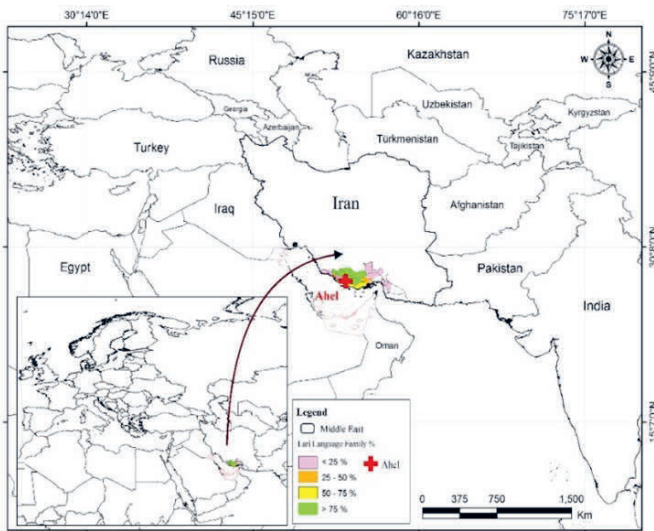


Muhammed Ourang, Mengistu Amberber, and Efrosini Deligianni

# The derivation of the light verb construction in Aheli

## 1 Introduction

Aheli is a dialect of the Lari language which is predominantly spoken in the Ahel city of the Lamerd County, Fars Province, Iran. The dialect is spoken by nearly 3500 people as a mother tongue (Ourang, 2022, 2). The Lari language belongs to the South-Western group of Iranian languages which includes a number of dialects spoken in Iran (in southern Fars, western Hormozgan and eastern Bushehr) as well as in a few Persian Gulf countries such as the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar and Kuwait (cf. Figure 1). The total number of Lari speakers is estimated to be between 150 to 200 thousand (Moridi, 2007, 64).



**Fig. 1:** The areas where the Lari language family is spoken in the Middle East (Ourang, 2022, 8).

**Muhammed Ourang**, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia  
**Mengistu Amberber**, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia  
**Efrosini Deligianni**, Independent researcher, Thessaloniki, Greece

The Lari language<sup>1</sup> is divided into a number of dialects including Lari, Gerashi, Evazi, Khonji, Bastaki and Bikheyi (Eghtedari, 2005; Kalbasi, 1990), Banarouyi, Bikheyi (Molčanova, 1982), Aheli, Buchiri, Ashnezi, and Kangani (Salami, 2004–2007, 2009, 2011) among others.

Since the dialects of the Lari language are scattered across a large area of Iran, there is some regional linguistic variation as would be expected. The variation<sup>2</sup> mostly occurs in phonology (e.g., in the phonological inventory) and morphology. For instance, phonologically, there is some variation in the following phonemes: /ɣ/, /ʒ/, /o:/, /ü/ and /æ:/. The Lari dialect has all of these phonemes except /æ:/ (Assarian, 2016, xxvi), whereas the Khonji dialect has only /ɣ/ and /ʒ/ (Khonji, 2009, 24), and the Aheli dialect has only /æ:/. The Buchiri dialect has none of these phonemes (Rashidi, 2008, 30). Morphologically, Aheli appears to be the only dialect which marks the past progressive by using a particle (i.e., *kæj/kær* PROG) preceding the past imperfective (*kæj m=æ-fet* ‘I was kneading [it]’ (PROG 1SG=IMPF=knead.PST)). In other dialects, the tense-aspect is marked by prefixes and suffixes. See also Khonji (2009, 87–89) for more information. However, despite these and other variations, there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the dialects of the Lari language (Khonji, 2009, 16).

Our paper is organised as follows: Section 2 gives an overview of the scholarship on the Lari language and Aheli dialect, Section 3 provides a brief description of the research methodology, Section 4 delves into the Aheli LVCs semantic templates based on Megerdooian’s classification and gives the LVC formation formulae including combination and pseudo-incorporation. The last section of the paper, section 5, concludes the paper and offers some suggestions for further research. This paper is an effort to examine the derivation of the LVC in Aheli, which are formed by a NVE (usually a noun, an adjective, a preposition, etc.) and an LV such as (*va*)*kerdæ* ‘to make’, *vavuzæ* ‘to become/to get’, *zætaæ* ‘to hit’. The paper aims to answer the following questions: (a) which LVs participate in the LVC, (b) what classes of NVE participate in the LVC and (c) what makes the Aheli LVC different from the LVC in other Iranian languages like Persian in terms of grammatical and semantic features.

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that the term ‘Lari language’ is used to include all the dialects spoken in the areas shown in Figure 1. Therefore, when a specific dialect of the Lari language is mentioned, the following terms are used: ‘the Buchiri dialect’, ‘the Bastaki dialect’, ‘the Lari dialect’, ‘the Aheli dialect’, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Much more research needs to be done in order to determine the precise nature of inter-dialectal variation.

## 2 Previous studies on Lari and Aheli

Previous studies on the Lari language have made a significant contribution to the scholarship of the Lari language family. Researchers such as Kamioka and Yamada (1979); Eghtedari (1964, 1992, 2005); Molčanova (1982); Skjaervo (1989); Salami (2004–2007, 2009, 2011); Moridi (2006, 2007); Mahmoodian (2007); Dabir-Moghaddam (2013) and Dianat (2016), to name a few, have examined the phonology, etymology, noun and verb morphology, vocabulary and syntax of the Lari language, and have offered some important insights into the Lari language and its dialects. However, there are some methodological limitations to the previous studies relating to the documentation (e.g., data based on limited fieldwork), analysis (e.g., lack of standard transcription and glossing conventions), and presentation of research findings. Ourang (2022) is the first reference grammar of the Aheli dialect of the Lari language. The grammatical analysis is situated within the framework of descriptive linguistics and is based on extensive fieldwork interviews (see Section 3 below). The grammar provides a background on the Aheli dialect and a sketch of the sound system, morphology and syntax. This work, which is the first reference grammar of the Aheli dialect, has also engaged the Aheli community in the research project (especially monolingual women) by using some non-linguistic prompts such as pictures and short video clips to encourage them to talk about their experiences in farming (e.g., palm tree harvesting and picking dates), wedding ceremonies and childbearing, to name a few. In addition, this work presents a detailed description of the phonology, noun morphology and verb morphology, which provides crucial material for developing resources for teaching the Aheli dialect to children.

## 3 Research methods

This research draws on data which were collected by the first author through fieldwork which involved interviewing mainly Aheli monolingual speakers (in total 45 interviews, equal to over 10 hours of recordings) during February–March 2018. The interviews were in one-to-one (30 interviews) or group formats (15 interviews). The former lasted around 15–20 minutes each while the latter had a longer duration of around 30–40 minutes each. A total number of 55 monolingual speakers (35 women and 20 men) were interviewed. The majority of the consultants were women. This is because women play a pivotal role in the community and are actively engaged in its daily activities such as harvesting, raising children, cooking, etc.

These data have been complemented by the first author's native speaker intuition when appropriate. For example, the first author's native speaker intuition was

applied to clarify ambiguities in the interviewees' speech, for example, by inquiring about a specific term like *tʃungu* 'small spoon for feeding a baby'. In addition, the native speaker intuition helped to complement the fieldwork data by asking follow-up questions to clarify subtle semantic and syntactic acceptability judgments, including, for example, the use of numerous particles such as the present progressive *kæj* PROG. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview format, which delivered recorded conversations, stories, historical narratives, songs and folktales from a total number of 55 monolinguals. The semi-structured interview used several themes including *bæʃkar* 'planting', *davat* 'wedding', *bef* 'child-bearing', *nu putæ* 'bread-baking', *dʒuri* 'harvesting', *tʃe:run* 'churn', *ʃælva* 'folklore', i.e., themes that are culturally relevant for Aheli speakers.<sup>3</sup>

## 4 The light verb constructions (in Aheli)

It is well known that Persian has a productive light verb construction which complements its small number (around 200) of independent heavy verbs. Thus, it is not surprising that the LVC in Persian has been extensively studied by researchers including Dabir-Moghaddam (1997); Karimi (1997); Megerdooimian (2004, 2012); Pantcheva (2008), among others. Eshaghi and Karimi Doostan (2023) have developed the first corpus<sup>4</sup> for Persian light verb constructions which includes 6000 LVCs formed by 21 light verbs (LVs) such as *kærdæn* 'to do', *ʃodæn* 'to get', *daftæn* 'to have', *dadaæn* 'to give', *gereftæn* 'to catch', etc. to name a few in order of frequency of occurrence in their corpus. Nevertheless, far too little has been conducted on the light verb construction in the dialects of the Lari language, especially in Aheli, which highlights the need for high-quality research in this area. The only research paper on compound verbs is Dianat (2023), which examines LVCs based on Dabir-Moghaddam's (1997) categorisation of compounding and incorporation. The author has presented the types of non verbal elements (NVEs; adjectives, nouns, prepositional phrases, pronouns, etc.), which participate in the compounding process and then addressed the incorporation process based on categories of direct object, indirect object and prepositional phrase. We will shed light on the research findings of this paper in the subsequent sections, when we analyse our Aheli data.

This paper aims to examine the LVC with a particular attention to the semantic templates of Megerdooimian (2004), and more specifically the transitivity of a verb

<sup>3</sup> The ethics approval for the research was granted by the HREAP B: Arts, Humanities & Law (University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia) in Sep. 2017 under No. HC17642.

<sup>4</sup> Their corpus is called 'Light Verb Construction of Persian Language (LCP)'.

when it functions as a full verb as opposed to when it participates in a LVC, the list of verbs which only appear as light verbs but do not function as full verbs, and finally some important differences between the Aheli LVC and the relatively well-studied Persian LVC.

As Korn (2013, 33) pointed out, the light verbs in Persian typically belong to a small, closed class of verbs, while the nonverbal elements belong to an open class. LVs host the inflection of the verbal phrase including syntactic features of the verbs (such as tense, mood and person), transitivity and voice (Sheintuch, 1976 as cited in Korn, 2013, 32). In Aheli, light verbs such as *kerdæ* ‘to make’ or *vakerdæ* ‘to make, to do’ combine with an NVE to derive complex predicates (CPs) such as *saji vakerdæ* ‘to repair’ (lit. correct make).<sup>5</sup> Other examples of CPs in Aheli are *ǰuri kerdæ* ‘to harvest’ (lit. harvesting do), *tiva zætae* ‘to separate the hay residues’ (lit. residuals hit). See Section 4.2.1 for more examples of LVCs. The NVEs are usually followed by a light verb, a list of which is presented below:<sup>6</sup>

**Tab. 1:** List of light verbs in Aheli.

<i>kerdæ</i>	‘to do/make’	<i>vakerdæ</i>	‘to do/make’
<i>bælezæ</i>	‘to cut’	<i>zætae</i>	‘to hit’
<i>xærdæ</i>	‘to eat’	<i>ræftæ</i>	‘to go’
<i>hund*</i>	‘to have’	<i>dæzae</i>	‘to give’
<i>kefezae</i>	‘to pull’	<i>oftæzae</i>	‘to fall’
<i>geretæ</i>	‘to take’	<i>ændæ</i>	‘to come’
<i>buzæ</i>	‘to become’	<i>ævordæ</i>	‘to bring’
<i>bordæ</i>	‘to take’	<i>vavozæ</i>	‘to become, to get’
<i>vaxærdæ</i>	‘to drink’		

<sup>5</sup> Karimi Doostan (2005, 1746) claims that the NVE in Persian can occur with ‘Ezafe’. The term ‘Ezafe’ is commonly used in the literature on Iranian languages to refer to a clitic that links the head noun to its dependents such as a noun, or an adjective (Stilo, 2012; Korn, 2017). In Aheli, ‘Ezafe’ has two allomorphs: =e which appears after the consonant-ending head nouns and =j which follows a head ending in a vowel.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that ‘to have’ is an exceptional full verb for which there is no corresponding verb in Aheli. Instead, *hund\** ‘to be’ is used to derive the verb form corresponding to ‘to have’. The asterisk shows that the form is unattested, but its existence is inferred from other attested forms.

## 4.1 Semantic categorisation of LVs in Aheli

Megerdooimian (2004, 26) defines LVCs in Persian as consisting of a preverbal element which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb, and which combines with a light verb or “semantically bleached” verb to form a single predicate in terms of argument structure and semantic interpretation. The question of whether the light verb has independent semantic meaning is controversial. For example, Bruening (2015, 51) which is a formal study of light verb constructions cross-linguistically, states that the light verb does not contribute that much to the meaning of the LVCs, while the non-verbal element carries the semantic meaning of the construction. Telegdi (1951) (as cited in Korn, 2013, 52) mentions that there are some cases where both the LV and the nonverbal element can equally contribute to the meaning of the complex predicate, while there are some other cases where the LV’s function is that of a verbaliser, that is, to convert the nonverbal element into an expression equivalent to a full verb. By the same token, Fleischhauer (2020, 69) explains that the LVs are semantically reduced verbs which contribute to the semantic meaning of the complex predicate. He then goes on to state that there is evidence that the meaning of an LV is not similar to the corresponding heavy verb because the LV does not denote an event of its own (compare for instance, the Aheli LV *xærdæ* in *xussæ xærdæ* ‘to grieve’ (lit. grief eat) and the heavy verb *xærdæ* ‘to eat’. Arguing that LVs are not semantically empty, Megerdooimian (2004, 28–30) categorises the LVC templates<sup>7</sup> in Persian into change-of-state alternation verbs, activity verbs and instrument verbs. Adopting her classification, we describe the LVC templates in Aheli in the following section, 4.1.1 to 4.1.3.

### 4.1.1 Change of state alternation verbs

Change of state verbs have been thoroughly researched in the literature on the Persian LVCs. The templates for these verbs in Aheli are presented in the following sections. In these templates, BECOME and CAUSE represent change of state and causation respectively:

**Inchoative:** *vavuzæ* ‘BECOME pred (y)’

The example below shows the inchoative template in context:

---

<sup>7</sup> The template is based on the lexical semantic representation of verbal predicates (Megerdooimian, 2004, 25).

- (1) *zemi gæi huʃk ni-vavu-Ø*  
 ground never dry NEG[IMPF]-become.PST-3SG  
 ‘the ground never became dry’ [XdjPkr; Djouri Ga Davat]

**Causative:** *vakerdæ* ‘x (Actor/he) CAUSE y (Undergoer/palm date) BECOME pred (dry out)’

The example below corresponds to the causative template:

- (2) *arma huʃk f=æ-vak-e*  
 ripe\_date dry 3SG=IMPF-make.PST-PTCP  
 ‘he used to dry out the palm date’ [FmjShms; Arma Vazbeneza]

In the above example, *f=æ-vak-e* is the conjugated third-person form of the infinitive *vakerdæ* ‘to make’. Syntactically, the LV construction can appear in clauses with one argument or two arguments. In (1), the single argument *zemi* ‘ground’ is a theme, while *arma* ‘ripe date’ in (2) functions as an undergoer and the agent is the 3rd person singular ‘he’, which is not expressed by a noun phrase but is rather marked on the light verb.

#### 4.1.2 Activity verbs

Megerdoomian (2004, 28) describes the template of activity verbs in Persian as: ‘X (Actor/we) ACT’. An example from Aheli is given below for *bæʃkar kerdæ* ‘to till’ (lit. tillage do). It should be mentioned that the NVE element in the construction is an eventive noun.

- (3) *tʃe: ruz bæʃkar m=æ-kerd-e*  
 forty day tillage 1PL=IMPF-do.PST-PTCP  
 ‘we used to till [the land] for 40 days’

[XljAkbr; Bashkar Kerda]

Some more examples of the non-verbal elements that occur in activity verbs are presented below:

- (4) a. *dʒuri kerdæ*  
 harvesting do  
 ‘to harvest’  
 b. *tiva zætæ*  
 residue hit  
 ‘to separate the hay residues from crops’

- c. *fəʊr kerdæ*  
 thinking do  
 ‘to consult’

Here is another example for the activity light verb *fəʊr kerdæ* ‘to consult’ (lit. consultation make) in context:

- (5) *xunevazæ=j bəm fəʊr æ tʃæp-u-dəʊr=e xʊ=f*  
 family=EZ bride consultation to left-and-round=EZ self=3SG.PC  
*f=æ-kerd-e*  
 3PL=IMPF-make.PST-PTCP  
 ‘the bride’s family used to consult with their relatives’ [lit. people around them]

#### 4.1.3 Instrument verbs

The pre-verbal element in this template is interpreted as an instrument of the event. As Megerdooimian (2004, 29) states, the instrument verbs indicate a repetitive action. The template that best describes instrument verbs is: ‘X (Actor/they) ACT y (Undergoer) with <Instrument>’. Here is an example from Aheli:

- (6) *degæ ta bis ruz avsi f=æ-zæt-e*  
 then till twenty day winnowing\_fork 3PL=IMPF-hit.PST-PTCP  
 ‘then they used to winnow for 20 days’ [FmjShms; Bashkar]

In the example above, the non-verbal element *avsi* ‘winnowing fork’ is an instrument which is combined with the light verb *zætæ* to make *avsi zætæ* ‘to winnow’. Other examples of nouns that express tools or instruments are shown below:

- (7) a. *hungi kefezæ*  
 broom pull  
 ‘to broom’  
 b. *mæntil zætæ*  
 iron\_rod hit  
 ‘to dig up with an iron rod’  
 c. *kumba kerdæ*  
 combine\_harvester do  
 ‘to combine’



## 4.2 The template for the LVCs

Perhaps the most comprehensive account of LVC formation in Persian is to be found in the work of Dabir-Moghaddam (1997). Reviewing previous works conducted on LVCs in Persian, Dabir-Moghaddam has identified two major types of compound-verb formation: ‘combination’ and ‘incorporation’. Nonetheless, Fleischhauer (2020, 51–59) argues that there are specific criteria which distinguish LVCs from pseudo-incorporation constructions (PICs) in Persian. Applying Fleischhauer’s arguments, we show that LVCs in Aheli are different from PICs in terms of the denoted eventuality, where the NVE determines the content in LVCs, while the verb determines the denoted situation in PICs. Furthermore, this is assumed to be due to the fact that the verbal head of the LVCs is semantically light whereas the verbal head of the PIC is a heavy verb. Moreover, the two are different with regard to nominal morphology. Thus, we use the term ‘pseudo-incorporation’ instead of ‘incorporation’, but we acknowledge that this issue requires further research.

In the following sections, we describe the templates which show how LVCs are formed using Dabir-Moghaddam’s (1997) analysis with some modifications to better accommodate Aheli data.<sup>8</sup> LVCs made through combination are presented in section 4.2.1 and verbs formed via pseudo-incorporation are illustrated in Section 4.2.2.

### 4.2.1 Combination

Compound verbs formed through combination in Aheli are presented below. In this category, NVEs can be an adjective, a noun, a prepositional phrase, an adverb and a past participle.

---

<sup>8</sup> Monshizadeh et al. (2022, 218) argue that what authors like Dabir-Moghaddam (1997) have categorized as a ‘[light] verb’ in some ‘compound verbs’ is in fact a (semantic or grammatical) ‘predicate’ rather than a [light] verb. For instance, *xordæn* in *yæza xordæn* ‘to eat’ (lit. food eat) is a grammatical predicate. Similarly, *bær-daftæn* ‘to pick up’ (lit. PREF-have) is a semantic predicate. For more details, see Monshizadeh et al. (2022, 228–233).

### Adjective + LV

The light verbs participating in this combination process are *kerdæ* ‘to do/make’, *vakerdæ* ‘to do’, *buzæ* ‘to get’ and *vavuzæ* ‘to become’. The light verbs which are used to form the compound verbs as well as their transitivity status are presented in (8).<sup>9</sup>

- (8)
- |    |   |                   |
|----|---|-------------------|
| a. | <i>næk kerdæ</i>                          |                   |
|    | good do                                   |                   |
|    | ‘to make’                                 | [Transitivity: +] |
| b. | <i>feri kerdæ</i>                         |                   |
|    | sweet do                                  |                   |
|    | ‘to put make-up’                          | [Transitivity: +] |
| c. | <i>amuxtæ kerdæ</i>                       |                   |
|    | accustomed do                             |                   |
|    | ‘to make someone accustomed to something’ | [Transitivity: +] |
| d. | <i>næk vakerdæ</i>                        |                   |
|    | good do                                   |                   |
|    | ‘to repair’                               | [Transitivity: +] |
| e. | <i>bezar vavuzæ</i>                       |                   |
|    | awake become                              |                   |
|    | ‘to wake up’                              | [Transitivity: -] |
| f. | <i>gæp buzæ</i>                           |                   |
|    | big get                                   |                   |
|    | ‘to grow’                                 | [Transitivity: -] |

Here is an example with *næk* ‘good’ which functions as a predicative adjective in (9a) but as the non-verbal component of a compound verb in (9b):

- (9)
- |    |                      |  |              |
|----|----------------------|--|--------------|
| a. | <i>xalu</i>          | <i>xeli næk</i>                        | <i>hen-Ø</i> |
|    | maternal_uncle       | very good                              | be.NPST-3SG  |
|    |                      | ‘the uncle is [a] very good [man]’     |              |
| b. | <i>mægæ nævat</i>    | <i>næk m=æ-kerd-e</i>                  |              |
|    | always candy_crystal | good 1PL=IMPF-make.PST-PTCP            |              |
|    |                      | ‘we always used to make candy crystal’ |              |
- [XIFmk\_SrwFG; Sarau Xashar]

As demonstrated in these examples, the meaning of the compound verb is not always predictable from the meaning of its constituents, namely the non-verbal element

<sup>9</sup> In (8), ‘Transitivity: +’ means the LVC is ‘transitive’ while ‘Transitivity: -’ means the LVC is ‘intransitive’. The criterion for transitivity is that an LVC selects a noun phrase as a direct object.

and the light verb. This can be demonstrated further in the following example where *feri* ‘sweet’ as an NVE element combines with the 3rd singular form of *kerdæ* ‘to make’ and makes *feri kerdæ* ‘to put make-up’ (but lit. to make someone sweet):

- (10) *pæsin jæ pir-zæn=i æ-ja-Ø u bem feri*  
 evening one old-woman=INDEF IMPF-COME.NPST-3SG and bride sweet  
*æ-ku-Ø*  
 IMPF-do.NPST-3SG  
 ‘an old woman comes and puts make-up on the bride in the evening’  
 [ZNB\_ML; Dava:t Kavi]

The context influences the interlocutor’s understanding of the LVCs. For instance, in (10) above, *feri kerdæ* literally means ‘to make sweet’, but it is a non-compositional LVC which literally means ‘to put make-up’. Thus, if the listener is not aware of the context in which this LVC is used, i.e., wedding ceremonies, they might assume that the speaker is talking about ‘making sweets’ for the wedding rather than the actual intended meaning ‘making the bride beautiful’. It is worth noting that this Aheli LVC has now been replaced by the equivalent Persian LVC *arajef kærdaen* which literally means ‘make-up do’.

### Noun + LV

A large proportion of compound verbs consist of a noun followed by a light verb such as *kerdæ/vakerdæ* ‘to make/to do’. Other light verbs which frequently occur are *zætæ* ‘to hit’, *dæzæ* ‘to give’, *geretæ* ‘to take’, *kefezæ* ‘to pull’, the equivalent light verb for ‘to have’, *xærdæ* ‘to eat’ and *vaxærdæ* ‘to drink’.

- (11) a. *dʒuri kerdæ*  
 harvesting do  
 ‘to harvest’ [Transitivity: -]  
 b. *muruk kerdæ*  
 piling do  
 ‘to pile up’ [Transitivity: +]  
 c. *pat kerdæ*  
 sorting do  
 ‘to sort’ [Transitivity: +]  
 d. *kævi bulezæ*  
 engagement cut  
 ‘to conclude the marriage contract’ [Transitivity: -]

- |    |                            |                |                   |
|----|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| e. | <i>saz</i>                 | <i>zætæ</i>    |                   |
|    | instrument                 | hit            |                   |
|    | 'to play an instrument'    |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| f. | <i>ɕʒar</i>                | <i>zætæ</i>    |                   |
|    | call                       | hit            |                   |
|    | 'to call (someone's name)' |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| g. | <i>lɒpɒk</i>               | <i>zætæ</i>    |                   |
|    | deception                  | hit            |                   |
|    | 'to deceive'               |                | [Transitivity: +] |
| h. | <i>mus</i>                 | <i>zætæ</i>    |                   |
|    | fist                       | hit            |                   |
|    | 'to punch'                 |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| i. | <i>tælak</i>               | <i>dæzæ</i>    |                   |
|    | divorce                    | give           |                   |
|    | 'to divorce'               |                | [Transitivity: +] |
| j. | <i>bu</i>                  | <i>geretæ</i>  |                   |
|    | smell                      | take           |                   |
|    | 'to turn fetid'            |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| k. | <i>əv</i>                  | <i>kefezæ</i>  |                   |
|    | water                      | pull           |                   |
|    | 'to rinse'                 |                | [Transitivity: +] |
| l. | <i>xævæɾ</i>               | <i>hund*</i>   |                   |
|    | news                       | have           |                   |
|    | 'to be informed'           |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| m. | <i>lɒpɒk</i>               | <i>xærdæ</i>   |                   |
|    | deception                  | eat            |                   |
|    | 'to be deceived'           |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| n. | <i>xʊssæ</i>               | <i>xærdæ</i>   |                   |
|    | grief                      | eat            |                   |
|    | 'to grieve'                |                | [Transitivity: -] |
| o. | <i>piɸ</i>                 | <i>vaxærdæ</i> |                   |
|    | twist                      | drink          |                   |
|    | 'to be twisted'            |                | [Transitivity: -] |

In the following examples, *kævi* 'engagement' functions as a nominal predicate of the copula verb 'to be' to derive a construction that is equivalent to English 'have' (12), but when it occurs with the light verb *bulezæ* 'to cut', it functions as the non-verbal component of a compound verb in (13):

- (12) *mʊ sæva kævi ʊm=hen*  
 I tomorrow engagement 1SG=be.NPST  
 ‘I have my engagement tomorrow’
- (13) *f=æ-j kævi bu-vul-en*  
 3PL=IMPF-want.NPST engagement SBJV-cut.NPST-3PL  
 ‘they want to conclude the marriage contract’ (lit. they want to cut the engagement)
- [Znb\_ZnbMlDtsh; Nou Sheta]

In the example above, the compound verb has a rather idiomatic interpretation: ‘cut an engagement’ means ‘conclude the marriage contract’ (somewhat similar to the expression ‘cut a deal’ in English). This is in line with the compound verbs formed through the process of combination in Persian where the meaning of the compound verbs is less transparent when compared to those compound verbs formed through pseudo-incorporation as we shall see later in Section 4.2.2. Fleischhauer and Neisani (2020, 53) argue that Persian separable LVCs are compositional and believe that it is important to consider the compositionality as a key factor in the separability of an LVC by an adjective modifier. Applying this analysis to Aheli, we can see that some LVCs can be separated by adding an attributive modifier between the NVE (mainly a nominal preverb) and the LV. For instance, consider the LVC *kævi bulezæ* ‘to engage; to conclude the marriage contract’ in (14) below:

- (14) *Æli kævi ʊf=buli*  
 Ali engagement 3SG=cut.PST  
 ‘Ali had an engagement’

As can be seen in (15) below, the adjective ‘beautiful’ separates the two components of the LVC to modify the construction.

- (15) *Æli kævi-je fux-i ʊf=buli*  
 Ali engagement-EZ beautiful-INDEF 3SG=cut.PST  
 ‘Ali had a beautiful engagement’

This is in line with Nunberg et al. (1994, as cited in Fleischhauer and Neisani, 2020, 46–47) who maintains that the LVC’s components have identifiable/compositional meaning if they license internal modification. In a similar example, the *zenæ vagerætæ* ‘to get married’ (lit. woman include) is an LVC the meaning of which cannot be understood from the separate meanings of the constituents nor an internal modification of the LVC is licensed (cf. *\*zenæ-æj næk vagerætæ* woman-EZ good include; intended meaning: ‘to get married with a good wife’). Nevertheless, further research is required to determine what kind of attributive modification is allowed

in the Aheli LVC and whether or not modification by an adverb (which has scope over the whole LVC) or an adjective (scoping over only the nominal NVE) results in the same interpretation of meaning as shown by Fleischhauer and Neisani (2020) for Persian LVCs.

### Prepositional phrase (PP) + LV

The combination of a prepositional phrase and a light verb can form a compound verb. Examples are presented in (16):

- (16)
- |    |   |                   |
|----|---|-------------------|
| a. | <i>æ dunja ændæ</i><br>to world come<br>'to be born'                | [Transitivity: -] |
| b. | <i>æ jaz ævordæ</i><br>to remembrance bring<br>'to remind'          | [Transitivity: +] |
| c. | <i>æ la vanesæ</i><br>to waste put<br>'to waste'                    | [Transitivity: +] |
| d. | <i>æ bar ræsenæzæ</i><br>to fruit deliver<br>'to raise'             | [Transitivity: +] |
| e. | <i>æ tæf næzæ</i><br>to fire put<br>'to cook'                       | [Transitivity: +] |
| f. | <i>æ dur ævordæ</i><br>to out bring<br>'to bring out' <sup>10</sup> | [Transitivity: +] |

The transitivity of the compound verbs formed by a PP is contingent on the transitivity of the light verb. For instance, *vanesæ* 'to put' is transitive, thus *æ la vanesæ* 'to waste' is transitive too. This is similar to what Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 37) refers to when he talks about the transitivity of compound verbs in Persian.

As we can see, *æ* 'to', which functions as a preposition occurs with a noun and the resulting prepositional phrase combines with a light verb to derive a compound

<sup>10</sup> Dianat (2023, 123) has included this LVC under the category of 'adverb + LV' which seems unproblematic. The LVC is comprised of *æ* 'to' and *dur* 'out' which makes a prepositional phrase *æ dur* 'outside'.

verb. The examples below show *æ* ‘to’ as a regular preposition for location in (17a) and as part of the non-verbal component of the LVC in (17b):

- (17) a. *æ:ma æ me:ræk æ-raft-e-ss-em*  
 we to me:ræk IMPF-go.PST-PTCP-be.NPST-1PL  
 ‘we used to go to me:rak [an old castle]’  
 [FmRs\_AmjSknFmRs; Davat]
- b. *væxt-i betf æ dunja jæmu-Ø pir-zæn-ija karan*  
 time-RES baby to world [IMPF]come.PST-3SG old-woman-PL Qur’an  
*f=æ-xund-e*  
 3PL=IMPF-read.PST-PTCP  
 ‘when a baby was born, old women used to read Qur’an’  
 [BvMl\_FmMlBvMl; Ancient Ahel]

### Adverb + LV

A list of adverbs which combine with a light verb to make a compound verb is given in (18):

- (18) a. *vapæs dæzæ*  
 back give  
 ‘to give back’ [Transitivity: +]
- b. *dʒuləv ʊftæzæ*  
 front fall  
 ‘to advance, to take over’ [Transitivity: -]
- c. *va gæftæ*  
 again roam  
 ‘to return’ [Transitivity: -]

Regarding the prefix/adverb *va*, it should be mentioned that in some cases like (19) below, it functions as an adverb meaning ‘again’ when it occurs independently:

- (19) *gutæ* → *va-gutæ*  
 say again-say  
 ‘to say’ vs. ‘to say again’

Another example is *letæ* ‘to pour’ → *va-letæ* ‘to pour again’ where *va-* is a morpheme equivalent to *re-* in English. However, there are examples where *va-* is a semantically vague prefix which attaches to a stem and forms a prefixed verb: *va-næzæ* ‘to organize’ (lit. PREF-put) in the following example, where the meaning of the derived prefixed verb ‘to organize’ is different from that of the stem *næzæ* ‘to put’.

- (20) *jæk velæ=j      muja      um=vanæz-e*  
 one time=INDEF date\_palm\_tree 1SG=organize.PST-PTCP  
 ‘once, I have organized the [bunches of] palm tree’  
 [AbdR\_MjtXrshFG; Bashkar & Djouri]

Similarly, *va-* as a prefix with no clear semantic meaning can attach to *geretæ* ‘to catch’ and form *va-geretæ* ‘to include, to encompass’. Dianat (2023, 123) has included some adverbs of manner like *ɖæjxa* ‘immediately’ as an NVE which can combine with LV *ʃedæ* ‘to go’ and form the LVC *ɖæjxa ʃedæ* ‘to go immediately’. This account seems questionable, if we take into account that the adverb *ɖæjxa* ‘immediately’ can modify any other heavy verbs like *xætæ* ‘to sleep’, *letæ* ‘to pour’, etc., which do not participate in LVCs.

### Past participle + LV

Compound nouns formed by combining a past participle and a light verb (mainly *buzæ* ‘to get/be’) are mostly borrowed from Persian. The resulting compound verb is intransitive. Some examples are given in (21):

- (21) a. *kuʃtæ buzæ*  
 killed get  
 ‘to be killed’ [Transitivity: -]  
 b. *ɖʊlæv ʊʃtæzæ*  
 front fall  
 ‘to advance, to take over’ [Transitivity: -]

#### 4.2.2 Pseudo-incorporation

In this section we discuss the second type of compound verb formation, namely pseudo-incorporation. As Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 41) argues about what he calls incorporation process, “the direct object loses its grammatical endings and incorporates with the [heavy] verb to create an intransitive compound verb which is a conceptual whole”. The difference between combination and pseudo-incorporation is that the resulting compound verbs in the former may turn out to be transitive or intransitive whereas the compound-verb formations in the latter are fully intransitive. Furthermore, the compound verbs which occur from incorporation are semantically transparent while in noun-verb combinations, the [light] verb “is lexicalised to



serve as an aktionsart marker<sup>11</sup> which results in a compound verb with an idiomatic meaning” (Dabir-Moghaddam, 1997, 46–50). For instance, the compound verb *ʃaʃt xærdæ* ‘to eat lunch’ (lit. lunch eat) which is formed through pseudo-incorporation, has a transparent meaning, while a compound verb like *xəssæ xærdæ* ‘to grieve’ (lit. grief eat) has a relatively idiomatic meaning which is more difficult to infer from its constituents.

## Direct object

In the direct object type of incorporation in Persian, endings such as the postposition *-ra*, the indefinite marker *-i* or the plural marker suffix and possessive pronominal suffix are removed from the direct object and attach to the light verb to form a compound verb as shown in the examples in (22) from Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 41–42) with some modifications in transcription and glossing rules:

- (22) a. *bæʃe-ha ʔæza-ef-an-ra xord-ænd*  
 child-PL food-3PC-PL-OM eat.PST-3PL  
 ‘the children ate their food’  
 b. *bæʃe-ha ʔæza xord-ænd*  
 child-PL food eat.PST-3PL  
 ‘the children did food-eating’

Unlike Persian where a direct object loses its marker *-ra*, the compound verbs in Aheli can only lose the indefinite markers, possessive pronominals or plural suffixes. Example (23a) shows that the proclitic (3sg.POSS) is added to the noun *ʃaʃt* ‘lunch’ while the object is incorporated into the light verb in (23b) and forms the compound verb *ʃaʃt dæzæ* ‘to give lunch’ (lit. feed lunch). As mentioned by Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 43), the compound verb after pseudo-incorporation constitutes “a conceptual whole” in which the noun is understood generically.

<sup>11</sup> In Aheli, *jar zata* (lit. shouting hit) and *jar kesheza* (lit. shouting pull), have the same meaning: ‘to shout’. The difference is that the light verb *zata* ‘to hit’ indicates ‘disconnectedness, force and instantaneity of the action’ while *kesheza* ‘to pull’ highlights ‘the prolongation and duration of the action’. Arguing that the verbal element shows the mode of the activity, Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 46–47) believes that light verbs show how the speaker conceptualises the manner of action. Therefore, it is unfounded to call the verbal element a ‘light verb’. However, to conform to research tradition on Iranian languages, we will call it ‘light verb’ in the context of this research.

- (23) a. *mu tfaft=uf um=dæ*  
 I lunch=3SG.PC 1SG=give.PST  
 'I gave [her] lunch'  
 [DjXzRsh; Mesa Chu Sha Buze]
- b. *mu tfaft um=dæ æ hæɪfəv*  
 I lunch 1SG=give.PST to Haifow  
 'I gave lunch to Haifow'

Other examples of compound verbs formed by the pseudo-incorporation process (all intransitive) in Aheli are listed in (24) below:

- (24) a. *entezar kefezæ*  
 waiting pull  
 'to wait' [Transitivity: -]
- b. *əv-mivæ geretæ*  
 water-juice take  
 'to make fruit juice' [Transitivity: -]
- c. *muja kærezæ*  
 palm\_tree plant  
 'to plant a palm tree' [Transitivity: -]

Persian and Aheli treat the grammatical markers similarly, i.e., the imperfective marker, subjunctive marker, and negation marker all attach to the LV. In the Persian example (25a) below, which is from Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 51) with modifications in transcription style, the negation marker *næ-* attaches to the light verb *kærd* 'did'. Similarly, in the Aheli example (25b), the negation marker *ne-* attaches to the LV:

- (25) a. *Ali Mina-ra delxur næ-kærd-Ø*  
 Ali Mina-OM annoying NEG-do.PST-3SG  
 'Ali did not annoy Mina'
- b. *mu tfaft um=ne-dæ æ hæɪfəv*  
 I lunch 1SG=NEG-give.PST to Haifow  
 'I did not give lunch to Haifow'

However, the two languages exhibit different behaviour when pronominal clitics (PC) are used. Similar to other grammatical markers, Persian PCs functioning as subjects attach to the LV as shown in (26a) but moving the PC, *-ænd* '3PL', to the NVE makes the sentence ungrammatical as shown in (26b):

- (26) a. *anha delxur=æm kærd-ænd*  
 they annoying=1SG.OBJ do.PST-3PL  
 'They annoyed me'

- b. \**anha delxor=æm-ænd kærd*  
 they annoying=1SG.OBJ-3PL do.PST  
 '[Intended meaning] They annoyed me'

In contrast, subjectival PCs in Aheli can move and attach to the NVE. In the examples below, the pronominal clitic (PC) =*fu* '3PL', which functions as the subject typically attaches to the LV, as in (27a), but can move and join the NVE as shown in (27b) without any change in meaning:

- (27) a. *on-ja delxor fu=kerd=um*  
 that-PL annoying 3PL=do.PST=1SG.OBJ  
 'They annoyed me'  
 b. *on-ja delxor=fu kerd=um*  
 that-PL annoying=3PL do.PST=1SG.OBJ  
 'They annoyed me'

Furthermore, as seen in the Persian example (26a), the direct object =*æm* '1SG' attaches to the NVE *delxor* 'annoying' whereas in the Aheli equivalent, the direct object =*um* '1SG' joins the LV, as shown in (27). Moreover, the imperfective marker -*æ* in Aheli can be omitted when it occurs before a vowel-ending NVE, as shown below:<sup>12</sup>

- (28) a. *mu mægæ əv-mivæ æ-ger-um*  
 I always water-fruit IMPF-take.NPST-1SG  
 'I always make the fruit juice'  
 b. *mu mægæ əv-mivæ ger-um*  
 I always water-fruit [IMPF]take.NPST-1SG  
 'I always make the fruit juice'

Dabir-Moghaddam (1997, 53) argues that in Persian, an adverb can modify the compound verb as a unit, but it cannot interpose between the elements of a compound verb whereas in Aheli, the placement of an adverb between the NVE and LV is permissible. As shown in (29) below, the adverb *ziyazi* 'abundantly' appears between the NVE *iraz* 'complaint' and the LV *gere* 'take':

- (29) *bef mægæ iraz-e ziyazi ger-e*  
 child always complain-EZ abundantly [IMPF]take.NPST-3SG  
 'the child always complains a lot'

<sup>12</sup> Although IMPF is optional in (28b), we put it in square brackets to show that the position of the prefix has been deleted.

## Prepositional phrase

Sometimes a prepositional phrase combines with a light verb as a result of which the preposition is left out. In the examples below, the preposition *æli* ‘on’, which occurs in (30a), is omitted in (30b).

- (30) a. *ʊn æli zemi fæst-Ø*  
           he on ground sit.PST-3SG  
           ‘He sat on the ground’  
       b. *ʊn zemi fæst-Ø*  
           he ground sit.PST-3SG  
           ‘He sat on the ground’

Contrary to Persian, where pseudo-incorporation is productive, the process is limited in productivity in Aheli, where most instances of compound verbs are formed through the combination process (Section 4.2.1).<sup>13</sup> However, similar to Persian, combination produces compound verbs which are more non-compositional in meaning compared to compound verbs made through pseudo-incorporation, which have more transparent meaning (compare *zemi fæssæ* ‘sit down’ (lit. ground sit) in (30b) with *piʃvaxærdæ* ‘to be twisted’ (lit. screw drink) in (11o). Here is another example where the preposition *æ* ‘to’ is left out in (31b):

- (31) a. *Æli æ zemi ʊftæ-Ø*  
           Ali to ground fall.PST-3SG  
           ‘Ali fell to the ground’  
       b. *Æli zemi ʊftæ-Ø*  
           Ali ground fall.PST-3SG  
           ‘Ali fell to the ground’

## 5 Conclusion

This paper aimed to examine the derivation of the light verb constructions (LVCs) in Aheli, a dialect of Lari which is an Iranian endangered language. The LVCs are formed by a non-verbal element (NVE) followed by a light verb (LV) drawn from a small class of verbs such as *kerdæ* ‘to make/do’ (*dʒuri kerdæ* ‘to harvest’), *zætæ* ‘to hit’ (*tiva zætæ* ‘to separate the residues from crops’), *ændæ* ‘to come’ (*æ dunja*

<sup>13</sup> This is in line with Dressler (2006, 23) who mentions that compounding is the most universal means of forming morphologically complex words across languages.

*ændæ* ‘to be born’). It was shown that Aheli LVCs can be semantically divided into (a) change of state verbs (*hufk vakerdæ* ‘to dry out’), (b) activity verbs (*fəv kerdæ* ‘to consult’) and (c) instrument verbs (*kumba kerda* ‘to combine the crops’). Moreover, it was shown that LVCs in Aheli can be formed through compounding or pseudo-incorporation. Compounding involves the use of a noun, an adjective, a prepositional phrase, an adverb, or a past participle followed by a light verb. In the case of pseudo-incorporation, a direct object loses its grammatical endings and is incorporated with a light verb as in the example *entezar kefezæ* ‘to wait’ (lit. waiting pull). It has also been shown that some LVCs have compositional meaning, i.e., a modifier like an adjective can split the NVE and the LV. For instance, *fəv kerdæ* ‘to consult’ (thinking do) has a compositional meaning as we can add *æ fəp-u-dəv* ‘relatives’ (lit. to left-and-round) between the constituents and form *fəv æ fəp-u-dəv kerdæ* ‘to consult with relatives’ (lit. thinking left-and-round=EZ do). Conversely, an LVC like *feri kerdæ* ‘to put make-up’ (lit. sweet make) does not permit the insertion of an adjective like *næk* between NVE and LV. Thus, a LVC like *feri næk kerdæ* (lit. sweet good tmake) ‘intended meaning: to put up good make-up on someone’ is ungrammatical in Aheli.

Although there are some similarities between LVCs in Aheli and Persian with regard to semantic templates and compound verbs produced by combination, LVCs produced by pseudo-incorporation in Aheli behave differently. For instance, pronominal clitics (PCs) which function as a subject can only attach to the LV in Persian while they can be attached to both LV and NVE in Aheli, as shown in examples (27a) and (27b) above. Furthermore, in Persian, the same PCs attach to the NVE when they function as a direct object (26a) whereas in Aheli the PCs can attach to the LV as illustrated in examples (27a – 27b) above. The findings of this research contribute to our understanding of the word formation processes and morpho-syntactic properties of Aheli, as well as that of other Lari dialects (such as Evazi, Khonji, Bastaki, among others). More specifically, research into the LVC in Aheli contributes to the better understanding of complex predicates in Iranian languages. Nonetheless, there are some questions that will be left for future research, including, (a) which attributive modifications are allowed in Aheli LVCs?, and (b) whether the modification by an adverb (which has scope over the whole LVC) or an adjective (scoping over only the nominal NVE) derive the same meaning for the whole construction, as shown by Fleischhauer and Neisani (2020) for Persian LVCs?

In addition, the criteria which distinguish LVCs from pseudo-incorporation constructions (PICs) in Aheli are worth examining in future studies. It is hoped that this paper has provided a brief overview of the LVC in Aheli and some of the formal strategies used in the derivation of the complex predicate. A detailed study of the semantics and formal strategies of the construction and an examination of comparative data from other dialects of Lari will be useful to arrive at a more

comprehensive picture of this construction, a task which we hope to undertake in future research.

## Bibliography

- Assarian, Mina. 2016. *Bar-rasi-ye vižegī-hā va ajzā-ye dastgāh-e fe'l dar zabān-e lārī be onvān-e zabān-e irānī-ye dar xatar* [The study of features and categories of verbal system in Lari language as an Iranian endangered language]. Master's thesis: Payame Noor University, Tehran.
- Bruening, Benjamin. 2015. Light Verbs are Just Regular Verbs. *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics* 21(1). 1–10.
- Dabir-Moghaddam, Mohammed. 1997. Compound verbs in Persian. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 27(2). 25–59.
- Dabir-Moghaddam, Mohammed. 2013. *Typology of Iranian languages* (Vol. 1). Tehran: The Organization for Researching and Composing University Textbooks in the Humanities.
- Dianat, Leila. 2016. Assimilation process in the Lari language. *Journal of Iranian Language & Linguistics* 1(1). 53–72. 10.22099/JILL.2016.4014.
- Dianat, Leila. 2023. Compound verbs in Lari language. *Journal of Iranian Language & Linguistics* 8(1). 117–131. 10.22099/jill.2023.46627.1337.
- Dressler, Wolfgang. 2006. Compound types. In Gary Libben and Gonia Jarema (eds.), *The representation and processing of compound words*, 23–44. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199228911.003.0002>.
- Eghtedari, A. 1964. Lahje-ye fišvarī [The Fishvar accent]. *The Journal of Farhang-e Iran Zamin* 1. 71–92.
- Eghtedari, A. 1992. *Lārestān-e kohan va farhang-e Lārestān* [The ancient Larestan and Larestani glossary]. Tehran: Jahan Moaser Publication.
- Eghtedari, A. 2005. *Zabān-e lārestānī: Jostār-ī dar zabān va farhang-e mardom* [The Larestani language: A research in people language and culture]. Tehran: Hamsaye Publication.
- Eshaghi, Mahdie and Gholamhosein Karimi Doostan. 2023. A Corpus of Persian Light Verb Constructions. *Journal of Researches in Linguistics* 14(1). 173–198. 10.22108/JRL.2023.135758.1685.
- Fleischhauer, Jens. 2020. Predicative multi-word expressions in Persian. In *Proceedings of the 34th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*, 552–561. Hanoi: Association for Computational Linguistics. <https://aclanthology.org/2020.paclic-1.63>.
- Fleischhauer, Jens and Mozghan Neisani. 2020. Adverbial and attributive modification of Persian separable light verb constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 56(1). 45–85. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226718000646>.
- Kalbasi, I. 1990. Sāxt-vāže dar gūyeš-e lār [The morphology of the Lari dialect]. *The Journal of Farhang* 6. 189–198.
- Kamioka, Kōji and M. Yamada. 1979. *Lārestānī studies 1, Lari basic vocabularies*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Karimi, Simin. 1997. Persian Complex Verbs: Idiomatic or Compositional? *Lexicology* 3(1). 273–318.
- Karimi Doostan, Gholamhossein. 2005. Light verbs and structural case. *Lingua* 115. 1737–1756. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2004.08.002>.
- Khonji, L. 2009. *Negareš-e tafsīl-ī bar zabān-e lārestānī va gūyeš-e xonjī* [Comprehensive study of the Larestani language and the Khonji dialect]. Shiraz: Ilaf Press.

- Korn, Agnes. 2013. Looking for the middle way: Voice and transitivity in complex predicates in Iranian. *Lingua* 135. 30–55. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2013.07.015>.
- Korn, Agnes. 2017. Notes on the nominal system of Bashkardi. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 115(1). 79–97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968X.12087>.
- Mahmoodian, Saeed. 2007. *Encyclopedia Larestanica*. Richmond, VA: Brandylane Publishers.
- Megerdooomian, Karine. 2004. A semantic template for light verb constructions. In *Proceedings of the First Workshop on Persian Language and Computer*, 25–26. Tehran: Tehran University Press.
- Megerdooomian, Karine. 2012. The status of the nominal in Persian complex predicates. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30(1). 179–216. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-011-9146-0>.
- Molčanova, E. 1982. Güyeš-hā-ye lārī [The dialects of Lari]. *Journal of Nemeye Farhangestan* 5(2). 183–187.
- Monshizadeh, Mojtaba, Ehsan Changizi and Babak Sharid. 2022. The endless story of “compound verbs”: An introduction to conceptology and terminology of complex verbs in Persian. *Journal of Researches in Linguistics* 13(2). 217–236. 10.22108/jrl.2022.131148.1611.
- Moridi, B. 2006. Bar-rasī-ye tābu va hosn-e ta’bīr dar čand vāže az gorūh-e güyeš-hā-ye lārī [Analysis of taboo and euphemism in some words in a group of the Lari dialects]. *The Journal of Persian Language & Literature* 2(5). 61–72.
- Moridi, B. 2007. Bar-rasī va moqāyese-ye güyeš-e lārī bā daštestānī [Analysis of the Lari dialect and comparison with Dashtestānī dialect]. *Orientalia* 4. 64–72.
- Nunberg, Geoffrey, Ivan A. Sag and Thomas Wasow. 1994. Idioms. *Language* 70(3). 491–538. <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1994.0023>.
- Ourang, Muhammed. 2022. *A reference grammar of Aheli: A dialect of the Lari language, Iran*. Doctoral dissertation: The University of New South Wales, Sydney.
- Pantcheva, Marina. 2008. Noun preverbs in Persian complex predicates. *Tromsø Papers on Language & Linguistics: Nordlyd* 35. 19–45.
- Rashidi, Ali. 2008. *Bar-rasī-ye sāxtārī-ye güyeš-e būčīrī [A Structural study on Buchiri dialect]*. Master’s thesis: The University of Sistan & Baluchestan, Zahedan.
- Salami, A. 2004–2007, 2009, 2011. *Ganjīne-ye güyeš-šenāsī-ye fārs [The treasury of the dialectology of Fars] (Vols. 1-6)*. Tehran: Iranian Academy of Persian Language and Literature.
- Sheintuch, Gloria. 1976. Periphrastic verb formation in Persian: a dynamic process. In W. Christie (ed.), *Current Progress in Historical Linguistics*, 137–146. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing.
- Skjaervo, Prods O. 1989. Languages of southeast Iran: Lārestānī, Kumzārī, Baškardī. In Rüdiger Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, 363–369. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Stilo, Donald. 2012. Case in Iranian: From reduction and loss to innovation and renewal. In Andrej L. Malchukov and Andrew Spencer (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, 700–715. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199206476.013.0049.
- Telegdi, Zsigmond. 1951. Nature et fonction des périphrases dites ‘verbes composés’ en Persan. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1(2/3). 315–338.

