

4.3.1 Verbs

4.3.1.1 Operational definition of a verb

The verb functions primarily as the predicate in the clause. Finite and nonfinite forms are clearly distinguished. Finite verbs inflect for both tense and agreement with the subject while also taking negative, subjunctive and imperfective prefixes. Nonfinite forms do not inflect for tense and agreement with the subject, nor do they take the subjunctive or imperfective prefixes.

4.3.1.2 Structure of the verb

Windfuhr (1989: 535-536) describes the basic Persian verb system as given in Table 4.5 using the verb *rav/raft* 'go' in the third person singular with negation. As is evident, several of these verbs have double function.

Table 4.5: Persian Verb System			
	Indicative	Subjunctive	
Imperfective:			
Present	ne-mi-rav-ad <i>'is not going'</i>	be-rav-ad / na-rav-ad <i>'be go / not go'</i>	Subjunctive
Past	ne-mi-raft <i>'wasn't going'</i>	ne-mi-raft <i>'wouldn't go'</i>	Counterfactual
Inferential Past	ne-mi-raft-e ast <i>'hasn't gone'</i>	ne-mi-raft-e ast <i>'wouldn't have gone'</i>	Counterfactual
Aorist:	na-raft <i>'didn't go'</i>	na-raft <i>'were not to go'</i>	Subjunctive
Perfective:			
Present	na-raft-e ast <i>'hasn't gone'</i>	na-raft-e bāšad <i>'wouldn't have gone'</i>	Subjunctive
Past	na-raft-e bud <i>'hadn't gone'</i>	na-raft-e bud <i>'wouldn't have gone'</i>	Counterfactual
Inferential Past	na-raft-e bud-e ast <i>'he hadn't gone'</i>	na-raft-e bud-e ast <i>'he hadn't gone'</i>	Counterfactual

The verb forms are based on three stems: present, aorist and perfect (participle), the last regularly derived from the aorist stem by *-e*. All perfect forms are periphrastic with forms of the verb ‘to be’. The imperfective prefix *mi-* occurs with all three stems, while the subjunctive prefix *be-* occurs only with the present stem and is mutually exclusive with negation.

The stative verb *bud-an* ‘to be’ has only an imperfective subjunctive without *be-*, *bāš-ad*, and no past perfect, but a literary present *mi-bāš-ad*. *Dāšt-an* ‘to hold, keep, have’ has only a perfective subjunctive, *dāšt-e bāš-ad*. Neither has *mi-* when used as imperfective past and counterfactual. This restriction does not apply to the use of *dāšt-an* in compound verbs.

(The nominal forms are the three stems and the verbal noun, called infinitive, marked by *-an* as in *raft-an* ‘to go, going’. Simple verbs form the agent participle by adding *-(y)ande* to the present stem, e.g. *neveštan* ‘to write’ > *nevis* > *nevisande* ‘writer’. The patient participle is formed with the past participle and the periphrastic verb *šodan* ‘to become’, e.g. *neveše šode* ‘written’.)

A fuller listing of all the paradigms of the Persian verb are given in Table 4.6. The written forms are given in square brackets where it differs from the spoken form. The verb *gereftan* ‘to take’ is used in these paradigms to better illustrate the stress placement.

Table 4.6: Persian Verb Paradigms				
<i>gereftan</i> ‘to take’ past stem: <i>gereft</i> present stem: <i>gir</i>				
IMPERFECTIVE				SUBJUNCTIVE
Present / Simple Present	Past / Past Continuous	Past PERFECT	Aorist / Simple Past	Past Subjunctive / Perfect Subjunctive
'migram	'migereftam	'migerefte am	ge'reftam	bāyad gereft'e bāšam
'migiri	'migerefti	'migerefte i	ge'refti	šāyad gereft'e bāši
'migire [-ad]	'migereft	'migerefte (ast)	ge'reft	momkene gereft'e bāše [-ad]
'migram	'migereftim	'migerefte im	ge'reftim	bāyad gereft'e bāšim
'migririd	'migereftid	'migerefte id	ge'reftid	šāyad gereft'e bāšid
'migrirand	'migereftand	'migerefte and	ge'reftand	behtare gereft'e bāšand
<i>am/are taking/ take/ will take</i>	<i>was taking/ (if X) would take</i>	<i>have been taking/ used to take</i>	<i>took</i>	<i>(might) have taken/ would have taken</i>
'nemigram	'nemigereftam	'nemigerefte am	'nagereftam	'nabāyad gerefte bāšam
'nemigiri	'nemigerefti	'nemigerefte i	'nagerefti	šāyad 'nagerefte bāši
'nemigire [-ad]	'nemigereft	'nemigerefte (ast)	'nagereft	momkene 'nagerefte bāše [-ad]
'nemigram	'nemigereftim	'nemigerefte im	'nagereftim	'nabāyad gerefte bāšim
'nemigririd	'nemigereftid	'nemigerefte id	'nagereftid	šāyad 'nagerefte bāšid
'nemigrirand	'nemigereftand	'nemigerefte and	'nagereftand	behtare 'nagerefte bāšand
<i>am/are not taking/ not take/ will not take</i>	<i>wasn't taking/ (if X) wouldn't take</i>	<i>haven't been taking/ used not to take</i>	<i>didn't take</i>	<i>(might) not have taken/ wouldn't have taken</i>
<i>bāyad</i> ‘must’; <i>šāyad</i> ‘might’; <i>momkene</i> ‘may’; <i>behtare</i> ‘better’; <i>age</i> ‘if’				

Table 4.6: Persian Verb Paradigms (cont'd)

PERFECTIVE			SUBJUNCTIVE		
Present PERFECT / Past Perfect	Past / Pluperfect	Remote Past PERFECT (Literary)	Future (Literary)	Present Subjunctive	Imperative
gereft'am [gereft'e am]	gereft'e budam	gereft'e bude am	xāham ge'reft	'begiram	
gereft'i [gereft'e i]	gereft'e budi	gereft'e bude i	xāhi ge'reft	'begiri	'begir
gereft'e [gereft'e (ast)]	gereft'e bud	gereft'e bude ast	xāhad ge'reft	'begire [-ad]	
gereft'im [gereft'e im]	gereft'e budim	gereft'e bude im	xāhim ge'reft	'begirim	
gereft'id [gereft'e id]	gereft'e budid	gereft'e bude id	xāhid ge'reft	'begirid	'begirid
gereft'and [gereft'e and]	gereft'e budand	gereft'e bude and	xāhand ge'reft	'begirand	
<i>have/has taken</i>	<i>had taken</i>	<i>had taken</i>	<i>will take</i>	<i>(might) take</i>	<i>take!</i>
'nagereftam ['nagerefte am]	'nagerefte budam	'nagerefte bude am	'naxāham gereft	'nagiram	
'nagerefti ['nagerefte i]	'nagerefte budi	'nagerefte bude i	'naxāhi gereft	'nagiri	'nagir
'nagerefte ['nagerefte (ast)]	'nagerefte bud	'nagerefte bude ast	'naxāhad gereft	'nagire [-ad]	
'nagereftim ['nagerefte im]	'nagerefte budim	'nagerefte bude im	'naxāhim gereft	'nagirim	
'nagereftid ['nagerefte id]	'nagerefte budid	'nagerefte bude id	'naxāhid gereft	'nagirid	'nagirid
'nagereftand ['nagerefte and]	'nagerefte budand	'nagerefte bude and	'naxāhand gereft	'nagirand	
<i>have/hasn't taken</i>	<i>hadn't taken</i>	<i>hadn't taken</i>	<i>will not take</i>	<i>(might) not take</i>	<i>don't take!</i>

4.3.1.3 Verb classes

Verbs can be classified according to their form, category and semantics.

4.3.1.3.1 Verb form classes

Verbs distinguish an aorist stem from a present stem formed from the infinitive form. For example, the infinitive *xord-an* 'to eat' forms the aorist stem by removing the infinitive suffix *-an* and taking subject agreement suffixes in its place. The present stem of *xordan* is *xor*, and is morphologically unpredictable. The present stem also takes subject agreement suffixes.

Verbs can be grouped into different form classes based on how they form the present stem from the infinitive form. The following verb form classes are taken from Mahootian (1997: 232-236).

Class I. The *-idan* class (202 verbs)

In what is by far the most common class, and the one to which verbs from other classes spread by analogy as well as the one that is used for classifying borrowings from other languages, the *-idan* of the infinitive is dropped to get the present stem. Note that *busidan* 'to kiss' is from French and *fahmidan* 'to think' is from Arabic.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
xānidan	‘to laugh’	xānid	xānd	mi-xānd-am
pičidan	‘to turn’	pičid	pič	mi-pič-am
mālidan	‘to rub’	mālid	mālid	mi-mālid-am
xāridan	‘to scratch’	xārid	xār	mi-xār-am
xaridan	‘to buy’	xarid	xar	mi-xar-am
boridan	‘to cut’	borid	bor	mi-bor-am
busidan	‘to kiss’	busid	bus	mi-bus-am
fahmidan	‘to think’	fahmid	fahm	mi-fahm-am

Class II. The -ādan class (4 verbs)

This class is similar to the *-idan* class but the vowel of the infinitive is /ā/ instead of /i/. The *-ādan* class contains only a handful of verbs.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
oftādan	‘to fall’	oftād	oft	mi-oft-am
ferestādan	‘to send’	ferestād	ferest	mi-ferest-am
istādan	‘to stand’	istād	ist	mi-ist-am

Class III. The -dan class (96 verbs)

The verbs in this class drop the *-dan* of the infinitive to get the present stem. More than half follow this rule alone. The rest not only drop *-dan* but also alter the vowel of the stem.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
afkandan	‘to throw’	afkand	afkan	mi-afkan-am
parākandan	‘to strew’	parākand	parākan	mi-parākan-am
mundan	‘to stay’	mund	mun	mi-mun-am
rahāndan	‘to free’	rahānd	rahān	mi-rahān-am
xundan	‘to read’	xund	xun	mi-xun-am

Within the *-dan* class, many verbs change or drop the vowel of the infinitive as well.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
šodan	‘to become’	šod	š	mi-š-am
dādan	‘to give’	dād	d	mi-d-am
bordan	‘to carry’	bord	bar	mi-bar-am
mordan	‘to die’	mord	mir	mi-mir-am
šenudan	‘to hear’	šenud	šeno	mi-šeno-am

(*šenudan* has a *šenidan* variation of Class I verbs as well as Class VII very informal, colloquial variant, *šenoftan*.)

Some -dan verbs change the /d/ of the infinitive to /n/:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
čidan	‘to prick’	čid	čin	mi-čin-am
āfaridan	‘to create’	āfarid	āfarin	mi-āfarin-am

Moinfar (1978) puts two common verbs *didan* ‘to see’ and *āmadan* ‘to come’ in the -dan class, although, as a result of unpredictable sound alternations, their present forms are very different from the infinitives.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
didan	‘to see’	did	bin	mi-bin-am
āmadan	‘to come’	āmad	ā	mi-yā-am

Class IV. The -tan class (59 verbs)

While fairly large, this class contains many irregularities in forming the present stem from the infinitive. The rule which applies to all these verbs is to drop the -tan of the infinitive. But few Class IV verbs do only that. Often a stem vowel and/or consonant changes as well.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
bāftan	‘to knit’	bāft	bāf	mi-bāf-am
šekāftan	‘to split’	šekāft	šekāf	mi-šekāf-am

Some -tan verbs change the /f/ of the infinitive to a /b/, and some of these also change the vowel:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
šetāftan	‘to hurry’	šetāft	šetāb	mi-šetāb-am
yāftan	‘to find’	yāft	yāb	mi-yāb-am
roftan	‘to sweep’	roft	rub	mi-rub-am

A small group changes the /š/ of the infinitive to /r/:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
dāštan	‘to have’	dāšt	dār	mi-dār-am
negāštan	‘to write’	negāšt	negār	mi-negār-am
engāštan	‘to suppose’	engāšt	engār	mi-engār-am
kāštan	‘to plant’	kāšt	kār	mi-kār-am

Another subclass of *-tan* verbs changes the /x/ of the infinitive to /z/:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
bāxtan	‘to be defeated’	bāxt	bāz	mi-bāz-am
andāxtan	‘to throw’	andāxt	andāz	mi-andāz-am
sāxtan	‘to build’	sāxt	sāz	mi-sāz-am
pardāxtan	‘to pay’	pardāxt	pardāz	mi-pardāz-am

Other *-tan* verbs undergo a number of changes and/or deletions of vowels and/or consonants.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
jāštan	‘to jump’	jāšt	jāh	mi-jāh-am
xāštan	‘to want’	xāšt	xā	mi-xā-am
xāštan	‘to get up’	xāšt	xiz	mi-xiz-am
nešastan	‘to sit’	nešast	nešin	mi-nešin-am
bastan	‘to close’	bast	band	mi-band-am
peyvastan	‘to unite’	peyvast	peyvand	mi-peyvand-am

Class V. The -stan class (7 verbs)

Verbs in this small class drop *-stan* from the infinitive to get the present stem. In addition, some of the verbs in this class undergo other changes between infinitive and present stem.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
šostan	‘to wash’	šost	šur	mi-šur-am
jostan	‘to seek’	jost	ju	mi-ju-am
goristan	‘to cry’	gorist	geri	mi-geri-am
negaristan	‘to look’	negarist	negar	mi-negar-am

Class VI. The -estan class (7 verbs)

Verbs in this class are regular, forming the present stem by dropping the *-estan* of the infinitive.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
tunestan	‘to be able’	tunest	tun	mi-tun-am
dunestan	‘to know’	dunest	dun	mi-dun-am

Class VII. The -ftan class (6 verbs)

In this class the *-ftan* of the infinitive is dropped, while other vowel alternations occur.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Aorist Stem</u>	<u>Present Stem</u>	<u>First person singular</u>
goftan	‘to say’	goft	g	mi-g-am
raftan	‘to go’	raft	r	mi-r-am
gereftan	‘to receive’	gereft	gir	mi-gir-am
paziroftan	‘to accept’	paziroft	pazir	mi-pazir-am
šenoftan	‘to hear’	šenoft	šeno	mi-šeno-am

4.3.1.3.2 Verb category classes

Verbs can be classified as main verbs, compound verbs, copular verbs, auxiliary verbs, and modal verbs according to their syntactic and semantic function.

4.3.1.3.2.1 Main verbs

Main verbs function as the independent predicate of the clause and are described in 4.3.1.3.1.

- (4.147) u tu=ye āšpazxāne nāhār-eš=rā xord
 3SG in=EZ kitchen lunch-3SG.POS=OM eat.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He ate his lunch in the kitchen.’

- (4.148) māšin dār-id?
 car have.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘Do you have a car?’

4.3.1.3.2.2 Compound verbs

The compound verb, the type that accounts for the vast majority of verbs in Persian, consists of a non-verbal element and a verbal element. The non-verbal element may be (1) a noun such as *kār* ‘work’, as in the compound *kār kardan* ‘to work, to do something’, (2) an adjective like *paidā* ‘found’ as in the compound *paidā kardan* ‘to find’, or (3) an adverb like *piš* ‘forward’ in *piš raftan* ‘to advance, go forward’, or *bar* ‘up, over’ as in *bar dāštan* ‘to pick up’.

4.3.1.3.2.2.1 Stress in compound verbs

In compound infinitives stress is on the final syllable.

- (4.149) bozorg sho'dan ‘to grow up’
 (4.150) bar dāš'tan ‘to pick up’

In finite compound verb forms stress falls on the final syllable of the non-verbal element, and voice intonation falls rapidly away on the verbal element, which receives no stress whatsoever.

- (4.151) diruz az madrase 'bar gašt-and
 yesterday from school return.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They returned from school yesterday.’
 (4.152) qalam=e ma=rā pai'dā kard-and
 pen=EZ 1SG=OM found do.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They found my pen.’
 (4.153) ketāb-hā=rā 'bar dāšt-am
 book-PL=OM up have.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I picked up the books.’

4.3.1.3.2.2.2 Negation in compound verbs

In the negative, the negative prefix is prefixed to the verbal element and takes the primary stress from the non-verbal element, leaving a secondary stress on the final syllable of the non-verbal element.

- (4.154) ketāb-hā=rā ,bar 'na-dāšt-and
 book-PL=OM up NEG-have.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They didn’t pick up the book.’
 (4.155) qalam=e ma=rā pai,dā 'na-kard-and
 pen=EZ 1SG=OM found NEG-do.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They didn’t find my pen.’

4.3.1.3.2.2.3 Generic objects in compound verbs

Generic objects form compounds with the verb. They are not marked with the object marker.

(4.156) ketāb xānd-am
 book read.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I read books.’

(4.157) nāme nevešt-and
 letter write.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They wrote letters.’

4.3.1.3.2.2.4 Object agreement in compound verbs

Object agreement markers may be attached to the non-verbal element in the compound verb and not to the verb (from Rafiee (2001: 132). ***Note Mahootian says object agreement can be attached to either the verbal or nonverbal element in compound verbs.

(4.158) roušan-eš kon
 switch on-3SG.DO IMP.do
 ‘Switch it on.’

(4.159) komak-am kard-and
 help-1SG.DO do.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They helped me.’

4.3.1.3.2.3 Copular verbs

budan ‘to be’ is used as a copula with the subject agreement clitics/suffixes.

**** Describe long and short copulas.

**** šodan ‘to become’ is also a copula verb

For the forms and function of the copula verb ‘to be’ see 4.3.1.4.2.

***** Need to tie this section together with ‘forms and functions of copula ‘to be’.

Table 4.7: Short and Long Copulas			
Short copulas		Long copulas	
xub-am	‘I am good’	xub hastam	‘I am good’
xub-i	‘you (sg) are good’	xub hasti	‘you (sg) are good’
xub-e	‘s/he/it is good’	xub hast	‘s/he/it is good’
xub-im	‘we are good’	xub hastim	‘we are good’
xub-id	‘you (pl) are good’	xub hastid	‘you (pl) are good’
xub-an(d)	‘they are good’	xub hastan(d)	‘they are good’

kojā-am	‘where am I?’	kojā budam	‘where was I?’
kojā-i	‘where are you (sg)?’	kojā budi	‘where were you (sg)?’
kojā-e	‘where is s/he/it?’	kojā bud	‘where was s/he/it?’
kojā-im	‘where are we?’	kojā budim	‘where were we?’
kojā-id	‘where are you (pl)?’	kojā budid	‘where were you (pl)?’
kojā-an(d)	‘where are they?’	kojā budan(d)	‘where were they?’

The Forms and Functions of the Copula ‘to be’

The verb *budan* ‘to be’ is an exception and forms the present imperfective with a clitic form presented in Table 4.8 and the stem *hast* presented in Table 4.9. The choice of third person singular clitics is based on both phonological considerations and level of formality, with *-ast* being the most formal.

Table 4.8: Paradigm of Present Imperfective Clitics of ‘to be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	-am	-im
SECOND PERSON	-i	-id
THIRD PERSON	-ast/-s(t)/-e	-an(d)

These clitics are suffixed directly to noun phrases and adjective phrases. Clitic forms can only be used in a copulative sense and cannot be used existentially (see *hast* form below for the existential ‘to be’).

- (4.160) qermez-e
red-be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘It is red.’
- (4.161) dānešju-im
student-be.PRES.1PL.SU
‘We are students.’
- (4.162) kojā-st?
what.place-be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘Where is it?’

Table 4.9: Paradigm of Present Imperfective of <i>hast</i> ‘to be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	<i>hast-am</i>	<i>hast-im</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>hast-i</i>	<i>hast-id</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>hast</i>	<i>hast-an(d)</i>

Another way to express the copula in the present imperfective is by using the nonenclitic lexical item *hast*. *hast* inflects for subject agreement as illustrated in Table 4.9. Note that the paradigm for *hast* is irregular in that, unlike most present imperfective verbs which are inflected for *-e* in the third person singular, *hast* takes no third person singular inflection.

- (4.163) *qermez hast*
 red be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘It is red.’

- (4.164) *dānešju hast-im*
 student be.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘We are students.’

Unlike the clitics, *hast* can be used existentially.

- (4.165) *čand=tā doxtar tu=ye hayāt hast-and*
 some girl in=EZ courtyard be.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘There are some girls in the courtyard.’

hast may be interpreted as having either an empty subject or not.

- (4.166) *‘man hast-am*
 1SG be.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘It’s me.’ / ‘I am (here).’

If the stress is placed on *hast*, the meaning changes to ‘I am/will be here.’

The subjunctive stem of *budan* is the irregular *bāš*. It can be used to express the present imperfective and takes regular inflection, but only occurs in a literary context.

- (4.167) *mi-bāš-am*
 IPFV-be.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I am.’

Table 4.10: Paradigm of Present Imperfective of <i>nist</i> ‘to not be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	<i>nist-am</i>	<i>nist-im</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>nist-i</i>	<i>nist-id</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>nist</i>	<i>nist-an(d)</i>

The negative present imperfective of *budan* ‘to be’ is *nist* and this takes the same subject inflection as *hast*, as illustrated in Table 4.10. This form is used exclusively in both spoken and written modern Persian. The negative with *bāš* stem is restricted to literary Persian.

- (4.168) emrikai nist-am
 American NEG.be-1SG.SU
 'I am not American.'

4.3.1.3.2.4 Auxiliary verbs

In written Persian the present and simple past tenses serve as both habitual and progressive (i.e. *miravam* is both 'I go' and 'I'm going'; *miraftam* is both 'I used to go' and 'I was going'). In colloquial Persian *miram* means only 'I go' and *miraftam* means only 'I used to go'. To express the present and past progressive a compound tense formation has developed with *dāstan* 'to have' as auxiliary. They only occur in the affirmative and no negative exists (Thackston 1993: 210-211). The auxiliary is suffixed with pronominal subject agreement and normally precedes any objects in the clause. (See also 4.3.1.5.4)

- (4.169) dār-am šatranj bāzi mi-kon-am
 have.PRES-1SG.SU chess play IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU
 'I am playing chess.'

- (4.170) dāst-im harf mi-zad-im
 have.PAST-1PL.SU word IPFV-hit.PAST-1PL.SU
 'We were talking.'

4.3.1.3.2.5 Modal verbs

There are seven verbs that may be considered to be modal verbs in Persian: *tunestan* 'to be able', *xāstan* 'to want', *gozāštan* 'to allow, let', *bāyad* 'must', *šāyad* 'might', *momkene* 'it is possible' and *behtare* 'it is better'. They can all occur with a complement subjunctive verb to express a notion of modality. *tunestan* 'to be able', *xāstan* 'to want', and *gozāštan* 'to allow, let' are independent verbs. **** Show how they are independent. ****

bāyad 'must' and *šāyad* 'might' are frozen forms, although according to Thackston (1993: 112) each has the related remnant forms *mi-bā-yest* 'must' and *šāyest-e* 'suitable', respectively.

momkene 'it is possible' and *behtare* 'it is better' are also fixed forms. **** Can they occur independently? ****

tun-estan 'to be able' + ra-ftan 'to go'

mi-tun-am be-r-am	'I can go'	ne-mitunam beram	'I can't go'
mi-tun-i be-r-i	'you (sg) can go'	ne-mituni beri	'you (sg) can't go'
mi-tun-ad be-r-e	's/he can go'	ne-mitunad bere	's/he can't go'
mi-tun-im be-r-im	'we can go'	ne-mitunim berim	'we can't go'
mi-tun-id be-r-id	'you (pl) can go'	ne-mitunid berid	'you (pl) can't go'
mi-tun-and be-r-and	'they can go'	ne-mitunand berand	'they can't go'

Example of independent usage: ****(Is the var dāram subjunctive?)

- (4.171) dige ne-mi-tun-am pā az pā var dār-am
 other NEG-IPFV-able-1SG.SU foot from foot take.PRES-1SG.SU
 'I can't even take one more step.'

xā-stan ‘to want’ + *ra-ftan* ‘to go’

mi-xā-m be-r-am	‘I want to go’	ne-mixām beram	‘I don’t want to go’
mi-xā-i be-r-i	‘you (sg) want to go’	ne-mixāi beri	‘you (sg) don’t want to go’
mi-xā-d be-r-e	‘s/he want to go’	ne-mixād bere	‘s/he doesn’t want to go’
mi-xā-im be-r-im	‘we want to go’	ne-mixāim berim	‘we don’t want to go’
mi-xā-id be-r-id	‘you (pl) want to go’	ne-mixāid berid	‘you (pl) don’t want to go’
mi-xā-nd be-r-and	‘they want to go’	ne-mixānd berand	‘they don’t want to go’

For *xāstan* ‘to want’ the subject of the complement subjunctive verb can be different to the subject of *xāstan*.

- (4.172) mi-xā-m be-r-i.
 IPFV-want.PRES-1SG.SU SBJN-go.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I want you to go.’

Example of independent usage:

- (4.173) če mi-xā-i?
 what IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘What do you want?’

gozā-štan ‘to allow, let’ + *ra-ftan* ‘to go’

bo-zār-id be-r-am	‘let me go’	na-zārid beram	‘don’t let me go’
bo-zār-id be-r-i	‘let you (sg) go’	na-zārid beri	‘don’t let you (sg) go’
bo-zār-id be-r-e	‘let him go’	na-zārid bere	‘don’t let him go’
bo-zār-id be-r-im	‘let us go’	na-zārid berim	‘don’t let us go’
bo-zār-id be-r-id	‘let you (pl) go’	na-zārid berid	‘don’t let you (pl) go’
bo-zār-id be-r-and	‘let them go’	na-zārid berand	‘don’t let them go’

Example of nonmodal usage:

- (4.174) pedar-am na-gozāšt (ke) man be-rav-am
 father-1SG.POS NEG-allow CMPL 1SG SBJN-go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘My father didn’t let me go.’

bāyad ‘must’ + ra-ftan ‘to go’

bāyad be-r-am	‘I must go’	na-bāyad beram	‘I mustn’t go’
bāyad be-r-i	‘you (sg) must go’	na-bāyad beri	‘you (sg) mustn’t go’
bāyad be-r-e	‘s/he must go’	na-bāyad bere	‘s/he mustn’t go’
bāyad be-r-im	‘we must go’	na-bāyad berim	‘we mustn’t go’
bāyad be-r-id	‘you (pl) must go’	na-bāyad berid	‘you (pl) mustn’t go’
bāyad be-r-and	‘they must go’	na-bāyad berand	‘they mustn’t go’

šāyad ‘might’ + ra-ftan ‘to go’

šāyad be-r-am	‘I might go’	šāyad naram	‘I might not go’
šāyad be-r-i	‘you (sg) might go’	šāyad nari	‘you (sg) might not go’
šāyad be-r-e	‘s/he might go’	šāyad nare	‘s/he might not go’
šāyad be-r-im	‘we might go’	šāyad narim	‘we might not go’
šāyad be-r-id	‘you (pl) might go’	šāyad narid	‘you (pl) might not go’
šāyad be-r-and	‘they might go’	šāyad narand	‘they might not go’

momken-e ‘it is possible’ + ra-ftan ‘to go’

momken-e be-r-am	‘I may go’	momkene naram	‘I may not go’
momken-e be-r-i	‘you (sg) may go’	momkene nari	‘you (sg) may not go’
momken-e be-r-e	‘s/he may go’	momkene nare	‘s/he may not go’
momken-e be-r-im	‘we may go’	momkene narim	‘we may not go’
momken-e be-r-id	‘you (pl) may go’	momkene narid	‘you (pl) may not go’
momken-e be-r-and	‘they may go’	momkene narand	‘they may not go’

beh-tar-e ‘it is better’ + ra-ftan ‘to go’

beh-tar-e be-r-am	‘I better go’	behtare naram	‘I better not go’
beh-tar-e be-r-i	‘you (sg) better go’	behtare nari	‘you (sg) better not go’
beh-tar-e be-r-e	‘s/he better go’	behtare nare	‘s/he better not go’
beh-tar-e be-r-im	‘we better go’	behtare narim	‘we better not go’
beh-tar-e be-r-id	‘you (pl) better go’	behtare narid	‘you (pl) better not go’
beh-tar-e be-r-and	‘they better go’	behtare narand	‘they better not go’

4.3.1.3.3 Verb semantic classes

Describe the different semantic classes of verb, e.g.

States: *be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe*

Achievements: *pop, explode, perish, shatter (the intransitive versions)*

Accomplishments: *melt, freeze, dry (the intransitive versions); learn*

Activities: *march, walk, roll (the intransitive versions); swim, think, snow, write, drink*

Semelfactives: *flash, cough, tap, glimpse*

Tests for Determining Aktionsart Types

Criterion	States	Achve's	Accmp's	Activity	Active accmp	Seml
Occurs with progressive	No	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*
Occurs with adverbs like <i>vigorously, actively</i> , etc.	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No*
Occurs with adverbs like <i>quickly, slowly</i> , etc.	No	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*
Occurs with X for an hour, spend an hour Xing	Yes*	No*	Irrelevant*	Yes	Irrelevant*	No*
Occurs with X in an hour	No	No*	Yes	No	Yes	No*
Can be used as stative modifier	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has a causative paraphrase	No	No	No	No	No	No

vigorous: qavi, por-zur, šadid

active: fa'al, kārī, jed'i

quickly: besor'at, tond

slowly: be-āhestegi, yavāš-yavāš

for an hour:

in an hour:

4.3.1.4 Tense and Aspect

As illustrated in Table 4.5, tense and aspect are intricately bound in Persian and aspect is the more salient of the two in the Persian verbal system. Windfuhr (1989: 536-537) says:

“The key to understanding the system is the recognition of the functions of the forms marked *mi-*, of the forms marked by the perfect stem in *-e* and, most importantly, of the

aorist *raft* which used to be identified as (simple) past or preterit for the obvious reason that this is the general form used in simple past narrative. With the ‘past’ *raft* opposed to the present *mi-rav-ad*, there appeared to be a system based on tense distinction, quite similar to Western European systems, notably the French system as traditionally understood. This was reinforced by the pair of the present and past perfects *raft¹-e ast* and *raft¹-e bud* and the imperfect *mi-raft*.

However, aspect is as basic a categorical vector of the system as is tense. *Mi-* is the marker of imperfectivity. As such it may express habitual action, progressive-ingressive action, as well as future action in the present and past, e.g. present *hami,še/al’ān/far,dā ‘kār mi-kon-am* ‘I always work/I am working (right) now/I will be working tomorrow’, past *hami,še/di,rūz/far,dā ‘kār mi-kard* ‘he was always working, would always work/he working yesterday (when he came)/(he thought:) he would work, would be working the next day’, the latter in contexts such as anticipation in an interior monologue.

The perfect forms are not simply perfective, but resultative-stative. This is most evident with change-of-state verbs, e.g. *ha’san ān,jā nešast,-e ast/bud* ‘Hasan has/had sat down there’ = ‘Hasan is/was sitting there’, *Maryam le,bās-e qa’sang-i pušid,-e ast/bud* ‘Maryam has/had put on a nice dress’ = ‘Maryam is/was wearing a nice dress’. Both occur also in a future context, e.g. *far,dā sā’at-e ,se raft¹-e am/raft¹-e bud-am* ‘by three o’clock the next day I would be gone’, the latter again in anticipation in the past.

Most instructively, the aorist is not confined to past contexts, but occurs in present and future contexts as well, most evident with verbs implying motion, e.g. in a past context *ha’san diruz be bā’zār raft va ‘in=rā xarid* ‘Hasan went to the market yesterday and bought this’, in a present context *to bāš-i, man ‘raft-am* ‘you stay here, I am on my way/am going now’, which may be said when still seated, or in a future context *,šāyad ‘mā ham raft-im* ‘we will most likely go, too’, said after hearing that someone will go to see an exhibition. The future use of this form is largely confined to the colloquial language. In educated registers a formation with *xāh*, the unmarked present stem of *xašt¹-an* ‘to want, will’, is used followed by the uninflected form, *‘na-xāh-ad raft* ‘he will not go’.

The aorist does thus certainly not indicate past tense; rather, it is tense-neutral and it is the context which identifies time. It is a member of both the present and past subsystems, and therefore is called here ‘aorist’.

On the basis of this analysis we conclude that Persian does not have past, present and future tenses, as is commonly presented, but instead has past, present and future aspects. Persian is an example of an aspect prominent language (see Bhat (1999)). We will therefore present the notions of past, present and future in aspectual terms.

4.3.1.4.1 Aorist

The simple past or aorist is formed by (1) dropping the infinitival ending *-an*, giving a past stem with *-d* or *-t*, and (2) adding subject agreement pronominal postclitics. See the aorist paradigm for *gereftan* ‘to take’ illustrated in Table 4.6. Stress is placed on the final syllable of the verb. Note from Table 4.11 that the third person singular agreement is zero marked. With the addition of the pronominal endings stress remains on the final syllable of the past stem. Aorist stems for the different verb form classes are illustrated in 4.3.1.3.1. As illustrated in Table 4.6, the negative is formed by prefixing *na-* to the affirmative form and this prefix takes the word stress.

Table 4.11: Aorist Subject Agreement		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	-am	-im
SECOND PERSON	-i	-id
THIRD PERSON	Ø	-an(d)

Mahootian (1997: 236) says that the simple past tense in Persian is used to refer to a past, completed action. However, Thackston (1993) and Windfuhr (1989) both point out that the simple past, or more accurately aorist, in Persian has a wider use than this. Firstly, it is most commonly used to describe a completed action in past time, as in (4.175).

- (4.175) be u qalam=i dād-am
to 3SG pen=IND give.PAST-1SG.SU
‘I gave him a pen.’

- (4.176) šanbe raft-am manzel=e dust-am
Saturday go.PAST-1SG.SU house=EZ friend-1SG.POS
‘On Saturday I went to my friend’s house.’

But Thackston (1993: 33) says that the simple past of stative verbs implies that the state ceased to pertain in the past. This would indicate that the aspectual notion of completion is a basic component of the meaning of this verb form.

- (4.177) pedar=e mehdi ostād bud
father=EZ Mehdi professor be.PAST.3SG.SU
‘Mehdi’s father was professor (*implying* he is no longer one).’

- (4.178) hič čiz na-mānd
none thing neg-remain.PAST.3SG.SU
‘Nothing remained (*implying* there was nothing left).’

Thackston (1993: 34) also says the simple past is used for actions “as good as done” and states just perceived to have come about. The emphasis in these contexts is on event completion rather than past time.

- (4.179) xob, raft-am
OK go.PAST-1SG.SU
‘OK, I’m gone (I’ve got to go now).’

- (4.180) ali āmad
Ali come.PAST.3SG.SU
‘Here’s Ali (*lit.* Ali came).’

- (4.181) hālā xord-am
now eat.PAST-1SG.SU
‘I’ve just eaten (*lit.* I ate now).’

Windfuhr (1989: 537) also says that the simple past or aorist is not confined to past contexts, but occurs in present and future contexts as well, most evident with verbs implying motion. These contexts are illustrated in (4.182) - (4.184). The future use of this form is largely confined to the colloquial language. In educated registers a formation with *xāh*, the unmarked present stem of *xašt’an* ‘to want, will’, is used followed by the uninflected form, *ha-xāh-ad raft* ‘he will not go’.

(4.182) PAST CONTEXT

hasān diruz be bāzār raft va in=rā xarid
 Hasan yesterday to bazaar go.PAST.3SG.SU and this=OM buy.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Hasan went to the market yesterday and bought this.’

(4.183) PRESENT CONTEXT

bāš-i, man raft-am
 imp.be-2SG.SU 1SG go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘You stay here, I am on my way/am going now.’ (which may be said when still seated)

(4.184) FUTURE CONTEXT

šāyad mā ham raft-im
 might 1PL also go.PAST.1PL.SU
 ‘We will most likely go, too.’ (said after hearing that someone will go to see an exhibition)

The aorist does thus certainly not indicate past tense; rather, it is tense-neutral and it is the context which identifies time. It is a member of both the present and past subsystems, and therefore is called here ‘aorist’.

4.3.1.4.2 Present imperfective

The present imperfective (simple present) is marked by the imperfective prefix *mi-* and the present form of the verb stem. For all the imperfective forms stress is placed on the *mi-* prefix. See Table 4.6 for an illustrative paradigm of *gereftan* ‘to take’. The present imperfective also has a distinctive set of subject agreement pronominal postclitics, as illustrated in Table 4.12. The most common third person singular inflection is *-e*, which is added to the present stems ending in a consonant. The third person singular *-d* form is used for verbs whose present stems end with a vowel, as in *mi-yā-d* ‘he/she/it comes’ and *mi-xā-d* ‘he/she/it wants’. As illustrated in Table 4.6, the negative is formed by prefixing *ne-* to the affirmative form and this prefix takes the word stress.

Table 4.12: Present Imperfective Subject Agreement		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	-am	-im
SECOND PERSON	-i	-id
THIRD PERSON	-e/-d	-an(d)

The present imperfective can express the notions of simple present, present continuous and simple future. This is illustrated by (4.185) where senses (a), (b) and (c) can all be interpreted relevant to the context of the utterance.

- (4.185) u tu=ye edāreh-eš nāhār mi-xor-e
 3SG in=EZ office-3SG.POS lunch IPFV-eat.PRES-3SG.SU
- a. ‘He eats lunch in his office.’ PRESENT SIMPLE
 b. ‘He is eating lunch in his office.’ PRESENT CONTINUOUS
 c. ‘He will eat lunch in his office.’ FUTURE SIMPLE

To stipulate that the reported event is extended and coincident with the moment of speech, i.e. present time, the verb *dāštan* is added as an auxiliary verb preceding the main verb (see also

4.3.1.3.2.4). In Reichenbach terms this is E *simul* R/S, where E is the event, R is the reference point R and S is the speech act. In this case R is coincident S.

- (4.186) dār-am nāhār mi-xor-am
 have.PRES-1SG.SU lunch IPFV-eat.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I am (in the middle of) eating lunch.’
- (4.187) dār-i che-kār mi-kon-i?
 have.PRES-2SG.SU what-work IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘What are you doing (right now)?’

The present imperfective can also be used to express habitual actions, generic statements and universal truths.

- (4.188) xāhar-am har sāl mi-r-e paris.
 sister-1SG.POS every year IPFV-go.PRES-3SG.SU Paris
 ‘My sister goes to Paris every year.’
- (4.189) māh dōwṛ=e zamin mi-čarx-e
 moon around=EZ earth IPFV-turn.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘The moon revolves around the earth.’

Some verbs, such as *dāštan* ‘to have’ and *budan* ‘to be’ do not take the imperfective prefix *mi-*. For expressing universal truths with such verbs, the present stem is used without *mi-*.

- (4.190) hame parande=gan par dār-and
 all bird-PL feather have.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘All birds have feathers.’
- (4.191) āsemān ābi hast
 sky blue be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘The sky is blue.’

4.3.1.4.3 Past imperfective

The past imperfective is formed by prefixing *mi-* to the past stem of the verb with the addition of same subject agreement pronominal postclitics as the aorist. as illustrated in Table 4.11. See the past imperfective paradigm for *gereftan* ‘to take’ illustrated in Table 4.6. The past imperfective negative is formed by prefixing *ne-* to the affirmative form and this prefix takes the word stress. This form can be used to express continuous or habitual action in the past.

- (4.192) mi-rund-am
 IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was driving.’
- (4.193) har ruz berenj mi-xord-im
 every day rice IPFV-eat.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We used to eat rice every day.’

As with the present imperfective, the verb *dāštan* ‘to have’ can be added as an auxiliary verb preceding the main verb to indicate that the reported event is extended and coincident with the reference point R, which is in the past with respect to S. In Reichenbach terms this is E *simul* R *before* S. Note that the auxiliary *dāštan* ‘to have’ cannot be used in the negative.

- (4.194) dāst-am mi-rund-am
 have.PAST-1SG.SU IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was (in the act of) driving.’
- (4.195) ne-mi-rund-am
 NEG-IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was not driving.’

- (4.196) har ruz berenj ne-mi-xord-im
 every day rice NEG-IPFV-eat.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We did not used to eat rice every day.’

4.3.1.4.4 Past perfect imperfective

The past perfect imperfective is formed by prefixing *mi-* to the past participle of the verb, which is followed by the perfect subject agreement pronominal clitics illustrated in Table 4.13. Where the subject is human, e.g. ‘he/she’, *ast* is used. Stress is placed on the *mi-* prefix. The negative is formed by prefixing *ne-* to the affirmative form and this prefix then takes the word stress. An illustrative paradigm for *gereftan* ‘to take’ is given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.13: Perfect Subject Agreement Pronominals		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	am	im
SECOND PERSON	i	id
THIRD PERSON	(ast)	an(d)

This form can be used to express a continuous or habitual action or a state in the past, the historical validity of which still holds true in the present.

- (4.197) ebn=e sinā dar esfahān zendegi mi-kard-e ast
 Avicenna in Isfahan life IPFV-do-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Avicenna lived in Isfahan.’

4.3.1.4.5 Present perfect perfective

The present perfect perfective is formed by the past participle followed by the perfect subject agreement pronominal clitics illustrated in Table 4.13. Where the subject is human, e.g. ‘he/she’, *ast* is used. Illustrative paradigms for the present perfect perfective based on *gereftan* ‘to take’ are given in Table 4.6. The written form is given in square brackets in Table 4.6. In this form stress is on the final *-e* of the past participle. In spoken Persian these forms are reduced to the nonbracketed forms and stress is placed on the subject agreement clitic. This distinguishes this form from the aorist form where stress is placed on the last syllable of the verb stem. The negative is formed in both the written and spoken forms by prefixing *na-* to the past participle. This prefix takes the word stress in each case.

The present perfect perfective is used where the effects of an action or event in the past are felt to be still relevant in some way to a present situation. This contrasts with the aorist where no such current relevance is part of the meaning. (4.198a) is a simple statement of fact: at one point in time Biruni died with no special significance for the present. However, (4.198b) is a historical fact that is still relevant: it may be a source of pride for the city of Qazna that Biruni is buried there, or one may be viewing the historical significance of where he died, but the use of the present perfect perfective implies its relevance to the present time.

- (4.198) a. biruni dar qazni mord
 Biruni in Qazna die.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Biruni died in Qazna.’

- b. biruni dar qazni mord-e ast.
 Biruni in Qazna die-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'Biruni died in Qazna.'

The present perfect perfective can also express the present result of a past situation or event. (4.199a) expresses a resultative state but there is no implication that the resultant state still pertains in the present time. However, (4.199b) implies Hasan is still sitting there.

- (4.199) a. hasan ān-jā nešast
 Hasan that-place sit.PAST.3SG.SU
 'Hasan sat down there.'
- b. hasan ān-jā nešast-e ast
 Hasan that-place sit-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'Hasan has sat down there (and is still sitting there).'

An example of the negative present perfect perfective is given in (4.200).

- (4.200) espāgeti na-xord-e am
 spaghetti NEG-eat-PSPT be.PRES.1SG.SU
 'I haven't eaten spaghetti.'

The present perfect perfective can also occur in a future context.

- (4.201) fardā sā'at=e se raft-e am
 tomorrow hour=EZ three go-PSPT be.PAST.1SG.SU
 'By three o'clock tomorrow I will be gone.'

4.3.1.4.6 Past perfective

The past perfective is formed from the past participle followed by the aorist *budan*, as illustrated in Table 4.6. The word stress is on the final *-e* of the past participle. The negative is formed by prefixing *na-* to the past participle and this prefix takes the word stress in this form.

The Persian past perfective has a similar past in the past meaning as the English past perfect, thus the meaning of the verb in Table 4.6 is 'had taken'. In Reichenbachian terms the basic meaning of the past perfective is E *before* R *before* S.

Uses of the past perfective

(a) For any past in the past event or state, although no great amount of time need have elapsed. This usage often renders the sense of the English 'already', which has no exact equivalent in Persian.

- (4.202) qabl az ān u=rā did-e bud-im.
 before that 3SG=OM see-PSPT be.PAST-1PL.SU
 'We had (already) seen him before that.'
- (4.203) unā hargez unjā na-raft-e bud-and
 3PL never that.place NEG-go-PSPT be.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They had never been there before.'

(b) For the anterior of two contrasted verbs in the past.

- (4.204) diruz šomā u=rā did-id
 yesterday 2PL 3SG=OM see.PAST-2PL.SU
 vali mā pariruz-ham u=rā did-e bud-im
 but 1PL before.day-also 3SG=OM see-PSPT be.PAST-1PL.SU
 'You saw her yesterday, but we had already seen her the day before.'

When the more remote verb has already been completed before the inception of the second, or less remote, the second verb follows the first and is introduced by *ke* 'when'.

(4.205) man raft-e bud-am ke šomā āmad-id
 1SG go-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL 2PL come.PAST-2PL.SU
 ‘I had already gone when you came.’

(4.206) šomā be āmrikā bar gasht-e bud-id
 2SG to America return-PSPT be.PAST-2PL.SU
 ke man be irān raft-am
 CMPL 1SG to Iran go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘You had already returned to America when I went to Iran.’

(c) *Hanuz* ‘yet, still, just’ and a negative verb in the past perfective clause followed by *ke* renders the idiomatic ‘scarcely (*hanuz*) had we done something when (*ke*) something happened’.

(4.207) hanuz vāred=e otāq na-šod-e bud-im
 just entrance=EZ room NEG-become-PSPT be.PAST-1P.SU
 ke un-hā did-im
 CMPL 3PL see.PAST-1P.SU
 ‘Scarcely had we entered the room when we saw them.’

(4.208) hanuz na-nešast-e bud-am ke dar bāz šod
 just NEG-sit-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL door open become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘I had just sat down when the door opened.’

(d) Like the present perfective, the past perfective can occur in a future context.

(4.209) fardā sā’at=e se raft-e bud-am
 tomorrow hour=EZ three go-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘By three o’clock the next day I would be gone.’

4.3.1.4.7 Remote Past Perfect Perfective

The remote past perfect perfective is formed from the past participle of the main verb, followed by the past participle of *budan*, followed by the by the perfect subject agreement pronominal clitics illustrated in Table 4.13. Remote past perfect is therefore a double perfect with two past participles. Stress is on the final *-e* of the main verb past participle, as shown in Table 4.6. The negative is formed by prefixing *na-* to the main verb past participle. This prefix takes the word stress in this case.

The remote past perfect perfective is used in contexts (a) and (b) of the past perfective where the relevance criteria of the present perfective also apply (see 4.3.1.4.4). The remote past perfect perfective expresses relevance to the past perfective as the present perfect perfective expresses relevance to the aorist. This tense-aspect occurs primarily in the literary register and its usage is rare. However, Windfuhr (1989: 537) says it can occur in the spoken register (see the inferential past****).

(4.210) dar ān vaqt be sisālegi na-resid-e bud-e ast
 at that time to age.thirty NEG-reach-PSPT be-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘At that time he had not yet reached the age of thirty.’

4.3.1.4.8 Inferential past

Windfuhr (1982: 263-287, 1989: 537) suggests that there is a distinction in Persian between non-inferential (direct) past and inferential past. The direct past does not express any value judgment on the stated proposition. But the inferential past has the function of expressing *conclusion/assumption* or *absence of speaker/second-hand knowledge* or *reminiscence* - an evidential function. Table 4.14 illustrates how the inferential pasts relate to their corresponding direct past tense-aspects.

Table 4.14: Direct and Inferential Past			
	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	
DIRECT:	mikard <i>past imperfective</i>	kard <i>aorist</i>	karde bud <i>past perfective</i>
INFERENTIAL:	mikarde (ast) <i>past perfect imperfective</i>	karde (ast) <i>present perfect perfective</i>	karde bude (ast) <i>remote past perfect perfective</i>

The complex forms *mi-gereft-e ast* ‘he has gone/used to take’, which combines imperfective *mi-* with the perfect *-e*, and *gereft-e bud-e ast* ‘he had taken’, a double perfect, express remote past in the literary register. However, they are not confined to literary style, but are as frequent in the colloquial language without referring to remote past. What they express is the category of inference, that is mainly second-hand knowledge, conclusion and reminiscence. In this they are joined by the perfect form *gereft-e ast* ‘he has taken’ which also functions as the inferential aorist. All three forms of the inferential past are thus derived from the perfect as is the case in a good number of other languages which have this category.

- (4.211) zāheran nevisande, vaqt=i ān nāme=rā mi-nevešt-e (ast)
 apparently writer time=IND that letter=OM IPFV-write-PSPT (be.PRES.3SG.SU)
 xod=aš=rā bā in āmpul=i,
 self=3SG.POS=OM with this injection=IND
 ke ruz=e qabl xarid-e bud-e (ast),
 CMPL day=EZ before buy-PSPT be-PSPT (be.PRES.3SG.SU)
 košt-e (ast)
 kill-PSPT (be.PRES.3SG.SU)
 ‘Apparently, the writer killed himself with this injection, which he had bought the day before, while he was writing that letter.’

Windfuhr (1989: 537) provides (4.211) as an example of how the inferential past forms are used. If non-inferential forms were used in this context they would imply a fact or at least be uncommitted with regard to a value judgment on the stated proposition. Thus Windfuhr argues that the tense opposition [present: [past: inferential past]] is a fundamental vector of the verb system. Future, however, is not a tense, but at best a modality. As is evident in the examples presented in the preceding sections, all present and past forms may be used in a future context. See examples (4.182) - (4.184) for past forms used in a past, present and future context; see example (4.185) for present forms used in a present and future context; see examples (4.188) - (4.189) for a present form used to express habitual actions and universal truths, which have a past, present and future context; see example (4.201) for a past form in the present perfective used in a future context; see example (4.209) for a past form in the past perfective used in a future context.

4.3.1.4.9 Future

Although Persian has a future tense construction it is rarely used in conversation, being restricted primarily to formal announcements and lecture formats. The future construction comprises *xāh* (the present stem of *xāstan* ‘to want’), followed by present imperfective subject agreement, as given in Table 4.12, followed by the so-called short infinitive (=past stem) of the verb to which the action refers to. In the affirmative the stress falls on the last syllable of the short infinitive.

Table 4.15: Future Construction of <i>gereft</i> ‘to take’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	xāh-am ge'reft	xāh-im ge'reft
SECOND PERSON	xāh-i ge'reft	xāh-id ge'reft
THIRD PERSON	xāh-ad ge'reft	xāh-and ge'reft

In compound verbs the auxiliary *xāstan* intervenes between the two parts of the compound. Stress is on the final syllable of the non-verbal element.

Table 4.16: Future Construction of <i>bar gaštan</i> ‘to return’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	'bar xāh-am gašt	'bar xāh-im gašt
SECOND PERSON	'bar xāh-i gašt	'bar xāh-id gašt
THIRD PERSON	'bar xāh-ad gašt	'bar xāh-and gašt

The negative future is formed by prefixing *ha-* to the auxiliary. E.g. *'ha-xāh-am raft* ‘I will not go’, *'bar 'ha-xāh-im gašt* ‘We will not return’, etc.

In spoken Persian the present tense form is used to express futurity. The future tense form is reserved for fairly emphatic statements about the future.

(4.212) hič vaqt bar na-xāh-am gašt!
 none time NEG-want.PRES-1SG.SU return.PAST
 ‘I shall never return!’

(4.213) hame hatman xāh-and mord
 all certainly want.PRES-3PL.SU die.PAST
 ‘They shall certainly all die!’

4.3.1.5 Aspect

This description of aspect assumes a that the basic aspectual contrast in languages is perfective vs. imperfective. Perfective aspect provides the view of an event as a whole from the outside and is situationally bounded. Different perfective aspects that specify that the event is bounded include: inchoative, ingressive, inceptive (beginning), completive (ending), resultative (end-state) and semelfactive (once only). Imperfective aspect contrasts with perfective. It provides the view of an event from the inside and is situationally unbounded. Different imperfective aspects that specify that the event is unbounded include: continuous, progressive, iterative (several times), habitual (characteristic of a period of time), and frequentative (specifies degrees of frequency with which an event occur). Another important aspectual category in languages is perfect. Perfect is a distinctive tense-aspect which most typically expresses a state resulting from an earlier event. Perfect will also express the notion that an event is relevant in some way to a posterior event or situation.

4.3.1.5.1 Perfective

Although the Persian verb system has a perfective vs. imperfective distinction as its basic parameter, normally only imperfective aspect is marked by the prefix *mi-*. However, some writers of more formal or poetical literature use the *be-* ‘perfective’ prefix (ancestor of the *be-* ‘subjunctive’ prefix in modern Persian) from classical Persian to express gravitas in the

discourse. For example, (4.214) illustrates the climactic passage from a formal version of *Hamrāh* ‘Companions’. This is a story of two wolves who are companions on a journey. One wolf collapses from exhaustion and cannot continue, so his ‘friend’ kills and eats him. The *be-* ‘perfective’ prefix is used on the aorist verb in lines 2, 4 and 5 to indicate the dramatic climax of the events.

- (4.214) dahān-aš bāz mānd
 mouth-3SG.POS open remain.PAST.3SG.SU
 va negāh dar dideg-ān-aš *be*-mord.
 and vision in eye-PL-3SG.POS PFTV-die.PAST.3SG.SU
 vānke bar pāi bud
 and.that(one).CMPL on foot be.PAST.3SG.SU
 dahān-e xošk *be*-gošod
 mouth-EZ dry PFTV-open.PAST.3SG.SU
 va lasse-ye nili *be*-nemud
 and gum-EZ blue PFTV-show.PAST.3SG.SU
 va dandān-hā=ye zarde šarre=ye xord-e
 and tooth-PL=EZ rusty vicious=EZ eat-PSPT
 be galu=ye hamrāh=e darmānd=e foru bord
 to throat=EZ companion=EZ helpless=EZ deep take.PAST.3SG.SU
 va xun=e fesorde az darun=e rag-hā-yaš makid
 and blood=EZ compact from inside=EZ vein-PL-3SG.POS suck.PAST.3SG.SU
 va barf=e sefid=e puk=e xošk
 and snow=EZ white=EZ hollow=EZ dry
 az barf=e xunin šādāb gašt
 from snow=EZ bloody happy become.PAST.3SG.SU

‘His mouth stood open and vision died in his eyes. And the one standing, opened wide his dry mouth, revealed his blue gums, plunged his vicious white fangs into the throat of his helpless companion, sucked the curdled blood from inside its veins, and the white, dry, hollow snow was rejuvenated by the bloody snow.’ [Hamrāh]

4.3.1.5.2 Imperfective

As described in 4.3.1.4, the prefix *mi-* marks imperfective aspect in the Persian verb system. Both perfective and imperfective can occur in a past, present or future context and (4.215) - (4.220) provide contrasting examples.

- (4.215) PERFECTIVE - PRESENT CONTEXT
 bāš-i, man raft-am
 imp.be-2SG.SU 1SG go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘You stay here, I am on my way/am going now.’ (which may be said when still seated)
- (4.216) IMPERFECTIVE - PRESENT CONTEXT
 hālā mi-r-am
 now IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I am going now.’
- (4.217) PERFECTIVE - PAST CONTEXT
 rund-am
 drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I drove.’

(4.218) IMPERFECTIVE - PAST CONTEXT

mi-rund-am
 IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I was driving.'

(4.219) PERFECTIVE - FUTURE CONTEXT

fardā sā'at=e se raft-e am
 tomorrow hour=EZ three go-PSPT be.PAST.1SG.SU
 'By three o'clock tomorrow I will be gone.'

(4.220) IMPERFECTIVE - FUTURE CONTEXT

fardā sā'at=e se mi-run-am
 tomorrow hour three IPFV-drive.PRES-1SG.SU
 'By three o'clock tomorrow I will be driving.'

4.3.1.5.3 Perfect

Persian has three perfect tense-aspects:

The present perfect (see 4.3.1.4.5) is used where the effects of an action or event in the past are felt to be still relevant in some way to a present situation. The past perfect contrasts with the aorist or simple past (see 4.3.1.4.1).

(4.221) AORIST NONPERFECT

pedar=e ali pezešk bud
 father=EZ Ali physician be.PAST.3SG.SU
 'Ali's father was a physician.' (this past state has no relevance to the present time)

(4.222) PAST PERFECT

pedar=e ali pezešk bud-e ast
 father=EZ Ali physician be-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'Ali's father was a physician.' (this past state has some relevance to the present time)

The past perfect (see 4.3.1.4.4) is used to express a continuous or habitual action or a state in the past, the historical validity of which still holds true in the present. The past perfect contrasts with the past continuous (see 4.3.1.4.3).

(4.223) PAST CONTINUOUS NONPERFECT

har ruz berenj mi-xord-im
 every day rice IPFV-eat.PAST-1PL.SU
 'We used to eat rice every day.' (this past state has no relevance to the present time)

(4.224) PAST PERFECT

har ruz berenj mi-xord-e im
 every day rice IPFV-eat.PSPT be.PRES.1PL.SU
 'We were eating rice every day.' (this past state has some relevance to the present time)

The remote past perfect (see 4.3.1.4.7) is a literary register and is used to express the relevance of one event or state in the past to a preceding time in the past. It is a past-past perfect and contrasts with the past perfective (see 4.3.1.4.6). In (4.225) the use of the past perfective indicates that the 'going' event is completed prior to the 'coming' event and has no direct relevance to this subsequent event. In (4.226), on the other hand, the use of the remote past perfect indicates that the state of 'not being 30' has relevance to the specified reference time in the past.

(4.225) PAST PERFECTIVE NONPERFECT

man raft-e bud-am ke šomā āmad-id
 1SG go-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL 2PL come.PAST-2PL.SU
 'I had already gone when you came.'

(4.226) REMOTE PAST PERFECT

dar ān vaqt be sisālegi na-resid-e bud-e ast
 at that time to age.thirty NEG-reach-PSPT be-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘At that time he had not yet reached the age of thirty.’

4.3.1.5.4 Durative/Progressive

As described in 4.3.1.3.2.4 the auxiliary *dāštan* ‘to have’ is used in spoken Persian to emphasise the fact that the action is in progress. The auxiliary can be used with either the present or past imperfective affirmative. There is no negative. Compare (4.227a) with (4.227b) and (4.228a) with (4.228b).

- (4.227) a. čekār mi-kon-id
 what.work IPFV-do.PRES-2PL.SU
 ‘What do you do (for a living)?’
 b. dār-id čekār mi-kon-id
 have.PRES-2PL.SU what.work IPFV-do.PRES-2PL.SU
 ‘What are you doing (now)?’
- (4.228) a. harf mi-zad-im
 word IPFV-hit.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We were talking.’
 b. dāšt-im harf mi-zad-im
 have.PAST-1PL.SU word IPFV-hit.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We were (in the middle of) talking.’

The auxiliary can also be used to express the fact that one action is in progress during another event or action, as in (4.229) and (4.230).

- (4.229) did-ad az dur zamin dār-ad mi-larz-ad
 see.PAST-3SG.SU from afar ground have.PRES-3SG.SU IPFV-shake.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘He saw from afar that the ground was shaking.’
- (4.230) al’ān ke dār-am in nāme=rā barā-yat mi-nevis-am,
 now CMPL have.PRES-1SG.SU this letter=OM for-2SG.PO IPFV-write.PRES-1SG.SU
 parviz ru-ye taxt derāz kešid-e Ø
 parvis on-ez bed lie_down-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘While I am writing this letter to you Parviz is lying on the bed.’

**** Is this durative or progressive?

**** Does it occur with state verbs?

4.3.1.5.5 Habitual

The category of habitual aspect as such is not marked on the verb in Persian, but several different forms of the verb can be used to express this notion. Any verb marked with the imperfective prefix *mi-* can be used to express an habitual meaning. An example is repeated in (4.188) of present habitual expressed with the present imperfective, in (4.193) of past habitual expressed with the past imperfective, and in (4.197) of past habitual expressed with the past perfect imperfective.

- (4.188) PRESENT HABITUAL
 xāhar-am har sāl mi-r-e paris.
 sister-1SG.POS every year IPFV-go.PRES-3SG.SU Paris
 ‘My sister goes to Paris every year.’

(4.193) PAST HABITUAL

har ruz berenj mi-xord-im
 every day rice IPFV-eat.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We used to eat rice every day.’

(4.197) PAST HABITUAL

ebn=e sinā dar esfahān zendegi mi-kard-e ast
 Avicenna in Isfahan life IPFV-do-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Avicenna used to live in Isfahan.’

4.3.1.5.6 Inchoative

Persian does not express inchoative, ingressive or inceptive aspect morphologically nor does it have a set of inchoative verbs. An inchoative notion can be expressed lexically using the verb *šuru kardan* ‘to begin’ followed by a subjunctive complement or an infinitival complement with *be* ‘to’.

(4.231) dār-im šuru mi-kon-im dars be-xun-im
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU lesson SBJN-read.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘We are starting to study.’

(4.232) dār-im šuru mi-kon-im be dars xund-an
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU to lesson read-INF
 ‘We are starting to study.’

The present imperfective can also express an ingressive notion when used in a future context.

(4.233) fardā kār mi-kon-am
 tomorrow work IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I will be working tomorrow.’

4.3.1.5.7 Resultative-state

The perfect forms of past perfect imperfective (4.3.1.4.4), present perfect perfective (4.3.1.4.5) and remote past perfect perfective (4.3.1.4.7) all express a resultative-state.

(4.234) hasan ānjā nešast-e ast/bud
 Hasna that.place sit-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU/be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Hasan has/had sat down there.’ = ‘Hasan is/was sitting there.’

(4.235) maryam lebās=e qašang=i pušid-e ast/bud
 Maryam dress=EZ pretty-IND put on-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU/be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Maryam has/had put on a nice dress.’ = ‘Maryam is/was wearing a nice dress.’

4.3.1.6 Mood/modality

Mood or modality is concerned with the *actuality* of an event. The broad typological categories that define modality are *realis* and *irrealis*. Persian distinguishes indicative (*realis*) from subjunctive (*irrealis*) mood. The indicative forms of the verb are summarized in Table 4.6 and their functions are described in 4.3.1.4.1 - 9.

4.3.1.6.1 Subjunctive

Windfuhr (1989: 538) says: “The basic function of the subjunctive is to express potential action. As such it functions as adhortative, e.g. *be-rav-ad* ‘he should go/let him go’. It is obligatory after verbs with potential connotations such as modal verbs and expressions and verbs like ‘to fear/be afraid to’, ‘to hope to’ etc., e.g. *bāyad be-rav-ad* ‘he must go’, *mi-tars-ad*

be-rav-ad ‘he is afraid to go’. (The infinitive-verbal noun is strictly nominal and expresses ‘the going’ rather than ‘to go’.)”

Thackston (1993: 110) says: “The subjunctive mood in Persian is, with one important exception (i.e. the jussive mood), used only in complementary constructions, i.e. the subjunctive always depends in some way or follows upon a primary verb in the indicative mood.”

Persian distinguishes the present and past subjunctive (see Table 4.6) and they are used in the following dependent contexts:

- (i) In the complements of modal verbs and modal expressions (present and past subjunctive).
- (ii) In the complements of the verbs *xāstan* ‘to want’, *tavānestan* ‘to be able’ and *gozāštan* ‘to allow, let’ (present subjunctive).
- (iii) In the complements of verbs expressing desire, will and preference; command and prohibition; hope; doubt and ignorance; opinion where doubt is implied; and of expressions of emotion when the state or action of the dependent verb is subsequent to or as yet unrealized at the time of the event expressed by the main verb (present subjunctive).
- (iv) In past expressions after conjunctions of condition and concession (past subjunctive).
- (v) In relative clauses when the antecedent of the relative clause is indefinite or the subjunctive complements a negative expression.
- (vi) In the complements of comparative *az ān-ke* ‘too X to do something’ constructions.
- (vii) In the complements of *kāš(ki)* ‘would that, I wish’ for wishes in the future.
- (viii) In the complements of *mesl=e* ‘like’ and *mesl=e in-ke* ‘as though’ expressions.
- (ix) In the complements of all temporal conjunctions meaning ‘before’ (*qabl az in-ke*, *piš az in-ke*).
- (x) In the complements of *tā* ‘until’ and ‘by the time that’ where the reference is to a time posterior to the reference event.
- (xi) In purpose clauses following conjunctions expressing purpose (*tā*, *tā ke*, *tā in-ke* and *ke* ‘in order that’).
- (xii) Following all conjunctions of concession, provision and exception (past or present subjunctive).

4.3.1.6.1.1 Present subjunctive

4.3.1.6.1.1.1 Form of the present subjunctive

(a) The present subjunctive of simple verbs is formed from the present stem plus the prefix *be-*, which is identical to the *be-* prefix of the imperative and follows the same phonological rules given in *****. Examples of various subjunctive verbs are:

'be-gir-am	‘let me take’	'be-gu-im	‘let’s go’
'be-dān-i	‘(may) you take’	'bi-āid	‘(may) you come’
'bo-g(o)šay-ad	‘let him open’	'bi-oft-and	‘let them fall’

(b) The present subjunctive of close compound verbs is characterized by the lack of any prefix on the verbal element. Stress remains on the final syllable of the non-verbal element.

'dar rav-am	'let me run away'	soh'bat kon-im	'let's talk'
'bar dār-i	'(may) you pick up'	'bar gard-id	'(may) you return'
vā'red šav-ad	'let him come in'	'gom šav-and	'let them get lost'

(c) The present subjunctive of open and loose compound verbs is made, like the simple verb, with the prefix *be-* on the verbal element.

'harf be-zan-am	'let me speak'	'dur bi-andāz-im	'let's throw away'
kār-i bo-kon-i	'(may) you work'	javāb-i be-deh-id	'(may) you answer'
'dars be-xān-ad	'let him study'	vāred-e šahr be-šav-and	'let them enter the city'

(d) The negative present subjunctive is formed by replacing *be-* with *na-*.

'na-gir-am	'let me not take'	'na-yandāz-im	'let's not put in'
bar 'na-dār-i	'(may) you not pick up'	'na-yāid	'(may) you not come'
vā'red 'na-šav-ad	'let him not come in'	'gom 'na-šav-and	'let them not get lost'

(e) Exceptions. As in the imperative, *budan* 'to be' does not take the *be-* prefix. Its subjunctive inflection is as follows:

bāš-am	'let me be'	bāš-im	'let us be'
bāš-i	'let you be'	bāš-id	'let you be'
bāš-ad	'let him be'	bāš-and	'let them be'

Dāštan 'to have', as in the imperative, forms the subjunctive from the past participle and the subjunctive of *budan*.

dāšt-e bāš-am	'let me have'	dāšt-e bāš-im	'let us have'
dāšt-e bāš-i	'let you have'	dāšt-e bāš-id	'let you have'
dāšt-e bāš-ad	'let him have'	dāšt-e bāš-and	'let them have'

The negative subjunctive is predictably formed from the affirmative: *habāšam*, *hadāšte bāšam*, etc.

4.3.1.6.1.1.2 Functions of the present subjunctive

As a dependent complement

The functions of the present subjunctive as a dependent complement are as follows:

(a) The subjunctive mood is used as a complement of all modal verbs and modal expressions, such as *bāyad* ‘must, have to’, *šāyad* ‘may, might’, *momkene* ‘may (lit. it is possible)’ and *behtare* ‘better (lit. it is better)’. These forms can be affirmative or negative.

<i>bāyad</i> be-r-am	‘I must go.’
<i>nabāyad</i> be-r-and	‘They must not go.’
<i>šāyad</i> be-mun-id	‘You(pl) might stay.’
<i>šāyad</i> na-xāb-e	‘He might not sleep.’
<i>momkene</i> be-oft-im	‘We may fall.’
<i>momkene</i> na-bin-i	‘You(sg) may not see.’
<i>behtare</i> bi-yānd	‘They had better come.’
<i>behtare</i> na-r-am	‘I had better not go.’

This includes all expressions of possibility, probability and necessity.

<i>emkān</i> dār-ad (ke) 'na-yā-yam	‘It’s possible I won’t come.’
<i>emkān</i> 'na-dār-ad (ke) 'bi-yā-yam	‘It’s not possible for me to come.’
<i>lāzem</i> bud (ke) 'be-rav-id	‘It was necessary for you to go.’
<i>lāzem</i> 'nabud (ke) 'be-rav-id	‘It wasn’t necessary for you to go.’
<i>ehtemāl</i> dār-ad (ke) hamānjā 'be-mān-and	‘It’s probable that they will stay there.’

(b) The present subjunctive is used as a dependent complement of the independent verbs *xāstan* ‘to want’, *tavānestan* ‘to be able’ and *gozāštan* ‘to allow, let’.

'mi-xāst-am 'be-rav-am	‘I wanted to go.’
'mi-xāh-am 'be-rav-am	‘I want to go.’
'mi-tavānest 'bi-yā-yad	‘He was able to come.’
'mi-tavān-ad 'bi-yā-yad	‘He can come.’
'bo-gzār-id ānhā 'bi-yā-yand	‘Let them come.’
pedar-am 'na-gozāšt (ke) man 'be-rav-am	‘My father didn’t let me go.’

Direct objects of the dependent subjunctive and prepositional matter generally fall between the independent and dependent verbs. The independent verbs may occur in any tense

'mi-xāst ān=rā be man 'be-deh-ad	‘He wanted to give it to me.’
'mi-tavān-am šomā=rā 'be-bin-am	‘I can see you.’

'mi-xāh-and fardā 'bi-yā-yand	'They want to come tomorrow.'
'na-xāh-am tavānest 'bi-yā-yam	'I shall not be able to come.'

If there is a change of subject between the independent and dependent verbs, the complementizer *ke* 'that' usually appears along with the subject pronoun of the dependent verb.

'mi-xāh-am ke šomā 'bi-yā-yid	'I want you to come.'
'ne-mi-xāh-am ke ānhā 'be-rav-and	'I don't want them to go.'

(c) The present subjunctive is used as a dependent complement of the following verbs:
Verbs expressing desire, will and preference. Note that English equivalents almost all have a complementary infinitive where the persons are the same.

'mi-xāh-and 'bar gard-and	'They want to return.'
mail 'na-dār-am be šahr 'be-rav-am	'I'm not inclined to go to town.'
'qasd dāšt-and ān kār=rā 'bo-kon-and	'They intended to do it.'
tar'jih mi-deh-im āntor 'na-bāš-ad	'We prefer it not to be like that.'

After expressions of command and prohibition.

be u goft-am 'be-n(e)šin-ad	'I told him to sit down.'
farmud-and (ke) mā 'na-rav-im	'They ordered us not to go.'

After expressions of hope.

omidvār-am bāz ham šomā=rā 'be-bin-am	'I hope to see you again.'
omidvār-am (ke) 'be-tavān-am 'be-rav-am	'I hope I can go.'
omidvār-budam ke 'be-tavān-am 'be-rav-am	'I hoped I could go.'

Note in the above example that English has a strict sequence of tense in such constructions. There is no sequence of tense in Persian: the complement of *omidvār* '(be) hopeful' is always in the present subjunctive.

omid-eš in ast ke hamiše dar ānjā 'be-mān-ad	'It is his hope to remain there always.'
---	--

After expressions of doubt and ignorance.

šakk dār-am ke 'be-tavān-ad in matlab=rā 'be-fahm-ad	'I doubt he can understand this matter.'
šakk dāšt-and ke bi-yā-yand yā na	'They doubted whether they should come or not.'

After expressions of opinion where doubt is implied. Simple statements of opinion where no doubt is implied are in the indicative. Compare the following:

fekr mi-kon-am ke ānjā-st	'I think he <i>is</i> here.'
fekr mi-kon-am ke ānjā bāsh-ad	'I think he <i>may be</i> here.'

After expressions of emotion when the state or action of the dependent verb is subsequent to or as yet unrealized at the time of the event expressed by the main verb.

'mi-tars-am u=rā paidā 'na-kon-am	'I'm afraid I won't find her.'
xošhāl mi-šav-im šomā=rā 'be-bin-im	'We'll be happy to see you'

but

xošhāl-im ke āmad-e-id	'We're happy you've come.'
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As an independent clause

The functions of the present subjunctive as a independent clause are as follows:

(a) The subjunctive can be used as a jussive in all persons.

'be-rav-im!	'Let's go!'
hamāntour ke hast, bāš-ad	'Let it be just as it is.'
xodā 'bi-āmorz-ad-eš	'May God have mercy on him.'
xodā 'na-kon-ad	'God forbid.' (lit. May God not do it)

4.3.1.6.1.2 Past subjunctive

4.3.1.6.1.2.1 Form of the past subjunctive

The past subjunctive is formed from the past participle and the present subjunctive of *budan* - see Table 4.6. Stress remains on the last syllable of the participle in all verbs, simple and compound. The negative past subjunctive is formed by prefixing the negative *'na-* to the participle. Examples of various types are given below. The meanings of these forms will depend on the context in which they occur.

raft-'e bāsh-am

bar gašt-'e bāš-i
 'na-bud-e bāš-ad
 dāšt-'e bāš-im
 dust dāšt-'e bāš-id
 bar 'na-dāšt-e bāš-and

There are no exceptions to this formation. The present and past subjunctives of *dāštan* are identical.

4.3.1.6.1.2.2 Functions of the past subjunctive

(a) The past subjunctive is used for the doubtful past realization of verbs of necessity (“must have”), possibility (“can have”), desire, wishing, etc., where the complement is anterior to the main verb.

bāyad rafte bāšad	‘He must have gone.’
bāyad ān kār=rā karde bāšad	‘He must have done it.’
šāyad āmade bāšand	‘They may have come.’
vāqe’e=ye mohemm=i bāyad piš āmade bāšad	‘Some important event must have come up.’
nemitavānad ān kār=rā karde bāšad	‘He can’t have done it.’
nemitavānestam ān kār=rā karde bāšam	‘I couldn’t have done it.’
momken nabud ān=rā dide bāšid	‘It isn’t possible for you to have seen it.’
momken nabud ān=rā dide bāšid	‘It wasn’t possible for you to have seen it.’
omidvār am xaili be šomā xoš gozašte bāšad	‘I hope you have had a really good time.’

(b) The past subjunctive is used in past expressions after the conjunctions of condition and concession.

<i>be šart=i mitavānid beravid ke kār etān=rā karde bāšid</i>	‘You can go provided you have done your work.’
<i>nemitavānid yād gerefte bāšid magar inke madrase rafte bāšid</i>	‘You can’t have learned unless you have gone (without having gone) to school.’
<i>nemitavānid masjed=e gawharšad=rā dide bāšid bejoz inke mašhad rafte bāšid</i>	‘You can’t have seen the Gawhar-Shad Mosque unless you have gone to Mashhad.’
<i>hattā agar-ham in ketāb=rā xod-eš nevešte bāšad, afkār-eš māl=e u nist.</i>	‘Even though he may have written this book, the ideas are not his.’

4.3.1.6.2 Subjunctive in adjectival clauses

**** see Thackston (1993: 141-144)

4.3.1.6.3 Subjunctive in adverbial clauses

*** see Thackston (1993: 162-163)

(4.236)

‘.’

(4.237)

‘.’

4.3.1.6.4 Counterfactual

The basic function of the counterfactual is to express actions or states which are unlikely to, or did not, come about. As such it functions in wishes and hypothetical statements. It is thus tense-neutral, and the distinction is strictly one of aspect, e.g. *kāš raft-e bud* is either ‘if he were only gone’ or ‘if he had only left’.

(4.238)

‘.’

(4.239)

‘.’

Describe how the epistemic notions of necessity and possibility and the deontic notions of obligation and ability are expressed. Also describe the form and function of conditional and subjunctive constructions.

4.3.1.6.5 Necessity

(4.240)

‘.’

(4.241)

‘.’

4.3.1.6.6 Possibility

(degree of certainty)

(4.242)

‘?’

(4.243)

‘?’

4.3.1.6.7 Obligation

**** see Thackston (1993: 155-156) ‘other irrealis constructions’.

(debitive)

(4.244)

‘?’

(4.245)

‘?’

4.3.1.6.8 Abilitative

(potential)

tavānestan ‘to be able’

(4.246)

‘?’

(4.247)

‘?’

4.3.1.6.9 Conditionals

***** see Thackston (1993: 152-155)

(4.248)

‘?’

(4.249)

‘?’

4.3.1.7 Illocutionary force

Illocutionary force refers to whether an utterance is an assertion (indicative), a question (interrogative), a command (imperative) or an expression of a wish (optative). The form in which these notions are expressed in Persian are described in the following sections.

4.3.1.7.1 Assertion/Indicative

The Persian verb system marks a basic distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood. This is summarized in Table 4.1. The indicative forms are described in detail in 4.1.4.3-4 and the subjunctive forms are described in detail in 4.1.4.5.1-3. The function of the indicative is to assert the reality of an event or action (realis) and the function of the subjunctive is to express the unreality of an event or action (irrealis).

4.3.1.7.2 Question/Interrogative

The expression of interrogative does not involve the verb in Persian. In yes-no questions interrogative is most commonly made by special intonation or otherwise marked by the sentence initial prepositions *āyā* (formal use) or *mage* (leading question). See the description of interrogative sentences in 4.4.2.

4.3.1.7.3 Command/Imperative

***Includes imperative, hortatory, and monitory (warning) modality.
gozāştan ‘to allow, let’

The singular imperative of simple verbs is formed by prefixing *ʔbe-* to the present stem.

'begir!	‘Take (it)!’
'beshin!	‘Sit down!’
'bezan!	‘Hit (it)!’

When the vowel in the next syllable is *o*, the imperative prefix is *ʔbo-*.

'bogzar!	‘Put (it) down!’
----------	------------------

When the vowel in the next syllable is *au* or *u* the imperative prefix is *ʔbe-* or *ʔbo-*, depending on the regional accent.

'berau or 'borau	‘Go!’
'begu or 'bogu	‘Say (something)!’

When followed by a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, the imperative prefix is *ʔbi-*, and is so written. (*** Note I have *beoft* ‘fall down’ and *beist* ‘stand up’ in my verb stems listings.)

'biā!	'Come!'
'biandāz!	'Throw (it)!'
'bioft!	'Fall down!'

The plural imperative is formed by adding the second person plural ending *-id* to the singular imperative.

'begirid!	'Take (it)!'
'berid!	'Go!'
'biyāid!	'Come!'

The imperative of most compound verbs is formed without the *be-* prefix.

gom šau!	'Get lost!'
dar=rā bāz konid!	'Open the door!'

The imperative form without the *-id* suffix is used in informal contexts, such as asking a close friend to do something. The imperative form with the *-id* suffix is used in more formal contexts. Note the following examples:

<u>Formal</u>	<u>Informal</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
berid	boro(u)	'Go!'
begid	begu	'Say!/Tell!'
boxorid	boxor	'Eat!'
bāšid	bāš	'Be!'
bedid	bede(h)	'Give!'
boland šid	boland šo(u)	'Get up!'
sabr dāšte bāšid	sabr dāšte bāš	'Have patience!'
biyāyid	biyā	'Come!'
biyārid	biyār	'Bring!'

The negative imperative is formed by prefixing the negative *ha-* to the verbal stem, instead of the *be-* of the affirmative. The negative prefix always receives primary stress, even in compound verbs. Before stems beginning with vowels, a *y* is inserted.

'narau!	'Don't go!'
gom 'našavid!	'Don't get lost!'
dar=rā bāz 'nakonid!	'Don't open the door!'
'nayaid!	'Don't come!'
'nayandāzid	'Don't throw (it)!'

When the first syllable of the present stem is an open syllable and contains either *e* or *o*, that vowel is normally contracted with the addition of the imperative prefixes *'be-*, *'bo-* and *'ha-*.

benešinid > benšinid	'Sit down!'
bogozārid > bogzārid	'Put (it) down!'

Exceptions. The imperative of two verbs is irregularly formed.

The imperative of *budan* is formed on the stem *bāš*, which never takes the *'be-* prefix.

mard bāš, gerye nakon!	'Be a man, don't cry!'
fe'lan ham injā bāšid!	'For the time being, stay (be) right here.'

The imperative of simple *dāštan* is formed from the past participle and the imperative of *budan*.

in=rā dāšte bāš!	'Hold this!'
in nokte=rā dar nazar dāšte bāšid!	'Keep this point in mind!'

Note the following negative imperative examples:

<u>Formal</u>	<u>Informal</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
narid	naro(u)	'Don't go!'
nagid	nagu	'Don't say!/tell!'
naxorid	naxor	'Don't eat!'
nabāšid	nabāš	'Don't be!'
nadid	nade(h)	'Don't give!'
boland našid	boland našo(u)	'Don't get up!'
sabr dāšte nabāšid	sabr dāšte nabāš	'Don't have patience!'
nayāyid	nayā	'Don't come!'
nayārid	nayār	'Don't bring!'

4.3.1.7.4 Wish/Optative

Includes optative and intentionality modality.

- (vii) In the complements of *kāš(ki)* ‘would that, I wish’ for wishes in the future.
xāstan ‘to want’,

(4.250)

‘.

(4.251)

‘.

4.3.1.8 Voice

Three types of valency changing constructions occur in Persian: passive, causative and impersonal constructions.

4.3.1.8.1 Passive

The non-agentive construction with *šod-an* has generally been identified as passive, since with inherently causative verbs it appears like a Western European passive, e.g. *košt-e šod* ‘he got killed’ is assumed to be an equivalent to ‘he was killed’. The Persian passive, however, is strictly agentless: unlike English (*he was killed by X*), it excludes the expression of a known agent. Moreover, it is confined to causal verbs, which may imply a change of state, such as *košt-an* ‘to kill’, creation, such as *nevešt-an* ‘to write’, *sāxt-an* ‘to build’, movement of an object, such as *āvard-an* ‘to bring’, and observation, such as *nešān dād-an* ‘to show’. Its function as a non-agentive construction is utilized pragmatically whenever the speaker wishes not to mention the agent, as is often the case in bureaucratic jargon and in polite phraseology so typical for Persian.

The passive is formed by conjugating, in all tenses and moods, the auxiliary verb *šodan* ‘to become’ or *xordan* ‘to receive / to eat’ with the past participle of the verb, as in *goftan* ‘to say’ > *gofte šodan* ‘to be said’. The passive is strictly agentless and there is no means of expressing the agent, such as ‘... by X’ as in the English passive.

- (4.252) *košt-e mi-š-i.*
 kill-PSPT IPFV-become.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘You will get killed.’

- (4.253) *angoštar-am dozdid-e šod.*
 ring-1SG.POS steal-PSPT become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘My ring was stolen.’

In the case of compound verbs formed with *kardan* ‘to do’, often the active voice *kardan* portion of the compound becomes *šodan* in the passive. In the case of *zadan* and *dādan* compounds, the *zadan/dādan* part of the compound becomes *xordan* in the passive. For example, *rāzi kardan* ‘to satisfy’ becomes *rāzi šodan* ‘to be satisfied’ in the passive; *gul zadan* ‘to deceive’ becomes *gul xordan* ‘to be deceived’ in the passive. Inanimate instruments are expressed in the passive constructions with the preposition *bā*.

- (4.254) *in nāme bāyad harče zud-tar bā post ferestād-e šod.*
 this letter must whatever soon-MORE with post send-PSPT become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘This letter must be sent by post as soon as possible.’

While it is awkward to mention the agent, it is sometimes done in literary or formal language or in describing technical procedures, with any of several phrases preceding the agent: *be vasile=ye* ‘by means of’, *(be) tavassote* ‘by (the intermediary of)’, *az taraf=e* ‘on the part of’, *be dast-e* ‘by (the hands of)’.

- (4.255) *musiqi=ye asil be=tavassote āqā=ye mehran*
 music=EZ traditional by Mr=EZ Mehran
anjām mi-šav-ad.
 accomplish IPFV-become.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Traditional music will be performed by Mr. Mehram.’

4.3.1.8.2 Causation

From Windfuhr (1989: 538-539): The causal suffix is *ān*, e.g. *xor* ‘eat.PRES’ vs. *xor-ān* ‘make eat, feed’, *rav* ‘go.pres, leave.PRES’ vs. *rān* (< *rav-ān*) ‘drive’. Today, this suffix appears to be increasing in productivity, perhaps due to increases in linguistic consciousness of writer. But it had been on the decline along with the general tendency, beginning in Early New Persian, to replace simple verbs by compound verb constructions consisting of a nominal followed by a relatively small set of verbs, the most frequent of which are *kard-an* ‘to do, make’ and *šod-an* ‘to become’ (originally ‘to go’). These two function as markers of causality. Three stages of causation are distinguished: in simple inherently causative verbs, agent mention is expressed actively, agent implied by the third person plural ending, agent not implied by the perfect participle + *šod-an*, e.g. *dar=rā bast* ‘he closed the door’, *dar=rā bast-and* ‘they/someone closed the door’, *dar bast-e šod* ‘the door closed/was closed’. In compound verbs, *kard-an* assumes the causative function, e.g. *u=rā bidar kard* ‘he woke him up’, *u=rā bidar kard-and* ‘they/someone woke him up’, *bidar šod* ‘he woke up’.

From Mahootian (1997: 225-226): Verb valency may be increased through the formation of a causative construction. There are two ways to form causatives. First, a causative construction is made by adding the suffix *-undan* or *-unidan* to the present stem of some transitive and intransitive verbs to form causative infinitives:

<u>Present stem</u>		<u>Causative infinitive</u>	
res-	‘arrive’	resundan	‘to cause to arrive’
suzun-	‘burn’	suzundan	‘to cause to burn’

The second way to make causatives is by using *bā’es šodan* ‘to cause’ to introduce a subordinate clause in the subjunctive. *šodan* is inflected to agree with the subject and may appear in any tense.

bā’es šodan + (ke) + SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

- (4.256) *hasan bā’es šod (ke) mā dir be-res-im.*
 Hasan cause become.PAST.3SG.SU CMPL 1PL late SBJN-arrive.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘Hasan caused us to arrive late.’
- (4.257) *hasan to bā’es mi-š-i (ke) mā dir be-res-im.*
 Hasan 2SG cause IPFV-become.PRES-2SG.SU CMPL 1PL late SBJN-arrive.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘Hasan, you’re going to make us late.’

The causative construction works the same for transitive and ditransitive verbs.

The causee is typically an agent, but nonagent causees do occur, as in example (4.258).

An infinitive may serve as the complement to the preposition *az* in this construction. Generic objects and compounding complements precede the infinitive; specific and modified objects follow the infinitive with the *ezāfe*.

- (4.265) *az sohbāt kard-an xoš-ešun mi-ād.*
 from talk do-INF pleased-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘They like to talk.’

- (4.266) *az did-an=e dust=ān=emun xoš-emun mi-ād.*
 from see-INF=EZ friend-PL=1PL.POS pleased-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘We like to see our friends.’

Parallel to *xoš- āmadan az* ‘to like’ is the construction *bad- āmadan az* ‘to dislike, to be displeased by’.

<i>man az in qazā bad-am miād</i>	‘I dislike this food.’
<i>to az in qazā bad-et miād</i>	‘You(sg) dislike this food.’
<i>u az in qazā bad-eš miād</i>	‘He/she dislikes this food.’
<i>mā az in qazā bad-emun miād</i>	‘We dislike this food.’
<i>šomā az in qazā bad-etun miād</i>	‘You(pl) dislike this food.’
<i>un(h)ā az in qazā bad-ešun miād</i>	‘They dislike this food.’

- (4.267) *az kār=e u bad-am mi-ād.*
 from work=EZ 3SG displeased.1SG.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘I don’t like his work.’

- (4.268) *az film=i=ke dišab did-im*
 from film=IND=CMPL last.night see.PRES-1PL.SU
bad-emun na-yāmad.
 displeased-1PL.DO NEG-come.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘We were not displeased by the movie we saw last night.’

Note that *xoš- āmadan az* ‘to like’ and *bad- āmadan az* ‘to dislike’ express more transient likes and dislikes. To express likes of a more permanent nature the expression *dust dāstan* ‘to like, love’ is used. This is a regular construction.

When the logical subject of these expressions is other than pronominal, the resumptive pronoun construction (see *****) is used.

- (4.269) *barādar=e resā az tehrān xoš-eš ne-mi-ād.*
 brother=EZ Reza from Tehran please-3SG.DO NEG-IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Reza’s brother doesn’t like Tehran.’

- (4.270) *pirzan-hā=ye deh az u bad-ešun mi-āmad.*
 old.woman-PL=EZ village from 3SG dislike-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘The old women of the village disliked her.’

Another common impersonal is *xoš gozaštan be* ‘to have a good time’. Persian verb is invariably in the third person singular and the logical subject follows the preposition *be* ‘to, with, by’.

be man xoš gozašt	‘I had a good time.’
be to xoš gozašt	‘You(sg) had a good time.’
be u xoš gozašt	‘He/she had a good time.’
be mā xoš gozašt	‘We had a good time.’
be šomā xoš gozašt	‘You(pl) had a good time.’
be un(h)ā xoš gozašt	‘They had a good time.’

- (4.271) be man xaili xoš gozašt.
to 1SG very pleased pass.PAST.3SG.SU
‘I had a really good time.’
- (4.272) unjā be šomā xoš bo-gzar-e.
there to 2PL pleased SBJN-pass.PRES-3SG.SU
‘May you have a good time there.’
- (4.273) be dāriuš xoš mi-gzar-e?
to Darius pleased IPFV-pass.PRES-3SG.SU
‘Is Darius having a good time?’

A common farewell expresses *xoš gozaštan be* without the logical subject.

- (4.274) āxar=e hafte xoš be-gzar-e.
end=e week pleased SBJN-pass.PRES-3SG.SU
‘Have a nice weekend.’

In the expressions *xāb- āmadan* ‘to get sleepy’ and *xāb- bordan* ‘to fall asleep’, although *xāb* is actually the subject of both verbs, they are similar to the impersonals in that the English subject is expressed pronominally in Persian.

- (4.275) xāb-am āmad-e ast.
sleep-1SG.DO come-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘I’ve gotten sleepy.’
- (4.276) bačče-hā xāb-ešun mi-ād.
child-PL sleep-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
‘The children are getting sleepy.’
- (4.277) xāb-am bord.
sleep-1SG.DO take.PAST.3SG.SU
‘I fell asleep.’
- (4.278) bačče-hā xāb-ešun bord-e ast
child-PL sleep-3PL.DO take-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘The children have fallen asleep.’

4.3.1.9 Finite and nonfinite forms

Mahootian (1997: 252-253) says: Finite and nonfinite forms are clearly distinguished. Finite verbs inflect for both tense-aspect and agreement with the subject while also taking negative, subjunctive and imperfective prefixes. Nonfinite forms take none of these.

4.3.1.9.1 Infinitive

Of the verbal forms that are clearly nonfinite, the infinitive is rarely used in Persian. The use of the infinitive in the complement clause is called for in a small class of ingressive verbs

including *šuru kardan* ‘to begin’, *mašqul šodan* ‘to become busy with’, *pardāxtan* ‘to set to work to’ and *banā kardan* ‘to begin’. These verbs require the preposition *be* ‘to’ followed by the infinitive.

VERB + *be* + INFINITIVE

- (4.279) dār-im šuru mi-kon-im be xord-an.
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU to eat-INF
 ‘We’re starting to eat.’

Thackston (1993: 119-121) says an infinitive may serve as the complement to the preposition *az* in an impersonal construction such as *xoš- āmadan az* ‘to like’.

- (4.280) az sohbat kard-an xoš-ešun mi-ād.
 from talk do-INF pleased-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘They like to talk.’

Mahootian (1997: 39) says that purpose clauses precede the main clause, use the subjunctive and are introduced by *tā (inke)* ‘so that/in order to’ or *ke* ‘that’. But she also says (pp. 156) that purpose is indicated by the preposition *barā=ye* ‘for’ and gives an example with an infinitive.

- (4.281) barā=ye xarid-an=e lebās hamiše mi-r-e šikago.
 for=EZ buy-INF=EZ clothes always IPFV-go.PRES-3SG.SU Chicago
 ‘She always goes to Chicago to buy clothes (lit. for the buying of clothes).’

*** Note the short infinitive form used in purpose clauses

**** The short infinitive occurs in the future tense form (see 4.3.1.4.9). Is this the only place it occurs?

*** Note that Thackston (1993: 144-146) gives a range of functions of infinitives, but these are all as verbal-nouns.

**** Note Rafiee (2001: 86) structured infinitive.

Questions about infinitives:

Note the following infinitive purpose forms from Rafiee (2001: 192):
 The more colloquial form has the infinitive purpose clause after the main verb.

INFINITIVE PURPOSE				MAIN VERB	
diruz	be	didan-e	u	raft-am.	<i>literary register</i>
yesterday	to	see	him	go-1SG.SU	

INFINITIVE PURPOSE				MAIN VERB	
diruz	be	didan-esh		raft-am.	<i>more coll. register</i>
yesterday	to	see-3SG.DO		go-1SG.SU	

‘Yesterday I went to see him.’

MAIN VERB		INFINITIVE PURPOSE		
diruz	raft-am		didan-esh.	<i>most coll. register</i>
yesterday	go-1SG.SU		see-3SG.DO	

‘Yesterday I went to see him.’

Mahootian (1997: 241-242) says a subjunctive complement of *šuru kardan* ‘to begin’ is mutually substitutable with an infinitival complement with *be* ‘to’. E.g.

- (4.231) dār-im šuru mi-kon-im dars be-xun-im
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU lesson SBJN-read.PRES-1PL.SU
- (4.232) dār-im šuru mi-kon-im be dars xund-an
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU to lesson read-INF
 'We are starting to study.'

But on pp. 252-253 Mahootian (1997) says, firstly, that the use of the infinitive is rare in modern Persian but the use of the infinitive is called for in the complements of a small class of ingressive verbs including *šuru kardan* 'to begin', *mašqul šodan* 'to become busy with', *pardāxtan* 'to set to work to' and *banā kardan* 'to begin'. *These verbs require the preposition *be* 'to' followed by the infinitive.*

Q: Do these verbs require infinitive complements or not?

Windfuhr (1989: 538) says that in expressions like 'to fear/be afraid to', 'to hope to' etc., e.g. *bāyad be-rav-ad* 'he must go', *mi-tars-ad be-rav-ad* 'he is afraid to go' the infinitive-verbal noun is strictly nominal and expresses 'the going' rather than 'to go'.

Q: Is Windfuhr talking about the infinitival-verbal as a substitute for the subjunctive complement, e.g. *mi-tars-ad raft-an* 'he is afraid to go'. If so, can the subjunctive be substituted by the corresponding infinitive form in any subjunctive complement?

Thackston (1993: 144-146) describes some functions of infinitives but he doesn't include any of the above nor does he include this which he describes in pp. 119-121.

An infinitive may serve as the complement to the preposition *az* in an impersonal construction such as *xoš- āmadan az* 'to like'.

- (4.282) az sohbat kard-an xoš-ešun mi-ād.
 from talk do-INF pleased-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 'They like to talk.'

Q: Does the 'short infinitive' only occur in the future construction?

I have two examples of negative infinitives in my texts, but they are both deverbal nouns, e.g. *na-xāb-an* 'not sleeping' and *na-šod-an-am* 'my not becoming (a lover)'.

Q: Can verbal infinitives be negated? So are these possible?:

- dār-im šuru mi-kon-im be na-xord-an
 have.PRES-1PL.SU begin IPFV-do.PRES-1PL.SU to NEG-eat-INF
 'We are starting to not eat.'
- az sohbat na-kard-an xoš-ešun mi-ād.
 from talk NEG-do-INF pleased-3PL.DO IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 'They like to not talk.'

(4.283)

‘?’

(4.284)

‘?’

4.3.1.9.2 Past participles

Past participles are also nonfinite, interpreted for time by the tense of the accompanying auxiliary verb. It is also the auxiliary which agrees with the subject while the auxiliary retains a constant form, outside phonological variation. The past participle is used in the formation of the past perfect imperfective (4.3.1.4.4), the past subjunctive (4.3.1.6.1.2), the present perfect perfective (4.3.1.4.5), the past perfective (4.3.1.4.6), and the remote past perfect perfective (4.3.1.4.7). The patient participle is formed with the past participle and the periphrastic verb *šodan* ‘to become’, e.g. *neveše šode* ‘written’.

4.3.1.9.3 Present participles

The present participle is another nonfinite verbal form. The present participle is formed from the present root + *-an*. This is a productive means of making adverbials.

- (4.285) *bačče-hā gerye kon-an doid-and xune.*
 child-PL cry do-PRPT run.PAST-3PL.SU house
 ‘The children ran home crying.’

4.3.1.10 Agreement patterns

The following categories can be encoded by verb agreement.

4.3.1.10.1 Subject

Subject must be coded on the verb via the personal endings, which agree with the subject in person and number (see Tables in 4.3.1.4). The subject must be coded on the verb even if the subject NP is pro-dropped.

- (4.286) *āzar ba man mi-r-e.*
 Azar with 1SG IPFV-go.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Azar will go with me.’
- (4.287) *(unā) injā mi-mun-and.*
 (3PL) here IPFV-remain.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘They will stay here.’

An important exception to these rules of agreement are inanimate nouns, which may take singular or plural agreement.

- (4.288) *čamedun=ā tu=ye māšin-e / māšin-and.*
 suitcase-PL in=EZ car-be.PRES.3SG.SU / car-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 ‘The suitcases are in the car.’

4.3.1.10.2 Direct object

Direct objects may be coded on the verb in the form of the pronominal clitics. The pronominal clitic follows the nominal possessive forms in Table 4.1. In the case of compound nouns the pronominal clitic may attach to either part of the compound.

- (4.289) *did-am-eš*
 see.PAST-1SG.SU-3SG.DO
 ‘I saw her.’
- (4.290) *peidā kard-am-eš*
 find do.PAST-1SG.SU-3SG.DO
 ‘I found her.’
- (4.291) *peidā-š kard-am*
 find-3SG.DO do.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I found her.’

Note that the object clitic does not necessarily replace the object noun; both may appear in the sentence. Some, such as *goftan* ‘to say’, do not allow a cliticized object in modern spoken Persian.

- (4.292) *belaxare un māšin=o xarid-and-eš*
 finally that car=OM buy.PAST-3PL.SU-3SG.DO
 ‘They finally bought that car.’

4.3.1.11 Irregular verbs

Describe any verbs which do not follow the paradigms in XXX.

- (4.293)

‘.’

- (4.294)

‘.’