

Persian Grammar Sketch

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2.1 Phonological units

Summary information on the phonological segments of the language, phoneme chart

May be useful ****

$$\text{STEM} \pm \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NUMBER SUFFIX} \\ \text{DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX} \end{array} \right\}$$

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Table 2.1: Persian Consonants						
<i>IPA Symbol</i>	<i>Isolated</i>	<i>Final joined</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Roman Symbol</i>
[β]	ب	ب	□ [×] □	□ [×] □	be	b
[π ^H]	پ	پ	□ [×] □ □	□ [×] □ □	pe	p
[τ ^H]	ت	ت	□ □ [×]	□ □ [×]	te	t
[σ]	ث	ث	□ [×] □ □	□ [×] □ □	se *	s
[δ ^Z]	ج	ج	□ □ [×]	□ □ [×]	jim	j
[τ ^Σ]	چ	چ	□ [×] □ □	□ [×] □ □	čim	č
[ŋ]	ح	ح	□ □ [×]	□ □ [×]	hejimi	h
[ξ]	خ	خ	□ [×] □ □	□ [×] □ □	xe	x
[ð]	د	د	□ [×]	□ [×]	dāl	d

[ɛ]	ذ	ذ	□*	□*	zāl *	z
[p]	ر	ر	□*	□*	re	r
[ɛ]	ز	ز	↑□	↑□	ze	z
[ʒ]	ژ	ژ	□*	□*	ǰe	ǰ
[s]	س	س	↑□ □	↑□ □	sin	s
[ʃ]	ش	ش	↑□ □	↑□ □	šin	š
[s]	ص	ص	↑□ □	↑□ □	sād *	s
[ɛ]	ض	ض	↑□ □	↑□ □	zād *	z
[τH]	ط	ط	↑□	↑□	tā *	t
[ɛ]	ظ	ظ	□*	□*	zā *	z
[ʔ]	□	□	□ □ □	ء□*	ein *	'
[θ]	□	□	□ □ □	□ □*	qein *	q
[f]	ف	ف	↑□ □	↑□ □	fe	f
[θ]	□	□	□ □*	↑□ □*	qāf	q
[κH]	ک	ک	↑□	↑□	kāf	k
[ɣ]	گ	گ	□*	□*	gāf	g
[λ]	ل	ل	□ □*	□ □*	lām	l
[μ]	م	م	□*□	□ □*	mim	m
[v]	ن	ن	□ □*	□ □*	nun	n
[w]	و	و	↑□	↑□	ve	v
[h]	ه	ه	□ □ □*	↑□ □	hedočešm	h
[j]	ی	ی	□*□	□ □*	ye	y

NOTE: The Farsi letters marked with * occur mainly in words borrowed from Arabic.

Some examples of words with different letters that have the same sound.

te

ت

تاریخ

tārix
'date'

tā *

ط

طرف

taraf
'side'

se *

ث

ثانی

sāni
'second'

sin

س

سفر

safar
'journey'

sād *

ص

صفر

sefr
'zero'

zāl *

ذ

ذهن

zahn
'mind'

ze

ز

زود

zud
'early'

zād *

ض

ضعف

za'f
'weakness'

zā *

ظ

ظهر

zohr
'noon'

hejimi

ح □ □

حرف

harf
'word'

hedocheshm

ه □ □ □ ↑ □ □

هر

har
'every'

qein *

□ □ □ □ □

غرب

qarb
'west'

qāf

□ □ □ □ □ ↑

قرار

qarār
'arrangement'

Table 2.2: Persian Vowels

IPA Symbol	Isolate	Final joined	Medial	Initial	Names	Roman Symbol
[ɑ]	ا	□ ا	□ ا	آ	alef	ā
[u]	و	و	و	او		u
[i]	ی	ی	□ □	ا □		i
[θ]	ه	ه	□	ا		a
[E]	ه	ه	□	ا		e
[o]	و	و	□	ا		o
[aɪ]	ای	□ ای	□ ا □	آ □		ai

[ɛφ]	ی □	ی □	□ □	ا □		ei
[oω]	□ و □	□ و □	□ و □	ا و □		ou
[iɪ]	ی و	ی و	و □	ا □		oi
[uφ]	ی و	ی و	و □	او □		ui

Vowels **ā**, **u** and **i** are long. Vowels **a**, **e** and **o** are short. In addition to their roles as consonants the letters **□**, **ه**, and **ي** are used to represent vowels. But they are only used to fully represent the long vowels, as indicated in the chart. The short vowels are represented in word initial position by the alef symbol **ا** and a diacritic, and in word medial position just by a diacritic. However, these diacritics are usually left out in the printed form.

Table 2.3: Vowel Initial Words			
<i>With Diacritics</i>	<i>Without Diacritics</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
آب	آب	āb	‘water’
آسم	آسم	āsm	‘asthma’
اون	اون	un	‘that’
اين	اين	in	‘this’
اسب	اسب	asb (esb, osb)	‘horse’
اسم	اسم	esm (asm, osm)	‘name’
اميد	اميد	omid (amid, emid)	‘hope’

Table 2.4: Vowel Final Words			
<i>With Diacritics</i>	<i>Without Diacritics</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
به	به	be	‘to, in’
بِه	به	bah	‘wow’
نه	نه	na	‘no’
نِه	نه	noh	‘nine’

Table 2.5: Glottal Initial Words			
<i>With Diacritics</i>	<i>Without Diacritics</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>
ءالي	ءالي	āli	‘excellent’
ءون	ءون	un	‘help’
ءيب	ءيب	ib	‘defect’
ءَصْر	ءَصْر	asr	‘late afternoon’
ءَلَم	ءَلَم	alm	‘world’
ءَلِم	ءَلِم	elm	‘learned’
ءَزْر	ءَزْر	ozr	‘forgiveness’
ءَمْر	ءَمْر	omr	‘life, age’
ءَمْرَان	ءَمْرَان	amrān	‘father of Moses’
ءَمْرَان	ءَمْرَان	omrān	‘improvement’

3. Morphology

3.1 Morphemes

Describe the types of stems and roots that form the base of words, and whether they are bound or free. Say which are the open and closed classes of stems.

3.2 Affixation

Describe the different types of affixation, e.g. linear: prefixation and suffixation, nonlinear: infixation, mutation, reduplication, suprafixation, etc. Say which of the following means are used to express syntactic and semantic functions: bound affixes, morphophonemic alternations alone (internal change), clitic particles, pre-/postpositions, derivational processes, other means - specify.

3.3 Allomorphy

Describe the instances of allomorphy where the same morpheme is represented by different allomorphs, e.g. in English the ‘past tense’ is represented by the allomorphs /ɪd/, /d/ and /t/. Say whether the allomorphy is phonologically conditioned or lexically conditioned.

3.4 Syncretism

Describe the instances of syncretism where different grammatical words are represented by the same word-form, e.g. in English the word *boiled* can be a verb, a past participle, a passive participle or a deverbal adjective.

3.5 Portmanteau morphemes

Describe the instances of portmanteau morphology where a single morph simultaneously represents multiple grammatical categories. For example, in Spanish the verb suffix *-s* simultaneously represents the categories of person, number and present tense.

3.6 Suppletion and fusion

Describe the instances where a lexical meaning and a grammatical meaning are represented by a single indivisible form. For example, in English many of the past tense forms of verbs have suppletive stems, e.g. *grow* and *grew*.

3.7 Derivational morphology

What possibilities exist for deriving members of one category from those of the same or another category? For each pair of categories, indicate the formal means of derivation, and their semantic correlates. Are any of these processes iterative (e.g. double diminutive, causative of causative)? Indicate the degree of productivity of each process, and of its semantic regularity.

3.7.1 Derivation of nouns

Describe the different types of noun derivation.

nouns from nouns

nouns from verbs

To what extent is the syntax of deverbal nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?

nouns from adjectives

To what extent is the syntax of deadjectival nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a nonderived noun?

nouns from adverbs

nouns from any other category

3.7.2 Derivation of verbs

Describe the different types of verb derivation.

verbs from nouns

verbs from verbs (see also the section on voice, 2.1.3.1)

verbs from adjectives

verbs from adverbs

verbs from any other category

3.7.3 Derivation of adjectives

Describe the different types of adjective derivation.

adjectives from nouns

adjectives from verbs

adjectives from adjectives

adjectives from adverbs

adjectives from any other category

3.7.4 Derivation of adverbs

Describe the different types of adverb derivation.

adverbs from nouns

adverbs from verbs

adverbs from adjectives

adverbs from adverbs

adverbs from any other category

3.7.5 Other possible derivations

Describe the possibilities for forming complex pre-/postpositions.

Two prepositions (distinguish genuine compound prepositions of the type *on to* from sequences resulting from cases where a preposition has as its argument a prepositional phrase, e.g. *from behind*. In English these can for example be distinguished by means of the modification, e.g. *from ten yards behind the car*, **on ten yards to the table*)

nominal formations, e.g. *in front of*

verbal formations, e.g. *depending on*

adjectival formations

other types

Are there simple derived prepositions?

denominal

deverbal, e.g. *given*

deadjectival, e.g. *like*

others

3.7.6 Compound morphology

What possibilities exist for compounding members of the same or different categories, and what semantic value(s) does each have? Answer for each of the combinations in 2.2.1-5.

Indicate whether the components of a compound word may themselves be compound (e.g. English *blackboard eraser*).

4. Syntax

4.1 Syntactic categories

4.1.1 Nouns

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 determiners.
3. They can occur as subjects, objects and complement.
4. They can take the clitic particles *=rā* and *=e*.
5. They can occur as the first element in a compound verb.
6. They can be modified by adjectives in a N + *ezafe* + adjective construction.
7. They can be preceded by a superlative adjective.
8. They do not inflect for tense, aspect, mood.
9. They canonically occur before the verb.
10. They belong to an open class.

4.1.1.1 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 4.1.1.5.).

4.1.1.2 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.

4.1.1.2.1 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’

4.1.1.2.2 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’
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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4.1.1.2.3 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'

4.1.1.2.4 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'

4.1.1.3 Noun classifiers

Persian has a number of noun classifiers. The most common classifier with the most general application is *-tā* 'fold'. This classifier is optionally used when quantifying count nouns. *-tā* is positioned after the quantifying element and can cooccur with the plural marker on a definite (i.e. the referent is offered by the speaker as identifiable to the hearer) noun.

- (4.7) do(-tā) pesar
two(-CL) boy 'two boys'
- (4.8) do(-tā) pesar-ā
two(-CL) boy-PL 'two boys'

Other classifiers, which are used optionally, also follow the number and precede the noun they modify: *-tan* 'body (for people)', *-jeld* 'volume (for books)', *-dune* 'grain/seed' (*-dune* can be used with any singular count noun, for example, *ye-dune angōštar* 'one ring') *-ra*'s 'head' (for sheep, horses, etc.).

- (4.9) bist(-jeld) ketāb
twenty(-volume) book 'twenty books'
- (4.10) cel(-ra's) gusfand
forty(-head) sheep 'forty sheep'

4.1.1.4 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 *****).

4.1.1.5 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'.

4.1.1.6 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.

4.1.1.6.1 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 (4.13).

- (4.11) utubus raft
bus go.PAST.3SG.SU
'The bus left.'
- (4.12) to livān=o šikast-i
2SG glass=OM break.PAST.2SG.SU
'You broke the glass.'
- (4.13) 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.'

4.1.1.6.2 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 (4.17) and (4.18) that =*rā* is a phrasal clitic because it attaches to the whole NP.

- (4.14) širāz=o did-am
Shiraz=OM see.PAST.1SG.SU
'I see Shiraz.'
- (4.15) to=ro na-did
2SG=OM NEG-see.PAST.3SG.SU
'She did not see you.'
- (4.16) behruz sib-hā=ro xord
Behruz apple-PL=OM eat.PAST.3SG.SU
'Behruz ate the apples.'
- (4.17) češm=e čap-am=o bast-am
eye=EZ left-1SG.POS=OM close.PAST-1SG.SU
'I closed my left eye.'
- (4.18) 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.'

4.1.1.6.3 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

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

(4.36) 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*

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

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

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

(4.40) 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'

(4.41) yek-i az ān-hā=rā xāstam
one-IND from that-PL=OM want.PAST-2SG.SU
'I wanted one of those.'

(4.42) 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

(4.43) hamdigar=rā did-im.
each.other=OM see.PAST-1PL.SU
'We saw each other.'

(4.44) 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*.

(4.45) sedā=i na-šenid-am.
sound=IND NEG-hear.PAST-1SG.SU
'I didn't hear a sound.'

(4.46) 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*.

(4.47) sedā=i=rā šenid-am.
sound=IND=OM hear.PAST-1SG.SU
'I heard a (certain) sound.'

- (4.48) ketāb=e digar=i=rā xāst-am.
 book=EZ other=IND=OM want.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I wanted a (particular) book.'

From Lyons (1999: 202-204):

"But Turkish *-i* and Persian *-rā* must be analysed as accusative or object markers rather than definite articles restricted to object position (or morphemes encoding simultaneously [+Def] and accusative case). This is because they do sometimes appear on indefinite direct objects. Persian examples (Windfuhr 1979) are:

- (4.49) kas=i=rā ferestād.
 person=IND=OM send.PAST.3SG.SU
 'He sent someone.'

- (4.50) xāne=i=rā āteš zad-and.
 house=IND=OM fire hit.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They burned a house.'

Here the indefinite objects are interpreted as specific; the addition of *-rā* is optional, and serves to make the specificity of the reference prominent. It works similarly in Turkish, where the accusative suffix can co-occur with the quasi-indefinite article *bir*.

- (4.51) her gün bir gazete-yi okuyorum.
 every day a newspaper-ACC read.1SG.SU
 'Every day I read a newspaper.' (Turkish)

Here the implication is that the speaker reads one particular newspaper every day.

Comrie (1978, 1981a: 128-9) argues that the use of the "definite object marker" in Persian and "definite accusative case" in Turkish can suggest that the reference of the noun phrase, while not known to the hearer, is important, perhaps because it is to recur in the discourse. ... Comrie still treats this as definiteness, but a more plausible conclusion is that these morphemes do not relate directly to [+Def]. Rather, they convey "referential prominence" - a concept to be interpreted pragmatically, which embraces definites and some specific indefinites, while leaving room for subjective choice."

(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.

- (4.52) tāqat=e duruqgui=o na-dār-am.
 tolerance=EZ lying=OM NEG-have.PRES-1SG.SU
 'I can't tolerate lying.'
- (4.53) 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.

- (4.54) ān heivān gandum-hā=rā mi-xor-ad
 that animal grain-PL=OM IPFV-eat.PRES-3SG.SU
 'That animal is eating the grain.'
- (4.55) 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).

- (4.56) sirka šir= $rā$ mi-burr-ad.
vinegar milk=OM IPFV-curdle.PRES-3SG.SU
'Vinegar curdles milk.'
- (4.57) 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 (4.58) 'the woman' was introduced in the discourse prior to this mention.

- (4.58) 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.

- (4.59) film= $e=rā$ did-am
film=DEF=OM see.PAST-1SG.SU
'I saw that film.'

4.1.1.7.3 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.

- (4.60) ye durbin
one camera
'a camera'
- (4.61) durbin= i
camera=IND
'a (certain) camera'
- (4.62) 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.

- (4.63) (ye) dānešju-hā= i
one student-PL=IND
'some students'
- (4.64) ye qave(= i)
one coffee=IND
'a coffee'
- (4.65) qave= i
coffee=IND
'some coffee'

4.1.1.7.4 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.

- (4.73) *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.

4.1.1.7.5 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*.

- (4.74) *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.’

4.1.1.8 Nouns and the ezāfe construction

The *ezāfe* is a construction that is indicated by an unstressed enclitic vowel *=e* and serves to link a noun syntactically with a following modifying element. This construction has a range of linking functions. When the *ezāfe* follows a vowel it is *=ye*.

4.1.1.8.1 Attributive ezāfe construction

In the attributive *ezāfe* construction an adjective, noun, prepositional phrase or infinitive postmodifies the head noun.

- (4.75) *ketāb=e bozorg*
 book=EZ big ‘big book’
- (4.76) *ketāb=e tārix*
 book=EZ history ‘history book’
- (4.77) *bāzi=ye zir=e miz*
 game=EZ under=EZ table ‘the game under the table’
- (4.78) *vaqt=e raft-an*
 time=EZ go-INF ‘time to go’

4.1.1.8.2 Genitive ezāfe construction

The *ezāfe* can link the modifier to the head noun in a possessive relationship. In this construction the modifier can be a noun or pronoun.

- (4.79) *kafš=e firuz*
 shoe=EZ Firuz ‘Firuz’s shoe’
- (4.80) *omid=e man*
 hope=EZ 1SG ‘my hope’

4.1.1.8.3 Appositive ezāfe construction

The *ezāfe* can link the modifier to the head noun in an appositive relationship. This applies particularly to expressions of geographical location.

- (4.81) kuh=e alborz
mountain=EZ Alborz 'the Alborz Mountains'
- (4.82) kalij=e fars
gulf=EZ Persian 'the Persian Gulf'

4.1.1.8.4 Family-name ezāfe construction

The ezāfe is also used to join the preceding given name with the following family name. This construction is commonly used in referring to someone or introducing oneself. With foreign names, no linking sound is normally added.

- (4.83) parvin=e mas'udi
Parvin=EZ Masudi 'Parvin Masudi'
- (4.84) jorj nikson
George Nixon 'George Nixon'

4.1.1.9 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; 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. None of the three distinguishes temporary from permanent possession or past from present possession.

4.1.1.9.1 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.

- (4.85) pedar=am
father=1SG.POS 'my father'
- (4.86) in kār=hā=yat
this work=PL=2SG.POS 'these works of yours'
- (4.87) pedar yā mādar=et
father or mother=2SG.POS 'your mother or father'
- (4.88) xod=am
self=1SG.POS 'myself'
- (4.89) 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 (4.90) and (4.91) *=tun* and *=šun* can be interpreted as either plural or polite singular.

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

4.1.1.9.2 The ezāfe construction

An alternative to forming possessives with the clitic suffixes is the use of the ezāfe construction:

POSSESSED + EZĀFE + POSSESSOR

The possessor can be any NP, including a personal pronoun or reflexive pronoun. Neither possessor nor possessed is otherwise morphologically marked.

- (4.92) dom=e gorbe
tail=EZ cat 'cat's tail'
- (4.93) doxtar=e man
daughter=EZ 1SG 'my daughter'
- (4.94) daftar=e xod=eš
office=EZ self=3SG.POS 'his own office'

4.1.1.9.3 The *māl=e* construction

māl=e 'property of' indicates alienable possession and is typically used in a copular construction.

- (4.95) un dastkeš=ā māl=e to=e
that glove=PL property=EZ 2SG=be.PRES.3SG.SU
'Those gloves are yours.'

4.1.2 Pronouns

4.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

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 'these people'
			ānān '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.

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

4.1.2.2 Reflexive pronouns

4.1.2.2.1 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	<i>xod=am</i>	<i>xod=emun</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>xod=et</i>	<i>xod=etun</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>xod=eš</i>	<i>xod=šun</i>

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

4.1.2.2.2 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.

- (4.100) *pune xod=eš šām=o dorost kard*
 Puneh self=3SG.SU dinner=OM correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Puneh made the dinner herself.’

(4.101) pune šām=o xod=eš dorost kard
 Puneh dinner=OM self=3SG.SU correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Puneh made the dinner herself.’

(4.102) 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.

(4.103) xod=e pune šām=o dorost kard
 self=EZ Puneh dinner=OM correct do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Puneh herself made the dinner.’

(4.104) xod=e man in=ā=ro nevešt-am
 self=EZ 1SG this=PL=OM write.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I myself wrote these.’

4.1.2.3 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 (4.105) - (4.107), indirect object (4.108) and possessor (4.109).

(4.105) 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.’

(4.106) šomā do=tā hamdige=ro mi-šnās-id?
 2PL two=CL each other=OM IPFV-know.PRES-2PL.SU
 ‘Do you know each other?’

(4.107) bačče=hā hamdige=ro busid-and
 child=PL each other=OM kiss.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘The children kissed each other.’

(4.108) be yekdigar hedye dād-and
 to each other gift give.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They gave each other gifts.’

(4.109) peyman=o šiva az arezu=hā=ye ham āgāh-and
 Peyman=and Shiva from hope=PL=EZ each other aware.PRES-3PL.SU

*** other reciprocal relations? ***

4.1.2.4 Possessive pronouns

4.1.2.4.1 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 ***).

4.1.2.4.2 Reflexive possessive pronouns

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

- (4.110) *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.’

4.1.2.4.3 Reciprocal possessive pronouns

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

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

4.1.2.5 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.

- (4.112) *in=o / un=o be-zar ru miz*
 this=OM / that=OM IMP-put on table
 ‘Put this/that on the table.’

- (4.113) *un=ā=o bi-ar in=jā*
 that=PL=OM IMP-bring this=place
 ‘Bring those here.’

- (4.114) *in xub-ast*
 this good-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘This is good.’

- (4.115) *in=ā xub-and*
 this=PL good-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 ‘These are good.’

- (4.116) *un xub-ast*
 that good-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘That is good.’

- (4.117) *un=ā xub-and*
 that=PL good-be.PRES.3PL.SU
 ‘Those are good.’

4.1.2.5.1 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.

- (4.118) *diruz raft-and ānjā*
 yesterday go.PAST-3PL.SU there
 ‘Yesterday they went there.’

- (4.119) emruz āmad-and injā
 today go.PAST-3PL.SU here
 ‘Today they came there.’

4.1.2.6 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 (4.120) - (4.122).

- (4.120) 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.’
- (4.121) 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 to each one/everyone.’
- (4.122) 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?’

4.1.2.7 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 či (more coll.)	‘what’
ke(i)	‘when’
kojā	‘where’
čerā	‘why’
četo(ur) čejur (more coll.)	‘how’ (lit. what way)
čand čand tā	‘how much/many’
kodum	‘which’
čeqadr	‘how much (quantity)’

4.1.2.7.1 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.

- (4.123) ki dar=o bāz kard?
 who door=OM open do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Who opened the door?’
- (4.124) nāser bā ki raft
 Nasser with who go.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Who did Nasser go with?’
- (4.125) či ru=ye miz-e?
 what on=eZ table-be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘What is on the table?’
- (4.126) doktor či goft?
 doctor what say.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘What did the doctor say?’
- (4.127) či=ro xord-i?
 what=OM eat.PAST-3SG.SU
 ‘What did you eat?’

4.1.2.7.2 Other question words

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

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

4.1.2.8 Relative pronouns and other relative words

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. (4.133). This pronoun is optional if *ke* functions as the subject or direct object of the relative clause.

- (4.133) 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 ...’

4.1.2.8.1 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).

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

4.1.2.8.2 Nonrestrictive relative pronouns

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

- (4.137) *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 ...’

4.1.2.8.3 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.

- (4.138) *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.

- (4.139) *(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.

- (4.140) *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 ...’

4.1.3 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*.

4.1.3.1 Pro-sentences and clauses

pro-clauses:

- (4.141) *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.’

- (4.142) *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.’

- (4.143) *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?’

- (4.144) *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.’

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

pro-adverb of degree:

- (4.145) *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.’

- (4.146) *va be qadri barf ru=ye zamin nešast*
 and so much snow on=EZ earth sit.PAST.3SG.SU
ke in do gorg gorosne mând-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:

- (4.147) *čonin goft-e bud.*
 such.this say-PSPT be.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘He had spoken thus.’
- (4.148) *va injour šoru' kard.*
 and this.way start do.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘... and she started thus.’
- (4.149) *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.’

4.1.4 Verbs

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

4.1.4.1 Structure of the verb

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

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

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

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

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

A fuller listing of all the forms of the verb are given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Forms of the Verb			
Infinitive	<i>past stem + -an</i>	xordan [xor] <i>present stem</i>	<i>to eat</i>
Present Imperfective - Continuous Present [Coll. <i>I eat</i>]	<i>mi- present stem + SU Agr</i>	mixoram mixori mixorad [mixore]	<i>eat/eats am/are eating will eat</i>
Neg Present Imperfective - Neg Continuous Present	<i>ne- + mi- present stem + SU Agr</i>	nemixoram memixori nemixorad [nemixore]	<i>not eat/eats am/are not eating will not eat</i>
Past Imperfective [Coll. <i>used to eat</i>]	<i>mi- + past stem + SU Agr</i>	mixordam mixordi mixord	<i>was eating was (always) eating would eat</i>
Neg Past Imperfective	<i>ne- + mi- + past stem + SU Agr</i>	nemixordam nemixordi nemixord	<i>was not eating was (always) not eating would not eat</i>
Inferential Past Imperfective- Past Habitual (currently relevant) [Coll. reduced and SU Agr stressed]	<i>mi- + past participle + SU Agr</i>	mixorde am mixorde i mixorde (ast) [mixordam] [mixordi] [mixorde]	<i>have/has eaten used to eat</i>
Neg Inferential Past - Neg Past Habitual (currently relevant) [Coll. reduced and SU Agr stressed]	<i>ne- + mi- + past participle + SU Agr</i>	nemixorde am nemixorde i nemixorde (ast) [nemixordam] [nemixordi] [nemixorde]	<i>have/has not eaten used not to eat</i>

Aorist (Simple Past)	<i>past stem + SU Agr</i>	xordam xordi xord	<i>ate</i> <i>am/are eating</i> <i>will eat</i>
Neg Aorist	<i>na- + past stem + SU Agr</i>	naxordam naxordi naxord	<i>didn't eat</i> <i>isn't eating</i> <i>won't eat</i>
Present Perfective (currently relevant)	<i>past participle + SU Agr</i>	xorde am xorde i xorde (ast) [xordam] [xordi] [xorde]	<i>have/has eaten</i>
[Coll. reduced and SU Agr stressed]			
Neg Present Perfective	<i>na- + past participle + negative SU Agr</i>	naxorde am naxorde i naxorde (ast)	<i>have/has not eaten</i>
Past Perfective	<i>past participle + bud + SU Agr</i>	xorde budam xorde budi xorde bud	<i>had eaten</i>
Neg Past Perfective	<i>na- + past participle + bud + SU Agr</i>	naxorde budam naxorde budi naxorde bud	<i>hadn't eaten</i>
Inferential Past Perfective - Remote Past Perfect (currently relevant)	<i>past participle + bud</i> <i>past participle + SU Agr</i>	xorde bude am xorde bude i xorde bude (ast)	<i>had eaten</i>
Neg Inferential Past Perfective - Remote Past Perfect (currently relevant)	<i>past participle + bud</i> <i>past participle + SU Agr</i>	naxorde bude am naxorde bude i naxorde bude (ast)	<i>had not eaten</i>
Future (literary/formal)	<i>xāh 'want' + SU Agr + past stem</i>	xāham xord xāhi xord xāhad xord [xām xord] [xai xord] [xād xord]	<i>will eat</i>
Neg Future	<i>na- + xāh 'want' + SU Agr + past stem</i>	naxāham xord naxāhi xord naxāhad xord	<i>won't eat</i>
Past Subjunctive	<i>past participle + bāš + SU Agr</i>	xorde bāšam xorde bāši xorde bāšad [xorde bāše]	<i>would have eaten</i>
Neg Past Subjunctive	<i>na- + past participle + bāš + SU Agr</i>	naxorde bāšam naxorde bāši naxorde bāšad [naxorde bāše]	<i>would not have eaten</i>
Present Subjunctive (with modal verbs)	<i>be- + present stem + SU Agr</i>	boxoram boxori boxorad [boxore]	<i>(irr) eat</i>
Neg Present Subjunctive (with modal verbs)	<i>na- + present stem + SU Agr</i> (not with bāyad)	naxoram naxori naxorad [naxore]	<i>(irr) not eat</i>
Imperative	<i>be-/bo- + present stem</i> (+ -id)	boxorid [boxor]	<i>Eat</i>
Neg Imperative	<i>na- + present stem + (-id)</i>	naxorid [naxor]	<i>Don't eat</i>

Passive Voice	<i>past stem + -e + šodan</i> 'to become' (inflects for all TAM)	xorde šodan	<i>to be eaten</i>
Causative Voice	<i>present stem + -ān</i> (inflects for all TAM)	xorāndan	<i>to cause to eat</i>
Impersonal Constructions	<i>bāyad + past stem</i> (short infinitive)	bāyad xord	<i>one must eat</i>
	<i>šāyad + past stem</i>	šāyad xord	<i>one might eat</i>
Present:	<i>mitavān + past stem</i>	mitavān xord	<i>one can eat</i>
Past:	<i>mitavānest + past stem</i>	mitavānest xord	<i>one could eat/could have eaten</i>
	<i>mišavad + past stem</i>	mišavad xord	<i>one can eat/it is possible to eat</i>
Present:	<i>mišod + past stem</i>	mišod xord	<i>one could have eaten/it was possible to eat</i>
Past:			
Past Participle	<i>past stem + -e</i>	xorde	<i>eaten</i>
Present Participle	<i>present stem + -an</i>	xoran	<i>eating</i>
Participial Absolute	<i>past participle</i>	xorde	<i>having eaten</i>
Agent Gerund		xorande	<i>eater</i>
Patient Gerund		xorde šode	<i>eaten</i>

4.1.4.2 Verb classes

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

4.1.4.2.1 Verb form classes

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

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

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

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

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

Class II. The -ādan class (4 verbs)

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

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

Class III. The -dan class (96 verbs)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Class IV. The -tan class (59 verbs)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Class V. The *-stan* class (7 verbs)

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

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

Class VI. The *-estan* class (7 verbs)

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

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

Class VII. The *-ftan* class (6 verbs)

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

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

4.1.4.2.2 Verb category classes

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

4.1.4.2.2.1 Main verbs

Main verbs function as the independent predicate of the clause and are described in 4.1.4.2.1.

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

- (4.151) māšin dār-id?
 car have.PRES-2SG.SU
 'Do you have a car?'

4.1.4.2.2.2 Compound verbs

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

4.1.4.2.2.2.1 Stress in compound verbs

In compound infinitives stress is on the final syllable.

- (4.152) bozorg sho'dan 'to grow up'

- (4.153) bar dāš'tan 'to pick up'

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

- (4.154) diruz az madrase 'bar gašt-and
 yesterday from school return.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They returned from school yesterday.'

- (4.155) qalam=e ma=rā pai'dā kard-and
 pen=EZ 1SG=OM found do.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They found my pen.'

- (4.156) ketāb=hā=rā 'bar dāšt-am
 book=PL=OM up have.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I picked up the books.'

4.1.4.2.2.2.2 Negation in compound verbs

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

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

4.1.4.2.2.2.3 Generic objects in compound verbs

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

- (4.159) ketāb xānd-am
 book read.PAST-1SG.SU
 'I read books.'
- (4.160) nāme nevešt-and
 letter write.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They wrote letters.'

4.1.4.2.2.2.4 Object agreement in compound verbs

Object agreement markers are attached to the non-verbal element in the compound verb and not to the verb.

- (4.161) roušan-eš kon
 on-3SG.DO IMP.do
 'Switch it off.'
- (4.162) komak-am kard-and
 help-1SG.DO do.PAST-3PL.SU
 'They helped me.'

4.1.4.2.2.3 Copular verbs

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

Table 4.7: Short and Long Copulas			
Short copulas		Long copulas	
xub-am	‘I am good’	xub hastam	‘I am good’
xub-i	‘you (sg) are good’	xub hasti	‘you (sg) are good’
xub-e	‘s/he/it is good’	xub hast	‘s/he/it is good’
xub-im	‘we are good’	xub hastim	‘we are good’
xub-id	‘you (pl) are good’	xub hastid	‘you (pl) are good’
xub-an(d)	‘they are good’	xub hastan(d)	‘they are good’
kojā-am	‘where am I?’	kojā budam	‘where was I?’
kojā-i	‘where are you (sg)?’	kojā budi	‘where were you (sg)?’
kojā-e	‘where is s/he/it?’	kojā bud	‘where was s/he/it?’
kojā-im	‘where are we?’	kojā budim	‘where were we?’
kojā-id	‘where are you (pl)?’	kojā budid	‘where were you (pl)?’
kojā-an(d)	‘where are they?’	kojā budan(d)	‘where were they?’

4.1.4.2.2.4 Auxiliary verbs

In written Persian the present and simple past tenses serve as both habitual and progressive (i.e. *miravam* is both ‘I go’ and ‘I’m going’; *miraftam* is both ‘I used to go’ and ‘I was going’). In colloquial Persian *miram* means only ‘I go’ and *miraftam* means only ‘I used to go’. To express the present and past progressive a compound tense formation has developed with *dāštan* ‘to have’ as auxiliary, and they only occur in the affirmative - no negative exists (Thackston 1993: 210-211).

*** Rafiee (2001: 67) says that the present tense form with *mi-* can mean ‘I go’, ‘I am going’ or ‘I will go’. ***

*** Say that the auxiliary *dāštan* ‘to have’ agrees with the main verb in past/present and subject agreement.

The present imperfective (‘I am going’/ ‘I go’) of *raftan* is as follows:

dāram miram	dārim mirim
dāri miri	dārin mirin
dāre mire	dāran miran

The past imperfective (‘I was going’/‘I used to go’) is as follows

dāštam miraftam	dāštim miraftim
dāšti mirafti	dāštin miraftin
dāšte mirafte	dāštan miraftan

Contrast the following:

čekār mikonin?	‘What do you do (for a living)?’
dārid čekār mikonin?	‘What are you doing?’
rezā doruq mige.	‘Reza tells lies.’
rezā dāre doruq mige.	‘Reza is lying.’

*** Note the placement of *dāštan* ‘to have’ in the clause in Rafiee (2001: 116-117).

*** Note that *dāštan* ‘to have’ is not used in the negative past imperfective Rafiee (2001: 117). What about the present imperfective?

(4.163)

‘?’

(4.164)

‘?’

4.1.4.2.2.5 Modal verbs

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

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

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

tun-estan ‘to be able’ + ra-ftan ‘to go’

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

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

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

xā-stan ‘to want’ + *ra-ftan* ‘to go’

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

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

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

Example of independent usage:

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

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

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

Example of nonmodal usage:

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

bāyad ‘must’ + *ra-ftan* ‘to go’

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

šāyad 'might' + ra-ftan 'to go'

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

momken-e 'it is possible' + ra-ftan 'to go'

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

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

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

4.1.4.2.3 Verb semantic classes

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

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

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

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

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

Semelfactives: *flash, cough, tap, glimpse*

Tests for Determining *Aktionsart* Types

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>States</i>	<i>Achve's</i>	<i>Accmp's</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Active accmp</i>	<i>Seml</i>
Occurs with progressive	No	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*
Occurs with adverbs like vigorously, actively, etc.	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No*

Occurs with adverbs like <i>quickly, slowly</i>, etc.	No	No*	Yes	Yes	Yes	No*
Occurs with <i>X for an hour, spend an hour Xing</i>	Yes*	No*	Irrelevant*	Yes	Irrelevant*	No*
Occurs with <i>X in an hour</i>	No	No*	Yes	No	Yes	No*
Can be used as stative modifier	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Has a causative paraphrase	No	No	No	No	No	No

vigorous: qavi, por-zur, šadid

active: fa'āl, kāri, jed'i

quickly: besor'at, tond

slowly: be-āhestegi, yavāš-yavāš

for an hour:

in an hour:

4.1.4.3 Tense and Aspect

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

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

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

The perfect forms are not simply perfective, but resultative-stative. This is most evident with change-of-state verbs, e.g. *ha'san ān,jā nešast¹-e ast/bud* ‘Hasan has/had sat down there’ = ‘Hasan is/was sitting there’, *Maryam le,bās-e qa'sang-i pušid¹-e ast/bud* ‘Maryam has/had put on a nice dress’ = ‘Maryam is/was wearing a nice dress’. Both occur also in a future context, e.g. *far,dā sā'at-e ,se raft¹-e am/raft¹-e bud-am* ‘by three o'clock the next day I would be gone’, the latter again in anticipation in the past.

Most instructively, the aorist is not confined to past contexts, but occurs in present and future contexts as well, most evident with verbs implying motion, e.g. in a past context

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

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

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

4.1.4.3.1 Present imperfective

The present imperfective is marked by the imperfective prefix *mi-* and the present form of the verb stem (see 4.1.4.2.1.). The present imperfective also has a distinctive set of subject agreement suffixes, as illustrated in Table 4.8. The most common third person singular inflection is *-e*, which is added to the present stems ending in a consonant. The third person singular *-d* form is used for verbs whose present stems end with a vowel, as in *mi-yā-d* ‘he/she/it comes’ and *mi-xā-d* ‘he/she/it wants’.

Table 4.8: Present Imperfective Subject Agreement		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	-am	-im
SECOND PERSON	-i	-id
THIRD PERSON	-e/-d	-an(d)

The present imperfective can express the notions of simple present, present continuous and simple future. This is illustrated by (4.169) where senses (a), (b) and (c) can all be interpreted relevant to the context of the utterance.

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

To stipulate that the reported event is extended and coincident with the moment of speech, i.e. present time, the verb *dāštan* is added as an auxiliary verb preceding the main verb (see also 4.1.4.2.2.4). In Reichenbach terms this is E *simul* R/S, where E is the event, R is the reference point R and S is the speech act. In this case R is coincident S.

- (4.170) dār-am nāhār mi-xor-am
 have.PRES-1SG.SU lunch IPFV-eat.PRES-1SG.SU
 ‘I am (in the middle of) eating lunch.’

- (4.171) dār-i che-kār mi-kon-i?
 have.PRES-2SG.SU what-work IPFV-do.PRES-2SG.SU
 ‘What are you doing (right now)?’

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

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

- (4.173) māh dōr=e zamin mi-čarx-e
 moon around=EZ earth IPFV-turn.PRES-3SG.SU
 ‘The moon revolves around the earth.’

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

- (4.174) hame parande=gan par dār-and
 all bird=PL feather have.PRES-3PL.SU
 ‘All birds have feathers.’

- (4.175) āsemān ābi hast
 sky blue be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘The sky is blue.’

The Forms and Functions of the Copula ‘to be’

The verb *budan* ‘to be’ is an exception and forms the present imperfective with a clitic form presented in Table 4.9 and the stem *hast* presented in Table 4.10. The choice of third person singular clitics is based on both phonological considerations and level of formality, with *-ast* being the most formal.

Table 4.9: Paradigm of Present Imperfective Clitics of ‘to be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	-am	-im
SECOND PERSON	-i	-id
THIRD PERSON	-ast/-s(t)/-e	-an(d)

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

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

Table 4.10: Paradigm of Present Imperfective of <i>hast</i> ‘to be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	<i>hast-am</i>	<i>hast-im</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>hast-i</i>	<i>hast-id</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>hast</i>	<i>hast-an(d)</i>

Another way to express the copula in the present imperfective is by using the nonenclitic lexical item *hast*. *hast* inflects for subject agreement as illustrated in Table 4.10. Note that the paradigm for *hast* is irregular in that, unlike most present imperfective verbs which are inflected for *-e* in the third person singular, *hast* takes no third person singular inflection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 4.11: Paradigm of Present Imperfective of <i>nist</i> ‘to not be’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	<i>nist-am</i>	<i>nist-im</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>nist-i</i>	<i>nist-id</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>nist</i>	<i>nist-an(d)</i>

The negative present imperfective of *budan* ‘to be’ is *nist* and this takes the same subject inflection as *hast*, as illustrated in Table 4.11. This form is used exclusively in both spoken and written modern Persian. The negative with *bāš* stem is restricted to literary Persian.

- (4.184) *emrikai nist-am*
 American NEG.be-1SG.SU
 ‘I am not American.’

4.1.4.3.2 Past imperfective

The past imperfective is formed by prefixing *mi-* to the past stem of the verb. This form can be used to express continuous or habitual action in the past.

- (4.185) *mi-rund-am*
 IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was driving.’

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

As with the present imperfective, the verb *dāštan* ‘to have’ can be added as an auxiliary verb preceding the main verb to indicate that the reported event is extended and coincident with the reference point R, which is in the past with respect to S. In Reichenbach terms this is E *simul* R *before* S.

- (4.187) *dāst-am mi-rund-am*
 have.PAST-1SG.SU IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was (in the act of) driving.’

The negative of the past imperfective is formed by prefixing *ne-* to the verb. Note that the auxiliary *dāštan* ‘to have’ cannot be used in the negative.

- (4.188) *ne-mi-rund-am*
 NEG-IPFV-drive.PAST-1SG.SU
 ‘I was not driving.’
- (4.189) *har ruz berenj ne-mi-xord-im*
 every day rice NEG-IPFV-eat.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We did not used to eat rice every day.’

4.1.4.3.3 Present perfective

The present perfective is formed by the past participle followed by subject person and number clitics, as illustrated in Table 4.12 for *raftan* ‘to go’. Where the subject is human, e.g. ‘he/she’, *ast* is used.

Table 4.12: Paradigm of Present Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	<i>raft'e am</i>	<i>raft'e im</i>
SECOND PERSON	<i>raft'e i</i>	<i>raft'e id</i>
THIRD PERSON	<i>raft'e (ast)</i>	<i>raft'e an(d)</i>

In colloquial Persian, the forms in Table 4.12 are reduced and pronounced as in Table 4.13. It is the stress pattern that distinguishes *raft'am* ‘I have gone’ from the aorist *'raftam* ‘I went’.

Table 4.13: Colloquial Forms of Present Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	raft'am	raft'im
SECOND PERSON	raft'i	raft'id
THIRD PERSON	raft'e	raft'an(d)

The present perfective is used where the effects of an action or event in the past are felt to be still relevant in some way to a present situation. This contrasts with the aorist where no such current relevance is part of the meaning. (4.190a) is a simple statement of fact: at one point in time Biruni died with no special significance for the present. However, (4.190b) is a historical fact that is still relevant: it may be a source of pride for the city of Qazna that Biruni is buried there, or one may be viewing the historical significance of where he died, but the use of the present perfective implies its relevance to the present time.

- (4.190) a. biruni dar qazni mord
 Biruni in Qazna die.PAST.3SG.SU
 ‘Biruni died in Qazna.’
- b. biruni dar qazni mord-e ast.
 Biruni in Qazna die-PSPT be.PRES.3SG.SU
 ‘Biruni died in Qazna.’

The present perfective can also express the present result of a past situation or event. (4.191a) expresses a resultative state but there is no implication that the resultant state still pertains in the present time. However, (4.191b) implies Hasan is still sitting there.

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

To negate the present perfective *na-* is prefixed to the past participle.

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

The present perfective can also occur in a future context.

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

4.1.4.3.4 Past perfective

The Persian past perfective has a similar past in the past meaning as the English past perfect, thus the meaning of the verb in Table 4.14 is ‘had gone’. In Reichenbachian terms the basic meaning of the past perfective is E *before* R *before* S. The past perfective is formed from the past participle followed by the aorist *budan*.

Table 4.14: Paradigm of Past Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	raft'e bud-am	raft'e bud-im
SECOND PERSON	raft'e bud-i	raft'e bud-id
THIRD PERSON	raft'e bud	raft'e bud-an(d)

In the affirmative, stress falls on the last syllable of the participle. The negative is formed by prefixing *na-* to the participle and stress falls on this prefix.

Table 4.15: Paradigm of Negative Past Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	'na-rafte bud-am	'na-rafte bud-im
SECOND PERSON	'na-rafte bud-i	'na-rafte bud-id
THIRD PERSON	'na-rafte bud	'na-rafte bud-an(d)

Uses of the past perfective

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

- (4.194) qabl az ān u=rā did-e bud-im.
 before that 3SG=OM see-PSPT be.PAST-1PL.SU
 ‘We had (already) seen him before that.’

- (4.195) unā hargez unjā na-raft-e bud-and
 3PL never that.place NEG-go-PSPT be.PAST-3PL.SU
 ‘They had never been there before.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.4.3.5 Remote Past Perfective

The remote past perfective is formed from the past participle of the main verb and past perfective of *budan*. This is illustrated in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Paradigm of Remote Past Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	raft'e bude am	raft'e bude im
SECOND PERSON	raft'e bude i	raft'e bude id
THIRD PERSON	raft'e bude ast	raft'e bude an(d)

In the affirmative, stress falls on the last syllable of the participle. The negative is formed by prefixing *na-* to the participle and stress falls on this prefix.

Table 4.17: Paradigm of Negative Remote Past Perfective of <i>raftan</i> ‘to go’		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	'na-rafte bude am	'na-rafte bude im
SECOND PERSON	'na-rafte bude i	'na-rafte bude id
THIRD PERSON	'na-rafte bude ast	'na-rafte bude an(d)

The remote past perfective is used in contexts (a) and (b) of the past perfective where the relevance criteria of the present perfective also apply (see 4.1.4.3.3). The remote past perfective expresses relevance to the past perfective as the present perfective expresses relevance to the aorist. This tense-aspect occurs primarily in the literary register and its usage is rare. However, Windfuhr (1989: 537) says it can occur in the spoken register (see the inferential past****).

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

4.1.4.3.6 Aorist

(4.203)

‘.’

(4.204)

‘.’

4.1.4.3.7 Inferential past

(4.205)

‘.’

(4.206)

‘.’

Windfuhr (1982: 263-287) suggests that there is a distinction between non-inferential (direct) past and inferential past in Persian. The inferential past has the function of *conclusion/assumption* and *absence of speaker/second-hand knowledge* and *reminiscence* - an evidential function.

direct:	mikard <i>cont.past</i>	kard <i>simple.past</i>	karde bud <i>past perfect</i>
inferential	mikarde (ast) <i>past habitual</i> (currently relevant)	karde (ast) <i>present perfect</i> (currently relevant)	karde bude (ast) <i>remote past perfect</i> (currently relevant)

4.1.4.3.8 Future

(4.207)

‘ ’
.

(4.208)

‘ ’
.

4.1.4.4 Aspect

4.1.4.4.1 Perfective/Imperfective

(4.209)

‘ ’
.

(4.210)

‘ ’
.

4.1.4.4.2 Durative/Punctiliar

(4.211)

‘ ’
.

(4.212)

‘ ’
.

4.1.4.4.3 Habitual

(4.213)

‘ ’
.

(4.214)

‘ ’
.

4.1.4.4.4 Progressive

(4.215)

‘ ’
.

(4.216)

‘ ’
.**4.1.4.4.5 Ingressive**

(4.217)

‘ ’
.

(4.218)

‘ ’
.**4.1.4.5 Mood/modality**

Mood or modality is concerned with the *actuality* of an event. The broad typological categories that define modality are *realis* and *irrealis*.

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

4.1.4.5.1 Necessity

(debitive)

4.1.4.5.2 Possibility

(degree of certainty)

4.1.4.5.3 Obligation

(debitive)

4.1.4.5.4 Abilitative

(potential)

4.1.4.5.5 Conditional**4.1.4.5.6 Subjunctive****4.1.4.6 Illocutionary force**

Illocutionary force refers to whether an utterance is an assertion, a question, a command or an expression of a wish. Describe how these notions are expressed.

4.1.4.6.1 Assertion/Indicative

4.1.4.6.2 Question/Interrogative

4.1.4.6.3 Command/Imperative

Includes imperative, hortatory, and monitory modality.

4.1.4.6.4 Wish/Optative

Includes optative and intentionality modality.

4.1.4.7 Voice

4.1.4.7.1 Passive

4.1.4.7.2 Verbal causativisation

4.1.4.7.3 Impersonal constructions

4.1.4.8 Finite and infinite forms

4.1.4.9 Agreement patterns

4.1.4.10 Irregular verbs

Describe any verbs which do not follow the paradigms in **Error! Reference source not found.**

4.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives can be attributive and modify the noun in a noun phrase or they can function as a predicate in the clause. Adjectives inflect for comparative and superlative degree. Adjectives can also be modified by adverbs expressing degrees of quality.

4.1.5.1 Structure of the adjective

Describe the structure of the adjective and possible inflectional categories.

4.1.5.2 Attributive Function

4.1.5.3 Predicative Function

4.1.6 Numerals/Quantifiers

4.1.6.1 Forms of numerals

4.1.6.2 Ordinal numerals

4.1.6.3 Other derivatives of numerals

4.1.6.4 Quantifiers

4.1.7 Prepositions

Is there an operational definition for pre/postpositions? If so, describe.

4.1.7.1 Bare vs. ezāfe prepositions

4.1.7.2 Combinations of prepositions and pronouns

4.1.8 Adverbs

Is there an operational definition for adverbs? If so, describe.

4.1.8.1 Adverbs that modify the sentence

Adverbs that modify the sentence can have a range of functions. The main examples are:

Modal: used to express an evaluation on what is being said. E.g. *Fortunately, no one complained. They will probably be at home.*

Temporal: used to express the time frame of the event. E.g. *We went jogging yesterday.*

Location: used to express the location of the event. E.g. *They live upstairs.*

Direction: used to express the direction of the motion. E.g. *They drove westwards.*

Manner: used to express the manner of the action. E.g. *The student read the book carefully.*

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

Instrument: used to express the instrument by which the event was performed. In many languages this can only be expressed by a PP.

Respect: 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’

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

4.1.8.2 Adverbs that modify the adjective and/or adverb

Describe the adverbs that can modify the adjective and/or adverb. E.g. *very quick/quickly*, *extremely tired*.

4.1.9 Negators

Describe the words used for expressing sentential or constituent negation.

4.1.10 Clitics

Clitics typically have the phonological form of a separate word but cannot be stressed and obligatorily occupy a particular position in the sentence in which it is phonologically bound to an adjoining word. E.g. the French subject pronouns *je*, *tu*, etc. are bound to a following finite verb, as in *je vais* 'I'm going'.

Describe any clitic words in the language and define how they are distinct from words on the one hand and affixes on the other.

4.1.10.1 Pronominal clitics

4.1.10.2 Clitic connectives

4.1.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. In general they can be classified as coordinating or subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions assign equal rank to the conjoined elements. E.g. English *and*, *or* and *but*. Subordinating conjunctions assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements. E.g. English *whether*, *that*, *although*, etc. Conjunctions may be analyzed as prepositional, where they are closely associated with the following conjunct or postpositional, where they are closely associated with the preceding conjunct. Say whether the conjunctions described are prepositional or postpositional.

4.1.11.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Is there an operational definition for coordinating conjunctions? If so, describe.

Describe the different types of coordinating conjunctions and their syntactic function

4.1.11.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Is there an operational definition for subordinating conjunctions? If so, describe.

Describe the different types of subordinating conjunctions and their syntactic function. E.g. cause, reason, purpose, result, condition, concession, etc.

4.1.11.3 Complementizers

In some approaches a complementizer is distinct from a subordinating conjunction and serves to mark a complement clause. E.g. *Lisa said that she would come* and *I don't know whether she smokes*. Describe any elements which function as a complementizer.

4.1.12 Interjections

Is there an operational definition for interjections? If so, describe.

4.1.12.1 Exclamation

4.1.12.2 Admiration

4.1.12.3 Regret

4.1.12.4 Disparagement

4.1.12.5 Wish

4.1.13 Ideophones

Is there an operational definition for ideophones? If so, describe.

4.1.13.1 Forms of the ideophone

Describe the phonetic and morphological characteristics of ideophones..

4.1.13.2 Function of ideophones

Describe the function of ideophones.

4.2 Phrases

A phrase is a unit of syntactic structure on a hierarchical level between word and clause. A phrase is headed by a syntactic category such as noun, preposition, adjective, etc. and lacks the subject-predicate structure typical of clauses.

4.2.1 Noun phrase (NP)

Is there an operational definition for the noun phrase? If so, describe.

4.2.1.1 Structure of the noun phrase

Describe the order of constituents in the noun phrase, and clauses (esp. relative clauses) that may be embedded within the noun phrase. Say which of the following types of modifier can occur: adjective, relative clause, possessive 'adjective', article, demonstrative 'adjective', numerals, quantifiers, adverbials, emphatic words, comparative/superlative/equative structures, others.

(From Windfuhr (1989: 522-546)) The basic structure of the noun-adjective phrase and the noun-noun phrase is (N = noun, A = Adjective):

NA: *in* - Measure, Number, Kind-Noun-*hā-e*-Adjective-*i ān*

NN: NA¹-*e*-NA²

NA-person/number suffixes

The general plural marker is =*hā*, and =*ān* for adjectival and indefinite pronominal human plurals, e.g. *bozorg=ān* 'the elder (people), leaders', *digar=ān* 'the others'. The latter is also used for human and human-related plural in literary registers. ***Plus Arabic plurals.

The indefinite marker for both singular and plural is =*i*, eg. *ketāb=i/ketāb=hā=i* ‘a book/(certain) books’. It follows the adjective, but often the noun in the presence of more than two adjectives.

Measure, numbers and kind (classifier) precede the noun and in turn are preceded by the demonstratives, *in/ān* ‘this/that’, e.g. *se (tā) ketāb* ‘three (items) of books’, *in do now* ‘qāli ‘these two kinds of carpets’.

Dependent nominals follow the head noun and are connected by =*e*, e.g. *ketāb=e bozorg=tar* ‘a larger book’. The general function of this construction with dependent nouns and noun phrases, traditionally called *ezāfe* ‘addition’, is identification of class and item, the latter ranging from persons, to names and names of species, to numbers, e.g. *ketāb=e man* ‘the book of me/my book’; *xānom=e javādi* ‘Mrs Javadi’, *hasān=e mokri* ‘Hassan Mokri’, *gol=e roz* ‘the rose(-flower)’, *sā’at=e se* ‘three o’clock’, *dars=e haft-om* ‘the seventh hour’.

Windfuhr (1989: 532) says the unmarked sequence head-*e*-dependent can be inverted to dependent-*e*-head, which he calls topicalization. The specific examples he gives are:

noun-adjective		adjective-noun	
kār=e xub-i	=>	xub kār-i	‘good work’
noun-comparative		superlative-noun	
film=e beh-tar	=>	beh-tar-in film	‘the best film’
noun-ordinal		ordinal-noun	
sāl-gard=e sad-om	=>	sad-om-in sāl-gard	‘the hundredth anniversary’

4.2.1.2 Premodifiers in the noun phrase

Premodifying examples:

- (19) *in ketāb*
this book ‘this book’
- (20) *kodum ketāb*
which book ‘which book’
- (21) *bozorg-tarin ketāb*
big-MOST book ‘biggest book’
- (21) *panj sāl*
five year ‘five years’
- (22) *čand ketāb*
some book ‘some books’
- (23) *haft-om-in ruz*
seven-ORD-? day ‘seventh day’
- (24) *hič ketāb*
no book ‘no book’

4.2.1.3 Postmodifiers in the noun phrase

Postmodifying examples:

(14) ketāb=e bozorg
book=EZ big 'big book'

(15) ketāb=e bozorg-tar
book=EZ big-MORE 'bigger book'

(16) jām=e āb
cup=EZ water 'cup of water'

(17) ruz=e čand
day=EZ some 'some day'

(18) ruz=e haft-om
day=EZ seven-ORD 'seventh day'

4.2.1.4 Cooccurrence of more than one of the same type of modifier

4.2.1.5 Nonadmissible combinations of types of modifier

4.2.2 Prepositional phrase (prep NP)

Simple prepositions and ezāfe prepositions.

4.2.2.1 Structure of prepositional phrases

4.2.2.2 Prepositional phrases and their arguments

4.2.2.3 Modifiers of prepositions

4.2.3 Adjective phrase (AdjP)

**** see Mahootian (1997: 54-58) for Adj Phrases.

4.2.3.1 Operational definition for adjective phrases

4.2.3.2 Adjectives with arguments

4.2.3.3 Adverbial modification of adjectives

4.2.3.4 Order of adjectives, arguments and adverbials

4.2.4 Adverb phrase (AdvP)

4.2.4.1 Structure of adverb phrases

4.2.4.2 Adverbial modification of adverbs

xxx

4.3 Simple sentences

4.3.1 Verbal sentences

4.3.1.1 Constituents of the verbal sentence

Describe the order and possible combinations of constituents of the verbal sentence, e.g. subject, indirect object, direct object, verb, adverbial, etc.

4.3.1.2 Verbs without subject

Does the language allow dummy subjects or semantically subjectless verbs? If so, describe.

4.3.1.3 Verbs and direct objects

4.3.1.4 Verbs with indirect objects

4.3.1.5 Verbs with prepositional arguments

Rafiee (2001: 86-87) describes what he calls a 'structured infinitive' in Persian 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'.

4.3.1.6 Other types of verbal arguments

4.3.1.7 Adverbials

4.3.1.8 Interrogatives in the verbal sentence

Describe the elements in the verbal sentence that can be substituted by an interrogative.

4.3.2 Copular sentences

4.3.2.1 Constituents of the copular sentence

Describe the order and possible combinations of constituents of the copular sentence. E.g. subject + NP + copula, subject + AP + copula, subject + PP + copula, etc.

4.3.2.2 Nominal complement

4.3.2.3 Adjectival complement

4.3.2.4 Adverbial complement

4.3.2.5 PP complement

4.3.2.6 Other copulas

4.3.2.7 Interrogatives in the copular sentence

Describe the elements in the copular sentence that can be substituted by an interrogative.

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).

4.4.2 Interrogative sentence

Yes-no questions, Information questions, Echo questions, Clarification questions

4.4.2.1 Yes-no questions

4.4.2.2 Information questions

4.4.2.3 Echo questions

4.4.2.4 Clarification questions

4.4.3 Imperative sentence

4.4.3.1 Positive imperative forms**4.4.3.2 Negative imperative forms**

(prohibitive)

4.4.4 Other sentence types

formulaic subjunctive

4.5 Coordination

constituent/phrasal coordination

sentence coordination

4.5.1 Juxtaposed clauses

Sequence of clause restrictions

appositive phrases

4.5.2 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.

4.6 Subordination**4.6.1 General markers of subordination****4.6.2 Noun clauses**

Complement clauses

Indicative complement clauses

Subjunctive complement clauses

Infinitive complement clauses

Nominalized complement clauses

Participial complement clauses

4.6.3 Adjective (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

4.6.4 Adverbial clauses

Describe the types of adverbial clauses and how they are expressed. cf. sec. 5.2.

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
 Absolute adverbial clauses

4.6.5 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.

4.6.6 Sequence of tenses in subordinate clauses

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

4.7 Negation

Describe how sentence negation is marked.
 Describe how constituent negation is marked.

4.8 Anaphora

By which of the following means is anaphora expressed?
 deletion

deletion if the element concerned is marked on the verb

ordinary personal pronoun

reflexive pronoun

special anaphoric pronoun

other means: describe (e.g. *the former*, *the latter*)

In which of the following situations is anaphora expressed by means of the various above-mentioned types possible, and in which direction? Describe any restrictions within any of the possibilities listed below:

within the clause

between coordinate structures

between superordinate and subordinate clauses, including nonfinite subordinate clauses

in the order superordinate clause-subordinate clause

in the order subordinate clause-superordinate clause

between different subordinate clauses

between different sentences

Are elements located next to complementizers (subordinating conjunctions) subject to the above anaphoric processes?

4.9 Reflexives

By which of the following means is reflexivity expressed?

invariable reflexive pronoun (clitic or nonclitic)

variable reflexive pronoun (cf. **Error! Reference source not found.**) (clitic or nonclitic)

verbal affix

other means; specify in detail

Is the scope of reflexivity restricted to the clause, i.e. must antecedent and reflexive element be in the same clause?

Describe the possible syntactic functions of antecedent and reflexive. See chart below.

	<i>Antecedent:</i>	<i>Reflexive:</i>
1.	subject	direct object
2.	subject	modifier of direct object
3.	subject	indirect object (zero- or case-marking)
4.	subject	modifier of such indirect object
5.	subject	indirect object (adposition-marking)
6.	subject	modifier of such indirect object
7.	subject	copular complement
8.	subject	modifier of copular complement
9.	subject	subject-complement (cf. 2.1.1.2.10)
10.	subject	modifier of subject-complement
11.	subject	object-complement
12.	subject	modifier of object-complement
13.	subject	object of adjective
14.	subject	modifier of such object
15.	subject	agent in passive/pseudopassive/impersonal constructions
16.	subject	modifier of such agent

	<i>Antecedent:</i>	<i>Reflexive:</i>
17.	subject	element in other adpositional phrase or case-marked modifier (adverbial)
18.	subject	modifier of such element
19-36.	modifier of subject	as in 1-18 (The numbers in the right-hand column of 19-212 all refer to the first 38 subsections of section above.)
37.	direct object	subject
38.	direct object	modifier of subject
39-54.	direct object	as in 3-18
55-56.	modifier of direct object	as in 37-38
57-72.	modifier of direct object	as in 3-18
73-74.	indirect object (case/zero)	as in 37-38
75-76.	indirect object (case/zero)	as in 1-2
77-88.	indirect object (case/zero)	as in 7-18
89-90.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 37-38
91-92.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 1-2
93-104.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 7-18
105-106.	indirect object (adpositional)	as in 37-38
107-108.	indirect object (adpositional)	as in 1-2
109-120.	indirect object (adpositional)	as in 7-18
121-122.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 37-38
123-124.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 1-2
125-136.	modifier of such indirect object	as in 7-18
137-138.	copular complement	as in 37-38
139-140.	copular complement	as in 17-18
141-142.	modifier of copular complement	as in 37-38
143-144.	modifier of copular complement	as in 17-18
145-146.	subject-complement	as in 37-38
147-148.	modifier of subject-complement	as in 37-38
149-150.	object-complement	as in 37-38
151-152.	modifier of object-complement	as in 37-38
153-154.	adjectival object	as in 37-38
155-156.	modifier of such object	as in 37-38
157-158.	agent in passive, etc.	as in 37-38
159-162.	agent in passive, etc.	as in 3-6
163-164.	agent in passive, etc.	as in 17-19
165-166.	modifier of agent	as in 37-38
167-170.	modifier of agent	as in 3-6
171-172.	modifier of agent	as in 17-18
173-174.	element in adverbial (cf.17)	as in 37-38
175-192.	element in adverbial (cf.17)	as in 1-18
193-194.	modifier of such element	as in 37-38
195-212.	modifier of such element	as in 1-18

Can reflexive relations exist within nominalized clauses?

If so describe any deviations from the possibilities discussed in the previous questions on finite structures.

Can reflexive relations exist within ordinary noun phrases? Describe the possibilities.

Do reflexive structures occur without any overt antecedent, e.g. in nonfinite clauses, nominalizations, or ordinary noun phrases (e.g. Dutch *het verhaal over zichzelf was spannend* 'the (my, your, etc.) story about myself, yourself, etc. was exciting').

Do the reflexive forms have any other uses, e.g.

reflexive pronoun as emphatic pronoun?
 reflexive verb-form as general detransitivizer?
 others?

4.10 Reciprocals

Repeat the same questions as under reflexive (**Error! Reference source not found.**)

4.11 Comparison

**** See Thackston (1993: 50-52) for comparative and superlative use of adjectives.

By which of the following means is comparison expressed?

comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison (e.g. *bigger*, *more a man*, etc.), and a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison.

comparative element as above, and a case or preposition associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison.

a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison only

other means - specify.

What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to?

What elements cannot be omitted under these conditions?

What elements must be omitted under these conditions?

Is there a clear difference between the two types of comparative structure, if both exist:

comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause

preposition plus standard of comparison

How is correlative comparison expressed (e.g. English *the hotter the better*; *the more he eats the fatter he gets*; *the heavier the lorry, the worse the smell*)?

4.12 Equative

Repeat the same questions as under comparatives (**Error! Reference source not found.**)

4.13 Possession

How are sentences expressing possession constructed?

Is there any difference between the expression of alienable and inalienable possession or subtypes of these? Describe.

Is there any difference between the expression of temporary and permanent possession? Describe.

Is there any difference in the expression of possession relative to persons, animals, and things? Describe.

Is there any difference in the expression of present and past possession? Describe.

4.14 Emphasis

Describe how emphasis is expressed in the following domains, e.g. by stress/accent, clitic/particle, movement, clefting, dislocation, etc.

How is (a) noncontradictory and (b) contradictory sentence emphasis expressed?

How is (a) noncontrastive (b) contrastive constituent emphasis expressed?

Specify which elements can be emphasised by the various means and whether more than one element can emphasised in the same construction.

How is the focus of a yes-no-question indicated? Compare 4.4.2.1 for possibilities.

4.15 Topic

In Lambrecht's (1986, 1987, 1994, 2000) theory of information structure TOPIC and FOCUS are the two primary information statuses that referring expressions may have in an utterance. An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E. In contrast, A predication, P, is the focus of a sentence S, iff in using S the speaker intends P to be assessed relative to the topic of S.

Are there means of indicating the topic of a sentence? If so, how?

Which elements can be topicalized by the various means?

For each of the above possibilities, state whether topicalization is obligatory or optional, and if optional the degree of preference for topicalizing.

4.16 Focus structure

The description of focus structure should be based on how these notions are outlined in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) *Syntax. Structure, meaning and function* and Lambrecht (1994) *Information structure and sentence form*.

4.16.1 Predicate focus

4.16.2 Sentence focus

4.16.3 Narrow focus

4.16.4 Negation and focus structure

Is focus structure involved in the interpretation of negation? If so, describe.

Typically only the asserted part of an utterance can be interpreted as being negated, the presupposed part not being negated. The part of the sentence that is interpreted as being

negated is normally referred to as ‘being in the scope of the negation’. Thus, given a sentence like *Fred didn’t talk to Mary*, the interpretation of what is being negated will be a function of the focus structure of the sentence (itself a function of the context) as reflected in intonation.

- a) FRED didn’t talk to Mary [Bill did]
- b) Fred didn’t TALK to Mary [he sent her an email]
- c) Fred didn’t talk to MARY [he talked to Susan]
- d) Fred didn’t TALK TO MARY [he had no contact with anyone]

4.16.5 Quantification and focus structure

Is focus structure involved in the interpretation of quantification? If so, describe.

For example, in a sentence like (a) there are two interpretations of it, which are presented in (b).

- a) Every girl kissed a boy.
- b) (i) Each girl kissed a different boy (‘for each girl there is a boy such that the girl kissed the boy’, i.e. [$\forall x, \exists y$ (kiss’ x, y), where x = girl and y = boy])
- (ii) Each girl kissed the same boy (‘there is a boy such that for each girl, the girl kissed the boy’, i.e. [$\exists y, \forall x$ (kiss’ x, y), where x = girl and y = boy])
- c) A boy was kissed by every girl. (=b ii), (b i))

The (b i) reading is the unmarked one, in which the subject universal quantifier (\forall) has wide scope over the object existential quantifier (\exists). The second reading, (b ii), involves giving the object existential quantifier wider scope than the subject universal quantifier and is the marked reading. In a sentence like (c), on the other hand, the (b ii) interpretation is the unmarked one. Cross-linguistically there is a general principle that topical quantified NPs have scope over focal quantified NPs, i.e. topical Q \supset focal Q.

5. Semantics

We are primarily interested in propositional semantics. This includes:

The way in which different linguistic forms can be shown to express the same proposition (e.g. *The cat ate the meat*, *The meat was eaten by the cat*, and so on), and how a single linguistic form can be analyzed in terms of several propositions (e.g. *Those nice red apples cost a lot* expresses the propositions that ‘the apples cost a lot’, ‘the apples are nice’, and ‘the apples are red’).

The way a proposition can be analyzed in terms of a predicate and its associated arguments.

The way in which propositions can be categorized as representing different states of affairs.

The way in which propositions can be related to each other in different semantic relationships.

5.1 Semantic types of proposition

Following a tradition dating back to Aristotle states of affairs can be categorized as follows.

Situations: static, non-dynamic states of affairs which may involve the location of a participant, e.g. *Maria being tired*, or an internal experience of a participant, e.g. *Fred liking Alice*.

Events: states of affairs which seem to happen instantly, e.g. *balloons popping, a glass shattering, a building blowing up*.

Processes: states of affairs which involve change and take place over time, e.g. a change in location (*a book falling to the floor*), in state or condition (*ice melting, water freezing, clothes drying*), or in the internal experience of a participant (*Tanisha learning Swahili*).

Actions: dynamic states of affairs in which a participant does something, e.g. *Chris singing, the ball rolling, the sun shining, a fire crackling, Yolanda swimming, the ground shaking, Tyrone drinking beer*.

Semelfactives: punctual events which have no result state, e.g. *The light flashed, the girl coughed, Paul hiccupped, the stick hit the fence, Angela poked me in the ribs, the desperate crew spotted the island*.

Describe how these different states of affairs are expressed in the language. Cf. sec. 4.1.4.2.

5.2 Semantic relations between propositions

Below are illustrated some sixteen examples of different semantic relationships between propositions. These semantic relations form a continuum expressing the degree of semantic cohesion between the propositional units linked in the complex structure, i.e. the degree to which they express the following:

- the extent to which a given construction expresses facets of a single event,
- action or state of affairs or discrete events,
- actions or state of affairs.

They are arranged from those relations which express phases of a single action or event (a) to those which express distinct actions or events (p).

Describe how the language expresses these interclausal propositional relationships.

Interclausal Semantic Relations:

- a. **Causative:** the bringing about of one state of affairs directly by another state of affairs, usually an event or action, e.g. *Harold pushed open the door, Velma let the bird go*. (See note below)
- b. **Phase:** a separate verb describes a facet of the temporal envelope of a state of affairs, specifically its onset, its termination, or its continuation, e.g. *Chris started crying, Fred kept singing, Hari finished writing the chapter*.
- c. **Psych-action:** a mental disposition regarding a possible action on the part of a participant in the state of affairs, e.g. *Max decided to leave, Sally forgot to open the window, Tanisha wants to go to the movies*.
- d. **Purposive:** one action is done with the intent of realizing another state of affairs, e.g. *Juan went to the store to buy milk, Susan brought the book to read*.
- e. **Jussive:** the expression of a command, request or demand (Lyons 1977), e.g. *Pat asked the student to leave, The king ordered the troops to attack the city*.
- f. **Direct perception:** an unmediated apprehension of some act, event, or situation through the senses, e.g. *Rex saw the child open the door, Yolanda heard the guests arrive*.
- g. **Propositional attitude:** the expression of a participant's attitude, judgment or opinion regarding a state of affairs, e.g. *Carl believes that UFOs are a menace to the earth, Paul considers Carl to be a fool, Most fans want very much for their team to win*.
- h. **Cognition:** an expression of knowledge or mental activity, e.g. *Aaron knows that the earth is round, George is thinking about Madeleine's refusal to go out with him*.
- i. **Indirect discourse:** an expression of reported speech, e.g. *Frank said that his friends were corrupt (vs. Frank said, "My friends are corrupt.")*

- j. **Reason:** an expression of the cause, explanation or justification for an action or event, e.g. *He bought the book because of his interest in metaphysics. Since they didn't pay they can't come in.*
- k. **Result:** an expression of a state of affairs consequent to another state of affairs, e.g. *He read the book carefully, so he acquired some knowledge of metaphysics. It began to rain heavily, so that it was impossible to continue driving.*
- l. **Conditional:** an expression of what consequence would hold, given the conditions in a particular state of affairs, e.g. *If it rains, we won't be able to have a picnic, Were Fred to leave now, he would look like a fool.*
- m. **Concessive:** carries the implication that the proposition expressed might have been expected to exclude the proposition expressed in the main clause but in fact does not, e.g. *Though he didn't read the book, he acquired some knowledge of metaphysics. Although it had been raining heavily for days, the cricket pitch was in good condition.*
- n. **Simultaneous states of affairs:** one state of affairs is temporally coterminous with another, e.g. *Max danced while Susan played the piano, Kim had chicken pox at the same time that Leslie had the measles.*
- o. **Sequential states of affairs:**
 - 1. **Overlapping:** one state of affairs partially overlaps temporally with another, e.g. *Before Juan had finished talking, Carlos entered the room.*
 - 2. **Non-overlapping:** one state of affairs begins immediately after another one ends, e.g. *As soon as Vidhu sat down, the band began to play.*
 - 3. **Non-overlapping, with an interval:** there is a temporal interval between the end of one state of affairs and the beginning of the next, e.g. *Five minutes after Sally settled into her hot bath, the phone rang.*
- p. **Temporally unordered states of affairs:** the temporal relation between states of affairs is unexpressed, e.g. *Tyrone talked to Tanisha, and Yolanda chatted with Kareem.*

Note: with a causative relationship two propositions can often be linked in a single predicate, e.g.

a.	State:	The boy is afraid.
a'.	Causative state:	The dog frightens/scares the boy. (... caused the boy to be afraid)
b.	Achievement:	The balloon popped.
b'.	Causative achievement:	The cat popped the balloon. (... made the balloon pop)
c.	Semelfactive:	The pencil tapped on the table.
c'.	Causative semelfactive:	The teacher tapped the pencil on the table. (... caused the pencil to tap on the table)
d.	Accomplishment:	The ice melted.
d'.	Causative accomplishment:	The hot water melted the ice. (... made the ice melt)
e.	Activity:	The ball bounced around the room.
e'.	Causative activity:	The girl bounced the ball around the room. (... caused the ball to bounce around the room)
f.	Active accomplishment:	The soldiers marched to the park.
f'.	Causative active accomplishment:	The sergeant marched the soldiers to the park. (... ordered the soldiers to march to the park)

6. Discourse and pragmatics

xxx

6.1 Variations in the order of clause constituents

xxx

6.1.1 Nuclear constituents (Subject Verb Object/Complement and possibly Indirect Object)

State the unmarked or most common order in narrative; in equative clauses (if different).

6.1.2 Preposing of nuclear and non-nuclear constituents

This approach assumes the functional notions of:

Point of Departure (Propositional) Topic Focus

as the basic information structure of the narrative sentence

Describe the reasons for preposing constituents (e.g. to establish points of departure, to bring constituents into focus). If there is more than one reason for preposing, indicate how they may be distinguished (e.g. by the presence of a pronominal trace if the point of departure is a nuclear constituent, of a 'sentence topic/thematic' marker; cross-reference sec. 2.1 if a 'focus' marker is used).

6.1.3 Tail-head linkage

Describe the functions of different types of tail-head linkage (e.g. maintain continuity in oral material, slow down the story or argument prior to a particularly important event or assertion, resume the main line of the story or argument, introduce the next step of a procedure).

6.1.4 Post-nuclear (peripheral) constituents

What is the maximum number of post-nuclear constituents found in a clause in natural text? Indicate whether the order of post-nuclear constituents is fixed, or whether there are special positions for constituents in 'unmarked focus' and for thematic/given information.

6.1.5 Post-nuclear (peripheral) constituents

Describe the functions of postposing constituents (e.g. clarification, anticipation of a change of topic).]

6.2 Prominence

Key concepts are **focus**, **emphasis** and **prominence** in general.

PoD and Topic correlate with established information

Focus correlates with nonestablished information

Prominence of focal information can be contrastive or emphatic.

Prominence given to topical information is thematic prominence.

6.2.1 Focus

Describe the device(s) used to focus on clause constituents (e.g. preposing, postposing, focus marker, changes in the order of constituents that are not in focus).

6.2.2 Thematic prominence

Describe the device(s) that are employed to give prominence to a point of departure.

6.2.3 Features of emphasis

Describe the device(s) that are employed to emphasize sentences or constituents.

6.3 Backgrounding and highlighting devices

6.3.1 Foreground events

Describe the unmarked way of presenting foreground events in a narrative (e.g. topic-comment articulation with the verb in the perfective aspect).

6.3.2 Backgrounding events of secondary importance

Describe the devices that are used to background events in narrative. Distinguish their functions.

Describe how flashbacks are encoded.

6.3.3 Highlighting

Describe the devices that are used to slow down a narrative immediately before a climax or significant development.

Describe any other devices that give prominence to climactic sentences, significant developments, key assertions, etc. If the device is typically found in some genres but not in others (e.g. in reported conversation but not in the narrative superstructure), then note this fact.

6.4 Pragmatic connectives

Depending on the language, non-subordinating connectives may include **conjunctions** such as *and*, *but*, *however*, *moreover* and *therefore*, **referential connectives** with an anaphoric demonstrative such as *after this* and *for that reason* and even, in oral material in some languages, **tail-head linkage** (see sec. 3.2.3). In most languages, the normal position for non-subordinating conjunctions is at or near the beginning of a sentence or else in the verb phrase, though some languages place them at the end of sentences.

6.4.1 Coordinating sentences

Which is the default way of coordinating sentences that describe the main events of a narrative: by juxtaposing them or by means of a particular coordinating conjunction (specify which)?

Distinguish the functions of the other ways of coordinating sentences.

6.4.2 Coordinating clauses within a sentence

Which is the default way of coordinating clauses that describe successive events performed by the same subject: by juxtaposing them (i.e. by means of ‘serial’ verbs or predicates) or by means of a coordinating conjunction or repeated pronoun? What are the effects of coordinating clauses in other ways?

6.4.3 Countering markers

List any countering markers not covered in secs. 4.1-4.2, and distinguish their functions.

6.4.4 Additives (markers of reinforcement and parallelism)

List the markers of reinforcement and parallelism, and distinguish their functions.

6.4.5 Markers of new information

List any markers of new development, and distinguish their functions.

6.4.6 Introducing non-event material in narrative

If any connectives are used primarily to introduce non-event material in a narrative (e.g. explanatory comments, summaries, morals), then list them and distinguish their functions.

6.4.7 Resumptives

Describe any markers or constructions not covered in sec. 1.3 that are used to resume an earlier event line or argument line.

6.4.8 Other coordinating connectives

Describe the functions of any coordinating connectives not covered in secs. 4.1-4.7, indicating the semantic relationships between propositions that they signal.

6.5 Reporting of conversation

6.5.1 Ways of reporting the speeches

Indicate which is the default way of reporting speech: direct, indirect or semidirect. Describe any other ways of reporting speeches, along with their functions.

Speeches are typically presented in one of three basic ways: directly, indirectly or semi-directly. 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)

6.5.2 Positions of the speech orienters

What is the normal position of the orienter relative to the speech being reported (prior to the speech, following the speech, both). If the orienter is found in other positions, describe when each is used.

6.5.3 Tenses and aspects used in the speech orienters

Indicate in which tense-aspects the orienters may be presented. If more than one, describe when each is used. When is the orienter omitted completely?

6.5.4 Changes of direction within a reported conversation

Describe the means of indicating a change of direction within a conversation (e.g. verbs such as *answer*).

6.5.5 Repetitions of speech orienters

Explain any repetitions of the same speech orienter.

6.5.6 Other observations about the speech orienters

Describe any other variation in the orienters (e.g. the function of each verb used).

6.6 Participant reference

6.6.1 Activation of participants

Describe the different ways that MAJOR participants are activated (introduced): in connection with a NEW mental representation; into an EXISTING mental representation.

How are MINOR participants activated?

How are introductions of participants HIGHLIGHTED (other than by tail-head linkage—sec. 1.3)?

6.6.2 Further reference to activated participants

Give the encoding scale for further reference to activated participants.

State the default encodings for the following:

- the subject is the same as in the previous sentence;
- the subject was the addressee of the previous reported speech;
- the subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause/sentence;
- the subject was not involved in the previous clause/sentence.

If a ‘VIP strategy’ (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:119) is sometimes used, explain how this affects the default encodings.

Describe marked subject encodings and their discourse-pragmatic motivations.

[Present a similar scheme of default and marked encodings for references to activated non-subjects.]

6.6.3 Determiners and pronouns

Describe the system of determiners, together with the spatial and discourse functions of each. Which set of determiners or pronouns, if any, is used for thematic references; for athematic references?

6.6.4 Point of orientation or centre of interest

Describe any devices not mentioned above that indicate the point of orientation or centre of interest for part or all of a text (e.g. *come* and *go* auxiliaries). Comment on any changes of orientation at climax.

6.7 Subordination and given versus new information

6.7.1 New information and subordinate clauses

Indicate whether subordinate clauses (including relative clauses) can contain new or accessible information. If they can, indicate any restrictions on the presentation of such information in these clauses (e.g. if they contain new information they have to be post-nuclear—i.e. follow the clause to which they are subordinated—, or they have to be purpose clauses).

Indicate what types of information can be introduced in PRENUCLEAR subordinate clauses (e.g. only a point of departure at a discontinuity, information already given in the immediate context, information that is accessed by—implied by or expected from—the context).

6.7.2 Relative clauses (including nominalisations)

Indicate which grammatical relations may be relativised (e.g. subject and direct object only).

When relative clauses are used in a RESTRICTIVE (identifying) sense, describe where they are found (e.g. usually off the event line or modifying a peripheral constituent, in narrative) and their function(s) (e.g. related to prominence—exemplify).

Indicate whether relative clauses can be used in a NONRESTRICTIVE (descriptive) sense. If they can, describe their function(s).

6.7.3 Information flow

In natural text, what is the maximum number of constituents per sentence that can convey new information? (Count subject, object, verb, location, etc. as one constituent each.)

What devices are used to spread new information over more than one sentence (e.g. parallel sentences with the same subject and verb, sandwich structures)?

6.8 Propositional order

especially OV languages, see Roberts 1997, Levinsohn 1998

State which is the default order of the following pairs of propositions relative to each other:

- HEAD - restatement, such as POSITIVE - negative
- HEAD - clarification, such as HEAD - comparison or HEAD - manner
- logical pairs such as RESULT - reason
- MEANS - purpose.

Indicate whether any of the above pairs of propositions occurs in the opposite order. If so, why is the non-default order used and what (if anything) signals the relationship?

6.9 Discourse genres

Describe how the different discourse genre are expressed in the language.

Summary chart of discourse genre:

SUMMARY CHART - characteristics of discourse genre				
genre	person orientation	time (illocutionary function)	backbone	primary structure
NARRATIVE	first third (agent oriented)	past (statements)	main-line events	plot structure: stimulus-response participant, time and location spans determine groupings
PROCEDURAL	unspecified agent affected patient or instrument or manner concept	(commands)	procedures	sequential steps steps-goal
EXPOSITORY ARGUMENT- ATIVE	third (agent oriented)	(statements)	themes arguments explanations	nonchronological orientation clarification logical (cause-effect)
HORTATORY INSTRUCTIVE	second	(commands)	injunctions	grounds-exhortation
DESCRIPTIVE	third	(statements)	topics and attributes	topic-comments
DRAMA DIALOGUE	depends on the discourse within the exchange			exchanges

NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL manifest *temporal progression*: the events or states represented by the main clauses are primarily related to each other temporally.

EXPOSITORY and HORTATORY manifest *logical progression*: the events or states represented by the main clauses are primarily related to each other logically.

DESCRIPTIVE manifests *spatial progression*: the main clauses are commonly linked together by pure coordination. When the relations are made explicit the conjunctions are often the same as those found in a discourse of temporal progression.

6.10 Rhetorical devices (Figures of speech)

6.10.1 Metaphor

A **metaphor** is traditionally understood as an implied or unmarked comparison between two verbal or nominal concepts.

6.10.2 Simile

A **simile** functions in the same way as a metaphor except that the comparison is marked by a word equivalent to English *like* or *as*.

6.10.3 Dead metaphors

A metaphor becomes dead when its poetic meaning is accepted into the normal vocabulary of the language. E.g. in the expression *the growing pains of a young republic* the metaphor *growing pains* has taken on the meaning of 'difficulties experienced in the early stages of an enterprise' rather than express a comparison with the literal meaning of 'neuralgic pains experienced by some young children'.

6.10.4 Hyperbole

A **hyperbole** is an exaggeration or overstatement calculated to arrest the attention of the addressee. Ex: John 12:19, "Look, *the world* has gone after him!"

6.10.5 Understatement (hypobole)

An **understatement** (or hypobole) is a statement that is intentionally weak and which therefore stimulates the addressee to supply the full intensity from his own understanding, producing altogether a greater impression than a "regular" statement would have produced. Ex: Gal. 5:22,23, "By contrast, the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace.... There is no law against such things."

6.10.6 Litotes

A **litotes** is a subcategory of understatement in which an affirmation is strengthened by negating an opposite concept or expression. Ex: Acts 21:39, "...a citizen of *no mean* city;..." (RSV) = "a citizen of an important city;..." (NRSV).

6.10.7 Sarcasm and irony

Irony is a subtle and complex figure in which the speaker expresses, as if it were his own, an opinion which he attributes to his addressee or some other and from which he means to distance himself. The force of the figure is felt when the addressee perceives that what was expressed is not the sentiment of the speaker at all. Ex: 2 Chr. 18:14, "Go up and triumph; they will be given into your hand." If a tone of bitterness is prominent, as it often is, the same figure can be called **sarcasm**. Ex: Amos 4:4, "Come to Bethel -- and transgress; to Gilgal -- and multiply transgression;..."

6.10.8 Personification

A **personification** is a reference to something impersonal as if it were a person. Ex: Luke 7:35, "Nevertheless, *wisdom* is vindicated by all her children."

6.10.9 Apostrophe

When personification occurs in the vocative, it is called an **apostrophe**. Ex: 1 Cor. 15:55, "Where, O *death*, is your victory? Where, O *death*, is your sting?"

6.10.10 Chiasmus

Chiasmus is a structure not so much of passion as of poetic elegance in which corresponding elements in the second part of the structure occur in the inverse order to their occurrence in the first part. If intentional, it expresses careful consideration of the matter by the speaker. Ex: Matt. 7:6, "Do not give what is holy to dogs; and do not throw your pearls before swine, or they will trample them under foot and turn and maul you."

6.10.11 Inclusio

Inclusio is similar to chiasmus, referring to the bracketing of a stretch of discourse by similar material at the beginning and end of it. Some would consider that Matt. 5:13-20 and Matt. 7:24-27 form an *inclusio* for the main body of the Sermon on the Mount.

There is a similar phenomenon that occurs within the structure of a phrase in literary Koine and Latin; it may have been truly a figure of speech or only a figure of written expression, nor have we heard a label applied to it or observed any serious attempt to translate it, but it tends to produce an impression of strong emphasis and incredible elegance. It is when the other elements of the clause in which the phrase occurs are distributed throughout the phrase, breaking up the phrase and stretching it out exquisitely. Ex: Heb. 4:11, “□□ □□ . □□ □□ . □□ □□ □□ □□ . □□ □□ □□ □□ □□”, which could be glossed, “lest *in the same* anyone *pattern* should fall of *disobedience*.”, or naturally and without the elegance, “so that no one may fall through the same disobedience as theirs.”

6.10.12 Metonymy

In **metonymy**, a concept is expressed through a word that represents another closely-related concept. Again, the impression created by this figure is one of carefully-crafted elegance. Ex: Luke 1:32, “...and the Lord God will give to him *the throne* of his ancestor David.”

6.10.13 Synecdoche

If the metonymy and its literal referent are in the relationship of part-to-whole or whole-to-part, it is called a **synecdoche**. Ex: Is. 52:7, “How beautiful upon the mountains are *the feet of the messenger* who announces peace,....”

6.10.14 Euphemism

A **euphemism** is often a kind of metonymy, used to refer to something potentially awkward or offensive by means of a less troublesome expression. Of course, as the euphemism becomes common currency, it loses its indirectness and takes on all of the awkwardness or offensiveness that it was originally employed to avoid, tending also to lose its original range of reference. When this happens, it often becomes necessary to create a new euphemism to replace the old. As with other figures of speech, it is very important not only to be able to recognize and understand euphemisms in the source language but also to know how to use them appropriately in the target language. Ex: Gen. 4:1, “Now the man *knew* his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain,....”

6.10.15 Hendiadys

In **hendiadys**, one concept is expressed through two words or phrases which are connected by a conjunction to refer to a single notion, which might translate as a noun and an adjective or modifying phrase. Cf. Luke 2:47, “his understanding and his answers” (NIV) but “his intelligent answers” (TEV).. Also, Rom. 1:5 “grace and apostleship” (NIV) but “the privilege of being an apostle” (TEV); James 5:10 “suffering and patience” (NASB) but “patience in the face of suffering” (NIV)

6.10.16 Rhetorical questions

A *real* question asks for information, and is usually followed by an answer.

A *rhetorical* question does not ask for information. It has some other purpose.

REAL question: Mark 6:38 And he said to them, “How many loaves have you?”

Answer: “Five, and two fish.”

RHETORICAL question: Mark 8:36 For what does it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?

What purposes do rhetorical questions have in the language?

6.11 Ideophones

Languages often have special word forms that are used to describe (among other things) sounds, shapes, textures, and motion, and which may be characterized by unusual phonetic properties. (“The gun banged in my ear.”) How extensive is the list of ideophones? How frequently are they used? Are they more common in a particular kind of discourse (*e.g.*, narrative)? Are they peculiar to certain registers (see 3, above)?

6.12 (Im)polite speech or saving face

Is the speaker /hearer relation expressed by honorific words/ morphemes/nominal derivations/ demonstrative or other adnominals?

What range of constructions are used to get someone to do something? Plain, unmitigated imperatives, future tense forms, questions, requests? How many different forms can you find? Which ones are typically used by parents or teachers speaking to children? By children to parents? Between adults of equal social status? Between adults of different status? What other factors (besides status of speaker and addressee) affect the choice between strong, severe commands and softer, mitigated forms? Similarly, what constructions are used in correcting behavior, according to the relative status of the speaker and addressee and other factors?

6.13 Register

6.13.1 Social register

Describe any special forms (including peculiar uses of pronouns) that correspond to difference in speech register (*e.g.*, respect, informal, intimate, child-directed, public oration, soliloquy, etc.) Note any differences between men’s speech and women’s speech. Give examples where appropriate.

6.13.2 Oral vs. written style

Describe any differences observed between written and oral discourse. Are there certain features of speech that native speakers are reluctant to use with the same frequency in written texts as they do in oral renditions? Give examples where appropriate.

7. Residue

Unanalyzed materials left for future reference and research, and concluding remarks.

7.1 Summary of grammatical features

One-paragraph summary of the most characteristic aspects of the grammar.

7.2 Conclusion

Suggestions for further research, and theoretically interesting aspects of the grammar that might enrich the linguistic world.

7.3 References to previous research

Your stock of bibliographic references on the language.

References

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Bibliography

1. Bibliography of all linguistic works on this language
2. Bibliography of related linguistic works
3. Bibliography of other materials written in the language
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5. References to all works cited in this grammar sketch
6. Catalogue of raw linguistisc data on this language

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Topics referred to in the grammar sketch; be sure also to include grammatical functions and notions commonly used in traditional grammatical descriptions, in order to guide the reader to the corresponding forms of the language under study, and the sections of the sketch that treat them.

John Roberts, September 2003
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