsi-Bushehri	S Luri-Mamasani 1	S Luri-Mamasani 2	S Luri-Boyerahmadi	S Luri-Kohgiluyeh	Bakhtiari-Haftlang 1	Bakhtiari-Haftlang 2
195	tie	bast	bas:	bas:	bas:	bas:	n/d	bas	bast
196	hit	zad	ze	ziðeʃ	za	zaʃ, zejʃ	n/d	zaj	zej
197	cut (wood)	borid	bori	biriðeʃ	biri	bores:	n/d	bori	borist
198	scrape/scratch	xarand	keron	xoreno	xorino	xores	n/d	horni	xorist
199	press	feʃardad	zureʃke	zuraʃk'e	zuraʃk'e	holdo, holaʒda	n/d	teʃniʃes	zurbo
200	wash (thing)	foʃt	foʃtʰ	foʃt	foʃt	foʃt	n/d	foʃt	foʃt
201	burn	suxt	sax	s'əwxtʰ	səxt	sot	n/d	so	soð
202	throw	ʔandəxt	ʔendəxt	verdo	verbo	ʔendəxt, vireʃdo	n/d	vand	vand
203	pour	rixʌ	rext	dirɣɔ	rext	ret	n/d	riʃest	rið
204	bury (person)	dəʃk'e:əd	xokesk'e	mazdoreʃk'ɔ	vamazoreʃk'e	difbk'e	n/d	ʃolesk'e	xokesk'e
205	hide (thing)	qəemk'e:əd	qəmeʃke	vik'eʃreʃk'ɔ	penhaniʃk'e, vak'eʃreʃk'e	qəjemk'e, k'eʃreʃk'e	n/d	qəhomesk'e	qəjemk'e
206	work	kərk'e:əd	kərke	kərək'e	kərək'e	kərək'e	n/d	kərək'e	kərək'e
207	sweep	dʒəruk'e:əd	dʒəroʃke	rɔʃt	dʒəruk'e, rɔʃt	dʒəroʃk'e	n/d	roʃtes	dʒəruk'e
208	weave (carpet)	baʃt	bəʃ	baʃ	baʃ	baʃt, bəʃt	n/d	baʃt	bəʃt
209	cultivate	zəroək'e:əd, kəʃt, k'eʃt	keʃke	k'eʃt	k'eʃt, k'eʃtak'e	kəʃtk'e	n/d	dərauke	keʃtk'e, keʃt
210	cook	pəxt, dʒəroʃk'e:əd	pəxt	pəxt	pəx	pəxt	n/d	poʃ	pəxt
211	here	ʔiŋdʒə	ʔiŋdʒə	ʔiʃtʒ	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə
212	near	nəzdik'ɔ	nezik	nəz:ik'ɔ	nehəgg	nizik, nizəgg	nəheʃtʒ	nehəgg	nezəgg
213	there	ʔiŋdʒə	ʔiŋdʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə, ʔuro	ʔiʃtʒə	ʔiʃtʒə
214	far	duʃ	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir	dir
215	to the right	rəʃt	rəʃ:	dros:	rəʃ:	rəʃ:	rəʃ:	rəʃ	rəʃt
216	to the left	ʃəp	ʃəp'	ts'a	ʃəp	ts'əp	tsəp	ʃ'əp	ʃəp
217	now	ʔalʔən, hola	holə	ʔalʔən	ʔalʔən, ʔiso	ʔalə	ʔiso	holə	holə
218	yesterday	diruz	dirʒ	dir'ʒ	dirʒ	dirʒ	dirʒ	duʃ	duʃ
219	tomorrow	farda	səwə	səb	səb, səbo	səb, səbnə	səb	səwə	səwə
220	where	kəʒə	kəʒə	'kutʃə, ku	'kutʃə	'kutʃə	kəʒə	koʒə	kəʒə
221	when	k'eʃ	ke	k'eʃ	k'eʃ	keʃ	ceʃ	keʃ	k'eʃ
222	how	ʃiʃetowʃ	ʃiʃitow	ts'iʃitə	ʃiʃitow	tsiʃitow	tsiʃitəʃ'	ʃiʃitowri	ʃiʃitow
223	who	k'i	ki	k'i	k'ʰi	k'i	ci	ki	ki
224	what	ʃi, ʃe	ʃe	ʃiʃe	ts'e, ʃe	tse	tse	ʃe	ʃe
225	I/me	man	mə	mā	mā	mə	mə	mə	mā
226	you/you	to	to	t'ə	to	to	to	to	to
227	he-she/him-her	ʔu	ʔu	uʒ	vo	vo	hə	ho	ho

Item	Bakhtiāri-Chārlang	Luristāni-Rural	Luristāni mixed	Luristāni-Borujerdi 1	Luristāni-Borujerdi 2	Luristāni-Khorramābadi	Q-Laki mixed	Laki-Aleshtar
195	bas	bastā	n/d	n/d	n/d	bas	bas, bjun	bas
196	zej	zadā	n/d	n/d	n/d	zaf	za	do <sup>o</sup> rj
197	bori	boridā	n/d	n/d	n/d	boris	huri	huri
198	xorni	kirkirkirdā	xorisi	n/d	n/d	xorejkerd	xoret	xoret, x <sup>o</sup> orōn
199	zuresauord	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	fəjarda, zurda	tapon	zurkærdi
200	fost	fustā	n/d	n/d	n/d	fəst	furi	furi
201	soxt	suxtā, kaznidā	soxti	n/d	n/d	soxt	svt	svot
202	vand	fanā, havodadā	van	n/d	n/d	partkarđ	van	ʔvjt
203	rej	rvxtā	n/d	n/d	n/d	rextiʃ	riʃiʃo	riʃo
204	qohomesk'e	xokkirdā	qorkerd	n/d	n/d	dafniʃkarđ, xokiʃkarđ	xokokærd	xokkærd, qajemkærd, hærdagiro
205	qohomesk'e	qoim (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	qoemiʃkarđ, panhaniʃkarđ	ʃojæmokærd	qajemkærd, hærdagiro
206	kork'e	kor (n)	n/d	n/d	n/d	korkærd	korokærd	korokærdi
207	roftoruk'e	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	dgarukærd	dgarukærd	dgarukærdi
208	boft	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	boftiʃ	riʃtonin*	gætkærd
209	koʃt	kaʃtā, niʃanā	n/d	n/d	n/d	kæfovarzikærd	kæfovarzikærd	kæfovarzikærd
210	pox	puxtā	n/d	n/d	n/d	po <sup>o</sup> xt	pox	poxt
211	ʔitʃo	ʔitʃe, varitʃe, vitʃe, iku, hino, hmi, hyni	ʔitʃe	n/d	ʔintʃæ, ʔindʒe	ʔitʃæ	ʔira	ʔira
212	nehəgg	nazik, nihap	nizik <sup>b</sup>	n/d	n/d	nazik	nazik	nazik
213	ʔutʃo	vutʃe, varutʃe, ʔuku	ʔutʃe	n/d	ʔutʃæ, ʔuntʃæ	ʔutʃæ	ʔura	ʔura
214	dir	dir	dir	n/d	dur	dir	dir	d <sup>o</sup> ir
215	rōs	rōs	rōs	n/d	n/d	rōs	rōs	rōs
216	tʃ'ap	tʃap	tʃap	n/d	n/d	cap	tʃ'ap	tʃ'ap
217	holo	ʔalʔun, hays:a, hamsaj, ʔise, ʔisi	ʔiise	n/d	n/d	holo	ʔiska	ʔiska, harsa
218	duʃt	n/d	duʃ	n/d	diru	duʃ	duʃ, duni	duʃ, duna
219	sowa	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	sv	sv	su
220	kodʒe	kuʃo	k <sup>o</sup> odʒo	n/d	n/d	kodʒo	ku	ku
221	ke <sup>l</sup>	hajka	ke	n/d	n/d	ke <sup>l</sup>	ke	ke
222	tʃitowri	tʃitawri	tʃetowri	n/d	n/d	tʃitōr	tʃæna	tʃætor
223	ki	ki	k <sup>o</sup> ea	n/d	n/d	ki	ki <sup>l</sup>	ki <sup>l</sup>
224	tʃe	tʃi	tʃea	n/d	n/d	tʃi	tʃa, tʃv	tʃa
225	mo	mā	mā	n/d	man	mā	mi	mi
226	to	tu	t <sup>h</sup> wø	n/d	to	tv	tv	tø
227	ho	n/d	va	n/d	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu	ʔu