

**BĀHENDAYAL:
BIRD CLASSIFICATION IN SOUTHERN LURI (IRAN)**

ERIK JOHN ANONBY

*Talen en Culturen van Afrika, Leiden University, P.O. Box 9515,
Leiden 2300 RA, Netherlands
anonby@kastanet.org*

ABSTRACT.—This study is an investigation of specialized knowledge of birds (*bāhendayal*) among speakers of the Mamasani dialect of Southern Luri (SL), an Indo-European language with approximately one million speakers in southwestern Iran. The author provides a description of bird physiology and an inventory of cognitive distinctions that speakers use to differentiate bird types. A comprehensive taxonomy of bird knowledge in Southern Luri is presented in a diagram of bird families followed by a semantically organized list of the 84 terms for bird types found in the language, along with the meanings of these terms. Farsi, English, and scientific labels accompany descriptive notes.

Key words: ethno-ornithology, Iran, Luri, taxonomy, ethnobiology.

RESUMEN.—Este estudio etnobiológico investiga la especialización del conocimiento sobre las aves (*bāhendayal*) que tienen las personas que hablan el dialecto mamasani del Luri meridional, lenguaje indoeuropeo utilizado por un millón de personas aproximadamente en el suroeste de Irán. El autor proporciona una descripción de la fisiología de las aves del Luri meridional, así como un inventario de las características que se utilizan para diferenciar los tipos de aves. Se presenta una taxonomía de las aves en el Luri meridional en un diagrama de las familias de aves, seguido de una lista semánticamente organizada de los 84 de términos para los tipos de aves, así como el significado de cada uno de estos. Los nombres científicos, en farsi e inglés, acompañan a las notas descriptivas.

RÉSUMÉ.—Cette étude est une enquête sur la connaissance particulière des oiseaux (*bāhendayal*) que détiennent les locuteurs du Luri méridional parlant le dialecte Mamasani. Le Luri méridionale, utilisé par près d'un million de personnes habitant le sud-ouest de l'Iran, fait partie de la famille des langues indo-européennes. L'auteur fournit une description de la physiologie aviaire ainsi qu'un inventaire des distinctions cognitives que les locuteurs utilisent afin de reconnaître les différents types d'oiseaux. La taxonomie détaillée du savoir

←

This calligraphic representation of a bird was produced by the author, who studied under Shokri, a master calligrapher in Shiraz, Iran. The body of the bird is formed using the Arabic text, *bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*, a Qur'anic invocation meaning, "in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." Such invocations have been attested in Iran for hundreds of years and are found in written texts by Lurs as well as other ethnic groups. The traditional practice of including invocations in published works has become a legal requirement in today's Islamic Republic of Iran.

ornithologique utilisé dans le Luri méridional est présentée sous la forme d'un diagramme des familles d'oiseaux suivi par une liste organisée de façon sémantique de 84 termes mamasani liés aux types d'oiseaux. Chaque terme est accompagné de sa signification et chaque commentaire descriptif de gloses perses, anglaises et scientifiques.

INTRODUCTION

One of the great heritages of today's Iran is its cultural diversity. Among other facets of indigenous knowledge, this heritage is evident in the area of ornithology—the knowledge and classification of birds.

A number of studies explore the relationship between Iranian languages and their classification of the approximately 490 bird species that are found within the borders of the country (e.g., Mokri 1947; Schapka 1972). These studies have revealed a wealth of terms in language varieties throughout the country. It has been demonstrated that the naming of birds varies from province to province and, as is the case in the area studied in this paper, from one river valley to another. This struck me when I was researching bird names similar to those found in Southern Luri. After perusing some of the materials that discuss bird names in Farsi (=Persian) (including dialects and older forms of the language), Luristāni, Laki and other closely related languages, I discovered that almost none of the names were the same as in Southern Luri (SL)! Even Southern Luri speakers in other parts of the same dialect area use a set of bird names that differs significantly from that used in the area where I had the privilege of researching these themes.

In areas such as the study and knowledge of birds, rich local languages and cultures are subtly but steadily being wiped out under the banners of "education," "progress" and "piety"—standards that come out of Tehran and a very few other major power centers in Iran. In many areas of the country, children who have gone to school know the names of birds in Standard Farsi, but have not learned the names of birds in their own language variety.

In the face of this cultural shift, however, there is a movement today—inside and outside of Iran—to appreciate and preserve "local" cultures, including the languages spoken by members of these cultures. Efforts such as the regionally-produced *farhang* (Farsi = F.) 'lexicons and cultural studies' that have been appearing for over fifty years are an indication of people's growing interest in their own societies.

External academic enquiry has also played an important role in the preservation of this heritage. The two most exhaustive studies that discuss birds in Iranian languages and cultures are those of Mokri (1947) and Schapka (1972). Both authors catalogue hundreds of bird names. Whereas Mokri focuses on Kurdish and other western Iranian languages and dialects, Schapka concentrates on Farsi along with languages and dialects that are closely related to it. Areas on which these two studies do not elaborate include 1) a complete description of any aspect of knowledge of birds in a particular language, especially as regards the features which languages use to describe birds and distinguish bird varieties; 2) classification of bird types according to the taxonomies present in the local languages; and 3) an effort to correlate all bird types with a standardized technical name in Farsi, scientific Latin, English or another widely-used language.

Standing on the shoulders of those who have done this groundlaying research, I have, in my own exploration, turned the spotlight on Jawzār-Jawi, a Southern Luri-speaking village in which the rich heritage of indigenous bird knowledge is enhanced by the nomadic lifestyle of many of its members. Such a lifestyle provides contact with the natural world; in particular, it gives access to an environment in which bird species from various biomes—such as *sarhad* ‘cool, high elevations’ and *garmasir* ‘warm, low elevations’—have been lexicalized in the language.

Biotic Geography of the Region.—The region under investigation is located at the southern limit of the Zagros mountains in southwestern Iran. The wide plains of the central Iranian plateau extend like fingers into the heart of these mountains, many of which are over 3000 m high. The mountains, tortuously folded and barren except for a uniform sprinkling of indigenous oak, shelter deep, flat valleys that have many springs and in some cases, rivers, flowing year-round.

In this temperate land of four seasons, the mountaintops are dusted with snow each winter. The striking springtime emerald of grasses in the valleys quickly turns to gold in the summer heat. In late fall, after the poplar trees lose their yellow leaves, the short, heavy rains end the dry period, and the landscape remains desolate throughout the winter.

In terms of bird life, the region is at the southeastern limit of the European faunal zone. Each year, birds from further north pass through the region on their way to Arabia, Africa, and South Asia. Some species characteristic of these latter zones are also resident in the area. About half of the almost 500 species found in Iran may be seen there at some point during the year (this estimate is based on the distribution maps found in Scott et al. 1975).

A Depiction of the Ethnic Group.—The community under investigation identifies itself as part of the Mamasani *qabila*, an intermediate-level ethnic category. The approximately 275,000 Mamasani are part of the larger Luri *qawm*, a high-level ethnic category. The Luri *qawm*, which counts over four million people, in turn belongs to the greater Persian cultural family. General demographic, anthropological and historical information for the Luri peoples is found in Amanollahi (1985, 1991), Anonby (2003b), Fazel (1984), and Grimes (2000). Works that address the Mamasani in particular are mostly written in Farsi, and include Amanollahi (1987), C. Van der Wal Anonby (2002), Anonby (2002, 2003a), Khwah (1999), Mirfardi (2000), Mosalmi (1990), and Sadeqi (1998).

While the present research has been informed by these sources, I would like to offer here a synopsis of the Mamasani world as it was shared with me by members of the community.

Traditionally, the Mamasani ethnic group has practiced a mix of nomadic and sedentary lifestyles. People spend winter and spring living in permanent wood and mud brick houses situated in low-elevation valleys, where they cultivate small fields and orchards. In summer and fall, entire clans move to high-elevation pastures and live in black goat-hair tents. In addition to raising goats, the people gather fruit, roots and herbs, and they hunt animals and birds to supplement their goat-based diet. Mamasani women produce vivid carpets

and kilims entirely from local materials. Although Islam has held sway for centuries, it has been of a different character than the state-endorsed Shi'ite Islam prevalent in Iran today, since it co-exists with an Indo-European cosmology characterized by supernatural beings associated with natural phenomena. An elaborate social structure comprised of strongly endogamous clans and a history of conflict with out-groups at each structural level has also characterized the group. Today, however, most Mamasani live in a world at least partly altered from that which is depicted by these traditional images.

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the Mamasani have been subjected to major external pressures. For example, surnames and birthdates were phenomena irrelevant until a recent introduction of identity cards (hence the single last name and birthdate shared by most inhabitants of Jawzār-Jawi). More profoundly, the rise of compulsory education in Farsi and land "reforms" dating from the epoch of the last two shahs have made a nomadic lifestyle difficult. Further, a massive exodus to urban centers has affected almost all the male youth of the area, who pursue—often with limited success—education and paid employment in their quest to integrate into the mainstream of the more prestigious Farsi-speaking Iranian society.

Although the appearance of Mamasani life has shifted under the influence of modernization as well as the political and cultural penetration of the Iranian majority, some of the basic fabric of the traditional society remains, and flashes are visible through the *čāder* 'tent, veil' that obscures the world within. One of these points of light is the persistence of a highly developed bird taxonomy in the language, which is the subject of the present paper.

Research Focus.—The study that follows is an investigation of the ethnoscientific classification of birds among speakers of the Mamasani dialect of SL. I first provide a comparative and historical linguistic context by presenting a brief discussion of names for 'bird' in Iranian languages. After providing an overview of the community under investigation and the research methods applied, I seek to address the following questions that are central to the study:

- Who are the specialists in knowledge of birds?
- How are the parts of a bird's body labeled in SL?
- What are some distinctions speakers use to identify various bird types?
- What bird types are distinguished by speakers of SL?
- How are bird types organized into groups in the Southern Luri taxonomy?

Finally, after a comprehensive investigation of these questions, I examine the resulting cognitive structure of bird classification in SL by asking:

- What insights do answers to these questions provide regarding the way that speakers of SL view the world in general?

NAMES FOR 'BIRD' IN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Several generic terms for 'bird' are well-represented across the spectrum of Indo-Iranian languages.

One of the ancient terms for 'bird' found in Indo-Iranian languages is derived from the root *mrg**. In Sanskrit, the root for the term 'bird' is *mrga**, whereas in Old Persian the term was rendered something like *margu* (Schapka 1972). Today, derivatives of this root are still found in many Iranian languages. In a few cases, especially in the Northwestern family of Iranian languages and some northern varieties of Luri, they are still used as a generic term for 'bird' (Anonby 2003b). However, in most cases the term has become a fixed part of larger term (e.g., *morġ-a bawuw solaymuni* for the Eurasian Hoopoe) or its meaning has become more specific and applies only to *morġ* 'chicken'.

Another set of terms found in the Iranian language family is related to a second root (*bāh[nd][šk]**). Benveniste (1960) asserts a relationship between this word and the early Luri root *bāhu* 'arm'. Schapka (1972:236) mentions the root (*bāh[nd][šk]**) in relation to the Middle Persian word *venješk* 'small bird, sparrow'. In Iranian languages spoken today, the terms *bāhu* and *venješk* have converged: 'bird' is now represented by terms such as *bāhenda* (SL) and *bānda*; and 'small bird' is represented by terms such as *bendešk* (SL), *bendešt* and possibly also *gonješk* (Schapka 1972:250).

More recently, derivatives of these two roots for 'bird' in Iranian languages have succumbed to a process of replacement by the Modern Standard Farsi term *parandeh*. Possible origins for the term *parandeh* are related to meanings such as 'feather', 'flying', and 'volatile' (see Benveniste 1960).

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Date and Location of Research.—Field research was conducted between September 2000 and June 2001 with inhabitants of Jawzār-Jawi. This community of about 200 families is located in the homeland of the Mamasani *qabila*, which is found principally in the municipality of Nurabad-e Mamasani, Fars province, southwestern Iran.

Language under Investigation.—Southern Luri (SL), spoken by the Mamasani *qabila*, is part of a cluster of several closely related Luri languages and has been classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western, Southwestern, and Luri (Anonby 2003b; Grimes 2000:530–531). The Mamasani dialect of SL in particular belongs to the Luri language continuum, yet through shared historical relationship as well as contemporary language pressures it exhibits some features of Farsi (Middle Persian as well as Modern Standard Farsi and other dialects spoken in Fars Province) (Anonby 2003b). The speech variety spoken in Jawzār-Jawi is known as Jawi.

Research Methodology.—The results of this study are based on a dialogic process of observation and interview during a stay with two families in Jawzār-Jawi, and interaction with other individuals in the community.

Before choosing the exact topic of study, I observed the lives of the people and listened to their stories to find points of common interest. Nomadism, while no longer practiced by the entire population of Jawzār-Jawi, remains central to their identity. The community's reliance (which until recently was almost complete) on the immediate surroundings for survival likely accounts for their

continued high regard for the natural world. Members of the community are particularly interested in plants and animals. Specific domains of knowledge that are actively maintained include goat raising, culinary herb gathering, medicinal plant identification and use, and knowledge about birds. Because of my own interests, I chose knowledge and classification of birds as a topic of study. In the initial phase of the study, I observed that the conversations in which birds most frequently figured concerned food preparation (especially of domestic birds), the high-elevation summer pasture areas, and hunting for *kawg* 'Chukar (quail)'.

At this point, I began asking people of various ages and social positions to give a general overview of birds in the area (including but in no way limited to a list of bird types). It was during this period of the study that I was able to observe the contours of interest and specialization in knowledge of birds among almost 50 members of the community. (One serious lacuna in the sample interviewed is that of women: I was socially permitted to speak with only those women belonging to our host families. All of these women said they knew little on the subject, had no interest in it, and that I should ask the men instead. It is difficult to interpret all the social information motivating such responses, but it is likely more complex than indicated by the responses themselves). Cognitive distinctions commonly expressed in the speakers' explanations of bird knowledge (e.g., types, sex, edibility, domesticity, developmental stages, prototypes) were developed into complete sets that I used to define the linguistic taxonomy at a later stage. The folk classification presented here is based on the principles of inventory and contrast already present in speakers' descriptions of birds: i.e., what are the members of a given set?; what group does the set belong to?; are there subgroups of any of the sets?; what are characteristics inherent to each member?; and, how do the members of the set differ from one another?

Once it became known (very quickly!) that I had chosen to research bird knowledge in the community, members of the community who took an interest in the success of my "visit" took it upon themselves to make sure I was instructed by the "right" people: Ahmad-e Mohammadi, the 40-year-old village schoolmaster, because he was highly respected and had a nomadic background as well; Hosein-Ali-ye Mohammadi, the "expert shepherd," a 35-year-old orphan esteemed by the whole community for his knowledge of birds; and Āmu Dādollāh-e Mohammadi, a 50-year old man who grew up as a nomad but lives presently as a sedentary wheat and rice farmer.

With the help of these three individuals, I completed inventories for the cognitive sets that I had earlier deduced, and resolved most ambiguities. Discrepancies among their accounts were for the most part limited to the varying completeness of their folk species inventories, and in the case of the more educated schoolmaster, the introduction of Persian terms. Other minor variations have been signalled in the relevant portions of the text of this study. I was able to accompany them in various seasons for field observation of birds in the available biomes (high- and low-elevation, wet and dry, cultivated and uncultivated, etc.) and, with them, examined the images presented in Scott et al. (1975) as well as Firouz (2000) to relate each bird type in SL to those defined in the Western taxonomy.

SPECIALIZATION IN THE COMMUNITY

There are few in Jawzār-Jawi—a handful among 1200 individuals—who describe themselves and are described by others as specialists in the area of bird life. This may indicate, among other things, the decreased functional load that knowledge of birds carries in the community today. For example, while some people hunt birds, hunting now provides only a minor part of the diet. However, general bird knowledge is still widespread, although found to varying degrees.

I observed three main factors that relate to the depth of bird knowledge that members of the community possess: nomadic lifestyle, gender, and level of formal education.

Nomadic lifestyle: Many members of the community continue to live in tents for a portion of the year and gather plants, hunt birds and animals, and herd goats. These people usually have a greater general knowledge of birds. Predictably, those who no longer practice the nomadic lifestyle were unaware of the existence of a number of high-elevation species that are found in the summer grazing areas.

Gender: Men and women in the community have noted that knowledge of bird life is associated with men to a greater degree than it is with women. In addition to possible social factors involved in such comments, this may be explained in terms of the fact that men's activities are more often associated with the outdoors and thus take place in a wider variety of biomes. Examples of these activities include hunting, goat herding, farming, leisure activities and travel between communities.

Formal education: Older members of the community are repositories of a more complete indigenous taxonomy of bird life than are younger members. For example, lists of birds given by older speakers were consistently more complete. Conversely, younger speakers of the language (most of whom were formally educated in Farsi) often cited as many Farsi bird names as Southern Luri names and cited fewer in total (in any language). Although I have not conducted a statistical analysis of this phenomenon, I would contend that while on the surface it may appear that age is a defining factor in bird specialization, the case is actually one of despecialization among younger, formally educated members of the community. Older members generally have a lower level of formal education, and younger people—many more of whom have received formal education—are more likely to use Standard or dialectical Farsi names as well as Western-based categories to describe bird life. A specific example of educated speakers' shift to a Western taxonomy (mediated through Western-based Standard Farsi education) is that older speakers use a traditional Iranian classification of the bat as a bird (Firouz, cited by Scott et al. (1975:408), mentions an example of this traditional classification dating back to A.D. 1342). Almost without exception, however, educated speakers contend that the bat is a mammal rather than a bird.

Such a position supports the additional and perhaps obvious perspective that indigenous knowledge about birds is passed on informally. The specialization-

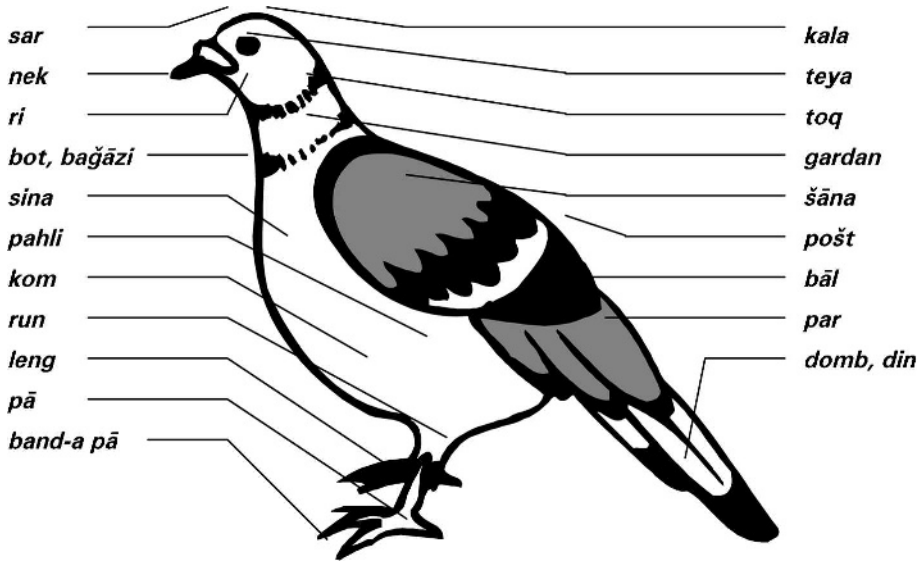


FIGURE 1.—Commonly used bird physiology terms in Southern Luri.

related variables described in the preceding paragraphs suggest that the context for this transmission of knowledge occurs among men with limited formal education who practice a nomadic lifestyle. However, this topic has not been addressed in further detail in the present study. For a related discussion, the reader may refer to C. Van der Wal Anonby's (2002) study on informal education among the Mamasani.

BIRD PHYSIOLOGY TERMS IN SOUTHERN LURI

Figure 1 gives a visual overview of some of the terms that are more commonly used for describing bird physiology in SL. The exact semantic application of these terms in some cases contrasts with their English and Farsi correlates, so a visual representation is ideal. In Appendix 1, lexical equivalents are given in English and Farsi for all terms listed here. A number of additional terms that apply to parts of the organism that are not illustrated may also be found there.

COGNITIVE DISTINCTIONS USED TO DIFFERENTIATE BIRD TYPES

As is the case in all societies, Southern Luri speakers classify living organisms at numerous levels; the Southern Luri taxonomy, which has six levels, is a typical system among the world's societies (see Berlin 1992:22). In SL, the life-form of *bāhenda* 'bird' is a member of the terminal kingdom node *hayun* 'animal'. All bird types fall within the subsidiary folk taxa of intermediate level group (ILG), folk genus, folk species and variety. There are no equivalent linguistic labels in SL for these levels in the folk taxonomy. Thus, the labels in this paper are technical English equivalents (based on ethnobiological rather than Linnean categories for the taxonomic levels) necessary to explain speakers' hierarchical groupings of minimal types.

Two variations on a typical ethnobiological classification are found in SL. First, the variety taxon is poorly attested in the data gathered and, besides terms associated with bird sex and maturity, variety labels may not be distinguished from simple descriptors on a linguistic basis. Second, one could argue that a distinction of 'subgenus' is also relevant (e.g., *kamutar wahši* 'wild pigeon' as a subset of *kamutar* 'pigeons and doves'; or *kawg* 'Chukar (quail)' vs. *kawg pur* 'Common Quail'). (Compare Brown (1987) and see the complete species taxonomy in Table 1 for other examples.). However, since most subgenus-level similarities between names are usually evident in the names themselves, I have not considered it productive to elaborate further.

As is the case in many taxonomies, the same labels are often used at several contiguous levels of the hierarchy. This is especially remarkable for the labels *dusak* 'nightjar' and *balixar* 'Eurasian Jay'. Both refer to intermediate level groups found as direct constituents of the lifeform *bāhenda* 'bird'; yet both are also found at the bottom of the hierarchy as folk species. Contrasting the terms with other labels found in the language (as explained in the methodology section) demonstrates that these same labels also serve as folk genus slot fillers found between the intermediate level group and folk species levels.

As in any classification system, types are seen as unified based on a number of factors. In SL, speakers apply linguistically explicit as well as implicit but recurrent cognitive categories to distinguish bird types. Important factors are often found in the meaning of a bird's name; other significant factors are those that are referred to frequently in speakers' descriptions of that bird. In the following section, I have listed and described cognitively significant distinctions that speakers have made in their description of bird life.

Linguistically Explicit Categories.—Two discrete categories—domesticity and edibility—seem to be the most clearly defined and apply to all bird types.

Domesticity (domestic vs. wild): In the "domestic" category, the terms *māli* and *ahli* (F. *ahli*) refer to animals raised by people or known to be so. In addition to *jija* 'chicken' and *morğawi* 'domestic duck', this category includes *kamutar* 'domestic pigeon', a feral species that is not raised by anyone in the community but is known to be raised by people in other areas. Note that *morğawi* 'domestic duck' and *kamutar* 'domestic pigeon' are by default considered to be domestic unless it is specified that they are *wahši* (see immediately below). "Domestic" folk species such as *bendešk* 'House Sparrow' are not included in this category because even though they are associated with human dwellings, they are not raised by people. The "wild" category is represented by the terms *kohi* 'of the mountain', *farār* '(lit.) escaped' and *wahši* 'wild' (from F. *vahši*). Such animals are not raised by people or known to be so. Although these three terms have specific meanings in other contexts, any distinction between them disappears when the terms are applied to birds; in such a case, the terms simply mean 'wild'.

Edibility: This parameter presents a three-way distinction. The first category is *xoraja* (F. *xordaniyeh*), which refers to birds that are edible and permitted to be eaten. According to one speaker, "only birds which have a *mehde* 'stomach' are *xoraja*." Many birds that are never eaten (for example, because

TABLE 1.—Terms for bird species in Southern Luri.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
A. Intermediate level group (ILG) <i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> 'birds of prey'					
1	<i>alo</i> = <i>aloh</i> , <i>oqāb</i>	—	<i>oqāb</i> , <i>bāz</i>	eagle	Various medium and larger species of Accipitridae. 'Eats rabbits and chickens.' <i>Alo</i> , along with <i>dāl</i> , is a prototype for the <i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> ILG. The term <i>alo</i> is identical to that found in some dialects of Kurdish, and is related to the Turkish and Middle Persian term <i>ālof</i> (Mokri 22; Schapka 8).
2	<i>aloh</i> (see <i>alo</i>)	—	—	—	—
3	<i>bādkaḡan</i>	'wind-balancer'	<i>dalicēh</i>	kestrel	Smaller <i>Falco</i> species. The term <i>bādkaḡu</i> occurs in dialects of Farsi, but refers to <i>Hirundo</i> 'swallow' species (Mokri 151).
4	<i>bāšaw</i> [baʃaw] (see <i>sangak</i>)	—	—	—	This term corresponds to the Farsi dialect terms <i>bāšo</i> and <i>bāša</i> (Mowsavi 161; Schapka 14).
5	<i>bāz</i>	—	<i>bāz</i>	hawk, falcon	Accipitridae and larger species of Falconidae.
6	<i>bi</i>	—	<i>šāhbūf</i>	Eagle Owl	<i>Bubo bubo</i> .
7	<i>dāl</i>	—	<i>dāl</i> , <i>lāšxor</i> , <i>bāz</i>	vulture, eagle	In Farsi, the term <i>dāl</i> seems to be based more on the fact that this type of bird eats carrion than on western genetic classifications of "vulture" and "eagle." <i>Dāl</i> , along with <i>alo</i> , is a prototype for the larger <i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> ILG.
8	<i>kalāpik</i>	'crow eater'	(?)	(?)	The identification of this type is uncertain.
9	<i>lāšxor</i> (see <i>dāl</i>)	'corpse eater'	—	—	A Farsi term currently in use alongside SL <i>dāl</i> .
10	<i>oqāb</i> (see <i>alo</i>)	—	—	—	A Farsi term currently in use alongside SL <i>alo</i> .
11	<i>sangak</i> = <i>bāšow</i> , <i>šāhin</i>	—	<i>šāhin</i> , "qerqi"	falcon	Larger <i>Falco</i> species. "Eats sparrows." The scientific Farsi term <i>qerqi</i> , which was in several cases used as a translation of <i>sangak</i> , refers to the Eurasian Sparrowhawk <i>Accipiter nisus</i> . The term <i>sangak</i> also occurs in Farsi dialects (Schapka 134).
12	<i>sepugepu</i>	'(voice)' (i.e., onomatopoeic rendering)	<i>kuku</i>	Common Cuckoo	<i>Cuculus canorus</i> . Classification for this bird is fuzzy; it has also been described as belonging to the <i>kamutar</i> 'pigeons and doves' category.

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
13	<i>šawpar</i> [šəwpær]	'night flier'	<i>xoʔās</i>	bat	Phylum Mammalia, order Chiroptera. Its inclusion within the ILG <i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> is disputed. This term is rendered as <i>šabpar</i> in some Farsi dialects (Schapka 151).
14	<i>šāhin</i> (see <i>sangak</i>)	—	—	—	A Farsi term currently in use alongside SL <i>bāšow</i> and <i>sangak</i> . In scientific Farsi, the term <i>šāhin</i> refers to the Falcon genus <i>Falco</i> as well as specifically to the Barbary Falcon <i>Falco pelegrinoides</i> .
15	<i>šuk</i>	—	<i>joğā,</i> <i>morg-e haqq</i>	small owl	The term <i>šuk</i> includes small owls of the genus <i>Otus</i> and the genus <i>Athene</i> . It is considered a <i>bad-yum</i> 'bad omen'. "If it lays eggs on a house, this is a sign that something bad, like a death, will soon happen. People destroy the eggs, but the house is left intact because of the difficulty of rebuilding the house. The eggs are laid without a nest being made." Its inclusion within the ILG <i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> is disputed.
B. ILG <i>dusak</i> 'nightjars(?)'					
16	<i>dusak</i>	—	<i>šabgard-e</i> <i>ma'muli</i> (?)	nightjar (?)	Family Caprimulgidae (?). The precise identification of this bird has proven difficult, as speakers often use non-visual characteristics to identify it. "This bird sings at night, and is rarely seen. Its size is similar to that of a woodpecker. It is like a <i>šuk</i> 'small owl', but its head is <i>holi</i> 'without horns.'"
C. ILG <i>morgāwi</i> 'water-birds'					
C.1. Folk genus <i>gāz</i> 'large water-birds'					
17	<i>gāz</i> = <i>māhixar</i>	—	<i>harāsil</i>	Grey Heron	<i>Ardea cinerea</i> . This is the prototype for the <i>gāz</i> folk genus and ILG. The SL term contrasts with the Farsi term <i>gāz</i> , which refers to geese. Both, however, are derived from a Turkic root (see Schapka 25).

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
18	<i>laklak</i>	from the word <i>laqlaqawa</i> 'long and narrow, lanky'	<i>egret</i>	Little Egret	<i>Egretta garzetta</i> . When the term <i>laklak</i> is used in Farsi, it refers to storks. This term is related to the Arabic root <i>laqlaq</i> (Schapka 242).
19	<i>mālixar</i> (see <i>gāz</i>)	'fish-eater'	—	—	—
C2.	Folk genus <i>morgawi</i>	'small water-birds'	—	—	—
20	<i>morgawi</i> [morsəwi]	'water-bird' or 'water-hen'	<i>morgābi</i>	domestic duck	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i> . This is the prototype for the larger <i>morgawi</i> folk genus.
21	<i>morgawi vahši</i> [morsəwi va:ʃi]	'wild water-bird' or 'wild water-hen'	<i>morgābi-e vahši</i>	wild duck	<i>Anas</i> and other duck genera are included.
22	<i>pāšolak</i>	'little mud-foot'	<i>ābčalik</i>	sandpiper	Family Scolopacidae. Small <i>pāšolak</i> folk species are sometimes classified as being in the <i>benātešk</i> ILG. The term <i>pāšolak</i> contrasts with the Farsi term <i>pāšalak</i> , which is confined to several species of snipe (a type of sandpiper).
D.	ILG <i>mākyān</i>	'fowl-like birds'	—	—	—
D1.	Folk genus <i>mākyān</i>	'fowl'	—	—	—
23	<i>morğ</i>	'bird' or 'hen'	<i>morğ</i>	chicken	<i>Gallus domesticus</i> . This is the prototype for the larger <i>morğ</i> ILG as well as for the <i>morğ</i> folk genus. Domestic. Refer to the stages of existence diagram in Figure 4.
24	<i>buqalamun</i> [buqalamū]	'(voice)'	<i>buqalamun</i>	turkey	<i>Melagris gallopavo</i> . Domestic. The Farsi and SL term is derived from the Arabic <i>abu qalamun</i> (Schapka 30).
D2.	Folk genus <i>kamutar</i>	'pigeons and doves'	—	—	—
25	<i>kamutar</i> = <i>kamutar borči</i>	—	<i>kabutar-e čāhi</i> , 'kaftar'	Rock Dove (domestic pigeon)	<i>Columba livia</i> . This <i>kamutar māli</i> 'domestic pigeon' is the prototype for the <i>kamutar</i> folk genus. The term <i>kamutar</i> is found in some dialects of Farsi and Kurdish (Mokri 113, 151; Mowsavi 161; Schapka 203).
26	<i>kamutar borči</i> (see <i>kamutar</i>)	'tower pigeon'	—	—	—

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
27	<i>kamutar gālhak</i>	'hole-nesting pigeon'	<i>kabutar-e jāngali</i>	Wood Pigeon	<i>Columba palumbus</i> . Part of the <i>kamutar walhši</i> 'wild pigeon' subgenus.
28	<i>kamutar komrik</i>	'bare (<i>rit</i>) bellied pigeon' (?)	<i>qomri-e jāngali</i>	Laughing or Palm Dove	<i>Streptopelia senegalensis</i> . Part of the <i>kamutar walhši</i> 'wild pigeon' subgenus. The term may also include Turtle Dove <i>Streptopelia turtur</i> .
29	<i>kamutar toqi</i>	'collared [neck]'	<i>yā karim</i>	Eurasian Collared Dove	<i>Streptopelia decaocto</i> . Part of the <i>kamutar walhši</i> 'wild pigeon' subgenus. In Farsi dialects the terms <i>tuqār</i> and <i>tuqi</i> are also used. In some Farsi dialects these terms also refer to <i>Columba palumbus</i> 'Wood Pigeon' (Schapka 205). See also number 27 above.
D3.	Folk genus <i>kawg</i> 'game birds'				
30	<i>belder</i> (see <i>kawg pur</i>)	—	—	—	This term, which comes from the Farsi <i>belder(-e) čin</i> , is in use alongside the indigenous term <i>kawg pur</i> .
31	<i>dorāj</i>	—	<i>dorāj</i>	Black Francolin/ Black Partridge	<i>Francolinus francolinus</i> . "Uncommon in the area. Very delicious." Most but not all speakers say that this type is a member of the <i>kawg</i> folk genus.
32	<i>kawg</i> [kjəwɟ]	—	<i>kabk</i>	Chukar	<i>Alectoris chukar</i> . This is the prototype for the <i>kawg</i> folk genus. Peoples' faces light up when talking about this. It is a hunting favorite and one of the most commonly mentioned types of birds. Refer to the stages of existence diagram in Figure 3. Related terms such as <i>kabg</i> and <i>kow</i> are found in Farsi dialects. These terms are derived from the Arabic root <i>qabj</i> (Mokri 113; Schapka 94, 199).
33	<i>kawg dar</i> [kjəwɟ dəər]	'big/great <i>kawg</i> '	<i>kabk-e dari</i>	Caspian Snowcock	<i>Tetraoallus caspius</i> . "This bird lives in the high mountains in the direction of Yāsuj Province."
34	<i>kawg pur</i> [kjəwɟ pur]	" <i>kawg</i> boy"	<i>belder(-e) čin</i>	Common Quail	<i>Coturnix coturnix</i> . "Young are <i>hamrang</i> 'camouflaged' to blend in with their surroundings." Because this folk species is very small, speakers will sometimes designate it as part of the <i>bendesək</i> 'small bird' ILG. The term <i>kawg pur</i> is likely related to the Kurdish and Farsi dialect term <i>pur</i> , which refers to <i>Phasianus colchicus</i> 'Common Pheasant' (Mokri 50).

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
35	<i>telhi</i> [təhi]	—	<i>tilu</i>	See-see Partridge	<i>Ammoperdix griseogularis</i> . "Type of <i>kaug</i> . Uncommon. Very delicious." The term <i>telhi</i> is related to <i>telu</i> , which is found in Awramāni, Gilaki and some dialects of Farsi (Mokri 150).
E. ILG <i>bendešk</i> 'small birds'					
E1. Folk genus <i>tapu</i> 'lark-like birds'					
36	<i>jikazan</i>	'voice'	<i>zardehpāreh-ye sar-e zeituni</i>	Ortolan Bunting	<i>Emberiza hortulana</i> . A high-elevation folk species.
37	<i>jirazan</i> (see <i>tapu</i>)	'much-voiced'	—	—	—
38	<i>kolāti</i> (see <i>tapu</i>)	—	—	—	—
39	<i>tājdār</i> (see <i>tapu</i>)	'has a crest'	—	—	—
40	<i>tapu</i> = <i>jirazan</i> , <i>kolāti</i> , <i>tājdār</i>	—	<i>čēkāvak-e kākeli</i> , "tapu"	Crested Lark	<i>Galerida cristata</i> .
E2. Folk genus <i>bolbol</i> 'bulbuls'					
41	<i>bolbol kōhi</i>	'mountain bulbul'	<i>bolbol-e mā'muli</i> , and/or <i>bolbol-e xāldār</i>	nightingale	Denotes at least one of two nightingale species: Common Nightingale <i>Luscinia megarhynchos</i> and Thrush Nightingale <i>Luscinia luscinia</i> . The term <i>bolbol</i> comes from an Arabic root.
42	<i>bolbol xormai</i> [xormēi]	'date-eating bulbul'	<i>bolbol-e xormā</i>	White-eared Bulbul	<i>Pycnonotus leucotis</i> .
E3. Folk genus <i>kol</i> 'long-billed <i>bendešk</i> '					
43	<i>kolawi</i> [kolawi] = <i>mālixar košku</i>	'water <i>kol</i> ' (<i>kol</i> means 'little' in some of the northern Luri varieties) 'sap-on-rocks <i>kol</i> ' 'mountain <i>kol</i> '	<i>mālixorak</i> , "mālixār-e kuček"	kingfisher	Includes Common Kingfisher <i>Alcedo atthis</i> , Pied Kingfisher <i>Ceryle rudis</i> , and possibly White-throated Kingfisher <i>Halcyon smyrnenensis</i> .
44	<i>kolbardberiza</i>	'sap-on-rocks <i>kol</i> '	<i>kamarkoli-ye kuček</i>	Neumayer's Rock Nuthatch	<i>Sitta neumayer</i> . "This bird puts sap on rocks to make a nest."
45	<i>kolkamari</i> [kolikamari]	'mountain <i>kol</i> '	<i>kamarkoli-ye bozorg</i>	Large Rock Nuthatch	<i>Sitta tephronota</i> . "This bird lives at a high elevation and makes a mud nest among rocks. Its call is a repeated falling whistle."

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
46	<i>kolsarsorx</i> [kolsarsorx]	'red-headed kol'	<i>dārkuḅ-e sar-e sorx</i>	Middle Spotted Woodpecker	<i>Dendrocops medius</i> . "There is only one kind in this area. It eats walnuts."
47	<i>mālixar košku</i> (see <i>kolawi</i>)	'little fish-eater'	—	—	—
E4.	Folk genus <i>faraštuk</i>	'swallows'	—	—	—
48	<i>dodim</i> [dōim]	'two-tail (<i>domb</i>)'	—	—	—
	(see <i>dodim</i>)	—	—	—	—
49	<i>dodin</i> [dōdin, dōdi] = <i>dodim</i>	'two-tail (<i>domb</i>)'	<i>parastu-ye mā'muli</i>	European Swallow	<i>Hirundo rustica</i> . "This is a type of <i>faraštuk</i> ." It is interesting to note that although 'tail' is <i>domb</i> in Mamasani, for this folk species speakers use the form <i>din</i> 'tail,' which is also found in some varieties of the Haft-Lang dialect of Bakhtiari, a Luri language.
50	<i>faraštuk</i>	—	<i>bādxorak-e mā'muli</i>	Common Swift	<i>Apus apus</i> . Also used as a generic category of <i>bendešk</i> , which includes swallows as well as other swift species.
51	<i>parastu</i> (see <i>faraštuk</i>)	—	—	—	Farsi term in use alongside SL term <i>faraštuk</i> .
E5.	Folk genus <i>bendešk</i>	'sparrows'	—	—	—
52	<i>bendešk</i>	—	<i>gonješk-e mā'muli</i>	House Sparrow	<i>Passer domesticus</i> . This is the prototype for the larger <i>bendešk</i> folk genus.
53	<i>bendešk bārūni</i> (see <i>bendešk</i>)	'rain <i>bendešk</i> '	—	—	—
54	<i>čezorg</i>	—	<i>čārxisak-e pas-sar-e sefid</i>	Coal Tit	<i>Parus ater</i> . "Its call is a repeated lateral click [1]'."
55	<i>domderāz</i> [dondorāz] = <i>liku, jārjārušk,</i> <i>numijarazan</i>	'long-tail (<i>domb</i>)'	<i>dom-jombonak</i>	wagtail	Includes Grey Wagtail <i>Motacilla cinerea</i> , and probably also Pied Wagtail <i>Motacilla alba</i> and other wagtail varieties. Its call is described as a "high pitched 'čr-r-r-r'."
56	<i>fenfendūg</i>	'little'	<i>čārxisak</i> (smaller species)	tit (smaller species)	Smaller tit <i>Parus</i> species. "This tiny bird is blue-grey; its underside is light and its back is slightly darker. It raises many young. Its call is 'č-č-č-č'." The term may also include warbler and wren species.

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
57	<i>gali</i>	—	<i>gonjēšk</i>	sparrow (plain species)	The term <i>gali</i> denotes plain <i>Petronia</i> or <i>Passer</i> species including Pale Rock Sparrow <i>Petronia brachydactyla</i> .
58	<i>hafrang</i>	'seven-colour'	' <i>hafrang</i> ,' <i>sehreh-ye</i> <i>ma'muli</i>	goldfinch	"This bird comes in spring." According to one "colorful" source, "its seven colors, which are visible only close up, are white, black, <i>zard</i> (yellow-orange), red, brown, blue and green."
59	<i>jārjārušk</i> (see <i>domderāz</i>)	'(voice)'	—	—	—
60	<i>jirjirušk</i>	'(voice)'	' <i>jirjinak</i> ' (?)	small thrush species (?)	"This bird is green and <i>zard</i> (yellow-orange), and sparrow-size. It is different than <i>jārjārušk</i> ."
61	<i>kirbardi</i>	'under rocks'	<i>čėkčėk-e ablaq</i>	Pied Wheatear	<i>Oenanthe pleschanka</i> . The term <i>kirbardi</i> may also include several other similar species of <i>Oenanthe</i> 'wheatear'.
62	<i>korokorokon</i>	'(voice)'	<i>sinehsorx-e irāni</i>	White-throated Robin	<i>Irania gutturalis</i> . A high-elevation folk species.
63	<i>korušk</i>	—	<i>zamburxor-e</i> <i>ma'muli</i> , ' <i>zambur-xār</i> '	European Bee-eater	<i>Merops apiaster</i> . "This bird lives in the valleys in winter, and moves to the high-elevation summer pastures when summer comes." Possibly related to the Farsi dialect term <i>kerišak</i> .
64	<i>liku</i> (see <i>domderāz</i>)	—	—	—	The Farsi dialect term <i>lik</i> may be related.
65	<i>morġ-a bawuw</i> <i>solaymuni</i> [morġ bəwuw sələmuni]	'Grandfather Solomon's hen'	<i>hodhod</i> , ' <i>šāneh-be-sar</i> '	Eurasian Hoopoe	<i>Upupa epops</i> . The name <i>hodhod</i> is well-known but seen as Arabic; its Farsi name is usually cited as <i>šāneh-be-sar</i> . In Iranian languages, a whole range of similar terms, such as <i>morġak-e bā soleimūn</i> , are found (Mokri 45; Mowsavi 161; Schapka 259).
66	<i>nočnočkon</i>	'(voice)'	<i>čėkčėk-e</i> <i>guš-e siāh</i>	Black-eared Wheatear	<i>Oenanthe hispanica</i> . A high-elevation summer pasture folk species.
67	<i>nunjarazan</i> (see <i>domderaz</i>)	' <i>jar</i> -voiced nuni'	—	—	—
68	<i>sinasorx</i> (see <i>tesul</i>)	'red-breast'	—	—	This is a Farsi-influenced term that is used alongside the SL term <i>tesul</i> .

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
69	<i>sinazard</i>	'yellow-breast'	<i>čārxisak</i> : larger species	larger tit species	Probably includes Great Tit <i>Parus major</i> and possibly also Blue Tit <i>Parus caeruleus</i> .
70	<i>siyābala</i>	'black and delicate'	<i>tukā-ye siāh</i>	Common Blackbird	The female is brown, and the male is black. In the winter it lives in the valleys and in summer it moves to (the tops of the mountains)."
71	<i>širbağal</i>	'lion-bosom, milk-bosom' (?)	<i>sār</i>	European Starling	<i>Sturnus vulgaris</i> .
72	<i>tesul</i> [təsul]	—	<i>sinhsorx-e orowpā'i</i>	European Robin	<i>Erithacus rubicula</i> .
73	<i>xardol</i>	'likes to eat' (?)	<i>sangčesm</i>	shrike	<i>Lanius</i> species, including: Great Grey Shrike <i>Lanius excubitor</i> , Woodchat Shrike <i>Lanius senator</i> , Bay-backed Shrike <i>Lanius vittatus</i> and other species. The term <i>xardol</i> is probably related to the Farsi dialect terms <i>xarder</i> and <i>xardar</i> (Mowsavi 162; Schapka 80).
74	<i>zard</i> = <i>zard guraxar</i>	'yellow'	<i>zardčpa-reh</i> (?), 'anjir-xor-e zard'	bunting species (?)	Likely an <i>Emberiza</i> species, but identification is uncertain. "This bird is like the <i>zardjāšir</i> 'Black-headed Bunting' but larger. It eats figs and other fruit."
75	<i>zard gunaxar</i> (see <i>zard</i>)	'yellow grape-eater'	—	—	—
76	<i>zardjāšir</i>	'yellow jāšir-eater'	<i>zardpareh-ye sar-e siāh</i>	Black-headed Bunting	<i>Emberiza melanocephala</i> . "Jāšir is a type of grass grown for livestock fodder."
F. ILG	<i>kalā</i> 'crows'	—	<i>kalāğ</i>	Hooded Crow	<i>Corvus corone</i> . This is the prototype for the larger <i>kalā</i> folk genus. The term is used in most varieties of Luri and some varieties of Farsi.
77	<i>kalā</i> = <i>kalā dagali</i>	—	—	—	—
78	<i>kalā dagali</i> (see <i>kalā</i>)	'ugly crow'	—	—	—
79	<i>kalā fahraw</i> [fa:raw]	'small crow'	<i>zāği</i> , 'kalāğ-e barfi'	Common Magpie	<i>Pica pica</i> .

TABLE 1.—Continued.

ID	SL term	Meaning	Farsi	English	Notes
80	<i>kalā-i dāl</i> [kaleidāl]	'vulture/ eagle crow'	<i>gorāb</i>	Common Raven	<i>Corvus corax</i> . "When a sheep dies, the <i>kalā-i dāl</i> comes at night and eats only the eyes."
81	<i>kalājik</i>	'(voice)' or 'small crow'	<i>zağ-e nuk-e sorx</i>	Red-billed Chough	<i>Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax</i> . "This bird nests in colonies. Its call is 'jik-jik'."
82	<i>kalā se</i>	'black crow'	<i>kalāğ-e siāh</i>	rook	<i>Corvus frugilegus</i> .
G. ILG	<i>balixar</i>	'Eurasian Jays'			
83	<i>balixa</i>	'acorn-eater'	<i>jāy-e jāq</i>	Eurasian Jay	<i>Garrulus glandarius</i> . "Have you gone hunting for <i>balixar</i> ? Its meat is delicious." This term is related to the Farsi dialect term <i>balutx(w)ār</i> (Schapka 26).
Additional term: <i>hubara</i> 'Houbara Bustard'					
84	<i>hubara</i>	'antelope lamb'	<i>houbareh</i>	Houbara Bustard	<i>Chlamydotis undulata</i> . Some Farsi dialects include the terms <i>āhubarra</i> and <i>hubara</i> (Schapka 11, 285).

References: Mokri (1947); Mowsavi (1992); Schapka (1972).

they are too small) fall into this category, but speakers are still certain that the birds are *xoraja*. The second category, *makroh* (F. *makruh*), refers to birds that are permitted but not eaten. Haim (1989) has defined this word in Standard Farsi as 'disapproved but not absolutely unlawful'. The third category, *harum* (F. *harām*), refers to birds that are neither permitted nor eaten. Because of the predominance of indigenous ideas regarding edibility, the boundaries of this category correspond only roughly to any orthodox Islamic category of animals that are forbidden. Note also that the distinction of bird types being *makroh* or *harum* is not always agreed upon by all speakers.

Other Cognitive Categories Used in Distinguishing Types.—In SL, factors that speakers have used to distinguish types from each other include the two distinct, comprehensive ones listed above, as well a number of factors for which names and descriptions of the birds highlight dimensions of contrast.

Categories found in names: The names of the birds themselves make reference to a number of factors that speakers use to highlight central characteristics of each folk species and to distinguish it from other folk species. These fall under the general categories of appearance, biological patterns and reference to an aspect of the wider culture. (Note that some names do not contain a discernible meaning, while others highlight two or three characteristic of a given bird type.) In Southern Luri bird names, there are 38 references to the appearance of bird types and 33 references to biological patterns in SL bird names (Table 2).

The single reference to an aspect of the wider culture is that of *morğ-a bawuw solaymuni* 'Grandfather Solomon's bird/hen' (Eurasian Hoopoe). The bird's regal bearing and erectile crest evidently give it an appearance of wisdom and royalty that is associated with this bird in the larger Iranian cultural group. Note that the community's use of the birds is nowhere codified in their names.

Categories found in speakers' descriptions: Other facets of knowledge used in distinguishing bird types were evident in speakers' descriptions of these birds. Items that have not been mentioned in conjunction with the birds' names include: plumage patterns, flight patterns, migration (north/south as well as change of elevation over the course of the year), destruction of crops, scavenging garbage, attribution of good or bad omens, use as food, and role in cultural and personal stories, especially *kawg* 'Chukar (quail)'.

Criteria that Distinguish Types at the Variety Level.—The criteria of sex and maturity are sometimes used to distinguish bird types within a folk species.

Sex: *nar* (F. *nar*)—male; *lās, mada* (F. *maddeh*)—female.

Maturity: Speakers use specialized terms to distinguish between three life stages or levels of maturity (m^0). These stages are hatchling (m^1), juvenile (m^2), and adult (m^3). The stage m^1 includes organisms of both sexes that are still of a small size; m^2 refers to organisms that have reached a mature size but are not yet sexually mature (as evidenced by egg-laying, for example); m^3 indicates a sexually mature adult.

TABLE 2.—References to bird characteristics in Southern Luri bird names. (Total number of bird names recorded: 83; see Table 1).

Characteristic	# of references
<i>Appearance</i>	
Size (always small or diminutive: the suffix <i>-(a)k</i> , small, “boy”) (see Schapka 1972:56 for a discussion of diminutive suffixes in bird names)	12
Part of a bird’s body (tail, breast, head, stomach)	10
Color (yellow-orange, red, black)	9
Reference to the fact that it is a bird (<i>morǵ</i> , <i>bāhenda</i> , <i>bendešk</i> ; see discussion in text)	7
Characteristic of a body part besides color (bare, long, collared, crested)	4
Resemblance to another bird type (<i>kawg</i> , <i>dāl</i> , <i>kol</i>)	3
Numbers (2, 7)	3
Aesthetic quality (delicate, ugly)	2
Possible reference to an animal (lion)	1
Overall shape (lanky)	1
<i>Biological patterns</i>	
Voice (“ <i>jik</i> ,” “ <i>jir</i> ,” “ <i>jar</i> ,” etc.)	10
Habitat (water, mountain, rocks, mud, towers)	9
Diet (fish, grapes, <i>jāšir</i> grass, acorns, carcasses, dates)	7
Eating habits (hunting, excessive eating)	2
Nest type (holes)	1
Flight	1
Domesticity (wild)	1
Circadian rhythm (nocturnal)	1
Associated with weather (rain)	1
Nest-building habits (building with sap)	1

For most bird types, speakers use specialized terminology to differentiate only one life stage or level of maturity: the first maturity stage (m^1), which is not eaten, is distinguished from later stages (see Figure 2). There is no distinction for sex among birds in the first stage of maturity. However, there are also birds (two types) for which speakers use specific terms to describe three life stages.

For *kawg* ‘Chukar (quail)’, three terms exist. Specialization of terms is especially evident for females (see Figure 3).

For *morǵ* ‘chicken’, four terms exist. The terms are almost the same as those used for *kawg*; the greater number for *morǵ* is due to an additional label that refers to males at later stages of maturity (see Figure 4).

Why are terms for *kawg* and *morǵ* more developed than those for other folk species? The prevalence of *morǵ* as a domestic animal and as a food source (meat as well as eggs) is a clear indicator of its cultural importance. The importance of *kawg* is highlighted by the fact that many stories about birds feature the *kawg*. Its meat is the most highly prized of any bird, and considering that there is a relatively large population in the area, it is understandable why it is a prime hunting target.

Cognitive Distinctions and the Taxonomy.—The cognitive distinctions that I have discussed in this chapter—domesticity, edibility, appearance, biological patterns, sex, maturity, and reference to aspects of the wider culture—all play into the

m ⁰	♂	♀
m ³	---	---
m ²		
m ¹	<i>tila</i> ‘hatchling’	

FIGURE 2.—Life stages of most bird types.

m ⁰	♂	♀
m ³	---	<i>tegun</i> ‘hen’
m ²		<i>bāri</i> ‘pullet’
m ¹	<i>jija</i> ‘chick’	

FIGURE 3.—Life stages of *kawg* ‘Chukar (quail)’.

m ⁰	♂	♀
m ³	<i>ǵorus</i> ‘rooster’	<i>tegun</i> ‘hen’
m ²		<i>bāri</i> ‘pullet’
m ¹	<i>jija</i> ‘chick’	

FIGURE 4.—Life stages of *morǵ* ‘chicken’.

elaborate taxonomy that is a part of the indigenous system of knowledge among speakers of SL. This taxonomy will be delineated in the following sections.

TAXONOMY, PART 1: INTERMEDIATE LEVEL GROUPS AND FOLK GENERA

In the following section, I have arranged birds within a hierarchy¹ of intermediate level groups (ILGs) and folk genera as classified by speakers of SL (the higher levels of this taxonomy are depicted graphically in Figure 5). Labels that apply to more than one level (refer to the same section above) are discussed at the highest level represented. Along with listing ILGs and folk genera, I have summarized and presented qualities that speakers have used to identify and

LIFE-FORM	INTERMEDIATE LEVEL GROUP	FOLK GENUS	
<i>bāhenda</i> 'birds'	<i>bāhenda-i šekāri</i> 'birds of prey'		
	<i>dusak</i> 'nightjar(?)'		
	<i>morġawi</i> 'water-birds'	<i>morġawi</i> 'small water-birds'	
		<i>ġāz</i> 'large water-birds'	
	<i>mākyān</i> 'fowl-like-birds'	<i>mākyān</i> 'fowl'	
		<i>kamutar</i> 'pigeons and doves'	
		<i>kawg</i> 'game birds'	
	<i>bendešk</i> 'small birds'	<i>tapu</i> 'lark-like birds'	
		<i>bolbol</i> 'bulbuls'	
		<i>kol</i> 'long-billed <i>bendešk</i> '	
		<i>faraštuk</i> 'swallow-like <i>bendešk</i> '	
		<i>bendešk</i> 'typical sparrows'	
	<i>kalā</i> 'crows'		
<i>balixar</i> 'Eurasian Jay'			

FIGURE 5.—Intermediate level groups and folk genera in the Southern Luri bird taxonomy.

distinguish each of the groups. For categories with more than a single folk species, a prototype is also given. (For a definition of 'prototype' as I use it, see Lyons 1995:6).

A. Intermediate Level Group: bāhenda-i šekāri 'Birds of Prey'.—Prototype: *alo* 'eagle' or *dāl* 'carrion-eater'. This ILG has 10 members. A central characteristic is that birds in this category hunt the meat of other birds and mammals. The membership of *šawpar* 'bat', *sepugepu* 'Common Cuckoo', and *šuk* 'small owl' in this ILG is uncertain for some speakers; labels for these three types are well-defined, but distinctions of naming among other members (e.g. *alo*, *bāz*, *dāl*, *lāšxor*, *oqāb*) are sometimes unclear for speakers. Names of birds assigned to this category are similar to names in Farsi, both through linguistic borrowing and through historical linguistic relationship. In terms of edibility, all members are usually classified as forbidden. Speakers are aware that birds in this ILG migrate from the north in fall and winter.

*B. Intermediate Level Group: **dusak** 'nightjars'.*—The curious ILG, with a single folk species **dusak** 'nightjar', does not belong to any other ILG or folk genus represented in the language. A central characteristic of this folk species is its nocturnal activity, but unlike the owl, it is not considered a *bāhenda-i šekāri* 'bird of prey'. In terms of edibility, it is considered to be edible because "it is not mentioned in the Qur'an."

*C. Intermediate Level Group: **morğawi** 'water birds'.*—Prototype: **morğawi** 'domestic duck'. This ILG includes the folk genera **ğāz** and **morğawi**. Its central characteristic is habitat in and around water.

*C1. Folk Genus: **ğāz** 'large water birds'.*—Prototype: **ğāz** 'Grey Heron'. This folk genus, which has two members, is part of the larger **morğawi** ILG. Central characteristics include habitat in and around water, large size, long neck, and long legs. The semantic range of the term **ğāz** in SL differs from its range in Farsi, where it means 'goose'. The edibility of birds in this category is disputed as being either edible or permitted but not eaten.

*C2. Folk Genus: **morğawi** 'small water birds'.*—Prototype: **morğawi** 'domestic duck'. This folk genus, which has three members, is part of the larger **morğawi** ILG. Central characteristics include habitat in and around water, and small or medium size. All members are classed as edible.

*D. Intermediate Level Group: **mākyān** 'fowl-like birds'.*—Prototype: **morğ** 'chicken'. This ILG includes the folk genera **mākyān**, **kamutar** and **kawg**. The desirability of these birds as food is a central characteristic of this grouping. All members are classed as edible.

*D1. Folk Genus: **mākyān** 'fowl'.*—Prototype: **morğ** 'chicken'. This folk genus, which has two members, is part of the larger **mākyān** ILG. A central characteristic is the raising of these birds for food. Both members are classed as edible.

*D2. Folk Genus: **kamutar** 'pigeons and doves'.*—Prototype: **kamutar** 'Rock Dove'. This folk genus, which has four members, is part of the larger **mākyān** ILG. It is divided into the subcategories of **kamutar māli** 'domestic pigeon' (including only **kamutar** 'Rock Dove') and **kamutar wahši** 'wild pigeons' (including the other three types). Central characteristics include medium size and more slender shape than other folk genera in the **mākyān** ILG. All members are classed as edible.

*D3. Folk Genus: **kawg** 'game birds'.*—Prototype: **kawg** 'Chukar'. This folk genus, which has five members, is part of the larger **mākyān** ILG. Central characteristics include medium or small size and round shape. The membership of **kawg pur** 'Common Quail' and **dorāj** 'Black Francolin' is sometimes debated: **kawg pur** because it is small (and therefore sometimes considered part of the **bendešk** 'small bird' ILG), and **dorāj** for reasons that speakers could not specify. All members are classed as edible.

*E. Intermediate Level Group: **bendešk** 'small birds'.*—Prototype: **bendešk** 'House Sparrow'. This ILG includes the folk genera **tapu**, **kol**, **bolbol**, **faraštuk**, and other

bendešk. A central characteristic of this group is the small size of its members. Most, but not all, members are classed as edible.

E1. Folk Genus: *tapu* 'larks'.—Prototype: *tapu* 'Crested Lark'. This folk genus, which has two members, is part of the larger *bendešk* ILG. Central characteristics include medium size, melodious song, crest and plain coloring. Both members are classed as edible.

E2. Folk Genus: *bolbol* 'Bulbuls'.—Prototype: *bolbol kohi* 'nightingale'. This folk genus, which has two members, is part of the larger *bendešk* ILG. Central characteristics include medium size, melodious song and the obvious presence of patterns or bright coloring. Both members are classed as edible.

E3. Folk Genus: *kol* 'Long-billed *bendešk*'.—Prototypes: *kolawi* 'kingfisher' or *kolsarsorx* 'woodpecker'. This folk genus, which has four members, is part of the larger *bendešk* ILG. Its central characteristics are its habit of nesting in holes; a long, heavy bill; and striking color or shading patterns. In terms of edibility, this folk genus is varied. *Kolsarsorx* 'woodpecker' is classed as forbidden (as one young man said, "only *gonādār* 'sinners' eat it."). *Kolawi* 'kingfisher' is classed as permitted but not eaten. *Kolkamari* 'Large Rock Nuthatch' and *kolbardberiza* 'Neumayer's Rock Nuthatch' are classed as edible.

E4. Folk Genus: *faraštuk* 'swallows'.—Prototype: *faraštuk* 'Common Swift'. This folk genus, which has two members, is part of the larger *bendešk* ILG. Central characteristics include slender shape and rapid, erratic flight. Both members are classed as permitted but not eaten.

E5. Folk Genus: *bendešk* 'sparrows'.—Prototype: *bendešk* 'House Sparrow'. This is the largest folk genus, numbering nineteen members. It is part of the larger *bendešk* ILG. Smaller birds that have no defining characteristics that would place them in other categories of the larger *bendešk* ILG are placed in this category. In terms of edibility, all members are classed as 'edible' with the exception of *morğ-a bawuw solaymuni* 'hoopoe', which is considered either permitted but not eaten or forbidden.

F. Intermediate Level Group: *kalā* 'crows'.—Prototype: *kalā* 'Hooded Crow'. This ILG has five members. Central characteristics include black or *pisa* 'pied' plumage and medium or large size. In terms of edibility, speakers class all members as permitted but not eaten or forbidden (classification varies between speakers).

G. Intermediate Level Group: *balixar* 'Eurasian Jay'.—The monospecific ILG *balixar* 'Eurasian Jay' does not belong to any other ILGs or folk genera represented in the language. Central characteristics of this folk species include medium to large size, striking plumage pattern, and a noisy call. It is considered edible. This is an interesting case of the application of traditional categories to religious practice. The Western system of classification, which places jays in the crow family, has been followed by Iranian zoologists. This differs from the Southern Luri

classification, which puts jays in an ILG of their own. Now, in Islamic tradition crows are considered to be *harām* (F.) 'forbidden'; however, because of their traditional classification boundaries, subjects consider what might be *harām* in the larger Iranian culture as edible.

Additional Observations on the Taxonomy.—In addition to the folk genera described above, there seems to be a loosely defined label, mentioned by a minority of speakers, given as *māhixar* 'fish-eater'. This category includes both members of the *ḡāz* 'large water bird' folk genus (also called *māhixar*) as well as *kolawi* 'kingfisher' (also called *māhixar košku*). The central characteristic of members of this folk genus is, of course, that they eat fish.

Another monospecific ILG has been recorded, but its validity is uncertain. Some speakers insist the term *hubara* 'Houbara Bustard' is used in the Jawi dialect area of Mamasani. However, this folk species (which is in the field very large and conspicuous) is not known by many uneducated speakers nor does it seem to occur in the area (I have not encountered any published documentation that places the range of the Houbara Bustard in this area). Consequently, I think it is a Farsi term associated with a species that some educated speakers are familiar with. It does not belong to any other ILGs or folk genera represented in the language. It is considered by those who know of its existence to be edible.

TAXONOMY, PART 2: FOLK SPECIES IN SOUTHERN LURI

I have arranged all 64 folk bird species (for which there are 84 terms) according to the taxonomic levels outlined in the previous section. Information on each of the folk species in an ILG or folk genus is presented in Table 1 as follows:

Identification Number.—Each bird name is numbered. In Appendix 2, I have arranged all bird names alphabetically in SL, Farsi, English and Latin (scientific nomenclature) and have indexed them by number.

Southern Luri Term.—All Southern Luri terms for bird types are given in this column. When a Farsi term is also commonly used, I include this and refer to the Southern Luri term alongside that which it occurs. The writing system I use for SL is based on the system described in Anonby (2003a). Names whose pronunciation may be difficult for non-Southern Luri speakers to predict are also given in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). When a single bird type is identified by more than one synonymous label, the reader is referred to the most frequently used label, where other information on the bird type is given.

The reader should note that although some of the terms applied to birds are identical or similar to those used in Farsi, their application to bird types in SL is often different. For example, when the term *ḡāz* is used in Farsi, it refers to geese. However, when it is used in SL (that is, specifically in the community where the research was conducted), it refers to *Ardea cinerea* (Grey Heron). In other cases, the range of a term is different. Take for example that of *pāšalak*, which in Farsi refers to several species of snipe (a type of sandpiper). In SL, however, *pāšolak* refers to all species of sandpipers.

Meaning of Southern Luri Term.—Whenever a Southern Luri term has a meaning of which speakers are aware, this is given. Single quotation marks are used to indicate a gloss (meaning).

Farsi Equivalent.—Technical, Standard Farsi names are given, as well as regional names that speakers consider to be Farsi. The latter are given in quotation marks. *English Equivalent.*—Where technical English names are given, I have used capital letters. Where bird family names and nontechnical English names are given, capitals are not used.

Notes.—In this column, I have included the Latin scientific name when identification of the species is probable or certain. For species whose identification is uncertain, I have included a description of the bird. This column also contains other information that speakers have given: appearance, including sexual dimorphism (where male and female have different physical characteristics); song; habits of food-gathering, nesting, and migration; instances and role of the bird in regional folklore; and other relevant information including similar terms in related language varieties. Quotation marks are used when the information is a direct translation of a speaker's description.

CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION

This study is an investigation of Iranian ethnoscience; a synopsis of the way in which one community understands *bāhendayal* 'birds' as they are part of an overall understanding of the world.

This enquiry has revealed central aspects of the structure of knowledge of birds as encoded in the Southern Luri language spoken in Jawzār-Jawi, a community within the Mamasani ethnic group of Iran.

In the community under investigation, bird knowledge is most specialized among males who practice or have practiced a nomadic lifestyle. This knowledge is passed on through informal education.

The research presented in this paper has shown that bird knowledge is contained in a number of cognitive sets. The largest set is a four-level hierarchy with 84 terms for 64 types of birds at the folk-species level. A complete set of bird physiology terms is a further indicator of the richness of cognitive structure in the domain of birds. At the folk-species level, domesticity and edibility function as complete but less diversified sets. Below the folk species level, sex and maturity may be found as simple, whole sets. Other areas of bird knowledge, such as interaction of birds with human culture, are complex but less strictly organized in the Southern Luri language.

During the months in which I conducted research, all species that I myself observed were identified by speakers of SL, who then assigned these species a place in the taxonomy. In this sense, my experience confirms that the classification of birds found in the language spoken in Jawzār-Jawi is very much a complete taxonomy. And as to its representing a rich body of ornithological knowledge, I must admit that after all I have said in this article I cannot claim to have touched more than the surface of the significance of birds in many aspects of the culture. This is especially true of the role of birds in oral literature, a topic deserving further study.

Among the languages of temperate zone cultures, Southern Luri thus holds its own in the area of bird knowledge. In a seminal article, Berlin et al. (1966:237) stated that "there is a strong, positive correlation between cultural significance and degree of lexical differentiation." Of course, cultural significance may be utilitarian, intellectual or both (Berlin 1992:3ff.). The results of this study suggest that the Southern Luri taxonomy reflects both perspectives. For example, the fact that more life stages are differentiated for common, large, edible birds than for other birds supports a utilitarian view of lexical differentiation. Conversely, the distinct naming of all crow species, none of which are considered edible, is one of many examples that an intellectualist perspective in ethnobiology also contributes to an understanding of the place of taxonomies within a culture. It is reasonable to suppose that this highly differentiated linguistic taxonomy has its origins in a time when birds played an even greater role in the cognitive world of the Southern Luri speakers (see Berlin 1992:260ff.). However, with the decline of pastoral nomadism and the rise of formal education in Farsi, much of the indigenous bird knowledge in SL is being shifted from an area of cultural common ground to one that is learned and retained out of interest by only some speakers: a professionalized domain that functions as understanding for understanding's sake.

A comparison of the Southern Luri bird taxonomy to that of classical Western science shows that the Southern Luri taxonomy differs in the arrangement of the labels it uses, as well as the way in which it uses these labels. A question that immediately comes to mind is: in which areas is each taxonomy more detailed? A simplistic answer is that the Western taxonomy is more detailed in areas such as the number of species labels; however, even for this seemingly straightforward issue, a number of concerns must be addressed in order to make a valid comparison. Of the approximately 500 bird species found in Iran, about half of them may occur in the Mamasani area as a whole. When compared to the Southern Luri taxonomy, which contains 84 labels for birds (and some of them synonyms), the Western system seems to be much more detailed. However, three factors account for this difference in number, only one of which is related to minuteness of detail. First, the world of the inhabitants of Jawzār-Jawi is geographically finite and, in fact, does not commonly extend beyond the home valley, adjacent high-elevation pastures, the nearby small city of Nurabad, and sometimes the large city of Shirāz, which is a long day's journey by public transport (including an all-terrain vehicle over unimproved roads for part of the way). Thus, a number of biomes that are within the Mamasani world as a whole (for example: small lakes, seasonal and permanent wetlands, cities, and dry plains) are beyond the world of the inhabitants of Jawzār-Jawi, and accordingly, the biomes of the bird species that inhabit them. Second, a high percentage (perhaps as high as half) of the birds found in the area are migrants from outside the region. Of these, many alight in the region only as vagrants or accidental species on their way to summer or winter residence. Third, and more to the point, there are in fact a number of cases where a single species in SL is clearly classified as several species in the Western taxonomy. This tendency is especially evident, for example, in the case of birds of prey and of small songbirds (see Table 1 for details). The Southern Luri taxonomy is more minute in other cases, however; consider the case of *balixar*

'jays' and *kalā* 'crows', which in the Western taxonomy comprise a single category but in SL comprise two independent folk genera. Further, cognitive sets which are minimally differentiated in the Western taxonomy (e.g., ritual edibility) are thoroughly articulated in SL.

A related topic of comparison between the Western scientific and the Southern Luri bird taxonomy is that of the use of labels, especially with regard to ambiguity. One significant feature of the Western scientific naming and classification system is its intolerance for synonyms; that is, ideally a single standardized name is used by a single academic population to label a single bird type. However, SL (and any other language variety that is not rigidified into the form of a technical jargon) allows more freedom in its labelling (see Berlin 1992:203ff.). One example is the use of any of four different words for 'wagtail'. Of the terms *domderāz*, *jānjārušk*, *liku*, and *nunijarazan*, none is seen as more authentic or correct than any other. (Note that although sociolinguistic patterns of usage for these terms may in fact exist, I was unable to determine any based on the data collected; however, the idea of usage is distinct from that of authenticity or correctness.) Another, more significant, ambiguity pertains to the existence of a taxonomic category *māhixar* 'fish-eaters', which was mentioned by a minority of subjects. According to the speakers who listed it, members of this category exist simultaneously within one of two other folk genera at the same level of the hierarchy—*gāz* 'large water-bird' and *kolawi* 'kingfisher'. When these speakers were asked about this apparent inconsistency, they were not disturbed (even though such a structure contrasts with other aspects of the hierarchy's geometry) nor did they see a need to rectify the taxonomy.

Elaborate bird taxonomies like that of Southern Luri exist in many other areas of Iran and elsewhere. This is one image in a far wider tapestry, an unexplored field in which our appreciation of the whole is still incomplete. But this very incompleteness in our knowledge of the world is the force that drives investigation forward; the force that is behind every society's categorization of the world, making sense of the world, coming to terms with the significant aspects of what we see in the world.

NOTE

¹ Oltrogge's (1977) article compares alternative methods of describing cognitive structure. In this study, I have chosen to represent the bird taxonomy hierarchically. Earlier sections of this study discuss covert categories (i.e., categories that are not themselves labeled in the language, but whose members are labeled) which in some cases are arranged hierarchically. As regards the taxonomy as a whole, I have found that covert distinctions support an existing overt linguistic hierarchy that is found at several levels (as I discussed earlier, and upon which I will elaborate in this section).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I thank my wife Christina for her patience, anthropological acuity and spirit of adventure. I would also like to thank the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for granting visas and allowing Shiraz University to host us. In the field, Messrs. Hossein Ali-ye Mohammedi, Ahmad-e Mohammedi and Āmu Dādollāh spent much time

with me and it was a privilege to learn from their expertise in the area of ornithology. I am, in fact, indebted to all members of the Luri community of Jawzār-Jawi for allowing my wife and me to live with them and for extending much excellent Iranian hospitality to us. Finally, I would like to thank Theodore Engel, Jeff Green and Enrique Salas-Vidal for their keen insights regarding the content and presentation of this article.

REFERENCES CITED

- Amanol(l)ahi (Baharvand), S. 1985. The Lurs of Iran. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 9(1):65–69.
- . 1987. *Tribes of Iran: The tribes of Luristan, Bakhtiari, Kuh Gilu and Mamasani*. Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, Connecticut.
- . 1991. *Qom-e Lor [The Lur Family]*. Mo'saseh Enteshārāt Āgāh, Tehran.
- Anonby, C.V. 2002. *In sleep, I see...: Learning indigenous knowledge through dream-telling among the Luri of Iran*. M. A. Thesis (International Education), University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Anonby, E.J. 2002. *Numal-a bāhindayal min-a zawn-a luri [Primer of bird names in the Luri Language]*. Xomuni/Anjoman-e Pishraft-e Zabān va Farhang-e Lori, Vancouver.
- . 2003a. *A phonology of Southern Luri*. Lincom Europa, Munich.
- . 2003b. Update on Luri: How many languages? *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13.2:171–197.
- Benveniste, E. 1960. Les noms de l' 'oiseau' en Iranien. *Paideuma* 7:193–199.
- Berlin, B. 1992. *Ethnobiological classification: Principles of categorization of plants and animals in traditional societies*. University Press, Princeton.
- Berlin, B., D.L. Breedlove and P.H. Raven. 1966. Folk taxonomies and biological classification. *Science* 154:273–275.
- Brown, C.H. 1987. The folk subgenus: A new ethnobiological rank. *Journal of Ethnobiology* 7:181–192.
- Fazel, G.R. 1984. Lur. In *Muslim peoples: A world ethnographic survey*, ed. R.V. Weekes, pp. 446–447. Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.
- Firouz, E. 2000. *Hayāt-e vahši-ye Irān: Mehrehdārān [A guide to the fauna of Iran: Vertebrates]*. Markaz-e Nashr-e Dāneshgāhi [Iran University Press], Tehran.
- Grimes, B., ed. 2000. *Ethnologue, vol. I: Languages of the world*. SIL International, Dallas.
- Haim, S. 1989. *Persian-English dictionary*. Farhang-e Moaser, Tehran.
- Khwāh, J.H. 1378 (1999). *Boyerahmad va Rostam: Gāhvāreh-ye tārix [Boyerahmad and Rostam: The cradle of history]*. Nashr-e Fardāh, [no place specified].
- Lyons, J. 1995. *Linguistic semantics: An introduction*. University Press, Cambridge.
- Mirfardi, A. 2000. *The process and consequences of modernization in Mamasani (1924–1999)*. Shirāz University, Shiraz.
- Mokri, M. 1947. *Farhang-e nāmha-ye parandegān dar lahje-hā-ye kordi [A lexicon of bird names in Kurdish dialects]*. Mow'a-seseh-ye Enteshārāt-e Amir Kabir, Tehran.
- Mosalmi, A. 1369 (1990). *Mamasani va Behešt-e Gomšodeh [Mamasani and Behešt-e Gomšodeh]*. Enteshārāt-e Shirāz, Shiraz.
- Mowsavi, H. 1992. *Gušehhā'i az farhang va ādāb va rosom-e mardom-e Kohmareh-ye Nowdān, Jaruq, Sorxi-ye Fārs [Aspects of the culture, traditions and customs of the people of Kohmareh-ye Nowdān, Jaruq, Sorxi of Fārs Province]*. Enteshārāt-e Navid, Shiraz.
- Oltroge, D.F. 1977. The ethnoentomology of some Jicaque (Tol) categories of the order Hymenoptera. In *Cognitive studies of Southern Mesoamerica, vol. 3*, eds. H.L. Neuenswander and D.E. Arnold, pp. 162–181. Museum of Anthropology, Dallas.
- Sādeqi, M.G. 1998. *Mamasani: Dašti por az nun va tašti por az xun [Mamasani: A field full of bread and a basin full of blood]*. Kushāmeh, Shiraz.
- Schapka, U. 1972. *Die persischen Vogelnamen*. Doctoral dissertation (Oriental Studies), Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg.
- Scott, D., H.M. Hamadāni, and A.A. Mir-Hoseini. 1975. *Parandegān-e Irān [Birds of Iran]*. Sāzemān-e Hafāzat-e Zist [Department of the Environment], Tehran.

APPENDIX 1.—Lexicon of vocabulary associated with birds.

Southern Luri	Standard Farsi	English
<i>General vocabulary</i>		
<i>bad-yum</i>	<i>fāl-e bad</i>	bad omen
<i>bāhenda</i>	<i>parandeh</i>	bird
<i>bāl</i>	<i>parvāz</i>	flight
<i>bali</i>	<i>balut</i>	acorn, oak
<i>bard</i>	<i>sang</i>	rock
<i>barg</i>	<i>barg</i>	leaf
<i>beriza</i>	<i>šireh</i>	sap
<i>čāl</i>	<i>lāna</i>	nest
<i>dār, daraxt</i>	<i>daraxt</i>	tree
<i>farār</i>	<i>farār</i>	wild, escaped (cf. Farsi 'escaped' only)
<i>harum</i>	<i>harām</i>	forbidden (food)
<i>jar</i>	<i>jang</i>	'(voice), noise, war'
<i>jāšir</i>	<i>jāwšir</i>	<i>Opoponax</i> (grass sp.)
<i>jik, jir</i>	—	'(voice)'
<i>kohi</i>	<i>kuhi, vahši</i>	mountain-dwelling, wild
<i>kowāl</i>	<i>pust-e daraxt</i>	tree bark
<i>lās</i>	<i>maddeh</i>	female
<i>leḡga</i>	<i>šāxeh</i>	branch
<i>makroh</i>	<i>makruh</i>	permitted but not eaten (food)
<i>naḡma</i>	<i>sarosedā</i>	bird's voice or call
<i>nar</i>	<i>nar</i>	male
<i>par</i>	<i>barg, par</i>	leaf, feather
<i>qaqa</i>	—	'(call of Chukar)'
<i>šekār</i>	<i>šekār</i>	hunting
<i>tila</i>	<i>tuleh</i>	hatchling, chick
<i>wahši</i>	<i>vahši</i>	wild
<i>xāg</i>	<i>toxm-e morḡ</i>	egg
<i>xoraja</i>	<i>xordaniyeh</i>	edible

APPENDIX 1.—Continued.

<i>Appearance of birds</i>		
<i>awi</i> [əwi]	<i>ābi</i>	blue, blue-green
<i>dagali</i>	<i>zešt</i>	ugly
<i>derāz</i>	<i>derāz</i>	long
<i>fahraw</i>	<i>zarif</i>	small, delicate
<i>gerota</i>	<i>meški</i>	dark
<i>ġolāba</i>	<i>rāhrāh</i>	striped
<i>hamrang</i>	<i>estatār</i>	camouflaged
<i>holi</i>	<i>bišāx</i>	without horns (refers to some types of owls)
<i>košku</i>	<i>kuček</i>	small
<i>laqlaqawa</i>	<i>landuk</i>	lanky
<i>pisa</i>	<i>ablaq</i>	pied, mottled
<i>por</i>	<i>zard-e noxodi, xākestri-ye rowšan</i>	beige, light gray
<i>rang</i>	<i>rang</i>	color
<i>rangin</i>	<i>rangin</i>	colorful, multicolored
<i>rit</i>	<i>tonok, sādeh, berehneh</i>	bare
<i>sawzi</i> [səwzi]	<i>sabzi</i>	green
<i>safid</i>	<i>sefid</i>	white
<i>se, siyā</i>	<i>siāh</i>	black
<i>sorx</i>	<i>qermez, sorx</i>	red, orange-red
<i>tiz</i>	<i>tiz</i>	sharp, pointed
<i>toqi</i>	<i>tuqdār</i>	collared
<i>xālxāl</i>	<i>rāhrāh</i>	striped, mottled
<i>zard</i>	<i>zard</i>	yellow, orange

APPENDIX 1.—Continued.

<i>Parts of a bird's body</i>		
<i>āsenduǰ, āseng</i>	<i>sangdān</i>	gizzard
<i>baǰāzi</i>	<i>golu</i>	throat
<i>bāl</i>	<i>bāl</i>	wing, flight
<i>band-a pā</i>	<i>angošt-e pā</i>	toe
<i>bot</i>	<i>golu</i>	throat
<i>čangal</i>	<i>čangal</i>	talon, claw
<i>činadun</i>	<i>čimehdān</i>	crop (organ)
<i>del</i>	<i>andāmhā</i>	organs (cf. Farsi 'gut' only)
<i>dender</i>	<i>dendeh</i>	ribs
<i>dender-a kol</i>	<i>dendeh</i>	floating rib
<i>dim</i>	<i>dom</i>	tail (variant)
<i>din</i>	<i>dom</i>	tail (variant)
<i>domb</i>	<i>dom</i>	tail
<i>fika</i>	<i>surāx-e bini</i>	nostril
<i>gardan</i>	<i>gardan</i>	neck
<i>gi</i>	<i>matfu</i>	feces
<i>gušt</i>	<i>gušt</i>	meat
<i>has</i>	<i>ostoxān</i>	bone
<i>jegar</i>	<i>kabad, jegar</i>	liver
<i>jenāq</i>	<i>jenāǰ</i>	wishbone
<i>kala</i>	<i>kaleh</i>	head, crown of head
<i>kap</i>	<i>dahān</i>	mouth
<i>kāsa-i sar</i>	<i>kāseh-ye sar</i>	skull
<i>kom</i>	<i>šekam</i>	stomach (outer)
<i>korkoruzā</i>	<i>ǰozruf, ostoxān-e sineh</i>	cartilage, breastbone
<i>laš</i>	<i>gušt</i>	flesh
<i>leng</i>	<i>leng</i>	leg
<i>mehda</i>	<i>me'deh</i>	stomach (inner)
<i>nāxun</i>	<i>naxon</i>	toenail, claw
<i>nek</i>	<i>nuk</i>	beak, bill
<i>pā</i>	<i>pā</i>	foot, leg
<i>pahli</i>	<i>pahlu</i>	side (below wings)
<i>panja</i>	<i>penjeh</i>	toes
<i>par</i>	<i>par</i>	feather, leaf
<i>pošt</i>	<i>pošt</i>	back
<i>pus</i>	<i>pust</i>	skin
<i>qalb</i>	<i>qalb</i>	heart
<i>ri</i>	<i>surati</i>	face
<i>ruhi</i>	<i>rudeh</i>	intestines
<i>run</i>	<i>rān</i>	thigh
<i>sar</i>	<i>sar</i>	head
<i>sina</i>	<i>sineh</i>	breast
<i>šāna</i>	<i>šāneh</i>	shoulder
<i>šāx</i>	<i>šāx</i>	horn (owl)
<i>šoš</i>	<i>šoš</i>	lungs
<i>tāj</i>	<i>tāj</i>	crest, tuft of feathers
<i>tan</i>	<i>taneh</i>	body
<i>tiya</i>	<i>češm</i>	eye
<i>toq</i>	<i>tuq</i>	collar
<i>zawn [zawn]</i>	<i>zabān</i>	tongue
<i>zala</i>	<i>kiseh-ye safrā</i>	gall bladder

APPENDIX 2.—Index of bird names in Southern Luri, Farsi, English, and scientific nomenclature (numbers refer to species taxonomy list, Table 1).

Index of Southern Luri names

<i>alo</i>	1	<i>kawg</i>	32
<i>aloh</i>	2	<i>kawg dar</i>	33
<i>bādkapan</i>	3	<i>kawg pur</i>	34
<i>balixar</i>	83	<i>kirbardi</i>	61
<i>bāšaw</i>	4	<i>kolāti</i>	38
<i>bāz</i>	5	<i>kolawi</i>	43
<i>belder</i>	30	<i>kolbardberiza</i>	44
<i>bendešk</i>	52	<i>kolkamari</i>	45
<i>bendešk bāruni</i>	53	<i>kolsarsorx</i>	46
<i>bi</i>	6	<i>korokorokon</i>	62
<i>bolbol kohi</i>	41	<i>korušk</i>	63
<i>bolbol xormāi</i>	42	<i>laklak</i>	18
<i>buqalamun</i>	24	<i>lāšxor</i>	9
<i>čezorg</i>	54	<i>liku</i>	64
<i>dāl</i>	7	<i>māhixar</i>	19
<i>dodim</i>	48	<i>māhixar košku</i>	47
<i>dodin</i>	49	<i>morğ</i>	23
<i>domderāz</i>	55	<i>morğ-a bawuw solaymuni</i>	65
<i>dorāj</i>	31	<i>morğawi</i>	20
<i>dusak</i>	16	<i>morğawi wahši</i>	21
<i>faraštuk</i>	50	<i>nočnočkon</i>	66
<i>fenfenduğ</i>	56	<i>nunijarazan</i>	67
<i>gali</i>	57	<i>oqāb</i>	10
<i>ğāz</i>	17	<i>parastu</i>	51
<i>hafrang</i>	58	<i>pāšolak</i>	22
<i>hubara</i>	84	<i>šāhin</i>	14
<i>jārjārušk</i>	59	<i>sangak</i>	11
<i>jikazan</i>	36	<i>šawpar</i>	13
<i>jirazan</i>	37	<i>sepugepu</i>	12
<i>jirjirušk</i>	60	<i>sinasorx</i>	68
<i>kalā</i>	77	<i>sinazard</i>	69
<i>kalā dagali</i>	78	<i>širbağal</i>	71
<i>kalā fahraw</i>	79	<i>siyābala</i>	70
<i>kalā se</i>	82	<i>šuk</i>	15
<i>kala-i dāl</i>	80	<i>tājdār</i>	39
<i>kalājik</i>	81	<i>tapu</i>	40
<i>kalāpik</i>	8	<i>tehi</i>	35
<i>kamutar</i>	25	<i>tesul</i>	72
<i>kamutar borči</i>	26	<i>xardol</i>	73
<i>kamutar gāhak</i>	27	<i>zard</i>	74
<i>kamutar komrik</i>	28	<i>zard guraxar</i>	75
<i>kamutar toqi</i>	29	<i>zardjāšir</i>	76

Index of Farsi names

<i>ābčelik</i>	22	<i>kuku</i>	12
<i>bādxorak-e ma'muli</i>	50	<i>laklak</i>	18
<i>bāz</i>	1, 5, 7	<i>lāsxor</i>	7
<i>belder(-e) čin</i>	34	<i>“māhixār-e kuček”</i>	43
<i>bolbol-e kuhi</i>	41	<i>māhixorak</i>	43
<i>bolbol-e ma'muli</i>	41	<i>māhixorak-e ablaq</i>	43
<i>bolbol-e xormā</i>	42	<i>māhixorak-e kuček</i>	43
<i>buqalamun</i>	24	<i>māhixorak-e sineh-ye sefid</i>	43
<i>čekček-e ablaq</i>	61	<i>morğ</i>	23
<i>čekček-e guš-e siāh</i>	66	<i>morğābi</i>	20
<i>čarx risak</i>	56, 69	<i>morğābi-ye vahši</i>	21
<i>čarx risak-e bozorg</i>	69	<i>morğ-e haqq</i>	15
<i>čarx risak-e pas-sar-e sefid</i>	54	<i>oqāb</i>	1
<i>čarx risak-e sar-e ābi</i>	69	<i>ordak</i>	21
<i>čekāvak-e kākeli</i>	40	<i>parastu-ye ma'muli</i>	49
<i>dāl</i>	7	<i>pāsalak</i>	22
<i>daličeh</i>	3	<i>“qerqi”</i>	11
<i>dārkub-e sar-e sorx</i>	46	<i>qomri-ye jangali</i>	28
<i>domjombonak</i>	55	<i>qomri-ye ma'muli</i>	28
<i>domjombonak-e ablaq</i>	55	<i>šābgard-e ma'muli</i>	16
<i>domjombonak-e xākestri</i>	55	<i>šāhbuf</i>	6
<i>dorāj</i>	31	<i>šāhin</i>	11
<i>egret</i>	18	<i>šāneh-be-sar</i>	65
<i>ğāz</i>	17	<i>sangčešm</i>	73
<i>gonješk</i>	57	<i>sangčešm-e bozorg</i>	73
<i>gonješk-e ma'muli</i>	52	<i>sangčešm-e kaleh-ye sorx</i>	73
<i>gonješk-e xāki</i>	57	<i>sangčešm-e pošt-e baluti</i>	73
<i>ğorāb</i>	80	<i>sār</i>	71
<i>“haftrang”</i>	58	<i>sehreh-ye ma'muli</i>	58
<i>havāsil</i>	17	<i>sinehsorx-e irāni</i>	62
<i>hodhod</i>	65	<i>sinehsorx-e orowpāi</i>	72
<i>howbareh</i>	84	<i>“tapu”</i>	40
<i>jay-e jāq</i>	83	<i>tihu</i>	35
<i>jirjirak”</i>	60	<i>tukā-ye siāh</i>	70
<i>joğd</i>	15	<i>xofāš</i>	13
<i>kabk</i>	32	<i>yā karim</i>	29
<i>kabk-e dari</i>	33	<i>zağ-e nuk-e sorx</i>	81
<i>kabutar-e čāhi</i>	25	<i>zāği</i>	79
<i>kabutar-e jangali</i>	27	<i>“zamburxār”</i>	63
<i>“kaftar”</i>	25	<i>zamburxor-e ma'muli</i>	63
<i>kalāğ</i>	77	<i>“zard anjirxor”</i>	74
<i>“kalāğ-e barfi”</i>	79	<i>zardehpareh</i>	74
<i>kalāğ-e siāh</i>	82	<i>zardehpareh-ye sar-e siāh</i>	76
<i>kamarkoli-ye bozorg</i>	45	<i>zardehpareh-ye sar-e zeituni</i>	36
<i>kamarkoli-ye kuček</i>	44		

Index of English names

bat	13	Nuthatch, Large Rock	45
Bee-eater, European	63	Nuthatch, Neumayer's Rock	44
Blackbird, Common	70	owl	15
Bulbul, White-eared	42	Owl, Eagle	6
bunting	74	Partridge, Black	31
Bunting Black-headed	76	Partridge, See-see	35
Bunting, Ortolan	36	pigeon, domestic	25
chicken	23	Pigeon, Wood	27
Chough, Red-billed	81	Quail, Common	34
Chukar	32	Raven, Common	80
Crow, Hooded	77	Robin, European	72
Cuckoo, Common	12	Robin, White-throated	62
Dove, Eurasian Collared	29	Rook	82
Dove, Laughing	28	sandpiper	22
Dove, Palm	28	shrike	73
Dove, Rock	25	Shrike, Bay-backed	73
Dove, Turtle	28	Shrike, Great Grey	73
duck, domestic	20	Shrike, Woodchat	73
duck, wild	21	snipe	22
eagle	7	Snowcock, Caspian	33
Egret, Little	18	sparrow	57
falcon	5, 11	Sparrow, House	52
Falcon, Barbary	14	Sparrow, Pale Rock	57
Francolin, Black	31	Sparrowhawk, Eurasian	11
goldfinch	58	Starling, European	71
hawk	5	Swallow, European	49
Heron, Grey	17	Swift, Common	50
Hoopoe, Eurasian	65	thrush	60
Houbara Bustard	84	tit	56,69
Jay, Eurasian	83	Tit, Blue	69
kestrel	3	Tit, Coal	54
kingfisher	43	Tit, Great	69
Kingfisher, Common	43	turkey	24
Kingfisher, Pied	43	vulture	1, 7
Kingfisher, White-throated	43	wagtail	55
Lark, Crested	40	Wagtail, Grey	55
Magpie, Common	79	Wagtail, Pied	55
nightingale	41	wheatear	61
Nightingale, Common	41	Wheatear, Black-eared	66
Nightingale, Thrush	41	Wheatear, Pied	61
nightjar	16	Woodpecker, Middle Spotted	46