



BANDARI

BANDARI, the dialect spoken by the native population of Bandar ‘Abbās, administrative center of Hormozgān province, and of its environs. Short news programs in the dialect are transmitted from time to time on the local TV channel and on radio wave. Songs in Bandari are highly popular among city inhabitants and have much in common with the musical folklore of the other regions of the Persian Gulf coast. Almost all of the circulating tape recordings go back to pre-revolutionary times, and only few recordings with the songs on political and social issues have been officially produced quite recently. In the last years local publishing houses have printed a number of books on the history, ethnography and culture of Bandar ‘Abbās, among them a collection of lyrical poems in Bandari (Režāyi) and glossary (Sāybāni, pp. 287-400).

Bandari belongs to the southwestern group of the Iranian languages. It is tightly encircled by a number of other, less known dialects geographically located on the territory between Lārestān and Bašākerd, such as the local dialects of Mināb, Rudān, Berentin, Menujān (to the east of Bandar ‘Abbās), Lenge (to the southeast), Hājiābād (to the north), and the islands of Hormoz, Qešm and Kiš. They are closely related, and together with Bandari constitute a distinct sub-group of the Hormozgān dialects.

On a large scale, Bandari shares many of the phonological and morphological features listed below, as well as lexical items, with the dialects of Fārs and Lārestān, and the Baškerdi and Kumzāri dialects, and in its phonemic system is closest to that of Lāri (Kamioka, Yamada, 1979, p. X). This includes the behavior of stable and unstable vowels, the contraction of *ab/āb* > *ü*; much of



the formation of verb system; and lexical items such as *kardunden*, *kard-* ‘throw’; *kaften*, *ka-* ‘fall’; *gap* ‘big’; *xars* ‘tear’.

Phonology

Typical changes from Old and Middle Iranian, and later changes, include the following. *Consonants*: (1) **θr* > *s*, e.g., *ā-puθra-* > *āvus* ‘pregnant’; (2) **dz* > *d*, e.g., *dumār* ‘son-in-law’; (3) **-sm-* > *-hm-* in *čehem* ‘eye’; (4) initial **y* > *j*, e.g., *jema* ‘clothes’; (5) initial **w-* > *g-*, *g(w)*, e.g., **wabz-* > *güz* ‘hornet’, **wēn-a-* > *gīn-*, *a-gīn-et* ‘he sees’, *govüg* ‘daughter-in-law’, *gwak* ‘frog’, **wāč-* (or **gaub-*) > *g(a)-*, *a-ge-yt* ‘he speaks’; (6) *xw-* > *xw*, e.g., *xwah* ‘sister’, *xwaš* ‘good’, but *xo* ‘self’; (7) retention of voiced stops *-d*, *-g*; e.g., *müd* ‘hair’ (Ir. **mauda*, MP. *mōy*), *borg* ‘eyebrow’ (MP. *burg*), but *estak* ‘fruit stone’ (MP. *ast(ag)* ‘bone’); note **-ā-tar-* > *-ār* in *berār* ‘brother’, *dumār* ‘brother-in-law’; (8) occlusive *-d-* and *-t-* appear instead of fricative *-y-* in words *hamsāda* ‘neighbor’ and *dātī* ‘stepmother’; (9) sporadic *r* > *l*, *l* > *r*, e.g., *eškāl* ‘hunting game’, *espül* ‘spleen’, *sixür* ‘porcupine’; (10) intervocalic *-b-* > *-v-*, e.g., *taver* ‘axe’, *āvela* ‘smallpox’; and further (11) *ab/āb* > *av/āv* > *ou* > *ü*, e.g., *āb* > *hü* ‘water’, *nawak* > *nük* ‘grandson’, *šü* ‘night’, *xü* ‘sleep’; (12) in loans, uvular *q* > *k*, but final postvocalic *-x*, e.g., *mekdār* ‘amount’, *karāvul* ‘pheasant’, and *šallāx* ‘whip’, *kāčāx* ‘contraband’, *kāšek* ‘spoon’, but *-γ* in *kāteγ* ‘gravy’.

Vowels: long **ī*/**ē* > *ī*, **ū*/**ō* > *ū*, *ā* > *ā*; short *i* > *e*, *u* > *u/o*, *a* > *a/e/u*. The stable *u* is generally fronted *ü*, e.g., *müšk* ‘mouse’, *düd* ‘smoke’, but may remain unchanged as in *xüb* ‘good’, *bāhūš* ‘clever’, possibly under Persian influence. Prenasal *ā* is raised to *ū*, e.g., *xūna* ‘house’. Of the unstable vowels, *u* may be retained in clusters with final stop, e.g., *duxt* ‘daughter’, *duz* ‘thief’ < *duzd*, but elsewhere is lowered to *o*, e.g., *sorx* ‘red’, *dom* ‘tail’. Most unstable is *a*, which tends to be centralized to *e* in closed syllables and nasal contexts, e.g., *deryā* ‘sea’, *āhen* ‘iron’; and rounded in labial contexts, e.g., *buhār* ‘spring’, *juvāb* ‘answer’. The diphthong *ow* is retained in some Persian loans, e.g., *rowyan* ‘oil’, *mowj* ‘wave’, but in direct loans from Arabic regularly merges with *ü*, e.g., *mawqi* > *müke* ‘time, moment’. The synchronic system is shown in [Table 1](#).

Morphology

Nominal. The definite marker is *ü*, e.g., e.g., *berār-e gap-ü* ‘the elder brother’. Indefiniteness is marked by *-i* e.g., *tü ya šahr-ī* ‘in one town’. The productive plural marker is an open *-o* < *-hā*, e.g., *zan-o* ‘women’, *gadük-o* ‘jugs’. Dependent nominals are connected by *-e*; which is lost after long vowel, e.g.,

sedā me ‘voice of mine’, *ǰelū sang-e gap-i* ‘near the big stone’, *ba tara xūna xo* ‘to his (her, their) house’.

The main prepositions are: *a*, *ey* ‘from’, e.g., *a asp-o zir hunden* ‘they dismounted’, *mekdār-ī ey ī vāgīrum* ‘I will take part of it’; *ba* ‘to’, e.g., *ba hayāt ra* ‘he went to the yard’; *vā* ‘with, by’, e.g., *vā mā zendegī bokun* ‘live with us’, *vā zarba-v-o-ye šamšir košt-a* ‘killed by sword strikes’; *bey* ‘to’, e.g., *gadük-o bey ā zan ī-dā* ‘he gave the jugs to that woman’, *bey ühamla šā-kerd* ‘they attacked him’, *bey āpel düvī* ‘he ran in that direction’. Note also *bey* in the function of the Persian postposition *-rā*, e.g., *düş bey ümā-dī* ‘yesterday we saw him’.

Pronouns

There are two basic sets: (1) The independent pronouns and the personal affixes, which serve in all oblique function, including possession, direct and indirect object. Prefixed to past forms, these affixes also serve in the verb system as person markers in the imperfect with both transitive and intransitive verbs, and as agent markers in the simple past and the pluperfect. Typologically noteworthy is 3s *i-* (*hai*), the agent form in the intransitive past and pluperfect, which contrasts with *-š* (*šai*) in other functions. (2) The copula with the existential verb and the personal endings. The existential verb is based on *hast-*, and has a distinct past form marked by *-ar* (<*at-* ‘was’, as also found in other dialects of the region): see [Table 2](#).

The demonstratives are *ā*, *ī* ‘that, this’, *ā-šū*, *ī-sū* ‘those, these’. The personal endings differ from the forms of the copula only in the 3s and 3p. The ending of the 3s past is zero. The verb *būd-en* ‘become, be’ has two subjunctive variants, *bü-* and *baš* (there is no Persian-type *šod-an* in Bandari.)

Stems and Nominal Forms. Verb forms are based on the present and past stems marked by *-t/d*. Nominal forms include the past participle *-t/d-a*, and the infinitive *-t/d-en*, e.g., pres. *gīn-*, past *dīd* ‘to see’, with *dīd-a*, *dīd-en*, and pres. *ra-*, past *raft* ‘to go, leave’, with *raft-a*, *raft-en*.

Prefixes. The imperfective prefix in the general present-future and imperfect is *at-*, *a-* before consonants, e.g., *at-ā-m* ‘I (will) come’, *a-gīn-um* ‘I (will) see’; *m-a-ra* ‘I was going’, or ‘I used to go’, *š-a-vārd(en)* ‘he was bringing, or ‘he used to bring’. The negation is *na-*. The present subjunctive and imperative have the prefix *be-/bo-*, superseded by *na-*. The earlier directional-locational prefixes are preserved only in the positive subjunctive and imperative, apparently only



with the verb *dād-en* ‘to give’, thus *hā-* ‘forth’ in *hā-dā* ‘give!’ and *hā-de-ym* ‘that we give’, but *na-dā* ‘don’t give!’

Verb system. The basic system of aspect and tense is fourfold. It distinguishes two imperfective (*at, a-*), and two perfective forms, each set pairing a non-anterior with an anterior member. The marker of past anterior is *-ar-* (cf. the existential verb). Mood similarly has four members: two subjunctives, the present subjunctive together with the imperative, and (though unrecorded) a past subjunctive marked by the subjunctive of ‘to be’, while the function of conditional, or counterfactual mood is expressed by the imperfect and pluperfect forms (as in Persian). An essential parameter is transitivity, whereby the agent is expressed by personal prefixes in past tenses of transitive verbs. In the imperfective, the transitive pattern extended to intransitive verbs as well. The basic system, pairing transitive and intransitive conjugation, is shown in [Table 3](#), adding forms of the present subjunctive.

Verbal Constructions

In the present, two verbal constructions have disambiguated the present-future: (1) the continuous present, which is a locative construction, *a-PT-e* + copula (‘be at Vb-ing’), e.g., 1s *a-nevešt-um*, 1p *a-nevešt-e-ym*, 2s/2p *a-nevešt-e-y*. This has become the “regular” present tense form; (2) an immediate future, expressed by a compound construction with the present of ‘to come’, *at-ā*, followed by the present-future forms, e.g., *at-ā-m a-nin-um* ‘I shall sit down’. The pattern is thus as in [Table 4](#), although not all of the forms are recorded in the field.

Possessive and Modal Constructions: Possession is expressed by an impersonal construction, lit. ‘to me is’, etc. The possessor is indicated by the personal affix, followed by the 3s of the existential verb, pres. *ha*, past *hast-a* (< *hast-* and *hast-ar*), e.g., *singü um-ha* ‘I have a crab’, *xuna mā-hast-a* ‘we had a house’ (Persian-type *dāštan* is not found). Similarly, wish and need is expressed impersonally with the 3s of the verb ‘want’, pres. *a-vā*, past *vāst*, followed by the subjunctive; thus, *m-a-vā, t-a-vā, š-a-vā, mā-vā, tā-vā, šā-vā*, e.g., *m-a-vā be-ra-m* ‘I want to go’.

Obligation is expressed *bāya* ‘must’ followed by the subjunctive, e.g., *bāya ya jāy-ī kāyem baš-um* ‘I must hide somewhere’. Ability is expressed by the verb *tün-*, *tünest* ‘can’ likewise followed by the subjunctive, e.g., *to a-tün-ī ciz-ī na-ge-ī* ‘you may not say anything’.

Examples of modal verb forms: subjunctive, *ke rahbar-umü bo-bü-t xurram* ‘so that our leader becomes glad’; imperative, *be-ge* ‘take’; counterfactual use of imperfect and pluperfect, *aga nāma et-nevešt-a, mūm-et xūšāl š-a-bü* ‘if you had written a letter, your mother would have become glad’.

Lexicon

Apart from the words of purely Iranian origin such as *berār* ‘brother’, *duxt* ‘daughter’, *čehem* ‘eye’, *lū* ‘lip’, *süz* ‘green’, the lexicon of Bandari includes some Arabic and English loans borrowed without Persian meditation. Thus, Arabic loan include *tüfa* ‘tribe, people’ < Ar. *ṭā’ifa*; *magrāz* ‘scissors’ < Ar. *miqrāḍ*. English loans include *lanč* < Engl. launch, *kākrük* < cockroach, *tüvāl* < towel. Terms that are less common synonyms in Persian may be dominant terms in Bandari, such as *kāspa-pošt* ‘turtle’ for *lāk-pošt*, *gazer* ‘carrot’ for *havij*, *nāštā* ‘breakfast’ for *sobhāne*), while others show shift in connotation, such as Pers. *xiyār* ‘cucumber’, but ‘melon’ in Bandari, Pers. *kadu* ‘pumpkin’, Band. *küdü* ‘watermelon’. In addition, a large number of professional terms comes from traditional pursuits of the local population in the spheres of fishing, sea trade, and the cultivation of dates.

Sample verses from a song:

deryā mowj-en, kākā;
sāheli xāli a-kon-(e)t; deryā xašm-uš sar-e sang-e
ammā to dard-et ziyād-en; ba koja xālia-bü-(e)t;
vakt-i gol-i pažmorda bü. ’omr-e yam-(e) sad-sāla bü ...

“The sea is troubled [my] brother;
the sea vents its anger upon coastal stones;
but your pain is great, where is it vented on;
when flower became withered, the age of sorrow became a hundred years long.”

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