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Farvi: An Iranian Language in Kavir Desert

Farvi, also known as Farrokhi, is an Iranian language spoken in the village of Farvi in Khur district of Kavir desert in central Iran. It shares features with other languages in Kavir region such as Khuri, Irāji and Garmayi. This paper describes synchronic and historical phonology and the grammar of Farvi based on data collected in Farvi village during April 2019. The study of historical phonology and morphological evidence show that though basically Northwestern, Farvi shares some features with Southwestern Iranian languages so that, like Kurdish and Balochi, it is separated from the other Northwestern Iranian languages. In later changes, Farvi shows some areal features that put it alongside Southeastern languages such as Northern Bashgardi and Balochi.

Keywords: Farvi; Farrokhi; Kavir Desert; Central Languages; Khur; Grammar; Phonology

Introduction

Farvi (locally Farvi/Farvigi) is a variety of Central Iranian languages[1] spoken in Farvi (Persianized Farrokhi), a village in Kavir desert belonging to the Biabanak Rural District, in the Khur and Biabanak County, Isfahan Province, Iran. The village is located some 240 km east of Nāyin and 17 km west of Khur Township, at the geographical location of latitude 33.8423° and longitude 54.9529°. Its population is 3,015, in 668 families at the 2016 census. The main commercial activity in the region is cultivation of palm and grains.

Closely related to Farvi are the languages spoken in Khur and some other villages on the southern border of the central desert (Dasht-e Kavir) such as Khur, Irāj and

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[1]I prefer to use "language" for non-oficial New Iranian languages mostly known as Iranian dialects, instead of the conventional and more commom term of "dialect."

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Garma. Farvi and other Khur languages are generally listed as a subgroup of Central Iranian languages,[2] but historical phonology and some morphological features as presented in this paper show that, despite being basically Northwestern, Farvi shares some features with Southwestern Iranian languages that detach it not only from Central languages but also from other northwestern languages. It also shows further sound changes shared by Kurdish and Balochi which apparently separate them from the rest of the Northwestern languages. In later changes, Farvi shows some areal features that relate it to Northern Bashgardi and Balochi.

Farvi was first commented on in short articles by R. Frye[3] and S. Kiā[4] which only included some Farvi words and sentences. Other data on its lexicon later collected by S. Kiā was provided in a dictionary of sixty-seven Iranian dialects published in Tehran after Kiā's death.[5] A brief update is provided in Borjian,[6] where the article under "Farvi dialect" in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* contains a short description of the language, but seemingly based on the data previously collected by Kiā and Frye. However, there are some differences between the data collected by the author with those attested in Borjian's article, which might be due to different references the author used. However, all his data have been examined by the author of the current paper. A more detailed description on Khur languages was given by Borjian on Khuri.[7] He gives an outline of some morphological features and then sketches the historical phonology.

The present paper involves a description of phonology and grammar of Farvi, based on the corpus for the current study collected by the author in Farvi during April 2019, with the aim of providing more elaborate description. First attempts at achieving this aim have recently been made by Borjian. More specifically, this article discusses the phonological and lexical features that Farvi shares with Balochi and Kurdish, and with Southwestern languages to highlight it as a distinct language and distinguish it from central languages. The following language users were consulted: Ahmad Rāji (age fifty-six), Hosein Ra'isi (age thirty-eight), Zeynab Khademi (age fifty-one), Nafise Rāji (age twenty-one), Mohammad Khādemi (age forty-seven), and Ahmad Ra'isi (age twenty-six); all of them are native speakers of Farvi who had been living in Farvi all their lives.

Phonology

Synchronic phonology.   The vowel system of Farvi has six short and long vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, /â/, /ī/, /ū/ and two falling diphthongs: back-falling /ua/ and front-falling /ia/. Yet the quality of vowels may vary in phonetic positions.

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[2]Windfuhr, *Central Dialects*, Classification of the central dialects; Lecoq, "Le dialectes du centre de l'Iran," 314.

[3]Frye, "Report on a Trip to Iran."

[4]Kiā, "Yāddāšti darbāra-ye guyeš-e Farvigi."

[5]Kiā, *Vāženāma-ye šast-o-haft guyeš-e Irāni*.

[6]Borjian, "Farvi Dialect."

[7]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur."

/a/, a short central vowel corresponding to Pers. /a/: *arg* "saw," *asse* "bone," *tag* "bottom, base," *gazar* "big," *mazge* "mosque," *galg* "leaf," *gīsa* "goat." There is some variation in articulation of this vowel as [ɛ] and [e], especially in final position: *mɛhĭk* "fish," *sɛg/seg* "stone," *pešt* "back," *gaččɛ* "child," *tɛ* "you," *fa/fɛ/fe* "self." It seems that the final /a/ is generally raised and fronted as [ɛ], but, affected by Persian, the final [ɛ] is switched to [e] in order to coincide with the Persian vowel system. As the second part of the diphthong /ia/, it is also raised as [ɛ]: *biɛlâ* "top, high," *debiɛre* "he cuts." Before /r/, it is centralized as [ə]: *sərâ* "house," *xərā* "spoiled, demolished," *səreve* "sneeze."

/e/ is a short close-mid front unrounded vowel that generally corresponds to Pers. /e/: *emšā* "tonight," *eškâr* "gazelle," *eštar* "camel," *berâ* "brother," *kešŏ* "field" and *pe* "father." /e/ also coincides with /o/ or /a/ in Persian and most Iranian languages: *mess* "fist," *derū* "lie" and *je* "woman." It may also be closed to [i] in the final position: *geššĭ* "hungry."

/o/ a short, close-mid back unrounded vowel normally corresponds to /o/ in Persian: *ošnū* "sneeze," *mošk* "mouse," *botte* "tree"; but it may also correspond to Pers. /a/ and /â/: *gormâ* "heat," *kong* "laugh," *resso* "rope," *dong* "seed," *oftā* "sun"; and to Persian /ū/ and /o/: *botte* "tree" (Pers. *būte*) and *pos* "boy" (Pers. *pəsar*).

/â/ is a long open central vowel generally corresponding to Pers. /â/:[8] *âyar* "fire," *fâr* "sister," *nâg* "nose," *rīvâj* "rhubarb," *mâ* "mother" and *gâ* "wind." It has an allophone as [ā] ([æ:] in IPA) that corresponds to Pers. /â/ and appears in words that have retained MIr. *ā*: *gāfe* "sheaf," *sāv-* "to rub," *tāve* "pan," *gā(v)* "cow"[9] *čerā* "lamp," *biyāvehon* "they came."

/ī/ is a long close front vowel corresponding to Pers. /ī/ and /ū/: *tīj* "sharp," *rīj* "beard," *kīsg* "haversack," *zī* "early, quick," *gīšt* "meat," *rīva* "face," *kīča* "alley." In some words, it corresponds to Pers. /a/ and /â/: *kīm* "few, little" and *gīj* "cotton," *mīn-* "to stay," *sīj-* "to build," *šīm* "dinner."

/ū/ is a long close back vowel, corresponding to Pers. /ū/: *gūj* "ear," *dūj* "yesterday," *lūš* "mud," *ganū* "wild pistachio"; but in some words with Pers. /ow/: *rūš* "light," *nū* "new."

The back-falling diphthong /ua/ historically developed by diphthongization of *ū* and *u* before *h* (cf. below) generally corresponds to Pers. /o/ and /ū/: *duahd* "d," *suahr* "red," *muahre* "marble," *suahd-* "to burn" (but present stem *sūj-*), *kuahnag* "old, worn out" (corresponding to Pers. *kohne* not to Central languages *kana* and the like), *juahn* "stony mortar" (cf. Khuri *john*), *rueje* "fast" and *tuare* "jackal." This kind of diphthongization is an areal feature and a common phenomenon among some varieties of Northern Bashgardi in the Kerman region, and it seems to be the result of language contact or a common substratum contact.[10]

The front-falling diphthong /ia/ that might appear as [iɛ] corresponds with varieties of vowels, but generally with Pers. /ī/: *diar* "late," *bial* "spade," *siav* "apple," *piahrō* "shirt," *hegiahd-/hegiaj-* "to sift," *xonokia* "coldness"; but also with /e/

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[8]As there is a distinction between *â* ([ɑ] in IPA and corresponding to Persian conventional ā) versus *ā* ([æ:] in IPA which is a long æ), I prefer to use *â* instead of conventional *ā* even for Persian words.

[9]Basically *gā* but with a suffix or enclitic: *gāv*, e.g. *ya gāvī* "a cow."

[10]Cf. Rudbāri (a variety of northern Bashgardi) in southern Kerman: *rieht-/riez-* "to pour" (tr.), *pieš* "before, front," *sueht-/suez-* "to burn" (tr.), *kueh* "mountain"; see Motallebi, "Rudbāri Dialect," 35–40.

before /h/: *miahmō* "guest," *tiahrō* "Tehran," *giahtar* "better," *geria* "knot, node"; with /ū/: *riavī* "day," *raviahd-* "to sell"; with /â/: *riah* "road, path," *ketiav* "book," *biɛlâ* "top, up"; and in one case with /aw/: *kiaj* "shoe" (Central languages *kawš*, Pers. *kafš*).

The consonant system of Farvi is basically similar to that of colloquial Persian with the following exceptions: contrary to Khuri /ž/ in words like *žōnugun* "women,"[11] /ž/ is not found in Farvi, and is replaced by /j/: *jenū* "women." The velar /q/ corresponds to Pers. /q/, appearing as aspirated [qʰ] in words with Arabic origin: *qʰevā* "traditional long shirt for men," *qʰâlī* "carpet," *qʰadīmū* "old days," *čoqʰada* "how much," but also /q/ may appear as [ɣ] in intervocalic and final postvocalic positions (historically from OIr. intervocalic *k* or *g*): *sīɣor* "porcupine" (cf. Balochi *sikun*, Av. *sukurəna-*), *maɣas* "fly," *dūɣ* "yogurt drink." A notable feature is the retention of the pharyngeal /ħ/ and /ʕ/ in all words of Arabic origin: *sobħat* "talk," *ħasan* "Hasan" (proper name), *maħmad* "Mohammad" (proper name), *moħazemū* "Mohamad Zamân" (proper name); *sâʕat* "hour, time," *ʕalī* "Ali" (proper name), *moʕalem* "teacher."

Some phonological features and processes on other consonants can be noted: final postvocalic *-n* is deleted, and in most cases resulted in nasalization of the former vowel: *je* "woman," *sīje* "needle"; *nū* "bread," *hezū* "tongue," *fɛmū* "ourselves," *tiahrū* "Tehran," *piahrō* "shirt," *niahrī* "curse." When the word is suffixed by an enclitic or inflectional suffix, the final postvocalic *-n* appears: *jenū* "the woman," *jenū* "women" and *piahrōn-e espī* "white shirt." The final /rd/ is deleted in past stems when not suffixed: *beka* "he did" vs. *karda bī* "he had done" as in the deletion of *-t* in final post-consonantal position: *algeref* "he picked up," *befaf* "he slept." Notable is the use of *-g-* as a hiatus consonant when a word ending in a vowel is suffixed by an enclitic or inflectional suffix: *gačča* "child" >*gaččag-ō* "my child," *yagīna* "fried egg" >*yagīnag-eī karde* "they have made fried egg," *fī* "farmland" >*fīg-eyū beraviahd* "they sold the farmland," *hâmela* "pregnant" >*duahd-e hâmelag-ī* "his daughter is pregnant," *qʰâlī* "carpet" >*qʰâlīg-eī degaft* "they wove carpet," *riavī* "day" >*riavīgūn* "days." The process is also frequently seen in Khuri: *sebi-g-ē* "it is morning."[12] The common use of *-g-* as intervocalic connector is illustrated by the examples showing that OIr. suffixal *-ka* (Middle Iranian *-g*) has commonly remained as final *-g* in many words like *dâng* "seed," *âyeng* "mirror" and *tag* "bottom," but also extended analogically to other words (see also below).

Historical phonology.   Northwestern features. From a historical point of view, Farvi demonstrates sound changes shared by Northwestern languages that make it possible to consider them as Northwestern languages. This means that Farvi shares a set of features with other Northwestern languages such as Balochi, Talyshi and Central languages, which are already seen in Parthian (Prth.), whereas Southwestern Iranian languages such as Persian, Lori, Larestani and Bashgardi show different features that are already seen in Middle Persian (MP). According to Korn,[13] most

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[11]Borjian, "Dialect of Khur," 81.
[12]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 81.
[13]Korn, "Balochi and the Concept," 56.

features of Northwestern Iranian languages are of a type of "shared archaism," i.e. these languages retain the developments already shown by Parthian. The most important sound changes in Farvi that will be discussed below show that Farvi belongs to the Northwestern group:[14]

1. The development of OIr. *s* (from PIE palatal velar *ḱ*) that has established an isogloss in Iranian languages and separates Old Persian from the other Old Iranian languages in the Old period, and separates Northwestern from Southwestern languages is marked by the change of OIr. *s* to Farvi *s* contrary to *h* in Southwestern languages: *pas* "goat" (OIr. *pasu-*, Av. *pasu-*, cf. MP *pah*, Prth. *pas* "sheep"); *ruâsg* "fox" (OIr. *raupāsa-*, Skt. *lopāśa-*, Prth. *rōbās*); *kas* "small" (OIr. *kasyah-*, Av. *kasu-*, MP *keh*, Prth. *kasādar* "smaller"); *gīsa* "female goat" (PIr. *watsya-*, cf. Skt. *vatsya-*, and its Southwestern form in MP *wahīg* and Bakhtiari *bīg* "kid"); *tias* "awn" from older *tās* (cf. the sound change of *â* to *ia* in Farvi, see below) <OIr. *dāsa-*, cf. Talyshi *dos*, Gazi *dâse*, as against Boirahmadi and Larestani *daha*.[15]

2. The other established isogloss in Iranian languages is the retention of OIr. *z* as *z* in Northwestern languages but its development to *d* in Southwestern languages. Farvi joins the Northwestern as marked in just two lexical items: *zonī-/zon-* "to know" (OIr. *zan-*, Av. *zan-*, MP *dān-*, Prth. *zān-*); and *zomâ* "bridegroom" (OIr. *zāmātar*, Av. *zāmātar-*, MP *dāmād*, Prth. *zāmād*). Borjian shows that Perside /d/, as in *duj* "yesterday" and *dušaw* "last night," is an isogloss Farvi shows with Southwestern languages, but *duj* is from OIr. *daušā-* (cf. Av. *daošastara-*, Oss. *dyson*, Skt. *doṣā́-*), which does not reflect an OIr. *z*.

3. The OIr. initial cluster *hw-* changed further to *w̱* in Prth;[16] it has changed to *f-* in Farvi, which places Farvi alongside Khuri and Sivandi as the only Iranian languages possessing this feature: *fâr* "sister" (OIr. *hwahar-*, Khuri *fâr*), *fi* "blood" (OIr. *hwahūni-*, Khuri *fin*, Sivandi *fin*), *fârd-/far-* "to eat" (< OIr. *hwar-*, Sivandi *fârdan*); *faft-* "to sleep" (OIr. *hwafta-*, Khuri *fâfton*, Sivandi *fetan*); *fε* "self" (Av. *xᵛatō*, Khuri *fa*, Sivandi *fey*). As *wx-* in Prth. was probably pronounced as devoiced *w-*, we can take *w-* as the starting point of departure that seems far away from the Southwestern change to *x(w)-*, which reveals a Northwestern development.

4. Old Iranian *j* changes or remains as *j* in Farvi: *je* "woman" and *pireje* "old woman" (<OIr. *jani-*, Av. *jaini-*) and *tīj* "sharp" (OIr. *taija-*). A similar sound change is found in the development of OIr. intervocalic *č* to Farvi *j*:

rueje "fast" from older **rūj* "day" (OIr. **raučah-* "day," Av. *raočah-*, MP *rōzag*); *sīje* "needle" (OIr. **sūčī-*, Skt. *sūcí-*); *novâj* "worship, prayer" (cf. MP *namāz*, Prth. *namāž*) as well as the present stem of the verbs: *sūj-* "to burn," *sīj-* "to make," *pej-* "cook, bake," *gaj-* "to uproot," *hegiaj-* "to sift" and *(he)rīj-* "to pour."

5. The change of PIr. **sw-* to *sp* is found in only one word, *espej* "louse" (<OIr. **spiš-*, Av. *spiš-*), as a Northwestern feature. Though it also found in *espī* "white," it is not necessarily representative of genuine Northwestern features, because similar sound changes are seen in Middle Persian and other Southwestern languages.

6. Despite Central languages, OIr. *f* has remained before *t*, e.g. *gereft-* "take", like most Central languages, OIr. **fr* has developed to **r* or **hr*: *raviahd-/raveš-* "to sell" (<OIr. **fra-waxša-*), *niahrī* "curse" (OIr. **ni-frī-nā-*, Pers. *nefrin*), *kuar* "kid" (OIr. **kafra-*), and in the preverb *he-*/ preposition *he* (<OIr. **fra-/frā-*), which is retained in verbs such as *hedâ-* "to give," *hegiahd-*"to sift," *henvešt-* "to sit," but not in *tarf* "lactic acid, sour extract of yogurt water" (<OIr. **tafra-*, cf. Prth. *tafr*, Khwarezmian *trf*, Sogd. *trp'r'k*).

Southwestern features. The following sound changes show that Farvi, although basically Northwestern, regularly shows some Southwestern features that put it alongside Kurdish and Balochi and distinguishes it from the other Northwestern Iranian languages by a number of phonological developments known to be specifically Persian. A list of the similar features for Khuri has already been given by Borjian. He shows that at the Old Iranian stage, most isoglosses reveal that Khuri is a non-Perside language, while in the Middle Iranian period Khuri demonstrates significant isoglosses, which, as it possesses features belonging to both groups, categorizes it between Northwestern and Southwestern languages:[17]

1. The sound change of OIr. *y-* and *wy-* to *j-* in Farvi is also seen in Balochi and Kurdish,[18] which can be considered as a Southwestern feature, connecting Farvi to Balochi and Kurdish as the only Northwestern languages having this feature: *jârīg* "husband's brother's wife" (OIr. **yāϴrīka-*, *Skt. yātar-*), *jā* "barely"; *juahn* "stony mortar" (<OIr. **yawa-arna-*, Av. *yāvarəna-*; cf. Meymai *yâna*, Jowshaqani *yahan*, Boirahmadi *jeven*), *jōfū* "threshing-floor" (<OIr. **yawa-hwana-*, cf. Boirahmadi *jəxūn*, Abyanai *yōvīn*);[19] *jâ* "alone, separate" (as against the Northwestern form in Jowhshaqani *yadâ*, Prth. *yud*, Av. *yuta-*). Although *jâ* "place" may be affected by Persian, but *jâgâ* "bed" can be a genuine Southwestern form as its Northwestern form is seen in some Central languages such as Jowshaqani *yâgâ* "quilt"; *johū* "nice, beautiful" (OIr. *yuan-*, Av. *yuuan* "young," cf. its Northwestern form in Southern Tati

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[17]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 91–2.
[18]Korn, *Toward a Historical Grammar of Balochi*, 104, 135; MacKenzie, "Origin of Kurdish," 73.
[19]Cf. Asatrian, "Iranian Notes III," 322; on the second part cf. Bakhtiari *âxūn*, Meymai *âhūn*.

yōnagā "bull calf, young cow"[20]) shows another isogloss with Southwestern languages, but can also be a loanword from Persian. Borjian quotes some other examples in Khuri: *āji* "there," *juš-* "boil" and *jōvion* "to chew."[21]

2. Both OIr. **rd* and **rz* appear as *l* in Farvi: *hal-* "to let, to allow" (Khuri *hēl-*, <OIr. **hṛza-*, against Northwestern form *harz-*, cf. Prth. *harz-*); *esbelūk* "spleen" (OIr. **spṛzan-*, Av. *spərəzan-*, against Jowshaqani *sparza*); preverb *al-* "up" as in *alsat-* "to weigh," *algereft-* "to pick up" (OIr. **ṛdwa-*, Av. *ərədwa*, Central languages *âr-*), not corresponding to Central languages *var-* as Borjian has proposed.[22] Farvi *bialâ* "up" and Khuri *bolō* may be Persian loanwords. Although this feature is shown by only three words, these seem to provide evidence of a Southwestern development in Farvi. Borjian notes Khuri *bēl* "spade" as the reflex of OIr **rd* in Khuri. Despite being a Southwestern feature, it is not a reflex of OIr. **rd*. Farvi *bial* "spade" and Khuri *bēl* are from older **bayl* <OIr. **badra-* by lenition of *-d-* to *-y-*. However, Central languages *bâla* and *bard* "spade" are from OIr. **barda-*.

3. For the sound change OIr. **θr*, Farvi joins Southwestern languages which have *s* contrary to the *r* or *hr* in Northwestern languages: *pos* "boy, son"; *āves* "pregnant" (OIr. **āpuΘra-*, cf. Bashgardi *yōpes*, Bakhtiari *awos*, against Central languages *âvira* and the like); *dâsg* "sickle" <OIr. **dāΘra-*, Skt. *dātra-* as against Central languages *dâr* and the like (cf. Khuri *pos* "son," *ōves* "pregnant," although Khuri *ōsio* may be a Persian loanword).

4. For the sound change of OIr. **dw-* to Northwestern *b-* (contrary to Southwestern *d-*), as a Southwestern isogloss, Farvi and Khuri, like MP and other Southwestern languages, demonstrate the development of **dw-* to *d-*:[23] *de* "other, again" (<OIr. **dwitia-*; MP *did*, Prth. *bid*); *dar* "door" (<OIr. **dwar-*, Av. *duuar-*, MP *dar*).

Later changes. There are some innovative sound changes that have occurred in Farvi, some of which are shared with Southeastern Iranian languages. The following sound changes can be regarded as specific to Farvi and had not appeared in the Northwestern development period:

1. The initial OIr. **w-* has been changed to *g-* in Farvi, that relates Farvi with Southeastern Iranian languages such as Northern Bashgardi and Balochi. This sound change can be regarded as an areal feature Farvi shares with Southeastern languages: *gâ* "wind" (OIr. **wāta-*, Av. *vāta-*), *galg* "leaf" (OIr. **walka-*), *gâyem* "almond" (MP *wādām*); *gazar* "big" (OIr. **wazṛka-*), *gad* "bad," *gar* "beside," *gīss* "twenty" (OIr. **wisati*, Av. *visaiti*), *ganū* "wild pistachio" (OIr. **wanā-*, Av. *vanā-*, Bakhtiari and Boirahmadi *ban* "wild pistachio");

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[20]Yarshater, *Grammar of Southern Tati Dialects*, 70.
[21]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 92.
[22]Borjian, "Farvi Dialect."
[23]Cf. Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 92.

got-/gaš- "to say" (OIr. **waxta-/vaxš-*); *geheš* "paradise" (OIr. **wahišta-*, Av. *vahišta-*); *giahtar* "better" (MP *wehtar*). Some more examples for Farvi are recorded by Borjian: *garf* "snow," *gas* "enough," *gar* "side," *gāng* "voice, call," and *gehina* "pretext." A similar change is seen in Khuri: *gad* "bad," *gīd* "willow," *gara* "lamb," *gahi* "bride" and *gen-* "to see."[24] The same is true for OIr. **wr̥-* that is retained as *go(r)-* contrary to *va(r)-* or *ve(r)-* in Central languages: *gorde* "kidney" (<OIr. **wr̥dka-*, cf. MP *gurdag*), *gorg* "wolf" (<OIr. **wr̥ka-*, cf. MP *gurg*), *gešši* "hungry" (<OIr. **waršna-*, cf. MP *gursag*, with *š* also showing guna-grade in Northwestern vs. zer-grade in Southwestern that derived from OIr. **wr̥sna-* with OIr. Vocalic *r̥*).

2. The older **w* (genuine or from older *ab* or *af*) after *a* or *ā* is deleted and resulted in compensatory lengthening of *a*: *ā* "water," *ār* "cloud," *ārīv* "dignity" (from older **awrū<ābrū*), *jā* "barley," *gā* "cow," *šā* "night," *xā* "sleep," *lā* "lip," *sāz* "green," *qʰār* "grave," *dār* "around, round, cycle" (cf. Pers. *dowr*), *hāda* "seventeen" (<older **hawdah<hafdah*), *tanā* "rope" (cf. Pers. *tanâb*) and *jelā* "front" (Pers. *jelow*); but by joining an enclitic or a suffix, the older **w* appeared or has remains as *v*: *šavū* "nights," *ya gāvī* "a cow" and *av-e rī âyar beriahd* "he poured water on fire."

3. Older *h* is generally remained in all positions: *hemī* "still" (<**ham-nūn*), *hezū* "tongue" (from older *ezwān* by the addition of initial *h-*[25]), *huas-* "to sleep" (OIr. **hufsa-*), *hamā* "we," *kuahnag* "old, worn-out," *geheš* "paradise" and *muahre* "marble." Initial and preconsonantal **x* is changed to *h* without later deletion of *h*: *hargūj* "rabbit," *hūj* "ear of grain or palm" (from older **xūš* <OIr. **auša-*), *hormâ* "palm, date," *tahl* "bitter" (OIr. **taxra-*, cf. MP *taxl*), *čahr* "spinning wheel" (<OIr. **čaxra-*), *suahr* "red" (<OIr. **suxra-*, cf. MP *suxr*); *duahd* "daughter" (<**duxt*), *gahd-* "to uproot" (OIr. **waxta-*, cf. Jowshaqani *vat-/vaj-*), *riahd-* "to pour," *hegiahd-* "to sift," *raviahd-* "to sell" (<OIr. **fra-waxta-*), *pahd-* "to cook" (<OIr. **paxta-*), *âsuahd* "ash," although preconsonantal **x* is deleted in Khuri: *čēr* "spinning wheel," *sɔr* "red," *dōd* "girl, daughter," *red-* "spill," *sēd-* "weigh," *reved-* "sell."[26]

4. The OIr. intervocalic **t* which had previously developed to *d* in MP and Prth. has changed to *y* through lenition of the *d*: *âyar* "fire" (OIr. **ātar-*, MP *ādur*); *kaye* "winter cottage" (OIr. *kata-*, Prth. *kadag*); *mâya* "female" (OIr. **mātā*, Prth. *mādag*), *diya* "seen" (OIr. *dīta-*), *gâyem* "almond" (OIr. **wātāma-*, MP *wādām*). Final postvocalic *d* (from OIr. itervocalic *t*) is lost: *pe* "father" (OIr. *pitā*, Prth. *pid*), *mâ* "mother" (OIr. *mātā*, Prth. *mād*), *zī* "quick(ly)" (<OIr. **zūti-*, Av. *uzūiti-*). The change is also found in Khuri: *māyā* "female," *čoyor* "veil," *keyyā* "room," *moy/mā* "mother," *pī(o)* "father," *zi* "early."[27]

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[24]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 93.
[25]Cf. Paul, "Position of Zazaki," 170, note 29.
[26]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 93.
[27]Ibid.

5. One of the specific features of Farvi is the sound change of *-š* to *-j* in final post-vocalic position:[28] *rīj* "beard," *mīj* "ewe, sheep," *kiaj* "shoe," *gūj* "ear," *hūj* "ear of grain or palm," *hargūj* "rabbit," *espej* "louse" (OIr. *spiš-), *dūj* "yesterday" (OIr. *daušā-, Skt. *doṣā-*), *pīj* "palm coir, palm fiber" (cf. Pers. *pūšâl*, Bakhtiari *pīš*), *gīj* "cotton" (Pers. *vaš* "unginned cotton"). A similar change is seen in Khuri by vocalization of the final *š*: *duž* "yesterday," *huž* "bunch," *riž* "beard," *miž* "ewe," *guž* "ear," *kož-* "to kill," *kēž* "shoe."[29]

6. Old Iranian cluster *st* has changed to *ss* by total assimilation of *t* with *s*, but to *s* in initial position: *sâre* "star" (OIr. *star-, Av. *star-*), *ssay-/ssīn-* "to buy" (OIr. *stan-, MP and Prth. *istān-* "to take," Pers. *sitad-/sitān-*), *asse* "bone" (OIr. *astaka-, Av. *ast-*), *mess* "fist, two-hand fist" from a Southwestern form *must* (cf. Bakhtiari *most*, Boirahmadi *mos*; OIr. *mušti-, Av. *mušti.masah-*), *angossar* "ring" from Southwestern form *angust* (cf. Bakhtiari *angost*, Boirahmadi *angōs*; OIr. *angušta-, Av. *angušta-*). However, Farvi *mess* "fist, two-hand fist," *angossar* "ring" and Khuri *mes* "fist," *āngos* "finger" show an isogloss with Southwestern languages.[30]

7. While the OIr. *au* generally changed to *ū* in Farvi, OIr. *ū* remained in MP and Prth. and later developed as fronted *ü* in Central languages it changed to *ī* in Farvi: *zī* "early, quick(ly)" (<OIr. *zūti-, Av. *uzūiti-*), *sīje* "needle" (OIr. *sūčī-, Skt. *sūcí-*), *fī* "blood" <*fīn* (OIr. *hwahūni-, cf. Khuri *fin*), *šiv* "husband" (cf. Central languages *šü*); and in some other words with an unetymological origin: *kīče* "alley," *pīj* "palm coire" (cf. Pers. *pūšâl*), *šī* "bottom, down" (cf. Northern Bashgardi *šue*). In some other examples, Borjian shows the fronting of Middle Iranian *ō* to Farvi *ī*: *rī* "face," *mīv* "hair," *šiv* "husband," *gišt* "meat" and *rixune* "river." The same change occurred in post MIr. *ū* created by the loss of postvocalic *h* and compensatory lengthening of *u*: *pīl* "bridge" <*pūl* <*puhl*; or ū created by rising of *ā* before nasals: *šīm* "dinner, night" <*šūm* <*šām* (cf. *āsmin*; <*āsmun* <*āsmān*) "sky" recorded by Borjian.

8. The change of intervocalic *-m-* to *-v-* as a particular characteristic feature of Farvi is seen in some words: *noviang* "salt" (<*nemeng*), *novâj* "prayer," where the late date of the sound change is shown by forms like *biyāvehon* "they come." A similar change also occurs in a small number of other west Iranian languages like Bakhtiari (*nevek* "salt," *havīr* "paste," *hīve* "firewood," *dovâ* "bridegroom," *jove* "shirt"), Kurdish (*nāw* "name," *dūw* "tail," *hawīr* "paste" and *kawān* "bow")[31] and some Northern Balochi varieties (*nawāš* "prayer," *hāwag* "raw"). Although this change may be explained as independent developments and not an inherited common feature of all these language, in the case of Farvi and Northern Balochi, which are spoken in an area rela-

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[28]Borjian, "Farvi Dialect."
[29]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 95.
[30] Ibid., 92.
[31]MacKenzie, "Origin of Kurdish," 70.

tively close to each other, it may be an areal common feature in these two languages.

9. The sound change of *ā* to *ī* is found in certain words: *ssīn-* "to buy" (cf. MP *istān-*, Pers. *sitān-*), *kīr-* "to sow" (MP and Prth. *kār-*), *sīj-* "to build, to make" (Prth. *sāž-*), *mīn-* "to stay" (MP and Prth. *mān-*); and in some examples changes from *a* to *ī*: *kīm* "less, lesser" (MP and Prth. *kamb*), *gīj* "cotton" (Pers. *vaś*).

10. The sound change of intervocalic *-b-* to *-v-* also appears in a great number of Iranian languages, as seen in words like: *tāve* "pan," *kavā* "kebab" and *ketiav* "book." It seems that this is a relatively recent, post-Middle Iranian feature which adds to the changes common to other new Iranian languages.

11. A great vowel change is diphthongization of closed vowels. In Farvi, original long *ū* (from Middle Iranian *ō*) and short *o* before *h* (older *u* before *h*) is diphthongized as *ua*: *ruaje* "fast," *tuare* "jackal" (cf. MP *tōrag*), *balγuar* "crushed wheat" (cf. Pers. *balγūr*), *suahr* "red," *duahd* "daughter," *suahd-* "to burn," *muahre* "marble," *nuah* "nine," *kuahnag* "old, worn out," *guahres-* "to ask" (<*gohres- <*wi-fras-* ?); but also in some other words seemingly from older *a*: *šuaš* "six" (from *šaš*?), *gījua* "mold" (cf. *gīj* "cotton"), *puahn* "wide" (cf. Pers. *pahn*), and some other example from Borjian's data: *fuahm* "understanding" and *kuar* (cf. Khuri *ka:rɔ*) "kid." In some words, the diphthongization has caused a change in syllable break and the *ua* has developed to *va*: *kolva* "clod, lump" (<*kolū*, cf. Pers. *kolūx*), *golvale* (from *golūle*, cf. Pers. *golūle*), *ârvas* "bride" (<*ârūs*, cf. Pers. *arūs*), *nârvaz* (<older *nawrūz*) "Nowruz," *borvahna* "naked" (cf. Pers. *berahne*), *dohvason* "they sleep" (from *de-huas<de-hus*). Another diphthongization found in Farvi is the change of older *ī* (from Middle Iranian *ē*) and *e* before *h* (older *i* before *h*) to *ia*: *bial* "spade," *diar* "late," *siav* "apple" *siar* "full, satisfied," *piašīm* "noon" (MP *pēšēn*, cf. Central languages *pīšīm* "noon"), *miah* "nail," *hegiaj-* "to sift," *biar-* "to cut"; so is the change in *kiaj* "shoe" (< *kij< *kūj> *kawš*, cf. Central languages *kawš*, Pers. *kafš*) and *riavī* "day" (<*rīv<*rūj*), *giahtar* "better" (MP *wehtar*), *niahrī* "curse" (cf. Pers. *nefrīn*), *siahr* "pool, pond" (cf. Boirahmadi *sēla* "pool, pond"), *diah* "village" (Pers. *deh*), *geria* "knot, node" (Pers. *gereh*), *riahd-* "to pour" (MP *rixt-*), *hegiahd-* "to sift" (MP *wixt-*). Also, in some words the change is found in *ā* to *ia*: *riah* "road, path," *tias* "awn" (from older *tās*, cf. Central languages *dâse/tâse*), *kiard* "knife" (Pers. *kârd*), *biɛlâ* "top, up," *haštia* "eighty."

Morphosyntax

Noun. Without the distinction of case and gender, morphological categories in nouns include number and definiteness. The plural suffix is *-ū* (from older *-ūn<-ān*) for nouns ending in a consonant: *jenū* "women," *segū* "stones" and *siavū* "apples"; the suffix *-gū* for nouns ending in vowels except *-â*: *botte* "tree" >*bottegū* "trees," *ču*

"wood" >*čūgū* "woods" and *fî* "farmland" >*fîgū*; and the suffix *-vū* for nouns ending in *-â*: *pâ* "foot" >*pâvū* "feet," and *hormâ* "palm, date" >*hormâvū* "palm, dates." Borjian refers to *-(g)ún* as a plural markers in *gačegūn* "children" with no example for *-un* allomorph. *-g-* and *-v-* are hiatus consonants inserted between the final vowel of a noun and the plural marker. For all the three allomorphs of plural markers, if a noun is suffixed by an enclitic, the final *-n* appears after nasalized *ū*; from the historical point of view, the old *-n* has been retained in this position: *gâyemūn-eī bečend* "they picked almonds," *hormâvūn-am beraviahda bī* "we had sold dates" and *fîgūn-ayū beraviahd* "they sold the farmlands."

While there is no gender distinction in definition marker, the definite singular noun is marked by the diminutive suffix *-ū* (contrary to *-e* and *-a* in Central languages and similar to *-ū* in Lori varieties and Fars languages). Khuri uses the same suffix *-u* as in *mardu* "the man," which also serves as diminutive, and occurs with *-ag* as in *sagag-ɔ̃ bedi* "I saw the dog."[32]

1. *posū*   *bešo*   *befaf*
   boy.DEF   go.PST.3SG   sleep.PST.3SG
   "the boy went and slept"

2. *fârū*   *be*   *kū*   *šo*
   sister.DEF   to   where   go.PST.3SG
   "where did the sister go?"

The definite marker is also used when the noun has deictic adjective, but when the noun is followed by an attribute adjective, the definite marker is deleted:

3. *ō*   *posū*   *bedī=e*
   that   boy.DEF   see.PST=3SG
   "that boy saw him"

4. *mo*   *siav-e*   *suahr-ō*   *degu*[33]
   I   apple-EZAFE   red=1SG   want.PRS.IND
   "I want the red apple"

5. *ō*   *gačag-e*   *fâr-e*   *katta*   *bī*
   that   child-of.EZAFE   daughter-of.EZAFE   big   was
   "that was the child of the older sister"

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[32]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 81.

[33]Special construction for this verb is that the present form is also conjugated ergatively like the past form. This is also found in some other Central dialects. Cf. Jarquyai: *yon jinjiyon nūn-oš gue* "this woman wants food" (the author's fieldwork data), Jowshaqani: *vačiun-e man palâu šu=agī* "my children want pilaf" (Borjian, "The Dialect of Jowshaqan," 108).

As in colloquial Persian, the indefinite marker is *-ī* attached after indefinite singular and plural nouns. For indefinite singular nouns, *ya* "one" as the indefinite article comes before the noun: *ya kočīkī* "a sparrow" and *ya bâγī* "a garden."

The possessive and attributive Ezafe that is characteristic of Persian and some other Western Iranian languages is not used with the noun ends in a vowel. Possessive complements and attributive adjectives regularly follow the noun that they modify without morphological marking: *sərâ tɛ* "your house," *a mâss* "water of yogurt," *asse pâ* "bone of foot," *sərâ katte* "big house." But after nouns ending in a consonant, Ezafe is frequently used: *fâr-e mo* "my sister," *siav-e suahr* "red apple," *ya duahd-e kas* "a small girl," *piahrōn-e espī* "white shirts"; such nouns may appear without the Ezafe too: *bâqʰ avū* "their garden," *ya sâʕat de* "one hour later." However, Borjian gives the Ezafe marker for nouns ending in both consonants and vowels: *gol-e-suahr* "red rose" and *mā-ye-je* "wife's mother." It is made more probable by the fact that Ezafe might not be authentically Farvi, and the influence of Persian on the languages in more recent times has established the Ezafe construction.

Adjective. The attributive adjective follows the noun it describes with or without using the Ezafe marker. The definite marker is deleted where an adjective follows the definite noun it modifies:

6.   seg-e   espī   a   rīv=e   hene
    stone-EZAFE white   to   on=3SG put.IMP.2SG
    "put the white stone on it"

The comparative adjective is formed by the suffix *-tar*, but there is no superlative degree formed morphologically; as in colloquial Persian and other Iranian languages, the standard Persian superlative suffix *-tarīn* is not used in Farvi. The superlative degree is described by a form of the comparative degree combined with the plural noun or indefinite pronoun *hama* "all":

7.   ī   sərâ   he   ō   sərâ   kattetar=ī
    this house from that house bigger=is
    "this house is bigger than that house"

8.   amā   orzūntar=am   beraviahd
    we   cheaper=1PL   sell.PST
    "we sold cheaper"

9.   av   he   hama   kastar   bī
    he   from all   smaller was
    "he was smaller than all others (he
      was the smallest)"

Table 1. Personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st person	*mo(n)*	*amā*
2nd person	*tɛ*	*šomā*
3rd person	*av*	*avū , emū*

Pronouns
Personal pronouns.   Independent personal pronouns distinguish two numbers (singular and plural) without overlapping in the third person with the deictic pronoun, thus distinguishing near and far deixis in plural third person as shown in Table 1.

The form of *mā* "I" and *amo* "we" recorded by Borjian are not recorded as this author's material. The third person singular and plural are marked for human animacy, so that Farvi makes a distinction between human vs. inanimate by personal third person vs. demonstrative pronoun respectively: *av* "he/she," *em* "this" (corresponding to Khuri *ev* "that" and *em* "this" also serving as third singular personal pronoun[34]), *avū* "they (far)," *emū* "they (near)" respectively vs. *õ* "that, it," *ânū* "those," *ĩ* "this" and *ĩnū* "these." The following examples show the distinction:

10. *av   hordâ   dešū*
     she   tomorrow   go.PRS.IND.3SG
     "he will go tomorrow"

11. *emū   kū   dohvasan*
     they   where   sleep.PRS.IND.3PL
     "where do they sleep"

12. *ĩnūn=atū   čan   bessaye*
     these=2PL   how much   bought.PTCP
     "how much have you paid for these?"

There are six enclitic pronouns beside the independent forms (Table 2).

It seems that the first person form *-õ* (also recorded as *–ā*)[35] comes from an older **-am* by the deletion of final *-m* and nasalization of the former vowel (cf. Borgian: *-a (m)* for first singular enclitic). The original form might have been retained in the frozen form of *fɛm* "myself" (see also Khuri *-ɔm/-ɔ*[36]). For the third person singular *-e* (cf. Av. *-hē*) and plural *-eĩ* (also recorded as *-aĩ* and *-ayū*, cf. Bojian *-ayun*), Farvi has

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[34]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 82.
[35]The pronoun is exactly pronounced as a nasalized open *o* ([ɔ] in IPA) that may be recorded as *-ā*. I prefer to use *-õ* instead of *-ā*. The same is true for the first singular ending (see below).
[36]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 83.

Table 2. Enclitic pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st person	*-ō*	*-am*
2nd person	*-d*	*-tū*
3rd person	*-e*	*-eī, -(a)yū*

the same forms as Kurdish *-ī* and *-yān* respectively.[37] The allomorph *-yū* attested also in reflexive *fɛyū* "themselves" (see below) is also recorded in the author's corpus:

13. *čŭgūn=ayū   âyar   bedâ*
     wood.PL=3PL   fire   give.PST
     "they burned the woods"

14. *sərâ=yū   beraviahda -bī*
     house=3PL   sold.PTCP -was
     "they had sold houses"

Enclitic pronouns are used in a variety of oblique functions (possessive, and direct and indirect object and the agent of past transitive verbs in ergative construction): (1) possessive suffix, which is attached directly to the noun, or the phrase that it qualifies (15); (2) direct object (16); (3) indirect objects (17); and (4) agent of a past transitive verb. The enclitic pronoun may be suffixed to a noun, a verb, an adverb, an adjective or a pronoun:

15. *pi=ō   tū   sərâ   befaftɛ -bī*
     father=1SG   in   house   slept.PTCP -was
     "my father had slept at home"

16. *ō   posū   bedī=e*
     that   boy.DEF   see.PST=3SG
     "That boy saw him"

17. *ya   duahd-e   kas=e   ha*
     one   daughter-EZAFE   young=3SG   is
     "there is a young daughter for him (he has a young daughter)"

18. *siav=am   befârd*
     apple=1PL   eat.PST.[3SG]
     "we ate apple"

19. *fɛtū   âjeh=atū   henɛhâ*
     yourself   there=2PL   put.PST.
     "you yourself put it there"

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[37]Cf. Mackenzie, "Origin of Kurdish," 83.

Table 3.   Demonstrative pronouns

	Near	Far
Singular	*ĭ* "this"	*ō/ɔ̃* "that"
Plural	*ĭnŭ* "these"	*ânŭ* "those"

Demonstrative pronoun. Farvi has a system of two demonstrative pronouns, near and far, as in Table 3.

Without pointing out the plural forms, Borjian refers to *i(a)* and *em* for near demonstratives. The form *i(a)* is not attested in the author data, but *em* is used only for animates (see above). Demonstrative pronouns are not used as third person personal pronouns (examples 20–21). Numbers are not distinguished in demonstrative adjectives; singular demonstratives are also used as deictic adjectives for plural nouns (examples 22–24):

20.   *ō   gen=e   karde*
      that   lost=3SG   done.PTCP
      "he has lost that"

21.   *ânūn=ad   he   kūje   bessay*
      those=2SG   from   where   buy.PST
      "where did you buy those"

22.   *ĭn=e   ke   begot*
      this=3SG   who   say.PST
      "who said that"

23.   *ĭ   kiaj   bar   te   kattag=ĭ*
      this   shoe   for   you.2SG   big=is
      "this shoe is [too] large for you"

24.   *he   ĭ   hormâūn   šerĭ   beferan*
      from   this   date.PL   sweat   eat.IMP.2PL
      "please eat these sweet dates"

Interrogative, reflexive and reciprocal. The interrogative pronouns are *ke* "who," *če* "what," and *kayakĭ(g)* "which". They have the same form for singular and for the plural cases, yet there is a distinction between human vs. inanimate, that is, *ke* vs. *če* respectively:

25.   *he   ke=ad   hegerefte*
      from   who=2SG   taken.PTCP
      "from whom have you taken it?"

26.   *čĭ=at   bessay*

What=2SG   buy.PST.[3SG]
"what did you buy?"

27.   *kaykīg=at*   *degay*
       which=2SG   want.PST.IMPF.[3SG]
       "which one did you want?"

For indefinite pronouns there is also a distinction between human vs. inanimate, that is, *komī* "someone" and *čomī* "something" respectively:

28.   *tū*   *tiahrū*   *komī=ad*   *ha*
       in   Tehran   anybody=2SG   is
       "do you have anybody (a relative) in Tehran?"

29.   *amah=ayū*   *čomī*   *benagot*
       we=3PL   anything   say.PST.NEG.[3SG]
       "they did not tell us anything"

The reflexive pronoun *fa/fe* "self" has both emphatic and coreferential functions. It may appear separately (example 30), but normally takes the enclitic pronouns (examples 31–33). When acting as the agent of a past transitive verb, the corresponding enclitic may also be used before verb (examples 34-–35):

30.   *fɛ*   *âjeh=e*   *henɛhâ*
       oneself   there=3SG   put.PST
       "he put it there by himself?"

31.   *fɛd*   *beraveš*
       yourself.2SG   sell.IMP.2SG
       "you sell that yourself"

32.   *dass-e*   *fe=ye*   *bebiɛrd*
       hand-EZAFE   oneself=3SG   cut.PST.[3SG]
       "he cut his hand"

33.   *avū*   *feyūn-aī*   *nagīnan*
       they   themselves-3Pl   see.NEG.PRS.3PL
       "they do not see themselves"

34.   *gačagū*   *feyūn-aī*   *hemessenâ*
       child.pl   themselves-3Pl   drench.PST
       "children drenched themselves"

35.   *feyū*   *dezonī=eī*
       themselves   know.PST.IMPF=3PL
       "they knew by themselves"

In Farvi, *ham* "each other" is used as a reciprocal pronoun:

36.   *ham=eī*   *češnâxt*
        each other=3PL   know.PST
        "they knew each other"

Prepositions. Case relation may be expressed by prepositions alone. The corpus for the current study contains no example for postpositions and ambipositions. The following prepositions occur in Farvi:

    he "from, to" is the most common preposition in Farvi, mainly used to express the ablative and indicates a starting point in the broadest sense of the word (examples 37–38); it is also used in the dative, where it has similar functions to Pers. *be* (example 39), and as a source or object of comparison (example 40):

37.   *gorg*   *he*   *sag=eī*   *betarsâ*
        wolf   from   dog=3PL   fear.PST
        "wolf scared of the dog"

38.   *īzem=atū*   *he*   *kū*   *biavard*
        firewood=2PL   from   where   bring.PST.[3SG]
        "where did you bring the firewood from?"

39.   *he*   *man=etū*   *dorū*   *begote*
        to   I=2PL   lie   said.PTCP
        "you have lied to me"

40.   *siav*   *he*   *gâyem*   *giahter=ī*
        apple   from   almond   better=is
        "apple is better than almond"

    bar "for" is used in the dative sense (corresponding to the Pers. *barâye*):

41.   *bar*   *zomâ*   *lobâs=eī*   *bessay*
        for   bridegroom   clothes=3PL   buy.PST.[3SG]
        "they bought clothes for the bridegroom"

42.   *šīm=e*   *bar*   *šīv=e*   *bepahd*
        dinner=3SG   for   husband=3SG   cook.PST.[3SG]
        "she cooked dinner for her husband"

    de "in," as a general directional marker, is used to express the locative. It may also indicate motion "towards" or "location at":

43.   *tɛ*   *dūj*   *de*   *kū*   *behī*
        you   yesterday   in   where   were.2SG

"where were you yesterday?"

44. *gonnam=ayū*   *de*   *pešt*   *degereft*
     wheat=3PL   in   back   take.PST.[3SG]
     "they put a sack of wheat on the back"

45. *piahrō=e*   *de*   *gar*   *kard*
     shirt=3SG   in   chest   do.PST
     "he put on the shirt"

bâ "with, by means of" (corresponding to the Pers. *bâ*) is commonly used in both instrument and accompaniment situations:

46. *mon=eī*   *bâ*   *fɛyū*   *benanī*
     I=3PL   with   themselves   lead.PST.NEG
     "they did not take me with them"

47. *siav*   *bâ*   *pūs*   *deferehe*
     apple   with   peel   eat.PASS.3SG
     "apple is eaten with its peel"

48. *qʰâlīg=eī*   *qʰadīmū*   *bâ*   *pašm*   *degaf*
     carpet=3PL   Old days   by   wool   weave.PST.IMPF
     "in the old days they wove carpet with wool"

(v)a "to, toward": the principal meaning of this preposition is to indicate the direction toward an object; *va* is used before words beginning with vowels:

49. *ya*   *kočīkī*   *a*   *rī*   *botte*   *henvešte*
     one   sparrow   to   on   tree   sit.PTCP
     "a sparrow has sat on the tree"

50. *av*   *degaje*   *ve*   *amā*
     he   arrive.PRS.IND.3SG   to   we
     "he will arrive at us"

51. *seg-e*   *espī*   *a*   *rīv=e*   *hene*
     stone-EZAFE   white   to   above=3SG   put.IMP.2SG
     "put the white stone on it"

rī "on, above" originally means "face," extends semantically to a related position such as "upon, on, above" and indicates the location of something on the surface:

52. *rɛvo*   *rī*   *zamī*   *berījehâ*
     oil   on   ground   pour.PST.PASS.3SG

"the oil was poured on the ground"

53. *av=e*   *rī*   *âyar*   *beriahd*
     water=3SG   on   fire   pour.PST.[3SG]
     "he poured water on the fire"

54. *he*   *rī*   *gam*   *beparrīhō*
     from   above   opening   jump.PST.3PL
     "they jumped into the water from the opening
        [of the Kanat]"

tū "in": corresponding to the Persian preposition *tū,* it expresses the meaning of inside:

55. *mo*   *emre*   *tū*   *sərâ*   *demīnō*
     I   today   in   house   stay.PRS.IND.1SG
     "today, I stay at home"

There is no adposition (corresponding to Pers. *râ*) as a marker of direct object in Farvi:

56. *ō*   *duahd*   *načešnâsem=e*
     that   doughter   know.PRS.NEG.1SG=3SG
     "I do not know that girl"

57. *ī*   *gīšt=ayū*   *alsahd*
     this   meat=3PL   weigh.PST.[3SG]
     "they weighed this meat"

The preposition *da* and *(v)a* are not included in Borjian's list of Farvi's prepositions (though he reported *a* as a preposition covering the lexical domain of Pers. *be* in Khuri, *a ev head* "give [it] to him"[38]), and he refers to some other examples such as *gar* "by" and *pi* "in front of" not included in the author's data.

Verb.   Stem formation. As in other New West Iranian languages, the conjugation of verbs in Farvi is based on present and past stems of two types: the "irregular" verbs that have past stems ending in /-t/ or /-d/ and with no morphological relation between present and past stems; and "regular" verbs with past stems ending in *-ây,* or *-ī* where the present stem is formed by removing the suffixes.

In irregular verbs, not of secondary formation, the present is derived from the OIr. present stems, and past stem from OIr. past participle in *-ta*. The past stem always ends in a dental stop *-d* after a vowel and a voiced consonant, and *-t* after voiceless consonants. Diachronically, the past stem is not a derivative of the present stem, nor is the present stem formed by removing the suffix of the past stem (Table 4).

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[38]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 82.

Table 4. Irregular past stems

Past stem	Present stem	
faft-	*huas-*	"to sleep"
henvešt-	*henī-*	"to sit"
got-	*vaš-*	"to say"
gahd-	*gaj-*	"to uproot"
hegiahd-	*hegiaj-*	"to sift"
fârd-	*fer-*	"to eat"
raviahd-	*raviaš-*	"to sell"
alsahd-	*alsanj-*	"to weigh"

Table 5. Intransitive regular stems

Noun/adjective	Pres. stem	Past stem	
tāv "twist"	*tāv-*	*tâvāy-*	"to twist"
parr "feather"	*parr-*	*parrī-*	"to fly"
tars "fear"	*tars-*	*tarsây-*	"to fear"

For some irregular past stems, the older final postvocalic *d-* has been changed to *-y*: *ssay-/ssīn-* "to buy" (<*stad-/stān-*), and for some others it has been deleted: *dī-/gīn-* "to see" (<*dīd-*< OIr. *dīta-*).

In some verbs where the old form of the past stem has been lost, a secondary form has arisen through the addition of *-ī* to the present stem: *davī-/dav-* "to smear" (instead of older **dūd-*, <OIr. **dū-ta-*, cf. Persian *andūd-* "to smear," *zadūd-* "to polish, clean," *ālūd-* "to soil"), *algazī-/algaz-* "to jump" (<instead of older **gašt-*, frequently seen in Central as *vašt-*, cf. Pers. *vazīd-*). This can be regarded as an inherited feature Farvi shares with Southwestern languages.

In regular verbs, the past stem is a derivative of the present stem and is formed by adding the suffix *-āy* or *-ī* to the present stem. While *-āy* (cf. Prth. *-ād*) is a past formant in most Northwestern languages, *-ī* is typically Southwestern, and is most frequently found in Southwestern languages. Farvi makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive regular verbs in the formation of past and present stems.

An intransitive regular stem is a denominative verb made freely from nouns and adjectives. The present stem is the noun or adjective that serves as the present stem, and the past stem is formed by the suffix *-ây* or *-ī* added to the present stem (Table 5).

This includes those derived from the present stem of irregular verbs, where the old form of the past stem has been lost, and a secondary form has arisen through the addition of *-ây or -ī* to the present stem (Table 6).

Table 6. Intransitive regular stems

Pres. stem	Past stem	
sāv-	*sāvây-*	"to rub"
algaz-	*algazī-*	"to jump"
zon-	*zonī-*	"to know"

Table 7. Transitive regular stems

	Present stem	Past stem	
gaj- "to arrive"	*gajen-*	*gajenây-*	"to send"
tāv "curl"	*tāven-*	*tāvenây-*	"to curl"
mess "wet"	*messen-*	*messenây-*	"to soak"
jūš "boiling"	*jūšen-*	*jūšenây-*	"to boil"
gaj- "to arrive"	*gajen-*	*gajenây-*	"to send"

The transitive stem is formed by adding the suffix *-en* to intransitive present stems, nouns and adjectives, and the past stem is obtained by adding the suffix *-ây* to the present stem (Table 7).

Passive stem: Farvi also has the passive stem. The present stems are formed by adding the suffix *-eh* to the present stem of a transitive verb and the passive past stem is formed by adding *-ây* to the present passive stem (Table 8; see also below).

Endings. Farvi has two sets of endings: present endings which are attached to the present stems, and past endings which are attached to the forms with the past stems (Table 9).

While the form *-am* comes before enclitic (cf. *deginam-e* "I see him"), *-ō* is used after stems ending in consonants: *begīnō* "may I see" and *befaftō* "I slept"; also, *-hō* (with *h-* as hiatus deleter) is used with stems ending in a vowel: *dedehō* "I give" and *bešohō* "I went." The same variation is found in the data quoted by Borjian for Khuri: *dezunam, bezuniam* "I know, I knew," *dehosān, befāftān* "I sleep, I slept" and *dezunān* "I know."[39] It also applied for the second person singular ending *-ī* or *-hī:češnâsī* "you know," *begotōhī* "I said you (it was said to you by me)," and the third person plural past stem: *befafton* "they slept" and *bešohon* "they went." For the second person plural ending, the form *-d* is used with stems ending in vowels and the form *-ad* with stems ending in consonants: *tiyâd* "you come" and *deferad* "you eat." The first person plural is recorded by Borjian as *-um* (not attested in the author's data). Set II of the endings (the same as the enclitic personal pronouns) proposed by Borjian for Khuri are not common in Farvi as

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[39]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 85.

Table 8.   Passsive stems

Tran. pres.stem	Pass. pres. stem	Pass. past stem
gīn- "to see"	*gīneh-*	*gīnehây-*
gaj- "to uproot"	*gajeh-*	*gajehây-*
fer- "to eat"	*fereh-*	*ferehây-*
kīr- "to sow"	*kīreh-*	*kīrehây-*
pej- "to cook"	*pejeh-*	*pejehây-*

Table 9.   Personal endings

		Present endings	Past endings
	1st	*-(h)ō, -am*	*-(h)ō*
Singular	2nd	*-(h)ī*	*-(h)ī*
	3rd	*-e*	*-ø*
	1st	*-īm*	*-īm*
Plural	2nd	*-(a)d*	*-(a)d*
	3rd	*-an*	*-(h)on*

represented in this author's data, except for the case of *zon-* "to know" and *gay-* "to want" in the conditional past tense: *agar dezonīa-mun* "if we knew" and *agar degay-ō* "if I wanted."

Imperative endings are singular -zero and plural *-an*: *henī* "sit!" *seyl ke* "look!," *beferan* "eat ye!" and *benahlan* "do not let!"

Preverbs. The most frequently used preverbs are: *he-* and *al-*; *he-*(OIr. **fra-*, corresponding to *hâ-* in Central and some Northwestern languages) without specified meaning is seen in verbs like *henehâ-/hene-* "to put," *hegiahd-/hegiaj-* "to sift," *hedâ-/hedeh-* "to give," *hegereft-/hegīr-* "to take," *henvešt-/henīv-* "to sit," *heriahd-/herīj-* "to pour." It changes to *hī-* with imperfects: *hene* "put!," *henvešta-hon* "they have sat here," *âje-hatū henahâ* "you put there" vs. *elū hīnvīm* "here we sit," *ârd hīgia-jan* "they sift flour" and *hīnjīne* "they seat." A similar form in Khuri is pointed out by Borjian as coalescence of *he-* with the imperfective morpheme *de-*: *heneštɔ̄* "I sat" vs. *hīneštɔ̄* "I would sit";[40] *al-* (Av. *ərədwa*, corresponding to *âr-* in Central languages) has a basic meaning of "upward, up" and is found in verbs like: *algazī-/algaz-* "to jump," *alsat-/alsanj-* "to weigh," *algereft-/algīr-* "to pick up," *algardī-/algard-* "to return." *Morphological prefixes.* The prefixes used in verbal conjugations are *de-*, *be-*, and negation and prohibitive *na-/nā-*:

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[40]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 84.

1. The prefix *de-* is also found in the Northern and Northwestern branch of Central languages such as Vafsi, Ashtiani and Khansari,[41] and is also prominent in Northern varieties of Kurdish like Mukri.[42] As an imperfective marker, it is used in present imperfect and past imperfect. With present verbs, *de-* distinguishes the indicative from the subjunctive: *deferad* "you eat," *degaje* "he is arriving" vs. *bessīnan* "may they buy," *beravešī* "if you sell"; with past verbs, it distinguishes the past imperfect from the simple, perfect, past pluperfect and past subjunctive: *defafton* "they were sleeping," *šīm-ad defard* "you were eating dinner" vs. *befafton* "they slept," *orzūntar-am beraviahd-e* "we have sold cheaper," *befaftɛ bī* "he had slept" and *šīm-ayū benafârda bū* "maybe they did not eat dinner." The prefix *de-* has remained as a frozen form *t-* in some verbs beginning in vowels: *tarze* "is worth" vs. *biarzâ* "was worth"; *īzem-atū he kū biavard?* "where did you find the firewood?" vs. *riavū dešohon īzem-eī tiavard* "they used to go and bring firewood in daytime" and *natiašenan* "they do not hear." In the present indicative and imperfect the negation marker *nā-* replaces the imperfective marker *de-*: *nāgeje* "does not reach" and *nātarse* "he does not fear."

2. *be-*: as an aspect marker it often appears to express completion of an event or the perfect aspect. It occurs normally in simple past, perfect and pluperfect: *lobâs-eī bessay* "they bought cloths," *šīm-ō benafârde* "I have not eaten dinner," *pi-ō befaftɛ bī* "my father had slept" and *agar begaya bū* "if he has arrived." The prefix *be-* is also used with the imperative and subjunctive: *beferan* "eat! ye," *šâyad beraveš-e* "maybe he sells" and *agar siavū befârda ban* "if the apples were eaten." It is normally dropped in prefixed verbs: *ī kâr-am henakard* "we did not do the work"; but contrary to *de-*, it remains with negation marker: *benahlan* "do not let" and *benadia bī* "I had not seen."

3. *na-/nā-*: as a negation and prohibition marker, it comes before verbs, but contrary to the imperfect marker *de-*, the use of the negative does not preclude that of *be-*: *nāčešnâsam-e* "I do not know," *mon-eī benanī* "they did not take me," while in prefixed verbs *nā-* occurs between the prefix and stem of the verb *ī kâr-am henakard* "we did not do the work." The form *nā-* is used with imperfect verbs: *nātarsan* "they don't fear," *nāgeje* "it doesn't reach" (cf. Khuri *na-* vs. *nē*: *benakarda* "you didn't do," *arnalo* "don't stand!," *henanivʒ* "that I do not sit," *nēkari* "you don't/won't do" Borjian suggests that Khuri *nē-* is formed as a result of coalescing *na-* with the imperfective *de-*).[43]

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[41]Windfuhr, "Central Dialects," verbal morphology; it is from the older **at-* and appears as *ed-* in Ashtiani and Amora'i, e.g. *ed-gīro* "he takes," *ed-ām* "I say"; as *to-* in Kahaki, e.g. *to-vāje* "he says," and as *et-* in Khansari, e.g. *et-kuš-ān* "I kill."

[42]MacKenzie, *Kurdish Dialect Studies*, I, 87.

[43]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 84.

Tense, aspect and mood. The basic verb system has a double distinction of tense (present and past), three moods (indicative, imperative and subjunctive) and three aspects (imperfect, perfect and resultative) as follows:

1. Present indicative. The present indicative is marked by prefix *de-* and is used to indicate actions that are usually or always happening:

58. *amā*   *šavū*   *diar*   *dohvasīm*
     we   night.PL   late   sleep.PRS.IND.1PL
     "we sleep late at night"

59. *mo*   *har*   *rīv*   *av*   *degīnam=e*
     I   every   day   he   see.PRS.IND.1SG=3SG
     "I see him everyday"

60. *riavīgūn*   *dečenan*   *šavū*   *dohvasan*
     day.PL   pick.PRS.IND.3PL   night.PL   sleep.PRS.IND.3PL
     "they pick in the day and eat at night"

As there is no specific form for future tense in Farvi, the indicative present is also used to indicate actions in the future:

61. *hordâ*   *riavī*   *tiyō*
     tomorrow   daytime   come.PRS.IND.1SG
     "tomorrow in the day I will come"

62. *šomā*   *emšā*   *kū*   *dešad*
     you.2PL   tonight   where   go.PRS.IND.2PL
     "where will you go tonight?"

2. Present subjunctive. The present subjunctive is formed with the prefix *be-*, and in the main clause it is used to express suggestion or exhortation; it is also used in subordinate clauses:

63. *ō*   *piahrōn-e*   *espī*   *bessīnī*   *giahtar=ĭ*
     that   shirt-EZAFE   white   buy.SBJ.2SG   better=is
     "it is better to buy that white shirt"

64. *agar*   *beravešĭ*   *dī*   *nāšâyī*   *bessīnī*
     if   sell.SBJ.2SG   anymore   can.PRS.NEG.2SG   buy.SBJ.2SG
     "if you sell, you cannot buy any more"

65. *bešohō*   *ke*   *gaččag=ō*   *begīnam=e*
     go.PST.1SG   so that   child=1SG   see.SBJ.1SG=3SG
     "I went to see my child"

3. Present progressive. The present indicative is also used to indicate ongoing and uncompleted actions, and the present progressive is generally expressed by the indicative present, but a form for progressive is based on the Persian model in affected speech, which is formed with the present conjugation of *dīr-/der-* "to have" followed by the present indicative of the main verb:

66.   *gačagūn*   *dīran*   *dohvasan*
        child.PL   have.3PL   sleep.PRS.IND.3PL
        "children are sleeping"

67.   *če*   *dīrad*   *deferad*
        what   have.2PL   eat.PRS.IND.2PL
        "what are you eating?"

68.   *derīm*   *bâγ*   *ā*   *dedehīm*
        have.1PL   garden   water   give.PRS.IND.1PL
        "we are irrigating the garden"

4. Imperative. The imperative is only used for the second person, singular and plural, and is formed with the present stem of the verb, the prefix *be-*, plus the personal imperative endings (cf. above), while prefixed verbs do not take the prefix *be-*; in the negative form, the prefix *be-* comes before the prohibitive prefix *na-*:

69.   *beše*   *ârī*   *henīv*
        go.IMP.2SG   outside   sit.IMP.2SG
        "go and sit outside"

70.   *šɛhīt=ī*   *av=e*   *hedehan*
        thirsty=is   water=3SG   give.IMP.2Pl
        "he is thirsty, give him water"

71.   *benahlan*   *biân*
        let.IMP.NEG.2PL   come.SBJ.3PL
        "do not let them come"

5. Simple past. Simple past is the perfective form of the verb system used for the past. It states that an action was performed in the past and is now complete, irrespective of its duration. In Farvi, simple past forms show a distinction between intransitive and transitive alignments. The intransitive is formed from the past stem with the prefix *be-* and past personal endings, while prefixed verbs do not take the prefix *be-*:

72.   *dūšā*   *diar*   *befaftō*
        last night   late   sleep.PST.1SG
        "I slept late last night"

73. *amā*   *femū*   *ī*   *kâr=am*   *heka*
     we   ourselves   this   act=1PL   do.PST
     "we did this work by ourselves"

74. *he*   *šomah=eī*   *čoqʰada*   *hegeref*
     from   you.PL=3PL   how much   take.PST
     "how much did they take from you?"

The transitive verbs are conjugated ergatively and do not generally use personal endings; the agent appears mostly as enclitic pronouns before the verb and attaches to any word other than the verb:

75. *fig=eyū*   *beraviahd*
     farmland-3PL   sell.PST.[3SG]
     "they sold the farmland"

76. *he*   *amah=etū*   *benagot*
     to   we=2PL   say.PST.NEG.[3SG]
     "you did not say us"

Only with the verbs *zonī-* "to know" and *dâšt-* "to have" (as past progressive marker) does the enclitic agent appear after the verb. This form is also seen in some other Central languages (cf. Jowshaqani: *dard-edun du-sāt* "you were making"):[44]

77. *feyū*   *dezonī=eī*
     themselves   know.PST.IMPF=3PL
     "they knew by themselves"

78. *dâšt=ad*   *šīm=ad*   *defârd*
     have.PST=2PL   dinner=2PL   eat.PST.[3SG]
     "you were eating dinner"

6. Past imperfect. As the general past imperfective is formed like the present indicative, it may refer to events that were constantly taking place or took place over a definite period of time in the past. It is formed like the simple past, except that it has the prefix *de-* instead of *be-*:

79. *šav-ūn*   *rī*   *būn*   *defafton*
     night-PL   on   roof   sleep.PST
     "they used to sleep on the roof"

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[44]Borjian, "Dialect of Jowshaqan," 105.

80. *riavū   dešohon   īzem=eī   tiavard*
    day.PL go.PST.IMPF.3PL firewood=3PL bring.PST.IMPF.3PL
    "they used to go and bring firewood in daytime"

Like other past transitive forms, imperfect in transitive verbs are conjugated ergatively and do not generally use personal endings:

81. *jenū   qʰâlīg=eī   degaft   tū šahr=eī   deraviahd*
    woman.PL carpet=3PL weave.PST.IMPF in town=3PL sell.PST.IMPF
    "women wove a carpet and sold it in the town"

82. *amā bâ   dâsg   derav-am   deka*
    we   with sickle reaping-1PL do.PST.IMPF
    "we cut wheat with sickles"

7. Present perfect. The present perfect of intransitive verbs are formed with the past participle of the main verb ending in *-a* or *-e* followed by the enclitic copula form of the verb "to be." The prefix *be-* as the perfect marker also precedes the past participle form, while the use of verbal prefix precludes that of *be-*:

83. *fâr-e   mo šīv=e   benīe*
    sister-EZAFE I   husband=3SG gone.PTCP
    "my sister got married (has gone to husband)"

84. *he   piašīm tâ   hamī elū   henvešta-hon*
    from noon   until now   here sat.PTCP-3PL
    "from noon until now they have sat here"

The transitive perfect has an ergative form and is formed with the past participle without copula:

85. *he   dūšā   tâ   hemī šīm-ō   benafârde*
    from last night until now   dinner-1SG eaten.PTCP.NEG
    "from last night until now I have not eaten dinner"

86. *ō   niang-at   bedīe*
    that hen-2SG   seen.PTCP
    "have you ever seen that hen?"

8. Past perfect. The past perfect of transitive verbs are formed with the past participle of the main verb followed by an inflected past form of "to be." The prefix *be-* as the perfect marker also precedes the past participle form:

87. *duahd-ū   be   sərâ   pi=e   bešia -bī*
    girl-DEF   to   house   father=3SG   gone.PTCP -was
    "the girl had gone to her father's house"

88. *befafta -behīm   ke   pi-am   biyava*
    slept.PTCP –were.1PL   that   father-1PL   come.PST
    "we had slept when our father came"

The transitive pluperfect is conjugated ergatively and consists of the participle of the verb, with the prefix *be-* and the third person singular simple past of "to be" (*bī* "was"); as an enclitic pronoun, the agent comes before the verb:

89. *ī   mard=ō   tâ   hamī   benadia -bī*
    this   man=1SG   until still   seen.PTCP.NEG -was
    "I had not seen this man before"

90. *hormâvūn=am   beraviahda -bī*
    date.PL=1PL   sold.PTCP -was
    "we had sold the dates"

9. Perfect subjunctive. There is a form for past subjunctive that may be affected by the Persian model and is formed with a past participle with the prefix *be-*, plus the subjunctive of *b-* "to be." It is primarily used to express unreal conditional and unrealizable past wishes:

91. *agar   befafta -ban   aldegardīm*
    if   slept.PTCP –be.SBJ.3PL   return.PST.IMPF.1PL
    "if they had slept, we would have returned"

92. *agar   begaya -bū   fe   te   be   elū*
    if   come.PTCP –be.SBJ.3SG   himself come.PRS.IND.3SG   to   here
    "if he had arrived, he would have come here"

Like other forms of past transitive verbs, the transitive past subjunctive is conjugated ergatively:

93. *momkenī   šīm-ayū   benafârda -bū*
    maybe   dinner-3PL   eaten.PTCP.NEG –be.SBJ.3SG
    "maybe they have not eaten dinner"

10. Past progressive. The past progressive is formed with the past conjugation of *dâšt-* "to have" followed by the imperfect of the main verb. As there is no genuine

verb for "to have" in Farvi,[45] it seems that *dâšt-* in Farvi maybe a loanword from Persian and the Persian model of the past progressive is used. The progressive past is used to indicate an uncompleted situation to occur at a period of time in the past. As it appears in the examples, the past of *dâšt-* is conjugated ergatively and the enclitic pronoun as the agent typically attaches after the verb. The patterns used in some other Central languages have been noted by Windfuhr as "raising" a personal affix.[46]

94. *dâšt=atū   čī=atū   dessay*
    have.PST=2PL   what=2PL   bought.PST.IMPF
    "what were you buying?"

95. *dâšt=am   šīm=am   defârd   ke   šomā   biavahad*
    had.PST=1PL   dinner=1PL   eat.PST.IMPF   while   you.2PL   come.PST.2PL
    "we were eating dinner when you came"

Ergative. Like all the Central languages, Farvi has retained a form of the so-called split ergative which shows ergative verb agreement. This indicates that originally the endings of transitive past verbs agreed with the object, not the agent. However, this form of agreement has largely been lost and in past transitive verb forms, instead of a verb ending, the enclitic pronoun and/or noun is placed before the verb as agent. This is used for all verb forms conjugated based on the past stem:

96. *siav=at   he   botte   bečend*
    apple=2SG   from   tree   pick.PST.[3SG]
    "you picked the apple from the tree"

97. *yagīnag=eī   karde*
    fried egg=3PL   made.PTCP
    "they have made fried eggs"

98. *ya   bâγ-ī=am   bessaya -bī*
    one   orchard-INDF=1PL   bought.PTCP -was
    "we had bought an orchard"

Still there are some forms showing that verbs may take an ending which is in agreement with the object:

99. *šomā   avū   bekošt=ayū*
    you   they   kill.PST=3PL
    "you killed them"

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[45]Normally "to have" is expressed by a combination of an enclitic pronoun and the verb "to be," e.g. *tiahrū komi-ad ha* "do you have someone (a relative) in Tehran" (literally: "is there anyone in Tehran for you"), *ya niangī-am bī* "we had a hen" (literally: "there was a hen for us").
[46]Windfuhr, "Central Dialects," ergative.

100. *agar   amah=eī   bedia –bīm   degereft-eī=hīm*
      if   we=3PL   seen.PTCP –were.1PL   capture.PST.IMPF-3PL=1PL
      "if they had seen us, we would have been captured"

The agreement is also shown by zero ending of third person singular when the verb has a singular object used in the sentence:

101. *siav=at   he   botte   bečend*
      apple=2SG   from   tree   pick.PST.[3SG]
      "you picked the apple from the tree"

102. *yagīnag=eī   karde*
      fried egg=3PL   done.PTCP-[3SG]
      "they have made fried eggs"

The agreement has also been recorded in some other Central languages, e.g. Meymayi: *kia da bar-ešŭn kardī* "they turned you out of the house," *bī-m bevotī ge abī ūna nāše* "I told you that he couldn't go there."[47] The agential enclitic pronouns are generally suffixed to the direct object, but may attach to the other constituents:

103. *šīm=e   bar   šīv=e   bepahd*
      dinner=3SG   for   husband=3SG   cook.PST.[3SG]
      "she cooked dinner for her husband"

104. *gol-ō   he   ō   botte   bečend*
      flower-1SG   from   that   tree   pick.PST.[3SG]
      "I picked the flower from the tree"

105. *amā   he   ɛv-am   bessay*
      we   from   he-1PL   buy.PST
      "we bought from him"

106. *fɛtū   âjeh-atū   henahâ*
      yourself   there-2PL   put.PST
      "you yourself put [it] there?"

Passive. Passive is most commonly expressed by a passive stem that is formed by the suffix *-eh* (from Mid. Ir. *-īh-* <OIr. *-ya-*; also found in some Lori languages) to the present stem of a transitive verbs.[48] The past passive stem is then formed by adding *-ây* to the present passive stem (see also above): *fer-/fârd-* "to eat" >*fereh-/*

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[47]Fathi Borujeni, *Guyeš-e Meyma'i*, 109, 111.
[48]Borjian has documented the suffix as *-e* in Khuri, though the form *-eh* can be seen in the past stem: *gōfe-/gōfehâ-* "be woven," *h* interpreted by him as an epenthesis *-h-*.

ferehây- "to be eaten," *gīn-/dī-* "to see" >*gīneh-/gīnehây-* "to be seen," *pej-/pahd-* "to cook" >*pejeh-/pejehây-* "to be cooked," *(he)rīj-/(he)riahd-* "to pour" >*(he)rījeh-/(he)r-ījehây-* "to be poured." The passive is conjugated as an intransitive verb in all tenses, aspects and modes:

107. *av=e   degerehe   tū kīsg   derījehe*
     water=3SG   take.PRS.   in   haversack pour.PRS.IND.PASS.3SG
                 IND.PASS.3SG
     "[the yogurt] water is strained and then it is put in a pouch"

108. *jā   dego   pâyīz   bekīrehe*
     barley   want.PRS.IND.3SG   autumn   sow.PRS.SBJ.PASS.3SG
     "barley should be sown in autumn"

109. *qʰazâ   diar   bepejehâ*
     food   late   cook.PST.PASS.3SG
     "the food was cooked late"

110. *dar   hebendehâ*
     door   close.PST.PASS.3SG
     "the door was closed"

111. *qʰazâ   bepejehâya -bī   ke   amā   begayīm*
     food   cooked.PTCP.PASS -was   that   we   arrive.PST.1PL
     "the food had been cooked when we arrived"

The passive may be formed by means of periphrastic constructions similar to Persian. This kind of passive is formed by the combination of the past participle with the corresponding finite form of the auxiliary verb *bo* "to become":

112. *bottagū   begahda -bohon*
     tree.PL   uprooted.PTCP –were.3PL
     "the trees were uprooted"

113. *agar siavū   befârda -ban   bâz   dessīnīm*
     if   apple.PL eaten.PTCP –   again buy.PRS.IND.1PL
                     are.SBJ.3PL
     "if the apples have been eaten, we would buy from the market again"

More Southwestern and Southeastern Isoglosses

As discussed above, Farvi regularly has shared phonological and morphological features with Southwestern, Kurdish and Balochi and in later changes with Southeastern

languages. Consulting the lexicon, we find a number of pieces of lexical evidence showing more isoglosses.

Farvi has these lexical elements in common with Southwestern languages: *mošk* "mouse" (cf. Bakhtiari, Boirahmadi and Bashgardi *mošk* from PIr. **muHs-ka-* with loss of laryngeal without compensatory lengthening, as against *mūš* from PIr. **muHs-* with loss of laryngeal and compensatory lengthening); *sose* "lung" (cf. Bakhtiari and Boirahmadi *sos*, from OIr. **suši-*, the progressive assimilation is only seen in Lori languages); *hezū* "tongue" from OP *hazāna-*;[49] *gam* "mouth, opening" (cf. Bakhtiari and Boirahmadi *gam* "nibble"); *pīl* "bridge" (from older *pūl*<**puhl*) versus *pard* and the like in some Northwestern languages; *gerī* "weeping" versus *berma* and the like in Central and most Northwestern languages; *ssay-/ssīn-* "to buy" versus *herī-/ herīn-* "to buy" and the like in most Northwestern languages. The suffix *-iang* in words like *noviang* "salt," *galiang* "necklace" and maybe *niang* "hen" is common in Southwestern languages (cf. Bakhtiari *havang* "metal mortar," *nezeng* "near"). The same applies to the diminutive suffix *-ešk* in words like *miarešk* "ant," which is also more common in Lori languages (cf. Boirahmadi *marmarūšk* "small salamander," *par-parūšk* "butterfly," *sēsēyūšk* "a tiny black thing").[50]

Retention of Middle Iranian final postvocalic *-g* (from OIr. suffix *-ka*) is a common phenomenon among Southeastern Iranian languages such as Balochi, Northern Bashgardi and Kumzari,[51] probably the result of language contact in the region. In Farvi, OIr. suffix *-ka* has remained as *-g*: *dong* "seed," *ruâsg* "fox," *dâsg* "sickle," *nāfg* "navel," *tarâsg* "balance," *nâg* "nose" (<**nāh-ka*, cf. OP *nāh-*), *tafg* "a kind of bread baked on pan," *kerg* "fireplace," *âyeng* "mirror," *kīsg* "haversack." These exemplify the common usage in Farvi of *-g-* as intervocalic connector. A similar feature for Khuri is pointed out by Borjian as an extra velar stop added to the final sonorant, a process he calls "velarization of final con-sonant." But there are some problems with the examples for Khuri given by Borjian. Some words have a suffixal *-ešk*: *čerešk* "chick" (cf. Farvi *čerīk*, Central languages *čuri* "chick"), *mērešk* "ant" (cf. Pers, *mur* "ant"); some others seem to have a suffixal *-eng*: *galeng* "necklace" (Pers. *gal* "hanging"?), *nenang* "hen" (<*nana* "mother"?).

The sound change of OIr. **x-*> Farvi *k-* in words like *kong* "laugh" and *nâko* "nail" is also shared by Balochi (cf. *kandag* "laugh," *nākun* "nail"), which shows another agreement between Farvi and Balochi; similar examples are found in Khuri: *kerus* "rooster," *kuruj* "rabbit," *kohnion* "to laugh," *nokon/nākon* "fingernail."[52] Some

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[49]Paul, "Position of Zazaki," 170, note 29. Paul believes that Khuri *hezūn* is from older **ezwān-* and initial *h-* seems to be prothetic not etymological. As there is no similar example for addition of initial *h-* in Farvi, I think *hezūn* is more probably from OP *hazāna-*.

[50]Taheri, *Guyeš-e Lori Boirahmadi*, 151.

[51]See Korn, *Toward a Historical Grammar*, 163; Skjærvø, "Baškardi"; Skjærvø, "Languages of Southern Iran," 365. Cf. Balochi *pārīg* "last year," *pahlūg* "ribs," *bandīk* "thread"; Northern Bashgardi *bāhūg* "arm," *nueg* "new," *sāg* "shadow"; Kumzāri *starg* "star," *häymaɣ* "firewood."

[52]Borjian, "The Dialect of Khur," 95.

other lexical isoglosses like *pemâz* "onion," *gīsa* "female goat," *giahnīj* "coriander," *čerīk* "chick," *gaš-* "to say" (cf. Balochi *pīmāz*, *gwask/gēs*, *genīč*, *čōrīg*, *gwaš-* respectively) show more agreement with Balochi.

Conclusion

The fact that some of the Southwestern features have been taken over by Farvi (and also by Balochi and Kurdish) shows that Farvi, Balochi and Kurdish have been influenced by Persian since Old Iranian times. In contrast to Kurdish and Balochi, Farvi with more Southwestern features shows more contact with Persian or Southwestern languages in Old and Middle Iranian times.

On the position of Farvi among Western Iranian languages, looking at historical phonology and some morphological and lexical features shows that Farvi, though basically Northwestern, shares a set of old isoglosses with Southwestern languages that place Farvi beside Kurdish and Balochi as a transitional language among Western Iranian languages. These agreements also give some idea of a common origin of Farvi with Balochi and Kurdish, where all of the three languages have apparently separated from the rest of the Northwestern languages earlier than other languages. In later changes, Farvi also shares some areal features that relate it with Southeastern Iranian languages such as Northern Bashgardi and Balochi. These isoglosses could therefore be regarded as less old than the Northwestern and Southwestern features discussed above. The lexicon of Farvi contains many old lexemes not attested in other Iranian languages, and in later changes show many sound changes that are unique among New Western Iranian languages.

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Appendix A

More Farvi words not attested in the text:

ajia "glaire," *appây-/appâ-* "to stand," *arzâ-/arz-* "to be worth," *avesk* "sleeve," *āvard-/āvar-* "to bring," *bard-/bar-* "to carry," *biard-/biar-* "to cut," *čend-/čen-* "to pick," *čerīk* "chicken," *češnâxt-/češnâs-* "to recognize, to know," *dand* "wasp," *duahd-/dūš-* "to milk," *ezo* "such, this way," *fele* "foremilk," *gaft-/gāf-* "to weave," *galiang* "necklace," *ganvaš* "blossom of wild pistachio," *gare* "lamb," *gay-/gaj-* "to arrive, to come," *gay-/gū-* "to want," *gâlī* "wart," *gârī-/gâr-* "to rain," *gâzī* "game," *gerīv-/gerv-* "to weep," *geriahd-/gerīj-* "to flee," *giard-/gīr-* "to pass," *giūz* "walnut," *gorvang* "cotton boll," *haftia* "seventy," *henjond-/henjīn-* "to seat," *hejar* "fig," *hešt-/hal-* "to let," *jīrg* "caraway," *kerg* "tandoor, oven," *kond-/kon-* "to throw," *koss-/kot-* "to pound," *kotre* "pup," *kowčīz* "ladle, *kuahr* "kid, young goat," *lūš* "mud," *mard-/mer-* "to die," *maske* "butter," *mazge* "mosque," *messehây-/messeh-* "to get wet," *mīv* "hair," *mog* "date palm," *mōjū* "bitter wild almond," *momojū* "lizard," *mond-/mīn-* "to stay," *mua* "height, hill," *našg* "beak, neb," *nâzūg* "cat," *ošnū* "sneeze," *pālve* "jacket or trouser pocket," *pahd-/pej-* "to cook," *parg* "niche," *paz* "algae," *pesgarū* "swallow," *pešnū* "forehead," *piarehī* "two days ago," *pīn* "dried whey," *pīšg* "date kernel," *ravo* "oil," *ruahd-/rū-* "to sweep," *rūs* "bark of wild almond using for dyeing," *sa* "three," *šīlam* "turnip," *sīsk* "beetle," *šī* "bottom," *suak* "bucket," *škass-/škeh-* "to break," *šo-/šū-* "to go," *tafg* "a kind of bread," *tarrū* "wet, moist," *tohorū* "cuckoo" *vasīrg* "the flour of unripe barley," *xâ* "soil," *zerū* "knee," *zog* "abdomen."

Appendix B, s

Sample text

1. *deguō bar šomā čan marâsem-e farvī degašō. marâsem-e xaš-kardō: ī marâsem jašn-e šorū-e kešt-e pâizag-ī vo doyyem-e Mordad tū kešū anjâm degere ba câbošia vo fondon-e qᵇōrū. gavar-e ahâlī īn-ī ke vaqtī sâʔat xaš dekaran, kamar gormâ deškehe vo ā siā vo zard debū, yānī ā xonok debū. bânī-e xaš kardō degu xaš-dass buyī, be estelâh-e mahalīgū dass-e suak buyī. pīštar nūnī ke estefâdag-eī dekarda tū ī marâsem, nūn mohalī bâ revan-e xaš bia-g-ī. amâ hemī nūn nūnvâyī-a bâ mīvagūn-e tâvessūnī ke ziyâdtar hendūnag-ī.*

2. *ziâdtar-e hâzerū tū ī marâsem tū ā-yahdō vo toxmkâria komak dekeran. ī marâsem âyīnīg-ī bâ fondon-e qᵇōrūn o câbošia hamrah-ī. afrâd-e kemnī doguan ke bânī-e ī marâsem beban. ī marâsem maxsūs-e keštan-e jā vo gonnam-ī. čomūn-e de mesl-e šīlam hō dekīran.*

3. *marâsem-e de ke rasm biag-ī , marâsem-e nūn-e bībīhūr biag-ī ke šav-e gist o haftom meh ruaja anjâm degerefte. mardam mōtaqᵇed bia-hō ke ī bībīhūr be nūn-e mardam barakat dedehe vo tū šā gist o haft meh ruaja tanīr sərâvūn tū sobahī garm gūj dedâšte. mōtaqᵇed bia-hō bībīhur te vo be ī tanīr sar dekote vo bâ assây âyar-e tanīrūn garm gūj dedīre, be nūn-e ī tanīrūn barakat hedehe. sabah-e zī jenū tū ī tanīrūn nūn-eī depahde beyn dūssūn o hamsâyagūn taqsīm-eī dekarde. ya zarrag-eī hō bar feyū gūj dedâšte. alāve he ī hō mōtaqᵇed bia-hō tanīrūnī ke tū ī šā garm nahon, he barakat-e ī bībīhūr be diar hon. ī kâr tū rī-e âxar sâl hō tū bāzī jâgūn-e man-taqᵇe-ye biâbūnak biag-ī. yāni rī gīst o nohem-e esfand hō anjâm degerfte.*

4. *âš-e pešt-e pâ: baʔīd-ī komī bešia hame âšūn o dalīl-e pahdon-e ō barrasia kō vo bešmâre. har kīča vo har mohalla ya âš depeje. tū mohallag-ī amā hō hamīn-ī. amā hō nāzonīm ke râbete-ye âš bâ xodahafezia če-ī. amā tū har marâsemī ke boguam ajâge kerīm yâ har komī bogue he jām amā xodâhâfezia kō be safar šū , âxar har bar-nâmag-am bâ âš-ī. hamī ke doguam be miahmūnūn begašīm ke de dešâd zahmat miahmū biō he rī kual amâ algerad, âš depejīm o ezō jām-amū parâkende debū.*

5. *yakī he vaqtūn-e de ke amā âš depejīm âxer-e meh ruajag-ī. hamī ke meh ruaje âxer debū vo amā bād a ya mah miahmūn-e xodâ biō dogvam jām-am parâkenda kerīm o ī miahmūnagia tark karīm âš depejīm , âš-e pešt-e pâ-ye meh ruaje. har mazge vo sərāyī jenū tū meh ruaje bar qᵇōrū fondō dār ham jām debia- hon. rī ʔīd-e ruaje ke ī mah ajâ debū âš depejan har komī ya čomī tiavo vo harkī dogve te âš hegere. yâ hamō je eyfo yâ zarfī tiavo be sərâ debo. be omīd-e ī ke be ruaje-ye sâl de begajan, eyferan.*

1. I want to talk about some Farvi customs. The custom of delight-doing. This custom is the feast of autumnal farming celebrated in farmlands at the second half of Mordad (August) with chanting and reading the Quran. The belief of the local inhabitants is that when they do delight, the waistline of heat is broken (heat begin to reduce) and water becomes black and yellow. The celebrant of delight-doing should be *good-handed*. According to the local people, his hand should be light (easing the tasks). Formerly, the bread that they have used in this custom has

been a local type with domestic delicious oil, but now it is the bakery bread with some summer fruits which is mostly watermelon.

2. Most of the participants in this custom help [the celebrant] in irrigating and sowing. This custom is ritual and is accompanied by chanting and reading of Quran. There are just a few men who want to be the celebrant of this custom. This custom is related to barley and wheat sowing. Some other things like turnip they also sow.

3. The other custom that has been customary has been Bibihur that was celebrated on the 27th of Ramadan month. The people believe that this Bibihur gives abundance to the bread of people's clay oven, and keep warm the oven of houses on the 27th of Ramadan. They believe that Bibihur comes and visits and keeps warm the fire of oven with her cane, and gives abundance to the bread of ovens. In the early morning, women baked in these ovens and apportioned the bread among their friends and neighbors. A little bit they kept for themselves. Furthermore, they believed that the ovens that are not warm in this night are removed away from the abundance of Bibihur. It has also been practiced in the last day of year in some locations in Biabanak region. It means that it was also celebrated on 29th of Esfand (19 March).

4. The sending of the pottage of Ramadan: it is unlikely that someone can consider and enumerate all the pottage and the reason for cooking it. In each alley and quarter [of Farvi], a kind of pottage is cooked, which holds in our quarter too. The relationship between pottage and farewell is yet unknown. When someone wants to bid farewell or to travel, a pottage is cooked at the end of a ceremony. When we want to say our guest that you can take off our shoulders the difficulty of guest inviting, we cook pottage, and this way we disrupt our party.

5. The other time that we cook pottage is the end of Ramadan. When Ramadan ends, and after one month to be the guest of God, we want to disrupt our party and leave the party, we cook a pottage: the send-off pottage of Ramadan. In the feast of Ramadan when the month ends, they cook pottage. Everybody brings something and anyone is welcome to take the pottage. They eat there or bring a dish and take it home to eat in the hope that they arrive at the Ramadan feast of the next year and eat again.