

# **The Position of the Verbal Derivational Prefixes in the Sentence as a Distinguishing Feature of Persian Dialects from Other Southwest Iranian Dialects**

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**Abstract:** The article examines the position of verbal derivational prefixes in relation to the stem and verbal form markers as a distinguishing morphological feature of Persian dialects in comparison with other Southwest Iranian languages and dialects. Drawing on extensive material from Classical Persian, a wide range of modern Persian dialects of Iran and northwestern Afghanistan, as well as Dari, Tajiki, Bakhtiari and Caucasian Tati, the study demonstrates that Persian dialects are characterized by the relative independence of derivational prefixes, which are separated from the verbal stem by continuous, subjunctive/imperative and negative markers. By contrast, in the remaining Southwest Iranian (SWI) languages and dialects these prefixes generally constitute an inseparable part of the verbal stem. The article argues that this morphological feature provides an important criterion for distinguishing Persian dialects from other members of the Southwest Iranian group and contributes to a more precise understanding of their historical and typological relationships.

**Keywords:** Persian dialects; SWI languages and dialects; verbal derivation; derivational prefixes; Iranian dialectology

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## Introduction

An extremely important morphological distinguishing feature of Southwest Iranian (hereafter SWI) languages and dialects between themselves is related to prefixed verbs. This term denotes verbs that contain morphologically distinct prefixes<sup>1</sup> of word-building (derivational) nature (Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982: 144-145). *dar-*, *bar-/var-*, *farâ-* (in different phonetic variants) and some others, however, the most significant in the aspect considered in the present study are the first two, because they are found in the majority of SWI dialects. A brief historical overview is in order for a more complete consideration of this issue.

In the language of early classical Persian literature, these derivational prefixes or preverbs could either be separated from the verbal stem by means of *hamē*, *na-*, or adjoin the stem. In the latter case, *hamē* (originally an adverb, which in the late period, 13th-15th centuries, turned into a continuous prefix *mē-*), could be used separately from the verb, preceding or following it.<sup>2</sup>

The verbal prefix *dar-* goes back to *andar* with the original meaning of inward movement. In modern Persian of Iran, *dar-* combines both meanings: inward and outward movement. The former case refers to verbs meaning “entering a certain state”, while the latter - to verbs denoting movement in space. In modern Dari of Afghanistan and in Tajiki, this prefix has exclusively the first meaning.<sup>3</sup>

The present article, however, is concerned with the morphological rather than the semantic aspect of this distinction.

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<sup>1</sup> Another term applied to them is “preverbs”. But the term used to refer to these morphemes in this article is “derivational (word-building) prefixes” to be distinguished from verbal form markers: continuous prefix *mī-* (for Classical Persian), *mī-/mē-/mo-/mu-*, subjunctive/imperative prefix *bi-/be-/bā-/bo-*, and neg. prefix *na-/nā-/ne-*.

<sup>2</sup> As L. Paul points out, in Early New Persian (ENP), “The adverb *hamē* (later *mē*) could still complement the ENP present verb with an almost free position in the clause to give it a durative or progressive sense, and the particle/preverb *be* could precede the ENP present verb to emphasize its syntactic autonomy... Both *(ha)mē* and *be* would be grammaticalized as markers of the present indicative or subjunctive only in the course of the 10th-13th centuries; their usage in ENP is rather stylistic, and often unpredictable.” (Paul 2000).

<sup>3</sup> There is a hypothesis that *dār-* in verbs expressing the meaning of outward movement comes not from *andar*, but from *ba dar/be dār* (cf. modern Persian *be dār bordān* “to bring out”, etc.), but as a result of the loss of *an-* and *ba/be* and the contamination of phonetically identical verbs with opposite semantics, the prefix *dār-* in modern Persian combined both meanings.

### Historical Background: Prefixed Verbs in the Shahnameh

The following examples are drawn from the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi:

1. Verbs with the prefix **(an)dar-** (*andar/dar āmadan*, *andar/dar āvardan*, *andar/dar raftan*, *(an)dar guzaštan*, etc.):

*az-ō andar āmad hamē parvariš ki pōšīdanī nav bud-u nav xvariš*

“From him came education - the clothes were new, and the food”  
(from the Story of Kayumarth).<sup>4</sup>

*juhūd-u masihī namānad ba jāy dar ārad hamē dīn-i pēšin zi pāy*

“There will be neither Jew nor Christian left, he (the new messenger) will overthrow the old religion” (from the Story about Anushirvan’s dream and Buzurgmihr’s counsel).

*ō-rā gurd Šidūš dārad ba pāy ču kōh-ē hamē andar āyad zi jāy* (variant:  
*ki kōh-ē hamē andar ārad zi jāy*)

“The hero Shidush holds it (the banner) firmly, he moves from his place like a mountain (variant: “He removes the mountain from its place”)” (from the Story about “how Farud and Tukhar went to view the Host (Iranian host)”).

*naguftam man īn tā nagaštam yamī ba mayz-u xirad dar nayāmad kamī*

“I did not say this until I became sad, [and] my brain and wisdom did not diminish (lit.: diminution did not enter into my brain and wisdom)” (from the Story of Zal Consulting his Magi/Mubads about Rudabeh).

*či māya-i jahān-rā ba saxti bidāšt jahānāfarīn z-ō hamē dar guzašt*

“Since he (Zahak) held the foundation of the world in a tight grip, the Creator of the World turned away from him” (from the Story of how Gudarz and Piran arranged a battle of eleven combats).

2. Verbs with the prefix **bar-** (*bar āmadan*, *bar dāštan*, *bar darridan*, etc.):

*jahān čun ba zārī bar āyad hamē badō nek rōz-ē sar āyad hamē*

“When the world laments (lit.: comes into lamenting), its good times come to an end” (from the Story of twelve combats: Introduction).

*zi gard-i sipah havā šud nāpadīd bar āmad hamē tā ba xvaršēd jōš*

“Because of the dust [raised] by the army, the air became invisible, the turmoil reached (lit.: rose up to) [the very] sun” (from the Story of the seven labors of Rostam: return of Kavus to Iran).

<sup>4</sup> Here and below, the transcription and translation are mine.

*ču bēdād ō dādgar bar nadāšt jak-ē dādgar-rā bar ō bar gumāšt*

“Since he, the unjust (Zahak), did not accept a just Judge, [God] assigned him one just judge (Faridun)” (from the Story of twelve combats).

*yak-ē ō-vu dah nāmdārān(-i) Čīn hamē bar darridand rō-yi zamīn*

“He alone (lit.: one) and ten noble Chinese tore each other to pieces on the ground” (from the Story of how Borzu was/is trained by the pahlavāns of Turan);

These examples could have been significantly expanded by more quotes from the Shahnameh and other sources, but only one further addition, from J. Rumi, is given here:

*čūn xudā andar nayāyad dar ‘ayān nāyib-i haqq-and īn payyāmbārān*

“Since the Lord does not appear in a visible form, these messengers are the confidants of the True One” (Rumi. The Masnavi. Book 1. From the Story of “How the people of Jesus - on him be peace! - asked the amirs: which one of you is the successor?”).

The verb forms (prefixed verbs) in the examples above may be specified as follows, marking the position of *hamē* or the negative prefix in relation to the verb:

Present tense forms with *hamē* following the verb:

*dar ārad hamē, bar āyad hamē.*

Present tense with *hamē* before the verb:

*hamē andar āyad, hamē andar ārad.*

Past tense with *hamē* preceding the verb:

*hamē dar guzašt, hamē bar darridand.*

Past tense with *hamē* following the verb:

*andar āmad hamē, bar āmad hamē.*

Present and past tense with the negative prefix:

*andar nayāyad, dar nayāmad, bar nadāšt.*

These examples confirm that *hamē* can either immediately precede or follow the prefixed verb. At the same time, in the above cases, *hamē* does not “break” the integrity of the verb and is not wedged anywhere between the derivational prefix and the stem proper. However, the fact that the derivational prefix has not completely become a single unit with the stem and has retained a certain independence from it, is confirmed by the negative forms of both tenses, in which the negative prefix *na-* stands between the derivational prefix and the stem.

### **Prefixed Verbs in Modern Dialects: Languages with Inseparable Prefixes**

In the process of evolution of the New Persian language and its division into three forms: Modern Persian (Iran), Dari of Afghanistan (Afghan-Persian) and Tajiki of Central Asia, prefixed verbs underwent changes, at least at the level of the dialects of these languages. Thus, in the Persian dialects of Iran, the derivational prefixes have not only retained their independence, but also seem to acquire even greater independence compared to the language of early classical literature. While in the examples above *hamē* precedes or follows the prefixed verb, but does not come in between the derivational prefix and the stem, in modern Persian of Iran, *mi-*, which has originated from *hamē*, always stands between them, as will be discussed in more detail below.

### **Dari and Tajiki Dialects**

In the Dari and Tajiki dialects, the number of prefixed verbs is considerably limited compared to modern Persian dialects. Thus, the authors of the section on Persian, Dari and Tajiki languages, in the multi-volume work *Fundamentals of Iranian linguistics*, rightly note: "The range of use of preverbs (the number of verbs combined with them) is widest in the classical Persian-Tajiki language. In modern languages, it has narrowed, and, if dictionaries are to be believed, in Tajiki and Afghan Dari, there are significantly fewer prefixed verbs than in modern Persian" (Efimov et al. 1982: 146).

Although these derivational prefixes are unproductive in Tajiki and Dari, the dialects of both these closely related languages have a limited number of extremely common prefixed verbs. Their fundamental difference from the corresponding verbs in Persian dialects is that the derivational prefixes in them are an integral part of the verb stem and are not separated from it by the verbal form markers *mē-*, *bi-/bē-/bu-/bo-* and *na-*.<sup>5</sup> It primarily concerns verbs that are widely used in almost all the dialects of Dari and Tajiki: *darāmadan* (Tajiki *daromadan*) "to enter", *darāwordan* (*darovardan*) "to bring in/inside", *wardāstan* (*bardoštan/vardoštan*) "to take, to lift", *barāmadan* (*baromadan*) "to come out", *barāwordan* (*barovardan*) "to pull out", as well as some others that are specific only to certain dialects. This may be illustrated with examples from the Tajiki dialects, beginning with the northern ones. The Bukhara dialect is presented first (see Table 1).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In literary Dari, there is no uniform norm yet for prefixed verbs. Therefore, the use of *mē-* and *na-* with these verbs (i.e. their position in relation to the verbs they modify) largely depends on the authors' stylistic preferences and the influence of the Persian of Iran. The present article, however, is devoted to the situation in the living dialects.

<sup>6</sup> The examples below are taken from Kerimova (1959: 32–33). Here and throughout the article, Cyrillic has been replaced with the Latin script.

**Table 1.** Present indicative conjugation of the prefixed verbs *baromadan* ‘to come out’ and *daromadan* ‘to enter’ in the Bukhara Tajik dialect

|       | Pers. | <b><i>baromadan</i></b> “to come out” | <b><i>daromadan</i></b> “to enter” |
|-------|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sing. | 1     | <i>mēburom</i>                        | <i>mēdarom</i>                     |
|       | 2     | <i>mēburoi, mēburoêd / mēburoêt</i>   | <i>mēdaroi, mēdaroêd(/t)</i>       |
|       | 3     | <i>mēburod / mēburot</i>              | <i>mēdaroyad / mēdarot</i>         |
| Pl.   | 1     | <i>mēburoêm</i>                       | <i>mēdaroêm</i>                    |
|       | 2     | <i>mēburoêton</i>                     | <i>mēdaroêton</i>                  |
|       | 3     | <i>mēburon</i>                        | <i>mēdaron</i>                     |

The same pattern is also attested in other Tajiki dialects, as illustrated by the following examples.

The variety of Roy:

*dar-a ela kadām ki šamol bēdaroya<sup>7</sup>*

“I opened the door that the breeze may get in” (Bogorad 1956: 183).

The variety of Panjikand:

*vazir guft ki: e, taqsir poššo, tu dūra mēburori,<sup>8</sup> ayb-as*

“Oh, your majesty padishah, you are taking out pearls, it is shameful” (Ivanova 1956: 297, № 159).

*hejjo naburomat<sup>9</sup> akoš*

“His brothers didn’t go out anywhere” (Ivanova 1956: 296, № 103).

*kal guft: “ne, hejjo-ba nadaromadim”<sup>10</sup>*

“The bald man said: “No, I didn’t go anywhere”<sup>11</sup> (Ivanova 1956: 305, № 52).

The same situation is observed in the Dari dialects of Afghanistan (with the exception of those spoken in the far north-west of the country, which belong to the Khorasani group of Persian dialects): *mē-* and *na-* precede the derivational prefixes *dar-* and *bar-/war-*. Since this pattern has already been described in detail by A. Farhâdi (1955), it is sufficient here to cite representative personal forms of the verbs *darâmadan*, *barâmadan*, *wardâštan* and *farâmadan* from the most representative dialect of the region, namely Kabuli: *medrâyom*, *mebrâyom*, *namebrâyom*, *mēwardârom*, *namēwardârom*, and *mēfrâyom* (Farhâdi 1955: 76; cf. 91, 96).<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Pres. sub. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. of the verb *daromadan*.

<sup>8</sup> Pres. indic. 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. of the verb *barovardan*.

<sup>9</sup> Past abs. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. of the verb *baromadan* with the negative prefix.

<sup>10</sup> Past abs. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. of the verb *daromadan* with the negative prefix.

<sup>11</sup> Lit. “We didn’t go anywhere”.

<sup>12</sup> The original transcription has been slightly modified.

imperative forms with the negative prefix are *nadrây*, *nabrây*, and *nafrây* (Farhâdi 1955: 91). The same pattern is likewise attested in the following lyrical rustic quatrain from the Kabuli dialect with the verb *wardâštan*:

*gol mēkâštom, gol-e golâb mēkâštom*

“I would have planted flowers, planted roses,

*xâk-e qadam-et ba dida mēwardâštom*

“I would have pressed<sup>13</sup> the soil from under your feet<sup>14</sup> to my eyes<sup>15</sup>” (Šu‘ur 1974: 168).

Further evidence is provided by the following Kabuli proverbs containing the verbs *barâmadan* and *darâmadan*:

*(h)ar čiz-ê ke da dēg as da čamča mēbrâya*<sup>16</sup>

“Everything that is in the cauldron, comes out in the ladle” (Rābīn 1986: 32).

*az i gôš mēdrâya az u gôš mēbrâya*

“[A word] goes into this ear, comes out of that ear” (Rābīn 1986: 2).

### Bakhtiari Dialects

This feature is also attested in other SWI languages and dialects, both within and beyond Iran. In the Bakhtiari dialects, the derivational verbal prefixes *dar-*, *der-*, *vor-* and *vā-* correspond to Persian *dar-*, *bar-* and *vā-* (< *bāz-*). These prefixes occur in verbs such as *deraworden* “to remove”, *vorčarden* “to crawl”, and *vorğeližniden* “to devour”. As in Tajiki and Dari, but unlike Persian, they form an integral part of the verbal stem in most cases (past: *deraword-*, non-past: *derar-*; past: *vorčard-*, non-past: *vorčar-*; past: *vorğeližnid-*, non-past: *vorğeližn-*), while the form markers *e-/ī-* (cf. Persian *mi-*), *be-*, and the negative prefix *na-* precede, rather than follow, these derivational prefixes: *naderaword* “he/she did not remove”, *ederare* “he/she removes/is removing”, and *bederare* “so that he/she may remove” (Anonby and Asadi 2014: 124–127, 134, 149–151).<sup>17</sup> For the sake of clarity, the conjugation paradigms of these verbs, based on the data presented in Anonby and Asadi (2014: 134–135, 149–151), are provided in Tables 2–4.

<sup>13</sup> Lit. “taken up”.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. “steps”.

<sup>15</sup> A traditional expression of profound respect and admiration.

<sup>16</sup> In the Herati variant of the same proverb, the prefix *mi-* follows the derivational prefix *bar-*: *(h)ar či be dig/dēg bāšē be čōwli bar-miāye* (see the discussion of the Herati dialect below).

<sup>17</sup> See also Taheri-Ardali et. al., 2025: 22.

**Table 2.** Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb *deraworden* – to remove (non-past stem: *derar-*, past stem: *deraword-*): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative, negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 134–135)

|                                        | Singular            |                    |                   | Plural              |                     |                     |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                        | 1                   | 2                  | 3                 | 1                   | 2                   | 3                   |
| Present<br>(progressive)<br>indicative | <i>ederarom</i>     | <i>ederani</i>     | <i>ederare</i>    | <i>ederarin</i>     | <i>ederarin</i>     | <i>ederaren</i>     |
| Negative<br>present                    | <i>neyderarom</i>   | <i>neyderani</i>   | <i>neyderare</i>  | <i>neyderarin</i>   | <i>neyderarin</i>   | <i>neyderaren</i>   |
| Past                                   | <i>derawordom</i>   | <i>derawordi</i>   | <i>deraword</i>   | <i>derawordin</i>   | <i>derawordin</i>   | <i>deraworden</i>   |
| Negative past                          | <i>naderawordom</i> | <i>naderawordi</i> | <i>naderaword</i> | <i>naderawordin</i> | <i>naderawordin</i> | <i>naderaworden</i> |
| Subjunctive                            | <i>bederarom</i>    | <i>bederani</i>    | <i>bederare</i>   | <i>bederarin</i>    | <i>bederarin</i>    | <i>bederaren</i>    |
| Negative<br>subjunctive                | <i>naderarom</i>    | <i>naderani</i>    | <i>naderare</i>   | <i>naderarin</i>    | <i>naderarin</i>    | <i>naderaren</i>    |
| Imperative                             | <i>derarom</i>      | <i>derar</i>       | <i>derare</i>     | <i>derarin</i>      | <i>derarin</i>      | <i>deraren</i>      |
| Negative<br>imperative                 | <i>naderarom</i>    | <i>naderar</i>     | <i>naderare</i>   | <i>naderarin</i>    | <i>naderarin</i>    | <i>naderaren</i>    |



**Table 3.** Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb *vorčarden* - to crawl (non-past stem: *vorčar*-, past stem: *vorčard*-): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative and negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 149-150)

|                                         | Singular                     |                    |                    | Plural             |                     |                     |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                         | 1                            | 2                  | 3                  | 1                  | 2                   | 3                   |
| <b>Present (progressive) indicative</b> | <i>evorčarom</i>             | <i>evorčari</i>    | <i>evorčare</i>    | <i>evorčarim</i>   | <i>evorčarin</i>    | <i>evorčaren</i>    |
| <b>Negative present</b>                 | <i>nejuvorčarom</i>          | <i>nejuvorčari</i> | <i>nejuvorčare</i> | <i>evorčarim</i>   | <i>nejuvorčarin</i> | <i>nejuvorčaren</i> |
| <b>Past</b>                             | <i>vorčardom</i>             | <i>vorčardi</i>    | <i>vorčard</i>     | <i>vorčardim</i>   | <i>vorčardin</i>    | <i>vorčarden</i>    |
| <b>Negative past</b>                    | <i>navorčardom</i>           | <i>navorčardi</i>  | <i>navorčard</i>   | <i>navorčardim</i> | <i>navorčardin</i>  | <i>navorčarden</i>  |
| <b>Subjunctive</b>                      | <i>bevorčarom / vorčarom</i> | <i>bevorčari</i>   | <i>bevorčare</i>   | <i>bevorčarim</i>  | <i>bevorčarin</i>   | <i>bevorčaren</i>   |
| <b>Negative subjunctive</b>             | <i>navorčarom</i>            | <i>navorčari</i>   | <i>navorčare</i>   | <i>navorčarim</i>  | <i>navorčarin</i>   | <i>navorčaren</i>   |
| <b>Imperative</b>                       | <i>vorčarom</i>              | <i>vorčar</i>      | <i>vorčare</i>     | <i>vorčarim</i>    | <i>vorčarin</i>     | <i>vorčaren</i>     |
| <b>Negative imperative</b>              | <i>navorčarom</i>            | <i>navorčar</i>    | <i>navorčare</i>   | <i>navorčarim</i>  | <i>navorčarin</i>   | <i>navorčaren</i>   |

**Table 4.** Conjugation of the Bakhtiari verb *vorğeližniden* - to devour (non-past stem: *vorğeližn*-, past stem: *vorğeližnid*-): present, negative present, past, negative past, subjunctive, negative subjunctive, imperative and negative imperative (Anonby & Asadi 2014: 150-151)

|                                        | Singular                               |                       |                        | Plural                 |                        |                        |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
|                                        | 1                                      | 2                     | 3                      | 1                      | 2                      | 3                      |
| Present<br>(progressive)<br>indicative | <i>evorğeližnom</i>                    | <i>evorğeližni</i>    | <i>evorğeližne</i>     | <i>evorğeližnim</i>    | <i>evorğeližnin</i>    | <i>evorğeližnen</i>    |
| Negative<br>present                    | <i>neyvorğeližnom</i>                  | <i>neyvorğeližni</i>  | <i>neyvorğeližne</i>   | <i>neyvorğeližnim</i>  | <i>neyvorğeližnin</i>  | <i>neyvorğeližnen</i>  |
| Past                                   | <i>vorğeližnidom</i>                   | <i>vorğeližnidi</i>   | <i>vorğeližni(d)</i>   | <i>vorğeližnidim</i>   | <i>vorğeližnidin</i>   | <i>vorğeližnidən</i>   |
| Negative<br>past                       | <i>navorğeližnidom</i>                 | <i>navorğeližnidi</i> | <i>navorğeližni(d)</i> | <i>navorğeližnidim</i> | <i>navorğeližnidin</i> | <i>navorğeližnidən</i> |
| Subjunctive                            | <i>bevorğeližnom /<br/>vorğeližnom</i> | <i>bevorğeližni</i>   | <i>bevorğeližne</i>    | <i>bevorğeližnim</i>   | <i>bevorğeližnin</i>   | <i>bevorğeližnen</i>   |
| Negative<br>subjunctive                | <i>navorğeližnom</i>                   | <i>navorğeližni</i>   | <i>navorğeližne</i>    | <i>navorğeližnim</i>   | <i>navorğeližnin</i>   | <i>navorğeližnen</i>   |
| Imperative                             | <i>vorğeližnom</i>                     | <i>vorğeližn</i>      | <i>vorğeližne</i>      | <i>vorğeližnim</i>     | <i>vorğeližnin</i>     | <i>vorğeližnen</i>     |
| Negative<br>imperative                 | <i>navorğeližnom</i>                   | <i>navorğeližn</i>    | <i>navorğeližne</i>    | <i>navorğeližnim</i>   | <i>navorğeližnin</i>   | <i>navorğeližnen</i>   |

The following examples illustrate the same phenomenon:

*sad veréise čapeti gān-e ī-der-ārum*<sup>18</sup>

“I will pull the bull out of the depths that require a hundred wide ropes with a pattern” (Kerimova 1982: 302).

*ču ham ze men-e pā-s hani na-der-avod-e*

“The stick was still stuck in his leg”<sup>19</sup> (Taheri-Ardali et. al. 2025: 22).

### Tati Dialects of the Caucasus

In the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, the SWI varieties most closely related to Persian, Dari and Tajiki (especially the former), derivational verbal prefixes, as in Dari and Tajiki dialects, are inseparable from the verbal stem. The inflectional markers *mi-/mū-/mu-* (cf. Persian *mi-*), *bā-/bu-* (cf. Persian *be-/bo-*), and the negative prefixes *nā-* and, in the imperative, *mā-* (cf. Persian *nā-, mā-*) precede the derivational prefixes.

Tati possesses a considerable number of prefixed verbs. The discussion below, however, is limited to some of the most common formations that also occur in Persian, Dari and Tajiki, despite minor phonetic differences. These include:

*djrmārān* (southern Tati), *dirmore* (northern Tati) [stems: *djṛā-: djṛāmar-*] “to go out”,<sup>20</sup>

*djrvārdān* [*djṛār-: djṛvārd-*] “to extract”,<sup>21</sup>

*fjrmārān* [*fjṛā-: fjṛmār-*] “to descend”.<sup>22</sup>

#### 1. *djrmārān*<sup>23</sup>

*ā tkun mām midyrei,<sup>24</sup> kymāk nānsei*

“He will leave<sup>25</sup> from my shop, he will not help me” (Grjunberg1963a: 76, 79).

*tatihā nādjrmare<sup>26</sup> ā biyār tj?*

“Haven’t you forgotten the Tati [words] yet? <sup>27</sup> (Grjunberg1963a: 147).

<sup>18</sup> Here and below, the original transcription is preserved.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. “The stick wouldn’t/didn’t come out of his leg”.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Classical Persian *dar āmadan*.

<sup>21</sup> cf. Classical Persian *dar āvardan*.

<sup>22</sup> cf. Classical Persian *furō āmadan*.

<sup>23</sup> Here and below, the transcription used by Grjunberg (1963a) has been slightly modified to conform to the system employed in Grjunberg and Davydova (1982).

<sup>24</sup> The underlined verb is in the future potential tense, which corresponds formally to the Classical Persian present-future tense (Grjunberg and Davydova 1982: 268).

<sup>25</sup> Lit. “will come out”.

<sup>26</sup> The underlined form is in the perfect tense with the negative prefix *nā-*.

<sup>27</sup> Lit. “Have the Tati [words] not yet left your memory?”

*bā aftā batān tǝ mādǝra,<sup>28</sup> mǎn dǝram*

“She says to the sun – you don’t rise, I will rise”<sup>29</sup> (Grjunberg 1963a: 200).

## 2. *dǝrvārdān*

*pul bā jib mǎn birān bumiduardǝm,<sup>30</sup> midārǝm*

“If I had money in my pocket, I would take it out and give it to you” (Grjunberg 1963a: 84, Grjunberg and Davydova 1982: 277).

*imúnā ā biyār mādurār<sup>31</sup>*

“Don’t forget us”<sup>32</sup> (Grjunberg 1963a: 183).

## 3. *fǝrmārān*

*duxtār ā ās mifǝrei<sup>33</sup>*

“The girl dismounts/is dismounting the horse” (Grjunberg 1963a: 75).

Further examples of verb forms derived from the infinitive with the form markers are given below:

*hāčini ki variš varist—midǝrmarānim bā sārbyn*

“As soon as it starts to rain, we go out onto the roofs” (Grjunberg 1963a: 110).

*mǝdǝrmarān yā kām bā rah* (Grjunberg 1963a: 149).

“He sets out<sup>34</sup> on a journey” (Grjunberg 1963a: 149).

*sātā balā šir, Mālik-Jǝmšǝd, ās bādǝrmarānund ā øǝšā bā kinār*

“Three lion cubs, Melik-Jumšid, and a horse come out of the forest” (Grjunberg 1963a: 196).

*mǝduvardān/miduardān panj manāta*

“He pulls out five rubles” (Grjunberg 1963a: 150).

*dārvīš ā kisā xištān yā sib bādurvardān*

“The dervish takes an apple out of his pocket” (Grjunberg 1963a: 189).

*ā kāmār ān qatǝr mǝfǝrmarān*

“He dismounts the mule” (Grjunberg 1963a: 151).

<sup>28</sup> Imperative form marked by the negative prefix *mā-*

<sup>29</sup> A phrase used to describe a girl’s beauty. Cf. the corresponding phrase/proverb in the Persian dialects cited below.

<sup>30</sup> Past continuous tense expressing a conditional or impossible action; the underlined verb is marked by the two form markers *bu-* and *mi-*.

<sup>31</sup> Imperative form with the negative prefix *mā-*.

<sup>32</sup> Lit. “Don’t bring us out of your memory”.

<sup>33</sup> The underlined verb is in the future potential tense.

<sup>34</sup> Lit. “goes out”.

A particularly noteworthy feature is that, unlike Tajiki and Dari, where derivational prefixes form a single unit with the stem only in a limited number of high-frequency prefixed verbs, in the Tati dialects of the Caucasus they have become an inseparable part of the stem in all verbs containing such prefixes. This phenomenon is illustrated by the derivational prefix *vā-*, corresponding to Classical Persian *bar-*:<sup>35</sup>

*ägär ä pič zu-zu xaskärä nävägiri, un pič xub nāmsuzu*

“If you do not regularly remove the ashes from the stove, the stove will not heat up properly” (Grjunberg 1963a: 76).

The form *nävägiri*, in which *nä-* is the negative marker, is derived from the verb corresponding to *bar giriftan* in Classical Persian, demonstrating that the derivational prefix *vā-* has become an inseparable part of the verbal stem.<sup>36</sup>

### **Persian Dialects: Languages with Separable Prefixes**

The SWI languages and dialects in which the derivational prefixes of all or a number of widely used verbs are inseparable from the verb stem by verbal form markers have been considered above. The discussion now turns to the dialects in which they are separated. These are the dialects of the Persian language proper. As G. Lazard rightly pointed out, “Preverbs are ancient adverbs that are no longer found as such in contemporary language and whose original meaning is more or less blurred in the prefixed verb. Preverbs usually precede the verb form itself; verbal prefixes and the negative [marker] are placed between the preverb and the verb stem” (Lazard 1957: 284).<sup>37</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that linguistic boundaries do not coincide with political ones, i.e. with the borders of states. Within the Persian-Dari-Tajiki dialect continuum, the area of Persian dialects begins not with the Iranian-Afghan border, but with the territories of northwestern Afghanistan, where the dialects of the Afghan-Tajiki group are replaced by dialects of the

<sup>35</sup> For details, see Grjunberg and Davydova (1982: 264).

<sup>36</sup> For a fuller picture of the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, it is worth adding a few examples from Armenian Tati. Thus, *Ägä zu mebrej, nuna hazər k’ənəm* “If you leave early, I will prepare the meal” (Tonoyan 2025: 98) contains the form *mebrej*, corresponding to Dari *mēbarāyi* and Tajiki *mebaroyi*, and illustrating that the derivational prefix *bar-* has become an inseparable part of the verbal stem. Another example, although not involving a verb with the derivational prefix *bar-*, is equally significant because it contains the form *ma-bī-y-ār*, in which the prefix *bī-* (corresponding to Classical Persian *be-*) likewise forms an inseparable part of the verbal stem: *bō-ū țahar mabīyār* ‘Also, do not lead (lit. “bring”) us into temptation’ (from the Lord’s Prayer; see Tonoyan 2025: 82, 85, 87). The form *ma-bī-y-ār* is the negative imperative of the verb ‘to bring’.

<sup>37</sup> The translation is mine.

Khorasani group, which are a continuation of the realm of Khorasani dialects of Persian on the territory of Iran.<sup>38</sup> Among the Khorasani dialects spoken in present-day Afghanistan, Herati is the most prominent.

### Herati and the Khorasani Dialects

In Herati, *war-/wor-* and *dar-* do not form part of the verb stem but remain separable during conjugation, being separated from the stem by the cont. prefix *mi-/mê-* or the neg. prefix *na-*. This is illustrated by *war-midâre* “he/she raises, takes” (pres. ind., 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.), *war-midištim* “we were taking” (past cont., 1<sup>st</sup> pl.), *vor-nadâr* “do not take!” (neg. imp., sing.), *war-nemiâya* “it does not rise” (pres. ind., 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the verb “to rise”, referring to dough), *dar-miâye* “he/she enters” (pres. ind., 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.).<sup>39</sup>

The conjugation of the first of the above-mentioned verbs is given below (see Table 5). As in the other forms discussed above, the derivational prefix also remains separated from the verb stem in the negative imperative: *vor-nadâr*.

**Table 5.** Present indicative and past continuous conjugation of the Herati verb *war-dâštân* “to raise, to take”

|          | Pers. | Present indicative                         | Past continuous             |
|----------|-------|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Singular | 1     | <i>war-midârom</i>                         | <i>war-midištom</i>         |
|          | 2     | — <sup>40</sup>                            | —                           |
|          | 3     | <i>war-midâre/vor-midârə, war-namêdâre</i> | <i>var-midiš, vor-nadiš</i> |
| Plural   | 1     | <i>war-midârim/vor-midârim</i>             | <i>war-midištim</i>         |
|          | 2     | —                                          | —                           |
|          | 3     | —                                          | —                           |

The same verb may be considered in the dialect of Qayen (a city located in the southern part of Iranian Khorasan), as presented below (see Table 6):

<sup>38</sup> This issue is covered in detail in a number of the present author’s works (see Ioannesyan 2000; 2010 etc.).

<sup>39</sup> Examples from the Herati dialect were collected by me during field research in Afghanistan, which formed the basis of many of my works (see, e.g., Ioannesyan 1999, 2000, 2009, 2010).

<sup>40</sup> In this and the following table, — indicates that the corresponding form is not attested in the available source material.

**Table 6.** Present indicative, past continuous and future conjugation of the verb *vār-dāštan* “to take” in the dialect of Qayen

|       | Pers. | Present indicative               | Past continuous                   | Future tense                    |
|-------|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sing. | 1     | <i>vār-medārom</i> <sup>41</sup> | <i>vār-medāštom</i> <sup>42</sup> | <i>va-xom dāš</i> <sup>43</sup> |
| Pl.   |       | —                                | —                                 | <i>vār-xā dāšt-em</i>           |

Comparable forms of the verb “to take, to raise” are also attested in other Khorasani dialects. Thus, the dialect of Mashhad preserves forms such as *var-mādarōm* (pres. indicative, 1<sup>st</sup> sing.) and *var-nādāš* (past absolute, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., negative) (Massé 1925: 108, 115).<sup>44</sup> In the dialect of Birjand, the corresponding forms include *war-nadīštā-ye* (perf. tense, 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., negative) and *wār-nedāri* (pres. subjunctive, 2<sup>nd</sup> sing., negative) (Ivanow 1928: 256, 321). Additional examples from different Khorasani varieties (Birjandi, Mashhadi, and Qayeni) are presented below.

The variety of Birjand: *dār-miād* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. of the verb “to come/go out” (Ivanow 1928: 255).

The variety of Mashhad: *dār-mārāftān* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. of the verb “to run away” (Massé 1925: 120).

The variety of Qayen: *dār rā dā-nābandi* (<*dār-nābandi*)/*dār rā dā-maban* “Don’t shut the door” (Zomorrodian 1974: 111, 112).

The dialect of Birjand attests the prefixed verb with the same meaning (*varbastā[n]*): *var-mābandey* (imperative pl. with the negative prefix) “don’t shut the door” (Režā’i 1998: 295) and *dor sera-r dā-nabastam* “I didn’t shut the door” (Režā’i 1998: 340).

<sup>41</sup> See Zomorrodian 1974: 93. Here and below, the original transcription has been slightly changed.

<sup>42</sup> See Zomorrodian 1974: 97.

<sup>43</sup> See Zomorrodian 1974: 93. The dialects of southern Khorasan in Iran employ future-tense forms similar to the future categorical tense of standard Persian in that they likewise use the auxiliary verb *xāstan*. They differ from standard Persian, however, in that the personal endings in the plural are attached not to the auxiliary verb but to the lexical verb. Of particular relevance here is the fact that the lexical verb is consistently inserted between the derivational prefix and the stem, highlighting the relative independence of the prefix.

<sup>44</sup> Here and below, the original transcriptions have been slightly modified.

### Sistani Dialect

In the Sistani dialect of Persian, spoken to the south of Khorasan,<sup>45</sup> the published evidence indicates that derivational verbal prefixes are likewise separable from the verb stem. The following examples illustrate this pattern:

*mešmâ va-mdârən<sup>46</sup> u xalguškúna, merat<sup>47</sup>*

“We’ll take these rabbits and leave” (Grjunberg 1963b: 82).

*az ami gall-â vār m-dišt-ē<sup>48</sup>*

“They used to pick up this very mud” (Ahangar 2010: 27-28).

*amtéykā xušā-ra mgiri, yak karāt fūr-māmāl<sup>49</sup>*

“You take a bunch of grapes [and] rub them [between your palms]” (Grjunberg 1963b: 81, 85).

### Tehrani Dialect

Proceeding westward along the Persian–Dari–Tajiki dialect continuum, the discussion now turns to the dialect of Tehran. Spoken in the capital of Iran, it has exerted a considerable influence on other dialects of the country and most clearly reflects the characteristic features of the Persian dialect area. As in the Persian dialects of eastern Iran, derivational prefixes are separated during conjugation by verbal form markers, including the negative particle and even an enclitic pronoun:

#### 1. *vār-dāštān*

*āb be āb boxore zur vār-midāre<sup>50</sup>*

“Water merges with water [and] gains strength” (Šahrī 2002: 16).

*pā-š ru mār bāše vār-nemidāre<sup>51</sup>*

“[Even if] his foot is on a snake, he won’t take it off”<sup>52</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 178).

<sup>45</sup> There is a settlement of Sistani speakers in the Serakhs region near the Turkmenistan–Iran border, whose inhabitants moved there from Sistan. Their dialect was studied by A. Grjunberg, who published a separate study on it (Grjunberg 1963b).

<sup>46</sup> Before a following vowel, the final *n* appears in the plural forms of all persons, as in *va-mdâr-ē-n-u* (Grjunberg 1963b: 86).

<sup>47</sup> The original transcription has been modified.

<sup>48</sup> The original transcription is preserved.

<sup>49</sup> The original transcription has been modified.

<sup>50</sup> *vār-midāre* - pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. The transcription of the examples from this source is mine.

<sup>51</sup> *vār-nemidāre* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing., negative.

<sup>52</sup> A proverb about a lazy person.



*bedehkâr age leng-e kâfš-eš âm part kone âdâm bâyâd vâr-eš-dâre*<sup>53</sup>

“If a debtor throws his shoe, one should pick it up”<sup>54</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 136).

*vāxt-i ke âks-eš-o vār-midâššân*<sup>55</sup> *mâm unjâ budim*<sup>56</sup>

“When they took pictures of him, we were there too” (Pejsikov 1960: 73).

## 2. *dār-âmādân*

*tâ bebini âz âb či dār-miyâd*<sup>57</sup>

“... so that you may see what comes of it/[is going] to happen” (Šahrī 2002: 198).

*do dâst be hām boxore âz tu-š sedâ dār-miyâd*

“If two hands are clapped together, a sound comes out of it” (Šahrī 2002: 16).

*dāmâg -eš-o bigiri jun-eš dār-miyâd*

“If you take him [by the] nose, his soul will leave him”<sup>58</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 318).

*sāng be sāng mixore âtiš dār-miyâd*

“When a stone hits [another] stone, fire is produced”<sup>59</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 381).

*hârf-i be del mišine ke âz del dār-biyâd*<sup>60</sup>

“[Only] a word that comes from the heart penetrates [another person’s] heart” (Šahrī 2002: 263).

*kârt be-h-eš mizâdi xun-eš dār-nemiyumâd*<sup>61</sup>

“If you struck him with a knife, his blood wouldn’t come out”<sup>62</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 450).

## 3. *dār-âvordân/ dār-âvârdân*

*âge gom kârdi pedâr-et-o dār-miyârâm*<sup>63</sup>

“If you lose [it], I’ll give you a good thrashing”<sup>64</sup> (Pejsikov 1960: 72).

<sup>53</sup> *vâr-eš-dâre* – pres. sub. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with an enclitic pronoun.

<sup>54</sup> Lit. “Whatever is obtained from a debtor is a blessing” (a proverb).

<sup>55</sup> *vār-midâššân* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> pl.

<sup>56</sup> The original transcription has been modified.

<sup>57</sup> *dār-miyâd* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>58</sup> Lit. “will come out”.

<sup>59</sup> Lit. “comes out”.

<sup>60</sup> *dār-biyâd* – pres. sub. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>61</sup> *dār-nemiyumâd* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>62</sup> Lit. “His blood froze in his body because of extreme anger” (Šahrī 2002: 450).

<sup>63</sup> *dār-miyârâm* – pres. indic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing.

<sup>64</sup> Lit. “bring your father out”.

*jik bezāni jikdun-et-o dār-miyārām*

“If you squeak, I’ll cut your throat” (Šahrī 2002: 237).

*sedâ-š-o dār-nâyâr*<sup>65</sup>

“Keep quiet about it”<sup>66</sup> (Šahrī 2002: 402).

It has already been noted above that in the versions of the same proverb in the Kabuli dialect of Dari and in Herati, the prefixes are used in accordance with the grammar of a particular dialect (see above). In Kabuli, the derivational prefix is inseparable from the stem (*mêbrâya*), while in Herati it is separated from the stem by the continuous prefix (*bar-miâye*). The same pattern is observed in the case of one of the proverbs in the dialect of Tehran cited above that is identical in meaning and expressed in similar language to its analogue in the Kabuli dialect of Dari:

Tehrani: *do dâst be hām boxore âz tu-š sedâ dār-miyâd* (Šahrī 2002: 16).

Kabuli: *az yak dast sadâ namêbrâya* (Rābīn 1986: 2).

“From one hand there is no sound”.<sup>67</sup>

### The Dialect of Isfahan

In the dialect of Isfahan, derivational prefixes are also separable from the verb stem, as illustrated by the following examples from different sources.<sup>68</sup>

#### 1. *dār-âvordân/dār-âvârdân*

*če nâvâ dār-miyâred!*<sup>69</sup>

“How he grimaces!” (Smirnova 1978: 81).

*dār-ârām, dār-nâyârām*<sup>70</sup> *pirân-e gol-e bâdumče-râ*

“Whether I take [it] out [or] I don’t take [it] out, the shirt with almond flowers” (Zhukovski 1902: 75).

*ege(r) vâsile-yi bud ke...bârâ(-yi) doxter-i pâdšâ(h) hendune*<sup>71</sup> *dār-miâvordim-o*<sup>72</sup> *mâye-yi nejât-i u mišodim če gâdr xub bud*

<sup>65</sup> *dār-nâyâr* – imperative sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>66</sup> Lit. “Don’t raise your voice about it”.

<sup>67</sup> It should be noted that, semantically, the verb *dār-âmâdân* in the Tehrani dialect and a number of other Persian dialects often corresponds to *barâmadan* in Dari dialects.

<sup>68</sup> The phonetic features of the Isfahan dialect may not be fully reflected in all the sources used here, but they accurately represent its morphology, which is of primary importance for the purposes of the present article.

<sup>69</sup> *dār-miyâred* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Transcription has been slightly modified.

<sup>70</sup> *dār-nâyârām* – pres. sub. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. with the negative prefix. Here and below, the romanized transcription is mine.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Smirnova 1978: 18.

<sup>72</sup> *dār-miâvordim* – past continuous 1<sup>st</sup> pl.

“If there were a way... that we could pull out a watermelon for the king’s daughter and save her (lit.: become a means of her salvation) it would be/have been so good!” (Amīnī 1960: 34).

*dār jāvāb-i mārdom hič nemigoft-o dām dār-nemiāvord*<sup>73</sup>

“He would not say anything in response to people and kept silent” (Amīnī 1960: 125).

*bečebāzi dār-nāyār*<sup>74</sup>

“Don’t be like a child”.<sup>75</sup>

## 2. *dār-āmādān*

*yā ez ġerāmāt-eš bāyesti dār-biyāyi*<sup>76</sup> *yā māl-i mār-rā bejuri*<sup>77</sup> *-vo bed(eh)ji*

“You should either make up for our loss or look for our property and give [it to us]” (Amīnī 1960: 6).

## 3. *vār-dāštān/bār-dāštān*

*pā-š ru mār bāšed vār-nemidāred*<sup>78</sup>

“[Even if] his foot is on a snake, he won’t take it off”<sup>79</sup>

*negāh-ām-rā ez in derāxt bār-nemidārām*<sup>80</sup>

“I won’t take my eyes off this tree” (Amīnī 1960: 84).

*xodā ez miyān bār-eš dared*<sup>81</sup>

“May God eliminate him” (Amīnī 1960: 54).

The last example, in which a pronominal enclitic indicating the object intervenes between the derivational prefix and the verbal stem, is of particular significance. A similar pattern is attested in the Tehran dialect (see the example above).

## 4. *bār-āmādān*

*vāli muš be ġadr-i ziyād bud ke [gorbe] meger pās bār-miāmād*<sup>82</sup>

“But the mice were so many that the cat could hardly cope with them” (Amīnī 1960: 135).

<sup>73</sup> *dār-nemiāvord* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>74</sup> *dār-nāyār* – imperative sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>75</sup> This example is taken from a website of Isfahani proverbs and sayings, available at [www.iran-eng.ir/threads/132489](http://www.iran-eng.ir/threads/132489) (accessed 26 June 2026).

<sup>76</sup> *dār-biyāyi* – pres. sub. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing.

<sup>77</sup> The Isfahani form *bejuri* corresponds to *bejuyi* (from *jostān* “to look for”) in standard Persian.

<sup>78</sup> *vār-nemidāred* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>79</sup> A proverb about a lazy person (cf. the corresponding proverb in the dialect of Tehran; see n. 52). For the source, see n. 75.

<sup>80</sup> *bār-nemidārām* – pres. indic. 1<sup>st</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>81</sup> *bār-eš dared* – pres. sub. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>82</sup> *bār-miāmād* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing.

*kār-i ez dess-eš bārā(yi) nejāt-i Malak Ebrāhim bār-nemiāmād*<sup>83</sup>

“He could do nothing to save Malak Ebrāhim” (Amīnī 1960: 154).

### Other SWI Dialects: Yazdi, Kermani, and Shirazi

Finally, a few examples from some other Persian dialects from Central and South-Western Iran are briefly considered below:

#### 1. The Persian dialect of Yazd:

*četow šodā ke čānd ruz-e nāxāš*<sup>84</sup> *bāzi dār-miyāri*?<sup>85</sup>

“How come you’ve been playing a game for a few unpleasant days”.<sup>86</sup>

*vā-xized, tu xunā dār-biyed*<sup>87</sup>

“Get up, come into the house (pl.)”<sup>88</sup>

#### 2. The Persian dialect of Kerman:

*be pār-o pāhām bār-miyāyān*<sup>89</sup>

“They are not inferior to each other” (Sotūdeh 1957: 31).

*xā(hā)r-eš-ru vār-midāre*<sup>90</sup> *vār rā miše tu rā xāste miše...*

“He takes his sister with him and sets off on a journey, [but] grows tired along the way ...”<sup>91</sup>

*bābā-t mägār bexābe? ey kale vār-nādāre*<sup>92</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *bār-nemiāmād* – past continuous 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>84</sup> In the Persian dialect of Yazd, the word corresponding to *xoš* (خوش) “nice, pleasant etc.” in standard Persian is pronounced as *xāš*, consequently, *nāxāš* corresponds to *nāxoš* (ناخوش) in standard Persian.

<sup>85</sup> *dār-miyāri* – pres. indic. 2<sup>nd</sup> sing.

<sup>86</sup> This example is taken from the poetry of a modern poet writing in the Yazdi dialect who refers to himself as “hamed zd”. His website is available at <https://yazdbax.blogfa.com/post/45> (accessed 26 June 2026). Here and below, the transcription and translation are mine.

<sup>87</sup> *dār-biyed* – imperative pl. It deserves noting that the verb *dār-umādān* in the dialect of Yazd has the same meaning as in Dari and Tajiki: “to go/come in” unlike many other Persian dialects of Iran where it is used in the opposite meaning: “to go/come out”.

<sup>88</sup> This example is taken from the same website cited in n. 86.

<sup>89</sup> *bār-miyāyān* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. The original transcription has been slightly changed.

<sup>90</sup> *vār-midāre* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>91</sup> This example is taken from a tale in the Kermani dialect, available at <https://payamema.ir/payam/articlerelation/9344> (accessed 26 June 2026). The romanized transcription is mine.

<sup>92</sup> *vār-nādāre* – pres. sub. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

“Isn’t your dad asleep? he wouldn’t lift (his) head [when he is sleeping]”.<sup>93</sup>

3. The dialect of Shiraz:

*tār miâyād xoşk dār-miâyād*<sup>94</sup>

“It goes in wet and comes out dry” (Zhukovski 1902: 178).

*âb mirize golâb vâr-midâre*<sup>95</sup>

“(She) pours water and gets (lit.: picks up) rose-water”.<sup>96</sup>

*vel-om bokon... išun bâyād yād bigire hame ju lutigâri vâr-nemedâre*<sup>97</sup>

“Let me alone... they/he/she should learn that generosity doesn’t work everywhere”<sup>98</sup>

*hey âz tu ġuti-š hârf dâr-miyâre*<sup>99</sup>

“He/she keeps pulling words out of his/her box”<sup>100</sup>

## Conclusion

The analysis of the SWI languages and dialects presented in this article has shown that they differ in the position of the continuous, subjunctive/imperative, and negative prefixes in the personal forms of a number of widely used prefixed verbs. This variation depends on whether the derivational prefixes form an inseparable unit with the verb stem or remain relatively independent. In some languages and dialects, the derivational prefixes are inseparable from the stem, whereas in others they retain a certain degree of independence and are separated from the stem during conjugation.

The study has further demonstrated that, in the Persian dialects of Iran and in the adjacent northwestern part of Afghanistan, represented by Herati, a continuation of the Khorasani Persian dialects and assigned here to the

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<sup>93</sup> This example is taken from the poetry of Fatemeh Lashkari, a modern poet writing in the Kermani dialect under the pen name “Rahil-e Kermani”, available at <https://niloofardarkavir.blogfa.com/post/39> (accessed 26 June 2026).

<sup>94</sup> *dār-miâyād* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. The romanized transcription is mine.

<sup>95</sup> *vâr-midâre* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>96</sup> This proverb about a thrifty housewife is taken from a website of proverbs in the Shirazi dialect, available at <https://www.delgarm.com/shirazi-proverb.a242671> (accessed 26 June 2026).

<sup>97</sup> *vâr-nemedâre* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. with the negative prefix.

<sup>98</sup> This and the following example are taken from a website in the Shirazi dialect, available at <https://setare.com/fa/news/640141> (accessed 26 June 2026). The romanized transcription is mine.

<sup>99</sup> *dâr-miyâre* – pres. indic. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing.

<sup>100</sup> A proverb which, according to Iranian sources, is used when somebody’s talking about a subject causes other subjects and words to come up.

Khorasani dialect group (the central group within the Persian–Dari–Tajiki dialect continuum), derivational prefixes are separated from the verb stem during conjugation. By contrast, in Dari (with the exception of Herati and the neighbouring varieties), Tajiki, the Bakhtiari dialects of Iran, and the Tati dialects of the Caucasus, the derivational prefixes of the verbs examined in this article form an inseparable part of the verb stem throughout conjugation.

The evidence presented here further suggests that the separability of derivational prefixes in this group of verbs constitutes an important distinguishing feature of the Persian dialects of Iran and the adjacent Khorasani dialects of northwestern Afghanistan in relation to the remaining SWI languages and dialects.

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