

4. Syntax

4.3 Syntactic categories

4.3.1 Nouns

4.3.1.1 Operational definition of a noun

The noun functions primarily as a referring expression. Among the criteria that can help identify a noun are:

1. They inflect for singular or plural number.
2. They can take the indefinite clitic =*i*.
3. They can be modified by adjectives in a N + ezafe + adjective construction.
4. They can be preceded by a superlative adjective.
5. They do not inflect for tense, aspect, mood.
6. They belong to an open class.
7. They can take the diminutive derivational suffix *-ak*.
8. They can occur as the first element in a compound verb.

4.3.1.2 Structure of the noun

The only category inflected on the noun is number. Therefore the structure of the noun is:

STEM ± NUMBER SUFFIX

The nominal category of diminution can also be marked, but this is treated as derivational morphology (See ***3.7.1 and 4.3.1.6.).

4.3.1.3 Nouns and number

Modern Persian has two numbers for nouns: singular, which is unmarked, and plural, which is marked depending on the specificity of the noun. Plural is obligatorily unmarked on nonspecific nouns, see illustrative examples (4.7-4.9).

4.3.1.3.1 Inflectional plurals

Nouns are marked as plural by adding the suffix *-hā* (after vowels) and *-ā* (after consonants) to the end of the noun. This suffix is the default plural marking for both animate and inanimate nouns.

ketāb	‘book’	ketāb-ā	‘books’
gorbe	‘cat’	gorbe-hā	‘cats’

The plural suffix *-ān* (after consonants) and *-yān* (after vowels) can also be used, but only for animate nouns.

mard	‘man’	mard-ān	‘men’
gedā	‘beggar’	gedā-yān	‘beggars’

4.3.1.3.2 Lexicalized plurals

There are also sets of lexicalized plural forms. The plural suffix *-ān* can be *-gān* for some nouns where the stem ends in [e] followed by ‘silent [h]’ as written in the orthography. This suffixation is nonproductive and in these cases the default plural suffixation is preferred.

bačče-gān	‘children’	bačče-hā	‘children’
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mozhe-gān	‘eyelashes’	mozhe-hā	‘eyelashes’
parande-gān	‘birds’	parande-hā	‘birds’

Although nouns of Arabic origin often take the “feminine” Arabic plural form *-āt*, many Arabic loans can also take the Persian plurals *-hā* and *-ān*.

ettefaq-āt	‘incidents’	ettefaq-ā	‘incidents’
emtexān-āt	‘examinations’	emtexān-ā	‘examinations’
dastur-āt	‘orders’	dastur-ā	‘orders’

Persian words ending in silent [h] and in [i] have the Arabic plural form, *-jāt*, instead of *-āt*, and these forms are lexicalized.

mive-jāt	‘fruits’	sabzi-jāt	‘greens’
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The Arabic “masculine” plural suffixes *-in*, except to words that already end in *-i*, in which case the suffix is *-un*.

mo’allem	‘teacher’	mo’allem-in	‘teachers’
ma’mur	‘agent’	ma’mur-in	‘agents’
enqelābi	‘revolutionary’	enqelābi-un	‘revolutionaries’
ruhāni	‘cleric’	ruhāni-un	‘clerics’

In addition Persian has taken a number of Arabic nouns whose plurals are irregular. Arabic nouns often form discontinuous plurals based on a consonantal root, into which are inserted vowels and consonants. Persian borrowed both the singular and plural of many of these words. Often the relationship between the singular and plural forms in Persian is relatively transparent in both phonetic form and meaning.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
fe’l	‘verb’	af’āl	‘verbs’
šaxs	‘person’	ašxās	‘people’
dalil	‘reason’	dalāyel	‘reasons’

Sometimes the phonetic forms of the singular and plural are less transparently related, although Persian has maintained a consistent singular/plural semantic relationship between them.

ruh	‘soul’	arvāh	‘souls’
sāhel	‘shore’	savāhel	‘shores’
hādese	‘incident’	havādes	‘incidents’
no’	‘kind’	anvā’	‘kinds’

With some nouns both the singular and plural Arabic word forms have been maintained in Persian, but the semantic singular/plural distinction between them has been lost. Both these terms have exactly the same meaning.

hāl	‘health’	ahvāl	‘health’
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Finally, there are cases where not only is the relationship between the singular and plural forms phonetically opaque but where the meaning of the plural has diverged from the meaning of the singular.

sabab	‘cause/reason’	asbāb	‘goods/chattel’
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4.3.1.3.3 Number marking of foreign words

Apart from Arabic loans, loans from other languages are integrated into the Persian number system and marked with the default plural suffix *-hā*.

rādiyo	‘radio’	rādiyo-hā	‘radios’
telefon	‘telephone’	telefon-ā	‘telephones’

4.3.1.3.4 Noun compounds and number

Where a noun compound comprises root + root then the plural suffix *-hā* attaches to the end of the compound. The final *-i* in (4.3) and (4.4) is a derivational suffix indicating a noun derived from two nouns.

- (4.1) ruznāme-hā
day.letter-PL 'newspapers'
- (4.2) sāhebxune-hā
owner.house-PL 'landlords'
- (4.3) hamkelāsi-hā-yam
mate.class-PL-1sg.pos 'my classmates'
- (4.4) češmbandi-hā
eye.block-PL 'sleights of hand'

This contrasts with *ezafe* compounds where the plural suffix attaches to the head noun in the compound.

- (4.5) taxt-hā=ye čub
frame-PL=EZ wood 'wooden frames'
- (4.6) toxm-hā=ye morq
seed-PL=EZ chicken 'eggs'

4.3.1.4 Noun classifiers and count/mass nouns

Quantity for count nouns is indicated by a numeral optionally followed by the classifier *=tā*. (See §4.3.3.) The use of *=tā* is preferred in spoken Persian while used infrequently in the written language.

- do=tā ketāb 'two books'
two=CL book
do ketāb 'two books'
two book

(Mahootian 1997:152): The suffix *-hā* is used to mark plural specific noun phrases. Thus, generic and numerically quantified nonspecific NPs are not marked with plural suffix. The last is ungrammatical because the plural *-hā* suffix has been inappropriately applied to a nonspecific noun.

- (4.7) do=tā ketāb ru=ye miz-e.
two=CL book on=EZ table-be.PRES.3SG.SU
'There are two books on the table.' (Nonspecific)
- (4.8) do=tā ketāb-hā ru=ye miz-e.
two=CL book-PL on=EZ table-be.PRES.3SG.SU
'The two books are on the table.' (Specific)
- (4.9) *do=tā ketāb-hā ru=ye miz-e.
two=CL book-PL on=EZ table-be.PRES.3SG.SU
'There are two books on the table.' (Nonspecific)

For mass nouns a unit of weight or measurement is used as the classifier or 'counting word'.

- do kilu gušt* 'two kilos of meat'
se litr šir 'three litres of milk'
čār botri āb 'four bottles of water'
panj metr pārcē 'five metres of cloth'
šiš fenjān qahve 'six cups of coffee'

<i>haft estekān čāi</i>	‘seven glasses of tea’
<i>hašt joft jurāb</i>	‘eight pairs of socks’

4.3.1.5 Nouns and gender

Persian does not have noun classes based on gender and there is no marking for gender on the noun. The third person singular pronoun *u* and the third person plural pronouns *išun* and *una* refer to both male and female humans. A distinction is made in third person forms with regard to humanness (See *****).

4.3.1.6 Nouns and size

The diminutive derivational suffix *-ak* is used for true diminution, denigration and contempt as well as for endearment. It is used for both animates and inanimates.

morq	‘chicken’	morq-ak	‘chick’
pesar	‘boy’	pesar-ak	‘kid, dear boy (endearment)’
mard	‘man’	mard-ak	‘bloke (denigration)’
tefl	‘child’	tefl-ak	‘brat (contempt), darling child (endearment)’

Many such diminutives are used metaphorically with extended connotations.

arus	‘bride’	arus-ak	‘doll’
surat	‘face’	surat-ak	‘mask’
barf	‘snow’	barf-ak	‘frost’

The diminutive suffix *-če* is used only for diminution of inanimate objects.

bāq	‘garden’	bāq-če	‘garden plot’
ketāb	‘book’	ketāb-če	‘notebook’
daryā	‘sea’	daryā-če	‘lake’

The plural suffix occurs outside of the diminutive suffix, e.g. *morq-ak-ā* ‘chicks’, *bāq-če-hā* ‘garden plots’.

4.3.1.7 Nouns and case-marking

Persian is a nominative-accusative language but case functions are not inflected on the noun. The grammatical function of a noun in the clause is indicated by verb agreement, word order and prepositions before the noun and a postpositional clitic after the noun.

4.3.1.7.1 Subject of the transitive or intransitive verb

The subject of a clause is not marked with an adposition. The verb typically agrees with the number and person of the animate subject by verb inflections. Plural inanimate subjects may take singular inflections on the verb, as illustrated in (4.12).

- (4.10) utubus raft
 bus go.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘The bus left.’
- (4.11) to livān=o šikast-i
 2SG glass=OM break.PAST.2SG.SU
 ‘You broke the glass.’
- (4.12) a. čamedun-ā tu=ye māšin-e
 suitcase-PL in=EZ car-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘The suitcases are in the car.’

- b. čamedun-ā tu=ye māšin-and
 suitcase-PL in=EZ car-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 'The suitcases are in the car.'

4.3.1.7.2 Direct object

When the direct object is definite (i.e. the referent is offered by the speaker as identifiable to the hearer) it is marked with the postpositional clitic =*rā* (=ro following vowels) and (=o following consonants). Note from examples (4.16) and (4.17) that =*rā* is a phrasal clitic because it attaches to the whole NP.

- (4.13) širāz=o did-am
 Shiraz=OM see.PAST.1SG.SU
 'I see Shiraz.'
- (4.14) to=ro na-did
 2SG=OM NEG-see.PAST.3SG.SU
 'She did not see you.'
- (4.15) behruz sib-hā=ro xord
 Behruz apple-PL=OM eat.PAST.3SG.SU
 'Behruz ate the apples.'
- (4.16) češm=e čap-am=o bast-am
 eye=EZ left-1SG.POS=OM close.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I closed my left eye.'
- (4.17) harf-hā=ye masxare-šān=o mi-šenid
 talk-PL=EZ ridiculous-3PL.POS=OM IPFV-hear.PAST.3SG.SU
 'He used to hear their ridiculous talk.'

4.3.1.7.3 Indirect object

The indirect object of a clause is generally marked with a preposition such as *be* 'to'. The order of direct and indirect object can vary according to principles of information flow (established information normally precedes non-established information) and prominence placement (non-established information can be placed before established information to highlight this information).

- (4.18) a. pul-o be mā dād (unmarked order)
 money-PL to 1PL give.PAST.3SG.SU
 'He gave the money to us.'
- b. be mā pul-o dād (marked order)
 to 1PL money-PL give.PAST.3SG.SU
 'He gave us the money.'

4.3.1.7.4 Noncore functions

For other semantic roles where the nominal is not an argument of the predicate, the noun, or rather noun phrase, is usually a constituent of a prepositional phrase. For example, in (4.19) the preposition *dar* 'in' expresses location, in (4.20) *be* 'to' expresses goal, in (4.21) *az* 'from' expresses source, in (4.22) *barāye* 'for' expresses benefactive, and in (4.23) *bā* 'with' expresses instrument.

- (4.19) mi-tun-am šomā=ro dar hotel be-bin-am
 IPFV-able.PRES-1SG.SU 2SG=OM in hotel SBJN-see.PRES.1SG.SU
 'Can I meet you in the hotel?'

- (4.20) be sinemā mi-r-im
to cinema IPFV-go.PRES.1PL.SU
'We will go to the cinema.'
- (4.21) emruz az tabriz āmad-am.
today from Tabriz come.PAST.1SG.SU
'I came from Tabriz today.'
- (4.22) in telefon barā=ye šomāst.
this telephone for=EZ 2SG.be.PRES.3SG.SU
'This telephone call is for you.'
- (4.23) panjara-ro bā ajor šikast.
window-OM with stick break.PAST.3SG.SU
'She broke the window with a stick.'

4.3.1.8 Nouns and definiteness

We define "definiteness" as a property of the NP that indicates reference to a unique entity identifiable by both speaker and hearer. This contrasts with "indefiniteness" which is where the NP lacks this property. Definiteness can also be compared to specific reference vs. nonspecific (generic) reference. Specific reference is where the speaker refers to a particular instance of a class of referents and generic reference is where the whole class of entities is referred to. So, in English a reference can be definite but generic, as in *The tiger is a dangerous animal*. Here the definite reference *the tiger* is generic as it does not refer to a particular example of 'tiger'.

Persian has means of marking both definiteness and indefiniteness morphologically on the noun or NP. This marking has also been called specific reference.

4.3.1.8.1 Nonmorphological marking of definiteness

Unmodified NPs in subject or indirect object position are typically interpreted as definite and sometimes as generic.

- (4.24) māšin tu gārāḡ-e
car in garage.be.PRES.3SG.SU
'The car is in the garage.'
- (4.25) dād-eš be mo'alem
give.PAST.3SG.SU-3SG.DO to teacher
'She gave it to the teacher.'
- (4.26) varzeš barā=ye behbudi lāzem-e
exercise for=EZ health necessary-be.PRES.3SG.SU
'Exercise is necessary for wellbeing.'

Persian has inherent definites such as demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, and proper names as well as demonstrative adjectives, superlatives and ordinals, which cooccur with nouns and force a definite reading of the NP. Plural inflection on a noun phrase also renders a definite interpretation.

- (4.27) un bošqab
that plate
'that plate'
- (4.28) mohem-tarin nevisande
important-MOST writer
'the most important writer'

(4.29) avvalin ša'er
first poet
'the first poet'

(4.30) čerāq-ā
light-PL
'the lights'

4.3.1.8.2 Morphological marking of definiteness

The postposition =*rā* 'object marker' marks the direct object as definite (See 4.3.1.7.2). In colloquial Persian the suffix *-e* can be optionally attached to any singular proper or common NP in subject or object position to indicate definiteness.

The postposition =*rā*

Mahootian (1997: 198-201) points out that there is some controversy over the precise functions and scope of =*rā* (and its phonological variants =*ro* following vowels and =*o* following consonants). The traditional view, supported by Phillot (1919) Sadeghi (1970), Mahootian (1997) and Rafiee (2001), is that =*rā* marks definite direct objects. But some researchers, such as Browne (1970), Karimi (1989), Windfuhr (1987), and Dabir-Moghaddam (1992) have disputed this analysis and suggested that =*rā*, while often suggesting definiteness, is primarily an indicator of specificity or even topicalization.

Thackston (1993: 34-36) identifies the following types of nominals that are construed as specific, grammatically or semantically.

(a) proper names

(4.31) irān=*rā* did-id?
Iran-OM see.PAST-2SG.SU
'Did you see Iran?'

(4.32) ali=*rā* kojā did-id?
Ali-OM where see.PAST-2SG.SU
'Where did you see Ali?'

(b) all personal and demonstrative pronouns

(4.33) marā kojā did-id?
1SG.OM where see.PAST-2SG.SU
'Where did you see me?'

(4.34) to=*rā* na-did-id.
2SG=OM NEG-see.PAST-2SG.SU
'I didn't see you.'

(4.35) ān=*rā* gereft-and.
that-OM take.PAST-3PL.SU
'They took it.'

(c) all nouns described by demonstrative adjectives or by the possessive *ezāfe*

(4.36) ān xāne-hā=*rā* na-did-am.
that house-PL=OM NEG-see.PAST-1SG.SU
'I didn't see those houses.'

(4.37) xāne=*ye* u=*rā* xarid-id?
house=EZ 3SG=OM buy.PAST-2SG.SU
'Did you buy his house?'

(4.38) ān ketāb-hā=*ye* šomā=*rā* xarid-and
that book-PL=EZ 2PL=OM buy.PAST-2SG.SU
'They bought those books of yours.'

- (4.39) *xāne=ye ali=rā na-did-am.*
 house=EZ Ali=OM NEG-see.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I didn’t see Ali’s house.’

(d) the complement of the phrases *yek=i az* ‘one of’ and *hič yek az* ‘none of’

- (4.40) *yek=i az ān-hā=rā xāstam*
 one=IND from that-PL=OM want.PAST-2SG.SU
 ‘I wanted one of those.’
- (4.41) *hič yek az ketāb-hā=ye šomā=rā na-yāvord-am*
 not one from book-PL=EZ 2PL=OM NEG-see.PAST-2SG.SU
 ‘I didn’t bring any of your books.’

(e) the reflexives *yekdigar* and *hamdigar* ‘each other’ are construed as definite

- (4.42) *hamdigar=rā did-im.*
 each.other=OM see.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We saw each other.’
- (4.43) *yekdigar=rā na-did-and.*
 one.another=OM NEG-see.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They didn’t see each other.’

(f) true indefinite or non-specific direct objects are marked by the indefinite enclitic *=i* but not by *=rā*.

- (4.44) *sedā=i na-šenid-am.*
 sound=IND NEG-hear.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I didn’t hear a sound.’
- (4.45) *ketāb=e digar=i xāst-am.*
 book=EZ other=IND want.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I wanted another book (any other book).’

However, a specific indefinite object (‘a certain ...’) takes both the indefinite enclitic and the object marker *=rā*.

- (4.46) *sedā=i=rā šenid-am.*
 sound=IND=OM hear.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I heard a (certain) sound.’
- (4.47) *ketāb=e digar=i=rā xāst-am.*
 book=EZ other=IND=OM want.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I wanted a (particular) book.’

(g) abstract nouns

Mahootian (1997: 202-203) says that abstract nouns are considered universal and unique and are therefore marked with *=rā* in DO position.

- (4.48) *tāqat=e duruqgui=o na-dār-am.*
 tolerance=EZ lying=OM NEG-have.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I can’t tolerate lying.’
- (4.49) *esq=o na-mi-š-e xarid.*
 love=OM NEG-IPFV-become-3SG.SU buy.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘One can’t buy love.’

(h) plural nouns

All plural nouns are marked by *=rā* in DO position.

- (4.50) *ān heivān gandum-hā=rā mi-xor-ad*
 that animal grain-PL=OM IPFV-eat.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘That animal is eating the grain.’

- (4.51) dānešju-hā=i=rā did-am
 student-PL=IND=OM see.PAST-31SG.SU
 ‘I saw some students.’
 **** check ***

(i) generic nouns

Dabir-Moghaddam (1992) also points out that =rā can occur with generic NPs, with examples taken from Phillott (1919).

- (4.52) sirka šir=rā mi-burr-ad.
 vinegar milk=OM IPFV-curdle.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Vinegar curdles milk.’
- (4.53) mi-dān-id četour gusfand=rā mi-kuš-and?
 IPFV-know.PRES-2SG.SU how sheep=OM IPFV-kill.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘Do you know how a sheep is killed?’

The postposition =e

Another marker of definiteness is the postposition =e/=æ, which optionally attaches to any singular proper or common NP in subject or object position to indicate definiteness. The use of this inflection is restricted to colloquial Persian. In (4.54) ‘the woman’ was introduced in the discourse prior to this mention.

- (4.54) zan=e be man goft ...
 woman=DEF to 1SG say.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘The woman said to me’

When =e (=æ) appears in object position, =rā must follow.

- (4.55) film=e=rā did-am
 file=DEF=OM see.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I saw that film.’

4.3.1.8.3 Marking of indefiniteness

Mahootian (1997: 203) says that indefiniteness in noun phrases can be marked by *ye(k)* ‘a, one’, the postposed clitic =i which indicates [-definite] and [+specific], or the occurrence of both *ye(k)* and =i. She provides the following examples.

- (4.56) ye durbin
 one camera
 ‘a camera’
- (4.57) durbin=i
 camera=IND
 ‘a (certain) camera’
- (4.58) ye durbin=i
 one camera=IND
 ‘a (certain) camera’

Mahootian (1997: 204-205) also notes that the postposition =i and the *ye(k)* ... =i combination are used with plural count nouns and mass nouns to indicate singularity or individuation. In the examples that Mahootian gives note that it is only those with obligatory =i that indicate individuation.

- (4.59) (ye) dānešju-hā=i
 one student-PL=IND
 ‘some students’

indefiniteness is opposed to genericness, as in *dombāl=e apārtemān mi-gard-am* ‘I am apartment hunting’.

4.3.1.8.4 Referential and nonreferential indefiniteness

Persian distinguishes between referential and nonreferential indefinite direct objects. Referential indefiniteness is indicated with *ye(k)* ... *i* followed by the object marker.

- (4.69) *ye ketāb=i=o xarid-am*
 one book=IND=OM buy.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I bought a certain book.’

Without the object marker the same sentence can be interpreted as referential or nonreferential.

4.3.1.8.5 Genericness

There is no morphological marking for genericness. Generic nouns occur as bare nouns in the singular, i.e. lacking a plural or any other form of definite or indefinite inflection such as pronominal clitics, *=i*, *=rā*, or *=e*.

- (4.70) *zerrāfe dar iran peyda ne-mi-š-e*
 giraffe in Iran visible NEG-IPFV-become.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘Giraffes are not found (seen) in Iran.’

4.3.1.9 Nouns and possessive

Possessive can be expressed in three ways: the use of the suffixed pronominal clitics; the *ezāfe* construction with personal pronouns, nouns or reflexives (see XXX); and the use of *māl=e* ‘property of’. *māl=e* is used for alienable property and the others are used for either alienable or inalienable possession (see XXX). None of the three distinguishes temporary from permanent possession or past from present possession. In this section we will describe possession expressed by the pronominal clitics. The pronominal clitic paradigm is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Pronominal Clitics		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	=am/=m	=emun/=mun
SECOND PERSON	=et/=t	=etun/=tun
THIRD PERSON	=eš/=š	=ešun/=šun

The pronominal clitics expressing possession can attach either to the noun or to the noun phrase.

- (4.71) *pedar=am*
 father=1SG.POS ‘my father’
- (4.72) *in kār=hā=yat*
 this work=PL=2SG.POS ‘these works of yours’
- (4.73) *pedar yā mādar=et*
 father or mother=2SG.POS ‘your mother or father’

- (4.74) xod=am
self=1SG.POS 'myself'
- (4.75) guš=e rāst=am
ear=EZ right=1SG.POS 'my right ear'

As with the the personal pronouns, the plural clitic forms in the second and third persons are used to indicate plural as well as singular referents. In examples (4.76) and (4.77) =*tun* and =*šun* can be interpreted as either plural or polite singular.

- (4.76) xuna=tun
house=2PL.POS 'your (plural/singular) house'
- (4.77) ruznāma=šun
newspaper=3PL.POS 'their/her/his newspaper'

4.3.2 Pronouns

4.3.2.1 Operational definition of a pronoun

4.3.2.2 Personal pronouns

Comments from Joan Baart:

4.3.2.2 Personal pronouns: In Indo-Aryan there are usually no real 3rd-person pronouns, but demonstrative pronouns/adjectives double-function as personal pronouns. Consequently there is always a proximal-distal distinction in 3rd-person pronouns (sometimes even a three-way distinction). What you have is pretty similar, with *un*, *inaa* and *unaa* doing duty as pronouns, while *u*, *ishun* and *aanaan* look like they may be etymologically related to these demonstratives as well. Does proximal-distal still play a role in Persian pronouns (from the table it looks like at least *inaa* and *unaa* are still used in opposition)?

Pronouns express three persons and two numbers. The third person singular has separate forms for humans and nonhumans. For third person human *išun* expresses a polite reference. *unā*, the plural of *un* 'that', refers to either human or nonhuman third person plurals. *ānān* is a literary/formal alternative which is only used for human reference.

Table 4.2: Personal Pronouns				
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
FIRST PERSON	man	‘I/me’	mā	‘we/us’
SECOND PERSON	to	‘you’	šomā	‘you’
THIRD PERSON HUMAN	u	‘he/she’	inā	‘these people’
	išun	‘he/she’ (polite form)	unā ānān	‘these people’ ‘these people’
THIRD PERSON NONHUMAN	un	‘it’	unā	‘they/them’

to ‘you’ and its verb forms are generally used among children and between close friends and relatives of similar age or social status (spouses, siblings). *šomā* ‘your’ and its verb forms are used between strangers and those who have a formal relationship, such as business people in formal meetings. A senior in age or status may use *to*, and receive *šomā*, when talking with a junior. A more polite form for *u* ‘he/she’ is *išun* ‘he/she’ used with a plural verb.

- (4.78) *išun xānom=e jānson hast-and*
 this madam-EZ Johnson be.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘She is Ms Johnson.’

4.3.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns have a reflexive and emphatic function.

4.3.2.3.1 Reflexive pronouns

Three reflexive pronouns are used in Persian: *xod*, *xiš* and *xištan*, all meaning ‘self’. The three forms are used in all persons and numbers.

xod is used generally, while *xiš* and *xištan* are somewhat archaic. The reflexives appear in object position, function as objects and refer to the subject of the sentence, though the subject may be dropped as in other sentence constructions. The reflexives are commonly used with the pronominal clitics, though they may occur without the clitics.

Table 4.3: Reflexives with clitic suffixes		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	xod=am	xod=emun
SECOND PERSON	xod=et	xod=etun
THIRD PERSON	xod=eš	xod=šun

- (4.79) maryam xod=eš=o āmād-e kard
 Maryam self=3SG.SU=OM prepare-PSPT do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Maryam got herself ready.’
- (4.80) (u) xod=rā košt
 (3SG) self=OM kill.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He killed himself.’
- (4.81) (to) xod=et=o divune mi-kon-i
 (2SG) self=2SG.SU=OM crazy IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘You’ll make yourself crazy.’

4.3.2.3.2 Emphatic uses of reflexive

The cliticized reflexives are often used for emphasis of the subject rather than as an anaphoric object. In these cases the reflexive is placed either immediately after the subject or after the object.

- (4.82) pune xod=eš šām=o dorost kard
 Punch self=3SG.SU dinner=OM correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Punch made the dinner herself.’
- (4.83) pune šām=o xod=eš dorost kard
 Punch dinner=OM self=3SG.SU correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Punch made the dinner herself.’
- (4.84) xod=et tamum=eš kon
 self=2SG.SU end=3SG.DO do.IMP.2SG.SU
 ‘Finish it yourself.’

xod may also be used emphatically in an *ezāfe* construction, in which case it precedes the pronoun or noun.

- (4.85) xod=e pune šām=o dorost kard
 self=EZ Punch dinner=OM correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Punch herself made the dinner.’
- (4.86) xod=e man in=ā=ro nevešt-am
 self=EZ 1SG this=PL=OM write.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I myself wrote these.’

4.3.2.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Persian has three reciprocal pronouns: *ham*, *hamdige* and *yekdigar*, which are used for all persons. The *dige* and *digar* portions of *hamdige* and *yekdigar* are morphological variants, both

meaning ‘else’. The examples show reciprocals functioning as direct object (4.87) - (4.89), indirect object (4.90) and possessor (4.91).

- (4.87) man=o to hamdige=ro dust dār-im
1SG=and 2SG each other=OM friend have.PRES-1SG.SU
‘You and I like each other.’
- (4.88) šomā do=tā hamdige=ro mi-šnās-id?
2PL two=CL each other=OM IPFV-know.PRES-2PL.SU
‘Do you know each other?’
- (4.89) bačče=hā hamdige=ro busid-and
child=PL each other=OM kiss.PAST-3PL.SU
‘The children kissed each other.’
- (4.90) be yekdigar hedyē dād-and
to each other gift give.PAST-3PL.SU
‘They gave each other gifts.’
- (4.91) peyman=o šiva az arezu=hā=ye ham āgāh-and
Peyman=and Shiva from hope=PL=EZ each other aware.PRES-3PL.SU
‘Peyman and Shiva are aware of each other’s hopes.’

*** other reciprocal relations? ***

4.3.2.5 Possessive pronouns

4.3.2.5.1 Possessive pronouns

Persian does not have independent possessive pronouns. Pronoun possession is shown by either the *ezāfe* construction with the personal pronoun (see ***) or through the use of pronominal clitics (see ***).

4.3.2.5.2 Reflexive possessive pronouns

Persian expresses a reflexive possessive with the word *xod* ‘self/own’ suffixed with the pronominal clitics (see Table 4.3).

- (4.92) badri lebās=e xod=eš=o par-e kard
Badri dress=EZ own=3SG.POSS=OM rip-PSPT do.PAST.3SG.SU
‘Badri ripped her own dress.’

4.3.2.5.3 Reciprocal possessive pronouns

The reciprocal pronouns *ham*, *hamdige* and *yekdigar* are used to show reciprocal possessiveness.

- (4.93) nāhār=e hamdigar=ro xord-and
lunch=EZ each other=OM eat.PAST-3PL.SU
‘They ate each other’s lunch.’

4.3.2.6 Demonstrative pronouns

4.3.2.6.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Persian has two demonstrative pronouns: *in* ‘this’ and *un* ‘that’, along with their plural forms *inā* ‘these’ and *unā* ‘those’. The singular forms of the demonstrative pronouns are also

used as demonstrative adjectives. *inā* and *unā* are also used as third person plural personal pronouns.

- (4.94) in=o / un=o be-zar ru miz
 this=OM / that=OM IMP-put on table
 'Put this/that on the table.'
- (4.95) un=ā=o bi-ar in=jā
 that=PL=OM IMP-bring this=place
 'Bring those here.'
- (4.96) in xub-ast
 this good-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'This is good.'
- (4.97) in=ā xub-and
 this=PL good-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 'These are good.'
- (4.98) un xub-ast
 that good-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 'That is good.'
- (4.99) un=ā xub-and
 that=PL good-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 'Those are good.'

4.3.2.6.2 Locative demonstrative pronouns

Persian has the locative demonstrative pronouns *injā* 'here' (lit. 'this place') *unjā* 'there' (lit. 'that place'). In spoken Persian they typically follow the verb.

- (4.100) diruz raft-and ānjā
 yesterday go.PAST-3PL.SU there
 'Yesterday they went there.'
- (4.101) emruz āmad-and injā
 today come.PAST-3PL.SU here
 'Today they came there.'

4.3.2.7 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronoun in Persian is *yek=i* 'one'. This is a combination of the numeral *yek* 'one' and the indefinite clitic *=i*. Some examples of usage are given in (4.102) - (4.104).

- (4.102) mu-hā-ye tan-eš yek=i talāyi yek=i noqrei bud.
 hair-PL-EZ body-3SG.POS one=IND golden one=IND silvery be.PAST.3SG.SU
 'The hair of its body was golden on one (side) and silvery on the other.'
- (4.103) yek=i yek=i šarbat va širini mi-bar-ad.
 one=IND one=IND drink and sweets IPFV-carry.PRES-3SG.SU
 'She gives drinks and sweets one by one.'
- (4.104) četor zarf-e čand sānie yek=i=eš za'if šod?
 what.way during-EZ few second one=IND=2SG.POS weak become.PAST-3SG.SU
 'Why has one of his (eyes) become weak in a few seconds?'

4.3.2.8 Interrogative pronouns and other question words

The Persian interrogative pronouns and words are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Interrogatives	
ki	‘who’
če	‘what’
či (more coll.)	
ke(i)	‘when’
kojā	‘where’
čerā	‘why’
četo(u)r	‘how’ (lit. what way)
čejur (more coll.)	
čand	‘how much/many’
čand tā	
kodum	‘which’
čeqadr	‘how much (quantity)’

4.3.2.8.1 Interrogative pronouns

The words *ki* ‘who/whom’ and *či* ‘what’ are the only interrogative pronouns in Persian that occur alone in both subject and object position.

- (4.105) ki dar=o bāz kard?
 who door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Who opened the door?’

- (4.106) nāser bā ki raft
 Nasser with who go.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Who did Nasser go with?’

- (4.107) či ru=ye miz-e?
 what on=eZ table-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘What is on the table?’

- (4.108) doktor či goft?
 doctor what say.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘What did the doctor say?’

- (4.109) či=ro xord-i?
 what=OM eat.PAST-3SG.SU
 ‘What did you eat?’

4.3.2.8.2 Other question words

Other question words in Persian include: *kei/ke* ‘when?’, *kojā* ‘where?’, *čerā* ‘why?’, and the interrogative adjectives: *kodum* (*yek*) ‘which (one)’, *čand* ‘how much’, *čand=tā* ‘how many’, *čeqadr* ‘how much (quantity)’. The interrogatives *kei/ke*, *kojā* and *čerā* are primarily adverbial, *kodum* can be either an interrogative pronoun or interrogative adjective.

- (4.110) *unā ke mi-res-and?*
3PL when IPFV-arrive.PRES-3PL.SU
‘When will they arrive?’
- (4.111) *xāhar=et kojā raft?*
sister=2SG.POS where go.PAST.3SG.SU
‘Where did your sister go?’
- (4.112) *čerā gerye mi-kon-i?*
why cry IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU
‘Why are you crying?’
- (4.113) *kodum yek=i=o did-i?*
which one=IND=OM see.PAST-2SG.SU
‘Which one did you see?’
- (4.114) *kodum=o did-i?*
which=OM see.PAST-2SG.SU
‘Which (one) did you see?’

The interrogative *čand* ‘how many’ (for countables) precedes the nominal it quantifies, which must be singular, and is optionally followed by the counting word (classifier) *tā*.

- (4.115) *čand (tā) barādar dār-id?*
how many CL brother have.PRES-2PL.SU
‘How many brothers to you have?’
- (4.116) *čand daf’e be unjā rafte id?*
how many time to there go-PSPT be.PRES.2PL.SU
‘Have many times have you gone there?’

The interrogative ordinal is *čandom*, which functions like ordinals with *-om*, i.e. follows the nominal it questions.

- (4.117) *emruz (ruz=e) čandom=e māh ast?*
today (day=EZ) how many=EZ month be.PRES.3SG.SU
‘What day of the month is it today?’

The interrogative ordinal can also take the specific suffix *-in*, in which case it precedes the nominal it qualifies.

- (4.118) *in čandom-in daf’e ast ke mi-āyad?*
this how many-SPEC time be.PRES.3SG.SU CMPL IPFV-come.PAST.3SG.SU
‘How many times has he come?’

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

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

4.3.2.9 Relative pronouns and other relative words

Comments from Joan Baart:

4.3.2.9 Relative pronouns: Actually, this discussion doesn't seem to belong in this section about lexical categories. As far as I can see, there are no relative pronouns in Persian. The question as to how relative clauses are put together could be addressed somewhere else in a section on dependent clauses. To me, /ke/ does not look like a relative pronoun, but like a more general subordinating conjunction. It never combines with a postposition, and it is no problem to include (in addition to ke) a pronoun in the relative clause that refers back to the head noun. (I don't know Persian, so I may be totally wrong here.)

Response:

Good point. In this section I should probably have something like "Persian does not have relative pronouns and relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *ke* 'that'. ..." and then make references elsewhere. I should probably discuss *ke* under Complementizers.

Relative clauses are introduced by the general complementizer *ke* 'that' which functions as a relative pronoun. The head noun is taken up again in the relative clause by the respective independent or suffixed pronoun, e.g. (4.121). This pronoun is optional if *ke* functions as the subject or direct object of the relative clause.

- (4.121) un mard ke māšin=rā az u xarid-i ...
 that man CMPL car=OM from 3SG buy.PAST-2SG.SU
 'That man, from whom you bought the car ...'

4.3.2.9.1 Restrictive relative pronouns

The restrictive relative clause restricts the antecedent and therefore makes it specific. The antecedent is indicated by adding the determiner =*i* to the noun or the NP, if it contains a modifying adjective, e.g. *mard=i ke* 'the man who ...' or *xāne-ye bozorg=i ke* 'the big house that ...'. The antecedent marker =*i* is omitted (i) when the antecedent is restricted by a possessive pronoun, as in *xāne-am ke* 'my house that ...' and (ii) usually, but not necessarily, when the antecedent already ends in *-i*, as in *mard-e irāni ke* 'the Iranian man who ...' (but *mard-e irāni=i ke* is also acceptable in informal spoken Persian).

- (4.122) mard=i ke diruz did-am ...
 man=DET CMPL yesterday see.PAST-1SG.SU
 'That man who I saw yesterday ...'
- (4.123) kafš=hā=i ke qarz kard-id ...
 shoe=PL=DET CMPL borrow do.PAST-2PL.SU
 'The shoes which you borrowed ...'
- (4.124) māšin=e qermez=i ke mi-xā-i ...
 car=EZ red=DET CMPL ipfv-want.PRES-2SG.SU
 'The red car that you want ...'

4.3.2.9.2 Nonrestrictive relative pronouns

When the relative clause is nonrestrictive the relative pronoun *ke* occurs without the determiner =*i*.

- (4.125) yek zan=e pir ke pālto pušid-e bud ...
 one woman=EZ old CMPL coat wear.PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU
 'The old woman, who was wearing a coat ...'

4.3.2.9.3 Other relative words

In some cases, a relative clause may be introduced by *har* ‘each/every’ combined with *kas* ‘person’ or *jā* ‘place’. In these constructions *ke* is optional.

- (4.126) harkas (ke) emrika raft-e ...
 whoever CMPL America go.PSPT
 ‘whoever had been to America ...’

In other cases *vaqt* ‘time’ may be used to indicate ‘when/whenever’. This is a nonrestrictive relative clause and *har* and *ke* are used optionally in this construction.

- (4.127) (har) vaqt (ke) umād-i ketāb-am=o bi-ar ...
 (each) time (CMPL) come.PAST-2SG.SU book-1SG.POS=OM IMP-bring
 ‘Whenever you come, bring my book.’

A common way of introducing a temporal adverbial clause is as a relative clause relativising on the nominal *vaqt* ‘time’. In this case the relative clause is restrictive.

- (4.128) vaqt-i ke heivān mi-res-ad jelo-tar ...
 time-DET CMPL animal IPFV-arrive.PRES-3SG.SU close-MORE
 ‘When the animal drew closer ...’

4.3.3 Other pro-forms

English examples: pronouns (*he, she*) pro-verbs (*do*) pro-adverbs: manner (*thus*), place (*here, there*), time (*then*), pro-determiners (*such*) pro-clauses (*no, so*) demonstratives (*this, that*) (*these, those*)

in the same way: *ham hamintour*.

such: *hamču, hamčun* ‘like’, *čandin, čandān, čonin, čonān*.

thus: *čonin, čonān, intour, āntour*.

so: *ham* ‘also, same’

so much: *čandin, čandān*,

so that: *tā, ke*.

so long as: *tā, madamike*.

and so forth: *alā hāzā, va ġeire*.

so and so: *folāni*.

4.3.3.1 Pro-sentences and clauses

pro-clauses:

- (4.129) lā‘ala:j ham ānjā kenār=e piāde ru istād-am
 no.remedy same that.place edge=EZ pavement on stand.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘There was nothing to be done, so I stood there on the edge of the sidewalk.’

- (4.130) va labod hamin nāzem=rā ‘asabāni kard-e bud.
 and apparently same.this superintendent=OM angry do-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘... and apparently this (action) had made the suprintendent angry.’

- (4.131) *folāni* *magar češm=hā=yet*
 so and so QM eye=PL=2SG.POS
 ‘eib va ‘ellat=i peidā kard-e Ø?
 defect and illness=IND found do-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Is it thus and so that he has found a defect in your eyes?’
- (4.132) *čenān qarq=e xāb bud*
 so.that sinking=EZ sleep be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ke az sedā=ye gerye=ye u ham bidār na-šod.
 CMPL from sound=EZ tears=EZ 3SG even awake NEG-become.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘She was so fast asleep that the noise of his crying did not even wake her up.’

4.3.3.2 Pro-verbs, pro-adjective, and pro-adverbs

pro-adverb of degree:

- (4.133) *ammā yek=i=šān ān qadar kuček bud ke*
 but one-IND=3PL.POS so much small be.PAST.3SG.SU that
 man šak kard-am čub kaf=e dast-eš be-xor-ad.
 1SG doubt do.PAST-1SG.SU stick palm=EZ hand-3SG.POS SBJN-hit.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘... but one of them was so much smaller that I doubted the stick would make contact with his the palm of his hand.’
- (4.134) *va be qadri barf ru=ye zamin nešast*
 and so much snow on=EZ earth sit.PAST.3SG.SU
 ke in do gorg gorosne mānd-and
 CMPL this two wolf hungry remain.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘...and there was so much snow on the ground that the two wolves went hungry.’

pro-adverbs of manner:

- (4.135) *čonin goft-e bud.*
 such.this say-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He had spoken thus.’
- (4.136) *va injour šoru' kard.*
 and this.way start do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘... and she started thus.’
- (4.137) *be mahz=e vorud be xāne=ye qabli be zan=eš goft*
 to mere=EZ entrance to house=EZ previous to woman=3SG.POS say.PAST.3SG.SU
 “dar-e xāne=rā mohkam be-band!”
 door-EZ house=OM tight IMP-close
 u ham bast.
 3SG also close.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘As soon as he entered his previous house he told his wife, “Close the door of the house tight.” And so she did.’