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The Khonji Dialect of Lārestān

Habib Borjian
Rutgers,
The State University of New Jersey

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Abstract: Southwest Iranian languages are significantly underrepresented in academic literature, lacking comprehensive descriptions. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining the Lārestāni language variety spoken in Khonj, which is otherwise poorly known. In phonology, it is shown that uvular stops and fricatives have only recently infiltrated the Khonji sound system. Khonji stands out in the construction of noun phrases due to the presence of a deictic suffix and an intricate system of adpositions. The verb inflection in Khonji is notable for its ten identified aspectual and modal affixes. Combinations of these affixes give rise to a system of five simple tenses (surpassing the previously identified four), alongside corresponding progressive tenses, supplemented by at least four identified subjunctive tenses. The binary stative-dynamic distinctions in posture verbs, as illustrated in a diagram for 'sit', align more closely with English than Persian. Ergativity is prominently manifested through two sets of person markers, creating phrases similar to Middle Persian and counterintuitive to New Persian. Experiencer constructions characterize the expressions of possession and modals in the language.[1]

Keywords: Southwest Iranian, phonology, morphosyntax, subjunctive, ergative, stative verbs

Habib Borjian
E-mail: hb146@columbia.edu

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Introduction

[1] I am deeply grateful to the anonymous peer reviewers of this paper for their useful comments.

1. Introduction

Khonj is a township with approximately 20,000 residents, located 110 km north of the Persian Gulf and 270 km south of Shiraz, the capital city of Fārs province. Situated at the northwestern corner of Lārestān, Khonj lies in a subtropical region, traditionally classified in Persian climatical zoning as *garmsirāt*, where dates and citrus can be farmed. In early modern history Lārestān[2] formed a prosperous and industrious province extending south of Fārs down to the Persian Gulf. See the map in Figure 1, which shows close agreement with the isogloss map in Borjian 2020. Today, Lārestān is divided between two provinces and fragmented into several distinct sub-provinces,[3] with Khonj being one of them.

Khonji, known to its speakers as *xiňǰi* or *xoňǰi*, is spoken in Khonj and its surrounding villages. It belongs to the Lārestāni Language Group (Molčanova 1977), which, together with the Garmsiri Language Group of historical Kermān, forms the larger "Garmsiri" family (Borjian 2017). Lārestāni is known to outsiders as *ačomi*, derived from the word *ačom* 'I go,' which is characteristic of the Lārestāni Language Group. Lārestāni is spoken in dozens of settlements, including Lār, the historical seat of Lārestān.

A significant amount of data is published on individual or groups of Lārestāni dialects, mostly by local pundits. However, no detailed, rigorous study exists on the dialectal subdivisions of the group. My focus here is not on Lārestāni in general, which requires a thorough typological study, but specifically on the Khonji dialect. This focus aims to understand the structure of a single variety before moving forward to a comparative study of the language as a whole.

The primary source of Khonji data is the two editions of the monograph published by Loṭf-ʿAli Xonji (1999, 2009).[4] The former edition is particularly valuable for its texts, despite being translated from Persian works. It received a scholarly review by Ṣādeqi (2003), and its data was utilized by Dabir-Moqaddam

[2] For history, see Calmard 1986.

[3] I tend to overlook new geographical divisions, as historical toponyms best describe the geography where Iranic languages are formed.

[4] In 2015, I conducted interviews with Loṭf-ʿAli Xonji (Khonji) regarding his documentation and obtained additional data through telephone conversations. The sentences without citation are those I elicited from him. Mr. Khonji had a distinguished career as a senior anchorman at BBC Persian. Fluent in English and French, in addition to his native Persian, he often reflected on the distinctive nature of his mother tongue, Khonji, compared to these languages. Although not a linguist by profession, he developed a deep understanding of linguistics while compiling his books on Khonji.

(2014: §§5.3.10-13) in his two-volume work on Iranian typology, which focuses on the tense-based split alignment in the syntax.

Kamioka et al. (1986) published a pioneering Khonji (together with Lāri) glossary, of 1,000 items, accompanied by a phonology. In a series on the Fārs province by Salāmi,[5] volume IV (2007) includes words and elicited sentences of Khonji together with eight other dialects of the province; his Khonji data differs from the abovementioned documentations in significant phonological (e.g., q > k) and morphological (e.g., 2sg. verbal ending *-e* for *-eš*) traits, indicating substantial micro-dialectal variation within Khonji due to areal, generational, and social distribution. Khonji linguistic materials are also found in Eqtedāri (1955), Vosuqi (1995: 98-99, 173-178), Kalbāsi (2009: 265-267), and A.-Ḥ. Xonji (2015).

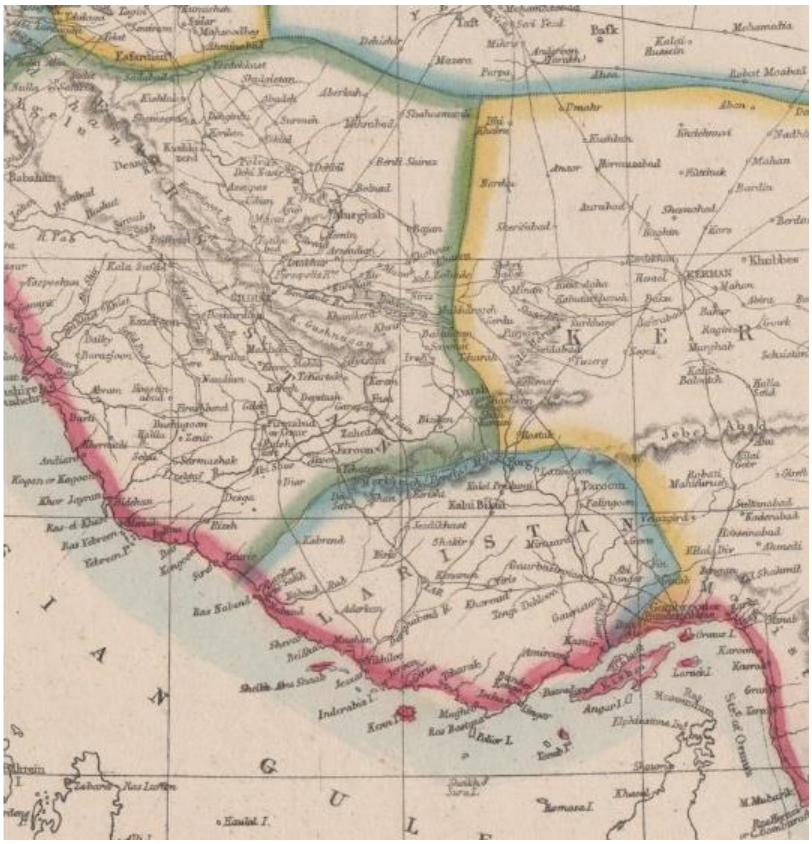


Fig. 1. Lārestān province in the 19th century, located between Fārs and Kermān provinces and the Persian Gulf. Source: "Persia", by Edward Weller, 1863 (author's collection).

[5] For a discussion about Salāmi's elicited data, see §24, below.

2. Consonants

The genuine inventory is probably /p b t d č ǰ k g f v s z š x h m n r l y/. Most notable differences with modern Persian occur in back consonants:

/h/ has lost phonemic status at onset: *(h)ow* 'water', *(h)awr* 'cloud', *(h)esm* 'name', *(h)omā* 'we', *ā(h)en* 'iron'.

/k, g/ have no palatalized allophones as in Persian.

The voiced uvular fricative *ḡ* occurs but rarely in the data, as in *čāḡ* 'fat' and *lāḡar* 'lean', implying influence by Persian pronunciation. Otherwise, Pers. *ḡ* (Arabic and Turkic loans included) is regularly realized as /x/: *morx* 'hen', *birix* 'ewer', *kalāx* 'crow', *xeč* 'ram', *xura* 'unripe grape', *šalxom* 'turnip', *xarbal* 'sieve', *kāxoz* 'paper', *demāx* 'nose', *portexāl* 'orange', *čaxe* 'knife', *čomāx* 'club', (Arabic) *xam* 'sorrow', *xossa* 'grief' (also *ḡossa*), *xark* (< ḡarq) 'drowned'.

The voiceless uvular stop *q* seems recent in Khonji; it occurs in free variation with /k/ in data from Kamioka et al. and L. Xonji, but realized as *k* in a big majority of words in Salāmi's data: *kad* 'length', *čekad* 'how many', *kand* 'sugar cube', *kermez* 'red', *akik* 'agate', *nokra* 'silver', *bark* 'lightening', *vakti* 'when', *mowke* 'time', *fakat* 'only', *āšek* 'in love', *kalom* 'pen', *kolf* 'padlock', *kollāb* 'hook', *keyči* 'scissors', *monkāš* 'tweezers', *boškāb* 'plate', *kašox* 'spoon', *kabloma* 'pot', *sakf* 'ceiling', *kannāt* (Pers. qanāt) 'subterranean aqueduct', *ka:va* 'coffee', *hokuk* 'wages', *hakikat* 'truth'. The recent currency of some of these words in colloquial Persian suggests a synchronic status of this sound shift in Khonji; meaning that at least some speakers perceive uvular plosive as velar.

The interdental fricative *δ* occurs postvocalically in Salāmi's data, e.g. *āδam* 'person'; its inconsistent usage suggests that some of his eight informants spoke in a hybrid dialect.

A peculiar variation occurs in the segment /st/ in Xonji's data and /ss/ in Salāmi's data. Mr. Xonji explained to me that his version belongs to the polite variation of the dialect. Indeed, a high register is quite plausible even in informal, non-written languages, as I have observed in the Central Plateau languages.

3. Vowels

The substantial variation in the data makes it difficult to bring the vocalic inventory of Khonji in the abstract. Kamioka (1986) defines Khonji vowels as /ī e~i a ā o~u ū/. However, the correspondence between *ī* and *ū* and their short forms seems governed by the tense-lax system known in modern Persian. As such, Khonji vowel phonemes may be defined as simple as /i e a ā o u/ plus diphthongs /ey ay ow aw/, with the following notes:

/ā/ [ɑˑ, ɒˑ] is conditionally in free variation with /a/ [a], as in *vā ~ va* 'by, with', especially when preceding a stressed syllable, e.g., *kāré ~ karé* 'the work'.

/e/ and /i/ are in free variation in some words, resulting in doublets such as *zemi ~ zimi* 'earth', *íngo ~ éngo* 'here', *vilāyat ~ velāyat* 'village'.

/o/ and /u/ are in free variation in some words, e.g., *ko ~ ku* 'where?', *ǰonga ~ ǰunga* 'male', *tof ~ tuf* 'spit', *ǰuhu ~ ǰohu* 'pretty', *dudu ~ dodu* 'tooth'.

Kamioka also defines /ee aa oo/ as vocalic subsets, e.g., prepositon *teʾe ~ tee ~ te: ~ tey ~ te* (*te + ezafe* marker *-e*) 'in'; *deer/de:r* 'door', *vā-deet-/de:t-* (< dōxt-) 'sew'; *ǰomaa* (Salāmi *ǰomaha*) 'Friday'; *xooge* (Salāmi *xoge*) 'sister'.

Vowel elision often occurs in quick speech, when words and morphemes are uttered in a single breath: *čaš-oš_a_nu-fta_š=got ~ čaš-oš a nu ofta, oš=got* '[as] his eye caught the bread, he said…'. (Xonji 2009: 304).

4. Nominal Inflection

Nominal inflectional morphemes include plural *-iā́, yā́,* indefinite *-i, -e*, definite *-é*, deictic *-o*, diminutive *-aká,* ezafe *-e, -y*. Examples:

> *sib* 'apple', *sibiā́* 'apples', *síbi* 'a (certain) apple', *sibé* 'the apple', *me síbo* 'that apple', *sibaká* 'little apple', *síbe sorx* 'red apple'; (in noun phrases) *{sib-iā́}-i* '(certain) apples', *me {sib-iā}-o* 'those apples', *me {sib-e sorx}-o* 'that red apple'
>
> *xuná* 'house', *xunayā́* 'houses', *xunáe* 'a house', *xunaé* 'the house', *xuná-e/-y (h)omā* 'our house', *xunayā́-e gap* 'big houses', *xuná-e* 'it is a house'

Nouns ending in *-i* as a rule inflect and receive the hiatus-breaker *-n-*, e.g.,

maí/mayí 'fish', *mae-n-iā́* 'fish$_{PL}$', *maé-n-i* 'a fish', *mae-n-é* 'the fish', *en maé-n-o* 'this fish', *máy-n-e sorx* 'red fish'.[6]

5. Pronouns and Deixis

There is a single set of freestanding personal pronouns (Table 1), serving as both subject and object, e.g., *amā ondem* 'we came', *amā abene* 'he'll see us'. There is no distinction of gender.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives are *e, en* 'this', *me* 'that, this', *on* 'that', *iā, enyā* 'these', *miā, onyā* 'those' (also 'these'); intensives are *hamin/hamon* 'this/that very (same) one'. Demonstrative adjectives co-occur with the deictic suffix *-o*, as in *me ketāb-o ase to_m=xeli* 'I bought that book for you'.

Circumstantial adverbs include *ékā, íngo/éngo* 'here', *ónkā, óngo, mékā* 'there'; *éndā, índo* 'this way', *mándā, ondo* 'that way' (corresponding to Pers. čonin, čonān).

Table 1. Personal pronouns and verbal endings

	Pronouns		Verb Person Markers
	Freestanding	Pron. Clitics	Endings
sg. 1	*mo*	*om*	*-om*
2	*to*	*ot*	*-eš*
3	*on, u*	*oš*	*-e*
pl. 1	*amā, (h)omā*	*mo(n)*	*-em*
2	*šomā*	*to(n)*	*-i*
3	*onyā, ešu*	*šo(n)*	*-et*

6. Pronominal Clitics (PC)

These pronouns (Table 1) are either suffixed or prefixed, showing mobility within the phrase and proclivity to fuse with verb morphemes and prepositions. For instance, the third person singular clitic is realized as *-š, š-, -oš, šo-, oš-*, and *ša-* with prepositions and the verb durative marker; the third person plural is *šo/šu* is *šon-* prevocalically and *šā-* with the durative marker (§16). Phonetic variation in other clitics occurs as well. Pronominal clitics have a wide range of oblique functions:

[6] A contraction of *maé-n-e sorx*.

(1) Possessive (POSS): *mai-t* 'your$_{SG}$ fish', *lu-š* 'his/her face'.

(2) With prepositions (§8): *ša-tek* 'in it', *sa-lu* 'on it', *ša-zel* 'under it', *ša-z* 'from it'.

(3) Direct object hosted by the verb (§16): *m=a-ben-eš* 'you$_{SG}$ (will) see me', *om=nāben-eš* 'you$_{SG}$ do/will not see me'.

(4) Indirect object: *nu oš=hā-t-i* 'give$_{PL}$ him bread'.

(5) Subject (agent) in ergative (AC) (§16): *ot=ded-om* 'you$_{SG}$ saw me'.

(6) Experiencer (XPER), for which see "Possession" (§23) and "Modal Forms" (§25).

(7) Reflexive (REFL) with the base *xo-*: sg. 1 *xom,* 2 *xot,* 3 *xoš,* pl. 1 *xómu,* 2 *xotu,* 3 *xošu.* Functions are reflexive (ex. 1, 11) and emphatic (ex. 2, 6).

(1) *e* *xuna-e* *xarāb-o* *a* *xo-tu* *be-freš-i*
this house-EZ ruin-DEIC PREP REFL-PC.2PL SBJV-sell.PR-2PL
'Sell this ruined house to yourselves.' (Xonji 2009: 63)

(2) *xo-šu* *šo=got* *ke* *xalāf* *šo=kerd-e*
REFL-PC.3PL AC.3PL=say.PST SUB mistake AC.3PL=do.PST-PP
'They themselves said that they have made a mistake.' (Xonji 2009: 63)

7. Object Marking

In the absence of an accusative marker, such as Persian -rā, various strategies are used to mark direct object: (1) SOV word order (ex. 3); (2) Verb agreement with the object in past transitive tenses (*om=kerd-et* in ex. 4); (3) Preposing the particle *ase* (otherwise a preposition) (ex. 5, 6); (4) The stress marking generic object nouns may shift to the verbal ending with specific objects: *qāli afrešé* 'he sells the rug' versus *qālí afreše*[7] 'he sells rugs'; *ketāb om=xelí* 'I bought the book' versus *ketáb-om=xeli* 'I bought books'.[8]

(3) *Hasan* *Ali* *tey* *bāḡ* *oš=di*
PN PN PREP garden AC.1SG=see.PST.CRUSH
'H. saw A. in the garden.' (Salāmi 2007: 324)

[7] The secondary accent on *afreše* was not perceivable.
[8] Xonji 2009: 32.

(4) *yak* *mablağ-i_am* *a farrāš-iā=m*
one amount-INDF_also to servant-PL=AC.1SG
da *o moraxas* *om=kerd-et*
give.PST and discharge AC.1SG=do.PST-3PL[9]
'I also gave some money to the servants and discharged them.' (Xonji 2009: 320)

(5) *ase* *pos-iā* *om=di*
PREP boy-PL AC.1SG=see.PST.CRUSH
'I saw the boys.'

(6) *ase* *xo-š_oš=di*
PREP REFL-PC.3SG_AC.3SG=see.PST.CRUSH
'He saw himself.' (Xonji 2009: 30, 63)

8. Adpositions

Khonji is prepositional, in the sense that an adposition precedes the noun it governs, usually with an *ezafe* connector. However, most prepositions have postclitic forms that are suffixed to pronominal clitics (Table 1). Frequent adpositions are: *a* 'to, from', *az* 'from', *ase,*[10] *-su* 'for', *bā, -(o)mra* 'with', *barā́(e)* 'over', *lā-va* 'together with', *le, lu* 'on', *pás(e)* 'behind', *péš(e), -peynā* 'before, with, next to', *tā* 'till', *táht(e)* 'beside', *tey, té(e)*, *ték(e)* 'in, inside', *zél(e)* 'under'. Examples:

(7) *xuna ase on omxeli ~ xuna ša-su omxeli* 'I bought the house for him'
(8) *taht-e mo honi ~ ma-taht honi* 'sit next to me'
(9) *bā onyā očo ~ šon-omra očo* 'go with them'
(10) *ketāb-ot ša-peynā hod* 'your book was with him'
(11) a_2 *xom* om_1*=got ~* m_1*=*a_2 *xom got* 'I_1 said to$_2$ myself'
(12) *onyā te menserā nehet* 'they are not in the courtyard'
(13) *kolāh le ser-aš nehod* 'he had no hat on his head'
(14) *malaxiā gonomiā lā-va riša šoxo* 'the locusts ate the wheat altogether with roots'

[9] See §9, Ergative.
[10] The preposition *ase* also functions as a particle in marking the direct object (see Object Marking, §7) and in forming a secondary present-future (§24).

9. Particles

Adverbs are formed with *va-*, as *va-xaši* 'happily', *Hasan va-hila goruxt* 'H. fled deceptively'; *-(e)ndā*, as *éndā* 'this way', *mándā,* 'that way', *hámendā* 'as such', *čéndā* 'how'; *e-* (< em-) in temporal *eroz* 'today', *ešow* 'tonight', *esāl* 'this year'; *-in* in *pišin* 'forenoon, noon', *pasin* 'midafternoon'.

Question words include *če* 'what', *ču, čéndā* 'how', *čerā, ase-če, sey-če* 'why', *četay* 'which', *čod* 'how much', *ke* 'who', *kodom* 'which', *ko, ku* 'where', *kay* 'when'.

Note also *hanu* 'yet', *hiǰ* 'none', *gāhi* 'never', *dega, -eydu* 'else, other' (*pos-e dega ~ pós-eydu* 'other boy'), *hā* 'yes', *no* 'no', *_o* 'and'. The comparative marker is *-ta* (seldom *-tar*), e.g., *keyeta* 'smaller', *ǰohuta* 'prettier', *gap-ta_ye* 'it is larger', *gaptar az mo* 'older than me'.[11]

10. Verb Phrase

The dialect has a five-fold system of tenses in the indicative, supplemented by the subjunctive mood. The dual present–past stem pattern is defied by the present progressive, which is built on the past stem. Among personal endings (Table 1), the third singular conjugates aberrantly (Table 2). Transitivity is governed in past tenses by ergativity (Tables 3 and 4). Posture verbs such as 'sit' have punctual and stative aspects, as in English (Table 5).

The complexity of the verb forms led me to decompose them into formative elements (§14) and try to identify the underlying morphemes common to West Iranian. The resulting picture reveals that original compounds and agglutinations have fused into single-word forms, leaving no "periphrastic" verbs in Khonji, which attests to a long process of tense formation in the language. However, new analytical forms are emerging under Persian influence (§24).

11. Stems

The present stem is employed in the present-future, present subjunctive, and imperative. All other tenses, including the present progressive, employ the past stem.

[11] One of the reviewers brought up this point: /r/ resurfaces before vowels, but it is obstructed by the hiatus filler *-y-* in *gapta-y-e*. This matter needs more attention.

The diachronic opposition between inherited present and past stems is markedly diminished. Regularized or secondary past stems, with markers *-ad-* and *-ed-*, such as (present : past) *kar-* : *kared-* 'plant', *feress-* : *feressad-* 'send', *soxen-* : *soxenad-* (causative) 'burn' appear to be in the minority. Stem pairs inherited from Old Iranian, are "irregular" in the sense of showing no synchronic derivational interrelationship, e.g., *gard-* : *gešt-* 'turn', *gel-* : *gelet-* 'get', *ni-* : *šass-* (punctual), *(h)od-* (stative) 'sit'; as well as diachronically suppletive stems *-i-/-r-* : *ond-* 'come', *ben-* : *ded-* (also secondary *ben-ed-*) 'see'. Moreover, a large subset of present stems are historically derived from old past stems, e.g., *xās-* : *xāsed-* 'bite', *xat-* : *xated-* 'sleep', *pox-* : *poxt-* 'cook', *sox-* : *sot-* 'burn' (< *sōxt-), *bi-* : *best-* 'throw'. Partially assimilated present stems include *bon-/bass-* : *bass-*, as in *vā-bon* 'close!', *vā-bass-e* 'he'll close'. Some past stems are truncated when word-final: *ded-/-di* 'see', *kerd-/-ke* 'do' (designated SHORT in interlinear glosses).

Verbal nouns are also employed in verb forms (§14, § 25). The infinitive is the past stem + *-a /-o*, e.g., *šasta*,[12] *šasso*[13] 'to sit'. The past participle marker is *-e(st)/-ess*, with the allomorph *-ez-*.

12. Passive and Causative

Passive stems are marked by *-eh-* : *-eh-est-*, as in *šiša eškahest-Ø* 'the glass broke' ~ *šiša š=eška* 'he broke the glass'. Causative stems are marked by *-en-*: *-en-ad-*, as in intransitive *sox-* : *sot-*, causative *soxen-* : *soxenad-* 'burn', e.g., *xaǰa sox-ā-e* 'the firewood is burning' ~ *xaǰa soxenad-ā-m*[14] 'I am burning firewood'.

13. Preverbs

The only active lexical prefix in Khonji is *vā-*. Its semantic effects are limited to a few verbs, including *xord-* 'eat' ~ *vā-xord-* 'drink'; *košt-* 'kill' ~ *vā-košt-* 'extinguish, turn off'. There are stems that occur only with the preverb: *vā-mon-* : *-mod-* 'stay; lack behind', *vā-bon-* : *-bass-* 'close', *vā-kōven-* : *-kōved-* 'search',[15] *vā-ǰor-* : *-ǰoss-* 'search, find', *vā-doz-* : *-det-* 'sew', *vā-paraven-* 'strain'

[12] Xonji 2009.

[13] Kamioka et al. 1986; Salāmi 2007.

[14] Note the present progressive with the past stem (§17.1).

[15] *kōv°*, an odd outcome of *kāv-, may be analyzed this way: kāv- > (the stem) kō-, suffixed by the filler *-v-*.

(Pers. pāludan). This preverb is also used with light verbs: trans. *gerā vākerdo*, intr. *gerā vābodo* 'to blaze'.

The *vā-*prefix remains attached to the stem in all forms, e.g., *a-vā-xor-eš* 'you$_{SG}$ drink', including negation (*ne-vā-xor-et* 'that they do not drink'), and suppresses the modal prefix *be-* (§14.1), as in *vā-xor-eš* 'that you$_{SG}$ drink', *vāxo* 'drink$_{SG}$!'.

Moreover, *(h)o-* and *(h)ā-* supress modal *be-* only in the subjunctive present and imperative of a subset of verbs: (examples in the subjunctive 1sg.) *ó-čom* 'go' (neg. *ne-čom*), *(h)o-xatom* (Salāmi *ve-xatom*) 'sleep', (*h)o-nesom* 'put', (*h)o-niom* (Salāmi *vi-neyom*) 'sit', *orostom* 'get up', *(h)ā-tom* 'give'. Likewise, the verb *vaystada/vaessado* 'to stand up, to stop', with an original preverb *vā- (cf. colloquial Pers. vāysādan), has the forms *vaysom* 'that I stand', *mavaysi* 'do not stand!'.

14. Aspectual and Modal Affixes

In addition to the stem, preverbs, and person markers (verbal endings and pronominal clitics), the following elements are discernable in verb forms. These can be summarized as subjunctive *be-*, durative *a(d)-*, participal *-est-*, copula stems *b-* and *bost-/bod-*, and the enigmatic *-ā.* These components collectively contribute to the complexity and variation of verb forms in the language.

(1) *be-* marks the subjunctive present and the imperative.

(2) *a-*, *ad-/at-* (before vowels), equivalent to Persian durative marker mi-, marks the present-future, the imperfect, and the progressive forms of perfect tenses. This durative marker prefixes normally to the stem (*a-čed-om* 'I was going', *ad-ār-om* 'I bring'), but may influence the stem, as in *a-ftad-et* 'they would fall' (cf. *oftad-et* 'they fell'), *ad-ānd-om* (*at-ond-om* in Salāmi) 'I was coming' (cf. *ond-om* 'I came'). The marker coalesces into *-ā-* with the negative marker (§20) and with plural pronominal clitics (Table 1), e.g., *mādi* (← mo + a + di) 'we would see' (§16).

(3) *-est-/-ess-,-e* (in final position) marks the perfect and pluperfect. It is thus the past participle formant (< ast 'is') in the context of West Iranian morphology.

(4) *-ez-* is suffixed to the past stem in the past-pluperfect and the subjunctive perfect and pluperfect. It is analyzed (Ṣādeqi 2003: 129) as a reduced form of the past participle *-est-* when the latter coalesces with succeeding /b/, the

stem-initial of the subjunctive and perfect of 'be' (Table 6); hence, *-est-b- > -*ez-b-*.

(5) *-ā-* is suffixed to the past stem in the present progressive. Ṣādeqi (ibid) analyzes this morpheme as the fusion of the infinitive marker *-a* (also defined as *-o*) and the preposition *a* *'in' (otherwise ablative in Khonji, §8). As such, *dedā(o)m* 'I am seeing'[16] would have the underlying form *deda-a-om 'I am in (the process of) seeing'.[17] The existence of a preposition in this position seems rather odd to me. It is more plausible to assume that the inserted -a- is the durative marker (see (2), above), which has oddly moved forward in the morpheme arrangement. Nevertheless, quite tenable is an underlying locative formation based on the infinitive, a structure also found in some of the Garmsiri dialects of Kermān (Borjian 2017: 311), e.g., Minābi *a-kerden-om* 'I am doing' (Barbera 2005).

(6) *-āst-* and *-āz-*. These segments appear in the past progressive, e.g., *čed-āst-od-om* 'I was going'; and in the subjunctive progressive, e.g., *xond-āz-bom* 'I may be reading', *xond-āz-bāš* 'keep reading!'. Ostensibly related to the aforesaid participle *-est-/-ez-*, their role in these imperfective/subjunctive tenses is all but counterintuitive. Ṣādeqi (2003: 132) conjectures a morphological degeneration due to a phonological fusion between the perfective maker and past copulas.

(7) *-bost-,* employed in the past-pluperfect, is the past participle of 'be' (Table 6), functioning here as an original auxiliary synthesized into the verb phrase. It occurs in transitive verbs in its third person singular form *bode* for all persons, but it emerges in full with postclitics (Table 4).

(8) *-boz-* is infixed in the subjunctive pluperfect, e.g. *ond-ez-boz-bom* (Pers. āmada buda bāšam). The underlying morpheme is ostensibly a contraction of *bost-* 'been', thereby the synthesized auxiliary *boz_bom* (Pers. buda bāšam).

(9) *-od-*, *-u* (in final position), employed in the pluperfect, is basically the past stem of 'be', which functions here as auxiliary.

(10) *-b-*, employed by subjunctive complex forms, is the subjunctive stem of 'be', which functions here as auxiliary in a diachronic sense. As such, it conjugates

[16] Salāmi (2007: 250) gives the paradigms with a hiatus filler: *dedā-y-om, dedā-y-e, dedā-y-i* '[dāram] mibinam, etc.'

[17] Cf. Lāri *a-xetā-i* 'he is sleeping', which Molčanova (1982: 433 f.), invoking parallel Tatic forms, parses as the preposition *a-* prefixed to the infinitive; she gives no concrete justification for the existence of *-ā-*.

in intransitive forms and appears invariably as the third singular *be* with transitive stems.

15. Person Markers

The verb personal endings listed in Table 1 merit the following notes. The second person singular ending *-eš*, characteristic to Lārestāni, occurs as *-e* in Salāmi's data. The second person plural ending *-i* becomes *-ay* after *i*-final stems. The third singular is unmarked in past tenses; in the present, it is regularly suffixed with *-e*, as in *anese* 'puts', *ahere* 'lets', *adāre* 'brings'; zero after *i*-final stems: *abi* 'throws', *ani* 'sits'.

Third singular forms are contracted, sometimes beyond recognition, in a subset of Khonji verbs. This behavior, common in other Southwest Iranian languages, is designated as a 'crush' by Ilya Gershevitch (1970), and I will use this term for Khonji.[18] Examples are (1sg ~ 3sg) present-future *a-zen-om ~ a-zot* 'hits', *akenom ~ akot* 'does', *adonom ~ adu* 'gives', *abarom ~ aba* 'carries', *axarom ~ axa* 'eats', *adiom ~ adā* 'comes', *atom ~ ada* 'gives'; past *ondom ~ oma* 'came', *čedom ~ ču* 'went', *xatedom ~ xat* 'slept'. See Table 2 for full paradigms.

Table 2. Conjugations of *onda* 'to come'

	Pres.-Future	Preterit	Perfect	Subjunctive
sg. 1	*adiom*	*ondom*	*ondestom*	*berom*
2	*adieš*	*ondeš*	*ondesteš*	*bereš*
3	*adā*	*oma*	*onde*	*biā*
pl. 1	*adiem*	*ondem*	*ondestem*	*berem*
2	*adiay*	*ondi*	*ondesti*	*beri/biāy*
3	*adiet*	*ondet*	*ondestet*	*beret*

16. Ergativity

Khonji inherits from Middle Persian a tense-based split alignment, that is, accusative in the present and ergative in the past. In the present tense, personal endings agree with the subject. In past tenses, personal endings

[18] For diachronic justification, cf. Gershevitch 1970. For application on the Fārs language group, see Borjian, forthcoming: §5.5.

agree with the patient/object, while the (oblique) pronominal clitics (PC; Table 1) mark the agent/subject.[19]

(15) pres. *šā-ben-em* 'we see them'
past *mo=ded-et* 'we saw them'

In the following examples note false friends with Persian, e.g. 'I greeted him', etc.

(16) *ke* *ǰār=oš* *zat-om*[20]
who call=AC.3SG hit.PST-1SG
'Who did call me? (Salāmi 2007: 329)

(17) *har* *ke* *mo=š* *di,* *salām=oš* *kerd-om*
every person I=AC.3SG see.PST.CRUSH hello=AC.3SG do.PST-1SG
'Whoever saw me, greeted me.' (Salāmi 2007: 333)

(18) *če=tu* *got-om?*
what=AC.2PL say.PST-1SG
'What did you$_{PL}$ tell me?[21]

Since the direct-oblique case system of earlier Middle Persian is lost in Khonji, the agent clitic (denoting obliqueness) is obligatory even with an overt lexical agent: *on amā oš=di* 'he saw us'. The patient marker (verb ending) is optional when the patient is specified: *amā oš=di ~ amā_š=di ~ oš=ded-em* 'he saw us'.

The clitics appear in the following basic forms (for the verb 'see'):

Preterit: AC=see.PST.CRUSH
sg. *om=di, ot=di oš=di*
pl. *mo=di, to=di, šo=di*

Imperfect: AC.DUR=see.PST.CRUSH
sg. *ma=di, ta=di, ša=di*
pl. *mā=di, tā=di, šā=di*

The agent clitic always comes ahead of the stem; it may move off the verb and attach to the direct object, an indirect object, and prepositional and adverbial

[19] For a more detailed study of syntactic alignment in Khonji, see Dabir-Moqaddam (2014): §5.310-313.

[20] Note that *-om* is a verb ending here; it resembles the pronominal clitic of the first person singular.

[21] Note that with the verb 'say', 'me' is treated as *patient* and not an indirect object accompanied by an adposition. This occurs also in other Iranian languages. See Also Xonji 2009: 272 ff.

phrases. Examples:

(19) *sag* *{pā-e* *pos-iā}=š* *xast*
dog foot-EZ boy.PL=AC.3SG wound.PST
'The dog bit$_{PST}$ the boys' feet.' (Xonji 2009: 308)

(20) (a) *ketāb* *{a* *Hasan}* *om=da*
book PREP PN AC.1SG=give.PST
(b) *ketāb* *m={a* *Hasan}* *da*
book AC.1SG=PREP PN give.PST
'I gave the book to Hasan.'[22] (Xonji 2009: 256)

(21) *medād-om* *{az* *le* *zemi}* *om=vāsest-est-u*
pencil-PC.POSS.1SG PREP PREP earth AC.1SG=pick.up.PST-PP-be.PST.3SG.CRUSH
medād-om *{az* *le* *zemi}=m* *vāsest-est-u*
pencil-PC.POSS.1SG PREP PREP earth=AC.1SG pick.up.PST-PP-be.PST.3SG.CRUSH
medād-om *m={az* *le* *zemi}* *vāsest-est-u*
pencil-PC.POSS.1SG AC.1SG=PREP PREP earth pick.up.PST-PP-be.PST.3SG.CRUSH
'I had picked my pencil from the floor.'

(22) *Xiňǰ* *gāhi=m* *ne-ded-e*
PN never-AC.1SG NEG-see.PST-PP
'I have never seen Khonj.' (Xonji 2009: 308)

(23) *Hasan* *bori=m* *zat*
PN much=AC.1SG hit.PST
'I beat$_{PST}$ Hasan hard.' (Xonji 2009: 308)

17. System of Tenses: Indicative

The verbal system of Lārestāni is characterized (Skjærvø 1989: 367) as a symmetrical system of four simple tenses and corresponding continuous/progressive tenses: present-future ~ continuous present; preterit ~ imperfect; perfect ~ continuous perfect; and pluperfect ~ continuous pluperfect. In addition to these, Khonji data display a fifth indicative pair, designated here as "Past-Pluperfect." Moreover, a Past Progressive tense is discernable (see paragraph (6) below), although with scant examples. All these

[22] Note that in *m=a Hasan* the clitic is hosted by a preposition without being its object, unlike in *m=a* 'to myself'.

tenses, as exemplified in Table 3, appear in simple verb forms, i.e. single words, although certain tenses have underlying phrases, with components analyzed in §14. See also §24 for emerging periphrasis under the influence of Persian.

The semantic range of tenses seems generally compatible with those in Persian, except that the present-future and the imperfect also function as progressive tenses (§24). Nevertheless, ambiguities remain, highlighting the need for more text documentation to examine the distribution of some intricate forms in natural speech.

(1) Present-Future (or present indicative, with future and habitual functions, as in Persian) and Present Progressive (based on the past stem plus *ā*; §14.5): *a-č-eš* 'you$_{SG}$ (will) go' (Pers. miravi) ~ *čed-ā-š* (Pers. dāri miravi) 'you$_{SG}$ are going'. Despite employing the past stem, the present progressive has a nonergative alignment with transitive verbs: *ded-ā-š* 'you are seeing'.

(2) Preterit (simple past; unmarked) and Imperfect (marked durative *a-*): *čed-eš* 'you went' (Pers. rafti) ~ *a-čed-eš* (Pers. mirafti, dāshti mirafti) 'you used to go, you would go, you were going'.

(3) Perfect (present perfect; with past participle formant *-est-*) and Perfect Progressive: *čest-eš* (Pers. raftai) 'you have gone' ~ *a-čest-eš* (Pers. miraftai) 'you have been going'.

(4) Pluperfect (past perfect; with past participle in *-est-* and past copula stem *od-*) and Pluperfect Progressive: *čest_od-eš* (Salāmi *čess_ud-e*) (Pers. rafta budi) 'you had gone' ~ *a-čest_od-eš* (Pers. mirafta budi) 'you had been going' (hypothetical form; no data for intransitive verbs).

(5) Past-Pluperfect (or Perfect-Pluperfect; with past participle *-ez-* (< -est-) and perfect copula stem *bost-*) and Past-Pluperfect Progressive: *čez_bost-eš* (Pers. rafta budai) ~ *a-čez_bost-eš* (Pers. mirafta budai). According to L. Xonji, these forms have limited usage.

(6) Past Progressive. This tense, which falls outside of the five-fold symmetrical paradigm presented above, is presented by L. Xonji, with only a few examples, including *čed-āst-od-om* 'I was going', *xeled-āst-od-om* 'I was shopping' (but no transitive example). A realistic function of this form seems to be with stative verbs (§21): *od-āast-od-m* (ex. 27), 3sg. *od-āst-u* (ex. 28).

18. System of Tenses: Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood in Khonji is less commonly used than the indicative mood. Its functions are not always straightforward to identify, especially when morphologically deprived Persian is the source language in elicitations. A detailed study of the morphosyntactic structures and semantic fields of the subjunctive in Khonji, and in any other Iranian languages for that matter, can only be conducted when a sufficient amount of data based on natural speech is recorded. All I can offer here is the following classification of non-indicative moods inferred from the limited data in Khonji.

(1) Present (with the modal prefix *bé-* or preverbs):*be-ben-eš* (Pers. bebini) 'that you$_{SG}$ see'; sg. *be-ben,* pl. *be-ben-i* 'see!'; *o-č-eš* 'that you go' (cf. *a-č-eš* 'you (will) go'); sg. *očo*, pl. *oči* 'go!'. Note the irregular stem *ber-eš* 'that you come', sg. *bedā* (Salāmi *beδo*), pl. *beri* 'come!'.

(2) Progressive (with *-āz-b-* < *-āst* + *b-*, subjunctive/imperative copula): *čed-āz_beš* 'you may be going'; *čed-āz_baš* 'keep going!', *gāhi ḡossa ma-xar-dāz_baš* 'never be grieving!'. There are no parallel forms in modern Persian.

(3) Perfect (with *-ez-b-* < past part. -est + *b-*): *čedez_beš* (Pers. rafta bāši) 'you may have gone', *xatez_beš* 'you may have slept'.

(4) Pluperfect (with *boz-* < bost b-, past subjunctive copula): *čez-boz_beš* (Pers. rafta buda bāši).

19. Stress

The following stress patterns are discerned from L. Xonji and further elucidation. The stress is repelled by the durative marker *a(d)-*, pronominal clitics, and auxiliary 'be' (*-u, -e, -be, -od-, -bode*). The stress falls on the last syllable of the stem in past transitive forms (examples are in the first person singular): preterit *om=xelí* (buy); perfect *om=xeléd-e* (buy); plup. *om=soxenád-est-u* (burn); past-plup. *om=bést-ez_bode* (throw); subj. perfect *om=vāsést-ez_be* (seize) — on personal endings in the present-future: *a-nes-óm* (put) — on the infixed formant in pres. prog. *vāgašt-ā́-m* 'I am returning'; past prog. *xeled-ā́st_odom* 'I was buying'; subj. prog. *xond-ā́z_bom* 'I may be reading' — on the subjunctive morpheme: *bé-kenom* (do), *(h)ó-xatom* (sleep), but *o-čóm* (go).

Other forms show inconsistency, especially in 'come' and 'go', as in (first person singular) preterit *sótom* (burn), *oftádom* (fall) versus *ondóm* (come), *čedóm* (go); perfect *sótestom* (burn), *oftádestom* (fall) versus *ondoéstom* (come), *čéstom* (go); subj. perfect *xátez_bom* (sleep), *bódez_bom* versus *ondéz_bom* (come), *čéz_bom* (go).

Table 3. Verb forms (1sg.)[23]

	'Come'	'See'
Pres.-Future	*ad-i-om*	*a-ben-om*
Pres. Prog.	*ond-ā-(o)m*	*ded-ā-(o)m*
Preterit	*ond-om*	*om=di*
Imperfect	*ad-ānd-om*	*m=a-di*
Past Prog.	*ond-āst-od-om*	–
Perfect	*ond-est-om*	*om=ded-e*
Perfect Prog.	*ad-ānd-est-om*	*m=a-ded-e*
Pluperfect	*ond-est-od-om*	*om=ded-est-u*
Plup. Prog.	**ad-ānd-est-od-om*	*m=a-ded-est-u*
Past-Plup.	*ond-ez-bost-om*	*om=ded-ez-bode*
Past-Plup. Prog.	*ad-ānd-ez-bost-om*	*m=a-ded-ez-bode*
Subj. Pres.	*ber-om*	*be-ben-om*
Subj. Prog.	*ond-āz-b-om*	**ded-āz-b-om*
Subj. Perfect	*ond-ez-b-om*	*om=ded-ez-be*
Subj. Plup.	*ond-ez-boz-b-om*	*om=ded-ez-boz-be*

Table 4. Verb forms for 'see'

	3sg. ('he sees', etc.)	3sg. agent, 1sg. patient ('he sees me' etc.)
Pres.-Future	*a-ben-e*	*m=a-ben-e*
Pres. Prog.	*dedā-e*	*om=dedā-e*
Preterit	*oš=di*	*oš=ded-om*
Imperfect	*š=a-di*	*š=a-ded-om*
Perfect	*oš=dede*	*oš=dedest-om*
Pluperfect	*oš=dedest-u*	*oš=dedest-od-om*
Past-Plup.	*oš=dedez-bode*	*oš=dedez-bost-om*
Subj. Perfect	*oš=dedez-be*	*oš=dedez-b-om*

20. Negation

The prohibitive prefix, *ma-*, replaces the imperative markers: *biā* 'bring!', neg. *mayā*; *(hā)de* 'give!', neg. *made*; (irregular) *bedā* 'come!', neg. *mayā* (Salāmi *beδo*, neg. *mate*).

The negative prefix, *na-*, combines with the durative marker into *nā-*. Examples: *ne-nd-eš,* neg. of *ond-eš* 'you came'; *nābenom*, neg. of *a-ben-om* 'I see'; *nādānd-et*, neg. of *ad-ānd-et* 'they were coming'; *mo=ne-di*, neg. of *mo=di* 'we saw'; *mo=nādi*, neg. of *m-ā-di* 'we were seeing'.

[23] The asterisk indicates reconstructed forms missing in the data for these specific verbs.

A subdialect of Khonji employs *ya-/yo-* instead of *nă-*, as in *yo-don-om* for *nā-don-om* 'I don't know'; *ya-xel-em* for *nā-xel-em* 'we won't buy'.

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(24) *tāvessu* *ya-be* *levās-e* *garm* *be-piš-e*
summer NEG-must? dress-EZ warm SBJV-wear.PR-2SG
'You$_{SG}$ shouldn't wear warm clothes in summer.' (Salāmi 2007: 347)

21. Stative Verbs

The progressive forms are best exemplified in the stative sense of posture verbs, i.e., verbs that appear in two senses: dynamic, involving a punctual or inchoative action; stative, involving a situation that is static or unchanging throughout its entire duration. In Khonji, the verbs 'sit', 'stand', and 'sleep', among others, have tense-differential in their dynamic and stative senses, thereby comparable with "cardinal posture verbs" in English (Newman 2009). Khonji differentiates, as does English, between the perfect and the progressive in posture verbs, whereas Persian perfect forms bear the stative sense as well. This trait is shown in Table 5 and examples that follow, for the verb 'sit', with distinct past stems: dynamic *šast-* and stative *(h)od-*. Note that the preterit has a single sense in both languages: Khonji *šast-om* ~ Pers. nešast-am 'I sat down'.

Table 5. The posture verb 'sit' (1sg.)

Sense	Tense	Khonji	Persian
dynamic	perfect	*šastest-om*	nešasta-am
stative	pres. prog.	*(h)od-ā-m*	
dynamic	pluperfect	*šastest_odom*	nešasta budam
stative	past prog.	*(h)od-āst_odom*	
dynamic	subj. perfect	*šastez_bom*	nešasta bāšam
stative	subj. prog.	*(h)od-āz_bom*	

(25) *hezār* *dafa* *ekā* *šast-est-om,*
1000 CLF here sit.PST-PP-1SG
(perfect)
ammā *āla* *ekā* *ne-hod-ā-m*
but now here NEG-sit.PST-*Ā*-1SG
(pres. prog.)
'I have sat down here a thousand times, but I am not sitting here now.' (Xonji 2009: 115)

(26) *... le* *me* *nimkat-o* *šast-est_od-om*
PREP that bench-DEIC sit.PST-PP_be.PST-1SG (plup.)
'I had sat down / taken a seat on that bench [many times].' (Xonji 2009: 126)

(27) *modir* *ke* *vāred* *bu,*
principal SUB entering it.became
mo *le* *korsi* *od-āst_od-om*
I PREP chair sit.PST-*ĀST*_be.PST-1SG (past prog.)
'When the principal entered, I was sitting on a chair.' (Xonji 2009: 232)

(28) *vaqti-ke* *Hasan* *a* *kāfa* *vāred* *bu,* *J̌amšid*
when-SUB PN PREP café entering it.became PN

le *me* *korse-n-o* *od-āst-u*
PREP that chair-EPEN-DEIC sit.PST-*ĀST* -be.PST.3SG.CRUCH (past prog.)
'When Hasan entered the coffeeshop, Jamshid was sitting [there] on that chair.' (Xonji 2009: 157)

(29) *momken-e* *sad* *dafa* *le* *e* *nimkat-o*
likely-is 100 CLF PREP this bench-DEIC

šast-ez_b-om, *ammā* *āla* *om=nā-ve*
sit.PST-PP_be.SBJV-1SG but now PC.XPER.1SG=NEG.DUR-want.PR
(subj. perfect)

ekā *od-āz_b-om;* *bāyad* *orost-om*
here sit.PST-*ĀST*_be.SBJV-1SG must rise.PR-1SG
(subj. prog.)

'It is possible that I may have sat down on this bench a hundred times, but I don't want to be sitting here now; I should stand up.' (Xonji 2009: 138)

22. Copulas

The verb 'be' has the stems *(h)-* (present), *b-* (subjunctive), *(h)od-* (past),[24] and *bost-* (perfect), conjugated with personal endings. See Table 6. Imperatives are sg. *bǎš*, pl. *bi*. The third person singular clitic *-e* is realized as *-a* after mid and high vowels: cf. *e xāla-e* 'this is the maternal aunt', *e xāle-a* 'this is the maternal uncle', *hāl-ot čʊ-a* 'how are you?', *on genā-e* 'he is crazy', *me espid-e* 'that is white'. Negatives are *nehet/nehodet* 'they are/were not'. Past copulas are used in the pluperfect.

The locative/existential verb (pres. 3sg. *ha, háste*, neg. *niste*) combines with pronominal clitics to denote possession (§23).

Table 6. The verb 'be'

	Present	Subjunctive	Preterit	Perfect
sg. 1	*(h)-om*	*bom*	*(h)odom*	*bostom*
2	*(h)-eš*	*beš, bey*	*(h)odeš*	*bosteš*
3	*(h)-e, -a*	*be*	*(h)od, -u*	*bode*
pl. 1	*(h)-em*	*bem*	*(h)odem*	*bostem*
2	*(h)-i*	*bi*	*(h)odi*	*bosti*
3	*(h)-et*	*bet*	*(h)odet*	*bostet*

'Become' is identical with 'be' in the perfect. Other tenses are formed regularly (examples in the first and third persons singular): pres.-future: *a-bó-m, abe* (Pers. mišavam); preterit: *bodom, bu* (Pers. šodam); past prog.: 3sg *abu* (Pers. mišod); perfect prog.: *abostom*, *abode* (Pers. mišoda-am); subjunctive: *bobom, bebe* (merging with 'be' in neg. *nebom*; Pers. nabāšam, našavam); imperative: sg. *bebāš*, pl. *bebi*; subj. perfect: *bodezbom* (Pers. šoda bāšam; shared with 'be'). Periphrastic passive is formed with 'become', e.g., *goto abe* 'it is said', *goto bu* 'it was said', *goto bode* 'it has been said'.

23. Possession

There is no verb 'have' in Khonji. Possession is expressed in two ways, both employing experiencer/locative constructions involving the third person singular copula with pronominal clitics as person markers.

[24] Note that *(h)od-* is also the past stem of 'sit' in its stative sense (§21). If they are cognate, the past copula may have evolved from a semantic shift from an original locative-existential meaning, signifying 'lie', 'rest'.

(a) Possession is generally expressed by pronominal clitics and the third person singular of the verb 'be': (present) *om=ha*, *otha, ošha, moha, toha, šoha,* alternatively, *omháste*, etc., neg. *omni/omniste*; (past) *om=hod, othod, ošhod, mohod, tohod, šohod*, neg. *omnehod*. Examples:

(30) *J̌amšid* *panǰ* *pos* *oš=hod*
PN 5 son PC.XPER.3SG=be.PST.3SG
'Jamshid had five sons.'[25]

(31) *balki* *en* *ketāb-o=om* *be*
maybe this book-DEIC=PC.XPER.1SG be.SBJV.3SG
'Maybe I have this book.' (Salāmi 2007: 341)

(b) Temporary possession, 'to be having, to have with self', is expressed by the base *bā́re*, as in *om= bā́re* 'I have', etc. Apparently *bā́re* consists of *bār* 'load, belongings' + 3sg. copula *-e*.[26] The preterit takes the pluperfect form: *om=bā́restu*, etc.[27] Compare:[28]

(32) – *pul=ot ha?* 'Do you have money?'

– *na, varšekast bostom.* 'No, I am broke.'

(33) – *pul=ot bāre?* 'Do you have cash on you?'

– *na, kif-e pul-om te xuna ǰā_m=nade.* 'No, I have left my wallet at home.'

24. Emerging Progressives

Progressive tenses in Khonji typically manifest through simple verb forms — present-future and imperfect (§17). This absence of periphrastic forms is emphasized by the native speaker Xonji (2009: 147-149) vis-à-vis Persian and English use of auxiliary verbs.

[25] Elicited from L. Xonji.

[26] I owe this analysis to the erudite review of this paper. Cf. *pūl-ot bā* 'you have money' in Kamioka et al. (1986: 24), where *bā* can be a short form of *bā́re*. Lāri, too, has both forms (ibid).

[27] Xonji 1999: 228.

[28] Xonji 1999: 177-178.

As if the dedicated form has grown too weak to express continuity of the action, auxiliaries are invoked: One is the particle *ase* (otherwise a preposition, §8), added optionally to reinforce progression: *(ase) Ali ded-ā-m* 'I am seeing Ali'.[29]

Moreover, Salāmi's data (2007: 342 f.) reveal three distinct Khonji constructions in response to Persian inquiries: (a) Simple verb forms, in agreement with Xonji's data, as in *šun=a-ke* 'they were doing' ~ 'they would do' ~ 'they used to do' in ex. 34. (b) Periphrasis using the spurious stem *dār-*, the present stem of Pers. dāštan 'to have', serving as an auxiliary — calquing Persian progressive tenses. Notably, the Khonji auxiliary introduces an experiencer aspect, and the preterit adopts the pluperfect form: *om=dār-essu*[30] in ex. 35 (c) Periphrasis employing *bār-*, the base accompanied by pronominal clitics to denote possession in Khonji (§23), as in ex. 36.

(34) *vakti* *ke* *seyl* *uma,*
when SUB flood come.PST.3SG.CRUSH
onyā *čekār-i_* *šun=a-ke*
they what-INDF AC.3PL=DUR-do.PST.SHORT
'What were they doing when it flooded?' (Salāmi 2007: 342)

(35) *om=dār-ess-u* *xiār* *lit* *m=a-ke,*
PC.XPER.1SG=have.Pers.-PP-be.PST.3SG.CRUSH melon slice AC.1SG=DUR-do.PST.SHORT

ke *angošt-om* *om=boli*
when finger-PC.POSS.1SG AC.1SG-cut.PST.SHORT
'I was cutting a melon, when I cut my finger.' (Salāmi 2007: 342)

(36) *om=bār-e* *levās-om* *vā-bar* *kerd-ā -m*
PC.XPER.1SG=load-be.PR.3SG dress-PC.POSS PRV-side do.PST-*Ā*-1SG
'I am putting on my clothes.' (Salāmi 2007: 343)

It should be evident that the compounds in sentences (35) and (36) share the same structure. Both must be borrowed recently from Persian (even Persian forms are relatively recent and not fully integrated into formal speech), which has also contaminated other living Iranian languages in this respect. The comparison of the two datasets (Xonji and Salāmi) highlights the value of older data in tracing language evolution. While these compounds can be emerging progressive forms, their authenticity remains in question. It is plausible that

[29] Xonji 2009: 45.
[30] Cf. *om=bā́r-estu* in §23.

the three sentences documented by Salāmi, appearing consecutively, likely from the same informant, were influenced by an elicitation method prompting the speaker to invent forms. This underscores the need for further fieldwork to ascertain whether periphrastic forms genuinely appear in natural speech beyond elicited examples.

25. Modal Forms

Constructions with the stems *(a)vest-* 'want, must' and *šā-/ša-* 'can, must, want'[31] are structured with the pronominal clitics acting as experiencers. The main verb is subjunctive if specific to a person and infinitive if general (ex. 41, 42). Both modal verbs exhibit complex conjugations, which study is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, I aim to explain the forms as illustrated in the examples below.

The verb *avesta* 'to want' (< Mid. Pers. abāyistan) has the possible present stem *(a)ve-* (< abāy-), which occurs only in the negative, e.g. *om=nāve* (ex. 37) (← na-ave or na-a-ve?), although it may be a truncated form of the past stem *(a)vest-*. The present merges with the present progressive by taking the morpheme *-ā-* (§14.5), with an ergative alignment, as in *m=avest-ā-e* or *m=a-vest-ā-e* 'I want,' literally, 'for me there is desire' (see also ex. 38). Otherwise, ergativity does not apply to present tenses regardless of transitivity (Table 3). The preterite merges with the imperfect in taking the durative marker *-a-* (ex. 38). The past participle appears as *vez-* (instead of the expected *vest-ez-; cf. *best-ez-* 'throw'), on which the subjunctive present is built; thus, 1sg. *m-avez-be*,[32] with plural clitics in longer, durative forms, as *šā-* in ex. 39 (← šo-a-vez- or šo-avez?).

(37) *om=nāve* *ke* *taxassos* *be-ger-om*
PC.XPER.1SG=NEG-want.PR SUB specialty SBJV-get-1SG
'I don't want to get a specialty.' (Xonji 2009: 317)

(38) *m=a-vest* *be-don-om*
PC.XPER.1SG=DUR-want.PST SBJV-know.PR-1SG

ammā *āla* *om=ne-vest-ā-e*
but now PC.XPER.1SG-NEG-want.PR-*Ā*-be.PR.3SG
'I wanted to know, but now I have no desire.' (Xonji 2009: 215)

[31] See also Dabir-Moqaddam 2014: §5.3.13.

[32] Corresponding with Pers. xwāsta bāšam.

(39) *mardom-e* *Kābol…* *aga* *šā=vez-be*
people-EZ PN if PC.XPER.3PL.DUR=want.PP-be.SBJV.3SG

ke *a* *Samarqand* *o-č-et…*
SUB PREP PN SBJV-go.PR-3PL
'If the people of Kabul want to go to Samarkand…' (Xonji 2009: 319)

(40) *del-om* *ša-y* *ke* *engo* *vā-mān-eš*
heart-1SG.POSS must-3SG SUB here PRV-stay.PR-2SG
'my heart desires that you stay here' (Salāmi 2007: 350)

(41) *me* *morḡ-o* *nā-šā* *xarda*
that hen-DEIC NEG.DUR-must eat.INF
'One shouldn't/can't eat that chicken.' (Xonji 2009: 223)

(42) *šomā* *tu=ya-šā* *en* *kār-o* *be-hel-i*
you.PL PC.XPER.2PL.NEG-can this work-DEIC SBJV-put.PR.-2PL
'You cannot do this work.' (Salāmi 2007: 340)

26. Lexicon

Compared to the heavily Arabicized formal Persian, the languages of southern Persia, including Lārestāni, have preserved a wealth of native words.[33] Although a comprehensive lexis of Khonji is beyond the scope of this study, a selection of Khonji words is listed below.

bač-basso 'miscarriage', *berozo* 'oven', *beu* 'bride', *bal* 'soil', *bard* 'stone', *babz* 'wasp', *bori* 'much', *buǰ* 'cork', *da(y)i, nana* 'mother', *dal* 'sparrow', *dāmu* 'maternal aunt', *dezax* 'hell', *(du)doma* 'hood, ceiling vent', *gahdim* 'north', *gerā* 'blaze', *helenǰak* 'swinging rope', *ǰā* 'room', *ǰōxan* 'stone mortar', *ǰunšur* 'bathhouse', *kala* 'hole (in walls)', *kalāt* 'fort', *kap* 'mouth', *kapferāxe* 'yawn', *kem* 'funnel', *key* (< *kas-) 'small', *kok* 'cough', *maš* 'fly', *maz* 'bee', *moh* 'palm', *mol* 'neck', *neyčit* 'straw mat', *nezbā* 'mist', *nāvā* 'waterway', *omǰal* 'cowife', *ōsu* 'winnowing fork', *oškom-ravešt* 'diarrhea', *pah* 'goat', *pahmezak* (Pers. bozmaǰa) 'lizard', *peleta* 'spark', *peva* (Pers. giǰgāh) 'temple', *pinǰa* 'finger', *pop* 'lung', *rāvand* 'coffin', *sangara* 'ice', *sendu* 'constipation', *songe, sag* 'dog', *sur, ser* 'salty', *šādi* 'monkey', *šāt* 'wax', *šek* 'owl', *taš* 'fire', *tela* 'newborn', *telaza* (Pers. zāʾu) 'puerpera', *xaǰa* 'firewood', *xars* 'tears', *xarčo* 'gutter', *xāg* 'egg', *xāla* 'maternal aunt', *xāle* 'maternal uncle', *xog* 'corner'.

[33] See Borjian 2019: §4.1.

ABBREVIATIONS

:	long vowel
:	separates present and past stems
_	phonological linker between words
-	morpheme separator
=	separates agent clitics
∅	zero morpheme
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person-agreement marker
-Ā-	present progressive marker (§14.5)
AC	agent clitic (§16)
-ĀST-	past and subjunctive progressive marker *-āst-, -āz-* (§14.6)
CAUS	causative (§12)
CLF	numeral classifier
COP	copula (Table 6)
CRUSH	crushed stem (third person singular) (§15)
DEF	definite *-é* (§4)
DEIC	deictic *-o* (§4)
DIMIN	diminutive (§4)
DUR	imperfective *a(d)-* (§14.2)
EPEN	epenthesis
EZ	ezafe (§4)
ex.	exampled sentence
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INTR	intransitive
NEG	negation, negative (§20)
OBJ	object
PC	pronominal clitic (Table 1)
Pers.	(modern) Persian
pl., PL	plural
PLUP	pluperfect
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive (§6.1)
PP	past participle formant *-est-, -ez-, -e* (§14.3-4)
PREP	preposition (§8)
pres., PR	present
PRFCT	perfect
PRV	preverb (§13)
PST	past
REFL	reflexive (§6.7)
SBJ	subject

SBJV	subjunctive/imperative (§18)
sg., SG	singular
SHORT	shortened or truncated stem (§11)
SUB	subordinator
TR	transitive
V	any vowel
XPER	experiencer (§23, §25)

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