This article is dedicated to my teacher Prof. Dr. A. A. Sadeghi who has always been a patient and unique guide in my academic Career (to be published in: Iranian Linguistic Studies, Vol. 1, Hermes Publication, Tehran)

Verbal system in Dashti With some hints on Middle and early New Persian By: M. N. Kohan, Ph. D (Assist Prof. of Linguistics at Bu Ali University, Hamadan)

In this study the verbal system of Dashti is explored. The variant examined here belongs to Kordovan, a village some 70 km. away from the city of Khurmoj in Bushehr Province alongside the Persian Gulf. Kordovan has 3000 inhabitants. Most of villagers work as farmers or fishermen. Dashti is spoken in Khurmoj and all its neighboring areas. Linguistically speaking Kordovan is located in a relic area and its language has preserved many characteristics lost in the other areas.

Dashti is a very conservative dialect and exhibits many linguistic features characteristic of Pahlavi, official language of Sassanid dynasty (3rd-7th centuries), as well as those of New and Modern Persian.

Iranian dialects are divided into eastern and western groups. The western group comprises most of the dialects spoken within the geographical area of present Iran. Dashti is considered one of the members of southern branch of western Iranian dialects. It can be considered as an endangered language which is affected by the official language of the country and its native speakers are rapidly decreasing generation by generation. Little has been done to record this dialect.

This study is based on material collected with generous contribution and cooperation of Mr. Hasanzadeh, a post-graduate student at Bu Ali University. He is a native speaker of Dashti who was born and brought up in the village Kordovan.

Note: following symbols have been used to represent the phonemes of Dashti (because of lack of necessary fonts some are arbitrary):

Vowels:

a front, open e front, mid i front, close aa back, open o back, mid u back, close

Consonants:

p bilabial, plosive, voiceless b bilabial, plosive, voiced t dental, plosive, voiceless d dental, plosive, voiced k velar, plosive, voiceless g velar, plosive, voiced gw labialised velar, plosive, voiced y uvular, fricative, voiced s alveolar, fricative, voiceless z alveolar, fricative, voiced sh alveo-palatal, fricative, voiceless zh alveo-palatal, fricative, voiced f labio-dental, fricative, voiceless v labio-dental, fricative, voiced x uvular, fricative, voiceless xw labialised uvular, fricative, voiceless h glottal, fricative, voiceless ch alveo-palatal, affricate, voiceless j alveo-palatal, affricate, voiced r alveolar, trill m bilabial, nasal n alveolar, nasal l alveolar, liquid y palatal, glide

In what follows the morphology of verbs and in rare cases the syntax of verb or verb phrase are examined:

1.1 Present and past stems:

Present and past stems are used to construct different tenses of the verbs. Past stems are usually formed from present stems by attachment of certain endings or by some minor phonological changes. Some of the most frequent possibilities are as follows:

1. In intransitive verbs the most common way to form past stem is attachment of -e to the end of the present stem:

Present stem	past stem	Infinitive
oft-	ofte	ofteye "to fall"
vaar	baare	baareye "to rain"
teng	tenge	tengeye "to jump"
terek	tereke	terekeye "to burst"
jomb	jombe	jombeye "to move"
jang	jange	jangeye "to fight"
jush	jushe	jusheye "to boil"
charx	charxe	charxeye "to rotate"
cher	chere	chereye "to graze"
chasp	chaspe	chaspeye "to stick"
chek	cheke	chekeye "to drip"
xoshk	xoshke	xoshkeye "to dry"
xez	xeze	xezeye "to crawl"
xwet	xwete	xweteye "to sleep"
res	rese	reseye "reach"
ranj	ranje	ranjeye " to be offended"
sex	swate	swateye " to burn"
xalt	xalte	xalteye "to roll"

gand gandeye "to decay" gande shal shale shaleye "to limp" mekeye "to suck" mek meke naale naaleye "to groan" naal gerxeye "to burn" gerx gerxe glombeye "to be injured" golomb golombe pok poke pokeye "(of a rope)to be cut" pekeye "to be closed" pak pake

• In the following cases in addition to the attachment of the past tense marker "e", one can see other phonological changes within the stem:

veys voyse voyseye "to stand still" jax jase jaseye "to escape; to run"

2. In transitive verbs the most common methods to make a past stem are as follows:

A. Present stem $+ i \rightarrow past stem$

Present stem *Infinitive* past stem paasheye "to sprinkle" paash paashi pazeye "to cook" paz pazi paraseye "to worshio" paras parasi porseye "to ask" pors porsi jeye "to chew" jey jeyi chaapeye "to plunder" chaap chaapi chesheye "to taste" cheshi chesh xeri xereye "to buy" xer fahm fahmi fahmeye "to understand" dozeye "to steal" doz dozi kesheye "to pull" kesh keshi xaaseye "to bite" xaas xaasi

• In the following cases the initial "v" in the present stem changes into "b" when the past tense marker is added:

vaafbaafi/baaftbaafeye "to weave"vaxshbaxshibaxsheye "to forgive"vorboriboreye "to cut"

• Although the following verbs are intransitive verbs, they are conjugated like transitive ones and their past stems are derived in the same way:

 $xan \rightarrow xani$ (of the verb xeneye "to laugh"; -om xani "I laughed") shaash \rightarrow shaashi (of the verb shaasheye "to urinate" -esh shaashi "he urinated")

B. Present stem $+ d \rightarrow past$ stem

Present stem Infinitive past stem terekun terekund terekunde "to cause to burst" jushunde "to boil" iushun iushund cherun cherund cherunde "to cause to graze" charxun charxund charxunde "to spin" chaspunde "to cause to adhere" chaspun chaspund

chekun chekund chekunde "cause to drop; to shoot" chin chind chinde "to pick off" karund karunde "to scratch" karun xoshkun xoshkund xoshkunde "to cause to dry" xwetunde "to cause to sleep" xwetun xwetund televund televunde "to want" televun xund xunde "to read" xun xwarde "to eat" xor xward rund runde "to drive" run resun resunde "to cause to reach" resund sepord sepaarde "to deposit" spaar suzund suzunde "to set on fire" suxun xaltunde "to roll" xaltun xaltund dereshun dereshund dereshunde "to cause to tremble" neshun neshund neshunde "to seat" sukunde "to hide" sukund sukun germun germund germunde "to rub" gerxund gerxunde "set on fire" gerxun pokunde "to cut" pokund pokun golombun golombund golombunde "to destroy" pakund pakunde "to block" pakan tirishun tirishund tirishunde "to split"

In the following cases the initial "v" in the present stem changes into "b" when the past tense marker is added:

vor bord borde "tocarry/take" bershunde "to parch" vershun bershund

Since in the following two examples "d" is used as a past tense marker, they can also be classified in this category (although some other phonological changes are present in them, and the second one is not a transitive verb):

kon kerd kerde "to do" morde "to die" merg mord

3. Some past stems are formed by attachment of past tense markers t/ot/et to the present stem. In a few instances some minor phonological changes affect the sound/sounds preceding the past tense marker -t.

Present stem	past stem	Infinitive
kosh	kosht	koshte "to kill"
g	got	gote "to say"
ger	geret	gerete "to take"
novis	novosht	novoshte "to write"
kaar	kaasht	kaashteye "to plant"
gard	gasht	gashte "to turn"
Some other exampl	es in which "t" is a past	tense marker:

eshete "to hear/listen" ashn eshet zete "to beat" zen zet riyate "to pour" raz riyat

4. In a few cases present and past stems are identical:

5. In some instances "aa" is added to present stem to form the past stem:

ers	ersaa	erseye "to send"
n	naa	neye "to put"

6. Some other sporadic changes:

zey

shar	shos	shose "to wash"
shkan	eshkas	eshkase " to break"
vaaz	baaxte	baaxteye "to lose"
yesh	dushi	dusheye "to milk"

7. There are some suppletive stems for a few verbs. These verbs have completely distinct present and past stems which are derived from different roots:

present stem	past stem	Infinitive
y	and	ande "to come"
ar	ovord	ovorde "to bring"
sh	raft/sht	rafte "to go"
y	daa	deye "to give"
van	bas	baseye "to close"
he(s)	bo	boye "to be"
von	di	deye "to see"
nax	chezde	chezdeye "to sit"

1.2 Infinitive

Infinitive is formed by attachment of suffix "-e" to the end of past stem:

Past stem infinitive
and- ande "to come"
bord- borde "to carry"
bershund- bershunde "to parch"
gasht- gashte "to turn"
zey- zeye "to give birth to"
shos- shoes "to wash"

• If the past stem ends in a vowel, because of the hiatus, -y- is inserted between two vowels:

ofte ofteye "to fall"
voyse voyseye "to stand still"
baare baareye "to rain"
tenge tengeye "to jump"

• If the past stem ends in "-i or -aa", they are changed into "-e" when the infinitive marker is added (here the vowel harmony is again at work):

xerı	xereye "to buy"
di	deye "to see"
cheshi	chesheye "to taste"
vaa saa	vaa seye "to choose"
daa	deye "to give"
ersaa	erseye "to send"

Exception:

jeyi jeye

• In rare cases "-eye" is attached to past stem to form infinitive. This maybe the result of overgeneralization:

base

baseye "to close"

1.3 Past Participle

There are distinct forms for past participle of transitive verbs and past participle of intransitive ones:

I.3.1 Transitive verbs:

1.3.1.1 The following pattern is used in present perfect:

Past stem + -en

-om esheten "I have heard". In this example the first vowel of the stem changes into "e" as the result of vowel harmony (ashet + en \rightarrow esheten); -om deyen "I have seen". In the latter example -y- is inserted because of the hiatus; and because of vowel harmony, "i" in past stem has changed into "e" (di + en \rightarrow deyen).

1.3.1.2 To form the past participle in pluperfect and pluperfect continuous, the following pattern is used:

"oyen" in the above pattern is probably the past participle of the helping verb *vaavoye* "to be". Although it is an intransitive verb, its past participle follows the pattern of transitive verbs (see: 1.3.1.1 above). It consists of "o" (past stem of *vaavoye*), epenthetic semivowel -y-, and -en. Some examples:

om doyoyen "I had seen"; om eshetoyen "I had heard/listened"; om meshetoyen "I had been listening"; om mideyoyen "I had been seeing/watching"

1.3.1.3 The following pattern is used to form past participle in subjunctive past:

om deyit "I may have seen"; om asheteyit "I may have heard"; om zateyit "I may have hit"

1.3.2 Intransitive verbs:

1.3.2.1 The following pattern is used to make past participle in present perfect:

Past stem + e

raft $+ e \rightarrow rafte$ as in raftesom "I have gone"

teng $+ e \rightarrow$ tenge as in tengesom "I have jumped"

and $+ e \rightarrow$ ande as in andesom "I have come"

1.3.2.2 To make past participle in pluperfect, pluperfect continuous, and subjunctive past the following pattern is used:

Past stem + o

Pluperfect:

raft + o → rafto as in raftovosom "I had gone"

 $teng + o \rightarrow tengo$ as in tengovosom "I had jumped"

and $+o \rightarrow$ ando as in andovosom "I had come"

Pluperfect continuous:

misht $+ o \rightarrow$ mishto as in mishtovosom "I had been going"

miteng + o → mitengo as in mitengovosom "I had been jumping"

mand $+ o \rightarrow$ mando as in mandovosom "I had been coming"

subjunctive past:

raftovoshom "I may have gone"

tengovoshom "I may have jumped"

andovoshom "I may have come"

Note: having distinct forms for past participle is not limited to Dashti. It can also be found in other dialects of Iran (for example see: Nilipur & Teyeb 1985:63; Salami 1988:19).

1.4 Personal Endings for Dashti Verbs

Five distinct types of personal endings are used in Dashti verbs:

	A	В	C	D	E
1 st pers. sing.	-om	-om	-som	-osom	-oshom
2 nd pers. sing.	-et	-i	-si	-osi	-oshi
3 rd pers. sing.	-esh	-en/-et/-i	-n	-en	-oshet
1 st pers. pl.	-amu	-im	-sim	-osim	-oshim
2 nd pers. pl.	-atu	-ey	-sey	-osey	-oshey
3 rd pers. pl.	-ashu	-an	-san	-osan	-oshan

• Personal endings of the type A are used exclusively for transitive verbs and are attached to the direct object, not verbs/stems:

sagom deyen "I have seen the dog"

They are used to form the following tenses:

Past, present perfect, pluperfect, past continuous, present perfect continuous, subjunctive past.

It is interesting to note that the personal endings of the type A and their usages are comparable to those of Pahlavi language:

"[in pahlavi]the past tense of transitive verbs are formed by personal endings and past stem. Personal endings usually precede past stems ...

-m diid "I saw" -ma

-man diid "we saw"

-t diid "you saw"

-taan diid "you saw"

-sh diid "he/she/it saw"

-shaan diid"they saw" "
(Amuzegar & Tafazoli 1994:66)

This structure is also attested in early Modern Persian written texts (see:Bahar1947:vol.2, 142;Sadeghi 1979:36). This usage is found in other existing dialects spoken within the geographical area of Iran, for example in Khuri (a dialect spoken to the east of the city of Isfihan in the center of Iran), in Talyshi (spoken alongside the coastal lowland of Caspian sea), in vaaraani (a village between Isfihan and Qom), in davaani(one of dialects of Fars Province spoken in an area some 12 kms away from the city of Kazerun), and a lot more.

This usage is absent in present day Persian, and it can only be traced in small set of verbs:

dard-am geref "I was hurt" dard-emaan gereft "we were hurt" dard-at gereft "you were hurt" dard-etaan gereft "you were hurt" dard-eshan gereft "they were hurt"

In the above examples attachment of personal endings to the past stem *gereft* "took" makes it ungrammatical. Therefore, the following sentence is wrong:

dard gereftam.

• Personal endings of the type B, C, D, and E follow the stems.

• Personal endings of the type B are used both for transitive and intransitive verbs. They are used to form the following tenses:

Transitive: present, subjunctive present

Intransitive: present, past, past continuous, subjunctive present.

Note: These endings are also attached to nouns or adjectives. In this usage they act as copula verbs. Here the ending used for third person singular is "-en":

xuvom "I am okay"; xuvi "you are okay"; xuven "he/she/it is okey"; xuvim "we are okay"; xuvey "you are okay"; xuvan "they are okay".

These endings are bound morphemes. However, there are alternative forms for this usage, in which these endings are attached to the stem "he(s)-" of the verb *boye* "to be":

xuv hesom "I am okay"; xuv hesi "you are okay"; xuv hen "he/she/it is okay"; xuv hesim "we are okay"; xuv hesey "you are okay"; xuv hasan "they are okay".

• Personal endings of the type C, D, and E are exclusively used for intransitive verbs. They are used to form the following tenses:

The C-forms are used in present perfect, and present perfect continuous.

The D-forms are used in pluperfect and pluperfect continuous.

The E-forms are used in subjunctive past.

• In early Modern Persian (!0th-13th) one can also find in written works, whether prose or verse, the occurrence of some kind of personal endings similar to that of the type C in present perfect. Bahaar(1947,vol. 2, p.45) following Maqdasi (a geographer living in 11th century)ascribes this property to the verbal system of Nishabur, a city in Khorasn Province to the east of Iran. This claim is evidently false, since These endings are used in texts written in localities other than Nishabur for example in *Nasafi commentary* written in Transoxania, and *Qor'an Ray* written in Ray, a city in vicinity of present day Tehran(for more evidence see: Xanlari 1995:vol. 2, 258; Kohan p.193, and Lazard 1963). Furthermore it is used in Dashti which is spoken in south of Iran; thousands of miles away from nishabur.

1.5 Structure of Verbs in different Tenses

1.5.1. *Present*:

The following structure is used both for transitive and intransitive verbs:

mi- + present stem + Personal endings of the type B(with -et as third person singular marker)

Examples:

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing.
                                                                          1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl.
                               mivonom "I see"
                                                                                                  mivonim "we see"
                                                                         2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl.
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing.
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing.
                               mivoni "vou see"
                                                                                                 mivoney "you see"
                               mivonet "he/she/it sees"
                                                                                                 mivonan "they see"
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing.
                               mishom "I go"
                                                                         1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl.
                                                                                                mishim "we go"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing.
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing.
                                                                       2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.
                               mishi "you go"
                                                                                               mishey "go"
                               mishit "he/she/it goes"
                                                                                               mishan "go"
```

In the latter example in the third person singular of the verb "to go", 'e' in -et changes into 'i' as the result of vowel harmony.

• The negative is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: nemivonom" I do not see", nemishom" I do not go".

1.5.2. Simple past:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + past stem

```
1^{\text{st}} pers. sing. —om di "I saw" 1^{\text{st}} pers. pl. —amu di "we saw" 2^{\text{nd}} pers. sing. —et di "you saw" 2^{\text{nd}} pers. pl. —atu di "you saw" 3^{\text{rd}} pers. sing. —esh di "he/she/it saw" 3^{\text{rd}} pers. pl. —ashu di "they saw"
```

• The negative is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the past stem: -om nedi "I did not see"

B. Intransitive verbs:

Past stem + personal endings of the type B(with -et/-i as third person singular marker):

```
1^{st} pers. sing. raftom"I went" 1^{st} pers. pl. raftim "we went" 2^{nd} pers. sing. rafti"you went" 2^{nd} pers. pl. raftey "you went" 3^{rd} pers. sing. raft "he/she/it went" 3^{rd} pers. pl. raftan "they went"
```

In this example the omission of the personal ending of the third person singular is probably due to influence of the official language (i.e Farsi). Ather example of –et as 3rd pers. sing. marker: emet "he/she/it came".

• Most of the verbs in this tense use –i as third person singular marker. To distinguish it from second person singular marker, the past tense marker of past stem (i.e "e")is omitted:

```
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. tengeyi "you jumped" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. tengi "he/she/it jumped"
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```
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. xweteyi "you slept" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. xweti "he/she/it jumped"
```

• The negative is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: nederesheyom: "I did not tremble"; naraftom "I did not go"(in this example 'e' in the negative prefix changes into 'a' as the result of vowel harmony).

1.5.3. Past continuous:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + mi + Past stem

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. _om midi "I was seeing" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. _amu midi "we were seeing" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. -et midi "you were seeing" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. _atu midi "you were seeing" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. -ashu midi "they were seeing"
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- The negative is formed by adding the prefix *-ne* to the beginning of mi-: -om nemidi (I was not seeing), -om nemashet (I was not listening)
 - C. Intransitive verbs:

mi + past stem + personal endings of the type B(-et is used as third person singular marker)

```
1^{st} pers. sing. mandom "I was coming" 1^{st} pers. pl. mandim "we were coming" 2^{nd} pers. sing. mandi "you were coming" 2^{nd} pers. pl. mandey "you were coming" 3^{rd} pers. sing. mamet "he/she/it was coming" 3^{rd} pers. pl. mandan "they were coming"
```

Since the past stem of the above example begins by athe vowel "a", the vowel in the prefix miis omitted.

In Dashti there are two distinct forms for the past stem of the verb *rafte* "to go". One is used in past tense and the other in past continuous (it is interesting to note that in the third person singular the stem belonging to past tense is used):

```
1^{st} pers. sing. mishtom "I was going" 1^{st} pers. pl. mishtim "we were going" 2^{nd} pers. sing. mishti "you were going" 2^{nd} pers. pl. mishtey "you were going" 3^{rd} pers. pl. mishtan "they were going"
```

• The negative verb is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: nemishtom "I was not going", namandom "I was not coming" (in the latter example 'e' in the negative prefix changes to 'a' as the result of volveramony).

1.5.4. Present perfect:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + Past Participle

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. -om deyen "I have seen"

2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. -et deyen "you have seen"

1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. -amu deyen "we have seen"

2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. -atu deyen "you have seen"
```

3rd pers. sing. –esh deyen– "he/she/it has seen" 3rd pers. pl. –ashu deyen "they have seen"

• The negative is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: -om nedeyen "I have not seen"; -om nesheten "I have not heard".

B. Intransitive verbs:

Past participle + personal endings of the type C

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. raftesom "I have gone" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. raftesim "we have gone" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. raftesi "you have gone" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. raftesey "you have gone" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. raften "he/she/it has gone" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. raftesan "they have gone"
```

The negative form of the verb is formed by adding *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: neraftesom "I have not gone"; netengesom "I have not jumped".

1.5.5. Present perfect continuous:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + mi + past participle

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing.
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing.
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing.
-et mideyen "you have been seeing"
-esh mideyen—"he/she/it has been seeing"
-amu mideyen "we have been seeing"
-atu mideyen "you have been seeing"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.
-ash mideyen "they have been seeing"
```

• The negative form of the verb is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the prefix *mi*-: om nemideyen: "I have not been seeing"; om nemesheten: "I have not been listening".

B. Intransitive verbs:

```
mi + past participle +personal endings of the type C
```

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. mishtesom "I have been going" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. mishtesim "we have been going" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. mishtesi "you have been going" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. mishtesey "you have been going" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. mishten "he/she/it has been going" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. mishtesan "they have been going"
```

The negative form of the verb is constructed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: nimishtesom "I have not been going"; namandesom "I have not been coming".

1.5.6. pluperfect:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + past participle

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. —om doyoyen "I had seen" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. —amu doyoyen "we had seen" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. —et doyoyen "you had seen" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. —atu doyoyen "you had seen" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. —esh doyoyen "he/she/it had seen" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. —ashu doyoyen "they had seen"
```

In the above example 'i' (in past stem 'di') has changed to 'o' as the result of vowel harmony.

• The negative of the verb is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the stem. -om nedoyoyen "I had not seen"; -om neshetoyen "I had not heard".

B. Intransitive verbs:

Past participle + personal endings of the type D

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. raftovosom "I had gone" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. raftovosim "we had gone" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. raftovosi "you had gone" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. raftovosey "you had gone" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. raftoyen "he/she/it had gone" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. raftovosan "they had gone"
```

• The negative is formed by adding *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: naraftovosom "I had not gone" (in this example 'e' in the prefix has changed into 'a' as the result of vowel harmony).

1.5.7. Pluperfect Continuous:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + mi +past participle

```
1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. —om mideyoyen "I had been seeing" —et mideyoyen "you had been seeing" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. —esh mideyoyen "he/she/it had been seeing" —amu mideyoyen "we had been seeing" —atu mideyoyen "you had been seeing" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. —ashu mideyoyen "they had been seeing"
```

• The negative is formed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: om nemideyoyen "I had not been seeing", om nemeshetoyen "I had not been listening"

B. Intransitive verbs:

mi + Past participle + Personal endings of the type D

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1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. mishtovosom "I had been going"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. mishtovosi "you had been going"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. mishtovoyen "he/she/it had been going"
1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. mishtovosim "we had been going"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. mishtovosey "you had been going"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. mishtovosan "they had been going"
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Note: the verb *rafte* has two dististinct forms of past stem and past participle.

• The negative veb is constructed by adding the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: nimishtovosom "I had not been going"; namandovosom "I had not been coming".

1.5.8. Subjuctive Present:

There is a single construction both used for transitive and intransitive verbs:

be- + present stem + personal endings of the type B(-et is used as third person singular marker)

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1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. bovonom "I may see" 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. bovonim "we may see" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. bovoni "you may see" 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. bovoney "you may see" 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. bovonan "they may see" bovonan "they may see"
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In this example the use of bo- instead of be- is because of the vowel harmony. As this example shows if present stem ends in 'n', 'e' in -et(third person singular personal ending) is omited. Another examples:

bezent "He/she/it may hit"

In other cases "et" is used: bashnet "he/she/it may see"; betenget "he/she/it may jump". Another example for intransitive verbs:

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1^{st} pers. sing. beresom "I may reach" 1^{st} pers. pl. beresim "we may reach" 2^{nd} pers. sing. beresi "you may reach" 2^{nd} pers. pl. beresey "you may reach" 3^{rd} pers. sing. bereset "he/she/it may reach" 3^{rd} pers. pl. beresan "They may reach"
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• The negative construction is formed by attaching the prefix *ne- to the* beginning of the stem(the prefix *be-* is omited): novonom "I may not see"; nezenom "I may not hit"; neshom"I may not go"; netengom "I may not jump"; neresom "I may not reach".

1.5.9. Subjunctive Past:

A. Transitive verbs:

Personal endings of the type A + past participle

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1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. —om deyit "I may have seen"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. —et deyit "you may have seen"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. —esh deyit "he/she/it may have seen"
1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. —amu deyit "we may have seen"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. —atu deyit "you may have seen"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. —ashu deyit "they may have seen"
```

- The negative construction is formed by adding the prefix *ne* to the beginning of the stem: -om nedeyit "I may not have seen".
 - B. Intransitive verbs:

Past participle + personal endings of the type E

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1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. raftovoshom "I may have gone" raftovoshi "you may have gone"
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3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. raftovoshet"he/she/it may have gone"
1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. raftovoshim "we may have gone"
2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl. raftovoshey "you may have gone"
3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. raftovoshan "they may have gone"
```

• The negative is formed by attachment of the prefix *ne*- to the beginning of the verb: naraftovoshom "I may not have gone".

1.5.10. Imperative

Imperative is used for both 2nd pers. sing. and pl.; the same structure is used in transitive or intransitive verbs:

A. Second person singular:

be + present stem

bevaxsh " forgive"; beporas " worship"; beteng "jump"; bejang "fight"

D. Second person plural:

be + present stem + ey $(2^{nd} pers. pl. ending of the type B)$

bejombey "move/hurry up"; bevaxshey" forgive "; betangey "jump"

- The forms bu-, bo-, bi-,b are all allomorphs of the prefix be-. These forms are in complementary distribution; and phonological conditions determine the occurrence of each one.
- If the first syllable of the present stem contains the long vowels u/aa, 'e' in the prefix "be-" changes to "u", as the result of vowel harmony: buvu "take ", bushur "wash"; bugu" say"; buvaaz "lose"; buvaaf "weave"; buvaash "pour...".
- In the following examples the vowel in the prefix assimilates the vowel in the next syllable (vowel harmony):

bokosh "kill"; bovors "ask"; bopovaz "cook"; bivi "see"; bivich "turn"

- When the present stem begins with a vowel, only "b-" is added: baa "bring"; boft "lie down"; bashn "listen".
- In compound verbs the prefix be- is attached to helping verb: Kaaluk beze"scratch"; gap bezze" speak up"; zare buvu " be afraid".
- When the preverb is a derivative prefix, be- is not added: vaa su "choose "; vaa gard "turn back"; vaa nax "sit down".
- An alternative form for the prefix be- is haa/hu/ho; this form is limited to a closed set of verbs:

Haaku "do"; huvan "close"; huxwat "go to bed/sleep"; haaye "give"; hune "put"; shart hovan "bet"

• In some instances no prefix is added: vaav "stay/be"; voys "stop"

1.5.10.1. Negative Imperative

The negative imperative is formed by adding the prefix me-(and its allomorphs: ma-, mo-) to the beginning of the present stem:

Mexar "do not buy"; maku "do not do"; mayo "do not come"; meraz "do not crawl".

- The use of *ma* in negative imperative dates back to early Modern Persian. In 12th & 13th centuries both ne-/na and ma- were used in written texts as negative particles (see: kohan p.201-202). Through centuries na- could replace ma- and in today's standard Persian ma- is non-existent (it can only be seen in writings imitating the old-age tradition). ma- is preserved in some conservative Iranian dialects such as Dashti.
 - In compound verbs the negative prefix is attached to the helping verb: azaav meya "do not disturb"; furush maku "do not sell".
 - When the verb contains a derivative prefix, me- is added to the beginning of the stem: vaa magardu "do not turn... round"; vaa magard" do not turn back"; vaa mavus "do not kiss"; vaa meshmaar "do not count"; vaa movar "do not dig".
 - In some rare cases the prefix me- alternates with prefix ne-. This can be ascribed to the influence of standard Persian/Farsi upon Dashti:

moft/ noft: "do not fall down"; meveys/ neveys "do not stay/stop".

The changes which present stem undergoes when used to form imperative:

• Most often the present stem is used in imperative without any apparent phonological change:

Present stemImperativeveysveys "stand still"vaazbuvaaz "lose"vaafbuvaaf "weave"vaxshbevaxsh "forgive"

In what follows the most frequent changes will be examined:

- 1. Omission of the final consonant in imperative:
 - A. Omission of final "n":

Present stem Imperative

jushun bujushu "make it boil" charxun becharxu "spin"

terekun betreku "make it burst"

chin bichi "pick off" xun buxu "read" von bivi "see"

B. Omission of final "n" and changing of the preceding vowel into "u":

Present stemImperativevaay sanvaa su "choose"vershenvershu "parch"konhaku "do"

C. Omission of final "r":

Present stem Imperative

vor buvu "carry/ take"

xor boxo "eat" ger bigi "take"

D. Omission of final "b"

Present stem Imperative
Jomb bojom "move"

2. If the first segment in present stem is "p", in some cases it changes into "v" in imperative:

Present stem Imperative
paash buvaash "pour"
pors bovors "ask"

But:

paz bopovaz "cook" Paras beparas "worship"

3. Syncope: loss of medial vowel because of the strong stress accent on initial syllable:

Present stemImperativeterekbetrak "burst"televunbetlav "ask"novisbenvis "write"

4. Epenthetic vowel at final position:

Present stem
y haaye "give"
n hune "put"
g bugu "say"

5. Suppletion and sporadic changes:

Present stem Imperative
ovord maa "bring"
sh bor "go"
bo bash "be"
sex busuz "burn"

jax bejas "run"

1.6 Passive Voice

Passive forms of different tenses are constructed according to the following pattern:

Appropriate tense form of the verb *vaa voye* "to be" + infinitive form of the main verb

In the following table the conjugation of the verb *vaavoye* in different tenses is introduced(this verb is not used in certain tenses; therefore, there is a gap in the following table):

Person _ & Number		Present _ Perfect	Simple _ Past	Past _ Continuous	Pluperfect _	Subjunctive Present
1 st pers. sing.	vaamom	vaavesom	vaavoyom	vaamoyom	vaavosom	vaayom
2 nd pers. sing.	vaami	vaavesi	vaavoyi	vaamoyi	vaavosi	vaayi
3 rd pers. sing.	vaamit	vaaven	vaavi	vaami	vaavoyen	vaayit
1 st pers. pl.	vaamim	vaavesim	vaavoyim	vaamoyim	vaavosim	vaayim
2 nd pers. pl.	vaamey	vaavesey	vaavoyey	vaamoyey	vaavosey	vaayey
3 rd pers. pl.	vaaman	vaavesan	vaavoyan	vaamoyan	vaavosan	vaayan

Some examples:

deye vaamom "I am seen"; deye vaaman; deye vaaman "they are seen" deye vaavesom "I have been seen"; deye vaavesen "they have been seen" deye vaavoyom "I was seen"; deye vaavoyan "they were seen" deye vaamoyom "I was being seen"; deye vaamoyan "they were being seen" deye vaavosom "I had been seen"; deye vaavovosan "they had been seen" deye vaavom "I may have been seen"; deye vaayan "they may have been seen"

• Negative form of the passive verbs is made by replacing "vaa-" with the negative particle; Some examples:

deye naamom "I am not seen"; deye naavesom "I have not been seen"; deye naavoyom "I was not seen"; deye naamoyom "I was not being seen"; deye naavosom "I had not been seen"; deye naavom "I may not have been seen".

1.7 Causative Marker

A very productive morphological process at work in Dashti verbal system is making transitive verbs out of intransitive ones by attachment of causative marker/suffix *-un* to the present stem of intransitive verbs. This suffix can systematically distinguish between non-causative and causative uses of a verb:

Present stem	Past stem	Infinitive
vaagard	vaagasht	vaagashte "to turn back"

vaagardunvaagardundvaagardunde "to cause to turn back"terekterekeeterekeye "to burst"terekunterekundterkunde " to cause to burst"chaspchaspechaspeye " to adhere"chaspunchaspunde " to cause to adhere"

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