

### 4.3 Simple sentences

#### 4.3.1 Verbal sentences

##### 4.3.1.1 Constituents of the verbal sentence

Mahootian (1997: XX) says the unmarked order of adverbial constituents in the verbal sentence is as given in (4.566a). This shows Subject-Temporal-Manner/Means-Goal-Verb. However, Persian is a pro-drop language and a pronominal subject like *man* ‘I’ would only be expressed for emphasis. Also, a locative goal PP like *be madrese* ‘to school’ would typically be placed after the verb with the preposition omitted. This is a more common practise in the spoken language than the written language. So a more representative example of unmarked order would be (4.566b).

- (4.566) a. *man har ruz bā otobus be madrese mi-r-am.*  
 1SG every day by bus to school IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU  
 ‘I go to school by bus every day.’
- b. *har ruz bā otobus mi-r-am madrese.*  
 every day by bus IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU school  
 ‘I go to school by bus every day.’

Mahootian (1997: 50-51) says that typically sentences do not contain many arguments. But in an argument-laden sentence, the neutral order is subject-time-direct object-source-locative-benefactive or goal-instrument-verb. Also, in the spoken language, goal almost always follows the verb. She says the default order of the constituents can be changed for purposes of focus, emphasis and contrast.

In the unmarked case, if a direct object is indefinite, as in (4.567a), then the indirect object precedes it. If the direct object is definite, as in (4.567b), then the direct object precedes the indirect object. This ordering actually follows the principles of information flow suggested by Comrie (1989:127f). He said that, provided the syntax of a language permits it, the order of constituents tends to conform to the “Principle of Natural Information Flow”. When this principle is adhered to, the established information is presented before the non-established information. In (4.567a) an indefinite DO is new information and should follow the IO, whereas in (4.567b) the definite DO is established information and should precede the IO.

- (4.567) a. *āli be minu āb dad.*  
 Ali to Minu water give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Ali gave water to Minu.’
- b. *āli āb-o be minu dad.*  
 Ali water-OM to Minu give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Ali gave the water to Minu.’

##### 4.3.1.2 Verbs without subject

Mahootian (1997: 48) says that Persian does not allow dummy subjects or semantically subjectless verbs. Since the verb in Persian takes subject agreement for all persons and numbers, the subject is always marked on the verb, even if there is no overt pronominal subject. Thus, Persian is a pro-drop language and does not require an overt subject NP.

- (4.568) *raft-am.*  
 go.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I went.’

Even so, there would appear to be several constructions in Persian which have semantically empty subjects. (4.569) is an impersonal construction. The notional subject ‘I’ is marked on *xoš*

‘happy’ with pronominal object agreement. The syntactic subject is marked on *miyād* as third person singular. In the impersonal construction in (4.570) the notional subject is the overt NP *barādar=e rezā* ‘Reza’s brother’ and this is cross-referenced on *xoš* ‘happy’ by 3SG pronominal object agreement. Here again the syntactic subject is marked on *nemiyād* as third person singular. The syntactic subject in both these impersonal constructions is semantically empty.

(4.569) *az kār=e šomā xoš=am mi-yād.*  
 from work=EZ 3PL happy=1SG.O IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘I like your work.’

(4.570) *barādar=e rezā as tehrān xoš=eš ne-mi-yād.*  
 brother=EZ Reza from Tehran happy=3SG.O NEG-IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘Reza’s brother doesn’t like Tehran.’

(4.571)-(4.575) are cleft constructions. In each case the syntactic subject of the ‘be’ verb is semantically empty and is only marked on the verb as 3SG.

(4.571) *ali=e ke umad.*  
 Ali=be.PRES.3SG.SU CMPL come.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘It is Ali who came.’

(4.572) *sā’at=e ke zohre xarid.*  
 watch=be.PRES.3SG.SU CMPL Zohre buy.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘It’s a watch that Zohre bought.’

(4.573) *be zohre bud*  
 to Zohre be.PAST.3SG.SU  
*ke simā sā’at=o dād.*  
 CMPL Sima watch=OM give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘It was to Zohre that Sima gave the watch.’

(4.574) *tu=ye bāq bud*  
 in=EZ garden be.PAST.3SG.SU  
*ke ham digar=o did-im*  
 CMPL each other=OM see.PAST-1PL.SU  
 ‘It was in the garden that we saw each other.’

(4.575) *nazdik=e qorub bud*  
 near=EZ sunset be.PAST.3SG.SU  
*ke kāravān vāred=e khiābān-i šod*  
 CMPL caravan entry=EZ street-IND become.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘It was near sunset when the caravan entered the street.’

#### 4.3.1.3 Verbs and direct objects

Verbs can be transitive, intransitive or in some cases, be used either transitively or intransitively. Intransitive verbs lack direct objects. Some common intransitive verbs include motion verbs such as *āmadan* ‘to come’, *raftan* ‘to go’, and stative verbs such as *nešestan* ‘to sit’, *xābidan* ‘to sleep’, *istādan* ‘to stand’. Verbs which may be used transitively or intransitively include *xordan* ‘to eat’, *šenidan* ‘to hear’.

(4.576) *bārun mi-yād.*  
 rain IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘It’s raining.’

(4.577) *tā zohr xābid.*  
 until noon sleep.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He slept till noon.’

(4.578) sedā=ye boloand=i šenid-am.  
 sound=EZ loud=IND hear.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I heard a loud sound.’

(4.579) šenid-am.  
 hear.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I heard.’

A semantic object cannot be dropped completely. It must either be stated as a complete noun phrase, a pronoun or a pronominal clitic marking the object on the verb (see XXX for direct objects).

- (4.580) a. bačče-hā=rā did-am.  
 child-PL=OM see.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I saw the children.’
- b. unhā=rā did-am.  
 3PL=OM see.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I saw them.’
- c. did-am=ešun  
 see.PAST-1SG.SU=3PL.DO  
 ‘I saw them.’

#### 4.3.1.4 Verbs with indirect objects

Some verbs are ditransitive and obligatorily take indirect objects. Such verbs include *dādan* ‘to give’. Other verbs can be used either transitively or ditransitively, such as *ferestādan* ‘to send’. In this class of verbs the indirect object is optional.

Indirect objects are generally introduced with the propositon *be* ‘to’. Mahootian (1997: 139) says that the indirect object typically follows the direct object, although it can precede the direct object for focus. She gives these examples.

(4.581) pul=o be mā dād.  
 money=OM to 1PL give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He gave the money to us.’

(4.582) be mā pul=o dād.  
 to 1PL money=OM give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He gave us the money.’

This is the unmarked order for DO<sub>DEF</sub> IO V. If the direct object is indefinite then the unmarked order is IO DO<sub>IND</sub> V. See 4.3.1.1. In texts we found marked examples of DO<sub>IND</sub> IO V such as (4.583). In this case *yek ketāb jāize* ‘a book award’ is presented as contrastive new information and precedes the established information in *be-ham* ‘to me’. On the other hand, (4.584) exhibits the marked order of IO DO<sub>DEF</sub> V. In this case *xodešrā* ‘himself’ is the established information and *be šāgerdān xod* ‘to his own disciples’ is the new information. The IO is preposed for emphatic prominence. Note that it would not be possible to prepose in this way in English, *\*he showed his own disciples himself*.

(4.583) va yek ketāb jāize be-ham dād  
 and a book award to-1SG.PO give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘... and he gave me a book award.’

(4.584) va be šāgerd-ān xod xod-eš=rā nešān dād.  
 and to student-PL own self-3SG.POS-OM mark give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘... and he showed himself to his own disciples.’

As with the direct object, the semantic indirect object cannot be completely dropped but must appear as a phrase, a pronoun or pronominal clitic. See XXX.

- (4.585) a. āli be minu angoštar=i dad.  
 Ali to Minu ring=IND give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Ali gave a ring to Minu.’
- b. āli be u angoštar=i dad.  
 Ali to 3SG ring=IND give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Ali gave a ring to her.’
- c. āli be=š angoštar=i dad.  
 Ali to=3SG.PO ring=IND give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Ali gave a ring to her.’

The indirect object may in some cases be indicated by a pronominal clitic on the direct object, if the direct object is generic.

- (4.586) a. be u sam dād-am.  
 to 3SG poison give.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I gave him poison.’
- b. be=šu sam dād-am.  
 to=3SG.PO poison give.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I gave him poison.’

#### 4.3.1.5 Verbs with prepositional arguments

Rafiee (2001: 86-87) describes what he calls a ‘structured infinitive’ in which certain verbs take prepositional arguments with a particular preposition. For example, *be* ‘someone’ *telefon kardan* ‘to telephone someone’ requires *be* ‘to’ and *az* ‘something’ *rāzi budan* ‘to be happy with something’ requires *az* ‘from’.

- (4.587) diruz be piter telefon kard-am.  
 yesterday to Peter telephone do.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I telephoned Peter yesterday.’
- (4.588) man az māšin rāzi hast-am.  
 1SG from car happy be.PRES-1SG.SU  
 ‘I am happy with the car.’

Lambton (195?: 110-120) provides extensive lists of verbs and the prepositions they take. Note that in the English equivalents of the examples below a preposition is not required and the undergoer functions as a direct object of the verb. E.g.

<i>az</i> ‘someone’ <i>porsidan</i>	‘to ask someone’
<i>bā</i> ‘someone’ <i>ezdevaj</i>	‘to marry someone’
<i>bar</i> ‘someone’ <i>bar xordan</i>	‘to meet someone’
<i>be</i> ‘someone’ <i>da’vat kardan</i>	‘to invite someone’

#### 4.3.1.6 Other types of prepositional arguments

Prepositional arguments are distinguished from sentence adverbials on the basis that PP arguments can occur with some predicates and not with others, whereas sentence adverbials can occur with any predicate. For example, goal, source and directional arguments can only occur with predicates involving some sense of concrete or abstract motion.

Goal arguments: express the goal for the performance of the event.

This is most commonly expressed with the preposition *be* ‘to’, which is nearly always omitted in spoken Persian. In spoken Persian the goal often follows the predicate (see XXX). Other prepositions that can have a goal function include *birun* ‘outside’, which can function alone, *tu*

‘in, at’, *ru* ‘on’, *dar* ‘in’, and *dur* ‘far’. Goal arguments also need not have a preposition, as in (4.589) and (4.594) for example.

- (4.589) fardā mi-r-an (be) hamedān.  
tomorrow IPFV-go.PRES-3PL.SU (to) Hamedan  
‘They are going to Hamedan tomorrow.’
- (4.590) tama:m=e mard-hā=ye šahr bāyad be in mehmāni bi-ā-yand.  
whole=EZ man-PL=EZ city must to this party SBJN-come.PRES-3PL.SU  
‘All the men of the city must come to this party.’
- (4.591) negāh-i be sā’at-e divār-i andāxt-am  
glance-IND to clock-EZ wall-IND throw.PAST-1SG.SU  
‘I glanced at the wall-clock.’ (lit. ‘I threw a glance at the wall-clock.’)
- (4.592) dar faqāne xišpanje=ye ostoxani be āsemān bar afrāšt-e bud  
in agony paw=EZ bony to heaven raise-PSPT be.PAST-3SG.SU  
‘In agony he raised his boney paws to heaven.’
- (4.593) xolāse man=rā az kelās andāxt birun.  
finally 1SG=OM from class throw.PAST.3SG.SU outside  
‘Finally, she threw me out of the class.’
- (4.594) raft-am piš=eš  
go.PAST-1SG.SU presence=3SG.POS  
‘I went into her presence.’
- (4.595) dabir=e `arabi=ye mā zad tu=ye guš=e man.  
teacher=EZ Arabic=EZ 1PL hit.PAST.3SG.SU at=EZ ear=EZ 1SG  
‘Our Arabic teacher hit my ear.’ (lit. ‘... at my ear’)
- (4.596) kaff=e dast=am=rā gozāšt-am ru=ye češm=e rāst.  
palm=EZ hand=1SG.POS-OM put.PAST-1SG.SU on=EZ eye=EZ right  
‘I put the palm of my hand over my right eye.’
- (4.597) dast=e u=rā kešid bord dar sahn.  
hand=EZ 3SG=OM pull.PAST.3SG.SU take.PAST.3SG.SU in courtyard  
‘She took his hand and brought him into the courtyard.’
- (4.598) tanāb mi-andāz-ad dur=e gardan=e asb.  
rope IPFV-throw.PRES-3SG.SU far=EZ neck=EZ horse  
‘He throws the rope around the horse’s neck.’
- (4.599)

‘.’

Source arguments: expresses the start point for the performance of the event.

This is commonly expressed by the preposition *az* ‘from’.

- (4.600) kafš-ā=am=o az irān gereft-am?  
shoe-PL=1SG.POS=OM from Iran get.PAST-1SG.SU  
‘I got my shoes from Iran.’
- (4.601) xolāse man=rā az kelās andāxt birun.  
finally 1SG=OM from class throw.PAST.3SG.SU outside  
‘Finally, she threw me out of the class.’

- (4.602) *mi-bin-ad*  
 IPFV-see.PRES-3SG.SU  
*ke az dur asb dār-ad mi-yā-yad.*  
 CMPL from far horse have.PRES-3SG.SU IPFV-come.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘He sees that from a long way off the horse is coming.’
- (4.603) *angoštar=e marā az dast=am dar āvard*  
 ring=EZ 1SG.OM from hand=1SG.POS out bring.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He took the ring from my hand.’
- (4.604) *man sar=rā az zir=e šamad birun āvard-am*  
 1SG head=OM from under=EZ sheet outside bring.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I brought my head out from under the sheet.’
- (4.605) *zan-aš az dāxel=e hayāt faryād zad*  
 woman-3SG.POS from inside=EZ courtyard shout hit.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘His wife shouted from inside the courtyard.’
- (4.606)

‘

Directional arguments: express the direction of the motion.

Directional prepositions include: *be=taraf=e* ‘towards’, *ru=be* ‘towards’, *atrāf=e* ‘towards’, *su=ye* ‘towards’, *be* ‘to’ *az* ‘from’. Other expressions include: *rāhe piš* ‘way forwards’ *rāhe pas* ‘way backwards’. From the examples we have it looks like directionals occur either immediately preceding the verb or in postverbal position.

- (4.607) *bačče-hā kāqaz part mi-kard-and be taraf=e taxteh.*  
 child-PL paper launch IPFV-do.PAST-3PL.SU to direction=EZ board  
 ‘The children launched the paper towards the (black)board.’
- (4.608) *šāxe-hā=yešān be taraf=e zamin xam šod-e bud*  
 branch-PL=3PL.POS to direction=EZ earth bent become-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Their branches had become bent towards the ground.’
- (4.609) *be in taraf va un taraf qalt mi-zan-am*  
 to this direction and that direction toss IPFV-hit.PRES-1SG.SU  
 ‘I am tossing this way and that way.’
- (4.610) *be-bin ān taraf=e xiābān*  
 IMP-see that direction-EZ street  
 ‘Look at the far side of the street.’
- (4.611) *ru be šahr-e tabriz istād.*  
 face to city-EZ Tabriz stand.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He stood facing the city of Tabriz.’
- (4.612) *na rāh-e piš dāšt-and na rāh-e pas.*  
 not way-EZ forward have.PAST-3PL.SU not way-EZ backward  
 ‘They could neither go forward nor backward.’
- (4.613) *jāpā=ye gowd va tārike gale=ye āhowa:ne az piš raft-e.*  
 footstep=EZ deep and dark herd=EZ deer.PL from ahead go-PSPT  
 ‘The deep and dark footsteps of a herd of deer went ahead.’
- (4.614)

‘

Benefactive arguments: express the beneficiary of the performance of the event.

Benefactive is most commonly expressed by the preposition *barā=ye* ‘for’. The prepositional object is often a pronominal clitic.

- (4.615) *barā=ye doxtar=am māšin xarid-am.*  
 for=EZ daughter=1SG.POS car buy.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I bought a car for my daughter.’
- (4.616) *yek qalyān barāy=eš čāq kard-and*  
 one hubble-bubble for=3SG.PO fat do.PAST-3PL.SU  
 ‘They started a hubble-bubble (hookah) for him.’
- (4.617) *parvardan barāy=am āb āvard*  
 nurse for=3SG.PO water bring.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘The nurse brought some water for me.’
- (4.618) *jāpā=ye ostvār=i bar sang=i*  
 place.foot=EZ firm=IND on stone=IND  
*be zir=e barf barā=ye xod jost*  
 at under=EZ snow for self.3SG find.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He found for himself a firm foothold on a stone under the snow.’
- (4.619) *xeili mamnun az hedye=ye qašang=i ke barāy=am ferestād-i.*  
 very grateful from gift=EZ pretty=IND CMPL for=1SG.PO send.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Thank you very much for the pretty gift you sent for me.’
- (4.620) *sax-tarin so’āl-hā=rā barā=ye man dar āvard-e bud.*  
 difficult-MOST question-PL=OM for 1SG in bring-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘The most difficult questions were for me.’
- (4.621)
- ‘.’

Instrument arguments: express the instrument by which the event was performed.

In Persian instrument is typically expressed with *bā* ‘with’. It can also be expressed by *be* ‘by’. From examples in text the instrument argument does not necessarily occur between direct object and verb as Mahootian (1997: 50-51) claims. Negative instrument is expressed by *bedun* ‘without’ or *bi* ‘without’.

- (4.622) *čub=o bā arre borid.*  
 wood=OM with saw cut.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘She cut the wood with a saw.’
- (4.623) *ān dast-ash=rā bā yek tekeh=e pārcē mi-pič-ad*  
 that hand-3SG.POS=OM with one piece=EZ cloth IPFV-wrap.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘He wrapped that hand of his with a piece of cloth.’
- (4.624) *bā čēšm=e čap kalāq=rā nešāne gereft-am.*  
 with eye=EZ left crow=OM aim take.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I took aim at the crow with my left eye.’
- (4.625) *bi māšin hičkar ne-mi-š-e kard.*  
 without car no.work NEG-IPFV-become-PSPT do.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Without a car one can’t do anything.’
- (4.626)
- ‘.’

Comitative arguments: express an additional participant in the event.

In Persian comitative is typically expressed with *bā* ‘with’. The negative comitative is expressed with *bi* ‘without’ or *bedun* ‘without’.

(4.627) *bā maryam raft-am tehrān.*  
with Mariam go.PAST-1SG.SU Tehran  
‘I went to Tehran with Maryam.’

(4.628) *be komak=e hosein āqā u=rā be xāne bord-and.*  
to help=EZ Hussein Mr. 3SG=OM to house take.PAST-3PL.SU  
‘They took him to the house with the help of Mr. Hussein.’

(4.629) *bedun=e bačče-hā šam xord-im.*  
without=EZ child-PL dinner eat.PAST-1PL.SU  
‘We ate dinner without the children.’

(4.630) *man mānd-am bi nešāne.*  
1SG remain.PAST-1SG.SU without target  
‘I was left without a target.’

(4.631)

‘?’

#### 4.3.1.7 Sentence Adverbials

Sentence adverbials modify the predicate and its arguments and can occur with any predicate. Mahootian (1997: 50-51) gives the following as an unmarked ordering of arguments and adverbials:

SU - Time - DO - Source - Locative - Benefactive/Goal - Instrument - Verb

##### 4.3.1.7.1 Types of adverbials

Adverbials can be nominals, adjectives, PPs or adverbs. *diruz* ‘yesterday’ is an adverbial noun in (4.632), *injā* ‘here’ is an adverbial pronoun in (4.633), *sari* ‘quick’ is an adverbial adjective in (4.634), *dar moqābel=e man* ‘in front of me’ is an adverbial PP in (4.635) and *xošbaxtāne* ‘fortunately’ is an adverb in (4.636).

(4.632) *diruz be did-an=eš raft-am.*  
yesterday to see-INF=3SG.DO go.PAST-1SG.SU  
‘I went to see him yesterday.’

(4.633) *hafte-y-i yek bār mi-mān-e injā.*  
week-EZ-IND one time IPFV-remain.PRES-3SG.SU here  
‘She stays here once a week.’

(4.634) *man sari’ mi-yā-yam.*  
1SG quick IPFV-come.PRES-1SG.SU  
‘I will come quickly.’

(4.635) *be-ist dar moqābel=e man.*  
IMP-stand in front=EZ 1SG  
‘Stand in front of me.’

(4.636) *xošbaxtāne digar hič vaqt na-did-am=eš.*  
fortunately other not time NEG-see.PAST-1SG.SU=3SG.DO  
‘Fortunately, I never saw her again.’



#### 4.3.1.7.2 Functions of adverbials

Adverbials have the following functions in the sentence. See also 4.3.6.2.

Modal: used to express an evaluation on what is being said.

From the examples we have it looks like modal adverbials occur before the subject and modify the whole proposition. See also 4.3.6.2 for more examples of modal adverbials.

- (4.637) *mota'assefāne* in ettelā'-āt vasi'-e vasi' na-bud.  
regrettably this information-PL broad-EZ broad NEG-be.PAST.3SG.SU  
'Regrettably, this information was not very broad.'

- (4.638) *biextiār* del-am foru rixt.  
involuntarily heart-1SG.POS down pour.PAST-3SG.SU  
'My heart sank.'

Temporal: used to express the time frame of the event.

The common temporal adverbials are *emruz* 'today', *diruz* 'yesterday', *fardā* 'tomorrow', *dišab* 'last night', *hālā* 'now', *ruzāne* 'daily', *bārhā* 'often', *gāhi* 'sometimes'. From text examples it looks like a temporal like *hālā* 'now' always precedes the subject, but a temporal like *fardā* 'tomorrow' follows the subject and *belāfāsele* 'immediately' can occur either at the beginning of the sentence or near to the verb. See also 4.3.6.2 for more examples of temporal adverbials.

\*\*\* There don't seem to be too many PP<sub>TIM</sub> in the texts. E.g. *dar zamānhāye qadim* 'in the old times', *hodude sā'ate panj* 'about five o'clock'.

- (4.639) to bāyad *fardā* bā pedar yā mādar-et be madrese bi-yā-id.  
2SG must tomorrow with father or mother-2SG.POS to school IMP-come-2SG.SU  
'You must come to school tomorrow with you mother or father.'

- (4.640) *hālā* to mi-xāh-i be-zan-i be deh.  
now 2SG IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU SBJN-hit.PRES-2SG.SU to village  
'Now you want to attack the village.'

- (4.641) *belāfāsele* bā češm rāst emtehān kard-am.  
immediately with eye right examination do.PAST-1SG.SU  
'Immediately I tested it with my right eye.'

- (4.642) *kāsebe* binavā az tars *belāfāsele* dokkān=rā bast  
tradesman miserable from fear immediately shop=OM close.PAST-3SG.SU  
'The poor Kashani dealer immediately closed the shop.'

- (4.643) *dar zamān-hā=ye qadim* yek *kāseb=e* kam *māye=ye* *kāši*  
in time-PL=EZ old one tradesman=EZ little capital=EZ Kashani  
*harče* *dāšt* *foruxt*.  
every.what have.PAST.3SG.SU sell.PAST.3SG.SU  
'In the old days a petty Kashani tradesman sold everything he had.'

- (4.644)

‘.’

Location adverbs: used to express the location of the event.

These are primarily locative NPs or PPs. See XXX. Mahootian (1997: 51) lists *injā* 'here' and *unjā* 'there' as locative adverbs. In the texts there are very few examples of unequivocal NP<sub>LOC</sub>. Notice in (4.649) that the preposition *ru* 'on' is disassociated from the location NP *kenāre piāde* 'the edge of pavement'. \*\*\*This looks like a case of left-shifting ("topicalization") of an NP out of a PP.\*\*\* The most common place for a NP<sub>LOC</sub> or PP<sub>LOC</sub> to occur seems to be sentence initial position.

- (4.645) *dar dānešgāh kār mi-kon-e.*  
 in university work IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘He works at the university.’
- (4.646) *yek guše-i qāyem mi-šod*  
 one corner-IND hidden IPFV-become.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He hid in a corner.’
- (4.647) *tu=ye mazra’e gandom mi-kāšt.*  
 in=EZ farm wheat IPFV-sow.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘He used to sow wheat on the farm.’
- (4.648) *ru=ye sim faqat yek noqte-ye siāh did-am.*  
 on=EZ wire only one point-EZ black see.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I saw only a black point on the wire.’
- (4.649) *hamānjā kenār=e piāde ru istād-am*  
 same.that.place edge=EZ pavement on stand.PAST-1SG.SU  
 ‘I stood in that very place on the edge of the pavement.’
- (4.650) *dar bāqče-hā alaf-hā=ye xodro besiār ruid-e bud*  
 in garden.plot-PL grass-PL=EZ wild many grow-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Many wild flowers had grown in the garden plots.’
- (4.651)
- ‘.’

Sequential adverbs: used to express the sequence of events.

Arabic sequence adverbs are in common use:

<i>avvalan</i>	‘firstly’
<i>sānian</i>	‘secondly’
<i>sālesan</i>	‘thirdly’
<i>rābe’an</i>	‘fourthly’

- (4.652) *xolāse man=rā az kelās andāxt birun.*  
 finally 1SG=OM from class throw.PAST.3SG.SU outside  
 ‘Finally, she threw me out of the class.’
- (4.653) *dar āxar ruznāme va medād az dast-eš oftād*  
 at end newspaper and pencil from hand-3SG.POS fall.PAST.3SG.S  
 ‘Finally, the newspaper and pencil fell from his hand.’

Manner adverbs: used to express the manner of the action.

Manner adverbs: *ahmaqāne* ‘foolishly’, *amdan* ‘deliberately’, *āheste* ‘gently, silently, slowly’, *āzādāne* ‘freely’, *be āsāni* ‘easily’, *biexteyār* ‘involuntarily’, *dustāne* ‘friendly’, *ettefāqan* ‘accidentally’, *ma’mulan* ‘usually’, *monazzaman* ‘regularly’, *morattaban* ‘regularly’, *nāšāyeste* ‘unseemly’, *sāket* ‘quietly’, *sari* ‘quickly’, *tond* ‘quickly’, *xod be xod* ‘automatically’, *zud* ‘quickly’, *qadam be qadam* ‘step by step’. Manner can be expressed by an adverb (4.654), (4.655) and (4.658), a noun phrase (4.656), or a prepositional phrase (4.657). Manner adverbials can precede the verb, as in (4.654) or follow the verb, as in (4.655). Where examples of multiple adverbials occur in text, manner precedes goal and follows source and direct object.

- (4.654) *dozdāne* be ānhā negāh kard.  
stealthily to 3PL look do.PAST.3SG.SU  
'He glanced at them stealthily.'
- (4.655) nim sā'at-i barāy-aš harf zad-am *pirāne*.  
half hour-IND for-3SG.PO word hit.PAST-1SG.SU elderly  
'I spoke to him for half an hour, in an elderly way.'
- (4.656) SOURCE MANNER GOAL  
az hāshie xiābān *golčīn-golčīn* be taraf=e xāne mi-raft-am  
from edge street gingerly- gingerly to direction=EZ house IPFV-go.PAST-1SG.SU  
'I went gingerly from the side of the street towards the house.'
- (4.657) MANNER GOAL  
*be tor=e āmerāne* be sāheb=e dokkān goft-and.  
in manner=EZ imperious to owner=EZ shop say.PAST-3PL.SU  
'They spoke to the shopkeeper in an imperious manner.'
- (4.658) DO MANNER  
kalāq=rā *kāmelan* mi-bin-am.  
crow=OM completely IPFV-see.PRES-1SG.SU  
'I see the crow perfectly well.'
- (4.659) asb *bā sor'at* mi-par-ad bālā  
horse with speed IPFV-jump.PRES-3SG.SU up  
'The horse jumped up quickly.'
- (4.660)
- ‘.’

Means adverbs: used to express the means by which the event happened. E.g. *The patient was treated medically for his condition.*

- (4.661)
- ‘.’

Respect adverbs: used to identify a relevant point of reference in respect of which the clause concerned derives its truth value. E.g. *They are advising me legally.* i.e. 'with respect to law'

- (4.662)
- ‘.’

Further adverbial modifications, such as cause, reason, purpose, result, condition, concession, etc. are typically realized by a PP or clause.

### 4.3.2 Copular sentences

Mahootian (1997: 44-45) Copular sentences, like other sentences, have SOV word order. As is the case with other sentences, the pronominal subject is optional in copular sentences. However, unlike declarative sentences using other verbs, copular sentences are rigidly SOV.

The equivalent of ‘to be’ in Persian is realized in three ways in the present to form copular sentences: as clitics inflected for person and number, as *hast* plus the personal endings, or as *bāš* with the personal endings. Note that *bāš* is not used in spoken Persian. For a detailed discussion of the verb ‘to be’ see XXX. In the past there is only one form of the copula, the past of the verb *budan* ‘to be’.

- (4.663) *bahrām bimārestān-e.*  
 Bahram hospital-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘Bahram is at/in hospital.’

- (4.664) *nevisande bud*  
 writer be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘She was a writer.’

#### 4.3.2.1 Constituents of the copular sentence

Mahootian (1997: 45-47) gives the overall structure of the copular sentences as (4.665). In the strictest definition Persian has only one copular verb, which is *budan* ‘to be’. The verb and the complement are obligatory constituents in the copular sentence.

- (4.665)
- $$(\text{SUBJECT}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PREDICATE NOMINAL} \\ \text{PREDICATE ADJECTIVE} \\ \text{PREDICATE ADVERBIAL} \end{array} \right\} \text{COPULA}$$

Mahootian (1997: 45) says the constituent order in the copular sentences is the same as in declarative sentences, (S) (DO) (PP) V, with the complement where the direct object would be. In constituent structure terms, however, the structure of the copular sentence is as in (4.666). An NP can function as the predicate nominal and an AdjP can function as the predicate adjective, but either an NP, AdjP or PP can function as the predicate adverbial. Adverbial elements may also optionally occur either preceding or following the NP subject.

- (4.666)
- $$(\text{XP})^* (\text{NP}) (\text{XP})^* \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \text{V}$$

#### 4.3.2.2 Nominal complement

The predicate noun is not morphologically marked but is indicated by word order.

(SUBJECT) + PREDICATE NOUN + COPULA

Also, the fact that the clitic attaches to the noun complement in effect indicates which noun is the complement.

- (4.667) *un mard ostād-am-e.*  
 that man professor-1SG.POS-BE.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘That man is my professor.’

(Mahootian 1997: 45)

- (4.668) *to aslant tarsu-i*  
 2SG basically coward-be.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘You are basically a coward.’

- (4.669) ganāh-am in bud  
 sin-1SG.POS this be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘My sin was this.’
- (4.670) bābā=ye man xar na-bud  
 father=EZ 1SG donkey NEG-be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘My father was not a donkey!’
- (4.671)
- ‘.’

#### 4.3.2.3 Adjectival complement

The structure of the adjectival copula is:

(SUBJECT) + PREDICATE ADJECTIVE + COPULA

- (4.672) māšin=e pesar=am ābi-e.  
 car=EZ son=1SG.POS blue-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘My son’s car is blue.’ (Mahootian 1997: 46)
- (4.673) zan javān-e  
 woman young-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘The woman is young.’
- (4.674) vali dast=e ān pesar-ek ān qadar kuček bud  
 but hand=EZ that boy-DIM that much small be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘... but the hand of that boy was so small.’
- (4.675)
- ‘.’

#### 4.3.2.4 Adverbial complement

Possible adverbial complements:

It was yesterday ...	[temporal]
He was in the library ...	[locative]
Was Xwards / from / towards...	[direction]
???	[manner]
???	[means]
???	[instrument]

The structure of the adverbial copula is:

(SUBJECT) + PREDICATE ADJECTIVE + COPULA

- (4.676) vida hamiše dir-e.  
 Vida always late-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘Vida is always late.’ (Mahootian 1997: 46)

- (4.677) hame sar vaqt hāzer bud-and.  
all on time ready be.PAST-3PL.SU  
'They were all ready on time.'

(4.678)

‘.’

#### 4.3.2.5 PP complement

The PP complements found in copular constructions are all some type of adverbial expression.

- (4.679) pošt-aš be man bud  
behind-3SG.PO to 1SG be.PAST.3SG.SU  
'His back was (turned) to me.'
- (4.680) salām-aš tu=ye dahān-aš bud  
greeting-3SG.POS in=EZ mouth-3SG.POS be.PAST.3SG.SU  
'His greeting was in his mouth.'
- (4.681) xeili tu=ye xod=am bud-am  
very within=EZ self=1SG.O be.PAST-1SG.SU  
'I was very self-absorbed.'
- (4.682) taqsir bā man nist  
fault with 1SG NEG.be.PRES.3SG.SU  
'The fault is not with me.'

\*\*\*Note that PP complement precedes subject in this example contra Mahootian.

- (4.683) yā tu-ye guš-ešān čerk bud  
or in ear-3PL.POS dirt be.PAST.3SG.SU  
'... or dirt in his ear.'

(4.684)

‘.’

#### 4.3.2.6 Other copulas

Mahootian (1997: 47) says that if a copula is a semantically empty verb, then *budan* 'to be' is the only copula verb in the language. But under a broader scope of the term, Persian does have other forms for linking subjects to nominal and adjectival complements. The most common 'resulting' copulas are *šodan* 'to become' and compounds formed with *šodan*. The most common 'current' copula is *benazar umadan* 'to appear'. *dāštan* 'to have' can also function as a copula.

- (4.685) pesarxāl=am šahrdār šod.  
cousin=1SG.POS mayor become.PAST.3SG.SU  
'My cousin became mayor.'

(Mahootian 1997: 47)

- (4.686) ādat-ešān šod.  
habit-3PL.POS become.PAST.3SG.SU  
'It became their habit.'

- (4.687) un otāq xalvat shod  
that room quiet become.PAST.3SG.SU  
'That room became quiet.'

- (4.688) šāxe-hā=yešān      be taraf=e      zamin xam      šod-e      bud  
 branch-PL=3PL.POS to direction=EZ earth bent become-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Their branches had become bent towards the ground.’
- (4.689) suret-eš      čenān      šabāhat-i      be gorbe dār-e  
 face-3SG.POS such.that resemblance-IND to cat have.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘He has a face that resembles a cat.’
- (4.690) bačče-hā yaxe=ye      sefid na-dāšt-and  
 child-PL collar=EZ white NEG-have.PAST-3PL.SU  
 ‘The children did not have white collars.’
- (4.691) na      rāh-e      piš      dāšt-and      na      rāh-e      pas.  
 not way-EZ forward have.PAST-3PL.SU not way-EZ backward  
 ‘They could neither go forward nor backward.’
- (4.692)

‘.’

## 4.4 Sentence types

### 4.4.1 Declarative sentence types

Existential clause (with predicator), Presentational clause (with predicator), Equational clause (with copula), Locational clause (with copula), Possessive clause (with copula), Predicate nominal clause (with copula), Predicate adjectival clause (with copula), Subjectless clause (with verb), Intransitive clause (with verb), Transitive clause (with verb)

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).

(4.693)

‘.’

### 4.4.2 Interrogative sentence

Persian uses two basic types of interrogative sentence: yes-no questions and question-word questions.

#### 4.4.2.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions may be classified as neutral, where no particular answer is expected, and leading, where either an affirmative or a negative answer is expected.

##### 4.4.2.1.1 Neutral yes-no questions

There are two structures associated with neutral yes-no questions. The most common strategy for asking yes-no questions, for both formal and informal contexts, is to use rising

intonation. The word order of a rising-intonation yes-no question is identical to that of the corresponding declarative sentence.

(4.694) mive xarid-i (standard intonation)  
fruit buy.PAST-2SG.SU  
'You bought some fruit.'

(4.695) mive xarid-i? (rising intonation)  
fruit buy.PAST-2SG.SU  
'You bought some fruit?'

A second, though quite formal, neutral yes-no question construction is sentence-initial placement of *āyā* followed by a declarative sentence with rising intonation. [Note: Dehghani (2001: 29) says the *āyā* form is never used in spoken Persian.] The questioner using *āyā* has no expectation concerning the answer but is neutrally asking for information in the form of a yes answer or a no answer.

(4.696) āyā in gorbe=ye šomāst?  
Q this cat=EZ 2PL.be.PRES.3SG.SU  
'Is this your cat?'

#### 4.4.2.1.2 Leading yes-no questions

The sentence-initial word *mage* corresponds roughly to sentence-final tag-question constructions in English such as *didn't he*, or the French *n'est-ce pas*. Leading questions are formed with *mage* in sentence-initial position followed by a declarative sentence construction uttered with a rising intonation. Question words (see XXX) cannot be used with *mage*. A speaker using *mage* with a positive sentence assumes the answer will be negative while using *mage* with a negative sentence assumes a positive answer. See XXX regarding answers to leading questions.

(4.697) mage in gorbe=ye to-e?  
mage this cat=EZ 2SG-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
'Is this cat yours?' (expecting a negative answer)

(4.698) mage un māšin=e to nist?  
mage that car=EZ 2SG NEG.be.PRES.3SG.SU  
'Isn't that car yours?' (expecting a positive answer)

#### 4.4.2.1.3 Alternative questions

The purpose of alternative questions is to make the respondent choose between two contrasting propositions. As in yes-no questions, rising intonation is required and answers will either overtly or by implication include 'yes' and 'no' as part of the response. Alternative questions are optionally introduced with the question word *āyā*, and always end with the *yā na*, 'or not'. It should be noted that *āyā* would only be used in informal settings, for example during an interview.

(4.699) otāq=et=o tamiz kard-i yā na?  
room=2SG.POS=OM clean do.PAST-2SG.SU or no  
'Did you clean your room or not?'

(4.700) āyā in šaxs=o mi-šnās-id yā na?  
Q this person=OM IPFV-know.PRES-2PL.SU or no  
'Do you know this man or not?'



#### 4.4.2.2 Information questions

Information questions are expressed by interrogative pronouns in Persian. These are listed in Table 4.19 with the sentential function they can question in either the verbal or copular sentence.

**Table 4.19: Sentential Functions of Interrogatives**

Interrogative	Meaning	Verbal sentence function	Copular sentence function
<i>ki</i>	‘who?’	subject direct object indirect object	subject
<i>če</i>	‘what?’	subject	subject
<i>či</i>	‘what?’ (more coll.)	direct object indirect object	
<i>če/či kār kardan</i>	‘to do what?’	predicate	
<i>če/či šodan</i>	‘to happen what?’	predicate	
<i>kei</i>	‘when?’	temporal	temporal
<i>ke</i>	‘when?’ (more coll.)		
<i>kojā</i>	‘where?’	location	location
<i>kojā</i>	‘where?’	goal	
<i>be kojā</i>	‘to where?’	goal	
<i>kojāyi</i>	‘whence?’	source	source
<i>az kojā</i>	‘where from?’	source	
<i>četo(u)r</i>	‘how?’	manner	manner
<i>če jur</i>	‘how?’ (coll.)	manner	
<i>bā če/či</i>	‘with what?’	instrument	
<i>barāye ki</i>	‘for whom?’	benefactive	benefactive
<i>bā ki</i>	‘with whom?’	comitative	–
<i>ki</i>	‘whose?’	–	possessive
<i>māl=e ki</i>	‘whose property?’		
<i>az kojā</i>	‘how?’	means	means
<i>čērā</i>	‘why?’	reason	reason
<i>barāye che</i>	‘why?, what for?’		

Illustrative examples of each function are provided in 4.4.2.2.1-2. Rafiee (2001: 242) says question-word questions have a falling intonation the same as statements and the question-word normally carries the stress. This is different to English where the verb normally carries the stress. A stressed question-word in English would make the sentence sound rather aggressive but the Persian sentence is neutral.

- (4.701) *kojā* bud-i? (falling intonation)  
 where be.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘Where were you?’ but = ‘Where were you?’

Mahootian (1997: 11) says that the interrogative pronouns are not inflected, but Thackston (1993: 49) says interrogatives can be inflected for plural number.

- (4.702) *ānjā če-hā did-id?*  
 there what-PL see.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What all did you see there?’
- (4.703) *če-hā na-goft-am?*  
 what-PL NEG-see.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What all did I not say?’
- (4.704) *ki-hā raft-and?*  
 who-PL go.PAST-3PL.SU  
 ‘Who (all) went?’
- (4.705) *kojā-hā bud-e id?*  
 where-PL be-PSPT be.PRES.2PL.SU  
 ‘Where all have you been?’

#### 4.4.2.2.1 Interrogatives in the verbal sentence

We give below the functions in the verbal sentence that can be replaced by an interrogative element. The interrogative elements are indicated for each function.

Mahootian (1997: 11) says the unmarked position for the interrogative is usually the same as the element it replaces in the declarative sentence. However, interrogative elements can be front-shifted for focus purposes (see XXXX).

##### Subject questioned

*ki* ‘who?’, *če* ‘what?’, *či* ‘what?’ (more coll.)

- (4.706) *ki māšin=o be man dād?*  
 who car=OM to 1SG give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Who gave me the car?’ (Mahootian)
- (4.707) *ki āqolo=rā tu in šab=e barfi tahā mi-zār-e?*  
 who sheep.pen=OM in this night=EZ snowy alone IPFV-put.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘Who will leave the sheep-pen alone in such a snowy night?’
- (4.708) *če ru=ye miz mi-mun-e?*  
 what on=EZ table IPFV-remain.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘What is laying on the table?’
- (4.709)
- ‘.’

##### Direct object questioned

*ki* ‘who?’, *če* ‘what?’, *či* ‘what?’ (more coll.)

- (4.710) *ki did-i?*  
 who see.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘Who did you see?’
- (4.711) *reza či be man dād?*  
 Reza what to 1SG give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘What did Reza give me?’ (Mahootian)
- (4.712) *emruz fariborz barā=ye širin či dorost kard?*  
 today Fariborz for Shirin what correct do.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Today, what did Fariborz make for Shirin?’ (Mahootian)

- (4.713) ru=ye sim *če* mi-bin-i?  
 on=EZ wire what IPFV-see.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘What do you see on the wire?’

(4.714)  
 ‘.’

#### Indirect object questioned

*be ki* ‘to whom?’

- (4.715) reza māšin=o be *ki* dād?  
 Reza car=OM to who give.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘To whom did Reza give the car?’

(Mahootian)

(4.716)  
 ‘.’

#### Predicate questioned

*če/či kār kardan* ‘to do what?’, *če/či šodan* ‘to happen what?’

- (4.717) emruz fariborz barā=ye širin *či* kār kard?  
 today Fariborz for Shirin what work do.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Today, what did Fariborz do for Shirin?’

(Mahootian)

- (4.718) dār-i *če* kār mi-kon-i  
 have.PRES-2SG.SU what work IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘What are you doing?’

- (4.719) dast=et *če* šod-e Ø?  
 hand=2SG.POS what become-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘What has happened to your hand?’

(4.720)  
 ‘.’

#### Temporal questioned

*kei* ‘when?’, *ke* ‘when?’ (more coll.)

- (4.721) *ke* fariborz barā=ye širin sobune dorost kard?  
 when Fariborz for Shirin breakfast correct do.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘When did Fariborz make breakfast for Shirin?’

(Mahootian)

- (4.722) ali *kei* āmad?  
 Ali when come.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘When did Ali come?’

(Thackston)

- (4.723) to az *ke* tā hālā ālem va filosof šod-e i?  
 2SG from when til now scholar and philosopher become-PSPT be.PRES.2SG.SU  
 ‘Since when did you become a scholar and philosopher?’

(4.724)  
 ‘.’

Location questioned*kojā* ‘where?’

- (4.725) *kojā kār mi-kon-id?*  
 where work IPFV-do.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘Where do you work?’ (Rafiee)

- (4.726) *kojā=ye xiābān=e mehr hast-id?*  
 where=EZ street=EZ Mehr be.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Where in Mehr Street are you located?’ (Rafiee)

- (4.727) *kojā=etun dard mi-kon-e?*  
 where=2PL.O pain IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘Where do you feel the pain?’ (Haim)

- (4.728) *to kojā, injā kojā?*  
 2SG where here where  
 ‘What are you doing here?’

(4.729)

‘.’

Goal questioned*kojā* ‘where, where to?’ *be kojā* ‘to where’

- (4.730) *sobh=e be in zudi kojā mi-xāh-i be-rav-i?*  
 morning=EZ to this soon where IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU SBJN-go.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Where do you want to go at this hour of the morning?’

- (4.731) *dār-i be kojā mi-r-i?*  
 have.PRES-2SG.SU to where IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Where are you going to?’ (\*\*check if this is possible\*\*)

(4.732)

‘.’

Source questioned*kojāyi* ‘whence?’, *az kojā* ‘where from?’

- (4.733) *kojāyi ast?*  
 whence be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘Where is he from?’ (Haim)

- (4.734) *kafš-ā=t=o az kojā gereft-i?*  
 shoe-PL=2SG.POS=OM from where get.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘From where did you get your shoes?’ (Mahootian)

(4.735)

‘.’

Manner questioned*četo(u)r* ‘how?’, *če jur* ‘how?’ (coll.)

- (4.736) *čətor* mi-šav-ad farāmuš=et kon-im?  
 how IPFV-become.PRES-3SG.SU forgotten=2SG.O do.PRES-1P.SU  
 ‘How could we forget you?’
- (4.737) to *čətor* ne-mi-bin-i?  
 2SG how NEG-IPFV-see.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘How can you not see?’
- (4.738) *čətor* zarf=e čand sānie yek-i-eš za’if šod?  
 how during=EZ few second one-IND-2SG.POS weak become.PAST-3SG.SU  
 ‘How come in just a few seconds one eye has become weak?’
- (4.739) *čətor* az donyāgardi dam mi-zan-id?  
 how about world.travel breath IPFV-hit.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘How can you blow hot air about world travel?’
- (4.740) *čətor*-i mi-xāh-i mähixvār=rā bo-koš-i?  
 how-be.PRES.2SG.SU IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU heron=OM SBJN-kill.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘How do you intend to kill the heron?’
- (4.741) *če* jur-i mi-tavān-i  
 what kind-be.PRES.2SG.SU IPFV-able.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ānjā bud-e bāš-i?  
 there be-PSPT be(SBJN)-2SG.SU  
 ‘How (lit. what way) could you have been there?’
- (4.742)
- ‘.’

#### Instrument questioned

*bā če/či* ‘with what?’

- (4.743) *čub*=o *bā* *či* borid.  
 wood=OM with what cut.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘With what did she cut the wood?’
- (4.744)
- ‘.’

#### Benefactive questioned

*barāye ki* ‘for whom?’

- (4.745) *emruz* fariborz *barā=ye ki* sobune dorost kard?  
 today Fariborz for who breakfast correct do.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Today, for whom did Fariborz make breakfast?’ (Mahootian)
- (4.746)
- ‘.’

#### Comitative questioned

*bā ki* ‘with whom?’

- (4.747) *bā ki raft-i tehrān?*  
 with who go.PAST-2SG.SU Tehran  
 ‘With whom did you go to Tehran?’

(4.748)

‘?’

#### Means questioned

*az kojā* ‘how?’

- (4.749) *az kojā puldār šod?*  
 from where wealthy become.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘How (lit. where from) have you become wealthy?’ (Haim)

(4.750)

‘?’

#### Reason questioned

*čerā* ‘why?’, *barāye che* ‘why?, what for?’. A point to note with *čerā* ‘why?’ is that it appears that when it is in an affirmative sentence it occurs after the direct object, as in (4.751) and (4.752) but when it occurs in a negative sentence it occurs at the beginning of the sentence, as in (4.753) and (4.754). [Thackston (1993: 8) says *čerā* ‘why?’ often comes at the beginning of a sentence, but his example of this is negative.]

- (4.751) *in bačče=rā čerā digar hamrāh=e xod=etān āvord-id?*  
 this child=OM why other companion=EZ self=2PL.POS bring.PAST-2P.SU  
 ‘Why did you bring this boy along with you?’

- (4.752) *man=o čerā gāz mi-gir-i*  
 1SG=OM why biting IPFV-take.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Why are you biting me?’

- (4.753) *čerā marā zende-zende qurat ne-mi-dah-i?*  
 why 1SG.OM alive-alive gulp NEG-IPFV-give.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Why don’t you swallow me alive?’

- (4.754) *čerā be bačče-hā=t rahm ne-mi-kon-i?*  
 why to child-PL=2SG.POS mercy NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Why are you not showing mercy to your children?’

- (4.755) *barā=ye če vel-eš kard-i?*  
 for=EZ what release-3SG.DO do.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘What did you let it go for?’

(4.756)

‘?’

#### 4.4.2.2.2 Interrogatives in the copular sentence

The subject, temporal, location, source, manner, benefactive, possessive, means and reason functions can all be questioned in the copular sentence. The interrogative element is italicized in the following examples. Note that the interrogative is not inflected. In the present tense a form of *budan*, the verb ‘to be’, is cliticized to the interrogative element.

Subject questioned

*ki* ‘who?’, *če* ‘what?’, *či* ‘what?’ (more coll.)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(4.757) a. <i>ki</i>-e?<br/>who-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘Who is it?’</p> <p>(4.758) a. <i>či</i>-e?<br/>what-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘What is it?’</p> | <p>b. <i>ki</i> bud?<br/>who be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘Who was it?’</p> <p>b. <i>či</i> bud?<br/>what be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘What was it?’</p> |
|---|---|

Temporal questioned

*kei* ‘when?’, *ke* ‘when?’ (more coll.)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(4.759) a. <i>kei</i>-e?<br/>when-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘When is it?’</p> | <p>b. <i>kei</i> bud?<br/>when be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘When was it?’</p> |
|---|--|

Location questioned

*kojā* ‘where?’

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(4.760) a. <i>kojā</i>-yi?<br/>where-be.PRES.2SG.SU<br/>‘Where are you?’</p> | <p>b. <i>kojā</i> bud-i?<br/>what be-PAST.2SG.SU<br/>‘Where were you?’</p> |
|---|--|

Source questioned

*kojāyi* ‘whence?’

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(4.761) a. <i>kojāyi</i> ast?<br/>whence be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘Where is he from?’</p> | <p>b. <i>kojāyi</i> bud?<br/>whence be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘Where was he from?’</p> |
|--|---|

Manner questioned

*četo(u)r* ‘how?’, *če jur* ‘how?’ (coll.)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(4.762) a. <i>če-to(u)r</i>-e?<br/>what-way-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘How is it?’</p> | <p>b. <i>če-to(u)r</i> bud?<br/>what-way be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘How was it?’</p> |
|--|---|

Benefactive questioned

*barāye ki* ‘for whom?’

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(4.763) a. <i>barāye ki</i>-e?<br/>for who-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘Who is it for?’</p> | <p>b. <i>barāye ki</i> bud?<br/>for who be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘Who was it for?’</p> |
|---|--|

Possessive questioned

*X=e ki* ‘whose?’, *māl=e ki* ‘whose?’

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(4.764) a. un sag=e <i>ki</i>-e?<br/>this dog=EZ who-be.PRES.3SG.SU<br/>‘Whose dog is that?’</p> | <p>b. un sag=e <i>ki</i> bud?<br/>this dog=EZ who be.PAST.3SG.SU<br/>‘Whose dog was that?’</p> |
|---|--|

- (4.765) a. un sag mal=e ki-e?  
 this dog property=EZ who-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 b. un sag mal=e ki bud?  
 this dog property=EZ who be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Whose dog was that?’

#### Means questioned

*az kojā* ‘how?’

- (4.766) *az kojā mi-dān-i donyā dast=e kist?*  
 from where IPFV-know.PRES-2SG.SU world hand=EZ who.be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘How (lit. where from) do you know whose the world is?’

(4.767)

‘.’

#### Reason questioned

*čērā* ‘why?’

- (4.768) a. *injā čērāst?* b. *injā čērā bud?*  
 here why.be.PRES.3SG.SU here why be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Why is he here?’ ‘Why was he here?’  
 (4.769) a. *čērā injā nist?* b. *čērā injā na-bud?*  
 why here NEG.be.PRES.3SG.SU why here NEG-be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Why is he not here?’ ‘Why was he not here?’

It seems to be the case that the interrogative always occurs in complement position in Persian copula constructions with the exception of reason. Here, when the sentence is affirmative *čērā* ‘why?’ occurs in complement position, but when the sentence is negative it is front-shifted. \*\*This hypothesis needs to be checked further.\*\*

- (4.770) *kār=etun ci-e?*  
 work=2PL.POS what-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘What is your work?’ (lit. ‘Your work is what?’)  
 (4.771) *un āqā ki bud?*  
 that gentleman who be.PAST.3SG.SU  
 ‘Who was that gentleman?’ (lit. ‘That gentleman was who?’)  
 (4.772) *hāl=etun čē-to(u)r-e?*  
 work=2PL.POS what-way-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘How is your health?’ (lit. ‘Your health is how?’)  
 (4.773) *bimārestān kojāst?*  
 hospital where.be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘Where is the hospital?’ (lit. ‘The hospital is where?’)  
 (4.774) *ruz=e tavallod=etun kei-e?*  
 day=EZ birth=2PL.POS when-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘When is your birthday?’ (lit. ‘Your birthday is when?’)  
 (4.775) *pas dusti barāye kei xub-e?*  
 so friendship for when good-be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘So when is friendship useful?’ (lit. ‘So friendship for when is it good?’)



#### 4.4.2.2.3 Interrogatives in the noun phrase

Information questions can also be expressed by interrogative adjectives in the noun phrase. The interrogative adjectives are: *če* ‘what?’, *kodum* ‘which?’, *čand* ‘how much’, *čand/čand tā* ‘how many’, *čeqadr* ‘how much’. The following is from Thackston (1993: 48-50).

##### če ‘what?’

When the unmodified noun following *če* is construed as non-specific it does not take *=rā* when it is direct object.

- (4.776) *če ketāb=i xānd-id?*  
 what book=IND read.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What book did you read?’
- (4.777) *če ketāb-hā=i xānd-e id?*  
 what book-PL=IND read-PSPT be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What books have you read?’

However, a modified noun in this construction is usually construed as specific and thus requires *=rā* when direct object even though it bears the indefinite clitic required by *če*.

- (4.778) *če šahr=e bozorg=i=rā did-i?*  
 what city=EZ big=IND=OM see.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘What big cities did you see?’
- (4.779) *če ketāb-hā=ye mohemm=i=rā xānd-e id?*  
 what book-PL=EZ important=IND=OM read-PSPT be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What important books have you read?’

Likewise, unmodified nouns take the object marker when construed as specific.

- (4.780) *če ketāb=i=rā xānd-e id?*  
 what book=IND=OM read-PSPT be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘What (particular) book have you read?’

##### kodum ‘which?’

The interrogative adjective *kodum* ‘which?’ precedes the noun it modifies. As direct objects, nouns modified by *kodum* are construed as specific and require *=rā*.

- (4.781) *kodum ketāb-hā=rā xānd-e id?*  
 which book-PL=OM read-PSPT be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘Which books have your read?’
- (4.782) *kodum šahr=e bozorg=rā did-i?*  
 which city=EZ big=OM see.PAST-2SG.SU  
 ‘Which big city did you see?’
- (4.783) *kodum behtar-e?*  
 which good.MORE-be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘Which is best?’

##### čand ‘how much?’

*čand* ‘how much’ is used only to qualify *pul* ‘money’.

- (4.784)

‘?’

čand/čand tā ‘how many?’

The interrogative *čand* (*tā*), invariably followed by the singular (or counting word and singular), expresses ‘how many?’ for countables. Note also the expression *čand vaqt* ‘how long’ and its derivatives, e.g. *čand vaqt piš* ‘how long ago’.

- (4.785) *čand* (tā) *barādar* *dār-id?*  
 how.many (CL) brother have.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’
- (4.786) *čand* *sāl* *dar* *irān* *bud-id?*  
 how.many year in Iran be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘How many years were you in Iran?’
- (4.787) *čand* *daf’e* *be* *ānjā* *raft-e* *id?*  
 how.many time to there go-PSPT be.PRES.2PL.SU  
 ‘How many times have you gone there?’
- (4.788) *čand* *vaqt* *dar* *irān* *bud-id?*  
 how.many time in Iran be.PAST-2PL.SU  
 ‘How long were you in Iran?’
- (4.789)

‘?’

čandom/čandomin ‘what number?, how many?’

The interrogative ordinal is *čandom*, which functions like ordinals in *-om*, or *čandomin*, which functions like ordinals in *-omin* (i.e. precedes the noun it qualifies).

- (4.790) *emruz* *čandom=e* *māh* *ast?*  
 day what.number=EZ month be.PRES.3SG.SU  
 ‘What day of the month is it today?’
- (4.791) *in* *čandom-in* *daf’e* *ast* *ke* *mi-yā-yad?*  
 this how.many-SPEC time be.PRES.3SG.SU CMPL IPFV-come.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘How many times has he come?’ (lit. ‘This is the ‘how-manyeth’ time he is coming?’)
- (4.792)

‘?’

čeqadr ‘how much?’

For measurable quantities, the interrogative *čeqadr* ‘how much?, what amount?’ is used and is followed directly by the noun without *ezāfe*.

- (4.793) *čeqadr* *šekar* *mi-xāh-id?*  
 how.much sugar IPFV-want.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘How much sugar do you want?’
- (4.794) *čeqadr* *āb* *xord-e* *id?*  
 how.much water eat-PSPT be.PRES.2PL.SU  
 ‘How much water have you drunk?’

- (4.795) yek māhi=ye kučulu čeqadr mi-tavān-ad  
 one fish=EZ small how.much IPFV-able.PRES-3SG.SU  
 birun az āb zende be-mān-ad?  
 outside from water alive SBJN-remain.PRES-3SG.SU  
 ‘How long can a little fish remain alive out of water?’

(4.796)

‘?’

#### 4.4.2.3 Echo questions

(4.797)

‘?’

#### 4.4.2.4 Clarification questions

(4.798)

‘?’

#### 4.4.3 Imperative sentence

Persian distinguishes imperatives from prohibitives (negative imperatives).

##### 4.4.3.1 Positive imperative forms

A positive imperative sentence is formed by adding *be-/bo-/bi-* to the present stem of a verb. (See XXX for the morphophonemics.) In some verbs, such as compounds using *kardan* ‘to do’, the *be* is optional. Imperatives use the second person. No personal suffix is used in the singular; in the plural the ordinary second person plural suffix *-id* is used. The form without the personal suffix is used when asking a close friend to do something. For a more formal request the suffix is used. (However, I notice that in texts the *-id* form is only used when the subject is actually plural.) With the imperative the subject pronoun is rarely used, except for emphasis. See 4.3.1.7.3 for more examples of imperatives.

- (4.799) se bār sut be-zan.  
 three time whistle IMP-hit.PRES  
 ‘Blow the whistle three times.’
- (4.800) dar=e xāne=rā mohkam be-band!  
 door=EZ house=OM tight IMP-close.PRES  
 ‘Close the door of the house tight!’
- (4.801) u=rā be-gir-id  
 3SG=OM IMP-get-2PL.SU  
 ‘Get him!’ [Note: The subject here is actually plural.]
- (4.802) salām=e man=rā ham be shouhar=at be-resān  
 hello=EZ 1SG=OM also to husband=2SG.POS IMP-convey.PRES  
 ‘Convey my greetings also to your husband.’

- (4.803) bābā jān bi-yā pāyin!  
father dear IMP-come.PRES down  
'Dear father, come down!'
- (4.804) bi-yā be jangal  
IMP-come.PRES to forest  
'Come to the forest.'
- (4.805) be-bin āntaraf=e xiābān  
IMP-see.PRES that.side=EZ street  
'Look at the far side of the street.'
- (4.806) be-ist dar moqābel=e man hamčon gol-i dar čaman.  
IMP-stand.PRES in front=EZ 1SG like flower-IND on grass  
'Stand in front of me like a flower in a meadow.'
- (4.807) hālā bo-ro gašt=et=rā be-zan  
now IMP-go patrol=2SG.POS=OM IMP-hit.PRES  
'Go now and have your look around.'

With some compound verbs the *be-* 'imperative' prefix is omitted.

- (4.808) zud bar gard-id.  
soon IMP.return.PRES-2SG.SU  
'Return quickly.'
- (4.809) lotfan sabr kon-id.  
please patience IMP.do.PRES-2SG.SU  
'Please wait.'
- (4.810) marā āzād kon  
1SG.OM free IMP.do.PRES  
'Free me.'
- (4.811) xub, šomā-hā ta'erif kon-id  
well 2PL-PL narration IMP.do.PRES-2PL.SU  
'Well, you all recount what happened.'

#### 4.4.3.2 Negative imperative forms

In the negative imperative (prohibitive) the *na-* prefix is used instead of the *be-* prefix.

- (4.812) bixodi čarand na-gu.  
unnecessarily nonsense PROH-say.PRES  
'Don't say unnecessary nonsense.'
- (4.813) gul=eš=rā na-xor-id!  
fraud=3SG.POS=OM PROH-eat.PRES-2PL.SU  
'Don't swallow his trick!' [Plural subject]
- (4.814) harf=aš=rā na-zan  
word=3SG.POS=OM PROH-hit.PRES  
'Don't talk about him.'
- (4.815) digar xod=et=rā be ān rāh na-zan!  
other self=2SG.POS=OM to that road PROH-hit.PRES  
'Don't go any further down that road!'
- (4.816) xub marā āzād na-kon.  
fine 1SG.OM free PROH-do.PRES  
'Fine, don't free me.'

(4.817) mādar! barā=ye man gerie na-kon  
 mother for=EZ 1SG weeping PROH-do.PRES  
 ‘Mother! Don’t cry for me.’

(4.818) farāmuš=am na-kon-id!  
 forgotten=1SG.O PROH-do.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘Don’t forget me!’ [Plural subject]

(4.819)

‘.’

#### 4.4.4 Degrees of imperative

Expressions like *lotfan* ‘please’ or *xāheš mikonam* ‘you’re welcome, please’ can be used to soften an imperative.

(4.820) gol-ā=ro lotfan āb be-de.  
 flower-PL=OM please water IMP-give.PRES  
 ‘Water the flowers please.’

(4.821) lotfan kami sabr kon-id.  
 please little patience IMP.do.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘Please wait a while.’

(4.822) xāheš mikonam tohin na-kon-id.  
 please insult PROH-do.PRES-2PL.SU  
 ‘Please, don’t be rude.’

As in English, an imperative can be softened by using a question form. If the sentence has a regular interrogative intonation which rises at the end of the sentence, this would be interpreted as a request. If the stress is moved to the verb with the highest level of intonation on the *mi-* prefix, the request becomes an imperative.

(4.823) un panjara=ro mi-band-id lotfan?  
 that window=OM IPFV-close.PRES-2PL.SU please  
 ‘Will you close that window please.’

(4.824) mi-tun-i dar=o be-band-i?  
 IPFV-able.PRES-2SG.SU door=OM SBJN-close.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Can you close the door.’

The imperative can be emphasized using more volume, stress and intonation. Compare these sentences.

(4.825) nāhār=et=o bo-xor. (low fall intonation)  
 lunch=2SG.POS=OM IMP-eat.PRES  
 ‘Eat your lunch.’ (Request/order)

(4.826) nāhār=et=o bo-xor-i! (high fall intonation)  
 lunch=2SG.POS=OM IMP-eat.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Eat your lunch!’ (Don’t forget! Make sure you do it!)

(4.827) televizion=o xarāb na-kon. (low fall intonation)  
 television=OM break PROH-do.PRES  
 ‘Don’t break the television.’ (Request/pleading)

(4.828) televizion=o xarāb na-kon-i! (high fall intonation)  
 television=OM break PROH-do.PRES-2SG.SU  
 ‘Don’t break the television!’ (Warning! Be careful not to!)

#### 4.4.5 Hortative and jussive sentences

The imperative can be extended to first and third persons to express hortative and jussive sentences.

##### 4.4.5.1 Hortative sentences

The first person imperative is used to express the hortative.

- (4.829) be-r-im                      xune.  
IMP-go.PRES-1PL.SU house  
'Let's go home.'
- (4.830) hālā šām      bo-xor-im.  
now dinner IMP-eat.PRES-1PL.SU  
'Let us eat dinner now.'
- (4.831) hālā be-šin-im                      o      be-bin-im  
now IMP-sit.PRES-1PL.SU and IMP-see.PRES-1PL.SU  
bābā bozorg či      mi-g-and.  
father big      what IPFV-say.PRES-3PL.SU  
'Now let us sit and see what grandfather has to say.'
- (4.832) be-zār                      be-mir-am  
IMP-allow.PRES IMP-die.PRES-1SG.SU  
'Let me die.'

The same form can be used for consultation or suggestion.

- (4.833) emšab be-r-im                      sinemā?  
tonight IMP-go.PRES-1PL.SU cinema  
'Shall we go to the cinema tonight?'
- (4.834) yek čāyi=e dige be-riz-am?  
one tea=EZ other IMP-pour.PRES-1SG.SU  
'Shall I pour you another cup of tea?'

##### 4.4.5.2 Jussive sentences

The third person imperative is used to express the jussive.

- (4.835) be-r-and                      xune.  
IMP-go.PRES-3PL.SU house  
'Let them go home.'
- (4.836) bačče-hā šām      bo-xor-and.  
child-PL dinner IMP-eat.PRES-3PL.SU  
'Let the children eat dinner.'
- (4.837) āxar=e      hafte xoš      be-gzar-e.  
end=EZ week happy IMP-pass.by.PRES-3SG.SU  
'Have a nice weekend.'

#### 4.4.6 Other sentence types

The basic sentence types of declarative, interrogative and imperative have been describe above. Another type, which is much less frequent, is the formulaic subjunctive.

- (4.838) inšāllāh      be ārezu=t                      be-res-i.  
God willing to wish=2SG.POSS SBJN-arrive.PRES-2SG.SU  
'God willing, may you get what you want.'

#### 4.4.7 Indirect speech acts

Interrogative and declarative sentences can be used for other functions. Imperatives are restricted to an imperative function.

##### 4.4.7.1 Interrogative as imperative or request

With an ordinary interrogative intonation which rises at the end of the sentence, this would be interpreted as a request to close the door rather than as a query about the person's ability to close the door. If the stress is moved to *mi-tun-i* with the highest level of intonation on the imperfective prefix *mi-*, the request becomes an imperative.

- (4.839) *mi-tun-i*                      *dar=o*              *be-band-i?*  
 IPFV-able-2SG.SU door=OM SBJN-close.PRES-2SG.SU  
 'Can you close the door?'

##### 4.4.7.2 Declarative as imperative or request

In the following example, the speaker does not intend to make a statement of fact as much as order or ask the listener to turn off the light. There is little if any intonation or stress distinction between the declarative and imperative uses of this sentence.

- (4.840) *čerāq=o*    *rošan*    *gozošt-i*  
 light=OM on put.PRES-2SG.SU  
 'You left the light on.'

