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The Bakhtiaris: an anthropological-linguistic lexical study of Haft Lang nomads of southwestern Iran

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CHAPTER SIX
VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

6 THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

The verbal system of Bakhtiari is based on two stems: present and past (6.2), two numbers, three persons and four moods: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative (6.6 and 6.7). Various tenses are formed by prefixing Tense-Aspect-Mood markers, henceforth TAM and Person-Agreement Markers, henceforth PAM, suffixed to present or past stems (6.3 and 6.4). The non-finite forms are the past/ passive participle (6.2.1 & 6.9) and the infinitive, which can both be made from the past stem by the addition of the suffix ***-e/-æ*** to form the participle (*χærð̣-* + *-e* >*χærð̣e* 'eaten') and the suffix ***-en*** to form the infinitive (*χærð̣-* + *-en* > *χærden* 'to eat'). The passive voice (6.9) and the causative (6.8) are marked by special formations, but in conjugation they are identical to active verbs.

In the following sections, first the Bakhtiari verbs/ infinitives are classified according to their formal structures (6.1). Then the building blocks of finite verb forms are introduced, beginning by past and present stem formations (6.2), followed by presenting agreement suffixes (6.3) and modal affixes (6.4). A detailed presentation of all verb forms, with their respective tables, will come after these introductory sections.

6.1 THE CLASSIFICATION OF BAKHTIARI VERBS/ INFINITIVES

In traditional Iranian grammars, the section on verbs begins with a discussion on different infinitive foms or ***mæsdær*** 'source, root, exporter', as it is called in Persian.[249] I follow this tradition, because in practice, dictionaries list verbs under their infinitive forms and then the present and past stems of each individual verb are mentioned. Therefore, to work with existing dictionaries or word lists, one should be able to first and foremost distinguish different infinitive forms, from which the past stem is easily extracted (6.1.2). Then, by applying the rules to extract present stems from the past stems, it is usually possible to construct all the regular verb forms. Some verb forms, though, are irregular.

249. The name and the tradition is Arabic-based and has been in use from the classical time (Perry 2005:177).

6.1.1 Formal classification

Formally, Bakhtiari verbs can be divided into three major groups: simplex, complex and compound verbs. By simplex verbs I mean one-word plain verbs:

Simplex verbs:
1. *ešmarḍen* 'to count' (اِشماردن)
2. *zæhesten* 'to become injured, to be beaten' (زَهستن)
3. *påhiḍen* 'to watch' (پُاهیدن)
4. *χårniḍen* 'to scratch' (خارنیدن)
5. *χæwniḍen* 'to put to sleep' (خَونیدن)
6. *gerevesten* 'to cry' (گیرِوِستن)

Complex verbs, on the other hand, are formed by prefixing a directional preverb of adverbial or prepositional origin to the simplex verbs:

Complex verbs:
1. *dær-gæšten* 'to capsize' (درگشتن)
2. *vær-holofniḍen* 'to worry, becoming upset' (ورهُلُفنیدن)
3. *der-ævorḍen* 'to take out' (دراوردن)
4. *ver-ævorḍen* 'to bring up; to raise' (وراوردن)
5. *vor-dašten* 'to pick up' (ورداشتن)
6. *va-dašten* 'to block; to encourage' (واداشتن)

Compound verbs, however, are mainly two-part verbs, consisting of a non-verbal element (NVE) such as a noun or adjective plus a simplex verb such as *kerḍen* 'to do'*, våbiḍen* 'to become'*, zeiḍen* 'to hit', *dašten* 'to have'*, vænḍen* 'to throw', among the most frequent ones:

Noun + verb:
1. *seil kerḍen* > look + to do = 'to look' (سیل کردن)
2. *lik zeiḍen* > scream + to strike = 'to scream, to cry' (لیک زیدن)
3. *tiə dašten* > eye + to have = 'to expect' (تییِه داشتن)
4. *tiə vænḍen* > eye + to throw = 'to look' (تییِه وندن)
5. *tiə wor-dašten* > eye + to pick up = 'to be hit by the evil eye'(تییِه وُرداشتن)

Adj. + verb:
1. *gæp våbiḍen* > big + to become = 'to grow up' (گپ وابیدن),
2. *gæp kerḍen* > big + to do = 'to raise (children); enlarge (an item)'(گپ کردن)

It is possible, however, for the NVE of compound verbs to have more than two parts or to be a phrase, in which case the different grammatical parts of speech are grouped in different arrangements:

(190) 1. *va-piš vænḍen* 'to advance, to have a preterm birth' (to-ahead/fore+throw): preposition – adjective (a phrase) + verb (وا پیش وندن)

2. *bor=o-band kerḑen* 'to slander, to ridicule' (cut – and – paste + do): verbal noun=conj-verbal noun + verb (بُر و بند کردن)
3. *niz*[250]*=o-naz kerḑe*n 'coquetry, whimpering (of a dog)' (howl – and – coquetry + do): noun = conj-noun + verb (نیز و ناز کردن)

This hands-on formal division of verbs, as simple and practical as it may be, does not give us much information about the semantic properties of verb classes or their morpho-syntactic behaviour. In the next section, I turn to the widespread practice in the western scholarship of presenting the verbs in terms of present and past root/stems. This division considers the infinitive form as a non-verbal form, and it identifies the verb stems as the main morpho-semantic part of any finite verb.

6.1.2 Past versus present stem formation

The present and past stems are the basis for conjugation and therefore provide a solid point for classifying verbs. The past stem is more regular and always ends in the post-dental approximant ***-ḑ*** after vowels, ***/n/*** and ***/r/***[251], and otherwise in ***-t***, as the examples below illustrate. In cases where there is a ***/h/*** in the stem, the ***/h/*** drops and vowel lengthening occurs; hence the appearance of *ḑ* at the end of the stem:

(191) 1. *ezmaiḑ-* 'tested' 2. *ræht->rēḑ-* 'went' 3. *kænḑ-* 'dug' 4. *ešmarḑ-* 'counted'
1. *bæft-* 'weaved' 2. *dašt-* 'had' 3. *reχt-* 'poured' 4. *bæst-* 'fastened'

The present stem is more complicated and its formation follows different patterns. In the following sections the stems have been divided according to the regularity or irregularity of their formations. A table, consisting of very frequent verbs is provided for each group.

6.1.2.1 Regular formation

In search for a pattern to explain the various past and present stem formations in Bakhtiari, Prods Oktor Skjærvø's description of parthian and Middle Persian verbs (Skjærvø 2009)[252] proved to be applicable, since the patterns which he identified at the Middle Iranian stage are still valid for Bakhtiari. In other words, it can be said that in Bakhtiari, as in the Middle Persian and parthian, verbs with past stems end-

250. *niz* is a short form of the noun *nizešt* 'howling of pain, sighing and moaning':

hæme	*æmšæw*	*goḑæšt-e*	*nizešt=es koš=mõ*^{w}
all	tonight	pass.PST=PTCP	howling=BP.3SG kill.prs=bp.1pl

The whole lastnight, we couldn't sleep because of his/ her/ its howling/ moaning!'

251. The class of phonemes called as [+ sonorant].

252. "Verbs with past stem ending in *-ist*, *-īd* (not parthian), or *-ād* (rare in Middle Persian, common in parthian) are 'regular', and the present stem is found by removing these endings, e.g. *dwār-/dwār-ist* 'run'; *purs-īd* 'ask'; *frēst- īd* 'send'; *est-ād* (*ēst-ād*) 'stand' (Skjærvø 2009: 213).

ing in ***-est***, ***-iḑ*** and ***-aḑ*** are regular. In order to form the present stem, it is enough to remove these endings. It should also be noted that there are some regular instances in the group of irregular verbs ending in ***-t*** and ***-ḑ*** . These regular verbs of the second category follow the pattern of the first regular category, as indicated in below table (numbers 15-18):

Table 6.1: Regular present and past stems

Regular present and past stems				
No.	**Infinitive**	**Past stem**	**Present stem**	**Gloss**
1	*pok-est-en*	*pok-est-*	*pok-*	to explode
2	*ænǰ-est-en*	*ænǰ-est-*	*ænǰeh-*	to be cut into pieces
3	*baz-est-en*	*baz-est-*	*baz-*	to dance
4	*baz-iḑ-en*	*baz-iḑ-*	*baz-*	to dance
5	*burn-iḑ-en*	*burn-iḑ-*	*burn-*	to moo; to low
6	*kuz-iḑ-en*	*kuz-iḑ-*	*kuz-*	to chew
7	*romb-iḑ-en*	*romb-iḑ-*	*romb-*	to collapse
8	*æšn-iḑ-en*	*æšn-iḑ-*	*æšn-*	to listen
9	*bahš-iḑ-en*	*bahš-iḑ-*	*bahš-*	to give, to forgive
10	*dærgen-iḑ-en*	*dærgen-iḑ-*	*dærgen-*	to turn over
11	*feš-n-aḑ-en*	*feš-n-aḑ*	*feš-n-*	to send
12	*ænǰen-aḑ-en*	*ænǰen-aḑ-*	*ænǰen-*	to cut into pieces
13	*ešken-aḑ-en*	*ešken-aḑ-*	*eškæn-*	(cause to) break
14	*ferešn-aḑ-en*	*ferešn-aḑ-*	*ferešn-*	to send
15	*košt-en*	*košt-*	*koš-*	to kill
16	*eškaf-t-en*	*eškaf-t-*	*eškaf-*	to split
17	*kæn-ḑ-en*	*kæn-ḑ-*	*kæn-*	to dig
18	*ešmar-ḑ-en*	*ešmar-ḑ-*	*ešmar-*	to count

For an extensive list of regular present and past stems see Appendix 1.

6.1.2.2 Irregular formation

Verbs with past stems ending in only ***-ḑ*** or ***-t*** are generally irregular and have unpredictable present stems. In example (192), the past stem of some verbs in *-ḑ/-t* is presented, followed by their irregular present stem form:

(192) 1. *daḑ-* / *d-* ‘to give’
2. *kerḑ-*/ *kon-* ‘to do’
3. *dašt-*/ *dar-* ‘to have’
4. *væst-*/ *of-* ‘to fall’

These two variants are phonologically conditioned in the sense that ***-ḍ*** appears after vowels and voiced consonants and ***-t*** after the voiceless consonants as illustrated in the above examples (192). Tables 6.2 and 6.3 provide a list of irregular present and past stems in Bakhtiari. The general tendency in these two classes of verbs is that the present stem is not predictable from its past form and it can have a completely different appearance (examples 2, 25 and 38 below). The change, however, is usually limited to a vowel change or the deletion, addition or modification of one or two phonemes:

Table 6.2: Irregular present stems of past stems ending in *-ḍ*

Past stems ending in -ḍ with irregular present stems			
No.	**Past stem**	**Present stem**	**Gloss**
1	æšnæhḍ-	*æšn-*	to know, to recognize
2	æworḍ-	*ar-*	to bring
3	behḍ-	*biz-*	to sieve
4	biəḍ-	*heḍ-*	to be
5	borḍ-	*bær-*	to carry, to take
6	daḍ-	*d-*	to give
7	esteiḍ-	*estun-*	to take, to buy
8	eveiḍ-	*a-*	to come
9	gerehḍ-	*ger-*	to grab, to buy, to take
10	kerḍ-	*kon-*	to do
11	morḍ-	*mir-*	to die
12	pohḍ-	*pæz-*	to cook
13	ræhḍ-	*re/æv-/r-*	to go
14	ronḍ-	*run-*	to drive; to push
15	zeiḍ-	*zæn-*	to beat, to hit
16	χærḍ-	*χor-/ χær-*	to eat

There is a small minority, as mentioned earlier, that have regular formations. To form their present stem, it is enough to drop the last phoneme (***-t*** or ***-ḍ***) from the past stem:

(193)
1. *ærḍ-* > *ær-* 'to grind, to mill'
2. *eškarḍ-* > *eškar-* 'to thank'
3. *ešmarḍ-* > *ešmar-* 'to count'
4. *kænḍ-* > *kæn-* 'to dig; plough; migrate; attack; loot; abort'

As stated above, when the penultimate phoneme of the past stem is ***/s/***, ***/š/***, ***/χ/*** or ***/f/***, then it will end in ***/t/*** as illustrated in the below table:

Table 6.3: Irregular present stems of past stems ending in *-t*

Irregular Past stems ending in -t			
No.	**Past stem**	**Present stem**	**Gloss**
21	*bæst-*	*bænd-*	to close, to fasten
22	*dær-gæšt-*	*dær.gæn-*	to capside, to become upside down
23	*dašt-*	*dar-*	to have
24	*duχt-*	*duz-*	to sew
25	*ešnaχt-*	*æšn-*	to know, to recognize
26	*gæšt-*	*gærǫ̣-*	to search; to roam
27	*gæšt-*	*gærǫ̣-*	to turn; to inherit
28	*gæšt-*	*gæz-*	to bite
29	*kešt-*	*kar-*	to grow, to plant
30	*koft-*	*kuv-*	to beat, to pound; to play the drum
31	*mest-*	*miz-*	to urinate
32	*nešæst-*	*nešin-*	to sit
33	*nevešt-*	*nivis-*	to write
34	*reχt-*	*riz-*	to pour
35	*roft-*	*ruv-*	to sweep
36	*šošt-*	*šur-*	to wash
37	*va-dašt-*	*va-dar-*	to keep, to stop
38	*væst-*	*of-*	to fall

Among the regular past to present stem formations with this ending are:

(194) 1. *bæft-* > *bæf-* ‘to knit’
2. *košt-* > *koš-* ‘to kill’

The stems presented in tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 will provide the basis upon which diverse tenses can be constructed. These stems can further be combined with some preverbs to form complex or preverbal verbs (6.1) with extended or completely different meanings; or they may be grouped as a compound verb with other verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs or a combination of non-verbal elements to convey semantics not predictable from the building parts; or eventually be affixed by different aspect, mood and agreement prefixes and suffixes to express different TAM forms. To begin the presentation of the finite verb, one has to know its building blocks. These will be introduced in the following sections, beginning with a discussion of the participles, the incorporation of which is essential in the formation of several finite verbs.

6.2 PARTICIPLES

participles can be considered as gerundives and as such are non-finite verbal forms, that is, they behave like an adjective or an adverb. There are two main forms of participles, one based on the past stem, and the other based on the present stem; each has its own structure and function which are explained in the following two sections

6.2.1 Past participle

The past participle is used for making passives (6.9) and certain tenses (6.6.2). It is formed by attaching an unstressed suffix ***-e*** or by ***-æ*** (the latter is used by elderly Bakhtiaris or in certain tribal varieties of the language) to the end of the past stem. The resulting form has an adjectival meaning. In (194: 1) the past participle is used to make a perfect subjunctive tense, while in (194:2) it is a verbal adjective with a passive meaning:

(195) 1. *hala* *va* *resiḑ-e* *bu-Ø*
now must ripen.PST-PTCP be.SBJV.PST.3SG
'(It) must have ripened by now.'

2. *hala* *va* *resiḑ-e* *bu-Ø*
now must ripen.PST-PTCP be.SBJV.PST-3SG
'(It) must be ripe by now. (a fruit)'

Although the (194:1) and (194:2) look the same im their surface structure, they are in fact quite different in their underlying structure and represent two totally different grammatical structures: the former is a Perfect Subjunctive form (an analytic tense paradigm) of an intran- sitive verb in 195.1. On the other hand, in 194.2 we have an independent copula (not an AUX) and the participle is used adjectivally. Note that the two forms, although identical on the surface, have contrasting meanings 'It must have ripened.' vs. 'It must be ripe.'

6.2.2 Present participle

The present participle is formed by attaching a stressed suffix ***-a*** to the present stem. It modifies its preceding noun in an Ezafe construction and conveys the meaning of 'having the habit of doing something':

(196) 1. *yo* *kend-e* *nešin-a* *næ-dar-e*
this bottom-EZ sit.PRS-PRS.PTCP NEG-have.PRS-3SG
'S/he cannot sit! (lit. She doesn't have a sitting bottom![253])'

253. This expression is used in reference to people who are always active and busy with something.

2. *i* *doḏær* *ši* *kon-a* *niəḏ-ø*
this girl husband do.PRS-PRS.PTCP NEG.be.PRS-3SG
'This girl will not marry[254]!'

There is another way of making a present participle in Bakhtiari, and that is by using the suffix ***-õʷ***, comparable to Persian ***-an***, suffixed to the present stem. This participle, combined with the preceding noun has an adverbial sense expressing the way in which an action is performed:

(197) *gale* *zæn-õʷ* *e-veiḏ-en*
shout hit.PRS-PRS.PTCP IND-come.PST-3PL
'They came, shouting (and rejoicing)!'

6.3 AGREEMENT

6.3.1 Agreement suffixes

A set of six Person Agreement Markers (PAM) attach to a verb to indicate person and number. These suffixes are the same for the present and past tense, except for the third person singular where the suffix is zero in the past. Table 6.4 shows these suffixes in three persons and two numbers:

Table 6.4: Agreement suffixes

	Singular	**Plural**
Present-tense verbs		
1st	*-om*	*-im*
2nd	*-i*	*-in*
3rd	*-e*	*-en*
Past-tense verbs		
1st	*-om*	*-im*
2nd	*-i*	*-in*
3rd	*-ø*	*-en*

Since Bakhtiari is a pro-drop language (hence the subject pronouns can be omitted), these endings are crucial for distinguishing the subject of an intransitive and the agent of a transitive verb:

(198) 1. *e-χor-om* 2. *e-χor -e*
DUR.eat.PRS-1SG DUR.eat.PRS-3SG
'(I) eat.' '(He) eats.'

254. In other words, 'She is not a marrying type of girl!'

(199) 1. *kæwš-a=m=e* *kænḍ-om*
shoe-PL=BP.1SG=OM take out.PST-1SG
'(I) took my shoes off.'

2. *kæwš-a=m=e kænḍ-ø*
shoe-PL=BP.1SG=OM take out.PST-3SG
'(S/he) took my shoes off.'

The pronominal enclitics (table 6.4. above) can also be suffixed to a finite verb, but only after the agreement suffixes, as can be seen in the following examples:

(200) 1. *kænḍ-om=sun*
take out.PST-1SG=3PL
'(I) took them off.'

2. *kor-e-ke* *n-i-l-e* *be-χæws-om*
boy-DEF-DEF NEG-DUR-let.PRS-3SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
'The boy doesn't let me sleep.'

3. *kor-e-ke* *n-i-l=om* *be-χæws-om*
boy-DEF-DEF NEG-DUR-let.PRS=BP.1SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
'The boy doesn't let me sleep.'

6.3.2 Copula enclitics past and present

The substantive meaning 'to be' of the copula is usually expressed by means of enclitics that attach to the end of a noun, a pronoun or an adjective. These *enclitics* are identical in form to the present tense agreement suffixes mentioned above (Table 6.4), except for the fact that when attached to vowel-final words, an excrescent epenthetic consonant ***-n-***, ***-h-*** or ***-y-*** (E), appears to prevent hiatus (200:1-9), below:

Table 6.5: Copula enclitics

	Singular	**Plural**
1p	*=om, =m*	*=im*
2p	*=i*	*=in*
3p	*=e*	*=en*

Note that the first person singular enclitic copula is not to be mistaken with the enclitic possessive pronoun equivalent since they coincidentally look alike, while in other persons they are distinct; examples: *doḍær=om* 'my daughter'; *doḍær=et* 'your daughter'

(201) 1. *doḍær=om*
girl=COP.1SG
'I am a girl.'

2. *če* *kæs=i?*
what person=COP.2SG
'To which tribe do you belong?'

3. *doyḍor=e*
doctor=COP.3SG
'S/he is a doctor.'

4. *ima χæste(-h)=im*	5. *åð̣om=in?*	6. *ono lor=en*
we tired=COP.1PL	human=COP.2PL	they Lor=COP.3PL
'We are tired.'	'Are you human?!'	'They are Lors/ nomads.'
7. *ba ima-n=in?*	8. *šœ-h=i*	9. *hæmule-y=om*
with us-E=COP.2PL	black-E=COP.2SG	Hamule-E=COP.1SG
'Are you talking to us?!'	'You are black.'	'I am from Hamule tribe.'

The epenthesis of the glide ***-y-*** is expected, but why do ***-n-*** or ***-h-*** show up in these contexts? They seem to be epenthetic but their existence may have a diachronic explanation. With copula verbs, ***-h-*** usually appears before the verb ending. Since in the Middle Persian the copula is attested as ***h-*** [HWE-] (MacKenzie 1971: 39) and in Modern Persian the infinitive form of copula is ***hæstæn***[255] with the paradigm (sg. *hæst-æm, hæst-i, hæst- ø*; pl. *hæst-im, hæst-id, hæst-ænd*), therefore, it may be more reasonable to consider ***-h-*** in this situations not as an epenthesis, but as the reappearance of a pre-existing phoneme. Comparing examples (200: 4, 200: 8) with (200: 9), however, reveals another behavior of the copula, i.e. it seems that ***-h-*** appears only to prevent a hiatus between a [- high] and a [+high] vowels, but in the case of a [- high] and a [-high] context, the epenthesis of the glide (***-y-***) is what happens. As for ***-n-***, it will be called an epenthesis here, until further investigation reveals its true reality.

The two columns in (202: 1-2) are presented for further clarification of the usage of these clitics and suffixex:

(202)

1. Enclitic copular forms		2. Suffixal Person Agreement Markers	
doǫ̈ ær=om	'I am a girl.'	*e-χor-om*	'(I) eat.'
doǫ̈ ær=i	'You a girl.'	*e-χor-i*	'(You) eat.'
doǫ̈ ær=e	'S/he is a girl.'	*e-χor-e*	'(S/he) eats.'
doǫ̈ ær=im	'We are girls.'	*e-χor-im*	'(We) eat.'
doǫ̈ ær=in	'You are girls.'	*e-χor-in*	'(You) eat.'
doǫ̈ ær=en	'They are girls.'	*e-χor-e*	'(They) eat.'

Note that the first person singular enclitic copula is not to be mistaken with the *pronominal enclitic* equivalent (table 5-6 above) since they coincidentally look alike, while in other per- sons they are distinct; examples: *doǫ̈ ær=om* 'my daughter'; *doǫ̈ ær=et* 'your daughter'

255. The other manifestation of the verb copula is the verb ***budæn***.

6.4 MODAL AFFIXES

To be able to build some of the finite verbs, two verbal prefixes are required:

6.4.1 Prefix *e-/ i-*

To add a durative value to a verb, the prefix ***e-*** or ***i-*** attaches to the present and past stems of the verb in the present or imperfect paradigms respectively, but it can be easily omitted from the present verb, without affecting its semantics:

(203) 1. *e-dun-om/ dun-om*
DUR-know.PRS-1SG
'(I) know.'

2. *e-vær-gærḍ -om*
DUR-PRF-return.PRS-1SG
'(I) will come back.'

3. *e-vær-gærḍ-om*
DUR-eat.return.PST-1SG
'(I) was eating.'

As we see from the above example (203:2), the present tense can also indicate the near future. Also, example (203:2) shows that this prefix precedes the preverb in the complex verbs. In the compound verbs, however, it can only attach to the verbal element, as illustrated in the following examples:

(204) 1. *mæn-om*[256] *zivær va-piš e-væn-e*[257]
guess-1SG Zivær PRV-front DUR-throw.PRS-3SG
'I guess Zivar will have a preterm delivery.'

2. *ima-n=æm hævær e-kon-en*
we-E=too news DUR-do.PRS-3PL
'They will inform/ call us, too.'

The prefix ***i-*** is used more frequently before stems beginning with a low vowel; i.e. /*æ*/ or /*a*/ such as:

(205)
1. *æšn-om >i-æšn-om/ i(y)æšn-om*	'I hear.'
2. *i(y)-a-m*	'I (will) come.'
3. *ærz-e/ i(y)-ærz-e*	'It is worth it.'
4. *i(y)-ær-e-sun*	'He will sift them.'

In addition, ***i-*** is more frequent in dialects closer to Southern Lori.

When combined with the negation prefix ***næ-*** it will result in the form ***n-i-*** as in: ***n-i(y)-æšn-om*** 'I don't hear' or ***n-i(y)-a-m*** 'I don't/ won't come.'

256. In Bakhtiari this form is the only occurrence of the Old Iranian root **man-* 'to think, consider' as described in (Cheung, 2007: 262).
257. *væn-e va piš* is another possible form of this utterance which is as frequent.

6.4.2 Prefix *bV-*

6.4.2.1 Subjunctive

To express the subjunctive mood, the prefix ***bV-*** is added to the present stem and the vowel of this prefix may assimilate to the phonological requirements of the following stem, as illustrated in below examples:

(206) 1. *va* *be-kæn-om*
must SBJV-dig.PRS-1SG
'I must dig (it).'

2. *vaske* *be-kerǫ̣-om*
must.PST SBJV-do.PST-1SG
'(I) should have done it.'

3. *e-χo-m* *be-stun-om=es*
DUR-want.PRS-1SG SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG
'I want to buy it.'

4. *χast-om* *bo-χun-om=es*
want.PST-1SG SBJV-read.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG
'I wanted to read it.'

5. *ni-χast-om* *bo-koš-om=es*
NEG-want.PST-1SG SBJV-kill.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG
'I didn't want to kill her/ him/ it.'

6. *kaš* *bi-(y)-å-he*
wish SBJV-come.PRS-3SG
'I wish he comes.'

7. *bi-mir-om* *si=t*
SBJV-die.PRS-1SG for =BP.2SG
'Wish I could die for you!'[258]

8. *va* *bi-vin-i*[259]
must SBJV-see.PRS-2SG
'You should see!'

258. An expression to show sympathy in pain or loss!
259. Notice the change of consonant **/*v*/ > /*b*/** in this example: ***bin-* > *vin-*.**

6.4.2.2 Imperative

In Bakhtiari the imperative verbs have two constructions. Only one form is constructed by the use of the same subjunctive prefix ***be-*** that attaches to a present stem (For the second form and more discussion on Imperatives, see 6.6.1.2.2 below). Both constructions address only the second person, in its singular and plural forms. To address the second person plural, the inflectional ending ***-in*** will be needed. As in the case of the subjunctive marker, here also the prefix will assimilate to the vowel of the present stem, as illustrated in the examples below:

(207) 1. *be-teng*
SBJV-jump.PRS.2SG
'Jump! (Dance!)'
2. *bo-χor-in*
SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL
'Eat! (you all)'

In cases where the stem has a lexical preverb, the subjunctive is not licensed :

(208) 1. *vor-i*
PRV-stand.PRS.2SG
'Stand up!'

2. *vor-dar*
PRV-have.PRS.2SG
'Take!; Go away!'

3. *vor-gærd*
PRV-turn.PRS.2SG
'Come back!'

4. *der-ar=es*
PRV-bring.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
'Take it out!'

5. *vor-ar=es*
PRV-bring.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
'Build it up!'

6. *vo-lah=es*
PRV-massage.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
'Massage it!'

7. *dær-gæn=es*
PRV-turn over.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
'Turn it over!'

6.4.3 Progressive particle *ono*

This progressive particle (PROG) resembles the third plural personal pronoun (table:5.2. above) and has other manifestations such as***: hono, hone*** or ***ono***. At this stage of the research I cannot pinpoint the geographical distribution of these forms. In general, they are used with the durative paradigms to express the imminence or progress of an action:

(209) 1. *hono i(y)-a-m*
PROG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
'I am coming.'

2. *ono i(y)-oft-e*
PROG DUR-fall.PRS-3SG
'It is falling (going to fall).'

Ono can only precede a present verb.

6.4.4 Repetition particle hey

The repetition particle (REP), as the name signifies, is used to express a repetitive action. It precedes durative and imperative verbs, as illustrated in the following examples:

(210) 1. *si χo=s hey e-r-e, ni-vast-e*
for SELF=BP.3SG REP DUR-go.PRS -3SG NEG-stop.PRS-3SG
'(S/he) keeps going (for herself), does not stop!'

2. *hey vola-h=es*
REP massage.PRS-E =BP.3SG
'Keep massaging it!'

If used simultaneously with the progressive particle ***ono***, the ongoing action will be emphasized:

(211) *diǯ-om=es ono hey (e-)giriv-e!*
see.PST-1SG=BP.3SG PROG REP (DUR-)cry.PRS-3SG
'(I) saw him/ her crying and crying!'

Unlike ***ono***, ***hey*** can be used with a past verb showing ongoing action in the past:

(212) *ræhǯ-om tey=s, hey e-giriv-est*
go.PST-1SG to=BP.3SG REP DUR-cry.PST.3SG
'I went to her, she was crying and crying!'

6.4.5 Optative affixes

The optative mood is used to express a wish, a lament, and most of all, a curse. It is based on two stems, present and past, and two affixes are used to form it. The suffix ***-a*** attaches to the end of a present stem to express a desire or a wish to be fulfilled in the present or the future. It can optionally be followed by another suffix ***-e***, in which case an epenthetic phoneme will appear between these two suffixes:

(213) *χoḍa pir=et kon-a-h*[260]*-e/ kon-a-y-e* (a wish)
god old=BP.2SG do.PRS-OPT-E-OPT
'May god make you old! (May you have a long life!)'

(214) *χoḍa be kul=et row-a(-h-e)/ row-a(-y-e)* (blasphemous utterance)
god on back= BP.2SG go.PRS-OPT(-E-OPT)
'May you carry god on your back!
(May God come down from its Omnipotent status!)'

The use of the second suffix in this context seems, in my opinion, to be more euphonic or expressive than structural. In other words, to extend an optative verb with suffixing another vowel to it, can be interpreted as a phonetic tool, phonesthesia or phonosemantics[261] that helps the speakers to release more emotions both at the times of anger and rage or when expressing a desire or hope! Yarshater's[262] mentioning of a similar phenomenon in some Southern Tati languages indicates the probability of the existence of possible phonosemantic element in some Iranian languages.

To express the optative mood in the past, however, only the second suffix, ***-e,*** functions as the optative marker in combination with a past subjunctive verb as shown in (215) below:

(215) *χoḍey χoḍey barõ*[w] *be-zeiḍ-i-e*
oh god, oh god rain SBJV-hit.PST-2SG-OPT
'Pray to God, would that you poured some rain!'

For a thorough discussion on optative verbs in Bakhtiari see 6.7 below.

260. Because the epenthetic phonemes ***-h-*** and ***-y-*** can be used here interchangeably, the choice between the two seems dialectal to me.
261. It refers to the idea that vocal sounds or phonemes carry meaning in and of themselves.
262. Yarshater (1969: 212-213 § 298) talks about the existence of a ***Euphonic -a/-e*** as 'an unstressed front vowel that frequently occurs suffixed to the endings of …' some verbs. He believes: 'No clear rule can be derived from the available material for the occurrence of this *-a/-e*. When it occurs, it seems to be preferred rather than necessary.'

6.5 COPULA AND OTHER USES OF 'to be'

Since a conjugated form of the copula is required for the formation of several other tenses and constructions, and since the copula itself has different manifestations, we now turn to discuss different forms of the copula. There are two infinitives ***heǫ̌-en*** 'to be, to exist' and ***biəǫ̌-en*** 'to be, to become' that serve as a copula in different tenses.

6.5.1 Present forms of the copula

The substantive meaning 'to be' is expressed in two ways in the present tense:independently or as a set of enclitics as explained separately below (6.5.1.2):

6.5.1.1 Independent forms of the copula

Table 6.6 shows the present indicative of the copula as independent forms. Pragmatically, these forms are very rare and they can only be heard as an emphatic expression of presence or existence, as shown in (216) below:

(216) *bak-e=t ne-bu, χo=m heǫ̌-om zæft=et e-kon-om*
fear-EZ=BP.2SG NEG-be.SBJV.2SG self=BP.1SG be.PRS-1SG nursing=BP.2SG DUR=do.PRS-1SG
'Don't worry, I, myself, am here to take care of you.'

Table 6.6: Independent forms of the PRS.COP

'I am', etc.	Singular	Plural
1st	*heǫ̌-om*	*heǫ̌-im*
2nd	*heǫ̌-i*	*heǫ̌-in*
3rd	*heǫ̌-ø*	*heǫ̌-en*

The negative form of both this verb and the enclitic form below is ***niəǫ̌-*** :

(217) *kor-yæl-ke i-čo niəǫ̌-en*
boy- PL-DEF PROX-here NEG.COP.PRS-3PL
'The boys are not here.'

6.5.2 Present subjunctive of the copula

Present subjunctive forms of copula are used to express a counterfactual meaning (218 below). These forms never receive the prefix ***bV-***.

Table 6.7: PRS.SBJV.COP.

'May I be', etc.	
1s	*bu-om/ bu-m*
2s	*bu(w)-i*
3s	*bu-ø*
1p	*bu(w)-im*
2p	*bu(w)-in*
3p	*bu(w)-en/ bu-n*

(218) *vaske ta hala mord-e bu-m ze tærs*
must.PST till now die.PST.3SG-PTCP be.SBJV-1SG from fear
'I should have been dead by now, out of fear.'

The paradigm in (table 6.7.) which represents the present subjunctive of the copula ***biəǰ-en*** 'to be', is structurally the same as the present optative of the copula to be discussed in (6.7.1) below:

(219) *χoǰey hæm-o-čo bu-om, hæm-so ke ze ræh i-ya-he*
oh god EMPH-DIST-there be.SBJV-1SG EMPH-then that from road DUR-come.PRS.3SG
'Pray to God, wish I'll be right there, right at the time when he arrives!'

The other verb that can be used in this context is ***vabiəǰ-en*** 'to become', with the paradigm shown in (220):

(220) *sg: va-bu-om; va-bu-i; va-bu-ø*
pl: va-bu-im; va-bu-in; va-bu-n

6.5.3 Preterite of the copula

The preterite is used regularly as an independent verb as well as the auxiliary verb in forming various tenses. This form does not admit the durative prefix ***e-***/ ***-i***.

Table 6.8: PST.IND.COP.

'I was', etc.	
1s	*biəǰ-om/ bi-m*
2s	*biəǰ-i*
3s	*biəǰ-ø/ bi-ø*
1p	*biəǰ-im*
2p	*biəǰ-in*
3p	*biəǰ-en/ bi-n*

Note the short form of the first person singular and the third person singular and plural. The negative form of the above verbs would be ne-biəḑ-om/-i/-ø/, etc.

6.5.4 Present perfect of the copula

This form is peculiar in the sense that, to form the present perfect, the past participle suffix does not attach to the past stem, as expected, but instead it is affixed to the finite past simple form of the verb:

Table 6.9: PRS. PRF.COP.

'I have been', etc.	
1s	*biəḑ-om=e*
2s	*biəḑ-i=e*
3s	*biəḑ=e*
1p	*biəḑ-im=e*
2p	*biəḑ-in=e*
3p	*biəḑ-en=e / bi-n=e*

The negative form of the above verbs would be *ne-biəḑ-om=e, ne-biəḑ-i=e/ ne-biəḑ-ø=e,* etc.

6.5.5 Past perfect of copula

These forms and the past perfect of other verbs in Bakhtiari (6.6.3.2) can be considered as an irregular construction, since it is the main verb that is conjugated and the auxiliary verb remains the same:

Table 6.10: PST.PRF.COP.

'I had been', etc.	
1s	*biəḑ-om bi*
2s	*biəḑ-i bi*
3s	*biəḑ-e bi*
1p	*biəḑ-im bi*
2p	*biəḑ-in bi*
3p	*biəḑ-en bi*

To negate this construction, the language uses *ne-biəḑ-om bi, ne-biəḑ-i bi,* etc

6.6 FINITE VERBS

To form various tenses, Bakhtiari employs two stems, the present and the past stem, as described above, and the set of PAM suffixes presented in (6.3.1). The present and the past stems are used both as the basis for the formation of durative paradigm, subjunctive, and optative moods and to express the perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects. There is no difference in the behavior of transitive and intransitive verbs in the past tense (see example 246 below). In the following sections, first different tenses which are made based on the present stem will be presented (6.6.1); some peculiar formations will conclude the present tense section (6.6.1.4). Tenses based on the past stem will follow (6.6.2). The perfect forms will be presented in (6.6.3) and forms with progressive aspect will be discussed in (6.6.4). The tenses mentioned above tenses will be illustrated in the form of paradigms, tables, and carefully chosen example sentences that can portray, to some extent, the context and pragmatics of the language.

6.6.1 Forms based on the present stem

Finite verbs based on the present stem, can express actions or states in the indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative. The present indicative can also be employed to express an action which refers to the future or near future (225 below).

6.6.1.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is formed by adding the durative prefix ***e-*** (or ***i-*** in some southern dialects) to the present stem of the verb, followed by the appropriate PAM suffixes. Below are the present indicative forms of the verb ***dunestæn*** 'to know' and ***girivesten*** 'to cry':

Table 6.11: PRS. IND.

'I know', etc.	'I cry', etc.
1s *e-dun-om*	*e-giriv-om*
2s *e-dun-i*	*e-giriv-i*
3s *e-dun-e*	*e-giriv-e*
1p *e-dun-im*	*e-giriv-im*
2p *e-dun-in*	*e-giriv-in*
3p *e-dun-en*	*e-giriv-en*

Verbs in this form can be used to express habitual situations (221), a routine or even a job or profession (222) and also an action which is in the process or going to happen very soon (223):

(221) *hemiše e-hænd-e!*
always DUR-smile.PRS-3SG
'S/he is always smiling!'

(222) *e-r-om mæ:rese/ danešga*
DUR-go.PRS-1SG school/ university
'I attend the school/ university. (i.e., I'm a student.)'

(223) *taze æχe χo=m=e e-der-om ze daq=e to*
right now collar self=BP.1SG=OM IND-tear.PRS-1SG from sorrow=EZ you
'I am going to tear my collar apart out of the rage that you have caused me!'

6.6.1.2 Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive is formed by adding the prefix be- to the present stem, followed by the appropriate person-number endings. It is noteworthy, however, that as explained above 6.4.2.1), the vowel of the subjunctive prefix may undergo some phonological assimilation to the following vowel of the present stem, such as the change of ***be- > bo-*** in the second column below:

Table 6.12: Pres. subj.

	'I may beat', etc.	'I may eat', etc.
1s	*be-zæn-om*	*bo-χor-om*
2s	*be-zæn-i*	*bo-χor-i*
3s	*be-zæn-e*	*bo-χor-e*
1p	*be-zæn-im*	*bo-χor-im*
2p	*be-zæn-in*	*bo-χor-in*
3p	*be-zæn-en*	*bo-χor-en*

The present subjunctive, apart from its typical usage to express hypothetical situations, can also be used for wishful statements:

(224) *hala χuv=e če bo-kon-om?*
now good=is what SBJV-do.PRS-1SG
'What should I do now?! (What is good to do now?!)'

It can also be used after modals, expressing obligation, permission and ability:

(225) *diye va be-rev-im (obligation)*
further/ next must SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
'Now, we must go.'

(226) *e-l-in* *be-rev-om*[263]*?* *(permission)*
DUR-let.PRS-2PL SBJV-go.PRS-1PL
'Do you let me go?'

(227) *del=om* *e-χo* *bo-χor-om=es* *(aspiration)*
heart=BP.1SG DUR-want.PRS.3SG SBJV-eat.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG
'My heart wants to eat it.

(228) *χo=mun* *ter-im* *be-vin-im* *(ability)*
self=1PL can-1PL SBJV-see.PRS-1PL
'We, ourselves, can see (it).'

6.6.1.2.1 Modality constructions

There are three verbs in Bakhtiari that act as modal verbs, expressing different functions such as ability, desire, permission and obligation. These verbs are: *tæresten* 'to be able'*; lešten*/ *nahaḍen* 'to permit/ to let'; *χasten* 'to want'. They are used before a subjunctive verb and both verbs will be inflected as shown in the examples below:

(229) *ter-i* *be-zæn-i=s?*
can.PRS-2SG SBJV-hit.PRS-2SG=BP.3SG
'Can you hit him?'

(230) *χast-en* *bæči-yæl=e* *bu-(v)ær-en*
want.PST-3PL kid-PL=OM SBJV-take.PRS-3PL
'They wanted to take the kids.'

To express obligation, Bakhtiari usually uses ***va*** (mostly in present sentences) or ***vaske***, (mostly to express an obligation in the past) which can be considered as an impersonal verb with only 3rd singular forms; they do, however, get the negative prefix ***næ-***:

(231) 1. *va* *be-r-om* 2. *næ-va* *be-r-om*
should SBJV-go.PRS-1SG NEG-should SBJV-go.PRS-1SG
'I should go.' 'I should not go.'

(232) 1. *vaske* *be-ræhḏ-im* 2. *næ-vaske* *be-ræhḏ-im*
should SBJV-go.PST-1PL NEG-should SBJV-go.PST-1PL
'We should have gone.' 'We should have not gone.'

6.6.1.2.2 Imperative

The imperative forms in Bakhtiari address the second person singular and plu-

263. The other form of this utterance can be: *e-l-in=om be-rev-om*?

ral. To form an imperative verb, the subjunctive prefix ***be-*** will attach to a present stem and no verbal ending is used. To address the second person plural, the ending ***-in*** will be needed. As with the case of subjunctive marker, here also the prefix will assimilate to the vowel of the present stem, as illustrated in the examples below:

(233) 1. *be-teng!*
SBJV-jump.PRS.2SG
'Jump! (Dance!)'

2. *bo-χor-in*
SBJV-eat.PRS-2PL
'Eat! (you all)'

When a simple verb starts with ***/v/***, the imperative/ subjunctive prefix usually drops:

(234) 1. *vola-h=es!*
massage.PRS-E=BP.3SG
'Massage it!'

2. *væn=esun*
drop.PRS=BP.3PL
'Drop them!'

With preverbal verbs, the subjunctive/ imperative prefix usually drops, it can, however, remain and be used for emphasis as in (235: 3) below:

(235) 1. *va vor-dar=es*
must PRV-have.PRS=BP.3SG
'(S/he) should take it!'

2. *der-ar=es*
PRV-bring.PRS=BP.3SG
'Bring it out!'

3. *be-der-ar=es*
SBJV-PRV-bring.PRS=BP.3SG
'Bring it out!'

(236) *gæp=et=e vor-ar, kičir=et vor-ævorḑ-e* (Davari 1965: 9)
big=BP.2SG=OM SBJV.PRV-bring.PRS little=BP.2SG PRV-bring.PST-PTCP/COP.3SG
'Bring up your elder child properly, your little one will certainly be well-behaved! (A proverb)'

The following example is an illustration of the vowel change of the stem ***/zæn/*** > ***/zen/***, which is assimilated to the following morpheme ***/-i-/***, and the corresponding assimilation of ***/næ-/ > /ne-/***. The place of an object pronoun is also shown in this construction:

(237) 1.*be-zæn=es!* >
SBJV-hit.PRS.2SG=BP.3SG
'Hit him/her/it!'

2. *ne-zen-i=s! / mæ-zen-i=s*
NEG-hit.PRS-2SG=BP.2SG
'Don't it him/her/it!'

Sometimes a short form of the imperative verb, i.e. the nominal part of a compound verb, is enough to convey a command:

(238) 1. *dong mæ-ḑ-e* > *dong!*
sound NEG-give.PRS-2SG
'Don't talk!' 'Don't talk/ Shut up!'

2. *be-ræw daχel!* > *daχel!*
SBJV-go.PRS-2SG inside
'Go inside (the room/ house)!' 'Inside!'

Pragmatically, swear words (curses) can also be used as a prohibitive command:

(239) *koh-mir!*
mountain-die.PRS.2SG
'Lit.Mountain death/ May you die in the mountains!', but pragmatically: 'Shut up!'

Another form, the first person plural imperative, is also possible. Examples are:

(240) 1. *be-r-im* 2. *bo-χor-im* 3. *be-šur-im*
SBJV-go.PRS-1PL SBJV-eat.PRS-1PL SBJV-wash.PRS-1PL
'Let's go!' 'Let's eat!' 'Let's wash!'

There are some irregular imperative verbs, the construction of which does not follow the norm:

(241) 1.*eveiḑen* > *bi-yœw!* *bi-yo-h=in!*
'Come!' 'You all come!'

2. *lešten* > *biə-l/be-h-l!* *biə-l-in/ be-h-l-in!*
'Let (it be)! ' 'Allow (you all)!'

3. *nahaḑen* > *ben/ben=e!* (no plural form is used!)
'Put!'

To negate an imperative, the prohibitive prefixes ***næ-/ mæ-*** are used (242), and will be explained in more detail below in (6.10):

(242) 1. *mæ-χor* 2. *mæ-r-in*
NEG-eat.PRS.2SG NEG-go.PRS-2PL
'Don't eat!' 'Don't go! (you all)'

6.6.1.3 Peculiar present tense forms

The present tense of some verbs: ***ræhḑen*** 'to go'; ***χærḑen*** 'to eat'; ***goḑen*** 'to say'; ***diḑen*** 'to see'; ***nahaḑen*** 'to put'; ***lešen*** 'to let, to permit'; ***χasten*** 'to want' and ***daḑen*** 'to give' shows some irregularity in its indicative and subjunctive forms and therefore require special attention here. To limit the size of this section, only one

of these verbs (***rædẓen*** 'to go') will be fully presented here, whereas some forms of the other verbs are included in examples (245, 1-7). The normal indicative paradigm of 'to go' is presented in table (6.14). In actual speech, the present stem can be minimized to a single consonant (second column of the table); furthermore, the modal prefix can also be omitted (third column below):

Table 6.13: Peculiar present tense forms

'I go, etc.			
1s	*e-rev-om*	*e-r-om*	*r-om*
2s	*e-rev-i*	*e-r-i*	*r-i*
3s	*e-rev-e*	*e-r-e*	*r-e*
1p	*e-rev-im*	*e-r-im*	*r-im*
2p	*e-rev-in*	*e-r-in*	*r-in*
3p	*e-rev-en*	*e-r-en*	*r-en*

(243)

diḍ=o-m	*diḍ=e-mõ^{w}*
see.PST=E-BP.1SG	see.PST=E-BP.1PL
'S/he saw me.'	'S/he saw us.'
diḍ=e-t	*diḍ=e-tõ^{w}*
see.PST=E-BP.2SG	see.PST=E-BP.2PL
'S/he saw you.'	'S/he saw you.'
diḍ=e-s	*diḍ=e-sõ^{w}*
see.PST=E-BP.3SG	see.PST=E-BP.3PL
'S/he saw her/him/it.'	'S/he saw them.'

The more frequent construction, however, is the following, in which both the root verb and the enclitics are shortened:

(244)

di=m	*di=mõ^{w}*
see.PST=BP.1SG	see.PST=BP.1PL
'S/he saw me.'	'S/he saw us.'
di=t	*di=tõ^{w}*
see.PST= BP.2SG	see.PST=BP.2PL
'S/he saw you.'	'S/he saw you.'
di=s	*di=sõ^{w}*
see.PST=BP.3SG	see.PST= BP.3PL
'S/he saw her/him/it.'	'S/he saw them.'

There are a few other verbs, which can be shortened in the same manner as shown in the following examples:

(245) 1. *(e-)χ-om* *(be-)r-om* *hune=sõ*^{w}
(DUR-)want.PRS-1SG (SBJV-)go.PRS-1SG house=BP.3PL
'I want to go to their house.'

2. *va* *be-ǫ̌-om* *be=s*
must SBJV-give.PRS-1SG to=BP.3SG
'I should give (it) to him/ her.'

3. *di* *hiči* *n-i-g-om*
ADV nothing NEG-DUR-say.PRS-1SG
'I won't say anything, anymore.'

4. *kor-e-ke* *ni-l-e* *be-χæws-om*
boy-DEF-DEF NEG-let.PRS-3SG SBJV-sleep.PRS-1SG
'The boy doesn't let me sleep.'

5. *pia=ne* *lešt* *be-r-e*
man=OM let.PST.3SG SBJV-go.PRS-3SG
'S/he let the guy go!'

6. *be-l* *r-om!*[264]
SBJV-let.PRS.2SG go.PRS-1SG
'Let me go!'

7. *šir=e* *e-n-om* *sær-e* *tæš*
milk=OM DUR-put.PRS-1SG head-EZ fire
'I put/ am going to put the milk on the fire.'

This peculiar behavior of some of these verbs can create ambiguous situations and at the same time offers the opportunity for making some puns. For example, consider the verb ***daǫ̌en*** 'to give'. The short form of its present stem would be ***da-,*** which resembles the noun for 'mother'. The ambiguity becomes even greater by the fact that the person/ number endings and the pronominal enclitics also look the same in the first singular (***-om/m*** and ***=om/m***). Therefore, a sentence like (246), when heard, can be interpreted in the two ways explained below:

(246) *be* *da=m* *da-m*
to mother= BP.1SG give.PRS-1SG
'I gave (it) to my mom.'

264.This sentence can also be expressed in the following forms: *be-l be-r-om/ biə-l-om be-r-om.*

This same sentence can also mean 'To my mom, my mom!' as an emphatic answer to a question like: 'To whom, did you give it?!'. It is obvious that the context can clarify the exact meaning, but there exist several puns and linguistic jokes, taking advantage of the peculiar behavior of this group of verbs and their ambiguities.

6.6.2 Forms based on the past stem

6.6.2.1 Past Perfective (Simple Past)

This form expresses a completed action in the past. It is made by attaching the past person-number endings to the past stem of the verb:

Table 6.14: PST.PRF. (Simple Past)

'I ate, etc.	'I slept', etc.
1s *χærḍ-om*	*χæwsiḍ-om*
2s *χærḍ-i*	*χæwsiḍ-i*
3s *χærḍ-ø*	*χæwsiḍ-ø*
1p *χærḍ-im*	*χæwsiḍ-im*
2p *χærḍ-in*	*χæwsiḍ-in*
3p *χærḍ-en*	*χæwsiḍ-en*

(247) *æmšæw goḍæšt-æ*[265] *hiž šom næ-χærḍ-om / hiž næ-χæwsiḍ-om*
tonight pass.PST-PTCP none dinner NEG.eat.PST-1SG / none NEG-sleep.PST-1SG
'Last night, I didn't eat any dinner!' or 'Last night, I didn't sleep at all!'

In the example (247), two verbs, a transitive and an intransitive one, are used simultaneously to indicate the fact that there is no difference in the behavior of these two categories of the verbs in Bakhtiari past tense constructions (see also 6.6 above).

6.6.2.2 Imperfect

This construction expresses an action in the past which continued as a habit or at least for a certain period of time. It is formed by attaching the durative prefix ***e-*** to the past stem followed by appropriate verb endings:

(248) *e-χærḍ-om; e-χærḍ-i; e-χærḍ-ø; e-χærḍ-im; e-χærḍ-in; e-χærḍ-en*

(249) *ǰæwun ke biəḍ-om qæleve e-χærḍ-om*
young that be.PST-1SG very DUR-eat. PST-1SG
'When I was young, I used to eat a lot.'

265. This is a peculiar way of time-reference. To say 'last night', Bakhtiaris say 'tonight, the passed one'!

An imperfect verb can be used in the apodosis of conditional sentences to show a hypothetical situation (see also 255 below: 'I wouldn't let him do that.'):

(250) *ær* *tær-est-ø* *bištær* *e-χærḑ-ø*
if can- PST-3SG more DUR-eat. PST-3SG
'He would eat more if he could.'

6.6.2.3 Past subjunctive

When the subjunctive prefix ***be-/bo-*** attaches to a past stem followed by past verb endings, it can express a wishful or unreal statement in the past:

(251) *be-kerḑ-om; be-kerḑ-i; be-kerḑ-ø; be-kerḑ-im; be-kerḑ-in; be-kerḑ-en;;*

(252) *næ-vaske* *i* *kar=e* *be-kerḑ-om*
NEG-must.PST this work=OM SBJV-do.PST-1SG
'I shouldn't have done this.'

6.6.3 Perfect forms

Perfect constructions in Bakhtiari have a special formation that makes them distinct from Persian and some other Iranian languages, in the sense that the verbal endings attach to the main verb and not to the auxiliary verb.

6.6.3.1 Present perfect

The present perfect expresses an action which has taken place in the past, but its effect continues to the present. It is formed by cliticizing the third person singular form of the copula ***=e*** to a past tense already inflected by person-number endings:

Table 6.15: PRS.PRF.

'I have eaten.', etc.	'I have slept.', etc.
1s *χærḑ-om=e*	*χæwsiḑ-om=e*
2s *χærḑ-i=e*	*χæwsiḑ-i=e*
3s *χærḑ-ø=e*	*χæwsiḑ-ø=e*
1p *χærḑ-im=e*	*χæwsiḑ-im=e*
2p *χærḑ-in=e*	*χæwsiḑ-in=e*
3p *χærḑ-en=e*	*χæwsiḑ-en=e*

To negate a verb in the present perfect tense, the negative suffix will simply attach to the beginning of the structure: *næ-χærḑ-om=e* 'I haven't eaten.'

6.6.3.2 Past perfect

The past perfect is formed by combining the past stem of a verb already inflected by person-number endings with the third person singular of the verb ***biəǰen*** 'to be':

Table 6.16: Past perfect

'I had eaten.', etc.		'I had slept.', etc.	
1s	*χærǰ-om* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-om*	*bi*
2s	*χærǰ-i* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-i*	*bi*
3s	*χærǰ-ø* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-ø*	*bi*
1p	*χærǰ-im* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-im*	*bi*
2p	*χærǰ-in* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-in*	*bi*
3p	*χærǰ-en* *bi*	*χæwsiǰ-en*	*bi*

(253) *ær χo=m ræhǰ-om bivaba=s, ni-lešt-om=es i kar=e bo-kon-e*
if self=1SG go.PST-1SG was with=him, NEG-let.PST-1SG=BP.3SG this work=OM SBJV-do.PRS-3SG
'If I had gone with him, I wouldn't let him do that.'

The younger generations may use a structure like (254) which is affected by Persian:

(254) *χærǰ-e biəǰ-om* 'I had eaten.'

6.6.3.3 Subjunctive perfect

(255) *oso ke e-veiǰ -ø, vaske i kar=e be-kerǰ-om bi*
the time which DUR-come.PRS-3SG must.PST this work=OM SBJV-do.PST-1SG be.PST
'I should have done this, before he came.'

6.6.4 Progressive forms

6.6.4.1 Present progressive

The present progressive shows an action which is taking place either at the present moment (256-257) or in the near future (257:1-3):

(256) *dar-im e-bor-im=es*
have.PRS-1PL DUR-cut.PRS-1PL=BP.3SG
'We are cutting it.'

(257) *dar-om e-r-om, di ni-χo hey bo-go-i*
have.PRS-1SG DUR-go.PRS-1SG further NEG.want.PRS. 3SG REP SBJV-say.PRS-2SG
'I am going, you don't need to keep saying (Go!).'

The other way to show an action in progress is using the progressive adverb/particle ***ono*** (PROG) before the verb (see above: 6.4.3). As explained before, this particle resembles the plural personal pronoun (table:5.1 above) and has other manifestations such as***: hono, hone*** or ***one***:

(258) 1. *hono i-(y)-a-m*
PROG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
'I am coming.'

2. *ono i-(y)-oft-e*
PROG DUR-fall.PRS-3SG
'It is falling (going to fall).'

3. *hono-n=sõ^{w} e-r-en*
PROG-E=BP.3PL DUR-go.PRS-3PL
'There, they are going!'

In Persian, the same concept is expressed by means of a helping verb: *daštæn* 'to have' as in:

(259) *dar-æm mi-a-m*
have.PRS-1SG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
'I'm coming.'

Therefore, constructions like (260) can be heard in the Bakhtiari spoken by the younger generations influenced by Persian:

(260) *dar-om i-(y)-a-m*
have.PRS-1SG DUR-come.PRS-1SG
'I'm coming.'

6.6.4.2 Past progressive

The past progressive, as the name signifies, expresses an action which was going for some time in the past. It can be used alone (261), for example as an answer to: 'What were you doing?', but it is usually followed by another statement like in (262):

(261) *dašt-om e-ræhḑ-om*
have.PST-1SG DUR-go.PST-1SG
'I was going.'

(262) *dašt-om e-ræhḑ-om ke pia=ke resi(ḑ)-ø b=om!*
have.PST-1SG DUR-go.PST-1SG that man=DEF reach.PST-3SG to=BP.1SG
'I was about to go that the man caught up with me.'

6.7 OPTATIVES

The optative mood has more diverse and frequent manifestations in Bakhtiari compared to Persian. The optative is used to express a wish, a lament, and most of all, a curse. It is noteworthy that unlike Persian, the optative has considerable daily usage, mostly in blasphemous utterances that are expressed out of despair or as a means of showing one's discontent with hardships and unlucky fate in life. These expressions, at times, can be very dramatic and not presentable because they contain several taboo words and expressions. This practice is very old and has not lessened even under the rule of the Islamic Republic!

The optative is formed based on two stems, present and past, with slightly different structures each.

6.7.1 The Present-stem-based optative

To express a desire for the present or the future, Bakhtiari uses the present optative. It is formed from a present stem plus the special optative suffix ***-a*** which attaches directly to the present stem, followed by a second suffix ***-e*** at the end of the optative stem. Of these two morphemes, ***-a*** is essential to form a present optative stem whereas the use of ***-e*** is optional:

(263) *χoḍa pir=et kon-a(-h-e)/kon-a(-y-e)* (wish)
god old=BP.2SG do.PRS-OPT-E-3SG
'May god make you old! (You'll be able to live long!)'

(264) *χoḍa be kul=et row-a(-h-e)/ row-a(-y-e)* (blasphemous utterance)
god on back=BP.2SG go.PRS-OPT(-E-3SG)
'May you carry god on your back!
(May god come down from his Omnipotent status!)'

Note, above, the alternative epenthetic phonemes (***-h*** and ***-y-***) to prevent hiatus. The choice between the two seems dialectal to me. The negative prefix will precede the optative stem as illustrated in (267) below, which is a proverb, and also in (268):

(265) *nei-ḍ-e*[266] *ne-bin-a keimand næ-kon-a ši*
NEG-see.PST-PTCP NEG-see.PRS-OPT spinster NEG-do.PRS-OPT husband
'May the one who hasn't seen, see nothing and a spinster never marry!'[267]

(266) *ze=s be dær næ-row-a-h-e* (curse)
from=BP.3SG to out NEG-go.PRS-OPT-E-OPT
'May s/he not get well! (lit. May s/he not get out of it!)'

266. A case of suppletion where the underlying form is: *næ-ḍiḍ-e!* NEG-see.PST-PTCP.
267. In other words: 'The underprivileged people do not have the capacity of happiness!'

The bound pronouns can attach directly to the optative verb, between its two markers. They can be agentive as ***=m*** in *bin-a=m-e* or objective as ***=t*** in erusi=t=e in below example (267):

(267) *χoḑey*[268]*, χoḑey erusi=t=e bin-a=m-e*
oh god, oh god wedding=BP.2SG=OM see.PRS-OPT=BP.1SG-OPT
'Pray to God, May I live long to see your wedding!'

In (268) a typical daily curse is presented, usually expressed by angry mothers to their kids, and then in (269) the whole paradigm of the same verb ***zeiðen*** 'to hit' will be presented. In (270) the paradigm of another typical curse with the verb ***borðen*** 'to take' is shown, where only the first optative marker is used. The important point is, as seen in the plural examples, that the final optative marker is NOT used in the present optative PLURALS:

(268) *peri*[269] *zen-a=t-e*
Pari hit.PRS-OPT=BP.2SG-OPT
'May You be hit by a Pari!'

(269) *Sg: zen-a=m-e; zen-a=t-e; zen-a=s-e*
Pl: *zen-a=mun; zen-a=tun; zen-a=sun*

(270) *Sg: al bær-a=m; al bær-a=t; al bær-a=s* 'May Al take me; you; s/he!'
Pl: *al bær-a=mun; al bær-a=tun; al bær-a=sun* 'May Al take us; you; they!'

6.7.2 Past-stem-based optative

To express the optative mood in the past, the past subjunctive will be used plus the second optative marker, i.e. the ***-e*** [270]suffix as shown in the examples below. The use of the optative suffix, however, is optional: mesale ro avaz konam

(271) *χoḑey χoḑey barõ*^{w} *be-zeiḑ-i-e*
oh god, oh god rain SBJV-hit.PST-2SG-OPT
'Pray to God, wish you poured some rain!'

(272) *kaškay hæm-o-čo biḑ-om-e*
wish EMPH-DIST-there be.PST-1SG-OPT
'I wish I were right there!'

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268. *χoḑey* is probably a combination of the word *χoḑa* 'god' and the interjection *hey* 'oh'.
269. From MP. *parīg* and Av. *pairikā-* 'demonic angel, who follows all the heroes and immortals to seduce them to bad behavior and sinful actions'; it has completely lost its negative meaning in Persian and it is now synonymous with 'angel', but the form and its pre-Islamic concept has survived in Bakhtiari.
270. A suffix *-ē* (BGr *-ay*) is attached to verbs expressing unrealizable wishes: Šuš: *kāš ke morγ-ī bīd-om-ē, andar havāb perhess-om-ē* 'I wish I were a bird, [that] I could fly into the air' (MacKinnon, 2011).

Below (273) is a complete past optative paradigm of the verb *morǫ̨en* ‘to die’:

(273)

Sg: be-mord-om-e	‘I wish I were dead!’
be-mord-i-(y)e	‘I wish you were dead!’
be-mord-ø-e(y)	‘I wish s/he were dead!’
Pl: be-mord-im-e	‘I wish we were dead!’
be-mord-in-e	‘I wish you all were dead!’
be-mord-en-e(y)	‘I wish they were dead!’

In (276:1) an advice or a wish is expressed, while in (274:2) by using the past modal *vaske* ‘ought to’, the same advice has changed into an obligation:

(274) 1. *si* *χo=m* *be-goǫ̨-i-e*
for self=BP.1SG SBJV-say.PST-2SG-OPT
‘You should have told me!’

2. *vaske* *si* *χo=m* *be-goǫ̨-i-e*
must.PST for self=BP.1SG SBJV-say.PST-2SG-OPT
‘You should have told me, myself!’

6.8 CAUSATIVES

Causative constructions can be expressed in different ways. I follow Payne (2008:176) and divide causatives into three types: lexical, morphological and analytic.

6.8.1 Lexical causatives

Payne (2008:177) claims that “Most, if not all, languages have some lexical causatives. There are at least three subtypes of what we will term lexical causatives. The unifying factor behind all of these types is the fact that in each case the notion of cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself. It is not expressed by any additional operator.” The three types are:

No change in verb:
Non-causative > Causative

(275) *qæza* *pohǫ̨-ø* > *goli qæza=ne* *pohǫ̨-ø*
food cooked > Goli food=OM cooked
‘Food (is) cooked.’ > Goli cooked the food.’

Some idiosyncratic change in verb:
Non-causative > Causative

(276) *deræχt* *væst-ø* > *goli* *deræχt=ene* *vænǫ̨-ø*
tree fall.PST-3SG > Goli tree=OM throw.PST-3SG
‘The tree fell.’ > Goli felled the tree.’

Different verb:
Non-causative > Causative

(277) *goli ræhḏ̣-ø šæhr* > *æli goli=ne borḏ̣-ø šæhr*
Goli went city > Ali Goli=OM took city
'Goli went to the city.' > 'Ali took Goli to the city.'

(278) *goli morḏ̣-ø* > *æli goli= ne košt-ø*
Goli died > Ali Goli=OM killed
'Goli died.' > 'Ali killed Goli.'

6.8.2 Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb (Payne, 2008:177). This change should act as a rule and be applicable 'to many other verbs in the language'[271] as well. In Bakhtiari the causative present stem is formed by adding the causative morphemes ***-n-/ -on-,*** an infix in character, to the present stem of the verb:

Non-causative > Causative
(279) *šiše eškæ-st-ø* > *æli šiše=ne eškæ-n-ḏ̣-ø*
glass break. PRS-3SG > Ali glass=OM break.PRS-CAUS-PST-3SG
'The glass broke.' > 'Ali broke the glass.'

(280) *šiše eškæh-e* > *bæče šiše=ne eškæ-n-e*
glass break.PRS-3SG > kid glass=OM break.PRS-CAUS-3SG
'The glass breaks/ will break.' > 'The kid breaks the glass.'

In Table 6.17, different verbs (intransitive, inchoative and transitive) are listed with their causative forms. The purpose of making this list was to generalize the causative formation in each and every of the above mentioned categories of verbs. By examining the data, we see that in the transitive group, in four examples out of five, the ***-on-*** form of the causativizer is used to make the present stem of the causative form (items 13, 15, 16 and17 below). The same infix ***-on-***, however, is used to change the intransitive verb lærzesten to its causative form (item 2) which creates a counter example to the possible general rule that says: to change an intransitive verb to a causative form it is enough to add the ***-n-*** to the end of the present stem. As for the second group, the inchoatives, they also present regularity in the sense that their causatives form by adding ***n-*** to the end of their present stem. The only difference that the two groups of intransitives and inchoatives exhibit, compared to the transitive one, is due to some phonological changes in the present stem, as illustrated in the examples 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12 below. Therefore, it becomes appar-

271. ibid.

ent that there are some prevalent tendencies in each group, but to state a pervasive generalization about all the verb groups seems out of reach.

Table 6.17: Causativization of different infinitives

	Intransitive	**Pres. stem**	**Gloss**	**Causative**	**Pres. stem**	**Gloss**
1	*eškæsten*	*eškæ(h)-*	to break	*eškenaḍen*	*eškæ-n-*	cause to break
2	*lærzesten*	*lærz-*	to shiver, tremble	*lærzonḍen*	*lærz-on-*	cause to shiver
3	*pokesten*	*pok-*	to explode	*pokonḍen*	*poy-n-*	(cause) explode
4	*ræhḍen*	*ræw-/ r-*	to go	*ronḍen*	*ru-n-*	to drive, to push
5	*χæwsiḍen*	*χæws-*	to lie down/ sleep	*χæwnaḍen*	*χæw-n-*	to incubate
	Inchoatives	**Pres.stem**	**Gloss**	**Causative**	**Pres. stem**	**Gloss**
6	*ænǰesten*	*ænǰe(h)-*	to split into pieces	*ænǰeniḍen*	*ænǰe-n-*	to cut into pieces
7	*eškæsten*	*eškæ(h)-*	to break	*eškæniḍen*	*eškæ-n-*	to (make) break
8	*masesten*	*mas-*	to harden	*masniḍen*	*mas-n-*	cause to harden; make yoghurt from milk
9	*peškesten*	*peške(h)-*	to splash/ sprinkle	*peškeniḍen*	*peške-n-*	to (make)
10	*pokesten*	*pok-*	to flourish	*poyniḍen*	*poy-n-*	(cause) to open
11	*sohḍen*	*sus-*	to burn	*suzniḍen*	*suz-n-*	cause to burn
12	*χæwsiḍen*	*χæws-*	to sleep	*χæwniḍen*	*χæw-n-*	to put to sleep
	Transitive	**Pres. stem**	**Gloss**	**Causative**	**Pres. stem**	**Gloss**
13	*fæhmesten*	*fæhm-*	to understand	*fæhmonḍen*	*fæhm-on-*	help to understand
14	*gerehḍen*	*ger-*	to go	*fe(re) šnaḍen*	*fe(re)š-n-*	to send
15	*kæšiḍen*	*kæš-*	to pull	*kæšonḍen*	*kæš-on-*	help to move
16	*såhiḍen*	*så(h)-*	to grate, to rub	*såhonḍen*	*såh-on-*	grate, rub
17	*zåhiḍen*	*zå(h)-*	to give birth	*zåhonḍen*	*zåh-on-*	help to give birth

There are also a number of verbs, all containing a morpheme-like element ***-gen-***, which convey a causative meaning: ***dargeniḑen*** ‘turn upside down, inside out’, ***šægeniḑen*** ‘to shake’ or ***tozgeniḑen*** ‘to put out a burning stick; to blink’. Some of these verbs have other forms, with meanings at times the same or very similar, but in some cases opposite of each other (283: 2, below), in which the **/*g*/** of the mentioned element has undergone phonological changes such as devoicing to **/*k*/** or palatalization to **/*y*/** or being omitted altogether. So, it is perhaps possible to infer that, in the previous stages of the language, there was another causative morpheme ***-gen*** which later dissolved into other forms or disappeared completely.

The list in (281) contains verbs that have ***-gen*** with transitive or causative meaning in their structure:

(281)

1. *gefgeniḑen* ‘to ruffle; to decompose; to make somebody angry’ > *gefniḑen* ‘to twist’
2. *gešgeniḑen* ‘to bat out wool with the hands’> *gešniḑen* ‘to spin’
3. *pergeniḑen* ‘to scatter’> *perniḑen* ‘to set a bird free (make it fly)’
4. *tezgeniḑen* = *tiǰniḑen* ‘to disassemble, to distort’
5. *možgeniḑen* = *možniḑen* ‘to squeeze, to press’
6. *kergeniḑen*= *kerkeniḑen* ‘to pucker; to make somebody upset
7. *tifgeniḑen*= *tifniḑen* ‘diffuse, scatter’
8. *perægniḑen*= *perækniḑen*= *peræyniḑen* ‘to sneeze (of a sheep)’
9. *pešgeniḑen*= *peškeniḑen* ‘to scatter’
10. *šogniḑen*= *šokniḑen*= *šoyniḑen* ‘to frighten’
11. *šængeniḑen*= *šæng kerḑen* ‘to rummage, to decompose; to winnow the crop

There are, however, verbs having the same structure but with an intransitive sense, as shown in (282) below:

(282)

1. *čelengeniḑen* ‘to howl’
2. *ɢorongeniḑen* ‘to roar, to squall’

3. *fengeniḑen* ‘to snatch’

4. *hæwgeniḑen* ‘breaking of the egg in a bird’s belly’

5. *berčeniḑen* ‘to shine’

6. *pelårniḑen* ‘to have a slip of the tongue’

7. *pofniḑen* ‘to swell; to demolish’

6.8.3 Analytic causatives

The third formation of causatives involves the usage of another verb, which in Bakhtiari is mainly ***nahaḑen*** ‘to put’, but also ***vænḑen*** ‘to drop, to throw into’ and ***kerḑen***, ‘to do’.

Non-causative > Causative

(283) 1. *mæryæm* *gerev-est-ø*
Maryam cry-PST-3SG
‘Maryam cried.’

2. *mæryæm* *nah-aḑ-ø* *va*[272] *gereve*
Maryam put.PRS-PST.3SG into cry
‘Maryam started to cry.’

3. *æli* *mæryæm=e* *nah-aḑ-ø* *va* *gereve*
Ali Maryam=OM put.PRS-PST-3SG into cry
‘Ali made Maryam cry.’ / ‘Ali put M. into cry.’

(284) 1. *zivær* *hænd-est-ø*
zivar laugh-3sg.pst
‘Zivar laughed.’

2. *zivær* *væ-st-ø* *va* *hænde*
zivar fall.PST-3SG into laughter
‘Zivar fell into laughter.’

3. kerim zivær=e væn-d-ø va hænde
kerim zivar=OM fall.PRS-3SG.PST into laughter
‘Kerim put Zivar into laughter.’

In the above examples, the first form of the so-called causatives is an example of an inchoative, since it expresses a change of state and the causer and the causee

272. directional- locational particle?!

are one and the same person. On the other hand, in the same examples, we do not see a valence-increasing operation, therefore, they can also be analyzed as reflexive constructions.

6.9 PASSIVES

Based on Payne's (2008: 204-209) categorization of passives, in Bakhtiari I distinguish morphological, analytic and impersonal passives. In the following sections, each type will be explained and then examples will be provided.

6.9.1 Morphological passives

One way of expressing the passive voice in Bakhtiari is by suffixing the passive morpheme ***- (e/i) h-***[273] to the active present tense of the verb. The past stem is then formed by adding ***-est/-ist*** to the present passive stem:

	Active present stem	**Present Passive**	**Past Passive**
(285)	***χær-*** 'eat'	***χær-eh-***	***χæhr-est-*** 'be eaten'
	1. *čænde qæza χor-e!*	2. *i qæza ta šæv χær-eh-e*	3. *mivæ-ha-ke χæhr-est-en!*
	how much food eat.PRS-3SG	PROX food till night eat.PRS-PASS-3SG	fruit-PL-DEF eat.PRS.PASS-PST-3PL
	'S/he eats so much!'	'This food is/ will be eaten by night.'	'The fruits were eaten altogether!'
(286)	***bor-*** 'cut'	***bor-eh-***	***bohr-est-*** 'be cut'
	1. *e-bor-om=es*	2. *šir-eke bor-eh-e*	3. *tænaf bohr-est-ø*
	IND-cut.PRS-1SG=BP.3SG	milk-DEF clot.PRS-PASS-3SG	rope cut.PRS.PASS -PST-3SG
	'I (will) cut it.'	'The milk will be cloted/ curded.'	'The rope was cut.'
(287)	***eškæn-*** 'break'	***eškæh-***	***eškæh-est-*** 'be broken'
	1. *peste be-škæn!*	2. *va ima n-i-škæh-e*	3. *toχm-a eškæh-est-en bi-ø*
	Pistachios SBJV-break.PR	with we NEG-IND-beak.PASS.PRS-3SG	egg-PL break.PRS.PASS -PST-3PL was-3SG
	'Shell some pistachios!'	'We can not handle it.'(Maddadi 1996: 21)	'The eggs had been broken.'
(288)	***der-*** 'tear'	***der-eh-***	***dehr- est-*** 'be torn'
	1. *derð-i=s?*	2. *χo=s der-he-e*	3. *ǰove-ke dehr-est*
	tear.PST-2SG=BP.3SG	SEFL=BP.3SG tear.PRS-PASS-3SG	dress-DEF tear.PASS.PRS-PST
	'Did you tear it?'	'It gets torn all by itself.'	'The dress got torn.'
(289)	***kæn-*** 'dig'	***kæh(n)-***	***kæhn-est-*** 'be dug'
	1. *i bærḍ=e ter-i kæ/en-i?*	2. *yo ni-kæh-e*	3. *yo χo=s kæhn-est-e* PROX
	stone=OM can.PRS-2SG dig.PRS-2SG	this/ it NEG-dig.PRS-3SG	it self=BP.3SG dig.PASS.PRS-PST-PTCP
	'Can you dig out this stone?'	'This (one) cannot be dug out.'	'It hasbeen dug all by itself!'

273. I agree with some scholars (Maddadi 1994, Taheri 2012) who believe that this morpheme is the same as the passive marker morpheme ***-īh*** in the Middle Persian, which is lost in New Persian, but has survived in Bakhtiari (Zolfaghari 1996).

6.9.2 Analytical Passives

The second way of expressing the passive voice in Bakhtiari is by using the past participle plus the verb ***vabiḑen/ abiḑen*** ‘ to become’. Different forms of ***vabiḑen*** will be used to show the modal, aspectual differences as well as various tenses. The past participle, as mentioned above (4.2.1), is formed by adding the participle formant ***-e*** to the past stem:

(290) 1. *dærf-a šošt-e* *vabiḑ*
dish-PL wash.PST-PTCP become.PST
‘The dishes were washed.’

2. *pia-yæl* *påy* *košt-e* *vabiḑ-en*
man-PL all die.PST-PTCP become.PST-3PL
‘All the men were killed.’

As can be seen in the above example (290: 1), when the subject is inanimate, agreement with the verb is not obligatory. The different forms of ***vabiḑen/ abiḑen*** are as follows:

Present Indicative : *i-bu-om, i-bu-i, i-bu (-(h)e), i-bu-im, i-bu-in, i-bu-(h)en*

Present Subjunctive: *vabu-om,vabu-i, vabu-e, vabu-im, vabu-in, vabu-en*

Past Perfective: *vabiḑ, vabiḑ-i, vabiḑ, vabiḑ-im, vabiḑ-in, vabiḑ-en*

Present Perfect: *vabiḑ-om-e, vabiḑ-i-e, vabiḑ-e, vabiḑ-im-e,vabiḑ-in-e,vabiḑ-en-e*

Past Perfect: *vabiḑ-om bi,vabiḑ-i bi, vabiḑ-e bi,vabiḑ-im bi,vabiḑ-in bi, vabiḑ-en bi*

6.9.3 Impersonal Passives

The impersonal passive, according to Payne, are essentially the same as the basic passives in the sense that: “… they downplay the centrality of an AGENT.” (Payne, 2008: 206) There is, however, one difference between the two: “… impersonal passives can be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs” (ibid). Some examples of impersonal passives in Bakhtiari are:

(291) *e-χo* *ǰæng* *vabu!*
DUR-want.PRS.3SG fight become.SBJV.3SG
‘A fight is going to start!’

(292) *hæmi* *čo* *hin* *ris-est-ø*
this here blood pour-PST-3SG
‘Blood was shed on this very place.’

6.10 NEGATION AND PROHIBITION

To express negation, the prefix ***næ-*** is used before the tense/ mood prefixes and the preverbs. Its distribution is as follows:

To negate a verb which is prefixed with an durative or imperfective marker, the two prefixes will combine and result in ***n-i-***, as shown in the following formula:

næ- + e-/ i- > n-i-

(293) *næ-+ e-go-m* > *n-i-go-m*
NEG- + DUR-say.PRS-1SG> NEG-DUR-say.PRS-1SG
'I don't/ won't say.'

To negate a subjunctive verb, however, the form ***næ-*** replaces the subjunctive prefix. For a thorough illustration of the usage of ***næ-*** with different allomorphs of the subjunctive marker, all the examples in (206:1-8) are repeated below as (294:1-8) in a negated form:

(294)
1. *næ- + be-kæn-om > næ-kæn-om*
2. *næ-kerǫ̈-om*
3. *næ-stun-om=es*
4. *næ- + bo-χun-om=es > næ-χun-om=es*
5. *næ-koš-om=es*
6. *næ- + bi-yå-he > næ-yå-he*
7. *næ-mir-om*
8. *næ/e-bin-i*[274]

To be more precise, when the vowel of the stem is **/i/**, the negative prefix can assimilate to ***ne-*** as well, thus:

(295) 1. *ne-mir-om, ærusi=t=e* *bi-vin-om* 2. *ne-miz*
NEG-die.PRS-1SG wedding=BP.2SG=OM SBJV- see.PRS-1SG NEG -piss.PRS.2SG
'May I'll be alive to see your wedding!' 'Don't piss!'

When the main verb is preceded by a modal verb, the negative prefix will not attach to the subordinate verb; therefore, the subjunctive prefix remains in its place:

(296) Aff: *va be-r-om* > Neg: *næ-va be-r-om* 'I shouldn't go.'

The past subjunctive is usually negated by attaching the form ***næ-*** to the preceding modal verbs:

274. Notice the change of consonant **/*v*/ > /*b*/** in examples (206: 8 and 293: 8): ***bi-vin-i > næ/e-bin-i.***

(297) 1. *næ-vaske be-χærḑ-om=es* 2. *ni-χast-om bo-koš-om=es*
NEG-must.PST SBJV-eat.PST-1SG=BP.3SG NEG-want.PST-1SG SBJV-kill.PST-1SG=BP.3SG
'I shouldn't have eaten it!' ' I didn't want to kill it.'

In example (298), which is a Bakhtiari proverb, the negation of an individuative and a subjunctive verb is illustrated:

(298) *ta doḑær næ-bu-ø razi, kor n-i-kon-e bus-bazi*(Davari 1965: 26)
until girl NEG-be.SBJV-3SG willing, boy NEG-DUR-do.PRS-3SG kiss-play
'A boy dares to kiss a girl only when she begins flirting.'

Sometimes, the negating element ***næ*** acts like a seperate word and negates a clause (299 or a whole sentence (300):

(299) *ær næ si del-e to bi-ø, hi n-i-veiḑ-om*
if not for heart-EZ you be.PST-3SG, nothing NEG-DUR-come.PST-1SG
'If it was not for your sake, I would never come!'

(300) *næ si χater-e to i kar-e kerḑ-om?*
not for sake-EZ you PROX work=OM do.PST-1SG
'Wasn't that for your sake, that I did this?!'

To negate an imperative verb, the prefix ***næ-*** will replace the imperative prefix in its different forms ***be- / bo- / bi-***:

(301) 1. *be-zæn* > *næ-zæn* 'Hit! > Don't hit'
2. *bo-koš* > *næ-koš* 'Kill! > Don't kill!'
3. *bi-mir* > *næ/e-mir*[275] 'Die! > Don't die!'

To express prohibition, the prefix ***mæ-*** is used. It is an original Bakhtiari prohibitive prefix since it is used more by the older generation and it can be heard in the old wedding or funeral songs. ***næ-*** is used more under the influence of Persian:

(302)

1. *bo-go* > *mæ-go* 'Say (it)! > Don't say (it)'
2. *(bo-) ræw* > *mæ-ræw* 'Go! > Don't go'

275. There are also peculiar negative forms like ***næʷ-n-om*** instead of expected * ***næ-e-dun-om*** > ***ni-dun-om*** 'I don't know.' the phonological changes of which I am not going to discuss further in the present work.