

# The Korosh and Their Language

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## Abstract

Korosh is a loosely-organised tribe of over 10,000 members scattered across south-western Iran. Until now, publications on the Korosh are limited to passing references to the ethnic group and basic notes on their language. In the present article, we provide for the first time a systematic overview of their sociolinguistic status, including the distribution of their population, their origins in Balochistan and their role as camel herders for the Qashqa'i. The second part of the article provides, for the first time, a corpus-based grammatical overview of the Koroshi language and shows that while it is closely related to southern varieties of Balochi, it exhibits many distinctive characteristics. The article concludes with a short interlinearized Koroshi text and a selection of Koroshi vocabulary.

## Résumé

Korosh est une tribu de plus de 10.000 membres, d'organisation décentralisée et éparpillée à travers l'Iran du sud-ouest. Jusqu'ici, les publications sur les Korosh sont limitées aux références passagères à cette ethnie et aux notes rudimentaires sur leur langue. Dans l'article présent, nous offrons d'abord un aperçu systématique de leur statut sociolinguistique y compris la distribution de cette population, leur origine au Balochistan et leur rôle comme éleveurs de chameaux pour les Qashqa'i. La deuxième partie de l'article pourvoie, pour la première fois, une esquisse grammaticale à base de corpus de la langue koroshi et prouve que bien qu'il soit apparenté de proche aux variétés méridionales du balochi, il démontre de nombreuses caractéristiques distinctives. L'article termine par un court texte interlinéarisé et une sélection du vocabulaire koroshi.

## Keywords

Korosh, Iranian languages, Balochi, Qashqa'i, Fars Province, Hormozgan Province

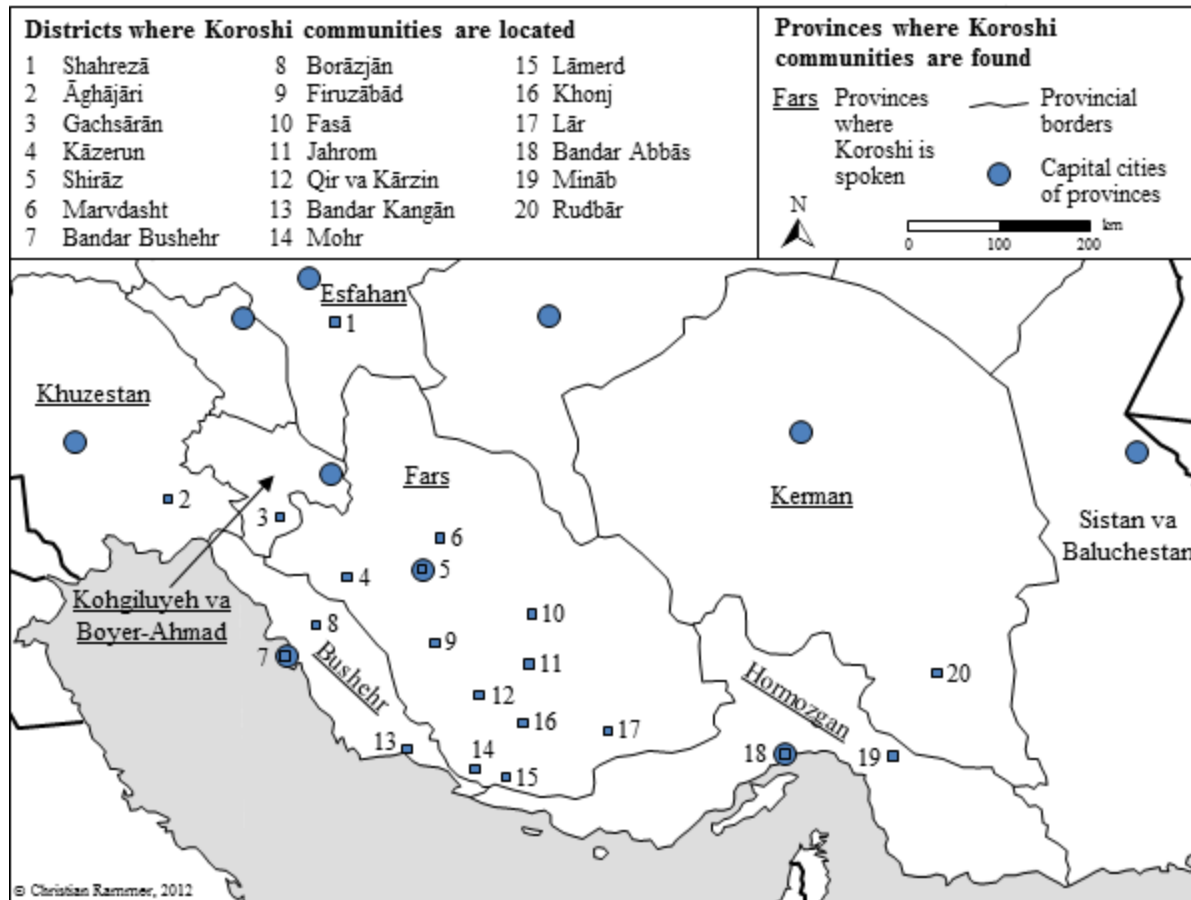
## **The Korosh people**

Korosh is a tribe (*tāyefe*) which is scattered across large areas of south-western Iran. In general, Korosh communities are found in villages near large towns and cities, and in the suburbs of these cities. In total, the group probably numbers well over 10,000 people, but because they are typically distributed in small groups, and are located in many communities, it is difficult to give a precise figure. Three areas with significant concentrations of Korosh are Bandar Abbas, around Shiraz, and across the southern portion of Fars Province (see Figure 1).

Of these three areas, the one with the largest number of Korosh is that of Bandar Abbas in Hormozgan Province. There, Korosh are evenly divided between Bandar Abbas, where they are mostly found in the eastern suburbs, and the villages between Bandar Abbas and Minab. In many of these villages, such as Jallābi and Hassan Langi, they constitute the majority of the population. There are also some Korosh living in the city of Minab and in villages to the south, as well as to the north-west in the Rudbār District of southern Kerman Province.

A second group of Korosh are found in pockets across the southern portion of Fars Province, where they live in the districts of Lār, Lāmerd, Khonj, Mohr, Qir va Kārzin, Jahrom, Fahsā and Firuzābād. In most of these places, the Korosh live in small groups as parts of larger communities, but in the village of Galehdār, in Mohr district, they make up most of the population. There are also Korosh living near this area in several communities along the coast, from Bandar Chārak in Hormozgan Province all the way to Bandar Bushehr.

Figure 1: Map of the distribution of the Korosh



The third concentration of Korosh is centred in the north-western part of Fars Province, where they are located in the suburbs of Shiraz and in the districts of Marvdasht and Kāzerun; in the latter district, many live in the municipality of Gereh-Bālādeh. There are also some Korosh families living in the nearby district of Gachsārān (Dogombadān) in the province of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad, and further away in Āghājāri (Khuzestan Province) and Shahrezā (Esfahan Province).

*Origins and identity.* The name Korosh (*Koroš*) and, consequently, the ultimate ancestry of the people, has been linked by some members of the tribe to the Qoreyshi tribe of Arabia or, variously, to Cyrus the Great (*Kuroš-e kabir*).

Some oral accounts state that, several hundred years ago, the Korosh came from Bampur, Dalgān, Irandegān and the Lāshār District (all of them near Irānshahr in Sistan and Baluchestan Province), travelling from there along Makrān coast to the Bandar Abbas area, where a large portion of the tribe has settled. Another group that makes up the Korosh came to Bandar Abbas from Rudbār in Kerman Province. From Bandar Abbas, the Korosh have spread out to Fars Province and neighbouring areas.

Although the provenance of the tribe is situated in Sistan and Baluchestan, and the language closely related to southern varieties of Balochi (see “Linguistic affiliation” in part ii. below), the Korosh have a distinct identity. Some confirm a historical and ethnic connection to the Baloch, but for some people in the southern Korosh communities, Korosh is seen as an autonomous tribe, and some of those in north-west Fars Province see the tribe as affiliated with the larger Qashqā’i *il* (Koroshi *yel*; ‘tribal confederation’) (see Windfuhr 1989a:248). Most Korosh clans among the various Qashqā’i tribes with whom they are associated are known to the Qashqā’i simply as *Koroš* or *Dārgā*.

*Culture and way of life.* The traditional livelihood of the Korosh is animal husbandry, and camels have been an important part of this lifestyle. While those in southern areas worked for themselves as camel herders, the clans who migrated to the north-west as a result of drought eventually gained a place in the larger Qashqā’i society as camel herders for the *il*. The place animal husbandry and, in particular, camel herding, is diminishing. Many Korosh have taken up farming, and those who have relocated to cities are often employed in industry and trade.

The musical heritage of the Korosh, as with many aspects of their culture, varies according to the regions where they are found. Especially in the north, they play a type of flute they call *kalam* (and more widely known in the area as *ney šāhmīrzā*) when driving camels. This instrument is

identical to the *nal* of Balochistan. Those living in Hormozgān have *sāz* clarinets and large *dohr* / *dohl* drums in common with neighbouring Bandari populations. Korosh women in the north are permitted to sing in the presence of men. This contrasts with the situation in the south, where segregation between the sexes has until recently been prominent.

Korosh communities adhere to the Shi'ite branch of Islam. Until recently, Korosh weddings were distinctive, but in the north, Koroshi wedding traditions have now been replaced by those of the Qashqā'i, and in the south by those of Bandari city dwellers. Funerals and commemorations of deceased relatives are elaborate.

Korosh men do not wear regionally distinct clothing. Korosh women in the north wear the same colourful dress as Qashqā'i women, including a pleated dress covered by a long shirt, and a triangular scarf held on with a cloth headband. Until about the time of the Islamic revolution, those in the south wore clothes similar to those worn by the Baloch. One can find this type of clothing often wear a black *čādar* 'chador' and share the colourful *borka* 'face mask' (P. *neqāb*) in common with Bandari people.

Traditional crafts, as in other parts of Iran, include the weaving of carpets (*qāli*) and mats (*jājim*). Carpet and mat designs as well as colours are very similar to those of the Qashqā'i; for example, one of the patterns used by the Korosh, known as *māhī-dar-ham*, is a well-known Qashqā'i pattern. Names of other patterns include *korzakorza*, *kalleaspī*, and *kallešīrī*. Games played by children include *kawkolābar* (P. *kolāhbāzi* 'hat game'), *hawaylayb* (P. *čubbāzi* 'stick game'), *jammāz* (P. *šotorbāzi* 'camel game'), and *alaxtar* (P. *bāzi bā yek pā* 'one-legged game').

*Language use and vitality.* Use of the Koroshi language, outlined in section ii. below, varies greatly among the regions where it is spoken. In the south, where Korosh represent most of the population in their communities, the language is in vigorous use by all members of the

community. Bandari and (to a smaller extent) Farsi are invariably used as languages of wider communication when Koroshi speakers come in contact with speakers of these varieties. In contrast, Koroshi speakers here use their own language when communicating with members of Baloch communities.

At the north-west end of the Koroshi language area, multilingualism is the norm: in addition to Koroshi, the Korosh here speak Qashqā'i, Persian and, in the communities near Kāzerun and Gachsārān, Lori as well. Because they are a minority in this segment of the language area, Koroshi tends to be limited to home domains; and among children, Qashqā'i and Persian are replacing Koroshi as the primary language of communication.

### **Linguistic overview of Koroshi**

From a linguistic point of view, Koroshi can be described as a distinct subgroup within the Balochi macro-language. Koroshi itself also displays dialect divergences: the Koroshi spoken in Fars province (the “Northern” dialect”) differs to some extent from varieties spoken in the south-eastern portion of the language area near Bandar Abbas (the “Southern” dialect). While the vocabulary listed at the end of this overview shows the extent of variation between the two areas, the description of phonology and morphosyntax given here is based on data gathered from the Northern dialect. Even within the Northern dialect, there is a significant amount of variation in the data, and this is taken into consideration throughout the description.

Koroshi wordlists are found in Salāmi (1383 Š. / 2005, 1385 Š. / 2006/2007). Descriptive remarks on the language appear in Mahamedi (1979), ‘Emādi (1384 Š. / 2005/2006), Jahani and Nourzaei (2011), and Nourzaei and Jahani (2013), and a fuller overview of the grammar is available in Nourzaei *et al.* (forthcoming).

## PHONOLOGY

*Vowels.* The Koroshi phoneme inventory includes eight vowels: three short ones (*a, e, o*), and five long ones (*ā, ī, ē, ū, ō*) (see Table 1). It is similar to that of Southern Balochi dialects spoken in Iran (Jahani and Korn 2009:642), apart from the fact that *ā* is a back vowel, as in Persian. The sounds *ay* [ɛj] and *aw* [əw] are best analyzed as VC sequences rather than diphthongs since, unlike vowels, they can never be followed by more than one consonant within a syllable. Nasalization, which is common in Southern Balochi dialects, is phonetically less salient in Koroshi.

Table 1: Koroshi vowels

high	<i>ī</i>	<i>ū</i>
mid	<i>ē, e</i>	<i>ō, o</i>
low	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>

The Koroshi vowel system is, however, highly unstable. There is a strong tendency towards convergence with the Persian system, in which the long mid vowels *ē* and *ō* have merged with the long high vowels *ī* and *ū*: in Koroshi, *ē* and *ō* are often found in free variation with their high counterparts. There is, in fact, considerable variation among all front vowels, among all back vowels, and even between *ā* and *a*, e.g., *ēdā, ēda, eda, īdān, edān* ‘here’; *čōbān, čūbān, čobān* ‘shepherd’.

*Consonants.* There are several differences between the the Southern Balochi consonant system (Jahani and Korn 2009:645) and that of Koroshi (see Table 2). The most salient ones are as follows: first, the fricatives *f, x,* and *g* occur frequently, both in loanwords and due to a

diachronic process of spirantization, e.g., *ġāfel* ‘unaware’, *a=kafī(t)* ‘he/she falls’, *xodā* ‘God’, *tōxā* ‘in’. Second, *w* exhibits a fricative and/or labiodental articulation in some positions, e.g. *wad* [βad ~ vad ~ vad] ‘self’. Third, the glottal plosive is peripheral – in the data it is encountered only in the word *alʔān* ‘now’ – and is often replaced by *h* (e.g. *mahlūm* ‘clear’). Fourth, the retroflex stops *ɽ* and *ɖ* are totally absent attested in the data (replaced by *t* and *d*), and *r* is marginal, being found only in the word *leṛa* ‘camel’. Additionally, the stops *k* and *g* are palatalized in positions other than before back vowels, as in Persian (cf. Jahani and Paul 2008). Finally, a velar nasal *ŋ*, which is not encountered in other Balochi dialects, is found in place of the *ng* sequence.

Table 2: Koroshi consonants

		Dental /			Palato- alveolar/			
		Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops and	(vl.)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>(ʔ)</i>
affricates	(vd.)	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>ǰ</i>	<i>g</i>		
Fricatives	(vl.)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	(vd.)		<i>z</i>		<i>ž</i>		<i>ġ</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>ŋ</i>		
Liquids			<i>l / r</i>	<i>(r)</i>				
Approximants		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			



Important historical phonological processes which have taken place include:

- spirantization of *p* and *k* after vowels: *āp* > *āf* ‘water’, *gōk* > *gōx* ‘cow’;
- progressive assimilation of a plosive to a homorganic fricative or nasal: *tolomba* > *tolomma* ‘water pump’, *a=gendīt* > *a=gennīt* ‘he/she sees’, *dast* > *dass* ‘hand’, *mozd* > *mozz* ‘wages’ (the *zd* > *zz* shift also being attested in other Balochi dialects);
- regressive assimilation of *šm* > *mm*: *čāšm* > *čamm* ‘eye’ (also in other Bal. dialects);
- metathesis: *ğasr* > *ğars* ‘palace’, *tarh* > *tahr* ‘plan’;
- devoicing (in common with other Balochi dialects; see Korn 2005:268–271): *az* > *as* ‘from’, *hodūd=e* > *hodūt=e* ‘approximately’; and, conversely,
- voicing (likely due to Persian influence): *wat* > *wad* ‘self’, *a=bīt* > *a=bīd* ‘he/she becomes’.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nominal morphology

*Nouns.* Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers (singular, plural) and three cases (nominative, genitive, oblique) (see Table 3).

Table 3: Case and number system of Koroshi nouns (with *ĵanek* ‘girl’)

	Nominative	Oblique	Genitive
Singular	<i>ĵanek-Ø</i>	<i>ĵanek-ā</i>	<i>ĵanek-ay</i>
Plural	<i>ĵanek-obār</i>	<i>ĵanek-obār-ā</i>	<i>ĵanek-obār-ay</i>

The basic plural marker is *-(o)bār*, e.g., *bozobār* ‘goats’, *gālībār* ‘carpets’. Two other plural-type endings are used for adverbials: *-ān* (*tawsānān* ‘in summertime’) and *-hā*<sup>1</sup> (*tā modathāi* ‘for quite a while’; borrowed from Persian).

The subject is expressed with the unmarked nominative case: *gāfela-Ø zorr a=gī* ‘the caravan turns back’, *aždahā-Ø ar=ra* ‘the dragon goes’, *joğlabar-Ø a=kōstant* ‘the boys stop’, *joğla-Ø ra madrasa* ‘the boy went to school’. This case is also used for vocatives (*ay čübān-Ø* ‘hey, shepherd’, *ay manī janekobār-Ø=om* ‘O my daughters’) and is occasionally used in place of the oblique case after prepositions (*go bōzzay mūd* ‘with goat hair’, see also below).

The oblique case, marked by *-ā*, is used for definite direct objects (*ham oštorā a=gīt=o ham karā* ‘it (the caravan) takes both the camel and the donkey’, *yeke a ē mūdobārā ās day* ‘put fire to one of these hairs’) as well as indirect objects (*ālemokā* ‘(to the) doctor’ in *a=dā ālemokā* ‘he/she gave [it] to the doctor’). It is also normally used after prepositions (but cf. comments on the nominative case above): *dawr=e ī mēdagā* ‘around this camp/village’, *go ī čōbānobārā* ‘with these shepherds’. In contrast to other Iranian languages, including other dialects of Balochi, there are also generic direct objects and nominal parts of complex predicates that are marked with oblique case marking *-ā* (*gapā gōš namagera* ‘she doesn’t listen to her parents’).

The genitive case, marked with the suffix *-ay*, denotes possession (*šāhay janek* ‘the king’s daughter’, *korošobāray čok* ‘the children of the Korosh’) and is also used with postpositions (*čāhay tōxā* ‘in the well’).

The individuation marker *=ī ~ =ē ~ =e* indicates singularity and specificity (‘a certain...’): *ya oštor=e* ‘a (certain) camel’, *yak čāh=ī* ‘a (certain) well’. Indefiniteness can also be expressed

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<sup>1</sup> See Windfuhr (1989b:533), who prefers to describe the function this suffix as “amplification” rather than “plurality”.

with the numeral *ye/yek/ya/yak* ‘one’, with or (occasionally) without the individuation clitic on the noun (*ye ādam=e bīčāra* ‘a poor fellow’, *yak nafar* ‘a person’). The diminutive suffix *-ok ~ -ak* can denote a definite singular form (which is otherwise unmarked), as in *hamī kačalokā bokānom* ‘I want this bald one’.

*Adjectives and adverbs.* Attributive adjectives are placed before their noun and take the suffix *-ēn ~ -en ~ -īn* (*syāhēn mēš* ‘black sheep’, *bōrēn pašm* ‘light brown wool’). There is no number and case agreement between the adjective and the noun.

The comparative suffix *-ter ~ -tar* is used with adjectives (*bālādter* ‘higher’) as well as adverbs (*pēšter* ‘earlier, beforehand’). Superlatives are formed by the adding the attributive suffix to the comparative form (*bozortaren gonāh* ‘the biggest sin’).

Adjectives (e.g. *mazan* ‘big’ and *bad* ‘bad’) can also function as nouns (*mazanteray gap* ‘what the elders say’ (lit. ‘the speech of the older’)) and as adverbs (*bad dar a=kay* ‘it turns out bad’).

*Adpositions.* Prepositions and postpositions are both found in Koroshi. Like other dialects of Balochi in contact with Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:657), Koroshi has a preference for prepositions. The head of the prepositional object is found with the oblique case (*a šāhay logā* ‘from/than the king’s house’, *be ē ġars o bārgāhā* ‘to this palace and court’) or, occasionally, the unmarked nominative case (*go naxče* ‘with the pattern’). Prepositions that correspond to postpositions in other Balochi dialects normally employ the *ežāfe* construction in Koroshi, whether they are inherited Balochi items (*had=e šū=ay* ‘with/to her husband’, *sar=e šayā* ‘on the slope’) or are directly borrowed from Persian (*dawr=e šāhay janekay gardenā* ‘around the neck of the king’s daughter’, *ġayr=e xodā* ‘except for God’). Postpositions – with the object in the genitive case – are also occasionally employed (*čāh=ay tōxā* ‘in the well’).

*Personal pronouns.* Typical personal pronouns are found for the singular and plural 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons (Table 4). The 3<sup>rd</sup> person is referred to using demonstrative pronouns (see below).

Koroshi is pro-drop: personal pronouns appear when a participant is emphasized.

Table 4: Personal pronouns in Koroshi

		Nominative	Oblique	Genitive
Sg.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>man</i>	<i>man-ā</i>	<i>man-ī</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta-rā</i>	<i>ta-ī</i>
Pl.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā-rā</i>	<i>mā-ī</i>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>šomā</i>	<i>šomā-rā</i>	<i>šomā-ī / šomay</i>

*Demonstratives.* Koroshi has two-way deixis (proximal/distal) marked by demonstrative articles and pronouns (Table 5). There is a preference in discourse for proximal demonstratives (see also Roberts 2009:233). Demonstratives are often preceded by the emphatic particle (*h*)*am*.

Table 5: Demonstratives in Koroshi

		Nominative	Oblique	Genitive	Object
Proximal	Sg.	$\bar{i} / \bar{e}, \bar{e}\check{s}$	$\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{i} / \bar{i}\check{s}\bar{i} / e\check{s}\bar{i}$		
	Pl.	$\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{a}n / \bar{i}\check{s}\bar{a}n /$ $e\check{s}\bar{a}n / \check{s}\bar{a}n$	$\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{i} / \bar{i}\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{i} /$ $e\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{i}$	$\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	
Distal	Sg.	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}h\bar{i} / \bar{a}\bar{i} / \bar{a}\check{s}\bar{i}$		
	Pl.	$\bar{a}\check{s}\bar{a}n$	$\bar{a}\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{i}$	$\bar{a}\check{s}\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	

*Enclitic pronouns.* The enclitic pronouns in Koroshi are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Enclitic pronouns in Koroshi

Sg.	1 <sup>st</sup>	$=om / =am / =em / =m$
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	$=et / =at / =te$
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	$=\bar{i} / =e / =ay^2$
Pl.	1 <sup>st</sup>	$=\bar{e}n / =en$
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	$=\bar{o}$
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	$=e\check{s} / =a\check{s}$

Enclitic pronouns have diverse syntactic functions in Koroshi. They are used to:

<sup>2</sup> The realization  $=ay$  is sometimes the result of a merger of the case suffix  $-\bar{a}$  + the enclitic pronoun.

- cross-reference the agent in ergative constructions (for transitive verbs in the past temporal field, see also below) (*nawešt=ī* ‘he/she wrote’, *manā koštāg=eš* ‘they (will) have killed me’), sometimes in combination with a full pronoun (*man gašt=om ta gōš=et ke?* ‘I told (you); did you listen?’) or a noun in the nominative case (*bōā=yam gašayad=ī bāhā bemeray* ‘if my father had said: you must die...’);
- cross-reference an impersonal subject (see also Jahani *et al.* 2012): *ya paygāme assen=om bahr=at* ‘I have a message (lit. to me is a message) for you’, *čōn=en=et?* ‘how are you? (lit. how is it to you?)’;
- denote a possessor: *badan=am* ‘my body’, *mā bāg=at* ‘in your garden’, *del=ī* ‘his/her heart’, *lāšay* (< *lāšā=ī*) *bezo* ‘take its meat (lit. carcass)’;
- denote a partitive genitive: *har do=nī a=barant* ‘they take both of them (lit. of it)’;
- denote a direct object: *nābūd=en a=kant* ‘he/she will destroy us’, *bāmard loh=e a=dā* ‘the man pushes her’, *a=warān=et* ‘I will eat you’;
- denote an indirect object: *beday=om* ‘give (her) to me’, *a=dān=et* ‘I will give (her) to you’, *a=dān=ō* ‘I will give (it) to you’;
- denote the object of a preposition: *bahr=am* ‘for me’, *gōn=et* ‘with you’, *berren had=ī* ‘let’s go to him/her’;
- mark certain adverbials: *šām=ī* ‘in the evening’, *zohr=ī* ‘at noon’; and
- specify the referent of a reflexive pronoun (see below).

In contrast to Persian (e.g. P. *raft=eš* ‘he/she went’), Koroshi enclitic pronouns do not function as subjects in constructions with non-ergative (accusative) alignment.

*Reflexive pronoun.* There is one reflexive pronoun, *wad*, in Koroshi. It is combined with an enclitic pronoun, which specifies the person, and it can be used as the subject (*wad=ī sar=ay*

*a=borrī* ‘he slaughters it himself’ (lit. ‘himself cuts its head’)), object (*wad=e a=pēčī dawr=e šāhay jānekay gardenā* ‘he ties himself around the neck of the king’s daughter’), or object of a preposition (*ba wad=et* ‘for yourself’).

*The ezāfe construction.* Although the *ezāfe* construction is not part of inherited Balochi morphology, many Balochi dialects – especially those which are spoken in Iran – have borrowed it from Persian (see Jahani and Korn 2009:652). In Koroshi, this construction binds together:

- noun + attributive adjective: *ay del=e gāfel* ‘O you fool’ (lit. ‘O unaware heart’), *ye ādam=e bīčāra* ‘a poor fellow’;
- preposition + prepositional object (common, see also above): *čēr=e ya deraxt=e* ‘under a tree’, *had=e šāhā* ‘with/to the king’;
- noun + genitive attribute (very limited): *banne=ye xodā* ‘the poor fellow’ (lit. ‘God’s servant’); and
- various other head + attribute relations: *awāyel=e engelāb* ‘at the beginning of the revolution’, *tamām=e joḡlābār* ‘all the boys’, *hodūt=e panjā o haft sāl* ‘approximately fifty-seven years’, *por=e šamšīr* ‘full of swords’, *īḡar=e šāhrā* ‘at this side of the town’, *ye šahr=e dīyarā* ‘to another town’, *swār=e asb=ī* ‘riding a horse’, *mōred=e nazar* ‘under discussion’ (lit. ‘the issue of attention’), *nūr=e nūr* ‘all shining’ (lit. ‘light of light’), *be nām=e ahmad* ‘called Ahmad’ (lit. ‘by the name of Ahmad’), *manūčēr=e samsānīyān* ‘Manuchehr Samsanian’, *man=e yek=ī* ‘as for me’ (lit. ‘me of a one’).

## Verb morphology

Koroshi verbs are either simple (e.g. *kafag* ‘to fall’), constructed with a preverb (e.g. *dar kafag* ‘to leave’, or complex. Complex predicates may have a noun or an adjective as their first element (e.g. *rāh kafag* ‘to set out’, *bār kanag* ‘to load’, *mazan kanag* ‘to raise (person or animal) (lit. ‘to make big’).

*Stem types.* Each Koroshi verb has two stems: a) the unmarked non-past stem (e.g. *kaf-* ‘fall’, *kan-* ‘do’), which is used for non-finite forms, indicative non-past forms, subjunctive forms and imperatives (see below); and b) the marked past stem (*kaft-*, *kod-*), which is reserved for indicative past forms.

*Non-finite forms.* The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix *-ag* to the non-past stem (*kanag* ‘to do’, *kafag* ‘to fall’, *warag* ‘to eat’). In periphrastic verb forms that make use of the infinitive, the suffix is more commonly realized as *-ay* (*makanay=ant* / *makanag=ant* ‘they do’). The past participle is formed by adding *-a(g)/-ay* to the past stem (*koda/koday* ‘done’, *bodag* ‘been’). Another non-finite form is the verbal adjective (or “gerundive”) which adds *-ī* to the infinitive and denotes what can/should be done (*gašagī* ‘say-able’).

*Finite verb forms.* Finite verbs are marked for person and TAM (tense/aspect/mode). The basic set of person-marking suffixes (personal endings), which is shown in Table 7, is used for indicative and subjunctive non-past forms, and for past forms. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, non-past and past suffixes differ, but for the rest of the suffixes there is no tense distinction. The suffixes are more or less identical to the copula, except for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular forms.

Table 7: Basic set of person-marking verb suffixes and non-past copula in Koroshi



	Personal ending	Non-past copula	Past copula
1sg.	-ān, -on	=on, =om, =ān	=adān, =adom
2sg.	-ay, -ē	=ay	=aday
3sg. non-past	-ī(t), -t	=en(t), =ēn	—
past	-Ø	—	=ad, =at, =a
1pl.	-ēn, -en	=en, =em	=aden
2pl.	-ēt, -et, -ed	=et	=adet
3pl.	-an(t)	=an(t)	=adan(t)

*Verb forms based on the non-past stem.* The indicative non-past and the subjunctive are the two basic non-past finite verb forms, and distinct imperative forms are found for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (Table 8).

Table 8: Non-past indicative, subjunctive and imperative verb forms in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’; the most frequent person-marking suffixes are shown here)

	Indicative		Subjunctive		Imperative	
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative
1sg.	<i>a=kanān</i>	<i>a=na-kanān</i>	<i>(be-)kanān</i>	<i>na-kanān</i>		
2sg.	<i>a=kanay</i>	<i>a=na-kanay</i>	<i>(be-)kanay</i>	<i>na-kanay</i>	<i>(be-)kan</i>	<i>ma-kan</i>
3sg.	<i>a=kant</i>	<i>a=na-kant</i>	<i>(be-)kant</i>	<i>na-kant</i>		

1pl. *a=kanen a=na-kanen (be-)kanen na-kanen*

2pl. *a=kanet a=na-kanet (be-)kanet na-kanet (be-)kanet ma-kanet*

3pl. *a=kanant a=na-kanant (be-)kanant na-kanant*

The indicative non-past is formed by adding the clitic *a=/ā=/ar=* to the non-past stem: *ahmadā ā=kārant* ‘they bring Ahmad’; *man emšaf ar=ron wad=am a=pēcān dawr=e šāhay jānekay gardenā* ‘[as for] me, tonight I will go and wrap myself around the neck of the king’s daughter’. In contrast to previously described Balochi dialects, where the non-past morpheme is found as an enclitic and omitted under certain conditions (Buddruss 1977:9–13, 1988:62–65, Axenov 2006:166–170), in Koroshi it is a proclitic and is retained in clause-initial position (but see Nourzaei and Jahani 2013:182, fn. 23).

The subjunctive is formed by adding the prefix *be-/bī-/bo-* to the non-past stem. This prefix can be omitted (*Ø-bojān* ‘may I open’) and is, as in Persian, often left out in complex predicates (*mazan Ø-kant* ‘may he/she raise [it]).

The imperative is formed similarly to the subjunctive, with a *be-/bo-/bī-* prefix that is omitted in some cases. The two forms differ in that while the prefix *na-* is used to negate the subjunctive (*nakanet* ‘may you (pl.) do’), *ma-* negates the imperative (*makanet* ‘you (pl.) do!’).

In addition to the basic indicative non-past described above, which employs the verb clitic *a=*, there is a non-past indicative formation consisting of the prefix *ma-/mo-/me-/mar-* + non-past stem + verb endings: *ahmad=ī ke xayle nārāhat=a hālā makanna* ‘Ahmad, who was very worried, is now laughing’; *oštorobār marawa mā īšī fekrā* ‘she is absorbed thinking about the camels’ (lit. ‘the camels go into her thought’); *ta ba če maraway korrag=at maprēnē mā daryāhā* ‘why do you go and throw the foal into the sea?’. It is negated by adding the negation

prefix *na-* before *ma-* (*ta namatānāy ē joḡlā bokošay* ‘you cannot kill this boy’) There is no obvious aspectual distinction between the two indicative non-past formations, as both constructions are employed for iterative and durative actions. The construction with *ma-* is, however, more restricted and is not used for future time reference in the corpus. It appears to be a recent copy from the Persian present indicative structure, a possibility also supported by the fact that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular ending in this construction is *-a* (as in Persian) rather than *-ī(t)* or *-t* (*barḡ majana* ‘it is shining’).

*Past verb forms.* In the past tense, the main distinction is between the perfective (*raftān* ‘I went (perf.)’, *gašt=om* ‘I said (perf.)’) and the imperfective (*ar=raftadan kōhā* ‘they went (imperf.) to go to the mountain, *a=gašt=ad=ī* ‘he said (imperf.)’).

An additional distinction that must be taken into account for past verb forms, both perfective and imperfective, is that ergative constructions are employed for transitive verbs in the past. The ergative construction in Koroshi is of the same basic type as that described for Central Sarawani (Baranzehi 2003:82; see also Korn 2009): the agent is invariably expressed by a clitic (*jad=ī* ‘he hit [me]’) rather than a suffix, sometimes combined with a noun in the nominative case (*alamdār gašt=ī* ‘Alamdār said’) or a pronoun (*man dīd=om* ‘I saw’), and rather than agreeing with the patient, the verb is most commonly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*manā koštāg=eš* ‘they have killed me’). If the agent clitic belongs to the verb phrase, it is normally placed on the word preceding the verb, e.g., *gōš=et ke* ‘you listened’ (this is the typical placement in Balochi; see Dabir-Moghaddam 2008:98).

The perfective past, as shown more generally in the previous paragraph, marks agents of intransitive verbs by adding person endings to the past stem (*man nayākon* ‘I didn’t come’), but agents of transitive perfective past verbs are marked with an enclitic pronoun and the verb is in

the 3rd person singular (*kār=ēn kod* ‘we worked’). Negation is expressed with the prefix *na-*, which precedes the stem (*nayākay* ‘you didn’t come’, *nakod=eš* ‘they didn’t do’).

Table 9. Perfective past in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.) ; the most frequent person-marking suffixes and enclitic pronouns are shown here)

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PAST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PAST’
1sg.	<i>(na-)kod=om</i> ‘I did’	<i>(na-)raft-ān</i> ‘I came’
2sg.	<i>(na-)kod=et</i> ‘you (sg.) did’	<i>(na-)raft-ay</i> ‘you (sg.) came’
3sg.	<i>(na-)kod=ī</i> ‘he/she did’	<i>(na-)raft-Ø</i> ‘he/she came’
1pl.	<i>(na-)kod=en</i> ‘we did’	<i>(na-)raft-ēn</i> ‘we came’
2pl.	<i>(na-)kod=ō</i> ‘you (pl.) did’	<i>(na-)raft-et</i> ‘you (pl.) came’
3pl.	<i>(na-)kod=eš</i> ‘they did’	<i>(na-)raft-an(t)</i> ‘they came’

The imperfective past is formed by the verb prefix *a=* + past stem + past copular with person endings for intransitive verbs (*a=raft=adan kōhā* ‘they were going/used to go to the mountain’), and *a=* + past stem + 3sg past copula along with an agent clitic for transitive verbs (*čādorsyāhbār=ēn ā=gāft=ad* ‘we used to weave black tents’).

Table 10: Imperfective past in Koroshi (*kanag* ‘to do’ (tr.) and *rawag* ‘to go’ (itr.) ; the most frequent person-marking suffixes and enclitic pronouns are shown here))

	<i>kod-</i> ‘do.PAST’	<i>raft-</i> ‘go.PAST’
1sg.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=om</i> ‘I was doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-ān</i> ‘I went’

2sg.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=et</i> ‘you were doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-ey</i> ‘you went’
3sg.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=ī</i> ‘he/she was doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-Ø</i> ‘he/she went’
1pl.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=en</i> ‘we were doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-ēn</i> ‘we went’
2pl.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=ō</i> ‘you were doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-et</i> ‘you went’
3pl.	<i>a=(na-)kod=ad=eš</i> ‘they were doing’	<i>a=(na-)raft=ad-an(t)</i> ‘they went’

*Perfect forms.* In addition to basic non-past and past form there is a present perfect form which consists of the past participle + non-past copula with person endings for intransitive verbs (*hīška ham mānta-Ø* ‘is there no one left?’) and the past participle + enclitic pronouns (agent clitics) for transitive verbs (*harčī pakkag=et bīyār* ‘bring what you have cooked’, *man gōl=om dāda bahr=ay* ‘I have promised him’). There is a past perfect which consists of the past participle + past copula with person endings for intransitive verbs (*raft=adon* ‘I had gone’ ) and the past participle + 3sg past copula + enclitic pronouns (agent clitics) for transitive verbs (*a dass=eš namak=en wārt=ad* ‘we had been helped by them’ (lit. ‘we had eaten salt from their hand’)). The whole past tense system has a limited use in traditional oral tales, which have the non-past as their basic tense. The use of present and past perfect verb forms is very limited in the corpus.

## SYNTAX

### Basic clause structure

The basic constituent order in the Koroshi clause is SOV: *bāmard ya čāh=ī pēdā a=kant* ‘the man finds a well’. Adverbials most commonly follow the verb: *alamdār šāmī ešān ābā kōhā* ‘in the evening Alamdar takes them to the mountain’.

## Coordination

Clauses in Koroshi are coordinated through juxtaposition of clauses or the use of coordinating conjunctions.

*Juxtaposition.* In Koroshi, juxtaposition is the most common way of coordinating clauses: *joġla byay rū=ye ġālīyā benennī, bekaftī mā čāhā, bemerīt* ‘the boy should come, sit on the carpet, fall down into the well, [and] die’.

*Coordinating conjunctions.* While not as commonly found as juxtaposition, conjunctions are also used to coordinate clauses in Koroshi. The most common coordinating conjunction, the enclitic *=o* ‘and’, seems to be the only original Balochi coordinating conjunction (*ar=rant=o ī am ā=kārant* ‘they go and bring him as well’). The disjunctive coordinator *yā* ‘or’ and the adversative coordinator *wālī* ‘but’, as well as *wa ~ wo* ‘and’, are copied from Persian.

## Subordination

*Subordinating conjunctions.* Koroshi makes use of the general subordinating conjunction *ke* to introduce complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. A number of compound conjunctions, copied from Persian and composed of *ke* plus other elements, such as *hamī ke* ‘as soon as’ and *be šartī ke* ‘on the condition that’, are also used. Additional subordinating conjunctions include *tā ~ ta* ‘until, so that’ and *agar ~ aga ~ aya* ‘if’.

*Complement clauses.* There are two types of nominal complement clauses in Koroshi, subject complements and direct object complements. They follow the main clause and are linked to it with the subordinating conjunction *ke*. A subject complement clause, which acts as the subject of the main clause, is exemplified in the utterance, *bāz ham=ī a=bī ke sāde ham begāfen* ‘it is also possible that we weave simply as well’. Direct object complement clauses are linked to the main

clause either with *ke* (*ya rōč=ē šū=ay a=šī ke ay golī ī hammo mardom marawa sawzā āḡa īḡa* ‘one day her husband says: Goli, all these people are going [to pick] greens here and there’) or by juxtaposition (*a=gennī ya pīremarde īdānāko=en* ‘he sees that there is an old man here’).

*Relative clauses.* Relative clauses are similarly introduced after the main clause with the subordinating conjunction *ke*. In restrictive relative clauses, the head noun is marked by a demonstrative and/or the individuation marker =ī, =ē (similar to the Persian individuation marker =ī): *ā ke kōr boda gōš=e mēškonā=boda* ‘the one that was blind could hear (lit. its ear heard)’, *ham=ā kačal=ī ke mā bāḡ=at kār makana ham=ā mānta* ‘that bald [man] who is working in your garden, he remains’.

*Adverbial clauses.* Adverbial (or “adjunct”) clauses express the same types of functions as adverbs: temporal, causal, purposive, conditional, and consecutive. While most kinds of adjunct clauses follow the main clause, there are some that precede it.

For temporal clauses, which follow the main clause, the most common type of connection to the main clause is with *ke* on its own: *aždahā čamm=e ke a=kapī ahmad ḡazabī a=bī* ‘when the dragon’s eye falls on Ahmad it gets angry’.

Causal clauses, which may precede or follow the main clause, are connected to the main clause with *ke*: *harčē=ī bokān bahr=ay beden=ī ke ē nābūd=en a=kant* ‘whatever he wants, let’s give him it because [otherwise] he will destroy us’.

Purposive clauses precede the main clause and are usually linked to it by means of the conjunctions *tā ~ ta* or *ke*. The verb in purposive clauses is always in the subjunctive: *ay gōlī bannā aga zenne=y beḡe ta man bekešān=et bālād* ‘Goli, if you are alive take hold of the rope in order for me to pull you up’; *zahrā a=rēčī mā xorāk=ī ke bokošīd=ī* ‘she pours the poison into

his food to kill him’. Purposive clauses can also be connected to the main clause by juxtaposition: *man nayākon begašān bōjag bay* ‘I didn’t come to tell you to open up’.

Conditional clauses, which also precede the main clause, are usually linked it by means of the conjunction *agar ~ aga ~ aya* ‘if’ (*ay gōlī bannā aga zenne=y bege* ‘Goli, if you are alive take hold of the rope’), or by juxtaposition (*ē bokān=ī bīd nābūd=en kant nābūd=en a=kant* ‘[if] he wants to destroy us, he will destroy us’).

Finally, consecutive clauses follow the main clause and are connected to it with *ke*: e.g., *bāmard loh=e a=dā ke dāzan ar=ra mā čāhā* ‘the man pushes her, and she falls into the well’.

## Lexicon

Typical vocabulary items include (N = northern dialect, S = southern dialect): *mūd* ‘hair’, *pōz* ‘nose’, *xolk* (N) / *holk* ‘throat’, *lāf* ‘stomach (belly)’, *nāfag* / *nāfa* ‘navel’, *kōn* (N) / *kōnd* (S) ‘knee’, *moč(č)* (N) / *hadd* (S) ‘bone’, *mardīn* (N) / *mardēn* / *bāmard* ‘man’, *jannīn* (N) / *janēn* / *dāzan* ‘woman’, *azzāb* ‘unmarried’, *kočok* ‘dog’, *gox* / *gōx* ‘cow’, *pot* ‘feather’, *zom* / *zūm* (N) / *agrab* (S) / *ağrab* ‘scorpion’, *rōč* ‘sun’, *bolūt* (N) / *abr* (S) ‘cloud’, *hawr* ‘rain’, *alaf* (N) / *kā* (S) ‘grass’, *lōg* / *lō* ‘house’, *fād* ‘salt’, *hayx* (N) / *toxmorg* (S) ‘egg’, *šodīg* ‘hungry’, *šehīd* (N) / *tonnī* (S) ‘thirsty’, *jarr* ‘fight (n.)’, *parčal* (N) / *sahār* (S) ‘dirty’, *got* (N) / *mazan* (S) ‘big’, *kassān* ‘small’, *āk* (N) / *ātk* (S) ‘he/she came’, *aškontī* (N) / *aškodī* (S) ‘he/she heard’, *waft* / *faw kapt* ‘he/she slept’, *wārtī* ‘he/she ate’, *zāntī* ‘he/she knew’, *kannedī* (N) / *kanda īja* (S) ‘he/she laughed’, *gaštī* (N) / *waštī* (S) ‘he/she said’, *jadī* ‘he/she hit’, *šaštādī* ‘he/she sent’, *ōdān* ‘there’, *zī* ‘yesterday’, *kad* ‘when?’, *ta* ‘you (sg.)’, *wad* ‘self’.

There are a few loanwords from Bandari Persian (e.g., *bāmard* ‘man’, *dāzan* ‘woman’), and in the northern dialect, numerous Qashqā’i loanwords are also found, including *ālmay* ‘apple’,



*bāšlōg* ‘bridewealth (gift from the groom to the bride’s mother)’, *bīčāg* ‘knife’, *bolūt* ‘cloud’, *galen* ‘bride’, *gayagačma* ‘reception for newlyweds’, *gelej* ‘sword’, *joġla* ‘boy’, *sārōlōg* ‘jaundice’, *golūn* ‘foal’, and *yel* ‘tribal confederation’.

**Sample text (Northern dialect):**

*...zorr agī, ke ham oštorā agīto ham karā. har donī abarant, bār akanant, bār akananto arran.*

‘...The caravan returns, and takes both the camel and the donkey. They take both of them, they load them up, they load them up and go.’

*arrant, tā ažanant ye sarābālāiyā. ažanant ye sarābālāiyā, karok sost akant. anawānt bārā bebā. sost akant. karokā ham er akanant rū hamā oštorokā.*

‘They go, until they arrive at a hill. They arrive at a hill, the poor donkey gets tired. He can’t carry the load. He gets tired. They put the donkey on the camel.’

*oštor hamē ke arasīt sare šayā, ašīt ay kar!*

‘When the camel arrives at the slope, he says, hey, donkey!’

*ašī bale?*

‘[The donkey] says, yes?’

*hālā wadet bege! manī nawbaten. ašī, manī bawoay layt kanagom ham yādom mohā, haway layt kanagī.*

‘[The camel says,] now hold on! It’s my turn. He says, I remember how my father played, how he played a game with sticks.’

*kar ašī, ay makan čō! ēdā sare šayen. man xord abān.*

‘The donkey says, oh, don’t act like this! Here we are on a slope. I will get shattered.’

*ašī, nabē. man gaštom, ta gōšet ke?*

‘[The camel] says, no, you won’t. I told you, but did you listen?’

*xolāsa oštoram āṇa ateqō īṇa ateqī, karā ā bālād berr adā, darmadāgūn abīt mā ē kohūlankīyā.*

‘To make a long story short, the camel plays to and fro, he throws the donkey down from up there, the donkey is shattered among the rocks.’

*hālā ham došmanen bī čō hamā karā, dossen ham čō oštorā.*

‘Now may our enemy become like the donkey, and our friend like the camel.’

Selection from: “*Karok o oštorok* (The camel and the donkey)”, recounted by °Alamdār Samsāniān (Jahani and Nourzaei 2011).

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