

4.5 Coordination

The primary coordinating conjunctions are:

va ‘and’, *=o* ‘and’

yā ‘or’

yā ... *yā* ‘either, or’

yā *X yā* *Y* ‘either *X* or *Y*’

na ... *na* ‘neither ... nor’

na *X (va)* *na* *Y* ‘neither *X* nor *Y*’

ammā ‘but’

vali ‘but’

balke ‘but, rather, on the contrary’

ham ‘also’

ham *X (va)* *ham* *Y* ‘both *X* and *Y*’

na tanhā ... *balke* ... *(h)am* ‘not only but also’

4.5.1 Constituent/phrasal coordination

All major categories of the sentence can be coordinated. In the event that more than two elements are combined, the coordinator may be optionally omitted from between all but the last two elements in the series.

NP subjects or objects

The conjunctions *va* ‘and’ and *ham* ... *ham* ... ‘both ... and ...’ and the connective clitic *=o* ‘and’ may be used with any combination of full or pronominal subject noun phrases or object noun phrases. Of the two ‘and’ coordinators, the clitic *=o* is preferred in most instances of informal speech. Note that when the first person pronoun is used, it occurs as the first element in the conjunction, preceding the coordinator, as in (567).

- (4.567) *man=o mādar=am hamqad-im.*
 1SG=and mother=1SG.POS same.height-be.PRES.1PL.SU
 ‘My mother and I are the same height.’

- (4.568) *minā=o behruz ne-mi-yā-n emšab.*
 Mina=and Behruz NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-3PL.SU tonight
 ‘Mina and Behruz won’t come tonight.’

- (4.569) *parvin mi-xād sirus=o šahin=o be-bin-e.*
 Parvin IPFV-want.PRES.3SG.SU Cyrus=and Shahin=OM SBJN-see.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Parvin wants to see Cyrus and Shahin.’

- (4.570) *ham man ham iraj operā dust dār-im.*
 also 1SG also Iraj opera friend have.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘Both Iraj and I like opera.’

Coordinating more than two NP subjects or objects

The conjunction *va* or the particle *=o* is optional before each conjoined element except for the last element, which must be preceded by *va* or *=o*.

- (4.571) *minā=o siāmak=o dānā=o jahān raft-and kuh navardi.*
 Mina=and Siamak=and Dana=and Jahan go.PAST-3PL.SU mountain climbing
 ‘Mina and Siamak and Dana and Jahan went mountain climbing.’

- (4.572) minā, siāmak, dānā va/=o jahān raft-and kuh navardi.
Mina Siamak Dana and Jahan go.PAST-3PL.SU mountain climbing
'Mina, Siamak, Dana and Jahan went mountain climbing.'
- (4.573) ali basse-hā qotii-hā va ketāb-ā=ro dād be man.
Ali package-PL box-PL and book-PL=OM give.PAST.3SG.SU to 1SG
'Ali gave the packages, boxes and books to me.'

Coordinating VPs

The conjunction *va* 'and' and the connective clitic *=o* 'and' are used to coordinate two or more verb phrases to express sequential events involving the same subject. In informal speech the connective clitic is preferred to the conjunction *va*.

- (4.574) doxtar=e vāred šod=o nešast.
girl=DEF enter become.PAST.3SG.SU=and sit.PAST.3SG.SU
'The girl entered and sat down.'
- (4.575) hosein dar=o bāz kard=o raft birun.
Hosain door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU go.PAST.3SG.SU out
'Hosain opened the door and went out.'
- (4.576) doxtar=e vāred šod nešast va
girl=DEF enter become.PAST.3SG.SU sit.PAST.3SG.SU and
kafš-ā=š=o dar ovord.
shoe-PL=3SG.POS=OM out bring.PAST.3SG.SU
'The girl entered, sat down and took off her shoes.'

The coordinators *vali* and *ammā* 'but' are used to express a contrast between two verb phrases with the same subject.

- (4.577) hosein dar=o bāz kard vali na-raft birun.
Hosain door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU but NEG-go.PAST.3SG.SU out
'Hosain opened the door but did not go out.'

Coordinating adjectives and adverbs

Attributive and predicate adjectives as well as adverbs can be coordinated via the use of the connective clitic *=o* 'and' and the conjunction *va* 'and'. The conjunction *vali* 'but' is also used with adjectives.

- (4.578) doxtar=e qadboland=o/va bārik=i bud
girl=EZ tall=and slender=in be.PAST.3SG.SU
'She was a tall and slender girl.'
- (4.579) yavāš=o/va molāyem sohbat kard.
slow=and calm conversation do.PAST.3SG.SU
'She spoke slowly and calmly.'

The coordinator *vali* 'but' is used to express conflicting or contradictory qualities.

- (4.580) doxtar=e zibā vali badaxlāq=i
girl=EZ beautiful but ill-tempered=IND
'a beautiful but ill-tempered girl'
- (4.581) servatmand vali kenes=e.
rich but stingy=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'He is rich but stingy.'

Predicate adjectives and adverbs can also be coordinated using *na...na...* 'neither...nor', *ham...ham...* 'both...and', and *yā...yā...* 'either...or'.

- (4.582) na boland na kutāh=e.
no tall no short=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'He's neither tall nor short.'
- (4.583) ham boland ham bārik=e.
also tall also short=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'She's both tall and slender.'
- (4.584) na tond na bā=deqat kār mi-kon-e.
no fast no with=precision work IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU
'He works neither fast nor carefully.'
- (4.585) ham tond ham bā=deqat kār mi-kon-e.
also fast also with=precision work IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU
'He works both fast and carefully.'

4.5.2 Coordination and accompaniment

Accompaniment is typically conveyed by means of the preposition *bā* 'with', which occurs between the two NPs. Note that the verb agrees in number and person with the noun phrase which precedes *bā*.

- (4.586) man bā farzād šām xord-am.
1SG with Farzad dinner eat.PAST-1SG.SU
'I ate dinner with Farzad.'

4.5.3 Structural parallelism and coordination

Structural parallelism is necessary to the extent that different word classes cannot be coordinated. Within word classes some restrictions apply. See the following sections for discussion and examples.

4.5.3.1 Adjectives and participial constructions

Adjectives and participial constructions can be coordinated freely.

- (4.587) qiyāfe=ye xošhāl=o xand-ān.
feature=EZ happy=and laugh-PSPT
'(a) happy and smiling look.'

4.5.3.2 Nouns and nominalized constructions

Nouns and nominalized constructions can be coordinated freely in the same manner that two or more nouns or other nominalized constructions are coordinated.

- (4.588) bahman=o darsxun=i beham ne-mi-xor-and.
Bahman=and studious=NOM together NEG-IPFV-eat.PRES-3PL.SU
'Bahman and studying don't go together.'
- (4.589) musiqi=o āvāz xund-an dust dār-e.
music=and song read-INF friend have.PRES-3SG.SU
'He likes music and singing.'
- (4.590) na musiqi na āvāz xund-an dust dār-e.
no music no song read-INF friend have.PRES-3SG.SU
'He doesn't like music and singing.'
- (4.591) musiqi raxs va/=o āvāz xund-an dust dār-e.
music dance and song read-INF friend have.PRES-3SG.SU
'He likes music, dance and singing.'

4.5.3.3 Different types of adverbials

Primarily due to pragmatic constraints, different types of adverbials such as adverbs of manner, time and degree cannot be coordinated with one another. However, adverbs of manner and participial adverb constructions can be coordinated freely by using the clitic *=o* or the conjunction *va*.

- (4.592) arum=*o* labxand zan-ān umad tu.
calm=*and* smile strike-PRPT come.PAST.3SG.SU in
'He came in calmly and smilingly.'

4.5.3.4 Active and passive verbs

Active and passive verbs can be coordinated.

- (4.593) māšin=*o* dozdid va towqif šod.
car=*OM* steal.PAST.3SG.SU and arrest become.PAST.3SG.SU
'He stole the car and was arrested.'

4.5.3.5 Other verb categories

- (4.594) dar zad umad tu va
door hit.PAST.3SG.SU come.PAST.3SG.SU in and
šuru kard be harf zad-an.
begin do.PAST.3SG.SU to word hit-INF
'He knocked, came in and started to talk.'

4.5.4 Omission of elements in major constituents

When major constituents are coordinated with the conjunction *va* 'and' or *=o* 'and', under identity certain elements may be omitted from the coordinated constructions. Other coordinators such as *na...na* 'neither...nor' or *yā...yā* 'either...or' do not permit such omissions.

Noun phrases

When two noun phrases are coordinated, the indefinite determiner *yek* 'one, a' may be optionally omitted from the second noun phrase. Compare examples (4.595a) and (4.595b).

- (4.595) a. ye pesar va/*=o* ye doxtar
a boy and a girl
'a boy and a girl'
b. ye pesar va/*=o* doxtar
a boy and girl
'a boy and (a) girl'

When the indefinite/specific suffix *=i* is used, it may also be omitted from all but the last noun phrase.

- (4.596) pesar va doxtar=*i*
boy and girl=*IND*
'(a) boy and a girl'

While more than two noun phrases can be coordinated, typically not more than two are coordinated when one of the above types of omissions is applied.

Another element generally omitted under identity in coordinated noun phrases is the adjective. Any number of noun phrases sharing the same modifier may be coordinated, with the adjective occurring after the final noun via the *ezāfe* construction. In the following example, all but the last coordinator (*va* or *=o*) is optional.

Note, however, that when nouns are conjoined, the scope of the attributive adjective is ambiguous. In example (4.597), *piran* ‘dress’ must be red, but the other nouns may or may not be red in an implicational relationship from left to right. That is, if *kafš* ‘shoe’ is interpreted as being red, then *kolāh* ‘hat’ must also be interpreted as red; redness of *kif* ‘purse’ entails redness of both *kafš* and *kolāh*.

- (4.597) kif=o/va kafš=o/va kolāh=o/va piran=e qermez.
 purse=and shoe=and hat=and dress=EZ red
 ‘the red purse, shoes, hat and dress’

Other modifiers such as quantifiers and superlatives may also be omitted under identity. Note that the resulting phrases are semantically ambiguous with respect to the scope of the modifier.

- (4.598) panj=tā miz=o sandali
 five=CL table=and chair
 ‘five tables and chairs’

Finally, when two or more noun phrases are coordinated via *va/=o* ‘and’, the definite object marker *=rā/=ro/=o* is omitted from all but the last NP.

- (4.599) kif=o kafš=o xarid-am.
 purse=and shoe=OM buy.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I bought the purse and shoes.’

Adjective and adverb phrases

When two or more adjective phrases or adverb phrases are coordinated, a shared intensifier may be omitted from all but the first adjective or adverb phrase. The resulting phrase is semantically ambiguous.

- (4.600) xeili bozorg=o sandgin
 very big=and heavy
 ‘very big and heavy.’
- (4.601) besiār tond=o bā=deqat
 very fast=and with=precision
 ‘very fast and precisely’

4.5.5 Omission of elements of sentences under identity in coordination

The subject, verb, verb phrase and adverb phrase may be omitted from the sentence under identity.

Omission of subject

In sentences coordinated with ‘and’ (*va* or *=o*), the subject of the second conjunct is obligatorily omitted when it is identical to the subject of the first conjunct.

- (4.602) māryam āšpazi mi-kard=o be rādio guš mi-dād.
 Maryam cook IPFV-do.PAST.3SG.SU=and to radio ear IPFV-give.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Maryam was cooking and listening to the radio.’

Subjects, along with the VP (see VP deletion following), may undergo deletion under identity in compound sentences coordinated with ‘neither...nor (*na...na*)’:

- (4.603) dāriuš na musiqi dust dār-e na film.
 Dariush no music friend have.PRES-3SG.SU no film
 ‘Dariush likes neither music nor films.’

The subject of the second conjunct in *vali* and *ammā* ‘but’ coordinations is obligatorily deleted since it is identical to the subject of the first conjunct.

- (4.604) jafar dar=o bāz kard vali na-raft tu.
 Jafar door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU but NEG-go.PAST.3SG.SU in
 ‘Jafar opened the door but didn’t go in.’

Omission of the verb

Sentences coordinated with *va* ‘and’, *=o* ‘and’, or *na...na* ‘neither...nor’ which share the same verb can be gapped: the verb is omitted in the sentence which follows the conjunction.

- (4.605) purān ketāb mi-xund=o rezā ruznāme.
 Puran book IPFV-read.PAST.3SG.SU=and Reza newspaper
 ‘Puran was reading a book and Reza a newspaper.’
- (4.606) na film na tā’ātr dust dār-e.
 no film no theatre friend have.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘He doesn’t like film or theatre.’

In gapping constructions the locative preposition *be* ‘to’ cannot be omitted as it typically is in simple, noncompound sentences. Compare the simple sentence in (4.607) to the compound sentence in (4.608).

- (4.607) soheilā raft (be) bāzār.
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU (to) bazaar
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar.’
- (4.608) soheilā raft be bāzār=o simā be sinemā.
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU to bazaar=and Sima to cinema
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar and Sima to the cinema.’

More than two sentences may be coordinated and gapped.

- (4.609) širin māhi dorost kard aqdas halvā va rezā kabāb.
 Shirin fish fix do.PAST.3SG.SU Aqdas halva and Reza kebab
 ‘Shirin made fish, Aqdas halva and Reza kebab.’

Omission of the verb phrase

Sentences coordinated with *na...na* ‘neither...nor’ may also be gapped when the VPs of both sentences are the same. The VP refers to direct, indirect and oblique objects, adverbs and the verb. In example (4.611) the object and verb of the second conjunct (*bačče dār=i*) have been deleted under identity with the object and verb of the first conjunct. Note that VP-deletion occurs despite the fact that the deleted verb differs from the retained verb in person and number. In example (4.612) the adverb and verb of the second conjunct have been omitted, and in example (4.613) the direct object, the dative and the verb have been omitted from the second conjunct.

- (4.610) na man bačče dār-am na to bačče dār-i.
 no 1SG child have.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG child have.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I don’t have children and you don’t have children either.’
- (4.611) na man bačče dār-am na to.
 no 1SG child have.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG
 ‘I don’t have children and neither do you.’
- (4.612) na šeida tond rāh mi-r-e na maš’ud.
 no Shada fast way IPFV-go.PRES-3SG.SU no Masud
 ‘Neither Shada nor Masud walks fast.’

- (4.613) na minā hedyē barā=ye dāvud ovord na man.
 no Mina gift for Davud bring.PAST.3SG.SU no 1SG
 ‘Neither Mina nor I brought gifts for Davud.’

Omission of the adverb phrase

The adverb phrase of the second and subsequent conjuncts can be deleted when identical to the adverb phrase of the first conjunct. This type of construction is restricted to adverbs of time.

- (4.614) man emruz kār kard-am merdād dars xund va
 1SG today work do.PAST-1SG.SU Merdad lesson read.PAST.3SG.SU and
 farhād raft šenā.
 Farhad go.PAST.3SG.SU swimming
 ‘Today I worked, Merdad studied and Farhad went swimming.’

4.5.6 Sentence coordination

Sentence coordination is expressed with a number of forms. The most common are the coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and’, the connective clitic =*o* ‘and’, the adversative conjunctions *vali* and *ammā*, both meaning ‘but’ and the disjunctive conjunction *yā* ‘or’.

4.5.6.1 “and” coordination

The coordinating conjunction *va* ‘and’ and the connective clitic =*o* ‘and’ can connect any number of clauses or sentences. They are mutually exclusive with other coordinating conjunctions, such as *ammā* ‘but’, *vali* ‘but’, and *yā* ‘or’. The clitic =*o* is more common than the conjunction in informal speech. Conjoined sentences may be in a coordinating, causal or temporal relationship.

Coordination

- (4.615) man bālā=ro tamiz mi-kon-am va/=o
 1SG above=OM clean IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU and
 širin pāyin=o moratab mi-kon-e.
 Shirin below=OM neat IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘I’ll clean upstairs and Shirin will straighten up downstairs.’

- (4.616) man bālā=ro tamiz mi-kon-am va/=o
 1SG above=OM clean IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU and
 širin pāyin=o moratab mi-kon-e va/=o
 Shirin below=OM neat IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU and
 fereidun hayāt=o mi-šur-e.
 Feradun courtyard=OM IPFV-wash.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘I’ll clean upstairs and Shirin will straighten up downstairs and Feradun will wash the courtyard.’

When more than two sentences are being conjoined, the conjunction is usually unmentioned except for connecting the penultimate and the last sentences in the series. Often a brief pause signals the last sentence in the series and the *va* conjunction is used instead of the clitic =*o*.

- (4.617) man bālā=ro tamiz mi-kon-am,
 1SG above=OM clean IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU
 širin pāyin=o moratab mi-kon-e va
 Shirin below=OM neat IPFV-do.PRES-3SG.SU and
 fereidun hayāt=o mi-šur-e.
 Feradun courtyard=OM IPFV-wash.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘I’ll clean upstairs, Shirin will straighten up downstairs and Feradun will wash the courtyard.’

Cause and effect

- (4.618) ziādi mašrub xord=o hāl=eš bad šod.
 much alcohol eat.PAST.3SG.SU=and condition=3SG.POS bad become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He drank too much and got sick.’
- (4.619) raft-am šenā va sarmā xord-am.
 go.PAST-1SG.SU swimming and cold eat.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I went swimming and caught a cold.’

Temporal/sequential

Both *va* and *=o* convey events that take place sequentially.

- (4.620) dar=o bāz kard=o hame=ro davat kard tu.
 door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU everyone=OM invite do.PAST.3SG.SU in
 ‘He opened the door and invited everyone in.’
- (4.621) var=eš dāšt=o xord=eš.
 take=3SG.DO have.PAST.3SG.SU=and eat.PAST.3SG.SU=3SG.DO
 ‘She picked it up and ate it.’

Both *va* and *=o* can also be used to join two sentences where the second sentence modifies the information in the first.

- (4.622) do=tā sandali tu otāq bud va/=o ru=ye.
 two=CL chair in room be.PAST.3SG.SU and on=EZ
 har kodum ye bāleš=e turi bud.
 each one a cushion=EZ lacy be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘There were two chairs in the room and on each one was a lacy cushion.’

When the verbs are identical, gapping can occur in the coordinated sentences. The second sentence lacks the verb.

- (4.623) ali sib xord va/=o marzi hulu.
 Ali apple eat.PAST.3SG.SU and Marzy peach
 ‘Ali ate apples and Marzy peaches.’

When the allative preposition *be* ‘to’ is present, it cannot be omitted as it typically is in simple sentences. Compare the simple sentence in (4.624) to the compound sentence in (4.625).

- (4.624) soheilā raft (be) bāzār.
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU (to) bazaar
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar.’
- (4.625) soheilā raft be bāzār=o simā be sinemā.
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU to bazaar=and Sima to cinema
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar and Sima to the cinema.’

More than two sentences may be conjoined as full or gapped sentences. The conjunction *va* is commonly used rather than the clitic *=o* before the final sentence.

- (4.626) soheilā raft be bāzār, simā raft be sinemā
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU to bazaar Sima go.PAST.3SG.SU to cinema
 va rezā raft be madrese.
 and Reza go.PAST.3SG.SU to school
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar, Sima went to the movies and Reza went to school.’
- (4.627) soheilā raft be bāzār, simā be sinemā
 Sohala go.PAST.3SG.SU to bazaar Sima to cinema
 va rezā be madrese.
 and Reza to school
 ‘Sohala went to the bazaar, Sima to the movies and Reza to school.’

4.5.6.2 “but” coordination

The most common conjunctions in this category, *vali* ‘but’ and *ammā* ‘but’, are used to express comparative or adversative relations. *ammā* ‘but’ is the default and most neutral of the countering connectives. In texts the plot or situation is usually not moved on or developed when *ammā* ‘but’ is used. However, when *vali* ‘but’ occurs there is usually an overt or implied development of the event line.

(4.628) is an extract from *Seeking Forgiveness* by Sadeq Hedayat. Here the search for Mr. Aziz is not developed by ‘*ammā* (but) no trace of him was found’. The nondevelopment is expressed by a negative outcome.

- (4.628) az kafšdār va az ziāratnāme xān
 from shoe.keeper and from pilgrimage.report readers
 yek=i yek=i sorāq=e aziz āqā=rā gereft-and
 one-IND one-IND inquiry=EZ Aziz Mr.=OM take.PAST-3PL.SU
 va nešāni=ye u=rā juya šod-and.
 and address=EZ 3PL=OM enquiry become.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They asked everyone, from the mosque shoe guard to the clerics reciting pilgrimage reports and made enquiries regarding the whereabouts of Mr. Aziz.’
- ammā* asar=i az u be=dast na-yāmad.
 but trace=IND of 3SG to=hand NEG-come.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘But no trace of him was found.’

Contrast (4.628) with (4.629), an extract from *Medical Spectacles* by Khasru Shāhāni. Here *vali* ‘but’ introduces a new development that the protagonist now fears his right eye is bad as well as his left eye. He then sets about testing his right eye.

- (4.629) barā=ye peidā kard-an
 for find do-INF
 hadaf=e tāze=i be takāpu oftād-am
 target=EZ fresh=IND to search fall.PAST-1SG.SU
vali az bas houl šod-e bud-am
 but from plenty terrified become-PSPT be.PAST-1SG.SU
 češm=e rāst=am ham digar kār ne-mi-kard.
 eye=EZ right=1SG.POS also other work NEG-IPFV-do.PAST-3SG.SU
 ‘I began to search for a new target, but I had become so terrified that my right eye was not working either.’

Mahootian (1997: 75) says other, more formal or literary conjunctions, infrequently used in spoken Persian, are *balke* ‘but, on the contrary’ and *liken* ‘but, however’. However, we found that *balke* ‘but’ occurred in spoken texts as well as written texts. In these contexts it functioned as a negative-positive countering connective. An example of use in context from a spoken text is given in (4.630) and an example from a written text is given in (4.631).

- (4.630) '[NEG] You can't annoy me by forcing me to do things, insulting me and then making it alright again. On the contrary (*balke*), [POS] I wanted to show you that I can be a good student.'
- (4.631) 'Inside the four walls of the garden not only all of us children had a taste of [NEG] not sleeping in the afternoons and [NEG] not making noise during uncle's sleeping time, but (*balke*) [POS] the crows and doves were also barely visible in that area because uncle had shot at them with an air rifle a couple of times.'
- (4.632) na faqat mā balke hame=ye mardom bar asar=e
no only 1PL but all=EZ people up sign=EZ
in pišāmad mota'assef šod-and
this event regretful become.PAST-3PL.SU
'Not only we but all the people were grieved at this event.'

Lambton (2003 [1953]) also notes that *balke* is used after an expressed or implied negative. She also says that *balke* can be used to express the notion of emphatic countering. In (4.633) it is used after a rhetorical question to mean 'on the contrary' and with the affirmative verb in (4.634) it means 'nay, rather'.

- (4.633) eštebāh ya'ni če?
mistake that.is.to.say what
balke fel-vāqe' amdan in kār=rā kard-e id.
but contrary on.purpose this work=om do-pspt be.pres.2pl.su
'What do you mean, a mistake? On the contrary, you did it on purpose.'
- (4.634) in ketāb čehel riāl mi-arz-ad balke panjāh riāl.
this book forty rial IPFV-worth.PRES.3SG.SU but fifty rial
'This book is worth forty rials, nay rather fifty rials.'

In colloquial Persian *balke* is sometimes used in the sense of 'perhaps'.

- (4.635) balke āmad-e bāš-ad.
but come-pspt SBJN.be-3SG.SU
'Perhaps he has come.'

4.5.6.3 "or" coordination

The conjunction *yā* 'or' is the most common way to express disjunction between two clauses or sentences. When the single *yā* 'or' conjunction is used it expresses the unmarked disjunctive coordination. When repeated, as in *yā ... yā* it is the marked form and a separation between the conjuncts is expressed. This is translated into English as 'either ... or'. It is also common to use the compound conjunction *yā inke* 'or' in place of the second *yā ... yā*. When the verbs of both clauses are the same, the verb of the second clause in a *yā* compound is omitted or gapped. Because it is a coordinate relationship the omitted verb can be recovered from the context.

- (4.636) qave mi-xā-i yā čāi (mi-xā-i)?
coffee IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU or tea (IPFV-want.PRES-2SG.SU)
'Do you want coffee or tea?'
- (4.637) mi-tun-im injā be-mun-im yā mi-tun-im
IPFV-able.PRES-1PL.SU here SBJN-stay.PRES-1PL.SU or IPFV-able.PRES-1PL.SU
be-r-im sinemā.
SBJN-go.PRES-1PL.SU cinema
'We can stay here or we can go to the cinema.'
- (4.638) yā mi-r-am esfāhān yā (inke) (mi-r-am) širāz.
or IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU Isfahan or (IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU) Shiraz
'I'll either go to Isfahan or (I'll go to) Shiraz.'

When more than two elements are being coordinated, one coordinator is needed for each extra element:

- (4.639) yā mi-r-am esfāhān yā (inke) (mi-r-am) širāz
 or IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU Isfahan or (IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU) Shiraz
 yā (mi-r-am) tehrān yā mi-mun-am injā.
 or (IPFV-go.PRES-1SG.SU) Tehran or IPFV-stay.PRES-1SG.SU here
 ‘I’ll either go to Isfahan or (I’ll go to) Shiraz or (I’ll go to) Tehran or I’ll stay here.’

4.5.6.4 Other types of coordination

The negators *na...na* ‘neither...nor’ can be used to conjoin sentences. In this event the verb in both sentences are in the affirmative.

- (4.640) na man čizi ovord-am na to čizi dār-i.
 no 1SG thing bring.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG thing have.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I didn’t bring anything and neither do you have anything.’

When the VPs of both sentences are the same, gapping is possible. Compare examples (4.641) and (4.642). In (4.642) the verb and direct object are missing.

- (4.641) na man pul dār-am na to pul dār-i.
 no 1SG money have.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG money have.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I don’t have any money and neither do you have any money.’
- (4.642) na man pul dār-am na to
 no 1SG money have.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG
 ‘I don’t have any money and neither do you.’

When there are more than two elements to coordinate with *na...na* coordination, each element is introduced with a *na*. After the first sentence, verbs of subsequent conjoined sentences may be omitted if they are all the same.

- (4.643) na man pul dār-am na to
 no 1SG money have.PRES-1SG.SU no 2SG
 na mahin na hasan.
 no Mahin no Hasan
 ‘I don’t have any money and neither do you, nor Mahin, nor Hasan.’

The complex conjunctive expression *na tanhā ... balke ... (h)am* ‘not only but also’ can be used to extend a notion by providing supplementary information via the conjoined sentence:

- (4.644) na tanhā biadab e balke porru am hast.
 not alone rude be.PRES.3SG.SU but belligerent also be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Not only is he rude but he is also belligerent.’

Or it can be used correlatively:

- (4.645) na tanhā merabun=e balke puldār=am hast.
 no alone kind=be.PRES.3SG.SU but wealthy=also be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Not only is she kind but she is also wealthy.’

4.5.7 Juxtaposed clauses

Sequence of clause restrictions

(4.646) .

‘?’

4.5.8 Consecutive and/or serial verb constructions

Is there a verb construction where the verb is not marked for subject person and number distinctions and not marked as infinitive and occurs in a consecutive series of verbs? If so, describe.

(4.647) .

‘?’

4.6 Subordination

4.6.1 General markers of subordination

There are two main markers of subordination. First is the optional use of the complementizer *ke* ‘that’ to introduce nominal clauses.

- (4.648) fekr mi-kon-am (ke) šivā emšab mi-res-e.
 thought IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU (CMPL) Shiva tonight IPFV-arrive.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘I think (that) Shiva will arrive tonight.’

Another indicator that a clause is subordinate is the mood of the verb. Depending on the particular verb in the main clause and the degree of certainty about the truth of the proposition described in the subordinate clause, the subordinated verb may be in the subjunctive. Verbs such as *xāstan* ‘to want’, *tunestan* ‘to be able’, the impersonal constructions such as *momken-e* ‘maybe (it is possible)’, *emkān dār-e* ‘it is possible’ and *behtar-e* ‘it is better that’ as well as the negative form of *fekr kardan* ‘to think’ require that the verb of the subordinate clause be in the subjunctive mood.

- (4.649) fekr ne-mi-kon-am (ke) emšab bi-yād.
 thought NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU (CMPL) tonight SBJN-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘I don’t think (that) she will come tonight.’

Second, to introduce adjective clauses, the demonstrative particle =*i* is followed by the complementizer *ke*, resulting in a sequence =*i ke* ‘who/whom/that/which’.

- (4.650) māšīn=i ke diruz xarid-am
 car=DEM CMPL yesterday buy.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘the car that I bought yesterday’

Canonical word order within subordinate clauses is the same as in main clauses. In addition, most movement rules appear to be permitted in both main and subordinate clauses. However, at least one movement rule that applies in the main clause is not in a subordinate. Karimi (1989: 144-148) points out that verb preposing that results in V S PP order cannot occur in the subordinate clause. Also see XXX on relative pronouns.

As with direct and indirect speech (see 4.6.5), proximal deixis is also the only option available in Persian for the tense specification in complements of verbs of perception, such as seeing, hearing, knowing, guessing, understanding, thinking, etc. In (4.651) it would be unacceptable to have the complement verb in the past tense as *nabud* ‘it was not’, in the same way as it would be unacceptable to have the complement verb in the present tense in the

English translation. The same applies to each of the other examples (4.652) - (4.654). In each case a past tense form would be unacceptable in the complement of the Persian expression and vice-versa a present tense form would be unacceptable in the complement of the English translation.

- (4.651) *did-am dar gonješk bud-an=aš harf=i nist (*nabud).*
 see.PAST-1SG.SU in sparrow be-INF=3SG.POS word=IND NEG.be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'I saw there was (*is) no doubt of it being a sparrow.'

From Medical Spectacles by Khasru Shāhāni

- (4.652) *šenid-am ke mariz-id (*mariz bud).*
 hear.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL ill.PRES-3SG.SU
 'I heard you were (*are) ill.'

- (4.653) *mi-dānest-am ke šomā ne-mi-yā-id (*nemi-yāmadid).*
 IPFV-know.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL 2SG NEG-IPFV-come.PRES-2SG.SU
 'I knew you weren't (*aren't) coming.'

- (4.654) *dabir-e `arabi-ye mā fekr kard*
 teacher-EZ Arabic-EZ 1PL thought do.PAST.3SG.SU
*ke in aziat va āzar=rā man mi-kon-am (*mikardam).*
 CMPL this annoyance and harm=OM 1SG IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU
 'My Arabic teacher thought that I was (*am) doing this mischief and trouble.'

From My Arabic Teacher

4.6.2 Noun clauses

Complement clauses

Indicative complement clauses

Subjunctive complement clauses

Infinitive complement clauses

Nominalized complement clauses

Participial complement clauses

4.6.2.1 Marking of noun clause

Subordinate noun clauses generally immediately follow the main clause, although in the case of nominal relative clauses the subordinate clause precedes the main verb. NP complements are introduced with the optional complementizer *ke* 'that' or other subordinators such as WH-words, *age* 'if' and *āyā* 'whether'. Subordinate noun clauses are unmarked for case. As in the main clause, the word order in subordinate clauses follows the canonical SOV word order, where pronominal subjects may be deleted.

4.6.2.2 Types of noun clauses

The following types of noun clause exist:

ke-clauses

ke is optional when the *ke* clause is object or complement.

- (4.655) *malum-e (ke) mariz-e.*
 obvious-be.PRES.3SG.SU (CMPL) sick-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'It is obvious (that) he's sick.'

- (4.656) mi-dunest-am (ke) dir mi-res-i.
 IPFV-know.PAST-1SG.SU (CMPL) late IPFV-arrive.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I knew that you would arrive late.’

When the clause is a subject NP the use of *ke* is obligatory.

- (4.657) ke hanuz zendast mojezast.
 CMPL still alive.be.PRES.3SG.SU miracle.be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘That she is still alive is a miracle.’

WH-interrogative clauses

A WH-interrogative subordinate clause is introduced with a WH-word and follows the main clause.

- (4.658) ne-mi-fahm-am čerā in=o xarid.
 NEG-IPFV-understand.PRES-1SG.SU why this=OM buy.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘I don’t understand why you bought this.’
- (4.659) ne-mi-dun-am ketāb-a=ro be ki dād.
 NEG-IPFV-know.PRES-1SG.SU book-PL=OM to who give.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘I don’t know who he gave the books to.’

Nominal relative clauses

Nominal relative clauses precede the main verb. They are introduced with a WH-element plus an optional *ke*.

- (4.660) har čeqad (ke) pul mi-xā-i
 however much (CMPL) money IPFV-want.PRES-3SG.SU
 be=het mi-d-am.
 to=2SG.IO IPFV-give.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I will give you however much money you want.’
- (4.661) in=o be har kesi (ke) avval mi-res-e be-de.
 this=OM to whoever (CMPL) first IPFV-arrive.PRES-3SG.SU IMP-give
 ‘Give this to whoever arrives first.’

Yes/no (if/whether) interrogative clauses

Yes/no interrogative subordinate clauses follow the main clause and are introduced by the informal *age* or the more formal *āyā*, both meaning ‘if, whether’.

- (4.662) mi-dun-i age/āyā vaqt dār-im?
 IPFV-know.PRES-2SG.SU if time have.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘Do you know if you have time?’

Nonfinite clauses

Mahootian (1997: 31) says nonfinite subordinate noun clauses cannot be formed in Persian.

Indirect statements

See XXX

Indirect questions

An indirect question follows the main clause, optionally introduced with *ke* ‘that’. Word order within the indirect question is the same as in direct questions (see XXX for a discussion of different types of interrogative sentences).

- (4.663) ali porsid čerā maryam ne-mi-yād.
 Ali ask.PAST.3SG.SU why Maryam NEG-IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Ali asked why Maryam isn’t coming.’

Indirect commands

The indirect command is optionally introduced with *ke* ‘that’ and follows the main clause. The subordinated verb takes the subjunctive mood and can be inflected for any person and number.

- (4.664) be to goft (ke) be-r-i.
 to 2SG say.PAST.3SG.SU (CMPL) SBJN-go.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘She told you not to go.’

Nonfinite noun clauses

There are no nonfinite subordinated nominal clauses.

4.6.3 Adjective (Relative) clauses

Relative clauses

Position of relative clause with respect to head noun

Relativization strategy(ies) followed

Extent of relativization allowed

Non-restrictive relative clause

Infinitival relative clause

Internal relative clause

- (4.665) .

‘?’

4.6.4 Adverbial clauses

Describe the types of adverbial clauses and how they are expressed. cf. with adverbial modifiers of the sentence.

Time adverbial clauses

Location adverbial clauses

Manner adverbial clauses

Purpose adverbial clauses

Reason adverbial clauses

Circumstantial adverbial clauses

Simultaneous adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses

Concessive adverbial clauses

Substitutive adverbial clauses

Additive adverbial clauses

Absolutive adverbial clauses

4.6.4.1 Marking and position

Adverb clauses are generally introduced by an adverbial relativizer of time, manner, cause, etc. Most types of adverb clauses may precede or follow the main clause (although the former is far more common in texts than the latter).

(4.666) *vaqti ke vāred šod hame dast zad-and.*
 time CMPL enter become.PAST.3SG.SU all hand hit.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘When she entered everyone clapped.’

(4.667) *hame dast zad-and vaqti ke vāred šod.*
 all hand hit.PAST-3PL.SU time CMPL enter become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Everyone clapped when she entered.’

4.6.4.2 Different types of adverbial clause

4.6.4.2.1 Adverbial clauses of time

Adverbial clauses of time are introduced by one of several adverbial subordinators such as *vaqti (ke)* ‘when’, *har vaqti (ke)* ‘whenever, every time’, *hargā (ke)* ‘every time’, *piš az inke* ‘before’, *qabl az inke* ‘before’, *bad az inke* ‘after’, *tā* ‘as soon as’, *az moqe ike* ‘since’ and others. Note that the subordinating conjunction *ke* ‘that’ is optional in the first three items.

Adverbial clauses of time commonly precede the main clause but may occasionally follow it (see examples (4.666) and (4.667)). Past, present and future are distinguished from each other via the tense, aspect or mood of the verb in the adverbial clause, the verb in the main clause, and the nature of the adverbial itself, i.e. whether it is referring to habitual action or a point in time.

(4.668) *har vaqt (ke) sedā=ye buq mi-yād mi-xand-e.*
 whenever (CMPL) sound=EZ horn IPFV-come.PRES.3SG.SU IPFV-laugh.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Whenever a horn sounds she laughs.’

(4.669) *bad az inke šām xord-i be man telefon be-zan.*
 after dinner eat.PAST-2SG.SU to 1SG telephone IMP-hit
 ‘After you have eaten dinner call me.’

(4.670) *tā resid telefon kard.*
 as soon as arrive.PAST.3SG.SU telephone do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He called as soon as he arrived.’

4.6.4.2.2 Manner

Clauses of manner are introduced by *hamuntor ke* ‘the same way that / exactly as’. The manner clause may precede the main clause, as in (4.671) or may appear in medial position after the direct object as in (4.672). If the main clause contains an oblique argument, the adverbial clause may also precede or follow that argument.

(4.671) *hamuntor ke nešun=et dād-am qalam=o be-gir.*
 same.way CMPL show=2SG.IO give.PAST-1SG.SU pen=OM IMP-get
 ‘Hold the pen the way I showed you.’

(4.672) *qalam=o hamuntor ke nešun=et dād-am be-gir.*
 pen=OM same.way CMPL show=2SG.IO give.PAST-1SG.SU IMP-get
 ‘Hold the pen the way I showed you.’

4.6.4.2.3 Purpose

Purpose clauses precede the main clause, use the subjunctive and are introduced by *tā* (*inke*) ‘so that / in order to’ or *ke* ‘that’.

- (4.673) einak=am=o zad-am tā be-tun-am
 glasses=1SG.POS=OM hit.PAST-1SG.SU so that SBJN-able.PRES-1SG.SU
 beh-tar be-bin-am.
 good-MORE SBJN-see.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I put my glasses on so I could see better.’

- (4.674) mahin=o ferestad be baqāli ke mast be-xar-e.
 Mahin=OM send.PAST.3SG.SU to corner CMPL yogurt SBJN-buy.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘She sent Mahin to the corner store to buy yogurt.’

While Mahootian (1997: 39) says that purpose clauses are as above she also says (pp. 156) that purpose is indicated by the preposition *barā=ye* ‘for’ and gives an example with an infinitive.

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

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

- (4.676) INFINITIVE PURPOSE MAIN VERB
 diruz be did-an-e u raft-am. *literary register*
 yesterday to see-INF 3SG go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘Yesterday I went to see him.’
- (4.677) INFINITIVE PURPOSE MAIN VERB
 diruz be did-an=eš raft-am. *more coll. register*
 yesterday to see-INF=3SG.DO go.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘Yesterday I went to see him.’
- (4.678) MAIN VERB INFINITIVE PURPOSE
 diruz raft-am did-an=eš. *most coll. register*
 yesterday go.PAST-1SG.SU see-INF=3SG.DO
 ‘Yesterday I went to see him.’

4.6.4.2.4 Cause clauses

The most common conjunction for introducing clauses of cause is *čun* ‘because, since’ and its variant, *čunke*. Compound phrases such as *be xāter=e* ‘because of’, *be dalil=e* ‘for the reason of’ are also used. Cause clauses introduced with *čun*, *be xāter=e* and *be dalil=e* typically precede the main clause while those introduced by *čunke* may follow or precede the main clause.

- (4.679) čun/čunke dir bud mund-im xune.
 since late be.PAST.3G.SU stay.PAST-1PL.SU home
 ‘Since it was late we stayed home.’
- (4.680) bā otobus raft-im čunke māšin na-dār-im.
 with bus go.PAST-1PL.SU because car NEG-have.PRES-1PL.SU
 ‘We went by bus because we don’t have a car.’
- (4.681) be xāter=e sardard=e šādīd be konsert na-raft.
 because of headache=EZ strong to concert NEG-go.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He didn’t go to the concert because of a bad headache.’

Note that in the ‘My Arabic Teacher’ spoken text *čun* ‘because, since’ typically occurs as the second element in the clause.

- (4.682) man ham čun xeili ān ruz nārāhat bud-am
 1SG also because very that day fed up be.PAST-1SG.SU
 digar hosele=yam sar raft.
 other patience=1SG.POS end go.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Since I was very fed up that day, I reached the end of my patience.’

4.6.4.2.5 Condition

Condition clauses are introduced chiefly by *age* ‘if’ and precede the main clause. (See XXX for different degrees of hypothetically.)

- (4.683) age bāham kār kon-im zud tamum mi-š-e.
 if together work SBJN.do.PRES-1PL.SU fast finish IPFV-become.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘If we work together it will get done quickly.’

A more formal, less frequently used conjunction is *čenānče* ‘if’. Adverbial clauses with *čenānče* also precede the main clause.

- (4.684) čenānče forsat dār-id be-r-id tabriz.
 if opportunity have.PRES-2PL.SU IMP-go.PRES-2PL.SU Tabriz
 ‘If you have the opportunity, go to Tabriz.’

Negative condition clauses may be introduced by *mage inke* ‘unless’ and follow the main clause, or they may be introduced by *tā* ‘until’ and precede the main clause.

- (4.685) kilid=o be=heš na-de mage inke pul=o be=het be-de.
 key=OM to=3SG.IO PROH-give unless money=om to=2SG.IO IMP-give
 ‘Don’t give him the key unless he gives you the money.’
- (4.686) tā šām na-xor-i deser be=het ne-mi-d-am.
 until dinner NEG-eat.PRES-2SG.SU dessert to=2SG.IO NEG-IPFV-give.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘If you don’t eat dinner I won’t give you dessert.’

4.6.4.2.6 Result clauses

Clauses of result follow the main clause and are mainly introduced by *betori ke* ‘so that’.

- (4.687) tā čand ruz faqat tamizkārī kard-im
 for several day only clean do.PAST-1PL.SU
 betori ke hamečiz barq mi-zad.
 so that everything shine IPFV-hit.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘All we did was clean for days so that everything shined.’

A more formal term used to introduce clauses of result is *dar asar=e* ‘as a result of’. These clauses precede the main clause.

- (4.688) dar asar=e gerdbād čandin deraxt az riše kande šod.
 as a result of tornado several tree from root picked become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of the tornado several trees were uprooted.’

4.6.4.2.7 Clauses of degree

4.6.4.2.7.1 Comparative clauses

The term *be qadrike* ‘as much as’ and *enqad ke* ‘as much as’ are used to introduce comparative adverbial clauses. Comparative adverbial clauses precede the main clause.

- (4.689) *be qadrike to mi-xāb-i man ne-mi-xāb-am.*
 as much as 2SG IPFV-sleep.PRES-2SG.SU 1SG NEG-IPFV-sleep.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I don’t sleep as much as you sleep.’
- (4.690) *enqad ke to varzeš mi-kon-i man ne-mi-kon-am.*
 as much as 2SG exercise IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU 1SG NEG-IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I don’t exercise as much as you do.’

4.6.4.2.7.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses are introduced with a *be qade* ‘the same as’ or *be qadrike* ‘as much as’, and a positive verb.

- (4.691) *jahān beqad-e bahman zur dār-e.*
 Jahan same as Bahman strength have.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Jahan has as much strength as Bahman.’

4.6.5 Nonfinite adverbial clauses

Nonfinite adverbial clauses can be formed from result clauses which are introduced by *dar asar=e* ‘as a result of’ and the infinitive form of a verb, which is used nominally. Infinitive adverbial clauses are not morphologically marked for tense, aspect, mood, person/number agreement.

- (4.692) *dar asar=e dars xund-an šāgerd avval šod.*
 as a result of lesson read-INF pupil first become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of studying, she became the number one student (in her class).’

The subject is obligatorily omitted from infinitival adverbial clauses when it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Compare examples (4.693) and (4.694). In example (4.693) the subjects of the main and adverbial clause are coreferential. In example (4.694) the subject of the adverbial clause is non-coreferential with the subject of the main clause and is expressed as a possessor in an *ezāfe* construction.

- (4.693) *dar asar=e xandid-an šadid deldard gereft.*
 as a result of laugh-INF intense stomachache get.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘She got a stomach ache from laughing so hard.’
- (4.694) *dar asar=e boland harf zad-an=e farzād*
 as a result of loud word hit-INF=EZ Farzad
sar=am dard gereft.
 head=1SG.POS ache get.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of Farzad’s talking so loud, I got a headache.’

Infinitives in adverb clauses can be modified by adverbs or adjectives.

- (4.695) *dar asar=e ziād dars xund-an šāgerd avval šod.*
 as a result of much lesson read-INF pupil first become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of studying a lot, she became the number one student (in her class).’
- (4.696) *dar asar=e dars xund-an=e dā’emi šāgerd avval šod.*
 as a result lesson read-INF=EZ constant pupil first become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of constant studying, she became the number one student (in her class).’

4.6.6 Sequence of tenses in adverbial clauses

Some finite adverbial clauses require a sequence of tenses between main and adverbial clauses.

Adverbial clauses of purpose

When adverbial purpose clauses are in the present subjunctive, the main clause can be in past, present progressive or future tense.

- (4.697) dār-am rādiyo=ro xāmuš mi-kon-am tā inke
 have.PRES-1SG.SU radio=OM off IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU so that
 be-tun-am be-xāb-am.
 SBJN-able.PRES-1SG.SU SBJN-sleep.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I’m turning the radio off so that I can sleep.’

- (4.698) rādiyo=ro kam mi-kon-am tā inke be-tun-i
 radio=OM less IPFV-do.PRES-1SG.SU so that SBJN-able.PRES-3SG.SU
 dars be-xun-i.
 lesson SBJN-read.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘I’ll turn the radio down so that you can study.’

The sequence can lead to potential ambiguity. The subordinate clause in sentence can refer to present or past time.

- (4.699) rādiyo=ro xāmuš kard-am tā inke be-tun-am
 radio=OM off do.PAST-1SG.SU so that SBJN-able.PRES-1SG.SU
 be-xāb-am.
 SBJN-sleep.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I turned the radio off so that I can/could sleep.’

Adverbial conditional clauses

The conditional adverbial clause is used in the subjunctive, while the main clause is in the present.

- (4.700) age be-mun-i xune man am mi-mun-am.
 if SBJN-stay.PRES-2SG.SU home 1SG also IPFV-stay.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘If you stay home I will stay too.’

It is also possible to have both the main and subordinate clause in the imperfective.

- (4.701) age be-mund-i xune man am mi-mund-am.
 if SBJN-stay.PAST-2SG.SU home 1SG also IPFV-stay.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘If you were staying home I would stay too.’

In the case of nonfinite adverbial clauses, the adverbial clause is in the infinitive form while the main clause is in the simple past or present.

- (4.702) dar asar=e kam xābid-an sardard gereft.
 as a result of less sleep-INF headache get.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of not sleeping enough she got a headache.’
- (4.703) dar asar=e kam xābid-an sardard mi-gir-e.
 as a result of less sleep-INF headache IPFV-get.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘As a result of not sleeping enough she will get a headache.’

4.6.7 Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech is where the actual words of the speaker are reported and indirect speech is where this is not the case. In some African languages speeches can be presented in one of three basic ways: directly, indirectly or semi-directly by use of logophoric pronouns. The following are third person examples of these basic ways:

- DIRECT: *John said (that) I can see you.* (speaker: 1st person, addressee: 2nd)
 INDIRECT: *John said (that) he/LOG can see him.* (speaker: 3rd/LOG, addressee: 3rd)

SEMI-DIRECT: *John said (that) he/LOG can see you.* (speaker: 3rd/LOG, addressee: 2nd)

Describe how the language distinguishes different types of speech reporting.

(4.704) .

‘.’

A language like English employs the phenomenon of tense sequencing by which the tense of a finite verb in a matrix clause places constraints on the tense of a finite verb in a complement clause. In English the rule is simply that a past tense in the main clause must be followed by a past tense in the complement clause if the time-reference of the original utterance is no longer valid at the time of the reported utterance. For example, in (4.705) the report in (b) must be in the past tense because the original utterance is no longer valid. Whereas in (4.706) the report in (b) can be expressed in either a past or nonpast form because the original utterance is still valid.

(4.705) a. “I am a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world,” said Socrates.

b. Socrates said that he *was* a citizen, not of Athens, but of the world.

(4.706) a. “Nothing can harm a good man,” said Socrates.

b. Socrates said that nothing *could/can* harm a good man.

Tense sequencing represents an attempt to mold the complement to the subjective viewpoint of the speaker and is frequently associated with other changes in the complement. In effect the deictic time reference of the original utterance is shifted so that it becomes distal to the original time frame. In (4.705a) and (4.706a) the present tense of the verb is directly relative to the time of the utterance. This is proximal deixis. However, the *was* in (4.705b) and the *could* in (4.706b) are relative to the time frame of the matrix verb and only secondarily relative to the time frame of the original utterance. This is distal deixis.

Persian, however, does not employ tense sequencing. All speech reported with *goftan* in the past is quoted in the same tense in which it was originally stated. (4.707) can be interpreted as either direct or indirect reported speech (the context would decide) but in both cases the verb in the quote complement must be in the present tense. By contrast the report in (4.708) is indirect but again the quote complement must be in the present tense. Thus the only option in speech reporting in Persian is proximal deixis.

(4.707) goft-am ke mi-āy-am
say.PAST-1SG.SU CMPL IPFV-come.PRES-1SG.SU
‘I said, “I am coming.”’ / ‘I said that I was coming.’

(4.708) goft ke mi-āy-ad
say.PAST-3SG.SU CMPL IPFV-come.PRES-3SG.SU
‘He said that he was coming.’

4.6.8 Sequence of tenses

Is there sequence of tenses? If so, state which tenses in the main clause require which tense in which types of subordinate clause.

(4.709) .

‘.’

